



**COLLECTION OF PAPERS
FROM
THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE
ON
CHINESE STUDIES
"THE SILK ROAD"
ORGANIZED BY
THE CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE
IN SOFIA**

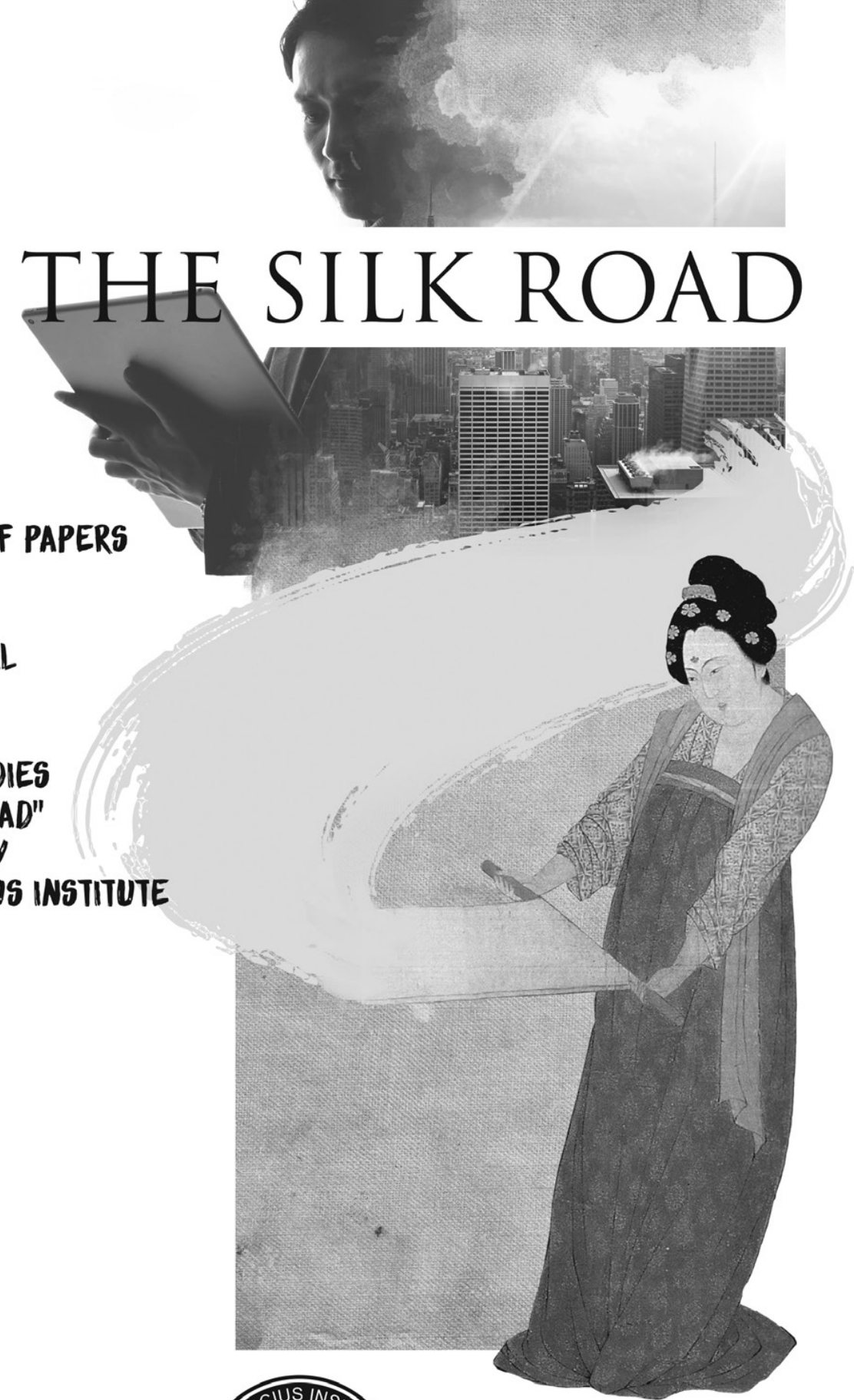
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汉语与汉语语言学

Китайски език
и езикознание

Chinese Language
and Linguistics

Attributive Qualities of the Noun Phrase in Modern Chinese in Regard to the Appearance of the Structural Particle „de”

Antonia Tsankova, Olga Bochkova

Abstract

The study presents the variants of attributive constructions of the noun phrase in Modern Chinese in regard to the necessity and possibility of applying or omitting the particle „de”.

Measure/Classifier phrases standardly modify the noun without the occurrence of „de”, but in some cases the particle should be applied in such constructions, e.g. quantitative attributes to noun phrases used in turn as modifiers to other nouns, reduplicated classifier phrases, etc.

Noun phrases used as modifiers to the noun denote associative qualities of the attribute. The two noun phrases are commonly linked with the particle „de” when the associative link is that of possession, but it is usually omitted when the genitive relation is between human relatives and the modifier is a personal pronoun.

Relative clauses that are nominalized verb phrases act as modifiers to the noun always with occurrence of „de”, its usage in such constructions being obligatory.

Apart from the syntactic and semantic qualities of the modifiers, there are some other factors that may influence the occurrence of „de”, including the morphologic structure of the attribute and the head noun (monosyllabic vs. disyllabic words in construction), as well as the stylistic features of the text, as the particle „de” tends to be more often omitted in official and literary style which is closer to Classical Chinese. We may observe in that a common feature of nearly all grammatical markers in Modern Chinese that were not inherited from the Classical language and still retain a certain degree of variability and optionality in usage.

Keywords: modifiers to the noun, attributive particle „de”, optionality in explication, attributive qualities

Background of the study

In Modern Chinese, the noun can be modified by attributes, belonging to almost all of the words’ classes (parts of speech), as well as by different combinations of these classes, including whole predicative phrases as subordinate sentences. The attribute to the noun is always in preceding position, and in certain cases it is linked to the head noun by the structural particle 的, which shows a great degree of optionality in appearance.

The principles of applying/omitting the particle 的 depend on the attribute’s word class, the morphological structure of the elements of the noun phrase, the semantic type of connection between the attribute and the head noun, the syntactic characteristics and the rhythmic structure of the phrase, etc.

Although the general rules of usage of the attributive particle 的 are widely discussed in modern grammar studies, further systematic approach is needed to describe the principles of functioning and variation of the attributive marker.

The aim of the present study is to systemize the variants of attributive constructions of the noun phrase in Modern Chinese in regard to the necessity and possibility of applying or

omitting the particle 的, as well as to outline the main factors (semantic, morpho-syntactic, prosodic, etc.) that influence the explication and the position of appearance of the particle 的.

Parameters of the study

The language material for the study is an excerpt from the contemporary Chinese novel 《改写人生》 (*Re-writing One’s Life Story*, 2008) by 徐奇峰 (Xu Qifeng), containing 11 832 characters (approximately 22 standard pages). Within the volume of this language material, a total number of 473 attributive constructions of different types were extracted as a basis of classification and analysis.

In the present study, we also include research materials and examples from Li & Thompson, 1981, Liu Yuehua et al., 2006, Shutova, 1991, Zhu Dexi, 1984, etc.

Classification and marking characteristics of the modifiers to the noun (Li & Thompson, 1981, Liu Yuehua, 2006, etc.):

1. Quantitative, demonstrative and interrogative modifiers

A) Measure words, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns indicating quantity and things, and combinations between demonstrative and quantitative attributes are linked to the head noun by classifiers. As a rule, they **do not attach** 的 particle when the attributes have **delimitative or demonstrative meaning**. For example:

三个小孩子 ‘three children’; 两顿饭 ‘two meals’;

那个老师 ‘that teacher’; 这种情况 ‘these circumstances’;

哪个老师? ‘which teacher’; 什么颜色? ‘what colour?’;

那么多年 ‘so many years’ ; 这几个问题 ‘these few questions’, etc.

B) Quantitative phrases may **attach** 的 when they have **descriptive meaning** (ex. 1.1), while the standard quantitative attributes are always used without 的 (ex. 1.2).

(1.1) 他买了一条三斤的鲤鱼。 ‘He bought **a carp that weighs three pounds**.’

(1.2) 我买了三斤鲤鱼。 ‘I bought **three pounds of carp**.’

C) More complex quantitative attributes are usually connected with 的. For example:

• Reduplicated complexes of the numeral “一” (‘one’) and quantifier standardly attach 的 as attributes, when they convey descriptive meaning.

(1.3) 春去秋来, 随着一列一列的火车驶过, ...

‘Springs and autumns have come and gone, following the trains passing **one after another**, ...’

• Combinations of the numeral “一” (‘one’) with reduplicated quantifier can be used without 的. For example:

(1.4) ...决定抓住一个个机会, 让自己辉煌起来。

‘...decided to seize **every single** opportunity to boost himself in success.’

The same type of attribute can also be used with 的 when the descriptive meaning is **emphasized**:

(1.5) 感觉自己把一个个的机会都丢失了。

‘I feel that I’ve lost **every single** opportunity (**one by one**).’

2. Nouns and personal pronouns as modifiers

A) Possessive attributes, composed of nouns and personal pronouns in single construction with the head noun are linked with 的, as a rule.

(1.6) 爸爸的自行车坏了。‘Dad’s bike is broken.’

(1.7) 你快松开我的耳朵,... ‘Come on, let go of my ear, ...’

B) However, in more complex syntactic constructions such attributes may appear without 的 as a linking particle, which is usually moved to the position before the head noun. For example:

(1.8) 以前, 如果是听到了爸爸自行车的声音,...

‘In the past, if he heard the sound of his **dad’s bike**,...’

(1.9) 张桂芬松开丈夫耳朵那一瞬间使劲儿捏了一下

‘In the moment Zhang Guifen released her **husband’s ear**, she pinched it hard.’

C) Attributes that do not express a temporary feature, such as possession, but an absolute or typologically distinctive feature, such as origin, profession or sphere to which a person or a thing belongs etc., are usually not marked, or sometimes cannot be linked with 的.

节气活儿 ‘seasonal work’; 玉米面糊糊 ‘cornflour porridge’;

中国文学 ‘Chinese history’; 数学老师 ‘maths teacher’, etc.

Such attributes usually have a generalized meaning of a certain class of objects or people. They denote more or less sustainable expressions, close to complex words, e.g. 雨点 ‘raindrops’.

D) In the case when a quality of a definite noun is expressed, or the quality is descriptive, but not generalized, then in contrast the attribute is linked with 的. Compare (Zhu Dexi 1984):

(1.10) 他有点孩子脾气。‘He has a bit of a child’s temper.’

(1.11) 孩子的脾气不好。‘The child’s temper is bad.’

3. Adjectives as modifiers

A) Monosyllabic adjectives serve as attributes standardly without 的, especially when modifying monosyllabic nouns. For example:

高山 ‘high mountain’; 绿草 ‘green grass’;

小精灵 ‘small wizard’; 小事 ‘small matter’, etc.

B) In certain cases, monosyllabic adjectives can also attach 的 to express a definite quality or to clarify the reference of the head noun. Compare:

圆桌子 ‘round table’ ↔ 圆的桌子 ‘a table that is round’

C) Disyllabic adjectives usually attach 的 in attributive position. For example:

宽大的办公室 ‘spacious office’; 美好的前程 ‘wonderful future’;

谦虚的人 ‘modest person’; 生气的生音 ‘angry voice’, etc.

D) As a common principle which refers also to nouns, disyllabic adjectives can be used without the particle 的 when they denote typical features or qualities of certain classes of things that form a sustainable category. For example:

(1.12) 可是贺明的父母都是普通百姓,...

‘But He Ming’s parents were both **ordinary people**, ...’

E) **Adjectives of complex structure** that express evaluated quality, including reduplicated forms, combinations with adverbs or other additional elements are **always used with 的 as attributives**.

金黄的圆月 ‘a gold-yellow moon’; 小小的礼物 ‘a very small present’

很好的人 ‘a very good man’; 最高的地方 ‘the highest place’, etc.

4. Verbs and verbal constructions as modifiers to the noun

A) All types of **verbs and verbal constructions** can serve as modifiers to the noun **only with the appearance of 的**.

The usage of the particle in such cases is crucial to distinguish the attributive function as opposed to the predicative one as the position of the main components of the construction is identical and 的 is the only marker to distinguish their relations. Compare:

(1.13) 她骑自行车。‘She rides a bike.’

(1.14) 她骑的自行车。‘The bike that she rides.’

B) Whole predicative constructions can be used as modifiers to the noun, functioning as subordinate attributive sentence, linked to the head noun with 的.

(1.15) 张桂芬笑着丈夫, 还沉浸在儿子营造出来的摘果子的喜悦里。

‘Zhang Guifen was laughing and looking at her husband, still immersing in **the joy of picking up fruits that her son had created**.’

5. Combinations of different types of attributes

A) Complex attributes are always connected with 的 as modifiers to the noun. In some multiple-structured attributes the particle may appear more than once.

The basic variants of the word order of attributes are as follows:

Possessive attr./Bearer of action/Location/Source + 的 + Demonstrative/Quantitative attr. + Classifier + Qualitative attr.

For example:

(1.16) 公司的这些重要资料 ‘these important materials of the company’

(1.17) 天安门南面的那两个建筑 ‘those two buildings to the south of Tiananmen’

B) In case of a series of qualitative attributes, the position of 的 (if there is any) is usually before the head noun or before the preceding attribute(s), closely linked to the head noun, forming with it a more stable category.

(1.18) 一身破旧花格子衣服的张晓敏

‘Zhang Xiaomin, all dressed in old coloured checkered clothes’

(1.19) 很不入流的旧的确良格子衬衫

‘very out of fashion and worn out dacron plaid shirt’

C) Attributes containing predicate phrases follow the natural order of the embedded sentence, and is always marked with 的, which nominalizes the VP.

(1.20) ...于是又把小学课本里的描述果子的文章说了一遍。

‘... and then he retold the article **describing fruits in the primary school textbook**.’

6. Prosody and rhythmic conditions that influence the appearance of 的

The basic rhythmic structure in Modern Chinese mainly consists of binomical (two or four syllable) units. The usage of 的 also follows the rule in certain cases. For example, monosyllabic adjectives are usually used with monosyllabic nouns without 的, while disyllabic adjectives combine with monosyllabic nouns only with the particle 的. (Feng 2009: 175)

Conclusions:

The principles of usage of the particle 的 are subject to multi-level influence of semantic, morphologic, syntactic and prosodic factors.

The basic factor for the usage of 的 is the semantic type of the attribute, mainly presented by quantitative, demonstrative, associative, possessive, descriptive of quality or action, and some other meanings.

On morphological level, monosyllabic and disyllabic adjectives have different connectivity with the head noun and display different rules of attaching 的 according to their morphological structure.

The morpho-syntactical connectivity is also associated with the basic rhythmic structure of Modern Chinese. The predominant binominal (two or four syllables) structure of the phrase tends to remain intact with the appearance of 的.

On syntactic level, we observe a considerable influence on the usage and the position of 的, as the principles of implying 的 in single attributes are subject to change within more complex modifiers.

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Alphabetic Writing Systems of Semitic Origin along the Silk Road (from the Balkans to China)

Mario Appen

Abstract

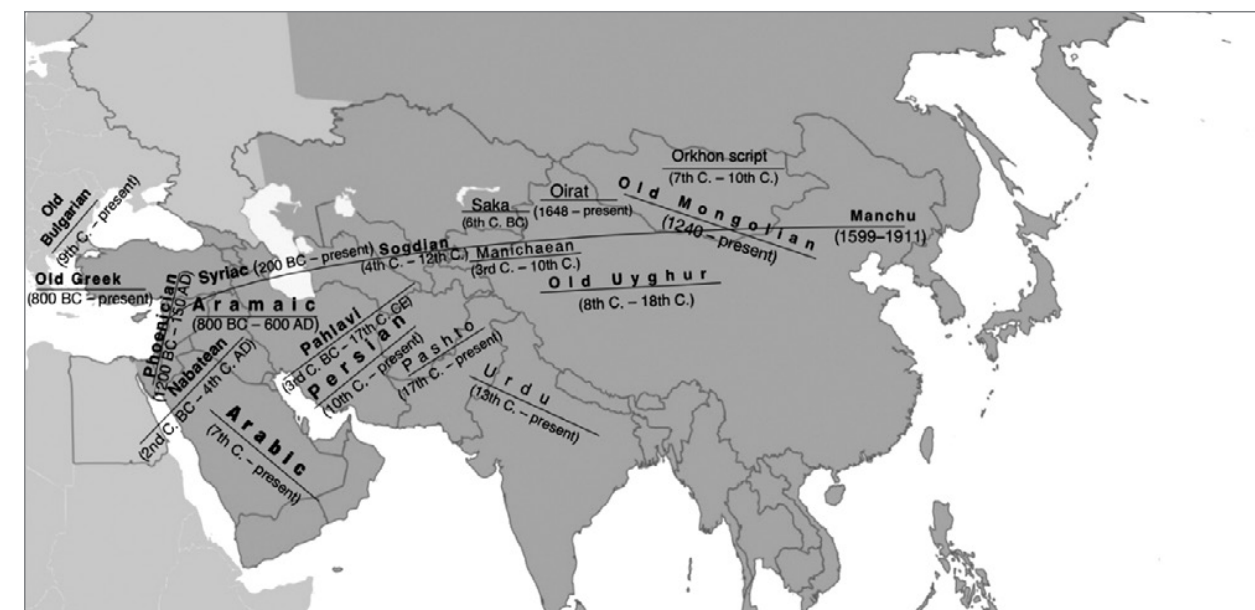
The purpose of this paper is to give a preview of the major types of alphabetic writing systems of Semitic origin, developed and used for almost 3,000 years along the Silk Road – from the Balkans to China, with a focus on Perso-Arabic script.

The article aims to only outline the distribution of Semitic alphabetic writing systems across time and space along the Great Silk Road. Due to the limitations imposed by the format, the issues of origin, peculiarities and development of the writing systems mentioned are not a subject of this article.

All illustrations used are Public Domain, the two maps being drawn by the author himself.

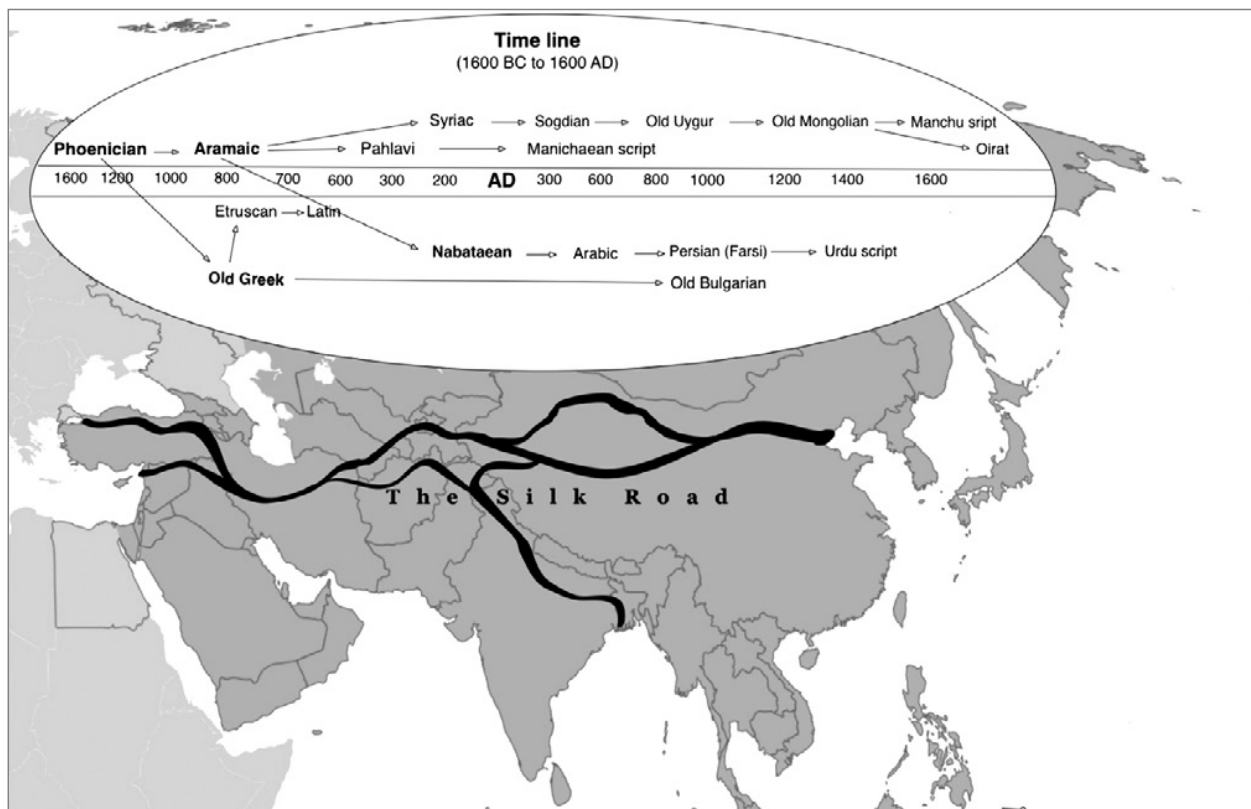
Keywords: Silk Road, Semitic writing systems, Phoenician alphabet, Aramaic script

The Phoenician alphabet, invented at the end of the 2nd millennium BC, lies at the heart of the most popular modern alphabetic writing systems, which can be divided into two large groups, depending on their location on the world map along the Silk Road:



Map 1: Geographic extend of the alphabetic Semitic writing systems along the Silk Road

1) Western: Greek (more than 10 million users – Greece and Cyprus), Latin (ca. 2,500 billion users – Europe, North and South America, Africa south of Sahara, Indonesia, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand), and Cyrillic writing systems (more than 200 million users – in Europe: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia, Monte Negro; in Asia: Mongolia, Kazakhstan – until year 2025, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan); In Serbia there are two official alphabets: Cyrillic and Latin.



Map 2: Timeline

2) Eastern: Arabic (Arabic countries – more than 300 million), Persian-Dari (Iran and Afghanistan – more than 80 million), Pashto (Afghanistan and Pakistan – more than 40 million), Urdu (Pakistan and India – more than 100 million), Uyghur (China), Old Mongolian (China), Manchu (China), Hebrew, Syrian, and Aramaic writing systems.

WEST BRANCH:

Phoenician script:

𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	𐤟	𐤠	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣	𐤤	𐤥	𐤦	𐤧	𐤨	𐤩	𐤪	𐤫	𐤬	𐤭	𐤮	𐤯	𐤰	𐤱	𐤲	𐤳	𐤴	𐤵	𐤶	𐤷	𐤸	𐤹	𐤺	𐤻	𐤼	𐤽	𐤾	𐤿	𐥀	𐥁	𐥂	𐥃	𐥄	𐥅	𐥆	𐥇	𐥈	𐥉	𐥊	𐥋	𐥌	𐥍	𐥎	𐥏	𐥐	𐥑	𐥒	𐥓	𐥔	𐥕	𐥖	𐥗	𐥘	𐥙	𐥚	𐥛	𐥜	𐥝	𐥞	𐥟	𐥠	𐥡	𐥢	𐥣	𐥤	𐥥	𐥦	𐥧	𐥨	𐥩	𐥪	𐥫	𐥬	𐥭	𐥮	𐥯	𐥰	𐥱	𐥲	𐥳	𐥴	𐥵	𐥶	𐥷	𐥸	𐥹	𐥺	𐥻	𐥼	𐥽	𐥾	𐥿	𐦀	𐦁	𐦂	𐦃	𐦄	𐦅	𐦆	𐦇	𐦈	𐦉	𐦊	𐦋	𐦌	𐦍	𐦎	𐦏	𐦐	𐦑	𐦒	𐦓	𐦔	𐦕	𐦖	𐦗	𐦘	𐦙	𐦚	𐦛	𐦜	𐦝	𐦞	𐦟	𐦠	𐦡	𐦢	𐦣	𐦤	𐦥	𐦦	𐦧	𐦨	𐦩	𐦪	𐦫	𐦬	𐦭	𐦮	𐦯	𐦰	𐦱	𐦲	𐦳	𐦴	𐦵	𐦶	𐦷	𐦸	𐦹	𐦺	𐦻	𐦼	𐦽	𐦾	𐦿	𐧀	𐧁	𐧂	𐧃	𐧄	𐧅	𐧆	𐧇	𐧈	𐧉	𐧊	𐧋	𐧌	𐧍	𐧎	𐧏	𐧐	𐧑	𐧒	𐧓	𐧔	𐧕	𐧖	𐧗	𐧘	𐧙	𐧚	𐧛	𐧜	𐧝	𐧞	𐧟	𐧠	𐧡	𐧢	𐧣	𐧤	𐧥	𐧦	𐧧	𐧨	𐧩	𐧪	𐧫	𐧬	𐧭	𐧮	𐧯	𐧰	𐧱	𐧲	𐧳	𐧴	𐧵	𐧶	𐧷	𐧸	𐧹	𐧺	𐧻	𐧼	𐧽	𐧾	𐧿	𐨀	𐨁	𐨂	𐨃	𐨄	𐨅	𐨆	𐨇	𐨈	𐨉	𐨊	𐨋	𐨌	𐨍	𐨎	𐨏	𐨐	𐨑	𐨒	𐨓	𐨔	𐨕	𐨖	𐨗	𐨘	𐨙	𐨚	𐨛	𐨜	𐨝	𐨞	𐨟	𐨠	𐨡	𐨢	𐨣	𐨤	𐨥	𐨦	𐨧	𐨨	𐨩	𐨪	𐨫	𐨬	𐨭	𐨮	𐨯	𐨰	𐨱	𐨲	𐨳	𐨴	𐨵	𐨶	𐨷	𐨸	𐨹	𐨺	𐨻	𐨼	𐨽	𐨾	𐨿	𐩀	𐩁	𐩂	𐩃	𐩄	𐩅	𐩆	𐩇	𐩈	𐩉	𐩊	𐩋	𐩌	𐩍	𐩎	𐩏	𐩐	𐩑	𐩒	𐩓	𐩔	𐩕	𐩖	𐩗	𐩘	𐩙	𐩚	𐩛	𐩜	𐩝	𐩞	𐩟	𐩠	𐩡	𐩢	𐩣	𐩤	𐩥	𐩦	𐩧	𐩨	𐩩	𐩪	𐩫	𐩬	𐩭	𐩮	𐩯	𐩰	𐩱	𐩲	𐩳	𐩴	𐩵	𐩶	𐩷	𐩸	𐩹	𐩺	𐩻	𐩼	𐩽	𐩾	𐩿	𐪀	𐪁	𐪂	𐪃	𐪄	𐪅	𐪆	𐪇	𐪈	𐪉	𐪊	𐪋	𐪌	𐪍	𐪎	𐪏	𐪐	𐪑	𐪒	𐪓	𐪔	𐪕	𐪖	𐪗	𐪘	𐪙	𐪚	𐪛	𐪜	𐪝	𐪞	𐪟	𐪠	𐪡	𐪢	𐪣	𐪤	𐪥	𐪦	𐪧	𐪨	𐪩	𐪪	𐪫	𐪬	𐪭	𐪮	𐪯	𐪰	𐪱	𐪲	𐪳	𐪴	𐪵	𐪶	𐪷	𐪸	𐪹	𐪺	𐪻	𐪼	𐪽	𐪾	𐪿	𐫀	𐫁	𐫂	𐫃	𐫄	𐫅	𐫆	𐫇	𐫈	𐫉	𐫊	𐫋	𐫌	𐫍	𐫎	𐫏	𐫐	𐫑	𐫒	𐫓	𐫔	𐫕	𐫖	𐫗	𐫘	𐫙	𐫚	𐫛	𐫜	𐫝	𐫞	𐫟	𐫠	𐫡	𐫢	𐫣	𐫤	𐫥	𐫦	𐫧	𐫨	𐫩	𐫪	𐫫	𐫬	𐫭	𐫮	𐫯	𐫰	𐫱	𐫲	𐫳	𐫴	𐫵	𐫶	𐫷	𐫸	𐫹	𐫺	𐫻	𐫼	𐫽	𐫾	𐫿	𐬀	𐬁	𐬂	𐬃	𐬄	𐬅	𐬆	𐬇	𐬈	𐬉	𐬊	𐬋	𐬌	𐬍	𐬎	𐬏	𐬐	𐬑	𐬒	𐬓	𐬔	𐬕	𐬖	𐬗	𐬘	𐬙	𐬚	𐬛	𐬜	𐬝	𐬞	𐬟	𐬠	𐬡	𐬢	𐬣	𐬤	𐬥	𐬦	𐬧	𐬨	𐬩	𐬪	𐬫	𐬬	𐬭	𐬮	𐬯	𐬰	𐬱	𐬲	𐬳	𐬴	𐬵	𐬶	𐬷	𐬸	𐬹	𐬺	𐬻	𐬼	𐬽	𐬾	𐬿	𐭀	𐭁	𐭂	𐭃	𐭄	𐭅	𐭆	𐭇	𐭈	𐭉	𐭊	𐭋	𐭌	𐭍	𐭎	𐭏	𐭐	𐭑	𐭒	𐭓	𐭔	𐭕	𐭖	𐭗	𐭘	𐭙	𐭚	𐭛	𐭜	𐭝	𐭞	𐭟	𐭠	𐭡	𐭢	𐭣	𐭤	𐭥	𐭦	𐭧	𐭨	𐭩	𐭪	𐭫	𐭬	𐭭	𐭮	𐭯	𐭰	𐭱	𐭲	𐭳	𐭴	𐭵	𐭶	𐭷	𐭸	𐭹	𐭺	𐭻	𐭼	𐭽	𐭾	𐭿	𐮀	𐮁	𐮂	𐮃	𐮄	𐮅	𐮆	𐮇	𐮈	𐮉	𐮊	𐮋	𐮌	𐮍	𐮎	𐮏	𐮐	𐮑	𐮒	𐮓	𐮔	𐮕	𐮖	𐮗	𐮘	𐮙	𐮚	𐮛	𐮜	𐮝	𐮞	𐮟	𐮠	𐮡	𐮢	𐮣	𐮤	𐮥	𐮦	𐮧	𐮨	𐮩	𐮪	𐮫	𐮬	𐮭	𐮮	𐮯	𐮰	𐮱	𐮲	𐮳	𐮴	𐮵	𐮶	𐮷	𐮸	𐮹	𐮺	𐮻	𐮼	𐮽	𐮾	𐮿	𐯀	𐯁	𐯂	𐯃	𐯄	𐯅	𐯆	𐯇	𐯈	𐯉	𐯊	𐯋	𐯌	𐯍	𐯎	𐯏	𐯐	𐯑	𐯒	𐯓	𐯔	𐯕	𐯖	𐯗	𐯘	𐯙	𐯚	𐯛	𐯜	𐯝	𐯞	𐯟	𐯠	𐯡	𐯢	𐯣	𐯤	𐯥	𐯦	𐯧	𐯨	𐯩	𐯪	𐯫	𐯬	𐯭	𐯮	𐯯	𐯰	𐯱	𐯲	𐯳	𐯴	𐯵	𐯶	𐯷	𐯸	𐯹	𐯺	𐯻	𐯼	𐯽	𐯾	𐯿	𐰀	𐰁	𐰂	𐰃	𐰄	𐰅	𐰆	𐰇	𐰈	𐰉	𐰊	𐰋	𐰌	𐰍	𐰎	𐰏	𐰐	𐰑	𐰒	𐰓	𐰔	𐰕	𐰖	𐰗	𐰘	𐰙	𐰚	𐰛	𐰜	𐰝	𐰞	𐰟	𐰠	𐰡	𐰢	𐰣	𐰤	𐰥	𐰦	𐰧	𐰨	𐰩	𐰪	𐰫	𐰬	𐰭	𐰮	𐰯	𐰰	𐰱	𐰲	𐰳	𐰴	𐰵	𐰶	𐰷	𐰸	𐰹	𐰺	𐰻	𐰼	𐰽	𐰾	𐰿	𐱀	𐱁	𐱂	𐱃	𐱄	𐱅	𐱆	𐱇	𐱈	𐱉	𐱊	𐱋	𐱌	𐱍	𐱎	𐱏	𐱐	𐱑	𐱒	𐱓	𐱔	𐱕	𐱖	𐱗	𐱘	𐱙	𐱚	𐱛	𐱜	𐱝	𐱞	𐱟	𐱠	𐱡	𐱢	𐱣	𐱤	𐱥	𐱦	𐱧	𐱨	𐱩	𐱪	𐱫	𐱬	𐱭	𐱮	𐱯	𐱰	𐱱	𐱲	𐱳	𐱴	𐱵	𐱶	𐱷	𐱸	𐱹	𐱺	𐱻	𐱼	𐱽	𐱾	𐱿	𐲀	𐲁	𐲂	𐲃	𐲄	𐲅	𐲆	𐲇	𐲈	𐲉	𐲊	𐲋	𐲌	𐲍	𐲎	𐲏	𐲐	𐲑	𐲒	𐲓	𐲔	𐲕	𐲖	𐲗	𐲘	𐲙	𐲚	𐲛	𐲜	𐲝	𐲞	𐲟	𐲠	𐲡	𐲢	𐲣	𐲤	𐲥	𐲦	𐲧	𐲨	𐲩	𐲪	𐲫	𐲬	𐲭	𐲮	𐲯	𐲰	𐲱	𐲲	𐲳	𐲴	𐲵	𐲶	𐲷	𐲸	𐲹	𐲺	𐲻	𐲼	𐲽	𐲾	𐲿	𐳀	𐳁	𐳂	𐳃	𐳄	𐳅	𐳆	𐳇	𐳈	𐳉	𐳊	𐳋	𐳌	𐳍	𐳎	𐳏	𐳐	𐳑	𐳒	𐳓	𐳔	𐳕	𐳖	𐳗	𐳘	𐳙	𐳚	𐳛	𐳜	𐳝	𐳞	𐳟	𐳠	𐳡	𐳢	𐳣	𐳤	𐳥	𐳦	𐳧	𐳨	𐳩	𐳪	𐳫	𐳬	𐳭	𐳮	𐳯	𐳰	𐳱	𐳲	𐳳	𐳴	𐳵	𐳶	𐳷	𐳸	𐳹	𐳺	𐳻	𐳼	𐳽	𐳾	𐳿	𐴀	𐴁	𐴂	𐴃	𐴄	𐴅	𐴆	𐴇	𐴈	𐴉	𐴊	𐴋	𐴌	𐴍	𐴎	𐴏	𐴐	𐴑	𐴒	𐴓	𐴔	𐴕	𐴖	𐴗	𐴘	𐴙	𐴚	𐴛	𐴜	𐴝	𐴞	𐴟	𐴠	𐴡	𐴢	𐴣	𐴤	𐴥	𐴦	𐴧	𐴨	𐴩	𐴪	𐴫	𐴬	𐴭	𐴮	𐴯	𐴰	𐴱	𐴲	𐴳	𐴴	𐴵	𐴶	𐴷	𐴸	𐴹	𐴺	𐴻	𐴼	𐴽	𐴾	𐴿	𐵀	𐵁	𐵂	𐵃	𐵄	𐵅	𐵆	𐵇	𐵈	𐵉	𐵊	𐵋	𐵌	𐵍	𐵎	𐵏	𐵐	𐵑	𐵒	𐵓	𐵔	𐵕	𐵖	𐵗	𐵘	𐵙	𐵚	𐵛	𐵜	𐵝	𐵞	𐵟	𐵠	𐵡	𐵢	𐵣	𐵤	𐵥	𐵦	𐵧	𐵨	𐵩	𐵪	𐵫	𐵬	𐵭	𐵮	𐵯	𐵰	𐵱	𐵲	𐵳	𐵴	𐵵	𐵶	𐵷	𐵸	𐵹	𐵺	𐵻	𐵼	𐵽	𐵾	𐵿	𐶀	𐶁	𐶂	𐶃	𐶄	𐶅	𐶆	𐶇	𐶈	𐶉	𐶊	𐶋	𐶌	𐶍	𐶎	𐶏	𐶐	𐶑	𐶒	𐶓	𐶔	𐶕	𐶖	𐶗	𐶘	𐶙	𐶚	𐶛	𐶜	𐶝	𐶞	𐶟	𐶠	𐶡	𐶢	𐶣	𐶤	𐶥	𐶦	𐶧	𐶨	𐶩	𐶪	𐶫	𐶬	𐶭	𐶮	𐶯	𐶰	𐶱	𐶲	𐶳	𐶴	𐶵	𐶶	𐶷	𐶸	𐶹	𐶺	𐶻	𐶼	𐶽	𐶾	𐶿	𐷀	𐷁	𐷂	𐷃	𐷄	𐷅	𐷆	𐷇	𐷈	𐷉	𐷊	𐷋	𐷌	𐷍	𐷎	𐷏	𐷐	𐷑	𐷒	𐷓	𐷔	𐷕	𐷖	𐷗	𐷘	𐷙	𐷚	𐷛	𐷜	𐷝	𐷞	𐷟	𐷠	𐷡	𐷢	𐷣	𐷤	𐷥	𐷦	𐷧	𐷨	𐷩	𐷪	𐷫	𐷬	𐷭	𐷮	𐷯	𐷰	𐷱	𐷲	𐷳	𐷴	𐷵	𐷶	𐷷	𐷸	𐷹	𐷺	𐷻	𐷼	𐷽	𐷾	𐷿	𐸀	𐸁	𐸂	𐸃	𐸄	𐸅	𐸆	𐸇	𐸈	𐸉	𐸊	𐸋	𐸌	𐸍	𐸎	𐸏	𐸐	𐸑	𐸒	𐸓	𐸔	𐸕	𐸖	𐸗	𐸘	𐸙	𐸚	𐸛	𐸜	𐸝	𐸞	𐸟	𐸠	𐸡	𐸢	𐸣	𐸤	𐸥	𐸦	𐸧	𐸨	𐸩	𐸪	𐸫	𐸬	𐸭	𐸮	𐸯	𐸰	𐸱	𐸲	𐸳	𐸴	𐸵	𐸶	𐸷	𐸸	𐸹	𐸺	𐸻	𐸼	𐸽	𐸾	𐸿	𐹀	𐹁	𐹂	𐹃	𐹄	𐹅	𐹆	𐹇	𐹈	𐹉	𐹊	𐹋	𐹌	𐹍	𐹎	𐹏	𐹐	𐹑	𐹒	𐹓	𐹔	𐹕	𐹖	𐹗	𐹘
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Persian (Dari, Parsi, Farsi) script:

فارسی

دیر نشده تو هم بیا
شهر ما شهر عاشقاست

Pashto script:

پښتو

Tajik Cyrillic script:

Тоҷикӣ

تاجیکی

Urdu script:

اُردو

Manichaeen (3rd to 10th century):

𐭠	𐭡	𐭢	𐭣	𐭤	𐭥	𐭦	𐭧	𐭨	𐭩	𐭪	𐭫	𐭬	𐭭	𐭮	𐭯	𐭰	𐭱	𐭲	𐭳	𐭴	𐭵	𐭶	𐭷	𐭸	𐭹	𐭺	𐭻	𐭼	𐭽	𐭾	𐭿	𐮀	𐮁	𐮂	𐮃	𐮄	𐮅	𐮆	𐮇	𐮈	𐮉	𐮊	𐮋	𐮌	𐮍	𐮎	𐮏	𐮐	𐮑	𐮒	𐮓	𐮔	𐮕	𐮖	𐮗	𐮘	𐮙	𐮚	𐮛	𐮜	𐮝	𐮞	𐮟	𐮠	𐮡	𐮢	𐮣	𐮤	𐮥	𐮦	𐮧	𐮨	𐮩	𐮪	𐮫	𐮬	𐮭	𐮮	𐮯	𐮰	𐮱	𐮲	𐮳	𐮴	𐮵	𐮶	𐮷	𐮸	𐮹	𐮺	𐮻	𐮼	𐮽	𐮾	𐮿	𐯀	𐯁	𐯂	𐯃	𐯄	𐯅	𐯆	𐯇	𐯈	𐯉	𐯊	𐯋	𐯌	𐯍	𐯎	𐯏	𐯐	𐯑	𐯒	𐯓	𐯔	𐯕	𐯖	𐯗	𐯘	𐯙	𐯚	𐯛	𐯜	𐯝	𐯞	𐯟	𐯠	𐯡	𐯢	𐯣	𐯤	𐯥	𐯦	𐯧	𐯨	𐯩	𐯪	𐯫	𐯬	𐯭	𐯮	𐯯	𐯰	𐯱	𐯲	𐯳	𐯴	𐯵	𐯶	𐯷	𐯸	𐯹	𐯺	𐯻	𐯼	𐯽	𐯾	𐯿	𐰀	𐰁	𐰂	𐰃	𐰄	𐰅	𐰆	𐰇	𐰈	𐰉	𐰊	𐰋	𐰌	𐰍	𐰎	𐰏	𐰐	𐰑	𐰒	𐰓	𐰔	𐰕	𐰖	𐰗	𐰘	𐰙	𐰚	𐰛	𐰜	𐰝	𐰞	𐰟	𐰠	𐰡	𐰢	𐰣	𐰤	𐰥	𐰦	𐰧	𐰨	𐰩	𐰪	𐰫	𐰬	𐰭	𐰮	𐰯	𐰰	𐰱	𐰲	𐰳	𐰴	𐰵	𐰶	𐰷	𐰸	𐰹	𐰺	𐰻	𐰼	𐰽	𐰾	𐰿	𐱀	𐱁	𐱂	𐱃	𐱄	𐱅	𐱆	𐱇	𐱈	𐱉	𐱊	𐱋	𐱌	𐱍	𐱎	𐱏	𐱐	𐱑	𐱒	𐱓	𐱔	𐱕	𐱖	𐱗	𐱘	𐱙	𐱚	𐱛	𐱜	𐱝	𐱞	𐱟	𐱠	𐱡	𐱢	𐱣	𐱤	𐱥	𐱦	𐱧	𐱨	𐱩	𐱪	𐱫	𐱬	𐱭	𐱮	𐱯	𐱰	𐱱	𐱲	𐱳	𐱴	𐱵	𐱶	𐱷	𐱸	𐱹	𐱺	𐱻	𐱼	𐱽	𐱾	𐱿	𐲀	𐲁	𐲂	𐲃	𐲄	𐲅	𐲆	𐲇	𐲈	𐲉	𐲊	𐲋	𐲌	𐲍	𐲎	𐲏	𐲐	𐲑	𐲒	𐲓	𐲔	𐲕	𐲖	𐲗	𐲘	𐲙	𐲚	𐲛	𐲜	𐲝	𐲞	𐲟	𐲠	𐲡	𐲢	𐲣	𐲤	𐲥	𐲦	𐲧	𐲨	𐲩	𐲪	𐲫	𐲬	𐲭	𐲮	𐲯	𐲰	𐲱	𐲲	𐲳	𐲴	𐲵	𐲶	𐲷	𐲸	𐲹	𐲺	𐲻	𐲼	𐲽	𐲾	𐲿	𐳀	𐳁	𐳂	𐳃	𐳄	𐳅	𐳆	𐳇	𐳈	𐳉	𐳊	𐳋	𐳌	𐳍	𐳎	𐳏	𐳐	𐳑	𐳒	𐳓	𐳔	𐳕	𐳖	𐳗	𐳘	𐳙	𐳚	𐳛	𐳜	𐳝	𐳞	𐳟	𐳠	𐳡	𐳢	𐳣	𐳤	𐳥	𐳦	𐳧	𐳨	𐳩	𐳪	𐳫	𐳬	𐳭	𐳮	𐳯	𐳰	𐳱	𐳲	𐳳	𐳴	𐳵	𐳶	𐳷	𐳸	𐳹	𐳺	𐳻	𐳼	𐳽	𐳾	𐳿	𐴀	𐴁	𐴂	𐴃	𐴄	𐴅	𐴆	𐴇	𐴈	𐴉	𐴊	𐴋	𐴌	𐴍	𐴎	𐴏	𐴐	𐴑	𐴒	𐴓	𐴔	𐴕	𐴖	𐴗	𐴘	𐴙	𐴚	𐴛	𐴜	𐴝	𐴞	𐴟	𐴠	𐴡	𐴢	𐴣	𐴤	𐴥	𐴦	𐴧	𐴨	𐴩	𐴪	𐴫	𐴬	𐴭	𐴮	𐴯	𐴰	𐴱	𐴲	𐴳	𐴴	𐴵	𐴶	𐴷	𐴸	𐴹	𐴺	𐴻	𐴼	𐴽	𐴾	𐴿	𐵀	𐵁	𐵂	𐵃	𐵄	𐵅	𐵆	𐵇	𐵈	𐵉	𐵊	𐵋	𐵌	𐵍	𐵎	𐵏	𐵐	𐵑	𐵒	𐵓	𐵔	𐵕	𐵖	𐵗	𐵘	𐵙	𐵚	𐵛	𐵜	𐵝	𐵞	𐵟	𐵠	𐵡	𐵢	𐵣	𐵤	𐵥	𐵦	𐵧	𐵨	𐵩	𐵪	𐵫	𐵬	𐵭	𐵮	𐵯	𐵰	𐵱	𐵲	𐵳	𐵴	𐵵	𐵶	𐵷	𐵸	𐵹	𐵺	𐵻	𐵼	𐵽	𐵾	𐵿	𐶀	𐶁	𐶂	𐶃	𐶄	𐶅	𐶆	𐶇	𐶈	𐶉	𐶊	𐶋	𐶌	𐶍	𐶎	𐶏	𐶐	𐶑	𐶒	𐶓	𐶔	𐶕	𐶖	𐶗	𐶘	𐶙	𐶚	𐶛	𐶜	𐶝	𐶞	𐶟	𐶠	𐶡	𐶢	𐶣	𐶤	𐶥	𐶦	𐶧	𐶨	𐶩	𐶪	𐶫	𐶬	𐶭	𐶮	𐶯	𐶰	𐶱	𐶲	𐶳	𐶴	𐶵	𐶶	𐶷	𐶸	𐶹	𐶺	𐶻	𐶼	𐶽	𐶾	𐶿	𐷀	𐷁	𐷂	𐷃	𐷄	𐷅	𐷆	𐷇	𐷈	𐷉	𐷊	𐷋	𐷌	𐷍	𐷎	𐷏	𐷐	𐷑	𐷒	𐷓	𐷔	𐷕	𐷖	𐷗	𐷘	𐷙	𐷚	𐷛	𐷜	𐷝	𐷞	𐷟	𐷠	𐷡	𐷢	𐷣	𐷤	𐷥	𐷦	𐷧	𐷨	𐷩	𐷪	𐷫	𐷬	𐷭	𐷮	𐷯	𐷰	𐷱	𐷲	𐷳	𐷴	𐷵	𐷶	𐷷	𐷸	𐷹	𐷺	𐷻	𐷼	𐷽	𐷾	𐷿	𐸀	𐸁	𐸂	𐸃	𐸄	𐸅	𐸆	𐸇	𐸈	𐸉	𐸊	𐸋	𐸌	𐸍	𐸎	𐸏	𐸐	𐸑	𐸒	𐸓	𐸔	𐸕	𐸖	𐸗	𐸘	𐸙	𐸚	𐸛	𐸜	𐸝	𐸞	𐸟	𐸠	𐸡	𐸢	𐸣	𐸤	𐸥	𐸦	𐸧	𐸨	𐸩	𐸪	𐸫	𐸬	𐸭	𐸮	𐸯	𐸰	𐸱	𐸲	𐸳	𐸴	𐸵	𐸶	𐸷	𐸸	𐸹	𐸺	𐸻	𐸼	𐸽	𐸾	𐸿	𐹀	𐹁	𐹂	𐹃	𐹄	𐹅	𐹆	𐹇	𐹈	𐹉	𐹊	𐹋	𐹌	𐹍	𐹎	𐹏	𐹐	𐹑	𐹒	𐹓	𐹔	𐹕	𐹖	𐹗	𐹘	𐹙	𐹚	𐹛	𐹜	𐹝	𐹞	𐹟	𐹠	𐹡	𐹢	𐹣	𐹤	𐹥	𐹦	𐹧	𐹨	𐹩	𐹪	𐹫	𐹬	𐹭	𐹮	𐹯	𐹰	𐹱	𐹲	𐹳	𐹴	𐹵	𐹶	𐹷	𐹸	𐹹	𐹺	𐹻	𐹼	𐹽	𐹾	𐹿	𐺀	𐺁	𐺂	𐺃	𐺄	𐺅	𐺆	𐺇	𐺈	𐺉	𐺊	𐺋	𐺌	𐺍	𐺎	𐺏	𐺐	𐺑	𐺒	𐺓	𐺔	𐺕	𐺖	𐺗	𐺘	𐺙	𐺚	𐺛	𐺜	𐺝	𐺞	𐺟	𐺠	𐺡	𐺢	𐺣	𐺤	𐺥	𐺦	𐺧	𐺨	𐺩	𐺪	𐺫	𐺬	𐺭	𐺮	𐺯	𐺰	𐺱	𐺲	𐺳	𐺴	𐺵	𐺶	𐺷	𐺸	𐺹	𐺺	𐺻	𐺼	𐺽	𐺾	𐺿	𐻀	𐻁	𐻂	𐻃	𐻄	𐻅	𐻆	𐻇	𐻈	𐻉	𐻊	𐻋	𐻌	𐻍	𐻎	𐻏	𐻐	𐻑	𐻒	𐻓	𐻔	𐻕	𐻖	𐻗	𐻘	𐻙	𐻚	𐻛	𐻜	𐻝	𐻞	𐻟	𐻠	𐻡	𐻢	𐻣	𐻤	𐻥	𐻦	𐻧	𐻨	𐻩	𐻪	𐻫	𐻬	𐻭	𐻮	𐻯	𐻰	𐻱	𐻲	𐻳	𐻴	𐻵	𐻶	𐻷	𐻸	𐻹	𐻺	𐻻	𐻼	𐻽	𐻾	𐻿	𐼀	𐼁	𐼂	𐼃	𐼄	𐼅	𐼆	𐼇	𐼈	𐼉	𐼊	𐼋	𐼌	𐼍	𐼎	𐼏	𐼐	𐼑	𐼒	𐼓	𐼔	𐼕	𐼖	𐼗	𐼘	𐼙	𐼚	𐼛	𐼜	𐼝	𐼞	𐼟	𐼠	𐼡	𐼢	𐼣	𐼤	𐼥	𐼦	𐼧	𐼨	𐼩	𐼪	𐼫	𐼬	𐼭	𐼮	𐼯	𐼰	𐼱	𐼲	𐼳	𐼴	𐼵	𐼶	𐼷	𐼸	𐼹	𐼺	𐼻	𐼼	𐼽	𐼾	𐼿	𐽀	𐽁	𐽂	𐽃	𐽄	𐽅	𐽆	𐽇	𐽈	𐽉	𐽊	𐽋	𐽌	𐽍	𐽎	𐽏	𐽐	𐽑	𐽒	𐽓	𐽔	𐽕	𐽖	𐽗	𐽘	𐽙	𐽚	𐽛	𐽜	𐽝	𐽞	𐽟	𐽠	𐽡	𐽢	𐽣	𐽤	𐽥	𐽦	𐽧	𐽨	𐽩	𐽪	𐽫	𐽬	𐽭	𐽮	𐽯	𐽰	𐽱	𐽲	𐽳	𐽴	𐽵	𐽶	𐽷	𐽸	𐽹	𐽺	𐽻	𐽼	𐽽	𐽾	𐽿	𐾀	𐾁	𐾂	𐾃	𐾄	𐾅	𐾆	𐾇	𐾈	𐾉	𐾊	𐾋	𐾌	𐾍	𐾎	𐾏	𐾐	𐾑	𐾒	𐾓	𐾔	𐾕	𐾖	𐾗	𐾘	𐾙	𐾚	𐾛	𐾜	𐾝	𐾞	𐾟	𐾠	𐾡	𐾢	𐾣	𐾤	𐾥	𐾦	𐾧	𐾨	𐾩	𐾪	𐾫	𐾬	𐾭	𐾮	𐾯	𐾰	𐾱	𐾲	𐾳	𐾴	𐾵	𐾶	𐾷	𐾸	𐾹	𐾺	𐾻	𐾼	𐾽	𐾾	𐾿	𐿀	𐿁	𐿂	𐿃	𐿄	𐿅	𐿆	𐿇	𐿈	𐿉	𐿊	𐿋	𐿌	𐿍	𐿎	𐿏	𐿐	𐿑	𐿒	𐿓	𐿔	𐿕	𐿖	𐿗	𐿘	𐿙	𐿚	𐿛	𐿜	𐿝	𐿞	𐿟	𐿠	𐿡	𐿢	𐿣	𐿤	𐿥	𐿦	𐿧	𐿨	𐿩	𐿪	𐿫	𐿬	𐿭	𐿮	𐿯	𐿰	𐿱	𐿲	𐿳	𐿴	𐿵	𐿶	𐿷	𐿸	𐿹	𐿺	𐿻	𐿼	𐿽	𐿾	𐿿	𐻀	𐻁	𐻂	𐻃	𐻄	𐻅	𐻆	𐻇	𐻈	𐻉	𐻊	𐻋	𐻌	𐻍	𐻎	𐻏	𐻐	𐻑	𐻒	𐻓	𐻔	𐻕	𐻖	𐻗	𐻘	𐻙	𐻚	𐻛	𐻜	𐻝	𐻞	𐻟	𐻠	𐻡	𐻢	𐻣	𐻤	𐻥	𐻦	𐻧	𐻨	𐻩	𐻪	𐻫	𐻬	𐻭	𐻮	𐻯	𐻰	𐻱	𐻲	𐻳	𐻴	𐻵	𐻶	𐻷	𐻸	𐻹	𐻺	𐻻	𐻼	𐻽	𐻾	𐻿	𐼀	𐼁	𐼂	𐼃	𐼄	𐼅	𐼆	𐼇	𐼈	𐼉	𐼊	𐼋	𐼌	𐼍	𐼎	𐼏	𐼐	𐼑	𐼒	𐼓	𐼔	𐼕	𐼖	𐼗	𐼘	𐼙	𐼚	𐼛	𐼜	𐼝	𐼞	𐼟	𐼠	𐼡	𐼢	𐼣	𐼤	𐼥	𐼦	𐼧	𐼨	𐼩	𐼪	𐼫	𐼬	𐼭	𐼮	𐼯	𐼰	𐼱	𐼲	𐼳	𐼴	𐼵	𐼶	𐼷	𐼸	𐼹	𐼺	𐼻	𐼼	𐼽	𐼾	𐼿	𐽀	𐽁	𐽂	𐽃	𐽄	𐽅	𐽆	𐽇	𐽈	𐽉	𐽊	𐽋	𐽌	𐽍	𐽎	𐽏	𐽐	𐽑	𐽒	𐽓	𐽔	𐽕	𐽖	𐽗	𐽘	𐽙	𐽚	𐽛	𐽜	𐽝	𐽞	𐽟	𐽠	𐽡	𐽢	𐽣	𐽤	𐽥	𐽦
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Direction of writing:

- 1) Horizontal:
 - a) Right to left: Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Pahlavi, Manichaean
 - b) Left to right: Old Uyghur

- 2) Vertical:

Top to bottom: Sogdian, Old Uyghur, Old Mongolian, Manchu, Oirat.

The main features of the Semitic writing systems are:

- 1) They reflect only the consonant sounds – „the skeleton” of the word in Semitic languages;

„Different as these various writings appear in outer form, they are all identical in their most important inner structural characteristic: They all consist of a limited number of signs (22-30) each of which expresses the exact consonant, but does not indicate a vowel” (Gelb, 1963: 146–147).

- 2) The cursive character of writing;

- 3) The direction of writing – horizontal and right to left as a rule.

At the base of the Semitic alphabet is undoubtedly the Phoenician, from which the Aramaic originates.

There are several branches of the Semitic alphabetic writing system. These are:

- 1) Aramaic – Pahlavi (Parthia, Sassanian Empire 3rd c. BC – 10th c. CE) – Avestan script;
- 2) Aramaic – Syriac – Sogdian – Old Uyghur – Old Mongol (1204) – 1. Manchu (1599) and 2. Oirat (1648);
- 3) Nabataean – Arabic – Persian (Dari) – Urdu (ca 13th c.) – Pashto (ca 17th C.).

We can say very firmly that alphabet scripts of Semitic origin that connect the Balkans with Manchuria are yet another contribution of the Great Silk Road role to bringing cultures and peoples in contact with each other.

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Начини на създаване на нови йероглифи в съвременния китайски книжовен език

Лъчезара Николова

Different Ways of Creating Hieroglyphs in the Modern Chinese Language

Latchezara Nikolova

Abstract

The way the newest hieroglyphs are made lies on the ideophonograms in which we can find a combination of fonetics and meaning elements, the so called key and phonetic. Some of the new hieroglyphs are created by foreigners, others are based on the Cantonese dialect. It is essential not to miss also the manuscript slangs, as well as the translation of the ode to Jabberwocky, the horrific creature of the Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There, a sequel to Alice's Adventures in Wonderland - written by Luis Carroll and translated by the Chinese explorer Zhao Yuanren.

Keywords: key and phonetic, Chinese, characters, hieroglyphs, dialects, foreigners

Съвременните писмени системи са предшествани от древна форма, която най-често е пиктограма и представлява графично изображение на цели думи или описание на сцени от живота на хората – раждане, смърт, лов. Китайските йероглифи са самостоятелна система, чиито най-древни открити свидетелства датират от 114-11 в. пр. н. е. Представяват знаци върху така наречените „гадателни кости“ (甲骨文) – коруби на костенурки, лопатки на елени и др., съставяни по време на гадателни ритуали.

Произходът на китайските йероглифи се класифицира в три главни групи:

1. Пиктограми – изображения на природни елементи;
2. Идеограми – съчетания от пиктограми с цел изразяване на по-абстрактно значение;
3. Идеофонограми – комбинация между фонетичен и смислов елемент.

Начинът на създаване на най-новите йероглифи се крие в третата група: в идеофонограмите, при които наблюдаваме комбинация между фонетичен и смислов елемент, т. нар. „ключ“ и „фонетик“. Почти нито един от двата елемента не е взет случайно и поради тази причина значението на новите творения може да се разгадае лесно.

Някои йероглифи биват **създадени от чужденци** с предложение как да се запаметят по-лесно значенията на вече утвърдени в речника думи.

Например:

涸

съответства на 吐 в СККЕ

Плюя

Ключ и ǎ (три точки) вода) + 出 (излизам) + 口 (уста)

米	съответства на 爆米花 в СККЕ
Пуканки	
Ключ 灬 (огън) + фонетик 米 (ориз)	

恤	съответства на фонетичната заемка 体恤/ T 恤
Ключ: дреха и значение: <i>блуза и фонетик хие – кръв, който е използван поради близостта си по произношение с английската сричка shirt, а не заради значението си на „кръв“</i>	
Четене: xù	

T-Shirt → T恤 (фонетична транскрипция с йероглиф) → T恤 (промяна на семантичния компонент – ключ дреха)

揀	съответства на 穿 в СККЕ
Значение: нося	
четене: chuān	

В „новия йероглиф“ към основния елемент (穿) е добавен ключ „лява ръка“, който дава възможност да „отгатнем“, че става дума за действие, извършващо се с помощта на ръцете.

Други йероглифи се създават въз основа на **Кантонския диалект**. Йероглифът, означаващ „няма“, се изписва по следния начин - 冇. Начинът му на изписване е сходен с този в путунхуа – 没有. При графичното оформяне на елемента липсват двете хоризонтални черти.

Интересен е и йероглифът 𠄎 jǐōng, със значение светъл (прозорец). Той не е нов, открит е в древните книги, но заел място в съвременността, тъй като много прилича на тъжно лице и затова често се използва като емотикон, отразяващ съответното състояние на общуващия.

Нов е и йероглифът 𠄎 – един от най-популярните хаштагове от началото на март 2015 г. Думата е използвана за пръв път при реклама на шампоан с участието на Джеки Чан. Самият той казва: „След снимките добавените визуални ефекти карат косата да

изглежда – duang – черна и блестяща!“¹ Значението все още е неясно. Според проучване на BBC „duang“ е по-скоро звукоподражание, чрез което се придава силна емоционална окраска. Към настоящия момент йероглифът не може да бъде намерен в нито един речник. Съставен е от два елемента: 成 (ставам) и 龙 (дракон), разположени един върху друг. 成龙 е и сценичното име на Джеки Чан.

Трябва да отбележим труда на китайския изследовател Джао Юенжън (赵元任) за превода му на „одата“ за „Джаберуоки“, страшилището от романа „Алиса в Огледалния свят“, по едноименната творба на Луис Карол. Авторът измисля несъществуващи думи, за да опише своето създание. То има хищни нокти, раздиращи зъби, огнени очи, може да „цвифейка и да рикае“. Джао Юенжън също създава непознати дотогава йероглифи въз основа на ключ, отнасящ се до животно (например с дълга козина 𤝵 или птица 𪇾) и фонетик, който го описва (притежава влакънце или кичурче 勾, прилича на прасе 豕 и др.):

有一天(魚)裏,那些活(济)的(猢)子
在(衛)边儿(儘)着(跌)儘着(覓)。
好(難)四儿啊,那些(鵪)鵪(鵪)子
还有(蒙)的(猪)子(恁)得(格)儿。

Позовавайки се на интерпретации за смисъла на думите от английски, бихме могли да направим някои от следните изводи за семантиката им и решението на Джао Юенжън да създаде новите йероглифи:

Brillig²: 4 часът следобед, когато е време да започнеш да печеш неща за вечеря.

Отговаря на йероглифа: 𪇾
Tove³: Животни подобни на язовци, гущери и тирбушони. Свиват гнездата си под слънчеви часовници и живеят върху сирене. Въртят се като спирала и пробиват дупки. В „Миш-маш“ са описани като: „вид язовци, които имат гладка бяла козина, дълги задни крака и къси рога, като на елен, и живеят основно върху сирене“.

¹ „...after filming, visual effects are added, the hair – duang! – becomes black, very shiny and very smooth.“ (източник: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duang>.)

² Following the poem, the character of Humpty Dumpty comments: „‘Brillig’ means four o’clock in the afternoon, the time when you begin broiling things for dinner.“

³ Humpty Dumpty says „‘Toves’ are something like badgers, they’re something like lizards, and they’re something like corkscrews. [...] Also they make their nests under sun-dials, also they live on cheese.“ Pronounced so as to rhyme with *groves*. They „gyre and gimble,” i.e. rotate and bore. Toves are described slightly differently in *Mischmasch*: “a species of Badger [which] had smooth white hair, long hind legs, and short horns like a stag [and] lived chiefly on cheese”.

Отговаря йероглифът: 猢猻

Borogove⁴: Слаба и жалка на вид птица, чиито пера са раздърпани, нещо като жив mop. Карол пояснява, че не са имали крила, клюновете им са наопаки, свиват гнезда под слънчевите часовници и преживяват от телешко месо.

Отговаря йероглифът: 鵝鴨子

Rath⁵: Вид зелено прасе. Авторът казва, че животното е вид земна костенурка. Главата ѝ е вдигната, устата ѝ е като на акула, предните четири крака са извити навън така, че животното може да ходи на коленете си, има гладко зелено тяло и се храни с ластовици и стриди.

Отговарят йероглифите: 蒙的猪子

Трябва да споменем и **ръкописните жаргони**, използвани от определени браншове като търговия, банково дело, медицина и др., при които се налага бързо изписване на йероглифи.

Примери за изписване на такива йероглифи са:

𠂇 вместо 重

𠂇 вместо 钱

𠂇 вместо 章

Интересна е и промяната на значението на някои вече употребявани йероглифи. Например 怂 sǒng, който по принцип означава – изплашен, слаб, страхлив, е съставен от ключ сърце 心 и фонетик 从 – следвам. Двата елемента се обединяват в един йероглиф и значенията им се обединяват. Някои личности, като Джъстин Бийбър, например, са си татуирали този йероглиф, който породил много спорове и удивление в интернет пространството.

Създават се и цели нови фрази, като 土豪 (тиранин, тартор), придобила значението „богат и нецивилизован“. Този тип съчетания се появяват бързо и обикновено също толкова бързо изчезват. Обикновено остават на мода около една година или няколко месеца.

Всички тези новости в езика представят разширяване обема на познанията на хората по целия свят, разширяването на кръгозора е пропорционално на увеличаването на лексиката. И въпреки непрестанно растящия си брой китайските йероглифи са лесни

за запомняне поради факта, че познаваме съставните им елементи и можем бързо да отгатнем значението, което се „крие“ зад тях.

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汉字还可能新字出现吗? – <http://www.zhihu.com/question/21240611?rf=21265149> (посетен: 3 април 2017).

⁴ Following the poem Humpty Dumpty says, “ ‘borogove’ is a thin shabby-looking bird with its feathers sticking out all round, something like a live mop.” In explanatory book notes Carroll describes it further as “an extinct kind of Parrot. They had no wings, beaks turned up, made their nests under sun-dials and lived on veal.” In Hunting of the Snark, Carroll says that the initial syllable of borogove is pronounced as in borrow rather than as in worry.

⁵ Humpty Dumpty says following the poem: “A ‘rath’ is a sort of green pig”. However, Carroll’s notes for the original in Mischmasch state that a ‘Rath’ is “a species of land turtle. Head erect, mouth like a shark, the front forelegs curved out so that the animal walked on its knees, smooth green body, lived on swallows and oysters.” In the 1951 animated film adaptation of the book’s prequel, the raths are depicted as small, multi-coloured creatures with tufty hair, round eyes, and long legs resembling pipe stems.

Тюрките и тюркските езици в Китай в началото на XXI век

Милена Йорданова

Turks and Turkic Languages in China in the Beginning of 21st Century

Milena Yordanova

Abstract

The present study is concerned with Turkic ethnic groups in China and besides with their languages. The most popular Turkic languages in China are Uyghur and Kazakh languages. Some of the other Turkic languages (like Salar language, Western Yugur language, Fuyu Kyrgyz language) have kept some archaic features, that's why studying them is important feature for the modern Turkology.

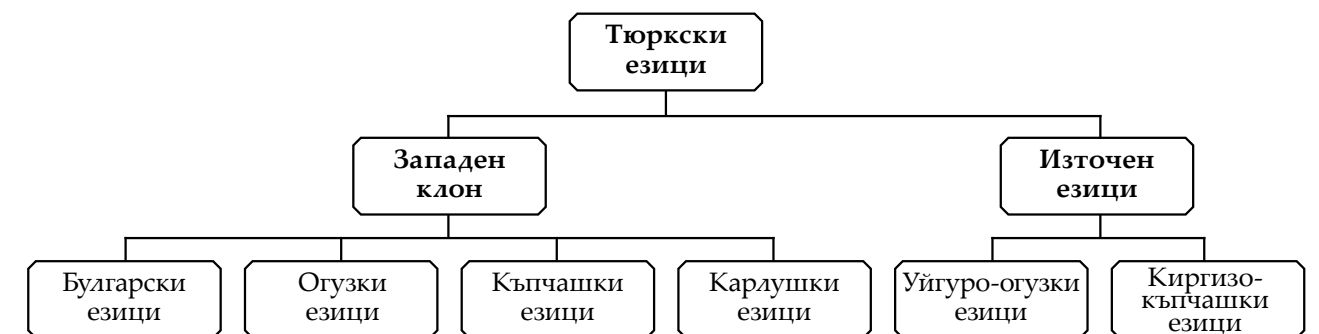
Keywords: Turks in China, Turkic languages, writing systems

Китайците имат преки контакти с тюрките от столетия, като тези отношения са се развивали и преосмисляли във времето. В съвременната китайска държава продължават да живеят тюркски народи, макар че числеността на повечето от тях е много малка. Въпреки това те говорят своите езици, които се отличават типологично от китайския. Поради ограничения брой на носителите на някои от съвременните тюркски езици в Китай се забелязват процеси на интерференция, при които не само китайският, но и други тюркски езици в определени случаи оказват влияние върху тях. Въпросните интерферентни явления се наблюдават основно при тези тюркски народи, които живеят в непосредствен контакт с по-големи тюркоезични общности. Например уйгурският и казахският са естествени източници за стимулиране на интерферентни процеси върху съседните им тюркоезични общности. Според М. Йолмез водеща роля в това сложно междуетниково взаимодействие принадлежи на уйгурския (Йолмез, 2012:144), който е най-широко разпространеният тюркски език в съвременен Китай, като не бива да се подценява и влиянието на казахския език, независимо че неговите носители са няколко пъти по-малко, отколкото ползвателите на уйгурския.

В съвременния мултиетничен Китай има официално признати 56 етнически групи, от които седем са тюркски: казахи, киргизи, салари, татари, узбеки, уйгури и саръуйгури. С оглед на статистиката формално може да се заключи, че има седем тюркски езика (кит. *Tuġue* – англ. *Turkic languages*, рус. *тюркские языки*, тур. *Türk dilleri*), които се говорят на територията на Китай. Съгласно носителите им те са определени като: казахски; киргизки; саларски; саръуйгурски; татарски; узбекски; уйгурски. Необходимо е да се отбележи, че наред с носителите на тези езици в съвременен Китай живеят и ограничен брой тувинци и фуюйски киргизи, които спадат към т.нар. „национални малцинства“, но които не са официално признати от китайската държава. Това дава основание на редица учени (Моузли, 2010:74, Йолмез, 2013:397–422 и др.) да посочват наличието на още два тюркски езика в Китай, а именно на тувинския и на езика на фуюйските киргизи.

Сложността на езиковата ситуацията в Китай се отразява и в данните на различни лингвистични атласи, изготвяни от сериозни научни институции и екипи. В Световния атлас на езиковите структури¹ например са посочени само няколко от тюркските езици, които се говорят в Китай. Става въпрос за езика на фуюйските киргизи, за саларския език, за саръуйгурския език и уйгурския език, които са представителни за китайската езикова ситуация, но далеч не покриват сложния етнолингвистичен пейзаж. Освен това три от споменатите езици са включени в Атласа на застрашените езици в света², публикуван от ЮНЕСКО, с тежката диагноза „критично застрашени от изчезване“: става въпрос за езика на фуюйските киргизи, за саларския език и за саръуйгурския език, към които може да се добави и тувинският език (определен като език „в риск от изчезване“). Тези тежки констатации са пряк индикатор за нестабилността на езиковата ситуация, което обективизира необходимостта от извършените от мен допълнителни проучвания за установяване на говорените към момента тюркски езици на територията на Китайската народна република. Приложен е аналитико-съпоставителният метод върху корпус от представителни изследвания по проблемите на езиковата ситуация в Китай. В резултат от прегледа на различни независими източници и анализирането на получените данни чрез съпоставянето им с публикуваните сведения³ в реномирани демографски справочници за езиковата ситуация в Централна и Източна Азия, считам, че в рамките на мултиетничния съвременен Китай може категорично да се приеме, че към момента се говорят общо девет тюркски езика.

В настоящия доклад се анализират резултатите от изследвания, публикувани на английски, руски и турски език, като превес се отдава на тези от тях, които принадлежат на автори, участвали в научни експедиции и теренни проучвания в Китай. Въз основа на съпоставката и анализа на експертираните данни съвременната езикова политика на Китайската народна република включва наличието на девет тюркски езика. За всеки от тях отбелязвам в каква степен се ползва от съответната етническа група, както и кои са основните сфери на употребата му. Давам обобщени сведения за носителите на този език и каква е писмената система, която се използва в момента за записването му. Представянето на тюркските езици, говорени в началото на XXI век в Китай, се осъществява на основата на традиционната класификация, в която те се делят на западен и източен клон⁴. Западният клон има четири групи (булгарска, огузка, къпчака и карлушка), а източният клон – две групи (уйгуро-огузка и киргизо-къпчака).



¹ World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS).

² Atlas of the World's Languages in danger.

³ Първите задълбочени изследвания върху езиковата ситуация и разпространението на тюркските езици в Китай започват да се правят едва през втората половина на XX в. с активното съдействие на съветски учени, като съществен принос за това има алтаистът Еджем Тенишев (Йолмез, 2006б:753).

⁴ За целите на настоящото изследване се използва класификацията на тюркските езици на Н. Баскаков (1981).

Единственият представител на огузката група тюркски езици в Китайската народна република е саларският. Числеността на носителите му е около 100–130 хиляди. Те живеят компактно основно в провинциите Цинхай и Гансу, както и в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион. Нужно е да се отбележи, че те са един от трите (наред със саръуйгурите и фуюйските киргизи) тюркоезични народа в Китай, който не живее в съседство с други тюркоезични групи население, като по този начин се ограничава влиянието на други тюркски езици върху саларския. Преобладаващата част от саларите изповядват исляма (сунизъм), но има и последователи на будизма. В повечето случаи те са многоезични поради факта, че живеят в район със смесено население (китайци, тибетци, монголци и др.) и използват саларския предимно в семейна среда. В религиозната сфера се е наложила употребата на арабския и персийския език. Саларският език е силно повлиян от китайския и тибетския език. Макар понастоящем да се приема за безписмен език, за фиксирането му може да се приложи писмена система на основата на латиницата, а понякога все още е активна употребата и на арабската графика⁵. Традиционно саларският се използва като говорим език, наред с китайския, но съвременните изследвания показват, че китайският започва да го измества като писмен език (Тенишев, 1997а:335–345, Ярцева, 1998:430–431, Моузли, 2010:84, ШВПН от 2010, Йолмез, 2013:403–407, КИИЦ).

Къпчашката група тюркски езици е представена на територията на Китайската народна република чрез два езика: казахски и татарски. Казахският език се говори от около 1.2–1.5 милиона души. Той се ползва главно в Или-Казахската автономна област, която се намира на север и североизток в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион, а така също в провинциите Гансу и Цинхай, както и в космополитния Шанхай. Той е вторият най-широко разпространен тюркски език на територията на страната. Поради големия брой носители на казахския език се очертава тенденция той да оказва влияние върху други тюркски езици, които се говорят в съседство с него, тоест с езици, с които е в контактна позиция. Същевременно казахският език е повлиян от уйгурския. Необходимо е да се отбележи наличието на значително количество монголски и китайски лексикални елементи в казахския език, навлезли през последните десетилетия поради контакти на носителите му с монголската и китайската езикова общност. Казахите в Китай изповядват предимно ислям (сунизъм) и все още използват писмена система на основата на арабицата, макар че има разработена и на базата на латиницата (ЕБ 2008, ШВПН от 2010, Йолмез, 2013:397–422, КИИЦ).

Другият език, който принадлежи към къпчашката група тюркски езици, е татарският. Той е разпространен в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион, като е говорен от най-малобройната официално призната етническа група тюрки в Китай – едва около 3500–5000 човека. Татарите в Китай са мюсюлмани сунити, които използват арабицата като писмена система (ШВПН от 2010, Йолмез, 2013:397–422, КИИЦ).

Узбекският и уйгурският (новоуйгурският) са представители на карлушката група от западния клон тюркски езици. Узбекският език в Китай се говори от малката по численост група на узбеките, които са около 10–12 хиляди жители. Преобладаващо живеят в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион. Религиозната им принадлежност е сунитски ислям. За повечето от тях е характерно двуезичието. Някои учени дори изтъкват, че носителите на

⁵ До разработването в началото на ХХI в. на писмена система на основата на латиницата за записването на саларския език е използвана арабица. Възможно е да се използва и китайска писменост за саларски текстове (Тенишев, 1997а:336, Ярцева, 1998:431).

узбекския език в Китай не го използват, а реално в ежедневието си осъществяват комуникация основно на уйгурски език. Китайските узбеки нямат собствена писмена система, поради което са принудени да използват писменост на основата на арабицата. В образователната и културна сфера си служат с уйгурския, който изпълнява функцията на книжовен език (ЕБ 1998, Кармишев, 1998:562–565, ШВПН от 2010, Йолмез, 2016а: 93–105, КИИЦ и др.).

Уйгурският (новоуйгурският) език, също принадлежащ към карлушката група, е най-силно разпространеният тюркски език в Китай. Носителите му са 8–10 милиона, които живеят изключително компактно в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион. Необходимо е да се отбележи, че няколко хиляди се намират и в провинция Хунан (Югоизточен Китай). Въпреки името си той не се явява пряк наследник на староуйгурския. Повечето от носителите му приемат сунитския ислям между Х и XV в., а една сравнително ограничена част от тях изповядват тибетския будизъм. Под влияние на религията уйгурите в Китай използват арабското писмо⁶ (Садвакасов, 1997: 335–345, Ярцева, 1998:532–533, ШВПН от 2010, Йолмез, 2013:397–422, ЕБ 2015, КИИЦ и др.).

*Езикът на фуюйските киргизи⁷ / *(фуюйско-киргизкият⁸) се причислява към уйгуро-огузката група на източния клон тюркски езици. Нужно е да се уточни, че въпреки името си изследователите го определят като сибирски тюркски език, близък до съвременния хакаски. Езикът на фуюйските киргизи е умиращ език, който се говори само от няколко души. Носителите му са малобройно население, наричано фуюйски⁹ (манджурски) киргизи, както са известни киргизите, обитаващи Манджурия¹⁰. Те не са официално призната етническа група в Китай. Изповядват будизъм (ламаизъм), като сред тях има и прилагащи редица шамански практики. Повечето от фуюйските киргизи са двуезични, като понастоящем в ежедневието си не използват родния си език, а са преминали към общуване на китайски (основно младото поколение) и монголски език (предимно по-възрастното население), тъй като живеят в съседство с техните носители. Езикът на фуюйските киргизи е безписмен и се използва в ежедневните неформални комуникативни ситуации, затова за официални цели се прибегва предимно до китайския език. Има изследователи, които подчертават, че фуюйските киргизи в действителност са се превърнали в пасивни носители на езика. Ясно се очертава тенденцията в скоро време този език да престане да се използва като средство в ежедневното общуване. Въпреки това е важно да се отбележи, че поради факта, че фуюйските киргизи живеят изолирано от други тюркоезични народи (както саларите и саръуйгурите), това е спомогнало за запазването на специфичните характеристики на техния език и е ограничило влиянието на родствениите езици върху неговата лексикална и граматична специфика. Разбира се, това не променя налагащата се тенденция, очертаваща излизането от активна употреба на този тюркски език. Много скоро фуюйско-киргизкият вече няма да се използва активно в ежедневието (Тенишев,

⁶ Уйгурите приемат арабската графика още през XI в. В средата на XX в. (1960–1965) в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион се предприема инициатива за замяната ѝ с азбука, която е изградена на латинска основа. В периода 1965–1982 г. се използват паралелно двете графики, като от 1983 г. се използва единствено арабската (Ярцева, 1998:533).

⁷ Със знака астериск (*) се отбелязват езиците на тюркските етнически групи, които не са официално признати в Китай.

⁸ Китайскиятучен Ху Зенхуа (Hu Zenhua) пръв открива този език (Йолмез, 2006б:754).

⁹ По името на окръг Фуюй; Фуюй е названието на един от притоците на река Амур (Черният дракон) (Йолмез, 2007:66).

¹⁰ В съвременната китайска провинция Хъйлундзян.

1997б:455–459, Йолмез, 2006а:117–124, Уей, 1985:64–84, Чертиков, 2008:45–126, Моузли, 2010:127, Йолмез, 2016а:93–105).

Саръуйгурският (саръг-югурски, западен уйгурски) език е друг тюркски език, който се говори в Китай¹¹. Той се отнася към уйгуро-огузката група езици. Носителите му, саръуйгурите (жълти уйгури), са номади, които по последни данни са по-малко от 15 хиляди души в Китай¹². Те населяват основно провинция Гансу, но част от тях са заселени в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион. Този тюркоезичен народ е приел будизма (ламаизма), но има запазени и шамански практики. Обикновено представителите му живеят в съседство с нетюркоезични народи, което е предпоставка за запазване на специфики на саръуйгуския и предотвратяване на влиянието на родствени езици. Саръуйгурите говорят китайски, монголски и тибетски наред с родния си език, което, от друга страна, е проводник на елементи от нетюркски произход. Въпреки това граматичният му строеж е с безспорно тюркски характеристики. Езикът на жълтите уйгури е тюркски с китайско, тибетско и монголско фонетично и лексикално влияние. Той е безписмен език (предполага се, че до началото на XVIII в. е използвано уйгурското писмо), който съществува само в разговорна форма. Изследователите представят фиксираните текстове чрез китайски йероглифи или с адаптирана латиница (Тенишев, 1997в:445–454, Ярцева, 1998:435–434, Моузли, 2010:152, ШВПН от 2010, Йолмез, 2016б:97–108, КИИЦ).

*Тувинският език е също представител на уйгуро-огузката група от източния клон на тюркските езици. Той се говори от малък брой¹³ тувинци в пределите на Китай. Броят на носителите му не може да бъде посочен с точност¹⁴, тъй като тувинците не са официално призната етническа група в страната. Обикновено те се причисляват към монголците при преброяванията, тъй като е трудно да бъдат отличени от тях. Населяват основно три села (Канас, Ак-каба и Ком) в Или-Казахската автономна област. Отделни семейства се срещат в няколко града на същата област. Този факт е показателен за особения им статут, тъй като въпреки асимилационните процеси, те продължават да бъдат отбелязвани като тувинци. Преобладаващата част от китайските тувинци са последователи на тибетския будизъм, съчетан с шаманизъм. Те са застрашени от езикова асимилация в китайската държава, тъй като посещават китайски или монголски, а понякога и казахски училища. Въпреки това понастоящем говорят родния си език много добре, тъй като до училищна възраст комуникират основно на него, а първата година в монголските училища протича като подготвителен клас по езика. Голяма част от носителите му са полиезични, като наред с родния си език използват казахски или уйгурски, а също така монголски и китайски. Най-силно влияние върху тувинския език има китайският. Изследванията върху китайските тувинци започват доста късно – едва в средата на XX в., като реално се задълбочават едва през 90-те години на XX в. (ЕБ 2009, Моузли, 2010:158, Йолмез, 2013:397–422, Йолмез, 2016а:93–105 и др.).

¹¹ Мехмед Йолмез в своето изследване отбелязва, че съвременното название на тюркоезичните саръуйгури е западни уйгури (*Batı Uyğur*), като съответно езикът им се означава като западен уйгурски (*Batı Uyğurca*). Монголоезичните представители на тази етническа група, наричани шира-югури, вече се наричат източни уйгури (*Doğu Uyğur*), а техният език вместо шира-югурски – източен уйгурски (*Doğu Uyğurca*) (Йолмез, 2013:408).

¹² Тюркологът М. Йолмез отбелязва, че реалният брой на носителите на саръуйгурския всъщност е под 10 хиляди, защото се говори от около половината от саръуйгурите, тъй като другата част са монголоезични (Йолмез, 2012:146).

¹³ Например турският учен Мехмед Йолмез посочва като приблизителен брой на китайските тувинци цифрата 2 хиляди (Йолмез, 2016а:93).

¹⁴ Вероятно е няколко хиляди.

Киргизкият език е единственият представител на киргизо-къпчашката група на източния клон на тюркските езици, който се говори в съвременната китайска държава. Той е третият по разпространение тюркски език в Китай. Говори се от около 160–190 хиляди души. Те населяват предимно Къзълсу-Киргизската област в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион и североизточната китайска провинция Хъйлундзян. Киргизите са основно мюсюлмани сунити, но някои от тях са последователи на тибетския будизъм (ламаизъм), като запазват и редица шамански практики. От втората половина на XX в. в езика им навлизат много думи от китайския език. Използват писменост на арабска основа, която е заменена от разработена на базата на латиницата. Някои киргизи използват наред със своя език уйгурски или казахски (Орузбаева, 1997:286–297, ШВПН от 2010, Йолмез, 2013:397–422, КИИЦ).

Таблица 1. Тюркоезичните етнически групи в Китай, подредени в низходящ ред по брой носители:

Численост	Етническа група	Език	Писмена система ¹⁵	Религия
8 399 393 – 10 069 346	уйгури	уйгурски език	арабица	ислям / будизъм
1 250 458 – 1 462 558	казахи	казахски език	арабица → латиница	ислям
160 823 – 186 708	киргизи	киргизки език	арабица → латиница	ислям / будизъм
104 503 – 130 607	салари	саларски език	безписмен	ислям / будизъм
13 719 – 14 378	саръуйгури	саръуйгурски език	безписмен	будизъм
10 569 – 12 370	узбеки	узбекски език	арабица	ислям
3 556 – 4 900	татари	татарски език	арабица	ислям
?няколко хиляди ¹⁶	тувинци	*тувински език	безписмен	будизъм
?няколко стотин	фуюйски киргизи	*фуюйско-киргизки език // езикът на фуюйските киргизи	безписмен	фуюйски киргизи

Прегледът на официалните данни за езиковата ситуация в съвременен Китай ясно показва, че понастоящем там живеят седем етнически групи, обособени като тюрки. Съгласно направения анализ за разпределението на тюркоезичното население в Китай може да се достигне до извода, че най-компактно тюркско население има в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион, тъй като в неговите граници се намира Уйгуристан (познат и като Източен Туркестан). Тюркските езици, говорени в Китай, принадлежат към пет езикови групи (огузка, къпчашка и карлушка група от западния клон и уйгуро-огузка и киргизо-къпчашка група от източния клон на тюркските езици). Докато през 70-те години на XX в. в Китай са се говорили активно поне 9 тюркски езика, то последните данни сочат, че два от тях (езикът на фуюйските киргизки и тувинският) вече почти не се използват,

¹⁵ Посочват се само писмените системи, използвани понастоящем от тюркоезичните групи в Китай

¹⁶ За носителите на тувинския език и на езика на фуюйските киргизи не са налични официални данни, тъй като те не са официално признати етнически групи в Китай. По тази причина в таблицата посочените езици са отбелязани с астериск (*).

а татарският е на път да последва съдбата им. Установява се, че в определени ситуации родният език може да бъде заменен от език, принадлежащ към друго езиково семейство, под влияние на съседство с носителите му. Същевременно се забелязват случаи, при които езиковата асимилация е от сроден език (от друг тюркски език, с носителите на който етническата група е в контакт).

Интересен феномен представляват „островните“ езици като саларски, саръуйгурски и езика на фуюйските киргизи, които нямат непосредствен контакт с друг тюркски език (Йолмез, 2012:144). При тях се наблюдава тенденция за запазване на архаични специфики и характерни особености на съответния език поради липсата на влияние на друг език, представител на тюркското езиково семейство, но от друга страна, се откриват влияния на различни нива на нетюркски езици (най-често на китайски, монголски и тибетски). Писмените системи, използвани от тюркоезичните етнически малцинства в Китай в началото на ХХІ в., са изградени върху основата на арабицата и латиницата. Очертава се влияние на религиозната принадлежност при избор на писменост, като например особено силно изпъква връзката между разпространението на исляма и използването на арабицата. През втората половина ХХ в. китайските власти подкрепят създаването на писмени системи на основата на латиницата, които отчитат спецификите на съответните тюркски езици. По този начин се стартира процес за постепенен преход от арабица към латиница при някои от тези езици (например казахски, киргизки), който още не е окончателно завършен.

Въз основа на обработените данни и прегледа на вижданията на различни учени по въпроса за езиковата ситуация в Китай е конструирана актуална и изчерпателна картина за разпространението на тюркските езици, говорени в съвременен Китай. Приложен е методът на съпоставителен анализ и реконструкция, който обективизира получените резултати и направените изводи. Съпоставянето, наслагването и критичният преглед на изследвания, проведени през последните десетилетия от тюрколози от различни държави, е предпоставка за обективност на получените данни, чиято пълнота се допълва от реконструирането на процеси, влияещи върху съвременното състояние на езиковото многообразие в региона. Обобщението на данните от извършения анализ и реконструирането на съвременната карта на разпространение на тюркските езици в Китай от гледна точка на българската китаистика и тюркология е важно условие за развитието на теоретико-приложния аспект в процеса на обучение на студенти тюрколози и китаисти.

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Устойчиви словосъчетания с Çin (китайски) в съвременния турски език

Ирина Саръиванова

Phrases With Çin (China/Chinese) In Contemporary Turkish Language

Irina Saraivanova

Abstract

We find traces of interlingual contacts between Chinese and Old Turkic languages in sources from the period before Oghuz Turks migrated to Asia Minor and later founded a state that lead to the present Republic of Turkey. In time, this influence was reduced to a small number of loanwords. Today we witness a spread of Chinese culture in the modern world and its reflections in various languages, including Turkish. This text is focused on some phrases in contemporary Turkish with the word Çin, meaning China or Chinese, excerpted both from literary and colloquial examples. Most of these phrases can be qualified as “terms of general use”, but we find specific terminology with Çin in various areas such as religion, gastronomy, biology, textile industry.

Keywords: contemporary Turkish, China/Chinese, phrases, loanwords

Родината на тюркските племена е районът на Централна Азия, където те съжителстват със своите китайски съседи. До нас са достигнали извори, които свидетелстват за езиковите контакти между китайския и тюркските езици, като част от тази лексика е отразена и в тюркско-арабския компендиум на Махмуд от Кашгар *Divanü Lugati't-Türk* (XI в.). Впоследствие част от тюркските племена – огузите – се заселват в Мала Азия, а техните наследници днес формират Република Турция. Постепенно междуезиковото влияние избледнява, като в съвременния турски език е сведено до малък брой заета лексика. В турското научно пространство дори се дебатира спецификата или по-скоро противоречието по отношение на посоката на заемане; някои изследователи като Алимджан Инайет споделят мнението, че смятаните за китаизми думи са всъщност заемки от тюркски езици в китайския с паралелна употреба (Инайет, 1998:773-780, Инайет, 1999:193-204).

Процесът на глобализация заедно с масовата популяризация в последно време на китайската култура намира отражение и в езика. Всеки ден и в българския език се сблъскваме с понятия, директно заети от китайския (като пинг-понг, маджонг, наименования на китайски ястия) или указващи своя произход с определението „китайски“. Този текст е посветен на аналогичната езикова ситуация в съвременния турски език, а именно на устойчивите словосъчетания с Çin (китайски), някои от които трайно са заели своето място сред книжовната лексика, докато други са популярни все още изключително в разговорната реч.

Сериозно предизвикателство при написването на този текст представляваше труд-

ността при подбора на извор(и) и източници, които да послужат за основа на изследването. На първо място са ексцерпирани словосъчетанията от последното издание на тълковния речник на турския език (РТЕ, 2011), защото този извор отразява актуалното състояние на книжовния език. Един от негативите при използването на тълковния речник за извор е, че поради обема му в него се включва определено количество лексика и устойчиви словосъчетания с нея, които са подбрани от съставителите съгласно различни принципи, и не може винаги да се претендира за изчерпателност. От друга страна, промените в езика на ниво разговорна реч, в това число навлизането на заета лексика, на специфична терминология в условията на глобализация се случват твърде бързо, за да бъдат своевременно отразени в мащабно изследване или фундаментален речник. Към това следва да добавим и факта, че част от тези промени са временно явление и не успяват да заемат категорично място в книжовния език. Това налага включването и на онлайн речници и материали от интернет пространството като най-актуално отражение именно на разговорната лексика в живия език. Особено полезен в това изследване е двуезичният турско-английски/английско-турски онлайн речник www.tureng.com, тъй като съдържа значителен брой устойчиви словосъчетания с Çin (китайски).

Събраният емпиричен материал е класифициран на база научната/тематичната област, с която е свързано съответното словосъчетание.

В първата група са обособени устойчивите словосъчетания с Çin (китайски) от областта на политиката, историята, обществения живот:

Çin sınırı	[китайска граница]	бамбукова завеса
Çin seddi	[китайска стена]	Великата китайска стена
Çin mahallesi	[китайски квартал]	китайски квартал; Чайнатаун
Çin keranesi/kerhanesi	[китайски публичен дом]	китайски бордей

Съвсем основателно е да се предполага, че част от устойчивите словосъчетания, съдържащи думата Çin (китайски), са понятия, свързани с китайските традиции и религия:

Çin bulmacası	[китайски пъзел/загадка/кръстословица]	танграм
Çin dominosu	[китайско домино]	маджонг
Çin mabudu/putu	[китайски идол/божество]	китайски идол
Çin mabedi	[китайски храм]	китайски храм
Çin buhurdanı	[китайска кадилница кадило]	ароматни пръчици (китайски тамян)
Çin feneri	[китайски фенер]	китайски фенер

Устойчивите словосъчетания, в които се съдържа думата *Çin* (*китайски*), от областта на китайското изкуство, занаяти, търговия представляват съществена група:

Çin yelkenlisi	[китайска платноходка]	джонка
Çin tuncu	[китайски бронз]	китайски бронз
Çin kağıdı	[китайско хартия]	оризова хартия; много тънка и здрава непрозрачна хартия
Çin yağı	[китайско масло/олио]	китайско дървено/ тунгово масло
Çin ipeği	[китайска коприна]	китайска коприна, фина копринена тъкан
(devetüyü rengi) Çin bezi	[китайска тъкан (с цвят на камилска козина)]	тъкан от жълт памук
Çin balmumu	[китайски восък]	восък от японско лаково дърво, токсикодендрон
Çin porseleni	[китайски порцелан]	китайски порцелан
Çin cevheri	[китайска руда /вещество/ скъпоценност]	вид фелдшпат, използван като суровина за производство на порцелан
Çin beyazı	[китайско бяло]	цинков оксид, бяла боя
Çin mavisi	[китайско синьо]	китайско синьо

Съгласно ексцерпирания материал се установява, че най-голям брой устойчиви словосъчетания, съдържащи думата *Çin* (*китайски*), се фиксират в сферата на ботаниката и зоологията:

Çin tavuğu	[китайска кокошка]	вид кокошка, виандот бантам (Wyandotte bantam)
Çin mersin balığı	[китайска есетрова („миртова“) риба]	вид лъчеперка от семейство Есетрови (<i>Acipenser sinensis</i>)
Çin sazanı	[китайски шаран]	златиста каракуда (<i>Carassius carassius/Carassius vulgaris</i>)
Çin nehir yunusu	[китайски речен делфин]	китайски речен делфин, байджи/байдзъ (<i>Lipotes vexillifer</i>)
Çin köpeği	[китайско куче]	чау-чау
Çin leylağı	[китайски люляк]	мелия (<i>Melia azedarach</i>)
Çin karanfili	[китайски карамфил]	китайски карамфил (<i>Dianthus chinensis</i>)
Çin gülü	[китайска роза]	китайска роза (<i>Hibiscus rosasinensis</i>); камелия (<i>Camellia</i>)
Çin tarçını	[китайска канела]	касия (<i>Cinnamomum aromaticum/ Cinnamomum cassia</i>)
Çin ahududusu	[китайска малина]	японска малина (<i>Rubus phoenicolasius</i>)
Çin anasonu	[китайски анасон]	звезд(овид)ен анасон (<i>Illicium verum</i>)
Çin çayı	[китайски чай]	китайски чай (<i>Camellia sinensis</i>)
Çin ağacı meyvesi	[плод от китайско дърво]	личи (<i>Litchi chinensis</i>)
Çin lahanası	[китайско зеле]	китайско зеле, бок чой
Çin çamı	[китайски бор]	гинко билоба
Çin keneviri	[китайски коноп]	рамия (влакнодайна култура) /рея/китайска трева (<i>Boehmeria nivea</i>)

Предвид широкото разпространение на китайски ресторанти в световен мащаб, в това число и в Турция, е съвсем закономерно да се наблюдава и наличие на словосъчетания, отнасящи се до китайската кухня/кулинария, които съдържат *Çin* (китайски):

Çin böreği	[китайска баничка]	пролетни рулца
Çin mantısı	[китайско мантѣ (равиоли/пелмени)]	китайски пелмени, китайско ястие от варено тесто с пълнеж, дим сум
Çin peyniri	[китайско сирене]	тофу
Çin yemek çubuğu	[китайски пръчици/ клечки за хранене]	китайски речен делфин, байджи/байдзѣ (<i>Lipotes vexillifer</i>)
Çin tavası	[китайски тиган]	уок
Çin işi/porseleni	[китайски порцелан (ови изделия)]	китайски порцелан, порцеланови изделия (съдове)

Част от устойчивите словосъчетания с *Çin* (китайски) имат семантични еквиваленти, чиято употреба откриваме не само в интернет публикации, но в някои случаи и в тълковния речник:

Çin çamı mabet ağacı Ginkgo biloba	[китайски бор] [храмово дърво] [гинко билоба]	гинко билоба
Çin peyniri soya peyniri tofu	[китайско сирене] [соево сирене] [тофу]	тофу
Çin mantısı dim sum	[китайско мантѣ (равиоли/пелмени)] [дим сум]	китайски пелмени, китайско ястие от варено тесто с пълнеж (дим сум)
Çin ahududusu Japon ahududusu	[китайска малина] [японска малина]	японска малина (<i>Rubus phoenicolasius</i>)
Çin ağacı meyvesi liçi meyvesi	[плод от китайско дърво] [плод лichi]	личи (<i>Litchi chinensis</i>)
Çin leylağı tesbih ağacı	[китайски люляк] [броенично дърво/дърво за броеници]	мелия (<i>Melia azedarach</i>)
Çingülü Japongülü kamelya	[китайски люляк] [броенично дърво/дърво за броеници]	мелия (<i>Melia azedarach</i>)
Çin yelkenlisi cönk	[китайска платноходка] [джонка]	джонка
Çin tavası wok tava(sı)	[китайски тиган] [тиган уок]	уок

При някои от тези устойчиви словосъчетания се забелязва многообразие, а понякога непоследователност и противоречие в значенията в зависимост от конкретната речева ситуация:

Çin bulmacası	[китайски пъзел/загадка/ кръстословица]	танграм, маджонг
Çin dominosu	[китайско домино]	маджонг
Çin gülü	[китайска роза]	камелия китайска роза (хибискус)

Независимо от нарастващата популярност на устойчивите словосъчетания с *Çin* (китайски) в разговорния език и интернет пространството, само малка част от тях са включени в корпуса на Речник на турския език (PTE, 2011):

Çin anasonu	[китайски анасон]	дървесен вид от семейството на магнолиите, чиито жълти цветове ухаят на анасон, звезд(овид)ен анасон (<i>Illicium anisatum</i>)
Çin çamı	[китайски бор]	„храмово дърво“, гинко билоба (<i>Ginkgo biloba</i>)
Çin gülü	[китайска роза]	камелия
Çin lahanası	[китайско зеле]	китайско зеле, вид зеле, чиято родина е Китай
Çin leylağı	[китайски люляк]	„броенично дърво/дърво за броеници“, мелия (<i>Melia azedarach</i>)

В заключение можем да кажем, че макар повечето от устойчивите словосъчетания с *Çin* (китайски) да не попадат в групата на специализираните термини, сред тях откриваме и терминология от областта на религията, биологията, изкуството, кулинарията, текстилната индустрия, техническите науки и други сфери на науката и обществото. Фактът, че само малък брой от тези устойчиви словосъчетания е заел своето място в Речника на турския език, заедно с наличието на семантични еквиваленти, позволява да направим и извода, че нарастващата им употреба в съвременния турски език се дължи именно на „модерната“ китайска култура, на напредъка в технологиите и на глобализацията, но не и на влияние от един по-отдалечен период.

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Култура и изкуство

Culture and Art

On Some Chinese Medical Plants and Their Use in Popular Medicine (A Linguocultural Aspect)

Nadezhda Nikolova

Abstract

Plants are universal symbols of man's spiritual culture. In China, with its diverse flora, plants' properties have been defined on the basis of Chinese people's rich life experience, reflected in popular knowledge. A number of plants are used in modern medical practices and their healing power has been tested and known for millennia. According to popular belief, Chinese medicinal plants exhibit therapeutic and stimulating properties. Occupying an important place in China's traditional medicine, plants have ensured their place in a number of beliefs, customs, legends and practices.

The paper presents a linguocultural analysis of the most common Chinese medicinal plants, such as: Chinese schisandra chinensis, Changbaishan ginseng, goji berries, ginkgo biloba, etc. It describes the names, etymology, semantics, and use in popular medicine.

Keywords: Chinese medicinal plants, traditional medicine, popular medicine, linguocultural studies

Plants are universal symbols of man's spiritual culture. In China, with its diverse flora, popular knowledge contains the recognition of different plants' properties, defined on the basis of the people's rich life experience.

The usage of Chinese herbs as medicine dates back to the 3rd century BC, judging by the manuscripts found in the site Mawangdui, Hunan Province, that contain references to over 250 curative substances and their use in recipes. *The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine*, written more than 2,000 years ago, discusses philosophical questions about health, disease and the connection of the human body with the cosmos. It also contains suggestions for herb usage, acupuncture, diet and exercise that are still valid today (Britton, 2013: 8).

Chinese herbs are seldom used on their own, being more often combined in a recipe. Using multiple ingredients to achieve balance within the recipe itself ensures that the medicine would affect the part of the body in need of treatment. Herbs are described in terms of temperature, taste, effect on the body, and whether they affect *yin*, *yang*, *ki* (*qi*) or blood (Britton, 2013: 10).

The concept of *yin-yang* originates from ancient Chinese philosophy, according to which all systems in the universe consist of two conflicting and yet interdependent energies that give birth to every form of existence. *Yang's* nature is hot, bright, upward and active, embodying more male energy; *yin* possesses the qualities of coolness, dampness and downward direction, which are mostly female principles.

From the point of view of Chinese medicine, the energy *ki*, which is in a constant state of change, is manifested both at physical and psychological level. It is the force or life. *Ki* generates, moves and controls the blood, and yet the blood nourishes it, or as the Chinese saying goes: „Blood is the mother of *ki*.“

Plants occupy an important place in Chinese medicine. During millennia of testing, Chinese healing plants have shown curative and stimulating properties, which has provided them with a place in a number of beliefs, customs, legends and healing practices, both traditional and modern.



Fig. 1 Ginkgo biloba

Ginkgo biloba is usually considered to be one of the oldest trees in the world. It originates from China and Japan, reaches a height of 40 meters and enjoys great respect in the Far East. In the 18th century, it was spread in Europe, mostly in parks and alleys. Botanists often describe it as a „living fossil,“ because it's the only surviving species from an evolution pattern that was otherwise lost during the last Ice Age. The form of the ginkgo leaves is considered as a symbol of unity in dualism. This interpretation has been used by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in his *West-Eastern Divan*. Among its unique features is the fact that the colors of the tree bloom only at night and flourish immediately, as if they enjoy the magnificent miracle of life in secret. Another one of its features is its *yin-yan* quality. As the ancient Chinese botanist treatise says: „There are male and female ginkgo trees and only if the male and female trees are planted together, there will be seeds, or if the [female] tree is planted on the side of the lake where it can be reflected in the water, there will be seeds“ (See Peng Chen, „Planting Ginkgo“, quoted in the Encyclopedia of Scriptures). Chinese botanist Li Shizhen described the phenomenon in detail and accepted the classification of *male and female ginkgo trees*.

For the ancient Chinese, however, ginkgo, except a manifestation of the sacred concept of *yin-yang*, is above all a symbol of longevity and vitality. Most ginkgo trees grow to an impressive height and width, often living for several millennia. Many palaces or temples have ancient ginkgo trees that are thousands of years old, and one tree is said to be about 10,000 years old (for a list of ancient ginkgo trees in mainland China, see Ma Wenfei et al., *Interesting Tales About Medicinal Plants* [Baicao Yaoyong Quhua], Jiangxi Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, Nanchang: 1994, pp. 147–148). In many cases, trees have preceded the building of the temple and were often the destination of early shamanic pilgrimages. Li Shizhen reports that „in order to engrave their magical spells and stamps, the Taotian shamans used the old ginkgo tree to communicate with the spiritual world“ (Dharmandanda, Fruehauf 1998: 2).

Within the system of animistic beliefs, which informs all later schools of Chinese philosophy, science and religion, the ginkgo tree was revered as a symbol of a sacred life force and as a living witness to the Age of Sages, who, as it is said, lay the foundations of Chinese civilization. Remarkable in this context is that the original Chinese name of ginkgo is *gongsun shu*, a term that binds it specifically to one of China's most famous characters, the Yellow Emperor, often referred to by his surname, Gongsun. It is to this legendary figure that the systematic study of inner and outer alchemy, *yin-yang*, the five phases and other basic notions of Taoist science and medicine is usually attributed.

It may not be a coincidence that the modern ginkgo seems to have spread over China and the rest of the world from Mt. Qingcheng Shan, a place recalled as a key area of prototype shamanism and Taoist science, which also marks one of the most important destinations of the Yellow Emperor in his journey to compiling the sacred knowledge of his time. This mountainous village in Southwest China, protected by the East Himalayas, has recently been identified by botanists as potentially the only place where ginkgo trees have originally survived the glacial devastation and global floods of the last Ice Age.

As a symbol of the long and rich history of cultural heritage, ginkgo has received many different names over the centuries. Most of them refer either to the shape of the leaves or the seeds, or to the ancient and aristocratic status of the tree in the Asian continent. The Chinese language terms for ginkgo wood are: *Bagusushushou*, *Yazangshu*, *Gongsunshu* (the tree of the emperor), *Fozhijia* (Buddha tree) and *Lingyan* (The eyes of the Cosmic Spiritual Tree).

The origin of the name „biloba“ is Latin: from „bi“ (two) and „loba“ (divided), which refers to the shape of the leaves.

The official botanical name of ginkgo in China, „silver apricot tree“ (*yinxing*), was used by the 10th century. Although tree seeds have long been used by the local population in Southeast and Southwest China as a pulmonary tonic, only later this element begins to be appreciated by the imperial court. Common names of ginkgo biloba are: jinko, dakin tree and white tree. Li Shizhen from the Ming dynasty, the author of *Fundamentals of Pharmacopedia* (*Bencao ganmu*), sums up the history of ginkgo's terminology:

Ginkgo biloba is the national tree of China and it is known variously as 银杏树 *yínxìngshù* „silver apricot tree“, 百果树 *bǎiguǒshù* „white fruit tree“, or 鸭脚树 *yājǎoshù* „duck feet tree“. Elsewhere in the world it is often known as the „maidenhair tree“, because of the similarity of the leaves to the ones of adiantum, the maidenhair fern.

The ginkgo leaves look just like a duck leg, hence the name duck feet tree. During the Song dynasty, its seeds were first used in influxes for the imperial court, and then the name of the tree was changed to silver almond tree, because its seeds have the shape of small almonds and their shell is white. Today it's called a white fruit tree. (Dharmandanda, Fruehauf 1998: 3)

Recently, the ginkgo biloba seed is most often identified with its most valuable healing part. It is prescribed regularly by practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine all over the world for the treatment of asthma, bronchitis and leucorrhea.

According to the eastern belief, ginkgo supplements kidney energy by stabilizing the inferior furnace (kidneys, adrenal gland, bladder and reproductive organs). It is taken internally for circulatory diseases such as Raynaud's disease and varicose veins, memory loss or cerebral insufficiency in the elderly, inability to hold urine, coughing and wheezing (L'Orange, 2000: 165).

According to ancient sources, ginkgo leaves, which have the form of a fan, were used to treat asthmatic wheezing. The plant improves the blood supply and expands tight arteries. It is used to treat tinnitus, weakening of memory, vertigo and headache. Ginkgo biloba also works against depression.



Fig. 2 Ginseng

Ginseng is one of the most famous herbs in the world. It is found in the forest and mountainous areas of Northeast China. Its botanical name, *Panax ginseng*, comes from Panakes, a Greek word which means *panacea or treating everything*. (L'Orange, 2000: 166).

The popular eastern names of the ginseng are: *divine herb, the root of life, the root of longevity, the promise of immortality*. (L'Orange, 2000: 173). In eastern herbal treatment, ginseng is considered to be the „highest“ medicine, as it restores the body's vital energy by balancing the functions of all organs and systems and thus allowing the body to heal itself (L'Orange, 2000: 167).

In eastern medicine, Chinese ginseng has been used for more than 4000 years as a fortification tool for *ki*. It remains a major ingredient in the hundreds of herbal combinations prescribed today.

There are many legends about how people started using ginseng as a medicine. One of them tells that fairies gave this healing herb to humanity, for the reason of which images of fairies often decorate the packages in which ginseng is sold. Another ancient Chinese legend states that Confucius was the first person to discover the medical use of ginseng 2500 years ago. According to another story, the healing properties of ginseng were discovered by the great Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu. Another myth tells that somewhere during the Sui dynasty every night a human wailing was heard, until the peasants finally found the place where the sound came from, they began digging in the soil and unearthed a root that looked like a human.

Ginseng was imported to Europe several times after the ninth century, but it only became important for Western medicine after 1950, when Soviet research confirmed its therapeutic value as an „adaptogenic“ herb (L'Orange, 2000: 172).

This perennial herb has an aromatic root similar to a carrot, which value grows dramatically with age and shape. According to famous botanist Dr. Shui Yin Hu, who previously worked for the Arnold Dendrarium in Boston, ginseng represents the Earth's vital energy, concentrated in a human-shaped root (L'Orange, 2000: 173).

Zhenxing, the dried root of panax quinquimomy, which according to the Chinese has magical powers due to its resemblance to the human body, can only be used efficiently after three hundred years when it becomes a vegetative creature with white blood, from which a few drops are able to return a corpse to life (Walters, 1995: 79).

The oldest and largest roots of ginseng, which look like a human, are the most expensive (L'Orange, 2000: 167). A proverb in China reads: „If you take ginseng when you are young, what herb will you use when you get old?“

„The miraculous root“ ginseng is used from old times for various diseases. It strengthens the immune system, stimulates metabolism, working capacity and potency (Lee, 2008: 118). In eastern medicine ginseng is used for recovering from chronic illnesses or elderly disabilities. The healing properties of ginseng (sweet, slightly bitter, warm in energy), affects the organ systems of the spleen and lungs (Walters, 1995: 174).

Ginseng with royal jelly and shisandra is a classical herbal combination of the East that stimulates the immune system and enhances mental and physical endurance (Gancheva, 2017: 8).



Fig. 3 Goji berry

Goji berry is the fruit of *Lycium barbarum* or *Lycium chinense* – an Asian plant of the Solanaceae family. One of the earliest names of goji berry, *Lycium*, comes from the ancient southern Anatolian district of Lycia. This shows that it was then known and planted. The name „wolf grape“ is associated with the original name of the Greek word for wolf – „lycos“.

This plant is often called „mossy nail from Ningxia“ (*Ningxia gouqi*). But if the first word of this phrase is clear (it originates from the geographic region where the bush grows), the second causes questions.

The modern name „goji berry“ entered the English-speaking world in the beginning of the 21st century. Its Asian name „goji“ is modified and comes from the Chinese (*gouqizi*).

According to one old legend, the goji berry name is derived from the name of the peasant Gou Tzu who lived in the fifth century BC in Ningxia Province. Like many of his peers, he enrolled in the army and spent a long time away from his family. When he returned to his village, he learned that many of his acquaintances had died from hunger. Gou Tzu's joy was great when he found his family alive and strong. He was surprised how well his wife and his old mother looked. It turned out that during the hungry years they picked red berries from the local prickly bushes and used them as food along with the other products they were able to find. The young warrior was so happy that his relatives survived in the hard years thanks to the incredible fruit that no one had previously paid attention to that he began to tell all his acquaintances about it. Gradually, that story spread throughout China and people began to call the exceptional fruit with the name of the person who promoted it (Godoua, 2016: 30).

In ancient China, this miraculous plant was highly valued and used in traditional Chinese medicine because of its extremely valuable contents and influence on human health. It is a perennial shrub with small red-orange fruits and yellow kidney seeds. The most valuable part of the plant is its fruit. The names of goji berry in China are: *merdjan, lycium, litius and imperial fruit*.

The healing properties of the herb have been known in China for thousands of years. An ancient medical book, *Treatise on Herbs and Their Properties*, pays special attention to it, claiming that the fruits help to „regain body fluids, sooth the spirit, refresh and cleanse the skin, strengthen the eyes“. In another classical Chinese book, *Herbs and Nourishing*, it is said that it „strengthens the muscles and ligaments, protects against colds and leads to longevity.“

A Tang dynasty poet praises the superb effects of the herb in a poem about the wolf. It says that even water from a well near the plant can help people achieve longevity.

Li Shizhen, one of the most famous doctors and phytotherapists in China's history, mentions in his *Fundamentals of Pharmacopedia* that the inhabitants of the village of Nanchui have the habit of eating the fruit of the horseradish, and almost all are long-lived. Tao Hongjing, an alchemist and healer, describes the plant in detail. Gou Chi in her *Holy Farmer's Cannon for Medicinal Plants*, a kind of pharmacology of her time, also speaks about it. There are also many Chinese parables and legends that have survived to this day, such as the story of an ancient Tibetan temple in the Himalayas, around the walls of which goji plants grew. Small red fruit fell in the well of the temple and the monks living there were not only in good health but visibly not old. At age of 80, they did not have neither white hair nor tooth loss. And all this, just because they drank water from the well full of berries. From there begins the belief that the first natural healers come from the Himalayas and pass their knowledge from Tibet to China, even to India.

For the first time „the imperial fruit“ was presented to the world in 1996 at the International Meeting of the United Nations. A pioneer in planting goji berry outside of its natural Asian area is Gary Young of Utah, USA.

Goji berry contains enormous amounts of B vitamins (B1, B2, B6), vitamin E, provitamin A (as in carrots), vitamin C (500 times more than oranges), 21 micronutrients including zinc, iron, copper, calcium, selenium, phosphorus, germanium, potassium. It is a complete source of proteins, containing 19 important amino acids, including all 8 essential ones, 8 polysaccharides, 6 mono-saccharides, and others. Goji berry has the highest antioxidant content of all known superfoods in the world so far. The superfruit also contains Omega 3 and Omega 6 unsaturated fatty acids.

According to Chinese medicine, the goji berry fruit has a warm yang energy that affects favorably the meridians of the liver, kidneys, heart and lungs. Western and Eastern medicine are unanimous that thanks to its extremely rich composition, this fruit strengthens the body's immune system, excels in fatigue, improves vision, strengthens liver functions, lowers blood sugar, regulates blood pressure, protects and heals tumor diseases. Goji berry is among the few foods that help the human body naturally produce large amounts of growth hormone (HGH). It enhances the function of the thyroid gland through beta-carotene, which it contains. Thanks to the organic germanium in its composition, goji berry possesses proven anticancer properties. It stimulates the release of the hormone melatonin, which is the hormone of sleep and a brain regulator that protects against Alzheimer. It alleviates arthritis, alleviates psoriasis and digestive problems, such as ulcer and irritable bowel syndrome. It has a positive impact on anemia, diabetes, premature aging, memory problems, lung problems, insomnia, tinnitus and dizziness. In addition to a number of beneficial properties, this fruit is also a natural aphrodisiac. Laboratory studies prove that goji berry increases the white blood cells in the body, protects the cells from aging, stimulates self-regulating functions of DNA and helps obsolete and diseased cells to

be transformed to restore their normal health. One of the latest discoveries in medicine related to goji berry is that it stimulates the production of the hormone leptin, which regulates metabolism and appetite. That's how Goji Berry is an invaluable assistant in the fight against obesity.

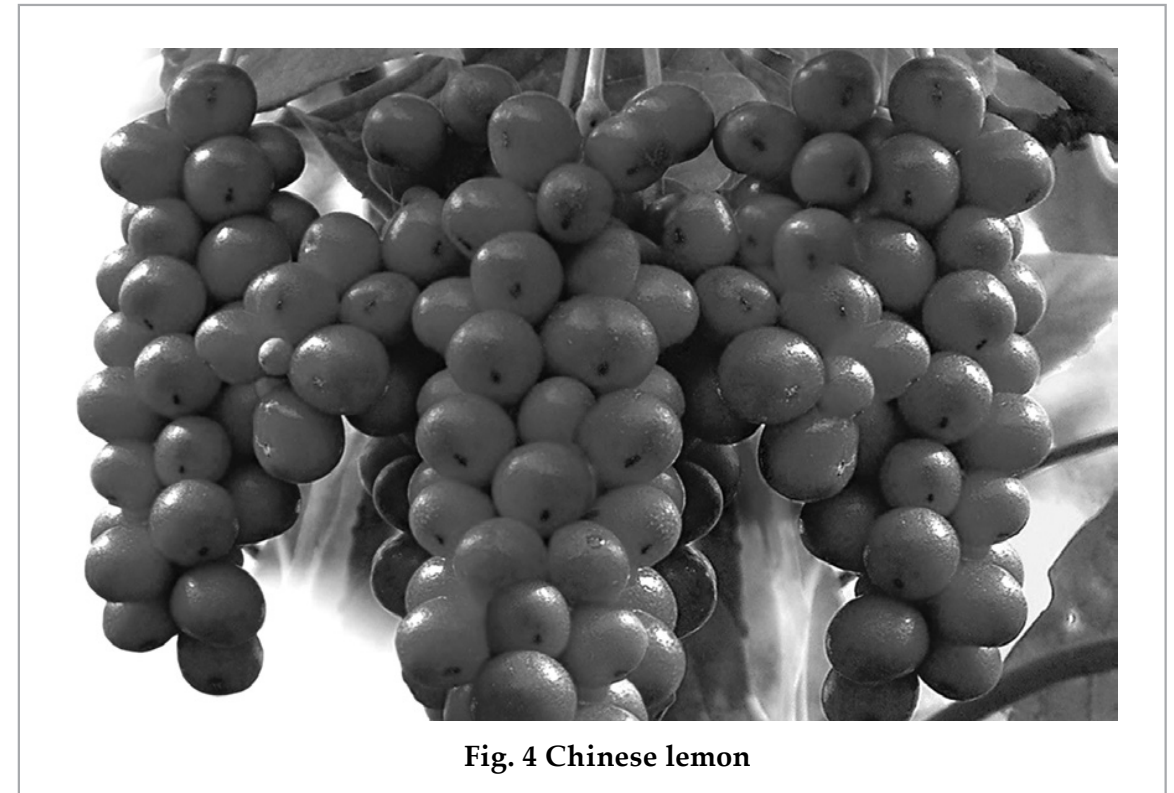


Fig. 4 Chinese lemon

The Latin name of **Chinese lemon** is *shisandra* – Queen among herbs. It is native to North China, Manchuria and the regions close to the Chanbai Mountain.

The plant produces aromatic white or pink colors that develop oblong clusters with bright red berries.

Shisandra's benevolent impact on organs and physiological systems in the human body is described in the book *Shennong Bencao Jing*, considered one of the oldest herbal books in the world and the earliest Chinese pharmacopoeia. In it, Shennong, honored as the father of Chinese medicine and acupuncture, talks about the complex tonic and healing properties of the magic shisandra.

Its Chinese name is *wuweizi*, which means „seed/fruit with five flavors“. (L'Orange, 2000: 250). The seeds of shisandra contain all the basic five flavors: salty, sweet, bitter, hot and sour. Because of this characteristic, in traditional Chinese medicine shisandra is considered to be a fruit that has the ability to balance and optimize the work of the five body organs and the twelve major energy meridians, which dramatically increases its therapeutic value, compared to other medicinal herbs.

According to Chinese herbal philosophy, sour taste helps stabilize the primary ki of the kidneys and also maintains the function of the liver and its ability to detoxify and purify the blood.

Shisandra acts as a nutrient for body fluids, and particularly as a tonic to the body's *yin*, with the greatest impact on the kidneys, liver and lungs.

Shisandra fruit tea potions are well known in the history of herbs in China as providing the necessary substances to depleted skin. Shisandra fruit tea also helps to clear redness from the eyes and improves eyesight in people who take it regularly. It is traditionally used for the liver, tired eyes, as an antioxidant and an adaptogen.

Shisandra has been used as a herb to restore the smoothness, softness and elasticity of the skin, which results directly from the detoxification of the liver. In the courtyard of the Chinese emperors shisandra is widely used as a beauty herb.



Fig. 5 Chinese angelica

Chinese angelica is a plant that comes from China, but it can also be found in Japan and Korea. It grows well in areas with high altitudes. It prefers cool climate and semi-shaded areas. It is a perennial herb with a stem that reaches a height of about one meter. Characteristic of this herb is its strong branches. The leaves are elliptical, feathery, dyed in green, attached to each other on a handle.

Chinese angelica also has other names: *Angelica Sinensis*, *Dong Quay*, *Dang Guy*, *Ting Quey*.

Chinese angelica has been present in the medicine of Asian peoples for centuries. A thousand years ago, the Chinese began actively using the herb. Because of the miraculous impact that the plant had on female health, they called *Angelica sinensis* female ginseng.

Chinese angelica is one of the plants that can be a true ally in the fight against many diseases. The plant is characterized by a generous, toning, analgesic, soothing, antibacterial, laxative and diuretic action.

Asian folk healers recommend *angelica synensis* for curing neurosis, insomnia, depression, vision problems. The herb may also affect gastrointestinal problems. In addition, the herb

also has a good effect on the circulatory system. It expands the blood vessels and helps for the successful circulation of the blood in the body. At the same time, it reduces the risk of thrombus.

The usage of curative plants of China's infinite flora reflects elements of man's entire worldview, of folk beliefs and customs, which makes herbs bearers of synthetic ethnolinguistic information.

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Using Traditional Chinese Medicine for Eye Health

Denka Marinova

Abstract

Traditional Chinese ophthalmology features a long history, evidenced by multiple records, such as the “eye diseases” recorded in oracle bone inscriptions found in ancient ruins, and records about nebula, optic atrophy, red eye and tunica in Shennong's Classic of Materia Medica, which also mentioned as many as 70 herbs for treating eye diseases. The earliest records about “curing cataract with gold needle” were found in Arcane Essentials from the Imperial Library. There also emerged other ophthalmic books as Longshu's Treatise on Ophthalmology.

According to Traditional Chinese Medicine, the human body is a complex, organic unit. Its tissues and organs are interrelated and mutually dependent. Therefore, the health of the eyes, as the optical organ of the body, can influence and be influenced by any and every other organ in the body. Acupuncture has been successful in treating a wide range of visual conditions including glaucoma, cataracts, macular degeneration, optic neuritis and optic atrophy.

Keywords: Traditional Chinese Medicine, eye diseases, acupoints, blepharospasm

In its essence, traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) is a holistic healing system, created and practiced over thousands of years. What is characteristic of Chinese medical philosophy is the fact that it sets great store primarily by unity, harmony, and balance of opposites, in contrast to the Western medical philosophy. In TCM, diseases are considered a disruption of the harmony of the whole body, not within its separate organs or systems. The Chinese philosopher Meng Tzu says that “Heavens, Earth, and we live inseparably and together we form an integral whole”. The human body is a mighty healer, endowed with inherent capacities to restore its balance. It is a self-supporting, self-regulating, and self-healing device, provided we know how to accumulate, store, and control the *qi* energy within our bodies.

The human body is composed of channels and collaterals that carry out the interrelation between its different organs and systems. The channels ensure the free flow of the *qi* energy, thus sustaining the balance between *yin* and *yang*, nourishing the tendons, bones, and eyes, supporting the functioning of the joints, resisting the invasion of pathogenic factors, as well as reflecting the symptoms of the affected organs.

Eyesight is not an isolated phenomenon, it is an integral part of our entity. It is one of the best developed senses in both humans and animals. In the human body, the eye is part of the whole sight apparatus, which includes peripheral, conductive, and central sections. A person's psycho-emotional state can be ascertained by his/her eyes, which confirms the assertion that eyes are the “window to the soul”. Each person virtually beholds the world through his/her perceptions.

The ophthalmology of TCM is unique in its understanding of anatomic and physiological functions and pathological changes, diagnostics and treatment of the optical apparatus. TCM regards the eyes as part of the whole organism. The eyes are connected to the internal organs

by channels through which the *qi* energy flows, and so they reflect the health state of the whole body. The diseases of the internal organs affect the optical apparatus and cause the development of different further diseases.

In TCM, the eye is regarded as a microsystem, in which each part is connected to an internal organ. The eye lens and the pupil connects mainly to the kidneys, the sclera to the lungs, the arteries and veins to the heart, the upper lid pertains to the spleen, the lower lid to the stomach, the cornea and the iris to the liver; the spleen and the stomach also control the eye functions. Consequently, disbalance in an internal organ may cause eye diseases.

TCM relates eyesight to the function of the liver. In the Chapter of Jingui Zhenyanlun in Suven, it is said: “The east is related to the green color and corresponds to the liver which opens into the eyes. The essence of the eyes is stored in the liver.” The liver ensures the free flow of *qi* energy and blood, making it possible to diagnose the liver condition through the eyes. That is why, in the Chapter of Generation of the Five Zang-organs in Suven is said: „Storage of blood in the liver enables the eyes to see things.” The provision of blood and fluid to the eyes depends on the propelling power of *qi*. The normal activity of *qi* is related to the diffusing and dispersing function of the liver. The liver meridian is connected with the eyes, being the only meridian directly thus connected. The liver meridian serves to connect the liver and the eyes internally, associates the eyes with the liver and transports *qi* and blood (Zuo, 2002:5).

It is assumed that tears are the essential fluid of the liver. They have detoxifying and protective function. Liver diseases are manifested by changes in the sclera, reddening of the eyes, deterioration of sight sharpness, and increased lacrimation. It is said that “in the liver, there rages a fire which should be extinguished”.

The relationship between the eyes and the heart is determined by the fact that the heart governs all the vessels related to the eyes. In the Chapter of Generation of the Five Zang-organs in Suven, it is said: “All blood is related to the eyes,” “The heart is associated with the vessels,” and “All the vessels are related to the eyes.” The blood in the vessels is propelled by heart *qi* to circulate throughout the body and into the eyes. That is why the eyes are able to see (Zuo, 2002:6).

The circulation of the blood in the collaterals of the eyes is determined by the spleen *qi*. If the spleen *qi* is deficient, it will lead to ocular hemorrhage. The lungs, in their turn, are associated with all vessels and control *qi*, so with normal functioning of the lung *qi* and smooth flow of *qi* and blood, the visceral essence flows into the eyes to enable them to see things; if lung *qi* is deficient, the eyes will lose sufficient nourishment and become dim. As for kidneys' connection with the eyes, in the Chapter of Genuine discussion in Suven, it is said: „The kidney controls water and receives and stores essence from the five zang-organs and fu-organs”; if the kidney essence and marrow are abundant, the eyes are sharp in vision, and if the they are deficient, tinnitus, vertigo and dim eyesight will be caused. The relationships between the eyes and the viscera are different and have their own characteristics: physiologically, they depend on each other, and pathologically, they affect each other (Zuo, 2002:7).

A major healing principle of TCM is to eliminate pathogenic factors until the balance of the whole organism is restored. The occurred changes in the condition of the ocular apparatus explained by TCM as follows:

1. *Deficiency of qi energy in the liver.* It is considered that the liver blood nourishes and moisturizes the eyes. When it is deficient, there occurs dim vision, myopia, color-blindness, or eye dryness. In addition, liver deficiency may cause pale or insufficient menstruation, fatigue, or muscular cramps.

2. *The presence of heat in the liver.* If there is heat present in the liver, the eyes are dry, red, and painful, with a burning sensation. In addition, liver heat is often related to irritability, anger, or the feeling of dissatisfaction; it may also be accompanied by headache.

3. *The presence of the pathogenic factor of wind in the liver* is usually the result of extreme heat in the liver, which can lead to nystagmus. In addition, this condition is often related to dramatic emotional stress, dizziness, vertigo, stiffness of the neck, and headache.

The pathogenic factors upon the penetration of which eyesight deteriorates are:

- Heat: leads to bloating, inflammation, and reddening of the eyes. It often occurs in case of conjunctivitis, blepharospasm, reddening and pains of the eyes.
- Cold: leads to pain and slow loss of eyesight over time, as well as to chronic degenerative diseases such as macular degeneration and glaucoma.
- Wind: leads to sudden and dramatic loss of sight.
- Dampness: leads to intense secretion and bloating of the eyes.
- Dryness: leads to itching and reddening of the eyes.

These pathogens can damage the eyes and possibly cause loss of sight. A lot of these factors are closely connected with the seasons and often occur during seasonal change. According to TCM, the most frequent reason for sight deterioration is exposure to cold and dampness. The invasion of cold blocks the flow of *qi* energy, thus depriving the eyes of vital heat and nourishment. Cold damages the muscles, the blood vessels, and the skin around the eyes, which leads to still further degeneration of ocular sharpness.

On occurrence of diseases of the ocular apparatus, the main healing methods are:

1. Dispersing pathogenic wind-heat
2. Purging fire to remove toxin
3. Nourishing *yin* to reduce fire
4. Eliminating dampness
5. Promoting blood circulation to remove blood stasis
6. Dispersing stagnated liver *qi*
7. Nourishing *qi* and blood
8. Invigorating liver and kidney

TCM has at its disposal a great variety of prophylactic means for treatment of the ocular apparatus. Acupuncture, for example, improves the blood circulation and stimulates the enervation of the hind part of the eye, relaxes the eye muscles, improves the ocular sharpness.

It is successfully applied in the healing of a large scope of eye diseases, including glaucoma, cataract, macular degeneration, optic neuritis, and optic atrophy, ptosis on myasthenia gravis, keratitis, etc. Acupuncture is a method for healing the organism through application of punctures different in strength, character, intensity, and duration. The punctures are applied on specific points throughout the body by special acupuncture needles.

Eye massages and exercises have a wide application as well. They are based on the idea that health is sustained by the normal flow of *qi* energy. The disrupted flow of these two substances may lead to changes in the optical analyzer. These two methods are recommended as a supplementary therapy to the main treatment.

Our own experience and that of other specialists shows that optic health is a dynamic process which alters in the course of treatment. Acupuncture and acupressure treat active points (APs) found primarily about the eye orbit, as well as along the channels of the human body. Such APs are infused with the fluid *qi* substance of the zang-fu-organs as well as of the main channels. The aim of treating the APs is to regulate the functions of the organism, to improve blood circulation, trophy, and eyesight. These points are used both for prophylaxis and for healing a number of eye diseases. An interesting fact is that the names of the points contain information about their locality, function, as well as indications for use (Goranova, 1999).



Fig. 1 Acupuncture on healing conjunctivitis

There are six most frequently used APs for prevention and healing of eye diseases:

1. Chengqi (St1), 承泣. This is the point where tears are contained, so upon treatment, lacrimation is always caused. Chengqi (St1) is located directly below the pupil, on the infraorbital ridge. This is a main point for all eye problems, including those due to wind cold, wind heat, and hyperactive liver *yang*.

2. Jingming (UB1), 睛明. *Jing* means "eye", while *ming* means "light/sight recovery". This point is "the area next to and above the inner corner of the eye." Treating it leads to sight recovery. It is the point for eye problems of all kinds from early-stage cataracts or glaucoma to hysteria with vision loss. Jingming is also used for problems with conjunctivitis due to wind heat and liver heat, to blurred vision in the elderly due to deficient jing and blood.

3. Zanzhu (UB2), 攒竹. The AP lies in the depressions at the inner ends of the eyebrows. It is treated against pain in the supraorbital region; blurring of vision; redness; swelling and pain of the eye; glaucoma; night blindness; blurry and/or weak vision; red, itchy, watery eyes; allergies.

4. Sizhukong (SJ23), 絲竹空. *Si* means string, thread; *kong* is depression/concavity. The meaning of this AP's name shows its locality within the depression next to and above the outer end of the eyebrows. This is a local point, through which eye and facial problems can be treated, whether due to wind invasion or the liver *yang* and fire.

5. Tongziliao (GB1), 瞳子髎. *Tong* means pupil; *liao* means hole, depression. This is the point in the depression outside the edges of the canthus at the level of the pupil. It can treat eye problems including conjunctivitis, red sore eyes, and photophobia, dry, itchy eyes, early-stage cataracts and blurred vision, as well as lateral headaches.

6. Taiyang (EX), 太阳. The point where the largest amount of *yang* is concentrated. Its location is at the temple, in a depression about 1 *cun* posterior to the midpoint between the lateral end of the eyebrow and the outer canthus of the eye. Used in cases of redness, headache, pain of the eyes, facial pain (Goranova, 1999).

The diagnosis and means of treatment depend on the stage of disease, subjective factors, and the patients' condition. In the course of the treatment, it is obligatory to observe the principles of TCM, in compliance with the individual medical condition of the patients.

Another method for eye healing is the application of herbal medicine, usually administered in the form of infusions. Herbal medicine can be based on one single herb or on a combination of herbs, depending on the patients' individual needs and characteristics. Eye disease prevention and healing is complex – symptomatic and pathogenic.

The most frequently used Chinese herbs for eye health are:

Gouqizi (wolfberries, goji berry): it has high levels of zeaxanthin, lutein, polysaccharides and polyphenols, which have been observed to improve eyesight, prevent macular degeneration and diabetic retinopathy.

Green tea: contains vitamins C and E, lutein and zeaxanthin. It also contains catechins that help prevent atherosclerosis, blood clots, diabetes, heart disease, stroke, and to lower bad cholesterol. Catechins, vitamin C and E, lutein, and zeaxanthin, are known to help protect the delicate tissues of the eye from glaucoma and other eye diseases.

Chrysanthemum flower: in Chinese medicine, it is one of the most commonly used herbs for the treatment of eye disorders. According to *Herbs 2000*, chrysanthemums have a long history of being used to treat blurred vision, spotty vision and watering eyes.

Buddleia: in TCM, while the roots, flower and the leaves of buddleia can be used medically,

the flower buds are particularly used to treat eye-related problems, including dim eyesight, bloodshot eyes, excessive eye secretions and lacrimation, and photophobia.

Mulberry leaves: they are a powerful ally for good eye health. According to *Acupuncture Today*, people in China have been using mulberry leaves to clear fire in the liver, which is manifested as red, painful and watery eyes. Mulberry leaves contain various minerals and nutrients, such as amino acids, beta-carotene, carotenoids, flavonoids, vitamin A, B1, B2, B6, C and they are rich in fiber. They also help improve blurred vision, treat headaches and reduce dizziness.

Tienchi (Panax Notoginseng) roots contain both ginsenosides and flavonoids. Studies have found that ginsenosides are a natural growth inhibitor of cancer cells and they boost the immune system against viruses and bacteria. *Tienchi* is available as a liquid extract or a tablet.

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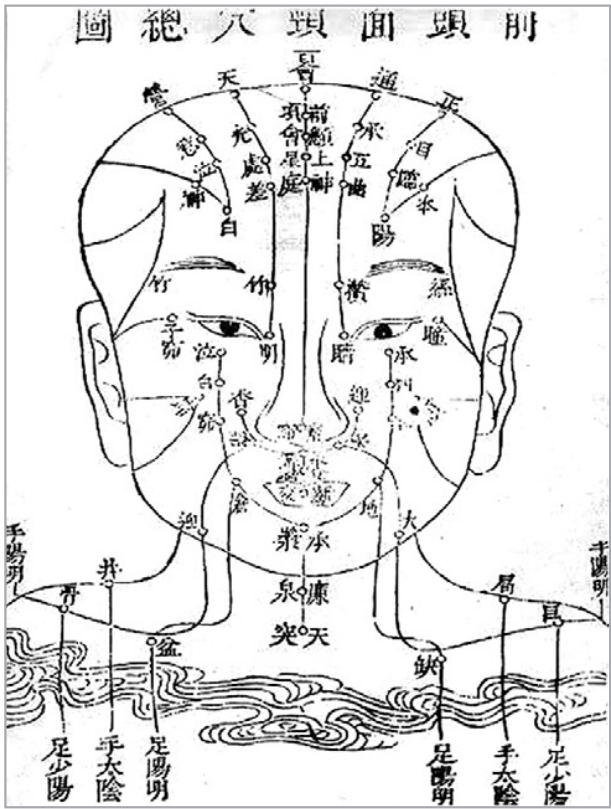


Fig. 2 Acupoints located about the eye, which are treated for prophylaxis and healing of eye diseases

Ban Gu's „The Meaning of Yi” – the Oldest Essay about the Game of Weiqi

Konstantin Bayraktarov

Abstract

The article proposes a translation of the essay “The Meaning of Yi” (弈旨 Yi Zhi) written by the famous Han historian and court scholar Ban Gu (32-93 AD). This is the first known prosaic work in Chinese literature dedicated especially to the ancient game of weiqi. This essay appears to be a fragment of a discussion wherein the student asks the scholar about the meaning of the notion yi mentioned in Confucius's *Lun Yu* (Analects). The scholar's explanation enlightens the rich symbolism of the game with many mythological, historical and philosophical references and metaphors. These details are considered and elucidated in additional commentaries. It helps to understand this present translation. This interesting essay expands our knowledge about the cultural reception of the game of weiqi in ancient times.

Keywords: Ban Gu, Yi Zhi, The meaning of Yi, the game of weiqi, culture, strategy, art

Introduction

The court scholar and writer Ban Gu (班固 32-93 AD) of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 AD) is one of China's most noteworthy historians. His notable and most famous work is *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* (前汉书 *Qian Hanshu*) which became a reference, frequently used by future Chinese historians. Another Ban Gu's work is “The comprehensive account of the White Tiger Hall discussion” (白虎通 *Bo hu tong*) – a collection of Confucian discussions. He is also the author of many poems and essays.

One of his essays is “The Meaning of Yi” (弈旨 *Yi Zhi*) which is dedicated to the game of weiqi (圍棋), aka Go or Igo in Japanese. The essay composition appears to be a fragment of a discussion wherein the student asks the scholar about the meaning of the notion yi (弈) mentioned in Confucius's *Lun Yu* (Analects). According to Xu Shen's dictionary *Shuo Wen*, “Yi is *weiqi*” or Yang Xiong's the Fang Yan, “Weiqi is known as yi, people from Guan Dong to Qi Lu call this game yi”. Yi is the ancient name of *weiqi*. This Chinese game is the most ancient strategy board game in the world. Two players place black and white stones successively on the intersections of the board (*weiqipan*) – a square grid traditionally of 17x17 or 19x19 lines. Each player's aim is to achieve more controlled and surrounded territory on the board than his opponent. The term weiqi (圍棋) originated during the Han Dynasty (202 BC–220 AD) and means “the surrounding game”.

These are two characters: *wei* means “surrounding” or “encirclement”, while *qi* means “board game”. The surrounding (圍 *wei*) is a key element which adequately describes this game and it rationally explains the replacement of yi with *weiqi* in Han times.



Figure 1. The Yi Zhi stone book monument in Zhenhai

Pre-Han sources, like *Lun Yu*, *Mengzi* and *Zuo Zhuan*, mentioned *yi* (弈) or *yiqi* (弈棋, the game of yi). The term *yi* is still used today, for example in the compound notion *dui yi* (对弈), which means “to play a board game”. It is also found four times in Ban Gu's *Qian Hanshu* and the explanation of it in his essay “The Meaning of Yi” is understandable. The game of *weiqi* has many metaphorical names. One of them is *shoutan* (手談) which means “hand talk” or “manual conversation”. This metaphorical name, given by the monk Chih Tun in the 4th–5th century, is probably directly connected to the meaning of yi as a game of “only joined hands”. The character of yi consists of the parts 亦 *yi* (“also”, “only”, “likewise”) and 升 *gōng* (“hands joined”). The notion *yi* remains as the ancient literary name of the game.

The scholar in Ban Gu's essay explains the rich symbolism of yi (i.e. weiqi) with many mythological, historical and philosophical references and metaphors.

Ban Gu's essay is very popular on the Chinese Internet. It is inscribed on the stone book monument in the Zhenhai's Guangzhou Yuexiu park (fig. 1). The essays is included in some ancient books, such as the *Yiwen Leiju* (藝文類聚 “Collection of Literature Arranged by Categories”, Book 74, Arts: Weiqi) edited by Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072). The first full translation of this essay is proposed by the British weiqi researcher John Fairbairn in his 2000 article “The Essence of Go”. Partial translations have been included in articles by Mark Elvin and Andrew Lo. The present translation is based on the Chinese text of the essay, published in the collection *Weiqi Gupu* (围棋古谱) from 2011.

Translation of Yi Zhi

大冠言博既终，或进而问之曰：“孔子称有博弈，今博行于世，而弈独绝。博义既弘，弈义不述，闻之论家，师不能说，其声可闻乎？”

The scholar explained the notion of “bo” [1] and someone asked: “Confucius mentioned ‘bo’ and ‘yi’ [2]. Today ‘bo’ is widely popular, but ‘yi’ as though does not exist. Everyone knows about “bo”, but the meaning of “yi” is described nowhere. I asked a lot of erudite personalities, but no one can explain it. Can you give me any answer?

曰：“学不广博，无以应客。北方之人，谓棋为弈。弘而说之，举其大略，厥义深矣。”

局必方正，象地则也；道必正直，神明德也；棋有白黑，阴阳分也；骈罗列布，效天文也。四象既陈，行之在人，盖王政也。成臧否，为人由己，危之正也。

The Scholar said: “My erudition is modest also, for me it’s difficult to reply profoundly. But yi is a board game well-known among the Northerners. The board is a square and represents the Earth (象地 *xiang-di*) [3]. It has straight lines (道 *dao*) which are like the bright rays (神明 *shen-ming*) of the great virtue (德 *de*) [4]. The stones are black and white like yin and yang. Their crossover disposition (on the corners) recreates the celestial patterns (天文 *tianwen*) [5]. When these four things (四象 *sixiang*) are present, players can start their moves [6]. The game is like state government (王政 *wangzheng*). Success and failure depend on mind abilities and composure [7].

夫博悬于投，不专在行。优者有不遇，劣者有侥幸，
踦拿相凌，气势力争，虽有雄雌，未足以平也。

The game of *bo* (博) is a game of chance – every move depends on the dices. The player may be skilled or not, but usually he has good or bad luck. The players in the end of their emotional struggle become winners or losers, but it is not a result of a fair masterly competition [8].

至于弈则不然，高下相推，人有等级，若孔氏之门，回赐相服。
循名责实，谋以计策；若唐虞之朝，考功黜陟，器用有常，
施設无祈，因敌为资，应时屈伸，续之不复，变化日新。

But the game of *yi* is different. The strong and the weak players have distinct abilities and according ranks (grades). Thus, in Confucius’s school [Yan] Hui and [Zi] Gong are disparate from each other [9]. The things’ names must be relevant to reality. The appellations of the official positions must correspond to the real abilities of the government officials, the abilities for creating plans, in turn, have to reflect the skills of strategic thinking. The reputation must be relevant to the real abilities. Thus, everything will stand on the right place [10]. Like in the times of [Cheng] Tang and [Da] Yu, when lifting and lowering (demotions and promotions) are determined by the real merits and abilities [11].

器用有常，施設无祈，因敌为资，应时屈伸，续之不复，
变化日新。或虚设预置，以自护卫，盖象庖牺网罟之制。

The means to achieve the goals are constant, while the plans can be changed flexible according to the situation and be an adequate response to the enemy actions. Be unpredictable [12] and renovate yourself every day [13]. You must cover also empty places in advance to establish secure areas for defense. It is like using Fuxi’s fishing nets [14].

堤防周起，障塞曼决，有似夏后治水之势。
一孔有阙，坏颓不振，有似瓠子汎滥之败。

Raise dikes to save and secure your lands from the overflowing rivers. Thus Xiahou (Yu the Great) controlled the waters and stopped the flood [15]. One crack is enough to destroy the dike. This is like the case of the catastrophic flood when the Huzi dike crashed [16].

一棋破室，亡地复还，曹子之威。
作伏设诈，突围横行，田单之奇。
要厄相劫，割地取偿，苏张之姿。

During a single game, lost territory can be regained, it is similar to the feat of arms of Cao Zi (曹子) [17]. When, following a perfidious feint (manoeuvre), one successfully breaks out of the encirclement (围 *wei*) and perturbs the enemies, it is reminding of the unconventional strata-gem of General Tien Dan (田单) [18]. When the enemies are blocking each other, robbing each other and dividing territories, it is reminding of the actions of Su [Qin] and Zhang [Yi] [19].

故本自广，敌人恐惧，三分有二，
释而不诛，周文之德，智者之虑也。

If you strengthen your territories and expand them, then the enemy will be afraid. If you possess two-thirds of the board and generously allow the enemy to rule one third, then it can be said that you show wisdom like the virtuous (德 *de*) Wen [Wang] of Zhou (周文) [20].

既有过失，能量弱强，逡巡儒行，保角依旁，
却自补续，虽败不亡，繆公之智，中庸之方也。

If you have escaped defeat, then you can rightfully appreciate the weak and the strong, and by abstaining (restraining), you act as a benevolent teacher. If you defend the corners and spread apart, and on the other hand, defend your weak stones, then, even if you lose once, you will not die. This is similar to the wisdom of Mu-gong [21] and the doctrine of the Golden Mean [22].

上有天地之象，次有帝王之治，中有五霸之权，
下有战国之事，览其得失，古今略备。

After the world (天地 *tiendi*) began its existence, the emperors and the kings (帝王 *diwang*) began to rule it at first. Then, in the middle, the Five Hegemons (五霸 *wuba*) ruled, and then the time of the Warring States (战国 *Zhanguo*) came. If you diligently study their rises and falls, then the past and present will become clear to you. [23]

及其晏也，至于发奋忘食，乐以忘忧，推而高之，仲尼概也。

If you feel so comfortable as a player that in your diligence you are fully absorbed in yourself and forget about food (忘食 *wang shi*), and are so happy to forget your worries (忘忧 *wang you*), then you deserve great praise, as you are like Confucius himself (仲尼 Zhongni). [24]

乐而不淫，哀而不伤，质之诗书，《关雎》类也。
纰专知柔，阴阳代至，施之养性，彭祖气也。

If you are happy and honest, if you are sad and kindly, it is reminiscent of the “*Guanju*” of *The Book of Songs* [25]. If you hold hardness, you understand the softness. *Yin* and *yang* complement and alternate each other. Following these principles and preserving your own nature is similar to Peng Zu's breathing (气 *qi*) practice [26].

外若无为，默而识净泊，自守以道意，隐居放言，
远咎悔行，象虞仲，信可惜。”

If in silent inaction (无为 *wuwei*) you achieve the Dao (道意 *dao yi*) and overcome regrets and then seem as a talkative hermit who gives freedom of his words, then you are like Yu Zhong. [27]

感乎大冠论未备，故因问者喻其事。

The scholar finished with his humble explanations, making sure that the selected metaphors answered the question.

Commentaries and notes

[1] Some definitions of “bo” (博): 1) abundant, plentiful, rich; 2) wide, broad; 3) to win, to court; 4) to gamble, to play games. Other compound terms with “bo”: “liubo” 六博 literally: six sticks – an ancient Chinese game of chance; “boshi” 博士 – doctor, Ph.D, court scholar; “boxue” 博学 – erudition.

[2] The term “boyi” in Lun Yu, 17.22:

子曰：「飽食終日，無所用心，難矣哉！不有博弈者乎，為之猶賢乎已。」

a) The Master said, “Hard is it to deal with who will stuff himself with food the whole day, without applying his mind to anything good! Are there not gamesters and chess [liubo and weiqi] players? To be one of these would still be better than doing nothing at all. (trans. James Lege)¹

b) The Master said, To eat one’s fill all day long and not exercise one’s mind – that is hard to understand. Aren’t there those who pass time with the games of *bo* and *yi*? Even they are more worthy. (trans. Robert Eno)²

[3] The square board represents the Earth according to the ancient cosmological theory of the Hemispherical Dome (蓋天, *gai tian*) – “round heaven and square earth” (天圓地方 *tiān yuán dì fāng*) or “umbrella-like heaven and square earth” (蓋天地方 *gai tian di fang*). The Jin Shu (History of the Jin Dynasty) compiled in 635 (648) consists of: The Heaven is round as an extended cover and the Earth is square as a chess (game) board (Chen 1996: 152).

[4] The term “dao” (道) means “path”, “road”, but here it means “line”; the roads (lines) must be straight. It’s interesting that this emblematical term describes the square grid on the board. The association with the philosophical term *Dao* is understandable, because Ban Gu compares the straight lines with the “divine light” or “bright rays” (神明 *shen ming*). The term “shen” means “spirit” or “mind”, i.e. spiritual energy and immortal human nature. The source of this light is the virtue (德 *de*), which is in accordance with the morality of the emperor (天子 *tianzi* – son of Heaven) and the virtuous man (君子 *junzi*). The superior Zhou rulers with their virtue received the heaven mandate (天命 *tianming*) and governed all-under-heaven (天下 *tianxia*) with their gentle authority, not with tyrannical power.

[5] The board has nine star points. The traditional Chinese game opening starts with four stones placed on the corner points in advance: two pairs of white and black stones placed diagonally (fig. 2).

¹ Legge, J., The Life and Teaching of Confucius. With explanatory notes. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1867, p. 245-246

² The next quotations of Lun Yu are from the translation of Robert Eno.

This opening might be understood as a symbol of the celestial pattern or the heaven’s pattern (天文 *tianwen*). The celestial pattern includes astronomical objects (sun, moon, planets, stars) and atmospheric phenomena (clouds, wind, rain, rainbow). The Universe unites the celestial pattern and the earth’s shapes. Thus, the star intersection points are associated with the heaven and the five or nine sacral mountain picks.

There is a close association with the magical square Luoshu (洛書 River Luo Inscription) and the magical cross Hetu (河圖 Yellow River Chart). The numbers on these schemes are presented figurally as black and white circles like a weiqi diagram. The Hetu scheme is considered as an ideal map of the Universe. Once, Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) placed himself facing the weiqi board and after two days of thinking he concluded: “The game of weiqi and the scheme of Hetu haven’t a difference”.

[6] The “four things” or “four symbols” (sixiang) include a square board, straight lines, stones and an opening position. These “things” Ban Gu considers from a symbolic view: they are the symbols of the earth, the virtues, the dialectical principle and heaven. The term is found in the treatise 繫辭傳 *Xici zhuàn* (V-III BC) – the commentary part in *The Book of Changes* or *Yi Jing*:

Therefore, there is in the Changes the Great Primal Beginning (taiji), which generates the two primary forces. The two primary forces generate the four images. The four images generate the eight trigrams. The eight trigrams determine good fortune and misfortune. Good fortune and misfortune create the great field of action. (tr. Wilhelm and Baynes 1967:318-9). Graphically the four symbols are depicted as four combinations of two “broken” or “unbroken” lines, respectively representing yin or yang. The notion is also interpreted as four seasons (Yu Fang, 164-233) or four elements: metal, wood, water, and fire (Cong Inda, 574–648) (fig. 4). It looks like as if Ban Gu points to the game board and explains: “There is a square board, lines, stones, and a disposition. With these four things the game begins.”

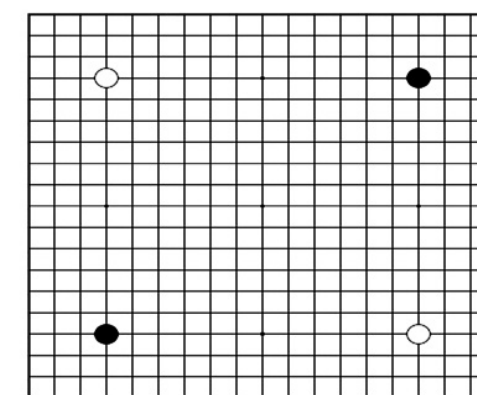


Figure 2. The crossover Chinese opening position

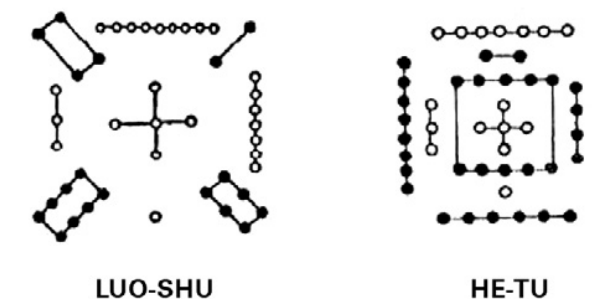


Figure 3. The magic schemes of Luoshu and Hetu

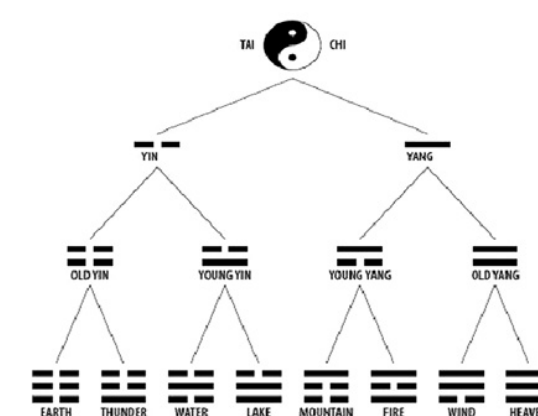


Figure 4. The “four symbols”: old yin, young yin, young yang, old yang

[7] The thinker Ouyan Xiu (1007-1072) once said: The secret of the peaceful and orderly country without rebellions and revolts consist in the understanding of *weiqi*. The player must know all good moves at every moment, while placing the stones at the right intersections. (新五代史, *Xin wu dai shi*, New History of the Five Dynasties).

[8] The game of *bo* (博) or *liubo* (六博 six sticks) is an ancient Chinese board game played by two players. As for the rules, it is believed that each player had six game pieces that were moved around the points of a square game board that had a distinctive, symmetrical pattern. Moves were determined by the throw of six sticks, which performed the same function as dice in other race games (see Wikipedia: Liubo).

[9] Yan Hui and Zi Gong were disciples of Confucius. Ban Gu gives the first hint about the ranking system in *weiqi*. He illustrates it with the reference to the *Lun Yu*:

The Master addressed Zi Gong, saying, “Who is superior, you or Hui?” “How could I dare even to gaze up at Hui? When Hui hears one part, he understands all ten; I hear one and understand two.” The Master said, “Yes, you do not come up to him. Neither you nor I come up to him.” (Lun Yu, 5.9).

[10] One branch of Chinese philosophy was centered on “names” (*ming*, words) and their relation to “things” (*shi*, objects, events, situations). This is the School of Names (*Ming jia*) – one of six ancient philosophical schools. The relation between name and thing was an important topic for ancient thinkers. Ban Gu uses the philosophical term *ming ze*: the names of things or the appellations of the official positions. For example, according to *Guo Yu*, the rank is the basis of a state government³. In the game context, it is the relation between mastership and rank.

[11] The emperors Yu the Great (Da Yu, 2200–2100 BC) and Cheng Tang (Da Yi; 1675–1646 BC) are the founders of Xia (2070–1600 BC) and Shang (1600–1046 BC) dynasties.

[12] Be unpredictable..., Ban Gu says about the constant means and the changeable plans. It's a reference to the strategic conception of *shì* (勢 the disposition of forces) described by Sun Zi in *The Art of War*. This concept includes the indirect-direct principle (奇正 *qi-zheng*) – an extraordinary and regular fight. Sun Zi wrote: “In all fighting, the direct method may be used for joining a battle, but indirect methods will be needed in order to secure victory. Indirect tactics, efficiently applied, are inexhaustible as heaven and earth, unending as the flow of rivers and streams; like the sun and moon, they end but to begin anew; like the four seasons, they pass away to return once more.” (see Bingfa, V:5-6).

David Lai in his work “Learning from the Stones: A Go Approach to Mastering China's Strategic Concept, *Shi*” comments: “*Zheng* is the regular way of doing things, or in military terms, the regular order of battle. A commander deploys troops in regular (*zheng*) ways. However, the commander must mobilize his troops to engage the enemy in extraordinary (*qi*) ways. *Zheng* is, in essence, a given. It is open knowledge to friends and foes. Yet *qi* is a variable and its variation inexhaustible.” (Lai 2004: vi-vii).

[13] ...and renovate yourself every day. This is an ancient equivalent of the idea of lifelong learning, which is found in the Confucian treatise “The Great Learning” (Da Xue), 2.1:

The inscription on the [Cheng] Tang's ablution vessel says: “If you are renovated yourself one day, then renovate yourself every day, and continue thus day after day.” (trans. Kobzev 1986: 234-235)

[14] Fuxi or Paoxi (3838–2953 BC) – a mythical emperor who taught people social norms and rituals. He also taught people hunting and fishing – he showed them how to make fishing nets and to put them where the fish pass. In the game context, the player places naturally his stones on empty positions and expects the future advantage.

[15] Xiahou – Yu the Great (Da Yu), Xiahou Yu or Xia Yu. Emperor Yu rescued people from the Great Flood, restored the river beds, divided the Celestial Empire into nine regions and founded the Xia dynasty (2070–1600 BC).

[16] The great flood in 132 BC. One of the major dikes known as Huzi jinti (located near modern Puyang, Shandong) was suddenly crashed and the Yellow River flooded sixteen cities. The flood continued for twenty-four years. In 109 BC the dike was rebuilt. Worried about the terrible situation, Emperor Hanwu wrote down “Huzi ge” (瓠子歌) to express his sorrow and deep concern for the people in the flooded areas (Sima Qien, Shiji, 29 – Treatise on Rivers and Canals). Ban Gu's allusion means that a wrong move on the board might become a reason for a total defeat.

[17] Cao Zi (Cao Mo, Cao Gui) was a commoner during the Spring and Autumn period (722–479 BC), who became a famous warrior. He served as a general under the Lu ruler Zhuang Gong. After suffering three defeats from the larger and more powerful state of Qi, in 681 BC, during a treaty-signing meeting between the two states, Cao Zi forced with his sword the Qi ruler Huang Gong to return the captured Lu lands.

[18] Tien Dan was a general serving under the Qi ruler Xiang Gong during the Warring States period (453–221 BC). After the kingdom of Yan conquered 70 Qi cities in 279 BC, the sites Ju and Jimo were the only ones which had not fallen and Tien Dan defended Jimo. Sima Qien wrote:

Tian Dan collected more than one thousand oxen from the people in the city. He had them dressed with red silk, and had multicolor lines, like those of dragons, painted on them. Sharp blades were adjusted to their horns, and reeds dipped in grease, so that their tips could be set aflame, were attached to their tails. Several passages were dug in the city walls, and on one night, the oxen were released, followed by five thousand sturdy men. The oxen, their tail on fire, charged the army of Yan, creating panic. The torches attached to the tails illuminated the night, the troops of Yan saw the lines on their bodies, which looked like dragons, and all those who met their horns were either killed or wounded. Then, the five thousand men, their mouths closed with pieces of wood, attacked them. They were followed by the sound of shouts and drums from the city, and all the old people and children struck metal pots. The noise shook heaven and earth. The soldiers of Yan panicked. They were defeated and repealed, and the people of Qi killed his general, Ji Jie. As the army of Yan was falling back, in disorder and confusion, the soldiers of Qi chased it, and destroyed it as they pushed it northwards. All the cities it went through revolted, and rallied Tian Dan, whose troops were larger every day. As he fled from a victory to another, the army of Yan was defeated every day, and finally reached the northern bank of the Yellow River. At this time, more than seventy cities had returned back to Qi. Therefore, Tian Dan went to Ju to welcome King Xiang back, and then returned to Linzi to await

³ Guo Yu, ch. 4: Lu Yu Shang, part 10; <http://ctext.org/guo-yu/lu-yu-shang>.

orders. (Sima Qien, *Shiji* 82, *Biography of Tian Dan*; trans. François Charton, 2008⁴)

[19] Su Qin (380-284 BC) and Zhang Yi (329-309 BC) were the political strategists from the School of Diplomacy, or the School of Horizontal and Vertical Alliances (*Zongheng jia*) during the Warring States period (*Zhangguo*, 453-221 BC). Su Qin advocated the Vertical Alliance System (*he zong*), which sought to create an alliance of the states against the state of Qin. The opposing theory of Zhang Yi, Horizontal Alliance System (*lian heng*), supported an alliance against the state of Chu. (Sima Qien, *Shiji*, 69, 70)

[20] Wen Wang from Zhou, aka Zhou Wen Wang (1152-1056 BC) or Ji Chang – a founder of the Zhou dynasty (1066-221 BC). As a loyal vassal who ruled the wide western lands of the Shang-Yin kingdom, he became “the ruler of the west” (*xi bo hou*). Ban Gu refers to Confucius’s sentence: “The Zhou controlled two-thirds of the empire, yet continued to serve the Yin. The virtue of the Zhou may be said to be the utmost of virtue.” (Lun Yu: 8,20)

[21] Qin Mu-gong (r. 659-621 BC) was one of the Five Hegemons from the Spring and Autumn period (722-479 BC). Emperor Zhou Xiang-wang gave him the title of western hegemon and the ruler of the western kings. Ban Gu wrote about the defeat of the Qin army in the Yao Mountains (in modern Hunan province) in the war with the kingdom of Jin. Later, Qin Mu-gong developed and realized a successful revenge plan and Qin became a winner against Jin. This is an example of the principle that a defeat in one battle doesn’t mean a defeat in the war.

[22] Golden Mean or Central Mean (中庸 *zhong-yong*) – Doctrine of the moderation (mean). The term originates from Confucius’ sentence: “The Master said, The Central Mean in conduct is where virtue reaches its pinnacle. Few are those who can sustain it for long” (Lun Yu, 6.29). It is the title of the Confucian treatise “Zhong yong” (III BC). The moderation is one of the main characteristics of the virtuous man or the superior person (*junzi*) in Confucian ethics.

[23] Ban Gu considers the historical periods as phases of a game. During the opening, there are the legendary sovereigns and the Western Zhou emperors. In the middle, there are the Five Hegemons from the Spring and Autumn period. In the ending, there are the Warring States. This is a grandiose historical game played on the ancient geopolitical board (all-under-heaven, *tianxia*). Just like history is a process governed by certain laws, on a small scale, the game shows analogical processes.

[24] The Lord of She asked Zilu about Confucius. Zilu could think of no response. The Master said, “Why did you not say: As a man, when agitated in thought he forgets to eat, joyfully forgetting his cares, not realizing that old age is near at hand?” (Lun Yu, 7.19)

[25] The Master said: “The poem ‘Ospreys’: happiness without license, anguish without injury.” (Lun Yu, 3.20). The poem “*Guanju*” or “The Calling Ospreys” is the opening poem of *The Book of Songs* (*Shijing*). James Legge gives a short description: Celebrating

the virtue of the bride of King Wen, his quest for her, and welcoming her to his palace. According to his translation the poem begins with these verses:

*Hark! from the islet in the stream the voice
Of the fish hawks that o’er their nest rejoice!
From them our thoughts to that young lady go,
Modest and virtuous, loth herself to show.
Where could be found, to share our prince’s state
So fair, so virtuous, and so fit a mate? (Legge, 1876: 59)*

John Fairbairn comments: “There are a couple more verses but the significance is that the poem is said to refer to King Wen of Zhou and his bride Tai Si and the old commentators believed it was about ‘rectitude of character and feelings, and harmony of voice and spirit.’ Here Ban Gu is making a connection between the ‘rectitude’ and ‘harmony’ of ‘Guan Ju’ and (the game of) go, which is pure and proper, and a worthy educational activity” (Fairbairn 2000).

[26] Pen Zu was a legendary long-lived sage who lived for almost 800 years. He lived during the Xia dynasty and died when the Shang-Yin dynasty fell. According to tradition, Pen Zu started the Daoist pursuit of longevity. He practiced breathing exercises to control the *qi* energy. In the game of *weiqi* the term *qi* (breath) means the “liberty” of a stone. In metaphorical plan, the game stone breathes and lives. If the stone loses its liberties, then it stops breathing and dies. Ban Gu accented that the game is realized in the player’s mind. On the board, black and white succeed each other like inhalation and exhalation. It’s the basis of dialectical thinking. In the playing practice, it brings the harmony of body and spirit, of thought and action.

[27] Of Yu Zhong and Yi Yi he said, “They hid themselves away and relinquished public comment. In one person’s abiding in purity, in choosing retirement maintaining discretion” (Lun Yu, 18:8).

Yu Zhong was the second son of Shu Da, who was a leader of the Zhou tribe and a vassal of Shang-Yin. He had three sons: Taibo, Yu Zhong and Jili. Shu Da appointed Jili as his successor. Then Taibo and Yu Zhong went away in the ancient southern kingdom of Wu. In the north, Jili (named Gongzi or Wanzi) expanded his possessions. The Shang emperor Tai Ding (1112-1102 BC) titled him as “bo” (ruler). Jili’s son Ji Chang as *xi-bo-hou* (the ruler of the west) was a direct founder of the Zhou dynasty with the ruler name Wen Wang. The seclusion of Yu Zhong means that he had no pretensions over the throne (see Wikipedia: Zhou dynasty). Ban Gu compares the political seclusion of You Zhong with the Daoist practice of *wuwei* (無為) – inaction, non-action or actionless action, which represents the activity of a profound and virtue mind. Ban Gu points also that during the game the players silently think and when the game is over they can begin discussions.

⁴ <http://classical-chinese.blogspot.bg/2008/02/shiji-82-biography-of-tian-dan.html>.

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On Music in “The Travels of Marco Polo”: Information, Contexts, Evaluations

Ivanka Vlaeva

Abstract

The music in my study is shown from the viewpoint of the travel literature related to the Silk Road, and especially in the well-known book „The Travels of Marco Polo”. The aim of the research is to investigate how the music of Asia is accepted by foreigners when they listen to it, when and in what context they see the music performances, and what is the function of music in various situations. Thus different music images are drawn. Marco Polo is probably one of the most famous travelers who ever lived. His travels and memories opened new horizons for the Europeans in the 13th-century world. It is assumed that they had important influence on the great geographical discoveries of the next centuries as well as on knowledge in many other areas. His book „The Travels of Marco Polo” is accepted as a valuable source of information about many cultures of Asia from that epoch. Such kind of literature is a good basis for research on music from the end of the 13th century. I try to systematize musical information and evaluations that are given by him. In this way music images are reconstructed. They are related to war battles, feasts and entertainment in the khan’s palace, different rituals, healing and so on.

Keywords: Marco Polo; Silk Road; music; context; function

Nowadays travelers are still among those who inspire artists, musicians, film makers, dancers, but also ordinary people. They provoke imagination and creation in arts with their travel notes, memories, preserved emotions, discoveries, comparisons and assessments. Even in the Internet era, they have their essential place as explorers of the world. Their documented impressions are the starting point, the landmark and measure for foreign spaces and cultures. Even more important are the ones from the past, as a valuable source of information. The knowledge we get from them can not only complement the already known, but can also open up new horizons. Such is the merit of the Venetian traveler Marco Polo.

The legendary trips of Marco Polo inspire the creation of many art works, but also provide information about the music he touches along the Silk Road. The contemporary compositions and projects are in different fields of art (cinema, dance, music) and especially in various music genres (opera, ballet, symphonic works, and chamber music). Among the works, I will mention some of the composer Tan Dun, because they are world-famous. In the span of a few decades he composed: “Silk Road” for soprano and percussions, which is a collaborative performance work with the poet Arthur Sze from New Mexico, and is based on his poem with the same title (1989); opera in 2 acts, entitled “Marco Polo” (1995), which has already had three different productions and has been performed in more than 20 cities all over the world; “Four Secret Roads of Marco Polo” for 12 cellos and symphonic orchestra (2004) – a work that is a search of cultural harmonies.

The cinema also creates interpretations of the Silk Road and Marco Polo's travels. Among the latest successful productions is the Netflix's TV series "Marco Polo" (20 episodes, USA, 2014-2016). There are also dance performances, based on the exciting stories of the Venetian traveler, such as the dance drama "Marco Polo", a production of the National Centre for Performing Arts in Beijing (2015). In Bulgaria the composer Kiril Lambov has been influenced by the fabulous trips of the traveler and has created the symphonic suite "Marco Polo" (2004).

The music in the abovementioned works shapes images that visualize the Asian cultures along the Silk Road, or shows authors' own ideas and symbols, provoked by the topic. There are different ways of contemporary art reflections of Marco Polo's travels. They are traced by avant-garde music technics, neo-traditional music, arranged folk materials, hybrids of composers' and local music phenomena. Most of them have used typical traditional instruments (guzheng, pipa, sitar, tabla, duncheng, matouqin/morinhuur), singing and specific genres from Asian cultures (overtone throat singing khoomei, jingju, kabuki). Tan Dun said that he perceived music as a map, which provided orientations in space and time from Venice to China, from past to future, from one culture to another. In general, these are contemporary reconstructions and soundscapes, created by artists with different background, vision and aim. But what lies behind these contemporary reflections, what is historically documented and how can we read the facts?

These questions have helped me shape the aim of my study – to systematize and present how the music of Asia was perceived by a foreigner, what he heard, what functions of music he noticed. In my research I have also analyzed when and in what context different musical performances were documented. I have tried to summarize the music information as well as the assessments given to it. Thus, various musical images, events, seen and documented, could be reconstructed in a distant historical period and a distant European region. Many of them are quite unknown even in the 21st century. In my research, music is shown from the point of view of the outsider and especially of the travelers' literature on the Silk Road. A well-known book – "The Travels of Marco Polo" – is particularly important for this kind of memories. It is the subject of analyses and observation.

Marco Polo is probably one of the most famous travelers who ever lived. His travels and memories opened up new horizons for the Europeans in the 13th century. They are supposed to have had a huge impact on the great geographic discoveries during the following centuries as well as on the knowledge in many other areas. His book "The Travels of Marco Polo" is regarded as a valuable source of information about many cultures in Asia from the epoch in which he lived (White, 2005: 116). This type of literature is a good basis for studying music at the end of the 13th century and provides interesting material for research of its function in different cultural traditions.

I will briefly mention who Marco Polo (1254-1324) is. He was born in Venice and at the age of 17 he set off on his way. He accompanied his father and uncle, who were Venetian merchants. He crossed huge territories, starting from his hometown, through the southeastern coast of Asia Minor and reaching North China (Cathay). He passed through many parts of Asia – the Armenian mountains, Mesopotamia, the Iranian plateau, Pamir and Kashgar. For a long time

he lived in China, and for 17 years, until 1292, he served Kublai Khan. He also visited different regions of the country. Returning from the south of China through Iran, he came back to Venice in 1295. He participated in the war between Venice and Genoa, where he was captured by the Genoese people around 1297 (Mariani, 2017).

The colorful stories of his journeys, which sound like a fiction for his contemporaries, were recorded by another prisoner with whom he was sharing a cell – Rustichello of Pisa, in a language typical of the time (some sources call it a Venetian dialect, French-Italian, others – Old French). Thus the book of Marco Polo was born (1298), which was a valuable source of information for the geography, ethnography and history of the regions, through which he had passed (today's Armenia, Georgia, Iran, China, Mongolia, India, Indonesia and others). The original name of the book was "Divisament dou monde" ("Description of the World") or "Livres des Merveilles du Monde" ("The Book of Wonders of the World").

The book was rapidly disseminated – one of the oldest copies preserved today was written in Old French language around 1350. It is called "Les voyages de Marco Polo de Venise" ("The travels of Marco Polo from Venice") and is stored in the Swedish National Library. In Italian the book got the name "Il Milione" ("The Million"). It was translated into other languages and had a significant impact on researchers, cartographers and writers from the Renaissance (14th-16th centuries) and later periods. Olschki called it empirical geography (Olschki 1960: 14). It is assumed that some of the descriptions in the book are accurate and can be verified, while others are not based on direct observations, but on spoken stories that were heard, still others reflect mythologies, fairy tales and legends, typical of the voyages at that time. Therefore, even today, some researchers doubt the credibility of the trips, described in Marco Polo's book, while others find evidences of their authenticity (Haw, 2006: 1-7). Despite the possibility of inaccuracies and even fictions, it presents the reflections of a European who encountered foreigners and strange cultures. He was interested in trade and politics, but in many stories and their context he also gave valuable insights about different cultural traditions and the music, related to them.

Currently the translations of Marco Polo's book in different languages are probably more than 150. In my research the analyzed information, predominantly about music in China, is based on two translations of Marco Polo's travels: 1. The English translation "The Travels of Marco Polo" in two volumes – including the third complete edition of the annotated translation of Henry Yule (1903), along with notes and additions by Henri Cordier (1920) (Polo, 2012); 2. The Russian translation of Marco Polo's "A Book of Diversity in the World". The translator Ivan Pavlovich Minaev first published it in "Europe newspaper" (No 11, 1887), and it is currently published in Moscow, Myisl Publishing House (Polo, 1997). I have to mark the Bulgarian translations of this work, which have also been used in the present study: Marco Polo's "The Million", translated from Italian by Bojan Hristov (Polo, 1985) and Marco Polo's "Travels", translated from English by Vassil Atanasov (Polo, 2015).

After reading the texts, several terminology blocks were systematized, which outline the knowledge of music. These were terms in some key areas: the general concept of music, its ritual uses, musical instrumentation, aesthetic assessments of performances, information about

the role and the place of the musicians. The notion of music is presented through different situations and contexts. They show the specific function of music and the means for its applying. The “accompanying” description of musical phenomena, which follows the documenting of something else, is a peculiarity of most of the written sources about music during this historical period. It is necessary to clarify that different interpretations of the musical terms and their equivalents in the target languages are observed. The characteristics of the historical periods also influence the translations. This is a natural situation for an area, not well known to the translator (assuming such incompetence for the narrator, who himself described the unknown through the acquaintance to his contemporaries). Sometimes, in such a situation, one concept was changed and replaced with another one, thus the term “music” is almost absent from the Russian translation. Musical practices were shown in singing, using musical instruments and various cases of dancing.

In the abovementioned English translation, for example, the notion of music is used in several contexts. Often it describes parts of different customs – weddings, funerals, local festivities or military actions. In the festive or ritual context, varieties of musical instruments, singing, dancing, as well as the role of performers are mentioned/described. For instance, battles are part of the descriptions. The role of music and the usage of specific musical instruments are mentioned there – wind and percussion (including brass, such as trumpets). The soldiers had to play “noisy music”, according to the texts. This kind of sounding was necessary because its aim was to mobilize the warriors and to create fear and panic in the enemy. There is, for example, an account of the important role, played by musicians in the navy and their function in the Mediterranean Sea battles. A description of military music and its functionality is also placed in the story about the battle between the great Kublai Khan and his uncle Nayan. Marco Polo tells us that many instruments and loud singing could be heard when the troops were ready for the battle. He affirms that the Tatars had a custom, according to which the composition of the army was combined with the singing and playing of many instruments before the military actions, and a battle would not begin before a signal by the general’s drum was given. Marco Polo finds pleasant the singing and playing in such a way.

“When Nayan and his people saw what had happened, they were sorely confounded, and rushed in haste to arms. Nevertheless they made them ready in good style and formed their troops in an orderly manner. And when all were in battle array on both sides as I have told you, and nothing remained but to fall to blows, then might you have heard a sound arise of many instruments of various music, and of the voices of the whole of the two hosts loudly singing. For this is a custom of the Tartars, that before they join battle they all unite in singing and playing on a certain two-stringed instrument of theirs, a thing right pleasant to hear. And so they continue in their array of battle, singing and playing in this pleasing manner, until the great Naccara of the Prince is heard to sound. As soon as that begins to sound the fight also begins on both sides; and in no case before the Prince’s Naccara sounds dare any commence fighting” (Polo, 2012: 640).

Music also sounded during the Khan’s feasts. Usually they were organized in his huge and very impressively embellished palace. Marco Polo notes that when the great Khan was going to drink, a huge variety of instruments started to play music. The Khan sat on a higher level than the rest of the people inside the hall. Jesters (clowns) and dancers entertained the ruler and his guests.

“And you must know that those who wait upon the Great Kaan with his dishes and his drink are some of the great Barons. They have the mouth and nose muffled with fine napkins of silk and gold, so that no breath nor odour from their persons should taint the dish or the goblet presented to the Lord. And when the Emperor is going to drink, all the musical instruments, of which he has vast store of every kind, begin to play. And when he takes the cup all the Barons and the rest of the company drop on their knees and make the deepest obeisance before him, and then the Emperor doth drink. But each time that he does so the whole ceremony is repeated” (Polo, 2012: 683).

There is an illustration of such a feast in the old manuscript. One of them with the text of the traveler is written and illustrated circa 1400-1420. This miniature shows an European interpretation of the scene with entertainers – musicians and dancers. Currently, the manuscript is preserved in the National Library of France (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Manuscript ca 1400-1420
(Bibliothèque nationale de France, ark:/12148/btv1b52000858n)

There are also reports of various rituals, accompanied by music. It is mentioned, for example, that musical instruments were used during the funeral ceremonies of the Mangi people (Manzi province of South China) in the city of Kinsai (now Hangzhou). There were people, who performed praise hymns to their idols with musical instruments, accompanying the procession

with the body of the dead. This was done when they carried it to the place of ritual burning. *“And you must know that all the Idolaters in the world burn their dead. And when they are going to carry a body to the burning, the kinsfolk build a wooden house on the way to the spot, and drape it with cloths of silk and gold. When the body is going past this building they call a halt and set before it wine and meat and other eatables; and this they do with the assurance that the defunct will be received with the like attentions in the other world. All the minstrelsy in the town goes playing before the body...”* (Polo, 2012: 504).

Marco Polo also documented shamanic healing practices. He described them in a very colorful way. In his narration he described the playing of instruments, the moaning and the wild dance of the healers until they fell as dead on the ground in a trance, obsessed with the spirit of the disease in the process of healing. This was included in the story about the Zardandan district (Ardandan), modern Sichuan province.

After reading “Marco Polo’s Travels”, it becomes clear that information about music in it is relatively scarce. This is due to the fact that the traveler was a descendant of merchants and in general had other priorities and interests. He continued the commercial tradition of his family, and, according to his stories, he performed important diplomatic missions in the court of Kublai Khan. Therefore, he was mainly interested in the special productions of the places where he resided, the rare and valuable commodities for trading, and the ways of obtaining them. Marco Polo also noted the geographic and political characteristics of the regions and the countries along the Silk Road. Thus, the music and the making of music, which he mentioned, were part of the different cultural contexts of the places he saw during his travel – political, sacral and geographic. This mainly includes music in rituals, battles and entertainment (Figure 2).

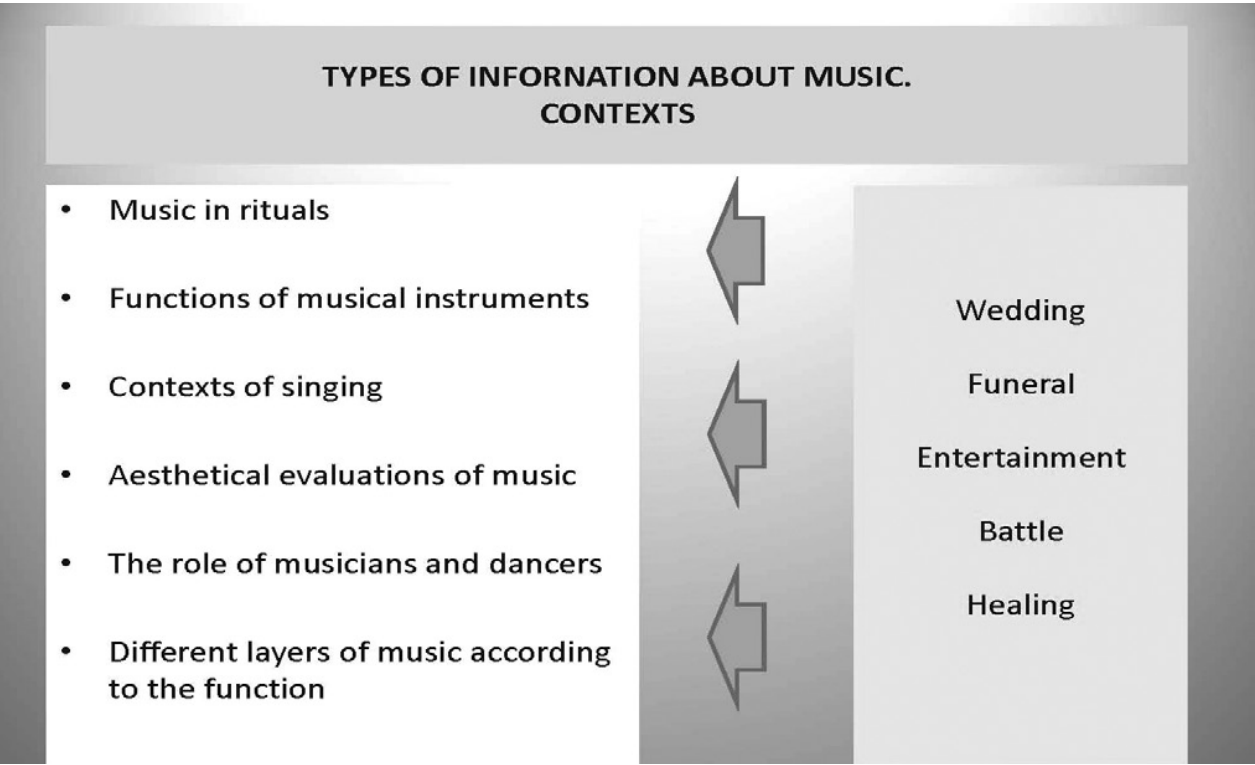


Figure 2. Types of information about music – contexts and functions

The knowledge we get is about the groups of instruments that were played – I have already pointed out the special instrument called nakara in the translations, as well as its important function in the military actions. We also learn about the inclusion of singing and playing instruments in the funerary rituals of different places (Tangut / Eastern Xia and Kansai / Hangzhou) when the body of the dead was carried to the ritual pit, in the Shamanic healing practices and in the training of those, who were mentioned as Asanas (the Ishmaili Order) in the Khan’s feasts.

Aesthetic assessments were made about the nature of different types of music – fearful military music, or music that created pleasure and enjoyment by playing, singing and dancing in the city of Kamul (Uyghur City in Western China, where the population is appreciated merrily), or strange when the Indian music was mentioned. Unfortunately, there are no details, but such kinds of descriptions were typical of the time when the book was written. It is important that specific musical images were created, which could be confirmed or rejected by other sources of information about the musical cultures of the described regions.

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Masculinity on Stage: Male characters in Contemporary Chinese and Japanese TV Dramas

Gergana Petkova

Abstract

In the last two decades the discourse on gender in Asia has spread to topics, related to politics, nationalism, consumerism, and globalism. It is no longer a dichotomy dispute about male over female and female over male, but a study of more hybrid and multifaceted entities which transform the society and simultaneously are transformed by it. In the current paper we examine the new masculinity formations in Asia using the example of popular TV drama serials from Japan, China and Korea.

Keywords: masculinity, gender, Asian TV drama, national identity, wish-fulfillment, forms of protest

In the last two decades the discourse on gender in Asia has spread to topics related to politics, nationalism, consumerism, and globalism. It is no longer a dichotomy dispute about male over female and female over male, but a study of more hybrid and multifaceted entities which transform the society and simultaneously are transformed by it. In the current paper we illustrate the dynamics in the understanding of gender in the beginning of 21st century via the examples of TV drama serials in Asia, to see how they form and search in the same time for the new image of masculinity, because television, to use Andrew Painter's words "in Japan, as elsewhere, does not merely reflect society – it transforms it" (1993: 324).

Only a few decades ago, gender issues made their way into the research topics of various fields exploiting mainly the themes of emancipation, feminism and gender equality. A great heap of research works appeared to claim the overwhelming examples of female inequality at work, at home, in arts and literature. The direction, however, has been shifting recently from establishing the model of the independent woman of today to starting a new wave of masculinity movement, supported by the so-called men's movement activists (Song 2010: 409). Social, cultural, political and economic factors have certainly affected this turn. In the current paper we examine the resurrection of traditional ideals and the formation of new masculinities in Asia on the example of popular TV drama serials like *The Big Dye House* (2003), *Yongzheng Dynasty* (1999) and *Unsheathing the Sword* (2005) from China; as well as Taiga and Love Dramas from Japan like *Gunshi Kanbei* (2014), *You are my Pet* (2003) and *My perfect Darling* (2008), as well as the Korean example *My Love from the Stars* (2014).

Television is one of the most popular mass media in the countries of East Asia, and TV drama serials maintain one of the highest rates of popularity compared to other TV programs. For example, in 2004 the Japanese NHK broadcast the Korean TV drama *Winter Sonata* (2002). According to statistics nearly 90% of the population claimed that they are

more or less familiar with the plot (Hayashi and Lee, 2007: 200). In China over one billion people have access to television, and TV drama is regarded as "the most widely watched and most influential cultural artifact in China today" (Song, 2010: 405). TV sets are now everywhere – from bedrooms and bathrooms to open public spaces. Television is as much a private phenomenon (watched at home) as public (circulated in the society), or as Andrew Painter defines it in regard to Japan – "quasi-intimate" (1993).

Such impressive influence data raises a keen interest in the phenomenon and a number of questions, regarding the ways and extent to which TV drama serials reflect or inspire social processes, especially those related to gender. But in order to discuss these issues we need to clarify the specifics of masculinity on one hand, and of TV realities – on the other.

First, we need to outline masculinity itself, as over the decades, there have been numerous attempts to differentiate Asian from Western type of masculinity. Masculinity sounds different East and West, as Kam Louie studies in *Theorising Chinese Masculinity* (2002) and as illustrated in *Asian Masculinities* (Louie and Low, 2003). Michael Kimmel states it as "a man in power, a man with power, and a man of power" (1994:125). This power today, according to Geng Song in regard to the nouveau riche in post socialist society, is now primarily defined in terms of wealth (2010: 410).

On the other hand in one of his in-depth psychology researches of the Japanese soul and mind, the Jungian scholar Hayao Kawai comes to the conclusion that the Japanese nation as a whole bears feminine traits (which would include all male and female individuals building the nation), while Western culture could be perceived as having male characteristics (Kawai 1988). This theory might be applicable to East Asian masculinity as well, and may explain phenomena like sobbing refined Japanese aristocrats from the 10th century, Medieval Korean intellectuals sonbi, and more recently – the protagonist of the popular Japanese movie series *The Pink Boy* or *Otomen* (2006), who is a young man, accomplished in the art of the pen and the sword, but hiding his secret interests in cooking and sewing.

In the open discourse on social processes, the Korean scholar Sun Jung speaks of the emergence of the "pan-East Asian soft masculinity" (2009). The wen-wu ideal (文武: cultural attainment – martial valor) has become more hybrid and the image of the metrosexual protagonist of present day narratives would depict urban males who spend a lot of time and money cultivating their appearance. And it does not mean that they are less competitive than the macho male. The era of the herbivorous boys has begun. First introduced as a term by Maki Fukusawa in October 2006, the "grass-eating" men are gentle, soft, caring, deprived of aggressiveness and sexual dominance.

The truth is that the idea of the beautiful man, or the pretty boy is well known for centuries in China, Japan and Korea. Take for example the male actors of female parts in the Beijing opera and the Kabuki theatre. But the overwhelming examples of "softening masculinity", of cute (kawaii) idols and pop-stars, appearing in Asian comics, animation, TV dramas and

live shows, pop-music, magazines, etc., raise questions. Think about the controversial book by the Chinese professor Sun Yunxiao quite eloquently entitled „Save the Boys” (2010). Sun states: „...the pop culture industry, especially TV talent shows, has produced icons (Li Yuchun, for example) that blur the man/woman divide...” (cited after Louie, 2012: 938).

The question then is when these two are clear-cut divided, and when the boundaries between male and female get blurred.

In a study of the male characters in the Japanese fairy tale (Petrova 2004), we have classified the dramatis personae in three main groups, according to the relations within the family circle, in society and in nature. The study found out that in the natural realm gender matters rarely if at all, in society masculinity is often associated with power, wealth and social hierarchy, while in the family the male roles are defined by their relationships with other family members and gender is most clearly cut in the binomial of bride-groom and wife-husband. Gender, in this way, covers a wide spectrum of meanings from an absolute phenomenon in man-woman conflicts, via interchangeability in father/mother roles to completely irrelevant in human relation with nature. The folktale narrative proved that gender might work on functional level only to convey a certain message.

In the case of the TV serials, to answer the above question and see how masculinity acts on a functional level, we need also to outline several specifications of television.

First, TV may serve as means of influence. Here one would assume that in China, where television is a powerful source for propaganda and is as much an entertaining industry, as an influential educational tool (being dependent on the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television and under the control of the Propaganda Department of the Communist Party), realities would differ greatly from Japan, where television is blessed with an uncensored freedom of expression. Nevertheless, a study of popular Japanese TV shows, performed by Andrew A. Painter (1993) clearly shows that this is not the case. The author illustrates “how television in Japan is crafted to attract and keep the attention of viewers in ways that are both culturally and ideologically significant” (ibid. 295).

On the other hand, TV drama serials in East Asia are part of the national export within the ambition to make Eastern cultures more popular abroad. Cool Japan or the Gross National Cool is a clearly defined policy by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Korean Wave and China’s Comprehensive National Power serve much the same purposes. Joseph Nye defined the phenomenon as soft power in 1990, and 27 years later, China, Japan and Korea are spreading their cultural influence via the „soft” bridges of the TV drama. TV serials serve both the national and international purposes of cultural promotion.

Second, TV dramas are specially designed for the corresponding audiences, as the viewers might be thought of as „consumers of culture” (Hayashi and Lee, 2007: 198). Here market interests and foreseen profits dictate the details of the product. According to the gender of the audience, for example, much like the genre differentiation in comics and anime, TV se-

rials „create” the image of the perfect man depending on who watches the drama serial. In this way, love drama serials in Japan and Korea are mainly associated with female fandom (ibid., 202). In contrast, according to the Chinese critic Li Yun, the drama *Unsheathing the Sword* is based on „a heroic novel full of the spirit of masculinity; it is a novel written by a man, about men and for men” (cited after Song 2010: 423).

This is a male perspective, targeting male audiences. The female audience, in fact, searches for quite different models. The Boys’ love genre of comics is created by women, and for women, even though it is about homosexual male relationships. In a production of a Japanese TV serial *You Are My Pet*, the bossy female protagonist bullies her “pet” – a young Japanese man, who is very cute and obedient.

To recapitulate, when we speak about masculinities in TV serials we need to keep in mind that television is a means for influence/propaganda; it is accomplishing national as well as international purposes and is very much dependent on the market and the needs and interests of the viewers. On the other hand, as discussed earlier, masculinity might be differentiable and clearly defined or it might be in transformation and search of hybrid forms. Let us see all this in action.

First, let us examine the search of national identity and its reflection in TV serials. The prosperity of the Taiga (Big stream) drama, which summons Japanese TV audience every Sunday to illuminate historical events, offers an insight into the image of the perfect man from a “national perspective”.

A good example is the Taiga drama *Gunshi Kanbei* about a well-known military strategist in the end of 16th century. Kanbei Kuroda is a man of strong will, quick brains, astonishing loyalty and outstanding strategic abilities. Even after months-long imprisonment the protagonist seems surrounded by purity despite the wounds and his poor appearance. Everything that surrounds him is refined, clean and stimulating. His intellectual abilities bring to his master prosperity, battle victories and political dominance. Kanbei Kuroda is depicted as a man par excellence. His relationship with his wife is at the background, the narrative is focused on the political life of Kuroda. The strategist is not the leader of the country, he is only the right-hand man of the ruler Hideyoshi Toyotomi, still his figure is the embodiment of power.

Historic Chinese dramas deliberately create the image of the warrior as a man of honor, physical and spiritual strength, a man of wits and literacy. Very intriguing example is the popular Chinese primetime TV drama *Yongzheng dynasty* (1999). A typical historical drama, it presents the life and deeds of emperor Yongzheng – a notorious and very controversial figure from a historical point of view. Yet the drama depicts the emperor in a favorable light, and from a paranoiac and brutal ruler, the emperor is transformed into an extraordinary leader – a man per excellence, a fulfillment of national ideals. It seems that when war is at stage and heroic history

is the playground, there could be no questioning of masculinities at all.

That is the message on national level. But in the process of national identification these dramas have their international resonance, too. National ideals, depicted in the examples above alike strengthen the image of man as a man of power, wisdom and good manners. On the other hand it is a natural reaction to resist the economic and political dominance of the West (or other political and economic rivals). The protagonist of *The Big Dye House*, another popular Chinese TV serial, is an average Chinese who goes to the West to study, rejects high-paid jobs there and returns to serve his country. He manages even to cope with his Japanese rivals, remaining in the same time a loyal husband and a dear friend to the people he cares about.

Another way to oppose the West is by marriage, as “the construction of Chinese masculinity through the foreign woman has become a new way of imagining national identity in the age of globalization”, says Sheldon H. Lu (2000: 25), studying drama serials like *Russian Girls in Harbin* (1994) and *American Babes in Beijing* (1996). On one hand, such serials not only strengthen the image of the man ruling over woman in general, but also the image of the Chinese overpowering the West. The serials establish the image of the aggressive and confident player - in gender, social and business relations alike. As Lu concludes, these are examples which resurrect Chinese masculinity and proclaim “the triumph of the Chinese nation itself” (ibid. 37).

Yet, parallel to the sources of national pride, TV serials enlighten quite an opposite phenomenon as well. In the last few decades the gender discourse in China has focused on the “weak, immature, selfish and impotent” Chinese male as opposed to the western Rambos or Japanese samurai. The rising number of Chinese women, marrying abroad worsens the situation further and the publishing of an article, entitled “Chinese men do not deserve Chinese women”, speaks for itself. The discourse often tends to link this process of masculinity weakening to the socialist and communist ideals of gender equality, which lead to the prosperity of the feminine over the masculine.

Yet to what extent indeed left ideologies are to blame for this phenomenon? It turns out that the Japanese feel impotent too. And whereas they rarely show it in TV dramas by obvious and direct opposition with representatives of western cultures, the message is no less clear. The example is the Japanese TV drama *My Perfect Darling*. A female office worker cannot find herself a boyfriend so she ends up with a robot prototype to serve as a substitute. The robot is an emanation of the perfect man – great looks, top level physical qualities. He answers every whim of his mistress, as if he could even read her mind before she speaks. The robot is an Azimo-type of machine called Night, homophonic to the word describing a medieval noble warrior in Europe, a man of valor and high values – the knight.

As it turns out, the realities in the Japanese society cannot offer an appropriate human partner, so the woman is dating a robot. Or at least this is what female audiences in Japan are happy to see on screen.

Korean men are not safe either. In the Korean TV drama *My Love from the Stars*, aired in 2014, we meet an alien, called Do Min-joon, stranded on earth for whole 400 years. He is entangled in a relationship with a famous *hallyu* star. Do Min-joon is very much illustrative of the Korean Medieval literati *sonbi*, who also might be considered an emanation of the “perfect man”. It seems that women in Korea too are in a desperate search of the perfect man who they are unlikely to find among living human fellow citizens. And it has nothing to do with political ideology.

The audience of the above examples is by no surprise female. And the image of the perfect man – extraterrestrial or artificial could be seen as a realization of Sigmund Freud’s wish-fulfillment. The good looks of Night and Do Min-joon and their perfect behavior in regard to the female protagonists might be examined as originating in depth-psychological wish-fulfillment, but they are also a kind of protest.

Empress Wu Zetian was the only Empress regnant of China in more than two millennia. The Japanese female literati of the 10th and 11th centuries, who gave birth to the first novel in the world literary history and to a great number of poetry and prose masterpieces, were silenced almost to present day. In China, Korea and Japan in the 17th-19th centuries there were books, considered “unsuitable for women” (Kornicki, 2005). Today, in Japan working moms are not the predominant part of the female population – the majority still quit career path to give birth and never return to climb up the company ladder. The Korean Wave too is understood as “a moment in the emancipation of women” by researchers like Kwon Ri (cited after Hayashi and Lee, 2007: 212). And even if no revolution takes place, television at least can satisfy “the desire for escapism” (Ming, 2003), maybe because reality is very far away from the “perfect” robots and extra-terrestrial males.

Yet, the new image of the “perfect” (hybrid) man is greatly supported by male population in the East as well (unless national history is concerned, where as we have seen, masculinity should be clear-cut and absolute for the figures of men in power). The historical heritage of hybrid masculinity is one explanation. In the East much more smoothly than in the West, hybrid masculinities are socially accepted.

But the wish-fulfillment reaches out further to touch the male population who sees in the image of these perfect hybrid men an ideal to follow. Because these figures do not simply answer the women’s secret wishes, but they also raise a voice of protest on part of the male population as well. After decades-long dominance of machos and Rambos, of samurai and soldiers, it is now time to offer an alternative – be it hybrid, herbivorous or otomen-type. And it may also bring a positive turn in man-female relationship as a whole.

The rise of “the flower power” and the emancipation of female forces have lead to dilemmas about the correct understanding of male-female binomial. Sometimes the boundaries are even totally swept away. It would be also very helpful to continue research on a much larger basis, including TV drama examples from the ex-socialist countries, where gender equality and gender roles status and processes differ both from the Western and from the Eastern models.

But for the time being one is for sure – as long as there are movies or art pieces specially designed for a gender defined audience, there will always be a discourse on gender issues, as gender is seen in a rather binomial way. This leads further to gender inequalities – no matter for men or for women, as one group is promoted, the other – diminished. One cannot really speak of gender equality if there are train cars especially for women, or shampoos only for men. The masculinities, reflected in TV serials are born from the society and within the society, but they are also products of conscious striving to show the image of the man in a certain light.

In the social dynamics of the 21st century gender roles might be expected to further develop and change. As long as one separates them, one would see conflicts and contrasts. But in the original Tao understanding of yin and yang, the two are of equal importance to form a wholeness, an entity composed of both, as none is purely male or female alone but a hybrid of the two. And similarly to the theory of Kawai about the female soul of the Japanese nation, a new theory might be born, which will probably neutralize the binomial oppositions and give way to a new perspective in the study of (not mankind, but) humankind.

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Some Thoughts on Music of Peking Opera Jīngjù (京剧) and Japanese Kabuki Theatre (歌舞伎)

Miglana Tzenova-Nusheva

Abstract

The present text is focused on the significance of music in Peking opera and Japanese kabuki theatre. It also examines some trends related to the traditional musical instruments typical of Peking opera and the traditional musical instruments typical of kabuki theatre. The research work refers to the Chinese and Japanese mythology and culture and is based on interdisciplinary approach, which combines historical, analytical, comparative, music-theoretical, social anthropological, etc. knowledge.

Keywords: music in Peking opera, music in Japanese kabuki theatre, significance of music in Chinese culture, significance of music in Japanese culture.

I will only focus on several aspects that testify the significance of music in the genres of *jīngjù* and *kabuki* and the important role that music plays in Chinese and Japanese mythologies and cultures (due to the time allotted for this presentation today).

While I was studying the genres of *jīngjù* and *kabuki*, I noticed that a number of *jīngjù*'s characteristics reflect the ancient Chinese understanding of music and of the Universe. I was also left with the impression that *kabuki* theatre, in turn, reflects the Japanese understanding of music and sound. Although I hadn't come across such an approach, I decided to carry on studying the connection of the two genres with mythology, cosmology, philosophy, and rituals, because that seems necessary in order to become fully aware of the place that music occupies in *jīngjù* and *kabuki*.

In Chinese myths, as put down in the tractate *Lüshi chūnqiū* (吕氏春秋, III-II c. BC), there are certain conditions for a sound to be created¹. Two of those are fundamental and interconnected: *wholeness*² and *complete stillness*.

Wholeness is to be found in the state of complete stillness, or *wú wéi*³ (无为) in Chinese. In the case of such a *wholeness* in the state of complete stillness, *Dào* (道) may put it in vibration and turn it from a potential into a real source of sound (Confucius, 2006; Confucius, 2007; Tzenova-Nusheva, 2010 a: 227-249).

According to Chinese mythology and philosophy, *wú wéi* (complete stillness) is a high ideal that may not be attained in the span of a human life (*Ibidem*; Tzenova-Nusheva, 2010 b). The music *yuè* (乐) itself is a result of the stillness. The link between Chinese music and *wú wéi*,

¹ Conceived on the basis of Chinese myths, discussed in ancient Chinese Confucian and Daoist tractates (Tzenova-Nusheva, 2010 b: 27-48).

² Unlike other belief systems, Chinese mythology doesn't put a minus sign before the primordial (water) chaos or the primary state of matter (吕氏春秋 Lüshi chūnqiū, quot. by Hin-Shun, 1994: V. 2, 284-310; Tkachenko, 1990. See also: Tokarev, 1988: 807-816).

³ *Wú wéi* translates as "effortless", "natural", "total stillness".

and the idea that attaining perfection is the basis of *yuè*, show the Chinese people's way of comprehending music.

In Chinese philosophical tractates, human heart and consciousness, marked by one and the same word, *xīn* (心), are important conditions for the existence of music *yuè* and harmony *hé* (和) in the Universe (Chenyang, 2008: 81-98).

According to the Japanese understanding, when *mu* (無, "Emptiness", "Eternity", "The unmanifested being") and *kokoro* (心, "the human heart", "soul", "spirit" originating in *mu*) interact, "the human soul, in its deepest depths, connects with the light of the Universe" (Gvozdevskaya, 2007: 186-192). Thus is born *oto* (音, "the sound")⁴ or "reflection of the vibration of the heart in the state of *satory*" (*Ibidem*). The musician or the artistic person, being in the enlightened state *satory*, allows the harmony of the Universe *wa* (和 in Japanese) to manifest through him, through his heart *kokoro*. The diligent student of music, in the state of *satory*, strives to accord his "self" with "the world" in a joint musical performance together with his master sensei and in this way to "harmonize" with the Universe. In the same manner, a graduated musician continues to strive for harmony (*wa*) with the Universe in his professional performances.

The Peking opera *jīngjù* was created in 1790, the idea conceived by the emperor Qiánlóng (乾隆) of the Qing dynasty. The hieroglyph "lóng" (隆) in the emperor's name has a musical meaning: "majestic sound, played by a drum". The emperor himself could play the drum and other percussions and could conduct an Chinese opera orchestra (Tzenova-Nusheva, 2010 b). On the occasion of his 80th anniversary, he invited the most famous Chinese operatic troupes and travelling actors from all over the country to Peking. He gave them the opportunity to perform together and thus, in these joint practices, as if "effortlessly" (in light of the term *wú wéi*), the Peking opera *jīngjù* was created.

It seems that the emperor who created the *jīngjù* genre, seeing it as a form of art representative of the national culture, had wisely predetermined the destiny of this phenomenon. Indeed, the Peking opera achieves such a representativeness and this is not accidental (*Ibidem*). There are a lot of favourable factors which predestine such a fortune. We have to bear in mind that the Chinese opera has a broad social foundation – there are performances in every stratum of society: on holidays in villages as in cities, in the imperial palaces, on the professional musical-theatrical scene.

Kabuki theatre was found in 1603 by Izumo no Okuni (出雲阿国), a supplementary priestess (*miko*)⁵ in the Shinto Grand Shrine of Izumo (*Izumo Taisha*, 出雲大社). Izumo no Okuni was a talented dancer with creative and progressive thinking who started performing short theatrical plays in 1596. Preserved images of her performances show the constant presence of musicians on the stage. Okuni herself is often depicted with a little gong in her hands. In order to provide for the upkeep of the shrine, she travelled to Kyoto and other parts of Japan to do performances,

⁴ In comparison with "the pause" *ma* (間); *ma* also originates from "Emptiness" and "Eternity" *mu*, but the human *kokoro* does not take part in the creation (Gvozdevskaya, 2007: 186-192).

⁵ An old way of writing *miko* is 神子. Separately the two signs are translated as "god, serving" and "child". Today, *miko* is written in a different way 巫女, which means an unmarried maiden (young woman) which serves in a Shinto temple. The second sign *onna* (女) is used in the writing of one of the permanent roles (related to the stock characters) in the kabuki theatre – the *onnagata* (女方, men trained in playing female characters). The literal translation of *onnagata* is "woman role", "like a woman", "as women do", etc.

and thus collected benefits for Izumo Taisha. Okuni's innovations gathered audiences and were welcomed with a huge interest from Japan's society, so Okuni was invited to perform on an open stage in front of the imperial palace.

It's apparent that the *miko*, Izumo no Okuni, saw that *kabuki* theatre had the potential to become a new centre for the Japanese audience and a way to maintain the Grand Shrine of Izumo. What she didn't expect is that, today, *kabuki* is probably the most renowned Japanese theatrical genre in Japan and abroad.

Traditionally, the orchestra *chǎngmiàn* (场面)⁶, which was first added to the Peking opera by emperor Guāngxù (光绪)⁷ in the 70s of the 19th century, is positioned on the left side of the stage (Tzenova-Nusheva, 2009: 27-41).

While studying the opposition *left-right* in Chinese beliefs, I found that the *left* “zuǒbiān” (左边) does not carry a negative meaning as in the Greek, Celtic, African, Native American, Bulgarian and other traditional cultures (Jung, 1995; Chevalier et al., 1995: 309-312). *Left* doesn't carry a negative meaning in Japanese culture as well. The Japanese high goddess Amaterasu, associated with the sun, the light, and the day, and also with the mythical emergence of the first Japanese drum and of Japanese theatre, was born from a drop of water with which her father, and creator of the Japanese islands, Izanagi, washed his left eye. The way *left* is treated in China and Japan most likely reflects the principles of *yīn* 阴 and *yáng* 阳⁸ (*in* 陰 and *yō* 陽 in Japanese) and the *duality*, which to the Chinese and Japanese does not create a sense of oppositeness. Quite the contrary, the balance between *yīn* and *yáng* is accepted as the way Nature works. For the Chinese, *zuǒbiān* (the left) is invisible and unmanifested (Chevalier et al., 1995: 309-312), which makes it higher than the right *yòubiān* (右边). The potential energy of the left is seen as more active than the already manifested right, and this is why left is bound to the godly or the heavenly principle – it is accepted as *yáng*⁹ (Tzenova-Nusheva, 2009: 27-41). According to the Japanese understandings of how sound and music came to be, “sound” was born out of “Emptiness” and “the deepest depths of the human soul” (Gvozdevskaya, 2007). “Emptiness” is also perhaps considered to be the active principle of *yo*.

In my opinion, placing the orchestra on the left side of the stage in the Peking opera shows just how important it is for the ongoing movement. The “invisible” orchestral insertions are, as if, giving birth to the singing and declamation, and from this, to the whole action that is happening on stage – the “visible” is invariably introduced by brief musical motif played by instruments in the orchestra.

The orchestra and the actors are placed abreast. It makes the interaction between the actors and musicians livelier. The soloists with the most prominent singing part in the performance

⁶ The term *chǎngmiàn* is also used to denote the presence of the orchestra on stage. The same word could also mean *scenography*, but in the Peking opera's performances, special scenography is almost absent due to the wanted frugality (Tzenova-Nusheva, 2009: 27-41).

⁷ Usually the emperors' names end with *dì* (帝) which literally means “emperor”, as in Chinese the name precedes the title, profession, etc. Guāngxù (dì), the 9th emperor of the *Qīng* dynasty (14 Aug 1871 - 14 Nov 1908), reigned from 1875 until 1908.

⁸ At first, the two notions were used to denote the sunny and shadowy side of the Kunlun Mountain; *yīn* and *yáng*, during the Zhou dynasty (Arabadzhiyeva, 2003), acquired meaning, equivalent to that of the Earth and Heavens, the feminine and the masculine in Nature.

⁹ And the *right* as *yīn*.

present their role alongside with a specific instrumentalist from the orchestra, most often a string-instrument player – *jīnghú* (京胡) or *èrhú* (二胡). Still existing today, the practice of creating a musical image by a singer and an instrumentalist simultaneously embodies the bond between the visible and invisible – between the balanced opposition of *yīn* and *yáng*.

Chǎngmiàn, too, is built on the principles of *yīn* and *yáng* and encompasses two orchestral groups – *wén chàng* (文唱) and *wǔchàng* (武唱). *Wén chàng* literally means “static (or soft) singing”. This is the string ensemble in the Peking opera orchestra which often plays solo melodic lines in unison. *Wǔchàng* literally means “war singing”. This is the percussion section in the Peking opera which provides the rhythm for the performance.

The importance of music in *kabuki* theatre is testified by the fact that *kabuki* encompasses multiple different musical ensembles. Other Japanese traditional theatrical genres have lesser musical ensembles: the Japanese puppet theatre *bunraku* most often has only two musicians – a singer and a *shamisen* player, and the no theatre has usually eight musicians (usually four singers and four instrumentalists) In comparison, *kabuki* theatre has four musical ensembles: *debayashi*, *shitakata* (also called *hayashi*), *gidayu* and *geza* (or *kuromisu*).

Debayashi is considered to be “the soul of kabuki” – it's an ensemble of eight *shamisen* (三味線) players and eight *utakatata* (歌方) singers. Usually the *debayashi* musicians are placed at the far back of the stage facing the audience, on a high flat platform. They form a long line from one end of the stage to the other. The positioning of the *debayashi* on the high platform on the stage demonstrates the importance of this ensemble for the ongoing stage action.

The second most important ensemble in *kabuki* is called *shitakata*. It's adopted from the no theatre and consists of singers and players of the *nokan* (能管) flute and the *taiko* (太鼓), *otsuzumi* (大鼓) and *kotsuzumi* (小鼓) drums. In *kabuki* *shitakata* is placed in a straight line right in front of the main ensemble *debayashi* on a lower platform.

Gidayu in *kabuki* are a duet, “storytellers”, a narrative singer (*tayu*) and a *shamisen* player, the idea being borrowed from the puppet theatre *bunraku*. In performances larger in scale, singers and instrumentalists can be twice or three times more. Usually, the *gidayu* musicians are placed on a separate platform.

In *kabuki* the musicians of *geza* (or *kuromisu*) are entirely hidden from the audience. But from where they stand the musicians can see the stage as well as the audience (Scott, 1955: 70). The music they play is generally defined as *gegi ongaku*, or literally – “music of action.” *Geza* has different instruments: *shamisen*, *nokan* and others and a wide variety of percussions (wooden blocks, cymbals, gongs, drums, bells, etc.). This “invisible” to the audience ensemble can also be related to the active principle of *yáng*, *yo* in Japanese, and serve to show that “the invisible” carries an especially active energy. It's the *geza* that depicts natural scenery, sounds, makes the action more dynamic, expresses a palette of emotions and in this way, although remaining “invisible” to the audience, this musical ensemble affects them in the strongest and most direct way.

To conclude, this work doesn't aim to specify the common similarities or differences in Chinese and Japanese cultures, but to focus our attention on the significance of music in the representative genres of *jīngjù* and *kabuki*. To a great extent, this significance is predetermined by the importance of music in Chinese and Japanese mythologies, philosophy and cultures.

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Китайските бойни изкуства в съвременния свят – традиции и иновации

Румяна Буджева

Chinese Martial Arts in the Contemporary World – Traditions and Innovations

Rumiana Budjeva

Abstract

Few elements present as well the cultural and spiritual heritage of China as martial arts. They embody an active philosophy, worldview and spirituality, which are intended to become an integral part of everyday life and the lives of practitioners. The conceptual core of martial arts is developed around the idea of personal self-improvement. Created based on the Taoism and later Buddhism, their primordial principles include the development of moral virtues and artistic skills, improvement of health and the pursuit of longevity; strengthening the physical condition, self-defense and violence prevention. This core of basic ideas and values become increasingly attractive to the Western man - since the last few decades of the last century. While looking for the lost balance in their consumerist and material society, more and more people focus their spiritual pursuits and interests to the traditions of ancient China. This raises the question of where this cultural and spiritual heritage stands in the contemporary world. Therefore our main aim will be to examine the mutual influence between these traditions and the current reality and values of the Western societies. Seeking their point of intersection, we will follow the process of initial penetration of the idea of Chinese martial arts and their promotion among Western culture. Further, our focus will be directed, on the one hand, to the study of the preservation of the traditions in teaching and practicing martial disciplines: how they stick to its origins. On the other hand, we will examine the change and innovation that inevitably occur during practicing martial arts by the modern Western man. Some of the research questions we set are: Does our cutting-edge information age leave a print on the practice of martial arts? Does the martial arts turns into just another sporting discipline and how this corresponds with the basic concepts and values of the authentic martial arts? What constitutes the practice of traditional martial arts for modern adepts?

Keywords: Chinese martial arts; traditions; globalization; material and spiritual values.

В свят, който все повече се глобализира, различията между типовете икономики, политически системи, ценности, културни кодове, традиции и светоглед все повече се размиват. Този процес на премахване на границите в световен мащаб, целящ на първо място „да осигури достъпност, лесно разпространение и свободно движение на хора, стоки, капитали, ценности, технологии“ (Вълкова, 2010:24), има нееднозначно и често пъти противоречиво въздействие върху съвременния свят. От една страна, типичната за глобализацията привързаност към технологиите, модерните средства за комуникация и интернет прави възможен неограничения достъп до информация от всякакъв характер, което има като резултат свободната размяна на идеи, възгледи и знания. От друга страна, глобализацията

е свързана с кризата на основната организационна форма на модерната епоха – националната държава, а това, от своя страна, води и до криза в разбирането за културни ценности, вярвания, език и историческа памет, които обединяват хората в рамките на държавата. В този контекст става видим конфликтът между „локално“ и „глобално“; „традиция“ и „иновация“; между различните ценностни системи и световъзприятия.

Взаимното проникване на източната и западната култура и начин на мислене е процес, започнал не от днес. В съзнанието на обикновения човек от Европа или Америка Китай почти автоматично се свързва с понятия и образи, отдавна станали негова емблема: Китайската стена; икономическото чудо на Изтока; китайските стоки; китайските ресторанти и разбира се – бойните изкуства. Действително, малко елементи представят така добре културното и духовно наследство на Китай, както бойните изкуства, тъй като те са есенцията и представляват неотделима част от съхранените от древността до днес традиции. Наред с това бойните изкуства възплъщават една действена философия, светоусещане и практики, които са предназначени да станат неразделна част от ежедневието и живота на практикуващите. „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, подобрене на здравето и стремеж към дълголетие, укрепване на физическото състояние, самозащита и предотвратяване на насилието“ (Яворов, 2012). Още от средата на XX в. това ядро от основни идеи и ценности става все по-привлекателно за западния човек. Търсейки изгубения баланс в своето консуматорско и материално общество, все повече хора насочват духовните си търсения и интереси към традициите на Древния Китай и Индия. Това поставя въпроса за мястото на това културното и духовно наследство в съвременния свят. Основаната ни задача в настоящия текст ще бъде да изследваме **каква е съдбата на традиционните китайски бойни изкуства в днешния свят**. Как традицията оцелява и се развива в свръхмодерната, технологична информационна епоха? Има ли място за съзерцателното световъзприятие на Изтока в условията на меркантилния консумеризъм на Запада в условията на напредваща глобализация? Търсейки пресечната им точка, ще проследим процеса на първоначално проникване на идеята за китайските бойни изкуства и популяризирането им сред западната култура. По-нататък фокусът ни ще бъде насочен, от една страна, към изследване на степента на съхраняване на традициите при преподаването и практикуването на бойните дисциплини: доколко се придържат към оригиналния си вид и възпроизвеждат древните практики. От друга страна, ще изследваме промяната и иновациите, които неминуемо настъпват при практикуването на бойни изкуства от съвременния западен човек. Някои от изследователските ни въпроси са: Остава ли отпечатък свръхмодерната глобализираща западна цивилизация върху практикуването на традиционните китайски бойни изкуства? Превръщат ли се те просто в поредната спортна дисциплина и как това кореспондира с базовите концепции и ценности на традиционните дисциплини? Какво представлява практикуването на традиционни бойни изкуства за съвременните адепти?

Използваните социологически методи за набиране на информация са от качествен тип – изследване на литература и дълбочинно интервю. За целите на настоящото изследване бяха проведени серия от индивидуални дълбочинни интервюта в периода април – май 2017 г. Интервюираните бяха:

- Почитаеми / старши учители (лао-шъ);
- Майстори-учители (сифу);
- Адепти (ученици/трениращи) от школи по У-Шу/Кунг-Фу в различни стадии на своето обучение.

В съзнанието на обикновения човек от Европа или Америка китайските бойни изкуства почти автоматично се асоциират с романтичните представи за необикновено майсторство и свръхестествени умения; за непобедими и достойни войни, владеещи невероятни техники в боя, които ги правят неуязвими и им помагат да победят в почти всяка ситуация. Свързват се също така и с една атмосфера на загадъчност, преплетена с тайнствени езотерични учения и източни религии – не съвсем разбираеми и понятни за средния европейец, но привлекателни в своята мистика и извикващи желание човек да се докосне и приобщи към необикновените древни знания и умения, дошли от една далечна и екзотична страна.

Трябва да отбележим, че по-голямата част от тези романтични образи и асоциации са продукт на активната дейност на киноиндустрията на XX в. – „екшън филмите (известни като "ийстърн") от Хонконг през 60-те и 70-те години и звезди като Брус Ли, Чък Норис, Нора Миао, Само Хунг и мн. др.“ (Александров, 1994). Тази киновълна има основна роля за мистифицирането и прикачването на романтичен (но не особено реалистичен) ореол върху действителната същност на традиционните китайски бойни изкуства. Така по ирония именно киноиндустрията се оказва техният най-голям популяризатор сред т.нар. „западен свят“, като едновременно с това тя е и най-големият мистификатор на истинската им същност (разбира се, с цел по-големи приходи, от което самите бойни изкуства не печелят особено).

Забележителни с древния си произход, „Китайските бойни изкуства, повече известни днес като Кунг-Фу, имат близо 4000-годишна история“ (Юкун, 1996; Bilokur, 1989). 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 име „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 буквално означава „да спреш копието“ или „спирам да се бия“¹. Има една особеност, която задължително трябва да се знае. Този термин се използва предимно в континентален Китай и той се налага след Втората св. война. След учредяване на Китайската република през 1948 г. вече започва да се говори за У-Шу. За един период от 10-15 години, докато трае Културната революция², тези изкуства са забранени – обявени са за „феодална отживелица“, заедно с много други неща от традиционната китайска култура. Старите*

¹ Според други трактовки У-Шу значи „самосъхранение“. В китайския език обаче основното значение на У-Шу е просто „бойно изкуство“.

² „Културната революция“ в Китай (1956-1972 г.).

майстори са изселени, депортирани, изпратени в лагери или хвърлени в затвора. Това се знае. Монасите и майсторите от Шао Лин са изгонени от манастира и са изпратени да строят пътища. Манастирите опустяват, защото те са били средище на тази култура³ (лао-шъ д-р Д. Александров).

Това се прави с цел пълен държавен монопол върху този спорт и дисциплини (някъде го наричат и „държавно У-Шу“ или „гимнастика У-Шу“), което на практика къса връзката с традиционните стилове, философия и методика на трениране.

Навлизането на източните бойни изкуства в Европа става след Втората световна война, когато японските бойни изкуства правят експанзия в Европа и в Съединените щати. Причината е, че в страни като Япония, а по-късно и Корея, популяризирането на бойните изкуства сред западния свят се превръща в държавна политика: Те буквално командироваха инструктори с високи степени в Европа и Щатите и ги заселват там да преподават. И затова досега японските бойни изкуства са на доста високо ниво. Не е за подценяване и фактът, че през 1964 г. джудо става олимпийски спорт. Доста по-късно Таекуон-До също стана олимпийски спорт. За добро или за зло, но Кунг-Фу / У-Шу не стана олимпийски спорт, въпреки че имаше Олимпиада в Китай. Аз лично съм много доволен от този факт, защото ако беше станал олимпийски спорт, това щеше да бъде краят на традиционните стилове. А сега има шанс те да се развият така, както са - в унисон с традициите (лао-шъ д-р Д. Александров).

За деградацията на бойните изкуства – превърнали се в поредната спортна или олимпийска дисциплина, свидетелства и следното изказване на д-р Александров: *Професор Шойлев, който създаде клиниката по спортна медицина, казваше често: „олимпийските спортове, съвременният спорт, особено олимпийските спортове, се развиват на границата на патологията. И всички тези олимпийски шампиони са ми на мене след това пациенти“.* **Когато се комбинира спортът с бизнеса, става съвсем друго нещо. Ценностната система се изменя** (лао-шъ д-р Д. Александров).

Конфликтът между ценностите е очевиден: в традициите на китайските бойни изкуства са вкоренени уважението, самодисциплината, подобряването на физическата форма, самозащитата и т.н. Освен това те съдържат задълбочени теории по отношение на техниката и майсторството, както и високо ниво на морала и интелекта. От другата страна стоят ценностите на „културата на „Кока-Кола“ – лесносмислаемо шоу, печалби, медали и формални отличия. Повечето от тези постижения се заплащат с поражения върху опорно-двигателния апарат, коленните стави, гръбнака, сърдечно-съдовата система и черния дроб (злоупотреба с анаболи и допинг) и др. Случаите на внезапна сърдечна смърт на терена, левкемия и прогресивно остаряване не са рядко срещани при тези спортисти. Статистиката показва, че тези състезатели рядко доживяват до дълбока старост. Интелектуалното ниво сред тях също не е много високо (Александров, 2010).

В този контекст, основателно възниква въпросът дали преподаването в школите Кунг-Фу се доближава до традицията и до корените и същността на това изкуство и как се гарантира запазването на чистотата на стила: *Сега има добре подготвени български инструктори, но в онези години (в началото) нямаше откъде да дойде автентична информация, освен*

³ Текстовете в *Italic* са от проведените дълбочинни интервюта.

да се работи с китайски майстори и такива, които са имали досег с тези оригинални знания. Действително, има много практикуващи, но добрите инструктори са малко – които наистина се придържат към традицията, към традиционните неща, следват традиционния стил, особености и методика. Методиката е много важна! (сифу проф. Й. Крушев).

Вписването на китайски бойни изкуства в съвременния свят изисква адаптирането им – понякога в посока, различна от традицията. Иновациите в тази област са необходими, за да отговаря изкуството на съвременните реалности, но същността, основата остава непроменена – основополагащите принципи, методики и ценности: *Най-важното е да не излиза извън принципите на стила! За всеки стил има принципи. Дори техниките да се променят и методиките на тренировка, но не трябва да се нарушават принципите на стила. Всички тези класически текстове дават основните принципи. Нашите принципи са основно в текстовете на Юе Фей. Ако не се вникне, да се разберат нещата, те остават неразбираеми* (лао-шъ д-р Д. Александров).

Процесът и методиката на обучение в традиционните и другите школи също са много различни. „Ще дам един пример. Преди повече от 30 години във френското списание „Будо“ един традиционен виетнамски майстор от стил подобен на Шаолин Кунг-Фу беше споделил своя печален опит на преподаване във Франция. Още при идването си той започнал да преподава чисто традиционно – с големи натоварвания и методи, неподходящи за изнежения западен човек (с консуматорска философия и мироглед). Например стоене по 1-2 часа в „ездачна позиция“ (мабу), продължителна базовата подготовка (дзибънгун) и скучни еднообразни упражнения (гунфа), които са необходими за натрупване и получаване на качества, без които трениращите не могат да развият бойните техники. В резултат след две седмици в залата останали само трима души... Това принудило майстора да промени традиционната система и да я адаптира като за европейци. За резултатите може би се досещате, както и че това вече не е Кунг-Фу, а гимнастика за здраве и хоби за уплътняване на свободното време. Такива са и повечето школи на Запад, особено в САЩ, където всичко е тотално комерсиализирано и опорочено“ (Александров, 2015).

Относно нивото на преподаване конкретно на китайски бойни изкуства в България един от нашите респонденти споделя: Много хора, които са учили по чужбина, казват: „Ние не знаем толкова, колкото ти си научил тук“. Аз това го дължа на моите учители. Те. хората, от които съм учил, аз после разбрах, че са много висок клас учители. Аз съм говорил с много китайци и се оказва, че и те не знаят толкова, колкото тях. Защото те са си потопени в традицията и не забелязват, не са критични към много неща. Те не могат и да ги преподават, 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 (сифу д-р Я. Колчаков).

Въпреки повишената популярност на бойните изкуства днес – организирането на семинари, рекламирането на школи и т.н. тези изкуства започват да губят автентичността си. Причината е, че все по-ясно се усеща липсата на достатъчно отдадени и подготвени хора, които да наследят и предадат нататък най-добрите практики и традиции в бойните

изкуства: Това, че един човек тренира 20 и повече години едно бойно изкуство, това не значи, че го е предал на следващото поколение. И мога да кажа защо. Защото тези изкуства, в този съвременен свят човек не може да им се посвети, да им посвети изцяло времето си, както това е било възможно в миналото. Трябва това да ти е в сърцето и да умееш да го преподадеш. Това, което ми прави впечатление, е, че за съжаление, голяма част от изкуствата започват да губят детайлите и качеството. Защото се превърнаха в комерсиални дружества, включително визирам и много големи, прословути школи в Китай и китайски фамилии. Тук няма да споменавам точно кои, от уважение към тях, но там също има много комерсиален аспект (сифу д-р Я. Колчаков).

Както беше акцентирано вече, китайските бойни изкуства са тясно свързани със самоусъвършенстването на личността, тялото и духа на практикуващия. Редовната практика подобрява не само физическото, умственото и емоционалното състояние, но и представлява в действителност продължение на древните китайски традиции, тъй като те в случая не са просто умозрителни концепции, а жива, ежедневна 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 ежедневната 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.*

Ежедневното 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 zapomняш. Правиш и разбираш“.

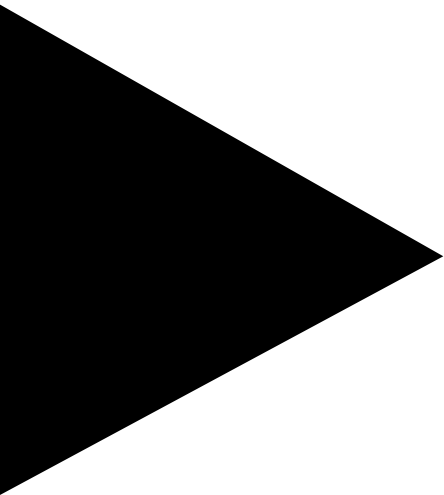
Редовните и задълбочени занимания с Кунг-Фу водят до повече или по-малко осезаеми резултати както на физическо, така и на психическо и личностно ниво. Интервюираните адепти с по-голям стаж в практикуването на избрания от тях стил споделят, че са забелязали следните промени в себе си, които свързват с 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.*

В заключение можем да направим извода, че глобализиращата се западна цивилизация оставя своя отпечатък върху практикуването и възпроизвеждането на традициите в практикуването на бойните изкуства. Сблъсъкът на цивилизации и ценности ражда иновациите на традициите, които неминуемо трябва да се адаптират, за да отговорят на променените реалности, настройки на съвременния човек със западен тип мислене и начин на живот. Без да губят същността си, китайските бойни изкуства продължават да очароват и вдъхновяват много хора по света в търсенето им на съвършенство, вътрешен мир, хармония и смисъл. Както формулира един от нашите респонденти: *Интересът към тези бойни изкуства никога няма да умре. Но за мен е под въпрос, и то сериозен - дали съвременните практикуващи ще стигнат до дълбочината на тези традиции, защото времената са различни* (сифу д-р Я. Колчаков).

От друга страна, проведените сред адепти интервюта показаха, 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. Благодарение на практикуването на Кунг-Фу става възможно хиляди хора да се докоснат до красивата и жива традиция на Древния Китай и да подобрят не само психо-физическото си състояние, но и да следват пътя на самоусъвършенстването и пълноценния живот.

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经济 与 政治



Икономика и политика

Economics and Politics

Кунг-фу в управлението на бизнеса

Валери Иванов

Kong-fu in the Management of the Business

Valeri Ivanov

Abstract

Today's world places the challenges of dynamic business relations in the global economy and in the everyday microenvironment on civilization. The individual is faced with stress, conflicts, and the need to secure his existence. This urgent necessity to adapt adequately to the environment also has a particular dimension within business. Chinese civilization is the only one that has survived since antiquity, which is why we should look for a key to this survival within Chinese culture and tradition. If we refer to the advice of the „elders” we encounter ancient texts that sound surprisingly modern. A result of immediate practical experience, these texts carry millennial knowledge and instructions awaiting modern interpretation. Many of these texts are concerned with the art of war and of governance but for traditional Chinese thought, war is a „seeking of gain” or a „securing of profit” as we would say in modern business terms. The rules of governing in antiquity concerned the person but business organizations are also „legal” persons that have their self-determination, structure, processes, goals and reasons for existing. The problem lies in translating and understanding these texts, and in their meaningful recreation in contemporary language. This problem is not only lingual but also a matter of the inevitable clash between knowledge and practice – how such knowledge can serve us in an adequate way. Traditional Chinese martial arts are probably the only area that has kept alive the link between ancient theory and practical application. This is the area where the understanding of ancient texts is most preserved and applied. The traditional practice of martial arts has the ability to reveal the wisdom in ancient Chinese texts and to interpret them in modern terms making possible the acquisition of real mastery - a „kung fu” in the governing of an organization or business.

Keywords: governance, management, business, organizations, relations, global, economy, civilization, environment, culture, tradition, ancient, modern, practical, experience, knowledge, art, war, contemporary, problem, application, alive, link, theory, terms, possible, mastery, kong-fu

Съвременният свят разкрива своите предизвикателства в динамичните бизнес отношения, структурирани както в глобалната икономика, така и в ежедневната микросреда на модерната цивилизация. Човекът е поставен в условия на непрекъснато изживяване на стрес от преодоляването на безкрайно множество конфликти, подложен е на постоянно натоварване на възможностите на границите на поносимото с риск за осигуряване на собственото си съществуване. Спешната необходимост от адекватно приспособяване към условията винаги е било и ще бъде основно предизвикателство пред еволюцията на живите същества. Тази адекватност на човешкото общество и на самия човек като личност сега достига особени и специфични предизвикателства, за които той търси да открие подходящи решения.

Днес бизнесът се нуждае от все по-добро управление. Той се нуждае от истински добре

подготвени хора, които да притежават подходяща квалификация, практически умения и така необходимия верен усет – сензитивност към промените на средата и условията, в които бизнесът съществува. Висококонкурентната среда предполага бързина и точност, прецизност и качество на взетите решения, както и все по-висока степен на ефективност на предприетите действия. Това е причината все повече анализатори да сравняват динамиката на модерната бизнес среда с военни действия, а управлението на бизнес организацията с управлението на държавата и нейната армия във военно време. Например в една книга, издадена съвсем наскоро от популярното издателство „Изток-Запад”, четем: „Очевидно принципите на изкуството на войната, за които Тайдзун и Ли Джин говорят, могат да бъдат приложени и в съвременните бизнес съревнования, както и във всеки едни конфликт или дейност...”, и по-надолу „дискусията показва, че рисковият мениджмънт не е изцяло съвременна идея. Нашето отношение към риска почти не се е променило от древността насам” (Тан, 2017: 85)

Достатъчно е само да споменем някои от широко навлезлите термини в бизнес управлението като „политика”, „стратегия”, „тактически решения” и още може би: мисия, цели, средства, ресурси и т.н., за да отбележим техния военен произход и политически характер. Корпорацията често има до такава степен изградена структура, че прави неизбежна аналогията с държавата, разполагаща със свое управление и йерархия, финанси и ресурсно осигуряване, гаранция за нейния суверенитет и независимо съществуване. Нещо повече – все повече бизнес организации имат мултикултурен характер. Те имат служители от различни националности и притежаващи различна културна идентичност. Организациите по своя мащаб и дейност често надхвърлят обхвата, обема и съдържанието на управлението на една държава в днешния свят. Те дори имат възможността, силата и позицията да упражняват власт и да диктуват условия върху държавното политическо управление. Това изправя бизнеса пред необходимостта да си служи със структури и функции, създадени и изградени при държавното и военно управление, работещи с неговия мащаб на решения, действия и отговорности.

Когато обърнем поглед към миналото, както обикновено се случва по време на криза, можем да видим множество изоставени схеми, провалили се опити и решения, отживели с времето си и неприложими мъдри предложения за устройството на света, за правилното и градивно взаимодействие с него, при което е възможно не само оцеляването, но и развитието към нещо по-добро. Може би ако последваме старата китайска мъдрост и се позовем на познанията и опита на „предците”, можем да открием много запазили се във времето текстове и предписания с изключително съвременно звучене. Съхранили огромен, натрупан в практиката опит, те в концентриран вид са пренесли незаменимо познание през хилядолетията с указания, които чакат своята съвременна интерпретация. Голяма част от текстовете са свързани с военното дело и държавното управление. В съвременната литература с насоки в стратегическото управление на бизнеса вече се наблюдава трайна тенденция към позоваване на авторитети и цитиране на древни китайски трактати именно в областта на военното дело, както и да се ползват концепции, развити в древната китайска наука за управлението на държавата. Аналогията с тях в съвременните стратегии за управление на бизнеса в отношенията между хората и организациите има

своята логика не само поради авторитета на древността, но и в самия факт, че китайското мислене е успяло да запази и съхрани държавната традиция и съзнание в продължение на повече от четири хиляди години. Това е единствената древна цивилизация, която продължава да съществува и дори е основен фактор в съвременния глобален свят.

Но съществува малък проблем! Както казва Джо Оуен в своята книга „Как да управляваме. Изкуството да накараме нещата да се случват“: „Активността не е заместител на постижението. Трудността пред управляващите днес е да вършат по-малко и да постигат повече“ (Оуен, 2015: 15).

За традиционното китайско мислене войната представлява „търсене на изгода“, или осигуряването на печалба и принадена стойност, както бихме определили и съвременния бизнес. Законите на управлението, формирани още в дълбока древност се отнасят еднакво добре както към осигуряване качествата на отделната личност в тяхната служебна роля на ръководители и служители, така и в качеството на самите бизнес организации, представляващи „юридическо лице“ със свое самоопределяне, структура, функции и процеси, със своя цел и идея за съществуване и развитие. Проблемът като че ли е в разбирането на тези стари текстове и тяхното превеждане и осмислено пресъздаване в съвременността. Той стои поради отдалечеността във времето и пространството, а и поради езика, предаващ съдържанието на използваните понятия. Този проблем става още по-значим от гледна точка на възможностите за практическо прилагане - как точно да заработят тези принципи и положения на практика в ежедневието по адекватен на нашата реалност начин.

Онова, което се случва, е, че съвременните автори тълкуват и възприемат указанията на древните практики по един доста интелектуален и откъснат от техния практически опит и поради това далечен от културата и средата, в които тези указания са писани. Това води освен до практическо неразбиране и по-скоро объркване при тълкуването, но и до тяхната неприложимост в практиката, така че тези цитати освен като придаващи някаква тежест на размислите на интерпретаторите не водят до никаква практическа полза за тези, които се нуждаят именно от практическата приложимост – а именно мениджърите в бизнеса. Препратките и цитатите от старите китайски трактати за управлението и войната са поставени директно и направо, без практическото им разбиране и превеждане на техния истински смисъл за приложението им на практика. Обективната реалност на управлението, сведена до индивидуалното изживяване на конфликта, баланса и успеха, като че ли накрая опира само до съветите за собствено личностно израстване.

По думите на Франсоа Жулиен в „Трактат за ефикасността. Стратегии на успеха в Европа и Китай“: „...с изкачването в йерархията на отговорностите настъпва моментът, когато се отказваш от тактическия план в полза на стратегическия. Колкото по-мощни действия трябва да се управляват, толкова повече се разчита на способността да се „отсъжда“ след точно вникване в особеностите на ситуацията, а следователно на личния талант“ (Жулиен, 2004: 70).

А Дейвид Алън споделя в „52 принципа за по-голяма производителност в работата и в живота“ (бълг. издание - „Как да постигнем максимални резултати без излишни усилия“): „Зад всичко това стои концепцията „съзнание като вода“ – образ, с който се запознах преди години, докато тренирах карате“ (Алън, 2008:17).

Търсенето на практическа реализация и приложение на древната мъдрост ни довежда до традиционната практика в онова, което светът нарича „кунг-фу“, за разлика от популярния днес китайски спорт, който носи наименованието „у-шу“ и се свързва с практиката на онова, което ние, хората от Запада, оприличаваме на „бойно изкуство“.

В древността практическото управление се е свързвало непосредствено с бойния опит, с придобиването на майсторство в прилагането на умения на бойното поле и поради това с изучаването на т. нар. „бойни изкуства“ с цел придобиване на индивидуални практически умения за водене на двубой и разрешаване на конфликти.

Конфуций посочва придобиването на бойни умения като едно от съвършенствата на „благородния“ човек. В индивидуалната практика и обучение се ползват непосредствени указания за стратегическо управление, приложими както за армията във военни действия, така и за държавата в мирно време. По този начин личната практика в бойните изкуства достига дълбока теоретична и философска основа на разбиране, а индивидуалното и „микросмическо“ реализиране отразява универсални закони на макрокосмоса в управлението на всички неща (структури и процеси) в света на „Поднебесната“. Тази дълбока основа не пречи тя да е строго практически ориентирана, а не хипотетична и имажинерна.

В „Изкуството на войната“ Сун дзъ изрично препоръчва: „Издай възбрана да се ослабяват на поличби и предзнаменования и сложи край на суеверията, водещи до колебливост“ (Сун дзъ, 2003: 69).

Практикуването на традиционните за Китай бойни изкуства е може би единствената област, където е останала жива връзката между теоретичната основа, така умело развита в древността, и непосредственото ѝ практическо приложение. Място, където древните принципи и разбирането за тях са максимално запазени и свързани с практическото им използване. Практиката в бойните изкуства може би е вратата, която би ни довела до правилното разбиране и интерпретация на древното познание за управлението в динамичната бизнес среда. Тази практика би направила познанието, което носи в себе си, достъпно, както и да интерпретира неговото значение, разбиране и приложение в съвременното му бизнес звучене. Традиционното практикуване на бойни изкуства може би има способността да разкрие тайните на древната мъдрост в запазените стари китайски текстове за придобиване на истинско майсторско умение „кунг-фу“ в управлението на организацията и бизнеса.

Древните военачалници, или казано по друг начин, „мениджъри на войната“, са имали доста широко виждане за света като приложение на техния практически опит и приложение на тяхното изкуство във всяко житейско отношение. Тази обща приложимост е останала в използването на термина „кунг-фу“, с който традиционно се означава майсторството, умението, изработено в практиката, с включените в него усилия и време. Това умение би могло да се отнесе към каквото и да е приложение, цел или задача. Придобиването на умение изисква и предполага идеята за постигане на определен резултат, и то качествен, своевременен, осезаем, полезен, резултата, който искаме и от който се нуждаем.

Така отношението на малкото „микро“ към голямото „макро“ в света и „космоса“ придобива смисъл като непосредствено практическо изразяване и приложение на законите и принципите, управляващи както микро-, така и макрокосмоса. Майсторите на кунг-фу са

разбирали и изживявали старегията като „изкуство, което изисква не само различен начин на мислене, но и напълно различен подход към живота като такъв. Тя изисква непрекъсната връзка между две области: идеите и познанието, от една страна, и непосредствения житейски опит, от друга. Тя представлява практическо знание от най-висша форма“ (Грийн, 2009: 28-29).

Фундаментална концепция за езотеричното „скрито“ познание за съществуването на нашия свят е съответствието на т. нар. „микрокосмос“ и „макрокосмоса“. До него достигат независимо в различни цивилизации и култури. Това познание намира конкретно приложение и е непосредствено вплетено в ежедневието на китайския традиционен светоглед дори в днешно време. Това прозрение на древността съвременният свят доказва чрез научните изследвания, проникващи както в дълбините на микрочастиците, така и в планетарните и звездни системи на галактиката. Всичко е въпрос на съотнасяне, на връзки и отношения. Относителността е единствената гаранция, че даден закон или принцип е общовалиден. Той се проявява при определена относителност на средата – вътрешна и външна. Това съответствие на микро- и макросвета води до разбирането за еднотипност в структурните особености, отношенията и взаимодействията на нивото на човека – неговото тяло, структура и функции, нивото на неговите лични отношения в социалната среда, в която той съществува, а така също и в средата, в която неговите организации (държави, сдружения, съюзи) водят своето съществуване. Налице са универсални и принципни особености и начини за възприемане, изследване, разбиране на закономерности и явления, както и за развитие на възможности за тяхното използване и практическо приложение с максимална степен на ефективност. Придобитите вече практически усвоени умения в една среда е възможно да бъдат използвани със същия успех чрез аналогичното им съотнасяне в условията на друга среда.

Още в най-дълбока древност се е считало, че императорът на „Поднебесната“ трябва да управлява „по волята на Небето“ по един непряк, но възможно най-мъдър начин. Той е използвал подготвени за управлението хора – свои съветници както в мирните дела, така и по военните въпроси. За мъдрото управление в съответствие с природните „небесни“ закони той е имал управители и пълководци – майстори, които да насочват тези процеси в глобалната структура и развитие на държавата. Те е трябвало да бъдат подготвени за управлението с подходящото образование и квалификация, израснали в йерархията чрез придобиване на достатъчно знания и опит в умението успешно да ги прилагат на практика. Те е трябвало да бъдат достатъчно сензитивни към измененията на условията на средата (вътрешни и външни) на съществуване на държавата. Така древнокитайското разбиране за структурата, особеностите и динамиката на съществуващия (а може би и на несъществуващия) свят се изразяват в идеограмите на „И дзин“ – китайската „Книга на промените“, както най-често се среща в превод. Тъй като книгата е съставена от идеограми с неустановено древен произход от може би няколко хиляди години, заедно с огромно количество коментари, натрупани във времето, това е довело до постепенното ѝ използване по-скоро като оракул за предсказания, а не като директен показалец и код към изучаването и разбирането на структурата и динамиката на съществуването.

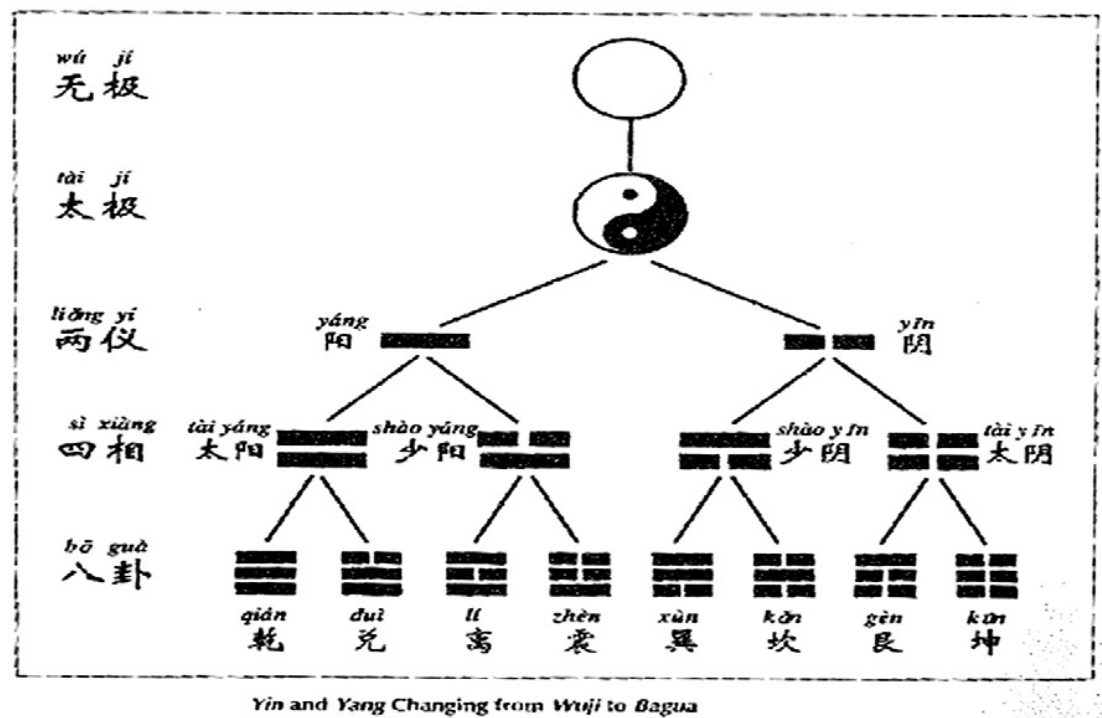
Именно практическото приложение на това познание обаче е в основата на разбирането на принципите на управление на силата в бойните изкуства и придобиването на майсторство за тяхното овладяване. Вникването в същността на бойните изкуства и днес продължава да се изгражда върху разбирането на старите текстове и наставления на учителите върху китайската „Книга на промените“ (И дзин) и взаимодействието на „Петте елемента“ (У син), съдържащи основите на древнокитайското разбиране за света. Особено характерно е това за практиката на т.нар. „вътрешни“ стилове. Често определяни като семейни, те се основават на указания, закодирани в тайни послания и насоки, в смисъла и съдържанието на които би могло да се проникне само под вещото ръководство на „посветен“ учител. Традиционно според езотерично предаваното знание на учителите тези насоки се считат за ключ към разбирането и практическото овладяване на майсторството „кунг-фу“ в бойните стилове както в древността, така и днес. Така нареченият от Джоу Дзунхуа „мастър-ключ“ в овладяването на бойните изкуства е „съзнателното възплъщение на фундаменталния способ, при който измененията се случват естествено в този свят. Този механизъм се съдържа в Цигун, проявява се в Петте елемента и се илюстрира от Диаграмата на Тайдзи, която лежи в основата на И дзин“ (Джоу, 1995: 27).

Истински подготвените за управлението хора в древността е било важно да притежават практическите умения да бъдат сензитивни към промените на света и неговите условия на съществуване като предпоставка за майсторското им умение за навременна, уместна и качествена реакция и отговор на тези промени. Правилното възприемане предполага правилно прилагане на уменията и съответно е особено необходима предпоставка за качеството на управлението. Затова майсторът е трябвало да има изградени умения за непосредствено и качествено възприемане на действителността. Той е трябвало да възприема структурите и взаимодействията между тях непосредствено и пряко. Без интерпретация, намеса и коментар, които изкривяват впечатленията и блокират адекватното отразяване и реакция на тези отношения.

По такъв начин древните трактати и мъдростта в тях са насочвали индивидуалното обучение в бойните изкуства, като едновременно с това са подготвяли теоретически и практически кадри за прилагането на компетентно и адекватно управление. В процеса на лично обучение теорията непрекъснато е проверявана в практиката и изпитвана при всеки един показал, че е достоен за това обучение при неговото лично израстване в майсторството (кунг-фу). Кариерата и успехът на един управляващ ръководител е била невъзможна без подходящото теоретично обучение и прилагането му в практиката на тяхното натрупване, което неизменно е водело до непосредствена практическа опитност и лична убеденост в приложимостта на усвоените знания и умения. Прилагането на тези умения след това е било възможно във всяка сфера на живота като подход за възприемане и управление на различни структури и дейности поради това, че в придобиването им е осигурена връзката с универсални природни и обществени закони на съществуването и развитието.

Фиг. 1 (Lu, 2006:96)

COMBAT TECHNIQUES OF TAIJI, XINGYI, AND BAGUA



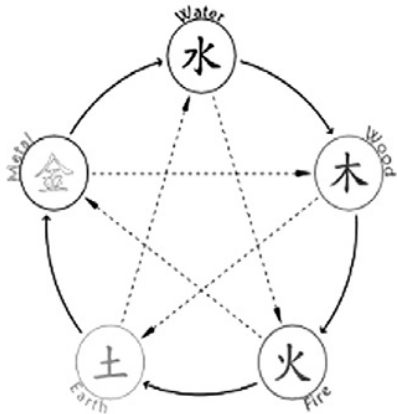
Закономерностите и правилата на вътрешното структуриране и свързване в тялото са познаваеми с посредничеството на разгадаемите отношения, кодирани в „И дзин“. В същото време книгата според преданията описва всички възможни връзки и отношения в природата в космическия мащаб на Вселената. Така в упражненията на една вътрешна микролаборатория, изучавайки сложните структури и зависимости на тялото като материя и енергия, ние придобиваме истински практически умения в управлението на тези взаимодействия в контакта с обкръжаващата ни действителност. Принципите на управление на тези сили и отношения е възможно да бъдат пренесени на макрониво в космоса на обективния свят, който нашето субективно присъствие се научава да разбира и използва. Дали това е свързано с практиката – какво по-практично от това да защитаваш своето физическо съществуване от агресивното въздействие на средата, която се опитва да го разруши. Физическият двубой в традиционно практикуваните бойни изкуства неизменно е свързан със способността за оцеляване. Сигурно най-видимата част от практикуването на бойните изкуства може да бъде забелязана в областта на преодоляване на конфликтни ситуации, свързани с прояви на физическа агресия. Физическият конфликт обаче е най-малката и най-очевидната част от проблема. Това е неговата проявена част, която всички вече могат да видят.

Когато изследва постигането на майсторство в каквато и да е сфера на живота, Робърт Грийн казва: „Всичко, което ви се случва, е форма на обучение, стига да си отворите очите добре. С приближаването към майсторството вие ще приблизите съзнанието си към реалността и към живота“ (Грийн, 2014: 42).

Фиг. 2 - Осемте триграми от „Книга на промените“, тяхната връзка с технически прийоми в бойните изкуства със съответстващите им бизнес структури и динамични процеси (оборота) на силата в бизнеса, заедно с взаимодействието и влиянието на „петте елемента“

Structure / form /	Trigrams from Yi Jing	Element /Connection/	Dynamic aspect in Taijiquan practice	Compliance in the structure of the business organization
Qian /heaven/		metal	peng	Supervisory and controlling public authorities
Dui /lake/			chou	Internal supervisory and control bodies
Li /fire/		- fire	ji	Clients / customers / service users
Zhen /thunder/		wood	lie	Own sales / service network
Xun /wind/			cai	Contract and affiliate network for sales / service delivery
Kan /water/		- water	an	Staff / workers / employees
Gen /mountain/		earth	kao	Subsidiaries and affiliated companies / organizations
Kun /earth/			liu	Shareholders / owners

METAL	-	Norms / rules / requirements / documents
FIRE	-	Information / data / news
WOOD	-	Products / services / goods
WATER	-	Finance / money
EARTH	-	Assets / tangible / intangible



Circle of birth
Circle of destruction

Exhaustion / depletion
Withdrawal / fear

Практиката в бойните изкуства изисква осъзнато и качествено възприемане и реакция на условията на средата – вътрешна и външна, и може би най-важното от всичко това е, че ни учи да бъдем ефективни. Тази ефективност се крие във възможността при най-малкото изразходване на усилия, при най-щадящото за нас ползване на средства и ресурси да постигаме в максимална степен желания ефект или желания резултат от онова, което правим или което се случва около нас.

Доколко предизвикателството на една осъзната връзка с бизнеса е възможно да бъде посрещнато от съвременните майстори, владеещи „кунг-фу“, зависи от това доколко те самите са успели да съхранят и развият своето познание и практика в дълбочината на неговото овладяване, както и от възможностите им за неговата съвременна интерпретация на модерен език в условията на съвременния бизнес свят.

Така на страницата в интернет на манастира Шаолин в Европа можем да прочетем: „Въз основа на принципите на класическите произведения и на ученията на Конфуций и Лао Дзъ ние предоставяме прозрения за това как работи правилното стратегическо планиране, кои фактори трябва да бъдат взети под внимание или във всеки случай какво не трябва да се пренебрегва или забравя и как правилно да планирате и използвате ресурсите и компетенциите си“ (<http://www.shaolintemple.eu/index.php?page=seminar-strategie-2>), а по-надолу в сайта намираме: „В календара ни за събития ще намерите селекция от семинари за елементарни принципи и теми, свързани с развитието, и приложими за всички. По-специално те могат да бъдат отнесени към областта на развитието на човешките ресурси и корпоративното управление, където ние предлагаме широк спектър от допълнителни интересни теми, които е добре да се познават“ (<http://www.shaolintemple.eu/index.php?page=seminars>).

Бойните изкуства са пренесли древните практически насоки и принципи на обучение до нашата съвременност по начина, по който древните трактати са донесли до нас философската мъдрост за процесите на управление и техните принципи. Обучението в бойните изкуства е в състояние да възстанови нарушената връзка между интелектуалното философстване и неговия корен – реалността, като възпроизведе древната, почти забравена или неразбрана днес философия в практическото ѝ приложение и непосредствена употреба. Доколкото това познание е закодирано в кратки фрази и насоки на практиката, поради особеностите на епохата, през която се е развивало, то е придобило известна сянка на скритост, езотеричност, мистика и странност. Предизвикателство е и това доколко съвременните майстори в бойното изкуство ще съумеят да преведат коректно и да предадат тези принципи в годин за възприемане вариант, отговарящ на съвременната бизнес среда, нейната динамика, култура, език, така че те да станат разбираеми и достъпни.

От едната страна стои желанието на бизнеса да се учи и да прилага наученото – това е общо правило на ученичеството изобщо, а от другата стоят възможностите и способностите на практикуващите „кунг-фу“ да преведат и да предадат практическото познание на древните майстори в съвременния бизнес свят. Според нас в съвременния свят има реалните предпоставки тази връзка да се случи и да разкрие нови възможности за придобиване на реално майсторство „кунг-фу“, този път в управлението на бизнеса.

Библиография

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16+1 Initiative and the Shifting Geopolitical Dynamics

Antonina Habova

Abstract

Increasing economic and geopolitical disturbances in the world indicate a process of transformation of the existing international system and the establishment of a new one with its own logic and driving forces.

Against the background of global geopolitical reshuffling, important geopolitical developments are taking place in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The crisis of the European Union, the deteriorated security environment in Europe, the assertiveness of Russia as well as the Trump phenomenon reshape the situation in the region and could even change the role of Central and Eastern Europe in the geopolitical configuration of the European continent.

A new external actor appears on the regional scene. China increases its engagement of the CEE region applying a different policy approach. This approach does not seek military dominance or any political affiliation. Presently, it is based mainly on investments and growing economic presence.

The 16+1 initiative, launched officially in 2012, is the core element of China's policy towards this part of Europe. It is an element of the realization of 'One Belt, One Road' and China's penetration in the heartland of Eurasia. Positive development of the 16+1 format could turn China into a new challenge and test for the sustainability of the existing geopolitical balance in Central and Eastern Europe.

Keywords: Central and Eastern Europe, 16+1 format, Geopolitics

I. Introduction

In 2012 China launched the 16+1 initiative, which is the major instrument in its policy towards Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)¹ as well as a strategically important component of the "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) strategy announced by the Chinese president in 2013. The initiative appeared in a period of increasing economic and geopolitical disturbances and renewed the geopolitical competition in the world; a period when geopolitics has regained its appeal and continues to influence the policies of the great powers.

The Chinese understanding of geopolitics is modelled by a specific worldview and a specific mentality. It does not stick to the classical geopolitics that describes world history as a permanent clash between Land and Sea. Some Chinese experts even outline that the changes in world geopolitics in the 21st century are a consequence of the irreversible shift of the global centre of gravity to the east and the emergence of new international relationships, to which geopolitical theories of the past no longer apply (Duchâtel, 2010: 5-7). Still, the increasing Chinese engagement both on global and regional level upsets the Western geopolitical calculations.

¹ The CEE region, as defined by China, includes: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

In his famous book from 1997 *The Grand Chessboard* Zb. Brzezinski wrote: „This huge, oddly shaped Eurasian chess board – extending from Lisbon to Vladivostok – provides the setting for ‘the game.’ If the middle space can be drawn increasingly into the expanding orbit of the West (where America preponderates), if the southern region is not subjected to domination by a single player, and if the East is not unified in a manner that prompts the expulsion of America from its offshore bases, America can then be said to prevail. But if the middle space rebuffs the West, becomes an assertive single entity, and either gains control over the South or forms an alliance with the major Eastern actor, then America's primacy in Eurasia shrinks dramatically” (Brzezinski, 1997: 35).

All these imperatives of the American primacy in Eurasia and supremacy in the international system were challenged in the last few years. One of the greatest challenges comes from China and its new strategy „One Belt, One Road” launched in 2013. The new strategy has the potential to seriously contest the existing models of cooperation between states and test the sustainability of the world order. Its implementation would make possible that Heartland and parts of Rimland come together. The 16+1 format could have an important role in these processes.

II. Changing dynamics in the CEE geopolitical landscape

The geopolitical reshuffling on the global stage resonates in Central and Eastern Europe and is already reshaping the geopolitical situation in the region. It becomes again an arena for enhanced competition between external powers with diverse, often conflicting, interests in the region.

For the United States, the region is a geopolitical tool for controlling Europe and containing Russia. After the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the West (the United States, in particular) established a full dominance in Central and Eastern Europe. The majority of the CEE countries stick to the US geopolitical orbit. Thirteen of the countries in the region became NATO member states (with only BiH, Macedonia and Serbia not in the Alliance). That was assessed by Russia as an attempt to strangle it.

The expanded US and NATO military presence in the region further contributed to the narrowing of Russia's influence and to the consolidation of the Western supremacy in CEE. U.S. military activities in CEE included the establishment of the Bondsteel camp (one of the largest US military bases in Europe), the persistent rotational presence of small land forces, air and naval deployments to the region, intense training and exercises, unprecedented pre-positioning of heavy armour in the region, and improvements to local infrastructure (Kacprzyk, 2015: 5).

One year after the geopolitical crisis in Ukraine, NATO installed command and control centers in six CEE states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria) named as „frontline countries” by the US Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland. On this occasion, there have been some speculations that CEE – with the assigned role of a frontline zone – could be an element of a cordon sanitaire around

Russia that would further facilitate Europe's separation from Russia and consolidate US influence in Eurasia.

In 2017, NATO member states began implementing an enhanced forward presence across the Baltic states and Poland. For the first time, the alliance is basing combat forces east of the former East-West German border on a continuous basis, which has to strengthen the Alliance's deterrence and reassurance posture (Deni, 2017).

The new foreign policy approach applied by President Trump could provoke some changes in the US policy towards the region, though it will not radically transform the US position. The CEE region would hardly fall out of the US geopolitical calculations.

After 1991, the **Russian Federation**, as a successor of the Soviet Union, lost the initiative in the CEE region. But once Russia recovered its strength in the beginning of the new century, it started again to exert influence on the countries in the region that is perceived as a zone of Russia's vital interest.

Russia is trying to prevent the establishment and consolidation of a united anti-Russian front and to keep its traditional influence in this part of the European continent. It uses a number of instruments to expand its economic footprint and to increase its political influence. Moscow relies primarily on its historic, cultural and political ties with the CEE peoples, on the common Slavic origin and shared Orthodox religion with some of the states as well as on its enormous energy resources. Russia is the major source of energy resources for the countries in the region. It supplies 100% of the consumed gas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia, 89% in Bulgaria; 90% in Serbia; 60% in Slovenia; 56% in Greece; 24% in Romania (The Economist, 2014).

The European Union retains its influence in Central and Eastern Europe though it faces the most serious challenge in its history. The EU project enjoyed a full dominance in the region after the end of the Cold War and the years of wars in the Western Balkans. All CEE countries bound their future with a membership in the Euro-Atlantic structures. The EU membership, in particular, was seen as a mechanism for establishing stability, receiving the so needed resources and achieving development. The „stick and carrot“ approach, economic and bureaucratic mechanisms of control were the more effective instrument for the EU to guarantee stability in its periphery but also to secure the establishment of Western influence and Western rules of the geopolitical game in the region.

The developments following the 2008 crisis have revealed, however, that there is some shrinking of the EU geopolitical position and control in the region as well as an erosion of the hegemony of the European project in the Western Balkans. Recovering from the deep economic and financial crisis (but still facing the crisis of the European project itself), the EU tried to react to these challenges and revitalized and reinforced its enlargement policy. Still, the Union is increasingly fragmented. Most of the five scenarios for the future of the European Union – outlined in the White Paper presented by the European Commission (European Commission, 2017) – assign CEE the role of a buffer zone between Western Europe and increasingly assertive Russia.

III. The 16+1 initiative: rationale and characteristics

From the perspective of geopolitics, China's relations with the CEE countries have been less important than its relations with the Western European states (Robinson, Shambaugh, 2006: 274-282). China has always been in the periphery of the geopolitical game in Central and Eastern Europe (Miheev, Shvidko, 2016: 49). By the mid-2010s the situation has started to change and China has appeared as a new external actor on the regional scene. Taking advantage of the situation after the 2008 global financial and economic crisis, China has substantially increased its engagement of the CEE region. Beijing, however, applies a different policy approach, which does not seek military dominance or any political affiliation. Presently, it is based mainly on investments and growing economic presence.

The 16+1 initiative is the core element of China's policy towards the region. Its major goal is to stimulate the cooperation between China and the CEE countries and to establish a new entry point into Europe. The new format includes quite a heterogeneous group of countries, though with common communist past and common European priority: the three Baltic states, the Visegrad Four, the former Yugoslav republics as well as Bulgaria, Romania and Albania². Despite this heterogeneity, China offers a new, consolidation approach – uniting diverse countries and establishing transborder communication corridors. Applying this all-embracing strategy, China has succeeded in establishing a working cooperation mechanism that gives a new impetus to the China-CEE relation in the economic as well as in the political field.

The 16+1 platform enables the development of cooperation in different spheres and on different levels. In 2012, a special credit line of USD 10 billion was set up by China to support cooperative projects³. Another important financial tool was announced during the second China-CEE summit – China-Central and Eastern Europe Investment Cooperation Fund with a total commitment of USD 435 million provided by The Export-Import Bank of China and Hungarian Export-Import Bank. The second phase of the Fund totalled USD 1 billion will be established and become operational in 2017⁴. Chinese investment activity in the region covers different sectors and industries. There is, however, a specific interest in such strategic fields as: transport and energy infrastructure, nuclear energy, green energy, mineral raw materials industry, agriculture, telecommunication.

Chinese engagement is already visible in the whole CEE region. The efforts made by China within the 16+1 mechanism have contributed to the increase in trade by 30% in 2010-2015 as well as to the increase by 50% of the Chinese foreign direct investments (FDI) in the region (more than USD 5 billion) (Global Times, 2016). The volume of CEE investments in China has also increased though it remains at a very low level (from USD 420 million to USD 1.1 billion in 2003-2015)⁵.

² Kosovo and Greece are out of the 16+1 mechanism. The former is not recognized by China. The latter is of great importance for the Chinese trade strategy and for the OBOR strategy, in general.

³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the People's Republic of China. China's Twelve Measures for Promoting Friendly Cooperation with Central and Eastern European Countries, 26.04.2012, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/wjbspg_665714/t928567.shtml.

⁴ <http://china-ceefund.com>.

⁵ China-CEEC Liaison Mechanism for Investment Promotion Agencies. China-Central and Eastern Europe Investment Cooperation Report, 11.08.2016, p. 17 (<http://investromania.gov.ro/web/china-central-and-eastern-europe-investment-cooperation-report/>).

There is also an improved political dialogue between China and the CEE countries. Leaders' meetings are held every year. Since 2009, the region has been visited twice by a Chinese president (in 2009 and 2016) and four times by a Chinese prime minister (in 2009, 2012, 2013 and 2014).

IV. China in the CEE geopolitical game

China's geopolitical presence in different parts of the world (Central Asia, Africa, Latin America) is getting increasingly tangible and brings about significant challenges to the major actors on the global scene. The growing Chinese economic involvement in Central and Eastern Europe tests the positions mainly of the United States, the European Union and Russia that seek projection of their interests in the region.

The CEE region is an important element of the realization of "One Belt, One Road" – the major foreign policy initiative of China in the last decades as well as the most ambitious geostrategic project on the global stage aimed at linking Asia, Europe and Africa. The region is OBOR strategy's „hub” – a point of intersection of the Northern route, seen by the Chinese authorities as a new transport and logistics artery extending to Western Europe, and the Southern route seen as a China-Europe land-sea express line.

The implementation of the OBOR strategy will help China enhance its economic integration with countries to its west and will ensure greater access to Western Europe. It will also provide Beijing with the opportunity to project influence in the Eurasian space and in Europe (Yoneva, 2016). In this sense, this strategy is reminding of the logic of the classical geopolitics and its major formula saying that "Who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world".

The **United States** keeps a tight control over the political and military development of most of the CEE countries. However, the successful development of the CEE section of „One Belt, One Road” would give a strategic advantage to China. The idea of establishing a common Eurasian economic space contradicts the geopolitical imperatives of the United States. Moreover, the potential integration of Beijing's "Belt and Road" initiative in a regional infrastructure scheme in CEE will alter the balance of power in Euro-Russian dynamics that would also affect US strategic interests (Scimia, 2016).

Hence, the United States is interested in undermining Beijing's strategy and preserving the geopolitical status quo in the region. There are some speculations, for example, that Washington stands behind the decision of the Polish Defense Ministry not to allow Chinese to buy property belonging to the Polish Army for the development of a new investment zone and communication hub in the town of Łydz. This has disrupted China's plans to establish a strategically important OBOR communication hub in the town (Góralczyk, 2017: 1-10).

There are some concerns in the **European Union** that Beijing could use the OBOR initiative to undermine its unity, to „divide and rule” the EU and to shape China-EU relations. Brussels

was surprisingly firm and critical towards the 16+1 initiative, which 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). „From a European perspective, it may seem as if the Chinese are exploiting Europe's soft underbelly. The danger for Europe is that there will be a kind of „China lobby” of smaller member states within the EU,” Godement and Parello-Plesner point out (Godement, Parello-Plesner, 2011: 2).

Against the background of the divergent geopolitical strategies of different EU member states, China's growing presence in this part of the continent could further strengthen its leverage on the EU both economically and politically. The European Union, for example, could not reach a common position criticizing China's policy in the South China Sea in July 2016. The final EU statement avoided direct references to Beijing as Hungary and Greece – that rely on Chinese investments – objected.

Russia has declared that it supports the "One Belt, One Road" initiative. Moscow, however, retains its interests in Central and Eastern Europe and China could hardly ignore Russia as a significant actor in the region. Russia will be particularly sensitive to the Adriatic-Baltic-Black Sea Initiative launched during the last 16+1 summit in 2016. The development of a north-south corridor in this part of Europe obviously contradicts Russian interests.

Some experts are prone to admit that a larger geopolitical strategy aimed at separating Russia's territory from Western Europe underlies China's policy: "China is aware that the space between Germany and Russia has been historically very sensitive and it might be interested to preserve its stability, both for economic reasons of facilitating smooth connection with the Western Europe, but also possibly to check any potential Russian rise which would be geopolitically threatening to China" (Turcsányi, Matura, Furst, 2014: 127-141).

V. Conclusion

The 16+1 format – as a component of the OBOR strategy – increases the geoeconomic and geopolitical significance of Central and Eastern Europe. The increasing involvement of China in the region changes CEE's role in the geopolitical configuration of the European continent. Aiming at establishing a new trade link between Central Europe and Asia, China affects intra-EU relations, since it helps the Eastern European economies to move away from their peripheral role within the EU (Van der Putten, Meijnders, 2015: 6).

The geopolitical game and pressure that is taking place in the region – as well as the global shift of power – could further incite some of the CEE countries to seek a more diversified and pragmatic foreign policy and to try to increase their geopolitical weight and manoeuvring space. Without overestimating the potential of 16+1 forum, it could be concluded that further successful development of the format could act as an additional accelerator of the process in the European Union of totally losing geopolitical subjectness.

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In search of Europe – China's New Arctic Shipping Route

Katina Yoneva

Abstract

In 2014 China announced the new “One Belt, One Road” initiative, which was focused on co-operation with the rest of Eurasia and development of The Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road. However, China’s economic growth is based on economic dependency on foreign trade and securing new strategic lanes. Nowadays there is a renewed interest in the Northeast Passage or the Northern Sea Route (NSR). In this regard, the paper describes the characteristics of this alternative maritime route connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It shows the potential of Arctic routes as an alternative to the Suez Canal, which is still questionable. Shipping through the forbidden sea of ice can be time-saving but also comes with too many uncertainties. The study looks also at the challenges in front of this route such as: harsh weather conditions, lack of modern deepwater ports, ice breakers and ice strengthened ships, SAR (search and rescue) infrastructure and low population density in the region. China is also interested in the Transpolar Sea Route (TSR) – a variable non-coastal sea-lane across the Arctic Ocean, including a route closer to the NSR but outside of the Russian Exclusive Economic Zone. Nowadays the arctic sea ice is melting rapidly, and within the next decade global warming may transform the area into a modern maritime Silk Road. With the growing economic relationship with Iceland, ships may bypass Singapore, which is at present the most important shipping hub for China. On the other hand, due to the implications of Somalia piracy the country is forced to seek alternative routes. There is good reason to discuss in more depth China’s emerging interest in Arctic shipping, making the country, in addition to the European Union, the most important non-Arctic actor in the region.

Keywords: Northeast Passage, Northwest Passage, Northern Sea Route, Transpolar Sea Route, China

In 1494 Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Tordesillas. The treaty divided the „New World” between the two countries and ignored any future claims of the British and the French. The terms also prevented the other European superpowers from sending ships to Asia and even from sailing in the South Atlantic. The only trade routes that remained unclaimed were located in the Arctic region. The waterway through the Canadian Arctic Archipelago (known today as The Northwest Passage) and the shipping route following Russia’s and Norway’s coastlines (The Northeast Passage) were once so desired and sought after, that in 1817 the British government offered a reward of £20,000 to the man who could discover a short way, linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Sailing the forbidden sea of ice and finding the right path through the complex maze of islands, straits and sounds has been for many years an impossible and often even a deadly adventure. However, there were men who had the courage to lose sight of the shore and explore the ice-choked Arctic waters. Sir John Franklin, William Parry, John Rae, William Baffin, Sir John Ross, John Davis, Robert McClure, Henry Hudson and Martin Frobisher – these brave and foolhardy

heroes for several centuries tried to discover the waterway around the top of North America (Brown, 2012: 143). Ultimately this endeavor failed but their names remained on the map, identifying important lakes, channels and bays.

The Northwest Passage was successfully navigated in 1906 by Roald Amundsen – a Norwegian explorer, who was also the first man to reach the South Pole. On the other hand, the first explorer to conquer the Northeast Passage was Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld. Under the leadership of the Swedish/Finnish baron and geologist, the Vega expedition lasted from 1878 to 1880. Both discoveries remained rather unpopular and the results from the voyages survived only in the pages of scholarly papers and scientific journals. At that time Spain was already at its knees, the Suez Canal was functioning at full capacity and the Panama Canal was under construction. The northern waterways have lost their significance and geopolitical importance before they were even discovered. Today the arctic passages can be seen as trade routes with large potential and importance. However, transit shipping through the Arctic is still not attractive for the international shipping industry. For many centuries the routes were nearly impassable, but the modern ship technology advanced to the point where the vessels can break up the ice pack as they sail. Global warming is another major contributor to the development of the Arctic. The reduction in perennial Arctic sea ice opens new itineraries and destinations.

Nowadays one of the most important waterways in the world trade is „*Qanāt al-Suways*” or the Suez Canal. It is the only passage that allows water transportation directly between Europe (the Mediterranean) and Asia (the Red Sea). With the building of the Suez Canal and its continuous widening, the Cape of Good Hope has lost its strategic importance. The Cape route remained only an important transshipment hub for the rapidly growing trade relations between Asia and Latin America (Rodrigue, 2017: 34). This man-made shortcut reduces the distance for shipping between Northeast Asia and Europe around The Cape of Good Hope by 23 to 43%. In addition, the route provides access to multiple markets and opportunities to stop at any port along the way for maintenance and support. However, there are also many disadvantages. Because of its width, ships must sail in convoys. The permitted speed of 8 knots (15 km/h) allows three convoys per day to transit the canal (two from the north and one from the south) (Bodden, 2007: 24). Every year over 15 000 ships sail through the canal. Their journey takes between 11 and 16 hours. Over the last decade, the increasing threat of Somali pirates has forced many shipping companies to avoid the Gulf of Aden. The danger to merchant ships has led also to the increased presence of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) in the region (Panda, 2017).

Although the strategic value of the Suez Canal is unquestionably immense, the demand for secondary alternative routes is already present. With more ships opting to sail around the Cape of Good Hope and to avoid the Gulf of Aden, the Northeast Passage (NEP) has the potential to become one of the great breakthroughs in the modern international trade. This waterway can shrink the distance compared to the traditional Suez Canal route by 24% (depending on ships' origin and destination). The NEP is most attractive for trade between Northern Europe and Northeast Asia (Japan, Korea and China), but not so appealing

for shipping cargo from South Asia to the Mediterranean ports, where both routes become equidistant.

Sailing distances between Asia and Europe				
To Rotterdam, via (in nautical miles)				
From	Cape of Good Hope	Suez Canal	NEP	Difference between Suez and NEP (%)
Yokohama (Japan)	14,448	11, 133	7010	37
Busan (South Korea)	14,084	10,744	7667	29
Shanghai (China)	13,796	10,557	8046	24
Hong Kong	13,014	9701	8594	11
Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon, Vietnam)	12,258	8887	9428	- 6

Source: Farre, A.B. *Commercial Arctic shipping through the Northeast Passage*. – Polar Geography. Taylor & Francis, 2014, p. 4.

Another significant difference in choosing between NEP and the Southern Sea Route lies in the diversity of shipping vessels. For example, container ships often have precise schedules for loading and delivery. They also rarely unload all cargo at a single destination. On the other hand, bulk cargo ships are less concerned about deadlines and can allow a certain delay. These ships are used for carrying unpackaged bulk cargo items and constitute 40% of the merchant fleets in the world. Unlike the container ships, which demand access to the highly populated coastal areas of North Africa and Mediterranean Sea, the bulk cargo vessels seem to be perfect for sailing the Arctic waters and transporting goods such as oil, gas, minerals, nickel, copper, bauxite, iron ore and all kinds of natural resources.

The dramatic growth of China's industry is one of the most prominent economic and geopolitical phenomena of our time. Furthermore, its continued development will require massive supplies of raw materials and energy. The government is trying to diversify its sources by finding new trade routes and more friendly maritime neighbors. For this reason, PRC, a non-Arctic country, owns its own icebreaker – Xue Long (The Snow Dragon). The Chinese vessel became extremely popular during its rescue mission in 2013, when it helped saving 52 passengers from a Russian ship stranded in the Antarctic ice (Martinez, 2013). The Snow Dragon got stuck itself, unable to make its way back to open waters, but the scientists were carried by its helicopter to the ship Aurora Australis in a five hours' extraction mission. China's growing interest in the southern continent is claimed to be scientific, with „no im-

mediate plans to mine or develop natural resources” (Brown, 2017). Despite the existing prohibition of all natural resource exploration, the huge gas and oil reserves can be tempting for many countries to reach for. Although the Antarctic region may seem saved, the signed agreement that banned oil and mineral exploration will expire in less than 50 years (Chiras, 2014: 361). Many observers believe that behind the construction of new icebreaker ships and the numerous Chinese research stations lies the country's ambition to claim the land and the vast resources. According to the expert Liu Nengye, „*how China responds to the opening up of the polar regions will determine what kind of global leader it will be*” (Nengye, 2017).

The Chinese vision for the Arctic and Antarctic is based on completely different conceptions of how these regions should be developed in the future. While the growing interest in the southernmost continent is closely related to political and economic reasons, the NEP is primarily connected to trans-arctic transits and trade opportunities. Development of extractive industries in the Arctic remains a priority for Russia, a fact that should be taken into account by the other countries. However, the Federation is neither willing, nor able to subsidize the Northern Sea Route (NSR)¹ and that is why outside investments are mostly welcome. The largest Chinese investment project in the North is „The Yamal LNG project” with a loan agreement worth over \$12 billion (Staalesen, 2016). The collaborative enterprise includes construction of a new Arctic port in Sabetta, which is expected to become the major shipping hub in the region. The two countries have also signed numerous petroleum development projects.

Regardless of NEP's economic potential, the route suffers significant environmental and infrastructural challenges. The first problem is the shallow bathymetry of the coastline. With drafts of 13 and 6.7 m in the main Russian straits, the waterway is limiting cargo size to approximately 50,000 deadweight tons.² The biggest vessels have to choose alternative paths or sail through deeper Arctic waters, where they risk becoming ice-bound. Nevertheless, the modern ULCS (ultra large container ships) and 20% of the oil tankers still prefer the stormy waters around the Cape Peninsula. They exceed the capacity of the Suez Canal and can't be supported by any icebreaker escort. Sailing the TSR (Transpolar Sea Route) has been a long-lasting dream for many nations and it may come true in the future. The Arctic multiyear ice pack is decreasing rapidly, making the deep waterway more accessible. However, the wish of conquering the TSR is not just an adventurous idea, but also a pursuing of navigational freedom in the Arctic. During the Soviet era the Russian North was strongly subsidized by the government. The dissolution of the USSR led to the NEP's political opening and ratification of the UNCLOS (the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea) in

¹ The difference between the NEP and the NSR is that NEP connects the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean along the northern coast of Eurasia, from Murmansk to the Bering Strait and includes the waters between the northern coastline of mainland Norway and Svalbard. NSR is only the main stretch of NEP in Russian territorial waters. It can be summed up as: NSR + Barents Sea = NEP, but sometimes the NSR term is used as a synonym for the NEP.

² DWT or TDW is a measure of how much cargo and fuel a ship can safely carry, but it doesn't include the weight of the ship itself.

1997 (Efferink, 2015). Despite that, there are still many un-resolved issues such as territorial claims, economic exploitation, technical shipping requirements, environmental protection and SAR responsibilities. With the new right of „innocent passage” and freedom of transit through exclusive economic zones, only internal waters remain under the unrestricted sovereignty of the state (Humpert, 2012: 189). In 2013, the new legislative changes eradicated many requirements such as prior inspection in a Russian port and mandatory icebreaker assistance. However, based on its self-granted authority, the Federation controls all navigation permits and transit fees. In 2007, Russia even planted its flag on the seafloor at the North Pole, proclaiming the area as Russian territory.

Established by the Ottawa Declaration in 1996, the Arctic Council is the high-level inter-governmental forum for promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic states. Formed by the five countries with Arctic Ocean coasts (USA, Canada, Norway, Denmark and Russia) and the three other states within the Arctic Circle (Sweden, Finland, and Iceland), the AC includes today 13 more non-Arctic observer states. In 2013, China also earned its place in the Council. Even with certain overlaps between the Russian and outside interests, the need for shared responsibilities by all coastal states demands concessions. Therefore, it is not surprising that responsibility for coordination of all activities along the NSR is governed by Russia. The state owns the largest icebreaking fleet in the world and provides access to the only ports along unpopulated coastal areas, where the vessels can stop for maintenance and support. Currently the Federation is the only country, possessing search and rescue and oil-spill response capabilities or able to perform rescue missions.

Battling the planet's coldest environment demands a full ship's independence. While the sea ice is melting even faster than predicted, the NSR still restricts all typical vessels. The arctic waterway is navigable only for ships, built with special materials and designed for smashing ice. The implementation of rotating azimuth thruster increased the position agility of the northern vessels, allowing them to maneuver in ice-covered waters. The new double acting ships are able to sail not only forward but also backwards, breaking ice in either direction (Adolf, 2016: 38). The efficient equipment winterization is just another requirement for sailing the Arctic. The vessel has to be maintained operable with proper heating system and materials resistant to extreme temperatures. In addition, the life support boats should contain all necessary equipment and engine-independent power generators. These expensive technologies aren't the only barriers for the development of Arctic shipping. The lack of support services like SAR, traffic control, communications, emergency response services and weather forecasts, keeps thousands of trade companies away. Among all 18 Russian ports in the region, only 4 are operating normally and have rail connections. Even though most Russian ports are neglected, in 2016 Murmansk had more than 40% increase with 33.4 million tons of goods in transit (Staalesen, 2017).

Another problem that requires a huge amount of investments is the voice and data transfer capability. Sailing the Southern seas is much safer, especially with the available

communication and GPS systems. Under development is also the new e-Navigation application. The information is always accessible through Internet connection, supported by geostationary satellites, but they do not cover the area of the Arctic. The available Iridium satellite constellation is able to supply communication services in the region, but there are recorded cases of interruptions. Many icebound ships even have difficulties sending their distress signals. The Canadian Space Agency is working on the new Polar Communications and Weather satellite (PCW) and Russia is developing the Arktika satellites. The energy company Gazprom is also providing data for the ships through its Polar Star satellites. Crossing the Arctic region demands extremely accurate weather forecasts and ice charts. Many observers like NCAR (*National Center for Atmospheric Research*), NASA, NOAA (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration), University of Washington and the Northern California Indian Development Council, offer maps describing the Arctic sea ice extent. However, the provided information and predictions are not always accurate. Unfortunately, while the satellites are able to observe the Arctic ice cover, the ice thickness can only be estimated by upward-looking sonars (Fissel, 2008: 16).

The increasing traffic density on the NEP demands more sustainable human presence in the region. Prevention of oil spills should remain the primary objective of any energy company. The Arctic states need to support each other in the ensuing oil spill containment and recovery operations. With the new Sky-Sails system, ships are able to not only lower their fuel costs, but significantly reduce emission levels as well. Sky-Sails can be installed on both new and existing vessels. It has 3 main components: a towing kite with rope, a launch and recovery system, and a control system for automated operation (Siegel, 2007). It brings the high-altitude wind power (HAWP) back to ship propulsion. The transmitted power is comparable to that of an ocean-going tug. Beluga Shipping was the first company to equip its ships with the Sky-Sails system, and the first that sanded heavy-lift ships along the NSR without any icebreaker support.

The debate over Arctic shipping routes contributes to an accentuation of the existing transport alternatives. As it was remarked, the barriers for the development of the NSR outnumbered its potential advantages. The lack of land-based supporting infrastructure, the harsh weather conditions and all navigational issues, jurisdictional disputes, political uncertainties, etc., are only the main problems. Such investments and developments require time. Therefore, container and cargo shipping will continue to heavily concentrate along the Suez Canal Route, while the Arctic waterways will remain neglected. However, this trend will persist until China rediscovers the forgotten northern path to Europe.

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In the Embrace of the Dragon: China-Africa Relations in the Extractive Industries

Elizabeth Yoneva

Abstract

In the last decade, the subject of China-Africa relations has provoked special attention on a global level in view of the new dimensions of Beijing's involvement in the world. China is facing the challenge to adapt to new geopolitical realities and the measures undertaken and planned to improve the national situation transform the country's diplomacy. They also cause large spill-over effects in international relations. In the light of these new developments, the paper explores the principal dimensions of China's contacts and cooperation with Africa and their repercussions for the foreign policy of the country and especially the resulting geopolitical implications. It showcases the main vectors in the Chinese involvement in Africa with emphasis on recent transformations, driven in part by the wider resurgence of PRC in world and regional affairs. The author discusses different aspects of the Chinese political and economic strategy in the continent, especially in the energy sector and the extractive industries from the perspective of the evolutions in the last years. Special attention is paid to the significant focus on diversification efforts in regard to China's status as large consumer of different resources. The research work outlines the conceptual frame of the attempts of African countries to meet the challenges posed by this relationship. The analysis focuses on the China-Africa partnership, looking through the prism of the geopolitical paradigm.

Keywords: China-Africa relations, energy sector, extractive industries, international relations, diplomacy

In the last decades, the subject of the new dimensions of China's involvement in the world provokes special attention on a global level, clearly visible also in the field of political science and especially distinguishable in the setting of international relations. The country is facing the challenge to adapt to the modern geopolitical and geoeconomic realities. The measures undertaken and planned to improve the national situation transform the Chinese diplomacy. This adjustment process is of essential significance in the context of developments in other continents due to its large spillover effects on international relations. In the light of the latest evolutions and the current state of Beijing's foreign policy, the paper will provide an overview of the China-Africa cooperation. It will explore the principal dimensions of Chinese contacts and relations with different African states and their repercussions in the field of diplomacy, with focus on the resulting geopolitical implications. The topic of the discussion is limited to different aspects on the Chinese political and economic strategy in the continent, particularly in the energy sector and the extractive industries from the perspective of its recent metamorphoses.

Undoubtedly, the political rise of PRC is inextricably linked to the impressive economic performance and the worldwide export expansion of the country. The Chinese companies and business activities have redesigned the global economic landscape, imposing new trends and applying specific methods and toolsets for capturing markets (Habova, 2015: 66-74).

The national development strategy was based on the identification of several economic pillars and the corresponding effective implementation of the matrix of outlined objectives with prioritization of: 1) securing commodities; 2) creating new markets for supporting the export-led domestic growth. These intertwined goals motivated China's search for natural resources and energy security.

Currently, the country is the world's largest consumer of energy, occupying also a relevant position among the global resource importers. In the face of ever-rising demand, the exhaustion of domestic reserves is inevitable. Therefore, the logical consequence was the trend towards increasing import-dependency to meet energy requirements. The difficult supply situation has worried policymakers and the expert community alike. The rethinking of energy security has become an emblematic process reflecting the advanced status of China in the international economic scenery. In 2007 the first White Paper on Energy was adopted, proclaiming the following general aims: 1) international cooperation in joint energy exploration; 2) encouragement of foreign investment; 3) improvement of technology transfer; 4) maintenance of stable political relations with energy-producing states; 5) renunciation of the „politicization“ of energy.

China's evolving policy on energy security provided also overall guidelines for the “going out” (*zouchuqu*) trade activities into many developing areas. The principles of the “peaceful development” of relations, combined with the “no strings attached” approach, proved their worth by furnishing consistency and profits. Beijing's support for “economic rights” in developing states demonstrated not only its practical value, but also the determination of the country to counteract the dominant concepts in international politics. The imperatives of energy security have necessitated the intensification of the efforts directed at transformations in foreign policy as well as the implementation of divergent visions from the prevailing ones. On the one hand, these noticeable changes in the field of energy diplomacy resulted in a gradual improvement of the domestic economy and business opportunities. On the other hand, the rapid economic growth has turned China into a serious rival to the West and especially to the EU on the demand market.

According to the future forecasts, the major factors on the international political and economic scene will have to deal with rising external energy dependency over the next decades in the conditions of tougher global competition for hydro-carbon resources. Even today, China's dynamism in securing energy supplies in Africa, Central Asia and Latin America is emblematic of the deficiencies plaguing the EU operational capacity and potential. Its inability to develop a coherent energy policy adversely affects the business and financial condition of Europe. The efforts to improve energy security are still hampered by the lack of an internal consensus in articulating both a vision and a practical program. The EU has also invested political capital in positioning itself as the world leader on climate change and therefore has to juggle between security of supply, economic competitiveness and environmental sustainability.

By contrast, the energy strategy of the United States was bolstered by its long-standing experience in using military force to secure continued access to overseas energy supplies, in

particular in the Persian Gulf. Meanwhile, China has developed a strategy based on negotiating long-term supply contracts, accessing exploration rights, acquiring stakes in energy companies and infrastructure investments around the globe, which was complemented by a new model: loan-for-oil deals with governments in search of financial assistance and arms exports to countries involved in external or internal conflicts.

All the mentioned vectors of Beijing's overall energy policy are also present in the external *modus operandi* towards Africa. The Chinese Aid and Investment Policy for the continent was especially viable and applicable to the energy sector and the extractive industries. It is not only reshaping the regional landscape, but it also has immediate and direct repercussions for the balance of power in Africa. The profound and revolutionary doctrine, inculcated by Beijing, has become an astonishing success story in the framework of the new highly praised and loudly advertised South-South approach (Shelton, 2005).

Viewed from a historical perspective, China-Africa relations date back to ancient times with confirmed trade connections between the two regions. The medieval triumph in their development is associated with the Chinese mariner, explorer and diplomat Zheng He. The prominent fleet admiral of the Ming dynasty commanded expeditionary voyages not only to other parts of Asia but also to East Africa from 1405 to 1433. His ships reached the coast of Somalia and sailed down the Mozambique Channel. He preferred the techniques of diplomacy but without hesitation used also military force to demonstrate the Chinese power. The modern Sino-African relations began in the late 1950s but they were established under the sign of the Cold War and the supremacy of ideological considerations. The country voiced its support for the independence of African countries and started its infrastructure investment activities. In view of the fact that many states in the region were using a rhetoric of favoritism toward the „one-China policy“, namely the support of the African nations was the key for PRC to obtain a permanent UN Security Council seat.

The end of the bipolar world order marked the beginning of a new era in the development of the continent. The most substantial and distinguishable signal for the changes was the launching of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in October 2000. Its evolution proved the worth of this mechanism for collective dialogue between the PRC and 48 African states, by offering preferential loans or debt relief for overdue zero-interest loans and by establishing a fund to facilitate Chinese investment in the region. In 2006, China's official „Year of Africa“ (Hofmann et al., 2007), the country became the second largest trading partner of the continent after the United States, displacing also France as a relevant traditional partner and former colonial power. Currently, over 800 Chinese corporations are operating in Africa. Several universities from Namibia to Uganda are creating Chinese language departments. The diplomatic dimension also should not be neglected – PRC already has embassies in more African states than the US or any European country. Specific exception is Swaziland because of the national foreign policy, determined by the recognition of Taiwan.

Thanks to its successful business activity in the region, China is financing today more infrastructure projects in Africa than the World Bank. The Asian country provides loans and investments in exchange for securing access to natural resources (Mbaye, 2006). The Chinese

development programs are predominantly centered on infrastructure, production and university scholarships. By offering billions of dollars in low-interest loans, Beijing is implementing a „resource for infrastructure swap“, comparable to the former „oil for food“ version as a principle. At the same time, PRC imposes requirements that at least 50% of the funds have to be spent on Chinese goods or services. Positive effects of the discussed investment activity are likely to be found in the context of technology transfer, employee training and diversification of the economy. However, the lack of environmental impact assessments is facilitating the faster realization of the projects but its weakness is corresponding with the potential ecological risks.

In order to outline the conceptual frame of the so-called „Chinese model“, we must first explore its main characteristics and key features (Condon, 2012). Obviously, Beijing enjoys the major advantage of having no colonial baggage in its relations with the African countries. Consequently, they do not perceive the Asian giant as a donor, but as a business partner. This leads us to the conclusion that we have to deal here with a story of equal partnership. However, there remains the question, if it is really such a case, when the participants in the relation have at their disposal dissimilar and quite disproportionate assets and strengths.

The Chinese unconditioned approach towards Africa is based on the principles of nonintervention and respect for sovereignty. The „clean hands“ policy of noninterference opens the door for taking advantage of the opportunities provided by respecting African countries' choice in political system and development path. The main priority is the mutual economic benefit, reflected by the „let's both get rich“ postulate (French, 2004). China's efforts for exporting the domestic „growth at any cost“ strategy to Africa creates a side effect by modifying the mainstream concepts via the promotion of the idea for non-universality of human rights. From Beijing's viewpoint there is no primacy for civil and political rights over economic, social and cultural rights. The „growth first, rights later“ maxim is symptomatic for the Chinese credo, guiding the development of relationships with all African countries. This special system of principles gives reasons for some experts to assume that there is a set of common values, shared by the Chinese and the African population, contributing to easier rapprochement between them. However, this type of concepts has also many opponents, insisting that there are poor indicators in this regard.

By contrast, the Western aid approach is resting upon the tools of conditionality, symbolized by the norms of democracy promotion, corruption reduction, human rights and transparency. Furthermore, we could identify more differences between the Chinese and the Western development approaches in Africa, rendered as explicit in the „economics versus politics“ opposition. For example, the United States Agency for International Development operates in close connection with the Department of State. To the contrary, the Chinese aid is provided via the Ministry of Commerce and the China Export Import Bank (Exim Bank). Beyond a doubt, Beijing's version of assistance methods is challenging to the Western aid status-quo. Many countries are labeling PRC a „rogue donor“, which actions will be damaging to Africa in the long term. The Western criticism of China's „unscrupulous“ behavior not only reveals the differing visions of the major units on the international scene, it is also a proof for the ex-

isting distorted stereotypes and misperceptions. As an example of these symptoms, we might consider the frantic arguments against China's „industrial colonialism“ and the deliberate reminding of the Chinese proverb „A loan is never a gift“.

Nevertheless, the Chinese activities in Africa contributed to rethinking the Western approach. Their impact on the debate over development policies was far-reaching and its broad spectrum also included the designation of Western aid models as development failures. The conditionality was stigmatized as a form of interventionism or as an attempt to impose Western values on African countries. According to Joseph Stiglitz, conditionality „reinforces traditional hierarchical relationships“ between the donor and the recipient. The EU is also reevaluating the use of traditional methods, admitting that „change cannot be imposed from the outside“. Uwe Wissenbach, Coordinator for Africa-China Relations at the European Commission, contends that Europe should look closely at all the possibilities „how the old donor-recipient partnership could be transformed into a modern partnership.“

Currently, 1/3 of China's oil supply comes from the African continent, accounting for 50% of the regional export for the Asian country. The most important partners in the energy sector are Angola, Sudan and Congo. The Chinese investment in the extractive industries in Africa is introducing the following pattern of interests: Zambia (copper and uranium); Zimbabwe (coal and platinum); Democratic Republic of the Congo (cobalt); Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon, Mozambique, and Liberia (forest products); South Africa (manganese) and Southern Africa and Niger (uranium).

Congo is a relevant example for a success story in the context of Beijing's activities in Africa. The Chinese companies have built 1 800 miles of railways, 2 000 miles of roads, hundreds of clinics, hospitals and schools, and 2 universities, with a total value of investments over \$6 billion. The construction of cobalt and copper mines is also part of the business involvement in the region. In return, China obtained the right to extract 12 million tons of copper and cobalt over the next 25 years.

The case of Angola is also offering important conclusions for the techniques of the Chinese model (Horta, 2006: 493-495). In 2004, the country decided to break off its negotiations with the IMF because of the offer of China's Exim Bank for loan worth \$2 billion (Hare, 2007) and with no „humiliating conditions“. The corresponding engagement of Angola was to provide China with 40 000 barrels of oil per day. In 2011, Angola signed two additional loan deals of \$15 billion (De Comarmond, 2011). The activities of the Chinese companies were oriented toward restoring three rail lines (important for Angola's mineral exports), constructing new airport and building low-income housing. An Angolan minister strongly argues that „our relations with China not only allowed us to obtain large loans, but most importantly it forced the West to treat us with more respect and in a less patronizing way. For that we are grateful.“

In Senegal, the Chinese investment in infrastructure projects is covering the construction of bridges, roads, schools, hospitals, dams, legislative buildings, stadiums and airports. The national government has also imposed requirements for transfer of technology and trainings in the investment deals. The President Abdoulaye Wade asserts that „a contract that

would take 5 years to discuss, negotiate and sign with the World Bank, takes 3 months when we have dealt with Chinese authorities. When bureaucracy and senseless red tape impede our ability to act—and when poverty persists while international functionaries drag their feet—African leaders have an obligation to opt for swifter solutions.“

Especially problematic for the Western powers is the Chinese involvement in Sudan (Holslag, 2007). In violation of the UN embargo Beijing was determined to sell aircraft and arms to President Omar al-Bashir. China's ambassador to South Africa Liu Guijin takes the view that „we don't believe in embargoes. That just means that people suffer. From a practical consideration, embargoes and sanctions can't solve problems“. In addition, the deputy foreign minister Zhou Wenzhong claims that „Business is business. We try to separate politics from business. I think the internal situation in Sudan is an internal affair, and we are not in a position to impose on them“ (Kurlantzick, 2007: 222). However, the international critics of this approach forced PRC to support the idea for deployment of the Common African Union and UN peacekeeping force in Darfur.

In Zambia, China Non-Ferrous Metals Corporation (CNMC) acquired 85% of the Chambishi copper mine in 1998 for \$20 million. An explosion in 2005 and the violent crackdowns of the mine workers' protests in 2006 and 2011 stimulated the anti-Chinese rhetoric. During the 2006 presidential election campaign the candidate Michael Sata stated that „China is sucking from us. We are becoming poorer because they are getting our wealth.“ After the victory of Rupiah Banda PRC showed his support by forgiving \$211 million of Zambia's outstanding debt. However, in 2011 Sata became the fifth president of Zambia. He toned down his statements and agreed that „foreign investors are welcome in the country, but they must improve conditions for Zambian employees“. The result of the compromise was the increase of wages for mine workers.

Specific example for existing negative attitudes towards the Asian giant is also Mozambique. In 2006, China offered to the country \$2 billion loan for construction of a dam on the Zambezi River. According to the signed Memorandum of understanding, 3 000 Chinese settlers had to become farmers in the valley. Due to the local protests, the authorities were forced to abandon the plans.

Given the increasingly complex architecture of the Chinese involvement in Africa, the question of the future results of its development is an adequate one. However, the national patterns are fundamentally different and must not be subjected to the same blueprint. In attempt to reach to a general conclusion, we should address the subject of China's role in the continent. As Donald Kaberuka, African Development Bank President, states, „China should be the primary model and source of inspiration for African countries in their quest for develop“ (Girouard, 2008). By contrast, in view of the President Xi Jinping's pledge to invest \$60 billion in African development, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe commented on him as a messiah: „Here is a man representing a country once called poor, a country which was never our colonizer. He is doing to us what we expected those who colonized us yesterday to do. We will say he is a God-sent person“.

Nowadays, China's status as a large consumer of different resources is transforming the

diplomatic approaches towards Africa. The significant focus on diversification efforts highlights the main vectors in the Chinese involvement in the zone. Driven in part by the wider resurgence of PRC in global and regional affairs, these metamorphoses sparked a reassessment of the continental dynamics by political elites throughout the world. Surely, the energy sector and the extractive industries are symptomatic of the broader geopolitical scenery. Clearly, the competition in Africa is not only about energy and resources, but also about power. Yet, entering into an era dominated by a geopolitical energy paradigm is not a desirable outcome.

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China as a Cultural Tourism Destination in the Light of the Handicrafts Industry

Today's Memory „Producers“ Add Their Contribution to the Legends and Traditions Related to the Silk Road and the Tea Road, to Pilgrimage Itineraries, Festivals, and Celebrations

Sonya Alexieva

Abstract

Souvenirs as a special type of investment in memories and a tangible proof of one having visited a destination can show the meaning this creative industry acquires in the context of cultural tourism. Being a sort of messages addressed to travelers, they are a new way of shaping the tourist interest and curiosity for archeological heritage, architectural sites, handicrafts and museums. Theme souvenirs enrich the idea tourists have of local history, architecture, and culture, based on visible and invisible artifacts. Chinese calligraphic symbols, tea ceremony, decorations, silk paintings, etc. turn souvenirs into specific tourism markers that challenge imagination, enrich information, and deepen the knowledge of the heritage of ancient Chinese civilization.

Keywords: cultural tourism, souvenir industry, creative experiences, tourists, handicrafts, local communities

INTRODUCTION

China's ancient culture and tradition can be discovered through understanding of the country's art heritage. The beauty of calligraphy, the magic of dance, and the wisdom of martial arts are all part of the attractiveness of cultural tourism. Souvenir products upgrade the tourists' creative imagination and knowledge as consumers, on the one hand, and enhance the financial condition of an industry that knows no borders, on the other hand. From traditional items to modern objects, the industry of memories provides the commutation of these specific messages that form the tourists' interest and curiosity in their own way.

China attracts more and more tourists with its history, culture and unique landmarks. It offers a „huge diversity of heritage sites to visit and special events to attend (festivals, shows, concerts, and national or regional celebrations), scientific congresses, training seminars, in addition to more than 3,500 museums“ (Alexieva, 2012: 250). China's outstanding tourism resources are competitive well beyond the country's unique heritage sites. Being presented professionally, it is „promoted and advertised in a most attractive and modern way, thus bringing additional value to the country's image as a “brand” of cultural tourism in Asia. The „wide scope of advertising, informational, publishing, and online activities deployed to promote Chinese tourism relies on huge resources and budgets that go beyond European standards“ (Alexieva, 2009: 154).

Today, China is more than just one of the world's top tourist destinations along with France, the USA, Spain, and Italy. According to UNWTO data, it is one of the 10 leaders in international tourism expenditure. Moreover, as a leader in the global tourism market, it

makes maximum use of its own „achievements in economy, technology, and modern civil engineering through a targeted development policy to tremendously increase its tourism earnings” (Kazachka, 2010: 222).

The quality of „cultural heritage and its preservation is critical to the impacts of cultural tourism development” (Neshkov, 2010: 12). Today, the country has 48 sites on UNESCO’s World Heritage List¹. As one of the world’s richest destinations in terms of tourism resources, cultural tourism included, China is the home of over 500 phenomena of intangible heritage. “The interest of children, students and young audiences in particular is drawn by attractions and entertainment that the different museums offer to the public, as well as by the powerful souvenir industry and the variety of advertising and information materials and multimedia products” (Alexieva, 2013: 106).

The huge souvenir market completes the impressions visitors gain of museums, art galleries, and attractions and is a conglomerate of unique replicas, reproductions, authentic and fake antiques. Today’s memory „producers” add their contribution to the legends and traditions related to the Silk Road and the Tea Road, to pilgrimage itineraries, festivals, and celebrations by offering theme souvenirs and unique objects of art. The creativity in generating memories enhances the interest of tourists as they make their choice among a variety of gifts, replicas, books, DVDs, cards, clothes, and items typical of the everyday life of local communities.

The most popular souvenirs that tourists like the best are: those related to tea and handicrafts; replicas of famous sites and objects of art; copies of famous paintings or calligraphy rolls; clay figurines; kites; lanterns; glass grapes; hand-made decorations, jewelry, paper rolls, colorful masks of Beijing opera characters, etc. Buying Chinese traditional decorative knots (*Zhōngguó jié*), usually red to symbolize true and eternal love, has become a must for all tourists.



¹ See: World Heritage List – http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/?search=china&searchSites=&search_by_country=®ion=&search_yearinscribed=&themes=&criteria_restriction=&type=&media=&order=country&description (Read on 15.05.2017).

TEA HISTORY AND CULTURE

The most common souvenirs include chopsticks made of various materials (from the ordinary bamboo ones to the most expensive ones made of jade). They are beautifully packed by two, four or more, featuring different colors and decorative elements or drawings, with or without a chopstick rest, classic or made of metal and foldable. Souvenirs and items related to Chinese traditional medicine form an entity of their own and tourists are particularly attracted by them. More expensive souvenirs include items made of jade, porcelain, and silk, hand-made items, and various tea boxes, both beautiful and practical.

But Chinese tea, in all its diversity, is the most popular and preferred gift whose significance goes far beyond a mere souvenir. Being one of the country’s symbols and a significant part of Chinese culture², tea culture contains in itself an amalgam of legends about the discovery of tea, the art of tea ceremony, and the value of spiritual perfection and communication. Ever since Lu Yu wrote his *The Classic of Tea (Ch’a Ching)*, the first monumental book on the topic, tea history and culture have been part of the Chinese everyday life. There are many rituals and ways to drink the wide array of tea types with differences in flavor, taste, and properties. „Drinking apparatus are another important part of Chinese tea ceremony. Different times have different sets of tea apparatus in fashion. Lu Yu recorded 24 kinds of apparatus and making methods, including wind stove for frying water, clips for clipping coal, bamboo clips for stirring water, etc.” (Tong, 2005: 101).

There is a great variety of souvenirs that can be bought in China, the homeland of porcelain, beginning with the white and blue porcelain (which is the most common type)³ and ending with the three-color glazed Tang porcelain. In China, where tea culture was born, tea drinking is one of the longest-standing cultural traditions.

The science of tea is based on centennial wisdom holding the messages of the beverage, the ceremony, and the art of tea drinking. The various types of tea and related drinkware are not only a matter of collector’s passion but also common Chinese gifts⁴. Tea cups are the greatest in number and the highest in demand among all souvenirs: big and small, made of porcelain or red clay, sold separately or in sets, mainstream or expensive, luxuriously packed in boxes or cases.

² The First Mount Emei Tea Expo (29 April – 2 May 2016) – in Mount Emei in the South-West Chinese province of Sichuan, organized by the local government, tea producers and on-line traders, is an integrated platform for tea, culture, and tourism professionals, whose purpose is to encourage local tea production. The tea industry is the most important of all five pillars of agriculture in Leshan where Mount Emei is located. *The International Development of Tea Industry in Mount Emei*. See more in: <http://english.cri.cn/6566/2016/04/21/2821s925060.htm> (Read on 30.04.2017); The Tea Expo will also organize a G20 Hangzhou Tea Cultural Tour for foreign tourists. See more in: http://en.gotohz.com/whatishot/officialrelease/201703/t20170331_145886.shtml#sthash.Ew6y5XGu.dpuf (Read on 30.04.2017).

³ The blue and white porcelain, produced at Jingdezhen (Jiangxi Province) was a landmark in the history of Chinese ceramics. See more in: *The Basics of Traditional Chinese Culture: Chinese ceramics*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2005, pp. 115-122.

⁴ The 16th Chinese Garden and Tea Culture Festival themed *Tea, taste healthy life* opened in Badachu Park in Beijing. At the opening ceremony masters from Lao She Teahouse performed a tea ceremony. The festival features a celebration of Chinese tea, tea tasting, and lectures on tea culture. Visitors could try making tea drinking items themselves. *Tea Culture Festival to be Held in Beijing*: <http://english.visitbeijing.com.cn/a1/a-XCW8114A1C50DFD00AEDD6> (Read on 10.05.2017).



„GOLD HAS A PRICE, BUT JADE IS PRICELESS“

There is a Chinese proverb saying: „Gold has a price, but jade is priceless“. In Chinese tradition, jade symbolizes virtues such as honesty, purity, courage, etc. It has amazing properties and extraordinary solidness that are at the basis of its power and, in particular, its healing effects. This most revered precious stone in China is considered to be one of power and longevity and has a special place in Chinese culture. Jade is said to contain more than 10 chemical elements that are beneficial to human health and penetrate the body through the skin and the biologically active points. From jade jewelry to beautiful and expensive souvenirs sold in museum shops and markets, this noble stone is among the best liked ones.

After centuries of silk manufacturing, which was one of the best protected secrets in human history⁵, China revealed its power to the world not only as a priceless good, but also as breathing, light, and beautiful fabric invariably associated with Chinese clothing. Scarfs, *qipao* (traditional women's dress), *tangzhuang* (a traditional Chinese outfit), fans, paintings, calligraphy rolls, and various accessories made of silk feature among classic Chinese gifts and souvenirs that attract tourists. They are also largely present in museum shops and at the shelves of both luxury and middle-range or low-price stores.

Hundreds of tourists leave China carrying the most recognizable of all souvenirs worldwide: fans. These items, having more than 3,000 years of history, are traditionally made of silk and bamboo. The most valued among them (including as a gift) are decorated with the works of famous painters or calligraphers and some feature Beijing opera characters.

In the homeland of kites, the first kite was made more than 2 000 years ago. Tourists buy kites, making their choice depending on the decoration, because each drawing has a specific meaning: happiness, longevity, or prosperity. The most expensive ones, made of luxury silk, are true works of art. Kites, as part of Chinese traditional culture, have rightfully become a preferred souvenir.

Paper cutting is a widespread folk art in China. Making decorative paper cutouts to send festive messages is a very popular activity during the Spring Festival. This unique art requires a skillful hand to cut out a wide variety of shapes (flowers, animals, fairy tale

⁵ See more about silk and Silk Road in: Hua Mei, *Chinese Clothing*. Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2010, pp. 82-88.

characters, masks, etc.). The beautiful paper-cut souvenirs, red or multicolored, have not been used in religious rituals for centuries now, but serve as decorations and souvenirs.

Other typical tourist souvenirs and gifts manufactured by China's huge souvenir industry include photo albums, DVD, playing cards, beautiful tourist maps drawn on recycled paper, illustrated cards, replicas of Beijing opera masks on paper and silk, fans, hats, tea bottles, etc.

The boom of the souvenir industry at the eve of the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing is a subject of special analysis. Besides the manufacturing of traditional souvenirs and classic replicas of China's most famous heritage and architectural sites, there were miniatures of the Olympic sites, the Nest and the Cube, made of various materials (from plastic to silk), in addition to new modern versions of the Great Wall, the Temple of Heaven, the Forbidden City, figurines of the Terracotta Army, etc.



Another separate topic to analyze is the publishing industry for the tourism business, i.e. books, brochures, albums, paintings, posters, children's games, puzzles, videos, documentaries, DVDs, etc. Printed materials in dozens of languages, luxury catalogues and albums present to travelers China's most famous treasures and legends, the most well-known Chinese literary and art works, and UNESCO-listed sites. The editions dedicated to Chinese history and culture, Chinese provinces as tourism destinations, various tourist itineraries, Chinese art and architecture, Chinese traditions, folklore, and cuisine are printed in circulations measured in millions.

CONCLUSION

The souvenir industry accounts for billions of dollars and includes more than just traditional gifts and classic replicas related to China's ancient civilization. Creativity and aesthetics bring new elements to Chinese art and mastership and provoke interest and curiosity for the history of local handicrafts and the techniques used to make the famed

Chinese souvenirs from porcelain to bamboo, from jade to paper cutting.

The growing importance of cultural tourism and its development are a key factor in changing tourist destinations. The preservation of cultural diversity and modern adver-

tisement of heritage sites as major resources of cultural tourism in China are among the key ways to attract tourists. The souvenir industry can be seen as a window looking out to each country's history, culture, and heritage. A steady state policy, huge investment in cultural tourism, effective digital marketing, and a strong publishing and souvenir industry have brought a growing change in China's image as a tourist destination.

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EU, Russia and China, a Strategic Triangle

Aleko Stoyanov

Abstract

The paper analyses the way China, Russia and the EU interact with each other by applying the so-called “strategic triangle methodology”, a part of the school of International Relations theory. In short, this method explores how a state could establish a robust cooperation with a second country in order to prevent a third one from doing the same against it. The paper provides a brief overview of the theory and analyses the three dyads – EU-Russia, EU-China and Russia-China relations and their implications in world affairs.

Keywords: EU, Russia, China, Strategic triangle

I. Introduction

Since the onset of the Ukraine crisis, EU-Russia relations have deteriorated sharply. The annexation of Crimea and the followed mutual impositions of economic and political sanctions and countersanctions increased the tensions between Brussels and Moscow to unprecedented levels. The new situation of contention and antagonism as well as Russia's attempts to weaken the EU poses a threat not only to the integrity of the Union but also to its capacity and economic vitality. Having in mind the strong economic ties and relations between European consumers and Chinese manufacturers (in 2015 the EU was China's main trade partner, with trade amounting to roughly 510 billion euro, surpassing even the USA, whose trade with China is 500 billion euro (European Commission, 2016: 8)), a possible disintegration of the EU and/or the Eurozone would significantly undermine EU's purchase power, it will send shockwaves across the global economy and would have a strong and possibly long term negative impact on the trade with China. This, in turn, could lead to rise in unemployment in China, social discontent and possible unrest among the Chinese workers. In this regard, Beijing and Brussels share a strategic interest to work together and cooperate on international affairs. Moreover, having in mind that China has benefited greatly from the globalisation processes in the last few decades, the current trend of protectionism and isolationisms pursued by Washington (mainly as a result of Donald Trump's presidential election last November) jeopardises the global order. In this respect, the EU which has been a natural ally of the US in the establishment and maintenance of the current international order seems more and more alienated and isolated by its partner. These new developments give an opportunity for the EU and China to corroborate their partnership and work together to preserve the global order.

To analyse the way China, Russia and the EU interact with each other, the so-called “strategic triangle methodology”, which is part of the school of International Relations theory, will be applied. In short, this method explores how a state could establish a robust cooperation with a second country in order to prevent a third one from doing the same against it.

The paper will provide a brief overview of the theory and will analyse the three dyads – EU-Russia, EU-China and Russia-China relations and their implications in world affairs.

II. Theoretical approach

The „strategic triangle” notion came to prominence in the field of International Relations in the early 1970s. To some extent this was a result of the US-China rapprochement that took place during Richard Nixon’s first (presidential) term. In 1972 the US president visited China in a successful attempt to improve the relations between the two nations which have deteriorated since the Chinese communist party took the power in 1949. Probably the most significant effect of the state visit was that China moved closer to the US. Until that moment, the USSR and China were working together to undermine the West. Nonetheless, after Nixon’s visit the balance, and more precisely the bipolar order, has shifted into a triangle where the US had the leading role. In this respect, the *strategic triangle* concept has been applied numerous times in order to scrutinise the shifts in the relations between these three countries. After the dissolution of the USSR, Russia, as an official successor of the Soviet Union, became part of the strategic triangle. However, so far the EU has rarely been considered part of this scheme. In respect to the US’s current distancing from world affairs, the EU’s importance as a key player on the *grand chessboard* (Brzezinski, 1997) is growing. Hence, the current analysis will substitute the US with the EU and build another strategic triangle together with Russia and China.

The *strategic triangle* itself poses that there are three key players. The task of each of them is to forge a union with at least one other player while simultaneously preventing such a union to be established between the other two players against him. As a result of this game there could be four types of relationships within the triangle: 1) a triple amicable relationship; 2) two bilateral amicable relationships with an enmity (*romantic triangle* (Dittmer, 1981: 499); 3) one bilateral amicable relationship with two enmities (*stable marriage* (Dittmer, 1981: 491) and 4) three enmities (Huei, 2003: 79).

According to Henry Kissinger, the most beneficial position within a triangle (also known as romantic triangle) is the one of a “pivot” while the other two players (“wings”) are in competition. In this case the pivot can balance between the wings and put them against each other. As Kissinger says: “Our relations to possible opponents should be such that... our options toward both of them are greater than their options toward each other” (Kissinger, 1979: 165).

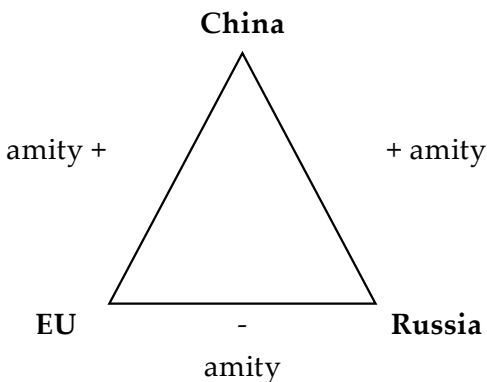


Figure 1, romantic triangle

Within the contemporary context and the three analysed players, Russia, China, and the EU, we could say that their relations are within the abovementioned *romantic triangle* (see figure 1). The EU and Russia are the two wings who are in conflict, while China is in the role of pivot and can exert its influence on both wings. This model is built on the provision that the relations between Russia and China and China and the EU are not perfect and there are also some issues between the pivot and the wings. However, due to their current conflict, both Moscow and Brussels are keener to seek cooperation with Beijing than a confrontation.

III. China-EU Relations

The relations between the EU and China have been as a whole robust and based on pragmatism, partnership and mutual respect. As China’s biggest trade partner (the trade volumes amounted to roughly 510 billion euro, surpassing even the USA whose trade with China is 500 billion euro – European Commission, 2016: 8), the EU plays an important role. In spite of the recent isolationist course of the US, namely in the field of trade and commerce, the EU can find China as an apt and reliable partner. Moreover, soon after Donald Trump’s inauguration speech, China signalled that it will stay firm to its engagement and keep and boost international free trade and globalisation (Hu Yongqi, 2017).

Another field where the interests and priorities of both Brussels and Beijing overlap is the climate change. After Donald Trump’s declaration that he will withdraw the USA from the Paris Agreement, the EU and China expressed their commitment to uphold the agreement and work together for „...low carbon, sustainable economic growth (Strauss, Chrysoloras, Donahue, 2017).”

Along with the overlapping interests, there are also some discrepancies between China and the EU. In first place, their view on the world order is not exactly the same. For instance, Beijing is in favour of globalisation and free markets as long as it can reap the benefits of exporting its manufactured goods. However, China is not tempted to incorporate the liberal norms and values that the globalisation entails (Godement, 2017: 4). The globalisation and free market have played a vital role for China’s economic rise, but the country is reserved when it comes to integration of predominantly Western international rules and norms, such as “...the retreat of the state in favour of civil society and non-governmental... organisations, as well as the rise of both individualist and communitarian demands at the expense of civic commitment” (Godement, 2017: 5).

In addition, the “One Belt, One Road” initiative or Belt Road Initiative (BRI) has also strained the relations between Brussels and Beijing. The BRI’s main goal is to promote the trade and connectivity among Central Asian countries but it encompasses a much bigger area stretching from China to Europe. The initiative envisages the construction of large infrastructure projects along the Silk Road: highways, train lines, sea ports, etc., thus easing the trade on a global level. Yet, BRI has its opponents. On the one hand, it looks like the actual objective of the initiative is not so much trade, but rather political influence. The BRI has been criticized that it is unfocused and lacks clear goals. To some it seems that the Chinese government is willing to spend large amounts of money in infrastructure projects that have little return. Also, the BRI could secure an additional market for China’s oversupply of steel. In recent years, the country has flooded

the world markets with cheap steel which has threatened the European producers and caused a serious concern in the EU. Furthermore, the construction of the infrastructure projects is done by Chinese companies, with Chinese materials and Chinese workers, hence there is little added value to local economies. In addition, BRI projects are to be financed by cheap loans granted by Chinese banks to national governments. Such financial schemes might lead to corruption practices and also may fringe with EU's public procurement rules (Dimitrov, 2017). The latter has been stressed by the European Commission's vice president Jyrki Katainen who has called for adherence to market rules, principles and international standards (Le Corre, 2017).

IV. China-Russia Relations

The Sino-Russian relations have received a new impetus in recent years. As a result of the Ukraine crisis, which led to the imposition of Western sanctions on Russia, and the fall in gas and oil prices, the Kremlin declared a pivot to China, which is most apparent in three main fields: in the energy, financial and technological sectors (Gabuev, 2015: 4).

As a consequence of the worsened relations with the West and especially with the EU, Russia which exports almost 75% of its gas to Europe (US Energy Information Administration, 2015), decided to look for a diversification of its energy exports. Hence, in 2014 the Russian president Vladimir Putin and his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping signed a \$400 billion deal for a period of 30 years that would allow Russia to export 38 billion cubic meters of gas annually starting from 2018 (Wan and Hauslohner, 2014).

In the financial realm, Russia also experiences difficult times. The EU and the US restricted Russia's main financial institutions to borrow money from the European and US capital markets. In this context, the financial cooperation with China is of crucial importance for the Russian government. So far, there has been some progress on that matter. In 2014 Moscow and Beijing signed a three-year currency swap deal amounting to 150 billion renminbi (around \$24-25 billion) (Gabuev, 2015: 5), while earlier this year China Development Bank signed a deal with Russian Direct Investment Fund for \$11 billion (Kottasova, 2017) that will be invested in the Russian economy.

The Western sanctions have also banned the export to Russia of technologies and services that can be used for oil production and exploration. Although China might not be able to compensate for oil drilling technologies, the growing telecommunication sector of the People's Republic is an area that offers Russia opportunities for cooperation. The latter has become an issue for Moscow, especially after Edward Snowden's disclosures about the work of the US National Security Agency (NSA) (Gabuev, 2015: 7), which spurred discussions of shifting the telecommunication equipment used in the governmental bodies of the Russian Federation.

At the same time, in all three areas there are some obstacles that China and Russia need to overcome if they are to form a robust partnership. First, in the energy sector, Russia's gas exports diversification would be further complicated by the lack of infrastructure. The majority of Russia's gas facilities are built and oriented towards the EU. Hence, the construction of new pipelines that will deliver Russian gas to China and possibly other Asian countries will take time and substantial financial resources that Russia is currently lacking. But Russia is not keen to allow China to build the pipeline alone, as such large construction projects are source of

income for Russian companies and especially for those with close ties to the Kremlin (Gabuev, 2015: 4). Moreover, despite the fact that Moscow allowed Chinese companies to enter Russia's energy market, e.g. the Beijing Enterprises Group Company has acquired 20% of Rosneft's East Siberian subsidiary, Verkhnechonskneftegaz (Weitz, 2017), this move has been largely seen as a consequence of the imposition of Western sanctions and economic downturn that affected Russia and less as a voluntarily action from the Russian authorities. Second, despite the moderate progress in the financial cooperation, China continues to be reluctant to make substantial investments in Russia. For instance, in 2015 Beijing's direct investments in the Russian economy amounted to \$645 million while in 2016 this number shrank almost twice to \$350 million (Kashin, 2017). The reason for China's economic reservations is twofold. On the one hand, Chinese businesses and banks are aware of the economic problems of the country, which increases the risks of doing business in Russia. On the other hand, Beijing does not want to provoke the US and the EU by providing the Kremlin with more investments and/or cooperating with companies and Russian officials that are blacklisted by the West, thus endangering the access to their much bigger markets. In the field of technology, Russia has little to offer to China, except in the arms industry. Yet, here Moscow is concerned that if it delivers to China more sophisticated weapons, the latter could copy them and start producing its own versions, thus effectively competing with Russia on the global arms market.

V. EU-Russia Relations

Since the onset of the Ukraine crisis, the relations between Russia and the EU strained significantly. The Russian occupation of Crimea and the followed support for the insurgents in the eastern part of the country came to many in Europe as a (unpleasant) surprise. With its actions Russia violated some main principles of international law: peaceful resolutions of conflicts, respect of the territorial integrity of the states, refrain of use of force, sovereign equality, stipulated in several key documents such as the Final Act of Helsinki, the United Nations (UN) Charter, and the Budapest Memorandum, where Russia along with the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK) reaffirms its "...obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine" (Budapest Memorandum, 1994).

To the Russian violations of international law the EU reacted with plethora of measures. Brussels cancelled the EU-Russia summit and suspended the bilateral talks on visa liberalisation. The discussions with Russia on its prospects to join the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the International Energy Agency (IEA) were also put on hold. The EU imposed economic sanctions on Russia and it limited Moscow's access to EU primary and secondary capital markets, it imposed bans on export and import on trade in arms, on export for dual-use goods for military use and it curtailed Russian access to certain technologies and services that can be used for oil production and exploration (Council of the European Union). In addition, Russia has been excluded from the meetings of G8 which returned to its initial format of G7.

Russia, on its part, imposed countersanctions on imports of mainly foods and agriculture products from the EU and third countries supporting EU's sanctions. The Kremlin prohibited

at least 89 EU officials and politicians to enter the country (Norman, 2015). Moreover, Russia is expressing no intentions of returning Crimea to Ukraine or ceasing its support for the rebels in the Eastern part of the country. Instead, Moscow is resorting to an aggressive rhetoric, it continues to invest in its military industry despite the worsening of the living conditions in the country and it continues its provocations in European waters and airspace (Cizik, 2017).

The negotiated Minsk I and Minsk II agreements are far from implemented while at the same time Russia is financing far right and far left eurosceptic and antiestablishment European parties, intensifies its media propaganda and tries to break up the EU unity (especially on sanctions) by keeping closer ties on a bilateral basis with more conservative and EU critical leaders. All this creates an atmosphere of mistrust and enmity that is about to remain, at least in the foreseeable future.

VI. Conclusion

In the context of the growing isolationism and protectionism pursued by the new US president Donald Trump, the EU seems to be more and more in the forefront of the defence of free trade and open markets. The latter has benefited China greatly, thus the country has a common interest with the EU to keep this state of play. At the same time, the relations between the EU and Russia have reached its worst stage since the end of the Cold War. The attempts of Russia to break EU's (fragile) unity might also have financial and economic consequences that could have a negative impact on China and its trade with the EU. At present, Beijing is still on top of the *strategic triangle* while the EU and Russia are the wings who are seeking cooperation with China. While Moscow is more dependent on Beijing, the EU can put more pressure on the People's Republic and have higher demands. Nonetheless, as long as the enmity between Russia and the EU remains, China's options toward both of them will be greater than their options toward each other.

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The People's Republic of China in front of the challenges of global changes

Nako Stefanov

Abstract

China's development model, formed after the reforms, started by Deng Xiaoping, has changed not only China, but also the world. After the collapse of USSR in the 90-s of XX century the only remaining superpower, USA, has announced XXI century as „American century“. Meanwhile, under the „Chimerica“ format PRC accumulated socio-economic and technological potential. During the „Global crisis“, it became clear that China has already created a model, superior in comparison with the neoliberal model, dominant around the world.

At the time of the „Global crisis“, the symbiotic relationship of China and America started to decline. Today PRC is 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. As such, China is undergoing a new normality and new balance. Through enhanced economic quality and efficiency, China can expect sustainable and healthy economic growth. Today on a global level the understanding that new development, based on innovations has to be oriented toward such technologies as nano-technologies, biotechnologies, new sources of energy, as well as 3-D printers as key manufacturing fundament, has already crystalized.

In China, it is possible that the initiative „One Belt – One Road“ or „New Silk Road“ will become the nucleus of such model, oriented toward high technologies and innovations. This initiative accumulates all the prerequisites for the formation of innovation dynamics. From such point of view, the project „One Belt – One Road“ turns to be an overall innovation platform, on one side. At the same time, on the other side this project includes „a geocentric sense of mankind's existence“. The XXI century has to be the century of spirituality based on cooperation and joint efforts through which conflicts and hostility must be overcome. From this perspective, one can say that the project „One Belt – One Road“ can and must play the role of geostrategic revolution, since its purpose is the cooperation of many countries and peoples.

Keywords: People's Republic of China, China's development model, new development model based on innovations and ultra-high technologies, „One Belt – One Road“ project, geopolitical and geo-economic revolution

Introduction

The deepening global turbulence, which we are witnessing now, is a clear expression of the system-structural crisis of contemporary capitalism. This crisis is demonstrated both in its geopolitical form, and in its geo-economic functioning as neoliberal model of economic reproduction.

This situation is full with profound global changes. The People's Republic of China (PRC) became part of these changes as a factor, but also as an object of the same. Although the model of „market socialism“, created in China, proved its superiority, precisely in the global crisis of 2008-2012, it became clear that the abovementioned model needs serious transformation. A

manifestation of this transformation is the „new normality“ course, taken by the PRC. In fact, the so called „Asiatic long cycle of accelerated growth“, based on foreign investment and use of cheap labor is completed for the People's Republic of China.

We have to keep in mind that in the abovementioned situation the issue of creating pillars of sustainable development becomes a key issue for all humanity. From this point of view, the problems of the economic and technological dynamism of China are undoubtedly important and relevant topics, given the fact that according to the amount of GDP, calculated on purchasing power parity (PPP), the country is the largest economy in the world.

The purpose of the present report is to examine the socio-economic dynamism of PRC, including such platforms as the project „One Belt – One Road“, which undeniably marks a new situation in the world, filled both with problems and perspectives.

The following main tasks, structured as the major sections of the report, attain this goal, namely:

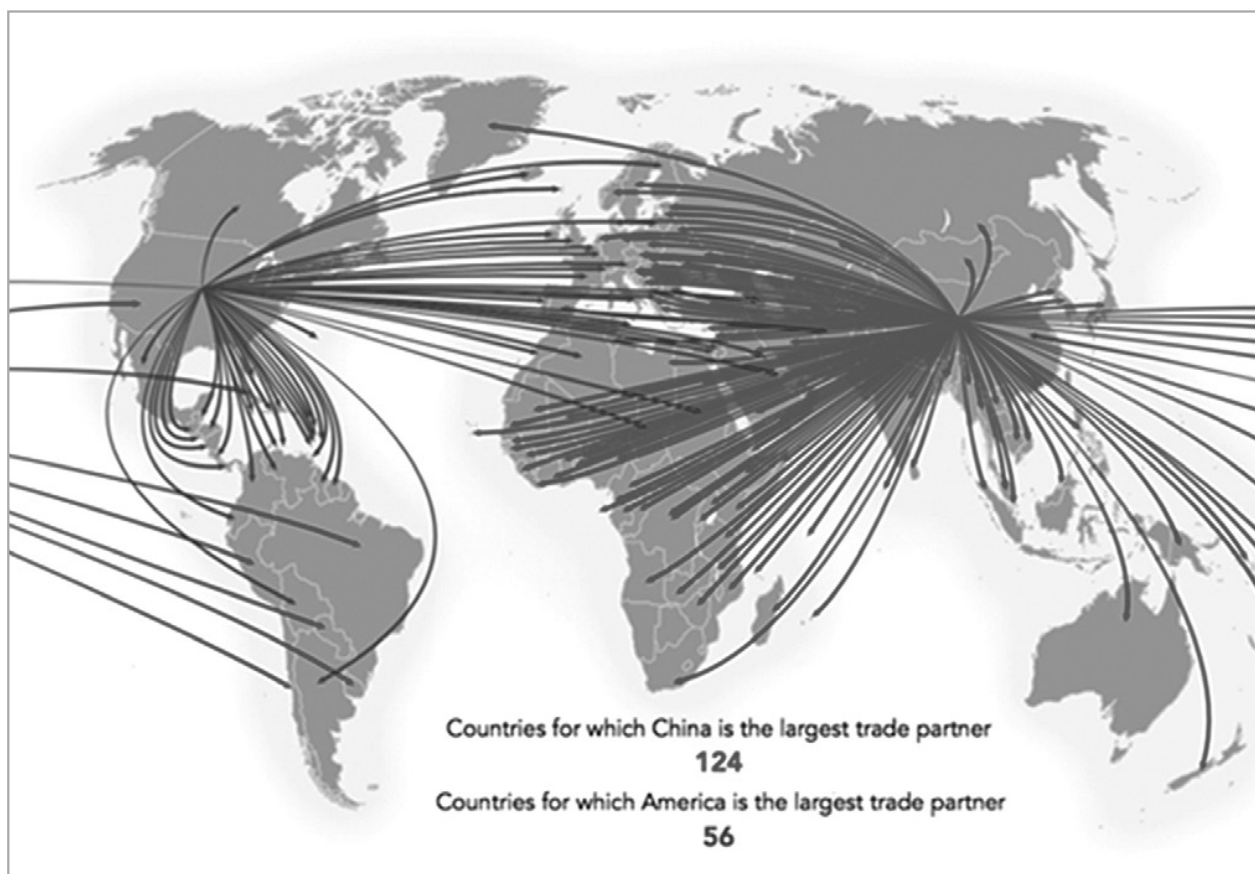
1. The PRC's Dynamism under the reforms – basic characteristics, terms, conditions and reasons;
2. Socio-economic, technique-technological and other problems, related to the new stance, attained by the China's Dynamism;
3. Prospects, related to the geostrategic project „One Belt – One Road“ as overall innovation platform.

The 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 part of the complex of internal environment, in relation to which all other objects are external environment;
- Historical approach – all phenomena, whether 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 is formed and is functioning the researched phenomenon;
- Geopolitical and geo-economic platforms – the inability to understand phenomena in a sociopolitical and socio-economic context without taking into account the geographic and natural conditions that form the civilization framework of development.

1. The People's Republic of China's dynamism under the reforms – basic characteristics, terms, conditions and reasons

China's development model, formed after the reforms, started by Deng Xiaoping, in a period of more than 30 years (between 1978 and 2011, demonstrated an annual growth of 10%, and between 2003 and 2007 – a growth of 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 and trade.

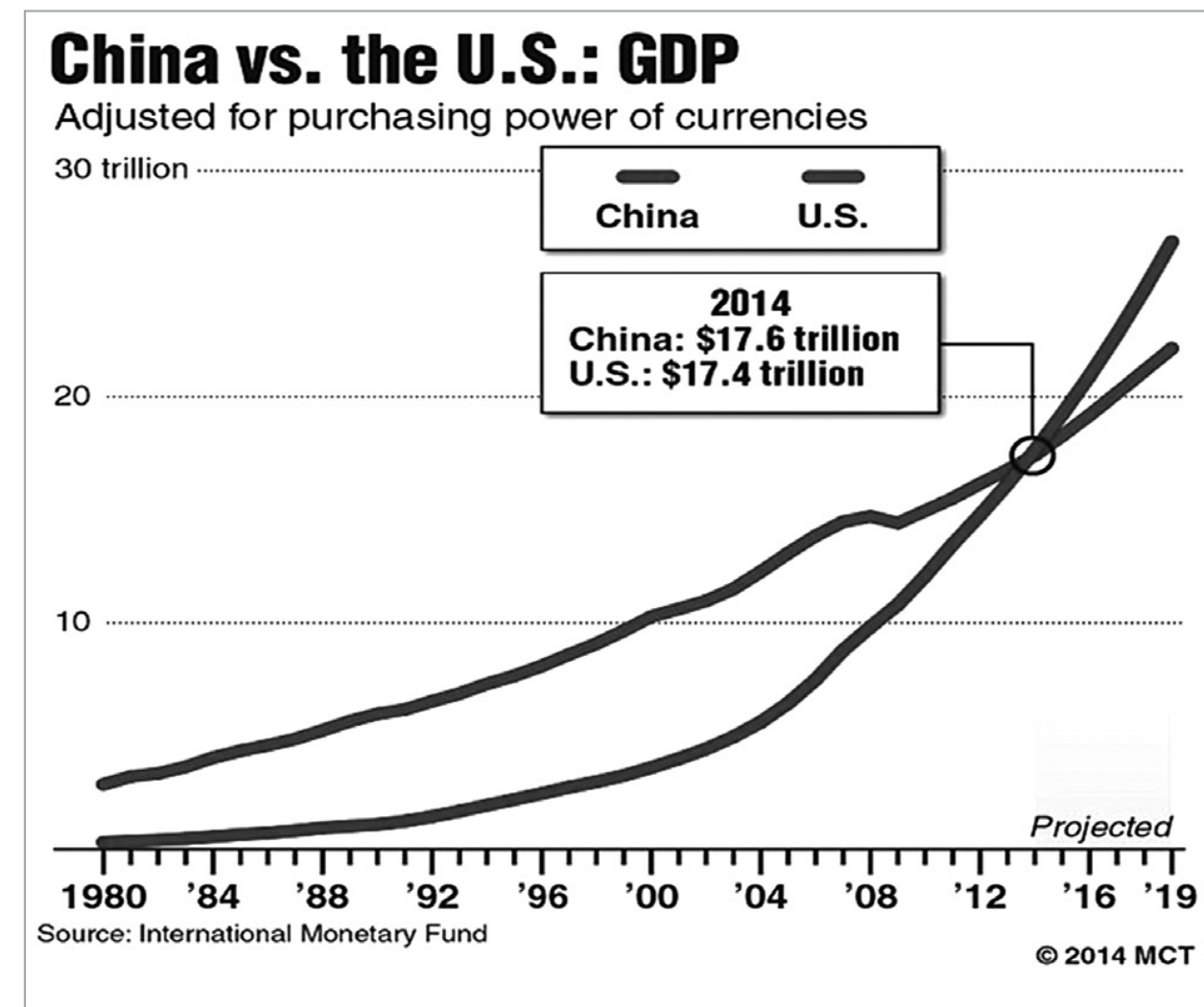


China is the world's #1 trade partner¹

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. At the end of 2014, the country became the first global economic power with gross domestic product (GDP) of 17.63 trillion US dollars, calculated at PPP (purchasing power parity). This is more than a tenfold increase in the GDP, since the beginning of the reforms in 1978.

At the same time, the income per capita also significantly increased – in 2014 it was already \$ 12.900, which, according to CIA meant the 113th place in the world. But in that field, there is still a lot to attain, as this is below the average level of the world.

¹ China is the world's #1 trade partner.



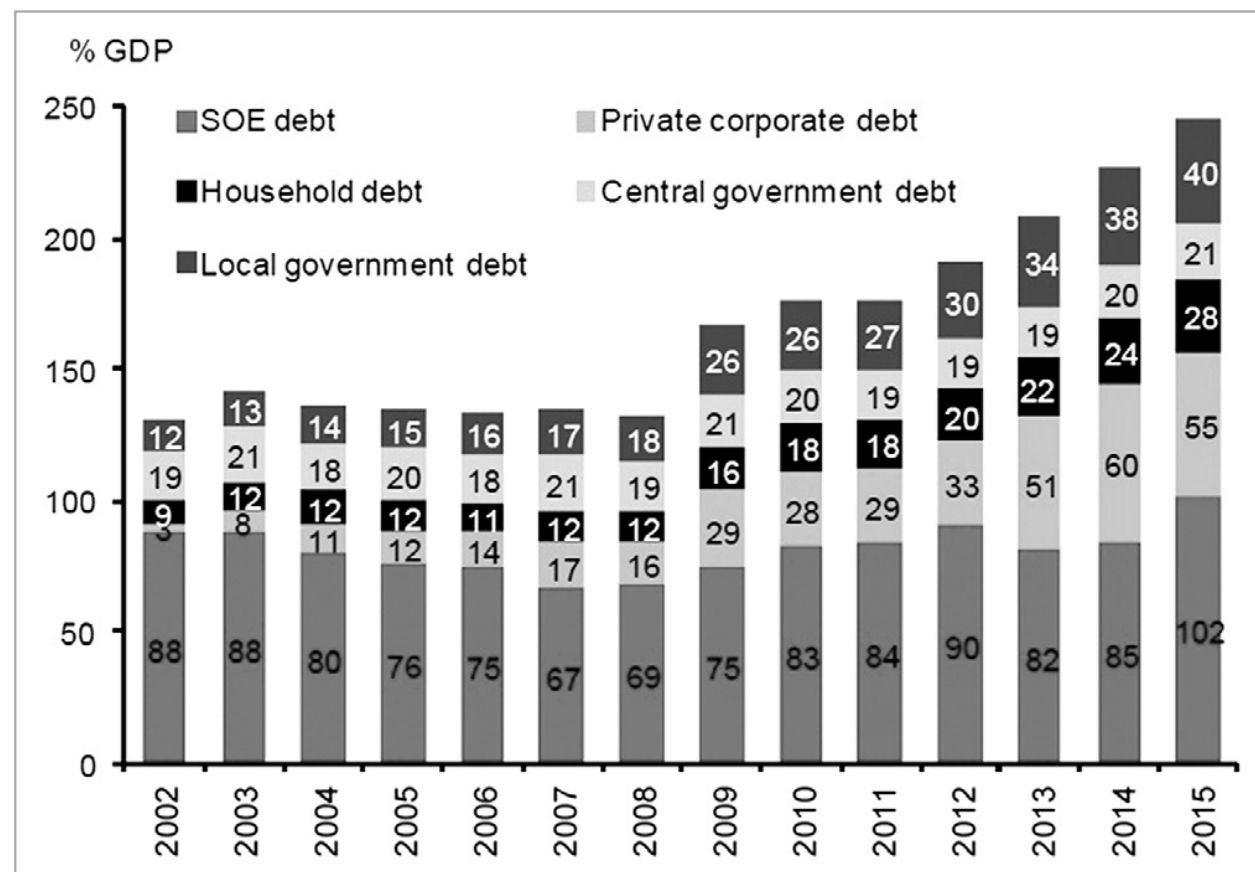
In October 2014, China's GDP measured on a PPP base exceeded that of US ²

2. Socio-economic, technique-technological and other problems, related to the new stance, attained by China's dynamism

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 rises sharply and now is near to 250% of the country's GDP.

² <http://loganwealth.com/third-quarter-2015-quarterly-commentary/>.



China's Debt Breakdown³

Certainly, China's economy is currently facing a number of potential risks and threats, namely:

- Risks, arising from the „bubble“ in the property;
- The debt problems;
- The problems in the financial sector, related to „shadow banking“;
- Slowing of the dynamics of the economic growth;
- The overcapacity and insufficient level of innovations.

We also have to keep in mind, that the current dominant global force – the USA, understands the serious technical and economic achievements of China as a major geostrategic challenge.

Faced with both the strategic cooperation of the PRC with Russia, and the consequences of its own systemic-structural crisis, the US are trying in one or another form to pursue a policy of PRC's containment in different areas and directions.

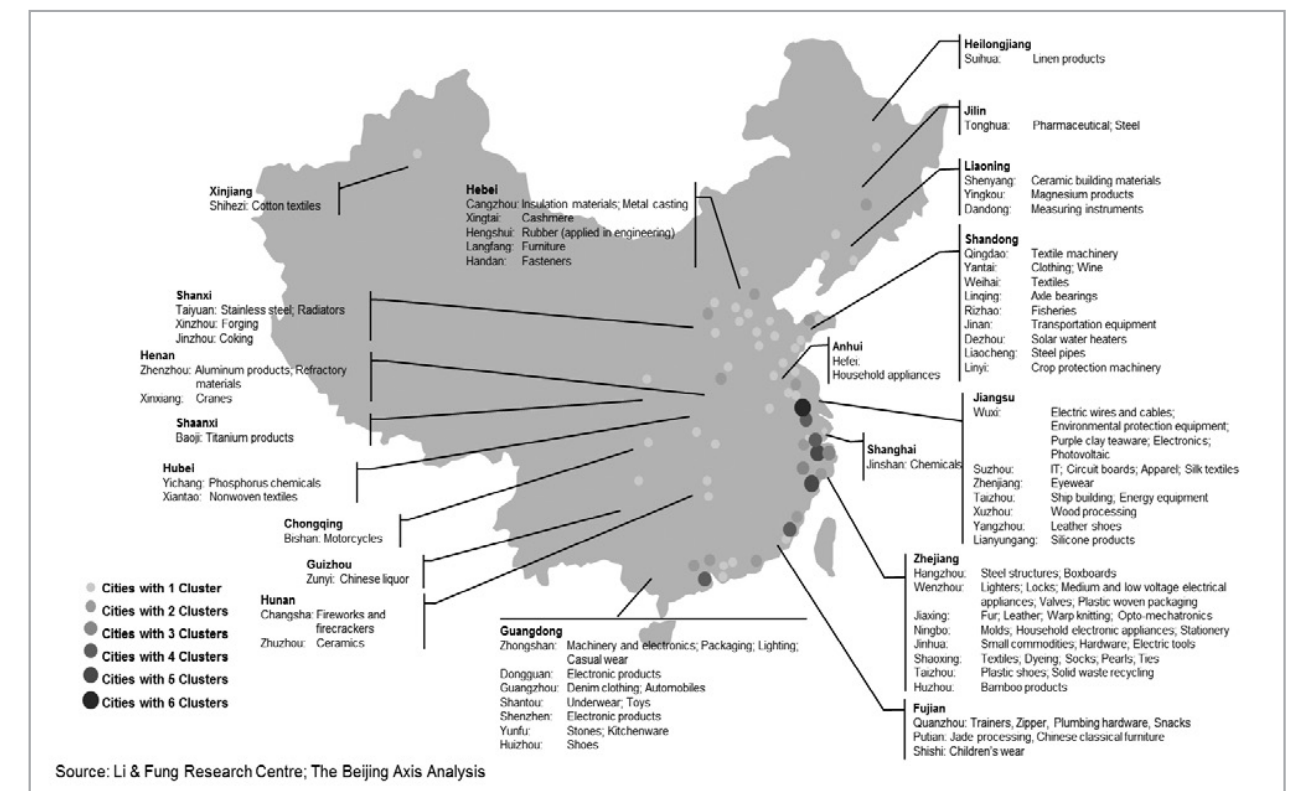
3. PRC's answers to the global challenges

At the summit of representatives of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in November 2014 in Beijing, the President Xi Jinping for the first time came out with the concept

³ CEIC, Macquaire Research, 2016.

of „New normality“ The „New normality“ of the Chinese economy emerged with several important features:

- First, the economy is to be changed from oriented to high growth rates toward average ones;
- Second, the economic structure is continuously improved and modernized;
- Third, innovations, instead of investments, have to drive the economy.

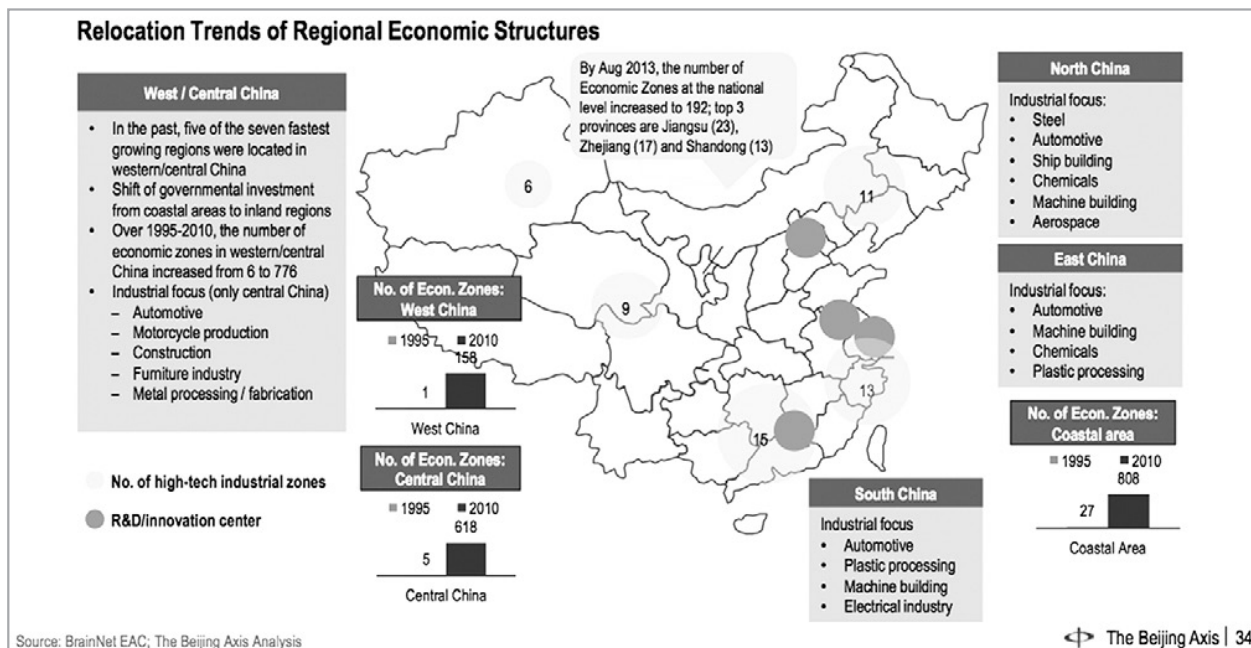


China's Top 100 Industrial Clusters⁴

This means that innovations have to be the main driver of economy. So the ultimate goal is creating a new technological platform. Today, on a global level the conviction that the innovation development has to be based on such technologies like nanotechnologies, biotechnologies, new sources of energy, as well as 3-D printers as key manufacturing equipment, has already crystallized.

This new platform has got different names – the Anglo-Saxon countries called it a model of the „Third Industrial Revolution“. The Germans – Industrie.4.0. In Japan the term Society 5.0 is being used. The Russians prefer the name „Sixth Technological Wave“ for the innovation scheme of development.

⁴ <http://www.chinasourcingblog.org/2011/11/chinas-industrial-clusters.html>.

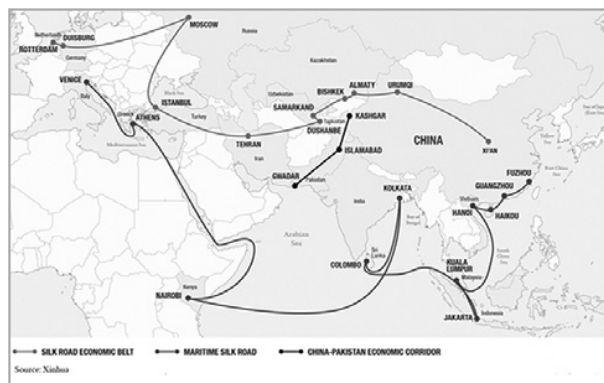


Map of China's High-tech Parks⁵

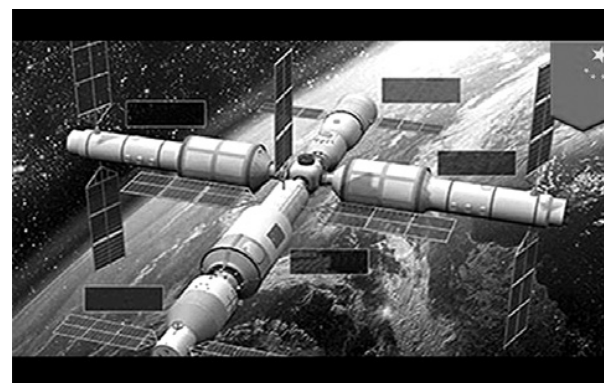
The „New Silk Road“ initiative was raised in China in September and October 2013. This initiative is also famous under the name „One Belt – One Road“ project. This project includes two main components:

- The land-based „Silk Road Economic Belt“(SREB);
- The oceangoing „Maritime Silk Road“(MSR).

The „One Belt – One Road“ project covers around 60 countries, located primarily in Asia and Europe, but Oceania and East Africa are also included.



Map of the “One Belt – One Road” Project



Space Station Tiangong-2⁶

There are signs that the „New Silk Road“ initiative / the „One Belt – One Road“ project is possible to become the nucleus of a model, oriented to high technologies and innovations for PRC and the countries involved. This initiative accumulates all the prerequisites for the formation of innovation dynamic.

⁵ <https://www.google.bg/search?hl=bg&site=imghp&tbm=isch&source=hp&biw=1366&bih=638&q=China%27s+Top+100+Industrial+Clusters&oeq=China%27s+Top+1>

⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K3fj8ahRTRY>

For example, one basic feature of the project is the international cooperation in the construction of an information corridor in space. This means the following:

- Joint development of satellites for Earth observation, telecommunication links, radio broadcasting and navigation;
- Meteorological satellites and climate-related observation and weather changes, as well as formation of groups of small satellites for space exploration of adjacent territories;
- Construction of terrestrial infrastructure for data reception and telecommunication terminals;
- Support for the control of spacecraft and preparation of specialists and exchange of people in the field of peaceful absorption of space.



Tiangong-2 will host two docking units. One for Shenzhou-11, the other for Tianzhou-1

Instead of conclusion

Instead of conclusion we have to state that in front of the challenges of the global changes, PRC has its answer – „The New Normality“. The essence of the „New Normality“ is in the orientation to the formation of an innovative model of development, based on high technologies. One key instrument for such formation is the „One Belt – One Road“ project. This project has several basic features, namely:

- It is possible to become a significant innovative socio-technological platform not only for the peaceful cosmos, but also for overall innovative development;
- In its essence the realization of the project means deep geopolitical revolution. The "New Great Silk Road" project changes the geopolitical balance in the direction of Eurasia;
- And the most important feature is demonstrated by the fact that the „One Belt – One

Road” project means alternative to the now dominant neoliberal model of human civilization dynamics. Instead of the unipolar hierarchical neoliberal model, the „One Belt – One Road” project suggests a new largest-scale multipolar interaction under the guidance of the „win-win development”, bringing together dozens of nations and countries, which is unprecedented in the history of human civilization.

As an overall conclusion, concerning the „One Belt – One Road” project, we have to stress that this project includes „a geocentric sense of mankind’s existence”. The XXI century has to be the century of spirituality-based cooperation and joint efforts through which conflicts and hostility must be overcome. From this perspective, one can say that the project „One Belt – One Road” can and must play the role of a global spiritual revolution, since its purpose is the cooperation of many countries and peoples around the world.

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K3fj8ahRTRY>

The Importance of the “One Belt, One Road” Initiative for the EU, CEEC and Bulgaria

Evgeniy Kandilarov

Abstract

Four years after the start of the „One Belt, One Road” Initiative, it is already obvious for everyone that this is much more than simply an economic, infrastructure and trade project, but rather it is a geopolitical, geo-economic and, generally speaking, geostrategic project, that tilts the geopolitical and geo-economic balance towards Eurasia. Its implementation is going to transform Eurasia’s political and economic landscapes over the coming decades via a network of trade and infrastructure partnerships. The „Belt and Road” runs through the continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa, connecting the vibrant East Asia economic circle, at one end, with the developed European economic circle, at the other, and encompassing countries with huge potentials for economic development. The formation of the „16+1” framework refers to different mechanisms and arrangements between China and 16 Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC). The inclusion of the „16+1” cooperation framework into the concept of the New Silk Road („One Belt, One Road”) is the most important and promising element for the CEEC, which is predestined to be the Road’s „hub”. The potential and future development of the „One Belt, One Road” initiative and the platform „16+1” can be advantageous for Bulgaria as well, as it can boost the country’s multiple sectors: tourism, agriculture and food, energy, science, education, and culture. Also, as Bulgaria is considered a leader in the field of information technologies in Southeastern Europe and in the production of components for the automotive industry, another opportunity is open for future Chinese investment in these emerging sectors in the country. Bulgarian government declares a strong commitment to support Chinese companies wishing to invest in sectors in which Bulgaria has traditional advantages and those providing high added value and increased competitiveness of the economy: engineering, automotive, electronics, information and communication technologies, chemical and pharmaceutical industry, agriculture and food industry, building of industrial zones and hi-tech parks. Bulgaria has always emphasized its desire to attract Chinese companies to invest in Bulgarian industrial zones, which can obtain support from National Company Industrial Zones. From this point of view the importance of „One Belt, One Road” initiative for the EU, CEEC, and Bulgaria will definitely grow and our government should take it into consideration much more seriously, assessing the new geopolitical realities with all the existing possibilities, disadvantages, shortcomings, advantages and opportunities.

Keywords: „One Belt, One Road” initiative, China and CEEC, „16+1” initiative, China-EU relations Bulgaria-China economic relations

Introduction

Put this way, the title of my paper obviously emphasizes the undoubtedly existing importance of the „One Belt, One Road” (OBOR) initiative for the EU, CEEC, and particularly for Bulgaria as part of the CEEC and the EU itself.

The importance of properly understanding and seriously analyzing all the existing opportunities, chances, and possibilities, as well as all the difficulties and potential threats, involving OBOR, is crucial for the EU and all the CEEC, including Bulgaria, in regards to making the most correct decisions, from the point of view of their own national and geopolitical interests.

Four years after the start of the „One Belt, One Road” Initiative, it is already obvious for everyone that this is much more than simply an economic, infrastructure and trade project, but rather it is a geopolitical, geo-economic and, generally speaking, geostrategic project, that tilts the geopolitical and geo-economic balance towards Eurasia (Kandilarov, 2016: 107-130). The realization of this project means that not the Pacific Ocean but Eurasia is becoming the central area of the world during the 21st century. That point was very well presented at the first „*Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation*” held in Beijing on 14 and 15 May 2017, where Vladimir Putin, in his speech, said that it is of great importance. There are many analyses insisting that the most important and strategic part China’s OBOR Initiative is the 500 million-strong European Union consumer market, which is the world’s largest and richest (though the impact of Brexit and the departure of the U.K.’s 65 million consumers remains to be seen) (Le Corre, 2017: 1). The EU is the world’s largest single market, with almost 510 million people and a GDP of around €15 trillion. It is by far the most advanced integrated entity, with a wide range of institutions and significant supranational governance, including a single currency used by most of its member-states, and an elected parliament. But it is struggling with a range of internal and external problems. Economically, growth has been anaemic since the financial crisis, and Greece has teetered on the brink of default. Politically, the EU faces a challenge from populist parties that want to unpick or destroy the EU project. External crises have strengthened the populists: they have exploited the flows of immigrants both to attack the EU’s institutions and to drive wedges between member-states (Bond, 2017: 4).

At the same time, the OBOR strategy contains in itself a kind of economic expansion strategy pursued by China. China has become the world's 2nd largest economic entity with over \$10-trillion GDP and the world’s largest trading entity with imports and exports of \$4.16 trillion. If China wants to rise from being a less competitive country to a major one, it must undergo an economic expansion strategy, both long-term and short-term.

That’s why China has developed its own OBOR economic expansion strategy that is composed of the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (21ST CMSR) sub-strategies, namely: OBOR = SREB + 21ST CMSR. The Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) strategy’s range covers areas from Southeast Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East countries, assimilate the countries into a regional economic entity to eventually lead to Europe, forming a trend of *Eurasian Economic Integration*. Whereas, the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (21ST CMSR) strategy is to connect China with Asia, Africa and Europe, where OBOR can eventually form a closed loop on both land and sea routes that serve as trading channels and economic corridors. (Chen, Zhang, 2015: 2).

OBOR has a very important geopolitical meaning for China as well: it increases China’s influence in many of the countries along the various routes. Indeed, one of the striking things about OBOR is that it is not one belt or one road, but many. In a positive sense, China is ensuring that many parties will benefit from the initiative, so Chinese influence to the world will be welcome. (Bond, 2017: 7) CEEC play a very important role in this strategy.

The place of Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) in the Belt and Road Initiative

Central and Eastern Europe is not a homogeneous region, in fact, it is quite divergent because of the great transformations that have taken place in the last 25 years. Currently, four countries are EU candidates (Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia), one is a potential candidate (Bosnia and Herzegovina), while 11 are EU member states, out of which five belong to the Euro zone. The 11 EU member countries have different voting powers in the EU. Several of them are euro sceptics. Beyond their different goals, ambitions and strengths, the 16 CEE countries consider China as a relevant market and a valuable source of investment, at least at a declarative level (Oehler-Sincai, 2016: 6). The differences across the region are significant in many aspects, including the level of economic development, per capita income and institutional framework. Despite this, China has clustered the CEE as one region that maps to its main objectives: transportation networks for the Silk Road, and investment goals for further capital expansion across the EU (Zeneli, 2016).

Both China and CEEC have no historical grievances because of each other. China does not have bitter historic memory about Central and Eastern European countries. It suffered too much from the West European powers, during the century of humiliation, in late 19th century; China was carved up by the Western powers along with Russia and Japan. There is no geopolitical conflict of interests between China and CEEC. When the PRC was established, East European countries belonged to the first group of countries to recognize new China. Bulgaria was the second country that recognized and established diplomatic relations with PRC (Ibidem).

The inclusion of the „16+1” cooperation framework into the concept of the New Silk Road („One Belt, One Road”) is what’s important for the CEEC. The region is predestined to be the Road’s „hub”, which can be used during its construction, all the more so because the individual states and cities of the region have been aware of the opportunities connected to it (Pavličević, 2016).

The formation of the „16+1” framework is one of the most important achievements of China’s diplomacy. Since then, the „16+1” cooperation framework has been widely accepted by Central and Eastern European countries and has moved on a fast track. During the last two years, summits between China and the CEEC have been held on a regular basis, with different cooperation mechanisms already formed or under consideration.

Mutual efforts by China and the CEEC have drawn relations closer. From China’s point of view, the CEEC, especially the new member states of the European Union (EU), can play an important role in Europe and can serve as China’s bridgehead for exploration of the European market. Although the CEEC suffered from the global financial crisis and euro-zone debt crisis, these countries have shown resilience. From the perspective of the CEEC, China has become an important factor in the global shift of power: it has maintained a good record of economic growth; its economic clout continues to expand; and it can be regarded as an important economic partner for the CEEC.

Apart from opening the CEE region up for investments, the “16+1” format also intends to facilitate the shaping of relations between China and the EU and to become a tool for building a positive image of China and the CEE countries (Long, 2015).

The EU position on OBOR and „16+1” initiatives:

China's approach to the EU has been a mix of constructive efforts to co-operate and tactics that seem designed to weaken it. On the constructive side, China is keen to get the EU engaged in OBOR. The two sides agreed at a summit in 2015 to look for synergies between OBOR and the EU's Investment Plan for Europe (the so-called „Juncker Plan”, designed to encourage private investment in infrastructure). Since 1993, the EU has had a program to develop a transport corridor from Europe to China via Black Sea, South Caucasus, Caspian Sea and Central Asia (TRACECA), and there is clearly logic in China and the EU combining their efforts as far as they can. The two sides have agreed to create a so-called „connectivity platform” to improve infrastructure links and digital networks between the EU and China and in the countries along the way. From the EU side, the platform is also a way to get China to accept the EU's way of doing business in areas such as public procurement, competition policy and technical standards (Bond, 2017:9). On the other side, from the EU point of view, China uses the „divide-and-rule tactics” and from the Commission's perspective, the regular „16+1” meetings that China holds with Central European EU member-states and countries in the Western Balkans risk creating a pro-Chinese „lobby” in the EU through the promise of future investment, thereby making unified EU policy-making harder than ever (Ibidem).

Since the announcement of the format „16+1”, EU has expressed reservations about the initiative, arguing that the formation of a group of member states could undermine the image of the EU as a community, and that the PRC aims to „split” the EU and promote its own interests. There were objections against the institutionalization of the initiative, the adoption of long-term programs or action plans, cooperation in areas where the EU has exclusive or shared competence (especially trade, investment, agriculture), giving state guarantees for projects under the initiative (Turcsányi, 2014).

The framework „16+1” has become a launch pad for the OBOR Initiative (at least half of the countries have signed OBOR memorandums of understanding with China since 2015), and has helped China to build (or in some cases rebuild) close relations with Eastern European countries. After some complaints from Brussels, the European Commission was eventually admitted as an observer of the „16+1” group.

By 2015, the positions of the CEE countries, China and the EU evolved to an understanding that cooperation in the format „16+1” is an important and effective additional mechanism to EU-China relations. On the fourth summit in Suzhou, for the first time as representatives of the EU, Austria, Greece and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) attended as observers.

Although up to that moment there is no official position of the EU toward the issue of the „Belt and Road”, in a Resolution of the European Parliament from 16 December 2015, regarding the EU-China relations, the European Parliament states that, having in mind that the launch of the OBOR initiative aimed at constructing major energy and communication links across Central, West and South Asia as far as Europe, it considers the project as having a „geostrategic relevance which should be pursued in a multilateral way; believes that it is of

the utmost importance to develop synergies and projects in full transparency and with the involvement of all stakeholders...” (<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&language=EN&reference=P8-TA-2015-0458>).

In July 2016, the „16+1” formula was referenced for the first time in a European document (the new EU Strategy on China) as a sub-regional framework for cooperation in the context of connectivity (<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P8-TA-2015-0458+0+DOC+XML+V0//BG>).

During the May 2017 First International BRI International Summit, China insisted that it wants to share „growth, development and connectivity” and „collaborate more closely on concrete projects” with the EU, but the European Commission's vice president Jyrki Katainen expressed different points. In his speech in Beijing, he said that any scheme connecting Europe and Asia should adhere to a number of principles including market rules and international standards, transparency of any plans and activities and should complement existing networks and policies (http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-17-1332_en.htm). The EU's reservations about China came to a head last year when EU lawmakers voted against China's application for „market economy status” under WTO law, which, if granted, would reduce possible penalties in anti-dumping cases. The sore point is steel: China's huge production capacity has flooded world markets and threatened the robust industrial base that the European Commission considers essential for jobs, growth, and competitiveness.

Brussels is also concerned about the issues of reciprocity and access to the Chinese market for European companies. Despite several years of negotiations, there is still no bilateral investment treaty, and European companies have found it increasingly difficult to do business in China. Several EU countries and cities have been particularly receptive to Chinese investors. Others have been more cautious, seeking guarantees from China that it will follow international standards and not pursue exclusivity in its geostrategic interests (Le Corre, 2017).

We have to admit also that the EU population is still not well aware of the OBOR initiative. They still perceive the Chinese outbound direct investment (ODI) with mixed feelings as there are lingering suspicions that China has broader strategic intent and not just commercial calculations in investing such financial resources across the Eurasian region.

Furthermore, the EU media narrative is still centered on Chinese mergers and acquisitions (M&A) in the EU rather than a broader socio-political analysis of the OBOR initiative and possible cooperation patterns to shape a long-term relationship between the EU and China based on a better understanding of reciprocal values and interests. To a large degree, EU's approach has remained rooted in a democratization and human rights paradigm. The focus on purely economic motives and the lack of clarity by China exacerbates the situation. In actual fact, the OBOR initiative can be a platform for both sides to develop a new basis of promoting mutual trust and mutual benefit, even though the EU decision-making process among its institutions and member states can be complicated for the Chinese side. (Arduino, 2016: 15)

Bulgaria-China economic relations and the opportunities in the OBOR and „16+1”

In economic terms, the cooperation potential between China and Bulgaria is high. Bulgaria is situated at a transportation hub between the Eastern and Western states, with very good natural conditions, skilled manpower and relatively low cost of investment expenditure. Following the principle of mutual benefit, China and Bulgaria could quite realistically link their business in areas of mutual interest and pursue joint development. Low taxes, increasing consumption and strategic location are among the main reasons for Bulgaria to be considered an important place for investments by the Asian entrepreneurs.

Although the Bulgarian government has many times declared that it is strongly motivated to support and actively participate in the initiative for cooperation between China and CEE and considers it an important platform for expanding the bilateral relations in all fields and an effective addition to EU-China relations, up to that moment our political movements and positions are quite controversial and inconsistent. Clear evidence for that is the Bulgarian absence from the already mentioned First Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation held in Beijing two weeks ago.

At the same time, Bulgaria could be considered as a bridge between Europe and Asia with a number of geopolitical and geo-economic advantages, whose importance is expected to grow to an even greater extent in the future especially from the standpoint of attracting foreign investments. In the context of the „16+1” Initiative, Bulgaria can be a respectful and valuable partner in the following directions:

- Opportunity to produce cost-effectively within the EU market.
- Attractive conditions for establishing assembly, warehousing, logistics, and R&D operations; favorable office rents and low cost of utilities.
- Skilled workforce.
- Stable economic and political environment.
- Foreign-investment-oriented government.
- Tax and tariff advantages: it has the lowest corporate tax of 10 percent; there is a 2-year VAT exemption for imports of equipment for investment projects over €5 million, creating at least 50 jobs; etc.
- Reliable infrastructure (if we manage to create such) that provides easy access to markets within the EU and beyond. In Bulgaria there are 14 functioning industrial zones and 21 zones under development; 4 international airports; 2 main ports on the Black sea and 2 main ports on Danube River; over 4000 km of railways connected to major European throughways.

Regarding the relations between Bulgaria and China within the context of the „Belt and Road” initiative, Bulgaria has selected several strategically important infrastructure projects to develop in partnership with China: Port of Varna, Black Sea Speedway, Zagora Airport (EU-China Logistics Hub), Plovdiv Industrial Zone, Bojurishte Industrial Zone. It would be a great opportunity if the competent institutions of the two countries and the companies in this field succeed to maintain intensive contacts and jointly seek forms

of cooperation applicable to the Bulgarian conditions to promote the implementation of infrastructure projects.

So far, within the initiative for cooperation between China and Central and East Europe „16+1”, a centre for cooperation in agriculture within „16+1” has been established on 25-27 June 2015. It is called Association for the Promotion of Agricultural Cooperation between China and CEE Countries and it shall assist in strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation between China and CEE countries in the field of agriculture and food (<http://china2ceec.org/bg/news/330>).

The other significant change in terms of Chinese investments in Bulgaria as an impact of the Chinese initiative „One Belt, One Road” is the Chinese-European pilot project for a global corporate city in Trakia Economic Zone (TEZ), launched in June 2016 in Shenzhen, China. The contract for a joint building and management of a „EU-China New Economy Cooperation Pilot Zone – Plovdiv” was signed by Eng. Plamen Panchev, creator of TEZ and the Chairman of the BD of Sienit Holding Jsc., and Chen Zongjian, Chairman of the BD of the Chinese company China Shenzhen Porter Holdings Co., Ltd. The Sienit Holding Jsc. and China Shenzhen Porter Holdings Co., Ltd signed agreements with Chinese financial companies and investment funds for financial participation in the project, as well as with the German business association, which has more than 100 member companies. The project will cover an area of about 2,6 million m² and will build over an area of about 5 million m². The global city will be an European headquarters („Porter City – European Headquarters”) of the Chinese company China Shenzhen Porter Holdings Co., Ltd., it will enable producers from around the world (Europe, Middle East, Africa, Russia, and the CIS countries) to present their products and establish offices, retail and logistic centers in TEZ. The pilot zone represents an innovative public business platform, e-trade, logistics and finance, providing direct connection between users and manufacturers (<http://invest.plovdiv.bg/en/content/trakia-industrial-zone/>).

For Bulgaria, OBOR is a strategic opportunity to be part of a newly emerging market encompassing the countries from Asia, Middle East, CEEC and Western Europe. If Bulgaria really wants to be part of this project, we are competing on the Balkan area with our neighbors like Serbia, Greece, Macedonia, Romania and Turkey, and up to this moment all of them are much more ahead in their relations with China, negotiating and making everything possible to become part of the OBOR with respect to their own strategic interests and future plans. Three Bulgarian neighbor EU countries (Greece, Romania and Cyprus) joined the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) which is a very significant act.

I believe that the importance of the „One Belt, One Road” initiative for the EU, CEEC, and Bulgaria will definitely grow and our government should take it into consideration much more seriously, assessing the new geopolitical realities with all the existing possibilities, disadvantages, shortcomings, advantages and opportunities.

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Изменения в световния икономически ред и стратегии на главните участници в него

Георги Чанков

Changes in the World Economic Order and the Strategies of the Main Players

Georgi Chankov

Abstract

The historic preview and the contemporary data show the shifting of the industrial capital and hence the economic centre of the world from the USA towards China. The USA must choose now among several strategies for mastering/stopping this tendency. These strategies range from utmost isolationism to further interventionism. The last political changes there are directed towards internal consolidation of the resources, refusal of liberal interventionism and protectionist measures. The now forming strategy focuses on China as most important partner and competitor. The failure of the „Chimerika model” provokes attempt to restrain China through networks of multilateral or bilateral free-trade zones, dominated by the USA. The Chinese strategy stakes on establishing a Eurasian economic bloc through infrastructure projects, such as OBOR. Both strategies contradict to each other and presuppose conflicts, but the risks of a nuclear war could provoke unexpected alternatives.

Keywords: capital, shifting, strategies, USA, China

Въведение

В ход е преструктуриране на системата на международните отношения. Сменя се центърът на тежестта в световното стопанство, преподреждат се отношенията между участниците в него. Губещият позиции хегемон търси стратегия, с която да съдържа съперниците. Изборът на стратегии зависи от преценката за наличните ресурси и не винаги е лесен.

1. Преместване на центъра на световното стопанство

Кризата от 2008 г. засилва тенденция, наблюдавана от края на XX в. - преместване на тежестта на световното стопанство към Югоизточна Азия. Според ОИСР, ако на региона през 2009 г. се падат 18% от глобалната средна класа, то през 2030 г. този дял трябва да достигне 66% (Pezzini, 2016) за сметка на Северна Америка и Европа, чийто дял пада съотв. от 54% на 21%. В центъра на това развитие е Китай. Понастоящем китайската икономика е съизмерима с тази на САЩ (МВФ я поставя на първо място с 23,2 трил. долара по ППС¹), темповете на растеж се задържат високи (6,7% за Китай спрямо 2,5%²), а китайският модел на развитие вече се разглежда като алтернатива на западния неолиберален модел.

¹ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_\(PPP\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(PPP)).

² <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/china/gdp-growth-annual>, <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-states/gdp-growth-annual>.

Историческият преглед показва, че центровете на световното стопанство „блуждаят“ географски в зависимост от промяната в условията, които благоприятстват хегемонията на даден център. Наблюденията на Петър Голийски (Голийски, 2016) сочат, че „когато една мощна икономика по една или друга причина се отказва ... от активна търговия и производство, натрупаните капитали се пренасочват в сферата на финансовите и банковите услуги и дейности, тоест търговско-индустриалната икономика се трансформира във финансова“. Примерите от ново време включват Генуа, Нидерландия, Великобритания, сега САЩ. Причините са обективни (изчерпване на суровини и енергоносители, естествени предели на демографския ръст и пр.) и психологически и физиологически: остаряване и умора на обществото на хегемона, предпочитание към по-малко рисковани финансови операции вместо към търговия и производство. Хегемонията предполага технологичен и производствен монопол или надмощие, господство на производствения капитал. Господството на финансов капитал бележи залеза на хегемонията, преместване на производствения капитал към нова „работилница на света“.

Този процес на „остаряване“ е отбелязан още от Ленин (Ленин, 1917:46), който описва „сливането на банковия капитал с промишления и създаване на финансов капитал и финансова олигархия“ и „особено важното значение, което износът на капитал придобива за сметка на износа на стоки“. Възможността от преместването на производствения капитал към нова база не е разглеждана от автора. Дж. К. Гълбрайт (Гълбрайт, 1983) също описва последователността, при която властта преминава от ръцете на промишления капитал в ръцете на финансовия, имайки предвид главно развитието на САЩ, и по същия начин не взема под внимание изместването на първия към нови „работилници на света“.

Въпросният преход формално започва в началото на 70-те години на XX в. с разпада на Бретън-Уудската финансова система. Процесът е обективен – превръщането на ЮИ Азия в конкурент на САЩ е обусловено от многобройно, дисциплинирано и образовано население, с нисък в началото жизнен стандарт, позволяващ ценова конкуренция на фона на поскъпващия в САЩ труд. Към 1970 г. се оформя Триадата, моделът описан от Кеничи Омае (Омае, 1985). Спадът в печалбите на американския промишлен капитал у дома го пренасочва към инвестиции зад граница и чисто спекулативни финансови операции. Тази тенденция се затвърждава окончателно през 1999 г. чрез закона „Грам-Лийч-Блилей“ (Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act), който отменя ограниченията в операциите на търговските банки.

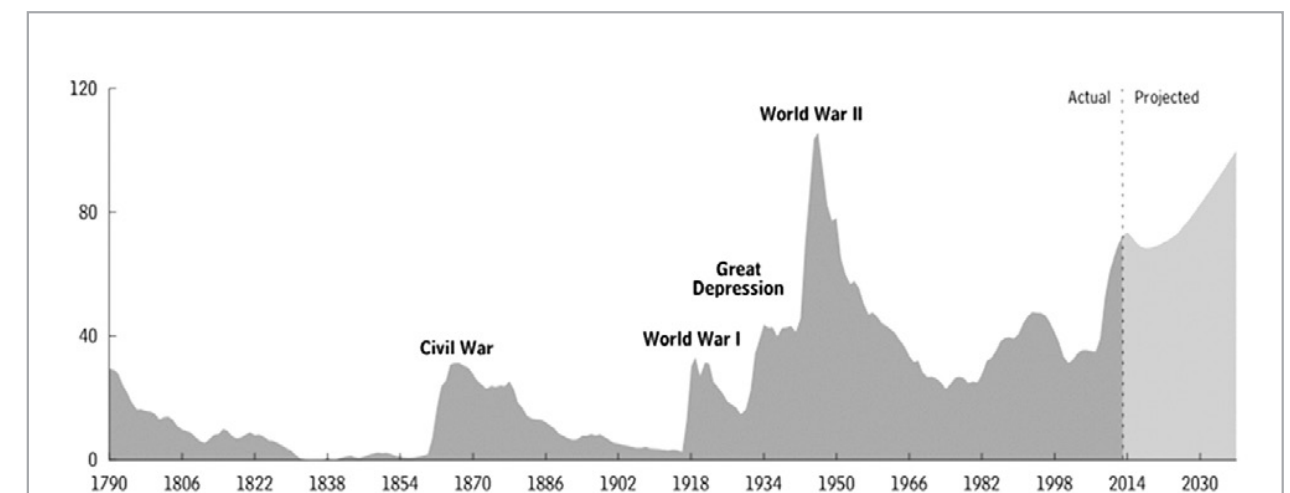
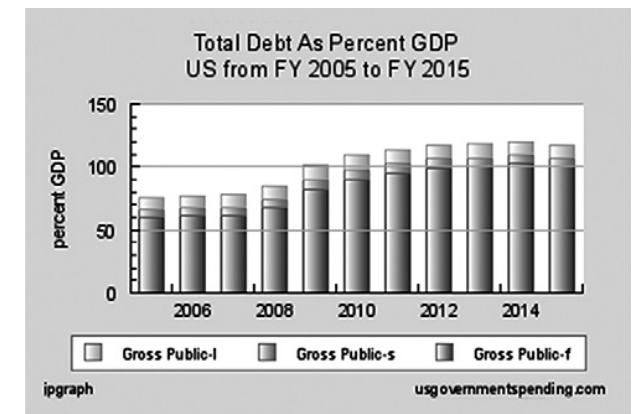
В резултат на това в САЩ износът на капитал чрез транснационалните корпорации и банки през последните 20 г. трайно превишава вноса. Заедно с това и търговският баланс на страната е трайно отрицателен, като за периода от 1950 до 2016 г. той е средно 13,485 млрд. долара. Дефицитът се натрупва главно между 2000 и 2016 г.: 531 млрд. долара общо, с рекордните - 67, 823 млрд. долара през 2006 г.³

³ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-states/balance-of-trade>.

Сегашните стойности на дълга като дял от БВП исторически са достигани само по време на Втората световна война, при извънредни обстоятелства.

В номинално изражение БВП на САЩ през 2016 г. възлиза на 24,7% от световния⁴ (според ППС - около 18%), но зоната на националната им валута обхваща 60% от световното население и 60% от световния БВП. Това разминаване не може да е трайно. Държава с подобни показатели влиза в стадий с господство на финансовия капитал. Кевин Филипс още през 1993 г.

Фиг. 1. Обществен дълг на САЩ спрямо БВП
Източник: http://www.usgovernmentdebt.us/national_debt



Фиг. 2. Държавен дълг на САЩ в % от БВП
Източник: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Federal_Debt_Held_by_the_Public_1790-2013.png

отбелязва, че САЩ влизат в преход, подобен на този, който са извършили по-рано Британската империя, Холандия и Генуа (вж. Голийски, 2016). Тези притеснения са още от 80-те години на XX в., когато конкуренцията на Япония става предмет на научни изследвания. Излязлата в този период книга на Пол Кенеди (1987) „Възход и падение на Великите сили“ се превръща в методологически инструмент за изследванията в областта на геоикономиката и геополитиката.

При сегашното състояние на САЩ се поставят два ключови въпроса:

1. Действително ли световният производителен капитал се премества към Китай?
2. Опасна ли е за САЩ тази тенденция и може ли да бъде спряна?

Въпреки китайската съдржаност в международните отношения, именно Китай се очертава като алтернативен стопански център, предлагайки нещо различно от господстващия

⁴ <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/countries-by-projected-gdp.php>.

неолиберален модел. Китайският стратегически проект „Един пояс – един път“ (OBOR) е част от китайското виждане за развитие на световната икономика, различно от вижданията на САЩ и сблъсъкът между стратегиите на тези две държави определя промените в международните отношения. Сред политическия елит на САЩ няма единодушие по горните два въпроса и това си личи по разнопосочните виждания за целите и задачите пред външната политика на страната (Купчан, 2002).

2. Външнополитически стратегии на САЩ

Стратегиите, на които се спира Купчан, са следните:

1. Стратегия на **Джордж Кенан** от 1947 г.: „Съединените щати ... да избягват военна намеса в сърцето на Азия ..., а вместо това да си осигурят достъп до островите и други стратегически точки..., и да защитят морските пътища в глобален мащаб”⁵.

Макар и от времето на Студената война, тази стратегия се споделя и от съвременните американски стратегии. Стратегията на **Пол Нитце** е подобна, но настъпателна: САЩ трябва да поемат инициативата и да обграждат и да притискат военно съперника по всички направления. И в двете стратегии имат място опасенията на Чарлз Макиндер и Збигнев Бжежински от обединяването на ресурсите на Евразия, насочено срещу САЩ. Привърженици на този подход има най-вече сред т.нар. „неоконсерватори“. Те споделят и идеите на **Джон Миършаймър** за конфронтация в МО, макар и на по-ниско равнище, както и на **Самюъл Хънтингтън** за „сблъсък на цивилизациите“ и преминаване в стратегическа отбрана. Неоконсерваторите имат влияние в последните правителства на САЩ, те все още се колебаят дали Китай (или Русия) е главна заплаха.

2. **Фукуяма** (1992) изразява оптимистичния възглед, че триумфът на либералната демокрация води до „край на историята“ в смисъл на край на съперничеството и войните между държавите в духа на философията на Имануел Кант. Крайните поддръжници на този автор изискват агресивно налагане на либералната демокрация, т.нар. „либерален интервенционизъм“. Предвид това, че по протежението на Новия път на коприната има държави, които не са либерални демокрации, основанията за сблъсък са налице.

3. **Пол Кенеди** (Кенеди, 2000) и **Робърт Каплан** (Каплан, 2001) обръщат внимание на разрыва между богатите високоразвити страни и бедните развиващи се страни: „Бежанците, катастрофите с околната среда, разпространяването на епидемии, престъпността и корупцията ... ще поставят под заплаха даже най-развитите страни в света”⁶. Китайската стратегия OBOR официално има за цел да даде тласък на стопанското развитие и да намали по този начин частично разликите между Севера и Юга. Предизвикателство пред САЩ е да предложат алтернативна на китайската стратегия, която да поставя и постига същите цели.

Самият **Купчан** предлага стратегия за плавен и мирен преход от еднopolюсен към многополюсен свят чрез изграждане на нова институционална рамка на МО, заедно с ЕС, свързан със САЩ със здрави стопански, политически и културни връзки. От такава гледна точка OBOR, който трябва да улесни достъпа на Китай до пазара на ЕС, е проект, който сериозно се разминава с интересите на САЩ.

⁵ Купчан, Ч. *Краят на американската ера*. С.: Рива, 2004, с. 71.

⁶ Пак там, с. 76.

Във всички изброени съображения не може да се открие единствена, ясна и последователна стратегия. САЩ губят относителна тежест в международните отношения, но елитът на страната е разделен между приемане и неприемане на новото състояние. Наблюдават се, понякога едновременно, опити и/или намерения:

- За задушаване на всяка съпротива: „сдържане“ на всеки противник, в т.ч. чрез мобилизиране на чужд ресурс – напр. предотвратяване на съперничество от страна на ЕС, предотвратяване на сближаването на ЕС с Русия чрез „износ на либерални революции“, разширяване на зоната на контрол чрез НАТО.

- Частично връщане към изолационизъм в опит за вътрешно консолидиране и връщане на загубени стопански позиции („реиндустриализация“). Силната подкрепа за „извънсистемния“ президент на САЩ Доналд Тръмп свидетелства за разрыв с дълбока основа, в т.ч. по въпросите на външната политика. Историческият преглед не потвърждава, че веднъж започналият износ на производствен капитал може да бъде спрял и върнат назад. Но от психологическа гледна точка САЩ са сравнително младо общество и нямат психологическа умора от носенето на глобални ангажменти, за разлика от Великобритания след 1918 г. Все още САЩ имат номинално най-голямата икономика – 18,6 трил. долара⁷, а страната разполага с единствените въоръжени сили с глобален обхват и контролира до голяма степен най-важните международни институции: МВФ, СБ, СТО.

3. Китай в новите американски стратегии

Развитието на Китай принуждава САЩ да формулират стратегия за Азия още по време на първия мандат на президента Клинтън. В основата на тази стратегия е „интеграцията“, при която САЩ стават най-големият купувач на китайски стоки, докато много американски производства се прехвърлят в Китай чрез „outsourcing“. Изнасянето на производствен капитал извън САЩ в големи мащаби започва именно тогава и помага за бързата индустриализация на Китай. Работните места в промишлеността на САЩ намаляват с 34% между 1998 и 2010 г.⁸ С големия си търговски излишък, превърнат в американски облигации и търговски кредити, Китай става най-големият кредитор на САЩ. Връщането в САЩ на излишъка от двустранния обмен дава възможност за ниски лихвени проценти и стимулиране на потреблението на кредит. До 2008 г. възниква взаимна икономическа зависимост (търговия, кредитиране, инвестиции), т. нар. схема „Кимерика“, описана от Найъл Фъргюсън (Фъргюсън, 2008) или приветстваната от Хенри Кисинджър и Збигнев Бжежински (Бжежински, 2009) формула Г-2 за споделена отговорност за глобалната сигурност.

Световната финансова криза, започнала в САЩ, изчерпва този модел на партньорство. Тя размества структурата на световното производство, направленията на търговските и капиталовите потоци и очертава Нов икономически (и политически) ред. Американско-китайското сътрудничество вече не е в основата на този ред (Ленард, 2012): „От 2008 насам... наблюдаваме бавната и мъчителна смърт на „Кимерика“, в рамките на който американската и китайската икономика сякаш се бяха слели в едно“.

⁷ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_\(nominal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(nominal)).

⁸ Kimberly, A. *Why Is the U.S./China Trade Deficit So High?* – <https://www.thebalance.com/u-s-china-trade-deficit-causes-effects-and-solutions-3306277>.

„Печатането“ на долари за погълване на финансови липси в САЩ⁹ е рисково за китайските валутни резерви и кара ръководителите на страната да търсят алтернативи на резервите си, както и на цялостния експортно ориентиран модел на стопанско развитие. Зависимостта от външната конюнктура прави китайския модел неустойчив и актуализира планове за целенасочено развитие на вътрешния пазар. Намерението на китайското правителство да пренасочи средства за вътрешни инвестиции не отговаря на краткосрочните интереси на САЩ. Ши Инхун, съветник в Държавния съвет на КНР: „...ние им даваме прекалено много пари, които бихме могли да използваме за други цели, а американското правителство и американската нация харчат тези пари, за да поддържат изкуствено високото си жизнено равнище“ (Леонидов, 2013). А кризата в САЩ показва рисковете от „деиндустриализацията“ и съживява протекционистките настроения, като Китай се очертава като нежелан конкурент на домашния пазар. Отношенията на съперничество могат да надделеят. Вероятно в САЩ ще се възстанови (частично) държавният суверенитет в стопанската област за сметка на недържавни субекти и ще има отстъпление от неолибералните принципи на управление, а глобализацията във финансовата област ще се постави под контрол.

Сера САЩ опитват да изградят около себе си търговски съюзи на неолиберална основа, с което да запазят контрол върху голяма част от световните ресурси¹⁰. Опит за това е споразумението за Тихоокеанска зона за свободна търговия (2015 г.), включващо страни, на които се падат 40% от световната търговия, насочено срещу Китай: „При положение че 95% от нашите (на САЩ) потенциални потребители живеят извън нашите граници, ние не можем да позволим страни като Китай да определят правилата на световната търговия“¹¹. Другото подобно начинание е създаването на Трансатлантическа зона за свободна търговия и инвестиции с ЕС, която да обхване половината от световния брутен вътрешен продукт и една трета от световната търговия. Взаимните им инвестиции надхвърлят 3 трилиона евро в края на 2012 г., като повече от половината от вложенията са от страна на ЕС в американската икономика.¹² И двете начинания към средата на 2017 г. вече са под въпрос, но по-скоро като тактика. Намеренията на новото ръководство на САЩ са очевидни - стремеж към изграждане на американоцентрично политико-икономическо ядро, по-вероятно чрез двустранни търговски споразумения, противопоставено на останалите страни. Взаимната зависимост в световната икономика остава, но политиката на САЩ се променя в посока протекционизъм. Опитите за изолирането (поне частично) на Китай и пренаписването на правилата в двустранния обмен вероятно ще продължат.

⁹ Към 29.10.2014 непреките покупки на държавен дълг от Федералния резерв, т. нар. „количествено облекчение“, достигат 4,5 трил. долара, виж: *The Fed Is Not Printing Money, It's Doing Something Much Worse*, John Tamny – Forbes, 03.09.2014 – <http://www.forbes.com/sites/johntamny/2014/03/09/the-fed-is-not-printing-money-its-doing-something-much-worse/>.

¹⁰ Бонева, С. *Визия на стратегията за Европейски енергиен съюз: плюсове и минуси от въвеждането на Енергийния съюз*, Право и бизнес – усъвършенстване на нормативната уредба, сборник, ИК на УНСС, София, 2017.

¹¹ Obama, B. *Pacific Trade Deal Strengthens Obama's Hand Against China*. – <http://www.newsmax.com/Newsfront/pacific-trade-deal-china/2015/10/05/id/694729/>.

¹² USA-EU – international trade and investment statistics, Eurostat – http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/USA-EU_-_international_trade_and_investment_statistics#Foreign_direct_investment.

4. Новата стратегия на Китай

Китай, от своя страна, също преоценява възможностите си със съзнанието, че американското потребителско търсене няма да се върне към обема отпреди 2008 г. и че моделът „Кимерика“ е нежизнеспособен. Този модел на три десетилетия развитие с рекорден стопански ръст приключва. В отговор Китай изгражда собствена сфера на влияние в най-често прикрито противопоставяне на световния хегемон. Чрез ускорена модернизация на ВМС, ВВС, брегова охрана и овладяване на опорни точки в прилежащи води Китай се стреми постепенно да изтласква флота на САЩ по-далеч от бреговете си и да оспори контрола на САЩ върху най-важните морски търговски пътища.

Заедно с това свободният капитал се насочва към Евразия по начин, който се вписва в теорията на Макиндер (1904), а именно проекта „Един път – един пояс“, който Фукуяма оценява като единствен стратегически замисъл за следващите 25 години.

Проектът трябва да съедини Европа и Азия чрез транспортен коридор по суша и по вода и да помогне на Китай да избяга от „капана на средните доходи“, в който попадат повечето развиващи се държави. Проектът не се отклонява от досегашната стратегия за растеж – насърчаване на инвестициите със заеми от държавни банки, но вече извън територията на страната, тъй като включва за осъществяването си 60 страни с две трети от световното население. Неговият потенциал надхвърля регионалните измерения (Хабова, 2015). Икономическите интереси на Китай изискват подсигуряване с енергоресурси и търсене на пазари за пласмент на промишлени стоки (Йонева, 2015). Предвид стратегиите на САЩ, китайският проект трябва да попречи най-вече на изтласкването на страната от пазара на ЕС, който е най-големият търговски партньор за 2015 г. с общо 515 млрд. евро.¹³

При сегашното състояние на световната икономика в обозримо бъдеще най-важните импулси за развитие в световен мащаб ще идват от Далечния изток. Основанията за това са следните: по абсолютен обем на БВП китайското стопанство е на второ място в света, но според покупателната способност вече е на първо (МВФ) – въпрос на методика. За последните 30 години средният годишен ръст е 10%. Страната е най-големият производител и износител на промишлени стоки, най-голям износител и втори по големина вносител в света и може да играе ролята на „локомотив“ на световното стопанство, или поне на страните в Евразия, благодарение на големите си валутни запаси – 3,050 трил. Долара към април 2107 г.¹⁴ Благодарение на вътрешното финансово равновесие (държавният дълг е около 44% от БВП на



Фиг. 3. Варианти на Новия път на коприната през Средна Азия
Източник: <http://china-trade-research.hktdc.com/business-news/article/One-Belt-One-Road/The-Belt-and-Road-Initiative/obor/en/1X000000/1X0A36B7.htm>

¹³ http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_122530.02.2017.pdf.

¹⁴ China Foreign Exchange Reserves 1980-2017, <https://tradingeconomics.com/china/foreign-exchange-reserves>.

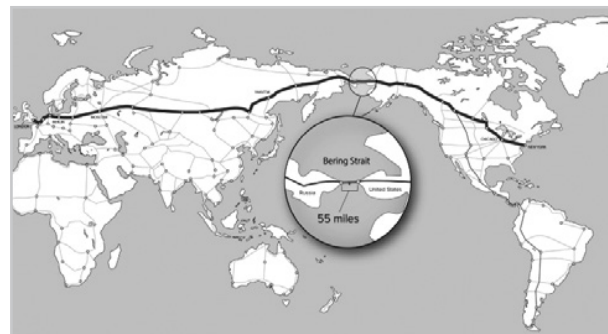
страната) и заради финансовата политика на САЩ Китай превръща доларовите си запаси в инфраструктурни проекти с дългосрочна възвращаемост. Страната разполага вече и с необходимите транспортни технологии: на основата на внос от Германия, Япония, Канада, Франция вече произвежда собствени високоскоростни влакове - CRH380A - с експлоатационна скорост 350 - 380 км/ч. В случая се появява важно съображение – разходите за морски превози са значително по-ниски, но за Китай е важно да изведе една част от търговията си извън морските пътища, контролирани от военноморския флот на САЩ.

Заклучение

Изборът на стратегия за противодействие на тенденцията за преместване на световния стопански център на тежестта е труден за САЩ, тъй както е трудна преценката относно състоянието на собствените ресурси и обратимостта на посочената тенденция. Историческият преглед сочи, че в по-ново време подобна смяна е протекла мирно само при преместването му от Великобритания към САЩ.

Но не е задължително съперничеството между САЩ и Китай да добие остри форми. Сега наличието на оръжия за масово поразяване прави риска от мащабна война прекалено висок. В документ на опозиционното на глобализацията и постмодерното развитие „Движение Ларуш“ (LaRouche 2015) се предлага алтернативен проект на сътрудничество на САЩ със страните от БРИКС и специално включването на САЩ в проекта OBOR. Връзката (през железопътната мрежа на Русия) е осъществима през плиткия Берингов проток.

„Движението Ларуш“ изглежда политически маргинално, но изразените в документа идеи влизат в съзвучие с настроенията на растящия брой гласоподаватели, търсещи алтернатива на досегашния глобализиран американски политически елит. Независимо от предварителните заявления на новоизбрания президент на САЩ Д. Тръмп, стратегията за задържане и връщането на американския производствен капитал в страната може да стъпи и на плавно приспособяване към новите реалности, в т.ч. и чрез институционализиране на дългосрочни договорености. Такава договореност, но не с ЕС, а с Китай би имала външен израз чрез присъединяването на САЩ при изгодни условия към OBOR при изграждането на нов световен икономически ред.



Фиг. 4. Възможното включване на САЩ

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Китайско глобално позициониране през призмата на „Един“ пояс, един път“ и „16+1“

Валентин Катранджиев

China's Global Positioning Through Belt and Road Initiative (B&RI) and „16+1“

Valentin Katrandjiev

Abstract

The paper looks at China's growing role in world affairs from the point of B&RI and 16+1 China - Central Eastern Europe Cooperation Platform. China's global geopolitical influence increases despite Beijing still presenting itself a regional power and a leader of the developing world. It is in this context that Beijing will soon be faced with a strategic dilemma of how to transform its expanding economic might (it is already world's second largest economy) into political one (thus assuming greater responsibilities in maintaining global peace and security). B&RI is China's response to era of globalisation. The observations indicate that China is proponent of economic globalisation, but opposes a political one. (It stresses the primacy of the state in the system of international relations states. Not supranational institutions but states/governments should be main drivers of globalisation). B&RI emerges as a modern rediscovery of the Middle Kingdom's Medieval Silk Road vision. The papers analyses B&RI as a concept of global connectivity and shared development. A comparative analysis of B&RI and 16+1 is also offered concluding that both Chinese initiatives constitute the main instruments of the current Chinese foreign policy in larger European concept. B&RI and 16+1 share common concepts, approaches and tools. Beijing perceives Central and Easter Europe as a common distinct region within the EU. Yet, the author argues that after 2016 (with launching 'Three Seas' Initiative announced at 16+1 Riga Summit) China began recalibrating its policy approach towards Central and Eastern Europe. The region was split in three sub-regions - the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea, the Adriatic Sea. China, thus, implicitly recognized the existence of three regional geopolitical realms - the Baltic North Realm, the Visegrad-4 and the South East Europe (also historically defined as the Balkans). Last but not least the paper observes the challenges to realization of B&RI and 16+1 in European context. In conclusion, Bulgaria chances for participation in both Chinese initiatives have also been explored.

Keywords: Belt & Road Initiative, 16+1 China-CEEC Cooperation Platform, China's Foreign Policy

Китайската народна република запазва позицията си на най-многолюдната държава с население от близо милиард и четиристотин милиона население. Китай успешно се справя с проблема на бедността, като в страната се е формирала солидна средна класа от близо 300 милиона души. Стратегическата задача пред китайското държавно ръководство е извеждането на вътрешните северозападни провинции до нивата на социално-икономическия просперитет, постиган от крайбрежните провинции. До 2020 г. Пекин си поставя целта да изведе от състояние на бедност още близо 20 милиона китайци.

Икономическите реформи, започнати от Дън Сяопин в края на 70-те години на ми-

налия век, превърнаха Поднебесната във втора икономическа сила в света, с втори след САЩ брутен вътрешен продукт. Китай разполага с най-големите валутни резерви. Валутният юан (женминби) е вече официално призната резервна валута, след като през 2015 г. беше включен в кошницата от световни резервни валути на МВФ (на трето място след щатския долар, еврото, изпреварвайки японската йена и британската лира). Расте тежестта на Поднебесната в световната търговско-икономическа и валутно-финансова система.

В качеството му на постоянен член на Съвета за сигурност на ООН Китай играе важна роля за поддържане на световния мир и сигурност. Поднебесната е член на клуба на ядрените държави, с мощна армия и ракетно-ядрен потенциал. Военният ѝ бюджет възлиза на 216 млрд. щ.д. през 2015 г. (втори по големина след този на САЩ - 610 млрд. щ.д.) (Investor.bg, 2016). Макар и да навлезе със закъснение в космическата надпревара, Пекин вече догонва водещите космически сили - САЩ и Русия. Китай стана третата космическа държава, която разгъна собствена космическа станция „Тиенгун“ („Небесен дворец“). Пекин осъществява редовни пилотирани полети в околземното пространство, като си поставя за цел да осъществи пилотирани мисии до Луната и Марс в близко бъдеще.

Въпреки растящия потенциал и възможности Пекин продължава да разглежда себе си като регионална сила и неразделна част от развиващия се свят. Като поддръжник на многополюсността той се обявява против хегемонизма в системата на международните отношения. Китай следва стратегическата максима "развитие с китайска специфика".

Все пак от гореказаното може да се заключи, че Поднебесната излиза от състояние на „защитаващ се дракон“ с произтичащо от това растящо влияние и проектиране на специфични национални интереси в световната политика, икономика и финанси. Именно в този ракурс на мисли следва да се анализира новата китайска стратегическа инициатива за Новия копринен път (официално артикулирана под името „Един пояс, един път“). Ако тя се реализира в замислените мащаби и дълбочина, ще изправи китайското държавно ръководство пред стратегическата дилема за трансформирането на Поднебесната от регионална в първостепенна глобална сила. При това Китай би станал първостепенен фактор не чрез средствата на традиционната силова геополитика, а чрез инструментариума на „меката сила“.

Съвременната система на международните отношения според Пекин се характеризира с висока степен на взаимосвързаност. Расте делът на Поднебесната в международните търговско-икономически и инвестиционни потоци. В този смисъл Пекин подкрепя принципите на икономическата глобализация, заложи в споразуменията на Световната търговска организация. Китай разглежда „Един пояс, един път“ като платформа за насърчаване именно на икономическата глобализация. В същото време китайското държавно ръководство се противопоставя на политическата глобализация, характеризира се с растяща роля наднационални структури и инструменти в глобалното управление. Политическата глобализация ерозира държавния суверенитет. А Китай е твърд поддръжник на националния суверенитет и смята държавите за основни субекти на световната политика.

ЕПЕП представлява историческо преосмисляне на китайския Път на коприната заченат в древността, преминал през Средновековието, за да бъде преоткрит в наши дни. XIII век е период на стопанската и културна експанзия на Поднебесната по време на управлението на китайско-монголската династия Юан. Тогава са трасирани транспортните и търговски пътища на Китай към Средния и Близкия изток, Централна Азия и Черноморско-каспийския регион. Монголският пътешественик и монах Рабан Бау Саума се отправя в поклонническо пътуване в Йерусалим, но съдбата му отрежда да се отклони от начертания маршрут и да извърши най-важната си дипломатическа мисия в живота, като стигне до Западна Европа през Балканите. В качеството му на личен посредник на Великия Кубай Хан Саума се среща с римския папа Николай IV и други влиятелни западноевропейски монарси. Тази мисия спомага за политическата и културната синергия между Изтока и Запада през Ранното средновековие.

Първите контури на формиращата се нова китайска стратегическата визия за глобална свързаност се оформят още преди появата на ЕПЕП. През 2001 г. е изградена първата жп линия Лиянияугун (*Lianyungang*) - Ротердам (10 900 км) за превоз на жп карго. ЕПЕП цели изграждането на междуконтинентална свързаност (Азия - Европа - Африка) по суша, море и въздух. Пекин е готов да работи за изграждането на транспортно-икономически коридори (вкл. бързоскоростни жп линии, автомобилни магистрали и прилежаща пътна инфраструктура, модерна морска и речна пристанищна инфраструктура). Но ЕПЕП представлява много повече от транспортна свързаност. В по-широк контекст инициативата е замислена да активизира търговския, индустриалния, технологичния, финансовия, хуманитарния (културен, научно-образователен, междущивилизационен) и прочие обмен в рамките на заложените икономически коридори на ЕПЕП. Това неизбежно придава геоикономическо и геокултурно измерение на Новия път на коприната.

Чрез ЕПЕП Пекин решава и свои вътрешнополитически и социално-икономически задачи. Реформите, започнати от Дън Сяопин и продължени в периодите на управление на Джан Дзямин (1992 - 2002), Ху Дзинтао (2002 - 2012), Си Дзинпин (от 2012) говорят за приемственост и последователност в провежданата държавна политика на развитие. Но те имат своята цена. Мащабната индустриализация вкара икономиката в прекалена външна енергийна зависимост и оказа негативно влияние върху състоянието на околната среда (например високи нива на въздушно замърсяване в големите урбанизирани китайски градове и ерозия на обработваемите почви в селските региони). Експортно ориентираната икономика постави Пекин в зависимост от колебанията на международните стокови пазари. Тези фактори катализират преосмисляне и адаптиране на модела на социално-икономическо развитие на страната от новото китайско партийно и държавно ръководство. Пекин търси нови източници на икономически растеж. Чрез ЕПЕП Поднебесната ще се стреми да реши три стратегически цели: 1) по-тясно интегриране на страната в световните индустриални, технологични и логистични мрежи с оглед създаването на продукция с висока добавена стойност; 2) насърчаване модела на устойчивото развитие чрез повече "зелени" инвестиции в китайската икономика; 3) справяне с индустриалното и строителното свръхпроизводство

у дома чрез износ на капитали, технологии и работна ръка на външни пазари (износ на инфраструктурни инвестиции по линия на икономически коридори на ЕПЕП). Трасирането на ЕПЕП през няколко по-бедни китайски провинции, Пекин по този начин създава благоприятни предпоставки за техния социално-икономически подем.

В същото време Пекин не желае ЕПЕП да бъде възприеман като еднопосочна улица и не престава да настоява, че инициативата предполага взаимни ползи. Китай очаква заинтересованите да участват в реализацията му държави да лансират своите виждания за свързаност. Успехът на ЕПЕП в голяма степен ще зависи от обвързването му с други мегапроекти за регионална свързаност като „Европейско-китайската платформа за свързаност“, Евразийския икономически съюз, казахстанския „Светъл път“, монголския „Път на степта“, корейската „Евразийска инициатива“ и др.

Проведеният двудневен висок Форум на международно сътрудничество по линия ЕПЕП в Пекин на 14-15 май 2017 г. е важен етап от реализацията на инициатива. Форумът събра 130 национални делегации (в т. ч. 29 от тях бяха представени на равнище държавен глава). България беше представлявана на равнище посланик. Нека отдадем това ниско ниво на представителност на България на форума по-скоро като резултат на неефективна междуинституционална съгласуваност (в този период се извършаваше преход от служебно към редовно утвърденото от Народното събрание правителство), отколкото на незаинтересованост или преднамерено политическо действие от страна на българската държава. В ЕПЕП форума участваха също така ръководители на водещи международни организации, в т.ч. генералният секретар на ООН, президентът на Световната банка, директорът на МВФ. ЕС беше представен на равнище вицепрезидент на Европейската комисия. Следващият ЕПЕП форум Китай планира да проведе през 2019 г., като в периода между двата форума ще действа Консултативен съвет и Офис за връзка. На форума бяха подписани безпрецедентен брой двустранни и многостранни споразумения (70), имащи за цел договорно-правно да институционализират проектите, които се очаква да се реализират по линия на ЕПЕП. Пекин си постави за цел да внесе повече яснота по отношение бъдещото на ЕПЕП, поне на ниво координация на политики, независимо от съществуващите различия в социално-политическите системи и модели на развитие, културните традиции, бизнес регулации и практики. Форумът завърши с подписването на заключително комюнике (в което бяха очертани принципите и пътищата на реализацията на ЕПЕП) на държавните глави, участващи в нарочно организирана кръгла маса. Беше изготвен и списък с конкретни резултати от форума (конкретни проекти, които да се реализират под шапката на ЕПЕП през следващите пет години). Представената на форума обаче Инициатива за насърчаване на безпрепятствено търговско сътрудничество не беше подкрепена от ЕС. Основният сблъсък между Брюксел и Пекин е по линия на осигуряването на взаимен безпрепятствен пазарен достъп. Пекин не желае повече да чака блокирането от страна на ЕС на предоставянето му на статут на пазарна икономика. Брюксел, от своя страна, пък се съмнява в откритостта и устойчивостта на проектите, реализирани от китайски компании (които се опитвали да заобикалят екологичните и социалните регулации съгласно европейското законодателство при осъществяване на проектите под егидата на ЕПЕП и „16+1“).

Реализацията на ЕПЕП в европейски контекст (в т.ч. в Югоизточна Европа) е невъзможна без допълването ѝ с другата китайска инициатива „16+1“ - платформата за сътрудничество на Китай със страните от Централна и Източна Европа (ЦИЕ). За разлика от ЕПЕП, „16+1“ има регионален характер, но двете инициативи се допълват. Те се реализират по общ концептуален и идеен модел. Пекин ги представя като открити и инклузивни, в които сътрудничеството се базира на взаимно съгласие, изгоди и баланс на интересите. Китай е заинтересован от насърчаване на взаимна свързаност, инвестиции, трансфер на индустриален капацитет. Пекин набляга на прагматизма в сътрудничеството. И двете инициативи не си поставят за цел на накърняване суверенитета на участващите в тях страни. Китай уважава правото на всяка държава да следва своя модел на социално-икономическо развитие и външно-политическа ориентация. Китай не поставя под съмнение евроатлантическата ориентация на страните от Централна и Източна Европа, но в също време смята, че те по никакъв начин не биха загубили от диверсифициране на техните международни отношения. В това число предлага оползотворяване на механизмите на ЕПЕП и „16+1“ за активизиране на техните отношения с него. Основното предизвикателство пред двете инициативи е разликата във възможностите и очакванията на страните от ЦИЕ. Те се различават по големина, потенциал и различно виждане за развитие на отношенията с Китай. ЦИЕ страни се конкурират в привличането на китайски инфраструктурни инвестиции и определяне на маршрутите на транспортната свързаност между Азия и Европа. От 16 ЦИЕ страни 11 са членки на ЕС, 5 са обвързани с ЕС чрез споразумения за асоцииране (и се стремят към членство), 14 са членки на НАТО и само 1 от тях е съчредител на Азиатската банка за инфраструктурни инвестиции. В този смисъл не може да се говори за един координиращ ЦИЕ център по отношение на връзките с Пекин.

Сред пречките за развитието на ЕПЕП и „16+1“ са т.нар „горещи точки“ (конфликтни зони). Задълбочаването на стратегическата несигурност в резултат на конфронтацията между Запада и Русия също представлява сериозно предизвикателство пред китайската стратегия спрямо ЦИЕ.

Факторът „Брекзит“: Още не са ясни последиците от „Брекзит“ върху вътрешния геополитически баланс в ЕС и ролята на новата конфигурация, която ще взема решения от името на ЕС на международната арена. Редица анализатори смятат, че „Брекзит“ няма да намали, а по-скоро ще засили интензитета на китайско-британското сътрудничество (най-вече в сферата на финансите и търговията).

Еволюция на китайския подход към страните от ЦИЕ

Приятелските отношения на Пекин със страните от ЦИЕ датират още от края на 40-те години на миналия век. Въпреки различния геополитически контекст, в който са се развивали, Пекин ги разглежда като фундамент на отношенията с ЦИЕ и днес. За сравнение отношенията с Европейската общност датират едва след взаимното дипломатическо признаване през 1975 г. Подписаното през 1985 г. търговско споразумение с Брюксел се превръща в основополагащо за търговско-икономическото и инвестиционното навлизане на

Пекин в Западна Европа.

През 2010 г. Пекин рекалибрира своя подход към ЦИЕ. Той формира отделна стратегия по отношение на ЦИЕ, обособявайки региона в отделна геополитическа даденост в рамките на ЕС. ЦИЕ се превръща във важен свързващ плацдарм за китайското позициониране в Западна Европа. Брюксел гледа на „16+1“ с голямо подозрение. Пекин е обвиняван в провеждане на политика "разделяй и владей". Особено притеснена е Германия, опасявайки се външна конкуренция да не застраши нейните търговско-индустриални позиции в региона. Пекин отговаря, че не възнамерява да внася разкол в ЕС чрез придърпване на ЦИЕ в своята геостратегическа орбита. В същото време смята, че страните от ЦИЕ биха спечелили от задълбочаване на сътрудничеството с Поднебесната. Изборът е на ЦИЕ да реши дали иска протегната ръка на Пекин и в какви сфери, форми и с каква интензивност иска да развива сътрудничеството. От своя страна, Пекин ще продължи да набляга върху търговско-икономическия, инфраструктурния и хуманитарния аспект на сътрудничеството. Пекин ще избягва да разисква проблемите на сигурността в рамките на „16+1“. Пекин разглежда „16+1“ като естествено продължение на ЕПЕП в европейски контекст. Китай търси форми на ангажиране на Брюксел в „16+1“ чрез механизмите на европейско-китайския диалог (датиращ от 2003 г.) и "Европейско-китайската платформа за свързаност", но засега безуспешно.

Проблемът с дефицита. Отговорни фактори в Брюксел са притеснени от дефицита на отделни страни от ЦИЕ в търговията им с КНР. Те смятат, че реализацията на големите инфраструктурни проекти с китайско участие ще увеличи тяхната финансово-икономическа зависимост. За ЦИЕ принципно стои въпросът по какъв начин ще се изплащат китайските инвестиции за изградена пътна или жп инфраструктура и как да не се допусне прекомерно участие на китайска работна ръка в строителството на тази инфраструктура (т.е. да се убедят китайските компании да използват местна работна ръка, създавайки по този начин работна заетост в ЦИЕ). Опасения от този род биха могли да забавят осъществяването на транспортната свързаност. Наличието на търговски дефицит на ЦИЕ с Китай не би следвало да пречи на търговско-икономическите отношения. Проблемът възниква не когато една държава има дефицит спрямо друга отделно взета държава, а когато няма балансирана търговия като цяло (т.е. да има цялостен дефицит в търговията с останалия свят). По-голямата част от китайския внос в ЦИЕ не остава в региона. Той се сумира, модифицира и реекспортира в Западна Европа. Превръща се в съставно перо от експорта на самите страни от региона. Така двустранната търговия се превръща в съставен елемент от многостранната търговия. Търговията на Чехия с Китай неизбежно въвлеча и съседите - Германия, Полша, Словакия, Австрия. Същото важи и за ЕПЕП, който се възприема като многостранна мрежа за търговия, инвестиции и свързаност. Другият проблем касае асиметрията на пазарите и потенциалите на участващите в търговията субекти. Например дори и най-големите държави от ЦИЕ не са съпоставими по потенциал и размери с трите най-големи провинции на КНР. Едва обединеният БВП на ЦИЕ леко надвиши БВП на китайската провинция Гуандун. Така отношенията на Гуандун със съседните ѝ китайски провинции са от по-голямо значение, отколкото отношенията Китай - ЦИЕ като цяло от търговско-икономическа гледна точка. Изводът е, че важността на ЦИЕ може да се реализира само ако регионът се разглежда като трамплин за достъп до западноевропейския пазар.

За шестте години от своето съществуване на платформата за сътрудничество Китай -

ЦИЕ достигна етап на прагматична зрялост. Пекин се отказа от създаването на постоянен секретариат на „16+1“, за да не дразни Брюксел. Вместо това институционализирането на процеса на сътрудничество се реализира чрез т. нар. „асоциации за секторно сътрудничество“. Асоциациите представляват механизми за координиране на политики в различните сектори. В зависимост от избора на сектора на координация се откроява интересът на всяка от 16-те ЦИЕ страни в инициативата. България държи центъра за сътрудничеството в сферата на земеделието и храните. Годишните срещи на високо равнище на „16+1“ (правителствени и държавни ръководители) са мястото, където се приемат стратегическите решения (под формата на насоки, средносрочен дневен ред (2015 - 2020) и декларации). С приемането на „Инициативата на трите морета“ на срещата на върха в Рига през 2016 г. Пекин внася нов нюанс в геополитическото си виждане за ЦИЕ. В китайската геостратегия регионът на практика беше разделен на три субрегиона (Балтийско море, Черно море, Адриатическо море) и в неговото динамично развитие могат активно да участват със свои интереси и други големи геополитически играчи, включително и САЩ.

България в контекста на „16+1“ и ЕПЕП

България е втората страна признала дипломатически КНР и това се цени от китайското ръководство. През 2014 г. отбелязахме 65 години от установяването на дипломатически отношения с Поднебесната. През 2015 г. България стана първата страна, превела и издала книгата на настоящия държавен ръководител на КНР Си Дзинпин „Китайската мечта“. Китай зачита българския суверенитет и интегритет, външнополитическата ориентация на страната ни, развивайки отношения на взаимно изгодна и равноправна основа. България, от своя страна, стриктно следва политика на „един Китай“ и като страна - членка на ЕС, допринася за развитието на европейско-китайското стратегическо партньорство.

Сред българската експертна общност и политически елит има негласен консенсус относно важността на развитието на отношенията с Китай. Отношенията ни не са обременени от нерешени спорни въпроси. Тече интензивен политически диалог от експертно до най-високо политическо равнище. КНР е най-големият търговско-икономически партньор на България в Азия. Обаче делът на китайските инвестиции в България по сравнение с нейните съседи от Югоизточна Европа остава пренебрежимо малък. От 26 млрд. щ.д. китайски инвестиции в региона за периода 2005 - 2015 г. само 330 милиона щ.д. идват в България (Стойчева, 2016). Китайските инвестиции у нас са се разширили най-вече в земеделието (например „Тиендзин Агрогруп“: производство на фуражи). На последната през 2016 г. Смесена българо-китайска междуправителствена комисия за икономическо сътрудничество са проучени възможностите за разширяване в търговията и инвестициите, пътната и жп инфраструктура, комуникационните и информационните технологии, туризма, банковата и финансовата сфера. За момента европейските структурни фондове (по линия на кохезионната политика) са по-изгоден вариант за България по сравнение с китайски схеми за финансиране. Ще се търсят алтернативни възможности за финансиране на бъдещи китайските проекти в България. Искането за държавни гаранции следва да се замени със схемата на публично-частното партньорство и/или концесията. Китайската страна очаква от българското правителство законодателно да регламентира системата за толтаксите (схема за разплащане на изградени магистрали).

След период на известно колебание България активно се ангажира в „16+1“. През 2016 г.

страната домакинства срещата на кметовете на столиците на „16+1“, а през 2017 г. ще организираме в Пловдив 3-та среща на Асоциацията на регионалните (областни и общински) управители.

България подкрепя изграждането на Новия евразийски сухопътен коридор (Азия - Европа). Българският интерес е коридорът да мине през страната, което ще даде възможност у нас да бъдат изградени логистични хъбове (пример: споразумение за „Тракийска икономическа зона“ край Пловдив). Следва да убедим китайската страна в перспективността на развитие на Черноморското измерение на ЕПЕП. В този смисъл е добре на европейско ниво да лобираме за търсене на синергия между ЕПЕП и Дунавската стратегия на ЕС. Това ще позволи черноморският коридор да продължи по р. Дунав, чийто потенциал като транспортна речна артерия е слабо оползотворен.

Стратегията за обновяване на пътната и жп инфраструктура у нас може и следва да използва китайските инфраструктурни инвестиции и технологии и схеми на финансиране, особено след 2020 г., когато средствата за изграждане на инфраструктура по линия на европейските фондове ще намалят. България се е утвърдила на китайския земеделски пазар, като се увеличава броят на българските износители на млечни продукти, розово масло, слънчогледово олио, царевича и вино. България обаче има проблем с получаване на разрешителните (процедурите за изпълнение на изискванията) за внос на хранителна и земеделска продукция на китайския пазар. Специализацията на страната по линия на „16+1“ в сферата на селското стопанство може успешно да бъде допълнена с привличане в българската икономика на китайски индустриален капацитет (пример „Литекс-мотърс“). По линия на туризма страната ни търси печеливши бизнес модели за привличане на китайски туристи. Във връзка с това се работи съвместно със съседна Румъния (изграждане на трансгранични „туристически лаборатории“ и откриването на общ туристически информационен офис в Пекин с цел изготвяне на споделени туристически пакети).

ЕПЕП и „16+1“ са създали благоприятни условия за задълбочаване на българо-китайския културен, образователен и научно-експертен диалог между България и Китай. Опознаваме историческата мъдрост, културното богатство и цивилизационната дълбочина на Поднебесната най-вече чрез китайския език (за което съществен принос има Институт „Конфуций“ в България). Близко 2000 ученици изучават китайски език в българските училища. Това са бъдещите строители на мостовете на българо-китайското приятелство. По време на последното ми посещение в Пекин по време на заключителната церемония на хуманитарния и културен обмен по линия на „16+1“ Китай - ЦИЕ бях емоционално впечатлен от отличното владение на български език от китайските студенти от Пекиния университет (които изиграха българска ръченица и изпяха „Хубава си, моя горо“).

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Начало и край на съгласуваната политика между Съветския съюз и неговите сателити към Китайската народна република

Пламена Коева

The Rise and Fall of Coordinated Policy of the Soviet Union and its Satellites Toward People's Republic of China

Plamena Koeva

Abstract

The Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s, started in the ideological, broadened in political and economic fields, and at the end of the decade developed into armed border clashes. Subsequent confrontation between USSR and PRC revealed that mighty communist monolith was rather a myth than reality. Beijing questioned Moscow's leading role in the international communist movement and made it clear that it was unwilling to remain subordinate ally. This urged Moscow to intensify contacts with other states from the socialist community in attempt to coordinate Soviet-bloc China policy. Therefore, in the second half of 1960s, after the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in PRC, the USSR initiated regular meetings with allies in the socialist camp on different levels (Interkit meetings, meetings of "friendly ambassadors" in Beijing, consultations of Soviet diplomats with government officials and party workers and etc.). The aim of these meetings was to force Soviet views of the Chinese threat on Moscow's allies and to keep them in line with Kremlin confrontational policy about China's differentiation strategy.

In the 1970s communist movement followed the united China policy of the USSR but at the end of the decade it became more and more obvious that fraternal states were less willing to take directions from Moscow. Most of the USSR's policymakers refused to recognize the changes in PRC's foreign policy and insisted on the "old-thinking" policy of confrontation with Beijing. Nevertheless, unity became harder to maintain. The Soviets were incapable to control demands for greater autonomy in the communist movement. Close coordinated China policy has outlived its time in the mid-1980s and lost its relevance to the changed domestic factors and international realities. The need of alternation in the Soviet conservative policymakers was more than obvious. The end of close coordinated China policy of USSR and its allies came in 1985 when Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary and brought new team of reformers.

Keywords: Sino-Soviet rift, Coordinated policy, Soviet Union, China, Soviet Bloc, Interkit meetings

Съгласуваната политика между Съветския съюз и част от братските социалистически страни „по китайския въпрос“ се заражда през втората половина на 60-те години и престава да съществува през средата на 80-те години на XX в. Нуждата от координация на политиките се налага по няколко причини. Като основни такива могат да се посочат: съветско-китайският разрыв, зародил се през втората половина на 50-те години и продължил почти до края на Студената война; желанието на Москва да държи под контрол своите съюзници и да не допусне евентуално разцепление на международното комунистическо движение, към което Пекин се стреми; както и в отговор на вихрещата се в Китайската народна република (КНР) „Велика пролетарска културна революция“.

Културната революция (1967 – 1976) има отражение както във вътрешната, така и във външната политика на Китай. Във вътрешнополитически план се осъществява борба сре-

щу „буржоазните елементи“ в партията, чиято цел е да укрепи разклатените от провала на „големия скок“ лидерски позиции на Мао Дзъдун. В периода 1966 – 1969 г. от пост са отстранени почти всички китайски посланици и управляващи китайските посолства в чужбина, което допринася за радикализиране на външнополитическия курс на Пекин. Сформирани отряди от „хунвейбини“¹ освен срещу „капиталистическите елементи“ в ККП осъществяват нападения и срещу членове на чуждестранните мисии в Пекин на доскорошните си другарски страни. През 1967 г. СССР и повечето източноевропейски държави отзовават посланиците си в отговор на предизвиканото от Културната революция напрежение (Баев, 2012:157-163)².

Липсата на достатъчно информация за случващото се в китайската страна³ принуждава държавите от Варшавския пакт да прибегнат до обмяна на мнения и информация с цел да получат по-достоверни сведения⁴. През първите години преобладава желанието да се обмени информация относно Културната революция, но след въоръжените сблъсъци на съветско-китайската граница през март 1969 г. съветското ръководство все по-ясно се опитва да налага контрол и „единомислие“ на останалите социалистически страни по отношение на политиката към Китай в разширяващ се във времето кръг от области (политическа, икономическа, междупартийна, културна и др.).

В следващите две десетилетия координираната политика на социалистическия блок спрямо доскорошния им азиатски съюзник се развива по няколко линии и на различни равнища, включително и на най-високо. Различните форми на съгласуваност се осъществяват чрез и в областите на:

- ▶ съвещания между висши функционери от Международните отдели на ЦК на социалистическите партии, добили известност като „Интеркит“;
- ▶ „информационни клубове“ с участието на дипломатически сътрудници от братските посолства [в Пекин] за обсъждане на отделни въпроси от вътрешното и външнополитическото положение в Китай и обмен на информация“⁵;
- ▶ срещи на ниво министри и заместник-министри на външните работи;
- ▶ в научноизследователската сфера: създават се изследователски институти, в които са назна-

¹ Революционни отряди от необразовани младежи към Червената армия, с помощта на които се осъществява масов терор през първия етап на Културната революция (1966 – 1969).

² За нападите срещу дипломатически представители и през следващите години свидетелства Паметна бележка от българското външно министерство от 1969 г. (ДА на МВНР, оп. 28, а.е. 1145, л. 1 – към настоящия момент документите от ДА за годините преди 1975 г. се намират в ЦДА и са обособени в отделен фонд). През 1970 г. съветско-китайските отношения, макар и обтегнати, се стабилизират и след 3-годишно отсъствие на посланици, са разменени нови (Вишник, 2001:40-41).

³ В разговор, проведен през октомври 1966 г. в Москва, В. Гомулка споделя на Л. Брежнев за полското затруднение в намиране на достоверна информация за същността на Културната революция. (<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/113556>, 20.06.2017). Свидетелство за затрудненията намираме и в българските архиви: „Усложняването на обстановката се отразява отрицателно върху информационната работа... Официалната забрана дипломатите да купуват хунвейбински вестници и да четат улични материали – дадзибао и листовки, още повече ограничава резидентурата както в събирането на информация, така и за анализ и обобщения на събитията“ (Държавна сигурност и РУ на ГЩ на БНА в Азия [1944-1991]. Документален сборник. София, 2016, с. 282).

⁴ Без Румъния заради по-близките й отношения с КНР.

⁵ ДА на МВНР, оп. 21-П, а.е. 150, л. 7. Тези дипломатически клубове се провеждат целодневно два пъти месечно, като през 1970 г. се разширява обхватът на обсъжданите на сбирките теми: „по вътрешнополитическото положение на Китай, по дейността на групата на Мао [Цзъдун] на международната арена и по икономическите въпроси, „периодични сборки по линия на военните аташета“ (Пак там). На всички тези „клубни срещи“ не присъстват представители на Румъния заради подозрение, че обменят информация с китайците (Държавна сигурност..., с. 105).

чени експерти китаисти⁶; организират се конференции, симпозиуми, семинари и т.н. в рамките на Съветския блок, на които се обсъждат теми, свързани с актуалната политика на КНР.

През декември 1967 г. в Москва се провежда първото секретно координационно съвещание за обсъждане на „китайските въпроси“ между ръководни представители и експерти от Международните отдели на ЦК на управляващите комунистически партии от Източна Европа⁷. Делегациите обменят становища, а накрая изработват обобщаващ материал, в който са включени препоръки за засилване на координационната линия и на пропагандата, която да се противопостави на китайските антисъветски и антисоциалистически изказвания (Хършбърг, Радченко, Вамос, Уолф, 2011:48-56). Във връзка с приетите съгласувани решения на срещата обемът от информации и анализи от българското посолство в Пекин нараства значително⁸. Този вид многостранни срещи започват да се провеждат регулярно в столиците на държавите от социалистическия лагер и по-късно стават известни под названието „Интеркит“.

Въпреки че многостранните Интеркит съвещания се провеждат в различни държави (основно в Източна Европа) на ротационен принцип и домакините подготвят основните тезисни материали, от архивните документи разбираме, че съветските им колеги пристигат няколко дни преди съвещанието с цел съгласуване на „общите“ тезисни материали. Подозрение, че съветските делегати са подготвили материалите за Интеркит съвещанието в Берлин от края на януари 1969 г., се поражда поради разликата в подредбата на държавите участнички в различните документи (Уолф, 2003:434).

В резултат на кръвопролитните сблъсъци на съветско-китайската граница на о. Дамански⁹ (1969) координацията между Кремъл, източноевропейските държави и Монголия се разширява. През 70-те години паралелно със съвещанията Интеркит започват да се появяват нови форми на координационен обмен като срещи между министерствата на външните работи, срещи между лидерите на страните - членки на Варшавския пакт¹⁰, икономически Интеркит, координационни изследователски институти и др. Антикитайската пропаганда се засилва не само в Съветския съюз, но и в останалите съюзни държави, които участват в секретните съвещания, посветени на Китай. Увеличава се броят на материалите в медиите (преса, радио, телевизия) и се засилват координационните действия между специалните служби¹¹.

⁶ В края на 60-те години в Москва се създават два института – Институт по ориенталистика, който се занимава с антична, средновековна и имперска история на Китай, и Институт за Далечния изток, в който се изследват съвременни теми (Воскресенски, 2014:137).

⁷ Без румънски, но с монголски представители, а след средата на 70-те години към тях са привлечени и представители от Куба, Лаос и Виетнам.

⁸ Тази тенденция може да се проследи в отчетните доклади, изготвени от посолството ни и нарастващия брой шифрови информации – ДА на МВнР, оп. 21-П – 62-П.

⁹ Името на острова на китайски език е Джънбао.

¹⁰ Т. нар. „Кримски срещи“ през 1971, 1972 и 1973 г. Участват лидерите на СССР, България, ГДР, Унгария, Полша, Чехословакия и Монголия, а на последната – и Румъния.

¹¹ Още през юни 1966 г. българското партийно ръководство взема решение ДС да започне разузнавателна и контраразузнавателна дейност срещу КНР (ЦДА, ф. 1-Б, оп. 64, а.е. 345, л. 1-2), а от ноември 1969 г. се поставя началото на координационни действия и обмен на разузнавателна информация между ДС и КГБ (Баев, 2012:178-179).

Въпреки това след 1976 г. координационната политика постепенно започва да става неефективна. След смъртта на Мао Дзъдун и отстраняването на бандата на четиримата се забелязват някои изменения в китайската политика. Начело на страната застават по-прагматично настроени ръководители, които се стремят да неутрализират негативните последици от Културната революция и да проведат модернизация в страната. Заради предприетите вътрешни реформи за Пекин е важно да намали международното напрежение и да установят добри отношения с широк кръг от държави, включително и с тези от Източна Европа и Съветския съюз.

Промените се забелязват от съветските и източноевропейските китаисти и постепенно се оформят две линии на поведение „по китайския въпрос“. От едната страна застават членовете на идеологическите органи на партийните ръководства, които са за запазването на *status quo*, а от другата – представители от някои държавни институции (министерствата на външните работи и на външноикономическите връзки), които изразяват желание за преосмисляне на налаганата досега политика спрямо Пекин. В академичните среди се появява желание за отделяне между партийната идеология от научните изследвания (Розман, 1983:236-237; Вишник, 2001:13-14, 85-86). Сред източноевропейските специалисти по Китай се засилват гласовете за по-реална оценка и анализ на събитията в КНР без съпътстващите ги идеологически постановки (Головачев, 2014:103)¹².

От началото на 80-те години някои делегации, участващи в координираните съвещания, започват да се противопоставят на неактуалните идеологически постановки, налагани от съветските функционери. Първа източноевропейска делегация изразява несъгласието си¹³, а след речта на Л. Брежнев от март 1982 г. в Ташкент, сигнализираща за съветското благоразположение към подобряване на отношенията с КНР, останалите източноевропейски държави и Куба възприемат възможността за подобряване на отношенията с Пекин като значима инициатива, която биха последвали.

Освен смяната на китайското ръководство и по-умерената външна политика на Пекин трябва да се вземе под внимание и друг фактор, който съдейства за курса на подобряване на отношенията – икономическите затруднения на държавите от Източна Европа. От икономическо и научно-техническо сътрудничество има интерес и китайската страна, които ще благоприятстват осъществяване на обявените от Дън Сяопин реформи¹⁴.

¹² Изказването на О. Рахманин в първата половина на 1982 г. към съветските експерти китаисти: „Съществува опасност от разделяне на китаистиката на „чиста“ и на партийна. Трябва да се води борба с тази тенденция... Не бива да се допуска да има китаисти, които не стоят ясно на партийни позиции“ – (Баев, 2012:221).

¹³ На Интеркит съвещанието в Полша през юни 1980 г. за първи път източноевропейската делегация се противопоставя на изказването на О. Рахманин за липса на промяна в КНР след смъртта на Мао Дзъдун и предлагат да се направи реалистичен анализ на ситуацията в Китай и протичащите там промени (Източноевропейски доклад за Интеркит (1980): <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/113307> - 20.06.2017). През 1982 г. ръководителят на източноевропейската делегация Б. Малов отказва да подпише протоколната записка от Интеркит и заявява, че „те приемат документа за сведение“ (ЦДА, ф. 1-Б, оп. 67, а.е. 1141, л. 13-21: Информацията относно проведената в София среща „Интеркит“).

¹⁴ Според унгарския доклад от „икономическия Интеркит“ в Ловеч (27-28.10.1980) съветските представители призовават за предпазливост към всички форми на сътрудничество, отправяни от КНР, докато представителите от България, ГДР, Полша и Чехословакия изразяват интерес към новите форми на сътрудничество, с които могат да компенсират намаления експорт към Китай от търгуваните до момента стоки (<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/113329> - 20.06.2017); Радченко, 2014:11-18; Баев, 2012:29-30.

В първата половина на 80-те години консервативните съветски политици все още имат превес в структурите, отговарящи за политиката към КНР. Те нямат интерес да се преодолеят препятствията за нормализиране на съветско-китайските отношения, защото кариерите им се градят именно на запазването на съветско-китайския конфликт. Най-изявеният представител на „твърдолинейното крило“ в партийното ръководство на КПСС е Олег Рахманин, който заема поста на заместник-завеждащ Международния отдел на ЦК на КПСС и секретар на „китайската комисия“. През последните 15 години той пише множество статии, брошури, дори книги, в които развива тезите за нарастващата опасност от Китай и антисоциалистическата му политика. Рахманин си дава сметка, че ако съветско-китайските отношения се променят, би загубил поста си поради неправилна оценка на ситуацията¹⁵.

Привържениците на статуквото доминират в съветските управленски среди до ерата на Михаил Горбачов (1985 - 1991). Новият Първи в Съветския съюз извършва смени в ръководството, отговарящо за отношенията със и политиката към КНР. С това Горбачов слага край на съгласуваната политика „по китайския въпрос“ и премахва „четвърторо препятствие“ пред нормализирането на съветско-китайските отношения.

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Първоначалната идея за обмяна на информация и аналитично осмисляне на т.нар. „китайски въпрос“ в началото на 70-те години се трансформира в безапелационно налагане на съветските позиции. Ако през втората половина на 60-те години се вижда заплахата в непредвидимите действия на Пекин спрямо социалистическия блок, то през 80-те години подобно подозрение е безпочвено. Забелязали измененията в политиката на Пекин, източноевропейските делегати призовават по време на Интеркит съвещанията за „по-задълбочено проучване на ситуацията в Китай“ и предприемане на „по-конструктивни стъпки“ за развитие на отношенията (Баев, 2012:233). Сателитните на СССР държави не са съгласни с определенията на КНР, прокламирани от съветските специалисти, които отказват да се откажат от конфронтационната линия спрямо наследника на Поднебесната империя. В средата на 80-те години координираната политика към Китай губи значението си, тъй като държавите, представени в секретните съвещания, вече са тръгнали по пътя на нормализиране на отношенията. До 1987 г. отношенията между страните от Източна Европа и Китай са напълно нормализирани, а две години по-късно тази крачка предприема и Съветският съюз.

¹⁵ http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/rus/text_files/Chernyaev/1982.pdf – 20.06.2017.

¹⁶ Както китайците наричат О. Рахманин (Радченко, 2014:17).

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Развитие на дистрибуционната мрежа за компресиран природен газ в България и Китай – сравнителен анализ

Мирослав Стефанов

Development of Distribution Network for Compressed Natural Gas in Bulgaria and China – Comparative Analysis

Miroslav Stefanov

Abstract

This study is dedicated to the theme of the development of alternative fuels distribution in the transport sector and in particular - compressed natural gas. The statement clarifies the use of fuel and affiliation of the subject to logistical problems. Based on the conducted theoretical analysis the characteristics of compressed natural gas distribution network are identified and a system of several indicators is prepared. The analysis is carried out on national level for Bulgaria and China. As a result of the application of the defined methodical tools the development of compressed natural gas distribution network in both countries is assessed and also, a comparative analysis is done. Several trends are presented and some directions for future research are outlined.

Keywords: compressed natural gas, distribution network, alternative fuels, distribution network for compressed natural gas, natural gas vehicles

Увод

През последните няколко десетилетия търсенето на природен газ в световен мащаб непрекъснато нараства. Екологосъобразната му употреба, развитието на технологиите за добив, транспорт и съхранение, възможностите за постигане на по-добра ефективност на горивните процеси и радикалните промени в автомобилната индустрия, изразяващи се в постигането на съществен технологичен прогрес в използването на алтернативни горива в двигателите с вътрешно горене, разшириха сферите на неговата употреба. Днес природният газ намира широко приложение в редица сектори на икономиката и бита, както и в транспорта. По данни на Международната агенция по енергетика (МАЕ) към 2014 г. транспортният сектор консумира 6,9% от световното потребление на горивото, а за последните 40 години този дял е нараснал 2,56 пъти (по данни от: OECD/IEA, 2016:34).

Разглежданата тема е актуална от практическа и научна гледна точка както за България, така и за Китай. В практически план актуалността произтича от възможностите за подобряване качеството на атмосферния въздух в София, Пекин и някои други големи градове чрез използване на компресиран природен газ като гориво в транспорта. В научен аспект темата предизвиква интерес с оглед причисляването на проблематиката към конкретна област на логистиката, както и по отношение на разкриването на някои текущи тенденции в употребата на горивото.

Целта на настоящия доклад е да изведе главните особености на мрежата за дистрибуция на компресиран природен газ, да конкретизира няколко подходящи показатели за нейната оценка, да разгледа текущото ѝ състояние в България и Китай, да очертае

темповете на нейното развитие в двете страни през последните 15 години и да представи изводите от проведения сравнителен анализ.

1. Взаимовръзката компресиран природен газ – алтернативни горива - логистика

Природният газ се наложи като едно от най-често използваните алтернативни горива в автомобилния транспорт поради неговите технологични и екологични предимства. По отношение на първата група изследванията показват, че износването на двигателите, използващи природен газ, е почти 2 пъти по-малко от това на бензиновите. То е резултат от по-доброто смесообразуване и горене, което осигурява редуциране на нагара в горивната камера (Николов, 2007:84). Екологичните предимства са свързани с вредните емисии. Двигателите, използващи природен газ, осигуряват до 25% по-малко въглероден диоксид при горенето и предлагат едни от най-ниските равнища на отработените газове. Този факт позволява те да покриват стандартите за превозни средства с ултраниски емисии (Тончев, 2006:107), а също така и изискванията на стандарта Евро 6 по отношение на Nox и HC+Nox емисиите. Това показва, че и в близко бъдеще природният газ ще продължи да бъде една от най-екологичните алтернативи на конвенционалните горива в транспорта.

Връзката на логистиката с алтернативните горива и по-конкретно компресираният природен газ се разглежда в науката от началото на настоящия век. Понастоящем този въпрос е все още дискуссионен.

Една група автори причисляват употребата на компресиран природен газ към проблематиката на устойчивата логистика. Според Rushton, Croucher и Baker (Rushton, Croucher и Baker, 2006:575-596) актуалността на въпроса се обуславя от желанието за ограничаване на вредното въздействие от употребата на конвенционални горива върху околната среда основно в областта на автомобилния транспорт. Авторите посочват, че взаимовръзката с устойчивата логистика се осъществява по повод на нейните екологични (свързани с ефектите от генерираните парникови газове от транспорта, които допринасят за промените в климата) и социални аспекти (отнасящи се до последиците върху човешкото здраве, причинени от шумовите и вредните емисии, както и до безопасността при употребата на горивото). По-тесен фокус върху екологичните аспекти от употребата на компресиран природен газ се открива при Cullinane (Кулинан, 2014:31-62), която изследва възможностите за смекчаване отрицателното въздействие на товарния транспорт на дълги разстояния върху околната среда. Икономическите аспекти от употребата на компресиран природен газ са свързани с възможността за растеж на отраслите, създаващи специализирани технологии, които допринасят за: повишаване равнището на заетост; нарастване на ефективността на крайното енергийно потребление в транспортния сектор и увеличаване на конкурентоспособността на логистичната услуга, която е създадена с помощта на ангажирането на транспортни средства, използващи природен газ. В едно свое изследване Khan и колегите му (Кан и др., 2016:351-381) проучват потенциала на компресиран природен газ като жизнеспособно гориво за устойчивия транспорт. Анализът обхваща библиография от 822 заглавия в областта в 111 научни списания, публикувани в периода 2001 – 2015 г. Проучването класифицира изследванията в 8 категории, а три от тях се отнасят до: икономическите аспекти на превозните средства, използващи приро-

ден газ; характеристиките, свързани с тяхната безопасна употреба, и аспектите, касаещи околната среда. Посочените групи изцяло покриват всички измерения на устойчивата логистика. Този факт още веднъж показва принадлежността на разглеждания въпрос към логистичната проблематика, а също така и нарастващия интерес на научната общност към неговото изследване.

Друга група автори като Da Blanc и Rodrigue, както и Thompson и Taniguchi, третират въпросите за употребата на компресиран природен газ в контекста на проблематиката на градската логистика (Да Блан, Родриге, 2017:34-56) и (Томпсън, Танигучи, 2015:201-210).

Авторът на настоящия доклад счита, че въпросите, отнасящи се до използването на природен газ в транспортния сектор, могат да бъдат обвързани и с проблематиката на обратната логистика. Това се наблюдава в случаите, когато се управляват обратните материални потоци от биологични отпадъци, предназначени за производството на биогаз, който преди крайното потребление се смесва с газа, добит по конвенционален способ.

2. Характеристика на дистрибуционната мрежа за компресиран природен газ

В настоящия доклад ще приемем, че дистрибуционната мрежа е система от организационни и инфраструктурни елементи, които осигуряват насочването и разпределението на материалните потоци от източника, през пунктовете на всички междинни участници, до крайния потребител. Организационният елемент на мрежата е свързан с управление на взаимодействието между участниците в дистрибуционния процес. Те формират връзките между пунктовете в мрежата посредством дистрибуционните канали. Инфраструктурният елемент пък е представен от: преносни, разпределителни газопроводи и станции за зареждане, които формират пунктовете, където се осъществява физическата доставка. Преносните и разпределителни газопроводи осъществяват връзката между станциите в дистрибуционната мрежа за компресиран природен газ, която се отличава със следните характеристики:

Първо – станциите за зареждане представляват пунктовете в мрежата за дистрибуция, където се създава „пространствената полезност“ за потребителя. Освен това компресираният природен газ се произвежда на момента, в пункта за зареждане, като се използва специално създадено буферно хранилище. Това означава, че там се създава и другият вид основана полезност за логистиката, а именно „времевата“.

Второ – мрежата на дистрибуция на компресиран природен газ е стационарна (Страка, Малинджак, 2010:84). Тя е специализирана и позволява движението само на определен продукт – в конкретния случай природен газ в газообразно състояние, за разлика от материалните потоци в динамичните мрежи например, които допускат асортиментно разнообразие. В този смисъл разположението на станциите за зареждане е предопределено от наличието, развитието и възможностите за присъединяване към газопреносната и газоразпределителната мрежа.

Трето – изисква определена степен на гъстота, тъй като автономният пробег на превозните средства е в порядъка на около 150 км. Транспортът с превозни средства на природен газ може да изпълнява своята икономическа, социална, екологична и културна функция и да служи като фактор за интеграция на регионите само при условие, че бъдат изградени станции за зареждане по протежението на главните пътни трасета, а не само в градовете.

3. Методология на изследването

В изследователския процес са приложени методите за установяване на скоростта на развитие и сравнителният анализ.

Настоящото изследване ще използва система от две групи показатели за оценка на дистрибуционната мрежа за компресиран природен газ.

Първата група обхваща абсолютни показатели като: брой превозни средства на природен газ; брой станции за зареждане, както и показатели за брой на населението и площ на изследваните страни, въз основа на които може да бъдат установени равнищата на относителните показатели.

Втората група показатели включва: дял на транспорта в крайното потребление на природен газ; брой превозни средства на природен газ на 1000 души население¹; средна обезпеченост на територията на страната със станции за компресиран природен газ и брой превозни средства на природен газ на една станция². Използвани са също базисни и верижни темпове на прираст.

Изследването ще обхване периода 2000 – 2016 г. Ще бъдат анализирани периодни динамични редове за 2000, 2008 и 2016 г.

В доклада ще бъдат използвани данни от: МАЕ; Световната асоциация за превозни средства на природен газ (NGV Global); Националното статистическо бюро на Китай (НСБК); Статистическия годишник на Китай (China Statistical Yearbook); Евростат; научни статии и издания в областта.

При подготовката на доклада се очертаха и някои **ограничения**. Изложението анализира използването на природен газ като моторно гориво в компресирана форма, без да засяга употребата на втечнения природен газ в транспорта. NGV Global не поддържа в базата си данни информация за структурата на превозните средства по класове, което налага да ограничим анализите до техния общ брой. Друго ограничение произтича от употребата на някои вторични данни, събирани за статистически цели, които се оповестяват с около 2 години закъснение. Това налага някои изводи да бъдат фиксирани към края на 2014 г.

4. Анализ на развитието на дистрибуционната мрежа за компресиран природен газ в България и Китай

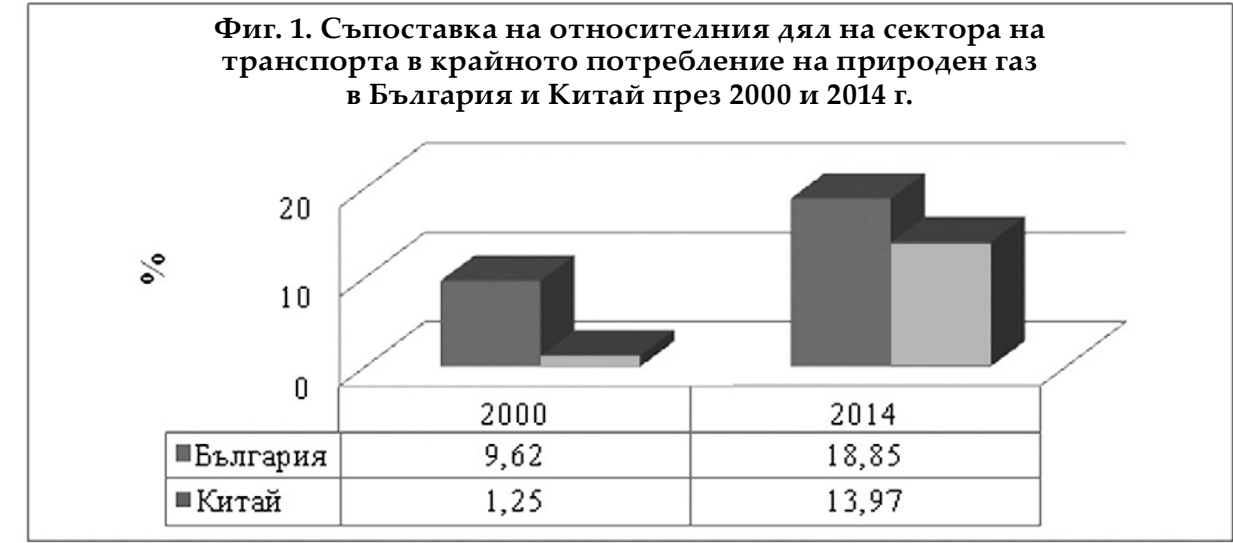
По данни на NGVA Global³ към 2016 г. в световен мащаб природният газ като автомобилно гориво се използва от 23,047 млн. превозни средства в 81 държави. Това представлява около 1% от общия брой превозни средства, регистрирани в посочените страни. За сравнение през 2000 г. броят на превозните средства на природен газ в света е бил 1,293 млн. Това означава, че за периода 2000 – 2016 г. се очертава нарастваща тенденция в употребата на горивото в световен мащаб, в резултат на което превозните средства се увеличават 18 пъти. Този растеж се наблюдава и в изследваните страни.

¹ Показателят се използва в практиката от Европейската асоциация превозни средства на природен газ.

² Показателят е използван в изследването на М. Frick et al. (Фрик и др., 2007:11).

³ Данните са достъпни на адрес: <http://www.iangv.org/current-ngv-stats/> [Accessed 30 May 2017].

Повишеният интерес към употребата на компресиран природен газ в България и Китай може да се илюстрира и от сравнението на данните за относителния дял на транспортния сектор в крайното потребление на природен газ в двете страни, представени на фиг. 1.



Източник: По данни от МАЕ⁴

Данните от графика 1 показват, че за петнадесетгодишен период относителният дял на природния газ, консумиран от транспортния сектор в България и Китай, нараства с 9 до 13%. Към 2014 г. този дял в България е 19%, а в Китай 14%.

Тези заключения ни насочват да търсим потвърждение и обяснение на тенденцията в две направления. Първото от тях касае големината и обхвата на пазара, т.е. броя на превозните средства, а второто е свързано с инфраструктурната обезпеченост на дистрибуционната мрежа с пунктове за зареждане, а именно станции за компресиран природен газ. За целите на анализа на горепосочените направления ще използваме фиг. 2 и 3.



Източник: По данни от NGV Global⁵

⁴ Графиката е съставена от автора по данни, достъпни на адрес: <https://www.iea.org/statistics/statisticssearch/> [Accessed 30 May 2017].

⁵ Графиката е съставена от автора по данни, достъпни на адрес: <http://www.iangv.org/current-ngv-stats/> [Accessed 30 May 2017]. Използвани са и собствени проучвания на автора, отнасящи се до данните през 2000 г. в България. Отразени са конвертираните двигатели на Столична компания за градски транспорт, финансирани от програма ФАР.



Източник: По данни от NGV Global⁶

Анализът на данните, оповестени от NGV Global, показва, че към 2016 г. в двете изследвани страни са съсредоточени около 22% от превозните средства, използващи компресиран природен газ, и около 28% от станциите за зареждане в света⁷.

В същото време е налице съществена разлика между равнищата на индивидуалните показатели в двете страни. Към 2016 г. Китай заема първо място в света по превозни средства на природен газ (5 млн. или 21,69% от световния автопарк) и станции за зареждане (почти 8000 или 27,62% от съществуващите в световен мащаб). Данните от графики 2 и 3 показват, че е налице стабилна тенденция за нарастване както на превозните средства, така и на станциите за зареждане в Китай за периода 2000 - 2016 г. Базисният темп на прираст в проценти показва, че през 2016 спрямо 2000 г. превозните средства в страната нарастват с невероятните 83 233%. Донякъде този ръст е характерен и може да бъде обяснен с бума, свързан с въвеждането на новата технология. Могат обаче да бъдат изтъкнати и допълнителни аргументи, отнасящи се до някои локални характеристики на външната среда. Нао и колегите му (Хао и др., 2016:522-523) посочват, че използването на природен газ като гориво за превозни средства в Китай е продиктувано основно от три фактора. Първият от тях е свързан със стимулите да се намери алтернативен подход за бързо растящата зависимост от вноса на петрол в страната, която нараства от 30,2% през 2000 г. до 59,6% през 2014 г.⁸ в резултат на непрекъснатото повишаване броя на автомобилите и от желанието за ограничаване нарастването на емисиите от превозни средства, които предизвикват драматични отклонения от нормите за качеството на атмосферния въздух в някои големи китайски градове в последните години. Втората причина е свързана с нарастването на капацитета за доставка на природен газ както от собствени

⁶ Графиката е съставена от автора по данни, достъпни на адрес: <http://www.iangv.org/current-ngv-stats/> [Accessed 30 May 2017]. Използвани са и собствени проучвания на автора. Те касаят данните за 2000 г. в България. Отразена е ведомствената станция на Столична компания за градски транспорт, гараж Дружба.

⁷ По данни от <http://www.iangv.org/current-ngv-stats/> [Accessed 30 May 2017].

⁸ По данни на China statistical yearbook 2000-2014. Beijing: National Bureau of Statistics; 2015, цитирани в доклада на Hao et al. (Хао и др., 2016:522).

източници, така и от внос. Третата причина е обусловена от факта, че през последните десет години в Китай природният газ е класифициран като гориво с приоритетно използване в градска среда, тъй като неговата употреба намалява въздействието върху човешкото здраве. И нещо повече. Стратегическите документи⁹ допускат неговата преимуществена употреба в транзитния автобусен трафик, таксиметровите превози, превозните средства, ангажирани в извършването на логистични услуги, личните автомобили и тези в здравеопазването, както и в тежкотоварните превозни средства. Авторът на настоящия доклад би добавил още една причина към вече представените. Тя е свързана с факта, че понастоящем Китай постига изключително диверсифицирана структура на националното производство. В страната се създава пълният набор от технологично оборудване за: изграждане на станции за компресиран природен газ и за конвертиране на превозни средства за работа с алтернативното гориво.

Верижният темп на прираст показва, че тенденцията на нарастване броя на превозните средства в Китай се запазва и през втората половина на изследвания период (ръст от 1150% през 2016 г. спрямо 2008 г.).

Станциите за зареждане в Китай през 2016 г. спрямо базисната 2000 г. регистрират темп на прираст от 158 900%. Верижният им темп показва, че през 2016 г. спрямо 2008 г. техният темп на нарастване запазва възходящата си тенденция и се равнява на 695%.

През 2016 г. България заема 22-ро място в света по брой превозни средства на природен газ. Този факт показва, че в страната ни е съсредоточен 0,27% от световния автопарк, използващ компресиран природен газ, което се равнява на около 61 000 превозни средства. През 2016 г. спрямо базисната 2000 г., определена като базисна в нашето изследване, превозните средства бележат огромен темп на растеж, равняващ се на 81 575%. Той е съпоставим с този в Китай за същия период. Верижният темп на прираст обаче показва, че през 2016 г. спрямо 2008 г. превозните средства, използващи компресиран природен газ, у нас отчитат около едва 2% ръст. Това е коренно противоположна тенденция на тази, очертана в Китай за същия период. Тя показва, че в България изграждането на автопарка от превозни средства се извършва изключително бързо (в периода 2000 – 2008 г.). През втория етап на анализирания период, а именно 2008 – 2016 г., този процес на практика е преустановен. Върху динамиката на автопарка влияние оказват редица причини, сред които: неблагоприятния имидж на газа като гориво след газовата криза от 2009 г.; негативните последици от финансовата криза върху доходите и потребителското поведение на домакинствата; въвеждането на акциз върху природния газ, употребяван като моторно гориво от 2012 г.; влошаване на ценовото съотношение на газа спрямо конвенционалните горива в транспорта; липсата на данъчни стимули за собствениците на превозни средства на природен газ¹⁰; налагането на модели с фабрични уредби на пропан-бутан от европейските автомобилни производители, както и липсата на преференции за собствениците в градска среда като облекчено, безплатно паркиране и/или достъп до централните градски части. Друга неблагоприятна тенденция

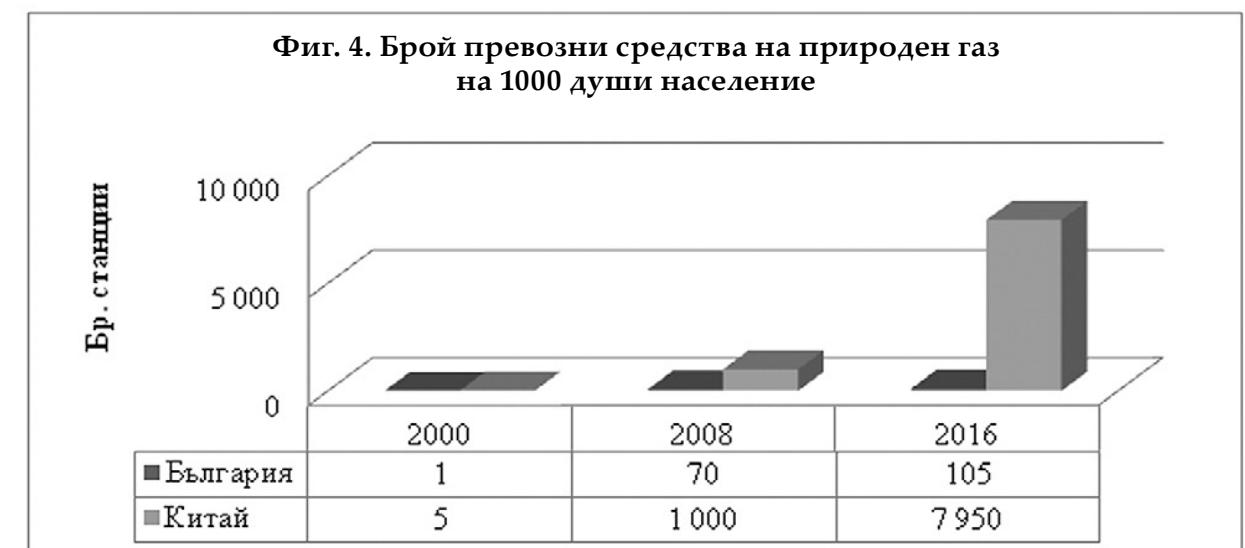
⁹ Например NDRC. Policy on natural gas utilization (the 2012 version). Beijing: National Development and Reform Commission, 2012, цитирани в доклада: Хао и др., 2016:533.

¹⁰ Такива се прилагат за някои други алтернативни горива. Така например собствениците на електромобили се освобождават от данък върху превозните средства съгл. чл. 58 ал. 2 от Закона за местните данъци и такси.

е свързана с физическото и морално остаряване на автопарка. В България над 97% от превозните средства на природен газ са конвертирани за работа с горивото, т.е. това са стари автомобили. От друга страна, след 2008 г. не се наблюдава положително развитие в броя на превозните средства. Това показва, че в страната ни се очертава тенденция на остаряване на автопарка и в близките няколко години се очаква значителното му намаляване.

Базисният темп на станциите за зареждане в България се равнява на 10 400%. Това означава, че през 2016 г. спрямо приетата за база 2000 г. техният брой в абсолютно изражение нараства със 104 станции. Верижният темп показва, че през 2016 г. спрямо 2008 г. темпът на растеж на станциите за зареждане у нас отчита ръст от 50%. Това показва, че инфраструктурата за зареждане е продължила да се развива и уплътнява с по-бързи темпове спрямо разширението на пазара. Най-вероятната причина за това е свързана с инерцията на положителните очаквания за пазарно развитие, както и с факта, че проектите за голяма част от новооткритите станции за периода 2008 – 2016 г. са стартирали преди или по време на финансовата криза. Към 2016 г. в България са разположени 0,36% от станциите за компресиран природен газ в световен мащаб.

Абсолютните показатели очертават тенденциите в развитието. За извършването на директни международни сравнения обаче е необходимо да използваме относителни показатели. Те са представени във фиг. 4, 5 и 6.



Източник: По данни от NGV Global, Eurostat и НСБК¹¹

Фиг. 4 показва, че тенденцията в развитието на показателя „брой превозни средства на 1000 души население“ в България и Китай е устойчив от 2000 г. насам. Налице е значително забавяне на скоростта на нарастване на показателя в България след 2008 г., докато в Китай за същия период той нараства осезаемо. Към 2016 г. в България на 1000 души от населението се падат около 9 превозни средства на природен газ, докато в Китай равнището на показателя е около 4.

¹¹ Графиката е съставена от автора по данни, достъпни на адрес: <http://www.iangv.org/current-ngv-stats/> [Accessed 30 May 2017]; <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2016/indexeh.htm> , Appendix 2-1> [Accessed 30 May 2017] и <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tps00001&plugin=1> [Accessed 30 May 2017].



Източник: По данни от NGV Global, Евростат и НСБК¹²

По отношение на показателя „средна обезпеченост на територията на страната със станции за компресиран природен газ“ равнището в България и Китай е около 1 станция на 1000 км². Докато обхватът на пазара в България след 2008 г. се разширява изключително бавно, то инфраструктурната обезпеченост на дистрибуционната мрежа със станции за зареждане с компресиран природен газ се развива с по-високи и леко изпреварващи темпове. В Китай след 2008 г. наблюдаваме съществено нарастване на средната обезпеченост на 1000 км² от територията на страната със станции за компресиран природен газ.



Източник: По данни от NGV Global¹³

¹² Графиката е съставена от автора по данни, достъпни на адрес: <http://www.iangv.org/current-ngv-stats/> [Accessed 30 May 2017]; <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2016/indexeh.htm> , Appendix 2-1> [Accessed 30 May 2017] и http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo_r_d3area&lang=en [Accessed 30 May 2017].

¹³ Графиката е съставена от автора по данни, достъпни на адрес: <http://www.iangv.org/current-ngv-stats/> [Accessed 30 May 2017].

Към 2016 г. в България на 1 станция за компресиран природен газ се падат 583 превозни средства, а в Китай – 629. След 2008 г. станциите в България нарастват по-бързо от превозните средства, което показва по-високата степен на уплътненост на дистрибуционната мрежа с постоянни съоръжения, но при относително постоянен брой превозни средства този факт е свързан с намаление на равнището на показателя „брой превозни средства на природен газ на 1 станция за компресиран природен газ“ – от 861 на 583.

5. Изводи

Проведеният анализ позволява да се формулират следните изводи:

Първо – в България и Китай инфраструктурната обезпеченост на дистрибуционната мрежа със станции за зареждане през 2016 спрямо 2000 г. нараства драстично. Същата тенденция се оформя и при превозните средства.

Второ – докато в Китай темповете на растеж на станциите и превозните средства са устойчиви през целия период, то в България след 2008 г. се наблюдава застой в развитието на автопарка от превозни средства и осезаемо забавяне на темповете на изграждане на станции за зареждане.

Трето – в Китай са съсредоточени най-големият автопарк и дистрибуционна мрежа за компресиран природен газ в световен мащаб.

Четвърто – независимо от намаляващите темпове в развитието на автопарка от превозни средства и станции за зареждане в България към 2016 г. в страната ни се падат 9 превозни средства на природен газ на 1000 души население спрямо 4 в Китай.

Пето – и в двете изследвани страни се наблюдават аналогични равнища по отношение на средната степен на обезпеченост на дистрибуционната мрежа със станции за зареждане – около 1 станция на 1000 км².

Шесто – в Китай са създадени подходящи условия за развитието на природния газ като моторно гориво. По-важните от тях включват дефинирането му като гориво с приоритетна употреба във всички направления на превозите в градска среда, както и производството на пълния набор от оборудване за превозни средства и станции за зареждане. Тези предпоставки ни позволяват да считаме, че положителните тенденции в употребата на компресиран природен газ в Китай ще се запазят в близките години.

Седмо – в България употребата на природен газ в транспорта не е определена като приоритет с нормативен документ, а правителствените и местните власти не създават в необходимата степен подходящи условия за разгръщане на неговата употреба. В резултат на това, както и с оглед негативните последици от финансовата криза, след 2008 г. се наблюдава сериозно влошаване на темповете на развитие на автопарка от превозни средства и станциите за зареждане. Предвид тези условия, в близко бъдеще можем да се очакваме задълбочаване на негативните тенденции в употребата на компресиран природен газ. В тази връзка е необходимо да бъдат положени усилия за насърчаване на неговата употреба по примера на някои други алтернативни горива – например електричеството.

Заклучение

В близко бъдеще интересът към темите, касаещи употребата на природен газ в транспорта, в т. ч. и изграждането на мрежата му за дистрибуция, ще продължат да възбудят научната общност и широката общественост. В тази връзка препоръки могат да бъдат отправени към всички страни потребители на природен газ в транспортния сектор и по-конкретно към националните им статистически служби по отношение на поддържането на по-добра статистическа база данни за структурата на превозните средства по класове. По този начин анализите ще могат да бъдат подобрени и задълбочени в областта на употребата на горивото в отделните видове превози – товарни, пътнически, лични, превозите в обратната логистична верига (например дейностите по сметосъбиране и сметоизвозване), превозите в дейностите по градска логистика (социален патронаж, зареждане на търговски обекти, доставка на пощенски пратки) и др. Също така базата данни, касаеща станциите за зареждане на компресиран природен газ като пунктове в дистрибуционната мрежа, трябва да бъде подобрена. Бъдещи изследвания в областта могат да бъдат проведени по отношение на мрежата за дистрибуция на втечен природен газ в Китай, което изисква усъвършенстване на информационната база данни, а също така и по отношение на възможността за изграждане на син коридор за превозни средства с втечен природен газ по протежение на сухопътните трасета на Пътя на коприната и неговите разклонения. Втечненият природен газ намира широко приложение в сферата на енергоемките видове транспорт и е изключително подходящ за товарни и пътнически превози на дълги разстояния. Вниманието заслужава и фактът, че около сухопътните трасета на Пътя на коприната са разположени прилежащите територии на страни като Иран, Пакистан, Индия и Узбекистан. Те са известни с традициите си в употребата на природен газ в транспорта, а заедно с Китай притежават около 62% от превозните средства, използващи компресиран природен газ и 52% от станциите за зареждане в световен мащаб. В тази връзка усвояването на потенциала и проучването на възможността Пътят на коприната и прилежащите му региони да развият устойчив транспорт заслужава да бъде по-обстойно разгледана.

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Развитие на отношенията между Китай и Албания след 2013 г.

Деница Димитрова

Development of Chinese Albanian Relations after 2013

Denica Dimitrova

Abstract

Relations between China and Albania began in the late 50s when links between Beijing and Moscow has deteriorated. The fact that Albania takes an independent course from the Soviet Union makes it a natural ally to China. China considers Albania as a perfect nation - she fights fiercely against revisionism and is involved in the construction of socialism. A very important fact is that Albania represents a faithful ally to China in Moscow's „backyard”. During this period, China granted not only financial loans, food, machinery and technology, but provides weapons and equipment for the Albanian army. After the death of Mao Zedong, when China changed its position and establish contacts with the United States, the Sino-Albanian Union slowly began to fall apart. In 1978, China formally ended its financial assistance to Albania and withdrew its advisors and experts.

The next stage of development of relations between the two countries began after 1992 and they are significantly improved after the coming of the government of Edi Rama (2013). In 2016 China has emerged as a major economic partner for Albania and ranks second after Italy, shifting traditional partners such as Greece and Turkey. Chinese investments are focused in areas such as infrastructure, transport, energy, development of oil fields, agriculture and tourism. The biggest Chinese projects are: building a 30-kilometer section of highway „Arber Road” between Albania and Macedonia (200 million euro), buying control rights of two oil fields Patos-Marinza (414.3 million euro) and making a concession for the next 10 years of Tirana International Airport. Another two important interests are the Adriatic port in Shengjin and sections of the Trans Adriatic Pipeline.

The Chinese investments are very essential for the development of the country, despite the fact that Albania is a member of NATO since 2009 and received the status of a candidate member of the EU in 2014.

Keywords: China, Albania, traditional friendship, economic relations, political exchange, cultural exchange.

Отношенията между Китай и Албания имат сравнително дълга история и протичат неравномерно. Започват в края на 50-те когато връзките между Пекин и Москва се влошават. Фактът, че Албания не приема наложения от Н. С. Хрущов курс за критика на „култа към личността на Й. В. Сталин”, я прави естествен съюзник на Китай, тъй като в този момент идеологическите врагове на СССР са били възприемани от китайските лидери като приятели. Въпреки че не е подписан никакъв официален договор между двете страни, съюзът им започва да се оформя, когато албанският лидер Енвер Ходжа се среща с Мао Дзъдун в Пекин през 1956 г. В началото на 1960-те години, както и по време на Културната революция делегации от Тирана често посещават Пекин, както и обратно. Китай вижда в Албания идеален съюзник – тя се бори яростно срещу съветския ревизионизм и активно е ангажирана в изграждането на социализма „по марксистко-ленинско-сталински”,

поддържа национално-освободителните движения в развиващите се страни и насърчава концепцията за въоръжена борба и световна революция. Много важен е фактът, че Албания представлява китайска база и верен съюзник в „задния двор” на Москва. През тези години Китай отпуска не само финансови заеми, храни, машини и технологии, но и осигурява въоръжение¹ и ракети за албанската армия.

След смъртта на Мао Дзъдун (септември 1976 г.), когато Китай започва по-малко да се фокусира върху идеологическата чистота, установява контакти с външния свят, вкл. и със САЩ, китайско-албанският тандем бавно започна да се разпада. Отношения между двете страни охлаждат още повече през 1976 г., когато Албания продължава да възхвалява Мао, не възвеличава Хуа Гуофън и публично осъжда Дън Сяопин. Наследниците на Мао пренебрегват идеологическата съвместимост в търсене на съюзници срещу Съветския съюз и Албания престава да бъде ценната политическа придобивка за Китай, каквато е била през 1960-те. Тя постепенно се превръща и в сериозна икономическа тежест и най-накрая през юли 1978 г. китайците приключват своята програма за помощ. Всички китайски съветници са извикани в Пекин, а албанските студенти се завръщат в Албания.

Следващият етап от развитието на отношенията между двете страни започва след 1992 г., когато Албания, както и другите социалистически страни, тръгва по пътя на демократични реформи и пазарна икономика. Проектите и областите, към които Китай проявява интерес, са различни, а след идването на власт на сегашното правителство на Еди Рама (2013 г.) се наблюдава значително интензифициране на взаимоотношенията.

Икономически отношения

През последните години Китай се очертава като основен икономически партньор за Албания. За 2016 г. той заема второ място след Италия, като измества традиционни партньори за страната като Гърция и Турция. Големите проекти, към които са насочени инвестициите на китайските фирми, са в областта на инфраструктурата, транспорта, енергетиката, развитие на петролните находища, селското стопанство, културата и туризма.

Китайско-албанските икономически и търговски отношения са постигнали стабилен растеж, като за периода от януари до септември 2016 г. общият обем на търговията между Китай и Албания е в размер² на 334 млн. щатски долара, което е с 9,8% по-висока в сравнение със същия период на миналата година. Според данни на статистическия институт на Албания ИНСТАТ обмененът с Китай представлява 7,1% от целия обем на търговията. През 2016 г. вносът³ от Китай се е увеличил с 8,8% в сравнение с 2015 г. За първите два месеца на 2017 г. вносът от Китай бележи лек спад със 7,4%, но пък износът от Албания е нараснал почти двойно⁴. Внасят се машини, оборудване, резервни части, строителни материали, метали, както и текстилни изделия и обувки, а износът включва предимно минерали.

¹ How Albania Destroyed 11,000 Chinese Artillery Pieces – http://www.chinauncensored.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=93:how-albania-destroyed-11000-pieces-of-artilleries&catid=35:kaleidoscope&Itemid=30.

² China Courts Albania Investment As U.S. Pushes Reforms – <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kenrapoza/2017/03/10/albania-china-ilor-meta-washington-reforms-politics/#6936975f17ed>

³ Той е бил в размер на 50,652 млн. леки срещу 46,567 млн. леки през 2015 г. Що се отнася до износа, той е в размер на 7,452 млн. леки през 2016 г. в сравнение с 6,570 млн. леки за 2015 г.

⁴ Вносът е спаднал на 6,899 млн. алб. леки, докато за съответния период 2016 г. е бил 7450 млн. алб. леки. Износът за януари и февруари на 2017 г. възлиза на 1,310 млн. леки, което е с 735 млн. леки повече от 2016 г.

Едни от най-големите китайски проекти са придобиване на правата върху петролните находища Патос-Моринза, изграждането на магистрала „Арбър“ и вземането на концесия на международното летище „Майка Тереза“. Значителни са и интересите към пристанището в Шенгин⁵ и към участъка от ТАП⁶, който ще минава през южна Албания, и др.

Всичко това се случва в последните две години. През март 2016 г. канадската фирма Banker's Petroleum⁷ решава да продаде правата си за проучване и добив на петролното находище **Патос-Моринза (Patos-Marinze)** на китайската компания Geo-Jade Petroleum на цена 384,6 милиона евро. Купувачът на правата на канадската фирма, китайската Geo-Jade Petroleum бива определян като един от най-големите играчи в добива на суровини на шанхайската стокова борса. Пазарната капитализация на китайската фирма е около \$3.6 млрд. Въпреки това албанското правителството много внимателно разглежда потенциала на фирмата, която да разработи петролните находища на страната и прави щателна оценка на новия инвеститор.

През юни 2016 г. албанското правителство обявява, че е готово да подпише договор с китайската компания „China State Construction“ за изграждането на част от магистралата до Македония, наречена **„Arber Road“**⁸. За да се стигне до тази сделка, албанското правителство приема специален закон, с който се разрешава възлагането на обществената поръчка на китайската строителна компания. Проектът е доста скъп, тъй като преминава през много тежък планински район в централната част на Албания. Съществуващият в момента път е калдъръмен, построен в древни времена, като алтернатива на Виа Игнатия (главния път на Балканите за Римската империя). Сегментът, който ще бъде построен от китайската компания е с дължина само 26.8 km, но се предвижда той да скъси текущия маршрут с повече от 74 km и да намали времето за пътуване от 4 часа, само на 1.5 часа. За целта ще бъдат изградени два тунела, с дължина 2600 м и 560 м, както и 15 моста с обща дължина 1500 м. Проектът ще струва около 200 милиона евро, като части от него вече са изградени или са в процес на изграждане⁹.

⁵ юни 2016 г. албанското министерство на транспорта и инфраструктурата подписва споразумение за изграждане на яхтено пристанище в Шенгин. Компания „Адриатика“ печели търга на стойност 7 млн. долара. В продължение на няколко години това пристанище се разработва от китайски фирми и се очаква то да има капацитет от 200 яхти, като ще бъде насочено основно към развитие на туризма и повишаване заетостта сред местното население.

⁶ Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) е проект, който ще доставя природен газ от Гърция, през южната част на Албания, Адриатическо море и Италия до Западна Европа. Газопроводът ще бъде охраняван от находището Шах Дениз в Азербайджан и ще бъде едно от продълженията на трасето на TANAP, който ще преминава през Грузия и Турция до границата с Гърция.

⁷ Канадците започват да експлоатират петролните полета в южна Албания (Патос-Моринза и Кучова) през 2004 г. и до 2014 г. са най-голямата чуждестранна компания в страната. Те имат концесия за 25 години над находището, което се оценява като едно от най-големите в Европа, с резерви от петрол повече от 5,4 млрд. барела. Договорът за концесия обаче е икономически катастрофален за албанското правителство. Освен 10% рента за изкопаемите, държавата не получава почти нищо от богатствата, извадени от албанската земя. Приходите на канадската фирма спадат наполовина през 2015 г. заради срива на петролните цени. Допълнително акциите на компанията падат на борсата през септември 2015 г., след като албанските данъчни власти искат Bankers да плати \$75 милиона заради данъчна преоценка на фирмените разходи за 2011 г. Компанията бива уличена в отчитане на нереални разходи, за да избегне данъци, тъй като договорът ѝ с правителството позволява възстановяване на разходите преди плащане на данък печалба. В резултат на това канадският енергиен гигант подава две жалби в Международния арбитражен съд, които биват оттеглени след постигането на сделка с албанските власти за разрешаване на проблема.

⁸ Новата магистрала ще бъде с две платна и ще свързва столицата Тирана с изолирания район Дебър, който се намира на границата с Македония.

⁹ Autostrada në Shqipëri - Autobahnen in Albanien – <http://www.balkanforum.info/f58/autostrada-ne-shqiperi-autobahnen-albanien-223870/index8.html>.

Посочените две сделки с китайски компании представляват почти 5% от БВП на Албания за 2015 г.

През октомври 2016 г. китайската компания „China Everbright Limited“ (CEL) и хонконгската „Friedman Pacific Asset Management“ получиха концесия за следващите 10 години върху **международното летище в Тирана (Tirana International Airport)**¹⁰. Китайската компания CEL е създадена през 1997 г. и управлява 33 фонда, като притежава повече от 8,7 млрд долара в активи. CEL има богат опит в авиационната индустрия и е най-големият акционер в Хонконг базираната по документи „China Aircraft Leasing Group Holdings Limited“. Очаква се летището в Тирана значително да подобри своите съоръжения и апаратура, което ще доведе до допълнително повишаване на търговията и туризма между двете страни.

През 2005 г. летище „Rinas“ е обслужвало около 600 000 пътници, 12 години по-късно летището предоставя услуги на 2 милиона пътници годишно. През декември 2016 г. се съобщава, че е увеличен броят на полетите, разширени са маршрутите и пътническият трафик е нараснал с внушителните 8% през 2016 г. в сравнение с 2015 г. В допълнение през годината започват да работят три нови компании („Volotea Airlines“, „Albawings“ и „Mistral Air“) и са пуснати четири нови маршрута, като броят им през годината достига общо до 14 авиокомпании, свързващи 36 дестинации.

Интересите на втората икономика в света към малката балканска страна, намираща се на Адриатическо море, са видими. Сътрудничество в областта на големите проекти¹¹ между двете страни бележи значителен пробив, а в момента се водят преговори по отношение на други обекти като Берат бай-пас, магистралата „Син коридор“ и др. в областта на енергетиката.

Административни промени в Албания

Въпреки своите успехи¹² Албания е една от най-бедните¹³ страни в Европа с икономически показатели, по-ниски от много китайски компании. Съществуват опасения сред някои албански политици, че наред с китайските инвестиции в страната на трудовия пазар в Албания ще навлязат и китайски работници. Това като цяло е притеснително за Албания, където процентът на безработица достига до 17.1% и където работните места са малко.

През годините Албания е направила някои подобрения и сега все по-малко зависи от чуждестранната помощ. Като всяка развиваща се страна Албания се опитва да промени някои от своите закони, така че да се превърне в атрактивно място за чуждестранните инвеститори. Директните чуждестранни инвестиции постоянно нарастват от началото на 2000 г. насам. Днес те достигат близо 50% от БВП на страната, като са основно в секторите на нефта, металургията, инфраструктурата, строителството и телекомуникациите.

¹⁰ Този ход е в съответствие със стратегията на Китай за закупуване на дялове в големите транспортни центрове по протежение на Средиземно море – покупката (април 2016 г.) на COSCO на пристанище Пирей в Гърция и успешната кандидатура през март 2015 г. на Shanghai International за новото пристанище в Хайфа, Израел, което ще се ползва от Китай през следващите 25 г.

¹¹ Chinese Investment Developments in the Balkans 2016: Focus on Albania – <http://www.balkananalysis.com/albania/2016/06/24/chinese-investment-developments-in-the-balkans-2016-focus-on-albania/>

¹² Албания е член на НАТО от 2009 г., а през 2014 г. получава статут на страна – кандидат-член за ЕС.

¹³ Страната е една от най-слабо развитите в Европа, като една пета от населението ѝ живее под границата на националната бедност.

Държавата предприема реформа в данъчната политика, с която да намали корупцията и административните затруднения. Променят се процедурите за получаване на лицензи в секторите търговия, строителство и туризъм, които забавяха инвестиционния напредък. Друг голям проблем за инвеститорите е липсата на инфраструктура и лошо дефинираното право на собственост, но по тези проблеми също се работи. Новият закон за стратегическите инвестиции, който влезе в сила през януари 2016 г., предвижда стратегически инвестиции в секторите на енергетика и минното дело, транспорта, телекомуникациите, инфраструктурата и градските отпадъци, туризма, селското стопанство и рибарството.

Китай изглежда готов да рискува, докато много западни фирми са предпазливи и се оправдават с високо данъчно облагане, нелоялна конкуренция от страна на държавата, високо ниво на бюрокрация и корупция и др. За китайците Албания е привлекателна със стратегическото си разположение на кръстопътя между Изток и Запад, с основното си пристанище Дуръс за връзка с останалата балканска и европейска част. Икономиката на страната показва признаци на подобрене, като е нараснала с 2,3% за миналата година. В Европа това е повече от добре. Кредитният рейтинг на страната все още е обезкуражителен, но през миналата година беше повишен от Standard & Poor's до B+.

Политически обмен

Честите взаимни посещения¹⁴ на делегации между Китай и Албания играят водеща роля за по-нататъшно насърчаване на прагматично двустранно сътрудничество в различни области. Те поставят солидна политическа основа и осигуряване на ефективни гаранции за цялостна модернизация на традиционно приятелските китайско-албански отношения. През 2016 г. политическият обмен се засили чувствително, като някои важни китайски делегации¹⁵ бяха в Тирана, а албанските лидери посетиха Пекин. Председателят на парламента на Албания Илир Мета посети Китай през октомври 2016 г., министър-председателят на Албания Еди Рама се срещна със своя китайски колега Ли Къцян в Рига по време на годишната среща на лидерите на инициативата „16+1“. Допълнително министрите на външните работи, културата, здравеопазването, председателят на Върховния съд на Албания имаха посещения в Китай.

През 2016 г. бяха подписани осем двустранни споразумения за дипломатия, култура¹⁶, за управление на водните ресурси, в сферата на човешките ресурси, за техническо и икономическо сътрудничество на всички нива.

Последната среща на високо равнище¹⁷ между двете страни се проведе на 16-17.04.2017 г. В Тирана пристигна китайска делегация, водена от първия вицепремиер на Държавния съвет на Китай и член на Политбюро на Китайската комунистическа партия Занг Гаоли (Zhang Gaoli). В състава ѝ влизаха над 50 души, като сред тях има 5 министри.

¹⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China – http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zjzg_663340/xos_664404/gjlb_664408/3125_664410/3127_664414/default.shtml.

¹⁵ Това бяха Mr. Ji Bingxuan - Deputy Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China), Mr. Yang Jing – the State Councilor of China and Mr. Zhao Hongzhu the Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for Disciplinary Inspections.

¹⁶ ChinaAlbania Econometric Agreement Signed – <http://www.albaniannews.com/index.php?idm=12835&mod=2>.

¹⁷ Nishani: AlbaniaChina Relations, New Stage in the Last Decade – <http://www.albaniannews.com/index.php?idm=12375&mod=2>.

Високопоставеният представител на китайската партия беше приет и от министър председателя Еди Рама, и от президента на Албания Буяр Нишани. Беше отбелязано, че това посещение е нова ера в отношенията между двете страни и ще доведе до по-добро сътрудничество в рамките на китайските инициативи “One Belt, One Road” („Един пояс, един път“) и програмата за сътрудничество „16+1“. Планирана бе подобна среща след два месеца в Пекин.

Важна част от двустранните отношения е **обменът на местно ниво**¹⁸. През последните две години сътрудничеството на местно равнище е значително по-активно и се наблюдава засилен процес на „побратимяване“ на градове и провинции между Китай и Албания. Освен столиците Пекин и Тирана, които са първите побратимени градове, пет други китайски града и провинции са установили приятелски отношения с албанските си колеги. През 2016 г. кметът на Тирана посети Пекин, за да бъде обсъдено задълбочаването на сътрудничеството в рамките на побратимените градове, като в отговор делегация от град Янгжу посети град Вльора. Кметовете на Шкодра и Дуръс, съответно посетиха провинция Хънан и град Шанту в Китай, а кметовете на Берат и Фиер - Луянг и Ланджоу. За развитие на икономическите и търговските дейности са подписани споразумения за създаване на съвместни проекти и са установени официални отношения между побратимените градове. Обменът на местно ниво ще има широко и дългосрочно влияние върху задълбочаването на взаимното разбирателство и приятелство между двата народа. Тези партньорски отношения са нова платформа за прагматично сътрудничество.

Културен обмен

Интересът към историята и културата на Китай, и особено към изучаването на китайския език е нараснал значително сред младите албанци. Това допълнително подпомага тенденцията към задълбочаване на приятелството и установяване на здрави и устойчиви китайско-албански отношения. Повече от 600 души изучават китайски език в Института „Конфуций“ към Университета в Тирана, което утвърждава влиянието на този институт. В същото време има 5 основни и средни училища, където се преподава китайски език. През декември 2016 г. делегация на студенти от Университета от Хонконг (Hongkong) посети Тирана по програма за взаимен обмен.

Китайското посолство в Тирана активно работи с албанското правителство, с университетите и съответните училища за насърчаване на обмена между младите хора от двете страни. Ще бъде увеличена помощта и ще се предоставят повече възможности за желаещите да изучават китайски език, тъй като тези млади хора ще бъдат ново поколение, което ще работи за затвърждаване на традиционното китайско-албанско приятелство. През януари 2017 г. посланик Дзян Ю на среща¹⁹ в Университета на Тирана обяви, че Китай предлага пълни стипендии за албански студенти, за да могат да учат в най-добрите китайски университети. Ще бъде учреден специален фонд за тези студенти. Те трябва да издържат

¹⁸ A Traditional Friendship Bearing New Fruits – <http://www.albaniannews.com/index.php?idm=10297&mod=2>.

¹⁹ Ambassador Jiang Yu: China offers scholarships to Chinese top universities for Albanian students - <https://www.ata.gov.al/en/ambassador-jiang-yu-china-offers-scholarships-to-chinese-top-universities-for-albanian-students/>.

теста HSK²⁰ с отлични резултати или активно да участват в културните дейности в Албания. През последните три години се наблюдава десетократно увеличение на броя на албански студенти, които учат китайски. Това показват резултатите от изпита HSK. Близко 20 албански студенти ще пътуват до Китай през юни 2017 г, за да участват в летен лагер за китайски език и култура, спонсориран от китайското посолство.

Заклучение

Китайските инвестиции за Албания са много необходими. Те са едно добро допълнение към европейските фондове. Европейската интеграция е дългосрочна и приоритетна цел за страната, но когато става въпрос за финансиране на определени проекти, китайските пари на практика са единственият начин да се преодолеят някои проблеми. Достъпът до големите европейски структурни фондове за страните кандидатки не е възможен, докато те не се присъединят към Съюза. Обаче за да се постигне напредък по присъединяването, страните трябва да подобрят инфраструктурата и транспортните си връзки както в рамките на своите граници, така и със своите съседи. Страните от Западните Балкани ще продължат да търсят европейско финансиране за инфраструктурни проекти с европейско значение (като Трансадриатическия тръбопровод или т. нар. „Магистрала на мира“, която ще свърже Албания със Сърбия и Косово), но предвид необходимостта от самофинансиране, бавния процес на одобрение на проектите и някои други политически пречки, китайските инвестиции се възприемат като една привлекателна алтернатива.

Развитието на Китай несъмнено ще създаде повече възможности и за целия свят. Смята се, че през следващите пет години общият обем на вноса на Китай ще достигне 8 трилиона щатски долара; чуждият капитал, използван от Китай, ще бъде в размер на 600 милиарда щатски долара; китайските чуждестранни инвестиции ще са в размер на 750 милиарда щатски долара и почти 700 милиона китайски туристи ще пътуват в чужбина. Тези цифри означават все по-голям пазар, по-голям капитал и продукти, както и по-големи възможности за сътрудничество с други страни, включително и Албания.

Китай и Албания имат дълбоко традиционно приятелство и силно взаимнополитическо доверие, което създава голям потенциал за сътрудничество в икономическата и търговската област. Инициативата за сътрудничество „16+1“ е ефективна платформа и за двете страни, която дава възможност за конкретни резултати. Тя създава чудесни възможности за ускоряване на развитието на двустранните търговско-икономически отношения. Китай ще продължи да насърчава своите предприемачи да инвестират в Албания, а Албания се опитва да използва тази възможност. Двете страни работят за изграждане на взаимно доверие, търсене на по-голямо сближаване на интересите и развитие на потенциала за постигане на взаимно изгодни и печеливши партньорства.

²⁰ Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi е международен стандартизиран изпит, показващ владението на китайски език в 6 нива. Той оценява езиковите умения на некайтайски потребители за ползването на езика в ежедневието, академичния и професионалния живот.

Синхайската революция и нейните японски поддръжници – общ поглед и ключови фигури

Виктория Николова

The Xinhai Revolution and its Japanese Supporters – Overview and Major Figures

Viktoriya Nikolova

Abstract

The Xinhai Revolution is considered to be a turning point in Chinese modern history, as well as a major event all across East Asia, including Japan. It is true that at the time China and Japan were drifting farther and farther apart as nations and that the majority of Japanese people no longer thought highly of China. But at the same time, Japan was also the place, where people like Sun Yat-sen, known in China as the “Father of the Nation”, developed his revolutionary ideas and expanded his activities. Not only was the Xinhai Revolution extremely influenced by the Meiji Restoration in Japan, but there were also many Japanese prominent figures, who greatly supported the Chinese Revolution, both morally and financially. The present report focuses on these figures (such as Inukai Tsuyoshi, Miyazaki Tōten, Shōkichi Umeyama, etc.) and their relation and contribution to the Chinese revolutionary movement, and also analyzes their ideas and world view in comparison to Japan's overall attitude towards China during that period. The topic is often overlooked, but it is in reality a significant part of the dynamic of modern Sino-Japanese relations.

Keywords: Yat-sen, Xinhai Revolution, Sino-Japanese relations, modern history

Синхайската революция (辛亥革命, 1912) се смята за повратен момент в модерната история не само на Китай, но и на целия регион на Източна и Югоизточна Азия. Тя представлява кулминацията на дълъг процес на идеологически борби и военни конфликти между феодалната власт и реформаторското движение в Китай, както и опит за противопоставяне на агресията на западните сили. Макар и действията да се развиват на китайска територия, те ангажират вниманието и предизвикват отзвук и в съседните страни. В такъв смисъл ролята на Япония в хода на събитията, довели до успеха на китайската революция, е съществена. Настоящата разработка ще се спре върху Синхайската революция именно в качеството ѝ на процес, който прескача границите на Китай и ангажира голям брой японски интелектуалци, политици и обществени дейци, които по свои начин и през своя призма заявяват симпатиите си към каузата на Китай и призовават към сътрудничество между двете азиатски сили.

Факт е обаче, че възможността за реално сътрудничество между Япония и Китай през втората половина на XIX в. представлява спорен въпрос. Общото между двете страни по онова време е споделяното усещане за настъпила политическа, обществена и културна криза, предизвикано от агресивното навлизане на колониалните сили в Източна Азия. Разделят ги обаче два ключови, тясно обвързани помежду си фактора. Първият се изразява в отношението на Запада. Природните дадености и богатства на Китай му гарантират ак-

тивния интерес на колониалните сили, което довежда до непрестанни обществени размирици, две Опиумни войни (1856 – 1860) и допълнително усложнение на обстановката в така или иначе разклатената Цинска империя. Япония, от своя страна, бидейки малък по площ остров без особени природни ресурси, макар и също да става потърпевша от насилствено отваряне, далеч не представлява обект на същия апетит от страна на западните сили.

Вторият фактор, който е и до голяма степен резултат на първия, е опитът за провеждане на модернизация. В Китай първата подобна кампания стартира през 1961 г., така нареченото Движение за военни реформи (洋務運動, 1861 – 1895), която обаче завършва с неуспех въпреки своята продължителност. Съвсем различен е японският случай – Реставрацията Мейджи (明治維新, 1868) за съвсем кратък период от време успява да донесе на Япония кардинални промени в политически, икономически, социален и културен план. Заедно с тези промени обаче, а също и в резултат на нарастващата колониална заплаха започват да настъпват и трансформации в начина, по който Япония възприема себе си и съседните страни.

В интерес на истината известни антикитайски настроения в Япония се наблюдават още от началото на периода Едо (1603 – 1868), породени частично поради нежеланието на Япония да приеме „варварската“ династия Цин (清朝, 1644 – 1912) като легитимен носител на конфуцианското учение. През годините на периода Мейджи (明治時代, 1852 – 1912) тези тенденции постепенно ескалират, докато през 1885 г. във вестник „Джиджи шинпо“ (時事新報) не е публикувана статията „Да напуснем Азия“ (脱亜論), чието авторство често е приписвано на Юкичи Фукузава (福澤諭吉, 1835 – 1901) – една от най-емблематичните личности за периода Мейджи, изиграл ключова роля в създаването на модерната японска държава. Фукузава е привърженик на движенията за обществени промени, модернизация на образованието и правата на гражданите. През 1882 г. той създава вестника „Джиджи шинпо“, където впоследствие публикува и „Да напуснем Азия“. Фукузава пише:

Макар и Япония да се намира на територията на Азия, японският народ успя да възприеме духа на съвременната западна култура. Нещастие то на Япония са нейните съседни страни – едната е Китай, а другата Корея (...) Япония трябва да прекъсне отношенията си с Китай и Корея и да се изправи наред с развитите страни. Не бива да имаме към тези две страни специално отношение само защото са ни съседни.

Фукузава недвусмислено защитава тезата, че японският прогрес е неразделно свързан с отдалечаването на Япония от азиатските ѝ съседи. Макар и след публикуването си статията да не предизвиква съществена обществена реакция, в днешно време тя свидетелства за убежденията на част от японската интелигенция, според които градивното сътрудничество между Япония и останалите азиатски страни (в това число и Китай) е невъзможно.

Но макар и неоспоримото присъствие на подобен тип настроения, динамиката в японското общество по онова време предразполага към едновременно съществуване и развитие на множество различни, дори понякога противоречиви идейни позиции. Затова и не малка част от японската интелигенция избира да следва друг път – идеала за обединение

на азиатските народи и съвместната борба срещу западната заплаха.

Пример за това е Какузо Окакура (岡倉覚三, 1862 – 1913), известен още като Теншин Окакура (岡倉天心). Окакура остава в японската история с огромния си принос за развитието на изкуствата в Япония, но славата му на Запад също е завидна. За това несъмнено допринася фактът, че Окакура пише почти всички свои значими трудове на английски език. Тематиката обаче често надскача сферата на изкуствата, засягайки въпроси на културата и на срещата между Изтока и Запада. През 1904 г. в една от своите книги, „Събуждането на Япония“ (*The Awakening of Japan*), Окакура казва:

Вече до такава степен държим да се припознаваме с европейската цивилизация вместо с азиатската, че съседите ни от континента гледат на нас като на ренегати, или дори по-зле – като на истинско въплъщение на „бялата катастрофа“.

Година по-рано пък в друга негова книга, „Идеалите на Изтока със специален акцент върху Япония“ (*The Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*), можем да намерим следните редове:

Азия е едно цяло. Хималаите разделят, но сякаш само за да подчертаят две велики цивилизации – китайската, или общественото съзнание на Конфуций, и индийската, или индивидуализма на Ведите. Но дори и снежните бариери не могат да прекъснат и за момент всеобхватната любов към Основните принципи и Универсалното, която е и мироглед, наследство, общо за всички народи на азиатската раса.

Споменатите цитати лесно могат да бъдат разгледани като пряка контра на думите на Фукузава. За разлика от него Окакура категорично твърди, че мястото на Япония е сред останалите азиатски държави и същевременно определя отношенията между азиатската и европейската цивилизация като несправедливи, отношения на потискан и потисник. Макар и да не призовава в прав текст към обединение на азиатските народи срещу заплахите на Запада, Окакура неколккратно подчертава единството на Азия, което до голяма степен го определя като защитник на идеите на паназиатизма – движение, което в своя ранен етап успява идеологически да обедини интелектуалци и революционери от цяла Азия, допринасяйки и за успеха на Синхайската революция.

Ролята, която Япония изиграва в създаването на тези отношения, прескачащи граници, е огромна. Знанието и възможностите, които модернизацията от периода Мейджи донася на островната страна, привличат интелектуалци и прогресивни дейци от цяла Азия, давайки почва за развитие на тяхната революционна и националноосвободителна дейност. Немалко представители на японския елит са и активни поддръжници на тези дейци – както идейно, така и финансово. Голяма част от тези фигури имат идеалистични паназиатски убеждения и вярват, че единственият начин азиатските страни да се справят със западните сили е чрез обединение помежду им. Някои от тях биват наричани „скитници из континента“ (大陸浪人), тъй като прекарват голяма част от живота си, обикаляйки съседни азиатски страни, най-вече Китай.

На този фон не е изненада, че по онова време в Япония пребивават и голям брой китайски революционни дейци. В това число влизат знаменитият китайски писател Лу Сюн, както и китайските реформатори Кан Йоу-уей и Лян Цичао – и тримата са силно повлияни от „Реставрацията Мейджи“ и промените, които тя носи на японското общество. Неслучайно Лян Цичао и Кан Йоу-уей отправят към цинския император предложението си за реформа, изградена по модел именно на Япония. Най-ярък пример обаче за китайски реформатор, действал на територията на Япония, несъмнено е Сун Ятсен.

Сун Ятсен (孫逸仙; по-късно – 孫中山, 1866 – 1925), наричан впоследствие в Китай „бащата на нацията“, изиграва основополагаща роля за развитието, обединението и в крайна сметка успеха на китайското революционно движение. Завършвайки образованието си, Сун Ятсен първоначално открива съмишленици на своите революционни идеи в Хонконг, но впоследствие започва да развива дейност и в други страни. В опит да обедини китайските противници на цинското правителство, които пребивават извън Китай, през 1894 г. Сун основава Общество за възраждане на Китай (興中會). През следващата година пътува до Европа, но в Лондон е задържан в китайската легация и избягва смъртта единствено благодарение на свои влиятелни приятели. Тогава Сун решава да поема към Япония, където успява да развие своята революционна дейност, както и да сформира дългогодишни приятелства със симпатизанти на идеите му.

Още в самото начало на престоя си в Япония Сун Ятсен се среща с множество представители на японската интелигенция, измежду които и членове на японския политически елит. Един от тях е Цуйюши Инукай (犬養毅, 1855 – 1932). Инукай посвещава живота си на опитите за реформа в Япония чрез мерки на правителствена основа, обявявайки се твърдо против радикализирането на японската армия. По отношение на Сун Ятсен той пише:

Малко хора биха могли да симпатизират на китайските националисти и техните идеали така, както аз. Когато Сун Ятсен и неговите съратници бяха сред нас (...) аз ги укривах. Известно време Сун Ятсен живя с мен. Моят дом се превърна в място за провеждане на тайни срещи (...) Често делях с тях храната си, дрехите си и мижавата си заплата. Докато Сун Ятсен живееше при мен, аз му казах, че единственият разумен път, по който Китай може да поеме, е този на Япония.

Макар и политическата ситуация в Япония да не позволява на Инукай да провежда открито прокитайска политика, той поддържа активен контакт с редица китайски революционери и не спира да полага усилия в посока омекване на отношенията между двете страни. Негова е инициативата японското правителство да проучи китайските революционери и възможността за сваляне на цинското правителство чрез революция. Именно така той среща Сун Ятсен и впоследствие го запознава с именити фигурни като Хиробуми Ито и Шигенобу Окума, който по това време изпълнява длъжността на премиер на Япония. Години по-късно, когато през 1933 г. японската армия окупира североизточен Китай (т. нар. Манджурия), откритата опозиция на Инукай срещу действията на военните спрямо Китай му коства живота.

Сун Ятсен обаче далеч не си спечелва симпатизанти единствено измежду политическия елит. Ярък пример за това е Шокичи Умея (梅屋庄吉, 1868 – 1834). Умея е предприемач

от Нагасаки, който впоследствие основава едно от първите филмови студиа в Япония. Неговата кариера обаче започва извън родината му. Когато се запознава със Сун, той е управител на фотографско студио в Хонконг. В автобиографията си Умея пише следното относно първата им среща:

Обсъдихме всякакви теми (...) Бяхме в пълно съгласие по въпроси като приятелството между Япония и Китай, културния обмен между Изтока и Запада, а също така и по въпроса за равенството между расите. Но най-вече бяхме единодушни, че за да може да се постигне всичко това, на първо място е нужен успехът на китайската революция. Усетих енергията в изказа му дълбоко в сърцето си.

Сун Ятсен не е и единственият азиатски революционер, с когото Умея установява контакт. Романтик и идеалист по душа, той симпатизира на множество революционни движения и поддържа близки отношения и с Емилио Агиналдо, лидера на движението за независимост на Филипините. Отново в автобиографията си той споменава, че вижда борбата на Сун и Агиналдо като две проявления на един и същи феномен – и двете са част от борбата на азиатските народи за независимост и модернизация, което, от своя страна, съвпада и с иделите на Реставрацията Мейджи в Япония. Умея впоследствие изиграва ключова роля в развитието на революционното движение на Сун Ятсен, дарявайки голяма част от приходите си като предприемач в името на каузата на китайската революция.

Друг идеалист, работил заедно с Умея, верен съмишленик и поддръжник на Сун Ятсен и китайската кауза в Япония, е Тотен Миязаки (宮崎滔天, 1871 – 1922). Подобно на Умея, Миязаки твърдо вярва в идеята, че за да бъдат спасени азиатските народи от европейското нашествие, както и „за да бъде върнат балансът в света“, Китай и китайският народ трябва да получат своята независимост. В автобиографичната си книги „33-годишна мечта“ (三十三年の夢, 1902) Миязаки записва думите на брат си, Язо Миязаки, с които той го придърпва на страната на китайската революция:

Китай трябва да възроди себе си на базата на истинския морал, тогава и Индия ще се надигне, а също и Виетнам, Филипините и Египет ще бъдат спасени.

И въпреки преждевременната смърт на брат му, Миязаки посвещава целия си живот на това да помага на китайските революционери в Япония. По отношение на първата си среща със Сун Ятсен той пише:

Думите му бяха ясни и категорични. Беше справедлив и пламенен и гореше от ентузиазъм и страст. Говореше красноречиво, но също така и спонтанно (...) Нямаше човек, който да не остане убеден от думите му (...) Колко благородни бяха мислите му, колко остър бе погледът му, колко велики бяха идеите му, колко горещ бе пламъкът в него! Колко такива личности има сред нашите сънародници? Той несъмнено е съкровище за Азия. В този момент Сун ме спечели на своя страна.

Години наред Миязаки приютява в своя дом не само Сун Ятсен, но и множество други революционни дейци като Хуан Син и Лян Цичао. През 1905 г. той става и един от тримата японци, членове на основаното от Сун Ятсен Обединение на китайските революционери (同盟会). До ден днешен в неговия дом в Шидзуока виси калиграфски надпис, подарък за Миязаки от Сун, който представлява китайски афоризъм със значението „животът ми е в твои ръце“ (推心置腹).

Известна личност от кръга около Сун Ятсен е и Шу Хираяма (平山周, 1870 – 1940). Хираяма е с твърди паназиатски убеждения и прекарва втората половина от живота си в Китай, където работи с личности като Лян Цичао в името на реформите в китайската държава, а също и в полза на освободителните движения в други азиатски страни. Когато след запознанството си със Сун Ятсен двамата заедно с други японските съмишленици отсядат в хотел, Хираяма е този, който измисля за Сун японската фамилия Накаяма (中山) като прикритие пред властите. Впоследствие Сун Ятсен остава в историята именно с това име. Хираяма често е служел като преводач на Сун, тъй като китайският революционер не е владеел японски и му се е налагало да общува с японците през английски. Твърди се също така, че Хираяма е представял Сун за свой домашен учител, благодарение на което му е било позволено да остане в страната.

Интересен е и случаят на Йошимаса Ямада (山田良政, 1868 – 1900). След като работи известно време в Шанхай, Тайван и Пекин, Ямада установява контакт с други емигранти японци, симпатизанти на китайските реформатори, и след провала на Стодневната реформа (戊戌变法, 1898) заедно с Шун Хираяма осигурява бягството на Лян Цичао в Япония. На следващата година Ямада се завръща в Япония, където се среща и със Сун Ятсен. Макар и това да е първата им среща, японецът заявява готовността си да съдейства на Сун по всякакви дела, свързани с китайската революция. През 1900 г. тази решителност в крайна сметка му коства и живота по време на Хуейджоуското въстание, в което той се включва. Ямада е първият японец, пряко жертвал живота си в името на китайската кауза.

Сун Ятсен вярва, че всички симпатизанти на китайската революция трябва да се обединят и да работят заедно в името на общата кауза, независимо от различията в други свои разбирания и политически възгледи. Това е вероятно и причината сред съмишлениците му да фигурират някои особени, силно противоречиви личности като Мицуру Тояма (頭山満 1855 – 1944). Тояма е политик с радикално десни убеждения, основател и лидер на тайната ултранационалистическа група „Генийоша“ (玄洋社), чиято дейност често пъти попада извън закона. Тояма поддържа също тесни връзки с няколко якудза групировки и се изказва одобрително по отношение на потенциална инвазия в Корея от страна на Япония. Това обаче не му пречи да поддържа и спонсорира дейността на Сун Ятсен. Относно причините за това може да се спори – предвид ултранационалистическите му идеи, има основание да се предположи, че Тояма се е надявал на успеха на китайската революция дотолкова, доколкото това ще отстрани цинското правителство от власт и ще отвори прозорец за действие и манипулация от японска страна.

Наистина заедно с края на периода Мейджи в Япония започват да набират сила военните и ултранационалистическите настроения, с което толерантността към различно мислещите рязко намалява. Последната реч на Сун Ятсен, която той изнася в Кобе през 1924 г., посветена на паназиатизма и ролята на Япония в рамките на Азия, е показателна за категоричната промяна, настъпваща в японското общество. Последните думи в речта поставят въпроса за двата пътя на развитие, пред които Япония е изправена – избор, който впоследствие определя отношението на Япония както към Китай, така и към цяла Азия, а също и към света. Речта гласи:

Какъв проблем се опитва да реши паназиатизмът? Проблемът е в това как да се сложи край на страданията на азиатските народи и как да се устои на агресията на могъщите европейски страни (...) Днес Япония е добре запозната със западната цивилизация и управлението на Силните, но същевременно запазва в себе си и качествата на източната цивилизация, където управляват Справедливите. Сега въпросът е дали Япония ще се превърне в ястреб на западната цивилизация и управлението на Силните, или ще бъде опорна кула за Изтока. Пред този избор е изправен японският народ.

Думите на Сун са, от една страна, изпълнени с надежда, от друга, са резултат на осъзнатата заплаха от силно милитаризираната политика на Япония. Заедно със смъртта на Сун Ятсен и променящата се политическа обстановка както в Китай, така и в Япония отношенията на съмишленици с обща кауза между неговите японски приятели малко по малко изчезват.

Разнообразен и пъстър по отношение на обществени позиции, периодът Мейджи остава в историята на Япония като повратна точка в развитието на съвременната японска държава. Поради комбинация от редица предпоставки, модернизацията носи на Япония жадуваното развитие, но също така допринася и за нейното постепенно „отцепване“ от азиатския континент. Това обаче представлява бавен процес, който не спира редица японските политици и обществени дейци от участието им в заформящото се международно движение за прогрес и модернизация в Азия. Макар и често пренебрегвани от историята, контактите и личните приятелства, които японските интелектуалци от този период сформират с прогресивните китайски дейци, изиграват ключова роля за успеха на революционната дейност в Китай, чийто най-ярък символ е и Синхайската революция.

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Японо-китайските отношения през погледа на общественото мнение в Япония и КНР (2011 - 2016 г.)

Боряна Митева

Sino-Japanese Relations Through the eyes of Public Opinion in Japan and PRC (2011 - 2016)

Boryana Miteva

Abstract

Political contradictions, territorial dispute and struggle for regional leadership between Japan and People's Republic of China are well known to the researchers, interested in an East Asian international relations. Usually studies, dedicated on Sino-Japanese relations focus on a political and territorial bilateral issues or intensive economic cooperation, but rarely pay attention to the mutual images – Japan's image in PRC and PRC's image in Japan. Studies also rarely focus on a public opinion regarding issues of mutual interest between Japan and PRC. In 2005, when Sino-Japanese relations worsen considerably, the Japanese non-governmental organization Genron NGO and China International Publishing Group have began to conduct a joint survey of public opinion in Japan and in PRC regarding Sino-Japanese relations. The objective of the survey is to regularly monitor the state of mutual understanding and perceptions of the Japanese and the Chinese public toward each other, and their changes over time. This study will seek to provide an information, analyze and conclusions about conducted polls in Japan and PRC between 2011 and 2016.

Keywords: Sino-Japanese relations, Public opinion, Image of Japan, Image of China

Японо-китайските отношения са известни със своя емоционален негативизъм, политически и териториални противоречия, икономическа конкуренция и борба за надмощие на регионално равнище. Проблемите между двете азиатски страни са изследвани многократно и подробно в историографията. По-рядко се срещат изследвания, които поставят акцент върху общественото мнение, образите на Япония в Китай и съответно на Китай в Япония и по какъв начин политиката се отразява върху мнението на японците и китайците едни за други.

През 2005 г., когато японо-китайските отношения се влошават сериозно заради териториалния спор за островите Сенкаку/Дяою, японската неправителствена организация „Генрон НПО“ и китайският държавен вестник „Чайна Дейли“ започват интересна и полезна инициатива за провеждане на съвместно проучване на общественото мнение едновременно в Япония и в КНР по отношение на японо-китайските отношения. Поради негативните образи съответно на Япония в КНР и на КНР в Япония, инициативата цели на първо място да изследва какво е мнението на населението на двете държави по отношение на развитието на двустранните отношения, какви са сферите от взаимен интерес, както и проблемите между двете страни, и на второ място, да анализира резултатите от направените проучвания на съвместно организиран ежегоден форум „Токио - Пекин“. Стремехът на двете организации е да се допринесе за намаляване различията и увеличаване на доверието, както и евентуални предложения за разрешаване на двустранните

проблеми и неразбиране между Япония и КНР. Проучванията се осъществяват регулярно от 2005 г. насам, което позволява също така да се проследят определени положителни или отрицателни тенденции в развитието на двустранните образи. Настоящото изследване използва и анализира резултатите от направените проучвания между 2011 и 2016 г.

Взаимни образи

В периода между 2011 и 2016 г. Япония продължава да има негативен образ в КНР, както и КНР в Япония. През годините, в които се изострят противоречията и избухват кризи в двустранните отношения във връзка с териториалния спор за островите Сенкаку/Дяою, се наблюдава и влошаване на възприятието един за друг. В зависимост от годината на проучването процентът на японците, които изпитват негативни чувства към КНР и на китайците, които изпитват негативни чувства към Япония, варира между близо 80 и над 90%. Като причини за негативизма на японците към КНР най-често се изтъкват териториалните спорове за островите Сенкаку/Дяою и тези в Южнокитайско море, нарушаване суверенитета на Япония от страна на китайски морски съдове, китайската политика за придобиване на морски и природни суровини, която се определя от японците като „егоистична“ и „хегемонистична“, нарушаване от страна на КНР на международните закони и правила, критиките на КНР по отношение на историческите въпроси. Териториалният спор е и в основата на японския негативен образ в КНР, както и липсата на адекватно и искрено извинение от страна на Япония във връзка с действията ѝ преди и по време на Втората световна война. Често се изтъкват като причина и опитите на Япония да се конкурира с КНР във военно-политически и икономически аспект.¹

Съществуват обаче и взаимни положителни нагласи. Например китайците изказват положително мнение по отношение на бързия икономически растеж и технологичен прогрес на Япония след Втората световна война, отличното качество на японските продукти и в частност електрониката. Освен това китайците смятат, че японците са изключително любезни и трудолюбиви хора и че Япония има красива природа и хубави места за посещение. Японците, от своя страна, се възхищават на китайската древна култура и дълга история. От проучванията става ясно също, че личният контакт на японците с китайци (например китайски студенти в Япония) допринася за по-доброто опознаване и добиване на положителни впечатления (Ibid.).

Първата асоциация на японците, когато чуят думата „Китай“, е свързана с китайска храна и замърсяване на въздуха. Думата „Япония“ за китайците на първо място означава електроника, но за над 50% от китайците асоциациите са свързани с клането в Нанкин и териториалния спор за Сенкаку/Дяою. Интересно е, че 90% от китайската общественост знае за Манджурския инцидент, Инцидентът край моста „Марко Поло“ и клането в Нанкин, но по-малко от 20% от китайците знаят за подписания японо-китайски Договор за мир и приятелство (1978 г.). Най-известните китайски политици в Япония са Мао Дзъдун и Кси Дзинпин, а в Китай над 50% знаят кой е Абе, Шиндзо (Ibid.).

¹ Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll. Impression of the Other Country; The Reason behind the impression of the Other Country; Basic Understanding of the Other Country, 2011-2016 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/category/267.html.

Проучванията показват също, че по отношение на социално-политическата система около 70% от японците възприемат КНР като комунистическа държава, а 30% - като тоталитарна. Освен това в периода 2011 - 2016 г. се засилва мнението на японската общественост, че КНР води хегемонистична, националистическа и милитаристична политика. Почти половината китайци, от своя страна, също смятат Япония не само за капиталистическа, но и за експанзионистична, хегемонистична, националистическа, милитаристична държава и само около 10% смятат, че Япония е пацифистка държава. Интересно е, че обществеността и в двете страни има усещане за липса на свобода на словото и обективност на информацията в медиите в другата страна. Например това е мнението на 80% от японците за КНР и на 70% от китайците за Япония. Едновременно с това обаче 80% от японците и от китайците смятат, че собствените им медии са обективни при коментарите и анализите по отношение на японо-китайските отношения. Всъщност се оказва, че представата за другата страна се формира предимно въз основата на телевизионни предавания и медиите изобщо. Китайците използват освен медии и филми, сериали и публикации при формирането на своето мнение за Япония, но и в двете страни повечето респонденти в проучванията не са посещавали другата страна и рядко имат приятели в нея, тоест нямат преки лични впечатления.²

Националният характер на китайците и на японците също е по-скоро изпъстрен с отрицателни краски. Повече от половината японци възприемат китайците като мили, но упорити и егоисти. Освен това е трудно да си сътрудничиш с тях и не може да им се има доверие. Подобно е мнението на около 70% от китайците за японците.

Двустранни отношения

През периода от 2011 до 2016 г. по-голямата част и от японците, и от китайците смятат, че състоянието на двустранните японо-китайски отношения е по-скоро лошо и ще се влошава в бъдеще, а като основни причини посочват териториалния спор, конкуренцията за морски и природни ресурси, историческите въпроси и липсата на доверие между двете страни. И сред японската, и сред китайската общественост обаче съществува мнението, че Япония и КНР, както и техните двустранни отношения са изключително важни за развитието и сигурността в региона поради съседството им, икономическата им сила и нарастващата икономическа обвързаност помежду им. Съществува известно различие във връзка с това, че повечето японци обясняват значението на японо-китайските връзки със сигурността и мира в Източна Азия, докато китайците - със съседството и значенето на Япония като търговски партньор. Повечето от японците и от китайците смятат, че двустранните отношения ще продължат да се изграждат по формулата „студени политически, горещи икономически отношения“³.

Около 60% от обществеността и в двете страни потвърждава, че според тях съществува териториален спор между Япония и КНР, но съществуват различия по отношение на това

как трябва да бъде разрешен. Например в по-голяма си част японците вярват, че това трябва да се случи чрез двустранни преговори и дипломатически средства или предаване спора на Международен съд и не предвиждат военен конфликт между двете страни в близко бъдеще. За разлика от тях китайците смятат, че страната им трябва да защитава твърдо териториалната си цялост и да засили контрола върху собствените си територии, както и да принуди Япония да признае китайския суверенитет над островите чрез дипломатически средства. Освен това по-голяма част от китайската общественост предвижда вероятен военен конфликт в Източнокитайско море. 52,1% от японците и 47,1% от китайците смятат, че трябва да се създаде постоянен форум за дискусии относно териториалния спор.

Обществеността и в двете страни смята влошаването на японо-китайските отношения за нежелана ситуация и смята, че трябва споровете да се разрешат, но в същото време само 20,3% от японците и 37,3% от китайците вярват, че ще има подобрение в двустранните японо-китайски отношения. Интересно е, че китайската общественост познава по-добре кризите в японо-китайските отношения от периода преди и по време на Втората световна война, докато японската е по-запозната със съвременните кризи, свързани с териториалния спор и храма „Ясукуни“.

Повече от 60% от японците и повече от 50% от китайците смятат, че сътрудничеството между Япония и КНР по въпроси в Азия е необходимо и че има нужда от провеждането на двустранни срещи между двете страни на най-високо равнище, но също така 30% от населението и в двете държави смята, че се води неадекватна и неефективна политика на двете страни една спрямо друга. Японците се надяват на подобна среща да се обсъди подобряването на японо-китайските отношения като цяло, а китайците – конкретно териториалният спор. Като сфери, в които трябва да си сътрудничат, японците посочват проблемите с околната среда и особено замърсяването на въздуха, а китайците - мироопазващи операции в Източен Китай.⁴

Във връзка с историческите проблеми между Япония и КНР повечето китайци смятат, че проблемите ще се разрешат при благоприятно развитие на японо-китайските отношения, за разлика от японците, които в по-голямата си част вярват, че това няма да се случи. Повече от половината японци и китайци изразяват желание за мирно съществуване и сътрудничество, но се съмняват, че това може да се осъществи. Интересно е, че повечето респонденти смятат, че отношенията няма да се подобрят, докато не бъдат разрешени историческите въпроси. При запитване кои са тези проблеми в конкретика – 60% от японците отговарят – антияпонските образователни текстове и критиките по отношение на японските действия в Китай в миналото, а китайците отговарят - подходящо извинение от страна на Япония. 62,7% от китайците смятат, че японският министър-председател не трябва да посещава храма „Ясукуни“, независимо дали е в качеството му на официално лице или посещението му е от частен характер, докато 70% от японците не виждат проблем в подобно посещение, ако то е неофициално (50% отговарят, че тези посещения са допустими, независимо дали са официални или не).⁵

² Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll. Impression of the Other Country; Basic Understanding of the Other Country; Media Reports and Public Opinion on the Internet; Background to Mutual Understanding, 2011-2016 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/category/267.html.

³ Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll. Current Status of Japan-China relations and their Future; Intergovernmental Diplomacy; Security in East Asia, 2011-2016 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/category/267.html.

⁴ Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll. Intergovernmental Diplomacy; Coexistence and Co-Prosperity or Japan-China and Building Cooperation Relationship; Security in East Asia, 2011-2016 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/category/267.html.

⁵ Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll. History-related Issues between Japan and China, 2011-2016 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/category/267.html.

Регионални отношения

Освен двустранните японо-китайски отношения респондентите и в двете страни смятат, че връзките на страната им със САЩ са също толкова важни. Забелязва се и тенденция към нарастване значението на японските връзки със САЩ през последните години според отговорите, дадени в Япония. Повечето японци вярват, че САЩ ще останат водеща сила в международните отношения, че китайската икономика няма да се развива толкова прогресивно в бъдеще и няма да застраши американската. Освен САЩ според японската общественост лидерска роля в политическите дела ще имат организации като Г-8 и КНР. За разлика от японите китайците вярват, че собствената им държава ще има също толкова важно значение в политически и в икономически аспект в бъдеще, както САЩ. Повече от половината японци усещат благоразположение към САЩ, докато китайците не изпитват такова нито към САЩ, нито към Япония. И за китайската, и за японската общественост обаче отношенията на страната им с Република Корея са много важни и изпитват по-голямо благоразположение към Сеул. Едновременно с това японците смятат, че в следващите десет години ролята на Япония няма да се промени съществено, докато тази на КНР ще нараства. Китайците са съгласни, че собствената им страна ще има все по-голямо значение в света във военно-политически и икономически аспект, но за разлика от японците вярват, че военно-политическата значимост на Япония ще се увеличи в следващите години.⁶

Във връзка със сигурността в Азия повече от половината японци смятат, че трябва да се формира съвместен многостранен форум в Източна Азия с участието на Япония, КНР и Република Корея, на който да се обсъждат общите регионални проблеми. За сметка на това повече от половината китайци смятат, че няма нужда от такъв форум. Тези, които мислят, че все пак има нужда, поставят на централно място КНР, САЩ и Русия. Разлики има и във възприятието за най-важната държава за развитието и сигурността на собствената страна, както и в глобален и регионален план. Според японците – за Япония това е САЩ, а според китайците за КНР – Русия и на следващо място САЩ. Освен това японците възприемат като най-сериозна заплаха за сигурността си НДРК, но 60% от тях и КНР като „военна заплаха“, най-често поради нарушаване териториалния суверенитет на Япония около островите Сенкаку/Дяою. 70% от китайците възприемат като най-сериозна заплаха САЩ и на следващо място - 50% от тях - Япония. Заплахата от страна на Япония идва от липсата на извинение и съжаление за японските действия в Китай преди и по време на Втората световна война и от окупирането на островите Сенкаку/Дяою (Ibid.).

Икономически отношения и граждански обмен

Противоречиви мнения има и по отношение изграждането на стабилни икономически връзки. Японците смятат, че двете азиатски страни са конкуренти и поради това не е възможно да се изградят връзки, които да са благоприятни и за двете държави.

⁶ Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll. Us, South Korea Relations in Comparison to Japan-China Relations; Intergovernmental Diplomacy; The Countries and Regions that should lead the World; Security in East Asia, 2011-2016 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/category/267.html.

От друга страна, китайците смятат, че японската и китайската икономика се допълват и взаимноизгодното икономическо сътрудничество е напълно възможно и реализуемо. Голяма част от обществеността и в Япония (70%), и в КНР (80%) обаче вярва, че териториалният спор има негативно влияние върху икономическите отношения между двете страни. И японците, и китайците са песимистично настроени по отношение на икономическото развитие съответно на другата страна. 30% от японците се съмняват в растежа на китайската икономика до 2030 г., а повечето китайци смятат, че Япония ще има икономически проблеми до 2030 г. Китайската общественост, изглежда, е по-убедена в облагите и положителния ефект от развитието на източноазиатските интеграционни процеси, Транстихоокеанското партньорство и тристранното споразумение между Япония, КНР и Република Корея, докато японските отговори са по-уклончиви и несигурни докъде ще доведат тези процеси и дали ще са полезни за Япония. Оказва се обаче, че и в двете страни обществеността посочва на първо място мира като основна източноазиатска ценност (70% от японците и 60% от китайците), следван от „сътрудничество и просперитет“⁷. Изключително негативна тенденция се наблюдава по отношение на желанието за осъществяването на личен контакт и преки впечатления. Показателно за това е, че около 70% от японците и същият процент от китайците заявяват, че не желаят да посетят другата страна. В същото време японците смятат, че гражданският и културен обмен би довел до подобряване на отношенията, докато според китайците най-вече би довел до „взаимни облаги“. Въпреки това все повече японци и китайци смятат, че увеличаване на взаимното доверие и сътрудничеството по глобални въпроси ще доведе до подобрене в японо-китайските отношения.⁸

Заклучение

За съжаление, на базата на направените проучвания в периода между 2011 и 2016 г. може да се заключи, че негативизмът във взаимните образи на Япония и КНР продължава да съществува десетилетия след края на Втората световна война и години след края на Студената война. Проблемите в японо-китайските отношения и усещането за страх и липса на доверие са въпроси, които все още не са намерили своето разрешение. Проучванията показват, че както на ниво национален характер, така и на държавно равнище японците и китайците имат отрицателно възприятие едни за други. Асоциациите за „другия“ са свързани със заплаха, проблеми и конфликти. Въпреки известните усилия, които са положени, може да се каже, че взаимните образи все още са изградени върху миналото и не са „актуализирани“ във времето. Не само че образите са поставени върху историческа или политическа основа, но и изключително песимистична е визията на двата азиатски народа относно бъдещото развитие на двустранните отношения, която изключва цялостно разрешаване на проблемите в близко бъдеще и дори предвижда

⁷ Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll. Economic Relations of Japan and China, 2011-2016 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/category/267.html

⁸ Japan-China Joint Opinion Poll. Background to Mutual Understanding, 2011-2016 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/category/267.html.

евентуален военен конфликт. Освен това важно е да се отбележи, че взаимните образи се формират най-вече въз основа на индиректни източници, тоест липсват преки лични наблюдения. Още по-неприятна тенденция в проучванията е, че мнозинството от обществеността и в двете страни изразява нежелание да опознае „другия“ и да натрупа впечатления от личен опит, въпреки че тези, които имат такъв, споделят, че при личен контакт променят мнението си в положителна посока. Това показва наличието на сериозни взаимни предразсъдъци.

Все пак според резултатите от проучванията биха могли да се направят и няколко положителни извода. На първо място, определянето и конкретизирането на проблемите е важна стъпка по пътя на тяхното разрешаване. И японската, и китайската общественост акцентират на първо място върху териториалния спор и историческите проблеми, а след това и върху конкуренцията, заплахата и липсата на доверие. Тези проблеми нямат лесно, краткосрочно и двустранно съгласувано решение, но признанието за съществуващ проблем и неговото съвместно обсъждане са значими крачки за разрешаването му. На второ място, и японците, и китайците посочват редица положителни национални черти и постижения, които ценят едни в други (история, култура, природа, икономически и технологичен прогрес), тоест взаимните образи далеч не са изцяло негативни. Изключително важно е и взаимното осъзнаване на значимостта на двете азиатски държави и техните отношения за развитието и сигурността на региона, както и нарастващата им взаимообвързаност. Положително е също така осъзнаването на взаимните интереси, свързани с разрастване, от една страна, на двустранните търговско-икономически връзки и от друга страна, със задълбочаване на източноазиатските интеграционни процеси, но също така взаимните интереси в сферата на сигурността – например общата заплаха от страна на НДРК. Резултатите от проучванията са положителни и в посока на съзнанието от страна както на японската, така и на китайската общественост за нуждата от провеждането на двустранна среща за обсъждане на японо-китайските отношения и за формирането на многостранен източноазиатски форум с участието на Република Корея, САЩ и Русия за дискутиране по въпросите на сигурността. Тук е интересно да се отбележи, че ясно проличават тенденции към повишаване самочувствието и увереността на китайската общественост, което води респективно до усещането за китайска заплаха у японците. Ясно се вижда и отношението на китайците към Русия и съответно на японците към САЩ като най-важен партньор. Не на последно място, оптимистично е желанието за осъществяване на културен и граждански обмен, който да доведе до взаимно опознаване и изграждане на доверие.

В резултат на проучванията в периода 2011 - 2016 г. могат да бъдат направени както негативни, така и положителни изводи. Не се забелязват сериозни промени в общественото мнение или изненадващи тенденции през последните години. Съвместната инициатива има важно и положително значение, тъй като се стреми към обсъждане на проблемите и размяна на мнения от двете страни, взаимно опознаване и изграждане на доверие, предлагане на методи и подходи за евентуално разрешаване на проблемите и подобряване на японо-китайските отношения.

Използвани документи

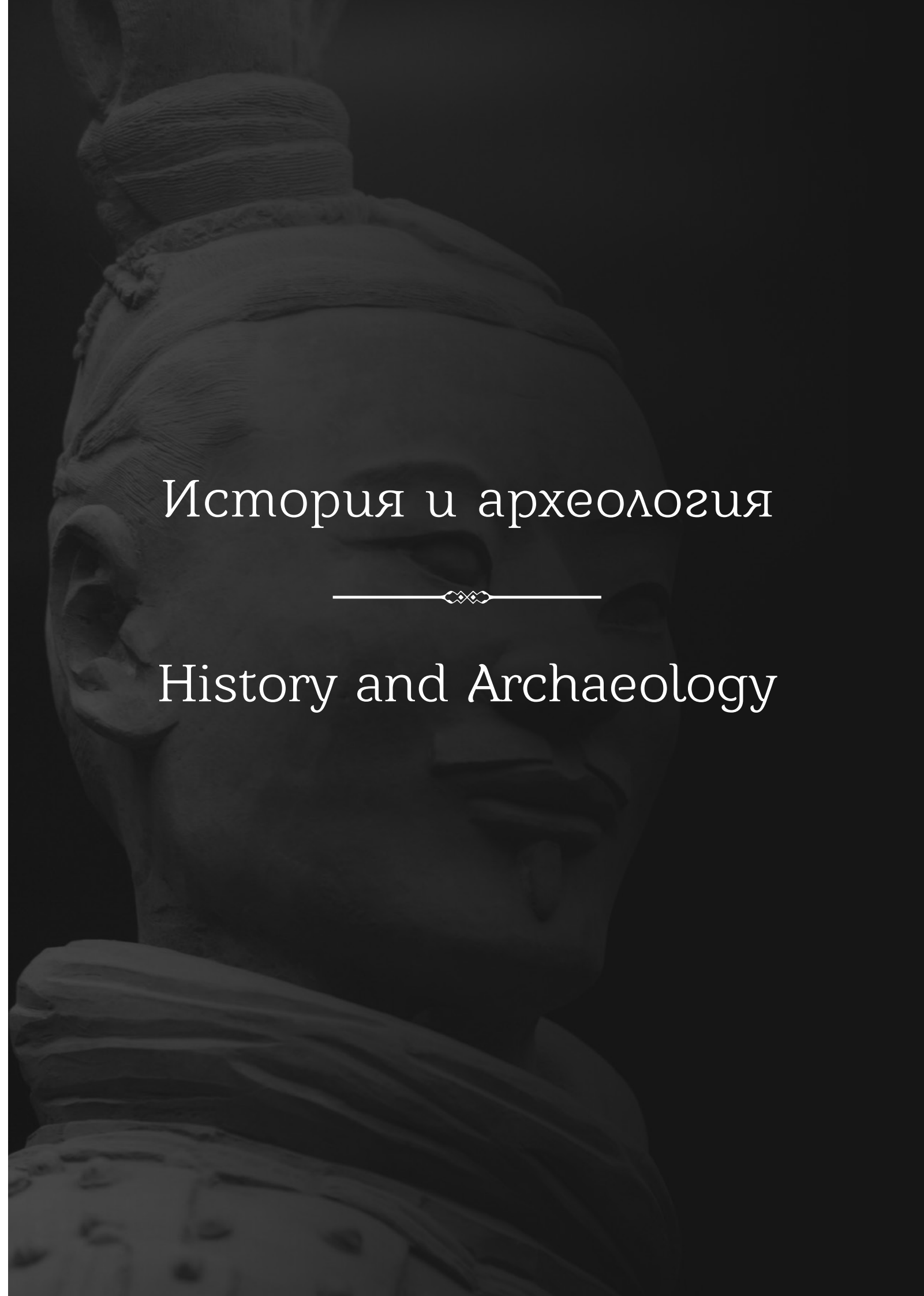
1. On the Results of the 7th Japan-China Joint Opinion Survey, 2011 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/archives/5265.html
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3. The 9th Japan-China Joint Public Opinion Poll, 2013 – http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/archives/5260.html
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历史与考古学

История и археология



History and Archaeology



All Types of Qin Wang Mirror on the Silk Roads¹

Liu Zhijia

Abstract

The mirrors, referred to as Qin Wang mirrors in this paper, are a kind of bronze mirrors, unearthed from the provinces of Anhui, Henan, Shaanxi, Sichuan and the Xinjiang Autonomous Region in China, from the 1950s to the present. The back side of these mirrors is decorated with animal patterns and a 20-character inscription is engraved — „I get the reward of Qin Wang mirror, although it is valuable, if I abandon it I won't feel pity. Rather than using it to check my loyalty, but I understand my sincere and true heart”. Similar mirrors were also collected in Japan and unearthed in the Republic of Tuva in Russia. During the Sui and Tang dynasties, South China was the center of bronze mirror casting and the city of Yangzhou boasted the most sophisticated technology. Later on, the various types of „Qin Wang Mirror” spread to each important city along the routes of the Chinese Silk Road, and finally advanced eastward into Japan, then westward into the Turkic Khanate.

Keywords: Qin Wang Mirror; Silk Road; Typing fraction; Periodization

从上世纪五十年代至今,在安徽、河南、陕西、四川、新疆等地的考古发掘中均出土了一类铜镜,镜背镌刻“赏得秦王镜,判不惜千金。非关欲照胆,特是自明心”20字铭文(以下简称“秦王镜”),并多伴有瑞兽纹饰,同类铜镜日本千石唯司有藏,在俄罗斯的图瓦共和国亦有出土²。

此类铜镜常见于古代金石典籍中,国内各大博物馆亦有展陈,是各收藏家趋之若鹜的珍品。其在隋唐两代极为风行,目前,尚无任何一款铭文镜有如此广泛的传布。实际上,隋唐铜镜五言铭较四言骈体铭为少³,而现存的五言铭文镜却以“赏得”铭带镜存量最多,其内外区演变轨迹清晰,属最易归纳分类者。

隋唐之际铸造铜镜的中心在中国南方,尤以扬州制造最为精善。而各类型制的“秦王镜”通过丝绸之路,散布在中国丝绸沿线各重要城市,并通过丝路向东传入日本,向西传至突厥汗国。

目前学界尚缺乏对此类铜镜的分类梳理与考订字句等方面的研究,对此类铜镜的装饰布局、铭文典故、仿镜鉴别、铭文作者考证、考订释义等问题可参拙文《“赏得秦王镜”铭铜镜研究》。本文重点对此类铜镜的装饰布局、演变规律进行类型学分析,以裨学界对此类铜镜的认识。

根据目前搜集到的铜镜资料,对具有“赏得秦王镜”铭带的铜镜进行归类,并依据考古学惯例,按照此类铜镜的外观差异进行分型,按照镜背主题纹饰的繁简变化进行分式。有些铜镜数量极少,虽与其他式铜镜有相似之处,但自身特征突出,拟单列一式。

¹ 本论文系中国人民大学研究生院科学研究基金项目成果之一, 项目名称: 中国古代“赏得秦王铭瑞兽铜镜研究”(项目编号: 16XNH034)。

² Gangqi, 1992: 33: (日)冈崎敬, 姚义田译. 中亚发现的唐镜.-- 文博. 1992(3).

³ Liang, 1943: 8: 梁上椿. 岩窟藏镜. 北京大业印刷局暨育华印刷所, 北京. 1943.

I型: 铜质, 方镜, 圆纽。依纹饰及字体可分为二式。

A 式: 方镜, 圆纽, 圆钮座。双凸弦将镜面分为内外两区,内方圈无纹,纽外两条相对的龙纹首尾相连。外区有“赏得秦王镜,判不惜千金。非关欲照胆,特是自明心”等20字隶楷之间铭文,外区四角为宝相花纹。素缘(表一,图1)⁴。

此方镜内区浮雕写意性双龙纹,首尾相连。双龙形体纤长,盘曲卷折,后肢与尾部纠结,绕钮飞舞。

B 式: 方镜, 圆纽, 圆钮座。双凸弦将镜面分为内外两区,内方圈弦纹,“绕纽配置”四兽,瑞兽形态飘逸,绕纽奔驰。外区有“赏得”等20字隶楷之间铭文,外区四角有花草纹。无缘(表一,图2)⁵。风格与1955年3月西安东郊郭家滩第646号隋墓出土“玉面方窥四兽镜”一致⁶。

表一: I型(A式: 图1/B式: 图2)

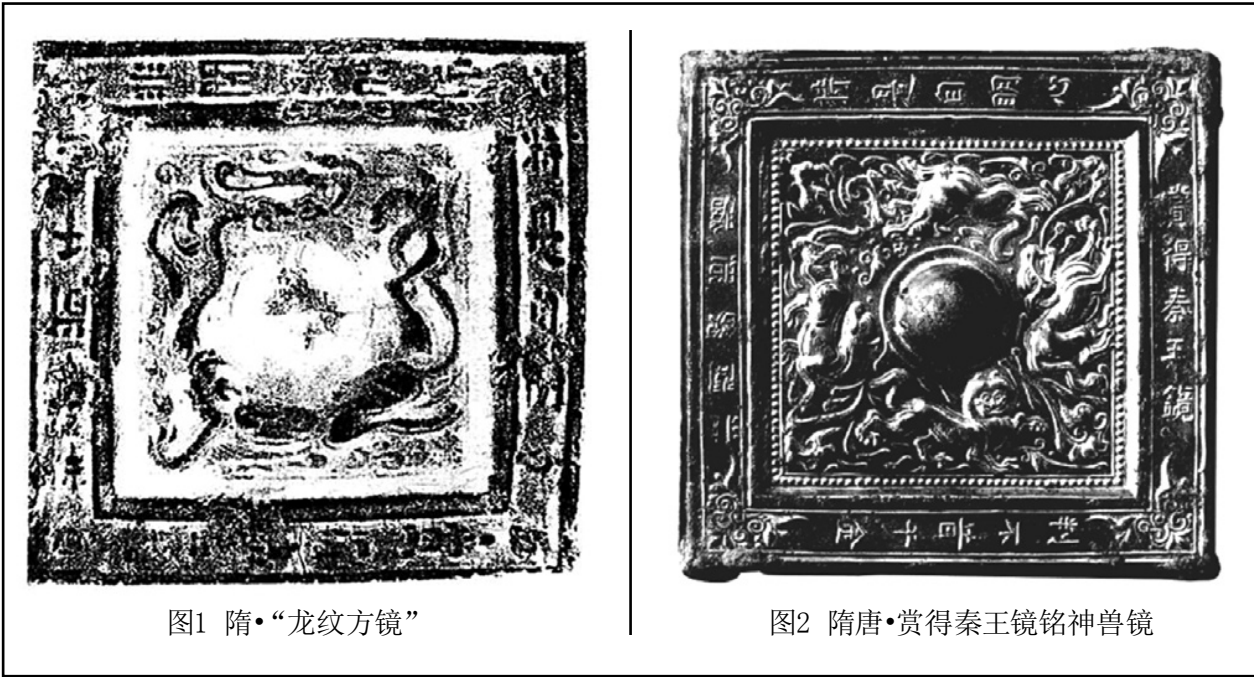


图1 隋•“龙纹方镜”

图2 隋唐•赏得秦王镜铭神兽镜

II型: 圆镜, 圆纽。依纹饰、铭文及材质分为五式。前三式,铜质有瑞兽。D式,铜质无瑞兽,仅有铭文。《宣和博古图录》云:“五金皆金,莫不有序。以泉货言之,则铜上,铁次之。以方言之则,铜者南方之金,而铁之位北也。于是凡铜鉴者先焉,铁者置其后。”⁷有基于此,笔者将铁质镜列为最后一式。

A式: 铜质, 圆镜, 圆纽, 花瓣纽座。双凸弦纹或锯齿纹将镜面分为内外两区,内区由四V饰与大方格平行分为四区。V饰内有半圆加点状凸纹,“规矩配置”,各分区置一站立或行走跳跃瑞兽,形态似狮似豹,间以折枝花草纹。外区有“赏得”等铭文,楷书。边缘有三角、弦纹、栉尺纹等(表二,图3:1-6⁸)。

⁴ Guo, 1996: 74: 郭玉海. 故宫藏镜. 紫禁城出版社, 北京, 1996; He: 2008: 78: 何林. 故宫藏镜. 紫禁城出版社, 北京, 2008. 彩版见何林: 2007: 92. 你应该知道的200件铜镜. 紫禁城出版社, 北京, 2007.

⁵ 日本千石唯司藏, 见王纲怀, 孙克让: 2007: 32: 唐代铜镜与唐诗. 上海古籍出版社, 上海, 2007.

⁶ Shaan, 1959: 90: 陕西省文物管理委员会编. 陕西省出土铜镜. 文物出版社, 北京, 1959.

⁷ Wang, 1603: 17: (宋)王黼编. 宣和博古图录(卷三十), 泊如斋重修. 明万历, 1603.

⁸ 图3: 1见Wang, 2007: 31: 王纲怀, 孙克让. 唐代铜镜与唐诗. 上海古籍出版社, 上海, 2007;

图3: 2见Wang, 2011: 144: 王纲怀. 清华铭文镜--镜铭汉字演变简史. 清华大学出版社, 北京, 2011;

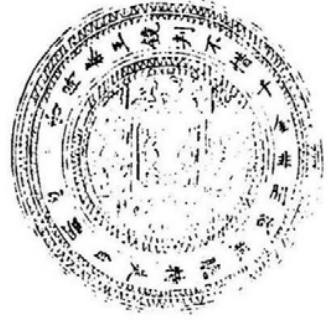
图3: 3见新乡博物馆藏, 图版亦见杨秀清, 胡秉钧. 介绍几面馆藏铜镜. --中原文物. 1988(3);

图3: 4见Hunan: 1965: 117: 湖南省博物馆编. 湖南出土铜镜图录. 文物出版社, 北京, 1965;

图3: 5见(清)王杰等撰. 西清续鉴甲编(卷二十). --续修四库全书1108册《子部•谱录类》, 上海古籍出版社, 上海, 347页;

图3: 6见Liu: 1935: 100: 刘体智藏并辑. 小校经阁金石文字(卷十六), 1935.

表二：Ⅱ型A式(图3:1-6)

		
图3: 1 隋唐·赏得秦王镜铭瑞兽镜	图3: 2 隋唐·赏得秦王镜铭神兽镜	图3: 3 初唐·秦王镜
	镜铭神兽镜	
镜铭瑞兽镜		
		
图3: 4 唐·四神镜	图3: 5 唐·明心鉴	图3: 6 唐·秦王镜

以上六图分别源自公私收藏、发掘出土及金石典籍著录。因保存条件不一，材质成分差异，著录质量有别，造成有些细节如各镜重量未知，镜背细部难以辨认。然其关键信息尚存，又时代相近，从装饰图案及配置、各镜尺寸来看，可归纳称为“同形镜⁹”。A式镜尺寸大多在16至17厘米之间（见附表1）。整体风格与1954年12月西安东郊郭家滩第61号隋大业七年（611）墓出土之“窥庄益态镜”、1956年11月西安东郊韩森寨东南第153号隋墓出土“照仁镜”相似¹⁰。

1994年，咸阳市秦都区公安分局破获一起倒卖文物事件，缴获文物内即有一枚“秦王镜”，型制、年代与图3: 3一致，尺寸有0.3厘米差异，当为年代久远损耗所致，亦为“同形镜”¹¹。

⁹ “同形镜”未必同范，也可能是因为同模，或同了祖范，或相同设计方案。He: 1992: 160: 何堂坤. 中国古代铜镜的技术研究. 中国科学技术出版社, 北京, 1992.

¹⁰ Shaan, 1959: 91-92: 陕西省文物管理委员会编. 陕西省出土铜镜. 文物出版社, 北京, 1959.

¹¹ 铜镜现藏咸阳市文保中心，图版分别见Zhao, 1998: 85-86: 赵彩秀, 杨新文. 四龙纹金钊与秦王镜. --文博1998; Liu, 2003: 22: 刘晓华, 张瑛. 稀有的秦王铭带镜. --收藏家. 2003(6).

B式：铜质，圆镜，圆钮，钮外有一圈连珠纹，花瓣钮座。双凸弦纹或锯齿纹将镜面分为内外两区，内区无四V饰，仅有大方格，“四方配置”。四瑞兽仍置于大方格四方，站立或行走跳跃，或昂首，或回首，或前行，形态似虎似豹似马，以宝相花纹隔开。外区为“赏得”等铭文带，楷书。外圈为凸弦纹或三角纹。素缘或窄素缘（表三，图4:1-3）¹²。

表三：Ⅱ型B式(图4:1-3)

		
图4: 1 唐·秦王镜	图4: 2 唐·秦王镜	图4: 3 唐·秦镜

B式镜主要见于金石典籍著录及考古发掘，其分区及配置一致，惟内区瑞兽及装饰的花纹有别。图4: 1与图4: 2内区中瑞兽与大方格之间以卷草纹或波纹隔开，而图4: 3内区中的瑞兽与大方格之间则以宝相花纹隔开。图4: 2中瑞兽似虎、似豹，或卧伏仰首，或奔驰侧视，或趋步前行，或奔跑回首。形态各异，丰柔矫健，极富动态美。图4: 1中瑞兽形态与图4: 2基本一致，惟尺寸，重量有别（见附表1）。此二枚铜镜既不可能同母模，亦不同范，当是源自相同的设计方案。

图4: 3中的瑞兽与上述二枚铜镜有别，似马、似鹿，相对的两只奔跑回首，另两只奔驰前行，体态舒展有力。《金石索》并无图4: 3尺寸、重量等具体信息，仅在卷六云：“《博古录》载有‘唐自明铁鉴’，较大，其孚饰亦不同，惟其五言四句诗无异。故列于唐，此叶东乡所得。其中‘關’字作‘關’，从门内并，亦别。”¹³ 可见其尺寸明显小于‘唐自明铁鉴’。有关铭文差异，下文将详作探讨。

C式：铜质，圆镜，圆钮，圆纽座。

Ca式：凸弦纹将镜面分为内外两区，“绕纽配置”，瑞兽似狻猊、似狮，绕纽追逐。外区有“赏得”等铭文，边缘主要为几何点线纹、三角纹或弦纹（表四，图5: 1-4）¹⁴。

¹² 图4: 1见(清)钱坫,《浣花拜石轩镜铭集录》卷二,清嘉庆元年(1796)刻本,叶七正;图4: 2 见Shann, 1959: 100: 陕西省文物管理委员会编. 陕西省出土铜镜. 文物出版社, 北京, 1959; 图4: 3 见Feng, 1929: 121: 冯云鹏, 冯云鹗. 金石索(卷六)--据遂古斋藏本影印《万有文库》本, 第一集一千种. 商务印书馆, 北京, 1929.

¹³ Feng, 1929: 121: 冯云鹏, 冯云鹗. 金石索(卷六)--据遂古斋藏本影印《万有文库》本, 第一集一千种, 商务印书馆, 1929.

¹⁴ 图5: 1见Wang, 2007: 32: 王纲怀, 孙克让. 唐代铜镜与唐诗. 上海古籍出版社, 上海, 2007; 图5: 2见吐鲁番博物馆藏, 器物编号M311: 1, 图版亦见Li, 2006: 27-46: 李肖, 张永兵, 张振峰. 新疆吐鲁番地区木纳尔墓地的发掘. --考古. 2006(12); 图5: 3见Beng, 2014: 96: 蚌埠市博物馆. 蚌埠市博物馆藏铜镜集萃. 文物出版社 文物出版社, 北京, 2014; 图5: 4见Feng, 1929: 122: 冯云鹏, 冯云鹗. 金石索(卷六)--据遂古斋藏本影印《万有文库》本, 第一集一千种, 商务印书馆, 1929; 图5: 5见刘体智辑:《善斋吉金录(镜丙)》“镜录”卷三, 民国二十三年(1934), 叶七八正; 图6: 1Si, 1960: 95: 四川博物馆藏. 图版亦见四川省博物馆, 重庆市博物馆合编. 四川省出土铜镜. 文物出版社, 北京, 1960; 图6: 2见An, 2008: 242: 安徽文物考古研究所, 六安市文物局. 六安出土铜镜. 文物出版社, 北京, 2008; 图6: 3藏陕西历史博物馆, 图版亦见陕西历史博物馆编. 千秋金鉴——陕西历史博物馆藏铜镜集成, 陕西出版集团、三秦出版社, 西安, 2012年, 578页; 图6: 4见仪征博物馆. 仪征馆藏铜镜. 凤凰出版传媒集团、江苏美术出版社, 2010.

表四：II型C式（Ca式：图5:1-5/Cb式：图6:1-4）



此类铜镜数量最多，普遍见于各公私收藏、考古发掘及金石图录中。《小校经阁金石文字》收有5枚此类铜镜图录，其中两枚外区凸棱无装饰，另外3枚外区饰有凸弦纹¹⁵；《善斋吉金录》收录2枚，较为清晰。张廷济《清仪阁所藏古器物文》收录1枚¹⁶；梁上椿《岩窟藏镜》收录2枚¹⁷；洛阳博物馆、旅顺博物馆、陕西历史博物馆等亦有收藏¹⁸。本文仅选取几类具有代表性的铜镜加以介绍。

Ca式镜镜背题材多为四瑞兽加铭带，惟《金石索》收录之“秦王镜二”（图5: 4）镜背题材为“瑞兽蒲桃纹”加铭带。张铁山先生收藏的“赏得秦王镜铭神兽镜”（图5: 1）钮座外有一圈连珠纹，是其余各镜所

无。《中国青铜器全集·16铜镜》图一〇四隋“赏得秦王神兽镜”除镜钮无连珠纹外，装饰配置与图5: 1一致，尺寸略微有别¹⁹。此二镜四瑞兽形态飘逸，周边间有云气纹，生动活泼，雕刻技法圆润。与其他Ca式镜相比，图5: 1尺寸稍大（见附表1）。吐鲁番博物馆所藏“瑞兽铭带纹镜”（图5: 2）与蚌埠博物馆藏“赏得秦王铭四瑞兽镜”（图5: 2）的纹饰、配置基本一致，但锈色、大小均有别。其与洛阳博物馆、旅顺博物馆及《岩窟藏镜》所收录的此类铜镜大小、纹饰几乎相同，直径均在9.5厘米左右（见附表1），然这些铜镜并非同范所造。梁上椿在《岩窟藏镜》就已经提到关于其收录的二枚铜镜，“直径虽相同，但非同范”²⁰，尤其是各博物馆及《岩窟藏镜》所收录的Ca式镜重量有明显差别。因此，这类铜镜可能是采用了相同的设计方案，或个别铜镜使用了相同的母模，亦属于“同形镜”。

Cb式：仿镜，凸弦纹或凸棱将镜面分为内外两区，“绕纽配置”，瑞兽呆板不灵动，绕纽追逐，线条较粗。外区有“赏得”等铭文，字体不甚规整。边缘或有弦纹，或仅为凸棱，表面粗糙（表四，图6: 1-4）。

Cb式镜多为仿唐镜，主要分两类：一类是仿隋唐“瑞兽铭带”镜，另一类是仿唐“瑞兽葡萄纹铭带”镜，数量以后者居多。

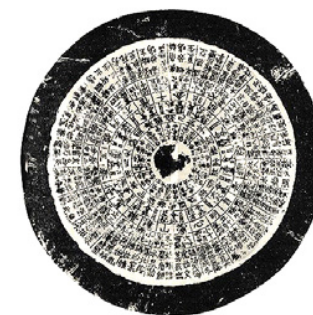


图7 唐·唐月令镜²¹

D式：铜质，圆镜，圆纽，圆纽座，仅有铭文，无装饰，宽素缘，属非典型“赏得”铭带镜。铭文分六轮。第一轮十二格，每格六字；第二轮为“明齐满月”等24字铭文带，无格；第三轮十二格，每格六字；第四轮24格，每格一字，为“赏得秦王镜，判不惜千金。非关欲照胆，特是自明心。蒲山谨赞”24字铭文；第五轮二十四格；外轮二十四格（图7）。

此镜计有铭文五百六十九字，当属铜镜类铭文最多的一款，“赏得秦王镜”铭抑或是工匠从当时流行的镜铭中选取使用。径一尺五分，镜面很大。从布局上看，此镜的设计采用了12等分圆周法，此种“等分刻度法”便于铭文的雕刻与制坯，再由等分好的坯型拼装成一个整圆²²。这点可从铭文第一轮及第三轮的分格排列中获知。第二轮24字铭文带虽未分格，但每字向外辐射正位于第四轮至第六轮24格每格格线上。其24格又由12等分圆周获得。



图8 唐·自明铁鉴

E式：铁质，圆形，圆纽，柿蒂纹纽座，纽座外有两圈三角凸弦纹。分内外两区，内区分八格，每格以两道凸弦纹隔开。“青龙、白虎、朱雀、玄武”（四灵）配置在大格内，并分别被小格内的变形宝相花纹隔开。外区

¹⁵ 刘体智藏并辑：《小校经阁金石文字》卷十六，1935年石印本，页百二。

¹⁶ 张廷济著：《清仪阁所藏古器物文》，第四册，涵芬楼影印，民国十四年（1926），页十一。

¹⁷ Liang, 1943: 20: 梁上椿. 岩窟藏镜. 北京大业印刷局暨育华印刷所，北京，1943。

¹⁸ 洛阳博物馆：《洛阳出土铜镜》，文物出版社，1988年，74页；旅顺博物馆，《旅顺博物馆藏铜镜》，文物出版社，1997年，100页；陕西历史博物馆编，《千秋金鉴——陕西历史博物馆藏铜镜集成》，陕西出版集团、三秦出版社，2012年，350页。

¹⁹ 中国青铜器全集编辑委员会编：《中国青铜器全集·16铜镜》，文物出版社，北京，2005年，104页。

²⁰ Liang, 1943: 20: 梁上椿. 岩窟藏镜. 北京大业印刷局暨育华印刷所，北京，1943。

²¹ 图7国家图书馆扫描，见国图藏刘体智藏并辑：《小校经阁金石文字》（卷十六），1935年石印本，叶一百七；图版亦见氏辑，《善斋吉金录（镜丙）“镜录”卷三，民国二十三年（1934），叶八六。

²² 有关铜镜的等分圆周法，可参Jia, 2007: 10-11: 贾亦显，李婷. 铜镜文化与图案. 北京工艺美术出版社，2007; Li, 1977: 66-71: 李迪. 从古代铜镜上的花纹探讨古代等分圆周方法. 一内蒙古师范学院学报. 1977(1).

有“赏得”等20字铭文带，楷书。外圈为凸三角纹，素缘（图8）²³。

铁质镜极易氧化锈蚀，因此完整的镜子保存下来的不多，带有“赏得”等20字铭文的铁镜更是难得。惟宋代王黼所编之《宣和博古图录》收有此铁鉴拓片图影，极为珍贵。名为唐自明铁鉴，“径七寸一分，重二斤十有四两”²⁴。

陆继辂《合肥学舍札记》曾著录“青绿双麀凤镜一”，镜铭亦为“赏得”等铭文。从命名中可以看出，其装饰题材为“双麀凤”，且镜铭为“隶书”²⁵，与上述所载之铜（铁）镜均不同。但未见图版，其配置纹样等信息亦阙，因而并不单列一式。

因大部分铜镜的出土年代不清晰，缺少纪年墓作为参考，各图录及馆藏对其断代亦不甚精确，给此类铜镜发展脉络的研究带来许多混乱与困扰。就分型分式的结果来看，此类铜镜的演变轨迹基本符合徐殿魁、孔祥星、徐灿平等先生们对隋唐铜镜的分期断代。但此五言诗体铭铜镜特点突出，其镜背纹饰的演化又略有不同。

总体来看，I型A式、B式风格迥异，A式镜风格古朴，有汉魏铜镜遗风。B式镜做工精良，内区由A式的对龙纹变为四瑞兽纹，四兽形态飘逸，间杂云气纹。

值得注意的是，A式“龙纹方镜”不似战国时期爬虫类的蟠螭纹，亦不似汉式镜中一角四足似哺乳类的龙纹。唐代流行的龙纹镜是单个盘龙，龙纹构图饱满，鳞纹清晰，气势宏大。出土的唐镜中典型的双龙纹镜尚未见存，宋代双龙镜最多²⁶，但纹饰粗糙，整体龙纹趋于平和，尺寸较小。而此“龙纹方镜”双龙纹灵动飞舞，形体纤长，隐有飞动之势，颇具隋代龙纹镜典型特征²⁷。因此，《故宫藏镜》将其著为隋代，应当无误。

I型B式镜整体风格类似隋“玉面方窥四兽镜”，但装饰更为华美，内外区分界处有一圈连珠纹，四角又有端庄的宝相花纹，内区四瑞兽又开II型镜四瑞兽绕钮本走之先，四瑞兽潇洒飘逸。方形瑞兽镜所见甚少，又缺乏纪年方面的资料印证，仅从瑞兽和四方枚的风格上推测，似更接近于初唐镜²⁸。因此，此镜时代约为隋末至唐高宗时期。

II型“赏得”铭文镜A式、B式、C式之间的演变轨迹比较明显，D式镜不甚典型，E式镜为铁镜，拟单独列出。

A式镜承袭了“四神规矩镜”的风格²⁹，与隋“窥庄益态镜”、“照仁镜”相似，规矩配置，内区分置四兽。此类型规矩配置加铭文铜镜时间上限为隋大业七年（611）³⁰。现存的A式镜多缺少墓葬信息，图3：4铜镜出土于1957年湖南长沙陈家大山墓1，缺墓葬纪年，从同墓出土的陶器、铜钱等，将其定为唐墓。陈灿平先生将此类镜下限定为初唐³¹，可见A式镜时代约为隋大业末至唐高宗时期。

B式镜略去V饰，将其置换为规整的宝相花纹，仍规矩配置，整体风格与A式镜相似。B式镜中图4：2于1955年西安东郊灞桥第146号唐墓出土，缺墓葬资料。目前尚未见于B式镜相匹配参考的其他铜镜材料，此种配置或为“赏得”铭带镜独有。B式镜当与A式镜时代相当或略晚，大致时代为武德至高宗时期。

²³（宋）王黼编：《宣和博古图录》卷三十，泊如斋重修。明万历1603年本，叶十正。

²⁴（宋）王黼编：《宣和博古图录》卷三十，泊如斋重修。明万历1603年本，叶十六背。

²⁵（清）陆继辂：《合肥学舍札记》卷十一，清光绪四年（1878）兴国州署刻本。

²⁶ Kong, 1994: 218: 孔祥星，刘一曼。《铜镜鉴赏与收藏》。吉林科学技术出版社，长春，1994。

²⁷ Fang, 2015: 116: 方素萍。《浅析龙纹在铜镜历史发展中的演化过程》。--大众文艺。2015(17)。

²⁸ Xu, 1994: 305: 徐殿魁。《唐镜分期的考古学探讨》。--考古学报。1994(3)。

²⁹ Luo, 1988: 72: 洛阳博物馆。《洛阳出土铜镜》。文物出版社，北京，1988。

³⁰ Shaan, 1957: 65: 陕西省文物管理委员会。《西安郭家滩隋墓清理简报》。1957(8)。

³¹ Chen, 2011: 11: 陈灿平。《隋唐墓葬出土铜镜研究》。北京大学2011年博士学位论文。

C式镜完全略去规矩纹，四兽绕钮配置。Ca式镜内区瑞兽体现出两种截然不容的形态，一类瑞兽飘逸灵动，另一类瑞兽丰腴柔健，瑞兽间留白较多。前类直径稍大，后一类直径稍小。图5：1铜镜与《中国青铜器全集•16铜镜》收录的“赏得秦王神兽镜”属前类，后者于1988年陕西长安南里王村出土，年代为隋³²，但隋代此类四兽纹尚不流行。龙朔元年（661）许夫人墓出土一枚Ca式镜，残存三分之一，从图版来看，此瑞兽飘逸潇洒，属于前类³³。与此镜类似的还有河南三门峡庙底沟M183出土的“环绕四兽铭带镜”，锈蚀严重，出开元钱，为盛唐墓。仔细辨认，此镜亦属于前类。因此，Ca式镜前一类时代约为隋末至玄宗开元时期。

Ca式镜后一类瑞兽纹丰腴柔健，至晚期稍显瘦长。除吐鲁番木纳尔墓地M311出土的“秦王瑞兽镜”，其他铜镜均缺乏墓葬信息。且木纳尔M311为被盗墓，此镜系从被盗墓中清理而出，并无更多出土器物参考，时代被定为麴氏高昌国至唐西州时期³⁴。俄罗斯图瓦的凯诺塔夫墓出土过一枚秦王镜，尺寸纹饰均符合后一类，同墓出开元钱、马具等，为盛唐墓。旅顺博物馆与蚌埠博物馆所藏此类铜镜瑞兽稍显瘦长，形态亦不似前代有神，瑞兽风格类似咸通十年（869）偃师杏园李悦墓出土四兽镜。因此，Ca式镜后一阶段约为玄宗开元至懿宗时期。

仿镜多以C式镜为主，数量不多。吴文清先生收藏一枚明代仿镜，镜背为传统瑞兽纹³⁵。仿镜中出现了“瑞兽葡萄纹”主题，瑞兽及铭文均呆板不规整。时代为宋元明时期。

D式镜不分区，镜背分格，格内皆是铭文。“赏得”铭文仅据一轮，或仅作为流行语被工匠选入。铭文的重心在于“月令”，但此月令非《唐月令》（《御刊定礼记月令》）³⁶，《唐月令》避睿宗讳改“鸛鳴”为“鸛鸟”，而此镜铭文未避睿宗讳，因此，此镜当铸于《唐月令》成书之前。联系下文“赏得”铭文为隋蒲山公李密所作，因此D式镜时代当在隋末至玄宗前。

E式镜内区配置与隋唐淮南起照铭神兽镜相似，规矩配置，分八格，格内四灵被宝相花纹隔开³⁷。区别是E式镜的装饰纹样不如隋镜繁复，外区铭文带外亦无花纹。E式镜为铁镜，铁镜具有明确的时代性，主要集中在隋至初唐，盛唐已不多见，中晚唐更少³⁸。内区四灵的装饰主要流行于初唐，最晚至贞观后期³⁹。因此，E式镜的时代约为隋末至贞观年间。

³² 中国青铜器全集编辑委员会编。《中国青铜器全集•16铜镜》。文物出版社，北京，2005。

³³ Guang, 1990: 56-57: 广东省博物馆，茂名市博物馆，电白县博物馆。《广东电白唐代许夫人墓》。--文物。1990(7)。

³⁴ Li, 2006: 27-46: 李肖，张永兵，张振峰。《新疆吐鲁番地区木纳尔墓地的发掘》。--考古。2006(12)。

³⁵ Wu, 2003: 21: 吴文清。《赏镜断代说秦王》。--收藏界。2003. 6。

³⁶（宋）欧阳修，宋祁撰：《新唐书•艺文志》卷五十七，中华书局，1975年，第1434页。

³⁷ 《中国青铜器全集•16铜镜》，第105页。

³⁸ Hen, 2011: 35: 陈灿平。《隋唐墓葬出土铜镜研究》。北京大学2011年博士学位论文。

³⁹ Wang, 2010: 130: 王纲怀。《止水集——王纲怀铜镜研究论集》。上海古籍出版社，上海，2010。

型式		出处/单位	图号	名称	时代	形制	重量(克)	直径/边长(厘米)	分期
I型	A式	《故宫藏镜》	图1	龙纹方镜	隋	方	119.6	6.6*6.8	隋末
	B式	《唐代铜镜与唐诗》	图2	赏得秦王镜铭神兽镜	隋唐	方			隋末至高宗时期
	A式	《唐代铜镜与唐诗》	图3: 1	赏得秦王镜铭瑞兽镜	隋唐	圆	465	16.7	隋大业末至高宗时期
		《清华铭文镜——镜铭汉字演变简史》	图3: 2	赏得秦王镜铭神兽镜	隋唐	圆	465	16.7	
		新乡博物馆	图3: 3	秦王镜	初唐	圆		16.5	
		《四龙纹金钊与秦王镜》		秦王镜	唐初	圆		16.8	
		《湖南出土铜镜图录》	图3: 4	四神镜	唐	圆		16	
		《西清续鉴甲编》	图3: 5	明心鉴	唐	圆	(十三两) 约484.9	(五寸一分) 16.32	
		《朝阳博物馆藏铜镜》		方格四神纹“秦王”铭文镜	隋	圆		17.1	
		《小校经阁金石文字》	图3: 6	秦王镜	唐	圆			
	B式	《浣花拜石轩镜铭集录》	图4: 1	唐秦王镜	唐	圆		(六寸) 19.2	武德至高宗时期
		《陕西省出土铜镜》	图4: 2	秦王镜	唐	圆		13.8	
		《金石索》	图4: 3	唐秦王镜一	唐	圆			
	Ca式	《唐代铜镜与唐诗》	图5: 1	赏得秦王镜铭神兽镜	隋唐	圆	510	12.4	隋末至玄宗开元时期
		河南三门峡庙底沟M183		环绕四兽铭带镜	隋唐	圆(残)		12.5	
		《中国青铜器全集·16铜镜》		赏得秦王神兽镜	隋	圆		12	
		《山东陵县出土〈唐东方合墓志〉考释》		秦王镜	唐	圆(残)		12.5	
		《岩窟藏镜》(陕西出土)		秦王四兽镜	隋末唐初	圆	145	9.5	玄宗开元至懿宗时期
		《岩窟藏镜》(陕西出土秦王四兽镜)		秦王四兽镜	隋末唐初	圆	170	9.5	
		吐鲁番博物馆	图5: 2	秦王四兽镜	隋唐	圆		9.5	
		《洛阳出土铜镜》		秦王四骏镜	唐	圆	141	9.4	
		《旅顺博物馆藏铜镜》		秦王瑞兽镜	唐	圆	140	9.5	
		《蚌埠市博物馆藏铜镜集萃》	图5: 3	赏得秦王铭四瑞兽镜	唐	圆	221	9.1	
		《千秋金鉴——陕西历史博物馆藏铜镜集成》		“赏得秦王镜”瑞兽纹镜	唐	圆	180	9.9	
		《善斋吉金录》	图5: 5	唐秦王镜	唐	圆		(四寸五分) 约15	
		《金石索》	图5: 4	唐秦王镜二	唐?	圆			
	Cb式	《四川省出土铜镜》	图6: 1	秦王镜	唐?	圆		8.8	宋元明
		《六安出土铜镜》	图6: 2	瑞兽葡萄纹镜	宋	圆		8.8	
		《千秋金鉴——陕西历史博物馆藏铜镜集成》	图6: 3	瑞兽纹镜	仿唐	圆	516	15.3	
		《仪征馆藏铜镜》	图6: 4	仿唐“赏得秦王”铭瑞兽镜	元	圆		15.4	
	D式	《小校经阁金石文字》	图7	唐月令镜	唐	圆		(一尺五分) 约35	隋末至玄宗前
	E式	《宣和博古图录》	图8	唐自明铁鉴	唐	圆	(二斤十有四两) 1719.25	(七寸一分) 约21.8	隋末至贞观年间

附表1: 按此类铜镜甚多, 笔者仅就所见并具有代表性铜镜的进行统计; 表内“时代”一栏为各金石典籍、馆藏及报告所划分的时代。年代后标示问号的, 正文内当专做探讨, 仍留存原定时代。

公元9-12世纪汉传佛教在龟兹地区的传播
— 以龟兹石窟为中心

苗利辉

The Spread of Chinese Buddhism in Ancient Kucha from 9th to 12th century AD — Centered on Kucha Caves

Miao Lihui

Abstract

From the 9th to the 12th century AD, Chinese Buddhism made great progress in the Kucha region. It was a major event that the Uighurs, settling in the Mongolian Plateau previously, entered into the Kucha area and converted to Buddhism during this period. The Uighur culture was hardly influenced by the Chinese culture, especially in respect to Buddhism. There were many types of beliefs in Kucha, which included not only the beliefs, related to Buddha, i.e. Maitreya, Amitabha and Vairocana Buddha, but also the ones, related to the Bodhisattvas such as Avalokitesvara, Kshitigarbha and so on, and were the same as the ones of the Central Plain. The factors that shaped the Buddhist art in this area came from different sects and included Han Buddhist art, local Buddhist art and traditional Uighur art.

Keywords: Chinese Buddhism; Kucha; Uighur

公元9-12世纪是龟兹汉传佛教的另一个重要发展时期。这一时期, 龟兹地区的重大事件是从蒙古高原西下的回鹘人进入龟兹地区。

回鹘本为漠北高原兴起的游牧民族, 开始被称为回纥, 9世纪中期建立汗国, 八世纪末九世纪初改名回鹘, 9世纪中期回鹘政权瓦解, 部众四散。其中一支进入古代龟兹, 建立政权, 但随后并入高昌回鹘。¹ 高昌回鹘原来信仰摩尼教, 进入西域百年后, 改信当地流行的佛教。

回鹘文化受汉文化影响很深, 早在漠北时期, 就吸收了很多汉文化的内容, 对其文化加以改造。进入西域地区后, 其统治中心的高昌地区自魏晋以来就是汉文化地区, 其疆域的另一个重要地区——龟兹地区也一直是中原王朝着力经营地区, 汉文化影响也很深, 这样就使得高昌回鹘文化原有的汉文化得以延续并有某种程度的加强, 这一点在佛教的信仰上尤其突出。² 进入宋代以后, 高昌回鹘王国一直与宋、辽、敦煌归义军政权乃至以后的西夏都保持着密切的经济、文化和政治往来,³ 上述地区佛教在这一时期的变化也几乎同步在高昌回鹘地区发生着。

这一时期龟兹地区信仰类型多样, 既有弥勒、弥陀和华严卢舍那佛信仰, 也有地藏、观音等菩萨信仰。

根据目前龟兹地区出土的汉文佛经和保存在石窟中的图像, 龟兹地区的华严卢舍那佛信

¹ Tian, 2006: 田卫疆. 高昌回鹘史稿. 新疆人民出版社, 乌鲁木齐, 2006.

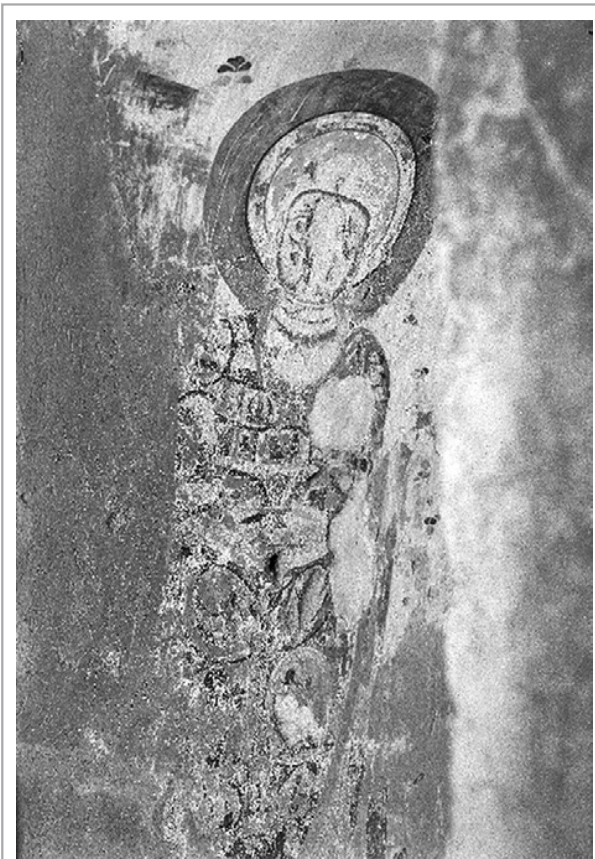
² Gao, 2005: 71-76: 高士荣, 杨富学. 汉传佛教对回鹘的影响. -民族研究. 北京, 2005 (1).

³ Rong, 2015: 364-397: 荣新江. 归义军史研究—唐宋时代敦煌历史考索. 上海古籍出版社, 上海, 2015. Chen, 1993: 360-400: 陈溯洛. 论回鹘与五代宋辽金的关系. 人民出版社, 北京, 1993; Yang, 2005: 469-486: 杨富学. 回鹘文献与回鹘文化. 民族出版社, 北京, 2005.

仰在公元9-12世纪比较流行。现存图像材料保存在库木吐喇石窟图一 库木吐喇9窟右甬道外侧壁卢舍那佛窟群区第9窟、第13窟、38窟和45窟。

依据其反映的思想和图像特点，大致可分为两种类型。第一种保存在库木吐喇石窟窟群区第9窟的右甬道外侧壁上。

卢舍阿佛为立姿，着通肩袈裟，左手作与愿印，右手作施无畏印，左肩绘一钟，右肩绘一鼓。左臂从肩至肘依次绘：一坐姿天人、阿修罗和白象。右臂从肩至肘依次绘：一天人上部、不明动物的身体后半部（仅见躯干、两条后腿及尾巴）。胸部绘一身菩萨及四身跪姿礼拜天人，菩萨似正在说法，这几身人物均位于天宫中。腹部上部绘大海，下部绘须弥山，须弥山上部两侧绘日、月，中部绘四条蛇，左右各两条。腹部下部绘奔马。股部绘画脱落，仅见两结跏趺坐人物的双腿。左膝处绘两身立姿供养胡人，一男一女。右膝绘两身披甲武士（均有头光）。膝盖以下部位脱落。（图一）



图一 库木吐喇9窟右甬道外侧壁卢舍那佛

上绘制钟鼓，表现卢舍那佛法界以度化六道众生为目标的特点。

奔马，则是对法身空寂，亦有亦非特点的譬喻。“诸法空寂无生灭，解达非有亦非无，譬如野马水月形，亦如幻梦境中像，诸法无主悉空寂，因是得成慧灯光。”¹²

⁴“去来今佛，一切悉等，为一法身。” 见佛说如来兴显经，Gao，1934：592：高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第10册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

⁵ Gao, 1934: 399、736: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第9册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

⁶ Gao, 1934: 423: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第9册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

⁷ Gao, 1934: 652: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第9册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

⁸ Gao, 1934: 175: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第10册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

⁹ Gao, 1934: 255: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第10册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

¹⁰ Gao, 1934: 72: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第10册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

¹¹ Gao, 1934: 103: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第10册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

¹² Gao, 1934: 436: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第9册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

华严思想认为，佛法义理即为佛的法身，它的人格化就是卢舍那佛，它是过去现在存在于不同空间的佛产生和存在的本原。永恒存在，是诸佛之母。⁴该法身相好庄严，清净常寂，普照十方。⁵阿艾石窟中的卢舍那佛身上绘有多个展现庄严法身以及法身特点的物象，包括绘于左右肩部的鼓和钟，绘于腹部下部的奔马。

钟鼓作用相似，为寺院行事报时所用，鼓在诵经时也用。它们还都具有警醒睡眠和冥昧的功能。华严经中记载，鼓钟能发出妙音，给修行者劝勉。“能击正法鼓，声震十方国，令得上道，自觉法如是”。⁶“发击大法鼓音声闻于一切世界，普照一切众生诸根心。”⁷“阿僧祇宝鼓，妙音克谐，穷劫不绝。”⁸“天中有鼓，名：甚可爱乐。彼天生已，此鼓发音而告之言：‘诸天子！汝以心不放逸，于如来所种诸善根，往昔亲近众善知识。毘卢遮那大威神力，于彼命终来生此天’。”⁹“十方一切诸妓乐，钟鼓琴瑟非一类，悉奏和雅妙音声，靡不从不于掌中出。”¹⁰“或时心欲一切言音，皆作法音，恒住不灭；或时心欲一切世界箫、笛、钟、鼓及以歌咏，一切乐声皆演法音。”¹¹ 卢舍那佛两肩

卢舍那佛也是世界万物的起源，是卢舍那佛的愿力化现了无量的三界六道和万事万物。

“重观普贤一一身分、一一肢节、一一毛孔中，悉见三千大千世界风轮、水轮、火轮、地轮，大海宝山、须弥山王、金刚围山，一切舍宅，诸妙宫殿，众生等类，一切地狱、饿鬼、畜生，阎罗王处，诸天梵王，乃至人、非人等，欲界、色界，及无色界，一切劫数，诸佛菩萨，教化众生，如是等事，皆悉显现；十方一切世界，亦复如是。如此娑婆世界，卢舍那如来、应供、等正觉，所现自在力。”¹³

可以看出，阿艾石窟的卢舍那佛身上从上至下依次绘出了天界，阿修罗，人道，畜生道，袈裟的下部已脱落，可能绘有饿鬼和地狱道。正是对有情娑婆世界的描绘。

娑婆世界也是卢舍那佛的度化对象。

“一切见者两足尊，哀愍众生现神力，令此种种诸天乐，普发妙音咸得闻。于一毛端百千亿，那由他国微尘数，如是无量诸如来，于中安住说妙法。一毛孔内无量刹，各有四洲及大海，须弥铁围亦复然，悉见在中无迫隘一毛端处有六趣，三种恶道及人天，诸龙神众阿修罗，各随自业受果报。于彼一切刹土中，悉有如来演妙音，随顺一切众生心，为转最上净法轮。刹中种种众生身，身中复有种种刹，人天诸趣各各异，佛悉知己为说法。”¹⁴

卢舍那佛身体各部位绘制的六道多位于椭圆形中，正表现了卢舍那佛身放光明照耀、度化众生的情况。

可以看出此时龟兹地区华严法身观，强调卢舍那佛的法身，是世间万物的本源，并以光明照耀众生。

第二种类型则绘制在库木吐喇第13窟、38窟和45窟。卢舍那佛成为这些洞窟的主尊，他所在的莲华藏世界净土成为表现的重点。

莲华藏世界海，华严经记载，它是卢舍那佛经历无数菩萨行而成就的。最底层为十重无数风轮，它的上面是香水海，香水海中有大莲华，其中的世界为莲华藏世界，卢舍那佛居于其中。其中又有无数的佛国净土。华藏世界周围是金刚轮山。“此世界海大轮围山内所有大地，一切皆以金刚所成，坚固庄严，不可沮坏；清净平坦，无有高下；摩尼为轮，众宝为藏；一切众生，种种形状；诸摩尼宝，以为间错；散众宝末，布以莲华；香藏摩尼，分置其间；诸庄严具，充遍如云，三世一切诸佛国土所有庄严而为校饰；摩尼妙宝以为其网，普现如来所有境界，如天帝网于中布列。诸佛子！此世界海地，有如是等世界海微尘数庄严。”¹⁵

库木吐喇石窟第13窟和38窟的主室正壁龕内原均塑卢舍那佛，两窟券顶均绘横列的一佛二菩萨图，其中佛与菩萨均坐于云气上，诸佛皆面向正壁主尊，佛头上方均有华盖和宝树，菩萨头上方有不

鼓自鸣的乐器。库木吐喇石窟第45窟的券顶亦绘有类似图像，尽管与前两窟略有不同，如佛周围的菩萨、乐器等已大大简化。对照经本，可以看出上述图景正是对卢舍那佛所在莲华藏世界海的描绘。（图二）

库木吐喇石窟第38窟，主室两侧壁，各开两个莲瓣形龕，龕内塑像无存，原应该塑佛像。此四佛像应该属于四方佛，其经出来源为《观佛三昧海经》和《金光明最胜王经》，是以四方佛代表三世十方诸佛，与主尊共同构成显教五方佛。¹⁶。

这种卢舍那佛融摄十方三世佛的情况，在库木吐喇石窟第9窟、38窟和45窟的其它图像中也可看

到。如库木吐喇石窟第9窟主室正壁龕下壁面绘出五身立佛，应该表现的也是五方佛，而该窟主室及甬道各壁面大量绘制的小坐佛应该也是同样的含义。38窟左甬道外侧壁绘燃灯佛则是对三世佛系统的

¹³ Gao, 1934: 784: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第9册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

¹⁴ Gao, 1934: 198: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第10册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

¹⁵ Gao, 1934: 40: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等。大正藏第10册。大藏出版社，东京，1934。

¹⁶ 相关研究见Ying, 2014: 7-20: 殷光明。敦煌显密五方佛图像的转变与法身思想。——敦煌研究。兰州，2014(1)。

表现。¹⁷45窟主室两侧壁各绘十列坐佛，表现的应是十方佛。主室前壁上方的弥勒龙华树下说法与右甬道内侧壁绘制的释迦牟尼佛，以及券顶两下沿分别塑出的三佛则是三世佛的表现。¹⁸

除了对三世十方佛的融摄，华严佛陀观也融摄了西方净土的佛陀观。

据《无量寿经》记载，阿弥陀佛过去久远劫前为一国王。后发无上道心，出家为比丘，发四十八大愿，愿成就净土，度化众生。后愿行圆满，成阿弥陀佛，在娑婆世界十万亿佛土的西方，报得极乐净土，接引念佛之人前往。¹⁹

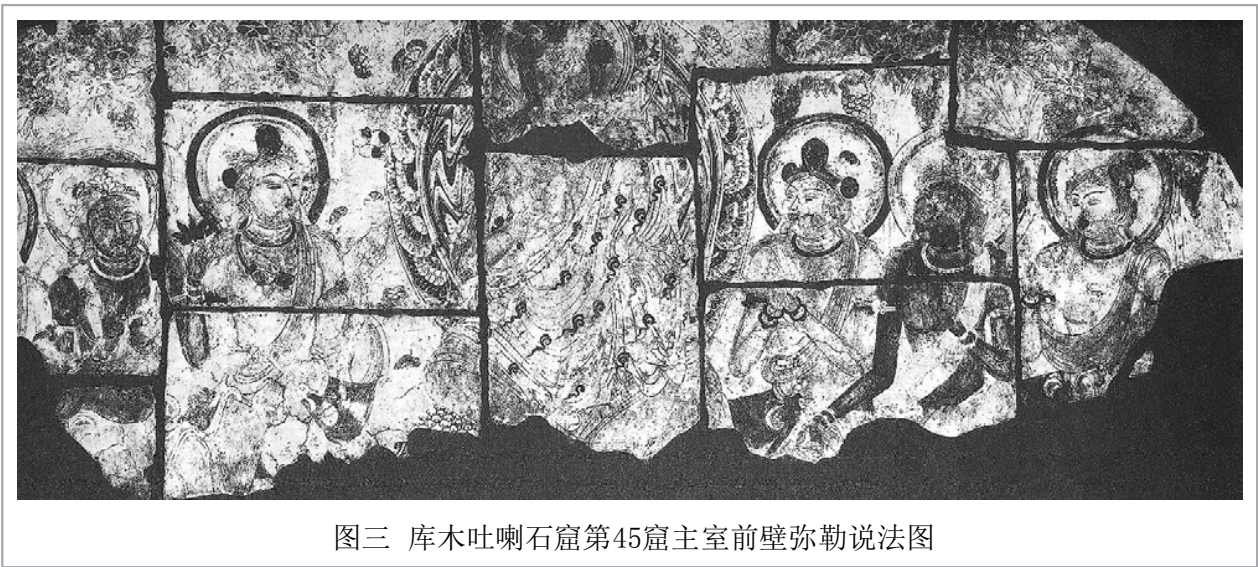
前往西方净土的众生，并未成佛，但以后不会退转。从而为众生成佛之路开辟了一条易行之道。

阿弥陀佛的图像在库木吐喇石窟第45窟的右甬道外侧壁可以看到，此外，该壁面上还绘有他的两个胁侍：大势至菩萨和观世音菩萨。

这种造像上反映出的卢舍那佛对三世十方佛和净土报身佛的融摄，也可以在华严义理中找到依据。华严思想认为，佛是遍一切处成正觉的，所有的佛土都是一佛即卢舍那佛所化，因为佛是“依真而住非国土”。²⁰佛是遍一切处，仅是根据众生不同根机而示现化身。“是以一佛入一切佛，以一切佛入一佛，而不坏其相者之所住处。”²¹“佛身无去亦无来，所有国土皆明现。显示菩萨所修行，无量趣地诸方便，及说难思真实理，令诸佛子入法界。出生化佛如尘数，普应群生心所欲，入深法界方便门，广大无边悉开演。”²²

此时期，上述反映华严佛陀思想的洞窟中也绘制了佛涅槃的壁画。如库木吐喇石窟第38窟和45窟，在这两窟后甬道前壁均绘有此题材。一方面是华严思想认为涅槃与卢舍那佛法身本性一致的，同为清净，遍于虚空，亦有亦无。“佛子！譬如涅槃，去、来、现在无量众生于中灭度，终无厌倦。何以故？一切诸法本性清净，是谓：涅槃，云何于中而有厌倦？”²³“如来法身藏，普入世间中，虽在于世间，于世无所著。譬如清净水，影像无来去；法身遍世间，当知亦如是。如是离染着，身世皆清净，湛然如虚空，一切无有生。”²⁴另一方面也可能与龟兹地区长期重视涅槃的传统有关。两者同绘于一窟，反映出此阶段华严佛陀观的变化，即卢舍那佛的清净法身，本性同于涅槃，是一切诸佛（三世十方佛和报身佛）的本体。

这一时期，弥勒信仰在龟兹地区也有流传。反映这种信仰的壁画保存在库木吐喇石窟第45窟主室前壁半圆壁面内。（图三）



图三 库木吐喇石窟第45窟主室前壁弥勒说法图

¹⁷该题材可考证参见Miao,2007: 53-62: 苗利辉. 龟兹地区燃灯佛授记造像研究. -- 西域研究. 乌鲁木齐, 2007(3).

¹⁸有关图像辨识, 参见Miao, 2007: 34-39: 苗利辉. 库木吐喇第45窟造像内容考证. -- 敦煌研究. 兰州, 2014(2).

¹⁹ Gao, 1934: 40: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第10册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²⁰ Gao, 1934: 33: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第10册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²¹ Gao, 1934: 423: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第10册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²² Gao, 1934: 21: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第10册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²³ Gao, 1934: 223: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第10册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²⁴ Gao, 1934: 260: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第10册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

画面正中为绘一倚坐（或交脚坐？）弥勒佛形象，其头部上方绘树冠，其两侧各绘三身闻法菩萨，菩萨头上方亦绘树冠。

壁画表现的是弥勒在未来于娑婆世界成佛，龙华三会，度化众生。娑婆世界成为人间净土。

弥勒未来的人间净土内，“于未来世人寿八万岁时，此赡部洲，其地宽广，人民炽盛，安隐丰乐。村邑城廓，鸡鸣相接。女人年五百岁，尔乃行嫁。彼时诸人，身虽胜妙，然有三患：一者，大小便利；二者，寒热饥渴；三者，贪淫老病。有转轮王，名曰饷佉，威伏四方，如法化世。……极大海际，地平如掌，无有坎坑砂砾毒刺。人皆和睦，慈心相向。兵戈不用，以正自守。…时有佛出世，名曰慈氏，……如我今者十号具足。……为有情宣说正法，开示初善中善后善，文义巧妙，纯一圆满，清白梵行。为诸人天正开梵行，令广修学。”²⁵

即弥勒人间净土内转轮圣王以五戒、十善的德化v来化导人民，人民过着长寿、繁荣、欢乐、和平的生活。与此同时，弥勒菩萨下生人间成佛度众生。理想的政治与完善的宗教，健康长寿的生活，是弥勒人间净土的典型特征。它与东西方净土不同，凸显了良好的社会秩序和优美的环境，实现了出世间和入世间的合理结合，是现实人间净土的最高理想。

此净土的形成，是弥勒过去世修菩萨行发愿而成，“使其作佛时，令我国中人民，无有诸垢瑕秽，于淫怒痴不大，殷懃奉行十善，我尔乃取无上正觉”²⁶同时也是弥勒“昼夜各三，正衣束礼，下膝着地，向于十方，说此偈言：我悔一切过，劝助众道德，归命礼诸佛，令得无上慧，”²⁷ 精进修行的结果。

往生弥勒人间净土的方法之一是往生兜率净土。若要实现往生，必须精勤修诸功德，威仪不缺，扫塔涂地，以众名香、妙花供养，行众三昧、深入正受，读诵经典，如是等人，应当至心，虽不断结，如得六通。应当系念，念佛形像，称弥勒名。如是等辈，若一念顷，受八戒斋，修诸净业，发弘誓愿，命终之后，譬如壮士屈伸臂顷，即得往生兜率陀天上，于莲花上结跏趺坐。²⁸

若有礼敬弥勒者，除却百亿劫生死之罪，设不生天，未来世中，龙华菩提树下，亦得值遇，发无上心。²⁹

此外，弥陀信仰在龟兹地区也很流行。

阿弥陀佛又名无量光、无量寿，意为光明和寿命无限，他是西方极乐净土的教主。

依据《无量寿经》所载，西方净土的教主为阿弥陀佛，其胁侍为观世音和大势至菩萨。西方净土的形成是过去久远劫世自在王佛住世时，有一国王发无上道心，舍王位出家，名为法藏比丘，于世自在王佛处修行，历经五劫之思虑而发殊胜之四十八愿。誓愿建立一个庄严的极乐世界，以救渡一切念佛名号的众生。

此后，他不断积聚功德，而于距今十劫之前，愿行圆满，成阿弥陀佛，在离此十万亿佛土之西方，报得极乐净土。

西方净土阿弥陀佛的报土，清净无垢，有观世音菩萨和大势至菩萨协助教化众生。净土内“七重栏楯、七重罗网、七重行树，皆是四宝周匝围绕，是故彼国名曰极乐。……极乐国土有七宝池，八功德水充满其中，池底纯以金沙布地。四边阶道，金、银、琉璃、颇梨合成。上有楼阁，亦以金、银、琉璃、颇梨、车璫、赤珠、玛瑙而严饰之。池中莲花，大如车轮，青色青光，黄色黄光，赤色赤光，白色白光，微妙香洁。舍利弗！极乐国土成就如是功德庄严。……常作天乐，黄金为地，昼夜六时天雨曼陀罗华。其国众生，常以清旦，各以衣祴盛众妙华，供养他方十万亿佛；即以食时，还到本国，饭食经行。……彼国常有种种奇妙杂色之鸟——白鹤、孔雀、鹦鹉、舍利、迦陵频伽、共命之鸟。是诸众鸟，昼夜六时出和雅音，其音演畅五根、五力、七菩提分、八圣道分如是等法。其土众生闻是音已，皆悉念佛、念法、念僧。……彼佛国土无三恶趣。……彼佛国土，微风吹动，诸宝行树及宝罗网出微妙音，譬如百千种乐同时俱作，闻是音者皆自然生念佛、念法、念僧之心。”³⁰在此土内修行的众生，分为上中下三品九生，通过修行均可最终成佛，而且不在转生到作为秽土的娑婆世界。

²⁵ Gao, 1934: 893: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第27册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²⁶ Gao, 1934: 188: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第12册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²⁷ Gao, 1934: 188: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第12册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²⁸ Gao, 1934: 419: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第14册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

²⁹ Gao, 1934: 611: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第74册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

³⁰ Gao, 1934: 346-347: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第12册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

进入阿弥陀佛西方净土的修行方式也很简单，任何人只要具足信愿行、如法念佛，则一定会得到他的接引，而往生至真至善至美的净土佛国。既使犯有逆罪之人，只要在弥留之际，产生往生西方之念，并专心念佛，亦可往生西方。

从唐代开始，弥陀信仰成为中国佛教信仰的一个主流。这种信仰随着汉传佛教的传播在宋元时期也传入了辽、西夏等地区。这一时期的龟兹石窟中也有发现。阿弥陀佛的画像以及汉文题记可以在库木吐喇第42窟和45窟右甬道外侧壁发现。

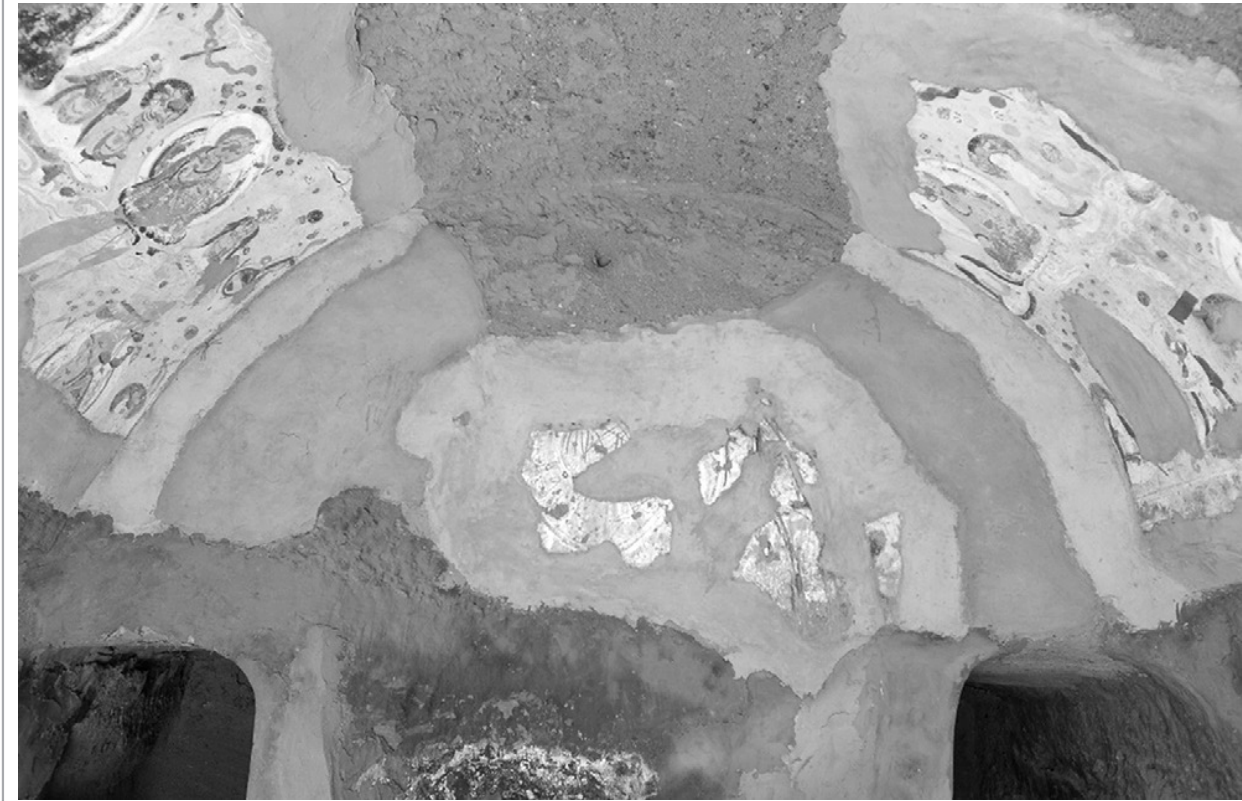
这一时期龟兹地区的菩萨信仰，则以地藏菩萨和观音菩萨的信仰比较流行，相关的图像保存较多。

依据佛经记载，地藏菩萨是释迦灭后至弥勒出现之间，愿意现身六道，普救众生的菩萨。因他象大地一样，安忍不動、静之虑深密，故名地藏。³¹

至迟在公元6世纪，地藏信仰已经传入中原。唐代是地藏信仰的一个繁盛时期。这一时期，一方面由于唐代政治经济的繁荣，为大量佛教造像的出现提供了物质基础。另一方面，则是佛教在社会生活中的地位有了很大的提高，灵验记的流行推动了大众对佛教的信仰更加普及和虔诚。此外，玄奘对《十轮经》的重译，也使得人们对地藏的信仰达到新高度。³²这一时期，地藏信仰的主要内容是普济六道众生。

宋元以后，地藏的济世功能减弱，其主要职能变为幽冥世界的救济者。这种转变的原因，一是后传入地藏类经典，描述了地藏菩萨的的大愿为“众生度尽，方证菩提；地狱未空，誓不成佛。”³³ 那些恶贯满盈的众生，只要改恶从善，至心诵念地藏菩萨圣号，可以解除一切苦厄，体现出他对救度地狱众生的独特关怀。另一方面则是与中国民众固有的重视死后世界的背景有关。此外，也与中国早期幽冥世界救济者多为僧侣有关。而华严宗人则是推动地藏信仰变化的佛教界力量。³⁴ 这一时期，地藏造像既有菩萨行、也有沙门形和佛装形，与《大乘大集地藏十轮经》所载“为欲成熟诸有情故。于十方界。或时现作大梵王身。为诸有情如应说法。或复现作大自在天身。或作欲界他化自在天身。或作乐变化天身。或作覩史多天身。或作夜摩天身。或作帝释天身。或作四大王天身。或作佛身。或作菩萨身。或作独觉身。或作声闻身。或作转轮王身。或作刹帝力身。或作婆罗门身。或作苾舍身。或作戍达罗身。或作丈夫身。或作妇女身。或作童男身。或作童女身。或作健达缚身。或作阿素洛身。或作紧捺洛身。或作莫呼洛伽身。或作龙身。或作药叉身。或作罗刹身。或作鸠畔荼身。或作毕舍遮身。或作饿鬼身。或作布怛那身。或作羯咤布怛那身。或作粤闍诃洛鬼身。或作师子身。或作香象身。或作马身。或作牛身。或作种种禽兽之身。或作剌魔王身。或作地狱卒身。或作地狱诸有情身。现作如是等无量无数异类之身。”一致。³⁵其中沙门形数量最多。沙门形地藏有时与六道或地狱图像相结合，充分体现出这一时期地藏菩萨的信仰内涵。³⁶ 它的理论依据为《大方广十轮经》载：“一切六道诸众生，常为苦恼之所逼，当悉归命于地藏，当令苦恼悉消灭”³⁷ 。 这种造型的地藏像早在公元7世纪就已出现，但在这个时期才得以流行。

这种信仰及造像的变化在龟兹地区也有反映。如库木吐喇石窟75窟就绘有结跏趺坐的地藏菩萨的画像，其双手捧摩尼珠，从中放出六道光芒，上绘六道众生。（图四）此外，库木吐喇79窟主室右侧壁绘制的地狱变图也属于地藏信仰的部分。



图四 库木吐喇75窟主室正壁地藏菩萨

观音又名观世音、观自在。他在无量国土中，以菩萨之身到处寻声救苦。观音菩萨具有平等无私的广大悲愿，当众生遇到任何的困难和苦痛，如能至诚称念观世音菩萨，就会得到菩萨的救护。“佛告无尽意菩萨：“善男子！若有无量百千万亿众生受诸苦恼，闻是观世音菩萨，一心称名，观世音菩萨实时观其音声，皆得解脱。若有持是观世音菩萨名者，设入大火，火不能烧，由是菩萨威神力故。若为大水所漂，称其名号，即得浅处。若有百千万亿众生，为求金、银、琉璃、车璫、玛瑙、珊瑚、虎珀、真珠等宝，入于大海，假使黑风吹其船舫，飘堕罗刹鬼国，其中若有，乃至一人，称观世音菩萨名者，是诸人等皆得解脱罗刹之难。以是因缘，名观世音。”³⁸而且，观世音菩萨最能适应众生的要求，对不同的众生，便现化不同的身相，说不同的法门。“佛告无尽意菩萨：“善男子！若有国土众生，应以佛身得度者，观世音菩萨即现佛身而为说法；应以辟支佛身得度者，即现辟支佛身而为说法；应以声闻身得度者，即现声闻身而为说法；应以梵王身得度者，即现梵王身而为说法；应以帝释身得度者，即现帝释身而为说法；应以自在天身得度者，即现自在天身而为说法；应以大自在天身得度者，即现大自在天身而为说法；应以天大将军身得度者，即现天大将军身而为说法；应以毘沙门身得度者，即现毘沙门身而为说法；应以小王身得度者，即现小王身而为说法；应以长者身得度者，即现长者身而为说法；应以居士身得度者，即现居士身而为说法；应以宰官身得度者，即现宰官身而为说法；应以婆罗门身得度者，即现婆罗门身而为说法；应以比丘、比丘尼、优婆塞、优婆夷身得度者，即现比丘、比丘尼、优婆塞、优婆夷身而为说法；应以长者、居士、宰官、婆罗门妇女身得度者，即现妇女身而为说法；应以童男、童女身得度者，即现童男、童女身而为说法；应以天、龙、夜叉、干闥婆、阿修罗、迦楼罗、紧那罗、摩睺罗伽、人非人等身得度者，即皆现之而为说法；应以执金刚身得度者，即现执金刚身而为说法。”³⁹

³⁸ Gao, 1934: 56: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等. 大正藏第9册. 大藏出版社，东京，1934.

³⁹ Gao, 1934: 57: 高楠顺次郎，渡边海旭等. 大正藏第9册. 大藏出版社，东京，1934.

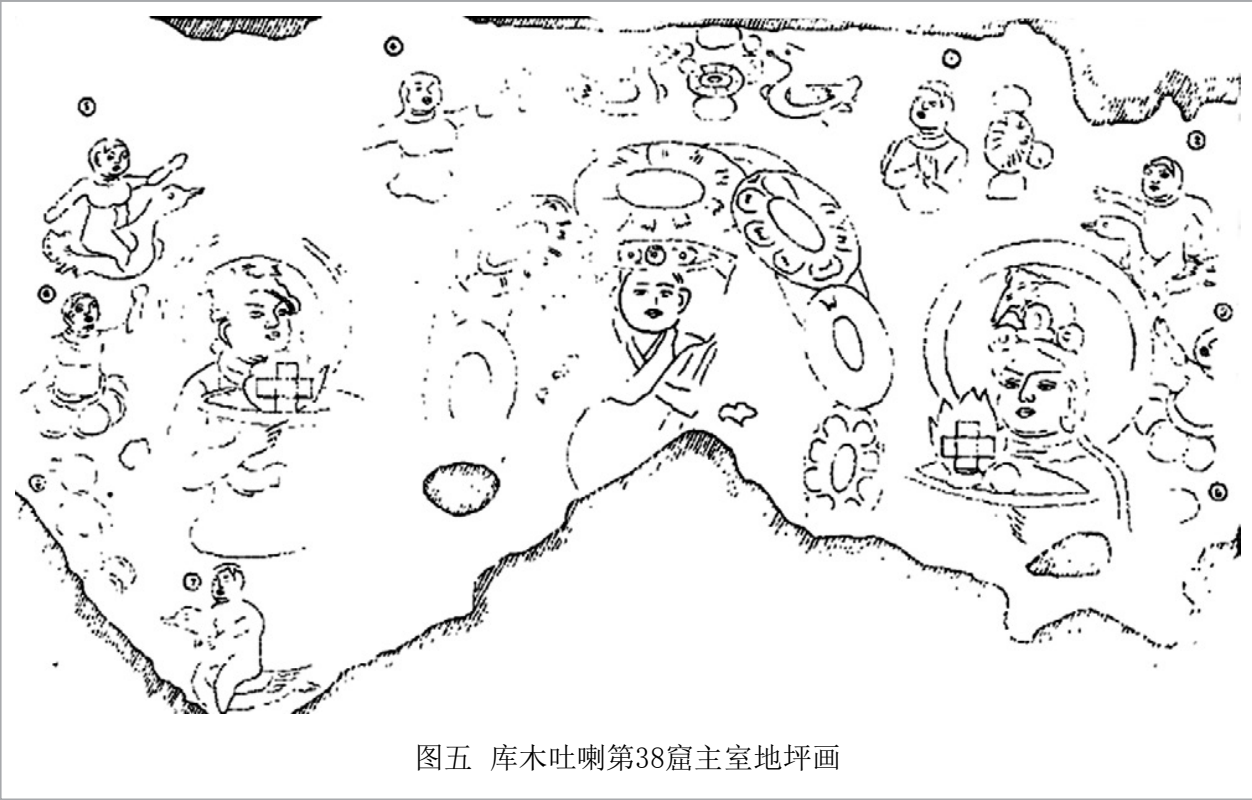
魏晋时期，观音信仰传入中国，其传播包括经典和图像两个内容。这时期，观音形象为男像，一般作为阿弥陀佛的胁侍。唐代，观音信仰进入一个高潮时期，观音的功能和类型也日益多样，他也是法华经中释迦座前的大菩萨，同时与密教教义有关的六观音也开始出现。但无论如何变化，观音救赎现世的特点始终没有不变。

宋元以后，观音信仰日益世俗化和中国化，观音大的造型也日益多元化，除了前面提到的圣观音、六观音外，又出现了三十三观音等类型。

这种变化，我们在龟兹地区的石窟壁画中也可以看到。

库木吐喇第42、45窟右甬道外侧壁均发现与西方净土信仰相关的圣观音造像及汉文题记。

库木吐喇第38窟主室地坪发现有马头观音的画像。该菩萨像，有头光、裸上身，双手托盘，盘内放一摩尼宝珠和两个绿色珠环。头冠中，绘一马头。（图五）



图五 库木吐喇第38窟主室地坪画

据佛典记载，马头观音是胎藏界观音院之一尊，六观音之一，为畜生道之教主，是无量寿之忿怒身，以观音为自性身，以马置于头，故曰马头观音，亦曰马头大士。为大忿怒威猛摧伏之形，故称为马头明王。⁴⁰ 乃五部明王中莲华部之明王也。戴马者，如转轮圣王之宝马驰驱四方而威伏之，表跋涉生死大海摧伏四魔之大威势力大精进力也。又啖食无明重障之意。

库木吐喇第12窟后甬道正壁有三头八臂的不空罽索观音画像。改观音像几与人等高。三面，左面毁；右面较小为怪面，耀眉眯眼，白牙露出。正面，丰颐秀目，气质娴雅，慈善安宁。头冠大多毁。八臂，上二臂左手举托圆月，右手举托红日；次二臂，左臂左手举持莲花枝，右臂毁；再二臂下垂，手及印契均毁；下二臂于胸际双手合掌。手腕均佩二轮宝镯。（图六）



图六 库木吐喇12窟后甬道正壁不空罽索观音

不空罽索，六观音之一。“不空”，是指心愿不空。“罽索”原意是指古代印度在战争或狩猎时捕捉人马的绳索。以“不空罽索”为名，是象征观世音菩萨以慈悲的罽索救度化导众生，其心愿不会落空的意思。⁴¹依密教经典记载，在过去九十一劫的最后一劫中，观世音菩萨曾经接受世间自在王如来的传授，而学得不空罽索心王母陀罗尼。此后，观世音菩萨即常以该真言教法，化导无量百千众生。⁴²因此，当观世音菩萨示现化身以此法度众时，便称为不空罽索观音。

库木吐喇第9窟和第41窟发现均有千手千眼观音的塑像残件。

此外，龟兹地区也存在文殊菩萨和大势至菩萨的信仰：库木吐喇第42窟主室正壁绘有一身文殊菩萨造像，并有汉文题记。库木吐喇第45窟右甬道外侧壁有大势至菩萨的画像和汉文题记。限于篇幅，拟另文论述，此处从略。

⁴⁰ Quanfo editorial offices, 2003: 123-124: 全佛编辑部. 观音宝典. 中国社会科学出版社, 北京, 2003.

⁴¹ Qian, 1912: 584: 前田慧云、中野达慧等. 正續藏第23册. 京都藏经书院, 京都, 1912.

⁴² Gao, 1934: 227: 高楠顺次郎, 渡边海旭等. 大正藏第10册. 大藏出版社, 东京, 1934.

Study of Earrings with Cone-shaped Pendants Found in Xinjiang¹

Lin Lingmei

Abstract

Four samples of earrings with cone-shaped pendants have been found in Xinjiang: in Chaiwopu cemetery in Urumqi, Wulabo Reservoir cemetery in Urumqi, East Taledo cemetery in Habahe County and Tuanzhuangzi cemetery in Qingshuihe Township, Manasi County. A number of this type of earrings has been found in foreign areas, and foreign scholars have done some research on their origin and transmission. Study of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants found in Xinjiang, in the light of some other discoveries, helps us have a better understanding of the interaction and exchange between Xinjiang and other zones of the Eurasian steppe.

Keywords: earrings with cone-shaped pendants, Xinjiang, Eurasian steppe, cultural communication

As significant body ornaments, earrings were symbols of social status and fortune in ancient society, and to some extent reflected ethnicity. Their styles and craft also showed the interaction and exchange between different regions and different groups of people. Earrings, obtained from collections and scientific excavations in Xinjiang, contain various types and rich content, which is important for the understanding of the decorative culture in ancient Xinjiang, and offers another reference system for studying the cultural exchange between Xinjiang and the neighboring regions. Among them, the earrings with cone-shaped pendants found in Xinjiang could be an outstanding example.

1. Earrings with cone-shaped pendants found in Xinjiang

This type of earrings refers to earrings with hollow cone-shaped pendants under the ring, decorated with granulation on the surface of the pendants in most cases, welded with a golden plaque with several holes, which were used for hanging of turquoise pendants. Up to the present moment, in Xinjiang golden earrings of this type have been found in four cemeteries: one sample from Chaiwopu cemetery (M15:3)², one sample from Wulabo Reservoir³, one sample from East Taledo in Habahe County⁴, and two samples from M5 of Tuanzhuangzi Cemetery, Qingshuihe Township, Manasi County⁵.

(1) Chaiwopu in Urumqi, M15:3, upper part with a ring made of gold wire, to which a cone-shaped pendant is welded. The surface of the pendant is full of tiny granulations, and at

the bottom of the pendant a round plaque is attached, to which three small rings are welded. Length 1.5 cm (fig 1, 1). Another golden earring was found in the same cemetery, M7:15, with an unclosed upper ring and the pendant is made of a cone-shaped golden plaque, inside which a finely grinded oblate blue stone is inlaid. Length 2.7 cm. Judging from the shape, this earring may be a variant of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants (fig. 1, 6). Many golden pieces of jewelry have also been unearthed in the Chaiwopu cemetery. In the report, the cemetery was dated to approximately 5th century B.C., which corresponds to the Warring States Period in China.

(2) Earring from Wulabo Reservoir. The ends of the upper ring overlap, and there are granulations decorated on the cone-shaped pendant, at the bottom of which there are holes. Length 2.5 cm, ring diameter 1.5 cm (fig 1, 2). In the report, the cemetery was dated to 5th–1st centuries B.C., corresponding to the period from the Warring States to the Western Han Dynasty (王明哲、张玉忠, 1986: 74).

(3) East Taledo cemetery in Habahe County was excavated in 2011, and though it was plundered many times, about 25 types of 800 golden pieces were found. The richness and the diversity of the funeral goods were amazing, including various kinds of golden decorations with cut and carved animal or geometric patterns, granulated jewelry, golden earrings, golden necklaces and so on. In IIM3, two persons were buried, a minor female and an adult female. One of them has a golden ornament near the pelvic, which was originally reported as a golden fingering (IIM 3:10). However, the present study holds that, because the area above the pelvic of the buried female has been disturbed, the golden ornament has probably been displaced. Fingerings found in Xinjiang tend to have closed rings, but this golden ornament has unclosed ring, and its shape also corresponds well to the earrings with cone-shaped pendants, therefore the present paper identifies it as a golden earring. The ring is made of thick golden wire, on which four gazelles are carved. The gazelles are assembled head-to-tail in sequence, with front and hind limbs huddled up, the hooves close to the spine. Under the ring there is a welded golden pendant, the surface of which is decorated with granulations and triangle-shaped turquoise. At the bottom of the pendants there are also some holes. Ring diameter 2.3 cm, wire diameter 0.2 cm, pendants length 0.3 cm, pendants diameter 0.6 cm (fig. 1, 3). Besides that, a large number of decorations, made from gold foil were found in the cemetery, including ones with curled leopard and crouching tiger patterns, turquoise and agate beads.

Another two golden earrings were found in IM32. Under the unclosed ring a cone-shaped gold foil is attached, inside which a turquoise bead is inlaid. Ring diameter 1.1 cm, total length of the ring 2.8 cm (fig. 1, 7, 8). The shape of these two earrings should have close connection with the one from IIM3. The East Taledo cemetery can be dated to 6th–1st centuries B.C., which corresponds to the Late Spring and Autumn Period and Western Han Dynasty.

(4) M5 of Tuanzhuangzi Cemetery, Qingshuihe County, Manasi County also has two samples of this type of earrings, with length of 2 cm, one with no decoration on the pendants, while the other one with dense granulations. Both of them have small holes at the bottom of the pendants. Also, an iron pick axe, a grindstone, eroded sard beads and a golden earring with two-loops vertically welded have also been unearthed from the same cemetery (fig. 1, 4, 5, 8). The cemetery is thought to be from the 7th century B.C., corresponding to Late Spring and Autumn Period in China.

¹ 国家社科基金重大项目“敦煌与于阗：佛教艺术与物质文明的交互影响”（项目编号：13&ZD087）的阶段性成果。

² 新疆文物考古研究所，1998：图11-12。

³ 新疆文物局，1999：310。

⁴ 新疆文物考古研究所，2013：86，图9。

⁵ 新疆昌吉回族自治州文物局，2014：图版207。

Generally, the fine samples found in Xinjiang are mainly located in the northern slope of the Tianshan Mountain and the southern slope of the Altai Mountains. We don't have the exact dating data of these cemeteries, and the dating spans offered by the excavators are excessively broad. By comparing with analogues from the neighboring regions, we may have a relatively precise judgment on the dating of the earrings found in Xinjiang.

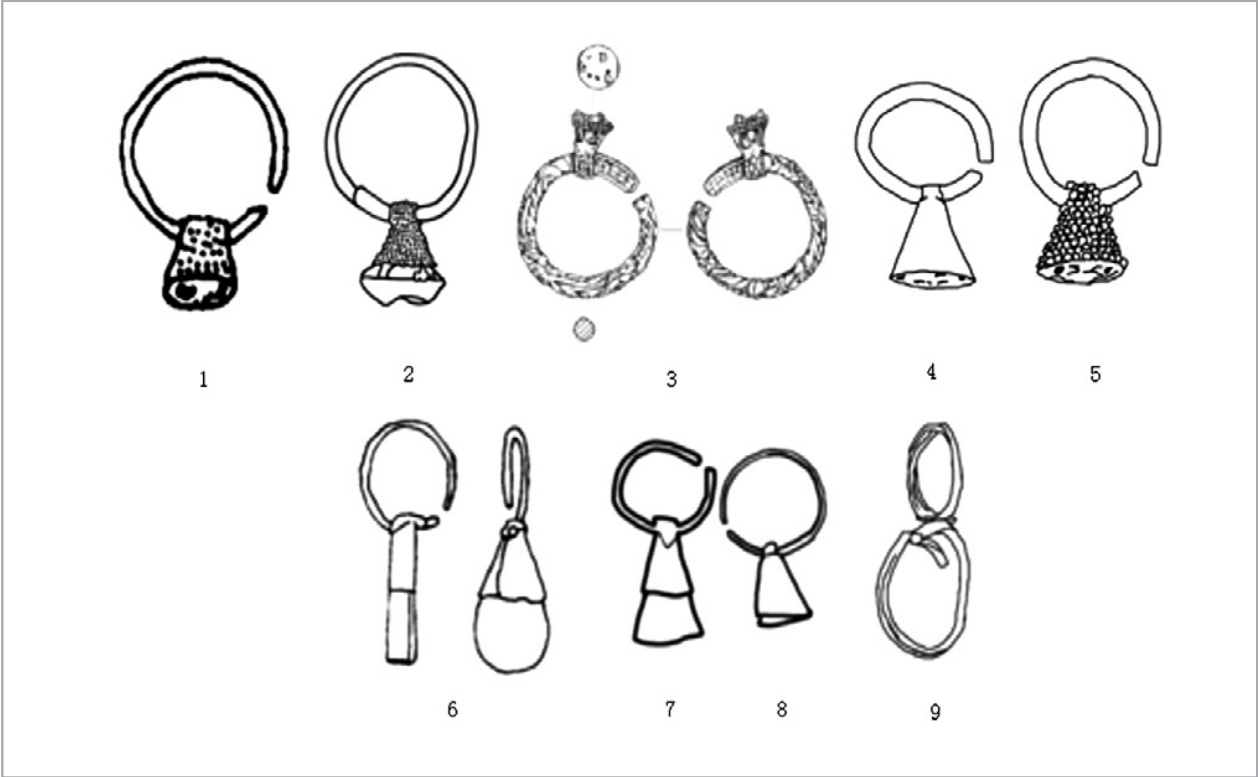


Fig. 1. Earrings with cone-shaped pendants and some relevant earrings found in Xinjiang. 1. Chaiwopu M15:3; 2. Wulabo Reservoir; 3. East Talede IIM 3:10; 4, 5. Tuanzhuangzi, Qingshuihe Downship, M5; 6. Chaiwopu M 7:15; 7, 8. East Talede IM 32:4; 9. Tuanzhuangzi, Qingshuihe Downship, M5

2. Earrings with cone-shaped pendants found abroad and relevant research

2. 1. Earrings with cone-shaped pendants found abroad

Many pieces of this type have been found abroad (Semenov, 1999; Fedorov, 2015; Kuchunov, 2003), their distribution area extends from Tuva in the eastern end of the Eurasian Steppe to the Lower Volga regions, or even to the eastern parts of South Caucasus in the west (fig. 2).

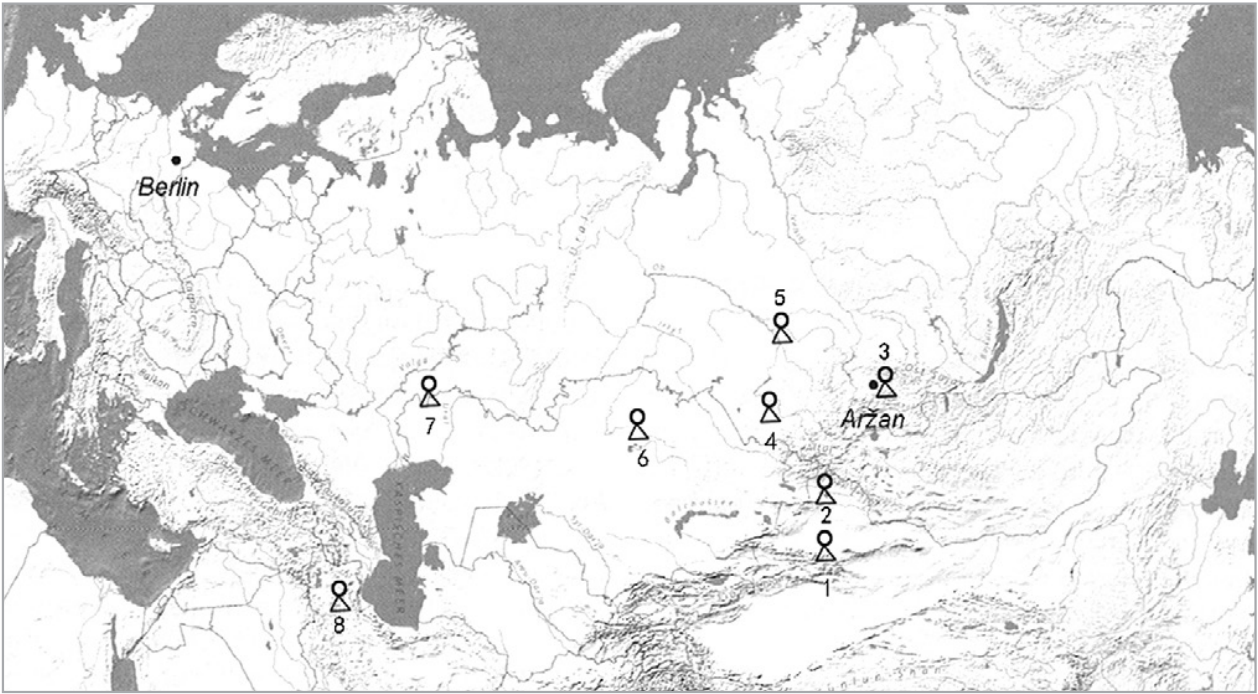


Fig. 2⁶. The earrings with cone-shaped pendants from the Eurasian Steppe and their amount. 1. Northern Tianshan (4 pieces); 2. Altay in Xinjiang (1 piece); 3. Tuva (18 pieces); 4. The Altai Mountains and the peripheral areas (7 pieces); 5. Kuznetsk Basin (1 piece); 6. Central Kazakhstan (5 pieces); 7. Lower Volga River (1 piece); 8. Southern Caucasia (2 pieces)

Earrings with cone-shaped pendants were first found in Tuva, and they are typical objects of the Aldy-Bel Culture (7th–5th centuries B.C.) (Chugunov et al., 2010: 165). 10 pieces have been found in Arzhan 2, which can be seen in M5, M13, M20, M22, M25 (fig. 3, 1-10) (Chugunov et al., 2010: 12, 2-5; 57, 5; 58, 1; 91, 1, 2; 93, 2; 91, 1; 99, 3, 5; 102, 1). Some of the rings are smooth, some are flat with carved patterns, while some are made with polyhedral edges. The rings are welded with cone-shaped pendants, which are decorated with granulations and teardrop-shaped collets, in which some beads must have been inlaid originally, but are now missing. The bottoms of the earrings are welded with round plaques with some holes, which were used to hang the turquoise beads. Through reconstruction, it was found out that this type of earrings were not worn straightly at the ears, but instead they were connected with another flat ring and were hung as a whole on top of the ear or the hat (fig. 3, 11, 12) (Chugunov et al., 2010: 72, 1; S. 214, Abb. 226). Arzhan 2 can be dated to the 7th century B.C. Earrings with cone-shaped pendants can also be seen in other cemeteries in Tuva: Mungash-Chirik M40⁷, Ortaa-Hem III, M1, Grave 2⁸, Kuilug-Hem I, M9⁹, Hemchik-Bom III, M2, Grave 9¹⁰, Saryg-Bulun M1, Grave 1¹¹, Angor-Hovu M5¹² (fig. 3, 13-18). The pieces found in Ortaa-Hem III, Kuilug-Hem I and Hemchik-Bom

⁶ The map template is from: Chugunov et al., 2010: 2, Abb. 1.

⁷ Kuizlasov, 1979: 76, pic. 61, 8.

⁸ Semenov, 1999: 169.

⁹ Grach, 1980: pic. 86.

¹⁰ Grach, 1980: pic. 110, 6.

¹¹ Lebedynsky, 2006: 117.

¹² Semenov et al., 1995: pic. 2, 3.

III have flat surface of the pendants¹³, and the latter two have granulations at the joint of the ring and the pendant. The other pieces have dense granulations and teardrop-shaped collets at the pendants. The above mentioned earrings can be dated to 7th–5th centuries B.C., among which the Hemchik-Bom III M2 grave was classified as a burial from the Sargly Culture, which can be dated to 5th–4th centuries B.C. (Grach, 1980: 30-32). Bajan-Kol Cemetery is located in the Ulug-Hem valley in Tuva. A golden earring was found there, the ring of which was made of twisted golden wire, and the pendant is shaped as a double cone, whose surface is without decoration (fig. 3-19) (Semenov et al., 1995: pic. 2, 6). Its shape is very close to the earrings with cone-shaped pendants from the same region, therefore it can be regarded as their variant. It should be noted that, this cemetery is not far from Angor-Hovu, where earrings with cone-shaped pendants were found.

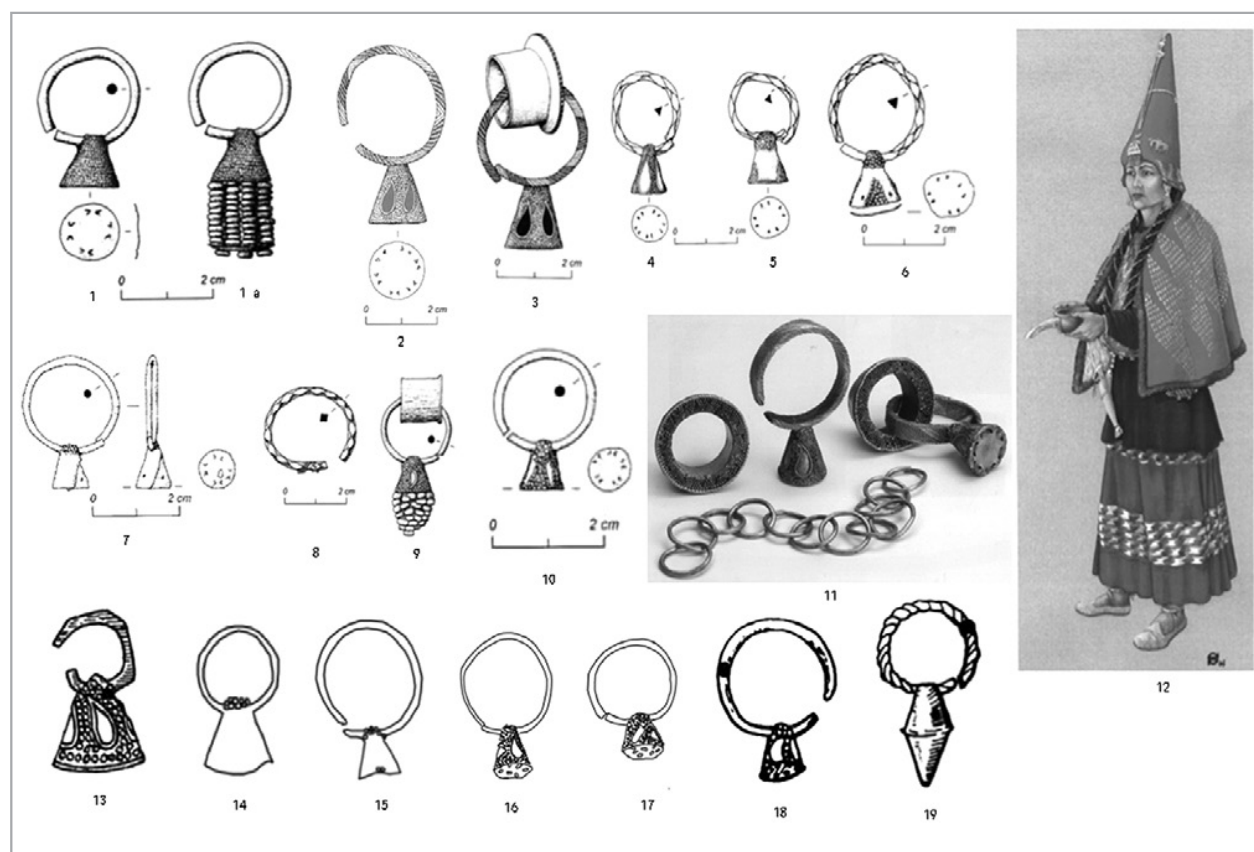


Fig. 3. Earrings with cone-shaped pendants from Tuva. 1-1a. Arzhan 2, M5, body 1; 2, 3. Arzhan 2, M5, body 2; 4, 5. Arzhan 2, M13A, body 2; 6. Arzhan 2, M13B; 7. Arzhan 2, M20, body 2; 8, 9. Arzhan 2, M22; 10. Arzhan 2, M25; 11. Arzhan; 12. Arzhan 2, restoration of earrings; 13. Mungash-Chirik M40; 14. Kulug-Hem I, M9; 15. Hemchik-Bom III, M2, Grave 9; 16, 17. Saryg-Bulun M1, Grave 1; 18. Angor-Hovu M5; 19. Bajan-Kol

There are also some finds in the Altai Mountains and its neighboring regions. Two golden earrings were found in M8 and M14 of Bystrjan Cemetery in the northern slope of the Altai Mountains. The one from M8 has twisted pattern on the ring, and the surface of the pendants

¹³ I haven't seen the image of the earring from Ortaa-Hem III, but it is described in Semenov, 1999: 165.

is smooth. The one from M14 was damaged, with teardrop-shaped collets and granulations on the pendants (fig. 4, 1, 2)¹⁴. Gryaznov holds that these sites belong to the Bijsk Period of the Bolsherechy Culture, which can be dated to 5th–3rd centuries B.C. (Gryaznov, 1992: 420). Bojtygem II is located at Bojtygem, tributary of Katun, and two delicate golden earrings were found in M19 (fig. 4, 3, 4) (Tishkin, 1999: pic. 1). The burial can be dated to the second half of the 7th – early 6th century B.C. (Tishkin, 1999: 188). Koo I M2, located at the eastern Altai Mountains, is situated close to the burials of the Pazyryk culture, and only a single golden earring was excavated there (fig 4, 5)¹⁵. Based on the burial structure (mound made of rocks, chamber built up with slabs), the funeral form (curved limbs) and funeral goods (earrings with cone-shaped pendants), the excavator thought that it was one of the burials of the Aldy-Bel Culture, and pointed out that this burial reflected the cultural infiltration of Tuva in the Altai region in the early Scythian Period, which was mainly represented by the southward transmission of objects, typical of the Tuva culture (Vasyutin et al., 1999: 36; Vasyutin, 1992: 36). Tar-Asu, located at the western fringe of the Altai Mountains, has also yielded two golden earrings with cone-shaped pendants (fig. 4, 6, 7) (Samashev, Z. S. et al., 2002: 271, Abb. 29, 1, 2; Samashev et al., 1998: pic. 13). The location of the burial, lying some 7 km southwest of Berel, in combination with its funerary goods, led the excavators to identifying it as Pazyryk Culture burial and date it to 5th–3rd centuries B.C. (Samashev, Z. S. et al., 2002: 271).

In the Kazankovo 5 M1, located in the Kuznetsk Basin north of the Altai Mountains and west of Sayan, a golden earring has been excavated, whose pendant is full of granulations, and a grape-shaped decoration constituted from 21 turquoise beads hangs from it (fig. 4, 8) (Shirin, 1999: 238, pic. 1, 2). The burial can be dated to 6th–5th centuries B.C. (Shirin, 1999: 240).

This type of earrings has also been found in burials of the Tasmola Culture in Central Kazakhstan. Zhilandy M2 in Karaganda has yielded one piece, 2.8×2.2, whose pendant is relatively large (fig. 4, 9) (Popescu et al., 1998: 133, table. 98). In Taly 2 M5 another piece has also been excavated, its bottom is welded with four loops, which seems extraordinary (fig. 4, 10) (Beisenov, 2013: 598, Abb. 7). One piece has been found in Karashoky M1, the surface of its pendants is densely decorated with granulations (fig. 4, 11) (Beisenov et al., 2015: 20, pic. 8, 4). Bektauata M1 has also yielded one piece, whose pendant used to have teardrop-shaped inlays on the surface (fig. 4, 12) (Beisenov, 2015: 32, pic. 17, 3). One piece has been excavated in Bakybulak M15, of which only the pendant had survived, its surface also densely covered with granulations (fig. 4, 13) (Beisenov, 2015: 32, pic. 17, 5). All of these five burials belong to the remains of the early period of the Tasmola Culture, and can be dated to 7th–6th centuries B.C. (Popescu et al., 1998: 133; Beisenov, 2013: 596; Beisenov et al., 2015: 18).

¹⁴ Zavituhia, 1966: 62-64; 62, pic. 2, 3; Rudenko, 1962, pic. 19, 6, a. The earring from Bystrjan M14 was first published in: Zavituhina, 1966: 62-64, pic. 3, 3, and was later quoted by Gryaznov, 1992, but the line drawing was too small to recognize, that is why later scholars misunderstood it when quoting the image, for instance see: Parzinger, 2010; Chugunov et al., 2010. The line drawings in the mentioned books all show smooth surface of the pendants.

¹⁵ The earring from Koo I was first published in the article by the excavator (Vasyutin, 1992), but the exact number of the tombs was not mentioned. When in 1999 the excavator republished the materials of the burial (Vasyutin, Sadovoy, 1999), there were some tiny differences. Besides, the measuring scale published in the first article was obviously mistaken, so the present research takes into account the data from the second publication.

There are also some finds west of the Lower Volga River. The female buried in Komsomol M23 has an earring with cone-shaped pendant on her left ear. The ring diameter is 2.2 – 2.3 cm, the diameter of the pendant is 0.995 – 1.1 cm (fig. 4, 14) (Dvornichenko et al., 1997: 133, pic. 5, 6). The funeral goods from the burial, including arrowheads, quiver, sword, dagger and golden pieces, have analogues from the neighboring regions, which shows many similarities with the remains of the early Scythians in South Ural. The burial can be dated to the second half of 6th–5th centuries B.C. (Dvornichenko et al., 1997: 138).

Two similar samples have been found in South Caucasia, to be exact in today's Azerbaijan. The site and the age of one of the samples are unknown, but from the published line drawing we can see that the surface of the pendant is not smooth, perhaps it was decorated with granulations (fig. 4, 15) (Osmanov, 2006: Tabl. 12). The other sample was excavated in Mingechaur Cemetery, which, according to the researchers may reflects the remains of the Scythian nobles, moving to South Caucasia and can be dated to 6th–5th centuries B.C. (Halilov, 1971: 185). The article does not provide detailed description of the earring, but from the line drawing we can see that this sample is very close to the earrings with cone-shaped pendants (fig. 4, 16) (Halilov, 1971: 185, pic. 1).

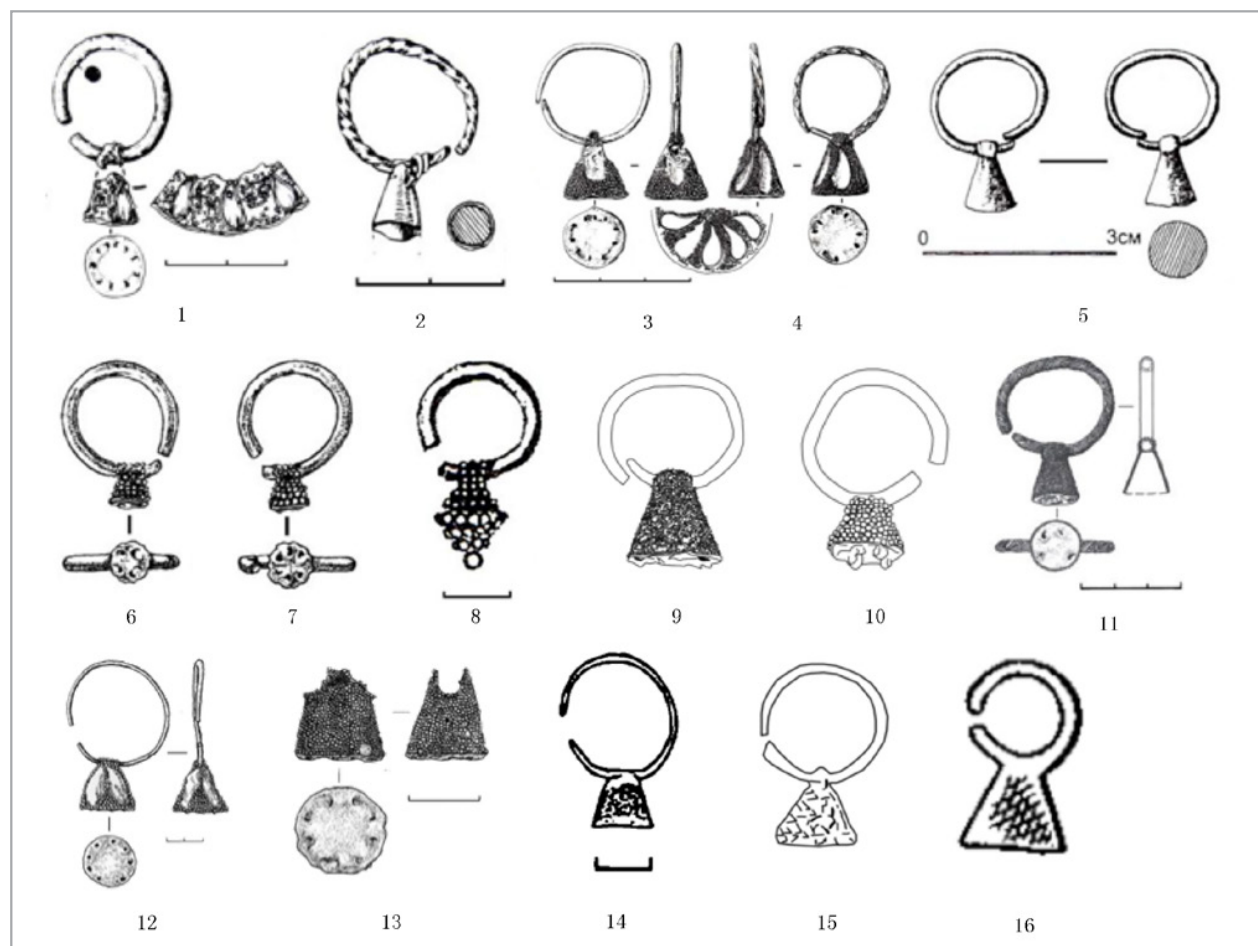


Fig. 4. Earrings with cone-shaped pendants found in the Altai Mountains and their neighboring regions, Kuznetsk Basin, Central Kazakhstan, Lower Volga River. 1. Bystrjan M14; 2. Bystrjan M8; 3, 4. Bojtygem II M19; 5. Koo I M2; 6, 7. Tar- Asu; 8. Kazankovo 5 M1; 9. Zhilandy M2; 10. Taldy 2 M5; 11. Karashoky M1; 12. Bektauata M1; 13. Bakybulak M15; 14. Komsomol M23; 15. South Caucasia; 16. Mingechaur

Besides, some other delicate earrings can also be seen in famous collections. Witsen collected some golden pieces from Siberian tombs in the late 17th – early 18th centuries, and published them in the book „Nood-en-Oost Tartarye” in 1705, then later in 1785 he republished the book and added some new items, which he attained in 1716 (Rudenko, 1962: 4). Some earrings from Witsen's collection are very similar to those found in Tuva. One of them has a zigzag pattern engraved on the ring, teardrop-shaped collets and granulations on the pendant, and also a circle of tiny holes at the bottom (fig. 5, 1) (Witsen, 1705: 986, table 3, 3). There are another two variant pieces, decorated with granulation patterns on the surface of the pendants. Under the pendants a ball-shaped hollow decoration is welded, at the bottom of which a woven ring is attached (fig. 5, 2, 3) (Rudenko, 1962: pic. 2; 3). Many finds of this type of ring can be seen in burials in South Ural, particularly in Filipovka (Luilova, 2009: pic. 1). Some variants can also be found in the Siberian Collection of Peter the Great. One piece is very close to those seen in the Witsen Collection. And another piece may also be a variant of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants, at the bottom of which a ball-shaped decoration is welded (fig. 5, 4, 5) (Rudenko, 1962: Tabl. XX, 31; Tabl. XX, 7).

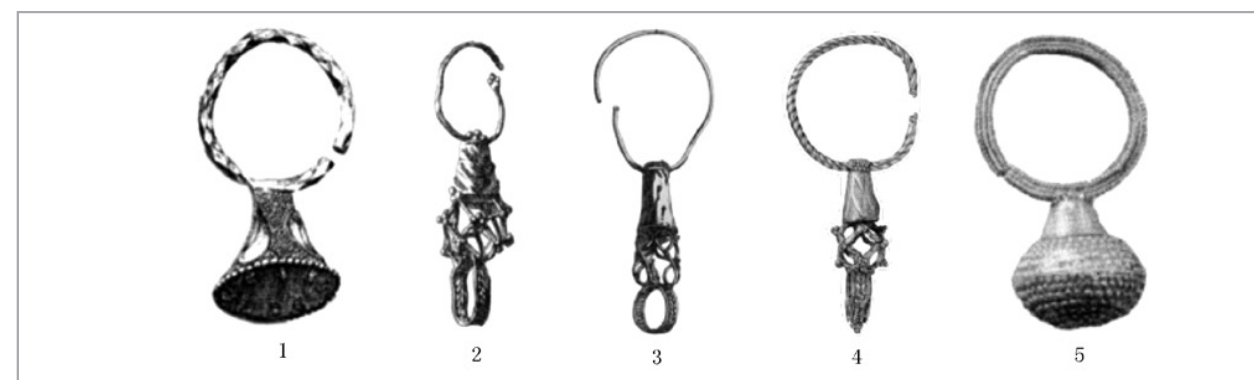


Fig. 5. Variants in the Witsen Collection and the Siberian Collection of Peter the Great. 1-3. The Witsen Collection; 4, 5. The Siberian Collection of Peter the Great

Combining the earrings from Xinjiang and abroad, we can see that this type of earrings originated in Tuva, and can be dated to the 7th century B.C. or even earlier. This earring type spread in all directions: southward it crossed the Altai Mountains and reached the regions along the southern slopes of the Altai Mountains and even the northern slopes of the Tianshan Mountain; westward it spread to the western fringe of the Altai Mountains and the Kazakh Steppe, and even further to the Lower Volga River. The finds from South Caucasia imply that we should not exclude the possibility that this type of earrings had spread across the Caucasus Mountain and arrived in South Caucasia. When we have a more comprehensive grasp of the archaeological materials from this area in the future, we may have a better understanding of the distribution. So far, in the eastern regions of Xinjiang, no earrings of this type have been found yet. The dating of the burials, which have yielded earrings, concentrates in the 7th–5th centuries B.C., with a few pieces from the 5th–3rd centuries B.C. This type of earrings was used during a long period in Sayan-Altai, and can be found both in the Aldy-Bel and the Sargly-Bashi Culture in Tuva. Under the cultural influence of Tuva, the fringes of the Altai Mountains have also shown some

similar remains, and these earrings can also be seen in the burial of the Pazyryk Culture in the western fringe of Altai. It is pointed out in the report of Arzhan 2, that the earrings with cone-shaped pendants are one of the common characteristics of the culture groups between the Uruk Valley in northern Tuva and the steppe west of the pre-mountain areas of the Altai Mountains (Chugunov et al., 2010: 313).

All of the above-mentioned earrings have kept the tradition of granulations and welded plaque with holes at the bottom of the pendant, which shows the relationship of their decorative style. But a more precise look reveals that with the transmission of the earring type, the samples found in the fringe regions have some differences from those in Tuva, which are expressed as stronger flexibility in shape. For instance, the ratio between the ring and the pendant of the earring from Zhilandy M2 in Central Kazakhstan is quite different from the other samples; the one from East Taleda is particularly delicate and splendid, and the expression style of the pendants is unique; the one from Wulabo Reservoir has a peculiar bottom, which is integral with the pendant itself and protrudes. All these examples show that, with the acceptance of the earring type from Tuva, the people from the surrounding areas also made bold innovations, and this is a living example of how local cultures integrated with external cultures.

The earrings with cone-shaped pendants can also be seen on deer stones from the Eurasian Steppe (fig. 6, 1-4) (Marsadolov, 2005: 309, pic. 6; 潘玲, 2008: 326-330). Most of the deer stones with images of this type of earrings are from the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, which means that these earrings were popular in the eastern parts of the Eurasian Steppe, including Tuva, Altai and the central and western parts of Mongolia, probably appearing in the Early Spring and Autumn Period or even earlier, which corresponds well with the story, told by the archaeological materials.

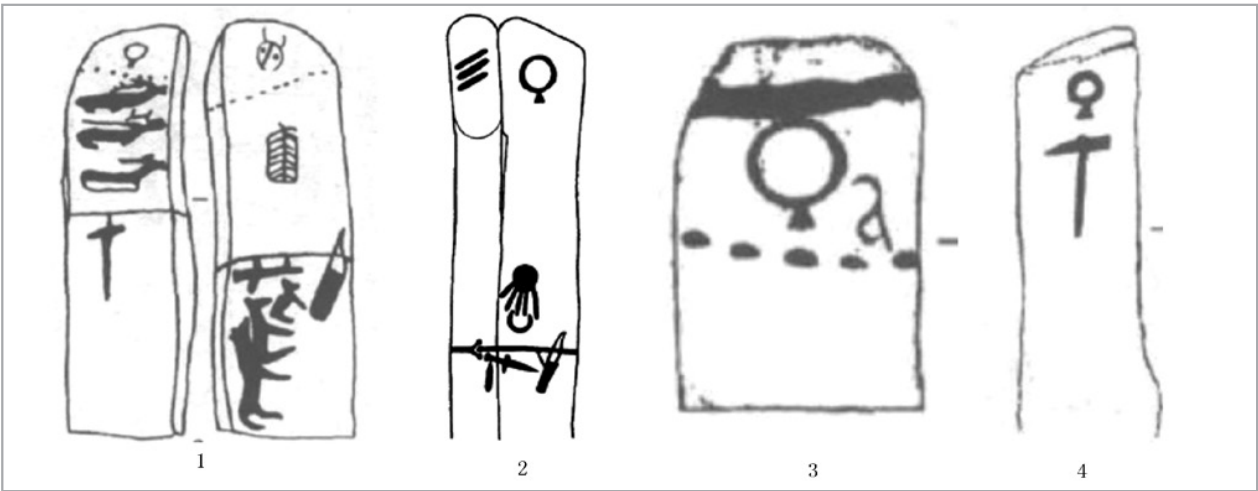


Fig. 6. Images of earrings, shown on deer stones. 1. Tuva; 2. Arzhan 2; 3. Altai; 4. Central and western parts of Mongolia

2. Discussion on the origin and the transmission of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants

Foreign scholars have some discussion on the earlier origin of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants. Marsadolov pointed out that the prototype of these earrings may be traced back to the

reliefs of Assyria, for instance, the relief of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) (fig. 7, 1, 2) (Marsadolov, 2005: 309, pic. 6, 1). Scholars also tend to go back to this relief when searching for the prototype of the double cone-shaped earrings in North Caucasia (Kozenkova, 2013: 44). However, this assumption may need additional evidence.

Some scholars pointed out that these earrings showed up in the early remains of the Karasuk Culture in the Minusinsk Basin (fig. 7, 3) (Chlenova, 1963: 51, pic. 1, 30). Chugunov performed a systematic research on the earrings from the Early Schythian Period in Sayan-Alati, and proposed that the earrings with cone-shaped pendants in Tuva were probably the result of the evolution and the sequential development of earrings in that area, which could be traced back to the prototypes of Andronovo, and similar samples could be found later in the Karasuk and Tagar Cultures. He also suggested that the earrings from the Andronovo Culture to Aldy-Bel Culture could be traced to the same origin, both in respect to shape and craft. He further noted that there was no granulation craft used before in Tuva, and the granulation decorations of the earrings of Aldy-Bel Culture may have been influenced by Central Asia and East Kazakhstan (Chugunov, 2003: 386-395). It should be noted that in the article he mentions a type of earrings from Karasuk with hooks at the bottom, probably used to hang or inlay the beads, which are very close in function to the plaque with holes, attached to the earrings with cone-shaped pendants (fig. 7, 3-5). I think, it is relatively convincing to see the earrings in Karasuk as the prototype of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants.

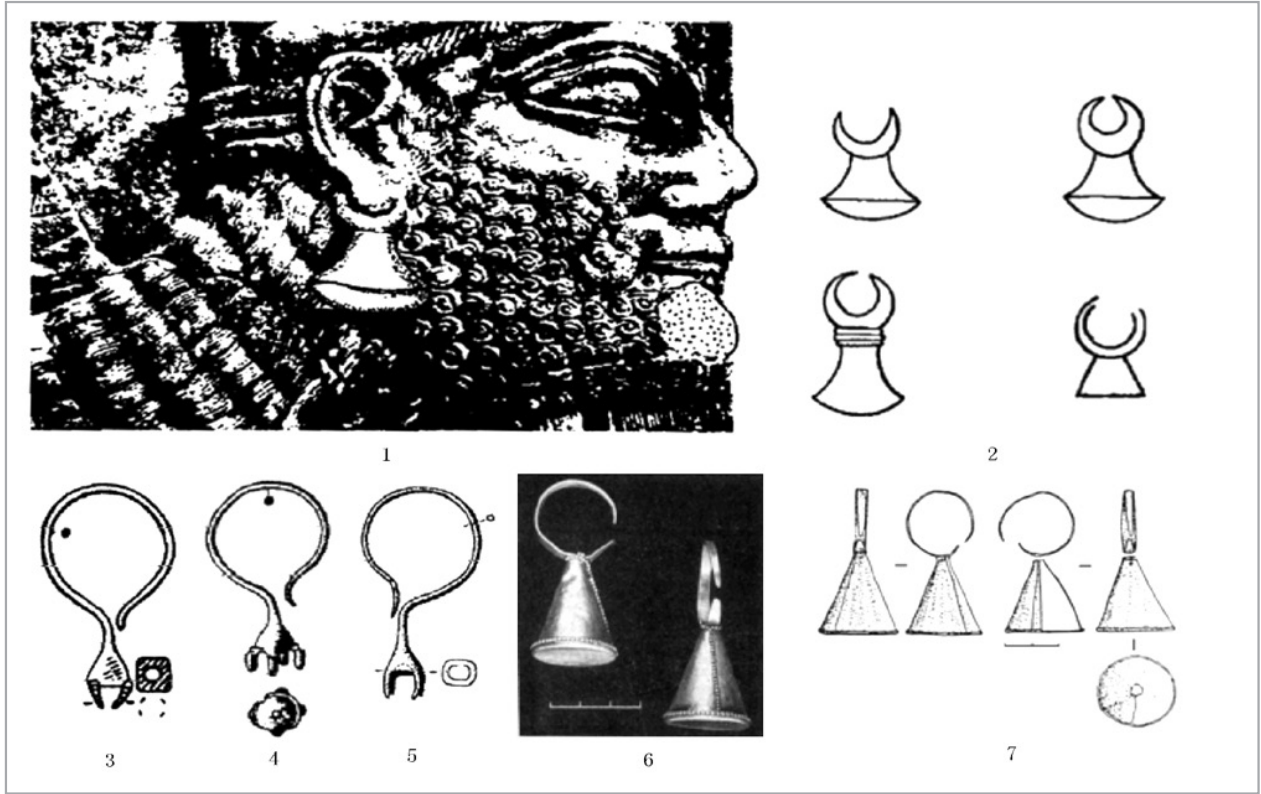


Fig. 7. 1. Relief of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.); 2. Images of earrings on Assyrian reliefs (Marsadolov, 2005: pic. 6); 3. Bronze earring from Jarki; 4. Bronze earring from Tuva; 5. Bronze earring from Elovskij M1 (Chugunov, 2003: pic. 1, 8-10); 6. Golden earring from Bes-Oba (Kadirbaev, Kurmankulov, 1978: 69, pic. 3); 7. Golden earring from Pokrovka II M2 (Treyster, Shemahanskaya, Yablonskii, 2012: 61, pic. 39, 2, 3)

Research work on the variants of these earrings has also been performed. Some scholars have categorized the earrings from Bes-Oba and Pokrovka II M2 to what we refer to as earrings with cone-shaped pendants (fig. 7, 6, 7) (Semenov, 1999: 165), but this method of categorization may be problematic. The pair from Bes-Oba is constituted from a flat unclosed ring, and a hollow pendant with a welded plaque at the bottom. There are granulations welded at the joints of the ring and the pendant, also at the fringe of the bottom there is a circle of granulations. The golden pair of earrings from Pokrovka II M2 have similar shape, but without granulations. In terms of size, the pair from Bes-Oba is 6.7–7 cm high, and the pair from Pokrovka II M2 is 4.58–5.65 cm high. However, until now, the earrings with cone-shaped pendants we have seen are all 2–4 cm high, which is much smaller than those from South Ural. In terms of shape and style, the earrings with cone-shaped pendants tend to have granulations and teardrop-shaped collets on the pendant, and also some holes at the bottom. Generally speaking, the differences of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants we refer to and those from South Ural outweigh the similarities. The earrings from South Ural can be dated to 6th–4th centuries B.C., and it cannot be excluded that they might represent variants of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants (Fedorov, 2003: 76).

The Late Kuban Culture (6th–4th centuries) in North Caucasia has yielded some earrings with double cone-shaped pendants (fig. 8, 1–4), which, according to some studies, may have been influenced by the military actions of the nomadic peoples in the Near East. It is possible that they brought this earring type back to North Caucasia, and it was borrowed by the people of the Kuban Culture (fig. 8, 5–9). The earrings with double cone-shaped pendants may have a close connection with those with cone-shaped pendants, and in particular in Tuva an earring with double cone-shaped pendant has been discovered (fig. 3, 19).

Generally speaking, various types of earrings with similar cone-shaped pendants have been found in the Eurasian Steppe, with a wide range of distribution, which does not exclude the existence of a single prototype, but the connection between them still cannot be explained clearly. Also, the divergent opinions about certain burials often lead to different dating of the earrings, which increases the difficulty of examination of the intermediate links. For instance, Chugunov thinks that the Early Saka burials in the Aral Sea, Uigarak and Sakar-Chaga M4 can be dated to the 8th century B.C., so the earrings from these burials may be simultaneous or even earlier than those from Tuva, which excludes the earrings from the Aral Sea as variants of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants (fig. 9, 1–4) (Chugunov, 2003: 394, 395). But in fact, some scholars date these Early Saka burials to 7th–5th centuries (Itina et al., 1997: 5; Vishnevskaya, 1973: 6). As to the origin of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants, I think that the possibility of multiple centers of origin should be considered.

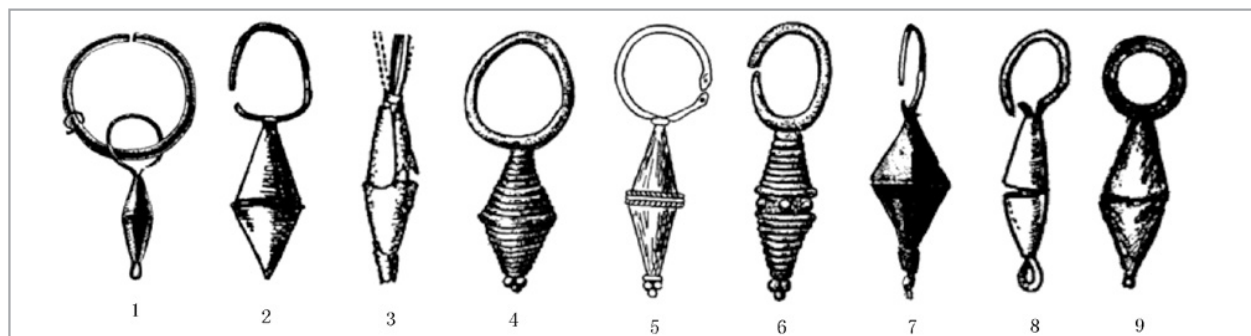


Fig. 8. Earrings with double cone-shaped pendants from Late Kuban burials in North Caucasia (1–4) and their analogues in the neighboring regions (5–9). 1. Psedahe M3; 2. Novogroznen M5; 3. Nesterov; 4. Shalushka (gold); 5. Nartan M2; 6. Random find in Poltavschina; 7. Sara; 8. Pashkov M2 Chamber 1; 9. Image on a relief from Sinnaheriba, Assyria, 706 B.C. (all quoted from Kozenkova, 2013: pic. 21)

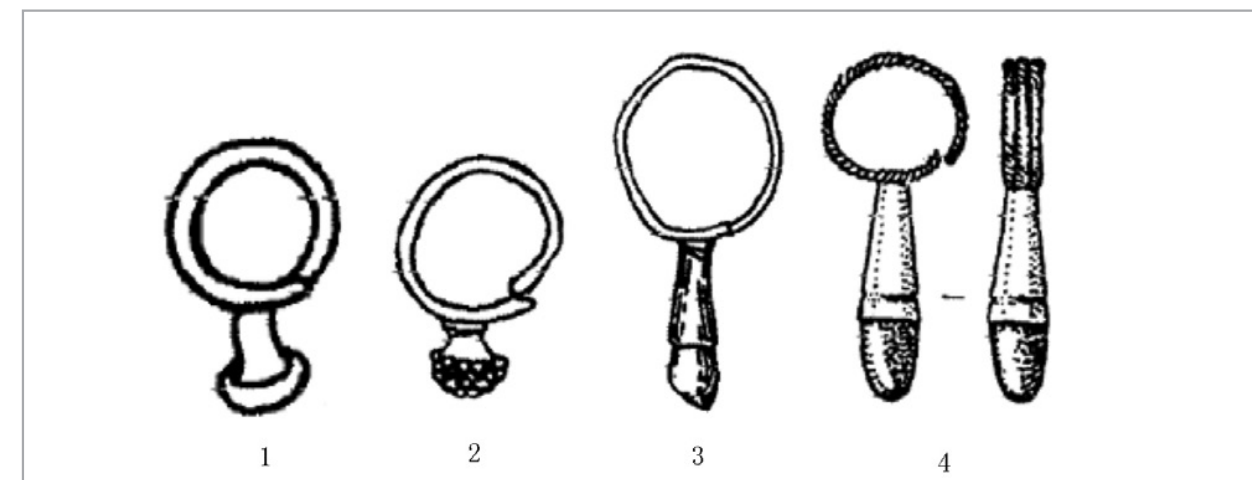


Fig. 9. Earrings from Early Saka burials in the Aral Sea. 1–3. Uigarak M21, M22, M23; 4. Sakar-Chaga M4 (all from Chugunov, 2003: pic. 1, 13–16)

3. The cultural connection between Xinjiang and the neighboring regions, reflected by the earrings with cone-shaped pendants and the relevant items

The research on the earrings with cone-shaped pendants can be further extended to study on the culture of different regions of the Eurasian Steppe in the Early Scythian Times. Many scholars are discussing this topic, and they point out that there exists synchronization among the cultural elements in Tuva, Altai, Kazakhstan and Lower Volga River in the Early Scythian Period (Semenov, 1999: 169; Vasyutin, 1992: 34; Parzinger, 2010: 311–320). If we take into consideration the earrings with cone-shaped pendants and some relevant items from Xinjiang, we will have a more comprehensive observation on this phenomenon. Meanwhile, we will have a better understanding of the cultural interaction and exchange between Xinjiang and the neighboring regions.

The earring from East Taledé, which has engraved patterns on the ring and inlay of triangle turquoise on the pendants, shows uniqueness among all of the earrings of this type from the Eurasian Steppe. The cemetery also has great amount of golden pieces, which reflects high level of gold processing. This earring might have been made locally, and the local elements have been added when borrowing the earring type. The ring is engraved with gazelles pattern, which corresponds to the coiled animal patterns from the Eurasian Steppe (fig. 10, 1). This pattern reminds us of the golden pectoral from Arzhan 2 M5, on which are engraved patterns of argalis, gazelles, deer and tigers. The animals raise their heads, and stretch their bodies and limbs backwards, they swim in the water ripple (fig. 10, 2) (Chugunov et al., 2010: Tafel. 79–2a). The style of the animals and the pattern composition are very similar to that seen on the finds from East Taledé. In Issyk (5th–4th centuries) in Kazakhstan, an iron dagger has been excavated, on the surface of which exist similar animal pattern (fig. 10, 3) (Shilov et al., 2003: 196, pic. 2, 2).

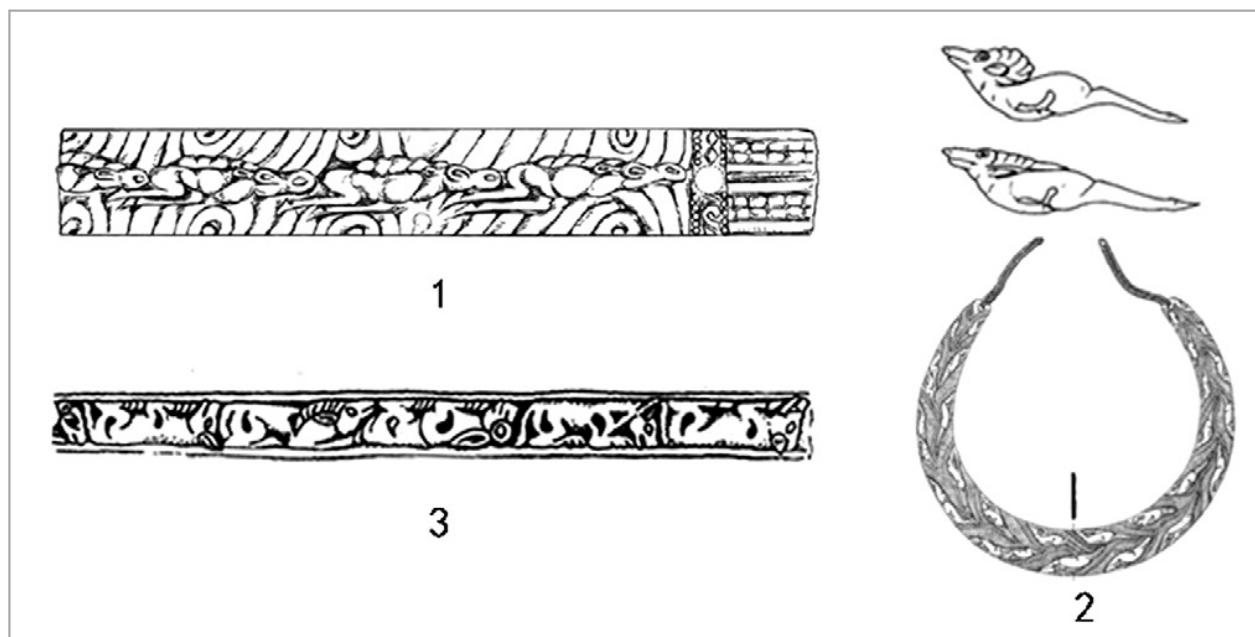


Fig. 10. 1. The pattern on the earring from East Taledé; 2. The pattern of the pectoral from Arzhan 2; 3. The pattern on the dagger from Issyk

Yu Jianjun and Ma Jian have pointed out that the craft, the animal patterns and the style of the golden pieces from East Taledé are very close to those from East Kazakhstan (于建军、马健, 2013: 85-86). In fact, the golden pieces from East Taledé and several other burials in Xinjiang even have close connection with those from Central Kazakhstan, the Lower Syr Darya River and even South Ural.

In East Taledé a round iron ornament has been excavated (I M32: 5), which is gilded with the pattern of a tiger, hunting for a deer. The pattern, made of gold foil, creates strong collar difference from the iron itself (fig. 11, 1). Certain pieces of gilded objects have been found in Arzhan 2, including a dagger from a male burial in M5. At the handle of the dagger, there are two gilded tigers facing each other, with their bodies curled, sharp claws thrusting, and bodies decorated with stripes, which is very close to the image shown on the iron ornament from East Taledé (fig. 11, 2) (Chugunov et al., 2010: Tafel. 40-5).

In East Taledé some golden pieces with the image of boar have also been found (I M32: 8-1) (fig. 11, 3), in Mulei County a bronze plaque with diameter of 13.7 cm has been excavated, which shows the scene of a tiger, bitten by five boars, and the tiger shows the typical pattern of curled animals (fig. 11, 4) (祁小山、王博, 2008: 203, 图10). The images of boars can also be found in Arzhan, including the sculpture at the handle of the dagger from Arzhan 1 (fig. 11, 5), and the golden plaques from Arzhan 2 (fig. 11, 7) (Chugunov et al., 2010: Abb. 8; 160). Both of them are very similar to those seen in Xinjiang. Also, the images of boar are also engraved on the stone found in the surface of the Arzhan 2 (fig. 11, 6) (Chugunov et al., 2010: 139). On the coffin of Bashadar M2 in Altai, we can see depicted boars with swirling patterns in the bodies (fig. 11, 8, 9) (Rudenko, 1961: pic. 21). Obiskie-Plesy 2 M2 in the Upper Ob has yielded a similar bronze plaque, and the burial can be dated to 5th–4th cent. B.C. (fig. 11, 10) (Vedyanin et al., 1996: pic. 14, 3). The image of boar has also been found on the petroglyph in Tamurashi, located in Upper Irtysh (fig. 11, 11) (Korolkova, 2006: Tabl. 10. 7). In Chilikta, located in East Kazakhstan, there are also golden plaques with similar images of boar (fig. 11, 12) (Chugunov et al., 2010: Abb. 286-1). Comparable images can also be found in Karkaralinska in Kazakhstan (fig. 11, 13) (Beisenov et al., 2013: pic. 1, 5). The bone

plaques from Tasmola 5 M3 show images of tip-toed boars (fig. 11, 14) (Beisenov et al., 2014: pic. 1, 4). The golden plaques from Filipovka in South Ural also have similar images, and the burials can be dated to 5th–4th centuries B.C. (fig. 11, 15) (Korolkova, 2006: Tabl. 10, 1). Resembling images can even be seen in the Lower Volga regions and can be dated to the end of the 6th–early 5th centuries (fig. 11, 16) (Korolkova, 2006: Tabl. 10, 3).

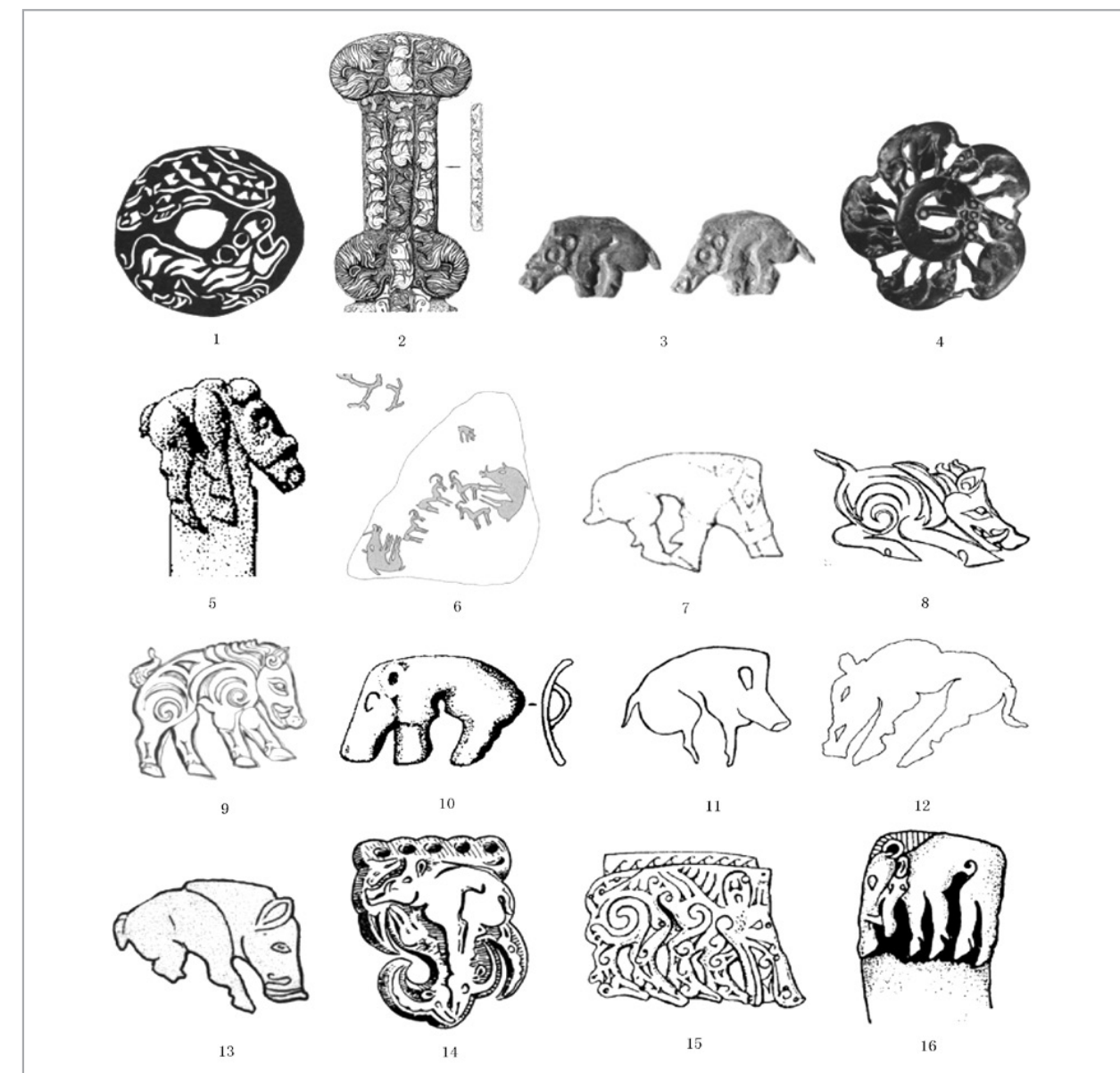


Fig. 11. 1, 3. East Taledé; 2, 6, 7. Arzhan 2; 4. Mulei County; 5. Arzhan 1; 8, 9. Bashadar M2; 10. Obiskie-Plesy 2 M2; 11. Tamurashi; 12. Chilikta; 13. Karkaralinska; 14. Tasmola 5 M3; 15. Filipovka; 16. Lower Volga River

Golden pieces with flower shape from East Taledé (II M3: 2) (fig. 12, 1) have analogue in Arzhan 2, which is part of the headdress of a female, and similar pattern can also be seen on belt buckles from Arzhan 2 (fig. 12, 2-4) (Chugunov et al., 2010: Tafel. 54, 4; Tafel. 30, 3, 7). Similar decoration can be found in Bystrjan at the northern slope of the Altai Mountain (fig. 12, 5) (Parzinger, 2006: Abb. 192) and in Kichigino I M5 in South Ural (fig. 12, 6) (Tairov et al., 2010: pic. 4, 17). The „S” shape golden pieces found in East Taledé (II M32: 8-2) (fig. 12, 7) have analogues in Issyk (fig. 12, 8),

which can be dated to 4th–3rd centuries B.C. (Akishev, 1983: 131). In East Taledé arrow-shaped ornaments have also been excavated (II M3: 1-3), which have a hole at the lower part for stringing (fig. 12, 9). The golden earring from Balyk-Kooka M1 has similar pendants, which can be dated to the first half of the 6th century B.C. (fig. 12, 10) (Kubarev et al., 2007: 209, pic. 14-3). Elunino II M1, located at the western slope of the Altai Mountain, has yielded a golden earring with arrow-shaped ornaments on the pendants, and can be dated to the 6th–5th centuries B.C. (fig. 12, 11) (Kirjushin et al., 1998: 136, pic. 11-1). In Tuekyin M1, also located in the Altai Mountains, trappings in the form of arrow-shaped pendants have also been discovered (fig. 12, 13) (Rudenko, 1960: Tabl. LXXYI). In Lebedevka, located in western Kazakhstan, an earring with arrow-shaped pendants has been excavated, at the bottom of which are welded 3 to 4 granulations. The burial can be dated to the 5th–3rd centuries B.C. (fig. 12, 12) (Tasmagambetov, 2003). In Filipovka M17 there is also a round pendant with sun-shaped pattern at the center and arrow-shaped pendants and pomegranate pendants at the fringe (fig. 12, 14). Filipovka can be dated to the 5th–4th centuries B.C., and it is generally thought to belong to the remains of the Early Sarmatian Culture (Lebedynsky, 2002: 95). The burials in the northern part of the Black Sea have yielded similar finds, which can be dated to the 4th century B.C. (fig. 12, 15) (Polosmak, 2001: 267, pic. 160, a).



Fig. 12. 1, 7, 9. East Taledé; 2-4. Arzhan 2; 5. Bystrjan; 6. Kichigino I M5; 8. Issyk; 10. Balyk-Kooka M1; 11. Elunino II M1; 12. Lebedevka; 13. Tuekyin M1; 14. Filipovka M17; 15. Northern part of the Black Sea

In East Taledé some granulation ornaments have also been found (II M3: 1) (fig. 13, 1), and their analogues can be seen in Besshatyr M2 in Kazakhstan, which is dated to the 5th–4th centuries B.C. (fig. 13, 2) (Akishev, 1983: 128). In Filipovka I M4 Chamber 5 we can also see similar ornaments (fig. 13, 3-4) (Yablonski, 2008: pic. 33, 38).

East Taledé has also yielded ornaments with crouching tiger (II M3: 3-1) (fig. 13, 5), and in Tasmola 5 we have similar finds, the latter can be dated to the 6th century B.C. (fig. 13, 6) (Vishnevskaya, 1992: Tabl. 54, 3-6). In South Tagisken M53, located in the Lower Syr Darya River, there is a similar golden feline ornament, which can be dated to the 7th–6th centuries B.C. (fig. 13, 7) (Itina et al., 1997: pic. 78). In Kichigino I M5 in South Ural some golden earrings and golden pieces, which are attached to the clothes, have also been excavated. All of them are in the form of recumbent feline animals, and the burial can be dated to the second half of the 7th century B.C. (fig. 13, 7) (Tairov et al., 2010: pic. 4, 3-5). Filipovka I M4 Chamber 2 has yielded another recumbent feline piece with length of 8.3 cm; In M4 Chamber 4 another group of 10 feline pieces has been found, which have teardrop-shaped collets at the limbs of the felines. The width of the pieces is from 6.4 cm to 6.8 cm (fig. 13, 11, 12) (Yablonski, 2008: 82, pic. 3; 93, pic. 21). All these embossed pieces highlight the claws and the curled tails of the felines.

A bronze ornament in the form of a tiger (fig. 13, 13) has been excavated in Dongcheng Downship in Mulei County, and in Majiayuan Cemetery in Gansu we have found similar ornaments (fig. 13, 14) (新疆昌吉回族自治州文物局, 2014: 252). A large number of these decorative pieces are stitched on the cloaks worn by the males buried in Arzhan 2 M5 (fig. 13, 16) (Chugunov et al., 2010: Tafel. 37). This style of ornaments can be seen within an extensive area, stretching from Sayan-Altai to South Ural, for example, in Kuilug-Hem I M9 in Tuva, dated to the 7th–5th centuries B.C. (fig. 13, 17) (Grach, 1980: pic. 86); in Kosh-Pei in Tuva, dated to the 5th–3rd centuries B.C. (fig. 13, 18) (Chugunov, 2001: Tabl. 1, 9); in Obiskie-Plesy M2, dated to the 5th–4th centuries B.C. (fig. 13, 19) (Vedyanin et al., 1996: pic. 14, 2); in the Altai Mountain and Upper Ob (fig. 13, 20) (Chugunov, 2001: Tabl. 1, 25); in Tar-Asu at the western slope of the Altai Mountain (fig. 13, 21) (Samašev, Z. S. et al., 2002: 271, Abb. 29-3); in Taldy 2 M5 (fig. 13, 22, 23) (Beisenov et al., 2013: pic. 1, 3, 9); in South Tagisken (fig. 13, 24-27) (Itina et al., 1997: pic. 78); in Uigarak M49, dated to the 7th–6th centuries B.C. (fig. 13, 28) (Vishnevskaya, 1973: Tabl. 1, 16); in bronze trappings from Kichigino I M5 (fig. 13, 29, 30) (Tairov et al., 2010: pic. 3, 4, 6). Also, the panther ornaments from East Taledé share similar style with the feline animal patterns from other regions in the Eurasian Steppe (fig. 13, 15).

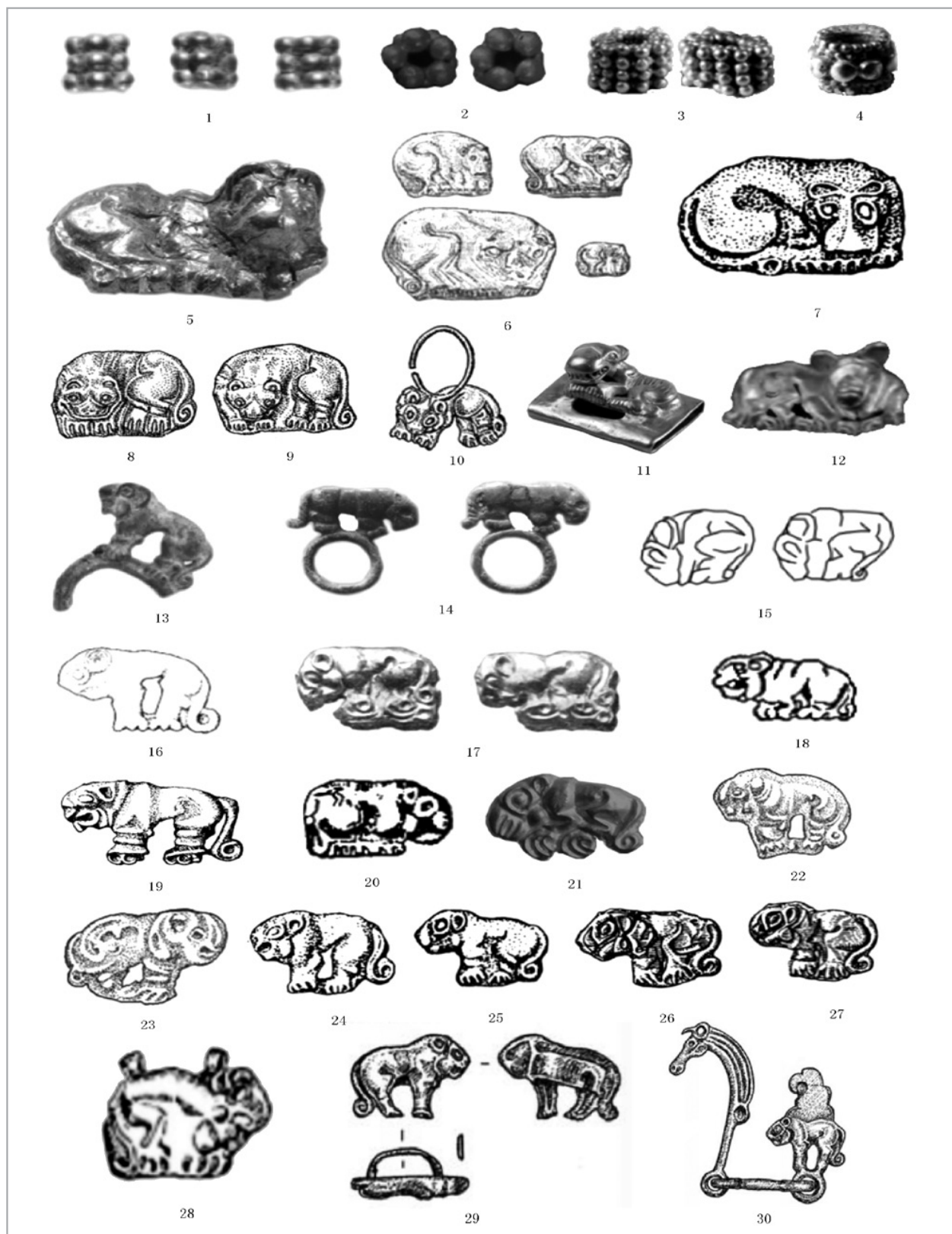


Fig. 13. 1, 5, 15. East Taled; 2. Besshatyr M2; 3, 4. Filipovka I M4 Chamber 5; 6. Tasmola 5; 7, 24-27. South Tagisken; 8-10, 29, 30. Kichigino I M5; 11. Filipovka I M4 Chamber 2; 12. Filipovka I M4 Chamber 4; 13. Dongcheng Downship, Mulei County; 14. Majiayuan Cemetery in Gansu; 16. Arzhan 2; 17. Kuilug-Hem I M9; 18. Kosh-Pei; 19. Obiskie-Plesy M2; 20. Altai and Upper Ob; 21. Tar-Acu; 22, 23. Taldy 2 M5; 28. Uigarak M49

In East Taleda has a golden embossed piece with pattern of a goat (I M32: 4) (fig. 14, 1) has been discovered. Prochorovka, located in western Kazakhstan, has yielded a similar golden piece with the pattern of two goat twined together. Prochorovka can be dated to the 5th century B.C. (fig. 14, 2) (Popescu et al., 1998: 173, fig. 263). A pick axe has been excavated in Tuanzhuangzi M5 (fig. 14, 3) and its analogue can be seen in Arzhan 2, which is gilded (fig. 14, 4) (新疆昌吉回族自治州文物局, 2014: 209, 图204). In Tuanzhuangzi a knife stone has been found, and in Arzhan 2 we can see similar ones (fig. 14, 6) (Chugunov et al., 2010: Tafel. 112-6). The eroded sard bead from Tuanzhuangzi can also be found in Arzhan 2 and Tasmola 5 (fig. 14, 7, 8, 9) (新疆昌吉回族自治州文物局, 2014: 211, 图206; Chugunov et al., 2010: Tafel. 106-7; Popescu et al., 1998: 143, fig. 151-152). Chaiwopu in Urumqi is dated to the Warring States Period, and has yielded a certain number of golden pieces, including a hollow component in the form of a circular truncated cone, which can be seen in many contemporary burials, such as Arzhan 2 and Taldy 2 M5 (fig. 14, 10-13) (Chugunov et al., 2010: Tafel. 32, 13; Beisenov et al., 2014: pic. 1, 3, 6).

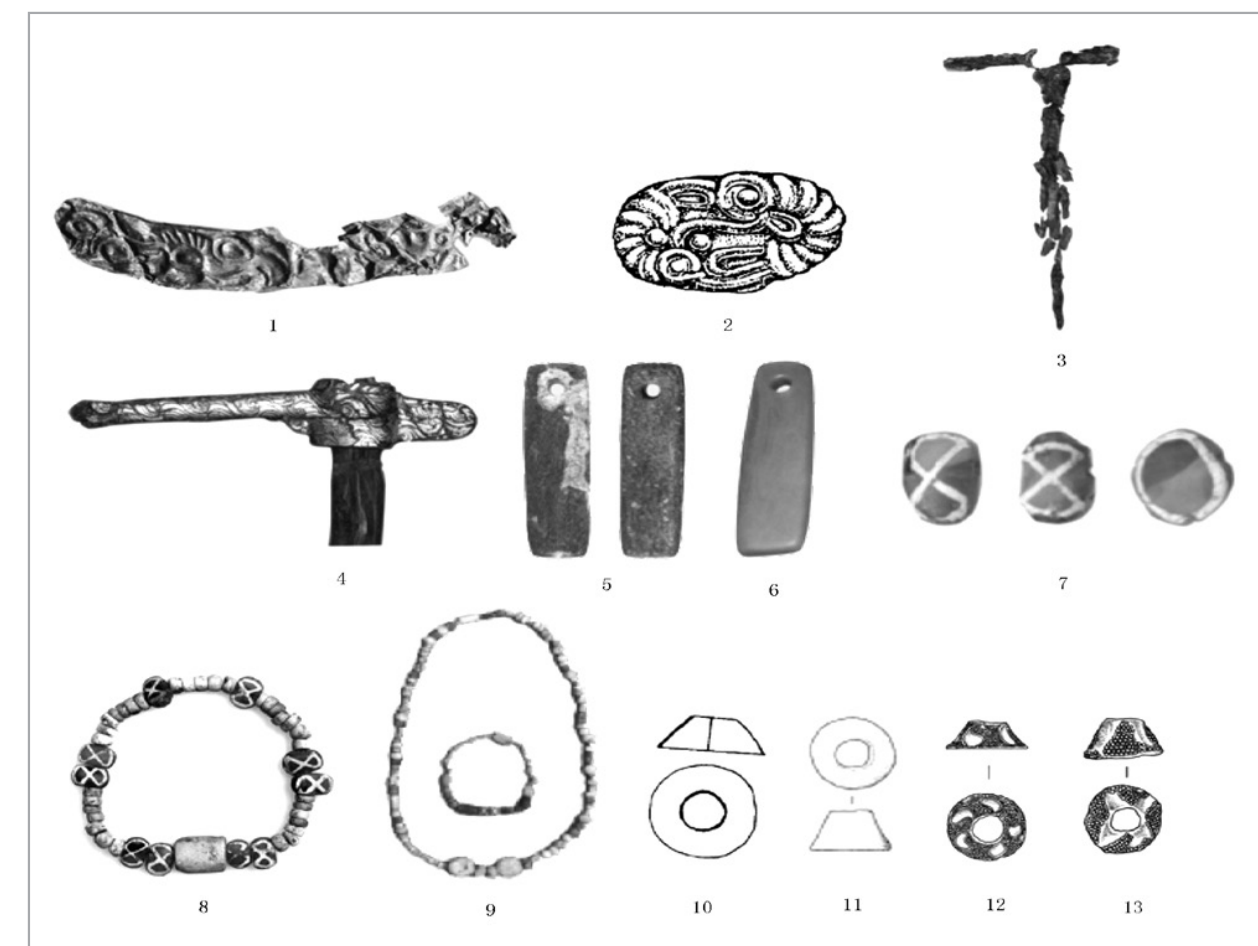


Fig. 14. 1. East Taleda; 2. Prochorovka; 3, 5, 7. Tuanzhuangzi; 4, 6, 8, 11. Arzhan 2; 9. Tasmola 5; 10. Chaiwopu; 12, 13. Taldy 2 M5

Thus it can be seen that the combination of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants and the relevant items reflects the close connection between the northern slope of the Tianshan Mountain in Xinjiang and even the Ganqing Area, with the Sayan-Altai, the Kazakh Steppe, the Low-

er Syr Darya River and South Ural during the 8th–3rd centuries B.C. This connection can partly be seen through the transcultural distribution of the earrings with cone-shaped pendants. In fact, many ornaments from Xinjiang from the 1st millennium B.C. have certain analogues in the neighboring regions, particularly in Sayan-Altai, southern Siberia and Central Asia. For some reasons, most foreign scholars neglect the items from Xinjiang when studying the ornaments, but in fact, from the perspective of both its geographical position and area, Xinjiang is a significant part of the nomadic civilization of the Eurasian Steppes and the oasis civilizations in Inner Asia, and is indispensable for the comprehensive research of the development and the transmission of the ornaments. Meanwhile, scholars in China don't fully take into account the foreign discoveries and systematizations when studying the decorations, and as a result, we cannot understand well the cultural content behind them. In other words, only by putting Xinjiang into the whole background of interactions between the civilizations of the Eurasian Steppes and the oases, can we deeper understand its ancient ornamental culture.

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Food Culture in Jingjue Kingdom: A Study Based on Archaeological Findings

Ye Junshi

Abstract

Jingjue Kingdom was a major stop on the Silk Road, but there are only a few historical records about it. We do not even know anything about its social culture. This article intends to use the archaeological findings and documents which were discovered in the Niya Site over the past century to restore the food culture of the Jingjue people during the Han and Jin Dynasties. The present research paper is mainly divided into two parts: food varieties and eating utensils, and it also argues that the staple food of the Jingjue people mainly consisted of wheat, millet and other cereal-based food, while the non-staple food were vegetables like brassica rapa, beef and mutton. They also used to enjoy a variety of fruits and wine. The eating utensils included wooden bowls and pots, pottery, chopsticks, spoons and even glasses. The food culture in the Jingjue Kingdom reflects the exchange of Chinese and Western food culture on the Silk Road, and also shows the strong influence of Chinese culture in the local area.

Keywords: Jingjue Kingdom, Niya Site, Food Culture

精绝国是汉代西域三十六国之一，《汉书·西域传》记载其：“王治精绝城，去长安八千八百二十里。户四百八十，口三千三百六十，胜兵五百人。精绝都尉、左右将、译长各一人。北至都护治所二千七百二十三里，南至戎卢国四日行，地厄狭，西通扞弥四百六十里。”特殊的地理位置使它在相当长一段时间内一直是“丝绸之路”上的重镇，承担着传递东西方文明的重要使命，在中西文化交流史和西域文明史中，占有极其重要的地位。但是一直以来，文献典籍中对于精绝国的记载十分匮乏，有关其政治制度、经济形态、社会生活等等，可以说是一无所知。直到1901年，英国探险家斯坦因首次进入尼雅遗址，获得大量佉卢文和汉文简牍、文书和各类遗物，才重新揭开精绝国的神秘面纱。

尼雅遗址位于新疆维吾尔自治区和田地区民丰县卡巴克•阿斯坎尔村北30余公里处，深处塔克拉玛干沙漠腹地尼雅河尾间地带。整个遗址以北纬37°50′32.9″，东经82°42′14.3″的佛塔为中心，沿尼雅河古河道呈南北向条带状分布，南北长约25公里，东西宽约7公里，海拔1250米上下，遗址周围被沙丘和红柳包所环绕，遍布各类遗迹200余处，出土佉卢文和汉文文书、简牍上千件，其他各种遗物不可胜数 (Expedition, 2014:3)。经过几代学者的不懈努力，尤其是1988年——1997年在中日两国学者通力合作下，尼雅遗址的发掘工作取得巨大成就，所提供的大量考古材料使精绝史研究成为西域历史研究乃至丝绸之路研究的重要课题之一。本文就以此为基础，尝试对古代精绝人的饮食生活做一个基本考察，为还原精绝国的原始生活面貌提供一个参考。

一、食物种类

(一) 植物性食物

尼雅遗址中现存农田遗迹主要有两处，分别在尼雅佛塔北侧近100米处和古桥遗址东侧。农田面积不大，地势平整，田埂、灌渠清晰可见。许多房址周围还带有规模不一的果园，园子外有小引水渠连接尼雅河，直到现在仍有枯死的果树矗立在那。农田耕种的粮食和果园栽种的水果构成了精绝人的植物性食物来源。

1. 粮食作物

通过出土的考古资料，可以知道古代精绝人的主要粮食作物是小麦、青稞、粟和黍。1901年，斯坦因首次进入尼雅遗址发掘时，在编号为N. xix的房址中发现大量保存良好的麦草，据鉴定，其中含有黍。同时发现的一个平底木碗中也留有粟的遗存 (Stein, 2009:392)。1959年，新疆少数民族社会历史调查组和自治区博物馆对尼雅遗址分别进行调查，在多间遗址内都发现了麦粒、青稞和粟，有些甚至因为大量堆积而被压成块状。在编号59MN008的一处房址还发现一根保存十分完好的麦穗，麦粒与芒俱全 (Li, 1988:21-22)。1995年发掘的一号墓地多个墓葬中均发现墓主人棺木周围填充了大量麦秸草，用以防止泥沙渗入，里面含有小麦、黍的茎秆，部分麦、黍的穗头仍然保留下来 (Institute, 2000:36)。95MNI号墓地3号墓还出土了随葬食品黍谷粥，粥放置于一个双系陶罐中，已经干结成饼状 (Wang, 1999:92)。

尼雅遗址出土的佉卢文文书已经超过1000件，大部分写于木简、木牍之上，也有少量写于羊皮纸上，内容包括敕谕、买卖契约、信函、籍账和佛经等，其中广泛提到谷物一词，并可知道当时谷物以弥里码 (milima) 和硒 (khi) 为单位，既是当时人们的口粮，也可以用来当作实物货币支付工钱。比如在编号25的一封信函中提到要支付给一个侍从的薪俸是3弥里码，口粮是1弥里码10硒 (Lin, 1988:265)。具体的谷物品种除了前面提到的小麦、青稞、黍和粟以外，还有一些不知所指，如272号国王敕谕文书中要求征收的kuvana、tsamghina和koyimamdhina等 (Lin, 1988:82)。但是这也证明在当时的精绝国中，农业种植的规模的和品种相当丰富。为了保证农业生产，水的灌溉利用管理十分严格，不但有专人管理水渠，征收“水费”，甚至各家各户小麦的灌溉次数也有严格规定和登记措施 (Lin, 1988:160-161)。

除了粮食作物以外，尼雅遗址中还发现干蔓菁的遗存，这也是目前考古所见最早的蔓菁 (Shi, 1960:26)。蔓菁为十字花科芸苔属植物，种植历史悠久，分布广泛，一般认为中国和地中海地区是其驯化的主要地区。由于其耐干旱的特性，蔓菁在我国西北地区种植较多，根及叶子都可食用，尤其是肥大的肉质根，是很好的蔬菜。余欣曾推测，西汉时蔓菁已经是当时的主要蔬菜品种，在西域诸国也有一定面积的栽培，种子可能是从中原传入 (Yu, 2011:221)。

2. 水果

果园的分布相当广泛，大部分房屋遗迹周围都带有果园，并用篱笆围绕起来：“房屋废墟的西面和南面围有篱笆，虽然有些地方完全被沙覆盖，但大部分保存完整。沙地上露出一簇一簇枯萎的果树树干，表明这里曾是一处果园。和尼雅遗址废建筑附近能够找到的其他古代果园遗迹中的一样，我的挖掘工毫不费力就认出了各种不同的果树品种，如桃树、杏树、桑树、吉格代 (Jigda, 即沙枣——译者注)” (Stein, 2009:357) 墓中也曾出土木碗，里面盛放着已经风干的葡萄、沙枣、梨等贡品 (Wang, 1999:92)。

这些水果中，葡萄所占比重最大，在多处房址周围都可看到枯死的葡萄藤，另外还发现有专门栽种葡萄的葡萄园。在编号93A7的房屋遗址东北边，考古学家清理出一处长50米，宽30米的葡萄园

遗址，发掘时尚存9行东西向排列的已干化的葡萄根和用来搭葡萄架的木桩 (Sha, 1999: 224-225)。大约在3000年前，原产高加索、里海地区的葡萄进入中国新疆伊犁河流域，向东延伸越天山，传入塔里木盆地，最终通过丝绸之路进入内地。另一种经由丝绸之路由西方传来的水果是石榴。石榴原产于中亚地区，据记载为汉武帝时，张骞出使西域时所带回。虽然在尼雅遗址中没有发现石榴遗存，但在佉卢文文书中可以看出当时精绝人食用石榴的端倪。编号617号文书就是一份专门登记拖欠石榴账目的籍账文书，其中有些甚至已经拖欠好几年 (Lin, 1988:242-243)。

此外，桃树的发现意义也十分重大，除了枯死的桃树外，多处房址中都采集到10多枚桃核 (Expedition, 2014:12)。桃子曾被认为起源于波斯地区，通过丝绸之路向西传播到中国，但后来大量考古发现证实，桃子的原产地是中国，尤其是1973年，河北的藁城台西村出土了距今约3000多年的栽培桃的桃核，证明中国栽培桃的历史至少在3000年以前 (Geng, 1974:54-55)。尼雅出土桃核进一步证明桃的传播应该是由中原地区沿“丝绸之路”经由中亚向西传播到波斯，再扩散到地中海沿岸各国。

由于沙漠地区日照充足，昼夜温差大，加上当时还算丰富的水资源灌溉，这些含糖量高，营养丰富的水果可以想见是当时精绝人饮食的有益补充。繁茂的果树在提供水果的同时，也充当着阻挡沙尘，维护绿洲土地的屏障，在精绝人的生活中不可谓不重要。

（二）动物性食物

精绝人的动物性食物主要来自于饲养的牲畜，以骆驼、牛、羊和马为主。牲畜所居的畜棚通常就在房屋附近。据调查，整个尼雅遗址有牲口棚12处 (Expedition, 2014:3)，牲口棚内的牲畜粪便堆积的很厚，几乎每个房屋遗址内外都有发现动物粪便。遗址内到处都可以见到骆驼、马、牛、羊的骨骼，甚至在一处房址内柱础旁还发现了一付狗的骨架 (Li, 1988:25-30)。斯坦因还曾发现一副驴子的鞍架，为桑木所制，保存完好，样式和当时新疆各地普遍使用的驴鞍并没有什么区别 (Stein, 2009:352)。墓葬中也发现很多牲畜遗物，I号墓地6座墓葬均发现有盛放在木碗或者陶罐中的羊肉，上面插着小刀。

从文书记载来看，精绝人饲养的羊有山羊、绵羊两种，数量比较大，其中有一次就收到230只羊的记录 (Lin, 1988:214)。牛除了牛角、牛肉以外，还有一个重要用途就是产奶和酥油，酥油既可供食用，也是精绝国征收的实物税之一。骆驼和马通常作为运输工具来使用，尤其是骆驼，经常被商人所租用，围绕骆驼产生的纠纷在文书中屡见不鲜。值得注意的是，从文书中可以看出，精绝国的大部分牲畜都归皇家所有，对皇家畜群有着一套严格的管理制度。

除了食用饲养的牲畜以外，狩猎也是肉食的一个重要来源。尼雅遗址墓葬中出土大量的弓和箭，还有配套使用的弓袋和箠。它们既是用来在战场上杀敌的兵器，也是日常生活中狩猎的常用工具。狩猎的主要对象是鹿，在一封敕谕文书中就讲述受命看管皇家马匹的人私自将马借与别人去猎鹿，而导致马匹死亡，因此要被追求责任的事件 (Lin, 1988:126-127)。当时的塔里木盆地南缘一带芦苇茂密，鹿群很多，到唐代玄奘经过这一地区时，还是“泽地湿热，难以履涉。芦苇荒茂，无复途径。” (Xuan, 1985:1030) 除了鹿以外，至少还有狐狸，在另外一封文书中就提到，有人将财物掩埋在地里，结果把犬、狐吸引过来而被刨出 (Lin, 1988:41)。这也可见当时的生态环境。由于狩猎风气很盛，国王甚至不得不下令禁止到牧场去狩猎，以保证放牧者的利益 (Lin, 1988:39)。

（三）酒

酒在精绝人的饮食生活中占有相当大的比重，在佉卢文文书中有着丰富的记载。文书中出现的酒同样以弥里码和硒为计量单位，主要内容一般是征收酒税和拖欠酒账：比如编号168、169、172、175号、176号文书登记了当时人的酒帐；173号文书则记录当时官邸和官员们如护军、百户和十户等所拥有的酒的数量。206号和247号的信函文书都是催收酒，要求将酒尽快送来。567号敕谕文书则提到

酒库，证实精绝国中专门的机构和官员负责管理征收来的酒税，更进一步说明酒在精绝人生活中的重要意义：“彼之仓库浪费极大。酒库记有帐单，……现欠酒达一百五十弥里码。当汝接到此楔形泥封木牍时，应即刻对此事详加审理。若该苏耆耶将仓库的酒浪费，应免去苏耆耶税监之职，任命其他人当税监。仓库内有酒和皇家专用之酒，这些酒均应由苏耆耶和波耆沙赔偿并征收以前欠下的酒债，至于新欠酒债，和苏耆耶无关，应由其他税监征收。” (Lin, 1988:139-140) 从中也可以看出精绝国的酿酒业已经初具规模，而且还是皇室经济的重要来源。

虽然从佉卢文文书中很难看出这些酒的具体品种，但是不难推测，最主要的应该是葡萄酒，最直接的例证来自于一件葡萄园买卖契约文书：“有一男人，名达摩娑。彼愿意将内有15sujada之葡萄园一所以及地上之树卖给司书罗没索磋。给价马1匹。双方同意并作了决定。自今以后，司书罗没索磋对该葡萄园有权支架、拆架、剪葡萄、饮酒、交换、出卖、为所欲为。” (Burrow, 1988:253) 这里的饮酒显然是用葡萄酿制而成的葡萄酒。希腊作为欧洲最早开始种植葡萄并进行葡萄酒酿造的国家，随着亚历山大的东征，也把葡萄酒的酿造传播到中亚、西亚地区，随后沿着丝绸之路一直传到内地。张骞出使大宛时惊叹“宛左右以蒲陶为酒，富人藏酒至万余石”，正是亚历山大征服费尔干纳盆地之后留下的文化影响。而且，从精绝国的农业生产规模看，用粮食作物酿酒显然不可能满足这么大的需求，只有大量栽种的葡萄才有可能实现。而有些葡萄园面积广大，甚至超过1500平方米，显然也不只是为了食用。

二、饮食器具

尼雅遗址出土的饮食器具除了少量陶甗、砧板和木铲为加工器具以外，其余主要可以分为盛食器和助食器两类，材质主要以木制、陶制为主，也见有少量铜制、玻璃制品。

1. 盛食器

盛食器，顾名思义，主要用以盛装水、酒和食物，多为陶制和木制，陶制的主要是陶罐，包括单耳罐、双耳罐、双系罐、束颈罐等，多是夹砂陶，器物表面多装饰有刻划的弦纹、云纹和菱格纹，主要用来储藏水、酒和粮食。95MNI号墓地8号墓中还出土两件夹砂红陶的带流陶罐，据介绍为“方唇侈口，短流，细颈，球腹，单耳，底微圆。器身矮胖，口部稍残。流的下部有如汉字“王”字的墨迹，耳的下部刻划“卅”状纹样。” (Institute, 2000:10) 罐内还存留着部分干腐的食物。3号墓中也出土带流罐，里面残存有干结的糜谷粥。

陶制器皿中还有陶盘、陶盏，制作比较原始粗糙。此外在遗址内曾发现高达2米的大罐，罐口向下，罐底向上，口下垫着木板，埋在室内地下 (Shi, 1960:27)。在后来的调查中，这种大罐被认定为陶瓮，基本都是半埋在沙中，上面盖着木板。这类陶瓮应该是用来储水和粮食的，当然在面临危机时，精绝国的官吏们也会把一些重要的文书藏在陶瓮里，掩埋在沙下，直到被斯坦因发现。为了满足陶器的大量使用，在当时精绝人的职业中，就有一类陶工专门负责制作陶器 (Lin, 1988:141-142)。

相比陶器，木器的使用显然更加频繁。相较于尼雅遗址中出土的雕刻精美绝伦的门框、木椅、木柜子，木制的饮食器具则普遍比较朴素，注重实用性。主要有类型有木桶、木杯，木碗，木钵。木碗与现在居民所使用的碗极为相似，也是侈口、圆底，大小不一，墓葬中出土的木碗普遍装有羊腿、羊肉或者糜谷。有些木碗、木钵放置在木器座之上，应该为祭祀所用。木杯主要是单耳杯，有些在底部或杯身外侧刻有“卍”字符或“十”字符，也有一些腹部上有一柱状流。59MN001号墓中出土过一个用铜片和铁片修补过的木杯，里面还残留有食物干痂 (Li, 1988:36)。木桶造型跟现在也很相似，除了装水之外，可能还用来装牛羊奶，因为在尼雅遗址还发现有搅拌杆，“头部呈半弧形，有长期使用的痕迹，长40、头部宽8、厚1.5厘米。另外，还采集到搅拌杆的头部3个，都有使用痕迹，大小相同。” (Museum, 1961:120) 这种搅拌杆和现在用来搅拌牛羊奶的木杆形状一样，

应该是同一类东西。这些木制品的材质经过分析，主要是当地的胡杨。大量制作相对简单，使用频繁，甚至有修补痕迹的木碗、木杯显示出木器才是当地普通人所日常使用的饮食器具。这同时也意味着当时精绝国的生态环境中树木仍然比较常见，所以精绝人在日常生活中大量使用木器制品，包括制作精美的木雕，但是这对本已脆弱的沙漠生态环境造成的破坏也是显而易见的。

除了常见的陶器、木器之外，最重要的发现是玻璃器皿。1901年，斯坦因发掘尼雅遗址N5居址时发现5片淡绿色的玻璃残片，其中有2片可明显看出是杯状容器的一部分 (Stein, 2009:447-448)。其后中日考察队也在遗址中采集到1片玻璃杯残片，上有内凹圆圈纹饰。这种玻璃杯残片在同一时期塔里木盆地周围的遗址中并不罕见，尤其是在营盘遗址的墓葬和且末扎滚鲁克古墓群中都曾出土几乎完整的玻璃杯，器型极为相似，杯身都有椭圆或圆形磨饰 (Zhao, 2014:78)。据检测，扎滚鲁克古墓群出土的玻璃杯符合罗马玻璃的典型特征，年代大致为公元100—400年 (Cheng, 2011:88-92)。可以推测，尼雅遗址出土的玻璃杯残片应该也是来自罗马和西亚地区的同一类型玻璃杯。

2. 助食器

助食器指用以帮助进食的工具。从考古材料看，精绝人在饮食活动中主要以筷子、勺子进食，同时也保留着用刀切割牛羊肉的习惯，墓葬中放置在盆上的羊腿很多都插有小铁刀。1959年，新疆博物馆考察队在尼雅遗址清理了部分木制残片，其中发现有筷子，呈圆柱形，两端粗细有细微不同，长20—24厘米，直径为0.5厘米，与现在的筷子几乎没有差别。此类筷子在后来的考古工作中也有发现。使用筷子吃饭，是中华民族古老传统，但是传播到边疆地区比较晚，在汉晋时期的尼雅遗址中出土筷子，说明至少在2000年以前，筷子已经随着丝绸之路传播到了塔里木盆地南缘。勺子在尼雅遗址中也是屡见不鲜，材质主要有木制和铜制。木勺多为圆形或椭圆形，带长柄，用刀挖制削刻而成，制作比较粗糙，大的有长35厘米，直径6.4-8厘米，深3.2厘米；小的长只有7.7厘米，宽3.2厘米，厚0.3厘米；铜勺小的只有3.6厘米长，大的有21厘米长。这种用碗、杯盛放食物，以筷子、勺子助食，反映出当时精绝人的饮食结构中主要以粒食和流食为主，是典型的农业地区的生活方式，说明在汉文化的影响下，精绝人的农耕文明在显著发展。

另外值得一提的是，在尼雅遗址中还发现有2处冰窖遗迹，与现在生活在沙漠附近的居民所使用的冰窖一模一样。一处为斯坦因所发现，在编号N2的住宅区西边：“在一个约12英尺×9英尺的大小的房间中，见到两根未经加工过的胡杨树干并排紧挨着半埋在地下。我从克里雅带来的向导阿布杜拉马上表示，这是一个木孜罕那 (muz—khana，即冰块贮藏室)，和现在完全一样。树干通常用来保持使冰块不触及地面……在两根树干之间约2英尺的空间里填满了一层厚厚的杨树叶，现在富裕的村民们通常仍习惯用这种树叶来做贮藏以供夏天使用的冰的遮盖物。” (Stein, 2009:349)1992年考察队在尼雅佛寺西部约10米处发现了另一处冰窖，“平面呈四方形，长4.00米；宽3.25米。地表可见四根较粗大的方木柱，暴露地表1.5米左右，每根木柱长0.25米、宽0.20米，在每个木柱的顶部与另一木柱相对处各有一卯孔，可能其间用来放置横木进行支撑加固，使之成为木框架结构。该建筑内由上往下均为纯净的填沙，至2.20米处时发现有一些枯树枝、麦草和骆驼刺，再往下仍为较纯净的黄沙。……参照与此同类的建筑形制，初步判断为冰窖” (Zhang, 1999:59)。这种因地制宜、简便实用的冰镇技术为盛夏时节食物的储存保鲜提供了绝佳的条件，不过可以想见这肯定是部分精绝贵族和高级僧侣才有资格获得的享受。

三、小结

综上，可以看出古代精绝国人的饮食结构主要是以麦、粟等粮食为主食，以蔬菜、瓜果和一定量的肉食为副食，饮食器具则以陶制、木制的碗、盆为主，已经开始用筷子、勺子进食。这种饮食生活方式既是受到汉族农耕文明的影响，也是因地制宜，依托尼雅河谷绿洲发展的结果。精绝人充分

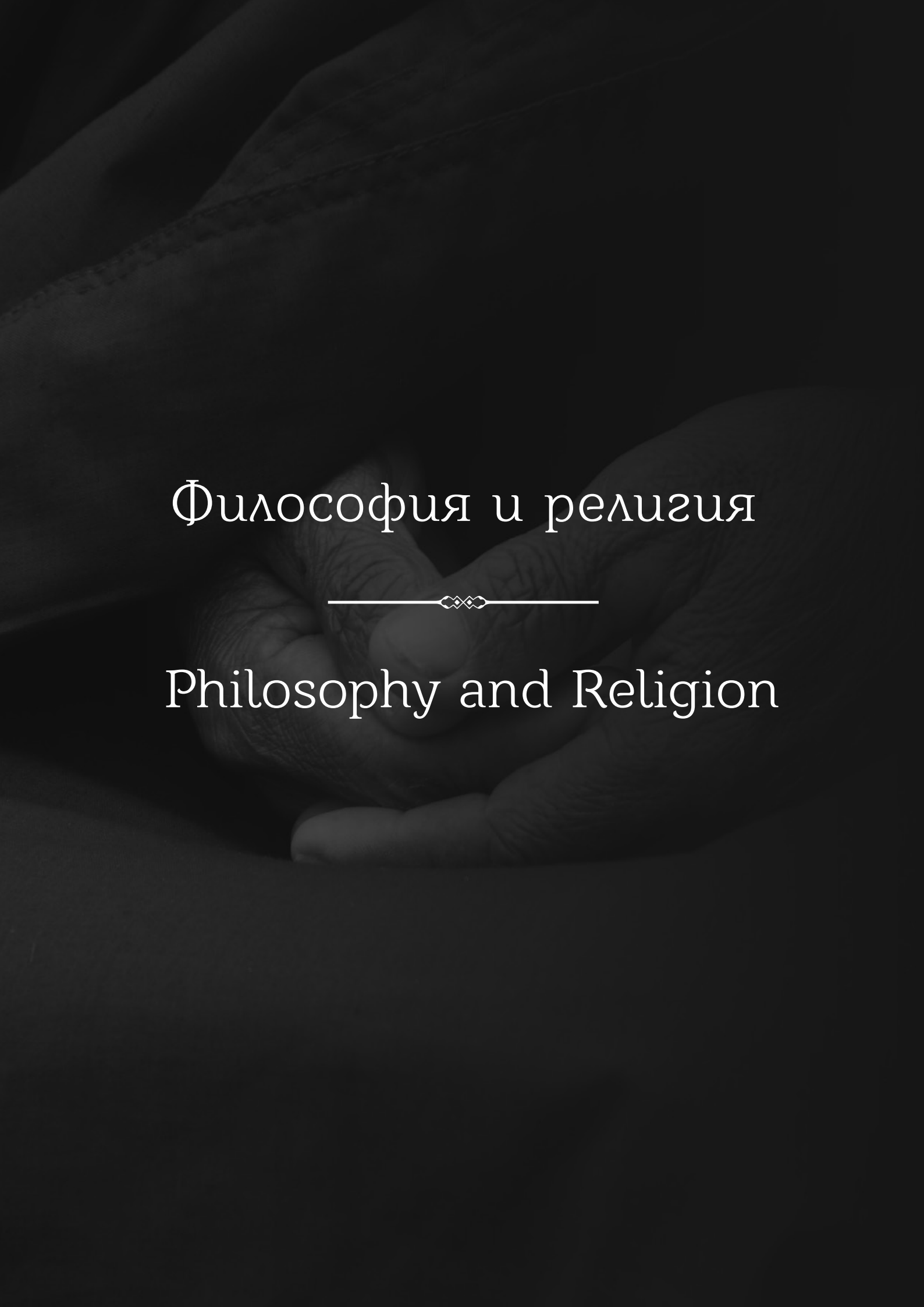
利用尼雅河流域的自然地理条件，开展农业、畜牧业生产，辅以果蔬产品，极大地丰富了自身的饮食来源。同时也积极发展制陶、木雕、酿酒、金属冶炼和建筑等手工业生产，基本满足了人们的生活需要，维系着精绝国的存在和丝路南道的畅通。然而，这种生产和生活方式对于环境的要求很严格，尤其是对水资源需求很大，遗址中所见的引水渠，文书中的“水费”和对浇灌的严格限制都反映出当时精绝人面临的水资源困境。而这种深度依赖自然环境的饮食结构，大量使用木器的生活方式对于生态环境的破坏也是巨大的。如此也就不难理解，尼雅遗址的废弃是历史必然的结局。

以精绝国为例，也可以看出汉晋时期，得益于丝绸之路的开通和东西方的广泛交流，丝路沿线各国的饮食文化已经发生深刻的变化，西来的小麦、葡萄、石榴、葡萄酒、玻璃杯，东来的黍、粟、蔓菁、桃子、筷子等等在此交汇，使得像精绝国这样沙漠中的绿洲小王国迸发出旺盛的生机，成为供应往来商旅使者，连接东西两个大陆的重要枢纽。

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哲学与宗教



Философия и религия

Philosophy and Religion

ВЛИЯНИЕТО НА ИСЛЯМА И СУФИЗМА В СИНДЗЯН

Богдана Тодорова

The Influence of Islam and Sufi Sects in Xinjiang

Bogdana Todorova

Abstract

The report will analyze the role of Islamic factor and the political-ideological process because many people relied it with terrorism and extremism; China is one of the most prominent geopolitical players in nowadays; it's important to differ the religion from the extremists and their political aims, ideologies and systems; the role of religious extremism is growing.

The high level of religiosity, in the region, depends of the role of Sufis. That's why I would like to stress attention on the Sufi sects (Nakshbandi) and their influence. The article deals with the issues of Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) history connected with the rule and ambitions of local religious leaders — khojas.

One of the new trends is to create effective movements from Islamic extremists similar to Sufi orders. For China Islamism is less dangerous than Nationalism. In conclusion will be drawn four reasons which will increase the role of religious leaders in the future.

Keywords: Xinjiang, Islam, Sufi sects, One B&R

Синдзян е в центъра на настоящия доклад поради няколко причини:

1. Във връзка с **историческото минало на Китай**. Синдзян, като продължение на Средна Азия, е наречен от династията Цин Нова земя. Западният експерт по Синдзян Латимор определя тази част на Китай, като „географската ос на историята“ и като „оста на Азия“, използвайки системния подход на „геоисторията“ (Латимор, 1950).

По това време могат да се разграничат четири центъра на властта в Източен Туркестан: Източен (разделен на две - Комул и Турфан), Централен, в Яркенд и в Кашгар.¹ Населението в оазисите на Източен Туркестан освен уйгури (това наименование придобиват през XIII-XIV в.) включва и християни несторианци и будисти.

До началото на XX в., жителите на Кашгар, Яркенд, Комул и Турфан са известни като „мюсюлмани“, „източни турци“, „сарти“ от малката Бухара или просто като кашгарци и турфанци.

¹ През XV в. ходжа Махтум Агзам, богослов от Бухара, гостува в Източен Туркестан и печели народната любов и уважение. Тя се предава на двамата му сина: имам Калян и ходжа Исаак-Вали, които стават религиозни патрони на мюсюлманите и полагат началото на значимостта на ходжите в района. Всеки един от тях има своите последователи, дервиши и послушници. Религиозните учения на двамата братя принципно не се различават, но те полагат основите на два религиозни ордена: последователите на имам Калян наричат себе си - **Ишкия**, а тези на ходжа Исаак Вали – **Исакия**, впоследствие първите се наричат ак-таулин (белите планинци), а другите – кара-таулин (черните планинци), наименования, които се ползват и днес.

2. Във връзка с **високата концентрация на мюсюлманско население** в района, смесица от будизъм, уйгурско манихейство, а след турцизирането на ираноезичния оазис на Източен Туркистан, и ислям. Уйгурите са мнозинство. Като цяло те не се отличават с висока степен на религиозност. Религиозни и при това политизирано религиозни са ходжите от суфитските оредени със стремежа към теокрация. Мюсюлманите в Китай са 2% от местното население (CIA World Factbook), предимно сунити. Според Дирекцията по вероизповедания на Китай (SARA) в Китай има 21 милиона мюсюлмани, като те са разпръснати на територията на цялата страна. Най-голяма е концентрацията в провинции Xinjiang, Gansu и Ningxia, както и в централната провинция Henan и провинция Yunnan в югозападен Китай.

3. Във връзка с прогнозите до 2030 г. за **Китай като нов глобален лидер** и геостратегическия статут на уйгурски автономен район.

Синдзян има геостратегически статут – мост между Централна и Южна Азия, път на обмен на идеи и технологии между Китай и Евразия. Той е 1/6 от територията на Китай и обезпечава позиите му в 3 региона на Азия – Източна, Централна и Южна. Към това трябва да добавим и огромните залежи на нефт и сяра. Тук е и ядреният полигон Лобнорск, където Пакистан изпита ядреното си оръжие. Тук е икономическият коридор Kashgar (Китай) - Gwada (Пакистан), стратегически важен коридор по Пътя на коприната за Китай, Близкия изток и Европа.

Кашгар (официално: Кахгар; уйгурски: قەشقەر / Qəshqər; кит.: 喀什, Kāshí), някога най-важен град-оазис по Пътя на коприната, днес е най-важният град в южните части на Синдзян. Кашгар се намира на западния край на пустинята Такламакан и в подножието на планинския хребет Кунлун, където двата обикалящи пустинята маршрута се съединяват. По подобен начин тук са се съединили влиянията на многото култури, „пътували“ по Пътя на коприната. От Кашгар има директни пътни връзки за Пакистан и Киргизстан. Градът е с 2000-годишна история, един от първите райони, през които е проникнал будизмът в Китай. „Хилядата пещери на Буда“ край Бецеклик (кит. 柏孜克里千佛洞, Bozikelike Qianfodong, английски Bezeklik Thousand Buddha Caves) е комплекс от свещени будистки пещери-храмове от V-IX в. Мястото се намира между градовете Турфан и Шаншан, близо до руините на Гаочан (основен будистки център) на ръба на отвесна скала на западната страна на долината Мутоу, в подножието на Пламтящите планини. В 60-те запазени пещери могат да се видят много значими будистки стенописи. През 1982 г. мястото влиза в списъка с културни паметници на КНР, но по-късно от него започва ислямизирането на населението на Синдзян. Тук неслучайно се намира и най-голямата джамия в Китай. Построената през IX в. джамия „Ид-Ках“ побира до 8000 вярващи и подчертава важното значение на града като голям ислямски център в Китай. Сградата на джамията съчетава в себе си арабски и уйгурски стил. Още 90 джамии са разпръснати из града. На 5 км североизточно се намира надгробната плоча Аб-ках-Хойа, пример за една от най-красивите ислямски надгробни плочи в Китай.²

² Построена от едноименен местен управител в памет на баща му и семейството през 1680 г.

4. Във връзка с **религиозния фактор**, който в страните с преобладаващо мюсюлманско население става част от политическата мобилизация на опозиционните сили.

Религиозните екстремисти използват методите на въоръжената борба, съчетани с тези на идеологическата, за да печелят умовете и сърцата на хората, като тези методи се изразяват в тероризъм, който няма нищо общо със същността на исляма.

„Пътят от Ташкент към Талибан“ на З. Барън дава точно определение на войната – „тя е идеологическа, а терористичните актове са върхът на айсберга.“³

Без съмнение религиозният екстремизъм влияе на обществения живот в страните от Централна Азия. Фанатизмът, религиозната нетърпимост, въоръжените сблъсъци имат своята най-ярка проява именно тук. Обвързването на исляма с екстремизъм и тероризъм в този регион идва от връзката на ислямския екстремизъм с уахабизма.⁴

Наситеният с отрицателна конотация термин „фундаменталисти“ нерядко се прилага неправомерно към дейността на мюсюлмански екстремистки групи, поставящи си политически цели: влизане във властта, утвърждаване на идеологии и политически системи, чиито изразители се явяват те. Икономическите и политическите реформи от 90-те години в региона способстват този автономен район да се окаже в сферата на влияние на международния тероризъм, чието най-опасно проявление днес е религиозният екстремизъм.⁵

Криминално проявени личности или хора, водени от собствените си користни цели, се опитват да насаждат в Централноазиатските републики чуждия като идеология за хората тук уахабизъм. Терористичните заплахи в Централна Азия бележат ръст в края на 90-те години. За това допринасят създадените в началото на 90-те години от саудитските уахабити ислямски школи по примера на суфитските секти, финансирани от Саудитска Арабия. Точно тази част от Китай провокира нестабилността и липсата на сигурност в региона.

5. Във връзка с **опитите за дестабилизация на района** от външни сили:

А/ чрез създаване на екстремистки ислямистки групи **ETIM, Hizb ut-Tahrir** – във връзка с терористични организации Central Asian Uygur Hezbollah (Kazakhstan); East Turkistan Liberation Organization (ETLO); Eastern Turkistan International Committee; Eastern Islamic Movement (Afghanistan); Eastern Turkistan Islamic Resistance Movement (Turkey); Eastern Turkistan Youth League (Switzerland); Turkistan Party (Pakistan); United Committee of Uygur's Organizations (Central Asia). Основна цел – създаване на автономна ислямска държава Източен Туркестан, независима от Китай.

IMU – Ислямско движение за Узбекистан (1996). Има за цел създаване на ислямска държава, съществуваща по законите на шариата (отначало във Ферганската долина, а впослед-

³ Виж по-подробно: Baran, Z. *The way from Tashkent to Taliban* – www.national-review, Apr. 2.

⁴ С термина „уахабити“ властите в републиките от Централноазиатския регион обозначават фундаменталистите, които са опозиция на режима. Уахабизъм – социално религиозно течение от края на XVIII в. Името си получава от Мохамед ибн Уахаб, който произнася пуританска проповед пред бедуинските племена за чистота на исляма и за строго единобожие. До днес това е официалната идеология на кралство Саудитска Арабия. (Игнатенко, 2004:70-86).

⁵ Възраждането на исляма в началото на XX в. още от първия момент е представено като явление на фундаментализма. Призивите за възраждане на ислямската култура, но представени под формата на екстремизъм. Пример в това отношение е идеологията на „Мюсюлмански братя“ и „Джамаат-и ислами“ – призивите им за възраждане на културните традиции бързо се обръщат в политически екстремизъм и тероризъм.

ствие на територията на цял Узбекистан). На 25 август 1999 г. официално излизат с призив за джихад и сваляне правителството на Узбекистан. До тяхната поява на територията на Узбекистан съществуват опозиционните ислямски групировки „Общество на справедливостта“, „Воини на исляма“, „Тауба“ (Покаяние) (Паниер, 2001). Те възприемат джихада едностранчиво – само като борба с неверниците. Източниците на финансиране са различни ислямски организации, старата узбекска диаспора - Афганистан, Турция, Саудитска Арабия, напуснали Средна Азия през 20-те години на миналия век.⁶ В идеологически и политически план тяхната програма почива на радикално политизираните идеи на войнстващия ислямизъм.

Членове на ИДУ са хора от Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен район на Китай. През 2002 г. следва обединение на ИДУ с радикални ислямски групировки от районите с уйгурски сепаратисти в Китай (ИДЦА – Ислямско движение в Централна Азия). Целта е сваляне на светските правителства в региона и установяване на халифат. Като цяло регионът е беден, властта слаба, с потенциални религиозни и етнически конфликти, които ще продължат да дестабилизируют региона.

В/ *генериране на напрежение, използвайки съседната на района зона на етнически сблъсъци между узбеки и киргизи*

- беден, икономически изостанал район (безработицата кара хората да мигрират към руския пазар)⁷;

- високо ниво на корупция;

- нискообразовано население, зле финансирани самотни мъже, малтретирани на работните си места, изнудвани за подкупи, които намират подкрепа от страна на религиозните сдружения и се включват в терористични групировки;

- Киргизстан е свързан с ДАЕШ, с фронта „Ан-Нусра“ (създаден като клон на „Ал-Кайда“ в Сирия). Това са хора, които предпочитат да убиват пред дебатите и воденето на преговори.

6. Във връзка с влиянието на **суфитското духовенство** и култа към ислямските светци в съвременен Синдзян. Техните гробници са украсени с конски опашки – по обичая на монголските завоеватели от времето на Чингис хан. Същия синкретизъм наблюдаваме и по отношение на джамиите, смесени с елементи на пагода.

От значение са ролята и развитието на ислямския фактор в суфитския орден **накшбандия**⁸, който след суфитския орден „кадирия“ е най-влиятелният суфитски орден на територията на Средна Азия.

⁶ В Страните от Близкия изток и Югозападна Азия живеят около 3 милиона етнически узбеки, от тях 2 милиона в Афганистан и 700 хиляди в Саудитска Арабия.

⁷ През 2016 г. в Русия работят половин милион души от Киргизстан, 850 000 – таджики, узбеки – 1 милион души.

⁸ Името на суфитския орден произлиза от занаята накшбанд (ловец) на виден представител на средноазиатския суфизъм от XIV в., таджика Баха ад-Дин Мухамед ал-Бухари, а като структура орденът се оформя при неговите приемници. Сред по-известните представители на този орден са поетът Джами, пишец поезия на фарси, Алишер Навой, чиито произведения са написани на фарси и средноазиатски турски, както и ходжа Уйбадуллах Ахрар, способствал да свърже Улугбек с трона на Тимурите. От XV в. това е най-широко разпространеното, след „кадирия“, суфитско духовно братство, покриващо огромна територия от Кайро и Босна до Гансу, северозападен Китай, от о. Суматра (Югоизточна Азия) и от Поволжието и Северен Кавказ до Южна Индия и Арабския полуостров. Братството изиграва изключително голяма роля при ислямизацията на населението между реките Сърдаря и Амударя, Източен Туркестан, и киркизките и казахските родови племена. Има силно влияние в Турция и по кюрдските земи. Подкрепят съпротивата срещу руската агресия на територията на цяла Азия.

В периода XVI-XVII в. династията на източнотуркестанските монголи попада под контрола на две непримирими разклонения на суфизма – ордени *накшбандия* и *ходжаган*. Делят ги не религиозните мотиви, а стремежът за политическа власт. Това води до разделение на района, умело използвано от управляващите империята Цин, които, завладявайки тази територия, я правят втората след Русия империя в Азия.

Опасностите на суфизма са посочени още в далечната 1901 г., когато в специален меморандум се иска контрол над суфитските братства като потенциални подривни организации. В Синдзян националният въпрос е от приоритно значение поради уйгурската въоръжена подривна дейност (Снесарев, 2004:249).

Идеите на суфизма са достъпни за масите като по-възприемчиви към религиозните идеи. Радикализмът също се възползва от религиозната опаковка. Главните особености на суфитските ордени са: религиозен плам по отношение ценностите на исляма, строго придържане към нормите на ислямското право, „отрезвеност“ в религиозната дейност – предпочита се безмълвният „зикр“ (има явен зикр, изговорен на висок глас – *зикр джали*, и такъв, произнесен тихо – *зикр хафи*), съчувствие към бедните и онеправданите, подкрепа от страна на народа, голяма политическа активност. Религиозните екстремисти мобилизират духовната мощ на исляма за безкомпромисна, дори кървава борба на практика. Подобна мобилизация използва самобитните духовни практики на суфизма напр. „зикр“ (произнасяне на божественото име с позоваване на Корана: *Аллах, кажи!*) (Кор. 32, 33). „Зикр“ се превръща в един от пътищата за подготовка на воители на Аллаха.

Четири са етапите за откъсване на суфия от света, свързани с определени качества:

- *насут* – етап на съблюдаване на ислямския закон, свързан е с шариата и с качеството човечност;
- *джабарут* – етап на духовната сила за придвижване по правия път, свързан е с тарикат и качеството сила;
- *малакут* – етап, който съответства на духовното знание, свързан е с познанието маерефат и с качеството духовност;
- *лахут* – съответства на постигане на истината – хакикат, и е свързан с Бог.

Ако проследим степените на подготовка за постигане на пълно сливане с Бог, ще видим, че освен за възпитание на духа те служат и като учебна методика за джихад. Подготвят се хора, които в състояние на транс непрекословно изпълняват команди по схемата: събуждане – съсредоточаване – подготовка – осъзнаване и изпълнение (Пантусов, 1895:164), а ислямът се обвързва с екстремизъм и тероризъм.⁹

Когато джихадът взаимодейства с технологични елементи и се обвързва с геополитика, първенството на шариата, подкрепен от експанзията на догми и абстракции, води до разрушителни последици: ислямът е осакатен, тюркизмът се трансформира в пантюркизм, а от справедливостта няма и помен.

⁹ Механизмът на този своеобразен психотренинг на суфиите привнесен като учебна методика за джихад, е подробно анализиран от руския тюрколог Н. Пантусов, който има преки наблюдения в района на Източен Туркестан.

Салафитите са тези, които не различават голям от малък джихад, те отхвърлят духовната борба като аспект от джихада и се концентрират върху въоръженото насилие. Буквализмът в трактовката на Корана се съчетава с ригоризъм в политиката и практическа дейност по отделяне на мюсюлмани от немюсюлмани.

Суфизмът на накшбандиите е под влияние на фундаменталистските течения на исляма. Така суфитската организация на ордена става удобна за организация на екстремистки структури от ухабатиски тип. Самата структура на учението на накшбандиите е удобна за подготовка на бойци за вярата. Поетапното следване на макамите (спирките) по пътя към самоусъвършенстване водят до интегрална, цялостна личност, водена от екзалтацията за действие. „Хакикат“ – най-висшата степен при суфия, е безсмъртие, откъсване от тленността, което се използва от фанатизираните джихадисти.

Синдзян е ахилесовата пета в стремежа на Китай за свръхдържава през XXI в. За спиране на неговия възход най-ефективни се оказват методите за формиране на ислямски екстремисти по подобие на суфитските ордени или свързани пряко с тях. Независимо от силното влияние на ходжите в Синдзян, в политически план преднина имат националистите. В Източен Туркестан на първо място е тюркизмът, следван от исляма.

Можем да посочим **четири фактора**, които обаче могат да завишат ролята на духовенството:

- отсъствие на национално-светска власт;
- раздробеност на националистите;
- външни фактори (взимайки пример от британците в миналото, днес САЩ поддържат ислямски бунтовници когато и където им е угодно);
- китайският фактор – подобно на империята Цин, днес ретроислямизмът в слабо религиозния Синдзян е по-малко опасен от конструктивния национализъм. Въпреки това от 1 април 2017 г. Китай въведе нови ограничения в Синдзян-Уйгурския автономен регион като част от кампания срещу ислямския екстремизъм: жителите на района трябва да изпращат децата си на училище; да спазват политиките за семейно планиране; да не унищожават документи и да не сключват брак само в съответствие с религиозните обреди. Ограниченията са одобрени от местните депутати и са публикувани на официалния сайт на региона. Рестрикциите включват още забрана на „ненормално“ дълга брада, носене на мюсюлмански воал на обществени места и отказ да се гледа държавна телевизия.¹⁰

7. Във връзка с **инициативата на Китай „One B&R“**, в чиято сърцевина лежи идеята - „Един път, който обединява различни сърца“.

Китай работи в посока на създаване на зелен, мирен Път на коприната, път на обмяна на идеи, технологии и духовни ценности. Днес този път е изправен пред редица предизвикателства.

¹⁰ <https://news.bg/world/kitay-zabrani-dalgite-bradi-i-myusyulmanskite-voali-v-sindzyan-uygurskiya-region.html> [14.06.2017].

През 2013 г. президентът Си Дзинпин обяви инициативата „Един пояс - един път“ (the B&R Initiative), призовавайки страните по този път да насочат усилията си към конструиране на едно общество на споделени интереси и обща съдба.

Страните по Пътя на коприната трябва да насочат усилията си към координиране на политиките си относно инфраструктура, търговия, финансова интеграция и задълбочаване на връзката между хората, ускоряване на сътрудничеството в областта на индустриалните възможности, да се изградят нови икономически коридори, а обемът на търговията и инвестициите бързо да нараства.

Битката е в конкуриране на ценности – налагане на нов неоконфуциански глобален ред от страна на Китай или налагане на нов халифат и ислямски ценности.

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Dao – (The) Way(s)¹

Antoaneta Nikolova

Abstract

Discussed in this paper is the problem of the meaning of dao. On the basis of the text of Daodejing two visions of dao are compared: Dao as the uttermost reality, „enduring and unchanging Dao”, Dao as the Way, on the one side, and dao as unfixed possibilities for change(s), dao as ways, on the other. What are the connections between these two interpretations and how and whether they could be combined – these are the questions the paper tries to answer.

Keywords: dao, Daodejing, change, transformation, potentiality, possibilities, translation

In this paper I will discuss the puzzling meaning of the beginning of the first chapter of *Daodejing*:

道可道，非常道。

名可名，非常名。

There is a tremendous amount of different translations. For many years I’ve tried to find or even to make the right one. At last I came to the conclusion that it is not only impossible, it is also incorrect. There is no right version. Why?

I. Why *Daodejing* should not be read linearly and does not have one reading

There are at least three reasons for this: the peculiarities of the kind of text presented in Daodejing, the peculiarities of the Chinese language itself, the peculiarities of the Daoist philosophy, including its attitude to words and the meaning of its notions.

1. The peculiarities of the kind of text presented in *Daodejing*.

The relatively new great archaeological finds, the Mawangdui documents and the Cuodian documents, show that there isn’t one single and fixed text of *Daodejing* but rather different versions. According to James Behuniak, Jr. in his article „Embracing the One in the *Daodejing*“ these finds „demonstrate conclusively that the *Daodejing* evolved gradually into its received form, the Han-era Wang Bi version. In other words, the *Daodejing* belonged to what Gerald Burns calls a „manuscript culture,” a culture in which texts remained open to successive modifications, rather than to a „print culture,” in which texts were composed once and then closed. The *Daodejing*, like any early Chinese text, was hand-copied by individuals for specific purposes, and it could be (and was) occasionally modified to fit those purposes” (Behuniak, 2009: 364).

Therefore „there is no original meaning to be recovered, only... various contexts” (Behuniak, 2009: 374), and „there has never been a single reading of the text, to hold to a single reading would be to lose the richness of its varied meanings” (Behuniak, 2009: 376).

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Therefore „there is no *original* meaning to be recovered, only... various contexts” (Behuniak, 2009: 374), and „there has never been a single reading of the text, to hold to a single reading would be to lose the richness of its varied meanings” (Behuniak, 2009: 376).

2. The peculiarities of the classical Chinese language

I will mention two of them.

The first one concerns its grammar. As it is commonly known, unlike the inflectional languages, Chinese characters „do not vary in number, case, person, gender, tense, mood, or voice” (Hsu, 2008: xvi). As Antonia Tsankova pointed, „in Old Chinese there are no word-changing affixes at all” (Tsankova, 2015: 40). Paradoxically, this unchangeability gives room to a great variety of changing meanings, „such phenomena as variability, polyfunctionality and optionality play a very important role in the system of grammar” (Tsankova, 2015: 45). The variety is „based on grammatical relationships” (Sellmann, 2008: 569). Relationships, rather than the separate units, are important; the relationships between different units, and the relationships between different units and the whole. All the relations (between the language units, as well as between them and the whole) are „not linear and causal” but „twofold and mutually dependent” (Tsankova, 2015: 46). The meaning of the different parts of the speech is not only variable, it is understandable through the relationship with the whole.

The second aspect of Chinese language concerns the very meaning of the words. According to Ames and Hall, classical Chinese language „is not logocentric. Words do not name essences. Rather, they indicate always-transitory processes and events” (see Burik, 2009: 104). This language is „more in line with a process thinking than with a substance ontology” (ibid.)

The two aspects are interconnected. Classical Chinese language should be understood „in terms of the semantic and phonic web of allusive relationships,... notions have more than one meaning, often opposite or at least very divergent meanings at that” (ibid.)

Different authors evaluate differently these peculiarities of Chinese language. According to most researchers these are a disadvantage as compared to Indo-European languages. Some authors speak about „syntactic mobility” and „inherent openness” of the Chinese language viewing it as a productive feature (see Burik, 2009: 103). Hall and Ames suggest that this inherent vagueness in the language should not be seen as a hindrance to understanding, but as a source of richness that enhances the relational context in which real understanding comes about (Burik, 2009: 105).

Therefore, translating the text within a frame of linear connection and linear thinking inevitably distorts and impoverishes it.

3. The peculiarities of the classical Chinese worldview and the Daoist philosophy in particular, especially its understanding of language, and the meaning of its notions.

The peculiarities of classical Chinese language reveal the difference between the ontology of the West and its counterpart in China. Chad Hansen calls the latter „mereology”. According to him, „the former is concerned with individuality as a permanent structure of things, their so-called essence, while the latter is “an ontology of non-contiguous stuffs with a part-whole structure” (see Burik, 2009: 104).

The connection between language and worldview is also twofold and mutually dependent. As Steven Burik argues „language is not just a medium through which otherwise nonlinguistic

ideas are reproduced or represented, but language itself shapes and is thus constitutive of these ideas, and these ideas are relational because language is relational. Whereas in the West this has been a relatively recent discovery and one that is still contested, the thinkers in classical China were aware of this important factor of language from an early time onward, and used language accordingly” (Ibid. 102)

Relativism of ideas and language is connected with relativism of things. „Things are not static; they are not defined once and for all... they are more parts of processes than strict identities... a subject is not first a subject which then has relations with other subjects; it is the relations which first make the subject what it is” (Burik, 2009: 105-106).

And if everything is process and transformation, there is nothing stable and enduring. When „there is no enduring reality behind the transient appearances” and „all is relative to all else”, then „the meaning of words is relative to the language around them” (ibid: 107). Being in mutual dependence with reality, the language also is relative, processual and situational. This relativism of language and reality is characteristic of all Chinese thought but Daoism pays special attention to it. Even the term *dao* that could be understood as a name for reality, means *path* but also *speak*. In such a way the world as a path, as a process, transformation and happening is simultaneously its spontaneous self-expression.

The word in this philosophy does not point to a fixed meaning but rather opens a possibility for understanding that could not be fixed, framed, exhausted. Therefore, as Steven Burik points out, the character for gateway, men, has a special place in the text. The gateway here is not an exit to another reality or a way to transcend this one but rather „the threshold of possibility” (Burik, 2009: 127), a gap between the states, an inexhaustible void, filled with the potentials of all possible and impossible events.

II. Some of the possible readings

After this long explanation of incorrectness of linear and fixed reading of the text I will offer some of the possible readings.

1. Traditional kind of translations

A large number of translations presents one of the basic concepts of the text, Dao (definitely with a capital letter), as a kind of transcendent reality, as an absolute, as a principle that governs things from the outside, in general – as something that goes beyond the senses and cannot be covered by the concepts applicable to the visible world. In this case, talking about *dao* is understood as a sort of apophatic speaking. In the earliest translations, „Tao” is even translated as „God.”

In other cases, it is considered not as transcendental, but as an immanent reality, as an internal principle that „bears” and moves the world from within. Both cases are varieties of a metaphysical reading, which implies the existence of two realities, two levels of existence, one of which is truer and more real than the other.

The reason for such consideration can be found in the beginning of the first chapter of *Daodejing*. Usually its translation follows the commentaries of Wang Bi (226-249), who, in the words of V. Malyavin, „died very young, but managed to become the originator of a new era in the history of Chinese philosophy – the era of metaphysical systems” (Malyavin, 2002: 11).

I am not entirely sure that this definition is applicable to Chinese philosophy, but it is true that Wang Bi distinguishes two levels in the understanding of the *dao* which can be translated respectively as manifested and unmanifested *dao*. This is close to the metaphysical „distinction between the sensuous and non-sensuous” which „led to further distinction between form and matter, essence and attribute, substance and properties, mind and body, truth and appearance”. These distinctions give rise to „the hierarchical view that one side of the distinction was worthy, good and true, while the other was at best a hindrance with which one had to live, or at worst something evil that was to be eradicated if we were ever to find the Truth” (Burik, 2009: 11).

Most translations follow this demarcation line: *dao* that is an object of definition, on one side, and „the true” *dao*, on the other. This *dao* that can be defined as *dao* is no longer the true *Dao*.

Here are several examples of this kind of translation:

The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. (J. Legge)

The TAO, or Principle of Nature, may be discussed [by all]; it is not the popular or common Tao. (Frederic H. Balfour)

The Way that can be followed is not the eternal Way. (Charles Muller)

The Reason that can be reasoned is not the eternal Reason. (D. T. Susuki)

The Dao that can be understood cannot be the primal, or cosmic, Dao, just as an idea that can be expressed in words cannot be the infinite idea. (D. Goddard)

The way that becomes a way is not the Immortal Way (Red Pine (Bill Porter))

Tao: speak the tao. It is not the eternal tao. (Richard Blumberg)

All of these translations use definite article implying that there is one and only one true *dao*, we somehow know about. It is that *dao* which is not this *dao*. It can't be grasped by the senses or by the frame of conceptual thinking but nevertheless it is achievable by the means of intuition, meditation or some altered state of consciousness. It is a conventional name for the only, the Ultimate Reality. Some translations add to this notion the attribute of „eternal” stepping surely into a set of meanings different from China's. As Sellmann points out „The concept of the eternal originated in ancient Persia with the advent of Zoroastrianism and its one, true, and eternal God. It quickly spread to Egypt, and to Greece where it was absorbed into the philosophies of Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, and later Christianity. From the perspectives of these Western religions and philosophies, the eternal is the highest form of existence... the ultimate reality... Anyone who has been influenced by Greek and Roman metaphysics or Judaism, Christianity, Islam, or Zoroastrianism will want to describe the ultimate reality as that which is eternal, independent, transcendent, objective, universal, unique, and absolute” (Sellmann, 2008: 571). The same westernization of the translation is obvious when *dao* is translated as Principle, Reason and so on (usually with a capital letter). If we leave it untranslated it also bears the connotation of something strange and transcendental. This is especially the case if we write it with a capital letter.

2. Non-traditional translation

The classical Chinese worldview, especially that of Daoism, is non-dual. Besides, or maybe because of this, it sees reality as inherently dynamic. Therefore, while the Western tradition is

interested in such intelligible concepts as Being, substance or essence, the Chinese one speaks about change and transformation; it views „things” not as entities but as processes. And *dao* is a conventional name for this spontaneous insubstantial, infinite and not pre-established unfolding of the processes. As Burik states „there is an understanding in Daoism that *dao* cannot be named. But this is not because, as so many (Western and Chinese) interpreters have assumed, it is a transcendental principle above the rest of the world, but because the complete process of transformation is, as its nature implies, not something we can pin down or relate to anything else or behind it” (Burik, 2009: 106).

The understanding of *dao* combines both the fullness and completeness that Parmenides attributes to the being, as well as the change and becoming of the Heraclitus. Thus, it is simultaneously the totality of the actualization and the potential for the transmutation of all that is and is not. It is motion and non-motion, change and non-change, a path without a bearer, without intention and direction: pure processuality pulsating in such a way that peace and movement are indistinguishable. It is a movement that simultaneously unfolds and returns to itself, where one coincides with the many, and the manifested and the unmanifested are the same reality.

But if there is no „One-behind-the-many” as the ultimate source of being, there is no single-ordered world, no „uni-verse”, only the ongoing evolving harmony expressed as the quality of life achieved by the insistent, co-creating particulars” (Burik, 2009: 106).

Why in such case we should translate *dao* in a single form? And why with a definite article? Why not *daos*, ways? Is there only one way of unfolding the reality? Is there only one reality? Or as Hansen supposes it would be „better to treat classical Chinese characters as functioning as mass nouns” (see Burik, 2009: 104). Or, as verbs, according to Marcel Granet's position that most Chinese words keep some kind of living meaning, cause the necessity of action and predominantly remain verbs? (Granet, 2008: 28)

The next question that arises is connected with the fact that in *Daodejing* there are several places where *dao* is described as vague and obscure (忽兮恍兮...恍兮忽兮... 窈兮冥兮), fine and subtle. *Daodejing* uses the language of „seeming” (Burik, 2009: 130, 207): in chapters 4 it seems the predecessor of myriad things (淵兮似萬物之宗); in chapter 6 it is thin-thin as if it is (綿綿若存); chapters 20, 41 and 45 also speak the language of „as if” or „seeming”.

According to Barry Allen, in Daoism “there is a bottomless well of the virtual, a potent potentiality at the source of things. Because these authors do not think in terms of being as presence or identity, they do not think of the empty as the absent or vacant. The virtual is, is in being, really exists. It is the opposite of the actual, not of the existing or real.” (Allen, 2010: 465).

If *dao* is connected with potentiality, „in-between”, gateway, threshold, and the appropriate language for it is that of „seeming”, „as if” or possibilities, wouldn't it be more correct to translate the first lines of *Daodejing* in the same language:

Dao is ke dao (possible dao), not chang dao (constant dao)

Or :

The path is a possibility of a path, it is not a permanent (constant) path.

The same could be applied for the next line:

The name is a possibility to name, it is not a constant name.

III. Relation between different variations of translation

In some ways, this new translation that I offer is different from the established manner of translation. It assumes that there is no *chang dao* as one truest and realest, underlying or pre-established reality. On the other side, however, it also contains some kind of contradictory vision: *ke dao* (possible *dao*) and *chang dao* (permanent *dao*). Unlike the traditional translation however, it does not imply that there are two aspects or levels of reality one of which is preferable. It reveals that there are ever new unfoldings of paths without any aim, goal, direction, pre-establishment. They could be explained in terms of actualisation and non-actualisation or potentiality and becoming and, in that case, they are like the traditional notion of manifested and unmanifested *dao*, only if they are not read in terms of being and nonbeing, real and not real, true and not true, and one of them is not assumed to be some self-sufficient and superior entity (or reality).

As the rest of the chapter states, the opposites are in mutual connection, they arise simultaneously, having only different names. If we apply this principle of complementarity and uncertainty or indeterminacy principle that are inherent of the Daoist thought we could see the mutual connections of both kinds of translation. Daoist thinking implies an understanding that „every ‘reflection of names’ or use of languages is... provisional and in need of constant renewal. Not only *dao* is beyond naming, but *all* naming is a provisional, temporary fixation of what is essentially always in flux” (Burik, 2009: 106).

And this ever-new inexhaustibility of the possibilities for realization of becoming and its naming is one of the insights of the text. Therefore, from the position of dynamic relativity, every translation, every reading of *Daodejing* is meaningful, each one expresses some aspect of the path – towards oneself, towards others, towards...

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Daoist Philosophy of Nature – the Imaginary Horizon in Zhuangzi

Desislava Damyanova

Abstract

Daoism attracts Europeans not only with its cultural peculiarity but also with the ideal of harmonic relationship between man and nature, called oneness with the Way/Road (道 *Dao*). *Dao* as process, pattern, mode of existence, refers to the supreme reality, ultimate principle and primary source – the mystery that makes everything „the way” it is. Daoist philosophy of nature explores the principle of transformation revealing the difference and parity of beings, in contrast with the essentialist theory¹ dealing with any given kind of entity as an indifferent substrate for humans to work on and modify. In a certain sense, the traditional Chinese worldview with its non-Cartesian logic praises the virtue of living in harmony with nature – a return to ancestral attitudes toward

Keywords: *Dao*, *ziran* (naturalness), *wuwei* (effortless action), *xiao yao* (free and easy wandering), *zhenren* (true/perfected person), *shengren* (Daoist sage)

All the artworks in China are created as symbols, so their characteristic themes – rocks, waters, clouds, animals, trees, grasses – speak not only about themselves but also about something beyond them. The imaginary horizon of nature always means something more than pure vision. All natural objects, whether animated or not, whether human creations or not, have at the same time a certain symbolism, allowing different ways of imagery and interpretation. There are many symbols and images that are associated with Daoist philosophy – the actual Chinese characters and many other pictorial styles often represent it or are associated with it. The symbolic language is a meta-verbal form, more varied, ubiquitous and nuanced than pictorial images and characters which often overlap both in content and in expressive value.

Daoist philosophy of nature may be synthesized in the concept of „naturalness”. Many Daoist thinkers distinguish *ziran* (also translated as the *self-so*) from the mundane social world in which we live – when we follow our natures, the result is peace and prosperity; when we oppose them, the result is chaos. Naturalness is the expression of a spontaneously peaceful and harmonious system, available to all who can recognize their true steps on the Path (the Road, *Dao*, translated also as the Way). The doctrine of „equality of things” requires changes in our view of the world: when looking at *myriad beings*, we give up any self-centered attitude and get rid of the stifling formality of the imperatives.

In the introduction we must also emphasize on the second part of the title. When we take a look at the term „imaginary horizon”, it becomes clear that the main motive of this paper is the intertwining of, on the one hand, real, objective, material, perceptual and, on the other, unreal, imaginary, ideal, constructed. The symbolism of writing in Daoism implies artificiality and planned distance from the world to which we belong. All the texts of apocryphal mystification and the anthropological archetypes indicate the boundary between the real and the imaginary horizon. Does the truth of the one exist in the other? It is with this dilemma that the book *Zhuangzi* itself begins. The themes of dream and reality, of myth and history, of fiction and fact create the collective picture of imagination in a Daoist sense.

¹ According to essentialism, there is an essential reality behind each visible thing – the idea, the form or substance that makes the object what it is.

The self-transformation of the Way involves the mutuality of opposites – e.g. a man is connected to a butterfly, life is tied to death. Those who soar above the clouds merely transcend the sky and the earth within which they roam – their state of mind remains untouched by all the movements, beyond time and space. This forges a new personal, poetic and cultural identity expressed through the allegory of „flying without wings” – breaking the chains of ignorance. The spiritual journey is represented by a visual, non-textual, symbolic language and the so called „image thinking”. This means that the very images are metaphors and fables (e.g. the butterfly dream in *Zhuangzi*, which illustrates the transience and duality of life)².

Zhuangzi is trying to convey the „movement of the Dao” – the initiation in the secrets of nature, which is fictional and allegorical in all his parables. He uses some elements of experience in order to create more targeted contrast with the empirical reality. Imagination in the broad sense is to recall the ideas which form the „image thinking” mentioned above. In the narrow sense it means simply that the idea is not really the image of an object. We can imagine non-existent beings, such as the fish Kun and the bird Peng from „Happy Tour/Free and Easy Wandering” (Chapter One of *Zhuangzi*), exemplifying a mythical voyage. The imagination that fills this chapter is devoted to a whole new world, therefore we need to possess a capability for imaginative reading.

Instead of sinking into dry theory in the modern academic sense, it is important to note that the significance of *Zhuangzi* goes beyond arts and literature. Imagination brings the spirit of a universal human phenomenon. At the same time, the scholars recognize Zhuangzi's book as far from being the work of one author – it does not contain personal writings, like those of Confucius. So it may be the product of collective imagination and as a whole text *Zhuangzi* is not completed in the same era as its oldest parts. Our reading is following the storyline and the story's characters, which will lead us into the Zhuangzi's imaginary world. In short, it has many wonderful stories as a dynamic plot where politics, philosophy and imagination form internal connection. This inherent cohesion develops a productive activity – different circumstances may lead to changes in the basic images.

We are pondering on one such question: if the imaginary people or events in *Zhuangzi* are not the product of an individual imagination, then their cultural vitality will be affected in one way or another by historical fate. In other words, if more authors participated in the development of these images, then they would have naturally changed with the succession of Chinese dynasties. There are not only diverse figures in the text, but also the relationship between its very different characters is not a simulation in real time and space. Also, such a long narrative as a result of the relations between the characters and the stories, or even between the same characters in different stories, can not be the product of a single plot. Sometimes, the fables appear as yet to be processed, the material to be integrated with its homogenous content and possible ideological links.

We can approach the works of *Zhuangzi* as a montage of fragments, but they also can be seen as a way to display the scattered perspective in a panoramic landscape painting. The creator of

² One of the most noted Daoist stories is where Zhuangzi dreams he is a butterfly not knowing that he was Zhuang Zhou and when he awakes he is not sure if he was a butterfly dreaming of being Zhuangzi or vice versa.

a traditional Chinese silk scroll depicts imagined characteristics and the structure of *Zhuangzi* represents the same kind of image thinking. Imagination has its own actuality, but experience cannot be affected by it – if you eliminate an imaginary enemy in fact you keep reality intact. The image thinking may not have the effect of „rational understanding” and it cannot change the real course of events. But at the same time it has the capacity for true judgment of the mental processes and the power to express emotions. This assumption is consistent with Sartre's concept of imagination revealed in the way of thinking. When a dynamic image is being formed, it is brewing in the mind of its author, and in its further development it can even be deformed.

A great destructive potential is rooted in the power of imagination to reconstruct and rearrange the world (if we follow Umberto Eco). The philosophical analysis of some of the stories in *Zhuangzi* does not deny the liberating power of the grotesque laughter. It can also be interpreted in a more general psychoanalytic aspect. The grotesque is an attempt to provoke and control the demonic worlds. Such attempts have been made over the centuries, but there is a difference in their density and intensity. The Daoist parables destruct the familiar relationships in our surrounding reality, triggering the mechanism of ironic perception that rebuilds the world through the power of constructive imagination. Not accidentally, the play in *Zhuangzi* denotes the power of creativity and, in a broader sense, presents the liberating effect of the grotesque world on the reader's mind. (Wu Kuan-ming, 1982)

When reading *Zhuangzi* the recipient is getting away from the everyday world of thought, so that he/she is able to imagine the expansion of the spiritual world. It may also happen that different images express similar ideas; that is why the text must be read as a variety or series of interwoven images. 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.³ While the imagination with little impact (the so called „little knowledge” – *xiao zhi*) focuses on personal life, major imagination (the so called „great knowledge” – *da zhi*) is far-reaching, complex, concentrated on subtle things.

The imaginary characters and their role in the stories can be divided into four categories. The first category includes eminent historical figures – their words and deeds may not follow the rules of everyday life, but generally they don't possess strange superhuman abilities. Its representatives are Zhuangzi himself (Zhuang Zhou) and Confucius. The second type is fictional, however, located in the everyday world, especially people living in the margins of society. Such are those in the fragmented chapter, called „The Human World”, without much difference between the characters. The third category contains brief records of a story that had occurred once upon a time, or simply an episode undocumented in history, often containing mythical figures with extraordinary abilities, such as *I*, Cheung Wu's son and so on. The fourth category in fact represents not one type, but various personified objects, such as the monopoly of wisdom, or the great knowledge and the little (limited) knowledge. Because they are thought to have a virtual

³ „It is easy to keep from walking; the hard thing is to walk without touching the ground. (...) You have heard of flying with wings, but you have never heard of flying without wings. You have heard of the knowledge that knows, but you have never heard of the knowledge that does not know. Look into that closed room, the empty chamber where brightness is born!” – ‘The Fasting of the Mind’ in „Zhuangzi”, Chapter Four, „The World of Men” (The Human World).

presence in words and deeds of imaginary men, they must be regarded as a sub-category of „people“.

All these roles have certain features and specific names, so their images are concrete, but oriented towards an imaginary reality. Let us put them as four types of persons, known respectively as: the celebrities, the ordinary people, God-like sages and anthropomorphic objects with human characteristics.⁴ By virtue of imagination different types of roles are designed, because several people within a chapter co-exist in one situation or another. That is to say, there is a joint participation of persons from various categories in the same story, so we can see it also as a result of collective creativity. Some of the stories are taking into account a wide range of issues, other are simpler. Alongside with political attitudes and the wisdom of life, the general content of Zhuangzi's life is involved in the imagined situations.

There are several characteristics of the Godlike sage (waived without shedding any tears; did not grieve in his heart; conducted the funeral without any look of sorrow), e.g. the figure of the old man, the hermit, etc. They can be found in the inner and outer chapters of *Zhuangzi*, in stories that reveal the intimate heart of Daoism. One of these stories is related to the situation of welcoming a friend's death: Godlike people do not face it with profound sadness like ordinary people. In the *Daodejing* it is said that no living creature does any harm to them and they do not intervene in the natural course of events. In the first chapter of *Zhuangzi* there is also a passage suggesting that the true sage exhibits wondrous powers, cures people from illness and is able to make the harvest plentiful. He is advanced beyond ordinary understanding and he could simplify things even more, but that isn't practical.

Many Daoists in history took these fables literally, transcending time limitations⁵ and human finitude, so that an entire tradition of the immortals (*xian*) was born and then collected in texts and lore. Zhuangzi describes the Daoist sage in such a manner when he is trying to instill that these persons possess extraordinary powers. The „spirit-like“ men (*shen yi*) „cannot be burned by fire, do not feel cold in the freezing forests, and life and death have no effect on them. Just how we should take such remarks is not without controversy.“⁶ Zhuangzi's series of such images do not constitute personal confessions of a lonely genius but a lively plot with unique characters. He uses fascinating colors to describe the strength of character; his style is full of humor, unlike Confucius in the „human world“ presented by traditional authors. Zhuang Zhou taught that by a kind of imaginary journey, emptying the mind-heart and practicing meditative stillness, one may achieve unity with Dao and become the so called „perfected person“ (*zhenren*).

To be *shengren* (sage) does not mean to withdraw from ordinary life and, at the same time, this state is too far from the daily routine. In other words, imagination should be used not to escape reality, but to create it. Wisdom requires disengaging oneself of all the baggage of ideas, conven-

tional values and demarcations made by society. These conventional opinions must be discarded before anyone can become *zhenren*, move in *wuwei*⁷ and express profound virtue (*de*). As a result, when the wise man paints an ideal situation, he does not need to limit his imagination. Daoism calls this way „the doing of non-doing“ (*wei-wuwei*). „The recurring point of all of the stories in Zhuangzi about wu-wei is that such spontaneous and effortless conduct as displayed by these many examples has the same feel as acting in wu-wei. The point is not that wu-wei results from skill development. Wu-wei is not a cultivated skill. It is a gift of oneness with dao.“⁸ The Daoist non-action is in accordance with the natural creativity of the Way (*Dao*).

Wuwei implies the perfect moment in which events occur in the fullness of their own measure. It is only with the release from attachment to the self-centered perspective that the non-manipulative attitude towards the world is achieved. On the path to natural harmony one has freed himself from any framing perceptual model. And once he treats everything alive as himself, he renounces the fixation in some common conceptual schemes. The only position from which all things are seen to be equal is that of the Way (*Dao*), which embraces all beings in an impartial manner. Early Daoist texts, as those of Laozi and Zhuangzi, describe *Dao* not as equal to the Great One (*taiyi*), but as a principle underlying both the oneness and the plentitude.

„Academic commentators on Daoism are rather more likely to focus on the divinity of the Dao itself, which might be fruitfully compared to (and contrasted with) Western conceptions of God.“⁹ This is also the theme of Chapter Two, „On Making All Things Equal“. In this chapter we are advised to „make all things one,“ meaning that we should recognize that reality is one (the events are interrelated) and all creatures exist in togetherness. The sage knows this oneness (equality) and does not judge. It is a human judgment that what happens is beautiful or ugly, right or wrong, fortunate or not. „Our lives are snarled and jumbled so long as we make conventional discriminations, but when we set them aside, we appear to others as extraordinary and enchanted.“¹⁰

Zhuangzi's teachings on *wuwei* are closely related to his attempt to reject the power of reason and the use of argument as means to achieve *Dao* (see chapters two, twelve, seventeen and nineteen). Persons who exemplify such understanding are called true sages, *zhenren*, and immortals. „Zhuangzi is drawing on a set of beliefs about master teachers that were probably regarded as literal by many, although some think he meant these to be taken metaphorically.“ For example, when it is said that the Godlike people cannot be harmed or made to suffer by any living creature, does it mean that the *zhenren* is physically invincible? As Zhuangzi says in Chapter One, „Free and Easy Wandering“: „There is nothing that can harm such a man.“ Maybe this parable implies that the sage has freed himself from all conventional understandings and refuses to recognize happiness as more desirable than misery, or death as any less desirable than life.

⁴ Godlike people had betrayed the sober evaluation of routine things and had rebuilt ordinary experience according to the rules of their own imagination. „Godlike“ qualities: unaffected by life and death, emotional equanimity, elimination of the subject „I“:

„A mind like a mirror“

„Sitting in forgetfulness“

„The fasting of the mind“ (Allinson, 1988: 149).

⁵ Limitations live only in our minds. But if we use our imagination, our possibilities become limitless.

⁶ Daoist Philosophy. Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy – <http://www.iep.utm.edu/daoism/> [21.05.2017].

⁷ „Wuwei“ (non-action) does not emphasize upon the irrational, totally unconditioned mind and lack of any kind of behavior. Higher state of consciousness improves the level of awareness – the foreseen direction of human doings and cosmological events.

⁸ Daoist Philosophy. Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy – <http://www.iep.utm.edu/daoism/> [21.05.2017].

⁹ Exploring Chinese History – <http://www.ibiblio.org/chinesehistory/contents/02cul/c04s05.html#Deities-PhilosophicalTaoism> [21.05.2017].

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

Among the images that make the strongest impression in Zhuangzi is that of the mountain hermit as an antithesis to secular life. Persons who had such knowledge were reputed to live in the mountains – the removal from ordinary life was part of the journey to become a *zhenren* („true person”). The practice of wuwei was off of efforts, but it is aimed at becoming immortal, being born anew. Deepak Chopra says: „the best use of imagination is creativity” – Daoist practitioners even imagined their bodies as mountains inhabited by immortals (*xian*).¹² They believed that nature and our own bodies were correlations of each other – a part of the disciplines in Daoism included imitation of wild animals. These creatures were thought to act without the intention and willfulness that characterized human decision making. (Graham, 1993: 186-199)

As it was mentioned above, an important theme in the *Zhuangzi* is the use of imaginary (even fantastic) creatures to illustrate various points of meaning. The author depicts them in a constant transformation process, changing from one form into another (see the transfiguration of the *Kun* and *Peng* in Chapter One, or the exchange between Master Lai and Master Li in Chapter Six, „The Great and Venerable Teacher”). Perpetual change is timeless, imagination has no limits and dreams are the counterpart of reality. Daoism wants to teach us how to engage in transformation through stillness – the person who is free of discrimination makes no difference between life and death. In the words of Lady Li in Chapter Two, „How do I know that the dead do not wonder why they ever longed for life?” When finding harmony with *Dao*, through meditation and effortless action, true wisdom is achieved.

The ancient Chinese sage inhabits special fictional worlds full of fantastic images, transcending space and time with emotionally intense wandering „above the clouds”. The free and easy soaring (*xiao yao*) is a fantastic journey into the unlimited imagination that reorganizes all the images in a new world. The word „wandering” itself contains the idea of transcending the visual perception: a reconstruction of the invisible embodied in mythical stories. Myth is not a counterpart of being, but rather, in some sense, it is creating a different mode of being – an imaginary horizon. Zhuangzi is making it perceptible, sensuous by naming it through allegory – the fairy tale, the satirical game, the parable. The different saturation of time and space beyond the horizon overcomes the opposition between transiency and eternity. This fundamental movement exceeds the traditional difference between linear history and cyclical cosmology (myth).

Finally, we can conclude that the person who has no imagination has no wings. The leitmotif of „wandering above the clouds” provides great opportunities for reproduction of a utopian site for seclusion and retreat, for adventure or for refuge. In this sense, Daoist texts provide an extremely interesting methodological basis for comparison with similar motives from other cultures. Exposing even schematically such views of the East and the West is an inspiration for a new study, heading for the most intimate aspects of imagination that give flesh to fictitious images. The image of the true man from ancient times is placed in the center of a utopian value system. It is built around an imaginary reality – an idealized world – as the anthropological origins of the archetypal Golden Age.

The authors of numerous collections published under the name of *Zhuangzi* expose a variety of different and even conflicting views on their common ideological orientation. Zhuangzi’s

¹² While a number of immortals or other mysterious figures appear in Zhuangzi, they have generally not become an object of cultic worship, unlike those in Daodejing.

personality may be reflected in the values embodied in the text, but the book also contains a number of ideas and concepts that are mutually exclusive (such as the fragmented approach to lifestyle). That kind of paradoxical tales comes to remind the readers what exactly the meaning of irony is – not the desperate choice of a doomed man, but a sudden laughter on the edge of the abyss. This absurd courage must be identified with the power of imagination that has its own value and enriches the world. And its inspiring forms found in *Zhuangzi* are more important than knowledge, since knowledge is limited, but imagination is boundless.

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Leibnitz's Fascination with the Chinese Natural Philosophy: About the Spontaneous Crossing Points

Aleksandar Ivanoff

Abstract

In this article we attempt to shed light on the crucial reasons for Leibnitz's affinity for China and its conceptual tradition. In this investigation we choose the typological and not the strict historical approach for achieving our goal, the latter of which may have been thoroughly implemented by many authors.

Empirically we use some widely known and already published writings by Leibnitz like „The Monadology” (1714), „The Preface to Novissima Sinica” (1699), „About the civil veneration of Confucius” (1701), „An Essay on the Chinese natural theology” (1716), „Notes on the Chinese rites and religion” (1708), etc. Given the restricted length of our discourse, we only outline the most important aspects of this vast topic.

Keywords: Leibnitz and China, Chinese philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Comparative Philosophy

1. Introduction

Leibnitz's power¹ and positiveness² of mind, his encyclopedism³ and his impact on contemporary science⁴ are maybe the most distinctive facts of his personality and achievements as reported by the history of science and scholars. Also known as a prominent „sinophile”⁵, „he arguably used the word „China” in his voluminous writings and correspondence more often than those terms usually associated with him: „entelechies”, „monads”, „pre-established harmony”, and so forth.”⁶ The bulk of writings (hundreds of letters, [margin] notes, a foreword and treatises) he dedicated to China are not yet fully published or broadly known to scholars of various tracks, so, the fruits of scholarship in the area are still to be set forth and are thereafter apt to get a clearer contour in terms of what exactly Leibnitz believed to be the very potential of the Chinese philosophical tradition.

¹ „Leibnitz (1646 – 1716) was one of the supreme intellects of all time, but as a human being he was not admirable” (Russell, 1947: 604).

² „Cette suprême sagesse, jointe à une bonté infinie n'a pu manquer de choisir le meilleur.” („This supreme wisdom, combined with infinite goodness, 'could not fail to choose the best.'”) (Janet, 1912: V).

³ „...нем. философ-идеалист, математик, физик и изобретатель, юрист, историк, языковед.” („... a german idealistic philosopher, mathematician, physicist and inventor, jurist, historian, linguist.”) (Философский энциклопедический словарь, 1983: 304).

⁴ „Leibniz made outstanding contributions in metaphysics and in logic as well as in mathematics. All his activities were systematically interrelated and his contributions in one field cannot be fully appreciated without taking into consideration all his other activities.” (Baron, 1969: 289).

⁵ „Интерпретированный Л. синологич. материал подкреплял его учение об „универсальной культуре” человечества, подчиняющейся единым закономерностям. (...) Л. строил планы создания китайско-европ. академии наук, в к-рой бы наравне с зап. дисциплинами преподавалась „кит. миссионерами” „практика естеств. религии (...) и „практич. философия”...” („L.'s understanding for the Chinese material supported his teaching about certain “universal culture” of mankind, governed by the same principles. (...) L. was making plans to establish a common academy of sciences, where, along with western disciplines, „practice of natural religion” (...) as well as „practical philosophy” could be lectured by „Chinese missionaries.”) (Titarenko, 1994: 164).

⁶ Cook and Rosemont, 1994: XI.

We can justify Leibnitz's affinity for the Chinese conceptual tradition, only using few of his texts, and comparing not dogmas and systems, but mutually inclusive and similarly stimulating styles, quality standards and priorities of thinking.

In order to achieve our goal in such a brief form we are going to satisfy the following two criteria:

a) As far as the Chinese counterpart of the Western thought doesn't exist in the shape of a distinctly post-mythological, propositionally disclosed and theoretically systematic layout⁷, the comparative analysis of both requires clarification of how Eastern and particularly Chinese philosophy actually functions on discursive level, opposed to our tradition⁸ and presupposes a closer insight into what kind of categorical and practical⁹ thinking it seems [to us] to make an implicit use of.

b) This criterion is actually more liberal than supposed. The internal form of Leibnitz's affinity to China is presumed to emerge naturally only by drawing parallels between his works and the endeavors of Chinese (and Eastern) thought in general. Meanwhile we dare shifting the weight of oncoming criticism mainly on behalf of our understanding of Eastern philosophy. According to our opinion, such understanding is doomed to remain elusive, while getting along with the nature of its peculiar and inexhaustible subject (the human self of every human being, the „mindness” abiding in every mind etc.) as well as because of the

⁷ The Western Philosophy has the inclination to produce entirely speculative type of systems, whereby one philosopher sketches a general recipe for the functioning of the world, without to explain why he chose exactly this one, but only trying to defend its plausibility against specific refuting arguments. On the contrary, Eastern philosophers tend to express the way, they have been walking so far in order to achieve certain understanding inseparably from the fruits of this understanding, using mostly metaphorical demonstrations or paradoxical statements and gestures, which do not necessarily merge into a systematical layout of logically straightforward principles.

⁸ Undoubtedly, the Sinitic schools of thought (i.e. 宗 „zōng”, lit. „altar under a roof” or „veneration of one's ancestor”) and the Indian darśanas (lit. „view”, „insight”, „appearance”) are much more close to each other, than each to the European styles of thinking. Furthermore, Eastern philosophy is original not only compared to the „West”, but also, compared to all the rest of the world.

⁹ The Eastern notion for „practice” (修 „xiū” in Chinese and sādhanā in Sanskrit) for achieving the „single essence of all things” is radical, „talks” only to the person involved, and is the only „language”, which can explain the universe. Another indirect term for practice is pratyakṣa (比量 “bǐ liàng” in Chinese) in Buddhist logic, which, under certain circumstances, is self-sufficient and can replace anumāna (推理 „tuī lǐ” in Chinese) (the conclusion). Contemporary science starts to agree with the ancient engagement in contemplation without „thinking”, since thinking is studied by logic and the logical inference is automatized. It seems to be too primitive level of processing things, because of the tremendous generalization of notions, concepts and disciplines, which requires from minds to wander in the realms of thought just by perceiving the state of things on their specific places. Using the non-contradictory properties of the simple substances, Leibnitz accredits his monads with perception, which is a result of an internal principle (principe interne) [of their change] and is divine in origin [commancer par creation et finir par annihilation]. (see Kondova, 2016: 65: (par. 4), 67 (par. 6) , 74 (par. 11)). Furthermore he states something which would perfectly fit into the empirical metaphysics of the early Buddhists regarding perceptions and dharmas: „L'action du principe interne qui fait le changement ou le passage d'une perception à une autre peut être appelée Appétition: il est vrai que l'appétit ne sçauroit toujours parvenir entièrement a toute la perception où il tend mais il en obtient toujours quelque chose et parvient à des perceptions nouvelles.” („The action of the internal principle, which initiates the changes or the passage from one perception to another, is called „desire”; it is true that it cannot completely achieve the whole perception it is craving for, but it always receives something and reaches new perceptions.”) (Kondova, 2016: 79 (par. 15)).

overall attitude to things contemplative, promoted by formidable Eastern thinkers.¹⁰

Their grave denial of any „statuary-like” conceptual and methodological fetishism¹¹ for philosophical purposes makes further „objectifying” of matters in our text redundant. This elusiveness may also be the „intimate” reason for Leibnitz to claim the need for universal metaphysics of a more generous kind and not simply a scholastic one.

2. Discursive and linguistic peculiarities in Eastern thought

Indian and Chinese thought have their own *ars characteristica*¹², suitable for expression of the matters intended. Because „non-attachment to words and even scriptures” should result, a given concept or metaphor must not do any harm when handling it as a popular saying and must not be „exhausted” by any „refined” procedure of semantic analysis. In Chinese thought this is achieved by the implementation of the category 共 „gong” (abstraction including all possible concrete cases simultaneously/universal classificationism). A vast amount of examples can be given, whereby the significance of the aphorisms doesn’t depend on the genre implemented, be it poetry, a classical novel, xiangsheng (comic dialog), philosophical treatise, sutra or a dramatic piece (classical one or a contemporary movie). Hence, there are two main gains from this method: that all notions are firstly in the mind and then – in the language and secondly – that nobody intends to teach the others via a verbal „input”.

3. The universal religion should be a territory of understanding like science

The cruelty of the European religious conflicts when Leibniz lived seems to be at odds with the very nature of religious matters. One should not directly confront the autonomous „self reference” of individuals (and so to teach them how to live), particularly if the underlying concept for „soul” (the concrete anchorage of everyone to things divine, hence – the only possible authenticity)¹³ is essentially based on beliefs and therefore – not elaborated enough in order to clarify matters of its semantic field. Such lack of elaboration puts on us pressure at least because of many different kinds of mental necessity. Firstly, there is a grammatical necessity: obligation to connect qualities with a certain real subject (me versus others; this versus that; and each with their own extensions) and not to change it meanwhile at will. Secondly, there is a *mathematical*

¹⁰ Especially by Buddha in Majjhima nikāya: „В буддийской традиции „бесполезные” вопросы объединяются категорией авьяката...” („In the Buddhist tradition the so called “useless” question are included in the category avyākata (...”) (Ljsenko, 2003: 168) and also by Confucius in „Lun Yu”: „Zi refused to do four things: to speculate, to be assertive, to be adamant and to impose himself [on antiquity – acc. to the comment].” („子绝四: 毋意, 毋必, 毋固, 毋我。”) (Liu Baonan, 1954: 176).

¹¹ Eastern spiritual traditions (the Sanskrit-based and the Chinese one) function with extreme linguistic precision and succinctness. However, classical texts claim that their message is beyond the verbal expression and this point is even dogmatically fixed via concepts like the 7 Buddhas of the Past (sapta-tathāgata) (who lived before the historical one), the 24 tīrthaṅkaras in Jainism etc. These concepts are logical devices, which define every saint as equal to the previous and to the following, as far as what they convey, and not what they say, is important. The sequence of personages has no beginning and no end and doesn’t depend on historicity.

¹² According to Leibniz: „Развитието на изкуството за рационално откритие зависи до голяма степен от изкуството за означаване [ars characteristica]. Причината, поради която хората обикновено търсят доказателство само в числа и линии и в неща, представими чрез тях, е това, че извън цифрите няма удобни знаци, които да съответстват на понятията.” („The development of the art of rational discovery depends largely on the art of denoting [ars characteristica]. The reason why people usually seek proof only in numbers, lines and in things, representable by them, consists in the fact that they are the only comfortable signs, corresponding to the notions intended.”) (Dimovski, 1981: 105).

¹³ Note that this “link” doesn’t depend on the belief in any God, since the consideration of the meaning of life cannot be outside the thinking of a given person.

*entailment*¹⁴, which preserves the self-identity of objects, while processing them. And last, but not least, there is a necessity of emancipation: a distinction between authoritative requirements and personal demands.¹⁵ So, it makes sense to discuss the meaning of the soul with is unique, „self actualizing” necessity in a cosmopolitan and scientific context, as Leibnitz did.

4. The soul as a categorical starting point and as the only possibility for a divine accomplishment

We can argue, that every experience consists of its discrete representation in mind as well as of its philosophical correlate (term)¹⁶. Although this experience is real, it can be meant first and foremost in relation to other things¹⁷, which allows its subsequent growth in the theory as a notion and perfection. Given the above mentioned considerations and according to the best tradition of Eastern spiritual realism, we can establish our notion of the soul as the only adequate¹⁸ subject, where the generic feature „soulness” abides, since every other subject beyond

¹⁴ „Herr Du-Bois Reymond (...) erkennt ganz, dass die Mathematik sich selbst ihre Größen setzt ohne jeden Inhalt, und ohne jedes sinnliche Substrat und dass sie dieselben nach rein geistigen Gesetzen verknüpft, ohne dass sie auf die Erfahrung der Naturwissenschaft zurückzugehen braucht.” („Mr. Du-Bois Reymond... is totally unaware, that mathematics sets up its quantities without any content and without any empirical substratum and that it connects them according to purely spiritual laws, without to use data from natural sciences.”) (Grassmann, 1895: 2).

¹⁵ Whatever any subject objectifies from its experience, the subject itself always remains subject. This fact entails the universal necessity of a certain “minimal natural order”. Obvious presence of a notion for cosmos (κόσμος) as granted by nature and not by humans, can be observed as early as in the beginning of the Greek philosophy. Cosmos is an inherent harmony uneasy to show itself immediately for human observation. Hence, the philosophical approach to cosmos requires investigation involving the distinction between someone’s ability to know and the stock of knowledge as a resource of the society. So, we can divide the above mentioned „religious matters” at least in three layers, corresponding to different attitudes to „knowing” (metaphysical = the one inside-the-head-of, applied onto social rationality = law, procedures, and ritualistic = vestiges from the instinctive knowledge). The three have parallels with key concepts in Daoism (e.g. 道 /the way we cannot escape/), in Legalism (e. g. 法 /the laws as a „duty deity”/) and in Confucianism (e. g. 礼 /The rituals, which epitomize positive instincts/). Each school implemented outer achievements, which affirms the *raison d’être* of a limiting „rule” for assigning philosophical ideas to their proper levels of activity. Such assignment resembles the notion of „function” in mathematics much later, to which Leibniz has a significant contribution.

¹⁶ This is „bijection” between mind and understanding. Hence - the need for τέχνη (skillful means), so typical for Eastern philosophy. One cannot judge about unknown experience and needs to trigger a „jump” into that unknown.

¹⁷ Leibniz says in his Monadology similarly to the Buddhist view of the conditioned dharmas, that the chain of perceptions of simple substances are causal and at the same time, that every such substance has certain perfectness and self-sufficiency: „Et comme tout present état d’une substance simple est naturellement une suite de son état precedent, tellement que le present y est gros de l’avenir.” („And as every actual state of a simple substance is a natural consequence of its previous one, its present carries its future in the same fashion.”), „On pourroit donner le nom d’Entelechies à toutes les substances simples, ou Monades créées, car ells ont en ells une certain perfection ..., il y a une suffisance ... qui les rend sources de leurs actions internes et pour ainsi dire, des Automates incorporels.” („The name entelechies can be given to all simple substances or created monads, because they have in them certain perfection ..., they have a self-sufficiency, which makes them a source of their internal actions or with other words – incorporeal automata.”) (see Kondova, 2016: 90 (par. 22), 84 (par. 18)). This passages manage to clear once again one central problem of Leibniz’s metaphysics – that the simple substances really don’t allow the metaphysical status of time (i.e. there is time only in appetitions. Secondly, the monads are perfect although they go through different transformative steps (which may be some kind of equivalence between phenomena and transcendence). Furthermore, monads cannot perish in a natural way, so the notion of death cannot be applied (defined) to them (see Kondova, 2016: 67 (p. 6)).

¹⁸ This adequateness is expressed frequently in Buddhism as identity of phenomena and transcendence, which doesn’t allow anything between delusion and enlightenment. And the adequateness is possible only in the spiritual subjects (souls) which are infinite of number, in order not to reduce the complexity of this subjective „soulful” reality.

us is not its proper place. The conjoint meaning of „beginning from” and „ending up as” is a metaphysical scheme, deeply rooted in the Eastern tradition, regardless of the school. In Eastern thought this principle is articulated at an early stage by the case of the ascetic Siva, who's asceticism was unconditionally beaten only by a godness (his future wife), who becomes a divine practitioner equal to him.¹⁹ So, the journey begins with dualistic attitude regardless of his supreme greatness and ends in the only way possible – with the abolishment of dualism (attachments)²⁰. This allegory is sufficiently clarified by the different comments of Yoga – sutra's forth aphorism²¹ - of Bhoja vṛtti, Vasya bhasa, Bhasvati, etc. (Gradinarov, 1998: 86-107), where the essence is, that witnessing the variety of affections makes the own form of citta to be capable of discerning knowledge, becoming thus a thing in the „right” and single exemplar.

One important moment here is, that the term citta in Yoga represents exactly the generic quality of „mindness”, possessing two poles: moha and mokṣa. This means that, because of citta all are exposed to general madness, which is triggered by an ignorance without a [definite] beginning. In order to overcome it and respectively, to initiate enlightenment, which has a [definite] beginning, but no [definite] end, we need a single language which is necessarily a radical practice. This practice never leaves the person, according to the correcting criteria of the bodhisattva doctrine (potential infinity of approaching supremacy and moving, instead from practice to enlightenment, from enlightenment to practice).

Furthermore, the subsidiary metaphysical concepts like the rebirth of the souls, is at the same time, as required above, a metaphor for the complexity of the existence itself, a notion within somebody's head and doesn't depend on the „ontological” status of the soul itself, because we don't know exactly what is reborn.

As we can see, Indians and Chinese don't work with notions, not defined in their „systems”. The classical example of this approach is the denial of death, because there is nothing like a sufficient kārāṇa (reason), which can trigger it. It is replaced by the only “death” possible: parinirvāṇa, or by the enlightenment (liberation even without wisdom, endless), or with immortality, also as an endless opportunity.

Although beginning at different starting points: East with its skepticism and Leibnitz – with his optimism, they reach a very close representation of what is important in metaphysics.

5. Leibnitz's stance, expressed on things Chinese

Leibniz was a supporter of the Jesuits, who promoted the accommodation theory for the Chinese „religion”. As far as it can be observed from his texts, he estimated the quality of Chinese thought regarding spiritual matters higher than the European one, but could not

¹⁹ „...Parvati finally wins Siva's love by becoming an ascetic herself ...” (Coulson, 2006: 216).

²⁰ See: the bodhisattva ideal. Everybody will achieve enlightenment, so the perfect bodhisattva sends all before himself on „the other shore” and the meaning of remaining „here” becomes richer, being already a „womb” for a new world. Bodhisattva is someone who is capable infinitely to know his steps, never reaching a static end of his awareness.

²¹ vṛtti sārūpyam itaratra (the similarity with the modifications of mind have their locus elsewhere).

articulate this fact openly. The only two statements which directly reveal this actual stance are about the binary system, implemented in Yijing²² and about the moral teachings of the Chinese, which, he openly stated, were superior to the European.²³

The rest of his considerations in this context can be slowly excerpted from his scattered documents and texts, because sometimes they say a lot only by posing a question or introducing a definition (criteria) to be satisfied without developing the topic further.

In „De cultu Confucii civili” (1701) Leibniz refutes the accusations that Chinese rites are of a religious kind namely with the help of a definition : „Religiosus cultus (si quam ejus definitionem quaeramus), is, ni fallor, est, quo ei quem honoramus tribuitur superior humana potestas beneficia nobis conferendi aut poenas irrogandi...” („A religious worship (if a definition is needed), is, if I am not mistaken, an honor, attributed to a superhuman force, capable to confer benefits on us or to inflict punishments...”)²⁴. Further he explains, that nothing like this is observable in the Chinese tradition, which is indirect notice that they don't have the religious fear, characteristic for the Christian beliefs, but just nourish their own personality in spiritual devotion and virtue, seemingly without awaiting a reward. The Europeans were very afraid from the fact that the Chinese religion could be a rival of Christianity and were even more afraid of the fact, that the Chinese religion as such didn't exist like in their imagination, which would mean a great superiority of the Chinese in these matters. Leibniz obviously tended to think that the Chinese had a better idea for God and the divine, because of undeniable evidences: higher morality and original metaphysics without necessity of a name for the hypostasis (ὑπόστασις).

Further clarification of matters, concerning Leibniz's stance towards the Chinese spirituality, is not needed in general, except to mention the remark he does in the same text, that we should not accuse Chinese literati in having opinions and views, without having a deeper insight into what exactly their ancient books reveal. This attitude is an outspoken support for a deeper investigation of the Chinese thought, by which Leibniz anticipates some of the fundamental need of the modern philosophy to discover at any cost a living spirituality for the whole human civilization.

²² „Fohi, the most ancient prince and philosopher of the Chinese, had understood the origin of things from unity and nothing, i.e., his mysterious figures reveal something of an analogy to Creation, containing the binary arithmetic (and yet hinting at greater things) that I rediscovered after so many thousands of years, where all numbers are written by only two notations, 0 and 1.” (Cook and Rosemont, 1994: 73).

²³ „Itaque si artibus operatricibus pares sumus, si scientiis contemplativis vicimus, certe practica philosophia (quod propemodum fateri pudet) victi sumus id est Ethicae et politicae praeceptis, ad ipsam vitam usumque mortalium accomodatis.” („And so if we are of the same mastery in industry and better than them in abstract sciences, surely they beat us in the field of practical reasoning, that says – in the instructions of ethics and politics, helping mortals nowadays in their lives.”) (Preface to Novissima Sinica, 1697: 2-3).

²⁴ Widmaier, 2006: 248.

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Religious Syncretism and Cultural Pluralism along the Central and East Asian Silk Road – New Discoveries and Venues for Research

Yuri Stoyanov

Abstract

The current and continuing shifts in frequently contrasting „official” and popular stances multiculturalism and religious pluralism in Europe are clearly symptomatic of the growing crisis of state multiculturalism in Europe, a crisis increasingly visible on a variety of political and cultural levels. These developments also indicate that cultural and religious pluralism cannot be approached and understood solely in the framework of European modernity. The traditional Eurocentric lens certainly need to be widened and transcended to consider also comparable pre-modern and non-European phenomena, involving international networks promoting inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogue and co-existence. The historic trans-continental routes linking the Mediterranean and East Asia, commonly labelled the Silk Road, and the dynamics of the wide-ranging religious and cultural exchange and syncretism during the active phases of its millennia-old history, certainly represents the most characteristic and illustrative of these pre-modern globalization phenomena. In the fields of religious and cultural history the antique and late antique syncretistic and pluralist cultures which existed along the Central Asian sectors of the Silk Road and the transmutations of Manichaeism in contact with Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism in China (until its absorption into Chinese popular religions) is of vital significance for understanding the nature and trajectories of inter-religious and inter-cultural relations and globalizing exchange in pre-modern and non-European settings. The mounting evidence of Taocisation of Christian and Manichaean notions and beliefs in pre-modern Chinese contexts indicate a dynamic of religio-cultural trasplantability and translatability which are undoubtedly of obvious relevance to the contemporary global dilemmas and crises of multiculturalism and religious diversity, rapidly intensifying in an increasingly inter-connected and inter-dependent world.

Keywords: Syncretism, Religious Pluralism, Multiculturalism, Europe, China, Silk Road, Christianity, Manichaeism, Taoism

The end of the Cold War and the challenges of progressing globalization in the ensuing decades have generated a diversity of popular and elite secular and religious attitudes to the related phenomena of cultural diversity and pluralism ((frequently couched as multiculturalism), intercultural dialogue, multiculturalism and transnationalism, often triggered by political developments and projects. Within the European Union, for example, such top-down projects included the active promotion of the *The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue* in 2008 and a number of associated policy-building activities and initiatives. *The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue* project reflected and advanced the objectives and priorities of the European Commission document, *European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World* (European Commission, 2007) and the definitions of intercultural dialogue, supplied by the report of the European Commission-contracted expert team, ERICarts, *Sharing Diversity: National Approaches to Intercultural Dialogue in Europe* ((ERICarts, 2008). However, only two years after the celebration of The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, in a series of official statements in 2010 and 2011 the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, the then President of France,

Nicolas Sarkozy, and the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, declared the failure of multiculturalism in their respective states, statements clearly indicative of the growing crisis of state multiculturalism in Europe which was becoming increasingly visible on a variety of political and cultural levels.

These current and continuing shifts in „official“ and popular stances to multiculturalism in Europe have developed against the background of various recent far-reaching developments on the international scene such as the growing politicization and radicalization of certain currents in world religions, accompanied by the deprivatization of religion and its assertive reinstatement in the political and public space. The various outcomes of this process include outbreaks of religiously-motivated, clerically-justified and state-sponsored, group and individual political violence, provoked on occasion by inter-religious strife in and around historic and paradigmatic religious sites. Some of these religious sites have provided in the past the location and framework of premodern religious interchange and co-existence which have been recently and currently terminated by new religious authorities and agents, acting to „purge“ the respective religious site (which they declare to legitimately own and oversee) from „alien“ religious presence and cultic observances.

These evolving and multiplying conflicts over historic religious sites have caught not only national governments and international bodies by surprise and unprepared, but also political, diplomatic and military decision-makers, security analysts and political science think-tanks, given the prevalent (until very recently) politicological postulates of an irreversibly advancing global secularization. These postulates anticipated the universalization of the values and institutions of secular humanism and Western modernity which were supposed to bring about the progressive world-wide decline of religious influence in the socio-political and socio-cultural spheres. Instead, the encounters and interaction between the globalizing and secularizing outcomes of Western-driven modernity and the religio-political forces of counter- and de-secularization have been re-ignited and developed in a variety of new and currently unpredictable directions since the late 1980s. The future courses of this complex interaction came under increasing scrutiny and debate, concentrated on the controversial current role of religion in world politics and inter-civilizational confrontation and/or dialogue, as articulated and popularized, for instance, in Samuel Huntington's and Francis Fukuyama's respective theses of the 'Clash of Civilizations' (Huntington, 1996) and 'The End of History' (Fukuyama, 1992).

The crisis of the theory of universal secularisation and the distinct resurgence of politicised and prophetic religion have brought into sharper focus the increasingly topical problems of regional and global inter-cultural and inter-religious conflicts as well as bridge-building and sharing at key historic religious sites. A conflict-focused approach to the balance of power in inter-communal relations around such religious sites, its dormant, occurring and contingent tensions and shifts, with their potential for expulsive violence, is discernible in the much discussed thesis of „antagonistic tolerance“ (underlying the sharing of religious sites in South Asia and the Balkans), advanced in the anthropological studies of Robert Hayden (Hayden, 2002) and Ron Hassner's subsequent arguments for the essential

„undivisibility“ and „unshareability“ of sacred places (Hassner, 2002). Other evolving anthropological approaches to the patterns of intercommunality at mixed holy places have shown that conflict-prioritizing models are not sufficient to analyze and explain the multi-layered socio-religious fields of interaction at such shared sites (Albera and Couroucli, 2012; Bowman, 2012).

While the repercussions of the influential theories of Huntington and Fukuyama were especially evident in the field of political science, with the publication of Jonathan Sacks' *'The Dignity of Difference'* (Sacks, 2002), the debate on the 'clash' or 'dialogue' of civilizations was brought into the sphere of theology. Drawing on and illuminating the relevance of Jewish religious, social and political history in wider socio-confessional frameworks, Sacks appealed for updated and more nuanced paradigms in the manner in which the three Abrahamic monotheistic religions regard and approach each other as well as the non-Abrahamic religious world. According to Sacks such subtler paradigms and approaches are needed, so that religious authorities and lay people, can genuinely acknowledge the religious and spiritual integrity of those who do not profess their respective faith (Sacks, 2002: 4-5) and thus conceptualize a shared and cognitive space for the religious differences, recognizing them as sources of values and human creativity (Sacks, 2002: 13-15, 53-55).

The dynamics of such emerging and contrasting stances on multiculturalism and religious pluralism in the public socio-cultural and socio-religious spheres of globalizing modernity inevitably has attracted increasing attention and diverse, often contradictory, treatment in legal, theological, anthropological and sociological analyses and debates. Critiques of and reactions against the European Union's declarations and policies on multiculturalism also indicate that cultural and religious pluralism cannot be approached and understood solely in the framework of modern European developments and the Eurocentric lens need to be widened and transcended to consider also comparable pre-modern and non-European phenomena, involving international networks promoting inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogue and co-existence. The historic trans-continental routes linking the Mediterranean and East Asia, commonly labelled the Silk Road, and the dynamics of the wide-ranging religious and cultural exchange and syncretism during the active phases of its millennia-old history, certainly represents the most symptomatic of these pre-modern globalization phenomena.

A series of archaeological excavations and work on manuscript collections in the last thirty years or so have opened new venues for research on the multi-faceted processes of religious syncretism and cultural pluralism, especially along the pre-modern Central and East Asian Sections of the Silk Road. The identification of various layers (Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Nestorian Christian, Manichaean, Taoist, etc.) in the written and archaeological record of this syncretism and pluralism raised some major questions regarding the specific processes and strategies of achieving and maintaining this diversity for lengthy historical periods in a succession of Asian cultures. Such processes and strategies are particularly relevant when they occur on the basis of non-conflictual models and the translatability of cultural and religious concepts and vocabulary which can be contrasted with the more conflict-oriented or supersessionist religio-cultural models, prevalent in pre-modern Europe

and the Near and Middle East since late antiquity.

The shifting balance between oasis and steppe economies, nomadic and sedentary societies and changing patterns of oasis and nomadic states, tribal confederations and imperial state formations along the Central Asian sections of the Silk Road led to long-term processes of meeting, cross-pollination and 'catalysis' of rather diverse cultural and religious traditions. The archaeological and written evidence suggests that the formation of cultures of religious and cultural pluralism, leading to a variety of syncretisms in the region, reached its mature stages during late antiquity when it fell largely under the suzerainty of the early Sasanian Persian empire, occasionally challenged and limited by the incursions and conquests of Inner Asian nomadic powers. The study of the distinctive cultures of the late antique Central Asian sections of the Silk Road, especially Sogdiana, has made a steady progress in the last fifty years or so and has furnished much data illustrating the conspicuous diversity and dazzling confluence of artistic and cultic traditions at its city temples, royal complexes and private residences. Apart from the local version(s) of pre-Zoroastrian Iranian traditions and Zoroastrianism maintained in its city states, the long-distance trade along the Sogdiana sector of the Silk Road also facilitated the diffusion of Buddhism, Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity across its caravan routes farther into Central and East Asia and China. The Sogdian role in the combining and undertaking of trade and religious missions along the Silk Road is clearly demonstrated by the growing number of Sogdian Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian manuscripts and fragments unearthed in previous or current phases of research along its Central and East Asian sections.

The characteristic patterns of cultural eclecticism and religious syncretism and/or symbiosis in late antique Sogdiana is manifest in the depiction of religious and mythological narratives in the mural paintings and cult sculpture at its city temples, royal and residential structures at Samarkand, Bukhara, Panjikent, etc. which can make use of and combine Scytho-Siberian, Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian iconographies and stylistic features (Belenizki, 1973; Azarpay, 1981; Belenizki, 1980; Marshak, 2002; Marshak 2008). What is symptomatic of the trajectories of cultural interchange between the Central and East Asian sections of the Silk Road is the evidence of some Sogdian artistic schools eventually bearing the impact of a contact with Chinese art (Marshak, 2001; Marshak, 2008: 17-19). While certain Zoroastrian beliefs are discernible in the murals of Sogdian temples, royal and residential buildings - especially in Sogdian funerary art (Grenet:1986; Škoda,1987; Marshak, 2008: 11-12, 14) the surviving evidence of Sogdian religious art and cultic architecture reveals the extent of Sogdian religious tolerance and allowances for cultic pluralism in Sogdian cities. The co-existence of varied cultic observances within the same public temple space or private worship areas is archaeologically evidenced, for instance, by the sanctuary of Shiva and Parvati at the Panjikent city temple (Marshak, 2008: 10-11), the traces of a Buddha veneration in a Panjikent private house (Marshak, 2008: 12), and the royal and aristocratic patronage of the cult of the non-Zoroastrian goddess, Nana (Grenet and Marshak, 1998).

Continuing discoveries of and research on ancient Sogdian manuscripts such as the famed 'Sogdian Ancient Letters' (Reichelt, 1928, 1931) and the archival collections of Panjikent's ruler of the Mount Mugh fortres in the upper Zarafshan valley, comprising documents in Sogdian,

Chinese, Arabic and Turkic runic script (Freyman et al., 1962-1963) keep shedding new light on the political, trading and cultural role of the Sogdian cities/city states on the Silk Road and their diverse and close links with China. Recent and ongoing archaeological endeavours, such as the projects of the Franco-Uzbek Archaeological Mission and the Hermitage Archaeological Expedition at Panjikent, highlighted the potential of such work to produce fresh discoveries and revolutionize the study of the Central and East Asian sections of the Silk Road.

The impressive eastward expansion of Manichaeism into Central Asia and China is also indicative of the environment of religious pluralism along the Central and East Asian sections of the Silk Road, in sharp contrast to the collapse of the westward course of the Manichaean mission amid the intensifying and violent anti-Manichaean persecution in the late antique West and East Roman Empires. The history of the progress of Manichaeism along the Silk Road has been stimulated by the discoveries of numerous Manichaean texts at Dunhuang and Turfan; the ongoing publications of diverse primary sources on the „eastern” Manichaean problematic have shown that after establishing an early foothold in eastern Iran, Bactria and Sogdiana, in the religiously pluralist climate of Central Asia Manichaeism was to encounter, co-exist with and compete for converts both with Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity.

In the sixth century the Central Asian sections of the Silk Road became a stepping stone for the entry and diffusion of Manichaeism and its networks in China. The establishment of the Manichaean „Church of Light” in China was greatly facilitated by the reopening of trade routes and exchange between China and states and cities on the more western sections of the Silk Road after a lengthy period of disruption to west-east commercial links and movements along its transcontinental routes caused by a series of migrations and invasions of nomadic tribal unions and confederations from the steppes into Central Asia and North China.

Multilingual Sogdian traders, officials and diplomats (who with other Sogdians converted to Manichaeism and Buddhism) played a major role in the diffusion and establishment of Manichaeism and Buddhism first in Central Asia and then via the Sogdian trading, cultural and religious networks in Eastern Asia, as well as in Tang dynasty China (618–907) (Lieu, 1979:15-16; Lieu, 1992: 219-230; Lieu 2000: 52-54). Significantly, the advance of Manichaeism, Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity in China occurred and continued at a time when the eastward Asian progress of Muslim Arab conquests and state-building were about to bring an end to the historic religious pluralism and diversity in the traditional regions along the Central Asian sections of the Silk Road.

During the late seventh and early eighth centuries, Manichaean missionaries were granted audiences at the Chinese imperial court (analysis of the circumstances in Lieu, 1992: 230-231) and characteristically an imperial edict of 732 stated that Manichaeism misleadingly posed as a school of Buddhism and hence deserved prohibition, but at the same time allowed its practice if only among foreigners in Tang China (translated in Chavannes and Pelliot, 1913: 154[178]). In 762–763 concurrent with the intervention of the Uighur Turks in China to help the beleaguered Tang government against the successful and expanding rebellion of the half-Sogdian military commander, An Lu-shan, Manichaean priests succeeded in converting the Uighur Khagan. Manichaeism became the official religion of the new Central Asian steppe empire of the Uighurs

and now backed by Uighur political and military machine could enhance its presence and expand its mission further in Central Asia and China. Due to the Uighur role in suppressing the An Lu-shan rebellion and restoring Tang rule, Uighur influence in Chinese internal political affairs increased and consequently, the Tang government to allow the establishment of Manichaeism in the two capital cities, in four provinces in the Yangtze basin, as well as in one of its northern strategic towns. By that time Buddhism also had greatly increased its influence in China, gaining Tang royal patronage and co-existing as a foreign religion with Zoroastrianism (brought by Iranian exiles from the Muslim Arab-conquered Sasanian empire), and some Nestorian Christian communities.

During this period of Uighur influence in China Manichaeism profited from its status as a privileged foreign religion in China. However, this period of stabilization and even spread of Manichaeism in China came abruptly to an end when the Uighur empire collapsed in 840. First, Manichaeism, then Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity and Zoroastrianism suffered variously reversals of fortune in campaigns which halted a period of the remarkable influence and spread of foreign religions in a remarkably pluralistic climate in pre-840s Tang China.

In the second Uighur empire, established in the Tarim Basin (in the modern Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in north-west China), Manichaeism continued to enjoy the patronage of the Uighur court and along with the Manichaean temples, Manichaean monasteries became influential centres of learning and missionary activities. Manichaeism co-existed and interacted with Buddhism which was to become dominant in the second Uighur realm and Nestorian Christianity which also stabilized and expanded its influence until the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century and the subsequent Islamisation of the Tarim Basin and Xinjiang.

In China itself Manichaean communities and cells succeeded in establishing themselves in Fujian and even began to penetrate neighbouring areas. If originally Manichaeism in China was a religion predominantly professed by foreign Sogdian merchants or envoys and Uighur mercenaries, in Fujian it gradually underwent Sinicization. While relations between Manichaeism and Buddhism in China have often been marked by intense rivalries and Buddhist polemicists frequently attacked Manichaean tenets, Taoists could adopt a much less controversialist and more eclectic approach to Manichaeism. Confucian attitudes to the 'Religion of Light' were usually based on judgements regarding its presumed or perceived association with secret religious sects in China. Given its traditional missionary tactics, in its expansion along the Central and Eastern Asian sections of the Silk Road Manichaeism inevitably not only came to use Buddhist and Taoist terminology and notions as an important element of its proselytism (Lieu, 1992, chs. 7-9 *passim*; Bryder, 1985, Schmidt-Glintzer, 1987, Kilmkeit, 1977, Lieu, 1998: 59-76) but also came under the impact of Buddhist and Taoist teachings. In Central Asia Mani could be identified with Maitreya, the would-be Buddha (Lieu, 1992: 300-301), and could be given the title 'Mani, the Buddha of Light' (Lieu, 1992: 255-257). Eastern Manichaeans compiled a life of Mani based on that of Buddha (texts in Schmidt-Glintzer, 1987: 69-77; Tajadod, 1990) and in certain Taoist circles Mani came to be regarded as one of the avatars of Lao-Tzu himself, the founder of Taoism (Lieu, 1992: 259-610). Such

identifications could allow Manichaean networks in South China to pass off as their Buddhist or Taoist counterparts and in the eleventh century Fujian, Manichaeans were successful in persuading Chinese commissioners to include a Chinese Manichaean work in the Taoist canon (on the historical contexts of this inclusion: Lieu, 1992: 268-70).

The characteristic label, 'Vegetarians and Demon Worshipers', by which Manichaeans were derided by their adversaries, was also used against some Buddhist and Taoist secret sects. Due to the various ascetic and magical practices cultivated in such esoteric Taoist and Buddhist sects, Manichaeism could be attacked along similar lines which makes its history from the Song to the early Ming periods (eleventh-fourteenth centuries), amid the political rebellions and clandestine activities of various secret societies rather obscure and frequently impossible to reconstruct (surveys and critical discussion of the primary sources in Lieu, 1979: 27-35; Lieu, 1992: chs. 8-9).

Anti-Manichaean measures in China were largely motivated by the perception of Manichaeism, particularly by Confucian officials, as a secret religious society, which, on a par with other sects, had secret network of cells, which could potentially be employed to subvert law and order. But apart from this perceived association between sectarianism and social disturbance or rebellion, Confucian attitudes were not underlain by a concern with the Manichaean religious and intellectual challenge to the established religion and religio-political order as in the case of the Christian anti-Manichaean polemicists, as well as secular and clerical elites who earlier had enacted the extermination of Manichaeism in the Christianized West and East Roman empires.

Chinese Manichaeism outlasted by centuries all other Manichaean offshoots in Europe, the Mediterranean and the Middle East and indeed may have joined with other secret religions in Fujian and persisted in syncretistic forms into modern times (Wuschu, 1992). Like Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity, Manichaean diffusion in Central Asia and China was a direct outcome of the long-range traffic of people, cultural and religious traditions along the Central and East Asian sectors of the Silk Road and its environment of eclecticism, pluralism and syncretism. Once it was forced underground, its impact on Chinese culture and religion becomes far more subtle and identifying its presence, traces and after-life in such Chinese contexts still remains a formidable task.

The antique and late antique syncretistic and pluralist cultures which existed along the Central Asian sectors of the Silk Road and the transmutations of Manichaeism in contact with Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism in China (until its assimilation into Chinese popular religions) is of considerable importance for understanding the nature and trajectories of inter-religious and inter-cultural relations and globalizing exchange in pre-modern and non-European settings. The growing evidence of Taocisation of Christian and Manichaean concepts and beliefs in pre-modern Chinese contexts indicate a dynamic of religio-cultural transplantability and translatability which are clearly of major relevance to the current global dilemmas and crises of multiculturalism and religious diversity in an increasingly inter-connected and inter-dependent world.

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Some Buddhist Notions on Time and on the Sense of Time

Gergana Ruseva

Abstract

The principle of causality or of dependent origination (Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*, Pāli *paṭiccasamuppāda*) is central in Buddhist philosophy. The idea that everything is impermanent and conditioned brings to mind different thoughts about time. In the present article some of the Buddhist ideas concerning time and the sense of time are considered. Psychologically, there are intimate relationships between the sense of time, the structure of human thought, the sense of body, and the sense of self – the loss of the sense of body and time results in collapse of the sense of self. And the collapse of the sense of self is central in Buddhism.

Keywords: sense of time, time, doctrine of momentariness, flow, present moment, Buddhism, psychology of Buddhism

When we investigate the nature of time and the sense of time, we try to isolate the sense of time from all other senses and feelings, from thoughts, from the sense of body and the sense of self. In fact, there are intimate relationships between the sense of time, the structure of human thought and sensations, the sense of body, and the sense of self (Ataria, Neria, 2013; Zhou, Pöpel, Bao, 2014). When we speak about the sense of time in Buddhism, we should have in mind that some of the teachings about time are based on personal experience during meditation or some other practices leading to altered states of consciousness (ASC)¹ and that these teachings about time and sense of time are internally connected with the sense of causality, of *saṃsāra*, of the *dhammas*, of body, and of self.

We know that during ASC human thought can change dramatically, people can receive completely new types of knowledge, and the world perception, including time perception, can be reshaped (see Ataria, Neria, 2013). Time may lose its „pace“, duration, direction, and its fundamental link to the causality system. The ability to estimate time can disappear and, in certain cases, a sense of lack of time and a sense of existence outside time can develop.² „Evidence suggests that the loss of the sense of body and the loss of the sense of time are in fact connected; that is, they collapse together. This breakdown in turn results in collapse of the sense of self.“ (Ataria, Neria, 2013: 159). And the collapse of the sense of self is central in Buddhism.

One important thing here is that the practice of meditation can vary according to the concepts of the concrete Buddhist teaching and that different practices cause different states of consciousness with different sense of time. So there is no single teaching about time, but many teachings, connected with a sense of time in accordance with the sense of *saṃsāra*, *dhammas*, causality or dependent origination, and with the sense of self or no-self, *anatta*. For example,

¹ ASC can occur spontaneously, or can be achieved through meditation, hypnosis, psychedelic drugs, can result from traumatic experiences such as isolation, hunger, and near-death experience, and can cause varying levels of alertness, reduced concentration, sharpened senses, generation of unity among senses, hallucinations, etc. See Ataria, Neria, 2014.

² See Ataria, Neria, 2013, and their bibliography on the subject.

the teaching of momentariness is based not on the idea that time is discrete, but on the idea that there are no real entities that last more than a moment. So it is not a teaching of time but of complete change (or more precisely shift) in every moment – the world (and all its components) is absolutely new in the next moment and the illusion that it is the same and that things stretch in time is conditioned by dependent origination.

We will also pay some attention to the question whether Buddhists have or had a special sense of time which is reflected in their teachings, or if they have or had the same old sense of time, only conceptualize it in a different manner. Is it possible that the structure of human thought is like a matrix forming or at least affecting the sense of time? Is it possible, for example, that the doctrine of the lack of eternal, stretched in time entity can bring about the sense of discrete time?

In the first part of this article we will consider the experience of time according to Buddhism – the experience is at the heart of various concepts of the world, or it can at least color all concepts, in particular, the concepts of time. Then we will see how this experience is mirrored in language – we will consider words signifying „time“, paying special attention to the word Skt. *kṣaṇa*, Pāli *khana*. At last we will look at different Buddhist schools concerned with time and the experience of time, and at the doctrine of momentariness and the experience of momentariness.

We derive a sense of time from events. Linearity and imperativity of time

Now we will focus on the deep-laid notion of linearity and imperativity of time, on the way out of this absolute time, on living in the present moment and on the so called „flow“.

The Buddha insisted that the beginning of the universe is inconceivable, yet that it is possible to speak about moments of evolution and dissolution in terms of eons – periods of immense duration, that can be illustrated by similes (Kalupahana, 1974). From these similes we can see that for the Buddha (long) time duration is determined by events. In *Samyutta Nikāya* it is said:

Sāvatthiyaṃ. Atha kho aññataro bhikkhū yena bhagavā tenupasaṅkami. Upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho so bhikkhū bhagavantam etadavoca: „kīvadīgho nu kho bhante, kappo“ ti?

Dīgho kho bhikkhu, kappo. So na sukaro saṅkhātum ettakāni vassāni iti vā, ettakāni vassasatāni iti vā, ettakāni vassasahassāni iti vā, ettakāni vassasatasahassāni iti vā’ti. Sakkā pana bhante, upamaṃ kātunti? Sakkā bhikkhū’ti bhagavā avoca. mahāselo pabbato yojanaṃ āyāmena, yojanaṃ vitthārena, yojanaṃ ubbedhena, acchiddo asusiro ekaghano, tamenam puriso vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena kāsikena vatthena sakiṃ sakiṃ parimajjeyya, khippataram kho so bhikkhu mahāselo pabbato iminā upakkamena parikkhayaṃ pariyādānaṃ gaccheyya, na tveva kappo. Evaṃ dīgho kho bhikkhu, kappo. Evaṃ dīghānaṃ kho bhikkhu, kappānaṃ neko kappo saṃsito nekaṃ kappasataṃ saṃsitam, nekaṃ kappasahassaṃ saṃsitam, nekaṃ kappasatasahassaṃ saṃsitam. Taṃ kissa hetu? Anamataggoyaṃ bhikkhu, saṃsāro pubbākoṭi na paññāyati avijjānīvaraṇānaṃ sattānaṃ taṇhā saṃyojanānaṃ sandhāvatam saṃsarataṃ. Yāvañcidaṃ bhikkhave, alameva sabbasaṅkhāresu nibbinditum, alaṃ virajjitum, alaṃ vimuccitunti. (3.1.5. Pabbatasuttaṃ, Samyuttanikāyo, 268)³

³ GRETEL.

At Savatthi. Then a certain bhikkhu approached the Blessed One, paid homage to him, sat down to one side, and said to him: „Venerable sir, how long is an aeon?“ „An aeon is long, bhikkhu. It is not easy to count it and say it is so many years, or so many hundreds of years, or so many thousands of years, or so many hundreds of thousands of years.“ „Then is it possible to give a simile, venerable sir?“ „It is possible, bhikkhu,“ the Blessed One said. „Suppose, bhikkhu, there was a great stone mountain a yojana⁴ long, a yojana wide, and a yojana high, without holes or crevices, one solid mass of rock. At the end of every hundred years a man would stroke it once with a piece of silk cloth. That great stone mountain might by this effort be worn away and eliminated but the aeon would still not have come to an end. So long is an aeon, bhikkhu. And of aeons of such length, we have wandered through so many aeons, so many hundreds of aeons, so many thousands of aeons, so many hundreds of thousands of aeons. For what reason? Because, bhikkhu, this saṃsāra is without discoverable beginning... It is enough to be liberated from them.”⁵

From this passage emphasizing the immensity of time one can also conclude that according to the Buddha we derive a sense of time from events, we use events to measure time.⁶

We often assume that abstract, uniform, and objective time is a universal physical entity. But this kind of evenly flowing time was introduced to us only recently together with the mechanical clock. Before the introduction of the mechanical clock, events were used to measure time and our natural way of time-keeping depends on the perception, estimation and coordination of events. Our experience and understanding of time emerges from our perception of events.⁷ Even the principle of operation of mechanical clock is based on events: a uniform artificial event is generated and repeated, while keeping an accumulative count. With the mechanical clock a new sort of uniform, objective, abstract time, independent of events, emerged (Forman, 2015).

Of course, it is obvious that the experience of this linear absolute time is not new at all. The imperative pace of time is a real factor, for example, for ancient agricultural societies. The Buddhists have some kind of psychological approach to this imperative, linear, absolute time – and to the liberation from it. The basic idea of Buddhist teachings is to eliminate suffering *duḥkha* or *dukkha*⁸ (especially the „third-level” suffering). To do this one has to see the true

⁴ A measure of distance, sometimes regarded as equal to 4 or 5, sometimes to 9, and sometimes to 2,5 English miles.

⁵ Here is given the Bhikkhu Bodhi’s translation of Saṃyutta Nikāya, 2000: 654.

⁶ See Forman, 2015. Buddhism is essentially a practical school which goal is to overcome suffering (Skt. *duḥkha*, Pāli *dukkha*). Early Buddhism is not a system of metaphysics so we don’t expect to find there abstract notions concerning time. See Koller, 1974.

⁷ See Forman, 2015.

⁸ According to Ronald Purser, there are three kinds or levels of suffering in Buddhism: the physical and mental pain; the suffering of change (any phenomenon or being that arises is subject to change and will also pass away); and suffering of conditioned existence – the basis of the other two levels of suffering. It is the deepest level existential suffering based on the premise that everything is subject to the laws of *karman* or *karma* and dependent origination and a vague feeling that self may be empty and devoid of separate identity. „This level of suffering is usually repressed, or covered up, through incessant goal-directed activities that are attempts to make the self feel more secure, grounded and real. The suffering of conditioning, or „third-level” suffering, requires the deepest level of investigation of temporality...” (Purser, 2014: 1).

nature of the self – one has to realize that the reason for suffering is the instinctive sense of unchanging, eternal, separate self. This self requires a particular linear temporal order in which to operate. So time is objectified and is felt like an external compelling force (for more detail see Purser, 2014).

Our experience then appears to be confined to the realm of linear time, where events unfold in a predictable sequence, moving forward from the past, to the present, and in to the future. This is what is called conditioned existence and we act as if this linear time is absolute (Purser, 2014).

Let us for a while leave aside Buddhism and its psychological approach towards time. Is it possible that time has a more peculiar structure? We often say „the thread of time”. Can it be „the twisted thread of time”, or can this thread of time possess an additional structure? Can it be like a DNA molecule with primary, secondary and tertiary structure? We can speak about the DNA structure because it is extended in space, but time is not extended in space. And since space is defined by the objects that extend in it, time is defined by events – events are extended in time, i.e. time may have a more peculiar structure, relative to motions and phenomena, and the „thread” puts the sequence of events in a cause-and-effect relationship. Moreover, subjective time is also connected with states of consciousness, structure of thought, and perception, i.e. the secondary and tertiary structures can arise from a subjective perspective.

For a way out of the imperativity of time, Dōgen (an eminent 13th century Japanese Zen master, founder of Sōtō school) gives another idea: we are not in time, but we are time. According to Dōgen (as far as I can understand his teachings), one is not in time, he/she is not an observer of the flow of time – he/she is the very flow of time. One is not in the flow looking for a shore – one with all his/her experiences, feelings and thoughts is this very flow, and this flow is time.⁹

In *Anguttara Nikāya*, IV.137. it is said: “There is no moment, no inkling, no particle of time that the river stops flowing.”¹⁰

The present moment

According to the Pāli scriptures one has to realize enlightenment in the immediate present (See Miyamoto, 1959).

Do not chase after the past; do not seek for the future.

The past is already no more; the future is not yet.

And see the elements of present in every place, without attachment,

Without moving – yet clearly see and strive in the present.

Do earnestly the task for today; who knows the nearness of death on the morrow?

Truly who can say he will not meet the great army of death?

Such a man of realization, earnestly striving day and night without indolence,

He, surely, is the sage of time, the peaceful one, the steady one.

(Majjhima Nikāya, 131-134)¹¹

⁹ For more detail see Abe, 1992: 77-105; Stambaugh, 1990: 24-71; Purser, 2014; Miyamoto, 1959. Here I would like to mention also the so called “flow” experience in sport psychology.

¹⁰ Citation is according to Kalupahana, 1974: 184.

¹¹ Here I cite the translation given in Miyamoto, 1959: 122.

As Sharf pointed out (Sharf, 2013), early Zen masters recommended intense immersion in the flow of here-and-now to reach a nonconceptual and nondiscursive awareness, leading to a state of inner stillness. But Zen reformers Dahui and later Hakuin in Japan thought that these methods lead to an imbalanced state of „meditation sickness”, in which the meditator is attached to a dull, peaceful, and blissful stillness and has no concern for the suffering of the world (Purser, 2014).¹²

Cyclic conception of existence

Cyclic events, such as the day-night cycle, the cycle of the sun, the cycle of the moon’s phases, are at the basis of calendars since ancient times. The cyclic conception of existence according to Buddhism is the idea that until one is liberated he/she is bound to be born, live and die again and again. So there is a cyclicity in the nature of reality, but this does not mean that time is cyclic. Only after a very long period a Bodhisattva can become an enlighten person – a Buddha. „Despite the cyclic nature of the Bodhisattva’s existences and of the intervening world ages, the vast expanse of time unfolding between the initial aspiration and the final attainment is conceived of in linear terms. While the wheel traveling over the road revolves, the road itself does not.” (Rospatt, 2004)

Causality

In *Majjhima Nikāya*, 115, Mahatanhasankhaya Sutta: Sutta 38, i, 262-264, 19 it is said:

*Sādhu bhikkhave. Iti kho bhikkhave tumhe pi evaṃ vadetha aham-pi evaṃ vadāmi: [Iti] imasmim sati idaṃ hoti, imass’ uppādā idaṃ uppajjati...*¹³ (*Majjhima Nikāya*, Mahatanhasankhaya Sutta: Sutta 38, i, 263-264)

Good, bhikkhus. So you say thus, and I also say thus: “When this exists, that comes to be; with the arising of this, that arises.”¹⁴

Let us consider the causal principle presented here by the Buddha. Because of the locative absolute construction in the sentence *imasmim sati idaṃ hoti*, it can be translated also as a conditional clause “If this exists, that comes to be”¹⁵. And this means that according to the Buddha events cannot be predicted and are not determined with certainty.¹⁶ Omniscience and especially knowledge of the future is not claimed by the Buddha – according to causal principal only predictions could be made. And one can perceive only causality (Skt. *pratityasamutpāda*, Pāli *paṭiccasamuppāda*):¹⁷

¹² Purser also makes some very interesting remarks on the contemporary practices of mindfulness meditation and especially to the contemporary starving for the present moment. On the present moment, see Montemayor, Wittmann, 2014.

¹³ GRETIL.

¹⁴ Here is given the Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi’s translation of *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1995: 355-356.

¹⁵ See also Kalupahana, 1974.

¹⁶ According to Sarvāstivāda „the theory of all exists” originated between 3rd century BC and around the turn of the Christian era), one of the most influential early school of Buddhism, flourishing throughout Northwest India, Northern India, and Central Asia, all dharmas exist in the past, present and future. From this contemporal existence of past, present and future it is implicated that the consequence pre-exists in the cause and that what will be is completely determined from what is and what was, so temporality it becomes just an illusion.

¹⁷ See Yogasutra, 3.16. of Patañjali (*pariṇāmatrayasaṃyamādatītānāgatajñānam.*) and the commentary of Vyāsa. See also Ruseva, 2015.

Vuttaṃ kho pan’ etaṃ Bhagavatā: Yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati. yo dhammaṃ passati so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passatīti.

Now this has been said by the Blessed One: „One who sees dependent origination sees the *Dhamma*; one who sees the *Dhamma* sees dependent origination.” (*Majjhima Nikāya*, Mahāhatthipadopamasuttaṃ Sutta: Sutta 28, i, 284, 190-191)

Here one should have in mind that in Yogasūtra 3.16. of Patañjali the knowledge of the *pariṇāma-traya* (the three changes) means also knowledge of the past and knowledge of the future.

Sanskrit and Pāli words signifying „time”

Let us now refer to the Sanskrit and Pāli words signifying „time”. There are: *samaya*, *kāla*, *kṣaṇa* (*khaṇa*) and *adhvan* (*addhan*) (according to Miyamoto, 1959). *Samaya* means „coming together”, “meeting”, „contract”, “agreement”, „opportunity”, „appointed time” or „proper time”. *Kāla* means time in general, as in *kāla-vāda* „time-doctrine”. *Kāla* signifies also appointed or suitable time, meal-time or the time of death. In Sanskrit death is expressed *kāla kṛta* (Pāli *kāla-kata*), meaning literally, „whose time is completed.”¹⁸ Sanskrit *kṣaṇa* (Pāli *khaṇa*) can be „a moment”, „an opportunity”, or the moment of the fulfillment of a purpose. At last, *adhvan* refers to a stretch or length of space or time, a road or journey in space and time (Miyamoto, 1959). In oldest Buddhist literature the word *samaya*, according to Miyamoto, is the most frequent – almost all *sūtras* begin with the words:

Evaṃ mayā śrutam: ekasmin samaye Bhagavān Rājaghe viharati sma...

Thus have I heard: **at one time** the Blessed One was staying at *Rājagha*...¹⁹

The word *kṣaṇa*

The word *kṣaṇa* means „a moment”, „a very brief unit of time (for example, 1/75th second)”, in some contexts it can mean the momentary entity itself (Rospatt, 1995: 94-110). In accord with its etymology from *akṣan* „eye”, *kṣaṇa* refers to the winking of the eye, and, more precisely, to the time taken by the winking. In the Theravada canon *khaṇa* (= *kṣaṇa*) often denotes „opportunity”, „auspicious moment” (Rospatt, 1995: 94-95).

In the Sarvāstivāda tradition, however, the word *kṣaṇa* is used as the smallest unit of time, according to the Abhidharmic texts, as „time's furthest extreme” (*kālaparyanta*) – the smallest indivisible unit of time.²⁰ The division of time into *kṣaṇas* is considered in the same manner as the division of matter into atoms and of speech into syllables – neither of which is infinitely divisible. This atomistic conception of time probably has been taken for granted (Rospatt, 1995: 96-98).

In Madhyamaka (RA 1.69-70), however, the conception of the *kṣaṇa* as the smallest unit of time is refuted:

¹⁸ As a compound of the *bahuvrīhī* type.

¹⁹ The citation is according to Miyamoto, 1959: 118. „In these introductory phrases, the four conditions–time, place, the master and his audience – are posited. The coming together of these four necessarily indicates an auspicious event which happens once for all in the long eons of sacred history.” (Miyamoto, 1959: 118). The most important and auspicious time is the moment of Buddha's enlightenment.

²⁰ Rospatt, 1995: 96-98. „*bhettum aśakyah; kṣaṇo bhavet*”, *Pramāṇaṇavārttikavṛtti*, Rospatt, 1995: 96

yathānto 'sti kṣaṇasyaivam ādimadhyamca kalpyatām/ tryātmakatvāt kṣaṇasyaivam na lokasya kṣaṇam sthitiḥ //69// *ādimadhyāvasānāni cintyāni kṣaṇavat punaḥ*. (kā 69-70)

As the moment has an end, also its beginning and middle have to be assumed. Since the moment is thus endowed with these three sections, the duration of the world is not a moment. Beginning, middle and end [of the moment] should be considered [to have], in their turn, [beginning, middle and end,] just as the moment (which leads to an infinite regress).²¹

On the basis of the Buddhist ideas that there is nothing more transient than mental events and that each event is a distinct mental entity, *kṣaṇa* – the shortest conceivable incident, became to represent the duration of mental entities (Rospatt, 1995: 102).

In order to account for the fact that the word *kṣaṇa* may refer both to an instant of time and to the entity existing during this instant, E. Steinkellner renders a Tibetan variant of *kṣaṇa* by „phase” (Ibid, 109, note 246).

Time and sense of time according to some of the different Buddhist schools

Early Buddhism considered both time and causation as parts of our experience, not as mere inferences based primarily on the succession of momentary ideas. Somehow it follows the middle path: absolute abstract time is an extreme and unnecessary hypothesis and time is not an illusion of the intellect (Kalupahana, 1974).

The Buddha said in *Diggha Nikāya* III.134 (or *Samyutta Nikāya* II, 84-97):

„This physical body made up of the four primary existents is seen to exist for one, two, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, hundred years. That which is called the mind, thought or consciousness arises as one thing and ceases as another whether by night or by day.”²²

This is a description of the two types of experience: the experience of things that endure for some time and the experience of momentary things (See Kalupahana, 1974; Rospatt, 1995: 113-121). Mental entities are conceived as being more transient than the physical objects. Gradually, mental entities are thought to last less and less, i.e. at last they are conceived to be momentary (See Rospatt, 1995:113-121).

Time is not an object of the five senses, so it could be viewed as an illusion of the intellect. But when speaking about the idea of Sarvāstivāda that past and future exist in the present (in the form of *dharmas*) and that time is not real but mere illusion of the intellect, we can consider the following linguistic contra-argument of the Buddha:²³

Sāvatthi. Tatra voca. Tayo me bhikkhave niruttipathā adhivacanapathā paññattipathā asaṃkiṇṇā asaṃkiṇṇapubbā na saṃkīyanti na saṃkīyissanti appaṭikuṭṭhā samaṇehi brāhmaṇehi viññūhi. Katame tayo. Yaṃ hi bhikkhave rūpam atītaṃ niruddhaṃ vipariṇatam. ahoṣīti tassa saṅkhā. ahoṣīti tassa samaññā. ahoṣīti tassa paññatti. Na tassa saṅkhā atthīti na tassa saṅkhā bhavissatīti. Yā vedanā atītā niruddhā vipariṇatā. ahoṣīti tassā saṅkhā. ahoṣīti tassā samaññā. ahoṣīti tassā paññatti. Na tassā saṅkhā atthīti. na tassā saṅkhā bhavissatīti. Yā saññā. Ye saṅkhārā atītā

*niruddhā vipariṇatā. ahesunti tesam saṅkhā. ahesunti tesam samaññā. ahesunti tesam paññatti. Na tesam saṅkhā atthīti. na tesam saṅkhā bhavissatīti. Yaṃ viññāṇam atītaṃ niruddhaṃ vipariṇatam. ahoṣīti tassa saṅkhā. ahoṣīti tassa samaññā. ahoṣīti tassa paññatti. Na tassa saṅkhā atthīti. na tassa saṅkhā bhavissatīti. Yam bhikkhave rūpam ajātam apātubhūtā. bhavissatīti tassa saṅkhā. bhavissatīti tassa samaññā. bhavissatīti tassa paññatti. Na tassa saṅkhā atthīti. na tassa saṅkhā ahoṣīti. Yā vedanā ajātā apātubhūtā. bhavissatīti tassā saṅkhā. bhavissatīti tassā samaññā. bhavissatīti tassā paññatti. Na tassā saṅkhā atthīti. na tassā saṅkhā ahoṣīti. Yā saññā. pe. Ye saṅkhārā ajātā apātubhūtā. bhavissantīti tesam saṅkhā. bhavissantīti tesam samaññā. bhavissantīti tesam paññatti. Na tesam saṅkhā atthīti. na tesam saṅkhā ahesun ti. Yaṃ viññāṇam ajātam apātubhūtā. bhavissatīti tassa saṅkhā. bhavissatīti tassa samaññā. bhavissatīti tassa paññatti. Na tassa saṅkhā atthīti. na tassa saṅkhā ahoṣīti. Yam bhikkhave rūpam jātam pātubhūtaṃ atthīti tassa saṅkhā. atthīti tassa samaññā. atthīti tassa paññatti. Na tassa saṅkhā ahoṣīti. na tassa saṅkhā bhavissatīti. Yā vedanā jātā pātubhūtā. atthīti tassā saṅkhā. atthīti tassā samaññā. atthīti tassā paññatti. Na tassā saṅkhā ahoṣīti. na tassa saṅkhā bhavissatīti. Yā saññā. Ye saṅkhārā jātā pātubhūtā atthīti tesam saṅkhā. atthīti tesam samaññā. atthīti tesam paññatti. na tesam saṅkhā ahesun ti. na tesam saṅkhā bhavissantīti. Yaṃ viññāṇam jātam pātubhūtā. atthīti tassa saṅkhā. atthīti tassa samaññā. atthīti tassa paññatti. na tassa saṅkhā ahoṣīti. na tassa saṅkhā bhavissatīti. Ime kho bhikkhave tayo niruttipathā adhivacanapathā paññattipathā asaṃkiṇṇā asaṃkiṇṇapubbā na saṃkīyanti na saṃkīyissanti appaṭikuṭṭhā samaṇehi brāhmaṇehi viññūhi.*²⁴ (SN 3,22(1).62 (10) Niruttipatha)

62 (10) Pathways of Language

At Savatthi. „Bhikkhus, there are these three pathways of language, pathways of designation, pathways of description, that are unmixed, that were never mixed, that are not being mixed, that will not be mixed, that are not rejected by wise ascetics and brahmins. What three? Whatever form, bhikkhus, has passed, ceased, changed: the term, label, and description ‘was’ applies to it, not the term ‘is’ or the term ‘will be.’ Whatever feeling... Whatever perception...Whatever volitional formations... Whatever consciousness has passed, ceased, changed: the term, label, and description ‘was’ applies to it, not the term ‘is’ or the term ‘will be.’ Whatever form, bhikkhus, has not been born, has not become manifest: the term, label, and description ‘will be’ applies to it, not the term ‘is’ or the term ‘was.’ Whatever feeling... Whatever perception... Whatever volitional formations... Whatever consciousness has not been born has not become manifest: the term, label, and description ‘will be’ applies to it, not the term ‘is’ or the term ‘was.’ Whatever form, bhikkhus, has been born, has become manifest: the term, label, and description ‘is’ applies to it, not the term ‘was’ or the term ‘will be.’ Whatever feeling... Whatever perception... Whatever volitional formations... Whatever consciousness has been born, has become manifest: the term, label, and description ‘is’ applies to it, not the term ‘was’ or the term ‘will be.’ These, bhikkhus, are the three pathways of language, pathways of designation, pathways of description, that are unmixed, that were never mixed, that are not being mixed, that will not be mixed, that are not rejected by wise ascetics and brahmins.”²⁵

(Samyutta Nikāya III. 22. 62 (10) Khandhasamyutta 905)

²⁴ GRETEL.

²⁵ Here is given the Bhikkhu Bodhi’s translation of Samyutta Nikāya, 2000: 905. It differs from Kalupahana’s translation (1974: 184).

In order to eliminate the conception of eternal self, Buddha developed an analytical method of reducing things to their components – the human personality was analyzed either into five aggregates (Skt *skandha*, Pāli *khandha*), either into six elements (*dhātu*), which were the contents of experience, not just of logical analysis. However, the analytical approach reached its logical conclusion, and together with the emergence of a theory of atoms (*paramāṇu*), came out a theory of moments (Skt. *kṣaṇa*, Pāli *khaṇa*) and temporal atomicity (Kalupahana, 1974). There are many difficulties regarding the analysis of time in atomic units. The most difficult problem of this theory of moments is connected with the experienced continuity of temporal events: a moment is durationless, comparable to the dimensionless point of space, and so past, present, and future moments are completely distinct from each other. They are discrete and have no connection between each other. This problem is solved differently in different schools of Buddhism.

According to the Sarvāstivāda, there is an unchangeable substance or „own-nature“ (*dravya*, *svabhāva*), underlying the succession of momentary events. So everything (*dharma*) has two aspects: temporal (*kālika*, *kṣaṇika*) characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) and eternal or timeless substance (*dravya*). So Sarvāstivādins admit that everything past, present, and future exist and are independently real (Ibid).

The Buddhist school Sautrāntika rejected the Sarvāstivāda idea of *svabhāva* as being the same as the idea of eternal self (*ātman*). But this rejection compelled them to think of the world as a series of fleeting moments (Ibid).

In the Mulamadhyamakakārika (“Verses on the Middle”), Nāgārjuna, the most representative thinker of early Mahāyana Buddhism, devotes one chapter to the examination of time (See Miyamoto, 1959; Kalupahana, 1974). Nāgārjuna wrote in the nineteenth chapter of his Criticism on Time (*Kālaparīkṣa*) as follows:

1. If because of the past
There are future and present,
Then future and present
Must be in the past.
2. If within the past
There were neither future nor present
Then future and present–
How are they caused by the past?
3. Independent of the past
There is no future
Nor any present,
Therefore these two periods are not.
4. Because such is the case,
We know that the two other periods
And above, between, below, unity, difference–
All such states as these have no existence.
5. Time standing still cannot be had,
And time cannot be had.

If time cannot be had
How can one teach time's qualities?
6. Because of things there is time,
of bija or seed, differentiate the present from
Apart from things how can time be?
Even things do not exist,
How much less can time exist?²⁶

Nāgārjuna pointed out that two things cannot be related unless they are coexistent. Non-enduring and non-static time cannot be measured, and an enduring and static time does not exist. If time exists depending on an existential structure, then it cannot be obtained without the structure and so, according to him, time does not exist (see Kalupahana, 1974).

So according to Kalupahana, „Early Buddhism presented an empiricist and relativistic conception of time; the Abhidharma scholasticism produced an absolutistic conception, and Mādhyamikas denied the reality of time.“ (Kalupahana, 1974: 188)

The doctrine of momentariness

From the denial of a permanent self comes the idea that mind is a flow of mental events which have to be entities of their own – entities that also have to be momentary. The momentariness of material entities was probably logically deduced from the momentariness of mental entities, and hence, all forms of conditioned entities are momentary (Rospatt, 1995: 11-12, 196-218).

The Buddhist intention is not to atomize time into moments, but to atomize phenomena temporally as a succession of discrete momentary entities (Ibid). All phenomena, or all conditioned entities (*saṃskṛta*, *saṃskāra*), stop existing as soon as they have originated and given rise to new entities of almost the same nature – *santāna* – a flow of causally connected momentary entities of the same kind (Ibid). These entities succeed so fast one after the other that one cannot see them by ordinary perception – so one conceives that things are temporally extended. So, although the world is at every moment distinct from the world in the previous or next moment, it is linked to the past and future by the law of causality (Ibid).²⁷

Spiritual experience connected with the doctrine of momentariness

According to Rospatt (1995: 11-12), the doctrine of momentariness is formed on the basis of a radical experience of transitoriness of existence, but such an experience is legitimated and explained by doctrinal considerations. One way of gaining experience of the impermanence of existence is the observation of death with the awareness that the dead body is one's own (See Rospatt, 2004; Rospatt, 1995: 196-218). Another way is to treat impermanence as a constant fluctuation and to focus on the change of existence, without paying such strong attention to the decay and death, but to the cyclic notion of existence, *saṃsāra*, *karman*, and spiritual development (Ibid).

The question still open is „whether the new metaphysical assumption of momentariness will have prompted a spiritual experience of a new quality, or whether only the conceptualization of the experience, and not its nature, changed“ (Rospatt, 1995: 209, note 445).

²⁶ Translation is according to Miyamoto, 1959: 120-121.

²⁷ The theory of momentariness cannot be traced back to the beginnings of Buddhism and is a post-canonical and “sectarian” development. See Rospatt, 1959: 5, note 4.

What does it mean to perceive discrete time? Maybe to feel the gaps between two perceptions infinitesimally close in time – we perceive and during the time of the processing of the signals, there is just a moment of loosening of the signals from outside. But is it so? Is our perception discrete and what is the length of these intervals of signal interruption? Is our brain's procession of information discrete procession? And are the different discrete perceptions sewed into continuous impression afterwards?

The processes of perception and procession of information are based on electromagnetic impulses, and in this sense are discrete, but they are bound to chemical reactions that are not necessarily discrete. And all this discussion of discreteness or continuity of time is based on the proposition of linear time.

The Buddhist approach is different: the world is discrete not only in space, but also in time and in every next moment it is quite new, causally connected with the previous one. As with the blinking of an eye – in the moment you open your eyes the world is quite new. Cinematograph is the ideal example – however, we should keep in mind that usually tape mirrors successive (continuous) events, photographed at very small defined intervals, and the perception of the film is to restore these primordial (continuous) events. So the question about discreteness or continuity of time, or of the world, is intrinsically connected not only with events, but also with our perception of these events.²⁸

Is this momentariness connected with the world itself – and is there something like “the world itself” far beyond the one who perceives it?

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²⁸ On different ideas about continuous or discrete time see Montemayor, 2012.

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The „Apocryphal” Scriptures – Deliberately Accepted as Canonical Texts?

Yana Stefanova

Abstract

The basic text in the focus of this paper is the Dasheng qi xin lun or Treatise on the Mahayana Awakening of Faith, which is highly influential in the history of East Asian Buddhism. The treatise is putatively attributed to the poet and philosopher Ashvaghosha, who was worshipped in China as a salvific figure and a bodhisattva.

One of the main topics in this paper is the act of attribution, which in the case of our basic text might initially be viewed in terms of spiritual aspiration, rather than actual authorship in the modern sense. Despite that, its authorship was never really deeply questioned. Of course, it is important to point out that the Treatise on the Mahayana Awakening of Faith was initially listed in a catalogue of canonical texts in 594 as a text of “dubious” (yi) origin, but eventually it was declared a legitimate translation of an Indian original, thus guaranteeing its entrance into the body of accepted canonical texts. After that the text easily became one of the most emblematic examples of a sinicized Buddhist scripture. Consequently, many East Asian Buddhist traditions are based on such texts rather than on translations of Indian materials, thereby changing forever the course of Buddhist history.

Keywords: Chinese Buddhism; apocrypha; canon; Tripitaka; Dasheng qi xin lun; Fazang; Ashvaghosha.

The spread of Buddhism in China, or, as it is also known, 佛教 *fojiao*, i.e. the Teachings of Buddha, begins with the works of the first translators of Indian religious texts in the middle of the second century. It is generally accepted that the very first differences in Indian and Chinese Buddhist traditions can be traced back to the moment when the words of the Buddha had to be translated from the strictly logical, grammatically and conceptually accurate Sanskrit language to the figurative and suggestive Chinese. In the next centuries, Sanskrit texts of different traditions were taken to China and their translations into Chinese went on from 200 A.D. to about 1200 A.D. Translation was first done mainly by non-Chinese monks and later, with the increasing interest in new and original texts, a lot of Chinese translators were included. They worked individually or in groups and used different techniques for translating the sutras, as to make them accessible to the Chinese reader. The differences in the two traditions, the Indian and the Chinese, were bound to manifest in the translations. It is not the only source of differences, though. There is an especially interesting class of treatises for which one might say that, in their entirety, they were „born” somewhere on the road of the translation process. Those are the so called Chinese Buddhist “apocrypha” with controversial, vague, indefinite, uncommented or even downright false origin (Muller, 1998: 63-64). Most of the time they were created for the purpose of satisfying the need for new texts. Not so often, but resulting into the writing of more concrete apocryphal treatises, they were introduced as means and proofs in response to the continuous attacks from the Daoists and as a way to ensure the higher position of the Buddhist

teaching in this rivalry. Many of them were rejected, but some of them managed to survive and eventually found their place in the Chinese Buddhist canon. Their influence can be attributed to many factors, one of which is their innate ability to appeal and to be understood by the Chinese scholars. In the end, those texts turned from „non-canonical” into „more than canonical” and changed forever the history and development not only of the Chinese sects, but the entire East Asian Buddhism (Muller, 1998: 70).

This article represents a humble attempt to shed some light upon the emergence and the roots of some of many Chinese Buddhist sects and teachings. The main topic is the perception and attitude towards these Buddhist texts of dubious origin, which eventually managed to find their place in the Chinese Tripitaka, and the idea that those texts were carefully chosen and deliberately accepted as canonical. The article is structured around several focal points. The first of them will give more information about the nature of Chinese Tripitaka, the authenticity of the examined works, the term apocrypha and its categorization. The second introduces the main treatise that we take as an illustration of the influence of this type of texts – *Dasheng qi xin lun* or *Treatise on the Mahayana Awakening of Faith*, and offers a brief exposition of the contents of the text. The third and fourth deal mainly with Ashvaghosha and his supposed authorship of the above treatise, and with the comments and the role of Fazang in accepting and popularizing the treatise as a text with high significance and value. The last part, called „The treatise in the history of Buddhism,” presents some thoughts about the influence of the treatise and the resulting changes in the image of Chinese Buddhism in the present point of view.

Based on this, we can say that the skilful assimilation of precisely chosen non-original texts is a characteristic of a higher form of rationalization and intellectual insight not only in the traditional Buddhist thought patterns, but also in the Chinese national psychology and ethnic predisposition towards certain kind of philosophizing, religious beliefs, expression and a means for maximally complete, full and fruitful understanding. It wouldn't be far fetched to say that the development of Buddhism in China and the Chinese canon are some of the great achievements of human civilization.

1. The Chinese Tripitaka

„Tripitaka, or „Three Baskets,” is a Sanskrit term used for grand collections of Buddhist texts. The term signifies the traditional inclusion of three types of texts: sutras (in theory, the words of the Buddha), vinaya (monastic codes), and commentaries and treatises (originally called abhidharma).

From the very beginning of the compiling of Buddhist works (by Tao-an in 374), catalogers examined, commented on and made judgments as to the authenticity of the suspect works. Regardless of the fact that it was transmitted in print from a very early stage, the „canon” of East Asian Buddhism was, and in theory still is, „open”, as opposed to the relatively „closed” and comparatively very short canonical collections of Islam or Christianity (Tarocco, 2008: 326).

Thus, the term apocrypha was somewhat recently borrowed into Buddhist studies from biblical studies. It stands to designate a problematic class of literature, usually due to doubts of authorship or questions of doctrine. Of course, the East Asian Buddhist apocrypha bears different and we might say much lighter pejorative connotation.

The apocryphal East Asian Buddhist texts were traditionally categorized into two types, known in Chinese as *yi-jing* (疑經 „scriptures of doubtful authenticity”) and *wei-ching* (偽經 „spurious scriptures”) (Muller, 1998: 64). Later, some of them would be rejected, while others would be accepted into the canon as authentic, either due to proper circumstances, doctrinal validity or their skillful presentation of an important Buddhist problematic.

2. The Treatise

An example of such a text is the *Dasheng qi xin lun* or *Treatise on the Mahayana Awakening of Faith*. Nowadays it can be found in Volume 32 in *The Taisho Tripitaka*, which is the definitive edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon and its Japanese commentaries, named after the Imperial era of its creation (Taisho, 1910-25). This is the final section of treatises by Indian authors. It is a miscellany of 65 texts, among which the most important is this very treatise, which appears in two translations: #1666 *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda-śāstra* (大乘起信論), tr. Paramārtha 真諦 (500-569), and the following number #1667, which is the second translation of the treatise, the one by Śikṣānanda.

The contents of the text have traditionally been summarized as a discourse on „One Mind, Two Aspects, Three Greatnesses, Four Faiths, and Five Practices.” The treatise’s key concern is the discussion of an ultimate reality, referred to as „suchness” or „thusness.” The text examines this concept in relationship to what it refers to as the “two aspects” of the „one mind” („the transcendental and the phenomenal, the universal and the particular, the infinite and the finite, the static and the dynamic, the sacred and the profane, the Absolute and the relative, and so forth. The Absolute order, therefore, does not exist apart from the relative order; rather, they differ epistemologically but not ontologically” (Hakeda, 2006: 8)), which are mutually inclusive and embrace all things.

The treatise also elaborates upon earlier Indian Buddhist notions of *tathagatagarba*, and the idea that one is „already” or primordially awakened, initiating a new discourse on the intrinsic possibility for all beings to reach or to return to the original enlightenment, which had enormous consequences for the development of East Asian Buddhist soteriology.

3. Ashvaghosha

Treatise on the Mahayana Awakening of Faith is a highly influential text in the history of East Asian Buddhism. In fact, East Asian Buddhists used to read it and worshipped it as an original work by the poet and philosopher Ashvaghosha, who was worshipped in China as a salvific figure and a bodhisattva.

After the initial incredulity towards the treatise and its listing in a catalogue of canonical texts in 594 AD as a text of „dubious” origin, the highly authoritative catalogue of texts related to Buddhist teachings composed in 730 AD, declared it a legitimate translation of an Indian original, thus guaranteeing its entrance into the body of accepted canonical texts.

In the last century Japanese, Chinese and European scholars have engaged in heated debate over the question of authorship of the treatise. Some of them claim that the text is a forgery and fully deny its hitherto unquestioned Indian authorship. They make attempts to postulate one or another Chinese Buddhist writer as the true author. Still there are no conclusive evidences found, supporting this or as a matter of fact any other theory. From the evidences within the text itself there is only one thing clear and it's that the treatise was not written by the Ashvaghosha, the earliest dramatic writer in India, and who has been honored as the first Sanskrit poet of the *kavya* (or court poetry style). The Indologists agree that there are only three works which are certainly written by Ashvaghosha, among many others preserved, mainly in Chinese and Tibetan translations, that bear his name. These are *Buddhacarita* (Life of Buddha); *Saundarananda* (Nanda the Fair) (classical Sanskrit epics); and *Sariputra-prakarana* (Play on Sariputra; drama). In all of them there is not a single trace of Mahayana thought – they deal only with the beliefs and concepts found in the Theravada branch of Buddhism. So this treatise, dominated by Mahayana doctrines that did not appear until a few centuries after the time of Ashvaghosha, could not have been written by him. Despite that, the question remains whether the text was written by someone else and then attributed to the great Indian poet as an act of piety, or whether it was written by some other man with the name of Ashvaghosha (Hakeda, 2006:2-3).

4. Fazang

The text was highly appreciated even before being canonized. The most influential commentary, regarded as the definitive medieval one, was written by Fazang (643-712), the third patriarch and the greatest systematizer of the Huayan school of Buddhism. He not only accepts the text as a genuine work of Ashvaghosha, but also assigns it a key role in his own doctrinal teaching. After that, the scholars of the branches of Huayan schools in China, Korea, and Japan have produced many works dealing with the text and with Fazang’s interpretation of it. Of course, Fazang wasn't the only one inspired by the treatise. In fact, there are about 173 surviving commentaries on it. Other high appreciation of the treatise is the one by Zongmi (780–841), the fifth patriarch of the Huayan school, who also wrote a commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*. He went even further and used the doctrines found in it as a foundation in his endeavor to synthesize the three religions of China (Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism) in his essay entitled “Yuanrenlun” (“Essential Nature of Man”) (Hakeda, 2006: 6).

The new apocrypha were composed for various purposes and some of them, like this one, even served as a foundation for the creation of entirely original forms of East Asian Bud-

dhism. In the introduction of the above-mentioned commentary of Fazang, he classifies the Indian Buddhism under four categories:

1. Hinayana;
2. Mahayana;
3. Yogacara;
4. Tathagata-garbha.

Some of the most important works, listed as basic and belonging to the last category, are *Lankavatara Sutra*, *Ratnagotra-sastra* and the Awakening of Faith. As Yoshito Hakeda says, “From the point of view of the history of Buddhist thought, the Awakening of Faith may be regarded as representing the highest point in the development of the *Tathagata-garbha* concept in Mahayana Buddhism.” (Hakeda, 2006: 9).

As it is further written in the Introduction of Yoshito Hakeda’s masterful translation of the treatise, *Awakening of Faith* „is essentially a religious work, a map drawn by a man of unshakable faith, which will guide the believer to the peak of understanding. But the map and the peak are only provisional symbols, skillful and expedient ways employed to bring men to enlightenment. The text and all the arguments in it exist not for their own sake but for the sake of this objective alone.” Also: “Unless some new historical evidence comes to light, we will probably never know who the author of the Awakening of Faith actually was.”

5. The treatise in the history of Buddhism

Despite that, as Charles Muller had expressed, the *Awakening of Faith* and some other important indigenous works have become, in the history of East Asian Buddhism, far more than just part of the canon expressing the acceptable Buddhist doctrine.

Rather, they played a vital role in the dynamic process of transformation undergone by Buddhism during its six or seven century long course of changing from an imported ideology into a thoroughly sinified native tradition.

Although they were written ostensibly for the purpose of re-expressing Indian ideas in a more East Asian framework, they ended up becoming the vehicles for the expression of new East Asian interpretations of Buddhism, a religion which had been in the process of digestion by the most brilliant East Asian minds for several centuries.

For this reason, we might say that these texts are „more than canonical,” in view of their seminal role in bringing about the acceptance and transformation of Buddhism (Muller, 1998: 69-70).

And so, this act of „closing the eyes” might actually in its essence be understood and result in opening the mind for the possibilities and the potential of Buddhism in China, if properly presented.

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文学与诗学

Поэзия и литература



Poetry and Literature



Early Travelogues of China in Serbian Literature

Peng Yuchao

Abstract

China has always been an “exotic, mysterious and unique” destination in Western travel writing. Since the 18th century, more and more Serbian travelers from different backgrounds visited China for various purposes. Some of them kept their diaries and travelogues about China. This paper looks at a number of Serbian writers who have travelled to China between 1725 and 1940, and analyzes how these writers experienced and described the country and its people. However, instead of a synchronic study of history, this research focuses on a selection of different respects of their encounters in China during that period.

Keywords: literature, travelouge, China, Serbia, cultural relation, travel writing

As we know, travel writing is an important literary genre because of its functions. Firstly, its informative substance provided readership with tremendous information about the „unknown sites” Secondly, its enjoyable narrative and aesthetic potential had helped it become a prestigious genre by mid-twentieth century.

China has always been an interesting theme not only for European but also for Western literature. Take travelogue as an example, since the 14th century, Marco Polo and his travelogue have generated various forms of representation of China. For western readers, China has always been characterized as an „exotic, mysterious, unique” destination. This was China’s main image in western literature. When it came to the 19th century, more westerners came to China on a colonial background and their travelogues served this background. This is the reason why some of the discourse about China and Chinese people was heterogeneous and with obvious colonial color, which unintentionally reinforced the stereotypes about China and Chinese people. But is this also the case for Chinese travelogue in Serbian literature? This is the question that this paper is trying to answer.

To answer this question, this paper looks at a number of Serbian writers who travelled to China between 1725 and 1940, and analyzes how these people experienced and described the country and its people. However, instead of a synchronic study of history, this research focuses on a selection of different respects of their encounters in China during that period. In 2006, Prof. Radosav Pušić of University in Belgrade published a book called *Podnebesko carstvo (Empire under heaven)*¹, which is an anthology of the most important Serbian travel writings about China in the period 1725-1940. This book opened a door to the study of Chinese travelogue in Serbian literature.

¹ See Pušić, 2006.

The background encounters

1) Russian diplomacy in the 18th century

There had been little direct contact between Serbia and China before the 18th century. According to the existent historical materials, the first Serbian that stepped in China was Sava Vladislavić, who stayed in China as a diplomat of the Russian Empire from 1725 to 1728. His main achievement was the conclusion of the Treaty of Kyakhta, which was the document that defined the border between Russia and China for more than a hundred years.

After returning to Russia, he finished a book called *Tajna informacija o snazi i stanju kineske države (The secret information of the power and the status of Chinese Empire)*² in 1730. This book contained basic information of China, information of the country’s power, traditions and recommended strategies against China. It was regarded as one of the most important reports about China in that period. The author has expressed a preference to the military issues (Dučić, 2004: 401), thinking of China as an imaginary enemy to Russian power. This was the result of a diplomatic mission, therefore it was full of cultural misunderstandings (Ewertowski, 2014: 75). For example, Sava Vladislavić primary considered Chinese people as barbarians, which was then rooted in the ideologies of his time. However, he valued the historical heritage of the Chinese nation and admitted the achievements of that civilization.

2) European colonialism in the 19th century

After Sava Vladislavić, the next Serbian writer who described China was Milan Jovanović. He worked as a doctor on a steamer ship that belonged to the Austrian Lloyd company in the 1870’s and 1880’s. By using this opportunity, he travelled through the Mediterranean to the Middle East, India and then China.

By the time of his arrival, European colonialism was approaching its peak, the Chinese Empire was defeated by the British in the Opium wars. Jovanović wrote a book about his travel, called *Tamo amo po istoku (Here and there in the East)*³, which contained travelogues about Hong Kong and Taiwan.

3) The First world war in the 20th century

The third occasion of encounter was the First world war. Hundreds of thousands Yugoslav war volunteers were gathered in Russia, they traveled across Russia by railway and reached the east coast of Russia and China, as to take the ships that sail across the oceans to return to the war front in Salonika, to fight for their countries and people. The whole journey took them at least half a year. During this patriotic action and epic march, the soldier travelers had kept war diaries and published them after the war.

This is how a wave of Chinese travelogues appeared in Serbian literature. The most representative ones are: *Upomena iz Sibira (Memories from Siberia)*⁴ by Jovan Milanković, *Putničke bilješke jugoslovenskog ratnog dobrovoljca (Travel notes of Yugoslav war volunteers)*⁵ by Croatian writer Slavko Diklić, *Moje ratne beleške i slike (My war notes and pictures)*⁶ by Dr. Vladimir Stanojević, *Ka pobedi*

² See Vladislavić, 2011. The original version was in Russian, this work was later translated and edited by the Serbian historian Vladimir Davidović.

³ See Jovanović, 1895.

⁴ See Milanković, 1926.

⁵ See Diklić, 1932.

⁶ See Stanojević, 1934.

(*Towards victory*)⁷ by Aleksandar Đurić, *Iz žutog carstva (From the Yellow Kingdom)*⁸ by Ozren Subotić and *Kroz Kinu (Across China)*⁹ by Milutin Velimirović.

The Encounter with the Chinese Cities

There are many places of China mentioned in the travelogues, like Harbin, Shenyang, Dalian, Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Taiwan and so on. For the writers, the encounter with the Chinese cities was never a boring theme. In this paper, the cities of Harbin and Hong Kong are taken as examples, representing Northern and Southern China respectively.

1) Harbin

Because of the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway¹⁰, Harbin became an important railroad hub of the Northeast China Region. This was the transfer center that the Yugoslav war volunteers had to pass. Some of them had to spend days or weeks or even months in Harbin, waiting for the next train to the ports. Staying in Harbin, the Volunteer soldiers had the chance to experience the modern life of China. The first impressions from that city included the „large scale train station” (Stanojević, 1934; Pušić, 2006: 117), the tidy urban planning” (Đurić, 1938; Pušić, 2006: 120) and the „prosperous economic atmosphere” (Ibid.).

Serbian writers also wrote about their activities in Harbin. Diklić wrote about having lunch in a restaurant, where he noticed the mixed population of the city: Chinese(Han) people kept a long braid, Manchu People wore colorful ethnic clothes, Russians wore shirts, and Japanese wore European suits (Diklić, 1932; Pušić, 2006: 70).

After the lunch, he went for a day tour of Harbin by taking a rickshaw. Interestingly, Diklić spent more words writing about the rickshaw than the tour. He felt huge compassion for the wheelman who was „in grave poverty and doing the job of animals” (Diklić, 1932; Pušić, 2006: 73). In several travelogues, writers expressed doubt and disagreement about the existence of the rickshaw. Milan Jovanović also wrote: „this is impossible in Europe because nobody is willing to do the animals’ labor for another person” (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 46).

Aleksandar Đurić wrote about the Yugoslav Society in Harbin. He said, “it is amazing that there is a Yugoslav Society in Harbin. Our fellow citizens are contractors, engineers and constructors here. Many of them came here before a long time and took part in the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Some of them have been in China for so many years that they forgot our mother language. Some of them are young, honestly running their lives. I am so thrilled to see my people here. They are all surprised to see us too. Who would ever imagine this could happen: seeing hundreds of fellows at a faraway place?” (Đurić, 1938; Pušić, 2006: 121).

2) Hong Kong

As another culture interchange center of China, Hong Kong presented a different character. Milutin Velimirović has written: „it is the same country though, it seems to me that I’ve come to another world. The people look totally different, speak totally different language. The south of China is totally different from the north” (Velimirović, 1930; Pušić, 2006: 167).

⁷ See Đurić, 1938.

⁸ See Subotić, 1921.

⁹ See Velimirović, 1930.

¹⁰ The railway, which the Russian Empire had financed, was completed in 1903. It was located at the junction of a "T-style" mainline system.

The mixed nature of the city can be easily seen in its urban planning. Jovanović said, „the city of Hong Kong was divided into two zones: the east one was the European Zone, while the west one was the Chinese zone” (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 48).

If the train station was the heart of Harbin, then the harbor had to be the heart of Hong Kong. The constant „heartbeat” kept the whole city alive and awake. The harbor was busy with ship loading and unloading all day and all night. The night scene of Hong Kong was amazing. Jovanović said Hong Kong was a city that never slept: „no matter which season it is, the restaurants in Hong Kong are never closed, because they need to feed the people who work day and night. When it is dark, the shops will turn on their neon lights and lanterns. The lights composite a splendid night view of Hong Kong” (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 46). This is the signature scenery of Hong Kong even today.

The encounter with Chinese people

In travelogues, writers always take notes of the local people, their manner, their habits and their customs. By observing the everyday life of local people, writers can come to better understanding of their mentality and the nature of the society.

1) Physical appearance

The first observation is always the physical appearance.

Velimirović took the advantage of traveling by train. By observing people from different classes of the train, he observed people from different classes of the society. He mentioned that Chinese men had braids. Some rich old men wore silk suits and had long nails. Long nails were symbols of richness and wisdom. It was a sign that they did not need to work with hands. But by the time of their arrival, this old custom was fading (Velimirović, 1930; Pušić, 2006: 136).

Jovanović encountered some Chinese businessmen who „have shiny black braids, wear nice clothes and leather shoes. Every one of them speaks English and behaves like westerners” (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 42).

Jovanović encountered some Chinese businessmen who “have shiny black braids, wear nice clothes and leather shoes. Every one of them speaks English and behaves like westerners” (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 42).

The appearance of Chinese people was exactly a symbol of China in that time: an integration of Chinese tradition and western influence.

2) Working ability

According to Serbian writers, the strongest impression they had about Chinese people was that they were extremely hardworking. It could be particularly seen on Chinese women. „The Chinese women begin working in the early morning. Instead of men, they paddle their boats between the shore and the big ships as to help loading and unloading. I tried very hard not to be surprised while witnessing their strength...They live in the boats with their family, manage to keep their living area tidy and clean...Women are absolutely brilliant because they can take care of the kids, meanwhile they have every single piece of work done” (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 41).

Milanković attended a dinner where he met the Chinese waiters: „every movement of the Chinese waiters is quick, quiet and precise, almost like automatic” (Milanković, 1926; Pušić 2006: 63).

According to Milutin Velimirović, the Great Wall of China was an example of the determination in work of the Chinese people: „Only Chinese workers’ power and patience can see this

great project through and maintain it with consciousness. The wall and the towers have been standing here for more than two thousand years, yet they look as new as if they were built last year" (Velimirović, 1930; Pušić, 2006: 139).

Serbian writers explained to their audience that strength, skills, patience, determination and love in work, were the elements that made Chinese people the greatest workers of the world. While understanding Chinese history, Serbian travelers emphasized that the reasons for the civilizational achievements of the Chinese were their hard-working nature and great skills.

3) Lifestyle

Silk and tea have always stood as labels of China. If silk can be considered a symbol of Chinese work, then tea must be a symbol of the Chinese living style. Jovanović said, „Every Chinese family has a tea set. How many family members there are, then how many tea cups. After meal, the family will sit together, make a pot of good tea and enjoy it with the silence and sincere that only exist in the East" (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 35). Chinese people paid strong attention to family life, Jovanović wrote that „a Chinese family would always stick together and help each other." (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 33).

Chinese people's calm mentality maybe comes from tea, but maybe comes from food as well. More importantly, while thinking deeper, Jovanović thought that Chinese tended to listen to Confucius' advise to be moderate and avoided strong food and drinks, so that there was no drunkenness, nor excess.

About Chinese people's mentality, Diklić has made a conclusion at the end of his travelogue: „Chinese people are like all other people in the East. They are curious about foreigners. But they are always cautious, to avoid being rude, being boring or offensive. Everyone whoever understands the rules of social and economic situation of China, will not detect cunning and servility from the unpredictable behavior of the Chinese people. Instead, you will appreciate the ancient aesthetic tradition of theirs. This is compatible with their Confucian culture. Confucianism is a study of moral ethics, which requires people to first know themselves before knowing other things" (Diklić, 1932; Pušić, 2006: 76).

The encounter with the Chinese social and cultural phenomena

After getting into Chinese cities and understanding Chinese people, the Serbian writers automatically dug deeper into the Chinese cultural and social phenomena.

1) Manners and decency

First of all, the long history has created a long-term thinking system in the Chinese mentality, whose expression is „manners and decency". Velimirović has discovered that they play an important role in the Chinese culture. He said, „There are about 2000 rules, but none of them is easy to notice, they just come as daily habits" (Velimirović, 1930; Pušić, 2006: 143). The underlying cause of manners is respect.

Velimirović also said that „while Chinese talk to you, they always say nice and high words about you and say ugly words about himself. This is their way of being modest" (Ibid.).

Chinese people pay very much attention to mutual respect, but in the first place, self-respect. „If you do something to make them lose face, they will have no choice but to kill themselves" (Velimirović, 1930; Pušić, 2006: 144). Obviously, this is a metaphor the writer used to explain how much Chinese people value decency.

2) Concept of life and death

Velimirović realized that „Chinese people are very cold and indifferent to death. They all live for a decent death. All Chinese attach grave importance to funerals. It is as important as to have descendants. Because descendants are the people to hold funerals" (Velimirović, 1930; Pušić, 2006: 146).

But in Mongolia, it is another situation. Ozren Subotić came to China via Mongolia. During that experience, he witnessed the details of the life of Mongolian people, as well as a funeral. He said: „bury, is not the right word. Because they do not bury the dead body in the ground. Instead, they feed the body to dogs and pigs. If the dogs and pigs are not interested to eat, it means that this person was very bad when alive. Then, the family would chop the body into small pieces and feed to the animals again. Now, the animals have good appetite" (Subotić, 1921; Pušić, 2006: 87). This writing is full of novelty, it has a potential to enhance imagination. But Subotić had also got his reasoning: „I think the first reason is that the ground being too hard to dig. The second reason is the laziness of Mongolian people. These two reasons make effect together, which makes the funeral full of religious meaning" (Subotić, 1921; Pušić, 2006: 88).

The concept of life and death is usually related to the concept of religion. Serbian writers believed that Chinese people are strong believers, because they found their behaviors full of ritual meanings. But obviously, it is difficult for the travelers to tell how religious Chinese people are. Jovanović wrote that „the Chinese people are very different, they only go to the pagodas when they need inspiration and encouragement. What they are looking for, is the sensual understanding, not the comfort for the soul" (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 37). This may be the reason why it is hard to define whether Chinese are religious or not.

3) The social structures

Milanković has noticed that Chinese society was divided into four categories: scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants. What's more, he pointed out that „the powerful people of the society, governors, officers and intellectuals restrict and cultivate themselves with Confucianism" (Milanković, 1926; Pušić, 2006: 66). He assured that Confucianism is a system of beautiful, pure and noble principles based on code of ethics. In this sense, Confucianism is internally connected with Western philosophy. Confucianism is believed to be the common belief of all social classes.

Among the four categories, Velimirović believed that the merchants were highly respected. Because it took a lot of knowledge to become a merchant in China.

Artisans in China have always won high praise from the Serbian writers. According to their records, the perfection of Chinese crafts can be attributed to the persistent artisan spirit, Jovanović has written: „Chinese people never ask how long it takes to finish one piece of work. They simply devote themselves into it. If they can't manage to finish it today, then they continue tomorrow. If they can't manage to finish it in this life, then their successors will carry on. This continuity of work is the base of the Chinese artisan spirit" (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 49).

Jovanović has made positive comment about the Chinese society by writing: „because there is no caste system in China, like in India, the Chinese society is relatively fair. Every Chinese can become a merchant or an officer through his own effort. In China, the intellectuals are highly respected and working in the government." As to the harsh hierarchical system of China, he also judged it in a positive way: „Such a hierarchy may be stiff, but it guarantees the stability of the state institutions of the country" (Jovanović, 1895; Pušić, 2006: 46).

Conclusions

After presenting the early travelogues of China by Serbian writers, the question that was raised at the beginning could be answered. In the mentioned travel writings, most Serbian writers expressed admiration for the Chinese national character, people's lifestyle, and the greatness of their culture. Even in the background of the particular period of colonialism, instead of colonial arrogance or following Western discourses, Serbian travel writers had very positive views upon China, and chose a positive way of representation. The Serbian writers' ability to appreciate should be regarded.

Secondly, the Chinese travelogues play an important part in the literary relation of Serbia and China. These writings have provided local readers with actual information about China, have enhanced the imagination regarding the Chinese culture, and have shrunk the distance between the two nations.

Last but not least, these travelogues have a very high level of aesthetic potential. They are full of emotions, artistic expressions and imagination. In this way, they answered the expectations of the Serbian literature of that period. From these Chinese travelogues, readers and researchers can observe the transformation of travel writing in Serbian literature. Sava Vladislavić's *Secrect report* was pure information and strategic analysis, Milan Jovanović's *Here and There in the East* was an attempt to change from informative substance to aesthetic appreciation. Ozren Subotić has tried to combine imagination with actual status of China and to compose a semi-fiction story in his *From the Yellow Kingdom*. Rather than a simple travelogue, Milutin Velimirović's *Across China* has even become a dialogue between two cultures. These writers and their works are of great importance, they brought inspiration to the development of Serbian literature.

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Evolution of Yi'an style (易安體): Tradition and Innovation

Hanna Dashchenko

Abstract

This article focuses on the evolution of the writing style of the outstanding Song dynasty poetess Li Qingzhao (李清照, 1084–1155) and its genre specificity, covering her 64 extant ci (詞) in the context of the life events. The analysis of Li Qingzhao's artistic achievements within the poetic tradition of Tang and Song writings and in view of the generic transformation of ci, gives grounds to divide her artistic development into two stages: early stage (1098–1108) – profoundly molded by techniques of traditional Chinese poetry, and mature stage (1109–1155) – less mechanical, more pervasive and genuinely personal. I have identified three peculiar features of her early ci: 1) modification of the classical themes and images used by previous poets; 2) thematic diversity of ci (polemical, glorifying, complimentary and love ci); 3) experiment with poetic devices as well as rhythmic and melodic structure of ci. Her mature period is also characterized by three peculiar features: 1) introducing the new themes in ci; 2) imparting new connotations to the traditional images; 3) expanding the semantic field of sorrow (愁). The analysis of her ci outlines her lyrical self, the essential oneness of her grief and love experience. She introduced the lyric element into conventional ci, creating the lyric with strong personal engagement, revealing her personal troubles as a lonely widow as well as a talented and disillusioned poet. The analysis of Li Qingzhao's poetry manifests that her genre innovations lie in overcoming the limits and conventions of the genre, legitimating the Self of a poet in her distinctive personal style – Yi'an style.

Keywords: Li Qingzhao, ci, lyrical self, genre, theme, images, poetic devices, feelings

The outstanding Chinese poetess Li Qingzhao (李清照, 1084–1155?) occupies a leading place in China's literary and cultural history. However, the evolution of her poetic style – Yi'an ti (易安體) – has never been the subject of comprehensive monographic research and the dearth of studies on her life and poetry outside China is indeed surprising. Although commentators, poets and scholars started to study her works during her lifetime², Li Qingzhao's poetry was not a topic of extended or systematic research until the second half of the 20th century. Modern studies on her writing mostly deal with the reconstruction of her biography by analyzing her ci (Huang, 1974; Chen, 1995; Yu, 1995; Ma, 1996; Zhuge, 2004, etc.) and the peculiarities of the Yi'an style (Chen 2004: 108–112; Mu et al., 2009: 125–129; Xu,

¹ Yi'an style is derived from Li Qingzhao's studio name Yi'an jushi (易安居士). See: Chen, 1995: 37; Chen, 2004: 109; Shi, 2006: 258.

² The collection of Li Qingzhao's ci 《漱玉詞》 was printed and widely circulated during the Southern Song, but it was lost as early as the 14th century (Egan, 2013: 92). Only some of her ci (from 2 to 8) were introduced in poetry anthologies compiled by the late 16th century. Ming editor Chen Yaowen (陳耀文) was the first one to include her 44 ci in his collection 《花草粹編》 (circa 1580). There was an active search of ci and their publication during the Qing. There were about 9,000 ci written to 1540 different tunes in 《歷代詩餘》 (1707) compiled by Shen Zhanyuan (沈展垣) and Li Qingzhao was introduced by 38 ci. In 1888 Wang Pengyun (王鵬運) tried to reconstruct Li Qingzhao's collection, where he presented her 57 ci (Egan, 2013: 98). Zhao Wangli (趙萬里) included 60 ci written by her in his anthology 《校輯宋金元人詞》 (1931). Tang Guizhang's (唐圭璋) anthology 《全宋詞》 (1940) is the greatest one as it presents more than 21,000 Song ci with 47 ci written by Li Qingzhao and 26 ci attributed to her. The first individual collection of Li Qingzhao's ci titled 《漱玉集》 was compiled by Li Wenqi (李文椅) in 1927 with 78 ci.

1985: 69–74; Xiang, 2006: 98 – 100; Gao, 2012: 36–38; Zhou, 2002: 91–95, etc.). Some scholars use a biographical approach to study her poetry (Wang, 1989; Hsu, 1994; Knapp, 1992; Peterson, 2000; Pannam, 2009; Djao, 2010, etc.) or make an emphasis on the lyrical feminine voice of her *ci* (Idema et al., 2004; Samei, 2004, etc.). But the empirical material for these researches is limited to 2 or 3 *ci* not allowing to speak about the representativeness of the findings. The very process in which Li Qingzhao's *ci* turned into something unique, extraordinary and beyond time as well as her significant contribution to the development of Chinese lyric poetry have not been given meaningful and thorough consideration.

All the mentioned studies have two common disadvantages: 1) the lack of historical and literary context while analyzing Li Qingzhao's writings and 2) the avoidance of issues relating to genre peculiarities of her *ci*. Thus the purpose of this article is to try to fill this gap. It will allow to make some general theoretical observations on the development of *ci* poetry in medieval Chinese literature as well as to explore Li Qingzhao's creative evolution.

I have divided 64 *ci* written or attributed to Li Qingzhao³ into three groups („Early *ci* (1098–1108)“, „Mature *ci* (1109–1155)“ and „Doubtful *ci*“⁴) according to the information given in four reliable collections of her writings (Chen, 2003; Xu, 2005; Xu, 2009 and Ke, 2009). The demarcation line is 1108. It is the year when Li Qingzhao wrote her „Essay on *ci*“ (《詞論》), the first theoretical treatise in Chinese literary tradition dedicated to the genre *ci*. In this work she tried to justify that *ci* is a genre of poetry by identifying the same traits with official poetry *shi*. She also determined a core element of the genre and opposed it to the other element identifying the similar genre, as well as discovered its unique historical past⁵. Thus, this treatise is an important milestone in the development of the Li Qingzhao's writing style dividing her works into two periods: the early period marked by following the tradition in the search for her own style, and the mature one dealing with the desire to legitimize *ci* in the literary tradition.

The first signs of Yi'an style (musicality, expressivity, detailed descriptions, colloquial expressions, etc.) can be seen in Li Qingzhao's early *ci*. Unfortunately, the scholars do not analyze the poetics and semantics of this phenomenon; rather, they address only general remarks to her *ci* such as „charming“, „lively“, „refreshing“, „with simplicity and striking vividness“, etc. and depict her as a representative poet of the „delicate and restrained“ (婉約) style of poetry as opposed to the “heroic abandon” style (豪放) represented by Su Shi (蘇軾, 1036–1101) and Xin Qiji (辛棄疾, 1140–1207).

During this period Li Qingzhao relied on the traditional Chinese poetry (Shijing and Tang poetry) while writing her *shi* and *ci*. There are three peculiar features of her early *ci*: 1) modification of the classical themes and images used by previous poets; 2) thematic diversity of *ci* (polemical, glorifying, complimentary and love *ci*); 3) experiment with poetic devices as well as rhythmic and melodic structure of *ci*. She began to master the „poetics of tradition“ and her lyric is largely traditional and based on a system of conventional value.

The first dominant feature of Li Qingzhao's early *ci* is modifying classical images. For

example, in *ci* to the tunes 《如夢令。昨夜雨疏風驟》 and 《點絳脣。蹴罷秋千》 she reinterpreted two *shi* written by the Tang dynasty poet Han Wo (韓偓, 842 – 923). In the first *ci* she adopted the conventional theme of springtime lament as a basis for her *ci*: a young lady wakes up in the morning and begins to take interest in a haitang blossom (海棠花) after a rainy night. But Li Qingzhao transformed this story both on the compositional and the stylistic level by introducing a dialogue between this lady and the servant maid where the former is depicted as a very sensitive person to the fleeting time and the latter is described as a careless and indifferent one. Using such poetic device as parallelism (the normative rule and the distinctive feature of *shi*) she not only created the atmosphere of the real life in this *ci*, but also emphasized the presence of the lyrical persona. In the second *ci* Li Qingzhao used Han Wo's idea (a woman on a swing sees a visitor entering the house) but she reinterpreted it creating the brand new image: from an uninhibited, carefree and frankly flirtatious woman pictured in Han Wo's *shi* the lyrical persona turns into a young shy girl. This image is emotionally more complex: on the one hand, the girl is playful and carefree, but, on the other hand, she is *shy*, confused and curious. This fresh and unusual image of youth as well as the description of the first-time feeling of love is in sharp contrast to the imitative *ci* written by Li Qingzhao's male contemporaries (Yan Shu, Yan Jidao, Qin Guan, etc.), who tried to describe the feelings in female voice according to the established pattern. She did not compose her *ci* to entertain men as it was typical for Chinese song culture before. She fundamentally revised the function of *ci* by expanding its thematic and stylistic range.

The second distinctive feature of Li Qingzhao's early *ci* is their thematic diversity and introducing the conventional themes from a new perspective (e.g. the love theme from the woman's point of view). Love *ci* written by male poets where they described the feelings of women experienced in love were highly appreciated both by their contemporaries and modern scholars, while the sincerity and „innocence“ of love feelings in Li Qingzhao's *ci* were severely criticized as they were considered by critics as something unworthy of her attention (Ke, 2009: 94; Wang, 1989: 43; Rexroth, 1979: 97) because she was an aristocratic woman but not just a singer from entertainment quarters (Wang, 2009: 174; Rexroth, 1979: 97). She challenged the traditional practices of restrained description of women's feelings and wrote love *ci* with erotic symbolism paving the way to a new attitude to describing love feelings in *ci* (e.g. her *ci* to the tune 《浣溪沙。繡面芙蓉一笑開》, 《醜奴兒》, 《減字木蘭花》, etc.).

In her early *ci* we can see some poetic devices that later became the distinctive features of Yi-an style, for example, the detailed descriptions of different objects around the lyrical persona as well as the special attention to the slightest nuances of feelings (e.g. her *ci* to the tunes 《怨王孫。帝里春晚》, 《浣溪沙。莫許盃深琥珀濃》, 《一剪梅》, 《滿庭芳》, etc.). Allusions (故實) and literary quotations (典故) in her early *ci* are rather an honour to tradition (e.g. her *ci* to the tunes 《一剪梅》, 《滿庭芳》, 《慶清朝》, 《多麗》, etc.). Later they became individual and unique, thus, connecting her *ci* to an older literary tradition and emphasizing the new set of semantic elements in the genre. She also gradually introduced colloquial words and expressions into *ci*, which was criticized or even denounced by her contemporaries (e.g. Huang Tingjian) who supported the idea of poetry revival through the „return to

³ The problem of attribution was thoroughly studied in Egan 2013: 91–105.

⁴ There are 24 *ci* in „Early *ci* (1098–1108)“ and 31 *ci* in „Mature *ci* (1109–1155)“. I separated 9 *ci* in „Doubtful *ci*“ because the date of their writing is under question or is not mentioned in these collections at all.

⁵ For the detailed analysis and the commentaries on Li Qingzhao's „Essay on *ci*“ see Dashchenko, 2016.

antiquity". It is especially evident if we look at her *ci* still firmly associated with the classical tradition of depicting the world of human feelings.

During this period Li Qingzhao not only mastered the themes, images and devices used by previous poets and her contemporaries, but also started to experiment with the rhythmic and melodic structure of *ci*, expanding prosodic norms of this genre. She made some modifications in almost all *cipu* (詞譜) such as using characters with different tone (e.g. ping instead of ze), changing the number of rhymes in *ci* or the number of characters in the lines, etc. Thus, on the one hand, Li Qingzhao reinterpreted the traditional themes and images; on the other hand, she tried to create her own style.

Li Qingzhao's mature period is characterized by three peculiar features: 1) introducing the new themes in *ci*; 2) imparting new connotations to the traditional images; 3) expanding the semantic field of sorrow (愁). Unlike early *ci* overloaded with different allusions and allegories, with a conventional female persona and traditional themes, Li Qingzhao's mature *ci* are less mechanical, more pervasive and genuinely personal. They introduce her lyrical self (the „I" of the poetess) in various life situations (the eve of the Lantern Festival, enjoying the stunning autumn view outside the window, longing for the homeland, etc.) and the difference between the author and the lyrical persona is almost imperceptible. Everything is permeated with longing for her beloved husband in *ci* to the tunes 《武陵春》, 《轉調滿庭芳》, 《鷓鴣天》, 《孤雁兒》, 《好事近》, etc.: „吹簫人去玉樓空, 腸斷與誰同倚?" or “物是人非事事休” or “如今也, 不成懷抱, 得似舊時那?”.

The central theme of her mature *ci* is emotional experience: it is a widow yearning for her deceased husband, an expat forced out of her homeland or an ageing woman living on happy memories of the past. But unlike the previous Tang or Song male and female poets Li Qingzhao never used the image of „a sorrowful abandoned woman" and the motive of „female spring melancholy" (Liu Yong, Zhang Xian, Yan Shu, Ou Yangxiu, Du Anshi, Wei Wan, Zhu Shuzhen, etc.). She introduced a new theme for *ci* genre – an expat longing for her homeland, projecting her physical self of a poet, realizing the limits of the poetic language. In this respect her lyric *ci* looks like *shi* written by male authors who touched upon such themes as nostalgia, praise for the past, living in solitude, etc. After the Jin invasion in 1127 and her flight to the south, her poetry cannot be reduced just to expressing love feelings, as the theme of longing for her homeland permeated her poetry (e.g. 《蝶戀花。永夜慇懃歡意少》, 《菩薩蠻。風柔日薄春猶早》, 《鷓鴣天。寒日蕭蕭上鎖窗》, 《清平樂》, etc.).

She gave a personal dimension to this theme and matched it to the country's common destiny, revealing the path to spiritual rebirth. It can hardly be disputed that she introduced the lyric element into conventional *ci*, creating the lyric with strong personal engagement, revealing her personal troubles as a lonely widow as well as a talented and disillusioned poet far from her home and family. For example, in *ci* to the tune 《添字采桑子》, Li Qingzhao imparted personal connotations to the famous image of heavy rain falling on a tree used by Tang dynasty (Bo Juyi, Wen Tingyun) and Song dynasty (Moqi Yong) poets. Her feelings (sadness, melancholy and longing for her homeland) correspond to the nature (incessant rain with strong wind tearing the banana leaves): „傷心枕上三更雨, 點滴霖霖。點滴霖

霖, 愁損北人、不慣起來聽!" The repetition of the line intensifies the visual and sound effect and makes the picture very expressive. The image of sad memories reflects the feelings of inconsolable sorrow and longing for the homeland she would never see again. The specific feature of lyricism in this *ci* is in special restraint where the personal feelings are veiled by calm and picturesque images.

Li Qingzhao introduced another new theme for *ci* genre – ageing and reconciliation with destiny – in *ci* dated back to the last years of her life. Previous poets and her contemporaries (e.g. Wei Wan) associated old age in their *ci* with the image of an abandoned woman who lost the charm and freshness of youth. But Li Qingzhao perceived the old age not as touching complaints against old age but as a time for writing and creation (e.g. *ci* to the tunes 《臨江仙》, 《念奴嬌》, 《攤破浣溪沙》, 《漁家傲》, etc.). The lyrical self feels ageing as a brand new stage of life when she comprehends herself as a poet seeking satisfaction in poetry. The only worry is that she cannot do everything she has planned. It is not the image of an old-aged grieving woman, but the image of the poetess with unrealized creative potential: „感月吟風多少事, 如今老去無成" or „我報路長嗟日暮, 學詩漫有驚人句". Li Qingzhao explicitly spoke about herself as a poetess often using the personal pronoun I (我), thus, violating the rule of ancient poetry (Lisevich, 2010: 153). She described her desire to escape from conventions and different limits, to overcome all the obstacles and soar in her *ci* as free as the mythical giant bird Peng: „九萬里風鵬正舉, 風休住, 蓬舟吹取三山去". It is a completely unexpected and a brand new theme for medieval Chinese women's poetry.

In *ci* to the tune 《聲聲慢》, Li Qingzhao touched upon the problem she worried about as a poet – the limits of language and the lack of a proper word expressing her complex feelings. She used a new artistic device as a conscious rejection of existing poetic rules to express feelings (something like „minus-device" if we use Yuri Lotman's terms). There is a picture of her feelings and emotions where she summed up everything she saw, heard or felt, but all these things were gradually disappearing: as the days passed, the weather became colder; there was no wine left; the wild goose vanished into the air; the dead petals of the chrysanthemum fell to the ground and spun away in a gust of wind; the strength failed her; the daylight disappeared and the dark of the twilight came. She listed the traditional Chinese images and symbols used by poets to convey sorrow and heartfelt anguish (wutong, wild goose and chrysanthemum), and then, so to speak, crossed them out of her feelings and poetic language. Li Qingzhao took the extremely important step in depicting the person's inner world, although the building blocks for it (but with a minus sign) are the traditional poetic imagery. The last two lines (這次第, 怎一個愁字了得!) reveal an image of a poetess with unrealized creative potential.

However, introducing the new themes to *ci* Li Qingzhao did not abandon the intimate, lyrical style of her poetry: the combination of love and sorrow remains dominant and recurring theme of her mature *ci*. She transformed the traditional images with strong symbolic meaning creating new connotations. For example, in *ci* to the tune 《浪淘沙。簾外五更風》 she used the image of a flying wild goose which is a recurring theme in Chinese poetry. Being a traditional image for homesickness and associated with separation and exile, it was

used as early as in the Shijing. It also means „a messenger” because it is considered to be like a postman delivering the letters or news to people who are very far from each other. Tang poets (Wei Chengqing, Meng Haoran, Li Bai, Du Fu, Wei Yingwu, etc.) used this image to convey the feelings of loneliness, nostalgia, melancholy or grief for the beloved one. But Li Qingzhao in this *ci* transformed its meaning: it becomes a symbol of being free from sorrow and pain. In *ci* to the tune 《醉花陰》 she added a new connotation to the image of chrysanthemum, a traditional symbol of long life, endurance, perseverance and spiritual purity: in her *ci* it becomes a symbol of subtlety and fragility while facing with sadness and sorrow.

Another distinctive feature of Li Qingzhao’s mature *ci* is expanding the semantic field of sorrow giving it a personal intimate meaning. In her *ci* sorrow is described as something deep (濃愁), endless (閒愁) or fresh (新愁); it can be of great quantity (許多愁) and it can solidify (愁凝); sorrow can be as long as a thousand threads (愁千縷) or it can linger all day long (愁永晝); sorrow makes a person suffer (愁損). In most cases the poetess did not mention the reason of the sorrow or the person this emotion is usually connected with. It is rather unexpected because Li Qingzhao’s *ci* traditionally are considered as autobiographical ones (Li, 2012: 43; Egan, 2013: 105–109; Idema, 2004: 238), and the emotions expressed in them (e.g. sorrow) are connected with her beloved husband (Egan, 2013: 108–109; Djao, 2010: 106–108; Chen, 2003: 50–51; Xu, 2005: 56–57). The weakness of this widespread opinion can be explained by gender stereotypes according to which woman can feel sorrow only for her beloved one. Thus it could be supposed that using the character 愁, Li Qingzhao expressed her existential sorrow generated by the inability to realize her personal potential in the medieval patriarchal society (see: Dashchenko, 2013: 72–86).

Li Qingzhao’s genre innovation is in overcoming the limits of genre themes. Using different triggers of sorrow, she poetically explored this feeling, its depth and personal nuances. She also understood the limits of using the traditional images in *ci* and tried to find the other ways to express her emotions. This emphasis on personal feelings as well as on the instability and the transience of human happiness expressed with unprecedented depth and sincerity, definitely makes her *ci* stand out from the conventional *ci* about woman’s loneliness written by Tang and Song poetesses (Wen Wan, Wei Wan, Zhu Shuzhen).

Concluding remarks. In this article I have examined the evolution of Li Qingzhao’s writing style by analyzing her 64 extant *ci*. Having distinguished her early and mature *ci*, I identified their peculiar features: the early period is marked by following the tradition in the search for her own style (e.g. the modification of the classical themes and images used by previous poets; experimenting with poetic devices as well as rhythmic and melodic structure of *ci*, etc.), and the mature period is highlighted by the desire to legitimize *ci* in the literary tradition (e.g. introducing the new themes in *ci*, imparting new connotations to the traditional images, etc.). The analysis of Li Qingzhao’s *ci* manifests that her genre innovations lie in overcoming the limits and conventions of the genre, legitimating the Self of a poet in her distinctive personal style – *Yi’an* style.

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Hitar Petar on the Silk Road

Svetlana Stoicheva

Abstract

The theme of the cunning Hitar Petar on the Silk Road is not the result of a root analysis of Bulgarian fairytales, but rather resulted from an analysis of its typological similarities to the tales of the Uygur character, Afenti. It's about overlapping storylines. Afenti (Ependi, Efendi), who struck me years ago, is the name of the 'smart aleck' in China and in the whole Middle Asian. The Middle Asian tales of this trickster reached the Bulgarian lands and perhaps the Bulgarian national sense of humor. The Bulgarian character Hitar Petar appears to be concentric to an Asian circle of stories. Is this proximity by accident? A comparative cultural study would answer this question.

Keywords: Hitar Petar, Afenti, Nastradin Hodja, trickster

It is strange that in the Far East there exists a „cousin” of the Bulgarian character Hityr Petyr, whom we accept as deeply connected with the Bulgarian ethnic culture. The roots of a culture, figuratively speaking, are always richer than its crown, crossing the national borders: in this case, first in relation to neighboring Turkey and then – further away to China. The connection of Hityr Petyr with the Turkish character Nasreddin (pronounced *Nastradin* in Bulgarian) Hodja is well known and researched¹, but we are interested in other connections reaching far beyond the Turkish/Bulgarian scope. The similarities between Uygur stories (anecdotes, tales and wise answers) and the stories of Hityr Petyr are more than surprising. Their storylines overlap². Even if the idea of direct contact between the Bulgarian and all Middle Asian cultures on this topic is very appealing, this contact could not have happened without the mediator's role of Turkish character.

Afenti is from the Uygur ethnicity, which settled into the contemporary Northwest Xinjiang province of the People's Republic of China. It is good to remember that one of the names of the Proto-Bulgarian tribes was Unogunduri³, meaning that they were from the same or similar ethnic group as the contemporary Uyghur – the last living 'guri'. On the other hand, contemporary Turks moved centuries ago to Asia Minor from the same part of the world in which the Uyghur live now. The Uyghur language is an ancient Turkish language, and the two nations understand each other even today.

Afenti, (with stress on the first syllable) is the Chinese pronunciation of 'Efendi', the Arabic word used among Turks as a title of respect among men. The Uyghur pronunciation of 'Efendi' is 'Ependi' because in Uyghur language the phoneme 'f' is absent and so it is substi

¹ The most comprehensive research of the anecdotes about Nastradin Hodja and their connection to the Hityr Petyr stories was done by Velichko Valchev, see Valchev, 1975.

² As a lecturer of Bulgarian Language and Culture in the Beijing Foreign Studies University, I was shocked when I read one short story of Hityr Petyr to my Chinese students and they responded in unison, „...we know this story from primary school. This is our Afenti!”

³ See Zlatarski, 1970: 137.

tuted with 'p'⁴. Actually Afenti (Ependi) is the short name of 'Nasreddin Ependi', the Uygur pronunciation of Nastradin Hodja. 'Efendi' however is the name for Cossacks, Uzbeks and all the neighboring Altaic countries. Very rarely do they use the first name; possibly because it's so specific and foreign to them. In addition, Cossacks think Efendi is a Cossack hero; respectively Uzbeks think that he is an Uzbek hero, and even erected a statue of him in Bukhara. The Uyghurs, on the other hand, have eye-witnesses who claim to have seen Afenti⁵.

It is obvious that the name Afenti/Efendi collects and names a lot of anecdotes – created at different times and in different places and claimed as local stories. One of the roads taken by the Xinjiang stories is the road of the Turks from central Asia to Asia Minor (Anatolia) after the 10th century. The exact name of the trickster at that time is not certain. The name Nasreddin Hodja appeared in the 13th century in the territory of contemporary Turkey during the time the Seljuk's city culture was in full bloom. In the town of Akşehir, there did indeed live a clever person with a great sense of humor, bearing the name Nasreddin Hodja. His grave still exists today. The real collection of stories around his name started after the 13th century and have not stopped for centuries thereafter.

There is another direction of movement of the Asian stories. Using the orientation of the Silk Road, the stories also go through the south and onto the north branches, but even this does not completely capture their movement. The stories were probably in circulation, each with its own ethnic influence. The recognizable names probably helped the 'exchange' of the stories. It is important to note that they connect the Bulgarian anecdotes with a very rich cultural area, different from the European one.

The name Hityr Petyr repeats the history of the name Nastradin Hodja. It was 'canonized' as the name of a Bulgarian trickster quite late during the Revival time. In 1873, Ilya Blaskov published nine 'Funny Stories' under the title, „Hityr Petyr”⁶. In the preface, he connected his character not only with the Turkish Nastradin Hodja, but also with Aesop. He even compared their physical forms, depicting Hityr Petyr as grotesque, or just ugly. On the genre and storyline levels, there is a more direct connection between Hityr Petyr's and Nastradin Hodja's anecdotes than with Aesop's fables. The Bulgarian trickster is often viewed as a replica of his Turkish prototype with an added nationalistic Revival pathos: both have often been compared to 'measure' their cunning. Even the time difference between the historical Nastradin Hodja (13th century) and Hityr Petyr (19th century) merged to make it possible for them to compete in their crafty deeds. By the 19th century, Nastradin Hodja had already become the trademark of Turkish wit.

It is logical to declare that the level of similarities between Afenti and Hityr Petyr is a function of the similarities between Afenti and Nastradin Hodja. Even though the stories of

⁴ For these and other clarifications I owe great thanks to my Turkish colleague Cem Aygün from Beijing Foreign Studies University.

⁵ V. Valchev also confirms the multiple 'owners' of the character: „...usually the Persian anecdotes present Nastradin as Persian, Tatars – as Tatarian, Uzbeks – as Uzbek, born, of course, in Samarkand. (...) In the conscience of the Balkan people Nastradin is Turkish.” (Valchev, 1975: 13).

⁶ In the next century another 'biographer' of Hityr Petyr appeared – Ilya Beshkov – the best illustrator of the stories to this day, who in 1957 published „Biography of Hityr Petyr told by Ilya Beshkov”, in which a determinant is not so much the mystification, but the interpretation of the character in the spirit of the socialistic ideology.

Nastradin contain almost an entire anecdotal culture of the Turks, they do have layers from other literatures and cultures e.g., Sumerian, Old Greek, and Sufi. The stories of the Uyghur Afenti possess other layers, e.g., Indian - probably during the Buddha period of the Turks before they were islamized. Let us remember the picture of Hityr Petyr from the popular illustration by Ilya Beshkov, showing him riding his donkey backwards. Even today the same sketch can be seen among the numerous (more than 1,400 paintings) on the beams of the Long Corridor of the Emperor's Summer Palace (Beijing). There exists a sketch of Zhang Guolao, one of the eight wise immortal Daos, worshiped as Gods. He too rode his donkey backwards. It is possible to assume that some of the stories might have Chinese origin (surely the Asian wit is not a 'label' only of Altaic people).

In summary, Hityr Petyr stepped onto the Silk Road, thanks to the connections between the Bulgarian and Turkish cultures. In this way, he became a tangent to this big revolving Asian circle of anecdotes. One could think, it is possible that some of the original Bulgarian stories were still circulating over there. This would be a good subject for research.

*

Regarding the characteristics of the anecdotes, they emphasize the power of mental creativity, especially the one of wit over physical strength or social status. At first glance, the character appears very standard: he unconditionally supports the weak and opposes the rich, the rulers and the religious servants. Many of the stories are dedicated to the ridicule of the Sultan (King) and his courtiers, the local rulers, the kadia (judge), the mullah and the imam – all those who hold the leading positions in society. They are presented by presumption as vicious. The correlation between rich, powerful and vicious gives us an idea why Hityr Petyr purposely chooses poverty over wealth (Ilya Beshkov speaks of 'voluntary poverty' of Hityr Petyr). But this social formula should be specified – he supports justice for the innocent but not for the naïve.

The domination of anti-royal Afenti anecdotes can be interpreted as an ideological choice during the atheistic regime of the People's Republic of China. On the other hand, this kind of anecdotes, including those against religious norms and their evangelists, were numerous *before* the birth of the Republic in 1949. Even in 1911, when the imperial system in China collapsed, anti-royal stories were created in Asia Minor during the Mongolian expansion in 1401, though not directly against Timur. Those stories were edited after Nastradin Hodja's death. They appear to be a kind of verbal compensation against violence during the Mongolian expansion. It's also amazing that they remained powerful through all kinds of injustices.

Hityr Petyr (Afenti, Nastradin Hodja) very often gives justice above the law. E.g., the kadia has ruled unjustly in favor of the rich. Our hero provokes a public court and presents a similar case through which he can show the absurdity of the accusation. This turns the ruling in favor of the unjustly convicted and the case becomes a memorable lesson for the citizens. The words of Afenti do not criticize openly and directly. They don't use sarcasm. Mostly, they verbally reconstruct the situation and the problem is solved with an unexpected solution. Another

strategy is to give to the antagonist the proverbial rope with which he will hang himself. In this way, the antagonist, believing himself to be clever, unwittingly incriminates himself.

To be a trickster is of the highest personal value; above power, above money and above formal rights. It gives the courage to speak the truth in the eyes of the social 'upper-crust'; to give everybody, including himself – even the Gods – the same responsibility; to not have prejudice and unnecessary scruples; to find the winning point of view or to simply go out of any standards and 'thresholds of expectation'. Finally, to have the last word.

It is the freedom of the indirect mocking words⁷, which are the true 'perpetrators of the action' in those stories. The verbal flexibility gives Hityr Petyr/Afenti a phenomenal 'immunity'; a freedom that nobody could take away.

The character does not have an exact 'profile'. According to anecdotes, he can appear as anybody, e.g. king's advisor, ordinary citizen, lawyer, priest, healer, merchant, child, barber, painter, servant, husband, divorcee, robber. He can be anything or everything except, in his own eyes, a hero. Actually in these stories, there isn't a positive hero - there isn't a just king, a just lawyer, a just merchant etc. He can even lie and enter in others' fruit gardens, can confess that he did foolish things (this again is a strategy, to act as a fool). It doesn't matter which role he's playing or what he's doing or saying. He controls the situation.

The stories of Afenti validate the viability of the practical sense of reason, the earthly justice of here and now that everybody with his own mind should struggle with every day. The stories are full with life's wisdom of survival and the satisfaction of the imposition of oneself in life as it is.

The comparison of the stories about Hityr Petyr and Afenti directs our thoughts toward the joint roots of the Bulgarian and Asian cultures and helps us to see the Bulgarian culture from the bridge of the Far East. Standing on that bridge, we could ask a lot of question, not all necessarily pleasing to the ears. E.g., could it be that the Bulgarians live in a society of 'tricksters', in which each and every person tries to outwit and mock the other at the price of everything? It is probably not by accident that in Asian and Bulgarian folklore there are so many anecdotes about liars, and tricksters, each vying to be better than the other. Perhaps this and similar questions speak to the problems of the Bulgarian national psychology.

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⁷ In the East, direct mocking was not acceptable – heads would roll when this kind of freedom was exercised.

Sipping Through the Pages Lianhuanhua 连环画 – China's Most Popular form of Mass Entertainment

Maria Momchilova

Abstract

The paper presents the results of a small scale qualitative research on *lianhuanhua* 连环画, which used to be one of China's most popular forms of mass entertainment, and offers one possible redefinition of the phenomenon. The research focuses on the origin and nature of *lianhuanhua*, as well as on the production and consumption of this cheap and most enjoyable print media.

Keywords: *lianhuanhua*, mass entertainment, visual-verbal narrative, print media, propaganda tool

The year 2008 marked the 80th anniversary of Shanghai Comics. Paul Gravett, the famous manga and comics researcher present at the exhibition, defined *lianhuanhua* in one of his interviews: „Chinese comics, before they were called *manhua* they were called *lianhuanhua*, which means, basically, the *hua* means drawings and the *lianhuan* means linked up, joined together in a chain. So it's like, comics in sequence, or drawings in sequence... little tiny comics...” (Fitch, Gravett, 2008).

In layman's terms one may relate *lianhuanhua* to comic books, for, like comics, *lianhuanhua* combine verbal and visual storytelling techniques. However, from a media researcher's point of view, Gravett's definition is quite misleading and needs to be reconsidered.

The paper presents the results of a small scale qualitative research on *lianhuanhua* and one possible redefinition of the phenomenon. The aims of the research are as follows: to outline the timescale and establish the origin of *lianhuanhua*, to determine the criteria for the identification and to redefine the phenomenon, to mark out the evolution of *lianhuanhua*.

Lianhuanhua, literally „linked pictures,” were one of the most popular forms of mass entertainment (Arnold, Mittler, 2017) in China from the turn of the 20th century to the mid 1980s. Although regional linguistic differences are detected – *tuhua shu* „picture book” or *xiao shu* „little book” in Shanghai, *yaya shu* „childrens' book” in Wuhan, *gongzai shu* „kids' book” in Guangdong (Lent, 2001), their print media characteristics are unique and therefore worth being the object of scientific study.

I. Timescale and origin

The last decades of the 19th century were marked by the attempts of certain Western countries to expand their political and economic influence in China by means of trading rights, leased territories, treaty ports with spheres of interest. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century Western treaty ports rapidly expanded. The growth of the treaty port cities of Shanghai, Tianjin and Wuhan, all strategically located in China's major economic regions, was the most notable. These major treaty ports had a significant impact on Chinese economy in the first three decades of the 20th century. Large scale investment, modern banking

and industry were disproportionately concentrated in those „pockets” of relative stability (Ma 2006). The phenomenal growth of Shanghai in the early 20th century directly benefited from the expansion of those „privileges” and autonomy which offered stability and predictability to the growing Chinese business and industry. In the so-called golden era of growth in the 1910s and 1920s Shanghai was recognized as China's most prominent publishing center.

The term *lianhuanhua* was coined in Shanghai in the 1920s to describe a form of sequential graphic stories or „chapter pictures book” that had been developing in urban China since the introduction of Western printing technologies. Most of them were published individually in different art journals, magazines and newspapers. The first officially documented *lianhuanhua* book, *The Story of Three Kingdoms* (Wu, 2013), was illustrated by Chen Danxu and published by Shanghai World Bookstore (see Fig.1). Thus, Chen Danxu became the first *lianhuanhua* illustrator, whose work inspired artists for decades.



Fig. 1 *The Story of Three Kingdoms*, 1925.

The product fascinated the abundance of low-income poorly educated print media customers and in no time became commercial success. Eagerly sought-after, *lianhuanhua* were based on classic novels, traditional fiction, Chinese folklore, Chinese mythology, historical events, martial arts, literature, and even religious doctrine. Stories that originated from opera or movies, such as *Genü Hongmudan* (Singer Red Peony) and *Huo shao Hongliansi* (Red Lotus Temple on Fire), were so popular that the night before a performance the publishers commissioned the drawing of *lianhuanhua* which were duly printed and sold the next morning¹ (Su-hsing, Andrews, 2009).

The production process in the 1920s and 1930s was handled by both large and small publishers who created an elaborate distribution system, a major factor for the increase of readership. Publishers sold *lianhuanhua* to street book vendors, who, in turn, rented them to the readers. Vendors went to small publishers late at night to buy the two new volumes of each serial issued daily in 2000 copies. When 24 volumes of a serial appeared, publishers bound them and put them in a box and sold them as old-style books in their bookstores². *Lianhuanhua* exchange was formed by publishers and street book vendors in the Taoyuanli district in Shanghai in 1935. There the new *lianhuanhua* were delivered by the publishers every day at 2 p.m. and by 6 p.m. were on the street stalls. By the end of 1940s in Shanghai only there were more than 100 publishers and over 2000 street stalls, and the distribution network had expanded to Hong Kong, Singapore and Indonesia.

¹ A *lianhuanhua* was cheaper than a movie or a theatre ticket.

² Because they were hastily drawn and cheaply printed *lianhuanhua* were considered rather vulgar publications at the time.

The short production cycle was a factor for the exponential growth of the demand for *lianhuanhua* artists. As most of them were self-taught, those who became masters started working with apprentices. The diversity of techniques mirrored the diversity of backgrounds. Accord-



Fig. 2 Xue Rengui Going on an Eastern Expedition³

ingly, within the Shanghai studios, a division of labour among the artists was introduced: some specialized in antique costumes, others in realistic drawings, etc. By 1920s a provisional style of illustrating was set by Lin Boliang's drawings of Xue Rengui Zhengdong (see Fig. 2).

Influential and much liked illustrators of *lianhuanhua* were Zhu Runzhai, Zhu Yunfang, Shen Manyun, Zhao Hongben. Zhu Runzai was an important and popular artist illustrating favourite novels and historical romances, including *Sanguo yanyi* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms). Shen Manyun is considered to be one of the best *lianhuanhua* illustrators of Chinese martial-arts and historical stories, who, together with Zhao Hongben and Qian Shaodai, excelled at the antique costume genre (Shen, Andrews, 1997).

II. Criteria for identifying *lianhuanhua* and the redefinition of the phenomenon

Defining the criteria for identifying *lianhuanhua* is essential for the redefinition of the phenomenon as a print media product. The criteria form three major groups focusing on intrinsic *lianhuanhua* characteristics, i.e. print media non-durable consumer product.

The first group presents the characteristics of *lianhuanhua* as a print media product:

- non-periodical separately bound paperback books with specific format: 5x3.5x1.4 inches (*xiaoren shu*);
- layout of pages – combination of verbal and visual storytelling techniques with one horizontal illustration with a paragraph at the bottom per page, almost no appearance of speech bubbles⁴;
- number of pages fluctuating between 60 and 100.

The second group, formed by the content specific visual symbol system, is defined by the communicative nature of *lianhuanhua*:

- own unique artistic style ranging from traditional Chinese line drawing technique, also called *gong-bi*, which uses precisely detailed ink strokes in progressively thinner lines to depict the narrative figures (Wu, 2012), to hastily drawn landscapes and silhouettes of figures;

³ Rengui in command of East Expedition and Xue Dingshan the West, Yunnan Peoples Publishing House, 2011.

⁴ A fact that sets them apart from comics.

- entertainment for all age groups: classic Chinese and martial arts novels;
- didactic and mildly entertaining stories for children;
- advocating support for social and political movements for adults.

The last group of criteria identifies *lianhuanhua* as a special type of consumer good, a non-durable commodity for all age groups⁵ (Nebiolo, 1973: vii-xvi. viii):

- fast selling;
- low unit value consumer product;
- in great demand;
- extremely short production cycle;
- tangible circulation;
- well-established distribution network;
- sustainable readership.

Once identified, the criteria listed above are used in redefining *lianhuanhua* as a print medium of considerable length, meant for non-periodic publication and public circulation, with specific format and combination of visual-verbal communication symbols to convey meaning; a non-durable commodity used to entertain as well as educate, to offer social and political support.

III. (R)Evolution of *lianhuanhua*

1. Onset

After 1949 the Chinese government put the Shanghai publishers' work under strict control. In 1952, the Shanghai publishers were reorganized and two large presses were founded, the state-run East China People's Art Press (renamed Shanghai People's Art Publishing House in 1954) and the New Art Press, which absorbed the artists of many private *lianhuanhua* publishers. *Lianhuanhua's* content and illustration techniques changed. Stories of revolutionary heroism, biographies of highly-praised individuals, adaptations based on contemporary stories displaced most of the traditional fiction stories. The Shanghai Cultural Bureau organized special classes for artists in 1951-1952 to help them acquire the new style in which 17th century painting tradition combined with realistic drawings. Among the artistic achievements during the period before the Cultural Revolution (1966–1969) are the works of Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai's *Sun Wukong san da Baigujing* (*Monkey Beats the White-boned Demon*, 1961), based on the Ming novel *Xi you ji* (*Journey to the West*), and He Youzhi's *Shanxiang jubian* (*Great Change in the Mountain Village*, 1962), based on Zhou Libo's contemporary novel about rural collectivization of the same title. Shanghai's newly published *lianhuanhua* became very popular during 1956–1966, and their elegant linear style became standard for the period.

The major political change in China influenced the further development of *lianhuanhua* as print media product. Being much liked by the majority of the population, they were quickly transformed to serve the communication purposes of propaganda. This change of communicative perspective led to a considerable increase in the number of titles and total circulation:

⁵ Italian journalist Gino Nebiolo, who travelled on a night train in China during the Cultural Revolution, noticed that every passenger received a copy of *lianhuanhua* along with hot tea from the stewardess, "all completely absorbed in their reading".

in 1952 the number of titles published was 670, and the circulation – 21 million copies; in 1957 the number of titles rose to 2300, and the circulation – more than 100 million copies. During the period 1949 – 1963 the total number of titles was 12700, and the copies in circulation reached a 560-million peak (see Fig.3 and 4).

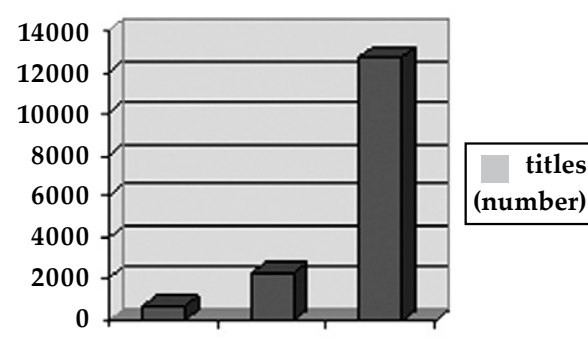


Fig. 3 Titles (1949 – 1963)

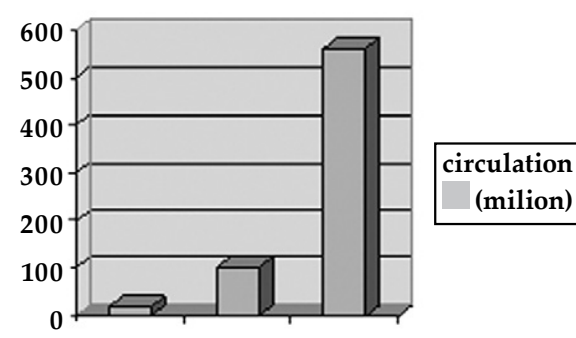


Fig. 4 Circulation (1949-1963)

2. Boom and Bust

All publications underwent drastic changes during the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1969). *Lianhuanhua* editions were severely censored and many of them were destroyed. In the second half of 1970s, however, the most productive change in the publication industry took place in the form of abandonment of the rigid government control.

Subsequently *lianhuanhua* restored their status as the most popular entertainment media, which also became a source of inspiration for the young generation with messages of loyalty, humble self-sacrifice and attendance to duty. The application of diverse artistic styles was certainly content-determined, e.g. *lianhuanhua* of critical content and praise relied on photographic storytelling techniques with close-ups and bright colours of their heroes.

During the early 1980s „new publications came to embrace a wider range of goals that included intellectual development and education in science and culture for young people” (Chen, 2014) and the production of *lianhuanhua* accounted for a quarter of all the publishing in China. In the mid-1980s some *lianhuanhua* titles had single printing runs of more than 1 million copies⁶.

The peak year for *lianhuanhua* production was 1985 for there were 8.1 billion *lianhuanhua* printed in mainland China, which means approximately seven *lianhuanhua* printed per person⁷. Given the numbers printed and the fact that they circulated widely, it is fair to conclude that *lianhuanhua* of the 1980s were among the most widely read works of visual storytelling ever made.

The quickened production rate and diminishing quality of *lianhuanhua*, the replacement of the government secured distribution system by a private publishing houses’ one, as well as the lack of government subsidy for unprofitable or marginal profit *lianhuanhua* for bookstores were among the factors that speeded up *lianhuanhua*’s bust.

The further cultural and economic liberalization, the wide-spread of visual media (TV sets and VCR), the launching of computer games, the possibility to translate and print foreign com-

ics led to the collapse of *lianhuanhua* market in the late 1980s⁸. During the 1990s *lianhuanhua* were reintroduced as print media collectable items and the escalation of profit in that market niche led to the reprint of some of the best *lianhuanhua* of the 1950s and 1960s on high quality paper in expensive nostalgia editions.

Conclusion

Alice was beginning to get very tired of sitting by her sister on the bank and of having nothing to do: once or twice she had peeped into the book her sister was reading, but it had no pictures or conversations in it, „and what is the use of a book,” thought Alice, „without pictures or conversations?” (Carroll 1865).

In the social media age the youth entertainment market in China is expanding fast, the 'post 90s' generation with its ACGN (Anime, Comic, Game, Novel) youth subculture already amounting to 200 million consumers. According to the Chinese investment bank CITIC securities, that specific market is set to double to 500bn yuan (£60.6bn) within a few years⁹ as Chinese consumers continue looking for an international flavour in their fashion, travel choices and purchasing habits.

On the other hand, local woodcut print artists are still thriving and globally inspiring¹⁰.

Of course, the importance of *lianhuanhua* cannot be compared to that of the traditional woodcut prints, and yet they can be engaged as a future reusable cultural resource.

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⁶ Production figures for 1984: more than 2000 titles and 800 million copies (see <http://www.tcj.com/lianhuanhua-chinas-pulp-comics/>).

⁷ Population of China in 1985: 1.047 billion (see <https://populationpyramid.net/china/1985/>).

⁸ Total sales of *lianhuanhua* in 1987 were under 80 million copies (see <http://www.tcj.com/lianhuanhua-chinas-pulp-comics/>).

⁹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-38246184>.

¹⁰ http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/culture/2017-02/25/content_28348370.htm.

The Meditativeness of Medieval Chinese Poetry: Vision of Western Researcher

Yaroslava Shekera

Abstract

The meditative essence of classical Chinese poetry in comparison with European meditative lyricism (Byzantine and medieval poetry) that is closely linked to traditional Chinese culture and Christianity respectively, has been shown in this article. The author emphasizes that medieval Chinese poets by means of language (verbal devices) expressed comprehending of their position in the universe; meditative creating took place only in special poetic altered state of consciousness. Chinese poets consider the very fact of living in the universe to be extremely important, as well as awareness of their own subordination to cosmic laws and predetermined existence in Nature: they have no desire to "jump" out of a permanent flow of things or to overcome it. It is in poetry (and through it) a Chinese poet meets the transcendent Nothing (Wu), or Emptiness (Kong, Xu), in fact, that is the realization of the finiteness of any language as a "creation" of human beings, depletion of human intelligence, for the final result of its efforts is emptiness. Appealing to Tao as a cosmic source and engine of the universe, the reunion with Tao, and, consequently, with the basics of the universe, is clear evidence of the meditative and metaphysical essence of Chinese poetry.

Keywords: meditation, medieval Chinese poetry, the Truth, the universe, Tao, verbal devices

All Chinese classical poetry, by the highest standards, can be called meditative, regardless of whether it represents the being of an official in society and his service to the people of the Celestial Empire, or if it conveys the mystical experience of the creator and his attempts to learn the Truth. Meditativeness of Chinese classical poetry is closely linked with its metaphysics: it refers to the sublimity over the ordinary perception of life, the awareness of its transience and impermanence, the realization of what cannot be expressed in words (but only by intuitive feelings) and even grasped by mind. It is obvious that the Chinese themselves do not use such words when talking about their poetry – for them it goes without saying; but, being Western researchers, in attempt to grasp the essence of Chinese poetry we are forced to attract some terms of Western philosophy and literary criticism – for the study and interpretation of anything new is based on the concepts already existing in our minds. However, no matter what you call it, its essence, as is known, will not change. Therefore, this research partly draws on facts from the modern (and recent) European tradition, in order to show the meditative essence of medieval Chinese poetry (the Tang and Song periods, 7-13th cent.).

According to our firm conviction, the meditativeness of Chinese poetry is determined by the words of Confucius „述而不作” – „Write, and do not compose” (from the 7th chapter of „Conversations and Judgments”, «论语»): the sage emphasized on the inestimable importance of adequate reproduction of reality – as opposed to boundless imagination or individ-

ual's „games of the mind”. Absolute transmission of the realities of environment by means of any language, however, is impossible – after all, every language to some extent distorts and changes our view of reality, which is due to the specifics of the language picture of the world for each separate nation. From this point of view, the function of verbal creativity as an adequate reproduction of reality is leveled. Therefore, the main goal of artistic creativity can be considered the comprehension of the metaphysical, as well as the artist's translation of the so-called non-verbal „spiritual information”¹ sent to him from above. To perceive this „information” the poet must only enter a certain "poetic" altered state of consciousness (ASC): a kind of channel opens between the creator and the Higher Powers / God / the Divine / Creator of all things (channeling), and the author just „reads” this information and "translates" it into the words of his/her native language. Often, however, the means of language are not enough (not any language is able to express objective reality adequately) – in this case "the poem is under-translated"² or the poet asks to „teach him how to say it”³. The poet in the ASC (similar to inspiration) acts as a kind of medium between the world of Higher Powers and the mortal world, and his creations in this state are "real poetry", not verses in order, rhymed prose, artificially "made" verses, etc.; they are unearthly, cosmic and quite often amazing to the author himself (*How could I write this?!).* Therefore, all "true poetry" is meditative. Meditation (lat. „*meditatio*” means *reflection*, from „meditor” – *to meditate, to ponder*) is „a form of consciousness alteration designed to enhance self-knowledge and well-being through reduced self-awareness” (Glossary). The word "medium" has been borrowed to Ukrainian and Russian in 19th century from German, where it came from Latin: „medium” means *middle* (as the person whose position is between material and spiritual worlds or, figuratively, between Earth and Heaven). Thus, the root *med-*, *medi-* is still common – it points towards thinking in the intermediate, „twilight” state between two extremes, the yin (阴) and yang (阳), between material and spiritual, earthly and celestial, etc.

Let's dare to assume that all kinds of Chinese classical poetry to some extent can be called meditative: whether it is the poems of *chan* (禅诗) that depict the poet's approaching to enlightenment, his feelings and emotions „here and now” or Taoist Poetry of inaction *wuwei* (无为), or even a poem of a poet-official, bounded by „pins and belt”, who zealously serves the state and people. Meditation lies not only (and not so much) in the poet's deliberate contemplation of himself and the environment, it happens spontaneously and unnoticeably, when one is totally absorbed in any activity, and his/her attention is not dissipated (the individual is undivided and not fragmented) on separate items. The contemplative attitude to the world, the poet's own nature and his position in the universe are reflected in classical Chinese poetry, and this allows us to talk about its meditativeness.

The very name of meditative lyric provides in-depth, careful observation, pondering over the eternal questions of entity, in particular, the finiteness of human life, the question of physical death and everlasting life of the soul. The very essence of meditative poetry lies in the harmonious combination of poetry and meditation that is connection between the impact of

¹ This is the author's term.

² famous Russian poet from 19–20th cent. A. Blok wrote in his Diaries: "Some poems I never finished to translate" (Etkind, 1970: 134).

³ Han Shan (寒山), 8th cent. See in: 寒山, 2000: 137.

poetic words on the individual and spiritual processes taking place in poet's soul. The author "speaks with God, approaches the God's love through his own memory, understanding and will; he sees, smells, tastes and feels by means of imagining the scenes from the life of Christ in a form in which they are presented on the internal, mental stage" (Martz, 1963: xvii). The roots of this phenomenon lie in the Middle Ages, when all the spheres of a layman's life had certain religious markers (so much more the life of a zealous Christian). The practice of meditation becomes integral and pervasive, its purpose is comprehension of reality and significance of God's presence in every moment of life; thus the individual lives in close presence of God. The latter just happens during meditation, which requires careful preparation and strict observance of rules and regulations. As we can understand from the description (Martz, 1963: xviii), the essence of this ceremony in medieval Europe is very similar to the traditional Chinese ceremony of „dancing the spirit“ (跳神) through which the shaman communicates with the Supreme Forces/the Divine. It was expected that European practice of meditation had to finish with the adept's pure and direct communication with God. People engaged in Christian meditation create maximum resemblance to the historical conditions of Christ's life; they actually imagine themselves in those very situations and places. Thus, the transformation also occurs. Therefore, a meditative poem is an imitation of a meditation ceremony, as close to reality as possible. Accordingly, the sensations and the feelings of the author, caused by himself, were intended to lead to the sincerest talk with God. Based on this maxim, we can once again make sure that the deepest idea (target) of the sacred practices of Eastern and Western religious apologists is the same: to achieve full unity of the individual with its rich microcosm and boundless potential and the universe, a particular manifestation of which lies in the visible space between Heaven and Earth.

Daring to state that all traditional Chinese poetry is somehow meditative, let's draw a distant analogy, both in time and space. Ukrainian researcher S.O. Yevtushenko, analyzing the meditative lyrics of the famous poet B. Hrinchenko in the European context, writes: „The meditative lyric of the „poets of society“ ... in our opinion, is interesting, because of recreating the points of internal struggle between duty and the natural voice that strives for the joy of life“ (Evtushenko, 2012). Comparing with the realia of the Celestial Empire, let's mention how many poets were split between truthful service to their state and people (Confucian officials) and personal self-improvement (interest to Buddhism or Taoism, alchemical experiments, seclusion, etc.). For example, the Song Dynasty poet Su Shi (苏轼, 1037–1101), who couldn't choose between reality as a Confucian official and Taoist retreat, was still unable to move away from bureaucratic life completely. According to the legend, once, having seen beautiful night landscape, the poet heard the sound of river waves – and the feeling of Great Returning (大归, returning to the basics of life) was born, he had great desire to revive the original peace and serenity; it seemed as if all the troubles were ducked by these waves. The poet wanted to return to the initial wilderness; it is believed that it was Su Shi's first step to seclusion. According to the legend, having depicted this very situation in the poem on melody „Lin jiang xian“ («临江仙») Su Shi hung his official clothes near the river and fled away by boat (this is confirmed by the lines: 小舟从此逝, 江海寄余生, *Now my little boat will get lost, // And I will devote my life to the seas and rivers*). Hearing this, the authority of that region Mr. Xu rushed to the poet's house, but Su Shi slept snoring like thunder and would not get up at all. We still do not know the truth, but this very legend testifies the poet's unusual personality.

Meditation itself (in general), writing meditative lyric, as well as meditateness of the lyrics as its unique feature, provides realization of the very substance of the poet's „I“ and his self-comprehension in the universe. Chinese poets feel inner connection with the universe, they are aware of their subordination and „dooming“ (in the positive sense) to its laws. Therefore, they obey to this universal flow of cosmic entity and do not make any attempt to „jump“ or overcome it. Let's draw a simple analogy: the swimmer, who tries to swim against the current or jump out of the water to overcome the element, will surely meet complete fiasco. Let's see how Medieval Chinese poets (below we cite poets of Tang and Song periods) manage to express themselves being firmly incorporated into the universe. Still, the cases of usage of first-person pronouns are rather rare:

- 我 (Su Shi: 我欲乘风归去。 *I want to ride the wind and get back* (return home – to the basics of life));
- 予 (Huang Ting-jian: 予自钓鱼船上客。 *I naturally fish [for] guests on the boat*);
- 余 (Xin Qi-ji: 江晚正愁余。 *Evening on the river upsets me*).

Much more often poets use different names of themselves – they consider themselves like speaking in the third person:

- 客 *guest* (Wang Wei: 独在异乡为异客。 *[I am] lonely guest in the foreign land*);
- 妾 *concubine* (Li Bai: 掩妾泪, 听君歌。 *Wiped concubine's tears, listen to Your song*; usually is used in verses written by poets in the name of female);
- 夫 *official*.

The pronoun 吾 (I) should be considered separately; it usually occurs in poems of monks, and it is our firm belief that it happens because of the etymological ideas of this very ideogram (Kobayashi, 1995: 42, 202): 1) the five elements of nature (五) representing any thing (口), so 吾 means all existing objects; the ideogram 吾 also denotes certain thing as it is; 2) chaotic (natural) state (五) of things (口); 3) plenty (五) of words (口) that denote many natural names (口) of things. E.g., in the poem of Buddhist monk Han Shan we can read: 吾心似秋月... 教我如何说。 *My heart is like the autumn moon... Teach me how to say [about it]*. Having depicted simple but incomprehensible view of the environment, the poet apparently grasped the essence of entity that could not be conveyed by words. So, using the pronoun 吾 (chosen from wide paradigm of first-person pronouns), the poet in a veiled way expresses his own nature, emphasizing his own close connection with the environment (represented by the five elements 五) and the concrete manifestations of things (the names of things 口).

In the context of all mentioned above, not less important is that Chinese poets give the highest value to the very *fact* of what is happening around them, and not *what* is happening exactly, especially with *whom* it occurs. The very fact of happening, the process of any event is a manifestation of life, entity and *Tao* (道) as it is (embodied in the events, as well as in the objects and subjects). This causes certain leveling of the author's (creator's) individual. To serve as a contrast, let's present the opinion of the Russian poet I. Annensky in order to find difference on this issue in Western poetry. The poet's realizing of his own existence in the universe provides, in particular, the distinction of lyrical "I" and "non-I", that is "outside the world in the totality of its human, natural and material (physical) manifestations" (Semenova, 1981). This very antinomy of lyrical "I" and "non-I", according to the researcher, is the central question of any creativity, and poetry is intended for conveying constantly changing position

of these two principles relative to each other. The poetic word is „a symbol that convinces” (Annenskii, 1979: 70, 202-204) and, of course, it becomes this very symbol only in poetic context, taken from the „dead” language (represented in dictionaries) and brought into lively speech. Of course, in early medieval China there was no profound theoretical research on the importance of written artistic word, including poetic; however, as it is known, the wen (文) category was always highly appreciated and had a sacred value. Let’s mention the famous expressions of Liu Xie (刘勰, app. 465–522) from his large work „The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons” (《文心雕龙》): „the word itself is a symbol of *Tao*” and „mover of the universe” (智周宇宙). Another famous literary critic Lu Ji (陆机, 261–303) wrote: „to insert a small word in a very important place, for the whole work is like the strike of a whip that is directed in the right way” (立片言而居要, 乃一篇之警策, from „On Literature”, 《文赋》).

The meditateness of Chinese classical poetry is closely linked with its metaphysical essence which can be shown, e.g., in such lines from Tao Yuan-ming (陶渊明, 365–427): 此中有真意, 欲辨已忘言. *In this [scenery] there is the Truth, // [I] want to depict (literally: to distinguish) it but have already forgotten the words.* Upon learning the Truth, the poets try to express it in words but cannot, because the words and language itself are just our subjective perception of objective reality, and not the reality itself. This is the metaphysical nature of Chinese poetry: by means of the language, the creator strives to go out into another world, where the enigma of cosmic entity lies. However, by using only language, it fails, so the poet can only conclude sadly that he „has forgotten the words” (Tao Yuan-ming, see in: 陶渊明, 1999: 220). Apparently, the reason for this impotence is that words describe the physical world, as well as the already known movements of human soul; the unknown remains outside language. We should note a clear difference between metaphysical essence of Eastern and Western poetry: the basic creative task of the latter is „to study the inner world of the individual and to search adequate verbal embodiment for complicated states of mind and contradictive feelings” (Ryazantzeva, 1999: 71). On the contrary, Chinese poets, as we can see, don’t even try to find the appropriate verbal expressions of those states in which they are, they apparently have submitted to the imperfections of language and its inability to express all things – and, finally, the very existence of the universe.

It is in poetry (and through it), the Chinese poet meets the transcendent Nothing (无), or Emptiness (空, 虚) – in fact, that is the realization of the finiteness of any language as a "creation" of human beings, depletion of human intelligence, because the final result of its efforts is still Emptiness. Appealing to *Tao* as a cosmic source and engine of the universe, the reunion with *Tao* and, consequently, with the basics of the universe, is clear evidence of the meditative and metaphysical essence of Chinese poetry. Expressing that, the Tang Dynasty poet Sikong Tu (司空图, 837–908) in his poem "Categories of verses" (《诗品》) wrote: 持之匪强, 来之无穷. *[When] you have It, do not make efforts: // Having come only once, [It'll be] endless and imperishable* (the pronoun „It” can be understood both as *Tao* or the poet’s inspiration).

Thus, medieval Chinese poets by means of language (verbal devices), expressed comprehension of their position in the universe, between Earth and Heaven; meditative creating took place only in special poetic altered state of consciousness, when the feeling of wholeness and unity came to the poet, and he perceived (or he only seemed to perceive) the great *Tao*.

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Publishing Exchanges between China and CEECs in the Recent Decade

Lin Wenshuang

Abstract

In recent years, China and CEE countries have made remarkable achievements in a multitude of areas, including publishing exchange. This paper reviews CEEC's works translated and published in China (2013-2016), and China's publications in CEECs as well. Chinese publishing institutions are seeking for all-dimensional and multi-angle cooperation with their CEEC partners - the patterns such as mutual literary translation, copyright exporting, localized dissemination and co-publishing are playing essential role in the publishing cooperation between the two sides.

Keywords: Publishing exchanges, CEEC, China, Pattern of publishing cooperation

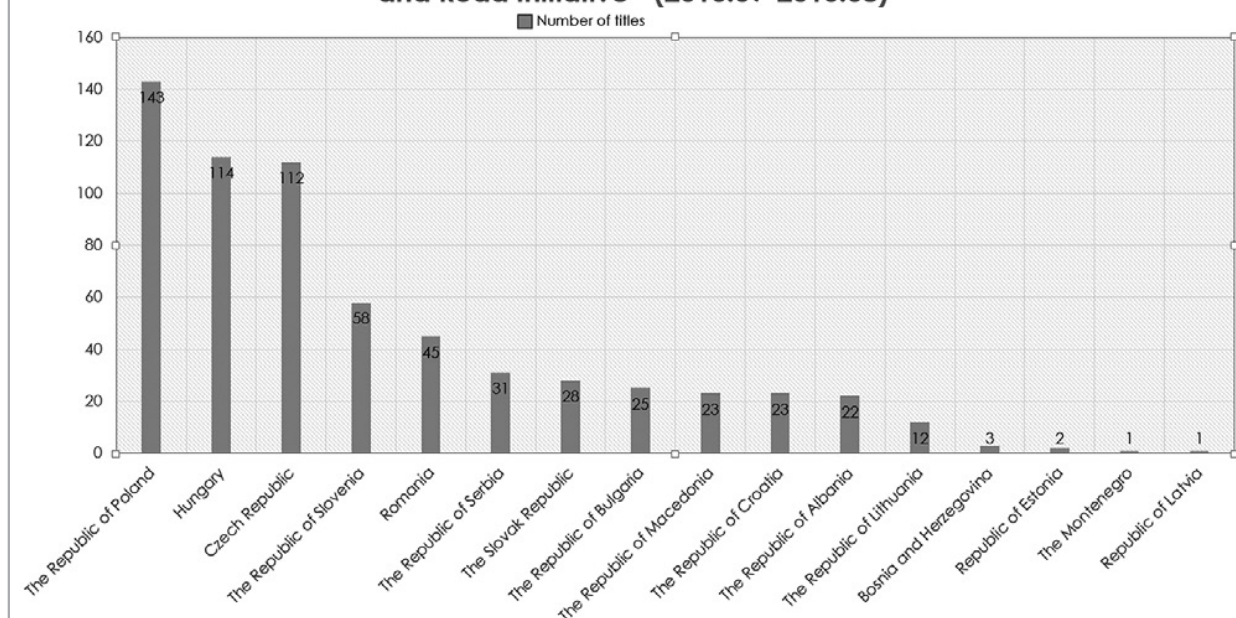
Since the „2016 Year of China-CEEC People-to-people and Cultural Exchanges“, China and the Central and Eastern European countries (hereinafter referred to as CEECs) frequently became Guests of Honor to each other in various key international book fairs (including Beijing International Book Fair, held in August 2016, Gaudeamus International Book Fair, held in November 2016 and Tirana International Book Fair). With all these events, the publishing cooperation between China and the CEE countries will enter a new stage.

In recent years, under The Belt and Road Initiative and the „16+1“ Cooperation Framework, China and the CEE countries have made remarkable achievements in a multitude of areas, including business and trade, finance, tourism, education, culture and agriculture. We have come to a harvest season of cooperation. The publishing industry has been playing an irreplaceable role in promoting the China-CEEC cultural exchanges and building ties between peoples of both sides. As the China-CEEC cooperation under The Belt and Road Initiative and the „16+1“ Cooperation Framework is getting better, the publishing industry exchanges and cooperation between the two sides will embrace unprecedented new opportunities.

CEEC's books translated and published in China

According to the CIP statistics, since 2013 China has translated and published more varieties of CEEC books than ever. By the end of June 2016, the number had surpassed 600, accounting for about 50% of the total number of books, published since 2000. In 2016, the number of books published and declared to be published has exceeded 400, increasing markedly. Among them, the number of varieties introduced from Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic has been more than 100; from Slovakia, Serbia, Bulgaria and other six countries between 10 and 60; and from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Estonia and Latvia, less than 10 (Xu, 2016: 1) (see graphic below).

Statistics of the Translation of Books from CEE Countries since "The Belt and Road Initiative" (2013.09-2016.08)



In the light of Chinese Library Classification, the imported books and translated books from 16 CEE countries have covered 21 categories, only the S Class (Agricultural Science) was absent, presenting almost full coverage (Xu, 2016: 1). The Central and Eastern European countries have a fine tradition of literary creation and have fruitful achievements in this area, so the translated literature has become a protagonist in translation and publication. Data have shown that by the end of June 2016, more than 300 varieties of literary books have been translated and introduced to China, ranking first in almost every category. So the Translation and Publication of Literary Books has made a huge contribution to this situation.

Among the publications imported from CEECs to China, the “Blue Eastern Europe” series published by Guangdong Flower City Publishing House play an essential role in terms of scale and influence on the recipients. This book series is the first project of introducing Eastern European literary works into Chinese in large scale, concentrating on works by famous Eastern European authors from Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, the former Yugoslav states and Albania. Translated works are mainly focused on novel, in addition, biography, prose and poetry are also included. As of December 2016, the series has published four volumes, covering nearly 40 works by outstanding writers such as Kadare, Klima, Milosz, Herbert, Salamun, Blaga, Miklós, etc. (See table below).

Catalogue of Collected Translations “Blue Eastern Europe” (Vol. I, II, III, IV)

Country	Title	Author	Genre
Albania	Chronicle in Stone (Kronikë në gur)	Ismail Kadare	novel
	The Wrong Dinner (Darka e Gabuar)		novel
	The Ghost Rider (Kush e solli Doruntinë?)		novel
	The Traitor’s Niche (Kamarja e turpit)		novel
	The Three-Arched Bridge (Ura me tri harqe)		novel
	The Successor (Pasardhësi)		novel
Poland	World of Stone 9 (Kamienny świat)	Tadeusz Borowski	novel
	Barbarzyńca w ogrodzie (Barbarian in the Garden)	Zbigniew Herbert	prose
	Martwa natura z wędzidłem (Still Life with Bridle)		prose
	Labirynt nad morzem (Labyrinth on the Sea-Shore)		prose
	Selected Poems by Herbert		poetry
	Second Space, Selected Poems by Miłosz	Czesław Miłosz	poetry
	Ziemia Ulro (The Land of Ulro)		prose
	Piesek przydrożny (Roadside Dog)		prose
	Solaris	Stanisław Lem	novel
	A Defense of Ardor	Adam Zagajewski	prose
	Without End: New and Selected Poems by Zagajewski		poetry
Romania	Cartograful puterii	Gabriel Chifu	prose
	Romanian Contemporary Poetry (Poezia Romana Contemporana)	Adam Zagajewski	novel
	Stones for My Temple, Aphorisms (Pietre pentru templul meu)		prose

Country	Title	Author	Genre
Czech Republic	Moje šílené století (My Mad Century)	Ivan Klíma	biography
	My Golden Trades (Moje zlatá řemesla)		novel
	Lovers for a Day (Milenci na jednu noc)		novel
	The Ultimate Intimacy (Poslední stupeň důvěrnosti)		novel
	TWaiting for the Dark, Waiting for the Light (Čekání na tmu, čekání na světlo)		novel
	No Saints or Angels (Ani svatí, ani andělé)		novel
	Meteor (Povětroň)	Karel Čapek	novel
	Totální strachy (Total Fears: Letters to Dubenka)	Bohumil Hrabal	prose
	Ostře sledované vlaky (Closely Observed Trains)		prose
	Slavnosti sněženek (Snowdrop Festival)		prose
Hungary	Něžný barbar (The Gentle Barbarian)	Vladislav Vančura	poetry
	Rozmarné léto (Summer of Caprice)		novel
	The Book of Fathers (Apák könyve)	Vámos Miklós	novel
Slovenia	Forgotten Dreams	Géza Csáth	Short story
	Lomtalanítás	Máriás Béla	novel
	One Billion Vagrants, or Nothingness	Tomaž Šalamun	poetry

In addition, historical and philosophical topics were also highlighted. CEECs are among the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with New China. Historically, the traditional friendship and special early relations between China and CEECs has boosted the publication of Marxist philosophy. „**Eastern European New Marxism Translation Col-**

lection” published by Heilongjiang University Press is the most striking series among the related publications. Until the end of 2016, the publications of this collection accounted to 39 titles (43 volumes), taking in the representative works of contemporary Eastern European philosophers, including *Main Currents of Marxism of Kołakowski, a Polish Philosopher; Marxist and the Human Individual of Schaff; and Socialist Humanism* of the Hungarian Marxist thinker Heller.

Some CEE countries suffered a lot from the violence of fascism during the second World War, they have published numerous historical books, recording the World War II and reflecting on Nazi’s atrocities. Common historical memory brings these books into the sight of domestic publishing press. These vivid historical data will help our readers to obtain a multi-angle and multi-faceted understanding of the history of World War II and the fascist crimes. Take *Slightly out of Focus: Capa’s Memoir of World War II* for example, this is a work imported and translated by the People’s Literature Publishing House, which represents the dangerous journey the Hungarian field photojournalist Robert Capa took with the Allies who had fought in the Atlantic, North Africa and Europe (Xu, 2016: 2).

China’s Publications in CEECs

Since the proposal of The Belt and Road Initiative, the two-way publishing exchanges between China and CEE countries have been strengthened. Numerous works have been imported from CEE countries, and at the same time, some Chinese publications targeting readers in 16 CEE countries are also growing constantly. But most of them are related to classical Chinese literature and traditional culture, such as *The Book of Songs, Book of Changes, Dream of Red Mansions*, etc. However, the translation of contemporary Chinese literature is obviously limited in comparison with the classical works. This situation tended to change due to Mo Yan’s winning of the Nobel Prize for Literature, and the works of the Chinese president Xi Jinping on The Chinese Dream.

Mo Yan’s winning of the Nobel Prize in 2012 makes his books popular among CEECs’ readers and publishers. According to incomplete statistics, Mo Yan’s novels have been translated into local languages and published in 12 CEECs out of 40 languages worldwide. Among them, the following novels have gained more favor: *Red Sorghum, The Republic of Wine, Big Breasts and Wide Hips, Sandalwood Torture, Life and Death Are Wearing Me Out*, and his recently most favored work Frog. (See table below¹).

¹ Based on Xiao’s statistics on the translated publications by Mo Yan in CEECs, the author updated the data to August 2016.

Translated works by Mo Yan in CEECs

Language	Title of Work	Title in Native Language	Translator	Publisher	Year
Albanian	Frog	Bretkosa	Iljas Spahiu	Onufri	2013
Estonian	Red Sorghum	Punane Sorgo	Märt Läänemets	Koolibri	2014
Bulgarian	Life and Death Are Wearing Me Out	Уморен да се раждам и да умирам	Petko Hinov	Letera	2014
	Change	Промяната	Nadya Baeva	Colibri	2013
	Sandalwood Death	Изтезание със санталово дърво	Stefan Rusinov	Letera	2016
Polish	Big Breasts & Wide Hips	Obfite persi, peine biodra	Katarzyna Kulpa	Wydawnictwo W.A.B	2007
	The Republic of Wine	Krajnę wódki	Katarzyna Kulpa	Wydawnictwo W.A.B	2006
Czech	Big Breasts & Wide Hips	Krev a mlíko	Denis Molčanov	Mlada fronta	2013
	Explosion	Velký třesk	Denis Molčanov	Dauphin	2016
Romania	Red Sorghum	Sorgul roșu	Dinu Luca	Humanitas Fiction	2008
	Change	Schimbarea	Dinu Luca	Seagull	2010
	Life and Death Are Wearing Me Out	Obosit de viață, obosit de moarte	Dinu Luca	Humanitas Fiction	2012
Croatian	Change	Promjena	Karoliia Svenčbir Bouzaza	Fraktura	2013
	The Republic of Wine	Republic Pijanaca	Zvonmir Baretic	Portalibris	2013
	Frog	Žabe	Karoliia Svenčbir Bouzaza	Fraktura	2016
Serbian	Frog	Zabe	Ana Jovanovic	Laguna	2013
Slovenian	Drug	Drog	Katja Kolsek	Litera	2007
Slovakian	Folk Music	Ľudová hudba	Anna Doležalová	A. Marencin	2008
Hungarian	The Republic of Wine	Szeszföld	Kalmár Éva	Noran Libro	2013
	Frog	Békák	Zombory Klára	Noran Libro	2013

The other highlight of China-themed books entering the CEE countries is *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China* and his notions on The Chinese Dream. In 2015, China signed agreements with the Andorra Knowledge Center of Hungry and Fan Noli of Albania to translate and co-publish this book’s Hungarian, Albanian and other language versions; in March last year, China and the Czech Republic signed the China-themed Book Publishing Cooperation Memo, stating that the Czech version of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China* will be the startup publication. It should be noted that, Xi Jinping’s work *The Chinese Dream* is becoming a bestselling book in Bulgaria, where 1500 copies of the book have arrived in circulation three weeks following its release.

Moreover, Chinese contemporary literary works are also being paid more attention. Since 2009, the best seller novel *Wolf Totem* by Jiang Rong has been exported to Poland, the Czech

Republic, Hungary and other CEECs. The translation of this work abroad has reached more than 30 languages, covering over 110 countries and regions around the world.

Obviously, the publishers and readers of CEECs are deeply infatuated with the ancient Chinese thoughts, culture and humanistic spirit; meanwhile, they are also gradually increasing their interest in contemporary China – pains, concerns, pursuits of the people. This represents not just a deepening of people-to-people exchange between the two sides, but the longing of the two peoples for enhancing mutual understanding.

Patterns of Publishing Cooperation between China and CEECs

In the recent years, Chinese publishing organizations with strength in international promotion are aiming at the Central and Eastern Europe's market, through **mutual literary translation, copyright exporting, localized dissemination and co-publishing**, they are seeking all-dimensional and multi-angle cooperation.

Literary works, especially classic literature, best represent the soul and the cultural essence of a nation. Literature is the most effective way to read and understand a nation. Literary translation is not only a cross-language communication behavior, but also a cross-cultural communication process and communication activities. It pulls our hearts together and provides the general public from different nations with a readily readable and perceivable channel. Therefore, in order to promote China-CEEC People-to-people and Cultural Exchange and achieve solidarity and sustainability, the two sides have included specific terms on mutual translation in „The Belgrade Guidelines for Cooperation between China and CEE countries” (2014)², „The Suzhou Outline” (2015) and „The Riga Program” (2016). At present, the mutual translation projects of classic, modern and contemporary works have been signed and the relevant projects under negotiation include:

In 2015, the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television of the People's Republic of China (SAPPRFT) and the Albanian Publishers Association signed the Cooperation Agreement on Sino-Arabic Classic Books Mutual Translation and Publishing Project. Under the agreement, the two sides will translate each other's 25 works in 5 years, making the agreement the largest publishing cooperation between the two countries so far. The project relies on the teaching and scientific research resources of Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU) and other organizations and institutes, with Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press (FLTRP) undertaking and organizing the mutual translation project. In August 2016, the project has already published its first work *Mother Albania (Chinese version)* at the Beijing International Book Fair. On 11th November, Albania Knowledge Publishing Company grandly released another masterpiece of the mutual translation project: *Fifteen Lectures on Chinese History (Arabic version)* by Zhang Qizhi, a noted Chinese historian and thought historian.

Mutual translation projects under negotiation include Cooperation Agreement on Sino-Bulgarian Classical Books Mutual Translation and Publishing Project, which is expected to be

² Article 10 of „The Belgrade Guidelines”: „Support China-CEEC cooperation in translation and publication of each other's literary works. The Chinese side welcomes CEECs to serve as the Country of Honor as a group at the Beijing International Book Fair in 2016”.

signed early next year. Besides, a Sino-Polish Classic Books Mutual Translation Project is also under discussion.

Although there are no formal agreements on mutual translation projects, Serbia's Geopoetika has cooperated with domestic publishing houses such as Anhui Literature and Art Publishing House for many years, and together they have completed many translation projects, including works of Yu Hua and Su Tong, two Chinese writers, and some Serbian popular contemporary literary works.

Copyright exporting stands for an important carrier of the Chinese culture „going out”, and has been vigorously advocated by the Chinese government since 2011. Under the encouragement and the impetus of the national policy, a number of books that produce international influence have been exported to CEECs' market. Interestingly, like CEECs' books published in China, Chinese books which have exported copyright were focused on similar topics, that is literature and philosophy. Among all exported varieties, Mo Yan's literary works and Xi Jinping's works on the Chinese Dream performed outstandingly.

The other representative result of the output of Chinese publications is the multilingual copyright exporting of *History of Chinese Civilization* (4 volumes), compiled by the famous scholar professor Yuan Xingpei. As the first project of the Cambridge China Library, which launched on 16th April 2012, the four-volume work presents a rare opportunity to the Westerners to listen to Chinese people talking to themselves about themselves, with no interference.³

In addition to copyright exporting, some publishers have actively set up institutional entities in CEE countries to unfold localized operation and dissemination. Shandong Friendship Publishing House's Nishan Bookstore has launched in Poland since 2015, aiming at displaying books, strengthening sales, and achieving a certain amount of physical export. Another case I would like to share is the China-themed Editorial Department, established by the largest university press in China – Foreign Language and Teaching Research Press (FLTRP) in the East-West Publishing House of Bulgaria in the last year. FLTRP intends to translate and publish through its editorial office in Bulgaria books with brightness and charm of Chinese culture. I suppose this would be a very helpful attempt both in the publishing pattern and for improving the acceptance of China-themed books among Bulgarian readers.

Meanwhile, **bilateral cooperation** in international publishing are moving forward frequently: in 2015, Beijing Publishing Group collaborated with the Czech International Cultural Exchange Association and built in Prague a Chinese literature promotion platform, „October Writer's Residence • Prague”, to connect small countries in Central and Eastern Europe; in June 2016, the world's first „China Book Center” was inaugurated in Warsaw, Poland; and in the same month, the China-themed Book Exhibition Month was held in the Serbian capital Belgrade.

³ About the Cambridge China Library, refer to <https://www.cambridgenetwork.co.uk/news/cambridge-launches-the-china-library/>.

Reflections and Suggestions

Even though the publishing communication between China and CEECs has shown some active trend, we still need to recognize that there exist a very huge room for more development. To this end, I have the following suggestions:

First, to improve the ability of cross-cultural communication, and treat translation of works carefully. Cultural products going abroad is a cross-cultural communication behavior. It needs to go through several phases, including copyright export, inter-lingual translation, foreign language publishing and foreign readers' recognition. Among all these phases, translation is an essential part, which requires translators not only to master bilingual expressions, but also to be familiar with the cultural background of the exporting country and the importing country.

Second, to pay more Attention to the Integration of Chinese and Foreign Elements in Publishing Cooperation. That means attaching great importance to these works' integration with their own culture. An original work integrated with local elements will not only satisfy local readers' interest in Chinese culture, but will also conform to their reading habits and expression ways. Works like these are more popular. This principle is applicable for the co-publication of children's books. The cartoon "Panda and Little Mole" co-created by CCTV Animation Co., Ltd. and the Czech Little Mole Group is a beneficial attempt in the cultural exchange field.

Third, we should step up cooperation in the development and utilization of content resources, the interconnection and expansion of sales channels, the joint development and the application of digital publishing technology and the integration of the traditional publishing industry and the new media. We will carry forward pioneering and innovative spirit and work together to create a better future for the China-CEEC publishing cooperation.

China and CEECs have a wide connection in terms of cultural tradition, however, the publishing exchange and cooperation is still in its infancy. With the continuous expansion and deepening of exchanges in each domain, with the increasing updating of the publishing means, the collaboration between the two sides in the field of publishing needs to be strengthened through innovation and creative efforts.

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Бийт поколението и китайската „грубиянска поезия“: по дирите на едно родство

Веселин Карастойчев

Beat Generation and Chinese “Macho Man Poetry”: Tracing a Kinship

Veselin Karastoychev

Abstract

This paper is an initial attempt for an analysis of the literary kinship between the poetry of the Beat generation during the 50's in USA and the so called “Macho Man poetry” (莽汉诗) of the 80's in China. It searches for an answer of the extended question: Is it possible to establish an influence of the beat generation and to what extent and how it is manifested?

The answers are of interest not only as a documentary, factological and textual research; they shed light on the idea that the fundamental avangardist irreconcilability against the ossified aesthetic norm is not related to the differences in the literary traditions and canons.

To this means a body of texts and parts of texts of the most famous poet Li Yawei will be compared typologically with poems from Ginsberg's “Howl”; simultaneously will be considered how the beat generation poetry is translated, adapted and perceived in China.

Keywords: Macho man poetry, The Third generation, modern China poetry, Li Yawei

След края на „културната революция“ през 1976 г. китайската литература постепенно се измъква от мъртвата хватка на политическото давление и навлиза в невиджана от началото на XX в. динамика на интензивни и разнопосочни процеси, потискани десетилетия наред в полето на литературния ъндърграунд. Неизживени своевременно модернистични тенденции се проявяват в стиховете на младите поети около полулегалното списание „Днес“ (今天), което просъществува едва две непълни години, от 1978 до 1980, но популярността на поместените в него текстове набира такава сила, че официалните литературни издания ги препечатват, макар неохотно и избирателно. Така е легитимирана нова по дух, формални белези и тематика поезия, която залага на субективното начало, чудновата образност и наситена метафоричност, сродяващи я със западния модернизъм. Наречени от китайските критици „поезия на забулената луна“ (朦胧诗), тези стихове предизвикват бурни дискусии в литературните среди, но популярността им сред многобройната читателска общност е безспорна и в началото на 80-те години „поезията на забулената луна“ вече е на върха на славата си – слава, допълнително увенчана с ореола на доскоро забранения и все още не напълно разрешен плод. Въпреки сериозните различия между поетиките на представителите от тази група все пак може да се направи обобщението, че те боравят с изтънчен, приглушен и наситен език, загърбил политическата декларативност от непосредственото минало, но същевременно откъснат от регистрите на разговорния език.

Много скоро обаче „поезията на забулената луна“ от обект на подражание се превръща

в мишена за безпardonно нахлуващите на литературната сцена млади поети от т.нар. „трето поколение“ (第三代), чиято скептична интуиция им подсказва, че самозаточилите се в своеобразна кула от слонова кост техни предшественици са отчуждили поезията от клокочещото битие и живата реч. В предните редици на „третото поколение“ се нареждат и поетите от групата на т.нар. „грубиянска поезия“ (莽汉主义, букв. „грубиянизъм“) – двадесетинагодишни студенти от Чънду, столицата на провинция Съчуан. Както се полага на истински авангардисти, те революционно видоизменят поетическия език: за първи път в хилядолетната китайска поетическа история разтварят дверите му пред разговорната реч и дори жаргонната лексика, въвеждат удължени синтактични конструкции с неочаквани асоциативни връзки, превръщат наративността в основен елемент на поетиката и т.н.

Характеристиката на „грубиянската поезия“ разкрива общи черти със стиховете на американското бийт поколение. Настоящото изследване представлява начален опит в анализирането на това родство и търси отговор на разгърнатия въпрос: Дали и доколко може да се говори за влияние на бийт поколението и в какво се изразява то? Отговорите представляват интерес не само в смисъла на документално, фактологично и текстологично проследяване, но и осветяват идеята за обща авангардистка непримиримост срещу застиналата естетическа конвенция без оглед на отделните литературни канони и традиции. За целите на изложението ще определим корпус от някои текстове и части от текстове на най-прочутия сред поетите-грубияни – Ли Я-уей (李亚伟), които ще сравним типологично със стихове от стихосбирката „Вой“ на Гинзбърг, като същевременно ще проследим хронологично как се превежда, адаптира и възприема в Китай поезията на бийт поколението.

През 90-те години на XX в. поезията на „третото поколение“ вече е история, а „грубиянските стихове“ се превръщат в един от основните обекти на изследване. През 1996 г. единият от главните замесени – признатият водач на групата Ли Я-уей (роден през 1963 г.), си спомня за създаването и развитието на грубиянската поезия в текста „Герои и хулигани“ (“英雄与泼皮”). Обръщайки внимание върху сходствата на тяхната поезия с тази на бийт поколението, авторът насмешливо отбелязва, че по-скоро творчеството на битниците би следвало да се нарече „западна поезия на грубияните“. Забележката на Ли Я-уей не е случайна: в много от изследователските интерпретации на „грубиянската поезия“ творчеството на бийт поколението неизменно присъства съпоставително, например в следната оценка: „Също както Гинзбърг по отношение на бийт поколението, без съмнение „грубияните“ са онези, които във висша степен олицетворяват скитанията, авантюрите, бунтарския дух и живот на поетите от „третото поколение“. Това най-вече се отнася за Ли Я-уей“ (Ли Шаоцюн, 2005:117).

Озадачение обаче предизвиква фактът, че споменавайки бийт поколението, Ли Я-уей същевременно отрича каквото и да било влияние върху „грубияните“ и твърди, че се е запознал с техни творби едва през 1985 г., когато поетът Даодзъ му бил изпратил от гр. Сиан превода на „Вой“ от Алън Гинзбърг (Ли Я-уей, 1996:228). Освен позоваването на закъснелия си прочит, Ли Я-уей подчертава как въпреки сходния дух на съпротива, между двете поетически движения се забелязвали сериозни различия в отношенията им към

битието, културния фон и духовното наследство. За него това са достатъчни основания да бъде отхвърлена идеята за влияние на бийт поколението върху „поезията на грубияните“.

Ако твърдението на Ли Я-уей за запознаването му със стиховете на битниците чак през 1985 г. е достоверно, то тогава едва ли би имало съмнение в самобитността на „грубияните“. Защото жалонните текстове на Ху Дун (胡冬) и на самия Ли Я-уей „Искам на кораб да отида в Париж“ (我想乘上一艘慢船到巴黎去) и „Факултет по китайски език“ (中文系) се появяват още през 1984 г. и съответно самопораждането на „грубиянската поезия“ изглежда безспорно. Дори само с оглед на художествения стил, тези клокочещи удължени стихове, бясно изригващи чувства, гъстите и твърди фрази са уникално явление през последните сто години, откакто съществува съвременна поезия, да не говорим за класическата китайска лирика.

Дали поразителната прилика между „грубияните“ и бийт поколението в крайна сметка е случаен резонанс между китайската и западната поетика, или те се намират в отношение на скрито влияние? Ако е първото, то творческият импулс на „грубияните“ би произтичал от родната традиция и творческото откривателство на отделния поет. Нека проследим бегло поетическата трансформация на Ли Я-уей.

Според спомените на поета Ян Ли: „преди грубиянската поезия Ли Я-уей блуждаеше единствено сред лирическият свят на Пушкин“ (Ян Ли, 2014:37); „пишеше традиционни лирически неща“ (Ibid.:210). Това продължава до 1984 г., когато без видим образец пред себе си и без белезите на някаква еволюция в търсенията, поетът сякаш *ex nihilo* написва „Факултет по китайски език“ изцяло в маниера на бийт поколението и не просто изхвърля от арсенала си Пушкиновата „дълбока и светла печал“, но и се откъсва от гравитацията на родната поезия, като осъществява тотален разрыв с дотогавашния си творчески път. Всичко това неизменно довежда до мисълта за някаква скрита външна подбуда. Защото в случая е налице външен ефект, който няма как да бъде обяснен с местната литературна традиция или творческата еволюция на Ли Я-уей. Следователно може да се търси влияние от чуждестранна литература. Главният заподозрян е поезията на бийт поколението, проникнала в Китай още през 60-те години. Ето кратка справка за материалите, свързани с нея:

1. На границата между 50-те и 60-те години издания като „Международни трудове по социални науки“, „Световна литература“ и др. публикуват някои преводни статии, свързани с бийт поколението.

2. Декември 1962 г. части от „По пътя“ са преведени и издадени под формата на „материали за вътрешна циркуляция“, т.е. предназначени единствено за кадри от средния и висшия ешелон на властта. Въпреки че имат ограничено разпространение и са под строг контрол, част от материалите скрито се предават от ръка на ръка и се четат от жадните за алтернативна литература младежи, превръщайки се в особени просветителски текстове за цяла една епоха. Например изпълнената с порив и устрем за свобода „По пътя“, насмешливото ѝ отношение и съпротивата срещу Системата и морала, оказва изключително влияние върху мисленето и поведението на младежите, поели „нагоре към планините и надолу към полята“¹. Според спомените на Джан Ланлан, основател на ъндърграунд гру-

¹ „Нагоре към планините, надолу към полята“ – кампания на Мао Дзедун от 60-те години, по време на която образованите младежи от градовете са изпращани на село, за да помагат в земеделския труд и да се поучат от ценностната система на селяните.

пировката „Воините на слънцето“: „Бяхме екзалтирани до такава степен, че някои преписаха да последната думичка „Спасителят в ръжта“. Аз самият я преписах до половината, за да си тренирам почерка. Дун Шабей можеше да рецитира наизуст големи части от „По пътя“. Неочаквано техните духовни селения се оказаха толкова сродни на нашите сърца!“. Вдъхновени от главния герой в американската книга, някои младежи отиват още по-далеч, имитирайки неговото бунтарско поведение: „Без много да му мисля, се отправих към Пекинската гара, където хванах първия потеглящ влак. В джобовите ми подрънкваха само два юана, а в гърдите ми клокочеше бунт срещу семейството и обществото. В Америка имаше една книга „По пътя“, ние тръгнахме по същия път, пак да видим какво щеше да се случи“ (5; 351-2).

3. В брой 2. от 1980 г. на списание „Гора от преводи“ е публикувана критическата статия на Сян Ю „Бийт поколението“.

4. В бр. 2 на сп. „Летящи небеса“ от 1981 г. излиза публикация от Джао И-фан под заглавие „Четвърти разговор за новите западни литературни течения: бийт поколението“.

5. В бр. 3 от 1981 г. на сп. „Съвременна чуждестранна литература“: „Критическа статия за бийт поколението“ от Джао И-фан, негови преводи на части от „Вой“ на Гинзбърг, подбрани кратки стихове в превод на Джао И-хън, както и значителен брой представителни творби на Гинзбърг, Гари Снайдър, Кенет Рекстрот и Лорънс Ферлингети.

6. През август 1984 г. излиза „Антология на чуждестранния модернизъм“ (т. 3) под съставителството и редакцията на Юан Къдзя. В нея са поместени преводи на първата част на „Вой“ (превод Джън Мин) и части от „По пътя“ (превод Хуан Юшъ и Шъ Сиенжун), а тиражът само на първото издание достига двадесет и една хиляди бройки.

7. През октомври и ноември 1984 г. по покана на Съюза на китайските писатели самият Гинзбърг посещава Китай и участва във Втората среща между китайски и американски писатели. По време на своя престой той посещава Пекин, Шанхай, Суджоу, Сиан и други градове и изнася лекции в Пекиния университет в продължение на близо месец. Това посещение в още по-голяма степен разпалва интереса към бийт поколението. Имаме основание да приемем, че поезията на битниците по онова време вече разполага с впечатляващ за тогавашното затворено китайско общество преводачески корпус, приковаващ вниманието на авангардните творци.

Поетите-грубияни са родени в началото на 60-те, следователно хронологически погледнато, „материалите за вътрешна циркулация“ е можело да попаднат в техните ръце. Но отчитайки факта, че нито един от тях не произхожда от семейство на висши чиновници или интелектуалци, вероятността някой да е чел „материалите за вътрешна циркулация“, посветени на бийт поколението, клони към нулата. Важно е да се отчете, че по време на „културната революция“ бъдещите „грубияни“ са с оскъдна читателска ерудиция. Роденият през 1963 г. Ли Я-уей например за първи път прочита чуждестранна книга, когато е единадесетгодишен, като опитът не е особено успешен – „нищичко не разбрах от прочетеното“. Така че действителното влияние на бийт поколението по-скоро ще търсим едва след края на „културната революция“ през 1976 г., но едва ли чак през посочената от Ли Я-уей година – 1985.

Нека отново се позовем на спомените на Ян Ли: „По някаква абсолютна случайност в

един почти разпаднал се брой на списание „Китайска младеж“ попаднах на кратка статия, критично представяща американското бийт поколение. В материала освен информацията, че в САЩ имало една група хомосексуалисти и наркомани, бе поместен и стих на Гинзбърг, който поразил мен – невръстния любител на поезията: „Видях себе си / как на три крака поемам по улицата“. След стиха авторът на статийката поясняваше, че това било халюцинация на поета, причинена от приемане на наркотици... Беше брой на „Китайска младеж“ от 60-те или дори 50-те години, който прочетох като гимназист (1978 г.). Две години по-късно, подражавайки на стиха, написах стихотворението „Излязох от пепелявия булевард“ (Ibid.:37).

Ян Ли принадлежи към друга значима авангардна група – Фейфей, но винаги е бил близък с Уан Ся, Ху Дун, Ли Я-уей и др., които често навестява „все едно отивах при роднини“, заедно пият и се веселят, обсъждат сериозни проблеми, разменят поезия. Неслучайно го наричат „първ събрат на грубияните“. В едно толкова живо общуване помежду им е трудно да си представим, че той не е споделил впечатленията и информацията си за бийт поколението. Още повече, че след 1980 г. вече са се натрупали доста преводи и не е нужно да се ровиш из старите издания, за да се осведомиш. Имайки предвид трескавия интерес на китайските писатели, литературни поклонници и студенти към съвременното западно изкуство след края на „културната революция“, както и огромния тираж на горепосочените списания, бийт поколението едва ли е непознато за поетите-грубияни, които в началото на 80-те години вече са и студенти. Самият Ли Я-уей през 1981 г. е приет в Съчуанския педагогически университет и до февруари 1984 г., когато пише „Су Дунпо и неговите събратя“, разполага с две години и половина да потърси и се запознае с издадените вече официално творби и критики за бийт поколението. А за жадния му интерес към чужда литература по онова време говори споменът, че през първата година в университета само френските прочетени книги са над петдесет (Лиу Лиу, 2009).

Разбира се, за да се установи фактът на влияние, далеч не е достатъчно удостоверяването на съвпадане във времето между запознаването на китайския читател с бийт поколението и творческите изблици на „грубияните“. Доказването на родствени връзки изисква разкриване в текстовете на китайските поети на достатъчен брой елементи от поезията на американските им събратя. За целта нека отново се обърнем към Ли Я-уей. За съжаление, не разполагаме с цялостни негови произведения и теоретични разсъждения отпреди 1984 г., които да характеризират творческата му траектория преди „грубиянската поезия“, затова започваме от февруари 1984 г., когато Ли Я-уей завършва вече споменатото стихотворение „Су Дунпо и неговите събратя“:

*древните люде в широките ръкави
криели хартия, четка и своите ръце
и дори когато кашляли
все едно редели изящни стихове*

...

рядко се влюбвали древните люде
стигало им нещото, наречено „съпруга“
в любовта им нямало злощастия като епохата Трицарствие
най-често се отправяли да съзерцават планината
на небето да се наслаждават
или от ладия лека живота преходен да наблюдават
..

тези наши интелектуалци
на кон древността прекосявали
пред императора да поднесат своята четка
заедно с предложения от сто куплета
понякога се случвало да ги приемат, тогава мир настъпвал
в земите поднебесни,
ала най-често ставали достойни предци на днешните „десни“

ех, щом сръбвали повечко нашите учени
започвали стихове да съчиняват
дори халатите им заприличвали на четки
натопени обилно в патилата житейски
в двореца с труд крепели телата хилави та да изглеждат подобаващо
с надежда че току-виж са ги направили началници
но най-често ги разжалвали в затънтени владения
да пишат сърцераздирателни сунски песнопения

Стихотворението се състои главно от сравнително кратки фрази, повествованието тече в ненадрагичив иронично-шеговит стил, близък до разговорната реч. Литераторите ерудити на класически Китай, во главе с един от най-прославените им представители Су Дунпо (1037 - 1101), са подложени на издевателски присмех, разобличени са слабостите и малодушието им. Текстът се противопоставя на авторитетите, на културата и на статуквото, с което изразява основната тоналност на „грубиянската поезия“, затова се възприема и като първото „грубиянско“ стихотворение на Ли Я-уей.

От друга страна обаче „грубиянското“ в него не притежава плътността и резкостта, характерни например за написаното от Ху Дун (р. 1962 г.) месец по-рано „Искам на бавен кораб да отида в Париж“, както и написаните девет месеца по-късно стихотворения на самия Ли Я-уей „Аз съм Китай“ и „Твърдоглавите“. Текстът все още е далече от класическия облик на „грубиянската поезия“, за която са характерни във формално отношение почти изцяло разговорна лексика, в съдържателен план с акцент върху сюжета, изключително провокативна и просмукана от сарказъм. „Су Дунпо и неговите събратя“ по-скоро е при-

мер за бунта срещу високопарната извисеност, идеализма и пиетета към изящното слово на „поезията на забулената луна“ и в този смисъл съдържа белези на демонстративно естетическо отцеубийство.

Мимоходом нека подчертаем и ролята на Ху Дун, най-ранния „грубиянин“ и автор на първото „проектно заглавие“ за стиховете на групата: „юнашка поезия“ (好汉诗). Неговото „Искам на бавен кораб да отида в Париж“ е един от първите образци за въвличане на силно разговорна лексика в поезията и цялостното звучене е доста хулиганско:

...искам на бавен кораб да отида в Париж
да разгледам Лувъра, двореца Версай и другите му шибани дворци
що да не поискам обратно чайника на танския ми дядо, точилката на сунската ми баба?
не, не аз, нека французите се срамуват
пък аз ще се вмъкна в търбуха на премиера Помпиду
до шушка ще разграбя натрупаното там
и най-нагло ще изпратя всичко в Забранения дворец
в градските музеи и всяко китайско семейство

Тези редове наваяват асоциации както с предизвикателните и преминаващи отвъд границите на традиционния морал и законност скитания в „По пътя“, така и с протяжния наративен синтаксис на Гинзбърг, изпълнен понякога с престъпни намерения:

...които бяха изключвани от академиите за смахване и публикуване на нецензурни
оди по прозорците на прилежния мозък,
които се свиваха в небръснати стаи по бельо и изгаряха парите си в боклукчийските
кошчета слушайки Ужаса през стената,
които бяха залавяни за брадите между краката на връщане през Ларедо, с колан
натежал от марихуана, за Ню Йорк,
които гълтаха огън в пребоядисани хотели или пиеха терпентин на Райската
алея, смърт, или в мъки пречистваха торсовете си нощ след нощ
със сънища, с опиати, с будни кошмари...

(Гинзбърг, „Вой“, прев. Вл. Левчев)

Ролята на Ху Дун по отношение на еволюцията на Ли Я-уей и въобще „грубиянската поезия“ изглежда двойка: едновременно като пряко влияние и опосредствано въздействие на битническата естетика.

И резултатът не закъснява – през втората половина на същата 1984 г., когато и преводите на битническа поезия добиват широко разпространение, стиховете на Ли Я-уей и неговите съратници се ожесточават и започват изцяло да черпят енергия, думи и теми от суровото и дръзновено битие. За първи път в цялата китайска поетическа история

несдържаният език на улицата с неговите ругатни и непресторена откровеност нахлува в стиха, сричайки неговата изтънчена висота, оголвайки го до кожа.

В завършените през ноември същата година „Факултет по китайски език“, „Аз съм Китай“ (我是中国), „Твърдоглавите“ (硬汉们) вече откриваме характерния ефект на вой и крясък, настроението достига точката на екзалтация, насмешливостта е заменена с безпардонна провокация, съзнанието за грубата сила на езика тържествува, а ритмиката става напрегната и накъсана:

*...живея все едно съм някой друг
гъст чай, люта ракия, грозна приятелка
станал съм воин дето се хвърля напред и все го отблъсват
сигурно съм друг човек, мнозина други, половин аз
бъдещо минало съм, път от другата страна на автобусна спирка
аз съм много поети и смърдящи стихоплетци*
(Ли Я-уей, „Аз съм Китай“)

Тук стиховете се сдобиват с търсената ударна сила и безцеремонност, маркирайки бързия преход от „школуването при Пушкин“ през присмеха над Су Дунпо и неговите събратя до овладяването на уроците на бийт поколението. През август 1985 г. Ли Я-уей вече е захвърлил любимия си прийома на изреждане на кратки фрази и започва да експериментира с все по-протяжен синтаксис. Както поетът сам признава, по същото време прочита пълното издание на „Вой“. В текстовете му от този период отчетливо личи влиянието от стихосбирката на Гинзбърг както в синтактичните конструкции, така и в наративната интонация. Нека сравним:

*Видях най-добрите мозъци на моето поколение съсипани от лудост, гладни
истерични голи,
как се влачат на разсъмване по негърските улици и търсят инжекция от гняв,
ангелоглави хипстъри изгарящи за древното небесно свързване със звездното
динамо в машинарията на нощта,
които дрипави мизерни празнооки упоени се вдигаха да пушат в свръхестествения
мрак на влажни блокове и плуваха през върховете на града в замисления джаз...*
(Гинзбърг, „Вой“, прев. Вл. Левчев)

*Отхапаната му от монголците ръка прекоси лятото и към него
се протегна бавно поднесе до очите му празния бокал на съществуването по безкрайния
път той
ниян-заян пое към родния край и стъпка по стъпка събираше следите от себе си*
(Ли Я-уей, „Скитник“)

*Съществата от човешкия род онези дето се придвижват изправени на два крака
братя и сестри потомци на дракона
ден след ден се обръщат от календара на земята добират се до пика на раждаемостта
кривват
към климактериума прекосяват
проблясващия за последно ексцентричен характер и навлизат в стопената субстанция на
погребалната зала*
(Ли Я-уей, „Динозаври“)

И така, за девет месеца поетиката на Ли Я-уейот „Су Дунпо и неговите събратя“ до „Аз съм Китай“ се преобразява. Обяснение за тази трансформация може да се търси най-вече в силен външен импулс, влияние и пример, които идват най-вероятно от Ху Дун и пряко или опосредствано се дължат на бийт поколението.

От изложеното дотук се налага изводът, че важна предпоставка за литературното влияние е конвергенцията или типологичното сходство. Вече бе спомената общата неприязън към литературната класика и конформизъм, друга сродяваща битниците и „грубияните“ черта е стремежът битието да се изживява тотално и извън нормите за благоприличие. („За нас постъпките и думите са еднакво важни!“, Ли Я-уей).

Въз основа на типологичното родство се разгръща и самата поетическа метаморфоза на „грубияните“, която има пряк и опосредстван характер. Елементите от естетиката на бийт поколението „грубияните“ възприемат творчески и органично и това е добра илюстрация на твърдението, че „в повечето случаи литературното влияние не представлява пряко предаване или заимстване; редки са примерите на буквално подражание и винаги е налице някакво творческо изменение“ (Вайсщайн, 1988:31). В този смисъл каламбурът на Ли Я-уей „Бийт поколението, това са американските „грубияни“!“ подсказва и една неосъществена, но мислима ситуация на обратно влияние.

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Общо и различно в китайската и българската коренотърсаческа литература

Христина Теодосиева

Similarities and Differences Between Chinese and Bulgarian Root-seeking Literature

Hristina Teodosieva

Abstract

More than 7,000 kilometers apart, but no more than 10 years in between, the same phenomenon appears to be of significant in two completely separate literatures. Root-seeking, which sets a way towards a nation's own uniqueness, seemed to be a possible escape from the depersonalizing dogmatic art for Chinese, as well as for Bulgarian literature. The authors delve into similar issues, searching for distinct individual beginnings, which would set their literary world to be inimitable. In a Bulgarian context this type of writing is attributed to YordanRadichkov, Vasil Popov and Nikolay Haytov. This type of world setting turns out to be especially similar to parts of Chinese root-seeking prose. Han Shaogong, Ah Cheng, Feng Jicai focus on matters of traditional Chinese outlook and return to rural grounds, where they find bases for establishing a new type of consciousness. Their works are characterized neither by idealizations, nor by renouncing the past. Chinese root-seeking has a wider range than its Bulgarian counterpart. It stems from poetic texts, and includes rural, as well as urban themes. Root-seeking, even under similar circumstances and with a similar purpose, is always unique by definition, namely because seeking the bases leads the authors to authentic beginnings, individualizing their own national identity.

Keywords: Root-seeking, Chinese literature, Bulgarian Literature, nation, past

На повече от 7000 км разстояние с разлика не повече от 10 години едно явление се явява значимо за две напълно откъснати една от друга литератури. Коренотърсачеството, което посочва път към уникалността на една националност, е възможен изход от господстващия дискурс както за китайската, така и за българската литература. Авторите се вглеждат в този тип проблематика, търсейки индивидуалното начало, което да утвърди художествения им свят като неповторим. В български контекст този тип писане се свързва с имената на Йордан Радичков, Васил Попов, Йордан Вълчев. В творчеството им селската проблематика се смесва с магически реализъм, като на места присъства и сказ. Този тип светоизграждане се оказва особено близък до част от прозата на китайските автори коренотърсачи. В Китай Хан Шаогун, А Чън и Фън Дзицай се фокусират върху въпросите за традиционния народен мироглед и се завръщат към пространството на селото, където откриват основания за изграждането на един нов тип самосъзнание.

Творбите както на българските, така и на китайските автори коренотърсачи не се характеризират нито с идеализация, нито с отхвърляне по отношение на миналото. Китайското коренотърсачество има по-широк обхват от направлението в България. То води началото си от поетически текстове и обхваща както селска, така и градска проблематика. Характерно за някои автори е вглеждането в запазените или вече изчезващи народни диалекти като извор на знание за разбиранията и възгледите на хората. От друга страна, българската „литература на корените“ е изцяло прозаически феномен, а пространството, върху което е концентрирана, е селото. Коренотърсачеството, дори при сходни условия, с подобна цел и

идейна насоченост, винаги е уникално именно защото търсенето на основите отвежда авторите до автентичните начала, индивидуализиращи националната им самобитност.

Китайската литература на корените

Търсенето на път към миналото, което да утвърди настоящето на литературата в Китай, е една от тенденциите, които се зараждат непосредствено след Културната революция. Силните европейски влияния, на които са подвластни голяма част писателите в този период, отдалечават както поезията, така и прозата, от литературното наследство на дълговековната история на Китай. В тази ситуация уникалното, различното и специфичното се превръщат в далечен отблясък на спомена, към който малцина се завръщат. Изглежда, че в този период стремежът за доближаване до европейското обхваща редица китайски творци като един вид отговор на дотогавашната забрана за контакт с външния свят. Може да се каже, че този процес отчасти повтаря значително по-силната подобна тенденция в началото на XX в. През първото десетилетие на XX в. Китай рязко се оттласква от своята хилядолетна писмена традиция, променяйки както самия език, на който се пишат художествените текстове, така и темите, героите и образите в тях.

Обръщането към изворите на китайската култура и връщането им към нов живот са основните опорни точки на коренотърсачеството. Според авторите, които споделят тези възгледи, именно това е единственият път, по който китайската литература може да се представи пред света по автентичен начин, да изпъкне и да достигне до нови върхове. Едни от най-изявените представители на направлението са Хан Шаогун, А Чън, Дзя Пинуа, Фън Дзицай и др.

Макар и по-силно наложило се в прозата, коренотърсачеството първоначално се появява в лирическите жанрове. Един от поетите, които заявяват нуждата от завръщане към културното наследство, е Ян Лян. В същото време на литературната сцена се появява Уан Мън. Може би най-известният автор от тази група е Хан Шаогун. Неговият текст „Корените на литературата“: 文学的根 - се превръща в своеобразен манифест на направлението. Появата на това съчинение е свързана със симпозиум през декември 1984 г. в Ханджоу, където се обсъждат въпросите на литературата. „Корените на литературата“ е публикуван скоро след това събитие и така терминът се утвърждава. „Според виждането на Хан и неговите колеги има пропаст между древното минало и настоящето и през XX в., Китай е преживял период на амнезия, в който богатото минало на нацията е било изтрито от колективната памет“ (Ying, 2010:159). Така на „колективния Аз“, характерен за предходния период, се противопоставят „корените“, чрез които се търси „Азът на народа“ (韩少功, 2003) - понятие, което самият Хан Шаогун използва, - който единствен може да осигури автентичността на китайската литература. Сблъскват се селото и градът, официалният език и местните диалекти, както и наложената и неофициалната литература, при това по протежение на цялата история на китайската култура.

Българската коренотърсаческа проза

Българската коренотърсаческа проза възниква по-рано от китайската и почти едновременно с вземания за образец в световен план латиноамерикански магически реализъм. Разцветът си тя преживява през 60-те години, като творби от този тип се появяват и до средата на 70-те. Определението „коренотърсаческа“ не е свързано с манифест или теоретично предзадаване, както в чуждестранната литература, а е по-скоро функционално. Авторите, причислени към тази група, имат своите специфики, които не позволяват еднозначно обобщаване на творчеството им. Една от основните задачи, с които се сблъскват творците, е тази

да „достигнат народопсихологическите корени на фолклорно-митологичното, да се види то като израз на екзотичен и уникален начин на мислене, на възприемане и реагиране на света“ (Стоянова, 1996:55).

У нас направлението се свързва със зараждането на постмодернизма главно чрез фигурата на Йордан Радичков, чиито творби биват приемани както за емблематични по отношение на коренотърсачеството, така и за първи стъпки в съвременното течение. Малко по-късно другият ключов представител на направлението у нас – Васил Попов, пише предговора към българоезичното издание на книгата „Сто години самота“ на Габриел Гарсия Маркес. Интересно е обаче, че по времето на възникването на направлението у нас, такъв превод все още няма: „Произведенията на Йордан Радичков и Йордан Вълчев предхождат по време преводите на произведения на латиноамериканския магически реализъм в България, така че едва ли може да се говори за непосредствени влияние и заемки в този период (първият превод на *Сто години самота* е от 1971 г.)“ (Симеонова-Конах, 2012).

Извори на идеите

Коренотърсачеството в Китай търси своите истории сред традициите на народа, авторите откриват персонажите си в провинциите - най-често именно тези, от които самите те произхождат. Подобно териториализиране може да бъде открито и в българската проза, свързана с това направление. Именно близката връзка на творците с конкретните места им дава възможност да опишат изключително достоверно порядките, мисленето и нравите на хората. Коренотърсачите проправят своя път сред все още живите източници на достоверния спомен за миналото. Селото е пространството, където трусовете на съвременността са постигнали само ограничен успех. Освен това влиянието на Запада в земеделските райони също не е достигнало мащабите, които има например в Пекин. Това са част от причините именно то да бъде фокус на направлението. Същевременно обаче градовете също имат своите дълбоки корени. Затова се появяват два различни вида коренотърсаческа литература – градска и селска. Независимо от предпочитанието, това направление се опитва да „постави въпроси за китайската традиционна култура и да изследва съдържанията ѝ с модерни характеристики“ (Dan, 2012:228). От една страна, има автори, които търсят корените на китайското в отдалечените планини, покрай реките, в селските райони. Някои от тях се опират и на даоизма като неканонично, но изключително влиятелно учение, което е формирало мисленето и разбиранията на народа. От друга страна, са авторите, търсещи корени под застроените мегаполиси, сред небостъргачите и търговските центрове. Градът, макар и изменил диаметрално своя облик спрямо миналото, не е успял да унищожи основите, върху които е построен. Китайските автори от това направление са силно обвързани със собствените си родни места. Така например Лу Уънфу е авторът на традиционен Су Джоу, а на стария Пекин е Дън Йоумей. Хан Шаогун се концентрира върху изобразяването на региона Мациао, а роденият в Шанджоу Дзя Пинуа пише „Първоначални записки за Шанджоу“ и „Светски истории от Шанджоу“.

За разлика от китайската коренотърсаческа литература, българската е изцяло насочена към селското пространство. Това обаче по никакъв начин не прави текстовете им „селска проза“ в традиционния смисъл на това понятие у нас. Напротив, в „Слово за Васил Попов“ Иван Станков заявява, че „Корените“ „е ехо на сложното социално време и на случващите се в него миграционни размествания, но не е тяхно „отражение“. Център в нея не са социалните проблеми на селото, а екзистенциалните проблеми на човека, при това не в тяхната

стихия, а в мигове на драматично утаяване“ (Станков, 2005).

Според Никола Георгиев неправилните прогнози на някои литературоведи не са успели да предвидят завръщането към селото и към корените. „Затова, ако наблюденията върху досегашния литературен процес не можаха да предотвратят нереалистичните прогнози, нека поне ни помогнат в разрешаването на „неочакваните“ проблеми, които някои „селски“ писатели (Йордан Радичков, Йордан Вълчев, Васил Попов) поставиха пред нас“ (Георгиев, 1994:245).

Също както китайските автори, и българските, често черпят вдъхновение от собствените си родни места. Така например Йордан Радичков, роден в село Калиманица, изобразява в художествения си свят именно Северозападна България. Основен топос на неговите истории е малкото село Черкаски, което се намира в тази област. Отново в Северозападна България, но около град Кула – родното място на Йордан Вълчев, се развиват разказите му в сборника „Родихме се змейове“. В един от тях „Клетварката“, той дори представя митологизиран произход на собствената си фамилия.

Случаят с разказите на Васил Попов е по-специфичен. Роден във великотърновското село Миндя, в сборника си „Корените“ той представя „Хроника на едно село“. Но това село няма нито име, нито място. По думите на Иван Станков – не може и да има „не само защото вечната баба Неделя е отрицание на какъвто и да е „хронос“, но и защото, което и да е име на българско село в заглавието щеше да е погрешно. Защото идеята, стремежът на книгата е не да бъде вкарана определена художествена реалност в рамките на конкретна социална действителност, а тъкмо обратното (Станков, 2005).

Търсенето на алтернативни истории

Още една от целите на коренотърсачеството е откриването на алтернативни истории. Търсейки своето вдъхновение в традиционните корени на отделните малки общества, населяващи Китай, авторите разкриват различни страни на неразказаното минало. „Откриването или преоткриването на локалната история и маргинализираните култури е очевидна черта на коренотърсаческата литература“ (Chang, 2010:659).

Въпреки наличието на една степен романтизиране, ако предположим, че коренотърсачите се стремят да идеализират миналото, това би ни отвело в погрешна посока. Тяхното търсене на автентичен Китай не изолира абсурдите на някои от порядките, нито представя обществото в неговия свършен ред. Така например не са подминати фаталните последици от еротизирането на малките женски крака, постигнати с бинтоването им от ранна детска възраст и причиняващи непосилни болки. Това е темата на повестта „Триинчовият златен лотос“ на Фън Дзицай. Именно изобразявайки подобни феномени, авторите на коренотърсаческата литература запазват своето умение да поставят истината на първо място.

В България, точно както и в Китай, авторите коренотърсачи откриват неразказаните истории и благодарение на тях създават свои модерно звучащи творби. Галя Симеонова-Конах вижда причината за възраждането на митологическия наратив в „гибелта на буколическа България, окончателното и фактическо унищожение, което българските писатели къде съзнателно, къде интуитивно разбират: гибелта – индивидуална, като лична съдба и историческо съзнание, и обществена – отнемането на земята, миграцията, загубването на връзката с родното и локалния свят“ (Симеонова-Конах, 2012).

Влияния и взаимодействия

Идеята за търсенето на автентичното, реализирана от коренотърсачите, не е нито уникална, нито собствена. Подобен процес се открива и в други литератури, но интересното е, че повечето от тях са именно маргинализираните спрямо западноевропейското културно пространство. Вдъхновението за повечето от тях идва от латиноамериканската култура, която също като китайската е извън този център. Особено силен подтик дава Габриел Гарсия Маркес, печелейки Нобелова награда през 1982 г. Оценяването на латиноамериканския магически реализъм на световно ниво показва, че той може да отведе до наистина високи върхове. „Постиженията на латиноамериканската литература пораждат у тях (китайските автори) идеята, че е възможно да постигнеш модерност и международна слава и в същото време да запазиш собствените си национални характеристики“ (Cai, 2004:50). В същото време призивът за завръщане към корените идва от западноевропейския модернизъм, от който китайските автори се опитват да се оттласнат. „Интересно е, че „търсене на корените“ е било изначално западен модернистки слоган, но това, което китайските автори коренотърсачи, които черпят философско вдъхновение от термина намират, не е душата на западните хора, а по-скоро своята собствена“, отбелязва Ли Чинси (Li, 2000:115).

Подобно поставяне на самобитността и индивидуалността на преден план правят и българските автори коренотърсачи. Както вече беше отбелязано, въпросът за влиянията от латиноамериканския магически реализъм е по-скоро отхвърлен, тъй като произведенията на Габриел Гарсия Маркес и тези на Радичков се появяват почти едновременно („Сто години самота“ например е издадена за първи път 1967 г., а „Свирепостта“ излиза дори по-рано - през 1965 г.), а преводите на чуждестранните творби у нас са по-късни. По този начин едно опиране на предходни постижения – каквото е получаването на Нобеловата награда от Маркес, у нас не е било възможно. Според Галя Симеонова-Конах „Насоката, опираща се върху структурата на митизирания разказ е иманентно заложена в българското литературно развитие, тъй като става въпрос за реални многообразни културни пластове, дълбоко залегнали в националното съзнание и родовата памет“ (Симеонова-Конах, 2012).

Сянката на чуждестранната култура през XX в. пада не само върху художествената китайска литература, но и върху нейната теория. Лесно може да се проследи марксистското влияние, както и това на социалистическия реализъм, които са привнесени почти наготово в китайския контекст, посочва изследователят Лиу Дзайфу. В същото време не по-малка е била и силата на екзистенциализма, романтизма, хуманизма и редица други типично западни явления. Включително психоаналитичните разбирания на Фройд биват изключително популярни около и след Културната революция. Търсенето на автентичното и различното в китайската литературна теория според Лиу Дзайфу има три пътя: „първо, усилието да се върне към творческия и възприемчив субект, второ, опитът да се обърне към литература-за-самата-себе си (текста); трето, като усилие да се върне към духовната родна земя“ (Liu, 2000:7). Доколко първите две посоки наистина биха били уникални за китайската литературна мисъл спрямо западната, в голяма степен е спорно. Последната възможност обаче е изцяло обърната към собственото културно наследство, което до голяма степен не само е неповлияно от чуждите култури, но и неразбираемо за тях. Такъв пример е повестта на Хан Шаогун - „爸爸“, която още в заглавието си поставя непреводима езикова игра между думата за „баща“ и безсмислица. Редица от изразите в нея остават непроницаеми за читателя без по-късния текст на същия автор „Речник на Мацiao“ - 马桥词典, в който кратки пасажки, посветени на отделни фрази, обясняват говора на региона. Едно описание в повест-

та изключително напомня на този проблем: „Ако бегло погледнеш - орел, внимателно като се вгледаш - пеперуда. На пръв поглед е пепелночерна. Взираш се и едва тогава откриваш, че черните криле са покрити с пъстра мрежа от зелени, жълти и оранжеви петънца - смътна, неуловима, уж е там, уж я няма - като писменост, която не можеш да разгадаеш“ (Шаогун). Такъв е и текстът на Хан Шаогун – преплиташите се нишки на съвременност и митологичен фолклор създават трудна за прекриване бариера. Сюжетът прескача между историята на главния герой Бин Дзай, който може да произнесе само две получленоразделни реплики, миналото на местността чак до неговите първи предполагаеми заселници, живота и смъртта на селото.

Според Лиу Дзайфу една от причините за появата на коренотърсаческата литература е „чувството за бездомност“ на писателите и усещането, че „мъдростта на другите земи и другите хора може да бъде заета, но никога няма да стане тяхна собствена; езиковата мода на другите земи може да бъде присадена, но никога няма да бъде тяхна собствена воля“ (Liu, 2000:10). Именно тук идва нуждата от откриването на духовната родна земя. Независимо дали представят мъдростта на миналото, или абсурдите на суеверията, писателите коренотърсачи сами са белязани от тази култура и в нея откриват много повече, отколкото при всеки опит да насочат погледа си навън като странични наблюдатели.

Но това не е литература за домашна употреба. Напротив, именно като начин да съизмерят литературния си потенциал с останалия свят авторите виждат мястото на това направление. И в крайна сметка се оказват прави – носителят на Нобелова награда Мо Йен е свързан в една или друга степен с коренотърсачеството. Той самият не е напълно съгласен с такова определение¹, но голяма част от разказите му извират именно от колективното народно съзнание благодарение на историите, които е слушал в детството си.

Цели и резултати

Завръщането към корените не е безкритично. Точно обратното, това направление не се примирява с официално представеното минало. Подбирайки най-вече неразказаните истории, които остават „под линия“ на официалните направления по протежение на историята на Китай, писателите коренотърсачи търсят такъв тип трансцендираща представа, която да ги отпрати към духовните основи, а не социалните, материалните или политическите. Те „не приемат китайската традиционна култура в цялост, а се опитват да отделят само онези части от нея, които изглеждат животворящи за последващото развитие на китайската литература“ (Lomova, 1994:217).

В България светът, който писателите коренотърсачи изобразяват, също не е еднозначен. Никола Георгиев определя Радичков като „литературно най-ироничен наш писател“ (Георгиев, 1994:256). Именно затова Георгиев предупреждава черкаските разкази на Радичков да не бъдат лекомислено причислявани към „сериозната“ категория“ (Георгиев, 1994:256).

Според писателите коренотърсачи литературата не трябва да бъде използвана за социални цели. Те отхвърлят морализаторското, пропагандното и поучителното в сферата на

¹ Мо Йен заявява, че не се отъждествява с никое от литературните течения в Китай и че има свой собствен подход. За пореден път изказва тази позиция по време на посещението си в България през 2014 г. по време на литературен форум след получаването на званието „Доктор хонорис кауза“ на СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“. „Някои казват, че аз съм основен представител на литературата, търсеца корените си, докато други казват, че аз съм представител на авангардната литература. Може би не принадлежа на нито едно от тези литературни течения или което и да било друго литературно течение. Аз просто съм си аз“ (Калчева, 2014).

художественото. По този начин се доближават до тенденции от началото на XX в., видими най-вече при движението „Четвърти май“. В същото време те не подемат напълно тази линия, защото желанието им за връзка със собствено китайското минало ги отдалечава от западно ориентирания модернизъм. Нещо повече – те преосмислят отношението към типично „китайското“, което през XX в. е натрупало все повече негативни конотации. Дистанцията между Запада и Изтока, която виждат авторите от „Четвърти май“, все още е налична, но двете страни на опозицията отхвърлят категоричните означения с „плюс“ и „минус“. Това преоценяване продължава и извън коренотърсаческата литература. „Идеята за „корените“ е била просто първата стъпка – тя повдига проблема и променя предишната *a priori* негативна оценка на традиционната култура, която не е способна да види традицията в по-голяма комплексност и да открие модерните стойности в традиционната китайска култура“, смята Олга Ломова (Lomova, 1994:225).

Потребността от нов тип писане може да бъде търсена в причинената от Културната революция криза на идентичността. Тя засяга цялото китайско общество, но с особено голяма сила повлиява на интелегенцията. Според Рун Цай основата на този проблем е в „отричането на най-базовите хуманистични ценности като състрадание, любов, достойнство и доверие през Културната революция“ (Cai, 2004:30).

Коренотърсачеството у нас също има предпоставки в своята съвременност. Тук, както и в Китай, то се явява един вид бунт спрямо предхождащата го естетика и се превръща в самобитен път, който отвежда към изход от догматичното. По думите на Галя Симеонова-Конах „На „новите времена“ Васил Попов противопоставя „вечните времена“ на метафизическото единство на живи и мъртви в запустелите пространства на буколическа България“ (Симеонова-Конах, 2012). Именно такъв тип циклично време, характерно за митологическото мислене, присъства и в китайската коренотърсаческа проза. Повестта на Хан Шаогун „Татковци“ представлява именно същото преплитане на повтарящи се събития от древността досега. Нещо повече – топосите, в които се реализира действието, също са сходни. Не само селото, но и планината като едно специфично пространство на самобитността се явява съхранител на народната памет и на корените, които авторите търсят.

Това, което откроява високата естетическа стойност на творбите от коренотърсаческия период, е тяхната атемпорална, неангажирана с декларативност или самоцелна утилитарност природа. Митологичните пластове в българската коренотърсаческа литература достигат дълбоко под фолклорното ниво. Най-видимият слой, разбира се, са именно онези традиционни начала, които са познати от народнопесенното творчество. Но въпросът за митологичния пласт в българската коренотърсаческа проза се оказва сложен и многопластов. Според Никола Георгиев „Митологичните отрязъци в разказите са също много – толкова много, че някои се изкушиха да заговорят за новия селски митологизъм на Радичков. Това би било хубаво или поне вярно, ако митологичното на тези отрязъци не беше на свой ред иронизирано в сложния си стилев контекст. Иронизират го не само отрязъците с традиционен селски реализъм („Верблюд“, „Бибино лице“, „Белег от бълха“), но и останалите „гласове“ на тази стилова полифония“ (Георгиев, 1994:257). Според Людмила Стоянова в художествения свят на Радичков присъства „една вътрешна, магикофантастична фолклорност“ (Стоянова, 1996:49).

Заклучение

Българската и китайската коренотърсаческа литература, макар и изключително отдалечени географски една от друга, имат своите общи идеи, теми и проявления. Различията в

светогледа на двете култури не правят невъзможно съпоставянето на литературни тенденции, зародили се независимо в отделните държави. Приликите, които могат да бъдат открити, са свързани с причините за възникването на направлението – и в двете страни то се появява в противовес на официално наложената литература в един смутен период. Като пресечна точка между китайската и българската коренотърсаческа литература се явява латиноамериканският магически реализъм. Макар и в наш контекст той да не е бил вземан като образец, приликите са ясно различими. В същото време двете основни идеи – разказването на алтернативната история и търсенето на автентично националното, също се проявяват и в двата контекста. Различно е времето на възникване на направлението – в Китай през 70-те години, а в България – през 60-те. У нас то се реализира единствено в прозата, докато в чуждестранната литература присъства и в поезията. Независимо от съвпаденията и проявите на коренотърсаческата литература в множество страни, тя всеки път се явява различна и уникална. Представеният от китайските автори свят, както и този от българските, е автентичен, уникален и ненаподоби. Не заради художествения метод, а именно заради своите корени.

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