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# THE SILK ROAD

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# LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

# ЕЗИК, ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ И ЛИТЕРАТУРА

# Qualitative Attributes to the Predicate in Modern Chinese: Semantic and Pragmatic Approach

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Abstract FG. In modern Chinese grammar, prepositive and postpositive modifiers to the predicate are used to express the specific manner, degree or mode of action. The most common structures are "adv./adj.+地+V" and "V+得+adj.". These two forms of expression are relatively similar in grammatical meaning. However, the specific conditions of usage and semantic nuances of the two elements are sometimes very different and quite ambiguous to foreign learners. Based on the specific properties of these grammatical forms in Modern Chinese, this paper analyzes the functional characteristics of the two components, comparing the two parallel forms of expression in terms of their semantic and pragmatic properties, especially in the subtle zone of their semantic overlapping and functional interchangeability. Such kind of unified interpretation and comparative approach may also contribute to working out a more precise and pragmatically oriented system of rules and explanations for pedagogical purpose in practical teaching and learning of these semantically related syntactic forms. Keywords: prepositive modifiers, postpositive modifiers, semantics and pragmatics, Chinese language teaching

### Introduction

In Modern Chinese we distinguish between two main types of qualitative modifiers (or attributes of manner) to the predicate – they have quite similar semantic characteristics, especially in particular cases of usage, but differ in syntactic position, as well as in the manner of expressing or evaluating certain qualities of the action described.

There are different approaches in the linguistic studies to defining the nature and describing the properties of these two positional types of modifiers to the predicate, predominantly considering them as separate and functionally different elements.

The main approach, adopted in Chinese linguistics, is to define the prepositive qualitative modifier to the predicate as a type of adverbial adjunct, formed mainly by adjectives or by some more complex phrases. The common term describing this component in Chinese is "形容词状语" ("adverbial adjunct, formed by an adjective") or "描写性的状 语" ("descriptive adverbial adjunct") (Liu et al 2004; Li, Cheng 2008: 273–285, etc.). Such modifiers are for example:

(1) 他全面 (地) 解释了这个问题。 'He explained the question comprehensively.'

(2) 我们都努力 (地) 学习。 'We all study hard.'

(3) 小孩一动不动地站着等他们。 'The child stood motionless waiting for them.'

(4)你们快来吧! 'Come quickly!'

The other type of modifier to the predicate, that expresses quality, degree or manner of the action, is often defined as a kind of verb complement, i.e. "程度补语" ("Complement of degree") (Li, Cheng 2008: 301–310), "状态补语" ("Complement of state") (Xu 2008: 142–145) or "情态补语" ("Complement of mode") (Liu et al 2004: 596–606). It is sometimes also viewed as "Complex static constructions" that may infer manner or extent (Li, Thompson 1989: 623–627). Here we can see some examples:

(5) 这个问题他解释得很全面。 'He explained this question very comprehensively.'

(6) 我们都学习得很努力。'We all study (very) hard.'

(7) 她汉语说得很流利。 'She speaks Chinese (very) fluently.'

(8) 小刘高兴得都跳起来了。 'Xiao Liu jumped up of joy.'

As we compare the examples, showing the basic cases of usage of the two types of modifiers, we can observe that they convey quite a similar grammatical meaning (except for the particular Ex. 8) of quality or manner of the action, expressed in different syntactic positions. In a comparative view, we can focus especially on the highly identical semantics and almost complete interchangeability in structure of the first pair of examples of both kinds, i.e. Ex. (1) and Ex. (5), as well as Ex. (2) and Ex. (6). Based on the identical functional meaning of the two forms of expression, they can be commonly defined as modifiers to the predicate, or adverbial adjuncts, with their structural characteristics – prepositive (Ex. 1–4) and postpositive (Ex. 5–8) (Alexiev 2004, Tsankova 2017). We consider this unified approach more relevant because of the common functional semantics of the two components and the practical necessity to draw a comparison of the two similar forms of expression, especially in the subtle zone of their semantic overlapping and functional interchangeability.

**The aim of the study** is to present a comparative research of the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic properties of the two quite similar types of qualitative modifiers to the predicate, formed by adjectives in Modern Chinese.

The main **research questions** of the present study are as follows: What are the semantic and pragmatic differences in usage between the prepositive and postpositive modifiers to the predicate in Modern Chinese? What are the conditions and limitations for their semantic overlapping and structural interchangeability within identical contexts? What are the specific pragmatic implications in the different variants of usage of the qualitative modifiers?

**Limitations of the study**: the present research will only deal with adjectival types of modifiers to the predicate, as they are to the most extent comparable on a common word

class basis and mostly ambiguous in terms of defining the sematic nuances and pragmatic implications of the two types of grammatical forms. Adverbial adjuncts formed by other parts of speech, as well as complements of state, consisting of verb phrases, are not included in the study.

The research methodology applied in the study is as follows:

- Comparative analysis on the conditions of usage of the two positional types of modifiers, based on typical examples of appearance of these elements in reference materials on Modern Chinese grammar (Liu et al 2006; Li, Cheng 2018; Xu 2011, etc.);
- Revealing the semantic characteristics of the adjectival modifiers and verb predicates – differences and similarities in usage of the prepositive and postpositive modifiers;
- Defining the types of events in which the two modifiers may appear in regard to their inherent semantic characteristics;
- Observing the conditions and limitations for their semantic overlapping and structural interchangeability within identical contexts;
- Revealing the specific pragmatic implications in the different variants of usage of the qualitative modifiers.

# Literature review

In most of the current research works on the prepositive and postpositive modifiers to the predicate, the two forms are described separately as different types of grammatical elements, respectively (形容词) 状语 and 状态补语, as they occur in syntactically different function. But there are also some comparative conclusions concerning the meanings of the two types of elements. Xu Jingning notes that the adverbial adjuncts (形容词状语) mostly describe the current and temporary state or mode of an action, or the subject's current state, expression, psychological mood, attitude, etc.; while the complements of state (状态补语) mainly explain and evaluate the state that has occurred after the action has been performed (Xu 2011). The author also concludes that when the adjunct (or prepositive modifier) describes the current (emotional) state of the subject, it cannot be transformed into complement of state, e.g.:

(9) 我高兴地给他打了一个电话。'I was happy to call him.'

(10) 她**怀疑地**注视着我。 'She was looking at me suspiciously.'

Such examples with prepositive modifiers, describing the emotional qualities or the state of the subject performing the action, cannot be changed into respective complements of state, like [\*我给他打电话打得很高兴]. Li, Thompson summarize that in terms of meaning the prepositive adjunct may be agent-oriented, object-oriented and action-oriented (Li, Thompson 1981: 325), and Liu Yuehua also maintains that the modifiers related to the subject of the action can only appear in preposition to the predicate (like in ex. 9–10),

while the adjectives that express the manner of the action in certain cases can be interchanged between preposition and postposition (like in ex. 11–17) (Liu et al. 2006: 504–508).

Li Dejin, Chen Meizhen especially note that it is not easy to distinguish between the adjectival adverbial adjunct and the degree complement (respectively pre- and postpositive modifiers), although they have different positions and need different structural particles, and this constitutes a major difficulty to foreign learners of Chinese. E.g.:

(11) 他写信写得很快。 'He writes letters very quickly.'

(12) 他很快地写了一封信。 'He wrote a letter very quickly.'

The authors find the difference between the two forms in their semantic nature, or more precisely in the way they present the qualities of the event, i.e. "the complement of degree is *descriptive in nature* and it *tells the degree and extent of the action* indicated by the verb, whereas the adjectival adverbial adjunct *tells the "attitude" or manner of the action and it is fact-telling in nature*. The head word of the complement of degree usually indicates a completed or habitual action" (Li, Chen 2008: 309). Thus we can observe that the semantic qualities of the two types of modifiers are related to some aspectual and temporal characteristics of certain types of events, as we can also observe in the following examples:

(13) 快跑! 'Run fast!' (an imperative sentence, urging someone "to run quickly").

(14) 他跑得 (很) 快。 'He runs (very) fast.' (expressing an evaluation of the quality/ speed; it means that we already know or have concluded on the basis of observation that "he runs fast").

(15) 你们要**仔细**检查, 免得发生事故。'You should check **carefully** to avoid accidents.' (meaning "be careful when examining it, pay attention in the process of examining")

(16) 我们**仔细**地检查了, 没发现错误。 'We have checked **carefully** and found no mistakes.' (meaning "we have examined it with due care, everything is OK".)

(17) 他们检查得**很仔细**,不会有错误了。 'They have checked it very **carefully**, there will be no mistakes.' (meaning "the way that they examined it was very carefully, so there will be no problem"). (Li, Chen 2008: 309–311)

From the comparative examples (13–17) we can observe that the modified verbs, translated into English as "to run fast" and "to check carefully" present identical manner of the action, but from a different perspective – in the case of prepositive modifier (快走, 仔细检 查) the quality of the action is expressed as a momentary or simultaneous characteristic, and it is used to denote mainly future or past finite events; while the postpositive modifier (跑得很快, 检查得很仔细) evaluates the quality of the action as a post-factum observation. Thus the focus is laid on the degree of the quality evaluated, usually marked by a degree adverb like 很, 比较 etc., and such sentences are mainly used to evaluate habitual or past events or states.

In this regard, Li & Thompson also comment on the distinction between the two forms, explaining that the prepositive modifier refers to the action itself, while the postpositive complement evaluates the quality of an event which is either already expressed in the context or is understood/presumed at the time the sentence is uttered. This is also



confirmed by the observation that only the prepositive modifier can be used to express progressive events that occur in the time of speaking, as an answer to the question 你在做什么? 'What are you doing (now) ?' (Li, Thompson 1981: 625–626). Lu Qinghe further claims that complements of manner (postpositive modifiers) are generally used to explain and evaluate a habitual state, progressive state or a permanent state occurring after the completion of an action. Thus the postpositive modifiers cannot be used in imperative or argumentative sentences, or in affirmative sentences describing future events. When expressing these types of meaning, an adverbial adjunct (prepositive modifier) should be used (Lu 2011: 368).

From a pragmatic point of view, considering the types of speech acts, in which the two forms of modifiers can possibly appear, Yip & Rimmington maintain that the complements of manner (post-positional) are used to delineate the observable manner or the result of the action and are more likely to be found in expository sentences. They are distinguished from prepositive modifiers of manner with 地, which are more concerned with the attitude or approach of the initiator of the action, thus they tend to feature more in narrative or descriptive sentences (Yip, Rimmington 2004: 155). Lu Qinghe also shares the pragmatic observation that adverbial adjuncts (prepositive) are often used in speech acts such as statements and descriptions; these sentence types are usually followed by an explanation of the result or the further development of the event, therefore such phrases often appear at a starting point of a discourse. On the other hand, complements of manner/degree (postpositive) are generally used to explain or evaluate a certain state, and such phrases are often used to complement predicates expressing an observation and opinion. Therefore, phrases with postpositive modifiers can rarely be seen in an initial clause - they tend more often to appear in a *closing statement*, except for the cases when used in the preceding subordinate clause of complex sentences (Lu 2011: 368).

On the basis of previous research and further analysis, we propose to elaborate the study of the two types of modifiers and observe their comparative characteristics from different viewpoints. In order to form a more comprehensive picture of the usage of the two grammatical forms, we compiled a comparative table, including 50 examples of sentences<sup>1</sup> with prepositive and postpositive modifiers, exploring the possibility of these forms to be converted from one position to another, and considering the conditions and the necessary changes that such transition requires. Thus we can observe the main types of appearance of both modifiers and try to summarize in what cases they may overlap semantically or differ from each other in certain aspects. Analysing the empirical material for comparison, we defined the following main conditions that determine the positional appearance and the functioning of the qualitative modifiers to the predicate: A) The semantic qualities of the modifying adjectives; B) The semantic qualities of the verb predicate; C) Types of events expressed and their aspect-tense characteristics; D) Pragmatic shift of the viewpoint and the communicative focus of the utterance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The sentences are excerpted from examples, given in previous research works, cited in the above literature

#### Semantic qualities of the modifying adjectives.

As we have mentioned in the above literature review, there are some conditions and limitations concerning the semantic types of adjectives, used as modifiers to the predicate, e.g. some adjectives such as 坏, 错, 旧, 强 etc. usually cannot be used as modifiers (Lu 2011: 367), and the adjectives, denoting emotional or other state of the performer of the action, cannot serve as postpositive modifiers, they can only be used in preposition to the predicate (Lu 2011: 368; Yip, Rimmington 2004: 155).

Apart from these observations, on the basis of our comparative research, we shall examine the cases when the shift between prepositive and postpositive usage requires certain changes in the type of adjective applied, such as in the following examples:

(18 a) 我希望你平平安安地回来。 (mode, process)

'I hope you peacefully come back.'

(18 b) 我希望你归来得一切顺利。 (resultant state)

'I hope you've returned safe and sound.'

(19 a) 房间被仔细地打扫过。 (mode, process)

'The room was **carefully** cleaned.'

(19 b) 房间被打扫得很干净。 (resultant state)

'The room was cleaned very well.'

Through such examples we can observe that the semantic types of the adjectives are conditioned by the functional meaning of the two different modifiers, as the prepositive modifier is used to express a mode or characterize the process of action, while the postpositive complement denotes an evaluation or qualities of a resultant state (after performing or observing the action).

Thus, adjectives that convey the qualities of a resultant state (e.g. 干净 'clean') cannot be applied as prepositive modifiers, and if we have to transform a phrase like (19 b) into prepositive one (such as in ex. 19 a), then we would certainly have to change the modifying adjective into one that can define a process or mode of a concrete action (e.g. 仔细 'careful').

Another specific aspect of difference between the two types of adjectival modifiers can be observed through the following parallel examples:

(20 a) 我飞快地骑着车, 差点撞到人。 (temporarily mode, process)

'I was riding so fast (as if flying) that I almost ran into someone.'

(20 b) 我骑车骑得很快, 差点撞到人。 (state, evaluation)

'I was riding very fast and I almost ran into someone.'

(21 a) 小明**认真**地抄写了一遍课文。 (temporarily mode, process)

'Xiao Ming copied the text carefully.'

(21 b) 小明抄了一遍课文, 抄得很认真。 (state, evaluation)

'Xiao Ming copied the text, and did it very carefully.'

As we can see in the examples of type (a), the prepositive modifier describes a dynamic quality, temporarily attached, or limited to the process of performing the action (e.g.飞快, 认真), while the postpositive complement (examples of type b) provides an evaluation of an ability (usually combined with an adverb of degree), or a relative state of quality (e.g. 很快, 很认真).

# Semantic qualities of the verb predicate.

Apart from the specific conditions required by the meaning of the modifier, the semantic qualities of the verb itself are also an important factor influencing the usage of certain types of modifying elements. Our comparative research has shown that the postpositive complement (状态补语) is generally not compatible with verbs denoting instantaneous or temporally bounded, telic actions. This can be well explained with the basic, invariant meaning of the postpositive modifier, which is only to evaluate the qualities or result of the action, and not to describe its process and completion.

(22 a) 妹妹伤心地流下了眼泪。(流下了眼泪) telic action 'My younger sister shed tears sadly.'
(22 b) 妹妹哭得很伤心。(哭) atelic action 'My younger sister cried very sadly.'
(23 a) 这次手术顺利地做完了。(做完了) telic action 'The operation was successfully completed.'
(23 b) 这次手术做得很顺利。(做) atelic action 'The operation <u>went</u> well.'

As we can see from the above examples 22–23, when describing past events, the prepositive adjuncts (like in examples of type a) modify verbs denoting instantaneous or temporally bounded, telic actions (e.g. 流下了眼泪, 做完了), while the postpositive complements (like in examples of type b) modify atelic verbs, imperfective events and evaluate the qualities or results of the action (e.g. 哭, 做).

# Types of events and their aspect-tense characteristics.

As pointed out in previous research, the usage of the two kinds of modifiers is to a great extent related to certain types of events and their aspect-tense characteristics. In this respect we shall examine the usage of the two compared forms, considering the type of event that they can modify in the following different situation types: a) past event; b) progressive/current event; c) future event; d) habitual event; e) persistent ability/state; f) imperative statement; g) resultative state. The results of the comparative review are shown in the following table.

Modifier to: (Type of event)	Prepositive modifier to the predicate	Postpositive modifier to the predicate
Past event	他全面(地)解释了这个问题。	这个问题他解释得很全面。
Progressive/ Current event	工人们都 <b>熟练</b> 地工作着。	工人们正工作 <b>得熟练</b> (呢) 。
Future event	我们要 <b>认真</b> 地研究这个问题。	这个问题我们要研究得 <b>认真些</b> 。
Habitual event	每天都 <b>努力</b> 地付出,这就是生活,	他们每天都学习得 <b>可努力了</b> 。
Persistent ability/state	玛丽能够 (可以) <b>很流利</b> 地说中文。	玛丽中文说得可流利了。
Imperative statement	你们快过来吧!	
Resultative state		小刘高兴得 <b>都跳起来了</b> 。

Table 1. Prepositive and postpositive modifiers attributed to different types of events

Within the defined seven relative types of events we observe the possibility of usage and the conditions of interchangeability between the two types of modifiers. Thus we can conclude that the prepositive modifier is typically used to describe past, progressive, future and imperative events, and under certain conditions it can also be used to modify a habitual event. It is not applied to predicates, expressing general ability/state of the subject or a resultative situation after certain event. On the other hand, the postpositive modifier is most typically attributed to general or persistent ability/state, as well as to past events; it can be applied under certain conditions to modify progressive and future events, but is not compatible with imperative clauses.

# Pragmatic shift of the viewpoint and the communicative focus of the utterance

As shown in previous research, the choice between the alternative forms of verbal modifiers is also related to the type of speech act and the communicative purpose of the speaker. In this regard, we can compare contextually identical sentences in which the prepositive and postpositive modifier can be interchanged without any lexical changes in the sentence:

(24 a) 这件事他顺利地完成了。'He successfully accomplished the task.'

(24 b) 这件事他完成得**很顺利**。 'He accomplished the task very successfully.'

Although the two examples are quite similar in meaning, they differ in pragmatic qualities. When expressing a single, accomplished past event it is mainly typical to use prepositive modifier denoting the mode and process of action, and thus the event is *observed in its dynamic accomplishment* (as in ex. 24 a).

On the other hand, the situation can also be presented from a *static point of view* as an *observation of a fact*, while the *focus of expression lays on the evaluation of certain quality* of the event (as transformed in ex. 24 b).

In some cases, we can also observe a relevant change in the topic of the sentence (as shown in examples 25 a and 25 b), which is shifted from the subject (他) as a dynamic ac-

tor to the object (这门技术) as a static or passive point of description of an accomplished fact.

(25 a) 他已经熟练地掌握了这门技术。'He has skillfully mastered this technique.'

(25 b) <u>这门技术</u>已经被他掌握得**很熟练了**。 '<u>This technique</u> has been mastered by him **very skillfully**.'

Not necessarily all relevant cases of shifting from prepositive modifier (dynamic view) to postpositive (static post-factum observation or evaluation) may infer such change in the topic and subsequently in the syntactic structure of the sentence. But the communicative focus of the utterance is always shifted in such cases from the dynamic action (the verb predicate, e.g. 掌握了) to the static quality of the event (the adjectival modifier, e.g. 粮).

#### Conclusion

On the basis of the above analysis we can summarize the specific characteristics and distinctive features of the two types of qualitative modifiers from a semantic, syntactic and pragmatic point of view. The prepositive modifier is used to denote the mode, manner or qualities of a certain definite action, which may be either past or future perfective action or present progressive event, but not a general or persistent ability or state. The qualities it defines are presented as ongoing or attached to the process and time of action.

The postpositive complement appears to express an evaluation, result or relative qualities of a past action, or present, general and habitual abilities. It can be used in some conditions for describing future events, but not in imperatives. The qualities it defines are presented as an observation or judgement on a state or result of an accomplished action.

We can view the first type of modifier as pre-conditioning the development of the situation described (as expressing the emotional etc. conditions of the performer, or the qualities supporting the action), while the second type of modifier can be viewed as post-describing the event in regard to its results or the qualities of the subsequent state. These semantic differences of the two types of modifiers are consistent with their syntactical positions (respectively pre- and postposition).

In terms of pragmatics, the prepositive modifier expresses a dynamic point of view and lays the communicative focus on the performing of the action. While the postpositive complement presents a static and post-factum point of view to the resultant quality of the action or habitual ability/state, and in such sentences the communicative focus is on the quality or the evaluation, expressed by the modifying complement.

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# Езикови проблеми при превода на текстове, свързани с китайската и българската култура

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# Language Problems in the Translation of Texts Related to Chinese and Bulgarian Culture<sup>1</sup>

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#### Abstract

Research on the cultural exchange between China and Bulgaria mainly focuses on the content, method and medium of the exchange, with relatively less devotion to the language of translation itself. With a thorough reading and understanding in recent years, it becomes clear that there are certain problems in translation that deserve joint discussion by Chinese and Bulgarian scholars, such as the relevance, accuracy and professionalism of the words used, as well as the loss of the unique elements of a given traditional culture in translation, different translations of the same concept, the disconnection between the translation and its study, etc. In the current international context of increasing cultural exchange and mutual learning, as well as diverse cultural prosperity and common sharing of the beauty of different cultures, it is even more necessary to support academic translation cooperation among translators from different countries. In this way, a good translation can be created together, and the translation of the traditional cultural elements that are unique and linguistically specific to each country can be relatively fixed.

Keywords: problems, translation, cultural realities, Chinese culture, Bulgarian culture

Културният обмен между Китай и България се радва на столетна история. С постепенното формиране на стабилни носители и платформи за културен обмен, каналите за опознаване на двете култури стават все по-разнообразни, а също се засилва и съзнанието за културната марка в културния обмен. Понастоящем изследванията на културния обмен между Китай и България се фокусират основно върху съдържанието, методите и носителите на обмена, като относително по-малка част от тях са

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посветени на самия език на превода. Време е да се обърне повече внимание върху този аспект и особено върху превода на китайски и български реалии.

### 1. Възможност и необходимост от съответните изследвания

С оглед на стогодишното разпространение на китайската култура в България и българската култура в Китай, видно е, че преводът винаги е бил най-активният и ефективен начин за взаимното опознаване на двете култури. Само в областта на преводите на българска литература в Китай са издадени около сто книги и сборника, а преводите на китайската литература в България са още повече. Това дава богата материална основа за изследването на преводаческия език на двете култури. Напредъкът на инициативите "Един пояс, един път" и "Сътрудничество между Китай и страните от Централна и Източна Европа" насърчава и обогатява ширината и дълбочината на културния обмен между двете страни, както и желанието и ентусиазма на китайския и българския народ за участие в културния обмен. В Китай има вече три държавни университета с катедра "Българистика". Бързото разпространение на българската култура в Китай се осъществява чрез различни дейности, като популяризиране на български културни продукти, организиране на характерни културни дейности в редица китайски провинции и градове, и др. мероприятия. Количеството и качеството на културния обмен между Китай и България достига рекордно високо ниво, превръщайки България в желателна дестинация за културен туризъм. Резултатите показват възможност и необходимост за обсъждане на езикови проблеми при превода на текстове, свързани с китайската и българската култура на различни носители и платформи.

# 2. Стандарти в превода на културни реалии

Щом говорим за културен превод, не можем да не говорим за приложимите към него стандарти. Една от причините, които затрудняват превода, е, че самият език представлява част от културата и е изпълнен с богати културни конотации, същевременно преводът търпи езикови или други ограничения. Преводачите се нуждаят както от двуезични умения, така и от двукултурни познания. Според теорията за културния превод на западните учени, този вид превод се фокусира върху културния обмен, защото културата е на първо място, а информацията – на второ. Това изисква от преводача овладяване на връзката между култура, език и превод и точно възпро-извеждане на културните елементи от оригиналния език.

В Китай често се следват трите критерии за оценяване на превода – "вярност, изразителност и елегантност" – изложени за първи път от известния китайски мислител, педагог и преводач Йен Фу (1853–1921) въз основа на собствената му преводаческа практика. Един век по-късно тези три критерия продължават да се спазват в

кръговете на китайските преводачи. "Вярност" означава, че смисълът не противоречи на оригиналния текст, тоест преводът трябва да е верен на оригиналния замисъл, без отклонения, без пропуски и да не добавя или изважда смисъл по желание. Въз основата на "вярност" се търси "изразителност", което означава, че преводът е гладък и се приближава до майчиния език. На още по-високо ниво в превода е "елегантността", което показва, че преводът трябва да съдържа красотата или елегантността на самия език в оригиналния текст. Общо казано, целта е преводът да съответства на съдържанието, структурата и литературната изящност, тоест точност на съдържанието, гладка граматична структура и литературната грация на езиковия носител.

По този начин, когато реалии се превеждат на китайски и български език, е необходимо да се съчетават западните с китайските критерии за оценяване на превода.

# 3. Езикови проблеми, възникнали в процеса на разпространение на българската култура в Китай и китайската култура в България

Откакто Китай започва познанството си с България, можем ясно да видим този процес на усъвършенстване на превода. Нека посочим някои примери от превода на български собствени имена:

Собствено име	Начален превод	Сегашен превод
София	苏飞亚	索非亚
Източна Румелия	东罗马尼亚	东鲁 <b>梅</b> 利亚 东鲁 <b>米</b> 利亚
България	勃尔格利亚	保加利亚
Вазов	跋佐夫	伐佐夫
Величков	威理式珂夫	维利奇科夫

Тези първи преводи се появяват в Китай в началото на XX век. Те не са съвсем точни според българския изговор, една от причините за което е, че не са преведени директно от български език. Когато са правени през други езици, е наистина трудно да се проследи връзката между китайското и оригиналното българско произношение. Например името на Златко Енев, писателя на българска детска литература и автор на романа "Гората на призраците" (на китайски 《鬼怪森林》, издаден в Китай през 2007 г.), в превод на китайски е "卓尔克·恩维", което буквално транскрибирано звучи като "Джуоъркъ Ънуей". Така през последните години е забелязано, че съществуват определени проблеми в транскрибирането на китайски и българския език и в превеждането на китайски и български културни реалии, които заслужават съвместно обсъждане от страна на преводачите.

#### 3.1. Проблеми с транскрипцията от китайски пинин (拼音) на кирилица

#### 3.1.1. Проблеми с транскрипцията на звукове, които отсъстват в китайския или в българския език

За примери и обсъждане на въпросите, разглеждани в тази статия, се използва вариантът на транскрипцията на пинин с български букви, предложен от д-р Тиен Дзиендзун, доцент по българистика в Пекинския университет за чужди езици.

В неговия вариант предната носова гласна във финала "en" и задната носова гласна във финала "eng" следва да се изписват с различни български букви, макар че самостоятелно гласната "e" се транскрибира на български с "ъ". Счита се, че съгласната "g" в тези два случая не се учленява, а функционира като знак за обозначаване на по-задна позиция при артикулацията на фонемата "n". Но предната или задна позиция променя семантиката на думата, поради което е важно транскрипциите на двата финала на кирилица да се различават. Например:

Китайски пинин	Йероглиф като пример	оглиф като пример Транскрипция на кирилица	
Chen	陈 (фамилия)	Чен	
Cheng	程 (фамилия)	Чън	

Тук обозначаването на по-предна или по-задна носова съгласна има значение, особено за различаване на съответните йероглифи на китайски фамилии, като например 陈 (Chen) и 程 (Cheng). Но практически това предложение не може да се използва при всички случаи – например площад Тиенанмън 天安门 (tian-an-men), където "en" се транскрибира с "ън" е такова изключение. Самият изговор на думата на китайски език налага транскрибирането с "ъ", а не с "e". Затова е необходимо най-напред да се обсъжда дали е необходимо да се различават тези два звука при транскрибиране, и второ – дали да се различават само при транскрипции на лични имена или на всички думи.

При транскрипция на предната носова съгласна във финала "in" и задната носова съгласна във финала "ing" от китайски пинин на кирилица се използва една и съща транскрипция – "ин", тъй като липсва друг вариант на български, чрез който да бъдат различавани двете фонеми. Например при превода на имената на китайските династии 秦 (Qin) и 清 (Qing) на български език като "Цин", често се добавят точните години в скоби, с цел уточняване за коя точно династия става въпрос. Подобен е и случаят с транскрибирането на финалите "an" и "ang" по един и същи начин – с транскрипцията "ан".

При транскрипцията на китайските провинции 陕西 (Shanxi) и 山西 (Shanxi) с Шаанси и Шанси, удвояването на звука "а" много добре отразява третия тон на йероглифа 陕, който се произнася по-дълго, отколкото първия тон на йероглифа 山. Този пример ни показва, че съществуват възможности за решаване на проблемите с транскрипцията.

#### 3.1.2. Проблеми със стария вариант на транскрибиране с "цз"

При инициалите на китайския пинин има проблеми с транскрипцията на инициала "z", който в миналото е предаван на български език с "цз". Така например превода на името на известния китайски политик Mao Zedong е Mao Цзъдун, но всъщност в българския език не съществува съгласната "цз". Сега при транскрибиране на фонемата "z" от китайски българисти и български китаисти по-често се използва съчетанието "дз", чието произношение е много по-близко до оригинала.

# 3.1.3. Проблеми с отразяването на принадлежността на началната гласна при транскрибиране на български език

По отношение на комбинации от две срички, изписани слято, втората от които започва с гласен звук, при транскрибирането на кирилица не винаги може да се обозначи дали този гласен звук принадлежи към първата или към втората сричка. Така например самата дума "пинин" в китайския език се състои от два йероглифа – 拼 (пин) и 音 (ин), чиято транскрипция на български може да се прочете като "пин'ин" или "пи'нин". Друг пример е името на площад Тиенанмън (天 – тиен, 安 – ан, 门 – мън), който на български понякога се изписва и с апостроф: Тиен'анмън. Подобен пример е и транскрипцията на името 嫦娥 (Chang E) – Чан'ъ, тъй като апострофът гарантира правилен изговор на български език.

## 3.2. Проблеми с предаването на български имена с китайски йероглифи

При превода от кирилица на китайски език също съществуват множество проблеми. Като примери ще разгледаме превода на суфиксите "-лов" и "-ров" в български лични имена (примерите са избирани от съществуващи преводи на българска литература):

Българско име	Превод с китайски йероглифи		
Караве <i>ло</i> в	卡拉维 洛夫		
Вапца <i>ро</i> в	瓦普察 <b>洛</b> 夫		
Димит <b>р</b> ов	季米特 <b>洛</b> 夫		
Попдимит <i>ро</i> в	波普迪米特 <b>罗</b> 夫		

Ако транскрибирането на тези две различни сонорни съгласни "л" и "р" не бъде фиксирано, то китайците трудно биха могли да разграничават суфиксите "-лов" и "-ров", и би се получило объркване, особено когато е необходимо да бъдат възстановени българските им съответствия.

Подобни проблеми се срещат и при превода на български лични имена, завършващи на "-ев". Може би под влияние на произношението на руски език, в миналото "-ев" се е превеждал на китайски със съчетанието 耶夫, а не с 埃夫, чието произношение точно съвпада с българското. Например:

Българско име	Транскрипция с китайски йероглифи	
Бояджи <b>е</b> в	博亚吉 <b>耶</b> 夫	
Лили <b>е</b> в	利利 <b>耶</b> 夫	
Благо <b>е</b> вград	布拉格 <b>耶</b> 夫格勒	

Поради същата причина и при превода на сричката "ди" в български лични имена на китайски език се използва йероглифът 季 (дзи) или 迪 (ди). Например българската фамилия Димитров почти винаги се фиксира на китайски като 季米特洛夫, заради първоначалния превод на името на известния български политик Георги Димитров, но съществува и вариантът 迪米特洛夫. Обикновено имената Димитър и Попдимитров се транскрибират съответно като 迪米特尔 и 波普迪米特罗夫, което показва запазване на произношението на сричката "ди" както е в българския език. Тук е необходимо да се помисли дали има нужда умишлено да бъде коригиран превода на "ди" при бъдещи преводи според изговора на български или е по-удачно да се запази първоначалната транскрипция на имената на старите исторически личности, например Димитров като 季米特洛夫. Подобен е и въпроса с превода на името на Иван Вазов – 伊凡·伐佐夫 или 伊万·瓦佐夫.

Предаването на сонорната съгласна "й" в края на българските имена също е проблематично. Така например преводът на името Николай на китайски има два варианта: 尼古拉, където фонемата "й" изобщо не е транскрибирана; и 尼古拉伊, където се запазва изговора на буквата от български.

# 3.3. Проблеми при превода на някои български и китайски реалии

Относно проблемите при превода на китайски и български реалии трябва да се помисли за баланс между езика и културата, за намирането на подходящите форми, за нуждата от създаване на фиксирани преводни варианти за онези понятия, които все още нямат български или китайски еквиваленти. Китайските реалии се превеждат по-трудно от българските, затова е подходящо да бъдат транскрибирани и обяснени с бележка под линия от преводача. В настоящата статия като примери се разглеждат главно преводи на български реалии, извадени от Българско-китайския речник, издаден в Китай през 2007 г., Wikipedia и Google Translate, за да се направи сравнение на съответните варианти на превод:

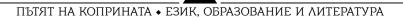
Таблица 1. Битови реалии – храни, напитки	
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Български битови	Превод на китайски		
реалии – храни,	Българско-китайски	Wikipedia	Google Translate
питиета	речник		
ракия	白酒	拉基亚 (превежда се	白兰地
	烧酒	по произношението на	
		думата)	
баница	起酥,酥皮饼;	保加利亚折饼 (в прево-	馅饼
	巴尼察 (превежда се	да се добавя и името	
	по произношението на	България)	
	думата)		
боза	博扎	博萨	博扎

В Таблица 1 трите реалии се превеждат по различни начини, но думата "боза" има съвпадение на превода по произношението; "ракия" и "баница" също имат варианти на превода по изговора им.

Битови реалии –	Превод на китайски			
музикални	Българско-китайски	Wikipedia	Google Translate	
инструменти, танци	речник		-	
гайда	风笛, 羊皮笛	Не се включва (грешка)	风笛	
кавал	木笛	巴尔干木笛	Не се включва	
		(в превода се добавя и	(грешка)	
		името Балкански)		
гъдулка	格杜尔卡	Ha латиница: gadulka	Не се включва	
	(превежда се по произ-		(грешка)	
	ношението на думата)	ношението на думата)		
	Свиря на гъдулка.			
	拉格杜尔卡 <b>琴</b> 。			
	(в изречението се			
	добавя след превода и			
	йероглифа 琴, който			
	обозначава струнен			
	музикален инстру-			
	мент)			
тамбура	冬不拉	坦布拉 <b>琴</b>	Не се включва	
	(превежда се по произ-	(превежда се по	(грешка)	
	ношението на дума-	произношението на		
	та, а всъщност тази	думата и след превода		
	дума съществува и в	се добавя йероглифа		
	китайски)	琴, който обозначава		
	Свиря на тамбура.	струнен музикален		
	弹冬不拉。	инструмент)		

Таблица 2. Битови реалии – музикални инструменти, танци



хоро 霍罗**舞** 霍拉**舞** 圆舞 (превежда се по (превежда се по произношението на произношението на думата и след превода иножествено число на се добавя йероглифа думата и след превода 舞, който обозначава се добавя йероглифа танц) 舞, който обозначава танц)

Таблица 2. Битови реалии – музикални инструменти, танци (Продължение)

В Таблица 2 реалиите се превеждат по различни начини, но след превода по произношение се добавя и йероглиф (琴, 舞) за принадлежността им, за да бъдат по-ясни.

Таблица 3. Културни реалии – народна носия

Културни реалии –	Превод на китайски		
народна носия	Българско-китайски	Wikipedia	Google Translate
	речник		
цървул	乌拉 (превежда се със	猪皮鞋	Не се включва (грешка)
	съответната дума)		

В Таблица 3 при превода на "цървул" се използва направо името на подобен вид обувки от Североизточен Китай.

# Таблица 4. Исторически реалии

Исторически реалии	Превод на китайски		
	Българско-китайски речник	Wikipedia	Google Translate
аул	Не се включва	阿乌尔 (превежда се по произношението на думата)	Не се включва <i>(грешка)</i>
султан	苏丹, 国王 (превежда се по произношението на думата и със значението на думата в китайски)	苏丹 (превежда се по произношението на думата)	苏丹 (превежда се по произношението на думата)

В Таблица 4 думата "султан" има съвпадение на превода по произношението ѝ и тази заемка в китайския е по-популярна като понятие.

#### Таблица 5. Фолклорни реалии

Фолклорни	Превод на китайски			
реалии	Българско-ки-	Китайски медии	Wikipedia	Google Translate
	тайски речник			
Баба Марта	三月奶奶	三月节 三月花节 三月奶奶节	Не се включва <i>(грешка)</i>	Не се включва
мартеница	三月结	三月花三月结	三月花	马泰尼察 (превежда се по произношението на думата, само че не е точно по изговора ѝ)
нестинарство	蹈火舞	蹈火舞 踏火舞	Не се включва	Не се включва <i>(грешка)</i>

В Таблица 5 преводът на "Баба Марта" на китайски има повече варианти.

### Таблица 6. Реалии – мерки

Реалии – мерки	Превод на китайски		
	Българско-китайски	Wikipedia	Google Translate
	речник		
декар	狄卡尔	公亩	英亩
	(превежда се	(неточен превод)	(неточен превод)
	по произношението		
	на думата)		

В таблица 6 "декар" е типичен пример за непреводима българска реалия. Прието е на китайски език да се транскрибира с допълнително обяснение. Подобен пример е и превода на китайската мярка за площ 亩 (mu), която на български се транскрибира като "му" с по-яснение.

От Таблици 1–6 може да се види, че примерите се превеждат чрез транскрипция, чрез приблизително и описателно предаване, или направо със заемка. Когато са налице няколко варианта на превода, има нужда от подбор, ако липсва превод, има нужда от допълване на такъв, ако преводът е грешен или неточен, има нужда от коригиране.

На фона на развитието на тенденциите за световна интеграция, засилващ се културен обмен, разнообразен културен просперитет и общо споделяне на красотата на различните култури, ролята на езика като мост става все по-видна, а науката и технологиите също все повече се прилагат в областта на превода. Но преводаческото дело не е лесно и някои от преводите все още могат да бъдат усъвършенствани, а понякога дори коригирани, чрез съвместните усилия на китайски и български учени. По този начин с общи усилия могат да бъдат сътворени добри преводи и да се създадат фиксирани форми на превод на уникалните традиционни културни елементи.

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# Confucius Classroom at University of Ruse, Bulgaria as a Window to the Chinese Language and Culture: A Way of Understanding the Otherness

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Abstract

The current paper interprets the concept of cultural Otherness from an intercultural point of view and presents the activities of the Confucius Classroom at University of Ruse, Bulgaria as a way to understand and tolerate the different Other. Over 20-years' academic experience of the University in teaching Chinese language and culture and the popularity of Confucius Classroom among the member of the academic community and citizens of Ruse show that the acceptance of the Other through knowing his/her language and culture is a prospective way for shortening the cultural distances and barriers in the globalized multicultural world.

Keywords: the Other, the Otherness, intercultural communication, Confucius Classroom

### Introduction

The issue about the acceptance, understanding and recognition of the Otherness is topical in the modern multicultural societies for several reasons. On the one hand, we observe an increase of the ethnic, religious and other cultural conflicts, as well as strengthening of the intolerance towards the Otherness. But on the other hand, we can see some processes of gradual recognition of the diversity as a value, which implies overcoming of the traditional approaches for the exploration of the Otherness in socio-cultural context.

The heterogeneity of the contemporary cultural space, the widening of the intercultural contacts, the democratization of the societies and the proclamation of tolerance as a fundamental human value require a profound understanding of the specific relations between Us and the Others.

The aim of the current paper is to interpret some issues, connected with the acceptance of the Otherness within the context of the activities of the Confucius Classroom at the University of Ruse, Bulgaria.

#### Theoretical framework of the Otherness

The issue about the Other is a universal one but the content of the same concept has different interpretations. The classical German philosophy (Feuerbach, Hegel) reveals the Other as *alter ego*. According to Heidegger the Other is *every one*. Bakhtin, Buber and Gadamer understand the Other as *You*. J. Mead speaks about the *significant Others*, playing the leading role in the self-identification of the individual. Next can be mentioned the interpretations for the Other as *denial of my I* (J. P. Sartre), as *an opportunity* (G. Deleuze), as *absolute Otherness* (Levinas), etc. On the one hand, these numerous assumptions underline the multi-layer character of the concept, but on the other side – its universal nature. (Popova 2014: 6–7)

Most often the following types of Otherness are an object of attention by the side of the researchers: the Other in the structure of my ego (*the significant Other*), the Other as You (*every Other*), the Other as not-me (e.g. *marginal, disadvantaged person, representative of a minority*, etc.), the Other as a representative of a foreign culture (*foreigner*). Each of these perceptions presents different level of interpretation of the Other – the level of the concrete individual in connection with his/her identity, the level of communication, dialogue between Me and You, the level of social relationships and the level of interaction between cultures. (Popova 2014: 7)

The most topical interpretations of the Otherness in the thematic area of intercultural communication are in the context of individuals' positioning in groups formed by different characteristics: own – alien, in-group – outgroup, similar – different, etc. For the purposes of this paper the attention will be focused on the perception of the Other as *alien* and as *different*.

The oldest system of social categorization – the opposition own - alien – is a cultural universal, inherent for the self-consciousness of all communities. In the paradigm of different sciences (sociology, philosophy, linguistics, history, etc.) the concept *alien* has different nuances in its meaning – *foreign*, *strange*, *bizarre*, *and unusual*. The perception of the Other as *alien* is a ground for identification of the individuals with the own, natives, i.e. for the construction of the hierarchy of their identities. The identity is a closure in the secure world of the we-groups and isolation from the they-groups. (Popova, 2014: 12)

A visual variant of the perception of the Other as *alien* is presented in the figure 1 below (Popova, 2014: 26):

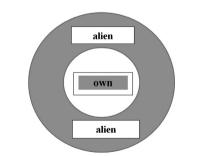


Fig. 1. Othering, based on the opposition own - alien

As can be seen, the opposition own - alien is visualized by two concentric circles. The inner circle presents the space of the own, natives and the outer – the space of the aliens. This means that the Otherness in the opposition own - alien has a territorial character. The natives have a preserved territory which is separated by a border from the territory of the aliens. The identification of the individuals with different groups – ethic, religious, etc. serves as such border and it can hardly be crossed. (Popova 2014: 27)

Unlike the opposition own - alien, the other significant opposition in the light of intercultural communication - similar - different is broader, because it can include also an avoidance of individuals and groups within the frames of the own, natives. (Popova, 2014: 28)

The interpretation of the Other as *different* is connected with the identification of some markers of difference, relating to phenomena with universal codification in the human societies – ethnicity, race, language, religion, gender, age, social class, physical ability, etc.

The visualization of the opposition *similar* – *different* is presented in the figure 2 below (Popova 2014: 69):

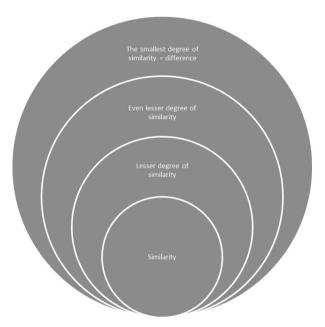


Fig. 2. Othering, based on the opposition similar - different

The above figure is reminiscent of the tidal waves that crash ashore. The individual (who is on the shore) covers at a glance the whole space of Others (the waves that are coming to him) but he/she experiences less fear, uncertainty and distrust towards those who are close to him (the waves crashing in his feet). In our opinion, this metaphor adequately presents the othering within the frames of the opposition *similarity – difference*. The different individuals or groups are qualified as Others but they are not necessarily aliens. They can belong to the group of natives and, at the same time, to be perceived as Others for a shorter or longer period of time. In the previous research (Popova 2014) is indicated that among the above- mentioned markers of difference, the biggest potential for deleting

the line of the othering have the differences in age, ability/disability, gender and sexual orientation as the societies increasingly manifest a rejection of the exclusionary practices and generate anti-discrimination policies. It is more difficult to overcome or minimize the othering by the characteristics ethnicity and religion as they are stronger identification criteria, in whose frames the othering is done simultaneously within the oppositions own - alien and similar - different. It is important to underline that in the othering within the opposition own - alien we speak for putting a border which can hardly be crossed, while within the spatial dimensions of the opposition similar - different we have a distance which can be increased, decreased and it can also be temporary or permanent. The othering within the opposition own - alien is an immanent constant for the individuals and is more primary in its nature. In contrast, the othering within the opposition similar - different is a socio-conditioned characteristic and has situational character. Moreover, it is more dynamic and is influenced by the socio-cultural environment. (Popova, 2014: 71)

In figure 3 below (Popova, 2014: 72), an attempt is made to present the mechanism of othering, which combines the links and interactions within the oppositions own - alien and similar - different.

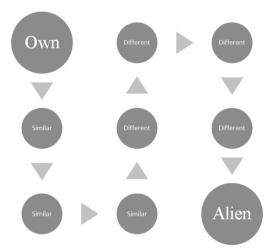


Fig. 3. Mechanism of othering

As it can be seen in the figure, the space of the natives is marked in advance and is a starting point of the social ties and interactions of the individuals. Each of them has the necessary space to satisfy his/her natural needs of belonging, love, attention and communication. (see Maslow's hierarchy of needs – Maslow 1954) In the different cultures the size of the natives' space is different – it is bigger and diffuse (with a greater influence of the social status on the relationships) in the collectivist cultures, and smaller and specific (with a smaller influence of the social status on the relationships) in the individualist cultures. (Hofstede 1991; Trompenaars 1995)

Protected in the space of natives, the individual creates a network of social interactions in which he/she faces and gets to know the similarity with and the difference from Other individuals until reaching the identification of the territory of the alien Others. As it can be seen in the figure,

the path to the space of the alien is long and always passes through the interaction of the individual with other similar and different individuals. If we can conclude the mechanism of othering, we would say that:

- The othering is a process, based on social interaction;
- The othering is based on the inner feeling of the individuals for social/cultural distance;
- The process of othering has cultural specificity. It is realized more easily and more often in the cultures where the space of the natives has greater importance for the individuals, e.g. in the collectivist cultures. (Hofstede 1991)
- The othering has different directions and dimensions. The qualification of somebody as Other can be realized in the space of the similar individuals, of different ones and especially in the space of the alien. (Popova 2014: 73)

# The Confucius Classroom at University of Ruse as a space where the Otherness is accepted and tolerated

The Confucius Classroom at University of Ruse was opened in 2016 under the auspices of the Confucius Institute-Sofia. It has as its mission to be a window to the world of the Chinese language and culture and a mediator of intercultural communication. Revealing the Chinese Otherness as a bridge to the ancient Chinese language and culture, the Confucius classroom shortens the distances between the cultures and presents the intercultural communication as a powerful tool for understanding the different Others.

The idea for a stronger connection between the foreign language teaching at the University of Ruse and Chinese language and culture teaching arose in 2012, when the European and Global Studies major (in English) was opened at the University. The orientation of the curriculum towards the study of global processes in the world required the study of one of the global languages like Chinese. That's why a compulsory Chinese language training has been included in the curriculum with 105 hours per semester (725 hours for the full course of bachelor studies). In this period the cooperation between the University of Ruse and the Confucius Institute – Sofia began with sending of 2 teachers in Chinese language to the university – 1 professional teacher and 1 volunteer. 20 years have passed since the beginning of the study of Chinese language at the University of Ruse, but the interest in the treasures of the Chinese culture is alive and gaining more and more admirers.

In addition to teaching students, the Chinese teachers at the University of Ruse are dedicated to popularizing Chinese culture among the citizens of the city of Ruse and the region. Many cultural events have been organized in close cooperation with the Confucius Institute-Sofia. Favorable conditions for the broad response of the initiatives are created by the presence of "Vasil Levski" Secondary School in which Chinese language is studied, as well as the extremely well-developed wu-shu school "Kalagia" headed by

Maria Nedelcheva. These two institutions support and participate in the events dedicated to Chinese culture, organized by the University of Ruse – lantern festival, Chinese culture festival, celebration of the Chinese New Year, etc.

Among the main activities of the Confucius Classroom at the University of Ruse are:

– Trainings in Chinese language and culture for students, teachers and citizens – advanced and intermediate level, with each course having a duration of 100 hours;

Advanced HSK test preparation training;

- Calligraphy training;

- Book presentations, chess tournaments;

- Organization of competitions on different topics;

- Organization of cultural and sports events;

- Organization of events for public benefit, etc.

The organization of Chinese language courses is one of the main activities of the Confucius Classroom at the University of Ruse. The courses are announced twice a year – in autumn and spring – in the following categories: for beginners, for intermediate level and for HSK test preparation. The announcement in an electronic form is published on the university website, and an advertising poster is distributed in public spaces in the university and the city. In addition to participating in the training, the students assist and participate in the events organized by the Confucius Classroom. At the end of their training, those who complete the course requirement receive a certificate. There are many positive results of the Chinese language teaching at the Confucius classroom, such as students' prizes in the competition "Chinese Language Bridge" and competitions for Chinese song/dance.

Confucius Classroom at the University of Ruse organizes annual cultural events that are loved and expected by the academic community and citizens of the city of Ruse. The most significant event is the Chinese Culture Festival, which is organized every year in November. After a break of 2 years due to the Covid pandemic, in 2022 the Sixth Festival of Chinese Culture with a rich cultural program was organized at the University of Ruse. The traditional guests of the festival were the rector of the University and the directors of the Confucius Institute – Sofia from the Bulgarian and Chinese sides. The festival included students from the university and many Chinese teachers and volunteers from all over the country. The festival was visited by many children, students and citizens who participated in various traditional Chinese practices before the festival program – calligraphy, tattoos, photo with Chinese costumes, degustation of Chinese food, etc.

The Confucius classroom at the University of Ruse is not only a center for popularizing the Chinese language and culture in Bulgaria. It also organizes events for public benefit, with which it demonstrates an active public position. Such events were:

– The celebration of Earth Day in 2019 and planting of trees in the yard of Ruse University;

– Organization of a charity bazaar of Chinese souvenirs on May 30, 2023 in the center of the city of Ruse. The collected funds were donated to the "Alexander Rusev" Founda-

tion in Ruse for the construction of a rehabilitation swimming complex for children with disabilities;

Confucius Classroom at the University of Ruse is visible and recognizable on social networks (Facebook) with its own page. The page announces all upcoming events and publishes information about already held initiatives. It is important to note that the page also serves to organize independent online initiatives. The most important of them are:

Chinese food cooking show;

- 1 minute daily Chinese language course;

Both initiatives are very popular and have many followers.

The activity of the Confucius Classroom has many synergistic effects for the international activity of the University of Ruse. Some of them are:

– More intensive relations with the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Bulgaria proven by the exhibition at the University of Ruse, provided by the Chinese Embassy and dedicated to 70 years of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Bulgaria, visits of senior officials from the Embassy to the University, donation of books from the Embassy to the University Library;

– Exhibition of Alexander Fedotov – long-time director of the Confucius Institute-Sofia, organized with the courtesy of his wife, Mrs. Snezhana Todorova – director of the Union of the Bulgarian Journalists;

– Joining of the University of Ruse to the 16+1 initiative – educational cooperation between 16 countries from Central and Eastern Europe and China;

– More intensive cooperation with Chinese universities. As examples, we can mention the seven framework agreements that have been concluded with Chinese universities, Erasmus exchange of more than 30 students, lecturers and administrative staff with Shanghai Polytechnic University and Hubei University of Technology, dual Program in Computer Systems and Technologies with Shanghai Polytechnic University, participation of Chinese teachers in the International Academic Weeks organized by the University of Ruse, etc.

#### Conclusion

The variety of the initiatives of the Confucius Classroom at University of Ruse is an illustration of its mission to be a window to the rich Chinese culture. It is not only a centre of cultural and spiritual life, but also a prospective way of understanding the different Other and the development of sensitivity and tolerance as necessary characteristics of the individuals in our multicultural world.

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## Research on Chinese Teaching and Chinese Culture Communication in Bulgarian Middle Schools

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Abstract

With the construction and promotion of the "Belt and Road", the exchanges and cooperation between China and Bulgaria in the fields of culture and education are deepening day by day. There are more and more Chinese learners in Bulgaria, more and more middle schools offer Chinese courses, and the trend of younger students is obvious. Language is a part of culture, culture depends on language to spread, language promotes understanding of culture, so Chinese language teaching and culture learning are complementary. This paper mainly studies the teaching of Chinese language in Bulgarian middle schools and the communication of Chinese culture. Chinese language teaching is carried out from five aspects: curriculum, teaching content, teaching methods, Chinese teachers and learning resources; research on Chinese culture communication is carried out from four aspects: communicators, communication content, communication studies. Through literature reading, teacher-student interviews, and questionnaire surveys, we will understand the current situation of Chinese language teaching and Chinese culture communication in Bulgarian middle schools, and put forward thoughts and suggestions based on teaching experience.

**Keywords**: Bulgaria, middle school, Chinese language teaching, Chinese culture communication

Middle school Chinese teaching and cultural communication are important components of international Chinese education. On May 14, 2023, the 16<sup>th</sup> "Chinese Bridge" Chinese Language Proficiency Competition for Middle School Students (Bulgaria) was successfully held at the Confucius Institute in Sofia. The number of middle school participants were the most ever in Bulgaria, and the competition was fierce. Chinese teaching in Bulgaria has the characteristics of "going deep into primary and secondary education, increasing the number of teaching points", "changing the nature of courses, making Chinese courses a compulsory foreign language course" and "expanding the benefits of Chinese courses and paying more and more attention to private primary and secondary schools"<sup>1</sup> (Xiao 2022:104). Among the more than 60 Chinese education

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Xiao, Shan. Present situation and prospect of Chinese teaching in Bulgaria. Guoji Zhongwen jiaoyu 1 (2022): 102–110.

institutions in Bulgaria, 42 are primary and secondary schools, accounting for 69%<sup>2</sup> (Gao 2022: 89).

## 1. Survey design and basic situation of survey objects

#### (1) Survey design

The research objects are Bulgarian middle school Chinese learners in grades 8 to 12; the research contents are Chinese language teaching and Chinese culture communication; the questionnaire is designed based on the "three teachings factors" of international Chinese education and the "5 W" model of communication studies combined with teaching practice. The investigation and research of Chinese teaching is based on the "three teaching factors", combined with practical experience, and is carried out in five aspects: curriculum setting, teaching content, teaching methods, Chinese teachers, and teaching resources. The part of Chinese culture communication conducts investigation and research on four aspects: communicators, communication content, communication methods and communication effects from the perspective of the audience<sup>3</sup>.

The questionnaire survey is divided into three parts: basic situation of learners, Chinese language teaching and Chinese culture communication. The basic situation of learners includes gender, grade, weekly class hours, learning reasons and learning goals. Chinese teaching includes curriculum, teaching content, teaching methods, Chinese teachers, teaching resources, as well as difficulties, expectations and suggestions for Chinese learners in learning Chinese. Chinese cultural communication includes four aspects: communicators, content, methods and effects of communication, difficulties, expectations and suggestions for learning and understanding Chinese culture.

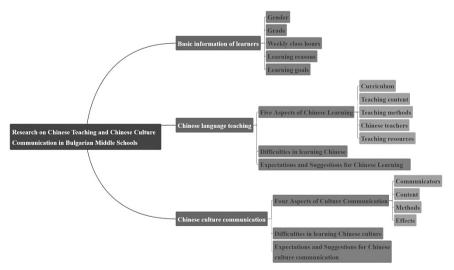


Fig. 1. Questionnaire Structure

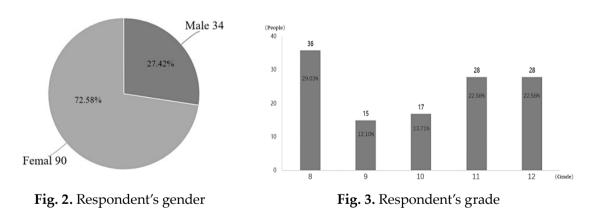
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gao, Wei. "Research on the Development of Chinese Education in Bulgaria". *Daxue yuwen jianshe* 3 (2022): 89–91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Li, Mengxia. Research on Chinese Teaching and Chinese Culture Communication at the Confucius Institute in Sofia, Bulgaria (Master's thesis), 2019: 29–31.

#### (2) Reliability and validity of the questionnaire

Reliability. The author conducted a questionnaire survey in April 2023. With the help of the teachers of the Confucius Institute in Sofia and the Confucius Institute at Veliko Tarnovo University, 124 valid questionnaires were finally collected. Among them, "the preference degree of teaching content", "the preference degree of teaching method", "necessity of using teaching resources" and "the preference degree of culture communication methods", using the Likert Five Scale, Cronbach's Alpha of these four items are 0.960, 0.905, 0.726, 0.879 respectively, so the reliability level is good. When sorting out the data, the assigned values to "strongly like/necessary", "like/necessary", "neither like/necessary nor dislike/unnecessary", "dislike/unnecessary" and "strongly dislike/unnecessary" are "5", "4", "3", "2", "1" respectively. The higher the average value, the higher the preference or the higher the necessity; the smaller the standard deviation, the lower the dispersion of the data.

Validity. The KMO values "the preference degree of teaching content", "the preference degree of teaching method", "necessity of using teaching resources" and "the preference degree of culture communication methods", are 0.930, 0.845, 0.770, 0.824, far greater than 0.6. Cumulative % of Variances (Rotated) are 77.15%, 88.00%, 90.27%, 96.80%, far greater than 50%. The Communality of the factors of each item ranges from 0.707 to 1.000, which is much greater than 0.4. The amount of information of the research items can be effectively extracted and has good validity.



(3) Gender and Grade

In terms of the gender of the respondents, among the 124 middle school Chinese learners, 90 are girls, accounting for 72.58%, and 34 are boys, accounting for 27.42%. The proportion of girls is significantly higher than that of boys. From the perspective of the grade distribution of the respondents, a total of 36 people in the eighth grade were surveyed, which is more than other grades.

#### (4) Reasons to learn Chinese

Table 1.	Reasons	to	learn	Chinese
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	Reasons to learn Chinese	Number	Percentage (%)
1	Interested in Chinese	83	66.94
2	Interested in Chinese culture	80	64.52
3	Want to master a language	67	54.03
4	Want to travel or study in China in the future	53	42.74
5	Helpful for future work	50	40.32
6	Interested in Chinese reading materials, music or film and television works	39	31.45
7	My parents want me to learn Chinese	21	16.94

From the perspective of the reasons of respondents, "Interested in Chinese" and "Interested in Chinese culture" accounted for the highest proportions, 66.94% and 63.52% respectively. It can be seen that the Chinese language and Chinese culture itself are the most attractive to middle school Chinese learners, followed by "Want to master another language", "Want to travel or study in China in the future", "Helpful for future work". Among the 124 respondents, 21 chose "My parents want me to learn Chinese", accounting for 16.94%. The author also has a small number of students who learn Chinese because of their parents' hope, and this part of the learners themselves are not very motivated to learn.

#### (5) Goals of learning Chinese

	Goals of learning Chinese	Number	Percentage (%)
1	Speak fluent Chinese	96	77.42
2	Understand other people speaking Chinese	95	76.61
3	Communicate with Chinese people	76	61.29
4	Travel to China	75	60.48
5	Complete the HSK test	65	52.42
6	Write articles in Chinese	58	46.77
7	Doing business with Chinese people	53	42.74
8	Do Chinese-related translations	53	42.74
9	Read Chinese books	47	37.90
10	Study in China	43	34.68
11	Work in China	33	26.61

#### Table 2. Goals of learning Chinese

Regarding the goals of learning Chinese, "Speak fluent Chinese" and "Understand other people speaking Chinese" accounting for the most, as 77.42% and 76.61%; followed by "Communicate with Chinese people" and "Travel to China", accounting for 61.29% and 60.48% %. It can be seen that most middle school Chinese learners believe that the

two-way interaction of "speaking" and "listening" in Chinese is an important goal, and the learning goal is biased towards practice and application.

# 2. Analysis of Chinese teaching in middle schools in Bulgaria

## (1) Curriculum: Course types and class hours

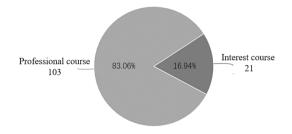


Fig. 4. Course types

In Bulgaria, 8<sup>th</sup> grade students will choose a subject as a professional subject, and some middle schools offer Chinese as a professional subject. In terms of course types, 83.06% are middle school students who take Chinese as a professional course, and 16.94% are middle school students who take Chinese as an interest course (elective course). According to the interviews with teachers and students, students who take Chinese as a professional course have more than 20 Chinese class hours per week in the 8 grade, and the Chinese class hours drop sharply after entering the 9<sup>th</sup> grade. The local teachers in the school where the author works believe that the first year of learning Chinese is the most important. The 8th grade Chinese class includes comprehensive classes, cultural classes, oral classes, and writing classes, with rich types of classes. Grades 9 to 12 are mainly comprehensive courses.

## (2) Teaching contents

	Teaching Contents	Strong- ly like (%)	Like (%)	Neither like or dislike (%)	Dislike (%)	Strongly dislike (%)	AVG	SD
1	Self-introduction	39.52	37.10	19.35	2.42	1.61	4.10	0.909
2	Family members	41.13	34.68	20.16	1.61	2.42	4.10	0.944
3	Time and Date	30.65	43.55	13.71	8.06	4.03	3.89	1.061
4	Work and Study	34.68	29.84	23.39	7.26	4.84	3.82	1.134
5	Interests and Hobbies	45.16	29.84	14.52	7.26	3.23	4.06	1.088
6	Shopping	30.65	30.65	22.58	11.29	4.84	3.71	1.160
7	Ask for directions	39.52	28.23	15.32	12.90	4.03	3.86	1.192
8	Food	66.13	21.77	6.45	2.42	3.23	4.45	0.957
9	Apparel and Dressing	46.77	34.68	11.29	4.84	2.42	4.19	0.983

Table 3. The preference degree of teaching contents



	Teaching Contents	Strongly like (%)	Like (%)	Neither like or dislike (%)	Dislike (%)	Strongly dislike (%)	AVG	SD
10	Traveling	54.84	27.42	13.71	2.42	1.61	4.31	0.914
11	Transportation	45.97	29.84	15.32	7.26	1.61	4.11	1.022
12	Business	36.29	30.65	18.55	10.48	4.03	3.85	1.148
13	Accommodation	33.87	31.45	24.19	7.26	3.23	3.85	1.072
14	Hometown	40.32	29.03	20.16	5.65	4.84	3.94	1.128
15	Weather and Season	38.71	37.10	12.90	7.26	4.03	3.99	1.086
16	Customs	54.84	25.81	12.9	4.84	1.61	4.27	0.974
17	Science	54.03	28.23	12.9	2.42	2.42	4.29	0.952
18	Literature and Art	48.39	29.84	13.71	4.03	4.03	4.15	1.065
19	Social Events	41.13	33.06	16.13	8.06	1.61	4.04	1.023
20	Entertainment	51.61	30.65	9.68	4.84	3.23	4.23	1.027

**Table 3.** The preference degree of teaching contents (continued)

Combined with the Chinese textbooks used in Bulgarian middle schools and the teaching content of the international Chinese teaching syllabus, 20 specific contents are divided. It can be seen from the table that "Food" has the highest mean value, which is 4.45, and the standard deviation is also very low, which is 0.957. Followed by "Traveling", "Science", "Customs", "Entertainment", "Apparel and Dressing", "Literature and Art", "Transportation", "Self-introduction", "Family members", "Interests and Hobbies", "Social Events", etc., the average values are greater than 4. The lowest average value is "Shopping", which is 3.71. The average values of "Time and Date", "Work and Study", "Asking for directions", "Business", "Accommodation", "Hometown", "Weather and Seasons", etc. are less than 4. During the interview, the students said that learning Chinese food, snacks, drinks and fruits is very interesting, and they feel that these contents are very close to their daily lives. They also find it very interesting to learn the transliteration of foreign words such as "coffee" (kāfēi) and "cola" (kělè).

#### (3) Teaching methods

	Teaching Methods	Strong- ly like (%)	Like (%)	Neither like or dislike (%)	Dislike (%)	Strong- ly dislike (%)	AVG	SD
1	The teacher demonstrates the pronunciation	45.16	32.26	14.52	6.45	1.61	4.12	0.993
2	The teacher explains vocabulary, grammar	44.35	35.48	12.90	4.03	3.23	4.14	1.007

Table 4. The preference degree of Chinese teaching methods

	Teaching Methods	Strong- ly like (%)	Like (%)	Neither like or dislike (%)	Dislike (%)	Strong- ly dislike (%)	AVG	SD
3	The teacher demonstrates through action	41.94	26.61	18.55	9.68	3.23	3.94	1.132
4	The teacher shows through pictures	50.81	24.19	15.32	4.03	5.65	4.10	1.153
5	The teacher demonstrates through audio (visual) or video	53.23	29.03	11.29	2.42	4.03	4.25	1.025
6	Teachers demonstrate through real objects	46.77	28.23	14.52	4.03	6.45	4.05	1.168
7	Scenario performance	34.68	20.16	23.39	15.32	6.45	3.61	1.280
8	Classroom games	57.26	23.39	12.10	2.42	4.84	4.26	1.081
9	Classroom activities	45.16	25.81	12.90	10.48	5.65	3.94	1.232
10	Doing exercises	35.48	29.03	22.58	8.87	4.03	3.85	1.124

Table 4. The preference degree of Chinese teaching methods (continued)

It can be seen from the table that the most popular teaching methods are "Classroom games" and "Audio or Video", with average values of 4.26 and 4.25 respectively. The author has used the teaching methods listed, and the participation of the students is consistent with the data, especially the 8th grade students, who have a high degree of participation in classroom games. As the most commonly used teaching method in the classroom, audios and videos display contents vividly and directly, which can attract students' attention. The least preference is "Scenario performance", with an average value of 3.61. Teachers hope that through "scenario performance", students can "apply what they have learned". Whether this teaching method can achieve the expected effect is closely related with the students' personality and oral level. Generally speaking, students with good oral Chinese and outgoing personality are more active, while students with poor oral Chinese and introverted personality do not want to perform in front of the group. Different teaching methods have their own strengths, and teachers should adopt different teaching methods according to the characteristics of students and the content of the text.



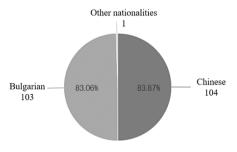


Fig. 5. Nationality of Chinese Teachers

104 respondents have Chinese teachers with Chinese nationality, and 103 respondents have Chinese teachers with Bulgarian nationality. Among them, 85 have both Chinese and Bulgarian Chinese teachers, accounting for 68.55%. 19 respondents have only Chinese teachers of Chinese nationality, 19 respondents have only Chinese teachers of Bulgarian nationality. With the development of international Chinese education in Bulgaria, more and more local Chinese teachers are engaged in Chinese teaching, and Chinese teachers of Chinese nationality are from the Confucius Institute.

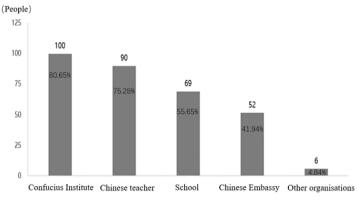
#### (5) Teaching resources

	Teaching Resources	Com- pletely necessary %	Necessary %	Uncertain %	Unneces- sary %	Com- pletely Unneces- sary %	AVG	SD
1	Textbook	51.61	24.19	12.10	9.68	2.42	4.13	1.111
2	Exercise book	40.32	20.16	20.16	11.29	8.06	3.73	1.314
3	Whiteboard	54.03	33.06	8.87	3.23	0.81	4.36	0.839
4	Computer multimedia	58.06	26.61	8.06	5.65	1.61	4.34	0.962
5	Projector	44.35	25.81	15.32	8.87	5.65	3.94	1.212
6	Television	33.87	23.39	21.77	14.52	6.45	3.64	1.264
7	Internet resources	41.13	30.65	20.97	4.84	2.42	4.03	1.020

**Table 5.** Necessity of using teaching resources

Regarding the necessity of teaching resources, "Whiteboard" has the highest mean value of 4.36 and the lowest standard deviation of 0.893. It can be seen that the most basic teaching resource "whiteboard" is the most necessary for learners. In recent years, with the development of technology and the renewal of teaching facilities, more and more teachers prepare presentations and use computer multimedia, ignoring the importance of writing on the blackboard to a certain extent. The lowest average value is "exercise book", which is 3.73, which is also consistent with the preference degree of teaching methods. The reason is that many students are willing to learn Chinese, but they are not willing to write homework and to do exercises. But doing exercises is an effective way to consolidate and test the learning effect. Even if students don't like it or think it's not important, teachers should still prepare appropriate amount of exercises for students.

# 3. Analysis of Chinese culture communication in middle schools in Bulgaria



(1) Communicators

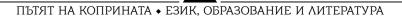
Fig. 6. Organizer of Chinese Cultural Events

It can be seen from the figure that 80.65% of respondents have participated in cultural events organized by the Confucius Institute; followed by cultural activities organized by Chinese language teachers, accounting for 75.28%; followed by schools and the Chinese embassy, the numbers are 69 and 52 respectively, accounting for 55.65% and 41.94. There are two Confucius Institutes in Bulgaria, the Confucius Institute in Sofia and the Confucius Institute at Veliko Tarnovo University. They organize a variety of cultural activities every year. The Confucius Institute in Sofia, where the author works, organized the Confucius Institute Day, China Science and Technology Culture Day, China and Bulgaria Publishing Cooperation New Book Release, 2023 Spring Festival Gala, Chinese Salon, Chinese Song Competition, and 2023 "Chinese Language Bridge" Competition for University, Middle and Primary School Students, etc. The cultural activities organized by Chinese teachers are relatively small, and they are generally aimed at Chinese major students.

#### (2) Contents of communication

	Contents	Do you know it?		Do you	like it?	Do you want to experience it?		
		AVG	SD	AVG	SD	AVG	SD	
1	Cuisine	1.903	0.297	1.944	0.232	1.944	0.232	
2	Теа	1.742	0.439	1.871	0.337	1.855	0.354	
3	Movie	1.774	0.420	1.823	0.384	1.823	0.384	
4	Literature	1.629	0.485	1.847	0.362	1.782	0.414	
5	Music and dance	1.710	0.456	1.774	0.420	1.742	0.439	
6	The Great Wall	1.823	0.384	1.919	0.273	1.863	0.345	

Table 6. Awareness, preference and expectation of Chinese cultural contents



7	Terracotta Warriors	1.621	0.487	1.798	0.403	1.718	0.452
8	Kungfu	1.653	0.478	1.823	0.384	1.685	0.466
9	Costume	1.806	0.397	1.863	0.345	1.855	0.354
10	Peking opera	1.605	0.491	1.750	0.435	1.677	0.469
11	Paper-cutting	1.782	0.414	1.863	0.345	1.831	0.377
12	Guzheng	1.492	0.502	1.785	0.430	1.734	0.444
13	Calligraphy and Painting	1.815	0.390	1.895	0.308	1.855	0.354
14	Traditional Chinese Medicine	1.548	0.500	1.742	0.439	1.718	0.452
15	Festivals	1.806	0.397	1.919	0.273	1.879	0.327
16	Chinese zodiac	1.847	0.362	1.879	0.327	1.855	0.354
17	Religion and Philosophy	1.581	0.495	1.734	0.444	1.694	0.463
18	Contemporary society	1.629	0.485	1.790	0.409	1.790	0.409

Table 6. Awareness, preference and expectation of Chinese cultural contents (continued)

Regarding the degree of understanding of different Chinese cultural content, this article is based on the three first-level items of the content classification dimension of the Framework of Reference for Chinese Culture and Society in International Chinese Language Education as social life, traditional culture and contemporary China<sup>4</sup> (Ma 2022: 28), combined with interviews with teachers and students, selected 18 representative cultural items, research in three dimensions: "Do you know it?", "Do you like it?" and "Do you want to experience it?". Then "know, like, want to" is assigned a value of 2, and "don't know, dislike, and don't want" is assigned a value of 1, and the average value and standard deviation are analyzed by SPSS to judge learners' acceptance of the listed cultural points. It can be seen from the table that "Chinese Cuisine" has the largest average value and the smallest standard deviation in terms of awareness, preference and expectation. "Guzheng" has the lowest average awareness, "Chinese Religion and Philosophy" has the lowest average preference, and "Peking Opera" has the lowest average expectation. The average value of each cultural item presents the law of "preference degree ≥ expectation degree > awareness degree".

#### (3) Methods of communication

	Methods	Strongly like (%)	Like (%)	Neither like or dislike (%)	Dislike (%)	Strongly dislike (%)	AVG	SD
1	Courses	50.81	28.23	15.32	2.42	3.23	4.21	1.006
2	Lectures	46.77	26.61	20.97	2.42	3.23	4.11	1.030

Table 7. The preference degree of Chinese cultural communication methods

<sup>4</sup> Ma, Jianan. "The development background, significance and content characteristics of The Framework of Reference for Chinese Culture and Society in International Chinese Language Education". Guoji hanyu jiaoxue yanjiu 2 (2022): 25–30.

3	Exhibitions	43.55	31.45	17.74	5.65	1.61	4.10	0.991
4	Performances	50.00	29.03	16.13	2.42	2.42	4.22	0.967
5	Experience	57.26	28.23	12.1	1.61	0.81	4.39	0.833
6	Competitions	41.13	22.58	20.97	11.29	4.03	3.86	1.194

Table 7. The preference degree of Chinese cultural communication methods (continued)

It can be seen from the table that the most popular way of Chinese culture communication is "Experience", with an average value of 4.39 and the lowest standard deviation of 0.833, such as learning *taiji*, making *zongzi* for the Dragon Boat Festival, making dumplings and other experience activities. Followed by "Performances", "Courses", "Lectures" and "Exhibitions", the average value is greater than 4.0. The lowest mean value is "Competition", which is 3.86, and the standard deviation is the largest, which is 1.194. Different students have different attitudes on this. The participants need to face pressure during competitions. For example, participating in the "Chinese Language Bridge" for Middle School Students, students who are good at Chinese hope to participate in the competition, while other students who are introverted or not very good at Chinese do not want to participate in competition.

#### (4) Effects of communication

	Views of Chinese people	Number	Percentage (%)
1	Patriotic	99	79.84
2	Enthusiastic	97	78.23
3	Polite	82	66.13
4	Cautious	77	62.10
5	Modest	70	56.45
6	To be keen on face-saving	68	54.84
7	Friendly	66	53.23
8	Diligent	58	46.77
9	Filial	56	45.16
10	Sociable	49	39.52
11	Open-minded	38	30.65
12	Thrifty	36	29.03

 Table 8. Views of Chinese people

It can be seen from the table that among the 12 views on Chinese people listed, the three highest proportions are "Patriotic", "Enthusiastic" and "Polite", accounting for 79.84%, 78.23%, and 66.13%. The three items with the lowest proportion are "Sociable", "Open-minded" and "Thrifty", accounting for 39.52%, 30.65%, and 29.03%. Chinese teachers are the Chinese people that learners have the most direct contact with, and they are

also an important way for learners to understand China. To a large extent, learners' impressions of Chinese people come from Chinese teachers.

# 4. Difficulties and expectations of Bulgarian middle school students in learning Chinese and understanding Chinese culture

#### (1) Difficulties in learning Chinese

#### Table 9. Difficulties in learning Chinese

	Difficulties in learning Chinese	Number	Percentage (%)
1	Chinese pronunciation is difficult (ü, tones, erhua)	64	51.61
2	Words that do not exist in the native language(measure words) or words that have the same meaning but are used differently	59	47.58
3	There is not much time to review and complete homework after class	55	44.35
4	Difficult to recognize, remember, and write Chinese characters	36	29.03
5	There are few opportunities to practice after class	36	19.03
6	Grammar is too complicated	35	28.23
7	Few Chinese class hours	23	18.55
8	My parents want me to learn Chinese, but I am not interested in it	10	8.06
9	Others	9	7.26

The most chosen ones were "Chinese pronunciation is difficult" and "Words that do not exist in the native language (measure words) or words that have the same meaning but are used differently", accounting for 51.61% and 47.58% respectively. It can be seen that the most difficult thing for Chinese learners is pronunciation and vocabulary. In actual teaching, Bulgarian Chinese learners often have problems with the pronunciation of "ü", "e", and "r"; in terms of vocabulary, it is mainly Chinese function words that are difficult to master.

## (2) Difficulties in learning and understanding Chinese culture

Table 10. Difficulties in learning and understanding Chinese culture

	Difficulties in learning and understanding Chinese culture	Number	Percentage (%)
1	Too few opportunities to get in touch with Chinese culture or few Chinese culture classes	66	53.23
2	There are many contents about traditional Chinese culture, but few con- tents about modern and contemporary Chinese society.	46	37.10
3	The Chinese level is not good enough to have a deep understanding of Chinese culture	37	29.84
4	Few opportunities to participate in authentic cultural experience activities	29	23.39

5	Lack of authentic cultural materials (e.g. chopsticks, paper cutting, dance)	24	19.35
6	Failure to keep abreast of when and where cultural events will be held	23	18.55
7	Not interested in Chinese culture	6	4.84
8	Others	4	3.23

**Table 10.** Difficulties in learning and understanding Chinese culture (continued)

"Too few opportunities to get in touch with Chinese culture or few Chinese culture classes", account for 53.23% of the respondents. According to the interviews with the students in the Confucius Classroom where the author works, only 8<sup>th</sup> grade students have two hours of culture classes per week, and students in 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> grades have no cultural classes. Secondly, 37.10% chose "There are many contents about traditional Chinese culture, but few contents about modern and contemporary Chinese society", In the process of sharing Chinese culture overseas, we often focus on traditional culture while ignoring the introduction of modern and contemporary society and national conditions.

## (3) Expectations from Chinese teaching

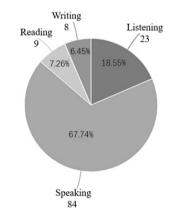


Fig. 7. The most important skill for learning Chinese

Learning a language requires mastering the four skills of "listening", "speaking", "reading" and "writing". Among the 124 learners, 67.74% think "speaking" is the most important; secondly, 18.55% think "listening" is the most important; Respectively, 7.26% and 6.54% think that "reading" and "writing" are the most important. In teaching, local Chinese teachers mostly use their mother tongue, focusing on vocabulary, grammar and text learning, and often neglect to let students speak. Therefore, in Chinese teaching, no matter in terms of curriculum setting or class hours, attention should be paid to speaking class.

	Expectations from Chinese Teachers	Number	Percentage (%)
1	Simple and precise classroom language	106	85.48
2	Enthusiastic and cheerful	97	78.23
3	Amiable attitude	96	77.42
4	High level of Chinese language	93	75.00
5	Rich classroom activities	88	70.97
6	Moderate speaking speed in class	88	70.97
7	Humorous	88	70.97
8	Focus on pronunciation correction	83	66.94
9	Have rich cultural knowledge	82	66.13
10	Good at using multimedia to assist teaching	77	62.10
11	Fully prepared for class	70	56.45
12	Variety of exercises	62	50.00
13	Have rich teaching experience	24	19.35
14	Dress appropriately	13	10.48

Table 11. Expectations from Chinese Teachers

85.48% of the learners chose "Simple and precise classroom language". In the eyes of students, classroom language is so important, but it is often ignored by teachers. In addition to the characteristics related to teaching skills, 78.23% and 77.42% respectively chose "Enthusiastic and cheerful" and "Amiable attitude". Most learners think that the attitude of Chinese teachers is even more important than "High level of Chinese language" and "Rich classroom activities". The most choices related to teaching are "High level of Chinese language", "Rich classroom activities", "Moderate speaking speed in class", "Focus on pronunciation correction", "Rich cultural knowledge", "Good at using multimedia to assist teaching" are higher than 60%. Only 19.35% and 10.48% chose "Have rich teaching experience" and "Dress appropriately", accounting for very low proportions.

	Expectations from learning Chinese	Number	Percentage (%)
1	Rich activities and exercises (group exercises, role plays)	69	55.56
2	Wider and more interesting topics to learn	62	50.00
3	Teachers have solid Chinese and cultural knowledge	57	45.97
4	More practical activities using Chinese after class	56	45.16
5	Teachers are able to continuously focus on correcting pronunciation	55	44.35
6	Textbook content is more interesting and grammar explanations are	51	41.13
	more accurate and detailed		
7	Appropriate expansion and usage exercises for vocabulary	50	47.58
8	Be able to systematically learn the content of Chinese characters and	48	38.71
	write Chinese characters (strokes, radicals, writing order, etc.)		
9	Teachers can use multimedia reasonably	35	28.23
10	More homework and exercises materials after class	27	21.77

Table 12. Expectations from learning Chinese

The highest proportions are "Rich activities and exercises" and "Wider and more interesting topics to learn", accounting for 55.56% and 50% respectively. This is in line with the age of middle school students, who like diverse and rich content, and pursue freshness and fun. Therefore, when Chinese teachers choose teaching content and carry out teaching design, they should combine the characteristics of middle school students to innovate. 45.16% chose "More practical activities using Chinese after class". For learners, how to use what they have learned in class for after-class practice, arrange relevant practical activities, and achieve "applying what they have learned" is very important.

#### (4) Expectations from Chinese culture communication

Aspects of China that learners want to know about	Number	Percentage (%)
Chinese culture	94	75.81
Chinese tourism	77	62.10
Chinese entertainment	76	61.29
Chinese society	72	58.06
History of China	67	54.03
Education of China	53	42.74
Geography of China	49	39.52
Economy of China	46	37.10
Chinese film and television	41	33.06
Politics	35	28.23
Sports	33	26.61

**Table 13.** Aspects of China that learners want to know about

The number of people who choose "Chinese culture" is the largest, with 94 people, accounting for 75.81%. Through the interviews with the students, most of the students started learning Chinese because they like or want to know Chinese culture. Followed by "Chinese tourism" and "Chinese entertainment", accounting for 62.10% and 61.29% respectively, which are of interest to middle school students. Then there are "Chinese Society" and "History of China", both accounting for more than 50%. "Politics" and "Sports" are the least selected, accounting for less than 30%.

Table 14. Expectations for Chinese culture communication

Expectations for Chinese culture communication		Percentage (%)
Organize more cultural experience activities (making dumplings, writing calligraphy, playing traditional Chinese musical instruments, etc.)	96	77.42
Schools or Confucius Institutes carry out more cultural themed activities	66	53.23
Organize more performances related to Chinese culture (Spring Festival Gala)	65	52.42
Organize more lectures on Chinese culture (Chinese medicine culture, 40 years of reform and opening up, etc.)	64	51.61

The teacher introduces more about Chinese modern and contemporary social culture in class	58	46.77
Organize more exhibitions about Chinese culture (Chinese calligraphy, Chinese exhibitions, etc.)	56	45.16
The library of the school or the Confucius Institute provides more teaching materials and books about Chinese culture	43	34.68
Organize more Chinese culture competitions (Chinese Language Bridge, Chinese Poetry Recitation Competition, etc.)	42	33.87
Provide more websites for learning Chinese culture after class	42	33.87
The teacher introduces more about the culture of traditional Chinese history in the class	40	32.26

**Table 14.** Expectations for Chinese culture communication (continued)

Regarding their expectations for understanding Chinese culture, 96 people chose "Organize more cultural experience activities", accounting for 77.42%, much higher than other items. This is also consistent with the results of "The preference degree of Chinese cultural communication methods". Participating in and experiencing Chinese culture in person, such as making dumplings, paper-cutting, painting Chinese paintings etc., is also most in line with the characteristics of middle school students. Followed by "Schools or Confucius Institutes carry out more cultural themed activities" and "Organize more performances related to Chinese culture", such as Confucius Institute Day, Embassy Open Day, and Spring Festival Gala. Among them, the proportion of "teachers introduce more about Chinese traditional and historical culture" (32.26%). It is consistent with the fact that "There are many contents about traditional Chinese culture, but few contents about modern and contemporary Chinese society" in the survey, which accounts for a relatively high proportion of difficulties in understanding Chinese culture.

## Conclusion

Through this research, combined with interviews and actual teaching experience, the main thoughts and suggestions on Chinese teaching in Bulgarian middle schools are as follows: First, optimize the curriculum setting, with comprehensive courses as the main type of courses, emphasis on speaking Chinese courses and culture courses, and balance the Chinese teaching hours of different grades. The second is to focus on the practice of "speaking Chinese" and the practical use of Chinese after class, and continue to correct pronunciation. The third is that while improving teaching skills, Chinese teachers should also pay attention to the emotions and attitudes towards students, and flexibly use different teaching methods to increase the fun of the classroom.

Thoughts and suggestions on the communication of Chinese culture: First, to encourage the organizers of various Chinese cultural activities to hold more colorful cultural experience activities to increase the opportunities for learners to experience Chinese culture in person. Second, in the process of cultural communication, attention should be paid to the introduction of modern and contemporary Chinese society. By making traditional culture and modern culture parallel in cultural exchanges, learners can understand China and Chinese culture more comprehensively.

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# China's "Soft Power": Cultural Entrepreneurship of Chinese Volunteers in Bulgaria and Initiatives of Bulgarian Local Communities Aimed at China

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Abstract

Over the past decade, there has been mutual interest and cultural cooperation between China and Bulgaria. On the one hand, China is developing an active policy to promote its language and culture in our country, and on the other hand, in some of our local communities, initiatives have been created aimed at Chinese tourists. This bilateral cultural exchange and interaction are manifestations of Chinese "soft power", which are aimed at the Bulgarian local communities and stimulate local people to cooperate with China. The analysis is based on the results of the project "Local Festivals: Resource of Local Communities for Dealing with Crises", funded by the National Research Fund of the Ministry of Education and Science (KP-06-H45 / 5 of 30.11.2020).

Keywords: cultural entrepreneurship, enterprising social actors, local festivals

# Introduction: Why China?

Over the past decade, there has been increased mutual interest and cultural cooperation between China and Bulgaria at the level of local communities. On the one hand, China is developing an active policy to promote its language and culture in our country, and on the other hand, in some of our local communities, initiatives have been created aimed at Chinese tourists as their target group. This bilateral cultural exchange and interaction is not only an example of cultural entrepreneurship on both the Chinese and Bulgarian sides. These are manifestations of Chinese "soft power", which on the one hand are aimed at Bulgarian local communities and, on the other hand, stimulate the initiatives of enterprising local people to cooperate with China. This bilateralism of Chinese "soft power" expresses its specificity: it stimulates activity, enterprise and cultural interaction.

# Initiative social actors and their activities

The proactive social actors, studied in the text, can generally be differentiated as individual, institutional and collective, although this distinction is conditional, as they in-



teract with each other, their activities are mutually determined. The individual are Chinese volunteers in Bulgaria, Chinese people living in Bulgaria, Chinese businessmen; the institutional ones include heads and representatives of the Confucius Institutes in Sofia and Veliko Tarnovo, as well as Bulgarian municipalities; and collective enterprising social actors are local communities that cooperate with the Chinese side.

The article presents some of the results of empirical sociological research carried out using qualitative methods within the project "Local Festivals: Resource of Local Communities for Dealing with Crises", funded by the National Research Fund of the Ministry of Education and Science (KP-06-H45 / 5 of 30.11.2020). We are talking about six in-depth interviews conducted in the period June - October 2021 with Chinese volunteers at the Confucius Institutes in Bulgaria, with representatives and leaders of these institutes in Bulgaria, as well as with Chinese people living in Bulgaria. A number of documents have also been studied, such as reports of the Confucius Institutes in Bulgaria on their cultural and organizational activities, cultural programs of municipalities, programs of local festivals, etc. Observations and interviews with organizers of local festivals, such as the Festival of Rose in Kazanlak, the International Festival of Humor and Satire in Gabrovo and others, have been analyzed. The qualitative methods used in quoted survey do not provide representative information and it is by no means interpreted as such, but they allow the activities of the social actors to be covered in its versatility and in its diverse dimensions, to reach the motivation and results of their initiatives, as well as to outline its impact on the lives of local communities in our country.

Institutional entities have the greatest resources – organizational, material, human, etc., which allows them to be the most prominent enterprising social actors and the results of their initiatives to be the most visible and influential. Leading in this respect are the two Confucius Institutes in Bulgaria. Their activity is predominantly educational and cultural in nature. Their purpose, according to the claim of their representatives, is

*"to help better in Bulgaria to get to know the Chinese culture and to develop the relations between Bulgaria and China in the cultural and educational sphere."* 

The Confucius Institute in Veliko Tarnovo actively cooperates with the municipalities on whose territories it operates. They support the implementation of the cultural activities carried out and without their assistance the realization of some of them would be impossible. The joint activity of these institutions enriches the cultural life of the local communities.

*"The Confucius Institute in Veliko Tarnovo is currently cooperating with 15 municipalities, trying to realize at least one event in a city per year... These are the places where we organize local festivals or participate in local festivals."* 

In addition to Sofia, Veliko Tarnovo, Gabrovo, Kazanlak, events are also organized in Varna, Burgas, Ruse, Targovishte, Popovo, Svishtov and elsewhere.

The Confucius Institute in Veliko Tarnovo generally operates on the territory of Northern Bulgaria.

"But we also have centers in Southern Bulgaria. We have established Chinese language teaching centers not only in Veliko Tarnovo, Targovishte, Ruse, Razgrad, Shumen, Popovo, Chelopech, but also in Varna, Burgas, Sliven, Slivnitsa, even in Sofia we have several centers, in Gabrovo, in Dryanovo two years ago Chinese language was studied. We cooperate with educational and cultural institutions in all these cities."

The most famous Chinese festival that is presented in our country is the Chinese New Year or the Spring Festival

"Because it's the biggest Chinese festival. And we also try to promote different parts of Chinese culture in the form of concerts during the celebration of Chinese New Year... Also, during these concerts, we give some information ... about what the festival is, how it is celebrated in different parts of China, what are the main dishes, and so on."

During these celebrations, traditional Chinese arts, crafts, practices, sports, martial arts, etc. are presented.

"In general, the workshops for traditional Chinese crafts are of great interest, this is what we have named them. Well, in different cities we present... At least once a year in every city. Also in several cities we organize weeks of Chinese cinema, such as Veliko Tarnovo, Targovishte, this year and Burgas..."

The Confucius Institute in Veliko Tranovo has also organized a Festival of Chinese Culture, to which participants from China were also invited, such as professional performers of dances, traditional musical instruments, the traditional Chinese martial art of Wushu.

*"We also organized something unique at the time – an exhibition of 12 Chinese artists who presented a total of 60 paintings."* 

During these festivals, the local residents are not only spectators: some of them also get involved as performers.

"About 250 people took part, including students from primary schools in Veliko Tarnovo, who study Chinese. Also involved was a choir from Targovishte, which has in its repertoire several Chinese songs. This very touched the Chinese guests to hear in the performances of the Bulgarian choirs some of the greatest Chinese songs. Students from the Confucius classrooms, as there are in Ruse and Targovishte, also participated..."

The Confucius Institute in Veliko Tarnovo takes part in a number of local festivals, and together with other foreign representatives, it contributes to their internationalization and their establishment as international forums. Among them, the most famous can be mentioned the Festival of Roses in Kazanlak, the International Festival of Humour and Satire in Gabrovo, the International Folklore Festival in Veliko Tarnovo, and the Festival of the Muses in Sozopol.

"The greatest interest... causes the Festival of Roses in Kazanlak, which diplomats from the Embassy join... They want China to be represented at this festival. One year, in addition to the procession, we also participated with a presentation of Chinese martial arts and dance. At the Festival of Humour and Satire in Gabrovo we have twice joined the Dragon dance... and with the Lion



dance. In Sozopol we participate in the Festival of the Muses, a youth festival where for a week every day we present elements of traditional Chinese culture, which include calligraphy, cutting ornaments from paper, folding paper... We give visitors the opportunity to dress in traditional Chinese costumes and clothing, to take pictures dressed in this way. We also participate there with the Lion dance and dance of the Dragon."

Thanks to the cooperation of the Confucius Institute in Veliko Tarnovo with the Municipality of Kazanlak and the Chinese Cultural Center in Sofia, in the last few years before the COVID-19 pandemic, Chinese participation in the procession itself during the Festival of Roses was also observed.

"There were also ladies in Chinese costumes... Chinese ladies."

With the support of the Confucius Institute in Veliko Tarnovo

"Every year in the second half of April in Gabrovo, within the framework of the International Festival of Humour and Satire, a small exhibition is organized with the participation of Chinese and Bulgarian artist, for painting, fine arts..."

The Confucius Institutes in Bulgaria could not organize and carry out their activities without the Chinese volunteers as significant enterprising social actors, who are among the most active promoters of Chinese culture in our country. They promote it, but at the same time they participate in local festivals and get acquainted with elements of our culture and they are a bridge for getting to know Bulgarian culture on the Chinese side.

"... As ambassadors, we feel between the two cultures."

Chinese volunteers participate in local festivals, and their participation is due to the cooperation of the Confucius Institutes described above with municipalities organizing the holidays. The process of getting to know the cultures is mutual. During the festivals, intercultural interaction takes place between Bulgarians and Chinese people involved in various activities. According to a Chinese volunteer interviewee:

*"The performers are both Bulgarians and Chinese, with Bulgarians performing Chinese dances and songs, and Chinese – Bulgarian. For example, the Chinese sing the famous song 'One Bulgarian Rose'".* 

Among the initiative social actors belong the Chinese who have settled to live in Bulgaria, most of them are engaged in business. Some of them, as well as from the Chinese volunteers at the Confucius Institutes, arrived in Bulgaria as students and then stayed in our country. An interviewed Chinese entrepreneur, who has spent most of his life in Bulgaria, shares about the interaction of his company with the local government:

"We in general, mostly sponsor various events.... In the actual organization of the holidays it is very difficult for us to participate, but we try to contribute what we can. There is a City Festival and when we are asked, we sponsor the activities they organize, as well as any cultural activities in the city for which our assistance is needed, we always get involved. We have helped the community center, the school..."

The company sponsors programs of the municipality, the local school, educational and cultural initiatives at the local level. According to the interviewee

"We're looking to be more involved in this area. "

The company is the main organizer of some of the local holidays in the area.

"Trifon Zarezan we do every year, as it is one of our biggest holidays related to the company's activities. We do it on February 1<sup>st</sup>. And the other big celebration that we organize is at the end of the grape harvest, in the autumn, it is also very important for our activity. "

The cooperation and interaction between the companies of the Chinese entrepreneurs established in Bulgaria, the municipality and the local cultural institutions are proving to be a leading factor for the conduct of local holidays and for the cultural life in the city, which is located in northwestern Bulgaria, with a declining population and poor economic development.

Another Chinese man living in Bulgaria and developing business here shares about the way his hobby – Bulgarian costumes and embroideries have aroused the interest of Chinese tourists to Bulgaria, as well as were the reason for their inclusion in the procession during the Rose Festival in Kazanlak:

"For example, a group of Chinese tourists who were preparing to visit the Rose Festival, 12 girls, even before they came to Bulgaria, wanted to find them 12 costumes to visit the holiday, dressed in them. So we rented costumes for all these girls. And it was a big attraction during the Rose Festival."

## Effects, impacts and benefits of cultural entrepreneurship

Among the most visible and most frequently pointed out by respondents effects and impacts of cultural interaction, initiatives and cooperation is the development of the local economy, especially tourism and related industries. Examples include the improvement of local infrastructure, the development of hotels, restaurants and local companies serving tourists. Interviewed Chinese volunteer summarizes as follows the benefits of promoting Bulgarian local holidays in China, which attract Chinese tourists to Bulgaria:

"I will give an example with two specific cities, for example Karlovo and Kazanlak, where every year the Rose Festival is held, where many Chinese tourists come and which helps to strengthen the economy. Because for these tourists should be provided hotels, restaurants and other things, which strengthens the economy. The other example I will give is with the Smolyan village of Momchilovtsi, with their Yoghurt Festival. They cooperate with a Chinese yogurt company Guang Min, organize events every year and have many years of cooperation. This created conditions for the development of rural tourism in Momchilovtsi..."

Visiting the Rose Festival, for example, helps to develop business contacts between Bulgarian and Chinese businessmen. As a Chinese entrepreneur who settled in Bulgaria says:

"Those who come to Bulgaria, they generally have a developed business with cosmetics. Both with the rose and with other similar products... They photographed the area, sent materials and photos for advertising, signed contracts with manufacturers, sent materials and information to China.



They show their customers that they really have contacts with Bulgaria, with the Valley of Roses. They send photos and videos with which they tell their customers in tik-tok or elsewhere live: 'Here, we are currently in Bulgaria, we are on the Rose Festival, from here we broadcast live.' Through various Chinese platforms, which there are many, they show their customers that the company is real, they really trade with Bulgaria and buy rose oil from Bulgaria from the Valley of Roses, that everything is real. And this Rose Festival for them is a source, a resource and a great advertisement for them."

Cultural entrepreneurship in some cases creates a certain image of a place, connects a product with it and thereby promotes its production in China. As a typical example can be pointed out the Festival of yogurt in Momchilovtsi.

"What can I say, yogurt has nothing to do with it. Real, it is... They liked this village very much because it was very clean, very nice ... And it was created artificially, just pure PR, this village was created as an advertisement, as a brand in China. And artificially created this holiday in this village, just poured a lot of money into this event. They created a contest for Miss Yogurt, a yogurt festival, but all this is a trademark, it has nothing to do with the village. But it does not matter, after all, it promotes the Bulgarian people among the Chinese... They're welcome! ... They signed the contract with... Bulgarian company that organizes tourists there. Because their tourists are rather their distributors in China. Who has managed to sell 5 million yoghurts and has won the top 10 position and gets a free trip to Bulgaria to participate in this event. Otherwise, the tourists from China who come for this event are no more than 10–20 people. Rather, it is a company holiday."

Regardless of the specific reasons that led to the creation of the festival, it contributes to the development of the village, stimulates local people and their initiatives. Chinese tourists may be few in number, but the very existence of the holiday attracted Bulgarian tourists at the same time in Monchilovtsi and promoted it as a tourist destination.

Cultural entrepreneurship, cooperation and interaction between the enterprising social actors promoting Chinese culture, Bulgarian municipalities, and local communities help to get to know China and its culture in our country.

"Ten years ago, when I arrived... in Veliko Tarnovo, the locals looked at me as... panda... because there were not so many Chinese. And since we, the Chinese volunteers, travel a lot around Bulgaria, organize many events, the local people already know that from China they come to Bulgaria not only many goods, but also volunteers... They know some of the Chinese traditions, some things from the culture, they know that they can apply for training and education in China. I have a feeling... that before for Bulgarians China was a third world country and they thought that we were very poor... But now they see the difference between what was 30 years ago in China and what it is now... They see that big difference."

Cultural interaction and acquaintance is a two-way process: not only Bulgarians get to know Chinese culture, but also the Chinese themselves are informed about Bulgaria, and tourism in our country is a source of prestige for certain social groups of Chinese.

*"It is a great achievement that the Chinese already know that Bulgaria is located in Europe, next to Romania, in the Balkans and is known as the country of rose oil, as the country of rose, with* 

beautiful nature, etc. And I feel the change. When I go back to China and ask someone, most people already know a little about Bulgaria. Before the pandemic, the Rose Festival was also a hit among the Chinese. To come to Bulgaria for the Rose Festival is almost prestige. Especially much attracts women tourists or businessmen, especially many related to cosmetics, to the cosmetics industry."

"Of course, every Chinese person is very interested in getting involved in the rose-picking. That's what they came for..."

#### Conclusion

Cultural activities and cooperation contribute to the establishment of lasting links between municipalities, Chinese institutions and Chinese businessmen, which leads to the organization of joint initiatives and projects. Relations between them, until the COVID-19 pandemic, are developing as lasting and regular. Chinese and Bulgarian cities, municipalities, business representatives get to know each other, contacts with local farmers, rose oil producers and develop cooperation between the Bulgarian and Chinese sides. Which, in turn, is an important prerequisite for the development of local communities and to improve the quality of their lives. The described activities are not only manifestations of Chinese "soft power", but something more – through the popularization of Bulgarian culture, it assisted in the creation of the Bulgarian "soft power" in China.

# Urbanization, Communication, Poetry: Zhai Yongming's New Answers to Old Questions

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Abstract

Zhai Yongming's poetry is often examined in terms of the interaction between the new and the old, and the feminist aspects of her views are also a focus of interest. As a poet, a woman and a scholar-artist, Zhai seeks her place in the context of this rapidly changing world. As a means of expression, she creates a 'non-poetic' language based on the modern vocabulary of spoken Chinese, leading us towards a less canonical, contemporary counterpart to the theory of classical poetry.

Keywords: Chinese poetry, feminism, pop culture

In Chinese literary history, it is always important for a new generation to find connections to the ancient cultural heritage in the context of textual tradition. Chinese literature is therefore a series of constant reinterpretations of significant works by respected authors, whose thoughts reflecting on the past can gain new meaning for future considerations. The textual heritage of the Confucian scholar-literati also provides a reliable source of inspiration for contemporary followers seeking answers to emerging social, environmental or communication needs.

The poetry of Zhai Yongming (翟永明 1955–) opens a new chapter in understanding the influence of the modern environment on art. By analysing some of the author's recent works, this essay also aims to shed light on her relationship with Chinese cultural heritage and its current interpretation and evaluation.

## Feminist perspectives: past, present, future

For contemporary Chinese literature, it is also a basic need to define the circle of significant texts and, moreover, to provide writers with a selection of related texts so that they can more easily find alternative examples of artistic expression.<sup>1</sup> The language of classical Chinese literature and poetry is studied on the basis of classical philology, which is strongly influenced by Confucian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the 40s long before the period of the Cultural Revolution a new cultural policy has been formulated with intention to create the foundation of modern culture and literature. In 1942 its details were clearly expressed in the Yan'an talks of Mao Zedong. See: McDougall, Bonnie S. 1980. Mao Zedong' s "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary, University of Michigan.



ethics. In a patriarchal society such as China's, these moral and aesthetic expectations are outlined by masculine attitudes, and female viewpoints are mainly overshadowed by these approaches. The long-lasting effect of the Confucian normative evaluation of authors and works is still a vivid feature of modern literary criticism in China, and in today's literary discourse it is worth showing the consequences it leads us to. In analysing these tendencies, we must consider the challenges that Chinese society has faced in the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In classical Chinese literature, the authors of canonised texts are almost always scholar-literati, and only a few names of female poets have been documented and remained famous. For the newer generations of scholars, the circle of inspiring and reliable literary works was clearly defined by the interests of empowered bureaucrats: the principles of distinction regarding authors and works depended on official ideology, patriarchal values and gender discrimination. If a literary text did not meet expectations, or if its author was excluded from the influential scholarly community, it could hardly reach the public.

According to the hierarchical order of traditional Chinese society, women had to limit their role to marriage. If a woman refused her duty, she could live as a courtesan, and this lifestyle could help her to accept and recognise her talent in the field of art and literature.<sup>2</sup> Educated ladies who were skilled in the arts were therefore noticed by gentlemen, but they could not break out of their subordinate role. Their official esteem and social status fell far short of what was customary in men's circles. Everything they did or achieved was criticised according to the value system sanctioned by men. The revision of the social role of women became inevitable at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when the Western suffragette movements began to make their impact in China.<sup>3</sup>

Zhai Yongming, born in Sichuan Province in 1955, has personal experience of several campaigns propagated by the CCP, and it was under the influence of these cultural policies that she took her first steps towards modern poetry.<sup>4</sup> She was only 26 when she published her first volume in 1981. She represented the voice of the pioneering young artists, and although it was secondary to her, she created a specific female point of view within modern Chinese poetry.<sup>5</sup> During these years of transformation, Chinese youth were deeply impressed by the advanced ideas of modernisation, and not only confronted the traditional values of the classical heritage rooted in the ancient past, but declared war on them. Chinese youth were at the forefront of the revolution, and the new concepts of creativity, reform and modern life were within their grasp. The destruction of the past in all its aspects was not only a possible way out of poverty and stagnation, but also a powerful response to the stalled attempts at reform. New sources of regeneration for Chinese society happened to be found in the way of life of peasant communities, which preserved the tra-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Liu- Karl- Ko 2013: 53-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Liu- Karl- Ko 2013: 58-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Yeh 1992: 397.

ditional value system without elitist influences. It was a kind of reboot of society based on strict traditional family values defined by old morality. The concept of two principles of the world as creative forces working together was naturally of equal importance to them. Women's roles in a patriarchal system therefore originally had to be of significant social rank, and their contribution to the success of the community was unquestioned. Confucian ideology, in its opposition to popular beliefs, changed this view.

The need to create modern Chinese literature coincided with the need to modernise Chinese society, to critically analyse the values of traditional culture, to create a modern literary language and to address the issue of women's empowerment. The active contribution of women artists to the literary renaissance of the 20th century released suppressed creative forces. In this way, weaknesses that hindered the renewal of Chinese society could be exposed. However, the liberating effect of feminism on women in cultural life was slow and limited in the post-Cultural Revolution period. From the late 1980s, post-Menglong poetry (hou menglong shi后朦胧诗) gave the first generation of women poets the opportunity to express their feelings.<sup>6</sup>

Zhai transcended the everyday consciousness of the poet and, by alienating her own personality, found new focal points to depict her personal circumstances, family, society and feelings. In literary discourse, it is referred to as poetry: Zhai seeks both inner harmony for herself and relative balance for her cultural environment. This is the main reason why her feminist approach is not an exclusive criticism of patriarchal attitudes, but a broader revision of our familiar social behaviour.

#### Feminist strategies in Zhai Yongming's poetry

Zhai's works are usually interpreted in the context of feminism, including Chinese feminism.<sup>7</sup> Zhai Yongming's volumes from the 1990s and early 2000s voiced the consolidated, non-combative but determined voices of feminism. In her poems, she expressed her view of her immediate environment, culture and the way the world works in terms of women's issues. However, in the more than 20 years since then, social changes that once seemed irreversible have not only seemed to have stalled, but are working directly towards reaffirming the patriarchal value system. She emphasised this in an interview in 2020:

Feudal attitudes and practices once done away with have come back. In my view (though not everyone agrees with me), the status of women in China has slowly, almost imperfectibly, gone into retreat. If I compare the literary world now with 40 years ago, I see post-Cultural Revolution writers forming major interest groups. These are dominated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In Chinese terminology, the meaning of feminism is distinguished between *nüxing zhuyi* 女性主义 and *nüquan zhuyi* 女权主义. While the former emphasizes the way of seeing, cultural and social determination of the female gender, the latter represents the movement that prioritizes women's rights and a militant stance. Both were adopted and used by the Japanese as neologism in the late Qing period. See: The Birth of Chinese Feminism (Lydia Liu – Rebecca Karl – Dorothy Ko eds.) 2013: 62–63.



<sup>6</sup> Tao 1995-96: 146.

by men and include only a handful of female authors who are prepared to be subservient to them. These interest groups dominate the discourse in universities and academic circles, and also in non-official and other communities at the margins. This has become increasingly clear in recent years. Female writers are basically fighting their own battles and writing their own work, so they are less active [than men]. I personally think that the position of women writers has regressed. We're seeing a gradual reappearance of sex discrimination.<sup>8</sup>

Her poems provide a specific background to her belief that Chinese culture offers the opportunity to express herself along strongly patriarchal values, and this characteristic therefore means discrimination for female authors. With her artistic creed, she tries to voice her dissatisfaction in this direction, and also to gain the attention of her contemporaries by approaching the world and poetry in a different way than usual. An important element of the Western interpretation of feminism is the emancipation of women, in which a great emphasis is placed on women's social role, the fight for equality of genders. It means an active stance alien to women's nature for asserting themselves, for achieving the set goals, while taking on those methods that the patriarchal society has realized for men. However, in Zhai's feminist commitment - although she is not without a sense of purpose – female emancipation is not the strongest element. It is not the women's rights activist who speaks in the poems, but the woman's worldview tries to show itself in the shadow of the male-rights values that seem to be suffocating. It does not intend to defeat or overthrow the existing order but strives for a constructive dialogue and balance. Thus, the hitherto ignored tendencies, the creativity of women can become the driving force of modern society's ability to renew itself.9 Modern Chinese society, however, seems to find reference points in the past that provide comfort and security in crisis situations, thereby rebuilding the moral system of earlier Confucian values. In other words, the world remained strongly hierarchical. Men have a much greater chance of gaining social recognition and status: so, the truth they consider good and right prevails over the principles voiced by women.<sup>10</sup> Zhai Yongming formulates her observations against the power relations of the present in her new volumes, which are impressions of the micro- and macro-environment that has changed in the meantime. This attitude also requires adaptation from the author in terms of language.<sup>11</sup> A typical tendency in the poet's earlier poems is that in the relationship between the past and the present, poetic images evoking the classical era are contrasted with the technical achievements symbolizing the present, but even more the future. Industrial images ultimately become suitable for the perception of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Interview with Zhai Yongming 翟永明: The Leeds Centre for New Chinese Writing. The interview was conducted in Chinese, and it was translated into English by Nicky Harman and Natascha Bruce. <sup>9</sup> Da 2015: 668–669.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Interview with Zhai Yongming 翟永明: The Leeds Centre for New Chinese Writing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Da 2015: 670.

the dehumanized environment.<sup>12</sup> For the modern mankind, the myth of technical civilization and development appears not only as a synonym for a carefree life, but also as a harbinger of a world in which there is no place for emotions, nostalgic moods reflecting on the past, nor for such forms of behaviour when our rational side can rest. Our modern world expects practiced automatisms from all of us, in which we can no longer be ourselves, we must show commitments before we can even be convinced of the reliability of the values represented. Zhai speaks out in her works because of the narrowing of alternatives and to avoid the harmful consequences of uniformization. Ultimately, her feminism is also of symbolic importance, a commitment to an alternative way of looking at something that is nourished by her innermost essence, thus eternal, self-identifying and reliable. For her, this provides a solid basis for expressing her opinion what it means to be a woman in a patriarchal culture, what it means to be an old-fashioned intellectual in the modern Chinese society, and what it means to be an artist and poet in a disillusioned world. This aspect of her art is important for the development of contemporary opinions about her since her activities have been recognized with numerous prizes and awards. In this respect, however, the question may be raised as to how much society considers her to be equal to male creators.

For Zhai Yongming, her commitment to Chinese culture and Chinese literature is an elementary experience. This also motivates her to present the characteristics of Chinese culture from new aspects to the audience, who can thus discover significant works of Chinese literature for themselves, including those that throughout history, Confucian criticism has been undervalued.

Zhai Yongming is looking for the proper way to restore the magic of writing and reading, to keep tradition alive, to save Chinese characters from degenerating into attractive decorative motifs that no one can recognise anymore. In her poems, she tries to confront the reader with the consequences of mechanization and digitalization, phrases which she draws from the everyday vocabulary of the modern language make us understand more clearly that this poetry is no longer built on rare expressions selected exclusively. Subtly, but decisively, she directs attention to the prosaic monotony of everyday life, without openly rebelling against it. Zhai gives the reader authority to decide for themselves in which world can feel more comfortable. For avoiding conflicts between individual and society her gentle phrases are therefore to deliver her message directly to recipients. Despite the distinguished ways of expression Zhai's poems and essays are not restrained, and at times they are even very outspoken, from which an undisguised reality can be revealed.

In her poems, past and present are in constant interaction with each other, tradition of classical lyric accompanies the development of her art. While trying to counter the wild drives of modern culture, she reinterprets classical examples and places them in the context of what she believes to be authentic Chinese culture.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Zhang 2018: 807.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See: Csibra 2015: 326.

## Classical Chinese culture vs pop culture

Her poem《在古代》 (*Zai gudai*, "In Ancient Times"), which is from the mid-90s, confronts fragments saved from the ancient past with images of modern everyday life. The distance from the constraints of the conventional lifestyle becomes evident. However, the juxtaposition also makes it possible for the present not to appear as an empty counter-image of the past. These elements appear as real emotions that hold human relationships together, as modern channels of communication, virtual tools of the digitized world:

现在 我往你的邮箱	Now I fill your mailbox
灌满了群星 它们都是五笔字形	lots of stars and all in the shape of Wubi. <sup>14</sup>

Leaving traditional scenes behind, she paves the way for the new, and although the old things still linger in the nostalgic images, she focuses on the moments of present with technical expressions of a non-poetic language. This process, which also affects the language of contemporary poetry, reaches its peak in Zhai Yongming's volume of essays and poems, which was published in 2009 under the title 《最委婉的詞》 (*Zui weiwande ci,* "The Most Tactful Words/Songs").<sup>15</sup> The critics of her volume mostly point out its more balanced writing compared to her previous books, and it is full of strong emotionality, sensitivity, and pain. "Refinement" can be seen precisely in this calming process. However, it does not mean a resigned retreat, rather merely highlights another aspect of feminine traits, and brings out its expressive vocabulary. So, she made possible to form a firm opinion without speaking offensively or aggressively. She delivers a concise, uncompromising verdict on the masculine culture of the globalized Chinese society, which, at the same time, is not without crosstalk in relation to contemporary popular culture:

#### 因特网的年代 / 绅士和野兽都穿上了阿玛尼品牌

The age of the Internet, the gentleman and the beast all are wearing Armani brand.<sup>16</sup>

In the title of the poem 《美士与野兽》 (Shenshi yu yeshou, "Gentlemen and Beasts") there is a reference to the debut album of an American rock band, named "½ Gentlemen/ Not Beasts". One of their songs, "I love Oriental Girls", is a typical case of the objectification of women, which goes back to the era of Orientalism. Zhai connects earlier eras of Chinese history and the supranationalism of globalization in a single line as she presents the entanglements that can be seen in modern pop culture. She feels addressed as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 绅士与野兽, lines 46–47. Translated by the author.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The five-stroke character model input method. Translated by the author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> In the study cited above, Da also draws attention to the multi-level meanings of the title. On the one hand, the term 委婉 *weiwan* can mean both subtlety and euphemism, its characteristics are feminine delicacy and softness, soft-spokenness in contrast to violent, masculine opinion-making. On the other hand, 詞 *ci* can be translated not only as "word", but also means one of the most emotional genres of classical Song poetry, in which many female poets expressed their thoughts and feelings.

woman and a Chinese woman at the same time, while in the global reality these boundaries are blurred. The haunting past and the not-yet-realized present make her think, and she tries to highlight the main points of connection from the cultural diversity, which brings today's Chinese culture closer to the Western world, and through which the Chinese can also feel some elements of the Western lifestyle as their own. The international popularity of fashion brands in the name of globalization blurs the differences between cultures even more. In her relation to the Western world, she is particularly interested in the interaction of the American environment and the English language with the Chinese culture and language. This is of particular interest to Chinese American researchers working in the field of Sinology. Zhang Zhen and Liu He (English name Lydia H. Liu) are both recognized experts and critics of contemporary Chinese culture and, incidentally, are both women and university professors at universities in New York.<sup>17</sup> Their academic presence in the intellectual centres of the West recolours Zhai's thoughts about feminism, the oppression of women, and her relationship with the West. In the international and even supranational reality of a metropolis, everything becomes relative in the common language of the globalized world. Issues such as feminism, by which Chinese society has been affected, lose their strength. In this uncertainty, she comes to the formulation of the following thoughts:

经济腾飞 道琼指数	Soaring markets Dow Jones indexes
苏富比拍卖纪录	Sotheby's auction records
以及这些 骇人的指标下	Under these wicked indicators and the like
发扬光大的大男人主义	Male chauvinism widely and proudly promoted
都是 MADE IN CHINA	Are all MADE IN CHINA <sup>18</sup>

At the end of the overlapping sentences which summarize everyday experiences, a conclusion as if recognition follows. It is in English in the language of "alienation and transnationality". This method of distancing helps the author to keep her objective approach on the one hand, and she remains isolated from the outspoken words on the other. In fact, by accepting and applying the vocabulary of economic discourse she admits that poetry and its language must deal with this influence, while at the same time proves that globalized financial mechanisms permeate everyday life much more than she would like to.

Since 2017, the Shanghai Pearl Art Museum (明珠美国馆, Mingzhu Meishuguan) has been organizing exhibitions under the title "Poets and Artists", where artists from many parts of the world are presented. They all crossed boundaries of creative art in some way. At the 8th exhibition of the series, the public could meet Zhai Yongming's 40-year oeuvre, which included personal items, invitations, awards, recognitions, photos, and manu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Da 2015: 673–674

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> II, lines 93 98. Translated by Z. Da (Da 2015: 675).

scripts. The exhibition, which was open to the public for three months between October 2020 and January 2021, turned into a real contemporary experience by audience meetings, reading evenings, film screenings and concerts, which, as a combination of theatre, library, and art exhibition, captured the interest of the participants. The title of the event was "时间剧场: 翟永明文学与设计展" (Shijian juchang: Zhai Yongming wenxue yu sheying zhan, "Theater of Time: Literary and Photographic Works of Zhai Yongming").<sup>19</sup> In the introduction to the programme, the poet explained the title as follows:

我更愿意称其为"剧场"……时间剧场逾越了剧场的空间概念,将纵向的时间变成空间,把个 人的点变成了时间的线;最终贯穿、编织、呈现出了一个新的方式。<sup>20</sup>

Theater of Time" is a comprehensive exhibition, presenting forty years of my work, literary, photographic, and social. I wanted to call it a "theater" ... A "theater of time" transcends the spatial concept of a theater, transforming longitudinal time into space and the point of the individual into the line of time. They finally mingle and weave together to offer a new way of seeing.

Zhai evokes the traditional scholarly ideal not only in her connection to classical Chinese culture, but also in the way she maintains the interdisciplinary nature of art in her work. It is equally important for her to be able to convey her message through verbal and visual means. The Chinese writing system, based on pictographic elements, and the poetic imagination, reinforced by photographic content, also help her in this regard. The Theatre of Time is the culmination of this process, in which not only the past and the present are intertwined, but also East and West, art and universal human existence, ultimately dissolving the boundaries of the feminist perspective. In the context of the globalised world, the traditionally conservative milieu of Chinese culture seems to be opening up to contemporary Western popular genres. Zhai Yongming's interactive exhibition attempts to serve both: the need of Chinese society to renew the tools of art, and to give feedback on what kind of change of perspectives is necessary to take place.

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<sup>20</sup> 时间剧场: 翟永明文学与摄影展 | 明珠美术馆.



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# The Word *Chāy* in the Persian Literature of the Qajar Period

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Abstract

The time of the spread of tea in the Persian world is not known but the sudden and complete conversion from coffee to tea is documented and dated by the time of the Qajar era in Iran (1789–1925). Today, the consumption of tea is regarded as a typical and traditional habit of the Persians. The present study registers the use of the Chinese loan-word chāy 'tea' in literary sources dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the poems of authors such as Ghaem Magham Farahani, Adib-al-Mamalek Farahani, Iraj Mirza, and Mohammad-Taqi Bahar. The aim of the study is to examine how the widespread and high popularity of the beverage among the Persians is reflected in literature and language. The poems dating from the time of the Qajar era demonstrate the parallel importance of tea and coffee. Later sources reflect a preference for tea, distinguishing between 'good' and 'bad' tea. Furthermore, they highlight the association between tea and homeland. In the field of language, as a result of the process of adapting the word 'chāy' to Persian, compound words and phrases with this component are formed and commonly used in both literature and everyday discourse.

Keywords: Persian literature, Qajar era, the word 'chāy', tea

The time of the spread of tea in the Persian world is not known, but the sudden and complete conversion from coffee to tea is documented and dated to the time of the Qajar era in Iran (1789–1925)<sup>1</sup>. The use of the loan-word *chāy* (Pers. 'tea', from Chinese *ch'a*) in literary sources testifies the presence of the beverage as a part of the Persian way of life in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The present study focuses on pieces of contemporary Persian poetry that demonstrate the process of the spread of tea in Persia and the poetic associations that this beverage raises. Regarding this aim, selected parts of poems are excerpted and translated into English from the Persian original, which are works of prominent poets such as Ghaem Magham Farahani, Yaghma-ye Jandaqi, Qa'ani Shirazi, Adib-al-Mamalek Farahani, Iraj Mirza, and Mohammad-Taqi Bahar.<sup>2</sup>

Classical Persian poetry provides us with isolated instances of the use of the word *chāy*, such as poems of the poets and mystics Khaju Kermani (1290–1349) and Jami (1414–

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On the history of the spread of tea in Persia, see Berthold 1919: 553–554, Matthee 1996, Pulleyblank 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A search for the purpose of the present study has been conducted at the website https://ganjoor.net which is a collection of the poetic works of 191 Persian authors dating from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

1492), at which the word is associated with China – homeland of the plant. Later, with the wide spread of tea in Persia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the word appears more frequently in the literary works. In the first half of the century the word may be sporadically noticed in poems of Ghaem Magham Farahani, Yaghma-ye Jandaqi, and Qa'ani Shirazi.

For instance, the word *chāy* is present in Ghaem Magham Farahani's (1779–1835) *Jalāyer-nameh* and his Collection of letters (*Menshāt*). That may be assumed to be the first mention of *tea* in the contemporary Persian poetry.

*Oh, Soul, bring me the cup of the lady.* (1) *Every place reminds me of Kerman.* (2) *If they've killed the minister, they've done it,* (3) *people are sometimes kind, and sometimes harsh.* (4) *Do not leave happiness and stay in sorrow,* (5) *tea and coffee should not be drunk a little.* (6) *Stars are sometimes for peace, and sometimes for war,* (7) *sometimes with Rome, and sometimes with Europe.* (8)<sup>3</sup>

There is a poetic word play with the verb *khordan* 'to eat; to drink' in lines (5) and (6). The phrasal verb *qam khordan* (literally "to eat sorrow") denotes 'to feel sorrow; to grieve' and its form *qam khord* is rhymed with the phrase *kam khord*, which means 'to eat/drink a little'. The poem alludes to the parallel importance of tea and coffee in nineteenth-century Persia, as well as to the pleasure their consumption brings to a person. In the context of the reference to the transience and uncertainty of life, the line "tea and coffee should not be drunk a little" gives emphasis to these beverages as a source of simple and pure enjoyment and delight.

A brief extract of the poem<sup>4</sup> is included in a letter of Ghaem Magham Farahani to his son<sup>5</sup>. In that letter the author states that both coffee and tea are good (Pers. "qahve va chai ba-hosn ast") and gives them an equal importance with traditional Persian dishes, such as *fesenjān, borani, polow, qurme sabzi,* as well as with *qeliān* 'waterpipe' and *mey* 'wine'. The presence of tea on the Persian table and its association with the traditional hospitality is attested in part of a diary of another author of the 19<sup>th</sup> century named Yaghma-ye Jandaqi (1781-1859). In a letter about a visit of Mahmoud-Khan Sayur Satchi he writes:

"... and he brought milk and tea in the kitchen of his house and set them in a pleasant and colourful manner, and at that time served rich and sweet meal and stew."<sup>6</sup>

Qa'ani Shirazi (1808-1854) is another representative of the contemporary Persian literature and a prominent panegyrist, who is referred to as "the brightest star of Muhammad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Yaghma-ye Jandaqi, Menshat, Part 1, No. 46.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ghaem Magham Farahani, Jalayer-nameh, No. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A reverse version of lines (1), (2), (5), and (6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ghaem Magham Farahani, Menshat, Nameha-ye Farsi, No. 112.

Shah's court" and later appointed as "King of Poets" by Naser al-Din Shah<sup>7</sup>. Qaani mentions *chāy* in a qasida dedicated to Ali<sup>8</sup>:

Instead of drinking water you drank wine, and instead of sweet tea – bitter,

*named what is permitted – forbidden [halal gofte haram], and made the forbidden – permitted [haram karde halal].*<sup>9</sup>

In this qasida, drinking bitter tea instead of sweet tea resembles drinking wine instead of water, and both (drinking wine and bitter tea) are perceived to be similar to anything that is forbidden by the Islamic law (*haram*).

Considering the poems of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century that include the word *chāy*, it may be presumed that the instances represent the spread of the consumption as well as the popularity of tea in Persia at that time. *Chāy* is repeatedly mentioned also by Adib-al-Mamalek Farahani (1860–1917), a prolific court poet and journalist, regarded as "a major link between late Qajar and constitutional period poets"<sup>10</sup>. His verse is concerned with both traditional subjects and new themes such as political sentiments and reflections of the political and intellectual awakening in Iran. Adib-al-Mamalek uses the word *chāy* in five poems, included in his *Divān*<sup>11</sup>.

One-two-three mesqāl ruby pure tea I sent to you as a sample, to drink it and with the taste of sugar to measure the aim and the feeling of joy.<sup>12</sup>

These lines provide us with knowledge of the measure unit *mesqāl* which seems to be used for tea. *Mesqāl* according to *Amid Persian Dictionary* (Amid 1992) is equal to 1/16 *sir* that is approximately 5 grams. Thus, "one-two-three" *mesqāl* is a very small quantity which "sent as a sample" may indicate the high value of tea. This allusion is enriched by the words *la'al* 'ruby' and *mosaffā* 'clean, pure' that are attributed to *chāy*. The association of tea with the precious stone ruby may be on one hand indicative of the dark red colour of a specific sort of tea, popular in Persia, and on the other hand, it may be an allusion to the esteem of the drink. Furthermore, the consumption of sweetened tea is paralleled with the experience of anything that is *good* (Pers. *nik*). This motif is developed in another poem of Adib-al-Mamalek, at which drinking tea is associated with desire (Pers. *kām*) sweetened by sugar.

Drink tea and syrup and sweeten desires by sugar.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Adib-al-Mamalek, Divan-e ash'ar, Maqta'at, No. 232.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Rypka 1968: 328–329.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ali ibn Abi Talib is considered by Shia Muslims to be the first Imam, the rightful religious and political successor to the Islamic prophet Mohammad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Qaani, *Qasayed*, No. 218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Rahman 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Divān* (Persian) – collection of poems.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Adib-al-Mamalek Farahani, *Divan-e ash'ar, Maqta'at,* No. 163.

The typical practice of Persians of drinking tea by placing a sugar cube in mouth, sipping tea, and thus melting the sugar, appears to be popular during the Qajar era and is repeatedly referred to in the poetry through the mention of sugar (Pers. *shekar*) and the sweet taste of tea.<sup>14</sup>

The lexeme *chin* in Persian denotes 'China', and also it is the present stem of the verb *chidan* 'to cut; to pick', which is substantivated and denotes 'fold', 'wrinkle'. This homonym is introduced in another poem by Adib-al-Mamalek, which mentions the word *chāy*:

This tea that has the fragrance of Chinese musk reminds me of your curls – long folded waves. I surrendered to the presence of that picture which like me has a thousand pains in every wrinkle.<sup>15</sup>

Tea in this poem is associated with China and the fragrance of musk, which is another commodity that reaches Persia from the lands of China through the Silk Road together with various kinds of silk, textiles of hemp, perfumes, rice wine, camphor, drugs, and similar items.<sup>16</sup> The beauty of the beloved woman is represented by her long wave-like hair and the fragrances of musk and tea remind the poet of her presence. This motif is expressed in another quatrain:

That tea which I breathed and brewed by your love, it gave me the sense of your desire, and disappeared as a vapour in the sky. Your place is empty at the time of drinking tea.<sup>17</sup>

The phrase *jā-ye to khāli* (lit. "your place is empty") in Persian denotes the feeling of lack or loss of one. The absence of the beloved is associated with the disappearance of tea's vapour in the air, and it is felt at the time of drinking tea. Love in this poem is seen metaphorically as a real-world object, such as the beverage is, which may be experienced through senses – to be smelled, drunk and seen to be evaporating.

Iraj Mirza (1874–1926), another representative of the Persian literature of the late Qajar period, a prominent poet and satirist, writes:

*It is Nowruz, the first day of the year, day of pleasure and joy for children. On that day, all put on new clothes, and cheerfully drink tea and syrup.*<sup>18</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See also Adib-al-Mamalek, *Divan-e ash'ar, Farhang-e Parsi*, No. 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Adib-al-Mamalek, *Divan-e ash'ar, Rubayat-e tanz,* No. 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See Pulleyblank 2011, Berthold 1919.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Adib-al-Mamalek, Divan-e ash'ar, Rubayat-e tanz, No. 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Iraj Mirza, Masnaviha, No. 20.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, tea appears to be already an integral part of Persian everyday life, festivals, and customs. The practice of drinking tea is mentioned repeatedly by Iraj Mirza in another poem entitled "*Vasvase*" ("Obsession") as followed by smoking pipe (Pers. *chopoq*) and along with other beverages such as syrup and coffee, as well as meals such as *chelow* 'rice' and *bastani* 'icecream'.

In the following poem, that is a satiric masnavi, Iraj Mirza notes the ability to discern between "good and bad tea":

The perfect one whose virtue is infinite, but cannot tell good and bad tea, taste for good and bad tea he does not have, oh, any fault and flaw he does not have.<sup>19</sup>

The poetry of the Qajar period testifies that coffee-house (Pers. *kāfe*, and *qahve-khāne*) is the common public place for drinking tea. The notion chāy-khāne 'tea-house' is mentioned later, in the Dictionary of Mohammad Moin, first published in 1972. According to that dictionary the notion designates "a place for offering tea and other common beverages, usually along with waterpipe and meals, to customers at public sites" (Moin 1972). The word is listed by the Academy of Persian Language and Literature as the Persian equivalent to the borrowings café and cafeteria. Other neologisms may be found in dictionaries, they combine the morpheme *chāy* with various Persian affixes and words, such as *chāydān* 'tea container', chāykhori 'tea set', chāykār 'tea grower'. Persians also discern between chāyye por-rang (lit. "full-colour tea") and chāy-ye kam-rang (lit. "light-colour tea") that stand for a strong and weaker tea, respectively. Mohammad-Taqi Bahar (1886–1951) refers to the former as chāy-ye por-dam ("well-stewed tea"), opposed to chāy-ye dam nā-keshide ("not stewed tea"). Brewing tea by using samovar is a typical practice in Persia, which is stimulated at the time of Amir Kabir as the production of *samovars* is assigned to a master craftsman in Isfahan<sup>20</sup>. The word *samovar* is sporadically mentioned in poetry, but the strong tea brewed with a little water in a small teapot on top of this metal urn or on a kettle is widely preferred, which is attested in the poetry. Bahar associates the well-stewed tea with the homeland during his stay at Switzerland. He expresses his nostalgia for Iran by the mention of *chāy-ye por-dam* which is opposed to the foreign tea.

*I have drunk enough not stewed tea in Switzerland, my mouth's watering by the memory of the well-stewed tea.*<sup>21</sup>

To conclude, it may be noticed that the wide spread of tea in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Persia is attested in the contemporary poetry. Drinking tea is associated with the presence of the



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Iraj Mirza, Masnaviha, 'Aref-nameh, part 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See Balland & Bazin 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Bahar, *Qasayed*, No. 262.

beloved, with traditions and culinary, with its homeland – China, and later, with Persia itself as a land where tea is already a well-known and preferred beverage. Poetry reflects the transformation of  $ch\bar{a}y$  to a widely popular drink, which is relished after traditional meals, and to an integral part of Persian way of life and hospitality.

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# Analysis of the Conceptual Metaphors in Chinese Anti-epidemic Discourse

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Abstract

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Based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Metaphor Analysis method, this study investigates the classifications, positive roles, and motivations of the conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. The findings show that (1) the conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse mainly include: ANTI-EPIDEMIC IS WAR; ANTI-EPIDEMIC IS WORK; ANTI-EPIDEMIC IS COMPETITION; (2) subjectivity and embodiment are the motivations of the conceptual metaphors; (3) positive roles of the conceptual metaphors include propagating national resolve, leading social opinion and consolidating emotional cohesion. These results help better understand the fundamental cognitive way in China.

**Keywords:** Chinese anti-epidemic discourse, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Analysis, subjectivity, embodiment

## Introduction

The outbreak of Covid-19 spread rapidly and become a global public health crisis. As a special mode of organizational communication, Chinese anti-epidemic discourse shows its unique function of social mobilization in the fight against COVID-19. Chinese anti-epidemic discourse, an important symbolic carrier of anti-epidemic information, also profoundly affects the effectiveness of COVID-19 prevention and control. Because of the limited knowledge about this illness, people and the media choose to talk about it meta-phorically. To make people learn about this epidemic, the media fully utilize the conceptual metaphors and provide the readers with the portrayal of people's suffering from the fighting against the epidemic.

Most previous studies take Chinese anti-epidemic discourse as the corpus for case studies. Studies on conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse are limited. For example, Liang and Wang (2022) analyzed metaphors in the discourse of Nanjing's anti-epidemic response, to clarify the construction of Nanjing's city image. Yang (2021) sorted out the types of metaphor and revealed the mechanism of attitude expression. Previous studies have analyzed the types of conceptual metaphor used in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse, but little attention has been paid to the process of metaphor iden-



tification. Furthermore, they explored differences in metaphor choice without an adapted theoretical framework. Therefore, the motivations and positive roles of the conceptual metaphors are ignored.

To make up these research gaps, this study combined Conceptual Metaphor Theory with Critical Metaphor Analysis method, formed a metaphor identification procedure for Chinese anti-epidemic discourse to explore the types of conceptual metaphor, and constructed a adapted theoretical framework to explore the motivations and positive roles of the conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Lakoff (1980) believes that conceptual metaphor is the product of human cognition. It reflects the way of thinking, and it is an essential cognitive tool for the formation of human thinking, which is conceptual. The origin of conceptual metaphor is embodied. Our categories, concepts, reasoning, and minds are not reflections of external reality, but are shaped by our physical experiences, especially by our sensorimotor systems (Wang 2002). Lakoff and Johnson (1999) classify embodiment into two types: phenomenological embodiment and neural embodiment. In addition, critics argue that CMT neglects or even ignores the interpersonal or rhetorical functions of metaphor at the discourse level. Gibbs (2013) believes that metaphorical cognition is a kind of interpersonal behavior with ideographic function. Wei (2007) suggests that the subjectivity and subjectivism of metaphor can be studied from the aspects the speaker's perspective, the speaker's affect, and the speaker's cognition. Therefore, we integrate embodiment and subjectivity into our analysis of conceptual metaphor.

As mentioned above, the study deciphers the hidden motivations and the positive roles of the conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. The theoretical framework for analyzing the conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse is shown in Figure 1.

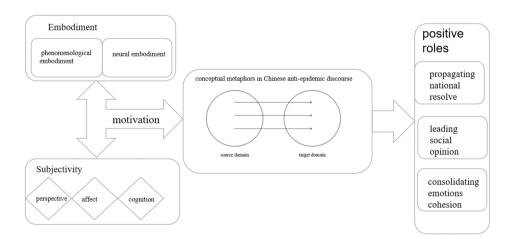


Fig. 1. Theoretical Framework for Analyzing Conceptual Metaphors in Chinese Anti-epidemic Discourse

## **Research Design**

#### Data

Since the selection scope of corpus determines the usage scale of research results, this study pays much attention to the consistency of the corpus in terms of category, scale, style and objectives. The data of this study is from 2020 China's Battle Against the Coronavirus published in 2020. The book, a collection of reports and articles from a broad range of media, records the story of *China's daily fight against COVID-19* from January 23 to February 23, 2020, in the form of daily log. The scale of the corpus is about 17 thousand words. The study strives to ensure the details and comprehensiveness of corpus in terms of scale and style.

#### **Research Question**

This study focuses on conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. Specific research questions are as follows: (1) What are the conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse, and how should they be identified and classified? (2) What are the motivations of conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse? (3) What roles do conceptual metaphors play in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse?

#### Methodology

This study adopts Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) as the overall methodological framework. Charteris-Black (2004) propose that CMA consists of three steps: metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation and metaphor explanation. This study follows the procedures of CMA: identification, interpretation, and explanation. The Conceptual Metaphor Analyzing Procedure for Chinese Anti-epidemic Discourse is showed in Figure 2.

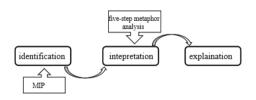


Fig. 2. The Conceptual Metaphor Analyzing Procedure for Chinese Anti-epidemic Discourse

As for metaphor identification, we adopt Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). MIP provides an explicit method to identify metaphorical words used in discourse. However, Conceptual Metaphor Theory divides metaphor into two levels: linguistic metaphor and conceptual metaphor. Yet in the process of identification, MIP does not focus on the conceptual part. Therefore, the shifting from linguistic data to implicit conceptual metaphor is the key for metaphor interpretation. To address this issue, we incorporate the five-step framework by Steen (2007) in the metaphor interpretation: (1) Find

the metaphorical focus; (2) Find the metaphorical proposition; (3) Find the metaphorical comparison; (4) Find the metaphorical analogy; (5) Find the metaphorical mapping. Metaphor explanation is made by deciphering the motivations involved in the metaphor production and its positive roles of conceptual metaphors in in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Description of Metaphorical Data**

Based on the metaphor identification and metaphor interpretation procedure, the study conducts manual identification, interpretation, labeling and quantitative statistics on the conceptual metaphors. The result shows that there are 13 types of conceptual metaphor identified in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse, in a total number of 917, as showed in Table 1. In order to get a more intuitive result, the author makes a pie chart (Figure 3) based on the proportion of different types of conceptual metaphor in Table 1.

Types of Conceptual Source Domain metaphor		Number	Proportion
WAR	fight, war, frontline, beat, weapon, win, victory, battlefield, wartime, defend, protect, safe	237	26%
WORK	effort, duty, work, measures, workforce, treat, inspect, decide	226	25%
COMPETITION	race, team, compete, test, challenge, race, aim, outcome, regulate	120	13%
JOURNEY	arrive, target, step, start, way, step, end, continue	81	9%
CRIME	victim, prevent, injury, control, risk, rampant	80	9%
BUIDING	support, build, construct, set up, establish	44	5%
MACHINE	effective, system, mechanism, supply	44	5%
NATURE	spread, recover, growth	24	3%
BODY	backbone, head, hand	23	2%
COMMUNITY	community, together, unity,	21	2%
AGRICULTURE	field, sow, seed, plow	14	1%
EDUCATION	inspire, criticize	2	0%
DEVIL	devil	1	0%
Total		917	100%

	Table 1. Concer	ptual Metaphors in	n Chinese Anti-e	pidemic Discourse
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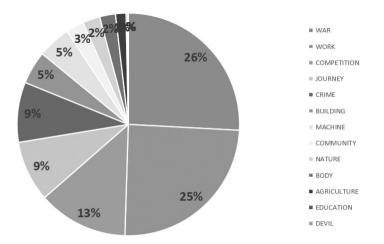


Fig. 3. Proportion of Different Types of Conceptual Metaphors

According to Table 1 and Figure 3, the five most frequently used metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse are WAR, WORK, COMPETITION, JOURNEY, and CRIME. Among them, the War metaphor accounted for 26% and is the most employed conceptual metaphor in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. The WORK metaphor accounted for 25% and is next only to the War metaphor. Another type of conceptual metaphor accounted for more than 10% is the COMPETITION metaphor, which appears 120 times. The WAR metaphor, WORK metaphor, and COMPETITION metaphor are prominent in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. Then, this paper will elaborate on each of them respectively in the following part.

The conceptual metaphor of "ANTI-EPIDEMIC IS WAR" has been used most frequently. The battle against the epidemic is emphasized in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse, and the most frequently used source domains are as follow: "protect" (30 times), "battle" (27 times), "outbreak" (23 times), "fight" (23 times), "safe" (20 times), "frontline" (19 times), "beat" (11 times). Human feelings about war are complex, profound, and subtle. The mappings from the source domains to the target domains include: "battle" "fight" and "beat" map organized action aimed at slowing and stopping the spread of the epidemic and treating infected people. "Frontline" and "battlefield" map areas where epidemic prevention and anti-epidemic actions are carried out, including countries, regions, hospitals, schools, communities, transportation, etc. "Warriors" and "fighters" map all kinds of staff and volunteers participating in epidemic prevention and anti-epidemic work. "Weapons" map masks, protective clothing, oxygen, etc. "Win", "victory" and "triumph" map local or overall successes and failures of the epidemic prevention.

The proportion of WORK metaphors is next only to the WAR metaphor, and "AN-TI-EPIDEMIC IS WORK" is of great importance to the conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. The most frequently used source domains are as follow "treat" (55 times), "work" (45 times), "measure" (30 times), "effort" (22 times), "issue" (14 times),

"provide" (13 times), "staff" (10 times), "operation" (9 times), "inspect" (8 times). The extensive use of the WORK metaphor stimulates people's deep cognitive framework, and people treat anti-epidemic activities as work. In the process of work, it is necessary to face various "issues" and "works" and pay "effort" to make timely "treatment" and "measure". "Staff" is also needed for work, which maps medical workers, police, volunteers, community workers, etc. In addition, people have their own "duties" in the work of anti-epidemic actions, and leaders should "inspect" the working process of anti-epidemic actions, which reflects the need for positive expressions to praise those who perform well. Therefore, the WORK metaphor stresses that people should take their duty and actively participate in the fight against COVID-19.

The conceptual metaphor of "ANTI-EPIDEMIC IS COMPETITION" is widely used in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. Chinese anti-epidemic discourse emphasizes the heroic deeds of the Chinese people in their competition with the virus, and the most frequently used source domains are as follow: "team" (32 times), "test" (21 times), "join" (16 times), "group" (13 times), "compete" (8 times), "solidarity" (4 times), "result" (4 times). According to people's understanding of competition, the participants who "join" the competition are generally get a "result". It requires the wisdom and persistence of the participants to win the match. "Overcome" and "effort" come from similar life experiences, and they are also the words that appear more frequently in the COMPETITION metaphor. COVID-19 is used as the opponent in the competition. Fighting the epidemic is like a competition. The ultimate victory is assured, and such metaphors activate the competition frames above.

### **Motivations of Conceptual Metaphors**

Phenomenological embodiment mainly bases on people's own experience of phenomena. For example, in regard to the NATURE metaphor it can be seen that the metaphor maps the scope and speed of COVID-19 infection in the target region to that of a plant. Based on cognitive similarity, it is possible to associate a specific orientation with the non-spatial properties of something in reality. It is attributed to people's experience of phenomena. Neural embodiment relies on the nervous system in the human brain, which can form the more abstract things perceived by people into more concrete and objective conceptual entities in the brain. Take the phrase "In these gloomy times" for example. "Gloomy" is a word that describes the situation of the weather. People's cognition of "gloomy" mostly comes from the cloudy weather. The Neural embodiment conveyed by cloudy weather is typically characterized as opaque, negative, depressed, and heavy. People map the neuroperceptual meaning represented by "gloomy" onto time. Therefore, the phrase signifies "in this difficult time".

Perspective, affect and cognition of Chinese people can be seen from conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. Conceptual metaphors reflect the perspective in the fight against the epidemic. Everyone is a participant in his own way. Conceptual metaphors reflect the affect of Chinese people. With the concerted efforts of the whole nation, they overcame many difficulties and worked together to win the war. The use of these metaphors not only makes people have a better understand on the coronavirus, but also boosts their enthusiasm and confidence in fighting against the epidemic. Conceptual metaphors reflect the cognition of Chinese people. Doctors are the main soldiers, and advanced medical technology and equipment are our weapons to destroy the enemy. Under the leadership of experts, medical workers discuss tactics jointly to defeat COVID-19. With the concerted efforts of other combatants, the entire nation, they overcame many difficulties and worked together to win the war.

### Positive roles of Conceptual Metaphors

Conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse play a positive role in propagating national resolve. Krennmayr (2015) believes metaphors in reports can highlight some elements while placing others in the background to convey an ideological and persuasive message. Conceptual metaphor in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse can also play a role in conveying awareness, persuading, and mobilizing. Through conceptual metaphors, people can understand that the prevention and control of the epidemic is war, and war is bound to be won or lost. The WAR metaphor in the discourse reminds people that the virus will bring serious negative impact on people and the society, which will inspire the enthusiasm of the public to fight together and mobilize the public to join in the fight with concrete actions.

Conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse play a positive role in leading social opinion. Chinese anti-epidemic discourse used a lot of metaphors to describe the COVID-19 prevention and control as a war. War is full of violence, attacks, killings, and sacrifice in the minds of the people. The War metaphor in the reports can help people to realize the powerful attack of the coronavirus and raise their awareness. Through the COMPETITION metaphor, the public realized that the epidemic prevention and control is as fierce as a competition. To win the competition, the whole country must unite as one, thus making the public more vigilant.

Conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse plays a positive role in consolidating emotional cohesion. Chinese anti-epidemic discourse uses words that express positive emotions in reporting on the global outbreak of COVID-19. Metaphors used in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse can express positive emotions, form correct guidance for public opinion, boost public enthusiasm in the fighting against the epidemic. For example, the WAR metaphor reminds people of the hardship of the battle and motivate people to fight back. The COMETITION metaphor stimulates people and bring people together to defeat the viruses. The WORK metaphor brings people closer together.

#### Conclusion

This paper identifies conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse and explores their cognitive motivations and positive roles. The results show that there are abundant conceptual metaphors in Chinese anti-epidemic discourse, and the dominant conceptual metaphors include ANTI-EPIDEMIC IS WAR; ANTI-EPIDEMIC IS WORK; ANTI- EPIDEMIC IS COMPETITION. Embodiment and subjectivity are the motivations for the formation of the conceptual metaphors. The embodiment is reflected in the phenomenal embodiment and the neural embodiment of the epidemic, while the subjectivity is reflected in people's perspective, affect and cognition of the epidemic. These conceptual metaphors play positive roles in propagating national resolve, leading social opinion, and consolidating emotional cohesion in the communication of Chinese anti-epidemic discourse. These findings reflect the Chinese people's cognition of the epidemic, and they also inspire the confidence and determination to fight against the epidemic. However, this study is limited in the time range of the data, which is derived from the month after the outbreak of the coronavirus. Data over a longer period can provide a better understanding of the changes in people's cognition of the anti-epidemic. Therefore, future researchers can expand the time range of data to get a more comprehensive and objective research result.

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# 生态翻译视角下中国唐诗诗题的英译研究—— 以许渊冲的《唐诗三百首》英译本中的诗题翻译为例

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# A Study on the Translation of the Title of Chinese Poetry from the Perspective of Eco-translatology — Taking *Three Hundred Tang Poems* Translated by Xu Yuanchong as a Case Study

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Abstract

The title of a poem is a great enrichment to the content of the poem. The high-quality translation of the title will definitely help the English readers to accept and understand the content, conception, and even the poet's thoughts and feelings of the whole poem more smoothly. From the perspective of the three-dimensional transformation of eco-translatology, combined with the language and cultural differences between Chinese and English and the characteristics of Tang Dynasty poem titles, this paper analyzes the Englsh translation of Tang Dynasty poem titles, and summarizes the common problems in the translation of poem titles and the ways to solve them, in order to provide references for the translation of ancient Chinese poetry titles in the future.

**Keywords:** eco-translatology, three-dimensional transformation, the translation of poem's titles, *Three Hundred Tang Poems* 

-、 概述

#### 1.1. 唐诗诗题的特点

篇题是诗歌的构成部分,它与句子和篇章共同构成了诗歌的篇体,但最初的诗歌大都没有题目,往往是在诗歌写完之后对其进行命名以区别与其他诗歌(李树军:186),如《诗经》中的诗歌大都取诗中字句作为篇名,此时的篇名与诗歌的内容和立意并无很大关联;唐代是古诗制题的一个转折性时期,随着科举考试诗歌内容的增加,唐代真正出现了命题诗歌,题目主

要对一首诗歌的内容和立意进行限制,它在诗歌创作之前就已经确立。在初唐,盛唐时期,古 诗制题已经完全规范化,诗歌题目成为诗歌内容准确而高度的概括,成为诗歌的面目。诗人 利用诗题来向读者及后人传递其创作宗旨,创作缘由,歌咏对象以及作诗的场合等信息(吴承 学:13)。

初唐、盛唐的诗题大凡山水、闲适、离别、怀古、迁徙、唱和、赠酬等, 其题都有一定的规 范。诗人不仅以高度凝练的语言, 叙述出创作的旨意和缘起, 还在很大程度上考虑到诗题的 艺术性, 在简练的语言中有更丰富的艺术意味与审美情调, 有些诗题情幽兴远, 词秀调雅, 自 成兴象, 给人以强烈的美感, 并且唐人诗题的用语比前人更为精切入微, 如离别一类诗中, 就 有很多不同术语, 如"宴别"、"赠别"、"送别"、"饯别"、"寄别"、"留别"等, 以区别于各种不同的离 别形态(吴承学: 13)。唐诗诗题的高度凝练、精确并极富艺术性的语言特点无疑对诗题的翻译 提出了更高要求。

#### 1.2. 生态翻译理论和三维转换原则

生态翻译理论由清华大学著名教授胡庚申提出,是在翻译适应选择论基础上发展起来的 全新翻译理论。它立足于翻译生态与自然生态的同构隐喻,是一种从生态视角综观翻译的研 究范式,同时,这一生态研究范式以东方智慧为依归,根植于中国文化,同时兼顾西方事理, 遵循生态原则,谋求多元一体,对中国传统文学作品翻译具有指导意义(胡庚申2013)。

生态翻译学的翻译方法可谓"多维"转换,其中主要落实在语言、文化和交际的"三维"转换 上。从实践角度来看,语言、文化和交际是翻译界普遍认同的要点,生态翻译观把译者当作 翻译的中心,要求译者真正做到"多维"的适应和至少"三维"的选择转换,即译者需要适应翻译 生态环境,依照语言、文化和交际不同阶段或不同顺序对译文做出适应性选择转换(胡庚申 2013)。

### 二、三维转换视角下许渊冲《唐诗三百首》中诗题的英译

#### 2.1. 语言维转换

"语言维关注的是翻译的文本语言表达"(胡庚申2013:236)。作为来自不同语系的两种语 言,英语与汉语有着截然不同表达习惯和语法规则,译者要掌握原语和译入语的差异并熟练 运用,才能在翻译中把握原文和译文间的动态平衡。中英语言差别在于:英语重形合而汉语重 意合;英语表达强调字句间的逻辑关系,而汉语习惯于用意象的堆砌来表达意义;英文句子呈 静态结构而中文句子呈动态结构。

2.1.1. 变动宾结构为动名词或名词结构

对诗歌题目的语言形式处理,汉语习惯以简洁的动宾结构来阐释诗歌立意和思想,而英语往往拒绝直接使用动词原形的表达方式。翻译时,译者常采用变动词为动名词,名词或直接省略动词的方法对诗题进行双语转换。

《留别王维》Parting from WANG Wei和《过故人庄》Visiting an Old Friend's Cottage等诗题没有明确"留别"和"过"的主语,但隐含着作者即是诗题的主语,译者采用现在分词的处理方式,明确诗歌作者即是动作的发出者,使得英语读者清晰地通过题目了解到诗歌的内容和立意: Parting from WANG Wei表达的是作者与王维依依分别时的场景, Visiting an Old Friend's Cottage表达的是作者拜访老友时的场景。

在一系列送别诗中,如《送杜少府之任蜀州》 Farewell to Perfect DU,《芙蓉楼送辛渐》 Farewell to Xin Jian at Lotus Tower,译者巧妙地用名词farewell来译动词"送",将原诗题的动 宾结构转换为名词结构,既传递了原诗题中的送别之意,也符合英语读者的语言习惯。

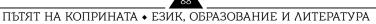
此外,译者有时也采用省略动词的翻译方法,将动宾短语的题目转换成名词短语的题目, 如在《过酒家》*The Wineshop*中,译者没有直译为"Passing by the Wineshop",而是省略动 词"过",留下主要信息"wineshop",同样在《咏柳》*The Willow*中译者省译"咏",仅用"willow" 一词作题,足以向译语读者清楚地传递出此诗描写或歌颂之事物。同样,在《观猎》*Hunting* 中,译者省去动词"观",保留"猎";《闻邻家理筝》*My Neighbor's Lute*,译者省去动词"闻"。译者 对诗题的翻译,省略了动词,不但没有伤害原诗题意,反而使诗题的表达方式更加简洁明了、 切合英语语言环境,克服了英汉两种语言动态和静态差异给翻译带来的困惑。又如一系列望 景生情的诗歌,《望庐山瀑布》*The Waterfall in Mount Lu Viewed From Afar*、《终南望积雪》 *Snow Atop Southern Mountains*、《望天门山》*Mount Heaven's Gate Viewed From Afar*,在这 些诗中,诗人大都采用借景抒情的方式,以景起兴,先描写某地的美景,译者采用突出重点的 方式,将名词前提,同时将动词变为相应动名词作定语将原诗题中的动宾结构巧妙地转换为 名词短语。

2.1.2. 巧用介词

汉语是动态语言, 经常使用动词和动词短语, 所以汉语中存在较多的动态语势; 英语为静态语言, 一个句子中往往只使用一个动词作谓语, 其他含有动作含义的词语, 往往通过介词短语、名词短语或非谓语动词等形式表现出来。"英语句子中会因介词短语的存在而呈现出静态语势"(韩玮2021:139); 中文习惯用意象的堆砌来表达意义, 英文更注重字词间的逻辑关系, 译者在诗题的英译中, 巧妙地运用转译的方法, 适应性地选择合适的介词代替原语动词的意义, 或者用介词把原语意象根据逻辑关系串联起来, 使译文符合译入语的表达习惯。

在一系列的赠诗中,如《赠汪伦》To WANG Lun、《赠李白》To LI Bai、《赠花卿》To General Hua、《赠婢》To the Maid of My Aunt、《寄人》To My Love,译者用介词to 译动词"赠",清楚明了地向读者传递了原诗的创作缘由,即此诗是为谁而作,并且保留了原诗题语言简练的特点。中国古代诗人多爱登高而后作诗,如《登幽州台歌》On the Tower at Youzhou《登鹳雀楼》 On the Stork Tower《登高》On the Height《登岳阳楼》On Yueyang Tower,这类诗题给读者传递的主要信息是诗歌作于何地,译者用介词on+地点的方式来代替原诗题中的动宾结构,同时又准确地传达出诗人处于高楼或高塔之上。

中文诗歌题目习惯使用意象堆砌的方法来概括诗歌主要内容,但实际上每个意象之间都 有暗含的逻辑关系,在英语语言中,这种逻辑关系更倾向于被明确的表达出来,如《春江花月 夜》*The Moon over the River on a Spring Night*,原诗题中诗人直接把"春""江""花""月"这四个意 象堆砌到一起,对中国人来说,我们可以通过这四个意象联想到一幅春夜里江边花开月明的 美景,但如果直接将其译为"spring river, flower, moon and night",对于译入语读者来说,这 仅仅是完全没有关系的事物被放到一起,感受不到原诗的意境,而译者用了两个介词over和 on把moon、river和spring、night的位置关系展现出来,把原诗题画面感完整地呈现给译入语 读者;同样,在《峨眉山月歌》*The Moon over Mount Brow*中,"峨眉山"和"月"的位置关系用介词 over来展现,使译入语读者通过题目感受到山中明月高悬的美景;在《滁州西涧》*On the West Stream at Chuzhou*中,原诗题直接把两个地名放到一起,向读者传递的信息是这首诗作于滁州



的西涧,译者则用介词on和at来连接大地点和小地点以表示滁州和西涧的位置逻辑关系。

2.1.3. 调整语序

英语和汉语的差异还体现表达方式的不同:英语前重心,汉语后重心。英语通常习惯主语及主句先行,其他修饰成分(如时间、地点、形容词、副词等)后置,而汉语的句子结构为竹节状,以意义为依归,在句首的并非是句子主语,反而多数是服务于主语的其他信息(苏文君2020:36)。作者采用调整主语及修饰词语序的翻译方法,把主语前置,从而实现译文适应译入语的生态环境。

《板桥晓别》Parting at Morning on the Wooden Bridge、《谢亭送别》Parting at Riverside Tower 和《金陵酒肆留别》Parting at a Tavern in Jinling这样时间/地点+动作的结构中,重心应 落在动词"别"字上。译者根据英文的行文习惯,把句子重心前提,把时间地点等作状语的信息 放在parting后面;同样,在《咸阳城西楼晚眺》Gazing afar in the Evening、《登九峰楼寄张祜》 Written for ZHANG Hu at Nine Peak Tower,《早发白帝城》Leaving the White Emperor Town at Down中,译者同样把主语动词"眺""寄""发"提前,后以介词连接其他成分以修饰或补充动词, 这样的语序更加符合译入语读者的语言表达习惯。译者根据原文和译入语语的生态环境对 语序做出了适应性调整,不仅完整保留了原诗题的语言信息,还使译文更加容易被译语读者 理解和接受。

## 2.2. 文化维转换

"文化维关注的是翻译的语境效果"(胡庚申2013:236), 从逻辑上来看, 翻译是语言的转换, 而语言是文化的载体, 诗歌作为中国传统文化的典型代表, 其中包含着大量的中国特色文化负载词, 这些包含中国文化信息的词汇在英语所处的文化背景下往往很难找到与之对等的表达。在诗题的英译中, 这种不对等主要体现在人名与地名的表达形式上, 同时, 许多中国古诗词喜欢用"绝句"、"无题"等命名, 或以前人用过的题目作诗, 这就造成诗题重复的情况屡屡发生。

2.2.1. 人名的翻译

中国传统诗歌中,以"离别""唱和""赠酬"为题材的诗歌中频繁出现人名。在中国古代,人的称呼有多种表达方式,除直呼其名外,字、号、职业、官位、籍贯、在家中的辈分甚至与作者关系都可能被用于诗题中对此人的称呼,而在英语文化中,人们往往习惯直呼名字。

诗题中人名的翻译需要克服文化屏障,采用多种译法以期为译语读者提供最合适的表达。《送杜少府之任蜀州》Farewell to Prefect DU、《酬乐天扬州初逢席上见赠》Reply to BAI Juyi、《和乐天春词》A Song of Spring in Reply to BAI Juyi、《杜司勋》For DU Mu和《杜工部蜀中离席》Would DU Fu not Leave the Farewell Feast?这些原诗题中均以字、号或官职作为称呼,诗中提到的都是知名度较高并且人们耳熟能详的诗人,这些诗人的英文名字用大家默认的音译的方式来表达,并且符合英语文化直呼其名的称呼习惯,做到了尊重原文并且不会给译入语读者带来歧义。

《送沈子符之江东》Seeing a Friend off to the East、《寄令狐郎中》For a Friend、《赠刘司 户蕡》For an Exiled Friend和《别卢秦卿》Farewell to a Friend等都是诗人写给自己朋友的,内 容也是表达对朋友的情感,历经千百年的时代变迁,诗题中的名字对于许多中文为母语者来 说都已经很陌生,如果仍然按照姓名直接音译,译入语读者将不得不自己查找该人的真实身 份,有的读者在阅读题目时亦无法明确该表达为人名,对译入语读者理解诗意毫无帮助,反 而平添困惑,此种情况下,译者把诗题中的人名译为"朋友"以明晰诗歌的立意,即写给一个朋 友的诗。在《登柳州城楼寄漳汀封连四州》*To Four Friends in Exile*中,"漳汀封连四州"实际上 是诗人的四个朋友韩泰、韩晔、陈谏、刘禹锡的任职之地,这里诗人以地名代表人名,译者采 用"four friends"对其翻译,使中国独特的命名文化巧妙地适应英语读者的思维习惯,保证了 诗题的简洁性和准确性。

《江南逢李龟年》Coming across a Disfavored Court Musician、《别董大》Farewell to a Lutist和《近试上张水部》To an Examiner on the Eve of Examination这几首诗中,因考虑到诗歌 的内容会涉及到诗题中人物的身份,译者则用职业代替人名;《苏小小墓》Tomb of SU, Young Beauty、《秋夜寄丘二十二员外》To a Hermit on an Autumn Night、《八月十五夜赠张功曹》To a Disgraced Official on Moon Festival和《贾生》A Bright Scholar这几首诗中,译者采用描述人物 特征的方式代替人名翻译,还有一些诗题,诗人采用多种称呼叠加的命名方式,译者翻译时直 接省略人名,如《左迁至蓝关示侄孙湘》Written for My Grandnephew 中,译文只保留了"侄孙" 来说明身份;《赠妓云英》To a Fair Dancer中只保留了"云英"的身份"dancer",同样克服了中国丰 富的命名文化给翻译造成的障碍。

#### 2.2.2. 地名的翻译

盛唐时期,政治清明,经济繁荣,诗人喜欢游历山水,即兴作诗,因此诗歌题目中也大量出现地名。中国地名不只是字与字的简单组合,还包含着历史、人文等诸多渊源,对于诗题中的地名翻译,译者要做到不仅兼顾诗题的简洁性,还要尽可能满足地名中包含的独特文化。

《焚书坑》The Pit Where Emperor Qin Burned the Classics, 在中国历史和文化体系中, "焚 书坑"是有特殊意义的地方, 我们通常默认它指的是秦始皇焚书坑儒的地方, 译者把焚书坑的 主人公"秦始皇"和主要事件"焚烧儒家著作"这两个富含中国文化的信息译出, 而非简单翻译 为"The Pit Where Burning the Book"。又如《乌衣巷》The Street of Mansion, 东晋时王导和 谢安两大家族居于此地, 两大家族子弟喜穿乌衣以彰显身份尊贵, 因此得名乌衣巷。这首诗中 诗人借古讽今, 表达对大家族的嘲讽与警告, 译者选择用"mansion"以表示乌衣巷的历史文化 意义。又如《望岳》Gazing on Mount Tai、《望洞庭》Lake Dongting Viewed from afar中,"岳"指" 泰山", "洞庭"则指"洞庭湖", 这两处是中国古今闻名的名胜, 但对于译入语读者来说, 他们不了 解"岳"是一座山的名字, 也不知道"洞庭"是湖的名字, 于是译者将这两个诗题中中国人默认的 文化内涵具体表达出来, 帮助目的语读者理解诗意。又如《集灵台》Long-life Terrace, 集灵台 是长生殿侧一处祭祀求仙之所, 因此将其译为"长生台"更能讽刺帝王想要长生不老的, 不切实 际的幻想。在《梦游天姥吟留别》Mount Skyland Ascended in a Dream中, "天姥"指天姥山, 传 说登山的人能听到仙人天姥唱歌的声音, 山因此得名, 将"天姥山"译为"Mount Skyland", 不仅 清楚的向译语读者解释了"天姥"为山名, 同时保留了"天姥山"的神秘色彩, 让诗题与整首诗的 奇幻特点相得益彰, 并且保证了诗题的简洁精炼。

### 2.2.3. 重复诗名的翻译

中国古诗中有些诗题会沿用古题,因此经常会有重复命名的情况出现,如杜甫的《戏为六绝句(选一)》*A Playful Quatrain*、《绝句(江碧鸟逾白)》*A Quatrain(Against Blue Water)、*《绝句(两个黄鹂鸣翠柳)》*A Quatrain(Two Golden Orioles)*,绝句是唐朝流行起来的一种汉族诗歌体裁,四句一首,短小精悍。诗人以绝句为题实际上与诗歌内容无关,而是关注于诗歌的形式和



格律,译者在选择将"绝句"译为"Quatrain","quatrain"在译语文化中是四行诗的意思,虽然中国的绝句与英语文化中的四行诗意义上并不完全对等,但译入语读者可以从此译名中了解到中国文化中也有一种四行诗。为了避免以"绝句"为题,往往用诗歌的第一句作为标记,译者通过题后加注的译法,把此诗首句最重要的信息表现出来,使读者从诗题中体会到诗歌的意境。

王翰的《凉州词》Starting for the Front和王之涣的《凉州词》Out of the Great Wall两首边 塞诗都以《凉州词》为题,"凉州"是中国边塞诗词创作的大舞台,而"边塞诗"又是蕴含着丰富内 涵的中国传统文化符号,英语文化中没有同"边塞诗"对等的文化意义,故译入语读者对"边塞 诗"的大致内容和思想感情也不甚了解。作者根据诗意另拟诗题,以克服英汉语言背后文化信 息的不对等对译入语读者理解诗意造成的障碍;杨炯的《从军行》I Would Rather Fight和王 昌龄的《从军行七首》Army Life便是如此。两位诗人都以乐府旧题为名,以"从军行"为题的诗 歌大都是描写军旅生活。前者表达书生投笔从戎的豪情壮志与爱国情怀,后者则真实刻画军 旅生活的方方面面。译者将杨炯的诗题译为"I Would Rather Fight",更表现出书生为国而战 的决心,而王昌龄的组诗诗题译为"Army life"做到了既忠实于原诗题,又将诗意概括得淋漓 尽致。

无题诗是中国诗歌的一个类别, 诗人不便或不想用题目显露诗歌主旨时, 便以"无题"做诗题, 也有诗人如李商隐偏爱以"无题"作题, 李商隐的无题诗常以其朦胧意境和旨意隐秘著称, 诗人以"无题"做诗题也与朦胧的诗意相应, 如《无题 (昨夜星辰昨夜风)》To One Unnamed (As Last Night Twinkle Stars)、《无题四首 (选三)》Three Poems to One Unnamed、《无题 (相见时难别亦难)》To one Unnamed(It's Difficult)、《无题二首》Two Untitled Poem, 译者对无题的译法有两种, 一是译为"此诗为一不知姓名之人而作", 这类诗多以诗人视角表达对爱人的情感和对爱情的看法, 与"绝句"的译法相同, 译者同样在题后加注以区分不同的无题诗, 二是"此诗无篇名", 这类诗书写爱情, 但以虚构的男主人公和女主人公的口吻来写。译者忠实于原题把"无题"译出而没有选择根据诗意重拟题目, 就是希望保留诗人为诗篇创造的朦胧感, 为译入语读者解读诗意留下创造空间。

#### 2.3. 交际维转换

"交际维关注的是翻译的人际意图"(胡庚申2013:236), 生态翻译观强调, 在翻译中译者 除语言信息的转换和文化内涵的传递之外, 还要兼顾作者的交际意图是否得到体现(胡庚申 2013)。诗歌是中国古代优秀诗人的思想和情感的集中表达, 可以说诗人是在通过诗歌穿越时 空与我们交流对话, 当我们将译文传递给译入语读者时, 同样要把诗人寓于其中的丰富思想 与细腻情绪一并包含。

#### 2.3.1. 宫怨诗和闺怨诗的翻译

中国古代封建王朝制度和宗族文化催生的宫怨诗和闺怨诗在唐代大盛, 宫怨诗和闺怨诗 大都以女性心态为主要描写对象, 描述那个时代不同女子的生活经历和思想情绪。宫怨诗专 写古代帝王宫中宫女以及失宠后妃的怨情; 闺怨诗则主要书写古代民间弃妇 (包括征妇, 商 妇, 游子妇等) 的忧伤, 或少女怀春, 思念情人的感情(卞良君1989)。虽宫怨诗与闺怨诗刻画的 主人公与内容各异, 但唐代诗人却偏爱用相对固定的拟题方式, 如《西宫秋怨》*A Neglected Beauty in the West Palace、*《宫怨》*Grief of a Palace Maid、*《闺怨》*Sorrow of a Young Bride in Her Boudoir、*《春怨》*A lover's Dream、*《长信秋词》*A Disfavored Court Lady in Autumn*等。 由于译入语读者对此类诗歌的基本内容和思想感情知之甚少,在宫怨诗和闺怨诗诗题的英译中,译者将诗中的"怨"的主人公指明,使译入语读者更充分地了解诗意,从而体会到在诗中传递出诗人对主人公的同情甚至是共情。又如《何满子》*The Swan Song*,相传何满子是唐代歌者,因得罪了皇帝被处以死刑,行刑前高歌一曲,皇上被其高超的技艺折服,免去其刑罚,因此译者取其"绝笔之作"之意,译为在英语文化中有同样意义的"The Swan Song",将原文之意恰如其分地传递给译入语读者。

#### 2.3.2. 根据诗意增译或另取诗题

中国人对感情表达尤为含蓄,这种含蓄性同样也体现在古诗制题中,诗人很少把情绪直接由诗题传递给读者,而是让读者从字里行间体会诗歌蕴含的丰富感情。英语文化中,人们倾向于直接用文字表达感情。为了克服这种交际习惯差异的影响,译者采用对原诗题增译的翻译方法,将其含蓄化的感情用文字直白地表达出来,如《赠人》To a Deserted Lover和《寄人》 To My Love,原诗题以"人"含蓄指代"爱人,恋人",译者通过增译,将"人"的蕴含意义译出,使译语读者体会到诗人在此诗中表达的对爱人的深刻感情,若采用"to a woman"或"to someone" 作为译文,则无法达到实际交际效果。又如《锦瑟》The Sad Zither这首诗表达诗人对逝去美好年华的追忆和对自己不幸遭遇的感伤,译者在"zither"前增译"sad",将全诗感情基调定于诗题,更有助于将全诗的伤感之情传递给译入语读者;在《夜雨寄北》Written on a Rainy Day to My Wife in the North中,译者增译"my wife",使译入语读者感受到诗人对妻子的拳拳真情;在 悯农诗歌《田家》Poor Peasants中,译者增译"poor"来描述对"peasants"的态度,向译入语读者 展示了诗人对被封建统治者残酷剥削的贫苦农民的怜悯之情。

翻译需要将诗意和诗人的思想感情完整地传递给译入语读者, 以期达到完美的交际效 果。在某些诗题的翻译中, 译者大胆摒弃原题, 根据诗意另拟诗题, 这类诗歌原题大都与诗 意相关不大, 若按照原诗题翻译, 虽然保证了忠实, 但其交际作用却大打折扣, 从而导致译入 语读者对诗题一知半解, 更甚者会影响读者对整首诗歌的理解, 如《效崔国辅体》*A Lonely Woman*。崔国辅为盛唐著名诗人, 他的诗作自成一派, 风格独特, 称为"崔国辅体"。此诗效仿前 辈诗风而作, 故以"崔国辅"为名, 但对译入语读者来说, 崔国辅是陌生的文化符号, 而译者另拟 的诗题 (A Lonely Woman) 不仅贴切诗意——此诗描写了女主人公在春夜庭院中的所见所 感, "lonely"一词描述了一幅幽静寂寥的画面, 烘托了诗篇的清冷气氛——更表达了闺中女子 的幽怨心理。与此类似, 在李白的组诗作品《秋浦歌》*My White Hair*中, 原诗题的"秋浦"是此 组诗歌创作的地点, 这里选取了其中一首, 故诗人也选择根据诗意另拟诗题。此诗描写诗人暮 年悲白发, 译为"My white hair"非常贴切。

## 三、结语

唐诗代表中国古诗的最高成就,诗题在唐代发展为古诗的面目。恰当的诗题翻译对译入 语读者更顺利地接受和理解诗篇有着不可忽视的作用,以语言、文化和交际的三维标准为框 架对唐诗题目翻译研究与实践,对于中国古代诗歌翻译与传播具有重要意义。

许渊冲先生《唐诗三百首》的翻译,近乎完美地诠释了生态翻译学理论的三维思想转换。 译者要充分适应翻译生态环境,根据语言、文化和交际的不同阶段或不同顺序的要求,对译 文做出的适应性转换。语言维度、文化维度和交际维度的三维转换不是独立互不相干的,而 是相互交叉,相互影响和相互渗透的。译者在"三维"转换的运用实践中,要充分发挥主观能动 性和主体性,灵活适应与转换,寻求原文和译文的动态平衡,从而使译入语读者更好地理解原 文意义,将原文作者的思想与情感完美地传递给译入语读者。

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# 生态翻译学视域下陕北民歌外译研究—— 以陕北民歌《西北回响》为例

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# A Study on the Translation of Northern Shaanxi Folk Songs from the Perspective of Eco-translatology — Taking Wandering Chants as an Example

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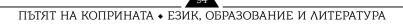
Abstract

Eco-translatology is a new translation theory proposed by Prof. Hu Gengshen, of which the purpose is to enable translators to adapt to the ecological environment of translation. The three-dimensional transformation means that in the process of translation, the translator must realize the appropriate transformations of the target text in three dimensions: language, culture and communication. Guided by the theory of three-dimensional transformation and taking the northern Shaanxi folk song "Wandering Chants" as an example, this paper discusses the characteristics of its translation, so as to popularize Chinese culture in the world by introducing the northern Shaanxi folk song.

Keywords: eco-translatology, Shaanxi folk song, three-dimensional transformation

### 一、陕北民歌概况及特点

陕北民歌是集陕北人民智慧于一身的陕北文化,是中华民族的宝贵财富。陕北民歌具有 独特的风格和魅力,它反映了陕北人民的生活状态、思想情感以及精神追求。如何让世界了解 中国,让世界热爱中国,让中华民族更加强盛是每一位中国人义不容辞的责任。陕北民歌是陕 西地区最具特点的一种文化象征,其独特的唱腔艺术和音乐形态而广受人们喜爱。近年来,陕 北民歌的对外传播也引起了学界的广泛关注,许多国外学者都对陕北民歌的英译提出了建议 和见解。然而,陕北民歌作为一种文学体裁,对其进行翻译有着一定的理论基础和原则依据。 陕北地域独特,方言多样,语言习俗各异,因此,在进行英译时,应注意各民族文化的交流与 融合。同时,陕北历史文化遗产众多,在翻译过程中也要注意了解陕北文化的内涵与特点。在 具体的翻译中,译者既要对原文忠实原文,又要充分考虑读者在不同的语言环境中所处的地 域文化背景和兴趣偏好。



## 二、生态翻译学对陕北民歌《西北回响》英译的理论依托

生态翻译学把翻译活动看作是一个动态的、追求平衡与和谐的文化产物的融合过程,把 民歌作品融入到翻译生态的范畴,这样不仅与民歌翻译的规律有机地结合在一起,也使得民 歌作品的传播更全面、更科学、更精准、更富有美感。在和谐的文学传播生态中,其价值取向 也各不相同:对生命的反映,作家以其广阔的视野,新颖而又独特的艺术形式,揭示了极其丰 富的历史的社会内涵;选择民歌作品生态,译者须抓住读者的阅读心理,使之理解与接受;关 注译本生态环境、读者审美愉悦感,保证译本生态环境,从而产生关联作用。整体把握生态和 谐的价值取向,不仅是民歌创作的基础,更是民歌创作的沃土。以下是从"三维"角度对陕北民 歌英译的理论依托进行分析:

1、语言维方面关注的是翻译的文本语言表达。众所周知,语言是一种交际工具,起着承 上启下的作用。它是源语文本通过再生美再创美,最后达到译语的另一端。而民歌作为一个民 族的语言艺术,更进一步凸显了语言维在文化交流中的重要作用。语言维不仅决定着文化维 和交际维,还影响了译作的文学语境能否被读者所接受,从而实现了源语目的,也使得翻译作 品最终符合观众的阅读需要。译者对源语的转换、目的语的驾驭和表现力起到至关重要的作 用。对民歌英译,特别注意语言风格修辞。译者需根据目的语所处的生态环境,选择合适的词 汇和句子,注意民歌形式、灵活性、衔接性等。

2、文化维方面指译者从源语到译语转换时,要严谨对待文化间的差异,确保源语和译语 中各文化因素间的再创作过程。任何一门语言都根植于所属文化,民歌作品的翻译既是语言 符号的转化,也是一种文化内涵的展现。在翻译过程中,如遇到极具丰富文化内涵的民族地 区,译者须将源语文化内容和读者所能接受的内容一并结合,使译文能够在新的译语生态环 境长期生存。在生态翻译学中,为了维持译语和源语之间的生态平衡,译者需要对其进行再创 作再生美,这实际上是一种文化观照。译者会尽全力维持生态环境,其目的就是消除因语言 带来的文化隔阂。总之,文化维即是翻译文本能够被读者所接受和欣赏的过程。

3、交际维方面是指译者关注两种语言交际意图的适应性选择转换,即译者关注语言间信 息和文化内涵的转换外,还需要关注交际层面,关注原文中的交际意图能否在译文中得到体 现。译者需理解原文的创作意图,并准确地在交际层面上做出适当的调整,才能最大程度地 将原文的语言形态与文化意蕴传递给读者。交际意图的达成,需要在语言与文化两个层面上 进行适应性的转换,以维持源语与目的语之间的良好交流生态。特别是对于民歌作品,更需要 我们从文化角度去审视,并进行深入研究,找出导致这些问题产生的原因,然后针对这些原因 和原因,考虑解决问题的策略。唯有如此,翻译时才可以采取行之有效的方法,尽可能地保持 文学作品所具有的中西文化特征,既可以使文学作品走出国门,也可以使读者更好地了解其他 国家的历史文化、风俗习惯等,有助于文学作品的传播,消除英人对于其他国家历史文化等各 个领域的隔阂,进而增强中西文学作品的译介效果。

### 三、《西北回响》中"三维"的体现

#### 1、语言维

语言维的适应选择是指译者在翻译过程中对语言形式的适应性选择转换。[3] 语言形态 主要包括句法、修辞、文体三方面。英语重形合、逻辑连贯、主谓结构明确为主要特征。而汉语 则注重意合,注重无形的衔接。以《**蓝花花》**(*Blue Flower*)节选为例: **原文:** 青线线 (的那个) 蓝线线, 蓝格莹莹的彩; 生下一个蓝花花, 实实 (地) 爱死个人。

撇下我的情哥哥,抬进了周家。

蓝花花 (那个) 下轿来, 东望西照, <u>照见周家的猴老子, 好像 (那) 一座坟。</u> 译文:

<u>Blue</u> threads, dark and light, look ever the best, Blue Flower is born to the world so lovely.

She is *transported* into Zhou's without seeing her true lover.

Now, Blue Flower gets off and looks around – what does she see? *She sees a little old fellow, and retches at his tomb-like home.* 

### 分析:

《蓝花花》是一首陕北传统民歌,相传某村有位漂亮姑娘,想要过上好日子,结果被逼嫁 给了一个叫"猴老子"的周地主。蓝花花不愿受封建势力的欺压,自找"情哥哥",并大胆地发誓:" 我们会永远在一起,直到永远。"民歌不仅鞭挞了封建婚姻制度对女性的摧残与压迫,也颂扬 了蓝花花敢于突破封建礼教,勇敢地追求婚姻自主权的抗争精神。王译者考虑到这一民歌的 背景,在翻译词语时十分注意语言形式。首先,王译者用"blue"把汉语中的"蓝"和"青"这个词 结合起来,非常注意审美颜色,并且从侧面反映出一种不详的宿命。其次,译者将"抬"字根据 生态翻译语境处理为表示不好含义的词,最终译为"transported",伴有讽刺一说,体现出蓝 花花不情愿进入周家;此外,蓝花花进门后看见周家"猴老子",王译者为了更加凸显情境,又增 译出"retches at",意为"恶心",形象地表现了蓝花花对"猴老子"的厌恶和反感。王译者对词语 的把控恰到好处,完美的呈现出生态翻译学语言维的适应转换,又渲染出民歌艺术美。

### 2、文化维

源语文化与英语文化在本质和内容上都有很大的不同,为了避免翻译产生歧义,译者不 仅要注意翻译过程中所涉及到的语言层面,而且要对翻译过程中所涉及到的文化系统进行适 当的调整,以使其更好地表达出自己的文化内涵。陕北民歌中蕴含着丰富的地域性词语,要 想准确无误地译出,真正表达其文化意蕴,就成了陕北民歌中一大难点。以《打樱桃》(Pick Cherry)节选为例:

### 原文**:**

<u>阳婆</u>(嘞)<u>婆</u>上来丈二(呀)高,

风尘尘不动 (哎呦哎嗨) 天 (呀) 天气好。

(哎嗨哟) <u>引</u>(嘞) 上妹妹(哎哟)去打樱(嘞哎嗨)桃。

站在 (的那个) 坡上*瞭* (呀) 瞭一个瞭, 瞭不见那山长 (嘞) 着好樱桃。 (哎嗨哟) 咱两人相<u>跟上</u>走上走上那一遭 (哎)。

### 译文**:**

<u>The Granny Sun</u> appears up to ten feet high, No wind, and a fine day is ours. And I'll go to pick cherry. <u>Go, my dear</u>.

We stand high on the hillock and <u>look</u> yonder, We see nowhere grows the cherry tree. But we go <u>together</u> all the way.

#### 分析:

在该节选部分中, 出现了几处具有文化特色的词语。首先, 选段中"阳婆婆"三字, 王译者译 为"The Granny Sun", 充分考虑到陕北民歌文化特点。经Google官网查阅, 在陕北, 人们把 太阳称为"阳婆婆", 把月亮称为"月爷爷"。"阳婆婆"这种说法会让人感到十足的亲切感, 是陕北 特有的说法, 所以王译者在生态翻译环境中, 保留了其文化特色, 最终结合为一个词, 瞬间提 升译文的鲜活性。其次, 文中"引上"与"跟上", 比较口语化, 但体现出陕北民歌轻松愉快的气 氛, 王译者在此采用呼语和状语译出, 分别为"Go, my dear""together",尤其是前者, 体现出 文中一对男女打樱桃的快乐, 充满了喜悦之情。最后, "瞭"指的是"看", 直译为"look"即可。以 上三处, 王译者保留了当地民歌艺术, 妥善处理了文化间差异。

### 3、交际维

从交际维角度看,译者应能使读者理解源语的感情和内涵,从而使其与源语的感情产生 共鸣。交际维度的适应性选择是译者在翻译过程中对交际意图的适应和选择。[3]民歌的译文 应尽量使读者能够从字里行间体会到其中的深意。 在翻译过程中,译者必须正确地把握语言 交际维度的变化,深入了解原文的含义,并注意原文的交际意图,从而让译文读者体会到歌词 所传达出的意义。此外,交际层则是指译者注重两种语言的交际意图在译文中是否得到了充 分的表达,其最终目标是使读者能够读懂译文的本意,也就是较高层次的"信",使译者与译文 发生共鸣。以《**崖畔上酸枣红艳艳》**(Wild Jujubes on the Hillside) 节选为例: **原文:** 

## 害得我丢了<u>柳条篮篮</u>, 丢了柳条篮篮。

### 我心里正盘算,

那羊儿叫咩咩。

(哎呀)<u>酸不溜溜甜, 甜格丝丝酸</u>, 酸不溜溜甜, 甜格丝丝酸。 <u>他把我的心儿搅乱,</u> 把我的心儿搅乱, 把我的心儿搅乱。 译文:

<u>And left my basket behind</u>, And left my basket behind,

As I was thinking about it, I heard sheep bleating, And how nice it smelled! <u>So sweet and sour</u>, So sour and sweet, That <u>I felt excited</u>, I felt excited, Excited.

分析:

恰当地运用叠词,可突出词的意义,形象地描述事物,给人以音响萦徊往复的音乐美 感。[1] 该节选中出现了大量叠词。无论是中文还是英文,叠字都能增强语言的乐感,而汉语则 能通过形式美使人产生强烈的联想。王译者将"**柳条篮篮"**,"**咩咩"**,"**溜溜"**,"**丝丝**"这些叠词 在遵循生态翻译学下灵活译出,中文可以重叠词,而英文不能机械直译。王译者的译文栩栩如 生,仿佛有生命一般,言有尽而意无穷,使读者读起来轻松愉快。叠词从侧面也反映出一种模 糊感,既是一种艺术感,又是一种语言风格。译者也把"他把我的心儿搅乱"意译为"I felt excited",清晰易懂,不会带给读者负担。自古以来,叠词使用广泛,这是一种极具生命力的语 言魅力。

## 四、结语

陕北民歌源于人民的劳动生活,极具浓厚乡土特色和艺术魅力。陕北民歌歌词具有很强的 艺术感染力,语言通俗易懂,满满的民族特色。它在中国民间音乐中占有重要地位,是中国民 间音乐的瑰宝。陕北民歌英译既能促进陕北民族文化的传播,又能其艺术和文化的发展,最 后能起到弘扬和继承的作用。本文是基于生态翻译学理论下,翻译过程是译者选择并适应的 过程,两种语言要在"三维"中取得平衡。在陕北民歌英译的大背景下,译者既要充分理解陕北 民族的语言文化,又要考虑到目标读者的语言习惯,文化背景,思维模式等因素,在三个方面 进行适应性的取舍和转化,并采用最佳的翻译策略,从而获得高质量的译本。希望通过这篇 文章对陕北民歌英译的讨论,能为以后的有关方面的研究提供一些借鉴。

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# 顺应论视角下的党史人物传记英译研究 ——以《周保中传》翻译为例

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# On the English Translation Strategy of CPC Celebrities' Biographies from the Perspective of Adaptation Theory: Taking the Translation of "The Biography of Zhou Baozhong" as a Case Study

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Abstract Biographies of CPC celebrities are of great significance to be translated into proper foreign languages, which is a challenging task due to the differences in cultural traditions as well as ideologies that may exist between target readers and Chinese readers. The Theory of Adaptation tends to be a helpful perspective to solve this challenge. This paper proposes and illustrates this idea by discussing the strategy of translating "Biography of Zhou Baozhong", a biography of the revolutionary career of a great CPC leader of the Northeast Counter-Japanese Allied Army in the Second World War, into proper English. Keywords: translation strategy of CPC celebrities' biographies, Theory of Adaptation,

translation for China's global communication, Biography of Zhou Baozhong

近年来,中共党史人物传记的译介逐渐成为外宣翻译界关注的课题之一。本文拟基于顺 应论的视角,对《周保中传》的英译策略进行探讨,希望能为广大外语工作者从事党史人物传 记翻译提供有益的启发和借鉴。

# 1. 党史人物传记的文体风格与翻译难点

人物传记,又称传记文学,是一门"游走在历史和文学之间"的边缘学科,是一种遵循真实性原则,用形象化的方法记述人物的生活经历、精神风貌及其历史背景的叙事性文体。党史 人物传记外译是一项对译者的翻译素养要求很高的工作。

#### 1.1 从《周保中传》的原文本看党史人物传记的文体风格

优秀的人物传记都具有纪实性和文学性高度统一的特征:一方面,作为"传记",它必须体现"纪实性"(如果是历史人物传记的话,则体现为"历史性",事实上一些写作年代久远的人物传记经常会被当作史料看待),人物所经历的重要事件绝对不能出差错,不然就会失去读者的信赖;另一方面,作为"文学",它又不能等同于录像带、流水账,而需要体现一定的生动性、概括性和通俗性,以赋予其主人公以鲜明鲜活的人物形象,满足普通读者的审美需求。(Yin 2011:45)

《周保中传》是一部历史性与文学性高度统一的优秀党史人物传记。原文本共计14 496 字,系中共牡丹江市委党史研究室编写、中共党史出版社2015年出版的《中共牡丹江党史人 物传》的第三篇,为赵懿春、赵新华所著,真实、生动和全面地记述了伟大的共产主义战士,曾 被毛泽东主席誉为"一贯地执行党的路线的抗联同志和在东北14年抗日救国斗争中写下了可 歌可泣诗篇"的周保中将军的辉煌人生。

周保中,原名奚李元,云南省大理人,白族,因在参加中国革命的道路上深受周恩来同志 的影响而改姓周。1931年"九一八事变"后,东北人民长达14年的抗日斗争,实际上是以"南杨( 靖宇)北赵(尚志),东周(保中)西李(兆麟)"为军事指挥展开的,其中周保中在前线坚持最 久,是东北抗联的主要负责人和后期的最高领导人。《周保中传》以时间为序,采用"以人写史" 的叙述视角,充分展示了周保中同志为中华民族争取独立、自由和解放而奋斗的高尚情操。

#### 1.2 党史人物传记翻译的难点

"传记+文学"的两重性对人物传记译者要求较高,翻译过程中既要"着眼于文学价值,更多 地注重译文的可读性和可接受性",又要"侧重史学价值,更多地突出史实的准确性和译文的异 域特征",稍不留神就会过犹不及。

但具有对外宣传作用的党史人物传记的翻译难度更大。因为传记的主人公只能是"高大 全",如《中共牡丹江党史人物传》收录的64人,都把热血乃至生命无私地奉献给了祖国和人 民,可以说怎样美化他们都不过分。然而,历史不是可以任人随意打扮的小姑娘,为了突出人 物形象而杜撰的"事迹"终究是"戏说",对国内读者是"高大上的艺术再创造",对原本就因意识 形态差异而对我党心存"偏见下的傲慢"的西方读者则可能成为"腥一锅汤的鱼"。

党史人物传记翻译最大的难点,在于它本质上是一种外宣翻译,一种有政治倾向性的跨 文化交际行为,"原文怎么写就怎么翻"的理念在这里是行不通的。

#### 2. 顺应论: 党史人物传记翻译的理论新视角

1987年, 比利时国际语用学学会秘书长耶夫·维索尔伦 (Jef Vershueren) 出版《作为语言适应理论的语用学》, 首次提出顺应论的概念, 1999 年又推出《语用学新解》, 使这一理论得以完善。

顺应论认为, 人与人之间的语言选择和适应的过程, 语言适应就是语言适应语境, 或者语 境适应语言, 或者二者同时相互适应; 语言使用者的终极目的是交际, 因此需要按照语境的不 同, 采取不同的语言手段; 语言本身具有变异、协商和顺应等特征, 这些特征会方便使用者在 交际过程中做出选择 (Vershueren 2000: 55–59)。

鉴于自身强大的包容性和解释力,顺应论在此后被广泛运用于二语习得、语码转换、语用 含糊等领域的研究,在翻译界,尤其是外宣翻译界同样如此。 外宣翻译固然与其他翻译一样,要遵循基本的翻译标准,但也有自己的独特性,最重要的 是政治性强,因而对译者的跨文化交际意识要求相对较高,因为目的语读者看到的是外文稿 而非中文稿,译稿能否"接国外的地气"是决定外宣效果的最直接因素。一篇符合对外宣传要求 的中文稿,经过不懂外宣翻译规律的译者处理,可能会变成外国人看不懂或不愿看的外文稿; 反之,一篇不大符合对外宣传要求的中文稿,经过熟谙外宣翻译规律的译者处理,也可能会变 成外国人看得懂且愿意看的外文稿。(Zhang 2013: 2)

顺应论对于助力外宣翻译"接国外的地气"颇具意义。在顺应论视角下,语言的使用被看作 说话人与受话人之间不断协商、配合,从而做出最好选择,以满足交际需要,使交际顺利进行 的一个过程。而翻译,同样可以被看做是译者在目的语认知语境中进行语言选择来阐释源语 文化的过程。为确保跨文化交际在外宣翻译活动中能够顺利进行,译者必须勇于承担沟通不 同文化间交流的神圣责任,并善于发挥自己作为跨文化交际主体的作用。

显然,作为外宣素材的党史人物传记,翻译时遵循顺应论的指导同样十分必要。

### 3. 顺应论在《周保中传》英译过程中的应用

《周保中传》出版以来,一直作为牡丹江师范学院英语笔译硕士的翻译实践素材使用。笔 者有幸拜读过多个以顺应论为理论视角的相关英译本,以下将通过分析其中若干被好评的英 译案例,探讨顺应论对于党史人物传记翻译的指导意义。

例1: 中国人民不但丧失了政治地位、经济地位, 连生命也快难保了, 这时不急起直追努力 革命, 尚待何时?

译文: The Chinese people had not only lost their political and economic status, but were also on the verge of losing their lives. If not rise in revolution now, when?

分析: 原句为周保中将军给友人的信函中的部分内容, 真实地表达了他投身革命时的想法。如果说对于前一句的英译基本属于中规中矩的直译的话, 则后一句译文就有些不走寻常路了, 因为它明显是借鉴了艾玛·沃特森在联合国演讲中的那句名言: If not now, when? 当然, 艾玛此言也是引用来的, 原话是一名犹太领袖 Hillel the Elder (70 BC – 10 AD) 所说的 "If I am not for myself, who is for me? And being for my own self, what am'I? And if not now, when? "但无论如何, 这一选择实在够得上"接地气", 并可望在读者, 尤其是年青一代读者心中留下了"中国共产党人很了解西方文化"的良好印象。

例 2: 我有了这种认识后, 便坚定地向革命的道路走去, 这并非我个人有什么天才, 更非喜欢动乱, 以流血为快, 实乃是物质环境所驱使, 历史使命所召示。

译文: Thus, I became a hardcore revolutionist, not because I am another Napoleon, or a Jacobin follower who enjoys turmoil and blood shedding, but because I was pushed by practical circumstances, called by my historical mission, as well as driven by the current social system.

分析: 原句为例1信函中的另一部分内容, 尽显周将军的英雄主义情怀。但照直翻译难免 空洞单调, 于是译文采用了归化的手段, 以西方人更熟悉的 hardcore revolutionist, another Napoleon 和 a Jacobin follower 等词变相表达"坚定地向革命的道路走去""(军事)天才"" 喜欢动乱, 以流血为快"等含义, 巩固他们刚刚的良好印象。

例 3: 别人都说我吴像子精,可是再精也精不过你周蛮子。

译文: I have a fame of foxy bear, but you are such a foxy monkey that compared with you, I can only say I am somewhat a clumsy bear.

分析:原文为土匪出身的东北抗日志士吴义成的口述,其中涉及"吴傻子"和"周蛮子"两个绰号,分别指他自己和"南方来客"周保中。事实上,"吴傻子"不傻,只是打起仗来悍不畏死,喜欢 不按常理出牌。至于"周蛮子"就更名不副实了:原文塑造的周保中本是"儒将"形象,只可惜"生 在南方"的同胞都被定性为"南蛮",为了团结"敌人的敌人",周将军才接受了这个绰号。但结合 上下文可以看出,吴将军此言毫无恶意,只是凸显了他"不拘小节"的草莽英雄形象。

但如何翻译两个绰号确是问题。尽管西方人也有绰号,按常规"吴傻子""周蛮子"可以分别 译为"Wu the idiot""Zhou the southern savage",但这都是负面的表达,明显与上述语境不 符。实操中译文根据需要对原句结构做了较大的调整:吴将军的绰号变成了"熊",周将军的绰 号变成了"猴",二者分别代表了北方和南方特有的动物,前者是貌似笨拙,实则非常聪明且勇 敢、凶悍的"熊傻子",后者却是古灵精怪的"猴精"。再加上定语"foxy"和"clumsy",完整地 传递了原文中的语意,又符合目的语读者的阅读习惯,堪称完美应用顺应论的佳作。

例 4: 从前, 刘备三顾茅庐请来了个诸葛亮, 如今, 我们一条绳子绑来个参谋长。

译文: I don't know if you are as clever as Prime Minister Zhuge Liang in the Dynasty of Three Kingdoms, but I am sure that I am more fortunate than his Master, Emperor Liu Bei, because I got you with only a banding rope instead of bending myself to seek and beg again and again.

分析: 这是上例中"吴傻子"对副手周保中另一句调侃, 很符合其东北"大老粗"身份: 当时的 中国老百姓都喜欢听书看戏, 对"刘备""诸葛亮""三顾茅庐"这类传统汉文化负载词耳熟能详 的, 引用时信手拈来; 然而翻译它们却很费事, 因为译文未来要面对的读者, 极可能对《三国 演义》一知半解甚至一窍不通。于是, 译文对原句进行了改写, 让这些文化负载词带着它们的 简介所充当的同位语一起出现在句中。

例5: 战斗中, 周保中的腿部受伤, 一颗子弹卡在小腿的两根骨头中间, 但他忍痛指挥部队 直到战斗结束, 在当时没有医疗器械和麻药的情况下, 让人用铁工钳子, 把子弹拔了出来, 用刮 刀刮被子弹打烂的皮肉, 疼得豆大的汗珠直往下淌, 硬是咬紧牙关不哼声, 大家都称赞说: "周 参谋长刮骨疗毒, 胜过昔日关云长"。大家都称赞说: "周参谋长刮骨疗毒, 胜过昔日关云长"。

译文: During the battle, Zhou was shot in his leg and a bullet stuck between two bones of his lower leg. Bearing great pains, Zhou commanded his soldiers to fight until the end of the battle. Later, since there were no medical equipment and anesthetic, he had to have the bullet pulled out with blacksmith pliers, and have the smashed flesh around the wound scraped with a scraper. The pain was so great that his body was sweated completely, but he just clenched his teeth and did not even made a single hum. All his comrades was touched and compared him to Guan Yu, the God of war in Dynasty of Three Kingdoms who had been shot on the right arm by a poisoned arrow in a battle calmly and then had his wounded arm bone scraped by a famous surgeon to save the arm.

分析: 原文又一次出现了《三国演义》的典故,译者再次采用了"意译+同位语注释",将"关 云长刮骨疗毒"的典故融入译文。但笔者更看好的是译者对原文中的衔接与连贯的超语句层 面文本信息的处理。按照顺应论的观点,意义的生成是语言使用的全部内容,制约话语(及话 语群集)产出和解释的主要话语构建原则应该和内容的组织有关,这种组织在形式上主要体 现在衔接和连贯话语构建原则之中。翻译时,译者必须使自己的思维顺应于源语认知语境和 目的语认知语境的思维模式,以便在两种不同的思维模式之间建立起一种有效的相互转换机 制。(Vershueren 2000: 135)

本译例原文虽然内容较长且是"一逗到底",但叙事却有条不紊,让汉语读者清晰地感受到 了当时战事的紧急和周保中将军临危不乱的指挥员素质。这得益于汉语在逻辑表现形式上的" 层次多呈隐性"的特点:与英语相比,汉语的词汇、语法衔接上的显化度较低,句群中可以没有 任何逻辑标记,但不影响读者正确领会各词组、小句、句子之间的逻辑关系。相比之下,英语 句群的逻辑层次多呈显性,英译时只能根据英语逻辑表达的特点,在吃透原作者表达意图的 前提下做出灵活的变异性顺应:原文的长句被一分为五,并根据内容的连贯关系增加了必要 的衔接词,如later、since等。

诚然,以上5个译例不足以涵盖顺应论指导下的翻译全过程,事实上在语音、词语、句子等 层面,顺应论都可以为翻译活动提供理论依据,其译例在《周保中传》的英译文本中不说随处 可见,也是屡见不鲜的。但在笔者看来,这些译例同样可以从其他翻译视角找到理论依据,而 顺应论对翻译工作的典型指导意义更多体现于文化层面和超语句层面,故在此暂不赘述。

### 4. 结语

中共党史人物传记是党史、国史的重要组成部分,译好这些传记,有助于让国际社会进一步认识中国共产党在伟大的中国革命中的中流砥柱作用,助力向世界宣传和弘扬中国革命精神,具有深刻的历史意义和重大的现实意义。

《周保中传》的英译实践证明,顺应论对于党史人物传记中的翻译有着很强的适切性,期 待未来能有更多中共党史人物传记在这一理论框架下得到译介,让红色中国的光辉传遍世界 的每一个角落。

【注:本文系黑龙江省高等教育教学改革项目"全人教育理念下大学英语课程思政育人模 式研究";黑龙江省经济社会发展重点研究课题(外语学科专项)"黑龙江红色文化资源在英语世 界的译介与传播研究"(WY2022020-B); 2022年中国外语战略研究中心"世界语言与文化研究" 课题"大学外语教育中的中华文化融入路径探究"(WYZL2022HL0004)的阶段性成果;第十一 批中国外语教育基金项目"'文化自信'视域下大学外语教育模式探究"(ZGWYJYJJ11A116)。】

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## 对《白鹿原》和《肮脏的裙裾》中妇女地位的解读

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## A Study of Social Status of Women in *Bai Lu Yuan* and *Maila Anchal*

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#### Abstract

As influential representatives in literature of China and India respectively, "Bai Lu Yuan (White Deer Plain)" and "Maila Aanchal (The Soiled Border)" provide us with plenty of historical information and research materials. At the same time, by studying these two classicl works, we can discover different kinds of problems in the process of social development, such as economy, politics, culture and religion, etc. It provides positive and negative experiences for the building of future society. And in these issues, the social status of women has triggered heated discussions.

The social status of women not only reflects the level of social development, but also influences the development process of the whole country. This research paper will present a study of these two literary works and will also give a brief account of the status of women in the two representative novels of Hindi and Chinese.

Keywords: Hindi – Chinese literature, social status, women status

## 一、作品简介

《白鹿原》是由中国当代著名作家陈忠实先生历时六年完成的一部作品,陈忠实先生是 一位拥有民族精神的杰出的作家,出生在中国北方的陕西省西安市。作为陈忠实的代表作,这 部长篇小说总共50余万字,1997年,这部小说获得中国第四届茅盾文学奖。该小说以中国陕西 省关中地区的白鹿原上的白鹿村为缩影,通过讲述白家和鹿家两大家族之间的恩恩怨怨,表 现了从清朝末年到二十世纪七八十年代半个多世纪的历史变化。

《肮脏的裙裾》是印度"边区小说"的杰出代表,它也是边区小说创始人雷努的获得最佳小 说奖的代表作。帕尼什瓦尔·雷努是印地语当代文学的著名作家,五十年代中期印地语小说界 兴起的"边区小说"的创始人,他的长篇边区小说(1954年出版的《肮脏的裙裾》)风格独特,富有 生活气息和时代感,在印度文学中产生了很大的影响。雷努的此篇小说主要围绕印度社会独立 前后的社会状况,针对这一阶段印度社会中存在的形形色色的问题进行描写,真实地反映出 了印度社会农民地生存状况。它所围绕的中心并不是某个人或某件事,而是集中于一个地区, 开创了另一种写作风格,对印度的当代文学作出了很大的贡献,同时也给我们对印度历史的研 究提供了丰富的素材。

### 二、写作背景

《白鹿原》开始写作于上世纪80年代,那个时候正是中国改革开放的初期,中国的经济开 始发展,民族发展也出现了好的势头,陈忠实便写了这本书,以关中平原的白鹿村的五十年的 变化为背景,给我们呈现了那个时段的真实历史,并通过此书想要跟中国人民一起寻找让中 国更好发展的道路。小说的时间背景是20世纪前半期,以关中、西安的一些历史事变为背景, 给人们展示了一个真实的历史场景,表现了农民运动和革命斗争,国共党派之间的斗争,反映 了中国在前进的道路上的曲折进程。这篇小说主要讲述了白家和鹿家两大家族祖孙三代之间 在白鹿原上发生的纷争,所以我们也很容易能够理解《白鹿原》名字的由来了。

作家雷努在《肮脏的裙裾》的序中说:"这里面有鲜花也有荆棘,有红粉也有尘埃,有檀香也 有污秽,有美也有丑……我不能回避其中任何一个。"这句话也可以用在他的另一篇长篇小说《荒 土地的故事》。这两部小说全面地反映了将近十年的北印度农村的社会现实,这个时候,印度 正处于五十年代中期独立前后的阶段。《裙裾》讲述的故事发生在印度独立前后近两年的时 间里。这个时期,印度发生了很大的历史性的变化。经过长期的斗争,印度终于摆脱了殖民统治, 民族独立获得了成功,但后来又发生了印巴分治,这引发了各个宗教之间的冲突和大规模的人 口迁移,还有后来的甘地遇刺,这些事件都给民族带来了巨大的伤害。这篇小说中远离事件中 心的玛丽村也受到了影响。在玛丽村,这些事件让农村的土地改革问题变得更加严重。印度的 两个党派都提出了自己的措施和口号,但是土地的拥有者却使用诡计维护自己的土地,农村的 矛盾十分尖锐。小说就是在这样的历史背景下展开的。

## 三、《白鹿原》中的女性人物分析

《白鹿原》描述了中国传统社会下几大类女性的悲惨生活,无论她们的家庭背景还是性格如何,最后的结局都是一样的悲惨,首先,我先简单总结一下这部作品中所出现的几个重要的女性人物。

第一个是白嘉轩的第七房妻子吴仙草, 吴仙草是盘龙镇中药材收购店掌柜吴长贵的三女 儿。而吴长贵能把自己的女儿嫁给了这个连续克死了六房女人的白嘉轩, 全因当年的知遇之 恩。很明显, 吴仙草的婚姻就是当时中国传统社会典型的父母包办式婚姻, 自己对自己的婚姻 自由没有一丝一毫的发言权, 但她也不会反抗, 只是任由父母做主, 结婚之后, 她也确实做到 了在中国传统概念里女性的职责——相夫教子, 为白家传宗接代, 吴仙草就是这样一个典型 的中国女子。但是, 在整个白家的心目中, 她只不过是一个传宗接代的工具, 婆婆对她好, 只因 她言听计从, 白嘉轩对她好, 只因她温柔体贴, 能传宗接代。但即使是这样, 她仍然活在白家 的压迫之下, 对一切大小事务并没有一点点的发言权。

第二个是田小娥,她也遭受了传统文化的毒害,同样是父母包办婚姻,她却被嫁给了一个 大她几十岁的老头作侍妾,受尽了没有尊严,没有自由的生活,直到黑娃出现,她才开始了对 生活新的渴望。但在这样的社会风气之下,任谁也不能接受这样的事情发生,她的父亲抛弃了 她,黑娃的家人也容不下她,就连整个族人都不能容忍他们的存在。但命运并没有怜悯她,农 运活动失败后,黑娃陷入了危机,为了帮助自己的男人,田小娥不惜变卖自己的色相和身体,色 诱白孝文,成为鹿子霖,甚至称为白鹿两家利益相争的一颗棋子。

第三个受到传统观念迫害的便是鹿冷氏,她是鹿兆鹏娶回家的媳妇,鹿兆鹏受到父亲的 逼迫将冷氏娶回家,但鹿兆鹏是个有思想的社会新青年,虽然已经与冷先生的女儿结婚,但 因为对她并无一丝的爱意,他毅然决然地离家,并决心从此以后不回家,他用自己的强硬态度 来对抗传统社会观念,结果导致冷氏长期受到冷落,但作为一个将传统思想深深扎根于心中 的女性来说,她仍然过着守贞洁的生活,活行寡。但作为一个年轻少妇,欲望是根本的,她 渴望性,但又束缚于传统观念之下,挣扎在欲望与理性之间。最后,在传统观念的压制下,她 不断否定和斥责自己的欲望,却又不能控制那种欲望呼之而出,在两种思想的强烈刺激,她得 了令人厌恶的淫疯病,就这样,鹿冷氏渐渐消逝在了这个世界上。

最后一个女性人物是整篇小说里的灵魂人物,也是传统社会的叛逆者,她就是白灵,首先,与之前的女性角色不同的是,她自己做主,推掉了父亲为自己安排的婚事。她有理想,有信念,对待爱情有自己的是非观,当鹿兆海与自己出现了政治观念上的分歧之后,她毅然决然地坚持自己的立场并与鹿兆海分手。为了组织,她与鹿兆鹏假扮夫妻,结果经过一段时间的相处之后,她爱上了鹿兆鹏,她喜欢他的真性情与真思想,不为传统观念所束缚,正如白灵本人那样,不畏权贵,有自己的理想信念,相信男女平等。虽然白灵最后被极左路线迫害致死,但她也活出了自己精彩而有价值的一生。

### 四、《肮脏的裙裾》中的女性人物分析

《肮脏的裙裾》是一部印度的边区小说,小说的主人公不是人,而是一整个村庄或是地区,因此这部小说与《肮脏的裙裾》不同,没有那么多的女性人物,但其中最具有代表性的大概就是老村长的女儿葛莫莉了吧。

与中国的传统社会一样,印度的传统社会也有着严重的封建礼教思想,1946年末,玛丽 村建了一所医院。刚刚从医学院毕业的大夫普拉尚德来到这里进行防治传染病的研究,平时也 为村民看病开药。他的医术很好,于是很快就赢得了村民的信任和尊重。他在给老村长的女儿 葛莫莉治"病"的过程中,两人产生了爱情,并私下里结合了。同时,村里发生了一起部落民桑塔尔 人与村民打斗的事件,他却被人指控犯有煽动罪,因此被拘捕,但几个月后因罪名不成立而被无 罪释放。原本他可以离开,但他热爱这个村庄,所以决定留下来让"这片被泪水浸透的土地重新 焕发生机"。不过,小说里几对情侣至少会有一个人不是玛丽村的村民,这样就避免了村民的阻 止,让他们最后走到了一起。

### 五、《白鹿原》中的妇女地位

要分析一部作品所展现出来的社会印记, 当然, 第一步就是要去了解当时的历史文化背景, 若要深刻了解本部作品中妇女在中国的地位, 首先要了解的便是在中国历史上妇女社会地 位的变迁。

在中国历史的潮流上,从孔子时代开始,由于孔子的儒家思想,女性根本没有地位可言, 直到到了唐朝时期,中国人民的思想才开始有了觉醒,女性的地位有所提升。以往,女人只能 遵从"三从四德", 恪守"妇女之道", 到了唐朝, 才有权利提出与男人离婚, 并获得法律的认可。 北方蒙古人入侵之后, 妇女地位又一次降低, 到了清朝时期, 妇女在社会中的地位更是降到了 最低点, 其中最为明显的就是妇女要从小"裹小脚", 这不仅仅使得妇女在精神上倍受摧残, 也 让妇女受到肉体上的折磨。到了清末民国时期, 妇女在社会上的地位有了显著的提高, 政府开 始禁止女人裹脚, 妇女在婚姻上也有了一定的地位。在教育方面, 国家也开始注重女子教育, 建立女子学校, 女子拥有与男子平等的教育权利。当代社会, 女子在法律上已经有了与男子同 样的权利, 男女平等的观念已经在现代中国公民身上根深蒂固, 但受到长时间以来中国传统 观念的影响, 在老一辈的中国人身上依旧能够看到男尊女卑观念的痕迹。

《白鹿原》讲述了从清朝末年开始到上世纪七八十年代中国的历史变迁。这部作品描写了 深受中国迫害的女性人物吴仙草、田小娥还有鹿冷氏,也有先进女性的代表白灵。但故事的最 后,无论是何种背景,何种性格的女性,最后都没有得到上帝的怜悯,悲惨地度过作为中国女 人的一生。

很明显,《白鹿原》这部作品从很大程度上反映出了中国传统封建理念的迂腐和愚昧,对 女人社会地位的贬低,传统思想对人民的毒害都令世人唾弃,其实真正可气的并不是这些传 统思想的压迫,而是像小说中提到的像仙草、小娥和冷氏这样的女人,受到迫害不自知,反而 去维护这种扭曲的思想,正因为这些,才大大地阻碍了中国社会的发展进程。反观其中的灵魂 人物白灵,中国也正是有了像白灵这样有思想的社会新青年的出现,才得以继续向前发展,开 展人民革命,敢于违抗父命,与传统封建礼教作斗争,有理想,有信念,相信男女平等。但最后 的这些女主人公的悲惨结局也同样讽刺了中国对女性的不公。

## 六、《肮脏的裙裾》中的妇女地位

在种姓制度盛行的印度, 女性地位低下像是印度数千年来的传统, 在印度传统社会, 尤其 是印度教复兴之后, 印度社会女性的地位明显下降, 她们被迫剥夺了受教育的权利, 除了了上 层社会的女人之外, 女人不允许学习知识, 只能沦为男人的附属品, 沦为生殖工具。在传统的 印度教制度下, 印度人的婚配倾向也是男高女低, 且男子大多娶多位低社会等级的女子来展 现自己的权利与地位, 在印度, 女子生来就没有地位, 这种情况在低种姓阶层更为严重。印度 女子从出生到死亡都被限制着人身自由, 不准参与社会公共活动, 不准接受教育, 更别说参与 社会政治活动, 女人的天职就是侍奉丈夫。

这种长期延续的状况一直持续到了英国人对印度的殖民统治时期,英国人在印度的国门 上打开了一个缺口,把现金的思想和技术传输到印度社会当中,给古老封闭的印度注入了新鲜 血液,同时,印度妇女们也迎来了一个光明自由的时代。为了发展自己的"日不落"帝国,英国殖 民者看到了处于印度社会当中的各种不良社会传统,英国殖民者当局立法来改善印度妇女的 地位,同时,西方传教士也为推动改革贡献了很大的力量,他们为妇女传播新鲜自主的思想, 为妇女们争取社会地位,妇女们自身也在做着努力,她们在文学诗歌上表达她们的宗教信念, 流露对社会的不满情绪。随着社会的发展,妇女在思想上也逐渐觉醒,促使她们进一步抗争, 夺得自己的权利和地位。

英国殖民当局在19世纪针对印度妇女进行了一系列的改革与立法,其中包括废除童婚制度,废除有关寡妇的陈规陋习,禁止危害女婴等等,同时提升妇女的受教育机会,妇女接受教育后,更加深刻地明白自己的权利与地位,有了更加强烈的愿望去争取自由,冲击了她们的传

统观念, 培养了自由, 抗争和独立的意识。英国殖民在推动印度妇女地位的历史事件上影响重大, 直到20世纪, 印度妇女的地位进一步改善。

但当代印度社会仍存在许多男女不平等的现象,印度妇女的社会地位依旧不高,这与印度社会几千年以来的深入到骨髓里的传统封建分不开,印度妇女仍需要时间进行反抗斗争, 印度社会也仍需要时间去进步,去发展。

《肮脏的裙裾》的创作背景为20世纪中期妇女地位还很低下的时代,其中深刻描述了父母包办婚姻,男尊女卑等社会现象。这在文章中有写到—青年大夫普拉尚德和葛莫莉相恋,私下结合,差点给自己带来死亡。不过,小说里几对情侣至少会有一个人不是玛丽村的村民,这样就避免了村民的阻止,让他们最后走到了一起。作家让他们最后成功地结合,代表了作者的态度,那就是否定旧思想、旧传统,提倡婚姻自由。婚姻自由与否很大程度上可以作为衡量社会进步程度的标尺,作家在这里对传统的观念提出了挑战,这反映了作家进步的社会观。

## 七、总结:《白鹿原》与《肮脏的裙裾》中妇女地位的比较

对这两部作品中妇女地位的比较,实际上就是对中印两国对待妇女态度的比较,作为土地 接壤的两大文明古国,两国之间有很多相似之处,同样,在妇女地位的问题上,中印两国也都 存在着相同的问题,在两国传统的婚姻制度上,两国的妇女都是被父母包办,没有自主权利, 妇女也被看作为男人的附属品,生来为传宗接代,为男人服务。

但随着社会的发展, 妇女在中国的地位已经得到了很大的提升, 男女平等的观念已经深入 人心, 自由恋爱也成为了现代男女所崇尚的新思想, 妇女也得到了很大的尊重, 然而对于印度 而言, 一切都还没有像想象中的那样发展, 妇女在社会中的地位仍然是有点不足的, 大多数的 婚姻也都是父母包办, 印度仍然需要改变, 妇女也要持续为自己的权利而斗争, 为自己民族的 发展作斗争。

## 汉语能力竞赛试题研究 — 以全俄中学生汉语奥林匹克竞赛高年级组试题为例

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# A Study of Chinese Language Proficiency Competition – Example-based on the Questions of the All-Russian School Olympiad for High-School Students

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#### Abstract

Chinese language proficiency competition plays an important role in stimulating enthusiasm for learning and promoting the development of participants' language skills. With the gradual development of Chinese language teaching, there is a need to conduct research on the localization teaching. Based on these two factors, this article examines the questions of the All-Russian School Olympiad. Since Russia started hosting the Olympiad in 2015, it has been held eight times. The article examines the questions for grades 9-11 in the Moscow region from these four tournaments: the campus invitational, the city trials, the regional trials, and the federal finals, and analyses these materials in terms of question types, test contents and marking criteria. This article concludes by summarizing the requirements of higher education students in terms of knowledge of Chinese language and culture, linguistic and area studies of China and Russia, and communicative and expressive skills. It is hoped that the research results of this article can provide some reference for the compilation of Chinese language textbooks and teaching aids.

**Keywords**: Chinese language competition, school language teaching, Chinese language as a subject, Chinese language Olympiad, a research of language competition

俄罗斯汉语教学是世界汉语教学的重要组成部分。近年来,随着汉语教学在俄罗斯的逐步开展,语言类竞赛活动也逐渐增多。这类活动以竞技、互动为主要形式,既可以激发学生的学习热情、展示自身潜力,同时也可以促进同伴间的相互学习、激励等,从而促进学生语言能力的进一步发展。中学生奥林匹克竞赛兼具水平测验和成绩测验的特点,对学习者的进一步学习、教师的教学都发挥着反拨效应。

汉语奥赛作为全俄中学生奥林匹克比赛六种外语类语言竞赛目之一,自2015年启动至今, 每学年举行一次,从9月1日起至第二年4月15日结束,共分为四个阶段:学校、城市和地区 选拔赛以及全俄总决赛。其中, 区赛和决赛共计两天, 第一天为笔试, 第二天为口试。比赛根 据参赛者所在年级划分为不同的组, 其中面向高年级学生的奥赛举办年限长。再加上区赛和 总决赛仅限于 9-11 年级的学生, 因此本文以莫斯科地区中学高年级 9-11年级学生的奥赛试 题进行研究。需要说明的是, 由于受到新冠病毒疫情影响, 2019年-2020年度总决赛未举行。 有一些比赛试题在莫斯科地区奥赛官网<sup>1</sup> 尚未找到, 例如22-23年的总决赛试题, 2015-2016 年、2020-2021 年决赛听力录音, 因此本研究包括2015 年至今 30 套试题, 上述年度试题缺 乏部分题目。

比赛涵盖笔试和口试两大部分, 笔试考察参赛者听、说、读、写、译五项技能。笔试分为听力、阅读、语法及词汇、国情、写作等五方面。为方便起见, 下面按照题目顺序依次进行简要分析。

第一部分为听力。听力材料多为一篇记叙文短文,也有的为一段对话。选手需要根据听到 的内容,选择出正确的一项,或者判断所给出的句子是否与材料中的内容相符。借助于汉语学 习资源检索与分析平台选手需要根据听到的内容,选择出正确的一项,或者判断所给出的句 子是否与材料中的内容相符。借助于汉语学习资源检索与分析平台<sup>2</sup> 上的汉语文本阅读难度 分级功能,将听力文本分别输入后,选择"对外汉语"一项,可以检索到该文本的字数,难度系数 及登记。逐篇检索后,发现听力文本难易等级为二三级居多。文本字数、难度具体情况见下表 1。

年度	校赛	校赛    市赛		决赛
2015年-2016年	289 字, 1.6048, 二 级难度	303 字, 1.5474, 二 级难度	199 字, 1.6028, 二 级难度	-
2016 年-2017 年	209 字, 1.5719, 二级难度	555 字, 2.0869, 四级难度	469 字, 1.9465, 三级难度	(对话) 428 字, 1.7931, 三级难度
2017年-2018年	(对话) 412 字, 1.6526, 二级难度	455 字, 1.6167, 二 级难度	426 字, 1.5781, 二 级难度	(背景介绍+对 话) 530, 1.9549, 三级难度
2018 年-2019 年	323字, 1.5964, 二 级难度	(对话) 535 字, 1.968, 三级 难度	356 字, 2.2275, 四 级难度	657 字, 2.2981, 四级难度
2019年-2020年	427 字, 1.6397, 二 级难度	436字, 1.8124, 三 级难度	542 字, 2.0465, 四 级难度	-
2020年-2021年	429 字, 1.9208, 三 级难度	551 字, 1.756, 三 级难度	566 字, 1.9613, 三 级难度	_
2021年-2022年	(书信) 498 字, 1.7494, 二级 难度	323 字, 1.5512, 二 级难度	486 字, 1.6301, 二 级难度	426 字, 1.742, 二 级难度
2022年-2023年	315 字, 1.8396, 三 级难度	358 字, 1.8521, 三 级难度	429 字, 1.9837, 三 级难度	_

表 1. 听力文本难度表

<sup>1</sup> https://vos.olimpiada.ru

<sup>2</sup> http://120.27.70.114:8000/analysis\_a

第二部分为阅读。阅读理解能力是语言教学的一项根本任务,也是学习者所应该具备的基本素养之一。对于语言类竞赛来讲,阅读理解能力更是考察学习者语言知识掌握情况、语言能力发展水平的重要内容。通过对阅读题目进行研究,发现:

1)题型。参赛者需要阅读一篇短文,然后选择出单项正确答案。短文均为记叙文,体裁、 文体风格较为单一。该题侧重于考察参赛者的文字认读能力、一般理解能力。对于评价鉴赏 能力、综合应用能力、理解段落要旨的能力,以及根据上下文猜测词义的能力等有所欠缺。

2)题目选材。通过对这八年试题的研究,发现阅读部分所使用的材料大部分选自国内出版的汉语教材,如《汉语阅读教程》《博雅汉语》《汉语口语教程》《成功之路》等。从已出版的教材中选取可作为试题材料的篇章,有客观上的便利以及优势。然而由于所选用的教材基本上是为大学阶段的学习者所编写的,因此,有的文章内容、主题与当前中学生的校园生活相脱节。例如,2016-2017年市赛阅读题《租房只有一个条件》,2017-2018年区赛第一篇阅读文章《第一次出差的经历》,当年决赛中阅读题目《鱼与邻居》。还有一些阅读文章,与校园生活有关,但是内容已经过时了。奥赛大纲中指定的参考书目中,也缺乏一些贴近俄罗斯中学生学习生活、语言水平的教材。

3) 阅读文章长短、难易度分析。通过对56 篇阅读文章从字数多寡、难易程度进行分析, 可以知道文章字数基本为 500 字以内, 四级难度为主。具体分析情况见下表 2。

年度	校赛	市赛	区赛	决赛
2015– 2016 年	310字, 1.63, 二级 难度	312 字, 1.6331, 二 级难度	237 字, 1.6576, 二 级难度	1.283 字, 1.9177, 三 级难度 2.368 字, 2.0526, 四级难度
2016- 2017 年	1.242 字, 1.9041, 三 级难度 2.156 字, 1.6547, 二 级难度	587字, 1.8441, 三级 难度	1 331 字, 1.8326, 三 级难度 2. 333 字, 1.7831, 三 级难度	1 372字, 2.1244, 四 级难度 2.423 字, 1.8111, 三 级难度
2017- 2018 年	1.437 字, 2.02, 四 级难度 2.505 字, 1.6952, 二级难度	1.504 字, 2.1331, 四级难度 2.269 字, 1.9745, 三 级难度	1.268 字, 1.7692, 三 级难度 2.484 字, 1.8738, 三级难度	1.936 字, 2.2204, 四级难度 2.295 字, 1.734, 二 级难度
2018– 2019 年	1.378 字, 2.1197, 四 级难度 2.428 字, 1.7605, 三 级难度	1. 494 字, 2.177, 四 级难度 2. 345字, 2.1537, 四 级难度	1.442 字, 2.1098, 四级难度 2.656 字, 1.9605, 三级难度	1.391 字, 1.8511, 三 级难度 2.602 字, 2.2013, 四级难度
2019- 2020 年	1.488 字, 2.1208, 四级难度 2.283 字, 1.9314, 三级难度	1.446 字, 2.2919, 四级难度 2.307 字, 2.2732, 四级难度	1. 477字, 2.0883, 四 级难度 2. 281 字, 2.115, 四 级难度	_
2020 2021 年	1.316 字, 2.3149, 五 级难度 2.346 字, 1.8651, 三级难度	1. 422 字, 2.2905, 四级难度 2. 386 字, 2.2602, 四级难度	1. 375 字, 2.2928, 四级难度 2. 330, 1.8109, 三级 难度	1.378 字, 2.5035, 五级难度 2.395 字, 1.9036, 三级难度

表 2. 阅读文本难易度分析

2021- 2022 年	<ol> <li>355 字, 2.115, 四 级难度</li> <li>365 字, 1.6075, 二级难度</li> </ol>	1.331 字, 1.8066, 三级难度 2.385 字, 1.757, 三 级难度	1.359 字, 2.0082, 四级难度 2.307 字, 2.3976, 五级难度	1.380 字, 2.026, 四 级难度 2.349 字, 2.4166, 五级难度
2022– 2023 年	1.338 字, 1.8313, 三级难度 2.305 字, 1.8781, 三级难度	1.334 字, 1.9391, 三级难度 2.275 字, 1.9391, 三 级难度	1.372 字, 1.7866, 三 级难度 2.318 字, 2.2581, 四 级难度	_

第三部分为语法和词汇。对八年来的试题进行梳理、统计后,得出:声调36 道,汉字笔画数 37 道,数字表达22 道,汉俄翻译 23 道,词语理解及替换 38道,片段选词填空共 25 道,语序练 习38 道。在词类、句类等语法方面,关联词语55 道,比较句16 道,趋向补语53 道,结果补语 13 道,可能补语 18 道,状态补语 5 道,数量补语 3 道,副词69 道,助词20 道,介词45 道,数量词 10 道,形容词、动词重叠7 道,疑问代词 6 道。除此之外,还有少量的程度补语、介词结构、情 态动词等知识点。由此可见,该部分题目涵盖面广,主要考察学习者所掌握的汉语本体知识, 以及是否能够根据具体的情景来进行选择、运用的能力。从17-18 年开始,增加了对中文成 语、句子的翻译,考察范围在扩大。题型较其他部分更为丰富,有单选题、判断对错题,将给出 的词语放在句中合适的位置等题。

第四部分为中俄国情知识。题型为单选。这部分考察学习者对中、俄两国文化、历史、 地理、城市、人口、文学等多方面知识的了解情况。研究发现,2015-2019年均为中国国情知 识,2019-2020年加入了俄罗斯国情。2020-2021年开始题目改为使用俄语,选项为汉语。例 如:

Кто из нижеперечисленных литературных деятелей России не получал Нобелевскую премию по литературе?

a)米哈依尔·肖洛霍夫 b) 伊万·蒲宁 c) 鲍里斯·帕斯捷尔纳克 d)安东·契诃夫

2015 年至今, 277 道题目中, 中文题目为167 道。考察的重点倾向于参赛者的知识面, 以及能否看懂中文, 而不是语言理解能力。

第五部分为写作。常规题型为半命题记叙文补写,即根据给出的开头或结尾,补写出事情的经过。不少于 250 字。从2021 年起,决赛中增加了一道单独的题目- 叙述。即参赛者需要阅读一篇四五百字的中文文章,然后用俄语进行复述。笔者认为这道题目考察的是先阅读后 表述的能力,也应该归为"写作部分"。

口试是笔试之外的另一大题目。目前为止,口试仅限于区赛和决赛。参赛者现场结成 3-5 人的小组,在五十分钟内,围绕给出的题目准备十分钟的口语交流内容。通常情况下,小组成 员会自主选出一位主持人,由主持人来提出问题引导小组成员逐一发言。评委则根据选手表 现,给出团队得分和选手个人得分。评分标准涉及发言内容是否切题、表达是否清晰、发音是 否标准、用词是否准确等方面。

对莫斯科区赛口试题目进行分析,发现该地区赛题侧重于俄中之间的对比,参赛者要就某 一个话题介绍出相同之处与不同之处。例如俄罗斯人和中国人怎么度假,饮食习惯,对父子关 系的看法,青年的爱好。决赛试题也具有这方面的特点。例如讨论一下俄中两国人对如何选择 职业/大学的看法、老师在两国的社会地位、年轻人如何学好外语等。

综上所述, 全俄汉语奥林匹克比赛对于培养青年人才、促进汉语教学发挥着积极的促进

作用。试题对参赛者汉语言文化的知识考查是很全面的,而且也注重选手的汉语言运用、交流能力。考察内容呈现出稳定中有变化的特点。

笔者认为听力、阅读文本的选材,应该更贴近当代中学生的校园生活。在文章类型上,不 妨增加一些说明文、议论文、散文等体裁。由于笔者所能查阅到的资料有限,也无法了解到口 试部分参赛者的实际表现,仅根据奥赛大纲、历年真题来展开初步的分析,本文存在诸多不 足之处。试题的题量、难易度是否可以充分反应出选手的汉语言文化水平,也无从得知。希望 将来的研究可以弥补这方面的缺憾。

# 体验式教学模式在"中文+旅游"课程中的实践探索——以保加利 亚索非亚孔子学院下设普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂为例

王莹 普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂

# The Practical Exploration of Experiential Teaching Mode in "Chinese + Tourism" Course —A Case Study of Confucius Classroom in Plovdiv University

Wang Ying Confucius Classroom at Plovdiv University

#### Abstract

This paper explores and analyzes the author's attempt to localize the experiential teaching mode in the "Chinese + Tourism" course. It summarizes the current implementation situation of the "Chinese +" project and the first attempt in the Confucius classroom at Plovdiv University, as well as the connotation and significance of the experiential teaching mode. It also demonstrates the initial teaching practice effect and summarizes the reflections on it.

Keywords: Chinese +, tourism, experiential teaching

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## 一、引言

在"一带一路"倡议提出十周年之际,越来越多的丝路青年在学习汉语的基础上对职业技能有了更多的需求,"中文+项目"应运而生。如何更好地把语言和技能进行教学上的融合,真正做到学以致用,得到了广泛的关注。

## 二、中文+项目的发展现状

《孔子学院发展规划 (2012—2020年)》曾提出,"适应学员多样化需求,鼓励兴办以商 务、中医、武术、烹饪、艺术、旅游等教学为主要特色的孔子学院",为孔院开展"汉语+"项目提 供了助力。2018年,孙春兰总理于第十三届全球孔子学院大会致辞中,首次提出"汉语+"这一概 念,并提出孔子学院应开设技能、商务、中医等特色课程,建立务实合作支撑平台。由此,"汉 语+"内涵建设成为了汉语国际教育发展的重要目标。2019年国际中文教育大会首设"中文+职 业技能"论坛,将职业领域语言教学的转型升级纳入关注重点<sup>1</sup>。截至6月30日,中外语言交流

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> http://zhaopin.jiaohanyu.com/wap/c\_article-a\_show-id\_1662.html

合作中心的官网上, 涉及"中文+"的新闻共计25则<sup>2</sup>。其中关于"中文+旅游"最新的一则新闻是 2023年4月20日《联合国世界旅游组织 (UNWTO) "中文+旅游"线上培训正式开班》<sup>3</sup>, UNW-TO亚太部主任黄海国 (Hae-Guk HWANG) 表示, 语言在旅游中起着至关重要的作用。中文自 2021年成为UNWTO官方语言后, 在促进各国间的沟通交流中扮演着越来越重要的角色。开 展"中文+旅游"培训正当其时, 有利于促进各国友好合作和文化交流, 进一步推动国际旅游蓬 勃发展。

## 三、普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂"中文+旅游"课程实施现状

普罗夫迪夫是保加利亚第二大城市,也是欧洲现存最古老的城市之一,距今已有六千多年的历史,是保加利亚重要的经济、文化、教育中心,也是其民族复兴的发源地之一,具有丰富的人文和历史资源,多次被评为欧洲旅游最佳目的地。在这里开展旅游课程的教学具有得天独厚的有利条件。

普罗夫迪夫大学语言学院在2011年首次开展中文教学,2016年正式挂牌设立孔子课堂, 汉语教学隶属于应用语言系,迄今为止共设立三个本科专业,即保语与汉语专业、英语与汉语 专业和德语与汉语专业。每年的新生毛入学人数在15名左右,毕业生人数5到10名左右。孔子 课堂现有一名本土汉语教师和一名国家公派教师。自开始中文课程以来,具有导游资质的汉语 教师只有现任教师一名。孔子课堂在2018年首次尝试在四年级第二学期的口语课中以地陪导 游服务的专业知识为课程重点,2020至2022年因疫情原因暂停,截止2023年6月底,孔子课堂 共进行了3次中文+旅游的教学课程实践,分别是2018年(8人)、2019年(10人)和2023年(15 人),总计完成学习和考核的学生33人。在尝试"中文+旅游"的本土化实践过程中,笔者一直在 探寻更为合理且有效的教学方法,其中体验式教学模式的运用初见成效。

### 四、体验式教学的内涵综述

美国心理学家戴维·库伯在1971年提出了体验式学习理论,该理论认为人的学习是一个 基于体验的循环过程,该过程由四个部分组成:通过体验和观察获得经验、经过比较和评价 形成反思性观察、进行模仿和分析形成抽象的理解、综合设计应用于实践(蒋常香,毛莉婷, 刘小青:2013)。该理论的哲学基础也可以追溯到孔子,即"吾听吾忘,吾见吾记,吾做吾悟"。教 师依照理论基础和教学目标,课前精心设计教学内容,设置教学情境,结合多种教学手段,按 照学生的认知规律,让学生亲身感知、领悟过程,并在实践中应用、证实并创新的一种教学模 式。该模式更强调以学生为核心地位,强调学生的自主学习,积极参与,学习过程充满乐趣与 挑战。体验式教学评价的核心是强调职业能力,促进全面发展,培养高端专业性技术人才。

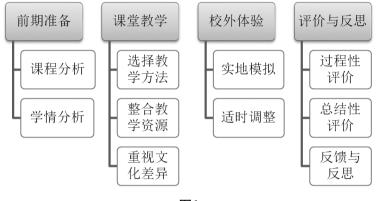
## 五、 体验式教学模式的本土化实践

体验式教学模式是指按照学生的认知规律,教师依据理论基础和教学目标,通过设置正 式的或者虚拟的教学情境引导学生参与。呈现教学内容,让学生亲身感知、领悟过程,并在实 践中应用、正式并创新,从而是学生获得认知、培养能力、提高综合素质的一种教学模式(刘

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> http://www.chinese.cn/page/#/pcpage/search

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://www.chinese.cn/page/#/pcpage/article?id=1399

书艳:2015)。体验式教学的实施是一项系统工程,需要充分调动各方面的力量,开辟各种渠 道,运用各种方法,全方位多角度地进行。在体验式教学中,教师应进行课前精心设计,保证科 学实施的过程,利用多元化的综合评价方法,达到预定的教学目标。笔者以体验式教学的课 堂实践入手,从前期准备、课堂教学、校外体验和评价与反思四个方面对体验式教学模式在" 中文+旅游"课程中的实践进行分析(如图1所示)。





#### 5.1前期准备

笔者根据教学目标和教学内容并对教学对象进行分析,在全面把握课程的重难点的前提 下,熟知学习者的现有知识水平与年龄时代特点。课程设计初期,笔者调查了学生通过《汉语 水平考试》(HSK)以及是否在中国学习过汉语的情况,在33名学生中绝大部分具有HSK4级的 水平,且有2人通过HSK5级。因为疫情原因,只有2018级和2019级中共计8人去中国参加过一 年期短期汉语培训项目。因此在制定教学大纲时,弱化了汉语语言知识的教授,重点加入了专 业术语和与职业技能相关的专业知识。根据普罗夫迪夫大学的授课计划,四年级第二学期的 汉语口语课共计48课时(45分钟/课时),想要在有限的授课时间内涵盖全部的导游专业知识 的可能性非常小。又基于导游法律法规等方面的国别性差异,笔者将教学重点放在了《导游服 务技能》这门专业课上,力求结课时学生能具有地陪导游工作的整体概念和基本技能。

#### 5.2课堂教学

根据笔者在普罗夫迪夫大学近7年的汉语口语课的教学经验,深知保加利亚的大学生 对枯燥单一的教学方法有抵触心理,不喜欢简单地重复跟读和机械式的句型操练。因此, 在本学期的口语课堂中,笔者更多地采用现代生活中年轻人常见的小程序,例如抖音(Tiktok)、脸书(Facebook)等,通过学生自行分组,选择负责讲解的景点。学生组内分工协作, 以Word、PowerPoint的形式呈现自主学习的过程,以演讲、表演或短视频等形式呈现学习成 果。不仅如此,还在课堂教学中穿插案例分析,让学生小组内讨论,找出中保两国旅游者的出 行特点,折射出两国之间的文化差异,为今后的工作打好基础,避免文化冲突造成的误会。通 过整合教学资源,结合网络视频讲解导游服务基本礼仪规范,分析视频中地陪导游工作的优 缺点,直观形象。

#### 5.3校外体验

在学生对景点内容进行了全面的调查和整理之后,实地考察并模拟真实地陪导游工作就 显得十分必要了。凭借普罗夫迪夫得天独厚的地缘优势,笔者将口语课堂适时转换至实景教 学,让地陪导游的工作更具体验感和真实感。学生根据事先制定的游览路线,逐一讲解,不停 变换导游和游客的身份。在讲解时关注语言本身,聆听时关注内容并以游客身份提问,一问 一答之间,激发了学习的主观能动性,扩充了语言以外的旅游专业知识,训练了地陪服务的专 业技能。每次现场模拟之后,老师和学生都会根据实际出现的问题对教学和讲解内容进行调 整,让"中文+旅游"的课程更加符合本土需求,提高教学内容的应用性。

#### 5.4评价与反思

教学评价是反应教学实施效果的重要环节。笔者对该课程设置了小组形成性评价表 (如 图2所示)和总结性评价表 (如图3所示)

() 小组	案例分析30%	PPT 30%	视频 40%	成绩
学生1				
学生2				
学生3				
备注	每一部分以百分制的形式表明该学生在小组内负责的自主学习任务和完成情况,			
	并根据所占比例计入总分。			

图2

总结性评价表					
评价内容	课堂考核	实地模拟	视频作业	现场考试	成绩
成绩比例	30%	20%	10%	40%	
备注	<ul><li>1、每部分成绩均采用百分制计算。</li><li>2、课堂考核应包含出勤率和课堂表现。</li><li>3、现场考试应包含汉语语言基本知识的考核</li></ul>				

图3

由于学生数量的有限, 笔者可以在每次本土化实践课程结束以后对部分学生进行访谈, 以便收集反馈信息。在参与实践的33名学生中, 笔者一共访谈了26名同学, 约占总人数的 78.8%。访谈的同学中有超过一半的人数对"中文+旅游"的课程持肯定和积极的评价, 认为在语 言知识的基础上加入职业技能, 能够更好地扩大就业面, 创造副业价值。同时, 也有一部分同 学提出了疑问, 笔者结合授课中实际出现的问题, 总结分析如下:

5.4.1. 本土化职业技能教材的缺失

在课堂教学中,学生并没有系统性的教材,课程之间缺少互通性。口语课虽强调了技能的 培养,但本土教师的综合课上也没有特别相关的教学材料补充语法和词汇上的教学缺失。虽 然现在对 "中文+"教材的开发已经有了部分成果,但适合保加利亚本土教学的且与旅游相关 的保汉双语教材还未出现。 5.4.2. 培养国际汉语教师的"双师型"人才

在国际汉语教师队伍里,绝大部分是国际汉语教育专业,也有一部分是外语教师(国内大中院校英语教师为主),他们在教授语言方面具有扎实的基本功和极具个人色彩的教学方法。 但是在开设"中文+"课程时,授课教师的教学任务不再只是语言本身,更多的要输出职业技能 知识。这就要求我们的教师找到自己的兴趣点,发展一项专业技能。以普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课 堂为例,先后有过4名公派教师,只有一人具有国家导游从业资格证书,且具有导游从业经验。 在对"中文+旅游"进行本土化实践时,结合自身经验,教学材料真实且丰富,能够更好的提高 教学成效。因此,培养和打造一批具有专业技能证书的"双师型"国际汉语教师迫在眉睫。

5.4.3. 新时代科技手段造成的学习惰性

智能手机的快速发展,各种小程序充斥着我们生活的方方面面,疫情期间更是得到了大范围的应用和普及。高科技的教学辅助手段让学生在获取知识方面更加便捷,同时也造成了一部分学生的学习惰性。笔者在教学过程中发现有些学生会大量依赖网络或手机的翻译程序和人工智能快速完成小组任务分工,不求其意,只读拼音,敷衍了事。

5.4.4. 从业信心有待提升

虽然这33名学生都顺利通过了课程考核,但就笔者了解的情况来看,真正在毕业后从事专 职或兼职导游工作的人暂时没有。一方面是汉语地陪导游的需求有限,另一方面也是学生对 专业知识的不自信。因此,如何能够为学生创造实习机会,锻炼专业技能,提升从业信心,真正 实现毕业即就业也是值得思考的一个问题。

综上所述,体验式教学模式在普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂的教学实践是一次较为成功的教 学改革,本土化的改良让该教学模式更好地适应课程实际要求,能够较大程度地提高教学效 率,增加语言教学的实用性和职业技能的应用性。期间也存在值得思考且进一步改良的空间, 具备继续研究和探索的价值。

## 六、结语

职业领域的汉语语言教学现已成为对外汉语教学中的又一重要领域,"中文+职业技能"以 语言知识为基础,拓展职业技能,增强语言的实用性和应用性,助力各国汉语语言人才的岗位 专业技能的提升。普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂紧跟对外汉语教学的转型升级,适时开设"中文+ 旅游"课程,尝试体验式教学模式,较好地完成了既定的教学目标,取得了较为理想的教学成 果。未来将继续深耕该课程,探寻最优化且高效的本土化教学模式。

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# 古诗词教学中如何用一个灵魂唤醒另一个灵魂 ——文学课在对外汉语教学中的内容构思、方法探讨和活动设计

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# How to Use One Soul to Awaken Another Soul in the Teaching of Chinese Ancient Poetry – Content Conception, Method Research and Activity Design of Chinese Literature Course in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language

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Abstract The principle of education is to lead to the source and foundation of human soul awakening through all cultures of the existing world, not to things derived from the original and mediocre knowledge. Against the background of teaching Chinese as a foreign language in the university, how can the high-level literature class be taught in a vivid and orderly manner, so as to "awaken" the souls of the students? This article will put my research into the framework of the two teaching methods for further research (the pedagogy of performing another culture and the production-oriented approach), and conduct an in-depth study of each teaching method through the analysis of the design of certain activities and practical exploration. Keywords: Performed Culture Approach (PCA), Production-Oriented Approach (POA), Chinese literature, Learning Model Instruction (LMI), Acquisition Model Instruction (AMI)

"教育就是一棵树摇动一棵树, 一朵云推动一朵云, 一个灵魂唤醒另一个灵魂", 这句话出 自德国存在主义哲学家雅斯贝尔斯 (Karl Theodor Jaspers, 1883—1969)《什么是教育》》一 书。教育的原则是通过现存世界的全部文化导向人的灵魂觉醒之本源和根基, 而不是导向由 原初派生出来的东西和平庸的知识。

以在大学里的对外汉语教学为背景,如何将曲高和寡的文学课上得有声有色,有板有眼," 唤醒"学生们的灵魂呢?本文将会把我在此次华文教师研习班上的收获放置在我最近"习得"的 两种教学法的框架里做进一步研究,通过某些活动的设计来对每种教学方法进行深入分析 和实践探索。

## 1. 用体演文化教学法教授《诗经》和《论语》

体演文化教学法 (The pedagogy of performing another culture) 是"体验"和"演练"相 结合的教学方法。这不是简单的"角色扮演", 而是先给学习者提供一个可以"体验"的文化场 景, 然后让其反复"演练", 然后当同类文化场景再次出现时, 学习者能自然地做出回应, 自如 地表达自己。这种教学方法的创始人是吴伟克 (Galal Walker), 康乃尔大学中文博士。现任俄 亥俄州立大学东亚语言文学系教授, 美国教育部直属的全美东亚语文资源中心主任。他在专著 《体演教学法》一书中指出:"语言学习和艺术欣赏一样, 只有当参与者具有必须的利用该环 境的认知手段, 环境才能提供帮助。"<sup>1</sup> 而语言教学中的文学教学正是为了让学生通过文学修 养的提高, 具备理解对象国文化环境的认知手段。

在吴伟克教授的书中,他提到外语课程有两种基本教学方法:学习式教学法 (Learning Model Instruction: LMI) 和习得式教学法 (Acquisition Model Instruction: AMI)。<sup>2</sup> 前者包 括演练 (Act) 和阐释 (Fact) 两种。学习式教学法 (LMI) 注重教学的内容. 通过情景设定等一 系列方法来循序渐进地展示、实践和提高上述相关知识和技能。在安排课程比例时,演练应 占主导地位。旨在激发学生应用所学内容。习得式教学法 (AMI) 侧重学习的过程, 主要是教 授学生在恰当的时间和地点使用外语口语和书面语的各种策略和技巧。AMI的主要目的并非 增加学生的词汇和句型, 而是提供机会让学生运用现有的外语能力来解决问题。其最终目的 是训练学生不依赖学习环境,并能够利用语言和文化的宏观和微观系统来自我提高。而这两 种方法在文学课堂上也是相辅相成的:关于文学文本,需要学习式教学法来展示历史背景,了 解作家生平,进一步领会文本的寓意,并捕捉到文本的风格,并能够熟读成诵,不仅对原文了 '然干胸. 用自己的语言对原文进行概括和分析. 并做出有自己见解的评价; 但习得式教学法要 求文学课更上一层楼, 拿到相同流派的其他作家的作品也要能够读懂, 拿到不同流派的作家 的作品可以比较分析,可以实现不同文体之间的转换,要想学好一门语言,一定要沉浸在其文 化中, 而文学课正是保证学生们真正地"参与文化"的一条有效的路径。例如, 在教授《诗经》 或《论语》中的名篇时,可以让学生们把诗经的诗歌改编成剧本,把《论语》中的对话改变成 小说,让学生们在文化中体演,在体演中掌握语言。

## 2. 用产出导向法教授唐诗和宋词

"产出导向法"(Production-Oriented Approach,简称POA)是由北京外国语大学中国外语 与教育研究中心文秋芳教授带领的教学与研究团队创建的具有中国特色的外语教学理论。关 于这一理论,白景永在《浅论"产出导向法"研究及其应用》一文中做了精辟的概括:"POA理 论体系主要包括教学理念、教学假设和以教师为中介的教学流程。其中,教学理念主要指"三 个学说"即学习中心说、学用一体说和全人教育说;教学假设包括输出驱动、输入促成和选择 性学习三个假设;教学流程包括驱动、促成和评价三个阶段。文教授强调指出,在整个课堂教 学流程中需要教师'适当地发挥中介作用'。POA理论体系具有几个方面的亮点值得业内同仁的 借鉴:一是"产出导向法"针对中高级外语学习者;二是"产出"(production)和"输出"(output) 的主要区别在于前者不仅强调产出的过程(producing)还强调产出的结果(product),包括 说、写、口译和笔译,而后者仅指说和写;三是POA首次提出"学习中心说",强调"课堂教学的

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>吴伟克. 体演文化教学法 [M]. 湖北教育出版社, 2010年, 第90页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 同上, 第58页。

一切活动都要服务于有效学习的发生,挑战的是目前国内外流行的'以学生为中心'的理念"。"3

在对这种教学理念进行了深入了解之后,我认为这种方法不仅适合对外汉语教学中的文 学课,还会把文学教学推向一个新的境界:

首先,要完成"任务驱动"的任务,激发学生们的学习动机。对于文学课,一些学生是饱含 着热情而来的,但也有一些学生觉得很茫然无措,不知文学课对外语的学习有什么用处,更 不知是否有一些晦涩难懂的作品等着他们。面对这种情况,教师要把文学的魅力展示给学生 们,通过唐诗宋词中的经典段落的诵读,作家跌宕起伏的人生经历的讲述,作品改编成的影 视剧的片段,驱动学生们的学习动力,让他们明白唐诗宋词的价值,学习文学对学习汉语的辅 助意义。

其次,要强化输入,促进内化。这里的"强化"输入,不是"强制"输入。对文学兴味索然的 学生们上文学课不仅自己受煎熬,也在煎熬着老师。如何让如此"麻木不仁"的"看客"成为"激 情澎湃"的"信徒",这将是对老师极大的挑战。因此,在文学课初期,老师和学生们要进行有 效的沟通,了解每一代年轻人的兴趣点,捕捉让他们为之动容的情感线,在从文学作品中选择 与之"异曲同工"或"遥相呼应"的文本,而不是强行灌输老师或他人认为的优秀作品,所以在选 取唐诗宋词的时候,一定要考虑到外国学生的需求和东西方不同的审美;不仅如此,还要培养 学生们的思辨精神,锻炼他们的批判思维,让他们不人云亦云,勇于发表自己的看法,展开课 堂辩论。文史哲三科向来关系紧密,把史学和哲学的某些课题与文学学习结合起来,会让学生 们看到唐诗宋词所展示的世界的幽深和高明。在此基础上,要让学生们认可或信服的经典真 正走入学生的内心深处和人生境遇,引起共鸣、自省或反思,写读后感就是一种非常有效的 方式,不仅是对一部作品的读后感,而是对某句话、某个情节和某个描写都可以有感而发,不 拘一格,尽量避免传统刻板的读后感模式,而是"随笔"和"闲谈",于细微处见精神。这种输入

第三,要以读促写,迁移创新。在"产出导向法"的理论中,强调"产出",而不是"输出";坚 持"学用一体说"和"全人教育说"。也就是说,不是单纯地复述和品评,而是"创作"和"尝试",不 仅要借鉴前人的菜单,还要推出独家的"私房菜",无论味道如何,都会是对自己综合能力的一 种考验和锻炼。无论未来是否专门从事文学专业的工作,学生们都会对这样的文学创作体验 保留着新鲜而难忘的回忆。诗歌的应和或创作,微小说或短剧的编写,甚至各种改编和续写, 新型表达方式的探索,都会磨砺学生们的心性和智慧,"玉不琢不成器",相信这样的教学活动 一定让每位学生都展示出自己的潜力,唤醒"沉睡的另一个自我"。这又正好呼应了"教育是一 个灵魂唤醒另一个灵魂"的宗旨。

综上所述,外语教学中的文学课不仅在教学内容和教学理念上,而且在教学方法和教学 实践中都要能够与时俱进,不断创新。但万变不离其宗,教育的宗旨不但是"传道授业解惑", 更应该是启迪心灵,点亮智慧,磨砺心性和养成品格的。正如爱尔兰诗人叶芝(亦称叶慈)所 说: "Education is not the filling of a pail but the lighting of a fire (教育不是注满一桶水, 而是点燃一把火)。"

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## Китайски и западни възгледи за живота и смъртта: Анализ на романа "Време разделно"

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# Chinese and Western Views on Life and Death: An Analysis of the Novel "Time of Violence"

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#### Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the attitudes towards life and death of the characters in the novel "Time of Violence" by Anton Donchev by comparing the differences between Chinese and Western views of life and death for exploring the author's pursuit of human value. The view of life and death presented in the novel reflects not only the Western people's attachment to faith and the afterlife, but also the Eastern people's quest for morality and justice in the present life. The Chinese and Western views of life and death are combined into one in the novel, constituting the common view of human beings towards life and death.

Keywords: concept of life and death, Chinese culture, Western culture, Time of Violence

Възгледите за живота и смъртта обхващат основното отношение на хората към тези два феномена от реалността, включително дали се страхуват или се изправят срещу тях със смелост, в каква степен осъзнават стойността на живота, дали допринасят за самореализацията си и обществото и т.н. В китайските и западните възгледи за живота и смъртта съществуват прилики и разлики в третирането на тези въпроси: китайците ценят "живота", докато западняците се изправят лице в лице със "смъртта".

## 1. Възгледите за живота и смъртта в западната култура

Когато човек се роди и издаде първия си силен вик, това бележи не само разгръщането на живота, но и началото на пътуването му към смъртта. Фридрих Енгелс е казал: "Животът означава смърт". Животът и смъртта са два неразделни аспекта на един и същ въпрос. Всеки жив човек ще се изправи пред смъртта и ще отиде на смърт и ще бъде "хвърлен в нестабилна, открита ситуация. Само едно е сигурно, че краят на миналото и бъдещето е смъртта"<sup>1</sup>. Човешкият живот се състои от множество несигурни събития, но дестинацията на смъртта е вечна и западната култура признава това в пълна степен. Западната култура стъпва върху еврейската традиция и гръцкия рационален дух и в нея е залегнало дълбоко чувство за трагизъм. Философите от различни епохи не само систематично са обяснявали смъртта на теория, но също така са създавали и практични модели, които са били предавани през вековете. Например Сократ, Джордано Бруно и др. са обогатили конотацията на смъртта със собствения си живот. Християнството е религия, в чиято сърцевина стои въпросът за смъртта, което позволява на представителите на западните общества да го обсъждат спокойно и да осмислят рационалността на "живота" на фона на "смъртта". Затова може да се каже, че западната културна среда създава подходящи условия за разгръщането на дебатите по тази тема. Западните възгледи за живота и смъртта се изразяват главно в следните аспекти:

### 1.1. Изправяне пред смъртта и търсене на трансцендентност

Много гръцки философи разглеждат човешките същества като комбинация от душа и тяло. Душевният живот е чист и благороден, докато физическият е мръсен и низък. Платон вярва, че душата е вечна, независима от тялото и дарява тялото с мисли и мъдрост. Душевният живот ориентира хората как да избягат от физическите желания на този свят и да достигнат до измерението на щастието. Следователно изучаването на философията представлява "практикуване на смъртта", а смъртта е "освобождаване на душата от затвора на тялото". Смъртта не е ужасна. Ужасно е човек да е пристрастен към физическите удоволствия и да не може да ги превъзмогне. Стоиците също считат, че тялото е временно и незначително, а душата е вечна и е в основата на "зрелостта". Възгледите за живота и смъртта в гръцката философия се съчетават с религията и се превръщат в основна концепция на християнството. Християнството изгражда система от есхатологични постановки, чиято крайна цел е постигането на единство с Бог като духовен символ, така че хората да могат да се освободят от греховете, да осъзнаят стойността на земното съществуване, да постигнат трансцендентност над битието и да получат като награда Царството на Вечния живот. "Сократ, Платон и стоиците виждат смъртта като духовна сублимация на невежия живот, докато християнството и неговата философия издигат смъртта като път към нов живот"2. Това изказване отразява манталитета на западния човек, който се осмелява да се изправи лице в лице със смъртта.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>姚新中、焦国成:《中西方人生哲学比伦》,中国人民大学出版社,2001,第356页。



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 宋晔(2011) 在《中西方文化中的生死观》指出生与死是一个问题不可分割的两方面。每个活着的人都将面临 死和走向死,正如弗洛姆对此有精辟论述:人,无论是类人或个人,一旦降临斯世,便被"抛入动荡不定、开放无 拘的境遇之中。其间仅有一点是确定的:过去以至未来的尽头——死亡。"

### 1.2. Отговорността е в основата на ценността на живота

Съвременната западна философия обръща внимание не само на въпроса за смъртта, но също така и за щастието в живота, постулирайки, че безсмъртието в следващия живот е безсмислено за щастието в този живот. Животът и смъртта са два неразделни аспекта и смъртта има отношение не само към вечния живот в отвъдното, но и към по-добрия живот в този свят. "Само фактът на смъртта може дълбоко да повдигне въпроса за смисъла на живота. Причината, поради която животът на този свят има смисъл, е именно смъртта. Ако няма смърт в нашия свят, животът ще загуби своя смисъл"<sup>3</sup>. Философията на Хайдегер за смъртта се нарича още "философия на отговорността". Той не просто обсъжда самата смърт, но и разсъждава върху живота чрез смъртта, анализирайки статуса и влиянието ѝ върху живота и прекроявайки стойността и значението на "съществуването". Смъртта бележи края на живота и следователно подчертава значението на раждането. Само когато е наясно със смъртта, човек може да се възползва от деня, да се обогати, да работи упорито, да изпълни отговорностите си, да повиши стойността на живота и да приеме смъртта като специална интерпретация на значението на живота.

Голяма част от хората в западната култура изповядват християнството, в чиято доктрина животът е концепция, която трябва да бъде абсолютно уважавана. За християните човешкият живот принадлежи само на Бог и никой освен Него няма право да го отнема. Същевременно в смъртта те виждат възможност за изкупление на греховете, тя не е край на съществуването, а път, който ги води към вечен живот и безсмъртие. Така в християнските схващания смъртта представлява завършек на земния път и сублимация на живота.

#### 1.3. Значимостта на индивидуалното право на живот

Западните възгледи за живота се коренят в хуманистичните ценности и подчертават стойността на индивидуалния живот. В тях се обръща голямо внимание на "опознаването на себе си" и пълноценното разгръщане на личния живот, който е уникален и който е даден по право на всеки човек. Този мироглед насочва хората да гледат навътре към собствените си души, да определят житейските си цели и по този начин да подобряват качеството на живота си. В него се набляга на моралните ценности, на връзката между индивида и обществото, като същевременно се обръща внимание и на честта, позора и достойнството на личността.

## 2. Възгледите за живота и смъртта в традиционната китайска култура

Тази склонност е свързана с дълбоко вкорененото в китайската народопсихология отношение на конфуцианството към живота и смъртта, което третира смъртта като нещастие. В схващанията на традиционната китайска култура възгледите за живота и смъртта могат да бъдат обобщени в следните няколко аспекта:

# 2.1. Човек трябва да избягва да мисли за смъртта и да се фокусира върху настоящия живот

Китайската традиционна култура, в това число и възгледите за смъртта, черпят силно влияние от конфуцианството. Конфуций е казал: "Ако не познаваш живота, как можеш да познаеш смъртта?". Това означава, че ако човек не може да се погрижи за "този живот", той не би могъл да се погрижи и за "отвъдния". Първоначалното намерение на Конфуций е да внуши на хората да бъдат прагматични, да ценят удоволствието от реалния и перцептивен живот, да бъдат отговорни за него и да съсредоточат цялото си внимание върху преследването на социалната му стойност, вместо да се разсейват от мисли за смъртта и отвъдното. В известен смисъл реалистичната екзистенциална философия на конфуцианската култура, която изключва въпроса за смъртта от процеса на живота, е един от културните корени на табутата на китайския народ, които включват и страх от смъртта. Следователно, зад повърхностния оптимизъм и великодушие на китайците съществуват дълбока тъга и страх от неизбежния край, тъй като "смърт" означава пълно отричане на "живота" и пълно унищожаване на радостта от земното битие. Поради тази причина смъртта е забранена тема в традиционната китайска култура още от древни времена.

### 2.2. Акцент върху социалната стойност на живота

Китайската култура придава голямо значение на душевността и морала, подчертавайки интегрирането на индивида в по-голямото Аз (колектива), и наблягайки върху отговорността и високата стойност на живота. Конфуцианството издига като висш идеал хармонията между Небето, Земята и човека и постулира, че моралът е по-важен дори и от живота. То разглежда живота и смъртта от гледна точка на социалната стойност на живота, считайки, че смисълът му се крие не в самия живот, а в социалната му значимост. По този начин конфуцианството акцентува върху активното участие на човека в обществения живот и личната отговорност към обществото и страната. Мъндзъ<sup>4</sup> (372-289 г. пр.н.е.) унаследява възгледите на Конфуций за живота и смъртта и ги доразвива. Той подчертава значението на "праведността" и формулира следната трактовка: "Рибата е това, което искам, както и лапата на мечката. Но не е възможно да имам и двете. Ако взема лапата на мечката, трябва да се откажа от рибата. Животът е това, което искам, както и праведността. Но не е възможно да имам и двете. Ако взема праведността, трябва да се откажа от живота си". С това той посочва,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Също познат като Менциус.

че моралът и праведността са най-висшите ценности за човека, за които си струва да бъде пожертван дори и животът, като именно по този начин ще бъде осъществена неговата истинска стойност.

Тао Синджъ (1891-1946 г.), китайски педагог, оценява индивидуалната стойност, както и социалната стойност на живота, като ги разглежда през призмата на комбинацията от креативност и отдаденост, също така и от индивид и държава, с цел да се обогати конотацията на живота. Фън Юлан (1895-1990 г.), известен съвременен мислител и философ, разделя управлението на човешкия живот на четири нива – природно, утилитарно, нравствено и вселенско. По отношението на нравственото ниво той счита, че човек, като индивид, съществуващ в обществото, не може напълно да е изолиран от него, или с други думи, индивидът може да реализира собствената си стойност само в обществото.

# 2.3. За да се постигне идеалната личност, смъртта се превръща в процес на духовна сублимация.

В традиционните китайски възгледи за живота и смъртта често се пренебрегва първоначалния смисъл на живота. Отдадеността на правдивата кауза се разглежда като процес на саможертва или сублимация на личността. Тя увековечава човешкия дух. Както се казва, "Достойната смърт е по-тежка и е по-важна от планината Тай<sup>5</sup>". Това отношение разширява стремежа към постигане на смисъла на живота до последния момент, преследвайки величието на "живота" и славата на "смъртта". И същевременно, тази позиция до известна степен пренебрегва първозамисъла на живота, неговото емоционално преживяване, както и осмислянето на множество подробности за смъртта. По този начин се опростява въпросът за смъртта и се прикрива сложността и разнообразието на нейните трактовки. Когато хората се сблъскат с нея, те изпитват огромна загуба и изпадат в страх, безпокойство и отчаяние, именно поради липсата на съзнание как да се справят с феномена на смъртта.

## 3. Развитието на възгледите за живота и смъртта във "Време разделно"

Сюжетът във "Време разделно" на Антон Дончев се развива в Елинденската долина в Родопите, в периода на масово ислямизиране на българите по време на османското владичество. Романът разказва за съпротивата на българите на това насилствено ислямизиране в течение на няколко седмици. По това време те са подложени на най-ужасни мъчения, зрелища, унижения и падения, и дори на смърт.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Планина Тай е планина с историческо и културно значение, разположена северно от град Тайан . Това е най -високата точка в провинция Шандун. Даоистите смятат пет планини за свещени, образувайки на картата вид кръст, краищата на който са ориентирани към кардиналните посоки. На изток е планина Тай, която се нарича още "Голямата централна планина", считана за най-свещената.



Авторът уточнява във въведението, че романът ползва записките на френски благородник с прякор "Венецианецът", пленен в Кандия и приел исляма. Романът е разказан от първо лице, описвайки възникването и развитието на историята от гледна точка на Венецианеца. Същевременно тя е изпъстрена с психологическите промени на разказвача в процеса на разгръщане на фабулата, особено промяната на отношението му към живота и смъртта.

"Това е епоха на остри сблъсъци и разколебани отношения, когато изборът на лична позиция е общозадължителен и определящ народната съдба за векове наред. Във "Време разделно" трагическата тема за разоряването и помохамеданчването на родопската долина Елинденя мотивира събитийната наситеност на сюжетното развитие". Затова изборът на определеното лице, особено на Венецианеца, не само показва инстинктивните реакции на човека спрямо враждебните условия, но също така и отразява стремежа към постигането на стойност на индивидуалния живот в контекста на религиозното общество. По-забележителното е, че разказвачът е фигура между двете религии, в който се въплъщава силен религиозен колорит, но той не е напълно подвластен на абсолютната дисциплина и контрол на нито една от двете религии, в което прозира смесица от източните и западните идеи.

Венецианеца изразява човешкото си потресение пред голямата трагедия. Попът, в чиито жили тече благородническа кръв, се е отказал от вярата си, изменя на духовното си предназначение и "в името на оцеляването на другите поема върху себе си проклятието на предателството". Той вярва на единствената ценност – да живее.

Абдуллах нямаше ни минало, ни бъдеще. Абдуллах нямаше цели. Имаше само една цел – да оцелее. Да живее. Той нямаше път, но беше открил, че човешките пътища не водят доникъде. Важното беше, че върви. Той имаше крачката.

Лишен от сродници, от приятели, от богатство, Абдуллах беше открил, че притежава най-важното – беше жив. Коприната, перата, броните, любовниците, празненствата, ловът закриваха за френския благородник, неговия предшественик, това най-важно нещо. Абдуллах остана гол и почувствува, че живее. (ДЯЛ ПЪРВИ, откъс четвърти)

В логиката на такава същност на живота, вярата продължава да съществува и помага не само когато човекът е жив, но и след това. Въпреки това, ако всички вярващи са изложени на риск да бъдат лишени от живота си заради своята вяра, то вярата трябва да заеме задната седалка на живота.

И дълго-дълго се борих с моя бог, комуто бях служил досега, и борбата на Якова, който се борил с бога и му надвил, беше като борба на деца пред моята борба, докато надвих бога в сърцето си и му рекох аллах, а не Исусе. И му го рекох през плач, който

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Владимир Янев, "Време разделно" на Антон Дончев, Електронно издателство LiterNet, 26.01.2009. https://liternet.bg/publish13/v\_ianev/pogledi/a\_donchev.htm .

кънтеше над цялата планина, та ме оглушаваше, ала по-добре плач и сълзи от живи очи, отколкото изтеклите очи на мъртъвците под пещерата. (ДЯЛ ЧЕТВЪРТИ, откъс четвърти)

Когато Венецианецът-Абдуллах решава, че ще избере да бъде жив вместо да се бори за защита на вярата си, "в двубоя на живот и смърт победител излиза Манол. Гибелта му ражда легендарно възхищение, докато след Караибрахим дотлява само ужасът. По този начин върху историческата основа се гради нравствено-философското внушение за предимствата на родното и връзката с хората пред зверския индивидуализъм и духовното еничарство"<sup>7</sup>. Мъченическата смърт на Манол и първениците вдъхновява стремежа на Венецианеца към нравствеността. Психологическият обрат идва от възхищението на Абдуллах пред Манол, пред неосквернимата красота на Елица и мъдростта на баба Сребра. Груповите портрети на елинденците напомнят героизма на българите и отрицанието от зверствата.

Казвам се Слав. По-преди се казвах Абдуллах, но ме наричаха Венецианеца. Още попреди бях граф и носех името на прочут френски род.

Благодаря на Манол, че ме научи какво е човешки живот.

Благодаря на Елица, защото без нея никога не бих познал любов.

Благодаря на баба Сребра, че ме научи да обичам песните и ми помогна да различавам отровните бурени от целебните билки и лошите хора от добрите хора.

Благодаря на Шарл, че ме научи да се бия с шпага, и на Давид, че ме научи да яздя кон.

Благодаря на оня неизвестен гребец, който ме научи български.

Благодаря на майка си и на баща си. Майка ми, щом ме роди, ме захвърли на дойките. Баща ми гледаше на мене като на средство за постигане на целите си, а не като на отделен човек. Все пак им благодаря, че ме родиха.

Благодаря, че съм живял и че още живея.

Моля съдбата само за едно – да ми помогне да посрещна смъртта така, както я посрещна Манол. (ДЯЛ ТРЕТИ, откъс първи)

"Кое е достойното, живот или вяра?" Въпросът, който заема централното място в съзнанието на летописа, но и в повествованието на романа, се решава в остър психологически конфликт. "Във финалните страници на романа саможертвата и оцеляването са показани в единния поток на битието. Следващ логиката на историята и човешкото, Антон Дончев пресъздава действителността в сложната ѝ проблематичност"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Пак там.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Там.

Възгледите на Венецианеца за живота и смъртта са претърпели няколко обрата – от безстрашието, когато е бил заловен, до желанието за оцеляване и предателство заради страха от коловете, и накрая до новото разбиране за живота и смъртта по отношение на крайната ценност на човека след кончината на Манол и първенците.

Това беше моята последна нощ. Знаех, че с убийството на Караибрахим се осъждах на смърт. Аз, който бях разбрал, че единствената ценност в света е животът, сам се отказвах от него. Както мъдрецът Абдуллах, робът, беше заменил слепия френски благородник, така сега един безумец, третият човек, бунтовникът, щеше да замени Абдуллах.

Безсмислено беше. Абсурдно беше.

Животът отричаше сам себе си и с това отричаше всичко, защото животът беше основа на всичко и отвъд него нямаше нищо. Безсмислено беше, но не можеше другояче. По-добре живо куче, отколкото мъртъв лъв. Вярно беше, мъдро беше, но каква полза, щом лъвът не можеше да стане куче? Когато умираш, а не се превръщаш в куче? Въпреки че го искаш. Идваше разделното време, когато лъвовете трябваше да измират, а кучетата да живеят.

Жалко, че се бях родил човек, а не куче. Не можех да го променя. (ДЯЛ ТРЕТИ, откъс шести)

В този монолог на Венецианеца възгледите за живота и смъртта вече не се ограничават до правата вяра, а се издигат до крайното търсене на ценността на човешкия живот. Неговият избор отразява не само привързаността на западните хора към вярата и отвъдния свят, но също така и стремежа на източните хора към нравственост в настоящия. Тук китайските концепции за живота и смъртта са обединени в едно цяло, което се е превърнало в общото отношение на "човешките същества" към тези два феномена.

Въпреки че има огромни исторически и културни различия между Китай и Запада, техните възгледи за живота и смъртта споделят обща основа: признаване на смъртта и страх от нея. Този страх се корени в човешкия инстинкт (особено в епохата, когато медицината все още не е развита), защото смъртта е загадъчна, неизменна и необратима. Този страх от смъртта е ясно отразен и в множество литературни произведения.

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# POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

# ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИ, ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИ И ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

# EU–China Relations in a Transforming International System

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Abstract Decomposition of the post-Cold war order with rising confrontation between major powers in the international system is taking place. EU–China relations become increasingly complex. China demonstrates a more ambitious and assertive foreign policy approach, while the EU shows a hardening stance towards Beijing. There are appeals within the EU for 'decoupling from China', while China became the EU's top trading partner overtaking the United States in 2020 and 2021. Applying an interdisciplinary approach, the paper will seek to analyse the development of the relations between the European Union and China in the context of the transformation of the international system. Keywords: China, European Union, world order

Decomposition of the post-Cold war order with growing instability and rising confrontation between major powers in the international system is taking place. EU-China relations become increasingly complex. China demonstrates a more ambitious and assertive foreign policy approach, while the EU shows a hardening stance towards Beijing and the EU Strategic Compass adopted in 2022 defines China as one of the key actors of strategic concern. There are appeals within the EU for 'decoupling from China', while China is for the first time the EU's top trading partner overtaking the United States in 2020 and 2021. Hence, the aim of this paper is to briefly analyse the development of the relations between the European Union and China in the context of the transformation of the international system. Applying an interdisciplinary approach, the paper will seek to explore the prospects of EU-China cooperation, while analysing some challenges for EU-China relations.

# Changing Roles in EU-China relationship

The analysis of the normative foundations of EU-China relationship illustrates changing dynamics in the bilateral relations as well as some serious differences in the EU's and China's approaches and priorities. During the first period of the EU-China relations it was the EU that was the active and more self-confident side that took the lead in the bilateral relations. Formal relations between China and the European Economic Community were established in 1975 but it was in 1995 when the European Commission published the first strategic document on the relations with Beijing entitled "A Long-term Policy for China-Europe Relations". Both, this first strategy as well as the Commission's policy paper "A Maturing Partnership: Shared Interests and Challenges in EU-China Relations" (European Commission 2003), adopted in 2003, focus on economic issues (trade deficit, market access, reciprocity, intellectual property rights, public procurement) and on issues related to democratization, human rights, rule of law, Taiwan. EU's political will for deepening the political dialogue with Beijing is also demonstrated in the documents.

On the other hand, in that period, Chinese leaders mostly emphasize that strategic partnership with the EU should help to enforce a global multilateral approach and to achieve global multipolarity. China hopes that the EU will be one of the emerging poles in the international system as a counterweight to US unilateralism in world affairs. The first China's official political document on EU, adopted in 2003, points out that the two sides have different views and positions on some issues because of the differences in their historical background, political system and economic development model. Still, the document stresses also that "there is no fundamental conflict of interest between China and the EU and neither side poses a threat to the other".

Converging priorities and shared interest to further develop bilateral cooperation and partnership made possible the establishment of the EU-China strategic partnership in 2003 as well as the upgrading of the legal base for the development of the bilateral relations in 2004 when "Guidelines for Common Action" were adopted. At that time, Brussels still emphasizes the universality and primacy of its model of development and sticks to the idea of supporting the transition of the Chinese state to democracy, open society based on the rule of law and respect for human rights (European Commission 2006). Still, the European leaders adhere to an approach of engagement and cooperation with China, not containment. China is seen as a challenge because of its specific development model but also as an important factor in the solution to global and regional problems.

The review of the legal framework of the EU-China relations highlights the gradual change in the roles of both actors through the years. The 2008 financial and economic crisis, for example, turned to be an important game changer in EU-China relations. While most of the EU countries were severely hit by the crisis, China used the crisis as an opportunity and succeeded to strengthen its positions. Beijing took advantage of the temporary inability of the Western countries to fully project their power and influence in the different parts of the world. It expanded its economic engagement with different countries, further strengthened its power, self-confidence and global confidence. In general, China further consolidated its position as one of the most powerful actors on the international scene.

This change with regard to China's role in international system affects EU's perceptions of China and EU's China policy, as well. The EU already recognizes China's increased economic and political influence and more important role in the system of global governance. This attitude is illustrated in EU strategy on China, adopted in 2016. The document still focuses on "reciprocity" in trade and investment relationship as well as on "values". However, while still criticizing Beijing on the subject of human rights and stressing that the Union remains true to its values, Brussels no longer declares openly its ambition to change the political system in China. It states only that "respect for the rule of law and human rights within China and internationally" will be promoted (European Commission 2016).

In a period of post-crisis development, the leaders of the European Union are not ready – for political or ideological reasons – to miss the opportunities that cooperation with China could provide for generating EU growth. The newly adopted strategic document proposes that "the EU should engage China in its reform process in practical ways which result in mutual benefits for our relations in economic, trade and investment, social, environmental and other areas" (European Commission 2016). It calls also for a comprehensive agreement on investments to be signed.

China, on the other hand, is also in a period of significant changes in the beginning of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Since coming to power in 2012, President Xi Jinping launched substantial transformation of China's political, economic and military system. This transformation resulted in a more active and more global China's foreign policy. Beijing has started to demonstrate an ambition for a greater role in global governance. These changes have also influenced China's relationship with the European Union.

In 2014, after the first-ever official visit by a Chinese president to the EU institutions in Brussels, the second China's strategic document on the relationship with the European Union was issued. The document entitled "China's Policy Paper on the EU: Deepen the China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership for Mutual Benefit and Win-win Cooperation" reflects the new developments in the international system and the new stage in the development of EU-China relations. On the one hand, the document emphasizes the strategic importance of the EU but also the significant role both China and EU play in international affairs and global economy, in particular (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China 2014). On the other hand, the document openly calls for joint China-EU efforts to reform global governance which is a direct challenge to the US global dominance.

## From "strategic partnership" to "strategic concern"

European Union's narrative on China has significantly changed at the end of the second decade of the 21st century. This is best illustrated in the documents adopted at EU level in the last few years. In 2019, the joint communication to the European Parliament, the European Council and the Council "EU-China – A Strategic Outlook" postulated that "China is, simultaneously, in different policy areas, a cooperation partner with whom the EU has closely aligned objectives, a negotiating partner with whom the EU needs to find a balance of interests, an economic competitor in the pursuit of technological leadership, and a systemic rival promoting alternative models of governance" (European Commission 2019).

The new EU strategy on China reveals a more assertive EU's approach to China. While economic factors still constitute the backbone of the EU-China relationship, political and geopolitical rationale is gaining growing significance. The EU ambition to impose on China the Western values is giving way to the understanding that the Asian country not only does not accept the Western liberal order but is gradually promoting its own model of modernization and development. EU's Strategic Compass published in 2022 openly defines China as an actor of strategic concern and declares that: "China tends to limit access to its market and seeks to promote globally its own standards. It pursues its policies including through its growing presence at sea and in space, as well as by using cyber tools and displaying hybrid tactics" (A Strategic Compass for Security and Defense 2022).

The 'mutually beneficial cooperation' narrative gradually gives way to the 'Çhina threat' idea not only in the official EU documents but in a significant number of publications of European scholars and experts (Benner et al. 2018, Karásková 2021, Zweers et al. 2020, among others). In this regard, Rogelja (2021) even concludes that "for years already, European media and a handful of think tanks and parliamentarians have dabbled in sensationalist narratives of the 'China Threat' tale, mainly through a confirmation bias".

EU concerns related to the increasing China's economic and political influence have become much more visible. Growing concerns related to the Chinese acquisitions in strategic sectors of the European economy (physical infrastructure, ports, IT companies, etc.) have resulted in the adoption of a screening mechanism for foreign investments in 2019 (Le Corre 2019: 7). In 2021, Brussels imposed the first sanctions on China since the arms embargo in 1989. Sanctions were imposed on Chinese officials responsible for alleged human rights violations against Uyghur Muslim minority. China responded with reciprocal measures sanctioning European individuals (including members of the European Parliament) and entities (Parry 2021). The ratification of EU–China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment was frozen. Brussels has also adopted a more active approach to the Taiwan issue. The EU has reinforced and expanded its ties with the island. The official exchanges between the EU and Taiwan became more frequent in the last couple of years.

There are changing perceptions when it comes to China's attitude towards the EU, as well. Beijing still insists that despite differences in history, culture, social systems and development stages, China and the EU have no fundamental strategic conflicts and are "indispensable partners to each other's reform and development" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China 2018). At the same time, China criticizes unilateralism, protectionism and de-globalization on the rise and is much more assertive and resolute in defending its core interests. China's Policy Paper on the European Union, for example, imperatively states that "the EU should explicitly oppose "Taiwan indepen-

dence" in any form, support China's peaceful reunification, and handle Taiwan-related issues with prudence" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China 2018).

Growing number of experts and politicians in China share the opinion that the EU is facing a number of fundamental challenges that it is failing to address. Some experts emphasize EU's inability to prove itself as an independent pole in the international system (Yifan 2023). "It is undeniable that the EU is easily influenced by the US in its China policy due to its ideological similarity and military alliance" Global Times points out (Global Times 2023).

### (Geo)Political vs. Economic Rationale

The European Union continues to seek a balance between concerns arising from China's growing economic (and political) power and expansion, on the one hand, and, mutually beneficial (economic) cooperation with the Chinese state, on the other. China has already gained confidence and is increasingly contesting Western dominance in global governance. Beijing's growing engagement and increasing influence in different countries and continents is at the expense of the ability of the Western countries to project power around the world.

At the same time, against the background of the war in Ukraine, it is obvious that the prospects for any EU strategic autonomy become quite vague. The European countries are increasingly dependent on the United States in the security field. Hence, any ambitions for a stronger, more sovereign, geopolitical European Union sound too unrealistic. As Szewczyk (2022) points out, "for the United States, providing a security umbrella in Europe gives it a special role in shaping policy on the continent and an ability to mobilize allies for joint action it would otherwise lack". Hence, reinforcement of the transatlantic alliance, rising tensions between the United States and China as well as China's refusal to condemn Russia over Ukraine further narrow down the possibilities for deepening EU-China cooperation.

The EU, however, is at a critical stage of its economic recovery and it is increasingly important for European countries to ensure even closer economic interaction with China. EU and China are the largest partners for trade in goods in 2020 and 2021, which means that for the first time China overtook the United States as EU's biggest trading partner. As of investments, as Michta (2023) notes, "despite a decline in EU investment in China during the pandemic, 2022 saw a dramatic reversal of this trend, with EU investments in the country growing by a staggering 92.2 percent year-on-year". The expert pays attention to the fact that though the EU's investments remain relatively modest, they are at critical supply chains that European industry needs.

Thus, as Dong Chengxi (Global Times 2021) points out, the European Union faces "the conflicting choices between maximizing economic interests and taking a hard-line ideological stance toward China". On the one hand, the EU leaders express a tougher



approach regarding China. The President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen, for example, believes that Europe needs to be "bolder" on China, which has become "more repressive at home and more assertive abroad" (European Commission 2023).

On the other hand, the leaders of big European countries share a more moderate stance toward China. French President Macron and German Chancellor Scholz express commitment to developing dialogue and cooperation with Beijing. Both leaders as well as the Prime minister of Spain Pedro Sanchez visited China immediately after the re-election of Xi Jinping for a third term as leader of the China's Communist Part. French President Emmanuel Macron declares that "We must not disassociate ourselves, separate ourselves from China" (Le Monde 2023). He even goes one step further stating that "Europe must reduce its dependency on the United States and avoid getting dragged into a confrontation between China and the U.S. over Taiwan" (Anderlini and Caulcutt 2023). Le Corre (2023) is right to argue that Germany and France follow contrasting approaches to China – O. Scholz prioritizes German economic interests, while Macron's ambition is to explore a "third way" between China and the United States. Still, despite the differences in the approaches, both countries are not willing to jeopardize their interests when it comes to their cooperation with China.

### Conclusion

EU-China relations are at a crossroad again. Both internal and external factors will influence dynamics in this relationship. Exacerbating tensions in the international system, intensifying geopolitical rivalry between China and the US as well as growing differences between Washington and Europe are among the factors that will further affect the Union's relations with China. Despite the existing differences and disagreements between the European Union and China, there is already a consensus among the European leaders that 'de-coupling' is not an option. So, time will tell whether the EU leaders have the ability to find the right balance between pragmatic considerations and values-related arguments and rationale when dealing with China.

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# EU-China Relations in the Context of the EU Strategies for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific and for the Global Gateway

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	Abstract —	
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	The EU's rising interest in Asia has been largely based on the rising economic and political	
	importance of the Indo-Pacific region in the post-Cold War period and early twenty-first	
	century, as well as the impact that it has had on Europe's own international relations. The	
	article examines the dynamics of EU-China relations in the context of the geopolitical con-	
	frontation between China and the US over the past decade. It traces the EU's response to	
	China's "Belt and Road" Initiative over the years, focusing on two key EU strategies that	
	are to some extent seen as a response to China's growing political and economic influence	
	globally. These strategies are: "The EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific" and	
	"The Global Gateway Initiative".	
	Keywords: EU-China relations, Belt and Road Initiative, EU-Indo-Pacific strategy, "Global	
	Gateway" Initiative	
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The multipolarity of the world at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has led the great powers to develop new **'grand geopolitical strategies'** to outline their strategic objectives and how they aim to advance and achieve them.

About ten years ago the PRC launched its "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI), which is China's most significant economic growth investment strategy. Meanwhile, one of the pursued political goals of the BRI is the increase of China's influence globally, including within the EU. In fact, China is developing its concept of a new model of global governance, and one of the ways to achieve it, according to the Chinese leaders, is through the implementation of the "Belt and Road" initiative.

# What is the EU's response to this geopolitical challenge?

The EU's rising interest in Asia has been largely based on the economic and political importance of Asia in the post-Cold War period, as well as the impact that it has had on Europe's own international relations.

As far as the EU-China relations are concerned, the EU announced in 2003 that it had launched a 'comprehensive strategic partnership' with China. This policy was intended to elevate EU–China relations beyond trade and investment issues and to address some of the world's most pressing political and security challenges.

Since then, intensive EU-China relations created a rich network of bilateral dialogues, forming a three-pillar system covering three most important areas of cooperation: politics, economics and social issues. These three pillars are based on the High Level Strategic Dialogue (2010), the High Level Economic and Trade Dialogue (2007) and the High Level People-to-people Dialogue (2012).

On the one hand, it was clear to all European countries that the success of the "Belt and Road Initiative" is directly related to China's close cooperation with the EU economy, as it is China's largest trading partner, and the PRC in turn is the EU's second largest trading partner after the US.

Around the middle of 2015 a large number of European countries signed memoranda of understanding with China for the implementation of projects, related to the "Belt and Road initiative". A joint statement at the EU-China summit held in June 2015 paid special attention to the link between the main initiatives of the two sides, namely the "Belt and Road Initiative" and the "Investment Plan for Europe" (the so-called "Junker" plan), which prioritizes the development of various infrastructure projects in the EU and neighboring territories. According to the document, EU and Chinese leaders "decided to support synergies between these initiatives", and directed the EU-China High-Level Economic and Trade Dialogue to develop practical avenues for mutually beneficial co-operation.<sup>1</sup>

Later that year, in its Resolution from 16 December 2015 on EU-China relations, the European Parliament noted that it considered BRI as a project of "geostrategic importance" that "should be pursued in a multilateral way". For the first time, the EU stated that it "believes that it is of the utmost importance to develop synergies and projects in full transparency and with the involvement of all stakeholders".<sup>2</sup>

The EU's real response to China's deepening and expanding activities in Europe came a few years later. In September 2018, the European Union published its joint communique entitled *"Connecting Europe and Asia – Building blocks for an EU Strategy"*, which has since been commonly referred to as the 'EU Connectivity Strategy'. The EU's commitment to facilitating connectivity developments stretching from Europe to Asia is also considered an integral part of the EU's Indo-Pacific strategy. According to this document the relationship between the European Union and Asia is of global significance and the ties are likely to grow in the coming years. Asia, with roughly 60% of the world population accounts for 35% of the EU's exports (€618 billion) and 45% of the EU's imports (€774 billion). For both Europe and Asia, growing global interdependence is an opportunity for increased cooperation, for peaceful political cooperation, fair and stronger

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "European Parliament Resolution of 16 December 2015 on EU-China Relations". *European Parliament*. www. europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2015-0458\_EN.html



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> EU-China Summit Joint Statement: The Way Forward after Forty Years of EU-China Cooperation. https://www. consilium.europa.eu/media/23732/150629-eu-china-summit-joint-statement-final.pdf

economic relations, comprehensive societal dialogue and collaboration on international and regional security.<sup>3</sup>

On 15 October 2018, the Council adopted conclusions on *"Connecting Europe and Asia – key elements for an EU strategy"*, calling for enhanced EU-Asia cooperation at regional level and noting that the EU should consider developing of regional approaches to sustainable connectivity, highlighting opportunities for cooperation.<sup>4</sup>

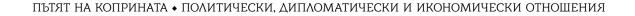
From today's perspective, this period in the EU-China relations looks like a real "honeymoon period" during which there was a mutual effort to find an approach for cooperation, interaction and constructive dialogue between the two sides. Unfortunately, China-EU relations very soon started to follow a path of ever-increasing tensions, which eventually led to a serious deterioration.

After 2018, EU-China relations gradually fell into the trap of geopolitical confrontation between China and the US. During the period of 2017 and 2018 the China-US relations suffered a total failure in almost every dimension. In December 2017, the Trump administration released the National Security Strategy, which stated that the US was entering a new era of confrontation and described China as a "revisionist power" and a "strategic competitor" that seeks to "build a world order contrary to American values and interests".<sup>5</sup>

From that moment on, the EU began to feel strong pressure from the US regarding the Union's policy toward China. Despite all steps in the direction of seeking dialogue and building a common framework of EU-China relations, which are mainly traced by the annual summit meetings, the EU's skepticism and mistrust towards China and its "Belt and Road Initiative" eventually resulted in the European Commission's strategy paper published in March 2019, which describes China as an "economic competitor in the pursuit of technological leadership, and a systemic rival promoting alternative models of governance."<sup>6</sup> According to the EU leadership, this requires a flexible and pragmatic whole-of-EU approach enabling a principled defense of interests and values.<sup>7</sup>

The document proposed changes to EU policies in many areas, from public procurement to data protection, antitrust rules, telecommunications and industrial strategy to artificial intelligence.

The geopolitical confrontation and tensions began to have a direct impact on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and accordingly began to affect China's rela-



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the Council, The European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions and the European Investment Bank: Connecting Europe and Asia – Building Blocks for an EU Strategy. https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/joint\_communication\_-\_connecting\_europe\_and\_ asia\_-\_building\_blocks\_for\_an\_eu\_strategy\_2018-09-19.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Elements for an EU Strategy on connecting Europe and Asia. https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/ have-your-say/initiatives/1569-Elements-for-an-EU-Strategy-on-connecting-Europe-and-Asia\_en

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/ uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the European Council and the Council Eu-China – A Strategic

*Outlook*. https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/communication-eu-china-a-strategic-outlook.pdf <sup>7</sup> Ibidem.

tions with that part of Europe. This became particularly visible through the development of the so-called "Three Seas" initiative.<sup>8</sup>

Despite everything, the growing economic and geopolitical interdependence between the EU and China pushed both sides to continue looking for opportunities to put the dialogue between them on a more pragmatic and mutually beneficial basis. Both sides continued to work actively for the completion of the 2013 **Joint EU-China 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation**. One of the central issues of the EU's long-term bilateral relations with China, as set out in this document, was the EU-China Investment Agreement, the negotiation of which began back in 2013. Finally, on 30 December 2020, the EU and China concluded negotiations on a **Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI)** 'in principle'.

The European Union agreed to an investment deal with China that ignored concerns about forced labor in China's economy and would have strengthened economic ties between the Union and China. In the same year, by contrast, the US administration of Donald Trump took more than 200 public actions to push back against Beijing and decouple certain sectors of the US and Chinese economies.<sup>9</sup>

A major turning point in the EU-China relations occurred in March 2021. The EU levied sanctions on some Chinese officials for abuses in Xinjiang. Beijing retaliated by sanctioning EU members of parliament and others. Finally in May 2021, the European Parliament voted overwhelmingly to freeze efforts to ratify the Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) until Beijing lifts sanctions imposed in retaliation for the EU's condemnation of China's human rights abuses.<sup>10</sup> **This was considered as** a major blow to the EU-China relationship at a decisive moment, as tensions between Washington and Beijing have left Europe caught between the trans-Atlantic alliance and the economic temptations of greater access to the Chinese market.

## "EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific" and "The Global Gateway Initiative"

The deterioration of EU-China relations, which is fully in line with the increasing tensions between the US and the PRC, ultimately led to the EU's adoption of two key strategies that are somewhat complementary and have a common goal – "EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific" and "The Global Gateway Initiative" both adopted and implemented in 2021.

Without being explicitly stated, the analysis of the documents shows that both strategies are related to the EU's desire for clear and more decisive actions to counterbalance China's strategic goals and actions.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See: Kandilarov, Evgeniy. "The "Three Seas Initiative" vs. Initiative "16/17 + 1" – CEEC as an Area of Geopolitical Confrontation Between The USA and China". *The Silk Road: Collection of Papers from the Sixth International Conference on Chinese Studies "The Silk Road*", 2021, 139–144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian. *Europe Turns on China*. https://www.axios.com/2022/09/20/europe-turns-on-china

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

The "EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific"<sup>11</sup> adopted on 19 April 2021 by the Council of the EU emphasizes that the Indo-Pacific region is increasingly becoming strategically important for the EU because the region's growing economic, demographic, and political weight makes it a key player in shaping the international order and in addressing global challenges.<sup>12</sup> Another strong argument was that the region is home to three-fifths of the world's population, produces 60% of global GDP, contributed two-thirds of pre-pandemic global economic growth and is at the forefront of the digital economy.<sup>13</sup>

The core reason for the further EU's strategic approach and engagement with the region is the fact that the EU and the Indo-Pacific are highly interconnected. The EU is already the top investor, the leading development cooperation partner and one of the biggest trading partners in the Indo-Pacific region. Together, the Indo-Pacific and Europe hold over 70% of the global trade in goods and services, as well as over 60% of foreign direct investment flows.<sup>14</sup>

At the same time the EU recognizes that current dynamics in the Indo-Pacific have given rise to intense geopolitical competition contributing to growing tensions in trade and supply chains as well as in the technological, political and security spheres.<sup>15</sup> These developments, which increasingly threaten the stability and security of the region and beyond, have a direct impact on the EU's interests, according to Brussels.<sup>16</sup>

The strategy represents a fundamental step towards the formation of a joint EU policy in the Indo-Pacific region, which is considered as the centre of gravity in terms of trade, economic interaction, demography and security challenges. Not least important for the EU, China is playing an increasingly dominant role in everything from trade to military power and technology and the relative decline of American supremacy is clearly visible. This poses a new challenge for Europe, whose economic future and geopolitical relevance is very much linked to developments in Asia.

Simultaneously with the announcement of the Joint Communication on the EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy on the same day, 16 September 2021, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on **a new EU strategy on China**, according to which cooperation should continue on global challenges, such as human rights, climate change, nuclear disarmament, fighting global health crises and the reform of multilateral organizations. At the same time the new strategy highlights one more time that *"China is a cooperation and negotiating* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Council Conclusions on an EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific. https://data.consilium.europa.eu/ doc/document/ST-7914-2021-INIT/en/pdf



ПЪТЯТ НА КОПРИНАТА • ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИ, ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИ И ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Council Conclusions on an EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific. https://data.consilium.europa.eu/ doc/document/ST-7914-2021-INIT/en/pdf

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council: The EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, p.1. https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/jointcommunication\_indo\_pacific\_en.pdf
 <sup>13</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "Questions and Answers: EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific". *European Commission*. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/QANDA\_21\_4709

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council: The EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, p.2. https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/jointcommunication\_indo\_pacific\_en.pdf

# partner for the EU, but is also an economic competitor and a systemic rival in an increasing number of areas."<sup>17</sup>

Next step the EU is taking in its quest to counter China's BRI is to **develop its own European Global Geopolitical and Geoeconomic Grand Strategy**. In this regard **on 1 December 2021**, the EU presented its proposed global infrastructure investment scheme called *"Global Gateway"*.<sup>18</sup> The Global Gateway is intended to further promote the EU's ambition to become a global power by increasing its economic size and political attractiveness. The initiative seeks to visibly and effectively stimulate European efforts in infrastructure investment.

Although not directly mentioned in the outlined agenda, it was clear for many observers that, at a geostrategic level, the "Global Gateway" should provide countries with an alternative partnership to China's "Belt and Road Initiative".

The "Global Gateway" is focusing on physical and digital connectivity and infrastructure, clean energy, global health security and increased education capacity. It was **also highlighted that as a values-based initiative, the "Global Gateway" promotes democratic values, strong governance and transparency.** It aims to mobilize €300 billion in investments around the globe between 2021 and 2027, in order to "boost smart, clean and secure links in digital, energy and transport and strengthen health, education and research systems across the world."<sup>19</sup>

The European Commission's strong emphasis on upholding democratic values and principles in the implementation of its "Global Gateway" plan is often seen as a EU's desire to differentiate itself from China's "Belt and Road" initiative.

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The Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 created a drastic shift in Europe's foreign affairs. The war strengthened the relations between the EU and the US, while relations between the West and Russia broke down.

In the following year, EU-China bilateral relations deteriorated, mainly due to a growing number of irritants (i.e. China's countermeasures to EU sanctions on human rights, economic coercion and trade measures against the single market, and China's position on the war in Ukraine).

The dynamics in EU-China relations from April to the end of June 2023 clearly showed that two different approaches to relations with China are emerging in the EU.

Relatively speaking, these are the softer and the harder approaches. Both emphasize the need to limit Chinese involvement in sectors critical to national security and to cooperate with China in all other areas.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "European Parliament Resolution of 16 September 2021 on a New EU-China Strategy". *European Parliament*. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0382\_EN.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *Global Gateway.* 1 Mar. 2023, https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/ stronger-europe-world/global-gateway\_en

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

The softer approach is based on the fear of loss of strategic autonomy by the EU and growing unilateral dependence on the US. From this point of view, the development of business relations with China will allow the EU to rely on the Chinese market and investments to compensate for Europe's financial losses due to the loss of the Russian market and energy resources, as well as from the transfer of important industries to the US. According to the proponents of this approach, trust in the US on security issues should be limited to the crisis in Ukraine, and any possible EU intervention in Sino-American relations on the issue of Taiwan should be excluded.

This view of EU-China relations was presented by French president Emanuel Macron during his visit to Beijing in April 2023. He appears to be supported by European Council President Charles Michel, who said in late April that many EU leaders approve of Macron's desire for "strategic autonomy" from the US, but are still reluctant to openly support the idea.<sup>20</sup>

The harder approach toward China is based on the assumption that, in addition to limiting Chinese involvement in sectors critical to national security and developing cooperation with China in other areas, one more direction should be added – strengthening ties with Western allies in the Indo-Pacific region to counter China, including supporting the US on the Taiwan issue.

Proponents of this approach also significantly narrow the zone of acceptable cooperation with China, to the point of complete economic "decoupling". Since the idea of "decoupling" from China sounds quite negative the term was replaced with the word "de-risking", which according to some experts sounds more confidence-inspiring. However, the "decoupling" and the "de-risking" strategies are exactly the same. The underlying geopolitical intention is to contain China's economic rise by cutting it off from certain advanced technologies. This "de-risking" strategy was announced by Ursula von der Leyen at the end of March.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, a paper drawn up by the EU foreign policy chief Josep Borrell for a meeting of EU foreign affairs ministers in Stockholm in May 2023 raised the question of whether the bloc should "recalibrate" its policy towards Beijing. However, indicative of the more balanced approach was the fact that this EU paper warns against falling into "zero-sum" thinking. "Coordination with the United States will remain essential. However, the EU should not subscribe to an idea of a zero-sum game whereby there can only be one winner, in a binary contest between the US and China."<sup>22</sup>

At the same time, on 20 June, the European Commission released its new European Economic Security Strategy which was outlined as a *"de-risking" strategy* designed to de-



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "Charles Michel: Europe Warming up to Macron's 'Strategic Autonomy' Push Away from US." *Politico*, 11 Apr. 2023. www.politico.eu/article/europe-warming-up-to-macrons-strategic-autonomy-push-says-charles-michel/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "Press Corner." European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/home/en

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Rose, Sunniva. "EU Must Not Get Caught up in China-US Rivalry, Says Borrell." *The National News*, 12 May 2023. www.thenationalnews.com/world/2023/05/12/eu-must-not-get-caught-up-in-china-us-rivalry-says-borrell/

velop a resilient economy that is less dependent on China for critical technologies. The proposal from the EC aims to increase scrutiny of foreign direct investment, use export controls to ward off "economic coercion" and address risks in industries with military applications such as quantum computing, advanced semiconductors and artificial intelligence.<sup>23</sup> The proposal corresponds to the de-risking strategy already laid out by Ursula von der Leyen on 30 March.

This strategy was confirmed on 30 June 2023, when the European Council issued a new decision on its official strategy towards China, in which it reiterated its goal to "derisk" rather than "decouple" from the Chinese economy.<sup>24</sup> This decision has been seen as a "softening" of the bloc's official position on China, signaling a rejection of the US-led push for economic decoupling.<sup>25</sup>

### Conclusion

It seems that at this stage the EU's position towards the People's Republic of China remains practically unchanged. Trade ties between Europe and China are still strong, and the EU has emphasized that cooperation with China on many global issues is crucial. Despite the challenging state of EU-China relations, the EU should bear in mind that China is not only a competitor and a systemic rival, but also a necessary cooperation partner in certain areas, especially where multilateral solutions are needed. he economies of the EU and China are highly interdependent and face many common global challenges that require collective solutions. The EU should therefore continue to engage with China in areas of interest to create the conditions for constructive and balanced cooperation. However, this cooperation will only be possible if there is political will and commitment on both sides.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "Press Corner." European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/home/en

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> "European Council Conclusions on China". *European Council Press Release*, 30 June 2023. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2023/06/30/european-council-conclusions-on-china-30-june-2023/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> "The EU's China Strategy – How to Understand Its 'De-Risking' Approach?". *China Briefing News*, 13 July 2023, https://www.china-briefing.com/news/the-eus-china-strategy-understanding-the-concept-of-de-risking/

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## The Celestial and the Land of the Rising Sun – A Brief Overview of Sino-Japanese Relations – Past, Present and Possible Prospects

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#### Abstract

The subject of this paper is the relationship and interactions between the Celestial Empire and the Land of the Rising Sun. They have a history of over a thousand years, characterized by the most diverse events. Within this motley amalgam of actions, events, and processes, there are moments of friendship and camaraderie. But there are also periods of unilateral or bilateral distancing of the countries from each other and hostile interactions. In the history of their relations, the most acute conflicts have been reached, either directly or in participation with other powers or countries.

The spiritual-cultural exchange is very characteristic, as a result of which the two countries became part of one civilization zone – the East Asian Sinocentric civilization. Key to this cultural-spiritual exchange are such important socio-cultural platforms as the hieroglyphic script, as well as powerful religious teachings such as Buddhism in its Chinese forms and schools, as well as highly significant ethical teachings like Confucianism.

In this connection, we will recall that the relations between the Celestial Empire and the Land of the Rising Sun have a history of two millennia. During most of these two thousand years, China played a leading role. The Celestial Empire, as an ancient civilization that reached the highest state-administrative, socio-economic, technical-technological, and socio-cultural achievements, affected the relatively undeveloped outskirts of its oikoumene (Orbis Terrarum), like Japan, thus forming the East Asian China-centric civilization.

The clash of the countries of this civilization with the West began to change the relations within them. This change can be seen most contrastingly in the relations and views of China and Japan towards each other. The Celestial Empire ceases to be an example of admiration and imitation; it becomes a "weak victim" of Japan, which has embarked on the path of Western-centric modernization. All this leads to two wars between the two neighbors with particularly tragic consequences.

After the Second World War and especially after the declaration of the creation of the People's Republic of China, Beijing and Tokyo found themselves in a new "carousel of hostile relations", determined above all by the new geopolitical contradictions. But it was the geopolitical factor that weighed in the late '60s and in the '70s in the direction of the normalization of the interactions between the two countries. The peak of these interactions was the signing in 1978 of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

In any case, regardless of the differences in motives, goals, and pursued interests, but especially since the end of the '70s and in the '80s, a period of not just establishment but



"blossoming" of friendly relations between Beijing and Tokyo has been observed in various spheres – financial, economic, technological, cultural, and so on. However, all these do not stop the tendencies of a certain mistrust between them, as well as "flares" of criticism between them and discussions on some issues.

**Keywords**: the Celestial, the Land of the Rising Sun, East Asian Sinocentric Civilization, Sino-Japanese relations, Sino-Japanese war, People's Republic of China, Treaty of Peace and Friendship between PRC and Japan

#### Introduction

Sino-Japanese relations and interactions, such as history, development, and content, are undoubtedly important and up-to-date topics that have not only regional but also global significance. This is given the fact that China and Japan play a key role not only in Asia but also in various areas and directions of human dynamics, holding global weight.

The main goal of this report is to analyze and present a brief overview of Sino-Japanese Relations – both past and present – and to work out possible prospects of development in the future. This goal is achieved through tasks structured in the main chapters of the work.

The key methodological approaches used in the given work include: The System approach; Geopolitical and geo-economic approaches (platforms); Historical approach; Analytical-structural approach, etc.

## 1. Initial Period of Meeting and Getting to Know Each Other (1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Century)

Evidence of the first relationships between the ancestors of modern Chinese and Japanese comes from a number of written sources. The first mention of the Japanese archipelago was made in the History of the Later Han Dynasty in 57 AD<sup>1</sup>. For China, this is the time of the Eastern Han Empire (25–220 AD). The modern historical periodization of Japan refers to this time as the Yayoi period, which covered the time span between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The first mention of the Japanese archipelago was in the Chinese historic text "Book of Later Han", known by the Chinese name *Hou Hanshu* (後漢書), in the year 57, where it was noted that the Emperor of the Han dynasty gave a golden seal to Wa (Japan). The gold seal of the King of Na was discovered in northern Kyūshū in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Refer to "Gold Seal (*Kin-in*)". Fukuoka City Museum. http://museum.city.fukuoka.jp/en/Retrieved 2023–06–05.



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# 2. Time of Active Spiritual-Cultural Borrowing and First Conflicts (6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Century)

The time of the Sui dynasty (581–618) and later the Tang dynasty (618–907) was marked by large-scale borrowing through Korea of various achievements of Chinese civilization in politics, religion, culture, technologies, and business. Contacts with China, along with presentations of gifts to the Chinese emperor, signify that the Land of the Rising Sun was gradually becoming part of the East Asian Sinocentric civilization. A key spiritual impulse that made its way from China to Japan is the so-called complex of the Three Religions – Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. However, interactions were not always positive. The first Sino-Japanese conflict occurred in 663 – the Battle of Baekgang. This battle was part of the relationships between the Three Kingdoms of Korea, Yamato, and the Chinese dynasties. The battle concluded with the fall of Baekje, one of the Three Kingdoms of Korea.

# 3. The Mongol Invasion, Yuan Dynasty, and Two Attacks Against Japan (1200–1600)

In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the mighty Mongol Empire was established in Asia, which also conquered the Chinese Empire of the Song dynasty in 1279. After the conquest of Song, Kublai Khan, the grandson of Genghis Khan and the ruler from 1260 to 1294, announced a new Chinese-style dynasty in 1271 – the Great Yuan Empire. He sent delegations to Japan, demanding their submission to his authority. After Japan's refusal, Kublai organized two attacks in 1274 and 1281, but both times, due to typhoons, the attacks ended in failure.

# 4. The Ming Dynasty and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Campaign on the Korean Peninsula (1592–1598)

The task of unifying Japan and ending the chaos in the Land of the Rising Sun after the so-called "Period of Warring States" and the assassination of the first leader who attempted unification, Oda Nobunaga, was undertaken by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣 秀吉, 1536 or 1537–1598). His dream was to conquer China, but he had to cross Joseon (Korea) first. After two campaigns against Joseon, which was supported by the Chinese Ming dynasty, the Japanese forces were defeated and expelled from the Korean peninsula.

# 5. The Ming and Qing Dynasties and the Tokugawa Era in Japan

From 1630 to 1641, the Tokugawa shogunate introduced self-isolation known as "sa-koku" (鎖国 – "locked country"), meaning Japan closed itself off. This self-isolation was a result of the fear that the country could not withstand Western pressure and might



become a colony. European and American ships were prohibited from coming to Japan, except for the Dutch who were granted a trading monopoly. Foreign trade during most of the Edo period was conducted with Qing China, Korea, Ryukyu, Ainu, and the Netherlands.

## 6. The Beginning of the "Century of Humiliation" for China, the "Opening of Japan", and the Meiji Era. The First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95)

From the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Qing Empire gradually declined. English merchants began importing opium into China from India. The Qing government's resistance against opium importation led to the so-called "Opium Wars" (1840–42 and 1856–60). The first Opium War was led by Britain, and the second Opium War was led by Britain and France. These wars marked the beginning of China's "Century of Humiliation" and its gradual transformation into a semi-colony of the West.

## 7. The Xinhai Revolution in China (1911), the First World War (1914–18), and Japanese-Chinese Relations until the End of the 1920s

The Xinhai Revolution in 1911 ended the Qing dynasty and led to the establishment of the Republic of China. The Japanese government provided a base of operations for Sun Yat-sen and other members of the revolutionary organization he founded – the Tongmen-ghui (同盟會) – thereby aiding in overthrowing the Qing dynasty. In World War I, Japan occupied the German colony of Qingdao and parts of the Shandong province. China was politically unstable and militarily weak. In order to attend the post-war peace conference to counter Japanese expansionism, China declared war on Germany in August 1917. In January 1915, Japan secretly issued an ultimatum of 21 demands to the Chinese government, including a 99-year lease of southern Manchuria. A secret Sino-Japanese joint defense agreement was signed in 1918. When news of this leaked to the press, the Chinese public was outraged. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Qingdao was ceded to Japan, which is why China refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles. A major response to this humiliation was the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement.

## 8. Manchukuo and the Second Sino-Japanese War

On September 18, 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army carried out a provocation known as the Mukden incident. As a result, Manchuria was invaded by the Kwantung Army, under whose control the puppet state of Manchukuo was created. Since 1931, there have been localized battles, often referred to as "incidents", between the armed forces of Japan and China. For Japan, a strategic goal was to establish dominance over the Asian

continent by incorporating the continental part of the Japanese Empire through conquered territories. Large-scale hostilities between Japan and China began on July 7, 1937, with the Lugou Bridge incident.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, China officially declared war on Japan. The hostilities had taken place for up to five years without an officially declared war. On December 26, 1941, a treaty of military alliance was concluded between China, Great Britain, and the United States. This officially aligned China with the countries of the Anti-Fascist Coalition. In the Second World War, one of the most devastating conflicts in human history, China fought for 14 years if we include the fighting on Chinese soil since 1931. According to Western historians, Chinese losses included 4 million soldiers and officers and 16 million civilians. However, modern Chinese data lists this sad toll as 35 million military and civilian victims. The Chinese front saw the concentration of most of Japan's armed forces during the war. All of this underscores China's strategic contribution to the Great Victory over fascism and militarism.

## 9. Stage of Unfriendly Relations (Late 1940s - Early 1970s)

On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was established. In 1951, the San Francisco Peace Treaty was concluded, along with the Japan-US Security Treaty, which the Chinese government opposed. Meanwhile, the war on the Korean peninsula began, and Japan became a rear base for the conduct of this war, in which a volunteer army from the PRC was directly involved.

However, as early as 1955, certain trade relations were initiated. In 1958, due to events in the Taiwan Strait, Sino-Japanese relations sharply deteriorated. From 1960, a certain restoration of economic ties began. The beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" in China did not favor the development of relations between China and Japan.

# 10. The Process of Normalization of PRC-Japan Relations (1970s – Until the Collapse of the Bipolar World in 1991)

After the so-called "Nixon's shock", during which the USA abruptly changed its course toward the PRC without consulting Japan, which until then had been considered a key ally of Washington in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan began adjusting its approach. In 1972, Japan initiated negotiations to normalize relations between Japan and China. Mao Zedong refused World War II reparations, a decision later deemed a big mistake by Deng Xiaoping.

In 1978, the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed. During a visit to Tokyo in October 1978, Deng Xiaoping demanded compensation from the former aggressor. Japan began providing "Official Development Assistance" (ODA) to China in the form of low-interest loans and grants based on five-year aid plans. The first package covered 1979–1983 and amounted to about 1.4 billion dollars, while the second program

spanned 1984-1989 with a volume of 2.1 billion. In 1982, a scandal erupted over the portrayal of the Sino-Japanese War in Japanese textbooks, which China found inadequate.

## 11. Period of Ambiguous Interactions between PRC and Japan (Late 1990s – Early 21st Century)

The collapse of the USSR and Eastern European socialism put an end to the acute inter-system confrontation known as the "Cold War", as well as qualitatively changed the geopolitical balance in the world. This marked the beginning of an era of a unipolar world under the conditions of the so-called "American Globalism". All of this ambiguously affects the interactions between the PRC and Japan. During the initial period in the 1990s, the US began to view Japan as a key economic competitor, while the PRC was seen as a highly favorable destination for capital exports and profit maximization.

However, after the "Global Crisis of 2008–2010", Washington already saw China as a looming geo-economic competitor, and today, it perceives China as a geopolitical adversary. Given the fact that Japan is not an independent political power and the leadership circles of the Land of the Rising Sun are compelled to follow the course set by the US, the current state of interactions between the PRC and Japan can also be understood. Despite China being Tokyo's largest economic partner, there is a certain escalation of tension on various issues between these two neighbors. This is especially evident today as the US pursues a course of containment against the PRC. Japan is obliged to consider and, to some extent, follow this course.

#### Conclusion

As a first step in concluding this report, let's briefly summarize the main points characterizing the two-thousand-year history of interactions between the Celestial Empire and the Land of the Rising Sun.

In ancient times and during what we refer to as the Middle Ages, China undoubtedly played a leading role in the relations between these two neighbors. The Celestial Empire, being one of the oldest civilizations in human history, achieved high levels of state administration, socio-economic advancement, technological progress, and socio-cultural achievements. This influence reached the relatively underdeveloped periphery of the East Asian region, including Japan. China's positive impact contributed to the formation of Yamato's statehood through significant civilizational contributions such as character writing, religion (Buddhism), administrative systems, and more. Interestingly, this influence often flowed indirectly, often through the countries of the Korean Peninsula. It is this positive influence that incorporated Japan into what we now refer to as the East Asian Sinocentric Civilization.

In the era of the so-called New Era, the clash of the East Asian Sinocentric civilization with the West initiated changes in internal relations among East Asian countries. The "West", primarily Western Europe and North America, gradually became a central influencing factor on the East Asian nations, particularly affecting Sino-Japanese relations. This factor continues to operate to this day.

This change is most apparent in the differing relations and perceptions of China and Japan toward each other. The Celestial Empire ceased to be an example of admiration and imitation for Japan. Instead, it gradually became a target of aggression by the Japanese Empire, which was modernizing along Western lines and adopting a Western trajectory. The pinnacle of this aggression was the Second Sino-Japanese War. The Sino-Japanese front emerged as a significant battlefield of this war, witnessing extensive casualties and substantial destruction.

Following this devastating conflict, especially with the advent of the Cold War and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a new nexus of hostility arose in the East Asian region. Beijing and Tokyo found themselves on opposing sides of the geopolitical, socio-economic, and ideological confrontation between the capitalist West and the "Red Project".

But certain transformations within the "Red Project" – the internal contradictions between the USSR and the PRC amidst the ongoing "Cold War" – contributed to the formation of a radically new situation. The "warming" of Washington's relations with Beijing is leading to the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations. This push for normalization is underpinned by different internal motivations of Beijing and Tokyo. For China, domestic motivations include a desire to obtain support in the form of technology for its reform agenda, spearheaded by Deng Xiaoping. There is also a desire to strengthen its position in the confrontation with Moscow.

For Japan, particularly for Japanese capital, it is essential to acquire new markets and sources of raw materials that are close and accessible at lower costs. Undoubtedly, an important motive for Japan is to support the course of the USA in attracting the People's Republic of China to the side of "Pax Americana" in the geopolitical confrontation with the Soviet Union. Tokyo also holds an attachment to the secret aspirations shared by the collective West for a gradual reorientation of Beijing towards a "liberal-capitalist path of development".

In any case, regardless of the differences in motives and interests pursued, but especially after the signing of the "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" between China and Japan in 1978 and the unfolding of the reform course under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, a period of not just establishing but "blossoming" friendly relations between Beijing and Tokyo began. The Land of the Rising Sun became not only one of China's leading trading partners but also ranked among the key investors and suppliers of development aid and advanced technology for the PRC in the 1980s of the XX century. Cultural contacts, student exchanges, and numerous other interactions also actively developed.

Naturally, all of this does not eliminate tendencies of a certain mistrust between them, nor does it prevent occasional "flares" of criticism and clashes on various issues, such as

the ownership of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, visits to the Yasukuni Shinto shrine by Japanese officials, and the like. Long-term points of tension, like the Taiwan issue, also persist. However, these "dark clouds" did not cast a significant shadow on the overall mood and dynamics of Sino-Japanese relations during this period. After the end of the Cold War in 1991, the global situation completely changed. This change also includes a different attitude of the US towards Japan. Washington began to view Tokyo not simply as an ally, but also as a geo-economic rival and competitor. Economically, the phenomenon of "Chimerica" arose as a kind of financial and economic synthesis between the United States and China. Meanwhile, China-Japan interactions entered a certain mode of routinization. In the early XXI century, and particularly after the "Global Crisis 2008–2010", a certain tension emerged due to intensifying competition between Beijing and Tokyo.

Today, Sino-Japanese relations transcend the regional parameters of their dynamics. They are becoming increasingly global, given the roles played by the two neighboring Asian giants on the world stage. On one hand, the PRC stands as one of the three global leaders, alongside the United States and the Russian Federation. On the other hand, Japan ranks among the leading economies on the planet. The Land of the Rising Sun continues to be among the key innovative societies, mastering various technologies with significant prospects for humanity's development. However, with the advent of the "trade", followed by the "technology", and now the "hybrid" wars of the USA against the PRC, a gradual process of "spoiling" relations between Beijing and Tokyo is observed.

In conclusion, it can be summarized that the dynamics of Sino-Japanese relations after the Second World War follows a sinusoidal pattern: "hostility-normalization-cooperation-routinization-spoiling". The conclusion drawn is that these relations are dominated by the prevailing geopolitical paradigm within the respective time periods. Undoubtedly, objective circumstances determined by national interests also play a role, as both sides are interested in maintaining fruitful relations within a peaceful and friendly atmosphere. Even the existence of numerous unresolved issues between the two East Asian neighbors does not negate these objective circumstances.

To some extent, this remains evident even today amidst the deteriorating global situation surrounding Sino-Japanese interactions. The words of the Japanese researcher Kawashima Shin remain relevant: in the current situation, both the PRC and the Land of the Rising Sun are engaged in a process of "seeking opportunities for improved ties within a broader policy of containment and restraint towards each other"<sup>2</sup>. Hence our prediction that the normalization of relations between China and Japan will depend to a large extent on the duration of the current geopolitical contradictions and on the possibilities of changing the current geopolitical situation.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kawashima, Shin. "Ups and Downs in China-Japan Diplomacy". *The Diplomat*. https://thediplomat. com/2023/04/ups-and-downs-in-china-japan-diplomacy/, Retrieved 2023.06.17.

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## Political and Economic Involvement of China in West Africa

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#### Abstract

The decolonization of Africa created 54 independent nations, many of which were unprepared for the tasks of government and administration. While some of them continue to struggle with underdevelopment, famine, conflicts, instability, etc., others have been successful politically, economically, and socially. Furthermore, the area has become an arena for competition between the strategic interests of several old and new geopolitical players. The rapid economic growth of China forced the national authorities to expand their influence over the African continent in search of mineral and energy resources, opening new markets and increasing the political domination over the region. Based on a policy of non-conditional approach, China is replacing the former colonial powers in the zone, demonstrating the rising might of the Asian country and a new model of economic and political relations. Many Chinese investments in Africa can unleash great potential for advancement and shift the balance of powers. After two consecutive decades of negative growth rates in the 1980s and 1990s, some of the countries in the region are becoming the fastest growing economies in the world. The period of economic boom corresponds with the more active engagement of China on the continent, which does raise the question of whether the Asian country is the desperately needed partner for the Sub-Saharan nations. Without a doubt, China is involved in huge infrastructural and other important projects in this valuable area that is offering attractive business opportunities for companies and new prospects for migrants. In contrast, Beijing's soft policy approach of providing the needed funds for the desired infrastructure and other projects traps the African countries into debt to the Asian superpower. This might pose a potential risk to the continent by generating dependence and security threats. The paper will cover the relations between the countries from West Africa and China from a historical perspective from their foundation to the present day. The focus of the research is primarily on the modern era and the analysis will dive into the impact of the cooperation and the effects of Chinese influence over West African countries. The study of the processes and developments in Africa is predominantly framed through the lens of international relations.

**Keywords:** China, West Africa, international relations, resources, south-south relations, trade.

### Introduction

The geopolitical table of Africa is transforming due to the growing power of some players, making them among the key factors on the continent or the struggle of the old colonial countries to regain their lost positions. Through the ages, the continent has always been an arena for trade opportunities and odysseys. From the time of the Carthaginian commercial empire till nowadays, the area is seen as a good platform for trade expansions, political support, missionary operations, research, etc. In 1884-1885, a conference has been held by the German Empire, between the superpowers at that time, to scramble the African continent. The negotiations were known as the Berlin or Congo conference. The participants were drawing the borders of the future colonies and their share of influence. When the new countries emerged during the process of decolonisation, most of them inherited the Western ideology of free trade and liberal democracy and tried to follow it. The size of the continent and the newly established countries trying to find their place in the UN give the impression of a vast and completely different world, bringing together different scientists, students, political and economic interests in an unfamiliar place. The Western powers, the Soviet bloc and those who did not take sides in the bipolar world were involved in helping the new states to develop their way to an equal position on the political map and to get favourable deals, and the People's Republic is no exception.

Historically, it is difficult to pinpoint the beginning of the relationship between Africa and China. Many historians argue about when exactly the first contact took place, with some pointing out that Chinese sailors reached the kingdom of Aksum, defining the beginning of the relationship between the continent and the Asian country. Others believe that the first relationship dates back even further, mentioning the relationship between ancient Egypt and China (Anshan et al., 2012). Among the most famous Chinese to have reached the African coast first is Zheng He, a Muslim explorer during the Ming dynasty. The years 1417-1419 are known to be the years when he made his first voyage to Africa (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013). The journeys were not only on the Chinese side. Africans also travelled long distances with China as their destination. One of them was Ibn Battuta, who travelled to most of the Muslim countries of his time. In his travelogue about China, he noted that he was very impressed by the massive use of silk in the country (Almonte, 2015). In the brief historical overview of the supposed records of the first relations between China and Africa, it is important to note that most refer to East or North Africa. The beginning of China's diplomatic relations with West African countries can be traced to the period of decolonisation of the continent, when African countries gained their independence from European states. During the decolonisation period, the Chinese Communist Party expanded the scope of its cooperation framework as part of its efforts to spread its promoted ideology and demonstrate solidarity with the new developing states. The People's Republic was still a minor player on the continent until the decision was made to change course and the country embarked on a policy of "reform and opening up" that has made the Chinese economy one of the fastest growing in the world for more than two decades.

## Chinese strategy in Africa

China's growing interest, both in the region and across the continent, can be divided into two main objectives – national resources and market expansion; legitimacy and security. **The first objective can be** divided into two sub-objectives – providing **natural resources to** the Chinese economy and exporting some of its production and **taking a greater share in African markets**. The two leading factors – satisfying China's energy needs and absorbing Chinese exports and increasing market share – are among Beijing's key political and economic interests in the region and on the continent.

#### **Objective 1.1 – Natural resources**

Recent decades have witnessed an increase in China's economic and political presence globally. Among China's leading objectives on the continent are providing access to oil, minerals, and other raw materials so important to sustaining a dynamic economic development (Cezne & Visser, 2023). As part of the "going out" strategy that Beijing launched in the 1990s, it encourages private and state-owned companies to invest in countries rich in natural resources (Abeliansk & Martínez-Zarzos, 2019). To secure the longevity of supply, Beijing has invested large sums of money and political influence in both refining and oil production in Nigeria and other countries, rich in 'black gold'. The central government's cooperation with the private sector has led to numerous negotiations and signings of bilateral and multilateral trade agreements with countries across the continent (Habova, 2022). China's ongoing policy of opening to the world has led to the establishment of various international formats, working groups, annual conferences, and forums. Among the important agreements for the African continent is the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), established in 2000, which is a multilateral platform for cooperation and exchange covering multiple areas - politics, trade, economics, culture, etc. (Anshan et al., 2012). In the review of (Cheng, Mawdsley, & Liu, 2022) on the development of the organization, the authors note the deepening cooperation between China and African countries not only in the economic and trade spectrum, but also in many other areas of cooperation - poverty alleviation, cultural exchange, debt relief, environmental protection, etc. The authors also observe the evolution of FOCAC's structure, which becomes more complex and meaningful as it grows. From the forum's inception to 2013-14, African countries' trade ties with China have increased tenfold exceeding \$200 billion (Oqubay & Lin, 2019). An important part of the agreement for African countries is the duty-free trade of more than 4,700 products exported to the Chinese market (Ayenew, 2013).



#### **Objective 1.2 – Increased participation in the African market**

For its part, the growing Chinese economy needs new markets, which Africa's rapidly growing population has to offer. The continent's electrification, coupled with a large percentage of young population, allows China to restructure and export some production to some African countries (Yanne Sylvaire, 2022). West African countries are attractive markets for the distribution of low quality and cheap goods. Over the last 20 years, China has become a global producer, offering goods of varying quality. Due to the low standard of living, the population of West Africa is a small market for high quality products, but it is a good place to distribute low quality goods. Thus, the low-quality products of Chinese manufactures flood the markets of ECOWAS member states. On the other hand, there are indications that Chinese exports are damaging the economies of West African countries. While China and African countries compete for the same products, the annual increase in Chinese exports corresponds to a decrease in African exports (Giovanetti, 2009).

#### **Objective 2**

China's second goal is to increase its legitimacy in international relations and provide an alternative political-economic model for development. In the processes of decolonization in West Africa, 15 countries gain their independence are recognized as members of the United Nations. For the People's Republic of China, this proved to be a key factor in establishing good political relations with the new countries to gain their support in the UN and subsequently implement the 'one China' policy. Since 1949, because of the civil war in China, Taiwan (Republic of China) separated from the mainland, and both countries claimed to be the sole successor of China. The Communist Party of Mainland China is making strenuous coordinated efforts to be recognized as the sole China and to obtain its rightful seat in the UN Security Council. Beijing's diplomatic efforts bore fruit in 1971, when the People's Republic of China was granted its seat in the UN and permanent membership in the Security Council, African countries accounted for 26 of the 76 votes in support of the PRC through Taiwan<sup>1</sup>. To date, only 3 countries<sup>2</sup> recognize Taiwan, and Burkina Faso is the only one from West Africa. In the region, Gambia is the latest country to change its political course and severed relations with Taiwan in 2013 (Ayenew, 2013). To some extent, the change in the countries' diplomatic relations towards Taiwan are also economic in nature because there have been transformations in Chinese aid to countries that are withdrawing their relations with the island country in favour of China.

Much of China's support from African countries also comes from the investments made on the continent. Among Beijing's first projects in the region were in Guinea in the early 1960s. The Asian country built a cigarette factory to use locally produced tobacco (Ayenew, 2013). Although, being in another region of Africa, it is pertinent to mention

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The other two countries are Swaziland and Sao Tome and Principe.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mauritania, Nigeria, Mali, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Togo voting "FOR" and Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Niger and Dahomey voting "AGAINST".

one of China's most famous projects in Africa in the period of the 1960s–70s – the Tan-Zam railway. It connected the copper-rich areas of Zambia with the Tanzanian port city of Dar er Salam on the Indian Ocean. Pre-built in 1975, it became the continent's longest railway line of the period (Brautigam, 2011). The countries of West Africa and the rest of the continent represent an exceptional opportunity for the realization of Chinese geopolitical objectives. First, thanks to China's foreign direct investment in the region and strengthening political relations, the Asian country enjoys African support in the UN. Second, successful Chinese projects in the region concrete Beijing's proposed alternative political-socio-economic model of development and relations to the West. Through its rapid economic transformation, China has concretized its first place in the developing world as a successful model for shock industrialization, making it a model country for other developing countries (Michel & Beuret, 2009).

Uncertainty and instability in the region could affect China's economic interests. Therefore, Beijing's main objectives in the continent include **security and stability in the region**. Civil wars and coups threaten not only trade ties, but also Chinese citizens located in West Africa. Therefore, China's priorities include the security, prosperity, and stability of the countries in Africa, which are vital to the economic well-being of the established trade ties between Beijing and the countries of the region. Despite its policy of non-interference, to protect its economic interests China is increasing its participation in UN peacekeeping operations on the continent (Neethling, 2017). Beijing's first involvement in peacekeeping missions in the region was in the Mali civil war. The missions provide China to improve its image in international relations, as well as to contribute to Africa's regional security (Duggan, 2018).

### What makes China attractive to the African countries?

#### **Equal treatment**

The colonial past and the unequal distribution of global wealth continues to leave African states feeling the injustice of North-South relations, where European paternalism deepened amid the end of the Cold War by imposing its values. Aware of this feature, the Asian state stresses that African countries are sovereign states and equal partners in their relations, hence the ground of long-lasting friendly relations between African states and China is built on Beijing's policy of non-interference. Together with the axiom of mutual respect for sovereignty and the right to self-determination were articulated by Prime Minister Zhou Enlai at the conference (Wright, 1956) at Bandung in 1955. Held during the period of decolonization with strong anti-colonial movements, the conference marked the beginning of the South-South relations of developing countries (Lewis, 2019) that increased cooperation among themselves, like a counter-guest to the hegemonic power of the West. The practice of the EU and the US to impose their values as universal over other countries often clashes with African or other understandings. According to the Chinese



perception, each country and culture is unique in its values and any external factors must be adapted to the specifics of the national environment (Habova, 2017). Compared to European countries, China has no colonial history on the continent. This gives the impression in African countries that Beijing is not a donor, but a reliable partner and mutual relations are based on equality (Yoneva, 2017). Chinese behaviour in the international system can also be defined as specific and alternative to the Western model.

### Investment and natural resources

African countries aim to attract more investment in the economic sphere. Unlike the EU, whose investments are more focused on human capital development, China offers investments focused on the economy and infrastructure (Benfratello et al., 2023). Having abandoned infrastructure since the era of colonialism, African countries aim to attract investments in infrastructure that will reduce travel costs and increase the attractiveness of the region. Along with this, the abundance of natural and mineral resources, but the lack of technology and financial resources are among the top objectives of African countries to attract such. In the face of Beijing, which is willing to invest in any country that has broken diplomatic ties with Taiwan, countries in the region are finding an alternative creditor to the West.

## Economic problems in China-Africa relations

## Debt trap policy

Among the frequently discussed issues and accusations of the EU and the US towards the China-Africa relations is the policy of Asian lending to African countries. Known as the debt trap policy, the creditor country extends large credit to a country with the intention of obtaining economic or political concessions from the debtor country when it is unable to repay its debts. (Fabricius, 2021) This is called debt trap diplomacy (debt trap policy) because the terms may not be publicly disclosed, and the money lent is often repaid with materials. African countries possess vast amounts of diverse natural resources, such as oil, diamonds, various ores, bauxite, uranium, gold, etc., but lack the capital and resources to exploit them. Resource-poor China, on the other hand, has the necessary capital and technology to develop and extract the resources that African countries offer. The observers' concern comes from the incessant investment in the form of loans or resources against infrastructure by the Chinese, and Beijing's entry into extractive resources and infrastructure projects, which loans African governments do not have the ability to repay (Schiere R., 2011). Consequently, China will require to lease or buy out important strategic or resource sites such as ports and concessions for the extraction of mineral resources, oil, or fossil (Winston, 2021). Despite the criticism of debt trap, African leaders pay little attention to the accusations that justify the EU and the US to the borrowing policy led by China in the region. Senegal's President Macky Sall noted that his country's relations



with Beijing are under full control and the criticism levelled at the Asian country should not affect relations between the countries of the region (Aljazeera, 2018). It is pertinent to mention that the taking of Chinese loans by African countries is a deliberate act where Africans are aware of the requirements and implications of signing contractual relations with Beijing. The frequent warnings from the EU and the US have also had a negative effect on African leaders because of the sense of a relationship of paternalism led by former colonial states and their allies. The topic of debt trap policy is too complex and large to fit within the technological constraints of this paper and needs to be studied on its own, so it will not be considered further in this paper. However, it is worth mentioning that several studies have challenged the West's claims of China's policy of enslaving African countries through large loans, such as the Rhodium Group and Chatham Hous (Needham, 2021; Jones L., 2021).

#### **Textile industry**

The entry of Chinese firms into the region competes with local companies in traditional industries such as textile manufacturing. Cheap Chinese textiles are flooding the continent, displacing a large share of African firms. In the (Bankole, 2009) on the expansion of China's trade relations with countries on the continent at the turn of the new millennium, draws attention to the loss of textile markets by African companies. Countries such as South Africa, Cameroon, Ghana, and Nigeria are seen as a special case. According to the text, textile production in African countries continues to grow, but in exports to the US, while on the continent itself and in the domestic market it is ceding market share to Chinese firms. The flooding of Chinese textile goods particularly threatens Benin's economy, which in recent years has invested in increasing cotton production and developing textile manufacturing (Dilanchiev et al., 2022). Like the case of Benin, Ghana is also experiencing difficulties in competing with Chinese textiles. The study by (Tsikata et al., 2008:25) states that "Chinese textiles are displacing local textile products and, in some cases, necessitating the closure of some factories". The loss of markets for Ghanaian textile firms, affect the development of the Ghanaian economy, through loss of jobs, revenue, and overall natural development in the textile industry of the country and the region.

#### Conclusion

With no doubt, the African continent is home to the fastest-growing economies. Due to the strategic location of the continent and its rich resources, the African countries are attracting the superpowers of the day. As was described in the paper, the Europeans in the face of Spain, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Italy were playing chess on African soil and were overlords of the black continent. In the decolonization period, for the first time in many years, the Africans had the opportunity to be masters of their own country and to shape its future development. The colonial past marked forthcoming

events and troubles, making the civil wars and poor conditions of the economies into the dominant issues of the newly emerged states.

Sharing a common destiny, China has emerged as a new superpower, lifting millions out of poverty and giving the impression that African countries can follow its example. With its mega-project programmes and aid, the People's Republic is shaking up the status quo and becoming one of the continent's biggest donors and partners. China uses its influence to win political votes at the UN by giving more aid to countries that support it in the voting process. Western powers, which are losing their positions in favour of China, accuse officials in Beijing of forcing African countries into a debt trap and destabilising the fragile peace. The future relationship between China and West Africa would be of interest not only to policymakers, academics and experts, but also to a wider audience. Over time, the goals of China's aid policy for African countries will be understood: is it to create a strong economic partner or a good donor of resources?

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# A Paradigm Shift in Chinese Foreign Policy and Their Proactive Role in International Relations

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Abstract

In recent years, China has undergone a paradigm shift in its foreign policy. What are the main instruments used to explain the paradigm shift in China's foreign policy? How are these concepts implemented and furthermore what are their implications for China as a global actor and for International Relations in general?

This paper tries to assess the concept of a 'community for shared future for humankind', by analyzing how this concept, not only emphasizes a greater and more proactive role of Chinese foreign policy and diplomacy but how this can implicate global challenges. To conclude, this paper argues that China's paradigm shift will enhance the need for an international reorganization of other global actors such as the USA or the European Union.

Keywords: paradigm shift, international relations, BRI, realism, strategic hedging

## Introduction

Traditionally, China's foreign policy was characterized by a focus on a peaceful rise, which emphasized avoiding confrontation with other countries and maintaining stability in the region. However, under the leadership of President Xi Jinping, China's foreign policy has shifted towards a more proactive and ambitious approach, with a greater emphasis on expanding its influence and promoting its own interests on the global stage. With the implementation of, in addition to the Belt and Road Initiative, the global project of a 'community of shared future for humankind' Beijing seeks to increase and strengthen its influence on the global stage.

It seems that this global project is not only the top-level design for China's diplomacy in the new era but also the Chinese proposal to address global challenges. Primarily, China's foreign policy was characterized by a focus on a peaceful rise, which emphasized avoiding confrontation with other countries and maintaining stability in the region. China's foreign policy emphasized a "peaceful rise" or "peaceful development" (Yu, 2020) approach.

This approach aimed to achieve China's national development goals while minimizing confrontation and maintaining regional stability. The concept of non-interference (Womack, 2016) was and remains one of the key pillars of China's traditional foreign policy approach. By adhering to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, it advocated for respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations and refrained as such from interfering in the domestic politics of other states.

At the same time, this kind of policy was characterized as harmonious diplomacy (Amako, 2014), whereas once again China emphasized the importance of maintaining harmonious relations with other countries. The so-called concept of a "harmonious world" guided their foreign policy approach when aiming at promoting peaceful coexistence and mutual respect, to obtain a situation of win-win cooperation (Callahan, 2016).

The idea of a win-win situation was further enhanced also by China's focus on economic engagement, in terms of fostering trade and investment ties with other nations, it sought to create mutually beneficial economic partnerships, promote regional economic integration, and participate in global economic governance. In cases of international disputes, traditionally, China emphasized peaceful negotiations and diplomatic channels to promote dialogue, meditation, and further, the peaceful settlement of conflicts rather than resorting to force coercion.

Another important pillar in their foreign policy approach was that of maintaining the so-called regional stability. By maintaining stability in its immediate neighborhood, it aimed to establish cooperative relationships with neighboring countries (Zhao, 2011) and to develop furthermore mechanisms for regional security dialogue, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that while the "peaceful rise" approach characterized China's foreign policy for many years, there have been shifts and adaptations over time, particularly under the leadership of Xi Jinping. As China's global influence and interests have grown, its foreign policy has evolved to reflect new realities and challenges.

## A more proactive role in International Relations due to paradigm shift?

China under Xi Jinping's leadership displayed some notable shifts in its foreign policy approach, indicating a more proactive role in international relations. Although there are several approaches and elements that would highlight a more proactive role of China in International Relations, such as ambitions of holding global Leadership, emphasizing the importance of multilateralism and global initiatives, a more assertive regional approach, the expansion of economic influence, as well as enhanced technology and innovation ambitions, it has to be noted that, especially initiatives like the *Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)* and *the Community for shared future of humankind* are to be considered key pillars of a new Chinese foreign policy approach.

The BRI is a flagship foreign policy initiative that reflects China's ambition to expand its global influence. (Oliveira, Murton, Rippa, Harlan, & Yang, 2020) It involves massive infrastructure investments, trade connectivity, and people-to-people exchanges across



multiple regions. The BRI allows China to deepen its economic ties with partner countries, enhance its geopolitical influence, and shape regional dynamics. Its implementation raises questions about debt sustainability, transparency, and potential geopolitical competition with other powers (Minghao, 2016).

With the implementation of, in addition to the Belt and Road Initiative, the global project of a 'community of shared future for humankind' Beijing seeks to increase and strengthen its influence on the global stage. This concept promotes the idea of a global community characterized by shared interests and common development.

It emphasizes multilateralism, win-win cooperation, and mutual benefit. China uses this concept to present itself as a responsible global actor and advocate for a more equitable and inclusive world order. However, there are concerns about how China's interpretation and implementation of this concept align with universal values, human rights, and the existing international order (Weidon, 2015).

It seems that this global project is not only the top-level design for China's diplomacy in the new era but also the Chinese proposal to address global challenges. It is a concept that reflects China's aspiration to address global challenges and increase its influence on the global stage. This comes naturally when taking into consideration that it:

- Has a broad scope, as it encompasses a wide range of issues, including global governance, development, security, climate change, and poverty reduction and aims to promote cooperation and address common challenges faced by the international community
- Encompasses the concept of multilateralism and cooperation, as it advocates for inclusive and equal participation of all countries in global governance and decision-making processes.
- Enables mutual benefit and Win-Win Cooperation, by promoting the idea that countries should pursue mutual benefit and win-win cooperation rather than zero-sum competition, it seeks to establish partnerships based on shared interests and common development, encouraging collaboration in areas such as trade, investment, and infrastructure development.
- Enhances the importance of diplomatic Initiatives, such as BRI, which are seen as contributing to the realization of the "community of shared future" concept. In this context, BRI aims to enhance connectivity, promote economic cooperation, and facilitate people-to-people exchanges among participating countries, fostering a sense of shared interests and common development.
- Addresses Global Challenges, as it acts as a platform to tackle global challenges such as poverty, climate change, terrorism, and pandemic response and emphasizes the need for joint efforts and international cooperation to find solutions to these issues.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that while China offered the initiative of a "community of shared future for humankind" as a proposal to address global challenges (Wang & Yi, 2021), there are varying interpretations and perceptions of this concept. Critics argue that China's implementation of this project may be driven by its own interests and could potentially lead to increased Chinese influence on the global stage (Kellogg, 2021). The extent to which this concept is embraced and implemented by the international community remains a subject of ongoing debate and discussion. It can be argued that the implications of these instruments and concepts for China as a global actor and furthermore for International Relations in general are multifaceted.

First, the paradigm shift in China's foreign policy indicates its aspiration to become a major global power. China seeks to shape international norms and institutions, expand its economic influence, and enhance its military capabilities, challenging the existing power dynamics and potentially leading to competition and cooperation with other global actors (Semenov & Tsvyk, 2019). In addition, its assertiveness and territorial disputes have created tensions in regional and international relations. Considering this, its expanding economic and military presence can lead to geopolitical frictions, regional rivalries, and challenges to existing alliances and security arrangements (ibid). Also, it is important to mention that initiatives like the BRI and its engagement in international organizations reflect its aspiration to redefine global governance norms and institutions, which may lead to debates and negotiations on issues such as international norms, rules, and standards, potentially reshaping the existing international order. Summarizing, it is important to note that the implications of China's foreign policy and its paradigm shift are complex and subject to ongoing developments, geopolitical dynamics, and interactions with other global actors. They continue to shape the evolving landscape of International Relations.

# Understanding Chinese foreign policy through the Lens of multiple international relations theories

The paradigm shift in Chinese foreign policy can be analyzed and understood through the lens of multiple international relations theories.

Among the theories taken into consideration for this paper, namely Realism, Strategic Hedging, and Constructivism, both realism and strategic hedging offer valuable insights into China's paradigm shift in foreign policy. However, it is important to note that no single theory can fully explain the complexity of China's foreign policy shift, and elements of multiple theories may be applicable (Zhang, 2015).

When analyzing this shift from a realistic perspective, which emphasizes the pursuit of power and national interests in an anarchic international system (Donnelly, 2000) we suggest that China's paradigm shift can be understood as a response to its growing power and desire to secure its national interests. As China's economic and military capabilities have expanded, it has become more assertive in pursuing its own interests and shaping the international order to better align with its preferences. China's focus on increasing its influence, expanding its economic ties, and enhancing its military capabilities can be seen as a realist pursuit of power and security.

Comprehending China's new foreign policy approach through Constructivism means emphasizing the role of ideas, norms, and identity in shaping state behavior. While constructivism may offer insights into specific aspects of China's foreign policy, such as its emphasis on a "community of shared future for humankind", it may not fully capture the power dynamics and strategic calculations that underlie China's paradigm shift. However, constructivism can provide an additional perspective by highlighting how China's changing identity, perceptions of its role in the world, and evolving norms influence its foreign policy choices.

Meanwhile, the Strategic hedging theory focuses on how rising powers navigate uncertainties and potential risks in the international system (Tessman, 2012). It suggests that China's paradigm shift can be seen as a strategic response to the challenges it faces as a rising power. China's proactive and assertive approach, including initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative and the establishment of the AIIB, can be interpreted as hedging strategies aimed at diversifying its economic and political relationships, reducing dependency on specific powers, and safeguarding its interests in evolving global landscape.

However, one theory that provides, useful insights into explaining this shift is the theory of Strategic Hedging Theory, which suggests that rising powers, such as China, engage in a hedging strategy to navigate the changing international system and mitigate potential risks and uncertainties. This theory acknowledges that as a rising power, China faces various challenges, including potential containment efforts by established powers, the need to protect its interests in the face of global uncertainties, and the desire to shape the international order to better suit its own preferences. The paradigm shift in Chinese foreign policy, characterized by a more proactive and assertive approach, can be seen as a strategic hedging response to these challenges. China has sought to expand its influence, protect its core interests, and shape international norms and institutions to better align with its goals. This can be observed through initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative, the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), and its increasing engagement in regional and global affairs.

### **Conclusions and further discussion**

China has undergone a remarkable shift in foreign policy over the recent years, by introducing several initiatives and furthermore by being more assertive. While it is important to note that no single theory can fully capture the complexity of China's foreign policy shift, as multiple factors and dynamics are at play, we must acknowledge that the interplay of different theories and approaches can provide a more comprehensive understanding of China's changing behavior and its implications for international relations. In summary, a combination of realism and strategic hedging theories appears to be most ap-

plicable in explaining China's paradigm shift in foreign policy. Realism helps understand China's pursuit of power and national interests, while strategic hedging theory provides insights into how China strategically responds to the challenges and uncertainties it faces as a rising power. On the other hand, it is important to highlight that this proactive and ambitious foreign policy, may prompt the need for other global actors such as the United States and the European Union, to reconsider their strategies and reorganize themselves in response to China's evolving role.

Overall, it is important to note that no single theory can fully capture the complexity of China's foreign policy shift, as multiple factors and dynamics are at play. The interplay of different theories and approaches can provide a more comprehensive understanding of China's changing behavior and its implications for international relations. In summary, a combination of realism and strategic hedging theories appears to be most applicable in explaining China's paradigm shift in foreign policy. Realism helps understand China's pursuit of power and national interests, while strategic hedging theory provides insights into how China strategically responds to the challenges and uncertainties it faces as a rising power. Geopolitical Competition: China's rise as a global power and its assertive foreign policy approach may lead to increased geopolitical competition with other major actors, particularly the United States. This competition can reshape power dynamics, regional alliances, and global influence, necessitating strategic adjustments by other actors.

China's economic growth and expansion through initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative have the potential to challenge the economic influence of other actors. This can lead to increased economic rivalry and competition in terms of trade, investment, technological advancements, and market access. Other actors may need to adapt their economic strategies to remain competitive. In addition, China's growing influence and its advocacy for a more inclusive international order may stimulate discussions on global governance reform. Other actors, including the United States and the European Union, may need to engage in dialogue and negotiation to adapt existing global institutions and mechanisms to reflect the changing power dynamics and accommodate emerging powers like China. Despite this, China's shifting foreign policy approach may prompt other actors to reassess their alliances and partnerships. The United States and the European Union may seek to strengthen existing alliances, forge new partnerships, and enhance cooperation to effectively navigate the evolving global landscape and respond to China's influence. Overall, it is nevertheless important to note that the response of other global actors to China's paradigm shift will depend on a range of factors, including their own strategic interests, domestic politics, and the nature of their relationship with China. The dynamics between China and other actors will continue to shape the international system and require ongoing adjustments and reorganization by all parties involved.

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ПЪТЯТ НА КОПРИНАТА • ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИ, ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИ И ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

## The People's Republic of China and Latin America – Past and Present of a Strategic Partnership

Abel Rodriguez Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski"

Abstract

In my paper, I will present the past and current developments of the international relations of the People's Republic of China and the countries in Latin America, paying special attention to those between China and Cuba and between China and Brazil. Relations between the PRC and Latin American countries date back to the 60s and 70s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but their culmination occurred at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century as a result of various internal and external political, economic and geopolitical factors. The partnership between Beijing and Latin American countries results mutually beneficial and sustainable, which also leads to the transformation of the PRC into a major trading partner for the entire region. I will outline the development of these processes and illustrate them with the specific examples of Sino-Cuban and Sino-Brazilian relations. The China-Cuba partnership is particularly interesting because, apart from the commercial and economic field, the two countries interact closely in helping to modernize the Cuban economy and to reform the Cuban model of socialism.

Keywords: International Relations, China, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), Cuba, Brazil

In times of disintegration of the unipolar world and establishment of a new multipolar world order, the importance and role of countries such as the People's Republic of China is increasing. The specificity of China as a large developing country determines its interest to strengthen its relations with other developing countries and in particular the countries in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) region. For a long time, the LAC region has been marginal for the global economy and politics, but today its geostrategic position is changing. The common international and economic interests of China and the LAC countries are a basis for their close diplomatic and economic relations. Sino-Cuban and Sino-Brazilian relations are of particular interest in this paper, as they are very important for both countries for various political, ideological and economic reasons.

# I. Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) as a strategic region

LAC region has a number of strategic and geopolitical advantages as for example its place in world trade flows and its role in environmental protection and the combat against climate change.

In terms of trade, the economic weight of LAC is growing. The region is ranked number fourth in the world after the EU, USA and China with a market of \$ 646 million. In terms of natural resources, LAC is rich in energy resources (20% of the world's oil deposits and 15% of the oil production), arable land (25% of the world's arable land), biodiversity (50%), forests (23%), 33% of the world's drinking water and significant deposits of minerals including critically important rare metals (Parthenay 2022: 54; Ventura 2022: 52–55). LAC region plays an important role in environmental protection and the combat against climate change<sup>1</sup>.

LAC is an important trade route (with significant trade flows through the Panama Canal) between Europe and Asia and between the two parts of the Western Hemisphere. This is the reason behind the projects to build new transoceanic trade corridors – e.g. the unrealized project of the Hong Kong Nicaragua Development (HKND) company for a new canal in Nicaragua from 2013–2014 or the projects for a transoceanic railway between Brazil and Peru or for a transoceanic highway (Parthenay 2022: 54, 58; Pecqueur 2021: 121–126). LAC region is involved in a number of international economic and trade initiatives and organizations: the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA), CPTPP (Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership), APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation); the negotiations of an EU-MERCOSUR association agreement and bilateral association agreements with the EU; the applications for joining the OECD, BRICS (Peru – 2012, Argentina – 2016, 2022, Brazil – 2017).

Chronic political and economic instability in the region has led to a sharp decline in FDI after 2013<sup>2</sup>. LAC lags severely in terms of transport infrastructure and connectivity in the region. China is particularly interested in projects in this area and invests in the modernization and upgrade of port infrastructure – e.g. the port of Veracruz (Mexico), a gas terminal in Trinidad and Tobago, port facilities in Santiago de Cuba, the Bahamas, Panama and El Salvador.

The diplomatic dimension of the LAC strategic role is expressed in the possibility of providing support during important votes in multilateral international organizations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to World Bank figures, the level of FDI in the region in 2019 was lower than in 2008. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.WD.GD.ZS?end=2019&locations=ZJ-BR-MX-CL-AR&start=2019&view=bar



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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Many of the LAC countries defend the declaration of 30% of the world's oceans as a protected area by 2030 to prevent overexploitation of fish resources, pollution and acidification of sea water. In terms of climate change, LAC region is among the smallest polluters in the world, but is among the most affected regions in the world (floods, droughts, desertification, storms, hurricanes, melting glaciers, rising sea level, etc.) with severe social, economic and political consequences for its inhabitants (Ventura 2022: 136–143; Parthenay 2022: 58–60).

(UN and specialized international organizations). Diplomatic support for the "One-China principle" is important for China – i.e. withdrawal of international recognition for Tai-wan<sup>3</sup> (Cabestan 2022: 543–544).

## II. China and LAC

The People's Republic of China (PRC) had established diplomatic relations with the LAC countries since the early 1960s. Cuba was the first country in the region to recognize the PRC on September 28, 1960. It was followed by the establishment of relations with Chile – 1970, Peru – 1971 and Brazil – 1974 (Hearn 2018: 234; Ventura 2022: 148). However the culmination of these relations occurred only at the beginning of the XXI century. The more intensive Chinese policy in the region is due to multiple internal and external factors as for example the global US-Chinese trade and geopolitical rivalry. By joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, China accelerated its rise as an international trade and finance superpower. At this moment, the decline of the USA as a world hegemon begins as a result of its interventions in the Middle East and they are forced to neglect the LAC region. At the same time, in most of the LAC countries came to power left wing governments which started to seek for greater independence and distancing from the US and the EU in their domestic and international politics. These governments want to diversify their foreign trade relations and strategic partnerships (Ventura 2022: 148).

For China, the relations with LAC provide partners to ensure its resource (minerals, hydrocarbons, gas) and food security (agricultural products), in order to support the development of the Chinese economy. The LAC countries consider China as a huge market for their exports despite the danger of deindustrialisation and returning to a development model based on the export of raw materials and the risk of a new dependence on this export. China is also a supplier of cheap industrial products, industrial and technological equipment for the region. LAC also sees Beijing as a geopolitical partner to reduce its dependence on the US and Europe (Ventura 2022: 149; Cabestan 2022: 545, 587–588).

China has a number of bilateral and multilateral tools at its disposal to advance its economic and financial interests in LAC (Ventura 2022: 150; Parthenay 2022: 56):

- "Global Strategic Partnership" (the highest level of bilateral diplomatic agreement for Beijing) with 9 countries in the region, including Argentina, Brazil and Mexico (the largest economies in LAC);
- China-CELAC Forum inaugurated in 2015 to promote a comprehensive cooperative partnership;
- Participation in the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the Caribbean Development Bank;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In LAC, Taiwan's allies are numerous and their relations are longer lasting than in Africa, despite China's restoration of relations with Panama, the Dominican Republic and El Salvador (2017–2018) and with Nicaragua and Honduras (2021–22).

- The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) has also expressed interest in LAC, and eight countries from the region applied for membership;
- Free trade agreements with Costa Rica, Chile and Peru.

Since the late 1990s, China seeks to attract leading countries from Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East to support the construction of a multipolar world, to block the hegemonic aspirations in international affairs of the developed countries, and to consolidate Beijing's leadership position in international affairs. China sees LAC as a future important development axis in a multipolar world led by Brazil, Mexico and Argentina (Cabestan 2022: 529–532).

## III. LAC and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

China's trade relations with LAC countries develop rapidly since the mid-1990s. Trade with this region is secondary for Beijing, but is growing significantly. While in 2011 China was the second principal trading partner of the LAC countries after the US, in 2021 China displaced the US and the EU as LAC main trading partner (with the only exception of Mexico). The trade volume between China and LAC increased from \$10 billion in 2001 to \$450 billion in 2021(Ventura 2022: 149; Cabestan 2022: 598). Beijing's expects its LAC trade to expand up to \$500 billion by 2025 (to reach or even surpass the total amount of US trade with the LAC countries). According to some forecasts, by 2035 the trade volume may exceed \$700 billion (Ventura 2022: 149; Roy 2023). These intense commercial and economic relations also extend the influence of Chinese diplomacy and are a source of worry for Washington.

Nowadays Beijing become the main investor in the LAC with investments in port facilities, airports, roads, hydroelectric plants, mining, services, energy, pharmaceuticals, and a major credit supplier to the region. Latin America is the second largest destination for Chinese foreign direct investments (FDI) totaling \$450 billion at the end of 2021 (Ventura 2022: 149). Chinese "policy banks" as China Development Bank (CDB) and China Export-Import Bank (Eximbank), and various commercial banks (as ICBC, BOC, CCB, BoCom, ABC) issued \$136 billion loans to the region between 2005 and 2022 (Gallagher 2022; Myers 2023: 1).

With the launch of the One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative in 2013, later reformulated as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Beijing demonstrates ambitions to create a new model of globalization – an alternative to the existing trade and financial world order with a leading role for China (Lasserre 2019: 4–6). Despite numerous external and internal factors (the crises related to the Covid-19 pandemic and the consequences of the war in Ukraine) and the criticism against the initiative (about the poor profitability of certain projects; catching poor countries into a debt trap or placing developing countries in a new form of dependence/a wrong model of development) China has no intention to abandon the initiative. The BRI adapts in response to social, political and



economic constraints and criticism. The Chinese investments in BRI-related projects are most often in the transport and energy sectors but also in: urban transport; production; agriculture; culture; tourism; finance (project payments/loans in RMB); digital services (Lasserre 2023). After 2015, the BRI initiative expand into the health sector and in 2017, 17 bilateral agreements are signed with The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and GAVI (Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization) within BRI framework. During the Covid-19 pandemic, Beijing becomes a major supplier of protective equipment, medical equipment and vaccines to fight the virus in developing countries (Sénéquier 2023: 39–41).

Transparency and better management of the initiative are strengthened, especially regarding the management of loans, the partner countries debt and the environmental sustainability of the projects. Chinese banks receive guidelines with lending rules that oblige them to tighten financing conditions. This leads to reduction in the financial commitments in recent years (Lasserre 2023; Myers 2022). Chinese investments are increasingly directed towards renewable energy and sustainable development projects in order to help LAC region to address the climate change effects (Ventura 2022: 149). So far 21 LAC countries have joined the initiative.

US consider China's penetration into LAC as a "threat to the national security" because the region is moving away from its dependence on Washington. US-Chinese confrontation in LAC covers many areas: trade, investment, lending, technology (5G), geopolitics (Taiwan, Cuba, Venezuela). In the defense and security field, Beijing sells weapons to a number of countries in LAC. US accuses China to be engaged in espionage activities through its technological, scientific and military cooperation with LAC countries, allowing China to intercept sensitive information shared between the US and its LAC allies (Ventura 2022: 150).

## **IV. Sino-Cuban relations**

Sino-Cuban relations in the post-Cold War period are marked by political solidarity and economic pragmatism. Cuba is the first Latin American country to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China on September 28, 1960. During the Sino-Soviet Split from the middle of the 1960s to the early 1980s Cuba sides with the URSS in order to ensure its economic survival. Despite the ideological differences in this period the bilateral relations are never interrupted. In June 1989 the Chinese foreign minister Qian Qichen is officially received in Havana by Cuba's President Fidel Castro, a gesture strongly appreciated by Beijing when other countries are cancelling his visit following the Tiananmen events (Hearn, Adrian H. and Hernández, R. 2018: 261). As a response to this, Chinese President Jiang Zemin makes a state visit to Cuba and offers financial assistance in 1993. Sino-Cuban relations become one of highest importance for the Chinese leaders in office. In Havana China is seen as a key political ally and becomes one of its main trade



partners. The increasing Chinese interest in Sino-Cuban bilateral relations is also closely linked to the expansion of Chinese political and economic influence throughout LAC.

In the XXI-st century, the two countries are striving to build a market socialism with local specifics that better reflects contemporary realities. China's interest in developing Cuban production capacity and market expansion arouses at the time of the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the USSR. The two countries cooperate in various areas (energy and natural resources; production; biotechnology and pharmacy; health care; science and technology; telecommunications; transport; agriculture; tourism, etc.) with focus on the long-term sustainability of the implemented projects. The goal is to build critical infrastructures as a basis for economic grow and to modernize and coordinate Cuban industrial capacity<sup>4</sup> (Hearn 2018: 234–235). This cooperation in carrying out economic reforms on the island are a prerequisite for the gradual reintegration of Cuba into the world economy.

China also provides the necessary financing for such projects by granting interest-free credits and loans. Loans are granted for example: for the upgrade of the communication infrastructure (a \$6.5 million interest-free loan) and a \$200 million loan for the purchase of household appliances; for the upgrade of the health infrastructure (\$80 million credit line); for the expansion and upgrade of the oil refinery in Cienfuegos (\$6 billion); for road and rail transport (\$1.8 billion); for the upgrade and expansion of the second largest Cuban port in Santiago de Cuba (\$120 million) (Hearn 2018: 234–235). This approach of building an integrated industrial capacity and modernising the transport infrastructure creates opportunities for strengthening the regional influence of the two countries.

In 2011, Cuba launched a number of significant economic reforms related to the controlled creation of a private sector and the gradual opening of the economy. The reforms aim at: updating the Cuban model of socialism by introducing elements of market economy, involving the military in managing commercial activities, attracting foreign investment and investment from the Cuban diaspora, and testing market liberalization in pilot territories before applying relevant experience at national level. As early as in the 1990s, Raúl Castro became interested in the Chinese reforms in the industrial sector, privatisation, consumer market development, labor market reforms and the role of state authorities as regulator of market processes. He made visits to China in 1997 and in 2005, and receives Chinese advisers and special envoys in Havana to get direct insights into China's experience (Hearn, Adrian H. and Hernández, R. 2018: 261).

Chinese companies are interested in expanding the Cuban consumer market, strengthening the private sector and expanding opportunities for foreign investment in order to expand the range of goods and services they offer to Cuba. The Cuban government seeks to attract Chinese investments without losing control of the processes in the economy.

Cuba joins the BRI initiative in 2018 during the state visit of Miguel Díaz-Canel to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This model was initially applied in the construction of a bicycle plant and a domestic appliances plant: Chinese products are imported and when they become popular in the market a production facility is built. Then Cuban technicians are trained and the production begins.



Beijing, and in 2019 also joins the Belt and Road Energy Partnership (BREP). In December 2021, under the BREP initiative, China and Cuba signed a cooperation plan on infrastructure projects. Cuba plans to increase the share of renewable energy sources in its energy mix from under 5 to 24% by 2030<sup>5</sup>.

Over the past two decades, the bilateral cooperation in the field of biotechnology and pharmaceuticals develops. Various joint ventures have been established in biotechnology and health fields and Cuban medical products have been registered in China. The joint development of a biotechnology park in the Chinese province of Guangxi (with the participation of BioCubaFarma and Guangxi Fukang) is planned. This experimental industrial center will provide drug research and supply for China and the entire ASEAN region<sup>6</sup>.

At political level, Sino-Cuban bilateral relations are close with various state visits of Chinese presidents in Havana (Jiang Zemin – 1993, 2001; Hu Jintao – 2004, 2008; Xi Jinping – 2014). Li Keqiang is the first Chinese Prime Minister to visit the island in 2016. Beijing receives on a state visit the new Cuban President Miguel Díaz-Canel in 2018 and 2022.

## V. Sino-Brazilian relations

Brazil is a privileged political and economic partner for China in LAC due to its demographic weight, strong economy, large market, substantial natural resources and developed industry with leading Brazilian companies in a number of important sectors (petroleum; aircraft manufacturing; construction; mining, etc.). Brazil is important to Beijing in its role of an informal regional leader in creating important organizations for regional integration such as MERCOSUR and UNASUR<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, China as a large developing country, considers Brazil a natural partner among the Global South countries due to their common interests in various fields. All this puts Brazil at the center of Chinese policy towards LAC and is a prerequisite for very intense and close economic and political relations (Méndez Morán 2018: 201–203; Cabestan 2022: 593).

Common geostrategic and economic interests push both countries for institutionalisation of bilateral relations. As early as 1993, China and Brazil signed an agreement for a "long-lasting and stable partnership". This is the first partnership agreement of this type concluded between the PRC and another country and places relations with Brazil among the highest priorities of Chinese foreign policy. The numerous state visits and bilateral high-level meetings are an expression of the importance of Sino-Brazilian relations. During the Qiang Zemin state visit in 2001 the level of relations is defined as a "strategic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cuba intends to generate 755 MW from biomass, 700 MW from solar parks and 633 MW from wind turbines by 2030. See: Can the Belt and Road help Cuba overcome its energy woes? https://dialogochino.net/en/climate-energy/48794-belt-and-road-cuba-energy-woes/ (June 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> China-Cuba: Bilateral Trade and Investment Prospects: https://www.china-briefing.com/news/china-cuba-bilateral-trade-and-investment-prospects/?fbclid=IwAR1hQ7ycI2CvF0dsxb2etTvGREg5kgCyGLHtKz 5iOjIUWTYcOXqVFNePR3I (June 2023).

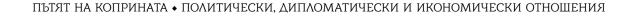
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The Southern Common Market is commonly known by Spanish abbreviation MERCOSUR (from Mercado Común del Sur), and the Union of South American Nations (USAN) abbreviated in Spanish as UNASUR.

alliance", and in 2012 it was raised to the highest level in the hierarchy of Chinese foreign policy a "Global Strategic Partnership".

For its part, Brazil is active in the development of these bilateral relations as well. In 2004 President Lula da Silva visits China to create the Brazil-China-India axis in order to strengthen the positions of developing countries in the WTO. Later, Brazil and Russia play an active role in the institutionalisation of the BRICS format, as Foreign Minister Celso Amorim, together with Sergey Lavrov, organise the first informal high-level meetings. In 2009, the first BRICS summit is held in Russia followed by Brazil in 2010. In 2009, Brazil and China join the BASIC coalition (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) for the climate conference in Copenhagen. All these initiatives contribute to increasingly closer bilateral relations and reflect Sino-Brazilian aspiration for a new multipolar world (Méndez Morán 2018: 203-208; Cabestan 2022: 593–594). Another clear demonstration of this policy is the establishing of the New BRICS Development Bank and the Contingency Reserve Agreement in 2014 to perform similar functions to those of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In 2023, former President of Brazil Dilma Rousseff is appointed to head up the New Development Bank. Brazil is interested in participating in those formats because they contribute to increase Brazil's international prestige and to support its leading role in international affairs.

In UN votes and international climate conferences China and Brazil defend common positions in defense of national sovereignty and the interests of developing countries. Common Sino-Brazilian interests include: issues concerning the North-South technology transfer; issues concerning the intellectual property protection (drug patents); infrastructure development as a stimulus for economic growth; freedom for state regulation of the economy and protection of state companies; support for Cuban government and for Iran's nuclear ambitions; taking into account the specifics of developing countries when implementing climate change measures (Méndez Morán 2018: 210–211). The issues on which the two sides differ are for example the reform of the UN Security Council (Brazil has ambitions to become a permanent member, but China is unwilling to support a particular candidate) and on the issue of recognising the Chinese economy as a "market economy" (Méndez Morán 2018: 214; Cabestan 2022: 530–534).

China's interests in the field of the economy initially are focused on Brazilian agriculture. Since the mid-90s of the XX century, Chinese companies have been buying arable land, and the purchase of agricultural products (as soybeans, paper pulp, wood, leather, sugar) has also increased. Subsequently, China also develops industrial cooperation by investing in the steel and aluminum production, buying uranium, iron and bauxite. The two countries participate in joint projects for scientific and technical cooperation and technology transfer – e.g. for the development and production of bioethanol, aircrafts and satellites. China and Brazil created and launched various meteorological and research satellites CBERS (China-Brazil Earth Research Satellite) in 1999, 2003, 2014 and 2019 (Méndez Morán 2018: 216–232; Cabestan 2022: 595).



Since 2000, bilateral trade grows exponentially: from \$2.8 billion in 2000 to over \$100 billion in 2019 (\$64 billion imports from China). Brazil holds 9<sup>-th</sup> position in terms of imports and 10<sup>-th</sup> position among China's trading partners. The total amount of Chinese direct investments in the country is estimated at \$71 billion in 2021 (Cabestan 2022: 595).

### **VI.** Conclusion

The strengthening of Beijing's policy towards the LAC developing countries increased in importance at the beginning of XXI century. It serves to legitimise China as the "largest developing country" and allows it to prevent the creation of anti-Chinese coalitions in international organisations and to tighten Taiwan's the diplomatic isolation. Chinese relations with LAC also guarantee energy supplies, raw materials and agricultural products for China and open new markets for Chinese products and companies. This policy aims at the diversification of China's strategic imports and strengthening of political relations with developing countries. Beijing seeks to build flexible coalitions of friendly countries to ensure its strategic supplies at affordable prices. This strategy should invalidate any possible attempt for a trade blockade against China in the event of a global conflict or external threats against the sea routes. At the same time, the increased Chinese interest for LAC region supports LAC countries economic development, and serves their quest to achieve greater independence and diplomatic weight.

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ПЪТЯТ НА КОПРИНАТА • ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИ, ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИ И ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

## The 'China model' of Diplomacy: The Role of Chinese Contemporary Artworks and the Tsinghua University Art Museum in Promoting Understanding of Modern China

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#### Abstract

Public diplomacy is often clustered with other terms such as "soft power," "nation branding," "public relations," and even "propaganda." Nevertheless, there is a notable component of public diplomacy which could emerge at the forefront of the field of study in International Relations – cultural diplomacy. China, as a society with a living ancient culture could be one of the leaders in cultural diplomacy based on mutual communication, exchange, and acceptance. Combining its ancient roots with its contemporary culture which encompasses modern art, literature, music, cinematic works, and digital platforms, China can create a new model for interaction in the international community – the "China model." To achieve this, a basic understanding of Chinese culture and society must be established across the globe to promote genuine communication and strengthen people-to-people bonds. This can be achieved through cultural diplomacy.

Cultural diplomacy relies on multiple elements of culture, sometimes involving non-government mechanisms such as museums. Thus, this paper explores the importance of Tsinghua University Art Museum as a medium for museum and cultural diplomacy. Specifically, a recent exhibition titled "*Untold Implications*," created by world renowned artist Feng Yuan offers an invaluable insight into the struggles and hopes of 20<sup>th</sup> century China, whilst at the same time paying homage to the country's long history. The artistic blend of history, representation of historic figures, culture, and contemporary society allows visitors (especially students), to better understand the complexity of Chinese society as it is in 2023. In turn, such understanding has the power to promote genuine communication between China and international society.

Keywords: International relations, soft power, cultural diplomacy.

Cultural diplomacy is traditionally seen as a "strategic instrument of national governments to achieve foreign policy objectives,"<sup>1</sup> often considered as a sub-category of public diplomacy which states employ to further their foreign policy interests. For China's cur-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Natalia Grincheva, "Cultural diplomacy under the 'digital lockdown': pandemic challenges and opportunities in museum diplomacy," Place Branding and Public Diplomacy 18 (2022): 8.



rent leadership, "cultural diplomacy" (文化外交) is of great importance for the country's soft power projection and international standing. As such, the leadership has launched and supported multiple initiatives to disseminate Chinese culture and ameliorate the international community's understanding of China. Insofar, this policy has drawn on China's long history and rich culture.

China boasts many attractive cultural resources such as "Chinese language (characters and calligraphy), Chinese philosophy, Chinese music, movies, arts, architecture, Chinese food, Chinese medicine, [and] Chinese martial arts."<sup>2</sup> Insofar, China has relied on traditional cultural resources for its 21<sup>st</sup> century public diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. However, China has achieved a transformation and localization of the term, developing the "China Model" of public diplomacy, which takes into consideration the uniqueness of China's structural and political realities.

Further, the global Covid-19 pandemic has had significant impact on the traditional conduct of diplomacy, giving rise to new actors, platforms, and mediums of conduct. Digital and new media technologies have facilitated the reach of content beyond geographic borders, allowing global audiences access to diverse media. Museums have also been incorporated into this trend, participating in live streams, virtual tours, and organized talks, especially during the Covid-19 global pandemic which forced many of such institutions to shut their doors to visitors.

These circumstances naturally come with challenges and opportunities – the latter being in the form of museum diplomacy online. Indeed, the spread of cultural content in the form of Chinese contemporary artworks online has the capability to not only reach wider audiences, but also create understanding towards contemporary Chinese culture. As such, exhibitions like the "Untold Implications – Feng Yuan Art Exhibition" hosted by the Tsinghua University Art Museum (TAM) have an enormous potential as mediums of cultural diplomacy. Thus, this paper has chosen to take this exhibition as a case study, beginning first by defining China's cultural diplomacy, outlining trends in museum diplomacy, and finally analysing the importance of modern art exhibitions for the future of Chinese cultural diplomacy.

## Defining China's cultural diplomacy: 文化外交

The field of public diplomacy is a contested one, with scholars disagreeing on one universal definition. This paper traces the roots of the contemporary conception of "public diplomacy" to Joseph Nye when he coined the term "soft power" in 1990, defining it as "getting others to want the outcomes that you want"<sup>3</sup> through co-option rather than coercion. According to Nye's conception, soft power relies on three resources: political values,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Xin Li and Verner Worm, "Building China's Soft Power for a Peaceful Rise," Journal of Chinese Political Science 16 (2011): 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (2008): 95.

foreign policy, and culture which is defined as a "set of values and practices that create meaning for a society."<sup>4</sup> In turn, Nye argues that cultural diplomacy is one of the public diplomacy instruments employed by national governments. Further, Richard T. Arndt recognizes the difference between "cultural relations" and "cultural diplomacy": cultural relations being about culture transcending national borders and growing "naturally and organically, without government intervention."<sup>5</sup>

As such, Arndt considers government involvement to be a component characteristic of "cultural diplomacy." Indeed, China's leadership places significant focus on culture, as can be seen in multiple instances of recent history, one being the 19<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in 2017 where President Xi Jinping observed that "culture is the soul of a country and a people,"<sup>6</sup> speaking of China's need to demonstrate its "eternal attraction and contemporary charisma."<sup>7</sup> Culture and cultural self-confidence are then, important components of China's contemporary diplomacy whereby Chinese government leaders have come to use the Western terminology of "public diplomacy" less frequently. Instead, localized concepts such as "cultural diplomacy" (文化外交) as well as "people-to-people exchange" (人文交流)<sup>8</sup> are now increasingly used by officials, contributing to the uniqueness of the "China model" of diplomacy.

This model considers the specific nature of China's political governance, whereby Chinese public diplomacy tends to be considered as centralised, the decision-making organ being the CPC's Central Foreign Affairs Commission since 2018.<sup>9</sup> The model further recognizes that the implementation of Chinese public diplomacy follows a complex structure involving many departments and groups such as the Ministry of Culture which focuses on cultural diplomacy or the Information Office (operating under the State Council and Foreign Affairs Department) which oversees media diplomacy.<sup>10</sup> Further, public groups such as "trade unions, the Communist Youth League [and] the Women's Federation"<sup>11</sup> among many others are involved in public diplomacy, which demonstrates the complexity of the varied organs involved in China's diplomatic conduct both domestically and abroad. Therefore, this paper recognizes the uniqueness of the "China Model" for diplomacy, focusing on the specific characteristics of China's governance and their interplay with China's cultural diplomacy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Joseph S. Jr. Nye, Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics (New York: Public Affairs, 2009), 11. <sup>5</sup> Hyojung Cho, "From representation to engagement: how have museums supported US cultural

diplomacy?" Museum Management and Curatorship 37, no. 4 (2022): 385.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Nigel Inkster, "Chinese Culture and Soft Power," Survival 60, no. 3 (2018): 68.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Kejin Zhao, "The China Model for Public Diplomacy and its future," The Hague Journal of Diplomacy 14 (2019): 175.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Yiwei Wang, "Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power," The Annals of the American Academy 616 (2008): 265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Zhao, "The China Model for Public Diplomacy and its future," 173.

### China's museum diplomacy

Museum diplomacy is important for the future of Chinese cultural diplomacy, specifically in the post-pandemic world. The distinctive feature of museum diplomacy is one such that the practice of heritage conservation is not seen as concerning a single country but rather as a shared action, which is to be addressed through cultural relations and cooperation.<sup>12</sup> This is because cultural heritage practices which involve curators, archaeologists, conservators, and other specialists<sup>13</sup> can be considered instruments of cultural diplomacy. Exhibitions provide the opportunity for collaboration, which G. Cowan and A. Arsenault define as an initiative that features "cross-national participation in a joint venture or project with a clearly defined goal."<sup>14</sup> Consequently, collaboration can prove an efficient tool of diplomacy between actors in the international system.

In China, systemic promotion can be seen on an institutional level through the establishment of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) – China's top government agency concerned with the management of museum and ancient artefacts. SACH follows guiding policies such as the *"The Twelfth Five-Year Plan for Museums and Cultural Heritage"* (2011) and *"The Outline of the Middle to Long-term Development Plan for Museums"* (2011–2020), which consistently emphasize international collaboration.<sup>15</sup>

An example of the importance China places on cultural diplomacy in the form of exchanges between museums can be seen through the *"The First Emperor: China's Terracotta Army"* exhibition hosted at the British museum between September 13, 2007, and April 6, 2008, which contained 120 sets of loaned objects.<sup>16</sup> The exhibition attracted 850,000 visitors – the largest number since the first blockbuster exhibition in London in 1972.<sup>17</sup> This showcases the potential of collaboration for future projects despite the challenges international society faces in the post-pandemic world. Specifically, Covid-19 pandemic-induced lockdowns prompted cultural actors to take initiatives in conducting a hybrid kind of museum diplomacy, considering travel boundaries and closures. In 2020, UNESCO reported that due to Covid-19, 95% of all museums worldwide (approximately 100,000 museums) were closed in May 2020 without reopening throughout the year<sup>18</sup>.

As a result of this, museum diplomacy has taken to online platforms, allowing for online cultural exchanges on a scale never seen before. For example, during the Spring Festival in 2020, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of China reported that museums

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Randolf Mariano and Andreas Varheim, "Libraries, museums and cultural center in foreign policy and cultural diplomacy: a scoping review," Journal of Documentation 78, no. 3 (2022): 664.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> G. Cowan and A. Arsenault, "Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (2008): 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Simon Knell ed., The Contemporary Museum: Shaping Museums for the Global Now (Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Grincheva, "Cultural diplomacy under the 'digital lockdown': pandemic challenges and opportunities in museum diplomacy," 8.

across the country livestreamed more than 2,000 exhibitions online, attracting over 5 billion international digital visitors.<sup>19</sup> Equally, the Palace Museum of Beijing, known internationally as the Forbidden City, "has held several live stream guided tours broadcasted on CCTV news, attended by 10 million viewers from around the world."<sup>20</sup> Such forms of digital museum diplomatic practices can become the future of cultural diplomacy, allowing for cross-border exchanges on a global scale, which would allow international audiences to gain a better glimpse into Chinese culture and modern society.

## Tsinghua University Art Museum and Untold Implications

The exhibition titled "Untold Implications – Feng Yuan Art Exhibition," hosted by the Tsinghua University Art Museum (TAM) is the most complete retrospect of famous Chinese artist Feng Yuan(冯远), which includes around 200 pieces of artworks created over a span of 43 years.<sup>21</sup> This exhibition offers a unique glimpse into the practice of Chinese portraiture's new expression through Feng Yuan's "profound thought, exquisite art and ingenious technique."<sup>22</sup> Feng Yuan's paintings are closely related to China's history, depicting "ancient literati, modern revolutionaries and contemporary urban and rural youths."<sup>23</sup> This allows us to explore the cultural atmosphere of the era, the specific spirit of the times, and reconstruct historical figures from a Chinese perspective as can be seen in the two paintings below:



Painting 1. 中华人文图 (Chinese Humanities Map) in 2021 Photo: Jood G. Sharaf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "Historical paintings by Feng Yuan," Global Times, September 28, 2021. https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202109/1235314.shtml (accessed March 20, 2023).



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "Untold Implications: Feng Yuan Art Exhibition," Tsinghua University Art Museum, July 12, 2022. http://www.artmuseum.tsinghua.edu.cn/en/xsyj/ztyj/zlch/202207/t20220714\_17445.shtml (accessed March 20, 2023).
 <sup>22</sup> Ibid.

The ink painting on the left represents the long history of China's leaders from ancient times with the reign of the First emperor Qin Shi Huang (秦始皇) to the modern-day leadership overseen by Mao Zedong (毛泽东) and his compatriots.



Painting 2. 英雄交响曲 (The Symphony of Heroes) in 1982 Photo: Jood G. Sharaf

The second painting demonstrates the struggles of China, depicting revitalization of the motherland, hope, and ascension towards a bright future in the historic period between the Opium Wars and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

The two paintings – part of the much larger exhibition – are significant cultural artworks, which have the power to promote a more comprehensive understanding of international audiences towards modern-day China. Specifically, in-person visitors to this exhibition can not only glimpse into the complexity of China's past and present but also carry their experiences to their home countries, promoting "international goodwill and understanding."<sup>24</sup> However, international audiences had limited access to this exhibition due to the lack of comprehensive digital accessibility mechanisms. Nevertheless, TAM could increase the exposure of cultural artworks to international audiences by engaging in digital museum practises such as livestreams or virtual tours, adopting an active approach to showcasing China's culture.

For example, an instance of a successful livestreaming tour in Chinese was undertaken by the Victoria and Albert (V&A) Museum in London in August 2020, giving a tour of the museum's collections on the most popular Chinese livestreaming platform – Kuaishou (快手).<sup>25</sup> The Tsinghua University Art Museum can gain a lot from adapting its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Grincheva, "Cultural diplomacy under the 'digital lockdown': pandemic challenges and opportunities in museum diplomacy," 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid., 9.

exhibition style to global audiences. Firstly, by streaming foreign language tours of its exhibitions, this would allow international audiences to glimpse into art in China and learn more about modern Chinese culture and society in an environment that is separate from politics. Secondly, if similar livestreams are done on western platforms of social media such as Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter (posting videos and short articles), it would allow for greater access of audiences worldwide. This would not only increase exposure of Chinese culture and society. This, in turn, would promote greater understanding towards China and facilitate international exchanges on the basis of mutual understanding and acceptance – one of the goals of China's current leadership.

## Conclusion

China has drawn on its ancient tradition and culture for its diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, creating the "China model" of public diplomacy with consideration of the country's system of governance and aspirations for the future. Cultural diplomacy then, has become an important component of the "China model," emerging at the forefront of Chinese international relations.

Cultural diplomacy is multi-faceted, incorporating many elements of China's rich history and development of the arts. Nevertheless, we ought to consider the importance of actors such as museums in Chinese diplomacy, which can contribute to forging greater understanding towards the complexity of China's culture and society.

Notably, exhibitions such as the "Untold Implications – Feng Yuan Art Exhibition" hosted by the Tsinghua University Art Museum have the enormous potential of unearthing cross-cultural stereotypes and stimulating interest toward Chinese culture. To achieve this on a global scale, the TAM – along with other Chinese museums – could engage in digital museum diplomacy, using different languages and platforms to reach a broader audience. By encouraging greater international exposure towards ancient and modern Chinese artworks, the museums would facilitate cross-cultural communication and increase curiosity among international audiences. In turn, this would create a better understanding towards Chinese culture and society and hopefully lead to greater acceptance and cooperation within the international community.

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## Ролята на Япония в Арктическия регион и последиците за Китай

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## Japan's Role in the Arctic Region and Implications for China

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#### Abstract

Climate change, caused mainly by global warming, has led to changes and new climatic conditions in regions long inaccessible to exploration and use. The focus of the analysis will be mainly on the Arctic region. With the melting of the permafrost and its lowest level in years, opportunities for exploration and exploitation of the region's natural resources are becoming accessible to international actors. A major case study also arises for a possible new maritime northern economic route. This new reality and the opportunities generated intrigue individual states as well as non-state actors. Strategies and tactics are being developed to sustainably position and operate in the situation that has emerged. Individual Arctic and non-Arctic states, which occupy different geopolitical contours, have come up with official published positions and strategies. China and Japan are two of the participants with a vested interest in future actions and policies in the region. China defines itself as a semi-Arctic state dependent on the supply of natural resources and the sustainable development of the region. Japan is an island state and equally dependent on the dynamics of the new reality. The region will play an important role in the relations of the two countries on the axis of cooperation and confrontation, on issues of development, goals and interests in the political, economic and social spheres. The purpose of this study is to present and analyze the roles and strategies of Japan and China in the region, and to provide directions for future research on the relationship resulting from the progress of the two leading Asian countries. The study will serve to analyze the challenges faced by countries that are geographically distant from the region, but are active participants in the international system and the distribution of wealth. The analysis will help researchers, foreign policy decision makers, and students, understand the dynamics of Japan's actions in the region and their relevance to the China Initiative. The region will play an essential role in the international system and foreign policy, so I believe the study will be fruitful.

Keywords: Japan, China, Arctic Region, Arctic council, climate, relations, opportunities, challenges

#### Въведение

Исторически съществуват кратки съществени промени в определени сфери на международните отношения, докато други области остават непроменени в голям период от време. Отношенията между Япония и Китай са пример за динамичната международна среда. Връзката между двете азиатски държави продължава да е с променливи резултати и в XXI век. През вековете културното, икономическото и политическото взаимодействие между тях се развива, докато ядрото на отношенията им остава същото. В сферата на културата Япония заимства части от китайската цивилизация в различни области, религия, писменост, управление. Това довежда до увеличаване на китайското влияние в японската култура. Икономическите връзки между двете страни са устойчиви и значими в голям период от време. Китай е най-големият търговски партньор на Япония. Политическото взаимодействие е белязано от спадове и върхове. Съществуват военни конфронтации между двете държави в различни периоди от историята им. Пряко последствие от тях е предпазливостта, както и недоверието към политическите и военни инициативи, провеждани от двете държави. Към момента ситуацията глобално отново се променя, което непременно ще доведе до нови предизвикателства и възможности пред отношенията на източноазиатските държави. Нарастването на регионализма в международната система е обект на сериозен политически и изследователски интерес. Регионалните сили Китай и Япония, имащи амбиции да бъдат глобални актьори с глас в международната система, се стремят да участват в управлението на важните географски региони. Отношенията между тях, произхождащи от взаимодействието им в различните зони, е важно да бъдат анализирани, тъй като ще подобрят разбиране на връзката на двете държави глобално. Регионалната им ангажираност и успеха в регионалните инициативи, ще покаже готовността на двете страни за дългосрочна намеса в глобалното управление. В последното десетилетие те приеха различни стратегии за участие в световните географски региони. Един от тях е Арктическият регион. Климатичните промени, породени основно от глобалното затопляне, доведоха до изменения и нови климатични условия в отдавна недостъпни за изследване и използване региони. С топенето на вечната ледникова обвивка възможностите за проучвания и добив на природни ресурси в Арктическия регион стават реалност. Това несъмнено повиши значението на региона за двете държави, образувайки нови възможности и предизвикателства пред тях. Участието им в него е предпоставка за отношения на сътрудничество и конкуренция, както се случи в други важни географски региони. Защо точно Арктическият регион?

### Значение на региона

В последните десетилетия световната общност е силно заинтересована от открития и изследвания, свързани с измененията на климата и глобалното затопляне. Новата климатична реалност се превърна за някои международни актьори в универсален проблем на човешката сигурност, а за други – в тема табу или измислица. Както повечето глобални изменения, климатичните също предполагат икономически и политически възможности и предизвикателства. Япония и Китай са заинтересовани и въвлечени в изследванията по темата. Арктическият регион е една от зоните, в които промените са забележими. Той заема значителна част от световната територия и е богат на природни ресурси. Дефинициите за обхвата на региона са разнообразни. Според официалния сайт на китайското правителство (China's Arctic Policy 2018), регионът се описва като пространство на север от Северния полярен кръг, обхващащо площ от около 8 млн. кв. км., включващо арктическите държави, които са Канада, Дания, Финландия, Исландия, Норвегия, Русия, Швеция и Съединените щати. Тези държави, съобразно конвенцията на Обществото на обедините нации за морското право, притежават суверенитета върху собствените части в региона. Заедно те създават и ръководят междуправителствен форум, наречен "Арктически съвет". Според официалния сайт на Арктическия съвет (About the Arctic Council 2023), функциите на Арктическия съвет са ограничени, тъй като не притежава собствен бюджет. Повечето проекти са спонсорирани от държавите основателки, но съществуват и такива с финансова помощ извън арктическите държави. Съветът няма изпълнителна власт и не може да прилага споразумения или да предприема собствени инициативи. Описан така, регионът обхваща огромни територии, които увеличават значението му, а съветът е важна част в глобалното му управление. Десетилетия наред арктичната зона е обект на научни изследвания. Според доклад на секретариата на проекта на Националния институт за полярни изследвания на Япония (Arctic Challenge 2020), съществуват съществени доказателства за промените в региона, свързани с измененията във вечната ледникова покривка, които водят до негативно глобално въздействие върху околната среда и екосистемите. Рисковете за глобалната сигурност от промените в региона стават фактор, с който международните актьори трябва да се съобразяват.

Но измененията в региона, освен като предизвикателство, могат да бъдат разгледани и като възможност. Проучванията, свързани със състоянието на региона, чрез използване на развити технологии показват, че се открива перспектива за северен морски търговски път и добив на голямо количество енергийни и продоволствени ресурси. Според информация на уеб страницата на екологичната програма към ООН (Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment 2023), регионът е наситен с природни ресурси, съставени от общирни гори, голямо количество сладководна питейна вода, разнообразни морски пространства. Към тях може да добавим разнообразието от хранителни ресурси, включващи риба и общирни диви зони. В последно време изследванията на арктичните държави показват голямо количество нефт и природен газ, концентрирани под ледниковата обвивка. Тези открития повишават интереса към региона. Всички тези факти за Арктическата зона показват, че в бъдеще тя ще участва в световното управление и разпределение на блага. Международните актьори имат интерес да участват и да имат глас в региона, понеже това ще повиши способността им да се защитават от предизвикателствата, образувани от промяната и действията в него, както и да постигнат икономически и климатични резултати. Япония и Китай не са изключение. Ангажираността им намира изражение в стратегиите, приети за участие в региона. Ролите, които те заемат и отстояват, ще определят бъдещето на отношенията помежду им в общирната зона.

### Преглед на японските инициативи и роля

Ролята на Япония в международните отношения ѝ отрежда място, което страната трябва да отстоява и развива. Държавата е третата по икономически показатели страна в света и членува в клуба на развитите държави. Отговорността да брани мира и устойчиво да развива политическите, икономическите и социалните си отношения изисква развито глобално и регионално участие. През 2015 г. Японското правителство прие стратегия за участие в Арктическия регион, с която цели да запази и увеличи присъствието и гласът си в него. Японското правителство разглежда региона като зона, носеща както опасности за националната сигурност на страната и глобалната човешка сигурност, така и икономическа възможност за задоволяване на собствени нужди. Ролята, която Япония има и ще развива в региона, е от основно значение за отношенията на страната, както с арктическите държави в него, така и с неарктическите, но държави с глобален интерес извън Арктическата зона. Участието на Япония в Арктическия регион не е ново. Според стратегията на Япония за Арктическия регион, публикувана от "The Headquarters for Ocean Policy" (Japan's Arctic Policy 2015: 4), от средата на XX в. Япония извършва научни наблюдения и изследвания в него. Действията на Япония преди приемането на официалната стратегия се характеризират със строеж на изследователски станции и участие в международни организации, които се занимават с изследователски въпроси, свързани с Арктическата зона. През 2009 г. страната официално представя кандидатурата си за страна наблюдател в Арктическия съвет и през 2013 г. е приета от съвета за страна със статут "постоянен наблюдател". След приемането на стратегията за задълбочено участие от японското правителство през 2015 г. са започнати два проекта по инициативата. Проектите са описани в отчета на японското правителство пред Арктическия съвет за ролята на Япония като наблюдател (Reporting Template Icelandic Chairmanship 2020: 2–4). Това са "Арктическо предизвикателство за устойчивост" (ArCS) в периода от септември 2015 г. до март 2020 г., наследен през юни 2020 г. от ArCS 2, който също е с продължителност от пет години. И двата проекта са с научноизследователска насоченост, свързани с климатичните промени, опазването на флората и фауната и поминъка на местното население. Целта на проектите е да запознаят глобалната общественост с конкретни данни от региона и да увеличат възможността за приемане на международни правила в него. Развитите технологии и икономическата сила на страната ѝ позволяват в голям

период от време да участва активно в региона. Въпреки това икономическата роля на Япония не е съществена. Съществуват ограничения в инициативите ѝ, тъй като тя не спада към арктическите държави, които имат суверенни права на територията на региона. Япония разчита на Арктическия форум и многостранните отношения с арктическите държави като трамплин за задълбочаване на участието си в него. Страната географски е морска държава, заобиколена от вода. Търговията на Япония главно се осъществява по водните транспортни пътища. Северен морски търговски път, минаващ през Арктическия регион, би бил полезен за японските икономически интереси. Икономическата цел пред японското правителство е устойчивото използване на природните ресурси в него на базата на многостранно международно сътрудничество. А защитата на японските икономически интереси е важна цел на страната.

Япония е един от лидерите в региона в сферата на научните изследвания и използването на развити технологии за наблюдение на климата, биологичното разнообразие, състоянието на водните пространства и океанското дъно. Ролята на Япония в научната сфера е един от основните стълбове, които страната ще развива в изпълнение на стратегията си. За тази цел, според отчета на японското правителство пред Арктическия съвет за ролята на страната като наблюдател (Reporting Template Icelandic Chairmanship 2020: 2–4), правителството отделя средства за изграждане на различна инфраструктура, позволяваща обстойно наблюдение и изследване на региона, като се подчертава и японското участие в множество международни проекти. Създадени са сателити за наблюдение – GCOM-W и GCOM-C.

Ролята на страната в сферата на сигурността също е важен аспект от японската политика в региона. Япония подкрепя международното сътрудничество в сферата на глобалната и човешката сигурност. Тя е защитник на механизма за многостранно решаване на спорове и върховенство на международното право. Всяко нарушение на сигурността в региона е в разрез с японската позиция. Япония приема водещата роля на арктическите страни и Арктическия съвет. Японското правителство подчертава основната роля на съвета, като отбелязва нуждата от реформи в него относно правомощията за вземането на решения. Япония цели да засили ролята си в сферата на сигурността, тъй като сигурността на региона е пряко свързана с японската национална сигурност, както и с глобалната човешка сигурност, запазването на която е една от външнополитическите цели на японската държава. Страната се стреми да бъде приета като защитник на месното население в региона посредством осъществяването на научни изследвания и инициативи, подобряващи живота им.

Друга роля на японската държава в региона, която не трябва да бъде пренебрегвана, е ролята на посредник на неарктическите държави в съвета. Много държави не са допуснати да участват като наблюдатели в съвета, а други не са заявили намерение. Япония, като страна с глас в глобалните отношения и развита държава, има възможността да използва тази роля. За целта Япония трябва да увеличи мрежата си на взаимодействие с неарктическите актьори по въпроси, свързани с региона. Взаимодействието, от една страна, с арктическите държави и Арктическия съвет и, от друга, с азиатските държави и останалите неарктически държави са ключови за японските инициативи и цели в региона. Сътрудничеството с Китай и Република Корея по въпроси, свързани с Арктическата зона, е знак за значението, което придава Япония на многостранното сътрудничество за участието си в него. Важен фактор за японската роля е и сътрудничеството с Руската федерация, понеже Русия е важна арктическа държава с огромна територия в Арктическата зона. За да анализираме как ролята на Япония се отразява на отношенията между страната и Китайската народна република в региона, ще разгледаме китайската роля и инициативи.

## Преглед на китайските инициативи и роля

В последните десетилетия Китай се превърна в икономически, политически и културен гигант. Страната процъфтява, като към момента тя е втората по икономически показатели страна в света. В хилядолетната история на китайската цивилизация културната и икономическата сфера си взаимодействат, изживявайки периоди на възход и падение. По всичко изглежда, че в сегашната глобализирана реалност ѝ предстои период на възход. С увеличаването на китайската мощ във всички сфери на международните отношения се увеличава отговорността на страната пред развитието на историята и съдбата на човечеството. Китайската държава осъзнава задълженията си и се стреми към по-засилено участие в международните дела – както регионално, така и глобално. Това непременно води до недоверие в намеренията и действията на страната. Подозренията към Китай се увеличиха след обявената от китайското правителство инициатива "Един пояс, един път". Тя се изразява в мащабен проект за икономически инвестиции в множество държави, разположени на три континента: Азия, Европа и Африка. Инициативата налага известна регионалност и локалност, обвързана с глобално значение. Китайската държава многократно е декларирала готовността си да участва активно в глобалното мирно управление на света, което е базирано на взаимно уважение и многообразие. Ролята, която Китай заема и ще развива в Арктическия регион, е още една възможност пред страната да покаже намеренията си и да засили гласа си в международните дела. В приетата през 2018 г. от китайското правителство стратегия за участие в Арктическия регион страната подчерта значението на региона за китайското и международното устойчиво развитие, както и за човешката сигурност. Според официалния сайт на китайското правителство (China's Arctic Policy 2018), исторически Китай активно участва в различни програми в региона. Страната подписва Шпицбергенския договор в началото на XX в. Участието на страната преди приемането на официалната стратегия за региона е основно в две направления – научна и инфраструктурна. Китай осъществява научни изследвания, експедиции и участва в конференции, като за целта използва технологичния си напредък и инфраструктурните си методи. КНР построява стан-



ция "Жълтата река" в Ни Алесунда, също така използва двата свои изследователски кораба – Хие Long и в последствие Хие Long 2 – от 2019 г. Тя успява да получи статус на страна наблюдател в Арктическия съвет през 2013 г. Ангажираността на Китай в региона, както и ролята на страната, се засили след приемането на официалния стратегически документ през 2018 г. Концепцията за суверенитет и взаимна ненамеса във вътрешните работи е опорна точка на китайската роля в региона. Китай признава правото на териториален суверенитет на арктическите държави в него. Страната има амбиции да бъде глобален защитник на многообразието и суверенитета, както на арктическите държави, така и на неарктическите. Китай се стреми да участва в управлението на региона на базата на подписаните международни договори и международното право, както и на двустранните отношения с участниците в него. Възприятието за ролята на Арктическия съвет на Китай прави впечатление. Страната приема ръководната роля на Арктическия съвет в сферите на климата и устойчивото развитие на региона, но остава резервирана относно цялостната ръководна роля на съвета в управлението на региона.

Друга роля, която китайското правителство поддържа, е на постоянен актьор в решаването на глобалните проблеми, произтичащи от региона, свързани с устойчивото развитие и климатичните предизвикателства. Според отчета на китайското правителство пред Арктическия съвет за ролята на Китай като наблюдател (Reporting Template Icelandic Chairmanship 2020: 7), страната декларира инициатива за дългосрочно намаляване на емисиите от въглероден диоксид, която директно обвърза със състоянието на Арктическия регион. Също така Китай призовава за конкретни мерки за справяне с водното замърсяване и опазване на арктическите екосистеми.

Друга важна роля, която заема КНР в региона, е ролята на опитен, атрактивен и технологично развит икономически актьор. След обявяването на стратегията на Китай за участие в Арктическия регион по-често започна да се използва понятието "Полярен път на коприната". То се свързва с инициативите на Китай по морски северен търговски път. Китайските инвестиции в арктическите държави са добре приети и значението на Китай в региона се увеличи. От друга страна, глобалното недоверие към икономическите планове на Китай в Арктическия регион е голямо. То се изразява в опасения, че икономическото навлизане на Китай в региона е проекция на стремежа на държавата към глобално лидерство и икономическо потисничество. Арктическият регион има свойствата да реши множество належащи въпроси, свързани с китайската икономика. Тя има нужда от енергийни ресурси, за да може да продължи растежа си. Огромното население на Китай се нуждае от хранителни ресурси и питейна вода, на които регионът е изключително богат. Една от задачите пред страната е да се справи с недоверието към нея. Според официалния сайт на китайското правителство (China's Arctic Policy 2018), китайският възглед в региона е за сътрудничество и взаимна изгода. Ролята, която страната определя за себе си, е на икономически инвеститор за устойчиво развитие с цел взаимна изгода, водеща до за-



доволяване на икономически нужди и подобряване на живота на месното население, инфраструктурни подобрения, развитие на научните изследвания, сигурен и безопасен търговски път и вериги на доставки. КНР разчита на опита в икономическата сфера, който придоби в последните десетилетия, за да бъде приета глобално идеята за полярен път на коприната.

Друга роля, която Китай цели да засили, е в сферата на сигурността. Случващото се в региона е пряко свързано както с глобалната, така и с китайската сигурност. Повишаването на морското равнище, вследствие на топенето на ледовете, е катализатор на екстремни събития, които могат да застрашат китайската национална сигурност. Запазването на флората и фауната в региона също е сериозно предизвикателство. Страната разчита на международното и двустранно сътрудничество и мирното уреждане на спорове чрез международното право за по-засилено влияние в сферата на сигурността в региона. Сътрудничеството с арктическите и неарктически държави, като Русия, Скандинавските държави, Япония и Република Корея, е ключът Китайската инициатива в Арктическата зона да успее.

### Сравнителен анализ на двете роли

За целта на тази разработка и по-доброто разбиране на отношенията, произтичащи от участието в региона на двете страни, е нужно ролите и инициативите им в Арктическия регион да бъдат кратко сравнени. Двете държави са активни участници в Арктическия съвет. Те признават суверенитета на арктическите държави. През 2013 г. държавите се сдобиват със статут на държави "постоянни наблюдателки" в съвета, като това е стъпка напред за тях в по-активното им политическо участие в региона. Това, което приковава внимание, е ролята на съвета във възприятията на двете страни. Докато Япония приема съвета, който след определени вътрешни реформи ще бъде готов да има водеща роля в глобалното управление на региона, Китай разглежда управленската роля на съвета в две основни сфери, които са климат и устойчиво развитие.

Прилики в политиките на двете азиатски държави намираме в много области. И двете държави акцентират върху глобалното управление на рисковете, произтичащи от региона. Върховенство на международното право в проблемите, свързани с климата, запазването на биоразнообразието, запазването на сигурността на населението в региона, са цели и на двете от тях.

Друга обща черта между инициативите на Япония и Китай намираме в сферата на икономическата сигурност и устойчивото развитие на региона. Държавите имат сходни интереси за запазване на свободата на корабоплаване и навигацията, сигурни вериги за доставки, осигуряващи им енергийни и продоволствени ресурси. Устойчивото използване на природните ресурси в региона също е от съществено значение за двете страни. Не на последно място Япония и Китай участват активно в изследова-



телски и научни дейности, като виждат в тях легитимен начин за участие в региона, който е регламентиран от международното право и ООН. Също така, чрез изследователските си дейности държавите целят да намерят решение на належащите въпроси в сферата на сигурността, произтичащи от климатичните изменения в региона.

Съществуват и различия в ролите и инициативите им в региона. Географското определяне спрямо региона на двете държави е едно от тях. Докато Япония се определя като морска неарктическа държава, Китай се определя, според официалният сайт на правителството (China's Arctic Policy 2018), като континентална "близкоарктическа държава". Важно е да се добави, че Китай разбира ролята си на неарктическа държава, но географски се определя като близкоарктическа.

Друга основна разлика може да бъде открита в икономическата активност в региона. Китай обвързва региона със своята инициатива "Арктически път на коприната", което е съпроводено с икономически инвестиции и заявка за по-големи вложения в бъдеще. Япония не инвестира големи икономически средства в региона. Японската икономическа инициатива е за проучване на Северен морски път и евентуалната търговия в региона, но икономическите инвестиции от японска страна се различават значително от китайската инициатива. Япония разчита повече на ролята на участник в проучвателните и изследователски дейности, отколкото на икономически инвеститор.

Една от съществените разлики между двете държави в региона е във възприятието на ролите, които те си придават една на друга. В последните десетилетия недоверието спрямо Китай в Япония се засили, като това доведе до последствия в отношенията на двете държави както на регионално ниво, така и на глобално. Съществуват опасения за китайските инициативи в региона. Японското правителство цели да запази статуквото и сигурността в региона и разчита на мултилатерализма. За целта не изключва сътрудничеството с Китай. Срещите между Япония, Китай и Република Корея по арктическите въпроси, споменати вече, са пример за сътрудничеството между двете държави. От друга страна, китайското правителство вижда в сътрудничеството между неарктичните държави лост за увеличаване на гласа си в региона. Китай смята Япония за развита държава с глас в глобалното управление и настоява за азиатско сътрудничество между двете страни в сферите на устойчивото развитие и климатичните промени – за едно по-добро глобално човешко бъдеще. Едно от предизвикателствата пред сътрудничеството са позициите им относно глобално управление на региона. Япония приема многостранните споразумения като основни за управлението на региона, докато Китай освен тях определя голямо значение и на двустранните такива. Могат да бъдат намерени и други прилики и разлики в ролите и инициативите на двете държави в региона, но поради ограниченията в обема на информацията, те ще бъдат сведени до споменатите. Възприятията на двете държави една спрямо друга ще бъдат съществена част, бележеща отношенията на двете държави не само в Арктическия регион, но и глобално.



#### Заключение

Новите глобални реалности изискват нови решения, а новите решения довеждат до нови предизвикателства и възможности пред регионалните и локалните политики на двете държави. С многовековна история на сътрудничество и конфронтация помежду им Япония и Китай са изправени пред избор, който ще определи кое от двете състояния ще бъде водещо в отношенията им, в новата стратегическа конюнктура. Арктическият регион се оформя като бъдеща сцена на интензивни взаимодействия между водещите международни актьори. Ангажираността на двете азиатски държави в региона се изразява в два възможни резултата, определящи отношенията помежду им. Първият е формирането на задълбочено сътрудничество и координация по арктическите въпроси между двете държави чрез двустранни и многостранни преговори по общи политики, позиции и инициативи. Този резултат непременно ще увеличи значението и гласът на двете държави в региона, както и ще помогне за евентуалното приобщаване на други неарктически държави към глобалните каузи, които защитават двете азиатски страни в него. Сценарият е възможен, тъй като ролите, които поддържат двете държави, не са противоположни и имат доста общи приоритети и цели в различните сфери.

Вторият резултат е нарастване на конкуренцията и бариерите пред сътрудничеството помежду им. При този сценарий ключово за отношенията им е възприятието от двете страни на дейностите и инициативите, които осъществяват в Арктическия регион. Този резултат е възможен, но по неблагоприятен за двете азиатски държави, понеже ще постави дилемата за избор пред арктическите държави, както и другите актьори в региона, с коя от двете да си сътрудничат. Този сценарий ще доведе до загуба на позиции и глас за една от държавите в зоната. Сигурно е, че Китай и Япония заемат съществена роля в глобалното управление и регионалните им взаимодействия трябва да бъдат внимателно изследвани, понеже от тях зависи както съществуващия ред, така и бъдещото човешко развитие.

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# From the Silk Road to the One Belt, One Road Initiative: Differences, Similarities, and Impact of BRI in the Western Balkan Countries

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	Abstract	
R	Abstract	
	While the Silk Road and the One Belt One Road initiative are two distinct concepts, they	
	still are related as they have played important roles in the history and development of trade	
	and infrastructure in Asia. On the one hand, the Silk Road refers to a network of trade	
	routes that connected China with the Mediterranean world, including the Roman Empire,	
	from the 2nd century BC to the 15 <sup>th</sup> century AD. It facilitated the exchange of goods, ideas,	
	and cultures between the East and West, and played a significant role in the development	
	of the civilizations along its path. On the other side the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), is	
	a modern-day project launched by China in 2013, a massive undertaking, involving more	
	than 70 countries and billions of dollars in investment and aiming the reviving and expand-	
	ing of the ancient Silk Road trading routes by building infrastructure, including roads,	
	railways, ports, and pipelines, across Asia, Europe, and Africa. This paper tries to f exam-	
	ine the main differences and similarities of the concepts "Silk Road" and One Belt, One	
	Road" and to assess the impact BRI has on the Western Balkan countries, as it presents an	
	opportunity for the Western Balkan countries. To what extent can this initiative enhance	
	regional cooperation in the Balkans and How can the Western Balkan countries benefit the	
	most from OBOR are the leading questions of this paper. Nevertheless, while we will assess	
	the several opportunities of this initiative for the WB countries, we will also discuss the	
	imposed challenges by this initiative.	
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	Keywords: Silk Road, Belt and Road Initiative, Western Balkan region, Albania, Serbia	
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## From Silk Road to BRI: Differences and Similarities

The New Silk Road is not a new idea, but a renewal by the Chinese government of the ancient Silk Road which dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. In the years to follow the Silk Road became an important network of trade routes, by sea and by land, becoming of fundamental importance in establishing the first commercial relations between the two realities. Nevertheless, the vast region affected by the Silk Road has never ceased to be seen as an important channel of development and economic growth as it is considered now with the initiative of the One Belt One Road. As we speak, today, The Belt and Road



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Initiative (BRI) is not just a development strategy proposed by China in 2013, but furthermore, a flagship foreign policy initiative that reflects China's ambition to expand its global influence. While it aims to enhance connectivity and promote economic cooperation between China and countries along the ancient Silk Road routes, as well as the maritime Silk Road. The initiative encompasses various infrastructure projects, trade facilitation measures, financial cooperation, and people-to-people exchanges, by allowing China to deepen its economic ties with partner countries, enhance its geopolitical influence and shape regional dynamics.

As it is evident, the concepts of the "Silk Road" and the Belt and Road Initiative share some similarities but also have notable differences, which I have categorized into four analyzing approaches, namely: 1. Historical context, 2. Focus and scope, 3. Implementation and 4. While the ancient Silk Road refers to the historical network of trade routes connecting Asia, Europe, and Africa during ancient times, facilitating cultural exchange, economic activities, and the spread of ideas across regions the Belt and Road Initiative is a modern-day development strategy. Its main aim is to enhance connectivity and promote economic cooperation across Asia, Europe, Africa, and beyond through infrastructure development, trade facilitation, and people-to-people exchanges. BRI is a contemporary initiative with a broader scope compared to the ancient Silk Road. It encompasses a vast geographic area, including land and maritime routes, and focuses on infrastructure development, economic cooperation, and connectivity among participating countries.

Also, it is important to mention, that one of the main differences between BRI and the former Silk Road is that it has a strong economic focus, aiming at promoting economic development, trade, and investment among participating countries by improving infrastructure, reducing trade barriers, and fostering economic cooperation. It is therefore important to take this distinction between both initiatives, as it seems that they are similar in their focus and scope.

Nevertheless, though the historical trade routes that spanned across different regions, including land and maritime routes, involved as such multiple civilizations, and facilitated also trade and cultural exchange over a long period, it is important to note that it also involved the exchange of ideas, technology, and religious beliefs, which can be considered as one of the main distinctions.

In terms of implementation, it seems that the ancient Silk Road existed in the past, whereas its routes evolved naturally over centuries, driven by trade and cultural interactions. As such, it was not a deliberate policy or initiative as BRI but evolved naturally. The opposite is the case with BRI. As mentioned before, it is a deliberate modern-day policy proposed by China and it involves therefore strategic planning, policy coordination, and substantial investments in infrastructure projects, trade facilitation, and people-to-people exchanges. Considering the implications of both initiatives, I can highlight the significance of the political implications for both, the ancient Silk Road as well as for BRI. In both cases, it facilitated diplomatic relations, alliances, and the spread of political ideas, but while we can argue that the Silk Road was primarily driven by economic interests and commercial activities, the Belt and Road initiative allows China to expand its geopolitical influence, enhance its diplomatic relations, and furthermore shape regional dynamics through economic engagement and infrastructure investments. In this case, it seems that it is reflecting China's ambitions to play a greater role in global affairs, and for this it has a so-called spill-over effect.

In summary, the Silk Road refers to the historical trade routes connecting different regions, while the Belt and Road Initiative is a contemporary development strategy proposed by China. The Silk Road had a broader focus on trade, cultural exchange, and ideas, while the BRI has a strong economic focus and aims to enhance connectivity and economic cooperation through infrastructure development. The BRI also has significant political implications and reflects China's ambition to increase its global influence.

### Belt and Road Initiative and its Impact on Serbia and Albania

China's global political and economic influence has grown exponentially during the last few years, especially with the so-called going-out strategy, gaining further concreteness with the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013 (PU, 2016). BRI was expected to produce "a great impact on the global economy through the integration of a large part of the world" (Sarker, Hossin, & Yin, 2018, p. 626). The consequences of the BRI seem especially attractive to countries from the Western Balkan region, which appear to be more open to engagement, as they see the resources channeled through the BRI as a potential way out of an unsatisfactory economic situation (World Bank, 2012). The aim is to illustrate the BRI's vision and objectives, together with its implications for the Western Balkan region, by taking into consideration two study cases: Albania and Serbia, by using the Most-Different-Case-Design (MDCD).

BRI should not be regarded as a single megaproject, but rather as a continuously growing initiative with a large portfolio of projects for rail, road, sea, and airport infrastructure, power and water links, real estate contracts, and, more recently, digital infrastructure (Stumvoll & Flessenkemper, 2020). In this sense, it is seen as the most ambitious and economically relevant initiative ever undertaken, comparable only with the Marshal Plan launched by the United States after the Second World War.6 As explicitly argued by Xi Jinping during the Peripheral Diplomacy Work Conference in 2013, the objective of China's economic policy is to turn the country into a world economy pivot. At the same time, the future consequences of the BRI are subject to debate, as they will depend on the attitude that the various countries will adopt in response to the structured bilateral cooperation proposed by China.

Especially in Central and Southeastern European Countries are considered to be the BRI's main entry points (Macaes, 2018). Central and Eastern Europe and WB countries signed their bilateral investment agreements with China in 2012, hoping it would sup-

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port their recovery from the global economic crisis (Furceri & Zdzienicka, 2011). Benefiting from a strategic position between Eastern and Western Europe, the Western Balkan region has been attracting the majority of Chinese investments in key sectors such as heavy industry, energy, infrastructure, and logistics. At the same time, the cooperation also favored the proliferation of multinational coordination platforms in different sectors like tourism, agriculture, infrastructure, logistic, energy, etc., aiming at facilitating cooperation among institutional and non-institutional actors (Jakobowski, 2015)

The 16+1 cooperation implements the vision of the BRI through the facilitation of trade investments and the acquisition of local businesses by Chinese companies. Altogether, this leads to an inflow of a growing volume of economic resources, aiming at increasing connectivity between the Chinese and the European markets. However, China does not show interest in the socioeconomic and environmental impacts of its investments (Tonchev, 2017), and this raises several challenges. The implementation of the BRI in the WBR occurs through various financial institutions that act either through direct investments, aimed at the acquisition of local companies, or through open credit lines, used to develop strategic infrastructures (the Silk Road Fund, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and the China CEE Investment Co-operation Fund).

While several authors have reported a positive impact of these investments, they have also warned against the acquisition of national debt shares by Chinese state funds, which in the long term may negatively impact the involved countries (Stumvoll & Flessenkemper, 2020). In the 2011–2014 period, Chinese investments financed the construction, of, e.g., the Mihajlo Pupin Bridge in Belgrade, the Stanari thermal power plant in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bar-Boljare motorway in Montenegro (Jakobowski, 2015) and the Balkan Silk Road from Piraeus to Budapest (Bastian, 2017). Detailed data provided by the American Enterprise Institute and The Heritage Foundation shows that, during the period of 2010–2020, China invested more than 16 billion dollars in the WBR, becoming one of the main investors in the region. (China Global Investment Tracker , n.d.) The majority of the investments are dedicated to the transport and energy sectors, followed by technology, logistics, and utilities. It is particularly interesting to note that the contractors and credit providers are always Chinese companies, largely limiting the spill-over effects of the interventions on domestic economies.

Although we must acknowledge that there are some countries, such as Albania, that have benefitted less from Chinese investments through BRI than other countries in the region. While Serbia has been one of the key beneficiaries of infrastructure development through the Belt and Road Initiative, the infrastructural development in Albania through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has been hindered (when compared to other WB countries. In general, Chinese investments and projects have played a significant role in enhancing Serbia's connectivity and promoting economic development. Here we can distinguish notable examples of infrastructure development in Serbia through the Belt and Road Initiative, such as the Belgrade-Budapest Railway. (Kancz, 2020) The construction of the Belgrade-Budapest high-speed railway is a flagship project under the BRI in Serbia. This railway line will improve connectivity between the capitals of Serbia and Hungary, reducing travel time and enhancing trade and people-to-people exchanges (Curic & Kalman, 2021). The Budapest-Belgrade railway line costs an awful lot, totaling around €3.8 billion. More than half the amount (around €2 billion) is estimated for the 160 km Hungarian section and €1.8 billion for 210 km on the Serbian side. The Hungarian government is financing 85% of the project with a Chinese state loan, but no further details are known because the loan agreement was classified for 10 years in 2020 (ibid).

Despite this, China has invested in the development of industrial parks and free trade zones in Serbia. For example, the China-Serbia Industrial Park in Borča, near Belgrade, aims to attract Chinese and international companies, promote investment, and create job opportunities. Infrastructure projects, energy cooperation as well as port development are also in focus when emphasizing Chinese investments in Serbia through BRI. Chinese companies have been involved in several infrastructure projects in Serbia, including roads, bridges, and energy facilities. For instance, the Chinese-built Zemun-Borca Bridge over the Danube River in Belgrade is an important infrastructure link, improving transportation between the two parts of the city.

China's involvement in Serbia's energy sector contributes to energy security, diversification, and sustainable development. Chinese companies have invested in the construction and modernization of thermal power plants, renewable energy projects, and mining infrastructure in Serbia. Finally, China has expressed interest in investing in the development of ports in Serbia, such as the Port of Belgrade and the Port of Smederevo. These investments can enhance Serbia's connectivity to regional and global trade routes, boosting its role as a logistics hub.

Infrastructure development in Albania through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has been an area of focus, but it has not been as efficient as it is in Serbia. Although through BRI China tries to tackle Port Development, Energy Infrastructure Railway connectivity, etc. in Albania, it is surely more in a sphere of "efforts" made than discussing real and concrete outcomes. It is indeed true that China has been involved in the construction of major highways in Albania, notably, the China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) has been engaged in the construction of the Milot-Balldren and Rreshen-Kalimash highways, which are important transport corridors connecting Albania with neighboring countries, but its impact for the connectivity is far less meaningful compared to investments made in Serbia.

On the other side, Chinese companies have shown interest in participating in hydroelectric power projects, such as the Devoll Hydropower Plant and the Kamza-1 Hydropower Plant, as well as efforts have been made to improve railway infrastructure and connectivity in Albania under the BRI. Nevertheless, despite all efforts, China's economic presence is barely notable in Albania.

## Conclusion

Overall, we can conclude that the Belt and Road Initiative has the potential to enhance regional cooperation in the Balkans by promoting connectivity, infrastructure development, and economic integration.

In summary, the reasons behind the BRI have been widely debated (Tonchev, 2017). Scholars argued that on the one hand, the initiative was triggered by domestic market needs, where China to counteract the economic slowdown caused by its internal market reaching its limits is continuously looking for new markets (PU, 2016). Others define geopolitical conditions as vital in BRIs undertakings, with the BRI taking advantage of the swinging stability of the EU and the US retreat from a few multilateral agreements. Nevertheless, despite the different approaches to explain the reasons behind this initiative, this paper shows that it is crucial for the Balkan countries to effectively leverage the opportunities presented by the BRI, ensure transparency, and coordinate their efforts to maximize the benefits of regional cooperation.

From a brief analysis, it is assumable that the infrastructure development projects under the BRI in Serbia have the potential to improve transportation networks, attract foreign investment, create employment opportunities, and promote economic growth. However, it is important to ensure that these projects are implemented in a sustainable and transparent manner, address environmental and social considerations, and align with Serbia's long-term development goals, to enhance the win-win situation for both actors. The same would apply also to Albania, which as it is described is not benefitting as much as other countries in the region from the BRI initiative.

Considering this, it is important to note that regional cooperation in the Balkans also depends on factors beyond the BRI, including political will, institutional frameworks, and the commitment of individual countries. BRI projects in Albania have not been without criticism and concerns, mainly related to issues such as environmental impact, debt sustainability, and transparency. Evaluating this, it is important for Albania to carefully evaluate and manage these aspects, ensuring that projects are implemented in a sustainable and beneficial manner for the country's long-term development, as they already have sought to balance its infrastructure development goals with environmental and social considerations. The government has expressed its commitment to transparent and sustainable infrastructure projects that align with the country's development priorities and benefit the Albanian people.

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# A Review of the Impact of Recent Crises on the China– Europe Freight Trains: A Logistics Perspective

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Abstract

The establishment of a rail connection between Asia and Europe in 2011 was initially regarded as an unfeasible and financially unviable project. However, with the support of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), this rail link has achieved remarkable success, with the number of trains increasing on yearly basis from a mere one to over 15,000 trains in less than a decade. The China-Europe freight train (CEFT) has transformed the global freight transportation system, providing the logistics industry and its clients with greater competition and flexibility. This research showcases the development of the land bridge connecting Asia and Europe and analyses the significance of the CEFTs, the opportunities and challenges with emphasis on transformations in the context of recent crises. This paper aims to examine the impact of the CEFT on logistics and supply chains, taking into consideration the recent crises caused by COVID-19 and the war in Ukraine.

Keywords: CEFT, logistics, supply chains, COVID, war

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## Introduction

In recent years there has been a growing interest in China-Europe Freight Trains (CEFT) as part of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), adopted by the Chinese government a decade ago. In terms of the research area, one can find papers in different domains concerning the BRI, mostly related to politics, geopolitics, economic development, etc. (Li et al. 2018; Blanchard and Flint 2017; Liu and Dunford 2016). Given the fact that infrastructure projects in general are likely to have implications for logistics and supply chains, and that the CEFT is considered as one of the largest international infrastructure projects, it is surprising, as Thürer et al. (15) note, that the supply chain and logistics researches are underrepresented. However, it is worth mentioning several studies that identify the potential for growing interest in research on the CEFT from a logistics perspective. Lee and Shen (2020) identified the supply chain and logistics innovations linked to the BRI. The authors discussed innovations related to new routes and modes for global trade, cross border logistics friction reduction and new supply chain design. Chen, et al. (2022) reviewed the literature on the BRI, which has the factors that directly influence the transport and logistics and summarized the research gaps for future research topics on this matter.



This paper will focus on the Belt component of the BRI, which represents land corridors connecting the People's Republic of China with the European Union through the Russian Federation, Central Asia, the South Caucasus and the Middle East. The vast rail network (referred to by the author as CEFT) has made significant progress in reducing the time and cost of international transportation in recent years, creating new efficient, flexible and sustainable route for businesses. As a rule, "rail freight is approximately twice as fast as maritime freight and four times cheaper than air freight" (Keuper 2022: 1); rail transport is environmentally sustainable both compared to maritime and air freight. Thus, it is not surprising that any potential change in the current situation may be of interest for researchers. Indraswari and Lestari (2022), Tardivo et al. (2021) and Fileva (2021) discuss the Covid-19 impact on CEFT and other authors analyse the war in Ukraine and the CEFT (see Prebilič and Jereb (2022); Chen, The China-Europe Freight Train and the War in Ukraine (2022); Chen, Connection Meets Disruption (2022); Keuper (2022)). However, to the best of the author's knowledge, very few publications are available in the literature that address the issue of recent crises on the CEFT related both to Covid and war in Ukraine. This paper discusses the likely impact of recent crises on the CEFT from a logistics perspective. The first section provides a brief overview of the background and evolution of the CEFT, emphasizing the importance of rail transportat as an alternative to maritime and air transport; the route alternatives for rail transport between China and Europe; and the opportunities that the CEFT creates for the logistics sector and other supply chain participants. The second section examines the challenges of the Covid-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine and how these challenges impact the CEFT as a transport alternative between China and Europe. Some challenges and future directions of the CEFT are outlined in the final section.

## Background and evolution of the CEFT

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, several rail links were constructed, but they did not significantly contribute to facilitating rail freight transport between China and Europe. One such example is the Trans-Siberian Railway (TSR) connecting the Russian Far East to western Russia. It was built by Russia between 1891 and 1905 primarily for military purposes. While connections were established through Mongolia to Beijing and Northeast China to the Pacific coast, these routes mainly served bilateral trade and were vulnerable to disruptions caused by political events, such as the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s (Pomfret 2018: 2).

However, a significant development in China's overland rail connection with Europe started in 1990 with the inauguration of a new 476 km freight line from Urumqi to Alashankou on the Kazakhstan border. This marked the completion of the so-called New Eurasian Land Bridge (NELB), establishing a direct rail link from the port city of Lianyungang to Amsterdam through Eurasia. Later, the NELB became an official economic corri-

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dor within the BRI, paving the way for the CEFT service, which currently holds the record as the world's longest rail freight service (Chen 2023: 10). Another significant improvement for international transit through Russia is the electrification and double-tracking of the TSR in the 2000s. This resulted in a faster service, as the transit time between Beijing and Moscow is approximately one and a half to two weeks after the project is completed (Maró and Török 2022: 7).

Although direct China-Europe rail freight services did not exist until 2008, substantial progress has been made since then. Prior to 2011, rail tracks connecting China and Europe existed, but scheduled freight services were not viable due to a lack of competitiveness compared to sea freight, more specifically in terms of cost. However, occasional ad hoc block trains operated along the TSR to transport components for German car companies to their assembly factories in northeast China (Pomfret 2018). The CEFT service began on 19 March 2011, when the city of Chongqing in southwest China sent its inaugural train to Duisburg, Germany, passing through Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus, and Poland. The idea behind this train was to facilitate the transportation of goods, including laptops from Chongqing, as it was able to significantly reduce the transit time between Europe and China (Chen, The China-Europe Freight Train and the War in Ukraine 2022: 8; Maró and Török 2022:8). The latter turned out to be an interesting opportunity for other companies as well. Thus the train, which started as a weekly service in 2011, increased to three times a week by 2013 and became daily in 2016, demonstrating its growing success (Pomfret 2021: 2). Following these successful trials, regular services were established also on various other routes, such as Wuhan to Lyon, Yiwu to Tehran, and Yiwu to London, connecting multiple Chinese and European cities by rail. Routes to Madrid and Łódź also flourished (Pomfret 2018: 6).

Since its commercial start in 2011, freight traffic between China and the European Union has experienced significant growth, with over 1.46 million twenty-foot equivalent units (TEUs) transported in 2021. Trade along the NELB accounted for 4% of the bilateral trade between China and the EU, valued at over US\$75 billion (Keuper 2022: 1).

The CEFT has significantly impacted the field of logistics by offering advantages in cost, speed, reliability, and sustainability. Third-party logistics (3PL) companies played a crucial role. Initially, collaboration among national rail companies facilitated the provision of international rail services. Then, freight forwarders and other 3PL companies contributed by offering additional logistics services. This collaboration led to cost reduction, increased choices, and attracted more supply chain participants, resulting in profitable service innovations (Pomfret 2018). The success of the Chongqing-Duisburg train route prompted the exploration of alternative routes, with at least nine different routes tested between 2011 and 2015 (Pomfret 2018: 5). This diversification further helped to create more choices available to supply chains.

Compared to maritime transport, the CEFT offers superior speed and reliability, although the cost per container is higher. The rail route completes shipments in less than half the time compared to maritime transportation, thus providing a significant advantage to supply chain participants with a need for timely and dependable delivery (Pomfret, 2018). Rail transport between China and Europe outperforms sea shipping in terms of speed and reliability, while also being more cost-effective than airfreight. It is particularly beneficial for global value chains (GVCs) such as car manufacturers, who deal with bulky components that are unsuitable for air transport but also require faster and more reliable delivery than maritime transport can offer.

Furthermore, rail freight is more environmentally friendly compared to road or air transport, as Pomfret (2018: 13) suggests, thus making it a sustainable option. Although rail freight may not match the volume of sea freight or the speed of air freight between Europe and Asia, it holds significant implications for sustainable connectivity. Transporting goods across the NELB as Pomfret (2021: 1) points out, results in only 2.8 tonnes of carbon dioxide emissions per 12,000 kilograms of freight, in contrast to 54 tonnes for air-freight and 3.3 tonnes for shipping by maritime and rail routes.

Importantly, the utilization of freight trains significantly reduces logistics costs compared to air and maritime shipping. Freight train costs amount to only one-fifth of air shipping costs and take one-fourth of the time compared to maritime shipping. When considering the time costs associated with transporting high-value-added products, freight train transport reduces total logistics costs by 8–20% in combined rail-sea shipping scenarios (Chen, *The China-Europe Freight Train and the War in Ukraine* 2022: 3). Additionally, the rail option offers greater operating stability and is less vulnerable to external environmental conditions.

The CEFT has not only had a profound impact on trade and logistics but has also transformed the geo-economic landscape of Eurasia by establishing what Chen (2022: 1) calls "an unprecedented transcontinental shipping system". China's railway trade with Europe has witnessed a substantial growth in the recent years, reaching a value of approximately \$75 billion in 2021, a significant increase from \$8 billion in 2016. This trade constitutes around 9% of the total China-Europe trade (Chen, *Connection Meets Disruption* 2022: 10).

The BRI aim is not only to leverage existing transport routes but also to create new ones. China has actively pursued the establishment of alternative routes to the NELB, known as the Southern and Middle Corridors. The Southern Corridor passes through Central Asia, Iran, and Turkey, while the Middle Corridor travels across the Caspian Sea via the Caucasus region and reaches Europe through Turkey or the Black Sea. These routes, collectively referred to as the Central Asia West Asia Corridor (CAWA) by Keuper (2022: 2), offer an alternative route, albeit slightly longer and more costly, from China to Europe.

A key project within the BRI, related to the alternative rail routes, is the Marmaray Tunnel situated beneath Turkey's Bosporus Strait. This project plays a crucial role in China's plan to establish Turkey as a hub for overland transit between China and Europe. The tunnel facilitated the inaugural Chinese freight train journey from Xi'an to Europe in July 2019 (Keuper 2022: 2). This freight train was the first and only (so far) train from China that travelled through Bulgaria on the way to its destination in Europe. Furthermore, in November 2019, a freight train undertook a land-sea-land intermodal trip along the CEFT's southern corridor, traveling from Xi'an to Prague via the Caspian Sea, Ankara, and the Marmaray Tunnel (Chen 2023: 17). The Middle Corridor is also actively promoted as alternative corridor within the TRACECA program. In 2021, the Middle Corridor transported approximately 29,000 TEUs of cargo, whereas the NELB carried 1.46 million TEUs. Even with the low total amount the TEU, compared to the NELB, the rising demand for the Middle Corridor has led to logistical bottlenecks, particularly at the Kazakh port of Aktau (Keuper 2022: 4). Moreover, the Middle Corridor offers only a slight time advantage over maritime freight but at a significantly higher cost, diminishing its attractiveness for trans-Eurasian rail freight (Keuper, 2022: 4). Consequently, the strategic niche once occupied by NELB has effectively disappeared with the other two alternative corridors within the CEFT. However, their role might be considered as crucial in the next sections of this paper.

In view of the background and evolution of the CEFT, we can summarize that the success of NELB primarily stems from market demand rather than concerted efforts by governing entities. Companies recognized the need for efficient freight services to integrate their Asian and European supply chains, and rail freight emerged as a faster and more cost-effective alternative to sea or air freight. Automobile and electronics manufacturers in particular were looking for a transportation mode that offered both speed and reliability for their valuable and bulky components. As many authors agree, the initial development of the NELB was market-driven. Rail companies along the rail route managed to collaborate in establishing the Chongqing-Duisburg block train, overcoming logistical challenges and coordinating transit agreements. Rail trade between Asia and Europe represents a small proportion of intercontinental trade, with the majority still relying on sea routes. However, land corridors, especially the NELB, play an important complementary role and potentially serve as substitutes for maritime transport due to their shorter travel time and the capability to transport perishable goods. Despite limited major infrastructural investments in the early stages, the growing utilization of the NELB caught the attention of political authorities, particularly in China. This led to increased investment and recognition of the strategic importance of rail freight in connecting European and Asian value chains and assisted for the development of alternative to the NELB routes.

The following sections examine the challenges of recent crises such as Covid-19 pandemic and war in Ukraine and discuss how these challenges impact the CEFT as a transport alternative between China and Europe

### Recent crises and their impact

The Covid-19 pandemic had a significant impact on international maritime trade and air transport, leading to disruptions and delays in supply chains. As a result, manufacturers, distributors, and logistics agents turned to overland freight routes, which proved to be easier and more profitable than anticipated, with reliable delivery schedules (Pomfret 2021: 5). Rail transport, experienced overall growth during the pandemic, as it was able to offer a faster and more economical alternative to maritime and air freight (Tardivo et al. 2021: 369; Imamkulieva and Kondakova 2022: 3). Many factors, including the lack of viable transport modes, soaring rates both for the maritime and airfreight transport alternatives, longer transit times both for air and maritime cargo, and disruptions in maritime cargo transport, further contributed to the competitiveness of rail freight (Fileva 2021: 45, Hilmola et al. 2021: 2; Tardivo et al. 2021: 369).

The CEFT, also experienced substantial growth, carrying a record number of trips and containers in 2020 (Chen 2023:15; Indraswari and Lestari 2022: 452). This growth can be attributed to the systemic problems in maritime transport and the advantages of rail transport, such as accurate transportation planning, targeting, and reduced transit times (Prebilič and Jereb 2022: 6; Imamkulieva and Kondakova 2022: 3). The shift towards rail transport during the pandemic also highlighted the need for diversified transport routes and their development in unpredictable situations (Imamkulieva and Kondakova 2022: 1). Overall, the COVID-19 crisis accelerated the growth and significance of trans-Eurasian rail transport, positioning it as a reliable and cost-effective option for companies involved in EU-China freight transport (Hilmola et al. 2021: 9; Chen 2023: 23).

The war in Ukraine and its impact on the BRI and overland connectivity between China and the EU has been a major topic of discussion among researchers since the beginning of the invasion in 2022. Russia's involvement in the BRI has been substantial, with numerous projects concentrated in the transport and energy sectors within the country. In 2020, Russia received the highest amount of BRI investment among all member countries, reaching a staggering \$287 billion (Refinitiv 2020). However, the Covid-19 pandemic has caused a change of BRI priorities. Some projects have been suspended while others have been accelerated. As a result of the problems in the shipping and air industry caused by the pandemic, rail transportation become more financially viable. The war in Ukraine has disrupted the BRI, further complicating its post-pandemic development (Prebilič and Jereb 2022).

Russian's invasion in Ukraine on 24 February 2022, has posed challenges to the CEFT and the broader transcontinental freight network. Although rail-cargo traffic has continued to flow through Kazakhstan, Russia, and Belarus, the CEFT faces obstacles such as uneven demand, congestions at crucial border crossings like Małaszewicze, and lagging logistical infrastructure development (Chen, *The China-Europe Freight Train and the War in Ukraine* 2022: 3). Furthermore, freight volume declined by approximately 50% compared to pre-war



levels (Chen, *Connection Meets Disruption* 2022: 11). The disruption caused by the war has also affected alternative transport modes, such as maritime and air freight, as bottlenecks at Chinese ports and restrictions on Western airlines have increased shipping times and rates (Keuper 2022). Moreover, the war's impact extends beyond transportation, affecting costs and production schedules, particularly in the automotive sector (Keuper 2022).

The war in Ukraine has raised concerns about the future of the Belt and Road Initiative and more specifically its main land corridor – NELB. The invasion and subsequent international isolation of Russia have jeopardized the success of this major infrastructural project (Prebilič and Jereb 2022). The disruption caused by the conflict in Ukraine has affected overland connectivity passing through heavily sanctioned Russian and Belarusian territories. While Ukraine's removal as a transit corridor is of lesser significance, disruptions in Russia and Belarus are more critical due to their larger scale and geopolitical implications. Sanctions imposed on Russia and Belarus have prohibited the shipment of goods of their origin, except for essential items, but goods of other origins can still transit through rail (Keuper 2022: 3). However, the uncertainty surrounding Russia's invasion has led many companies to reconsider their commercial arrangements along the NELB, which may impact the viability of the route in the long run (Keuper 2022; Chen, *Connection Meets Disruption* 2022).

Despite all the challenges due to the war-induced disruptions, the CEFT has demonstrated resilience. The number of trains remained stable, and by mid-2022, it reached historic records. Notably, a freight train completed the 10,000th CEFT of the year, surpassing the pace of 2021 (Chen, *Connection Meets Disruption* 2022), thus indicating the functional and connective importance of this route. Nevertheless, the war's impact has led to ethical concerns and increased vulnerabilities, causing many traders and operators to seek alternative routes to the main NELB route (Keuper 2022). These alternatives include the CEFT's Middle corridor. Additionally, the Southern Corridor with the intermodal shipping through the Romanian Port of Constanta into the EU has gained traction (Chen, *The China-Europe Freight Train and the War in Ukraine* 2022). However, as discussed above, these routes face challenges, such as longer transit times, complicated land-sea intermodal shipping, and limited port and rail capacities incompatible logistics systems and contentious geopolitics. Thus, despite its increasing demand, they are unlikely to fully compensate for the decline of the NELB in the short term, not without major improvements in infrastructure and operations.

It is reasonable to conclude that, the war in Ukraine has significantly disrupted land connectivity between China and the EU, impacting the BRI and the NELB. The CEFT, as a vital component, has faced challenges and the need for alternative rail routes has arisen. The consequences of the war include increased costs, logistical difficulties, and uncertainties for companies operating along the NELB. The long-term effects of the war and its implications for the BRI and overland connectivity remain uncertain and require further study.

### Challenges and future directions

Railway network between Asia and Europe, such as the CEFT, plays a significant role in the transportation of goods along BRI. The NELB services have been catalysed by automotive and electronics companies seeking to reduce trading costs and achieve just-in-time delivery of components and finished products. After the initial popularity that NELB gained, CEFT has demonstrated its comparative advantages and strengths, overcoming geopolitical risks and technical challenges through its extensive network of routes and logistics connections. Alternative routes, such as the Middle and Southern Corridors, have emerged to shorten the freight journey and provide time-saving advantages. These alternative routes also contribute to the sustainability and resilience of the overland connectivity, mitigating the effects of disruptions like the war in Ukraine (Chen, Connection Meets Disruption 2022, p. 12; Prebilič and Jereb, 2022: 6). Moreover, alternative routes reduce the potential for disruption by transit countries and enhance trade facilitation (Pomfret 2021:4; Pomfret 2018:8). The projected growth of railway volume and investments in the Eurasian rail infrastructure further support the development and cost-effectiveness of rail transport (Hilmola et al. 2021: 5; Maró and Török 2022: 17). However, the future success of the CEFT depends on maintaining competitive services compared to other transport modes. Despite the challenges posed by the war in Ukraine, the CEFT connectivity is sustainable and resilient due to its strong economic foundations, which was also acknowledged by the Covid-19 pandemic.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the China-Europe Freight Trains (CEFT) have emerged as a significant component of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), connecting China with Europe through various land corridors. Despite the growing interest in the BRI, the supply chain and logistics aspects of the CEFT have been underrepresented in research. However, recent studies have identified the potential for logistics innovations and highlighted the need for further research on the CEFT.

The CEFT has evolved over time, with significant developments in the 20th century, including the completion of the New Eurasian Land Bridge (NELB) in 1990 and the establishment of the CEFT service in 2011. The service has experienced remarkable growth, facilitating the transportation of goods between China and Europe. It has offered advantages in cost, speed, reliability, and sustainability compared to other modes of transport. The rail option has proved particularly beneficial for industries dealing with bulky components that require timely and dependable delivery.

Furthermore, the CEFT has contributed to the transformation of the geoeconomic landscape of Eurasia, establishing an unprecedented transcontinental shipping system. It has led to the involvement of various stakeholders, including national rail companies and other 3PL companies, resulting in cost reduction, increased choices, and profitable service innovations. The CEFT's environmental sustainability compared to other modes of transport has also been a significant factor in its success.

However, recent crises, such as the Covid-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine, have presented challenges for the CEFT. The pandemic disrupted international maritime and air transport also leading to disruptions and delays in supply chains. As a result, the rail transport, including the CEFT, experienced growth during the pandemic, because of a faster and more economical alternative that provides. The recent crises discussed in this paper highlighted the need for diversified transport routes and their development in unpredictable situations.

Finally, the CEFT has played a crucial role in connecting China and Europe, as it provides a reliable and cost-effective option for freight transport. While the CEFT has faced challenges from the recent crises, its potential for growth and further development remains. Future research should focus on addressing the impact of these crises on the CEFT and exploring potential solutions to ensure its resilience and effectiveness for this transport alternative. By understanding and addressing these challenges, the CEFT can continue to contribute to the development of the logistics and supply chains across China and Europe.

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ПЪТЯТ НА КОПРИНАТА • ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИ, ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИ И ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

# China's Media System: From Domestic Transformation to World Globalization

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Abstract The media system of any country is part of the conceptualization of its statehood and communication strategy. In turn, this strategy is a mandatory element of its national doctrine. The reforms, which the PRC media system made in the 1980s and 1990s in preparation for the new 21<sup>st</sup> century, took it out from closedness within the framework of a domestic communication to openness within the globalized world and international communication. In the process, the national mass media infrastructure has been restructured. Some developments in these decades are of particular research interest, such as the transformation of the sector from a strict propaganda model to a more liberal audience- and market-oriented one, and the PRC's serious claim to be a global media and communications power.

**Keywords**: Semi-independent media, China, conglomerate, international communication, reform, evolutionary revolution, marketization, commercialization.

# The Long Road to Diversifying Chinese Media System

The transformation processes in the Chinese media sector started during the 1980s. The Western perception defined them as liberalization. In fact, that has been the beginning of a slow and complex initial stage of opening to the Other, the World outside. For the first time in its millennial civilizational history, China has completely readjusted its media system to the West (opening-up), retaining some of the restrictive control mechanisms (Confucian tradition) and abolishing purely socialist ones (direct state funding, party veto of pre-broadcast content, especially in the news). It has tried to carefully experiment with innovative techniques and technologies; so, a highly ideologized system smoothly moves from a propaganda-oriented to a market-oriented one. The liberalization led to the merging of several processes: *marketization* of media, *commercialization* of mass media communication and commodification of media products. A good example of liberalization is The People's Daily (人民日報, Rénmín Ribào): in the late 1970s it was revived, in the 1980s it was reformed, and in the 1990s it was transformed into one of the first media megaconglomerates. Market competition had two dimensions: commercialization and advertization – from 1982 to 1992 advertising increased 35 times, in 1995 CCTV covered over 90% of its total expenditure by advertising. The Guangzhou Daily, owned by the Guang-



zhou municipality, doubled its circulation. It is not a surprise that conglomeration as a process began with the formation of the Guangzhou Daily News Group. And during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> c. there were already around 40 such news media groups across China.

China's state owned media serve a dual purpose – as government's mediator and as a market-oriented information institution. These missions require a careful balance between political and commercial objectives. The market-oriented newspapers have been less politically biased and more audience-oriented. After establishing the media groups, they have appeared to be more diverse thematically. With its mix of official and market-oriented publications, a media conglomerate can serve two editorial goals: publishing both for the state and for the market. All comes back to balance. This is at the heart of Chinese culture.

When Asian stocks crashed in 1997, both domestic markets and Chinese government came out in favour of more transparency in mass media reporting on economic and business affairs. Some publications were to act as watchdogs for financial markets. For example, the *Caijing* (財經), bi-weekly independent magazine since 1998, focusing on civil rights, social affairs, business; its circulation is small (200,000), but it is considered one of the most powerful and influential magazines; its English and Chinese sites attract about 3.2 million new visits per month. From analytic viewpoint it is considered to be among the first in China to develop the *investigative journalism*, as a structural element of the new *developmentalist journalism* (Scotton 2010: 71).

PRC adopted English as its main linguistic channel to disseminate globally information about itself, through its own mass media channels, to foreign audiences. By 2000, 14 English-language periodicals were published in China: *The China Daily, The Beijing Today, The Shanghai Daily; Beijing Review* (the first news magazine in English), etc. Against the pressure for Westernization of Chinese national audiences, via a foreign language, stands Sinicization of Other's audiences through the language, spoken by the foreigner. From the perspective of geocommunication<sup>1</sup> (Vatova 2022: 34–45), this phenomenon is assessed as a geolinguistic approach in the new geocommunication environment.

Gradually, Western influence penetrated into the closed national media system, audiences opened up, but society already has built immunity through its ethno-national consciousness. The typical Western practice of media imperialism in "colonial style" (lively debated in the East European academic circles at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> c.) faces a hitherto unknown phenomenon: the stable identity consciousness takes over its products, uses them, but it is not known to what extent it internalizes them in its mind, in its own thought matrix. The Chinese mentality, unlike the Western (including European as well), reformats its own intellectual maps faster, it socializes with the Western context, but it is both reactive and proactive – it tries to emancipate itself precisely through its millennial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The term is innovative, invented by the author of the article and introduced to the Bulgarian Media and Social Studies with her doctoral thesis and tested at national and international academic levels.



mechanism of inclusivity and assimilativeness. The Chinese know there are others in the world, but they are neither stronger nor better. This is Chineseness.

Chinese phenomenon *from closedness to openness* is a result of the structural and functional changes during the 1980s and its full name is *semi-independent media* (abbr. SIM) in the centralized socialist media industry. This is the first attempt to convert the old model into a new business model (Zhao 1998: 115–127). The model is known also as the "One Party Organ, Many Subsidiary Media" (Liu 1998: 12). This first attempt is perceived also by analysts as a partial media privatization and could be understood as an effort to channel the private capital into a mechanism, so that the media industry may benefit from media globalization while maintaining its Chinese political, cultural and economic identity.

## Four Forms of Semi-Independent Media

Since the mid-1980s, the authorities have applied different regulation strategies to different categories of mass media. In the newspaper sector, the focus was on the Party organs, while significantly relaxing their controls over non-Party newspapers (Chan 1993: 25; Chu, 1994: 4–22).

As Zhao (1998: 40) writes: "Technically speaking, by the mid1980s there were already a large number of non-Party newspapers." The non-Party media, generally, have no longer been required to "carry ideological propaganda", and "Censorship standards were to be spelt out in non-ideological and more specific guidelines" (Chan 1993: 25).

The four forms of the SIM are as follows:

• Chengbao zhi: contracted-out from the licence-holder

Contractual media are officially registered in the name of and supervised by government departments or their subunits or semi-official organizations; however, in reality they are contracted-out (*chengbao*) to individuals or groups enjoying more editorial, personnel and financial independence. Commonly, the contractor pays the licence-holder a fixed sum regularly for authorization to publish a newspaper under its name, and "is held responsible for the editing, printing, distribution, taxation and all other expenses" (Chan, 1993: 25.9); many believe publishing a newspaper is more like running a business. They are qualified to obtain a licence but have little, if any, knowledge of journalism.

The influential *World Economic Herald*, mediator of the reformist elites in the 1980s, obtained its publishing licence from the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and the World Economists Association (Chan, 1993: 25.3); it became well known mainly for its political essays, interviews and theoretical articles (Hsiao and Yang, 1990: 111–120).

Similarly, Shanghai's *East Radio* and *East Television* were established by the Shanghai Broadcasting and Television Administration Bureau, but were initially intended to be contractual media (Chan, 1993: 25.4; Zhao, 1998: 71). In such cases contractual media, while legally attached to responsible units, are normally completely financially indepen-



dent of the licence-holders and possess considerable autonomy in major areas, including editorial autonomy.

• Commercialized Subsidiary Media

Since the mid-1980s, however, alongside the expanding market-orientated socio-economic reforms in China, Party media gradually began to be required to operate on a financially self-sufficient basis. Market logic dictates they must gradually become financially independent, however they are not directly transformed into commercialized media. A compromise was proposed in the mid 1980s when they were permitted to publish commercialized subsidiary media, and as far as it happens for the first time, it may be considered as a significant innovative step towards the large press *conglomerates* that appeared during the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. (Liu, 1998) as a balanced combination of the two media models, Party and non-Party, where the subsidiary and market-orientated ones enjoy more autonomy, especially in editorial and financial matters. This results from a number of factors:

*First,* they are non-political media, i.e. they are infortainment and entertainment, sensational media.

*Second*, they are normally contracted-out to teams headed by senior staff from their parent papers. The *Economic Daily*, an influential newspaper, for example, is a part of a press group with one principal newspaper (*Economic Daily*), three subsidiary newspapers (*Famous Brands Times, Fashion Times* and *China Flowers and Plants Press*), and three magazines (*Chinese Managers, National New Product* and *Chinese Economic Information*), plus a publishing company (Economic Daily Press) and a correspondence university (Beijing Economic Correspondence University). Similar, many radio and television stations in major cities established their commercialized subsidiary stations and/or channels, focusing on non-political topics since the mid1980s. China Central Television (CCTV), for example, used to have only a single channel, but till the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. it has eight channels in total (five of them established in the 1990s), broadcasting 138 hours of daily programmes, one of them (CCTV4 or CCTV International) has targeted at overseas audiences.

#### • Joint-Venture Media

The early 1990s witnessed attempts to launch new mass media by joint ventures: especially alliances between Chinese media and overseas press organizations. In the early years of this last 20<sup>th</sup> c. decade it was believed that "Chinese central authority has given theoretical approval for certain categories of media units to form joint-venture newspapers or magazines with counterparts in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and overseas" (Yu 1994: 27). In May 1992, the *Sino-US Economic News*, sponsored by the *People's Daily* and an American company, was published in Beijing. Meanwhile, many other Chinese media (both print and electronic) in Beijing, Shenzhen, Shanghai, Wuhan and Sichuan followed the suit (Chan, 1993: 25.5; Yu, 1994: 33).

However, there is little doubt that along with China's continuing opening to the outside world and the rapid commercialization of its media industry the face of the Chinese media system is converted into business.

### • Industry-Involved Press: money is power

The middle and late 1990s have witnessed another significant change in China's media structural reforms: namely non-media industries' ambitious investment in media. According to a report in the *China Youth Daily* some commercial groups from different parts of the huge country (Lianxiang, Canton) and also from the South/East Asia (Singapore) are investing in various newspapers, changing their publication patterns (Yang 1998: 6).

As mentioned, this development has not been confined only to the East coast cities. Even in an inland province such as Sichuan, the phenomenon has occurred.

In Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province, the management and editorial powers of *Readers' News*, previously owned by the Press and Publication Bureau under the Chengdu government, has been purchased by the Hongyun Garden Group, a powerful real estate enterprise. Similarly, editorial and management control of the *Sichuan News*, established originally by the Sichuan Branch of the Xinhua News Agency, has been assumed by a group of hotels and travel agencies under the Sichuan Tourism Bureau.

## **Emerging Trends in the 1990s**

In contrast with the 1980s, the 1990s witness the emergence and rapid development of a large number of market-orientated news media.

*First,* the rise of "city newspapers" (*dushi bao*) has greatly strengthened the SIM sector; most were designed from the outset as market-oriented general dailies. By late 1998, there were about 20 such newspapers across the country. However, it is very difficult to count how many SIM there are in the country; in view of the size of China's enormous media industry and the strong pressure from the news market, the number could be substantial. Many SIM newspapers have increasingly become general papers and have been upgraded as dailies.

*Second*, well-managed non-publicly published newspapers (*neibu baozhi*), and majority belonging to non-Party institutions, have to become publicly published daily or non-daily newspapers (*gongkai baozhi*) by stages and in groups (Liu, 1998: 11).

## Chengdu Business News

Chengdu, a medium-size inland city, is one of the most important press centres in China.

Among the city's six daily newspapers (the *Sichuan Daily*, the *Chengdu Evening News*, the *West China City News*, the *Chengdu Business News*, the *Sichuan News* and the *Business Morning News*), four of them (coming last) belong to the SIM. In addition, there are three industry-involved non-daily papers. A joint-venture pay television, established by Sichuan Cable Television Development Company and a Hong Kong company, was also reported (Chan 1993:25.6). Moreover, during the 1990s, there is a large number of subsidi-

ary media within local Party organs. Two newly established SIM in the city, the dailies *Chengdu Business News (CBN)* and *West China City News*, have won national acclaim and recognition (Xiang 1996: 34; Chong 1998: 7).

The reasons that make the *CBN* a unique and ideal case study, are as follows:

*First,* it provides a distinctive alternative case to the most often discussed *Beijing Youth News* and Shanghai's East Radio and East Television.

*Second,* in contrast with many other cases, the *CBN* appears more institutionally "normal" and, therefore, more "independent". The *Beijing Youth News*, contracted-out to its staff, remains official publication of the Beijing Communist Youth League. The establishment of Shanghai's East Stations, also contracted-out to their staff teams, is believed to be a "special case" benefitting particularly from Shanghai's Pudong's status in the Chinese overall development strategy (Zhao 1998: 140).

#### The Secrets of Success

When the newspaper received its licence in 1994, it was defined as a state-run newspaper with 170 permanent job positions. The designation "state-run" newspaper, as the editor-in-chief He Huazhang says, "is just something on paper". Being completely financially independent allows the paper to follow an independent personnel policy (He Huazhang, publisher and editor of the *CBN*, quoted from Huang 2010:653).

By the end of 1994 the paper's circulation was only 25,000 copies, but four years later its daily circulation had risen to 500,000 copies (Chong 1998:3), mainly through street sales and private subscriptions. Advertising income in 1994 was negligible but by 1997 it had jumped to 120 million RMB, six times its 1995 level (Chong 1998: 5). By 1999 the original four-page paper expanded to 20 pages. (Chong 1998: 3). These are four "market mechanisms", called the secrets of success. (Ai and Lai 1998: 5)

1. *A new personnel system*. In 1994 CBN did not have even a single permanent employee; all jobs were contractual; the newcomers had to pass a three-month probation time before to be given an year contract, renewed yearly due to employees' performance; when the staff member has been continuously employed for five years, one can apply for a new five-year contractual position which will normally result in a permanent position. In 1998, all of the CBN's 170 reporters and editors were of 28 average age, two had PhD and 30% held Master's degrees.

2. *Performance assessment,* i.e. *"marking"*. It is a special *CBN* system to evaluate the performance and contribution of the staff. Every reporter, must get a basic mark of 25; if fails to reach it for three months, one will be fired; each month, reporters are put into different performance categories with different pay levels according to their total points; if the total marks sum reaches the first class or the special class of performance within a month, his/ her salary may overtake and even double the pay of the editor-in-chief; in the first five months of 1998, in each month the payment of more than ten reporters exceeded or doubled the pay of their editor-in-chief (Ai and Lai 1998: 7). At the end of every calendar year,



their performance is marked by all staff members through a secret ballot. Those who fail to reach a comfortable mark lose their posts or are demoted and their pay and conditions are also downgraded. The work of the general staff is also marked by relevant rules.

3. Anti-Corruption Measures. The media has adopted four strategies to eliminate institutional corruption, widespread at that time, from its newsroom. First, there is a complete separation of editorial departments from financial management departments; no editorial departments, no single journalists and editors are permitted to communicate with the newspaper's financial and business activities. Second, there is a complete centralization of financial management; no individual departments are permitted to possess any private "mini-treasury" (xiaojinku), i.e. the so-called "pocket money"; no individual departments are permitted to pursue private interest by any means. Third, no correspondents or editors are permitted to ask for or accept bribery from interviewees; all so-called "gift money" (lijin), got by journalists, must be turned over to the newspaper's financial office; 40% of it, however, will be returned to the relevant journalists later in form of transportation and meal allowances; also, there is no guarantee the newspaper will publish stories resulting from paid interviews. Fourth, the CBN has separated its news-gathering and news-editing sections; this apparently leaves loopholes for paid journalism and other forms of corruption; news departments, responsible for gathering and writing news stories, have no power to control coverage; the power of checking, selecting, editing and publishing manuscripts is completely controlled by the newspaper's editorial group headed by the paper's most senior staff members. (Zhao 1998: 120).

4. *Awards and Penalties System*. In *the CBN*, the professional behaviour of the staff members is linked closely to their salaries, promotion and material benefits; a high-income policy has been adopted; journalists are awarded bonuses and other material benefits; each year, all staff members can win a year-end bonus reflecting their contributions during the last 12 months; each month 1% of paper's net advertising incomes are invested to reward excellent journalists. (Ai and Lai 1998: 6).

This managerial organization has made the newspaper highly effective and competitive. In June 1998, as an ambitious "independent" local newspaper, *the CBN* initiated and hosted a national forum on newspaper reforms which attracted more than 60 news organizations across the country. (Chong 1998: 4).

## Media Conglomerates

In 2000 China has had 15 giants and by 2010 their number is between 20 and 30. The first are in Guangzhou (Guangdong province), historically the famous Canton, located on the Pearl River, less then 100 miles from Hong Kong and Macau, with a history of over 2,200 years and being for a long time the only Chinese port accessible to most foreign traders, it continues to be a major Chinese port and transportation hub; and, then in Beijing, i.e. first experimented in the southern most popular city, then centralized at national level. In 2000,

Beijing created China's largest media corporation by merging the national radio and television into China Broadcasting & Television Group (CBTG). In 2001, when the PRC joined the WTO, after a decade of experiments, China has made its first step to open up to foreign media corporations: Phoenex TV, co-owned by Murdoch's STAR Group and Chinese private capital, was allowed to transmit non-news programs to cable operators in Guangdong province; Murdoch struck a deal with Beijing under which, together with CCTV, China International TV Corp. and Guangdong Cable TV Network, he has to launch STAR TV's new entertainment Chinese channel in Guangdong province, and on the other hand, News Corp's Fox Cable Networks has to begin distributing CCTV-9 program in the U.S. market. For the first time in its history, China granted a foreign media the right to distribute audiovisual products by cable in mainland China. In 2004, after two years of experiments, the government gave Chinese private investors the right to invest in the media sector and to partially own a company; and indirectly recognizes the same rights for foreign capital. Time Warner Bros. was the first to enter the Chinese film industry, after 2004. The monopoly in the television sector has been broken by the American conglomerate VIACOM through a joint venture with SMG (Shanghai Media Group) for children programming. In 2006, the PRC completely opened its advertising market to foreign companies. At the end of 2016, CCTV rebranded its foreign language news channels as China Global Television Network (CGTN). The production of this meganetwork reaches up to 30 million American households in English and a total of up to 140 countries in the world.

### **Evolutionary Revolution**

The development of SIM and media conglomerates seems to indicate the Chinese authorities' new tendency to comprehensively introduce market mechanisms and professional journalistic rules into China's media industry. (Liu, 1998: 15). China's rapidly changing socio-economic and media environment has proved the need public communication sector to make the transition from propaganda model towards the audience-oriented model (Chan 2000: 245–270) because of a higher economic effect under the market economy with Chinese characteristics where the control is dual: the Party control decreases but does not disappears, the market control appears and increases but does not dominate; both are in balance. Both, the state and the market, are simultaneously actors and supervisors.

By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, three trends in the PRC's communication strategy are evidently identified:

*First,* attracting private Chinese and foreign investment, although the investment environment has to be stabilized and better regulated;

*Second*, partial opening of the media sector to foreign investors (49% stakes) is a reflection of the strategic goal – China to creat its own national and global media network through cooperation with the leading global corporations plus carefully studying the Western know-how in the management of the media corporation as a strategically important knowledge for the coming decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century;

*Third*, local/regional international cooperation is developing, whereby the central leadership achieves two objectives: a) relative decentralization; and b) international communication becomes an essential tool for the entire media sector.

The radical change of the media system is framed around the evolutionary revolution; a unique process, a radical, revolutionary transformation is taking place peacefully. Beijing is becoming more adaptable to the global media market. Its flexibility is known as the "kite strategy": the sector must fly like a kite, but at a state-controlled altitude and by following the direction of the global media wind.

In 2010, Elizabeth S. Economy futuristically wrote in *Foreign Affairs*: "China transforms the world as it transforms itself. China has become a revolutionary power." (Economy 2010)

The rise of the PRC is, in any case, shaking the status quo of the global communication. For the first time in its 5,000 years of history, China faces a serious communication problem: either adapting to the Western system and imitating it, corroding it from within, or creating its own global system to converse with the Other. In addition, for the first time, the state media, not losing their image of being dirigible, are also market-oriented, and are functioning in the name of a real public interest – to create a Chinese national face in the holistic international communication.

For the first time since the end of the Cold War, a non-Western country joins the world first-division political league as one of the architects of the new 21<sup>st</sup> c. international order with its own globalization model. China imposes its information dramaturgy and models the world communication space through a resonant invasive impact by using Western information and communication technologies.

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## Геостратегически ефекти и въздействия върху регионалната сигурност на Западните Балкани в контекста на новото руско-китайско засилено сътрудничество

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# Geostrategic Effects and Impacts on the Regional Security of the Western Balkans in the Context of the New Enhanced Russian-Chinese Cooperation

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#### Abstract

The newly intensified cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China in the context of the war /special military operation/ in Ukraine is the main topic of the article. Its impact on the Western Balkan region is a significant discourse among the Russian and Chinese Eurasian geostrategic projects – such as the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), One Belt-One Road (OBOR), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), BRICS and the so-called 'Neutral Ukraine' project. The geostrategic impact of these projects on the Western Balkans is an object of interest that needs to be elicited and analyzed through the lance of the emerging multipolar world and the inevitable decline and fall of the unipolar world.

Keywords: geostrategy, Western Balkans, Eurasian Projects, multipolar world, China, Russia

### Увод

Съвременните геостратегически проекти на Русия и Китай са една от най-важните теми за обсъждане и дебатиране в научните среди. Актуалността им се подсилва и допълва едновременно със скорошните процеси на трансформация на мегаконтинента Евразия със следните събития: изтеглянето на военните сили на САЩ и НАТО от Афганистан; началото на ускорения процес по дедоларизация на страните от Форума БРИКС, Шанхайската организация за сътрудничество (ШОС), Евразийския икономически съюз (ЕАИС), както и страните от Южна Америка и техния икономи-



чески съюз МЕРКОСУР; продължаващото руско нашествие в Украйна, чиято цел е реализирането на проекта "Неутрална Украйна".

Влиянието на тези проекти засяга пряко регионът на Западните Балкани, макар че неговото значение някак си бива пренебрегвано от световните научни дейци, изследователите по международни отношения, сигурност, отбрана и право, но и на световните медии.

Целта на настоящото изследване е да се постави задоволителен акцент върху положителните и негативните ефекти, които Руско-китайските евразийски проекти оказват върху региона на Западните Балкани вследствие на геополитическото прекрояване на глобалния свят в многополюсен такъв. Ето защо ще разгледаме накратко геостратегическите проекти на Китай и Русия, а след това ще изследваме възможните ефекти за Западните Балкани в контекста на продължаващия военен конфликт между Русия и Украйна и процесът на трансформиране на света от новите геополитически и геостратегически проекти на двете водещи сили в трансформацията на Евразия.

Хипотезата в настоящото изследване е, че взаимното сътрудничество между Китай и Русия ще продължи да се засилва, от което страните от Западните Балкани ще са все по-зависими, защото не малка част от тях поддържат отношения с Китай, Русия и Европейския съюз (ЕС). Оттук следва и редуващото се отношение натиск-поощрения, които трите сили оказват върху страните от Западните Балкани, за да прокарат своите визии и проекти. Разбира се, и САЩ имат своите интереси и амбиции за региона със запазването на своето присъствие там, с помощта на военния съюз, обединяващ Европа и Северна Америка – НАТО. Тези интереси ще бъдат засягани до такава степен, в която се съревновават с тези на останалите важни глобални играчи в региона на Балканите – Китай, Русия, Турция и ЕС. Ще се ограничим до синтезирано разглеждане на геостратегическите проекти на Китай и Русия, а след това ще акцентираме върху разглеждането на някои по-важни, според нас, аспекти на двустранните взаимоотношения на страните от Западните Балкани.

### Евразийските геостратегически проекти на Китай и Русия

Китайският геостратегически проект "Един пояс, Един път" е основният проект на страната, чиито амбиции в стратегически мащаби са да се превърне в най-голямата икономика на света. Също така, Китай иска да създаде по-справедлив геополитически и геоикономически свят, в който една държава не се налага над всички останали, само защото има най-големият златен резерв, най-големите стратегически запаси от въглеводороди, най-голямата индустрия и машинното производство, или пък най-голямата военна машина на света. Китай споделя принципа на многополюсен свят, в който има равнопоставено политическо, икономическо, военно и друго разпределение между много полюси на сила, а не свръхконцентрация на ресурси,



които се прахосват в името на превенция на следващия доминиращ субект или хегемон в глобален мащаб.

Проектът има три важни измерения за по-тясното свързване на Европа с Азия: сухоземно, морско и северно. Вероятно се работи и върху въздушно и космическо такова, но засега тези три предопределят геостратегията на Китай за повторното свързване на мегаконтинента Евразия, каквато роля е имал Старият/Древният Път на коприната, функционирал до средата на XV век и свързвал Евразия. По сухоземното измерение Китай иска да изгради цяла система или мрежа от железопътен транспорт, гари, летища, речни и морски пристанища и нови атомни, токови и водноелектрически централи (Кио 2018). Целта е по-голяма свързаност между Китай и страните от Европа. По морското измерение Китай иска да свърже по море своите пристанища с тези на цяла Южна Европа и да пренася най-новите стоки и технологии, с които разполага и иска да изтъргува с тези държави. Маршрутът му обаче минава през най-опасните трасета за Китай по отношение на морската му търговска дейност, където САЩ имат стратегически интереси и желаят да останат в тяхно притежание. Става въпрос за Тайванския, Малакския и Сингапурския протоци, както и взаимната опасност от завръщането на сомалийските пирати в района на Аденския залив и Червено море до достигането на Суецкия канал.

Относно северното измерение на проекта, което е и най-новото в геостратегията на Китай, следва да се отбележи, че Китай гледа да прокопае ледниците на Северния ледовит океан със съдействието на Русия и да изгради по-бърз маршрут между себе си и Европа (Suokas 2017). Маршрутът ще преминава през Беринговия проток, акваторията на Руската федерация и Скандинавския полуостров, откъдето продължава за пристанищата на Нидерландия и Белгия в Северозападна Европа и се разклонява през Атлантическия океан за Франция и Югозападна Европа.

Инициативата "16+1", която за кратък срок стана "17+1", макар и да е предшественик на "Един пояс, Един път", всъщност става съпътстваща платформа на "Един пояс, Един път", с която промотира същинския проект на държавите от Централна и Източна Европа (Suokas 2017). Инициативата покрива и региона на Западните Балкани, тъй като и те влизат в нея. Понятието Западни Балкани в контекста на изследването включва: Сърбия, Албания, Северна Македония, Черна гора, Босна и Херцеговина и Косово. Тоест всички държави, които не са страни-членки на най-успешния засега опит за консолидация в политическо, икономическо, социално, културно, технологично и идеалистично ниво на Европа – ЕС.

Руският геостратегически проект Евразийски икономически съюз (ЕАИС) има амбицията да се превърне в реална алтернатива на ЕС и да покаже привлекателност за членство на всички държави от мегаконтинента в неговите редици, както и да издигне престижа на Москва не като всевластен субект, предизвикващ страх сред останалите членове, а като фактор, разглеждащ взаимното партньорство и равните начала с другите столици на страните членки (Putin 2023). Той не е ограничен единствено



до бившите съставни части на СССР, но предполага участието и на други страни от различни региони, които нямат историческа обремененост от Съветския и Източния блок. ЕАИС е готов да си сътрудничи и с Южноамериканския икономически съюз МЕРКОСУР, като особено важно е да бъде споменато, че Русия има едни от най-добрите отношения в международен план както с Бразилия, така и с Аржентина. Оттук следва и неминуемото сключване на дългосрочен договор между ЕАИС и МЕРКО-СУР, но кога това нещо ще стане реалност е само въпрос на време.

Китайско-руският геостратегически проект Шанхайска организация за сътрудничество (ШОС) ще набира все по-голяма популярност сред държавите в Евразия, а и Африка, тъй като се очаква нов брой да се присъедини или като партньори по диалог, или като наблюдатели в организацията, особено след официалното влизане на Иран в състава ѝ през настоящата 2023 г. Още по-голямо влияние този съюз/проект ще оказва върху Арабския свят след желанието на Египет и Саудитска Арабия да се присъединят към него под някаква форма (Riyadh 2023) – засега се очаква да са под формата на "партньори по диалог", а на по-късен етап да станат и пълноправни членове на ШОС.

Проектът "Неутрална Украйна" е най-комплексният и може би най-сложен за разбиране геостратегически проект за почти всички експерти по национална, международна и глобална сигурност. Той има чисто военен характер, ето защо следва с леки уговорки да изброим и неговите аспекти, които се състоят в следните направления:

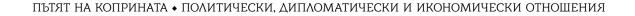
Първо, под никакъв предлог Украйна не бива да става член на НАТО или друг военно-политически съюз, който би застрашил съществуването на Руската федерация и нейния суверенитет в социално-политически аспект.

Второ, Украйна трябва да се обяви за неутрална, по подобие на Швейцария, Австрия или Туркменистан, и да не членува в организации, които имат военен аспект, защото Руската федерация ще действа дори и с военни средства за отстраняването на заплахата от интервенция на своя територия.

Трето, Украйна да признае териториалните разширения на Руската федерация в полуостров Крим и следните области – Херсон, Запорожие, Донецк и Луганск, а на свой ред Русия ще спре военните си действия на нейна територия и ще изтегли войските обратно в пределите на Русия.

Четвърто, разграничаване на новите управляващи със сегашното управляващо правителство в Киев, спрямо което се извършва "Специална военна операция за денацификация на Украйна".

Проблемът в този проект е, че и Русия, и Украйна проявяват нетърпимост една към друга, отказват да направят каквато и да било ревизия на своите искания и държат на своите позиции до момента, в който не ги реализират на практика. Ето защо този проект рефлектира най-силно върху икономическото, продоволственото, демографското, социалното, както и до някаква немалка степен върху политическото измерение на сигурността.



На фона на тези динамично развиващи се събития Русия и Китай все повече започват да сближават своите позиции и визии по отношение на противопоставянето на Запада – ето само една част от тях:

Първо, Русия ще продължи да изгражда своята мрежа от петролни и газови съоръжения и проводи в посока изток – към Китай, Монголия, Индия и други страни, които пожелаят да участват в промяната на посоката на доставките на газови и нефтопродукти. Но основният ѝ партньор в Далечния Изток е Китай, към когото тя насочва основно доставките си на тези ресурси.

Второ, военната сфера все още остава допълнителен инструмент в отношенията на Китай и Русия, тъй като Русия все още е един от най-големите доставчици на съвременни въоръжения и техника. Това положение най-вероятно ще се запази за още известно време, а плащанията по сделките ще се осъществяват в национални валути, откъдето ще произтече и най-голямото противопоставяне на Запада, и по-специално на САЩ.

Трето, отказът от използването на долара в националните и международните сделки, както и във форумите и съюзите, където Русия и Китай участват под формата на членове или на наблюдатели – БРИКС, ШОС, ЕАИС и други– допълнително ще засили ефекта от сближаването на двете държави.

## Западните Балкани – настоящата ситуация на страните от региона в контекста на евразийските геостратегически проекти

Разпадането на Съветския съюз преди 32 години довежда до неминуемия разпад и на Югославия – процес, който започва близо две години по-късно, а оттук започва и съпътстващият го ефект на появата на редица нови и значително по-малки по територия държави на мегаконтинента Евразия. Вследствие на това Балканският полуостров става един от най-големите геополитически и геостратегически възли, в който са преплетени основно интересите на САЩ и останалите членове на НАТО и ЕС, на възстановяващата се от разпада на СССР Русия, на Китай, Иран, Турция и други. Като цяло такава голяма концентрация на регионални и глобални сили върху Балканския полуостров представлява кондензатор на събиращите се буреносни облаци, които скоро време отново ще избухнат в неконтролируеми по мащабите си бури от мълнии и ураганни ветрове.

Регионът на Западните Балкани се простира от Северна Македония до Словения в посока Север–Юг, а в посока Изток–Запад покрива площта от Сърбия и Северна Македония до Черна гора, Хърватия и Албания на Адриатическо море. От него единствено Хърватия и Словения са членове на ЕС, а Северна Македония е в процес на диалог за влизане в съюза (докато влиянието на НАТО, което не само е от по-дълго време, но е и в значително по-голяма степен), като Сърбия, Косово и Босна и Херцеговина не са в състава на организацията. Освен това към региона проявяват голям ин-



терес извънрегионални и извънконтинентални сили, като сред тях са Турция, САЩ, Иран и дори доскоро окупираният от интернационалните сили на НАТО Афганистан. Така става още по-голямо заплитане на своеобразния Балкански възел в рамките на Западните Балкани.

Заплитането на Балканския геостратегически възел се засилва още повече от следните фактори: първо, всяка една от страните се опитва да води своя собствена политика като лавира между ЕС, НАТО, Русия и Китай; второ, същите геополитически играчи си имат свои страни с преференции, на които симпатизират повече от останалите; трето, позициите на извънрегионалните и извънконтиненталните сили, които също имат свои интереси и претенции към бившите югославски републики. Сега ще разгледаме всяка една от държавите от Западните Балкани и позицията ѝ към Русия и Китай по азбучен ред.

Албания: официалната ѝ позиция е, че подкрепя териториалната цялост на Украйна и има планове да възобнови дейността на посолството си в Киев (Albania 2023). Разбира се, има прикрит антагонизъм спрямо Сърбия по отношение на Косово, която сръбската страна счита за своя временно изгубена провинция вследствие на Югославските войни. Към момента Албания и Русия имат лоши взаимоотношения и водят "дипломатическа война" помежду си. В най-висшата организация за дипломация – ООН – Албания се опитва да осъди Русия заради референдумите в Източна Украйна, но без успех. На свой ред Русия я обявява за "неприятелска държава" и я въвежда в черният си списък с държави (Lewis 2022).

Босна и Херцеговина: в случай че там искат да подкрепят санкциите срещу Русия, ще настане допълнително разцепление, защото сръбските части искат да поддържат добри взаимоотношения с Русия, както прави и Сърбия, докато хърватите искат да поддържат позицията на Хърватия и на ЕС и да налагат санкции във всяка възможна сфера спрямо Русия. Отделно от това не е изключено да се получи разцепление на Босна и Херцеговина в съотношение 50% на 50%, при положение че сърбите от Република Сръбска и окръг Бръчко решат да се отделят от Хърватско-мюсюлманската федерация. Освен това Босна и Херцеговина желае да запази териториалната си цялост, а не да попада под зависимостта на Белград (косвено на Москва), защото би изгубила шанса си за интеграция в ЕС по линия на Хърватия.

Косово: засега налага санкции върху Русия, но не изказва крайни позиции спрямо Китай. Косово има възможността да изравни везните, дори и да ги обърне в своя полза (особено като се вземат предвид скорошните взаимни преговори със северния съсед Сърбия), най-малкото защото Русия и до някаква степен Китай не са толкова ангажирани с Балканския полуостров и са поставили фокуса си върху случващото се в Украйна, а следователно отделят много по-малко внимание върху общия си съюзник Сърбия. Това, от своя страна, означава повече самостоятелно внимание и план за защита на Сърбия спрямо нейния южен съсед, отколкото ако Китай и Русия биват въвлечени заедно в тази роля.



Северна Македония (PCM): ще гледа да парира албанския фактор в своите предели като играе ролята на посредник между нагнетените или дори войнствени отношения между нея и Албания. Както и да протака преговорите между Сърбия и Косово (например наскоро провелите се преговори в средновековния град Охрид), само за да се издигне до статут на регионален фактор. Въпреки това надали Македония има желание да се превърне в регионален лидер, но би желала да издигне международния си престиж. Освен това Северна Македония поддържа дипломатически отношения и с двете държави (Сърбия и Косово), което дава допълнителна възможност на научните среди да я използват като мост или пък буфер за контакт между двете непризнаващи се страни, като така да се издига на по-високо ниво в международния ред, играейки ролята на посредник между тях (Kosovo and Serbia 2023; New Escalations 2023). Парирането на албанския фактор означава и забавяне на урегулирането на отношенията между България и Македония по отношение на конституционната реформа на РСМ.

Словения: поддържа всяка една позиция, колкото и негативна да е за самата нея, на ЕС, а и на САЩ, спрямо Руската федерация. По отношение на Китай заема най-крайната позиция сред Западните Балкани, като едновременно с това гледа да се сближава повече със САЩ, отколкото да поддържа по-високи отношения с Китай. Тази тенденция като че ли ще продължи да се запазва, докато Китай не предприеме друга стратегия за промотиране на своята инициатива "16+1" като част от проекта "Един пояс, Един път", но и да се опита да отдели повече внимание върху най-северната част от южнославянския свят и да изтъкне ползите от неговия проект спрямо населението на тази страна.

Сърбия: има амбицията да излезе отново като един от регионалните водачи на Балканите, каквато е била по времето на Титова Югославия, и да запази своята териториална цялост, като същевременно продължава да третира отцепилата се от нейните предели Косово като "изгубената" провинция. Също така Сърбия се превръща в един от най-близките и тясно обвързани с Русия и Китай държава съюзник. И двете държави не поддържат отношения с Косово и отказват да признаят неговата независимост. Оттук следва да предположим, че Сърбия е най-важният елемент от балканските измерения на китайските и на руските геостратегически проекти. Но докато продължава войната между Русия и Украйна в рамките на "Неутрална Украйна", толкова повече Русия и Китай ще бъдат ангажирани в нейното гасене, а от това следва повече неглижиране на балканския съюзник, който трябва временно сам да се справя не само с прекия си съсед, но и с намесата на една суперсила в света – САЩ, както и с регионална такава в лицето на ЕС.

Хърватия: споделя до голяма степен позицията на Словения. Освен това гледа да нанесе допълнително вреда на Сърбия, защото споделя с нея общата югославска история, от която желае да се освободи и да бъде разглеждана завинаги като отделен субект на международните отношения (Milekic 2022). Не случайно поставя неизпълними условия на Сърбия, за да поддържа допълнителна разделителна линия в отношенията на Загреб с Белград в рамките на Балканския полуостров, но и в общоевропейския контекст на техните обтегнати в последно време взаимоотношения. Въпреки това има изгледи отношенията между Белград и Загреб да се подобрят, тъй като двете страни започват постепенно да водят нов диалог помежду си от началото на 2023 г. (Begüm 2023). Хърватия също така е една от малкото държави на Балканския полуостров, която поддържа добри взаимоотношения както с Китай, така и със САЩ. Но не и с Русия поради опасения, че Русия може да опита да откъсне нови територии в постсъветското пространство, които да присъедини към своята територия чрез референдуми, подобни на тези от 2022 г., и да проточи разрешаването на конфликтите, с които се е захванала в момента. Освен това Хърватия има добри взаимоотношения с Украйна, защото тя е една от първите страни в света, признали нейната независимост преди 3 десетилетия (By Supporting Ukraine 2022).

Черна гора: иска да поддържа сегашния си курс на евро-атлантическа интеграция, да се държи дистанцирано от Сърбия и изобщо да не повдига въпроса за реинтеграция (иредентизъм) с нея, защото смята, че така е по-добре. Икономиката на страната е изключително слаба, дотолкова че изтегля заем от КНР за построяването на стратегически важни цели за критичната инфраструктура (Hopkins 2021). Неприкрито изпитва чувство на опасност от Руската федерация, а прикрито се страхува от default към Китай, както и от опасенията да въведе китайския юан като официална валута вместо еврото, защото не може да поддържа икономиката си, а това означава индиректно скачване с проекта "Един пояс, Един път".

## Някои от по-важните геостратегически ефекти в региона на Западните Балкани, произтичащи от евразийските проекти на Китай и Русия

За да не се бавим повече в допълнителни анализи, ще преминем към кулминацията на изследването и представата ни за практическото изражение на ефектите, които могат да последват в региона от руско-китайското преобразуване на международния ред. Всичко това без да изключваме ролята на БРИКС, ЕАИС, ШОС и едно евентуално, но засега само хипотетично, обединение на БРИКС и МЕРКОСУР в още по-голям геоикономически и геостратегически съюз. Оттук ще се задейства постепенно, с различни интервали и степени на въздействие, процесът на разпад на еднополюсния и формирането на многополюсен свят.

Първо, ескалация на междуетническото напрежение в Косово, Македония и Босна и Херцеговина. В Косово вероятно ще се наложи по-засилена намеса на Турция, която има голямо капиталово притежание на основното летище в Прищина. Отделно поредната ескалация на напрежението между Белград и Прищина може да предизвика още по-голямо внимание върху региона и да активира засилена дейност



и на други страни в Европа и Азия, които засега предпочитат да са по-неутрални към случващото се на Балканите.

Второ, ще се получи засилване на тенденцията за валутните войни в геоикономически план, основно водеща се между юана и долара, а и еврото и юана. В кръга на спекулацията не е изключено златото, като благороден метал и двигател на световната икономика до началото на 70-те години на XX в., отново да си върне изгубената позиция на водеща валута за всички държави по света.

Трето, междурелигиозно напрежение в Босна и Херцеговина и Косово в рамките на конфликта християни – мюсюлмани.

Четвърто, противопоставяне на историческа основа по оста Белград–Загреб за равнопоставеността между сръбския и хърватския етнос в Сърбия, Босна и Хърватия, както и между София и Скопие за българския и македонския етнос в съответните страни.

Пето, намеса на регионалните лидери в някои от конфликтите на Западните Балкани – например Турция в Косово и ЕС спрямо Сърбия за налагането на санкции към Русия.

Шесто, ерозия на позициите на евро-атлантическите структури в региона – НАТО и ЕС спрямо Балканските субекти.

Седмо, задълбочаване на конкурентната надпревара между Китай и САЩ в целия регион.

Осмо, дългосрочен разнобой в самите САЩ за продължаването на сегашната политика спрямо Западните Балкани при победа или загуба на някоя от партиите в междинните и в президентските избори на страната.

### Заключение

Съвременната глобална геополитическа ситуация предполага създаването на състояние на глобална несигурност, при която възникват различни алтернативни възможности за избиране на модел от формиращия се многополюсен свят. Геостратегическите проекти на Китай и Русия са важни елементи в този процес, тъй като представят едновременно възможност, но и заплахи за различните полюси на сила в международните отношения. Докато тече процесът на преформулиране на глобалния свят ще ставаме свидетели на все по-голямо проявление на несигурност в най-висшата си степен. Не е ясно колко време ще продължи този процес, но със сигурност ще бъде поне няколко години. Със сигурност ще чуваме все повече и ще срещаме по научните публикации проучвания и анализи, свързани с Евразийския икономически съюз, "Един пояс, Един път", Инициативата 16+1, Шанхайската организация за сътрудничество и може би също и за "Неутрална Украйна", но с по-различно име. А дали фокусът върху Западните Балкани и тяхната регионална сигурност ще останат на тези умерени до сравнително ниски нива, тепърва ще видим. Но в случай че



войната в Украйна продължи с години, по подобие на тези в Ирак и Сирия, това ще означава единствено влошаване на нивото на глобалната сигурност и все повече възможности за подбуждане на регионални конфликти от глобалните играчи.

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## Сближаването на Сърбия и Черна гора през призмата на геостратегическия проект "Един пояс, един път" и инициативата "16+1"

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## Serbia and Montenegro Rapprochement With China Through the Aspects of the Geostrategic Project 'One Belt, One Road' and the Initiative '16+1'

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#### Abstract

China's interest in the Balkan region, especially the western part, and its infrastructure is an important part of the 'One Belt, One Road' project. The countries of Serbia and Montenegro are important geostrategic partners and are also quite active in the '16+1' initiative. The aim of this article is to find and analyze the key points in which the cooperation between Serbia and China, and Montenegro and China in the context of the 'Belt and Road' project, the '16+1' initiative, is most closely connected, as well as to observe the trilateral cooperation in the ten years since the launch of the 'Belt and Road' geostrategic project.

Keywords: 'One Belt, One Road', economy, Serbia, Montenegro, China, '16+1' Initiative

### Увод

Сърбия и Черна гора са две от най-интересните страни в инициативата "16+1", част от геостратегическия проект на Китай "Един пояс, Един път", през които е предназначено да премине китайският проект за възстановяването на "Пътя на коприната". В нея участват почти всички страни от Централна и Източна Европа. През годините от съществуването на инициативата за Централна и Източна Европа двете бивши югославски републики поддържат едни от най-добрите и високи взаимоотношения с Китайската народна република и започват отново да се сближават, след като официално приключи световната пандемия от COVID-19.

Общото минало на бивша Югославия и Китай също играе важна роля в сегашните тристранни взаимоотношения между Сърбия, Черна гора и Китай. Все пак Югославия е една от трите страни в Източна Европа (и по-точно на Балканите), които поддържат взаимоотношения с КНР през периода на Студената война. Освен това Югославия в определен момент се противопоставя на оказвания от СССР натиск по отношение на Китай и дори отказва да прекъсне взаимоотношенията си с него, за разлика от други страни от Източния блок. Китай е и една от първите страни, които не само критикуват действията на САЩ и НАТО спрямо Югославия през целия период на нейния разпад, но и един от първите играчи, които отново влизат в диалог с държавите наследници на бившата федерация, веднъж щом те се отделят от федерацията.

Целта на изследването е да разкрие най-съвременните взаимоотношения, както и някои не чак толкова оповестявани детайли около тях, между Сърбия, Черна гора и Китай в рамките на геостратегическия проект "Един пояс, Един път", особено в контекста на продължаващата "специална военна операция" или война в Украйна, както и продължаващото неспазване на предложения от Китай План в 12 точки за спирането на военните действия между двете източнославянски държави. И въпреки че засега КНР се придържа към пълен неутралитет спрямо този конфликт, то не така стоят позициите на Сърбия и Черна гора по отношение на войната в Украйна. Ограниченията ще се състоят в неразглеждането на Балканските, Световните и Югославските войни, тъй като там има много преплитане между миналото и настоящето и ще утежни анализа на настоящия доклад. Също така, няма да разглеждаме войната в Украйна и ситуацията спрямо Плана в 12 точки, защото са много динамични и постоянно променящи се фактори за анализ.

## Корени на отношенията между Китай, Сърбия и Черна гора до разпада на бивша Югославия

Най-старите двустранни или тристранни взаимоотношения между Китай, Сърбия и Черна гора могат да бъдат проследени до времената на функционирането на древния Път на коприната през Средните векове. Тогава тези взаимоотношения са предимно на икономическа основа – търгува се коприна, нефрит, мед, всякакви месни продукти и други стоки срещу съответни парични стойности от срещуположната страна. Проблемът е, че Китай не прави разлика между европейците и като цяло може да заключим, че под "Балкански полуостров" той разбира единствено Византия и може би Кръстоносните държави от периода X–XIV век. Едновременно с това Китай има представа за мюсюлманските сили в Близкия Изток, но вероятно ги смята за едно и също явление и не прави разлика между Арабските халифати и Османската империя поне до средата на XVI век.<sup>1</sup> Тогава една делегация от османци пристига на аудиенция в Китай, за да се опита да извърши пропаганда на исляма в неговите предели. Може да кажем, че тази мисия завършва с неуспех, тъй като Китай е многорелигиозна държава, където обаче доминира конфуцианството и някои от разклоненията на будизма.

 $<sup>^{1}\</sup> https://books.google.bg/books?id=esnWJkYRCJ4C\&pg=PA141\&redir_esc=y \# v=onepage\&q\&f=false.$ 

Когато Пътят на коприната спира да функционира Китай губи връзка с останалия свят, в това число и с народите на Балканския полуостров и ще изминат близо пет века преди да бъдат направени нови опити за комуникация между него и народите на Балканите. Отделно по същото време Балканските народи започват своята многовековна борба за свобода от прекия контрол на Османската империя. След техните постепенни освобождения на картата на света се появяват след 400–500 години на османско владичество следните страни: Сърбия, Черна гора, Румъния, България и Гърция. И тъй като няма да разглеждаме последващите събития и победоносните войни на Балканския съюз срещу Османската империя, ще се фокусираме върху Сърбия и Черна гора и контактите им с Китай в съвремието (XX–XXI век). Като цяло тези пет века са едни от най-динамичните в човешката история, ето защо само ще ги маркираме без да влизаме в детайли около всичко, което се случва на Балканите и в Китай.

Първите контакти на съвременна Сърбия с представители от Китай датират от 1908 г. – по времето на съществуването на Австро-Унгария, когато изпадналият в немилост императорски съветник с реформаторски убеждения Кан Йоу-уей, заради участието си в движението за реформи от 1898 г. (известно още като Реформите от 100-те дни), пристига в Сърбия от Будапеща.<sup>2</sup> Той желае да види края на управлението на императрица Цъ Си и нейния малолетен син Пу И. Според него, те са символи на старата власт, ултраконсерватизма и, разбира се, на назадничавото мислене на династия Цин. Но тъй като Кан не стои дълго време в Сърбия и продължава към Истанбул, Турция (тогава още Османска империя), чакайки удобен момент да се завърне в Китай, то и първите контакти са значително кратки и почти несъществени. Въпреки това, той си води бележки за всичко, което вижда в Белград. От историческа гледна точка това е първият път, когато сърби и китайци отново се опознават помежду си и си спомнят за съвместното съществуване, изгубено като знание след спирането на Пътя на коприната. Малко след това избухва и Цинхайската революция (1911 г.), след която се провъзгласява създаването на Първата република.

През 1918 г. – след края на Първата световна война – се създава държава Югославия, тогава известна като Кралство на сърби, хървати и словенци. Като в състава ѝ влизат също бившата австрийска провинция Босна и Херцеговина и дотогава независимата Черна гора, както и бившата османска провинция Македония. През годините на Втората световна война Югославия е разпокъсана на по-малки републики, но успешно се обединява след нейния край и поема по пътя на социализма и комунизма под управлението на Йосип Тито. Едва тогава започват реалните съвременни контакти между Югославия и Китай.

През 1955 г. Мао Дзедун приема първата югославска делегация, представена от Югославския комунистически съюз, с което са направени първите крачки към уста-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.telegraf.rs/vesti/beograd/2670495-prvi-kinez-je-pre-vise-od-100-godina-posetio-beograd-evo-sta-ga-je-posebno-ocaralo; https://sr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9A%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B5%D0%B7%D0%B8\_%D1%83\_%D0%A1%D1%80%D0%B1%D0%B8%D1%98%D0%B8



новяване на добри начални взаимоотношения между двете страни. Също така, китайският лидер се извинява на югославяните, че до този момент е бил критично настроен към тях и ги е смятал за ревизионисти на марксизма (комунизма).<sup>3</sup>

През 1969 г. Китай кани Албания, Румъния и Югославия, които вече трайно са се установили като трите най-стари и стабилни негови балкански партньори, на официална визита в Пекин, където предлага създаване на нова зона, в която КНР ще се противопоставя на Съветския съюз (СССР).<sup>4</sup> Следва официално посещение на югославския лидер в Китай през 1977 г., а китайският премиер идва на посещение в Югославия на следващата година. При управлението на Дън Сяопин и провежданите от него реформи Югославия се възползва от възможността да продължава с политиката си на избягване на конфронтация между Изтока и Запада и да бъде важна част в Движението на необвързаните държави. През 80-те и 90-те години на XX век започва процесът на разпад на Югославия, като през последното десетилетие започват и войните – завършили с Косовската конференция през 1999 г. Към началото на XXI век процесът по разпада на бившата федерация вече е завършил, а единствените останали в съюз помежду си Сърбия и Черна гора се запътват към новата си дългосрочна стратегия – да си сътрудничат с Китай в неговите проекти, касаещи региона на Балканите.

# Отношенията на Китай със Сърбия след разпада на Югославия, началото на Инициативата "16+1" и проекта "Един пояс, Един път"

След разпадането на бивша Югославия, Сърбия и по-късно Черна гора поемат по пътя на ново сближаване с Китай. Сърбия поддържа политиката на Китай за "Единен Китай", а като връщане на жеста Китай се застъпва за териториалната цялост на Сърбия. През 2006 г. в Белград е открит "Институт Конфуций", което допълнително показва близостта между двете държави и обмена между тях в културната и образователната сфера. През 2009 г. двете страни подписват споразумение за стратегическо партньорство, в което се говори за териториална цялост, търговско развитие, култура, технологичен и научен обмен.<sup>5</sup> През 2011 г. Китай предоставя по-голямата част от средствата за построяването на моста над Дунав Пупин, който бива завършен през 2014 г. и свързва кварталите Борча и Земун в Белград, създавайки по този начин по-добра инфраструктурна свързаност на самия град. Освен това, този мост е първият инфраструктурен проект на Китай на европейския континент и също така създава алтернативно трасе на единствения съществуващ дотогава мост Панчево, наричан още Панчевач.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pupin\_Bridge



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China%E2%80%93Yugoslavia\_relations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116455

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://web.archive.org/web/20090822081808/http://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics-article.php?yyyy=2009& mm=08&dd=20&nav\_id=61263

Отделно през 2012 г. Китай стартира Инициативата "16+1", а следващата – геостратегическия проект "Един пояс, Един път", с което привлича вниманието и интереса на Сърбия и Черна гора към своите опорни външнополитически пунктове. Това е и най-новата страница в отношенията между двете балкански държави и КНР.

През 2012 г. Сърбия, по-точно Телеком Сърбия, подписва договор за развитие на технологиите и комуникациите с Huawei, която влага 150 млн. евро за изграждане и въвеждане на 5G мрежата в страната. Китайската компания има споразумение с Министерството на вътрешните работи да изгради широка мрежа за наблюдение в самата сръбска столица, при това с биометрични камери, но засега проблем за последното начинание е настоящият действащ закон, възпрепятстващ подобно действие.<sup>7</sup>

От 2017 г. гражданите на Китай и Сърбия могат да пътуват без визи между двете страни, което допълнително засилва техните добри взаимоотношения. През мандата на президента Александър Вучич се наблюдава по-близко и засилено сътрудничество между Сърбия и Китай, особено в инициативата "16+1", което продължава и във време на пандемията от COVID-19. В тази връзка Китай предоставя на Сърбия от своите разработени ваксини "Синовакс" срещу вируса.

# Отношенията на Китай с Черна гора след разпада на Югославия, началото на Инициативата "16+1" и проекта "Един пояс, Един път"

Черна гора е една от най-малките страни на Балканския полуостров, придобила независимостта си едва преди 17 години от Сърбия, което обяснява защо, реално погледнато, няма официални данни и статистики за по-ранни отношения между Китай и Черна гора.

Отношенията между КНР и Черна гора са сравнително нови и са установени през 2006 г., когато последната се отделя след проведен референдум. Това обяснява и защо в медийното пространство фигурират единствено настоящи новини относно двустранните взаимоотношения, но липсват по-стари такива. Отделно там фигурират само финансовите дългове на Черна гора към Китай. От 2013 г. Китай е ангажиран със строежа на множество магистрали, електроцентрали и други инфраструктурни проекти.<sup>8</sup> Поради тази причина ще обърнем леко внимание и върху търговското салдо на Черна гора. Общото число на салдото е 134 млн. евро, като вносът от Китай възлиза на 3,8 милиона, а пък износът за Китай възлиза на 130,6 милиона. Преките чуждестранни инвестиции в Черна гора възлизат на 440 хиляди евро.<sup>9</sup>

През 2018 г. започва строежът на магистралата за свързване на пристанищния град Бар на Адриатическо море с инфраструктурата на съседна Сърбия и ще свърже

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China%E2%80%93Montenegro\_relations



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> https://balkaninsight.com/2021/12/15/china-in-the-balkans-controversy-and-cost/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\_eng/wjb\_663304/zzjg\_663340/xos\_664404/gjlb\_664408/Montenegro\_664680/

по-тясно пристанището на Адриатика с Белград, а оттам и с Букурещ и останалата пътна инфраструктура на Румъния. Това предизвикателство обаче покачва външния дълг на Черна гора, като ангажира Китай да отпусне заем за Черна гора, докато бъде завършен пътят. Междувременно Подгорица започва серия от непопулярни и рестриктивни за населението мерки, които да ограничат разхищението на дълга.<sup>10</sup>

Според друг източник, строежът на магистралата или скоростният път е започнал през 2015 г., но поради високите цени на всеки построен километър от участъка до Боляре, Черна гора не може да се справи сама и вика на помощ други инвеститори, в това число и Китай, който се отзовава на поканата за довършване на този инфраструктурен проект. Тогава китайската банка Ексим отпуска заем, а пък двете най-активни компании на Китай – Групата за пътища и мостове и корпорацията Полигруп, които се използват за инициативата "Един пояс, Един път" – започват да работят по проекта за свързването на Сърбия и Черна гора с най-съвременна магистрала. И така се оказва, че към 2018 г. единствено северният участък, където се намира и тунелът Созница, е напълно завършен.<sup>11</sup>

Според данни на МВФ, дългът на Черна гора нараства до 80% от БВП, което не позволява да тегли повече заеми, поради което Подгорица решава да заложи територията на страната си на Китай. Заемът, който Пекин отпуска на Черна гора, е в размер на 800 милиона евро.<sup>12</sup> Тук се вижда и реалната опасност от гледна точка на ЕС, САЩ и други западни страни и организации, тъй като Черна гора може да изпадне в default. Технически това означава, че тя е застрашена да изгуби във физически вариант своята територия, което не се харесва на управляващите в Подгорица, а и в столиците на партньорските организации на Черна гора.

Отделно е изчислено, че само 41-километровият участък от Бар до Боляре струва по 20 млн. евро на километър, което е и най-скъпият строен път на света.<sup>13</sup> Засега няма ново развитие на събитията, но определено това може да се окаже ключов момент, когато Китай завърши този участък от геостратегическия си проект.

#### Вместо заключение

Дори и сега Сърбия и Черна гора се явяват своеобразни геостратегически възли или ключове за контрола на Балканския полуостров и прилежащите към него морета. За него дори и сега спорят и се надпреварват класическите Велики сили от Европа, но към тях се присъединяват и два извънрегионални, а в някои случаи и извънконтинентални играчи – САЩ и Китай, заедно със съпътстващите ги проекти и орга-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China%E2%80%93Montenegro\_relations#; https://www.reuters.com/article/ us-china-silkroad-europe-montenegro-insi-idUSKBN1K60QX



ПЪТЯТ НА КОПРИНАТА • ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИ, ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИ И ИКОНОМИЧЕСКИ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-silkroad-europe-montenegro-insi-idUSKBN1K60QX; https://balkaninsight.com/2021/12/15/china-in-the-balkans-controversy-and-cost/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A-1\_motorway\_(Montenegro)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> https://balkaninsight.com/2021/04/15/montenegro-hopes-eu-will-help-it-repay-chinese-highway-loan/

низации, като НАТО, ЕС, ШОС, БРИКС и др. За Сърбия и Черна гора остава само да чакат и да се ориентират на коя страна да застанат, тъй като играчите са прицелили погледите си именно върху тях, а те знаят, че не могат да лавират със старите съюзници, някои от които вече не съществуват на глобалната арена и на картите на света.

Докато трае войната в Украйна, а Русия активно се опитва да "денацифицира" страната, регионът на Западните Балкани ще продължи да бъде обект на желание и привличане от всички Велики и супер сили, както и ще бъде по-сложно за него да заеме конкретна страна, защото това означава лишаване от достъп до капитали от другата страна.

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# 中国与"一带一路"沿线国家科技合作网络关系及时空 变化研究

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# A Study on the Relationship between China and Countries along the Belt and Road in Science and Technology Cooperation Network and Its Temporal and Spatial Changes

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#### Abstract

As an important strategic opportunity for China to deepen international scientific and technological cooperation, "the Belt and Road" scientific and technological cooperation can inhibit the anti-globalization in a large extent. This study uses the method of optimal segmentation of ordered samples and QAP modeling to divide the development stages of scientific and technological cooperation of 65 countries along the "the Belt and Road" from 2009 to 2019. We also build scientific and technological cooperation networks among countries along the "the Belt and Road" at different time stages, and then explore the dynamic mechanism of scientific and technological cooperation. The conclusions are as follows: (1) The scientific and technological cooperation between China and countries along the "the Belt and Road" from 2009 to 2019 can be divided into three stages: initial exploration, rapid development and steady improvement. (2) The degree of the cooperation network connection of the thesis is increasing, and the number of countries at different levels is evenly distributed. In the patent cooperation network, the links between countries are relatively loose, and the status gap between countries is widening. The number of countries participating in the overall cooperation network is increasing, and the overall ties between countries are increasing. (3) Geographical proximity has a small negative effect on the strength of scientific and technological innovation links between countries. Language proximity is negatively correlated with technological innovation, and the impact is gradually weakened. The stronger the social proximity is, the closer the scientific and technological cooperation is. The stronger the institutional proximity, the weaker the technological innovation links between countries, but with the continuous improvement of policy liberalization, its impact is gradually reduced. The impact of economic proximity on scientific and technological innovation links is increasing. The weaker the economic proximity is, the closer the links between scientific and technological innovation are.

**Keywords:** "the Belt and Road", optimal segmentation of ordered samples, science and technology cooperation network, multidimensional proximity

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随着2018年以来中美贸易摩擦的加剧,世界各国合作局势发生了剧烈的重构,逆全球化思想不断冒头,国际科技合作面临新的机遇和挑战。科技创新的合作与交流作为第四次工业革命发展趋势下提升国家间合作水平的重要抓手,也是新时代下各国共建"一带一路"的一项重要内容。因此现阶段加强"一带一路"国际科技合作重要载体的建设是中国深化国际科技合作的重要战略机遇,同时也可以在很大程度上对逆全球化起到抑制作用。

"一带一路"作为中国顶层国家级合作战略, 涉及到经济、文化、资源等多个领域的多个方 面内容. 在地理学的相关研究中也涉及到包括经济地理、地缘政治等不同领域。其中欧美地 理学者对于"一带一路"的研究大多带有"阴谋论"色彩。 有学者认为该倡议与马歇尔计划类似。 政治目的过于明显<sup>[1]</sup>;更有学者指出中国意图重建国际科技经济体系,恐引起世界局势动荡<sup>[2]</sup> 。相较而言. 中国学者对干"一带一路"的研究更为丰富和透彻。其中在人文地理领域关于"一 带一路"的相关研究主要可以分为以下几种类型: 第一类研究主要是对"一带一路"的核心思想 和内涵等基础性问题的探究...大多是对总体构想和国家政策性文件的解读和分析 <sup>[3]- [4]</sup>; 这类 研究虽没有对某一具体实质性问题开展深入研究,但为后续研究的开展提供了理论基础和总 体框架。第二类研究大多是在第一类研究的基础上进一步从地缘政治及建设模式等角度出发 在宏观战略视角上对"一带一路"现阶段的发展现状及未来发展的新模式和新方向进行研究 和探讨 [5]- [6]。第三类研究主要是在区域经济、区域合作视角下对具体对象或具体某一领域开 展研究,虽然"一带一路"涉及领域较广,但作为我国重要的经济外交战略,相关案例的研究主 要集中在贸易合作、对外投资以及国家间互联互通等方面。在贸易合作方面,现阶段的研究主 要借鉴网络分析的方法进行,并探究总体贸易格局及各国所处的地位,研究对象也较广,涵盖 了农产品, 能源, 高科技信息产业等<sup>[7]</sup>。在对外投资方面, 现阶段的研究主要集中于投资效率、 投资风险以及不同的因素对中国对外投资的影响,研究对象有直接选取对外投资额进行相关 研究,也有细化到例如基础设施建设投资额进行研究<sup>[8]-[11]</sup>。国家间的互联互通作为"一带一 路"建设的核心问题之一,也为国内外学者广泛关注。在研究对象方面,现阶段的研究与主流 研究相同, 主要为人流, 物流, 信息流, 知识流。人流, 物流等主要通过航空、铁路等指标间接 表征,信息流则主要借助互联网大数据及构建的国家间"软网络"表征。随着科技创新能力的重 视程度不断加大,有关知识流的研究逐步增加,这类研究大多以城市、省份或国家间的专利合 作、论文合作数据为研究对象.绝大部分采用创新网络的方法进行科技合作的研究[12]-[15]。

综上所述,"一带一路"的研究经历了由宏观到微观、由定性到定量、由概念解释到模式探 讨到案例研究的演化态势。现阶段在计量地理学以及大数据相关理论方法的支撑下,研究的 方法和研究视角虽已较为完善且多样化,但仍存在研究不足和空白有待进一步完善。首先,现 阶段大多数研究仅采用单一的专利合作数据或论文合作数据来进行表示,构建的网络相对较 为片面。且并没有解释清楚这些指标对于创新"软网络"的代表性。其次,有关"一带一路"的相 关研究总体主题比较庞杂,宏观性、战略性的文章相对偏多,深入程度仍不够;且研究方法相 对陈旧,研究较多的关注中国或中国具体省市与"一带一路"国家间的合作关系,对于世界区域 内国家层面上的合作网络结构以及各国地位的研究仍较少。因此,本文在国家层面上构建总 体科技创新网络,对网络的总体演化特征以及各国地位的变化开展研究,并在此基础上对影 响网络演化的动力机制进行分析。



#### 研究区域

由于"一带一路"合作倡议具有开放性的特点,因此合作国家的数量并不固定。考虑到研究的一致性和准确性,我们将最初划定由六大区域组成的"一带一路"沿线65个国家作为本文的研究区域。

表1"一带一路"沿线65国划分

东北亚	蒙古、中国
东南亚	马来西亚、越南、印度尼西亚、泰国、缅甸、柬埔寨、老挝、 新加坡、菲律宾、文莱
南亚	尼泊尔、孟加拉国、斯里兰卡、印度、巴基斯坦、阿富汗、 马尔代夫、不丹
西亚北非	伊朗、土耳其、以色列、埃及、科威特、格鲁吉亚、阿塞拜 疆、约旦、黎巴嫩、沙特阿拉伯、巴林、伊拉克、卡塔尔、 塞浦路斯、也门共和国、阿联酋、阿曼、亚美尼亚、叙利亚、 巴勒斯坦
中东欧	捷克、拉脱维亚、立陶宛、斯洛文尼亚、马其顿、波黑、斯 洛伐克、保加利亚、乌克兰、白俄罗斯、匈牙利、爱沙尼亚、 克罗地亚、波兰、俄罗斯、罗马尼亚、阿尔巴尼亚、塞尔维 亚、摩尔多瓦、黑山
中亚	吉尔吉斯斯坦、乌兹别克斯坦、哈萨克斯坦、土库曼斯坦、 塔吉克斯坦

资料来源:中国一带一路网 (https://www.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/)

#### 数据来源

对于时间段的选取方面,考虑到2008年的亚洲金融危机对"一带一路"沿线国家间科技合作会产生一定干扰,因此选取2009年为研究的起始时间。选取2019年为研究的截至时间。以探究这10年间"一带一路"沿线国家科技合作的时空格局演化及动力机制。

数据选取方面,其中"一带一路"沿线65个国家间的专利合作数据来源于incopat数据库中 的合作专利数据。考虑到数据的完整性以及研究结果的准确性,选取包括 CN, US, EP, JP, KR, WO, DE, GB, FR, RU, CH, IT, CA, AT, EU, ES, AU, IN, BR, AR, MX, HK, TW, MO共24个 incopat提供的所有专利数据库作为数据来源,同时专利数据为涵盖了发明、实用新型、外观共 3个类别的专利数据。65国间的论文合作数据来源于Web of Science核心合集数据库。中国对" 一带一路"沿线65国援建的重大工程项目数以及项目金额数据来源于《中国贸易外经统计年 鉴》。动力机制研究中的相关数据分别来源于法国CEPII数据库,《全球经济自由度指数》,世 界银行数据银行的世界发展指数。

#### 研究方法

#### 1 有序样本最优分割

借助地质学中地层约束聚类分析的方法对时间段进行定量划分<sup>[16]-[18]</sup>,该方法通过各研 究对象间的离散平方和进行分类,设研究对象为x<sub>1</sub>, x<sub>2</sub>, ·····, x<sub>n</sub>,则最优的分割方法如下:

(1) 定义类的直径

设某一类A"为 {x, , x, +1, ···, x, } , j≥i, 它们的均值记为

$$\underline{X_{ij}} = \frac{1}{j+i+1} \sum_{i=1}^{j} \lim x$$

A<sub>ii</sub>的直径用D (i, j)表示, 类直径一般通过类中各点到类重心的离差平方和表示, 即

$$D(i,j) = \sum_{q=i}^{J} \square (x_q - \underline{X_{ij}})' (x_q - \underline{X_{ij}})$$

(2) 定义目标函数

将n个研究对象分为m类, 设其中一种分法为P (n, m): {, …, }, {, …, }, …, {, …, }, 式中, 1=i₁≤i₂≤…i<sub>m</sub>≤i<sub>m+1</sub>=n。记所有分法的集合为P。定义某个分法的目标函数为:

$$e[P(n,m)] = \sum_{j=1}^{m-1} \square D(i_j, i_j - 1)$$

当n, m不变时, e [P (n, m)]越小, 则各类间的离差平方和越小, 分类越合理。因此要寻找一种分法P (n, m)使目标函数的值达到极小。

(3) 精确最优解的求法

最后按照如下公式递推进行,求出最优解:

$$e[P(n,2)] = min_{2 \le j \le n} \{D(1,j-1) + D(j,n)\}$$

$$e[P(n,k)] = \min_{k \le j \le n} \{ e \left[ P(j-1,k-1) \right] + D(j,n) \}$$

#### 2 QAP分析

QAP相关性分析是一种非参数检验的分析方法,其原理是通过同时置换一个矩阵中的行和列,以实现两个矩阵间相关系数的计算,用以探究两个矩阵间的相关性。QAP回归分析则依据拟合度R<sup>2</sup>的显著性水平,在QAP相关性分析的基础上探究多个自变量矩阵和一个应变量矩阵之间的回归关系<sup>[19]</sup>。考虑到本研究中的各自变量具有较强的多重共线性特点,常规回归分析方法并不能验证关系数据中各变量的关系,因此采用QAP分析通过对矩阵相关系数进行非参数检验来估计各关系数据的关联性。因而其分析结果比传统计量分析方法更为稳健,结果更具说服力和可信度。

### 科技合作发展过程梳理

对我国与"一带一路"沿线国家间2009-2019年间的专利合作总数、专利合作国家数以及论 文合作总数、论文合作国家数总体变化趋势进行可视化分析,并在此基础上结合"一带一路"重 点项目合同总数以及项目金额总数运用有序样本最优分割的方法对我国与"一带一路"沿线64 个国家间的科技合作阶段进行定量划分,探究10年间我国与"一带一路"沿线国家科技合作的 总体演化趋势。

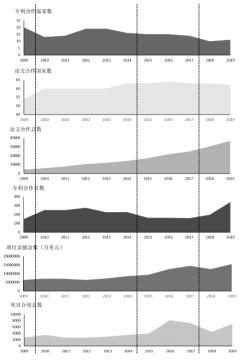


图1 中国与"一带一路"沿线国家科技合作阶段划分

通过观察聚类过程中误差函数曲线的变化斜率以及误差函数的变化可以发现在n=4时斜 率发生了明显变化,因此将2009-2019年分为4个时间段,结合n=4时的最优分割结果进行时 间段的划分,得出第一阶段为2009年,第二阶段为2010-2014年,第三阶段为2015-2017年,第 四阶段为2018-2019年。最后,在此基础上结合2013年"一带一路"概念的提出以及2016年《 推进"一带一路"建设科技创新合作专项规划》的出台等因素的影响,考虑到一阶段和第二阶 段的部分年份在"一带一路"概念提出前的变化是出于其他因素的影响,因此最终将总体的发 展演变过程分为三个阶段,第一阶段为2009-2014年,第二阶段为2015-2017年,第三阶段为 2018-2019年。综合考虑各因素将第一阶段命名为起步探索阶段,第二阶段命名为快速发展 阶段,第三阶段命名为稳步提升阶段。在此基础上分别对各阶段的科技合作情况进行具体探 究。

分类数	误差函数	最优分割结果
2	2. 297944	1–6, 7–11
3	1. 474356	1-6, 7-9, 10-11
4	0. 752767	1, 2–6, 7–9, 10–11
5	0. 465852	1, 2–3, 4–6, 7–9, 10–11
6	0. 216567	1, 2–3, 4–6, 7–9, 10, 11
7	0. 082298	1, 2–3, 4–5, 6, 7–9, 10, 11
8	0. 046515	1, 2–3, 4, 5, 6, 7–9, 10, 11
9	0. 019821	1, 2–3, 4, 5, 6, 7–8, 9, 10, 11
10	0. 006696	1, 2–3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11

表2有序样本最优分割结果分类表

# 论文、专利合作网络拓扑结构分析

在对中国与"一带一路"沿线64国间2009-2019年科技合作阶段进行划分的基础上, 选取 划分后的2009年、2014年、2017年、2019年4个时间节点开展具体分析。分别构建包括中国在 内65国间的专利合作网络、论文合作网络以及总体科技创新网络。并探究网络的总体结构特 征变化以及中国在网络中的地位。

运用Gephi分别对4个时间节点的专利合作网络和论文合作网络进行可视化。在可视化网络拓扑结构中,节点的大小通过各国的加权点度中心度值表示,而边的粗细则运用节点国家间的论文或专利合作强度表示。

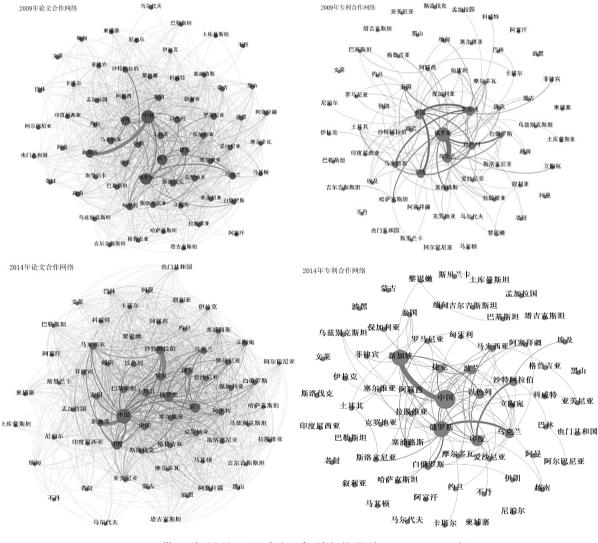
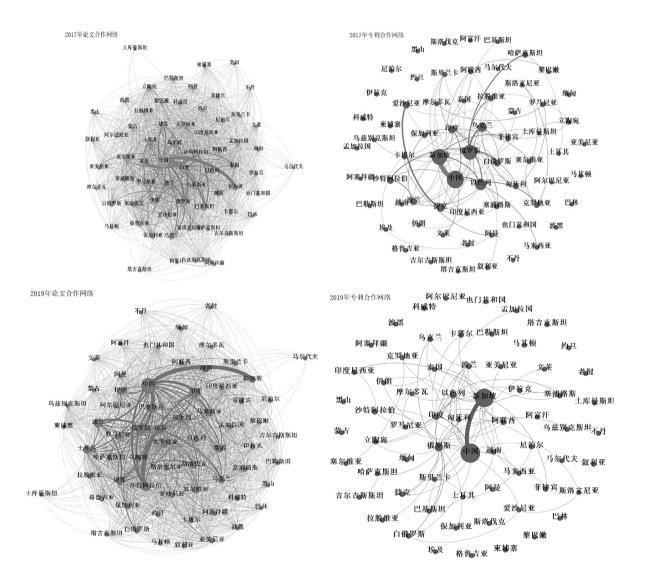


图2"一带一路"沿线65国论文、专利合作网络 (2009-2019年)



过对比2009-2019年间论文合作网络和专利合作网络的特征可以发现;总体来说论文合作网络中各国家的联系相较于专利合作网络更为密切,"一带一路"沿线65国基本都参与其中。 而专利合作网络则存在较多边缘型国家,网络的总体联系程度较低。同时各网络中核心国家和边缘国家间的等级差距较大,网络的极核程度均较高。

进一步研究2009-2019年间论文合作网络与专利合作网络的演变趋势可以发现:2009年 论文合作网络中中国、俄罗斯的加权点度中心度最高,处于网络核心地位,同时网络中也存在 波兰、捷克等不同等级的次级核心;而专利合作网络中俄罗斯加权点度中心度最高为网络的 核心国家,其次为中国、新加坡、乌克兰等次级核心,国家间等级差距明显,核心国家和边缘国 家间的差距较大。对比论文合作网络和专利合作网络可以发现虽核心国家大致相同,但次级 核心国家间的排序则存在较大差异。2014年论文合作网络和专利合作网络的总体格局并没有 明显变化,论文合作网络中各国的联系更加紧密,而专利合作网络的"核心-边缘"结构仍然显 著。且中国在网络中的地位得到明显的提升,论文合作网络中中国成为唯一核心国家;专利合 作网络中新加坡、中国发展为网络的核心国家,俄罗斯的地位出现下降。2017年论文合作网络 多极化趋势更为显著,且国家间较强的合作联系大多以中国为中心出发,其中国家间联系强度

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值达到2000以上的13个国家对间有6条联系与中国直接相连,中国由网络的核心位置逐渐发展为网络的主导国家;而专利合作网络则没有表现出较大变化。2019年论文合作网络结构和2017年相似,专利合作网络的极化趋势则更加显著,除中国和新加坡两个极核外,其他国家都表现为边缘型国家。

在此基础上总结各网络的变化趋势可以发现:论文合作网络的总体联系紧密程度不断增强,边缘型国家逐渐融入到论文合作网络中,国家间的等级差距不断缩小,不同等级国家数量分布均匀,网络呈现多极化趋势。且中国一直处于网络的核心位置,地位不断升高。专利合作网络中各国家间的联系较为松散,多数国家都处于网络的边缘位置,与其他国家的联系并不密切。网络的总体演变呈现出"极化-多极化-极化"的态势,前期俄罗斯处于网络的核心地位,中国、新加坡等国家处于第二梯队;到2014年,中国、新加坡的加权点度中心度不断增加处于核心位置,网络呈现出多极化趋势;后期中国和新加坡成为网络中唯二的核心国家,各国的联系又呈现出极化的态势。

#### 总体科技合作网络构建

综合考虑论文合作数据和专利合作数据,构建总体科技创新网络,以探究各国的综合科 技创新地位。

首先对专利合作网络和论文合作网络进行标准化处理, 消除各网络的量纲, 考虑到专利合作网络、论文合作网络以及整合后的总体科技创新网络中各国家间的联系不存在负值, 因此我们分别对专利合作网络 $A_{N\times N}$ 以及论文合作网络 $B_{N\times N}$ 使用极差标准化的方法, 即,  $V_{\bar{\kappa}^{\#}\ell\ell} = \frac{V_{ij} - V_{\bar{k}^{\wedge}\ell\bar{\ell}}}{V_{\bar{k}^{\wedge}\ell\bar{\ell}} - V_{\bar{k}^{\wedge}\ell\bar{\ell}}},$  得到 $A_{\bar{\kappa}^{\#}\ell\ell}; B_{\bar{\kappa}^{\#}\ell\ell};$ 在此基础上考虑到论文合作和专利合作对于国家间科技合作的影响相当,因此对两个网络选取相同的权重;得到总体科技创新网络C。

综合分析总体科技创新网络可以发现其拓扑结构介于论文合作网络和专利合作网络之间,存在典型的核心国家和边缘国家,核心国家和核心国家间的科技创新联系强度普遍较大, 而和边缘国家间的联系强度较小;边缘国家和边缘国家间的联系则较为微弱。

进一步分析2009-2019年总体科技创新网络的演化特征可以发现, 各国间的创新联系不断紧密, 网络的总体联系强度呈现不断增强态势。中国在网络中逐渐发展成为核心国家并逐步处于网络的主导地位。同时总体科技创新网络不断向多极化趋势演化, 虽然逐渐由俄罗斯和中国两大核心国家转变为仅有中国一个核心国家, 但次级核心国家数量不断增多, 不同

等级国家的数量逐渐符合正态分布的特点。

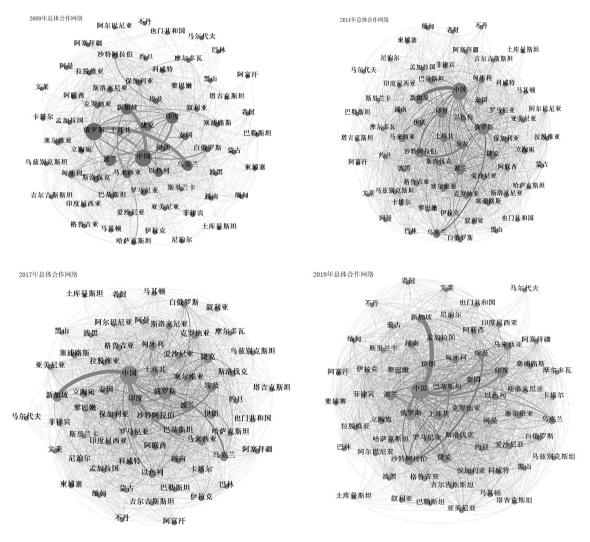


图3"一带一路"沿线65国总体科技创新网络(2009-2019年)

# 动力机制研究

在前文研究的基础上对"一带一路"沿线国家科技创新网络演化的动力机制开展探究。为 进一步提高"一带一路"沿线国家间的科技合作水平,实现沿线国家间科技创新全面协调发展 提供理论基础。

## 动力机制指标体系的选取

依据Boschma提出的影响行为主体间科技交流合作的五种临近性, 即认知邻近性、社会 邻近性、组织邻近性、制度邻近性和地理邻近性的概念<sup>[19]</sup>,并借鉴相关学者的研究成果,以及 一带一路沿线国家间的科技合作情况,我们从地理邻近性;语言邻近性;贸易邻近性;社会邻 近性;制度邻近性;经济邻近性6个角度出发, 探讨影响"一带一路"沿线国家科技创新网络演 化的动力机制。并依据数据的可得性和准确性,在此基础上具体选取8项指标进行具体回归分 析。

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其中地理邻近性通过地理0-1矩阵表示,两个国家边界相邻则为1,不相邻则为0;语言邻 近性通过语言0-1矩阵表示,两国具有相同的官方语言则为1,不同则为0。社会邻近性借鉴刘 承良<sup>[20]</sup>、杜德斌<sup>[21]</sup>等人的研究方法,运用杰卡德指数 (Jaccard index) 进行衡量,杰卡德指数 越高,表明两国间的社会邻近性越强<sup>[22]-[23]</sup>。其含义是两个集合A和B的交集元素在A与B的并 集中所占的比例,本文基于"一带一路"沿线国家之间的科技创新联系强度值构建的杰卡德指 数进行计算,其计算公式如下:

$$Jac(i,j) = \frac{I_{ij}}{C(i) + C(j) - I_{ij}}$$

式中: C (*i*)、C (*j*)分别为国家i和j的创新联系强度中心性,即国家i与所有国家的两两合作的 总和。

在此基础上进一步加入两国间总人口数构建总人口差值网络,两国间总人口差值越小表 明两国间的社会邻近性越强。贸易邻近性选取各国的高科技出口占制成品出口的百分比的指标进行衡量,并在此基础上构建差值网络,差值越小表明两国间的贸易邻近性越强。制度邻 近性借鉴党兴华<sup>[24]</sup>、贺灿飞<sup>[25]</sup>等人的研究成果,选取由美国传统基金会和华尔街日报2009-2019年联合发布的《全球经济自由度指数》中各国的经济自由度指数进行衡量,并在此基础 上构建各国间的经济自由度差值网络,差值越小表明两国间的制度邻近性却强。《全球经济自 由度指数》从商业自由度、投资自由、贸易自由化、财务自由、财政自由、产权、政府支出、腐败 状况、货币自由、劳动自由共10个方面对每个经济体的经济自由度进行打分,充分体现了各国 政府的制度特点。经济临近性选取各国的GDP和人均GDP两个指标来衡量,分别构建GDP和 人均GDP差值网络,差值越小,表明两国间的经济邻近性越强。

影响因素	变量	符号	说明
地理邻近性	地理相邻	Geo	为国家i与国家j是否相邻, 相邻则为1, 不相邻则 为0
语言邻近性	官方语言	Lan	为国家i与国家j是否为相同的官方语言,相同则为 1, 不同则为0
贸易邻近性	高科技出口 (占制成品 出口的百分比)	Tec	为国家i与国家j间高科技出口百分比差值
社会邻近性	杰卡德指数	Jac	为国家i与国家j的杰卡德相似系数
	总人口数	Рор	为国家i与国家j间总人口数的差值
制度邻近性	经济自由度指数	IEF	为国家i与国家j间经济自由度指数的差值
经济邻近性	人均GDP	PerGDP	为国家i与国家j间人均GDP的差值
	GDP	GDP	为国家i与国家j间GDP的差值

表3 QAP模型指标体系构建

#### QAP模型建构

在回归模型选取方面,考虑到传统的回归模型在进行回归建模时首先要考虑变量的多重 共线性问题,对于本文的矩阵型数据将无法准确检验各数据间的关系。因此,本文采用QAP回 归的方法来分析"一带一路"沿线国家科技创新网络演化的动力机制。QAP回归的方法主要通 过对矩阵相关系数进行非参数检验来解决矩阵之间的要素相似性问题,因而对于矩阵型数据 其分析结果更为稳健。

构建模型表达式如下:

#### Q(i,j) = f(Geo, Lan, Tec, Jac, Pop, IEF, PerGDP, GDP)

式中,以"一带一路"沿线65国间的总体科技创新网络Q (i, j)为因变量,地理相邻 (Geo)、官方语言 (Lan)、高科技出口 (占制成品出口的百分比) (Tec)、杰卡德指数 (Jac)、总人口 (Pop)、经济自由度指数 (IEF)、人均GDP (PerGDP)、GDP为自变量进行OAP建模。

对除0-1矩阵之外的所有矩阵均进行极差标准化处理, 消除各矩阵的量纲。并在此基础上 分别对4个时间节点进行QAP模型的构建。为保证回归的准确性对于部分数据缺失的国家先 进行剔除后再进行QAP相关性分析和回归建模。

#### QAP相关性分析

分别对选取的各项指标进行QAP相关性分析,初步剔除不显著的指标。通过观察表5-2可以发现2009-2019年选取的8项指标大部分和总体科技创新网络都表现出较强的相关性。

	200	9年	2014年		2017年		2019年	
变量	相关系数	显著性水 平	相关系数	显著性水 平	相关系数	显著性水 平	相关系数	显著性水 平
Geo	0. 206	0.000***	0. 171	0. 000***	0. 201	0. 000***	0. 167	0. 001***
Lan	0. 214	0. 003***	0. 147	0. 007***	0. 174	0. 001***	0. 202	0. 001***
Tec	0. 028	0.302	0. 018	0.338	-0. 014	0. 449	-0. 001	0. 569
Jac	0. 782	0.000***	0. 893	0. 000***	0.866	0. 000***	0.887	0. 000***
Рор	0. 255	0. 001***	0. 285	0. 001***	0.305	0. 002***	0. 322	0. 002***
IEF	0. 102	0. 061*	0.087	0. 059*	0.076	0. 072*	0. 061	0. 136
PerGDP	-0. 054	0. 190	-0. 082	0. 026**	-0. 088	0. 045**	-0. 110	0. 018**
GDP	0. 310	0. 001***	0. 332	0. 000***	0.369	0. 001***	0.400	0. 001***

#### 表4 QAP相关性分析

(\*\*\*、\*\* 和 \* 分别表示在 1%、5% 和 10% 的统计水平上显著)

### QAP回归分析

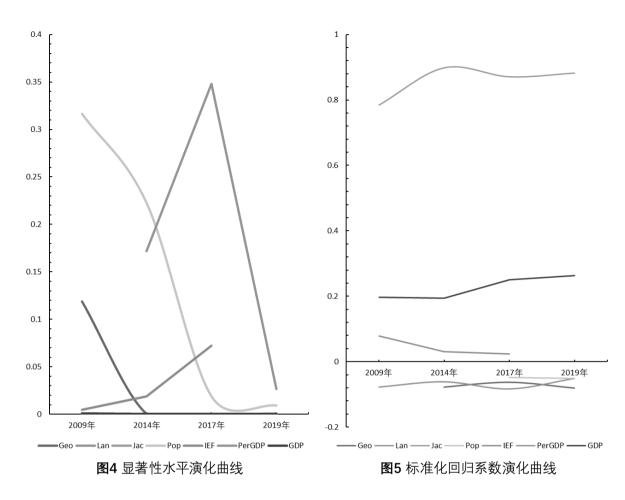
在QAP相关性分析的基础上,分别对4个时间节点上具有显著性水平的指标进行回归分析, 探究各指标对于总体科技创新网络的综合影响情况及演化趋势。

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# 表5 QAP回归分析

年份	变量	非标准化回归系数	标准化回归系数	显著性水平
2009年	Geo	-0. 006069	-0. 021186	0. 1186
	Lan	-0. 027785	-0. 077251	0. 0010***
	Jac	3. 347065	0. 785255	0. 0002***
	Рор	-0. 004582	-0. 017659	0. 3165
	IEF	0. 033005	0. 078818	0. 0046***
	GDP	0. 065742	0. 196767	0. 0006***
	R <sup>2</sup>	0. 658		
	Adj-R <sup>2</sup>	0. 657		
	Geo	-0. 025904	-0. 077587	0. 0002***
	Lan	-0. 022961	-0. 061432	0. 0002***
	Jac	5. 634723	0. 897927	0. 0002***
	Рор	-0. 006570	-0. 020574	0. 2220
2014年	IEF	0. 016095	0. 030903	0. 0190**
	PerGDP	0. 004674	0. 012294	0. 1720
	GDP	0. 081737	0. 193983	0. 0002***
	R <sup>2</sup>	0. 840		
	Adj-R <sup>2</sup>	0. 840		
	Geo	-0. 021568	-0. 062342	0. 0002***
	Lan	-0. 033899	-0. 083034	0. 0002***
	Jac	6. 196716	0. 870642	0. 0002***
	Рор	-0. 015765	-0. 048211	0. 0186**
2017年	IEF	0. 010545	0. 022855	0. 0722*
	PerGDP	0. 002039	0. 005896	0. 3479
	GDP	0. 108583	0. 250850	0. 0002***
	R <sup>2</sup>	0. 806		
	Adj-R <sup>2</sup>	0. 806		
	Geo	-0. 031732	-0. 080754	0. 0002***
	Lan	-0. 025694	-0. 051336	0. 0008***
	Jac	6. 839151	0. 881754	0. 0002***
	Рор	-0. 017903	-0. 050962	0. 0092***
2019年	PerGDP	0. 014108	0. 036187	0. 0264**
	GDP	0. 122616	0. 263344	0. 0002***
-	R <sup>2</sup>	0. 844		
	Adj-R <sup>2</sup>	0. 843		

(\*\*\*、\*\* 和 \* 分别表示在 1%、5% 和 10% 的统计水平上显著)



通过观察可以发现,地理邻近性除2009年外,都表现在1%水平上显著,表明地理位置是 否邻接对于国家间的科技创新联系强度具有显著性影响,通过回归系数的分析可以发现地理 相邻对国家间科技创新联系强度具有一定的负向作用。 但影响较小。语言邻近性一直都表现 在1%水平上显著. 表明是否拥有相同的官方语言对国家间的科技创新联系强度具有显著性影 响。观察标准化后的回归系数变化趋势可以发现其与国家间的科技创新联系成负相关,且影 响逐渐减弱。社会邻近性中杰卡德指数均表现出在1%水平上显著, 且标准化后的相关系数一 直相对稳定态势, 与国家间科技创新联系强度成正相关, 系数较大, 影响程度最高。总人口数 从2009年到2019年的显著性水平不断提高。但与国家间的科技创新联系强度的负相关性不断 增强,表明国家间总人口差距越小则科技创新联系越紧密。综合得出,国家间的社会邻近性越 强. 则科技合作越紧密。制度邻近性的显著性水平不断降低。对国家间创新联系的影响不断 减弱,表明各国间贸易、投资等政策的自由化水平不断提高,对于科技合作的限制越来越少。 经济邻近性中人均GDP对国家间科技创新联系强度的显著性水平不断提高。但回归系数较小. 2019年标准化后的回归系数达到0.036,表明人均GDP差距越大的国家间的科技创新联系越 紧密。GDP的显著性水平一直在1%水平上显著,且回归系数一直为正值表明GDP的差值越大的 国家间科技合作相对较为密切,综合考虑GDP与人均GDP可以得出,经济邻近性对国家间科技 创新联系的影响不断增大,经济邻近性越弱的国家,科技创新联系反而越密切。

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# 结论与讨论

本研究运用有序样本最优分割以及QAP建模等方法首先基于论文合作、专利合作以及项 目合作数据对2009-2019年中国与"一带一路"沿线64国间的科技合作阶段进行了划分。其次 构建不同时间阶段"一带一路"沿线65国间的专利合作网络、论文合作网络以及总体科技创新 合作网络,并在此基础上对沿线国家科技创新网络演化的动力机制进行进一步的探究。得出 以下结论:

(1)2009-2019年中国与"一带一路"沿线国家间的科技合作共可以划分为3个阶段。分别为 起步探索阶段,快速发展阶段和稳步提升阶段。

(2) 在3个阶段的发展中,论文合作网络的总体联系紧密程度不断增强,边缘型国家逐渐 融入到网络中,不同等级国家数量分布均匀,网络呈现多极化趋势。网络中存在显著的核心国 家——中国,且地位不断提高;专利合作网络中各国家间的联系较为松散,多数国家都处于网 络的边缘位置,且网络中各国家地位的差距不断拉大,出现中国、新加坡等典型的核心国家。 总体合作网络中核心国家和边缘国家的地位差距不断增加。越来越多的国家参与到网络中来, 承担"中介"的角色,网络中各国的联系不断增强。但边缘型国家仍有很多发展空间,应进一步 绕过冗余关系,加强与其他国家间的直接科技合作。

(4) 动力机制方面, 地理相邻对国家间科技创新联系强度有一定负向作用, 但影响较小。语 言邻近与国家间的科技创新联系成负相关, 且影响逐渐减弱。社会邻近性越强, 则科技合作越 紧密, 且社会邻近性是影响国家间科技合作强度的最主要因素。制度邻近性越强的国家间科 技创新联系越弱, 但随着政策的自由化水平不断提高, 对国家间科技创新联系的影响逐渐减 小。经济邻近性对国家间科技创新联系的影响不断增大, 经济邻近性越弱的国家, 科技创新联 系越密切。

为进一步提高"一带一路"沿线国家间的科技合作水平, 实现沿线国家科技创新水平全面 协调发展,提出如下对策和建议:1. 应该进一步完善交通网建设、促进通讯及互联网技术的 发展,进一步缩小地理距离的限制。2. 要充分促进不同社会文化国家间的交流和互通,互相接 纳对方的文化和社会习俗显得至关重要。3. 在逆全球化趋势下,仍应保持并进一步积极出台 相关的政策或优惠,加快对外开放的步伐;进一步放宽贸易、投资、货币等政策的自由化程度, 促进不同制度的国家间科技交流与合作更加顺畅。4. 对于经济相对发达的国家除进一步加大 与欠发达国家及边缘型国家的科技合作外,应同时注重科技的溢出和转移,实现区域内国家 科技创新水平的全面协调发展。

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# HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

# ИСТОРИЯ, ФИЛОСОФИЯ И РЕЛИГИЯ

# Daoist Sites in China - Sacred Mountains and Masters

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Abstract The sacred mountains have long played an important role in Chinese history and are known as objects of worship in some imperial rituals. The Five Great Mountains (五嶽 – Wǔyuè) refers to the most renowned mountains in China: Eastern Great Mountain (Dōngyuè): Tài Shān – 泰山, or "Tranquil Mountain"; Western Great Mountain (Xīyuè): Huā Shān – 華山, or "Splendid Mountain"; Southern Great Mountain (Nányuè): Héng Shān – 衡山, or "Balancing Mountain"; Northern Great Mountain (Běiyuè): Héng Shān – 恆山, or "Permanent Mountain" and Central Great Mountain (Zhōngyuè): Sōng Shān – 箇山, or "Lofty Mountain". They have also been the subject of imperial pilgrimages by emperors throughout the ages and nowadays are associated with the Four Sacred Mountains of Buddhism<sup>1</sup> and the Four Sacred Mountains of Daoism.<sup>2</sup>

Keywords: sacred mountains, Daiost sites, Laozi, Zhang Daoling, Perfect Warrior (zhen wu)

## Introduction

In Chinese cosmology the heavenly realm is held up by five major pillars: the sacred mountains that consist of multiple peaks and tend to rise rather steeply from the surrounding planes. Each one of Wǔyuè has a leading mountain god, or spirit embedded in the supernatural hierarchy under the rule of the Jade Emperor. Serving in various celestial departments, these deities outrank those of lesser peaks and social organizations, such as the city temples. "A most potent sign for an emperor having achieved cosmic harmony was his performance of the Feng and Shan sacrifices on Mount Tai, the sacred peak of the East."<sup>3</sup> The allusion refers to the Dragon King of the Eastern Sea – the chief officer in charge of water and rain making. He is higher in status that his counterpart in a mere lake or river.

As it was mentioned above, the most famous in China are the sacred Mountains of the Four Cardinal Directions and the Center. According to one of the earliest Chinese creation myths, the earth is flat and square and is covered by the round, all-embracing Heaven. The overall shape of the earth and the sky is like a turtle. Within this cosmo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wŭtái Shān, Éméi Shān, Jĭuhuá Shān and Pŭtuó Shān.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wǔdāng Shān, Lónghǔ Shān, Qíyūn Shān and Qīngchéng Shān.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kohn Livia. Sacred Mountains – http://liviatoursjapan.com/11-mountains

logical framework, the heavenly realm is held up by five major pillars, i.e. the sacred mountains Wuyuè. In Daoism the five mountains are represented by cosmic talismans which are the most potent objects among many divine charts. Ancient diagrams for various geographical locations resemble maps endowed with magical power. In the old days these symbolic representations bestowed control over the land to their owner. In the same manner the talismans of the Five Sacred Mountains granted universal power over the country.

"More specifically, Mount Tai – 泰山 is near Confucius's birthplace in Qufu – 曲阜 (Shandong) and has traditionally been the realm of the dead, lorded over and judged by its deity, the Lord of Mount Tai (*Tai-shan fujun* – 泰山府君)."<sup>4</sup> His daughter is the Goddess of the Morning Clouds (*Bixia yuanjun* – 碧霞元君) – a very popular Daoist deity. People pray to the goddess with hope that she will bring them children, prosperity, and good fortune. Mount Song – 嵩山 is located in the center, near Luoyang 洛阳 (Henan) and pays homage to a variety of Daoist saints and historical heroes. It is better known for being close to the center of Buddhist martial arts, the Shaolin Monastery – 少林寺.

Mount Hua – 华山 is in the West, about 80 miles east of Xi'an and consists of five highly dangerous peaks. It is famous for being the home of the Hairy Lady (Maonü – 毛 女) at the court of the First Emperor. The legend tells that she fled into the mountains and became immortal. Unfortunately, she was discovered several centuries later and duly killed by civilization. "In addition, it housed the early Song master Chen Tuan – 陈抟 (d. 989), famous physiognomist and adviser to emperors, who developed ecstatic shamanic journeys called "sleep exercises."<sup>5</sup> Mount Heng – 恒山 is in the North, near Datong – 大同 (Shanxi) and is renowned for its temples hanging from steep cliffs.<sup>6</sup>

The other Mount Heng – 衡山 is located in the South, near Changsha – 长沙 (Hunan). The immortal lady Wei Huacun – 魏华存 (251–334) used to live there in seclusion. "A senior leader of the early Celestial Masters, she perfected personal cultivation and ascended to the heavens, from where she appeared to the medium Yang Xi in the 360s, providing key information on the newly discovered heaven of Highest Clarity (Shangqing – 上 清) and thus becoming a major revelatory deity of this school."<sup>7</sup> Her independence and spiritual strength has inspired numerous Daoist nuns and female practitioners. The women's Kundao Academy is close to her sanctuary<sup>8</sup>. The five sacred mountains have become leading religious tourist destinations in China.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Beyond the conventional gender distinctions, members of Daoist monasticism no longer think of themselves as men and women. Instead, they call themselves "Heaven Dao" (qiandao – 乾道) and "Earth Dao" (kundao – 坤道). Their community makes no difference among male and female ranks, status, activities, or clothing.



<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Numerous bamboo slips found in tombs from the Han dynasty onward contain petitions addressed to him as much as other Daoist gods. These ancient records include lists of grave goods and presents to be given to the responsible otherworldly bureaucrats.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It provided refuge to the Tang immortal Zhang Guolao – 张果老, a member of the Eight Immortals who excelled in magic, herbalism, and martial arts.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

There are numerous Daoist mountains all over China – the building or rebuilding of temples sets up an increasingly tourist-friendly infrastructure. The top location for Daoist martial arts is Mount Wudang, where it is claimed that Zhang Sanfeng observed the fighting animals. A well-known religious center in the Tang dynasty, in early Ming it became a major Daoist sanctuary. By then it was believed that Mount Wudang protected the imperial house and served as the main worship place of the Perfect Warrior (Zhenwu –  $\pm$   $\pm$ ).<sup>9</sup> He appeared in various manifestations at court and was honored in various inscriptions and records. His hagiography had grown to ever longer accounts of miraculous lives and military exploits: even a national cult had been developed.

Between 1405 and 1418 Zhenwu's center on Mount Wudang greatly expanded and the Ming rulers organized regular sacrifices for the Perfect Warrior. "Bolstered by imperial patronage, the god was adopted by both leading Daoist schools, Complete Perfection and Celestial Masters, and he grew into an increasingly popular figure. He also became the protector of Daoist martial arts, described vividly in the late-Ming novel Fengshen yanyi – 封神演义 (Creation of the Gods), where Lord Lao appears variously to fight for the righteous, give advice, provide weapons, and mastermind battle plans."<sup>10</sup> Located northwest of Wuhan, the capital of Hubei, there is a cluster of ancient Daoist temples between the peaks and precipices of Mount Wudang. Today it counts fifty-three ancient buildings and nine architectural sites. (Chao Shin-yi 2011: 133)

The highest and most important is the Golden Peak (Jinding – 金顶) with its elaborate temple complex and impressive bronze statue of the Perfect Warrior weighing about two tons. The other major temple is the Palace of the Purple Clouds (Zixiao gong – 紫霄宫) covering an area of two acres and including numerous halls and shrines with the Palace of the Southern Cliff (Nanyan gong – 南岩宫) nearby. As the name implies, it is a set of buildings carved right into the steep cliff side. The entire mountain is a protected natural park under the auspices of the Department of Tourism and has been declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1994.

A popular retreat for Westerners in the Wudang range is the Wu-xian guan – 五仙观 (Five Immortals Temple) on Baima shan – 白马山 (White Horse Mountain). Run by Master Li 李 (born in 1964), an accomplished and widely trained Daoist master, it houses about 30 students who engage in various practices. Besides martial arts, they include scripture studies and various forms of internal cultivation, especially internal alchemy. Livia Kohn reports that she followed many of the rituals at the Daoist temple and found Master Li to be "of good humor and exceptional understanding of Dao, as well as an inspiring

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "Originally called Dark Warrior (Xuanwu – 玄武), indicating a constellation in the northern sky and depicted as an intertwined turtle and snake, this figure soon appeared as a mighty warrior. His rise to imperial protector began in the Song, when he was seen as the latent force behind the universe and was associated with potent protector deities of tantric background." Kohn Livia. Mount Wudang – http://liviatoursjapan.com/17-mount-wudang

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Kohn Livia. Mount Wudang – http://liviatoursjapan.com/17-mount-wudang

practitioner of water and fire *Taiji* and *Gongfu*. I found that immersing myself in a temple environment was very beneficial for my own understanding."<sup>11</sup>

All the major sites connected to major events in Laozi's life in China have long been honored with memorial inscriptions and awarded with temples, painted images and statues. "His birthplace in Bozhou, now located in a town called Luyi – 鹿邑 on the Anhui-Henan border, is the site of a major temple, the Taiqing gong – 太清宫 (Great Clarity Palace), built around one of the oldest Daoist steles, the Shengmu bei – 圣母碑 (Holy Mother Stele), erected in honor of Laozi's mother in 153 CE."<sup>12</sup> The place where the sage transmitted *Daodejing* to Yin Xi is known as Louguan tai – 楼观台 (Lookout Tower), located about 80 miles southwest of Xi'an. Nearby is situated also the largest state-sponsored Daoist monastery in the Tang, *Zongsheng* guan – 宗圣观 (Monastery of the Ancestral Sage).

The 'meeting place' in the market of Chengdu grew into the major sanctuary *Qing-yang gong*, which name represents the sign of the ram. "In the Qing dynasty, the site was expanded to house the Erxian'an – 二仙庵 (Two Immortals' Hermitage), dedicated to Lü Dongbin and Han Xiangzi 韩箱子 of the Eight Immortals and serving as a state-sponsored center for the printing and distribution of Daoist scriptures." (Johnson 2012: 93) After the Cultural Revolution, the three sites have experienced an amazing revival – the original temples were fully restored in large exhibition areas. This renovation was followed by the creation of impressive archaeological parks.<sup>13</sup> In eastern Henan is located another major Daoist center dedicated to the semi-legendary figure of Laozi – 老子 "later to be identified with Dao itself and divinized as Highest Lord Lao (Taishang Laojun – 太上老君), rising eventually to the status of leading deity and member of the Three Pure Ones."<sup>14</sup>

According to early sources he was born as Li Er – 李耳 or Li Dan – 李旦 in Bozhou – 亳 州 and lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE serving as an official scribe under the Zhou dynasty. The Old Master had both eminent knowledge of the rites and strong reclusive tendencies; Confucius heard of him and went to learn his teaching. His own doctrine was rebuffed, but he came away with such a deep impression that he compared Laozi to a dragon (Kohn, 2008). Following the legend, Lord Lao felt that the dynasty was declining and left China for the western lands (India) but was stopped by the border guard Yin Xi – 尹喜 who was astonished by the immense energy of the Master. He asked the sage to transmit his ideas and compiled them into the *Daodejing* – 道德经.

In a medieval expansion of the story Yin Xi begged Master Lao to take him along on his travels. Laozi denied the request and told him to practice self-cultivation and chant

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Kohn Livia. New Expansions – http://liviatoursjapan.com/14-new-expansions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Historically accurate and built in cooperation with top scholars at leading universities, they include the life-sized model of a Warring States village with watch tower, living quarters, and kitchens in the Taiqing gong, and the complete reconstruction of huge, imperially sponsored monasteries at *Louguantai* and in Chengdu, where the Erxian'an is now the Culture Park.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kohn Livia. Laozi – http://liviatoursjapan.com/13-laozi

the *Daodejing* 10,000 times over a three-year period, then meet up with him further west in Sichuan. He was to look for the sign of a black ram (qingyang – 青羊) for sale in the market of Chengdu, and follow its owner home, where Laozi would be staying. "According to the myth, all this came to pass, and the two sages set off toward the West, where they underwent a series of ordeals, reminiscent of the myth of the hero, and finally succeeded to "covert the barbarians" (huahu – 化胡), leading to the rise of an Indian version of the religion, identified as Buddhism."<sup>15</sup>

Beyond these tales connected to the semi-historical Laozi, the doctrine of Daojia represents him appearing numerous times in the world, from the very creation of the universe, where he emerged as the pure power of Dao, through all the major stages of cultural development, which he guided by appearing as sagely imperial adviser, to various miraculous appearances as emperors and leading Daoists, indicating his approval of certain reigns and policies. As a deity Laozi is believed to have a variety of healing powers as well as meditation exercises, which enabled him to rescue and protect the people in need. The most prominent Daoist sites are associated with the founding of major schools, commemorating the revelation of the Dao-scriptures to leading masters. Among the earliest is the appearance of Lord Lao to Zhang Daoling – 张道陵 in Sichuan – the area of several mountains, of which most important are Qingcheng shan – 青城山 and Heming shan – 鹤 鸣山. (De Bernardi 2010: 207)

The abovementioned event led to the founding of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi – 天师), still strong in southeast China. The school is also known as the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) and stems from the year 142 CE when its founder Zhang Daoling had a vision of Laozi. The Old Master told him that the end of the world is coming soon, and he was chosen to instruct the people to prepare themselves for the "momentous changes by becoming morally pure so they could serve as the 'seed people' of the new age of Great Peace" (Kohn 2008: 65). Zhang was given the title 'Celestial Master' and had attained healing powers as a sign that he is the deity's representative on Earth. He took five peck of rise from each of his followers and organized the school into tight units controlling it with a strict moral code and ritual schedule. This led to the creation of a semi-independent state on a religious and ritual basis.

By the same time in East China was founded a similar organization known as the Way of Great Peace (Taiping). In many aspects it reproduces the pattern of the Celestial Masters, but there are some differences between their soteriologies. In contrast with Zhang Daoling's school, which hoped to see the transformation of the world by natural means, "The leaders of Great Peace decided to help it along and in the next *jiazi* year (184), rose in rebellion" (Kohn 2008: 65). It was known as the Yellow Turbans uprising after the color of the kerchiefs, they wore to show their goal of replacing the mandate of the Han with their government under the phase of the Earth (its color in the traditional Chinese cosmology is yellow).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

Besides the prominent Celestial Master's Cave (Tianshi dong – 天师洞), a large monastery a short walk up the hill, Qingcheng shan has "a flourishing hotel community at its base, sports a gigantic statue of Lord Lao on the central peak, offers accommodation and restaurants at the top, and is easily accessible by cable car".<sup>16</sup> It is also the site of the second major Daoist Academy run by the Daoist Associations. Heming shan, in contrast, is less developed – an active fraternity of monks and nuns, whose buildings were badly damaged in the 2008 earthquake – receives few visitors. To encourage more tourists, the local authorities have created a new version of the site on a nearby hill, with big and modern but largely empty worship halls, a few talisman and souvenir stands, plus a prominent vegetarian Daoist restaurant nearby. This relocation allows the religious practitioners to pursue their cultivation while tourists get to see a modern, popular version of the sanctuary.

A second major Daoist revelation took place in the 360s on Maoshan – 茅山 near Nanjing, when various immortals such as Wei Huacun connected to the medium Yang Xi, hired by the aristocratic Xu family to inquire about the fate of their ancestors. "They described in detail the heaven of Highest Clarity (Shangqing – 上清) with its illustrious denizens and also provided meditation and practice instructions that allowed dedicated practitioners to communicate with and eventually become one of them."<sup>17</sup> The Maoshan monastery complex was badly damaged during the Cultural Revolution and recovered slowly. Its two sides follow rather different economic models resembling the model of Heming shan.

"Monks on the north side toward the district center of Jurong – 句容 closely worked with the authorities, attracted large amounts in investment, encouraged the creation of a natural park or "scenic area," erected a gigantic Lord Lao at the top, and sponsored various health enhancement ventures, overall vigorously commercializing the site."<sup>18</sup> Unlike them, the nuns on the south side focused more on religious and cultivation practices. They refused to take entrance fees or to accept state-sponsored funding and instead attracted private donors sponsoring their spiritual goals. By training a music troupe that rose to great renown, the nuns put Daoist culture on the map. Their halls are less ostentatious and more spiritually potent or "numinous" (ling –  $\overline{R}$ ), they provide fewer tourist facilities, and generally attract a clientele that is more thoughtful and devout. (Hahn 2000: 687)

In contrast with the followers of the Way of Great Peace, those of the Celestial Masters used to be advisers to the potent ruler, rather than rebels – they survived and grew after the decease of Master Zhang Daoling. His grandson Zhang Lu united the school with another local cult run by Zhang Xiu and as a result the new organization took control over a large territory of southwest China with a strong inner structure and ritual system. (Kohn,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Kohn Livia. Daoist Sites – http://liviatoursjapan.com/12-daoist-sites

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid.

2008). The current Celestial Master is 65<sup>th</sup> in his lineage and the priests of the sect reside in a wide network of Daoist temples and communities specializing in purification, healing and cosmic renewal practices.

#### Conclusion

Since Daoism is about learning, cultivating and performing the Dao, the 'three main' treasures mean the Way itself, the Classics of Dao and the Masters of Dao. For practitioners, the "Three Treasures" imply Jing, Qi and Sheng, or in other words one's essence, vital energy and divine consciousness. These are the spiritual gems within oneself that must be gathered and transformed to attain Dao. For people who are in the process of inner cultivation, the treasures require benevolence, frugality and humility in order to achieve perfection and spread the Way among others. The diffuseness and specificity of Daoist culture is an interpretative key to the Chinese spirit – the local thought, lifestyle, religious life and society as a whole.

Everywhere in the vast land of China we find monasteries, local shrines, altars and other places of worship dotting the landscape. These places are indications of the role of Daoism in Chinese society as a cultural significance and patterns of social reality. The Daoist concept of human nature represents a basic worldview-system, which has strong influence upon the further development of Chinese philosophy. The holistic Chinese view can be achieved only by a person who stands for the position of identity, being mindful about the differences – mutual agreement without erasing the divergence. People who share a common theoretical concept of humanity practically realize that it concerns every individual who is called upon to develop and integrate it in his unique and at the same time universal way of life (*Dao* as *individual path*) in such a manner as to be able to share with others the same goal, pursuing it by different means.

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# The Color of the Divine: On the Symbolism of White Among the Brogpa of Ladakh

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Abstract

The color white is an unceasing presence in the snow-capped summits of Ladakh, towering over the desert landscapes which dominate the space. Located beyond the reach of human activity, these highland points are conceptualized as borderlands connecting the human realm and the divine. In the tripartite universe of pre-Buddhist cosmology in the Tibetan cultural region, white is the color of the upper world and the deities lha who inhabit it. The present paper will outline some aspects of the conceptual significance of the color white, reflecting social and religious patterns among the ethnolinguistic community Brogpa, inhabiting three villages along the Indus valley.

Keywords: Brogpa, lha, white, lha-bdag, lha-pa, lha-mo, bro-mgo-pa, Ladakh

The problem of the cultural significance of the colour white in Ladakh has been investigated by the French anthropologist Pascal Dollfus. In her article *Colors and Materials of White in Ladakh* (Dollfus 2020) she delves into the cultural, religious and socioeconomic significance of white, which she describes as 'absent' from the commonly used textiles in the region. Associated mainly with the common folk, who made their clothes from undyed or badly dyed fabrics, it has acquired the connotation of low social status, expressed with the term *skyao* translated as 'the Greys', 'the Colorless', or 'the Whites' (Dollfus 2020: 54). Here white is juxtaposed to 'radiance' or 'lustre', which belongs to the domain of the sacred. It also refers to abstract concepts like 'light, purity, benevolence', as well as to moral qualities and notions of auspiciousness. White in itself, she argues, 'never comes alone and only takes on its meaning when associated with other colours' (Dollfus 2020: 57).

The present paper will further explore this subject, delving into the religious significance of white and its reflection in the material culture of the small ethnolinguistic community in Ladakh, called Brogpa. Among them white is conceptually related to the divine sphere and, through the materials used for clothing and ritual attire, is projected into the human realm, outlining and signifying people's engagement with it. The paper relies on data gathered during seven fieldworks in their villages between 2010 and 2017.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The research is part of a joint project with my colleague Indologist Aleksandar Bogdanov, aiming to document the culture and oral lore of the Brogpa in Ladakh in the context of socio-cultural and economic changes in the region.

Brogpa<sup>2</sup> is a Dardic-speaking<sup>3</sup> group with a population of a little less than 3000 people, inhabiting three villages, namely Dah, Garkon and Darchicks, situated in the northern part of the Indus Valley, near the LOC. Their relatively late and gradual conversion to Buddhism as well as particular religious notions and social practices, have contributed to the preservation of various pre-Buddhist cultural specifics, some of which can be linked to the Tibetan folk religion (Tucci 1980; Samuel 1993), a term, referring to an archaic stratum of vernacular beliefs and practices, while others can be viewed as indigenous to the community, sharing traits with other ethnic groups in Gilgit-Baltistan like Hunza and Kalasha (Vohra 1989: 69–76).

At the centre of this complex religious synthesis is *lha* – a divine class encompassing a wide range of deities, generally conceptualised as celestial beings, related to heavenly phenomena. With the arrival of Buddhism, many of them were assimilated and given ranks as protectors (*chos-skyong*) of the Buddhist Law. Tucci notes that this process was facilitated by the 'remarkable analogies between the local traditions and the world of Tantrism', both of which were 'governed by a similar psychological atmosphere' (Tucci 1980: 163).

Among Brogpa, in accordance with the specific religious context, the term *lha* refers to several types of divinities, belonging to different religious strata. For analytical purposes they can be grouped into four general categories: deities, praised in the songs of the *Bonona* celebration; actively worshipped *lha*, part of the everyday ritual practices of people; *lha* embodied by the deity mediums called *lha-pa* and *lha-mo*; and lastly, a multitude of deities I refer to as *nameless lha* for analytical purposes – they are devoid of personal traits, names, places of worship, or specific genealogies and imagined as a homogenous group. Some of the characteristics of the *Bonona* deities and the *nameless lha* could suggest that they have been identified as *lha* at a later stage.

The Brogpa *lha* are often described as *sho* (šo) or 'white', a word etymologically related to the OIA word ś*veta*, meaning 'light' (Sharma 1998: 152). The colour white is mentioned as a distinct characteristic of *lha* in other Tibetan cultural area studies<sup>4</sup>. Among the community, however, this notion has specific implications reflected in the local oral lore and religious practice, which will be briefly discussed here. A starting point will be the outer appearance of *lha* as described by informants of the community. Below are four excerpts of interviews with people who claim to have seen the deities under different circumstances:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Brogpa's language is a dialect of Shina, designated with the Ladakhi/Tibetan term Brogskad. This linguonym, however, is largely unused by the community itself, which refers to its language as asi spera (lit. 'our tongue'), in contrast to other locally used vernaculars like Ladakhi and nowadays Hindi and Urdu. <sup>4</sup> See Samuel (1993: 163), Bellezza (2012: 14), Tucci (1949: 720), Day (1989: 564).



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'Brogpa' is an exonym given to the community by their Ladakhi neighbours. It is problematic as it refers to unrelated ethnic groups like the Brogpa in Bhutan and their language. In the local context, it also carries a pejorative connotation of 'wild' and 'uncultured'. However, its adoption by the community motivates my decision to apply it here. In academic literature, the community is also referred to as Buddhist Dards (Vohra 1989); however, the designation 'Buddhist' is problematic when distinguishing its population from other ethnically related groups in the region. Nowadays, the derogatory sense of the term Brogpa pushes the community to embrace new identity labels like 'Aryan', affirmed by the tourist industry.

I have seen *lha*. Seven *lha* came. They were *white*. They were seven, and first they went that way [towards the shrine above the village]. And there, on the rock, they stood in a row.

(Tsering Norbu 'Khancho', Dah)

When I was young, I saw a *lha*, just like that, passing me by. It went upwards just like that. It went upwards. I was startled in my sleep, and saw something white passing by just like that. I was asleep in the area of Tsilgya, on the roof of Gangyaldepa's house. As I rose, I saw it soar upwards. It was a *white man*. (Tsewang Norbu Numphelpa, Dah)

[*Lha*] looked like an *old white woman*. She had *white hair, white clothes*. She wouldn't say anything. She would just carry me with her. She would take me with her, nothing else. (Tsering Dolkar Michungpa, Sanid hamlet of Dah)

He was totally *white*... He was like a man. He had a long beard. He was small and not old. It looked special. When I fell asleep, he would come as if he was sitting here next to me. And then when I stood up, he disappeared... (Stanzin Dorje Amchipa, Garkon)

As reflected in the above citations, the white appearance of *lha* is characteristic of their anthropomorphic form. Their description as old men and women could be linked to the notion of ritual purity or *shichu*, which will be discussed shortly and which Brogpa correlate to entering old age (Vohra 1989: 54). Apart from their human form, the deities *lha* are also conceptualised as something indeterminate or shapeless but white in color. This description appears in the reports of deity mediums. In interviews regarding their visions during seances and prior to the embodiment of *lha*, they claim to have seen 'something white' (Tashi Lhamo Onpopa, *lha-mo* of Garkon), 'white, pure white' (Angmo Watolpa, *lha-mo* of Dah).

Intimately related to *lha* and seen as their primary characteristic is the notion *shichu*. It is part of the conceptual dichotomy *shichu–chutu*, around which all religious and social life of Brogpa is traditionally structured. These two terms have opposing semantics – when referring to qualities or conditions, *shichu* can be roughly translated as 'pure', 'clean', and *chutu* as 'impure', and 'polluted'.<sup>5</sup> There is a high probability that the word *shichu* is related to the OIA *śucya* 'to be purified', which has come to mean 'pure' in languages fron Nuristan to Bangan, referring to honey or blood of wild goats, offered to the mountain deities known as *pari* (Bhatt et al 2014: 83). It is a derivate of the IPA *shuchi* which carries connotations like '*bright, brilliantly white, pure*'. Here a semantic link can be established between *sho* and *shichu* as innate characteristics of *lha*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> These translations reflect the views of our informants from the community. When prompted to explain their meaning in another language, the most consistent response was through the Hindi/Urdu words sāf (lit. 'clean'), and gandā (lit. 'dirty').

The relationship between *lha* and the colour white is also observed in the notions regarding Shringmo Lhamo, a deity worshipped in all Brogpa villages and perceived as a protectress of the community. She is believed to be fond of white, which is why only white kids are offered to her. In the past, when she was ritually embodied by the local deity medium *lha-pa*, she appeared before him in the form of something *"white* and hazy moving about" (Vohra 1989b: 111).

The citations, presented above reveal the notion that the human world and the divine ocassionaly intersect, and it is precisely at those points of convergance that *lha* become visible and tangible to the human perception. Delving further into Brogpa>s oral lore we find a cosmogonic myth, referring to a time prior to the formation of the human and divine spheres. According to it, in primordial times, people and deities coexisted in endless celebration until a human transgression disrupted this state and caused their separation. Based on the version documented by Rohit Vohra, this event resulted from humans succumbing to sexual pleasure through the intrigue of an old woman, possibly a deity (Vohra 1989: 37–41). Another version, recorded during our fieldwork in Dah, narrates that in the primordial times, as people and deities constantly celebrated and never separated, they could not get any work done. So a man sought an advice from an old woman who told him that *lha* are very shy and one kiss will quickly disperse them. With this knowledge, the man went back to the communal celebration and kissed *lha*, thus causing the separation of people and deities and the formation of the threefold universe.

The primordial unity of *lha* and people, related in the myth, is a central motif in some of the major religious celebrations of the community. An important aspect of its symbolic reenactment is the alignment of the human sphere with the divine in terms of ritual purity or *shichu* through purifying activities. A material representation of people's alignment with the divine, as well as of the mythological coexistence with *lha* is Brogpa's traditional dress made of *white wool*. During our fieldwork in Garkon, while conversing with an informant called Murup Phyolopa regarding ritual clothing, he gave the following account:

And so the people in the village would wear *white clothes*. In all three Brogpa villages, because of the coexistence with *lha* and *klu*, black [clothes] did not suit us. We only wore *white*.

As we can see from the quotation, the symbolism of the white dress is relegated to the divine sphere – the perception of *lha* as 'white' figures, 'clothed in white' is assimilated into or, rather, re-created through the white materials of the dress. Traditionally made of sheep wool, the women's dress consists of an upper part, nowadays referred to as *kurtni*, woollen trousers decorated with colorful textile patches on the lower leg, a cloak, called *batsi* made of white goat skin and a black cap, decorated with beads, needles, and colorful patches. In winter, a long white woollen robe is worn, offering additional protection against the cold. In the past, the male dress consisted of a long white robe called *ikta* and

trousers made of white wool, as well as a vest and an ornamented cap, made of black sheep's wool. Both men's and women's hats are decked with fresh and dried flowers, which according to some informants is done in honour of *lha*.

Nowadays, the white colour is preserved only in women's attire. Its function as an everyday garment, however, has been gradually replaced by the Indian shalwar-kameez, a trend, observable throughout Ladakh, and is now viewed more as a costume, worn mainly on special occasions like religious celebrations, the so-called 'cultural programs', organised by the government or the army, etc. Only the flower-adorned cap has been incorporated into the modern aesthetic, albeit mostly by elderly women. The white woollen *ikta* worn by men has been substituted with ready-made maroon-coloured garments, bought from outside, with only a few men owning the black vests and hats that constituted the traditional dress. However, it is worth noting that the ready accessibility of dyes and various coloured textiles has not changed traditional women's clothing, which is still produced, using exclusively white wool.

Apart from the traditional women's dress, the white fabric has been preserved in the ritual attire of a central figure in Brogpa's religious life, namely the *lha-bdag* ('master of *lha'*). Descending from family lines called *lha-bdag-pa* in which the vocation is passed down through the paternity line, the *lha-bdag* is a priestly functionary who performs various rituals for the deities and maintains their shrines *dyuha*. While there is data on similar types of practitioners in other parts of Ladakh (Pirie 2007: 97), a specific function of the Brogpa *lha-bdag* is to invite the *lha* and lead them to the village festive ground *changra* to join in people's festivities. He plays a key role during celebrations like *Bonona* and *Lo-gsar*, before which he has to observe ritual purity *shichu*, by going into seclusion near the *dyuha* for a set amount of time and abstaining from various foods and activities. While performing his priestly duties, the *lha-bdag* is dressed entirely in white – ritual clothing consisting of a long white robe and a white pointed wool cap. Before the beginning of his abstinence, he washes the white garments in a stream below *lha's* shrine called *dyuha* pior to donning them, further emphasizing the relationship between white and *shichu*.

Besides the *lha-bdag*, two more religious specialists are closely associated with *lha*, namely the deity mediums referred to as *lha-pa* ('male *lha'*) and *lha-mo* ('female *lha'*) and the main village singer, keeper of the sacred *Bonona* songs, called *bro-mgo-pa* ('leader of the dance'). A key function of *lha-pa* and *lha-mo* is to summon the deities to the human realm within a well-established ritual space. During their seances, through a series of ritual acts, their consciousness is believed to be temporarily intermitted to facilitate the embodiment of *lha* and to enable them to communicate with people and assist them in their earthly problems. Presently, the appearance of *lha-pa* and *lha-mo*'s ritual costumes is heavily influenced by Buddhist aesthetics. However, there is data that in the past the deity mediums wore the same costume as the *lha-bdag* – a long white robe and a pointed white cap. Below are two excerpts from interviews with informants who describe the attire of Tashi Phel *lha-pa* and Marzapa *lha-mo* – two deity mediums from the past:

When [*lha*] came to the *lhamo* she would put on *white clothes*. Clothes made of cotton (ras). She would put on a *white cotton garment*. A cap – she would also put on a textile cap. Afterwards she would cover her face with a fabric. From head to toe she was dressed in *white* and we would bring [her] *khatags*. We would offer the *lha-mo* the *white* scarf *khatag*. (Murup Phyolopa, Garkon)

...The hats of *lha-bdag* and *lha-mo* were the same - they wore *white hats*. A *lha-bdag's* cap was woolen and a *lha-mo's* cap was made of cloth. (Tsering Norphel Shokurpa)

According to the Phyolopa and Skokurpa the local *lha-mo* would wear a cap made of cotton, however it is not entirely clear if this had any ritual significance. A curious detail in the description is the white fabric that covered the face – nowadays partial facial covering is also part of the ritual attire of the deity mediums, however it is made either from bright red textile or ritual scarfs *kha-btags* are used. When recalling the appearance of the *lha-pa* from the past, Gangsonam Gangyaldepa, *lha-bdag* of Dah village, describes his cap as made of white wool and identical to the *lha-bdag's* cap. Rohit Vohra provides similar accounts regarding a local *lha-pa*, who, on religious celebrations, was required to wear a white ritual garb, identical to *lha-bdag's*.

Although not directly charged with religious duties, another specialist related to lha is the chief singer bro-mgo-pa (lit. 'leader of the dance'). As a keeper of Brogpa's oral lore and customs, he is ascribed a key role during all celebrations, especially in *Bonona* when he leads a performance of a corpus of sacred songs related to an archaic pantheon of divinities. Like the *lha-bdag*, the position of *bro-mgo-pa* is also passed down through the paternal line. It requires training which begins at an early age and involves spending between four to five months each year memorising the songs and learning to play the two types of drums and the surna (Vohra 1989: 61). At a later stage, depending on their preferences, the boys become either singers or musicians. The female lead singer of each village is called *bro-mgo-ma*, but she is not associated with the religious domain. Related to and complimenting bro-mgo-pa's functions are the musicians dang-dang-pa. Their music accompanies the performance of the sacred songs, and, on religious celebrations, they play a tune called *lha-rnga*, conceptualised as a form of offering to the deities. Like the bro-mgo-pa, during Bonona, they partake in ritual activities related to *lha*. In the past, they were required to dress completely in white during certain celebrations, but without the notable white pointed cap.

The present data indicated that during the celebration of *Bonona* in Dah all of the above-mentioned specialists had to observe ritual purity *shichu* by abstaining from various activities and foods and through purification rituals. The uniformity of their costumes and most specifically the requirement that they be white could signify their relationship with the divine and allude to analogies in their functions in the past.



#### Conclusions

Among the Brogpa in Ladakh the color white seems to function as a central element in the conceptual domain of *lha*. This is revealed in the reported sightings of the deities, part of the intimate religious experience of the community, in their festivities, religious rituals and living oral lore. Its reflection in Brogpa's material culture can be found in the traditional dress, nowadays preserved only among the women. Used almost exlusively on festive ocassions, it has aquired the functions of a ritual attire, a symbol not only of Brogpa's cultural identity but of the mythological past when deities and humans coexisted in endless celebration. A particularly interesting reflection of the significance of white is the ritual attire of central figures in the religious life of the community, namely the *lha*bdag, the lha-pa and lha-mo, the bro-mgo-pa and, by extension, the musicians dang-dang-pa. Presently only the *lha-bdag's* costume has been preserved and continues to serve as an important element of his ritual paraphernalia. The findings of the conducted field-research in the Brogpa villages, as well as previous data, gathered by Rohit Vohra, give base to further investigation and analysis regarding the ritual functions these cultural specialists played in the past. The similarities in their appearence and the period of abstenance they were required to undertake prior to certain celebrations allude to a semantic overlap between the notions of ritual purity (shichu) and white (sho), which will be an object of another paper.

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# Дипломатически инструменти на китайската държава в пред-Ханския и Ханския период

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# Diplomatic Tools of the Chinese State in the Pre-Han and Han Periods

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#### Abstract

The roots of Chinese diplomacy can be traced back to the early state formations of the Shang and Zhou dynasties. Until the unification of China in 221 BC, the rival Chinese kingdoms were forced to interact with each other as well as with neighbouring ethno-political entities, but true diplomacy only began to take shape in the post-Qin period. In the dualistic view of foreign relations that prevailed in the early  $2^{nd}$  century BC, the known world was effectively divided into two parts - the Chinese court and the Xiongnu exercised real power not only over the people of their own state, but also had strong political influence over numerous ethnic groups and kingdoms in the region. To achieve this, they employed a set of diplomatic tools and strategies, that are implicitly and explicitly reflected in ancient Chinese literature. Sources such as "The Commentary of Zuo" 《左传》, "The Records of the Grand Historian"《史记》, "Book of Han"《汉书》, etc. reveal the mechanisms for regulating the Chinese empire's relations with culturally diverse entities (the so-called "barbarians"). In addition to the tributary system (朝贡体系), which played a key role in early Chinese diplomacy and has been the subject of extensive academic research, several other tools were applied, usually in accordance with current political needs: dispatch of diplomatic envoys (使, 行人), exchange of hostages (质子), marriage alliances (和亲), and audiences at the imperial court (朝).

This research paper explores the formation and development of the above diplomatic tools during the pre-Han and Han periods and examines the key political, economic and ideological factors that shaped the patterns of early Chinese diplomacy.

**Keywords**: early Chinese diplomacy, tribute system, diplomatic missions, exchange of hostages, marriage alliances, imperial audiences

Китай има дълга и богата история на дипломация, която се е развивала през вековете в контекста на нарастващата политическа и икономическа роля на страната. Корените на китайската дипломация могат да се проследят до първите исторически засвидетелствани династии Шан и Джоу, когато съперничещите си царства на територията на Поднебесната са принудени да взаимодействат както помежду си, така и със съседните етнополитически образувания. Тъй нареченият пред-Хански период включва управлението на династиите Шан (1600–1066 г. пр.н.е.), Джоу (1066–221 г. пр.н.е.) и Цин (221–206 г. пр.н.е.), като бележи преход от разпокъсан и политически разделен Китай към единна и централизирана държава. Въпреки че обединението на воюващите царства в империя през 221 г. пр.н.е. отваря нова страница в китайската история, истинската дипломация се разгръща едва през династия Хан (206 г. пр.н.е.–220 г. н.е.). Политическата стабилност и разширяването на границите, които се осъществяват през Ханската епоха, полагат основите на бъдещото управление и администрация на страната. В процеса на своята териториална и културна експанзия Ханската династия целенасочено изгражда широки търговски мрежи, което от своя страна създава условия за обмен на стоки, суровини, духовни учения, знания и технологии със съседните региони.

## Исторически извори за ранната китайска дипломация

Съществуват няколко първоизточника, които предоставят ценна информация за дипломатическите инструменти и практики на китайската империя в пред-Ханския и Ханския период. "Ритуалите на Джоу"《周礼》 документират церемониите и протоколите на династия Джоу, регулиращи дипломатическия обмен. "Книга на документите" 《尚书》 съдържа набор от записи, речи и съобщения, свързани с държавните дела и дипломатическите отношения от периода на династия Западна Джоу (1066-771 г. пр.н.е.). "Летопис на Дзуо" 《左传》 представлява исторически коментар на древнокитайската класика "Хроники за периода Пролет и есен" 《春秋》 и включва подробни сведения за дипломатическите дейности, преговорите и взаимодействията между различните царства през този исторически отрязък (770-476 г. пр.н.е.). Най-надежният и изчерпателен извор са "Записките на Великия историк" 《史记》, съставени от придворния историк Съма Циен (司马迁) през I в. пр.н.е. В тях се съдържат сведения за изпращане на пратеници, размяна на дарове и други външнополитически инструменти, използвани от династиите Цин и Хан. "Книга на династия Хан"《汉书》 от Бан Гу (班固) също е важен исторически труд, посветен на историята на династия Западна Хан (206 г. пр.н.е.-23 г. н.е.). Той предоставя подробна информация за дипломатическите мисии, системите за плащане на данъци и външните отношения през първите два века на Ханската империя. "Книга на късната династия Хан"《后汉书》 от Фан Йе (范晔) обхваща историята на династия Източна Хан (25-220 г.) и съдържа информация за външните отношения, чуждестранните пратеници



и стратегиите, използвани през този период. "Речи на царствата"《国语》 е друг важен извор, който съдържа исторически сведения, политически дискусии и дипломатически разкази, касаещи периодите Пролет и есен (770–476 г. пр.н.е.) и Воюващи царства (475–221 г. пр.н.е.). Макар да се фокусира предимно върху вътрешните работи и политическите стратегии, той засяга още и въпроси, свързани с международните отношения, дипломацията и взаимодействията между регионалните царства и техните владетели.

## Субекти на дипломация в пред-Ханския и Ханския период

Ранните китайски династии прилагат различни дипломатически инструменти спрямо редица племена, етнически групи и държавни образувания в региона с цел поддържане на мирни отношения, осъществяване на културен и търговски обмен и налагане на влиянието на китайската цивилизация в по-широк диапазон. Въпреки, че не са преки източници, които се фокусират конкретно върху ранната китайска дипломация в пред-Ханския и Ханския период, надписите върху гадателни кости, бронзови съдове и каменни стели също предоставят ценна информация за обществено-политическия живот на древното китайско общество. В най-ранните писмени записи на китайската история – надписите върху гадателни кости от династия Шан – се споменават имената на над сто чуждестранни племена, които са предмет на интерес и взаимодействие от страна на китайските владетели през този период<sup>1</sup>. Сред тях са етносите цян (羌方), ту (土方), гуй (鬼方), джу (竹方) и северни рун (北戎), населяващи северните и северозападните гранични райони на Китай; племената ба (巴方), гън (亘 方), лун (龙方), дзи (基方), я (亚方), джао (召方) и др., разположени на запад; етносите бао (暴), лу (卢) и цюе (雀), обитаващи по южните граници, народите сиеню (鲜虞), юан (元), шън (侁), туй (魋), фън (逢) и др., разположени на изток и североизток, както и мн. др. (Sun 2011: 270-276; Zhao 2000: 1-17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Макар и надписите върху гадателни кости да предоставят ценна инфрмация за древното китайско общество, проучването на границите на династия Шан се основава главно на исторически сведения (по-подробно вж. Wang 2002 и Li 2004). В многобройните си изследвания видният китайски историк Тан Лан застъпва тезата, че династия Шан очевидно е била мощна държава с голяма територия, "включваща поне по-голямата част от днешните провинции Шаанси, Шанси, Хънан, Хъбей, Шандун и Дзянсу" (Tang 1958: 85). Ю Шъну обаче оспорва това мнение, като счита, че Шанските племена основно са обитавали северните и централните части на днешната провинция Хънан (Yu 1958). Уан Юджъ предлага теорията за "точки" и "области" на политическа власт, като твърди, че владенията на ранната династия Шан са били със сравнително малки размери, докато реалните предели на късната Шанска династия са включвали столицата и нейните околности, които са били под пряката юрисдикция на монарха. Що се отнася до васалните царства в далечната периферия, те са представлявали само укрепени гранични постове. В същото време, на териториите, разположени между земите под директното управление на династията и тези отдалечени гранични царства са съществували и други държавни образувания, които не са били нито в подчинени, нито във враждебни отношения с управляващия двор. Затова може да се каже, че династиите Шан и Джоу са имали само концепция за установяване на разпръснати "точки" на политическа власт на своята суверенна територия, но не и концепция за обединяване на цялата суверенна територия в една "област" на политическа власт (Wang 1982: 35-37).



Следващата династия Джоу обозначава териториите под свое управление като "Средно царство" (中国), докато съседните "варварски" народи нарича съответно със събирателните етноними източни и (东夷), западни рун (西戎), северни ди (北狄) и южни ман (南蛮), според четирите географски посоки, в които са разположени спрямо китайската държава<sup>2</sup>. През късния период на Джоу, властта и контролът на династията значително отслабват, и макар че тя формално продължава да заема позицията на централна управляваща сила, васалите придобиват все по-голяма автономност. Затова през периодите Пролет и есен и Воюващи царства, династийният двор използва различни дипломатически средства, за да балансира отношенията с мощните феодални царства Ци (齐国), Дзин (晋国), Цин (秦国), Юе (越国), У (吴国) и Чу (楚国), които проявяват различна степен на лоялност спрямо династията, а отношенията им с нея често са повлияни от борби за власт, съюзи и конфликти помежду им. Същевременно, Джоу е принудена да реагира с различни военни тактики и мирни средства, за да обуздава набезите на мощните номадски племена шан рун (山戎) и лин ху (林胡) на север, етносите източни и (东夷), юе (越) и ян (扬), разположени на югоизток, и народите ба (巴) и шу (蜀), населяващи югозападните гранични райони<sup>3</sup> (Yu 1985: 182–183).

През династия Западна Хан регионалният пейзаж и разпределението на силите стават още по-сложни с появата на историческата сцена на мощното племенно обединение на номадите *сюнну*, които постепенно се превръщат в доминираща сила в Източна Азия<sup>4</sup>. Така в дуалистичната концепция за външните отношения, която се формира в началото на II в. пр. н. е., познатият свят е разделен на две части – китайският двор и *сюнну* упражняват реална власт не само над собствените си народи, но също така имат силно политическо влияние и върху множество етнически групи и царства в региона. Сред тях са корейското царство Чосон на североизток, племената *минюе* (闽越), *нанюе* (南越) и *диен* (甸) на юг, етносите *юеджъ* (月氏), *цян* (羌), *ди* (氏) и усун (乌孙), населяващи западните и северозападните гранични територии, както и множеството оазисни градове-държави, разположени в т.нар. "западни региони" (Di Cosmo 2009: 199–214).

Гореописаните субекти на ранната китайска дипломация се различават през отделните исторически периоди, а дипломатическите стратегии на династийния двор са съобразени с конкретните обстоятелства и предизвикателства на всеки регион или етническа група. Важно е да се отбележи, че тези субекти имат сложни динамични отношения с ханците, в които често се редуват периоди на сътрудничество с периоди на съпротива срещу контрола на централното правителство. В тези процеси упра-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Вж. съответните записи в главите "Допитване до Великия Ю" от "Книга на документите" 《尚书·大禹 谟》, "Система на владетелите" от "Книга на ритуалите" 《礼记·王制》 и "Тридесет и втората година от управлението на владетеля Джуангун" от "Хроники за периода Пролет и есен" 《春秋·庄公三十二年》.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Териториите, населявани от етносите *ба* и *шу* приблизително съответстват на съвременните провинции Съчуан и Юннан.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Относно племенната федерация на *сюнну* вж. Twitchett & Loewe 1986: 377–462; Sinor 1987: 118–49; Barfield 1981: 45–61; Di Cosmo 2002: 161–205.

вляващият двор прилага серия от гъвкави политики, които гарантират запазване на династийната власт, договаряне на гранични споразумения, установяване на васални отношения и управление на взаимодействията с чуждите култури (Stuart-Fox 2003: 19–23).

#### Ранни дипломатически инструменти

Ранните дипломатически инструменти обхващат набор от стратегии, ритуали и протоколи, използвани от династиите Шан, Джоу, Цин и Хан за изграждане и поддържане на мирни връзки със съседните държави. Тези инструменти се развиват с течение на времето и някои от тях се превръщат в отличителни практики, блежещи нови етапи в разгръщането на китайската външна политика.

## 1. Трибутарна система (朝贡体系):

В изследванията на корените на китайската дипломация е почти невъзможно да бъде избегната концепцията за тъй наречената "трибутарна система" – термин, въведен от Джон К. Феърбанк и С. И. Тън още в средата на XX век<sup>5</sup>. Основната теза на авторите е, че в продължение на почти две хилядолетия чуждестранните държави са били мотивирани преди всичко от икономически интереси да участват в дипломатически обмен с Китай. Влиянието на първоначалните аргументи на Феърбанк и Тън върху последвалите течения на учени от различни области на науката е толкова силно, че за трибутарната система като аналитично понятие се спори и до днес. Трябва да се уточни обаче, че още преди официализирането на трибутарната система през династия Хан, китайската държава участва в размяна на ценни стоки, природни ресурси и селскостопански продукти със съседните държави, като този обмен активно спомага за установяване на дипломатически отношения и затвърждаване на приятелските отношения.

Абстрактните обяснения, съдържащи се в оскъдния брой пред-Хански извори, не дават ясна представа за механизмите, които регулират ранните трибутарни отношения между династията и регионалните царства. Въпреки това, те недвусмислено разкриват, че в късния период на династия Джоу васалните налози представляват физически израз на реалното или номиналното подчинение под властта на китайския монарх, като същевременно имат и икономически конотации (Selbitschka 2015: 78–80). След обединението на воюващите царства през 221 г. пр.н.е. дипломацията на Цинската империя се насочва към политическите режими на чуждестранните етноси *сюнну* (匈奴), цян (羌), ухуан (乌桓) и сиенбей (鲜卑), които представляват мощни номадски конфедерации, населяващи северните и северозападните граници на Китай (Yu 1967: 51–64). В същото време, на цинския двор се налага да се справя и с

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Вж. Fairbank & Teng 1941: 135–246.

по-малко агресивните държавни образувания, разположени на запад и северозапад, и в частност – няколкото малки оазисни градове-държави в Таримската падина<sup>6</sup>. Император Цин Шъхуан (221-210 г. пр.н.е.) прилага разнообразни реформи при изграждането на държавния апарат, включително налагането на официална политика за събиране на налози от васалните владения. По време на династия Хан тази политика става по-формализирана и институционализирана, като постепенно се превръща в ключов механизъм за регулиране на отношенията и търговията между Китай и съседните държави (Zhang and Buzan 2012: 3-36). Този механизъм, впоследствие условно наречен "трибутарна система", функционира по следния начин: васалните царства и етнически групи се задължават да признават властта на Ханската империя и периодично да плащат налози към нея под формата на ценни стоки, земеделски продукти, текстил, добитък, ресурси или други символични дарения. Така чрез своите приноси чуждестранните владетели официално потвърждават сюзеренитета на Хан и съответно претенциите на императора за универсално управление. В замяна на това китайският двор щедро отвръща с дарове от злато, коприна и зърно, но още по-важното е, че предоставя на васалите определени привилегии и защита (Yu 1967: 39, 189).

Превъзходството на трибутарната система в сравнение с останалите дипломатически инструменти се състои в това, че тя успява да приобщи политически всички "варвари" към китайския имперски ред, като по този начин се явява логично продължение на управленската система на империята, приложена в областта на външните отношения (Selbitschka 2015: 62).

#### 2. Императорски аудиенции (朝)

Аудиенциите в императорския двор са интегрална част от ритуалната дипломация и се използват като политически инструменти както в пред-Ханския, така и в Ханския период. Китайският термин 朝 (cháo) има няколко значения, но в контекста на трибутната система той се отнася до практиката на пратеници от далечни васални държави да пътуват до династийния двор, за да представят своите налози и да отдадат почит на императора. По този начин аудиенциите се превръщат в съществена част от политическите взаимодействия, тъй като именно чрез тях се осъществява на практика функционирането на трибутарната система.

Аудиенциите представляват и най-формализираната форма на дипломация, като по време на протичането им се използват официални церемонии и протоколи, с цел да се демонстрира уважение, да се отрази статус и да се укрепят йерархичните отношения. "Бамбуковите хроники" 《竹书纪年》, съставени около III в. пр.н.е. и разказващи събитията от първите две хилядолетия на китайската история, описват подробно взаимодействията между домакините и гостите по време на посещенията в

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> За подробен анализ на държавните образувания в Западно- и Централноазиатския регион вж. Hulsewé 1979.

императорския двор. Ритуалите включват спазването на специфичен етикет при поздравяване, подреждане на местата, поднасяне на подаръци, както и използването на подходящи езикови средства (Khayutina 2002: 96–98). По време на аудиенцията чуждестранните пратеници, предвождани от високопоставени служители или членове на управляващия елит, изпълняват *коутоу* (叩头) – дълбок поклон с чело, докосващо земята – в знак на уважение и подчинение към императора. След това церемониално поднасят своите налози или подаръци и съобщават дипломатическите си цели, а императорът от своя страна има правото да приеме или отхвърли налозите и да определи статута на чуждата държава (Van Ess 2007: 240–43). По този начин, одобрението, изразено от Сина на Небето по време на аудиенцията, дава легитимност и признание на чуждия владетел.

Китайският император на свой ред също дарява гостуващите пратеници с ценни предмети, като коприна, порцелан, калиграфски произведения на изкуството или редки артефакти, отразяващи висотата на китайската цивилизация (Van Ess 2007: 245). Тези формални аудиенции, засвидетелстващи участието на чуждите държави в трибутарната система, от една страна им дават възможност да се възползват от определени предимства и привилегии, като например възможности за търговия, достъп до китайските културни и технологични постижения, защита от военна агресия и т.н. От друга страна обаче, съобразяването със системата за плащане на налози недвусмислено означава политическо и икономическо подчинение на китайската империя.

#### 3. Дипломатически мисии (使, 行人)

Изпращането на пратеници, натоварени с дипломатически послания, към съседни царства или към "варварски" народи, представлява външнополитическа практика на китайския двор, утвърдила се още към края на VII в. пр.н.е. (Selbitschka 2015: 70). В периода на династия Хан тази практика достига своя апогей, особено по време на дългото управление на амбициозния император У-ди (141–87 г. пр.н.е.), когато са осъществени редица дипломатически мисии в Централна и Югоизточна Азия, чрез които се разчупва изолираността на империята и се изграждат отношения с отдалечени и културно различни региони. През II в. пр.н.е. Джан Циен (张骞, 175–114 г. пр.н.е.) става първият китайски дипломат, който навлиза дълбоко в Централна Азия в търсене на съюзници за Китай срещу мощните номади *сюнну*. Около петнадесет години по-късно той се завръща, без да успее да изпълни целта на мисията си, но за сметка на това донася подробна информация за земи, напълно непознати до този момент за китайците. В докладите си пред императора Джан Циен включва подробности за пътуванията си до царствата Фергана (大宛), Бактрия (大夏), Партия (安息), Месопотамия (条支) и Индия (身毒), както и за редица други средноазиатски държави и народи.

Пътешествията на Джан Циен и процесите на откриване на безопасни пътища и установяване на дипломатически отношения на Ханската империя с отдалечени дър-

жави и етноси са описани подробно в епохалния исторически труд "Записките на Великия историк" на придворния историк Съма Циен (司马迁, 145 г. пр.н.е. – I в. пр.н.е.). Глава 123, озаглавена "Летопис за Даюан", съдържа генезиса и генома на бъдещия Велик път на коприната, свързващ краищата на Евразия, като същевременно разкрива идейните основи и спецификите на външнополитическите модели на Китай, някои от които са запазени и до днес. През периода на династия Западна Хан в периферията на Таримския басейн процъфтяват оазисните царства Турфан (吐鲁番), Гаочан (高昌), Лоулан (楼兰), Карашар (焉耆), Куча (库车), Аксу (姑墨), Кашгар (疏勒), Черчен (且末), Хотан (和田), Хами (哈密) и др.<sup>7</sup>, до които Ханската династия изпраща многобройни дипломатически мисии, натоварени с изобилни и скъпи подаръци. Тяхната политическа цел обхваща не само изграждането на съюзнически отношения, но и извеждането на тези малки по мащаб владения извън сферата на влияние на сюнну и постепенното прекъсване на васалната им зависимост, която подхранва с ресурси номадската федерация. Внушителни дипломатически мисии са изпратени също и към царствата на мощните племена усун и юеджъ, както и към по-далечни региони като Месопотамия, Индия, Бактрия, Партия, Фергана и др.<sup>8</sup> Тяхната задача е изграждането на приятелски отношения и представянето на интересите на китайския двор, а ценните подаръци като коприна, порцелан, нефрит, лакирани изделия и др., демонстрират културната изтънченост и високото ниво на развитие на китайската цивилизация пред нейните далечни съседи.

Важно е да се отбележи, че осъществяването на контакти с далечни царства в епоха без комуникационни средства е изключително опасно начинание с неизвестен край, изискващо сериозна подготовка, планиране и финансиране. Емисарите са принудени да пътуват в продължение на месеци и години, прекосявайки хиляди километри безводни пустинни земи при изключително сурови условия, поради което повечето от тях се прощават с живота си. Най-голямото препятствие, стоящо на пътя между китайската империя и Западния свят е Цинхай-Тибетското плато, което керваните на пратениците, натоварени с провизии и скъпи дарове, трябва да заобиколят от север или от юг<sup>9</sup>. Поради факта, че южно от Хималаите обитават враждебно настроени етноси, Ханските емисари избират северния маршрут, потегляйки от столицата Чан-ан 长安 (днес град Си-ан 西安) в Централен Китай, преминават през префектурата Лунси (陇西), намираща се на стратегическо място по течението на река Уей (渭水) около 500 км на северозапад, след което навлизат в Таримския басейн през прохода Юмън (玉门, букв. "Нефритена порта"), разположен в северозападната част на днешния Синдзян-уйгурски автономен район (Lewis 2007: 97). Прекосяването на

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Писмени източници и археологически находки, заедно с редица антропологични изследвания потвърждават, че тези територии са били населени от индоевропейци много преди началото на Ханската експанзия на запад през II в. пр. н. е. По-подробно вж. Marinova 2011: 133–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Вж. "Летопис за Даюан", пасаж 8–21 в Sima 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Относно невъзможността за преминаване южно от Цинхай-Тибетското плато, вж. Пасаж 24 от "Летопис за Даюан" в Sima 2016.

огромната Таримска падина<sup>10</sup>, обградена от непристъпните възвишения на планината Тиеншан (天山山脉) от север, планинската верига Кунлун (昆仑山脉) от юг, Памирското плато (帕米尔高原) от запад и коридора Хъси<sup>11</sup> (河西走廊) от изток, е следващото голямо предизвикателство, с което емисарите трябва да се справят. Съдбата им зависи не само от прищевките на негостоприемната природа, но също така и от благоразположението на етносите, през чиито земи преминават, както и от милостта на вилнеещите по пътищата разбойници<sup>12</sup>.

"Летопис за Даюан" съдържа изчерпателни и живи описания на първите дипломатическите мисии, изпращани от Ханската империя към държавите от Централна Азия, включително и сведения относно подбора на емисарите, тактиките, които прилагат спрямо чуждите държави, техните успехи и провали. Благодарение на целенасоченото разгръщане на дипломатически мисии, Китай разширява своето културно влияние далеч на запад, създава про-Хански режими в редица сателитни царства и впоследствие интегрира Западните региони<sup>13</sup>.

4. Брачни съюзи (和亲)

Брачните съюзи играят важна роля във външнополитическите взаимодействия на древните общества, и в този смисъл, Китай не прави изключение. Уреждането на женитба с дипломатическа цел е един от основните методи за поддържане на баланса на силите в ранния период на китайска държавност, който бива прилаган активно още от времето на династия Западна Джоу<sup>14</sup> (Khayutina 2014: 63). Браковете са не само социални, но и политически актове, които през този период се сключват предимно между представители на династийната фамилия и управляващите родове на феодалните царства, а в по-редки случаи – и с представители на чуждоетносни държавни образувания (Legge 1960: 368; Thatcher 1991: 31). В "Коментарите на Дзуо" са записани около 150 брачни съюза, само седем от които са сключени между китайски принцеси и вождове на "варварските" племена *рун* (戎) и  $\partial u$  (狄) (Selbitschka 2015: 75).

Практиката китайски принцеси да бъдат давани за жени на владетелите на чуждестранни етноси се утвърждава през династия Хан, като в историческите извори

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Използването на брачните съюзи като политически инструмент в ранната китайска дипломация е подробно анализирано в трудовете на редица китайски и чуждестранни автори. За кратка библиография на изследванията на китайски, английски и японски език вж. Pan 1997: 95-131; за списък на брачните споразумения, сключени през периода на династия Западна Хан вж. Psarras 2003: 132–43.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Площта на Таримската котловина е 1 020 000 кв. км.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Коридорът Хъси е историческа област, обхващаща ивица от полупустинни земи североизточно от Тибетското плато и югозападно от пустинята Гоби. Днес тази област се намира в северозападните части на провинция Гансу. Поради наличието на поредица от оазиси в него, коридорът Хъси играе важна историческа роля за формирането на древния Път на коприната, осъществявайки връзката между Китай и Таримската котловина (Gao et al. 2019: 13–14).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Вж. Пасаж 23, 28 и 29 от "Летопис за Даюан" в Sima 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Вж. Пасажи 23–29 от "Летопис за Даюан" в Sima 2016.

са описани петнадесет брачни съюза от този тип<sup>15</sup>. Свързването на управляващите родове чрез женитба има редица мотиви, сред които обезпечаване на споразумения, изразяване на добронамереност и формално признаване на статут (Kroll 2006: 119–21). Тези брачни връзки съвместяват в себе си множество функции от съществено значение в контекста на сложните динамични взаимодействия през Ханската епоха. На първо място, дъщерите на управниците допринасят за установяването и поддържането на мирни отношения с васалните царства и подсигуряването на лоялност (Legge 1960: 382). Същевременно, те изпълняват и ролята на гаранти, които могат да бъдат използвани като козове в преговори по време на конфликти или напрежение (Hulsewé & Loewe 1979: 60). Брачните съюзи служат още и като средство за подкрепа и закрила в съперничеството за власт между различните васални царства (Thatcher 1991: 40, 42; Chin 2010). Но въпреки, че тези бракове имат за цел да насърчат мира и стабилността, цялостните отношения между Ханската империя и *сюнну* остават сложни и променливи.

5. Размяна на гаранти (质子)

Обмяната на заложници или гаранти представлява изпращането на членове на благороднически семейства да пребивават в чужда държава като залог за поддържане на мира и спазване на споразуменията. Като дипломатически инструмент, изпращането на гаранти вероятно възниква още преди периода Пролет и есен, но със сигурност към VII в. пр.н.е. се превръща в популярна практика, впоследствие установявайки се трайно във външната политика на династия Хан (Britton 1935: 634; Yang 1952: 507). Сведенията, съдържащи се в "Коментарите на Дзуо"16 《左传》 и "Стратегии на воюващите царства"17 《战国策》, разкриват, че в късния период на династия Джоу задължението да изпращат своите синове като гаранти за поддържане на мира и стабилността е вменявано на владетелите на политически по-нисшите страни, докато по-силните им партньори диктуват условията на подобни отношения чрез недоловимата заплаха за физическата неприкосновеност на заложниците (Selbitschka 2015: 78). Размяната на гаранти създава взаимен интерес за поддържане на съюзнически отношения, тъй като всяка агресия или нарушение на споразуменията може да застраши съдбата им. Историческите извори не дават подробна информация дали е имало злоупотреби или убийства на заложниците в размирни времена, но подобни

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Вж. "Книга на династия Хан: Летопис за Западните региони" 《汉书·西域传》 и "Записките на Великия историк: Летопис за Даюан" 《史记·大宛传》. В действителност, когато практикува брачни съюзи със *сюнну*, китайският двор многократно изпраща девойки от благороднически семейства или дори от простолюдието, които титулова като "принцеси", за да избегне омъжването на дъщерите на императора (вж. Chin 2005: 66, 73-4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Относно пасажи, свързани с размяната на гаранти в "Коментарите на Дзуо", вж. Legge 1960: 24, 168, 172, 182, 287, 316, 318, 328, 346, 348, 355, 356, 372, 420, 469, 648, 682, 817.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Относно пасажи, свързани с размяната на гаранти и налози, вж. Глава 31 от "Стратегии на Воюващите царства" 《战国策·卷三十一·燕三》 в Liu 2011.

случаи вероятно са били по-скоро изключения, отколкото правило. Дългосрочното им местонахождение също остава под въпрос, макар и да има сведения за гаранти, които успяват да избягат<sup>18</sup>, докато други просто се завръщат (归) в родните си царства<sup>19</sup> или свободата им е откупена с щедри дарове (献)<sup>20</sup>. Връщането на заложниците обикновено символизира възстановяване на доверието и често е съпроводено с подписването на договори или сключването на дългосрочни дипломатически споразумения, гарантиращи мира.

През династия Хан размяната на гаранти се оформя като завършена дипломатическа система, която успешно се прилага при взаимодействието на китайската империя с чуждестранните царства, особено тези по югозападните и североизточните ѝ граници (Chen 2020: 176). В тези случаи заложниците съвместяват няколко различни дипломатически цели. На първо място, тяхното изпращане служи на конкретни политически каузи и е израз на добра воля за реципрочност в отношенията<sup>21</sup>. На второ място, владетелите на малките сателитни градове-държави в Западните региони, чиято лоялност лавира между сюнну и китайската империя, изпращат своите синове или племенници в Ханския двор като израз на окончателно приемане на превъзходството на Китай и потвърждаване на сериозните си намерения за съюзничество<sup>22</sup>.

От информацията в историографските източници може да се заключи, че гарантите не пребивават в Ханския двор за определен фиксиран период от време, а дотогава, докато имат политическа или дипломатическа значимост. Едва след 50 г. н.е. размяната на заложници с южния клон на сюнну става по-регулярна и вождовете им започват да изпращат нови гаранти в Китай ежегодно, а старите се завръщат в родината си<sup>23</sup>. Поради тази причина, в последващите периоди чуждестранните заложници започват да бъдат наричани "поданици – диви гъски" (雁臣), което отразява миграционния характер на техния обмен (Yang 1952: 512).

В известен смисъл, политиката на вземане на гаранти от страна на китайския двор се явява един от най-изгодните методи за управление на пограничните региони с минимални разходи, но с максимални ползи (Chen 2020: 176). Чуждестранните гаранти също така представляват и потенциален източник на влияние върху приемащата страна, насърчавайки икономическите и културни взаимодействия между етносите във вътрешността и периферията на империята. Докато пребивават в Поднебесната, те имат възможност да опознаят нейната напредничава култура и да я асимилират, възприемайки езика, обичаите и местните практики. Логично е да си

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Вж. Legge 1960: 182–83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Вж. Legge 1960: 357.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Вж. Глава 70 от "Книга на династия Хан" 《汉书·卷七十》 в Ban 2006. <sup>21</sup> Вж. Глава 96А от "Книга на династия Хан" 《汉书·卷九十六上》 в Ban 2006; Глава 110 от "Записките на Великия историк" 《史记·卷一百一十》 в Sima 2016: 2913.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Вж. Глава 96Б от "Книга на династия Хан" 《汉书·卷九十六下》 и Глава 61 《汉书·卷六十一》 в Вап 2006; Глава 123 от "Записките на Великия историк"《史记·卷一百二十三》 в Sima 2016: 3128; Глава 88 от "Книга на късната династия Хан"《后汉书·卷八十八》 във Fan 2006. <sup>23</sup> Вж. Глава 89 от "Книга на късната династия Хан"《后汉书·卷八十九》 във Fan 2006.

зададем въпроса: Дали именно чуждестранните заложници не са били първите обучени преводачи, които впоследствие спомагат за улесняването на комуникацията и разпространението на идеи и знания по Пътя на коприната?

#### Заключение

Анализът на историческите материали доказва, че трибутарната система, аудиенциите в двора, брачните съюзи, размяната на гаранти и дипломатическите мисии са неразривна част от външнополитическите стратегии, прилагани от управляващия апарат на династиите Джоу, Цин и Хан. Случаите, представени в историографските трудове, ясно показват, че тези обмени са ефективни дипломатически инструменти, използвани за упражняване на реална власт над по-флуидните чуждестранни държавни образувания или за модериране на заплахата в лицето на номадската федерация сюнну. Въпреки това, нито един от тези инструменти не възниква като умишлено създадена твърда политика, разработена от управляващия елит, а по-скоро те функционират като набор от паралелни практики, впрягани в действие и доразвивани в продължение на векове. Всеки път, когато династията чувства колебание в отношенията на чуждестранните етноси или сателитните градове-държави, тя настоява за осезаемо потвърждение на тяхната лоялност под формата на изпращане на гаранти или плащане на налози. Чуждите страни, от своя страна, активно съучастват в тази стратегия, което илюстрира, че те напълно разбират и приемат нейните политически последици – инкорпориране към китайската империя и формално потвърждение на властта на императора.

Но в бурния исторически период, в който се формира ранната китайска дипломация, лоялността е бързопреходна и нерядко гарантите и налозите се оказват само временни методи за осигуряването на мир. Така брачните съюзи се формират като алтернатива за установяването на по-трайни приятелски отношения в ситуации, в които императорският двор няма други опции освен да даде нещо. Това показва, че ранната китайска дипломация е ръководена не толкова от идеологически съображения, колкото от конкретни политически нужди, задоволявани чрез подходящите дипломатически средства, превърнали се в интегрална част от китайската външна политика още по времето на късната династия Джоу.

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# Aspects of Acculturation: Forms of Burial Utensils Used by Sogdians in China

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Abstract

Many Sino-Sogdian burial utensils have been unearthed from the tombs in northern China. Extensive research has focused on funerary furniture but ignored other types of burial utensils, not to mention their cultural significance. This paper attempts to provide a typology of the burial utensils and further analyse their cultural meanings. By collecting and sorting the burial utensils based on their functions and shapes, four types are classified. By investigating the cultural considerations behind each specific type, different cultural roots are traced and explained. The Sino-Sogdians' usage of different forms of burial utensils represented various outcomes of their acculturation in China.

Keywords: burial utensils, Sino-Sogdians, acculturation

### 1. Introduction

The Sogdians were ancient Eastern Iranian people. Their homeland Sogdiana was centred on the basins of the Zerafshan and Kashka Darya rivers and the peripheral oasis states where the Sogdian language was predominant (Walter 2006: 4). Although Sogdians never established a unified regime in their homeland, they managed a broad trading network on the land-based Silk Roads from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Litvinsky et al. 1996: 238). As trading people, they set up many settlements all over Central Asia, Mongolia, and China (Rose 2010: 411).

In recent years, the identification and discovery of Sogdian tombs in northern China have triggered lively interest and numerous scholarly discussions about Sogdians in China and their funerary practices. Of the contents of the Sogdian tombs, funerary furniture has received the most scholarly attention, either the pictures depicted on them (e.g., Sun 2012; Zheng 2012) or their conjectured Chinese origin (e.g., Wu 2002; Muller 2019). These studies have improved our understanding of Sino-Sogdian funerary practices, but clear problems exist in these studies.

First, they paid too much attention to funerary furniture and ignored other forms of burial utensils, such as ossuaries and wooden coffins. Second, scholars overlooked the possible relationship between the forms of burial utensils and the cultural affiliation of the user. It is supposed that the Sogdians probably adopted different types of burial utensils to highlight different cultural identities.

To make up for the above-stated problems, this paper focuses on acculturation, which may be inferred from forms of Sino-Sogdian burial utensils. Burial utensils are defined as the vessels used to support or contain the bodies or bones of the deceased. Acculturation as a concept encompasses all the changes resulting from the contact between different cultures and their members (Sam 2015: 68). The forms of the burial utensils are probably the most-overlooked aspect of cultural changes during the Sogdian acculturation in China. Two specific research questions are proposed: What kinds of burial utensils were used by the Sogdians? What cultural affiliations were implied by the burial utensil forms?

### 2. Four Forms of Sino-Sogdian Burial Utensils

The first research question is as follows: What kinds of burial utensils were used by the Sogdians? To date, the lack of a general catalogue and the lack of a formal typology have impeded the ability to answer this question. Thus, this paper attempts to collect information about Sino-Sogdian burial utensils for the first time and then to provide an alternative typology of them.

Excavation reports of Sogdian tombs in China are the principal source for data collection. The parameter is determined by the given definition of the burial utensil. That is, vessels are calculated only when they have been confirmed to contain or support human remains.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, this paper has collected 91 practical Sino-Sogdian burial utensils.

After possessing the materials about Sino-Sogdian burial utensils, the next step is to provide a typology of them. Primarily considering shape and function, burial utensils are classified into the following four forms.

1) Ossuary: An ossuary refers to a particular type of Zoroastrian container that contains bones without flesh during a second burial (Jiang and Wang 2023: 3). The term ossuary has never been used in excavation reports. Instead, they name four ossuaries clay coffins, which were unearthed from Yanqi and Turfan (Figs. 1–3). The four vessels referred to as clay coffins in the excavation reports should be considered ossuaries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>In some Sino-Sogdian tombs, although common burial utensils (e.g., coffins and funerary furniture) were unearthed, it cannot be confirmed that those items were used to contain or support the deceased since human remains were discovered in other sites within the tombs or even missing. For the case of symbolic burial utensils, this will be discussed in another paper.

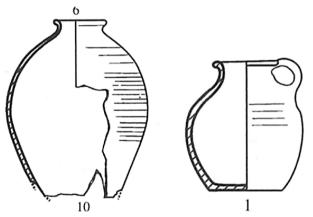




Fig. 1. The largest fragment of the clay coffins in Yanqi. After: Bi 2016: 47



Fig. 2. Two clay coffins in Turfan. After: Chen 2018: 327



**Fig. 3.** Clay coffins from the Sogdian cemeteries in Turfan. Left: Clay coffin that contains ashes and charcoal from tomb M22 in the Jiaohe cemetery. Right: clay coffin that contains ashes from tomb M28 in the Jiaohe cemetery. After: Tulufan Wenwuju 2014: 42, 45

The first and foremost reason is that the so-called clay coffins were used to contain cleaned bones or ashes rather than whole bodies. Second, the standard length of an ossuary is approximately 50-60 cm, which is large enough to fit the femur, the longest human bone (Grenet 2015: 143). The size of the four clay coffins corresponds to this requirement.

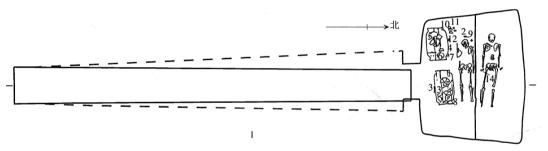
Moreover, ossuaries are basically variants of box or oval shapes (Pavchinskaia 1994: 224). The clay coffins found in Yanqi and Turfan are shaped like small boxes while the two clay coffins discovered at the Jiaohe cemetery in Turfan are shaped like ovals (Figs. 1–3).

Therefore, the four clay coffins are reidentified as ossuaries due to their shapes, sizes, and functions (Table 1).

Burial Receptacle	Quantity	Tomb Name	Human Remains	Location	Reference
Ossuary	4	1. Tomb 81SATM2	Residual bones	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wenguan- suo 1986
		2. On a slopping land	Cremated bones	Yanqi, Xinjiang	Bi 2016:47
		3. Tomb M22 of the Jiaohe cemetery	Ash and charcoal	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wenwuju et al. 2014: 42
		4. Tomb M28 of the Jiaohe cemetery	Ash	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wenwuju et al. 2014: 45

**Table 1.** Ossuaries found in Sino-Sogdian tombs

2) Reed mats: Reed mats are handmade mats of plaited reed. The literature has identified up to 50 reed mats as burial utensils associated with the Sogdians in China, and all of them were from Turfan (Table 2). Reed mats were used to cover the floor of the burial chamber or the surface of an artificial platform for the deceased to lie on (see illustration in Fig. 4).

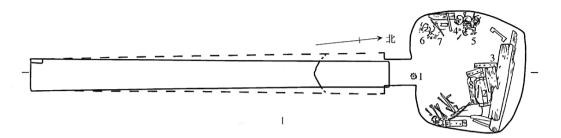


**Fig. 4.** Floorplan of the burial chamber of tomb M242 of the Badamu cemetery. After: Tulufan Wenwuju et al. 2014: 280. Two reed mats were placed on the floor and the platform to support the two bodies

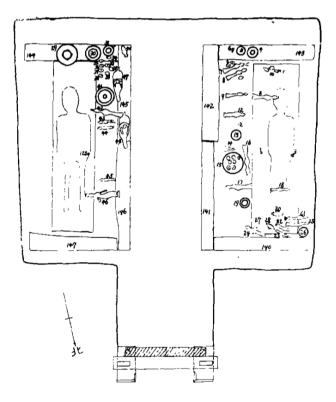
Burial Receptacle	Quantity	Tomb Name	Human Remains	Location	Reference
Reed mat	50	1–15. 15 tombs of the Jiaohe cemetery (M1, M11, M15-18, M20-22, M25, M28 M30, M34-36)	Residual bones	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wen- wuju et al. 2014: 7–53
		16–50. 35 tombs of the Badamu cemetery (M203, M205-209, M211-212, M214, M216-219, M221, M223, M225, M227, M229, M233, M235, M239-240, M242- 249, M252-255, M260)	Residual bones	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wen- wuju et al. 2014: 188–318

**Table 2.** Reed mats found in Sino-Sogdian tombs

3) Coffins: Coffins are long boxes in which a corpse is interred. According to relevant excavation reports, 13 wooden coffins were discovered in Sino-Sogdian tombs (Table 3). Similar to reed mats, coffins were often placed on artificial platforms and sometimes directly on the floor of the burial chamber (see illustrations in Figs. 5–6).



**Fig. 5.** Floorplan of the burial chamber of tomb M232 of the Badamu cemetery. After: Tulufan Wenwuju et al. 2014: 257. Original wooden coffins and dead bodies were misaligned and decayed for natural causes and tomb robberies



**Fig. 6.** Floorplan of the burial chamber in An Pu tomb. After: Zhao 1982: 22. Two adobe and stone-trimmed platforms separately supported a decayed wooden coffin and a body

Burial Receptacle	Quantity	Tomb Name	Human Remains	Location	Reference
Coffin	13	1–5. 5 tombs of the Bada- mu cemetery (M202, M204, M217, M231, M232)	Residual bones	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wen- wuju et al. 2014: 188–318
		6. Tomb of Shimaping	Residual bones	Tianshui, Gansu	Zhang 1992
		7–8. 2 tombs of the He family cemetery (M1, M2)	Residual bones	Yanchi, Ningxia	Wu 1988: 43–50
		9–10. 2 tombs of the Nanyuan cemetery (M29, M48)	Residual bones	Guyuan, Ningxia	Yuanzhou Li- anhe Kaogudui 2009: 75–77, 114–116
		11–12. 2 tombs of the Shi fam- ily cemetery (Shi Suoyan, Shi Daoluo)	Residual bones	Guyuan, Ningxia	Luo 1996: 33; Yuanzhou Li- anhe Kaogudui 2014:32
		13. Tomb of An Pu	Residual bones	Luoyang, Henan	Zhao 1982

Table 3. Coffins found in Sino-Sogdian tombs

4) Corpse beds: Corpse beds refer to artificial platforms of stone, brick, or clay that directly support a dead body without any additional burial receptacles such as coffins and reed mats (see illustration in Fig. 7).



**Fig. 7.** Bird's view of Kang Ye's tomb. After: Xi'an Municipal Institute of Archaeology and Preservation of Cultural Relics 2009: 24

Muller (2019: 384–387) has pointed out that the actual contemporaneous terminology for the artificial platform was a bed depending on ancient anecdotes and newly discovered inscriptions. To underline the funerary context, this paper calls it a corpse bed.

Most previous excavation reports did not recognize the existence of corpse beds as a type of burial utensil. Instead, they described this situation as an absence of burial utensils. However, artificial platforms should be considered an independent burial utensil form as they were particularly built to support the deceased. Thus, there are 24 pieces of collected burial utensils relabelled corpse beds (Table 4).

Burial Receptacle	Quantity	Tomb Name	Human Remains	Location	Reference
Corpse bed	24	1–10. 10 tombs of the Jiaohe cemetery (M7, M12-14, M19, M23-24, M29, M31, M33)	Residual bones	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wenwuju et al. 2014: 7–53
		11–17. 7 tombs of the Badamu cemetery (M220, M237-238, M251, M256-258)	Residual bones	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wenwuju et al. 2014: 188–318
		18. Tomb M210 of the Badamu cemetery	Cremated bones	Turfan, Xinjiang	Tulufan Wenwuju et al. 2014: 225

Table 4.	Corpse	beds in	n Sino-	Sogdian	tombs
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19. Tomb M5 of the He family cemetery	Residual bones	Yanchi, Ningxia	Wu 1988: 43–50
20. Tomb M1401 of the Nanyuan cemetery	Residual bones	Guyuan, Ningxia	Ningxia Huizu Zizhiqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2022: 18
21. Tomb of Kang Ye	Residual bones	Xian, Shaanxi	Xi'an Municipal In- stitute of Archaeolo- gy and Preservation of Cultural Relics 2009: 24
22. Tomb of Shi Jun	Residual bones	Xian, Shaanxi	Yang 2014: 64
23. Tomb of Kang Wentong	Residual bones	Xian Shaanxi	Yang 2004: 21
24. Tomb of Yu Hong	Residual bones	Taiyuan, Shanxi	Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo: 21

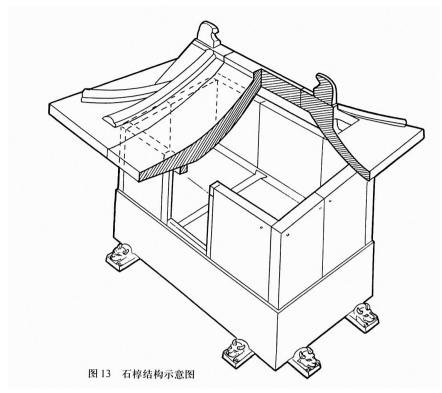
**Table 4.** Corpse beds in Sino-Sogdian tombs (Continued)

Two specific pieces were excavated from tombs of Shi Jun and Yu Hong. They are shaped in houses rather than beds (Figs. 8–9). Despite their different shapes from common corpse beds, they are still labelled corpse beds in this paper because of the same function (i.e., directly placing the deceased on a platform). At a certain point, the stone house can be regarded as a more complicated version of the stone corpse bed. This link is extremely visible in the case of Yu Hong.<sup>2</sup>



**Fig. 8.** The stone house from Shi Jun's tomb. After: Yang, 2014: 64. Human remains on the stone divan

<sup>2</sup> It is supposed that the Yu Hong sarcophagus was transformed from a stone divan plus a roof and a central section comprised of wall planks. For details, see Muller 2019: 400.



**Fig. 9.** The stone house from Yu Hong's tomb. After: Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2005: 21. Human bones scattered inside and outside the sarcophagus

Returning to the first research question, what kinds of burial utensils were used by the Sogdians? By sorting the 91 collected Sino-Sogdian burial utensils, four types have been identified: ossuaries (4), coffins (13), reed mats (50), and corpse beds (24). Reed mats were the most popular Sino-Sogdian burial utensil, and corpse beds and coffins were also used by a decent number of Sogdian individuals while ossuaries, the most ethnic body container, were the least popular burial utensil.

# 3. Three Acculturation Outcomes Implied by the Forms

The second research question is as follows: What cultural affiliations were implied by the burial utensil forms? This question will be answered by analysing the cultural affiliations reflected in the forms one by one.

1) Ossuaries: According to the *Vendidad* (6. 44–51), when the flesh has been stripped off the bones, the cleaned bones should be kept in an ossuary. Thus, it seems clear that the ossuaries found in China were left by Sogdian Zoroastrians.

However, it is surprising to see that most of the ossuaries contain human remains after cremation, including cremated bones in the ossuary found in Yanqi and ashes in the two ossuaries from the Jiaohe cemetery in Turfan (see Table 1). Cremation was prohibited by Zoroastrianism because the doctrines of this religion claim that the corpse is feculent so that it should avoid polluting sacred fire (Jiang and Wang 2023: 3).

However, cremation did exist in Central Asia. Lin (2005: 66) mentioned that some ossuaries found in Central Asia contain ashes. Ma (2022: 66–96) listed some references to the existence of cremation in Central Asia. For example, a Zoroastrian temple was discovered in Bukhara. Under the north wall of the temple, human remains were found in the ashes of a bonfire. These archaeological finds recall a custom of the state of Shi  $\overline{a}$  (Chach, modern Tashkent) recorded by *Suishu* (83. 7) that the remaining bones of the king's parents after cremation would be placed in golden ossuaries.

Some scholars have suggested that Central Asians believed in a local version of Zoroastrianism, in which many differences from the Persian one existed (Litvinsky et al. 1996: 421). For example, the ossuary itself was almost exclusively used by Central Asians and has been considered a key difference in Zoroastrian burial in Sogdiana and Persia (Cai 1998: 26). As such, it is understandable to see the inclusion of cremation in Zoroastrian funerary rites in Central Asia. As Ma (2022: 66–96) explained, the heterodoxy was a mix between Zoroastrianism and the local long-standing cremation tradition.

2) Wooden coffins: Wooden coffins were the most orthodox burial utensil for the Chinese. For the Sogdians, the usage of wooden coffins was strongly against the doctrine of Zoroastrianism. Although enclosure of the corpse in a stone coffin was practised by many Persian kings from the Achaemenid period to the Sassanian period, the coffins were made of stone rather than wood (Ma 2022: 66–96). Plants are considered a holy creation, which would be defiled by the polluting body (Foltz 2010: 373). When a corpse is exposed to scavengers, the *Vendidad* (8. 14–22) requires fastening the corpse by the feet and by the hair with iron to avoid scavengers carrying the bones to the water and the plants. Therefore, the adoption of wooden coffins for Sino-Sogdians expressed their violation of the belief and acceptance of Chinese funerary rites.

3) Reed mats: Reed mats were a traditional local burial utensil in Turfan. The reed mat was in use as early as the timing of burials in the Yanghai cemetery (c. 2000–1000 BCE) (Xinjiang Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Tulufan Diqu Wenwuju 2004: 3). After Turfan became an official administrative region of Tang China in 640, reed mats were still used in most tombs (Yu and Li 2011: 9–10). Reed is a plant; thus, the adoption of reed mats to support the body was also against the doctrine of Zoroastrianism.

4) Corpse beds: The corpse bed might represent very distinctive cultural connotations since it was not a traditional burial utensil in either Sogdiana or China. Strikingly, the corpse bed suddenly appeared in Datong (the former capital of the Northern Wei) in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Muller 2019: 385). Scholars have proposed different origins for the corpse bed.<sup>3</sup> Although the origin of the corpse bed has not been conclusively demonstrated, it is certain that it was probably a new practice in the Northern Dynasties combining various ideas from different cultural backgrounds, such as Han, Xianbei, and Buddhism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The latest viewpoints were from Wei Zheng and Shing Muller. Wei (2021: 8–9) suggested that the corpse bed was an imitation of domestic furniture, not only Chinese beds but also Xianbei's heated brick beds. Muller (2019: 427–430) attributed the presence of the corpse bed to the Buddhist concept of Parinirvana.



Regarding the usage of the corpse bed in Sino-Sogdian tombs, up to 24 Sino-Sogdian corpse beds have been identified (see Table 4). For the Sogdian users, the corpse bed was probably a suitable option to represent their dual or even multiple cultural identities. On the one hand, the corpse bed was a development in Chinese society even though it was not as traditional as a wooden coffin. Thus, Sogdian usage of the corpse bed might have been a way to integrate into Chinese society.

On the other hand, the corpse bed was acceptable for Sogdians from the perspective of the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. First, it does not pollute the plants, as it abandons any receptacles composed of plants. Second, it prevents the polluting body from defiling the good earth. It elevates the body from the ground. Moreover, a considerable number of corpse beds were made of brick or stone. Brick and stone were the materials required to build the tower of silence (*dakhama*) for excoriation by vultures (Wu 2014: 9). Additionally, bones on the corpse bed of tomb M210 were cremated (Table 4, no. 18), which recalls the long-standing cremation tradition in Sogdiana, as discussed above. Thus, Sogdian usage of the corpse bed might help Sogdians maintain their own beliefs as well. Therefore, the corpse bed was an appropriate burial utensil for the Sogdians who sought a delicate balance between the contradictory traditions.

Returning the second research question: What cultural affiliations were implied by the forms of burial utensils? Ossuaries (4) were the traditional Sogdian burial utensil while coffins (13) and reed mats (50) represented the host culture of the receiving societies, including inland China and Turfan. Corpse beds (24) were probably an outcome of cultural integration, through which the Sogdians not only accepted various cultural concepts but also skilfully kept their own characteristics. Their quantitative distribution indicates a high degree of Sogdian assimilation into China, followed by a considerable number of populations mixing various cultures, and the smallest population completely separated itself from Chinese culture.

### 4. Conclusions

It is necessary to provide a typology of Sino-Sogdian burials and further investigate their cultural meanings. First, different types of burial utensils unearthed from the Sogdian tombs have been overshadowed by funerary furniture. Second, burial utensils might be an important signifier of the cultural affiliations of the deceased. Consequently, the 91 collected Sino-Sogdian burial utensils are classified into four types primarily based on their functions and shapes: ossuaries (4), coffins (13), reed mats (50), and corpse beds (24).

Very few Sino-Sogdians maintained their religious identity by using ossuaries, the typical Sogdian Zoroastrian bone container. In contrast, most Sogdians adopted coffins and reed mats to assimilate into Chinese culture, which were traditional burial utensils of the host cultures, including those in inland China and Turfan.

The most interesting burial utensil used by the Sogdians was the corpse bed, which was a new creation in the Northern Dynasties inspired by various cultural concepts. On the one hand, Sogdian usage of the corpse bed was probably more acceptable than the ossuary for Chinese people since the corpse bed emerged in Chinese society. On the other hand, the corpse bed left enough space for the Sogdians to keep their ethnic and religious characteristics because it did not defile good creatures in Zoroastrianism (i.e., the plants and earth). Therefore, the corpse bed might have been a compromise through which the Sogdians maintained their ethnic identity while simultaneously integrating into Chinese society.

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# The "Geneva of the East": A Hangzhou Code to China's Path to Modernization

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Abstract

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This paper introduces an original topic of China studies, the "Geneva of the East", as a code to decipher the enigma of Chinese modernization. It was a plan for the future city of Hangzhou in the Mao era, when it had a special status. It was unusual then that a socialist Chinese city would learn from a capitalist one, under national leaders' direct influence. This idea was deliberately kept secret when it was translated into the urban plan then. In this case, this paper argues that beyond the city plan, it implied a political plan by the Chinese national decision-maker, suggesting reluctance to follow a Soviet model in the time of the Sino-Soviet alliance. The decision-maker would retain the national independence to explore a new path of modern and international development, which is now named a Chinese path to modernization.

Keywords: Geneva of the East, Chinese modernization, Hangzhou, Soviet model

# Introduction

In the past two years, Chinese modernization or a Chinese path to modernization (中国式现代化) has gained increasing popularity in the Chinese media. It was first formulated in Chinese President Xi Jinping's speech at a ceremony marking the centenary of the Communist Party of China on July 1, 2021 and then stressed in his report to the 20<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress. Interpretations of this notion also arose against this backdrop. In fact, such notions about China's contemporary development can be dated back to the 1990s, when the China Model (中国模式), China Path (中国道路), and similar concepts have been heatedly discussed. With regard to the problem of interpreting China's path to modernization, this article is to shed light on it with a historical rediscovery of the highly original topic Geneva of the East (东方日内瓦), which first appeared in 1949. Arguably, this understudied historical topic can provide a code to the enigma of China's path of modern development.

After China's encounter with the West in the nineteenth century, Chinese cities began to re-orient and re-identify themselves in the regional, national, and worldwide changes to emulate their Western counterparts. A famous example was the "Paris of the East," a

typical image of Shanghai. Like its neighbor, Hangzhou also borrowed images of Western cities as well as regions. During the decade of 1927–36, the Hangzhou Municipal Government laid a great value on maintaining the urban scenery and promoting tourism, with an idea to develop the city into the "Switzerland of the East" (东方之瑞士).<sup>1</sup> In 1929, Hangzhou hosted the largest international exposition in the Republican era, the West Lake Expo. Its chief designer and organizer was Zhang Jingjiang (张静江), a senior member of the GMD and the then chair of the Zhejiang Provincial Government.<sup>2</sup> For the West Lake Expo, Zhang had a guiding vision of future Hangzhou named the "New York of the East" (东方纽约) and intended hereby to enhance the regional development of industry and transportation.<sup>3</sup> These ideas for modern Hangzhou in the Republican era were not much realized due to political turbulence and war.

In 1949, a new conception of future Hangzhou in the People's Republic already appeared: the "Geneva of the East" (东方日内瓦), which was a rare vision then. Arguably, the situation of this conception ever since its formulation was different from that of previous cross-cultural ones in the Republican era. In the following years of the Mao era, it was not only a slogan but translated into an elaborate urban plan and actual movements of urban transformation, leaving observable traces in the current city of Hangzhou.<sup>4</sup> As is introduced in the next section, Hangzhou played a unique role in Mao-time politics and the national decision-maker had a substantial influence on the transformation and actualization of the conception. Was the conception of the "Geneva of East," against this background, simply to imitate a city in the West? What did it mean in the Chinese local and national context?

### The Special Role of Hangzhou in Modern and Contemporary China

In modern and contemporary Chinese history, the city of Hangzhou was neither a political center like Beijing nor an economic metropolis like Shanghai but played a special and significant role. However, after the foundation of the PRC, Hangzhou witnessed the drafting of the state's first constitution in 1954. The first draft of the constitution was called the "West Lake Draft" (西湖稿) since it was written in offices near the lake. Moreover, on February 27, 1972, the final agreement on the *Joint Communiqué of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China* was reached in Hangzhou. The US President Richard Nixon and PRC Premier Zhou Enlai initialed the communiqué after a series of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In this case, the plan to turn Hangzhou into the "Geneva of the East" since the early-PRC period is also different from Chinese urban visions raised in the post-1978 era of reform and opening up regarding the context.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chen 1990 [1937], 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zhang was a major backer of Sun Yat-sen and the introducer of Chiang Kai-shek to Sun. Yet he was marginalized in the Republican Government for the political discrepancy between him and Chiang.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pan and Lin 2003, 349–52. Interestingly, the contemporary Hangzhou Municipal Government has utilized Zhang's legacy and reopened West Lake Expo since 2000, but under the guiding concept of the "Geneva of the East" rather than the "New York of the East."

negotiations, signifying the progression towards the normalization of US–China relations.

Mao Zedong, the leading decision-maker of the nation, visited Hangzhou over 40 times during the two decades after 1954 when he visited and worked in Hangzhou for the first time. Sometimes he visited the city more than twice a year and spent several months there. Mao even called the city his "second home" (第二个家), and every time he arrived at the residence on West Lake, he told his guards, "I'm home!" (到家了!).<sup>5</sup> There he relaxed, thought about questions, made important decisions, and formulated his new ideas in the form of speeches, essays, or poems. In Hangzhou, he also inspected local works and met domestic and international guests.<sup>6</sup> "The environment of Hangzhou is excellent. You are not disturbed by noise here; it is ideal for work, and for relaxation" (杭州这个地方环境 好,不嘈杂,适合工作,适合休息), commented Mao on his impression of the place.<sup>7</sup> It explains the reason why he valued the place so much. Following Mao's visits, other national leaders such as Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, and Deng Xiaoping had also been to Hangzhou frequently. Zhou visited Hangzhou over 30 times and often received foreign dignitaries there-he often accompanied the guests touring scenic spots around the West Lake. Thereby, Hangzhou became a unique place of informal politics.<sup>8</sup> It is not hard to understand how familiar Hangzhou was to the Chinese national leaders and why the city witnessed so many crucial historical events then.9

### Dual Meanings of the "Geneva of the East"

It can be traced back to 1949 shortly after the Communist takeover of Hangzhou when the "Geneva of the East" was mentioned. At that time, Tan Zhenlin (谭震林), the first provincial and municipal party head in early-PRC Hangzhou, referred specifically to the Swiss city Geneva and linked it to what Hangzhou would be like in the future. He said, "West Lake is sure to be well reconstructed by us Communists. [We] should construct a 'Geneva of the East' and a world-famous West Lake where the water is clear and the hills [around] are green." (西湖一定会通过我们共产党人把她建设好。要建成"东方日内瓦", 建成 山青水秀, 世界闻名的西湖。)<sup>10</sup> This happened when he listened to a work report from Yu Senwen (余森文), who had studied in Europe and was then the director of the Hangzhou Construction Bureau.<sup>11</sup> While Tan's motive for actively referring to Geneva as a particular model is still unclear, it is clear that the links he drew between Geneva and Hangzhou

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Chen 1990, 367. Wang 2006, 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For a few examples of guests, see Wang 2006, 170-1. See Barmé 2011 for an English introduction and discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Chen 1990, 367. The translation is from Barmé 2015.

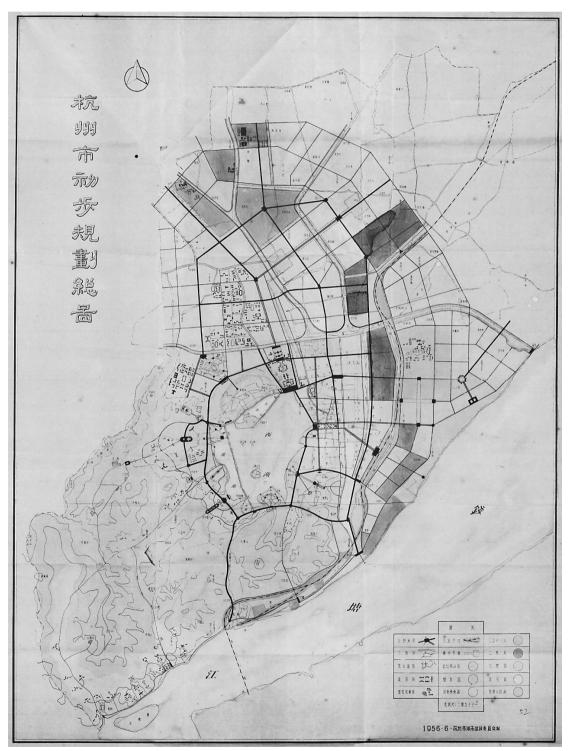
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For its influence on local politics in Hangzhou, see Gao 2004, 221–43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> A direct example of this familiarity was Zhou's promotion of Hangzhou local specialties, such as Longjing Tee and Yue Opera. See Gao 2004, 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Zhonggong Hangzhou shiwei dangshi yanjiushi and Hangzhou Xihu fengjing mingshengqu guanweihui 2008, 39; Yu 1990, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Yu became the deputy mayor of Hangzhou in 1962.

were the two lakes and their adjacent scenic areas. He envisioned that Hangzhou would emulate the famous Swiss city regarding its beautiful scenery. In this manner, the meaning of the "Geneva of the East" showed no major difference from that of the Republican vision mentioned in the Introduction, the "Switzerland of the East."



General Map of Hangzhou City Primary Plan (杭州市初步规划总图), 1956.6 Photo: Hangzhou City Planning Exhibition Hall

In 1953, Soviet planning advisor A. S. Muhin (穆欣) visited Hangzhou. He suggested that future Hangzhou be "a scenic city that prioritizes tourism, recuperation, culture and moderately develops light industry" (以游览、休养、文化为主,适当发展轻工业的风景 城市).<sup>12</sup> Under his guidance, a new primary city plan was drafted. Although details of the outline drawing are, according to available material, now barely recognizable, the guiding thought of this plan did not leave the above-mentioned understanding of the "Geneva of the East."<sup>13</sup> In 1956, the urban plan was updated under the guidance of other Soviet and Eastern European experts. More industrial zones were added to the plan and the general description was adjusted to "an industrial, cultural, and scenic city" (工业的、文化的、 风景的城市). Nonetheless, the basic configuration around the West Lake including the urban center remained unchanged in the 1956 plan.<sup>14</sup> (See the General Map of Hangzhou City Primary Plan.)

In contemporary Hangzhou, however, the "Geneva of the East" is often understood in another sense. This version is not only about a famous scenic and tourist city but "a center of international scientific, cultural, art, economic and trade activities" (国际科学、文化、艺术、经济、贸易活动的中心); there would be "conference halls, exhibition halls, exchange(s), and palace(s) for the press" (会议大厦、展览馆、交易所、记者宫) near the West Lake.<sup>15</sup> It went that Hangzhou would be a parallel to Geneva in the sense of an international conference city.

An early incident related to this idea happened in late 1954 when Premier and Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai and Vice Premier Chen Yi visited Hangzhou.<sup>16</sup> Passing by the west shore of West Lake, they noticed that the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions was building a sanitarium. Immediately, Zhou let the provincial head persuade them to stop it. Chen explained that some good places should be reserved for future international conferences—the PRC would restore its seat in the UN someday and have a possibility to host international conferences.<sup>17</sup> In fact, during 1953–65, Hangzhou spent over 78% of the national investments on urban construction in the whole province.<sup>18</sup> Provincial leaders explained to cadres of other cities, "Hangzhou is an internationally opened city and should be well built. More investments should be allocated to it and you had better not compete. We all should tighten our belts to support Hangzhou and make the West Lake more beautiful through construction because it is a big issue about the national reputation" (杭州是

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Yu 1990, 16; Zhejiang sheng jiben jianshe dou pi gai lianluozhan deng 1968, 12.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "Hangzhou Tongjian" bianzuan weiyuanhui 2014, 892.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Zhejiang sheng Hangzhou shi renmin weiyuanhui 1956.

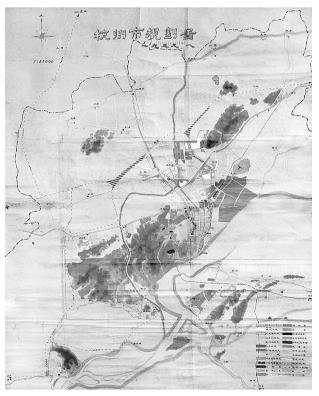
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Liu 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> It was the time when Zhou just came back from the 1954 Geneva Conference, in which the PRC was for the first time present in a global diplomatic arena and played a role for international peace. It needs another paper to discuss the link between this experience of the Geneva Conference and the plan for the "Geneva of the East." Yet Zhou's impression on Geneva can be seen in this diplomatic report from him: http://112.53.152.133:82/viewer/aHR0cDovLZExMi41My4xNTIuMTMzOjgxODgv YXBpL3YxL0ZpbGUvU2luZ2xlRmlsZVZpZXcvNTUvWkVMUUtLLzM4MzgxLzM2NTk2?title=SXBA195416001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Yu 1990, 15; "Hangzhou tongjian" bianzuan weiyuanhui 2014, 893.

对外开放城市,要建设好,多给他们点投资,你们不要争。我们大家要勒紧裤腰带支援杭州, 把西子湖建设地更加美丽,因为这是关系到国家声誉的大问题).<sup>19</sup>

In comparison to the 1956 plan, a major difference appeared in the Hangzhou City Plan finalized in August 1959. While industrial zones were, in the time of the Great Leap Forward, still located on the urban periphery (the pink area in the 1959 plan), a new functional zone emerged in Hubin (湖滨), an area on the east shore of the West Lake, and was marked in red with a note "public facilities" (公共设施). This area, located at the heart of the city, was even more notably shown in the Hangzhou City Plan completed in 1964 (see the red area of the map). In the late 1960s, when detailed planning schemes of the future "Geneva of the East" were leaked out in the Cultural Revolution, more concrete contents of the planned "public facilities" were revealed. Those details came from a plan of Hubin drafted together with the city plan in 1964: high-standard international grand hotels, international conference and administrative halls, concert halls and outdoor dance floors, and so on (see Smashing the Revisionist Plan of Hubin).<sup>20</sup> Indeed, it was a vivid presentation of the conceived "Geneva of the East." In the late 1950s and 60s Hangzhou, it meant not only a scenic and tourist city with a world-renowned lake but a place of international conferences. Under this conception, the urban planning and construction of Hangzhou deviated from the national trend of industrialization then and took a unique track.



Hangzhou City Plan (杭州市规划图), 1959.8 Photo: Hangzhou City Planning Exhibition Hall

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Zhejiang sheng jiben jianshe dou pi gai lianluozhan deng 1968, 5.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Yu 1990, 16.



Hangzhou City Plan (杭州市规划图), 1964.8 Photo: Hangzhou City Planning Exhibition Hall



Smashing the Revisionist Plan of Hubin (砸烂修正主义的湖滨规划)! Photo: Smashing the "Geneva of the East", p. 5

# Secrecy of the "Geneva of the East" in the Time of Sino-Soviet Cooperation

Compared to the use of the notion after 1966, it turns out that the "Geneva of the East" was absent in the (accessible) local official documentation during 1949–1966. For instance, words such as Dongfang Rineiwa (the "Geneva of the East") never appeared in Hangzhou Ribao or Zhejiang Ribao, the two chief official newspapers in Hangzhou then. Nor did the information about planning an international political and economic center at the city heart. Among the two meanings of the "Geneva of the East," only some elements about the scenery and culture were formly discussed then. By contrast, the presence of the notion in the post-1966 documents was easily detectable. During the Cultural Revolution, the "Geneva of the East" appeared in open publications including the local official newspapers as a target of criticisms. Local rebels, especially those in the branches of urban construction and gardening, blamed it for being revisionist and capitalist.<sup>21</sup> Afterward, the local authority reinstated the reputation of the urban plan and the "Geneva of the East."<sup>22</sup> Open articles from local officials, influential intellectuals, and ordinary people appeared, mentioning the "Geneva of the East"; some wrote about their related memories and understanding in the Mao era.<sup>23</sup>

When the local authorities restored the reputation of the urban plan in the late 1970s, it turned out that in the pre-Cultural Revolution time, "Hangzhou City followed Chairman Mao's directive(s) to green the gardens and plan for urban construction" (杭州市遵照 毛主席指示, 绿化园林, 规划城市建设).<sup>24</sup> Nowadays, the notion is recorded in a local official chronology.<sup>25</sup> Its historical existence is of official acknowledgment and conveys a positive meaning. Not only that, when Hangzhou locals and officials talk about the plan to turn the future city into the "Geneva of the East," Zhou Enlai is always regarded as the general architect.<sup>26</sup> Given the evidence above and the special political status of Hangzhou in the Mao era, it was unlikely that the "Geneva of the East" was only an idea of local planners. The top Chinese leaders played an indelible role in deciding on transforming the city into the "Geneva of the East," especially in the sense beyond a scenic city.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Suffice it to say that Huang Kunming (黄坤明), who was the party head of Hangzhou, referred to Zhou in the provincial People's Congress when legitimizing the contemporary orientation of Hangzhou, "Zhou Enlai visited Hangzhou several times during his lifetime and formulated that [we] should develop Hangzhou into the 'Geneva of the East'" (周恩来生前多次来杭,表示要把杭州打造成"东方的日内瓦"). See Bai et al. 2010.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> For example, see Zhejiang sheng jiben jianshe dou pi gai lianluozhan deng 1968.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Zhongguo Gongchandang Zhejiang sheng weiyuanhui 1977; Binhai 1979.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> For instance, see a local official's memoir essay in Yu 1990, 14–18; see a well-known local writer's article in Xue 1999; see an article from an ordinary local at http://you.ctrip.com/travel/952955.html. Interestingly, the famous contemporary advocacy of the "Geneva of the East" was from Wang Guoping (王国平), who is the son of Wang Pingyi (王平夷) and assumed the party secretary of Hangzhou, as his father did, during 2000–2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Zhongguo Gongchandang Zhejiang sheng weiyuanhui 1977.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Zhonggong Hangzhou shiwei dangshi yanjiushi and Hangzhou Xihu fengjing mingshengqu guanweihui 2008, 39.

All these had been deliberately kept secret and were leaked out in the Cultural Revolution. It was in the time of the Cold War, when the distinction between two lines of development-capitalism and socialism-was simply clear. In the early years of the PRC, a major theme of nationwide (re)construction was to learn from the Soviet Union (学苏 联). In Hangzhou, two versions of the urban plan (one in 1953 and the other in 1956) were drafted under the guidance of Soviet planning advisors. If Hangzhou was, as was manifested in the late 1950s and 60s urban plan, to be the "Geneva of the East" in the future, it would learn from the city of Geneva, an advanced capitalist city. As was asked by an engineer of the Hangzhou Urban Construction Commission when discussing the topic of learning from the Soviet Union, "how could we learn socialist city planning from capitalist countries?" (难道我们可以向资本主义国家学习社会主义的城市规划吗?)<sup>27</sup>

The conception to learn from Geneva incurred huge ideological controversy in case that its secrecy was broken in the late 1960s. Why did the planner adhere to this idea and keep it secret for a decade? If a Chinese city had to learn from a foreign city, why not choose a "socialist" city? If the planners were simply unwilling to simply follow the city plan of the USSR, why not find an Eastern European city instead–there should be many alternatives to choose from? A type of "St. Petersburg of the East" or "Budapest of the East" would sound far less controversial. If the plan only meant to develop Hangzhou into a city for various international activities, it seems to have been redundant to further label the future city as the "Geneva of the East." Again, the notion and respective details of planning were deliberately concealed. During the period of socialist internationalization in the 1950s, it was unnecessary to conceal a plan for a future international city. Hence, it was unlikely that the idea of the "Geneva of the East" was conceptualized on a casual whim; it was a bad omen for the Sino-Soviet alliance.

## **Concluding Remarks**

In the late 1950s and 60s, the plan to transform the city of Hangzhou into the "Geneva of the East" entailed not only a city plan but a political plan. At that time, Hangzhou was an informal political center in China and a place familiar to national leaders, especially Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. They were involved in developing the idea of the "Geneva of the East" when it was translated into an urban plan. From the top view, it was not only a conception of the future city but that of the city in the future nation. In this way, it was ideologically controversial that the national decision-maker chose to conceptualize the future Chinese city as Geneva, rather than any Soviet or Eastern European alternative. The secrecy of the idea and related details indicated an awareness of the probable controversy.

Even in the confrontational situation of the Cold War, Chinese top leaders were still interested in learning from the West. Yet their learning of the external experience was selective. In the time of Sino–Soviet alliance, the inspiration for future Hangzhou came

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Huang 1957.

from Geneva, a neutral Swiss city, rather than a type of "New York of the East" or a socialist one. It was deemed so necessary that the idea was kept secret rather than abandoned. Indeed, the top leaders retained the national independence in deciding on a development path. Given the mainstream discourse of learning from the Soviet Union, their choice of a non-Soviet approach indicated their reluctance to copy an existing model; they would explore an independent yet intertnational Chinese path to modern development. In present China, it is not a new claim to explore a "socialism with Chinese characteristics," but based on the evidence and inference shown above, the origin of such an idea predated the reform and opening up. At least on the top level, it started much earlier than 1978 to consciously "cross the river by touching the stones."

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## 春秋战国时期"西戎"文化墓葬研究

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## Study on Xirong Cultural Cemetery in the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period

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#### Abstract

The Xirong (西戎) ethnic group in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period was located in the western edge of the Central plains, which was the confrontation zone between the aggressive grassland cultures and the farming cultures in the hinterland of East Asia. It was also an important area for the interaction between these cultures and the research on the nomadic cultures in Northern China. This paper studies the identity of the Xirong ethnic group during the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring states period by means of clustering of mathematical statistics, factor analysis and spatial situation analysis, so as to observe the interaction between the Xirong cultural population and the steppe nomadic culture and the Central plain culture, mainly from the perspective of tomb research.

Keywords: Xirong, archaeology culture, cemetery research

"西戎"是文献中对于两周时期活动在周秦民族以西或西北地区族群的统称。(Zhang 2019:02) 这些族群源于陕西西部至甘青地区,他们祖源相同或相近,依靠畜牧和游牧经济维 生。(Yu 1985:180–192) "西戎文化"这一概念最初于90年代提出,意指西戎族群创造的考古学 文化。它们是众多小族群的统一命名,但族群之间因为地域或受其它文化影响程度不同等原 因,文化面貌存在差异。

目前已发现的东周时期西戎文化墓葬主要分布在甘宁地区和陕西北部地区。最北至宁夏 中部的中卫地区,南至甘肃近天水地区,西至漳河流域漳县一带,最东深入陕西黄陵地区。本 文根据文化特征和内涵的发展变化,以及考虑到历史事件对文化转变的影响,将西戎文化遗 存分为三个时期:早期为春秋时期(公元前8世纪至前6世纪中期);中期为春秋晚期至战国中 期(公元前6世纪晚期至前4世纪);晚期为战国晚期至秦统一(公元前4世纪晚期至公元前3世 纪中晚期)。

西戎文化早期发现的遗存整体数量不多,仅银南、固原和天水漳县地区的零星墓葬和采 集遗物。典型墓葬有倪丁村墓地、狼窝子坑墓地M3、撒门村墓地M2、莲花公社墓地等。 西戎文化中期的遗存分布最广,银南、固原、庆阳、天水漳县和黄陵地区俱有发现,银南地 区有狼窝子坑墓地M1、M3~M5;固原地区有于家庄和马庄墓地;庆阳地区有庆阳城北的墓葬 及葬马坑;天水漳县地区主要有清水刘坪、墩坪墓地;陕北黄陵地区主要有寨头河、史家河墓 地。此时期,各地区体现出的文化特征具有非常明显的地域差异。

西戎文化晚期, 地区之间的器物风格差异性更加明显。固原地区典型墓葬有陈阳川和白 杨林墓葬; 庆阳地区有袁家村墓葬; 天水漳县地区有秦安王洼和马家塬墓地。

器物可被看作象征符号, 表达某种身份属性。确立标准、利用器物来辨别社会和个人的身份标识, 是我们能够认识西戎物质文化与族群关系的前提。考古学文化代表的是群体意识, 而对物质文化符号的研究、对其所处社会情境的考察让我们有可能了解到个人层面。

上世纪80年代,考古学对物质文化的观念既被用来分析族属确认,也被看作各种各样集体利益的反映,使文化遗物的多元详细分析得以实现。过去的研究认为,墓葬中附带在人身的人工制品与人身体的联系最密切,也更能体现身份的变化。吉迪曾对公元前2000年至前1000年中国北方地带人群身份标识展开过细致研究,认为墓葬中人身的装饰品,尤其是北方游牧人群特有的腰带饰可能是群体性身份标识的符号之一。(Gideon Shelach 2015)

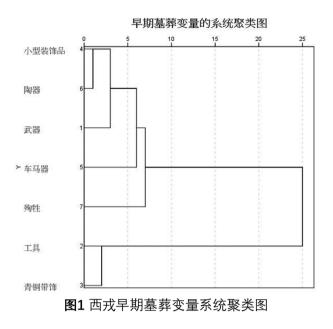
根据上述思路, 墓葬数据统计与情境分析结合的研究方法可为西戎族群研究提供借鉴。 笔者整合早、中、晚各时期所有墓葬的数据, 以年代为单位成组, 使用SPSS软件, 对墓葬构成 元素进行因子分析和聚类分析。同时利用简单的统计, 对墓葬进行情境分析。

表1 西戎早期墓葬因子分析表						
亦早	因子					
变量	1	2				
武器	.995	.083				
小型装饰品	.938	167				
陶器	.937	.003				
殉牲	.864	084				
车马器	.829	.550				
青铜带饰	.100	.989				
工具	170	.968				
在每个因子里,数字1和-1分别代表了最高的肯定和否定相关						
系数,0代表了最低的相关系数。						

#### 一、早期墓葬

早期墓葬数量较少,仅4座保存状况良好可供分析。因子分析结果如下:

两个因子分别代表了不同的社会身份。因子1,代表了60.32%的墓葬变化。武器、小型装饰 品、陶器、殉牲、车马器之间有较多的关联。因子2代表了32.28%的墓葬变化,工具和青铜带饰 之间的相关性较高。所以,因子1倾向于武士或类似具有军事身份的人,而因子2在青铜带饰和 工具的强相关,可能代表了与手工制作相关的人群。但早期是否已有成熟的手工业,现有材料 尚不足证明。



系统聚类与因子分析的结果十分相似, 第1组的小型装饰品、陶器和武器在较近处先聚成 一类, 说明该时期的小型装饰品和陶器的实用意义更强, 没有明显的财富象征。

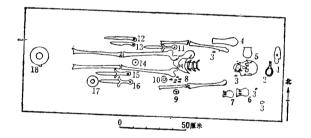


图2 倪丁村M2平面图

早期墓葬中保存较好的仅倪丁村M2一例。从随葬品的数量和摆放来看,早期墓葬重视武器和马具,与人骨的关系相对于陶器和工具要更紧密。比起单纯的牧民,墓主更像是一名武士,所以才佩戴有多把短剑、拥有多件马具。倪丁村M2中没有发现青铜带饰,说明此时青铜带饰不是必备的随葬品。

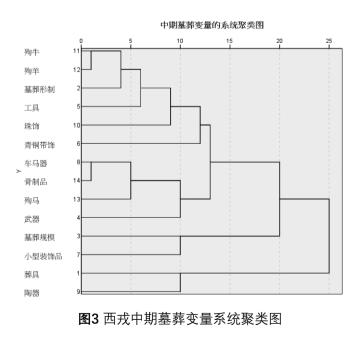
## 二、中期墓葬

中期墓葬共97例,分布范围很广。因子分析结果如下:

表2 西戎中期墓葬因子分析表

变量	因子				
	1	2	3	4	
殉牛	.854	.018	.272	.064	
殉羊	.808	.045	.314	038	
珠饰	.744	.030	121	082	
殉马	.659	.414	.157	.077	
骨制品	.182	.863	.031	.010	
武器	158	.819	.026	.011	
车马器	.476	.757	.211	.048	
陶器	043	.035	682	.007	
青铜带饰	.188	.225	.608	.241	
工具	.372	.148	.593	296	
墓葬规模	.067	.063	238	.846	
小型装饰品	096	009	.346	.772	

共有4个公共因子,反映4种变量关系。因子1代表了23.7%的墓葬变化,殉牛、殉羊、殉马和 珠饰有较多的关联,殉牲的数量和多种材质的珠子都象征着较高的经济地位。因子2,代表了 18.67%的墓葬变化,骨制品、武器和车马器有较多关联,车马器与青铜武器的强相关,象征了 军事身份。因子3,代表了13.51%的墓葬变化,青铜带饰和工具有较多关联,可能暗示了手工制 品的生产模式。因子4,代表了12.32%的墓葬变化,墓葬规模和小型装饰品有较强关联,墓葬的 面积与劳动力投入有关,而小型装饰品多是衣服饰品,部分材质为金银,所以这两者共同展现 了社会地位。



聚类分析弥补了因子分析不能统计分类变量的短板,所以我们纳入墓葬形制、葬具这两项分类变量,最终所有变量聚成4类。与因子分析略有不同的是,殉马从殉牲中分离出去,与车马器、骨制品和武器聚成一类,使具有军事身份的人群形象更加鲜明。

从墓葬空间分布来看,中期墓葬较多出现的武器,基本围绕在人体周围。从武器的位置可 以看出器物在实际使用的佩戴情况。短剑和铜刀都是悬挂在腰间的;铜戈的位置可能说明视 其木秘长度而放;而箭镞在腿侧是因为箭囊佩戴在腿部。

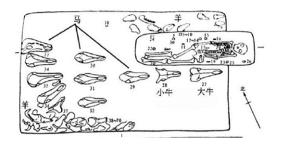
主要的工具有鹤嘴斧、铜刀、铜锛、铜锥、铜凿、铜斧和骨针(包括针筒)等。工具与人骨的 关系并不明确,如果将墓室按照头部、躯干、下肢分成上、中、下三部分,鹤嘴斧、铜锛多位于中 部,铜凿、铜斧和针筒多位于下部,铜锥则三部分都有分布。

武器与工具之间存在组合。墓葬常见铜刀与剑放在一起,可能是因为它们共同放在剑鞘 里, 悬挂在牧民的腰间。图瓦地区晚期游牧文化 (公元前5世纪至前3世纪) 墓葬中就有刀和锥 或刀和剑放在一起的现象。(Yang, Pan, et al. 2016:339)

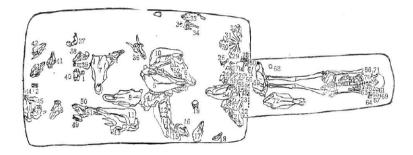
腰带上兼有功能性和装饰性的器物称为带饰。我们将带扣、动物型牌饰、带饰(连珠纹、 鸟纹、椭圆形)、带钩和铜、铁环都纳入广义的带饰概念中。因为其用途特殊,所以大部分带 饰位于人骨的腹部和腰侧,少量发现在两足之间或腿外侧。寨头河墓地发现的部分带钩和 铜、铁环的位置十分独特,如带钩在左肩或头侧,铜环在右臂与胸骨之间或头右侧,可能与衣 物的穿戴方式有关。

随身的小型装饰品中, 骨三瓣形器、铜铃、骨笄、耳饰的位置相对明确, 均发现在头、胸部, 腕饰如铜钏发现在上肢部。铜管、连纽饰、连珠饰和扣饰基本围绕人体分布, 应该是衣物上的缀饰。珠子多位于头部周围, 属于头饰和项饰。

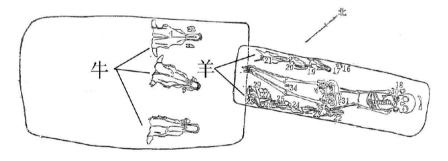
洞室墓的殉牲大多摆放在墓道中, 土坑竖穴墓则位于人骨两侧, 与人体保持一定距离, 多 数墓葬殉牲吻部方向与人骨的头向一致, 此外没有统一的摆放方式。个别墓葬的殉牲位置有 刻意规划的痕迹。如张街M3, 动物蹄骨均位于殉牲头骨下面, 一个牛头骨位于墓道东壁, 随 后放置一个小牛头骨; 紧接着是3具马头骨, 到墓道西壁下摆放4具马头骨, 在墓道的西南角、 东北角分别有序排列了数具羊头骨, 所有的殉牲全部吻部向东; 马庄IIIM3, 共有3具牛头摆放 在墓道中部, 12具马头中的5具与牛头混放, 2具在洞室人骨的足部, 另有5具在墓道内的近洞 室处, 还有40具羊头, 多数位于墓道前后两端, 部分散落在中部的牛、马头之间; 马庄IM3, 3 具牛头位于墓道中部, 3具牛头和蹄骨竖向排列; 中庄M1, 4具马头, 1具在墓室内, 3具在墓道 内一字排开, 6具马头位于墓道中后段, 羊的头骨遍布墓道, 围绕牛、马放置, 且每具马头的旁 边都有2~3头羊, 个别羊头深入洞室内, 牛、马的吻部俱向东, 与人骨一致。



(a)



(b)



(c) 图4 西戎中期墓葬殉牲摆放示例 (张街M3、马庄IIIM3、马庄IM3)

有意识的摆放还原了游牧生活的场景。牛和马的摆放较规整,体现了这两种动物纪律性强的特点,而羊多堆放在角落或围绕牛马,也正是模仿羊的数量多且成群结对而行,随着大型牲畜引导而移动的特点。(Bao 2014:60)

各类殉牲的数量比例也能反映游牧的实际情况。羊的数量最多,牛和马次之。中期墓葬中的殉牲比例也与之相关:羊骨的频率最高,随后是马和牛。中、高级墓葬的殉牲数量更多,说明他们占有了更多的财富。

墓葬中可见的车马器主要有泡饰、马衔马镳、当卢、节约、络饰、车害、车辕饰、杆头饰等几 种,还有部分骨器,仅凭外形无法辨明器类,但因其位置特殊,也归之为车马器。

作为车马器饰件的泡饰摆放位置并不固定, 在洞室墓中更常见, 其摆放位置有两类: 墓道内, 位于殉牲的周边, 可能是马或牛头上的装饰, 如王大户M2; 人骨周围, 与其它车马器集聚, 如王大户M6。还有呈曲线分布的例子, 如于家庄SM4。

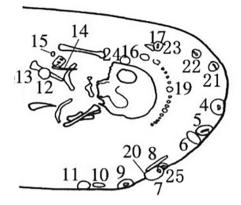


图5 王大户M2泡饰平面分布图

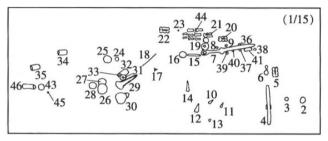


图6 王大户M6泡饰平面分布图

马衔、马镳多位于墓室内,与其它随葬品混放。当卢、节约和络饰的出现频率小于马衔和 马镳,但是摆放位置相似也多在墓室内。车軎和辕饰一类的车器发现较少,但摆放位置特殊。 如马庄IIIM3,车軎与辕饰同出,都在墓道后段。车辕饰横放在墓道尾端,车軎位于前方空白 地,两者相对位置与实际使用时一致。

杆头饰的摆放位置不固定。位于墓道内的在殉牲群旁边,如张街M3;位于洞室内的在人骨 周身,如王大户M1的鸟头型杆头饰,对称放在颅骨南北两侧,鸟喙朝向颅骨,管状銎朝西。其 摆放位置也许能够确定杆头饰的多项用途。

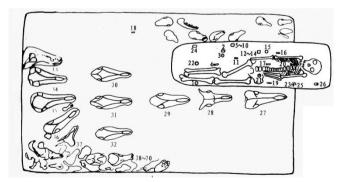
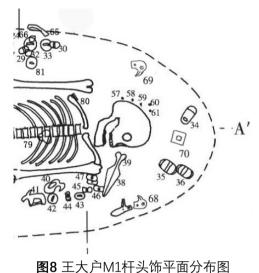


图7 彭阳张街M3杆头饰平面图



其它器物如于家庄M20出土的V形骨器,位于牛头两侧,对称摆放,可能是衡饰。

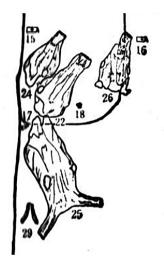


图9于家庄M20"V"型骨器分布图

土坑竖穴墓中的陶器比洞室墓中更常见。两类墓葬所见陶器多远离人骨, 在墓道或墓室的 四角摆放。

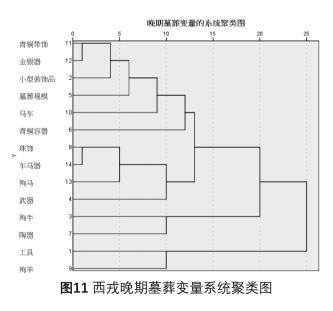
总结来说,西戎中期墓葬反映出的社会人群差异有:武士身份,或者说是军事阶层更加明确,他们随葬多种武器和车马器;社会中出现了明显的财富差距,拥有大量殉牲和装饰品的人,往往也占据较大的墓葬规模,表明有一群人拥有很高的社会地位。中期墓葬规模没有十分悬殊的差异,此时应该是社会分层的初期阶段。

从情境分析来看,不同地区的墓葬具有几点相同的特征。几种遗物有固定的摆放方式,向 我们传达有关传统或共识性的信息。如短剑与铜刀、铜锥的组合,可能是依照日常使用的习惯 进行摆放。带有繁复花纹的青铜带饰出现比率非常高,说明它不是社会特定人群垄断的,是 集实用和某种象征意义于一的特殊器物。车马器、殉牲等特定随葬品与人骨的分隔,是生者 对墓葬内部空间的有意规划,传递了一些社会观念。

				1.			
	ſ	表3 西戎晚期墓	<sup>是</sup> 弈因 <b>子</b> 分析表				
	因子						
	1	2	3	4	5		
墓葬规模	.940	046	.101	110	063		
马车	.870	.364	.086	170	027		
青铜容器	.850	.258	.182	091	033		
车马器	.443	225	.395	197	.275		
青铜带饰	002	.964	045	084	077		
金银器	.190	.950	.013	146	075		
小型装饰品	.156	.922	030	.149	.048		
武器	.026	.095	.840	200	032		
殉马	.254	115	.728	.364	075		
殉牛	.449	041	.577	.120	.366		
工具	108	037	207	.877	049		
殉羊	228	018	.266	.746	.101		
珠饰	.208	076	.209	.066	859		
陶器	.170	197	.361	.132	.691		
在每个因子里,数字1和-1分别代表了最高的肯定和否定相关系数,0代表了最低的相关系数。							

三、晚期墓葬 晚期墓葬共41座。因子分析结果如下:

因子1, 代表了21.6%的墓葬变化, 墓葬规模、马车数量和青铜容器的联系紧密, 可能是晚期 墓葬级别较高墓葬的特征, 墓主人是贵族群体。因子2, 代表了21.5%的墓葬变化, 青铜带饰、金 银器和小型装饰品有较多关联, 考虑到相当数量的金银器是耳坠、手镯及其它饰件, 而随葬品 中有很多装饰品的墓葬, 往往体现占有财富的数量。因子3, 代表了14.8%的墓葬变化, 武器、殉 马和殉牛的关联较多, 象征武士身份。因子4, 代表了12%的墓葬变化, 工具和殉羊相关, 殉羊在 墓葬中普遍出现, 而工具的数量较前一时期减少, 不是身份标识, 两个变量的关联没有特殊身 份的含义。对比因子3和因子4, 不同类殉牲的分离也许预示着社会内部人群身份的分离。因子5 , 代表了10.1%的墓葬变化, 珠饰和陶器两个变量此消彼长, 可能是富人与穷人墓葬的体现。



对晚期墓葬变量的聚类分析也展示了与因子分析相似的结果。图上可见, 第1组变量与因 子1、2内的变量一样, 是最早聚在一起的一组变量, 说明社会地位较高的贵族也是拥有很多 财富的群体。第2组中的车马器、殉马和武器聚在一起, 象征武士身份。3组和4组是最晚聚合 的两组变量, 这四种变量不是特殊的身份标识符号, 或者它们便是游牧社会中普通平民墓葬 的元素表现。

晚期墓葬出土的武器种类有戈、镞、剑、矛、镦等。戈的摆放位置有几种情况, 洞室墓有棺 时, 戈放在棺外; 无葬具时则位置大多位于人的上半身周围。镞多放在头顶和足端, 人骨的腿 侧有箭囊和若干箭镞。晚期的铜柄铁剑或纯铁剑较多, 剑与人骨的关系较紧密, 都在墓室内 人骨手部的情况较多。晚期矛基本位于墓道内的东北角。如固原地区王大户M4, 还有马家塬 M13、M15、M16等, 不过马家塬墓葬里的铁矛是连带秘一起斜立在墓道壁上, 而王大户墓葬 的铁矛只剩矛头放在墓道里。

工具有鹤嘴斧、刀、斧、凿、削、锥等。鹤嘴斧都放置在洞室内。如马庄IM2, 鹤嘴斧放在人 骨右侧, 而王洼M2出土的鹤嘴斧放在在墓壁与木棺之间。短刀都是位于人骨的腰腹部, 如马 庄IM1、马庄IIIM5。斧、凿、削和锥的数量相对较少, 其摆放位置并不固定。

带扣、带钩和动物型牌饰大都在人骨腰腹部。而带饰在人骨的全身都有分布,如马庄IIIM1、IM1,也许晚期带饰有其他的装饰用途。

晚期的小型装饰品种类非常丰富。头饰多见三瓣形器、圆形金饰件等; 腕饰有镯子和臂钏 等; 部分项饰是由铜泡、绿松石、料珠、肉红石髓等多种材质组合而成。铃饰、管饰、片状饰和 珠饰的分布位置也很多样, 属于装饰零件, 可以根据具体的需要随意组合。如铃饰和管饰会发 出声音, 而珠饰和片状饰可以组成纹样等。铜镜是新增的装饰品, 均放置在人骨的周围, 尤其 是在手边。

晚期墓葬的殉牲种类之间的数量差距在缩小, 牛和马有时会超过墓葬中的羊骨数量。洞 室墓的殉牲多在墓道内, 而土坑竖穴墓者在棺木上, 与人骨分隔开来。单独来看牛、羊、马三 种殉牲, 并未有固定的位置, 但是三种动物独特的组合方式在多例墓葬中有所体现。

如王大户M4, 墓道中有7具马头, 竖向排列在墓道中部和东部; 3具牛头, 位于墓道中部和 北部, 牛、马吻部朝向东。羊头分布在墓道西部, 在牛、马之后成堆放置。马庄IIIM5, 4具牛头 位于墓道北部和东部, 其中3距在东壁下一字排开, 3具马头位于牛头之间, 4具羊头围绕在北 壁的牛头周围。

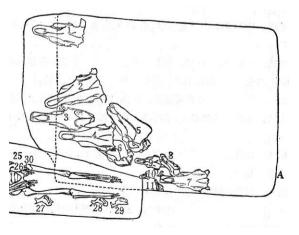


图10 马庄IIIM5殉牲平面分布图



上述墓葬殉牲共同特征是,马和牛的位置有时马头在前、牛头在后(马庄IM1);它们的方向都一直指向东边,而羊均成堆放在一起,或者围绕在牛、马的周边。

马家塬墓地出现的殉狗现象是新见。每座墓葬中只有一只殉狗,可能是墓主生前的驯犬, 有些殉狗的脖子上还系有铃铛。随葬马车的墓葬,牛、羊、马和狗的摆放都与马车有关。

没有车辆的墓葬中,主要随葬车马器种类有以下几类:车害和辕饰都位于墓道中。杆头饰 的位置也有人骨头侧和墓道内两种摆放情况。

陶器和青铜容器放在墓道里或洞室的东北角。有壁龛的墓葬,则将容器放在壁龛里。竖 穴土坑墓则把容器放在棺顶上。

西戎晚期的社会结构更加复杂。贵族、富人、武士和普通平民群体都有对应的墓葬身份标识。贵族拥有远远超出平均值的墓葬规模、随葬的马车和青铜容器,这明显不同于仅随葬数种工具、几只牛羊的平民墓葬。而军事身份和掌握财富的人群存在交叉,体现在武器、马具与金银器、大量殉牲和装饰品共出。

与中期相比,随葬武器的位置固定下来,矛和镦从洞室中移动到墓道内。工具数量锐减,结合佩戴在腰间的短剑和铜刀以及铜锥逐渐消失等现象,笔者推测武器、工具类实用性强的器物,可能从生前的实用器变成了程式化的一套丧葬用物。

车马器有同样的趋势。车器和马具分离开,马具都随人骨放在洞室或棺中,与人骨隔开一 定距离;车器被留在墓道里,有时还会按照使用时的原位摆放。

殉牲有规划的摆放方式与中期相比没有太大变化。但是随着马家塬、秦安王洼出土随葬 马车的发现,新出现殉牲与马车的关系,这也是晚期墓葬的一大特征。墓道随葬品的中心由马 车取而代之。位于马车前后的牲畜,不是牧群的象征,而是为马车准备的殉牲,这点在殉狗的 出现上能够得到佐证。

#### 四、结论

西戎文化早、中、晚期的墓葬构成元素与各类变量的动态演变,反映了不同时期社会人群 和身份标识的变化,这些变化与族群的主动选择和外界因素的影响有着密切的联系。

早期墓葬的研究对象很少,从个别墓葬的空间分析中,我们能感受到特殊器物具有强烈的象征意味。武器和马具,带有浓厚的军事色彩。随葬品基本为实用器,可能是墓主生前使用的物品。此时的西戎社会阶层很简单,使用带饰随葬的形式还没有成为族群的共识。而小型装饰品和陶器的数量变化,也未体现出明显的经济含义。

中期墓葬体现了某些方面与早期一致的传统,甚至更甚。武器、车马器和殉马的军事象征 意味,一人一马的武士骑射形象更鲜明;青铜带饰的出现率很高,高等级和平民墓葬中出土的 青铜带饰只存在做工粗细和材质上的差别,它和工具在聚类分析中的聚集可能暗示了此时手 工业的生产模式。这都是早期墓葬中比较模糊的信息。在其它方面,墓葬显示出明显的变化。 如殉牲和装饰品具备了经济实力和财富的含义,即使墓葬的面积等级不清晰,仍然体现了墓主 社会地位的高低。

随葬品的实用性都很强,大部分器物都按照生前使用的位置去摆放。殉牲远离人体,按照游牧生活的情境复原牛马的位置。车马器内部依照用途可再细分,小型马具如马衔、马镰、节约、当卢等常常在墓室内靠近人体的地方;车器如车辕、车軎等则还原了马车穿行在畜群间的场景。



因此,中期的墓葬风格是较为朴素的,我们推测此时的西戎族群应该遵循着"实用至上"的 丧葬传统。即使是高等级墓葬,也仅是用大量的殉牲和少部分金饰来表现财富。军事身份在 社会组织中十分重要,武器作为身份标识,代表的社会身份具有唯一性。出土的武器种类丰 富,包括铜质和骨质等。总体看来,武士墓中的随葬品是相对较多的,这意味着他们的经济地 位也很高。

晚期墓葬产生了非常大的变化。首先是划分墓葬等级的标志物的替换。墓葬规模、马车数量和青铜容器数量成为高等级墓葬的衡量标准; 殉牲作为财富象征的位置被金银器和小装饰品取而代之; 武器、车马器和殉马之间的关系不再清晰, 这可能意味着武士身份的弱化; 工具和殉羊不再具有特殊的身份含义, 也许是平民阶层的所有物。

武器种类减少, 矛和镦从靠近人体的武器中分离出来, 且部分与马车的关系密切。青铜 容器是新增的器类, 被贵族群体垄断。 殉牲的摆放传统没有变, 在马车占据了墓道的中心位 置后, 牛、羊、马的摆放都与马车有关, 显示出仪仗的意味。 晚期的殉牲新增了殉狗一类, 它的 位置通常也围绕在马车周围。 马车的重要性与中期相比更加凸显。 显示新的丧葬观念融入进来, 逐渐形成有固定种类的一套丧葬用器。

总的来说,西戎社会文化具有"早、中期传承,晚期转折"的特点。早期到中期的社会传统 一脉相承,随着社会阶层划分的增强,反映身份标识的符号也更加明晰,各地区的文化面貌 各异中也有共存的特征。到了晚期,西戎墓葬表现出与之前截然不同的文化表象。社会地位 较高的人不再由军事阶层垄断,贵族群体占有绝对的财富,掌握绝对的权力和社会地位。武 士群体或许被弱化,或许被纳入了贵族阶层,不再突出其武士身份。

中原政权对西戎族群从上到下的治理方式,尤其是秦、晋两国对西戎的征伐、占据、羁 縻,或许能够解释产生这种变化的原因。如秦国利用行政机构如"属邦"、设"緜诸道"管理少数 民族地区的行政事务。(Deng 2011:31) 西戎部落首领的权力被架空,在军事力量被收束的同 时,发展畜牧业,《史记·货殖列传》言"北有戎翟之畜,畜牧为天下饶"。对待平民,则有掳掠、买 卖奴婢的行为。位于边缘地带的西戎族群,被中原政权控制征伐后,是奴婢人口的重要来源之 一。(Shi 2020:01)秦上层墓葬中的人殉、云梦战国秦简中大量官方奴婢"隶臣妾"的记载,是秦 人使用奴婢的佐证。

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# TOURISM, SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL CULTURE

# ТУРИЗЪМ, ДУХОВНА И ФИЗИЧЕСКА КУЛТУРА

# Аурикулотерапията в традиционната китайска медицина

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# Auriculotherapy in Traditional Chinese Medicine

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Abstract

Auricolotherapy is a type of Chinese medicine therapy used as a complementary and alternative treatment. Auricolotherapy has been employed for approximately 2500 years, the oldest record of which is Huang Di Nei Jing (The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine). In Traditional Chinese Medicine, the ear is directly or indirectly connected to 12 channels, and stimulating the ear can restore the balance between vital energy and blood circulation. Auricular acupuncture is a diagnostic and treatment system based on normalizing the body's dysfunction through stimulation of specific points on the ear. The mechanisms of auriculotherapy are considered to be related to the autonomic nervous system, the neuroendocrine system, neuroimmunological factors, as well as the neural reflex. Nowadays, more and more clinical studies conducted in the field of biochemistry provide evidence of the detailed mechanisms of auricular therapy in the treatment of diseases. Auriculotherapy has been applied for pain relief, for treatment of anxiety, obesity and sleep disorders, but the effectiveness has been tested in a relatively small number of evidence-based trials. The aim of this study is to present the history, mechanisms, and the clinical application of auriculotherapy.

Keywords: auricolotherapy, ear acupuncture, Chinese medicine

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## Въведение

Аурикулотерапията (AT) е форма на алтернативна медицина, основана на идеята, че ухото е микросистема, която отразява цялото тяло, представено на външната част на ушната мида. AT е техника на традиционната китайска медицина (TKM), която се фокусира върху областите на ушната мида, за да облекчи болката, да успокои ума и да профилактира множество заболявания. Тя служи за диагностика и лечение на физически и психосоматични дисфункции чрез стимулиране на специфични зони и точки, разположени на ушната мида. В ТКМ ухото е пряко или косвено свързано с 12-те канала, като стимулирането на ушната мида може да възстанови баланса между енергията ци и кръвта сюе (Горанова 1994: 231–241). Откриването на тази терапия се основава частично на древната китайска практика за акупунктура на тялото, но също така произлиза от откритията на френския лекар д-р Пол Ножие през 50-те години на миналия век.

Съществуват различни методи за стимулация на специфичните зони и точки на ушната мида, като аурикулоакупунктура, аурикуломасажа, фиксиране на растителни семена и магнити, лазеракупунктура, кръвопускане, моксибуксия (Oleson 2003). За постигане на по-добри резултати АТ може да се прилага самостоятелно или в комбинация с други методи на лечение (напр. кинезитерапия, електролечение, мануална терапия), може да се каже, че АТ се явява съпътстващо лечение към конвенционалната медицина. АТ е ефективен, лесен и иномически достъпен за приложение метод, използван за терапия на състояния, като злоупотреба с вещества, болка, затлъстяване, тревожност, епилепсия, гинекологични заболявания или безсъние. Ефективността на АТ е сравнително слабо проучена и е представена в малко на брой рандомизирани проучвания, което е предпоставка за бъдеща изследователска работа и сериозни клинични изследвания. Целта на настоящата статия е да се проследи и представи историята, механизмите на действие и клиничното приложение на аурикулотерапията.

## Исторически аспекти на аурикуларната медицина

Историята на АТ може да бъде проследена хиляди години назад във времето – до древните цивилизации. Елементарни форми на АТ, които вероятно са възникнали по време на каменната ера, са оцелели в много части на света до наши дни. Методът е използван още в древен Египет, Рим, Гърция, древна Персия и Арабския свят. Противно на общоприетото схващане, аурикуларната акупунктура не е по-нова форма на терапия от акупунктурата на тялото. Първите писмени данни за използване на АТ като метод за лечение се откриват през II век пр.н.е в медицинския трактат "Канон по вътрешна медицина на Жълтия император" – Haung Di Nei Jing (Romoli 2010: 53–64). Според този текст, шестте ян-канала се свързват с ушната мида, докато шестте ин-канала достигат само до гърдите и корема, но кореспондират с ухото непряко, чрез съответните им ян-канали и техните колатерали. Чувствителните активни точки, локализирани върху ухото, които са реактивни при палпация, се наричат "ян-алармени точки", което показва наличие на патологично разстройство с излишък на ян-енергия (Горанова 1994: 231–241). В древните китайски схеми активните точки и зони по ушната мида не са били подредени в анатомично организиран модел, какъвто съществува при корпоралната акупунктура. По-скоро тези активни точки на ухото са разпръснати без очевиден и логичен ред. Според Рубах (Rubach 2001), в трактата "Хуанди Ней Дзин" се откриват многобройни препратки към уникалните лечебни свойства на ушната мида.



Фиг. 1. Изображение на лечение по ушната мида в древен Китай

Ухото не се счита за изолиран орган, а е тясно свързан с петте ин-вътрешни органа (черен дроб, сърце, далак, бели дробове и бъбреци) и шестте ян-органа (стомах, тънко черво, дебело черво, жлъчен мехур, пикочен мехур и трите дзяо). В друг древен текст, публикуван през 1572 г., се съобщава, че мрежата от ян-каналите се простира по цялото тялото до главата и ухото. Посочва се, че външното ухо е мястото за свързване на основните акупунктурни канали и въздействието върху ушната мида оказва влияние на целия организъм (Горанова 1994: 231–241). В медицинския трактат от Средновековието "Mystical Gate: Pulse Measurement" се отбелязва, че енергията (ци) на бъбрека е свързана пряко с ухото и за състоянието на бъбрека може да се съди по фунцията на ухото. В медицински компендиум за акупунктура и моксибуция от 1602 г. е записано, че катаракта може да бъде излекувана чрез прилагане на моксибуция в активната точка, разположена на върха на ухото, а главоболие може да се излекува посредством издърпване на ушите надолу (Xiao-Yong 2011: 122–123). За съжаление, въпреки широкото приложение на акупунктурата в Китай, приложението ѝ постепенно започва да замира към 1800 г., за да се стигне до нейната забрана от министъра на здравеопазването на Китайския император през 1822 г. Но въпреки това под една или друга форма, нейната употреба се запазва. След комунистическата революция от 1949 г. Мао Дзъдун призова за съживяване на древните китайски методи за профилактика и лечение, с което се постави началото на техния съвременен просперитет.

До XV век има само няколко медицински записа за терапията по ушната мида в страните извън региона на изток. В страните от Европа, Близкия изток и различни части на Африка някои елементи от този метод на лечение (напр. обгаряне в горната част на ухото за лечение на болка в лумбалната област) дължат оцеляването си предимно на устното предаване от поколение на поколение. През XVII век се откриват индикации както в изкуствата, така и в медицинските записи, че рефлексните връзки между ухото и човешкия организъм, макар и емпирично, са били добре познати в европейските страни. Първият и най-важен пример е известната картина на Йеронимус Бош (1450–1516), наречена "Градината на земните удоволствия". Дясното крило на този олтарен триптих показва символична илюстрация на ада и наред с другите изображения, детайлно е нарисувана ушната мида и определени взаимоотношения



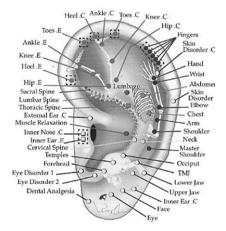
между ухото и останалите части на тялото. Областта в горната част на ухото, която е пронизана от едно от двете копия, е идентична със зоната на изгаряне, спомената за третиране на болка по седалищния нерв. В описание на случай от 1637 г. португалският лекар Зарат Лузитански (Zaratus Lusitanus) съобщава за лечение на остра болка по хода на седалищния нерв чрез каутеризация на ухото. През XIX век също се откриват интересни медицински записи за обгаряне на ушите при възпаление на седалищния нерв (Soliman 1999: 547–554).

Откривател на АТ за света е френският лекар Пол Ножие (1908–1996). Той е впечатлен от белезите на антеликса при някои пациенти, които са били лекувани от известна лечителка в Югоизточна Франция. Д-р Ножие започва усилена работа и след като открива съответствието между зоните на антеликса и частите на гръбначния стълб, той продължава систематично да идентифицира други зони върху ушната мида, черпейки вдъхновение от сегментната организация на човешкото тяло. Така д-р Ножие създава топографската карта на ушната мида. През 1957 г. д-р Ножие предлага на вниманието на научната общност стандартизираната система за аурикуларна медицина (Nogier 1957: 25–33). Пол Ножие разработва френологичен метод на проекция на човешки ембрион върху ухото и публикува това, което той нарича "съдов автономен сигнал", който измерва промяната в амплитудата на пулса. Този механизъм ще произведе сигнал, само когато нова информация бъде въведена в електромагнитното поле на пациента (Oleson 2013). Ножие се позовава на "принципа на резонансно съвпадение", който може да използва вегетативния сигнал на съдовете за откриване на активни точки върху кожната повърхност на ухото. До този момент (1957 г.) дори китайците не са публикували топографска карта на разположението на органите и структурите на човешкия организъм върху ушната мида. В книгата си "Трактат за аурикулотерапия" Ножие посочва съответствията между чувствителните точки в ушната мида и вътрешните органи на тялото и излага мнението, че точките на ушната мида са организирани под формата на фетус, който е много подобен на обърнатия човешки ембрион – с главата към долната част на лобулуса, краката към горния ръб на ухото и тялото, което е разположено между тях (Nogier 1957: 25-33).



Фиг. 2. Проекция на човешкия ембрион върху ушната мида

Случайно, през 1958 г., откритита от д-р Пол Ножие топографска карта на ушната мида попада в Китай. Това е времето на подновен интерес към традиционните терапевтични подходи в здравеопазването. Така наречените "боси лекари" са преминали 6-месечно медицинско образование и са обучени да оказват здравна помощ чрез акупунктура на ушната мида. С малки модели на обърнатия фетус, изобразен върху ухото, тези "боси лекари" се грижат за големи населени райони в Китайската народна република. Въпреки че АТ е използвана в медицинската практика още в древен Китай, преди да се запознаят с трактата на Ножие и съответствието на ухото с конкретните части на тялото, тя не е обозначена в схемите за акупунктура на ухото преди 1958 г. Като пример може да се посочи болницата в провинция Шандун, в която през 1956 г. се съобщава, ча са лекували остър тонзилит чрез стимулиране на три точки на ухото, които се избрани според народния опит. Едва на по-късен етап в китайската медицина се изработват топографски схеми, изобразяващи обърнатия фетус. В историята на развитието на АТ трябва да споменем известния лекар Сю Дзуолин от Пекин, който през 1959 г. извършва първото клинично изследване върху ушната мида при 255 пациенти с различни заболявания. Използвайки топографските карти на д-р Ножие, Сю Дзуолин представя серия от нови активни точки, които са свързани с ТКМ. Една от тях е активната точката шън мън, която става изключително популярна сред специалистите по АТ и е включена като основна точка в западните аурикуларни карти.



Фиг. 3. Схема на топографска карта на ушната мида

И двете системи – така наречената китайска акупунктура на ухото и аурикулотерапията на д-р Ножие – имат много общи характеристики, въпреки че понякога локализацията на активните точки и зони се разминава по местоположение. Считаме, че е желателно да се интегрират всички потвърдени знания от двете школи в единна стандартизирана система и да се използват в полза на лечението на пациентите.

Един от най-важните аспекти в новата история на АТ е усилието на международно ниво да се намери решение на тенденцията за постоянното увеличаване на броя на откритите нови аурикуларни точки, като по този начин се създава объркване в използваната терминология. Първият опит за предоставяне на нова номенклатурна система за описание на аурикуларните точки е предложена от Тери Олсън от Центъра за управление на болката в Лос Анджелис през 1978 г. (Alimi 2018: 7–14). Нуждата от стандартизация на аурикуларните точки се чувства силно по това време и през 1982 г. на група китайски лекари е възложено от регионалния офис на Световната здравна организация (СЗО) да работят по проект за "Стандартна схема на аурикуларните точки". Схемата е представена и приета след 5 години обсъждане и разглеждане в Сеул от Уан Дъшън и Дън Лянюе от Китайската академия по ТКМ в Пекин (World Health Organization 2013: 1-78). Продължаващият и до ден днешен спор по отношение на стандартизацията на аурикуларните точки и зони между западните и китайските школи по АТ изисква систематично и строго клинично валидиране в бъдеще, като се имат предвид различните мнения при тяхното категоризиране.

## Механизъм на действие на аурикулотерапията

Първата теория, която трябва да се разгледа, е концепцията, че аурикулата е една от няколкото микросистеми в човешкото тяло, която се явява самостоятелна система в рамките на цялостната система (човешкия организъм). Според източната философия микрокосмосът на всеки човек е взаимосвързан с макрокосмоса на света, който го заобикаля. Дори на Запад средновековните европейски философи описват връзката между органите на човека и планетарните съзвездия в макрокосмоса на небесата. Така за да бъде целият организъм в хармония, всяка система в този организъм трябва да бъде в хармония (Chen 1993: 129–143). Друга интересна теория, която обяснява действието на АТ, е дистанционно-рефлексната реакция, според която всяка микросистема проявява неврологични рефлекси, които са свързани с части на тялото, отдалечени от анатомичното местоположение на тази микросистема. Тези рефлекси са както диагностични, така и терапевтични. Когато се приложи натиск върху реактивна микросистемна точка, се предизвиква изразена лицева гримаса или поведенчески рефлекс на оттегляне. Местоположението на тези отдалечени чувствителни точки не се дължи на случаен принцип, а по-скоро те са пряко свързани с неврологичен рефлексен модел, който е централно медииран (Rubach 2001). Интерес за аурикуларната наука представлява и теорията за соматотопично повторение, която се основава на факта, че микросистемната топографска карта на ушната мида повтаря анатомичното устройство на тялото. Терминът сома се отнася до човешкото тяло, а топографията се отнася до картографирането на дадена част от тялото. Микросистемите са подобни на соматотопните реакции в мозъка, където картината на фетуса – "малък човек" - може да бъде идентифицирана чрез мозъчното картографиране. Според тази теория, това не е действителната кост или мускул, който е представен в мозъка. По-скоро това е двигателната активност на тази част от тялото, която се управлява от



мозъка. Такъв е и случаят с микросистемните точки, които показват патологичната дисфункция при различни заболявания и състояния (Oleson 2002: 49–62).

По същество аурикуларната терапия като самостоятелна система се разграничава от корпоралната акупунктурата по това, че аурикуларните точки и зони са реактивни, само когато са раздразнени. Активните точки на ухото функционират като кибернетична бинарна система според принципа да/не: те са реактивни, само когато съответният орган е с нарушена функция или когато съответната част от тялото е наранена или болезнена. На неврофизиологично ниво активните точки на аурикуларната микросистема проявяват различни взаимодействия, които могат да бъдат невроанатомично обусловени, т.е. техните рефлекторни дъги са свързани с региони на по-високо ниво в централната нервна система, като мозъчния ствол или таламуса (Romoli 1993: 185–194). Това може да се обясни с локално близкото ембриологично развитие и с необичайно плътната и диференцирана инервация на ушната мида. Бързото начало на действие при остри състояния на болка вероятно може да се дължи на тези сравнително къси рефлекторни пътища (Oleson 2002). При акупунктурата на ухото, в сравнение с акупунктурата на тялото, е относително лесно да се получи диагностична ориентация за промените в организма и тя да се използва с терапевтична цел. Диагностиката по ушната мида се извършва чрез директно идентифициране на реактивните зони и точки и въз основа на промени в релефа на кожната повърхност (Mercante 2018: 3–10).

#### Анатомо-топографска характеристика на ушната мида

Ушната мида представлява овално-еластична структура, изградена от еластичен хрущял и покрита от перихондриум. Анатомичният строеж (релеф) на ушната мида е сложен, въпреки постоянните си характеристики; всеки човек притежава собствен релеф на ухото, с допълнителни разлики между лявото и дясното ухо, което определя индивидуалните особености на ушната мида. Топографското разпределение на активните точки и зони, разположени по аурикуларната повърхност, може да се сравни точно с човешкия фетус, който е позициониран с главата надолу. Най-общо локализацията на активните точки и зони е следната: на лобулуса са точките, свързани с главата и лицевата област; на скафоидната ямка – с горния крайник; на антихеликса и двете му крачета – с гръбначния стълб и долния крайник; на конхата – вътрешните органи (Горанова 1994). Болестните промени във вътрешните органи водят до проява на реакции в съответните им активни точки и зони на ушната мида. (Горанова 1994). Тези промени се манифестират с промяна на цвета, релефа или електрическото кожно съпротивление, което предоставя възможност за диагностика на състоянието на съответстващите органи. Ромоли и колегите му провеждат изследване върху 506 пациенти, използвайки три различни диагностични метода: инспекция на ушната мида, тест за болка под налягане (РРТ) и тест за електрическо кожно съпротивление



(ESRT). Установява се, че с прилагането и на трите диагностични метода заедно могат да постигнат успеваемост от 78,6% при идентифицирането на симптоми и синдроми, свързани със соматични и психични разстройства (Romoli et al., 2005: 158–161). Основните методи за терапия по ушната мида са: иглотерапия, масаж на ушната мида, фиксиране на семена или магнити, терапия с лазер, кръвопускане, моксибуция.

## Приложение на аурикулотерапията в клиничната практика

АТ е основен метод, използван за профилактика и лечение на много състояния и заболявания (напр. злоупотреба с вещества, болка, затлъстяване, тревожност, епилепсия и разстройства на съня), но нейната ефективност е представена в сравнително малък на брой базирани на доказателства проучвания (Suen et al. 2001: 132–139). Гуегуен и колегите му съобщават в систематичен преглед за 42 рандомизирани проучвания относно въздействието на АТ при лечение на различни патологични състояния. От направените изводи се стига до заключението, че аурикулотерапията води до намаляване на предоперативната тревожност и следоперативната болка, но е без ефект в превенцията на синдрома на хроничната умора (Gueguen et al. 2013). С технологичния напредък все повече клинични изпитвания, проведени в областта на биохимията, представят доказателства относно подробните механизми на АТ при лечението на различни заболявания. През 2001 г. Ричард Нимзов разработва и въвежда процедура по аурикуларна акупунктура на бойното поле, в опит да изследва по-ефективното облекчаване на фантомна болка при ампутирани крайници и хронична болкова симптоматика при ветерани от войната. Схемата по аурикуларна акупунктура на бойното поле включва поставяне на постоянни златни игли до пет точки и зони на ушите. Установява се, че при 75% от участвалите в проучването болката значително е намаляла. През 2018 г. Министерството на отбраната на САЩ, Здравният център на ветераните за интегративно управление на болката и Службата на Националната програма за управление на болката към Здравната администрация на ветераните започват провеждане на тригодишна програма, на стойност 5,4 млн. долара, за обучение по аурикуларна акупунктура "Battlefield" с над 2800 участници (Levy 2018: 18–9).

АТ се прилага за управление на различни видове болка, като следоперативна, зъбобол или мускулно-скелетна болка, както и болка, свързана с анестезия (Yeh et al. 2014). Уетцел с колеги установява, че АТ намалява нуждата от фентанил с 15% при 120 пациенти, претърпели ендопротезиране на тазобедрена става (Wetzel 2011: 262– 267). Относно мигрената Ромоли и колегите му използват АТ за лечение на мигренозни атаки и иновативен диагностичен тест, наречен тест за контакт с игла (NCT) или прилагат фиксирани игли за поддържане на резултата от терапията (Romoli 2005: 158–161). Алаис и колеги установяват, че използването на "подходящи" точки е по-добрият вариант от прилагането на "неподходящи" такива. Авторите констатират, че преди лечението е важна диагностиката за определяне на правилните активни точки



в терапевтична схема (Allais 2011:173–175). Приложението на акупунктурата на ухото при лечение на следоперативна болка остава спорно. Относно болкова симптоматика в лумбалната област в редица проучвания се докладва, че аурикулопунктурата води до значима редукция на болката (Usichenko 2005: 185–189). Суен и колеги в проучване изследват ефективността на АТ при възрастни индивиди с хронична болка в лумбалната област. В края на проучването се установява значимо подобрение при 72% от пациенти, манифестиращо се с редуциране на болката на нивото на увреждане и по-добра функционална активност (Suen 2008: 28-35). Уан и колеги констатират, че има значителни разлики в облекчаването на болката от АТ при 311 бременни жени с лумбосакрален синдром (Wang 2009: 271–279). По отношение на изразената болка при онкологични заболявания Дилън и колеги констатират, че АТ води до бързо намаляване на интензивността на болката и ефектът от лечението се поддържа за дълъг период от време (около 4 седмици) (Dillon 1999: 253–254). Според нас, за да се изясни въздействието на АТ в лечението на болката са необходими проучвания с големи извадки и научнообоснован методологичен дизайн, за да се устови истинската ефикасност на АТ.

Относно зависимостта от наркотични вещества АТ се явява доказано съпътстващо лечение, в комбинация с конвенционалните подходи, включително и с кинезитерапия. За първи път в клиничната практика Уън и колеги заявяват, че аурикуларната електрическа акупунктура при пациенти със зависимост води до подобряване на симптомите на отнемане (Wen 1973: 71–75). В проучване от 2002 г. Суен и колеги оценяват ефективността от проведена терапия при нарушения на съня. Резултатите показват подобрения на съня във всички групи, но подобренията са значителни в групата, при която са използвани фиксирани магнитните перли на ушната мида (Suen 2002: 429–449). Една година по-късно, те съобщават за дългосрочните ефекти на аурикуларна терапия с магнитни перли при лечение на безсъние при 15 възрастни пациенти и този ефект се запазва 6 месеца след приключване на лечението (Suen 2003: 85-92).

#### Заключение

АТ е достъпен и евтин метод за лечение, със сравнително бързо придобиване на необходимата квалификация за работа. АТ доказано има благоприятно въздействие за редуциране на болката, при лечение на тревожност, при епилепсия, както и за подобряване на качеството на съня. Механизмите на въздействие на АТ изискват по-нататъшни проучвания при различни нозологични единици. Не може да се отрече, че в това отношение са постигнати значими резултати, но истинското признание и утвърждаване на аурикуларната медицина тепърва предстои.

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## Цигун – древното китайско изкуство за здраве и дълголетие – в съвременния свят

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## Qigong – The Ancient Chinese Art of Health and Longevity – In the Contemporary World

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#### Abstract

The traditional Chinese understanding of the causes of disease and the active personal approach to health, body and mind have recently become particularly relevant. The main purpose of this article is to explore the benefits and peculiarities of practicing qigong in the modern world. We will outline the concept of what health is according to qigong. We will clarify the real value and health benefits of practicing qigong. Some research questions will also be considered: What is the mechanism of the healing effect of qigong? What ailments can qigong help? When should we seek medical help and when should we turn to the practice of qigong? What are the peculiarities of practicing qigong in today's world?

Keywords: qigong, health, traditions, contemporaneity, benefits

Универсална ценност, която стои в основата на целия ни живот, безспорно е здравето. По време на пандемията от Covid-19 много хора установиха, че никога не са се чувствали по-уязвими и по-безпомощни по отношение на своя живот. Усещането за невъзможност да контролират обстоятелствата и да се защитят надеждно и ефективно от външната заплаха постави на изпитание психическата им устойчивост. В търсене на начини да съхранят живота си някои от тях се обърнаха към модерната медицина, разчитайки на новите препарати и лекарства. Други се обърнаха към многобройните методи на алтернативната медицина, древните практики и познания за поддържане на здравето и духа. По такъв начин традиционното китайско разбиране за причините за болестите и активното отношение към собственото здраве, тяло и психика доби в последно време особена актуалност.

Основната цел на статията е да се изследват ползите и спецификата на практикуване на цигун в съвременния свят. Ще обърнем внимание и ще анализираме представата за здраве и дълголетие, заложена в основите на цигун. Ще изследваме спецификите на традиционното практикуване на цигун в съвременния свят. Ще потърсим отговори на някои основни въпроси, като: какво е цигун; каква е концепцията на цигун за здравето и болестите; какъв е механизмът на лечебното въздействие на цигун; при какви болести помага практикуването на цигун; кога трябва да се потърси лекарска помощ и кога – да се обърнем към цигун; има ли противопоказания за практикуване на цигун; какви са спецификите на традиционното практикуване на цигун в съвременния свят.

Статията се базира на анализ на широка база от литература. За целите на изследването са проведени и серия от дълбочинни интервюта с хора, практикуващи цигун. Тази анкета е проведена в периода март–май 2023 г. (цитатите от интервютата са дадени в *Italic*). Взето е мнението и на водещи учители и преподаватели по лечебен и оздравителен цигун както от България, така и от чужбина.

И така, какво всъщност е цигун? С това понятие се означава система от методи за саморегулиране на здравето, емоциите, ума и духа за постигане на дълголетие, качествен живот и себеусъвършенстване, а също така и за развитие на по-голяма мощ в бойните изкуства. Цигун е метод на регулирането на "трите съкровища" – есенция (тяло, дзин), дишане (ци) и ум (шън) (Reid 2010: 11). Тези три съкровища представляват нашето рождено природно наследство и степента, в която ги пазим и ценим, определя състоянието на здравето и продължителността на живота ни. Буквално "ци" означава "дъх, дишане", но в по-широк смисъл е и "енергия, жизненост". "Гун" е общ термин, означаващ "работа" и се използва за всяка техника или способност, за която се изисква време и усилие, търпение и практика за постигането на майсторство. Оттук терминът цигун може да се преведе като "дихателни упражнения" или "работа с енергията" (Reid 2008: 16). Най-точно цигун означава развитие на енергийната циркулация в човешкото тяло, т.е. увеличаването ѝ и контрола върху нея (Dzunmin 1995: 5). След дълги наблюдения хората започнали да разбират, че циркулацията на ци е важна за здравето и започнали да търсят начини за подобряването ѝ. Били открити методи и създадени форми, които се оказали ефективни, а това всъщност е началото на цигун.

В действителност чигун не е измислен, нито създаден от хората. Той е изцяло природно, естествено явление, присъщо на живата материя. Древните хора са го забелязали, изследвали, обмислили и усвоили в една система, която с хилядолетния опит и практика се превръща в сегашната логична и всеобхватна система и методология (Tzientzun 2019: 7). Историята на теорията на ци обикновено се свързва с началните стъпки на китайската медицина – по време на управлението на Жълтия император Хуанди (2690–2590 пр.н.е.), приблизително преди 5000 години (Dzunmin 1995:17).

Каква е концепцията на цигун за здравето и болестите? Здравето не е просто липса на болести – то няма само физически измерения. Разбирането за хармонично и балансирано единство на цялото ни същество на всички нива – физическо (дзин), енергийно (ци) и емоционално/умствено (шън) – стои в основата на източното разбиране за добро здраве, качествен живот и дълголетие. Хармонизирането и балансирането на тези три съкровища ни дава неизмеримо друго, по-високо качество на живот и води до дълголетие.

Основна в цигун е тезата, че без движене на тялото, кръвта и енергията, без трениране на ума и контрола над мисловния процес, настъпва застой, отслабване на силите, психически и душевен упадък, болести и смърт. Според китайската медицина и цигун в тялото на всеки човек съществува система от меридиани, по които тече естествената биоенергия на човека (ци). Когато енергията е в изобилие и тече свободно, човек се радва на добро здраве, висок дух, добро настроение. Като живее хармонично и пълноценно, постига целите и мечтите си. Когато обаче потокът на енергията намалее или спадне под критично ниво, вътрешните органи не могат да получават достатъчно жизнена сила. Тогава те започват да не функционират правилно и настъпват болестите. Опитна инструкторка обяснява този процес по следния начин: "Ето защо правилните движения се възприемат като основен гарант на доброто настроение, стабилното здраве и високия дух. Като основна причина за всички болести, включително и за хроничните заболявания, цигун счита намаляването на количеството жизнена енергия ци. Когато един орган не получава достатъчно енергия, за да функционира правилно, той започва да боледува" (Анна Никова, старши инструктор по оздравителен и лечебен цигун и даоистки практики, България).

- Намаляването на вътрешната енергия може да се дължи на множество различни причини, но най-важните от тях са:
- Неправилно дишане
- Сексуални излишества (особено при мъжете)
- Прекалено засилена умствена дейност и "вътрешен диалог", натрапчиви мисли
- Емоционално разточителство и нестабилност
- Непълноценно хранене (ниско качество на храната и неправилен режим на хранене)
- Липса на достатъчно движение
- Липса на достатъчно пълноценен сън, почивка и релаксация

Независимо какъв е конкретният комплекс от причини, на около 35 години жизнеността намалява и благодарение на горните фактори, както и на травмите, личните драми и стреса, се получават все по-често блокажи на енергията към даден орган (или система) – това е началото на болестта. "Обикновено човек започва да губи енергията си около 35-годишна възраст. Със загубата на енергия човек започва да боледува, появяват се хроничните болести. С намаляването на енергията намалява и имунитета и човек започва все по-често да боледува" (Владимир Осипов, старши инструктор по цигун, Русия). Ако начинът на живот или на мислене не се променят, блокажите се задълбочават, а органът страда все повече от липса на енергия – така се появяват хроничните заболявания. Ето защо главната цел на цигун, но също така и на тайчи, дао-



истките практики и всички енергийни упражнения въобще, е не просто да раздвижи вътрешната енергия, а да се натрупва и съхранява енергията. "Работата с енергията се осъществява в четири етапа: 1. Защита – техники за спиране загубата на енергия; 2. Пробуждане на енергията; 3. Натрупване; 4. Движение на енергията – човек добива способността на управлява съзнателно и волево собствената си енергия, да се самолекува и израства духовно" (Анна Никова).

За да може обаче да се постигнат тези цели, за да може енергията да циркулира без ограничения, блокажи и бариери, от ключово значение е способността на практикуващия да релаксира и да спира безразборния "шум" в ума си. Първото позволява енергията да тече свободно и да достига до всички органи, което именно ги лекува, а спирането на вътрешния диалог и вътрешното притихване дава психическо спокойствие, емоционален баланс и допълнителни сили.

"Релаксацията е единственият инструмент за ефективния транспорт на природната енергия в организма и извеждането на патогенната енергия навън. Ето и формулата на здравето: напрежение = болка, болест; релаксация = здраве. Релаксацията не означава отпуснатост или слабост. В източната медицина релаксацията е условието за свободното протичане на енергията в тялото и е еднозначно на изпълване със сила. Напрежението, стягането, блокажите се свързват с болести, загуба на енергия и сила" (Владимир Осипов).

Какъв е реалният механизъм на лечебното въздействие на цигун? Ето как обяснява това Евгений Уткин, водещ лекар и инструктор по оздравителен цигун: "Където е насочена мисълта, там отива ци. Ци движи кръвта. Кръвта лекува и премахва болката. Където има добро кръвоснабдяване, там няма болка и болести" (Utkin 2023). Ето защо, за да се подобри кръвоснабдяването и енергийния поток, се изпълняват точно определени движения – комплекси, често насочени към лечение на точно определени органи и болести.

При какви оплаквания помага цигун? Проведени са стотици изследвания в много клонове на естествените съвременни науки – биология, физика, химия, които проучват и доказват съществуването на биоенергията. Кирлиановата фотография показва нагледно, че енергията ци съществува и как изглежда тя при здравия човек, както и какви форми добива, когато човекът е болен, омаломощен или емоционално афектиран (Gadsby 1993). Доказано е, че цигун въздейства на всички жизненоважни органи и системи. Ето защо не е учудващо, че редовната практика на определени цигун комплекси повлиява много добре пациенти с определени оплаквания. Съвременната, модерна медицина многократно доказа връзката между редовното практикуване на цигун и лечението на тежки, считани за нелечими болести, като рак, диабет или алергии. Ето някои конкретни болести от дългия списък на заболяванията и хроничните болести, за които е доказано чрез научни изследвания, че се повлияват и хроничните болести.

• Артериална хипертония (Zhen Ma et al. 2017)

- Захарен диабет тип 2 (Junmao Wen et al. 2022)
- Остеопороза (Chuanrui Sun et al. 2022)
- Рехабилитация след инсулт (Mandy Yuen et al. 2021)

Има свидетелства от страна на медицински лица, инструктори и практикуващи, че заниманията им с цигун действат оздравително и при: алергии, травми и изкривявания на гръбначния стълб, ставите и костите; депресии и паник-атаки; нервно-вегетативни оплаквания; хормонални заболявания; деменция и дегенеративни състояния; сърдечно-съдови заболявания; паркинсон; остеопороза; онкологични заболявания и още много други.

Ето какво споделиха някои от специално интервюираните лица: "Безкрайно съм благодарна за тези цигун тренировки! Откакто се занимавам, престанаха болките в ставите и кръста, които ме измъчваха от години." (С. А., жена на 47 г., гр. София). "Имах сериозни хормонални проблеми, искаха да ме оперират и бях отчаяна. След като започнах заниманията с цигун, отначало започва слабо подобрение. Сега – след около година и половина редовни занимания – няма и следа от оплакваната ми. Чувствам се прекрасно!" (Ц. Т., жена на 56 г., гр. София). "От години страдам от лошо оросяване на крайниците, световъртеж, лош сън и мигренозни пристъпи. След Ковида станах още по-зле. Добре, че започнах занимания с цигун, тъй като вече не виждах изход. Сега – близо 2 години откакто тренирам – почти съм забравил за тези ужасни състояния. Мога смело да кажа, че си върнах живота!" (Ж. С., мъж на 57 г., гр. Бургас).

Кога да потърсим лекарска помощ и кога да се обърнем към практикуването на цигун? Ето мнението на д-р Бутримов, лекар с повече от 40-годишна практика в изучаването и преподаването на оздравителен и лечебен цигун: "Това, което правят лекарите е най-вече да дават диагноза, да дават картина на симптомите на болестта и нарушенията, които могат да доведат до тежки последствия. Ето защо лекарите лекуват дотолкова, колкото да намалят болестните синдроми и понижението на комфорта и самочувствието. За правилното лечение обаче и за най-добри резултати – винаги на първо място отивайте на лекар! Не при цигунист, нито при екстрасенс, а на лекар! Идете на лекар! Нека той постави и диагноза. Минете курс на лечение. И чак след това, ако лечението не е помогнало, или е помогнало ограничено и болестта се е превърнала в хронична, тогава вече може да потърсите помощ от цигун или от някакъв друг вид алтернативна медицина и лечител. Те ще ви помогнат да възстановите цялостно целия организъм" (Бутримов 2020).

Има ли противопоказания за практикуване на цигун? Всеки добър инструктор трябва да предупреждава, че цигун не трябва да се прави: когато има инфекциозен или възпалителен процес; когато организмът е отслабнал – примерно след тежка болест. Напълно е противопоказно при онкологични заболявания, освен приложението на медитативните техники за подобряване на психо-емоционалното състояние. Важното в тези случаи е вече да е проведен курс на лечение. "Трябва да сте сигурни, че сериозната симптоматика е отшумяла и усложнения не се очакват. Едва тогава, ако



искате да поддържате своето здраве и да го възстановите за постоянно – тогава най-добрият избор е цигун или други подобни практики" (Бутримов 2020).

Какви са специфики на традиционното практикуване на цигун в съвременния свят? Допреди 50 години повечето експерти по цигун са обучавали само своите собствени синове или малък брой хора, на които са имали доверие, така че това знание се е пазело в семейството и не е било широко разпространено. Майсторите на цигун от древността са пазили ревностно своите тайни и знания и не са ги предавали на случайни хора. Традиция е било знанията да се предават само в семейството. Това е било в пълния смисъл на думата езотерично (тайно, скрито) знание. Дори когато Китай се отваря повече към света в по-новата история, майсторите по цигун не са били склонни да раздават знанията си на всеки, още по-малко на хората от Запада, които имат по принцип далечно световъзприятие и мислене.

Много от техниките са развити от будистки и даоистки монаси, които не са разпространявали своето учение извън стените на техните манастири. Повечето хора са били в неведение относно цигун, те суеверно са го смятали за магия. Друга причина за заблудите относно цигун е, че някои хора са били обучавани с неправилни методи и поради това не са постигнали никакъв ефект, а даже са си навредили. Това довело до страх от опитите с цигун, когато хората слушали за вредите от него, или пък се настройвали скептично, когато чуели за липсата на успех при други практикуващи. Дори в сегашното, модерно време е много трудно да се намери наистина стойностен майстор по цигун, който с готовност да разкрие тайните на своите методи, опита и знанията си (Dzunmin 1995:5).

Особеност на съвременното преподаване на знанията, методите и техниките на цигун в модерното ни, дигитално съвремие е, че все повече се налага онлайн формата на обучение и практикуване – нещо невиждано в дългата история на цигун до днешния момент. Предимствата, които онлайн обучението предлага са очевидни:

- Достъп до небивало широки аудитории
- Удобството да се обучаваш у дома
- Спестяване на време
- Спестяване на разходи за пътувания, за наем на зали
- Гъвкавост на обучителния процес и съобразяване с личното време

Въпреки това обучението и практикуването на цигун в модерното време има и своите съществени недостатъци:

- Преди се е практикувало в непосредствена близост до учител, майстор, докато сега, с развитието на технологиите, може да се учи и онлайн – на хиляди километри от учителя; най-оптимално е да сте в близост до учител, но ако можете 1 или 2 пъти в годината да отивате при него на семинари, пак е вариант;
- С популяризирането на цигун започва да се увеличава и броя на тези, които се самообявяват за майстори или инструктори често пъти без необходимите знания и умения; някои даже се чувстват в правото си да раздават от свое име

или от името на собствената си "школа" сертификати и правоспособност за преподаване; а без гаранции за високо качество на образователния и изпитния процес, без достатъчно опит, умения и реално владеене на собствената енергия и най-вече без отговорност пред хората, на които "преподават", се постига само дискредитиране на практиките и на цигун като система, нещо повече – опасността да навредят на хората, които им се доверяват, е много голяма;

• Много учители, но ниско качество – опасност от прекалено отдалечаване от изворите, корените, истинските практики.

Целта на практическите упражнения чрез цигун е да се постигне вътрешна хармония и чрез нея – хармония между нас и външната среда, развитие в съответствие с природните закони. Чрез практикуването на цигун се усилва чувството за спокойствие и центрираност, като по този начин успяваме да се справяме с предизвикателствата, които животът ни отправя. Според древните предписания, най-добрите резултати се получават, когато теорията и практиката вървят ръка за ръка – знанията ни да са проверени от практика и практиката ни да е подкрепена със знания. Това прави цигун една от най-добрите и ефективни системи за поддържане на физическото, емоционалното и умственото здраве, дори и днес.

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# The Application of Intention Modelling in Architectural Design, Taking the Entrance and Exit of Harbin Metro Station as an Example

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Abstract F With the rapid development of the Chinese economy, major cities in China have accelerated the pace of subway construction. As one of the larger cities in Northeast China, Harbin has a high resident population density. Due to the extremely cold weather in winter in Northeast China, the demand of citizens for private cars that can provide comfortable and convenient travel is more significant than in other cities, leading to traffic jams on the ground. In order to alleviate the traffic pressure on the ground, Harbin has successively built subway lines 1, 2, and 3, greatly facilitating the travel of citizens. Among these, the entrance and exit of the subway station serve as a link between the above-ground and underground spaces, reflecting the style of the city. Their architectural functions are becoming increasingly diverse and integrated, becoming important architectural spaces that showcase urban regional culture, urban style, and urban connotation. Through the study of Harbin's history and urban style, this paper explores Harbin Metro's subway culture, and from the perspective of intentional modeling theory, summarizes a set of design methods for subway station entrances and exits that align with Harbin's regional culture. These methods can enhance citizens' sense of identity with urban culture and are applicable to most cold cities.

**Keywords:** Intentional styling, entrance and exit of subway stations, regional culture, cold landscape

## 1. Introduction

With the continuous acceleration of China's urbanization process and the continuous expansion of urban scale, urban transportation problems have gradually become a gap that restricts the development of urbanization in China. As a modern urban transportation tool that combines public transportation and rail transit functions, the subway plays a role in alleviating urban traffic pressure. As an important part of subway space, subway entrances and exits play a certain role in alleviating the pressure of urban underground space construction and guiding commuter traffic. At the same time, in cold regions of our country, due to the harsh climate conditions, it is more important to carefully consider



the design of subway entrances and exits. Taking Harbin Metro Line 1 University of Science and Technology Station as an example, this paper applies the concept of intentional modeling to the design of subway station entrances and exits, so that the subway station entrances and exits can meet the functional requirements and have regional characteristics at the same time.

The development level of underground transportation in a city determines, in a sense, an important reference for the city's modernization process (Figure 1). The popularization of subways can effectively drive land development along the line, enhance commercial vitality along the line, and affect the urban planning pattern. Among them, the appearance and visual effects of subway station entrances and exits constantly showcase the city's culture, influencing the views of citizens and tourists on the city, becoming an important carrier of urban regional culture and an indispensable part of modern urban planning. As of December 31, 2022, 53 cities in 31 provinces (autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central Government) and Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps in China have opened and operated urban rail transit, with a total of 290 subway lines, a total operating mileage of 9584 kilometers, and 5609 stations.

### 2. Ice City Subway

#### 2.1. Harbin Metro Line Planning

At present, Harbin Metro has a total of three lines in operation. Among them, Metro Line 1 was put into operation on September 26, 2013. The opening of Line 1 has made Harbin the first city in China to build a cold subway system. On January 26, 2017, the first phase of Metro Line 3 was officially put into operation. On September 19, 2021, the first phase of Line 2, which connects the old city area of the Ice City and the State-level New Area, will be put into operation. The "cross" backbone network pattern of Harbin Metro will take shape, and a total of 10 lines will be planned in the long term. On November 26 of the same year, the Southeast Half Ring Road of Line 3 Phase II was put into operation, and Harbin Metro initially realized a network structure (Figure 2). As of December 2021, Harbin Metro has a total mileage of 79.61 kilometers, with 62 stations, including 4 transfer stations, namely Museum Station, Taipingqiao Station, Second Hospital of Medical University Station, and the Pearl River Road Station.

There are corresponding subway lines and stations for both east-west travel in the urban area and long-distance commute across the Songhua River. The three lines connect Harbin railway station, Harbin West railway station, Harbin East railway station, Harbin South Railway Station, Harbin North railway station, as well as scenic spots, museums The connection between the Northeast Martyrs Memorial Hall greatly facilitates the travel of citizens and tourists, and to some extent alleviates urban traffic congestion. It is not difficult to see that taking the subway has become a way of life for people in Bingcheng,

and more and more citizens are willing to take the subway for transportation, participating in the ranks of energy conservation and emission reduction through green transportation. On May 1, 2023, the daily passenger volume of Harbin Metro will reach 980700 person times, the highest in history.

序号	城市	运营线	运营里程 (公里)	运营车站数 (座)	客运量(万人次)			(万人次)	客运周转量	列车运行图	正点率
	1.14-	路条数						2022年12月份	(万人次公里)	兑现率	
1	上海	20	825.0	407	227926.1	18274.5	125467.3	10028.6	2059195.4	99.94%	99.88%
2	北京	27	797.3	383	226192.4		124261.9		2169056.4	99.98%	99.93%
3	广州	18	609.8	312	231874.1	11776.3	127332.2		1855979.9	100.00%	99.99%
4	深圳 成都	17	558.6	322	175425.7	14376.0	106272.7		1398002.1	99.79%	99.98%
5	Contraction of the local division of the loc	13	557.8	317	157175.7	11388.4	89011.4		1267932.1	100.00%	
6	杭州	12	516.0	251	96364.9	and the second sec	59438.2		818491.0	100.00%	100.00%
7	武汉	14	504.3 448.8	315	89352.6		57499.1		707906.5	99.98% 100.00%	99.98%
8	南京			211	76515.4		42132.9		1107 1110	10010070	
9	重庆	10	434.6	223	91083.5		60013.3	and the second sec	787903.6	99.97%	99.969
10	青岛	8	323.8	158	28403.3		20387.1	1086.0	291249.0	100.00%	
11	天津	8	286.0	181	31950.2		19982.6		229480.7	100.00%	99.99%
12	西安	8	272.4	173	76881.2	the state of the s	48963.0		582587.9	100.00%	99.98%
13	苏州	7	254.2	181	33344.1	2316.0	20765.4		241786.0	100.00%	100.00%
14	郑州	8	233.0	148	29275.5		18908.2		225095.7	100.00%	99.99%
15	沈阳	10	216.7	159	29231.7		19818.6		199058.7	98.29%	99.92%
16	大连	5	212.6	85	13654.0		10811.2	and the second se	148159.9	99.99%	99.95%
17	长沙	7	209.1	130	57782.6		31922.3		343497.6	100.00%	99.98%
18	宁波	6	186.0	127	25658.7		14638.0		151625.8	99.98%	100.00%
19	合肥	5	168.8	133	26557.5		18093.0		185959.6	100.00%	99.99%
20	昆明	6	165.9	103	18527.5		13729.3		172003.3	100.00%	99.97%
21	南昌	4	128.5	94	23908.9	1635.3	14166.0		139425.8	100.00%	99.99%
22	南宁	5	128.2	93	27335.2		16388.7		162619.7	100.00%	99.97%
23	佛山	6	127.3	81	18283.2		11176.4		171232.0	100.00%	99.99%
24	无锡	4	110.8	80	11954.9		8223.4	the second se	76013.5	100.00%	100.009
25	福州	4	110.7	74	11327.5		9093.7		79548.1	99.99%	99.99%
26	长春	5	106.7	89	11430.0	492.5	8104.1	351.9	68922.0	99.97%	99.95%
27	厦门	3	98.4	66	19721.1	1318.9	15162.1	1014.9	147233.5	100.00%	100.00%
28	济南	3	84.1	41	5455.4	204.4	4051.1	153.6	53652.4	100.00%	99.98%
29	哈尔滨	3	78.1	62	13359.0		8975.2	321.7	84439.8	100.00%	99.99%
30	贵阳	2	74,4	55	9303.4	576.2	7388.1	456.4	78943.0	100.00%	99.98%
31	石家庄	3	74.3	60	8687.7	307.7	6376.3	222.9	37734.5	100.00%	99.98%
32	徐州	3	64.1	51	5888.9	341.5	4188.5	244.4	36822.0	100.00%	100.00%
33	常州	2	54.0	43	4489.8	264.9	3661.8	217.5	30273.9	99.98%	99.95%
34	温州	1	52.5	18	803.4	52.7	803.4	52.7	13342.4	100.00%	99.96%
35	呼和 浩特	2	49.0	43	3307.8	125.3	2695.0	100.6	19305.9	100.00%	99.97%
36	绍兴	2	47.1	27	2374.7	130.5	1588.3	78.5	23129.5	100.00%	99.98%
37	芜湖	2	46.2	35	2278.3	133.7	2001.7	109.9	15985.0	99.85%	99.74%
38	洛阳	2	43.5	33	2914.5		2227.1		18715.6	100.00%	99,99%
39	前通	1	38.5	28	151.2	74.3	151.2		1496.0	100.00%	99.97%
40	东莞	1	37.8	15	3239.7	195.6	3239.7		39244.9	100.00%	99.989
41	乌鲁木齐	1	26.8	21	1750.6		1750.6		15423.0	100.00%	99.98%
42	黄石	1	26.8	29	-	-	-	_		-	-
43	兰州	1	25.5	20	3557.6	113.4	3557.6	113.4	33188.9	100.00%	100.005
44	太原	1	23.3	22	2886.6		2886.6		19395.9	100.00%	100.00%
45	淮安	1	20.1	23	566.4		566.4		5664.0	99.94%	100.005
46	旬容	1	17.3	5	407.3		247.0		4135.5	100.00%	99.989
47	高兴	1	13.8	16	107.8		107.8		743.6	100.00%	99.149
48	文山	1	13.4	10	29.5		29.1	1.4	280.4	99.71%	99.96%
49	天水	1	12.9	12	56.1	2.1	56.1	2.1	443.0	100.00%	99,999
50	= 42	1	8.4	15	75.8		75.8		265.4	99,99%	99,995
51	昆山	1	6.0	3	804.7	83.6	408.3		4828.1	99.44%	100.009
-		290	9583.8	5609	194.0	11.6	116.9	6.9	1560	99.94%	99.97%
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#### 2022 年城市轨道交通运营数据速报

Fig. 1

#### 2.2. History of Harbin Metro

Harbin Metro has experienced ups and downs from preparation, approval, design and construction to final opening and operation. As early as the 1970s, the Shenyang Military Region decided to build a war readiness tunnel in the capital cities of the three northeastern provinces. In order to achieve the important goal of "combining peacetime and wartime", Harbin decided to use the tunnel to build subway lines. Because this project began preparation on August 1, 1973, it was named the "7381" Giant Underground Project. In 1979, six years after the project began, due to insufficient funds, the construction of the "7381" project ceased, and the first and second underground floors of the shallow tunnel were temporarily used for commercial street purposes. In 1995, the decision-making team proposed two development suggestions. The first suggestion was to prioritize the construction of subways; The second opinion is to give priority to the development of the north bank of the Songhua River. Finally, the opinion of giving priority to the development of the north bank of the Songhua River prevails, and the preparation of the subway is put on hold.



#### Fig. 1

In 1998, Harbin established a subway office again and subsequently applied to the National Development and Reform Commission for the construction of subway projects. However, at that time, the state strictly controlled infrastructure investment, so the response of the National Development and Reform Commission was to stop approving all subway projects nationwide. Four years later, the state's investment in infrastructure has loosened. The National Development and Reform Commission has stipulated that cities with an annual gross domestic product of more than 100 billion yuan and financial revenue of more than 10 billion yuan are eligible to apply for subway projects. Harbin meets the above conditions, and immediately began to systematically formulate the urban subway construction plan for the recent 10 years and the long-term 10 years. On April

11, 2004, the State Council made a decision during the first quarter economic situation analysis meeting, stating that due to the overheated economic situation, the reporting of subway projects nationwide was temporarily postponed. A year later, Harbin reported the subway planning to the National Development and Reform Commission once again, and after obtaining the consent of the National Development and Reform Commission, it reported to the State Council. On June 30 of the same year, the State Council approved the 10-year short-term construction plan of the Harbin Metro Project. So far, the Harbin Metro Project has taken the most important and difficult step and entered the long stage of design and construction.

## 2.3. Urban architecture that draws on the strengths of others

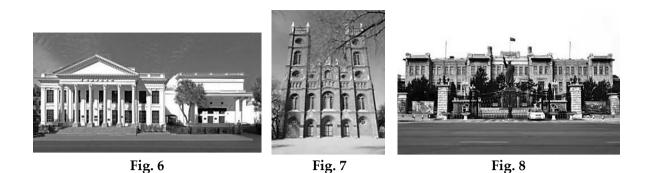
Harbin is a List of National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities in China, as well as a hot tourist city and a famous ice and snow cultural city in China, known as "Ice City", "Oriental Moscow" and "Oriental Little Paris". A hundred years ago, the Middle East Railway laid by Russia brought a large number of Russian immigrants and foreigners exiled due to war. The large number of immigrants from multiple countries brought diverse cultures and urban architectural styles. In Harbin, there are educational bookstores that adopt the style of Baroque architecture (Figure 3), St. Sophia Church that adopts the style of Byzantine architecture (Figure 4), riverside restaurants that adopt the style of Russian architecture (Figure 5), Northeast Martyrs Memorial Hall that adopts the style of Classicism revival architecture (Figure 6), Hulan Catholic Church that adopts the style of Gothic architecture (Figure 7) The office building of the Middle East Railway Administration (Figure 8) and other buildings with different styles are designed in the architectural style of the Art Nouveau Movement. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Harbin rapidly rose, but its former architectural style has been preserved to this day. In order to integrate their design into this city with diverse architectural styles, designers after the founding of the People's Republic of China also adopted the design method of European architecture. The design of the entrance and exit of Harbin subway station is a typical case.



Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5



2.4. Current situation of existing subway entrances and exits

Harbin is located in the northern part of China and belongs to a cold region. The average temperature in winter is around -20 °C. In this climate condition, people's requirements for travel are fast and safe. As a transportation tool that can meet people's travel needs and alleviate urban traffic pressure, the subway has become the first choice for people's travel. As an important industrial city in northern China, Harbin lacks much experience in urban construction due to historical reasons. There is a problem in the design of subway systems in many cities in China, which is that designers separate urban aboveground and underground spaces, and design subway stations as individual structures independent of the city. The reason for this problem is that most designers have insufficient and biased understanding of the transition between urban aboveground and underground spaces. The best solution to this problem is to compare and demonstrate the architectural style and design effect in the early stages of subway station entrance and exit design, including subway line planning and subway station location selection.

After on-site investigation, it was found that the interior and platforms of some subway stations in Harbin are designed in a modern and minimalist manner, with beautiful decoration and cutting-edge fashion. The interior of some metro stations will be designed separately according to the characteristics of the station or the landmark buildings, culture and regional characteristics around the station. While facilitating the travel of passengers, it will also play a role in introducing the station, guiding the characteristics around the station, and outputting Urban culture (Figure 9). Most of Harbin Metro adopts independent entrances and exits, and some of them adopt attached entrances and exits, which are shared with railway stations and supermarket entrances around the station, so that passengers can get off the train and arrive at the destination quickly, indirectly driving economic development. Most of the independent entrances and exits adopt a European style design, surrounded by dark green columns, curved domes, and glass curtain walls (Figure 10), which complement the local architecture. Although they have regional characteristics, they lack inherent Chinese culture. In urban design, on the one hand, it is necessary to meet the needs of urban development, and on the other hand, it is necessary to integrate Harbin's profound cultural heritage into it.





Fig. 9

Fig. 10

## 3. Reconstructing Imagination

Intention "is a subjective consciousness that creates the image of something through certain design techniques or means. And 'shape' is an objective existence. The concept of intentional modeling comes from the famous Italian architect Mr. I. M. Pei, who mentioned in the book "Characteristics of Chinese Architecture" that "the most important feature of architecture is its form, and the form is 'intention'. Only 'intention' can create a building with vitality". In China, there are two different interpretations of the term 'intention': the first one believes that 'intention' refers to 'image'; The second type believes that 'intention' refers to 'intention' network.

The macro rhythm, micro patterns, style balance, and good relationships between various elements that are composed of different buildings, structures, and urban facilities in a city must be based on a harmonious order. Order is one of the goals of urban construction under modernism, which pursues the integrity of urban space, the order of structure, and the continuity of vision.

The design intention in architecture is a subjective design method that combines people's life experience and rules, and integrates them into architectural design, endowing the work with an intuitive emotional resonance. The intentional design of architecture originates from the emotional injection of human psychology into the building. With the continuous deepening of design, the control of architectural design details can more intuitively reflect the true emotions in the designer's heart, truly experience the expression of the beauty of architectural art and the collision and fusion of designer imagination and realism, thus achieving the spiritual exchange between designers and users, and achieving emotional communication across time and space.

### 3.1. Expression of Intentional Modeling in Architectural Design

The design style of architecture is not only the business card of a city, but also the cultural symbol of a city. The architectural design itself is a cultural symbol of a city and an external manifestation of urban civilization. From the perspective of architectural design, the task of architects is to combine traditional cultural symbols with modern functions, creating buildings that not only conform to historical context, but also reflect modern spirit and era characteristics. Therefore, architectural design should not only consider functionality, technology, and aesthetics, but also cultural and spiritual aspects. In the past decades, Chinese architects have been committed to the exploration of Semiotics and design philosophy in architectural creation. The application of Semiotics in architectural design to modeling creation can not only show local cultural characteristics, but also reflect modern aesthetic characteristics. By abstracting and refining various traditional architectural forms, transforming them into symbols to express modern design concepts.

The inspiration for designer imagery design comes from their subjective cognition and image generalization of various different things in their personal lives. While retaining rational characteristics and common image associations, it also contains the designer's subjective imagination and creativity. It is a cognitive image that is innovatively constructed in people's thinking, retaining perceptual characteristics. In this process, people will subjectively associate and creatively map their perception of things. This association and mapping combines our thinking with emotional impressions and concretizes them into rational images. This comprehensive way of thinking not only enables us to better understand and explain the world, but also inspires our creativity and imagination. Therefore, we can say that in the cognitive process, the subjective association and creative consciousness mapping of the subject play an important role, helping us break the limitations of traditional thinking and explore new thinking paths. Architectural intention refers to the fusion of the environment, situational atmosphere, and architecture in people's lives. The feeling of an individual building depends on the situation and characters they are in at the time, and the expression of architectural intention cannot be separated from the surrounding environment. Applying the theory of intentional form design to the design of buildings and structures requires the integration of the surrounding environment, relevant personnel, as well as local cultural and environmental characteristics, in order to meet people's safety and protection while also incorporating more emotions. Enable every user related to architecture to perceive the true meaning conveyed by the design itself. Therefore, imagery modeling should not only reflect the architecture itself, but also the spirit of the place, that is, the combination of space and time.

Our lives cannot be separated from architecture. Architecture, with its real and complex practical existence, integrates into our lives. Different periods, environments, weather figures, and other influences can also bring different feelings to people. For the feeling of people in architecture, designers use rich and precise details and incorporate special elements to depict, allowing people to truly feel the actual feeling brought by art. Different people have different opinions on art, but their expressions of architecture are the same in the same environment. Emotional judgment is the way to transform the category of design concept into the expression of architectural Plastic arts. It selects appropriate formal elements for artistic expression, thus forming the expressive attributes of form and the organization and application techniques of its artistry, which are the bridges to achieve transformation. In the era of information technology, everything has the meaning of information. The understanding of the meaning, image, and characteristics of a place has become extremely diverse and blurred, leading to a rich and free understanding. With the free amplification of cognitive intention towards things, the transformation of understanding the meaning of things often directly affects the understanding of the expression of images and the change of expression methods. Therefore, designers need to recognize this transformation and respond flexibly to ensure the artistic and expressive power of the design work.

### 3.2. Generation of building forms for subway station entrances and exits

Firstly, when designing the subway station space, we should consider the overall aspect and unify all design contents to solve problems based on commonalities. The design of subway station space should highlight the overall characteristics of its group environment, and consider the mutual reference relationship between various constituent elements. Specifically, for the design of a single station area space, the architectural space should be designed from the perspective of the subway station as a whole, as the integration of form can fully showcase and reflect the image and personality of the city or region. Especially for the entrance and exit space that serves as a connecting space between the ground and the underground, its design characteristics should continue to be consistent inside and outside, forming a sense of unity. Secondly, when considering the design of the entire subway line, it is necessary to pass through different urban streets and unify the city image in an appropriate way. For general subway stations, slight changes can be made on the basis of a certain prototype, in order to achieve the unity of subway installation and construction, accelerate construction, and ensure the identifiability of the entire line. For key subway stations in special areas of the city, such as Interchange station, transportation hubs or stations with urban characteristics, they should be carefully studied and refined. On the premise of respecting the existing environment of the city, it is necessary to find a balance point that can not only express regional and individual characteristics, but also seek changes in the overall design. From this, it can be seen that the design of subway station space should start from the overall perspective, pay attention to echoing the image and personality of the city, and make appropriate differentiation designs based on the location and function of different stations to achieve unity and identifiability of the design.

The formal elements of architecture, in terms of their individual or overall expression, all lie in their entirety. Architecture exists as a whole, but its individual nature cannot be ruled out. Individuals in architectural forms, with their unique form and expressive power, successfully interpret real life experiences, and present them in more vivid and concrete ways in their original artistic forms. The artistic expression in architectural forms originates from life and is higher than life. While retaining its own meaning, it enriches and covers the details of life in a special form, perfectly combining art and life. This is the expression of architectural form art. The significance of architectural form can not only be felt and reflected through people's aesthetic experience, but also closely related to the attributes of the building elements themselves and the interrelationships between elements. In addition, the significance of architectural forms also depends on their role and significance in people's life experiences. Therefore, we can say that architectural form is a comprehensive experience that is influenced not only by individual aesthetic feelings, but also by the combination relationship between architectural elements, and is also related to the role and significance that architecture plays in people's lives. Through this comprehensive experience, people can have a more comprehensive understanding and experience of the meaning of architectural forms.

The entrance and exit of subway stations serve as a "wave valley" element in the composition of the urban skyline, which means accepting people's viewing from multiple angles. The form design must be comprehensive and there must be no aesthetic blind spots. In contemporary architecture, it is often composed of points, lines, and surfaces. Through simple combinations, it forms an intuitive geometric form, which can better plan spatial combinations and divide spatial areas. For buildings that use separate spaces such as subway station entrances and exits, there are no high requirements for mechanical load-bearing structures. Therefore, using more complex and irregular geometric combinations can often achieve unexpected visual effects and better high-light the artistic conception that the building itself wants to express, demonstrating a clearer form composition.

## 4. "Busy and bustling" subway station entrances and exits

Architect Bei Liming once said: If an architect wants to create something, they must discover it, otherwise your building will wither, you will not be excited, and you will not achieve much. As is well known, the names of various provinces in China are often related to mountains, rivers, and rivers. Heilongjiang Province is named after Heilongjiang and is the only province in China with the same name as the province. Heilongjiang gets its name because it flows through black land, and the river water contains more Humus. The water is black and winding like a dragon (Figure 11). This case takes the character "dragon" in Heilongjiang as the clue, with the Chinese dragon as the main image, and carries out intentional design to showcase the unique cultural heritage of the Chinese dragon.

The word "traffic and horses" comes from Li Yu's "Senna occidentalis River, How Much Hate": "It is still like the old time traveling to the garden, and the cars are like running water and horses like dragons". It describes the endless stream of cars and horses, and the bustling and bustling. This name can better reflect the urban outlook of Harbin, where the economic growth rate has changed from negative to positive since 2020, and the people live and work in peace and contentment.



Fig. 11

#### 4.1. Implementation of the plan

The stage of building design is divided into four steps: 1. Assumption: Harbin is the capital of Heilongjiang Province, with the idea of using the "Chinese dragon" as a clue to showcase the unique charm of Harbin. 2. Conception: After intentional modeling design, the shape of the Chinese dragon is extracted (Figure 12), and Abstraction and conceptual outlines are made. The long and narrow straight lines and transitional curves are used as the main keynote of the architectural modeling (Figure 13). 3. Elements: Paired with orange geometric elements for auxiliary styling, highlighting the sense of architectural strength. 4. Outline: Using the above thinking process and selected elements, outline the appearance of the structure and integrate emotional elements into the spiritual level. Not only does it possess practicality at the material level, but it also possesses aesthetic appreciation at the spiritual level, achieving cultural inheritance and design innovation (Figure 14). The use of symbolic techniques in architectural design can not only reflect the era characteristics of architectural design, but also express specific meanings, reflect architects' understanding of historical, cultural, and regional characteristics, and express their unique feelings for creative inspiration.

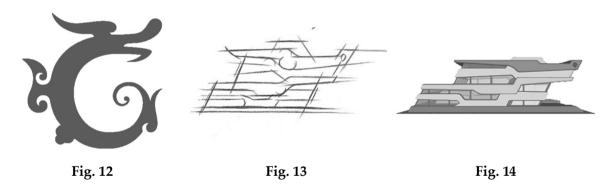
### 4.2. Design concept of "people-oriented"

With the continuous improvement of China's economic level, people have also put forward higher requirements for living environment. This requires architectural designers to strengthen their emphasis on architectural design work, with "people-oriented" as the core content of architectural design, while also emphasizing the integration of sustainable development and people-oriented concepts in the design to improve the quality and efficiency of construction projects.

Due to the geographical location and historical development process of Harbin, the orientation of Urban culture is based on national culture, and integrates Zhongyuan cul-

ture, local culture, Western European culture, anti-Japanese war culture, music and art culture and other characteristics. The integration of these cultures can be further condensed and sublimated in design. In addition, Harbin, as the capital city of China with the highest latitude and lowest temperature, has long winters accompanied by strong winds and snow. Ice and snow culture is an important component of the people's lives in Harbin, which not only meets the aesthetic needs of the people, but also meets the needs of spatial art and culture. Considering the unique climate conditions in Harbin, in order to meet the psychological needs of passengers, warm colors should be the main color scheme. In addition, the cold resistance of subway stations is particularly important. The Revolving door design is adopted in this case, which has excellent sealing performance, can keep the station warm in extremely cold weather, reduce energy consumption, and save energy. At the same time, this design can also reduce the invasion of dust in windy weather, which is beneficial for maintaining the hygiene condition of the station.

Compared to other buildings in the city, subway entrances and exits are smaller in size, but they are the ones that best reflect humanistic care and shape the city's highlights. In the design of subway stations, passengers should be given top priority and the above ground and underground environments should be linked to better serve passengers of different age groups while ensuring safety and comfort. The addition of accessible channels reflects the care for disabled people and facilitates their travel.



#### 4.3. Basic Data

The main body of the building is 25 meters long, 10 meters wide, and 8 meters high. The base part is supported by reinforced concrete, and the surrounding part is made of steel structure frame, covered with metal aluminum plates, and interspersed with tempered glass. It has good lighting effects and enhances the transparency of the entrance, providing good conditions for the lighting of the building. On the basis of innovative design and breakthrough in form, this case strives to combine with the surrounding environment and context, with a heavily decorated exterior design that complements other buildings in Harbin, forming a jumping but not isolated overall visual effect (Figure 15).



Fig. 15

#### 5. Conclusion

The embodiment of intentional modeling in architectural design includes people's life experiences and emotional expression, bringing not only simple beauty, but also the collision and fusion of emotional thinking creation and rational realism. Taking the entrance and exit of Harbin subway station as an example, this paper briefly expounds the application method of intentional modeling design in architectural design, and provides a set of subway station entrance and exit cases that conform to the characteristics of Urban culture of Harbin and are suitable for cold cities. Strive to enhance the overall image of urban transportation ancillary buildings, achieve the goal of stimulating urban vitality, enhancing development value, increasing humanistic care, and increasing citizens' sense of identity.

From the perspective of urban design, taking the entrance and exit of Harbin Metro Line 1 University of Science and Technology Station as an example, this paper briefly discusses the application of intentional modeling in the design of subway entrance and exit. First, through the study of urban design concepts, it proposes to introduce the concept of intentional modeling into the design of subway station entrance and exit, and then analyzes the current situation and existing problems of Harbin Metro subway entrance and exit, Finally, it is proposed to apply the concept of intentional modeling to the design of subway entrances and exits. Through the research on the application of intentional modeling in the design of subway station entrances and exits, the subway station entrances and exits can not only meet the Functional requirement but also have regional characteristics, making the subway station entrances and exits more identifiable.

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# Digital Display and Dissemination Design of Oroqen Intangible Cultural Heritage

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Abstract

Intangible cultural heritage refers to the various traditional cultural expressions passed down from generation to generation by people of various ethnic groups as part of their cultural heritage, as well as the objects and places related to traditional cultural expressions. The Oroqen nationality is one of the smallest ethnic groups living in the northeast of China. In the long-term hunting production and social practice, Oroqen people have created a rich and colorful spiritual culture. Intangible cultural heritage is an important part of the traditional excellent cultural system, is an important part of the socialist cultural system, and helps to enhance the soft power of cultural development. Digitization is the inevitable trend of the development of the Times. It is of great practical significance to use online platform to inherit and promote Oroqen's material cultural heritage<sup>1</sup>.

**Keywords**: Oroqen nationality, intangible cultural heritage, digital display and communication, online platform

## 1. Overview of Oroqen nationality

The Oroqen nationality is one of the ethnic groups with the smallest population living in the northeast of China. The Oroqen people use Oroqen language, which belongs to the Tungusic branch of the Manchurian and Tungusic languages of the Altai family. There is no native language, but Chinese is generally used, and some Oroqen use Mongolian. The Oroqen nationality is mainly distributed in Oroqen Autonomous Banner, Buha Banner (now Zhalantun City), Molidavar Daur Autonomous Banner in Hulunbuir League, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and Huma, Xunke, Aihui, Jiayin and other counties in northern Heilongjiang Province. In the long-term hunting production and social practice, Oroqen people have created a rich and colorful spiritual culture.

The Oroqen people believe in shamanism with natural attributes and animistic ideas. This religion is closely bound up with the primitive ideas peculiar to the people. Their form of religion, manifested as nature worship, totem worship and ancestor worship,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This research is a key research project (base project) in the economic and social development of Heilongjiang Province in 2021. The research project's title is "Research on Cultural Products of Digital Art", and it is identified by the project number 21412.

"shaman" is the communication between god and man messengers. Shamanism embraces quite a number of deities. The natural gods worshipped by the Oroqen people include the Sun god, the Moon god, the Big dipper god, the Fire god, the Heaven god, the Earth god, the Wind god, the Rain god, the Thunder god, the Water god, the Grass god and the Mountain god. Ancestor worship was very popular in Oroqen, and still is.

# 2. Intangible cultural heritage

Intangible cultural heritage refers to the various traditional cultural expressions passed down from generation to generation by people of various ethnic groups as part of their cultural heritage, as well as the objects and places related to traditional cultural expressions. Intangible cultural heritage is an important symbol of the historical and cultural achievements of a country and a nation, and an important component of excellent traditional culture. "intangible cultural heritage" is the opposite of "material cultural heritage", collectively referred to as "cultural heritage".

## 2.1. Intangible cultural heritage and protection

According to the Law of the People's Republic of China on Intangible Cultural Heritage, intangible cultural heritage refers to various traditional cultural expressions passed down from generation to generation by people of different ethnic groups. It is considered part of the national cultural heritage. On August 2, 2021, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and The General Office of the State Council issued the Opinions on Further Strengthening the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage. This document listed the construction of intangible cultural heritage experience facilities as a significant aspect of non-genetic inheritance and protection. On May 25, 2021, the 14th Five-Year Plan for the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage was released by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. It specifically proposed the construction of 20 national intangible cultural heritage museums during the 14th Five-Year Plan period. Concurrently, local governments and social forces will receive support to establish intangible cultural heritage museums with local, ethnic, and industrial characteristics, tailoring them to their unique attributes. Additionally, the plan involves the renovation or creation of new heritage experience centers. This formation of a comprehensive heritage and experience facility system, integrating inheritance, experience, education, training, and tourism functions, underscores the central government and the state's significant commitment to constructing intangible cultural heritage museums and showcasing intangible cultural heritage.

Every entity undergoes processes of production, growth, continuation, and extinction, including "intangible cultural heritage". Its future follows a dynamic trajectory. When an "intangible heritage" cannot be consciously passed on by future generations and must be preserved passively through external efforts, the duration of its preservation must be considered. Similarly, when an "intangible cultural heritage" requires protection through

project applications and struggles to sustain itself, contemplation is necessary regarding the numerous intangible cultural heritages that have not been included in World Heritage applications. Many of these reside in remote villages that receive little attention until they fade away with time. The influences of modernization and commercialization lead to the gradual loss of the original context and social environment of intangible cultural heritage, resulting in its slow demise. Placing a cultural project within a protective "greenhouse" for future generations to observe, experience, and appreciate from the outside may inadvertently signify a form of lament.

The protection of intangible cultural heritage represents a significant avenue for upholding the rich traditional Chinese culture, serving as a vivid historical testament to China's extensive cultural history. Moreover, it stands as a crucial spiritual pillar for fostering national identity and preserving national unity.

## 2.2. Nature and characteristics of intangible cultural heritage

Intangible cultural heritage is the cultural wealth preserved by ancestors through daily life practices. It stands as a living cultural heritage rooted in the people's foundation. It places emphasis on the skills, experiences, and spirit of individuals as its core. Over the course of history, intangible cultural heritage naturally takes shape and undergoes constant development. While the intangible cultural heritage passed down through generations experiences constant innovation due to changes in the ethnic group's environment, the mutual connection with nature and historical circumstances, the cultural identity and historical essence of heritage remain unaltered. However, in today's materialistic society where spiritual space is severely constrained, "intangible cultural heritage" also inevitably experiences varying degrees of materialization during the declaration process. This shift is driven not only by individual needs but also by the assistance of local governments, turning the application into a method of local advertising, tourism promotion, and value enhancement. Without the incentive of economic interests, there would be few individuals who would pay heed to "intangible cultural heritage" from a cultural standpoint. Determining how to avoid the excessive materialization and packaging of intangible cultural heritage, surmount the barriers and constraints of material form, and preserve the intangible attributes of "intangible cultural heritage" represents the essential stance to honor the legacy passed down by our ancestors.

# 3. Oroqen ethnic handicraft culture

## 3.1. National Costumes

In order to adapt to the cold geographical environment, Oroqen people must choose warm clothing to withstand the cold in winter. Therefore, Oroqen people choose roe deer skin as the main raw material to make clothing. Oroqen people worship "animistic" shamanism and are deeply influenced by shamanic culture. Shamans dress as Oroqen people's religious attire. Under the influence of this culture, Oroqen people's traditional attire also prominently displays various stylistic features, reflecting the achievements of Oroqen culture and art. The shaman's garment takes the form of a collar robe, primarily made from roe deer skin, sheepskin, and deer skin, which provides warmth and protection against the cold while emphasizing their totemic worship. For a long time, Oroqen people have been hunting in the mountains, chasing roe deer and wild deer, and often need to navigate across the mountains. Thus, Oroqen people's clothing needs to be durable and wearable to prevent it from being scratched by branches. Additionally, Oroqen's animal skin clothing symbolizes the wisdom of Oroqen people, representing a rule and historical record, as well as a silent form of culture and language.

The roe deer skin processed by Oroqen women is robust, soft, and lightweight. The roe deer skin and head cap, crafted to suit the cold climate and hunting lifestyle, possess distinct uniqueness. The attire of the Oroqen people effectively showcases the characteristics of a hunting nation.



Roe deer head cap and roe deer skin

#### 3.2. Birch bark crafts

The hunting nations residing in the northern Hemisphere share a common culture known as the birch culture. Meanwhile, the Oroqen people, situated in the Greater and Lesser Hinggan Mountains, have effectively showcased their distinctive birch culture. Throughout its extensive history, the Oroqen people, whose lives revolved around hunting, utilized animal skins and birch bark as primary materials. Animal skins were fashioned into clothing for warmth, while birch products permeated all aspects of Oroqen life. From cradles made of birch for newborns to marriage-related items such as birch leather boxes and sewing containers, birch played a central role. Birch skin dwellings were commonplace, as were birch skin boats used for hunting and birch skin products used in burial rituals. Even everyday items like pots and pans were crafted from birch skin, underscoring the Oroqen people's deep reliance on birch-based products. These birch items were meticulously adorned with intricate patterns and designs, representing the Oroqen people's aesthetic sensibility and reflecting both their material and spiritual existence.



The Orogen community's habitat is abundant in birch trees, and they harnessed the birch bark through a two-step processing to create everyday essentials. Over an extended period of development, birch bark culture became an integral facet of Orogen heritage. The Orogen people harnessed the resilient, thin, and easily cut birch bark, applying techniques like ironing, carving, cutting, weaving, folding, and sewing to produce intricately embellished and diverse birch bark artifacts. The Orogen's handicraft industry has perpetually remained within the realm of primitive cottage-level production. Their handmade creations, including animal skin and birch products, constitute crucial elements of their everyday necessities and tools alongside their hunting and gathering endeavors. Whether it's the birch boats used by men for hunting or the daily birch utensils employed by women for household chores, as well as everyday furnishings and production implements, birch skin lies at the heart of their craftsmanship. These lightweight, resilient birch products seamlessly integrate with their hunting-centered lifestyle. The birch bark art of the Orogen nationality stands as a cherished cultural legacy, holding immense aesthetic and historical research value. It can be regarded as the vibrant embodiment of Orogen national culture, akin to a living cultural relic.



Birch bark products

Birch bark handicrafts are an important part of Oroqen ethnic culture, with strong national and regional characteristics, as well as being an important carrier of the material culture and spiritual culture of the ethnic group. They represent the distinct regional cultural characteristics of the Oroqen people. Birch bark handicrafts reflect the spiritual pursuit of the Oroqen people and demonstrate the unique aesthetic standards of the Oroqen people. They depict the rich and colorful hunting life of the Oroqen nationality and possess distinct regional aesthetic characteristics.

The traditional means of transportation for the Oroqen people mainly includes reindeer, horses, birch boats, animal boats, rafts, skis, and sledges. Reindeer were commonly used before the southern migration, after which they were gradually replaced by horses. The Oroqen used a boat based on horse skin, within which they used hides or deer skin. The birch bark boat is crafted from local materials and is simple to create. The entire ship does not require an iron nail. It is constructed from campanulus pine slats from the Greater Hinggan Mountains, and the birch bark that grows in the high and cold area is used as the carrier. The shape of the ship is reminiscent of a willow leaf, being open with a wider middle hull, and pointed, slightly upturned bow and stern – resembling a split shuttle. The height of the ship is only about 20 centimeters, the length ranges from 5–6 meters, and the width measures 70–80 centimeters. The entire hull is flat, light, fast, and easy to carry.





Birch bark boat

When Oroqen people made and taught birch bark techniques, they grasped the entire process of birch bark making techniques. They combined this with their deep understanding of the beauty of nature and vividly presented patterns on birch bark products. These patterns were their own interpretations, understanding, and yearnings for beautiful things. Oroqen people expressed their positive memories and wishes through the patterns of these plants and animals, creating a unique and pure form of beauty.

# 4. Digital display and dissemination of Oroqen culture

## 4.1. Digital technologies

Digital media is a form of communication that utilizes digital technology to offer information and services to users through computer networks, wireless communication

networks, satellites, and other channels, along with terminals such as computers, mobile phones, and digital television sets. The case of digital media art in contemporary exhibition design contributes to applying new media forms in exhibition visual design.

Digital technology can directly convert intangible cultural heritage resources into digital format. Compared to regular intangible cultural heritage resources, digital resources save time and improve quality, which is significantly better than traditional protection methods. With the aid of the Internet and information technology, sharing intangible cultural heritage resources becomes relatively simple, which also aids in their dissemination and inheritance. Extract the primary attribute features of non-legacy text and form the corresponding keyword database. Holographic images of intangible resources can be applicable, enabling different process flows for the protection and inheritance of intangible resources. This way, the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage resources can retain original characteristics and provide a solid foundation for the innovative development of intangible resources in the future.

## 4.2. Display in digital animation form

The display in the form of digital animation mainly refers to showcasing the Oroqen intangible cultural heritage, which includes various widely circulated small stories among the people. In the past, the preservation of such intangible cultural heritage primarily relied on written records, featuring relatively limited communication channels and a narrower audience scope. We can introduce a new series of science and technology animated short films to provide a cultural "feast". This approach allows young people to experience culture and history in a relaxed and enjoyable atmosphere, immersing them in the richness of traditional Chinese culture. Each episode presents a piece of knowledge about the traditional culture of the Oroqen ethnic group. These episodes are both systematic and independent, enabling quick acquisition of valuable and interesting historical and cultural insights within a few minutes of video, forming a comprehensive cultural knowledge system.

The abstract and less engaging contents from the intangible cultural heritage of the Oroqen nationality can be transformed into vibrant and diverse animation forms using multimedia technology. This transformation can better engage the audience's senses and increase their interest in the non-heritage aspects of Oroqen nationality. Animation represents a tangible form of film and television performing arts, known for its intuitive, lively, and vivid characteristics. By combining Oroqen cultural intangible heritage with digital animation technology, we can effectively realize the innovative application of new media technology in digitally presenting intangible cultural heritage.

### 4.3. Interactive method presentation

The use of interactive methods to display Oroqen intangible cultural heritage mainly refers to the display of technical intangible cultural heritage. The skills of the Oroqen peo-

ple include paper-cutting and birch bark handicraft. The audience does not understand the complex process behind these techniques.

Through video recording, we can record the delicate traditional production process of handicraft intangible cultural heritage and the complicated craft techniques of craftsmen. We can also interview the craftsmen. Later, we can edit the recorded video, dub the video and explain the intangible cultural heritage. The purpose is to enable the audience to watch the production process of intangible cultural heritage about skills, the superb craftsmanship of craftsmen and the inheritance stories of intangible cultural heritage craftsmen in the most direct way.

We make use of the interactive characteristics of new media technology to display the intangible cultural heritage of Oroqen nationality skills through videos, so that the audience can fully understand these skills and enhance the real experience of the audience.

#### 4.4. Virtual simulation technology display

The use of virtual simulation technology to display the intangible heritage of Oroqen mainly refers to the display of the intangible heritage of birch bark. The use of 3D digital printing technology in new media technology can realize the simulation of birch bark and ensure the quality of birch bark. Virtual simulation technology shows that the intangible intangible cultural heritage of Oroqen nationality can be transformed into visible and audible data, such as AR and other technologies. Through this technology, users can interact with the virtual world and enhance the user's sense of experience. Users can directly talk and communicate with the characters in the virtual world, and visit the intangible cultural heritage in a new mode, so as to fully understand the unique charm of Oroqen intangible cultural heritage.

#### 4.5. Use of online platforms for communication

With the development of economy and the progress of society, Internet technology continues to improve, and the connection between people and the network is getting closer and closer. The use of online platforms to display Oroqen intangible cultural heritage is mainly to spread its digital platform. On the one hand, more and more people use online platforms for social activities and access to network information. The use of Wechat, Weibo, Douyin and other online platforms to inherit and promote Oroqen intangible cultural heritage can not only break the limitation of time and space, improve the malleability of cultural transmission, but also use the network to design interesting activities and improve learners' interest in learning. The online platform has the advantages of wide service to the masses, fast promotion speed, rich resources and long retention time, and is an important medium for inheriting and promoting Oroqen intangible cultural heritage.

#### 5. Conclusion

Cultural development is the life source of a country and a nation; scientific and technological development is the life source of a country and a nation; innovation serves as a vital engine for cultural development and the wellspring of cultural innovation. The intangible cultural heritage of the Oroqen ethnic group employs digital display methods, digital animation forms, virtual and real interaction techniques, holographic projection, and other scientific and technological approaches to present the intangible culture of the Oroqen ethnic group. Digitalization has become an inevitable trend in the course of development. Utilizing the aforementioned display methods to showcase and promote the intangible culture of the Oroqen nationality through online platforms can enhance the dissemination of Oroqen's intangible cultural heritage, carrying positive significance for the inheritance of China's rich traditional culture and bolstering the self-confidence in Chinese culture.

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# **Comparative Analysis of Georgian and Chinese Families**

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#### Abstract

The People's Republic of China is the country which develops every day. Interest in this country never slow down, due to its colossal achievements. Specialists attract rich and unique Chinese culture, its historic and fabulous heritage, family cultures and traditions. Relationship between the Chinese family and the officials was based on morality of Confucianism. Actuality of this topic is determined by several factors: first of all, Georgian readers have leak of information about the Chinese families, secondly, within one belt and one rode initiative, relationship between Georgia and China is getting closer year by year. "It is not possible for one to teach others, who cannot teach his own family" is a famous quote by Confucius. In China, family has always been of great importance. According to Confucianism, the family was a miniature, small state, in which the father was considered to be a direct "representative" of the emperor, and disruption of the family order was seen as a violation of state order. The family relationship between the family members, like the relationship between the state and officials, was based on Confucian morality. "When trouble comes, it is your family that supports you" is also a famous Chinese quote. The Chinese family is the "core" of the society. It is a close group and provides social values. Unlike the West, the family in China holds great importance, it is more important than the individual. For many years, economic, trade, and political relations between the People's Republic of China and Georgia have been growing and deepening day by day. Even in today's globalization, this multifaceted relationship can affect the change of the Georgian family.

Keywords: Confucius, family, tradition

China's "One Belt, One Road" initiative is one of President Xi's most ambitious endeavors. It marks the beginning of a new phase in relations between the two countries, signifying that the ties between Georgia and China will be further deepened, encompassing all areas.

More than 100 countries and international organizations have supported the "One Belt, One Road" initiative for three years, with Georgia being the most active participant among them. The Chinese side recognizes Georgia's significant potential in the construction process of the "One Belt, One Road". In recent years, China and Georgia have signed a Memorandum of Cooperation for the Development of the Silk Road Economic Zone. The Silk Road Forum was held in Tbilisi, negotiations on a free trade agreement



have been successfully concluded, and Georgia has become a founding member of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. It can be stated that cooperation between the two countries forms a strong foundation for the development of the "One Belt, One Road".

Inter-ethnic ties play an essential role in the "One Belt, One Road" initiative. Cooperation between China and Georgia in the fields of education and culture has facilitated an increase in mutual understanding between our peoples and has brought distant nations closer together. China's population continues to increase every year, both in rural and urban areas. In comparison to 2015, China's population has grown by 8.09 million people, reaching a total of 1.382 billion (excluding the populations of Macao and Hong Kong).

The male population in China totals 708.15 million, while the female population is 674.56 million. There are about 100 women for every 104.98 men. Experts estimate that by 2020, approximately 4 million men in China will not be able to marry due to their significantly higher numbers compared to women. This gender imbalance has been caused by societal changes; most modern families today prefer not to have more than one child and show a preference for having a son, contributing to this skewed gender ratio.<sup>1</sup>

Urban families and family institutions in the People's Republic of China are undergoing evolution and developing distinct characteristics. Family institutions were historically rooted in the morals of Confucianism. Even in modern times, families continue to hold deep respect for their past and heritage. The ownership of personal belongings among family members was a unique aspect of these family institutions. This practice persisted from the fall of the empire in 1911 until the establishment of the People's Republic of China. For instance, in villages within the Shantung Province, family property was collectively owned or held by the entire family unit. Personal belongings were not individually owned by each family member. An unmarried boy would possess only his own clothes, which might even be shared with his younger brothers when needed. However, upon marriage, he would gain exclusive ownership of his clothing.<sup>2</sup>

The earnings of every family member belonged to the entire family, even those who couldn't find work in the village and had to leave their family for extended periods to earn money in distant locations.<sup>3</sup> This situation within peasant families was a consequence of the limited availability of land in the village and the scarcity of factories that processed agricultural products. Family members who resided away from the family's home area would send their entire earnings back to the family, retaining only a minimal amount for their own subsistence. However, this portion was under the complete control of their older brothers. While the incomes of the sons within the family might vary, these differences had no impact on the well-being of their wives or children. Even if one of the brothers earned more than the others, he couldn't use his earnings to provide better living condi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Yang, C.K. A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition. Cambridge, 1959.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> National Bureau of Statistics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Yang, M.C. A Chinese Village: Taitou, Shantung Province. N.Y., 1945.

tions or buy improved clothing for his wife and children due to the lack of control over his own money. As per the prevailing rule at that time: "Any young family member residing under the same roof as others and utilizing family property without the elders' permission would face physical punishment".<sup>4</sup>

Scholars from various fields such as sociology, anthropology, and others examine the family structure, its evolution, and changes in China within the framework of their respective disciplines. Some scholars endorse the establishment of Confucian family principles, while others offer vehement critiques of Confucian ideology.<sup>5</sup> China has consistently endeavored, both historically and in the present, to elevate the societal standing of the family. The country has placed significant emphasis on the advancement of the family institution. The structure of the Chinese family was firmly patriarchal in ancient times, adhering to specific rules and norms. For more than 2,000 years, the family has adhered to the "five good expressions" or "five good qualities"<sup>6</sup>:

- there should be respect for elders and love for children;
- there should be harmony between husband and wife;
- the family should maintain good relations with neighbors;
- the family should be industrious and thrifty;
- the family should attend to environment;

Dr. Zhan Wenjuan, a researcher at the Family Research Centre at Beijing University, pointed out that "since the 1980s, the number of Chinese family members has decreased, with nuclear families consisting solely of parents and their child becoming more prevalent than extended families in terms of percentage. This shift in the model can be attributed to free labor migration and changing attitudes towards family and marriage". In ancient times, the traditional Chinese family comprised three generations (about 19-20 individuals) who coexisted under a single roof. Within such families, established rules governed the hierarchy among sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren, emphasizing respect for the elders.

All relatives were categorized into two groups: "nei ju" (inner-line relatives) and "wai ju" (outer-line relatives)<sup>7</sup>. The first category, "nei ju", encompassed relatives in the paternal line, while the latter included relatives in the maternal line. In the traditional Chinese family model, authority resided with the man, and in case of his passing, it transferred to the eldest son or the eldest woman. Younger members of the family had limited rights but held various obligations. They were restricted from openly expressing all of their emotions and were also prohibited from making direct eye contact with their elders.

In China, elderly individuals held a respected status, and showing deference to adults was a fundamental cultural norm. However, families where three generations coexist

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Vasileva M.S. Traditional Chinese Family as A School of Children Upbringing, Ulan-ude, 2012



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Yashnov, E.E. *Essays on Chinese Peasantry*. Harbin, 1935, p. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Tian, Feng. The Life Cycle of a Modern Chinese Family. Beijing, 2011. p. 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kuzmenko, E.B., Skvortsova, I.A., Tereshkova, N.S. "Features of Relationships in the Chinese family". Young Scientist, 19 (2015): 99–102.

are becoming increasingly rare in contemporary China. There are four types of modern families in China:

- complex family: multiple generations of the family live together, along with other relatives like aunts, uncles, and nephews;
- basic family: parents, spouses, and children live together, but other relatives live separately;
- main family: Spouses and their unmarried children live together;
- single family: Individuals who live alone due to divorce or the death of a spouse;

Globalization, market economic reforms, and openness have transformed the types and structures of Chinese families, particularly in urban areas. The influence of Western culture is notably strong.

Fei Xiaotong's perspective is noteworthy, as he categorizes Chinese families into different groups:

- nuclear families: parents and unmarried children living together;
- extended families: including additional relatives alongside parents;
- united families: Couples residing together;
- incomplete nuclear families: arise when one spouse has passed away or left the family, or if orphans live within the family;

Fei Xiaotong views the extended family as the fundamental social unit<sup>8</sup>.

Today's parents place significant emphasis on their children's education. Around 70% of parents collaborate with their children on homework. The internet has become a valuable resource for parents, making it more convenient to assist their children's education.

Parents residing in rural areas face more challenges concerning their children's education compared to urban parents. This primarily links to the family's financial situation and living standards. The Chinese government is actively working to support rural families by providing educational loans and scholarships. The evident conclusion is that this marks an era of comprehensive changes for Chinese families, impacting various aspects including spousal relationships, family structures, and child-rearing. Traditional closed family models are gradually transitioning toward open and democratic systems, with child-rearing emerging as a pivotal concern. Under the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the family, marriage, motherhood, and childhood are safeguarded by the state. The Marriage Law ensures legal protection for women's rights. Family members bear an obligation to support one another and foster harmonious familial relationships.<sup>9</sup>

In June-July 2021, a questionnaire survey was conducted at a research center in a Chinese university involving 300 participants. The survey results reveal that traditional values continue to influence Chinese families. It's evident that individuals strive to uphold the traditional system of family relationships while simultaneously working to establish a new conceptual family model founded on harmonious connections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Fei, Xiaotong, Changes in Chinese Family Structure, Tianjin, 1982.

Intergenerational understanding emerges as a prominent and intriguing topic. In contemporary China, both in urban and rural areas, providing care for the elderly is regarded as one of the paramount familial responsibilities. Reverence and support for the elderly consistently hold a central position within the heart of every Chinese individual. Scholarly research indicates that one of the prevailing methods of caring for elderly parents is providing care within the home environment.<sup>10</sup>

Modern families, typically comprising two, three, or four members, have become the norm. This transformation has exerted a significant impact on and altered the family's structure. Notably, there has been a profound shift in the dynamic between fathers and children within families. While the former principle was "the younger respects the older", the current perspective revolves around "the child is the center of the family". These shifts carry consequences not solely for individual families but also for society on a broader scale, influencing its stability and overall prosperity.<sup>11</sup>

Today, a new family structure, "4-2-1", is common in regions of China, which means that generations do not live under the same roof and do not share a common household or budget. They help each other financially when needed, and such families are more commonly referred to as family-kinship groups. The family consists of one child, parents, and both maternal and paternal grandparents. This is a new family-kinship group in China, which emerged as a result of the government's policy of encouraging one-person families. In contemporary Chinese society, the extended family type functions, although its size and proportionality have decreased compared to the nuclear family type.

President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, said in his speech in 2015<sup>12</sup>: "We should pay more attention to the family, the childrearing in the family, family values that they are closely connected with the values and assets of the country. Let us develop Chinese traditions more deeply, support family harmony so the younger generation can grow up healthy and be able to care for and take care of the older generation".<sup>13</sup>

The number of members in a traditional Chinese family differs from that in a modern family. While in the past, families consisted of three generations with a total of about 19–20 members, today, this number has decreased to 4–8 members. In major cities like Shanghai, Beijing, and Xi'an, most of the population lives separately. Marriage traditions and customs have also undergone changes. The reverence for womanhood has gained prominence. In ancient China, daughters-in-law lacked rights within the family, often spent their time at home, and were primarily tasked with household chores. Women in ancient China couldn't openly express their feelings and were expected to be devoted to their husbands. However, modern times hold women in high regard within families.

<sup>13</sup> http://www.doc88.com/p-7794591653654.html



<sup>10</sup> 杨敏. 钱英.城市社区老年人养老方式选择及其影响因素研究.护理研究. 2012年1月, 26 卷第1期, 第38页.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ren, Lingling. "Relations in the Chinese Family: Traditions and Changes". *Theories and Problems of Political Studies*, 2017, 6 (3A), pp. 255–263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-02/17/c 1114401712.htm

Chinese culture emphasizes celebrating holidays at home, alongside family members, and preserving the rules and traditions characteristic of ancient China as much as possible. Georgian families follow the Caucasian family pattern, with similar rights and responsibilities among family members as in other Caucasian families. The family holds a central value. Georgian society has become more democratic, yet family relations remain influenced by patriarchal and traditional beliefs, with sex-based status and roles defined by traditional ideas. The modern family emerged due to industrialization, with significant contributions from social progress shaping its evolution. Consequently, opinions on its development are not unequivocal. Debates about its development have persisted for centuries. Presently, a struggle between traditional-conservative and liberal-democratic viewpoints is evident, partly influenced by society's cultural-traditional and religious norms.

The modern family exhibits a division of responsibilities between spouses for child-rearing and housekeeping. In contrast, the traditional family features an authoritarian approach, wherein the husband's role is mainly defined by family management, and the wife's role pertains to childbearing and child-rearing. Conversely, family relationships are more liberal-democratic and urgent, involving joint decisions by spouses. Duties in the family between spouses are also more liberal-democratic. Children often participate in family decisions. The democratization of family relations reshapes role distribution between spouses, moving away from tradition and towards personal qualities and abilities.

In terms of population and annual birth rate, the situation in Georgia and China is radically different. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, Georgia's birth rate has sharply declined, accompanied by an increase in the death toll. Conversely, in China, there is a natural population increase every year. Surveys conducted in both China and Georgia have revealed several common and distinct trends in both countries. The family is a primary policy objective in the People's Republic of China, aiming to establish conditions conducive for families to enhance and elevate their standard of living.

Similarities exist between Georgian and Chinese families. Family holds significance in both societies, with a shared reverence for elders among both the Chinese and the Georgians. Traditions of hospitality and the active role of the older generation in grandchild upbringing are also present. In China, the modern family model exhibits distinctive features such as spousal equality and nuclearity. Certain forms of the modern family were absent in traditional society. In modern Chinese society, women have attained greater independence and freedom. Equality between men and women is upheld in many regions of both China and Georgia. The institution of the family holds immense importance for both Chinese and Georgians, and the tradition of family unity resonates even during major celebrations.

It's worth noting that numerous commonalities exist between Georgian and Chinese families, with parallels observable, such as the involvement of grandmothers in child rearing and the shared tradition of hospitality, where guests are treated with awe and respect. Both the Chinese and Georgian populations endeavor to preserve traditions and customs that have defined their countries for centuries. Some particularly noteworthy ones include:

- respecting adults and supporting parents;
- upholding specific marriage traditions;
- celebrating traditional holidays collectively;
- honoring the memory of those who have passed away and adhering to old customs;
- some families continue to strive for multi-generational living;

## **Conclusion:**

A comparative analysis of Georgian and Chinese families, forming and developing relationships, is one of the interesting and topical issues within the framework of the "One Belt, One Road" initiative. In both countries, family values have changed radically. Modern technology has played its part in this process. Modern Chinese and Georgian families have changed their attitudes towards divorce, and their attitudes towards child sex have been changed: children are no longer being selected by sex.<sup>14</sup>

Family and community studies in Georgia and China are an interdisciplinary field that includes research in history, ethnography, demography, sociology, and other fields. According to surveys conducted in three cities in China (Beijing, Lanchow, Harbin) and three cities in Georgia (Tbilisi, Batumi, Tsalenjikha), the following issues were identified:

- Modern Chinese and Georgian families are partly traditional; their structures and families are similar.
- At the onset of reformation and the period of openness, the material culture and lifestyle of families residing in Chinese cities underwent rapid changes. This process was significantly influenced by factors such as Westernization, globalization of Chinese society, and increased openness.
- In both modern Chinese and Georgian families, customs have undergone partial changes and transformations. Certain traditional elements have been altered, such as the tea ceremony, which has also impacted marriage and funeral rituals, as well as modern maternity practices.
- Contemporary family conditions and traditions, along with values, all contribute to understanding the distinctive characteristics of Chinese and Georgian societal mentalities.

Modern maternity rituals are less stringent. The child in a modern Chinese family is considered akin to an emperor. The rights of both mother and child are regulated not only within the family but also by the laws of the People's Republic of China.

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# Overseas Integration, Innovation and Dissemination of Classical Landscape Art in "The South of the Yangtze River in China"

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Abstract

Chinese classical landscapes in the south of the Yangtze River are unique and far-reaching in the history of world landscape art. This paper first briefly surveys the development history of classical landscapes in the south of the Yangtze River in China, analyses their typical artistic characteristics using Suzhou landscapes as an example, and summarises the artistic charm of contemporary classical landscapes in the south of the Yangtze River in China. Then, it focuses on the contemporary integration and innovation of Chinese traditional landscapes, taking the famous overseas landscapes such as Yiyuan Garden, Canada, as an example to illustrate the way of integration, and taking Lansu Garden in Portland, United States, as an example to discuss its innovative methods; finally, combined with "The Silk Road", this paper discusses the cultural transmission of Chinese classical landscape art, especially some problems of, and explores the cross-cultural experience of Chinese landscapes.

Keywords: Chinese classical landscapes, integration and innovation, cultural transmission, the Silk Road

Classical landscape art in the south of the Yangtze River in China, also known as "Jiangnan Garden". Jiangnan Garden is the most distinctive representative of Chinese garden and the one with the greatest overseas influence. The profound history and unique artistic charm of Jiangnan Garden have attracted the attention of friends from various countries around the world. Against the background of the increasingly close cultural exchanges along the Silk Road, the study of the integration, innovation and spread of Chinese Jiangnan gardens overseas plays a certain role in the exchange and development of the world economy, culture and society.

# 1. A Historical Review of the Development of Jiangnan Gardens in China

The Chinese classical garden landscape is rooted in the profound accumulation of traditional Chinese culture, and is a long-standing and profound garden system that orig-

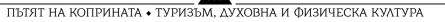
inated in the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties. In the pre-Qin period, the concept of the 'unity of heaven and man' in the Chinese garden began to take shape. During the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, the eclectic combination of culture and religion further developed the art of gardening and contributed to the flourishing of the Tang and Song gardens. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the Chinese-style gardens finally matured and developed into a vast, profound and colourful system. Based on the analysis of historical literature and physical objects, Chinese classical gardens can generally be divided into five periods, namely the generation period, the turning period, the heyday period, the early maturity period and the late maturity period.

### 1.1. Shang, Zhou, Qin and Han Dynasties

Shang, Zhou, Qin and Han. The aristocratic palace of the Shang and Zhou dynasties was the predecessor of the royal gardens. The imperial palace gardens of the Qin and Han dynasties were the mainstream of garden design. On the basis of the Qin dynasty, the Han dynasty developed the early itinerant gardens into imperial gardens and palaces, which consisted mainly of gardens. As well as providing a garden setting for the emperor to relax in, they were also used for ceremonies and court business. The "Weiyang Palace" of Emperor Gaozu of Han, the "Sixian Garden" of Emperor Wen of Han, the "Shanglin Garden" of Emperor Wu of Han, the "East Garden" of King Xiao of Liang (also called Liang Garden, Tu Garden, Sui Garden), and the "Happy Garden" of Emperor Xuan are all famous gardens of this period.

#### 1.2. Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties

The Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties saw the development of private gardens and the flourishing of temple gardens. The scale increased from large to small, and the landscape design changed from excessive supernatural colours to a rich natural atmosphere. The creative method changed from realism to a combination of realism and freehand brushwork. Chinese classical gardens have begun to form a parallel development of three major types: royal, private and temple, and a slightly embryonic garden system. Once upon a time, the social economy was prosperous, culture was flourishing, the literati and officials pursued the beauty of the natural environment, and travelling around famous mountains and rivers became the general fashion of the upper classes. Shan shui became the mainstream of painting. The participation of writers and painters in garden design further developed the "Qin Han model". The garden of the Zhanglun Mansion in the Northern Wei Dynasty, the "Pijiang Garden" of Gu Pijiang in Wujun, the "Qiongpu Garden" and "Lingzhi Garden" of Emperor Wu of Jin, and the "Hualin Garden" of the palace built by the King of Wu in Nanjing are also representative gardens of this period. The Hualin Garden (also known as Fanglin Garden), with its grand scale and magnificent architecture, became one of the most representative gardens of the time.



After a long time, Emperor Wen was praised by Emperor Jianwen of Jin, when he was enjoying himself, he said: "Take a walk in this garden to relax and enjoy the rare leisure and fun in the garden landscape".

## 1.3. Sui and Tang Dynasties

The stylistic characteristics of the garden system during the Sui and Tang dynasties have basically been formed. The formation of the royal style, the artistic sublimation of private gardens, the secularisation of temple gardens, more records of public gardens, and the design skills and techniques of landscape gardens entering a new realm are the northern factions of Chinese gardening. In the area south of the Yangtze River, Shan shui, landscape poetry and landscape gardens intermingled to form a unique style of Chinese landscape architecture. Wang Wei of the Tang dynasty was highly respected at the time. He retired and lived in seclusion in Wangchuan, Lantian County. He designed and built gardens by carefully selecting the terrain and environment. In the garden he designed, there were deep trees, murmuring streams, and beautiful small bridges and pavilions built in front of the hall. These were all built according to the layout of his paintings, and the picturesque landscape expressed the style of his poetry and paintings. Su Shi praised, "Tasting Wang Wei's poetry, painting in poetry: Appreciating Wang Wei's paintings, painting in poetry, mixing poetry, painting and the garden, is unforgettable".

### 1.4. The Period from the Two Song Dynasties to the Early Qing Dynasty

During this historical period from the Song Dynasty to the early Qing Dynasty, most of China's Jiangnan gardens were private gardens of relatively small scale. In exquisite gardens, the overall planning and detailed design were perfected, and the garden style was full of creative and enterprising spirit and fully matured. Garden design shifted to freehand brushwork, and the style of Jiangnan gardens completely shifted to the characteristics of literati gardens. At that time, social stability and economic prosperity provided favourable conditions for the construction of large-scale freehand natural gardens, such as the "Old Summer Palace", "Summer Resort", "Changchun Garden", etc. in the north. Private gardens are the main achievements of the Jiangnan gardens built in the Ming Dynasty, such as "Canglang Pavilion", "Xiuyuan", "Humble Administrator's Garden", "Jichang Garden", and so on. At the same time, in the late Ming Dynasty, the world's first theoretical work on garden design, "Yuanye", was written and completed by Ji Cheng.

# 1.5. The Historical Period from the Middle of the Qing Dynasty to the End of the Qing Dynasty

During the historical period from the middle of the Qing Dynasty to the end of the Qing Dynasty, the art of Chinese gardening became more sophisticated and gradually showed some decadent tendencies. The research of garden theory stagnated, coupled

with social factors such as foreign aggression, the influence of Western culture and the collapse of the national economy, which led to the decline of garden creation. However, the achievements of the Chinese garden have reached the peak of its history, and its gardening techniques have been respected and imitated by Western countries, which has created a "Chinese garden craze" in Western countries. From East to West, the art of Chinese gardening has become the mother of gardening recognised by the world and the wonder of world art





Fig. 1. Jiangnan Garden-1

# 2. The Aesthetic Characteristics and Artistic Charm of Chinese Jiangnan Gardens

Since ancient times, China has been a country full of rich and diverse cultures. Chinese classical gardens are unique in the history of world gardening and an important carrier of Chinese culture. Jiangnan Classical Gardens are the type that best represents the artistic achievements of Chinese classical gardens. It is the unity of landscape culture and garden architecture, and advocates the creation of spatial artistic concept. It embodies the diligence and wisdom of Chinese intellectuals and craftsmen, philosophical and religious ideas such as Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, and traditional arts such as landscape poetry and painting. Since ancient times, it has attracted countless Chinese and foreign tourists.

Influenced by poetry, literature and painting, Jiangnan gardens pursue the "poetic and picturesque charm" of gardens and are mainly located in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces south of the Yangtze River. Jiangnan's classical gardens are most famous for the Suzhou Lingering Garden and the Humble Administrator's Garden. In addition, Yu Garden in Shanghai, Zhanyuan Garden in Nanjing, Jichang Garden in Wuxi, Slender West Lake in Yangzhou, Geyuan Garden, Heyuan Garden, Canglang Pavilion in Suzhou, Lion Grove Garden, etc. are all examples of classical gardens in Jiangnan. Jiangnan gardens have three important characteristics:

#### 2.1. The Skilful Use of Stacked Stone Landscaping and Water Features

Jiangnan Water Town is adept at water features, where water and stone complement each other to form the main landscape of the garden. The Taihu Lake produces wonderful stones that are exquisite and colourful. They are planted in the courtyard and can be enjoyed. Yu Garden in Shanghai, Crepe Cloud Peak in Hangzhou Botanical Garden and Ruiyun Peak in Suzhou are all examples of stacked stone landscape. Later, the Jiangnan Gardens began to use stacked stones as mountains. In addition to Taihu Stone, they also used Huangshi, Xuanshi and other stones. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, there were many famous stone stacking masters, such as Zhou Bingzhong, Ji Cheng, Zhang Nanyuan, Shi Tao, Ge Yuliang, etc., who lived in the Jiangnan area and had a great influence on garden art.

### 2.2. The Architectural Style is Elegant and Simple

Jiangnan gardens follow the characteristics of literati gardens, with elegance and simplicity as their main features. The layout of the garden is free, the architectural form is simple, and the halls are freely arranged. The structure is not fixed, and pavilions, gazebos, corridors and thresholds rotate between them, which is different from the traditional symmetrical form of northern palaces, temples and residences, and is characterised by freshness and freedom.



Fig. 2. Chinese painting with natural themes

### 2.3. There Are Many Kinds of Flowers and Trees, With a Well-Designed Layout

The climate and soil in Jiangnan are suitable for the growth of flowers and trees. The gardens of Suzhou can be regarded as a masterpiece of plants, with many rare flowers and trees, such as camellias in the Humble Administrator's Garden and vines planted by the Ming painter Wen Zhengming. Yangzhou has always been famous for growing flowers. At the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, Yangzhou's peonies were the best in the world, and new and unique varieties, known as Huarui, were constantly being created. Jiangnan

gardens are uniquely endowed and meticulously cultivated by gardeners, resulting in continuous bloom throughout the four seasons.

The principles of plant design in Jiangnan gardens are generally as follows: planting tall trees to shade the scorching sun, planting ancient or beautiful tree shapes (such as Qiu Song and Rouliu) for appreciation, and then embellishing them with the colours and aromas of flowers, fruits and leaves (such as Osmanthus, Red Maple, Kumquat, Wax Plum, Autumn Chrysanthemum, etc.). Various types of bamboo are produced in the Jiangnan region, and year-round evergreen plants are an important feature of Jiangnan gardens. Many vines and grapevines can be planted to enhance the wildness of mountains and forests. The popular field of modern landscape research – soundscape, which dates back hundreds of years, has become one of the characteristics of Jiangnan gardens, such as lotus leaves in the rain, plantains, birds singing on the branches, cicadas chirping and so on.





Fig. 3. Jiangnan Garden-2

### 2.4. Jiangnan Garden Is a Treasure of World Architectural Art

In a word, Chinese garden has a history of more than 3000 years, which is a treasure of world architectural art and a precious historical heritage of mankind. Traditional Chinese garden art creates a sense of enjoyment for tourists in the mountains and forests, despite being in the city. Chinese gardens emphasise the integration of the unity of heaven and man, and have a strong ecological consciousness of "harmony and unity between man and nature". Jiangnan gardens are deeply influenced by literati and Chinese paintings, and pay more attention to charm and character building. With rich traditional cultural connotations and spirit, it is a treasure of the Chinese nation that integrates art and engineering, and will inevitably become one of the main ways of cultural dissemination under the Silk Road strategy.

## 3. Overseas Integration and Innovation of Chinese Jiangnan Gardens

From the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there was a word that attracted attention in European cultural history, namely chinoiserie. At that time, China's porcelain, wallpaper, embroidery, clothing, furniture, architecture, etc. were popular in European countries, represented by Britain and France. Chinese gardens are one of the representatives and have deeply influenced the European garden art. In just a few decades, many Chinese-style gardens were built on the European continent. The fusion representatives of Chinese garden art in Britain are Kant and Blanc. This period can be seen as the first influence of Chinese garden art on the West. After the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the 'China fever' in Europe gradually subsided, and for the next one or two hundred years China remained in a position of being invaded and despised, and the value of Chinese culture showed a weak state. It was not until the 1980s that Westerners began to appreciate the beauty of Chinese-style gardens.

During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the overseas spread of the Chinese garden was most affected by Britain and France, as well as Germany and Sweden. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese gardens have spread to the United States, Germany, Britain, the Netherlands, Australia, Switzerland and other countries, with the scale and number of gardens far exceeding those before. I believe that with the revival of the Silk Road in the new era, Chinese Jiangnan garden art will be loved and welcomed by people from more countries.

Given the unique charm and influence of Chinese Jiangnan garden art, many countries and regions around the world have built Jiangnan-style gardens to enrich local urban art and people's cultural life. The development of Jiangnan garden art overseas can be discussed at three levels: integration, innovation and dissemination.

### 3.1. Overseas Integration of Chinese Jiangnan Gardens

Jiangnan gardens are representative of Chinese literary culture. In the process of overseas development, the first step is to integrate with the local humanities, society and cultural customs. Only through integration can it be accepted by the local people. The successful integration is represented by the "Yiyuan" in Vancouver, Canada.



Fig. 4. Yiyuan Garden (Canada)

In Vancouver, Canada, there is a famous classical Chinese garden, the Yiyi Garden. It is located in Zhongshan Park between the Chinese port and the city centre of Wenzhou. It was built in April 1986 as a cooperation between Canada and China. It was awarded the "Special Construction Award" by the International Association of City Centres in 1987. Yiyuan has exquisite architecture, beautiful scenery, unique style and tranquility, making it a famous tourist destination in Canada. Yiyuan Garden has a small area, covering only two hectares. It was designed according to the model of a famous garden in Jiangnan. The overall layout uses an organic combination of rock gardens, water pools, flowers and trees, as well as traditional Chinese pavilions, gazebos, gazebos, bridges and caves, creating a poetic and picturesque atmosphere of "multiple scenic spots, close to mountains and forests". The whole park is divided into four main scenic areas: the entrance main hall area, the compound corridor water pavilion area, the study courtyard area and the Quchi Mountain forest area, which are intertwined with each other, with close and open areas and alternating densities, each with its own characteristics. At the west entrance of the crescent-shaped gate of Zhongshan Park in Vancouver, the black gate is inlaid with the word "Yiyuan" made of bricks, which looks antique. At the entrance is a small courtyard connected by a curved corridor to the main hall, Huafeng Hall. The hall faces north and south and is three rooms wide, with a porch in front and behind the four inner boundaries. On the south side of the hall is the main scenic area of the park. The right wing is built with stones to form a mountain, with a pavilion resting on the mountain, a winding pool and corridor on the left wing, a floating water pavilion, and a water pavilion on the opposite side, making it the best place to enjoy the scenery of the whole park.

The complex corridor in the area of the Water Pavilion is characterised by twists and turns, diverse and orderly curves and changing scenery. The southern Xieshan-style building has a Hanbi Pavilion facing the water on both sides, with a transparent front and back, and the light and shadow of the lake on the water's surface; the mountains built and stones piled on the shore, the mountains and rivers complement each other, creating a lively and interesting atmosphere. There is a bridge on the water surface, winding and intricate, with a combination of virtual and real flowers and trees. The Water Pavilion is built facing north, facing each other with Huafeng Hall and Yunwei Hall, making it one of the main viewing points of Yiyuan.

The architecture of Shuzhaiting Park is exquisite, with a beautiful and simple yet elegant appearance. On the door of the study is a plaque entitled "Four Yishu". On one side of the house is the Pozou Corner Pavilion, while on the other side are scattered lakes and stones, decorated with flowers and trees such as pine, bamboo, plum and orchids. The setting is unique, elegant and pleasant.

The Quchi mountain forest area is mainly composed of eastern island mountains and western wall mountains, separated by caves and streams. The pond water surrounds the mountains, and the water rotates with the mountains. The mountains are integrated by the water. To the west of the steep cliffs of the island is a flower cave, accompanied by a stone cliff path. Tourists can wade in, watch the waterfalls, listen to the waves and enjoy the natural beauty of the sky. There is a Yunwei Pavilion at the top of the island, where tourists can enjoy a panoramic view of Zhongshan Park and Yiyuan Park.



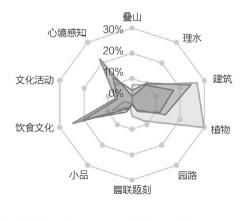
Fig. 5. Lan Su Chinese Garden (US)

## 3.2. Overseas Innovative Development of Chinese Jiangnan Gardens

The innovation and development of Chinese garden art overseas has a good foundation, including Chinese Garden Engineering Corporation, Suzhou Garden Engineering Corporation, Shanghai Garden Engineering Corporation and a group of enterprises engaged in garden engineering design and construction, which have innovated and developed Chinese Jiangnan garden art overseas. According to incomplete statistics, dozens of countries, including the United States, Japan, Germany, Sweden, France, etc., have over a hundred garden projects with Chinese Jiangnan garden art styles. Among them, the Lan Su Chinese Garden in Portland, USA, is one of the important representatives of Jiangnan garden art in China.

We conducted a survey and analysis on the tourist experience of Lan Su Chinese Garden in Portland, and the results are shown in the figure. Overseas tourists like the Chinese Garden very much. They think that Lan Su Chinese Garden is beautiful. However, among the many aesthetic elements of Chinese gardens in the south of the Yangtze River, they have a deep understanding of architecture and plants. At the same time, they have a certain understanding of mood perception and food culture in garden culture. However, they lack an understanding of the unique artistic techniques of the most representative heap stone landscape and water landscape in Chinese gardens, and they lack a cultural understanding of garden sketches, inscribed tablets and couplets, and other gardens in the south of the Yangtze River. On the one hand, this survey shows that the tourist experience caused by cross-cultural differences is inconsistent with the value of the garden, and on the other hand, it also shows that the dissemination of Chinese garden culture needs to be strengthened. I believe that in the new historical period, the above problems can be better solved through cultural transmission routes such as the Silk Road.

From the distribution map of Chinese southern garden art in the United States, we can clearly see that the United States is the country with the most extensive and far-reaching distribution of Chinese southern garden art. Whether it is the Pacific coast, the Atlantic coast or the inland areas of the United States, overseas representative gardens of China's garden art are distributed to varying degrees. From the perspective of the impact and degree of innovation of the Chinese garden, these Chinese-style gardens distributed in the United States can be divided into three levels in terms of the degree of impact. The first level basically reflects the art form of Chinese garden, the second level includes a variety of Chinese garden art elements, the third level includes some Chinese garden elements.



□ 图片 □ 所有文字评论 □ 提及真实性的评论

Fig. 6. An Analysis on the Tourist Experience of Lan Su Chinese Garden

#### 3.3. Other Cases

### 3.3.1. Mingxuan

In 1980, the New York Mets Museum introduced Chinese garden art while introducing traditional Chinese paintings. Mr Chen Congzhou, a famous Chinese landscape architect, recommended that the spring plum in the Net Lion Garden Hall, which is typical of the Ming Dynasty, be transplanted to the museum for display and named it "Mingxuan". The Mingxuan serves both as a showcase for the achievements of the Suzhou gardens and as a lounge for visitors to stop and admire. This is the first time that a complete traditional Chinese garden has been built overseas by Chinese people. Later, with increasing international exchanges, Chinese gardens often appeared on the world stage. By the year 2000, China had designed and built more than 50 overseas gardens in more than 20 countries on five continents, and there were also dozens of works in Europe and America. This is a large-scale integration and innovation of Chinese garden in the Western world, which plays an important role in the spread of Chinese culture.



Fig. 7. Mingxuan (New York)

Mingxuan was completed in April 1980 in the North Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, USA. It was modelled on the Master of the Nets Garden in Suzhou and covers an area of 400 square metres. It is called "Mingxuan" because of its Ming Dynasty architectural style. This garden fully embodies the traditional Chinese classical garden art and represents the painstaking efforts of the designers and builders. As an enduring treasure representing Chinese traditional culture and national characteristics, it has far-reaching political significance. It is also the pioneering work of the modern Chinese garden going overseas.

## 3.3.2. Jixing Garden, Stanton Island, New York

The Jixing Garden was planned from 1985 to 1998 and took 13 years to complete. During this time, both China and the United States conducted several mutual inspections and decided to build Chinese gardens in the Suzhou style. The funds for the garden were raised by local Chinese groups, and our company donated some of the labour and materials, which eventually led to the completion of the garden. Jixing Garden is a typical classical garden style in the south of the Yangtze River. According to the local situation, it piles up mountains and water. All the Taihu stone used for the fencing and piling is brought from China. There are all kinds of pavilions, halls, winding bridges, flying corridors, flower streets, cloud walls and moon caves, which together form a garden space with a strong Chinese style on the other side of the ocean, which has received great attention and high praise from the local community.

#### 3.3.3. Yokohama Friendship Park, Japan

Yokohama Friendship Park is located on the artificial lake of Yokohama Citizen Park. It is built in the style of Shanghai Jiangnan Garden and consists of the Nine-Turn Bridge, Huxin Pavilion and Yulan Hall. The main entrance of the hall is a memorial arch door and the entrance is a small ancient courtyard. At the front of the courtyard is the main building, Yulan Hall, opposite which is a Taihu Stone. Walking out of the Magnolia Hall and across the Nine-Turn Bridge, you will come to the pavilion in the centre of the lake, where you can enjoy the scenery of the park and the beautiful scenery of the artificial lake. There is also a "Chinese Plum Garden" in the famous Sanxi Garden in Yokohama, which attracts many tourists every year when the green plums are in full bloom.

### 3.4. Theoretical works on garden design in Jiangnan, China and their dissemination

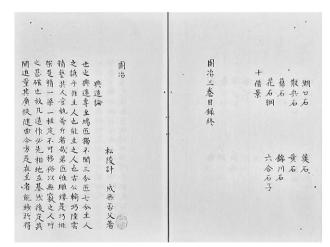


Fig. 8. YuanYe (Ji Cheng)

Theoretical works on Chinese Jiangnan garden art have been innovatively developed overseas. Yuanye is a work on garden design written by Ji Cheng in the Ming Dynasty of China, and also the first theoretical work on garden design in the world.



Fig. 9. Japanese, French, and English translations of 'YuanYe'

The academic gardening circles of Japan, Britain and France have all translated, disseminated and innovated this work, which is a great contribution of Chinese gardening thought to the world.

# 4. The Digital Dissemination of Chinese Jiangnan Gardens

The COVID-19 that has raged around the world for three years has brought technological development, ideological acceptance and behavioural habits of working, learning and experiencing across time and space. This change has had a profound impact on the production and dissemination methods of many industries. In the new era, the cultural dissemination of Jiangnan garden art in China has inevitably encountered the impact of the digital wave. Unlike many industries, the experience of garden art is not only about visual and auditory aspects, but also involves various bodily sensations such as touch and smell. Landscape art is a comprehensive art of space and time, requiring tourists to enter specific spaces to fully appreciate the charm of the garden space. This is especially true for Chinese Jiangnan garden art, which emphasises the concept of "changing scenery", in view of the unique aesthetic experience of Jiangnan garden art.

# 4.1. The Four Stages and Issues of Overseas Digital Communication of Chinese Jiangnan Gardens

The overseas dissemination of Chinese Jiangnan gardens has a history of hundreds of years, and has gone through the first stage of graphic and textual dissemination in print media such as newspapers; television and other forms of program image dissemination can become the second stage; the third stage is the form of interactive video communication that can be freely clicked and controlled according to user preferences; currently entering the fourth stage of artificial intelligence dissemination.





Fig. 10. Overseas tourists are experiencing Chinese Jiangnan style garden art

In the era of artificial intelligence dissemination in the fourth stage of Chinese Jiangnan garden art, with the application of intelligent technology, we will try to guide users to break through the basic forms of visual and auditory experiences, and use wearable intelligent devices to achieve a cross-time and space "embodied experience" and "immersive aesthetics" of various senses, including visual, auditory, olfactory and tactile senses, The dissemination and influence of Chinese Jiangnan garden art will be further enhanced.

## 4.2. On the Cross-Cultural Experience and Acceptance of Chinese Jiangnan Garden Art by Overseas Tourists

Due to differences in cultural backgrounds, overseas tourists often experience Jiangnan garden art in China. The common problem is that they lack understanding of the elements rich in Chinese traditional culture in gardens, and it is difficult to understand the symbolic images, colours and the implied meanings behind them in Chinese culture, which greatly reduces the artistic expression of Chinese garden overseas.

Plum, orchid, bamboo and chrysanthemum are common plants in Chinese gardens. They are called "Four Gentlemen", and their image represents noble quality in Chinese culture. Taking this as an example, overseas tourists often express admiration only for the external form of plum, orchid, bamboo and chrysanthemum, and are indifferent to their cultural connotations, making it difficult to understand the garden atmosphere created by the combination of plants, architecture, design, space, water, stone and other elements in the garden. Chinese gardens are like the philosophical realm of heaven and earth, which can only be truly experienced when we have a deep understanding of Chinese culture. In a sense, the international spread of Chinese culture is still in its infancy, and there is still a long way to go.

## 5. Conclusion

Chinese gardens have a long history and unique style. The concept of artistic creation in Jiangnan, China emphasises the harmonious unity between man and nature, with a beautiful artistic concept of "although created by man, it is like the opening of heaven". Over the past few hundred years, many countries and regions in the world have built landscape projects in the style of Chinese Jiangnan gardens. The "Mingxuan" in New York's Metropolitan Museum, the "Lan Su Chinese Garden" in Portland and the "Yiyuan" in Canada are the most representative. The research believes that these overseas Chinese gardens with Jiangnan style, although the materials and technology are mostly from the origin of China, and try to maintain the "original taste" of Chinese garden, at the same time, according to the local social characteristics and public acceptance, they have also made some innovations in landscape culture integration and garden art construction. In the context of the Silk Road, the research has proposed the idea of using digital technology and dissemination methods to enhance people's understanding and appreciation of Chinese Jiangnan garden art around the world. At the same time, the research believes that in the process of digital transmission of Chinese garden art in the south of the Yangtze River, there are also problems such as immature simulation experience technology of artistic conception of garden in the south of the Yangtze River, weak sense of involvement, and the experience of Chinese garden art in the visual level. Finally, the paper proposes four development stages of overseas dissemination of Chinese garden art, and further puts forward the design and development ideas of developing intrusive simulation technology, as well as some thoughts on overseas tourists' cross-cultural experience and acceptance of Chinese garden art in the south of Yangtze River.

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# Chinese Contemporary Ice and Snow Art – "Symphony" of Nature and Humanity

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Abstract —	
Chinese ice and snow culture originated in the north and has been inherited from ancient	
times in daily life, such as ice fishing, ice lantern making and ice and snow sports. It has	
created humanistic ice and snow art that reflects the optimistic personality and life wisdom	
of the northern Chinese people. As the cradle of the origin of ice and snow art, Harbin,	
Heilongjiang Province, has long had large-scale and organised ice and snow art activities.	
Later, ice and snow art went abroad to participate in international exchanges and exhibi-	
tions. Nowadays, the Harbin International Ice and Snow Festival, together with the Sapporo	
Snow Festival in Japan, the Quebec Winter Carnival in Canada and the Oslo Ski Festival in	
Norway, are known as the four major ice and snow festivals in the world. Due to the differ-	
ent cultural environments in different countries, there are also differences in ice and snow	
culture. Chinese ice and snow art is influenced by various factors from different periods,	
such as human history, aesthetics and technological level, forming a development history	
of ice and snow art with Chinese humanistic characteristics. It is a symphony composed	
by the intersection and fusion of nature and human civilisation. The author hopes to reveal	
the origin and development of Harbin's ice and snow art; describe the unique charm and	
characteristics of Harbin's ice and snow art; explore the contemporary value of Harbin's ice	
and snow art exchange and education; it is expected to make a useful attempt to promote	
the popularization of ice and snow art and promote cultural exchange in ice and snow <sup>1</sup> .	

# 1. The Development History of Harbin Ice and Snow Art

The origins of contemporary Chinese ice and snow art can be traced back to Harbin, Heilongjiang, where the first Ice Lantern Garden Fair was held in 1963. It then developed and gained fame during the first Harbin Ice and Snow Festival in 1985 and the first Har-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This research is the key research project (base project) of the economic and social development of Heilongjiang Province in 2021. The title of the research project is "Research on Digital Art Cultural Products". The number of the research project is 21412.



bin Ice and Snow World in 1999. There have been 61 years of ice and snow cultural accumulation.

Before the 1960s, winters in Harbin were nothing but ice and snow. The city was rather deserted, and people lived monotonously, usually spending the winter at home. Few people went to the park, and it was half a year before anyone visited the place. On 1 February 1963, when Ren Zhongyi, then Party Secretary of Heilongjiang Province and Secretary-General of the Harbin Municipal Committee, was inspecting a newly opened farmers' market, I saw an earthen ice-lamp made of "weideluo" in front of a resident's house. Back home, Ren Zhongyi made coloured ice lamps from coloured ink, and then on February 3, he proposed a bold idea to hold an ice lantern exhibition in Zhaolin Park on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the first month, called the Ice Lantern Garden. Four days later, on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the first lunar month, the first Ice Lantern Garden Party opened in Harbin, with nearly 50,000 people attending on the first day alone. The original three-day exhibition period had to be extended by three days to accommodate a total of 250,000 people, almost a tenth of Harbin's population at the time. Thus, for the first time in China, there was an organised ice lantern garden tour, the first of its kind in modern ice and snow culture, as shown in Figure 1.

During this period of history, Harbin's status as an important place for the development of Chinese ice and snow art was confirmed, and the foundation of China's contemporary ice and snow art was laid, forming a unique and spectacular ice and snow cultural landscape. These activities promote the technological innovation and artistic expression of ice and snow art diversification, for the prosperity and development of China's ice and snow culture has made an important contribution.<sup>[1]</sup>



Fig. 1. Ice Lantern Garden Party

On 5 January 1985, the opening ceremony of the first Harbin Ice and Snow Festival was held in Zhaolin Park. It was founded on the basis of the traditional winter ice lantern fair. Originally called "Harbin Ice and Snow Festival", the first Ice and Snow Festival

added the Unification Church Ice Blessing Ceremony, winter swimming competitions and other ice-themed activities to the traditional ice and snow activities such as the Ice Lantern Garden, and in one month we received over two million Chinese and foreign guests, as shown in Figure 2.



Fig. 2. Harbin Ice and Snow Festival

The first Harbin Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai in 1999, as shown in Figure 3, is a large-scale ice and snow art project launched by the Harbin government in preparation for the millennium celebrations, a theme, different years, so that the modern ice and snow art can continue.<sup>[2]</sup> In 2001, the ice and Snow Festival merged with the Heilongjiang International ski festival, officially renamed "Harbin International Ice and Snow Sculpture Festival".



Fig. 3. The first Harbin Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai

# 2. Evolution of ice and snow art in Harbin

Ice City residents actively explore and try ice and snow art practice, through the practice of continuous improvement for the development of modern ice lamp art has laid a solid foundation. In conclusion, the ice and snow art has the following characteristics:

# 2.1. Changes in raw materials

The material innovation of the festival began in 1946. Instead of the traditional artificial cast material, the ice produced in the Songhua River was used as the raw material of the ice lamp, it is difficult to control the problem of transparency and quality of ice bodies, and using natural resources, the naturally occurring ice bodies are not only more transparent, but also have higher ice quality and purity, it also makes the quality and expressiveness of the ice lantern art works have been greatly enhanced. The transparency of the Songhua River natural ice allows the ice lanterns to display more delicate textures and details, creating a more dreamy and magnificent visual effect. Not only is this an innovative breakthrough in ice lantern manufacturing technology, but it has also opened a new chapter in China's modern ice lantern art.

With the rapid development of tourism, ice and snow culture is becoming more and more popular, ice lamp activities have gradually increased in scale, attracting more and more participants. Every year, a small-scale ice-picking ceremony is held among the people. Before ice-picking, there is a sacrifice ceremony. The main purpose is to pray for peace. In the ceremony, the ice man will throw the grain blessing, worship the river god, comfort the living and ensure peace. With the increasing participation of the general public, the scale of the ice festival has gradually expanded, attracting the attention of the authorities. The first ice festival was held in 2019 and attracted a large number of people. Modern ice-making ceremonies are more perfect and standardized, and some superstitions have been eliminated. The drummer plays the old rhythmic ice drum. After the drum stops, the ice explorer presents the ice map. The ice explorer will look at the ice map and read the blessing, as shown in Figure 4.





Fig. 4. The ceremony of the "Ice picking festival"



#### 2.2. The expansion of the scale and a variety of topics

This paper selects Harbin Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai and Harbin Sun Island International Snow Sculpture Art Exposition (part of the year), and makes a statistical analysis of its scale trend, as can be seen from Figures 5 and 6, Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai covers an area from 200,000 square metres in the first session to 820,000 square metres in the twenty-three sessions. The Sun Island Snow Expo covers an area from 500,000 square metres in the twenty-five sessions to more than 800,000 square metres in the thirty-four sessions, it can be seen that the scale of gradual expansion, indicating that the development of the ice and snow industry has a certain potential and market demand. The data show that the scale has been reduced since 2019 due to the impact of the new coronavirus, which has a certain negative impact on the related tourism industry, at the same time also reminded the ice and snow industry-related enterprises in the face of sudden risks, should take appropriate measures and means to avoid losses. Therefore, the ice and snow industry in the development, but also need to strengthen the risk of prediction and prevention, the establishment of a sound emergency plan to deal with the impact of emergencies.

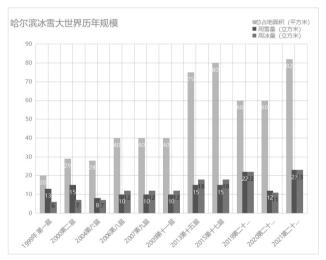


Fig. 5. Ice and snow change the scale of Great World, Shanghai

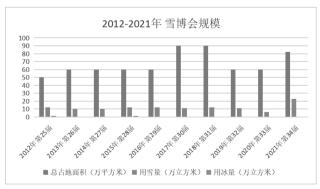


Fig. 6. Harbin Sun Island International Snow Sculpture Art Expo scale change

The research found that the theme design of Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai is one of the important means to attract tourists to visit and pay attention to it; in order to better achieve this goal, combined with the development trend of contemporary society and cultural characteristics, select more representative and practical significance of the theme. In addition, the ice and snow landscape is skillfully used to divide the space, presenting a central encircling form, dividing the Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai into several areas, so that each area has its own theme. The theme can also be expressed through the shape and modelling of the ice sculpture, to enhance the theme and artistic sense, to further enhance the attraction and aesthetic feeling of the park, the future of Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai could use more theme design and ice sculpture. In the 1960s, the theme of ice lanterns highlighted the characteristics of the times, ranging from ancient to modern civilization to the imagination of the future, from China to the world, including religion, folklore, history, animation, science and technology, etc., Harbin Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai's ice lantern is the most important ice lantern in the world. Take Harbin Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai, Harbin Sun Island International Snow Sculpture Art Exposition theme and content for example, as shown in Table 1, 2. The 19th Ice and Snow Show Glory: new breakthrough in cross-border, will be King of Honor games and ice and snow cross-border integration, 1:1 true restoration King of Honor game interface for the theme creation, as shown in Figure 7, this theme attracted the attention of many tourists and players. By adding the reference range of real people's height and comparing it with the scale of the snow sculpture, it adopted a detached scale to show, the result is a stunning visual impact that not only demonstrates the cultural inclusiveness of ice art, but also adds to the interactive experience between visitors and players. This shows the wide range of themes.



Time	Theme	Related content
First session (1999)	Welcome to the world of ice build- ing	Take the century gate, the joyful gate, the cartoon gate 3 Gates as the center, including the sound of the century, the cartoon world, the Adventure Park, the ice amorous feelings, the snow field joyful song 5 big themes.
Second ses- sion (2000)	The introduction of high-tech means for the first time	The first introduction of "Artificial small sun", laser combina- tion and other high-tech means, the park at night to become a fantastic, gorgeous fairyland on Earth.
Seventh ses- sion (2005)	The year of Si- no-russian friend- ship	Show Russian national culture, social history, architectural style and human customs. It consists of the Winter Palace, Red Square, October Square, small town, Vladimir Lenin Square, Happy Castle, Peter Square, Nicholas Square.
Eighth ses- sion (2006)	China-korea friendly ice world	By the sino-korean Friendship Square, Korean style park, Chi- nese style park, Adventure Park, the future of the world's five major theme scenic spots.
Ninth ses- sion (2007)	Ice and Snow World: Olympic Dream	In order to meet the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games as the main performance content, with the fantastic snow and ice land- scape interpretation of "One world, one dream" Olympic slogan. The world's first snow color golf, there are 40 meters high Olympic tower, ice climbing and so on.
The elev- enth session (2009)	Ice Great World, Shanghai welcomes the Winter Games	Take the Winter Olympic Torch City, the charm Harbin, the Passion Winter Games, the dream new era, the magnificent ice and snow world as the five major theme scenic spots.
Class of fif- teen (2013)	World Ice and Snow Dream World Animation Tour	Take the animation family Main Tower Group as the center, the animation road takes each kind of cartoon image pole lamp as the guidance. Including the Brazilian World Cup mascot arma- dillo, the United States, Disney, Hello Kitty, and so on.
The Seven- teen session (2015)	Ice Build Silk Road	For the first time, the international design team, which is made up of the Architectural Design Institute of Harbin Insti- tute of Technology and the Dutch design group, is employed to make the overall planning and design.
The Nine- teen session (2017)	Glory of ice and Snow Exhibition: a new breakthrough across the border	Real restore King Canyon, red and blue base and defense towers, moat and many heroes Houyi, bull king, Son Gokū, Erlang Shen and other snow sculptures lifelike images
Twenty-one session (2019)	Build the Chinese dream together	The first dynamic ball screen cinema in the province-the ulti- mate flying ball dynamic 6D cinema, the use of multi-scene, va- riety, fast-paced performance techniques, combined with Dream 6D technology, to show a romantic world of ice and snow.
Twenty-two session (2020)	The ice and snow melt together	Based on "Building a world of lasting peace, universal secu- rity, common prosperity, openness, inclusiveness, cleanliness and beauty", and taking "Harmony" as the essence of design.
Twen- ty-three ses- sion (2021)	The light of Winter Olympics shines the world	The 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games and ice and snow cultural elements combined to create, with the Winter Olym- pic culture as the core, set to watch, play and spread Winter Olympic knowledge in one.
Twenty-four session (2022)	City of ice and Snow Creative Unlimited	new landmark-ferris wheel. Hundreds of ice and snow land- scape, the use of ice and snow language to show the urban characteristics of Harbin. For the first time, "Garden Garden", covers an area of nearly 100,000 square meters "Snow and ice happy convergence.

Table 1. Harbin ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai year theme and content

**Table 2.** The theme and contents of Harbin Sun Island International Snow Sculpture Art Fair

Time	Theme	Related content
The 25 <sup>th</sup> (2014)	Snow reading Russia · Warm Sun Island	Highlighting the cultural exchanges between China and Russia, the Russian cultural resources and natural environment and the organic integration of snow and ice landscape. Planning and design: Russian style, Siberian Forest treasure hunt, urban snow and other seven scenic spots.
The 26 <sup>th</sup> (2013)	Snow World, Snow Dream	set up the first condensation of snow, snow, snow flying, quiet snow, jumping snow, carved snow and other six major scenic spots.
The 27 <sup>th</sup> (2014)	Digital Snow,	The new national and provincial college students snow sculpture competition, mass snow sculpture competition, Snow Sculpture Art Science Exhibition, Folk Village Culture Exhibition and other new content.
The 28 <sup>th</sup> (2015)	Meet Snow Fair • Dream back to Harbin	Snow sculpture building "Snow crown" as high as 51 meters, covers an area of 2800 square meters. For the first time, the 52-meter-long Harbin Railway Station was built with ice-bright- ening technology.
The 29 <sup>th</sup> (2016)	Winter · Love Song	Snow Rhyme · Maple red drunk snow, snow dance · Winter Lake Happy Song, Snow Ballad · Dream set sounds of nature, snow land · Flying Flowers in the forest, Snow Edge · Eternal Rendez- vous and so on.
The 30 <sup>th</sup> (2017)	Snow Festival,	Dragon and Phoenix welcome guests, Snow Rhythm, Dream Snow Bo, the north, the Winter Olympic symphonic five scenic spots, planning to form each other connected to watch the tour line gathered layout.
The 31 <sup>th</sup> (2018)	Happy Snow Fair • Dream Snow Region tour	Large-scale main cast "Star River Journey" was completed to welcome visitors. "Star River Journey" works a total length of 106 meters, 32 meters high, 20 meters wide, with 40,000 cubic meters of snow.
The 32 <sup>th</sup> (2019)	Ice and snow integration, joy, auspicious China	Build a better, prosperous China, happy home four theme scenic spots.
The 33 <sup>th</sup> (2020)	Huaxia Shen- long	Planning for the "Six districts one garden" layout of the zoning, with "Music" form to create scenic "Sequence" cultural mainline.
The 34 <sup>th</sup> (2021)	The light of the Winter Olym- pics: Dream of Snow Bo	Divided into seven areas: Fulu welcome, Olympic Games, Snow Sculpture Expo, International Snow Horse, Snow Recreation, Snow Fort Commerce, activities on the river, a gift to the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics.



Fig. 7. The 19th ice and Snow Festival in Great World, Shanghai

#### 2.3. Technological innovation of light source

The use of new technologies has given a huge boost to the art of ice lamps, from candles to incandescent bulbs, as shown in Figure 8, to LED lamp, from a single internal light to a combination of internal and external projection, from a single white ice lamp to now colourful ice lamp technology full of technology, lighting equipment with the development of the times to update and iterate.<sup>[4]</sup> In 2008, LED technology was introduced to the 34<sup>th</sup> Harbin Ice Lantern Art Fair in Harbin, light-emitting diode China. LED lamp has many advantages, using LED lamp to replace the traditional fluorescent lamp, not only can avoid the bulb broken in the ice lamp, but also can be conveniently recycled, so that the ice lamp into the energy-saving and environmental protection era. In 2019, at the 21st Harbin Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai, the ice and snow crown tower adopted a new lighting technology breakthrough, the first application of point light technology, through data control can display a variety of patterns. The ice peaks and small stages in the scenic spot all try to use the point light technology, which can display different patterns and text, such as fire, flowers and other shapes, as shown in Figure 10. At the same time, the interactive lighting control technology is introduced for the first time to increase the proportion of dynamic lighting, and to realise the interaction between people and landscape, the interaction between light and sound, and the interaction between light and tourist movement.



Fig. 8. Incandescent lamp light source

Fig. 9. LED light source



Fig. 10. Point light source technology

#### 2.4. The design pays attention to the cultural connotation

Ice and snow are a gift from nature, closely linked to human life. People create a unique art form by processing the natural landscape. In the design of ice and snow art, good design creativity is required, analysis digs out the deep meaning under the back-ground of creation, conforms to the theme of the times, conforms to the psychology of the audience, causes the resonance. Adhere to people-oriented design is the solution.<sup>[5]</sup> With the development of the times and the change of people's aesthetic concept, more and more expressive forms appear in the development of ice and snow sculpture art. As the birth-place of China's ice and snow culture, Harbin, with its special urban history and culture and excellent natural environment, has inherited the traditional ice and snow culture and absorbed the multi-culture, continental European culture and modern cultural thoughts, created the modern ice and snow culture, formed the unique ice and snow culture accumulation.

In the 1960s, the design of the Ice Lantern Park is still insufficient in experience, relatively narrow theme, content is also relatively simple, and there are some technical limitations. However, in this period, the Ice Lantern Park began to have a preliminary planning layout. For example, in the 3rd light show, the park was divided into two areas, namely the industrial area and the agricultural area. The industrial area features oil wells made of ice and ice-built stands for local light chemical products. The main landscape in the agricultural area is a harvest tower made of ice sculptures of wheat ears and carp, surrounded by ice sculptures of pigs, chickens, sheep, corn and cabbage.<sup>[6]</sup> So far, the unity of content and technology has brought more possibilities for ice and snow creation. The exquisite and skilful statues of Chevrolet and the goddess, shown in Figures 11 and 12, highlight the cultural self-confidence of the people of Harbin.

In the 24<sup>th</sup> Harbin Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai, the main tower "Ice and snow cap" was 41 meters high, as shown in Figure 13, and the total amount of ice reached 11,000

cubic meters<sup>[7]</sup>. The design prototype of the Main Tower was inspired by the city flower of Harbin Lilac, whose petals formed a tall and lofty shape, symbolizing the spirit of the people of Harbin to strive for progress and not to be left behind. The platform of the main tower was abstract with the octaves as the elements, representing Harbin as the only city in Asia to be awarded the title of "Music Capital" by the United Nations.



**Fig. 11.** A giant snow sculpture



Fig. 12. A giant snow sculpture



Fig. 13. "Crown of snow and ice"

#### 2.5. Breakthrough of new technology in the snow and ice landscape

At the beginning of the 1960s, most ice structures were building blocks, with straight lines and a single shape. Ice and snow construction technology has been constantly breaking through with the development of the times. Harbin 21<sup>st</sup> Ice and Snow Great World, Shanghai, the first complex curved composite ice shell building in China actually used for operation - ice shell restaurant, as shown in Figure 14, through the collaborative design of architecture, structure and indoor environment based on digital model, the innovative technologies such as combined exhaust rib and paper fiber composite reinforced ICE – LRB-Pykrete) injection are applied, the composite ice materials make the ice and snow buildings break through the technical limit of non-tensile force. The non-linear ice modelling not only breaks the fixed aesthetic limit of traditional ice and snow landscape modelling, but also challenges the construction difficulty limit of ice and snow buildings. The main tower, "Twin Towers", adopts a non-linear twin tower structure as shown in Figure 15. Using parametric design language, a popular design method in the construction industry, and based on the previous two-dimensional curve ice building, innovative application of three-dimensional curve, showing the perfect integration of rigidity and softness, strength and beauty, unlike the past Western-style castles, Chinese-style towers and other classical buildings horizontal vertical, angular. The main tower looks like two continuous mountains with a sense of line and mobility, the whole building';s magnificent snow sculpture, giving people a sense of shock and heroic.<sup>[8]</sup>



Fig. 14. Ice Shell Restaurant



Fig. 15 "Twin towers"

#### 2.6. Enhancing viewer's participation

It's not just cold, heat, pain and stress that you feel when you touch an interactive audience. These stimuli are transmitted to the brain through a series of mental sensations triggered by Lenovo memories, it is much stronger than language and emotional communication. In the ice and snow landscape design in addition to concern about the aesthetic function, need to combine the ice and snow landscape and physical contact and communication. In addition to the basic ornamental functions of snow and ice landscape, snow and ice landscape architecture with interactive entertainment functions, with the times, the more traditional snow and ice entertainment activities have a snowman, snowball fights, smoking, skating, and so on. Nowadays, there are many kinds of ice and snow recreational activities, such as skiing, snow circle drifting, bumper cars and so on. The Ferris Wheel, a new landmark of the Ice Great World, Shanghai in 2022, as shown in Figure 16, will enable visitors to enjoy the experience of ice while sightseeing.

Ice and snow performances: including ice performances, ice gymnastics, ice taming, ice dancing. Staff dressed as various cute cartoon characters will bring joy and surprise to visitors, and the Prince and Princess Ice Crystal Wedding Show will be presented as if in a fairy tale world. In addition, the ice acrobatic dance of the most difficult performance is amazing, artists on the ice to show outstanding skills and elegant dance. The large-scale live performance "Linhai Snow Plain" and the wonderful singing and dancing pageant performed by foreign actors added to the pomp and charm. These activities take the audience into a wonderful world and immerse them in the magic of snow and ice, as shown in Figure 17.



Fig. 16. Snow and ice an aerial view of the Great World, Shanghai Ferris wheel



Fig. 17. Snow and ice interpretation

### 3. The development and spread of ice and snow culture

In the new era, the sustainable development of ice and snow culture has become an urgent need. As a trump card in Heilongjiang, ice and snow landscape art plays an important role in promoting the cultural and economic development of the region. At the same time, the ice sculpture of Harbin Ice Lantern is a unique form of folk art and an important intangible cultural heritage in Heilongjiang, which carries the spiritual civilization of Heilongjiang. However, with the passage of time, the diversification of modern life and the change of public aesthetics, the promotion and protection of ice lantern ice carving culture is facing serious challenges. The ice-lamp making technique is a kind of "living inheritance", which mainly depends on hand-to-mouth and hand-to-hand transmission. <sup>[9]</sup> Excellent ice lamp ice carving skills will also disappear, as shown in figure 18,19,20. Therefore, the protection of the ice lamp ice sculpture is particularly urgent.

In order to protect and inherit the ice-lamp ice-carving culture, the following measures should be taken: 1) to strengthen the publicity and promotion of the ice-lamp ice-carving culture and improve people's cultural self-confidence; 2) to strengthen the protection and utilization of the ice-lamp culture and protect the production skills, traditional skills, traditional culture and historical and cultural heritage of the ice-lamps and ice-sculptures, this will not only contribute to their inheritance and development, but also enhance their artistic and economic value; 3) to strengthen the innovation and development of ice lantern and ice sculpture culture, enhance its artistic and economic value. Therefore, it is urgent to increase the public's awareness of protection, solve the dilemma of inheritance with a positive attitude, explore the development strategy of intangible cultural heritage, and pass on the skills of making ice lanterns and ice sculptures from generation to generation. Only with the joint efforts of the whole society can we protect and pass on this precious cultural resource.



Fig. 18. "Nüwa"

Fig. 19. "Flying Fairy of Dunhuang"



Fig. 20. "Astronauts"

### 4. Conclusion

Since the establishment of the Ice Lantern Fair in the 1960s, the ice lantern art has transcended the boundaries of the original ice lantern to integrate architecture, sculpture, painting, gardens, music, photoelectric and other art forms. It is not only ideological, artistic, scientific and interesting, but also integrated with the rich connotation of the times, becoming a unique cultural calling card of Harbin. The continuous innovation of ice lantern manufacturing technology and continuous improvement of technology have laid a solid foundation for the sustainable development of ice and snow cause. The development of ice lantern art is full of hardships and twists and turns. However, through continuous exploration, growth and development, ice and snow art to the international stage, become a part of Chinese culture and the attention of the world. Therefore, the development of Harbin Ice Lantern Art is not only a hard struggle process, but also a historical process of the development of Harbin ice lantern art to promote the sustainable development of China's ice and snow culture and to provide useful reference and inspiration.

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# Български автори, наградени и реализирали своите монументални скулптури на международната скулптурна изложба "Лиу Кайцю" в град Уху

Рафаил Георгиев Национална художествена академия

# Bulgarian Authors Who Were Awarded and Realized Their Monumental Sculptures at the International Sculpture Exhibition "Liu Kaiqu Award" in the City of Wuhu

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#### Abstract

Since the beginning of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the organization of international monumental sculpture events and the design of sculpture parks and gardens have been in full bloom in China. According to the academic and artistic community, one of the best organized and curated sculpture parks is the Wuhu City Sculpture Park. It was created in 2011, after the first edition of the international sculpture exhibition "Liu Kaiqu Award", which became famous in China as the "Wuhu Model". In all eight editions of the international sculpture forum "Liu Kaiqu Award" a total number of seven sculptors from Bulgaria took part. Five of them successfully passed through all three rounds of the competition, realizing monumental sculptures with high aesthetic and form-creating qualities. All five authors have received high honors, with the doyen Gheorghi Filin receiving the highest prize, the "Gold Award", at the first forum in 2011. This article examines the specific achievement of each Bulgarian sculptor, dating and ordering all the sculptures created and the awards they received at the Forum, emphasizing the professionalism behind the realization of each work. The purpose of the analysis is to support these achievements by briefly sketching the boundaries of the cultural and academic context in which they occurred.

Keywords: sculpture, Bulgarian sculptors, Liu Kaiqu Award, Wuhu Sculpture Park, monumental sculpture, Wuhu Model

От началото на второто десетилетие на XXI век организирането на международни събития за монументална скулптура, както и на проектирането на скулптурни паркове и градини в КНР е в разцвет. Това се дължи на досегашния път и генериран опит в създаването на скулптурни паркове, започнало още от средата на 80-те години



на XX век, както и на желанието да се абсорбират и комбинират добрите практики между Западната и Китайската традиционна култура. В културния аспект на настъпващата модернизация на съвременен Китай перманентните скулптурни експозиции се превръщат в музеи на открито и най-общо са наричани скулптурни паркове. Маниерът за генериране на постоянна скулптурна експозиция на открито от монументални творби, който доминира в КНР, е осъществяван посредством провеждането на международен скулптурен форум. В настоящето изследване приемаме думата "форум" като обобщаващ термин, с който назоваваме различните видове събития, които в същността си имат сходна цел – създаването на голям брой първокласни монументални скулптури от доказани или изгряващи национални и чуждестранни автори. Форматите, които най-често се ползват, са: скулптурни симпозиуми; международни скулптурни изложби; международен конкурс за градска скулптура и други.

От последното десетилетие на XX век до първото десетилетие на XXI век в КНР има реализирани десетки международни скулптурни форуми и съответно са създадени множество творби и скулптурни паркове. В краткото ни изследване можем да посочим само някои от най-известните форуми и паркове до преди 2010 г., като например:

a) първият скулптурен парк в континентален Китай, който е основан през 1985 г. и създаден след няколко поредици на международната скулптурна изложба и симпозиум Шъдзиншан в Пекин (Shijingshan, Beijing), а колекцията от монументални скулптури в парка наброява 180 творби от 40 държави;

б) Световният скулптурен парк в Чанчун, провинция Дзилин (Changchun, Jilin Province), който е отворен през 2003 г., а от 1997 до 2019 г. са проведени повече от 19 международни скулптурни симпозиума, като колекцията на парка наброява 846 скулптури на открито от автори от общо 216 държави и територии;

в) Скулптурният парк Юдзъ в Гуйлин, провинция Гансу (Guilin Yuzi Park, Guansi), който е създал своята богата колекция, наброяваща над 200 монументални скулптури, след провеждането на 11 международни скулптурни симпозиума в периода от 1997-2004 г.;

Интересен факт за скулптурните форуми и паркове, които споменахме, е че в тях са участвали редица български скулптори и техните творби са част от международните скулптурни колекции на открито в КНР, като в по-обширно изследване на автора на статията датировката на българските участия започва през далечната 1999 г.

Характерно за второто десетилетие на XXI век е това, че специализираните институции се стремят да изградят модел, по който да бъдат организирани международните скулптурни паркове и който да има ясни критерии и ниво на качествено журиране. Този модел е решено да бъде част от организацията на бъдещите скулптурни паркове в КНР. Така е създаден "моделът Уху".

#### "Моделът Уху"

"Моделът Уху" е сентенция, която обвързва три институции в организирането на международни скулптурни изложби и наградата на името на известия китайски скулптор Лиу Кайцю. След успешното сътрудничество между Китайския скулптурен институт, Китайската академия за изкуства в Пекин (САҒА) и Общинското бюро за култура и скулптурно планиране на град Уху биват представени нови перспективи в ръководството и планирането на скулптурните паркове, като парка в гр. Уху, провинция Анхуей, е издигнат за образцов модел. Наградата "Лиу Кайцю" е учредена през 2011 г., а "моделът Уху" като термин впоследствие е посочен от д-р Сун Джънхуа. Той изтъква, че "моделът Уху" преди всичко предоставя полезен опит за развитието на китайската градска скулптура. Нещо повече, този модел е уникален "продукт" на КНР, защото е резултат от сложните отношения на еволюция - от консервативно към модерно – в контекста на културната политика и сътрудничеството между индустриите. Можем да открием ясни дефиниции за "модела Уху" в избрани части от статия за китайското съвременно публично изкуство, публикувана на уебсайта на Китайския скулптурен институт. Авторът е определил корелацията като: "(...) триединство между политика, обучение и изследване, с допълващи се предимства". "Тоест Китайският Скулптурен Институт (CSI) е отговорен за цялостното академично ръководство, планиране и организация; Китайската академия за изкуства (CAFA) предоставя пълно съдействие и подкрепа; Общинското ръководство в град Уху е отговорно за подготовката на средствата, координацията на работата и надзора" ("Wuhu Model" 2013). "Модел Уху – това е на първо място: академичното, точното позициониране; силен съюз, правилно сътрудничество; цялостно научно планиране и управление на системата" ("Wuhu Model" 2013).

Можем също напълно да се позовем на думите на председателя на Китайския скулптурен институт г-н Дзън Чънган, изразени в неговия "Предговор към II-та международна скулптурна изложба "Лиу Кайцю" в град Уху": "Основният опит на "модела Уху" е "силен съюз между правителството и професионалните институции"; "уважение към академичните среди и обръщане на голямо внимание на качеството, общирно търсене и ключови проекти, справедлив подбор и надзор на реализирането им, непрекъснато усъвършенстване и дългосрочно сътрудничество" (Zeng 2023). "Географската перспектива на публичното изкуство се фокусира върху начина, по който средата формира производството и потреблението на изкуство чрез културни политики или икономическата, социалната и културната динамика на творческите пространства. Управлението е централният въпрос, свързан с производствената система" (Zheng 2017).

### Статут на международните награди за скулптура "Лиу Кайцю"

Международната изложба за скулптура "China Wuhu Liu Kaiqu Award" се провежда успешно в продължение на осем последователни години. През тези години, заедно със скулптори от страната и чужбина, съвместно е създаден Скулптурен парк Уху – пространство на многостранен и многостепенен художествен и културен обмен. "Изложбата носи името на г-н Лиу Кайцю, основател на модерната скулптурна индустрия в КНР, не само за да отбележи неговите безсмъртни постижения, пионерското, смело и новаторско академично отношение, но и за да продължи напред неговия велик хуманистичен дух и чувството да служи на страната и народа през целия си живот. Да вдъхнови мнозинството от творящите изкуство да продължат напред през миналото, да въведат бъдещето и в същото време да практикуват възвишения идеал за интегриране на източните и западните култури, наистина да популяризират китайската култура и изкуство в света, енергично да насърчават международния хуманитарен обмен и да допринасят за положителното въздействие на световното изкуство и култура върху развитието на човечеството" (The First 'Liu Kaiqu Award' 2011).

Регламентът на международните награди за скулптура "Лиу Кайцю" има конкурсен характер с три основни кръга, през които кандидатите преминават. В първия кръг се отсяват дигитално изпратени проекти (до три проекта), които илюстрират визуално идеята на автора, както и концепцията му за предложения от него перманентен материал за реализация. След като комисията, сформирана от председател и членове делегати от гореспоменатия "модел Уху", филтрира обикновено между 1000 до 2000 скулптурни проекта от средно 500-700 автора, избира 50-100 проекта, които да минат през втория етап на журиране – изложба на макети. Във втория етап всеки от избраните автори изпраща макет с големина до 60 см по дългата страна в материала, от който ще бъде реализирана уголемената скулптура. Журито отново се събира и вижда макетите, в които вече може да съзре качествата на творбата, базирайки се на нейната триизмерност, състояние и техника. След като комисията избере около 30 творби, от авторите, чиито скулптури ще се изпълняват в голям мащаб, се изискват детайлни монтажни скици, както и ноу-хау, ако е нужно. Авторът идва на място във фабриката, посочена от организаторите за реализация на творбите, или пък инспектира като супервайзър процеса на реализация – уговорка, която зависи от сложността и характера на скулптурната форма. След като творбите са завършени успешно, следва тяхното инсталиране на предварително избрани и устроени като инфраструктура зелени петна в скулптурния парк в Уху. Комисията преминава през всяка една от инсталираните перманентно монументални скулптури и формира своето решение кой автор каква награда ще получи, като оценка за неговото творение, и с това се обобщава третият етап от експертното журиране. Следва официална церемония по връчване на наградите и обобщаване на постигнатите резултати.

Предвид принципите на високо ниво, стандарти и критерии за качество, повече от 300 монументални скулптури, създадени от местни и чуждестранни скулптори, са инсталирани в скулптурния парк в гр. Уху към края на VIII-то издание на международния конкурс "Лиу Кайцю" ("Transformation • Creation" 2022).

# Българските автори, наградени и реализирали монументална скулптура в международната скулптурна изложба – награда "Лиу Кайцю"

Досега в изложението очертахме характерния и специфичен контекст, в който се организират наградите "Лиу Кайцю", и асемблирането на скулптурния парк в Уху. Целта е да разкрием пред читателя сериозността на конкурса, контекста на културната сцена в КНР, както и сложността за преминаване на всеки един от етапите на журиране. Това още повече подчертава важността на реализацията на българските автори.

В осемте издания на международната скулптурна изложба "Лиу Кайцю" взимат участие седем автори от България (фиг. 1). Петима от тях преминават успешно и през трите конкурсни кръга, като реализират монументални скулптури с високи естетически и формотворчески качества.

	"Liu Kaiqu Award" International Sculpture Exhibition Международна скулптурна изложба "Liu Kaiqu Award" ("Wuhu sculpture park" град Wuhu, провинция Anhui, Китай)
	Заглавие:"Run like the wind, Pink"
Проф. Георги	Материал – мрамор ; Размери – 400X850X150 cm, 2011 година, 1-во издание,
Филин	Награда: Gold award
	Заглавие: "Fragment of something bigger-5"
Доц. Георги	Материал – гранит ; Размери - 400Х170Х100 ст, 2014 година, 4-то издание,
Минчев	Награда: Silver award
	Заглавие: "Wind transformation history"
Агнеса Петрова	Материал – мрамор ; Размери - 310Х290Х135 ст 2014 година, 4-то издание
	Награда: Bronze award
	Участие в изложбата само с макет до втори кръг.
Красимир Яков	2014 година
	Заглавие: "Time Circles"
	Материал – мрамор; Размери - 500Х250Х250 ст 2016 година, 6-то издание
Петър Петров	Награда: Bronze award
	Участие в изложбата само с макет до втори кръг.
	2012 година
Радослав Султов	Участие в изложбата само с макет до втори кръг.
•	2017 година
	Заглавие:""Formations"
	Материал – неръждаема стомана ; Размери - 480Х180Х365 ст 2020 година, 8-мо
Рафаил Георгиев	издание, Награда: Excellence award

Фиг. 1. Участия на български автори в Международния скулптурен конкурс "Лиу Кайцю" в гр. Уху, Китай, в периода между 2011 и 2020 г.



### Първо издание на конкурса "Лиу Кайцю"

Първата международна скулптурна изложба и награда "Лиу Кайцю" е официално открита в гр. Уху на 27 ноември 2011 г., като по същото време е открит и скулптурният парк в Уху. Дзън Чънган, директор на Художествения комитет на тази изложба, заместник-председател на Китайската асоциация на художниците и президент на Китайския скулптурен институт, казва, че в І-то издание през 2011 г. са участвали общо 66 творби, като са включени 10 чуждестранни творби и 56 творби от Китай. Тези творби са внимателно подбрани от журито сред повече от 2017 предложения от 521 художници, от 40 страни и региони по света. След стриктната и внимателна селекция, Художественият комитет предлага различни награди. Носител на Златния медал става българският скулптор Георги Филин, чиято наградена скулптура "Полет на вятъра" (фиг. 2) изразява образа на крилат дракон, издигащ се с вятъра в абстрактна форма, изразявайки че той може да надхвърли определени ограничения и ще лети по вятъра, преследващ свободата до безкрайност (The first 'Liu Kaiqu Award' 2011). Несъмнено успехът на проф. Георги Филин, който живее и работи в Италия от много години, но представя България в международните скулптурни форуми, е голям и увенчава труда му като скулптор, който реализира монументална скулптура в КНР от 1999 г. Монументалните скулптури на проф. Филин в КНР са над 30. След големия му успех следващите 10 години авторът продължава да бъде награждаван с високи отличия за своя принос към съвременната китайска култура, но наградата (фиг. 3) на името на китайския скулптор Лиу Кайцю остава едно от най-високите отличия в кариерата на Филин.



Фиг. 2. Заглавие – "Run Like the Wind", автор – проф. Георги Филин, материал – мрамор, размери – 400Х850Х150 cm, 2011 г.; I издание на изложбата, награда: Златен медал



Фиг. 3. Награждаване на проф. Георги Филин със Златен медал на изложбата

### Четвърто издание на конкурса "Лиу Кайцю".

IV-та международна изложба за скулптура с наградата "Лиу Кайцю" с тема "Хуманитарни науки и екология" е тържествено открита в Уху на 22 ноември 2014 г. Преди церемонията по откриването организационният комитет на конкурса обявява наградените творби – наградите са 35, включително 1 златна награда, 2 сребърни награди, 3 бронзови награди, 3 съдии и 9 специални почетни награди, както и 17 почетни споменавания. Те са излъчени сред 2205 скулптурни проекта на 581 художници от 47 страни и региони по света. 35-те наградени творби са изложени в скулптурния парк на четири етапа (Results of the 4<sup>th</sup> 'Liu Kaiqu' 2014).

В списъка с финалисти има и двама българи. Доц. Георги Минчев, завеждащ катедра Скулптура във Великотърновския университет, е удостоен със Сребърен медал за творбата си "Fragment of Something Bigger №5" (фиг. 4). Скулптурата е с размери: височина 4 м, широчина 1,7 м и дълбочина 1 м; изпълнена е в гранит и се адаптира много добре в ландшафта и флората на скулптурния парк в Уху. Тази творба е част от дълга серия реализирани монументални скулптури на Минчев, в които водещият мотив е изведен в осмислената комбинация между овална външна форма и строга геометрия във вътрешността си. Композицията на скулптурата я прави да изглежда неръкотворна, а по-големите ажурни отвори в гранита спомагат за разбирането на цялостната идея.



Фиг. 4. Заглавие – "Fragment of Something Bigger №5", автор – доц. Георги Минчев, материал – гранит ; размери – 400×170×100 ст, 2014 г.; IV издание на изложбата, награда: Сребърен медал

Вторият български скулптор, заслужил вниманието на журито, е Агнеса Петрова. Творбата ѝ "Wind Transformation History" (фиг. 5) е отличена с Бронзов медал. Скулптурата на Петрова е изпълнена в мрамор с размери: височина 2,9 м, широчина 3,1 м и дълбочина 1,4 м; отличава се с динамичност на абстрактните форми, характерни за автора, налице е и сериозна техническа комплексност в изпълнението на творбата. Агнеса Петрова е автор със силно присъствие на скулптурната сцена в КНР през второто десетилетие на XXI век, има много отличия и в следващи форуми, но тя сама споделя, че наградата "Лиу Кайцю" е една от най-важните за нея.



Фиг. 5. Заглавие – "Wind Transformation History", автор – Агнеса Петрова, материал – мрамор ; размери – 290×310×140 ст, 2014 г.; IV издание на изложбата, награда: Бронзов медал

#### Шесто издание на конкурса "Лиу Кайцю"

Темата на VI-та международна изложба за скулптура "Лиу Кайцю" е "Конвергенция · Сливане". Организационният комитет решава темата да бъде тясно свързана с бъдещия план за градско развитие на гр. Уху (The 6th China · Wuhu 'Liu Kaiqu Award' 2016). Сред финалистите е българският скулптор Петър Петров. В свое по-обширно изследване авторът на статията определя Петър Петров като първия български скулптор, реализирал монументална скулптура на територията на континентален Китай и по-конкретно в Yuzi Paradise sculpture park през 1999 г. Авторът е участвал в над 150 международни скулптурни изложби в повече от 40 държави, на всички 6 континента, без Антарктида. В периода 1999-2022 г. Петър Петров има участия в 32 скулптурни симпозиума, изложби и обществени поръчки, с 10 награди на тези събития в КНР, като една от тях е и "Лиу Кайцю". Творбата на Петров "Time circles" (фиг. 6), спечелила Бронзов медал на VI-то издание на конкурса, е изпълнена в мрамор. Размерите на скулптурната композиция са: височина – 2,5 м, широчина – 5 м, дълбочина – 2,5 м. "Творбите на двамата чуждестранни художници, получили Бронзовата награда, също описват времето. "Time circles" на Петър Петров акцентира върху формата на структурата, образувайки визуална конвергенция на различни форми, и накрая се слива в богата, светлочувствителна и прозрачна нова форма, насложена в пространствено ниво – формата на пръстен, заобикалящ структурата, предизвиква асоциация у зрителя с цикъла на времето" (The 6th China · Wuhu 'Liu Kaiqu Award' 2016).



Фиг. 6. Заглавие – "Time circles", автор – Петър Петров, материал – мрамор, размери – 250×500×250 ст, 2016 г., VI издание на изложбата, награда: Бронзов медал

## Осмо издание на конкурса "Лиу Кайцю"

Работите, представени в скулптурния парк в Уху, са резултат от кураторския екип на Китайския скулптурен институт, който заедно с другите представители на академични институции разглежда и избира най-добрите от 1278-те изпратени проекти в конкурса. От валидирането на схемите за предварителен подбор в първия етап на журиране, през изготвянето на триизмерен проект във втория етап, след това и повторното им журиране за по-нататъшното им уголемяване и изпълнение, до днешната успешна инсталация на творбите – всяка стъпка е стриктно проверена и усъвършенствана ("Transformation • Creation" 2022). В VIII-то издание на международния форум сред финалистите е и българският скулптор Рафаил Георгиев. След като творбите на отличените бяха инсталирани в парка Уху, неговата творба получи Награда за високи постижения (Excellence award). Монументалната скулптура "Formations" (фиг. 7) е реализирана от неръждаема стомана, като при продуцирането и бяха използвани съвременни технологии, като например пет осен CNC робот и дигитално моделиране, в комбинация с традиционните техники в скулптурата. Размерите на творбата са: височина – 4,8 м, широчина – 3,7 м и дълбочина – 1,8 м. Творбата е първа реализация за младия автор в КНР, докато в други 13 държави той има повече от 30 реализации.



Фиг. 7. Заглавие – "Formations", автор – Рафаил Георгиев, материал – неръждаема стомана, размери – 480×365×180 ст, 2022 г.; VIII издание на изложбата, награда: Награда за високи постижения

## Заключение

В тази статия за първи път се прави хронологично проучване на постиженията на български скулптори в емблематичния международен скулптурен конкурс "Лиу

Кайцю" в гр. Уху. Освен това, чрез внимателна датировка и проучване на детайлите, се онагледява хронологията, за да може да се открои феноменологията на представените участия (вж. фиг. 1). Феноменът е във факта, че в една от най-важните международни награди за монументална скулптура и в един от най-добре курираните скулптурни паркове в КНР, българската следа вече е много дълбока. След реализирани 5 монументални скулптури и получени най-високи отличия, можем да заключим, че въпреки стиловите различия между всеки един от представените български автори в колекцията, най-елитните академични и професионални институции в сферата на скулптурата и изкуството отчеливо демонстрират следното: творбите на български творци носят едни от най-високите естетически качества в така важния за културата на КНР скулптурен парк в гр. Уху.

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# Research on Legibility of Latin, Cyrillic and Chinese Scripts

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Abstract

Although the Chinese script on the one hand and the Latin and Cyrillic scripts on the other are quite different in origin, structure and logic, they nonetheless share similar challenges in front of people's eyes—the deciphering of each character—the legibility, and the characteristics of typefaces to be either facilitating or hindering the ease of text reading. The article explores exactly these common features.

**Keywords**: legibility, readability, deciphering characters, ease of reading of texts, Latin, Cyrillic, Chinese, writing script

The process of reading is fascinating and quite complex, acitvating different parts of the body: the eyes register the visual stimuli and transmit them to the brain via the optic nerve. From there, "a number of brain regions are involved in reading and comprehension. Among them are the temporal lobe, which is responsible for phonological awareness and for decoding and discriminating sounds; Broca's area in the frontal lobe, which governs speech production and language comprehension; and the angular and supramarginal gyrus, which link different parts of the brain so that letter shapes can be put together to form words." (Edwards 2016). In addition, one must have knowledge so that the visual signs be assigned to the appropriate semantics behind them. "Reading is the conversion of written or typeset text into linguistic meaning. This process has a sensory and neuronal part — the decoding of visual signs; and a cognitive part – the acquisition of meaning." (Unger 2018: 169).

The functionality of a typeface should be measured based on several properties, and the major ones are the legibility and readability. They are two closely related yet distinct aspects of typefaces. Legibility refers to the ease with which individual characters can be distinguished and recognized. While readability focuses on the overall flow and comprehension of the written text, it implicates a legible typeface, but also requires a proper way to deal with this typeface. Sofie Beier explains the legibility as "clarity of the individual letters influenced by familiarity" and reading as "ease of reading in running text" (Beier 2009: 213–14). Walter Tracy states that the "legibility refers to the clarity of individual characters; readability refers to the ease with which we comprehend a text" (Tracy 1986:



31). Mary Dyson considers this statement to be rather confusing due to the complexity of typographic form and content, and therefore defines legibility as "identifying individual characters, whole words, and reading text which will usually refer to continuous text for extended reading, typically sentences arranged into paragraphs and sections" (Dyson 2019: 9). Gerard Unger simplifies the two terms as follows: "readability is the domain of authors and editors, legibility is the domain of type designers, typographers, graphic and web designers" (Unger 2018: 223). In many ways these different terms are interrelated: in fact, in most cases a readable typeface assumes decent legibility, one that can be decoded calmly, with an ease of comprehension, in a pleasurable reading experience.

Readability is affected by the way how the typeface is being used — the choice of fonts, the exact weights, widths and stroke contrast, the tracking between the letters, the leading, the hierarchy and font size, the contrast with the background, the space around the text.

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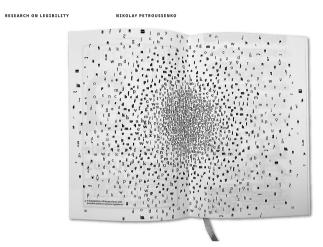
**Illustration 01.** Legibility is the property of the graphemes to be easily recognised. Here, only the context helps to distinguish the whole word.

THE PROPERTY OF THE GRAPHEMES TO BE EASILY RECOGNIZABLE.

How to know which typefaces are enough legible from the vast abundance of stylistic variety? There are several criteria and probably the most important one is the degree of familiarity with the characters. This underlines the rather conservative concept for the letter shapes that has almost not changed for more than five centuries since the Renaissance. "Convention, which coincides with familiarity, depends to a great extent on habituation" (Unger 2018: 171). The highly repetitive pattern of the letterforms in all kinds of visual communication around us solidifies these conventions. An ideal legible typeface comprises of letters and glyphs, whose structures and shapes do not show any sign of disturbance, novel-ty, and idiosyncrasies. There is nothing to surprise the expectations of the reader, and even more, the typeface can or should go even unnoticed. The notorious Swiss typeface designer Adrian Frutiger states that "type is like a spoon: if I remember in the evening the shape of the spoon with which I ate my soup at lunch, then it was a bad spoon" (Osterer, Stamm 2014: 137). However, in my personal opinion, one should not restrict themselves solely to neutral typefaces but rather consider the intended purpose and select an appropriate typeface.



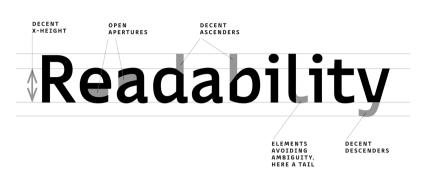
Regarding conventions, in 2014 Gerry Leonidas introduced a graphic cloud image that positions all kinds of fonts, with the most conventional and neutral fonts in the centre, many of which have been used ever since as true evergreens. At the periphery are the displays and attention-seekers with bizarre structures and quirky details, striking but also limited in terms of application and time of usage. These typefaces with too expressive appearance can be oversaturating and with short lifespan like a very bright meteor that flashes and burns in the night sky.



**Illustration 02.** A visualisation of the type cloud [by G. Leonidas], with probable positions of some typefaces. Taken from the book Theory of Type Design by Gerard Unger 2018.

In order to fully understand the process of reading at the optical level, it is essential to analyse the scripts discussed in this article: Latin, Cyrillic and Chinese, whose characteristics influence the behaviour of the eyeballs during reading.

Latin and Cyrillic, together with their main influencer, Greek, are the three scripts that form the basis of Western languages. They share the same origin and therefore have many similarities today: they are all alphabetic writing systems; the direction is from left to right (LTR); their graphemes are mostly separate shapes with clear articulation and similar structure; the letters are bicameral with a unique shape for most uppercase and lowercase allographs; there is a noticeable horizontal spacing between the characters in relation to the interlocking spaces within the characters (counters and apertures). All three scripts are aligned on vertical metrics, the most prominent of which is the x-size, i.e., the space between the baseline and the x-height. The lowercase letters do have ascenders (extending upwards) and descenders (descending downwards). The uppercase letters may be above or at the same level as the ascenders. The topmost space is designated for diacritical marks. Different similar forms (e.g., "I", "I" and "1") ensure legibility through subtle design variations. The rhythm of letter widths shows that most Latin letters tend to be narrower than their Cyrillic counterparts.



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Illustration 03. The anatomy of a Latin typeface (font in use: Ways Semibold)

Chinese writing script from the other side is at the foundation of many Eastern languages. With its intricate characters and stroke-based structure, this writing system presents distinctive challenges in legibility and readability. Chinese characters, better known as Hànzì (Traditional 漢字 and Simplified 汉字), can be classified into several categories, including pictograms (象形字), ideograms (指事字), compound ideographs / ideogrammatic compounds (會意字), radical phonetics / phono-semantic compound characters / phonetic compounds (形声字), derivative cognates (轉注字), and rebus (phonetic loan) characters (假借字). Of all these, radical phonetics and logograms make up the majority.

The writing direction in contemporary texts is left to right (LTR), except for aesthetic reasons or visual constraints, where it may be top to bottom, as in classical texts and calligraphy. Road signs might be written in bottom to top direction. There is also right to left (RTL) writing, when the text is next to Arabic. On bus signs, the text may be written LTR and RTL simultaneously from both sides of the vehicle.

Chinese characters are made up of strokes, and many characters share common components known as radicals. Radicals often give clues to the meaning or category of the character. Each character is written following a specific stroke order. Correct stroke order is essential for the readability, balance, and aesthetics. There are eight basic strokes in Chinese writing, including the dot, horizontal stroke, angle, vertical stroke, hook, downward-left stroke, short downward-left stroke, and downward-right stroke. The vast number of characters in the Chinese script requires careful consideration of stroke clarity and character structure.

"While Latin letters sit on the baseline, Chinese characters are aligned by their vertical center [optical/focal] point" (Takagi 2014: 71) into square cells. These cells have a central vertical axis and a horizontal axis. The standard character size encompasses the average size of the characters, whose parts do not exceed the maximum size. Around them is the fitting area with the surrounding white space. Within this grid of the square cell all radicals are positioned and scaled, and all white spaces in between are also carefully balanced and kerned. The stroke weight is optically adjusted especially in the case



of complex radicals. Perhaps this complexity of radicals, especially in the Traditional Chinese was one of the reasons for the reforms that led to the Simplified Chinese.

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**Illustration 04.** The fitting of a Chinese character into a square cell (font in use: Noto Sans SC Medium)

The outer shape of the characters might be grouped into several categories: square, rectangle, trapezium, circle, diamond/lozenge, triangle, parallelogram, convex shape.

In all these writing systems the outer shapes of letters, characters, words, and radicals are crucial to the readability of the typefaces. This is because humans read word by word, not letter by letter, except when encountering these words for first time. We memorize the outlines of words, which speeds up the reading process. At the visual level, text comprehension can be divided into two types of eye movement: fixation and saccades.



Illustration 05. The silhouettes of the characters and words are crucial for readability

Fixations are brief periods during which the eyes remain relatively stationary and focused on a specific point in the visual field. During a fixation, the visual system gathers detailed information about the object or scene being viewed through the fovea, the small central area of the retina with the highest visual acuity.

These fixations typically last for about 200–300 milliseconds (ms), but this duration can vary depending on the task and individual differences. The human eye does not

capture a continuous stream of visual information like a video camera; instead, the visual system scans the environment during these fixations. The brain stitches together the information gathered from successive fixations to create a coherent and continuous representation of the visual scene.

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Because, when we read, our eyes focus only on certain characteristic parts of the letters and the rest is barely seen by the peripheral sight.

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**Illustration 06.** A visualisation of eye movements while reading a text. Some saccades may go back to previous words and features of words, either because letters were poorly recognised or because the meaning was difficult to grasp.

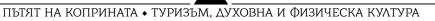
Saccades are rapid, ballistic eye movements that occur between fixations. They are the quick jumps the eyes make from one point of interest to another in about 20–40 ms. Saccades can redirect the line of sight to bring new objects or points of interest to the fovea. This allows us to extract detailed information about objects in the environment.

During saccades, the eyes move so rapidly that visual perception is suppressed. This suppression prevents us from perceiving the motion blur that would otherwise occur during these quick eye movements. Saccades are essential for efficiently exploring the visual scene and shifting attention to different objects or areas of interest.

Coordination between fixations and saccades is crucial for visual exploration, reading, and other daily activities that require us to gather information from the environment. By alternating between fixations and saccades, our eyes can efficiently scan the visual world and create a coherent mental representation of the scenes we encounter.

Beside the visual processing of the text another helping factor for the comprehension is the context of the overall text, which in the most cases helps to clarify the ambiguity. This is why the reader may not even notice misspelled or missing words. But this is possible if these misspelled words retain proximity to the original order as in the source, and if not, the misarranged word would look like a word with a different semantics.

While each script has its own unique characteristics, Latin, Cyrillic and Chinese scripts share common challenges. Typeface designers must navigate the balance legibility and aesthetic considerations to create typefaces that serve to the needs of readers. Factors, such as font size, weight, and contextual variations affect legibility and readability in all three writing scripts. Understanding the cultural and regional preferences associated with each script is crucial for creating typefaces or dealing with them in typography in a way that resonates with readers and enhances their reading experience.



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# Reflections on the Ancient Chinese Parable on Musical-Psychological Phenomena (An Analytical Model for Musical and Creative Work With Children With Special Educational Needs)

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of musical thinking and its relation to imagination, the reduction of stress factors through language and art, associations as a link between music and language, and the reflection of accumulations in consciousness – important phenomena that are sought for a practical perspective.

Keywords: ancient Chinese parable, musical therapy, children with special educational needs

The impact of the ancient Chinese parable is well known. There are many different analyzes of these extremely interesting texts – linguistic, philosophical, psychological, psychoanalytic. Their use in various fields of human knowledge is constantly being studied and improved. Parallels are also drawn with other arts. The present scientific study connects these texts with the peculiarities of music and its effects. More specifically, therapeutic work with patients with emotional problems is considered. The main problem for these patients is emotional control when experiencing complex life situations. Therefore, they seek appropriate therapy to overcome the difficulties. Communication with ancient Chinese texts, supplemented by the impact of a musical work contributes to psychological improvement.

In order to theoretically prove the benefit of this therapy, a parallel study with Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) and holter was conducted.

In an emotional sense, music has to do with the experience of emotions resulting from a satisfied soul conflict. In music, this is based on the functioning of continuous consciousness. For example, music for Tibetan meditation has a continuous character; metaphorically, when perceived, it is described as a "flowing stream, a river", a static state in which the dynamics have a relative constancy. Consistency is a phenomenon of musical perception that can be described as follows: musical structure is a series of tones that have meaning and effect only when they flow continuously in time. In the musical flow, associations are much more the result of activated accumulations in the memory, past and present experiences, needs, fears. It is as if music is the means to know oneself, to unravel oneself, and why not to improve oneself by means of the composer's musical creative consciousness (Manolova 2005: 45–77).

When the musical flow of the melody stops, the meaning of the musical work and its effect are lost. With some convention, a parallel can be drawn with the alpha rhythm of the cerebral cortex, in which the frequency of oscillations is constant.

It is different in the perception of language. There, the word taken out of context makes sense on its own. When many words are connected in a text, it triggers the unlocking, the activation of one or more associative links – pairings and thus reflex arcs. That is the meaning of the text. This is an essential difference from music, where the associations of the sound of one or more notes taken out of the musical whole have a fluctuating effect – an effect unrelated to the whole (Manolova 1998).

Research has been done with children who have a problem with emotional control, using musical works by Bach, Pachelbel, Debussy. Then Liezi's parable "How do people walk on water?" from the collection "The Yellow Ancestor" is analysed. The results of psychological tests and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) show a relative similarity in perception. The ancient Chinese text is described by the perceivers as "whole, joyful, smooth, balanced".

There is another interesting point. Listeners want to hear it from beginning to end. Any interruption of the text is frowned upon. This is also characteristic of well-functioning musical perception.

On a neurophysiological level Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) shows relatively constant brain activity characteristic of the perception of the above musical samples. This is also shown by the electroencephalogram – a stable alpha rhythm.

In conclusion, the following hypothesis can be substantiated: continuous awareness, a characteristic feature of musical perception, is also activated during the perception of certain verbal texts. This feature is of interest for future psychophysiological research.

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# 中国传统精神对世界发展的影响

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# The Impact of Chinese Traditional Spirit on World Development

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#### Abstract

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Chinese traditional spirit is a profound value system that integrates the harmony and coexistence of heaven, earth, and humanity, and the fusion of cultural, philosophical, and religious spiritual cores as well. It is inseparable from Chinese traditional culture and social development, and has become a spiritual symbol, feature, and inheritance of the entire Chinese nation, and a cultural and spiritual treasure shared by all mankind. It is deeply rooted in the Chinese people and is the core of Chinese philosophy and humanistic spirit. It also has important implications for discovering and addressing common problems facing world development. Currently, socialism with Chinese characteristics is entering a new era in a healthy and stable manner. While vigorously inheriting and promoting the great national spirit of the new era, we should also treat Chinese traditional spirit correctly, enhance the country's spiritual confidence, tell China's story well, and provide philosophical and humanistic support for the solid realization of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and contribute Chinese wisdom to human civilization. Based on the perspective that Chinese traditional spirit is closely connected and intertwined with China's development and the world's development, this paper analyzes its performance and contributions in different fields, such as philosophy and ideology, economic and technological development, social governance, and international relations, and explores the influence of Chinese traditional spirit on world development.

Keywords: Chinese traditional spirit, world development, culture, ideology, economy, politics

中国传统精神是中华文明发展之源,传承下来的哲学思想、文化价值和行为规范等,其源远流长,与中华文明一脉相承,是人类文明发展的根本所在,贯穿于不同的历史时期、不同的



文化体系,一直是人类社会和经济体系的基石。它浩如烟海,广博厚重,沉淀着中华民族几千年来体系最完备、内容最丰富的价值观,蕴含着中华民族最伟大的精神要素和文化积淀,代表着中华民族最为独特的精神特质,是中华民族繁衍生息、发展壮大的厚重沃土,其思想内涵、社会人文、思想道德是中国人哲学思想和人文精神、优秀文化的内核,对解决世界发展面临的国际重大问题也有十分重要的意义。

## 1. 中国传统精神的内涵

中国传统精神在哲学思想领域中有着深远的影响。儒家强调的中庸之道、仁爱之心、孝 道、礼仪等理念,深深地影响了中国人的思维方式和生活方式,并在中国哲学领域形成了自己 的独特体系。道家注重个体的自我修养和内在的自我完善,提倡超越现实和物质的追求,强 调天人合一和自然之道。佛家思想在中国的传播和发展也对中国哲学的形成产生了影响,它 强调生命的无常和轮回转世的观念,提倡禅修和慈悲为怀的生活态度,深刻地影响了中国人 的思想和文化。中国传统精神在哲学思想领域中有着广泛而深远的影响,这些影响不仅体现 在中国古代哲学的发展和传承中,也对当今中国,乃至世界的政治、经济、文化和社会发展都 产生着重要的影响。

#### 1.1中国传统精神的概念

中国传统精神是指在中国历史和文化传统中形成的,具有中国特色和价值观念的思想和 精神。它涵盖了中国古代哲学、文学、艺术、宗教、道德伦理、政治制度、家庭观念等方面的思 想和理念,是中国文化的核心和精髓。这些观念和价值观在社会和个人的生活中具有深远的 影响,贯穿着中国人的行为习惯和思维方式,并持续深刻影响着世界各国人民的行为习惯与 思维方式。比如中国传统精神的一个重要方面就是"仁爱"思想。在中国文化中,仁爱被视为最 高的美德和行为准则。仁爱强调关心他人,关爱家庭和社会,促进和谐与平等的关系。这种思 想反映在许多方面,如孔子所提倡的"己所不欲,勿施于人",以及孟子所强调的"天下为公"的思 想。另一个重要的精神就是"中庸"思想。"中庸"指的是适度和平衡的态度,这种思想反映在行 为、言语和生活的各个方面。在中国传统文化和精神领域中,中庸被视为一种德行和修养,强 调在各种情况下保持冷静和平衡,尤其是在困难和挑战的时候。中庸在中国传统思想中被广 泛应用,包括政治、哲学、道德、教育等各个方面。

中国传统精神还强调"礼仪"思想。礼仪是指一种特定的行为方式,被认为是维持社会秩序和和谐的重要因素之一,旨在表达尊重、感激和认可。这种思想反映在家庭、社会和政治生活的各个方面,包括结婚、丧礼、拜访亲友、商务活动等。此外,中国传统精神还强调"诚信"和"信仰"。诚信被视为重要的道德准则和行为规范,强调遵守承诺和保持诚实。信仰是指人类对神、佛或其他信仰体系的信仰和敬畏,它通常与道德、行为和生活方式密切相关,如佛教强调的慈悲和禅定,道教强调的自然和谐和无为而治,儒家强调的仁爱和中庸等。诚信和信仰在中国传统精神中被认为是重要的品质,能够帮助个人建立信任和塑造良好的人际关系,同时也是实现和谐社会的基础。

简言之,中国传统精神作为具有中国特色的价值判断和精神基因,也是中华文化与世界文化交流的纽带和关键所在,具有重要的历史、文化、思想、道德和人文价值和意义。



#### 1.2中国传统精神的特征

中国传统精神是一个包罗万象的概念,它是中国文化思想长期积淀所形成的精神传统, 代表了中国文化的本质和核心价值观。它的特征有许多方面,包括文化、哲学、宗教、道德等 领域。笔者从对中国传统文化的核心和精髓要义出发,对传统精神的主要特征进行了不完全 归纳:

1.2.1. 家庭伦理。家庭伦理是中国传统精神中最为重要的内容。中国人非常重视家庭和家庭成员之间的关系,认为家庭是一个人最亲密的社会群体,是维系社会稳定和传承家族血脉的基本单元。中国传统文化和思想中有许多关于家庭的传统价值观,比如"孝道"、"家和万事兴"等,这些价值观都是以家庭为基础的。在家庭和社会关系中,尊重长辈、亲情、责任、忠诚等是中国传统精神的代表。

1.2.2. 尊师重道。尊师重道是中华民族精神的重要方面。中国传统文化中的师生关系非常 严谨,即所谓"师者,所以传道受业解惑也",可以对应的认为"徒者,学以致用,承蒙恩德也"。尊 重老师、追求学术、崇尚道德是中华民族的美德和习惯。中国古代的教育体系中,师生关系具 有非常严格的等级关系,师徒之间是长久而亲密的。在这样的文化传统下,敬师、尊道成为了 中国人的共识。从世界范围内来看,通过孔子学院(课堂)这样的载体,正在将"尊师重道"的美 德和精神向世界传播。

1.2.3. 尚德修身。中国传统精神中一直强调"德行天下"的思想,认为一个人的品行决定他的一生。在中国的传统观念中,人们不仅要提高理论修养,还要注重自己的思想品德和人文修养。比如曾参的"古之欲明明德于天下者,先治注其国;欲治其国者,先齐其家;欲齐其家者, 先修其身;欲修其身者,先正其心;欲正其心者,先诚其意;欲诚其意者,先致其知,致知在格物。物格而后知至,知至而后意诚,意诚而后心正,心正而后身修,身修而后家齐,家齐而后国治,国治而后天下平"中蕴藏的格物、致知、诚意、正心、修身、齐家、治国、平天下的思想成为中国古代士人一直以来的追求。中国传统文化和精神中有许多涉及德行的典故,再比如儒家的"五伦、五常、四维、八德",以及道家的"修身养性",这些思想深入人心,对中国人的价值观,乃至世界大同思想都产生了深远影响。

1.2.4. 天人合一。天人合一是中国传统哲学、人文思想的核心理论之一,更是中国传统精神的反映和再现。中国传统哲学中认为,人类和自然是共生共存、彼此照应和紧密联系的,宇宙中的万事万物都是密不可分的统一体。人应当敬畏自然,爱护自然,与自然和平相处。在中国传统精神中,人与自然的关系被视为是一种"天人合一"的思想,即人与自然的关系应当是健康和谐的。这一理念对中国人的人生观和行为方式产生了非常大的影响,例如中国传统文化中尊重生命、保护环境、追求和平等。

1.2.5. 黄土文化。黄土文化是中国传统文化的重要组成部分, 也是中国传统精神的根源之一。它是指中国黄河流域地区的文化传统, 包括了许多传统艺术、建筑、文学、音乐等方面的元素。黄土文化的精神内核是平凡、坚韧、勤劳、拼搏等, 反映了中国人民在困难环境下的生存智慧和坚定信念。这一文化传统在中国人的心中具有非常重要的地位, 也影响了中国文化的发展方向。

概括来说,中国传统精神是一个包罗万象的概念,它是中国文化长期积淀所形成的精神传统,代表了中国文化的本质和核心价值。尊重家庭、敬师重道、尚德修身、天人合一和黄土文化等都是中国传统精神的主要特征,这些特征反映了中国人民在长期的历史和文化积淀中所



形成的思想观念和行为方式,对于中国人民和世界人民的价值观和行为方式都在产生着积极 而深远的影响。

#### 1.3中国传统精神中的核心价值观

中国历史文化中形成并积淀下来的精神特质、思想观念和价值取向,是中国人民在几千年的历史进程中所孕育的一种独特的文化精神,代表着中华民族的哲学智慧和思想精髓。在中国传统精神中,有很多核心的价值观。笔者仅从儒家的仁、义、礼、智、信五个方面为主线,简要阐述中国传统精神中的核心价值观。

1.3.1. "仁"的价值观。"仁"是中国传统精神的核心价值观之一,它强调的是以人为本,以人 类的利益为出发点,关注他人的疾苦,具有同情心和奉献精神。在《论语》中,孔子提出了"己 所不欲,勿施于人"的思想,这体现了"仁"的核心意义。中国古代的政治哲学中,也是以"仁"为核 心,如《大学》中提到的"修身齐家治国平天下",其中的"修身"就是要实现"仁"的境界。在中国 传统文化中,"仁"被认为是一种道德标准和行为指南,它不仅要求个人具有"仁"的品质,也要求 社会制度和道德规范具有"仁"的色彩。

1.3.2. "义"的价值观。"义"是中国传统精神中的重要价值观之一,它是一种以道德为基础的 行为准则,强调人们要有道义情感,行为正义,不损害他人的权利和利益。在中国传统文化中," 义"是道德、礼仪和法律的基础,是人们意识行为和行动标准的最高原则之一。在《论语》中,孔 子曾说:"君子喻于义,小人喻于利",这表明 "义"是高尚品德和行为的标准,是人们应该追求和 遵循的准则。同时,"义"也被赋予了强烈的社会责任感,这是因为中国文化中强调的是集体利益 高于个人利益的观念,因此,在中国传统文化中,个人行为的正义性被要求必须符合社会责任的 要求。

1.3.3. "礼"的价值观。"礼"是中国传统精神中的重要价值观之一,它是指人与人之间的相互 尊重和关心,包括了社会规范、仪式礼仪、家庭关系、职业道德等方面。在中国古代,礼仪被视 为治理国家的重要价值标准推而广之,是维护社会秩序和道德风尚的基石。在《周礼》中,就 明确规定了各种礼制和礼仪,强调了人们的应有之礼和行为规范。在中国传统文化中,"礼"是一 种高度尊重他人的表现,也是人际交往的基本准则,能够建立起和谐、稳定的社会关系,提升 人类的精神层次。

1.3.4. "智"的价值观。"智"是中国传统精神中的重要价值观之一,它是人类思维和理性的表现,具有明智和远见的特质。在中国古代社会,"智"往往被视为优秀品质的代表,强调人们要有明智的判断和行为,具有远见卓识的头脑和智慧。在《论语》中,孔子提出了"知之为知之,不知为不知,是知也"这一思想,表明了"智"的不可替代性。在中国古代的科学和文化领域中,"智"被视为创新和发展的源泉,能够推动人类文明的进步。

1.3.5. "信"的价值观。"信"是中国传统文化中的重要价值观之一,它是指诚信、诚实、守信用的 品质。在中国传统文化中,"信"被视为重要的道德准则,强调人们要言行一致,守信用、讲信誉, 对自己的承诺和责任负责。在《礼记·大学》强调"欲正其心者,先诚其意",表明了"信"的重要性。 在中国传统文化中,"信"是建立起互信和信任的基础,也是社会稳定和和谐发展的必要条件。

基于儒家思想的仁、义、礼、智、信等中国传统文化中的核心价值观共同构成了中国传统 精神所包藏的精髓和思想智慧,代表了中华民族的传统和价值所在。这些价值观具有十分重 要的理论和实践意义,在全球一体化进程中依然持续彰显着深远的价值和启示作用。

## 2. 中国传统精神在哲学思想领域中的影响

中国传统精神是一种文化、哲学和道德的总称,它涵盖了中国几千年的历史和文化遗产, 是中华文化的重要组成部分。它体现了中国人民对于社会和人生的理解、对于道德和伦理的 探索、对于自然和宇宙的认知,以及对于美学和艺术的追求。

#### 2.1 儒家思想在世界上的传播和影响

儒家思想是中国传统文化和中国思想体系中最具代表性的思想之一,其影响力不仅仅局限于中国,在世界范围内也有广泛的影响和传播。它提倡仁爱、礼仪、忠诚、孝顺等传统价值观念。儒家思想认为,人类应该通过实践、思考和自我修养,逐渐提高自己的道德水平,并通过行为规范来维护社会的秩序和稳定。孔子是儒家思想的代表人物,他提出的"仁者爱人"、"己所不欲,勿施于人"等思想,一直影响着中国人民,乃至世界人民的思想和行为。

在古代,随着中国的统一和文化的繁荣,儒家思想逐渐成为了社会的主流思想,并在朝廷 和社会各个领域产生了深远的影响。而在现代社会,随着全球化和中华文化的影响力逐渐扩 大,儒家思想也逐渐被世界所认识和接受。在东亚地区,儒家思想在韩国、日本、越南等国家 广泛传播,成为了这些国家文化的重要组成部分。在日本,儒家思想在江户时代达到了巅峰, 对当时的社会政治、文化和思想产生了深刻的影响。在韩国,儒家思想在朝鲜王朝时期成为了 国家的官方哲学,对韩国传统文化产生了深远的影响。在越南,儒家思想与佛教、道教等思想 相结合,形成了独特的越南文化。在西方国家,儒家思想也逐渐受到了重视和关注。自20世纪 初以来,儒家思想在西方学术界得到了广泛的研究和探讨,儒家的经典《论语》《大学》《中 庸》等被译成了多种语言。儒家的仁、义、礼、智、信等核心的哲学思想和价值判断被认为与西 方的人文、民主、道德等价值观存在着共通性和相似性。

可以看出,儒家思想在世界上的传播和影响是多方面的,不仅在东亚地区成为了文化的重要组成部分,也在西方学术界得到了广泛的研究和关注。儒家思想所强调的人伦、道德、理性等价值观,在当今世界依然具有重要的意义和价值。

#### 2.2 道家思想对世界哲学思想的贡献

道家是中国哲学的一个重要流派,这一派思想强调人应该顺应自然,追求自由和无为而治,强调"道"、"自然"和"无为而治"等观念,对世界哲学思想产生了深远的影响和贡献。老子作为道家思想标志性、代表性的人物,他提出的"道可道非常道,名可名非常名"等思想,强调"道" 是至高无上的,人应该遵从"道"的指引,以达到和谐自然、和谐社会的目的。

纵观道家思想的产生、发展脉络,其贡献应主要有:一是强调自然与人的和合一致:道家 强调天人合一、自然和人的共生共存,崇尚"道法自然"的哲学认知,认为"自然"是最高的社会 准则,人应该追求与自然的和谐,从而构建一种独特的人与自然、国与国之间、人与人之间的 优良和合关系。这种思想对于生态哲学、环境伦理学等领域产生了深刻的影响。二是探讨人 生意义:道家关注人生意义,认为追求超越功利的生活方式是人生的最高境界。此外,道家还 倡导心静自然、反思自省的生活方式,认为只有在内心平静的状态下,才能达到心灵的宁静和 真正的自由。这种关注人生意义的思想在人类学、心理学、宗教哲学等领域具有重要意义。 三是倡导无为而治:道家强调无为而治,认为过度干预会破坏事物的本来面貌。这种思想对于 政治哲学、管理学等领域产生了深刻的影响,提醒人们要尊重自然规律,避免过度控制和干



预。四是探讨宇宙万物的本源: 道家认为宇宙万物的本源是"道", 而非神或神话中的造物主。 这种思想在形而上学、宗教哲学等领域产生了深远的影响, 为人们提供了一种独特的宇宙观 和价值观。五是倡导道德自觉和修养: 道家认为人应该具备一种高尚的品德和道德修养, 通 过自觉地遵守自然规律和内心的感悟来提高自身的道德水平。这种思想在伦理学、人类学等 领域产生了重要影响。

总的来说,道家思想具有开阔的视野、独特的思想观念和深刻的哲学洞察力,对于中国哲 学和世界哲学的发展都有着不可替代的重要贡献,为人类思维和文化提供了宝贵的财富。

#### 2.3 中国佛家思想在世界上的影响和传播

佛教思想强调人应该超越物质世界和人生的苦难,强调"生死观"、"缘起性空"等观念。佛教思想认为,人们应该超越自我,抛弃世俗的欲望和束缚,通过冥想、修行、慈悲等方式,提高自己的精神境界,获得内心的平静和自我解脱。中国佛家思想源远流长,自汉朝东来之后,已 经在中国社会深深扎根,在发展和演化过程中形成了独特的文化思想体系,并对中国文化、哲学、道德等多个领域产生了广泛影响。在世界范围内,中国的佛家思想也有着重要的影响和传播。

在东亚地区,中国佛家思想一度成为了日本、韩国、越南等国家的重要文化遗产和精神支 柱。中国的佛教传入这些国家后,对它们的文化和社会发展,对宗教、哲学、文学、艺术、建筑 等多个领域产生了广泛的影响。比如日本的禅宗、净土宗、天台宗等宗派,以及茶道、武道、园 艺等文化活动。另外,中国佛教文化还对东南亚地区的泰国、印度尼西亚、马来西亚等地的佛 教文化也带来了非常深远的影响。在西方世界,中国佛家思想也在近年来得到越来越多的关注 和传播。一方面,一些中国佛家思想的经典著作,如《心经》《金刚经》《法华经》等被翻译成 不同语言,成为西方哲学、宗教、文化等领域的重要参考资料。另一方面,佛教教义中所包含 的人性关怀、慈悲、智慧等精神内涵被越来越多的西方人认识和接受,并得到了广泛应用。佛 教中的"般若波罗蜜多心经"在西方成为一种流行的哲学思想,被广泛地应用于心理学、哲学、 文学等领域,成为一种流行的精神实践。此外,中国唐卡、佛像、香道等佛教艺术也在西方世 界得到了广泛的关注;还有敦煌莫高窟、龙门石窟、云冈石窟等著名佛教艺术作品,被列为世 界文化遗产,成为了世界上著名的旅游景点。

中国佛家思想在全球范围内的传播也得到了积极的推动和支持。中国政府和宗教团体在 近年来积极推动中国佛教文化的海外传播和交流,举办了多次国际佛教论坛、展览、文化交流 等活动,加强了中国佛教文化在国际上的影响力和认可度。由此可以看出,中国佛家思想在世 界范围内的影响和传播是多方面的,不仅影响着东亚地区的文化和社会,也在西方世界产生了 重要的影响和启示,同时也得到了国际社会的积极推动和支持。

#### 2.4中国传统医学在世界上的应用和传播

中国传统医学是基于中华文化和哲学思想的医疗体系,完全融入了中国传统文化和传统 精神的核心要义,它涵盖了中医和针灸等多种治疗方法,强调预防为主,病理治疗和心理疏 导为辅,注重平衡和调和身体的阴阳、五行和气血等方面,以达到身体和心理健康的目的。 传统医学中的"阴阳学说"、"五行学说"、"经络学说"等思想,与中国传统哲学思想有着密切的 关联。 中国传统医学是中国独有的一种医学体系,包括中药、针灸、推拿等多种治疗方法,具有 悠久的历史和丰富的经验。随着全球对中医的认可和需求增加,在世界上的应用和传播也逐 渐扩大。在2010年联合国教科文组织就将中医药列为世界非物质文化遗产,认证了中医药作 为一个独特的医疗体系;2019年正式被世界卫生组织承认中医药作为一种全球医疗资源,列 入了第11版国际疾病分类等。在世界上的应用也是非常广泛的,一些国家和地区已经开始将 中医纳入其医疗保健系统中成为主流医疗体系,例如新加坡、马来西亚、澳大利亚、法国、英 国等。在东南亚、欧洲、北美洲等地,中医机构和诊所也越来越普遍。另外,中医药已经成为了 一些国家的正式注册药品,例如德国、法国、澳大利亚、加拿大等,越来越多的人开始接受和 应用中国传统医学。世界范围内的许多国际研究机构也已经开始研究中国传统医学的有效性 和安全性。这些研究涉及各种中国传统医学疗法和疾病领域,包括针灸、中草药、按摩和气功 等。

中国政府也在积极推动中国传统医学在世界上的传播和应用。中国成立了中医药管理局, 负责制定中医药相关政策和管理规定,同时也推动中医药在海外的传播和应用。此外,世界中 医药学会联合会、国际中医药联盟、丝绸之路中医药技术合作联盟等机构,都在积极致力于 推动中国传统医学在世界范围内的传播、交流和应用。等等。

## 3. 中国传统精神在经济、商业和科技发展以及社会治理和国际关系方面的影响

中国传统精神在中国几千年的历史和文化中扮演着重要的角色,对中国人的思想、行为、 文化和社会生活产生着巨大而久远的影响。随着中国参与经济全球化的路径拓宽和节奏加快,中国传统精神在经济、商业和科技发展等方面也越来越多影响到世界的发展。

中国传统精神在经济、商业和科技发展中发挥的重要作用有:一是"诚信"精神的影响。中 国传统精神中非常注重诚信、信用和信任.这种思想精深对于商业和经济发展具有广博而深 远的作用。在商业交易中, 诚信是建立长期商业关系的基础, 也是商业成功的重要因素之一。 因此, 在商业文化中, 中国重视诚信和信用被视为至关重要的原则, 已经得到了全球各国的普 ·谝认同。二是"合作"精神的影响。中国传统精神中,强调合作、互助和团结的人文精神。在现 代商业和经济发展中,这种合作精神也被广泛应用。如,在中国的投资和创业领域,人们通常 会建立合伙企业,共同承担风险和分享利润。在国际贸易中,中国的合作精神也得到了广泛应 用,特别是在"一带一路"倡议中。三是"务实"精神的影响。中国传统精神中强调务实、实用,注 重担当、责任精神。这种务实文化在中国的科技创新和产业发展中也得到了大力推广和使用。 比如在中国的高科技领域,人们通常会注重实践和应用价值,以解决实际问题,并为社会创 "造更大的贡献。四是"家庭伦理"精神的影响。中国传统精神中,强调家庭伦理和家族观念。在 现代商业中,家族企业占据了很大的比例,这些企业通常将家族成员作为企业管理和决策的 核心力量,同时也注重家族的延续和传承。此外,家庭伦理观念也影响着全球消费者的消费 思想、消费行为和日常习惯。五是"尊老爱幼"精神的影响。中国传统精神中,强调尊老爱幼的 观念。在中国, 尊老爱幼的传统影响着企业的人力资源管理和员工关系。许多企业注重员工 的家庭生活和工作平衡,为员工提供弹性工作时间和带薪病假等福利,以体现对员工家庭的 尊重和关爱。这会一点,在世界各国全球性企业建设中,也得到了普遍认同和接受。六是"中庸 之道"精神的影响。中国传统精神中、强调中庸之道、即不偏不倚、避免极端的做法。在现代商 业中,中庸之道精神影响了企业的管理和决策。企业通常会避免走极端路线,而是采取中庸的



方式来平衡利益关系,达到企业的可持续发展。等等。这些精神的存在和传播,对世界的发展带来了可资借鉴的经验和方略,对世界发展的影响是深远的。

另外,中国传统精神在社会治理和国际关系方面对世界的发展有着深远的影响。在社会 治理方面:儒家思想强调的人与人之间的关系,礼仪、孝道、仁爱等价值观念被广泛应用于 中国的社会治理中。在中国的家庭、企业和政府机构中,对长者的尊重和孝顺被广泛认可,这 体现了中国传统文化中的"孝道"思想。在政府治理方面,中国一直在强调"以人为本"的发展理 念,这体现了儒家思想中的"仁爱"价值观。这些传统价值观念在中国社会中发挥着重要作用, 帮助维持社会秩序和稳定。在国际关系方面:中国传统精神中的"和谐"思想对国际关系也产生 了非常巨大的影响。中国一直强调"和平共处五项原则",体现了中国传统精神中的"和谐"思想, 并得到了国际社会的广泛认可。中国还一直强调"互利共赢"的理念,希望通过合作实现共同发 展。这一理念也为中国在国际关系中的发展提供了有益指导。

我们还应该看到中国传统精神在促进和平与发展方面发挥出的重要作用和重大贡献。一 是和平精神。中国传统文化注重和谐、和平、尊重和包容,这一精神在中国历史上的许多事件 中都得到了体现。儒家思想中的"仁爱之心",提倡人与人之间的关爱和互助;佛教中的"慈悲心" ,强调对众生的怜悯和宽容;道家思想中的"无为而治",强调自然和谐、无为而治。这些精神都 有助于消除矛盾、化解纷争,促进和平稳定的社会环境。二是发展精神。中国传统文化注重人 的全面发展和社会的持续进步,这一精神在中国的发展历程中也得到了体现。儒家思想中的" 教育为本",强调教育是发展的基础;佛教中的"涅槃",强调内在的精神修养和自我超越;道家 思想中的"道法自然",强调在自然规律下实现人类的生存和发展。这些精神有助于鼓舞人民的 进取心和创新精神,推动科技、经济和社会的快速发展。三是爱国精神。中国传统文化强调尊 重祖先、珍视历史、维护国家利益,这一精神在中国人民的爱国情感中得到了深刻体现。儒家 思想中的"君子爱国,不以言举之,不以废举之",强调为国家和人民利益而奋斗;佛教中的"利 他菩萨心",强调以自己的力量为国家和人民作出贡献;道家思想中的"大同世界",强调追求大 同、民主、平等、自由、幸福、和谐的理想社会。这些精神有助于激发人们的爱国爱民情怀和民 族自尊自信情感,为促进世界各国的繁荣和稳定提供了重要参考和借鉴。

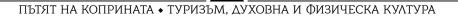
通过本文的分析可以看出,中国传统精神作为中华民族文化的重要组成部分,对于推动中 国的现代化建设和国家的繁荣发展有着不可或缺的作用。同时,这些传统精神也对全球和平 与发展具有普遍意义和价值。在当前全球化、多元化的时代背景下,中国传统精神也可以为各 国间的文化交流和相互理解做出重要贡献,并将持续在全球哲学思想、文化交流、经济发展 到社会治理和国际关系等各个方面发挥出重要的作用。

中国传统精神的影响将随着时代的变迁而不断发展,一定会为世界的繁荣和发展做出更大的贡献。

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# 香文化的交流与互鉴

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## **Exchange and Mutual Learning of Incense Culture**

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#### Abstract

Spices are important commodities along the Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Road. Due to the influence of geographical environment and natural factors, spices are produced in different countries and widely used in food, medicine and religious ceremonies. Along with the spices, the incense vessels are made in different materials and shapes. The incense culture revolves around the production and use of various types of incense, and it can reflect a series of items, technologies, methods, habits, etc. The exchange of incense culture and mutual learning run through human history, creating a unique incense culture in different countries.

Keywords: spices, food, medicine, the incense culture

FF.

## 引言

香文化是指各个国家或民族在长期的历史发展进程中,围绕各种香品的制作和使用,逐 步形成的能够体现本国或本民族的民族传统、价值观念、思维模式的一系列物品、技术、方 法、习惯等。各大洲都有自己的香文化,亚洲以中国、印度的香文化历史最为悠久,中国早在黄 帝、神农氏时代,就采集一些能发出香味的树皮、草根等用于敬神、祭祀、丧葬。古印度人在宗 教仪式和个人生活中,广泛使用香薰,在食物中添加香料。欧洲古希腊、古罗马的香文化也不 逞多让。古希腊人除在祭祀时使用香料外,香料也被认为可以治疗疾病和预防疾病。古罗马的 皇帝和贵族酷爱使用香料,这一传统被后来的欧洲国家继承,"贵如胡椒"形象地说明了在中 世纪欧洲,香料不仅是一种奢侈品,还是财富、地位的象征。非洲的古埃及人除在日常生活中 使用香料外,在木乃伊和陪葬品中也发现了香料、香油膏的遗存。美洲的古印地安文明中也有 香文化的记载,印第安人将香料与烟草混合装在管状的香器中燃烧,向天空、土地祈祷,伴有 巫师的吟唱。香文化渗透在社会的诸方面,我们可以在饮食、香器、宗教仪式等发现各国在香 文化上各具特色。随着人类交往的频繁,香文化交流贯穿香文化的发展史中。

# 一、香料在饮食、医药、宗教仪式等方面的运用

提到香文化,人们首先想到的是香料,香料是能被嗅出香气或尝出香味的物质,根据有香物质的来源,可以分为天然香料和合成香料。天然香料大都是植物香料、少数是动物香料。 自然界现已发现的香料植物有3600种,得到有效开发利用的芳香植物有400多种,植物的根、 干、茎、枝、皮、叶、花、果实、树脂皆可散发香味。动物香料多为动物的分泌物或排泄物,常见 的有麝香、灵猫香、海狸香、龙涎香。根据历史记载,埃及、中国、印度、希腊是世界上首先使用 香料的国家。埃及使用熏香的历史可追溯到金字塔时代(公元前2700—公元前1750年),埃 及的木乃伊涂有香料,埃及艳后克莉奥帕特拉(Cleopatra)曾花费巨资制作香油,埃及人从中 东、非洲其他地区引进了香料,用于熏香或涂抹身体,还应用在宗教仪式中。中国春秋战国时 期(前770—前221年),兰花受到人们的喜爱。在唐代以前,中国已经使用龙脑、郁金香、苏合 香油等外来香料。罗马帝国居民受到希腊和中东的影响,也十分喜欢香料,他们在食物中添加 胡椒、肉桂、豆蔻、丁香等。后来的欧洲国家继承了罗马帝国使用香料的传统。除欧洲外,阿拉 伯半岛、印度、中国等国家的人们也喜欢在饮食中添加香料,阿拉伯人制作红肉菜肴时会添加 乳香、孜然芹、肉桂和芫荽。印度的马萨拉综合香料粉通常是由15—20种不等的香料组合而 成,孜然、茴香、小豆蔻、番红花、姜黄等是常用料,印度的印度教教徒大量使用阿魏为食物调 味。中国人使用花椒、姜、肉桂等调味品。

胡椒原产于印度,后传入非洲、欧洲、东亚。公元1世纪罗马美食家阿皮希乌斯 (Apicius) 在《烹饪书》(De Re Coquinaria)中列出468个食谱,其中胡椒出现了349次,被广泛运用在烹 饪蔬菜、鱼、肉、酒和甜品。<sup>1</sup>胡椒的梵文名字yavanesta,意思为"希腊人的热情",在中世纪的 西欧,胡椒是运用最广、最具代表性的香料。在威尼斯主导西欧香料贸易的时候,1382—1402 年威尼斯商船购买胡椒花费的资金占黎凡特贸易额的65%—80%,<sup>2</sup>黎凡特源于拉丁语 Levare ,指的是托鲁斯山脉以南,地中海东岸,阿拉伯沙漠以北和上美索不达米亚以西的地区。胡椒 最迟在晋代 (266-420)传入中国,西晋张华的《博物志》记载了胡椒酒方,东晋葛洪在《肘后 备急方》介绍了胡椒可以治疗霍乱、脾胃气冷。曾任唐代宰相的元载因为贪污被抄家,罚没的 物品中有胡椒八百石,说明在唐代胡椒是比较重要和贵重的商品;《唐本草》记载胡椒"主下 气,温中,去痰,除脏腑中风冷。"

今天全球50大美食排行榜上有印度咖喱土豆卷饼、新加坡辣椒蟹、印度尼西亚干咖喱、 泰国马沙文咖喱等,辣椒、咖喱被运用在许多美食上。辣椒原产于墨西哥、哥伦比亚等美洲国 家,1492年哥伦布在伊斯帕尼奥拉岛上第一次尝到辣椒的味道,哥伦布认为它是胡椒的一种, 将它运回了西班牙,辣椒后来被传播种植到了欧洲、亚洲和非洲。咖喱是由多种香料调配而成 的酱料,常见于印度菜、泰国菜等,咖喱首先在南亚和东南亚传播,17世纪欧洲殖民者将它带 回欧洲,咖喱与不同的饮食文化结合。今天我们知道的著名咖喱有印度咖喱、泰国咖喱、马来 西亚咖喱、日本咖喱、英国咖喱等,它们的原料不尽相同。上文提到印度咖喱土豆卷饼是先用 米糊摊成甜美而光泽鲜明的脆皮,包上辛香的土豆泥,然后蘸着椰子酸辣酱、泡菜、西红柿扁 豆酱等佐料。印度尼西亚干咖喱用椰奶和柠檬草、高良姜、大蒜、姜黄、姜、辣椒混合起来的 佐料炖牛肉。泰国马沙文咖喱的原料有辣椒、大蒜、香茅、高良姜、柠檬叶、香菜根、籽、孜然、

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tian Ruing 田汝英. "Gui ru Hujiao xiangliao yu 14–16 shji de Xiou shehui shenghuo" 贵如胡椒: 香料与14—16世 纪的西欧社会生活 [Expensive as pepper: spices and Western European social life in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries]. Shoudu shifan daxue boshi xuewei lunwen 首都师范大学博士学位论文, 2013.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J. Innes Miller. The Spice Trade of Roman Empire, 29 BC to 641 AD. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.

黑胡椒、丁香。日本咖喱是明治维新时期欧洲人传入日本的,与印度咖喱、泰国咖喱、马来西亚 咖喱相比,日本咖喱甜味较重,不太辣,因为其中加入了浓缩果泥。

除在饮食外,香料被运用在医学上。在古代中国医学、阿拉伯医学、印度医学上都有关于 香料治疗疾病的记载。在中国传统医学中,麝香是一种具有悠久历史的药材。中国《神农本 草经》记载:"麝香,味辛,温、无毒。主辟恶气,杀鬼精物,温疟,蛊毒,痫、痉、去三虫。久服 除邪,不梦寤魇寐。"<sup>3</sup>中国、尼泊尔、印度、朝鲜等国家出产麝香。在古代阿拉伯世界麝香的需 求量比较大,许多是从中国进口的,伊本·胡尔达兹比赫 (Ibn khordadzbeh) 在《道里邦国志》

(写于844——848年)中介绍了从海路输入的中国产品,"由此东方海洋,可以从中国输入丝 绸、宝剑、花缎、麝香、沉香、马鞍、貂皮、陶瓷、绥勒宾节 (Silbinj)、肉桂、高良姜"<sup>4</sup>他提到犹 太商人的重要性,"操着阿拉伯语、波斯语、罗马语、法兰克语、安达卢西亚语、斯拉夫语的商 人经陆路和海路,从东方行至西方,又从西方行至东方……他们从中国携带着麝香、沉香、樟 脑、肉桂及其它各地的商货返回红海。"<sup>5</sup>在阿拉伯医学上,麝香除被用于治疗伤寒、异常的发 烧、神经官能症外,它还是收敛药和发热兴奋剂;阿拉伯人认为麝香能增加性欲。

在中世纪的欧洲,人们认为香料可以医治许多疾病,还可以预防传染病和瘟疫,1348年 黑死病发生时,欧洲当时提倡随身佩带装有混合香料的香盒。随着海陆两条丝绸之路的进一 步拓展和延伸,丝绸之路沿线国家和地区之间的医学交流日益频繁。以中国为例,唐代以前, 中国对外医学交流主要是印度、越南、日本等国家,唐代及其后中国医学交流逐步转向阿拉 伯国家。唐、宋、元时期,中国海外贸易的兴盛,进口大量外来香料进入中国。宋代专管海上贸 易的市舶司对香料执行抽分、抽解,宋嘉佑二年(1057年)宋仁宗皇帝下令修撰医书的诏令中 说道:"其蕃夷所产,即令询问榷场市舶商客,亦依此供析,并取逐味各一、二两,或一、二枚封 角,因入京人差送,当所投纳,以凭照证画成本草图,并别撰图经。"6外来医学知识也因此传入 中国。宋代的《太平惠民和剂局方》中记载了"乳香应痛圆、乳香圆、乳香宣经圆、没药降圣丹" 的方剂。7《太平惠民和剂局方》中记载了"乳香应痛圆、乳香圆、乳香宣经圆、没药降圣丹" 的方剂。7《太平惠民和剂局方》共10卷,由宋代太平惠民合剂局编写,宋代曾多次增补修订 刊行。宋代的《圣济总录》"诸风门"下收录了乳香丸八种,乳香散三种,乳香丹一种。木香丸五 种,木香汤一种。没药丸五种,没药散两种。安息香丸两种。

宗教仪式和祭祀仪式中也大量使用香料。佛教徒认为香与智慧是相通的,焚香有助于进入佛的境界,所以上香是日常佛事重要的环节,我们在浴佛法会、水陆法会等活动中都能见 到使用香料的场面。《浴佛功德经》中提到将多种香料混合在一起,做成香泥,加入水,制成 香汤。将香汤放入净器中,上面安置浴床,浴床中间放置佛像,用香汤洗涤佛像。由于佛教宗 派众多,不同的宗派使用的香汤原料有差别,例如禅宗使用的香汤以沉香、白檀香、甘松香、丁 香、薰陆香、芎胡、郁金七种香料调制而成;密宗使用檀香、沉香、薰陆香、郁金、龙脑香、零陵 香、藿香等调制香汤。基督教徒认为天堂充满了香料的芳香,上帝、基督、圣母及圣徒身上都 洋溢着香料的气息,在举行弥撒时会使用乳香,圣油礼是橄榄油中添加了麝香、玫瑰、茉莉、

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Taiping huimin heji ju fang 太平惠民和剂局方 [Taiping huimin traditional medicine formula], Renmin weisheng chuban she人民卫生出版社, 2017.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ma Jixing马继兴. Shennong bencao jing jizhu 神农本草经辑注 [Notes of Shennong Materia Medica]. Renmin weisheng chuban she 人民卫生出版社, 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibn Khordadzbeh, Song Xian (tr.) 宋岘译. *Dao li bang guo zhi* 道里邦国志 [The Book of Routes and Provinces]. Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Su Song苏颂. Ben cao tu jing zou chi 本草图经奏敕 [The Pictures of Materia Medica], Anhui kexue jishu chuban she 安徽科学技术出版社, 1994.

安息香等。伊斯兰教徒也十分重视香料的使用,他们用白檀、沉香、安息香、广藿香等制作熏香。宗教的传播使一些外来香料和焚香的习俗逐渐大众化,美国学者谢弗在《唐代的外来文明》中指出,"佛教与外来的印度文化为中国寺庙带来了大量的新香料,而众多的有关焚香和香料的习俗和信仰也随之传入了中国,从而加强和丰富了中国古老的焚香的传统。"8中国如此, 其他国家与中国的情况类似,焚香和使用香料的习俗随着宗教的传播而得到运用和普及。

## 二、香器的制作和香文化

香器有香炉、香囊、熏球、香盒等,它们的材质、形制各不相同。不同的香器有不同的作用。香炉是焚香之器,有金质、银质、铜质、铁质的,也有用玉石、象牙、陶瓷、漆器制作的香炉, 香炉既是祭祀的礼器,也可用于日常生活的熏香。香囊又名香袋、花囊、佩香等,北京故宫博物 院收藏的香囊有金质的、玉质、丝质的,它可以随身佩戴,也可放置在室内。香盒是用来盛放 香品的容器,有木质、陶瓷、金属的,日本江户时代的漆金香盒十分有名。

各国在使用香料的过程中,都制造了具有特色的香炉。埃及贝尼哈桑墓葬出土了有长柄的 勺状的香炉,其历史约在公元前1900年。中国博山炉出现在西汉时期(公元前202—公元8年) ,汉代中山靖王刘胜墓葬出土的错金博山炉是代表,以后历代仿制的博山炉层出不穷,博山炉 成为中国香炉的代表。孙机先生指出博山炉的出现迎合了西域传入的树脂香料焖烧的需要. 与早期的豆形熏炉相比,博山炉的炉盖增高,镂孔变小,炉身更深,便干下部的炭火缓慢地阴 燃。<sup>9</sup>英国考古学家、汉学家杰西卡·罗森 (Jessica Rawson) 认为博山炉的原型来自于西亚并经 西伯利亚或中亚传入汉语区域,"带盖的香炉首先被亚述人使用,其后是阿契美亚德人。它们 被表现在尼尼微和波斯波利斯宫殿的浮雕上……此传统从伊朗延伸到埃及, 其至进一步西传 至希腊、伊特鲁里亚和罗马。东达斯泰基和印度次大陆西北部的部分地区。它们被沿用了数百 年。"10斯泰基人是公元前8世纪—公元前3世纪在中亚和南俄草原上东伊朗语族的游牧民族. 中国的《史记》《汉书》称呼斯泰基人为"塞"、"塞种"。中西亚的香炉形状经过斯泰基人来到中 国,汉代人把关于山的形状和神仙传说结合,制造出了博山炉。博山炉后来传入朝鲜半岛,百 济金铜大香炉从形制看,保留了汉代博山炉的基本特征,而且可以在中国找到相似的汉代博山 炉,如满城汉墓骑兽人物博山炉。从造型上来看,除了把底座上的力士改为龙首托举,把底盘 镂空,去掉盖上的凤鸟外,百济大香炉和满城汉墓博山炉极为相似。另一件北京故宫收藏的 透雕鎏金博山炉和百济大香炉更为相似。印度尼西亚勿里洞岛沉没的"黑石号"沉船出土的物 品中有长沙窑酱釉四足炉、长沙窑青釉褐绿彩莲花香炉、长沙窑青釉红褐彩胡人博狮四足炉、 越窑青釉镂空熏炉(二件)。一些专家、学者认为"黑石号"是一艘古代阿拉伯商船,从中国出 发,驶往阿拉伯半岛,这些瓷器说明了中国香炉在9—10世纪已出口到国外。

香文化在古今中外作品中有着丰富的描写。中国古代焚香、制香、赠香、以及写香、咏香, 成为一些文人雅士生活中必不可少的重要内容。战国时期屈原写的《离骚》中有一些描写兰、 桂、椒等,如"扈江离与辟芷兮,纫秋兰以为佩。兰芷变而不芳兮,荃蕙化而为茅……"他在《九

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Jessica Rawson 杰西卡·罗森. Zuxian yu yongheng: Zhongguo kaogu yishu wenji 祖先与永恒: 中国考古艺术文集 [Ancestors and Eternity Essays on Chinese Archaeology and Art]. Shenghuo. Dushu. Xinzhi sanlian shudian 生活.读 书.新知三联书店, 2011.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Edward H. Schafer, Wu Yugui (tr.) 吴玉贵译. *Tangdai de wailai wenming* 唐代的外来文明 [Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A study of Tang Exotics], Sanxi shifan daxue chuban she 陕西师范大学出版社, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sun Ji 孙机. Handai Wuzi wenhua ziliao tu shuo 汉代物质文化资料图说 [Material Culture of the Han Dynasty fact sheet], Wenwu chuban she 文物出版社, 1991.

歌·云中君》描写兰汤,"浴兰汤兮沐芳",就是将兰花等香草泡在水中用于沐浴。 三国时期曹 丕、曹植都写过《迷迭香赋》,曹丕认为迭迭香"承灵露以润根兮,嘉日月而敷荣。随回风以摇 动兮,吐芬气之穆清。"在曹植的笔下,迭迭香"播西都之丽草兮,应青春而凝晖。流翠叶于纤柯 兮,结微根于丹墀。"。迭迭香原产于地中海地区,又叫迷迭香,它传入中国与汉代陆上丝绸之 路的开通有着密切关系。

笔者在唐宋著名文人王维、李白、杜甫、白居易、欧阳修、苏轼、陆游、李清照等人的作品 中发现了各种描绘香料、香器的句子。王维与佛教僧人交往颇多,《谒璇上人》、《过乘如禅师 萧居士嵩丘兰若》、《饭覆釜山僧》中有相关描写焚香的诗句。李白的《客中行》提到"兰陵美 酒郁金香";其《清平乐·禁闱秋夜》有"玉帐鸳鸯喷兰麝",兰麝意思为兰与麝香,此处指名贵的 香料。杜甫的《奉和贾至舍人早朝大明宫》写到"朝罢香烟携满袖,诗成珠玉在挥毫",描述了唐 朝官员上朝时,被御炉香气熏染,从而衣服沾上了香气。苏轼写了多首有关香的诗句,如《和黄 鲁直烧香二首》、《翻香令·金炉犹暖麝煤残》、《西江月·闻道双衔凤带》等;他的《子由生日, 以檀香观音像及新合印香银篆盘为寿》提到香篆,此诗中旃檀指檀香,婆律是龙脑香,香篆将 檀香、龙脑香、柏树、香螺一起磨成粉,用模具压印成"寿"字样,点燃后形成缥缈的烟云之气。 子由是苏轼的弟弟苏辙,苏轼点燃香篆为弟弟贺寿。

这种描写香料、香气的传统为明清时期的诗词所继承,文徵明、纳兰性德、袁牧等都有关 于香的诗句,清代袁牧在《寒夜》中写到:"寒夜读书忘却眠,锦衾香烬炉无烟。美人含怒夺灯 去,问郎知是几更天","红袖添香伴读书"(席佩兰的诗句)至今乃为人们引用,成为文人的向 往。

宋代出现了一些有关香文化的专著。宋代洪刍(1066—1128年)撰写的《香谱》是现今保 存下来最早、较完善的中国香药谱录著作,文中记载了一些香料的产地、用香方法和合香方 法,提到了香囊、博山香炉、香篆等香器。明代周嘉胄(生于1582,卒年不详)参照洪、颜、沈、 叶的香谱,收集明万历四十六年(1618年)以前的相关资料,撰写了《香乘》。《香乘》系统地 介绍了各种香料的产地、特点,编入了与香料有关的史、录、谱、记、志等文献,比较全面地反 映古代中国香文化。中国香文化也反映在中国明清时期的小说中,在《金瓶梅》、《红楼梦》等 中有关香囊、香炉、熏球的描写有许多。

早期西方作家由于对于肉桂、胡椒之类的香料不甚了解,所以在他们笔下有关香料的描述与事实颇有出入。这一情形在13、14世纪后得到了有效改善。马可·波罗在其游记叙述:"德里王国出产大量的胡椒和姜,还有其他的香料……马拉巴出产大量的胡椒、姜、肉桂皮和印度坚果,还出产最为精致美丽的棉布……古者拉特王国出产大量的生姜、胡椒和蓝靛。"<sup>11</sup>马可·波罗笔下的印度居民不再形象怪异,香料产地也不再是群蛇环绕,人迹罕至。摩洛哥旅行家伊本·白图泰旅行到印度时,详细描胡椒的形状、采摘,"胡椒树株,状如葡萄藤蔓,栽植在椰子树旁,便如藤蔓攀缘而上。其叶状如芸香叶,有的像悬钩子叶。生长出小型串状,秋季时,采摘晾晒于苇席之上,像晒制葡萄的情况。"<sup>12</sup>伊本·白图泰还提到了肉桂树、苏木、印度檀香、丁香。随着15、16世纪地理大发现后,东方香料逐渐褪去其神秘的色彩,欧洲人对香料的认识也逐步清晰而准确。1563年,在果阿工作的葡萄牙医生加西亚·德·奥塔在《关于印度草药、药物和医

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibn Batutah, Ma Jingpeng (tr.) 马经鹏译. Yiben Baitutai youji 伊本·白图泰游记 [The Travels of Ibn Batutah]. Huawen chuban she华文出版社, 2015.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Marco Polo, Liang Shengzhi (tr.) 梁生智译. *Make Boluo youji* 马可·波罗游记 [The Travels of Marco Polo], Zhongguo wenshi chuban she 中国文史出版社, 1998.

用产品的谈话》中,纠正此前关于香料的错误观点。类似的西方书籍还有许多,有的西方作者 主要介绍香料的产地和历史;有的作者着重介绍香料在烹饪和医学上的运用;还有的作者从 香料贸易出发,介绍了穆斯林商人、麦哲伦航海等一系列与香料历史有关的事例。

西方诗歌歌咏香料的历史悠久。《雅歌》(Songs of Songs) 是《圣经》旧约的诗歌, 记载 了良人和书拉密女的爱情, 诗歌里对于香料、香膏的描写有很多, 如"你的膏油馨香, 你的名如 同倒出来的香膏, ""我以我的良人为一袋没药, 常在我怀中。""我们以青草为床榻, 以香柏树为 房屋的栋梁, 以松树为椽子。""有哪哒和番红花, 菖蒲和桂树, 并各样乳香木, 没药, 沉香, 与一 切上等的果品。"<sup>13</sup>香料在《雅歌》中成为爱情表达的一种方式。在13世纪法国寓言诗歌《玫瑰 传奇》中, 玫瑰象征着美丽女性, 爱人在梦中爱上了玫瑰, "它(玫瑰)的芳香, 四处扩散; 它散 发出来的香味, 弥漫在我的周围。当我闻到这股香气, 我便再也不想远离。"<sup>14</sup>英国小说家、诗 人杰弗雷·乔叟 (Geoffrey Chaucer, 1343—1400年) 将《玫瑰传奇》翻译成英文。

除诗歌外,戏剧、小说、影视作品有关香料的描写也不少,英国剧作家威廉·莎士比亚在《 麦克白》写道"这儿还是有一股血腥气;所有阿拉伯的香料都不能叫这只小手变得香一点。"<sup>15</sup> 形象地描绘了麦克白夫人在梦里认为自己和丈夫的杀人罪恶深重。在《罗密欧与朱丽叶》中, 帕里斯伯爵在朱丽叶的墓地前说"我要用沉痛的热泪淋浪,和着香水浇灌你的芳坟。"<sup>16</sup>帕里斯 伯爵和罗密欧一样,都深爱着朱丽叶。《香料共和国》(A Touch of Spice)是2003年上映的希 腊土耳其电影,讲述了男主人公法尼斯是希腊裔,小时候与家人生活在伊斯坦布尔,祖父拥有 一家香料店,教給小法尼斯一些香料知识。小法尼斯有个青梅竹马的土耳其小女友,因为政治 暴乱,法尼斯被迫离开伊斯坦布尔,与父母一起来到雅典。不惑之年的法尼斯回到了伊斯坦布 尔,遇到了已经嫁给他人的女友,故乡已成他国,种族与宗教的矛盾拆散了一对有情人。

## 三、结语

亚洲、非洲、欧洲、美洲都具有特色的香文化,不同文化背景的人们对于香料的认知和使 用是有差异的。例如相比东方人来说,西方人对于香料气味的感受温润保守,辣不会太辣,酸 不会太酸,菜肴中的香料尝起来有些若有若无,讲求平衡搭配。西方的利口酒是以蒸馏酒(白 兰地、威士忌、朗姆酒、伏特加、龙舌兰)为基酒配制各种香料,其历史可以追溯到古希腊时期 希波克拉将药草泡在葡萄酒里,现在的爱尔兰之雾利口酒是用10多种爱尔兰威士忌搭配香草 的提取物和蜂蜜调和而成,法国荨麻酒是以白兰地为主,加入桂皮、肉豆蔻等120种香料的提 取物。相比之下,虽然中国史籍中有将香料入酒的记载,如芫荽酒、豆蔻酒、苏合香酒,但这种 酒中加入香料的习惯并没有传承下来。墨是中国特有的文房四宝,中国的古代文人喜欢用丁 香、檀香、麝香等用于改善墨的气味,宋代苏易简《文房四谱》记载南朝梁代冀公制墨的配方 为"松烟二两,丁香、麝香、干漆各少许,以胶水溲作挺,火烟上熏之,一月可使。"宋代李孝美在 《墨谱法式》"叙药"中提到"甘松、藿香、零陵香、白檀、丁香、龙脑、麝香"。墨色生香不是毫无 根据的。

随着海陆丝绸之路的开通,对于某些香料的爱好使进口香料成为一些国家或地区的选

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ya ge 雅歌 [Songs of Songs], www.33shuwu.com/book31/9956.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Guillaume de Lorris & Jean de Meun. *Meigui chuanqi* 玫瑰传奇 [Le Roman de la Rose]. Zhidaodaidu.com/ question

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> William Shakespeare. Maikebai 麦克白 [Mecbeth]. Kanunu8.com

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> William Shakespeare. Luomiou yu Zhuliye 罗密欧与朱丽叶 [Romeo and Juliet]. Kanunu8.com

择,有些香料被引进栽培成功。大航海时代美洲的发现使古印第安人的香文化得以被世人了 解,古印第安人认为香料与烟草混合燃烧产生的香烟能帮助他们与天上神明联结。不同国家、 地区的人将自己的香文化传播到其他国家,也将其他国家的香文化带回了本国。随着宗教的传 播和发展,更加速、加快了香文化的传播,日本香道曾受到中国文化和佛学影响,唐代鉴真东 渡和遣唐使带着许多香料来到日本,后来中国的香席活动也传播到日本。随着香料的普及, 沿线国家的香器日渐丰富,交流也更趋频繁,中国博山炉传入朝鲜半岛,百济金铜大香炉就受 到博山炉的影响。清代珐琅技术从外国传入中国后,掐丝珐琅、画珐琅被运用在中国香炉的制 作上。香文化的交流与香文化的发展交融、交汇,创造出了当今世界各国别具特色的香文化。

## 丹青游戏:"胤禛刺虎图"的娱乐性涵义

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## Painting Game: The Entertainment Meaning of "The Picture of Yin Zhen Stabbing a Tiger"

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#### Abstract

The Palace Museum in Beijing has a collection of "Yinzhen Entertainment Album", both the painting techniques and the paintings show the fusion of Chinese and Western styles. Among them, "Stabbing a Tiger" shows Yin Zhen hunting a tiger in Western clothes and wearing a wig, which is different from the style of traditional Chinese entertainment pictures and hunting pictures. This paper hopes to temporarily break away from the previous political thinking and explain the entertainment self-declaration in the picture.

Keywords: Yin Zhen, Stabbing a Tiger, entertainment, explain

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行乐图是明清宫廷绘画的重要题材之一,相比于正襟危坐的御容像,行乐图在强调皇室成 员肖像写真的同时更具生活情趣。清代康熙、雍正、乾隆朝时均留下不少此类作品。故宫博物 院藏《雍正(胤禛)行乐图册》一套共十四册页(下文中简称"十四册页本行乐图"),其中包含 了十三个主题,在这套册页中,雍正(胤禛)装扮成儒生、猎人、隐士、道士、渔夫、喇嘛等不同 形象,出现在不同的情境之中,充满趣味性。据风格来看,可能是宫廷内中西画家合作完成的, 至少收到了西方文化的深刻影响。尤其是"洋装刺虎图册",图绘胤禛身穿西洋装、头戴卷曲的 假发,俨然欧洲人的装束。

因这一行乐图册特殊的趣味性,吸引了很多学者的关注和讨论。过去的讨论主要集中于 雍正皇帝对西方文化的接受和该图像对政治性的宣示,但一个重要问题是该图册的绘制年代 并不清晰,无法确定为雍正帝时期还是皇子胤禛时期,脱离了这一基本问题讨论其政治宣示 确有不妥之处。

## 一、胤禛行乐图

#### 1. 行乐图和政治性表达

行乐图一般被认为是肖像画的一种,有着相当悠久的传统。唐代张萱绘《虢国夫人游春 图》浓艳重彩地描绘皇亲国戚出行游乐的场景,即可被视作一种行乐图的表现。明清时期皇 室与文人阶层均流行行乐图,内容表现多为以一个或多个人物肖像为主体,加之特定的场景作为装饰,用以展示日常生活中的消遣。相比于写意山水,行乐图中的主体人物肖像多以写实形式表现。显然行乐图的表现内容多来源于现实生活,而意在传达行乐活动主体——即肖像人物的实践活动和精神世界。

对于皇室来说, 一部分肖像画确实存在着重要的社会功能, 在强调皇室成员承担的公共角 色和权威性方面发挥着巨大作用, 正如玛丽安娜·詹金斯 (Marianna Jenkins) 形容"国家肖像 (the state portrait)"时所说:"绘制的目的并不是为了表达个人, 而是通过个人的形象来展示 他所代表的那些抽象的原则。"<sup>1</sup> 清朝历代皇帝的朝服御容画像即属于此类, 而且朝服御容画像 中人物的姿态保持一致, "不仅展现了不可避免的象征性的装饰, 也传达出了主题的权威性"<sup>2</sup>。

康雍乾三朝是清代宫廷行乐图绘制最多的时期,内容多描绘节日期间的皇室娱乐活动与 热闹场景,如《雍正十二月行乐图》《乾隆岁朝行乐图》《乾隆元宵行乐图》等;或表现皇室成 员在节日以外的闲暇之余休憩出游,如《弘历雪景行乐图》《喜溢秋庭图》《咸丰帝便装行乐 图》等。除此之外,康雍乾时期还有加入虚构内容、构拟出幻想行为的行乐图,但不可否认这 也是围绕娱乐休闲进行的内容表达方式。

因此,"刺虎图"中虽然存在西方文化元素,但仍然是中国行乐图传统的延续,正如罗慧琪 所考,行乐图册中汉族服饰人物的表现无论在动作还是构图上都沿用了先前已有的模式,特别 是近似于约十六世纪出版的《天行道貌》中的许多形象<sup>3</sup>。

行乐图本质上仍属于肖像画的一种类别。即使不同于拥有着强烈的礼仪作用的御容图像, 但因其为表现皇室成员的艺术作品,研究者们也多围绕其政治性进行讨论,但是这种讨论似 乎存在一些问题。



刺虎图册页 图片来源:故宫博物院

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marianna Jenkins. The State Portrait: Its Origin and Evolution. New York, College Art Association, 1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Shearer West 希勒·韦斯特. Portraiture 肖像艺术, Shanghai 上海:上海人民出版社, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hui-chi Lo. Political Advancement and Religious Transcendence: The Yongzheng Emperor's (1678–1735) Deployment of Portraiture, Stanford, 2009.

#### 2. "雍亲王"还是"雍正皇帝"

在讨论"刺虎图"的政治性之前,必须要考虑的是这一套行乐图册的绘制时间,是在胤禛登 基之前的雍亲王时期,还是在登基之后的雍正皇帝阶段。不同的创作时间代表着不同的创作 背景的和情感表达。

内务府造办处是清代的宫廷作坊,承担宫廷中各种活计制造和维护,从存世的艺术品来 看, 康熙时期的内务府已经承担各项活计工艺品的制作工作, 但是对于造办处活动的具体情 况却无档案可依。直到雍正皇帝继位之后,开始对造办处更加规范的管理,并同时确立造办 处的留档工作,即今日所见之《活计档》4。但是关于十四册页行乐图册的绘制《活计档》中没 有任何记载。这一问题在之前也曾有过相关讨论,如巫鸿5和罗汇6都直接认定画中人为雍正皇 帝;张建宇通过分析两套以胤禛为像主的行乐图册后认为,包括刺虎图在内的此套行乐图册 内容超出了汉族服饰形象,其所体现的跨民族、跨国别特质符合"华夷一家"和"天下一家"的大 一统思想,推测此时胤禛应已成为皇帝。陈葆真则认为在此套行乐图册中像主脸部和身体特 征都和《胤禛耕织图册》中所见相似,而耕织图册中有时为雍亲王的题诗,并钤"雍亲王印"、" 破尘居士"二印,因此推测十四册页本行乐图创作时间应与之相同,为胤禛四十五岁(1722年) 登基之前7。邓雪萍同样采取肖像比对的方式进行判断,同时根据该图册中存在的两幅"与兔共 憩"主题册页中肖像的面部区别推测,十四册本行乐图册从构思到完稿应是经历了较长时间, 创作时间则可能贯穿了是胤禛在40岁左右的雍亲王时期和雍正皇帝登基初的两年内8。侯皓之 认为洋装画像是允禧的作品,而且强调图像内容并非想象,而是直接描绘<sup>9</sup>。龚之允将这种中 西元素合璧的内容归为郎世宁所绘,并根据造办处档案中记载雍正皇帝旨意"将郎世宁画的老 虎取来朕看"一条, 推定绘制年代应为雍正三年<sup>10</sup>。

换句话说,关于十四册页本行乐图的创作时间众说纷纭,且缺少直接证据,我们仍然很难确定,对作品进行的分析则多基于其应创作于胤禛继位为雍正帝后的推测。但总体而言,相比于朝服御容图像一类的肖像题材,行乐图的形式增加了非正式的气氛,也正是这些非正式的 气氛似乎足以冲淡展示政治性的装饰和抽象内容存在。

因此为避免出现不必要的误解,本文中以下内容均称该行乐图册主人为胤禛,而非皇子胤 禛、雍亲王胤禛或雍正皇帝胤禛。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Nie Chongzheng 聂崇正. "Qingdai Gongting Huihua he Huajia" 清代宫廷绘画和画家. Qingdai Gongting Huihua 清代宫廷绘画, Beijing 北京: 文物出版社, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wu Hong 巫鸿. "Qingdi de Jiamian Wuhui" 清帝的假面舞会:雍正和乾隆的变装肖像. Shikong Zhong de Meishu 时空中的美术, Beijing 北京:三联书店, 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Luo Hui 罗汇, Qiushihua 邱士华. "Huangquan Jingying" 皇权镜影: 对胤禛行乐图册的若干观察. Gugong Wenwu Yuekan 故宫文物月刊, 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Zhang Jianyu 张建宇. "Chongfang Yinzhen Xingletu" 重访胤禛行乐图: 兼论"变装组像"的历史和功能. *Meishu Guancha* 美术观察, 2023 (2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Deng Xueping 邓雪萍. *Liangfu Yongzheng Yangzhuangxiang de Kaocha* 两幅雍正洋装像的考察. Central China Normal University 华中师范大学, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Hou Haozhi 侯皓之. "Cong Huojidang Kan Yongzheng de Gongting Shenghuo" 从《活计档》 看雍正皇帝的 宫廷生活, Dongwu Lishi Xuebao 东吴历史学报, 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gong Xhiyun 龚之允. "Yongzheng Huangdi Xingletuce Cihu Yu Langshining" 《雍正皇帝行乐图册·刺 虎》与郎世宁. Zhongguo Meishu Yanjiu 中国美术研究, 2014 (2).

## 二、"刺虎"册页中的文化因素

#### 1. 扮装

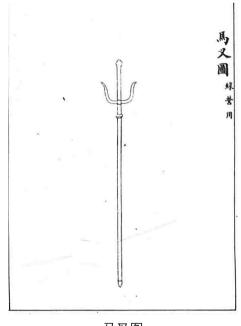
"刺虎"册页中的表达并不像严肃的狩猎图,这里的胤禛没有全副戎装,胤禛头戴卷曲的欧 式假发,脖颈上缠白色领结,身着绿色长袍,双手举三岔叉刺虎,俨然为欧洲绅士打扮,而且 面部特征也呈现出西洋画风。相比于像主胤禛,无论是蜷缩在石缝中准备最后一搏的老虎, 还是作为背景存在的山石的皴法,均为中国传统的技法绘制。

巫鸿提出这种"变装像"存在的灵感可能来自于欧洲18世纪初期流行的假面舞会风潮,但 实质上两种文化中的"奇装异服肖像"的内在含义是不同的,欧洲的这种肖像伴随着欧洲文化再 说世界范围内的扩张,而清宫中变装像"只是以新鲜的手法延续了一个悠久的历史传统,即中 国皇帝天下一人的自我想象"<sup>[5]</sup>。这种解释很快被大家接受,并在此基础上寻找胤禛穿着装饰 的源头。

研究者们推测,刺虎图册中胤禛的内衫可能是用华美织锦缎制作的"贝斯特 (Veste)",外 衬长袍应该是用华丽的天鹅绒或织锦缎制成的"究斯特科尔 (Justaucorpr)",<sup>[8]</sup>二者样式均 为17世纪左右在欧洲流行的巴洛克风格服装样式。而白色的领结应该是源于16世纪末的领巾 (Cravat),本来是法国国王路易十三的克罗地亚雇佣军军服的一部分,后来在欧洲特别是法

国宫廷流行开来的样式。[10]

不过下身穿带红色花纹的白底裤和普蓝色紧身袜更像是中国样式,而且胤禛脚上并没有 穿带17、18世纪欧洲男性贵族间流行的高跟鞋,靴子平跟很是明显,且鞋帮上没有缎带蝴蝶 结做装饰,所以更像是清代宫廷中常见的朝靴。叉也是中国常见兵器和狩猎武器,此处胤禛所 用叉近似《清会典图》 武备卷中所记绿营用"马叉"<sup>11</sup>。



马叉图 图片来源:《清会典图 武备卷》

<sup>11</sup> "绿营马叉通长六尺六寸,中刃长一尺二寸,圭首,两旁刃出,各横四寸,宗一尺。" *Qing Huidian Tu* 清会典图·武备. Beijing 北京:中华书局, 1991.

明代中期以来,随着越来越多的传教士来华和中西贸易的发展,西方利用近代科技制造的各种奇器成为了宣传西方宗教的有效工具,同时也将先进的物质文明展现在中国人面前。 因为利玛窦等传教士将传教方式定位上层路线,即取悦皇帝和官绅以获得传教便利,所以清 廷皇室自然可以接触西方的物质文明。

胤禛在皇子时代就曾和宫廷内服务的传教士有所接触,如《庭训格言》中有皇子胤禛与徐 日昇之趣事<sup>12</sup>。继位之后,虽然因为中西礼仪之争导致雍正一度进行禁教运动,但是他但他本 人对西方文化绝不至于深恶痛绝。在京的传教士非但没有被驱赶,还被集中在京城东西南北 的四个教堂中,一部分精通天文、音乐、绘画和机械的传教士仍然在宫廷中服务。雍正帝对于 新事物的接受度很高,他经常指示制作各类西洋物品,如眼镜、钟表及机械玩具等<sup>13</sup>。为了满 足皇帝的兴趣,巴多明、宋君荣等传教士曾多次向雍正帝进献西方器物。雍正在把玩的同时还 令造办处匠人仿制或改装。

因此, 在胤禛的皇子时期和皇帝时期出现受到西方假面舞会风潮影响的变装行乐图像, 也 是可以理解的。

#### 2. 刺虎

狩猎图像是人类历史上经久不息的经典艺术题材。作为人类最原始、最重要的生存手段和生产方式之一,早期人类的狩猎行为性质较单纯,纯粹是为了获取生活所需的材料。当新的农业生业方式逐渐成熟,并迅速扩散至全球大部分地区,单纯依靠狩猎采集获取生活材料的方式逐渐被抛弃,但是因狩猎猛兽往往能显示个人强势力量,所以狩猎的艺术创作逐渐成为古代贵族展示英勇、力量、权力、好运等属性的隐喻象征。

如《穀梁传·桓公四年》中有:"四时之田用三焉,唯其所先得,一为干豆,二为宾客,三为充 君之庖"<sup>14</sup>。也就是说,进行的狩猎活动一方面是为了丰富庖厨、招待宾客,但是最主要的作用 还是为祭祀天地神灵与祖先准备必要的牺牲。《礼记·祭统》中有:"凡治人之道,莫重于礼;礼 有五经,莫重于祭"<sup>15</sup>;《左传·成公十三年》中同样表示:"国之大事,在祀与戎"<sup>16</sup>。这也就意味 着祭祀活动和军事活动在当时是最重要的国家大事,而按季节进行的狩猎活动恰好与这两件 大事是密切相关的,可见狩猎活动早已不是单纯的获取生活资料,政治意义重大意义。

中国的狩猎图像的艺术表达形式在汉代已经趋于成熟,射鸟,以各种方式狩猎羊、鹿、 熊、虎等动物,甚至围猎的活动在汉代画像石、画像砖均有展现。这些活动与宗庙祭祀有着密 切关系<sup>17</sup>。

古代欧洲和西亚同样有着狩猎传统,直到中世纪早期,欧洲的很多父母们仍然多以凶猛的野生动物(狼、熊、野猪、狗、雄鹿、鹰、猎鹰等)为男孩命名。狩猎图是波斯艺术中则是一个重要的艺术主题,尤其是帝王或贵族和动物——尤其是狮子和熊之类的猛兽——同时出现的狩猎情节十分受欢迎,多出现在金银器上。这些银盘或在宫廷盛宴这样重要的场合使

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Zhu Jiajin 朱家溍. Yangxindian Zaobanchu 养心殿造办处·史料辑览(第一辑). Beijing 北京:紫禁城出版社, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Mao Xianmin 毛宪民. "Qingdai Gongting Yanjing Yaanjiu" 清代宫廷眼镜研究, Wenwu Shijie 文物世界, 2002 (1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Gu Liang zhuan 穀梁传·桓公四年. Beijing 北京:北京大学出版社, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Li ji 礼记·祭统. Beijing 北京:北京大学出版社, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Chunqiu Zuozhuan 春秋左传注成公十三年. Beijing 北京:中华书局, 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Xin Lixiang 信立祥. Handai Huaxiangshi Zonghe Yanjiu 汉代画像石综合研究. Beijing 北京: 文物出版社, 2000.

用,或作为外交礼物赠与属国或敌对国,帝王狩猎图蕴含着强烈的政治、宗教与社会意义,是 为了某种特定的目的而生产<sup>18</sup>。

唐代似乎是中国狩猎活动的一个转型期,皇帝田猎活动之于军事与外交的重大意义当然仍然存在。在狩猎图像的题材上,随着丝绸之路上文化交流的不断开展,东西方在狩猎图的 表达方式上似乎也存在着一定的融合,如北朝虞弘墓的石椁图中就有人狮搏斗、骑骆驼射猛 兽图的形象。只不过狩猎的主人公不再是帝王形象,将其装饰元素与中国的物产和风俗习惯 相融合。总体而言,随着人类对自然掌控力的提高,这时的狩猎活动具有的趣味性和娱乐性质 似乎更加浓厚了。

唐朝及之后的时代狩猎活动仍旧盛行,且渐渐摆脱礼制的束缚,具有了一定的娱乐趣味倾向。唐代制作有狩猎纹样的出土文物不但精致,而且形式更多样,如金镜、银杯。而在唐之后的中国艺术史中,"狩猎"这一命题的出现频率逐渐降低,其文化含义也在之后的历史发展中逐渐消解乃至消失。

与波斯传统的狩猎狮子不同,中国本土没有狮子生存,所以中国的狩猎对象往往是同样凶猛的野兽——虎。中国历史上打虎与英雄主义之间似乎一直存在一种"等号"关系,无论是"善搏虎"的晋人冯妇<sup>19</sup>、取水杀虎的子路<sup>20</sup>、打虎将李广<sup>21</sup>、"为虎所逐,顾射虎,应声而倒"的曹真<sup>22</sup>,还是明清小说中的打虎武松,至今都仍是被津津乐道的英雄故事。

另外,明清时期,全国各地的人类开发活动不断深入、开发区域不断扩展,使人和虎对于 生活领地的争夺日益加剧,人和虎等野生动物的冲突不断增加且逐渐升级。为了维持人类的 生产生活,有组织、有步骤、高奖励的政府性打虎活动逐渐展开<sup>23</sup>。

对于满洲人来说,狩猎是一种生活方式,更是一种保持民族性的政策。在很长一段时间 内,满族"无市井城郭,逐水草为居,以射猎为业"<sup>24</sup>,入关以后八旗兵丁皆有俸禄供养,改变了 以骑射为主的渔猎经济方式。为了保持满洲人的民族文化特性,从而避免八旗满洲的的腐败 化,清代一直推行"国语骑射"政策。康熙皇帝在位时极其重视狩猎传统,并多次亲身参与,还 曾追思自己的狩猎成果"朕自幼至今,凡用鸟枪弓矢,获虎一百三十五、熊二十、豹二十五、猞猁 狲十、麋鹿十四、狼九十六、野猪一百三十二。哨获之鹿凡数百。其余围场内,随便射获诸兽, 不胜记矣。朕曾于一日内,射兔三百一十八,若庸常人,毕世亦不能及此一日之数也。"<sup>25</sup>雍正 登基后同样重视民族传统,专令宗人府开设觉罗学,使觉罗子弟"读书学射,满汉兼习"<sup>26</sup>。

综上所述, 胤禛刺虎图的灵感可能就是以上多个因素的结合, 而且就图中形象而言, 胤禛 并没有选择满洲人擅长的骑射方式, 而是手持叉正面老虎, 可能甚至并不具备更多的民族性 展示, 只是对个人英雄主义和娱乐性的追求。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Yang Jing 杨静、 Shen Aifeng 沈爱凤. "Sashan Shiqi de Diwang Shoulietu Yanjiu" 萨珊时期的帝王狩猎图 研究. Xiyu Yanjiu 西域研究, 2022(3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Mengzi zhushu 孟子注疏 尽心下. Beijing 北京: 中华书局, 1957

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Yin Yun 殷芸. Yin Yun xiaoshuo 殷芸小说. Shanghai 上海:上海古籍出版社, 1984.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Chen Shou 陈寿. San guo zhi 三国志 卷9. Beijing 北京:中华书局, 1964.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Sima Qian 司马迁. Shiji 史记 卷109. Beijing 北京, 中华书局, 1963.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Cao Zhihong 曹志红. Laohu yu ren 老虎与人: 中国虎地理分布和历史变迁的人文影响因素研究. Shaanxi Normal University 陕西师范大学, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Chen Xun 陈循. Huanyu tongzhi 寰宇通志. Beijing 北京: 国家图书馆出版社, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Qing shi lu 清实录 圣祖仁皇帝实录 卷 285. Beijing 北京:中华书局, 1985.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Qing shi lu 清实录·世宗宪皇帝实录 卷84. Beijing 北京: 中华书局, 1985.

# 三、更多娱乐性自我宣示的可能性

关于十四册页行乐图的政治性解读已经很多,前文也有部分提及,总得来说多是认为该套册页是胤禛登基为雍正皇帝后对"华夷之辩"的回应,对"天下一家"思想的表达。但前文中也已做了一定的尝试性分析,在不清楚该册页创作时间的前提下,做出这种判断似乎有失偏颇。而且在对画面内容进行观察后,"刺虎图"呈现的更多的是一种文化杂糅状态下的混合体,也不适用于类似"国家肖像"概念中的展示和宣传。因此以下将尝试性对该册页更多的娱乐性进行讨论。

#### 1. 行乐图的娱乐化

行乐图本质上是一种肖像画,肖像画在中国传统绘画中往往被称之为"传神"、"写照"、"小 照"或"写真",是人物画中的一个分支,而其所描绘的,则是会具体到某一特定存在的人物。如 早期的墓室壁画中,有不少是描绘墓主人生活的场面,形象刻画虽然简略,但也应具有墓主人 肖像画的性质。隋唐时期的肖像画逐渐呈现出专业化趋势,但这是的画作仍以叙事性故事画 为主,少见单幅专门临摹肖像的画作,不过《宣和画谱》记载杨宁、杨昇、张萱等人,均以为画 人物肖像而知名<sup>27</sup>。宋以后,肖像画创作日益专业化,郭若虚在《图画见闻志》中,特开辟"传写" 一栏,记载职业肖像画家七人<sup>28</sup>,他们中间的许多人,因进入宫廷为皇帝"写御容"而知名,其他 则是为大臣名士画肖像而留下了名字。

进入明、清时期,肖像画的需求从皇室贵胄、王公大臣逐渐扩展到下层官吏甚至平民阶 层,因之肖像画的创作队伍也随之壮大,仅徐沁《明画录》记载的知名专业肖像画家就有三十 四名之多<sup>29</sup>,至于那些活跃在民间的更多的肖像画家,由于其地位形同于手工业工匠,生活方 式可能也与大多工匠相似,经常居无定所,辗转各主顾家府,往往被正经文人所不齿、且被忽 视,不见于记录职中,更不知凡几。这种情况也是市民文化繁荣的必然结果<sup>30</sup>。

另外,明清时期部分艺术品的创作、收藏过程被视作是交友的过程,大量小像和行乐图作 品上会题识数人、甚至十数人的文字,多是像主请友朋书写。这既体现像主的情趣雅致,交游 广泛,也要求题识者诗文、书法的功力,作为文人间的一种独特的交往方式颇为风行<sup>31</sup>。如《程 兆熊像》这一画作将像主本人,合笔完成作品的三位画家,一位题识者,五人之间的关系连接 起来,可见当时寓居扬州的画家间也是互相往来应和。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Xuanhe Huapu 宣和画谱. Nanjing 南京: 江苏美术出版社, 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Guo, Ruoxu 郭若虚. Tuhua Jianwen Zhi 图画见闻志. Chengdu 成都, 四川美术出版社, 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Xun Qin 徐沁. Minghualu 明画录. Beijing 北京: 中华书局, 1985.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Yang Xin 杨新. "Ming Qing xiao xiang hua xulun"明清肖像画绪论. Gugong Xuekan 故宫学刊, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Xiao Jin 肖进. Shiba Shiji Zhongguo Chuantong Xiaoxianghua yu Xiaoxianghuaxue Zhushu Yanjiu 十八世纪中国 传统肖像画与肖像画学著述研究. Central Academy of Fine Arts 中央美术学院, 2009.



程兆熊像 由丁皋画像,华喦画,黄溱补景。

袁枚在《随园诗话》中说:"古无小照,起于汉武梁祠画古贤烈女之像。而今则庸夫俗子,皆有一行乐图矣。"<sup>32</sup>可以说明,明清时期的肖像画流行甚广,行乐图的题材也为各个阶层所接受,成为喜闻乐见的娱乐方式之一。

### 2. 衣冠制度与丹青游戏

明代后期由于后金军事势力的日益强大,进入辽沈地区以后,八旗贵族中奢侈享乐之风 日盛,为了避免满洲人丧失民族特性,耽于享乐,皇太极不止一次借用金朝的例子劝诫子孙。

崇德元年 (1636年), 皇太极又表达了自己的担忧, "……世宗即位, 奋图法祖, 勤求治理, 唯 恐子孙仍效汉俗, 豫为禁约, 屡以无忘祖宗为训。衣服语言, 悉遵旧制, 时时练习骑射, 以备武 功。……先时儒臣巴克什达海、库尔缠, 屡劝朕改满洲衣冠, 效汉人服饰制度, 朕不从, 辄以为 朕不纳谏。朕试设为比喻, 如我等于此聚集, 宽衣大袖, 左佩矢, 右挟弓, 忽遇硕翁科罗巴图鲁 劳萨挺身突入, 我等能御之乎?……恐日后子孙忘旧制, 废骑射以效汉俗, 故常切此虑耳。"<sup>33</sup>皇 太极将哀宗倾危亡国的原因归结为, 祖制懈废, 忘其骑射, 担心的是后世子孙忘却旧制, 力戒 效仿汉俗。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Yuan Mei 袁枚. Sui yuan shi hua 随园诗话. Nanjing 南京: 江苏古籍出版社, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Qing shi lu 清实录·太宗文皇帝实录 卷 32. Beijing 北京:中华书局, 1985.

崇德二年 (1637年) 四月, 皇太极又就保持"国语骑射"问题再度颁谕:"昔金熙宗及金主亮 废其祖宗时衣冠仪度, 循汉人之俗, 遂服汉人衣冠, 尽忘本国语言。……使后世子孙遵守, 毋变 弃祖宗之制。"<sup>34</sup>

"崇德三年 (1638年),秋七月,丁丑,谕礼部曰:凡有不遵定制变法乱纪者,王、贝勒、贝子 议罚,官系三日,民枷责,乃释之。出入坐起违式,及官阶名号已定而仍称旧名者,戒饬之。有 效他国衣冠、束发、裹足者,治重罪。"<sup>35</sup>

清朝入关以前,已经在尝试着建立满洲人的"文化自觉",为"国语骑射"的政策打下了基础, 规定了满洲人所应具有的民族文化特色以及发展趋向。清朝之后历代的衣冠制度虽然不断有 所改革,但实际上一直在这种思想的框架内采取"取文弃式"的政策,如《清史稿》中所载:"衣 冠为一代昭度,夏收殷冔,不相沿袭。凡一朝所用,原各自有法程,所谓礼不忘其本也。……殊 不知润色章身,即取其文,亦何必仅沿其式?如本朝所定朝祀之服,山龙藻火,粲然具列,皆义 本礼经,而又何通天绛纱之足云耶?"<sup>36</sup>表达出了既要保持本民族衣冠式样,又要借鉴汉族纹 饰"润色章身"的想法。

乾隆皇帝弘历在位时也曾强调:"至于衣冠,乃一代昭度。夏收殷晶,本不相袭,朕则依我朝之旧,而不敢改焉。恐后之人执朕此举,而议及衣冠,则朕为得罪祖宗之人矣,此大不可。 且北魏、辽、金以及有元,凡改汉衣冠者,无不一再世而亡。后之子孙,能以朕志为志者,必不 惑于流言,于以绵国祚、承天佑于万斯年,勿替引之。可不慎乎!可不戒乎!"<sup>37</sup>表达的是相同的 意思。

为什么在如此严格的祖宗之法和衣冠制度下,甚至是有明确的自我认知的情况下,胤禛、 弘历和其他的历代清宫皇室成员还是留下了诸多的汉装或异装图画呢?

其实弘历对父亲的回忆和对行乐图传统的继承可能有助于解读这个问题。

乾隆登基后曾为其父亲的书画作品做跋,其中一篇《恭跋世宗宪皇帝御书法帖》中提到:" 敬惟我皇考世宗宪皇帝,天纵聪明,文思光被,奎章宝翰,精诣入神。夙承皇祖圣祖仁皇帝指授,神运天随,涉笔惟肖,居潜邸时,常以图史翰墨自娱。"<sup>38</sup>由此可见,对于他们来说,政事之 外的"图史翰墨"是可以用以自娱的工具,对这些活动的从事是一种娱乐方式。

《御制诗三集》中还收录弘历为金廷标所绘之行乐图书写的题跋:"乔树重密石迳纡,前行回顾后行呼。松年粉本东山起,摹作宫中行乐图。小坐溪亭清且纡,侍臣义漫襍传呼。阏氏来备九嫔列,较胜明妃出塞图。几闲壶单小游纡,凭槛何须清跸呼。讵是衣冠希汉代,丹青寓意写为图。瀑水当年落涧纡,岩边驯鹿可招呼。林泉寄傲非吾事,保泰思艰怀永图。"然后接着又说:"《石渠宝笈》藏刘松年此幅,喜其结构古雅,因命摹为《宫中行乐图》","图中衫履即依松年式,此不过丹青游戏,非慕汉人衣冠。向为《礼器图序》已明示此意。"<sup>39</sup>此处更是点明,所谓换装,"不过丹青游戏",是充满娱乐性质的。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Qing shi lu 清实录太宗文皇帝实录 卷 34. Beijing 北京:中华书局, 1985.

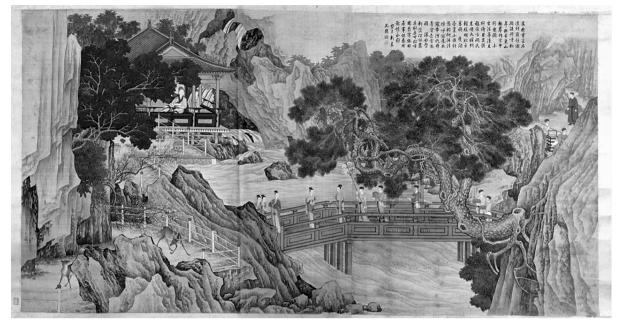
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Zhao Erxun 赵尔巽. Qing shi gao 清史稿 卷3. Beijing 北京: 中华书局, 1976.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Zhao Erxun 赵尔異. Qing shi gao 清史稿 卷103. Beijing 北京:中华书局, 1976.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> E Ertai 鄂尔泰、 Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉. Guo chao gong shi 国朝宫史 卷26. Beijing 北京: 北京古籍出版社, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> E Ertai 鄂尔泰, Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉. Guo chao gong shi 国朝宫史 卷36. Beijing 北京:北京古籍出版社, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> "Yuzhishi Sanji" 御制诗三集 卷27. Qianlong Yuzhi Shiwen Quanji 乾隆御制诗文全集. Beijing 北京: 中国 人民大学出版社, 2013.



《乾隆宫廷行乐图》 金廷标 绘 图片来源:故宫博物院

张宗苍曾在乾隆十八年 (1753年) 为乾隆皇帝作 《抚琴图》 与 《松荫挥笔图》 两幅作品, 其 中乾隆皇帝也都表现出身穿士人袍服的形象。 两幅画的右上角皆有乾隆皇帝自己的题诗且内 容相同: "松石流泉间, 阴森夏亦寒。 构思坐盘陀, 飘然衫带宽。 能者尽其技, 劳者趁此闲, 谓 宜入图画, 匪慕竹皮冠。" 换装只是为了在绘画中作品中显得更合适, 而不是真正的羡慕这身 衣服。 与以上两个例子所表达同一意思。



《抚琴图》 张宗苍 绘 图片来源: 故宫博物院

《松荫挥笔图》 张宗苍 绘 图片来源:故宫博物院

## 余论:作品阐释的问题

苏西·盖伯利克 (Suzi Gablik) 曾表达过, 阐释是被发现的, 但同时阐释也是被发明的。<sup>40</sup> 以上内容更多的并不是想给"刺虎图"册页的文化涵义提供一个全新的阐释, 而是在原有阐释 的基础上, 更进一步推测其合理性。虽然本文多次强调可以暂时忽略其政治性内涵的存在, 但实际上皇子胤禛、或者说是雍正皇帝的身份已经表面在作品创作中会有政治性的存在, 至 少作品是在这种身份提供的条件中创造出来的。因此本文更多的是希望展示在作品阐释的过 程中需要讨论的问题, 除了皇室身份之外, 还需要考虑到文化传统和图像传统, 更不应该忽略 世俗化的文化倾向下。

当然,也绝对不允许艺术品只存在单一的阐释,任何作品都应该允许各种各样的阐释,但 是这些阐释应该在合理的框架内进行。

所以政治性的解释不是不行,是在确定创作年代之前就以作为雍正皇帝的身份去解读似 乎有所欠缺,所以与其这样,不如暂时脱离政治性的宣示,去探求其他涵义。

<sup>40</sup> 可见于Suzi Gablik 苏子·嘉贝丽克著, Zhou Zi 舟子译. Magritte 玛格丽特. Changsha 长沙: 湖南美术出版社, 1990.





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