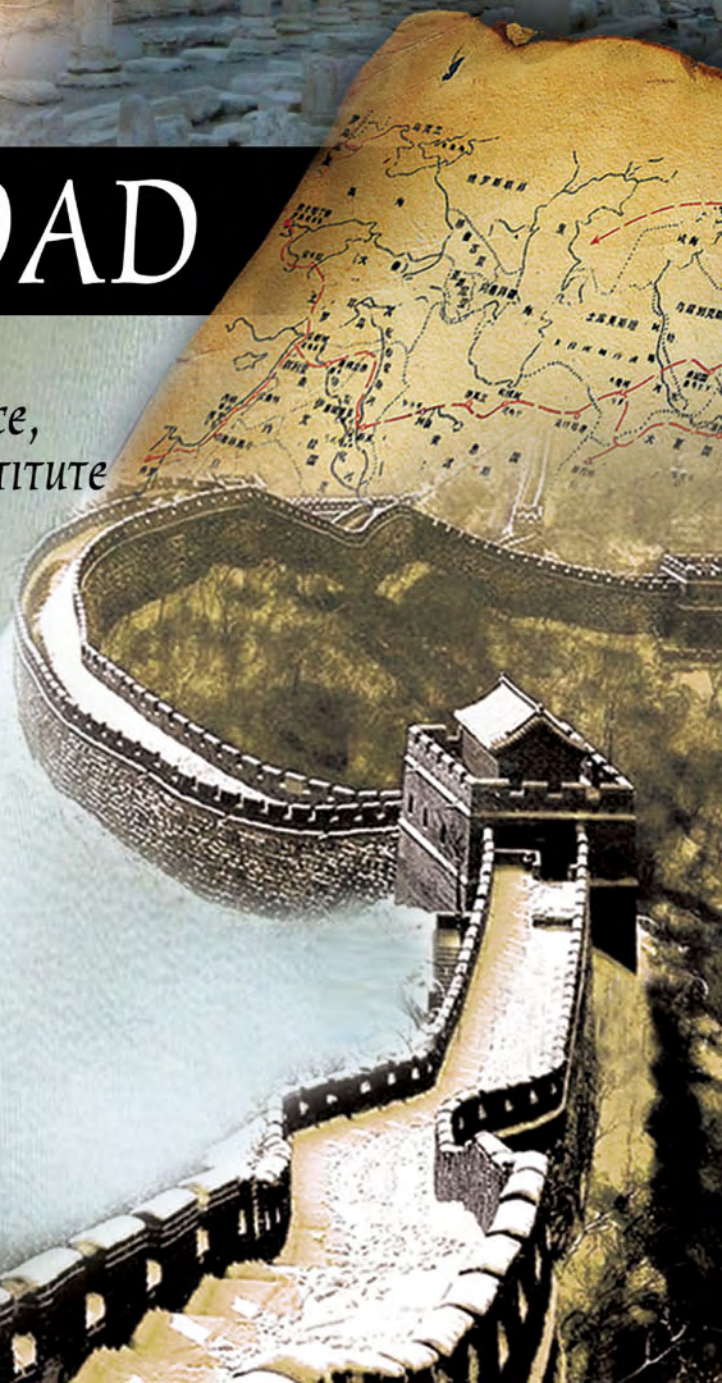# THE SILK ROAD

Papers from
the International Conference,
Organized by Confucius Institute
in Sofia, Bulgaria,
June 3-4, 2011

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This collection of articles is dedicated to the 5-th anniversary
of the founding of the Confucius Institute in Sofia
and
is in honor of the memory of Zhang Sunfen-Kanetti –
the founder of Chinese language teaching in Bulgaria

CONTENTS

LINGUISTICS

MAIN PUNNING STRATEGIES IN TRADITIONAL CHINESE CULTURE: A LINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

by Alexander Alexiev, "St. Kliment Ohridski" University of Sofia

ABSTRACT: Isolating typology and relevant phonological characteristics of the Chinese language, leading to extensive multifunctionality of language elements, homonymy or polysemy, homophony and paronymy, have long turned wordplay, punning in particular, into a major logical instrument for conveying symbolic meaning in traditional Chinese culture. Semantic associations between different objects through total identity or similarity in their linguistic form can be classified according to the nature of the logical mechanism that sets them off. The article explores two strategies for designing such linguistic triggers: overt and covert punning.

Without going into details on the essence and exact scope of which phonetic and semantic relationships between words should be referred to as punning or wordplay or language-play, let us assume a more or less common view: the first two terms are interchangeable, and the third is perceived as a wider concept, including non-punning expressions as well (see e.g. Shrotter 2005; 2010:138). Let us also consider a fuzzy, from a linguistic point of view, but agreeable and commonly accepted short definition of the word "pun" by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary:

"The usually humorous use of a word in such a way as to suggest two or more of its meanings or the meaning of another word similar in sound."

If we label the main elements in this concept with the use of more precise linguistic terminology, the latter should include: inherent static systemic relationships between meanings of words in the lexicon, like homonymy, homophony and polysemy, - with regard to the spoken language, and also homography – if we take into consideration the written language as well. Since it is more a question of "use of a word" in a certain, deliberately chosen way, with a goal of producing a certain pragmatic effect, this phenomenon is more associated with the dynamic use of language as an artistic tool – more to do with language stylistics, as a figure of speech. The Chinese term for pun is roughly equal to 双关[1] (cf. Li 2000). It includes 谐音双关 "phonetic concordance wordplay" - the use of language elements, which are homophonous (音同谐音) (i.e. total phonetic identity – same syllables and tones, but different words and meanings), or paronymous (paronomasia) (音近谐音) (i.e. partial phonetic identity – different syllables and/or tones, different words and meanings), and also represents "puns with different meanings" (别义双关). The latter could be treated as punning via homonymy or polysemy, depending on the way we choose to define these terms.

It should be noted that in China there's been a long tradition in semantic association of language units that sound identically or similarly. Punning springs naturally from the very fabric of the Chinese language: its isolating typology and relevant phonological characteristics, leading to extensive multifunctionality of language elements, homonymy or polysemy, homophony and paronymy (Alexiev 2009).

The abovementioned specific features of the Chinese language have long turned wordplay not so much into an instrument for producing humorous effect, as that of a major logical mechanism for conveying serious symbolic meaning in traditional Chinese culture. Such a semantic transfer is usually directed from a concrete symbolic object to an abstract notion it is designed to stand for. Due to the inherent features of Chinese phonology and grammar, wordplay has become an inseparable part of Chinese social life, and in fact – a key element of its traditional culture. This phenomenon is widely referred to as "the Chinese culture of punning" （中国谐音文化）

Chinese tradition abounds in puns signifying "lucky words" (口彩语) and taboos (谐音忌讳), comprising hundreds of tokens: animals (chicken, fish, bat, snake, butterfly, grasshopper), plants (lotuses, cinnamon, bamboo, oranges, dates, chestnuts, leeks, radishes), stones, artifacts, foods, characters with different style, form and graphic play, numbers. Often they form whole phrases, expressing wishes for wellbeing, longevity, good luck, or warding off any ills of life, bad luck, unlucky events, and can be used in just about any situation and ceremony in Chinese society: seasonal holidays like New Year (Spring Festival), Mid-Autumn, weddings, childbirth, birthdays, funerals, vocational practices, architecture of the house and garden, decorations, exchange of gifts, numbering (see e.g. Zhang 2000). For example:

- "fish" is associated with "abundance"- through homophony：*[yú]* 鱼 `fish` – 余 `abundance`)
- "chicken" and "luck" are associated - through paronymy：*[jī: jí]* 鸡 `chicken` – 吉 `luck`)

So the custom of eating fish and chicken on festive occasions, apart from its culinary delight, also carries a symbolic auspicious meaning.

The word "raw, uncooked or poorly cooked" can be associated with "bear, birth" - through polysemy or homonymy：

- *[shēng]* 生 `raw` – `give birth`:

Thus, in the context of the wedding ceremony, the bride can be given some raw food (rice, or a dumpling) to try, and then asked a pun question, evoking a pun answer:

- 生不生？ Shēng bu shēng? `Is it raw?`/`Will you bear children?`
- 生! Shēng! `It is raw!` / `Yes, I will bear children`.

Transmission devises in a symbolic Chinese pun can be arranged in different ways. It seems there are two major strategies for designing the mechanism of semantic transfer: overt or direct (明谐 `"clear, transparent"`) punning and covert or indirect (暗谐 `"obscured, opaque"`) punning[2].

Overt Punning

A major punning strategy is the direct association of one word with another via a plain and simple logical operation, - an overt substitution of homophones or paronyms, polysemy or homonymy punning. Such were all the examples given above. Here's another example:

Figure 1: 福在眼前 `Happiness is Nearby`.

Figure 1 is an illustration of the overt punning technique using all punning devices at the same time. We have an amulet pendant, depicting a bat and two traditional Chinese coins in front of him. These coins have holes in the middle, as they used to be collected in strings (string of coins). The meaning of this amulet is derived through the following punning techniques:

The bat 蝠, 蝙蝠 fú is associated directly with 福 fú happiness through homophony (蝠 fú `bat`: 福 fú `happiness`). 眼 Yǎn can mean `eye`, but also `coin hole`, and thus, the phrase 在眼前 zàiyǎnqián "in front of one's eyes", i.e. nearby, close by`, via polysemy or homonymy of its key element, can also mean `in front of the coin hole`. The whole phrase can then be reinterpreted as `happiness is nearby`. There is yet another facet of meaning to this picture: the coins are two – or 双钱 shuāngqián `a pair of coins`, which is associated with the paronym 双全 shuāngquán `full, complete`. So this amulet is also about bringing "complete" or "double" happiness.

When it comes to conveying symbolic meaning in Chinese culture, homophony and paronymy punning is the first choice. But it is by no means the only logical mechanism used for that purpose. A pun can be accompanied by the use of a metaphor or metonymy[3]. For example:

Figure 2: 福寿双全 `Happiness and Longevity – Complete in All (Double) Proportions`

In Figure 2 we see the same pair of coins in front of a bat, which are familiar to us from Figure 1. Its meaning is achieved, as we have seen previously, via overt homophony, homonymy (or polysemy) and paronymy (bat – happiness; eye –hole; pair of coins – "double completeness"). But there are also peaches present here (桃 táo) – a well-established symbol of longevity (寿 shòu) in China. Peach's quality of a fruit providing nourishment and good health has been hyperbolized in classical literature, and has ultimately evolved to become a token of longevity. This is perhaps much closer to the European way of coining symbolic notions – via metaphors, rather than phonetic similarity: in a similar fashion "bird" is associated with "freedom", or "lion" – with "bravery", "power", or "apple" – with "health" (An apple a day keeps the doctor away).

Covert Punning

At the same time there are other wordplay strategies, which could be referred to generally by the term covert punning (暗谐). Here the usual semantic link between homophones or paronyms that carries through the symbolic meaning is enigmatically concealed or complicated by an additional logical step. The targeted semantic association, based on a pun, becomes accessible only after solving a certain puzzle, usually involving another trope. For example:

Figure 3: 遇百财 `Encounter Hundred Riches`

Figure 3 is an illustration of a traditional talisman – a sculpture of a common and simple head of Chinese cabbage. Its symbolic meaning is not health or anything of the sort, but `all ("hundred") kinds of riches`. Semantic transfer comes as a result of direct phonetic association of 白菜 báicài `Chinese cabbage` with the paronym 百财 bǎicái `"hundred" material benefits`. Meaning is carried through by direct sound resemblance or what we have been referring to above as overt punning. But there is yet another element to the overall meaning of this talisman that is not depicted, and remains somewhat hidden. As it is often the case, this obscured element lies in the **material** from which that particular object is supposed to be made of in order to exert its function as a lucky charm. Here, it is 玉 yù `jade`. And when we put the word "jade" before "cabbage", the compound 玉白菜 yùbáicài `jade cabbage` would then sound like and mean 遇百财 yùbǎicái `encounter all riches`.

Figure 4: 风调雨顺 `Weather is favorable (for agriculture)`

Another popular object of reverence in China is the depiction of the 四大天王 or the group of "Four Heavenly Kings" (or "Four Devarajas" – of Buddhist origin) (Figure 4). This talisman symbolizes the notion of a weather that is favorable

for agriculture, expressed by the chengyu 风调雨顺 fēngtiáoyǔshùn (lit. Wind – balanced, rain – in harmony). Key to uncovering the pun is the object that each of the four Devarajas carries in his hands – each representing a Chinese character. Let us take a look at them one by one:

The figure down on the left carries a sword. First step is to recognize the fact that the sword （剑 jiàn）signifies metonymically a sharp point or a blade – or 锋 fēng. Only then can we make the final logical connection: with its homophone 风 fēng `wind(s), weather`.

The second (down, right) of these "Four Heavenly Kings" carries a 琵琶 `cither`, and the cither is supposed to be played tunefully, - metaphorically implicating the notion of 调 tiáo（调和，调谐）`(melodious) harmony`. The logical mechanism here is also two-step: first, - symbolic meaning is transferred via metaphor from `cither` to `harmony, harmonious`; second, - target meaning comes as a result of a polysemy pun on the word `harmonious` referring to music on the one hand, and on the other –to `good, favorable` weather ("winds").

The third figure (upper, right) carries an umbrella (伞 sǎn), used to shield oneself from the rain, - implicating the notion of rain (雨 yǔ). This is a one-step logical mechanism, where meaning is transferred from one object to the other solely via metonymy. It is hard to say whether it can be considered a pun (see note 3).

The fourth Heavenly King holds a serpent in a fashion that clearly shows it has been brought under control, - implicating the notion 顺 shun `tame`. The logical mechanism here again contains two steps: first, - the literal meaning is conceived via recognizing and naming the symbolic gesture of the figure or maybe the obedient behavior of the snake; second, - through polysemy the word 顺 shun `tame`, with regards to the snake, functions with another meaning: `favorable, in line with one's needs` - when applied to the context of weather.

Notes:

[1] The term 双关 includes only vertical puns (一语双关 "one word puns"); horizontal puns, involving repetition are named with respect to word-count (e.g. 二语双关 "two-word pun" , 三语双关 three-word pun", 多语双关 "many-word pun"), according to Li Guonan (see Li 2000).

[2] I use the terms "overt" and "covert" punning here to translate the corresponding pair (明谐, 暗谐) in Zhang (2000:64-66), relevant to the Chinese material, not in the sense denoting the former puns as involving the characters within a story, and the latter – as accessible only to the audience, used for the purpose of film translation (see Shrotter 2005).

[3] Semantic transfers between homophones and paronyms can normally be considered as puns, and as a kind of trope. But the borderline between puns and other tropes – as ordinary figurative senses of words, based on metaphor or metonymy, is arbitrary.

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MARKEDNESS ANALYSIS OF CHINESE VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS: INTERACTION BETWEEN SEMANTICS, SYNTAX AND PRAGMATICS

by Antonia Tsankova, "St. Kliment Ohridski" University of Sofia

ABSTRACT: This study is focused on the problem of variation of grammatical marking of verbal constructions in Modern Chinese as a result of interaction between semantic, syntactic and pragmatic factors. The general approach that we adopt is that verbal markers *le, guo, zhe* should be viewed as pragmatic-dependent markers, that, based on their semantic core meaning and the properties of the VP, can form constructions with default (decontextualized) grammatical interpretation(s), but influenced by discourse factors, these forms may obtain another, contextually-conditioned interpretation and different shades of modality. The study is based on a survey aimed at assessing the degree of variability of marked and unmarked verbal forms among native speakers of Mandarin Chinese (10 informants) in actual narrative and dialogue discourse. The quantitative results proved a significant dependency of the functioning of *le, guo, zhe* markers on subjective factors as the degree of complete agreement (100%) among the informants as whether to use or not grammatical markers covered 66% of the studied cases, most of them on unmarked positions. The study also presents an outline of the conditions and factors of different levels that influence the appearance of marker *le* on the surface structure of the language.

The problem of markedness and variability of grammatical form is a specific linguistic issue in Modern Chinese, it is related to a series of linguistic problems such as the functioning of semantic and grammatical categories, the contextual influence on the manifestation of tense, aspect and modality, the conditions of variation and discovering the potential factors for the choice between optional linguistic variants in real speech act, etc. A great importance has been attached recently to the study of Chinese verbal markers themselves, but the approaches and outcoming results and definitions are too diverse and to some extend controversial. The procedures of functioning of these grammatical components has not been yet satisfactorily explained, while the issues of variation and optionality have been usually indirectly treated, just as a property of the Chinese aspectual categories.

The aim of the present study is to outline the conditions and factors of optionality of the markers on morphological, syntactic and pragmatic level, and to assess the degree of variability of marked and unmarked verbal forms in actual dialogue and narrative discourse. The study is based on an experimental survey with native speakers of Mandarin Chinese (10 informants).

The general approach that we adopt is that the markers *le, zhe, guo* should be viewed as *strongly* pragmatic-dependent markers, which, based on their invariant meaning and the semantics of the VP, to which they are attached, obtain default (decontextualized) grammatical interpretation(s), but influenced by discourse factors, these forms may acquire another, contextually-conditioned interpretation and different shades of modality.

In the present article we shall especially focus on the conditions of functioning of the most multifunctional marker *le*, supposing that similar procedure may be applied to the markers *zhe* and *guo,* and also to analytical grammatical markers.

The *le* marker has been traditionally viewed as a representation of two distinct morphemes – post verbal suffix (the so-called le_1) and sentence-final particle (the so-called le_2). It is generally assumed that these are two different morphemes, but there are also proponents of the unified treatment of *le* (Thompson 1968: 70-76, Tan 2002: 386-389, Arin 2003: 49-57). According to them, the two different positions of the marker *le* only represent different functional meanings due to its different syntactic distribution. The two possible appearances have common historical origin, and tend to overlap not only structurally when the verb is in final position in the sentence, but also functionally, because they can perform the same functions in many contexts. We shall follow the theory of the unified treatment of *le*. As far as the optionality of grammatical marking is concerned, the two possible positions of *le* – post-verbal and sentence-final are in certain cases mutually dependent, and in other (the so called $le_{(1+2)}$) – impossible to differentiate.

The common semantic core meaning of the marker *le*, which is derived from the lexical meaning of the verb "*liao*", has been defined as "a switch-over in the status of the situation" (Tan 2002: 390), or as "a means to impose a boundary on the situation, either temporal or attitudinal" (Arin 2003:75). This invariant semantic property of *le* is transformed into a great variety of functional meanings that constitute different levels and follow a certain procedure of obtaining its final interpretation within the concrete speech act.

On the level of the verb phrase we can distinguish two main factors that influence the functioning of *le* – the semantics of the verb itself and the structure of the VP.

The scope of the verbal *le* is the verb phrase, but as it has been proven, it is the semantic nature of the verb that determines the grammatical interpretation of *le* and the possibility for the marker to be attached to the verb itself (Yakhontov 1957: 78-83). On this basic level there are several relevant groups of situation types. Attached to verbs, denoting dynamic events that have a **natural** final endpoint (accomplishments, achievements), *le* can only produce a terminative reading of the situation, while attached to verbs, denoting activity that has only a **potential** final endpoint, *le* emphasizes the final boundary of the event. But dependent on contextual conditions, *le* may have different possible interpretations and can also mark the starting point of the activity.

(1) 他笑了。 *He laughed.*
He started to laugh.

Verbs, describing states, which have **neither potential nor final endpoint** normally **cannot** attach verbal *le*, but in the cases it is possible, *le* marks an initial boundary, signaling the beginning of the state.

(2) 他有了新的工作。 *He has acquired a new job.*

The composition of the VP and the properties of the argument (definite, quantified or common noun) can contribute to the aspectual reading of the phrase, which is also significant for *le* marking.

The rhythmic organization of the VP is a factor that influences the possible appearance of *le*. The typically binomial structure of the Chinese language motivates the usage of *le* with single-morpheme verbs or adjectives to form a two-morpheme group when combined with other binomial group(s) or when it appears at the end of the phrase, while in the same conditions two-morpheme predicates (verbs, adjectives, VO groups) may not necessarily attach verbal marker (examples: Shutova 1982: 142-143, Feng 1997: 185-186, Tan 2002: 429). The resultative and directional verb compounds influence both on the semantics (type of action) and the structure of the VP.

On sentence level there are two possible positions of *le*. The scope of sentence-final *le* is the whole utterance, and thus it is subject to much less restrictions that *le* in verbal position and can produce more optional interpretations. For example, it can be added to sentences, denoting states or habitual events, it can also be used in negative sentences with the negation word *bu* and in certain constructions with *mei*, which is impossible for verbal *le*.

In the scope of the utterance, there are certain time adverbials, expressions denoting duration or quantity, subclauses denoting condition or sequence of events, and other possible syntactic elements that can influence the markedness of the verbal construction in compliance with the context and the situation of speech (Li 1989: 334, Arin 2003).

In a contextually isolated simple sentence, viewed as a separate unit, or a beginning of a new discourse, the usage of *le* is strictly motivated. For example, if we must say in Chinese "*I've sent you an e-mail*" as a start point of a conversation, the appearance of the marker here is obligatory, and the phrase should be:

(3) 我给你发了一个邮件。 *I've sent you an e-mail.*

And if the marker is omitted, the utterance will have a future tense reading:

(4) 我给你发一个邮件。 *I will send you an e-mail.*

But provided with a larger and relevant context, a phrase like (4) may be used to express the same grammatical meaning as (3) even if *le* is omitted.

(5) 我昨天给你发了一个邮件，你收到了吗？
*I sent you an e-mail yesterday, did you **receive** it?*
(6) 我昨天给你发了一个邮件，你收到了吗？
*I (really) **sent** you an e-mail yesterday, did you receive it?*

The sentences (5) and (6) have the same grammatical interpretation, but they may have a slightly different attitudinal connotations, i.e. in the case of (5) where *le* is omitted, a less stress is attached to the verb (*send*) and the logical accent of the utterance may shift to the second part of the sentence, (which, in this case, should be marked by *le*, otherwise it will be ungrammatical). While in the case of (6) the stress falls on the verb and such sentences are typically used to reassure the hearer in case of doubt about the event. Thus, these two sentences, distinguished only by the presence of *le*, represent different communicative tasks.

A completed simple sentence, viewed as a communicative whole, may have a range of optional grammatical or modal interpretations that can be actualized only by the context or the situation of speech. This is especially typical for sentences that contain a predicate, denoting activity, with a non-specified object, and a sentence-final *le*, as this combination may produce many possible readings.

(7) 他喝咖啡了。 (example from Arin 2003: 126)
He has/had started to drink coffee (used to not drink it before).
He is/was drinking coffee now/then (ongoing activity).
He drank coffee.
He has/had drunk coffee.

Apart from these variants for temporal and aspectual reading, *le* may also express additional modal meanings, such as correcting wrong assumption, reporting a progress so far, determining what will happen next, closing a statement (Li & Thompson 1981: 240 – 290). Arin (2003: 138) states, that since this extra information is very subjective, the different interpretations of the speaker's reason for using *le* in many cases may be multiple. So, when derived from the context, *le* sentence may be ambiguous in many ways. But in real speech situation there's no such confusion, as the interpretation of a separate statement (for example, as a start point of a new discourse) is oriented according to the time of speaking, which suggests that every decontextualized independent sentence should have *default* grammatical reading(s) that take the minimum coordinates of the situation present to the moment of speech, and other, *secondary conditioned* grammatical reading(s), as the same form

of utterance has the potential to be "implanted" as a segment into different contextual environments and thus acquire another relevant grammatical and/or modal properties, encoded in the context. For example:

(8) 他给我打了电话。 *He called me.*

(9) 他给我打了电话，我马上通知你。
When he calls me, I'll tell you immediately.

So, the final interpretation of the marker is based on the interaction of its semantic core meaning with the semantics of the verb, the syntactic properties of the VP and the whole syntactic construction of the sentence, but it is acquired on **discourse level** in compliance with the situation of speech. In contextually independent simple sentences and in the main clause of complex sentences verbal *le* mainly acts as a temporal or aspect-temporal marker, and also as a part of the rhythmic structure of the predicate. In sentence-final position it may as well contribute to the temporal and aspectual reading of the utterance, but always combined with some kind of attitudinal meaning. On discourse level, where the grammatical parameters of the marker can be expressed by other contextual means, *le* may acquire additional modal, stylistic and textforming functions. It can be used to emphasize the information (event) that is significant from the point of view of the speaker, to open a discussion or to mark a starting point of a sequence of utterances about a newly introduced object, to signal the final contribution of the speaker to the conversation, to mark the end of the discourse (as shown in examples by Li & Thompson 1981: 278 – 289, Tan 2002: 428 – 432, Arin 2003: 137 - 142).

Thus, the functioning of the marker and its explication on the surface structure of the language is motivated by objective and subjective conditions. We assume that the first type generally include grammatical, rhythmic and textforming conditions, which should require common rules of explication or omission of the marker, otherwise it will lead to a disturbance in the grammatical and rhythmic structure and the communicative coherence of the speech (text). The second type of conditions are mainly of attitudinal, emphatic and modal nature, under such conditions the appearance (or omission) of *le* does not affect the correctness of the speech, and only contributes to additional stylistic nuances, subjectively expressed by the speaker. But the grammatical contributions of the marker may also co-occur with the attitudinal contributions.

In order to assess the degree of variation in the appearance of *le* in actual narrative and dialogue discourse, we conveyed a survey among 10 native speakers, all of them MA students majoring in Chinese philology or teaching Chinese as a foreign language. The task was to edit a text of 11 835 characters, taken from the contemporary Chinese novel "改写人生" ("Rewriting one's life") by徐奇峰 (Xu Qifeng). The text is written in colloquial style, and consists of a narrative – a story of a series of past events, and dialogue speech. In the experimental text, presented to the informants, all existent in the original text occurrences of *le, zhe, guo,* as well as a few modal particles (like *ba, ne, a)* were deleted.

The aim of the study was to estimate the degree of agreement/disagreement between the native speakers on the marking of each potential position in the text, and to conclude about the scope of influence of the objective and subjective factors in the representation of the markers in real speech situation.

Compared to previous surveys on the usage of the verbal markers (Solntseva & Solntsev 1965, Cai 2010, Duff & Li 2002, Arin 2003), the present study differs in the type of the experimental task and material, but most of all in that the conditions of the survey were meant to assure a natural and intuitive choice between any competitive grammatical or modal forms in the whole text. The participants were not informed about the nature of the changes made in the experimental text and edited it freely, guided only by their own language feeling. We have found that the intentional use of a grammatical marker may differ substantially from the intuitive use, because a similar experiment on the usage of the noun suffix *men* proved that an informant that was aware that the task of the survey is to examine the appearance of *men,* used it far more frequently than the other informants, who were not informed about that (Tsankova 2009: 63–68).

Summary of the quantitative results:

The statistical analysis of the data, collected from 10 participants on 1067 positions in the experimental text showed that the degree of complete agreement (100%) among the informants as whether to use or not grammatical markers covered 66% of the studied cases, i.e. on 706 out of 1067 positions all of the informants have given identical answers, but predominantly on unmarked positions, which are a majority in the text. The distribution of the rates of identical answers among the unmarked form and the three studied grammatical elements are shown in the graphics below:

Figure 1. Variation of the unmarked form

The unmarked form shows a biggest rate of identical answers, which are 695 cases for 100% concurrence, 95 cases for 90% concurrence, 60 cases for 80%, and the cases of small degree of concurrence in the choice of the unmarked form are very limited, as shown on Figure 1.
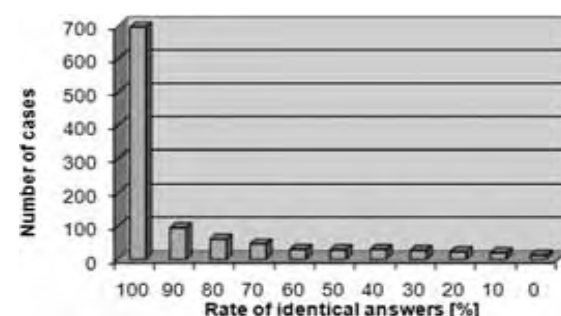
Figure 2. Variation of *le* marker

Le marking is characterized by the opposite tendency in the degree of concurrence, as compared to the unmarked form. Only 10 of all 294 occurrences of le (either post-verbal or sentence-final) are unanimously marked by all informants, 90% identical answers have been given on 16 cases and 80% on 18 cases, while the positions on which only one of the informants has used le are 77.
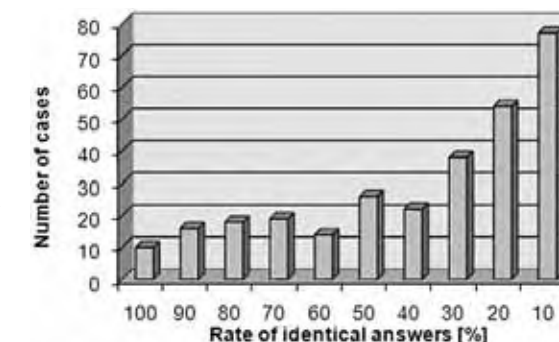
Figure 3. Variation of *zhe* marker

Zhe marking is represented by 46 positions in the text, of which cases over 80% of identical answers are only 5, and no dependence can be traced between the rate of concurrence and the number of cases of *zhe* marking.
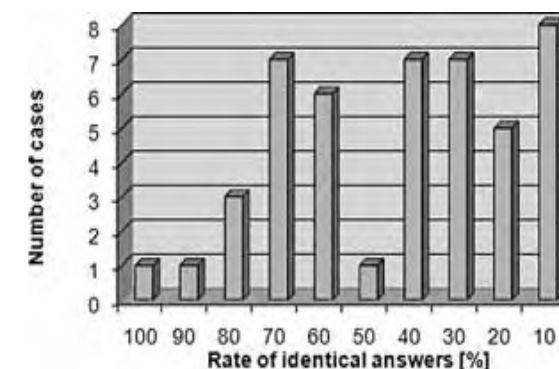
Figure 4. Variation of *guo* marker

Examples of *guo* are far more rarely found in the text (only 14 in whole) than the other two markers, and the maximum degree of concurrence of marking is 60% for 3 cases, and on 6 positions out of 14 only one informant has chosen this marker.
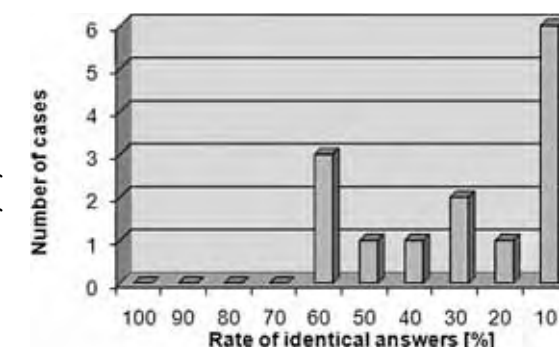
Conclusions and further issues.

The empirical study of the degree of variability in the use of the markers *le*, *guo*, *zhe* in natural contextual conditions proved that although in the scope of a large and sufficient context, the markers does not occur regularly among native speakers in most of the cases of appearance. The restrictions on the use of the markers are more unanimously agreed upon by the informants, as the unmarked form shows less degree of variability than the marked forms. The indications for the use of these elements, such as, for example, the rules set for the marker *le* as denoting a bounded and especially a quantified or preceding event, may be neutralized by discourse factors. But this doesn't mean that the marked and unmarked form can express completely identical meanings as they can be interchanged in identical morphological, syntactic, rhythmic and contextual conditions, because, just like on other language levels, there can hardly be any completely synonymous optional variants. The markers may not be grammatically mandatory when the aspectual and temporal reading of the utterance is expressed by other means, but in such conditions the choice of the speaker should be motivated by the additional emphatic, modal or other contributions of the markers in accordance with the communicative task of the utterance.

This experimental study provides an evidence of the scope of subjective and discourse-based usage of the grammatical markers in Modern Chinese and suggests that future research should consider more detailed classification of the empirical data and study of the correlation between different factors that influence the functioning of the markers on the discourse level.

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A STUDY ON LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES FOR MIDDLE SCHOOL AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN BULGARIA

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摘要：语言教学产生后，提高语言教学质量一直是其重要目标。第二语言教学的终极目的是促进学习者的发展以及促进学习者的终身学习。二十世纪六十年代，哈瑞·哈罗提出了学会学习的概念，杰罗姆·布鲁纳提出了认知策略，此后，很多研究者将研究视角从关注教师的教学方法转向了关注学习者的学习方法。

近年来，关于第二语言学习策略的研究与日俱增，但是保加利亚学生的汉语学习策略研究却无人问津。

本项目旨在通过定性和定量的研究，诸如调查专家意见，教学观察和学习观察，分析教学笔记和课程计划，开展实验设计，借用奥柯丝芙德(Oxford, 1990)研制的量表SILL等，了解保加利亚学生的汉语学习策略（数据调查已于2010年完成）。调查数据来源于保加利亚中学生的148份有效调查问卷，通过SPSS（13.0）进行数据统计后，分析保加利亚中学生的汉语学习策略。在此基础上，得出结论并就保加利亚汉语教学提出相关建议。期望本项研究成果有助于提高保加利亚的汉语教学质量，同时对其他领域有所启示。

The ultimate goal of any kind of language teaching is development of learners and their lifelong learning. In the twentieth century, Harry Harlow introduced the concept of "learning to learn" and Jerome Bruner launched the idea of cognitive strategies. Since then, the study of language teaching has shifted from focusing on the ways of "teachers' teaching" to paying more attention to the ways of "learners' learning". [1]

A. Literature review of learning strategies of Chinese as a second language

With the development of the second language learning strategies in the world, research on learning strategies of Chinese as a second language has developed.

Cao Naiyun (1994) conducted a case study on Chinese learning strategies of an adult learner, whose nationality was German and who had an excellent command of Chinese language. The paper gave a descriptive study on the learner's Chinese learning strategies. This paper opens the new field of research into Chinese language learning strategies and is a landmark in the study field of learning strategies of Chinese as a second language.

Since then, more and more scholars have done research in the field. Their studies can be divided into two categories. The first category includes works that deal with learners from only one region, such as the works of Hong Lifen (1997), who did research on Malaysian learners; Baobanlvzi (1998), Sun Jun (2005) – on Japanese learners; Ke (1998), Lu Zhou (2005) – on American learners, Zhou Lei (2004), Qian Yulian (2006) – on South Korean learners; Li Yamei (2005) – on Thai learners; Xu Fei(2008) – on British learners. The above-mentioned discuss Chinese language learning strategies of learners from one region and give conclusions and implications according to their findings. They are beneficial for the different regional Chinese language teachings. The second category includes research on Chinese language learning strategies of learners from different regions. Most of their surveys have been conducted in China. Some scholars have carried out surveys for learners who come from many different regions, such as Yang Yi (1998), Xu Ziliang (1999, 2002), Jiang Xin (2000), Jiang Xin & Zhao Guo (2001), Li Lina (2004), Wu Yongyi & Chen Yu (2006), Na Jian (2007), Wu Yongyi (2007), etc. After conducting these surveys, they ascertained some interesting conditions. The findings provide first-hand materials for teaching Chinese as a second language in China.

Although there has been an increase in research on Chinese language learning strategies in recent years, the issue of the learning strategies of Bulgarians learning Chinese has been neglected.

B. Questions of the study

This study aims at investigating the Chinese language learning strategies employed by middle school and high school students in Bulgaria. For this purpose, a quantitative study was set out to find out what the outcome of the following research questions would be: 1. What is the general condition of the Chinese learning strategies that are used by middle school and high school students who learn Chinese as a second language in Bulgaria? 2. What kinds of strategies do they commonly use?

C. Methodology

1. Instruments

The instruments were Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL), which was designed by Oxford (1990), EXCEL and SPSS. The 50 items of SILL were divided into the following six groups: Memory strategies, Cognitive strategies, Compensation strategies, Metacognitive strategies, Affective strategies and Social strategies.

2. Participants

All of the participants were from 18th High School "William Gladstone" of Sofia, Secondary School with Studies of East Asian Languages and Cultures "Vasil Levski" of Rousse and First English Language School of Sofia. There are 148 valid questionnaires. The distribution of the participants is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Distribution of the participants

Schools' name	Male	Female	Total
18th High School, Sofia	25	63	88
Secondary School, Rousse	10	45	55
First English Language School, Sofia	1	4	5
Total	36	112	148

3. Procedures

The surveys were conducted in the participants' classrooms in November and December 2010. All the questionnaires were checked one by one and the data were entered into EXCEL. The questionnaires were in Bulgarian and the participants responded via a five-level Likert-type scale. The data were analyzed by SPSS.

D. Results

1. What is the general condition of the Chinese learning strategies used by middle school and high school students who learn Chinese language as a second language in Bulgaria?

The score of the general condition of the learning strategies used by middle school and high school students has been calculated to be 3.3.

According to SILL Profile of Results of Oxford (1990), the scores averaging 4.5 to 5.0 are regarded as high, which means that the participants always or almost always use the learning strategies. The scores ranging from 3.5 to 4.4 are also labeled as high, which means that these strategies are usually used. The scores averaging 2.5 to 3.4 are regarded as medium, which means that the participants sometimes use the learning strategies. The scores ranging from 1.5 to 2.4 are considered low, which means that the participants generally do not use the learning strategies. The scores averaging 1.0 to 1.4 are also labeled as low, which means that the learning strategies are never or almost never used.

As a result, middle school and high school students in Bulgaria sometimes use the Chinese learning strategies at medium level.

2. What kinds of strategies do they commonly use?

There are six strategy groups in Chinese language learning strategies; those are Memory strategies, Cognitive strategies, Compensation strategies, Metacognitive strategies, Affective strategies and Social strategies.

For the six strategy groups above, the results show that Social strategies have the highest mean with a figure of 3.5 (SD = 0.93). The strategies of the second highest mean are Metacognitive strategies, whose mean is 3.4 (SD = 0.94). The mean of Cognitive strategies is 3.3 (SD = 0.75) and those of Compensation strategies is 3.3 (SD = 0.68), thus they rank third. All the means of the remaining two strategies are respectively: Memory strategies – 3.1 (SD = 0.70) and Affective strategies – 2.9 (SD = 0.79). The Rank of the six strategy groups is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 The rank of the six strategy groups according to their use

The six groups of language learning strategies used by middle school and high school students, presented in Figure 1, are as follows (listed from most to least frequently used): Social strategies, Metacognitive strategies, Cognitive strategies, Compensation strategies, Memory strategies and Affective strategies.

The most commonly used kind of strategies is Social strategies. According to SILL Profile of Results of Oxford (1990)，the Social strategies are between 3.5 and 4.4, thus the results mean that middle school and high school students in Bulgaria usually use Social strategies in the process of learning Chinese and the use frequencies are at high level. Except for Social strategies, all of the remaining five strategies fall within the range of 2.5 to 3.4, thus those figures mean that middle school and high school students in Bulgaria sometimes use these five strategies in the process of learning Chinese and the use frequencies of these five strategies are at medium level. Therefore, the frequencies of the six strategies are as follows: Social strategies are highly used, while the other five strategy groups are sometimes used. The frequency of the six strategy groups is shown in Table 2.

Table 2 The frequency of the six strategy groups

Rank	Strategy name	Frequency	Evaluation	Mean	SD
1	Social strategies	High	Usually used	3.5	0.93
2	Metacognitive strategies	Medium	Sometimes used	3.4	0.94
3	Cognitive strategies	Medium	Sometimes used	3.3	0.75
4	Compensation strategies	Medium	Sometimes used	3.3	0.68
5	Memory strategies	Medium	Sometimes used	3.1	0.70
6	Affective strategies	Medium	Sometimes used	2.9	0.79

The results show that the use frequency of Social strategies is at high level and that of the other five strategies is at medium level.

E. Discussion and conclusion

1. Regarding the general condition of the Chinese learning strategies that are used by middle school and high school students who learn Chinese language as a second language in Bulgaria

Middle school and high school students who learn Chinese language as a second language in Bulgaria sometimes use learning strategies. They can use Chinese learning strategies to learn Chinese and improve the level of their Chinese, even though they only sometimes use them.

It is important for students to use learning strategies in the process of learning Chinese language. The term "strategy" comes from the Greek language and means "command of a general". In Ancient Greece, a "strategy" involved a general's plan to win a war. In broad modern usage, a "strategy" is a plan that is consciously aimed at meeting a goal.[2] The term "strategy" in the Chinese language consists of two Chinese characters: those are 策 and 略. In Ancient China, the two Chinese characters were used separately as two words, but both of them had a meaning of "plan" and "attempt to find a solution". For the first time the two Chinese characters were used as one word in the book named *History of the Three Kingdoms*.[3] "Strategy" means "tactical plan" and "tactical method". Using strategies is beneficial for solving a problem. Learning strategies are defined as "specific actions, behaviors, steps, or techniques, such as seeking out conversation partners, or giving oneself encouragement to tackle a difficult language task – used by students to enhance their own learning".[4] Learning strategies can be efficient and effective for students' language learning. Those results show that middle school and high school students have room to elevate the frequency of the Chinese language learning strategies they use, while teachers can further encourage the use of these strategies.

2. Regarding the kinds of strategies that are used by middle school and high school students who learn Chinese language as a second language in Bulgaria

From high to low order of using the learning strategies, middle school and high school students in Bulgaria use Social strategies, Metacognitive strategies, Cognitive strategies, Compensation strategies, Memory strategies and Affective strategies. They always use Social strategies and sometimes use the other five kinds of strategies.

Social strategies are very important in the process of learning Chinese language. Using Social strategies means learning with others. Every language should be spoken and written. But no matter if it is spoken or written, students should use the language to communicate with others both inside and outside the classroom. Since middle school and high school students are young and vigorous and they enjoy communicating with others, they are always keen on using the Social strategies. They learn and practice Chinese through asking for help from Chinese speakers, cooperating with classmates or other people and finding out more about Chinese speakers. They can memorize more Chinese words and learn more Chinese in conversation and cooperation with others. Via these strategies, students can gain confidence in their knowledge of Chinese language and have more chance to speak Chinese more and learn more. Although Bulgarian students learn Chinese in the circumstances of their mother tongue, they still choose to use more frequently the Social strategies. Their teachers, who are Chinese native speakers, not only teach them Chinese and speak Chinese to them, but also explain and tell them more about Chinese culture. As a result, students have more opportunities to speak and practice Chinese with both teachers and classmates. Bulgarian students have more experience in learning foreign languages and are in the habit of speaking them. Therefore, Social strategies are their most commonly used strategies.

The results show that middle school and high school students who learn Chinese language as a second language in Bulgaria sometimes use Metacognitive strategies, Cognitive strategies, Compensation strategies, Memory strategies and Affective strategies.

Using Metacognitive strategies means organizing and evaluating Chinese learning. Metacognitive strategies help students plan how to learn Chinese efficiently. Bulgarian students have clear goals and plans for improving their Chinese and are preoccupied with their progress in learning Chinese. Not only do they try to find many ways to learn, read, speak and use Chinese, but they also pay attention to listening to others speaking Chinese.

Middle school and high school students also sometimes use Cognitive strategies, Compensation strategies, and Memory strategies. Cognitive strategies let students use all the mental processes involved in learning and practicing Chinese. Through speaking or writing Chinese more times, practicing Chinese phonetics, using Chinese words in different ways, making summaries of Chinese information, etc., students improve the level of their Chinese. Bulgarian students use Compensation strategies for their missing knowledge. If they have no sufficient Chinese language knowledge, they use Compensation strategies to make up for their lack of vocabulary. For example, they guess unfamiliar or unknown Chinese words, use gestures to express themselves in Chinese conversation, make up new Chinese words instead of the right ones. Memory strategies can help students remember Chinese effectively. Memory strategies are the second lowest strategies sometimes used by Bulgarian students. This condition may be related to the learning habits of Bulgarian students. Students have shown their attitude to the role of memory in the investigation. They do not like to memorize words all the time, and have expressed aversion to rote learning.

Affective strategies help Bulgarian students manage their emotion in learning Chinese. Just like the other four strategies mentioned above, Affective strategies are sometimes used by students, but this kind of strategies got the lowest score. It is probable that these conditions are due to particular characteristics of Bulgarian students. They are very independent and do not like to notice their emotion in the process of learning Chinese. Seldom students give themselves reward when they do well in Chinese and write down their feelings in Chinese language learning diaries.

3. Conclusion

(1). Middle school and high school students in Bulgaria sometimes use Chinese language learning strategies, employing them at medium level.

(2). Middle school and high school students in Bulgaria most commonly use Social strategies. The use frequency of Social strategies is at high level and those of the other five groups of strategies are at medium level.

F. Implication of Chinese language teaching in high schools and middle schools in Bulgaria

1. Enhance the understanding of the importance of learning strategies in the learning of Chinese

Learning strategies are beneficial for language learning. The more these strategies are used, the better is the command of the language. Both Chinese language teachers and Bulgarian students are advised to pay more attention to the Chinese learning strategies. While teachers can show or teach Bulgarian students different effective strategies in order to improve the level of their Chinese, students can consciously use those effective strategies they like to improve their Chinese language learning. They are young and like to be engaged in more activities, therefore Chinese language learning strategies should be discussed between teachers and students, teachers and teachers, students and students in order to promote the students' Chinese language learning.

2. Create the Chinese language environment and strengthen training of the communication ability

Contemporary language teaching theories regard communication as one of the most important aspects of language learning. Middle school and high school students in Bulgaria usually use Social strategies in the process of Chinese language learning. These characteristics are beneficial for their spoken and written Chinese and promote their Chinese communicative skills. Creating efficient teaching Chinese environment would promote the students' communication. Chinese language teachers can design some interesting activities to provide students with more opportunities to practice their Chinese inside and outside the classroom.[5] In the meantime, students can act like teachers and think of how to design the activities. This way, the interest in the Chinese language and the students' level of Chinese will be protected and enhanced.

3. Understand the diverse characteristics of different Bulgarian students and help them use different Chinese learning strategies

Every student has his or her own learning habits and every strategy is beneficial for different students. There is no good or bad strategy, but all the strategies are fit or unfit for certain students. Chinese language teachers should understand the characteristics of different students and help them find out which kinds of strategies are fit for them. Certainly, teachers are expected to explain students how to know which strategies are beneficial for their Chinese learning and the right to choose remains with the students. Students are advised to decide which strategy is beneficial and effective for them.

Notes

[1] Harlow, Harry F. (1949:53); Shi Yaofang（2001:586）；Qian Yulian (2007:1).

[2] Oxford (2000, 2003:274).

[3] Shi Yaofang (2001:588, 589).

[4] Scarcella & Oxford (1992:63).

[5] Some teaching methods have been recommended in the papers of Sun Yonghong (2008, 2011:436, 437).

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"CHARACTER STANDARD" THEORY IN CHINESE LANGUAGE TEACHING

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摘要：有学者提出汉语"字本位"的理论，主张汉语应摆脱"印欧语系"框架的束缚，重新审视汉字的作用，力图在对外汉语教学中采取"字本位教学法"改革教学，改善学习者学习效果。文章从当前对外汉语教材编写理念、课堂教学策略、学习者母语负迁移的影响等方面阐述"字本位教学法"还不能很好地应用到对外汉语教学中，虽然能够在汉字教学及词汇教学中发挥一定的功能和作用，但是"字本位教学法"并非只针对于汉字教学，它的根本意义和科学方法应指导于全面的汉语教学。

"字本位教学法"与对外汉语教学

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一、"字本位"理论和"词本位"理论的争论

自上世纪八十年代，理论界提出汉语字本位理论，目前比较对立的是汉语究竟属于"字本位"还是"词本位"。主张汉语是"字本位"的学者认为汉语应该摆脱"印欧语系"束缚，　突出汉字的特点和作用。什么是"本位"？徐通锵认为本位就是语言的基本结构单位，陆俭明说最小的音义结合体就是基本的结构单位。什么是"字本位"？徐通锵认为，汉语的基本结构单位是"字"，字是汉语中具有理据性的最小结构单位，是研究语音、词汇、语法、语义的基本，汉字揭示了"1音1字1义"的关系。潘文国认为，"字本位"就是从字出发研究汉语，通过汉字-音节-文字的特点认识到汉字的特点和对汉语的作用。"词本位"认为语言是音义结合的，研究的对象只能是音义结合，而文字是外加的。"字本位"和"词本位"各自适用于不同的语言，汉语适用于"字本位"，英语适用于"词本位"。"字本位"和"词本位"是根本对立的，其根本分歧就在于"词本位"不承认汉字在语言中的地位只把字当做书写符号对待①。

也有学者对"字本位"理论提出质疑，彭泽国认为字是文字单位，词是语言单位，与西方词本位理论对比，在字不是语素的前提下，字对应的是字母，词对应的是word。"字本位"理论适用于文言文，西方洪堡特等人生活的时代表明他们了解的汉语是文言文，不能用于现代汉语。慕俊杰认为，徐通锵先生虽然主张"字本位"，但是他在划分字时使用了字的标准，比如他把单个的字和连绵词的多个字都叫做字，比如琥珀，字的数量是没有限制的。从这点来说，不符合汉字对字的定义和汉语基本结构单位的意义。所以他的"字本位"是一种义本位，与义一一对应的是"语素"，所以徐先生的"字本位"应该是"语素本位"　②。由此，徐通锵"字本位"理论的字并不是指书写的汉字。

二、"字本位教学法"在对外汉语教学中的作用及冲突

1　对词汇教学有一定辅助作用

汉语理论上属于印欧语系，印欧语言是语法型语言，重点研究"主语-谓语"的结构相联系的名词、动词、形容词等的划分。主张"字本位"理论的学者把汉语归纳为语义型语言，其研究的重点是有理据性的字，突出语义、语音及其相互关系的研究，而不讲主谓宾和名动形之类的语法③。在对外汉语教学中，有的学者主张抛弃过去以词为汉语基本结构单位进行教学的方法，该观点认为目前对外汉语教学存在的缺陷是不重视汉字，只把汉字当作书写符号去对待，认为"字本位教学法"能改善目前汉语教学的不足。而在实际的对外汉语教学中，只讲字，不讲词是完全行不通的，况且并非每个汉字都是"1字1音1义"的结构形式，大量的汉字具备多个义项。汉字有表意的功能，有的汉字独立成词，表达一个概念，有的由两个或两个以上的汉字成词，表达一个概念。由字组词（在"字本位"理论中称为"字组"）说明汉字之间具备逻辑生成关系，这是由于汉字本身具有理据性决定的。这种规则可以帮助汉语学习者理解汉语词汇的生成，加深记忆。

零起点的成人汉语学习者在学习汉语时是从语音开始的，一个音节对应的是一个或多个不同形、义的汉字，这时候，在他们的学习经验里就以先入为主的印象。也就是说音节和与之相对应的字是他们学习汉语之初先入为主的概念。在一定程度上，他们认为汉字是相对独立的，汉字是表意的。在词汇学习中，他们关注生成词语的每一个字的意思，以此推理词语的意思和逻辑关系。在初级阶段的学习中适当地讲解一些汉字可以帮助他们在宏观上建立对汉字的认识，但是这种学习经验也只是建立在学习者初级学习阶段上的。在现行教材的指导中，坚持的是以词为基本单位的教学，往往是把表达一个概念的词整体教学，一般不拆分，注重词义内涵和使用的解释，在遇到有构成规律的词汇时，需要说明构词规律，如离合词的构成、使用及它与其他动词使用上的区别。"字本位"强调突出汉字的内涵和作用，"词本位"注重词的整体意义及在语言中的正确的使用。由字生成词或者由词拆分字都是借助字的表意功能来加深理解词义，帮助了解词语生成的规律和记忆词义，只不过实现的路径不同，前者是坚持"字本位"原则，后者是贯彻"词本位"原则。在词汇教学中，通过了解汉语构词规律和特点，采取"识字组词"的词汇拓展方法，对于学习者学习积累汉语词汇在一定程度上能起到比较好的效果，但是，在词汇教学中并非所有的词都适合这种"字本位"的教学原则。有的汉字在有些词汇中已经不是该汉字原本的概念，比如"有意思"；有的汉字从文言文中发展而来，但是在实际的教学中并不一定要对其追根溯源，比如"舞蹈"；而有的汉字在使用的时候体现了其引申义，比如一些成语；有些汉字体现了现代汉语使用的地域上的社会文化内涵，比如"打的"。

2　在教材、教学及学习者方面的冲突

2.1　"字本位教学法"是汉语"字本位"理论在实践中的应用，这种应用应该是在"字本位"理论得到足够科学论证的前提下对语言教学的改革，但是目前"字本位"理论还未得到充分的论证，其理论的准备不足很可能会带来实践

改革的不完善或者导致一种方法操作上的误区。在目前的对外汉语教学中，"字本位教学法"主要在汉语教材编写和使用、课堂教学策略、学习者学习方法及偏误等方面表现出一些冲突。

教材的设计思想、教材所体现的教学方法和教学原则，以及教材所体现的语言学习理论和学习方法要符合语言发展规律和语言教学规律。从20世纪50年代中国第一部对外汉语教材《汉语教科书》（商务印书馆，1958年）到20世纪末《基础汉语课本》（外文出版社，1980年）再到现在的各种第二语言教材，在教材编写上先后经历了听说法、功能法的理论指导，现在的第二语言教材大多采取结构、功能、文化的编写原则，兼顾多种教学法④。

以"字本位教学法"理论为指导思想的教材，有白乐桑等主编的《汉语语言文字启蒙》，该书1989年在法国出版，但是也有学者称这并不是一部真正的"字本位"的汉语教材，并没有揭示出汉字内部的构形规律，忽略了汉字的系统性，依旧是"词本位"教材的翻版，只不过一定程度上解决了字词的冲突。目前最早的以汉字本位的教材是1986年法国《现代汉语程序教材》，该教材视汉字为汉语教学的唯一起点，将汉字的构形规律纳入教学内容，但是作为教学中唯一使用的教材，该书过分强调汉字本位，忽视词的使用频率，给汉语教学带来诸多问题。2001年的《汉字速成课本》遵循汉字的构形规律并兼顾词语，是汉语教材的辅助教材。

王若江指出，采用"字本位教学法"是不能控制词汇等级的，《汉语水平词汇与汉字等级大纲》中8822个词中，单音节词1930个，双音节词6343个，三音节以上的词549个⑤。　这样根据"字本位"理论的原则编写的教材很难与词汇等级大纲对应衔接，除非在编、教、考方面根据"字本位"理论做出颠覆性的改革，否则很难在各个环节上保持和谐一致。另外从大纲词汇比例上看出单音节词只占21.8%，双音节、三音节词汇的词义不是简单的单音节汉字字义的叠加。所以"字本位教学法"原则在教材编写上的指导还仅仅局限于汉字的教学，还无法根本贯彻"字本位"理论，取代"词本位"的教材编写原则，同时在教材使用上如果贯彻"字本位教学法"也会使教学偏离现有教材的提纲要求。

2.2　"字本位教学法"不能等同于汉字教学

"字本位教学法"并非等同于汉字教学，如果引入"字本位教学法"只是为改进非汉字圈学习者认读书写汉字难的不足，那么就是把语言学理论的"字本位"和"词本位教学法"的误读。白乐桑先生建议把语言学理论和汉字教学中的字本位与词本位分开讨论，字本位不等于教学。这说明理论与实践中一个学术语存在的分歧和不统一，这也是不合理和不严谨的，理论指导实践，实践检验理论，这应是相辅相成的整体，而不是分裂的。主张"字本位教学法"的人认为，只有采用"字本位教学法"才能解决外国学生的汉字的问题。其实汉字笔画多，偏旁多还得顾及笔顺，再加上汉字不能表音，这些特点本身就说明汉字认读和书写是困难的，即使是母语为汉语的人也往往会出现写错别字和提笔忘字的情况，外国学生尤其是非汉字圈的人在学习汉语的初级阶段感到汉字认读书写困难是很正常的，这和他们学习汉语的时间和汉字教学方法有关系。外国学生学习汉字困难的问题不是靠提倡"字本位教学法"来解决的，而应该从汉字构成规律入手，比如，教授汉字基本常识、笔画类型、偏旁部首、笔顺等，从宏观上让学生了解汉字构成规律和特点，微观上掌握汉字书写规则和正确方法的指导下辅助练习才能逐步克服汉字书写认读困难的问题。以词为本位的教学中并不是不重视或者没有汉字的教学，字、词、句是一个不可分割的相互联系的系统，也不可避免地涉及到汉字方面的教学，但是语言教学的目的是使学习者掌握语言规律，提高听说读写的能力，学习语言不仅仅是学习汉字，识字量不能代表一个人的语言水平，同样，汉语教学也不仅是教汉字，它是包括各语言要素的综合的教学。

以对外汉语教材《当代中文》（中英文版）为例，该书虽然配了汉字教材—《汉字本》（独立成册），但是它的编写原则并非是"字本位"，在处理汉字教学的问题上，也遇到了字词冲突。在《汉字本》指导下教授汉字时，需要把汉字的偏旁、笔画、笔顺、读音、意思一一讲清。而在《课本》中学习的基本单位是词，《汉字本》是依据《课本》就汉字及其相关内容的辅助教材。比如《课本》中的"学习"一词译为learn，词性为verb．而在《汉字本》中，把《课本》中的"学习"分割成两个独立汉字，把"学"和"习"均解释为study。而实际上"习"是"练"的意思，解释为practice更准确。这说明"词本位"理论指导下的教学法应用于汉字教学时遇到了麻烦，现代汉语某些词汇在用字本位的原则进行解释的时候，又出现了从古汉语到现代汉语的汉字发展、演变的情况，如果没有足够的汉字考据的知识储备，从教材编写这一个环节就会暴露出汉字知识的储备不足，所以是否有必要将现代汉语词汇分解成单个的字进行教学是应该思考的。如果坚持"字本位教学法"，那就要把所有规定好了词义的词汇分解成单个的汉字，根据他们的逻辑生成规律，从理据上讲解。这种解剖式的教学程序带来两个问题，一个是要求教师对字的理据研究的知识储备增多，就是教师要明白每个字的起源、演变，说文解字，语言的教学变成逐一讲解汉字的程序，这种要求也基本偏离语言教学的总体目标。同时我们也会发现并非所有的词都适用于逐字解释，例如"上"、"马"，这两个独体字都是零起点教学汉字教学会遇到的，虽然他们笔画少，易书写，但是义项却很多，在汉字教学中只能把基本的义项解释，但是学生遇到"马上"、"上马"这两个词的时候，他肯定不知其义，通过已知的经验也无法联想猜词，很可能一猜就错。再比如"意思"、"有意思"、"没意思"、"不好意思"、"意思意思"、"够意思"、"不够意思"等，类似于这样的词或短语，怎么通过所谓的"字本位教学法"去指导教学，逐字解释是不是事倍功半？即便说清楚了，学生能知道如何正确使用吗？所以对于义项丰富的或者已经衍变了的汉字是很难通过所谓的"字本位教学法"去开展教学的。老师不是字典，也无法变成活字典，汉字教学是离不开与词、语用、语法、语境的联系。从字、词、短语、句、段、篇章，这些不同层级的语言单位都是由字构成，如果没有一定的语言规则，没有词性的规定，他们将是字的任意组合。汉字作为汉语最基本的语言单位，在语言输出时不能脱离了语法、语用、语境、语体、文化诸多因素。明白了字不一定明白词，明白了词不一定会正确使用，比如知道"马"、"上"肯定不会知道"马上"，即便知道了"马上"也未必就会说"我马上就去"。在笔者的教学经验里，当学生的学习经验积累到一定程度的时候，有些汉字的知识他是可以习得的，比如词汇练习中，"鸡蛋"

、"骑马"等，"马"是课堂教过的汉字，所以他们知道"马"和"骑马"是名词和动词的区别，"鸡蛋"是识字拓展练习中的生词，当问到他们"鸡"是什么的时候，大多数人能通过联想答对。这说明由于学习者学习能力的个体差异，往往会影响其学习经验的积累和对语言的领悟力。

1963年，吕叔湘指出，"词在欧洲语言里是现成的，语言学家认为是从词分析语素，汉语恰恰相反，现成的是字。语言学家的课题是研究哪些字群是词，哪些是词组。汉语里的"词"之所以不能归纳出一个令人满意的定义，就是因为本来没有这么一个现成的东西。《现代汉语词典》中收录了56000个词条，说明在现代汉语中不仅字是现成的，词也是可以拿来就用的。"字本位教学法"中字的拓展训练与词本位教学法词汇拓展并无原则冲突，不过这种学习方法掌握的前提是学生还必须熟悉汉字的构词规律，如此一来，学生在粗浅地了解了汉字构词规律后自由造词产生的偏误会增多，例如学了"大中小"，他们就会说"大马、中马、小马"，这样就增加了词汇学习的难度，降低了学习的效率和效果。笔者认为在条件允许的情况下，通过学习经验分析语言现象归纳语言规律，比先学习语言规律再学习语言更直接更有效。

2.3 导致母语负迁移

如果坚持"字本位教学法"有可能会削弱语言教学中其他要素的教学的分量，语言教学应该坚持"合理输入、有效输出"原则，采用科学的教学方法和手段，揭示汉语言规律和特点，帮助学生认识汉语语言规律，培养科学的学习方法，让学生在发现、认识、总结语言规律的过程中少走弯路，提高他们运用一种语言进行社会活动的能力。某种教学法能从多大程度上有益于学生语言水平和能力的提高，是作为在语言教学中是否采纳实践的标准。对于母语为拼音文字的学习者来说，他们很容易把具有表意功能的汉字当作一个个独立的概念去学习。贯彻"字本位教学法"的指导，学生对字的印象会更加深刻，当他们在阅读和朗读的时候容易造成误读和读破句，因为汉语的一句话在书写形式上是没有空格的，他们看来就是一堆字的排列组合。先突出字义，靠字生词的教学顺序会让学生由于对字的某个义的先入而曲解其新的义项组合生成的词的词义，产生误读；这种偏误表现在朗读上就是读破句。只有在词、词组、语法规则的正确经验里才能准确分割字与字之间的距离，从而看懂读对。一种语言越是与中介语或母语相近，其学习的难度就越大，字是联系汉语与其他语言的契合点，更多地发掘汉语与其他语言的共性的方面能更高效准确地解释说明汉语，然而各种语言之间是无法建立一一对等的对应关系的，这就要求我们要重视语言的特性及其语言之间的差异，但这并不意味着摒弃共性的东西，恰恰是共性的部分使得不同语言建立联系。

结语

汉语在其发展过程中，经历了文言文到现代汉语的变革，现代汉语是由古代汉语衍生而来，又不可避免地保留了文言文的痕迹。在传承、演变、发展的过程中，有些汉字保留了原来的意思，而有些则改变了本义，产生了现代意义。从古代汉语出发还是从现代汉语出发研究汉语本位问题也是一个必须明确的问题。

汉语究竟是"字本位"还是"词本位"的理论研究和争讨对于研究汉语本质，揭示汉语的内在规律是非常有益的探索，但是认为"字本位理论"指导下的"字本位教学法"是改进非汉字圈汉语学习者汉字认读书写效率低下和汉语学习效率低的解决办法，有人主张"字本位教学法"应应用于对外汉语教学汉字和词汇教学中，笔者认为这也不是"字本位"理论的实践应用，"字本位"的理论准备不足说明它还无法从根本上改革对外汉语教学。

对外汉语教学应该吸收各种教学法的合理因素，多种教学法并存，共同指导汉语教学，服务教学，改善教学。其实对汉语本位问题的争论恰恰说明了汉语区别于其他语言的独特性，在对外汉语教学中，我们应该着眼汉语的语言规律和特点，研究适用于汉语自身规律的教学方法和策略，发现汉语本身的个性，又不能盲目追求个性而忽略汉语与其他语言之间的共性和联系，从而改进现今教学中的不足，为语言学理论提出新的课题和方向。

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ИДЕИ ЗА ОБУЧЕНИЕТО ПО ПРЕВОД ОТ БЪЛГАРСКИ НА КИТАЙСКИ ЕЗИК И ОБРАТНО

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АНОТАЦИЯ: В продължение на десетилетия лекциите по превод в обучението по български език на китайските студенти натрупват богат опит не само в съдържанието на учебния материал, но и в методическо отношение. На тази база се ражда една ефикасна и оригинална методика на преподаване, базирана на гъвкавостта, предизвикателството и активното участие на студентите. Става дума за преподавателското кооопериране на един китайски и един български преподавател, които заедно, като двама субекти, да участват на преподавателската сцена. Целта е да се създаде интересна провокативна и естествена диалогична среда на обучението по превод, да се включат различни гледни точки и различни дистанции в обучението. Подобен експеримент може да се окачестви и като рисков опит, но практиката доказва, че резултатите на "дуо" преподаването са по-добри от "моно" преподаването. Статията предлага подробности за приложението на подобен метод на преподаване.

Лекциите по превод на китайските студенти, които следват българска филология, вече имат няколкодесетилетна практика. Обучени са повече от 10 випуска студенти. Създадена е традиция, в която всеки преподавател на дисциплината щафетно предава на следващия преподавателския си опит, отнасящ се до съдържанието и начините на обучение. Дългогодишната преподавателска практика показва, че лекциите по превод за по-горен курс са важно звено в овладяването на чуждия език.

1. Структура на лекциите по превод за III и IV курс

Поради спецификата на учебната програма и налагащите се ограничения при разпределението на часовете, лекциите по превод за III и IV курс имат комплексен характер. Те включват писмен и устен превод от китайски на български и от български на китайски. Налага се използването на разнообразни методи и средства на преподаване, като упражнения във фонетичен кабинет, симулационно обучение, обучение в синхронен превод, тълкуване на превеждания материал, "репетиране" на различни преводи в устен и писмен вариант.

Устните упражнения, като преводаческа практика в зададена ситуация, се водят в аудиторията заедно с преподавателите, а писмените упражнения се изготвят от студентите като домашни упражнения. Теорията по превод се преподава между устните упражненията, базирайки се на тях. При липса на естествена езикова среда, стремежът е да се интегрира теорията с практиката и да се наблегне върху практическата подготовка на студентите.

Целта е да се избегнат такива недостатъци, като буквалния превод дума по дума, без разбиране и влизане в контекста на ситуацията (подобен превод можем да наречем "мъртъв"); да се сложи край на "произволния" превод, който също няма общо с обективността на превода; да не се допуска подмяна на смисъла или препредаването му по твърде отдалечен начин. В практиката на обучението се използва подходът, който може да се нарече *решаване на проблема на място*. При този подход възникналите трудности и несъвършенства при превода веднага се коригират, за да се запомнят заедно с контекста. Така се гарантира моменталното трансформиране на грешките на студентите в техни практически умения.

2. Модел, съдържание и методи на устен превод

Бързата реакция и практическата ефективност са двете основни характеристики, които се стремят да постигнат часовете по устен превод. При подбора на теми се взема предвид евентуалната бъдеща преводаческа работа на студентите след като завършат. И тук е мястото на симулационното обучение, в което студентите-преводачи влизат като участници в обмислени предварително преводачески "сценарии".

Съдържанието на материалите по превод трябва да бъде достатъчно широко и да обема специфична лексика от много сфери, но съществува и проблемът с ограниченото време на обучението и затова трябва да се подбере минимум от лексика и фрази, "готови" за употреба. Колкото по-богат е речникът на бъдещите преводачи, толкова по-голяма свобода ще имат по време на синхронен превод, а това неминуемо ще окаже влияние върху качеството му.

От друга страна, съдържанието непрекъснато трябва да се обновява, с цел да се върви в крак с динамичните социални и исторически промени. Така актуалният социален живот трябва да влезе в учебната стая. Добрият превод не изключва социалната позиция на преводача – той не е механичен речник, извън ситуацията и смисъла, който предава. Затова студентите трябва да имат добра ориентация във вътрешните и международните политически и социални процеси и конкретните събития в Китай и света; трябва да имат познания върху обстановката в България, на Балканите и в Европа, за да могат веднага да влязат в дадена преводаческа ситуация и да бъдат готови за адекватен превод.

В лекциите по превод трябва да се търси връзката с предметите от основния курс на обучение. За да се изгради един добър преводач, е необходимо да се съчетае традиционното обучение по граматика на езика с часовете по слушане и говорене. Упражненията по устен превод подобряват способността на студентите да се изразяват и отговарят. Ако

понякога направят малки граматически грешки, това няма да засегне разбирането и превеждането на смисъла на текста. Но ако не познават граматическите правила, които в много случаи са смислоопределящи, преводът може да бъде изцяло погрешен. Целта на обучението по граматика не е да създава „граматици", а да повиши ефективността на използване на езика при общуването. Доказан факт е, че само тези студенти, които по време на следването си обръщат достатъчно внимание на граматиката и на точното изразяване, могат да станат отлични преводачи. Ето защо дори в часовете по превод преподавателите препоръчват на студентите да не подценяват граматиката и да обогатяват непрекъснато речника си, за да намерят най-точната дума при превода.

Бъдещите преводачи би трябвало специално да изучават социалните норми на поведение и етикет, да имат богата обща култура; да се научат на коректност и конфиденциалност при превода, на етика и дисциплина. Така, заедно с овладяването на преводаческите си умения, студентите обогатяват и своята култура, разширяват и социалното си познание. Това също оценяваме като много важно за добрия преводач.

3. Модел, съдържание и методи на писмен превод

В часовете по писмен превод главно се прави теоретичен анализ на казуси, а упражненията се дават на студентите като домашна работа. След това се провежда дискусия. Преподавателите и студентите коментират заедно някои типични грешки при превода, анализират и изказват своето мнение, търсят най-добрия превод, предлагат няколко варианта.

Учебникът по двуезичен превод, използван в лекциите, предлага често използвани теми за превод. След всеки текст за превод, накрая на урока има готов преведен вариант. Но задачата на студентите е да направят самостоятелен превод, без да ползват готовия. След това, по време на семинарното занятие, става обсъждане и се търси най-добрия вариант. Целта е чрез сравняване и дискутиране, чрез използване на опита на доказано добри преводачи, да се търси най-точният вариант на превода. Студентите биват предупредени да не считат примерните преводи в края на всеки урок за норма, да не се ограничават само с тях, защото преводът може да има много варианти и винаги е възможно да се намери още по-добър вариант.

В преподаването следва да се обръща внимание на усвояването на връзката между съотношението на двата вида превод: китайско-български и българско-китайски. За китайските студенти преводът от български на китайски е по-лесен, отколкото от китайски на български. Затова в практиката на преподаването следва да се акцентира върху практикуването на превода от китайски на български. По-специално внимание да се обърне на китайската специфична политическа терминология (като *научни перспективи за развитие* и т.н.), професионална терминология, идиоми, фразеологизми, поговорки и как да се спазва принципът на превода *"вярност и елегантност"*.

Готовите учебни материали по превод никога не са достатъчно в процеса на преподаването. Необходимо е непрекъснато да се обогатява учебното съдържание. Само тогава преводът може действително да играе роля на средство за комуникация и наистина да се превърне в мост между нациите.

4. Обобщение на методиката по превод, разлики и прилики между писмения и устния превод

Преводът е сложен аналитичен и синтетичен процес. Студентите преминават през пет етапа на обучение: предварителна подготовка, разбиране, изразяване, коректура и редактиране. Разбирането и изразяването са критични звена. Ако кажем, че процесът на писмения превод дава на преводача възможност да обмисли, процесът за устния превод се извършва направо в момента. В този случай, при преподаването и обучението по устен превод се обръща внимание на студентите да търсят преди всичко основния смисъл на превеждания материал.

Специално при писмения превод, в учебния процес студентите се съсредоточават, освен върху правилното разбиране на оригинала, и върху уменията и майсторството на превода, като например достатъчна информативност, стила на езика, гъвкавост при предаване на смисъла и др. Обръща се особено внимание на трансформациите, на които неминуемо се подлага оригиналът, добавяне и изваждане на лексика, допълнителни обяснения, както и акценти в изречението.

5. Практиката на съвместно водене на лекциите по превод от китайски и чуждестранни преподаватели

Смисълът на тази практика може да се синтезира по следния начин:

а. Нивото на студентите за двупосочен превод получава балансирано развитие. Вече стана дума, че преводът от български на китайски за китайските студенти е относително по-лесен, отколкото от китайски на български. Принципно казано, китайският преподавател има основна позиция в тези часове. Въпреки това, ако българският лектор присъства на лекциите и арбитрира предложените от студентите преводи от китайски на български, това ще им бъде от голяма полза. Защото той именно предлага множество синоними и всякакви стилистични решения, обяснява ги, предлага различни варианти и импровизация – тази най-трудна стъпка при превода. Освен това се стимулира интересът на студентите към обучението.

б. Сътрудничеството на китайските и българските преподаватели може да обогати начините за превод. Студентите превеждат даден текст, а българският лектор: предлага още варианти, предлага най-добрия, най-простия и най-бързия, коригира грешките. Студентите усвояват точната употреба на думите и фразите. При превод от български на китайски,

българският лектор помага по-добре да бъде разбран предварително смисъла, а китайският преподавател следи за адекватното му предаване на родния им език. Целта също така е да се даде възможност на студентите в процеса на синхронния превод да имат бърза реакция, максимално да използват езиковите си познания, а не да се ограничават в заучената лексика и фрази.

Този подход позволява на оригиналните текстове да останат живи. В същото време повишава възможността студентите по-добре да се справят с особеностите на стила на превеждания текст. Това е особено важно, защото им помага в процеса да търсят най-подходящите думи и изрази, да имат усет за комуникативна ситуация.

в. „Дуо" – преподаването на китайски и български преподаватели прави преподаването по-театрално и засилва неговата диалогичност. Лекциите по превод стават сцена на пряка симулация за всички студенти, които желаят активно да се включат. Например, българският лектор може да играе ролята на ръководител на някаква делегация, а китайският преподавател – на домакина, посрещащ гостите. Обикновено се започва от поздравителната реч. Студентите играят ролята на преводачи на разговора между гостите и домакините, т.е. превеждат симулираната сцена на преговорите. Друга подобна сцена може да се изиграе на тема *"търговски преговори между фирмите"* и т.н. Структурата на изразяването при близки теми от един и същ стил е близка и по този начин може по-лесно да се запомни.

Без съмнение, съвместното преподаване на китайски и български преподаватели гарантира пространство и обстановка на диалог и импровизация, така че лекциите по превод, принципно едни от най-трудните, се превръщат в интересни, не скучни, и имат по-добри резултати.

Обучението по превод е процес, който се нуждае от непрекъснато подобряване и усъвършенстване, непрекъснато иновиране. Има много още да се направи, за да се подобри сегашното обучение по превод, примерно да се премисли отново съотношението на часовете за устен и писмен превод. В момента се използва гъвкав начин, отговарящ на действителното ниво на всеки студент, с цел да се подобри ефективността на обучението. Част от съдържанието на учебния материал, като синхронен превод и превод „на ухо", поради различни причини все още не е включено специално в плана на редовните часове. Но богатият опит на няколко поколения преподаватели вече действа като добра основа за бъдещото развитие на този предмет.

保加利亚语翻译课教学实践探索

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保加利亚语专业高年级翻译课作为一种课型，经过了几十年、十多届学生的教学实践，努力建立正规的教学模式，在教学内容上时刻把握体现时代性和实用性，新老教师传授教学经验，逐渐形成了具有专业特色的主打课型。多年来的教学实践证明，高年级的翻译课是学好外语的重要一环。

一、 本专业高年级翻译课的构成

根据本专业的教学大纲、课程设置以及由于受整体课时的限制，保加利亚语专业高年级翻译课只能作为一个综合课型进行设置，它包括了口译、笔译、汉译保、保加汉等多方面的内容，而且需要采用多种教学手段如语音实验室、模拟翻译练习等，不同翻译技巧训练穿插进行，即口、笔译的教学模式采用同一单元内容两种训练并进的做法进行，课上进行口语训练、课下以作业的形式进行笔译练习，翻译理论则穿插在翻译练习当中讲授。在翻译课内容设置上，必须考虑到它的个性，在语言环境相对缺失的情况下，努力做到理论联系实际，侧重实践训练，增长专业知识，掌握翻译技巧，争取让学生在较短的时间内获取尽可能的提高翻译水平。

为了达到这一目标，在教学当中，既要避免逐词死译，也要杜绝随意乱译，反对做字面的奴隶，也要反对把翻译变为改写或者转述。也就是说，要反对形式主义和自由主义两种倾向。在实践训练中，多采取"有问题就地即时解决"的方法，以保证教学的质量和效率。

二、 本专业口译课的教学模式、内容和方法

时代性和实用性是口译课教学的两大特点，因此要考虑到学生未来翻译工作的需要，突出常用的题材和内容，同时在口译训练过程中不失时机地传授翻译技巧，如记忆技巧，强调笔记的重要性等。

口译课的教学内容应该是相当广泛的，但是由于课时有限，因此要求学生对专业术语、固定搭配、时政表述等尽量做到能够出口成诵，达到"自由王国"的程度，成为自己的"硬件"，使学生明白，自己"词库"里的储存量越大，即席口译当中个人的发挥空间就越大，才能最大限度地发挥出翻译水平。

教学内容必须不断更新，与社会和历史的变化同步，现实社会生活要进入课堂，因此，学生必须要对国内外的政治和社会动态以及具体时间有所了解，应该有关于保加利亚、巴尔干各国以及欧洲局势方面的知识，这样才能较快地进入翻译意境，译出好水平。

高年级的口译课与传统的语法教学法和听说法应该是相辅相成、不可或缺的。口译训练和练习提高了学生的表达能力和反应，虽然有时语法混乱也不影响理解，但是，如果学生在校期间没有养成重视语法、注重规范表达的习惯，就有可能通篇译错。学习语法不是目的，而是更有效地使用语言进行交际。事实证明，只有在校期间口语、口译中注重语法、重视精确表达的学生，才能发展成为优秀的口译人才。因此，在口译训练中，教师引导学生重视语法，培养规范讲话的习惯，取得了很好的教学效果。

口译工作者应具有的素养和素质、翻译过程中的言谈举止、应遵守的外事纪律和工作纪律、应具备的办事能力等要纳入教学内容当中，使学生在学习翻译技巧的同时，提高文化修养，扩大自己的社会知识面。事实证明，这一内容对于学生走上工作岗位后的表现起到了至关重要的作用。

三、 本专业笔译课的教学模式、内容和方法

笔译教学以理论讲解和实例解析为主，翻译练习多在课下以作业的形式进行，然后进行课堂讨论，对一些典型的语句翻译，师生共同研析，各抒己见，找出翻译中的错误、最佳译法或者几种译法。

翻译课使用的《汉保保汉翻译教程》浓缩、汇集了典型的双语翻译题材，一般每课后面都有参考译文，但是要求学生事先不要阅读参考译文，在翻译训练时，发挥自己的主观能动性，尽量做到独立译出，然后通过课堂讨论，找出最佳译法，取得事半功倍的效果。通过对照阅读，借鉴其他译者的经验是提高翻译水平的好方法之一。同时提醒学生不要受参考译文的局限，因为也许一句话的译法有很多种，也许我们可以找到更好的译法。

在教学中，注意掌握好双语互译的比重关系，对于中国学生来讲，保译汉要比汉译保容易些，因此在教学中侧重汉译保方面的训练，尤其加大了中国特色的政治术语（如 "科学发展观"等）、专业术语、成语、俗语的翻译训练和如何掌握"信、达、雅"的翻译原则。

翻译教学仅靠现成教材是不够的，在教学过程中，需要不断充实新的教学内容，才能真正起到成为人民沟通和交流的桥梁作用。

四、对翻译教学法归纳总结，力求找出口译和笔译在特点和技巧上的异同

翻译是一个分析和综合的复杂过程。在教学过程中我们要求学生，笔译一部作品或者一份材料，一般要经过准备、理解、表达、校对、定稿五个环节的训练，而理解和表达则是关键性的环节。如果说，笔译过程中译者还有考虑、斟酌的余地，在口译过程中，这一环节则是在一瞬间完成的。因此，在口译教学训练中，允许学生在一时没有找到相应或贴切译法的情况下，用解释性的方法，把意思译出来。

在笔译方面，教学过程中除了强调正确理解原文之外，要在翻译技巧上对学生进行重点指导，如查阅资料、语体风格、严谨和灵活的把握等。具体做法有词类转译、加减词法、词义引申、成分改变、关系转移以及断句法等。

五、中外教师共同讲授翻译课的尝试

多年来，本专业进行了中外教师合作上翻译课的尝试，具体做法可以归纳一下几点：

1.使学生的双语水平能平衡发展。众所周知，外译汉对于中国学生来说比汉译外相对要容易，如何找到最贴近、最忠于原文的译法，无疑由中国教师主讲最为合适。但是，由中文汉语译成外文外语，如果有外国教师的协助和仲裁，对于学生找到最好的译法是大有裨益的。因为外国教师可以提供更多的替换词句，分别进行分析，然后从信、达、雅的角度找出最佳译法。以此激发学生的学习兴趣。

2.中外教师合作上课能丰富翻译方法。学生就课文进行翻译练习，外国老师则对同一些词组的使用方法加以补充或者建议另外一些替换方法，同时指出最佳、最简捷、最快速的翻译处理方法。在保译汉过程中，保加利亚教师可以帮助学生事先理解原文，而中国教师关注他们的母语翻译，使学生在翻译过程中（同步翻译）具有敏捷的反应，最大程度地利用语言知识，而不是局限在原课文已学过的词汇和词组上。

这一方法使原课文变活，加深了学生对对外文修辞风格的掌握。这一点尤为重要，它有助于学生在翻译过程中更好地根据不同的交际场合选择合适的句型。

3.中外教师合作参与翻译课教学可以加强课堂的戏剧性和对话性，使翻译课成为所有学生都能积极参加的一种直接的场景模拟。如外国教师扮演某一外国代表团的团长，而中国教师作为欢迎客人的另一方。由中国老师给出需要译出的句子，一般从欢迎词开始。由学生充当翻译的角色。对双方的话语进行互译，即会谈场景模拟翻译。交际交际场景还有 "公司间的贸易谈判"等，翻译表达的各种不同方式层次分明，一目了然。

无疑，中外教师共同参与翻译课教学为学生创造了对话、演示和活动的空间和气氛，使高年级翻译课这一最难的课型变得有趣、不枯燥，提高了课堂效果。

高年级翻译课是一门需要不断改进和完善、不断探索和创新的课型，目前的翻译课教学还有很多需要改进和开发的领域，如口译和笔译的课时比例，目前采用弹性方式，根据每届学生的实际水平做出调整，算是对如何提高教学效果的一种探索。一些教学内容如"同声传译"和"耳语翻译"等，由于各种原因我专业还未列入教学计划。经过几代教师的教学实践积累的教学经验已经为今后这一课型的发展打下了一个良好的基础。

ANALYSIS ON CHINESE ACCENT AND DIALECTIC IDEA ABOUT IT

by Chen Yudong, Confucius Institute in Belgrade

ABSTRACT: Confucius institute is the new "Silk Road" connecting the world with China, and teaching Chinese is the base of the Silk Road. Accent is an important factor in many languages in the world, but opinions vary about whether accents exist and whether it is important in Chinese. I think that, from prosodic word to prosodic phrase, and to intonation phrase, accents in Chinese exist in prosodic tiers. An acoustic phonetic study on accents in Chinese mandarin will be carried. My expectant conclusion is that the accent is always prominent in two ways in discourse. One way may be described "When the river rises the boat goes up" (水涨船高)，and the other described "When the water subsides the rocks emerge" (水落石出). The strategies from discourse influence the distribution of accents in prosodic tiers.

汉语重音的突显特征及其辩证意义

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一、关于汉语轻重音

1 轻重音及其多级特征

重音，是与轻音相比才称为重音，它是一种相对的概念。重音在不同的韵律层级都有表现。不同层级的重音显示出重音的多级特征。一般对重音的理解主要偏重于词重音和句重音。词重音在许多语言中很重要，有区别意思的作用；有些词重音形式成为一种语言的特有的韵律特征。句重音是体现语句语义焦点的重要标志，与其他标记形式共存。在近年来的研究中，语段和语篇重音被提出来（陈玉东2004等），是基于语句重音，从语篇的角度命名的。最终还是落实在语句重音上。

现代汉语中有词重音，这应该是研究者的共识。但对于词重音分布范围的认识却有很多不同，有的认为只局限于轻声词；有的认为轻重格式是词重音的重要标志，每个词都存在。词重音是否重要的争论（徐世荣 1980，杨顺安 1992，王晶 王理嘉1993，颜景助、林茂灿1988，王洪君 2000，端木三 1999，冯胜利 2005等等）部分起源于词重音分布的范围之争，也跟词重音的明显程度和变化形态有直接关系。

2 重音韵律突显方式

无论是词重音，还是句重音，甚至到语段重音和语篇（Halliday 1994）重音，关于其突显方式的认识也是有分歧的。

最传统的理解，"重音"当然应该是"重"，理应是与声音的强度有关（罗常培、王均 1981，徐世荣 1980）；现代语音学研究发现，"重音"之重是声学各因素综合作用的结果（林焘 王理嘉 1993），其中音高和音长发挥着十分重要的作用，音强的作用也不可忽视。

从发音的角度看，重音突显的方式是有选择的。对相对中性的表达来说，音高和音长的突显更省力有效（陈玉东2004）；从情绪表达的需要看，音强和音质方面的突显也十分突出。发音人的个性特征和特殊表达需要，往往会使重音突显的方式也有所变化。

二、实验设计

针对汉语轻重音的韵律特征，本研究用实验的方法来验证汉语轻重音的多种表达形式。针对多种因素的影响，采用多角度分析的方法对真实语料进行统计分析。多因素包括：重音的级别3种，词、短语、句子（都视为语篇，Halliday 1994）；重音的位置3 种，前重、中重和后重；重音所处单元的音节数5种，单元的大小1~5个音节；表达句的情绪的强弱2种，弱（中性语调）和强（感情语调）。语料采集男性发音人1人，普通话标准。采用对答方式保证重音位置，用语境刺激保证情绪强弱对比。

录音文本设计兼顾重音及重音前后相邻位置的四声聚合。每节5个单元，每个单元4个声调的重音聚合，4个重音相邻声调，三种重音（前重，中重和后重）位置共6组，2种情感特征。合计5*4*4*6*2=960个单元（1-5音节）。本文篇幅所限，分析主要集中在中重。

用 Audition 3.0 进行录音及编辑，录音采样率为22k，单声道，16比特；使用 Praat5.2.25 对语料进行编辑标注，使用 excel97 和 spss13.0 对数据进行整理和统计分析。音高单位采用半音（st），转换公式为：$st=12*lg(f/f_{ref})/lg2$，其中f为频率Hz，参考频率 f_{ref} 取 100Hz。音高分析采用"双线模型"（沈炯 1985,1994）进行。

三、分析

3.1 音长分析

一般认为，重音比非重音要长些，但由于受到其他因素的影响，我们看到的并非是绝对如此。以中重为例，重音音节均值比较长，但往往并不是最长的。音节在短语或小句中的先后位置以及小句的语义结构对音节的长度影响也很大。图1可以看到，单音节时长最长（感情弱状态下分别是516ms和464ms），因为只有一个音节，自然延长余地大。双音节中，后重趋势明显，加上后音节又是重音，所以更长（中性语调首末音节长度分别是278ms和446ms）。三音节组合中，重音音节（317ms）比首音节（305ms）略长，但末音节居后还是最长（365ms）。四音节组合中，因首音节成为话题主语，成为最长（332ms），重音位置反而比首音节短一些（293ms），但最短的是重音后第三个弱化音节（254ms）。五音节组合中，前两个也成为话题主语，第二个音节最长（332ms），重音音节也较长（300ms），但也略短语第二个音节。

从中重的各种组合看，感情的强弱并没有对音长产生明显的影响，中性语调与感情语调感的音长均值几乎重合（t检验p=.100>.05，泊松相关系数r=0.994）。

3.2 音高分析

观察统计发现，音高突显是中性语调下重音突显的主要方式之一。以中重为例，图2可以看到，重音的高音点（弱-H）一般都比前后相邻位置的高很多，例如在三音节（12.32st）、四音节（12.93st）、五音节（12.20st）组合中都是如此。与单音节相比，3-5音节组合中的重音都比单音节（10.50st）略高一点，而重音前后的音节，特别是重音后的音节，显示出了特别明显的断层（3-5音重音后音节的音高分别是5.75st，6.42st 和6.08），下降幅度都在6st左右（断层上下比较均具有显著差异，t检验结果p=.000），这就是高音点突显重音的最重要的表现形式。在双音节组合中，由于实际显示的是后重（音高为9.99st），受音高下倾趋势的影响，并没有比首音节（10.88 st）高多少，但统计检验显示依然有显著差异（t检验结果，P=.013<.05）。低音点方面，虽然在重音位置上显示与高音点突显一致的抬高现象，但它并不是对重音突显起关键作用的因素（沈炯1985,1994），只是呈现韵律单元前后的下倾作用，我们不做详细分析。

感情语调与中性语调相比整体抬高了5.34st，t检验结果二者呈显著差异（p=.000）。重音突显方式，在整体趋势上与中性语调相似，也是高音点较前后相邻音节的高音高出很多，特别是重音后的断层非常明显（下降幅度都在7st左右，t检验结果p=.000<.05）。后重的双音节，重音与首音节持平（15.98st），t检验没有显示差异（p=.992>.005）。由此可见，从相对意义上看，感情语调下的重音突显也是依靠重音与前后相邻音节的高音点对比形成的。同样，低音点方面与中性语调相似，也没有对重音突显起到明显作用。

接下来，我们把中性语调与感情语调的高音点放在一起比较。中性语调可以说是发音人在比较自然放松的条件下发的音，如果我们把中性语调的单音节高音点（10.50st）当作是参照，其他组合的重音与这个参照相比是略有提高（3-5音重音音高分别是12.32st、12.93st和12.20st）；而非重音的位置，特别是重音之后的断层位置明显弱化，表现出显著的下降。我们把这种主要依靠非重音弱化来实现重音突显的方式叫做"水落石出"式。"水落"是指非重音的下落、弱化，"石出"是指由于非重音的弱化而引起的重音的突显。

我们如果也把中性语调下的高音点均值（3-5音节分别是9.45 st、7.26st 和7.45st ）当作是感情语调的高音点参照，那么感情语调下的弱音节的高音点（3-5音节分别是10.50st、5.89st和5.68st）基本与这个参照持平，而那些较强的音节（包括重音），就远远高出这个参照，超出的幅度越大就越强（超出4-10st），重音（超出8-10st）就成为超出这个参照最大的位置。这种方式，是整体高出中性语调自然状态的，是以高音托高音的突显方式，我们把它叫做"水涨船高"式。"水涨"，是指为了衬托出更高的音，周围的音也跟着涨高；"船高"是在"水"高条件下被托起来的。

我们还是举中重条件下由单音节扩展五音节的一组例子，"卖→爸卖 →爸卖书→爸卖书多→他爸卖书多多"，其中黑体字为重音。组图3是中性语调和感情语调下单音节及五音节的音高图。从单音节"卖mai4"看，感情语调
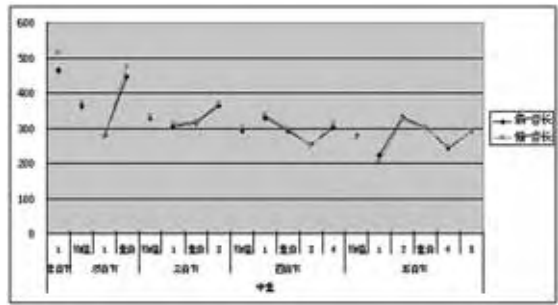
图 1 中重条件下音长对比分析图（单位：ms）
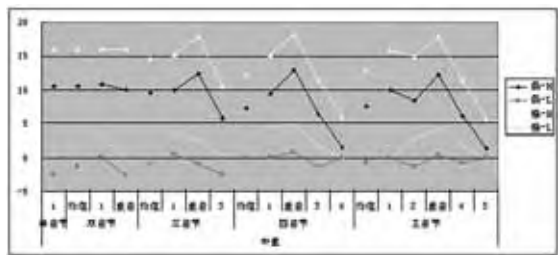
图 2 中重条件下音高对比分析图（单位：st）
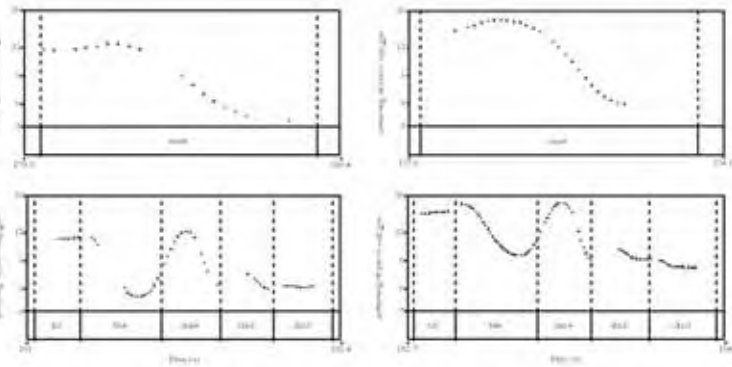
组图 3 两种音高突显方式举例[1]

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[1] 组图左上为中性语调单音节，右上为感情语调单音节，左下为中性语调五音节，右下为感情语调五音节。

音高明显提高，这使得其高音点和低音点都提高了。在五音节小句中，处在中间位置的"卖"是重音，中性语调中重音其最高点大约12st，其他位置除了首音较高之外，其他音都很低；而感情语调下的重音"卖"却提高到18st左右，而平均音高也都已经达到11.5st，基本与中性语调的最高点持平。如果把中性语调的最高点为基准，中性语调的重音突显就是靠非重音的弱化而实现的，而感情语调中重音的突显却是靠语调的整体抬高、重音更高而实现的。前者就是"水落石出"，后重就是"水涨船高"。

3.3 音强分析

音强方面看，中性语调和感情语调下，都呈现前强后弱的态势，这是发音时声门下压导致自然特征。感情语调的重音位置的音强几乎与前一个音持平（均值都是76dB左右，3-5音节条件下方差检验结果p值分别是.850，.954和.959，均大于.05），也就是说重音位置与前一个音节相比，能量并没有衰减，也就是重音的突显作用局部改变了前强后弱的能量减弱趋势；中性语调重音位置能量衰减也有点减弱，但并不十分明显，重音与前一个音节相比都依然有显著差异（3-5音节下方差检验p值是.016，4-5音节下p值都是.000，均小于.05）。这说明，在感情语调的表达中，重音的突显也较多地依赖音强的突显，而中性语调下音强的突显手段并不十分重要。

从数据上看，感情语调下音强的突显也是整体加强（提高近3dB，t检验结果是p=.000<.05），与中性语调下均值相比，也几乎持平或更强。这也就是"水涨船高"式的突显方式在音强方面的表现。

图 4 音强对比分析图（单位：dB）

四、讨论：重音突显的辩证意义

4.1 语篇视角和相对突显

单音节无所谓轻重，双音节必然就有轻有重，三音节、四音节短语轻重层次更明显，小句中的重音就是句重音，多个小句组合的语段中最突显的小句重音就是语段重音，在一个语篇中那个最突显的重音分则可以说是语篇重音。重音的多级特征，表现在低级单元组合构成高级单元重音的过程，也表现在高级单元的语义需求指派低级单元重音的过程。

在进行语音研究时，我们甚至可以把任何一个独立表达篇章意义、具有篇章功能的单元看作是一个语篇。一个小句可以是一个语篇（例如本文的3-5音节的小句），一个音节也可以视为一个语篇。我们可以把大于一个音节的单元看作是对一个单音节语篇的扩充，从一个音节的词到两个音节词或词组，再到三个音节的小句，再到结构更复杂的小句。如果我们能这样理解语篇，那么单音节的语篇就是一个语义重音，两个音节中就有了轻重之别，一个是重音，另一个就是非重音，如此类推，在多个音节的短语或小句中，依然是有重音和非重音。重音是得到突显的，非重音是重音的依托和陪衬。

在语言表达中，主次轻重都是相对的。在一个特定的语境下，重音的突显需要与前后音节相比较，明显的高（主要是高音点）了就突显了。这种高是可以通过不同的方式来实现。在本研究中所发现的"水落石出"式和"水涨船高"式两种突显方式，是实现重音突显的最基本两种方式。在实际的应用中，可能没有完全的"水落石出"，也没有纯粹的"水涨船高"，很多时候是二者的结合，但或许有时偏重前者，有时偏重后者。

"水落石出"式是一种较为常态的突显方法，状态自然而省力，音高突显方面作用明显；"水涨船高"式一种强化突显方式，状态刻意而用力，音高和音强方面表现都比较突出，在有些条件下也会有音质的变化方式来突显重音。

4.2 语言表达中相对突显的辩证意义

语言表达是一个依靠对比变化来实现语义突显的过程，好的表达者可以应用恰当而省力的方式来突显重音。懂得相对突显的辩证意义，就可以抓住重音突显的本质——"与众不同"。重音因与非重音显著不同而突显，在声学特征上，可以是音高的突显，有时也可以是音强或音长的突显。本研究重点观察的音高突显，实际上就是看怎样显得重要。可以让我们有这么一个感悟：要使重要的显得重要，有两种方法，一种是使它重上加重，自然就比别的更重要了；另一种是让其他的显得不重要，你想要重要的那个自然也就重要了。这就是语言表达中通过弱化或者强化实现相对突显的辩证意义。

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CHINESE VERB SUBCATEGORIZATION: VALENCY AND TYPOLOGY

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ABSTRACT: In this corpus-based study, we group Chinese verbs into a number of lexical-aspectual classes similar to those found in the Fundamental Classification of Predicates proposed by Yuri D. Apresjan.

It is shown that the aspectual meaning of a Chinese sentence depends not only on the meaning of its verb's marker (-*le* and the like), but also on the verb's lexical class, the overall meaning being modified by different temporal adverbials as well. A lexical class also predicts how the syntactic structure is formed; in isolating languages like Chinese such inter-level dependencies account for a substantial (and important) portion of the "isolating grammar").

A detailed study of the morphologically marked forms for each verbal class is offered, where different combinations of relevant features account for subtle changes in semantics.

Previous typological research has reported the importance of the positional features of the grammatical markers for the verb's meaning. In our paper, we discuss Chinese verb strings in terms of the rules governing positional characteristics of the verbs and their markers. The study supports the idea of relevance advanced by J.Bybee who explains ordering regularities in morphology through different degrees of semantic relevance. In Mandarin Chinese, resultative markers come closer to the verb as compared to aspect markers since the former's effect on the verb's semantics seems to be more significant than the latter's.

This paper focuses on the Chinese verb classes and their aspectual features. In the grammatical system of any language, it is the verb, describing a situation, which together with its arguments forms a minimal communicative unit. Supposing the correlation between the general typological characteristics of the language and syntactic properties of the verb, in this corpus-based study we group Chinese verbs into a number of classes to find out their grammatical and syntactic behavior. The aspectual value of a Chinese sentence depends not only on the meaning component of the grammatical markers, but also on the lexical class of the verb, and moreover it relies heavily on its neighborhood and can be modified by temporal adverbials. A semantic class at the lexical level predicts a combinatorial pattern at the sentential level, in isolating languages where the usage of syntactic structures is the most common way to implement verb valencies, the valency bond can be also considered as a kind of grammar. Such a detailed description of aspectual or actional classes enables us to make a comparative study of the morphologically marked forms for each verbal class and investigate particular aspectual meaning expressed by grammatical markers.

According to the recent typological studies, all languages are supposed to have a certain set of actional classes for verbal lexemes and that each class in a particular language has its own kind of grammar and syntactic properties. Any classification should be based on criteria that highlight the most crucial differences between the units being described. At the same time, this classification will inevitably also be modified to language-specific material and can only have approximate semantic equivalents and additional classification criteria.

Despite the fact that the classification of predicates has quite a long tradition, until recently this kind of work was carried out mainly on Indo-European languages. Attempts to make a systematic description of the Chinese verbal semantic system have been limited to the works of S.Yakhontov, Ma Qinzhu, James Tai, and Chen Ping[1]. Except for S.Yakhontov, all other studies mainly dealt with Vendler's verb classes in Mandarin Chinese.

In this report I will present the results of the application to the Chinese material of one of the most recent and most detailed verb subcategorization systems proposed by the Russian linguist Jury Apresyan[2]. His Fundamental Classification of Predicates aims to identify the correlation between the certain type of lexical meanings that is the semantic class of a verb, and the others properties determined by the entire language system – its morphology, syntax, word derivation and so on.

The FCP has a tree structure and is presented as a non-strict multilevel hierarchy with 17 classes at the 'top level' and numerous intersections of the classes. Many of them are divided into subclasses due to given additional semantic features. In Russian most of those additional meanings arise from various affixes added to the verb root, in Chinese a series of modifiers is used for this purpose. These elements can indicate the direction of movement or the result of an action.

The basic semantic classes of the Chinese verb include:

1. Verbs of *actions* : *xie3* 'write (a letter)', *kan4* 'read (a newspaper)', *pai4* 'send', *hua4* 'draw'

The class of *actions* is the most important and largest class of verbal lexemes with the full range of grammatical markers. All verbs in this class are inherently dynamic: they describe some situations which develop in the course of time.

Chinese verbs denoting actions are closely related to the idea of a specific result that brings the endpoint to the situation that is not then able to continue, those lexemes are telic by aspectual nature: *da3kai1* 'open', *gao4su* 'tell', *dian3* 'light', *reng1* 'throw away'. On the other hand, not every actions verb has a certain limit in its semantics, and often represents the action separately from its outcome: *xie3* 'write', *kan4* 'watch', *shao1* 'burn'. These lexemes may imply the natural endpoint of the situation, but do not necessarily encode this as such. In order to get a 'trully resultative' verb, a modifier must be added to the verb that is the verb itself only denotes a certain tendency, and the RVC denotes the successful implementation of this tendency. This sort of opposition is not unique to the Chinese language and has been described for the verbal systems of different languages by Joan Bybee[3]. When analyzing the aspectual reading of the predicate in an utterance, a wide range of

external factors (like set of the arguments, their referential status, modifiers, temporal adverbials and other things) must be taken into consideration, as they determine the right interpretation of the sentence.

2. Verbs of *occupations* : *ling3dao3* 'lead', *jiao4yu4* 'educate', *da3zhang4* 'fight', *jin4kou3* 'import'.

Verbs of this class describe a set of diverse situations taking place at different times, but united by a common ultimate goal. They cannot occur at the same time or in the same place. Z.Vendler considered such verbs representing long-lasting situations as generic states.

3. Verbs of *activities*: *wan2* 'play, have fun', *liu1da* 'stroll', *pao3bu4* 'run, go running', *kan4shu1* 'read (in general)'.

Verbs of this class represent an activity that has no other specific purpose but that of doing this activity itself. The distinction between actions and activities is not so clear and depends on a given interpretation of the goal. Since the Chinese language never drops an object of transitive verbs in absolute constructions, as we do in Russian for example, sometimes it's not so easy to find out the exact aspectual readings of the ambiguous utterances, see examples. Chinese usually uses 'cognate objects' for the activity verbs, that is the most typical object or their generic name.

A similar construction is used with some intransitive verbs to express the meaning of activity: the verb *pao3* 'run' denotes unidirectional motion; the 'empty object' *bu4* 'step' is added in order to convert it into an activity, so we have *pao3bu4* that stands for 'go running'.

4. Verbs of *effects*: *ying3xiang3* 'influence', *chong1shua1* 'wash away', *jia1re4* 'warm'.

This class includes verbs first arguments of those is not an Agent with an independent will, but rather an inanimate force causing changes in the surrounding world. This natural phenomenon or circumstance is the cause of some action, process or state of affairs. Formally, the subject can also be a person, but the main distinction from actions is the lack of intentions. Even an animate participant does not have the role of Agent, but rather metonymically play the role of Cause. The second argument in these utterances comes into a particular state under the influence of certain external forces.

Verbs of effects is not so well represented in Chinese, as in most situations describing physical, mental, rational or emotional effects, the language typically uses special constructions with causative verbs (*shi3, ling4, jiao4*, etc) with the relevant state: *ling4 ren2 chi1jing1* 'shock, surprise', (lit.: 'cause a person to be surprised').

5. Verbs of *processes*: *ti2gao1* 'rise', *zeng1zhang3* 'grow', *chui1* 'blow', *liu2* 'pour, flow'.

This class is made up of verbs that describe non-agentive atelic processes represented as consisting of successive phases following one another in time. A process is considered to be implemented immediately after its start and at any subsequent moment while it is proceeding. If the energy comes, process will continue until it is interrupted.

6. Verbs of *posture*: *zuo4* 'sit', *zhan4* 'stand', *tang3* 'lie', *gua4* 'hang', *kao4* 'lean'.

It is almost impossible to classify the Chinese positional verbs according to their actional properties once and for all, as these lexemes combine 2 aspectual features -both inchoative and stative, so they can indicate the spatial position as well as the coming into this spatial position.

In the meaning of verbs of this class, there is an idea of the static contact of a specific part of the localized object with a surface or some place. The use of the modifiers *shang, xia,* and *qi* with these verbs is quite productive in describing the change of the subject's posture.

Two other groups of verbs that belong to this class are: a) verbs with the meaning of 'facing' for the buildings or constructions (*chao2* and *mian4xiang4* 'face, look toward'): *fang2-zi chao2 nan2* 'the front of the house faces south'; b) verbs with the meaning of advancing of some objects or parts of them out of somewhere (*tu1chu1* 'project', *gao1song3* 'tower'): *yan1chuang1 song3ru4 yun2xiao1* 'the chimney soars up into the sky'. These usages seem to occur in many languages and are largely metaphorical in nature, it is not supposed that these objects actually move in space.

7. Verbs of *state*: *ai4* 'love', *zhi1dao* 'know', *deng3* 'wait', *sheng1qi* 'get angry', *gao1xing* 'rejoice', *pa4* 'fear'.

The Chinese data show certain specificity in the encoding of states, because the verbs in this class can express not only the state itself, but also the transition into it. With the great diversity of verbs belonging to the class of *states*, it can be considered as a continuum with verbs of opposite actional properties at the poles. The classic stable mental states, requiring a 'super-long' time interval for their implement and excluding progressive, resultative, and other grammatical forms such as *zhi1dao* 'know' occupy one pole, while further along this gradual scale are emotional states that are actual only for a certain stage of subject's existence, for example, *ai4* 'love', stative at the lexical level, but is able to have an aspectual shift under a number of contexts. The other pole are temporary states *sheng1qi* 'get angry', *gao1xing* 'rejoice', *bing4* 'be ill', which have a broader verbal paradigm and are generally more 'actional' than the stable states.

8. Verbs of *manifestations*: *fa1ku3* 'taste bitter', *shan3* 'shine', *zuo4xiang3* 'make a sound'.

This type describes the current perception of some attributes, states or process. Both in Chinese and in Russian, the majority of verbs of this class have only one argument; a few of them can have an 'cognate object', which to some extent duplicate the meaning of the verb. Chinese has been reported as having 'purely verbal' lexemes of manifesting an attribute: *shan3* 'to flash', *xiang3* 'to sound', and its bisyllable synonyms: *shan3guang1* 'to flash', *zuo4xiang3* 'to sound'.

9. Verbs of *ability*: *jiang3 (e2yu3)* 'speak (Russian)', *tong1 (wen2mo4)* 'understand (literature)'.

Verbs in this actional category describe a 'skill or ability' to carrying out something. There is a strong component of potential ability in the semantics of these verbs that is shifted to the communicative focus. This meaning is prototypical for concepts that are important from the ontological point of view, such as *zou3* 'walk' and *shuo1* 'talk', but only until the time a child attains the ability to walk or to speak *zou3lu4* 'walk', *shuo1hua4* 'speak'.

The boundaries between the actional categories are rather blurred: any generalization should be based on a certain number of real situations in the past and are not excluded in the future: *Zhu1 zong3li3 jiang3 ying1wen2, hai2 jiu1zheng4-guo fan1yi4 de cuo4wu* 'Premier Zhu speaks English; (he) even corrected the interpreter's mistakes.'

10. Verbs of *events*: *yu4jian4* 'meet', *peng4tou2* 'come across', *fa1xian4* 'discover', *zao1* 'meet with, experience', *zhong4du2* 'poison'.

Saying 'event' we mean any *instantaneous* uncontrolled situation that happened at some point of time, but it does not imply any preliminary phase or preparation due to the absence of an active Agent. Even in cases of an animate subject, his actions cannot directly cause the situation to arise. The object in these types of utterances typically does not express the result of the situation, but rather the consequences or some damage either to the subject or the object.

11. Verbs of *localization*: *chu3* 'be located', *zai4* 'be located', *wei4yu2* 'be situated'

The meaning 'to be located' is systemic and is included in the semantics of many other verbs in other actional categories: for example, the classes of spatial position and existence. Location is one of the basic characteristics of objects.

The thematic frame of verbs describing a situation of static localization includes a localizable subject and a Landmark or reference point, from which the spatial position of the subject is determined.

12. Verbs of *existence*: *chu1xian4* 'appear', *cun2zai4* 'exist', *you3* 'have', *wu2* 'does not exist', *chan3sheng1* 'emerge'.

Due to their very special syntactic properties: the inverted word order in a sentence verbs of the existence, or existential verbs, have always been a focus of linguistic interest

As long ago as 1957, S.Yakhontov, and later Huang in 1987[4], noted the similarity of the means of expression in Chinese of the semantics of the *appearance* and *disappearance*, which differ only in negation. The prototypical structure of a sentence with a verb of existence has three main components: the localizer, the object or class of objects, and the fact of the existence, appearance or disappearance. With these verbs, the localizer does not indicate the location of the object in space or time, as the verbs the verbs of localization do, but rather the axis of some relational system (possessive, temporal etc.)

13. **Verbs of *property*:** *kou3chi1* 'stutter', *da3juan3* 'curl', *chen2* 'sink'.

The verbs in this class express a timeless property of the subject: *Mu4tou zai4 shui3li bu2 chen2* 'Wood does not sink in water' does not describe a series of situations, but rather gives a characteristic to the subject.

Verbs of property have no more than two arguments in their structure. As noted above, Chinese cannot drop the object of the transitive verb. This type of cognate object is correlated with the whole class in the sentence: *The dog bites* and *Feng1 gou3 yao3 ren2* 'Mad dogs bite' (lit.: bite humans).

14. Verbs of *parameters*: *rong2na4* 'contain', *chi2xu4* 'persist', *zhi2* 'be worth', *da2dao4* 'reach'.

In contrast to the classes described above, where verbs are the prototypical units of language, the class of parameters, being maximally 'remote' from actions, is characterized by a much reduced set of verbal properties. In Chinese, as in many other languages, the prototypical representative of this class is the noun, used in connecting and non-connecting constructions: *Zhe4ge dan4 de zhong4liang4 shi4 1380 ke4* 'This egg weighs 1380 grams'. (lit.: The weight of this egg is 1380 grams.)

15. Verbs of *relations*: *fu2he2* 'correspond', *bao1kuo4* 'include', *deng3yu2* 'equal'.

In situations named by verbs of this class, the subject does not have any effect on the object, but rather indicates some type of relationship between the two. The 'actionality' of lexemes in this class is minimal, which is also the case for the parameters it contains. This type of verb is always non-dynamic, being neither an action nor an event, but a system of relations in a static form.

16. Verbs of *interpretation*: *wu4hui4* 'misunderstand', *bang1* 'facilitate', *chong3* 'dote on', *zhi1chi2* 'support'.

Verbs of this class do not denote any specific action or state, but serve only as some kind of interpretation (qualification) of another situation. Their semantic specificity includes the connection between the two situations, one with an Observer providing an evaluation for the second one introducing the object of evaluation.

One can find an obvious interpretational meaning in those verbs whose semantic structure includes an evaluative modifier as the second element of the Resultative Verbal Construction: *kan4* 'look' => *kan4cuo4* 'to mistake' ('look + error'), *chong3* 'dote on' => *chong3huai4* 'spoil' ('dote on + ruin').

17. Verbs of *behaviour*: *nao4* 'make a din', *fa1pi2qi* 'fly into a temper', *chen2mo4* 'be silent'.

Verbs of this class are actions with elements of interpretive meaning and occur at the intersection of physical actions and interpretive verbs to describe a 'scenario' or sequence of behavioural acts by an Agent that are typical to the everyday life

of an individual or group of people. Depending on the particular society, an individual's behaviour can be interpreted by the speaker according to the behavioural norms accepted in that society. The system of evaluation manifested in the semantics of verbs of this class is ethno-specific, so the verbs of behaviour in different languages will vary, but in general tend toward a negative deviation from social norms (Apresyan 2004: 13). Verbs of behaviour denote a set of controlled physical actions of an animate Agent judged by the speaker.

The grammatical meaning of aspectuality, interacting with the semantics of the verb, can identify a set of differentiating attributes and organize the verbs into certain actional classes with a focus on the syntagmatic properties of verb lexemes. Our classification was bound to have an aspectual orientation, tracing the links between a particular class of lexical meanings of the verb with the category of aspect and with the aspectual semantics of specific grammemes or their equivalents. This type of integrated approach, where the formal grammatical apparatus of the language system is described through the prism of universal semantic classification, has significant typological, as well as practical, interest.

Notes:

1 See Yakhontov (1957), Ma (1981), Tai (1984), Chen (1988).

2 See Apresyan (2009).

3 See Bybee et al. (1994).

4 See Huang (1987).

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THE IDEA AND THE METHOD OF THE WESTERNER'S STUDYING CHINESE IN LATE QING DYNASTY

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ABSTRACT: We have combed missionary's records in the late Qing Dynasty. These materials may reflect approximately the western missionary's situation in studying Chinese in that time. From these situations, we may know approximately the situation of the westerner studying Chinese at the late Qing, and the similarities and differences with early Qing. The major characteristic is, missionary, such as Morrison, had realized that studying Chinese is significance in the history of civilization. The Western countries offer Chinese courses one after another. Chinese research, compiling Chinese textbook have achieved the new level, and Chinese magazine have been published.

清代后期在华西方人学习汉语的理念与方法

高永安，人民大学

一、鸦片战争前后传教士学习汉语的同与不同

鸦片战争前，师资力量难以保证，鸦片战争之前的传教士汉语学习和研究活动多集中在马六甲等海外，之后则集中在中国广州、上海等地。战争前后，学习方法没有大的变化。主要代表人物都经历了整个战争，甚至在战争中扮演重要角色。鸦片战争之后，汉语教师人数大增，一些机构甚至聚集了中国知识分子的学术精英。

鸦片战争之前的传教士汉语学习情况，可以以马礼逊的经历为代表。马礼逊1807年1月31日从伦敦出发，途经美国纽约，于同年9月8日到达广州。第二天，他在广州美国商行给伦敦传教会的司库写了一封长信，信中抱怨在中国学习汉语之困难。他说："欧洲人根本不知道要住在中国并请中国老师教授中文有多么大的困难。"他认为，主要困难是中国政府禁止中国人对欧洲来此地的西洋人教授中文，如被发现，是要判处死刑的。（《马礼逊回忆录》，038页）他在1814年4月17日给澳门东印度公司董事会主席艾芬斯通的信中说："中国老师因为要冒生命危险才敢来教中文，来了之后他们不敢进出英国商行，所以，中国学生部必须供给中文老师的食宿，并要有合理的、特别的应变办法，必要时可以帮助中国老师逃脱，以能躲过中国官府的缉捕和杀灭，不致有生命危险。"因此，不难想象中国人自己的心理活动："而中国人，一部分是出于恐惧，一部分是他们自己的忌妒心，很少同外国人来往。"（《马礼逊回忆录》，105、106页）

这种说法还有事实为证。马礼逊在1814年1月11日的日记中说："今天，我的中文老师高先生（按：高是一位约45岁的塾师，是帮助马礼逊校正和润色《圣经》译文的重要助手，参阅081页）和他的儿子，不得不离开我家而逃亡。他们是由一位可以相信并依靠的人来通风报信的，说这里的巡警正在设法来逮捕他们。"（《马礼逊回忆录》，94页）马礼逊找不到优秀的中文合作者，容三德、梁发、蔡兴等根本不是学术中人，教教口语、认认汉字，尚可称职，至于传统文化的修养，文言文的写作技巧，对西方世界的理解，大概都是门外汉。（何2007，P311）

后期的情况完全不同了。麦都思等传教士的中文活动，其条件大大优于马礼逊、米怜等人。（何2007，P310—311）。王韬与麦都思合作翻译圣经，李善兰与伟烈亚力合作翻译《几何原本》，继承利玛窦、徐光启的前六卷，译出后九卷。蒋敦复与慕维廉合作翻译《大英国志》。墨海书馆的成功，这批中文合作者出力甚多，而合作者本人也成了19世纪中文传播的重要历史人物。如王韬（1828—1897），李善兰（1810—1882），蒋敦复（1808—1867），自称"海天三友"，人称"海上三异民"。其中，王韬因为涉及私通太平天国一案，受到清王朝的追捕。他躲进上海英国领事馆，1862年10月逃到香港，从此开始了与理雅各的合作。（何2007，P31）

理雅各（Jamse Legge，1815—1897）亦为伦敦会传教士，1839年派往马六甲，任英华书院院长，1843年该院迁至香港，继续执掌该院。1873年调回英国、主讲牛津大学汉学讲座，为该讲座首任教授。王韬与理雅各合作的主要内容是将中国经书译文成英文，这是极为艰巨、极有意义的工作。由于两位一流学者的长期合作，终于在东学西传的历史上创下了不朽的业绩。"他（理雅各）翻译的《中国经典》第一卷出版已愈百年，尽管有种种不足和生硬之处，理雅各的译本至今仍为世界各地的汉学家视为标准本。"（美·柯文1998，P57页）

伟烈亚力曾将五经全文译成为英文，并于1867年，也就是来华第20年，出版了一部百科性的力作：《中国文献解题》（又译为《中国文献记略》）。正是这部丰碑式的伟著奠定了他在欧洲汉学史上的崇高地位。他的介绍中国数学成就的巨著《中国科学札记：数学》引起欧洲学术界的极大震动。（何2007，P313）

1814年之前后，传教士汉语的学习情况不同——时间不是那么断然，但道光前后的情况略有不同。根据张西平（2002），清代前期西方人学习汉语的情况体现在以下几个方面：1、建立新式学校英华学院等；2、编辑汉语教材，有官话、方言工具书等；3、著书、译书宣传西方文化；4、创办中文期刊，宣传西方文化；5、西方学术机构纷纷开始汉语教材实践。

二、清后期西方传教士汉语学习的特点

1、规模之大前所未有

尤其是鸦片战争后，学习汉语的传教士人数大增。明末和清初的西方传教士，多的时候也只是几十人，有时甚至只有几人。到了1858年，在华西方传教士已有80人，活动范围限于"五口"通商口岸和香港。而1900年，西方各国入华传教的差会竟有130多个，传教士达2000人，40年间传教士人数增长了25倍之多，而且传教范围遍及全中国。这些西方传教士来到中国后，由于他们的目的都是传教，所以，学习汉语是他们的首要任务。

除了传教士之外，由于中国的国门已经打开，西方在各地都设立有住华机构，有国家的，也有企业的。这些机构里的西方人虽然不一定都要学习汉语，但是学习汉语无疑会为他们的工作打开方便之门。由于这些人的加入，使清朝后期学习汉语的西方人数量，达到前所未有的程度。

但是，尽管西方传教士人数大增，他们中的不少人对汉语的认识还感性。卫三畏说："由于我们和中国人在风俗习惯、思维方式、知识结构上有很多不同，对很多汉语词汇的理解都会有偏差。这使得汉语词典编纂工作相当繁难，而且总是不尽如人意。汉语是一种古老的语言，可追溯到巴别塔时代，文献资料也是浩瀚如烟海。我有时想，如果汉语像希伯来语一样，或者中国索性像印度和非洲那样没有遗留下古代的文献，那我的工作一定会容易得多。"（卫斐列2004，P104、105）再比如，丁韪良对"婪"字的解释是："欲望或贪婪；表现为一个站在两棵树下的女人。"按照耶稣会士们的解释，"禁"和"婪"这两个汉字的来源都可以追溯到圣经中的伊甸园。（丁韪良2000，P34）

西方传教士的中文老师，一般还是如以前一样，既请有中国人，也由稍前来华的传教士担任。马礼逊的中文启蒙老师，是一位由英商从广州派往伦敦学习英语的人名叫容三德（译为杨三德）。但他还是聘请了如前所述的高姓中国老师。这一方面是为了在翻译或著作时要请高水平的中国人把关，同时也可能考虑到在中国聘请中国老师学习更为直接一些。1831年来中国的郭实腊为了更好地学习地道的汉语，他身着唐装，还认一郭姓华侨为义父，归宗福建同安的郭氏宗族。

2、语言学习的内容

与以往学习汉语的西方人一样，清后期的西方人也在学习内容上也做了选择。不同的西方人在官话、方言、文言这几个项目上作了不同的选择，但是官话和方言是多数人的选择。文言也是重要学习内容。例如，鸦片战争之前来华的西方传教士郭实立（郭实腊），他本身精通多种汉语方言。"鸦片战争后，中国国门大开，传教自由了，西方不断派来新的传教士，向他们传播中文的任务就落在早期来华传教士的肩上了。郭实立也承担了这一任务。在香港，他向新来的传教士讲授汉语官话，还分别教授广州、潮州、客家等方言，为传教士到方言区布道、建立教区、创造语言交流的条件。"（何2007，P303）

但是，对于又要结交各阶层人士，又要使用各种方言进行传教活动的传教士来说，只有方言显然是不够的。相比来讲，官话的权威性，因此也是实用性，更大一些。丁韪良（william Alexander Parsons martin，1827—1916）的情况可以印证这一点：

"丁韪良来华不久，即被派往宁波。第一件事就是学宁波方言。后来他很快就发现，当地的方言对于这一社交圈子显得有点不太合适，所以他就开始说官话，后者不仅是宫廷和官场上的语言，而且也是各地区人民之间进行交流和沟通的共同语言。学习官话并不困难，因为宁波话跟它十分接近。"（美·丁韪良2000，P10）

要兼学官话、方言的不仅只是丁韪良，裨治文一来中国，就学习了官话和方言。"1830年所有的时间，裨治文都用来学习语言，还学习广州及其邻近地区的方言。"（雷雨田2004，228页。）

3、学习速度

一个西方人需要多长时间才能学好汉语？这个问题显然不具有什么常规性，但是，有关西方人学习汉语时间的记载，或许对于可以对某些研究是有用资料。

传教士的学习很刻苦，因此也很有成效。其中，学习汉语见成效最快的，应当数米怜。米怜只学了一年多中文，就能自己办报。马礼逊在1822年的一封信中赞扬他说："米怜先生刻苦地学习这个伟大国家的语言文字所获得的成就是显著的。他的全部心灵都专注于他的工作。"（《马礼逊回忆录》194页）

比米怜学得更快的是丁韪良。他的语言天赋很高，学了六个月汉语，就可以"试着用汉语来布道"。并且，从第三个月开始，他就接触了文言文。不仅如此，他在五年内，读了作为中国文学基础的九部主要著作，并开始用文言来进行写作。他读的九部著作是：《尚书》、《诗经》、《春秋》、《左传》、《周礼》、《论语》、《大学》、《中庸》、《孟子》。这些就是十三经的精华部分，可见丁韪良的用功之勤、学问之深。

裨治文（Elijah Coleman Bridgman，1801—1861）是美国首批来华传教士。他的汉语老师就是马礼逊。之外，裨治文还"聘请了一位中文老师"（《马礼逊回忆录》269页）裨治文学习汉语的时间也有记载：卫斐列（2004，P21-22）说："裨治文先生也天生就具有超凡的智力和过目不忘的记忆力，这些先天的素质与后天的大学正规教育相得益彰。在马礼逊和他那部伟大字典的帮助下，凭借自己的热情和用功，裨治文在三年之内很好地掌握了中文。"根据上述交代，裨治文学习的汉语，应该包括官话和方言。《马礼逊回忆录》（P210）

对于弗莱斯和科利学习汉语的记载，不但有学成时间，还有每天的课业时间。《马礼逊回忆录》记载，汉弗莱斯和科利在1823年5月还需要马礼逊一天两次教授中文。没过两年，他们就能教别人学习中文了。

令人兴奋的是，可能是受到马礼逊学习汉语的影响，一位英国认识不到鸦片之恶的青年，到了广州，在马礼逊的感召下，认识了错误，并对中文发生了兴趣。

在马礼逊的感召下，广州的一位英国青年决定停止鸦片走私，认识到"向中国走私鸦片是与基督福音里的道德完全违背的……我岂能一手拿着生命之粮，另一手拿着鸦片同时给中国人呢？""在我留在广州期间，我要继续学习中文，因为我对中文的兴趣与日俱增，盼望有朝一日，为能在这个伟大的国家里传扬基督教贡献我的力量。"（何2007，P301）

4、中西合作——教学、翻译

明末清初的传教士在学习汉语的过程中都积极地与中国人合作，请中国人担任汉语教师和翻译中的重要角色。但是，除了利玛窦时期曾经请徐光启等著名学者帮助翻译西方经典之外，之后很少能有人请到有影响的中国文人来帮助他们。到了清朝后期，情况发生了变化，大量的有造诣的中国文人参与到西文翻译工作中来。继利玛窦、徐光启翻译《几何原本》的前六卷，李善兰与伟烈亚力合作，译出后九卷。王韬与麦都思合作翻译圣经，蒋

敦复与慕维廉合作翻译《大英国志》。

后期的参与翻译工作的西方传教士和中国文人，其基础都比之前要好的多。清朝前期，礼仪之争中的重要人物，因深通中国典籍而被教廷倚重的巡视西方的传教士来，在康熙皇帝面前不能回答有关中国的传统四书五经的文句，甚至连康熙背书写的四个大字，也只是认识其中的一个。但是清朝后期的传教士都能深通中国古今文献，在中西关系中发挥着重要的作用。1858年美驻华公使列卫廉给国务院的报告说："在这里我应该向在华从事传教工作的我国传教士表示敬意。……我认为，传教士们在中国的工作和研究直接关系到了我们在华的利益。如果没有他们担任翻译，我们的各项工作都无法进行；如果没有他们的帮助，我在这里既不能读，也不能写，无法与中国人信函往来，更无法与中国人谈判。总之，如果没有他们我根本无法开展工作。"（卫斐列2004，P178、179）

中国文人的工作，和与传教士的合作，使得他们成了传教士无法离开的工具。理雅各因，因为要发给王韬20元月薪，"有时为节省开支不想再用他了。但有时则非他不可，尤其是迻译诗序，他的价值更为明显。只有第一流的本地学者才对我有价值，而在此我找不到任何人能与之比肩。"（柯文1998，59）中国文人之所以受到倚重，也跟中国流行语文的具体情况有关。何九盈认为："传教士们在翻译活动中之所以离不开'第一流的本地学者'，是因为汉语中的言与文脱节，那时候通行的是文言，传教士即使口语过了关，要读懂文言且用文言译书，谈何容易！"（何2007，P319）

5、学习目的

传教士学汉语的主要目的是传教，但是到了后期，在这个总目中，划分出一些分目的，出现了专门的《圣经》翻译队伍，同时，为政治服务也成了传教士工作的组成部分。

专门的翻译人才，典型的就是马礼逊。马礼逊被伦敦传教会董事会指定来中国特定的目标，是掌握中国语言文字，要把圣经翻译成中文，而传教不是首要任务。（《马礼逊回忆录》，P018页）而为了更好地完成这个目标，还必须完成另一个分目标——研究中国的语言文字，所以，编辑英汉字典就成了马礼逊的前期工作。马礼逊不辱使命，他的《英华字典》，这部6巨册、4595页的中国历史上出版的第一部中英大字典，就是马礼逊用16年时间独自编纂完成的。马礼逊还编过一本《中文文法》。他的圣经中译工作被认为是一项"伟大工程"。（《马礼逊回忆录》312页）

除了传教这个早期的唯一的功利目的，和由它而衍生的翻译、汉语研究之外，后期的传教士甚至把学习、研究汉语本身当成了学习目的。可以说，之前的汉语学习和汉语研究都还是传教或研究中国文明的工具的话，从马礼逊开始，中文本身成为学习中文的独立目的（虽然不是唯一目的），标志着汉语学习和汉语研究取得了独立的地位。

何九盈认为："中文的魅力对马礼逊有很大的吸引力。聪明好学的马礼逊真正懂得中国语文在人类文明史上有极重要的地位。"（何2007，P297）马礼逊不但自己潜心研究中文，还把自己的认识发表出来，与其他西方人分享。马礼逊1818年12月9日，从广州写信给克罗尼牧师，要求欧洲基督徒将目光转向中国的语言文字。他说：

我希望欧洲的基督徒学者们应该停止过度崇拜古希腊和古罗马了，因为他们的著作充满了傲慢、复仇和邪念，我希望他们转过来学习东方的语言和文字，把科学和基督教移注到他们的著作中。

中国的语言文字是活的，它是世界上最古老的语文之一，有三分之一的人类在使用它。但在英格兰和苏格兰所有的教里和党派里，在宗教界和学术界里，对于中国的语言文字竟然完全茫然无知，这是何等的荒谬啊！是否应该有一部分人，抽出时间来学习中国语文呢？因为这是东方五个国家共同使用的文字，有数以万计的原著都是用中文写的和出版的。（《马礼逊回忆录》143页）

马礼逊对于推行中国的语言文字不遗余力。他在中国已经度过了16年，东印度公司批准他返回英国度假两年。他随身携带了上万册中文书籍准备赠送给英国图书馆。"希望这一大批书能吸引英国青年学习中国的语言文字。"（何2007，P297）他还写信给狄特律牧师，"建议在英国大学里设置中文讲座，教授英国学生学习中文。"理由有三：一是"英国基督徒慈善家需要学习中文"；二是"英国正在逐渐占领接近中华帝国的领土……为此，英国政府需要有懂得中文的人才。法国政府虽还未与中国政府有直接往来，却已经在巴黎设置了皇家中文讲座"；三是"在英国的知识界人士，如要懂得世界上最古老的文字之一，能阅读中国大量的自古及今的各种出版物，必定急需学习中文。在语言学里，如果将中文排除在外，就是不完整的。"（《马礼逊回忆录》，P240、241）

无独有偶，参与了《南京条约》签订的郭实立，在《中国传教呼声》创刊号发表《论中国的语言》，批评："欧洲学者的一个重大缺点在于，他们总是给中文披上西方的外衣""而正确的方法应该是向他们和他们的文化学习，用他们的语言来表达我们的思想。"（《马礼逊回忆录》，P144、145）李提摩太（Timothy Richard，1848—1919）也主张，中西各国交往，首先要互通语言文字，"当今之世，宜合万国之学以为学""于今万国既有往来，则彼此之情理应互达。其中如有一国，止知本国之事，不知外国之事；止读本国之书，不读外国之书，则交涉往来遂不得不受亏损，此理之必然也。"（见朱维铮1998，P357、358）

卫三畏甚至把学习汉语当成了促进民族之间互相理解的工具，"造成中国人和外国人之间互相憎恶和摩擦的原因是他们无法理解对方的语言和愿望。"（卫斐列2004，P 65）

6、编辑刊物

编辑刊物是传教士学习汉语的成果之一。住在澳门、广州，向马礼逊学习中文的米怜，于1815年到达马六甲，设立了恒河以东传教会去，创办一个印刷所。后来编写了《劝世良言》（1832），对洪秀全有很大影响的中国印刷工人梁发（1789——1855）就在这里工作。

但是，那时的办刊环境很差，中国政府在境内严禁任何中国人帮助洋人刻制或印刷中国文字。1817年（嘉庆二十二年）2月24日马礼逊从广州给沃夫牧师的信说：

目前中国政府正在反对在这里的东印度公司的印刷所印刷我编纂的《英华字典》。两个礼拜前，中国官员派巡警冲入印刷所，抄走了正在印刷的、我写的《中英会话》和若干中文刻版，3个中国印刷工人被抓走，我的老师兼助手高先生逃脱。（《马礼逊回忆录》，P130）

创办的马六甲印刷所，主要是为马礼逊、米怜等人的中文著作提供了公开出版的条件。米怜在印刷这些著作的同时，还于1815年（嘉庆二十年）创办了一本中文月刊，名叫《察世俗每月统纪传》。这是第一本境外中文期刊，也是"世界上最早的第一份近代化中文报刊。"（卓南生2002，P1）这个刊物于1822年，因米怜谢世而停刊。

此后，1823年7月麦都思在巴达维亚创办中文月刊《特选撮要每月纪传》，此乃《察世俗每月统纪传》之续刊。1833年8月，郭实腊（郭实立）于广州创办《东西洋考每月统纪传》。1838年10月，麦都思又在广州创办了名为《各国消息》的中文月刊，但不久即停刊。

1843年底麦都思被派来上海传教，他随即把米怜创办的巴达维亚印刷所迁至上海，创立墨海书馆，以活字版机器印书。1847年伦敦会传教士伟烈亚力（Alexander Wylie，1815—1887）继任麦都思的书馆工作。

7、学校教育

根据马礼逊建议，在当地荷兰殖民政府及英军驻马六甲的法ава哈上校的积极支持下，1818年11月11日英华书院举行奠基典礼，伦敦传教会董事会"任命马礼逊博士和米怜先生为麻六甲书院的主管人，任期各为三年。"这个学校"施行双轨教育制，既教授中文，也教授欧洲文字；一方面令欧籍学生学习中文语言文字；另一方面使恒河以东国家的学生学习英文和欧洲的文学和科学。所谓恒河以东的国家包括中国、交趾支那、东马来群岛的华人聚居区，琉球地区，高丽和日本。"（《马礼逊回忆录》，P140）

英华书院"为急于打入中国的西方传教士和商人等提供了学习中国语言文学的场所与机会。直到1842年南京条约缔结为止，英华书院是培养欧美的中国通的唯一学校。在这所英华书院里，继米怜之后，涌现了许多精通中文的欧洲人士。"（卓南生2002，P21）马礼逊的次子马儒翰（1814—1843）就曾在英华书院学习汉语，马礼逊决心"要培养他成为一个汉学家"。（《马礼逊回忆录》179页）

关于英华学书院的情况，在1825—1826年期间在英华书院学习中文的美国人亨特（William C. Hunter，1813—1891）记载：他从新加坡前往马六甲，"英华书院的院长汉弗莱斯牧师（Rev. Humphreys）到船上来接我登岸。和汉弗莱斯牧师一起的还有科利牧师（Rev. Collie），他是中文教授，我逗留期间他就当我的老师。他的助手是一个广州的中国人，这个中国人能讲流利的中国官话。从广州出发之前，我曾被指令学习官话。"（亨特2000，P 262、263）"里面住着书院里众多的中国人和马来人的属下。中国人在这里当刻板工、写字匠或装订工、木匠；还有3个中文教师。"（亨特2000，P262、263）

8、教材

自从明末以来，每个时期都有传教士们编辑的汉语读本，制订的拼音工具。但是，相比与之前的拼音工具，威妥玛（Thomas Francis Wade，1818—1895）为北京官话制定的一套拉丁化拼音体系，最为系统和严整。它为外国人学习汉语、译写汉语提供了比较科学的工具，影响达百余年之久。

郭实立于1827年到达雅加达，后来又赴新加坡，在华人移民中传教，并向他们学习中文。不久，他编辑的两种教材出版：1833年出版《厦门话标志》、1842年在巴达维亚出版《中文语法指南》（Notice On Chinese Grammar）"全书共148页，分两部分：第一部分谈论汉语的语音和与源，各以一章论述汉语的发音、字和词；第二部分又分为九章的内容，分别研究汉语的名词、形容词、代词、数词、动词、副词、介词、连词、助词和感叹词。为欧洲早期汉学发展奠定了基础。"（张琳2004，P124）

稍晚，卫三畏（Suamel Wells Williams，1812—1884）在1841年春天出版了他的一部八开本300页的《拾级大成》（Easy Lesson in Chinese）。"该书力图起到一部语法书的作用，就像人们学习欧洲语言时所使用的那种，以便帮助这门困难语言的学习者……1842年面世的《拾级大成》配有简单实用的练习和简练的译文。她出版的时机恰当——当时中国的开放使外国人急需中文教科书。"为了进一步实现《拾级大成》的目标，卫三畏"1843年动手编写并于1844年1月出版《英华韵府历阶》。这是一本'官话的英汉字典'。他编写这部字典是方便外国人在新开放的港口与当地人交流。"（卫斐列2004，P065）

除了官话教材，还出版了一些方言的汉语教材。艾约瑟（Rev. Joseph Edkins，1823—1905）编辑了官话的教材《汉语口语教程》（1862）、《汉语官话口语语法》（1864），也编辑过汉语方言的教材，如《上海土话文法》（1868）、《上海方言词汇》（1869）。

9、汉语教学在西方大学里开始拥有自己的地位

十九世纪的对外汉语教学的一个重要进步是，西方国家的很多大学设立了汉语教学的专门部门。汉语从此在异域有了传播的基地。

法兰西学院：1814年汉语被列为这个法国最高研究机构的正式课目。课目名称为"汉语和鞑靼—满语语言和文学"。第一任教授是雷慕沙（Abel Remusat，1788—1832），儒莲是雷慕沙的继任者。在法兰西学院开设汉语课，在西方产生了深远的影响。俄国、美国、英国、德国、荷兰等国都先后设立了汉学讲座。

法国国家东方现代语言学院：1843年开始设立汉语口语课程，巴赞为首任教授。

耶鲁学院：1877年（光绪三年），卫三畏被学院董事会聘为耶鲁第一任中文教授。

哈佛大学：1879年，第一任中文教授是戈鲲化。

剑桥大学：威妥玛1888年受聘为首任汉语教授。在英国名校有组织有计划正式传播中文。

加州大学伯克利校区：傅兰雅（John Fryer，1839—1928）从1896年至1913年，应聘为该校的东方语言文学教授。讲授中国语言文字，传播中国文化知识。

三、结论

我们梳理了清朝后期的来华的传教士的有关记录，这些资料大致可以反映那个时期的西方传教士学习汉语的情况。从这些情况中，我们可以大致知道清朝后期西方人学习汉语的情况，与之前的情况有何异同。这个时期的最大特点是，以马礼逊为代表的传教士开始认识到汉语学习本身具有文明史的意义，西方国家相继开设汉语课堂，首次出版中文刊物的。汉语研究、教材编纂都达到了新的水平。

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保加利亚汉语教学奠基人朱德熙和张荪芬

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摘要：保加利亚索非亚大学是新中国成立后向国外派遣汉语教师的首批四个汉语教学点之一。60年来，保加利亚汉语教学的蓬勃发展和繁荣，是和朱德熙、张荪芬的辛勤工作分不开的。本文追寻和回顾了朱德熙和张荪芬在保加利亚汉语教学初创阶段所洒下的汗水、所付出的努力，以及在异常艰苦的条件下为保加利亚汉语教学奠定的坚实基础。朱德熙和张荪芬是保加利亚汉语教学历史上一座不朽的丰碑。　保加利亚索非亚大学是新中国成立后向国外派遣汉语教师的首批四个汉语教学点之一。60年来，保加利亚汉语教学的繁荣和蓬勃发展是和朱德熙、张荪芬两个名字紧密相连的。在中国，人们更多只知道张荪芬是一个名门闺秀、参加抗日战争的白衣天使、是中国和保加利亚人民的友好使者，而对于她是一位开创保加利亚汉学教育的先驱却知之甚少。因此，我们今天追寻和回顾朱德熙和张荪芬在保加利亚汉语教学初创阶段洒下的汗水，付出的努力，为保加利亚汉语教学奠定的坚实基础。

共同奠定保加利亚汉语教学的基石

与欧洲的英、法、德等国家相比，保加利亚的汉学研究和汉语教学起步很晚。

在中华人民共和国建立之前，保加利亚人对于汉语和汉学知之甚少。第二次世界大战以后，世界格局发生了巨大变化，新中国在东方崛起后，保加利亚1949年10月4日承认中华人民共和国，建立正式外交关系，成为世界上第二个与社会主义中国建交的国家。

随着中保两国外交、经济、贸易、文化等各个方面的交流和发展，语言学习被提上了议事日程。1952年两国签定《中华人民共和国和保加利亚人民共和国政府文化合作协议》，中国政府派遣一名教师来保加利亚开设汉语课程被正式写进了该协议。保加利亚索非亚大学成为新中国向国外派遣汉语教师的首批四个汉语教学点之一。

1952年9月，北京大学朱德熙教授受中国教育部派遣来到保加利亚。1953年2月他与生活在当地的中国学者张荪芬女士在保加利亚最大的、最著名的高等学府——国立索非亚"圣·克利门特·奥赫里德斯基"大学建立起了保加利亚第一个汉语教学点。

朱德熙（1920-1992），中国当代著名语言学家，北京大学教授。朱德熙一生从事语言学研究。朱德熙不仅是中国对外汉语教学的先驱，也是举足轻重的对外汉语教学专家。他对学科的理论建设著述颇丰。他对外汉语教学理论研究问题发表了精辟的见解："过去社会上有一种看法，认为对外汉语教学不是一门学问，凡是中国人都能教，这显然是错误的。现在比较强调对外汉语教学是一个专门的学科，要有一定的素养和训练才能胜任这个工作。我们的对外汉语教学理论，要到教学中去发掘，没有第二条路。"朱德熙的阐述对中国对外汉语教学的发展至今起着重要的指导作用。

张荪芬（1918-2010），1940年毕业于燕京大学生物系护士教育专业，1945年随丈夫——保加利亚籍医生甘扬道来到保加利亚。她很快攻克语言关，融入了当地社会。 1952年起接受索非亚大学和保加利亚文化部的邀请，开始在索非亚大学跟朱德熙一起教授汉语。她在汉语讲台上一站就是28年，直到1980年退休，积累了丰富的教学经验，为保加利亚培养一批又一批汉语人才，为传播汉语和中国文化呕心沥血，鞠躬尽瘁。

她还独立编写了《保汉分类词典》（1969）、《汉语读本》（1972）和《汉保常用词汇》（1978）等工具书，成为保加利亚汉学发展历史上的里程碑。为了表彰她几十年来为保加利亚汉语教学事业所作出的贡献，2004年5月21日，索非亚大学授予张荪芬本校最高学术荣誉奖——蓝带勋章。她深爱着自己的国家，把传播汉语和中国文化作为己任。

朱德熙教授一到索非亚，二人立即着手准备汉语教学工作并终于在1953年2月索非亚大学新学期开始之际成立了保加利亚历史上第一个汉语选修班，开始讲授汉语课程。

中国老师来保加利亚开设汉语课，这个消息一时成为了索非亚大学乃至保加利亚社会生活中的特大新闻。第一堂课整个教室座无虚席，连过道上都站满了前来听课的学生。他们大都是来自语言文学系和哲学历史系的学生和教师，是古老神秘的东方文明和文化使他们对汉语产生了浓厚的兴趣。

两人采用合作授课的方式，朱德熙用汉语讲解教学内容，张荪芬则用准确而流利的保加利亚语把课程内容翻译给学生；课后耐心细致地解答学生的疑问，带领学生复习和练习所学知识。此前汉语教学和汉语研究在保加利亚是一片空白，两人的工作完全是从"零"起步，其艰难程度可想而知；另一方面，中国开展对外汉语教学工作也仅有两年时间，两人在教学中摸索，不断尝试，不断改进，不断钻研和总结，于1954年出版了中国对外汉语教学史上第一部对外汉语教材——《汉语教科书》。

无论是搜集教学资料、编写教科书和工具书，还是语言教学本身，都是两位学者工作的重心。张荪芬动用一切私人资源，除了请家人、朋友从国外寄书刊，还发动学生从各个单位去搜罗可用的资料。他们把不同来源的中文书籍，统一存放在索非亚大学主楼顶层的一个教室内，作为汉语学习者自己的"图书馆"。

后来，在张荪芬的努力下，索非亚大学图书馆开始从国际书店订购一些汉语书籍，北京图书馆和索非亚大学图书馆开始进行图书期刊交换活动。这为索非亚大学图书馆的汉语图书提供了一个重要而有保证的来源。

1955年夏，朱德熙结束在保加利亚的教学任务回国。张荪芬继续这一伟大的事业，因为她具备了丰富的汉语教学经验，索非亚大学决定不再提出聘请中国教师的要求，直到1988年，张荪芬一人独立承担着保加利亚的汉语教学工作。

20世纪60年代中期，中苏关系破裂影响了中国和保加利亚两国关系的发展。政治关系严重影响了文化交流：代表团互访全面中止，交换书籍的活动也停滞，连已有的中文图书也面临着危险。1966年，保加利亚的国家图书馆把其所藏汉语书籍分出来，准备烧毁。得知这一消息，张荪芬心急如焚，她冒着政治压制的风险，决然地发出为了后代，竭尽全力抢救文化财富的号召。就这样，张荪芬和她的学生们一起，历尽千辛万苦，将馆藏书籍抢救了出来。

中国对外汉语教学史上第一部对外汉语教材——《汉语教科书》

《汉语教科书》是保加利亚历史上第一部汉语教材，由朱德熙和张荪芬合著，并由保加利亚科学艺术出版社于1954年出版。

1952年9月，朱德熙一到保加利亚，便和张荪芬一起动手编写适合保加利亚学生学习用的汉语教材。编写教材遇到两个大的难题：一是如何确立合适的对外汉语教学语法体系，二是如何获得足够的编写教材用的汉语资料。

编写教材首先遇到的难题是如何确立对外汉语教学语法体系，当时对汉语语法的研究还很不充分，这给对外汉语教学以及对中国学生的汉语母语教学均带来了很大困扰。

张荪芬和朱德熙借鉴世界上第二语言教学的理论方法，并参照自己为中国学生讲授汉语知识的教学经验，采用五十年代第二语言教学中比较通行的语法-翻译教学法，并在对保加利亚学生汉语教学实践的基础上，不断地修改和完善，最终确立了一套汉语教学语法体系，这在保加利亚汉语教学历史和中国对外汉语教学历史上都是第一次，而且对中国对外汉语教学产生了深远的影响。这套语法体系不同于中国国内已有的汉语理论语法体系，它以教学为目的，突出实用性和实践性，多处对比保加利亚语和汉语语法的异同，成为对外汉语教学专用教材内容的典范。

为了编写保加利亚汉语教材的需要，张荪芬女士不仅搜集中国最新出版的中、小学语文教材和课外读物，甚至一些幼儿读物。朱德熙和张荪芬从中选出民间故事、古典文学作品等，根据保语的特点进行加工和改写，编写成适合保加利亚人学习的课文；他们还根据保加利亚的社会生活情况，选取和编写反映保加利亚人生活的对话和短文作为课文。张荪芬女士还要把语法注解和生词部分翻译成保加利亚语。

《汉语教科书》被用作索非亚大学汉语讲习班的主体教材，直到1991年索非亚大学建立"汉语言文学"专业。期间，张荪芬于1958年和1980年做过两次修订。

《汉语教科书》主体部分包括语音知识和语法知识两部分。

语音知识的讲解占去了该教材的一半篇幅，用保加利亚语详细描述和说明汉语声母、韵母的发音特征，并用图示进行辅助说明。在语音知识部分的最后，编者还把汉语注音符号和保加利亚语字母进行了比较，并列出对照表。

语法知识部分共有37课，每课内容包含语法点、生词和课文三部分。全书共介绍了113个语法点，按照从易到难、循环渐进的原则排列顺序，每课的语法点根据内容多少安排二至四个，整部书体现了一个完整的汉语语法体系，体现了汉语作为第二语言教学的教材的特点。

《汉语教科书》具有以下特点：

重视汉语学习过程中母语的重要性，整个的语音、语法等知识点的讲解全部采用保加利亚语；

整个教学过程以语法为纲，体现了五十年代流行的第二语言教学大多采用的语法-翻译法的特点；

重视语音教学；

语法分析重视句子结构形式，基本上采用的是结构主义语言学的路子；

介绍语法点时强调其功能和用法，体现出了对外汉语教学的特点。

因此，可以说，《汉语教科书》在新中国对外汉语教学历史上具有特殊的地位。这部教材是朱德熙先生和张荪芬女士二人在对外汉语教学历史上做出的开拓性和历史性贡献。其贡献综括为四个"第一"：

它是保加利亚历史上第一部汉语教材，也是该国迄今为止唯一的一部双语汉语教材；

它是新中国对外汉语教学史上第一部对外汉语教材，而且比国内公认的第一部对外汉语教材——北京大学教师集体编写的《汉语教科书》还早四年之久；

它是新中国对外汉语教学史上第一部由中国学者编写的国别对外汉语教材

它是研究朱德熙教授对外汉语教学思想系统的第一手资料。

结语

朱德熙和张荪芬是几代保加利亚汉学家的恩师，38年中，保加利亚先后有500多人选修过汉语课。保加利亚汉语教学事业如今呈现出一片繁荣景象，保加利亚汉语教学的繁荣和蓬勃发展，和朱德熙、张荪芬的辛勤工作是分不开的。他们为保加利亚的汉语教学奠定了坚实的基础，他们是保加利亚汉语教学历史上不朽的丰碑！

ДЖУ ДЪСИ И ДЖАН СУНФЪН –
ОСНОВАТЕЛИ НА ОБУЧЕНИЕТО ПО КИТАЙСКИ ЕЗИК В БЪЛГАРИЯ

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Софийският университет е едно от първите четири учебни заведения извън Китай, в които, след създаването на Китайската народна република, започва да се изучава китайски език с помощта на официално изпратени китайски лектори. Изминали са 60 години оттогава. Обучението се развива и подобрява своята ефективност. Началото обаче е свързано с две имена: Джу Дъси и Джан Сунфън.

В Китай Джан Сунфън е позната преди всичко като момиче от аристократичен произход, което взема участие във войната срещу японските агресори като медицинска сестра. Женитбата й с българина Янко Канети се възприема като голяма промяна в личния й живот и малко са хората, знаещи за нейната реализация като преподавател и изобщо като радетел на китайския език в България.

Именно затова днес отново се обръщаме към самата зора на преподаването на китайския език в България, за да припомним постиженията на Джан Сунфън и нейния съратник Джу Дъси.

Полагане на основите на обучението по китайски език в България

В сравнение с другите европейски държави, китаистиката, както и изучаването на китайския език, в България започва по-късно.

Преди създаването на КНР българите много малко знаят изобщо за науката китаистика. След Втората световна война, както знаем, в света настъпват огромни гео-политически промени. Да припомним, че България е втората държава в света, признала КНР, като на 4. октомври 1949 г. установява дипломатически отношения с китайското социалистическо правителство.

Двете държави започват да търсят пътища за засилване на контактите помежду си и чрез изучаване на български и на китайски като чужди езици. През 1952 г. е подписано Споразумение за сътрудничество в областта на културата между КНР и НРБ. В него се включва клаузата, че китайското правителство се задължава да изпрати официално един китайски лектор в България. Така Софийският университет „Св. Климент Охридски" става един от първите четири университета, в които преподаването на китайски език се извършва с подкрепата на китайски преподавател.

Проф. Джу Дъси е изпратеният през септември 1952 г. в България от китайското Министерство на образованието. През февруари 1953 г. , заедно с колегата си Джан Сунфън, вече живееща в България, създават заедно звено за обучение по китайски език в Софийския университет.

Джу Дъси (1920–1992) е добре познат сред научните езиковедски среди в Китай. Трудовете му върху преподаването на китайския език като чужд го правят основоположник на обучението по китайски език в чужбина. Неговите становища и до днес са валидни. Например, той определя като несъстоятелно мнението, че всеки може да преподава матерния си език на чужденци. Според него преподаването на езика като чужд е въпрос на специална компетентност. Друга негова теза е, че теорията на преподаването непременно трябва да се извежда от практиката на обучението. Тези и други негови позиции и до днес имат стратегическа роля в преподаването на китайския език в чужбина.

Джан Сунфън (1918–2010) завършва медицина през 1940 г. в биологическия факултет на Йендзинския университет. През 1945 г., заедно със съпруга си, българина Янко Канети, се установява в България. В българската езикова среда тя бързо се адаптира и научава отлично български език. През 1952 г., по покана на Софийския университет и българското Министерство на културата, заедно с Джу Дъси започва да преподава китайски език на български студенти. Така за 28 години, до пенсионирането си през 1980 г., тя натрупва богата преподавателска практика. Двамата подготвят първите българи китаисти и изобщо основата за разпространение на китайския език и китайската култура в България.

Джан Сунфън съставя *„Българо-китайски тематичен речник"* (1969 г.), *„Четива за обучението по китайски език"* (1972), *„Китайско-български речник на често употребяваните думи"* (1978). Всички те са базисни помагала за изучаване на китайски език от българи и за развитието на китаистиката в България. На 21 май 2004 г. тя е удостоена с най-високото академическо отличие на СУ „Св. Климент Охридски" – Почетен знак със синя лента, за особен принос в развитието на китаистиката в България. Това е признание за нейния бодър и борбен дух, който й помага да превърне работата си в мисия.

Веднага след пристигането на Джу Дъси в България, в началото на учебната 1953-54 г., двамата откриват първия свободноизбираем курс по китайски език в Софийския университет. Откриването на подобен курс именно от китайски лектори се възприема като голямо обществено събитие в България. По време на първата лекция цялата аудитория е препълнена. Слушателите (студенти и преподаватели) стигат до коридора. Повечето от тях са от Филологическия и Философско-историческия факултет. Те проявяват голям интерес първо към културата на Далечния Изток, което предизвиква и интереса им към китайския език.

Двамата разработват съвместна методика за преподаване на китайския език, при положение, че проф. Джу не знае български. Джан води и упражненията по езика. Можем да си представим колко трудно им е било на двамата, без да разполагат с каквито и да са готови материали и учебни пособия. От друга страна, преподаването на китайски език като чужд има само двегодишна история, откакто двамата са започнали. Във всичко се налага да бъдат първи и всичко да наваксват в движение. С натрупването на практически опит те се подготвят за създаване на учебно пособие и през 1954 г. издават първия учебник по китайски език за чужденци. Така те изпреварват колегите си, които преподават китайски на чужденци в други страни.

Събирането на учебни материали, писането на учебници, съставянето на речникови статии, изобщо на всичко, което може да бъде в помощ на преподаването, се превръща в главна задача на двамата. Джан Сунфън се обръща към всички свои роднини, приятели и добри познати да изпращат материали, за да натрупа някакъв архив. Тя призовава и българските студенти да събират и те материали отвсякъде. Събраният архив (по-голям от очакваното) подреждат в един от кабинетите на последния етаж на университета, който се превръща в първата малка библиотека на българските китаисти.

Джан Сунфън не спира дотук: тя организира изпращането на китайски книги по официален международен обмен. Пекинската национална библиотека започва да обменя книги и списания с библиотеката на Софийския университет. Това се оказва най-важният източник за внасяне на китайска книжнина в България.

През лятото на 1955 г. Джу Дъси завършва кариерата си в България и се завръща в родната си страна. Джан Сунфън продължава делото сама. Тъй като се доказва като ненадминат специалист в преподаването на китайския език, Софийският университет решава да не кани друг лектор от Китай. До 1988 г. тя работи на попрището като единствен чуждестранен преподавател по китайски език в Софийския университет.

В средата на 60-те години на XX век влошаването на отношенията между СССР и КНР се отразява и върху двустранните връзки между България и Китай. Обменът на делегации рязко прекъсва. Междукултурният обмен е в застой. Прекъсва изпращането на книги от Китай за България. Дори събраните дотогава книги в библиотеката са в опасност. През 1966 г. Народната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий" е на крачка да унищожи целия фонд от китайски книги. Джан Сунфън се изправя срещу тази опасност, рискувайки спрямо двете страни. Тя издига апел да се запази всичко събрано дотогава, с единствения необорим аргумент, че китайската литература е културно богатство не само за сегашните, но и за бъдещите поколения. Заедно с подкрепата на своите студенти, тя успява да спаси всички китайски книги от книгохранилището на библиотеката.

Първият учебник по китайски език за чужденци

Джу Дъси и Джан Сунфън издават своя „Учебник по китайски език" през 1954 г., отпечатан от издателство „Наука и изкуство" в София.

По време на работата си върху учебника срещат две основни трудности: как да предадат адекватно граматическата система на китайския език на хора, чийто език е от коренно различно езиково семейство, и как да се сдобият с достатъчно езиковедски материали, които да им бъдат в помощ на преподаването.

През 50-те години на XX век все още не е установена напълно нормативната граматика на китайския език и липсват изследвания по тази тема. Тази трудност се отнася не само за преподаването на китайски език на чужденци, но и за обучението на китайските ученици на книжовен китайски език в самия Китай.

Двамата са запознати добре с теоретичните постановки, отнасящи се до преподаването на чужд език като втори. В тогавашния теоретичен подход доминира ученето на граматиката като основа на езика. Преподавателската практика им помага да подходят по-гъвкаво и да намерят оптимален начин за преподаването на български. Разработената от тях система е първата граматическа система за преподаване на китайския език (не само за чужбина, но и за Китай) и се ползва от колегите им, преподаватели по китайски език в другите страни. Тя се различава от предишните опити за теоретична граматика на китайския език с нейната приложност и практичност. На много места се превръща в сравнителна граматика между китайския и българския език. Предложените учебни материали в нея се използват като образец за учебни текстове.

В избора си не се ограничават или стремят да предлагат „академични" четива, но издирват обикновени текстове, дори и читатки за начално ниво. Освен това, те съставят диалози и къси текстове, които отразяват българското битие и действителност. Това прави учебника им определено „български".

Този учебник е основното учебно помагало, използвано за обучението на българските студенти по китайски език в Софийския университет, чак до 1991 г., когато е създадена специалността „Китаистика" в СУ. Дотогава Джан Сунфън прави две редакции на учебника: през 1958 г. и през 1980 г.

Главното съдържание на учебника включва фонетика и морфология на китайския език.

Фонетиката заема половината от учебника. Всички особености на китайската фонетика са обяснени на български език, като са добавени илюстрации и упражнения. В края е добавена таблица на най-приблизителна транскрипция на китайските звукове чрез българската азбука.

Морфологичната част включва 37 урока, в които се работи върху основен текст, непознати думи и граматически вметки (от две до четири вметки са предвидени за всеки урок, подредени по степен на трудност).

Характерни особености на учебника по китайски на Джу Дъси и Джан Сунфън са:

Обръща внимание на важността на особеностите на българския език като първи, матерен език, за успеха на обучението на китайския език като чужд.

Учебникът е базиран на граматическата система на езика, който се преподава (това всъщност е характерно за методологията на преподаването на чуждите езици през 50-те години на XX век).

Прави се акцент върху фонетиката. Това е продиктувано от трудностите, които срещат чужденците, при усвояването на китайското произношение.

Обръща се особено внимание на асоциативните връзки, които могат да се правят между думите.

Целият учебник е насочен към една функционална и практическа граматика, което като подход надскача времето си.

Не е изненада, че учебникът на Джу Дъси и Джан Сунфън се превръща в модел на учебниците по китайски, предназначени за чужбина. Той напълно се отличава от учебниците по китайски за носителите на езика в страната.

Като обобщение на неговата ценност можем да изредим четири „първи" на учебника:

Първият учебник по китайски език и единственият засега двуезичен, издаден в България.

Първият учебник по китайски език за чужденци в историята на Нов Китай. Той излиза четири години по-рано от учебника, създаден от колектив в Пекинския университет.

Първият учебник за преподаване на китайски език в чужбина, създаден от китайски учени специално за съответната държава и език, където ще се прилага.

Първият източник за изучаване на методологията на Джу Дъси за преподаване на китайския език като чужд.

Заключение

Джу Дъси и Джан Сунфън могат да бъдат наречени учители на няколко поколения български китаисти. В продължение на 38 години повече от 500 българи минават техния курс на обучение по китайски език.

Процъфтяването на преподаването на китайския език в България оттогава до днес е не само функция на съвременните благоприятни условия. Началото, свързано с усилията на Джан Сунфън и Джу Дъси, винаги ще бъде отправна гледна точка на новите начинания и новите постижения в тази област.

DISCUSSIONS ON THE SELF-TEACHING STUDYING MODE OF CHINESE IN NON-CHINESE ENVIRONMENT

by You Tian, "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" University of Skopje

对非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式的思考

由田，西里尔和迪乌斯在斯科普里大学

摘要：随着中外文化交流的日益扩大，海外学习汉语的需求也不断增长，教师不足、非目的语环境缺乏足够的语言实践机会等一些问题凸显。本文尝试探讨一种新的语言学习模式——汉语自助教学学习模式，希望以此作为教师课堂教学的有益补充，提高学生汉语学习效果。

本文尝试给出了非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式的定义，并讨论了展开这种学习模式的条件，展示了这种学习模式的整个流程，最后指出了这种学习模式面临的困难并展望了其发展前景。文章也强调学生自助教学始终不能替代教师教学，只是一种辅助的学习方式，教师要有能力掌握全过程。

引言

随着中外经济文化交流的日益发展，学习汉语的外国人越来越多，海外汉语教学也出现了空前繁荣的局面。与此同时一些地方的海外汉语教学也出现了一些问题，面临着一些矛盾。这主要表现在以下几方面：

（1）教师不足。缺乏足够的有丰富经验的汉语教师，特别是母语为汉语的中国本土教师。

（2）课时不够。由于教师不足，学生的课时就明显显得不足，很多情况下教师已经是超负荷工作。

（3）课型不够。一些地方是一名教师教授综合课，不太可能像其他外语教学那样细分为综合、口语、听力、写作、阅读等课型，严重地影响了教学效果。

（4）没有语言环境。学生学了东西没有实践的机会，学的是哑巴汉语。

针对这种情况，本文旨在提出并探讨一种新的教学模式——非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式，以求对教学有所促进。

一、 关于非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式的定义

非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式就是在汉语为非目的语的学习环境下，教师采取策略充分调动学生的学习积极性，由学生轮流模拟教师教授其他学生汉语平行课程并组织适当课外活动，作为教师授课的补充，以促进学生的汉语学习，增加他们的实际操练机会的一种学习方式。开展这一学习模式，可以有效地解决学生课时不够的问题，增加学生接触和练习汉语的机会。它的意义体现在知识的复现、扩展和操练上，即：提高语言知识点的复现率、适当地拓展学习内容、进行实际对话应用训练。

提到非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式，我们自然会联想到自主学习"autonomous learning, learner autonomy"（英文名称转引自覃丹、黄莉，2008）这一概念。非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式和自主学习是有区别的，主要表现在以下两个方面：

自主学习强调个别学习，非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式强调的是一名学生教师引导其他学生集体学习，借助于集体互动的氛围提高学习效果。

自主学习强调学生个体差异，发挥个人特长、取长补短；非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式则强调共享，大家互相提示、互相帮助。

二、 推行非目的语环境下学生汉语自助教学学习模式的条件

（1）教师

推行这一模式，教师面临双重考验：奉献和转换。原本就教学任务重，这更增加了教师的额外负担，要求教师要有对事业的高度爱心和奉献精神，能拿出更多的课余时间，对体能和精神都有更高要求。而且教师在课堂教学和指导学生开展非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式中，担当的角色是有分别的，教师应该很好地把握住。

（2）学生

一般来说，目前选修汉语的学生大部分是对汉语感兴趣的，所以增加额外的课程，对他们来说并不难。关键是让学生理解这一模式的好处，提高效率，更好地利用时间。好像比赛，有一个热身的环节，有了充分的准备大家才可以在学习中不断产生共鸣。

（3）软件和硬件

学校应提供必要的政策和物质支持，为学生和教师提供方便。比如在时间的安排上、在教室的安排上、在多媒体设备和网络的提供上，尽可能予以照顾。教师要尽量做好学校的工作。

另外，教学也需要有一定数量的和教学相关的有关中国的DVD、磁带、图片、中国传统服饰、剪纸、画报、期刊等有助于展示中国文化的东西，教师也要和中国相关方面取得联系以求得帮助。

三、如何推进非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式？

吕必松（1987）指出第二语言教学的全部活动大致上可以分为总体设计、教材编写、课堂教学（包括有设

计、有组织的课外语言实践活动）和测试这四大环节。非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式简单来说就是由学生们轮流模仿教师引导其他同学共同完成学习任务的一种学习模式，教师在整个过程中主导作用，总体设计和教材编写由教师来决定。而测试在非目的语环境下汉语自助教学学习模式里不是主要的，我们尽量创造轻松活泼的氛围拓展学生的汉语知识，也可以不管。这一模式主要体现在吕必松先生提出的课堂教学中，分为两个方面：授课和活动，这两种形式都是在教师的指导下进行的。

（1）授课

（a）.要解决教师和学生的各自定位。

在常规课堂中，教师和学生各自充当自己原本的传统角色。在非目的语环境学生自助教学学习模式下，是学生在模仿教师授课和组织开展语言实践活动，但教师的作用确实是至关重要的。

教师的主要工作是在幕后。一般在课堂上学生体会不到教师的存在，但教师的作用确实是至关重要的。教师要能把握全局，才是自助教学不偏离方向。要正确处理好教师授课与学生授课的关系，应注意以下三点：

1）对学生教师授课不必要求太高，学生授课处是教师授课的有益补充，意在复习、扩展、训练。如果强调学生授课就跟教师授课一样，那无疑是在培养教师，对初级阶段的学生是一种本末倒置，浪费了时间，也没有起到应有的作用。

2）学生教师授课的内容是教师指导安排的，是有选择性的，教学内容要与教师常规授课内容基本相当，体现复现和扩展的语言学习方式。

3）学生教师授课过程中，其他学生有权根据自己的理解提出自己的看法，互相纠正学生间出现的语言错误。

（b）.教材的选择

教材的选择是一个关键的环节。好的教材可以促进汉语学习，反之则会成为我们的累赘。它涉及到以下四个问题：

1）教材的难度

汉语自助教学学习模式是一种辅助学习模式，它的主要作用重在所学知识的复现和增加语言实践的机会，所以与教师课堂教学所选教材相当为好，可适当超前，保持学生学习的积极性。

2）教材的多样性-材料的多样性

课时少的地方，多以综合课为主。学生缺少口语和听力等技能的练习机会，应以这两项技能为主要任务。另外国内速成教材中的综合课本，有很多句式扩展练习和词汇扩展内容，可以选取相应程度，引入教学任务中。

3）教材一定要配有相应听力磁带或CD

学生教师都是母语为非汉语者，尤其是初级阶段的学生对语音把握不准，要以磁带或CD发音为准，必须让每一个学生明确这一点。要让学生比照磁带或CD读出生词或句子，同学之间互相纠正，大家一起努力。

4）要有汉字书写的环节

汉字书写是一个慢功夫，靠有限的教师课堂教学是不可能的。教师只能提供一些简单的基本常识，学生们要在实践中体会，重点是在课下练，但也不妨在自助教学过程中交流体会。

（c）备课

在正式开展这种教学模式以前，教师要给学生们一定的培训，告诉他们如何备课，如何进行教学设计。学生教师进行教学，主要还是模仿教师，但是也应当对他们进行一定的理论指导，使学生教师更有效地完成任务。

（d）教学法

外语教学法多种多样，学生教师的教学应主要采取听说法和翻译法两种方法。这两种方法看似矛盾，但是其实也可以很好地结合使用，最大可能发挥它们应有的作用。听说法重在练习，翻译法重在讲授。速成课本中常用的句式扩展，就是为了提高说汉语的熟练程度，应该完全避免母语的介入。而如果涉及的到一些语言知识和背景知识，则采用实用翻译法用母语说明效果会更好。

（e）后续工作

1）适当总结。教师要关注学生授课过程提及的语言知识点，在常规课程中适当予以总结，并预见学生可能出现的错误予以警示。另外，要每隔一段时间听取学生意见，改进学生教师教学、提高学习效果。

2）纠错环节

教师要经常组织答疑，解答学生学习遇到的问题，及时纠正错误，特别是声调、汉字方面。在常规课堂教学中，教师每发现原则性错误也要及时纠正。

（2）课外活动

毕继万（1993）强调了中国文化介绍在对外汉语教学中的作用，很多中国文化因素是外国人所不知道的，比如他提到：文化差异可以引起语言交际中的误会；中国人从大到小的思维方法；尊人卑己的谦虚态度；关系越亲密，客套话越少等等。所以学习语言应有一种文化意识，离开了文化的语言知识是干瘪的。我们目前面临的问题是课时少，教师会在时间有限的常规授课中讲解一些文化常识，但毕竟是杯水车薪。我们可以把文化介绍融合到课外活动中，目的是树立学生的文化意识，明确了语言和文化的密切关系，对他们的语言学习是有极大帮助的。

课外活动可以提高学生汉语学习兴趣，更好地了解汉语和中国文化，巩固已学知识。课外活动可以由教师组织，也可以放权让学生来组织。不过在学生教师组织课外活动过程中要更多地加入其中，因为有的关于文化的东西对学生来说是全新的，我们可以把它当做一种半自助教学学习模式。活动主要分成两类。

一类是体验中国文化。比如组织大家进行踢毽子比赛、包饺子、剪纸等等，活动的内容丰富多彩。

其中看电影是大家喜闻乐见的，也是最长举办的活动。可以由学生教师组织观看中国故事片，在这个过程中

教师要注意选材的多样性，使学生能够多角度了解中国。电影要有时代背景，有中国的真实生活，要避免单一的情节故事剧。也可以观看关于中国的纪录片，从多方面选材，交叉进行。适合放映的纪录片有：

（a）关于中国国情的，比如国庆节联欢、重大国际体育比赛开闭幕式

（b）关于中国历史的，比如重要的历史人物

（c）关于中国独有文化的，比如：武术、书法、太极拳、剪纸、京剧等。

（d）有关汉语的基本知识、汉语比赛的纪录片

也可以利用网络资源，适时给学生提供一些网络链接。一方面可以自学，另一方面可以从中选取素材，大家一起讨论。网络链接可以是一些网站，比如www.chinese.cn（网络孔子学院），也可以是教师选定的其他网址，最好能达到学生可以从网络选取资源、大家分享的水平。课堂中，我们会学到很多外国学生根本没接触过的词汇，比如："包子"、"饺子"、"中国结"什么的，可以从网上找到图片或视频，那么学生理解起来就更方便了。

另一类是在活动中强化汉语学习内容。王德珮（1993）指出，贯彻了实践性原则并不等于贯彻了交际性原则，学生的模仿、重复、变换、选择式问答是机械性练习，要向交际性练习过渡。我们可以把学生带到室外真实环境中，复习所学词语句子。记忆使用频率比较高的词语当然是在真实环境中比较容易。可以到市场、邮局、火车站实际情境中进行练习。很多学生会抢着把自己记得的词语说出来，多鼓励学生，形成一个良性循环的氛围。

四、 前瞻

开展学生自助教学汉语学习模式仅为一种构想，实际操作起来会遇到各种各样的问题，有一定难度。

教师开展这种学习模式，增加了自己的工作强度，需要有奉献精神，还要有高度的宏观管理能力。很多汉语教师刚从讲授为主的传统授课方式中走出来，又面临更高要求的挑战，难免会有一定的畏惧心理。

学生能不能坚持也是一个问题。开始的时候大家都会有好奇心，时间长了能否坚持得很难说。

硬件方面，很多学校教室紧张，设备不够完善，经费不足，也会使这一模式的推广效果大打折扣。

总之，关于这一学习模式的想法是基于一个一切条件都理想化的前提，真正运作起来不是一件容易的事。

但在汉语教学的蓬勃发展背景下，随着选择学习汉语的学生人数越来越多，更多的人是出于兴趣来学习汉语，我们对非目的语环境下学生自助教学汉语学习模式持乐观的态度，相信会有更多的人愿意参与到其中。试想三十年前、二十年前，我们不会感受到今天汉语教学发展地如此之快。我们希望这种学习模式可以给那些渴望学习汉语而目前学校又没有足够教师和课时的汉语学习者提供一些帮助。

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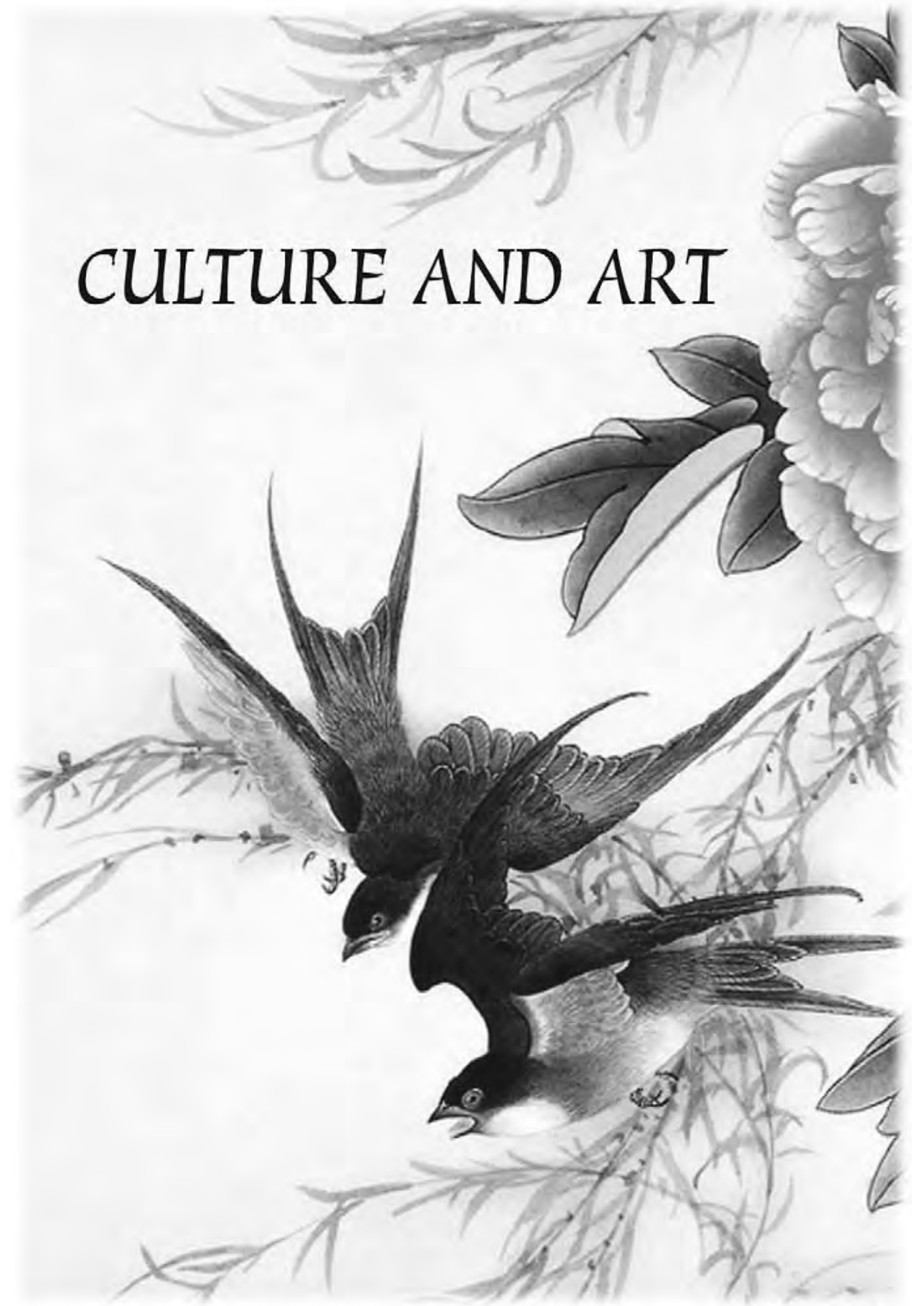
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CULTURE AND ART

СПЕЦИФИКА НА КИТАЙСКОТО „РОДОСЛОВНО ДЪРВО"

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Това, което българите, наричат *„родословно дърво"*, за нас, китайците е „родовата книга" или *дзяпу* 家谱. По своята същност „дзяпу" е книга, в която надлежно се отбелязва генеалогичната последователност на даден род. Почти всяко семейство в Китай си има родова книга, в която по един или друг начин се регистрира всеки новопоявил се член на голямата фамилия. Настоящата статия няма амбицията да направи цялостно и задълбочено изследване на източниците и хронологичното развитие на *дзяпу* в Китай, а само ще маркира основните характеристики на този исторически феномен и мястото му в китайската култура, правейки паралели със сходни генеалогични явления в български културен контекст.

Специфика на родовата книга в Китай:

1. Една от специфичните особености на китайската родова книга е, че тя не е някаква готова даденост, а с появата на всеки нов представител на рода, се допълва с нова информация. По този начин *дзяпу* периодично се дописва и обновява, водейки до един непрекъснат процес на редактиране.

2. Втората характерна черта е свързана със съзнателното пропускане на негативните моменти в биографията на отделните членове на големия род, акцентирайки само върху „хубавите неща". Допускат се и отклонения от общопризнатите критерии, като в някои родови книги се отбелязват и отрицателните черти в характера на членовете на рода, за да служат като предупреждение към наследниците, но те по-скоро са редки изключения. Въпреки че по този начин се запазва честта и достойнството на фамилията, това придава невярно съдържание на родовата книга като исторически документ. Затова много специалисти предлагат на изследователите, които ползват родовите книги като исторически материал, да боравят с тях много внимателно и то в комбинация с други по-надеждни източници на информация.

Особености на дзяпу по отношение на произхода и формата:

1. Появата на родовата книга в Китай има дълга история. Корените на произхода й се откриват още в династия Джоу (周). 《本纪》

2. Дзяпу на прочутите и заможни китайски фамилии обикновено са във формата на книги. Те се съхраняват на специално място в дома, най-често в главната зала на родовия храм, като името на всеки член на рода е гравирано върху дървена дъска, а тези дъски се подреждат като родословното дърво. Родовите книги на обикновените и не толкова известни родове се изработват под формата на родословно дърво и се окачат на видно място в дома, така че да бъдат забелязани от посетителите.

Какво представлява съдържанието на дзяпу?

По традиция дзяпу се състои от следните структурни компоненти:

1. Първата част е родословното дърво, в което трябва да се изясни последователността и непрекъснатия естествен прираст на наследниците, т.е. продължаването на потомството. Всеки един представител на рода към кое поколение принадлежи, кои са неговите родители, прародители по бащина линия. Майката и бабата също фигурират, но техните родителите вече не присъстват.

2. Втората част е главната част на родовата книга. Тя е написана в същата последователност както е при родословното дърво. Представлява биографични данни за всички представители на рода. Към биографичните данни спадат всички видове имена, в това число *бихуей* (避讳), посмъртни имена, титли, звания и т.н на членовете на голямата фамилия. Много строго е отбелязана епохата, в която живее всеки от родствениците, мястото, което е заемал в обществото, възрастта, датата на смъртта и всички по-важни дати в неговия живот. В този аспект родовите книги служат като ценен извороведски материал за историите, както и за изследователи в други области на науката. Обемът на информацията за всеки от членовете на рода е различна. При някои от тях е 50-60 йероглифа, а при други се отбелязват само имената. Това зависи от приноса на отделния индивид към големия род и обществото като цяло.

3. В родовите книги се съдържат и т.нар. „определящи йероглифи" по които се разграничават поколенията в даден род, т.е. имената на членовете от едно и също поколение. Това важи за всеки род. Ще дам пример със себе си.

Името ми на китайски е 田建军 (Тиен Дзиендзюн). В него 田 (Тиен) е фамилното, или родовото ми име. То е и фамилията на рода ми от поколения назад. Тук е мястото да отбележа с неприкрита гордост, че корените на рода 田 (Тиен) могат да бъдат проследени още в династия Джоу (周). Собственото ми име е 建军 (Дзиендзюн). Йероглифът 建 (дзиен) е определящият йероглиф за моето поколение от рода ми. Например, собственото име на брат ми е 建民 (Дзиенмин). Ето, в него също присъства йероглифа 建 (дзиен).

В някои големи родови книги тези йероглифи са написани дори във формата на стихотворения. В прочутите родове, като например тези на Кундзъ (Конфуций 孔子), Мъндзъ (孟子), Джуандзъ (庄子) и др. тези „определящи йероглифи " не

се променят и се повтарят от поколение на поколение. Точно тези йероглифи са достатъчен детерминатор, за да се разбере кой към кое поколение на рода принадлежи. Така миналата година (2010) в България идваха двама различни наследници на Конфуций. Те бяха от 74-то поколение правнуци на Конфуций – Кун Фандзюн (孔繁军) и 75-то поколение – Кун Сянлин (孔祥林). В техните имена „определящи йероглифи" са „繁" и „祥" .

4. Друга важна част от съдържанието на дзяпу е „родовият лозунг", или "родовият закон", който е под формата на кратко изречение или дори само словосъчетание, което служи като девиз към целия род. Например, *„Да почитаме предците"*, т.е. всички членове трябва да почитат предците на рода, или *„一粥一饭，当思来之不易"*, т.е. *„Всяко зърно е добито с много трудности"*, което означава, че всички членове на рода трябва да живеят икономично и да спестяват. Примерите са многобройни, колкото и родове има в Китай.

Видове родови книги въз основа на метода на възпроизвеждане:

1. Посредством въже – правят се възли, чрез които се отбелязва появата на всеки един нов представител на рода. По броя на възлите, се съди за броя на членовете на рода. Този начин е доста примитивен, но и днес се използва при някои от етническите малцинства в Китай, особено при тези, населяващи Юннан.

2. Вторият вид родови книги са „устните родови книги", които се предават от уста на уста, от едно поколение на друго. При малцинствата, като мяо (苗) или хани (哈尼), например, са налице интересни изисквания. Членовете на рода трябва да знаят имената на своите предци поне 20 поколения назад, защото има строги норми за имената, които трябва да се спазват стриктно. При малцинството И (彝) членовете на рода трябва задължително да знаят рода си, тогава те са много уважавани, а когато не познават роднините си и не знаят техните имена, то родът може да ги изолира и дори да се откаже от тях, изключвайки ги от родовата общност, което е най-силното наказание и се приема като непростимо невежество.

3. Третият вид родови книги са т.нар. „писмени знаци". Историческите и археологически източници свидетелстват, че още по времето на Джоу те са се изписвали върху гадателните кости *дзягууън* (甲骨文) или върху бронзовите съдове от тази епоха. Познати са такива надписани съдове с много дълги надписи, които са ценен исторически документ на епохата.

4. Четвъртият вид е т.нар. „родова книга паметник". Един специфичен пример от този вид е родословното дърво, написано върху надгробните паметници: „В този гроб почива…". Паметникът е издигнат в негова чест от неговите наследници, като се изброяват имената на неговите деца, внуци и правнуци. Изписват се и биографични данни за починалия, датите на раждането и смъртта му.

5. Петият тип *дзяпу* са родови книги, написани върху различни текстилни материали – платове. Те обаче са нетрайни като материал.

6. Шестият начин е върху хартия. Това е най-популярният модел на *дзяпу* в Китай.

7. Седмият начин е „написването" на родови книги върху пагоди.

8. С развитието на науката и особено с навлизането на новите технологии в Китай вече е налице и нов подход при създаването и поддържането на дзяпу, а именно родовата книга се съхранява върху електронен носител.

В зависимост от обекта на изследване родовите книги са два вида:

1. Първият вид е *юйдие* (玉牒). Това е *дзяпу* за владетелския род. Засвидетелствана е още от времето на династия Шан (商), т.е. с появата на писмеността в Китай. Оттогава насам всяка една управляваща династия в Китай има своя родова книга, която е с изключително важна историческа стойност. Такъв тип родова книга на императорския род се е пишела от хора, специално обучени за тая цел, които са заемали високо място в йерархията и са служили в обособени отдели с ранг на министерства. Този факт сам по себе си е безспорно доказателство за високата роля на владетелските родови книги.

2. Вторият вид са *дзяпу* на обикновените хора. Те са написани от избрани членове на рода, което ще рече, че не всеки има правото да редактира и попълва родовата книга на своя род, обстоятелство, което свидетелства, че писането на родова книга е много сериозно и отговорно занимание и задача на конкретно избран представител на рода.

За писането, редактирането и съхраняването на *дзяпу* в наши дни бих искал да добавя, че напоследък из цял Китай се появяват фирми, чийто предмет на дейност е изцяло свързан с родовите книги.

Ролята на дзяпу

Родовата книга е историята на един род. Чрез нея може да се научи много за духа на епохата, бита и обичаите на обществото, за отделни исторически, културни и политически персонажи и др. В това отношение тя е изключително ценен исторически документ не само за членовете на този род, но и за всички изследователи на епохата. Дзяпу е важна съставна част от историята. Тя служи не само като история на отделния род, но и като история на околията, от която произхожда рода и най-вече като история на цялата държава по време на управлението на различните династии. Родовата книга в Китай се почита изключително много и я наричат още *„съкровище от исторически материали"* (史志资源的宝库). Може да се ползва от изследователите в различни области на науката, сред които историята, археологията, социологията, фолклора и етнографията, икономиката, литературата, политологията, религията, правото, както и от

проучвателите на имената и т.н. В Китай има специална наука за изследване на имената, която се нарича Синминсюе（姓名学）.

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A STUDY OF CHINESE AND BULGARIAN BODY LANGUAGES

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ABSTRACT: Body language is an important part of communication, but different people may have different ways of making the nonverbal communication. In different cultures the same body language may mean different things and at the same time different body languages may mean the same thing. This paper mainly researches the similarities and differences between Chinese and Bulgarian body languages, especially those in gesture, posture, facial expression, eye contact and physical distance, and discusses the importance of knowing the different cultural implication of Chinese and Bulgarian body languages. The research will be helpful for people to diminish or even avoid the misunderstandings caused by the cultural differences between Chinese and Bulgarian body languages.

Body language is a broad term for forms of communication using body movements instead of, or in addition to, sounds, verbal language, or other forms of communication. It is also called body movements or body behavior sometimes. It forms part of the category of nonverbal communication; there is a whole range of body language, including the gestures we employ, the facial expression we wear, the extent to which we touch, the posture we adopt, and the direction of our gaze. Body language in a country bears close relations with its surroundings, traditions and customs.[1] People in one country believe that the same body language indicates the same meaning. However, different countries have different cultures, so the comprehension of body language may not be the same.

One friend told me his own experience in the first class in Veliko Turnovo University. After explaining one language point, he asked the students whether they understood it and saw all of them shake their heads. Then he explained it again. This time he did it slowly and carefully. He asked the students whether they understood it after this explanation and he saw them shake their heads again. He got confused completely and was wondering what the problem was. Just at this moment one student, probably having seen his frowning, told him they meant yes when they shook their heads. My friend ended his story with the sentence "It's so strange that they shake their heads to mean yes."

It can be seen here that the understanding of the body languages in different countries plays an important role in cross-cultural communication. The different understanding of nodding one's head was the reason for the disconnection of their communication. At the same time, the common facial expression of frowning solved the problem. As a Chinese working in Bulgaria, it is necessary for me to make a comparative study of Chinese and Bulgarian body languages[2] in order to understand the diversity of cross-cultural communication. The study of body language can help us understand others well and behave in proper ways without making too many mistakes.

Let's begin with the differences between and similarities of the gestures. Gesture is the expressive movement of a part of body, especially the hand or head. It is actually regarded as the core of body language.[3] The same gestures may have different meanings or the different gestures would have the same or similar meaning in different countries because of the different traditions. The most notable example of the differences between Chinese and Bulgarian gestures is that in China, and many other countries, nodding one's head means yes and shaking one's head means no, but in Bulgaria the opposite is true, which is the reason for my friend's puzzlement. There are many other examples: Bulgarians lay their hands on their necks when they are full, but it is a suicide action to Chinese people, who express fullness by patting their stomachs lightly with one or both hands open; Bulgarian people are very familiar with the gesture that girls or women press their hands downward to say "thanks" to the audience after dancing, while Chinese people will bow their thanks; to express respect, Chinese people will take something that can be hold with one hand with both hands. Raising one's little finger means bad and upraised forefinger of each hand coming together in front of the body means a good match. These gestures are unique to China. Bulgarians often touch their temples to express somebody's cleverness. At the same time, this gesture can also be used to say "let me think" or mean there is something wrong with one's mind or one is stupid in both countries. Another example, the gesture of thumb up signifies asking for a ride in Bulgaria, while Chinese people would wave their hand to draw the driver's attention. The gesture of thumb up is also used to mean "high praise, the best" in both countries.

There are other similarities: putting one's forefinger near the lips with the sound "shhh" means "be silent, keep quiet, or stop talking". Hand (raised above the shoulder, fingers extended, palm down) moving from one side of the neck to the other means a threat "I'll kill you; you will be dead". Palm hitting the forehead means "I forgot it". Applauding and clapping hands is used to show "welcome, congratulation and appreciation" and waving one's hand means goodbye. These gestures mean the same thing in both countries, and Chinese and Bulgarian facial expressions have more in common.

Facial expression is the most expressive part of the body language. It's capable of conveying various emotions. Different peoples may have different facial expressions, but facial expressions of such basic emotions as happiness, anger, disgust, sadness, confusion, fear and surprise are recognizable all over the world. In my friend's story, it was his frowning that helped him out. The student understood his puzzlement and told him why they shook their heads, and this helped their communication continue. In many cultures, if not all, smile and laughter usually convey happiness and friendliness, crying indicates pain and sadness, and pulling a long face is equal to say "I'm not in a good mood; leave me alone." Smiles will also indicate apology and understanding. For instance, when colliding with a stranger we will smile and say sorry to show we have no hostility. The smile on the face of waiters or waitresses means they welcome us. When we are speaking, it is generally good to smile

to the listener(s) from time to time, especially when someone has made an interesting comment. If a person breaks a dish in a restaurant, Chinese people on the spot would smile to him. Their smile can convey a number of meanings: never mind, or don't take it so seriously, or laugh it of, or such things can happen to anyone. Bulgarian people do the similar thing. They would not only smile but also clap their hands in some places to express the wish that something good, not bad, would happen.

Because of the different cultures Chinese and Bulgarian people's facial expressions would also be different sometimes. For example, when Chinese people are praised by others, they would take on negative facial expression, indicating "I don't believe it" or "I can't accept it" because of the tradition of showing one's modesty and paying respect to others. When Bulgarian people are praised, they would say "thank you" with a smile. Chinese people would consider this attitude as immodesty and pride. A more important difference is that Chinese people do not display facial expressions so often as Bulgarian people. Their feelings are implicit in some degree and are not often taken on face. Bulgarian people express their emotions more freely and employ more facial expressions and gestures. Bulgarian adults encourage their children to show their qualities and emotions freely and to form extroverted character. But Chinese adults often teach their children not to display their emotions and not to be aggressive, because having a good control of one's feelings is admired and regarded to be decent and polite, so most of their children own a comparatively introverted and implicit character and seem not ready to show leadership qualities. By the way, I am not decent enough because I can not do this well sometimes.

Physical touch is an aspect in which Chinese and Bulgarian people have many differences. It refers to the way people exchange information by touching the other's body. The most common touch behavior is hands-shaking, hugging and kissing. Nowadays, hand-shaking has become a custom to show friendliness and hospitality, but the ways are so different that hand-shaking can be classified into five groups: the firm handshake, the bone-crusher, the finger shake, the dead fish, and the politician's handshake[4]. Compared with Bulgarian people, Chinese people usually shake hands lightly for a shorter time and then they stand away from each other. But Chinese people also shake hands tightly and keep closer to express more politeness and respect. Bulgarian people express their emotions quite freely, and their idea of friendship includes a lot of kissing and hugging. They often hug or kiss each other in public, and females often hug males and kiss their faces to say goodbye, which is unacceptable and only exists between lovers and couples in private in China. When two Chinese meet after a period of absence, if they are females, one would hold the other's hand and greets affectionately; if they are males, they would shake hands and pat on shoulders as well as greet. It is common to see young people of the same sex walk arm-in-arm or hold hands or put one's hand or arm on another's shoulder, especially female friends. They are quite physical and emotional in this respect. But in Bulgaria, it is acceptable if they are females, but if they are males it will be regarded as homosexuality. In addition, Chinese people have been accustomed to short time and slight touch. For example, when Chinese women praise a female friend's dress or hairstyle, they would like touch her clothes or hair to indicate their appreciation. In contrast, Bulgarians often avoid such touching behaviors except among very good friends or intimate persons.

Chinese and Bulgarian people often fondle babies or very small children, not their own ones, in the similar way. Such behaviors----whether touching, patting, hugging or kissing----can be quite pleasant if only the babies or small children can enjoy it. They regard such gestures signs of friendliness or affection. When teachers encourage their students or leaders appreciate their employees, they will pat their shoulders to express encouragement in both countries. Physical contact between strangers is not allowed in both countries, so they always try to avoid it in public places. If one touches another accidentally, he/she usually utters an apology such as "sorry" or "excuse me". But Chinese people pay less attention to their private space. It is crowded in China because of a large population. They have got used to it and often show their understanding and tolerance.

Posture refers to the general way people carry their body, especially the back, shoulders and head while standing, sitting, lying, etc. What kind of posture people use can reflect the cultural differences. Chinese people believe that people who are seated are more authoritative: emperors sat, while liege subjects stood; fathers sit, whereas sons stand; superiors sit, while inferiors stand and so on. However, in Bulgaria tallness usually equates with dominance. People who are in charge of others have tendency to stand. Standing up tall can help appear more authoritative. Another different point is that Bulgarian people prefer sitting on the ground to bending down, but people from the countryside of Northern China get used to this posture. A third difference is that in Bulgaria, it is common to see a woman sit with her legs crossed, even during public meeting. Whereas in China such posture is often considered signs of rudeness or poor manners since the lifestyle tends to be more formal.

And postures in China and Bulgaria also share some similarities. For example, they can reflect people's attitude towards their communicators. In both countries good manners show great respect to the other people in an interpersonal communication. And we can judge from people's posture. We believe they are more energetic, confident and competent if they stand erect, whereas a slumped posture or slouched shoulders create an appearance of submissive or passive demeanor. Teachers' postures are also similar. Traditionally, teachers are highly respected in both countries, especially in China, and they are regarded as the soul of belief and knowledge there. Their image of authority certainly ought not to be damaged by the unserious postures.

The last point I would compare is eye contact. English dramatist Shakespeare once written, "There is language in her eye, her cheek, her lip."[5] A Chinese saying goes, "The eye is the window of the soul." From these two sentences, we can see that eye contact is quite important in our interaction, but there are differences between Chinese and Bulgarian eye contacts,

which are mainly indicated in "the etiquette of eye contact". For example, in two–person conversations, Bulgarians require the person who they are interacting with to look at them in the eye during a conversation. They see eye contact as a sign of honesty and indication of confidence and politeness and a lack of eye contact or shifty eyes imply impoliteness, untruthfulness, contempt, fear, indifference, guilt or absence of mind. But Chinese would avoid long direct eye contact during the conversation to show respect, or obedience, or politeness, especially when juniors or subordinates are conversing with seniors or superiors.

The differences of "the etiquette of eye contact" also appear in conversation with a group of people. When talking with a group, Bulgarians tend to make eye contact with the listeners. The speaker looks at the listeners to see whether they are interested and then decides to go on or make a change. The listeners show that they are listening by looking at the speaker. In contrast, many Chinese speakers are likely to bury their noses in their manuscripts to read a speech instead of looking at and talking to their audience. This habit would be regarded as inconsiderate and impolite by Bulgarians. Accordingly, it is not surprising to see Chinese listeners simply listen to the speaker just with their ears, paying no attention to the speaker at all.

One fact should be pointed out here: nowadays, as the foreign media such as films penetrate into China, gestures such as shrugging, "OK" gesture, and "V" gesture have been accepted by more and more Chinese young people; learning more and more about the outside world, Chinese people would say "thank you" when they are praised, especially when praised by foreigners; and influenced by westerners, some Chinese speakers begin to use eye contact when giving a speech.

It is impossible to compare all the body languages and difficult to master body language in another country because of its complexity, but we can improve our communicative abilities if we make our efforts to learn what we can know about it. After discussing the differences between and similarities of Chinese and Bulgarian body languages, the following conclusions can be drawn:

When we are in another country, we should try to be culturally sensitive. We should know the different points of the customs, beliefs and the connotations of body languages if we are in another country. Understanding the key gestures in different countries can make us better communicators. As far as the friend I mentioned at the beginning is concerned, if he knows that Bulgarians shake their heads to say yes, there will be no problem at all. After all, he is in Bulgaria. As the idiom goes, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." It is the main principle in cross-cultural communication. And we should keep an open mind and be tolerant of the different body languages so as to avoid prejudice and superiority. We should respect and understand the culture of the other nations and eliminate the interference of our own cultures. A truly bilingual person switches his body languages at the same time he switches languages.

If we don't know enough about the body language or other aspects of the culture in another country and become puzzled on certain occasions, we had better speak out what we think or feel directly. Let's take the friend as an example again, if he asks the students to answer his question in words when he felt confused, there will be no problem in their communication. Only if we have enough communication, verbally or non-verbally, can we get well along with the people there.

Notes

1　刘元满、任雪梅、金舒年（1997：54），《高级汉语口语(上册) 》，北京大学出版社，北京。

2　Chinese people in this article refer to the people of the Han nationality and Chinese body language also refers to that of the Han nationality. Similarly, Bulgarian people in this article refer to the people of the Bulgarian nationality and Bulgarian body language also refers to that of the Bulgarian nationality.

3　莱杰·布罗斯纳安著，毕继万译（1991：115），《中国和英语国家非语言交际对比》，北京语言学院出版社，北京。

4　毕继万（1999：118），《跨文化非语言交际》，外语教学与研究出版社，北京。

5　http://thinkexist.com/quotation/fie-fie_upon_her-there-s_language_in_her_eye-her/332717.html

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THE SILK ROAD AS A ROAD OF CULTURAL INDUSTRIES (CHINESE MUSIC IN BULGARIA)

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ABSTRACT: The Silk Road is a phenomenon that became a byword for contacts and interrelations in many areas of culture in the recent years. The concept is increasingly used metaphorically, even outside the geographical region in which it spreads, indicating an active exchange of ideas and interaction of different traditions. Economic and political conditions for its historical emergence help the movements of religions, philosophy as well as achievements in arts. Looking back in history and attempting revitalization of cultural values along the Silk Road leads to the study and reconstruction of various traditions. Nowadays, they become part of the strategies and industries with different aims and purposes.

The Chinese cultural heritage is undoubtedly among the most important and attractive for research along the Silk Road. Diversity of phenomena and their peculiarities as well as the intensity of export is a prerequisite for some cultural processes that have relations with established features of the culture of this region. Currently, promotion of Chinese heritage is part of global processes and enters into certain cultural and economic tendencies. The aim of the study is to show mechanisms and outcomes of Chinese cultural strategies through analysis of music and performing arts from China, which were shown in Bulgaria in the last decade. There were selected and observed several key cultural events which show basic features of contemporary cultural industries.

The Silk Road is a phenomenon that became a byword for contacts and interrelations in many areas of culture in the past few years. Currently, the concept is increasingly used metaphorically, even outside the geographical region and time in which it spreads indicating an active exchange of ideas and interaction of different traditions. One of the examples of a music event and platform under the above mentioned slogan in contemporary context was the piano recital of Benjamin Yusupov. He was born in Tajikistan and now lives in Israel. This composer, conductor and pianist took part in the program of the ppIANIS-SIMO International Festival 2011 in Sofia. His concert was called "Down the Silk Road – Music of Central Asia" and it was held on March 23rd in the Bulgarian National Radio's Concert Studio 1. In his opinion nowadays the Silk Road is a way of exchange and interrelation of different cultural heritage in global context and this is a good basis for mixtures and new musical creations. He thought: "The Silk Road is a way of dealing with other people, a means of communication as it was centuries ago. In the past the merchants were people who carried goods and news of all kinds. There is an opinion that communications have developed too much. Through the Internet we can learn about everything that happens around the world, but at the same time as if something is not enough in communication with and understanding about different music cultures."[1] In the case of the above mentioned concert program there were included works by composers from Tajikistan, Israel, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. Some accents were on typical phenomena from the region such as Sufi, Buddha, maqam, chromatics and pentatonic which results are cross-cultural mixtures. Yusupov as many others all over the world does not hesitate to mix ideas and styles as part of a new cultural exchange, music strategy in the frame of cultural market and profit.

Traditionally economic and political conditions along the Silk Road helped the movements of religion, philosophy as well as achievements in arts. Looking back in history and attempting revitalization of cultural values along the Silk Road, it is possible to study and reconstruct various traditions. Currently, they have become part of the strategies and industries with different aims and purposes. I could mention the similar Roman road networks with their parts Appia Road (Via Appia), Egnatia Road (Via Egnatia), and others as a kind of a similar communication net and even extension of the Silk Road. They also have successfully been used in the Modern Times not only in retrospective cultural and scientific researches, but also for politics, trade, tourism, etc.

The Chinese cultural heritage is undoubtedly among the most important and attractive for research along the Silk Road and just the silk from China gave the name of this originally trade routes. Diversity of phenomena and their peculiarities and also the intensity of export are prerequisites for some cultural processes that have relations with established features of the culture from this region. Currently, promotion of Chinese traditions is part of global processes and enters into certain cultural and economic tendencies. The aim of this study is to show mechanisms and outcomes of Chinese cultural strategies through analysis of music and performing arts from China, which were shown in Bulgaria in the last decade. There were selected and observed several cultural key events with great visibility because they show basic features of contemporary trends in the cultural industries not only in China. The most impressive examples in this period in Bulgaria are the music events connected with the Chinese Culture Days or programs dedicated to the Chinese New Year. Because of the limited pages I will focus on the spectacle concentrated on Dunhuang heritage and how it seems in the context of Chinese presentations on this topic.

My first personal memories about Dunhuang as a research object and an art performance were during the 34th ICANAS (International Congress of Asian and North African Studies) in Hong Kong 1993. The Silk Roads and Dunhuang Studies were among the most attractive panels in this huge event. But it was only a stage of a long lasting interest towards the topic. It happens intensively after discovering many texts in Dunhuang Mogao Grottos in the beginning of the 20th century and researching the mural paintings, sculptures and whole culture of the region. The main areas of the papers in the Silk Roads panels in Hong Kong were observed in general aspects or in more detailed studies on architecture, religion, manuscripts, paintings, music, interactions between East, South and West Asia. In this context the performance of Dunhuang Music and Dance (Dunhuang Ancient Music Ensemble) and Ancient Music and Dance of Tang and Song (Shanghai Ancient Music

Ensemble) were part of the very impressive ICANAS cultural program. There were included musical instruments typical for the Dunhuang culture (pipa for example), but also ideas for dance and songs from the periods of high achievements at that place. There were observed the music research traditions and especially the interpretations in deciphering of music scores from Mogao Grottoes (Chen Yingshi, 1997; Chen Yingshi: 1991).[2] This is an example for researching and active popularization of the above mentioned culture during the last decades. Nowadays this is a very attractive way of presenting Chinese culture both in China and abroad and part of a very lucrative cultural industry.

I will mention some of dance and drama realizations that use ideas from Dunhuang heritage and spread out not only in China. Thus, currently it is possible to talk about Dunhuang cultural industry which is included in Chinese culture strategies. As comments in media shows the different aspects on this topic are not an exception. "Dunhuang My Dreamland" has already brought a million people into the dream to the beautiful grotto of the desert, and as the Ministry's new policy takes effect, it will no doubt continue to draw more people in."[3] The glorious Chinese heritage and the great potential for its market realization feed the idea of cultural industry improvement.

There are different reasons that influence the development of such kind of industry. The growth of the so called European music and dance drama style in China especially from the 1930s[4] needs of new stage works. Usually the themes in the newly built cultures of this type in the 20th century are historical (the same is in Bulgaria, too). They have to present, promote and in many cases to construct national art in hybrid way which does not exists in the local traditions. Dunhuang culture is understood as such a mixture and a historical basis. "If you want to understand the origin of arts you do know Dunhuang." Wang Wen Quan (the Vice Director-General of Gansu Provincial Bureau of Culture) told me.[5] The performances for large audience have to be very attractive, understandable with modern stylistic. The winning receipt is a combination of "ancient music with some modern elements". "We want the audience of today to enjoy the music. If it is too ancient nobody will like it" told me the director of Gansu Opera House about their Dunhuang performance in Bulgaria.[6] The development of the mass culture as entertainment and culture for the vast majority of people flourished round the world in the 20th century. It is among the new aesthetic art platforms that have developed largely. Thus, the splendid grand shows and pompous stage performances are well accepted. In the Chinese state government aims in the 1940s and 1950s the visual art of Dunhuang, for example, was used also as "a tool of propaganda" that has to stir "patriotism" (Ning Qiang). After the Cultural Revolution in China the ideas of the old authentic historical roots played important role in development of arts, too. Dunhuang heritage not surprisingly has become very suitable for such strategies. It unites multifarious cultural traditions from different social strata and goes deep in high level culture. These historical and art layers are very representative not only in China, but also in other countries. They amaze the public everywhere, give a sense of national pride and show the interaction between different groups in multiethnic country. Thus the ideas of ancient, prosperous and united state are in harmony of the government culture strategy.

The Dunhuang theme in Chinese modern art became very successful in 1979. Then the dance drama of Dunhuang Art Theater of Gansu "Flowers of the Silk Road" was collectively created by the theater's playwright group. Their aim was to revive Dunhuang mural paintings on stage for the first time and it was a great sensation. In the same 1979 the Chinese Ministry of Culture awarded it. Later the spectacle was recognized among the most significant Chinese dance drama and a classical model – "a milestone in Chinese dance history".[7] On the same topic was created "Dunhuang Ancient Music" also by the Gansu group whose staff worked more than 30 years with assistance of experts and scholars. There is an author who writes that this first spectacle on Dunhuang was performed more than 1300 times at home and abroad for about 25 years (Peng Fei). Later, many other stage performances and formats with similar titles were made through the years.

Dunhuang studies provoke large interest in scientific and art circles (Wenjie Duan & Zhong Tan: 1994; Whitfield, Roderick, Susan Whitfield & Neville Agnew: 2000). Currently, this topic is actively researched and to some extent is even fashionable now. The huge development of tourism helps in this process. Together with institutions with traditions such as Dunhuang Research Academy (originally Dunhuang Art Institute in 1944) new ones have been found (for example I will point out the Dunhuang Culture Promotion Foundation). As a result of collaboration between institutions from China, Japan and Europe the International Dunhuang project has to bring information about the Silk Road online after conservation and digitalization of materials from worldwide famous collections.[8] Many other events were created and they also contribute to the popularity of this culture. Except from the dance dramas and music mentioned above, exhibitions, instrumental concerts, TV spectacles and TV dramas, show programs at hotels also are among them. I will point out some which present the diversity of Dunhuang culture reflexions. Exhibitions with art of Mogao Grottoes are part of the promotion of this culture. One initiative is to present replicas of the historical mural paintings. That was made by the Chinese artist Yang Dongmiao and his colleagues who spent 14 years to replicate 286 murals from the famous caves using paints similar to the original ones. They exhibited the works in Chengdu, the capital of the southwest Sichuan Province, in 2000.[9] The aim of the initiative was to show these unique works without "causing damage to the original paintings" in the caves, to make them more popular, but also to experiment restoration techniques and appropriate paints. Other ways to promote the Dunhuang culture are performances in restaurants and hotels[10] and this art form for the mass consumer becomes more and more popular in the recent years as part of interrelations between culture and tourism strategies. More specific is the other information about "authentic Dunhuang dealer"[11] who explains: "As an authorized vendor of authentic Dunhuang instruments we want to inform our customers on how to spot a real Dunhuang and avoid getting ripped off with a fake!" For the merchants the so

called Dunhuang instruments (Dunhuang here means a company label[12]) are goods like the best brands in purses, watches and designer clothing coveted by musicians and collectors. In this way they are included in the musical industry. In my opinion a special attention has to be paid also to the deciphering of Dunhuang music scores and their new life. Here I will point out only one example – "SHUIGUZI" Concerto for 5 Chinese Traditional Instruments and Orchestra by Anlun Huang (the solo instruments are di, erhu, pipa, yangqin, guzheng). The world premiere was by the Oriental Angels soloists and Beijing Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Lihua Tan at the Zhongshan Music Hall, Beijing in December 4, 2005. The composer used for the basis of his composition 5 melodic pitch structures decoded from the scores of Dunhuang and combined elements from European and Chinese music traditions.

One of the performances that presented the glorious Chinese culture in Bulgaria was translated in English programs as "Dunhuang Melody" or as "The Charm of Dunhuang" (also Dunhuang Charm Show in other Internet sources).[13] The subtitle was "Three Scenes of Thematic Singing and Dancing". The dancers and musicians were from Gansu Opera House which is for both European and Chinese type of performances as the opera director told me in interview. He also added that the group was founded in 1939. "This is one of the first artistic groups established in China. This troupe has specialized in opera." he said. Maybe for that reason the spectacle was a complicated mixture of European classical music and ballet, traditional classical and folk Chinese arts, puppets' plus martial techniques, slide presentation. The show with plenty of colors, sounds and movements was held on 8 February 2011 in the National Palace of Culture, Sofia. Dance parts, songs and instrumental items were attractively weaved into the whole structure and showed a variety of local Chinese and non-Chinese styles (for example contemporary adopted ones from neighbor regions). Thus, just the word "show" is the most appropriate in this case. In China also the term "music drama" has been used for such a performance. The performance in Sofia was on occasion of the Chinese New Year and it was organized by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Bulgaria. The representatives of the Gansu Provincial Bureau of Culture (as the vice director-general Wang Wen Quan and his colleagues) were together with the opera performers which gave formal character of the guest-performance. Among the officially invited persons was the Bulgarian Vice-President Angel Marin. The performance in Bulgaria is part of the Balkan tour of the Gansu Opera House. After Sofia the witness of this Chinese art were the audience of Bucharest, Belgrade and Podgorica. Important sources like BTA (Bulgarian News Agency), Xinhua and other local information agencies as well as different media in Eastern Europe strictly gave information and attractive photos about the events there.

The authors of music and dance for Gansu Opera performances used the images of the popular mural paintings from the Mogao Grottoes. They try to reconstruct music, instruments and dance from them and also to accent on some important Buddhist deities. The director explained to me that: "This ensemble pays high attention to the Dunhuang arts' materials. They also use the energy and the tense to make it revive. This art is an issue of the Chinese nation. Also they are very popular in the world. This is a classical performance for China. After the performance you will understand the Chinese culture. This show is just for Chinese culture roots, not for one nationality folk dance. [It is] some historical show, something like that. We just show the Chinese nation, history and culture."

About the origins of the music in the performance the director told me: "Music is arranged by famous musicians[14] in China in accordance with murals. Music elements are coming from murals and ancient literature from the Grottoes. Musicians, they adapted them in modern music." On my question about the authentic Dunhuang music scores found in Mogao Grottoes and if they are put in this performance my collocutor explained to me: "Musicians translate murals. They are like a secret code. They have to know how to translate them; how to identify and to put them in modern music forms… One piece of dance is in accordance with the thousands hands of Buddha in pictures of murals. Other example is a mythical fish on the bottom of the spring in desert. You can see in a mural a lady with a pipa on her back. In this picture music is fitting according to your imagination." Often the image of a musician playing the pipa in this way and also the flying figures in murals are pointed out as a ground for reconstruction of music and dance culture from the region and researched epoch. They serve as a basis for the restoration of the so called Dunhuang dance style. Statistics show that half of the Dunhuang Mogao Grottoes feature singing and dancing in which over 4 000 musical instruments and 3 000 players were drawn.

The Chinese guests in Sofia showed a little beautiful sculpture souvenir of a pipa player with the instrument on her back (it was for a short circle of friends before the performance). Such sort of souvenirs is popular for the promotion of Dunhuang culture. Nowadays the sales of emblematic images typical for certain historical place have increased and they also take place in cultural tourism and its profits. The virtuoso soloists playing the pipa, guzhen and drums in the performance also make a bridge towards the murals in which were painted thousands musical scenes with this type of instruments. The efforts to revitalize Dunhuang art has developed in progress in Gansu province during the last decades. Maybe this fact is also connected with the special status of Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang which were inscribed in 1987 by the UNESCO on the World Heritage List. Currently, the promotion of Dunhuang culture is part of Chinese cultural strategies in high governmental level. For that reason performances on this topic were made in many prestigious international events where Chinese heritage was presented. Even more International Culture Industry Fairs were organized in Shenzhen[15] in which the Ministry of Culture of China together with many other important state institutions took part. It is "the largest trading platform for Chinese cultural products and service exports", but also "an international communication organization of metropolitan cultures" both from China and abroad. The governmental culture politics in China pay a special attention to transmit national cultural values

from one generation to another. "With education we start in China in kindergarten; in preschool time. So state pays high attention to that. Dance and music also are becoming example for school students" told me Mr. Wang, quoted before. The state as well as the private sector support Chinese culture financially. "There are commercial performances in China to make money. There are both ways [of financial support] – from government and private. The two are combined together" added the director of Gansu Opera House.

In conclusion it is important to say that the result of the high popularization of the Dunhuang music and dance is also because of the cooperative work between the scholars and workers from different areas of art. Their aims are to preserve research and promote the Chinese heritage. It is a good example how the science is applied in performing arts, organology, culture strategies, creation of national art, tourism, and etc. and makes money from cultural products. There is a huge audience which is a good consumer of art products. Maybe it is a Chinese phenomenon that one and the same spectacle has hundreds and even thousands performances. The "Dunhuang Melody" spectacle observed above was performed 158 times continuously only in Guangzhou. In the new context of very mobile life around the world one of the strategies is to show the harmony and tolerance between the cultures. Thus, the network of trade routes across Asia and interactions among the traditions there play important role as thousand years ago. Dunhuang history and heritage are too appropriate for such kind of understanding because it inherited multifarious traditions typical for a crossroad. The meeting between the Eastern, Central and South Asia has resulted in the interactions among the cultural differences. As a melting pot Dunhuang traditions are a good basis for discovering a panoramic view of art. The final hybrid product is put successfully in modern cultural strategies. It covers the taste of a very large audience with different experience and knowledge. For that reason the potential number of customers is huge. As the Vice Director-General of Gansu Provincial Bureau of Culture said: "In China we have 1 300 000 000 people and for performance like that ["Dunhuang Melody"] we have a very good market. This performance can keep more than 100 times for commercial performance." The above mentioned statistics show 800 and even 1 300 times for performance of one and the same spectacle. Chinese experience approves how the culture could make money and something not less important – international culture visibility and so called national pride.

NOTES:

[1] See in "*Denyat zapochva s kultura – 25 mart 2011* [The day started with culture]." - 25 March 2011. In http://bnt.bg/bg/productions/121/edition/13234/denjat_zapochva_s_kultura_25_mart_2011

[2] Chen Yingshi is among the most competent and famous researchers who have working in this scientific area.

[3] More details on the topic see in "*Dunhuang drama stages ten years.*" - 18 May 2010. In http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/video/2010-05/18/c_13300880.htm

[4] Chinese dance drama emerged as an independent art form in the 1930s. See: Sun Jingchen, Luo Xiongyan and Zi Huayun. "*Excepts from Chinese Dance. Multi-Styled Chinese Dance Dramas.*" In http://www.chinesedance.com/danceBookEnglish/chineseDance_3_2_2.html

[5] Interview with Wang Wen Quan, Vice Director-General of Gansu Provincial Bureau of Culture, China. Personal archive. Sofia, February 8, 2011.

[6] Interview with the director of Gansu Opera House, China. Personal archive. Sofia, February 8, 2011.

[7] See in: *"The Verve of Dunhuang."* In http://www.chinaculture.org/gb/en_artists/2004-01/21/content_45834.htm

[8] More about the project in "*The International Dunhuang Project: The Silk Road Online.*" In http://idp.bl.uk [9] See: *"Replicated Frescos of Mogao Grottoes on Show."* In http://www.china.org.cn/english/MATERIAL/4826.htm

[10] See: *"Dunhuang music and dance."* In: http://www.xiantraveltour.com/china-culture/dunhuang-music-and-dance.html

[11] See: *"Authentic Dunhuang Dealer. Be Aware of Fakes: How to Tell a Dunhuang from an Imitator."* In: http://www.musicoftheorient.com/Authentic_Dunhuang.aspx

[12] There are not saved instrument of the research Dunhuang culture, but only their pictures and records about musical fingering for the pipa in manuscripts. Thus "authentic instruments" from Dunhuang did not exist.

[13] These are three different translations in English of one and the same spectacle. In Bulgarian language the title was "Ocharovanieto na Dunhuang". The Bulgarian translation of the program and subtitles projected during the spectacle were made by Antonia Tzankova. I would like to express my gratitude to her for the help in the meeting with the Chinese guests in Sofia.

[14] The music in "Dunhuang Melody" was written by Han Lankui, Zhu Jiahe and Cui Bingyuan. The choreographers are Zhao Xiaojin, Liu Pu, Lu Jiaju, Wang Qiaoying and Xiao Yan.

[15] See information in: *"The Second China (Shenzhen) International Cultural Industry."* http://www.hk-imcc.com/en-imcc/projects/ED_projects/Exhibition_Design/20091026/52.html

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REFLECTIONS ON POETIC AND PROSAIC INTERPOLATIONS IN THE PLAY "PIPA JI" BY THE YUAN PLAYWRIGHT GAO ZECHENG (1305?-1360?)[1]

by Dmitry Mayatskiy, St. Petersburg State University

ABSTRACT: "Pipa ji" ("The Lute song"/ "The Lute") is the single play by the great author of Yuan Dynasty Gao Zecheng (1305?-1360?). Nevertheless, it is a very important composition in genre of nanxi, because it is looked upon as a typical representative of one of two main branches in Classical Chinese Drama – I mean a southern one (the second branch is northern zaju).

This article investigates a part of literary devices used in "Pipa ji" – poetry and prose interpolations. Writing his play Gao Zecheng introduced a number of covert and overt quotations from the works of more than 30 poets of Chinese antiquity, and more than 50 works of classical literature of China. This phenomenon is considered in the article with a purpose to determine its function in the play.

The theme of my paper is "Reflections on poetic and prosaic interpolations in the play "Pipa ji" 琵琶记 (in English "The Lute"/ "The Lute song") by the playwright of Yuan Dynasty Gao Zecheng 高则诚 (1305?-1360?)".

Gao Zecheng, or Gao Ming 高明, is a comparatively significant author of the fourteenth century. He created literary works in different genres[2], nevertheless he became famous just dew to his immortal play "The Lute".

Nowadays we possess little information about Gao Zecheng's life[3]. According to local histories he was born about 1305, during Mongolian rule in China. His family lived in area, which today is situated in Zhejiang province, but that time was belonged to Jiangzhe 江浙 province. The family boasted many scholars and literati's. Till the age of fourty Gao was studying and trying to pass public examinations, the traditional means by which even a poor could become a member of the highly esteemed official class. In 1345 he at last was successful and started his career of an official, which lasted just for 10 years mainly in Zhejiang. By the middle of 1350-es China plunged into the chaos of uprisings. Mongols began to lose their power, gradually ceding it to local warlords. One of such military authorities – a general Fang Guozhen 方国珍 (1319-1374) – took a control over the land, where Gao fulfilled his responsibilities. Probably Gao Zecheng was faithful to the legitimate Yuan dynasty and did not take part in the rebellion. But he had to dismiss from office and to settle in a village of Lishe 枥社, where he lived till the end of his life in retirement writing "The Lute". The circumstances of his quick demise are not clear.

"Pipa ji" is the only extant dramatic masterpiece by Gao Zecheng. It is a very important composition in genre of *nanxi* 南戏 ("southern plays"), and it is looked upon as a piece typical of southern drama, which alongside with the northern *zaju* 杂剧 ("mixed performances") drama formed two main branches of classical Chinese drama[4].

Generally speaking, southern drama is characterized by large size of its compositions, consisting of tens of acts written for the southern tunes. The northern *zaju* consisted mainly of four acts and was based on the northern melodies. When creating pieces of northern drama authors were to follow certain rigid canons. On the contrary, the rules of writing southern drama were more flexible and simple.

The story of "The Lute" is based on the earlier play or traditional legends about the Han writer Cai Bojie 蔡伯喈 (also Cai Yong 蔡邕, 133-192). The plot is as follows. The leading protagonist Cai Bojie has spent his youth in Chenliu 陈留 studying for the civil service examinations. He marries a young wife Zhao Wuniang 赵五娘, and three months later, because of father's will, has to leave the family to pass the exams. He receives the highest results in the final examinations in the capital city. Cai Bojie would rather retire and go to his homeland in order to take care of his elderly parents, but he must stay in the capital to marry the daughter of First Minister Niu 牛. Some obstacles keep him out of contact with Chenliu, where his wife Wuniang is trying to save her husband`s parents during a famine. Five years later they die and Wuniang goes to the capital to look for her husband, taking along her pipa lute in order to make some money. Eventually she is happily reunited with Cai Bojie.

The play attracted attention of the Chinese scholars soon after its appearance. Its different aspects are a subject of studies till our days, not only in China but also in other countries. The play is very long and complicated containing a lot of issues. The central issues addressed by the scholars are the origin of the plot, the structural characteristics of the composition, its ideological content, language, literary images, musical base, stage performance etc[5].

In my paper I would like to raise discussion on a problem of a type of literary devices used in "Pipa ji" – I mean poetry and prose interpolations. In his play Gao Zecheng introduced a number of covert and overt quotations from the works of more than 30 poets of Chinese antiquity or medieval times[6], and more than 50 works of Chinese classical literature[7]. This phenomenon is addressed in the article with a purpose to find out its features and functions in the play.

The tradition of the authors including covert and overt quotations from different earlier works in their compositions is widely known in classical Chinese literature. Quotations and their elements are very frequent in compositions of poetry and prose. But I find it very puzzling that the author should use such things in a drama, or literary work addressing common people. It is well-known that theater was especially popular during the time of Mongol rule. People loved to spend their free time watching the plays on the scene. By doing so they not only had a good pastime, but also learned basic knowledge in history and culture of China, had a reason to chat and discuss political events of the ancient times, that were shown on the stage, and thus draw comparisons with their own times.

It is quite evident that the literary form of plays performed for people of different social classes and ages should not be too complicated. The language and devices in plays must be comprehensible to everyone. But Gao Zecheng, as a highly educated scholar with rich cultural background, still endeavored to use quotations here and there and did it skillfully.

Of course, it would too hard a task to detect all interpolations used in "Pipa ji". Not every excerption is marked by quotes, many of them are hidden in prosaic and poetic monologues and dialogues of the protagonists or in the poetic conclusions placed in the end of each act. Some interpolations are presented as an organic whole, some have gone through partial changes and in such cases it is more appropriate to talk about the elements of quotations.

While researching and translating this play, I came across about 128 citations of different kinds from at least 48 Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist, historical books and collections of short stories. Besides, the play contains no less than 62 citations from two poetical anthologies and poetry by 28 poets.

The scale of the used citations will look more impressive if we calculate the total number of characters in the text and compare it with the aggregate quantity of Chinese signs in quotes. The first number comes to 60.151 characters, the second is up to 1.786 signs (that fall into 1.063 – for prose interpolations and 723 – for poetical parts). Overall proportion of interpolations is 2,97 %. But the figure may be larger, if we estimate all the repeated phrases and lines.

If we arrange poetic quotes and images in chronological order we will see that, as it may be expected, Gao Zecheng felt himself linked to the Tang era - the pinnacle of the classical Chinese poetry. The second most frequently used citations belong to the Song period famous for its poems in the genre of *ci* 词 in particular. Playwright had turned to this genre, probably because he considered genre of aria-*qu* 曲 to be originating from this genre. Mastering the technique of composing verse in the genre of *ci* has been useful to Gao Ming in his work with "Pipa ji": a lot of tricks in the arias are clearly borrowed from the *ci*.

Poetic quotations and famous images serve an important function in the play. In the Yuan period dramaturgical art there emerged a tendency to pay closer attention to the psychological state of the protagonists and look for method to elucidate the inner emotional world of a man. In these circumstances Gao Zecheng considered the use of poetic quotes as one the tools for draw the characteristics of the protagonists. Therefore, poetic quotations are usually placed in the parts depicting the spiritual world and the appearance of the characters, and when giving evaluation of the conduct and moral traits of a person.

Gao Zecheng acted independently while selecting quotes. His choice was not guided by the critique and praise that had been made about the authors of these citations, did not pay much attention whether they were well-known or not. The playwright chose the works according to his own liking, which suited better the atmosphere and needs of the play, and were suitable to reveal the mood of the protagonists. The latter is very important, because citations are often so well interwoven both stylistically, thematically and emotionally into the texture of the arias and the poems recited by the characters, that the presence of interpolations borrowed from other texts is not even sensed either by the spectator or the reader, so that even well-educated commentator of the play would notice them. So skillfully and naturally were they applied by Gao Ming.

As was mentioned above, the playwright may introduce a quote in the text without a change, but sometimes he fits it in a slightly altered form, with a thin skilled work made over the phrase, e.g. he could add or substitute one or more words trying to add more striking effect to his point.

It is also noteworthy that use of poetic quotations by Gao Zecheng never increased the difficulty of the perception of the arias that were fully written by him. They were understandable and comprehensible to the listeners without additional explanation and interpretation. This is how easily and skillfully the playwright could popularize the art of the old poets. Notably in the Yuan time many of the used pieces were to arose respect and interest towards the classical poets among wide audience[8]. Secondly, he could add particular lexical and aesthetic color to his text, and thus arouse a sense of partaking in the poetry of previous centuries among the audience, a sensation highly valued by the educated public in traditional Chinese society.

During the study of poetic quotations and borrowed imagery in the play by Gao Ming we discover yet another important detail – it is striking that the author never applies any citations from the *qu* written by other poets. This essential part of Yuan period literature seems to be left aside probably because of author's special aesthetic preferences, desire to create his own masterpieces in the genre of *qu*, which would surpass the creation of the contemporaries.

Quotes from the canonical and non-canonical well-known works are usually used by Gao Ming in prose monologues and dialogues recited by the characters. They are entered into the text either directly or by forestalling the standard formulas as "truly" 正是, "heard that the ancients told" 闻 古人云 or "it is said from ancient times" 自古道 and their variations. When applying the quotation from the canonical works author directly tells the name of the source on the top of the page, this was probably done deliberately for didactic and educational purposes: thus the author was able to popularize famous expressions and poetic quotes among the audience and also stress his own opinion.

For instance, we take a citation from "Shi jing" ("Canon of Songs" or "The Book of Poetry") by Cai Bojie in the second scene:

"…My father and mother are healthy and content, and I recall a line from "The Book of poetry": "We make this spring wine to increase their years." Now I'm happy that my parents, though aged, are still in good health, so on this spring day, we will drink wine beneath the blossoming trees in celebration of their long life." [9]

Sometimes a small scene is organized around a play with quotations from the classical canons, and it becomes central in the dialogue of characters (e.g. the episode where Cai Bojie and Zhao Wuniang are speaking about "Qu li" 曲礼 in the fifth act.

In connection with quotations from the canonical works (not just Shi jing, but also "Lun yu" 论语, "Li ji" 礼记, "Xiao jing" 孝经) one can observe another peculiarity – they are quoted by the playwright without distortion of their original meaning, since they were taken from the canon and serves the author's didactics. They are both an ornament of speech, but at the same time indicate the level of learning and articulate the image of the characters. Quotes from the canon selected by Gao Ming are understandable, and familiar to common folk, as they defined the standards of person's conduct. They are applied by the playwright in moderate amounts and fit in the text organically, they appear when the development of the play requires it.

Buddhist expressions in the play come from the mouths of the Buddhist monks or wandering beggars. They help to convey a style of speech of these people and their personality. In addition, Gao Zecheng used the system of Buddhist artistic images in the descriptions of the Buddhist monasteries (e.g. in the 34th act), because the Buddhists surroundings are marked by mentioning of the temple furniture, images of the inner world, gods etc.

Often quotes from prosaic works and poetry are used in monologues and dialogues of educated protagonists to express their specific language style.

Of course, it is quite difficult task to undertake a full investigation of interpolations and their function in the play by Gao Ming. I'm still working in this direction now. Nevertheless, dew to shown reflection on the peculiarities of interpolations, already now I can offer in conclusion some hypothetical ideas, trying to find out the aims of quotes and borrowed images. These functions maybe: aesthetic, didactic, descriptive and stylistic ones.

NOTES:

[1] Publication supported by a **Grant from the President of Russian Federation for Russian young scholars** (MK-5299.2011.6, contract № 16.120.11.5299-MK, singed on 18.02.2011).

[2] The full collection of his works is available in 高则诚集 (1992). Part of works (in poetry) was published in 琵琶记讨论专刊 (1956).

[3] Gao Zecheng's life was deeply investigated in monograph by 万晴川 (2006). A lot of information are also contained in books by 王永炳 (1994) and 黄仕忠 (1996).

[4] These two branches are well described in monographs by W.Dolby (1976), V.F.Sorokin (1979), C.Mackerras (1983).

[5] A number of main issues was discussed during a conference, which was dedicated to Gao Zecheng and was hold in 1956 in Beijing. Materials of the conference see in 琵琶记讨论专刊 (1956). Also see book by 王永炳 (1994) and 黄仕忠 (1996).

[6] For instance, from Cao Cao 曹操, Ruan Ji 阮籍, Tao Yuanming 陶渊明, Wang Wei 王维, Du Fu 杜甫, Li Shangyin 李商隐 etc.

[7] For example, Lun yu 论语, Li ji 礼记, Xiao jing 孝经, Shensou ji 神搜记, buddist sutra "Jin guang ming jing" 金光明经 etc.

[8] See monograph by V.F.Sorokin (1979).

[9] "Pipa ji", P.4.

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ABOUT THE FILMS ON "SILK REEL":
THE CHINESE SILENT CINEMA IN THE BULGARIAN PRESS

by Andronika Martonova, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

ABSTRACT: This title is not an original invention, born by the simple wish to be attractive on the field of Asian film studies. This is a quotation's cut, taken from an issue of the Bulgarian newspaper "Borba" from 1929. There we can read the whole text with the heading "A Cinematograph 200 years before Jesus Christ – Chinese movie on silk ribbon and paintings for magic lantern". In fact, we can find even earlier articles in the Bulgarian archive press. Sometimes they aren't so funny or curious, they often appear in professional cinema magazines, too, and are seriously reflecting the film history of China.
The Cinema Way can be assumed as a Silk Road. The celluloid film print, adopting the shadows and the movements of the light, is one of the most powerful mediators of ideas, trans- and cross - cultural exchange between civilizations, nations and different traditional worlds.
This essay focuses on:
• The presence of early Chinese cinema on the Bulgaria screens and in the press media (The Great silent era until the first "speaking" Chinese film in 1936);
• We have stressed on the significant, rare, survived and preserved titles from the history of Chinese popular cinema. How did these early Asian movie titles look on the background of the World Silent Cinema Culture?
• The Chinese Diaspora in the Silent Hollywood: movie stars and new film discoveries.

The way of the cinema is also an original Silk Road. Since its birth the cinematograph extremely fast becomes a dominant model of communication and effective means of cultural identity. The cinema, which is art, global in its nature, really globalized the world before the actual *"globalization"* took place. As a researcher and specialist in the area of Asian cinema, I am excited by the problem of the historical dialogue between Bulgaria and the Eastern audio-visual culture. Through the white screen I am trying to reconstruct the existence of the film and its cultural consumption in the past epochs. In a broader aspect the cinema exists *through* (or even *only through*) its articulation in the media field. The purpose of this text, which is an abridged version of one more voluminous study, is to follow and demonstrate the presence of the developing Chinese film industry in Bulgaria, in a specific period.

First of all, let we remind the fact that the first Chinese film title *"The Battle of Dingjunshan"* (定军山) by Ren Jingfeng was released in 1905. The film was a snapped performance of the Beijing musical drama in motives of *"Romance of the Three Kingdoms"* (三國演義) by Luo Guanzhong (羅貫中). However, the year 1905 remains remarkable for the complex *China-Cinema-World* and with one more interesting fact – in that year was born Anna May Wong, the first woman of Chinese origin, who made a great career in Hollywood and Europe, and her glory even reached Bulgaria[1].

The title of the current text - *"About the films on silk reel"* is not an original invention created by an attempt of attractiveness. This is rather a wordplay with a scrappy quote from an article in the Bulgarian press in 1929, entitled *"Cinematographer 200 years BC"*[2]. In it, the Plovdiv newspaper "*Borba*" ("*Fight*") informs us that in London would be sold *"the only one in the world"* film collection belonging to "*Mr. Willy Day*", who for the past 30 years had collected everything connected with the history of the cinematographer. Probably the material was translated.

The collection of Wilfred Ernest Day, which today is located in the Cinematèque Français, really contained unique archive items from the world of the cinema. Another interesting passage from the 1929 article mentioned above, however, draws our attention: *"In his collection is one Chinese "film" made 200 years before Christ, which represents a long silk reel with art drawings. The reel was placed in the opening of a magic lantern, which quickly winded it up on a wooden spool, and at that time on the screen some small figures became alive"*[3]. In the paragraph was described one of the forerunners of the cinema – the so called magic lantern, known in its variation under the name "*zoetrope*", which was quite popular in China centuries ago.

Upon closer look and study of the Bulgarian press, specialized in cinema field and the pages for culture since the beginning of the XX century till the first years of the Second World War, we could find and analyze even older publications.

I have mentioned in previous studies, that the first movies from the East, which have been shown to the Bulgarian audience, were mainly documentaries, but there were also short dramas and melodramas. The so-called *"movies from China"* were no exception, and they too were not a native Chinese production. Here are some titles of such movies, which we find in press announcements from 1910 and 1911: *"The Art of the Vases in the Juan Gulf"*[4], *"A View from China"*[5] and *"Chinese Manners and Customs"*[6]. In the archives of *"Gaumont-Pathé"* and *"British Pathé"* are preserved films documenting China up to 1914. Some of the titles can be compared with those, which were announced in Bulgaria.

The work with the archival press sometimes is an equation with many variables to the researcher. The written titles not always correspond to the real ones. Very often, with the purpose of advertising, the names of the films were changed to more appropriate Bulgarian variants which had nothing in common with the originals. Sometimes they were a translation of a title already translated into another language, especially if they were purchased from Germany, Italy, France, etc. And also, the names of the actors and producers were either not present in the text or were very difficult to guess due to bad or mistaken transcription.

All the Chinese productions, which were made before 1922, unfortunately do not reach the present viewer and researcher. The earliest preserved title is *"Romance of a Fruit Pedlar"* (1922, 擲 果 緣 – dir. Zhang Shichuan), which is a comedy in the traditional style but with the techniques of the American and European burlesque. In the article from 1927, connected with the censorship apparatus and the xenophobic tendencies in the country, we can read the following: *"If you believe an English critic, those who corrupt the soul of the Chinese are not just the Americans"*[7].

During the same year *"Romance of the Western Chamber"* (1927, 西廂記 – dir. Hou Yao) was made. The subject was a screen version of a classical Chinese narrative, representing the love thrills between the daughter of a former defense minister and a diligent student. Meanwhile themes, articulating new social issues, appeared in the Chinese cinema. Relationships between women and men were no longer in the tradition of the old Chinese society, but were rather a result of the modernization. So the film *"Kisses Once"* (1929, 情海重吻 – dir. Xie Yungquig) developed the theme of divorce as the emphasis was on the abandoned suffering husband who did everything possible to take his wife back.

Not all, but representative part of the films in which the young star of the Chinese cinema Ruan Lingyu (阮玲玉) played were preserved in the Bulgarian press archives. One of the best known early titles was *"Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood"* (1931, 桃花泣血記 – dir. Bu Wancang). The plot is associated with unhappy love, and the pressure is derived from the social difference between Ms. Lim - seduced by the young master landowner. In the film Ruan Lingyu plays in partnership with the actor of Korean origin Jin Yan (金焰)[8].

Vernacular Modernism, as defined by Miriam Bratu Hansen[9] - this was the line of social messages that captured the screen of the Chinese cinema. Another preserved film from this trend is „*The Tenderness Market*" (1933) by Zhang Shichuan, in which the emphasis is on the exploitation and sexual harassment of women in the context of the new Chinese society. According to some researchers, this is the first cinema production with feminist themes and ideology.

The Bulgarian press, however, was not interested in this issue, and neither in Ruan Lingyu. In contrast, it appeared genuinely enthused with curiosity about another actress – Xu Lai. She provoked the erotic imagination of the masses with her bold sexuality. A page from the newspaper "*Zarya*" ("*Ray*") in 1936 put on the pedestal the title: *"The Chinese Film Queen Preaches Nudity among Chinese women"*[10].

In the text we read: *"/ ... / Until recently the model for all "nude" photos, even in the art magazines have taken over the circle of the poorest strata of society. However, lately the popular Chinese film star Su Lai bearing just the name of an "exemplary beauty" takes pictures in … the bath-tub. The appearance of this picture in the press was the beginning of a new trend. The actresses and the dancers fearing till now to show not enough covered body, forgot the age-old tradition, boldly interrupted by "the exemplary beauty". In vain the moral female clubs started a campaign against the courage of Su Lai and wanted to be expelled from the country or at least to forbid her performances. The popularity of the beautiful actress grew even more, she remained an idol of the audience and her countrywomen were also very grateful to her from the bottom of their hearts, because now they can show their beauty ".*

Xu Lai is the first Chinese actress who really performed in the bathroom scene in 1932. She was the opposite of Ruan Lingyu tendency – the so called *Soft trend*, in which the idea was absent and the cinema was left to take the social responsibility and to influence the masses.

The first international prize awarded to a Chinese film during the Cinema festival in Moscow – *"Song of the Fisherman"* (1934, 漁光曲 – dir. Chusheng Cai) – was well reflected in the press. The title was mentioned in an article in 1938, which was the only signed text, found in the Bulgarian press. The title definitely brought up the historical background of the time: *"The Chinese Cinema in Fight against the Japanese"*[11]. The author Emi Xiao focused on the successful left-wing of the Chinese cinematography, stressing that it „*serves the new Chinese culture, as education in national consciousness"*. Actually, not so much the text itself as its inventor was interesting for the researchers in this case, because Emi Xiao (萧三 – a pseudonym) was a person with very complex historical destiny. It is not less interesting how his text got to be published in a Bulgarian newspaper before 1944.

The real name of the author was Xiao Zizhang (萧子嶂) – a writer-publicist, a revolutionary, a poet, a literary critic, a classmate of Mao Zedong, an activist in *"The May Fourth Movement"*. He arrived in Moscow (after a short stay in France) in 1922 to study in KUTV "Stalin" - *The Communist University of the Toilers of the East* , where he met and befriended with Nâzım Hikmet, Vladimir Mayakovsky and Eduard Bagritsky. In the Soviet Union he met with the German photographer of Jewish origin - Eva Sandberg, and in 1935 after they married they accept a Soviet citizenship. Actually in the period 1938-39 Emi Xiao was in China, where he took part in secret illegal activity. By this biographical sketch we can judge that most likely the article published in Bulgaria was a belated translation of the period of his stay in Moscow.

There were some strikingly adequate and holding historical allegiance texts in the old Bulgarian press: *"The modern Chinese films, mostly melodramas, have social and military nature. The films with anti-Japanise contents have great success. / ... / As the best Chinese film is considered the film "Two Sisters" directed by Cheng, with the participation of Butterfly Wu."*[12] Actually the film is from 1934 (as well as the article), and we can translate its title as *"The twins"* (姊妹花), produced by Zheng Zhengqiu (郑正秋). The main role is played by the star actress Hu Die (胡蝶), also known under the artistic pseudonym "*Butterfly Hu*". Her role in *"Two Sisters"* shooted her at the top and the film broke the attendance records in China and abroad.

One of the titles about Chinese cinema in the Bulgarian press, which was hardest to decipher, was hidden in the next passage. It informs us that the film is: *"A Perfect Picture of Hostility",* its name is *"Li Ming"* and it has *"…high artistic dig-*

nity /... / Not only the performance of the actors, but the whole exotic color of the film is strange and alien to the Europeans. But this is exactly where the qualities of this film lay hidden –created by connoisseurs of the East, the film "Li Ming" is a mirror of a distant world - the world of the countries of the rising sun!" [13]

The Chinese premiere of the co-production film was in March 1938 and actually *"Li-Ming"* was a mill title for the German market. Its original Japanese title was *"The Road to Peace in the Orient"*, directed by Suzuki Shigeyoshi (鈴木重吉), who remained in the history of the cinema as a bright figure in the Japanese film modernism and the poetic cinema since the end of the 20s of the XX century. In the middle of the 90s in Russia was found his lost film: *"What Made Her Do it?"* (1930).

When he made *"The Road to Peace in the Orient"* the Japanese director actually worked for *"Manchukuo Film Association"* - a Japanese company based in China during the 30-40s. But over the circumstances this co-production was produced by the Japanese *"Towa Shoji"*, and the German company *"Tobis Degeto"* redeemed the rights. A film agreement was concluded between Japan and Germany, which was also known in Bulgaria, because probably the film was screened in our country too.

The main role in the China-Japanese production was performed by Bai Guang (with birth name史永芬). A star not only in China, he remained in the Asian cultural space with his superb vocal talent, too.

The themes for the films, which were productions between Japan and China in the context of the Second World War, were extremely topical for the cinema studies. They hide a lot of mysteries and reveal new information, previously unknown historical facts and cultural connections. Of course after the Second World War and the total establishment of the sound in the cinema (including the Asian cinema), the Bulgarian press started to deal significantly more actively with the Chinese cinema. The historical reasons for this are quite well known, that's why I will not comment them now.

The Asian cultures in Bulgaria are identifying themselves slowly, and at an early stage of this process they may rely on the mass-media called film art. Each Eastern culture is legitimized in its own way in its long *"journey to the West"*. Its boarding in Bulgaria is largely predetermined and constituted by the political and economic relations of the country with Europe and with the rest of the world.

The Dutch anthropologist Peter van der Veer states that *"The comparison is the heart of cultural analysis"* [14]. I share and believe in this statement. Because only by the presence of *the other* we can compare and distinguish the merits of each culture. Only then we can better understand the processes of perception, reaction and transformation that occur in *We (Us)*. In this case it is our own Bulgarian development, which we get to know and maybe even (*self-*) portray. The so called by me *"Archaeological cinema excavation"* is actually one more opportunity for tracing the individual historical experience of the cultures, as well as tracing the joints between Bulgaria and China, Eastern Europe and Eastern Asia.

Manya Tzatschewa – a famous Bulgarian film and theatre star. She was part of Max Reinhard`s troupe in Berlin. She often appeared in the role of Chinese or Oriental girls in the European cinema – like the protagonist Nang Ping from "Mister Wu" (1917, dir. Lupu Pick).

Film magazine "Kinopregled", 1920:
Short article in the section "Hot news" about the number of cinema halls in Shanghai and Beijing, China.

Newspaper "Burgaski far" ("A lighthouse of Burgas"): article about the first Chinese film with sound **"Sing-Song Red Peony"** / 歌女红牡丹 (1931, dir. Zhang Shichuan).

Newspaper "Svobodna rech" ("Unrestricted speech"): "The modern Chinese films, mostly melodramas, have social and military nature. The films with anti-Japanese contents have great success. / ... / As the best Chinese film is considered the film "Two Sisters", by director Cheng, with the participation of Butterfly Wu."

"Chinese manners and customs" - announcements from 1911 for the cinema show in the "Modern Theatre" hall, published in the newspaper "Vecherna poshta" ("Evening post").

Film magazine "Kinopregled" Emi Xiao`s article - "The Chinese Cinema in Fight against the Japanese" focuses on the successful left-wing of the Chinese cinematography, stressing that it „serves the new Chinese culture as education in national consciousness".
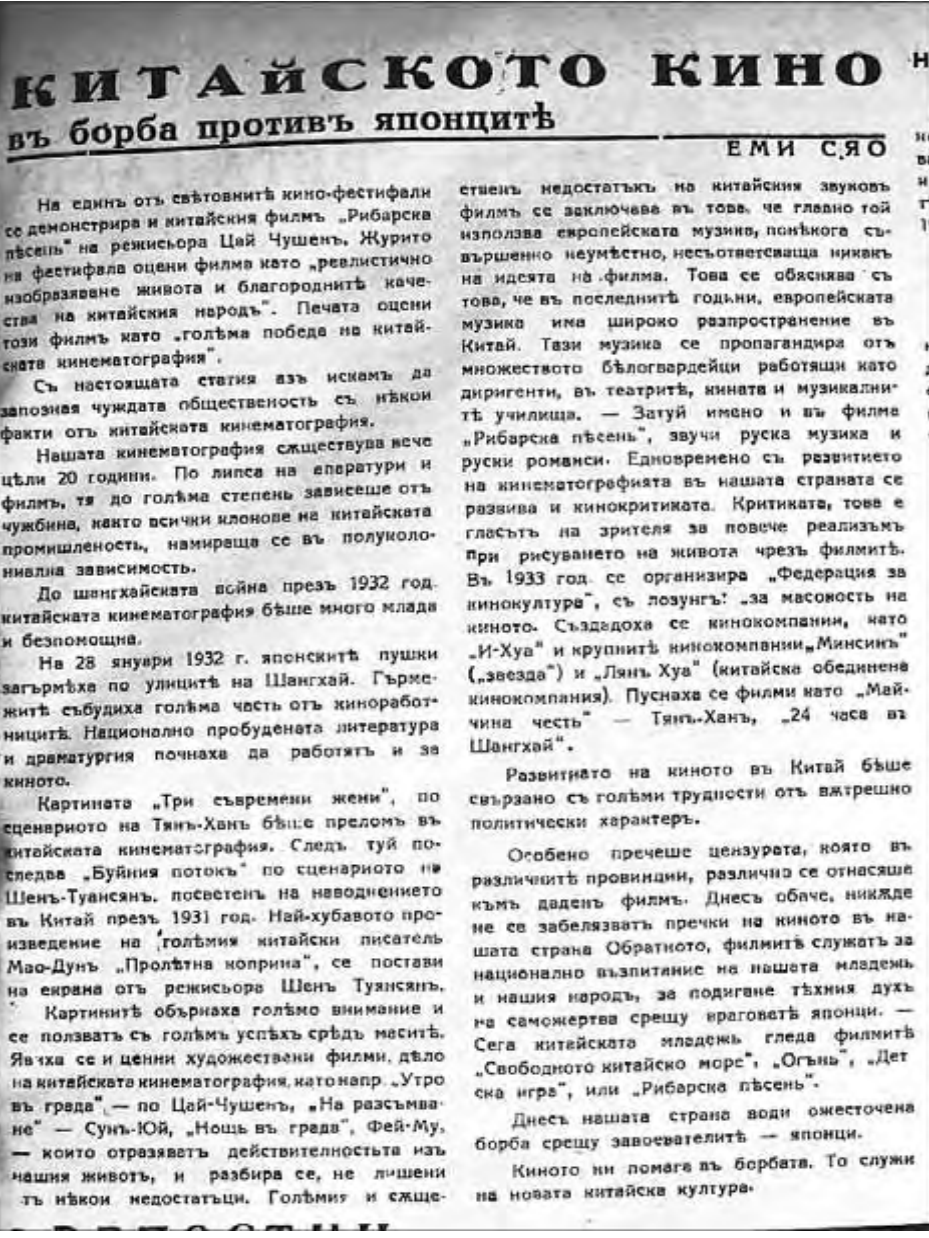
Ruan Lingyu (阮玲玉)
in "**The Goddess**"
(1934, 神女,
dir. Wu Yonggang /吴永刚).

"About the films on silk reel. A Cinematographer 200 years BC " – title from Plovdiv`s newspaper "Borba" ("Fight") , 1929

Chinese movie star Bai Guang
(with birth name - Shi Yongfen / 史永芬)
on the cover of a cinema magazine.

Chinese star actress Hu Die (胡蝶),
known also under the artistic pseudonym "Butterfly Hu"

Anna May Wong - the first woman of Chinese origin, who made a great career in Hollywood and Europe, and her glory even reached Bulgaria.

Notes

[1] Martonova, A. (2006: 45-48).
[2] Кинематограф 200 години пр. Хр. (1929:2).
[3] Ibid.
[4] Изкуството на вазите в залива Жуан (1910:2).
[5] Китай – изглед (1910:2).
[6] Китайски нрави и обичаи (1911:2).
[7] Китай и кинематографът (1927:4).
[8] His original Korean name is Kim Duk Rin.
[9] Hansen, M. Bratu (2000:10-22).
[10] Китайската филмова кралица проповядва голотата между китайките (1936:6) .
[11] Сяо, Еми (1938:5).
[12] Китайският филм. Развитие и особености (1934:4).
[13] Войната между Китай и Япония на филм (1939:2).
[14] Van der Veer, Peter (2010:19) .

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Hollywood Chinese http://www.deepfocusproductions.com/HollywoodChinese/

Huntley Archives http://www.huntleyarchives.com

Old Orient Museum http://oldorientmuseum.com/

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THE SILK ROAD AS A TOURIST PRODUCT: INTEGRATING HISTORY, CULTURE AND ECONOMY

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ABSTRACT: The paper summarizes the significance of the Silk Road in integrating history, culture, and economy and its importance in boosting the East – West dialogue and relations. It analyzes the place and role of the Silk Road which emerged in the last century B.C. under the Han Dynasty as a bridge between Eastern and Western civilization and economy. Special emphasis is placed on how the Silk Road, which begins in China and reaches North Africa across Central, South, and Western Asia, became an opportunity to spread the achievements of ancient Chinese civilization to the rest of the countries.

The paper presents several initiatives of the UNESCO and the World Tourism Organization, such as the Silk Road Destinations, the Silk Road Transatlantic Alliance, and others, which are aimed at turning this unique ancient route into an opportunity to enhance international cooperation in the fields of culture, trade, tourism, and science. Is it possible to offer the Silk Road as a tourist product in the global marketplace and how should it be done? What countries are investing today in marketing, advertizing, and new technologies to attract an increasing number of tourists and what do they do to achieve this goal? What are the tourism routes along the Silk Road today, and how are they promoted? How can tourism develop but also preserve the unique tangible and intangible heritage of the countries along the Silk Road through the integration of history?

The development of cultural tourism today is illustrated by some examples of how China and other countries successfully invest in the development of an international tourist industry, capitalizing on the Silk Road and its ancient wealth. Part of these countries' marketing, advertising, and PR activities aimed at image-building and branding of their tourism product as a whole are also analyzed. The paper outlines the tangible results of the development of a tourism product based on the Silk Road such as upgrading the infrastructure, generating new jobs, integrating economy and culture, and increasing the international tourist flow to a unique and very promising project.

„ПЪТЯТ НА КОПРИНАТА" КАТО ТУРИСТИЧЕСКИ ПРОДУКТ: ИНТЕГРИРАНЕ НА ИСТОРИЯТА, КУЛТУРАТА И ИКОНОМИКАТА

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Важността на Пътя на копринета за интегрирането на историята, културата и икономиката и неговото значение от древността до днес са в основата на стимулирането на диалога и връзките между Изтока и Запада. Определян като мост между цивилизации, култури, религии и традиции, уникалният път с дължина 12 800 км създава условия за търговски, комуникационен и междукултурен обмен на знания, информация и човешки опит. Създаден около II век пр. Хр., по времето на династия Хан, той е мост между китайската и западната цивилизация.

Името *Път на копринета* (*Seidenstraße*) е използвано за пръв път от немския географ Фердинанд фон Рихтхофен[1], автор на фундаменталния труд „*Китай*". Пътят свързва три континента (Азия, Европа и Африка) - тръгва от Китай, прекосява Афганистан, Индия, Иран, Ирак, Сирия и Турция и достига до Рим, Италия.

Значението на Пътя на копринета се определя, на първо място, от възможността за разпространение на постиженията на древната китайска цивилизация в другите страни. На второ място, Пътят на копринета, като древен мост между китайската и западната цивилизация, е най-известният търговски канал, преминавал през цяла Азия и свързвал азиатския и европейския континент.

Преди 5000 години китайците започнали да отглеждат копринените буби и да произвеждат коприна. Според археологическите проучвания, „*още през късния неолит жителите по поречието на реките Хуанхъ и Яндзъ вече знаели да правят коприненени нишки, ленти и тъкани...*" (Zhang 2009:11). В Китай, доказват историците, владеели технологията за производство на коприна поне от времето на династия Шан. За да достигне до Запада, красивата коприна, която омагьосвала чужденците и била „*по-скъпоценна от златото*", изминавала дълъг търговски път, който исторически става известен като Пътят на копринета.

От легендата за коприната, Жълтия император и „*Богинята на коприненете буби*", през йероглифите за обозначаване на понятията „копринена буба", „черница", „коприна" и „копринена нишка" в надписите върху кост и костенуркови коруби, до интересната история в книгата „Да-Тан Си-Ю Ци" (*Пътешествия из Западните краища при династията Тан*") на китайския будистки монах Сюандзан (Zhang 2009:12), ефирната тъкан е част от митовете, тайните и историята на Китай.

Освен сухоземните, известен е и морски път на копринета (от днешния град Гуанджоу, през малайския проток, Шри Ланка и Индия до Африка). Маршрутът на т.нар. „*Сухоземен път на копринета*" включва Южен участък на пътя (от Дунхуан, планините Кунлун и Арабския полуостров до Римската империя) и Северен участък (от Дунхуан, през Централна Азия и на югозапад до сливането с южния участък). С морския път на копринета се свързват известните, често оспорвани, пътувания на италианския пътешественик Марко Поло до Китай, където живял 17 години[2]. Ръкописът на известната му книга „*Пътешествията на Марко Поло*" се пази днес в Париж, а 200 години след издаването й я прочита Колумб и започва да търси морски път към Китай и Индия.

„*Много неща в тази книга за Изтока – история, география и култура – били не само нови за европейците, но дори и трудни за вярване. Банкнотите, които китайците започнали да използват още от династия Тан и Сун, наред с книгопечатането и барута, били смятани за новости. Въглищата, които още не били открити в Европа, се използвали в Китай още от времето на династия Хан (206 пр. Хр. - 220 сл. Хр.), а град Ханджоу със своите 3 000 обществени бани и 100 000 домове изглеждал просто фантастичен...*" (Wang, Shi 2009:16). Според някои автори, Николо Пиколо, бащата на Марко Поло, организирал експедиция във вътрешността на Азия с цел откриването на нови пазари и пътувал по път, който наричали „*древния Път на подправките и копринята*" (Колев 2009:58).

В древността – с над 2 000-годишна история, легендарният път играе изключителна търговска роля, пренасяйки прочутата китайска коприна по маршрута си: от Западната порта на великия град Сиан, през провинциите Шанси, Гансу, Нинся, Цинхай и Синдзян-уйгурския район, през бившите съветски републики от централна Азия, през Афганистан, Иран, Ирак и Сирия – до източния бряг на Средиземно море… Между легендите и действителността са пътеписите, разказите и книгите на десетки мисионери, търговци, пилигрими, занаятчии и странстващи пътешественици, по чиито стъпки днес тръгват изследователи, учени, писатели, журналисти, фотографи и авантюристи. Те привличат към Пътя на копринята всяка година все повече туристи от цял свят.

Днес, като един от най-интересните и посещавани туристически маршрути, той привлича с разположените по пътя си десетки паметници на културно-историческото наследство, включени в списъка на ЮНЕСКО, с градове, музеи и природни пейзаж, както и със срещата с различни национални традиции, фолклор и кулинария. Сред най-атрактивните за посещение, например, за туристите и днес са пещерите Могао в планината Минша на 25 км югоизточно от гр. Дунхуан (в списъка на световното културно наследство на ЮНЕСКО от 1987 г.). Тук са издълбани повече от 600 пещери, в над 460 от които са съхранени статуи и стенописи, известни като „*библиотека върху стените*".

Как туризмът може да включи този уникален древен път между Китай и Европа, Азия и Африка с изключителен принос за размяна на материалната и духовната култура между Изтока и Запада, в развитието на съвременната икономика и култура? Как различни международни и национални проекти за привличане на туристи инвестират в имиджа на Пътя на копринята?

Културният обмен между различните народи, култури и религии от древността до днес надгражда в днешния туристически Път на копринята нови послания в междукултурните контакти и срещи на пътуващите хора от цял свят. Като вечен път на религиите той запознава и обогатява познанията за християнството, мюсюлманството, несторианството, даоизма, будизма, зороастризма, тибетския ламаизъм.

В контекста на съвременното утвърждаване на понятието „туристически продукт" с неговите основни същностни характеристики, усилията на десетки страни, туристически организации, асоциации, туроператорски сдружения и др. са в посока на разработване на Пътя на копринята:
• като древна и уникална туристическа дестинация
• като признат феномен, част от световното културно-историческо наследство.

На първо място, туристическият продукт се дефинира (Maggi, R.) като „*своеобразна амалгама от материални и нематериални блага, представени на туриста във връзка с неговото пътуване и пребиваване, както и всичко онова, което прави възможно туристическото потребление*", подчертават авторите (Нешков 2007:179), които изследват понятието.

На второ място, като абстрактно по своя характер и сложно по съдържание понятие, туристическият продукт обозначава „*специфична част от обществения продукт, предназначена да удовлетворява индивидуални туристически потребности, като обединява във времето и пространството различни блага (услуги, стоки) и условия за тяхното създаване и ползване*" (Нешков 2007:181).

Пътят на копринята (както и Пътят на нефрита, Пътят на чая и др.) обединява някои от най-сложните особености, с които се характеризира съвременният туристически продукт. Той е хетерогенен (разнороден), неделим (еднороден), уникален (неповторим), комплексен, неосезаем (абстрактен), динамичен (променлив), времево и пространствено „закрепостен" (неподвижен).

Сред най-трудните и предизвикателни изисквания в процеса на формирането на този туристически продукт е именно неговата уникалност (неповторимост), а това е основната причина, ограничаваща възможността да бъде стандартизиран и уеднаквен. В същото време, сред най-големите предизвикателства пред маркетинга, рекламата и пъблик рилейшънс в рамките на интегрираните маркетингови комуникации, този туристически продукт разполага с уникални, но териториално обособени и ограничени природни и антропогенни ресурси, необходими за неговото създаване. В този смисъл, не само създаването, но и „потреблението" на Пътя на копринята като специфичен туристически продукт, го дефинира в най-предпочитаните, но най-трудните за реализиране видове:
- *културно-познавателен или научно-познавателен туристически продукт*, което изисква акцент върху уникалност, специализация, динамично потребление;
- *специализиран туристически продукт*, който предлага възможности за изучаване на култури и религии; творчество и откривателство; приключения и силни усещания; участие в различни исторически, културни и фолклорни празници; специални събития и др.

Именно нетрадиционното, индивидуалното, персонифицираното потребление на този вид туристически продукт изисква при създаването и реализирането му: инвестиране в утвърждаването на една световна легенда; акцентиране

върху науката (история, археология, архитектура, антропология, етнография…); динамично промоциране на един нестандартен и труден маршрут.

Какви са и как се популяризират различните туристически маршрути по Пътя на копринята днес? Как чрез интегрирането на историята, културата и икономиката, туризмът може да развива, но и да запазва уникалните паметници на материалната и духовна култура в различни страни по Пътя на копринята? Възможно ли е и как може да се представи на световния туристически пазар Пътят на копринята като туристически продукт с изключително бъдеще? Кои страни и как инвестират днес в развитието на маркетинга, рекламата, новите технологии с цел привличането на все повече туристи? Всички тези въпроси, които очаква туристическата индустрия, започват от реалните факти, проблеми и възможности, свързани с уникалния бранд.

Според оценката на Световната туристическа организация, „*като туристически продукт Пътят на копринята има редица особености, които го отличават от класическите маршрути. Например, класическият тур в туризма – това по правило е пътуване в една страна. Докато тук става дума за транснационален маршрут, когато туристът има възможност да посети редица страни, да се запознае с тяхната древна култура и съвременно развитие и да получи много по-голям обем впечатления и знания*", подчертават експертите от Great Silk Road[3], визирайки ролята на WTO в популяризирането на Пътя на копринята.

Инициативи на Организацията на Обединените нации за образование, наука и култура (UNESCO) и Световната туристическа организация (WTO) и проекти като: Silk Road Destinations, Silk Road Transatlantic Alliance, както и Silk Road Travel Association, Silk Road Network, инвестират в уникалния древен път като възможност за засилване на международното сътрудничество в областта на културата, търговията, туризма и науката.

През 1988 г. UNESCO започва реализацията на 10-годишен проект „Изучаване на Пътя на копринята – път на диалога". Той включва конкретни действия за всестранно и обемно изучаване на историята на древните маршрути и установяване на тесни контакти и партньорство между Изтока и Запада. През 1993 г. на Генералната асамблея на ООН е прието решение за възраждането на Пътя на копринята като важен канал за международно сътрудничество в областта на икономиката, дипломацията, културата, науката, търговията и туризма.

През 1994 г. WTO съвместно с UNESCO провежда в Узбекистан първото международно заседание „*Великият път на копринята*", където 19 страни приемат известната Самаркандска декларация за развитие на легендарния маршрут като транснационален туристически маршрут. През 1996 г., на международния форум на WTO в Сиан (Китай) е приет новият маркетингов план, подписан от всички страни-участнички. Присъстват представители на UNESCO и ПРООН, 110 водещи мениджъри на туристически компании, учени и журналисти от над 25 страни, туроператори, собственици на най-големите хотелски вериги. В Сиан WTO за първи път получава възможността да помогне на страните по древния път като установи реални делови контакти с туроператорите от основните международни пазари.

Актуалното и съвременното рекламиране на уникалното културно-историческо наследство по Пътя на копринята включва: провеждане на специални събития (културно-историческо наследство, култура, образование, спорт); участие в международни изложения, борси и професионални проекти; издаване на разноезични рекламно-информационни материали; активно използване на социалните мрежи; популяризиране на експедиции, пътешествия и различни изследвания; промоциране на най-известните монографии, пътеписи, специализирани издания, публикации, туристически справочници и карти.

В подкрепа на утвърдения маркетингов план, всяка година, маршрутът се рекламира и промоцира все по-активно на най-големите международни туристически борси в Европа – в Мадрид, Берлин, Москва и Лондон. Десетки конференции, туристически форуми, специални събития, фестивали и конкурси, съвместно реализират през годините страните по Пътя на копринята в налагане и утвърждаване на уникалния си туристически продукт.

Голяма роля за възраждането и популяризирането на древния път има WTO, която реализира дългогодишен туристически проект „*Великият път на копринята*"[4], като го подкрепя и рекламира като сложен транснационален маршрут за международен туризъм. Днес този проект има вече подкрепата на 19 страни. Целта им е изграждането на изключително атрактивен бранд, в който посланието за Пътя на копринята го налага: като своеобразен феномен в историята на човечеството и неговия стремеж за запазване на световните културни ценности; като начин за подобряване на диалога и комуникациите; като път към по-активен културен обмен на добри практики и нови идеи в динамиката на съвременния туризъм.

В областта на маркетинга, рекламата и PR по изграждане на бранд на туристическия продукт като цяло, на най-престижния туристически форум в Европа през 2011 г. в Германия (ITB Berlin), неслучайно акцентът е върху изключителното влияние на Пътя на копринята. То е не само върху формирането на политическото, икономическото и културното устройство на страните, където са преминавали различните маршрути, но и върху духовните ценности, културната обмяна и религиозните идеи на хората.

Част от страните-участнички (Китай, Киргизия, Казахстан, Узбекистан и др.) участват в активизирането на дейността по превръщането на Пътя на копринята в уникален туристически продукт чрез съвместна подготовка и внасяне на документите за включването му в списъка на световното наследство на ЮНЕСКО. Вече е факт споразумението между министрите на транспорта на европейски и азиатски държави за реални инвестиции в съживяването на Пътя на копринята и различни други стари търговски маршрути, свързвали и свързващи двата континента.

Предстои прилагането на серия от проекти с международно партньорство на стойност около $ 43 млрд. за разработване на различни мултинационални турове. Целта е да бъдат отстранени досегашните пречки пред нормалните търговски отношения по маршрутите до края на 2014 г. Това включва, от една страна, инвестиции в съществуващите пътища и пристанища; оптимизиране на железопътната инфраструктура; облекчаване на процедурите по граничния контрол в десетки държави и т.н.

От друга страна, сред най-важните приоритети са съхраняване и запазване на уникалното материално наследство и на огромното нематериално наследство, предавано от поколение на поколение (обичаите, знанията и уменията и свързаните с тях инструменти, предмети, артефакти и културни пространства), според Конвенцията[5] за опазване на нематериалното културно наследство.

Разработването на Пътя на коприната като туристически продукт, заедно с утвърдения му имидж на един от най-привлекателните днес туристически маршрути, допринася за развитието на инфраструктурата и за увеличаването на работните места в отделните страни, но още повече за интегриране на икономиката и културата, за нови инвестиции в науката и образованието, както и за увеличаване на международния туристопоток към един уникален проект с голямо бъдеще.

БЕЛЕЖКИ:

1. Наименованието „Път на коприната", свързващ Изтока и Запада, било въведено от географа Фердинанд фон Рихтхофен едва през 1877 г. и не е използван под това име, когато за първи път е изминат от китайския пътешественик и дипломат Джан Цян, изпратен на дипломатическа мисия на Запад от династия Хан.

2. В книгата „Пешком от Памир - По стъпките на Марко Поло" (изд. Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, Пекин, 2004), авторът Уън И отбелязва на картата с пътуването на Марко Поло маршрута му и градовете, през които преминава: от Памирското плато по продължението на Южния път на коприната в Синдзян-уйгурския автономен район в посока изток.

3. В регионалния проект Silk Road Destinations са обединени усилията на десетки туристически организации, които представят Пътя на коприната като туристически продукт на международните пазари с подкрепата на WTO. В проекта (http://www.silkroad.travel/) участват Китай, Армения, Грузия, Азербайджан, Туркменистан, Узбекистан, Таджикистан, Киргизстан и Казахстан.

4. Дългосрочният проект „Великият път на коприната" е подробно представен в сайта на WTO (http://silkroad.unwto.org/en) и в сайта на Silk Road Destinations (http://www.silkroad.travel/great-silk-road).

5. Конвенцията за опазване на нематериалното културно наследство (Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage) има за цел опазване на нематериалното културно наследство и е приета в Париж през 2003 г. (ратифицирана у нас със закон от 40-то НС през 2006 г. - http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00009-BG-PDF.pdf).

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THE WAY OF RAMEN IN JAPAN – FROM THE CHINESE NOODLES LA MIAN 拉麵 TO THE JAPANESE NATIONAL DISH RAMEN ラーメン

By Eleonora Koleva, "St. Kliment Ohridski" University of Sofia

АНОТАЦИЯ: Повечето чужденци, а дори и много японци, вярват, че корените на *рамен*, превърнало се във важен елемент от националната кухня на Япония, са някъде в далечното минало на Япония. Всъщност обаче произходът е китайски. Рамен (кит. *"ла миен"*) навлиза на японския пазар като евтина, лесно достъпна храна за ниските слоеве от обществото – включително и китайци, през ранния 20 век. Още по-интересното е, че то се завръща в родината си Китай вече трансформирано според японските вкусове и днес там има много рамен ресторанти.

Това на свой ред идва да покаже степента на междукултурни връзки и взаимоотношения между Китай и Япония. През различните периоди на историческото развитие Китай, като култура-модел за страните от Далечния Изток, оказва изключително влияние върху всички аспекти на японската култура. Знатни учени, монаси и търговци донасят в Япония достиженията на древната китайска цивилизация. На няколко мощни вълни в Япония, чрез културата-посредник Корея, навлизат китайските йероглифи, идеите на будизма, конфуцианството, ориза, чая. Навлизането на чуждите елементи на древната китайска цивилизация обаче се оказва и мощен стимул за задвижване на собствените механизми на развитие. От привнесени отвън те биват трансформирани в елементи на собствената национална култура.

Връзките не само между Япония и Китай, но и между Азия и Европа са били възможни и благодарение на Кину-но-мичи или така както в най-северния му терминал Япония наричат `Пътя на коприната`. Древният търговски път, чрез който са се обменяли стоки, храни и идеи, е положил основите на съвременния глобализационен модел на взаимно проникване на култури и усвояване на чужди елементи.

Настоящият доклад има за цел да тръгне по следите на рамен в Япония, от навлизането му до днес, и да проследи как рамен, чрез своя инстантен вариант, завладява света.

Most foreigners and even lots of Japanese believe that the roots of ramen, a dish that has turned out to be an important element of the Japanese national cuisine, are to be traced back to the distant past of Japan. However, the origin, in fact, is Chinese. Ramen (in Chinese "la mian") enters the Japanese market as an inexpensive, accessible for the lower classes including Chinese, food in the early twentieth century. The more interesting thing is that it goes back to its native country, already transformed according to the Japanese taste and nowadays there are a lot of Japanese ramen restaurants in China.

This in turn comes to point us the degree of intercultural connections and relations between China and Japan. During the different historical periods, China, as a model culture for the countries of the Far East, plays an important role on all the aspects of the Japanese culture. Renowned scholars, monks, tradesmen bring to Japan the merits of the ancient Chinese civilization. Through Korea- the intermediary culture- the Chinese characters, Buddhist and Confucius ideas, the rice and tea are brought to Japan. The entering of the foreign elements, however, turns to be a powerful stimulus for accelerating Japanese own mechanisms for development. From foreign elements they are transformed into elements of the national culture.

These cross-cultural relations not only between China and Japan, but also between Asia and Europe, have become possible also thanks to the Silk Road – the ancient trades road that transferred goods, food and ideas, and could be considered as a ground for the contemporary globalization model.

The present report aims at tracing the way of the Japanese national dish "ramen" from its introducing to Japan up to the present when it conquers the world through its instant type and returns to its native country already Japanized and at trying to find a different point of view to the relations between China and Japan. In the past, the influences in most of the cases were in one direction – from the ancient continental civilization of China – to the islands of Japan – the Chinese characters, for example, were brought to Japan, transformed according to the local specifics, gave way to the indigenous syllabaries hiragana and katakana, but did not return back to China to influence it in turn. Whereas this is not the case with ramen. Now Japanese-style ramen is back to China and especially as for the instant ramen China is the biggest consumer.

According to a Japanese poll in the year 2000, instant noodles were the most important Japanese invention of the century. As of 2008, approximately 94 billion servings of instant noodles are eaten worldwide every year. China occupies the first place and consumes 45 billion packages of instant noodles per year – 48% of world consumption – Indonesia, 14 billion; Japan, 5.1 billion. Per capita, South Koreans consume the greatest amount of instant noodles, 69 per capita per year.

Many see noodles as an Italian invention. In fact, most historians believe that when Marco Polo traveled to China in the 13th century, he became fond of noodles and brought them back with him to Italy, thereby influencing his native cuisine. In actuality, noodles did not become a staple in Italy until the 17th or 18th century. For many years, the origin of noodles has been a topic of much debate. Some argue that noodles were first created in the Mediterranean region. Others claim that the first technology for creating noodles was developed in the Middle East. However, the oldest written records referring to noodles date back to the East Han Dynasty around AD 25 to AD 200, and archaeologists recently unearthed the world's oldest noodle in China. That noodle was about 4,000 years old. So the evidence now suggests that ancient inhabitants of modern China were among the first to produce noodles, although whether or not the Chinese acquired noodle technology from the Middle East is still a matter of debate.

It is believed that noodles quickly spread from China to other Asian and European countries. Since then, they have spread to Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Laos and even many Southeast Asian and Asian island countries.

Ramen was brought to Japan in the beginning of the 20th century and it was after the World War II as the invention "instant ramen" made ramen a global food. Today ramen has become a national dish of Japan. The etymology of the word *ramen* is a topic of debate. One theory is that *ramen* is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese 拉麵 (*la mian*), meaning "hand-pulled noodles." A second theory proposes 老麵 (*laomian*, "old noodles") as the original form, while another states that ramen was initially 鹵麵 (*lŭmiàn*) noodles cooked in a thick, starchy sauce. A fourth theory is that the word derives from 撈麵 (*lāomiàn*, "lo mein"), which in Cantonese 撈 means to "stir", and the name refers to the method of preparation by stirring the noodles with a sauce.

Ramen is a combination of noodles + soup + topping. Although it is a simple dish made from simple ingredients that everyone can combine, the variety of possible ways to prepare it exceeds that of any other food. And it is this variety of tastes and ways of cooking, allowing each person to find and reflects each own taste and that is ramen's greatest appeal. Maybe it will not be an exaggeration to state that ramen is the food in Japan with most varieties than any other. From Hokkaido to Okinawa every region has its own ramen style, its unique taste and name and strictly kept recipies.

Until the 1950s, ramen was called *shina soba* (支那そば, literally "Chinese buckwheat noodle") but today *chūka soba* (中華そば, also meaning "Chinese buckwheat noodle") or just *Ramen* (ラーメン) are more common, as the word "支那" (*shina*, meaning "China") is considered offensive by many.

By 1900, restaurants serving Chinese cuisine from Canton and Shanghai offered a simple ramen dish of noodles (cut rather than hand pulled), a few toppings, and a broth flavored with salt and pork bones. Many Chinese also pulled portable food stalls, selling ramen and gyōza dumplings to workers. By the mid 1900s, these stalls used a type of a musical horn called a *charumera* (チャルメラ, from the Portuguese *charamela*) to advertise their presence, a practice some vendors still retain via a loudspeaker and a looped recording. By the early Shōwa period, ramen had become a popular dish when eating out.

After World War II, cheap flour imported from the U.S. swept the Japanese market. At the same time, millions of Japanese troops had returned from China and continental East Asia. Many of these returnees had become familiar with Chinese cuisine and subsequently set up Chinese restaurants across Japan. Eating ramen, while popular, was still a special occasion that required going out. Even nowadays ramen, as opposed to indigenous Japanese noodles udon and soba, is eaten out and almost never prepared at home.

The meaning of noodles as a cultural code

Both in Chinese and Japanese culture, the noodle is a symbol of long life. For that reason, noodles are traditionally served on birthdays and on the New Year as an emblem of longevity. In Japan it is called toshikoshi soba. The Chinese version of birthday cake is birthday noodles. In Japan, noodles were incorporated into the Japanese tea ceremony, and noodle-making was considered its own art form. Noodles became even more important in Japan after WWII, when food shortages were rampant and dried foods like noodles were often the only available food item. In just about every Asian culture that uses them, noodles are associated with well-being and long life and can be considered an Asian comfort food.

There are many types of noodles used in Asian cuisine. Whether thin or thick, flat or round, wheat or rice or mung bean, every single noodle in Asia has its own history and its own culinary use. Tracing the use and history of each type of noodle reveals an intricate tapestry of culinary exchange throughout the centuries. The history and usage of ramen noodles clearly highlights the culinary exchange that occurred in China and Eastern Asia.

Often regarded as the emperor of modern cuisine in Japan, ramen (a savoury noodle soup that takes half a day to prepare) accounts for approximately 26% of all meals eaten outside the home in Japan. Ramen restaurants dominate the urban and rural landscape. There are ramen museums, as well as ramen-dedicated comic books, rock songs, TV contests, magazines, websites and even a scholarly journal.

Instant ramen, invented in 1958 as an antidote to post-war malnutrition, is even more popular and has made ramen an international food. Currently, the world consumes over 65.2 billion packages of instant ramen a year, with over 200 different varieties to enjoy.

Historically, the Japanese ate little meat, little oil and very little spice, but in the early 20th century the national cuisine began to change in response to cultural and political drivers, ultimately re-shaping national identity through food culture. At this time, labour unions were growing in strength and were attempting to secure better wages and a reasonable workday; caloric and inexpensive dining had become a necessary ingredient for urban expansion.

After much iteration, ramen entered the Japanese market as a cheap meal for itinerant peddlers, wage labourers and poor students. Chinese students living in Japan were one of the largest foreign groups, greatly influencing lower- and middle-class restaurant offerings in urban areas. After the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, they came in increasing numbers to study how Japan modernised so quickly. Students as well as labourers flocked to the new communities and their growing economic surge created new food demands.

This tapestry of new tastes, combined with the need to eat out, and influenced by Japan's expanding empire, spurred the opening of new restaurants that offered a cuisine not formerly found in Japan. For example, in 1911, the owner of the Takeya Cafeteria in Sapporo, in the extreme north, hired a Chinese cook who created a stew-like dish with meat, broth and springy noodles, calling it 'Shina soba', or Chinese noodles.

Other restaurants around the country began to offer similar fare but it was not until the post-war era that the dish became known in Japanese as ramen. Much later with the export of instant ramen the dish took on its new nationality.

Instant noodles were first marketed by Momofuku Ando- named later the father of the Ramen, in Japan on August 25, 1958, under the brand name *Chikin Ramen*. It was when he saw how people after the WWII queued in front of stands with ramen on the street. Recently after that this dish made in 3 minutes became a big hit and a lot of other companies began to produce it. So the business taste of Momofuku Ando made him go again ahead of the others and he travelled to US – the heaven of the fast food so to see how this package noodle can be brought to the market there. There he realized that the dishes were not suitable for the soup and it was when he asked his partners to give him a cup instead of a dish to pour the water that he came up with the idea for the Cup Noodles. In 1971, Nissin, the company he established in Osaka, introduced the Cup Noodles, instant noodles in a waterproof polystyrene cup, to which boiling water could be added to cook the noodles. A further innovation added dried vegetables to the cup, creating a complete instant soup dish.

Ramen was the survivor food during the hard years in Japan after WWII and nowadays it is a food consumed in times of natural disasters. Quick for preparation – only 3 minutes - inexpensive, full of ingredients needed to the human organism today instant ramen has to play again a really important role. It was sent by the Japanese government after the disaster in Indonesia, Haiti, now the rescue camps after the March 11th 2011 disaster in Japan.

Ramen has also become a popular part of mass culture. It is an essential element in numerous manga, games, TV programmes. In some of them it is a background element, but in others – an important factor, which conveys different messages through its semantics, because every food carries social, historical and cultural information. Often it turns out to be a marker of national identity. In Itami Juzo's movie *Tampopo* the three basic kinds of noodles are presented - indigenous Japanese noodles, noodles of Chinese origin and European noodles such as spaghetti. In 11 scenes – 1 noodle dish is Japanese, 1 is European and the rest present Chinese noodles.

Another movie *The Ramen Girl* of Robert Ackerman is a manifestation of ramen. Moreover, the words of the protagonist chef Maezumi contain the key for understanding why ramen is so beloved, why *everybody loves ramen*.

"A bowl of Ramen is a self-contained universe. With life from the sea, the mountains and the earth. All existing in perfect harmony. Harmony is essential. What holds it all together is the broth. The broth gives life to the ramen. Understand? So with that in mind, observe the ramen. Observe the ramen." – Chef Maezumi

All exist in perfect harmony –the quintessence of the Japanese perception of world, life and beauty.

Naruto – the manga and game that conquered the world. Naruto is a kind of ramen topping made of steamed fish paste and decorated with a spiral pattern (uzumaki). Ramen almost always has a slice of naruto floating in it, making it a very famous food to the Ramen-loving Japanese people. To name your manga hero after a kind of food surely has deep meaning. Masashi Kishimoto has a history of getting his characters' names from the kitchen. And if we see closer and analyze this is not accidental. Food is everywhere in literature, cinema, theatre, arts and as Terry Eagleton says "literature, like food is endlessly interpretable" and food, like literature "looks like an object but is actually a relationship". Such relationships that have been established between China and Japan and Japan and China, between China and the Asia and the rest of the world – in the past – by means of the Silk Road and at present through the globalization model. Ramen originated in China but known nowadays worldwide as the Japanese invention of the 20th century together with the karaoke and Walkman of Sony, it is a culture of its own. It is an economic and cultural indicator of the cross-cultural interactions between China and Japan and the rest of the world, reflecting the idea of the Silk Road – an exchange between cultures.

The reasons for this phenomen and the presence of ramen in manga, anime, modern Japanese literature and cinema as a culinary cultural code is a topic of further future research of the author in view of her Ph D research for the culinary realities embedded in modern Japanese literature.

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INTELLECTUAL GAMES ON THE SILK ROAD

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ABSTRACT: The Great Silk Road, which starts from the time of the Han Dynasty, over more than two thousand years ago, has linked China with the outside world. The road gets its name from the silk, which was the main commercial product, transmitted by it. It was the road for exchange of information and ideas between the nations of Asia and Europe, thus defining it as an "informational highway" of the Ancient world.
Thanks to the Silk Road the intellectual games that today retain their importance as cultural heritage in the traditions of many countries, were spread and developed, being silent witnesses to the meetings of different civilizations and nations. Along the Silk Road was observed movement of game concepts in both directions, which accompanied the intellectual contacts between the East and the West.

ИНТЕЛЕКТУАЛНИТЕ ИГРИ ПО ПЪТЯ НА КОПРИНАТА

Константин Байрактаров, Професионална гимназия по лека промишленост и строителство – Свищов

Великият Път на копринта, който води началото си от времето на династия Хан (206 г. пр. н.е. – 220 г. от н.е.), в продължение на повече от две хиляди години е свързал Китай с останалия свят. Названието си той получава от основната търговска стока, която била пренасяна по него – копринта. През Римската епоха (I-IV в.) този оживен търговски път се е наричал Via Serica[1]. По него между Азия и Европа е протичал също така обмен на информация и идеи между народите, поради което го определят и като „информационната магистрала" на Древния Свят. Благодарение на него получават разпространение и развитие интелектуалните игри, които и днес запазват своето значение като културно наследство в традициите на много страни, явявайки се безмълвни свидетели на срещите на отделните цивилизации и народи.

| *Чатуранга* | *Чатранг (Шатрандж)* | *Европейски шахмат* |
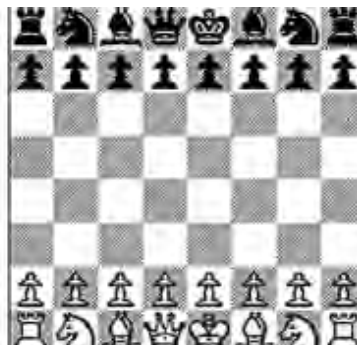
Игрите от шахматен тип получават широко разпространение из цяла Евразия, за което може да се съди по множеството исторически възникнали техни варианти. Според общоприетата генеалогия, праобраз на шахмата е древноиндийската игра чатуранга (chaturanga, санскр. „четири армии"), в която играят четирима играчи с общо 32 (=4x8) фигури върху дъска 8x8 квадратчета. Ходовете са се определяли според хвърления зар. Чатуранга еволюира в чатураджи (chaturadji, санскр. „четиримата царе"), в която не се използвало зар. Следва персийският чатранг (араб. шатрандж), при който четирите армии се свеждат до две, явявайки се същинският предтеча на всички по-нататъшни варианти на шахматната игра (Юдасин 2004:65). Пръв сър Уилям Джоунс (1746-1794) в съчинението „За индийската игра шах" (1790 г.) изказва идеята, че шахматът се е родил в Индия. Повечето историци се придържат към теорията, че шахматът се е появил в Индия около 600 г. (Murrey 1913:311). Съществува обаче хипотеза, според която най-ранната форма на играта е измислена в Китай през 204-203 г. пр. н.е. от генерал Хан Син (Li 1998:231-239). Така е напълно и вероятно да е някъде по средата.

Разпространението си играта на Изток и на Запад получава благодарение на Пътя на копринта. А според Герхард Йостен, не само разпространението, но и появата си шахматът също дължи на Великия път като локализира произхода му в Централна Азия, а именно – Кушанската империя, I-III в. от н.е. (Josten 2001:13). Шахматът е синтез на елементи от различни игри. Съгласно неговата теория, трите уникални базови елемента – цар, пешки и офицери – имат различен произход и впоследствие биват събрани на едно място – в шахматната игра. Той предполага, че този синтез се е получил благодарение на срещите на търговците по Пътя на копринта, като появата на играта е свързана с техните престои, докато са чакали подходящи климатични условия, за да продължат пътя си. Той посочва Кушанската империя, където си дават среща различни култури, като място на зараждане на шахмата. Според Йостен, фигурата „цар" е

заимствана от китайската игра уейци (за която ще стане дума по-нататък), пешките са от индийски игри като пачиси или аштапада (които са от типа на „Не се сърди, човече!"), а офицерите идват от гадателни и астрологични методи (вавилонската астролабия). Такъв синтез се явява възможен и поради синкретичния характер на Кушанската култура[2].

Когато на историческата сцена излиза Сасанидската империя (242-651 г.), изчезва Кушанската държава от древната политическа карта, което е основната причина за загубването на много факти около произхода на шахмата и появата на множество невероятни легенди, дошли впоследствие на тяхно място (Josten 2001:13). Впоследствие играта се разпространява на Изток и на Запад. Шахматното семейство включва в себе си множество представители, като най-екзотични са тези от далекоизточния клон – сянци в Китай, чанги в Корея и шоги в Япония. Общото за трите варианта е, че фигурите са плоски и са означени с йероглифи, а не обемни, по обичайния шахматен стереотип. В западната култура, подобно положение се наблюдава в древноруския символен шахмат "таврели" (от "тавро" – знак, печат), който е бил познат в Киевска Русия (XI-XV в.), където фигурите са наподобявали жетони с отбелязани върху тях знаци (Ивановский 2002:9-11). За тази игра се смята, че се е появила на основата на ранния европейски шахмат, но под източно влияние (Линдер 1967:26). Древноруските таврели напомнят на далекоизточните си събратя, които също така се определят като "символен шахмат".

Придвижването на шахмата на Запад, според Юрий Буряков, станало благодарение на самаркандските търговци по северните маршрути на Пътя на копринта, а попадането им нататък в Европа е заслуга на българите (Мирзаев 2005:169). Шахматът е имал и други пътища към Европа, като бива придвижван на Запад от арабите и попада в Испания чрез маврите. Няма да е пресилено, ако се каже (метафорично), че Пътят на копринта е осеян с шахматни фигури, за което свидетелстват археологически находки и литературни паметници. Класически пример за среща на културите и разпространението на игрите

Карта на разпространението на шахмата (Murrey 1913:311)
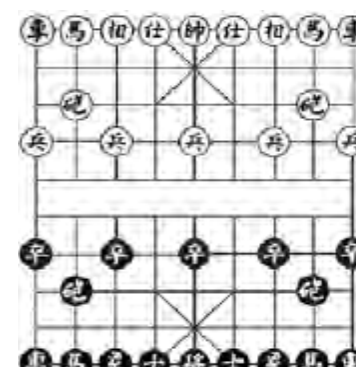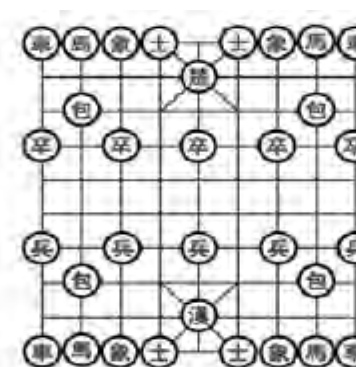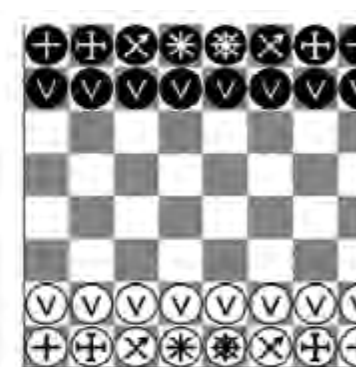
| *Сянци* | *Чанги* | *Таврели* |

се открива в поемата на персийския поет Фирдоуси „Шахнаме" (Книга на царете), в която индийски раджа изпраща делегация с подаръци на персийския владетел Хосрой I (509-579 г.). Сред подаръците е и великолепна шахматна дъска и фигури. Персийските

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[1] Sera Metropolis е названието на града, от който тръгва Пътя. Еднозначно географски не е определено кой е този китайски град. Спрягат се Лоян, Чанан (Сиан), Ланджоу и Дунхуан.

[2] При Канишка I (упр. 128-? г. от н.е.) Кушанската империя със столица Пурушапур (съвр. Пешавар) е обхващала Северна Индия, Афганистан и Таримския басейн (съвр. Синдзян).

Ахил и Аякс играят петея. Древногръцка ваза, 515 г. пр. н.е.

мъдреци в отговор изпращат на раджата комплект за играта табла (Вильямс 2004:14).

Благодарение на Пътя на коприната разпространение получават и други игри. Още в епохата на Елинизма (III-I в. пр. н.е.), започнала с източните завоевания на Александър Македонски (упр. 336-323 г. пр. н.е.) и бележеща навлизането на гръко-тракийската култура в Близкия Изток и Централна Азия, получава разпространение и играта петея (гр. petteia, от petois – камъче). По Пътя на коприната се наблюдават аналогични на нея игри в Китай (тан-ки), Тибет (гудрун) и Япония (хасами-шоги). Петея също така еволюира в древноримската латрункули, като нововъведението е появата на фигурата „орел" (aquila), аналогична на шахматния цар.

На древногръцки вази се среща класическата сцена, в която Ахил и Аякс играят петея. Според Платоновия диалог „Федър", играта е създадена от египетския бог Тот (Тевт), за което има основания. Известно е, че гърците са заимствали много от египтяните, а петея е близка до древноегипетската игра *сеега* (seega). Съгласно Херодот, петея е измислена от тракиеца Паламед по време на обсадата на Троя. Тази игра наподобява популярната днес игра шашки. Общото между тях е, че се играе с черни и бели пулове (пионки) и целта е да се елиминират противниковите. В играта петея в общия случай се ползва дъска 8x8 полета, като в началната позиция на срещуположните страни са подредени по един ред камъчета. Те се движат като шахматните топове, а противникова пионка се взема когато бива заградена от две страни. В съвременната игра шашки (checkers), в началото се подреждат три реда пулове върху черните полета от
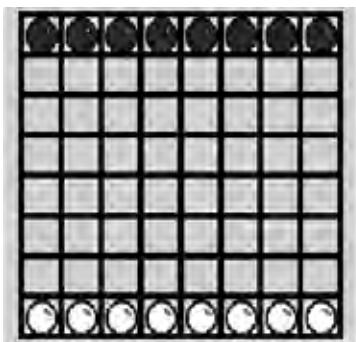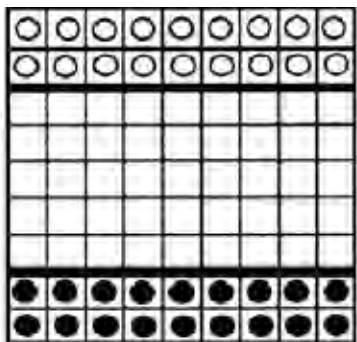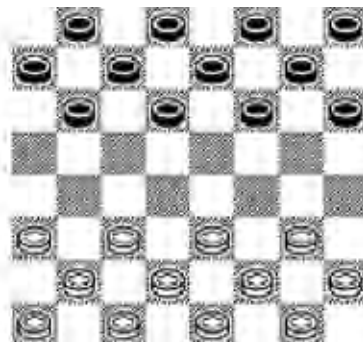
Петея	*Хасами-шоги*	*Шашки*

двете страни на шахматната дъска, движат се по диагонал и вземането на противников пул става чрез прескачане[3].

От империята на Александър Велики като самостоятелна част се обособило Гръко-Бактрийското царство в Централна Азия, а не след дълго на негово място се появила Кушанската империя. Тя изпитвала влиянието на културите на Индия, Китай, Гърция и Рим. Основателно е предположението, че игрите от тези страни може да имат отношение към игрите, битували при кушаните. Художникът В. Верещагин съобщава в записките си от 1867-1868 г. за игра с черни и бели камъчета, която видял в гр. Ходжент (Сев. Таджикистан)[4]. По краткото му описание може да се заключи, че това сигурно е нещо близко до латрункули и петея. Куличихин допълва, че в игрите в Кушанското царство вероятно е имало и заемки на елементи от „*заграждащите игри*" (рус. облавные игры) на Източна Азия, визирайки конкретно уейци (Куличихин 1982:15).

Вече споменах, че според Г. Йостен фигурата „цар" в шахмата е заимствана от китайската игра уейци[5]. Има се предвид, че неговото обездвижване или матиране всъщност е заграждане. В играта уейци, при заграждане на противников камък от всички страни се отнемат неговите „*свободи*" (или „*дихания*") и той бива снеман от дъската. Йостен пропуска да отчете обаче, че появата на царската фигура не е безпрецедентна за онези времена. Ако трябва да се допусне заимстването от уейци, то трябва да се вземе под внимание и по-старата древноримска игра латрункули

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[3] Играта шашки сама по себе си се появява в сегашния си вид през Европейското Средновековие.

[4] Градът е основан през 329 г. пр. н.е. от Александър Велики под името Александриа Есхате и е бил важна точка от Пътя на коприната.

[5] Уейци (weiqi) – игра на заграждане. Тази игра в Корея е известна като „бадук" (baduk), в Япония – „и-го" (i-go), а другаде е позната като „Го".
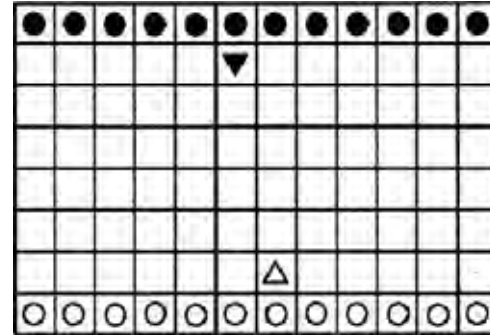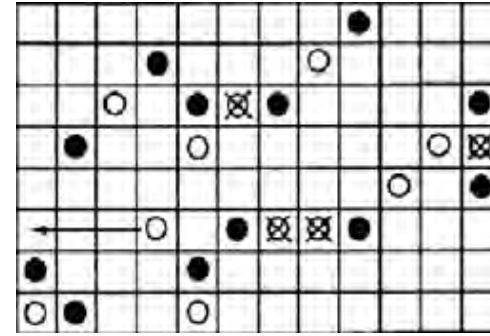
Латрункули	*Движение и взимане*	*Камъчета*

(latrunculi, ludus latrunculorum, лат. latro – наемен войник). Определено тя може да се обяви като кандидат за прото-шахматен вариант и евентуалното й попадане в Кушанското царство да е от значение за появата на шахмата. В допълнение към това, трябва да се отбележи, че и фигурата „топ" може да е заимствана от гръко-римските игри.

В древноримската латрункули също се цели „орелът" да се загради от всички страни. Най-старото известно споменаване на латрункули принадлежи на Марк Варон (116-27 г. пр. н.е.) в съчинението му „*За латинския език*" (De Lingua Latina). Възможно ли е Пътят на коприната да има отношение към преминаването от петея към латрункули? В епохата Хан, китайските императори установяват връзки с много държави на територията на Индия, Иран и с разположените по-далеч на запад страни чак до Средиземноморието, респективно Римската империя (Та Цин). Според сведенията на Съма Циен (145-86 г. пр. н.е.), всяка година към тези страни са се отправяли повече от десет дипломатически мисии, които съпровождали търговските кервани (Арабаджиева 2003:103). Това е една добра възможност играта уейци да достигне до Рим. Александрийският учен Юлий Полукс (Julius Pollux) от II век в „*Ономастикон*" (Onomasticon) пише, че петея „*се играе с много камъчета*", което предполага и по-голяма дъска. В Древен Рим са играли петея и латрункули на различни дъски - 8x8, 8x12, 10x9, 11x10, 16x12 полета. Камъчетата, използвани в логическите игри от Римската епоха (I-IV в.), приличат на тези за уейци.

Играта уейци е възникнала в Китай вероятно преди повече от 4000 години. Древните китайски автори я свързват с легендарните императори Яо (2357-2256 г. пр. н.е.) и Шун (2255-2205 г. пр. н.е.), но въпреки това произходът и възрастта й не са докрай изяснени. През първото хилядолетие на н.е. играта попада в културите на съседните на Китай страни и региони.

Тази игра има няколко основни правила. Използва се дъска 19x19 линии, допустими са също размерности 17x17, 15x15, 13x13, 9x9 и 7x7 линии. Дъската (яп. гобан; кит. уейципан) в началото е празна. Играе се с черни и бели камъчета, които се поставят по свободните пресечни точки и не се местят. Целта е да се загражда територия. Цялото игрово пространство на дъската е територия и играчите чрез поставяне на камъни, се стремят да заградят, колкото се може по-голяма част от нея. В процеса на игра могат да се вземат противникови камъни, ако бъдат заградени от всички страни. Те се вземат под внимание при определяне на крайния резултат. Краят на партията настъпва, когато вече няма ефективни ходове и дъската е поделена между играчите. Заградената територия се изразява с броя на свободните незаети пресечни точки и победител е този, който е заградил повече. Въпреки простите си правила, играта уейци се отличава с несравнима дълбочина на стратегията, като превъзхожда всички други игри по броя на възможните комбинации (10^{170}), което е повече от атомите във Вселената (10^{80})[6].

Тази стратегическа игра до началото на второто хил. от н.е. попада в културите на съседните на Китай страни в следния примерен порядък – Корея, Япония, Виетнам, Тибет и Монголия. Разпространението й в Далекоизточна Азия е станало също по копринените пътища, но очевидно се ограничава до сферата на китайското културно влияние. Така, на запад в сърцето на пустинята Гоби, близо до Дунхуан, е открито (1907 г.) най-старото достигнало до наши дни ръководство за го (550 г.) – Qi Jing, подписано от тибетски монах. До Турфан, също важен пункт от Пътя на коприната, е открита картина от VII в.: върху коприна тъкан е изобразена дама пред дъска за уейци, известна като
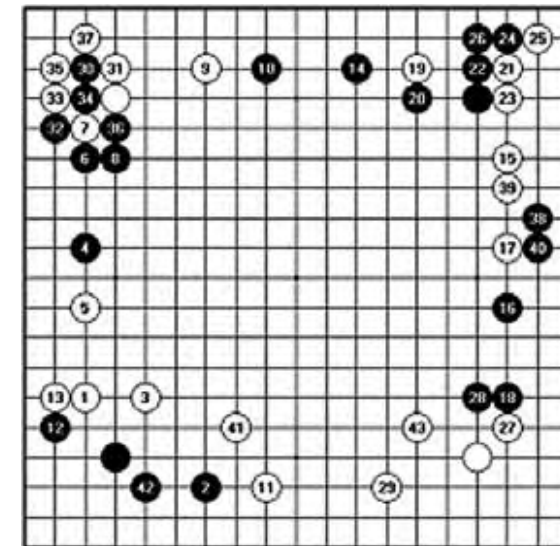
Най-старият запис на партия уейци в "Сборник с безгрижни и невинни игри" (Wang You Qing Le Ji), XII в.

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[6] За сравнение, броят на комбинациите в класическия днес шахмат е 1047

Танската лейди (Ees 2005: 3th ICOB, 84). Относно придвижването на играта на Изток, трябва да се спомене Япония и по-специално храмът Шосоин в Нара, който е последната спирка на Пътя на коприната на Изток. В съкровищницата на този храм е открита и най-старата дъска за го в Япония, която от времето на император Шому (упр. 724 -749 г.). Дъската е изработена изкусно и е орнаментирана с централноазиатски мотиви (Ясуюке 2005:125).

Нека погледнем сега към въпроса за евентуалното й придвижване на Запад. Интерес представлява нордическата игра хнефатафл (норв. hnefatafl, букв. „царска дъска"), която вероятно произлиза от римските латрункули, но в същото време по някои свои характеристики напомня уейци.

Хнефатафл се играе на дъска 19x19 линии. Камъчетата се поставят на пресечките и се движат като шахматните топове. В средата е царят (хнефи) или „царският камък", централната точка се нарича „трон". Камъчетата се вземат като се заградят от двете страни. Цел на белите: царят да достигне до една от крайните ъглови точки на дъската. Цел на черните: да блокират царя, т.е. да го заградят от четири страни и да го обездвижат, също както в уейци се отнемат свободите на противников камък. На дъската има 72 камъка – един цар в централната точка, обкръжен от неговите 33 защитници и обръч от 48 нападатели (хуни). Общият план на заграждането в началната позиция напомня концепцията на заграждане във уейци, а недвусмисленото название на атакуващите фигури „хуни" навява асоциации с Изтока. Всички други разновидности на тази игра са на по-малки дъски 13x13, 11x11, 9x9, 7x7. Най-старата находка е открита във Вимос (Дания) – фрагмент от дъска 19x19, която се отнася към времето 200-400 г. Дъска 19x19 също така е открита в един потопен кораб-гробница (викингски погребален обичай) в Гокщат (Норвегия), където бил погребан крал Олаф Геирстат-Алф (IX в). Най-старото запазено описание на хнефатафл се среща в ирландски ръкопис от 1042 г., в който играта се нарича на латински "алеа евангелии" (Alea Evangelii). Играта обаче е била известна и век по-рано в Англия (Helmfrid 2005:1-17).

Начална позиция при хнефатафл.

Изкушаващото предположение, че хнефатафл и разновидностите й са дошли от Изток, но това трудно може да бъде убедително обосновано. Разумно е да се твърди, че нордическата игра произлиза от древноримската латрункули. Любопитният факт, че дъската и фигурите напомнят тези във уейци, не е достатъчен да се гради тезис за пряка връзка между двете игрови концепции. Но еднаквата размерност на дъските на тези две игри и общият момент, че камъчетата се поставят на пресечните точки трудно може да се обясни еднозначно. С по-голяма увереност може да се допусне, че от Китай по Пътя на коприната до Европа достига сравнително по-простата игра „пет-в-линия". В Древен Рим са играли на калкули (calculi, ludus calculorum: игра с камъчета), при която целта е да се наредят пет камъчета в линия (лат. calculus – камъче, от тук произлиза думата калкулация – смятане). В Далекоизточна Азия играта е известна на много народи (кит. ушитси, яп. го-моку, кор. о-мок, виет. ко-каро и др.) и съпътства уейци, защото се ползват същите дъска и камъчета. Римляните са я наричали още и Ludus pentelitha (лат. pente – пет, litha – камък: играта на петте камъка), но в отличие от азиатския еквивалент, се е играла на по-малка дъска.

От направения обзор става ясно, че Пътят на коприната е допринесъл за появата, развитието и разпространението на разнообразни игри и игрови концепции. Проблематиката, свързана с Пътя на коприната и разпространението на интелектуалните игри, е изключително интересна и занимателна. Прави впечатление, че до утвърждаването на шахматната игра в нейните многобройни разновидности, на изключителна популярност са се радвали „игрите с камъчета". На Запад много подобни игри биват забравени, докато на Изток те запазват своето присъствие и до наши дни. По Пътя на коприната е станало възможно елементи от различни игри да се съчетаят по невероятен начин, което е способствало за появата на нови игри, а това само по себе си е свидетелство за оживения диалог между отделните култури в Евразия.

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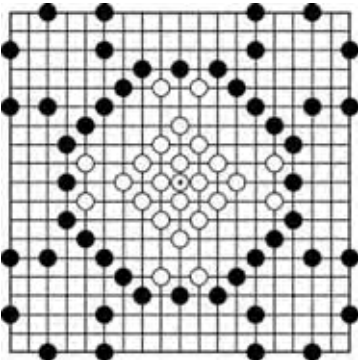
THE SILK THREADS BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST

by Dobrina Zheleva – Martins, University of Forestry, Sofia
and Minka Zlateva, "St. Kliment Ohridski" University of Sofia

ABSTRACT: The subject of the paper is the restoration of the ancient Silk Road as a cultural network between the East and the West in the modern world.

The purpose is to conduct interdisciplinary analyses and prove the need of restoring and reviving the Silk Road, known for thousands of years not just as a transport and trade route but also as an active way of multilateral and cross-border dialogue among the cultures and civilizations of the East and the West.

The paper focuses on two aspects: the Communication and the Cultural tourism.

An attempt is made to situate Bulgaria in this context. Bulgaria is not only a chain loop in this eternal link between the East and the West but also an active participant of the International Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia (TRACECA).

The idea we would like to suggest is to make the TRACECA a world cultural corridor and to declare the Silk Road a world cultural route.

This report aims to highlight three major moments:

The history of the Great Silk road, established 24 centuries ago;

The experience of modern cultural corridors in Europe and the cultural routes of South-East Europe;

Modern trans-Eurasian transport roads and particularly the TRACECA transport corridor and its development in the context of the dialogue between cultures and civilizations.

Our main thesis is that we can, today, regard the "Great Silk road" as a cultural network between the East and the West in the modern world. On this basis we would like to propose its resurrection as a global cultural corridor.

But let us first turn the **pages of history.**

We are living in a "network society", to use the apt expression coined by Manuel Castells, the weaving of connections between representatives of different peoples into a network, however, commenced in ancient times.

The Great Silk Road is in fact a system of roads connecting Eurasia from the Mediterranean Sea to China, with a total length of more than 7 thousand kilometres. Extensive literature has been dedicated to the problems of its formation and functions, the type and nature of the goods travelling along it through the different ages… The issue of the role of the Great Silk road in the cultural interaction between the peoples of Eurasia, however, has been examined in far less detail. (Mamleyeva, L. A, 1999)[2].

Once upon a time, the Great Silk Road played a significant role not only for foreign trade and the political relations between people. It served as a peculiar bridge, connecting the cultures of China, India, Persia, Arabia, Greece and Rome. In time, it developed into **an important cultural road and information route for the development of civilizations,** the exchange of ideas which were of particular significance given the high level of spiritual development achieved by China and the benefits from introduction of the great Chinese inventions into the West.

It was along the Silk Road that Buddhism was introduced in China; hence the Road played a key role in the establishment of the new religion. It was along this same road from Europe to Mecca, Medina and the Holy Lands, that pilgrims of other religions – Christians, Muslims and Jews, have walked and still walk.

In this respect, the UNESCO project on an *Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue /1988-1997/*[3] has proved to be particularly valuable – a huge research programme mobilizing scientists and media from around the world, including five expeditions and mapping of land and sea routes. The diverse types of contacts and exchanges, which took place along those roads, were studied, as well as their impact on the history and civilization of the modern world, light was cast on the numerous identities and simultaneously – on the common heritage of the people connected by the roads.[4]

At the end of the 20th century, **the land connection between Europe and the Far East** regains its significance from a political, economic and cultural point of view. Today, the Silk Road is in the process of revival, enjoys an increasing number of tourists and is once again the arena of active cultural exchange. **This ancient trading and cultural corridor is becoming a popular tourist destination and once again takes an important place as a global cultural corridor.**

The Great Silk Road begins to take shape somewhere around the third millennium B.C., and gradually, around the second century B.C., emerges as the largest transcontinental corridor for intercultural exchange and the transfer of the achievements of different civilizations.

In this context, ever since antiquity, the lands of the Balkans, including present-day Bulgaria, have had their place as a portal between Asia and Europe.

The roads traced by Thracians and Hellenes, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Celts, Goths, Slavs … were united, during the Roman Empire, into a powerful road network, spanning the entire Eurasia.

The Roman road network spreads the fan of the **main road connections between Constantinople and Europe** – these are **Via Diagonalis**[6], cutting a diagonal through the whole of Europe; **Via Egnatia**,[7] an extension of Via Appia, running

along the shores of the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmora, **Via Pontica**[8], tracing the shores of the Black Sea. **Via Istrum**[9] - passing round the Roman limes – the Danubian Road.

Today these same roads underlie the Balkan road system. They are part of the European roads and, one way or another, fall within the Pan-European Transport Corridors.[10] For example:

Via Diagonalis – this is the first-class E80 Road, and also part of Transport Corridor No 4 and Corridor No 10;

Via Pontica – road E87 and part of Corridor No 8;

Via Istrum – transport Corridor No7;

There is something yet more important we would like to emphasise, namely that these ancient roads come back to life through **the modern cultural corridors of Europe.**

In 1999-2000, on the initiative of ICOMOS/Bulgaria, around 50 like-thinking experts from all East European countries created a voluntary network for work on the pilot project: *Cultural Routes of South East Europe,* within the Council of Europe campaign: *Europe, A Common Heritage.* Working in mutual agreement and under common methodology, the experts created a database of the most valuable objects of cultural heritage in the region and electronic maps of the regional cultural roads: roads of the antiquity, the Middle Ages, pilgrimage roads, etc. The image of the cultural heritage of Southeast Europe was outlined as an accessible common value. At a meeting in Sofia (September 2000) with the participation of the European Institute for Cultural Routes based in Luxembourg, the experts adopted the maps and a Final Document – a message to the politicians in the region.[15]

In 2003, the Council of Europe and the European

Fig. 1. The Great Silk Road[1]
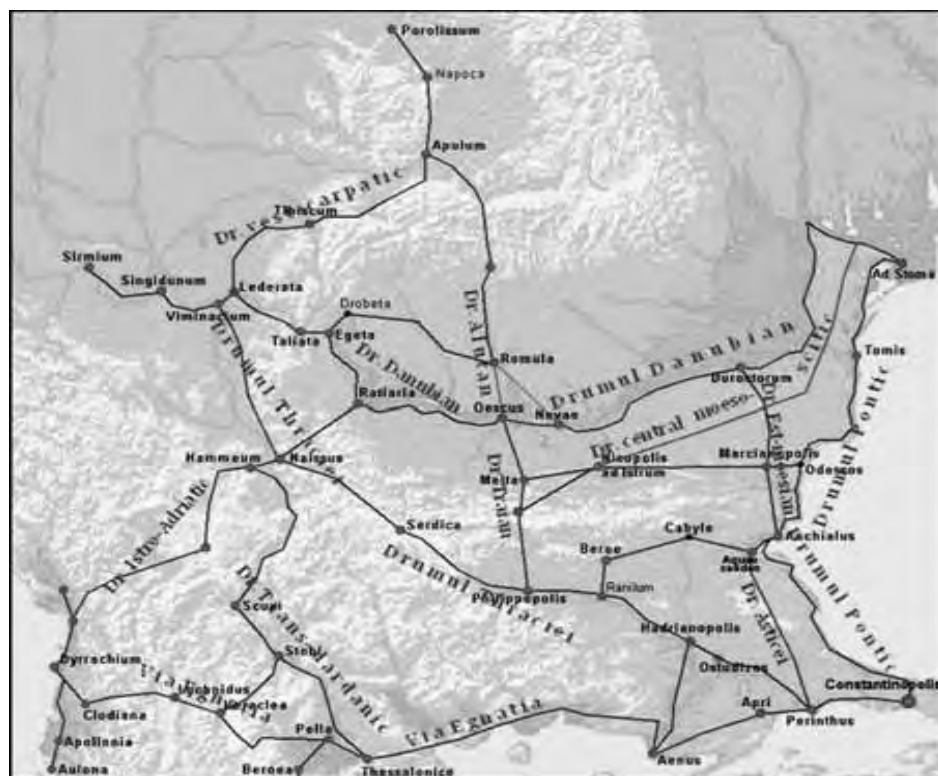
Fig. 2. The ancient routes on the Balkans

Fig. 3. Map of the entire Roman road network[5]

Commission proposed to the countries of Southeast Europe to undertake joint activity under the Regional Programme on Cultural and Natural Heritage, aiming to achieve peace and reconciliation in a region undergoing complex political, legal, economic and social transition. The Programme commences implementation in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, FYROM and Kosovo with three components: institutional capacity building, cultural heritage rehabilitation and local development. An important part of the programme is the initiative for the development of *"Cultural Corridors of South East Europe ",* proposed by the Bulgarian side and elaborated during the regular summit meetings in the Balkan Region.[16]

One on of those forums – the Regional *Cultural Corridors of South East Europe* Forum (Varna, 2005) adopted a declaration stating: "The historical links and axes of inter-cultural dialogue and exchange of ideas, beliefs, knowledge and skills, as well as cultural goods and expressions, have given rise to a unique network of cultural corridors and cultural routes in South East Europe, which deserve to be identified, preserved, sustainably used and promoted"

In the same declaration, the heads of state in the region undertake to contribute to the promotion of cultural heritage and cultural corridors within the region using modern dissemination technologies, in cooperation with the European Institute of Cultural Routes, Luxembourg, and other specialist institutions.

A Strategy for identifying, preserving, sustainably using and promoting cultural corridors is also being considered as well as an Action Plan for its practical implementation through integrated regional policies and actions.[17]

It is precisely in this context that we view the revival of the "Silk Road" as a cultural network between the East and the West in the modern world.

Today, a key role in ensuring stable connections between Europe and the countries in the Asia Pacific region is played by the **Euro-Asian transport corridors, among which is the TRACECA transport corridor**.[19]

This corridor is part of the *"Reconstruction of the Great Silk Road"* Programme aiming to connect West and East Europe via Caucasus and Caspian Sea to Central Asia and China.[20]

Reconstruction of the historical Silk Road commenced from the summit meeting held on September 8th 1998 in Baku, Azerbaijan, when the government leaders from the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Bulgaria, Georgia, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Republic of Tajikistan, the Republic of

Fig. 4. European roads passing through Bulgaria[11]

Fig. 5. Map of the Pan-European Transport Corridors[12]
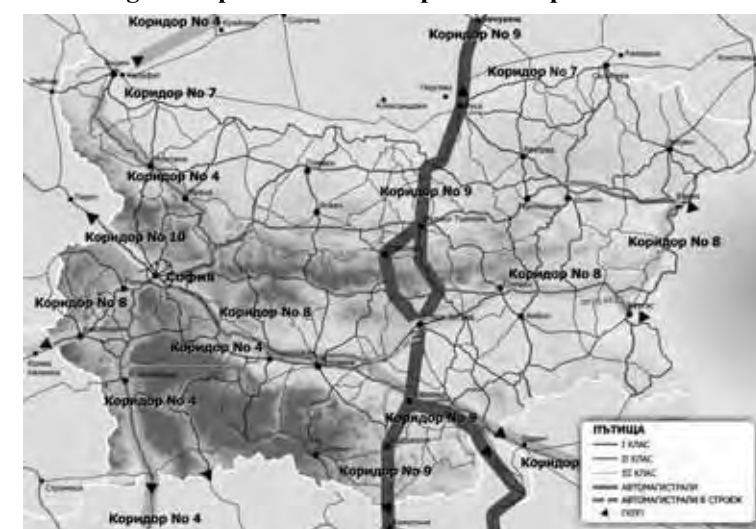
Fig.6. Pan- European Transport Corridors passingtrought Bulgaria[13]

Turkey, Ukraine, the Republic of Uzbekistan and their authorized representatives signed a "Basic Multilateral Agreement on international transport for development of the Europe – Caucasus - Asia Corridor".

The basic objectives of the agreement are:

To develop economic relations, trade and transport communication in the regions of Europe, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea and Asia;

To facilitate access to the international market of road, air and railway transport and also commercial maritime navigation;

To ensure traffic safety, security of goods and environmental protection;

To harmonize transport policy and also the legal framework in the field of transport;

To create equal conditions of competition between different types of transport.[23]

New motor and railway roads, bridges, ports and other transport infrastructure is being built along the entire route of the TRACECA corridor along with rehabilitation and reconstruction of existing roads, bridges and ports.

The First TRACECA Investment Forum held in 2010 is regarded as an obvious success in joint work and opens wide possibilities for improvement of the dialogue with international financial institutions and transport operators.

In addition to the directly participating countries, stakeholders in the development of TRACECA are the European Union and the USA, China, Japan and Korea, as well as other countries maintaining close commercial-economic relations between the East and the West.

China is the new superpower, which, under its recently adopted national "Go West!" campaign plans rapid development of 10 Chinese provinces bordering with Central Asian countries. The plan allocates 40% of the gross domestic product to the development of infrastructure, which will ensure connection to TRACECA (Stanev, 2007).[24]

"The analysis of the forecasts on the main development directions of global economics reveals that the major financial, commodity and information flows in the 21st century will be concentrated in the USA – Europe – Asia triangle. In this connection, the most important task facing the TRACECA countries (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Romania, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine) is the realization of their geopolitical and economic possibilities by developing transport-communication networks"[25].

Bulgaria is not just a piece along this eternal trade route between the East and the West but also an active part of the TRACECA transport corridor being revived. As a party in the Main
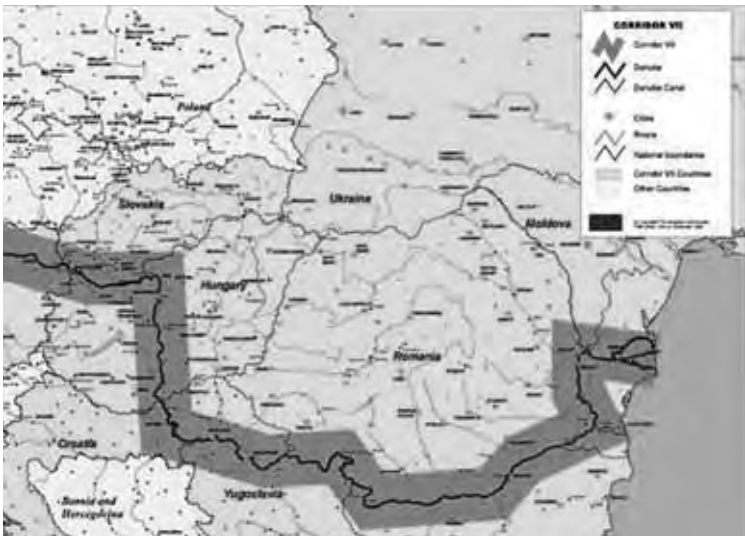
Fig. 7, 8. Pan-European corridors No 4 and No 7[14]

Fig. 9.

agreement, Bulgaria supports national structures for comprehensive activity under the TRACECA programme[26,27].

In our opinion, reconstruction and enrichment of this age-old road is necessary not just as a transport and trade corridor but as an active route for multilateral and transborder cultural dialogue between the cultures and civilizations of the East and the West.

For centuries, the Great Silk Road has connected the civilizations in the lands it crosses. It has played and still plays an important role in the development of communication which has, as yet, not been sufficiently covered in studies, in the cultural exchange between nations, and, what is especially important today, in the establishment of a constant, effective and predominantly peaceful dialogue between them, regardless of the different languages, customs, beliefs and religions they have and the various traditions they observe.

All this has served to turn the Great Silk Road into an incredible hub for exchange of the achievements of different civilizations. This is why **we regard the future inclusion of the nations along its route in the realization of the Global UN Alliance of Civilizations initiative[29] as greatly beneficial.** Given that the four main priority areas for realization of this important initiative are education, youth, media and migration, it is precisely schools of higher education than can serve as a rich and promising field for training and education in the spirit of constant beneficial dialogue between cultures and civilizations, in the spirit of the UNESCO resolutions connected to the preservation and exchange of the values of global tangible and intangible cultural heritage, in the culture of peace.

Spurred on by the deep conviction in the effectiveness and perspectives of such activity, we would like to propose to the conference participants to take part in an exchange of opinions under our main concept:

The TRACECA transport corridor to be resurrected with the assistance of UNESCO as a global cultural corridor by applying the experience and methods of South East European states, and the ancient "Silk Road" routes to be announced by UNESCO as a global cultural route.

Fig. 10.[18]
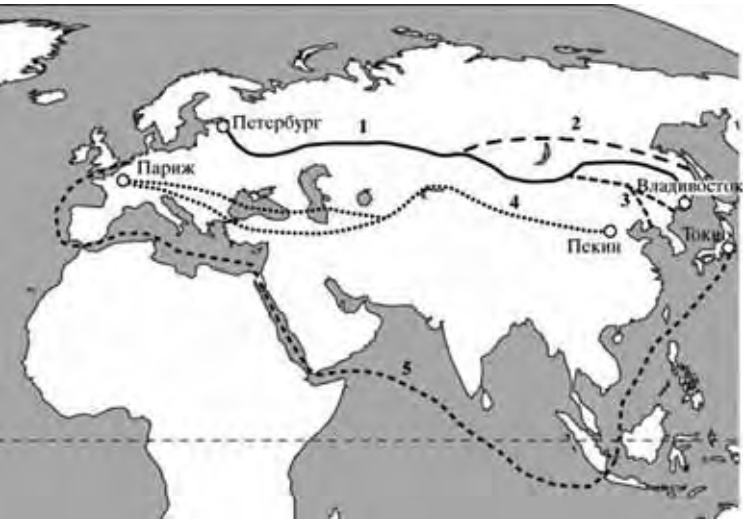
Fig. 11. Modern Trans-Eurasian transport roads
1 – Trans-Siberian route; 2- Baikal-Amur Mainline; 3- Chinese Eastern Railway; 4- TRACECA; 5-Sea Road from the Far East to West Europe[21]

Fig.12.[22]

Fig. 13.[28]

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2   Mamleyeva, L. A. The formation of the Silk Road in the transcivilizational interaction between the peoples of Eurasia (*Становление Великого шелкового пути в системе трансцивилизационного взаимодействия народов Евразии*) – In: Vita Antiqua. 1999. No 2, Ukrainian Art Academy, Kiev, pp. 53—61;

3   http://archaeology.kiev.ua/pub/mamleyeva.htm

4   http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001592/159291eo.pdf

5   http://www.seecorridors.eu/?w_p=21&w_l=1&w_c=10 Roman Road Network, 200 AD— general map of all Roman roads (общая карта всей сети римских дорог) - http://instapedia.com/m/Roman_Rite

6   This is Via Militaris (also known as Via Diagonalis) – a Roman road built by Emperor Nero; it starts from Constantinople where another important Roman road – the Via Egnatia forks out. http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Via_Militaris.

7   Via Egnatia — built in 2nd century B.C., it connects Durres with Byzantium. The road passes through Macedonia and Thrace and reaches Asia Minor where it flows into the Persian King's Road, Via Regia, known from the time of Cyrus the Great and Darius I. Via Egnatia traces the shores of the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmora, i.e. the south shores of Thrace, and connects Rome to the east provinces of the Empire.

8   Via Pontica – starts from Constantinople and passes through Apollonia, Messambria, Odessos, Byzone (today in Bulgaria), Kallatis, Tomi and Istros (today in Romania).

9   Via Istrum – the road is an East-West link along Lower Danube (*Ister*). The Roman road was built under the rule of Emperor Trajan in 1st century A.D. on the right side of Lower Danube (the Bulgarian side) along the length of the Danube limes, and was called the Low Danubian Road (*Untere Donaustraße*;). It connected the stations, castles and fortresses all the way to the Danube delta.

10   Each transport corridor comprises a road and railway route, with the exception of Corridor No 7, which is the route from the Danube mouth to Vienna.

11   http://www.mt.government.bg/upload/docs/NI_1_New.jpg

12   Pan-European corridors (Helsinki corridors) - http://www.mt.ro/traceca/english/maps.html

The Second Conference (Crete, 1994) defines 9 transport corridors – Helsinki Corridors or Pan-European Corridors; a tenth corridor was added during the Third Conference (Helsinki, 1997) for a better connection between Western Europe and the Balkan.

13   http://www.mt.government.bg/upload/docs/NI_1_New.jpg

14   http://www.unece.org/ http://www.unece.org/trans/main/ter/Countries/Corridors/corr4.jpg; http://www.unece.org/trans/main/ter/Countries/Corridors/corr7.jpg

15   http://www.seecorridors.eu/?w_p=62&w_l=1

16   The Regional forum in Ohrid (2003); the Regional forum in Tirana (2004); the Regional forum in Varna (2005);

the Regional forum in Opatija (2006); the Regional forum in Romania (2007), the Regional forum in Plovdiv (2007) and the Regional forum in Greece in 2008-http://sic.mfa.government.bg/?act=content&rec=1091

17   Varna Declaration (Cultural Corridors of South East Europe Common Past and Shared Heritage - A Key to Future Partnership – Regional Forum) 2005.

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23   www.mt.ro/traceca/russian/networks_tina.html

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Friday, June 1st 2007 08:25

25   www.flot2017.com/file/show/none/30358

26   Ordinance No 135 of the Council of Ministers dated July 19th (State Gazette, issue 62 / 28.07.2000) establishes the TRACECA State-Public Consultancy Commission (TRACECA SPCC) The commission comprises representatives of stakeholder ministries and other departments and organizations. The Minister of Transport serves as Chairman for TRACECA SPCC.

27   www.bcci.bg/pictures/koridoria.gif

28   http://www.traceca-org.org/fileadmin/fm-dam/COUNTRY_MAPS/Png2/CNTRY_BUL_A5_110dpi.png

29   The Alliance of Civilizations (AoC) is an initiative launched by the UN Secretary General in July 2005, upon a proposal by Spain and Turkey. This Initiative is regarded as a tool for addressing the increasing danger of the use of intercultural differences as a motivating factor for violence. Placed in the wider context of the UN activities, AoC is part of the international efforts for overcoming and averting threats to international peace and security. -http://www.mfa.bg/bg/pages/view/270

The "Alliance of Civilizations" (UNAOC) aims to improve understanding and cooperative relations among nations and peoples across cultures and religions, and to help counter the forces that fuel polarization and extremism. - http://www.unaoc.org/.

TEACHING BUSINESS CHINESE AND SPREAD OF ECONOMIC CULTURE – A NEW SILK ROAD LEADING TO THE SOUTHERN PART OF AFRICA

by He Yi, Hebei University of Economics and Trade, Confucius Institute in Zambia

ABSTRACT: The famous "Silk Road" was an important trade route which connected Asia, North Africa and Europe. Now it has become the symbol of friendly exchange between China and all countries around the world. The establishment of the Confucius Institute at the Zambia University, especially the establishment of business Chinese teaching and the spread of economic culture, based on their practical application, have created a new Silk Road. Chinese, a language of high economic value, with its richness in oriental wisdom, practical and rational thinking and being a model of economic development with Chinese characteristics, has provided new development ideas for the economic recovery in the African areas.

商务汉语教学与经济文化传播——通往南部非洲的新丝绸之路

何懿，赞比亚大学孔子学院

中国古代著名的"丝绸之路"，是连接亚洲、北非和欧洲的重要贸易通道，沿着这条路，古代的商贾把中国的丝绸和茶叶等物品运往欧洲、北非，世界人民通过这条路发现了古老而神秘的中国及东方文明，如今"丝绸之路"已经成为中国与世界各国友好交流和发展的象征。

位于非洲南部的赞比亚自1964年与中国建交以来，两国的友好往来就从未中断过，赞比亚也是中国在中南部非洲地区重要的经贸合作伙伴，中国给予赞比亚经济、医疗、教育、文化等多方面的无私的援助，著名的坦赞铁路就是友好的见证，也是新丝绸之路的开端之作。近几年来，两国高层成功互访有力推动了两国关系的进一步发展，经贸合作蓬勃发展，双边贸易和中国对赞投资连年快速增长，呈现出巨大活力，人文和社会领域的交往也愈加活跃。2010年，赞政府继续实行经济多元化方针，采取更加积极的财政货币政策，增强经济可持续发展和抵御外部风险能力，伴随着全球经济缓慢回升，赞比亚经济已经度过危机，回到正常的轨道上来了。目前在赞比亚的中资机构已经达到310家，中国对赞比亚的经济援助力度不断加大。新年伊始，国务院副总理回良玉就访问了赞比亚，出席了首都卢萨卡体育馆的奠基仪式，签署了两国政府经济技术合作协定、加强农业合作谅解备忘录等。1月19日至22日，商务部钟山副部长又率中国政府经贸代表团访问了赞比亚，考察了中国水电建设集团承建的卡里巴湖水电站项目和中国有色集团建设的中赞经贸合作区卢萨卡分区，会见了赞比亚商业、贸易、工业、财政与国家计划部等政府高级官员，出席了第109届广交会卢萨卡推介会，并代表中国政府和赞比亚、坦桑尼亚两国签署了《中华人民共和国政府、坦桑尼亚联合共和国政府和赞比亚共和国政府关于中国政府免除坦赞铁路部分债务的议定书》，见证了《中国对外贸易中心和赞比亚发展署合作协议》签约仪式。

中国—汉语，这已经成为赞比亚人生活中的关键词，他们意识到掌握汉语就等于打开了通往中国这个古老神秘东方古度的一扇窗，也就走向了新的丝绸之路，为自己未来的升学、就业和发展开拓了新的途径。

2010年7月26日，国家汉办与赞比亚大学签署了合作建立孔子学院的协议，河北经贸大学也同时与赞比亚大学签署两校执行协议，赞比亚大学孔子学院成立，开始了新丝绸之路的构建，我们致力于汉语教学和文化经济的传播，并积极采取各种措施，努力服务于赞比亚当地经济和社会的发展，尽量满足社会各界人士学习汉语的需求，自2010年10月第一个基础汉语班开班以来，又在赞比亚大学广播电台开设了汉语教学和文化广播节目，向赞比亚大学学生和广大市民传播中国语言文化、政治经济等各方面的信息；2011年1月，成功开办了第一个商务汉语班，这是与赞比亚投资信托银行合作的结晶，目前已经有15人，学生都是该银行的高级管理人员；2011年3月22日，开设了第一个旅游汉语班，也是应社会需求而开办的。众所周知，随着中国对赞比亚及其它非洲地区外援及投资力度的加大，到赞比亚经商、旅游、学习、建工厂、农场的中国人不断增加，精通中英双语的人才越来越有市场。一部分富有远见的赞比亚管理者、商人和政府工作人员都看到了这一点，他们迫切希望学习汉语，把握商机，占领有限的市场空间。经与首都地区六家旅行社联系并友好协商，孔子学院于3月22日开设旅游汉语班，每周两次，利用工作之余学习。教师针对行业特点和需求设计汉语课程，达到服务中赞两国经济建设，服务赞比亚人民的目的。

旅游汉语班深受赞比亚旅行社经理和职员的欢迎，他们踊跃报名参加，Juls Africa L.T.D旅行社的经理非常支持，她不仅自己报名学习，还号召旅行社所有职员加入这个行列，并积极创造条件，提供授课场所。同时孔子学院也应赞比亚大学及社会各界的需求，开设了中高层管理人员班、基础汉语班第二等级和中级班，中级班是赞比亚大学孔子学院自成立以来的最高等级班，学生不仅能说会写，还能演唱中文歌曲，在国家汉办"三巡"活动中，他们的表演唱《童年》深受好评，新华社记者还专门采访了其中的主要演员，社会各界都给予很高的评价。

目前赞比亚的星级旅行社、酒店、商场、珠宝店、机场及移民局、空军、非洲东南部市场联合会和大学、中小学等对汉语的需求都非常迫切，中国驻赞比亚的许多企业也提出要求，希望赞比亚大学孔子学院能开展赞比亚员工汉语培训、提供精通中英文的翻译、司机、市场营销人员等，因此汉语教学的一个新成员—商务汉语在赞比亚具有极大的发展潜力。

商务汉语教学是随着近年来中国经济的迅速崛起而发展起来的。中国历史和中外交流史都证明，语言走向海外，从来都是和某一国家国力的强盛、文化的发达及经济的繁荣紧密相关的。无论是强大的汉朝、辉煌的唐代，还是明治维新后的日本，工业革命后的西方国家，各国留学们单纯为了学语言而学者可谓少之又少，绝大多数学习者是把学习语言和今后的择业及工作前景结合在一起的。目前来华留学生选择的专业以商贸、中医药、

汉语教学、某些工科和文史哲专业者居多。来华留学生这些选择反映了中国在当今世界所处的经济、文化位置，也基本体现了当前中外交流的侧重所在，也就是说，学习汉语从来就不是一个单纯的语言现象，而是兼有政治、文化、经济的内涵。

对外经济贸易大学校党委书记、国际商务汉语教学与资源开发基地（北京）主任王玲说，国际贸易在不同国家、不同文化、不同环境中进行，交往中语言资质在某种程度上会直接影响到贸易额。市场调研显示，许多外国人学习汉语是为了经商、做贸易、找更好的工作。目前，对外经贸大学有外国留学生2800多人，占在校学生总数的17%，其中攻读学位的约70%，大部分学习金融贸易专业，商务汉语在其中有很大的需求。

随着经济全球化的深入发展，语言在促进各国贸易往来、人文交流等方面的作用日益突出。2001年，中国加入WTO，2008年北京奥运、2010年世博会成功举办，中国国际化进程不断加快，国际市场地位迅速提升，更多的国家希望与中国合作，汉语在世界范围内的需求进一步增加，汉语教学在全世界领域内呈蓬勃发展的良好势头，汉语言文字报这样评论道："刚刚过去的世界金融危机产生了一个积极影响：它使中国进入世界重大问题决策前沿的时间提前了十年。"(1)汉语已经成为一种具有高经济价值的语言，古老的东方智慧和中国特色的发展模式为西方的经济复苏提供着新的思路。

因此从专业角度设置汉语课程，将汉语教学与各种专业的学习和技能的培养结合起来，是对外汉语教学的发展方向。在去年8月召开的非洲地区2010年联席会议上，孔子学院总部许琳主任、孔子学院总部理事、刘燕华参事都特别提出2011年孔子学院新的发展趋势，应该是为汉语教学嫁接上新的内容，那就是把汉语教学与实用技能的培养结合起来，尤其是在非洲地区，以语言作为工具，教技术带语言，尽快发展适用于非洲国家的实际情况和特点的短、平、快实用技术，帮助他们尽快致富：要把现代科技手段应用于汉语教学，开发新的汉语教学工具，简单实用，经济易学，这是孔子学院发展的新的增长点，因此以实际应用为基点的商务汉语教学已经呈现出方兴未艾的良好发展势头。

"国际商务汉语教育的理念是以人为本，把语言作为人类生存和发展的范畴来理解，根据需求来开发我们的教材和课程，宗旨是提高人的技能、增进相互理解、促进经贸合作。"(2)对外经贸大学书记王玲说。因此商务汉语的教学应该掌握以下几点：

第一，商务汉语的课程设置，应该具有较大的社会生活覆盖面，要贴近实际商务活动，要反映具体商务活动的过程和细节。这样，学生才能学有所获，学以致用。

第二，学习的核心内容应该是与商务贸易相关的汉语词汇、短语、句子，以及相关的语法知识，并最终能够掌握并运用这些语言要素进行商贸活动与生活交际，具备相关的语言交际能力。上述语言要素在商务汉语教学无疑处于核心位置，是学习者的基本功，只有打好基础，才可以进一步学习其它相关知识。

第三，商务汉语课程设置和教材建设，还应该考略到相关的背景，如商场的礼仪文化、中国的社会结构、中国的经济地理、中国的产业分布，中国的经济发展战略等等，也就是说，商务汉语不能单纯从语言教学的角度来考虑，专业术语是核心，而与专业相关联的背景则是外延。没有核心，商务汉语就不能成为一个专门的方向，而缺乏外延，商务汉语也很难真正成为一个被社会和学生广泛接受的专业课程。

目前商务汉语已经形成自己的体系，如，配套的教材，实用的手册，统一的考试项目—BCT，商务部每年都举办"发展中国家商务汉语官员研修班"，目的是培养能说会写汉语的商务人才，为中国与发展中国家的友好往来和经贸合作服务。作为赞比亚大学孔子学院的中方承办单位—河北经贸大学，每年都受商务部委托，举办此类研修班，已经培养了一批了解中国的发展并愿意为促进中赞贸易和经济合作而努力的非洲地区官员，在校园学生中本科生、留学生绝大多数选择商贸经济类课程，河北经贸大学也是以商贸经济学科见长的大学，国际贸易等学科在全国都很有影响，加上有赞比亚大学孔子学院的办学优势，相信在不久的将来，商务汉语教学和经济文化传播在赞比亚的发展一定会呈现出蓬勃发展的良好态势，为赞比亚及南部非洲培养更多的经济贸易人才，搭建起南部非洲与中国的新丝绸之路。

注释：

(1) [宣传] 对外经贸大学：发挥学科优势，努力打造商务汉语国际品牌对外经贸大学社科网2010年5月20日

(2) [快讯] 回顾成长脚印　展望发展前景：商务汉语基地盘点2010年工作对外经贸大学新闻网2010年12月23日

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国家汉办主任许琳及刘燕华参事在非洲地区2010年联席会议上的讲话
网络上的一些文章

LITERATURE
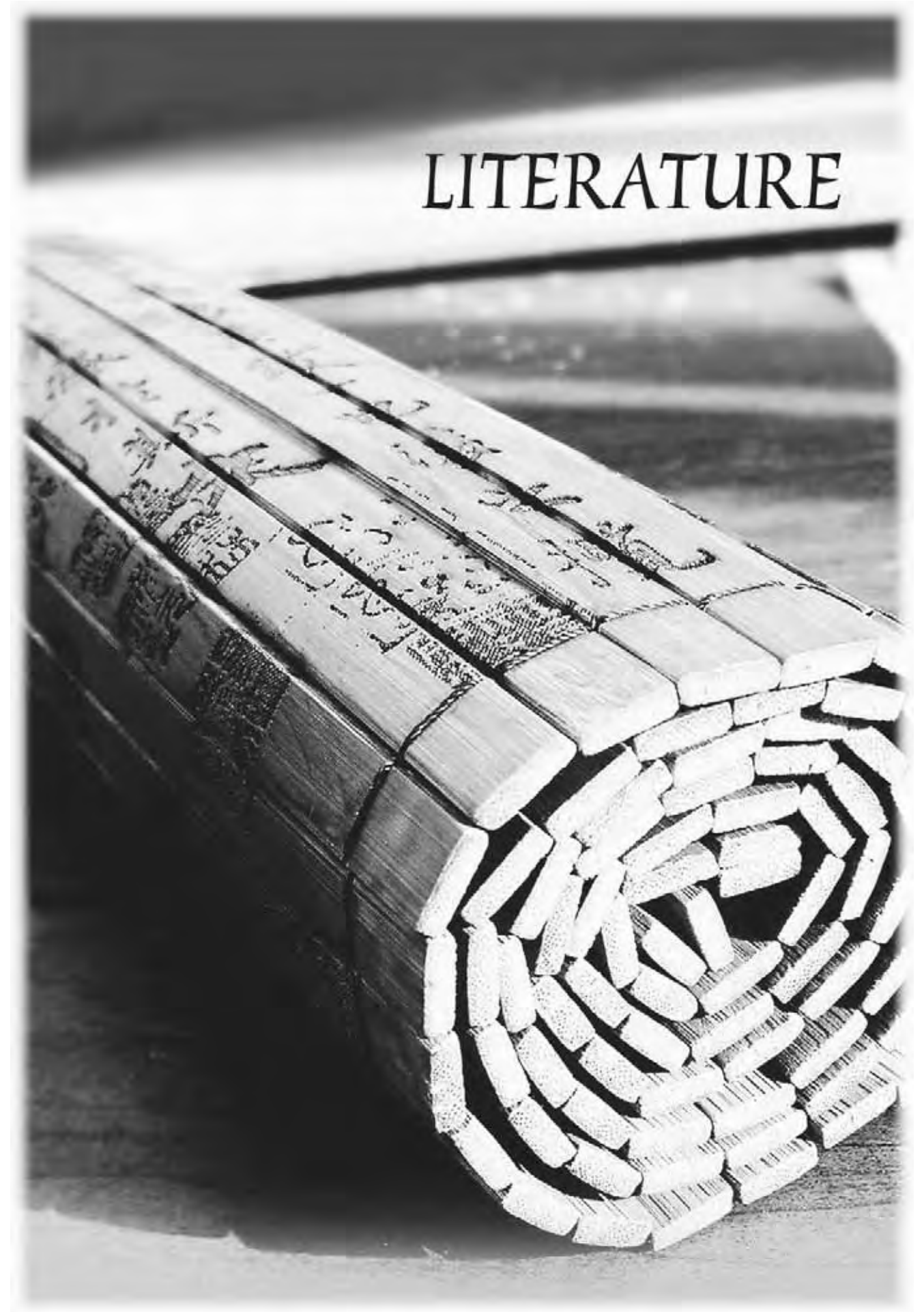
ON RUSSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF LU XUN

by Alexey Rodionov, St. Petersburg State University

ABSTRACT: Since Lu Xun has been regarded as a key figure in Chinese literature of the 20th century, he also became the most often translated and published Chinese modern writer in the Soviet Union. There exist Russian translations of at least 407 literary works of Lu Xun, where 175 are his letters. Lu Xun's works were published in 20 separate collections with a circulation of 1463225 copies, among them the first edition appeared in 1929 and the last in 1989.

29 works of Lu Xun have more than one Russian translation, while some, like "The True Story of AQ" and "The New Year's Sacrifice", were even translated 5 times. 42 of Lu Xun's stories were published 5 times and more.

Though being successful in the long run, the translation of Lu Xun into Russian language has not been always easy. Actually, almost the entire job was made in 5 periods, which encompass only 6 out of more than 80 years, that is, in 1929, 1938, 1945, 1954-1955 and 1971.

Our paper discusses the political, economical, literary and cultural circumstances of translating and publishing Lu Xun in the USSR and Russia.

论鲁迅作品的俄文译作

罗季奥诺夫，俄罗斯圣彼得堡大学

苏联汉学界一直把鲁迅视为20世纪中国文学最重要的代表人物，因此，鲁迅的创作和书信文章自然成为最早被译成俄文的中国现代文学文本之一。在俄苏至少有407篇鲁迅的作品和文章被译成俄文（其中175篇是信件）。在中国20世纪作家当中，鲁迅也是第一个有俄文单行本文集出版的人，自1929年至今有20本鲁迅作品选集问世，其总发行量达到1,463,225册（比如，苏俄的老舍文选一共有22本，其发行量约为1014700册，张天翼文选有 11本，其发行量为862000册，茅盾文选有13本，其发行量为 680600册，巴金文选有7本，其发行量为 555000册，郭沫若文选有11本，其发行量约为460000册，叶圣陶文选有3本，其发行量为210000册）。

不过，鲁迅文学的翻译和出版活动在不同时期的力度明显地是不一样的，这体现了与20世纪中俄两国坎坷关系密切相连的俄苏读者对中国文学态度的变化。

在鲁迅文学的翻译过程中可以看到5个活跃时期：1929年、1938年、1945年、1954-1955年和1971年。

1929年列宁格勒"激浪"出版社发表了由瓦西里耶夫(Б.А.Васильев)编选的题为《阿Q正传》的鲁迅小说选集，发行量为3000册。该选集收录了《呐喊》中的《阿Q正传》（瓦西里耶夫译）、《头发的故事》、《孔乙己》、《风波》、《故乡》、《社戏》（以上均为什图金(А.А.Штукин)译）等6篇小说和《彷徨》中的《幸福的家庭》、《高老夫子》(卡扎克维奇(З.В.Казакевич)译)等2篇小说。这本书的问世与瓦西里耶夫1924-1927年间被公派到中国当翻译有直接关系。他在中国认识了曹靖华，并在后者介绍下阅读了鲁迅的创作，也与鲁迅建立了联系。1925年鲁迅先生为《阿Q正传》的俄文版提供了序言和自叙传略。这可以证明瓦西里耶夫策划在苏联翻译出版《阿Q正传》，比实际完成的时间起码早了4年。该文集所收译文在准确性和修辞方面都称得上是比较成功的。当时苏联《新世纪》杂志发表弗里德(Я.Фрид)的评论称："鲁迅是最好的中国现代作家之一，而且在海外也很有名气。他对中国农村的了解，善于表现日常生活微小细节的本领，以及有分寸的讽刺和抒情意味，使这位文学家的作品对欧洲读者也具有吸引力"（10，第255页）。

同年，莫斯科青年近卫军出版社以5000册的发行量出版了科洛科洛夫(В.С.Колоколов)编选的题为《正传》的中国现代文学选集，该文集除了其他作家的创作以外，也收入了科金(М.Д.Кокин)译的《阿Q正传》和《孔乙己》等2篇鲁迅的小说（参见9）。考虑到译者的个人经历，翻译工作的完成时间应该不晚于1927年。应该指出，科金的译文虽然在修辞方面很顺畅，但存在许多错误。译者还把《阿Q正传》 删除了不少地方。因此，瓦西里耶夫对这本文集给予了比较否定的评价（1，第290页）。

不管怎样，上述两部书的问世标志着鲁迅文学走进苏联读者中的开始。1930年代，有鲁迅的单篇杂文和文学创作零散发表于若干苏联杂志和报纸，但数量并不算多。下一个翻译热潮是在国内外引起广泛反响的鲁迅先生逝世以后出现的。1938，年苏联科学院出版社莫斯科和列宁格勒两地出版了《鲁迅（1881-1936）：纪念中国现代伟大的文豪论文译文集》，其发行量达到了10 ,225册（参见3）。这本文集除了对鲁迅的评论以外，还收入了几篇小说和散文。其中包括选自《呐喊》的集体翻译的《阿Q正传》(书中说明，这是集体完成的、再由鲁多夫(Л.Н.Рудов)、萧三、史薛青(А.Г.Шпринцин)编辑的译文，但已看到文字就可以知道这实际上是于1937年受到镇压的瓦西里耶夫的译作)、什图金译的《白光》和《端午节》；选自《彷徨》的什图金的《示众》和《祝福》；选自《野草》的什图金译的《狗的驳诘》；选自《故事新编》的什图金译的《奔月》。此外，还有萧三译的《一九三三年上海所感》等。虽然在凯瑟尔(М.Кессель)对纪念集的评论中严厉批评了什图金译文的艺术性，其实它们在修辞风格上确实很接近鲁迅的原文（参见2）。

令人遗憾的是，1920-1930年代首次介绍给苏联读者的鲁迅创作的译文后来差不多都没有再使用。其原因更多地并不在于译文有多大的缺点，而是各位译者颇为悲剧的政治命运。在苏联三十年代大肃反时期，瓦西里耶夫和科金于1937年被枪毙，卡扎克维奇和什图金于1938年被捕并分别被判处流放和劳改。在这几位汉学家于1950年代中期获得平反之前，他们的译作不可能公开再版。

苏联对鲁迅创作的翻译工作在二战结束后又活跃起来。1945年，作为苏联最重要的出版社之一的莫斯科国立文学出版社以10000册的发行量出版了《鲁迅作品精选》（参见4）。所收作品中有一部分以前从来没有被译成俄

文，如《彷徨》中的《肥皂》和《在酒楼上》两篇小说；《野草》中的《秋夜》、《求乞者》、《风筝》、《立论》等4篇散文，另有鲁迅写于不同年代的杂文和信件。此外，该文集还收入了《阿Q正传》、《端午节》、《孔乙己》、《明天》、《白光》、《一件小事》、《故乡》、《狗的驳诘》等鲁迅作品的新的俄文译文，其中不少后来成为鲁迅作品俄译的经典译文而多次再版。这本书的译者除了二战前参加鲁迅翻译工作的科洛科洛夫、波兹涅耶娃(Л.Д.Позднеева)、费德林(Н.Т.Федоренко)以外，还加上了罗戈夫(В.Н.Рогов)、艾德林(Л.З.Эйдлин)、齐赫文斯基(С.Л.Тихвинский)和瓦希科夫(В.В.Васьков)。实际上，这本选集成为苏联1971年前由费德林、艾德林、罗戈夫编选的其他鲁迅文集的基础。需要特别说明的是，罗戈夫编选的鲁迅选集除了苏联版本以外，还曾在中国出版。

新中国成立后最初的10年间，苏联重点出版鲁迅著作。其翻译工作于苏中在政治上空前密切的1950年代中期达到了高潮。1954-1955年国立文学出版社出版了由波兹涅耶娃、科洛科洛夫、西蒙诺夫(К.М.Симонов)、费德林编选的四卷本鲁迅文集，其发行量为30000册（参见8）。这本文集收入了鲁迅所有的小说、散文、主要的杂文和信件。文集一共收入了390篇文本，其中创作为215篇，信件为175篇。也就是说，有了这部文集以后，鲁迅的创作虽然还没有被全部译成译作，但翻译的规模和范围是比较令人满意的。除了1945年文集的译者以外，参加四卷本集翻译的还有彼得罗夫(В.В.Петров)、帕纳修克(В.А.Панасюк)、马努欣(В.С.Манухин)、扬申卿(Э.М.Яншина)、罗加乔夫(А.П.Рогачев)、华克生(Д.Н.Воскресенский)和菲什曼(О.Л.Фишман)。不过，绝大部分的译作由波兹涅耶娃、科洛科洛夫、彼得罗夫、罗戈夫等4人完成。

1950年代末-1960年代初出版的大量鲁迅文集都采用四卷文集所收入的译文。新的译作非常少，其中比较重要的是1964年的《鲁迅讽刺故事集》（参见7）。它收入了波兹涅耶娃新译的《理水》、《非攻》、《奔月》等3篇小说。另外，《外国文学》(1961, № 10; 1966, № 10)、《星辰》(1961, № 10) 等杂志发表了一部分1954-1955年文集未收入的鲁迅杂文、诗歌和散文。 国立文学出版社筹备在最为权威的《世界文学丛书》框架内于1971年出版《鲁迅中短篇小说卷》，又一次推动了鲁迅作品译文的更新工作（参见5）。需要指出的是，只有公认为世界文学经典的文豪才有资格入选这部丛书，而在中国二十世纪文人当中，鲁迅是惟一享受这个殊荣的作家。《鲁迅中短篇小说卷》全部收入了《呐喊》、《彷徨》、《野草》、《故事新编》等4个文集，另外还有早期小说《怀旧》。此前多次再版的波兹涅耶娃、科洛科洛夫、帕纳修克对《彷徨》和《故事新编》的译作由加托夫(А.Г.Гатов)、谢马诺夫(В.И.Семанов)、索罗金(В.Ф.Сорокин)、索罗金娜(Т.Н.Сорокина)、苏霍鲁科夫(В.Т.Сухоруков)的新译代替。考虑到新旧译文的艺术价值其实不相上下，这次更新多取决于编选者的爱好和意志，而不具有多大的客观需要。实际上，1971年新的译作结束了我国对鲁迅创作的翻译时代，此后至今没出现任何新译。1980年代出版的鲁迅作品版本都是根据《世界文学丛书》所收译文编选的。有意思的是，最近一次的鲁迅作品译文在俄罗斯问世，是2002年短篇小说《故乡》被收入《中国二十世纪诗歌小说集》，但编者采用了波兹涅耶娃早在1945年的译作，而非苏霍鲁科夫1971年的译文。

据我们的统计，有29篇鲁迅的作品具有两种及两种以上的译文。这都是小说和散文，还有一篇自传。

表一《具有多次俄文译作的鲁迅创作》

译作次数	该类作品的数量和名称
5次	2篇：《阿Q正传》、《祝福》
4次	2篇：《故乡》、《奔月》
3次	8篇：《自叙传略》、《黎水》、《铸剑》、《补天》、《非攻》、《一件小事》、《社戏》、《孔乙己》
2次	17篇：《起死》、《采薇》、《聪明人和傻子和奴才》、《狗的驳诘》、《孤独者》、《兄弟》、《长明灯》、《肥皂》、《示众》、《高老夫子》、《幸福的家庭》、《端午节》、《风波》、《明天》、《头发的故事》、《药》、《白光》

对同一个文学作品存在着好几个译文除了对译作完善的追求以外（如，波兹涅耶娃不但对其译作做过修改，甚至还重新翻译。她在1941年和1945年发表的《故乡》译作就是各自独立的，没有继承关系），还会有翻译工作以外的、包括比较悲剧性的原因。

在译成俄文的400多部鲁迅作品中，42部发表过5次及以上。后者包括《呐喊》、《彷徨》、《故事新编》集所有的小说，《野草》集的九篇散文，《且介亭》集的一篇散文和鲁迅自传。收入到下列图表的15篇小说具有10个及以上的版本。

<div align="center">表二《苏俄出版最多的鲁迅创作》</div>

排名	作品/文集	版本次数/翻译次数
1	《阿Q正传》/《呐喊》	21/5
2	《故乡》/《呐喊》	20/4
3	《孔乙己》/《呐喊》	19/3
4	《一件小事》/《呐喊》	18/3
5	《明天》/《呐喊》	16/2
5	《在酒楼上》/《彷徨》	16/1
6	《祝福》/《彷徨》	14/5
7	《社戏》/《呐喊》	12/3
7	《风筝》/《野草》	12/1
8	《风波》/《呐喊》	11/2
8	《立论》/《野草》	11/1
9.	《药》/《呐喊》	10/2
9.	《幸福的家庭》/《彷徨》	10/2
10.	《狗的驳诘》/《野草》	10/2
11.	《秋夜》/《野草》	10/1

这些在俄罗斯最受欢迎的鲁迅作品中，有8篇出自《呐喊》、3篇出自《彷徨》、4篇出自《野草》。

由此可见，鲁迅创作中最吸引编选者、出版者和译者兴趣的是其突出反映中国人内心世界和中国社会的小说。至于鲁迅的杂文，它虽然大部分被译成俄文，但是再版的很少，因为苏联读者大多客观上不了解中国1920-1930年代的文学和政治论战，所以只有汉学家才对它们产生兴趣。

鲁迅创作在苏联的出版进程大体上与翻译活跃时期是一致的，也具有同样的历史背景。

<div align="center">表三 《苏联鲁迅作品俄文单行本的发行量》</div>

	1929	1938	1945	1950	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1959	1960	1964	1971	1981	1986	1989
文集1	3000	10225	10000	150000	90000	90000	30000	100000	90000	15000	5000	30000	300000	75000	100000	100000
文集2				150000		75000				10000						
文集3				30000												
一年小计	3000	10225	10000	330000	90000	165000	30000	100000	90000	25000	5000	30000	300000	75000	100000	100000
总量	1 463 225 册															

<div align="center">表四 《鲁迅作品单行本在不同年代出版情况》</div>

年代	版本次数	发行量
1920	1	3000
1930	1	10225
1940	1	10000
1950	11	830000
1960	2	35000
1970	1	300000
1980	3	275000
1990	0	0
2000	0	0
总共	20	1463225

需要特别说明的是，上述统计只涉及鲁迅作品的俄文单行本，而不包括苏联和俄罗斯出版的大量中国20世纪文学集体文集所收入的鲁迅创作。不过，后者的出版趋势与前者是一样的。

苏联出版鲁迅作品的高潮发生于1950年代，这一时期全国各地的出版社很愿意出版友好中国的文学。苏中关

系一冷冻，出版方面就出现了急剧下降。不过与政治趋势正相反，鲁迅创作被纳入到这一时期出版的《世界文学丛书》，这就多少掩盖了当时并不乐观的文学交流情况。1980年代两国关系的正常化及其矛盾的缓和，又为鲁迅作品的再版创造了有利的条件，但它还是没有恢复到1950年代的规模。应该提到的是，1950-1980年代鲁迅文集4次由"儿童文学"出版社以大发行量出版，主要针对高中生。此事证明，苏联对鲁迅文学的道德伦理价值有着极高的评价。至于苏联解体以后，俄罗斯20年间没有发表鲁迅著作的单行本，体现了俄罗斯读者大众对中国现当代文学兴趣的下降。文学出版社在市场经济条件下也更愿意出版比较畅销的大众文学。令人遗憾的是，年轻的俄罗斯读者绝大部分没听说过鲁迅等任何其他中国现代作家的名字。不过，我们坚信，鲁迅创作对我国当代读者完全保有高度的思想和艺术价值，其苏联时期的译文绝大部分也仍然不朽。

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE RECEPTION OF DADAISM AND SURREALISM IN THE CHINESE LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT: The dadaism and especially the surrealism are two of the most influential trends in the art and literature of the XXth century. In contrast to other literary schools (critical realism, naturalism, symbolism etc.), the dadaism and the surrealism don't meet with timely response in the Chinese literary circles and many years are left aside the intensive process of reception and accommodation of western artistic trends in the Chinese literary sphere.
The paper is dedicated to some aspects that would add new outlines to the otherwise scanty information about the two trends and their direct or indirect impact upon the contemporary and the modern Chinese literature.

НЯКОИ АСПЕКТИ ОТ РЕЦЕПЦИЯТА НА ДАДАИЗМА И СЮРРЕАЛИЗМА В КИТАЙСКАТА ЛИТЕРАТУРА

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Началото на XX в. в китайския език, литература и култура принадлежи към онези периоди, които диктуват тенденциите и динамиката за десетилетия напред. Разбира се, той е органически свързан с цялостната политическа и социална криза и последвалото сгромолясване на имперската система. Но епицентърът на тези плодоносни сътресения е в менталността на литераторите-ерудити, които безвъзвратно изгубват своята институционализирана мисия на повече или по-малко строги тълкуватели и гаранти на древната мъдрост с пряко участие в имперската власт. Сега те са въвлечени в екзистенциална криза, допълнително усилена от замяната през 1919 г. на официалния и литературен език *уън-йен* с близкия до разговорната реч *байхуа*, букв. *ясна, разбираема реч*. Класическият език бива детрониран, а високият социален статут на литератора – елиминиран. Мащабите и дълбочината на тези явления можем да илюстрираме с твърдението на холандския синолог Магиел ван Кревел: „*класическият и разговорният език не са различни лингвистични регистри, те са отделни езици, различаващи се както латинския и днешния френски*" (Van Crevel 2008:3).

Същевременно, Опиумните войни драматично откъсват китайската империя от състоянието й на невъзмутимо себеупование и отношението към Запада рязко се изменя от снизходително презрение, през премерено любопитство (да си спомним призива на ерудита-държавник Уей Юен „*да изучим предимствата на чуждоземците, за да ги сразим*"), до жадна любознателност, съчетана с остро недоволство от състоянието на нещата в Поднебесието. Започва невиждан по своите мащаби и дълбочина в цялата история на китайския свят процес на опознаване, адаптиране и възпроизвеждане на Запада на китайска почва, който в семиотичния смисъл на понятието се явява интензивен „превод" на основните актуални и традиционни понятия и идеи в науката, техниката, философската мисъл и изкуството на Запада. В цялата китайска история най-близкият до началото на XX в. по мащабност на семиотичния превод е периодът от, да речем, III-V в., когато будистката мисъл и понятиен апарат биват инкорпорирани в китайския свят. Но докато учението на Буда с началните си стъпки в Китай успява да открие все пак някаква степен на семантична еквивалентност в изконни местни понятия, с помощта на които да се закрепи в китайското светоусещане (достатъчен е примерът с първите преводи на „*нирвана*" на китайски, а именно – *дао*), преди да премине към по-дълбоките нива на овладяване (превод), то в началото на XX в. възприемането на Запада е съпроводено с небивало семантично напрежение, което задвижва активен процес на словотворене буквално във всички сфери и нива.

В тази ситуация в Китай избуява и едно друго словотворчество, вече разбирано само по себе си като сътворяване на нов тип художествена словесност. То протича като сложно взаимодействие на две тенденции: 1. преодоляване на традицията, което се разгръща в диапазона от безпощадно рушене до внимателно пре/о/чистване; и 2. изграждане на новата китайска словесност въз основата, в различна степен, на живата реч и западните образци. А тези образци включват и арсенала на западните литературни направления от XIX и началото на XX в.

Тук бих искал да обърна внимание върху един аспект, който може да наречем *синдром на криворазбраната цивилизация*. Известно е, че по една парадоксална логика китайските прогресивни литератори правят своите първи стъпки в опознаването на Запада, отправяйки се на Изток – към Япония. А в своя пътепис за Япония българският писател Светослав Минков изрежда с присмехулна ирония примери за криво разбрани или поне криво преведени заглавия на класически западни произведения, да речем, „*Война и мир*" на Толстой в японското издание звучи като „*Ронещият се вишнев цвят – последни вести от Русия*". Иначе казано, не бива да игнорираме проблема за достоверността в японската версия на Запада, от която частично черпят познания китайските интелектуалци. *Синдромът на криворазбраната цивилизация* несъмнено в различна степен присъства и в тези случаи, когато китайски литератори черпят от извора, т.е. когато заминават като студенти или стипендианти в държави, които дават тон на литературните моди като Франция, Германия, Англия, САЩ. И трябва да се подчертае, че за разлика от едноименната битова комедия на Добри Войников, *криворазбирането* в света на идеите много често има неочаквано плодоносна, а не комична

функция. *Криворазбирането* добива ценност и ако се вгледаме в диаграмата на общуването, предложена от Юрий Лотман (Лотман 1998:10):

При пълно препокриване на информацията между предаващия и приемащия, общуването между двете страни е безсъдържателно, а когато липсва всякакво припокриване, общуването става невъзможно. Пространството на пресичане между А и Б (които в нашия случай представят Запада и Китай) следователно е естественото място на общуването. Но точно това взаимно пресичане, по думите на Лотман, страда от „*порока на тривиалността*". Оказва се, че ценността на диалога е свързана не с общата част, а с невъзможното нагледно предаване на информация между непокриващите се части на А и Б. И колкото по-труден, дори неадекватен, е преводът от едната несъвпадаща част на езика на другата, толкова по-ценен става фактът на това общуване – „*преводът на непреводимото носи изключително ценна информация*". Именно този „*превод на непреводимото*", що се отнася до литературната палитра на западния свят, е един от главните фактори в китайската словотворческа дейност през целия XX в. и отправна точка в търсенията на настоящия доклад.

Нека сега извършим масово око на Запад, където именно през 20-те години се разразяват двете най-разтърсващи направления, включени впоследствие против волята им в регистъра на модернизма – дадаизмът и сюрреализмът. Против волята, защото те възникват с амбицията да прекратят веригата от нововъзникващи направления в изкуството – поредица, която сякаш прокарва допълнителен ров около прословутата кула от слонова кост, където изкуството дири убежище или просто се крие от предизвикващата омерзение действителност на Първата световна война. След нейния край на свой ред своеобразна война, само че срещу изкуството, национализма, морала и оковите на разума обявява Дада, последван от сюрреализма, към който почти целокупно се присъединяват френските дадаисти. Фактически двете направления, всяко със своите еволюции, притежават уникална за историята на литературата универсалност. Докато романтизмът по същество е европейски феномен, символизмът – главно френско-белгийски, екзистенциализмът – основно френско-немски, то в издадения през 1978 г. специален сборник, посветен на изявите на сюрреализма главно в поезията, са включени примери от, малко или много, сюрреалистично по дух творчество на автори от над 45 страни от всички континенти (Гечев 1993:49). Това несъмнено е красноречиво свидетелство за общовалидността на творческите принципи на двете направления. Но същевременно разкрива и вариативността в рецепцията на основните им положения в различните страни и у отделните автори и отново напомня богатата продуктивност на мотива на *криво разбраното*, особено що се отнася до постановките на сюрреализма, каквито ги знаем от текстовете на Андре Бретон. Сюрреалистите не успяват да постигнат онази свръхреалност, за която жадуват, но сюрреализмът обогатява творческата практика с методи и принципи, които вече се възприемат като референтни за сюрреалистическата принадлежност на един или друг текст. Ето кои са главните, според мен, черти на дадаисткия и сюрреалистичния принцип на писане, така, както са и посочени в манифестите на тези движения:

Черният хумор, дестилиран от непримирим нихилизъм и внезапни избухвания срещу каквато и да е систематичност и вкус в изкуството и живота. Справка – „*Истинският дадаист е срещу Дада*", Тристан Цара;

Използване на колажа – в прекия смисъл, да речем, като подреждане на изрезки от вестници и всякакви текстове в едно произволно (при дадаизма) струпване на думи, но и като интуитивно съчетаване на думите при сюрреализма, така че между тях да „*бликне светлината*" (според израза на Бретон);

Симултанно (при дадаизма) и автоматично (при сюрреализма) писане. В „идеалния" вариант симултанното писане представлява струпване на думи без каквато и да е намеса от страна на разума (*Думите се раждат в устата*", Тристан Цара). При автоматичното писане обаче игнорирането на разума цели магическо освобождаване на думите. Те се впускат в невиждани съчетания, в които магическото надмогва логиката, „*извън всякакво естетическо или морално притеснение*". Всъщност автоматично писане в чист вид почти не се среща в творчеството на сюрреалистите. В техните текстове масово се използва направлявания автоматизъм, т.е. когато съзнанието на пишещия се оттегля, оставяйки на въображението тема (обикновено изразена в заглавието), около която тече автоматичният текст.

Проникване в подсъзнанието. Насочени от психоанализата на Фройд, сюрреалистите дръзват да навлязат с произведенията си в една непозната дотогава вселена, където ги поразяват дивни картини, същества и случки отвъд познатите време и пространство.

Описание на сънища, съноподобие. Отново под влияние на Фройд, Бретон и неговите сподвижници виждат в съня чудодейно средство за самопознание отвъд царството на логиката, разкъсващо нелепите декори на ежедневието ни „тук и сега" и път към безпределното ирационално, разтварящо двете привидно противоречиви състояния – сънят и реалността – в една свръхреалност.

Така изложените прийоми не следва да се възприемат като монопол на двете течения. По-точно е да се каже, че дадаистите и сюрреалистите ги избират за ръководещи в своите литературни пътешествия, превръщат ги в ядро на своята поетика и световъзприемане. Затова Бретон изрежда в „*Първия манифест на сюрреализма*" имена на предходници, които направо назовава сюрреалисти: „*Юго е сюрреалист, когато не е глупак... По е сюрреалист в приключението... Ваше е сюрреалист в мен... Сейнт Джон-Пърс е сюрреалист от разстояние*" (Бретон 2000:28). Така още веднъж се акцентира върху вездесъщието на сюрреалистичните принципи, които прекосяват не само географски и културни пространства, но се откриват и у автори, преди епохата на сюрреализма да бъде възвестена. Същото впрочем можем да кажем и за непримиримия с всякакъв конформизъм дадаистки дух.

Изключително оскъдни са изследванията в Китай, посветени на двете най-енергични движения в модернизма и на техния прием и изява в китайското изкуство. Що се отнася конкретно до литературата, в статията „*Сюрреализмът в Китай*" от Чън Циу-хун (陈 2006) е направен обзорен преглед на представянето им в китайските публикации за периода от 1922 до 1997 г. Изводите са обезсърчаващи: „*от самото начало китайските писатели критикуват и отхвърлят сюрреализма, макар да признават до известна степен неговите естетически възгледи и изразните му възможности, намирайки ги за новаторски и стъписващи...*".

Тези констатации са коректни относно текстовете (или липсата на такива), занимаващи се с естетическите възгледи на двете направления. Но изводите на Чън Циу-хун игнорират един пласт произведения от съвременната китайска литература с експериментален характер, които предизвикват сериозен отзвук сред читателските кръгове. Затова ще представя някои примери в подкрепа на тезата, че в част от творчеството на някои китайски писатели можем да открием черти от арсенала на дадаизма и сюрреализма, което позволява да твърдим, че са налице прояви на, използвайки израза на Бретон, „*сюрреализъм и дадаизъм от разстояние*".

Нека започнем с разказите на Гуо Можуо, написани според самия автор под влияние и като илюстрация на теорията за сънищата и подсъзнанието на Фройд – „*В края на пролетта*" (残春), 1922 г. и „*Момичето, което продаваше карумера*" (喀尔美萝姑娘)，1924 г. Самата подробност, че действието и в двата разказа се развива в непознатата, макар и не толкова отдалечена, японска действителност, придава допълнителен сюрреален оттенък на действието, тласкано от сънища или неосъзнати желания. В първия разказ „*В края на пролетта*" главният герой посещава в болницата на близко градче свой приятел, заболял при загадъчни обстоятелства. Мимолетната среща с медицинската сестра инспирира сън, в който главният герой изкачва заедно с момичето билото на една планина. На върха ѝ момичето сваля дрехите си с настояване да я прегледа дали не е болна от туберкулоза – болестта, умъртвила нейните родители. В този миг общ познат се появява и изкрещява, че жената на главния герой е убила двете им деца. Във втория разказ, героят е увлечен по едно момиче, което продава сладкиши на пазара. Той до такава степен е запленен от момичето, че дните и нощите се сливат и между реалността и света на илюзиите се разкрива проход.

Първата повест, написана на нов литературен език – „*Пропадане*" (沉沦，1921 г.) от Ю Дафу (郁达夫) също ни потапя в атмосфера, впрочем също в Япония, често близка до съноподобие. Рядко срещаният до тогава „аз" се съчетава с удивителна биха я нарекли „автоматична" откровеност на едно свръхсетивно съзнание. Самото заглавие „*Пропадане*", сякаш предначертава спускането в глъбините на подсъзнанието. Героят често странства с книги на европейски романтици в ръце из пустите поля, ала нощем подсъзнанието и потиснатото либидо вземат връх в самотното му съществуване.

Отблясъци на сюрреалистична образност откриваме и в поетическите текстове. Поради едновременното възприемане на символизма и постсимволизма (към който се числят Дада и сюрреализмът) е налице по-скоро т.нар. направляван автоматизъм, който може да бъде илюстриран със стихотворението „*Изоставената съпруга*" (弃妇) на Ли Дзинфа (李金发):

„...тайната болка на изоставената съпруга се утаява в движенията
и не може огънят на залеза да изпепели
меланхолията на времето, пепелта да излети през комина
навеки да обагри перушината на скитащите врани
и да кацне за отдих ведно с тях на камък сред бушуващо море
заслушана блажено в песента на лодките
грохналата рокля скръбно стене
пристъпва около гробната могила
изплакала докрай горещите сълзи
които капеха една след друга из тревата
и се превръщаха в украса на света."

Изоставената жена, Ли Дзинфа

Стихотворението представлява вариация на познатата още от древния и класическия период тема за изоставената съпруга в пределно символистична образност, на места близка до направляван сюрреализъм. Без съмнение, за тогавашния китайски читател ефектът от четенето на подобна поезия е бил поне толкова поразителен, колкото

текстовете в сп. „*Литература*", трибуната на френските сюрреалисти през 1922-23 г., са били шокиращи за френската и въобще европейската аудитория. През същия период Ли Дзинфа е студент в парижката Академия за изящни изкуства и няма нищо сюрреалистично в това да си представим няколко разтворени броя на сп. „*Литература*" в затъмнената студентска квартира на младия китайски поет.

По също време, но в Япония, друг писател – Му Мутиен (穆木天, в писмо до Гуо Можуо пише знаменателната фраза: „*светът на поезията – това е светът на подсъзнателното*" (诗的世界是潜在意识的世界) (Дали тя не му е подсказана от нечий европейски глас?!). Ранните му стихове също разкриват вкус към сюрреалното, търсено често (и то за първи път в Китай!) с техниката на колажа. Ето и един пример:

УТРИНЕН ПРИСТАН

мазно-сива   утринна мъгла
гъст дим
млечни кап капки   сливат се и пръсват се
посред рехаво-смътен   лек сън
сякаш чезнат
далечни   облачни планини
една линия ——
безбрежни   в простора с пепеляв цвят
самотна птица   губи се
отива си навеки   безвъзвратно
завинаги   опиянена ——
видението се стапя   в ласкаво мека   гъста мрежа   като дим

Отново заглавието на стихотворението задава и темата на колажните вариации. Ефектът е подсилен от необичайно насеченото празно пространство между отделните синтагми, което сякаш прикрива неизречени слова и оставя допълнително място за асоциативно възприемане на текста.

Мога да добавя още примери за опити и нагласи в сферата на сюрреалистичната поетика от творчеството на автори като Дай Уаншу 戴望舒 (при когото обаче често сюрреалистичната образност твърде явно е пригодена към любовната лирика), Гуо Можуо 郭沫若 (който с дадаистка присмехулност написва кратък небрежно подхвърлени думи на немски, като го превежда на китайски, а знайно е, че немският е един от официалните езици на Дада) или Шън Чън 盛成 (участвал в скандалните изяви на Дада и написал дадаистка стихосбирка, издадена едва през 1977 г. в Париж. Оказва се, че зона на припокриване или превод (според схемата на Лотман) между западния сюрреализъм и новата китайска литература съществува и тази зона непрекъснато се разширява докъм началото на 30-те години. Тогава експериментите на младите китайски литератори секват или се трансформират под напора на патриотичната и политическа ангажираност – дилема, пред която впрочем се изправят и френските сюрреалисти, мнозина от които се включват в редовете на Френската комунистическа партия. Автори като Гуо Можуо и Му Мутиен публично се отричат от своето ранно творчество и с готовност приспособяват литературата си дейност към партийния бюлетини и периодика. Но текстовете им от 20-те и 30-те години всъщност поемат курс към цялостно осъвременяване на китайската словесност и реализиране на фигуративните и асоциативни възможности на новия литературен език. Затова по примера на Андре Бретон може да заявим: Ли Дзинфа е сюрреалист, когато е в Париж, Му Мутиен е сюрреалист като млад, Дай Уаншу е сюрреалист, когато не е влюбен, Гуо Можуо е сюрреалист, когато не е политик и т.н.

От 40-те години докъм края на „културната революция" дадаизмът и сюрреализмът като част от модернизма са обявени за табу и тук статията на Чън Циу-хун е фатално права. Но в нея се пропуска един важен източник на информация за „упадъчния" модернизъм. Имам предвид т.нар. „*материали за вътрешна циркулация*" (内部交流资料) – книги и периодика със сведения за забранените политически, философски и естетически теми, които всъщност далеч не са се разпространявали само „вътрешно", но и апокрифно. Затова твърде скоро след края на „културната революция" в терминологията на китайските интелектуалци нахлува набор от понятия, които дотогава латентно са пребивавали в „подсъзнателното" ниво на мисленето и особено на литературния език. Поредицата „*Антология на чуждестранния модернизъм*" под редакцията на Юен Къдзя, излиза в началото на 80-те години и повторно, този път по-систематично, запознава китайския читател с литературата на дадаизма, сюрреализма, експресионизма, имажинизма, магическия реализъм и т.н. Но истинският „превод" всъщност е извършен през първата половина на XX в., в експериментите, адаптациите и демонстрациите на новозараждащата се китайска литература. Докато през 80-те години дадаизмът и сюрреализмът вече се възприемат в една специфична постмодернистична ситуация, в която концептуалността априори е изключена. И въпреки това, ясно долавяме дадаисткия дух в китайския Манифест на студентската поезия, редове от който ще представя редом с част от манифест на Дада, подписан от Тристан Цара:

„*...Интелигентният човек е станал абсолютно нормален образец. Това, което ни липсва, това, което ни интересува сега, това, което е рядко, защото притежава аномалиите на едно предишно съществуване,*

свежестта и свободата на анти-човек, това е Идиотското. Дада ще използва цялата си сила да го установи навсякъде. Ще го прави преднамерено. Самото движение непрекъснато ще се стреми към идиотизъм...”

Манифест на Дада, Тристан Цара

„*А. Студентската поезия е само и единствено условно название на една енергия. В него няма точно определен смисъл.*

Б. Днес, когато „поезията на забулената луна” застрашително се е спуснала над китайската поезия, нека разрушим всичко! В това е целият принцип, с който си служим. Целта ни не е нищо друго освен: Да се руши! Да се чупи! Да се смачка! И въобще не поемаме отговорност да почистим останалите парчета.

В. Целият ни чар е в нашата грубост, повърхностност и бръснежи. Това, към което насочваме ответния удар, са: ерудицията и извисеността...”

Колективен манифест на студентската поезия

Мисля, че ако слеем двата пасажа в едно, едва ли би се нарушила кохерентността на единия или другия текст.

И така, в настоящия доклад се опитах да обърна внимание на подценяваното влияние на дадаизма и особено на сюрреализма върху китайската литература. Действително, двете движения трудно могат да се открият на китайска почва в чист вид, но първо, в този случай едва ли може да се говори за някакъв „чист вид” и второ, именно превъплъщенията на тези движения в китайската литература говорят за един активен процес на общуване между текстовете.

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ALONG THE SILK ROAD – OR HOW AND WHY TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF CLOTHES IS REFLECTED IN JAPANESE FAIRY TALES

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ABSTRACT: The focus of this paper is the presence of the traditional clothes and accessories in the Japanese fairy tales. With the help of folklore examples and ethnographic data we shall see how and why clothes are incorporated in the folktales, what are the historical roots and the functions of clothes elements. The research will examine the process of production (how clothes are made, what tools are used), the origin of materials (especially silk), some props and accessories (like mirror, comb, underwear, hat, umbrella, etc.), as well as the footwear (geta, zori). The analysis will follow the socio-historical and the folkloristic approach in the study of fairy tales. This theme is not unknown as far as mythology is concerned, theories on the functions of the comb or the mirror, for example, are well established. Yet the present research will offer a new viewpoint, based on ethnographic and folkloristic analysis, which has not been done so far especially in regard to the Japanese fairy tales. The study offers a trip along the silk-road in the dimension of folktales.

"Folktales do not reflect reality directly –
they reflect the essence of this reality."
(Inada 2001: 213)

It is fascinating to discover that fairy tales use elements of traditional clothes not only as a background, describing Japanese reality, but they also bear symbolic meaning. Digging out the embedded cultural realities in fairy tales we shall see a number of outside appearance elements and interpret them in order to find out their origin and symbolism within the plot. It is true, that in folktales every single element has its meaning and nothing exists outside the plot or as Luethi says: 'objects… never appear in the tale for their own' (Luethi 1987:14), 'only what is essential to the plot is mentioned' (Luethi 1986: 25) - in the folktale everything has its mission and function.

In order to follow the Silk Road in the Japanese fairy tale, we shall study the silk, the clothes, the headwear and the footwear. In this way we shall form a picture 'from tip to toe' of the outfit of the fairy tale characters and trace the cultural background of these elements. They will be studied via the socio-historical and the folkloristic methods, using plots as sources for the analysis.

The link between folktale and reality has been studied by generations of folklorists. On one hand the group of the socio-historians like Roehrich (1956), Propp (1986), Nitschke (1977) and others, finds out the historical roots of the fairy tales - proofs that "…fairy tales have once been a living reality" (Roehrich 1956:70). This approach shows how fairy tales reflect ancient rites, social development and earlier way of life. In folktexts the scholars of this school find traces of the rites of passage, shamanistic rituals, elements of totemism and animism, and explain the presence of props like mirror, comb, knife, etc. via the analysis of artifacts and social development.

The socio-historical approach is very important for the present study as it defines an existing link between folktale and once living reality. Moreover, 'the analysis of the folk narrative without knowledge of the historical development is unthinkable" (Schenda 1976b: 187). With other words to analyze a folktale without any reference to the cultural background would be incomplete.

To this analysis we shall add also the approach of the folkloristic school, which studies elements of the folktale on the basis of lifestyle and folk beliefs, specific for a certain region. Ethnology and ethnography are a vital part of this approach, as they supply the necessary data to facilitate the analysis. They outline a cultural frame in which the folktale exists and this dimension will give the present study a new viewpoint for analysis.

The theme of the present research is chosen not only because it has not been in research focus so far, but mostly because such analysis will help us understand and appreciate the Japanese fairy tale in a new light. It is well known, that the Japanese folklorists, inspired by the "Japan-orientated" approach of Kunio Yanagita who is the first and most renowned scholar in the field of Japanese folklore and ethnography, for decades have studied and analyzed folktales in the light of their own culture. This is the reason why many works may be found referring to themes like traditional social structure, folk beliefs, annual calendar, family relationships, religion and philosophy, belief in the super-natural. These works usually examine a certain tale type or a motif, occasionally with comparison to the world folk heritage, yet the study of concrete props appearing in the Japanese folktales and their analysis is still an untrespassed area.

Similar research examples from the view point of ethnography could be found in the works of Blasius (1980), Bottigheimer (1989), Dalgat (1979), Dundes (1986), Gherts (1998), Kast (1988), Luethi (1987), Uther (1998) and others. References to the Japanese culture could be traced in the works of Chie (1989), Dorson (1975), Eder (1969), Friedl (1975), Ii (2000), Komatsu (1987), Lillehoj (1995), Murakami (1998), Nagano (1996), Ozawa (1994), Sakurai (1996), Schenda (1976), Takaya (1984), Tanaka (1996), and of course Yanagita (1998), who has set up this approach for Japan.

The present article offers a theme which has not been studied so far and although not all elements of clothing find their place here, the selected props could be seen as model examples of the suggested approach. Combining ethnographic data with references to fairy tales (from the collection of Keigo Seki 1950-1958) we shall set on a journey along the Silk Road to discover hidden messages and rich symbolism of Japanese tales.

Our starting point for this journey will be the silk itself. Historically the production of silk was introduced to Japan from China - the earliest data goes back to the 3-4 c. a.d. Silk was used also as a way of payment in earlier times and main means of income from export in later times. The process of production is time and effort-consuming – for the production of a cloth for one good kimono-robe it takes 60 to 70 thousand cocoons. Moreover, influenced by the Chinese tradition, the Japanese have developed a system of rank definition via the use of specific materials and colours. Clothes disclosed rank and family affiliation - colours, patterns and material were used as "passports" for social status and silk has always been distinctive for highest social strata affiliation.

There are two major folk beliefs regarding the origin of silk in Japan. According to one of them silkworms were born from the head of the deity *Waka-musubi* who is the deity of good harvest and welfare (Mesheriakov 2004: 82). The other one is the story of the silk-worm deity, which we shall now discuss.

The folktale is about a family where the daughter is in love with a white horse. The affection between the two grows with the years to the displeasure of the girl's father. In order to prevent a possible marriage the father kills the horse, skins it and leaves the skin hanging on a tree in the forest. The girl is looking for her beloved and to her great despair she finally finds the horse skin. Weeping bitterly over the dead, the girl is then wrapped by the skin and they both fly to the skies. The father of the girl regrets his deed and mourns over the lost of his beloved daughter. Some time passes and one night in his dream he sees his daughter, telling him to gather mulberry leaves to put in a special place where he will receive a gift. The father follows the advice and just as foretold, among the mulberry leaves he finds white worms which he takes care of and they give him silk in return.

This is the legend according to which the silk production in Japan started. This story is central for the folk beliefs of north-eastern Japan, known as the legend of *Oshira-sama*. *Oshira-sama* is believed to be a deity represented by a girl and a horse and altars with the two statues could be found throughout the region. The name of the deity is interpreted as "the one who let us know" (from the verb *oshieru*), or also the white deity (from the adjective *shiroi*).

The story could have various interpretations but for us it will be interesting to follow the link to the earliest societies, especially the fact that we have an impossible but desired marriage between a human being and an animal. The stories of the primitive people (or Naturvoelker) are full of examples, describing the link between man and animal in times of animal totems (Roehrich 1956, Nitzschke 1977). In this age men and animals lived together in one world, in one dimension and could have children and make families (the folklore heritage of China, Japan and Korea also shows this link). With the social development of human beings this close link between men and animals disappeared and the story about the silk-worm deity is an example of this transitional period before the link to nature breaks for good by the development of civilization. In this sense, the legend of *Oshira-sama* is a reminiscence of times past when with the social development of the human beings the only thing left from the inborn bond between man and nature is the wisdom of the old age (knowledge) transmitted to future generations as a gift.

Speaking of gifts, the silk kimono has been considered as one of the best gifts for a very long period of Japanese history, in which gift-giving plays a considerable role. Even nowadays Japanese people make gift-giving one of the everyday life activities, and this tradition has a mythological origin as well – gift-giving is a form of ritual "payment" *harae*. The mythological origin of *harae* could be found in the act of gift giving performed by god Susano to his sister the goddess Amaterasu, having insulted her and in this way praying for forgiveness. Japan even today is "a country of gifts" and through various forms of *orei*, *okurimono* and *omiyage*, the Japanese preserve the tradition alive.

Gift-giving is reflected in fairytales too. In the tale *Komebuku and Awabuku* the kind stepchild receives a box of wonderful clothes as a present from the mountain ogress *yamauba* for the courage and help (the stepchild takes lice off the head of the ogress). Here we have a present for a service which could be identified as *orei* – a token of gratitude. For the oppressed and suffering step-child such gift is equal to social promotion – as we have already mentioned only people of highest ranks could afford and were allowed to wear the expensive and exquisite silk clothes. In this sense the present of the ogress is not simply a set of clothes to cover body in rain and snow, but it is also a sign of promotion up the social ladder.

In the tale *The elder sister – white bird* the killed girl presents her brother with a set of clothes which help him later display the truth about the murder. This gift could be defined as *okurimono*, or simply – a present. Such presents could be found in other narrative examples. From 8 century onwards the aristocracy used to give presents on various occasions like weddings, promotion, child-birth, etc. In the Japanese lyric diaries from the Middle Ages we find numerous examples of this tradition. Lady Nijo keeps a beautiful kimono as a dear memory and most precious possession and it is the last thing she gives away (Nijo's *Towazu Gatari*). In *Utsuho monogatari* the men in love give presents to Princess Atemiya, when she is about to get married – as a token of their love. In *The Pillow Book* Sei Shonagon is very attentive to details of the outside appearance of man and women alike – the combination of colors and material seems to have had a very great importance in the court and among the members of aristocracy. From Heian on a beautiful silk kimono is considered as the best gift to women (Petkova 2010: 54-55), as their privilege and "passport".

Another interesting attribute of the outlook are shoes. In its long history Japan has developed three main indigenous types of footwear – straw sandals *zori*, wooden clogs *geta* and straw boots *waraji*. Whereas *zori* and *waraji* (used daily by commoners) never become a topic of fairy tales, *geta* do appear in the folk narrative. In the tale *Magic wooden clogs* (Takara geta) a poor young man asks his rich uncle for money, but is refused. The money is necessary to cure his sick mother and

the young man in despair prays to gods for help. He is presented by chance or by the generous act of magic forest men with a pair of wooden clogs and is said that whenever he stumbles with them, they will produce coins. However, he should never stumble on purpose because he will get smaller and smaller every time he misuses the gift. The young man is grateful and indeed, he soon acquires enough money to call the doctor and cure his mother. The rich uncle though steals away the magic gift and driven by greed he stumbles on purpose so often that in the end he becomes as small as a fly and finally turns into the insect. The young man collects all his money and lives happily ever after.

Now, how can we interpret this tale – why exactly *geta* can make a poor man rich? In fact, while *zori* and *waraji*, both made of straw, were the daily footwear for commoners (not to forget of course that it is just in 1901 that law forbids Japanese people to go barefoot – the tradition among the poor strata of the society was to go barefoot for many long centuries of Japanese history), *geta* were indeed the footwear of the wealthy, and this is because of the production cost of wood (polonia, oak, cedar) and straw, leather and silk strings (Petkova 2010: 58). In this sense, *geta* could be considered as markers of social affiliation. Possessing a pair of *geta* already means that the person is someone of higher rank. For the main character of this tale getting a pair of this valuable footwear already promotes him up and indicates his prosperity. This is the reason why exactly *geta*, be them magic or not, are presented to the humble, honest and deserving young man.

An interesting symbolism could be found in regard to the headwear in a number of tales. It is true that in their daily life Japanese people from ancient times wore head cover – to prevent from the strong summer light, to take off the sweat, to prevent from rain or snow fall – "for the working people it was indispensable" (MTJ: 16)

One of the best known examples is the story *Jizo with straw hats*. In this fairy tale a poor man goes to sell straw-hats in the town in order to get some money to prepare the New Year's Eve feast. Unfortunately, he does not manage to sell them and on his way back home on a snowy winter evening he sees six Buddhist statues of *jizo*. He feels pity and decides to cover their heads with the unsold straw hats. As he has only five, the sixth *jizo* receives his head towel. With nothing left, the man comes home and celebrates the coming of the New Year without any rice. Yet, at midnight he hears someone knocking on the door and sees on the threshold the six *jizo* statues who have brought him many presents like food, clothes, money. The man and his wife live a long and happy life afterwards.

In this story we can see the importance of benevolence on one hand, coming from Buddhism, and the tradition of covering the head during Heian Period.

Heian period (794-1185) in the development of the Japanese culture of clothes is characterized by the necessity for the male part of the population never to appear bareheaded, as it was considered inappropriate and even shameful. On the other hand from 7 century upto 12 century the aristocracy following Chinese traditions, used hats *kanmuri* which were also markers of social status (Petkova 2010: 52-53). Now, how can these two facts describing Japanese culture for over 5 centuries be interpreted in the story just mentioned. Obviously, the main male character feels not only pity for the bareheaded *jizo* who stand under the heavy snow, but also respect towards these sacred images who by the common law at earlier times deserve to have head cover. Of course, main theme in this tale is the benevolence taught by Buddhism and the respect towards Buddhist philosophy and images, but the specific features of Japanese culture could be traced in the deed performed by the main character.

In the tale *Hachi-katsugi* we have yet another symbolism. The girl who has received from her dying mother a bowl-like cover for the head marries a rich young man and only after that her hat falls down and her face is discovered. *Hachi-katsugi* is known also as *hachi-kaburi*, which is the same as the above *kanmuri* - all these words point to a headwear that covers the head. In general, *kanmuri* is seen as a preventive headwear, but there is also the tradition followed by Buddhist monks when going on pilgrimage to put on a large straw cone-like or bowl-like hat, while playing the *shakuhachi* flute. On one hand wearing a hat has always had a meaning of prevention from evil in the Buddhist tradition, but for us of great importance is the

Oshira-sama altar

pilgrimage part of the belief. In fact, in this tale the young girl goes on a pilgrimage to adulthood.

Here, of course, the socio-historical school has much to offer. The trip to adolescence is different for boys and girls, the rites of passage for boys could be found in many heroic tales and their interpretations (Roehrich, Propp). Blood symbolism is an example of the growing-up for girls (Cardigos). In our tale, though, we see a Japanese touch – the girl who is left alone without the support and advice of her mother, needs to grow up to become a happy wife. So, with the help of the association to Buddhist pilgrimages, the girl in fact is shown on the path to adulthood and happiness.

Very different from this example is the symbolism of the magic listening hood, which appears in a number of tales. A good example is the tale about

the man who helps an animal in need and is then rewarded by the grateful animal with a magic listening hood which enables the main character to understand the language of animals. Overhearing birds or animals he finds out where gold is buried and becomes rich or he cures the sick daughter of a feudal lord, marries her and becomes prosperous.

This close link between man and animal and the often interaction are also typical for hunting societies, such the Japanese has also been at a certain stage. Here again, we come back to the link man-nature, discussed earlier in this work. The communication between humans and animals also reflects ancient beliefs of a common language for all living and non-living on earth. With the development of human society a *kiki-mimi* listening hood becomes necessary. These two possibilities show two stages of the development of the human-animal relationship (for more see also Roehrich 1956; Ozawa 1994: 169-201; Seki I: 90-95). The magic object is nothing more than the ability to listen and hear the voice of nature – voice which could be heard by those who have the ears; understanding the language of animals could be considered also equal to "knowing" and "knowledge" in general (Horn 1983: 66-67).

The exact image of the *kiki-mimi zukin* is unclear. It seems to be something which one can put on his head. The word *zukin* literally is used for coif, cowl or generally protective headwear. The symbolic meaning of something put on one's head could be disclosed in the attempt either to cover the head, with other words – the mind, which prevents the civilised human beings from hearing the call of nature or a transmitter applied to the ears and producing simultaneous interpretation. In both cases it is obvious that for the human being a tool is needed to establish contact with the beings of nature and this is due to the weakening bond between man and animal coming with the development of human civilisation. Tales with the motif of understanding animal language through a tool are not uncommon throughout the world. There are also examples from Korea, China, Tibet, India (Inada 2001: 104) and this motif is studied exactly in the light of weakening bond between human world and nature.

Although the studied elements of the outside appearance of tale characters do not cover all possibilities (it will be interesting to continue the theme with interpretations of elements like underwear, skin, accessories like comb, needle, thread, etc.), they give a new view point for comprehension and appreciation of Japanese fairy tale heritage. Although few in number, the details of the outfit play a symbolic role in the folk narrative. This role is defined not only by folk beliefs, but also by existing practices, social order and development. Reality from an ethnographic perspective forms the background of folktales and with the help of ethnographic and socio-historical analysis we can find in fairy tales the embedded cultural characteristics of Japan.

Jizo statue

On a pilgrimage

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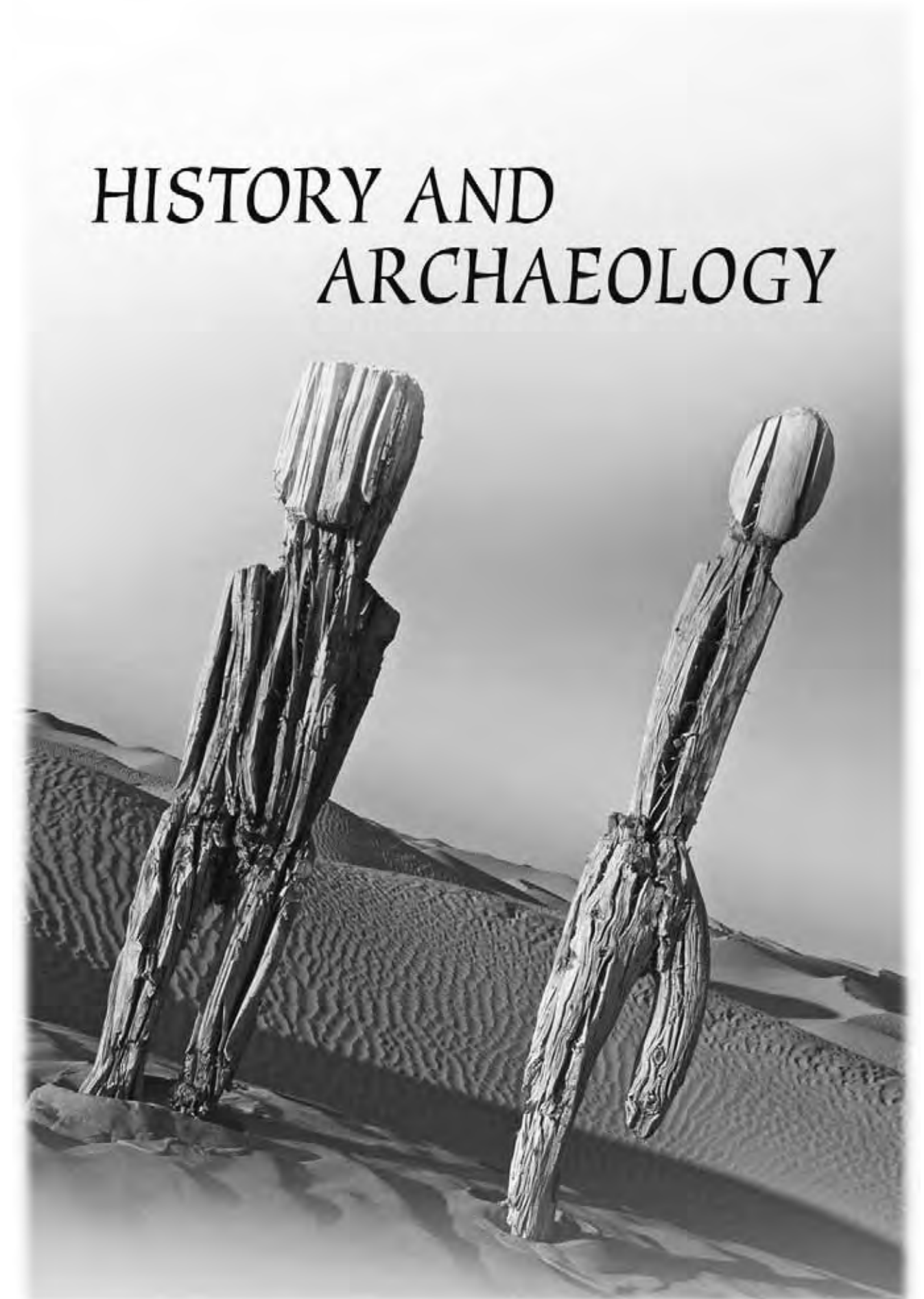
THE SILK ROADS: THE CROSSROADS OF CIVILIZATIONS

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ABSTRACT: Arcaeological findings show clearly that „The Silk Roads" existed long before silk was traded with China and long before the very term „silk road" was coined.

As early as in the Neolithic, 10000 years ago, Eurasia had already been transformed into an area of intense intercultural exchange with various peoples being connected in direct or indirect ways. During the Han Dynasty these trade routes became the main crossroads of civilizations and remained so until the Tang Dynasty. In forming the network of routes, both known and unknown, that started the proces of what we today call the „global exchange of things and ideas" in Eurasia, silk itself played but a minor role. It is now obvious that peoples and civilizations communicated, mixed and crucially influenced each other since the earliest times. The trade directly stimulated the exchange of ideas while ideas and things exchanged through trade formed and changed: art, music, dance, architecture, food and drinks among the civilizations of Mediterranean, Persia, Central Asia and China.

This paper will link together, as if in a mosaic, a few moments that testify about the tangled threads of interwoven cultures, about the openess of China to all the world civilizations, but also about the stereotypes which originated at that time and which persist to this day.

丝绸之路(SILK ROADS)：世界文明交流的要道

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一、“丝绸之路”的名称 （Silk roads）

现代地理学奠基人之一、德国地理学家费迪南·冯·李希霍芬（Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen, 1833-1905)首次使用“丝绸之路”这个名称时，他就将古代中国与西方（汉朝和古罗马帝国）文明交流的特殊背景纳入了视野。而丝绸正是这特殊背景下最引人注目的商品，用今天的话来说，它就是当时中国的“品牌”。[1]李希霍芬（Richthofen）始终认为，作为一名地理学家，必须关注这样一个事实：既人文关系的特性及多重性对自然环境和地理结构的变化起着重要的影响。李希霍芬在对“丝绸之路”作了数年研究之后，又开始用了“沟通、交通”（verkehr），“诸道道、诸路线”（strassen），“诸主要路线”（hauptstrassen），“诸贸易路线”等名称。因此，将“丝绸之路”用名词复数形式描述，而不是用单数形式，正是对当时所谓的“欧亚”地区全部人文活动的总的描述。这些人文活动包括了旅游发展史、发明及非物质文化财产的交流、信息和贸易的交流等等。事实上，在唐朝时期的中亚和部分的中国西北地区，丝绸不仅仅是一种商品同时还是一种货币的等价物，即一种货币，一种流通和支付手段。因此，这就可能使许多不同文明和价值观交流交融的通道都被涵盖在“丝绸之路”这一名词的复数形式里。

然而，许多历史事实又告诉我们，用“丝绸之路”的复数形式来定义这条贸易线路也不是那么准确，也还存在着缺陷。比如说，那时黄金和宝石和贸易总额已远远超过了丝绸贸易。那么为什么“丝绸之路”这一名称仍延用至今呢？为什么那么多不同的联接欧亚大陆、联接那些迥然不同却又相互依存的诸多文明的交通线路，那些通衢大道和荒陌小道，那一条条为人熟知以及未被人知的道路，都统统被涵盖在一个词—“丝绸之路”里呢？

学者August Herrmann 于1910年在自己的专著中使用的“丝绸之路”这个名称，显然是指汉代时期的丝绸贸易道路。这一点，在他发表于1915年的文章The Silk Rosads from China to the Roman Empire（《中国通往罗马帝国的丝绸之路》）中可以得到证实。

李希霍芬（Richthofen）的弟子，Sven Hedin 在发表于1936年的The Silk Road一书中，[2]则首次给“丝绸之路”这个名称染上半分神秘半分浪漫的色彩，他的观点至今仍深深影响着人们对“丝绸之路”的认识。不过，如果我们目能从当时的实际情况出发，以较长的一段历史时期作考证，不难得出这样的结论：这个名称可能毫无意义。或者，至少可以说它会引起许多误解。其实，这个名称“无所指”又“无所不指”，它既是所有人文交流、不同文明对话的总和，也是两千年来持续不断的来往于欧亚大陆间的物资交换。因此，单单一个“丝绸之路”的称谓不足以包涵内容如此丰富而形式各异的文化贸易活动。Hermann Parzinger[3] 引证的一个事实足以说明我的观点。Hermann Parzinger 指出，这个跨越欧亚大陆的古老的贸易运输网络和文明交流网络并不是汉代和罗马帝国时代才建立起来的。早在几千年前，这个地区就已是人们通商和友好往来的多条要道的交汇处，将欧、亚、非三大陆联接起来。将中国与阿富汗、印度、伊朗、伊拉克、叙利亚、土耳其等国，直至古罗马帝国联系起来。光从这一点来看，就可以了解到“丝绸之路”这个名称的不足和不准确。

既然如此，那为什么还是延用了“丝绸”来为这些道路命名呢？

是否因为丝绸本身所具有的属性？因为丝绸质地柔顺软滑，能够附着不同的外形和结构；丝绸色泽亮丽，表现力强，深受人们的青睐；或许是因为丝绸的这种“似有若无”的特性？

老子曾用“水”的特性形象地描述宇宙之“道”，这是不是可以启发我们联想到：丝绸不正形象地描述了人文世界的“道”吗？它象征着不同文明的交流和对话，代表了人类共同的审美价值。从这一点看，丝绸与“道”十分相似。

二、时间、空间和物质

人类多种文明多种文化的交流早在新石器时代就有了，并对欧亚大陆产生了巨大的影响。虽然我们可以很容易为中亚地区划出界线：可以乌拉尔山脉、中国西北的新疆甘肃两省、喜玛拉雅山脉、帕米尔高原、昆仑山脉为界，划定其地理区域，可是我们却很难界定这一地区不同民族的文化精神和物质财富的交流，具体是从哪一条道路传输或流通的。

据说第一个将中国称为 SERES （丝绸之国）的希腊人，名叫 Ctesias，其生活年代大概在公元前四五世纪之间。希罗多德（Herodotus）在他编撰的《历史》中曾提到古希腊著名旅游家 Aristeasa，其足迹很可能就到达了今天的乌拉尔、天山和阿尔泰山脉一带。

一些考古发现也能为我们提供佐证：1980年，在德国的一座公元前六世纪的凯尔特人的墓穴里，发现了丝绸；1957年考古发现，在西伯利亚南部，阿尔泰山脉的一些萨迦人的古墓中（公元前5世纪至公元前3世纪）陪葬品除了丝绸之外，还发现有中国的铜镜。[4]由此可见，丝绸还有许多其他物品早在公元前就是东西方贸易的商品了。

远古时期，欧亚大陆之间同时还存在着多条草原上的东西方文化和贸易的要道。

人类世界历史上的三位伟人：亚历山大大帝（公元前356-323）、汉武帝（公元前156-87）、成吉思汗（1162-1227），在把这一时空坐标体系变为东西方文明对话的著名通道上，作出了不可磨灭的贡献。他们分别修筑和维护了这条通道，甚至还带兵保护商队的安全。正是因为他们的努力，不同的文明和世界被联系起来，实现了自己所在时代的“全球一体化”。只不过，与今天的“全球化”不同的是：他们十分赞赏不同的文明文化，不强求思想意识、商品和文化的单一化和通俗化。

当学界从“诸多丝路”的思路转向“单一丝路”时，普遍概念中的这条商道多起源于中国北部城市的长安（今西安），沿黄河入西北的甘肃戈壁沙漠或进入西南的天山山脉。北道与南道然后在位于丝路咽喉部位的新疆西部重镇喀什汇合。丝绸的东段和西段，在离开费尔干纳盆地（Ferghan）后，向塔什干（Tashkent）绿洲伸展，过阿姆河 (Amudarja) 和哈拉和林沙漠 (Karakorum)，通过伊朗高原，直奔地中海。

丝路上产生了诸多历史重镇，比如：中国境内的长安、兰州、敦煌、喀什（Kashgar）、于阗（Khotan）、吐鲁番（Turfan）、塔什库尔干（Tashkurghan）；阿富汗境内的喀布尔（Kabul）、埃-哈奴姆（Ai-Khanoum）；伊朗的德黑兰；伊拉克的巴格达等城市。当时的旅游家和商人在记叙中都盛赞阿富汗产的优质葡萄酒，这个地区当时拥有着品质优秀的葡萄种植园。

地中海文明、古伊朗文明、中亚文明、印度和中国的古老辉煌的文明，曾在这些无数遍交叉交汇的道路上，在这些灿烂的古代城市一次次的撞击、交融。

根据史书记载，通商的货物有：玉、宝石、黄金、松香、薰香、芝麻、玻璃、布匹、丝绸、马匹、铜镜、葡萄酒、水果、蔬菜、纸、武器、茶叶、皮货、牲口等等，甚至还贩卖人口。除了骡子、骆驼、马匹等运输工具外，还有牦牛商队。

当然，对于文明的对话和交流来说，有着更重要意义的是“思想意识”在这些地区的传播和交流。重要的宗教和哲学思想有：萨满教、犹太教、佛教、摩尼教、东正教、伊斯兰教、天主教、儒教等等。另外，不同的语言、文字、艺术和文学也在这里交融。那个时候，生活在这些地区的人们可以充分享受到不同文明的发展成就，大大丰富了精神和物质生活。

三、关于一些名词及其他

中国的科举考试和社会组织结构成为西方许多“公民服务部门”的设立提供了范例和启发。以中国科举考试为模式的笔试于1702年被引进到欧洲的大学。欧洲政府部门随后不久也引进了类似的考试制度。英国的第一个公民服务委员会于1855年成立。

这些与“丝绸之路”又有什么关系呢？

我们提到过，许多联接不同文明的“思想意识”和名词都是通过诸多的“丝路”传播或引进的。比如，西方的“炼金术”，作为一种实践，它原起源于中国的炼丹术。有事实证明，这种方术是通过阿拉伯传到欧洲的，因为从阿拉伯和欧洲的炼金术的思想体系里，可以明显找到受到了埃及亚历山德里亚影响的中国炼丹术的基本思想。还有“智慧之石”、“哲学之石”等哲学概念，同样也是通过阿拉伯人传到欧洲的。

我们还可以通过一些源于阿拉伯语的外来词（al-），如 alchemy, alcohol, algebra, alkali 等，还有中国四大发明造纸术、指南针、火药等的传播，看到全套完整的知识体系通过丝路从中国传播到了欧洲。

塞尔维亚的新石器文化 Lepen whirl 的一些文字符号与中国河南同时代的贾湖遗址发现的一些符号，竟有着惊人的相似之处。

许多例子都告诉我们，远自新石器时代直至今天，人类就一直通过一些为人熟知或不为人知的道路，为能够获得幸福安宁富裕的生活，追求着一方生存的土地和新世界，人们仍然希冀着那一块属于自己的“丝绸”。

[1]　Daniel C. Waugh, Richthofens „Silk Roads": Toward the Archeology of the Concept, The Silk Road, vol.5 No.1, 2007, p.1-10.

[2]　此书首次是用瑞典语发表的，不久被译成英文和德文。

[3]　Hermann Parzinger, „The Silk Roads concept Reconsidered About Transfers, Transportation and Transcontinenatal Interactions in Prehistory", The Silk Road, Vol.5 No.2, 2008, p. 7-15.

[4]　Yang Yuping, „Alexander the Great and the Emergence of the Silk Road"; Silk Road, No 2, 2009, p. 15-23.

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ON 'THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS" AND CHINESE HISTORY

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ABSTRACT: In "The Secret History of the Mongols", which was compiled in 1240, the country-name "China" occures quite often and in different versions. As it is well-known, the Chinggis-khan army invaded China and established there the so-called Yuan Dynasty (in fact Mongolian Dynasty). Unlike "the Western campaign", "The Secret History of the Mongols" narration of the Mongolian invasion into China is much more detailed.

"The Secret History of the Mongols" (SHM) (Mongolian: Mongoliin Nuuts Tovchoo, Cyrillic script: Монголын нууц товчоо, Mongolyn nuuts tovchoo, Chinese: 元朝秘史) is the oldest surviving Mongolian-language literary work. It was written for the Mongol royal (khan) family some time after Chinggis-khan death in AD 1227, by an anonymous author and probably originally in the Uyghur script, though the surviving texts all derive from transcriptions into Chinese characters dating from the end of the 14th century.

Nowadays, The Secret History is regarded as the single significant native Mongolian account of Chinggis-khan and his family. Linguistically, it provides the richest source of pre-classical Mongolian and Middle Mongolian. The Secret History is regarded as a piece of classic literature in both Mongolia and the rest of the world.

Like many texts during the period, it contains elements of folklore and poetry and is not as factual as some historians would have wanted. It is also at times inconsistent. However, it is also nearly devoid of magic or supernatural influence, unlike similar texts from other nomadic cultures.

The work sets out with a rather mythical genealogy of Temüjin's (Chinggis-khan's) family. The description of Temüjin's life begins with the kidnapping of his mother Hoelun by his father Yesügei. It then covers Temüjin's early life; the difficult times after the murder of his father and the many conflicts against him, wars, and plots before he gains the title of Chinggis-khan (i.e. Universal ruler) in 1206. The later parts of the work deal with Chinggis' and Ögedei's conquering campaigns on Eurasia, and the text ends with Ögedei's reflections on what he did well and what he did wrong. It tells how the Mongolian Empire started.

The Secret History of the Mongols contains 12 chapters, as follows:
1. Temüjin's origin and childhood.
2. Temüjin's teenage years.
3. Temujin destroys the Merkit and takes the title Genghis Khan.
4. Genghis Khan struggles against Jamuga and Tayichigud.
5. Genghis Khan destroys the Tatar and tangles with Wang Khan
6. Destruction of the Kereyid
7. The fate of Wang Khan
8. Escape of Guchlug and defeat of Jamuga.
9. Establishment of the empire and imperial guard.
10. Conquest of the Uighur and forest peoples.
11. Conquest of China, the Tanghut, the Sartuul, Baghdad and Russia
12. Temüjin's death and Ögedei's reign.

Several passages of The Secret History appear in slightly different versions in the 17th century Mongolian chronicle Altan Tobchi – "The Golden Summary of the Principles of Statecraft as established by the Ancient Khans".

The only surviving copies of the work are transcriptions of the original Mongolian text with Chinese characters, accompanied by a (somewhat shorter) in-line glossary and a translation of each section into Chinese. In China, the work had been well-known as a text for teaching Chinese to read and write Mongolian during the Ming Dynasty and the Chinese translation was used in several historical works, but by the 19th century, copies had become very rare.

Tsend Gun (Duke Tsend, Цэнд-гун, 1875-1932) was the first Mongolian scholar to transliterate The Secret History of the Mongols into modern Mongolian in 1915-1917. At that time he was Vice-Ministry of Foreign Affaires Office in the government of the Autonomous Mongolia[1].

The first to discover The Secret History for the West and offer a translation from the Chinese glossary was the Russian sinologist Palladiy Kafarov (Kafarov 1886; Kafarov

1877). The first translations from the reconstructed Mongolian text were done by the German sinologist Erich Haenisch[2] (1880-1966; edition of the reconstructed original text: 1937; of the translation: 1941, second edition 1948) and French sinologist Paul Pelliot(Pelliot 1913, Pelliot 1920, Pelliot 1930, Pelliot 1940, Pelliot 1943, Pelliot 1944, Pelliot 1949)[3]. In 1941 Russian mongolist Sergei Kozin[4] published a Russian translation of The Secret History of the Mongols (Kozin 1941-1942).

Arthur Waley published a partial translation of The Secret History, but the first full translation into English was done by Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Secret History of the Mongols: For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with an Exegetical Commentary (Cleaves 1982). The archaic language adopted by Cleaves was not satisfying to all and, between 1971 and 1985, Igor de Rachewiltz published a fresh translation in eleven volumes of the series Papers on Far Eastern History accompanied by extensive footnotes commenting not only on the translation but also various aspects of Mongolian culture (Racheviltz 1972, Racheviltz 1974, Racheviltz 1976, Racheviltz 1977, Racheviltz 1978, Racheviltz 1980, Racheviltz 1981, Racheviltz 1982, Racheviltz 1984, Racheviltz 1985, Racheviltz 1986).[5] Prof. Rachewiltz has used the 12 chapter division of the 177 paragraphs for his organization of The Secret History of the Mongols. The translation itself consists of 220 pages. The commentary is much more expansive, spanning 823 pages. While the text of the translation alters slightly from his previous translation, the commentary is, as one would suspect, much more comprehensive than Rachewiltz's prior translation. Indeed, his discussion of the chapters, Rachewiltz cites the arguments and thoughts of other scholars. While competent and confident in his own translation, Rachewiltz is realistic in that he brings forth other possible interpretations of vague or problematic paragraphs. As such, the commentary is not so much a commentary on *SHM* but rather a compendium of research of the work.

Finally, there are seven appendices. One discusses Chinggis Khan's campaigns in Siberia and Central Asia between 1204-1219, on which the SHM provides less detail and often conflicting dates. Then there are two appendices on *Altan Tobci*, an already mentioned seventeenth century Mongolian chronicle in which several passages of the SHM also appear, many of them slightly different from the Chinese versions. Other appendices include a paragraph-page reference list to A. Mostaert's commentary (Mostaert 1953) on *SHM* as well as additions and corrections to Cleaves' translation of the *SHM* and to Rachewiltz's own *Index to the Secret History*. The last appendix is useful conversion table for the Wade-Giles and Pinyin transliteration systems for Chinese. As one might suspect, the bibliography is exhaustive and again, in itself is a worthy contribution to study of the Mongol Empire.

"The Secret History of the Mongols" was translated and published into over 30 languages by the researchers. There is a translation of *"The Secret History of the Mongols"* into Bulgarian made by Alexander Fedotoff and published in 1991, 2001, and 2008 (Fedotoff 1991).

As to the Chinese history in "The Secret History of the Mongols", its 11th chapter reconstructs the Mongolian invasion into China (Kitads), Tanguds, Sartaguls, Bagdad and Russia. It necessary to mention that this chapter is comparatively short although describes a lot of events, first of all, battles and wars carried by the Mongols over extremely vast territories.

"After that, Činggis Qahan in the year of the sheep [1211] set forth against the Kitad people. Taking Wujiu, passing by Hünegen Daba'an, taking Söndiiwu, he sent the twain, Ĵebe and Güyigüneg Ba'atur, as vanguards. Arriving at Čabčiyal, the Čabčiyal pass being defended, then when Ĵebe spoke, saying, "When, enticing them and making [them] to remove, I shall make [them] to come, then I shall try [them]", he returned. It being returned [by him], the soldiers of the Kitad, saying, "Let us purser [him], draw nigh in pursuit till the valleys and the mountains become full [of them]. Arriving at the spur of Söndiiwu Ĵebe turned about backward, rushed upon [them], and overcame the enemies which were drawing nigh in succession. Činggis Qahan – [his] middle army following hard after [Ĵebe] – making the Kitad to remove, crushing the bold and courageous soldiers of the Ĵüyin to the Qara Kitad and of the Ĵürčed, slaying [them] until Čabčiyal, till they stood like rotten trees, Ĵebe, taking the gate of Čabčiyal, wresting the passes, passing by [them], Činggis Qahan pitched [at] Šira Degtür. Assaulting Ĵungdu and, sending troops unto divers towns and [unto] cities, he made [them] to assault [...]" (Cleaves 1982: 183-185) – in such way "The Secret History of the Mongols" goes about the Mongolian invasion into China. It is clear that Chinggis-khan himself took part in the series of battles, although the final victory was achieved mainly by Ĵebe and Güyigüneg Ba'atur.

On one hand, the Mongols pay homage to the bravery of the Chinese soldiers, on the other hand, the whole depiction of "the Chinese war" is very short and formal, which certainly means that the Mongolian troops did not face any obstacles while penetrating the neighboring country.

The real Chinese history under the Mongols is the history of the Yuan Dynasty, but is another story!

Notes

[1] For details, see: Uspenski (1993).

[2] He lived in 1880-1966. He published his works, as follows: edition of the reconstructed original text: 1937; of the translation: 1941, second edition 1948.

[3] He lived in 1878-1945.

[4] He lived in 1879-1956.

[5] Brill released de Rachewiltz' edition as a two-volume set in 2003.

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IRANIANS IN CENTRAL ASIA ALONG THE SILK ROAD
(2nd AND 1st MILLENIA BC – MIDDLE OF THE 1st MILLENIUM CE)

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ABSTRACT: The present article considers the expansion of the Indo-Europeans in Central Asia along the route we know nowadays as the Silk Road. In their eastward migration some Iranian tribes reached as far as plateau Ordos and eventually in the middle of 2nd millennium BC came into contact with the population of the Huang He basin. There is archeological evidence of such early contacts between Indo-Europeans and the first historically attested Chinese dynasty, the Shang (1600–1046 BC).

Iranian tribes ruled unchallenged over the Eurasian steppe for more than 2000 years. In Central Asia they formed mighty nomadic confederations *(Saka, Massagetae, Dahae, Yuezhi)*, established dozens of trade city-states *(Tocharians,* Indo-Europeans too, though not from Iranian stock, *Chorazmians, Soghdians)* and founded vast empires *(Parthians, Persians, Kushans, Hephtalites)* along the Silk Road – from the shores of the Mediterranean sea to the big curve of Huang He (Yellow River).

My purpose is to follow on the historical and political mappa mundi the geographical distribution of Iranian tribes along the Silk Road for a period of more than three millennia – from the 2nd millennium BC to the middle of 1st millennium CE. I also discuss their habitual disposition towards this route of exceptional economical, political and cultural importance.

I rely on various sources of information – ranging from the earliest Chinese historical chronicles (in Russian, English and French translations) to the newest encyclopedias and atlases, and, last but not least the World Wide Web.

I'd like first to trace the boundaries of the scene of millenary Iranian presence – the Silk Road and Central Asia.

A. The Silk Road

The historical Silk Road was opened in the 2nd century BC during the reign of the Former (Western) Han Dynasty (202 BC – AD 9). It started from the ancient city of Antioch on the shore of Mediterranean Sea, to reach Chang'an (after AD 25, Luoyang), the capital cities of Han's China and the shore of Korean peninsula. The main route stretches over 4000 miles[1] and passes through various cities, including Antioch on the Orontes (Antakya) – Zeugma – Dura-Europos – Seleucia on the Tigris (from 1st century CE Ctesiphon) – Ecbatana (Hamedan) – Raga (Rey) – Hecatompylos – Antiochia in Margiana (Merv) – Maracanda (Samarkand) – Khujand – Shule (Kashgar) from which the route split in three branches:

1) *Northern*: Shule (Kashgar) – Aksu (Gumo) – Kucha (Kuche) – Turfan (Turpan) – Hami (Yiwulu) – Anxi;

2) *Middle* (in fact a short cut between Northern and Southern routes): Korla (Weili) – Loulan (Kroran) – Dunhuang – Anxi;

3) *Southern*: Shule (Kashgar) – Suoju (Yarkand) – Yutian (Khotan) – Niya – Qiemo (Cherchen) – Dunhuang – Anxi – Jiayuguan – Zhangye – Wuwei (Liangzhou) – Lanzhou – Chang'an – Luoyang. During the whole period of the operation of the Silk Road there were Iranian speaking people along

B. Central Asia

For the first time the term Central Asia was used by the great German geographer and traveller Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) in the middle of 19th century[2]. The UNESCO definition of Central Asia is based on geographical, historical, cultural and political indices and uses far larger borders[3]. According to it, Central Asia includes Central-East Russia south of the Taiga; the five former Central Asian Soviet republics; Mongolia; Inner Mongolia, Gansu, Xinjiang and Tibet; Northeast Iran, Afghanistan, Northern Areas of Pakistan; Kashmir and Ladakh of India – more than 12,000,000 km². An important part of this vast territory is occupied by the Eurasian steppe. The Great Eurasian steppe stretches over more than eight thousand kilometres, from the Hungarian Pusta to the steppe of Manchuria and Ordos plateau in the middle section of the Great Wall (*Ordos Loop*). The Great steppe was the homeland of the Iranians, the scene of their upraise and their twilight.

C. The Iranians

By now there is sufficient archaeological and linguistic data, proving that the Andronovo culture as a whole is the cradle of the Iranian people[4]. Andronovo culture includes a series of Bronze age cultures – such as Sintashta-Petrovka (2300–1600 BC), Alakul (*c.* 2100–1400 BC), Fedorovo (*c.* 1400–1200 BC), Alekseyevka (*c.* 1200–1000 BC). It spanned from southern Urals to Yenisei river in western Siberia, i.e. the whole territory of former Soviet Central Asia.

This culture, dating *ca.* 2300–900 BC, is broadly identified with the prehistoric Indo-Iranians[5]. It is my opinion that Andronovo culture is more likely to be identified with the Iranians themselves, Indo-Arians being identified with the Catacomb culture (3000–2200 BC)[6]. In this case, the split of the Indo-Iranian community may have taken place somewhere between 2500 and 2200 BC. During the 20th century there was a series of archaeological discoveries showing undeniable Iranian presence for more than two millennia in Central Asia and along the Silk Road. I will mention only the most famous of them, such as:

West of Tian Shan Mountains (stretching SW–NE for more than 2500 km)

1) Arkaim (in the Southern Urals steppe) dating to 2200–1600 BC is a settlement of Sintashta-Petrovka culture and part of the so called *Land of towns* – which comprises more than 20 similar to Arkaim fortified settlements with areas varying from 8,000 to 34,000 m² (Arkaim – 20,000 m²)[7] of the πρωτοπόλις (proto-polis) type[8] and about one hundred small satellite settlements. Arkaim may have had a population of 1,500 to 2,500 people and was protected by double circular 4–5 m -thick and 5,5 m -height earthen wall surrounded with a deep moat. No less astonishing was the discovery of the earliest, and well-preserved, 10-spoked wheel chariot driven by two horses dating to the 2nd millennium BC. The site was burned and abandoned as a result of exodus of its inhabitants *ca.* 1600 BC.

2) Arjan (Minusinsk plain in Siberia) – early Scythian kurgan burials, located in the Tuva Republic, Russia (9–8 century BC).

3) Pazyryk burials dating to 6–3 century BC (Ukok plateau in Altai). There archeologists discovered a number of frozen tattooed mummies of Scythians and a huge amount of well-preserved artifacts.

4) The Golden Saka from *Issyk kurgan* – located in south-eastern Kazakhstan burial mound discovered in 1969 and dated probably to 5th to 4th century BC. The mound was found to contain the remains of a 18-years-old Saka wearing full warrior equipments with more than 4000 gold elements and **70 cm conical hat**. The so called "Golden man" is a *Saka tigrakhauda* warrior. Another interesting finding in the same tomb that belongs to the same time is the *Issyk inscription* – made probably in Saka language on a silver cup in a yet not deciphered script (may be deriving from Kharosthi).

East of Tian Shan Mountains

1) Tarim mummies (Tarim Basin) – these are bodies found in Tarim Basin and dated from 1800 BC to 200 CE. The earliest of them was found at Qewrighul and dated to 1800 BCE. Cherchen mummies include a tall red-haired body, the so called Cherchen man (1000 BCE); a 1-year-old baby boy and three women; the Hami Mummy (*c.* 1400–800 BCE), a red-headed beauty found in Qizilchoqa; and the so called Witches of Subeshi (4th or 3rd century BCE), who wore **60 cm black felt conical hats**. Most mummies share typical Indo-European body features many of them having long, blond, red or brown hair. Their clothes and textiles indicate a shared origin with these of the predecessors of the Celts.

2) *Shang Dynasty* (1600 BC–1046 BC) tombs – although they contain **horse-driven chariots** (1200 BC) of the Shang (*c.* 1600 – *c.* 1050 BC) and Zhou (*c.* 1050–256 BC) periods, horseback riding in China was not seen in warfare prior to the 4th Century BC. The earliest known chariot burial site in China, discovered in 1933 at Anyang in central China's Henan Province, dates to the rule of King Wu Ding (d. 1192 BC) of the late Shang Dynasty. Ancient Chinese chariots[9] were typically two wheeled vehicles drawn by two or four horses. Wheels of the Shang period usually had 18 spokes, but those of the Zhou period numbered from 18 to 26.

3) The tomb of Fuhao (d. *c.* 1200 BC), the wife of king Wu Ding of the Shang dynasty and his high priestess, – in which 750 jade objects were discovered. Note that Guan Zhong (d. 643 BC) mentioned in his book *Guanzi* the Yuezhi as people who supplied jade to the Chinese states during the Spring and Autumn periods (8th – 5th centuries BC).

4) The royal tombs in South Korea from the period of Three Kingdoms (57 BC – AD 668). In this royal tombs Silk Road items were discovered. Among these items an object was found that follows the famous Scythian "animal style" (in the tomb of King Munyông (501–523) of Paekche) and a mural (in "Dance Tomb" from the time of the kingdom of Koguryô) depicting the so called "Parthian shot"[10].

The Iranians along the Silk Road[11] may be divided into three groupes regarding their economical and social organization: 1) Nomadic tribes and Nomadic Confederations, 2) City-states and Principalities 3) Empires.

Nomadic tribes and Nomadic Confederations:

Saka – The steppe between the northern shores of Aral Sea and Lake Balkhash; in Tarim Basin along Yarkend and Tarim rivers, and in Jungharia;

Saka Tigrakhauda[12] – from the upper course of Sir Darya (Tanais) to Chu River;

Saka Haumavarga[13] – east of Alexandria Eshatae at the entrance to Fergana valley and through the mountains along Kashghar River to the Tarim basin;

Massagetae – between the lower courses of Oxus (Amu-Darya) and Tanais (Sir-Darya) rivers.

Dahae (Δάοι) – A confederacy of three Iranian tribes who lived between Caspian Sea and Aral Sea; one must note that formerly the *Parni* tribe (the future *Parthians*), was a part of Dahae confederation.

Yuezhi, also known after 175 BC as *Da Yuezhi*, were a mighty nomadic confederacy of five constituent tribes. According to *Hou Han Shu* in the 1st century CE, while in Bactria, they numbered "...100,000 households, 400,000 individuals, and more than 100,000 men able to bear arms"[14].

Wusun – after 162 BC in Zhetysu (Seven Rivers), region of Ili river. "The kingdom contains 120,000 families, comprising a population of 630,000 persons. They had an army of 188,800..."[15].

Kangju – north of Yaxartes river (Sir Darya) and west of *Wusun*. They had 80,000 or 90,000 skilled archers.

City-states and small principalities:

The oasis states of Tarim Basin – the settled inhabitants of these states till 8th century CE were mostly European-looking people - Tocharians, Saka and Sogdians. According to Hou Han Shu these states numbered more than 300,000 individuals.

Chorasmians – settled from centuries in the Oxus' delta, known as Chorasmia.

Soghdians – also settled people in Soghd (known as Mavarannahr in the wake of the Arab conquests[16]) – in the

Zerafshan and Qashqa-Darya river valleys; as a whole Soghdiana consisted of dozens of sovereign mini-states, Fergana alone numbering "...60,000 families, comprising a population of 300,000 with 60,000 trained troops..."[17].

Empires:

Persians (550–330 BC), *Parthians* (226 BC – AD 224), *Kushans* (30–375), *Sassanians* (224–651), *Hephthalites* (420–567).

Conclusion

In my opinion **Airyanəm vaējō** (Aryan expanse), I should say *Aryan vast*, of Iranians in fact was the Great Eurasian steppe – a vast Sea of grass with unreachable horizon. In the middle of the 1st millennium BC the Eurasian steppe was under the sway of Iranian tribes[18], excluding, of course, Mongolia and Manchuria steppes.

Afanasevo, a Copper-Bronze Age culture dating to 3500–2500 BC in south Siberia Minusinsk Basin (Altai-Yenisei region), has much in common with geographically far distant European cultures from the Pontic steppe than with its immediate neighbours. The specific traits attributed to the Indo-Europeans as whole – horses' remains, burials in the supine position with legs fixed, silver, wheeled vehicles – are also found in tombs of the Afanasevo culture and most importantly, the human skeletons are of the Europoid physical type.

This culture is believed to be the cradle of the Tocharians and its attribution to them makes possible the explanation of such an early, 2nd millennium BC, appearance of Indo-Europeans in Tarim Basin[19]. They eventually split into oasis settlers in Tarim Basin and nomads. The same goes for Achaemenid Persia (550–330 BC). In the reign of Darius the Great, the Persians were divided into two types tribes: six sedentary tribes and four nomadic ones.[20] According to Xenophon[21] they all numbered 120,000 men, each man being warrior by conscription, which makes a total number of *ca.* 600,000 men, women and children.

As for the Tocharian, it seems that it is closer to the western Indo-European languages than to the Iranian ones. Such a remote position at the farthest eastern rim of Indo-European Oecumene is probably due to a very early migration – prior to the middle of 4th millennium BC – from a relatively more farther western position vis-à-vis the Proto Indo-Iranian group.

From anthropological point of view there does not appear to have been a significant difference between Tocharians and Iranians. The same goes for their mode of living. Hence, it is feasible that some nomadic confederations, *Yuezhi*, for instance, may have been composed from different ethnic groups – Tocharian and Iranian tribes[22]. Tocharian tribes were dominant from the middle of the 3rd millennium to 2nd century BC in the steppe south of Altai, the Tarim Basin and to the east as far as Ordos loop of Huang He.

Ii is my conviction that *Yuezhi*, known also as *Da Yuezhi* (Great Yuezhi), were a nomadic confederation from a mixed Tocharian-Iranian stock. It is well known that in Transoxiana *Yuezhi* consisted of five tribes, one of which was the *Kushans* who overpowered the another four tribes and under the rule of Kujula Kadphises (AD 30–80) established the Kushan empire.

The equal level of economic and social development, and the common nomadic way of life made it easy, under certain conditions, for one nomadic tribe to be incorporated into a nomad confederation of a different ethnic stock.

During their stay along the Silk Road, the Iranians passed through various forms of socio-political organization – tribes, city-states, tribal confederations, empires. Their population numbered in days of prosperity from thousand in little oasis states to millions in the empires, the Kushan empire having one and half million inhabitants[23].

From the 3rd century BC the Iranian power to the east of the Eurasian steppe witnessed a gradual decline. In the 3rd century CE similar process is observed in the steppe's western part, the Hungarian Pusta (*c.* 50,000 sq km), and in the Pontic steppe (*c.* 500,000 sq km). In the middle of the 1st millennium all big Iranian tribes along the Silk Road disappeared from the map of Central Asia, save the Khwarezmians and the Soghdians, who survived until the 13th century, and the Persians (the modern Tajiks). From the 6th century CE a new power was on the rise in Central Asia and along the Silk Road – the Turks.

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NOTES:

1. Encyclopedia of World History (2008: 428).
2. Humboldt (1843: XXVII-XXX) "Je crois avoir été en droit de lui donner le titre concis, trop restreint peut-être, d'Asie centrale, puisque près de la moitié du premier et tout le deuxième volume traitent des Systèmes de montagnes de Thian-chan, du Kouen-lun et du Bolor....".
3. "...Central Asia is regarded as a cultural and historical concept that embraces countries joined by ancient cultural, economic and political bonds and a shared history." History of Civilizations of Central Asia (1996: 29).
4. "The majority of Russian archaeologists and linguists accept that the sites of the Sintashta type reflect the formation of the Indo-Iranian group of cultures whose origins lie in the earlier Pit-grave culture." Kuzmina (2007: 451).
5. See Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture (1997: 20).
6. Трубачев (1999: 188).
7. Аркаим (2003: 4).
8. A significant similarity with the ancient Greek polis system which numbered hundreds of small city-states – only the Delian League numbering in the 5th century BC 150 to 173 city-states. The Greek polis πόλις is broadly translated as city-state. In fact the polis is not the city, the state, the territory by its self, but the whole group of citizens (a complete society by all means).
9. These chariots are no doubt an "Aryan design" being identical to the battle chariots of ancient Greeks, ancient Romans, Celts, ancient Egyptians, Indo-Aryans, of course, and very similar to the chariot uncovered in Arkaim.
10. Rosén (2009: 8-11).
11. For maps see Abazov (2008) and Bregel (2003).
12. Saka with cone helmets, from *tigra* – sharp, and *khauda* – helmet.
13. Saka distilling *haoma* – the sacred drink of Iranians.
14. *The Western Regions according to the Hou Hanshu* at http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/texts.html.
15. *Selections from the Han Narrative Histories* at http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/texts.html.
16. ما وراء النهر *Ma wara an-nahr* (*beyond the River*, respectively on the other, eastern side of Amu-Darya).
17. *Selections from the Han Narrative Histories* at http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/texts.html.
18. Abstract to *Ancient DNA provides new insights into the history of south Siberian Kurgan people* in Human Genetics (2009: 395-410) states: "...nearly all subjects belong to haplogroup R1a1-M17 which is thought to mark the eastward migration of the early Indo-Europeans.... Finally, our data indicate that at the Bronze and Iron Age timeframe, south Siberians were blue (or green)-eyed, fair-skinned and light-haired people and that they might have played a role in the early development of the Tarim Basin civilization."
19. See so called Tarim mummies.
20. Herodotus (1975: 125) says about Persians: …"*Pasargadai* (Πασαργάδαι) (the most noble, of whom also the Achaimenidai are a clan), *Maraphians* (Μαράφιοι), *Maspians* (Μάσπιοι), *Panthalians* (Πανθιαλαῖοι), *Derusiaians* (Δηρουσιαῖοι) and *Germanians* (Γερμάνιοι) – these are tillers of the soil. Nomadic tribes are *Daoi* (Δάοι), *Mardians* (Μάρδοι), *Dropicans* (Δροπικοὶ) and *Sagartians* (Σαγάρτιοι)."
21. "It is said that the Persians number about one hundred and twenty thousand men;…" Xenophon (1914: 23).
22. As a matter of fact I will refer to the confederation between Wandals and Allans in the very beginning of 4th century CE. The first being from German stock, while the last from Iranian one. They successively fought side by side and conquered a Kingdom for themselves in North Africa who lasted for more than hundred years until AD 534.
23. Боровкова (2001: 166).

THE SOGDIAN SECTION OF THE SILK ROAD: NEW DISCOVERIES AND APPROACHES TO ITS HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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摘要：与丝绸之路其他部分相比，粟特一段近来并没有广泛地吸引研究人员和公众的兴趣，尤其是扎拉夫山山谷及其附属地区亚戈诺布与马查。这种忽略甚为可惜，因为公元前十世纪中期粟特沿着丝绸之路的贸易网络，对整个丝绸之路来说极为重要，特别是五世纪和八世纪间粟特语基本上是该地区的"佛兰卡语"。

本研究将介绍最新的有关丝绸之路粟特一段的考古和建筑发现，其主要地点为扎拉夫山山谷、亚戈诺布和马查。本介绍包括作者近五年在上述地区，通过考古学调查以及人类学实地研究所积累的已出版及尚未出版的资料。

The Sogdian section of the Silk Road has received lately much less scholarly and general attention than the other better known and better explored sectors of the route. This neglect concerns particularly some of its Sogdian sub-sections such as the Zarafshan Valley (which lies at a main intersection of the Silk Road and connects the Eurasian steppes with the ranges of the Western Pamirs and Alai Mountains) and its sub-areas, the Yaghnob and Matcha valleys (Map 1).

This neglect is particularly deplorable since the place of Sogdiana as an important region in the history of the Silk Road is demonstrated not only by the crucial Silk Road connections of its major cities, Samarkand and Bukhara, but also in view of the significance of the Sogdian trading network along the traditional inland sectors of the Silk Road in the first millennium CE, especially between the fifth and eighth century CE when the now extinct East Iranian Sogdian language was largely its lingua franca. The expansion of this trading network from Samarkand into China (which included the establishment of Sogdian colonies in China itself) allowed it to play a role in the various ongoing Chinese diplomatic and commercial initiatives in these parts of Central Asia.

The insufficient amount of research and number of publications in the sphere of the Sogdian Silk Road problematic undoubtedly are the result of the crisis in funding archaeological projects and specialized scholarship affecting Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirgizstan in the post-Communist period in varying degrees and cycles. The situation with funding such archaeology- and Silk Road-related projects has been improving slowly and unsteadily in the last few years but this relative improvement has not led to greater visibility and acknowledgement among international scholarly and general audiences interested in this problematic. Although this article is concerned with a period when the Sogdian sector of the Silk Road reached the peak of its commercial and cultural efflorescence (roughly coinciding with late antiquity), some general discussion of the earlier cultural and archaeological developments in the region will contextualize better its overall place in the history of the Silk Road.

A number of controversies and gaps surround the finds and chronology of the Middle Paleolithic to Neolithic cultures in Sogdiana and their interrelations with parallel developments in adjacent and more distant Asian areas. These uncertainties still pose problems for the proper assessment of the spectacular Eneolithic site of Sarazm (in modern north-western Tajikistan; Photographs 1 and 2), with its crucial evidence of the rise of proto-urbanism in Central Asia in the context of extensive trading and cultural contacts and exchanges, not only with the neighbouring steppe areas but also along long-ranging trans-Asian routes with regions as remote as Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley.[1] Archaeological finds from the Bronze Age demonstrate some significant links with contemporaneous variants of the Bactria–Margiana Archaeological Complex and Andronovo steppe culture,[2] although the date and chronology of the arrival of Indo-Iranian-speaking groups in the area still remains controversial. Future archaeological work will undoubtedly further highlight various aspects of the interaction between nomadic pastoralism and settled agricultural communities in Bronze Age Sogdiana and adjacent areas.

Important developments towards urbanism and state-formation in the early centuries of the first millennium BCE[3] were followed by Sogdiana's conquests by Achaemenid Persia in the sixth-century BCE and Alexander the Great (320s BCE). Alexander's conquests were superseded by periods of Seleucid, Graeco-Bactrian, Parthian and Kushan supremacy in Sogdian lands, interspersed with phases of invasion and dominance by Inner Asian nomadic powers. These changing patterns of foreign and "indigenous" rule also lead to a long-term process of meeting and cross-fertilization of varied cultural and religious traditions in ancient Sogdiana, which reached its mature stages during late antiquity when the area found itself under the suzerainty of the early Sasanian Persian monarchs. Sasanian authority and interests in Sogdiana, were, however, eventually depleted by the incursions and conquests of Inner Asian nomadic powers like the Hephtalites in the region, a

process completed by the establishment of the First and later the Western Turkic Khaganates and their expansion throughout and beyond Central Asia.

The evolving study of the distinctive urban aristocratic culture of late antique Sogdiana, which made some major advances in the twentieth century has demonstrated the often striking diversity and confluence of artistic and religious traditions at its city temples, royal complexes and private houses. Apart from the local version(s) of Zoroastrianism prevalent in its city states, the Sogdiana sector of the Silk Road also facilitated the spread of Buddhism, Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity across its caravan routes into Central Asia and China. This pursuit of religious mission along the Silk Road was as active as that of commerce and the Sogdian role in the process is evidenced by the number of Sogdian Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian manuscripts and fragments.

The artistic eclecticism and religious syncretism and symbiosis in late antique Sogdiana display some characteristic patterns which are clearly indicative of the dynamic of religious exchange and creativity on its section of the Silk Road. In their depiction of religious and mythological narratives the mural paintings and cult sculpture at its city temples, royal and residential buildings at Samarkand (the site of Afrasaib), Bukhara (the site of Varakhsha), Panjikent, etc. can employ Scytho-Siberian, Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian iconographies and stylistic features[4], and some Sogdian artistic schools eventually came to betray the impact of an interchange with Chinese art[5]. While Zoroastrian beliefs are certainly reflected to a degree in the murals of Sogdian temples, royal and residential structures (and especially in Sogdian funerary art)[6], the extant evidence of Sogdian religious art and cultic architecture shows Sogdian religious tolerance and allowances for plurality of worship in Sogdian cities and within some of their sacral precincts. The latter Sogdian phenomenon is exemplified, for example, by the sanctuary of Shiva and Parvati at the Panjikent city temple[7], the indications of a "limited" Buddha veneration in a Penjikent private house[8], and the prominence of royal and aristocratic worship of the non-Zoroastrian goddess, Nana[9].

Archaeological finds of Sogdian documents such as the celebrated 'Sogdian Ancient Letters' (discovered in 1907 by Sir Aurel Stein in a Han watch tower on the Chinese Great Wall c. 90 km west of Dunhuang)[10] and the collection of the archives of Panjikent's ruler in the fortress of Mount Mugh in the upper Zarafshan valley (unearthed in the 1930s and containing documents in Sogdian, Chinese, Arabic and Turkic runic script)[11] have thrown much new light on the political, trading and cultural role of the Sogdian cities on the Silk Road and their varied and close links with China. Following on these finds and more recent archaeological endeavours such as the projects of the Franko-Uzbek Aracheological Mission and the ongoing Hermitage Archaeological Expedition at Panjikent, current archaeological excavations and surveys have highlighted the potential of such work to lead to major discoveries which could revolutionize the study of the Sogdian sector of the Silk Road and its adjacent areas.

Among the ongoing expeditions in Central Asia with a direct relevance to the exploration of the Sogdian sector of the Silk Road attention should be drawn to University of Bologna's ongoing interdisciplinary expeditions in the Yaghnob and Matcha valleys which started in 2007 (and of which the author of the present article is a member)[12]. Its aims include archaeological surveys of the Sogdian-era fortifications and settlements in the valleys, drawing on wok initiated by the Soviet-Tajik mission in 1962. These new surveys confirmed many of the conclusions of the earlier mission regarding the location and purpose of these fortifications and also offered new approaches and solutions to their role in the Sogdian political and military system of defense and control as well as in the framework of the pastoral and agricultural economy of Sogdiana's upper Zarafshan (Photographs 3 and 4)[13]. Furthermore, when used in conjunction with a critical re-assessment of some of the Mount Mugh Sogdian documents, the data accumulated during these surveys can shed new light on political and military developments and interrelations during the last phases of the Muslim Arab conquest in Sogdiana in the early eighth century and even tentatively reconstruct some of its less known stages[14]. The University of Bologna expedition's new survey of the already excavated archaeological sites at Mount Mugh also show that some existing archaeological reconstructions need to be modified and updated. In this respect, it would be useful to re-open the excavations (carried out rather hurriedly and in challenging circumstances in 1933) which could

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[1] Archaeological excavations at the site of Sarazm (c. 45 km to the east of Samarkand and c. 15 km to the east of Penjikent) began in the second half of the 1970s and have yielded some highly important finds. See, for example, Besenval and Isakov (1989); Isakov (1991); Isakov (1996) Razzakov 2008. In 2010 Sarazm became the first UNESCO World Heritage site in Tajikistan.

[2] See, for example, the analysis of some of the relevant archaeological material in Bostongukhar (Bobomulloev) 1998: passim; Kohl (2007): 187-189, 193, 208; Kuz'mina (2007): 240-241.

[3] See, for example, the recent analysis of the Iron Age archaeological evidence from the Samarkand area in Isamiddinov (2002) .

[4] On the diverse iconographies and stylistic features in Sogdian art, see, for example, Belenitskii (1973); Azarpay (1981); Belenizki (1980); Marshak (2002); Mode (2003); Marshak (2008).

[5] Marshak (2001); Marshak (2008): 17-19.

[6] See, for example, Grenet (1986); Shkoda(1987); Marshak (2008): 11-12, 14; on the problem of the specific Iranian religious traditions prevalent in Sogdiana, see Henning, W. B. (1965) Iakubov (1996); Shkoda (2009) – Iakubov's conclusions, however, often seem rather far-fetched.

[7] Marshak (2008): 10-11.

[8] Marshak (2008): 12.

[9] See Grenet and Marshak (1998).

[10] Published by Reichelt (1928, 1931); on the dating and historical provenance of the documents, see, for example, Henning, W. B. (1948); Sims-Williams and Grenet (1987).

[11] Published and discussed in Freiman (1962); Livshits (1962); Bogoliubov and Smirnova (1963).

[12] The first results, finds and reports of the expedition have been published in Basello, Guizzo and Ognibene (2007).

[13] Panaino (forthcoming).

[14] Panaino (forthcoming): 4-6.

almost certainly lead to the discovery of new archaeological evidence, including more documents from the Panjikent Sogdian collection[15]. The archaeological surveys of Sogdian-era fortifications and structures in the upper Matcha valley completed by the University of Bologna expedition included a survey of the major unexcavated archaeological sites near Madrushkat (Photographs 5 and 6) which betray some close parallels with the Mount Mugh complex and future excavations (planned with Tajik collaboration and participation both by the Hermitage Panjikent and University of Bologna missions) have the potential to yield rich archaeological Sogdian finds and quite possibly more documents from the turbulent period of the Muslim Arab conquest or even earlier periods.

Recent and ongoing archaeological work in Central Asia with a number of direct contributions to the exploration of the Sogdian sector of the Silk Road and its links with China has led to some striking finds such as those of the University of Shymkent's excavations (directed by A. I. Podushkin) of the Arys culture in Southern Kazkakhstan. The Arys culture is associated with the fascinating but little-explored Central Asian state of Kangju, which was largely centered on the middle Syr Darya. Known predominantly by references and accounts in Chinese written sources, this state was most probably a confederation of nomadic and settled tribal groups, whose lifespan lasted between the second century BCE and the fourth century CE; it maintained political and diplomatic contacts with China throughout this and for a time Sogdiana was its dependency. Various aspects of the political and military history of the Kangju state, especially those associated with China, are referred to in contemporary Chinese chronicles. However, extensive and crucial areas of its political and religious history, ethnic composition and inter-relations with other Central Asian powers and cultures remain obscure and controversial.

Hence when apart from encountering rich burial sites Podushkin's excavations of the Kultobe settlement of Arys culture uncovered several fragmentary ancient Sogdian inscriptions containing extremely valuable data on the political, social and cultural history of the area from the time of Kangju supremacy, this discovery was seen as nothing less than sensational, all the more that their decipherment demonstrated that they pre-date the 'Sogdian Ancient Letters' discovered earlier by Sir Aurel Stein[16]. Further work on the contents and context of the Kultobe Sogdian inscriptions (Photographs 7 and 8), including their analysis of Chinese chronicles' Kangju references, as well as further archaeological work on the Arys culture will certainly bring major new insights into the political and cultural history of the Silk Road during the time of Kangju domination of its Sogdian sector which are bound to throw a new light on religious phenomena such as the influx of Sogdian Buddhist monks from Kangjui into China[17].

Finally, the discovery and exploration of new archaeological and epigraphic evidence regarding Sogdian trading networks and colonies in China demonstrates how extensive was their growth there in the fifth and sixth centuries before reaching their heyday in the seventh and eighth centuries. While the date of the earliest settlements of Sogdian trading colonies in China remains controversial, the data assembled from the 'Sogdian Ancient Letters', Chinese written sources, excavated Sogdian tombs in China and their funerary epitaphs and iconography[18] highlights the varied and intensive Sogdian presence and influence in various spheres of Chinese society, especially during the first half of the rule of the T'ang dynasty (618 – 907)[19].

Following the rebellion of general An Li-shan between 755-763 (himself of a partial Sogdian descent and supported by a number of Sogdian colonies in China)[20], which was quelled at a great social and political price and brought the decline of T'ang rule, the process of Sinicisation of Sogdian families was accelerated[21]. This was to lead to the extinction of Sogdian culture proper in China by the end of the eleventh century where it has survived in immigration after the Arab conquest and Islamicisation of Sogdiana in the eighth and ninth centuries.

All these new discoveries and approaches regarding the history and archaeology of the Sogdian sector of Silk Road highlights again the role of the Sogdians as major intermediaries in the cultural and religious exchanges along the Silk Road between the Eurasian steppes, Central Asia and China prior to and in the first centuries after the Muslim Arab conquest of Sogdiana in the early eighth century. Further archaeological work and explorations of this Sogdian and Sogdian-related material will shed new light on more aspects of their role in the reciprocal adoption of diverse cultural elements and cross-cultural exchanges along the Silk Road, creating preconditions for the formation of an international cosmopolitan culture, which in the Sogdian era cross-cut racial and religious barriers in a manner that made it one of the unique and most emblematic periods of the history of the Silk Road.

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[15] Panaino (forthcoming): 7n40.

[16] On the significance and far-reaching implications of the Kultobe inscriptions find, see Sims-Williams and Grenet (2007); Sims-Williams, Grenet and Podushkin (2007).

[17] See the analysis of this phenomenon in Walter (2006).

[18] See, for example, the discussion of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from excavated Sogdian graves in the Chinese province of Ningxia in Feng (2001); on the evidence of Sogdian funerary practices in China, see also Lerner (1995); Riboud (2003); Lerner (2005).

[19] On the evolution of Sogdian trading network and settlement of Sogdian colonies in T'ang China (and during the preceding Chinese dynasties), see Schafer (1951); Sims-Williams (1996); Grenet, Frantz and Zhang Guangda (1996); Feng (2001); Lerner (2001a) Vaissière (2004/2005); Vaissière (2005): chs. 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8; Grenet (2007).

[20] On the rebellion of An Lu-shan, see Pulleyblank (1955).

[21] On the reasons for and manner in which the An Lu-shan rebellion and its aftermath accelerated this process of Sinicisation, see Vaissière and Trombert (2004/2005): 944-965 passim.

Map of Sogdiana

Photograph 1
The Eneolithic Archaeological Site of Sarasm

Photograph 2
The Eneolithic Archaeological Site of Sarasm

Photograph 3
The Sogdian-era Archaeological Site near Kum (Upper Zarafshan)

Photograph 4
The Sogdian-era Archaeological Site near Kum
(Upper Zarafshan)

Photograph 5
The Sogdian-era Archaeological Site near
Madrushkat (Matcha Valley)

Photograph 6
The Sogdian-era Archaeological Site near
Madrushkat (Matcha Valley)

Photograph 7
The Kultobe Inscriptions - Fragment
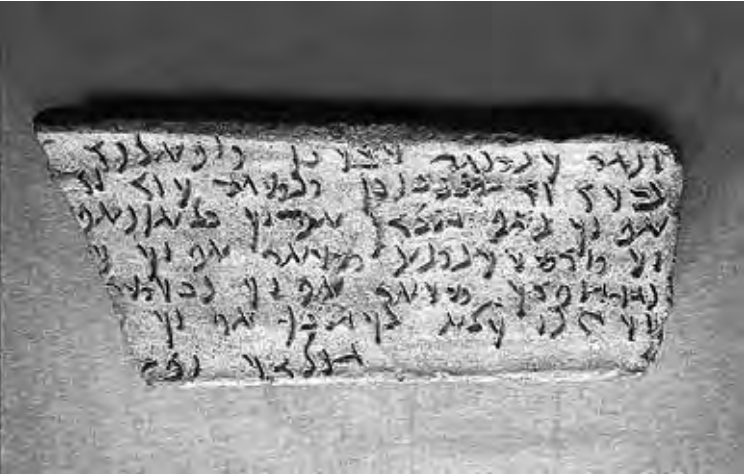
Photograph 8
The Kultobe Inscriptions - Fragment

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ANCIENT MONGOL CAPITAL CITY KARAKORUM (XIII-XIV CENTURY)

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ABSTRACT: Ancient capital city of Mongol Empire Karakorum was one of the most important cities of the Silk Road.

The paper examines Karakorum as a model of ancient administrative, trade and cultural seat of Mongol Empire. The specificity of its structure and architecture, the reasons of its origin, development and decadence are commented as well.

ДРЕВНОМОНГОЛСКАТА СТОЛИЦА КАРАКОРУМ (XIII-XIV в.)

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Създаването на единната Монголска държава през XIII в. е съпроводено с възникване и формиране на своеобразни по своя характер номадски селища с оригинална архитектура. Независимо, че за монголите е характерен номадският начин на живот, още през ранното средновековие при тях се появява необходимост от създаване и използване на стационарни жилища. Причините се крият в различните типове номадско стопанство, които предопределят начина им на живот. Първият тип се характеризира с това, че населението се придвижва целогодишно от едно пасище на друго. Този начин на чергаруване не изисква постоянни жилища и затова се използват юрти, които лесно се преместват. Вторият тип е известен като полуномадски. Населението се придвижва в търсене на пасища от пролетта до есента, а през зимата се връща в стационарни селища. При третия тип, част от населението е в движение и се занимава със скотовъдство, а друга част се занимава със земеделие или занаятчийство и обитава постоянни жилища. Тези типове номадско стопанство създават предпоставки за появата на два вида номадски селища – временни, възникнали по време на военни походи; и стационарни, възникнали по различни причини и обстоятелства, които ще очертаем по-нататък. Съоръженията, които се използват за създаването на тези селища са подвижни – юрти, каруци; и стационарни – огради, валове, дворцови сгради, култов център и др.

Временните селища, както и стационарните, се характеризират с определена планова структура, със своеобразна композиция, която отразява тяхната социална специфика. Материалите, от които са били построени номадските градове, създадени и процъфтяващи през XIII-XIV в. са били обаче твърде нетрайни, което е една от причините те да не се запазят в по-голяма цялост до наши дни.

Важни сведения за градовете на монголските ханове се съдържат в разказите-пътеписи на европейските пътешественици Плано Карпини, Вилхелм Рубрук, Марко Поло. Техните описания разкриват, че композиционният акцент в номадския град е дворецът на хана, който се издига в централната част на комплекса. Отляво и отдясно в определена последователност се издигат дворците на роднините и близките му, в зависимост от тяхното социално положение и ранг. По-далеч от тях в кръг се разполагат домовете на воините. Каруците и другите стопански съоръжения се разполагат в кръг около тях, като образуват външна ограда. Така плановата стуктура на номадския град се състои от ясно разграничени функционални зони. Процесът на образуване на постоянни компоненти в селищата на монголските номади се извършва вследствие на стремежа към постигане на максимална вместимост на дворцовата юрта. Това обаче води до трудности при нейната мобилност и разглобяемост, което налага тя да се преконструира в стационарна. Необходимостта около владетеля винаги да има слуги от простолюдието води до възникването на цели квартали от постоянни жилища в покрайнините на селището. Същевременно немалка част от населението остава мобилно – обитава плъстени юрти, които при нужда могат да се разглобят и да бъдат пренесени навсякъде. Тази двойственост в развитието на номадската архитектура е породена от спецификата на стопанското производство, което е строго специализирано през летния и зимния период. През лятото се извършва постоянно придвижване на отделните аули в търсене на богати пасища за добитъка, затова по-удобни са леките леснопреносими юрти и заслони, докато тежките климатични условия през зимата изискват по-солидни постройки за защита от студа. По тези причини и при типовете жилища през двата сезона се оформят две линии на развитие – подвижни и стационарни.

Такива са характеристиките на стопанската база, която предшества създаването на единната Монголска държава през XIII в. и която предопределя възникването на своеобразен начин на живот и формирането на номадски и стационарни станове (орди) на хановете. Въпреки недостатъчните сведения, изследователите смятат, че първите стационарни селища в Монголската държава са били някои от Великите орди на Чингис хан (Минерт 1990). Мащабните военни действия през този период създават условия за установяване на широки контакти на монголите с множество страни и народи. Именно тогава са поставени основите на важни стационарни селища, в които се разгръща мащабно дворцово строителство.

Като най-значим образец на древномонголското строителство, като стопанско-политически и културен център на обединените монголски племена от XIII в. единодушно се определя столицата на първите Чингисиди – *Каракорум.* Открита е в резултат на дългогодишни проучвания и разкопки, които потвърждават, че градът е бил голям административен, земеделски и културен център. За година на основаване на града се приема 1220 г., когато на брега на р. Орхон се премества станът на Чингис хан. Предполага се, че мястото на станување е било в района на древното

селище Тахай Балгас, където през XII в. се намира резиденцията на хана на кереитите. Застрояването на Каракорум обаче започва по-късно, по времето на властване на сина му Угедей хан. С името на Угедей се свързва нов етап на икономическа политика на Монголската държава. Причините за мащабно разгръщане на строителство в този момент се крият в нарасналата нужда от уреждане на административната структура на държавата. В историческите извори се посочва, че той огласява програма за строителство на цяла мрежа от стационарни селища – опорни пунктове на новата администрация. Тези селища възникват на базата на многобройните пощенски станции (ям) (Мункуев 1965:58).

Така, най-важният етап от поставянето на административните основи на империята става строителството на столицата Каракорум. Решаваща роля в този момент изиграва фактът, че точно тогава е осъзната и идеологическата необходимост от символ, олицетворяващ величието на империята и на владетеля. Същевременно е назряла и нуждата от административен център на империята. И тъй като монголските владетели продължават да следват традициите на дедите си и сезонно да сменят своите станове, заедно с тях трябвало да се придвижва и цялата администрация. С увеличаване броя на чиновниците възникват и множество проблеми, свързани с административните дела (Егоров 1969:42). Разрастването на чиновническия апарат става причина за отделянето му от двора и установяването му в стационарни селища.

Друг важен фактор за създаването на голямо стационарно селище е необходимостта от наличието на военно-металургична база във вътрешността на страната (Кисельов 1957:№2). Главната задача при подготовката на армията е нейното осигуряване с метално въоръжение – мечове, шлемове, копия, ризници. От важно значение било и продоволственото и транспортното осигуряване на войските. Затова създаването на подходяща база на място, където имало условия за металообработване и същевременно за развитие на селско стопанство, било от приоритетно значение за страната. Това вероятно е била и една от причините столицата да бъде преместена от намиращия се на изток район на Код Арал по средното течение на р. Керулен, където е положено началото на монголската държавност. Там Темуджин е представен на върховното божество Тенгри, провъзгласен е за владетел на всички монголи и получава титлата Чингис хан. Този стан се наричал Аураг. Той бил базов град на Чингис хан. Предполага се, че там бил неговият първи стационарен дворец. В този район, недалеч от свещените гробове на дедите си, той се придвижвал и имал четири други стана, управлявани от жените му (Ткачов 1986). Преместването на столицата на запад е следствие и от близостта на Код Арал до границата с джурджените, които били най-могъщите съперници на монголите през XIII в.

Друга важна причина за преместването на столицата на запад от Код Арал е местоположението на долината Далалха Тала на р. Орхон, където е построен Каракорум – от тук минават пътища към богатите средноазиатски градове, което определя до голяма степен и икономическите интереси на монголите. В този район има благоприятни климатични условия за развитие и на земеделие, и на скотовъдсто, и на металопреработване. Като икономически и производствен център Каракорум заемал северната част на долината Далалха Тала. Стационарни квартали били земеделският – разположен близо до руините на старата уйгурска столица Карабалгас, и занаятчийският – близо до Тахай Балгас, както и редица княжески и хански дворцови постройки в западното подножие на планините Ердене и Малахите. Кварталите на земеделци и занаятчии били отделени с ниски огради от района, където чергарували скотовъдите. Местата между стационарните квартали били заети от юрти и палатки, където живеели строителни работници и временно пребиваващи търговци. Очевидно структурата на града се подчинявала на специфични закони на организация на жизнената среда, създадени от централноазиатските номади. В него имало постройки в различни архитектурни стилове, което означава, че са били използвани уменията на чуждестранни майстори-архитекти, доведени от покорените от монголите страни или от други далечни земи. Същевременно обаче, различни източници посочват, че са използвани и традиционни строителни методи, съществуващи по тези земи преди Монголската империя – имат се предвид традиционните стилове на уйгурските и киданските градове (Чимидоржиев, Дамбрилова 1986:25).

От историческите и археологически източници става ясно, че Каракорум е бил оживен център за търговия с много близки и далечни държави (Древномонгольские города 1965:134).

През 1253 г. Вилхелм Рубрук описва града така: *„Там има два квартала, като единият е на сараците, в който се провежда пазарът, и там се стичат много търговци поради двора, който винаги е близо до него, и поради изобилието от пратеници. Другият квартал е на катаите, които всичките са занаятчии. Извън тези квартали има големи дворци, принадлежащи на придворните секретари. Там има дванайсет езически храма на различни народи, две джамии, в които провъзгласяват закона на Мохамед, и една християнска църква в края на града. Градът е обкръжен с глинена стена и има 4 порти. При източната се продават просо и друго зърно, което обаче се докарва рядко. Край западната се продават овци и кози, край южната – бикове и каруци, а край северната – коне"* (Гийом 2009:336). Въз основа на това описание на очевидец може да се добие известна представа за плана на града. Застрояването на Каракорум с монументални за онова време съоръжения започва с издигането на Дворцовия комплекс на Угедей хан, наречен *„Тумен амгалан"* – *„Дворец на мира за десет хиляди години"*. Идеята за неговото построяване възниква вероятно по време на похода срещу държавата Дзин (1211-1215 г.). Основание за такова твърдение дава съобщението на персийския историк Рашид ад Дин за това, че Угедей довел от Китай различни майстори и *„...заповяда да построят в Каракорум, където пребиваваше по-продължително, висок дворец с много колони, както подобава на такъв господар"* (Рашид ад Дин 1952:40).

В резултат от археологически разкопки[1] са открити и проучени останки от двореца, събрани са множество артефакти, на базата на които може с голяма достоверност да се опише дворцовия комплекс. Той се намира в югозападната част на града. Композиран е в посока север-юг, което е характерно за дворците и храмови ансамбли от източноазиатския регион. След реконструкцията на главния компонент в комплекса – Двореца на приемите, се стига до заключението, че уменията на китайския майстори са използвани, за да бъдат изразени идеологическите и пространствените представи на Великата степ, в техния монголски вариант (Минерт 1990:95). Доказателство за това е ориентираната към центъра архитектура на Двореца на приемите и символичната основа на структурата на комплекса, която е по правилата не на китайската геомантика, а е в съответствие с монголските традиции. На южната страна на композиционната ос на ансамбъла се намира главната порта, от която води стълба към терасата на Двореца на приемите, а на северната страна на тази ос се намира жилищният дворцов палат. Отляво и отдясно върху високи платформи се издигат по две успоредни на централната ос сгради с колонади, които са служили за складове за съхранение на храни и съкровища (Минерт 1990:95). Монголските традиции в тази композиция са запазени в ориентирането на главната порта, която отговаря на посоката, към която се ориентира и вратата на юртата, а също и мястото на жилищната сграда – на север (в юртата това е почетното място – хоймор).

В архитектурно отношение, главният дворец съчетавал монголските и западноевропейските архитектурни стилове. Представа за него ни дават описанията на Вилхелм Рубрук и някои китайски източници. Дворецът бил на два етажа, с 64 колони и подово отопление. Бил украсен с релефни фигури, изобразяващи митологични същества (наполовина лъв, наполовина дракон). Покривът бил облициван с червени и зелени керемиди. Пред централния вход се издигало сребърно дърво, чийто автор бил френският скулптор Вилхелм де Буше. На върха имало християнски ангел със сребърна тръба. От ствола се издигали четири тръби, чиито отвори представлявали змийски усти, от които се леели вино, медовина, кумис и оризова водка (Шиловски 2000).

След 1235 г., пространството около двореца започва усилено да се застроява от сгради на монголската аристокрация. По сведение на Рашид ад Дин, Угедей хан издал указ всички негови братя, синове и благородниците да си построят жилища в околностите на двореца (Рашид ад Дин 1952:40). По сведение на С.В. Кисельов, от р. Орхон към югоизточната част на града са били прокопани водни канали, дълги около 5 км. Около стените на града имало и малки езера (Кисельов 1965:139). Предполага се, че тези езера са били част от проект за създаването на парк, подобен на този в двореца на императорите на династия Дзин в гр. Джунду, завладян от монголите през 1215 г. (Минерт 1990:95).

Различни източници сочат, че градът бил свързан чрез пътища с главните градове на съседните страни. Изключително добре било уредено движението по посока към Пекин – 37 станции (ям) били разположени на всеки 25-30 км. в това направление. Взети са мерки за осигуряване на града с хранителни запаси и напитки (Рашид ад Дин 1952:41; Греков 1950:73). По сведение на Рашид ад Дин, дворецът бил място за отдих на Угедей хан, а недалеч били разположени няколко негови сезонни станове, които се превърнали постепенно в извънградски дворци (Рашид ад Дин 1952:41). Наистина, различни източници съобщават за няколко дворцови сгради в района на Каракору[2]. Предполага се, че последното построено монументално съоръжение в Каракорум е пететажен будистки храм, издигнат по заповед на Мунке хан през 1256 г. Според китайските извори, той е бил с височина 300 фута (ок. 90 м.), с множество помещения с изображения на будистки божества (Мен-гу-ю-му-дзи 1895: 382-383).

След възкачването на Кубилай хан на престола през 1260 г. и преместването на столицата на империя Юан в Шанду (Кайпин) и по-късно в Дайду, водещата роля на Каракорум в областта на търговията, занаятчийството и администрацията постепенно намалява. Икономическото развитие на града затихва, той става жертва на междуособни борби, често бива ограбван и опожаряван. Според официални историографски извори, Каракорум нееднократно е бил и възстановяван (Мункуев 1965:125). След падането на династия Юан, градът отново става столица, но е силно разрушен от китайски войски. През X в. все още е считан за столица на монголските ханове – потомци на Тогон Темур. Честите междуособни войни от този период обаче довеждат до окончателното му разрушаване.

През XIII в. завоевателните походи на Чингис хаган и неговите наследници създават нови предпоставки за формиране на стационарни селища. Нарастващите нужди на административната структура на държавата, както и необходимостта от централизирана екипировка на войските, стават водещ градообразуващ фактор и предпоставка за разрастване на уседналите селища. Задачата да се организира военно-металургична база на държавата е можела да бъде решена пълноценно само чрез създаване на комплексни от функционална гледна точка населени места – с развито металообработване, земеделие, занаятчийство, търговия, гарнизонни войски, административен апарат, аристократични квартали. Такъв уседнало-номадски град е Каракорум, който независимо от своето кратко съществуване, остава в историята като символ на Монголската империя.

БЕЛЕЖКИ:

1 От важно значение за реконструкцията на двореца са проучванията на монголо-съветската археологическа експедиция под ръководството на С.В. Кисельов (1940-1950 г.) и на германо-монголската археологическа експедиция от 1999-2003 г. (*Институт по Археология*, Бонски университет).

2 По-подробно в: Ядринцев, Н.М. Путешествие на верховья Орхона к развалинам Каракорума; Мен-гу-ю-му-цзи: Записки о монгольских кочевьях. *Пер. с кит. П.С. Попова*, СПб., 1895, с. 379.

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THE ETHNIC CONTINUITY ON THE TERRITORY OF LITTLE BUKHARIA IN NORTHWEST CHINA

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ABSTRACT: The Tarim Basin in Northwest China has been known under many different names in the different historical periods, among which is also the appellation of "Little Bukharia". This territory is well known for its early Indo-European population, the first settlers reaching the Tarim Basin as early as 2000 BC. The present article investigates the origin of these "Western" elements in China, based on historical records, archaeological and linguistic data. It formulates the hypothesis that these Western elements were certain Scythian and Getean tribes who left their homeland in the Balkans and migrated eastward, reaching as far as China, India and Tibet. Being some of the Thracian tribes by origin, the Scythes, the Getes (the Tocharians), the Massagetes and their other kindred tribes on the territory of Central, Middle and Eastern Asia, spoke the common language of all Thracians, which from the 5-th century on came to be called "Bogh-arian". In the following centuries the term "Bogharians" ("Bulgarians") gradually became an ethnic name for some of those Thracian tribes and started to appear in historical records. The careful research of Chinese historical annals and archaeological evidence proves that in Late Antiquity "the Bulgarians" in the Tarim Basin and in mainland China inhabited the same territories which were previously occupied, or adjacent to the territories occupied by the Scythes and the Getes during the Early Antiquity. It is, therefore, highly probable that the appellation "Little Bukharia" is derived from the name of these early European inhabitants.

ЕТНИЧЕСКАТА ПРИЕМСТВЕНОСТ НА ТЕРИТОРИЯТА НА МАЛКА БУКХАРИЯ В СЕВЕРОЗАПАДЕН КИТАЙ

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Въпросът кога „западният човек" за пръв път стъпва в пределите на далечния Изток, винаги е провокирал любопитството на модерния изследовател, разпалвайки първичната му страст към преоткриване и покоряване на нови неизследвани територии. В наши дни този процес на покоряване, облагороден от постиженията и нравите на новото време, вече е приел други форми. Първичната страст днес бива задоволявана не с мощта на хладното оръжие, а със силата на облечената в научна мисия интуиция и най-модерните технологии, а борбата за завладяване на нови територии отдавна се е прехвърлила в сферата на културните, интелектуалните, политическо-социалните, верските и расовите предразсъдъци. И днес малцина остават авантюристите, дръзнали да напуснат „сигурното убежище" на достъпната западна наука и да поемат по трудния и несигурен път към далечните краища на света, в дирене на скрити научни съкровища.

През последните два века границата на представите ни за това, колко рано се е случил първият контакт между Изтока и Запада, непрестанно се измества все по-назад във времето. За целите на настоящето изследване ще ограничим вниманието си само върху онази част от Изтока, която влиза в пределите на историческата Китайска империя и по-специално нейните северозападни погранични райони и съседните им територии. Най-новите антропологични, лингвистични и археологически изследвания на китайските учени доказват, че именно това са зоните, през които още към 2000 г. пр. н.е. е започнало навлизането на индоевропейски расови елементи в Китай, като по това време тяхното разпространение на изток вече е било достигнало до териториите между басейна на р. Кунцюе и падината Хами, в днешния Синдзянски автономен район (林梅村 2000:5). Нещо повече, тези систематизирани проучвания разкриват също така и важния за нашето изследване факт, че появата на индоевропейци в тези райони предшества появата на източно-иранско население (林梅村 2000:9).

Древната китайска книжнина е запазила следите от присъствието на европеиди в този далечен край на света. В едно от най-ранните класически географски описания на Китай – 《山海经》 „*Каталог на планините и моретата*", съставен между V-III в. пр.н.е., на две места се споменава за „*страната на белите хора*" – веднъж тя е ситуирана в северозападен Китай[1], а по-късно е описана в районите „*на изток от Голямата пустош*"[2]. Въпреки че е трудно лаконичните и митологизирани описания от „*Каталога на планините и моретата*" да бъдат съпоставени с историческата и археологическа реалност, и въпросът дали тези описания наистина отразяват съществуването на една или две държави в китайските земи, населявани от бели хора остава все така неизяснен, фактът, че са налице подобни ранни податки за съществуването на „*западни държавни образувания*" именно в районите, в които тяхното присъствие е засвидетелствано от по-късни исторически и археологически източници, дава повод да приемем, че „*Каталогът на планините и моретата*" отразява определена историческа реалност, макар и силно украсена в стила на традиционната митологизирана историография на Китай.

Подобен тип сведения откриваме и в раздела 《禹贡》 „*Приноси към император Ю*" на първата китайска историческа творба 《尚书》 "*Почитани документи*", за който се счита, че е съставен към V в. пр. н.е. В него са

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1 《 山海经. 卷十四. 大荒东经》： "有白民之国。帝俊生帝鸿，帝鸿生白民，白民销姓，黍食，使四鸟：豹、虎、熊、罴。" （郭璞1997:370）.

2 《 山海经. 卷十四. 大荒东经》： "有白民之国。帝俊生帝鸿，帝鸿生白民，白民销姓，黍食，使四鸟：豹、虎、熊、罴。" （郭璞1997:370）

описани множество племена, населяващи пределите на Поднебесната, които още от времето на династия Ся (XXI – XVI в. пр. н.е.) са плащали налози на империята под формата на злато, сребро, нефрит, бронз, желязо, перли, слонова кост, сол, лен, коприна, дървен материал, скъпоценни камъни, кожи, редки птици и риби, и мн. др[3]. Информацията от гадателните кости от династия Шан (XVI-XI в. пр. н.е.) допълва динамичната картина на политическото състояние на династията в средата на второто хилядолетие преди новата ера. Тя потвърждава факта, че територията, намираща се под директен контрол на шанския император е била обградена от всички страни от многобройни чуждестранни племенни образувания, чийто брой още тогава е надвишавал двайсет (张创新 2005:69). Тези чуждестранни етноси, обозначавани колективно с термина „方" (fang) са включвали племената: 土方 (Tufang), 井方 (Jingfang), 巴方 (Bafang), 召方 (Zhaofang), 羌方 (Qiangfang), 印方 (Yinfang), 吉方 (Jifang), 马方 (Mafang) и мн. др. Доколко тези племенни групи са били етнически и расово различни от преобладаващо ханското население на китайската империя е въпрос, на който историческите извори не могат да дадат конкретен отговор. Интересно е, обаче, да се отбележи, че техните вождове са били наричани с титлата „Bai", изписвана с йероглифите 白 или 伯 (张创新 2005:69), първият от които означава „бял", а вторият се състои от компонентите „човек" и „бял". Дали изборът на тези йероглифи е бил продиктуван от чисто фонетични съображения, т.е. дали те са отразявали единствено произношението на титлата или едновременно с това са показвали, че поне някои измежду многобройните чуждестранни етноси, заобикалящи Китай, са били съставени от представители на бялата раса, бихме могли само да гадаем, ако нямахме потвърждение от страна на археологията.

В търсене на научната истина зад мъгливите исторически сведения на китайските хроники, в периода между 1920 г. и 1940 г. няколко западни учени, сред които Артър Кейт (Англия), Карл-Херман Хьорстьо и Андер Валандер (Германия), А.Н. Иусефович (Русия) и Свен Хедин (Швеция) провеждат частични разкопки на територията на Синдзянския автономен район и откриват общо около 20 черепа с не-монголоидни черти (Han 1994:1). Китайските археолози започват да провеждат систематични разкопки в тази зона едва през 1940 г., в резултат на което са събрани над 274 черепа от 9 некрополни могили на територията на Синдзян, датирани между 1800 г. пр. н.е. – 300 г. от н.е., (Han 1994:1). В средата на 80-те години се провеждат разкопки и в гробището Янбулак в Кумул (Рами) в Синдзян, където сред 29-те проучени черепа, 21 се оказват монголоидни, а 8 – европеидни. Тези открития доказват факта, че към 1300 г. пр. н.е. европеиди вече са били достигнали до оазиса Рами, където са се срещали с монголоидните народи (Li 1999:3).

На базата на наличния материал китайските учени стигат до извода, че най-късно по времето на ранната бронзова епоха[4], население със западни расови елементи е навлязло в района на езерото Лопнур. Неговите физически черти са били близки до тези на населението в Централна Азия, южен Сибир и долината на р. Волга, а по отношение на расовия му произход са открити подчертани сходства и директна връзка с късно-палеолитния Кроманьонски вид от Източна Европа, който се явява по-архаичен предшественик на откритите в Синдзян черепи (Han 1994:6).

На този фон появата на монголоидно население в Синдзян се наблюдава чак няколко века по-късно – към 1000 г. пр. н.е., и то предимно в източните части на района. Масовата миграция на монголоиди в западна посока започва едва през династия Хан (206 г. пр. н.е. – 23 г. от н.е.), което показва, че през първото хилядолетие преди новата ера движението на представители на западната раса към Таримската котловина е било много по-бързо и мащабно, отколкото движението на монголоидните народности на запад (Han 1994:7).

От горепосочените писмени и археологическите сведения бихме могли да заключим, че миграцията на европеидно население на изток е започнала в един относително ранен етап от човешката история, като първата миграционна вълна е достигнала районите на планината Тиеншан и Таримската котловина към началото на II хилядолетие преди новата ера. Нека разгледаме кои са най-ранните уседнали общности в тези земи, които хилядолетия по-късно продължават да се наричат „Малка Букхария".

НАЙ-РАННОТО ЕВРОПЕИДНО НАСЕЛЕНИЕ В ТАРИМСКАТА КОТЛОВИНА: СКИТИ И ТОХАРИ

Откритите в началото на XX в. от Аурел Стейн и Свен Хедин мумии на европеиди, консервирани в солените пясъци на пустинята Такламакан, извеждат изследванията на ранната култура в Синдзян до фундаментално ново равнище. Макар и добре известни на китайските археолози, европеидните мумии остават скрити за западната наука чак до началото на 90-те години на XX в. През 1978 г. китайският археолог Уан Бинхуа открива още 113 подобни тела в гробището край Чупу в Синдзян, а в началото на XXI в., вследствие на проведените активни проучвания и разкопки в района, броят на мумиите от Западен Китай достига над 300, на възраст между 1800 г. пр. н.е. и 400 г. от н.е. (Haughton 2006:211). На базата на наличния материал в научните среди се налага становището, че мумиите са представители на скитите или на тохарите, които са населявали тези райони в дълбока древност. Генетичният анализ на една от по-старите мумии показва, че нейното ДНК принадлежи към хаплогрупа Н, която е типично европейска и според проф. Меър, „въпреки че все още не могат да бъдат причислени към никоя конкретна европейска подгрупа... мумиите от Синдзян намират своите най-близки генетични родственици сред европейците." (Mallory, Mair 2000:246-247). Допълнителните проучвания показват, че „по-младите" тела от периода след III в. от н.е. са преобладаващо

монголоидни и китайски (Hino 2004:13), което най-вероятно говори за зачестяването на културните контакти и последвалата асимилацията на по-малобройния западен етнос от неговите източни съседи – процес, който е твърде добре илюстриран от съвременното „ханизиране" на китайските малцинства.

Предполагаемият скитски произход на мумиите е в пълно съответствие със сведенията, които китайските извори и по-специално 《汉书》 „История на династия Хан" (I-II в. от н.е.) ни предоставят[5]. В раздела „Повествование за западните територии[6]" сравнително добре са описани земите, населявани от скитски племена към първите векове преди новата ера. Обобщеният наличен материал показва, че в периода, предшестващ основаването на династия Западна Хан през III в. пр. н.е., скитите са се простирали от поречието на р. Или до планината Тиеншан или дори още по-на юг до планината Алайлин (阿赖岭) и Източно-памирските възвишения (王炳华 1985:48-49). От същите извори научаваме, че в края на III в. пр. н.е. тохарите мигрирали на запад и завладели първоначалните скитски селища в районите около р. Или (王炳华 1985:49).

Скитската култура в Синдзян е археологически засвидетелствана и чрез откритите 阿拉沟 (Alagou), 新源 (Xinyuan), 昭苏 (Zhaosu), 奴拉赛 (Nulasai), 香宝宝 (Xiangbaobao) и други селища, пръснати край р. Или и Памир, останки от скитски погребения, медни рудници, ритуални, бронзови и керамични съдове, златни украшения, оръжия и др., датирани между V и III в. пр. н.е. (王炳华 1985:49-52, Di Cosmo 1999:942-944). Въпреки, че артефактите от тези археологически обекти традиционно се свързват с подобни представители на сака-културата от Централна Азия, Русия и Украйна, въпросът коя е прародината на някои „типично" скитски черти, като богатите конски украси и катарами в животински стил, изобилието на златен и сребърен погребален инвентар, курганните погребения и др., все още не е намерил задоволителен отговор. През 1981 г. в скитско погребение от околия Синюан в Синдзянския автономен район е открито бронзово оръжие, което по мнението на археолозите има подчертани „европейски" характеристики (胡笳, 钟习政 2007:61). Същото може да се каже и за уникалната 42-сантиметрова бронзова статуя на скитски воин (Фиг. 1), открита две години по-късно в същия район, чиято шапка с подвит връх, доколкото успяхме да установим, има паралели единствено с тракийския шлем (Фиг. 2) и фригийската шапка (Фиг. 3). Антропологичните изследвания на скитската култура в Синдзян също потвърждават нейния европеиден характер (Di Cosmo 1999:925).

Наличието на подобни, макар и частични данни, и то на фона на силно ограничения материал, който е достояние на международната научна общност, би трябвало да разшири пределите на интердисциплинарните изследвания и да подтикне към задълбочаване на проучванията и установяване на взаимовръзките между двата, най-отдалечени края на Евразия.

Според множество китайски учени най-рано мигриралите около 2000 г. пр. н.е. и достигнали най-далеч на изток индоевропейци, са не скитите, а предците на по-късно установилите се в Таримската котловина тохари (徐文堪 1995:304-314), макар че Страбон (I в. от н.е.) изброява тохарите като едно от скитските племена[7]. В съвременната наука се е наложило мнението, че тохарите, споменати в „Историята" на Помпей Трог[8] (I в. пр. н.е.), „Географията" на Птолемей[9] (I в. от н.е.) и др. антични автори като цяло съответстват на етноса „юеджъ" от източните анали.

3   Вж. 《尚书. 禹贡》. (钱宗武, 江灏 2001:72-95).

4   За Китай се приема, че бронзовата епоха обхваща периода между 2000 – 771 г. пр. н.е.

5   В по-късните китайски хроники скитите почти никъде не се споменават, което би могло да се обясни с миграция или асимилация на скитския етнос през първите векове на новата ера.

6   Вж. 《汉书. 西域传. 乌孙》, 《汉书. 西域传. 捐毒国》, 《汉书. 西域传. 罽宾国》, 《汉书. 张骞李广利传》. 王先谦. 汉书补注, 第二、第三册. 上海古籍出版社, 2008.

7   Вж. Strabo XI.VIII.2. in The Geography of Strabo, tr. H.G. Bohn, Vol. II, London 1856, p. 245.

8   Вж. Trogus' Prologue, Book XLII in Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus, tr. J. C. Yardley, The American Philological Association, 1994, p. 284.

9   Вж. Ptolemy VI.11.6. in Ptolemy Geographia, tr. E.L.Stevenson, Book VI. New York, 1932, p. 142.

„Юеджите" се появяват в северозападен Китай още в пред-Цинския период (XVI – III в. пр. н.е.), като в китайските писмени паметници от това време тяхното име е отразено като "禺知" *(Yuzhi)* или "禺氏" *(Yushi)*, а в по-късните извори от династиите Цин (221-206 г. пр. н.е.) и Хан (206 г. пр. н.е. – 220 г. от н.е.) – като "月氏" *(Yueshi)* или "月支" *(Yuezhi)* (林梅村 1998:56). Според „*Историческите записки*" на Съма Циен, съставени в края на II в. пр.н.е., първоначално юеджите са населявали земите между Дунхуан (в днешна провинция Гансу) и Цилиен (в провинция Цинхай), но били прогонени от хуните и мигрирали още по-на запад. След като покорили царството Дася (най-вероятно Бактрия), те се установили на север от р. Аму Даря и там основали свое царство със столица. Но една малка група останала при номадите от етноса Qiang (Цян – „пастири") в районите на планината Цинлин (в провинция Шаанси), и оттогава започнали да се наричат „*малките юеджъ*" [10].

Сведенията на Съма Циен се оказват твърде частични в светлината на най-новите исторически изследвания, които представят *юеджите* или *тохарите* не като малоброен местен етнос, а като едно от големите номадски племена, владеещо на по-голяма част от монголските степи, Джунгарската и Таримската котловина, както и районите по горното течение на Жълтата река (榎一雄, G. A. 科舍伦科, Z. 海达里 2002:130). Преди да бъдат разбити от хуните към II в. пр. н.е., те са играели доминантна роля в Централна Азия, сравнима с тази на тюрките векове по-късно, и са населявали един твърде обширен район, простиращ се от Таримската котловина на запад чак до Ордоското плато на североизток (林梅村 1998:56).

Що се касае до техния произход, в края на XVIII в. френският ориенталист и синолог Жозеф дьо Гин (1721-1800 г.) пръв идентифицира племето Yuezhi с гетите, които населявали районите западно от провинция Шаанси, и които били нападнати и прогонени от хуните около II в. пр. н.е.[11] (The Asiatic Journal 1822:452). Най-новите лингвистични изследвания на тохарския език потвърждават факта, че произходът на юеджите или тохарите трябва да се търси не сред ирано-езичното, а сред европеидното население. За тохарски език, който е засвидетелстван предимно в „късни" писмени паметници от VI-VIII в. от н.е., се счита, че е по-близък до келтския, германския, италианския и гръцкия, отколкото до индо-иранския, арменския, албанския и балто-славянския (Mair 1990:C-4). През последните години тези недефинирани сходства придобиха още по-ясна форма: най-новите компютъризирани технологии за реконструкция на прото-тохарския език разкриват директна връзка между прото-тохарския и прото-славянския език и водят към изненадващия извод, че „*в края на първо хилядолетие пр. н.е. предшественикът на тохарския език все още се е намирал в Източна Европа.*" (Nakhleh, Ringe, Warnow 2005:401).

Достоверността на този привидно изненадващ извод може да бъде проследена и по друг начин. Мнозина лингвисти считат, че тохарският език притежава доста от характеристиките на кентум езиците и е особено близък с хетския език, говорен в Анатолия (林梅村 2003:9). Същевременно, благодарение на археологическите проучвания на културите от ранната бронзова епоха в Югоизточна Европа, все повече международни учени признават факта, че Балканите се явяват хронологически и културен предшественик на ранно-бронзовата епоха в Анатолия, от което следва и предположението на някои от тях, че не само материалната култура, но и индоевропейските езици са привнесени в северозападна Анатолия от Балканите 3000 г. пр. н.е. (Mallory 1991:239).

Тази хипотеза отново ни връща към Югоизточно Европа, където бихме могли да потърсим прародината и първоизточникът на тохарския етнос, език и култура. Именно на Балканите, а не някъде в Средна Азия се намират най-ранните поселения на гетите, с които Дьо Гин отъждествява юеджите или тохарите. Съвременните изследователи на мумиите от Таримската котловина проф. Джеймс Мелъри и проф. Виктор Меър също достигат до подобна хипотеза, следвайки своя собствена логическа нишка. Те реконструират първоначалното четене на китайския етноним 月支 *Yuezhi* като „*Gwat-ti*", „*Go-ti*" или „*Gut-si*". Според тях, това четене би могло фонетично да кореспондира на няколко етноса, сред които и този на „балканските" гети северозападно от Черно море (Mallory, Mair 2000:98). Доразвивайки тази линия на разсъждение, те изказват и предположението, че зад името на многочислената част на същото племе, наречен „Големите юеджъ" (大月支 *Da Yuezhi*) се крие името „*масагети*", което би могло да се преведе като „*Великите гети*", тъй като старо-иранската дума „*маса*" означавала „*голям, велик*" (Mallory, Mair 2000:98-99).

Че масагетите най-вероятно са били етнически родственици на гетите, може да се заключи и от това, че Херодот, Страбон, Плиний и Птолемей споменават и още две племена, чийто имена съдържат корена „*гети*" – това са *тиси-гетите (Thyssa-getae)*, обитавали край р. Волга и *тири-гетите (Tyri-getae)*, населяващи районите около р. Днестър. Нещо повече – тези „гетски" племена са владеели територии, влизащи в границите на Скития, а същевременно липсват каквито и да било исторически сведения за военни конфликти между тях. Следователно гети и скити като цяло трябва да са били родствени племена, което обяснява честото отъждествяване на едните с другите, срещано в историческите трудове от древността насам.

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[10] 《史记. 大宛列传》："始月氏居敦煌、祁连间，及为匈奴所败，乃远去，过宛，西击大夏而臣之，遂都妫水北，为王庭。其馀小众不能去者，保南山羌，号小月氏。"（司马迁 1999:1189）.

[11] Дьо Гин описва следната история на това племе: след като напуснали своите земи (западно от провинция Шаанси), те се разделили на две части, от които по-голямата превзела територията на племето Су в околността на р. Или, а по-малката група се отправила към Тибет, където станала известна под името „Малките гети". По-късно „Големите гети" напуснали районите около р. Или и се заселили северно от р. Яксарт (Сър Даря), в близост до Аралско море, след което завоювали и обширни територии южно от р. Окс (Аму Даря), достигайки чак до Персия и Индия. Тук те приели будизма и населявали новопревзетите територии между реките Сър Даря и Аму Даря чак до IV в. от н.е., когато били прогонени от сасанидите (The Asiatic Journal 1822:452-454).

Предположението, че скити, гети и масагети са разновидности на едно и също племе не е ново. То се появява в западната историография в края на XVIII в., като според някои автори названието „скити" („скути, кути") е просто друго четене на името „гети" (Rennell 1800:48). В своите географски описания на районите северно от Согдиана и Бактрия, античните автори също използват термините скити, саки и масагети като взаимнозаменяеми понятия (Rennell 1800:216). Херодот споменава, че персите наричали всички скити[12] „саки", а според Страбон, който документира присъствието на скитски племена в районите на р. Аму Даря и Хималаите към I в. пр. н.е.[13], източните скити се наричали масагети и саки, а останалите скитски племена, сред които асите, пасианите (асианите), тохарите и сакраулите обикновено се наричали просто скити[14]. Това сведение на Страбон също недвусмислено потвърждава предположението, че тохари и скити са представители на един и същи етнос и неговото мнение не е изолирано.

От дотук приведените данни бихме могли да съставим следната хипотетична картина на появата на „западни" елементи в територията на Китай[15]: към началото на II-ро хил. пр. н.е., източноевропейци от скитски и гетски (тохарски) произход навлизат на територията на Китай и първоначално се установяват в района на Таримската котловина, достигайки до езерото Лопнур. Постепенно разширявайки територите си, към първите векове преди новата ера една част от тях (скитите) се разселват на северозапад и югозапад в земите между р. Или и Източнопамирските възвишения, където създават свои независими царства. Друга част (гетите/тохарите) се придвижват още по-на север, достигайки до Джунгарската котловина и установяват политически контрол върху голяма част от северозападните територии на Китай и монголските степи чак до Ордоското плато. Проведените археологически, лингвистични и антропологични изследвания дават фактологическо основание да се предполага или твърди, че расово и етнически тези „западни" елементи на територията на Китай представляват мигрирал далеч на Изток клон на същите гети и скити, които населявали северното и северозападното Черноморие още от дълбока древност.

„МАЛКА БУКХАРИЯ" В ТАРИМСКАТА КОТЛОВИНА

От II в. пр. н.е. нататък скитите и гетите биват постепенно изтласквани от хуните по посока към Кабул, Кашмир, Индия и Тибет, а техните остатъци на територията на Китай са претопени и асимилирани в хунските или китайските държавни образувания. В началото на християнската ера уйгурите (според някои мнения хунско племе) се установяват в Таримската котловина и се смесват със завареното население, като дават името Кашгария на целия регион (Kuropatkin 1882:92). През 94 г. от н.е. Кашгария е анексирана към Китайската империя и това състояние продължава до VIII в., когато е превзета от тюрките (Kuropatkin 1882:93).

В началото на XIII в. Кашгария е покорена от Чингис Хан, а по-късно преминава под управлението на сина му Чагатай Хан. Към 1603 г. е разделена на две царства – Кашгар на запад и Калис на изток. (Brookes 1825:296). По това време столицата Ярканд е била оживен търговски център и главен оазис, намиращ се на кръстопът между търговските маршрути, свързващи Европа и Азия. Районът е изобилствал със скъпоценни камъни, злато и сребро, добивани предимно в планинските райони, които са били изнасяни в Индия, Китай и Сибир. През 1759 г. китайският император Циенлун прави цялата територия васална на китайската империя и цинското правителство кръщава региона Синдзян („*Нова граница*") (Crabb 1833:124).

В местни исторически извори от XVIII и XIX в. се срещат различни названия за района на Таримската котловина като *Altishahr* (тур. „шест града"), *Dorben shahr* (тур. „четири града" и *Yeti shahr* (тур. „седем града") (Newby 2005:4). В западни източници от същия период се използват както названията *Кашгария*, *Източен* или *Китайски Туркестан*, така и по-рядко имената *Букхария*, *Малка Букхария* и др. Терминът „*Малка Букхария* " се появява в руските източници в края на XVII в. и е широко използван от руските изследователи докъм средата на XIX в., когато се налага по-популярното западно название „Източен Туркестан" (Кадърбаев 2008:237).

Географските описания на Малка Букхария от XVII-XX в., базирани предимно на пътеписите на йезуитските мисионери, проникнали в Китай, я локализират като територията, „заключена"

Фиг. 4. Карта на Малка Букхария от 1747 г.

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12 Herodotus VII.64.

13 Strabo XI. VIII.1-4.

14 Strabo XI.VIII.2.

15 Вж. също и древната история на Таримската котловина в Kuropatkin 1882:89-92.

между планините Памир от запад, пустинята Гоби от изток, Тибетските възвишения от юг и планината Тиеншан от север (Crabb 1833:379), простираща се около 700 мили в посока изток-запад и близо 200 мили в посока север-юг (Brookes 1825:296) (Фиг. 4).

В научната литература съществуват различни мнения относно етимологията на името „Малка Букхария". Повечето западни автори приемат, че Таримската котловина е започнала да се нарича така след смъртта на Чингис хан, когато различните части на монголската империя, в това число и Букхария (Бухара), биват поделени между неговите наследници. По-голямата ѝ част (древната Согдиана) била наречена Велика или Голяма Букхария, а по-малката (Източен Туркестан) – Малка Букхария (Crabb 1833:124). Учените извеждат названието „Букхария" („Бухара") от различни езици – согдийски, арабски, будистки санскрит[16], монголски[17] и др., със значения като „чуден, плодороден", „уединено място" или „страната на просветените". Все още не е направен опит, обаче, коренът на топонима „Бухара" да бъде проследен още по-назад във времето и свързан с ранното европеидно население, заселило части от Велика и Малка Букхария далеч преди горепосочените езици да се наложат в тези райони.

СВЕДЕНИЯ ЗА БЪЛГАРИТЕ НА ТЕРИТОРИЯТА НА КИТАЙ

Присъствието на чуждестранни етноси в границите на Китайската империя и съседните ѝ територии през първите векове на новата ера е засвидетелствано в множество китайски и западни източници. Това е периодът, когато етнонимът „Булгар" започва все по-често да се среща в историческите хроники и географските описания на различни части от Евразийския континент.

Един от ранните извори, отбелязващ „българско присъствие" в Таримската котловина, е загубената „География" на Пап Александрийски (290-350 г. от н.е.), спомената в лексикона „Свида". По-късно тя става основа за написването на арменската география „Ашхарацуйц" (прибл. 615-636 г.). В нея сред петнайсетте етноса, населяващи две от царствата на територията на Скития – Согдиана и Саке, които обитавали „между Туркестан и Ариана в подножието на планината Имеус (Хималаите)", Пап Александрийски изброява поименно единствено масагетите, „чиято царица убила Кир", народът „бушх[18]", хоразмийците[19] и тохарите (Hewsen 1971:204). Поради факта, че етноса „бушх" се споменава на още едно място в същото произведение, а именно в района на река Волга, се счита, че този етноним навярно е добавен в по-късните преписи (като „Ашхарацуйц") и обозначава Волжките българи (Hewsen 1971:200). Ако приемем това твърдение, то на базата на горното описание бихме могли да заключим, че най-късно към VI в. от н.е. масагетите, българите, скитите и тохарите вече са обитавали уседнало районите на Южен и Източен Туркестан, в т.ч. и Таримската котловина. Този извод се потвърждава и от свидетелствата на множество средновековни персийски, арменски, сирийски и арабски автори, цитирани в трудовете на П. Голийски, Ренета Златева, Райна Заимова и др. български изследователи. Ограниченията в обема на настоящето изследване и затруднения с проследяването на изворовия материал ни възпрепятстват да се спрем обстойно върху изказванията на цитираните средновековни автори и техния исторически контекст, но всички те свидетелстват за трайно присъствие на българи – доколкото този етноним може да бъде възстановен от оригиналните езици на хрониките – в районите на днешните Афганистан, Туркменистан, Узбекистан, Таджикистан и Синдзян през първите векове на новата ера и раннотo Средновековие[20].

Информацията, съдържаща се в „Географията" на Пап Александрийски е важна от много гледни точки. Тя се явява може би най-ранното документиране в западната литература на етнонима „българи" в този толкова отдалечен ареал. Още по-интересен е фактът, че племето на българите се изброява редом с другите гетски и скитски племена, обитаващи в подножието на Хималаите, чиято родствена връзка помежду им вече установихме. Това предполага, че най-вероятно българите са били част от същата етно-културна общност, установила се векове преди това в тези райони, която е имала чисто европейски, а не ирано-афгански или средно-азиатски произход, както ще видим по-долу.

Етносът „българи" е засвидетелстван и в няколко китайски историографии от периода VI-X в. от н.е.[21], доколкото древнокитайските транскрипции на този етноним могат да бъдат открити и възстановени сред тях. В тези историографии племето 步落稽 *Buluoji (Булуодзи)* е описано като едно от номадските племена, населявало земите, простиращи се от източните части на днешна провинция Гансу до северните части на провинция Шанси през периода на Шестнайсет царства (304-439 г.) (林梅村 2002:71-72). По времето на династия Северна Уей (386-534 г.), това племе е било известно под името 步落堅 *Buluojian (Булуодзиен)*, през династия Северна Джоу (557-581 г.) – като 步落稽 *Buluoji (Булуодзи)*, а през династиите Суй (581-618 г.) и Тан (618-907 г.) неговото име се е изписвало като 部落稽 *Buluoji (Булуодзи)* или по-често със съкратения вариант на това многосрично „варварско" название – 稽胡 *Ji-*

hu (Дзи-ху)[22] (林梅村 2002:71-72). Други форми на същия етноним, засвидетелствани предимно в лични имена са: 破落汗*Poluohan (Полуохан)*, 破六韓 *Poliuhan (Полиухан)*, 步六汗 *Buliuhan (Булиухан)*, 步鹿根 *Bulugen (Булугън)* (Chen 1998:73), както и 步陆孤 *Bulugu (Булугу)*, 步六孤 *Buliugu (Булиугу)* и 步鹿斤 *Bulujin (Булуджин)* (Boodberg 1936:302).

Възможните древнокитайски произношения на този етноним, базирани на предложената от Бернард Карлгрен[23] реконструкция на фонетиката на старокитайския[24] и среднокитайския[25] език са: Bo-lo-kan, Bu-lu-kier, Buo-luo-gwo, Bou-lak-kien, Pu-lu-kər и техни близки варианти (高本汉 1997: 21, 38, 158, 179, 188, 237, 338). Тук заслужава да разгледаме по-специално произношението на суфикса на въпросния етноним. Специалистът по алтайските езици д-р Карл Х. Менгес обръща внимание на факта, че йероглифи с четене "ji" („дзи") често са се използвали в китайския език за транскрибиране на срички с окончание "–r" (Menges 1951:87). От своя страна вариантите на етнонима Buluoji, завършващи на "–n" (–han, –jin, –gen, –jian) също потвърждават това произношение, тъй като е добре известно, че чуждите за китайския език окончания "–r/–l" често са били предавани на китайски с окончанието "–n" (Chen 1998: 73). По този начин можем с голям процент на вероятност да възстановим древните произношения на етнонима Buluoji, които са звучали като: Bo-lo-kar, Bu-lu-kier, Buo-luo-gwor, Bou-lak-kier, Pu-lu-kər и др. подобни комбинации от възможните реконструкции на отделните срички.

Фактът, че името Buluoji от китайските исторически хроники най-вероятно е транскрибиран запис на етнонима Bulgar, (което се потвърждава и от нестабилността на транскрипционната форма, използваща различни графеми с близко звучене), за пръв път бива предложен на вниманието на научната общност през 1936 г. от американския синолог Питър Будберг (Boodberg 1936:300). По негово мнение от ранното Средновековие насам с етнонима Bulgar са били обозначавани три отделни групи от население в различни райони – по долното течение на р. Дунав, в черноморско-каспийските степи и по горното течение на р. Волга. Към тях с голяма степен на увереност бихме могли да добавим и племето Buluoji (Bulgar), населявало през първите векове на новата ера североизточните части на днешната провинция Гансу, централните и северните части на провинция Шаанси и северните предели на провинция Шанси. От пръв поглед се вижда, че тези територии са обграждали от югозапад или може би дори са влизали в състава на доминираните през първите векове преди новата ера от тохарите (гетите) земи. Не бива да забравяме, че в процеса на постепенно изтласкване на тохарите (гетите) и скитите от територията на Китай по време на династиите Цин и Хан (III в. пр. н.е. – III в. от н.е.), неизменно са оставали малки групи, които са се смесвали с новото население, като например „малките юеджъ (малките гети)", които според сведенията на Съма Циен се установили в централна Шаанси. Твърде вероятно е тогава, племената Булуодзи да представляват именно такива фракции с тохарски (гетски) произход, принудени да потърсят убежище по-навътре в пределите на Китайската империя, поради непрекъснатите набези на номадски племена от север. Един такъв процес би бил твърде логичен и в съответствие с историческия контекст в Китай по време на ранното Средновековие. Нещо повече, ако откриваме народът „булх" като част от скито-гетската етнокултурна общност в района на Източен Туркестан (Малка Букхария), то съвсем естествено следва народът „булуодзи" да е част от същата етно-културна общност в другия ѝ (североизточен) край. Както видяхме, и двата транскрибирани етнонима отговарят на етноса „българи", което е индикация за това, че между българи, скити и гети в тази част на света е налице някаква родствена взаимовръзка. В следващата част от нашето изложение ще се опитаме да проследим прародината на тези ранни европеидни жители, мигрирали толкова далеч на Изток и да открием корените на тази взаимовръзка.

РАННИТЕ ПОСЕЛЕНИЯ И ПРОИЗХОД НА ГЕТИТЕ И СКИТИТЕ

Най-ранните споменавания на горните етноси откриваме в античната историческа литература в контекста на Източна Европа. Историците от различни епохи обозначават етносите, населявали Мизия, Тракия и северозападното Черноморие с различни имена, което донякъде обърква и възпрепятства яснотата на историческата картина, но това не е случаен факт. Така например, по времето на Херодот от северната страна на Дунав живеят скитите, а от южната – различни тракийски племена, сред които и гетите – „най-смелите от всички траки"[26]. От друга страна, Йордан ни съобщава, че в древността първото поселение на скитите било в близост до Меотидското езеро (Азовско море), второто – в Мизия, Тракия и Дакия, и третото – отново „над Понта (Черно море)"[27], т.е. излиза, че в неопределена древност скитите са обитавали територии, за които Херодот, Тукидид, Ксенофонт и др. ранни антични автори свидетелстват, че са изконно населявани от тракийски племена. Въпреки че античните автори не споменават изрично за това, тези сведения биха могли индиректно да означават, че скитите и гетите не са били нищо друго, освен някои от множеството тракийски племена.

16 Вж. Frye, R. 1998:15.

17 Вж. Pinkerton 1811:371.

18 Според П. Голийски, превел „Ашхарацуйц", формата „Бушх" е грешка, допусната при по-късните преписи и правилното название е „Булх".

19 Според Страбон хоразмийците спадат към масагетите и сакате (скитите) (Strabo XI:VIII.8).

20 Вж. Голийски (2010), Златева (2010), Заимова (2000).

21 Вж. 《魏书. 尔朱荣传》, 《北史. 蠕蠕传》, 旧唐书. 程务挺传》, 《太平寰宇记》卷35, 《周书. 异域上. 稽胡传》. Подробно изследване на историята на племето „Булуодзи" в 林梅村 (2002).

22 Тъй като с „胡" (Ху) са били обозначавани всички не-китайски „варварски" племена, то етнонимът „稽胡" би могъл да се преведе като „номади от племето Buluoji" или „номадското племе Buluoji".

23 Вж. Bernhard Karlgren. Grammata Serica Recensa. Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1957.

24 XII в. пр. н.е. – III в. от н.е.

25 V – XIII в. от н.е.

26 Herodotus IV.93.

27 Jordanes V.38.

В наскоро преведените на български език „Хроники на Хаброзалмокс (Хабризелм[28])", запазени в два преписа на латински език и един фрагментиран запис на гръцки език, откриваме неизвестното досега родословие на гетите и скитите: *„(Ятуеф) на третия си син Одрис даде дял с брата му (Бешой) по Поречието, чак до Тракийското море, а на четвъртия си син Гет на север, чак до делтата на Писон (която е Истрос)… И така, Гет царуваше на север и на изток, и стана баща на всички гети... А Гет имаше четирима синове: Гетан, Скит, Танак и Тибар. И първородният му син Гетан се възцари на гетския престол след баща си, а вторият му син Скит разшири пределите си на север и стана баща на всички скити."[29].* Това родословие напълно потвърждава нашия извод, че скитите и гетите, също както и одрисите и бесите, по произход са потомци на тракийските династи, чиито дял е бил да населяват северозападното и северното Причерноморие, а впоследствие са се разселили още по-на североизток.

Тук цитираните Хроники на Хаброзалмокс се явяват ценен източник на неизвестна досега историческа информация, само бегло засегната в други произведения. В тях откриваме отразени от различен ъгъл и в по-голяма пълнота множество значими събития, описани от Херодот само век по-рано, но по всичко личи, че липсва фактологическо заимстване или опит за имитация на Херодотовия труд. В двата случая имаме различен подход и цел на историческото изложение – при Херодот акцентът е върху детайлността и изчерпателността на поднесената информация, макар и често пъти тя да е почерпена от вторични източници, докато по-късната творба представлява една систематична генеалогия на тракийските династи с акцент върху взаимовръзката и свещената традиция в родословието[30].

Един важен за нашето изследване епизод, отразен подробно в Хрониките на Хаброзалмокс е битката на гетската царица Йотомира срещу завоевателя Кир (576-530 г. пр. н.е.), довела до неговата гибел[31]. Не само Херодот, но и множество по-късни антични автори като Диодор Сицилийски (I в. пр. н.е.) и Йордан (V в. от н.е.) също отделят внимание на това важно историческо събитие. У Херодот цар Кир Велики загива при р. Аракс (Волга) у „царицата на масагетите" Томирис (Томира)[32], у Диодор Сицилийски тя е наречена просто „скитската царица"[33], докато Йордан я определя като „царицата на гетите"[34]. В описанието на Йордан, обаче, откриваме и още един важен детайл: *„след победата си… царица Томира прекоси в онази част на Мизия, която сега се нарича Малка Скития… и построи на мизийския бряг на Понта (Черно море) град Томи, наречен по нейното име."[35]* Град Томи е бил важен пристанищен град в древността, известен по-късно под името Кюстенджа (Констанца), намиращ се на територията на днешна Румъния само на около 50 км. от българо-румънската граница. Римският историк Амиан Марцелин (IV в.) изрежда град Томи като от градовете на Скития, редом с Дионисопол (Балчик) и Калатис (румънския гр. Мангалия, непосредствено до границата с България)[36]. „Завръщането" на царица Йотомира след битката при река Аракс и основаването на град Томи в Мизия, а не някъде в средноазиатските степи още веднъж потвърждава факта, че по начало народът, над когото тя е царувала, е обитавал западното и северозападното Черноморие, т.е. там, където започва Херодотовата „Стара Скития".

Гореспоменатите извори подкрепят нашето предположение, че скитите, гетите и масагетите са били родствени племена с източноевропейски произход, често пъти отъждествявани едни с други от античните автори в контекста на техните Причерноморски поселения. Както видяхме, в различните летописи царица Йотомира е определяна като гетска, масагетска или скитска царица. Според Херодот масагетите обитавали в равнините между Каспийско и Черно море[37] и имали също облекло и начин на живот като скитите, затова мнозина ги считали за едно от скитските

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28 Царувал преди тракийския цар Котис I в периода между 386-383 г. пр. н.е.
29 Liber Regum Primus et Secundus id est Navvi VI.13-18. (Гайд, Гайдарски 2010:175, 176).
30 Така например, както Херодот, така и Хаброзалмокс описват подробно завоеванията на Кир и Дарий срещу масагетите и скитите, завършили с поражение за персите, като в двете описания срещаме множество фактологически и хронологически съответствия. Херодот ни съобщава, че при своя поход срещу скитите, които желаел да накаже за това, че завзели обширни територии от Азия по времето на Мадиес, цар Дарий (550 – 486 г. пр. н.е.) покорил няколко тракийски племена, от които само гетите се опълчили против него, но в крайна сметка паднали победени. Заплашени от такъв многочислен враг, скитите направили съюз със съседните племена, които също съзнавали, че са твърде слаби да противостоят сами на персийската заплаха. В Хрониките на Хаброзалмокс одриси, гети и скити се бият „рамо до рамо" при Истрос (Дунав) в неравностоен бой срещу завоевателя Дарий, където търпят големи поражения. Обединени под предводителството на одриския цар Терес (540-448 г. пр. н.е.) те успяват да сформират военен съюз между Тракия, Скития и Елада за общ отпор срещу врага. Интересно е, че в Херодотовия вариант, цар Дарий изпраща послание до царя на скитите – Идантирс(ос) (Ἰδάνθυρσος), което би могло да е грецизиран или модифициран вариант (напр. Ἰδάν-θυρσος: Идан-Турс(ос)/Иван-Терс(ос)) на името на цар Терес, оглавявал военната съпротива на Тракийско-Атинско-Пелопонеския съюз срещу партите, което би доказало, че Херодотовата „История" отразява същите исторически събития, но в доста по-контаминиран вид.
31 Navvi XXIV.
32 Herodotus I.205-214.
33 Diodorus Siculus Book II, Ch. III.
34 Jordanes X.61.
35 Jordanes X.62.
36 Вж. Латински извори за българската история. Т. I, София, 1958, с. 143, 152.
37 Herodotus I.204.

племена[38]. Самите скити в речника на Стефан Византийски от VI в. са дефинирани като: „ Σκύθαι, ἔθνος Θράκιον.", т.е. като „тракийски етнос"[39]. Херодот причислява и гетите към тракийските племена[40]. Тези аналогии и взаимовръзки между етническите названия гети, скити и масагети обясняват и потвърждават тяхната обща генеалогия, която откриxме засвидетелствана в най-новите исторически открития[41].

В съвременната наука се е наложило схващането, че гетите (масагетите) и скитите са ирано-езични племена от Централна и Средна Азия. Според нас това схващане може да бъде приложено към един по-късен исторически период, съвпадащ с Античността, когато широката диаспора на тези племена наистина създава огромни археологически и исторически засвидетелствани общности, достигащи от Русия до Индия и Китай. Но, както видяхме, родината на гетите и скитите като тракийски етноси е именно в североизточните части на територията, където изконно са обитавали всички останали тракийски етноси, независимо че някои от тях са се разселили към южните части на Балканския полуостров, а други към Централна и Западна Европа. На базата на историческите извори бихме могли донякъде да проследим диаспората на изследваните от нас тракийски племена на Изток, но тя заслужава да бъде допълнително проучена чрез археологически, антропологични и лингвистични изследвания.

Херодот описва подробно географското разположение на „Стара" Скития, която по негово време, т.е. към V в. пр. н.е. е представлявала територия с почти квадратна форма, започваща от делтата на р. Истер (Дунав) в Черно море. Тя е граничела със земите на Тракия на юг, на изток е достигала до делтата на р. Танаис (Дон), а на север – до река Бористен (Днепър)[42]. Почти десет века по-късно, Скития вече е изместена доста по-на изток – в описанието на Пап Александрийски от IV в. тя се простира дъгообразно в посока югоизток от р. Етил (Волга) чак до планината Имеус (Хималаите) (Hewsen 1971:204). Два века по-късно римският историк Йордан дава почти същото описание на Скития, но в него включва и територията на „Стара Скития", спомената от Херодот: *Скития граничи с Германия, простирайки се до извора на река Истер (Дунав)… и продължава чак до земите на хуните, албаните и серите (китайците)"[43].*

Можем да видим как тези географски описания отразяват постепенното разрастване на скитската империя от понтийските степи през Средна и Централна Азия, достигайки чак до районите на р. Аму Даря и Хималаите най-късно през I в. пр. н.е.[44] Възможно е това да е била втората, далеч по-мащабна вълна на миграция на европеиди на Изток, следваща пътя на първите преселници от времето на бронзовата епоха. Постепенно в азиатските части на света западният етнос и неговите племенни групи започнали да се наричат с най-различни имена – саки, масагети, уногундури, алани, тохари, и понякога – българи.

ЕТИМОЛОГИЯ НА ЕТНОНИМА „БУЛГАР" („БОГАР") И ВРЪЗКАТА МЕЖДУ ГЕТИ, СКИТИ И БЪЛГАРИ

Разглеждайки произхода на етноса Bulgar, Питър Будберг следва предложената от В. Томашек[45] и Дж. Немет[46] хипотеза и извлича етимологията му от турския корен "bulaq" – „смесен, смесвам се", обосновавайки това твърдение с аргумент, че населението и в трите посочени от него района, където се среща този етноним, е от „смесен" тип (Boodberg 1936: 300). Китайският археолог Лин Мейцун от своя страна счита, че етнонима Bulgar, навярно се крие в тюркската дума „balaq" – „риба", тъй като, според него, племето Buluoji било от тюркски произход (林梅村 2002:72). Съществуват и опити да се изведе името на етноса Bulgar от названието на р. Волга, които са несъстоятелни, тъй като през първите векове на новата ера, когато етнонимът Bulgar започва да се среща в исторически извори, река Волга се е наричала с имената Ра, Итил, Етел, Идул и др. подобни. Едва след основаването на Волжка България тя започва да се нарича „Bulga" по името на новото местно население (Zonn, Kostianoy 2010:426), т.е. хидронимът е вторичен по отношение на етнонима Bulgar и взаимовръзката е в обратната посока.

Паисий Хилендарски (1722-1773 г.) е може би първият запазен български летописец, който говори за връзката между гети и българи, макар че без съмнение твърденията му стъпват на много по-ранни източници. В своята „История Славянобългарска" той изрично подчертава, че българите са били наричани готи (гети) и хуни от гърците и едва по-късно, във времето на цар Теодосий започнали да ги наричат „болгари" (История Славянобългарска 2008:30). Имайки предвид това твърдение, бихме могли да предположим, че един от източниците, които Паисий е използвал за съставянето на „История Славянобългарска" навярно е било съчинението „За произхода и делата на гетите", съставено от римския историк с гетско потекло Йордан през VI в. Очевидно е, че отделни моменти, описани като част от историята на гетите, намират място в повествованието на Паисий Хилендарски като част от историята на българския народ, населявал Мизия и Тракия, като например произходът на българите от земята Скандавия (у Йордан това е земята Скандия, от която

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38 Herodotus I. 201, 215.
39 Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt. Tr. Meineke. Vol. I, Berlin., 1849, p. 578.
40 Herodotus IV.93.
41 Navvi VI.13-18.
42 Herodotus IV.99.
43 Jordanes V.30-31.
44 Strabo XI,VIII.1-4.
45 Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Band III. 1897, S. 1040.
46 J. Nemeth. La provenance du nom bulgar. - In : Symbolae Grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski. Vol. II. 1928, p. 217-226.

излезли гетите), подпалването и убийството на нечестивия цар Уалент от българите (у Йордан император Валент, убит от гетите) *и др. (срв. История Славянобългарска 2008:29, 31; Jordanes I.9; III.16; XXVI.138).* От стила на Паисиевото повествование и послеслова на автора ясно личи, че това отъждествяване едва ли е плод на погрешно припознаване или изкуствено желание да се „обогати" част от историята на българите, но по-вероятно е стъпвало на солидни исторически основания, загубени или все още неоткрити в наши дни.

Самият Йордан също говори за българите, като определя техните поселения в земите „над Понта (Черно море)"[47]. Още през 1907 г. д-р Ганчо Ценов, съпоставяйки гетската история на Йордан с неговата римска история, в която също се споменават българите[48], стига до извода, че Йордан разполага българите именно там, където Херодот разполага траките и гетите[49], т.е. на територията на Мизия и Тракия или в днешна България (Ценов[1] 2005:10, 11, 14). Това, че българите са населявали именно тези райони през късната античност, се подкрепя и от свидетелствата на византийския хронограф Теофан Изповедник (VIII в.)[50], хрониката на Комес Марцелин (VI в.)[51] и др. извори[52], които споменават българите като племе, „вилнеещо" на територията на Илирия, Тракия и Мизия още към края на V в. (Ценов[1] 2005:76-77). Това е период, далеч предшестващ основаването на Волжка или Дунавска България, следователно „българи" е етническо, а не политическо название, и е свързано с представителите на автохтонното население на Балканския полуостров.

Византийският историограф Никифор Грегора в своето съчинение от XIV в. пише, че *„българите били по своя произход скити"*[53], а в хронографията на византийския монах Михаил Псел (XI в.) името „българи" също е подменено с името „скити"[54] (Ангелов 1971:373). От всички тези сведения можем да заключим, че „българите" като стари дунавски поселници[55] или са били поредното тракийско племе, родствено на гетите и скитите, или са представлявали друго име, под което са били известни в даден исторически период същите тракийски племена.

Два документа хвърлят повече светлина върху това кое от горните предположения е вярно. Единият от тях са цитираните по-горе *„Хроники на Хаброзалмокс"*, според които след като цар Терес освободил всички превзети от партите и медите земи *„от Истрос на север до Салмидесос и Византион на юг"*[56], оттогава започнали *„да наричат езика на тракийската реч бог-арски, сиреч божествен-сътворяващ, защото… чрез него Всемогъщият Бог даде победа на цар Тереса и народа му над враговете им, и избави зарад тях и техните съюзници."* [57]

Според съдържащата се в това лаконично сведение информация, от времето на цар Терес нататък (V в. пр. н.е.), *„тракийската реч"* е започнала да се нарича *„богарска"* и навярно по-късно това определение постепенно се е пренесло върху частта от тракийския език и е се превърнало в етноним. Вероятността на един такъв процес се потвърждава от другия документ – латинския препис на *„Хрониките на Авийла"*, направен специално за Папа Йоан VIII (IX в.), където отново откриваме сведението, че беси-гетите, истро-гетите и множеството от *„другите тракийски племена… говореха на един близък и сроден в многото си диалекти език – Богарския"*[58]. Но освен това, Хрониките на Авийла допълват историческата картина и дават едно доста правдоподобно обяснение на въпроса защо от V век насетне в античните и средновековни трудове все по-често се появява етническото название *„богари"*:

„… Като бяха недоволни от безконечните войни на гетите, мнозина от разноплеменните групи на траките се отделиха от истро-гетите и беси-гетите, под предлог че не споделят тесните интереси ни на тези на бесите или на гетите, но защитават интересите на всичките тракийски племена по равно и затова се наричаха с общото име Богари, по общия език, който говореха… А като ги питаха от кое племе на кои вождове са, едни отговаряха, че са от племето на „другите-тракийски царе", сиреч „ко-тракг-ури", други казваха, че са от племената „раждащи-царе", сиреч „утаг-ури", а трети, че са от племената на „ония (дето са) жреци-царе", сиреч „уон-гхонт-ури", които останаха на север от Дунава и Понта. И въпреки че повечето от тях бяха от рода на бесите и гетите, предпочитаха да не следват гетските царе в техните походи из цялата Империя, и затова предпочитаха да се именуват богари по езика богарски, който всички траки говореха[59]*."*

Въпросните събития се отнасят към края на V-ти – началото на VI век, когато на историческата сцена „се появяват" (неизвестно откъде?) българите. Изследваните от д-р Ганчо Ценов антични извори, някои от които цитирахме по-горе, свидетелстват по безспорен начин, че българите започват да се споменават в историческите

трудове цели един или два века преди основаването на Волжка България. Дори сам по себе си този факт сочи, че бидейки по-древен, етнонимът със сигурност не е обвързан с българското царство на р. Волга, а както отбелязахме, най-вероятно е причина за преименуването на река Етил в река Болга, за което има и не малко исторически данни.

Прозрението, че зад названието „българи" и неговите различни варианти в отделните точки на Евразия се крият представители на етноса, изконно населявал Мизия, Тракия, Илирия и Дакия от незапомнени времена, би могло да разтълкува множество неизяснени исторически въпроси и противоречия. Най-напред, би могло да обясни етническия произход на съвременното население на България, не като народ от „смесен" тюркски произход, а като потомствен тракийски етнос, към който в хода на историята неизменно са се прибавяли и чуждестранни елементи. Това обяснение би било в пълно съответствие с най-новите генетични изследвания, които доказват, че *„българите са потомци на население, формирало се на територията на Европа около 5000 г. пр. Хр."*, *„потвърждават теорията за миграцията на древни българи от Балканите към Близкия Изток и впоследствие към Индия и Средна Азия"* и *„показват несъстоятелността на всякакви опити да се представят българите като произхождащи от някаква тюркска или тюрко-алтайска общност"* (Димитров 2009:10).

Също така, ако приемем за работна хипотеза твърдението, че етнонимът „българи" от определен исторически период насетне (V в. от н.е.) е започнал все по-често да обозначава конкретни тракийски племена, и най-вече тези, които са поели по свой собствен път на развитие, това би се превърнало в нова отправна точка за интердисциплинарни изследвания и преразглеждане на традиционно третираните като самобитни и изолирани от европейските си корени скитски, гетски, масагетски, тохарски и други „западни" култури на територията на Средна, Централна и Източна Азия. Един такъв подход, приложен към изследвания от нас район на Таримската котловина, би обяснил по съвсем естествен начин наименованието Малка Бухария, независимо дали то е обвързано само с района, който географски покрива, или има етимологична връзка и с Велика Бухария още по-на запад. И двата района в един или друг исторически момент са били населявани от скитски или гетски тракийски племена, и без съмнение това заселване е оставило своите незаличими следи, особено като се има предвид устойчивостта на топонимите във времето.

Ако приложим същата работна хипотеза и към факта, че племето „българи" („булх", „булуодзи"), за което западните и китайските исторически извори сочат, че е обитавало определени части на Китай винаги в непосредствена близост до скитските и тохарските (гетските) поселения, или върху техни стари територии, то този факт би бил съвсем логичен, тъй като етнонимът „българи" няма да е нищо друго, освен популяризиралото се по-късно название на същите гети и скити.

Разбира се, нашата работна хипотеза се нуждае от множество доказателства и от съвместните усилия на археолози, лингвисти и историци, преди да се превърне в доказана теория. Но нека не забравяме трите етапа, през които според немския философ Артур Шопенхауер (1788-1860 г.) преминава приемането на всяка истина: *„Отначало тя е осмивана, след това е бурно отхвърляна, а накрая бива приета като очевидна сама по себе си"* (Brecht 2007:104). Всяка хипотеза, подкрепена от исторически факти заслужава да бъде изследвана, за да не би някой ден най-неочаквано да ни изненада със своята очебийност.

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47 Jordanes Gettica V.37.
48 Jordanis Romania et Getica. Monumenta Germaniae. Berolini 1882, p. 42.
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50 Theophanis. Corp. Script. hist. Byz., p. 222.
51 Marcellini Comitis Chronicon. Migne. LI.
52 Вж. М. Дринов. Поглед върху произхожданьето на българский народ. Пловдив, 1869, стр. 15: Около 512 г. император Анастасий съградил „дълга стена простираща се от Черното море до Селибрия (Мраморно море) срещу мизийците или българите и скитите".
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PHILOSOPHY
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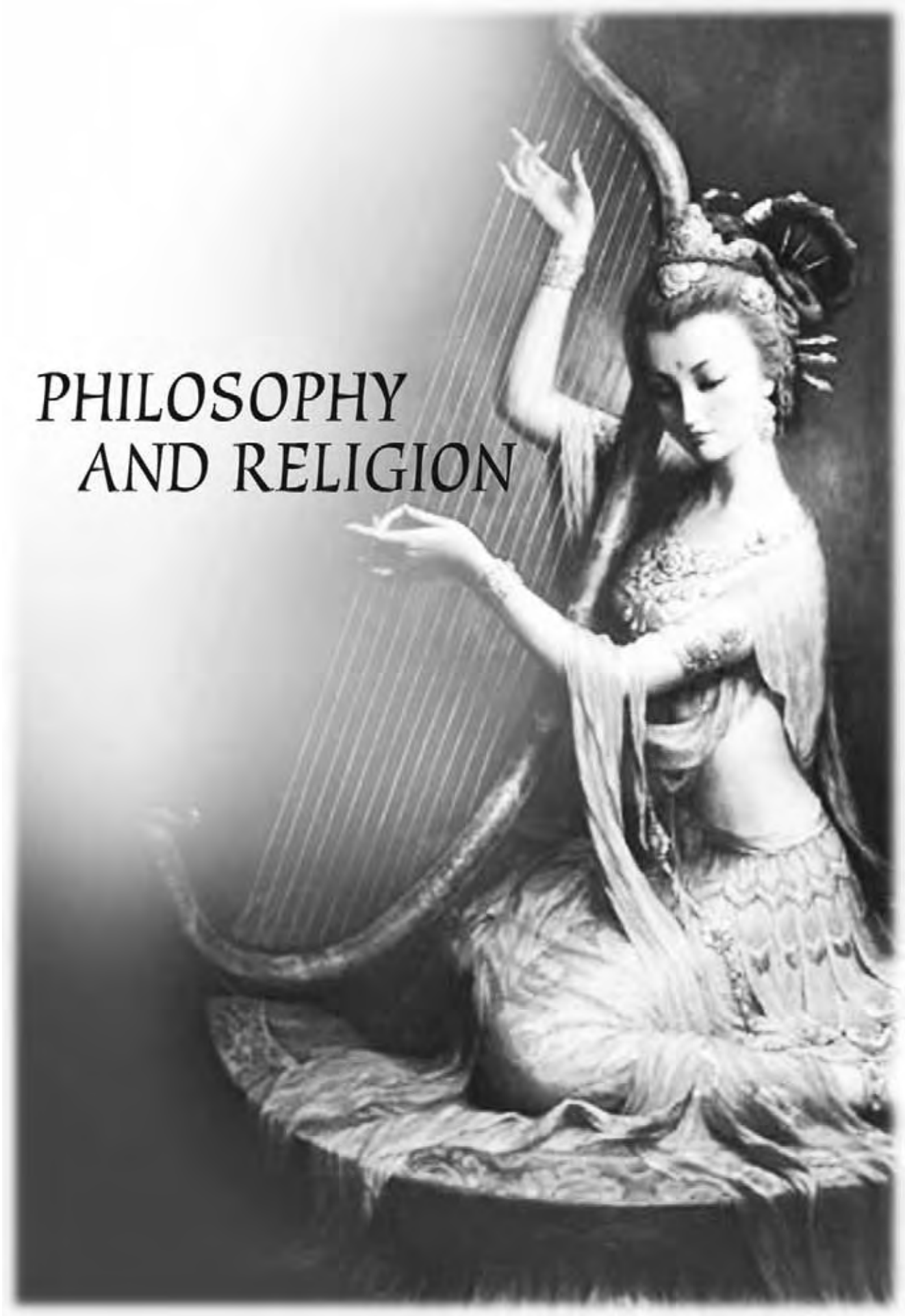
'FABRICNESS' AND OTHER CONCOMITANT CHARACTERISTICS OF NUMBER PERCEPTION OF THE ANCIENT CHINESE

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
ABSTRACT: Based on the transverse-traverse shift the positional numbers *zongshu* and *hengshu* undergo for each subsequent digit, number perception of the ancient Chinese is envisaged as a replica of the vertical-horizontal (*jing-wei*) continuum of the fabric of the universe, a concept existent in the Neolithic Yangshao culture. The structure of the human hand itself is a source of the insight into numbers as organizing principle of micro-macro cosmos self-similarity, whereas the reticular configuration of the ancient pictogram for 'hand' is linked to the choice of decimal number system in the Magic square *Luoshu* and the Magic cross *Hetu*. The ancient forms of the 23 basic units of the Chinese numerical system are analyzed according to their leading ontological characteristics, e.g.: fluidity, waveness, luminosity, physiognomic likeness, swastika/cross-shape, knittedness, anthropo/teriomorphism, etc. In ancient Chinese numerology *Xiangshu zhixue* the subthreshold synesthetic sensitivity gradually becomes a universal cognitive method of extrapolating subrational correspondences between number, form, taste, color, sound, space orientation, etc.

Delineating the starting points of the mental and sensory view of the world of the ancient Chinese people, invariable since Neolithic age, we must mention: 1) Their ability to visualise the background "vortical fabric of the universe" (Ling 2006: 25), i.e. the primal fluid *qi* both as archetypal psycho-cosmic turbulence and as aura/photism sensitivity; 2) The eidetic nature of all image production resulting from the outward projection of the idioretinal light with accentuated phoenix-dragon teriomorphic type pareidolia; 3) The synesthetic (undifferentiated) quality of perception that manifests the subrational correspondences between space, astronomic cycles, geometric forms, sounds, colours, animals, etc., and: 4) The non-dual concept of cosmic axis/centre of the universe (the Polar star) inhabited by the central divinity *Taiyi* 太一 (the Supreme one) – generator and propeller of the cosmic fluid *qi*[1].

The notion of the entire cosmos being hold together by some kind of invisible reticular substrate – 'the net of heaven' *tian wang* 天網 in early Daoism, contains all of the abovementioned characteristics of the 'fabric of the universe', i.e.: fluidity, luminosity, totality and non-duality[2]. Archetypically it can be traced back to the prehistoric animistic beliefs of the sun-ray-legged spider 蟲, endlessly spinning its omnipresent cobweb of light (Lu, Li 2000: 8-9), to the myth of the Moon goddess Chang'e 嫦娥 [3], day and night preoccupied with weaving, the representation of the constellation *Bi* 畢 'Net' as 10x10 square grid pattern ◆ in Yangshao culture (c. 4800-4300 BC) and the variety of self-similar weaving and knitting patterns known to the ancients[4], etc.

The pictogram 'net' *wang* 網 (ancient forms: 网, 网, 网), a homonym of 'nonbeing' 网/無 *wang/wu* [mǐwɑŋ]/[mǐwɑ], contains the abstraction X 'interweaving'/'interaction', which coincides with the numeral 'five' *wu* 五 [ŋɑ] (X, 区). 'Five', represented as 𐰼, is at the centre of both the Magic square *Luoshu* 洛書 and the Magic cross *Hetu* 河圖. The use of empty circles and dots as proto-numbers, odd and even (for example: o for 1, ⟋ for 2, ◇ for 4, ∞∞∞∞ for 7, ◆ for 8, etc.), is linked to ancient star mapping, where the number of stars of a given constellation were marked by

dots, interconnected with a line (compare: 3 stars ⬟, four stars ⬟, five stars ✚, 6 stars ⬟, etc.). According to Chinese number mysticism 'five' is deemed as a non-dual number, evident from its categorization as a heavenly number belonging to the element 'earth'. It signifies the endless interactions of the opposites *yin* and *yang* between the duality of heaven and earth through the monad *One*/the Great Ultimate *Taiji* 太極 at the centre (*Shuowen* 《說文》： "五，五行也。从二，陰陽在天地間交午也"). Defining 5 as 'the five elements' *wuxing* (i.e.: 'metal' *jin* 金, 'wood' *mu* 木, 'water' *shui* 水, 'fire' *huo* 火, and 'earth' *tu* 土) is reminiscent of the open hand symbolism in Cabbala tradition that represents the microcosm, i.e. the material elements air, fire, water, earth and spirit. In China the exaltation of nine and five *jiu wu zhi zun* 九五之尊 brings along a series of classification sets under the two numbers. To take 5 for instance: 'five virtues' *wu de* 五德, 'five internal organs' *wu zang* 五臟, 'five directions' 五方, 'five notes' *wu yin* 五音, 'five colours' *wu se* 五色, 'five tastes' *wu wei* 五味, 'five cereals' *wu gu* 五穀, etc. Repeated twice or trice 5 forms the character *yao* 爻 (𡗢, 𡗢) [yĭau] 'to intertwine'/'to copulate', cognate of *jiao* 交 [keau] 'to interact' and *xiao* 肖 [sĭau] 'to resemble'. *Yao* 爻 is a specialized term for uninterrupted and interrupted (male and female) lines – the binary code that builds up the trigrams and the hexagrams of *The Book of Changes Yijing* 《易經》, exhausting all the interplay options between number 6 and number 9. This discloses that the changing material world was perceived by the ancients as an action of weaving and interlacing of the immaterial fabric of the universe, envisioned geometrically ▦, vortically ▦, or filamentously ✳. A further repetition of the building stuff of 5 (𝗫) expands the reticular structure forming *zhuo* 叕 'conjoined', 'clustered', *zhui* 叕 (𒀭) 'uninterrupted', 'continuous', 'intertwined', etc.

In the equalization of 'silk fibres' [*ji* 紀 (乚, 𠃌), *mi* 糸 (𢆶, 𢆶), *yao* 幺 (𢆶), *xuan* 玄 (𢆶, 𢆶), *jiu* 丩 (𢆶, 𢆶), etc.] to filaments of chaotic flow (*hui* 回/𡆢, *yun* 雲/𠃊, *yi* 乙/𠃑/𠃊, *gen* 亘/𠄢, etc.), the horizontal and vertical lines of warp and weft *jingwei* 經緯 are transferred from the weaving craft to fabric-like structure of space and time, and further overimposed on all spheres of existence, becoming the means of astronomical, meteorological, physiological, social, moral and metaphysical pattern generation (fractal projection of 'heaven' *tian* 天 to 'earth' *di* 地, to 'human culture' *renwen* 人文). Thus the 'vertical thread' *jing* 經 is simultaneously an energy channel in the human body, a geographical meridian, as well as the text of a 'treatise'/'sutra', delivering the visible world as an interwoven pattern – a reproduction of the invisible cosmic mesh. In this frame of cognitive mapping the employment in the 3rd c. of the so-called positional numbers – vertical and horizontal, for fast and convenient computational operations is well-fitted:

Vertical 1-9 *Zongshu* 縱數: | ‖ ‖‖ ‖‖‖ ‖‖‖‖ 丅 丆 丏 丯

Horizontal 1-9 *Hengshu* 橫數: 一 = 三 ≣ ≣ ⊥ ⊥ ⊥ ≛

Apart from the change of direction after 5, the positional numbers undergo a transverse-traverse shift for each subsequent digit as explained in "Arithmetical Classic of Master Sun" *Sunzi suanjing* 《孫子算經》: "For all computational methods first of all you have to know the position of the number. *One* is vertical, *ten* – horizontal, *hundred* is erect, *thousand* – recumbent. *Thousand* and *ten* are in line with each other, *ten thousand* and *hundred* concur with each other: *Fan suan zhi fa, xian shi qi wei. Yi zong shi heng, bai li qian jiang. Qian shi xiang wang, wan bai xiang dang.* (凡算之法，先識其

位。一縱十橫，百立千僵。千、十相望，万、百相當)". This accentuates that the number perception of the ancient Chinese replicates the vertical-horizontal continuum of the fabric of the universe. Examples of positional numbers:

⊥丅一‖‖ 6614

⫪⊥ =| 86021

| ‖‖≣ 10340

We will not go into detail about the concrete steps of execution of various mathematical operations with positional numbers. It is our strong conviction, however, based on the descriptions of the process we have come across, that the swiftness and high precision of handling them is indicative of a synesthetic mechanism of "interweaving" warp and weft of the *qi*-fabric in such a manner that the solution appears as a natural pattern out of it. In *Laozi*, section 27 we find a proof of this proposition: "One who has perfected computation uses no tally or abacus", followed in the same verse by: "One who has perfected binding needs no cord or rope, and yet cannot be untied". No abacus or cord is needed, because what is dealt with is *qi*-fibres, referred to by synesthetes as: filaments or "threadlike shadows dancing on the retina" (Dann 1998: 149).

Space is treated in the same manner by representing it with the most fundamental sign – 'cross-in-a-circle' ⊕ or 'cross-in-a-square' ⊞, ⊞ (some variations include: 'cross-in-an-octahedron' ⨁, emphasising the form of the earth, and 'swastika-in-a-circle' ⊕, cross and swastika being derivative signs). The pictogram 'field' *tian* 田 (⊞, ⊞) bears the structure of the multiple 'crisscross footpaths between fields' *qianmo* 阡陌 [5], thus directly copying the transverse-traverse shift of the vertical number *bai* 百 'hundred' and the horizontal number *qian* 千 'thousand' 《說文》： "田，從口十，千百之制也"。

We regard the structure of the human hand itself as a source of the insight into numbers as organizing principles of self-similarity of micro-to-macro cosmos. The earliest human drawings date back to early Palaeolithic age 40,000-30,000 years. They represent chaotically intertwined meanders, executed with fingers (most commonly 2 parallel lines) that look like intelligible cobweb formations, but sometimes with distinct contours of animals (Stolyar 1985: 44-50). These earliest cognitive maps are drawn in the deep dark caves that deprive the senses of external stimuli, so that the intrinsic structure of macrocosm is projected outwardly from the microcosm[6]. For mankind the hand is self-awareness, consciousness, connection with nature and an insight into its mathematical patterns of the world, "the most archaic of which are the square-lattices and dots recurring in shamanistic context" (Koetsier 2005: 10).

Shang dynasty oracle bone script preserves 2 types of 'hand' pictogram: one showing only 3 fingers (number 3 stands for 'many') – 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, the other depicting all 5 fingers – 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇. In both cases the stylization comprises of intersecting vertical and horizontal lines, which pinpoints a reticular configuration, reflecting back to the auto-imitation and spontaneity of the motor activity of drawing either utterly chaotic lines or orthogonal lattices and other net-like designs. The latter easily develop into chequer patterns, which in turn give rise to the concept of male and female numbers, i.e. oddness and evenness, cycles of creation and destruction, etc. It is noteworthy that in ancient China the process of numeration required the character *you* 屮 [ŋĭwə]/[yĭwə] 'cow's head', 'sacrifice' to be positioned between hundreds, tens and ones. *You* 屮 was borrowed on phonetic principle to represent the idea 'to

have', 'to add', later replaced by *you* ㄓ (又) [vĭwə] 'right hand', cognate of *you* ㄅ (有) [vĭwə] 'to hold a piece of meat'/'to have'. Thus, for example, the number 659 was written down as: *liubai you wushi you jiu* 六百又五十又九 (ㄅㄓㄨㄓㄐ). *You* 又 'right hand' taking over the function of connector between digits can be explained by the fundamental connectedness of hand and number, but probed on a deeper archetypal level, the reticular nature of hand, counting and calculation itself becomes apparent.

According to the ancient Chinese view just like the sound vibrations, numbers are born from all-penetrating primeval fluid *yuanqi* 元氣 as a function of the generative power of light. In *Laozi* the cosmogenesis is numerologically presented as follows: "*Dao* begets *one*, *one* begets *two*, *two* begets *three*, *three* begets the *ten thousand things*" *Dao sheng yi, yi sheng er, er sheng san, san sheng wanwu* 道生一，一生二，二生三，三生万物 (*Daodejing*, section 42), whereas a detailed "gestation" of numbers unfolds in the legend of Pangu 盤古 in "Classified Anthology of Literary Works" *Yi wen lei ju* 《藝文類聚》: "Numbers begin with *one*, become established at *three*, are completed at *five*, prosper at *seven*, and end in *nine*, so the sky is ninety thousand *li* from the earth" *Shu qi yu yi, li yu san, cheng yu wu, sheng yu qi, chu yu jiu, gu tian qu di jiuwan li* "數起於一，立於三，成於五，盛於七，處於九，故天去地九萬里" (Ding 1988: 3).

An etymologic study of the characters representing the basic units of Chinese numerical system reveals that they are predominantly treated as homonymic borrowings. We disagree with such a treatment because it does not take into consideration the fact that the identity of the rhyme is in itself indicative of common etymological origin – a matter not of random, but of intuitive choice. We systematize the ancient Chinese numbers signs according to the leading ontological characteristics they exhibit, i.e.: fluidity, waveness, luminosity, physiognomism, swastika/cross-shape, knittedness, anthropo-/teriomorphism, etc. Additional graphical qualities, such as symmetry, asymmetry, verticalism, horizontalism, diagonalism, rhythm, counter-rhythm, movement, direction (centrifugal/centripetal), open or closed form can be used in the analysis (Verstockt 1982: 28).

Morphology of Ancient Chinese numbers:

One 1 *yi* 一 [ĭět]: 一, ㄧ, ㇏, 一, 囧 is the monad *yi/Taiji* 一/太極.

Two 2 *er* 二 [n̬iei]: 二, 二, 二, 二 (graphically similar to the ancient forms of *shang* 上 (二, 二) 'top', 'up' and *xia* 下 (二, 二) 'bottom', 'down') is the duality *liangyi* 兩儀.

Three 3 *san* 三 [səm]: 三, 三, 三, 彡 is the triad/the unitive oneness *he* 和, return to the *one* in a sense of 3=1.

Four 4 *si* 四 [sĭět]: 三, 三, 沙, 叕, and: 四, 四, 四, 四, 四, 叭, 罘.

Numerals 1-3 and the more archaic form of 4 are all horizontal in alignhnment and as abstract signs are related to the visualized wave function of the fluid *qi* 氣 (三, 气, 气, 氘, 乞) (coined 'waveness'), whereas *si* 四 'four' is a closed sign, depicting 'human face', interchangeable with *jiong* 囧/冏 'window'/'brilliance' [kĭwen] – 囧, ◈, 囚, and connected to the physiognomic principle of transcendence, thus the ontological characteristic of 'luminosity' is attributed to it. Consequently it is associated with the following group of characters: *mu* 目 'eye' – 目, 目, 罘; *zi* 自 'nose' – 自, 自, 叟; *mian* 面 'face' – 囫, 囵, 面 (a mandorla symbol) and *shou* 首 'head'; 'begining' – 首, 首, 首. A "secondary" flu-

idity is observed in 1 as 囧 and 4 as 罘, which is due to calligraphic specificity, but that too seems to takes into consideration the philosophic meaning of *one* as the valley-modality *Dao* 道, and *four* as fluidity of death and transcendence.

Five 5 *wu* 五 [ŋɑ] – the central non-dual number is a *crux decussata*: ✕, 亙, 亙, 亙, 亙, 亙, 亙, homograph and homonym of 'mutual', 'reciprocal' *hu* 互 [vɑ]: 亙, 亙 (both characters have a hint of spiral/spiralling between the two opposites 二). An interesting case of anthropomorphism is observable in the variation – 亙, which has 'emperor' *wang* 王 (王, 王) incorporated in its structure. The reciprocal case is – 亙, the 'emperor', which includes 5 in its structure. The centrality of 5 is combined with the non-dual state of existence *li* 立 (立) of the emperor, i.e. 'standing erect as an embodiment of the *axis mundi*', thus complementing and merging the idea of 'centrality'/'ultimacy'.

Six 6 *liu* 六 [lĭəuk] is a tectiform symbol, related to the proposition of the *gaitianshuo* 蓋天說 that the dome of heaven covers the earth like a lid: 六, 介, 六, 八, 冗, 冗, 介, 冗, 皿. In some of its forms 6 is indistinguishable from *mian* ⼧ (介, 介) 'roof' as in *xuan* 宣 (向, 宣) – the revolving palace of the Polar star deity *Taiyi*, in others it is explicitly anthropomorphic – 介, 仌. 6 has the variation 宬, which includes the human eye *mu* 目 and implies connection to physiognomic technique of attaining enlightenment.

Seven 7 *qi* 七 [ts'ĭět] is a *crux quadrata*: ＋, 十, ＋, 七, 七, 七, rarely *cross imissa*, i.e. the anthropomorphic cross with longer vertical line – 十, which later got fixed as the form of 'ten' *shi* 十. In *Shuowen* it is interpreted as "the orthodoxality of *yang*. Its radical is *one*, showing the improperness of *yin* emerging from within it" "陽之正也。从一，微陰从中衺出也". The *Book of Changes* defines it as 'the invariable *yang*/odd number', contrary to 9 – 'the variable *yang*/odd number' "九，陽之變也". *Qi* 七 'seven' is also viewed as the proto-form of *qie* 切 [ts'ĭět] 'to cut into two/many pieces', therefore associating it with differentiation/division.

Eight 8 *ba* 八 [pět]: 八, 儿, 儿, 八, ♀♂, 仌, 仌, 仌, 仒, means 'separation', 'parting', an idea expressed by drawing two people, who has turned their back on each other 《說文》: "八，別也". Apart from this innate anthropomorphism, a secondary anthropomorphism (return to human form) is observable in the latter 2 images. It is due to gradual transformation of the version showing 2 couples of people separating – 仌, to two extremities of one and the same person – 仒, eventually returning to the human – 仒. Explicit fluidity appears in the case of ♀♂, where instead of people, two vortices are spiralling in opposite directions.

Nine 9 *jiu* 九 [kĭəu] is the pole number/ultimate number *jishu* 極數: 乭, 弓, 乙, 气, 九, 乭, 気, 乭, 灻, 臦, 臦, 皀. Originally it is a pictogram of the hand biceps, later indicating the number of segments of the hand 《說文》: "象其屈曲究盡之形". A strong tendency towards fluidization is noticeable in the listed above calligraphic representations. By adding androgynous legs to the hand/hands, the sign transforms into a swastika 卐 (clockwise movement) or sauvastika 卍 (anticlockwise movement), a sign also known as *crux gammata* or *gammadion*. This sign was known in

China since Neolithic times, denoting 'lightning'/'thunder'/'sun bird' (symbols), but was reintroduced through Buddhism with the meaning 'ten thousand things', 'infinity', 'prosperity', etc.

Ten 10 *shi* 十 [zĭəp]: (symbols), shows development from omphalos, to addition of a dot, to a cross. *Shuowen* states: "'Ten' is the full set of numbers. 一 stands for East and West, 丨 stands for North and South. Thus the four directions and the centre are included" "十，數之具也。一爲東西，丨爲南北，則四方中央備矣". The vertical line is featured as *gun* 丨 "interconnectedness of above and below" 《說文》： "上下通也". In the Magic cross *Hetu* 10 (symbol) is situated around 5 (symbol), implying identity with the centre (2x5=10), thus 10 too symbolizing the omnipresent nonlocal centre/axis of the universe.

Hundred 100 *bai* 百 [peαk]: (symbols), is a cognate of *bai* 白 'sunrise'/'white' [beαk]: (symbols), the latter sometimes depicted as an eye – *mu* 目 (symbols), because the left and the right eye unite the inner light into a monochrome white. In the structure *yi* 一 'one' + *bai* 白 'sunrise', *bai* can be substituted with *zi* 自 'nose' – 百 (《說文》： "百，古文百從自。"). 'The sun' is the centre of the solar system, 'the face' (represented by 'eye' or 'nose') is the centre of the human being, thus the two are archetypically interchangeable, and like 'four' *si* 四 related with the luminosity of the physiognomic transcendence. *Bai* 百 'hundred' is one of the few characters with a clearly discernible triangular form in it – (symbol). The triangle comes precisely from a stylization of eyes (symbol) and face with eyes (symbol).

Thousand 1 000 *qian* 千 [ts'ien] has the following ancient forms: (symbols). Judjing by the definition in *Shuowen*: "Ten times hundred. It is composed of the radical 'ten' and the radical 'person'" "十百也。从十从人", the sign is of anthropomorphic origin, containing cross in its structure.

Ten thousand 10 000 *wan* 萬 [mǐwan]: (symbols) is a pictogram of a 'scorpion' *chai* 蠆 [t'eāt]. There could be many explanations for the choice of a teriomorphic image to signify 'ten thousand' – a classification order that tends to infinity, namely 'the myriad things'/ 'the ten thousand things' *wanwu* 萬物. Our hypothesis is purely graphical: the complexity of this creature's form contains the graphics of the numbers from 1 to 10 in it; where as the spiral of its tail (symbol) symbolizes 'infinity'.

The multitude of character variations for each Chinese numeral suggests their high ontological value, sometimes sharing 2 or more archetypes [e.g.: thousand 千 (anthropomorphism + cross); hundred 百 (monad + luminosity + anthropomorphism), etc.], other times shifting from one archetype to another [e.g.: six (tectiform → anthropomorphism → physiognomism); eight 八 (anthropomorphism → fluidity); *jiu* 九 (anthropomorphism → swastika); *shi* 十 (omphalos → cross), etc.].

Yet another thing worth paying attention to is the fact that many of the number definitions in *Shuowen* include number one (e.g.: 7, 10, 100 all include the sentence *cong yi* "从一"). This transpires the notion of number generation through the monad *yi* 一 (e.g.: 3=2+1; 4=3+1; 5=4+1, and so on). The fluidity of the Chinese number perception is taken to the extreme, implying by various means (calligraphical, exegetical, philosophic, etc.) that any one number contains the rest of the numbers in it, for example: 6 (symbol) is a 4 (symbol) with a lid, and is deemed to be "made of 'to enter' and 8" "从入从八"; 1000 (symbol) has 10 十 in it. Numeral 4, which is of quaternary structure, contains 5 ✕ in the variation (symbol),

and 8 ノ乚 in the variation (symbol). It can be tripartite – (symbols) or tetrapartite – (symbol), (inner triskelion or tetraskelion included), hinting on the equivalency of 3 and 4. On the other hand symbols like (symbol) and the tetraskelion (symbol), which in all cultures symbolize infinite growth and eternal return (centrifugal/centripetal rotation away from and back to the point of intersection – the monad) in Chinese dictionaries are listed under the radical five *wu* 五 (✕).

The ancient Chinese units of large and small numbers will be also mentioned here briefly. Apart form the already discussed ontological characteristics, they are found to be carriers of some additional archetypes, such as: 'tree'/'standing grain'; 'dust'/'sand'/'earth'; 'seed-corn'; 'wheel'/'vehicle', etc. Large numbers: yi 億 (symbol) 10^5 or 10^8 [radical *ren* 亻/人 'person' → anthropomorphism]; *zhao* 兆 (symbol) 10^6 or 10^{12} [fluidity/fire]; *jing* 京 (symbol)/經 (symbol) 10^7 [gnomon/darkness]/[silk fibre/fabric]; *gai* 垓 (symbol) 10^8 [earth/foundation]; *zi* 秭 (symbol)/*zhu* 杼 (symbol) 10^9 [standing grain/tree]; *rang* 穰 (symbol)/壤 (symbol) 10^{10} [grain/earth]; *gou* 溝 (symbol) 10^{11} [water + (symbol) proto-form of *yin* and *yang* fish, i.e. 'to interact'/'to copulate']; *jian* 澗 10^{12} [water→fluidity]; *zheng* 正 (symbol) 10^{13} [monad + feet → nondual existence]; *zai* 載 (symbol) 10^{14} [vehicle/wheel], etc. Small numbers: *mo* 漠 (symbol) 10^{-12} [sand grains → fluidity]; *miao* 渺 (symbol) 10^{-11} [infinite water]; *ai* 埃 (symbol) 10^{-10} [dust particles → fluidity]; *chen* 塵 (symbol) 10^{-9} [dust particles → fluidity]; *sha* 沙 (symbol) 10^{-8} [sand grains → fluidity]; *xian* 纖 (symbol) 10^{-7} [silk fibers → knittedness]; *wei* 微 (symbol) 10^{-6} [radical 'human hand holding a hammer' → anthropomorphism]; *hu* 忽 (symbol) 10^{-5} [water + mind → unfathomability of the ultimate reality]; *si* 絲 (symbol) 10^{-4} [silk fibres → knittedness behind apparent chaos or apparent order], etc.

Chinese numerology *xiangshu zhi xue* 象数之学 (the knowledge of *xiang* 象 'symbols'/'images' and *shu* 数 numbers) was grounded in the awareness of the warp-weft structure of the fabric of the universe. It maintained a *qi*-sensitivity that gradually established itself as a universal cognitive method of extrapolating subrational correspondences between number, form, taste, colour, sound, space orientation, social hierarchy and other apparently unlinked phenomena.

NOTES:

[1] For elaborate explication of these starting pints refer to: Laozi. *[Daodejing] A Treatise on the Way and the Innate Bestowal*, Koutzarova, T., transl. Sofia: University Press "St. Kliment Ohridski", 2008, pp. 15-74.

[2] The concept of 'heaven's net', found in *Laozi* 《老子》, section 73: "Vast is heaven's net, its mesh is coarse yet loses nothing." *Tian wang huihui, shu er bu shi* 天網恢恢，疏而不失, shows a striking correspondence to 'dark matter'/'dark energy' in modern astronomy, defined as: "a network of sponge-like structure, neither emitting nor reflecting light, which provides the missing gravity that keeps galaxies from flying apart". The perception of the absolute reality by Taoist alchemist is described as 'luminosity' with traits and texture of darkness.

[3] The etymological nuclei of Chang'e 嫦娥 and alternatives: Changyi 常儀, Ehuang 娥皇, Huang'e 皇娥, Heng'e 姮娥, Xihe 羲和, etc., point towards: 'totem pole', 'gnomon pillar', 'shadow, cast by the sun', 'shadowiness/darkness', 'centrality', 'eternity', 'breath', 'unity', 'harmony'.

[4] Here are some of the common weaving patterns found in the state of Chu (Spring-Autumn and Warring states period 770 –221 BC): (symbols), etc.

[5] In *qianmo* 阡陌 [tsʼien mɐɑk] *qian* 千 [tsʼien] and *bai* 百 [pɐɑk] function as meaningful phonetic keys.
[6] We subscribe here to the hypothesis of Lewis-Williams, D. J. and Clottes, J.

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INTRODUCTION OF ZOROASTRIANISM IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT: In China, Zoroastrianism (in Chinese – " religion that worships fire", "religion of the fire and Ahura Mazda") is considered one of the "three barbarian religions" together with Nestorianism and Manichaeism. This religious teaching was founded by the Iranian prophet Zoroaster in the East part of ancient Iran. It spread in the ancient states of Bactria and Sogdiana and it had the status of an official state religion in the latter. This report traces the initial stage and the routes of introduction of Zoroastrianism to the Western parts of China, based mainly on archaeological findings. The Zoroastrian sutras found in the excavations in Dunhuan and written in Sogdian language proved that as early as in 5th century B.C., at the time when Achaemenides reigned over Central Asia, Sogdians had already professed Zoroastrianism .

Together with the spread of Zoroastrianism in Sogdiana, it spread also to the North among Saka tribes on the territory of the Seven Rivers in Central Asia. Archaeological excavations made in regions close to prosperous trade centres along the Silk Road proved the interpenetration of various cultures and presence of Zoroastrian followers in ancient China. Sufficient written monuments were found that had registered this presence.

ПРОНИКВАНЕ НА ЗОРОАСТРИЗМА В КИТАЙ

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Пътят на коприната е едно от най-значителните достижения в историята на световната цивилизация. Възниква през II в. пр. н.е. и продължава да съществува до XVI век. Столетия наред гъста мрежа от търговски пътища е пресичала Европа и Азия от Средиземноморието чак до Китай. Основната цел на тази трансконтинентална магистрала, разбира се е била търговската дейност. В не по-малка степен обаче, тя е изпълнявала ролята на проводник на духовни ценности, наука и технологии, а също така на религиозни идеи.

Задачата на настоящия доклад е да проследи проникването в Китай на зороастризма – една от най-древните световни религии.

Географският ареал обхваща територии от съвременен Китай, намиращи се в непосредствена близост до т.нар. Западни райони[1] （西域）, където са се осъществявали най-интензивните търговски отношения между представители на различните народи по Пътя на коприната.

Зороастризмът възниква през VII-VI в. пр. н.е. и една от петте големи религии в света. Някои учени обаче смятат, че тя възниква още през второто хилядолетие пр. н.е. Според големия руски археолог академик Сарианиди, зороастризмът възниква в първата половина на първото хилядолетие пр. н.е. Тази теза той защитава в своята книга „*Зороастризъм – новата родина на древната религия*". Бум в научния свят предизвикват неговите археологически находки на територията на съвременен Туркменистан (древна Маргиана) през 70-80-те години на миналия век. Разкопани са над 25 хка и над 30 населени места, между които главния град Гонур. Според академик Сарианиди, религията, която са изповядвали древните маргианци е била много близка до това, което по-късно ще бъде наречено зороастризъм. Те посвещавали своите храмове на чистите стихии – вода, огън, земя, въздух, точно както зороастрийците. Сходство се наблюдава и в погребалните ритуали. Близо до гр. Гонур е изровен култов съд, в който след направена експертиза са открити останки от свещената за зороастрийците напитка хаома, за която се говори и в свещената книга „*Авеста*". Други учени се оспорват тази теза, смятайки че не може да се говори за зороастризъм преди живота на самия пророк.

За основател на това религиозно учение се сочи иранският пророк Заратущтра (625-551 г. пр. н.е.) (Зороастър, Заратустра). Зороастризмът възниква в източната част на Персийската държава, сред водещите уседнал начин на живот скотовъдци и земеделци, при силното влияние на северните племена скити (саки), на които, според много изследователи като В.И. Абаев, М. Бойс, Ф. Грен и др., се пада заслугата за съхраняването на чистия зороастризъм. Това учение се отнася към категорията на развитите религии, като философски осмисля света въз основа на дуалистичните идеи за непримиримостта и постоянната борба между светлината (бог Ахура Мазда) и тъмнината (Ахриман), доброто и злото. За да се бори със злото, човек трябва да очисти не само мислите си, но и тялото си – затова зороастризмът придава ритуално значение на физическата чистота. Главна роля в обряда на очистването играят огънят и водата. Според зороастрийците, спасението се постига чрез спазване на трите нравствени правила: добри мисли, добри думи, добри дела.

По името на бога на светлината Ахура-Мазда, учението се среща още под името маздеизъм, а според мястото на своето възникване – носи и името парсизъм.

Основите на зороастризма се съдържат в свещената за зороастрийците книга – „*Авеста*" (на кит. - 阿维斯塔). До нас са достигнали само четири книги, съдържащи т.нар. „*гати*" – проповеди в стихотворна форма. „*Авеста*" е написана на един от древноиранските езици, точната локализация на който не е установена.

Благодарение развитието на сравнителното езикознание, още през XIX в. е установено родство между древния гатико-авестийски език, на който е написана „*Авеста*", и добре изучения и известен от много древноиндийски паметници ведийски език, както и приликата му със санскрит. Съществува мнение, че част от „*Авеста*" е съществувал

още при Ахеменидите, но е била унищожена при нападението на Александър Македонски, а по-късно аршакидският цар Валахш, управлявал през I в. от н.е., е заповядал да се събере и съхрани всичко, което е останало от авестийските текстове, както и това, което се е предавало устно от жреците. Така или иначе, „*Авеста*" в писмен вид очевидно вече е съществувала през втората половина на партския период и със сигурност в началото на сасанидската епоха. По-късно „*Авеста*" бива записана със специален за тази цел алфавит – авестийски език (древноперсийски език).

В Китай зороастризмът (буквално „*религия почитаща огъня*" - 火祆教) се смята заедно с несторианството и манихейството, за една от „*трите варварски религии*" (Духовна култура Китая:328-329). По време на династия Суй (581-618 г.) зороастрийското учение получава официален статут, строят се храмове, зороастрийските жреци получават статут на държавни чиновници (薩保、 薩甫). По време на династия Тан (618-907 г.) се създава дори Управление по делата на зороастризма （薩保府). Особено силни са позициите на това учение в Северозападен Китай. След това обаче при управлението на император Удзун (841-846 г. от н.е.), зороастризмът заедно с другите чуждоземни религии бива официално забранен, а храмовете – конфискувани. Последните свидетелства за съществуването на зороастризма в Китай са датирани към началото на династия Сун (960-1279 г.). Писмени паметници на китайски език не са съхранени.

САКИТЕ И РАЗПРОСТРАНЕНИЕТО НА ЗОРОАСТРИЗМА В СЕВЕРНИТЕ И ЮЖНИ ЧАСТИ НА ТИЕНШАН

В своята книга „*Западният район и китайската цивилизация – епохи Хан и Тан*" китайският изследовател Лин Мейцун подчертава, че от 70-те години на миналия век въпросът за проникването на зороастризма в Китай става неотделима и важна част от научните изследвания на Западния район (林梅村1998:102).

Името „*Зороастър*" (琐罗亚斯特) се появява за първи път на китайски език в произведението на Яо Куан „*Книга за Западна Си*" („西溪丛书") по време на Северна Сун (960-1127 г.) – преведено като „苏鲁支"（林梅村1998:102）. Пророкът Зороастър, проповядвайки своето учение, се установява в древната държава Бактрия, където то получава статут на държавна религия. По-късно религиозното учение се разпространява – отначало в древноперсийското ахеменидско царство (539-331 г. пр. н.е.), а след това и в Сасанидското царство (224-651 г. от н.е.).

За разпространението на зороастризма в древната централноазиатска държава Согдиана, няма исторически документи, но за него все съди по открититe в пещерите на Дунхуан и написани на согдийски език зороастрийски сутри. Според английския учен-иранист Симс-Уйлямс, согдийски език, на който са написани тези свещени зороастрийски текстове е от времето, когато Ахеменидите са управлявали Централна Азия, т.е около V в. пр. н.е.(Sims-Williams 1976:46-48, 75-82).

Едновременно с разпространението на зороастризма в Согдиана, той се разпространява и на Север сред племената сака (塞人), на територията на Седморечието в Централна Азия. При разкопаване на гробни могили там са открити бронзови предмети от зороастрийско олтарно светилище (Бернштам 1949). През 1976-78 г. екип от синдзянски археолози разкопават няколко гроба по поречието на р. Alagou (阿拉沟) в източната част на Тиеншан, в които са открити изделия от лак и коприна, дошли от Централната равнина². Въз основа на орнаментиката, тези артефакти са датирани приблизително в периода Воюващи царства (475-221), династия Цин (221-206 г. пр. н.е.) и династия Хан (до 220 г. от н.е.). Археолозите предполагат, че собственикът на гроба е имал близки връзки със саките, тъй като откритата в един от гробовете квадратна бронзова купа с високо столче във формата на животно, е идентична с откритите при разкопки в руската част на Централна Азия предмети. Учените смятат, че това са зороастрийски олтарни предмети, чийто стил е типичен за културата на саките (王炳华1981:21). Тези находки не са изолиран случай. През 1983 г. при разкопки в района на р. Gongnaisi (巩乃斯) – приток на р. Или, са изкопани няколко бронзови съда. Един от тях е напълно еднакъв с бронзовия съд, открит в зороастрийски олтар в древния сакски гроб от района на р. Alagou （穆舜英、王明哲，1985:6）. По този начин хипотезата, че именно сакитe са пренесли зороастризма в Китай, получава още едно доказателство, подкрепено с археологически факти (林梅村 1998:104).

Сакитe (塞人) всъщност са същите тези Saka (塞卡) или Scythian (斯基泰), познати от произведенията на древногръцкия историограф Херодот. Китайският изследовател Лин Мейцун цитира немския лингвист Lüders, според когото сакитe принадлежат към едно от разклоненията на народа „ялиан" (雅利安) и езикът, който говорят, се отнася към източния диалект на древно- и средно-иранския език. Това разклонение на номадското племе „ялиан", което говори езика „*сака*" впоследствие се заселва в Таримската котловина и започва да води уседнал начин на живот. Потвърждение на тезата са артефактите, открити при разкопаване на сакската гробница „*шанпула*" （山普拉) в областта Лопу в Синдзян през 80-те години на миналия век (林梅村1998:104). Открити са голямо количество, макар и частично повредени, парчета тъкан, върху които ясно се виждат флорални и животински мотиви на камили, антилопи, растения и пейзажи и др. Разкопаните предмети носят специфичен стил, характерен за културата на северните степни племена. В периода между Воюващи царства (475-221 г. пр. н.е.) и началото на Западна Хан (206 г. пр. н.е. – 25 г. от н.е.), Таримската котловина е била – в различно време, под контрола на северните племена „*юеджъ*"(月氏) или на „*сюнну*" (匈奴) （林梅村 1998:104). Аналогични на открите в гроба „*шанпула*" и орнаментирани с изображения на антилопи тъкани, са открити и на други места: при разкопаване на гроб на „*сюнну*" в Монголската народна република и при разкопаване на древна могила в Циемодзахунлукъ – Синдзян³. Тъканите с животински орнаменти, открити в тези три различни региона, имат общ източник – номадската култура на юйтиенските саки.

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За религията на юйтиенци – потомци на изповядващите зороастризъм саки, се говори в писмения източник „*Книга за късна Хан. Записки за Бан Чао*" (后汉书。班超传): през 16-тата година от управлението „*юнпин*" (永平) на ханския император Минди (73 г.) 于阗国 "其俗信巫。巫言：神怒何故欲向汉？汉使有骗马，急求以祠我" （*В държавата Ютиен вярват в шамани. Шаманът казал: Боговете се гневят. Защо вие се подчинявате на Хан? Ханският посланик има жълт кон с черна муцуна. Веднага ми го дайте да го принеса в жертва*).⁴ Известно е, че будистката религия не повелява убиване на животни. Според английския иранист проф. Бейли, ютиенските саки по време на Източна Хан са изповядвали именно зороастризъм. Затова, според него, ютиенци използват зороастрийска лексика за превод на написаните на санскрит индийски будистки сутри. Така например, в написаните на езика "сака" ютиенски писмени документи, думата urmaysde, която означава „слънце", всъщност е името на главния зороастрийски бог ahura mazdā (阿胡拉。马兹达）; думата s´s´andrāmatā, която в ютиенските будистки сутри се използва за превод на индийската богиня s´ri и съответно думата на санскрит mahādevi, всъщност идват от името на авестийската богиня spanta ārmaitiš (Bailey 1967:136-143).

Народът на древната саксна държава Шулъ⁵ също е изповядвал зороастризъм, за което се споменава в писмения източник „*Нова книга за династия Тан. Предания за Западния район*": "疏勒国。。。俗事祠袄神，有胡书文字 " (*В държавата Шулъ хората почитат бога на небето и бога на огъня. Имат своя писменост*")⁶.

ДЕЙНОСТ НА ПОСЛЕДОВАТЕЛИ НА ЗОРОАСТРИЗМА НА ЮГ ОТ ПЪТЯ НА КОПРИНАТА ПРЕЗ III ВЕК

Китайският изследовател Рун Синдзян (荣新江) на базата на открититe в Дунхуан записки на согдийски език за согдийци – последователи на зороастризма, прави религиозно учение навлиза в Китай по време на Западна Дзин (265-420 г.) – около петата година на периода „*юндзя*" (永嘉)(311-313 г.)(荣新江 1995:335-353). В древния писмен източник *Цюху*, открит при разкопки в Синдзян, ясно е зафиксирана дейността на последователи на зороастризма в Централна Азия, на юг от Пътя на копринета в периода „*цаоуей*" (曹魏，220-265 г.). В него се използва летоброене от управлението на ютиенския владетел 山习 (Vij'ida Simhä). Неговата датировка е не по-късно от 230 г.（林梅村，1995:108）. В този документ са записани имената на трима души – последователи на зороастризма. Първият е пристигнал от областта Дзиелохъ в южната част на Бактрия (Thomas 1946:524). Неговото име е Khvarnarse и според английския лингвист T. Burrow идва от срещащото се в „*Авеста*" – x'arənah (x'arənaršã) (Burrow 1934:515). Вторият зороастриец е пристигнал от Согдиана и носи името Nani Vandhag´ä. То отговаря напълно на името, което носи согдиецът Nani Vandak („*слуга на богинята Nania*"), което се среща в писмения източник от Дунхуан (Brough 1965). Името Nani всъщност е името на зороастрийската богиня Nania (娜尼娅) (Azarpay 1981:126-134). Третият носи името Spaniyakä, идващо от думата spanyah, която се съдържа в „*Авеста*" и означава „*свещен, свят*". То е идентично с древно- и среднопрсийската дума Spēnāk, което кара английските специалистите-лингвисти Томас и Бароу да предполагат, че той е иранец (Thomas 1946:524; Burrow 1934:515). Тези трима търговци, осъществявали своята дейност в района на Дунхуан, чиито имена произлизат от свещената книга „*Авеста*", без съмнение са били последователи на зороастризма.

По всичко личи, че първите контакти на народите в Централната равнина със зороастризма са се осъществили по всяка вероятност през периода на династия Западна Хан, най-напред в Западния район. За съжаление, непосредствени доказателства за присъствие на зороастрийци в този период от историята все още няма. Надеждата е, че със задълбочаването на археологическите проучвания, въпросът с датировката на първите контакти на китайци с учението на зороастризма, ще бъде изяснен докрай.

РАЗПРОСТРАНЕНИЕ НА ЗОРОАСТРИЗМА НА СЕВЕР ОТ ТИЕНШАН

РОЛЯ НА НАРОДИТЕ „ЯДА" И ТЮРКИ

В средата на V век живеещите първоначално в Монголската степ номадски племена "яда" (嚈哒), които принадлежат към групата на тюркските племена, се заселват в Согдиана и Бактрия и бързо се асимилират от народите на Централна Азия, които стоят на по-високо стъпало в културно отношение. В "Книга за Лян. Предания за Джуи" се казва: "滑国（即嚈哒）。。。事天神，火神。每日则出户祀而后食 "。("*В държавата Хуа (т.е. Яда) не се покланят на бога на небето и на бога на огъня. Всеки ден те излизат навън и правят жертвоприношение, след това се хранят*").⁷ При разкопки, извършени в Централна Азия са открити монети, използвани в царство Яда, върху лицевата страна на които е изобразен конник, а на обратната страна – олтар за поклонение пред огъня. Владетелят на Яда дава на своя син колоритно зороастрийско име Mihirakula ("*слънчево цвете*"). Това показва, че народът „яда" през V-VI в. заедно с възприемане начина на живот на народите в Централна Азия, приема и зороастризма （徐太山 1992:143-145）.

Според руския ориенталист В.В. Бартолд, основните различия между зороастризма в Централна Азия и в Персия се проявяват най-вече в различните обрядни форми на погребание. В Персия труповете не се погребват под открито небе, така че дивите зверове и птици да очистят костите от месото. В Централна Азия се използва кремацията – труповете се изгарят, а прахта на починалия се съхранява гърнета (урни), повечето от които са керамични, въпреки че се срещат и гипсови. Отвън тези съдове са украсени с различни рисунки или с релефни изображения. Бартолд смята, че това разнообразие се дължи на взаимодействието на двете форми на погребения – на открито и чрез изгаряне

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(Barthold 1962:9-10). След като тюрките се заселват в Централна Азия, формата на гърнетата (урни), използвани от зороастрийците, се променя значително. Появяват се урни с формата на юрти. Стените са богато украсени с различни орнаменти, между които изображения на пастири. По този начин, към първоначално съществуващата форма на урните, характерни за зороастрийските обреди в Централна Азия, се добавят елементи, които носят специфични черти на културата на северните степни племена (Пугаченкова, Каримов 1988:128).

Според китайския източник „Книга за Хан. Записки за Западния район", още по време на Западна Хан при управлението на императора Чънди (32-7 г. пр. н.е.) согдийски търговски кервани са кръстосвали пътищата в Централна Азия между Самарканд и Чан'ан. И тъй като зороастризмът е бил официална религия в Согдиана, хората от Централната равнина най-вероятно са се докоснали до това религиозно учение най-напред по време на Западна Хан при контактите си със согдийски търговци в Западния район (林梅村 1995:109).

Въпросът за началото на проникване на зороастризма в Китай все още се нуждае от непосредствени научни доказателства. Надеждата е, че със задълбочаването на археологическите проучвания, този въпрос ще получи научно обосновани доказателства и ще бъде изяснен докрай. Големият руски археолог академик Сарианиди, посветил на въпроса голяма част от научните си изследвания, смята: „Ние се намираме в самото начало на този труден, но изключително увлекателен път в областта на зороастрийската култура. И няма съмнение, че бъдещите открития на младите археолози ще внесат корекции и ще уточнят нашите сегашни предположения" („Туркменистан", юли 2006, №6:15).

Бележки:

1 Западни райони – термин от времето на династия Хан, с който са се обозначавали областите на запад от прохода Юмън – днешните Синдзян, Централна Азия и др.

2 Централна равнина – териториите в средното и долно течение на р. Хуанхъ.

3 През 1996 г. изследователят Лин Мейцун присъства на международен симпозиум във Филаделфия, САЩ, където се запознава с показаните на ценните находки диапозитиви от древен текстил – J.W. Barber, тези находки са от преди 4000 години.

4 Преводът от китайски на български език в цитирания откъс е мой (А.К.).

5 Древна държава Шулъ – в Западния район – днешен Синдзян, в поречието на р. Кашгар.

6 Преводът от китайски на български език в цитирания откъс е мой (А.К.).

7 Преводът от китайски на български език в цитирания откъс е мой (А.К.).

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CONCEPT OF SOUL IN CHINESE FOLKSY BELIEFS

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ABSTRACT: History of the Chinese culture has always been dealing with a sophisticated and never satisfactory explained concept of a soul. Always — because filial piety, the basement of Confusion ideology, presupposed special rituals addressed to ancestors (including deceased parents, elder brothers, etc.) as one of its most significant parts. The whole ritual has been based on a traditional Chinese concept of **San Hun Qi Po** (三魂七魄), explaining the consciousness as a sophisticated combination of yin and yang energetic aspects. Each aspect was recognized as an independent sole, inherited from parents, and after death some of those souls were supposed to disintegrate in the surrounding qi, some were believed to stay in the grave, and one was considered to reach the Yellow Springs — Land of the Dead.

The whole concept stayed mostly unchanged until the popularization of Buddhist beliefs when the new ideas of reincarnation and infernal retribution appeared in the Chinese Weltanschauung. The stories of the post mortal trials of a soul presupposed **one soul** to undergo infernal sufferings and to be reborn in another body with no parental heritage whatsoever. This was the background for these two different issues to coexist and give a birth to a totally different comprehension of a soul that we can observe in Chinese folksy beliefs. This comprehension doesn't attempt to join uncombinable concepts but finds a way to choose a needed aspect of the folksy polyconfessional world-view for every certain phenomenon dealing with the idea of soul. It can be traced in the works of literature, in religious rituals, in folksy medical manipulations etc.

History of the Chinese culture has always been dealing with a sophisticated and never satisfactory explained concept of a soul. Always — because filial piety and ancestor worship, the basement of Confusion ideology, presupposed special rituals addressed to ancestors (including deceased parents, elder brothers, etc.) as one of its most significant parts. The whole ritual has been based on a traditional Chinese concept of **San Hun Qi Po** (三魂七魄), explaining the consciousness as a sophisticated combination of yin and yang energetic aspects. Each aspect was recognized as an independent sole, inherited from parents, and after death some of those souls were supposed to disintegrate in the surrounding qi, some were believed to stay in the grave, and one was considered to reach the Yellow Springs — Land of the Dead.

Certainly, the most ancient concepts of this soul theory have been lost in antiquity. Hence, development of this idea can be traced in Taoist works, where these souls are defined, described and systematized. For instance, here is a quotation from a prominent Taoist classic "Huang ting neijing jing" (黃庭内景經): "Hun and Po are in it without rivalry", — and a comment to this quotation from "Yun ji qi qian": "Hun's yang nature and Po's yin nature — each of them obtain its fullness. "Yi jing" says: 'Fullness of Yin and Yang is Tao'" [«Huang ting neijing jing» (黃庭内景經), ch. 16 «Shang du» (上睹), « Yun ji qi qian», (雲笈七籤), juan 11, — *1*, 62].

So, what actually are those 3 Hun and 7 Po? According to the tradition they are:

Sheng Hun (生魂), a. k. a. Ren Hun (人魂) or Xiang Hun (象魂). It's the basic vital force, that, besides human, is also possessed by plants and animals. Here the Taoist theory concludes, giving the place to folksy interpretations. According to them it either vanishes after death, or stays in the grave.

Jue Hun (覺魂), or Di Hun (地魂), or Shi Hun (視魂). It is the basis of feelings. It can be possessed only by human and animals. Folksy theories differ in interpretations, whether it disappears after death or descends to Hell.

Ling Hun (靈魂), or Zhu Hun (主魂), or Tian Hun (天魂). An immortal part of San Hun, receptacle of consciousness. Interpretations of this particular Hun go a long way and will be quite important for the coming analysis.

Speaking of 7 Po — they are manifestations of the vital force, its physical aspect, associated in traditional Chinese culture with Yin. Both — Hun and Po — have names: "A human has three Hun; their names are Shuang Ling (爽靈), Tai Guang (胎光)[1] and You Jing (幽精). Pronouncing of these names makes the soles comfort the body" [«Huang ting neijing jing» (黃庭内景經), ch. 19 «Ruo de» (若得), « Yun ji qi qian», (雲笈七籤), juan 11, — *1*, 63]. Pos' names are Shi Gou (尸狗), Fu Shi (伏失), Que Yin (雀陰), Tun Zei (吞賊), Fei Du (非毒), Yu Hui (餘穢), Chou Fei (臭肺) [«Huang ting neijing jing» (黃庭内景經), ch. 11 «Gan bu» (肝部), « Yun ji qi qian», (雲笈七籤), juan 11, — *1*, 60].

Huns inhabit liver, Pos' residence is lungs [«Huang ting neijing jing» (黃庭内景經), ch. 2 «Shang you» (上有), « Yun ji qi qian», (雲笈七籤), juan 11, — *1*, 58]. Huns are inherited from father; they appear secondly in embryo and go firstly after death. Pos are inherited from mother; they appear firstly and go secondly. Both groups of soles are connected with two energetic aggregations — so called shen (神) and ling (靈), located in the heart and the 3-d eye region (or spleen) respectively. Abundance of yang energy in shen may convert a person to immortal, so that he needs his physical body or yin soles no more. Abundance of yin energy in ling may preserve all the soles in unity after death, so that they are not demolished, but become a gui (鬼) — a ghost, capable of physical impact over the living. Gui has consciousness, thus it may not be recognized just as bundle of yin energy, an opponent of shen; it has a far more sophisticated organization. This, by the way, is the basis of ritual suicides near enemy's residences: unused yin energy will make the ghost mighty and long-running.

As a result, preserving unity of soles has been believed the main obstacle to leave this world; energies must be separated. Lack of the yang energy in the land of the dead must be compensated by sacrifices run by male descendants. Lack of yin en-

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[1] In other texts the name of this sole is Tai Yuan (胎元).

ergy in the land of immortals imparts them unphysical existence, while recurrence to physical life presupposes re-obtaining yin physical body (like in the case with Li Te-guai, 李鐵拐).

Buddhist tradition doesn't speak of Hun and Po, declaring consciousness to be the only inner content of an individual. This consciousness (vijnana, shi, 識) as a means of continual world-creation process, or mind (citta, xin, 心) as an illusion of self-existence can not be parted from the whole scheme of personal universe-making and is moving nowhere after the death, i.e. disintegration of this personally made universe. Transition of karma (ye, 業) in the process of reincarnation is far more complicated in Buddhism than a mere metempsychosis: a new life is conceived according to the combination of Dharmas that in their turn combine in accordance with karmic conditionality. In Mahayana this principle is embodied in a special element, named "Gandharva" (gandapo, 乾達婆 or xunxiang, 尋香), emerging after a person's death and existing in antarabhava (bardo, zhongyin, 中陰) up to 49 days. After this Gandharva unites with a foetus of a new life, transfers its karmic data to the newly-created person and disintegrates.

The whole concept has never been approved by the Chinese folk Buddhist beliefs, 'cause issue of genuineness, credibility of a soul as a vessel for human spiritual substrate has been regarded self-evident (mentioned ancestor worship has been based on this very interpretation of the "soul" concept). Thus in Chinese way of thought (especially in folksy Chinese way of thought) transition of karmic information is inseparably connected with the transition of the spiritual essence in its prime. Folksy religion deals with this contradiction clearly and predictably: complex Buddhist metaphysics is limited to the very principle of reincarnation, which gets a totally new filling in both — Buddhist and traditional Chinese senses.

Firstly, soles cease to be apprehended separately in theory as well as in practice: soles stop dissolving in ether, but all in concord are engaged in the reincarnation process. For example, here is a story from a Tang novel "Daughter of Mr. Zhen" (鄭氏女) from the collection by Zhang Du (張讀) "Xuan Shi Zhi" (宣室志): a daughter of a district superior Mr. Zhang is a very week and ailing girl. A Taoist hermit Wang defines, that the cause of the girl's illnesses is not the assumed diseases, but the lack of soles, that haven't fully transmigrated into her body. The case is, that her previous incarnation, some district supervisor, was supposed to decease years ago, but hence is still alive: as a prize for his benefactions he's been given a longer being, and as soon as he dies, the girl's going to recuperate. In a month the supervisor passes away, soles fully transmigrate into the girl's body, and she totally recovers [Taiping guan ji, juan 328, — *13*, V. 4. P. 2837].

Secondly, according to the mentioned above, soles are not more inherited from the parents: they travel with you through the incarnations. Thus unity of soles is not more an obstacle for resettlement from one world to another. On the contrary, as you can see, this unity commences being an important condition for such resettlements.

Then one may assume that a sole stops splitting into fractions and becomes a united undivided structure, but that is not true.

Traditionally during funerals participants of the ceremony carry an image of Kailushen (開路神) ahead of the coffin. Kailushen is a special god that cleans the way to the grave and the grave itself of evil spirits. Well then some of the souls nevertheless stay at the burial place. The whole tradition of ancestor worship has also been preserved, which makes another proof to the statement of separation of souls. Thus another question has to emerge: if so, what exact soul or type of souls is implied while speaking of the folksy beliefs of post mortal trials?

The only reliable fact about that energetic essence is that it is integral, has consciousness and is not inherited from the parents. Integral — because it faces 10 Yanlowang (post mortal judges), endures punishments or gets incentives, reincarnates — all this is undergone by one character, not by a combination of different energetic substances. This character may be given a promotion to serve as an official of Jade Emperor or may be put on knees before a special looking-glass, showing its sins and transgressions, committed during a lifetime — still it is one person. Splintering of this integrity prevents its functioning (see the story above). Consciousness — because, as it was said, this essence is utterly reasonable and accepts all the consequences of its acts with perfect understanding. Non inherited — because it is neither engendered by the parents nor imparted with karmic data as it has been believed in philosophic Buddhism: it is still the same individuality, reborn again after rewards or reprimands received in the post-mortal court (for a thorough description of post-mortal trials and folksy interpretation of reincarnation see "Yu Li Bao Chao", 玉歷寶鈔 — "Precious Copies of Jade Tables" — "The Chinese Book of the Dead", one of the main Shanshu (善書) books). By the way, sins and virtues of this identity are judged not according to Buddhist or Taoist principles, but utterly correspond to naive Confucian interpretation: everything is estimated in the light of filial piety, civic-mind and loyalty. Still, every incarnation starts its own path from the very beginning, because all the previous experience is forgotten. Lack of recollections is explained by the legend of Meng Po (孟婆) — a special goddess who treats all the souls to be reborn with a special drink — Meng Po Cha (孟婆茶) or Mi Hun Tang (迷魂湯) that makes the reincarnated person oblivious and totally unaware of his previous beginnings.

Mi Hun Tang — this name may give us a clue that here we are speaking of nothing but Hun. The same goes to the spirit Gou Hun Gui (勾魂鬼) — a special envoy from Hell who hooks out sinners' souls. This envoy with chicken feet and a hooked chain has transformed in the later beliefs into two spirits: Hei Wu-chang (黑無常) and Bai Wu-chang (白無常), but the name for this type of an emissary has stayed the same — Gou Hun Gui.

Then, may be Po soles ceased playing any role in the folksy Chinese Weltanschauung, and no soles but Hun are acknowledged? Answer is also negative: there are too many proofs of the acknowledgment of Pos to prevent them from being ignored. Speaking of Tang novels, there is a remarkable example of such an acknowledgment: a daughter of the governor

Qi Tui suddenly dies. Her ghost appears before her husband and accuses some evil spirit to be the cause of this death. The husband lodges a complaint, and an immortal sage Tian checks Divine edicts and finds out, that the death doesn't keep the line with the Heavenly behests. Since the physical body of the victim has already started to decay, the immortal advises the petitioner to glue together her still existing soles Hun and Po with a special potion. At his command appear a dozen of girls looking exactly like the deceased, the pasting potion is administered, and the late daughter of the governor is brought back to life. The happy couple lives together for many years, and nothing but a bit of lightness in movements differs the resurrected girl from all other mortals [Niu Seng-ru (牛僧孺, 779 — 847), Xuan guai lu (玄怪錄), "Qi Tui's Daughter" (齊推女), Taiping guan ji, juan 358, — *13*, V. 5. P. 2835–2837]. A Taoist practice of "Souls management" (she hun huan po, 攝魂還魄), described in "Huan ting jin" gave a birth to a great number of special Qigong (氣功) trainings and Hygienic manipulations, well-known to amateurs, no matter what religious ideas they profess.

Thus, the sole in Chinese folksy beliefs can be interpreted in several ways:

An energetic essence, connected with Yin and Yang deposits and showing in vital and rational manifestations of a person. It can be either Hun or Po, it corresponds to a certain anatomic center of a body and must be taken into account during medical manipulations and the like. It is also remembered during post-mortal rituals, but never explained in the terms of reincarnation. The whole issue originates from the Taoist ideas, but in its final version differs from authentic Taoism a lot.

A vessel for consciousness undergoing post-mortal trials and reincarnations. Integral and holistic, and only thus resettling from one world to another. May be acknowledged as emerging from Buddhist ideas, but way too separated from philosophic Buddhist fundamentals.

Personal identity without any special explanations, estimated in Confucian way and subjected to punishments or rewards in the beyond for Confucian sins or virtues (in the very other world that Confucius denied).

Thus we can well-grounded assert that in Chinese folksy beliefs idea of a "soul" becomes some special essence, irredundant to the statements of any begetting it philosophic systems and manifesting itself each time in new specific forms depending on situational specificities.

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TAOIST GARMENTS IN RITUALS AND MONASTIC LIFE

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ABSTRACT: Traditional Chinese culture has always attached great importance to clothes as a part of ritual, and Taoist church wasn't an exception. Different types of ritual garments were already described in Taipin jing – the first text of Taoist religion as such, and since then, despite some slender and insignificant changes, they have adhered to ancient patterns. This paper discusses main types of garments used by Taoists in rituals and everyday life, their significance and evolution. Headdresses, upper garments and footwear are described.

Clothing in Taoism is such a broad topic that could easily present material for an entire book. As in many other aspects of this religion, the fact that there was no unity between a wide variety of equally significant religious schools, the canonized clothing didn't exist for a long time.

However even when proper canonized clothing was created the situation didn't change radically. Different schools continued using various types of ritual garments, the types of were changing with the change in ordinary people's clothes or according to emperor's orders.

There is also an abundance of similar names for different items. Therefore, a unified classification of garments and items in Taoism doesn't exist, and is highly unlikely to be made at all. Moreover, many images of the items that were used back in the days, like headwear, were lost (Chen Yaoting: 251).

Chinese culture in general tends to pay a lot of attention to garments and clothing. "Li ji" already mentions that during a ritual the person in charge of it must look appropriate (Chen Yaoting: 239). It proves that as early as during the period of the Fighting States in China the idea of what a "right" garment was and that the garment itself was a significant part of any ritual had already existed.

After Qing and Han dynasties the ranking system became stricter and the variations of garments grew to be more distinguishable. A special garment was assigned to every rank, and a person's position was judged mainly based on his clothing. This concerned not only dressing gowns, but headwear and shoes as well. At the same time strict distinction between ritual and daily clothes always existed in China (Chen Yaoting: 240 – 241).

At the same time since special clothing was created for the followers of this teaching, major attention was paid to an attempt to differentiate Taoists from common people. "Chuanshou jingjie zhujue" (傳授經戒注訣・衣服法第九) has a part that concerns clothing: "Garment is an attribute of a person, Taoist's and commoner's clothes shall not be mixed".

Indeed, the history has proved that everyday clothing of monks has a tendency to change, while ritual clothing always tries to preserve its existing form, accepting only variations in details (Chen Yaoting: 245 – 246).

This commitment to traditions was reflected in Taoist sources. For example, the sixth juan of "Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce" (天皇至道太清玉冊) has the following words: "In ancient times all dresses and headwear were the same as they were in Huangdi's times. After that Zhao's prince Wulin-wang changed it into the North people clothing, so it started slowly changing in China as well. By the time Sui's Yangdi started taking over the East, everybody was only wearing the clothing of the North people. However Taoist clothing still existed, it was addressed as *huangguan*" (Li Yuezhong & Cao Guanying: 5).

If we talk about the origin of Taoist clothes, according to the legend, described by Zhu Quan in the sixth juan of "Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce": "Yellow emperor met a deity, who was wearing a lotus hat, he was flying in the sky, in a garment with golden stars and clouds, holding a jade scepter, and he said: "You, emperor, worry about the Celestial Empire, you govern your people, it can be called virtue". Emperor took his clothing as an example to create ritual clothing, which became the clothing of Taoists that make sacrifices for the Sky"(Chen Yaoting: 246 – 247).

But if we put aside the myths that are aimed to make religion more influential due to the significant authority of ancient emperors, the first Taoist notions of clothing were described in the Taipin jing – the first text of Taoist religion as such. It reflects the concept of *shenyi* (神衣) – saint's clothing, that differs from laymens' clothing and that always "imitates the rules of the Sky and does not follow the rituals of the laymen" (Chen Yaoting: 241). All clothing was separated into five "layers" (*chong*, 重), that connected its colors and levels inside each "layer" to the theory of five elements, four seasons etc., but at the same time this classification does not describe what type of clothing should be worn by different ranks of people. (Chen Yaoting: 241 – 242).

A tendency to unite different Taoist sects starts in Nanbeichao period (420-589) and lasts till Tang dynasty (681-907).

The norms for ritual clothing are believed to be set by Lu Xujin (陸修靜) (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 77), (Li Yuezhong & Cao Guanying: 86), but it seems more logical to agree with Wang Ka, who claims that Lu was rather regulating the existing material (Wang Ka: 274). Starting from Nanbeichao period practice of assigning a rank to a Taoist based on his merits developed. Different clothing existed for different ranks, but the system was confusing and random, high positions were given out without appropriate level of one's merits.

Lu Xujin made an attempt to bring these rules into order and create correspondence between clothing and ranking, by building a system based on the five rankings of the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice (Wu dou mi dao, 五斗米道) (Wang Ka: 274 – 276). Other texts, that described Taoist clothing, emerged before Sui dynasty. For instance, in a book of Taoist texts "Wushang miyao" (Interpretation of the supreme truth, 無上祕要), created by the order of North Zhou emperor Yu Weiyong, there are chapters that particularly describe clothing of saints and Taoists (Chen Yaoting: 242 – 243).

Starting from the Tan dynasty period ritual clothing in Taoism becomes more luxurious and festive, and more colors are used as well. The layout becomes more complex, but the number of variations is narrowed down to seven for the saints and seven for Taoists. (Chen Yaoting: 243) (Wang Ka: 275). However it seems hard to believe that these rules were strictly followed in reality.

The last measures concerning organization of monks' clothing that are worth mentioning took place during the times of the last Chinese dynasty, when in 1672 emperor Kangxi issued an order that all monks normally had to wear common people's clothing except for the time of conducting a ritual (Chen Yaoting: 245).

Concerning the clothing, as it has been already said, there were two types of garments – everyday and ritual. However headwear, coats and shoe wear will be discussed separately.

Headwear

There are two types of headwear: *guan* (hat 冠) and *jin* (soft hat 巾). The major difference is functions. Guan was supposedly created to imitate headwear of saints and can only be worn by Taoists of corresponding ranks during special rituals. Jin was an everyday type of headwear and showed the person's affiliation to the church (Li Yuezhong & Cao Guanying: 87) (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 78). Moreover, only those who have already been ordained and therefore have taken a responsibility in front of the spirits, could wear a *guan*. Guan and *jin* were often worn together as parts of ritual clothing (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 78).

Function and application of *guan* were not created by Taoism. In traditional China "*guan* hat has always been a decorative symbol of maturity of a person from higher classes of society and his official position in social hierarchy…" (Sychev L. P. & Sychev V. L.: 56).

In Taoism there are five kinds of guan hats. However while talking about this classification it is important to remember that any classification has always been artificial, all of them have always been an attempt to connect something that exists in reality with ideal, to give philosophical and numerological explanation for dividing clothing according to ranks. Seven types of clothing, five guan hats and nine jin hats in Taoism are just an attempt of the Chinese to put a total chaos in order, trying to fit it in an existing numerological symbol that correlates to the universe.

So, the first guan out of the five is *huangguan* (yellow hat 黃冠), which also carries the name of *yueyaguan* (the hat of the young crescent 月牙冠) or *yanyueguan* (hat of the crescent 偃月冠). It is yellow and is made of wood or metal (Daojiao xiao cidian: 218) in a shape of a crescent. Its bottom part has two holes where a pin that connects hat to a hair tie is put. It can be worn by somebody who has gone through the ritual of (*chuzhen jie*, 初真戒), the entry level vow (Zhang Mengxiao: 281) (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 78).

The second type is *wuyueguan* (the hat of the five peaks 五嶽冠). It looks like *fudou* 覆斗, "the upside-down constellation of the dipper". Each side of it has an image of one of the "perfect images of the five holy peaks"[1].

The third type is *xingguan* (star hat 星冠). It looks like the hat of the five peaks, but its sides have different images: the stars of the five dippers (*wudou xingxing* 五斗星形). It is used in the ritual of worshiping of the Big Dipper.

The fourth type is *lianhuaguan* (lotus hat 蓮花冠), also known as *shangqingguan* (the hat of the supreme purity 上清冠). It has a lotus shape and can only be worn by a *gaogon* (the chief deacon, 高功).

The last hat in this classification is *wulaoguan* (五老冠). Traditionally it is described as being composed of five parts that resemble lotus petals. Each of them has one of the Five Immortals[2] (*wulao*) embroidered on them. It only can be worn by a *gaogong* (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 78).

There is a wide variety of other types of guan in Taoism. For instance, in Ming's "Sancai tuhui" ("三才圖會") we can find the following description of *daoguan* (道冠): "It's size is small, it only covers a hair tie, in the middle it is punctured with a pin, all Taoists wear it together with a soft hat lei" (Wang Qi: 1505). The fifth juan of "Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingsi" («洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營私») mentions other types of hats, like *pingguan* (平冠), *xuanguan* (玄冠), *eryiguan* (二儀冠), etc.

There was a wide variety of soft hats *jin* in the history of Taoism, but during the Qing dynasty Min Xiaogen described the major nine types in his work "Qinggui xuanmiao". (閔小艮，清規玄妙)

- *Tangjin* (唐巾), the same as *chunyangjin* (純陽巾). Also has a third name, *lüzujin* (呂祖巾), as according to the legend it was worn by an immortal Taoist Lü Dongbin.
- *chonghejin* (沖和巾), the same as *zhuangzijin* (莊子巾), is worn by the elderly
- *haoranjin* (浩然巾), is worn when it snows
- *xiaoyaojin* (逍遙巾), also known as *he'yejin* (荷葉巾), is worn by the youth
- *ziyangjin* (紫陽巾)
- *yizijin* (一字巾), same as *hunyuanjin* (混元巾), is worn in everyday life
- *guanjin* (綸巾), is worn in cold weather
- *sanjiaojin* (三教巾), is worn by Taoists of the second level of ordainment
- *jiuliangjin* (九梁巾), same as *jiuyangjin* (九陽巾) or *zhugejin* (諸葛巾) (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 78) (Daojiao xiao cidian: 221).

Normally all soft hats are made of dark color cloth. In our times *hunyuanjin*, *zhuangzijin* and *chunyangjin* are worn more often. *Hunyuanjin* is a hat of cylindrical shape with hard sides. The upper side has a hole for a hair tie. This hat is popular within the followers of the Quanzhen School. This hat is an exception, because generally *jin* have square shape at the bottom. It can be explained with the fact that this shape represents the initial chaos, *hunyuan* that named this hat.

Zhuangzijin has a square bottom, while the upper part looks like a triangle prism put on one of its sides, or, as the Chinese describe it, on the side of the roof. The front part is decorated with a square piece of white jade (Li Yuezhong & Cao Guanying: 88). According to the legend, this hat was created by Zhuangzi and symbolizes aspiration to uprightness (*duan-zheng*端正). *Zhuangzijin* is worn by the Taoists of the Quanzhen School and Zhengyi Dao (the Way of Complete Orthodoxy), predominantly the elder ones.

"Sancai tuhui" says about *chunyangjin*: "*Chunyangjin*, also called *letianjin*, strongly resembles the soft hat from Han and Tang dynasties. The top part has a cun of silk that is folded like bamboo tiles and hangs behind. It is decorated with cloud ornament. The name of the hat is *chunyang* after an immortal, and *letian* - after a person's name." (Wang Qi: 1504)

Obviously, the list of soft hats couldn't be narrowed down to the "nine soft hats". Various other types of jin existed, for instance, *jiaojin* (角巾), *zihejin* (紫荷巾), *ziyangjin* (紫陽巾), *leijin* (雷巾) etc. Moreover, in ancient China a majority of jin hats, used by Taoism, was popular not only within monks, but amongst commoners as well. The major distinguishing sign was a color, as Taoists used only black for this type of hats.

Clothes

Though Taoist clothing is considered to have saved its major elements over the time, while the details have been changing, a lot of changes have happened to the school during a thousand years of its existence.

Originally Taoist clothes copied the ancient Chinese ritual costume that consisted of a long shirt (*yi*, 衣), and a skirt (*shang*, 裳) (Sychev L. P.: 144). Taoists' clothing therefore is constituted of following elements: upper garment(褐), skirt and mantle (帔) (Li Yuezhong & Cao Guanying: 87), but it's faith was similar to court double pieced ritual clothing, which after having been abandoned during Ming dynasty wasn't fully restored despite hard efforts and multiple attempts (Sychev L. P.: 148 – 149). Taoists forsook incorporating the skirt in their clothing and that is exactly the type of costume that will be discussed below.

Moreover, the colors used for clothes changed as well. In the third juan of "Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingsi" everyday's clothing was called "clothing of being on duty", "all clothing uses light-yellow color that resembles ground yellowness", "[clothing] should not be of any other color, including white".

Fully devoted to the church Taoists usually wear dark colors, predominantly of blue or black color. Moreover, in the Southern China Taoists have recently started wearing previously tabooed white color, and short sleeves are allowed now but for the time of conducting a ritual, which in ancient China was impossible(Chen Yaoting: 246).

Nevertheless ritual clothing since ancient times has remained conservative. The major principle remains the same: "long skirt and wide sleeves" (*changqun daxiu* 长裙大袖) (Li Yuezhong & Cao Guanying: 87), which in Qing times was the overall principle for clothing, used in rituals (Sychev L. P. & Sychev V. L.: 34).

Chinese researches usually distinguish five (or six, if we count the yellow gown of the students who aren't ordained) types of Taoist clothing (Li Yuezhong & Cao Guanying: 88) (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 79). If we put everything in order and logically organize the description, the list will look like this:

- Shirt *gua*(褂), sometimes is called shirt *chen* (襯)
- *daopao*(道袍), which is called by monks as *deluo* (得羅)
- *jieyi (ordination clothes*戒衣)
- *fa fu* (法服)
- *huayi* (花衣), also is called banyi (班衣)

Gua is a shirt (so it is shorter than a gown, and it requires wearing pants or skirt to cover the lower parts of the monk's body) (Sychev L. P. & Sychev V. L.: 33), which can be both single- and double-breasted. In Taoism *gua* is exclusively everyday clothing. *Gua* can be of three types: *dagua* (long shirt 大褂), *zhonggua* (middle-size shirt 中褂) and *xiaogua* (short shirt 小褂). Usually the color of *gua* is blue or black, which is a symbol of the East (Wang Ka: 278). *Dagua* is ankle length, and the width of its sleeves is one chi and four cun (approximately 46,32 cm or 18,2 inches). The only difference between *dagua* and the two others is the width of the sleeves and length, also *xiaogua* tends to be single-breasted (Zhang Mengxiao: 280) (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 78) (Wang Ka: 278).

Concerning *daopao* there are two different opinions amongst the Chinese researchers, mostly due to misunderstandings caused by the Chinrse language itself. A part of them treats *daopao* as a "garment, worn by Taoists" and therefore makes it equal to garments *gua*, e.g. everyday clothes (Chen Yaoting: 246) (Wang Ka: 278). Others think it is an independent term and claim that it is a ritual garment (Zhang Mengxiao: 280) (Li Yuezhong & Cao Guanying: 88) (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 78). This garment looks like *gua*, but is longer. Also *daopao* always has a wrap over, while *gua* could be fastened in front. The width of *daopao* sleeves is not less than one chi and eight cun (approx. 59,64 cm or 23,5 inches). Like *gua*, it is blue (Zhang Mengxiao: 280).

Jieyi is worn during ordination. *Jieyi* is yellow, but at the bottom, around the collar and the ends of the sleeves might be edged with black cloth, or embroidered with symbolic signs, for instance, the images of the eight trigrams. Types of *jieyi* can also be divided into subtypes, as different type of clothing is assigned to taking different vows (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 79).

Gua, daopao and *jieyi* are the "open garments", e.g. the ones which sides cross on the bosom, which, after Manchurians took over the power in China, were preserved only among the Taoist clergy. These garments are typical for pre-Qing home clothing. According to Sychev, L.P., "the same form is typical for pre-Qing shirts, and traditionally they used to be the ritual clothing – *yi*" (Sychev L. P. & Sychev V. L.: 34).

Fafu or fayi (ritual clothing, 法衣) is a special type of upper clothing that is worn for carrying out special rituals. *Fafu* can be worn by *gaogong*, head of monastery and master of canon *jingshi* (經師), moreover the ranking of the person is reflected in embroidery on the clothing. Ritual clothing was often received as a gift from the emperor, which is widely covered in historical sources. *Fafu* has a variety of colors, but more frequently it is violet (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 79).

Huayi is worn by *gaogong* or *jingshi* during everyday Taoist prays. This type of clothing is simpler than *fayi*, the embroidery covers the collar and the bottom of the coat only (Wang Ka: 277 – 278).

The above classification only covers a minor part of existing Taoist clothing.

Foot wear

There are much fewer rules concerning shoe wear in Taoism compared to clothing. However in contemporary Taoism, for example, it is prohibited to wear leather shoes or shoes with rubber sole (like training shoes) during rituals (Chen Yaoting: 256).

Nowadays there are several types of foot wear: *yuankouxie* (圓口鞋), that is made of dark cloth with round nose and is used for everyday wearing; *shifangxie* (十方鞋) look the same as the previous ones, but there are ten white stripes over the black cloth. *Yunlü* is the ritual foot wear that is worn by *gaogong* and is often worn to perform paces of Yu (Chen Yaoting: 257). These shoes have high cloth sole and have cloud ornament embroidered on them. Taoists started using this type of shoes only after Southern Song, prior to that simple shoes of black color were used during the rituals (Zhang Mengxiao: 280).

Moreover, in ancient China Taoists wore other types of shoes as well. There were boots *daoxue* (道靴), that had high sole, were knee-high, black. These shoes were worn by gaogong during the ritual. However since Min dynasty they were not used for the rituals anymore.

Wooden sandals *muji* (木屐), that resemble Japanese geta in appearance, were worn during travelling. In temples they can't be used, as the sound ruins the silence there. In addition, earlier shoes pleached from grass were common, they were worn by the poor as well (Chen Yaoting: 257 – 258).

Specific rules concerning socks exist as well. They have to be white and are of middle-shin length. According to the rules, pants should be tucked into socks and triced (Dang Shengyuan & Li Jikai: 79).

NOTES:

[1] True image of five sacred peaks" (*wuyue zhexing*五岳真形). According to legend, it is the map of five great Chinese mountains drawed by Lao-zi. First mentioned in "Han Wudi neizhuan" (Unofficial biography of Han Wudi, 汉武帝内传). It is used as an amulet by Taoists.

[2] Wulao (五老) – five elders, taoists' saints. They are related with the idea of five emperors *wudi* (五帝). There are different lists of them, for example Huangdi, Zhuanxu, Ku, Yao, Shun. Moreover, they represent five directions.

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MATTEO RICCI ON THE SILK ROAD

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ABSTRACT: In China Matteo Ricci enjoyed great honor, because he was one of the first foreigners there, who tried to implement the achievements of European science of that time - astronomy, geology, mathematics. Ricci even managed to translate many books related to these subjects in Chinese. He was the first missionary obtaining the permission of the Chinese emperor to be buried on Chinese land in a special cemetery. Of course, during the Ming Dynasty many European missionaries came to *Zhongguo* (the Middle Kingdom), but they were allowed only to Makao. Hence we can conclude how difficult it was for Matteo Ricci to 'obtain a visa' for China; his task of spreading Christianity was even more difficult in a country where Confucianism dominated and Buddhism was also deeply rooted. Ricci was one of the first promoters of Catholicism in China and today he is revered there for his role as a bridge of culture between China and the West.

"In 1589 Ricci moved to Shao-chou and began to teach Chinese scholars the mathematical ideas that he had learnt from his teacher Clavius. This is perhaps the first time that European mathematics and Chinese mathematics had interacted and it must be seen as an important event. Ricci attempted to visit Peking in 1595 but found the city closed to foreigners. He went instead to Nanking where he lived from 1599, working on mathematics, astronomy and geography. Ricci was well received in Nanking and this encouraged him to try again to visit Peking which he did in 1601. This time he was allowed to live in the city and he made this his home from that time until his death nine years later."[1]

The contact between China and Europe goes back thousands of years and the 16th century arrival of the Jesuits was certainly not the first Western visit in this amazing country. In the Middle Ages Europeans, Persians, and Arabs travelled across the famous Silk Road and many of them were so found of China that took up permanent residence there. During the 13th century reign of the Mongol Kubla Khan over China, Franciscan missionaries from the West had followed the Venetian trader Marco Polo to *Cathay*. They established close contacts with the ruling *Khan* and the Chinese population, but have made little attempt to learn the Chinese Classics. Actually, they appear to have been primarily a 'foreign mission', serving Europeans who came in following the Mongol conquest - with the end of the Mongol reign, the mission collapsed without a trace.

The missionaries used to travel several months to reach the Chinese land and had to wait months for an authorization by the emperor to be adopted at the imperial court. Some of them didn't have the chance to see the emperor or to enter the *Zhongguo*. Perhaps during that time the Vatican believed that China hungers for spiritual enlightenment, but in addition to knowledge of religion, the Chinese needed missionaries to be skilful in some outfield and to practice what they preached. In his *Invitation for Dialogue with China* The Pope John Paul II has described Father Ricci as "a precious connecting link between West and[2] East, between European Renaissance culture and Chinese culture, and between the ancient and magnificent Chinese civilization and the world of Europe.[3]"

Matteo Ricci arrived in the Middle Kingdom in 1581, and developed the policies that guided the mission through the next two centuries.[4] What he discovered there was totally unlike the conditions that prevailed in the Americas, Africa, or India at that time. The Jesuits' reports to Europe described a country with a civilization surpassing in many respects that of the West, and with a greater knowledge of its own antiquity. A century later, Europe's greatest philosopher, scientist, and statesman Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, reflecting on the reports from Ricci and those who followed him, wrote: "There is in China in certain regards an admirable public morality conjoined to a philosophical doctrine, or rather a doctrine of natural theology, venerable by its antiquity, established and authorized for about 3,000 years, long before the philosophy of the Greeks." [Leibniz, 1994: 75-97]

Let's outline some methodological questions regarding the Jesuit missionary strategy in China, conceived by Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606)[5], the Vatican visitor for East Asia during the period 1574-1606, who was the former novice master of Matteo Ricci:

A policy of accommodation or adaptation to Chinese culture. Probably inspired by the Japanese missions, M. Ruggieri[6] and M. Ricci entered China in 1682 and 1683 through the south, dressed like Buddhist monks. Not long after they realized that the only way to dissociate themselves from the Buddhist monks (who were considered to be very low on the social ladder) was to turn to Confucianism. In 1595, after nearly fifteen years of experience, they changed this policy and adapted themselves to the life-style and etiquette of the Confucian elite of literati and officials. Ricci was responsible for this change. This new policy remained unchanged throughout the whole seventeenth century and for most Jesuit missionaries Matteo Ricci became the reference point with regard to the accommodation policy.

Propagation and evangelization 'from the top down' – the Jesuits addressed themselves to the literate elite. The underlying idea was that if this elite, preferably the Emperor and his court, were converted, the whole country would be won for Christianity. The elite consisted mainly of literati, who had spent many years of their life preparing for the examinations they needed to pass to become officials. For these examinations they had to learn the Confucian classics and the commentaries. In order to enter into the academic circles and to establish high ranking relations, Ricci studied the Confucian classics and, with his remarkable gift of memory, became a welcome guest at the philosophical discussion groups that were organized by the literati.

Indirect propagation of the faith by using European science and technology in order to attract the attention of the educated Chinese and convince them of the high level of European civilization. Ricci introduced paintings, which impressed the Chinese with their use of perspective, translated mathematical writings of Euclid with the commentaries of the famous Jesuit mathematician Clavius, and printed an enormous global map integrating the results of the latest world explorations. By these activities he established friendly relationships which sometimes resulted in the conversion of members of the elite: Xu Guangqi (1562-1633; baptised as Paul in 1603) and Li Zhizao (1565-1630; baptized as Leo in 1610) are the most famous of Ricci's time.

Openness to and tolerance of Chinese values. In China, Matteo Ricci encountered a society with high moral values, for which he expressed his admiration. Educated in the best Jesuit humanistic tradition, he favorably compared Confucius (552-479 BC) with 'another Seneca' and the Confucians with 'a sect of Epicurians, not in name, but in their laws and opinions'. Ricci was of the opinion that the excellent ethical and social doctrine of Confucianism should be complemented with the metaphysical ideas of Christianity. However, he rejected Buddhism, Taoism, and Neo-Confucianism, which in his eyes was corrupted by heathenism. Ricci pleaded for a return to original Confucianism, which he considered "to be a philosophy based on natural law - he thought that it contained the idea of God.

The scientific knowledge, the dialogue, the formation, the transmission of knowing, etc. were means of approach between the Chinese culture and the Western one. Ricci tried to release Catholicism from elements of the Western culture that were not merely Christian and presented Christianity not like a local believe of the West, but like a religion that is universal and valid for all. In his writings he never tried to go beyond what was demonstrable only by reasoning – Ricci's method had three postulates. On the one hand: a way of life based on the ethical-social system of Confucius. On the other hand: the use of Chinese traditional terms and concepts in expressing theological questions. And finally: adopting social customs, ceremonies and rites towards Confucius and the late ancestors. In time of establishing the Jesuit China mission these options were not questioned, but later the three postulates were source of discords, problems and persecutions.

Ricci quickly realized that Confucianism was not exactly a religion in the Western sense, but a socio-political system and moral doctrine, more like a scholarly source of the administrative structure, which existed for the good of society. Confucius was not worshipped, but the Chinese would "praise him for the good teachings he left in his books...without, however, reciting any prayers, nor asking for any favor." [Leibniz, 1994: 85] According to Leibniz, one's own ancestors were honored in rites whose goal was "to display the gratitude of the living as they cherish the rewards of Heaven, and to excite men to perform actions which render them worthy of the recognition of posterity."[7] For twenty years M. Ricci had tried to reach the emperor in person, but the 'Son of Heaven' was a recluse, not accustomed to seeing even his own people.[8] An opportunity was occasioned by an eclipse of the sun: the prediction of the expected time and duration made by the Chinese astronomers differed considerably from the Jesuit prediction. When the latter prediction proved correct, the place of the Jesuit mathematicians was secure.[9]

Eventually Ricci was welcomed to the academies and gained many influential friendships - he managed to open a scientific residence in Nanjing for himself and his fellow Jesuits. Later he became the court mathematician in Beijing.[10] In 1584 and 1600 he published the first maps of China ever available to the West and for the first time the Chinese had an idea of the distribution of oceans and land masses. Ricci also translated the primary Chinese Classics into Latin, and wrote several tracts in Chinese that won him great respect and fame among the literati. These included a dialogue between a Western scholar and a Chinese scholar called *The True Idea of the Lord of Heaven*, and several translations of Euclid's Elements and scientific studies. Ricci believed that his knowledge of Renaissance science was inseparable from his knowledge of the Christian faith. He insisted that the leap in scientific progress in Renaissance Europe was not a 'secret' of the West, but was the patrimony of all mankind.[11]

Ricci of course had to dress in the style of a Chinese scholar and be known under a Chinese name, 'Li Madou', to become accepted by the Chinese. However he became famous in China for more than his mathematical skills and his knowledge of astronomy – the reverent Li was renowned also for his extraordinary memory. He even became known as a painter and a painting of a landscape around Beijing has recently been attributed to him. By the time he was living in the Northern capital, Ricci's skill at Chinese was sufficient to allow him to publish several books in this language. He wrote *The Secure Treatise on God* (1603), The *Twenty-five Words* (1605), *The First Six Books of Euclid* (1607)[12], and *The Ten Paradoxes* (1608).

Ricci was not hesitant to challenge the popular opinion in Chinese society especially among the literati whom he was trying to convert. From the very beginning, however, the Western reception and interpretation of Confucianism was embroiled in theological controversy[13]. After years of studying and translating the Confucian Classics, he recognized that the attempt to syncretize Confucianism with Buddhism and Daoism[14] had greatly compromised the teachings of the Masters of antiquity. Particularly those of Confucius and Mencius, which according to him were consistent with the Christian idea of a *First Cause* and *God the Creator*, but totally inconsistent with the '*All is One*' animism of the Buddhist and Daoist sects.

As it was mentioned above, the founder of the first Catholic mission in China centered his efforts on the so called 'accomodationist policy' of the Jesuits in the East from early the 17th century. Matteo Ricci viewed Confucianism as a theistic form of natural religion that was compatible with the basic principles of Christian monotheism. In order to win converts to Christianity he thus advocated a policy of adapting the Chinese ritual tradition of ancestor worship to the local form of Catholic faith. Allowing Chinese neophytes to continue their practice of Confucian rituals would supposedly have increased the interest of the conservative stratum. Ricci's Dominican and Franciscan opponents, however, strongly opposed such a

mixture of what they deemed 'pagan ritual' with Christianity. They maintained that the Chinese Confucians were actually 'atheistic materialists', who lacked any understanding of the Christian conception of the Deity.

Ricci believed that there was no hope of making any impression on the Chinese if one delivered no more than a direct frontal attack on all their customs. "On the contrary, since the Christian revelation was for all men and since men were of an infinite variety, it was necessary to respect the customs of others, wherever this was possible, and to interfere only where it was absolutely necessary." [Hollis, 1968: 63] He had a remarkable fellow, named Xu Guangqi, who was working with him on the Euclid translation in Chinese. Father Xu was also a leading Confucian scholar and official, and was granted the highest honors as a learned man in 1604 at the famous Hanlin Academy in Beijing. He studied further with Ricci in Beijing from 1604 to 1607. Besides his philosophical and theological writings, he wrote a book on geometry, *Similarity and Difference in Mensuration*, on the Pythagorean method as it was developed in Greece and in China. At his death in 1633, he was considered the leading statesman in China after the Emperor himself.

Ricci died in 1610 without ever meeting the Emperor. His successors, however, established themselves as the official court astronomers and headed the government engineering bureaus. These positions were generally unaffected by the fall of the Ming Dynasty and the founding of the Qing Dynasty under the Manchu in 1644. The first Manchu emperor, in fact, placed his son under the tutelage of the Jesuit fathers, for training in both the physical and moral sciences. This son was to become the Emperor Kang Xi, whom Leibniz referred to as a monarch "who almost exceeds human heights of greatness, being a god-like mortal, ruling by a nod of his head, who, however, is educated to virtue and wisdom...thereby earning the right to rule."[15] Although brought up by Christian theologians and educated in the spirit of Renaissance science, Kang Xi also immersed himself in a study of the Confucian Classics, with daily debates over conceptual issues reflected in his diaries. This new learning, erudition and commitment eventually convinced the Chinese literati that they could support Kang Xi as Emperor, despite his foreign Manchu heritage.[16]

Mateo Ricci understood and appreciated Chinese culture fully, did his best to make the developments in European science available for the Chinese and his example should serve as an inspiration to many. Ricci's success was due to his personal qualities, his complete adaptation to Chinese customs (choosing the attire of a Chinese scholar) and to his authoritative knowledge of the sciences. He is remembered for his Chinese works on religious and moral topics, as well as on scientific topics such as the astrolabe, sphere, arithmetic, measure and isoperimetric. It is still possible to visit his tomb in the Beijing suburbs. The Encyclopedia Britannica reports that "Probably no European name of past centuries is so well known in China as that of Li-ma-teu (Ricci Matteo)."[17] The China mission has been spoken of with awe and admiration by historians such as Joseph Needham, who relates the vicissitudes and hardships under which the Jesuits labored in his monumental work, *Civilization in China*. [Needham, 1959: 173]

The Jesuits had been founders and architects of the greatest missionary work which the world till then had seen. By the most consummate prudence and skilful diplomacy they had opened to the Western world an Empire which had hitherto been closed to every explorer. Ricci's excellent knowledge of the Chinese language, along with a deep understanding of the nuances of Confucian philosophy, as well as scholarly abilities and his training in the sciences served him well. He gradually became a profound connoisseur of Chinese culture, and an authority on classical Chinese literature. Since the Jesuits had no protection under any treaty, in order to remain to do their work, they had "to establish and strengthen their relations with that scholar class, in whose hand were most of the offices of state."[18] [Latourette, 1929: 93] Unfortunately later their enormous efforts were neglected by other missions. "The method they had adopted had succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations and now their life work was to be suddenly broken down and destroyed by Dominican and Franciscan rivals who were absolutely unable to estimate the plan upon which the building was laid out". [Hollis, 1968: 67]

Matteo Ricci was a pioneer of cultural relations between China and Europe, and his profound appreciation of Confucian court ceremonial and moral values inspired him to make China known to the West and the West - to China. Ricci made his reputation as a scientist of great versatility, and by his display of such novelties as Venetian prisms, European books, paintings and engravings, sundials, clocks, and maps, he attracted a steady audience. "He designed and displayed for the first time his great World Map which brought about a revolution in traditional Chinese cosmography[19]. This was the beginning of his major contribution to the diffusion of knowledge and the religious apostolate he promoted, that is, the composition of works in Chinese on such varied topics as mathematics, literature, apologetics, and popular catechetics."[20] There were more than twenty of these works, but his most popular treatise is *On Friendship: One Hundred Maxims for a Chinese Prince*.

"The prestige he gained in the highest cultural spheres by his wisdom, scientific knowledge, and capacity for philosophical speculation won him a hearing when he spoke of the gospel message. Without any trace of superiority in his manner, he used a process of dialogue which was characterized by an esteem and respect for everyone."[21] To celebrate the 400th anniversary of Matteo Ricci's arrival in China, the July 1983 issue of an official Chinese magazine from Beijing in English published a warm account of Ricci with numerous photographs of some of his better known works which are now in the Beijing Library collection. At about the same time, the Broadcast media did a long program on Ricci, centering on his role as initiator of cultural and scientific relations between the East and the West. And the 400th anniversary of the death of the Jesuit missionary was celebrated in the previous year, particularly in China, where Ricci's unique approach to the Chinese culture had a tremendous impact[22].

Notes:

1   http://www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/history/Biographies/Ricci_Matteo.html

2   http://www.schillerinstitute.org/fid_97-01/013_invite_dialogue_JPII.html

3   He had received extensive training at the Roman College under the direction of Christopher Clavius, who was an associate and friend of the astronomer Johannes Kepler, and later of Galileo. Ricci spent four years with Clavius, studying geometry, geography, and astronomy, including the construction of astronomical and musical instruments.

4   His strategy was creatively put into practice by Matteo Ricci

5   Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607) was an Italian Jesuit priest. One of the founding fathers of the Jesuit China missions along with Ricci, and a co-author of the first Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, he can be described as the first European sinologist.

6   Ibid., p. 93

7   Unexpectedly he summoned Ricci and his companions to the Court to inquire about a ringing clock brought to him by the Jesuits. His own scientists had failed to fix it when it stopped. Since the emperor could not receive these foreigners in person, an artist drew full length portraits of them, so that they could have a vicarious interview.

8   It is curious that the Jesuits taught the Chinese the heliocentric theory, unaware that Galileo's trial had taken place - at the very moment Galileo was being accused of heresy in Rome the Jesuits presented his teaching in China. They had learned it from their Jesuit colleagues before they had left Europe, so there was a good five-year 'lag in communications'.

9   He made Western developments in mathematics available to the Chinese - his books *Geometrica Practica* and *Trigonometrica* were translations of Christopher Clavius' works into Chinese. From about 1600 until the suppression in 1773, Jesuits appointed in the Astronomical Bureau were practically the sole source of Chinese knowledge about Western astronomy, geometry and trigonometry. Mathematical and astronomical treatises demonstrated high learning and proved that the missionaries were civilized and socially acceptable. While trigonometry became an analytic science in Europe, in the Orient it remained undeveloped until the Jesuits came.

10 The same was true of the emerging Classical tradition of music in Europe: Ricci presented the court with a harpsichord, and wrote contrapuntal songs which he taught court officials to play and sing.

11 The *First Six Books of Euclid* was based on Clavius's Latin version of Euclid's *Elements*, which Ricci had studied under his guidance while in Rome. The Chinese reaction to Ricci's book, which showed them the logical construction in Euclid's Elements for the first time, must have been a cultural shock. Certainly the style of Euclid was far from the style of Chinese mathematics and this mixing of mathematical cultures was probably astonishing to both sides.

12 Initially, the dispute over the interpretation of Confucian natural theology was confined for the most part to the Catholic hierarchy, but by the end of the 17th century a wider knowledge of Confucian thought began to spread throughout Europe. In 1687, Philippe Couplet, a Jesuit missionary in China, published the first Latin translation of the Confucian classics. In the preface to his translation, Couplet wrote: "One might say that the moral system of this philosopher is infinitely sublime, but that it is at the same time simple, sensible and drawn from the purest sources of natural reason...Never has Reason, deprived of Divine Revelation, appeared so well developed, nor with so much power." [Hobson, 2004:194] As Couplet's interpretation of Confucian natural theology gained a wider European audience, the reception of Confucianism in the West became further entangled in an ongoing religious controversy over the foundations of natural law.

13   A pantheistic conception of the 'Three Religions', which had been popular during the Mongol reign across Eurasia in the 13th and 14th centuries

14 http://www.schillerinstitute.org/fid_97-01/013_ricci_rites.html

15 After a series of rebellions in the south were put down militarily, the empire lived in relative peace throughout his long reign (1661-1722), and China's first international treaty was signed, establishing the borders with Russia (negotiated in Latin), with Jesuits as intermediaries. In 1692, with Kang Xi established as a 'sage ruler' and the Jesuits holding all leading positions in the astronomy and engineering bureaus, the Emperor issued an edict granting all Christians the right to teach and preach throughout the empire. The only regulation was that Chinese scholars and civil servants must maintain moral allegiance to the Confucian principles, and continue to perform the rites and ceremonies connected to their offices.

16 http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/502216/Matteo-Ricci

17 "The position of Ricci and his companions had its desired effect and opened doors in other parts of the Empire... Numerous conversions were made and the state of public opinion was such that it was possible to administer baptism openly...At Peking there were conversions among some of the highest officials...By 1605 the Peking mission num-

bered more than 200 neophytes. More Jesuits entered the country, and steps were taken to train a native clergy in a college at Macao." [Latourette, 1929: 96]

18 There was at that time a problem with the European understanding of whether the country which Marco Polo had visited by an overland route, and called *Cathay*, was the same country as China which had been visited by sea. Marco Polo, also an Italian, had travelled from Europe through Asia beginning his journey in 1271 and living in *Cathay* for 17 years before returning to Italy. Ricci was convinced that these countries were the same but, until another overland journey was made, this could not be confirmed. Ricci's hypothesis was proved by another Jesuit by the name of De Goes, who set out from India in 1602, and although he died in 1607 before reaching Peking, he had by that time made contact by letter with Ricci and proved that Marco Polo's *Cathay* was China.

19 http://www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/history/Biographies/Ricci_Matteo.html

20 http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/jmac/sj/scientists/ricci.htm

21 http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/jmac/sj/scientists/ricci.htm

22 Ricci and his colleagues, operating a field-governed mission, gained access where it had been previously denied, established a growing community of believers, developed appropriate Chinese Christian literature and nurtured favorable relationships with the Chinese authorities and scholars. After Ricci's death, the *Propaganda* was created and began with a sensitive and sympathetic secretary, Francesco Ingoli. Around that time the rites controversy arose and missionaries from other orders began settling to work in China. Some of their representatives complained to the superiors in Rome about the 'Jesuit heterodoxy' in China. The Jesuits became entangled in rivalries and disputes and wasted much time and energy defending their practices and teachings, which was not conducive to the progress of their mission. Unfortunately wise decisions in a timely manner were not made.

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THE CONCEPT OF WU XING AND THE ALTERNATIVES OF CAUSALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF ECOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, the main types of connections between processes and phenomena of the world are described in terms of the concept of Wu Xing. A comparison between this concept and the concept of causality is carried out in order to understand whether we should give a new meaning to the concept of causality or should accept the possibility of a new kind of interconnections. The grounds of this different vision are sought in the the idea of the dynamic nature of the reality, peculiar to the ancient Chinese thought. The main aim of the paper is to outline the alternatives of causality from the view point of complementarity and to reveal the possible consequences of realizing the richness of man-nature relation in the context of developing of ecological consciousness.

In the last few decades, first in the Western Europe and then all over the world a process of forming of an ecological consciousness began. It is associated with a more extended understanding of ecology not just as a part of biology, but as a doctrine expressing the mutual interconnection and unity of man and nature. In 1972 at the Third World Conference on the Future, held in Bucharest, the Norwegian philosopher and ecologist Arne Naess distinguishes the terms "shallow" ecology and "deep" ecology. The first deals with symptoms of the environmental crisis, and the second looks for the roots of the problem. The first one attempts to solve the problem using the same tools that have raised it – e.g. improvement of technology, introduction of new technologies, etc. The second one seeks to reach a complete ecological transformation of the systems of society and culture, collective actions and lifestyle.

According to the most researchers, the deep ecology is not simply and not only a science. It is also a spiritual intuition of the unity and interconnectedness of all beings; it is a spiritual experience, poetical feeling, and meditative state.

The two kind of ecology have different premises. As Fritjof Capra states it: "Shallow ecology is anthropocentric. It views humans as above or outside the nature, as the source of all value… Deep ecology … does not see the world as a collection of isolated objects but rather as a network of phenomena that are fundamentally interconnected and interdependent" (Capra, 20)

Ecological consciousness resulting from deep ecology is associated with a new understanding of man and his place in the universe. It is aimed at overcoming the opposition of man and nature, developed in Western philosophy. Its main feature is holism. It seeks to realize the world in term not of separate units but of processes, not of isolated parts, but of integrity. At that it is close to the traditions of Eastern culture.

One of the most interesting concepts of the Eastern culture in regard to this vision is the concept of Wu Xing. In this article we aim to present it as a concept of universality, comprehensiveness, and complexity of relationships in the universe, which can serve as a basis for elaborating the philosophical premises of a new ecological consciousness.

Here is a brief explanation of the concept of Wu Xing, literally the concept of five movements of energy. We should underline that it is a very ancient concept and may reflect some more initial stages of human consciousness when it, according to the chronology of Zhuangzi, had yet not begun to put limits, to separate, distinguish, and name things.

The creation of the system is attributed to the mythical Yellow Emperor Huang Di. The earliest monument, where we find a more systematic explanation of the concept of Wu Xing is the so called Great plan, a part of the canonical Confucian Book of documents. It states that the Sky gave to the ruler Yu, a legendary founder of the dynasty Xia, the nine categories of the Great Plan, where the constant principles of (moral) order are set forth. The first of these categories is Wu Xing. It reads: "First, Wu Xing. One is water, two - fire, three - wood, four - metal, five - earth. Water is soaking and descending; fire - unfolding and ascending, tree - bending and straightening, metal – following and preserving, earth - seed-sowing and in-gathering."

These are five movements of energy, embracing, according to the Chinese thought, all processes in the Universe. These five movements are: expanding, designated as wood, ascending designated as fire, circle designated as earth, concentrating designated as metal, and descending designated as water. The five symbols designating these five movements can also be understood as "the first and major members of five rows-classes, to which all objects and phenomena in the world, both material and immaterial, are divided. Each of these lines gives a characteristic to a state, being in connection to any other states…, connection which is not substantive… but functional" (Kobzev, 338).

The concept of Wu Xing reveals the world in terms of Oneness and dynamics. This vision is very important for the ecological consciousness. It means that man and nature are one, and that there is nothing stable in the world, everything is ever-changing flow of energy.

The most important for the ecological vision however is the way in which this oneness and dynamics are fulfilled, i.e. the connection between the processes in the world. According to Wu Xing every process in the world is connected with every other in many ways.

First of all there is connection between all objects belonging to a same kind of movement. For example, spring, morning, wind, green color, sour taste, wheat, fish, liver, gall bladder, eyes, tendons, etc. are manifestations of the unfolding energy. Causal thinking is unlikely to find anything in common between them, but in terms of Wu Xing they are aspects of one and the same movement.

Links within one kind of energy movement are only a little part of a huge, complex, elaborated, but at the same time harmonious and coherent system of interconnections between all processes and phenomena in human nature, society, and universe.

There are several types of relations between different kinds of movement. One of the most important is the relation of so called mutual generating.

According to the vision of mutual generating all phases or movements of energy are linked together in a clear, always restoring cycle. In terms of ancient China wisdom, where the symbolism of growth prevails: "wood gives birth to fire, fire gives birth to earth, earth gives birth to metal, metal gives birth to water, and water gives birth to wood."

And because the Chinese thought always sees processes from both sides, the next cycle is the same but in reverse order, and accordingly – with another meaning. It also has two aspects: On one hand it is defined as a cycle of mutual intimacy, according to which each movement intents to the movement generating it. On the other hand it is a cycle of weakening because the power of each movement diminish, generating the other.

Another very important cycle is that of mutual destruction, overcoming, or control. It shows the relationships through which energy phases exercise controlling, inhibiting effect upon each other. According to the principles of this cycle, expanding energy, designated as wood overcomes circle energy designated as earth, which overcomes descending energy designated as water, which overcomes ascending energy designated as fire, which overcomes concentrating energy designated as metal, which overcomes expanding energy, designated as wood.

And again – we have an opposite cycle, called the cycle of mutual incompatibility. According to it each phase "is afraid of" the phase that has a destructive impact on it.

There is also a cycle of mutual softening, according to which the phase, located between those who are in a destructive relationship, softens their mutual influence. In this way each movement of energy is connected by a fixed principle with each other. "Wood" for example "gives birth" to fire, "weakens" water", which creates it, controls the earth, is controlled by the metal and softens the relationship between fire and water.

Chinese thought sees the world in terms of energy and dynamics. It does not speak of connection between things but of relations between processes.

One of the main issues from this concept which may be used in forming of ecological consciousness is that everything in the world lies in relations with everything else. In order to understand the real contribution of this concept however, we should realize what the nature of these relations is.

The concept of Wu Xing presents in perfect form the peculiarities of Chinese vision where "neither the principle of causality nor the principle of contradiction can served as guiding principles… And it is not because the Chinese thought likes mess, but rather because the idea of Order dominates over it, an efficient and allembracing Order, absorbing both the notion of causality, and the notion of kind" (Granet, 228).

And indeed, Wu Xing represents a system of a perfect all-embracing order where each process is connected with each other in a vast and complex whole. Unlike the order, described by the order of causality, which unfolds in time, this order unfolds predominately in space, in the present moment. In this whole everything is in a mutual connection with everything else not in a succession but simultaneously.

Therefore it is questionable whether we can understand this vision in terms of causality. The logic of causal relationship is unlikely to establish a connection between the spleen and yellow, for example.

There are two main options: either we should extend our notion of causality or there is another principle. Perhaps we should assume that the ancient Chinese developed another type of concepts regarding the connections between the processes in the world. They did not develop the concept of cause and effect and understanding of causality, but had found many complex and consequential aspects of relations between variables. This is based on the vision that the universe is dynamic, flexible, constantly changing system of relations. Every 'thing' that we can establish in it, takes part in numerous links to everything else. That is why each process is determined primarily by the relationship and by the nature of the flow of energy in it. This energy is not static. It constantly changes,

and transforms to something else. Therefore, everything has only relative steadiness and stability; it is what it is only in a particular respect. The basic principle of Chinese (and of Eastern thought in general) is "mutual-generating". Each process is determined through its relations.

The reason to think that the notion of cause and effect is not feasible here is the fact that it always involves some difference in time between its components, some sequence. "Instead observing the sequence of phenomena, the Chinese record the change of their appearance. If they regard two events as connected, this connection is never causal, in their eyes the events are *joined* as the both sides of one medal… as an echo and sound, light and shadow" (Granet, 228). According to this vision, "reciprocity always prevails over the idea of consequence" (ibid.).

Therefore, we can say that Chinese thought has developed a principle of interconnection, which in many ways is different from the principle of causality. For this vision, the both sides of a relation are equal, there is no subordination, one side causes or originates the other in the same extend that the other originates the former. Here "explanations that put the effect before the cause are perfectly acceptable" (ibid.)

We should point out also that mutual connections are extended in many direction in such a way that every process is a cross point of interactions. So, while the principle of causality may be described as a linear connection between events or processes that follow each other in time, this principle is a multidirectional relation of simultaneously occurring processes.

Carl Jung called this alternative principle of relation a principle of synchronicity. It is the main principle of relation revealed by Chinese thought: "The science of the *I Ching*, indeed, is not based on the causality principle, but on a principle (hitherto unnamed because not met with us) which I have tentatively called the synchronistic principle" (Peat, 22). Synchronicity is referred to: "the coincidence in time of two or more causally unrelated events which have the same or similar meaning", "meaningful coincidences"; "creative acts", "acausal parallelism" (ibid, 23).

The meaningfulness of synchronistic principle is related with the idea that the universe is unfolding according to a hidden, dynamic order. This order is extremely complex and reveals how the processes lead to each other, how the events are unfolding not only linearly in time but on multiple levels in time and space, in mutual coordination and transformation, now and here, forming some patterns, both common and very individual. In our dynamic world, these patterns are not drawn in a chaotic way but follow some inherent principles. They are, therefore, visible expressions of the inner essence of the Universe as well as of our current state in it and reflect the fundamental Oneness of Being.

A task of ecological consciousness is to learn to recognize and read these dynamic patterns in order to become aware of the mutual interconnectedness and interdependence of all the processes in our world. This may help us grasping the inner meaning of everything that happens and our roles in the flow of life.

Wu Xing gives us a vision of such all-embracing pattern of interconnectedness, representing the all-embracing order of the universe, where every process is a thread in the tapestry of the whole.

Our dynamic and changeable Universe is constantly drawing some meaningful patterns which are visible expressions of the fundamental Oneness of Being. Because of the interconnection of all the things in our world, each event is charged with information about everything else.

Therefore, according to Chinese thought, in order to feel good and in harmony with itself and the environment, one must be open and sensitive to all energy changes and fluctuations, to all information the world gives to us at every moment. The meaning of the changes is to maintain a proper balance in moves of energy. No one process can be considered as detached and isolated. Universe is a network of multifaceted relationships. A main purpose of all relationships, the basic desire of all processes is to achieve a state of harmony.

The principle of synchronicity has different characteristics comparing to the principle of causality. But according to Chinese thought they should not be regarded in term of contradiction, but rather in terms of complementarity as two kinds of explanation of our place, role, function, and responsibility in the world.

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Publications:

- The game Go in the Book of Mengzi, conference 'China: Traditions and Modern times', Institute Confucius - Sofia, Bulgaria, 2009;
- Lun Yu XVII.22: Confucius about the game of Go, International Conference on Baduk, Korea, 2009;
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- *The Ancient Linear Script as an Argument Against the Phoenician Origin of the Alphabet.* In: Anniversary Collection of Studies "45 Years of the Department of Philology", Veliko Tarnovo University Press, 2009.
- *The Sacred Tripod in Ancient China and in the Balkans: A Survey of the Semantic Parallels.* In: China – Traditions and Modernity, 2009.
- *Chinese Prewriting Symbols: An Attempt of Systematization.* (in print)

Translated books:

于丹《论语心得》 *(Yu Dan. Confucius from the Heart)*, Kibea Publishing House, 2011.

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Key publications:

Monographs:

- *Reporting, Reporter, Report*. Sofia: Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communications of Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", 1996;
- *News and Pools. Presentation of Public Opinion Research in the Press* (co-author V. Bondikov). Sofia: Bulgarian Association of Management and Finances, 1999.
- *Bridging the Space to Consensus. Public Relations, Journalism and Media: Problem Fields and Conflict Zones.* Sofia: Sofia University Publ. House "St. Kliment Ohridski", 2008.

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- "A Study on Chinese Language Learning Strategies for University Students and Postgraduate Students in Bulgaria" – a presentation for the International Scientific Conference on Cultures and Religions of the Balkans, Mediterranean and the Orient, St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Turnovo, 2011.
- "History, Present Condition and Developing Trends of Chinese Language Teaching in Bulgaria" – a presentation for the International Symposium on the History and Present Condition of Cultural Exchange between China and Central & Eastern Europe, ELTE University, Hungary, May, 2009.
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Monographs:

- A Brief History of Korean Linguistics (1997)
- Korean - Altaic Lexical Parallels (2000)
- The Kinship Terms in Korean and in Altaic Languages (2000)

Articles:

- Contrastive Semantic Analysis of the Polysemantic Kinship Terms in the Bulgarian and in the Mongolian Language. - In: BULLETIN (The IAMS News Information on Mongol Studies), N: 2 (14), 1994; N: 1 (15) 1995, pp 24 -28.
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- On the Origin of Some Shamanic Terms in the Altaic Languages. In: Essays on Korean Studies, Vol. VI, Sofia, 2002.
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- On the Problem of the Connection between Korean and Altaic Languages. – In: Collection of papers, dedicated to the 50-th anniversary of the founding of the major of Turkic studies at the Sofia University, Sofia, 2004.
- The Manchu "Tale of the Nishan Shamaness", Compared with some Korean Shamanic Beliefs. – In: The Plum Blossom: Proceedings of the Seminar on Korean Literature and Folklore, Sofia, 2004.

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- "The main doctrines of the Poetic Movement Feifei in the Light of the European Linguistic Philosophy" – In: Collection of Articles from the Symposium "China: Tradition and Modernity", Confucius Institute in Sofia, 2009;

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