АКТУАЛНИ ПРОБЛЕМИ В СЪВРЕМЕННАТА КИТАИСТИКА И ИЗТОКОЗНАНИЕ

Доклади от
Втората международна конференция,
посветена на 30-годишнината
от откриването на специалност
„Китаистика“ в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“

Том 1

CURRENT ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINESE AND ORIENTAL STUDIES

Papers from
the Second International Conference,
Dedicated to the 30th Anniversary of
the Establishment of the Chinese Studies Program
at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski"

Vol. 1

Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“

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Съдържание

ПРЕДГОВОР

Уважаеми колеги,

През октомври 2021 година се навършват 30 години откакто специалност „Китаистика“ за първи път отваря врати в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“. Това е забележително събитие в историята на българското изтокознание, предшествано от почти 40 години натрупан опит и традиции в преподаването на китайски език и свързани с китаистиката дисциплини под формата на курсове и лекторати. Началото на преподаването на китайски език в България е поставено от изтъкнатия китайски лингвист проф. Джу Дъси и неговата асистентка Джан Сунфън-Канети през далечната 1953 г. Благодарение на изключителната отдаденост и професионализъм на двамата педагози и техните последователи, в периода до откриването на академична специалност „Китаистика“ са вече изградени основите на една бъдеща научна и преподавателска школа, създадени са първите учебни пособия за обучение по китайски език на българи, изградена е приемственост с формирането на екип от млади учени, които постепенно поемат щафетата на университетската Китаистика в България и я развиват в престижно образователно и изследователско направление. През 2018 г. специалност „Китаистика“ се обособява като самостоятелна катедра на Факултета по класически и нови филологии на Софийския университет, която предлага обучение в трите образователни нива на бакалавърска, магистърска и докторски програми. За изминалите 30 години около 250 студенти са завършили тази престижна специалност и голяма част от тях са намерили своята професионална реализация в необятното поприще на китайския език и култура.

Все по-важната роля, която играе Китай на световната икономическа, дипломатическа, технологична и културно-образователна сцена, както и изключително богатото културно-историческо наследство на китайската цивилизация правят Китаистиката привлекателна и перспективна научна сфера, а през последните години тя се утвърждава и като една от най-престижните специалности във Факултета по класически и нови филологии на СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“. Това разбира се е постигнато благодарение на изключителната посветеност и висок професионализъм на преподавателския състав на катедрата, както и на любовта, ентусиазма и трудолюбието на нашите студенти, които ни мотивират да поддържаме и развиваме нивото на специалността и да бъдем в крак с най-новите изследователски постижения и практични търсения на времето.

В традиция на специалността се превръща организирането на юбилейни научни конференции, и именно по повод 30-годишнината от нейното основаване бе организирана Втората международна научна конференция „Актуални проблеми в съвременната китаистика и изтокознание“, която се проведе в онлайн формат на 19–20 ноември 2021 г. Юбилейната конференция се открои като важно международно събитие на нашата академична общност, в което взеха участие над 80 изследователи в областта на китаистиката и изтокознанието от България, Китай, Германия, Италия, Русия, Англия, САЩ, Мексико, Индия, Полша, Унгария, Чехия, Румъния, Турция, Гърция, Армения, Грузия и др. На академичния форум бяха представени най-новите изследвания по актуални въпроси в българската и световната китаистика и изтокознание, той предостави платформа за научни дискусии в голям брой тематични направления, обединявайки опита на различните поколения родни изследователи и давайки възможност за изява на млади учени и възпитаници на специалността.

В резултат от провеждането на конференцията е съставен и настоящият сборник в два тома. Той включва нови, актуални разработки в различни тематични направления на китаистиката и изтокознанието – от международни отношения и социално-икономическо развитие на Китай и региона на Азия, до литература, изкуство, философия, история и археология, езикознание, методика на чуждоезиковото обучение и други области. Надяваме се всеки от вас, който държи в ръцете си тази книга, да намери за себе си нови интересни изследвания, перспективни идеи и искри на творческо вдъхновение.

Реализирането на проекта за юбилейната научна конференция, както и цялостната дейност по координиране, рецензиране, редактиране и подготовка за издаване на настоящия сборник се случи благодарение на целия екип на катедра „Китаистика“ и колегите от други академични институции, участващи в редакционната комисия. Бих искала да изразя сърдечни благодарности към ръководството на Факултета по класически и нови филологии и фонд „Научни изследвания“ за подкрепата в реализирането и финансирането на проекта, както и на всички членове на рецензионния и редакционния колектив и на авторите на статии в юбилейния сборник, които допринесоха за осъществяването на това чудесно начинание!

Надяваме се да продължим заедно нашите научни търсения, конференции и срещи в необятното пространство на китайската духовност, традиции и съвременност!

Доц. д-р Антония Цанкова
Ръководител на катедра „Китаистика“
ФКНФ, СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“

PREFACE

Dear colleagues,

In October 2021, we celebrate 30 years since the Chinese Studies Program first opened its doors at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski". This is a remarkable event in the history of Bulgarian Oriental studies, preceded by almost 40 years of accumulated experience and traditions in teaching Chinese language and disciplines related to Chinese Studies in the form of elective language courses and specialized lectures. The beginning of Chinese language teaching in Bulgaria was set by the distinguished Chinese linguist Prof. Zhu Dexi from Beijing University and his assistant Zhang Sunfen-Canetti back in 1953. Thanks to the exceptional dedication and professionalism of the two educators and their followers, in the period until the opening of the academic program in Chinese Studies, the foundations of the future research and pedagogical school in Sinology had already been laid, and the first textbooks for Chinese language training for Bulgarians had been created. Moreover, academic continuity had been established with the formation of a team of young scientists who gradually picked up the baton of academic Chinese Studies in Bulgaria and developed it into a prestigious educational and research school. In 2018, the Chinese Studies Department was established as an independent academic unit at the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philologies of Sofia University. The Department offers training in the three educational levels of bachelor's, master's and doctoral programs in Sinology. Over the past 30 years, about 250 students have graduated from the Chinese Studies Program, and a large number of them have found their professional realization in the vast field of Chinese language and culture.

The increasingly growing role that China plays on the global economic, diplomatic, technological and cultural-educational scene, as well as the extremely rich cultural and historical heritage of the Chinese civilization, make Chinese Studies an attractive and promising academic major, and in recent years it has been recognized as one of the most prestigious programs in the Faculty of Classical and

Modern Philologies of Sofia University. This accomplishment is due to the exceptional dedication and high professionalism of the teaching staff of the Department, as well as the love, enthusiasm and hard work of our students, who motivate us to maintain and develop the academic level of the Program and to keep up with the latest research achievements and practical pursuits of the time.

It has become a tradition of our Chinese Studies Program to organize international anniversary conferences, and it was on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of its foundation that the Second International Conference "Current Issues in Contemporary Chinese and Oriental Studies" was organized and successfully held in online format on November 19–20, 2021. This conference was distinguished as an important international event for our academic community, attracting more than 80 researchers in the field of Chinese and Oriental studies from Bulgaria, China, Germany, Italy, Russia, England, USA, Mexico, India, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Romania, Turkey, Greece, Armenia, Georgia, etc. The academic forum presented the latest research achievements on current issues in Chinese and Oriental studies and provided a platform for academic discussions in a large number of thematic areas, bringing together different generations of Bulgarian and foreign researchers and giving the opportunity for academic experience to young scholars and graduates of the Chinese Studies Program.

As a result of the conference, the present collection of papers in two volumes has been compiled. It includes the newest and up-to-date contributions in various thematic fields of Chinese and Oriental studies – from international relations and socio-economic development of China and the Asian region, to literature, arts, philosophy, history and archaeology, linguistics, methodology of foreign language teaching and other fields. We hope that every reader who holds this book in their hands will find for themselves some new and interesting research, promising ideas and sparks of creative inspiration.

The anniversary conference project, as well as all activities of coordinating, reviewing, editing and pre-publishing preparations of this collection of papers, were accomplished through the efforts of the entire team of the Chinese Studies Department of the Sofia

University and the colleagues from other academic institutions participating in the editorial committee. I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to the management of the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philologies and the Scientific Research Fund of the Faculty for their support in the realization and funding of the project. I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to all members of the reviewing and editorial committees, as well as to the authors of articles in the conference proceedings, who contributed to the accomplishment of this wonderful endeavor!

We hope to continue our scholarly explorations, conferences and encounters in the vast realm of Chinese spirituality, traditions and modernity!

Assoc. prof. Antonia Tsankova, PhD
Head of the Chinese Studies Department
Faculty of Classical and Modern Philologies
Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski"

Поздравителен адрес

Уважаеми и много скъпи за мен колеги от България и света! Искам да ви поздравя с това огромно (разбира се, зависи от гледната точка) постижение: петдесетгодишнината от откриването в България, в Софийския университет, във Факултета по класически и нови филологии и в новата структура към него – Центъра за източни езици и култури – не на друго, а на специалност Китаистика („Що за хрумване?“, „Като че ли всичко друго ни е наред, та до китаистиката опряхме!“). В скоби тук, а може би и по-нататък цитирам буквално реплики и реакции на различни отговорни личности през времената.

Не мога да преценя с претенции за точност, но ми се струва, че половин век е време, достатъчно за една университетска специалност да се установи, стабилизира, оформи и обогати като комплекс от знания и умения, така че да е в състояние да „отглежда“ пълноценни кадри. Дори ако това е китаистика, специалност „рядка“, „екзотична“ и пр.

Преди това, обаче, има предшестващ период от приблизително четири десетилетия, когато тук-там се правят плахи стъпчици в тази посока, които, при мен поне, срещат як зид.

И този, и следващият период остават в съзнанието ми като епизоди, скици от едно стремително отминаващо цяло. Няма да правя анализи, няма да сумирам резултати, само ще нахвърлям няколко такива скици.

Един ранен епизод. На границата между 40-те и 50-те години на миналия век събирам кураж и отивам в китайското посолство в София с един-единствен въпрос: кога в България ще започне изучаването на китайски език. В посолството са свикнали с посещения на най-разнообразни личности, така че върлинестата хлапачка, оформена далеч не представително, не прави изключение. Сигурно не прави изключение и въпросът. Служебното лице от канцеларията, българин, търпеливо обяснява, че това сигурно предстои, най-малкото като част от правителствените взаимоотношения, но засега все още няма нищо конкретно. А междувременно край вратата на помещението сноват разнообразни по вид и по възраст китайци, без, както предполагам, настойчива потребност да бъдат там, но как да не надзърнеш и погледнеш!

След известно време в София се появиха петима китайски студенти, пратени да изучават българистика. Четири момчета и едно момиче. Движеха се винаги заедно, като едно изпъкващо на общия фон ято, оживени, забързани. Особено се открояваше тя – стройна, изящна фигура с дълги черни плитки. Как да не я запомниш! По-късно, след години, станахме познати, а след това и приятели. Но първите впечатления от това чуруликащо ято останаха незабравими.

Две имена, две личности положиха първите камъни в основата на бъдещия градеж: професор Джу Дъси и преподавателката Джан Сунфън. Двете фигури, познати на всички ако не визуално, то най-малкото като имена, са също незабравими представители на своята страна. Професор Джу, пристигнал тук като лектор със специалната задача да открие изучаването на езика, оставяйки професионални ангажименти и задачи в Китай и в чужбина, и Джан Сунфън, вече живяла в България и опознала страната ни и езика ни до степен да бъде преводачка на лектора – две фигури в подножието на една от най-големите амфитеатрални аудитории на СУ, препълнена почти изцяло. Визуално – изискани, сдържани, на слух – абсолютно потвърждение за мелодичността, музикалността на езика, който преподават. Тогава аз, вече студентка в СУ, малко самоинициативно се движех известно време с тетрадка, в която записвах желаещи да изучават китайски език, достъп съвършено свободен. Аз тичам подир някого, друг тича подир мен по коридорите на университета, но в крайна сметка в аудиторията имаше като за начало над двеста души. И – тишина, в която ясно се чува казаното отдолу, от катедрата.

Професор Джу Дъси живееше със семейството си в центъра на София, недалеч от университета. При всяко негово връщане след работа вкъщи той се движеше по жълтите павета на булеварда последван минимум от петнадесет – двадесет души слушатели. Разбира се, водеха се разговори, но не това беше най-важното. Най-важното беше изумителното усещане да вървиш редом с професора или зад него и да изпитваш дълбоко чувство на тих възторг. А той се движеше винаги изискано оформен с лека връхна дреха, неизменна широкопола шапка и чанта в ръка, и цялото това шествие беше странно и, гледано отстрани, безкрайно интересно.

Джан Сунфън пък живееше съвсем близо до университета, така че върволицата от изучаващи китайски език беше не толкова съпровождаща, колкото посещаваща дома ѝ, до степен че в някои моменти нейният съпруг и двамата ѝ сина се чувстваха сигурно като в хан. А тя, винаги неизменно усмихната, благожелателна, посрещаше, изслушваше въпроси или проблеми и – помагаше, с всички сили и начини. В дома ѝ, препълнен с книги, а тук-там и с художествени дреболийки от Китай, възникваше някаква особена, бих казала магическа атмосфера, а в центъра – тя, Джан Сунфън, дребничка, с фигура на момиченце (шегуваше се, че когато трябва да си купи обувки, намира ги само на детските щандове), но с невероятно силно поле на въздействие около себе си.

Началото на преподаването на китайски език в СУ беше внушително и тържествено. С годините все по-трудно се намираше място за тези факултативни занятия и накрая бе открит един фокуснически прост изход. На последния етаж на централната сграда се намира (надявам се и сега) библиотеката на ФКНФ, овално помещение в двата края на което има врати, водещи към коридори. Та една от тези врати беше заключена, а краят на коридора зад нея беше преграден – и се получи кабинет и библиотека и всичко останало, необходимо за изучаващите китайски език. И не беше никак лошо. Или пък – използването на таванските помещения над библиотеката, вече на самия връх на сградата, където, редом с кабинети и аудитории на класическа филология се гушеха мънички, за по-малко от десет души учебни стаички, с великолепни балкончета, населени от гълъби. Така че занятията по езика биваха доста често озвучавани, кога благозвучно, кога не съвсем... Гълъбите отвън, студентите отвътре.

Началото, като всички начала, очертаваше и подсказваше потребности, които не можеха да бъдат задоволени веднага.

Един проблем бяха книгите на китайски език. Липсващи, недостъпни, те се превръщаха в някаква натрапчива идея и цел. Началото на 50-те години беше и начало на контакти между двете страни – Китай и България на всякакви равнища, във всякакви сфери. Една от тези сфери беше книгообменът. Прекрасна форма за опознаване, ако не беше езиковата бариера. Поради това доста институции получаваха книги, списания, научни поредици и пр. от Китай. Предполага се един кратък момент на ентусиазирано разглеждане, прелистване, а после идваше удивително еднообразна реакция: получената литература се струпваше някъде, където няма да пречи много, и си оставаше там. Ето такива залежи търсеше групичка изучаващи китайския език, търсеше и получаваше разрешение да ги вземе и всички като мравки мъкнеха ценните находки към мястото на съхраняването им. Фетишизирането стигаше дотам, че някой възкликваше: „Чакайте, това канапче е от Китай, няма да го оставяме!“ Така че след време измежду книгите на китайски език изплуваха най-неочаквани издания по техника, справочници по метеорология, книги за селското стопанство...

И смешно, и не дотам, но при всички случаи чистосърдечно!

Нюанси, отсенки... Толкова ли е важно да ги помним! За мен лично – да! Всичко това изплува отнякъде, от подсъзнанието, и съживява, буди факти и преживявания, осветлява и оцветява реалността изпод сивия прах на времето.

Бих ви пожелала наред с огромното количество информация, професионални навици и умения, да запазите у себе си подобни нюанси. Защото така ще действа постоянно и докрая магията на този език, на този народ и на тази страна.

Желая ви да използвате максимално прекрасните възможности на това събиране! И накрая, както се полага да се каже днес – бъдете здрави!

Проф. Бора Беливанова

Greeting speech

Dearest and most esteemed colleagues from Bulgaria and the world! I would like to congratulate you for this enormous (depending, of course, on one's point of view) achievement: the 50-year anniversary of the founding in Bulgaria, in Sofia University, at the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology and its new Center for Eastern Languages and Cultures – of nothing other than the Chinese Studies program. ("What an odd idea?", "Have all our problems been solved that we've now come to Chinese Studies?"). In brackets here and perhaps again later on, I literally quote remarks and reactions of different authorities throughout the years.

Though I cannot say with any degree of certainty, I feel that half a century is enough time for a university program to establish, stabilize, form and enrich itself as a complex of knowledge and competencies capable of "fostering" well-rounded professionals. Even if that program is Chinese Studies, a discipline that is "rare," "exotic" and so on.

Prior to that, however, there is a preceding period of approximately four decades during which timid steps were randomly made in that direction, which, at least in my case, would result in running into a thick wall.

Both that period and the following one remain in my mind as episodes, as sketches of a fleeting whole. I will not analyze or sum up results, but will only outline several such sketches.

One early episode – sometime around the turn of the decade between the 40s and 50s of the previous century, I muster up the courage to make my way to the Chinese embassy in Sofia to ask a single question – when will Chinese start being taught in Bulgaria? The people at the embassy are accustomed to greeting all types of visitors, and I, the lanky kid, looking hardly presentable, am no exception. My question is probably not an exception either. The administrative official, a Bulgarian, patiently explains that this is likely forthcoming, at least as part of the relations between the two governments, but that there is nothing specific yet. All the while, Chinese people of varying age and appearance were passing along the doors of the premises without having, I assume, a pressing need to be there, yet how could one resist a peek?

After some time, five Chinese students appeared in Sofia who had been sent to study Bulgarian – four boys and a girl. They went everywhere together, as a conspicuous flock, lively and always in a hurry. She stood out most of all – a slender, graceful figure with long black braids. How could one not remember her? Later on, after years, we became acquaintances, and then friends. But the first impressions of this chirping flock remain unforgettable.

Two names, two figures laid the first stones in the foundation of what would come to be created: Professor Zhu Dexi and the teacher Zhang Sunfen. These two figures, known to all if not visually, then at least as names, are unforgettable representatives of their country too. Professor Zhu, leaving behind commitments and tasks in China and abroad, had arrived here as a lecturer with the special task of establishing the instruction of the language, and Zhang Sunfen, who had lived in Bulgaria and had gotten to know our country and our language to the degree that she acted as a translator for the lecturer. These two figures were sitting at the base of one of the biggest amphitheatric auditoriums in Sofia University, packed almost full. To the eye, they were elegant and restrained, while the ear received an absolute confirmation of the melodiousness and musicality of the language they were teaching. At that time, I, already a student at Sofia University, somewhat on my own initiative moved around with a notebook in which I wrote down those who wanted to learn Chinese, absolutely free of charge. We chased each other down the university hallways, yet in the end the auditorium had gathered at least two hundred people. And there – a silence in which one could hear clearly what was said from the pulpit below.

Professor Zhu Dexi lived with his family in downtown Sofia, not far from the university. Every time he returned home from work, he would walk across the yellow cobblestones of the boulevard followed by at least fifteen-twenty students. Discussions, of course, were held, but that was not the most significant part. What was most important was the wonderful feeling of walking next to or behind the professor and the profound sense of silent awe one experienced. He was always elegantly dressed, sporting a light coat, his signature wide-brimmed hat, and with a briefcase in his hand, and, to a bystander, the whole procession would seem strange and infinitely interesting.

Zhang Sunfen, on the other hand, lived very close to the university and the throng of people studying Chinese was not so much escorting rather than visiting her home, to the extent that at times her husband and two sons probably felt like they were at an inn. While she, always smiling and benevolent, would greet people, hear out their questions or problems, and help with everything she could. In her home – overflowing with books, including several small works of fiction scattered about, one could feel a special, I would say magical, atmosphere, and at its center was she – Zhang Sunfen, short and with a child-like figure (she would joke that whenever she needed to buy shoes, she could only find them in the children's section), yet with an exceptionally strong field of influence around her.

The beginning of the teaching of Chinese in Sofia University was grand and solemn. As the years passed it became increasingly difficult to find room for these optional courses, and in the end this issue was resolved with a very simple trick. The last floor of the central building holds (I hope it still does) the library of the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology, a large oval-shaped room with doors at its two ends that led to corridors. One of these doors was locked and the end of the corridor behind it was closed off, in effect creating a study room and library and everything else the students needed. And it was not bad at all. Or we would use the rooms above the library, close to the very top of the building, where alongside laboratories and auditoriums for classical philology were huddled small rooms for fewer than ten people that had magnificent little balconies populated by pigeons. Our language classes were thus quite often accompanied by various sounds, sometimes harmonious, sometimes not quite so… Pigeons on the outside, students on the inside.

The beginning, as is with all beginnings, outlined and hinted at needs which could not be met immediately. Chinese books were one of the problems. They were scarce, inaccessible, and they turned into an obsessive idea and goal. The early 50s marked the beginning of contact between the two countries of China and Bulgaria on all levels and in all spheres. One of these spheres was the exchange of books. A wonderful way for us to learn more about each other, were it not for the language barrier. By way of that exchange, many institutions received books, magazines, scientific periodicals, etc. from China. There was an initial period of enthusiastic browsing and skimming through the pages, and then would follow a bewilderingly unvaried reaction: the literature received would be piled somewhere where it wouldn't get too much in the way, and it would remain there. These were exactly the kind of stockpiles sought after by a group of students, which requested and received permission to take them away – and, like ants, they carried the precious finds to their place of storage. It would become such a fetish that someone would say "Wait, this piece of thread is from China, we're not leaving it!" So after a while between the books in Chinese one could stumble upon the most unexpected publications on engineering and technology, reference texts on meteorology, books on agriculture…

Both funny and, at the same time, not quite so, but either way it was all genuine and honest.

Nuances, shades… Is it that important to remember them? For me personally – yes! All this wells up from somewhere, from the unconscious, and it awakens and brings to life facts and experiences, it illuminates and gives color to the reality underneath the grey dust of time.

I wish that along with the huge volume of information, professional habits and skills, you will preserve within yourselves similar nuances. Because this is how the magic of this language, this nation and this country will continue to work ceaselessly and forever.

I wish you to make the best use of the wonderful opportunities of this gathering. And, at the end, as is customary to say nowadays, I wish you good health!

Prof. Bora Belivanova

I. Political, Diplomatic and Economic Relations

China’s Engagement with Latin America: Rationale and Implications

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Abstract

China significantly expanded its presence in Latin America in the last decade and now appears as one of the main players in the Western Hemisphere. The United States has recently reinvigorated the Monroe Doctrine as a basic principle of the US foreign policy. The paper aims to examine the motivation, the rationale behind and the key dimensions of the pro-active policy of China towards Latin America as well as to explore how this policy will affect the distribution of power in the international system. Chinese influence strongly depends on the political situation in Latin American countries. Still, the paper argues that despite such oscillations, China is steadily becoming an important factor in the region that further challenges US pre-eminence in the region and its global supremacy.

Keywords: China, Latin America, US, geopolitics

Introduction

Chinese foreign policy is traditionally focused on China’s periphery and adjacent regions. It is in the last ten years that Beijing demonstrates a more ambitious and more global foreign policy approach. Latin America is one of the dimensions of this policy.

China significantly increased its economic presence in Latin America in the last decade challenging the US historic dominance over the region. Beijing avoids direct confrontation with Washington but carries out pro-active economic diplomacy that allows it to advance its strategic interests. The People's Republic of China has already become the second largest trading partner of Latin America and one of the key overseas investors in the region. However, it is not only an important economic partner of most of the Latin American states but it is already an ineluctable factor in Latin American politics. As such, the evolving Sino-Latin American relations are geopolitically relevant in the context of the shifting balance of power in the international system.

Three Worlds Theory of 21st century

In 1974, in the context of the worsening relations with the Soviet Union, China's leader proposed his Three Worlds Theory. At the 6th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping explained the theory: "From the perspective of the changes that have taken place in international relations, the world today in fact has three sides or three worlds in existence which are mutually related as well as contradictory. The United States and the Soviet Union belong to the first world. Developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions belong to the third world. And the developed countries in between the two belong to the second world" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC 2004). The theory postulates that China has to develop its relations with these countries and support their efforts to achieve independence.

Certain elements of the Three World strategy could be identified in contemporary Chinese foreign policy, especially when it comes to its relations with the developing states. First, relations with the United States (first world) are a top priory in China's foreign policy. Relations with advanced economies (second world) is of extreme importance for China's further economic development. China's diplomacy still has a special focus on its relations with the developing countries (third world).

Second, Mao's theory rejected the Cold war capitalist vs. socialist division of the world and redesigned it along imperialist – anti-imperialist lines. China's current leadership draws a hegemonism –

anti-hegemonism dividing line. President Xi Jinping criticizes US hegemonic policy and declares that China will never seek hegemony (Xi 2017: 485–486; Xinhua 2021).

Third, in terms of China's place in the world system, according to Mao's Three Worlds Theory, the country belongs to the Third World and the real power in the international system belongs to the Third World of developing, formerly colonized, countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Kissinger 2012: 271–272). China has the mission to unite the Second and the Third World in the struggle against the hegemonism of the Soviet Union and the United States.

In the beginning of the 21st century, China itself is a major player on the international stage with a much more ambitious and assertive foreign policy than Mao's. Today, China is already the second largest economy in the world and the world's largest trading country with significant political and military strength, as well. It seeks to project its interests in different part of the world. At the same time, China's leaders stress that China remains a developing country under UN criteria. They still adhere to the emphasis on China's experience as a former colonized nation that is now ready to help former colonies and developing countries to achieve the progress it achieved in the last 40 years of reforms (Bermingham 2021). In this context, J. Bader from the Brookings Institution notes: "even as China became a pillar of the international system, it continued to join other Third World voices in calling for a more "democratic" international order" (Bader 2016).

Fourth, there are certain similarities in the approach applied by China in its relations with the Latin American states in the 1970s and now in the 21st century. In Latin America, Mao's China undertook a diplomatic, political and economic offensive in the 1970s in search of an expansion of country's influence in this part of the Third world. Lending, favourable trade conditions, scientific and technological cooperation were among the key economic approaches applied by Beijing in its relations with the Latin American states at that time. Nowadays, trade, investments and financial cooperation are again key instruments in China's policy towards Latin American countries.

Fifth, Latin American states are interested in developing relations with China in the two historical periods. However, they enjoyed a broader policy room to manoeuvre in the 1970s as far as the Sino-Soviet split allowed them to practice certain foreign policy independence without spoiling too much their relationship with Washington. Nowadays, against the background of the rising tensions in the US-China relations, it remains an open question whether the Latin Americans will be able to avoid “a zero-sum choice between the two competitors”, as Shannon K. O’Neil argues (O’Neil 2021).

It is the strategic environment and changing balances in the US-China-Russia triangle that makes the big difference between Mao’s period and contemporary international relations. In the 1970s the world witnessed rupture in the Sino-Soviet relations and China’s opening to the United States. Nowadays, the United States is in a state of confrontation with China while Beijing and Moscow enjoy unprecedented rapprochement and declare their commitment to developing the comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination.

China’s policy rationale and results

Different economic, political and strategic interests underlie China’s policy towards Latin America. The most visible element of Sino-Latin American relationship is the enhanced economic cooperation.

Latin America provides new markets for Chinese products. At the same time, China’s demand for raw materials[1] coincides with the interests of the Latin American states to establish stronger economic linkages with China as an alternative mechanism for addressing the economic problems aggravated, for example, by the 2008 financial crises or by COVID–19 pandemic.

China’s increased economic presence in Latin America is related to the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013 as the country’s most ambitious foreign policy initiative. After 2018, 19 countries[2] in

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[1] Many of the resources that China needs for its further development are located in Latin America – copper in Chile and Peru, lithium in Chile, oil in Venezuelan, soybeans and iron ore in Brazil.

[2] Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Panama, Peru, Surinam, Trinidad y Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela.

the region have joined the initiative. Chinese officials define Latin America as the "natural extension of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road" (Xinhua 2019).

It was still in 2014, however, when President Xi announced a special framework for Sino-Latin American engagement. This is the "1+3+6 Cooperation Framework"[3]. It was announced by the President of China that "China will formally implement the 10-billion-USD special loans for Chinese-Latin American infrastructure and will, on this basis, further raise the credit limit for special loans to 20 billion USD. China will also provide 10 billion USD of concessional loans for Latin American and Caribbean countries, and comprehensively launch the China-Latin America Cooperation Fund with a commitment to invest 5 billion USD" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC 2014).

Facts on the ground indicate that political declarations were followed by practical measures of implementation. A report, prepared for the World Economic Forum, points out that in the first two decades of the 21st century China's trade with Latin America and the Caribbean grew 26-fold – from $12 billion to $315 billion. The authors of the report predict that Sino-LAC trade is expected to more than double by 2035, to more than $700 billion, while the US "tends to lose participation in LAC total exports over the next 15 years" (Zhang and Prazeres, 2021). China is the largest trade partner of the largest economy in the region – Brazil as well as of Chile, Peru, and Uruguay. It is already the largest export market for the South American countries. China signed free trade agreements with Costa Rica, Peru and Chile.

China has become also a reliable and important investor for the region, as well. According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), China significantly increased its economic presence in the region through mergers and acquisitions

[3] "1" stands for "one plan" (China-Latin American Countries and Caribbean States Cooperation Plan (2015–2019); "3" means "three engines" – trade, investment and financial cooperation; "6" stands for 6 priority fields of cooperation – energy and resources, infrastructure construction, agriculture, manufacturing, scientific and technological innovation, and information technologies.

and through the development of new projects in the last fifteen years. Before 2010, Chinese FDI in the region amounted to less than $400 million per year (ECLAC 2021, 87). Nowadays, China is already the second largest source of cross-border mergers and acquisition in Latin America and the Caribbean surpassing historic investors such as Spain, Canada, the United Kingdom, and France. In terms of project announcements, China ranks fifth among the region's project sources (ECLAC 2021, 89–91). Chinese companies involve in such strategically important sectors and activities as the construction of bridges, highways, railways, ports, electricity infrastructure, telecommunications, e-commerce, banking, etc. (O'Neil 2021).

After 2008, economic interaction with China is seen by Latin American states as a positive factor that could support them in overcoming the negative effects of the global economic and financial crisis. In the post-COVID pandemic period, as it is noted by P. Zhang and T. Prazeres (Zhang and Prazeres, 2021), trade with China remains as an important source of external growth for pandemic-stricken countries in the region. China has already gained position as one of the key providers of loans to the region. Since 2000, Chinese banks have provided about $140 billion in loans to regional governments and state-owned enterprises, which is more than the loans provided by the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and the CAF-Development Bank of Latin America combined (O'Neil 2021).

China is not only an important economic but also a political partner of most of the Latin American states. Since 2000, Latin America has been visited eleven times by Chinese presidents, including five times by the current Chinese President Xi Jinping. This diplomatic activity is quite reasonable taking into consideration that Latin America and the Caribbean is still home to nine out of the fourteen countries in the world that still maintain relations with Taiwan[4] (Malamud and Schenoni 2020).

China policy of the Latin American states, however, is strongly influenced by the dynamics of their domestic political processes and the level and type of their relationship with the United States. Coun-

[4] Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, Paraguay, Belize, Haiti, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia.

tries with more entrenched relationship with the United States are less enthusiastic about strengthening ties with Beijing. Countries governed by left-wing political parties demonstrate greater autonomy in their China policy. So, China's growing involvement in Latin America has been largely accelerated by the political developments in the region in the beginning of the 21st century when some of the countries (Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Chile) decided to choose a different path of development. That political choice was followed by a certain level of emancipation from Washington, a more resolute pursuit of their national interests and political will to develop relations with powers such as Russia and China.

China follows a pragmatic foreign policy approach which allows it to develop relations even with countries that are not ideologically aligned with it. In 2020, the Chinese state news agency Xinhua reports that 24 Latin American countries have established diplomatic relations with China – Panama and El Salvador established relations with China in 2017 and República Dominicana – in 2018 (Xinhua Español 2020).

The development of China-CELAC Forum is also a success achieved by China's diplomacy. It provides Beijing with an important US bypass for China, an alternative platform for dialogue and engagement with the region. It is an opportunity for Chinese leadership to directly address Latin American states and communicate China's main principle, goals, and positions as well as to gain support on issues such as Xinjian, Hong Kong and Taiwan (Myers 2020). In 2020, for example, Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela and three Caribbean countries (Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica and Suriname) supported China's Hong Kong Security Law in the United Nations Human Rights Council (Albert 2020).

China engages also in security cooperation, surveillance technology transfer, technology export, military-to-military exchanges with countries from the region. This allows Beijing to build "key strategic partnerships with armed forces in the region" (U.S.–China Economic and Security Review Commission 2021: 57). It creates opportunities for China to advance its strategic goals in the Western Hemisphere.

The Monroe Doctrine, China and the shifting balance of power

Historically, Latin America is part of the U.S. sphere of influence. The Monroe doctrine, declared in 1823 and expanded through the years, excluded any foreign intervention in Latin American affairs and opened the door for the establishment of the US hegemony in the Western Hemisphere.

There was certain development in the US position on the Monroe doctrine in the last decade. In 2013, in a speech to the Organization of American States the US Secretary of State John Kerry declared that “the era of the Monroe Doctrine is over” (Kerry 2013). Five years later, however, the US President Donald Trump returned to the old doctrine. In his statement to the United Nations General Assembly in 2018 President Trump noted: “Here in the Western Hemisphere, we are committed to maintaining our independence from the encroachment of expansionist foreign powers. It has been the formal policy of our country since President Monroe that we reject the interference of foreign nations in this hemisphere and in our own affairs” (Politico 2018).

In the second decade of the 21st century the United States has become increasingly alarmed about the growing engagement of China into its own “backyard” and has reinvigorated the Monroe doctrine as a basic principle of its foreign policy. China’s policy meets a growing US pushback and more determined US efforts to limit China’s presence in Latin America.

In 2018, the U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo warned Latin American countries to exercise caution with Chinese projects (Wong 2018). In 2020, the US administration announced a new strategic framework for the Western Hemisphere, aimed at countering economic aggression and malign political influence from external actors such as China (Martín 2020). A hearing of the *U.S.–China* Economic and Security Review Commission (the first such hearing in many years), focused on the overall strategic aims of China in Latin America and the Caribbean, took place in May 2021. It was noted that China “is actively working to convert its strong economic ties into diplomatic and political leverage” (U.S.–China Economic and Security Review Commission 2021: 1).

Expanding Chinese economic presence, political and institutional cooperation and strategic interaction with the Latin American states that joined the Belt and Road Initiative challenges the uncontested US hegemony in the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, China's growing engagement and influence in Latin America is a strategically important precedent that is well articulated by Ryan Berg: "For two decades after the Cold War, American policymakers acted on the conventional wisdom that strategic rivalry was a phenomenon that played out in far more distant regions. Often, they were right. Beginning in the last decade, however, China's engagement with the region has called into question this strategic axiom by, first, challenging, and now threatening, these core American interests" (U.S.–China Economic and Security Review Commission 2021: 57).

Against the background of the intensification of the rising U.S.–China competition for global influence, Latin America could have symbolic and strategic value to China as a "US backyard" (Bernhard 2021). Some experts (D. Yuwen and J. Sullivan 2014) argue that China's deepening involvement in Latin America is intended to counter the US "rebalance" to Asia and its increasing military activity near China. Even if not a direct reaction to the US strategy of containing China, Beijing's growing engagement with Latin America provides Chinese foreign policy with an important platform for projecting its influence and power in an area so close to the United States. It offers Beijing a significant leverage to advance its interests in the Western Hemisphere and improves its geopolitical position in the 21st century great power competition.

Conclusion

Experts (Malamud and Schenoni 2020) argue that compared to Asia and Africa, for example, Latin America is largely internationally irrelevant because of its dwarfing economy and U.S. dominance. The perceptions of China and the West, however, do not necessary coincide when it comes to relevance/irrelevance. Since 2000, the region was visited by Chinese presidents eleven times, five of them by

President Xi Jinping. So, it seems that the region is rather 'relevant' to China's foreign policy.

China significantly expanded its presence in Latin America in the last 20 years and now appears as one of the main players in the Western Hemisphere. Economic cooperation and interaction was the most visible element of the relationship between Beijing and the Latin American region. China's growing political footprint in Latin American states, however, creates additional opportunity for Beijing to further communicate its positions, ideas and model of development as well as to advance its strategic goals in this part of the world.

The intensification of China-Latin American cooperation has its geopolitical implications. China's growing engagement and influence in Latin America strongly affects U.S. interests and provokes a more resolute US policy response. Though Chinese influence in the region remains uneven and limited in scope, it already challenges the US dominance in this part of the world considered to be United States' exclusive sphere of influence. Hence, the developments in the China-Latin America-US triangle could be described as an element of the global struggle for power and influence that is taking place in the international system.

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China-Arab Countries “1 + 2 + 3” Comprehensive Cooperation Model

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Abstract

In 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping outlined the “1 + 2 + 3 strategy” with the theme “Building modern Silk Road and promoting China-Arab common development”. In 2016, Beijing published its first official White Paper on China’s Arab Policy, which hints at China’s multifaceted and comprehensive cooperation model known as “1 + 2 + 3” relationship with Arab countries and is a fundamental and more concrete document reflecting China’s interests in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). It consists of Two-Wheel and Two-Wing approach that will also enable China’s industrial parks (FTZ) to create business clusters, increase trade flows, and connect supply chains across the region by creating “Industrial park – port interconnection”.

Keywords: China, Arab countries, One Belt, One Road, “1 + 2 + 3” Arab Policy Paper

As a growing superpower with a special place in the global governance system, People’s Republic of China (PRC) has gradually increased its influence over the MENA. Beijing’s economic and political position in the MENA has significantly strengthened under Chinese President Xi Jinping, who clearly defined the ability of Chinese economic power to bring geopolitical dividends by expanding China’s international influence through the New Silk Road Initiative (NSRI).[1]

[1] The Chinese New Silk Road (NSR/ New Silk Road Initiative (NSRI)) or One Belt, One Road (OBOR), which consists of six land and road economic corridors, is the abbreviated name of the double concept of the Economic Belt of the Silk Road

BRI is welcomed in the MENA countries amid economic difficulties, significant infrastructure shortages as a result of sanctions, falling oil prices, as well as rapid population growth, unemployment, a growing middle class and increasing wealth accumulation, security concerns and political instability. The main role of the MENA countries in BRI is to increase domestic consumption, provide new sources of growth and opportunities for China's surplus industrial capacity, and create valuable employment opportunities for its construction companies with long-term *return on investment* (ROI) potential in the hope of creating new export markets (Harutyunyan 2021: 128).

In the MENA, both bilaterally and multilaterally, Chinese diplomacy is institutionalized by three mechanisms: the *China-Arab Cooperation Forum* (CASCF), the *Gulf Cooperation Council* (GCC) and the *China-Africa Cooperation Forum* (FOCAC) (Yao 2005: 90–92). China's policy in the MENA is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Western Asia and North Africa of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is in charge of relations with 23 states,[2] as well as with regional organizations: *the Community of Sahel-Saharan States* (CEN-SAD), the *Arab Maghreb Union* (AMU), the *Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries* (OAPEC), *Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf* (GCC), the *League of Arab States* (LAS), the *Organisation of Islamic Cooperation* (OIC) and the CASCF (Pakhomova 2019: 35).

The first policy documents outlining the shape of PRC-MENA cooperation within the BRI framework was the *"Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road"*, published by the Chinese government in March

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(EBSR) and the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st Century (MSR). It was launched by the President Xi Jinping in 2013 and aims to connect Asia and Europe via the Middle East (ME), Africa and Central Asia (CA) through a series of vast networks of transcontinental railways, pipelines, ports, airports, and other infrastructure projects with up to US $ 1 trillion of Chinese investment. In 2016, the NSR/OBOR strategy was officially renamed the *Belt and Road Initiative* (BRI) or *Belt and Road* (B&R).

[2] Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Israel, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar, Iraq, Yemen Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, South Sudan, Sudan, Mauritania.

2015. *Vision and Actions*' emphasis on cooperation priorities indicates that the means by which China is already developing bilateral relations through MENA will be coordinated with BRI. It refers to two multilateral initiatives that can foster to BRI cooperation – the CASCF and the China-GCC Strategic Dialogue (Fulton June 2019: 6). B&R topped the agenda at the ***Arab World and China Conference*** in Doha in late May 2016 to discuss the role B&R can play in facilitating interactions between PRC and the MENA (Sevilla 2017: 97).

White Paper of Arab Policy and "1 + 2 + 3 Strategy"

In June 2014, President Xi outlined the ***"1 + 2 + 3 strategy"*** at the 6th CASCF Ministerial Conference with the theme ***"Building modern Silk Road and promoting China-Arab common development"*** (Sun 2015; Molavi 2018). On January 2016, Beijing published its first official ***White Paper on China's Arab Policy***, which hints at China's multifaceted relationship with Arab countries and is a fundamental and more concrete document reflecting China's interests in the MENA (Hashmi 2016: 1).

The **White Paper** announced that China and the Arab countries will adopt a comprehensive cooperation model known as ***"1 + 2 + 3"*** to improve pragmatic cooperation (Hashmi 2016: 1), which provides a detailed overview of China's plans in the region (Hornschild 2016: 1). China's **Arab Policy Paper** lists the traditional areas of railways, highways and seaports, as well as aviation and satellites in infrastructure cooperation with the ME (English.news.cn 2016).

Within ***"1 + 2 + 3"*** the energy will form the core ("1"). This refers to the need to expand cooperation in the field of energy, covering a range of issues, including the extraction of oil and natural gas, ensuring the security of energy transportation routes and the establishment of mutually beneficial long-term relations between China and the Arab countries in the field of energy (Lokhande 2017). Infrastructure construction and trade/financing, investment promotion will serve as its ***Two Wings*** ("2"), and ("3") refers to the high-tech areas of nuclear energy, space satellite/aerospace technologies, renewable energy sources (RE), and industrial capacity cooperation (China.org.cn 2016; Wang 2017: 3; PRC's Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014).

During the 8th CASCF Ministerial Meeting in July 2018 (Beijing), it was announced that another project called ***"Industrial Park – Connecting ports, Two-Wheel and Two-Wing Approach"*** would provide the basis for consolidating China-built industrial parks in key cities of the Persian Gulf (PG) with regional ports. This will create a regional MSR network and establish a hub that will connect other important MSR regions such as South Asia and East Africa (Fulton July 2019: 2). Chinese maritime companies are active in the countries of the region and own assets in the seaports of Egypt, Algeria, Israel, Turkey, etc. – all of them are part of B&R strategy (Feder 2016).

The ***Two-Wheel*** and ***Two-Wing*** approach will also enable Chinese **industrial parks** (Free Trade Zones/FTZ) to create business clusters, increase trade flows, and connect supply chains across the region. It is planned to develop large industrial parks to create the above mentioned ***"Industrial park – port interconnection"***. The parties also agreed to merge long-term plans, including rail networks in the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa, to continually improve MENA's ability to facilitate trade, develop industrial agglomeration, and accelerate regional development (Wang 2018).

Two Wheels combine cooperation in the field of conventional oil and gas and low-carbon energy to forge a strategic energy cooperation relationship between China and the Arab countries, while ***Two Wings*** calls for increased cooperation in science, technology and finance. They require cooperation in artificial intelligence, mobile communications, the Internet of Things, space launches, satellite navigation and others, as well as innovation, investment in nanotechnology and financing methods (Wang 2018). Taken together, these regional connectivity projects and priorities indicate the direction of MSR in the broader MENA and the central role that the PG will play (Fulton July 2019: 12).

It is planned to combine the construction and operation of China's steadily developing four large industrial parks in **Egypt,** the

UAE, Saudi Arabia and **Oman** with neighboring ports, including the Khalifa port in Abu Dhabi, the Djibouti port and the Said port of Egypt and others, to create an ***"industrial park – port interconnection"*** (Harutyunyan 2019a: 33). As the 3rd largest re-export hub in the world after Singapore and Hong Kong, roughly 60% of China's trade passes through Dubai's Jebel Ali Free Zone (JAFZA), the world's largest free zone, and Jebel Ali port for re-export (Scott 2015: 12). JAFZA is now a model for other similar zones that grow along the various routes of the NSR.

China is investing in ports along the Suez Canal from the Gulf of Aden to the Mediterranean Sea. Of the 49 countries with which China has signed a Memorandum of Understanding or formally endorsed the BRI, 34 (almost 70%) are located off the coast of Africa, 16 in the West, 8 in the North and East, and 2 in the South (Lokanathan 2020: 4).

Convergence of BRI with MENA's National Development Strategies

In 2015, within the framework of the FTZ project, consultations were conducted on the implementation of other major projects – the ***China-Arab Joint Investment Fund*** and the China-led ***Asian Investment Infrastructure Bank*** (AIIB) (Ilminskaya 2015: 156). China's state-owned banks, including the China Development Bank and the Export-Import Bank of China, finance more than 70% of BRI's projects, depleting China's foreign exchange reserves. State-owned enterprises (SOEs), such as COSCO Shipping Ports, play a leading role in implementation, performing 95% of the work (Harutyunyan 2019b: 149). In July 2018, China and a number of LAS countries agreed to align their visions of national economy development and modernization with the BRI as part of the ***"Inclusive Cooperation Strategy"***. It was decided to relatively reduce the role of oil between China and the oil-producing countries and integrate the financial and banking systems and emerging *"Redback"* zones. China will soon become the world leader in e-commerce and digital banking, replacing the United States (US) (Harutyunyan 2021: 413). The yuan should be used for financing, clearing and settlement between ME, the GCC and China, where capital markets, banking and financial assets and transactions, payments will be based on the Chinese yuan as an international currency. The future of relations between China and the oil-producing countries of the MENA is likely to be based on solid, less *"liquid"* building blocks (Saidi 2014).

The UAE has already played a role in China's efforts to internationalize the yuan and was the first GCC member to sign a swap agreement in 2012 for up to RMB 35 billion. In 2015, China extended its agreement on the exchange of the RMB with the UAE to internationalize the RMB in accordance with B&R guidelines for expanding the volume and scope of bilateral currency swaps and settlements with other countries in order to deepen financial cooperation, build a system of monetary stability, investment and financial system and credit information system in Asia (Herlevi 2016: 14). Thus, the People's Bank of China (PBOC) and the UAE Central Bank have taken the first step in establishing a bilateral RMB swap line that should be extended to other GCC central banks (Saidi 2014).

Qatar followed UAE suit in November 2014 (Herlevi 2016: 14). The Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) launched ME's first centre for clearing transactions in the Chinese yuan in Qatar in April 2015 (South China Morning Post 2017; Hollingsworth 2017).

Worth also noting that many Arab countries are undergoing major industry changes, opening up many new opportunities for Chinese investors, especially in high-tech and other emerging strategic sectors. There is a rapid growth in the information industry and renewable energy sources (RES), as well as the intention to develop the non-oil industry to reduce over-dependence on oil. In this regard, China discussed BRI alignment with **Jordan Vision 2025** (Wang 2017: 4**), Saudi Arabia Vision 2030, Abu Dhabi Economic Vision 2030, New Kuwait 2035, Qatar National Vision 2030, Bahrain Economic Vision 2030, Oman Vision 2040, Egypt Vision 2030, Djibouti's vision 2035, Lebanon's Vision 2030.** All of them are designed to diversify these economies from a *single-resource rentier model to a post-oil model*, with the necessary transition to manage their dependence on foreign labor, public sector employment and heavily subsidized utilities (Fulton July 2019: 7). For example, the 100 km^2 Khalifa Port FTZ (KPFTZ) is an important part of the *Abu Dhabi Economic Vision 2030* diversification program, scheduled for completion in 2030, with the port and FTZ combination expected to ultimately provide 15% of Abu Dhabi's non-oil GDP (Shepard 2017). Energy diversification is in line with AIIB's proposed *"lean, clean, and green"* approach, and Abu Dhabi believes that Beijing can strengthen the UAE as a key player and architect of the GCC's energy future (Herlevi 2016: 15).

It is believed that while the Arab 1 + 2 + 3 Policy Document is viewed primarily as a geo-economic rather than a geopolitical strategy (Sun 2015), it is China's most formal acknowledgment that its infrastructure, economic and development goals in the region are intertwined with political and security considerations in the long-term historical perspective (Almeida 2018).

As for the relationship between China and the oil-producing countries of MENA based on *"sustainable economy"* as part of a key energy security strategy for the future, the BRI's alignment with the MENA's national development strategies holds great promise. Parts of the BRI vision align well with the MENA's current goals in the areas of economic diversification, energy, investment, market access, and regional security. While other aspects of the initiative carry risks, including BRI's engagement with regional competitors in the MENA. Impending Free Trade Agreement negotiations between China and some MENA countries are expected to diversify China's oil imports and help MENA nations reduce US dominance in the region.

In connection with the launch of the first MENA clearing center in RMB, it should be noted that China intends to provide local financial institutions with access to the yuan and foreign exchange markets. It also aims to promote wider cross-border use of the RMB and increase opportunities for increased trade investment between Beijing and the region as a whole. China is trying to globalize the use of its currency in order to minimize its dependence on the US dollar in the aftermath of the global financial crisis.

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China's New Type of Foreign Policy

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Abstract

A new China's policy is emerging as a result of a new geopolitical imagination. China's diplomacy is aimed at telling the story of a new type of foreign policy to a wide audience in the world, in an efficient manner.

We can define it as an 'art of possibilities', using the phrase of Otto von Bismarck. The art lies in the ability to link the social with purely pragmatic goals in the conditions of political stability, while attracting Western investments and technologies. Economic cooperation for development and avoidance of military interventions abroad are the two pillars of China's foreign policy. To join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), is a further step towards creating economic interdependence with neighbors. In conclusion, to compete with China needs to develop a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese foreign policy institutions and way of thinking.

Keywords: China, foreign policy, *'art of possibilities'*, political philosophy

Introduction

A new China's policy is emerging as a result of a new geopolitical imagination. China's diplomacy is aimed at telling the story of a new type of foreign policy to a wide audience in the world, in an efficient manner.

In 1964–1965, the idea of the so-called "intermediate zones" appeared in the foreign policy concept of the Chinese leadership, with an emphasis on the "first zone", which includes the countries of the Third World of Asia, Africa and Latin America.[1] The goal is to join forces against the United States over China's economic embargo and diplomatic isolation.[2]

China's continued self-isolation can be explained by the country's inability to find allies with which to oppose the two superpowers, the United States and Russia. Challenges for the Chinese leadership are: the possibility of the introduction of "revisionism" by the USSR, which would lead to the restoration of capitalism and "imperialism" by the United States, which would prevent domestic political consolidation to overcome international isolation. In 1966, a plenum of the CCP Central Committee passed a decree that placed the struggle against "American imperialism" and "modern revisionism" at the center of Chinese foreign policy. (Alexandrova 2007: 168)

The goal is a change in the worldview of Chinese society and a spiritual revival that precedes the economic one. It is a long and slow process, in which China's influence on the international stage is declining sharply. The activities of foreign missions were hampered, and diplomatic relations with many countries were severed from 1966 to 1967. There has been a systematic destruction of the diplomatic archives, lawsuits against diplomats are pursued, and the embassies of India and Britain have been set on fire in August 1967. (Alexandrova, 2007: 53–55)

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[1] This policy relies on anti-American sentiment in Third World countries, but at the moment China does not have the economic resources and political leverage to establish itself as a leader of those countries that do not follow the policies of the USSR and the United States. See in more detail: Podolko, E.O. *Evolution of foreign policy concepts of the People's Republic of China*. Moscow, 2006.

[2] In 1948, with the escalation of the Cold War, the United States imposed control over the sale of strategic goods and imposed trade restrictions on the USSR and the Eastern Block countries. After the victory of the Communists in the Chinese Civil War, the PRC was also included in this list. In the same year, 13 countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Japan joined the US measures and established the Paris Coordinating Committee – COCOM. They adopted a periodically updated list of goods, which puts China under embargo. Lee, O. M.U.S. "Trade Policy toward China". *China's Trade with the West. A political and Economy Analysis*. New York- Washington-London, 1972, pp. 42–44.

In the late 1960s, amid total international isolation and fear of Soviet intervention, China began a process of redefining its foreign policy in search of new allies and priorities. The result is a new Chinese policy launched in the face of US President Nixon. (Alexandrova 2007: 60). An indisputable strategic success in foreign policy is the resumed dialogue with the United States after a twenty-year hiatus.

In the late 1970s, the new leadership, led by Deng Xiaoping, further developed this model of "opening up" China to the world. Deng Xiaoping realized that political stability is a necessary precondition for the success of economic reform. It can be warranted a management based on the power of the party. (Lyu 2000: 58–59) "Apart from the reform of the economic system, it is necessary to pursue a policy of expanding relations with the outside world." (Vogel 2013: 69)

The 'Ten Lost Years'[3] are a sign for Deng Xiaoping's reforms. China needs a new impetus in its political life, which in turn implies a balanced foreign policy. Balanced foreign policy means that the good relations with neighbors are priorities of the government. *'Peaceful Rise'* is built on *'coexistence'* and *'sharing prosperity'* with all countries in the world. (Bijian 2005: 18–22)

'A Great Harmony'[4]

Political philosophy, more precisely its practical-political aspect, enriched with Chinese tradition, is at the base of China's foreign policy. It is a matter of commitment to the Confucian value system, which reflects the accumulated historical experience. It is a prerequisite for implementing the right foreign policy course and planning effective foreign policy actions. Deviation from this system of prior-

[3] On June 27, 1981, the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a decision on the history of the party, which gave an official statement for the period between – 1966–1976. See: "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China" Adopted by the sixth plenary session of the 11th Central committee of the Communist party.

[4] On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong, with the establishment of the PRC, declared the revolution a permanent process with the participation of the whole society in the name of that society, which must overcome the cataclysms of social and political displacements. See in detail: Kissinger, H. *About China*, 'Trud' magazine, 2012, pp. 94–95.

ities and goals leads to adherence to foreign ideological schemes and patterns. In his speeches, Deng Xiaoping repeatedly warned of the danger of democratization on a Western model.

What distinguishes China's new foreign policy is its re-conceptualization as a sphere of action to achieve certain goals. Junyi Tang defines it as achieving an "arrangement for a reasonable distribution of power". (Fröhlich 2017: 161–81)

From this point politics can be conceptualized, *'as a sphere in which one may strive for the good'*. (Tang 1988: 113) The political actors need power if they want to achieve their goals. (Ibid: 113–114) Tang reflected on political action in terms of opportunities for actors to express their *'innate'* capacity for goodness. In that case the lust for power, belonging to the nature of human being, does not completely dominate political action. This action can be achieved by those who take up their position of power as a *'moral personality'*. (Tang 1958: 203) "If the will for power, truly aspires to find peace, it will necessarily transform [itself] into or initiate a sort of moral will." (Ibid: 187–188)

This moral self-reflection is very optimistic, because the Self is capable of learning from its experience and *"rationally choosing a superior mode of self-fulfillment"*. Political actors in the Chinese policy remain within the horizon of the moral will and moral subjectivity. Unlike the time of the ancestors, who believed that political activity was turned into an immediate extension of moral consciousness, modern Chinese politics relied on an ideologically charged moral ontology, in which the Confucian spirit was alive. The aim is to achieve a humanistic world different from the world of a 'great uniformity', in a favor of a new man who is perfectly rational and virtuous. (Tang 1955:71) The other aim is to apply a living spirituality for the whole human civilization.

A *harmonious view of totality*, *wisdom* and *expediency* are the cornerstone of a new China's foreign policy, which I define as an *'Art of possibilities'*[5]. The art lies in the ability to link the social with purely pragmatic goals in the conditions of political stability.

[5] The term belongs to „Chancellor Peacemaker", ideologue and father of social policy, Otto von Bismarck.

Linking knowledge to practice is an approach realized during the political actions of Deng Xiaoping[6], which relied on *a common idea-principle* (capable of ignoring temporary and insignificant benefits, in the name of the general principles, by which it is guided), *flexibility* and *pragmatism*. Thus, two effects are achieved: (1) Ability to properly understand political behavior and action. (2) A possibility to mobilize and unite the public circles in support of the policy it pursues in order to ensure the stability of the taken foreign policy decisions. A policy that sets great goals and pursues great and lasting gains requires flexibility. The implementation of policy principles sets the permissible limits of flexibility and compromises, their crossing leads to the transformation of flexibility into conjuncture, unprincipledness and defeat. (Stefanov 1994: 75)

The Three Pillars of Chinese Foreign Policy: the State, the Party, the People7

There are three leading institutions that promote China's foreign policy: *the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the International Liaison Department*, and *the United Front Work Department*. Each of them plays a unique role in supporting the longevity of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

A. The State

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is the most prominent body for Chinese foreign policy, in charge of conducting state-to-state diplomacy. The MFA has been assigned to provide the logistical skeleton for foreign policy implementation and messaging. The CCP's Central Foreign Affairs Commission is the top foreign policymaking body.

[6] Deng Xiaoping emphasizes that while 10% of the effort must be devoted to preparation, 90% has to be devoted to implementation. Wang Yuei, *Globalization in Chinese*, 2021, 173.

[7] See: Connor Fiddler. The Three Pillars of Chinese Foreign Policy: The State, the Party, the People.

China's foreign policy apparatus is much more than just the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In: The Diplomat. Available on: https://thediplomat.com/2021/02/the-3-pillars-of-chinese-foreign-policy-the-state-the-party-the-people/ [3.02.2021].

The Central Foreign Affairs Commission, formed in 2018, was a creation of Xi Jinping in order to exert more personal and party influence over foreign policymaking.

B. The Party

While the MFA conducts foreign policy for the state, the party has its own department to promote a separate foreign policy agenda – the CCP's International Liaison Department (ILD). While the MFA conducts traditional state-to-state diplomacy, the ILD conducts the quiet diplomacy of party-to-party interactions.

The ILD plays an important and unique strategic role in CCP diplomacy. Historically, it was used to promote ties with other communist and socialist parties. Today, the mandate has broadened to include all political parties for the purpose of building support for Chinese foreign policy aims. One of the ILD's priorities is creating global popular support for China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

The ILD utilizes several mechanisms: one of the most successful is cadre training. Cadre training is a crucial component to ILD influence operations. It is buttressed by free trips to China, program funding, and professional training courses. The CCP contributed funds to the ANC's party school, modeled on a similar leadership academy in Shanghai. Additionally, the ILD sends state-run media companies like Xinhua to train and administer other state-run media organizations. This program ensures that foreign domestic audiences in other countries are reading about the benefits of the BRI.

The ILD conducts the so-called *'quiet diplomacy'*. Their trips, delegations, and conferences do not come with the official adornments that follow ambassadors. However, their work is just as essential and results in long-term gains. In the global, multi-dimensional long-term competition nowadays, understanding the work of the ILD is crucial.

C. The People

The final and most complex foreign policy operation conducted by the CCP is the efforts of the United Front Work Department (UFWD). The UFWD plays a unique and ambitious role in China's foreign policy strategy. While the MFA targets the state and the ILD targets the party, the UFWD targets the people. The UFWD encompasses several CCP and governmental divisions. One of their mandates is to reach out to the 40 million-strong Chinese diaspora, mostly centered in Southeast Asia, but not exclusively.

While the UFWD is getting more attention within the academic literature, large media companies and policymakers have yet to understand this institution's importance. The UFWD has a rapidly growing mandate with the political backing to support it. It is a crucial pillar of CCP foreign policy and deserves further investigation.

Main Characteristics of China's Foreign Policy

By deepening its way within core postwar institutions, such as the United Nations, and pursuing extra-system efforts, such as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), it is increasingly shaping both the architecture and the norms of global governance. The New Silk Road brings, empirically, immediate benefits for the countries involved, allowing them to equip themselves with the capital necessary for the construction of expensive infrastructures (roads, railways, ports and airports). In fact, the total investments made this decade are estimated at around $1,800 billion with the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank as the main lender. Thanks to the modernization of infrastructures, 67 countries that already adhere to the Silk Road have greater and more stable growth prospects.[8]

China's foreign policy is based on the following main elements:

(a) ***Maintaining independence***. China principled in international affairs, determining its own position and policies in accordance with the merits of each case and never yielding to pressure from major powers, nor entering into alliance with any major power or power block.

(b) ***Maintaining world peace***. China does not participate in the arms race, nor does it seek military expansion. China resolutely opposes hegemonic power politics, aggression and expansion in what-

[8] See: Fabrizio Verde. "China is a larger economic player than the U.S", International, Available at:

https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/464079/China-is-a-larger-economic-player-than-the-U-S-Fabrizio-Verde), [19.08.2021], pp. 13–54 ever form, as well as encroachments perpetrated by one country on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another, or interference in the internal affairs of another nation under the pretext of ethnic, religious or human rights issues.

(c) ***Friendly relations and cooperation***. China hopes to establish and develop friendly ties and cooperative relationship with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

(d) ***Opening policy***. China is open to both developed and developing countries and has engaged in extensive international cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit to promote common development. China makes efforts to ensure world peace and development, and the establishment of a new fair and equitable international political and economic order, based on peace and stability.

The country prefers the Silk Road approach, which favors developing the infrastructure and investments over the possibility of war and military actions, balanced foreign policy and good relations with neighbors. To join the *Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)*[9], is a further step towards creating greater economic interdependence with its neighbors.

'Indo-Pacific' strategy

China is also being forced to rethink its Belt and Road Initiative as an *Indo-Pacific strategy*. China's foreign policy is aware that its passion for the Belt and Road may not be shared by some of its neighbors, partly because the program includes serious risks. China should not automatically assume that growth through gigantic infrastructure investments – the model that drove its own economic miracle – is a panacea applicable to other Asian economies. Nor should it relentlessly seek recognition from Indo-Pacific neighbor's countries for its foreign investments and help.[10]

[9] The Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) is a regional trade agreement with high thresholds for market liberalization on regulatory issues. China formally applied to join the 11 member pact on 16 September 2021.

[10] See: Yu Jie, "To win hearts in the Indo-Pacific, China must end its combative diplomacy", *South China Morning Pos*t, Available on: https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/article/3130182/win-hearts-indo-pacific-chi-

The growing geopolitical significance of the region imposes a kind of a smart foreign policy which is pursuing economic growth with trade partners and simultaneously conducting a dynamic diplomacy with many countries, to help fulfil China's own age-old foreign affairs priority of creating a stable external environment to foster its domestic economic development.

As the signing of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) shows, China's economic strategy is not isolationist – particularly not to isolate the many involved countries of the Indo-Pacific. It also signals a diplomatic scaling back to return to China's *'periphery diplomacy'* with a focus on its immediate neighbors. That forms a new strategic synergy which is demonstrated in many initiatives – *Silk Road* in Iran, *Two corridors and one economic circle* in Vietnam, *Global Sea Axis* in Indonesia.

President Xi Jinping's announcement that China will *'favorably consider'* joining the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), is a further step towards its priorities and creating greater economic interdependence with its Indo-Pacific neighbors.

In this direction can also be considered the possible new trade agreements with the new Afghan government, adding another transit point towards the Indian Ocean and the ports of Pakistan, already economically firmly integrated with China. Without interfering in Afghanistan's interior, China sees a new economic opportunity to expand its large-scale One Belt, One Road infrastructure plan. Authorities in China are ready to provide emergency aid to Afghanistan in the amount of 200 million yuan (about $ 30 million), and the funds will be used to purchase food and medicine, as well as for vaccination.

"When the necessary conditions are in place, including in the field of security, China will assist Afghanistan in rebuilding and implementing projects aimed at improving people's well-being," said Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi.[11]

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na-must-end-its-combative-diplomacy

[11] See: Minister Wan Yi's interview available at: https://www.vesti.bg/temi-v-razvitie/tema-talibanite-v-afganistan/-6130740. Last visit: [08.09.2021]

China starts the conversation showing that courage in peace is more important than courage in war and engages somehow with the Taliban, refusing to participate in the process of manufacturing a non-state actor. Today, Afghanistan is the prime location where China can initiate a form of cooperation that would be a first step towards strategic cooperation, bringing the common goals of humanity to the fore. China's policy shows a new path that we need for a revival of our humanism and culture. A new policy must be put on the agenda and China does it.

Conclusion

'Wisdom' and *'expediency'* are the main principles of the new China's foreign policy. We can define it as an "*Art of possibilities*", because it links the social with purely pragmatic goals, while attracting Western investments and technologies. There are two main aims implemented in this policy: to incorporate China's wisdom in the world and to combine China's dream with the dreams of the others.

Economic cooperation for development and avoidance of military interventions abroad are the objective sides of China's wise foreign policy. China prefers the Silk Road approach to that of the military path. It is an approach that favors the development of infrastructures, transport and investments and prioritizes the social sector, over that of the war. To join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), is a further step towards creating greater economic interdependence with its Indo-Pacific neighbors.

To compete with China one needs to develop a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese foreign policy institutions, that's why the present report is trying to increase the visibility of three key Chinese foreign policy pillars. Understanding their goals and mechanisms now can help further cooperation on the Road.

A new world is being built. It is a more humane, sharing, and with new values. China is a part of it, developing a new type of policy which is telling the story of a Road – *a Road of Tea, a Road of Jade, a Road of Spices, a Road of Porcelain .... the Road*, which tries to create a community of common interests, shared destiny and responsibilities. It gives us an opportunity to speak about the transition from *win-win* policy to *all-win* policy[12], which works for all humanity.

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[12] See: Wang Yiwei. *Shijie shi tong de:Yi dai yi lu de luoji*, Commercial press, Beijing 2016, p. 277 (Bulgarian translation).

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The Green Apple of Discord – China's Advances in the International Race for Domination in Greenland

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Abstract

In 2014, China announced the new "One Belt, One Road" initiative, which was focused on cooperation with the rest of Eurasia and development of The Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st century Maritime Silk Road. In 2017, the project was extended with another Arctic component – the 'Blue Economic Passage'. In this regard, the paper describes the latest step in the Chinese approach – the "Ice Silk Road", involving the development of scientific, trade and economic cooperation with all Arctic countries in different directions. As in the past, many observers pointed out Russia as a priority partner, in the last years the Asian giant has been hunting for new friends and opportunities in the region. The study looks at Greenland – one of the major collaborators for China in the Arctic zone.

Keywords: China, Greenland, Arctic, the "Ice Silk Road"

Over the last few decades, the political ambitions of China have grown along with its economic development. In order to ensure and diversify the resource needs of its industry, finding new partners is perceived as an important task of the foreign policy of the PRC. Reaching for new unexplored territories, the Asian country is aiming nowadays at the Arctic region. In contrast to several theories, arguing when China's history of Arctic interests actually has begun, the event that is certainly recognized as the most significant is the release of a white paper titled **"China's Arctic Policy"** (China's Arctic Policy 2018), published by the *State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China* on January 26th, 2018. For Arctic observers, the strategy was just an obvious step after the "Polar Silk Road" announcement in 2017. The "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) initiative may be indisputably the most prominent modern project, but in the long term China's interests in the Arctic region date back to 1925 when the signing of the Spitsbergen (Svalbard) Treaty (The Svalbard Treaty 1920) took place. Moreover, the PRC was for years very active in all discussions in the Arctic Circle, promoting its image of a soft power. At the Arctic Circle meeting in Iceland in 2015, Japan announced its first Arctic White Paper, which put the Chinese government under pressure to release a similar document.

In this context, China is strengthening its foothold in the Arctic region, relying on its partnership with the Northern countries. Greenland, not being a fully independent state, is easy for China to deal with, in contrast with the other five countries, which are more suspicious about PRC's involvement in their internal affairs. The economy of the world's largest island is expanding after a period of decline. In this context, the Chinese development and investment projects seem akin to the growing Greenlandic ambitions. In the last years, there have always been tensions between Nuuk and Copenhagen as regards the engagement of the Asian country on the island. The interests of China in Greenland are locked in the context of ongoing developments in the Sino–Danish relations. From Greenland's perspective, the PRC's investments might serve as an instrument to build a sustainable economy that will eventually ensure the Greenlandic independence. In this respect, the Greenland-Danish bond is often evaluated as *"both a burden and a resource"* (Kristensen 2019: 32). On the one hand, the island's economy depends on exports of shrimp and fish, and on a substantial subsidy from the government of its parent state, while, on the other hand, the Kingdom cannot provide sufficient financial support to boost its production. That said, the opposing commercial interests of Copenhagen and Nook become often an obstacle for both of them to act as one unitary foreign policy actor.

The biggest breakthrough in the Sino-Greenland relations was made in 2012 with the visit of China's Minister of Land and Resources, followed by the lifting of the prohibition for mining of radioactive materials and rare earth elements on the island in 2013. Only one year later, an important document was announced – the First Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Australian company *Greenland Minerals and Energy (GME)* and *China Non-Ferrous Metal Industry's Foreign Engineering and Construction Co. (NFC)*. Meanwhile, the Greenlandic mining sites became particularly appealing to the Asian companies, especially the mines of Kvanefjeld (Kuannersiut) in the southern part of the island. At that time, GME held the license to the Kvanefjeld mining project, assessed to hold major rare earth deposits (essential to high technology products). The area is also considered the world's second-largest deposit of rare-earth oxides, and the sixth-largest deposit of uranium (270,000 tons).

In 2016, Shenghe Resources bought 12.5% of GME's shares. Only two years later, another MoU was announced between the Australian GME and Shenghe. According to the deal, GME was due to transfer the ownership of the processing and marketing of materials extracted from the Kvanefjeld. The project displaced Russia for the first time as a traditional recipient of Chinese funding. In 2019, another PRC's SOE became engaged in the resource and energy sector with a new investment plan. This time, Shenghe was collaborating with the *National Nuclear Corporation* to supplement the procedure for separating rare earth elements from uranium and thorium deposits at Kvanefjeld.

Meanwhile, the Chinese NFC signed a new MoU with another Australian company, operating in the High North. Hence, in 2017 Ironbark Zink appointed NFC to finance and construct the Citronen Fjord Zinc Mine (McCrae 2017). However, the exploitation rights are to remain with the Australians until 2046. The Asian SOE already has a significant experience in the sector with mines in Zambia, Mongolia and Thailand. The situation changed in 2020, when Citronen turned out to be one of the largest zinc resources in the world. The cost has risen from the expected \$514 million to \$654 million (McGwin 2021). The Australian company Ironbark stared looking for help to obtain the remaining funding required to develop the Citronen zinc. In 2020, Ironbark Zinc has engaged with EXIM with a loan of $216 million (McGwin 2020). Judging by these actions, it is evident that the Australian enterprise is willing to cooperate with China in order to secure a low-priced exploration and extraction. However, when it comes to a financial binding agreement, the US remains the most trusted partner.

The decision of EXIM, which is the official U.S. export-credit agency, was made with due consideration for the possible risk that China might disrupt the imports for the US domestic production. The call from the Trump administration to ensure the crucial foreign sources of supply resulted in the so-called *"Draft List of 35 Minerals Deemed Critical to U.S. National Security and the Economy"* (Draft List of 35 Minerals 2018). The list includes commodities such as lithium, cobalt, graphite and zinc. Moreover, the US reconsidered its presence in Greenland and in the Arctic region. In 2019, President Trump even declared that his administration had discussed buying Greenland from Denmark (Salama, 2019). Despite the reactions of the media, the American president highlighted the strategic value of the island. In fact, since 1867 the US has made several proposals to purchase Greenland from Denmark. The Kingdom rejected the offer with the following clarification from the Danish ministry: *"We're open for business, not for sale"*.

After ensuring the funds for developing the major Greenland zinc mine, Ironbark Zinc faced another problem. Within a span of just six weeks each year, the mineworkers have to ship out the estimated 300,000 tons of ore. However, the Chinese SOE, which was due to "engineer, design, procure, supply, construct, test and commission" Citrone does not possess the technology to transport its production. Given the harsh arctic landscape at the mouth of Citronen Fjord where the mine is located, the mine is going to need a special shipping solution to ensure a year-round access by sea – icebreaking bulk carriers or ice-strengthened bulk carriers supported by an icebreaker. So far, China owns two medium-powered icebreakers – "Xue Long" (The Snow Dragon) – a Soviet-built vessel that the PRC bought from Ukraine in 1993 and the first home-build icebreaker "Snow Dragon II", departed from Jiangnan Shipyard in May 2019. In general, the Asian country is still not able to provide the required merchant ship, specially designed to transport unpackaged bulk cargo in the harsh conditions of the North. Ironbark Zink was again in need for a new collaborator with the essential shipping technology. Given that, Fednav Ice Services was admitted as a new partner. The Canadian company operates a large fleet of ice-class and ice-breaking bulk carriers. In 2018, "Nunavik", the sister ship to the most famous ice-strengthened bulk carrier "Umiak I", made a test voyage to prove the shipping route to Citronen Fjord feasible (Davies 2020). Fortunately, with the ongoing climate change, more parts of Greenland's coastal regions are opening up to potential mining projects and most of the extensive multiyear ice has declined significantly. This opens an opportunity for the new Arctic players to become more active in the shipping activities. In contrast to Russia's latest nuclear-powered *"Arktika"*, with the upcoming construction of Snow Dragon III (the first heavy icebreaker for the PRC), China will be focusing again on scientific operations. The vessel is going to use both marine diesel and natural gas and has facilities for 2 helicopters and for a crew of 180 persons (Humpert 2019).

From the Chinese perspective, conducting scientific surveys is not only a matter of collecting global warming data. The new voyage of Snow Dragon II to the Greenland Sea will explore the Gakkel Ridge in order to determine the formation of rocks and magma there and scout for REE (Staalesen 2021). In fact, with the growing Chinese presence in the Arctic, the Asian country has secured its previous hegemony on the rare earth element market. The Asian giant has a clearly defined a national strategy for REE. Since 2014, China has been supplying 80% of the REE imported by the United States. These rare materials are used in rechargeable batteries for electric cars, fighter jet engines, satellite communications systems, computers and monitors, televisions and DVD players, wind turbines and solar panels, oil refineries, lasers, fiber optics, etc. Moreover, modern renewable energy development relies upon these metals and minerals. The European Union also gets 98% of its supply of REE from the

PRC. On the one hand, the US and the European Union stand against China's "dirty" economy, while, on the other hand, both import its "dirty" commodities in order to develop their own "green energy".

Generally, such dependencies between China, US and the EU become even more complicated by the demands of the military sector in the region. A decades-old defense treaty between Denmark and the US gives the Americans nearly unlimited rights in Greenland at the Thule Air Base. The US established the facility in 1941 to help Denmark defend its colonies against the German aggression. The military base on the island is home to the US Air Force (USAF) Space Command and the North American Aerospace Defense Command. Nowadays, the facility has its multifunctional aspects, becoming an operating zone for the 21st Space Wing's network of sensors that provides early missile warning, space surveillance and control. Additionally, the GIUK gap plays a crucial role in NATO's defense strategy. Given that, the case of Grønnedal in 2016 became another controversial issue, as the Danish PM Lars Løkke Rasmussen has personally intervened to prevent the Hong Kong-based company "General Nice" from acquiring the old Naval Base. Another concerned partner was again the US. In December 2014, the Chinese business conglomerate acquired London Mining Greenland and the exploration rights at the iron mine at Isua, about 150 km northeast of Nuuk. Only two years later, the company placed its bid for Grønnedal but the Danish government withdrew from the auction. The case only enhanced the Greenlandic mistrust towards its parent state and the criticism of Copenhagen being too "Denmark-centric". In fact, under the terms of the 2009 Self Rule Agreement between Copenhagen and Nuuk, economic affairs were transferred to the government of Greenland, but the emerging Chinese interests have forced the Kingdom to interfere in these bilateral relations.

The Grønnedal affair turned out to be a sensitive question for both Copenhagen and Beijing. Concerning core interests in maritime transport, Denmark is accepting China's involvement in the Arctic region. The Kingdom even supported PRC in gaining observer status in the Arctic Council. Engaging China on Arctic issues introduces the Asian country as a new major player in the region, who can out-stand the big Arctic states as Russia, US and even Canada. As long as the EU is still standing away from the Polar diplomacy, the Norther countries recognize China as their new friend in the zone. On the other hand, PRC is also cautious in avoiding cases that can become the focus of another heated political controversy. In general, the main condition for a stronger Chinese economic commitment in Greenland remains the blessing of Copenhagen. However, the US remains Denmark's closest strategic ally with long-standing security interests on the island.

During the last decade, the US is constantly losing strategic ground in the region to its geopolitical rivals Russia and China. Not long ago, the Trump administration demonstrated a renewed interest, driven especially by Beijing's growing presence in the Arctic. Lately, Russia has also attempted to regain its military presence in the region. However, with the ongoing climate change and the increased marine traffic, Moscow is focused on protecting its own territory and benefitting as much as possible on the economic front. In fact, the latest serious tensions between NATO and Russia in the area were in the framework of the Ukrainian crisis. China also fears a situation where a possible conflict between Russia and the US could affect the Polar region. In contrast to Antarctica, the Arctic Ocean is relatively landlocked. Consequently, in case of a war, the sovereignty rights will play a stronger role and the access to the High North zone might be cut off for all non-Arctic states.

In the long term, China will probably benefit the most from today's investments in the region. In light of this great opportunity, its complex Arctic diplomacy has more than polar energy and mineral resources in mind. In retrospect, the PRC has built in 2004 its first Arctic scientific research base – "Yellow River Station" on Svalbard Island of Norway. This was only the first step in developing the Chinese polar research capacity. After years of gaining the "Arctic knowhow", Beijing became ready to focus in more depth on the extraction of energy and mineral resources. Soon this objective was replaced by ideas of access to the Arctic sea routes. Though China's influence in the Polar region is undoubtedly growing, its engagement is not imperial. The country definitely wants to be recognized as a player in the evolving Arctic governance regime. Such position will secure its long-term investments and profits. The calls from the new left-leaning government in Greenland to support only environmentally responsible mining did not coincide with the Chinese development interests. The new Greenlandic leaders also banned the uranium mining and cancelled all ongoing activities in the Kvanefjeld mine (Gronholt-Pedersen 2021). It was not only one of the world's biggest rare earth deposits, but also an important project for the PRC's company. The Isua case in 2021 marked another setback for General Nice, when the Chinese SOE lost the exploration rights at Isua iron ore deposit after failing to ensure the remaining payments of 1.5 million Danish crowns.

For now, China's desire to re-establish itself as a super power is focused mostly on sustaining its unprecedented economic growth and strong commercial influence, avoiding (as much as possible) aggressive military actions. In fact, PRC has proved itself as an essential financial and political partner on global scale. In order to ensure its dominance in the mining and refining of REE, Beijing is careful to legitimize its presence in the Arctic, emphasizing on scientific and marine interests. In this regard, China is building a comprehensive strategic partnership with all Nordic countries. During the last decades, the Asian country has carefully used its complex diplomacy, negotiating all the memorandums of understanding with Greenland. From the Chinese perspective, 2021 turned to be a controversial year with all its projects cancelled. Likely, we will witness in the future even more Chinese engagement and initiatives not only in Greenland, but in whole the Arctic region.

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II. Linguistics and Literature

Правила за транскрипция и правопис на китайските лични и географски имена на български език – проблеми и предложения за тяхното разрешаване

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Rules for Transcription and Spelling of Chinese Personal and Geographical Names in Bulgarian – Problems and Suggestions for Their Solution

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Резюме

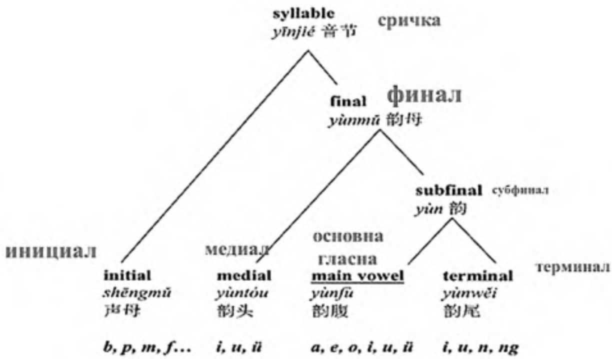
Статията е опит за установяване на основни правила за транскрипция и правопис на китайските имена на български език, които да разрешат належащия проблем с омонимията при предаване на китайските срички с помощта на българските кирилски букви, както и правописа на сложни и съставни китайски имена. Начините за предаване на звуковете и буквените съчетания се определят въз основа на латинизираната китайска фонетична азбука и транскрипция „пинин“, и в съответствие с нормите на

съвременния български книжовен език, при спазване на основните правила, възприети у нас за целта.[1]

Ключови думи: китайски език, пинин, кирилизация, българска транскрипция

1. Увод

Спецификата на китайската фонологична система се дължи на обстоятелството, че тя е изградена от около 400 неизменяеми срички, произнасяни с един или друг тон – в зависимост от семантиката на морфемите, които се означават. Традиционно в китайската сричка се отделят два основни компонента – инициал (начална съгласна) и финал (вокална част). Задължителен е само финалът, който има йерархична структура. Основната (сричкообразуваща) гласна е единственият задължителен елемент от финала, а оттук – и на сричката (вж. Илюстрация № 1).



Илюстрация № 1. Структурна схема на китайската сричка

[1] „Глава 2. Основни правила за транскрипция на чужди географски имена“ от Наредбата (Наредба № 6 /1995), а също така и нормите за писмено предаване на звуковия състав на чужди имена със средствата на българския език, илюстрирани с примери главно от английски, френски, испански, немски и от някои други европейски езици, в глави „Транскрипция на чужди собствени имена на български език“ от правописния речник на БАН за ортографичните правила в българския език (Станков 2002: 41–51), и „Предаване на собствени имена от чужди езици в българския книжовен език“ (Официален правописен речник на българския език 2012: 30–39).

Консонантната система в китайския език се състои от 21 начални съгласни, или 22 – ако броим и терминала ng /ŋ/. Двете тройки опозиции придихателни/непридихателни китайски инициали може да се заменят удачно от съответните български звучни/беззвучни съгласни: „b /p/ – б“ и „p /p’/ – п“, „d /t/ – д“ и „t /t’/ – т“, „g /k/ – г“ и „k /k’/ – к“ (вж. Катърова, Джан 1989; Гогова 1994; вж. Илюстрация № 2).

21 инициали																					
∅	b	p	m	f	d	t	n	l	g	k	h	j	q	x	zh	ch	sh	r	z	c	s
	б	п	м	ф	д	т	н	л	г	к	х	дз	ц	с, ш	дж	ч	ш	ж	дз	ц	с

Илюстрация № 2. Списък на китайските инициали и техните български съответствия

По традиция системата на финалите се представя като система от четири групи (серии) финали в зависимост от основната гласна – „a“, „i“, „u“ и „ü“. Финалите биват монофтонгови, дифтонгови и трифтонгови, като една част от тях съдържат терминалите n /n/ и ng /ŋ/. Отделят се и три полугласни звука (глайда): *yi/-i [j], yu/-ü [ɥ]* и *w/-u [w]*. Те могат да представят както основни гласни, така и медиали в състава на дифтонгови или трифтонгови финали, като изпълняват и ролята на инициали.

Цялостна схема на китайските сричкови групи и тяхната кирилизация е представена в края като приложение (вж. Приложение № 1).

2. Опозиции с еднакви инициали и близкозвучащи финали

Една от проблемните опозиции от пароними в китайския език, които представляват омоними на български – по досегашното си транскрибиране, е тази на двете групи съскави и шушкави инициали със сходна средно- и задноезична монофтонгова вокална част -i [ɻ̩], и –e [ɤ]. За различаването им може да се предложи следният запис с кирилски букви, като за целта се прилага принципът на графемната близост с китайската транскрипция „пинин“:

• [zh, ch, sh, r] e – джъ, чъ, шъ, жъ
• [zh, ch, sh, r] i – джи, чи, ши , жи
▪ [z, c, s] e – дзе, це, се
▪ [z, c, s] i – дзъ, цъ, съ.

3. Различаване на опозициите от срички с терминали „-n“ и „-ng“

Най-голяма нужда за различаване при транскрибиране на български има при сричките с веларен терминал „-ng“, който досега се записваше на български като „н“, еднообразно както алвеоларния „-n“. По този начин омонимни се оказват общо 67 двойки китайски срички, различаващи се само по терминал, а именно:

▪ всичките 19 двойки срички с финали -ан – -an и -анг – -ang;
▪ 16 двойки срички с финали -ън – -en и -ънг – -eng;
▪ 10 двойки -ин – -in и -инг – -ing;
▪ осем двойки -уан – -uan и -уанг – -uang;
▪ двойката уън – wen и уънг – weng;
▪ 12 двойки -ун – -un и -ong – -унг;

Подобни размери на омонимията са неприемливи. Предлагаме във всички горепосочени случаи веларният назален терминал „ng“ да се записва като „-нг“ – по фонематични съображения, по аналогия с общоизвестната и възприета отдавна у нас практика с правописа на английски, немски и други чужди имена, завършващи на този веларен назал (Reading – Рединг, Kipling – Киплинг, Mehring – Меринг). Така първата централизирана китайска династия Цин / Qin (秦代 221–206) ще може лесно да се отличава от манджурската династия Цинг / Qing (清代1644–1911). Ще може да различаваме и множество често срещани фамилни китайски имена, например Джан – Джанг (Zhan, 湛 – Zhang, 张/張), Фан – Фанг (Fan, 范/範 – Fang, 方), Уан – Уанг (Wan, 万/萬 – Wang, 王).

Записването на чуждото за българския език и толкова нежелано досега в транскрипциите на китайския език краесловно

„нг“ чрез веларния назален терминал „ng“ може да се избегне при целия ред на серията –ян/г – -iang,който се транскрибира различно от опозиционния -иѐн – -ian. Това става по фонетични съображения, тъй като звуковият им състав е различен – вокалната част е задноезична при назалния (ян – yang) и предноезична при алвеоларния терминал (йен – yan). Аналогично, чрез транскрибиране по фонетичния критерий може да се разреши и омонимията на опозициите дзюн, цюн, сюн (jun, qun, xun) – дзион/дзьон, цион/цьон, сион/сьон (jiong, qiong, xiong).

Веларният назал „ng“ може да не се изписва „нг“ на български и при непълните серии – при липса на съответната опозиция. Така, например три броя срички от реда „-ънг – -eng“, а именно дън/г (deng), тън/г (teng), лън/г (leng), както и два броя – от реда „-инг – -ing“ – дин/г (ding) и тин/г (ting) може да се предават и само чрез крайно „н“, тъй като във фонологичната система на китайския книжовен език липсват съответните опозиции на срички с алвеоларен терминал „-n“.

Отделно внимание заслужава българската транскрипция на тройната опозиция от една страна на уън/-ун – wen/-un с уънг – weng, а от друга страна и на -ун – -un с -ong. При самостоятелни срички единствено възможна е само двойката уън – wen и уънг – weng, която може ясно да се разграничи на български с помощта на опозицията „н“ – „нг“. Ако обаче в състава на сричката фигурира и инициал, то тогава се появяват 12 двойки близко звучащи финали -un – -ong. Понеже вокалната част на сричката уън – wen след инициал се редуцира, по правописно правило в пинин тя се записва -un, и затова на български може да се записва -ун – -un, например гун, кун, хун – gun, kun, hun (Катърова, Джан 1989: 82–83). Но по същия начин с -ун – се препоръчва и записването на сричките с финали -ong, например гун, кун, хун – gong, kong, hong (Катърова, Джан 1989: 82–83). Бихме могли да избегнем така получилата се омонимия в българската транскрипция с помощта на възприетото в настоящата статия правило за фонематична транскрипция на веларния назал, тоест гунг, кунг, хунг – gong, kong, hong с което ще може да го различаваме от гун, кун, хун – gun, kun, hun. Може и да приложим едновременно фонетичен и графичен принцип, следвайки отблизо както звученето, така и китайската транскрипция, и да записваме гон, кон, хон – gong, kong, hong (Ср. например записа на някои вече утвърдили се в българския език китайски названия, като кунг-фу (gongfu, 功夫), Конфуций (Kongfuzi, 孔夫子).[2]

4. Кирилизация на китайските дифтонги и трифтонги

Правилата за българската транскрипция забраняват писмено да се отбелязва йотацията пред гласната /и/ и пред /е/ (често срещана в руски и сърбохърватски географски имена) (ОПРБЕ 2012: 32). Ето защо финалите -и – -i, -ин – -in , -инг – -ing се записват без присъщата им йотация както при употреба като самостойни срички, така и след присъщите им билабиални (б, п, м) и алвеоларни (н, л) инициали: ин, бин, пин, мин.

Дифтонгите йе – ye, оу – ou, трифтонгите уай – wai, уей – wei лесно се изписват на български и звучат коректно на китайски, но само като самостоятелна сричка. При наличие на инициал възниква проблем. За да може финалите на срички, като „бие“, „моу“, „гуай“, „чуей“ да се четат правилно – като дифтонги и трифтонги, а не като две отделни срички, както би било нормално на български, където сричковата граница преминава между две съседни гласни, може да отбележим ударението върху основната гласна. Например: биѐ, пиѐ, миѐ, диѐ, тиѐ, ниѐ, лиѐ, дзиѐ, циѐ, сиѐ; мо̀у, го̀у, хо̀у, джо̀у, чо̀у, со̀у; джуа̀й, чуа̀й, шуа̀й; джуѐй,

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[2] Съществува и предложението за пренебрегване на ортографията на пинин и еднообразен запис на финала *уън/-уън – wen/-un*, например *гуън, куън, хуън – gun, kun, hun* (Гогова 1992). В този случай, ако решим да го приемем, би следвало да се добави и ударение: гуъ̀н, куъ̀н, хуъ̀н. Подобно преекспониране на произношението на китайските срички и изписване на неприсъщи за българския език звукосъчетания обаче едва ли е приемливо, то би нарушило възприетия в българския език „принцип за умерена транскрипция, който най-добре съответства на нормите на българския правопис и осигурява добри условия за междуезиковата комуникация“. (Станков 2002: 41). По същата причина бихме се въздържали от българска транскрипция на финала –е [ɤ] със звукосъчетания, които прекалено точно го наподобяват, като при *дзъа, цъа, съа – ze, ce, se*, и под.

чуѐй, шуѐй. Правилата на транскрибиране допускат този легитимен и общоприет прийом – в случаи на колебание, при необходимост се посочва и мястото на ударението в транскрибираното име, например: Виктòр (фр. Victor), Маккѝнли (англ. McKinley), Мàрия (пол. Maria), Ческе Бỳдейовице (чеш. Ceske Budejovice), Мàртин и Мартѝн. (Станков 2002: 46; ОПРБЕ 2012: 105). Макар в споменатото правило да се визират друг тип случаи, посочването на мястото на ударението върху основната гласна в транскрибираното китайско име в редица случаи, както в посочените по-горе примери на дифтонги и трифтонги, които не се срещат в българския език, е единственият начин да се гарантира правилният прочит. За да не се натоварва излишно българската графична система с тази необичайна за българина функция на ударението, желателно е то да се отбелязва само при първата употреба на името в конкретния текст.

Редица китайски дифтонги се предават успешно на български според техния изговор. Дифтонгите я – ya, ай – ai , ей – ei се изписват без особен проблем и се четат коректно и като самостоятелна сричка, и като финал: ля – lia, дзя – jia, ця– qia, ся– xia; бай – bai, пай – pai, май – mai, джай – zhai, шай– shai; бей – bei, пей – pei, мей – mei, фей – fei, дзей – zei, джей – zhei, шей – shei. Изключение прави транскрипцията на финала „ей“ след два задноезични веларни консонанта: g [k] и h [x], където обичайният преден звук на дифтонга преминава в заден („ъй“). В този случай следва да пишем така, както и произнасяме: гъй – gei и хъй – hei.

При българския запис на трифтонга яо – yao ударението естествено пада върху „я“ и затова няма нужда то да бъде отбелязвано изрично, включително и след инициал. Например biao – бяо, niao – няо, qiao – цяо, xiao – сяо, liao – ляо.

При китайските дифтонги, които имат графичен аналог при изписване на български език е целесъобразно да се посочва еднократно, на първото място в текста с ударение върху сричкообразуващата гласна, например уà –wa, уò – wo.

Когато дифтогът уò – uo се явява финал след билабиални и алвеолни инициали, той се редуцира и затова, по ортографичните правила на пинин се записва като „-о“ – bo, po, mo, fo, lo. Следователно серията може да се транслитерира, включително и по фонетични причини, съответно бо, по, мо, фо. Сричката ло – lo записва една единствена морфема: 咯 – фразова частица, която винаги се произнася без ударение. Във всички останали случаи дифтогът-финал уò – uo може за яснота да се пояснява с отбелязано ударение при първата му употреба в текста : дуò – duo, нуò – nuo, луò – luo, хуò – huo, джуò – zhuo, жуò – ruo, дзуò – zuo, суò – suo.

Трифтонгът йоу – you се транскрибира без проблем при употреба като самостоятелна сричка. Като финал обаче основната гласна „о“ тук се редуцира почти до дифтонг – с йотирано у („-йу“), и затова по правилата на пинин се записва като „-iu“. Ето защо, за да избегнем омонимията, след транскрибиране, с палаталния полугласен дифтонг ю – yu/-ü (напр. ню – nü, лю – lü, дзю – ju), може да записваме нѝу – niu, лѝу – liu, дзѝу – jiu, като посочваме еднократно за яснота и ударението, отчитайки различията в изговора и правописа на „пинин“.

Трифтонгът уèй – wei се редуцира частично при употреба като финал и затова се записва с пинин като „-ui“, като така дава повод да го транскрибираме „-уй“ (Катърова, Джан 1989: 82). Това е единият допустим вариант за кирилизация след инициал: дуй – dui, гуй – gui, джуй – zhui, жуй – rui, с изключение на хуèй – hui. Все пак редукцията тук не е достатъчно голяма и повечето пъти сричкообразуващата гласна „е“ в състава се чува достатъчно ясно, особено когато сричката е в ударена позиция. Затова може и да пренебрегнем правописното правило на пинин и да транскрибираме дуèй – dui, гуèй – gui, хуèй – hui, жуèй – rui (Гогова 1992). За яснота следва да отбележим и ударението.

Всички китайски дифтонги и трифтонги, освен тези, които не се четат естествено като такива и на български език, може за яснота да се записват еднократно със знак за ударение върху сричкообразуващата гласна на първото място в текста, в което сричката се употребява в състава на съответното име. Например: хòу – hou, куà – kua, сюè –xue, миèн – mian, лѝу – liu, нѝу – niu, шàо – shao, дзя̀о – jiao, уèй – wei, йòу – you.

5. Транскрибиране на паронимни китайски названия, които се различават само по тон

Тъй като китайският тон представлява особен вид суперсегментна единица, наричана още музикално ударение, може да възникнат проблеми с транскрибирането на срички, които се различават само по тон. Например, особено необходима за преодоляване е омонимията при кирилизация на имената на две китайски провинции – Шанси / Shānxi (山西) и Шанси / Shǎnxi (陕西). Първата се произнася в първи тон, а втората – в трети тон. За да избегнем омонимията при транскрипция на български, бихме могли да приложим начина, по който е решен въпросът в пинин – с отбелязване на обективно по-дългата гласна „а" при изговора на едното от двете названия: Шанси / Shanxi (山西) и Шàанси / Shaanxi (陕西). Подобно маркиране е твърде удачно, тъй като отразява и реалната разлика в изговора на паронимната двойка в китайски език, а именно – по-продължителната реализация на финала в трети тон по сравнение с тази с първи тон, и всъщност – по отношение продължителността на всички останали тонове. Ето защо похватът би могъл да се използва при всички аналогични случаи за различаване на паронимни двойки, но само когато едната от тях се чете с трети тон. В състава на последната при предаване може да се посочи първоначално, еднократно и ударението, за да може да се чете като дълга гласна („àа"), а не както нормално би се прочела на български език – като две срички.

6. Относно правописа на кирилизираните китайски сложно-съставни имена

По принцип „чуждите сложни и съставни имена се предават на български слято или разделно съобразно с начина на изписването им в чуждия език" (Станков 2002: 46; ОПРБЕ 2012: 36). Двусричните имена в китайския език се пишат слято на пинин, например Юан Дзяхуа (Yuan Jiahua), Лиу Сюеся (Liu Xuexia), Съма Сянжу (Sima Xiangru). Сложното или съставно географско, собствено или, по-рядко фамилно, китайско име обичайно се състои от две думи (срички, морфеми), всяка от които е ударена – едната слабо, другата – силно. Ето защо, двусрични лични и географски имена може да се кирилизират слято тогава, когато гласните или дифтонгите се четат естествено като отделни срички и на български, например:

Маю (Mayu), Иу (Yiwu), Уи (Wuyi), Юи (Yuyi)

В повечето случаи подобно слято изписване създава проблеми при прочита си на български. За да може китайските сложно-съставни имена винаги да се четат правилно на български, по принцип бихме могли да отбележим ударенията на всяка сричка, например Юа̀н Дзя̀хуа̀, Лѝу Сюѐся̀, Съ̀ма̀ Ся̀нжу̀. Ако маркираме сричковата граница, например посредством добавяне на малко тире (дефис, съединителна чертица), то част от ударенията вече няма да е нужно да се отбелязват: Юа̀н Дзя-хуа̀, Лѝу Сюѐ-ся, Съ-ма Сян-жу. За разлика от ударението, желателно е дефисът да се използва като задължителен елемент от кирилизацията и да присъства във всяка употреба на името в текста.

7. Правопис на сложните имена с „-н“ и „-нг“ в средисловие

7.1. Пред сричка, започваща с гласна или полугласна

При сложно-съставни китайски имена с първи компонент с терминал алвеоларен „н“ или веларен назален консонант „-нг“, с последваща сричка, започваща с гласен звук, маркирането на сричковата граница е задължително, тъй като в този случай неминуемо възникват два варианта на изговор. Двоякото четене е присъщо и на китайската транскрипция, където това се избягва с помощта на апостроф, който се поставя след терминала, преди началната гласна на втория компонент: Chang’an – Changan, Zhang’ang – Zhangang, Yan’an – Yanan, Jian’an – Jianan.

Най-естествен еквивалентен знак за оформяне на подобна вътрешнословна сричкоотделяща функция в българската транскрипция е малкото тире. Така лесно бихме разграничили Чанг-ан (Chang’an) от Чанган (Changan), Джанг-анг (Zhang’ang) от Джанганг (Zhangang), Йен-ан (Yan’an) от Янан (Yanan), Уан Дзиен-ан (Wang Jian’an) от Уан Дзянан (Wang Jianan).

Функциите на малкото тире са многобройни. Основно те са насочени към означаването на разчленяване на думи на съставни срички, например при скандиране или провикване „У-ра!“, или при пренасяне на части от думи на нов ред: ро-ди-на, ис-то-рия, управ-ле-ние. Също така служи и за отделяне на групи от цифри в контекста на поредици от цифри или номера – като заместител за интервал между отделните групи цифри, например тел./факс 0887-678-987 (вж. Станков 2002: 84–86; ОПРБЕ 2012: 103–4). Ролята на малкото тире в контекста на българската транскрипция на китайските имена е тъкмо такава: да отбележи интервал и да отдели правилно един от друг структурните елементи на сложно-съставното название.

Апострофът също се използва в българския език, където има няколко функции. Може да замества изпусната гласна в дума (напр. наш’те), или да отделя една съгласна (от служебна дума) пред име, започващо с гласна (напр. шарже д’афер). Пише се и в случаите, когато трябва да се отдели една съгласна пред име, започващо с гласна: Габриеле д’Анунцио (ит. Gabriele d’Annunzio), или пък гласна пред име, започващо със съгласна, например в ирландски имена от типа на О’Нийл (англ. O’Neill). Апострофът може да бъде заместен от малко тире, когато се използва за съкратено изписване на години, при подразбиращ се век: Зимна олимпиада’98, Експо-70. (вж. Станков 2002: 46, 86; ОПРБЕ 2012: 36). При това положение, по принцип, вероятно е допустимо да го употребяваме и при транскрипцията на сложно-съставните китайски имена като дублетна форма на тирето в случаите, където и в пинин се използва апостроф: Чанг’ан, Джанг’анг, Йен’ан, Уан Дзиен’ан. Следва да се отбележи обаче, че употребата му не обхваща многото останали случаи, при които, за разлика от „пинин“, българската транскрипция се нуждае от отбелязване на сричковата граница в средисловие (Мингуан – Mingwan). В подобни случаи използването на апостроф в тази функция, за разлика от малкото тире, би било некоректно. Ето защо по-подходящо и удобно е в транскрибираното име навсякъде да заместим апострофа с дефис.

Терминалите в средисловие често се стиковат с последваща сричка, започваща с полугласен „ю“ (yu) или „у“ (w). Например, Джън Цинуън (Zheng Qinwen), Ю Дзинуан (Yu Jinwang), Фей Ингуей (Fei Yingwei), Ли Инуей (Li Yinwei), Уанг Мингуан (Wang Mingwan), Юанмингюан (Yuanmingyuan). За китайската транскрипция тук не съществува проблем, понеже в случая самите глайдове графично (yu, w) маркират сричковата граница, и съответно апострофът липсва. При запис на български език, обаче, неминуемо възникват два варианта на изговор: „по-естествено е (името Цинуън) да се прочете от неосведомения читател като трисрично – Ци-ну-ън“ (вж. Хинов 2015). По същия начин нормално би било Дзинуан да се прочете Дзи-ну-ан, вместо правилното Дзин-уàн; или Ингуей като Ин-гу-ей, вместо Инг-уèй; Инуей като И-ну-ей, вместо Ин-уèй; Мингуан като Мин-гу-ан, вместо Минг-уàн; Юанмингюан като Ю-ан-мин-гю-ан (или -гюàн), вместо вярното Юàнминг-юàн. Коректното българско четене в подобни случаи може да се постигне чрез поставяне на дефис и знак за ударение на нужните места.

Проблем с правилния изговор на терминалите с последваща сричка, която започва с полугласния /j/ в средисловие възниква тогава, когато тя е дифтонг „я“ (ya) или трифтонг „яо“ (yao), или йотиран финал „и“ („йи“)(yi), отбелязван само като гласната „и“ в българската транскрипция. Тук отново се налага да маркираме пределите. Например, Пингяо (Pingyao) би се прочело като Пин-гяо, вместо правилното Пинг-яо; Миняо (Minyao)като Ми-няо, вместо Мин-яо; Дзуни (Zunyi) като Дзỳ-ни, с едно ударение, вместо Дзун-и; Джангиюан (Zhangyiyuan) като Джанги-юан (-ги-ю-ан), вместо Джанг-и-юàн.

Отбелязването на сричковата граница между терминала и глайда /j/ в средисловие пред дифтонгите „йе“ (ye) и „йо“ (yo) се налага само заради правилата на българския правопис за буквата „й“ – задължителна начална или крайна позиция в състава на сричката, например Пънг Минг-йен (Peng Mingyan), У Ман-йен (Wu Manyan), Джанг Пан-йон (Zhang Panyong), Минг-йонг (Mingyong), Бао Минг-йòу (Bao Mingyou).

7.2. При последващи съскави и шушкави инициали

В българската транскрипция често се получава и неестествено, непроизносимо натрупване на три-четири български съгласни, записващи съскави и шушкави китайски инициали, в позиция непосредствено след двата назални терминала: „нгдж“, „нгдз“, „нгх“, „нгц“. Желателно е в подобни случаи да се подпомогне правилния прочит посредством добавяне на малко тире, например Гуанг-джоу (Guangzhou), Хъйлунг-дзянг (Heilongjiang), Чунг-цинг (Chongqing), Шанг-хай (Shanghai), Минг-хуанг (Minghuang).

8. Правопис на сложните имена с натрупване на гласни, полугласни или съгласни в средисловие

В състава на китайските сложно-съставни имена често може да се наблюдава струпване на две, три и даже четири гласни една след друга, включително с дифтонги и полугласни. Такива са например имена, като Джао Феййен (Zhao Feiyan), Циууън (Qiuwen), Дзя Баою (Jia Baoyu), Сър (Sier), Юнър (Yuner)(Хинов 2015), или У Таоян (Wu Taoyang), У Баойен (Wu Baoyan), Пан Паояо (Pan Paoyao). Подобни явления не представляват проблем в „пинин“ и затова се пишат слято, на общо основание. Но при запис на български език употребата на малко тире в подобни случаи се превръща в желателно, макар и невинаги задължително условие за избягване на натрупването на три гласни една след друга, което е неестествено за българския език, а в китайския се среща често. Добавянето на спомагателни знаци, като дефис и ударение, много допринася за лесния и правилен прочит на подобни имена: Фей-йен, Цѝу-уън, Бàо-ю, Съ-ър (Съ-ар), Юн-ър, Тàо-ян, Бàо-йен, Пàо-яо.

Особено важно е маркирането на сричковите граници в средисловие при сложни имена с първа сричка, завършваща с „й“ /j/ или друг глайд, и с последващ начален полугласен звук, като Фей-йен, Цѝу-уън, Лин Дай-ю (Lin Daiyu), Янг Дай-и (Yang Daiyi). В противен случай нормалното българско четене би ги редуцирало некоректно на китайски, съответно до Фейен, Ци-уън, Даю, Даи (вж. Хинов 2015). Така се разрешава и проблемът с „двойните съгласни” в средисловие, например „Джъннин“ е по-лесно за изговаряне, когато е записано като Джън-нин, иначе би се прочело адаптивно като Джънин (друго име, Джъ-нин)“ (Хинов 2015).

Приложение №1:

		Инициали																						
		ø	**b**	**p**	**m**	**f**	**d**	**t**	**n**	**l**	**g**	**k**	**h**	**j**	**q**	**x**	**zh**	**ch**	**sh**	**r**	**z**	**c**	**s**	
			б	**п**	**м**	**ф**	**д**	**т**	**н**	**л**	**г**	**к**	**х**	**дз**	**ц**	**с, ш**	**дж**	**ч**	**ш**	**ж**	**дз**	**ц**	**с**	
Серия	a	a	ba	pa	ma	fa	da	ta	na	la	ga	ka	ha				zha	cha	sha		za	ca	sa	a
„а"	а	а	ба	па	ма	фа	да	та	на	ла	га	ка	ха				джа	ча	ша		дза	ца	са	а
Финали	o	o	bo	po	mo	fo				lo														o
	о	о	бо	по	мо	фо				ло														о
	e	e			me		de	te	ne	le	ge	ke	he				zhe	che	she	re	ze	ce	se	e
	ъ, е				мъ		дъ	тъ	нъ	лъ	гъ	къ	хъ				джъ	чъ	шъ	жъ	дзе	це	се	ъ, е
	ai	ai	bai	pai	mai		dai	tai	nai	lai	gai	kai	hai				zhai	chai	shai		zai	cai	sai	ai
	ай	ай	бай	пай	май		дай	тай	най	лай	гай	кай	хай				джай	чай	шай		дзай	цай	сай	ай
	ei	ei	bei	pei	mei	fei	dei		nei	lei	gei		hei				zhei		shei		zei			ei
	ей	ей	бей	пей	мей	фей	дей		ней	лей	гъй		хъй				джей		шей		дзей			ей
	ao	ao	bao	pao	mao		dao	tao	nao	lao	gao	kao	hao				zhao	chao	shao	rao	zao	cao	sao	ao
	ао	ао	бао	пао	мао		дао	тао	нао	лао	гао	као	хао				джао	чао	шао	жао	дзао	цао	сао	ао
	ou	ou		pou	mou	fou	dou	tou	nou	lou	gou	kou	hou				zhou	chou	shou	rou	zou	cou	sou	ou
	оу	оу		поу	моу	фоу	доу	тоу	ноу	лоу	гоу	коу	хоу				джоу	чоу	шоу	жоу	дзоу	цоу	соу	оу
	an	an	ban	pan	man	fan	dan	tan	nan	lan	gan	kan	han				zhan	chan	shan	ran	zan	can	san	an
	ан	ан	бан	пан	ман	фан	дан	тан	нан	лан	ган	кан	хан				джан, *джен*	чан	шан	жан	дзан	цан	сан	ан
	en	en	ben	pen	men	fen			nen		gen	ken	hen				zhen	chen	shen	ren	zen	cen	sen	en
	ън	ън	бън	пън	мън	фън	ø	ø	нън	ø	гън	кън	хън				джън	чън	шън	жън	дзън	цън	сън	ън
	ang	ang	bang	pang	mang	fang	dang	tang	nang	lang	gang	kang	hang				zhang	chang	shang	rang	zang	cang	sang	ang
	анг	анг	банг	панг	манг	фанг	данг	танг	нанг	ланг	ганг	канг	ханг				джанг, *джон*	чанг	шанг	жанг	дзанг	цанг	санг	анг
	eng	eng	beng	peng	meng	feng	deng	teng	neng	leng	geng	keng	heng				zheng	cheng	sheng	reng	zeng	ceng	seng	eng
	ънг	ънг	бънг	пънг	мънг	фънг	дън(г)	тън(г)	нънг	лън(г)	гънг	кънг	хънг				джънг	чънг	шънг	жънг	дзънг	цънг	сънг	ънг
	er																							
	ър, ар																							

		Инициали																						
		ø	**b**	**p**	**m**	**f**	**d**	**t**	**n**	**l**	**g**	**k**	**h**	**j**	**q**	**x**	**zh**	**ch**	**sh**	**r**	**z**	**c**	**s**	
			б	**п**	**м**	**ф**	**д**	**т**	**н**	**л**	**г**	**к**	**х**	**дз**	**ц**	**с, ш**	**дж**	**ч**	**ш**	**ж**	**дз**	**ц**	**с**	
	i	yi	bi	pi	mi		di	ti	ni	li				ji	qi	xi	zhi	chi	shi	ri	zi	ci	si	i
Серия	и, ъ	и	би	пи	ми		ди	ти	ни	ли				дзи	ци	си	джи	чи	ши	жи	дзъ	цъ	съ	и, ъ
„i"	ia	ya								lia				jia	qia	xia								ia
финали		я								ля				дзя	ця	ся								я
	io	yo																						io
		йо																						йо
	ie	ye	bie	pie	mie		die	tie	nie	lie				jie	qie	xie								ie
	иѐ	йѐ	биѐ	пиѐ	миѐ		диѐ	тиѐ	ниѐ	лиѐ				дзиѐ	циѐ	сиѐ, ше								иѐ
	iao	yao	biao	piao	miao		diao	tiao	niao	liao				jiao	qiao	xiao								iao
	яо	яо	бяо	пяо	мяо		дяо	тяо	няо	ляо				дзяо	цяо	сяо								яо
	iu	you			miu		diu		niu	liu				jiu	qiu	xiu								iu
	ѝу	йоу			мѝу		дѝу		нѝу	лѝу				дзѝу	цѝу	сѝу								ѝу
	ian	yan	bian	pian	mian		dian	tian	nian	lian				jian	qian	xian								ian
	иѐн	йен	биѐн	пиѐн	миѐн		диѐн	тиѐн	ниѐн	лиѐн				дзиѐн	циѐн	сиѐн								иѐн
	in	yin	bin	pin	min				nin	lin				jin	qin	xin								in
	ин	ин	бин	пин	мин		ø	ø	нин	лин				дзин	чин, цин	син, шин								
	iang	yang							niang	liang				jiang	qiang	xiang								iang
		ян(г)							нян(г)	лян(г)				дзян(г)	цян(г)	сян(г)								ян(г)
	ing	ying	bing	ping	ming		ding	ting	ning	ling				jing	qing	xing								ing
	инг	инг	бинг	пинг	минг		дин(г)	тин(г)	нинг	линг				дзинг	чинг, цинг	синг, шинг								инг

												Инициали												
		Ø	b	p	m	f	d	t	n	l	g	k	h	j	q	x	zh	ch	sh	r	z	c	s	
			б	п	м	ф	д	т	н	л	г	к	х	дз	ц	с, ш	дж	ч	ш	ж	дз	ц	с	
	u	wu	bu	pu	mu	fu	du	tu	nu	lu	gu	ku	hu				zhu	chu	shu	ru	zu	cu	su	u
Серия	у	у	бу	пу	му	фу	ду	ту	ну	лу	гу	ку	ху				джу	чу	шу	жу	дзу	цу	су	у
„u"	ua	wa									gua	kua	hua				zhua	chua	shua					ua
финали	уà	уà									гуà	куà	хуà				джуà	чуà	шуà					уà
	uo	wo					duo	tuo	nuo	luo	guo	kuo	huo				zhuo	chuo	shuo	ruo	zuo	cuo	suo	uo
	уò	уò					дуò	туò	нуò	луò	гуò	куò	хуò				джуò	чуò	шуò	жуò	дзуò	цуò	суò	уò
	uai	wai									guai	kuai	huai				zhuai	chuai	shuai					uai
	уàй	уàй									гуàй	куàй	хуàй				джуàй	чуàй	шуàй					уàй
	ui	wei					dui	tui			gui	kui	hui				zhui	chui	shui	rui	zui	cui	sui	ui
	уèй, уй	уèй, уй					дуèй, дуй	туèй, туй			гуèй, гуй	куèй, куй	хуèй				джуèй, джуй	чуèй, чуй	шуèй, шуй	жуèй, жуй	дзуèй, дзуй	цуèй, цуй	суèй, суй	уèй, уй
	uan	wan					duan	tuan	nuan	luan	guan	kuan	huan				zhuan	chuan	shuan	ruan	zuan	cuan	suan	uan
	уан	уан					дуàн	туàн	нуàн	луàн	гуàн	куàн	хуàн				джуàн	чуàн	шуàн	жуàн	дзуàн	цуàн	суàн	уàн
	un	wen					dun	tun	nun	lun	gun	kun	hun				zhun	chun	shun	run	zun	cun	sun	un
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Dramaturgical Elements of the Traditional Storytelling in Pu Songling's *Fang Wenshu*

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Abstract

Adaptations of the most popular tales are often used in the works of classical Chinese playwrights and storytellers. This paper attempts to shed light on the interaction of the two broad categories (drama and epic) in classical Chinese literature and focuses on dramaturgical elements of Pu Songling's lesser-known novella entitled Fang Wenshu. Drawing parallels between plays and prose writings of the 17th century the study examines the elements, which help in dramatizing key situations. The text of Fang Wenshu is a good example of the late zhiguai and chuanqi stories and demonstrates the complex interaction of popular genres of literature.

Keywords: Classical Chinese literature, short story, zhiguai, chuanqi, dramaturgy

Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) with his collection of stories *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 gained recognition of posterity[1]. Stories based on the traditions of *zhiguai* 志怪 and *chuanqi* 傳奇 type storytelling not only represent a significant part of Chinese short story

[1] *Liaozhai zhiyi* was not a recognized work in the contemporary literature. Its assessment was controversial and questionable even a long time after the author's death, it was not until the 19th century that its significance began to be recognized. For more on this topic, see Zeitlin, Judith T. *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale*. (Stanford University Press, 1993); Barr, Allan. "Novelty, Character, and Community in Zhang Chao's Yu Chu xinzhi" In: *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature*. 2006: 282.

literature[2], but it is a manifestation of the author's consciousness and dramaturgical sense. In addition, it should be noted that by the 17th century the popularity of drama performances increased significantly, which also contributed to the appearance of structural-dramaturgical elements in his prose works. The linearity of the storytelling is often broken by changes in space and time and by new ways of forming characters.

The stories of *Liaozhai zhiyi* also differ in their themes, structure, and length[3]. These differences are likely to be related to changes in the author's conception of writing and in the constant reinterpretation of the 'strange'[4]. Pu Songling was one of the most dedicated observers and critics of society of his time, and as a conscious scholar, he also undertook to record these observations. He personally experienced the contradictions inherent in the spirituality and the reality of his epoch, and in his stories, he magnifies the relentless reality in contrast to the Confucian idealism and promises[5].

In addition to simple-plot-stories, there are also short stories in the collection that show a more complex structure, feature complex characters[6], and express uncertainty and relativity of bipolar values such as good and evil[7]. One of these works is *Fang Wenshu* 《房文淑》, which is the 488th story of the collection. Here the elements

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[2] Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881–1836) in his *A short history of the Chinese short story* Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe 《中國小說史略》, released in 1930, stated that *Strange stories of a small library room* Liaozhai zhiyi 《聊齋誌異》 are "*zhiguai* stories written in the style of *chuanqi*" 用傳奇法，而以志怪 and that "descriptions are detailed, structure is clear, according to the rules of *chuanqi*, uses the tools of *zhiguai* in a variety of forms, as seen in the previous examples.", 描寫委曲，敘次井然，用傳奇法，而以志怪，如在目前 (all translations are the author's).

[3] Barr 1984: 525.

[4] Barr 1985: 157–158.

[5] Průšek draws attention to Pu Songling's ambivalent status as a writer, in which sympathy with the masses and literary distancing are emphasized at the same time (Průšek 1970: 95; Průšek 1970: 109).

[6] Judith Zeitlin's monograph focuses on Pu Songling's longer-length short stories. The complex plot and varied characters allow more room for interpretation of the *chuanqi* texts (Zeitlin 1993: 11–12).

[7] See Allan Barr's study, which compares early and later stories (Barr 1985: 158–160).

of the surrealistic carry most of the paradoxes of real life, presented to the readers by means of classic dramatic situations. Before we attempt to analyze the dramaturgical tools employed in the stories, it is worth reviewing what acting traditions are present in the Chinese literature of the 17th century, what dramatic issues attracted the audience who primarily was after entertainment and not literary experience.

Dramaturgy and popular topics of the 17th century's play

In the early ages of drama, performances did not rely on pre-written texts, the storytellers used the routine learned in different plays on the stage, their excellent memory, and their ability to improvise. The practice of the written forms became more indispensable due to the growing number of pieces, and with the popularity of drama performances, the number of plays also increased. If the text of a play was produced in its final form, or a specific person could be named as its author, this indicated the attainment of the literary status for the work. This process achieved its peak in the 16th century[8], then in the next century, edition of anthologies as an attestation of the literary value of the collected works. At the same time, the increasing number of dramatic works, which were no longer necessarily written for stage performance, could be reached by the readership. Just as there was acting without written pieces, there was drama literature without performances.

In summary, the drama works were based on well-known life situations and performed in an improvisational manner. The plays were honed to perfection during the performances, and the primary expectation for them was the ability of innovation, which in some cases also ensured literary immortality for the works. Old popular stories,

[8] *Zaju* 雜劇 is a predominantly short, dramatic genre that emerged in the North by the middle of the 13th century and reached its heyday by the middle of the 15th century. *Chuanqi* is a longer form (not identical to the prose genre discussed above) that spread from the *xiwen* 戲文 in the South by the 14th century and reached its completion in the 16th–17th centuries. Both forms of drama evolved from an earlier and simpler tradition of acting, of which hardly any written evidence remain.

situations and characters were staged in renewed form, according to the literary taste and expectations of the times or published in printed version with reworked text. Dramaturgical elements which granted popularity and acceptability of the pieces can also be recognized in prose works dealing with similar themes from different sources[9].

In general, the most common conflict in dramatic situations of the plays is aroused by moral crisis, the battle between ideals and reality, which is typically formulated in inner dilemmas that cannot cope with social expectations. Figures of both drama and short story are common people, who revolt against social rules based on Confucianism and elitism. Depiction of the characters always represents a deep confrontation with the moral issues of the historic period: social values and the limitations of individual freedom. These literary works aim to demonstrate the firmness of the Confucian value system, but at the same time to explore ways to break the strict rules. Monotony of the traditional stories of decent young officials and beautiful prostitutes turned into exciting social criticism by presenting plenty of extraordinary events, which broke the framework of the predictable outcome of the plot. The Confucian worldview, which focuses only on *here* and *now*, seems to be broken as well, and the desire to conform to something superior takes its place[10].

Thus, the best-known pieces of drama literature drew their themes from the popular genre of storytelling and acting at the marketplace and followed a similar path of development as the grand epic genres did. Before drama became a favorite activity among the scholars, through whose opinion the epoch could be expressed, had to go through the different degrees of canonization for the popular literary genres[11]. The heroes and their adventures mentioned in his-

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[9] "At least from the sixteenth century onward, moreover, it was a quite common practice to perform highlights from longer plays that might feature only a single player. Such single scenes, then, were often filled out to make them into independent program items." (Idema 2001: 786). Performances of this type were very close to public readings, which could then lead to a clear dramatization of the stories (Idema 2001: 787).

[10] By embracing the philosophy of Buddhism and Daoism, neo-Confucianism served to complete this process.

[11] Only incomplete data are available on the creators of dramatic works from

torical records, or even the unusual stories of ordinary people, have become recurring and seemingly inexhaustible sources of inspiration for popular literature, and literary circles have also favored these themes in their works composed in Classical Chinese language[12].

The process of dramatization of prose texts, on the one hand, drew attention to the dramatic characters and situations inherent in the prose works, on the other, enriched the texts of prose with the means of drama writing[13]. Writers of classical prose works, and plays have continuously transformed and reworked the most popular stories, based on important issues of the traditions of Chinese history and culture[14].

Dramaturgical features of the short story entitled *Fang Wenshu*

The title of the work can be interpreted both as the key figure of the story – the name of a mysterious woman – and as a talking name. It contains the values which, according to the expectations of the time, the ideal woman should embody, e.g., home *fang* 房, education *wen* 文 and charming appearance *shu* 淑[15].

The author transforms the social roles into dramatic figures, and within the human relationship the crisis of values is expressed with

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the Yuan-era, it seems that many of scholars have chosen this genre as the basis for their literary activity. However, the names of the authors, their place of origin or title of the work are rarely mentioned in the records. Drama writing was initially used to express anti-Mongolian literary attitudes (Idema 2001: 811).

[12] Hu 1983: 68–69.

[13] Zeitlin compares the popular *chuanqi* pieces of 17th century playwrights Hong Sheng and Kong Shangren to Pu Songling's short stories in response to the Ming-Qing power transition (Zeitlin 2007: 131–180).

[14] "(…) we have some early Ch'ing scripts for a local genre of theater that are traditionally attributed to the short story writer P'u Sung-ling. (…) As is the case with the many prosimetric ballads credited to him, it is very difficult at this remove in time to determine the reliability of these ascriptions." (Idema 2001: 838).

[15] "This is not to say, that men never die for love, or never materialize as ghosts in Chinese literature, but the male ghosts are propelled by motives other than sexual desire; female ghosts may also appear for a variety of reasons and are not always restored to life, but when they do revive, it is almost always in erotic context." For more see Zeitlin 2007: 14.

elemental force[16]. The story begins with the presentation of a typical life situation of an official in which the relationship between the husband, Deng Chengde from Kaifeng, and his wife (surname Lou) becomes subordinate to the command of social empowerment, livelihood problems and job search – as in many cases – leading to the loosening or breakdown of family ties. Husband's office job makes him move far away, leaving his wife alone. It is revealed that they have no children, the greatest value in a society based on Confucian views. The woman lives her life doubly discriminated: the lack of a child may be a ground for divorce. The husband finds a new companion and a boy is born out of this new relationship. In this regard, the writer gives a typical and realistic picture of his time in which marriage and marital relationship have as their utmost goal the perpetuation of the family line. The new affair shows that concessions in a patriarchal society are made to the husband and stigmatization is due to the wife[17]. The husband is trying his luck in Yanzhou in hope that he can get accommodation and a suitable job. He accepts an offer from an unknown, beautiful woman after starting a love affair with her[18]. They find each other in unusual circumstances – an empty Buddhist monastery – so since the beginning the couple's life together is bound to surreal conditions. From that moment on, the feeling of alienation intensifies and reaches its extreme. The first dialogue is related to the meeting of Deng and Fang, within the walls of the empty monastery. With the enigmatic nature of the dialogue, Pu Songling emphasizes the mystical and fateful aspect of the situation. The young woman arrives at the offering at a time when nobody is in the sanctuary, according to her own confession, avoiding the crowd

[16] Barr 1985: 182.

[17] Keith McMahon's book *Polygamy and Sublime Passion: Sexuality in China on the Verge of Modernity* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2016) addresses the links between social status and polygamy. The author notes that the status of a successful man is strengthened by the support of a large family, including the presence of many concubines. McMahon examines late 18th century prose literature in two types of gender relations, in the eyes of husbands and their concubines, and between men and courtesans.

[18] Extraordinary beauty is one of the distinguishing features of ghost beings in classic stories (Zeitlin 2007: 24).

and the company of strangers. Deng makes a joke: "But there is no man in the monastery, who would bother you?", and she replies:

> *If there's no man in the monastery, are you a ghost?* 寺中無人，君是鬼耶![19]

At the end of the sacrificial offering Deng makes approaches to the girl, who is reluctant but does not refuse, and even offers to live together. However, Deng's words do not testify of heavenly happiness, but rather his real human fears awake. It is not the remorse for his wife that disturbs him, but the possibility that he may commit a sin with an illegal relationship. However, the woman reassures him that he has nothing to fear because she lives alone and has no relatives. A beautiful woman and a lonely man as a couple was one of the literary stereotypes of the time. It simultaneously presents a fallen human being who is unable to resist worldly temptations and the all-knowing and the manipulative forces embodied in the unrecognizable, unpredictable, and therefore cautionary mysteries of femininity. Pu Songling builds up the basic conflict of his short story from the most elementary values, amplifies the tensions between male and female roles, and immediately after that sharpens the conflict by outlining the love triangle. After the realistic introduction of the story, however, a significant event changes the plot. The author increases tension and contrast without letting the rivals confront each other, the only point of conflict seems to be the husband. Later, however, the hierarchy of the main characters changes somewhat: the husband is no longer the main character. The new companion admits that she is a spiritual being and wishes to leave him and take the child with her. After a long time of living together, the woman expresses dissatisfaction with the breakup. Ironically, almost mockingly, she rejects Deng, who offers to move back to his old home together:

> *Thank you very much, but I couldn't smile in humility and if my lady raised his eyebrows, to be a servant and bother with a crying child.* 多謝，多謝！我不能脅肩餡笑，仰大婦眉睫，為人作乳媼，呱呱者難堪也！

[19] All translations in this essay are mine.

Fang Wenshu and his son eventually leave Deng. She gives no further explanation for her action, and after disappearing without a trace without even opening the door, it becomes clear to Deng that the woman is not a human being:

> *Deng jumped up nervously, followed her to question, but the door hadn't opened yet, the woman had become a fog in front of his eyes.* 鄧急起，追問之，門未啟，而女已杳.

Pu Songling does not describe the circumstances in details, only expresses in a single word what happened. The word for 'disappearance' *yao* 杳 (meaning 'dark and quiet', 'without form and sound') is also a characterization of Fang Wenshu. The author achieves a dramatic effect by expressing a deficiency that is the opposite of all that is human[20].

Pu Songling leaves this thread loose and without much ado the reader finds the woman with the child in her arms knocking on the door of the solitary wife's home. The appearance of the baby evokes strong emotions in Mrs. Lou, who immediately exposes the greatest pain of her life, expressing it in a restrained sentence:

> *I can't have one!* 未亡人遂無此物!

Fang uses the wife's emotional dependence and to express her power behaves extremely manipulative to the wife. Fang hands over the child to Lou, even provides a milk-freezing medicine to ensure the mother-child relationship as much as possible. Lou feels weird about the situation, but her thoughts are filled with a long-awaited sense of motherhood, and that overcomes any further doubts. However, Fang and Lou's rivalry is working in the background, the fear of losing the child, makes the wife's life even more difficult. The world

[20] The presentation of the supernatural on the stage became a dramaturgical task as the stories became popular. Judith Zeitlin in her study of a film-reworked version of the ghost stories presented on the opera stage discusses the tools that, in addition to modern technical solutions, are suitable for perceiving the disembodied immaterial presence or even the traceless disappearance. "Traditionally, ghosts were strongly associated with wind, as something that can be felt and heard but not seen, and as a source of unpredictable and freakishly destructive power." (Zeitlin 2010: 226; 223–226).

of spirits intervenes again, providing help, but Fang, being involved in the story herself, cannot remain indifferent. She takes advantage of superiority to put the woman to the test. There's no dialogue in this part, Lou listens and dreads. Only the narrator depicts the visible changes of her face (her face blushes, she does not dare move or turn towards Fang), how desperately she tries to defend herself. Fang, on the other hand, says a monologue, which triggers the wife's emotional ripple. Fang behaves as if she had come for the child. But when she tries to approach the baby, it cries and turns away from her.

> *Did you, sister, complain about the difficulty of leaving my son here? This kid doesn't recognize his mother! There is not as much money as it would not be worth it, but here I leave the money, let's write an agreement.* 姊告訴艱難，我遂置兒不索耶？犢子不認其母矣！此百金不能易，可將金來，署立券保.

Fang finally softens, but considering her earlier sentences, Lou is still waiting in despair.

> *Sister, you don't have to worry, I came for the sake of the boy. Since I left, I thought you, sister, had no money to raise the child, so I collected more than ten gold*[21]. 姊勿懼，妾來正為兒也。別後慮姊無豢養之資，因多方措十餘金來.

Pu Songling's *Fang Wenshu* jolts the reader out of the medium of everyday reality by changes of time and venue, unlike in a linear structure. The first change of dimensions is the woman revealing that she is a spiritual being. The next turn is the surrealistic climax: the acquiescing of the woman to her fate to bring up her husband's child. Human relations were regulated by the Confucian moral laws, but the patriarchal order placed the women in a handicapped position in respect to their social roles. The crisis of Confucianism could only be resolved from an external analytic point. Having critically outlined the reality, the author leads the reader into a surrealistic, and supernatural dimension, suggested by the intervention of the spirits.

[21] Jin 金 means 'monetary unit' here (see also Gan Bao: Soushen ji 干宝: 搜神记). Not to break the text's literary style I have translated it as *gold* instead of *money* in this latter case.

Underlying the problems is a grave value crisis in which the conflicts are so deeply rooted in behavioural norms that they cannot be solved with human will or power. The core of the supernatural phenomena can be discerned in elements of the realm of popular beliefs linked to Daoism. The realm of spirits is working and guiding human life invisibly and often inextricably. Consequently, the omnipotence of the moral norms regulating human relationships can be strongly doubted. The focus of human life cannot be directed exclusively at sustaining of hierarchical order: it must be superseded.

Pu Songling's story sheds light on tendencies that the traditional Confucian ideology ignored. As a chronicler of strange stories, he redefined the concepts of reality and the supernatural, and formulated his social criticism in plots of surrealistic events. The traditional human relations which should be the firm foundation of the community are dysfunctional. Trust and fidelity are missing, so these Confucian virtues cannot serve to prevent conflict situations. Pu Songling's world was, however, burdened with lots of smaller and greater conflicts. The husband does not only leave his wife, but also chooses a new companion whom he does not really know (an extreme formulation of this character is that she is a spiritual being). Women are forced to succumb to the moral expectations, which put severe constraints on them and force them into situations which, if unaided, they cannot rid themselves of. In the relationship of the two women the superiority of the spirit is unambiguous: she puts the wife to the test and keeps her in emotional tension at her will[22]. In the closing part of the story, after three years the husband returns home to his wife, then all that has happened since their separation is revealed. From the conversation between Deng and Lou, only the key phrases are included in the work, these sentences are related to the child. The husband is interested in the child's identity:

> *He asked: What is his name? She replied, "His mother called him Yansheng."*[23] *The husband was shocked and exclaimed:*

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[22] In his book Keith McMahon distinguishes between the polygamy in China and the phenomenon known in the West, as the former results in a hierarchical relationship between wife and concubines (McMahon 2010: 3).

[23] The name literally means 'born in Yanzhou'.

“This is my son indeed!” 問：“何名？”曰：“渠母呼之兗生。”生驚曰：“此真吾子也！

Eventually, the child remains in the care of the father and the childless woman, thus the family idyll becomes complete, the spirit has completed her mission and returns to the realm of spirits. By the end of the story, the differences dissolve, the couple recognizes the importance of the heavenly intervention. The author concludes his work with a turn of folk tales composed in concise sentences:

They lived together in prosperity and happiness. They hoped the woman would come again, but lost track of her. 益共欣慰。猶望女至，而終渺矣。

We are right in concluding – as Pu Songling did – that only a “miracle” can help in this world. The cause for the crisis of the allegedly rational Confucian ideology must be sought outside of it. Condemned as superstition, the religious beliefs in spirits, supernatural power that are kept alive in people’s thinking add subtle shades to the world view, propagated by the official ideology and help find a new position for human beings in the world.

Concise dialogues between the characters play a key role in the storytelling, summarizing the doubts and uncertainties inherent in the dramatic situations. Of all three types of relationships in the love triangle, the most important messages are uttered in the form of dialogue, thus the author raises the significance of the short story with dramatized parts in the prose text.

The interactions between the characters, the development of their conflicts, makes it almost inevitable that the characters themselves will confess their thoughts, thus giving a greater autonomy to Pu Songling’s heroes than if we would rely only on the narrator’s omniscience. In this respect, the differences between the position of the celestial immortal and the mortal on earth are blurred. The character of the spirit being is mixed with human traits, while the earthly creatures are forced into superhuman efforts. It should be noted, however, that only Fang Wenshu can express her emotions. The emotional arousal of the other two characters is characterized by the narrator, their anxiety does not allow them to be open and freely express their fears, anger, sadness, or rage. Their frustration undoubtedly stems from their state of compulsion, in which the reader can recognize not only individual destinies but also, in a broader sense, deep-rooted social problems. Under the given conditions, the framework of their lives is determined by constraints and conventions.

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Трансферът на идентичност като речеви акт в Каушитаки Упанишад (2.15)

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The Transfer of Identity as a Speech Act in *Kauṣītaki upaniṣad* 2.15

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Abstract

The current paper is focused on Kauṣītaki upaniṣad 2.15, which is interpreted in the perspective of the Speech act theory. This approach to the Upaniṣadic text, composed in the tradition of Ṛgveda, aims at pointing out of some key features of the discourse in the Upaniṣads, related to their high communicative and performative capacity. The paragraph describes an initiation ritual, in which the elderly father “embeds” his own identity in his son, and after that becomes a hermit or keeps living at home, but now under the protection and authority of the new head of the family. Analysing the text, I try to prove that the identity of the son is constructed entirely **verbally** *by exchanging formulaic phrases between father and son, according to a predetermined text scheme, which possesses the main characteristics of* **a frame** *(according to van Dijke), incorporating a sequence of speech acts with a clear illocutionary goal.*

Keywords: Kauṣītaki upaniṣad, initiation ritual, speech act, performativity, frame, illocutionary goal

Във фокуса на настоящия анализ е *Каушитаки упанишад* (Kauṣītaki upaniṣad)[1] (2.15.)[2], в чийто текст се описва инициационен ритуал, при който възрастният баща „вгражда“ своята идентичност в сина си, след което става отшелник или остава да живее в дома си, но вече под закрилата и властта на новия глава на семейството. Разглеждайки параграфа в контекста на теорията за речевия акт[3], се опитам да докажа, че новата идентичност на сина, се конструира изцяло **вербално** чрез размяната на формулни изрази между баща и син по предварително зададена текстова схема, които имат основните характеристики на перформативи, чието изричане е равнозначно на извършване на конкретни действия. Чрез тях двамата участници в речевия акт осъществяват своите интенции и по този начин актуализират собственото си положение и статут. Анализираният параграф от *Каушитаки упанишад* е един от многото примери, които онагледяват и аргументират тезата, че дискурсът в Упанишадите[4] се отличава с подчертан комуникативно-перформативен потенциал, целенасочено разгръщан с оглед на постигане на стратегическите цели на

[1] Текстът е създаден в традицията на *Ригведа* (Ṛgveda) в средите на жреческия род на Каушитаките. Той е включен в книгите (3–6) на „горската книга“ (āraṇyaka) на същите жреци, която пък от своя страна е част от техния ритуалистичен текст *Каушитаки брахмана* (Kauṣītaki brāhmaṇa).

[2] Текстът на Упанишадата е достигнал до нас в множество варианти, в които последователността на параграфите е различна, защото има пропуснати такива. В повечето манускрипти този параграф се явява петнадесети, но в други е четиринадесети. Вж. транслитерирания текст в базата данни TITUS (http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/upanisad/kausup/kausu.htm).

[3] Теорията на речевите актове възниква в руслото на аналитичната философия. Началото на разработването на теорията за речевите актове е поставено от оксфордския професор Джон Остин в лекционния му курс, посветен на Уилям Джеймс и изнесен в Харвардския университет през 1955 г., който е публикуван през 1962 г. под заглавието *How to Do Things with Words* (*Как с думи се вършат неща*). Преди това, в периода 1942–54 г. Остин изнася в Оксфорд всяка година лекции под надслов „Думи и дела“. Теорията преминава на един следващ етап в своето развитие в трудовете на Джон Сърл, американски философ, който разработва темата за речевите актове през 60-те и 70-те на XX в. Своя принос към развитието на теорията дават Питър Стросън, Х. П. Грайс и др.

[4] По-подробно за Упанишадите вж. Братоева 2012 и Братоева § Русева 2018.

тези текстове, замислени като „път на знанието“ (jñāna mārga), което да преформатира радикално мисленето и същността на този, който е тръгнал по този път[5].

Речеви акт и перформатив

Преди да пристъпя към анализа на конкретния параграф от *Каушитаки упанишад*, ще се спра накратко на най-съществените тези на теорията, която използвам като методологична основа като открoя тези сред тях, които имат пряко отношение към предложената интерпретация.

Теорията за речевия акт е един от разделите на лингвистичната прагматика, в чийто фокус са различните начини на употреба на езика. В нея изказването се изучава от гледна точка на неговата илокутивна функция, тоест от гледна точка на комуникативните намерения на говорещия субект. Като изхожда от това, че основна единица на „езиковото общуване между хората е илокутивният акт“ Сърл (1975) въвежда понятията „илокуция“, „илокутивен тип“ „илокутивна цел“ като съставящи илокутивната сила на изказването. Съгласно неговата класификация илокутивните цели на изказването са пет: **асертивна** (представяща ситуацията, такава каквато е съгласно пропозиционното съдържание), **комисивна** (задължаваща говорещия субект да предприеме някакво бъдещо действие), **директивна** (заставяща слушателя да направи нещо), **декларативна** (случваща онова, което е назовано в речевото твърдение чрез самото му изричане) и **експресивна** (изразяваща определено емоционално и/или психологическо отношение спрямо съдържанието на пропозицията). Според Сърл илокутивният акт „е включване в ръководена от правила форма на поведение“. По нататък той пише: „Ще защитавам позицията, че неща като задаване на въпроси или изказване на твърдения са ръководени от правила по същия начин, по който правенето на удар в база в бейзбола или местенето на офицер в шаха са ръководени от правила“ (1965: 116). Сърл различава два вида правила – регулативни и конститутивни. Ре-

[5] По тази тема вж. Братоева 2015; Братоева 2017; Братоева 2019.

гулативните правила регулират предварително съществуваща дейност, чието съществуване е логически независимо от съществуването на правилата. Конститутивните правила конституират (и регулират) дейност, чието съществуване е логически зависимо от правилата (пак там).

Теоретичните постановки на Сърл относно илокутивния акт са надградени над идеите на Остин за „речевия акт“ – основен концепт в неговата теория за природата на езика, в която изказването се интерпретира в различна от чисто лингвистичната перспектива. Остин поставя акцента върху въздействието, което то може или трябва да упражни върху своя адресат в рамките на комуникацията между говорещия субект и неговия слушател(и). Участвайки в речевия акт, говорещият субект (или езиковата личност) сякаш създава света за себе си и за своя събеседник като го въвлича в него и по този начин осъществява своите намерения (интенции) и цели. Следователно, от първостепенно значение в речевия акт е неговото прагматично съдържание и съответно резултатът, до който може да доведе то. В тази връзка е концептуализирана и категорията „перформатив“ – изказване, равнопоставено на действие или постъпка, тоест перформативното действие се осъществява със самия речев акт. Перформативът се опира на социални конвенции затова има нормативни за дадения социум последствия. До голяма степен неговата функция е сходна на ритуалната. Остин дефинира перформативите като изказвания, „които изобщо „не описват“, нито „съобщават“, нито констатират каквото и да било, не са „било истинни или било неистинни“; и произнасянето на които представлява или е част от извършването на действие, което, както казахме, в нормални условия не би било описвано като казване – или „просто казване“ на нещо“ (Остин 1996: 16). Перформативността или способността за перформативна употреба е особеност на някои глаголи. Бенвенист (1974), който описва перформатива в своята теория на дискурса, посочва, че той обикновено съдържа глагол в 1. л. ед. ч. сегашно време, изявително наклонение, деятелен залог. При перформатива винаги има съвпадение на времето на говорене и времето на действие.

От перформативна гледна точка речевият акт може да бъде разглеждан, според ван Дайк (1981) като **фрейм** („рамка“)[6], на първо място, защото при него „съществува типизирана *последователност от речеви актове*, структура, която има относително конвенционален или „ритуален характер“ – такива като четенето на лекции, проповедите, водене на ежедневен разговор, любовна кореспонденция“ (van Dijk 1981: 2016). По-нататък той акцентира върху това, че речевият акт предполага инкорпорирането в него на определен тип знание за света. Това в най-голяма степен се отнася за „институционализираните речеви актове“ (бракосъчетание, кръщене и прочие). И не на последно място според него, правилното осмисляне на речевите актове изисква познание за „мета-фрейма“, тоест за „общите условия, необходими за осъществяване на резултатно действие“. Ван Дайк изтъква още, че конкретният речеви акт винаги има отношение към минали или бъдещи действия на участниците в комуникацията (говорещ субект и адресат). С други думи, речевият акт е невъзможен, „без знание за това, какво е необходимо, допустимо или възможно в действителния свят“ (пак там).

Перформативността – ключова характеристика на дискурса в Упанишадите

Стъпвайки върху визираните теоретични постановки за същността на речевия акт и перформативността, ще представя спецификата на дискурса в Упанишадите.

Още в началото искам да подчертая, че през последните две-три десетилетия теорията за перформативния речеви акт се прилага успешно в изследването и изясняването на същностните характеристики на ведическия дискурс[7]. Както заявява Томпсън, тази теория би могла да допринесе в значителна степен за освет-

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[6] Терминът е въведен първоначално в изследванията по когнитивна психология и изкуствен интелект.

[7] Вж. Findly 2002; Freedman 2012; Patton 1995; Taber 2002; Thompson 1997; Thompson 1998; Wheelok 2002. Преди това тази теория е използвана успешно от Тамбиа по отношение на ритуалния език (Tambiah 1968; Tambiah 1979).

ляването на ключови особености на ведическия език и неговото функциониране (Thompson1997:21). Подобно е и становището на редица други индолози като Уийлок например, който прилага тази теория при анализа на ведическия ритуален език (Wheelock 2002).

Както вече бе споменато в началото, Упанишадите, заедно с Араняките, се обозначават като *джнанамарга* (jñānamārga, „път на знанието“), за разлика от предходните две категории текстове в свещения канон – Самхита и Брахмана, които са наречени *кармамарга* (karmamārga, „път на [ритуалното] действие“). Упанишадите са продукт на радикална трансформация по отношение на самото разбиране за същността на знанието. Както отбелязва Тапър, знанието вече не се осмисля като свещено откровение, което се контролира единствено посредством ритуала, а като постижимо по пътя на „интуицията, наблюдението и анализа“ (Тапър1994: 307). Според Олденберг дискурсът в Упанишадите придобива „характеристиките на магически процес“, посредством който учителят преобразува духовно своя ученик (Олденберг 1997: 100– 104). Именно поради това диалогът се превръща в основен инструмент за артикулиране на висшата истина и за транслиране на върховното знание. Дискурсът между учител и ученик, тоест между знаещ и незнаещ, се утвърждава не просто като доминантен стилистически формат в тези текстове, той започва да функционира като метод за трансформирането на състоянието на *авидя* (avidyā), тоест на духовно невежество, в състояние на *видя* (vidyā), т.е. на духовно прозрение за природата на абсолютната първосъщност на макро- и микрокосмоса. С други думи, духовните учители и мислители, създатели на тези текстове, са осъзнавали и използвали пълноценно перформативния потенциал на езика[8].

[8] В тази връзка само ще отбележа, че още ведическите поети-жреци, ритуални експерти и граматици са имали дълбоко познание за звука, речта, персонифицирани в богинята Вач (Vāc), почитана като създател на света и живота (РВ, 10. 125), за мантрата и изобщо за ритуалния език като лингвистични инструменти за постигане на металингвистични цели. Особено показателни в този ред на мисли са идеите на мислителите от школата Миманса (Mīmāṃsā), създатели на древноиндийската херменевтика, които интерпретират езика като

Особено интересни от гледна точка на перформативността са части в Упанишадите, които започват с формулния израз „този, който знае така“ (ya evaṃ veda; sa ya evaṃ vidvān; sa ya evaṃvit), който подсказва, че тези части сякаш са целенасочено оформени така, че самото им изричане да е равнозначно на извършване на определено действие. Но техният анализ остава извън обсега на настоящата разработка.

Каушитаки упанишад (2.15)

athātaḥ pitāputrīyaṃ sampradānam iti cācakṣate \ pitā putraṃ preṣyann āhvayati navais tr̥ṇair agāraṃ saṃstīryāgnim upasamādhāyodakumbhaṃ sapātram upanidhāyāhatena vāsasā sampracchannaḥ pitā śete\ etya putra upariṣṭād abhinipadyata indriyair indriyāṇi saṃspr̥śya\ api vāsmā āsīnāyābhimukhāyaiva sampradadyāt \ athāsmai samprayacchati \

vācaṃ me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ vācaṃ te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

prāṇaṃ me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ prāṇaṃ te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

cakṣur me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ cakṣus te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

śrotraṃ me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ śrotraṃ te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

annarasān me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ annarasāṃs te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

karmāṇi me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ karmāṇi te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

sukhaduḥkhe me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ sukhaduḥkhe te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

ānandaṃ ratiṃ prajātiṃ me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ ānandaṃ ratiṃ prajātiṃ te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

ityā me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ ityās te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

mano me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ manas te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

prajñāṃ me tvayi dadhānīti pitā \ prajñāṃ te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

yady u vā upābhigadaḥ syāt samāsenaiva brūyāt prāṇān me tvayi dadhānīti pitā / prāṇāṃs te mayi dadha iti putraḥ \

интенционална дейност и се фокусират именно върху перформативния капацитет на изказването и в определен смисъл споделят идеи, които имат допирни точки с теорията за речевия акт.

atha dakṣiṇāvr̥t prāṅ upaniṣkrāmati / taṃ pitānumantrayate yaśo brahmavarcasaṃ kīrtis tvā juṣatām iti\ athetaraḥ savyam anv aṃsam abhyavekṣate pāṇināntardhāya vasanāntena vā pracchādya svargān lokān kāmān āpnuhīti \

sa yady agadaḥ syāt putrasyaiśvarye pitā vaset pari vā vrajet / yady u vai preyāt tathaivainaṃ samāpayeyur yathā samāpayitavyo bhavati yathā samāpayitavyo bhavati\\

А сега – [ритуалът] баща – син, който се нарича „пренос“. Бащата, готов да си тръгне [от този свят] вика сина [си]. След като застеле със свежа трева дома [си], накладе огън и постави до него купа с вода, бащата ляга, покрит с нова одежда. Синът, след като се приближи, поляга върху него и докосва със [своите] сетива [неговите] сетива или бащата извършва преноса като сяда с лице към него. Тогава бащата му предава [това]:

– Нека аз да положа в теб своята реч! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоята реч! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своя дъх! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоя дъх! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своето зрение! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоето зрение! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своя слух! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоя слух! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своя вкус към храната! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоя вкус към храната! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своите действия! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоите действия! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своите щастие и нещастие! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоите щастие и нещастие! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своите блаженство, любовна страст и потентност! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоите блаженство, любовна страст и потентност! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своята подвижност! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоята подвижност! – [отвръща] синът.–

Нека аз да положа в теб своя разум! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоя разум! – [отвръща] синът.

– Нека аз да положа в теб своята мъдрост! – [казва] бащата.

– Аз полагам в себе си твоята мъдрост! – [отвръща] синът.

– Ако бащата не е в състояние да говори, то нека каже само накратко:

– Нека за да положа в теб своите жизнени сили!

– Аз полагам в себе си твоите жизнени сили! – [отвръща] синът.

След това [синът] се обръща надясно и тръгва на изток, а бащата произнася към него:

– Нека славата, блясъкът на свещеното знание и доброто име са винаги с теб!

А синът поглежда през лявото си рамо към баща си, закрива лицето си с длан или с края на дрехата си и изрича:

– Нека достигнеш до небесните селения и сбъднеш желанията си!

В случай, че бащата оздравее, той трябва или да живее под властта на сина си, или да стане странстващ аскет. Ако обаче се спомине, то тогава те трябва да изпълнят [заупокойните] обреди, които са предписани да бъдат извършени[9].

Анализ на перформативните изказвания в параграфа

В параграфа от *Каушитаки упанишад* е изградена релацията **аз (бащата) – ти (синът)**, която отговаря на посочените по-горе критерии за фрейма на ван Дайк. Този фрейм се вписва в контекста на ведическото разбиране, че бащата постига безсмъртие

[9] Преводът от санскрит на български език е на автора на статията.

в/чрез своя син, защото както е казано в *Шатапатха брахмана* (12.4.3.1), бащата и синът са едно и също нещо. В различни части на сакралните ведически текстове изрично се подчертава, че бащата не просто продължава да живее чрез своя син, но и че по своеобразен начин се ражда наново чрез него. В Упанишадите обаче се внушава, че бащата си гарантира безсмъртие, ако преди смъртта си пренесе в своя наследник не само авторитета и статута си, но и знанието си за истинската същност на човека – Аза (ātmán)[10]. Тоест, зад конкретната перформативна ситуация стои ясно знание за миналите и бъдещи действия на участниците в нея, както и за това, какво е необходимо да се направи.

От съществено значение е и конкретният перформативен контекст, в който се осъществява речевият акт. Чрез разстилането на свежа ритуална трева и разпалването на огъня (Агни) домът се сакрализира, превръща се в ритуално пространство, в което да се случи символичното „умиране" на стария глава на семейството и „раждането" на новия. Купата с вода символизира помазването, освещаването на бъдещия господар на дома. Лягането на бащата на земята, покрит с нова дреха, изобразява метафорично предстоящата му кончина и може да се асоциира с полагането му върху погребалната клада след смъртта. Разполагането на сина над/върху бащата подсказва предстоящото йерархично разместване, но от друга пресъздава трансферния акт – преноса на бащината същност в сина.

Речевият акт между бащата и син в този контекст, който е ядрото на инициацията, може да бъде определен като „типизирана *последователност от речеви актове*", в които доминира подбудителността. Подбудителността се отличава с това, че от една страна ясно изразява волята на адресанта, а от друга – стимулира адресата да действа, тоест цели се определен перлокутивен ефект.

Подбудителните интенции на говорещия субект (бащата) са оформени чрез императивната форма за 1 л. ед. ч. на основния перформативен глагол в параграфа – **dadhāni** (от глаголния корен dhā с основни значения „поставям", „полагам",

[10] Повече за atman вж. в Русева 2012; Русева 2016.

„слагам“, „установявам“, „определям“, „направлявам“, „нося“, „съдържам“). Тук искам да подчертая, че формата за 1 л.ед.ч. повелително наклонение не е особено честотна в езика и пази в себе си по-скоро субюктивни конотации на пожелателност или на бъдещо действие, изявително наклонение. Нейната употреба в параграфа изразява по-ефективно комуникативното въздействие на перформатива и реализира неговата подбудителна функция. Тя показва, че адресантът подканя към определено действие не само адресата, но и самия себе си. Възможни преводи са: „Аз ще положа…..“; „Нека да положа….“, „Искам да положа….“.

В отговора на адресата (сина) ролята на перформатив изпълнява същият глагол, но спрегнат в 1.л. ед. ч. сег. вр., изявително наклонение, медиален залог (ātmanepada, букв. „дума за себе си“) – **dadhe**, граматическа форма, която подчертава, че резултатът /ползата от извършването на назованото действие е за говорещия субект.

Перформативните изказвания в този инициационен ритуал, наречен „пренос“/„трансфер“ (на санск. sampradā*ā*na, което означава още „дар“, „пожертване“, „предаване“, „омъжване“) са от типа **декларативи**. Бащата декларира, че предава/завещава съответната своя сетивна функция на сина си, а синът от своя страна декларира, че я приема/усвоява. Декларативните речеви актове като цяло са част от социално значими събития или действия. В този конкретен случай ритуалът осъществява йерархичното разместване в семейството, което маркира края на живота или активната социална реализация на бащата, чийто социални функции, статут и задължения се поемат от сина. Ритуалът гарантира авторитета на сина като глава на семейството и респективно – благоденствието на бащата в Отвъдното или постигането на върховната сотериологична цел чрез аскетична практика.

Серията от перформативни изказвания е изградена по модела: **Нека аз да положа в теб своя x (x me tvayi dadh*ā*ni)** ↔***Аз полагам в себе си твоя x*** (**x te mayi dadhe**). Употребата в локатив ед.ч. на личните местоимения „аз“ и „ти“ – **mayi** *и* **tvayi**, както и на кратките генетивни форми **me** (mama, „мой“) и **te** (tava, „твой“) допълнително усилват идеята за това, че нещо, което е „свое“ за бащата се превръща в „свое“ за сина и **се премества** от едно местонахождение в друго. По този начин, чрез групираните по две симетрични изказвания се постига максимална перформативна ефективност.

Чрез назоваването на сетивните функции, способности и качества, които преминават от бащата в сина се изгражда новият Аз на сина. Тоест новата му идентичност и социален статут се конструират изцяло „текстуално“ в ритмичното повтаряне на перформативния предикат. В изброяването на преносните сетива и характеристики на бащата има известно градиране като на финала се осъществява преноса на мъдростта, интелигентността (prajñā). Санскритската дума prajñā обозначава върховното познание, прозрението, което в контекста на основните идеи на Упанишадите препраща към познанието за Аза (ātmán) и Абсолюта (bráhman).

Показателно е предписанието в края на последователността от речеви актове, съгласно което, ако бащата не е в състояние да говори, то достатъчно ефективно би било да провъзгласи само преноса на жизнените сили (prāṇān). Това предписание препраща към сходен параграф в Брихадараняка упанишад, в който е казано, че когато бащата си тръгва от този свят, пренася жизнените си сили в сина си. А синът може да го освободи, ако е сторил нещо неправилно, да го утвърди на този свят и да му осигури безсмъртие (1.5.17).

След като бащата и синът окончателно са променили своите идентичности, те тръгват в различни посоки – синът на изток, посоката, която се асоциира с изгрева/“раждането“ на слънцето и светлината, тоест с пълноценния живот тук, на Земята; а бащата – към Отвъдното. Последните две перформативни изказвания, адресирани от бащата към сина („Нека славата, блясъкът на свещеното знание и доброто име са винаги с теб!“) и съответно, от сина към бащата („Нека достигнеш до небесните селения и сбъднеш желанията си!“) са пример за **експресиви** в типизирана речева ситуация на сбогуване и благославяне.

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Innovation and Tradition in the Detective Stories of Yu Tianfen

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Abstract

Yu Tianfen 俞天憤 *(1881–1937) is the author of detective stories of the early 20th century. The best known are two of his collections of detective stories published in 1918 – "New Chinese Detective Stories" and "Conversations on Chinese Detective Fiction" – as well as two social novels "A Man in the Mirror" (1916) and "Stele of Unhappy Lot" (1916–1917). Yu strove to write stories that would convey the Chinese flavor; he was significantly influenced by the culture of his native region, which reflected in his detective stories. Western detectives undoubtedly also influenced his work. Yu Tianfen tried to give the genre, classic for the West and relatively new for China, an original visual form that, like the first-person narration, was a novelty even for the West.*

Keywords: Chinese literature, detective prose, Chinese detective stories, Yu Tianfen, Chinese literature of the twentieth century

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when China collided with Western civilization, a boom in translations from Western languages began in the country: Chinese translators rendered not only scientific works, but also fiction. Detective stories and crime fiction were in great demand among readers. Later, detective translators began to try their hand at writing works of this genre. At first, these were imitations, but then they reached a new level combining the Western form of the detective story with Chinese content, Chinese problems, etc. The first translation of a Western detective is considered to be the translation of Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Adventure of the Naval

Treaty” translated by Zhang Kunde 張坤德. It was released in 1896, which became an important milestone in the development of the detective genre in China.

The collection of stories “The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes” was translated into Chinese by the famous writer Cheng Xiaoqing 程小青. He also created a cycle of works about the Chinese detective Huo Sang – “The Adventures of Huo Sang” *Huo Sang tan’an* 《霍桑探案》, which subsequently had a significant influence on the work of Chinese writers of the coming generations.

Another famous writer, author of detective stories at the beginning of the 20th century, was Lu Dan’an 陸澹安. In 1924, his stories were published in the “Collection of Detective Stories about Li Fei” *Li Fei tan’an ji* 《李飛探案集》, the main character of which was a private detective named Li Fei, who had a sharp mind, ingenuity, and the ability to pay attention to seemingly insignificant details.

Another famous writer of the first half of the 20th century, who wrote in the genre of detective story, was Sun Liaohong 孫了紅. The hero of his works is Lu Ping, who in many ways resembles Arsène Lupine from Maurice Leblanc’s works. Sun Liaohong’s novels have a detective form, but they are called “anti-detectives”, because the main character is not a policeman, but a thief, on whose behalf the story is conducted in most cases. His works are distinguished by intrigue, fascinating plot and unexpected denouement.

At the same time, many detective novels were also published in the literary sections of many newspapers from issue to issue, which greatly contributed to their great popularity. Specialized magazines began to be published, for example, the publisher Shen Zhifang 沈知方 (1883–1939) considered this to be a “gold mine” and decided to publish a professional magazine devoted specifically to detective stories. Other magazines had corresponding rubrics or appendices, but Shen Zhifang founded an entire magazine “Detective World” *Zhentan shijie* 《偵探世界》, in which detective stories occupied dominant position. All this ensured excellent conditions and opportunities for the development of the detective genre in China.

One of the most famous detective writers in the early 20th century is Yu Tianfen 俞天憤 (1881–1937). His name *ming* 名 was Cheng-cai 承菜, and name *zi* 字 was Caisheng 彩生. Yu Tianfen was born in Haiyu 海虞 (now Changshu city 常熟市) into a family of scholars. At the end of the Qing era, his father, Yu Zhongluan 俞鍾鑾, was a famous author, who wrote poetry and prose. His wife, Yao Hongchai 姚鴻茝, was also a gifted writer and was referred to as "the talented woman of the time".

Since childhood, Yu Tianfen had an independent forthright nature, and thereby, he could get on with people. He took interest in everything that was happening in social life, which would later find its reflection in his prose as well. He did not follow in the footsteps of his father – he did not take examinations for earning a degree, and subsequently, a position of a public official. Since youth, he was attracted by creative work, by story writing. His interest led to a tiff with his father, who did not support the son's pursuit of becoming a writer.

The author's name is a pseudonym, which appeared as a result of a joke. Once, Yu Tianfen found out that the writer Bao Gongyi 包公毅 (1876–1973) had a pseudonym Bao Tianxiao 包天笑. 'Tianxiao' 天笑 may be translated as 'heaven laughs'. Then Yu decided that he would take the pseudonym 'Tianfen' 天憤 (Yu 1993: 81), which may be translated as 'heaven rages'.

His two collections of detective stories published in 1918 – "New Chinese Detective Stories" *Zhongguo xin tan'an* 《中國新探案》 and "Conversations on Chinese Detective Fiction" *Zhongguo zhentan tan* 《中國偵探談》, as well as two social novels "A Man in the Mirror" *Jing zhong ren*《鏡中人》 (1916) and "The Stele of Unhappy Lot" *Bo ming bei* 《薄命碑》 (1916–1917), are most widely known.

"Conversations on Chinese Detective Fiction" was published and printed by Qinghua publishing house in 1918. The book consists of 12 short stories. In his novels, Yu Tianfen, as a rule, tells the story from the first-person point of view. Cheng Xiaoqing, the leading figure of the Chinese detective story, used the same technique. Most of Yu Tianfen's works have the author's personal presence and personal participation. Therefore, they have a real and cordial feeling. This is the first feature of his detective novels. For example, in the story

"Devilry hotel" *Gui lüguan* 《鬼旅館》 the protagonist – 'I' – discovers a mystery in a story told by a reporter; he carries out an investigation and finds out that the crime was committed by two bandits under a false identity. Since the author himself solves the case, as he employs the technique of telling from the first-person point of view, the story appears to the readers more veracious.

With meticulousness, he describes the smallest details of the case, and in the end, finds or discloses the key to unraveling the mystery. In the story "Landscape" *Fengjing* 《風景》, the protagonist notices a wisp of white smoke above a ship on a photo taken by has friend. He makes an assumption that this might be a conventional signal of criminals, and in the end, upon solution of the case, it turns out that he is completely right. In another story – "Bloodstained Shoes" *Xue lü* 《血履》 – the protagonist investigates a murder. The police right away accuses his neighbor Wang Si, under whose bed the bloodstained shoes are found; besides, the neighbor's feet are also covered in blood. However, the protagonist suspects that something is amiss, when he learns that Wang Si has been ill and kept in bed for a long time already, and in addition, he is perplexed by the fact that the evidence has not been destroyed. Upon a thorough investigation, 'I' reveals the truth and the actual murderer is arrested.

Yu Tianfen himself possessed ingenuity and original thinking. There was an episode when, in order to increase interest in his story "Girl with a Rose" *Meigui nülang* 《玫瑰女郎》, he decided to add illustrations in the form of photographs, for which he arranged a special casting, invited people to depict scenes from the story and took an entire series of photographs to print along with the story. This was something new for that time – even Western detective novels were published without this kind of illustrations. It also enhanced the reader's feeling and interest, but it was too expensive and there were other disadvantages, so in the end Yu Tianfen gave it up. However, this does not detract from the significance of such an innovative step.

Another characteristic of Yu Tianfen's detective novels is that the structure is flexible and exquisite, the plot is undulating and intricate, suspense is repeated and winding, and the story is strong. This traditional feature of Chinese novels – the strong storytelling –

is particularly obvious in Yu Tianfen's detective novels. The story "Prism" *Sanlengjing* 《三棱鏡》 tells about a crime committed at a police station. Shi Lifeng has been a chief police officer for just three months, during which information leakage happened 7 times. Thereby, only he and his secretary has had access to the office. As a result of an on-site investigation, the protagonist 'I' discovered that due to sunlight refraction, the entire office and everything happening therein was reflected on the opposite wall. So, the criminal used a prism from a silver glass shop as a crime instrument, which allowed him to learn everything that was happening in the chief`s office. The story "Black Curtain" *Hei mu*《黑幕》 also describes a mysterious case: in an office, to which only one person had access, four pictures, hanged in a locked glassy cabinet, kept changing position every day. This seems to be an insoluble mystery, and yet 'I' employed a deductive approach, made a thorough analysis, solved the case and found the true perpetrator – the former manager. The story "The Ill-Fated White Scarf" *Bai jin huo* 《白巾禍》 published in the magazine "Red Rose" *Hong meigui* 《紅玫瑰》 has an even more complicated plot. The author constantly keeps the readers in suspense, stringing one crime on another: a simple case of robbery turns out to be concealing of a murder case, whereas the murder case, in turn, conceals a case of missing person. Awful crimes, suspicions, terror, anger and so on and so forth – all this thrilled the readers, resonated with them. They took turns being paralyzed with fear and becoming infuriated, to calming down and rejoicing in completion of the investigation and punishment of perpetrators. The readers were as if diving into the narration, finding themselves on pages of the book and forgetting sleep and food.

One of Yu's ideas of writing novels was to convey the Chinese flavor; he was significantly influenced by the culture of his native region, which reflected in his detective stories. Western detective fiction undoubtedly also influenced his work. Yu Tianfen tried to give the genre, classic for the West and relatively new for China, an original visual form, which like the first-person narration, was a novelty even for the West. In his works, Yu Tianfen shows the dark sides of the society of his time; he speaks about corruption in all government structures, infightings of militarists, unbearable life of ordinary people; Yu Tianfen shows the incompetence of the police, disrespect to human life. As a rule, his detective works include a complicated and sophisticated set-up, the reasoning is notable for ingenuity, the plot is elaborate and rich in peripeteias (Wu 1991: 96), all the lines of the novel eventually converge to a single, logical ending.

If in his detective works Yu Tianfen shows customs and life of the society of the time along with its dark sides, in novels of other genres ("A Man in the Mirror", "Notes on a Noble Man" *Jian dan qin xin lu* 《劍膽琴心録》, "Heritage" *Yichan* 《遺產》, "A Capitalists' Lesson" *Ye suan shou yi ci ziben jia de jiaoxun* 《也算受一次資本家的教訓》), the writer depicts lives and bitter experience of various types of characters from various strata of society, painting through them a living picture of the entire society. Since Yu Tianfen's detective works were especially known, novels dealing with other subject matter are often dismissed. This was also due to the fact that they were referred to as "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly school" *Yuanyang hudie pai* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派 – a literary movement, whose name is associated with the traditional euphemisms 'mandarin ducks' and 'butterflies' for lovers. [More detailed information on this school and on writers relating thereto may be found in N. Zakharova's book "Literary Process in China in the First Quarter of the 20th Century. Evolution of Prose Genres" (Zakharova 2019: 109–128)]. Despite popular passion for the genre of urban romance novel, progressive writers reproved him, therefore, Yu Tianfen's works relating to this genre dropped out of the sight of the critics. However, these novels also have an important social significance and influenced the assessment of the writer's creative achievements directly.

As noted above, Yu Tianfen especially liked the detective genre and wrote detectives, thus, even in his works of other genres, especially in the composition, traces of detective fiction may be found – they are often the same dark, meticulously depicted and thereby thrilling details. In the novel "A Man in the Mirror", Yu Tianfen employs the technique of relation of events in reverse order. First, he tells of a mirror suspended in Li Jin's bedroom after wedding, which mirror was revered sacred by the newly married couple. The writer skillfully whips up tension, preparing the readers for the future events, vividly painting – to the delight of the readers – a moving drama caused by the mirror. In the way the plot evolves, the author's inventiveness is seen. His characters are lifelike and fleshed-out.

When the Jiangsu-Zhejiang War between the Zhili and the Anhui cliques broke in 1924, Yu Tianfen personally went to the front with the Red Cross. The writer carried the wounded off the battlefield, saved the dying (Fan 2020: 358). All this left the deepest mark on his soul, and, of course, was bound to reflect in his creative work. In a series of stories published in the magazine "Red Rose", he reflected events of that year from various points of view. These works clearly showed the writer's pacifist position. He depicted the misfortunes the war brings to people, how it breaks down families, destroys houses, leaves everywhere in its trail hungry and mourning victims of this man-made disaster. These works are not distinct in very intricate twists of the plot, but the author personally participated in the events, saw everything with his own eyes – so the stories are filled with genuine feelings and have a denunciatory power.

After 1927, the writer gradually disappears from literary circles and ceases writing new works. It is commonly accepted that this happened because of the last will of his father, who never actually recognized the son's creative work as a worthy occupation (Wu 1991: 95). During the Sino-Japanese War, he and his family had to flee his hometown suffering many ordeals and difficulties along the way, which undermined his health, so in 1937 Yu Tianfen died at the age of just 58.

Some consider the works of Yu Tianfen to be "the most remarkable stories in the detective genre since the time of the Xinhai Revolution" (Zhu 2014: 111). We can say that Yu Tianfen's novels became a significant event in the development of the detective genre and made a significant contribution to the development of the genre itself.

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从欧洲文学在华传播角度看《亚细亚言语集· 欧洲奇话》的地位及其归化翻译

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Status of European Magical Stories of the Asian Speech Collection and their Sinicized Translation: From the Perspective of European Literature in China

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Abstract

*European Magical Stories (*欧洲奇话*) is part of the Asian Speech Collection (*亚细亚言语集*), which is a Chinese textbook from the Meiji period (1868–1912) in Japan. European Magical Stories includes Aesop's fables, European historical stories, folk tales and Ancient Greek mythologies, which derived from the German translator Carl Arendt's "New Edition of Popular European Ancient Narrative" (*通俗欧洲述古新编*). European Magical Stories is one of the early documents of European literature introduced to China and Chinese is a media language, that is why its status in the history of cultural exchange between China and Europe is worth paying attention to. This is the first attempt of translation of "Aesop's Fables" using pure Beijing dialect, and also the* *first attempt of translation of "Odyssey" and "Iliad" into Chinese. The Sinicization of the translation of European Magical Stories is reflected in the processing of the vocabulary and the processing of the stories themselves.*

Keywords: Asian speech collection, *European Magical Stories*, Aesop's Fables, Sinicized Translation

引言

《亚细亚言语集》1880年出版，是日本明治时期（1868–1912）影响最广泛的汉语教材。《亚细亚言语集》作者是日本学者广部精。他以英国人威妥玛《语言自迩集》为蓝本，经过精心编纂, 使之成为适合日本人学习汉语的国别教材。

广部精在自序中写道："此部多取英国威钦差《语言自迩集》及德国翻译官阿氏著通俗欧洲述古新编等书，以汇成一本。然间或有削彼字添此字，或有举后件为前件。盖以适邦人，习读为顺次。其不见于自迩集述古新编者，余皆所作也。切望，后君子加订正幸甚。"（广部精，2018）《亚细亚言语集》吸取了《语言自迩集》口语材料、编纂体例、语法、语音理论部分，并删除了《语言自迩集》的"注"和第六章"秀才求婚"（亦名"践约传"）, 增加"欧洲奇话"。"欧洲奇话"包括伊索寓言故事、欧洲历史故事、民间故事以及神话传说。第一版《亚细亚言语集》的"欧洲奇话"竖行排列, 分布于"散语""续散语"等各卷。北京大学出版社2018年7月版《亚细亚言语集》汇总并统编于卷七"言语例略"后，采用横行排列的方式。共列有24条（19、22条分为上下）。《亚细亚言语集·欧洲奇话》（以下简称"欧洲奇话"）是以汉语为媒介传播欧洲文学文化的早期文献之一，在中欧文化交流历史上的地位和价值值得关注。关于"欧洲奇话"，学界至今尚无人关注。

一、"欧洲奇话"简介和故事来源

广部精说"欧洲奇话"取自德国翻译官阿氏的《通俗欧洲述古新编》。阿氏是德国翻译官阿恩德（Carl Arendt, 1838–1902),

历史比较语言学家弗兰茨·波普 (Franz Bopp, 1791–1867) 的学生。曾协助老师编写过《比较语法》*(Vergleichende Grammatik*, 1863) (吴晓樵, 2014) 。1865年在北京学汉语，汉语口语流利，1869–1873年任北德意志邦联驻天津领事馆的临时代办， 1874–1887年参与德国驻北京公使馆的筹备工作， 并担任翻译。1875年出版《通俗欧洲述古新编》。1887年受柏林大学东方语言学院 (Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen) 之邀回国任汉语教师，编撰过多部汉语教材， 其中有*Handbuch der Nordchinesischen Umgangssprache (*北方官话口语手册*)* (Elisabeth Kaske, 2008) ，还将中国小说《褒姒》译成德语。

我们逐条核对“欧洲奇话”的故事来源。“欧洲奇话”书中只有条目， 并无标题。我们依据故事逐条取名。第1、2、3、4、7、8、12条 (共7条) 为伊索寓言故事, 语句短小精炼, 用简明语言讲述故事并阐述其蕴含的道理。第5条“庄稼汉和三个光棍”是印度寓言， 原名“受骗的婆罗门教徒”。第6条来自德国莱辛寓言故事。第10条“马掌的故事”出自《圣经》。第15、19、20、21、22条来源于古希腊史学家希罗多德《历史》。第15条讲述的是希腊国王和麦西王阿马西讨论“福气”；第19条讲述的是吕底亚王国克罗索斯向索伦询问“谁是最幸福的人”；第19条下讲述希腊和波斯战争；第20、21条讲述波斯国王居鲁士、干必澨、大流士的故事；22条和22条下是“兄弟盗宝”。第23条讲述“一个苹果引发的战争” (即特洛伊之战) 。第24条是乌律色 (Odysseus) 的故事：出征12年未归，妻子忠贞不渝，拒绝多人求婚。乌律色回来与妻子儿子团聚。后两条出自《荷马史诗》。第9、11、13、14、16、17、18，我们未查到出处。

表1：“欧洲奇话”故事来源表

“欧洲奇话”条目	标题	故事来源
第一条	狗抢影肉	伊索寓言
第二条	鹤医狼病	伊索寓言
第三条	鹰和甲鱼	伊索寓言
第四条	老鸹和狐狸	伊索寓言
第五条	庄稼汉和三个光棍	印度寓言
第六条	蜜蜂和羊	德国寓言故事
第七条	狮子和耗子	伊索寓言

第八条	朋友与熊	伊索寓言
第九条	卜懂得的故事	?
第十条	马掌的故事	圣经
第十一条	说谎的儿子	?
第十二条	父子骑驴	伊索寓言
第十三条	回回客和师傅	?
第十四条	金盅子的故事	?
第十五条	波里加底和麦西王论福祸	《历史》
第十六条	罗马将军和士子	?
第十七条	害人反害己的苦徒累	?
第十八条	守信的莫达	?
第十九条和第十九条下	克罗索斯问道索伦；希腊和波斯战争	《历史》
第二十条	居鲁士的故事	《历史》
第二十一条	干比涩的故事	《历史》
第二十二条和二十二条下	兄弟盗宝	《历史》
第二十三条	一个苹果引发的战争	荷马史诗
第二十四条	乌律色	荷马史诗

二、“欧洲奇话”在欧洲文学在华传播历史上的地位

从欧洲文学文化传播的角度看“欧洲奇话”：尽管只有7条伊索寓言故事， 但却是第一次用纯北京官话口语翻译伊索寓言；“欧洲奇话”的第23、24条是荷马史诗第一个汉译文本, 因而, “欧洲奇话”在中欧文化交流历史上和欧洲文学在中国传播历史上具有重要地位。

1、伊索寓言在中国的传播及“欧洲奇话”的地位

“欧洲奇话”是最早用纯北京官话口语翻译伊索寓言的文献。《伊索寓言》 (Aesop’s Fables) 创作于公元前6世纪, 原名《埃索波斯故事集成》, 收录古希腊民间流传的讽喻故事358篇。

伊索寓言在中国传播比较早。明代传教士利玛窦 (Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610) 著《畸人十篇》 (1608) 翻译“肚胀的狐狸”“孔雀足丑”6则 (内田庆市, 2013) 。利玛窦把 Aesop 译成阨琐伯。利玛窦是介绍伊索寓言并译成汉文的第一人。西班牙传教士庞迪我 (Diego de Pantoja, 1571–1618) 的《七克》 (1614) 译“乌

鸦和狐狸”、“树木与橄榄树”等共9则。比利时耶稣会士金尼阁 (Nicolas Trigault, 1577–1628) 从英文翻译并口述、张赓笔录写成《伊索寓言集·况义》 (1625) , 这是伊索寓言第一次在中国正式成书, 收38条 (刘绍晨2015) 。意大利传教士艾儒略 (Julius Aleni, 1582–1649) 《五十余言》 (1645) 有3则用文言文写成的伊索寓言 (内田庆市, 2013) 。利玛窦等人翻译伊索寓言的目的在于阐发教义。英国伦敦会传教士米怜 (William Milne, 1786–1822) 在马六甲创办的中文月刊《察世俗每月统记传》 (1815–1821) 刊登过5则伊索寓言 (内田庆市, 2013) 。英国人罗伯聃 (Robert Thomm, 1807–1846) 和蒙昧先生译《意拾喻言》 (1840) 是伊索寓言第二个汉译本 (收82则) 。译者按照汉语言文化的规范, 将《伊索寓言》改写成流畅、地道、亦庄亦谐的杂录体笔记小说。是一本借助于英文来学习汉语及广州话的语法用书, 它带动了《伊索寓言》在中国的传播。James Summer的《汉语手册》 (1853) 收8则伊索寓言 (内田庆市2013) 。

1888年赤山畸士编《海国妙喻》 (收73则) 被学界称为伊索寓言第三个汉译本, 1898年裘毓芳将《海国妙喻》改为白话文发表于报刊“海国妙喻”一栏下；同年上海商务印书馆印成单行本发行。它是第一个中国人翻译的白话文译本。此后还有钟天纬编小学课本《读书乐》 (1898, 收伊索寓言80则) 、黄涵之编译《泰西寓言》 (1902) , 收伊索寓言23则 (内田庆市2013) 、林琴南等译《希腊名士伊索寓言》 (1903, 收280则) 、孙毓修译《伊索寓言演义》 (1915年, 收133篇) 以及周作人译《全译伊索寓言集》 (1955, 收 358 篇) , 周作人译本是收录伊索寓言最多的版本。

从17世纪到20世纪初的上述译本受到学界广泛关注。《畸人十篇》《七克》《况义》《意拾喻言》《海国妙喻》和《希腊名士伊索寓言》均采用文言文或半文半白的汉语翻译。唯有日本学者中田敬义译《北京官话伊苏普喻言》、德国学者阿恩德著《通俗欧洲述古新编》 (1875) 以及选自《通俗欧洲述古新编》的“欧洲奇话”是北京官话口语译本, 但学界关注却不多。1878年中田敬义把日语《通俗伊索物语》翻译成《北京官话伊苏普喻言》, 这是“ (日本) 北京话教育的第一本课本” (内田庆市, 2013) 。《通俗欧洲述古新编》应该是最早采用北京官话 (更准确地讲, 是最早采用纯北京官话口语) 翻译“伊索寓言”的, 在中欧文化交流历史上具有特殊地位。

表2：17世纪到20世纪初伊索寓言的中文汉译本及其地位

出版时间	翻译者	书名或期刊名	数量	文体风格	地位
1608	利玛窦	《畸人十篇》	6	文言文	第一次译介到中国
1614	庞迪我	《七克》	9	文言文	
1625	金尼阁、张赓	《伊索寓言集·况义》	38	文言文	第一次正式成书
1645	艾儒略	《五十余言》	3	文言文	
1840	罗伯聃、蒙昧先生	《意拾喻言》	82	半文半白	第二个汉译本
1815–1821	米怜	《察世俗每月统记传》	5	半文半白	
1853	James Summer	《汉语手册》	8	半文半白	
1875	阿恩德	《亚细亚言语集·欧洲奇话》	6	白话文	第一个白话文汉译文本
1878	中田敬义	《北京官话伊苏普喻言》		白话文	第一个白话文译本；第三个汉译本
1888	赤山畸士	《海国妙喻》	73	文言文	第四个汉译本
1898	裘毓芳	《海国妙喻》	73	白话文	第一个由中国人翻译的白话文译本
1898	钟天纬	《读书乐》	80	文言文	开始用作小学教科书
1902	黄涵之	《泰西寓言》	23	文言文	
1903	林琴南、严氏兄弟	《希腊名士伊索寓言》	280	文言文	
1915	孙毓修	《伊索寓言演义》	133	演义小说	

2、欧洲神话故事在中国的传播及“欧洲奇话”的地位

希腊神话是欧洲文学文化的重要基石。希腊神话以其动人的情节、开放的理念， 在世界各国广泛传播。目前学界一般认为希腊神话进入中国是五四运动之后。1918年10月周作人版《欧洲文学史》出版， 介绍了荷马及其史诗内容。周作人被推介希腊神话的第一人。1934 年出版傅东华根据考珀的英译本转译《奥特赛》, 风格与原著有着较大的差距, 但这是荷马史诗在中国的第一个全译本。

依据目前资料, 我们认为“欧洲奇话”的第23、24条是《荷马史诗》第一个汉译文本， 这是中西文化交流历史上第一个汉译本, 而且是采用纯汉语官话口语翻译的。应该说, 德国阿恩德是在中国推介希腊神话的第一人。

总之， 《通俗欧洲述古新编》用纯北京官话口语翻译“伊索寓言”和古希腊神话故事、欧洲寓言故事、历史故事，在欧洲文学在中国传播历史上具有开创性。“欧洲奇话”以及《通俗欧洲述古新编》在欧洲文学在华传播历史上的特殊地位值得关注。

三、“欧洲奇话”语体上的突破

万济国 (Francisco Varo, 1627–1687) 在《华语官话语法》(1703) 将汉语的语体分成三种：第一种是高雅、优美语体 (很少使用复合词，怎么写就怎么说)，第二种语体处于高雅和粗俗之间 (这一语体使用某些优雅的文学词语， 而且所有人都能理解)，第三种语体是粗俗语体，可以用来向妇人和农夫布道。阿恩德《通俗欧洲述古新编》实现了语体上的突破， 用纯北京官话口语翻译“伊索寓言”和欧洲神话故事、寓言故事和历史故事。“欧洲奇话”的语言是纯正的“口语”。1875年之前翻译的伊索寓言 (见《畸人十篇》《七克》《况义》《五十余言》《意拾喻言》等) 基本上都是用文言文或半文半白的汉语书写的；1875之后翻译的伊索寓言， 如《海国妙喻》《泰西寓言》《读书乐》《希腊名士伊索寓言》也是用文言或者接近文言的汉语写成的。1915年孙毓修编写的《伊索寓言演义》“采用的是比林纾译文浅显易懂的文体， 但还不能算作完完全全的口语体。” (内田庆市 (2013) 17世纪到20世纪初伊索寓言的诸多汉译本中，《通俗欧洲述古新编》率先在语体上实现了突破，比中田敬义翻译的第一个白话文译本早3年，比第一个中国人裘毓芳翻

译的白话文译本早23年。我们以“乌鸦和狐狸”故事为例，将“欧洲奇话”和《七克》《意拾喻言》《海国妙喻》对照，可以发现语体上的差别：

表3：“欧洲奇话”和《七克》《意拾喻言》《海国妙喻》语言风格对照表：

《七克·伏傲篇·戒听誉》	《意拾喻言》“鸦狐”	《海国妙喻》“喜媚”	“欧洲奇话”“第2条”
乌栖树琢肉，狐巧兽也，欲得其肉，诡谄乌曰：人言黑如乌，乃濯濯如雪，殆可为百鸟王乎？特未闻和鸣声耳！”乌大喜，哑然而鸣，肉则坠矣。狐得肉，视乌而笑，笑其黑，且笑其愚也。	鸦本不善鸣，一日口衔食物，稳栖树上。适有饿狐见之，欲夺其食，无以为法，乃生一计曰：“闻先生有霓裳羽衣之妙，特来一聆仙曲，以清俗耳。幸勿见却。”鸦信为然，喜不自胜，遂开声张口，其食物已脱落矣。狐则拾之谓鸦曰：“将来有羡先生唱者，切勿信之。必有故也。”	鸦之为物，本不善鸣。一日，口衔食物，稳栖树上。适有饿狐见之，欲夺其食，无以为法。乃心生一计，曰：“闻先生有霓裳羽衣之妙，特来一聆仙曲，以清俗耳，幸勿见却。”鸦信为然，喜不自胜，遂开声张口，其食物已落。狐则拾而啖之，仰谓鸦曰：“将来有羡先生歌唱者，切勿信之，必有故也。”	有个老鸹在树枝上叼着块奶饼子，起那么来了个狐狸瞅见了，他想法子要赚老调，就说：“老鸹哥哥，我看你身上长的实在好看，又威武，又温柔，而且你一身的翎儿，活脱儿像星星那么亮，想必你的声儿更好听了。”老鸹听说，心里一喜欢，也很愿意叫一声给他听，一连嘎嘎的叫了几声，可就把嘴里的奶饼子松了，叫那狐狸叼了去了。

近代西洋人很早关注到汉语的各种文体及其区别。利玛窦、庞迪我、金尼阁、罗伯聃均采用文言文书写。罗伯聃自己把《意拾喻言》列为“杂录”，而非“言语”。内田庆市（2013）归纳《察世俗每月统记传》的伊索寓言时说：“其内容基本上与原型相同，但与以前耶稣会士的文章相比，文体变得较为‘平易’，倾向于‘白话文’”。内田庆市也提到“这种文体基本上属于‘文言’，但却是极其接近‘白话’的‘文言’，即‘文言白话混交体’”（松浦章、内田庆市，2005:73）。

“欧洲奇话”采用地道北京官话口语，语言平实粗俗，其表现是大量运用儿化和地道的北京口语词。以“乌鸦和狐狸”为例，《意拾喻言》、《海国妙喻》以俗语“甜言须防是饵”“言甘者，其诱我也”归纳寓意，“欧洲奇话”用“这是劝人别爱听甜言蜜语，他嘴里虽是甜哥哥蜜姐姐，心里总想佔便宜的”归纳寓意，语言极为浅显直白。

“欧洲奇话”采用的是万济国所说的“粗俗语体”，是最下层百姓说的语言。放在当时的历史背景下看，作品出版于1875年，远早于胡适发表《文学改良刍议》(1917) 倡导“白话文运动”(提出“八不主义”，倡导“活文学”)。“粗俗语体”在当时是不登大雅之堂的，是被极度蔑视的。当时不光中国文人蔑视它，就连一部分国外传教士和在华工作人员也觉得它“低劣”。这从翟理斯对《意拾喻言》的评价可以知道：“它 (《意拾喻言》) 是晚清来华西人向中国人提供的欧洲名著翻译中… 唯一成功的例子。换言之‘其它欧洲作品的翻译，均因文字的低劣而遭到中国人的排斥。”翟理斯认为《意拾喻言》是成功的，一部分原因是它“迎合了晚清文人对文字的挑剔” (王辉, 2004)。

我们今天再来评价《意拾喻言》和《通俗欧洲述古新编》，得出结论是相反的。《通俗欧洲述古新编》在清末那个时代背景下，大胆采用“粗俗语体”进行译介，在欧洲文学文化在华传播历史上确实具有开创之功。

四、“欧洲奇话”的中国化翻译

“欧洲奇话”一部分专有名词、用语还是进行中国化处理。“翻译归化”具体表现为“词汇处理”和“故事背景处理”两个方面：

1、词汇处理。第一，把欧洲文化系统之下的专有名词换成在中国文化体系之下的专有名词，方便读者理解，也便于欧洲文化传播。“欧洲奇话”把希腊神话中的女性神祇和王后翻译成“娘娘”，把众神之主翻译成“正皇上”。举两个例子：

那席面上有三位娘娘。一位是天堂正娘娘，名叫优挪;一位是专管文武事情的娘娘，名呌阿塔哪：一位是专管男女恩爱的娘娘，名叫阿佛勒的德。这三位娘娘……到天堂正皇上名叫优皮特那儿，求他给公断。(第23条)

“欧洲奇话”按照中国人比较容易理解的方式，把众神之母优挪 (Hera) 称为“天堂正娘娘”：把智慧女神阿塔哪 (Athena) 称

为“专管文武事情的娘娘”，把爱神兼美神阿佛勒的德 (Aphrodite) 被称为“专管男女恩爱的娘娘”。这段话还把众神之主优皮特 (Zeus) 称为“正皇上”。“欧洲奇话”将“王后”也翻译为“娘娘”，如第21条“那人自从做了国王，后来他娶了一个大臣女孩儿做娘娘。”“欧洲奇话”第21条把波斯历史上拜火教僧侣高墨塔翻译成“出家的师傅”；第13条用中国人熟知的佛教用语“出家人”“施主”指称回回教的神职人员。此外“大元帅” (15条) “士子” (16条) “侯爷” (17条) 也是把欧洲文化系统之下的专有名词换成在中国文化体系之下的专有名词的例证。第二，称谓词的简化和中国化。《意拾喻言》大量使用汉语敬语和谦词，比如尊称有“公”“兄”“足下”“先生”“尊驾”“壮士”等，谦称有“弟”“妾”。“欧洲奇话”却是简化或直接删除称谓词。将《历史》和“欧洲奇话”第19条对照如下：

表4：“欧洲奇话”第19条和《历史》故事对照表

“欧洲奇话”第十九条	《历史》
看完了，国王就问着索伦説:“你本是个顶聪明的人，又兼常到各處去，经多见广，你可知道，如今天下顶有造化的人是谁？”那索伦想了一想，就说：“我们国里有个人……”	克洛伊索斯就趁着这个机会问他道：“雅典的客人啊，我们听到了很多关于您的智慧，关于您为了求知和视察外而巡游列国的事情。因此我很想向您请教一下，到目前为止在您所遇到的所有的人中间，怎样的人是最幸福的？”索伦却正直无私，毫不谄媚地回答他说：“国王啊，我看是雅典的泰洛斯。”

第三，《历史》一书国王称呼索伦为“雅典的客人”，人称代词用的是“您”；索伦则称呼“国王呀”。“欧洲奇话”对话双方几乎都没有使用称谓词，只用“你”“我”，甚至连尊敬的“您”或“你纳”都没有用，这是其语言采用“粗俗语体”的表现。此外，第4条狐狸以亲属称谓语称乌鸦为“老鸹哥哥”，这是称谓词中国化的表现。

第四，遵守中国人用词避讳，避免使用汉语中有特殊含义的词。举一个例子，第20条故事中哈巴故士要给居鲁士传递信息怂恿他谋反，把信放在野猫身体内。《历史》一书是“兔子”。何以把兔子译成“野猫”呢？清末北京话“兔子”避讳词。男同性恋的被动的一方叫兔子，所以兔子称为“野猫”。从《河北方言

词汇编》可以看到，河北方言很多地方仍旧避讳用“兔子”一词(李行健, 1985)。

2、故事背景处理。“欧洲奇话”刻意将故事的异国风俗和宗教背景进行淡化处理。

在淡化异国风俗方面有一个例子：兄弟盗宝中“国王为了找到盗宝人，以自己的女儿为诱饵”。《历史》原文是“这是埃及祭司们的说法，但我个人是不相信这个说法的。他把自己的女儿给送到娼家去, 命令她不拘任何人一律接待。” 钱钟书 (2002) 译文接近《历史》：“乃构一策，如是云云，我斯未信。王命其女, 处一室中, 男子求欢, 有来不拒。” 为了抓贼, 国王让自己的女儿去“卖身”，而且“男子求欢，有来不拒”应为埃及远古时期的一种风俗，但中国人无法理解，也有违中国社会的伦理道德。“欧洲奇话”做了处理，使之更符合中国的道德标准：“国王又想出个法子, 叫他女孩儿去开店, 嘱咐他女孩儿, 若是有客来, 你先问他一辈子顶聪明出奇的事, 若有说盗库这件事的, 可别放他走了。”

淡化故事的宗教背景方面举例如下：第5条“庄稼汉和三个光棍”源自一则印度寓言故事“受骗的婆罗门教徒”。婆罗门教是起源于古印度的宗教。“欧洲奇话”把嘲讽对象从“婆罗门教徒”改为“庄稼汉”，把“庄稼汉”当做愚笨不智的典型，这是符合当时中国人心理特点的。第10条“马掌的故事”源自《圣经》。“欧洲奇话”把主人公“耶酥和门徒彼得”换成“爷儿俩”，将“樱桃”换成中国人比较熟悉的“李子”。

收入日本汉语教材《亚细亚言语集》的“欧洲奇话”尽管只有24条，但在欧洲文学在华传播历史上的重要地位值得关注：它第一次用纯北京官话口语翻译“伊索寓言”, 第一次把“奥德赛”和“伊利亚特”翻译成汉语。“欧洲奇话”汉译时在词语和故事背景方面进行了中国化的处理；语言风格上，采用的是地道的北京官话口语。总之，“欧洲奇话”语言文化方面具有重要的价值，值得深入挖掘。

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中国通俗文学的拉丁文译介：论晁德蒞译小说戏曲

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Latin Version of Chinese Popular Literature: A Study on A. Zottoli's Translation of Novels and Dramas

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Abstract

In the late Qing dynasty Shanghai, the Jesuit missionary Fr. Angelo Zottoli S.J. published his monumental five-volume Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae, a Latin textbook of Chinese language and literature for European missionaries reaching China at the very beginning of their sinology and missiological enterprise. As a result, the Cursus is an anthology of Chinese Classics including a broad selection of Chinese traditional novels and dramas in the first volume, which has an immediate influence on the missionaries and Western Sinology. This paper discusses Zottoli's translation styles, his philological choices, his usage of Chinese grammar, the strategy of his contextual westernization, and his Roman Catholic interpretations. Stemming from those premises, this article regards his "forgotten" books looking not solely at the Latin translations of Chinese novels and dramas, but also focusing on the impact of those Chinese texts translated into foreign, and especially European, languages.

Keywords: A. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*, Western Translations of Chinese Novels and Dramas

晚明以降，来华天主教传教士用拉丁文翻译中国文献主要集中在四书五经等中国核心经典，极少用拉丁文翻译中国小说、戏曲等通俗文学。[1]晚清上海的意大利耶稣会士晁德莅（Angelo Zottoli, 1826–1902）用拉丁文翻译了大量中国古代通俗文学，主要收录在他的五卷本《中国文化教程》（*Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*）的第一卷，其中小说、戏曲主要包括杂剧《杀狗劝夫》、《东堂老》、《潇湘雨》、《来生债》、《薛仁贵》、《马陵道》、《冤家债主》；传奇《慎鸾交》、《风筝误》、《奈何天》；古典白话短篇小说《孝弟里》、《双义祠》、《薄情郎》、《芙蓉屏》，和才子书《三国演义》、《好逑传》、《玉娇梨》、《平山冷燕》、《水浒传》、《西厢记》、《琵琶记》、《白圭志》、《斩鬼传》，与《三合剑》。[2] 才子书部分又包括了长篇小说、杂剧和南戏。《中国文化教程》出版后不久即荣获欧洲汉学最高奖儒莲奖（“Jugement des concours” 1884：478–479），若以翻译数量和译注质量来衡量，西方对中国俗文学的拉丁文译介尚无法找出第二人可与晁氏抗衡，本文将对晁译中国通俗文学做一全面的分析。

一、晁译对中国戏曲、小说特有形式的西化处理

晁德莅在戏曲译文之前简短介绍了他的译本所选自的书籍，包括《元人杂剧百种》，或称《元曲选》和李渔的三出传奇。他认为笠翁（李渔）的戏剧很有名，并且代表了新近的戏曲风格特点（Zottoli 1879：307）。晁德莅将中国戏剧结构与西方戏剧做了对应的匹对。元杂剧每一种戏由若干折组成，折内不再细分；而西方戏剧则每部由若干幕（Act）组成，如莎士比亚的五幕戏剧，随后，每一幕又由若干场(Scene)组成。晁

[1] 本文所论“俗文学”或“通俗文学”，主要是指传统意义上与士大夫所重视的诗词、散文相对应的民间文学和大众文学，旧时难登大雅之堂，在五四白话文运动前后才受到知识阶层的广泛推重。参见郑振铎：《中国俗文学史》上册，上海书店出版社，1984年，第1页。

[2] 参见 Angelo Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*, volume primum pro infima classe, T’ou-sè-wè, 1879.

氏使用了西方戏剧的“幕-场”结构，来划分元杂剧。他将“折”译为“Act”，但在原剧中“折”内不再细分的情况下，晁译却做了分场，如对《杀狗劝夫》第三折的标题，他写到“第三幕，第一场及以下几场，旦，王婆，旦的朋友，孙大，旦的丈夫，胡和柳，食客（Actus 3us. Scena 1a et sequentes. Tan,Wang ejus amica, Suen major ejus vir, Hou et Lieou parasite）”（Zottoli 1879：313）。晁译本剧的最后一段译文选自原剧第三折的最后一段念白，他在这段译文前也添加了场目——“最后一场……（Scena Ultima ……）”（Zottoli 1879：323）。中国明清传奇篇幅都比较长，有的可以连演数日。传奇由“出”分场，通常可多达几十出。在翻译李渔的传奇剧时，晁德莅将“出”全部译为Scena。这一译法似比用“Act”合理，因为西方戏剧不可能有几十幕之长。

中国小说、戏曲的翻译是五卷本系列的第一卷，预设的主要读者群是几乎未接触过中国语言或近乎零基础的学习者。小说（白话小说）、戏曲主要由当时的日常白话写成，从语言难度的角度考量，将其置于第一卷比较恰当，但是中国戏曲大体由唱词和念白组成，唱词的本质曲词实际上是诗歌的一种变体，讲究复杂的诸宫调、曲牌格式和平仄音韵，对语言文化的要求较高。因此，晁德莅在戏曲的翻译上尽量避免译介唱词，而主要挑选了大段的念白进行翻译。[3]他将杂剧译为喜剧对话（Dialogi Comici），就显示了他翻译杂剧只译念白的思路。他在第五卷中专门翻译了大量的唐宋诗词，因此他的不译曲词主要还是以本书目的和目标读者为主要原因，同时这也就使中国戏曲在形式上更接近于西方的戏剧（play）而非歌剧（opera）。

小说方面，晁德莅介绍了他所译的四个短篇小说（晁译为Parvae Narrationes）是选自《今古奇观》，并指出他选择的都是历史故事，通过这四个短篇足以使学习者初步了解中国短篇小说这种次要文体（humili stylo）（Zottoli 1879：413）。但是《今古奇观》作为中国小说门类里的一种，其一大特色就是它选自《三言二拍》，是一部话本和拟话本小说集，有着宋、元、明说书人底本的明显痕迹。这种话本通常在正文开始前，有一至若干个短小但又与正文主题相关的短故事作为引子，俗称“入话”或“得胜头回”。在《教程》中译者将“得胜头回”全部

[3] 清初法国耶稣会士马若瑟在翻译元杂剧《赵氏孤儿》时，也略去了绝大部分曲词，几乎只译对白。

删掉而直接从话本的核心故事开始翻译，这就完全改变了中国话本故事的独特结构，从而将其改译为更加符合欧洲短篇小说的形态。此外，古代中国小说刻本竖排不分段，而晁德莅在翻译过程中将有的作品进行了分段的处理，这种调整也使中国小说更接近欧洲小说的形式。

短篇小说之后，晁德莅翻译了《十才子书》。才子书的概念最早起源自明末金圣叹选编的六才子书。到清代乾嘉年间，演变成了十才子书，并有较为固定的排序。[4]十才子书在西方有着较高的知名度和较长远的翻译史，但是拉丁语的译本还很少见到。晁德莅大规模用拉丁文翻译十才子书在翻译史上是空前绝后的现象。历史上十才子书的演变比较复杂，前后约有二十种左右的书籍曾被冠名才子书出版。在清代影响比较大的一种十才子书排序是《三国演义》、《好逑传》、《玉娇梨》、《平山冷燕》、《水浒传》、《西厢记》、《琵琶记》、《花笺记》、《斩鬼传》和《驻春园》。《白圭志》和《三合剑》也曾被选入才子书之列 (Song 2017: 59), 其中《三合剑》名气最小，艺术含量也不高，在晁德莅之前西方汉学似对此书未有过译介，因此晁译本应该是西方对《三合剑》的第一次翻译，他的这一选择极有可能影响了考狄 (Henri Cordier, 1849–1925) 对十才子书的介绍。[5]十才子书所收小说均为长篇章回体，每回均有回目(标题)，晁译将回目一概删掉，因为西方小说基本上没有回目。译者代之以所选章节的背景介绍或内容概述，这是西方叙事文学的常见形式，称为The Argument。晁德莅在对才子书的简介中说到才子是中国文人中有特别才能的人，数量不多，这十种才子书有两种像西方的戏剧（dramata），而另八种类似西方的长篇小说（Romanenses）。晁氏提到才子书起源于金圣叹，十种书逐渐定形，水平不很平均。他强调此书编译是用于传教事业，不过所译之书有些并不符合宗教标准。也由于其中有些在清廷是禁书，因此印刷版本较差，错误

[4] 参见《中国古代十才子全书》第五册，内蒙古人民出版社，1997年，第3页。

[5] 晁德莅和考狄相识，晁去世后考狄曾撰写了讣告。考狄的《西人论中国书目》（*Bibliotheca Sinica*）介绍了晁氏的《中国文化教程》，考狄书目于1878–1895 年出版第一版，1904–1908 年第二版，其中对才子书的介绍即用《三合剑》取代了它书作为第十才子书。而晁德莅的《教程》则于1879年出版，两者之间应有关联。参阅考狄：《西方汉学书目正续编》上，上海社会科学院出版社，2016年，第875–876页；905页。

很多（Zottoli 1879：557）。[6]在才子书中有小说也有戏剧，但晁德莅则一概将其归入小说描写 (Descriptiones Romanenses)，从而也就将中国俗文学大体分为三部分，即喜剧、短故事和长篇小说，这是将中国文学纳入西方文学分类的尝试，选文中没有悲剧，杂剧和戏文是两种戏剧文体，晁氏并未做区分，而是按照西方的悲喜剧概念进行分类。

二、译文、字释与文化注解：晁译本的三级结构

《中国文化教程》编译的重要初衷是用于来华天主教传教士学习中国语文和文化。因此，这一目的直接影响了作者的翻译方式与注释形式。中国经书的传统注释形式也对作者有较大的影响，朱熹等人对四书五经的注释，采用了每句原文下有注音、字词解释和大意串讲的方法。晁德莅对全书五卷中国文献的翻译也基本上借用了这种注释格式。中国古典小说戏曲只有传统的评点体，点评文章做法、索引寓意等，与注经法完全不同，因此中国古代没有用注经的方法来注释小说戏曲的传统。但是晁德莅则借用经书注释法来注解俗文学。当然，这种注释法也借鉴了前辈西人如马若瑟 (Joseph de Premare, 1666–1735) 等的中国经典翻译。五卷本全书除中国文献的中文原文外，拉丁文的翻译和注释大体分为三个部分，即正文译文、字词释义和对中国语言文化的注释。三者互相结合、补充，形成了统一完整的三级结构，这对西方读者/学习者来说，缺一不可。

（一）、罕见的极端直译

晁德莅的译文采用了一种极其极端的直译方式，即字字对译。每个中文字与拉丁文几乎一一对应。例如《三国志》第一回中：玄 Hiuen 德 te 曰 ait 我 ego 本 origine 汉 Han 室familiae 宗 consanguinitate 亲 conjunctus 姓 cognomina 刘 Lieou 名 agnomine 备 Pei 今 nunc 闻 audien 黄 flavor 巾 pileatos 倡 excitasse 乱 rebellionem 有 inito 志 consilio 欲 vellem 破 profligare 贼 rebelles 安 et tranquillare 民 populum 恨 doleo 力 vires 不 haud 能 pares 故 ideoque 长 longe 叹 suspiravi 耳（Zottoli 1879：558–559）。[7]由

[6] 晁德莅对所译书的版本并没有做特别的介绍。

[7] 此处引文的中、拉文字原本分开，笔者将两者合并起来以清晰地呈现

于拉丁语的句式结构变化异常灵活，这种极端的直译可以使译文在语法上完全正确的同时，又能使拉丁词汇与中文词汇几乎一一对应。

这种对应关系首先是在语义层面上，其次，一定程度上在词法和句法层面上译文也与中文原文做到了相同，从而使译文准确传达中文的语法结构和句子成分成为了可能。这种尝试对中文语法研究意义重大，因为传统中国语言学极少论述语法，而这种极端的字字对应的翻译法，能够凭借拉丁语法来分析中文语法，考虑到晁译的篇幅巨大，这种尝试在语言学上的意义是空前的。我们分析一下李渔《慎鸾交》译文中的一段"老旦苏醒介，'惊魂幸已醒，惫体还僵仆。天那，我有甚无良，与孽鬼逢当路。我儿你起先喊鬼，我还只说是做梦，谁想走进门来，果然有两个恶鬼，把我撞了一头……'" 译文是"Mater reviviscens:《Terrefactus spiritus fortunate jam revixit, lassa membra adhuc prostrata jacent: O coelom, ego quid habui expers integritate ut in malum daemonem inciderim media via?》 Mea filia, te initio conclamante daemonem, ego vero nonnisi dicebam esse utentis somnio"（Zottoli 1879：398–399）。在老旦的话中"惊"是形容词，和名词"魂"组成主语，"幸"是副词，"已"也是副词，两者都修饰动词"醒"，"惫"是形容词修饰名词"体"，"还"、"僵"是副词修饰动词"仆"。 再看译文，Terrefactus 是动词的过去分词形式，充当形容词修饰名词 spiritus，而 fortunate 和 jam 为副词修饰动词 revixit 做谓语；同理 lassa 是形容词修饰名词 membra 做复数主语，而 adhuc 和 prostrata 为副词修饰动词jacent作谓语。并且两个动词的译文都明确的翻译出了时态， revixit 为现在完成时， jacent 是一般现在时，两句译文的语法成分完全等同于中文原文的语法成分。这是作者运用拉丁语法对汉语所做的深刻分析，甚至可以帮助我们更深入地思考中文语法。

但是，这样的译法也就一定程度上牺牲了拉丁文原本的语言习惯，使很多译文读起来并不顺畅。晁德蒞宁可使译入语显得"疙疙瘩瘩"，也要采用这种极端的直译法，其用意在于最大限度的传达中国语言的语义和结构。使中文原文和拉丁语译文间尽量形成字字对应的关系就可以让学习者通过拉丁文准确的对照中文原文，以便尽可能的有利于传教士和读者学习汉语，

原文与译文间的字字对应关系。

这无疑是一场深思熟虑下的翻译实验。而译文中没有传达出来的意思则交给下面的字词解释和文化注释，进行进一步说明和阐发。

（二）、字词释义

晁译将原文中的疑难字词做了专门的释义，先列字，再于有的字后解释此字组成的词语。在这一点上，晁德蒞完全沿用了中国古文以字而非以词为单位的特点，例如，“丫鬟”这个词，他先将两字分别解释，再合并释义。他的释义基本摘选自《康熙字典》，但他并没有完全照译《康熙字典》，而是采用了西方词典编纂的通用格式来编辑词条。其释词的程序是1，字，并在字四角标注四声（平、上、去、入）；2，注音；3，解释字的本意；4，解释字的引申义；5，词或词组，并有解释或译文；6，有的难字标出其偏旁部首。如《斩鬼传》中对觔的解释“ 觔 Kin, nervus, 筋: libra,ascia,斤. 打斤頭, cernulare. R 148.”（Zottoli 1879：714）（Zottoli 1879：714）。Kin 是用拼音法标注“觔”的字音，字意是肌腱（nervus），同“筋”字，字义：重量单位，斧子，再指出同“斤”字。然后再给出词汇“打斤頭”，意思是翻跟头，最后再提供“觔”字的部首为第148号，可于书前的部首表查阅，部首表与《康熙字典》214部首相同。

除此之外，作者又根据中国语言文字的特点对有的汉字注出俗体字或俗字（vulgaris littera）、异体字和繁简字，对多音多义字分别进行解释，对有的汉字标注出词性。因此，我们可以看出《教程》的字词解释是摘译自《康熙字典》，但他舍去了原文中大量的例释和原典引文，而是以西方字典编纂的程式来编译《康熙字典》中的材料。

（三）、对中国传统文化的注释与天主教化的阐发

由于中华文化博大丰厚以及中国语言的复杂多义和多重隐喻，《教程》在面对初学汉语的西人时，不得不对译文中的大量文化信息加以简明扼要的注释说明。晁注中的文化注释主要涉及中国的职官（如廉访使、长史、知府、左都御史、大夫、转运使、布政使、尚书、六部）、仪轨（孝服、婚礼）、年号（至正）、古今地名（姑苏、江河、云间、长安、江南、漳

邺、琅琊、三楚、七国）、兵器（朴刀、戒刀、棨戟、十八般兵器）、名人（孔子、箕子、宋弘、欧阳修、管鲍、伍子胥、高宗、诸葛亮、太公望、武则天、梁武帝、李杜、张良、晏婴、韩愈、马援）、佛道教、信仰（枉死鬼、九泉、民社、它身归地府）、科举（大比、主考）、植物（木瓜、豌豆、洛阳花）、动物（千里驹、麒麟、虬、凤凰）、成语（如南柯一梦、衔环结草、移花接木）、建筑（照墙、脱坯、马门）、天文（参商、恒）、节气气象（清明、朔风、瑞雪）、干支、出典（如指出正文中用典出自《论语》、《诗经》、《孟子》等书）、神话传说（如孟姜女、河伯、蓝田种玉）、历史事件（三田分荆、秦晋）、哲学（如五行）、伦理（妇节、孝、七出）、习俗（缠足、八字、八拜之交、养儿防老）、工艺品（如扇坠、屏、粉绘、翡翠、玳瑁）、称谓（陛下、阁下、未亡人、姑爷、大嫂、博士、员外）、家具（交椅）、军事（无为军、辕门、军师、录事参军）、刑法（囚车、发配、砍首号令）、乐器（云板、琵琶、磬）、服饰、货币（银子、钱、分）、饮食（酱、酒浆、洋酒）、诗词（平水韵）、文献（家谱）等。

《教程》对中国文化的注释立足选译的文本，又超越文本的具体内容对相关知识做了系统的介绍和梳理，这是对中国古代文化所做的百科全书式的成体系的研究与展示。例如《孝弟里》有“公卿不能决……”一句，晁氏对此句的注释竟然简述了中国职官的发展变化“Sub dynastia Tcheou tres erant summates 公, seu summus magister 太师, summus adjutor 太傅 et summus tutor 太保; sex vero ministry 卿, seu magnus administrator 冢宰, praefectus institutionis 司徒, praefectus rituum 宗伯, praefectus belli 司马, praefectus poenarum 司寇, et praefectus operum 司空. Sub dynastia vero Han, ad quam haec pertinent historia, novem erant ministry 九卿, qui sic vocabantur: 太常, 光禄勋, 卫尉, 太仆, 廷尉, 鸿胪, 宗正, 司农, 少府. Nunc temporis, sub praesenti dynastia, Paulo aliter denominantur; sunt nempe 太常寺, 太仆寺, 大理寺, 鸿胪寺, 光禄寺, 上驷院, 武备院, 奉宸院, 通政寺: et si de majoribus sit sermo, tunc intelliguntur sex summorum tribunalium praesides cum 督察院, 大理寺 et 通政寺.”（Zottoli 1879：415）。此段先介绍了周代的职官，包括三公六卿。然后介绍了与《孝弟里》故事同时的汉代职官的九卿制度，最后简介了清代的三司六部制度。本

篇小说中还有“会稽郡太守奏旨檄下县令”一句。注释便将先秦的九州、秦代40郡、汉代13部、晋代19州、唐代15道、宋代15路和明代13省的政区沿革简介了一遍，然后又将政区的职官加以介绍。[8]

总体而论，我们可以看到《教程》的译注环环相扣、学识扎实、尊重中国文化、达到了较高的汉学水准，不过作者天主教神父的身份依然可以在这部译著中看出端倪。虽然作者并不刻意以神学来阐释汉学，但是他的身份认同仍然在不经意之间流露了出来。在面对佛教的神佛形象时，大都以偶像目之，已明显带有天主教立场。此外，在杂剧《潇湘雨》中，“这厮不小心，警觉老夫睡，该打这厮也。” 译文为 “iste famulus nihil attendens excitavit me somno: oportet percutere istum famulum.”（Zottoli　1879：355）。翻译较为准确，而且这句原文比较简单，没有任何术语、成语等需要注释的地方，但是作者却专门评论说这是“衰弱灵魂/心灵波动的画面：他从睡眠中惊醒，一会儿责怪自己精神和身体的衰弱，加重了孤寂的处境；一会儿又责备天气不佳，与内心的烦乱产生了共鸣，最终将这股气恼发泄在仆人身上（Aegri animi pingitur fluctuatio: e somno excitatus, modo culpat ipsam animi corporisque aegritudinem, loci solitudine aggravatam; modo temporis incusat intemperiem, interno tumultui consonantem; et tandem in famulum effundit iram.）（Zottoli　1879：355）。作者轻描淡写点出这是衰弱灵魂的写照，也就是异教徒的衰弱心灵，根据耶稣会罗耀拉（Ignacio de Loyola, 1491–1556）的《神操》，波动的心灵是受到了外界恶神扰乱的结果，需要通过天主所指示的秩序，经过心灵上的信仰和退省才能重新获得灵魂的平安。作者在这里是以耶稣会灵修的视野来关照小说中的情节和人物的。[9]

三、中国俗文学拉丁文译介的高峰与明清翻译模式

16世纪利玛窦来华以来，西方天主教传教士对中国经典如四书五经的翻译主要以拉丁文为主，但对中国俗文学的翻译则

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[8] 晁氏说“秦分为36郡，后又增添4郡（秦 divisit in 36郡, quibus mox 4 insuper addidit）”。

[9] 参阅梅谦立：《从西方灵修学的角度阅读儒家经典：耶稣会翻译的<中庸>》载于《比较经学》2013年，第二辑，宗教文化出版社，第72–74页。

基本不使用拉丁语，而是用欧洲民族语言进行译介，如法语的《赵氏孤儿》、英语的《好逑传》等。从而导致中国俗文学长期没有拉丁文译本，在十九世纪末，拉丁文在西方已开始走向落幕的时代，晁德莅的《中国文化教程》第一卷问世，可以说是填补了一个历史的空白，对中国俗文学翻译来说也属空前绝后的译本，自有其历史地位。[10]译本以中国典籍为基础，对翻译内容进行了细致的选择，对所选文本的极端直译异常苛刻，又卓有成效，另附有详细的词汇释义和博学的注释，使得《教程》体大思精，成为一部传播中华文化的百科全书。晁德莅的极端直译仿效了古代西方的字对字翻译法，使西人能够直接对读拉丁与中文文献，从而形成了明清中国经典西译的一种模式。[11]这种模式不同于早期来华传教士所广泛采用的编译模式[12]，而是代表了另一个极端，即意图准确传达出所译中文文献的每一个词汇、语法和语序。晁译与早期传教士的编译模式形成了中国经典翻译策略的两级。但是，《教程》也有将中国文献与文化进行西化，套用西方概念、名词，加以天主教义理阐发的明显痕迹。这使得本书勘称一部中西古典文化整合的产物，它显示了西人的严肃译介并无法完成将中国典籍的文化内涵进行没有损耗的移译，相反通常损耗较多，但译入的成品也不完全是如现代翻译理论所云翻译活动乃译入语对原语言文化的意识形态实践。明清的典籍翻译活动在译者身份、社会语境、文化传统、预设读者等多重力量的塑形下形成的翻译作品是中西文化的整合形态。两种文化都参与了整合体的建构，两

[10] 本卷出版后不久，全书就被译为法文出版，参见：P. Angelo Zottoli, S.J., e Missione Nankinensi , *Cursus litteraturae sinicae neo-missionariis accomodatus*; traduction française du premier volume par le P.C. de Bussy, S.J. Zi-Ka-Wei: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1891.

[11] 小说戏曲在古代不属于经典的范畴，但在五四之后地位上升到与传统的诗歌散文等高雅文学并称的文学体裁。在当下的语境中，中国杰出的小说戏曲作品同样被视为经典，如西方称明清六部小说为六大名著，亦称其为经典小说（Classical Novels）。本文此处称俗文学为经典是以当下视野来关照这些作品，并且笔者认为本文对明清俗文学翻译模式的论述一定程度上也适用于晁德莅对四书五经等传统经典文献的译介。

[12] 早期来华传教士的西典中译和中书西译均大体采用了较为松散灵活的编译形式，译者在翻译过程中采取了较多的增删改写。李奭学将这种编译方法称为“译述”。17世纪英国诗人、翻译家德莱顿（John Dryden, 1631–1700）则将这种类似改写的翻译法称为“拟作”（imitation）。参阅李奭学：《译述：明末耶稣会翻译文学论》，香港中文大学出版社，2012年。

者各自与原文化保有着深远的互文性，同时又都在新的整合体中被改写，发生变异，最终构成了明清翻译文本有别于现代翻译作品的模式与形态。

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III. Language Teaching and Education

30 Years of Chinese Studies Program in Sofia University – History, Experience and Perspectives

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Abstract

The paper presents a general overview of the history of Chinese language teaching in Sofia University since the beginning of 1950s and the Chinese Studies Program, established in 1991. The study is focused on the main steps and aspects in the development of the Chinese Studies from elective courses to the establishment of BA, MA and PhD programs in Sinology, including the development of the academic staff, number of students and graduates, academic achievements, publications and research projects. The paper presents results and analysis based on two survey studies among students and graduates from the Chinese Studies Department in Sofia University.

Keywords: Chinese Studies Program, Sofia University, Sinology studies, history of Chinese studies

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Alexander Alexiev, Mrs. Aksinia Koleva, Mrs. Rosinka Rusinova and other sinologists that have laid the foundations of the Chinese Studies as an academic program at Sofia University.

Historical overview of Chinese Studies in Sofia University

The beginning of the Sinology studies in Bulgaria was laid by the two founders of the Chinese language teaching in Sofia University – Prof. Zhu Dexi (朱德熙) and Assist. prof. Zhang Sunfen (张荪芬). Prof. Zhu Dexi from Beijing University was assigned as the first Chinese lecturer in Sofia University from 1952 to 1955, in accordance with the intergovernmental agreement for educational and research cooperation and exchange of lecturers and students between the ministries of education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the newly established People's Republic of China. Prof. Zhu Dexi was among the first group of Chinese lecturers sent abroad to teach Chinese, mainly to the countries of Eastern Europe as well as to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, closely after the establishment of the PRC.

The first courses on Chinese language in Bulgaria were opened in Sofia University in February 1953, jointly run by Prof. Zhu Dexi and his assistant Zhang Sunfen. Within the period before the establishment of a separate academic program in Chinese studies, i.e. in the years from 1953 until 1991, there were about 500 students that attended the elective courses of Chinese language in Sofia University, including learners not only from the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology and the departments of Sofia University as a whole, but also students from other higher educational institutions and specialists of different professional background, including journalists, diplomats, physicians, artists etc. (Dong 2005: 16). In fact, it was among the graduates of these Chinese language courses that the first bunch of Bulgarian sinologists and future founders of Chinese studies school in Sofia University emerged.

Prof. Zhu Dexi (1920–1992)

After the teaching assignment of Prof. Zhu Dexi was completed and he left Sofia University in 1955, Assist prof. Zhang Sunfen, who lived with her family in Sofia, continued to carry on with the Chinese courses and language materials compilation and research work all until 1980, when she retired from Sofia University. Thus the tradition of Chinese language teaching in Bulgaria was continuously developed, without any decline even in the period of cooling down the diplomatic relations between the two countries in the 1960s – 1970s. In 2004 Mrs. Zhang Sunfen was awarded the Blue Ribbon Medal of Sofia University, the highest honor in the education field in Bulgaria, in recognition of her outstanding contribution to the cause of Chinese language teaching in Bulgaria.

Mrs. Zhang Sunfen (1918–2010)

The first book for teaching Chinese for Bulgarians 《汉语教科书》 (Zhu, Zhang 1954) was compiled by Prof. Zhu Dexi and Zhang Sunfen early in 1953 and published by the National Publishing House "Science and Arts", section "University Literature". At the time it was really a hard and pioneering work fulfilled by the two scholars, because there were hardly any materials in Chinese to be found in Bulgaria that can be applied as a basis of a textbook. The two scholars had to collect from China teaching materials and reading books for local primary and secondary schools (for Chinese students), as well as some Chinese reading materials for children. They selected stories, essays, novels, editorials, and then in accordance with the needs of teaching Chinese as a second language they made some necessary rewriting and editing of the text materials, and also added some locally specific content, relative to the Bulgarian social and cultural environment, to compile a comprehensive teaching book of Chinese as a second language, designed for Bulgarians (Dong 2005: 133–134). Apart from relevant text materials, the book also contains a general introduction on the Chinese language system, phonetic guide, character writing and grammar explanations, as well as new words glossary and notes on the text materials. As the typing technology of the publishing companies in Bulgaria at that time did not allow printing of Chinese characters, all the characters that appear in the book in all its editions, both in texts, vocabulary entries and grammar explanations, as well as in the dictionaries, later compiled by Zhang Sunfen, were hand-written by the author.

《汉语教科书》 was not only the first book for teaching Chinese for Bulgarians, it was also the one used for the longest times. It has undergone two revised editions by Zhang Sunfen, published by the Sofia University Press in 1958 and 1981, thus it continued to be in teaching practice until the establishment of the Chinese Studies Program as BA and MA major in Sofia University in 1991. It is also worth mentioning that this book, compiled by prof. Zhu Dexi and Zhang Sunfen, was also valued as a reference book for teaching Chinese as a foreign language by Beijing University Reference Materials Department of Chinese Language Specialized Courses for Foreign Students (北京大学外国留学生中国语文专修班资料室).

The first Chinese – Bulgarian dictionary was a classified dictionary 《保汉分类词典》 (Zhang 1969), compiled by Zhang Sunfen and published by Sofia University Press in 1969. Later in 1978 Zhang Sunfen published also a concise Chinese – Bulgarian dictionary for learners of Chinese language 《汉语常用词汇》 (Zhang 1978). It contains 3500 Chinese characters and 13 000 most commonly used words and expressions, and for a certain period it provided a valuable vocabulary reference for teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language in Bulgaria.

Another useful resource for Chinese language teaching was the Collection of texts for reading Chinese 《汉语读本》 (Zhang 1971), also compiled by Zhang Sunfen, and published by Sofia University Press in 1971. The textbook consists of two parts and an appendix. The first part contains texts from folk genres (riddles, proverbs, folk tales), legends, stories, poems; the second part consists of texts from different fields of science: geography, history, linguistics, biology, chemistry, medicine, agriculture, technology, philosophy, information and media texts, as well as excerpts from contemporary fiction and Chinese classical literature. The last part of the textbook is a Chinese-Bulgarian dictionary, containing all the words in the text collection.

In 1985 the Department of Eastern Languages at the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philologies was transformed into a Center for Eastern Languages and Cultures at the same Faculty, where the existing departments and majors in Eastern languages and cultures were hosted, and new separate programs in Oriental studies continued to be established. Following the programs of Turkish Studies (1952), Arabic Studies (1964), Indian Studies (1983), Japanese Studies (1990), the Chinese Studies Program was established in 1991 as a five-year joint BA/MA Program. The PhD Programs in Sinology started to be run since 1998, thus completing the three levels of higher education in Chinese Studies.

In 2000, the Center for Eastern Languages and Cultures was restructured into four departments, including Turkology and Altaic Studies (Turkology Program), Arabic Studies and Semitology (Arabic Studies Program), Classical East (with 3 Programs: Indology, Iranian Studies and Armenian Philology) and East Asian Languages and Cultures (with 3 Programs: Chinese Studies, Japanese Studies and Korean Studies).

The Chinese Studies Department as a separate academic unit within the Center for Eastern Languages and Cultures under the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology was established in 2018. The Department presently runs the BP in Chinese Studies (4 academic years), the PM "Intercultural Communication and Translation/Interpretation with Chinese and Bulgarian Language" (1/2 years), as well as PhD Programs in Chinese language and literature, philosophy, folk religion, history. The Department also participates in the Joint MA programs within the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology, namely the MA Program "Methodology of Foreign Language Teaching in an Intercultural Environment" and the MA Program "Buddhism (with eastern language)".

Academic team

By the end of 2021, the Department of Chinese Studies has 8 full-time academic positions, 7 contract positions and 2 Chinese guest-lecturers. Among full-time academic staff there are 5 members with a PhD degree – 1 full professor, 1 associate professor and 3 chief assistant professors, and also 3 assistant professors.

The main fields of academic research of the full-time academic members and the guest-lecturers in the Department are as follows:

Prof. Dr. Alexander Alexiev

Practical and theoretical Chinese grammar (syntax), Media text grammar; Lexicology and lexicography, Phraseology, Linguo-stylistics, Traditional Chinese culture and language policy in China, as well as Political economy of China, the countries of East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region

Assoc. prof. Dr. Antonia Tsankova

Modern Chinese grammar, Functional linguistics, Semantics and pragmatics, Classical Chinese, Historical grammar of Chinese language, Methodology of teaching Chinese as a second language, Translational studies

Chief Assist. Prof. Dr. Teodora Koutsarova

Daoism, Chinese script, Oracle bone script, Ancient Chinese culture, Chinese linguistics and semiotics, Chinese numerology

Chief Assist. Prof. Dr. Veselin Karastoychev

Chinese literature and culture, Philosophy, Literary translations

Chief Assist. Prof. Dr. Evelina Hein

Chinese folk culture, Chinese folk religion, Chinese folklore, Folklore of East Asia

Assist. prof. Stefan Ivanchev

Modern Chinese language, Practical Grammar, Teaching Chinese as a second language

Assist. Prof. Maria Marinova

Chinese linguistics, Prehistory and ancient history of China, Silk Road archaeology

Assist. Prof. Tsvetelina Nedyalkova

Ancient history of China, Eastern Zhou, Ancient Chinese language, the Ethno-political situation in ancient China

Guest lecturers

Assoc. prof. Dr. Liu Xinchun

Ancient Chinese language, Words evolution in ancient Chinese, Teaching Chinese as a second language

Zhang Kaiyue, PhD student

Modern Chinese, Teaching Chinese as a second language, Linguistic pragmatics

Research activities, qualification and project development

According to the database for academic achievements of Sofia University "The Authors", we can summarize the main research results of the Chinese Studies Department for the past 10 years (2009–2019) as follows:

- 4 PhD thesis defended
- 5 monographs published
- 67 articles in collection books and journals
- 12 research projects, including 3 international conferences:
    - I International conference on Chinese Studies "Current Issues in Contemporary Chinese and Oriental Studies" (2017)
    - International Conference "China and the World: Language, Culture, Politics" (2019)

◦ II International conference on Chinese Studies "Current Issues in Contemporary Chinese and Oriental Studies" (2021)

Students – enrolment, education and employment

The Chinese Studies Program ranks among the most preferred majors for studying in the field of philology and foreign languages in Sofia University, considered the comparative score that is required for admission in the Program, which is among the highest in the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology, and this is a prerequisite for the high quality of the students enrolled in the Department.

As for the number of students in the Department, here we can show some of the statistics for the past 30 years (1991–2021)[1]:

- 455 students enrolled in the BP "Chinese Studies"
- 245 students graduated from the BP "Chinese Studies"
- 7 PhD dissertations defended in the department
- 3 current PhD programs

Considering the data for the BP in Chinese Studies, we can easily discover a huge gap between the number of students that were enrolled and that graduated from the BP in Chinese Studies, i.e. the students graduating from the Program are twice less than those entering the Program. This may be to a certain degree a natural gap that can be attributed to the difficulties in studying Sinology as a major, which is not a secret to anyone. Apart from that, it is worth to consider the factors that may improve the motivation and performance of the students in order to increase the potential graduation rate.

The number of students enrolled in BP "Chinese Studies" has constantly increased all through the period of 30 years. The following graphic shows the dynamics of the newly enrolled students yearly in the period 1991–2021:

[1] The statistical data concerning the period 1991–2004 was drawn from (Dong 2005: 236–244). We take the opportunity to express thanks to Mrs. Maria Todorina-Videnova, inspector in the Students' Office in the Center for Eastern Languages and Cultures, for providing the relevant data for the period 2005–2021.

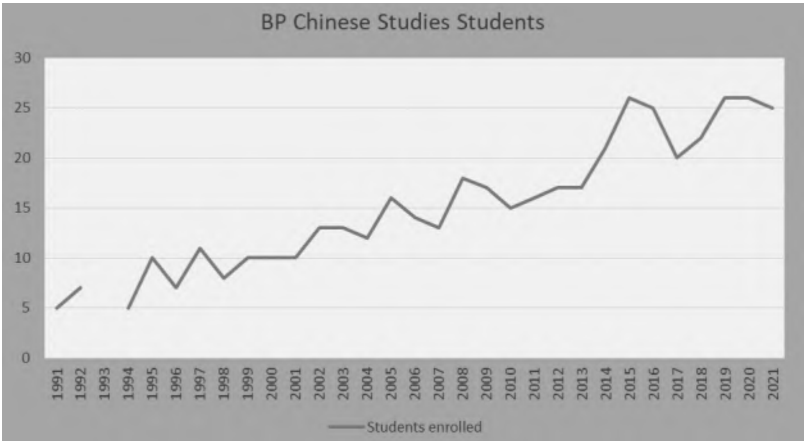

Fig. 1. Students enrolled in BP "Chinese Studies" (1991–2021)

On the chart we can observe the stable tendency of increasing the number of students enrolled to the Chinese Studies Program, starting from 5 students at the opening of the Program in 1991, and gradually increasing to around 25 in the span of 2015–2021.

Now let us shift the viewpoint on the development of the Chinese Studies in Sofia University from the academic review to the perspective of the students. We shall show and analyze some of the results of a survey, conducted within a joint project entitled "Strategy for Development of Asian Studies Programs (Korean, Japanese, Chinese): Problems of the Young Generation in Bulgaria, Korea, Japan and China – Comparison, General Trends, Prospects and Possible Solutions", funded by the Research Fund of Sofia University "St. Climent Ohridski " (2020).

The survey was conveyed with 83 students from the three programs, 29 of them from the Chinese Studies Department.

Summary of survey results

Here we shall show the statistic results from selected research questions, grouped in three parts, and after reporting the summarized results on each part, we shall draw basic conclusions on the surveyed topic.

Questions 1–4: Motivation and professional perception

- 1) I study the major I like.

– Yes – 92%
– No – 8%

- 2) Do you notice a decrease in motivation during your study?

– No – 18%
– Periodically – 54%
– Yes – 25%
– I cannot esteem it – 4%

- 3) To what extent do you relate your education with your future professional realization?

– Completely – 18%
– To a great extent – 32%
– To some extent – 50%

- 4) Did your preconceived notions of Chinese society and culture change during your studies?

– Yes, in a positive way – 57%
– Yes, in a negative way – 11%
– No – 7%
– I cannot esteem it – 21%

Summary 1: We can see from the results of the survey that more than 90% of the respondents are content with their choice to study sinology, which is a good prerequisite for their motivation in study. On the other hand, most of the students experience a constant (25%) or a periodical (54%) decrease in motivation during their study. 57% of the respondents have changed their preconceived notions of Chinese society and culture in a positive way, and 11% in a negative way. 50% of the respondents relate the education experience with their future professional realization – completely (18%) or to a great extent (32%), and equally 50% link them to some extent.

Questions 5–10: Study process and curriculum

- 5) The material you've been taught can be described as:

– Useful and interesting – 52%
– Useful, but not interesting – 24%
– Useless, but interesting – 3%
– Other – 21%

- 6) Do you think that the ratio between the theoretical disciplines and the practical language courses is balanced?

– To a great extent – 11%
– To a certain extent – 39%
– No – 36%
– I cannot esteem it – 14%

- 7) What would you change in the curriculum? (more than one answer is possible)

– I would increase the share of disciplines with practical orientation – 96%
– I would increase the share of general courses concerning the region of East Asia – 48%
– I would increase the share of elective courses – 33%
– I would increase the share of compulsory courses – 4%

- 8) Are there enough practical and creative tasks set in the learning process?

– Yes, there are enough and diverse tasks – 18%
– Yes, but they are not enough – 36%
– No, not any – 14%
– I cannot esteem it – 14%
– Other – 18%

- 9) Do you participate in team tasks and projects in the process of education?

– Rarely – 14%
– Very rarely – 61%
– No – 25%

- 10) What skills and qualities did you acquire during your studies? (more than one answer is possible)

– Skills for goal setting and meeting deadlines – 64%
– Oral communication skills – 61%
– Analytical skills – 54%
– Self-affirmation skills – 50%
– Organizational skills – 29%
– Team skills – 25%

Summary 2: As far as the study process and academic curriculum is concerned, the students have been mainly positive about the study content and material, as 52% of them find it useful and interesting, while 24% of the respondents consider it useful, but not interesting. Substantial part of the students considers the ratio between the theoretical disciplines and the practical language courses balanced only to a certain extent (39%) or not balanced (36%), and only 11% of the respondents perceive it as balanced. Naturally, on the question "What would you change in the curriculum?" (with more than one possible answer), 96% of the respondents have chosen to "increase the share of disciplines with practical orientation", 48% would "increase the share of general courses concerning the region of East Asia", and 33% would suggest to increase the share of elective courses. Only 18% of the respondents think that there are enough, diverse practical and creative tasks set in the learning process, while 50% in whole consider them not enough (36%) or not existing at all (14%). Among the skills and qualities that students have acquired during their studies, most of the students have noted (with more than one possible answer) skills for goal setting and meeting deadlines (64%), oral communication skills (61%), analytical skills (54%), self-affirmation skills (50%) and others.

Questions 11–13: Online education

- 11) What is your opinion about distance learning online?

– For me it is the most appropriate format of learning – 12%
– It is applicable only for the period of epidemic situation – 38%
– I didn't like it – 19%
– I prefer the hybrid form of education – 31%

- 12) What I liked about online learning is: (more than one answer is possible)

– More flexible distribution of time – 69%
– Opportunity for education and training in an informal environment – 69%
– Flexible access to learning materials – 58%

– The possibility for diverse and different forms of training – 54%
– Working with modern technologies and innovations – 42%
– More independence and self-regulation of the learning process – 35%
– Better feedback on tasks – 19%
– Indirect communication with teachers and colleagues – 19%
– The diverse means for assessing the acquired knowledge – 8%
– I did not like – 4%

- 13) What I didn't like about online learning is: (more than one answer is possible)

– Technical problems – 96%
– Incomplete communication and interaction with colleagues and teachers – 65%
– Lack of motivation and enthusiasm – 46%
– Increased workload and fatigue from working with information technology – 42%
– Poor team work in remote access and the impossibility of collegial mutual assistance – 42%
– Lack of direct feedback from the teachers – 31%
– Unsuccessful time management and organization – 12 %

Summary 3: On the widely discussed topic of online education, the mostly preferred opinion is that it is applicable only for the period of epidemic situation (38%), and that the hybrid form of education is preferable (31%). 19% of the respondents didn't like online education, while 12% consider it the most appropriate format of learning. What the students mostly liked about online learning (with more than one possible answer) was the more flexible distribution of time (69%), the opportunity for education and training in an informal environment (69%), flexible access to learning materials (58%), the possibility for diverse and different forms of training (54%), working with modern technologies and innovations (42%), more independence and self-regulation of the learning process (35%). On the contrary question – what students didn't like about online learning, the most common answers are (with more than one possible answer): technical problems (96%), incomplete communication and interaction with colleagues and teachers (65%), lack of motivation and enthusiasm (46%), increased workload and fatigue from working with information technology (42%), poor team work on remote access and the impossibility of mutual assistance (42%), and the lack of direct feedback from the teachers (31%).

When talking about the quality of education, one of the important indicators should be the professional realization of the graduates from the Program. In this regard we conveyed another survey with 56 respondents specially on the occasion of the anniversary of the Chinese Studies Program. The aim of the survey is to examine some basic aspects of the professional realization and sphere of employment of the graduates from the Program. Here are the summarized results from the survey, presented in three questions:

- 1) After graduation from the Chinese Studies Department:

– I work in a sphere related to my major – 55.4%
– I work in another sphere – 41%
– I continue my education in another degree or major – 3.6%
– Not employed – 0%

- 2) My professional sphere of employment is: (more than one answer is possible)

– Business and trade – 34.5%
– Education – 34.5%
– Translation – 23.6%
– Outsourcing services – 20%
– Financial services – 10.9%
– Technologies – 10.9%
– Government administration – 3.6%
– Academic research – 1.8%

- 3) Are you satisfied with your professional employment?

– Yes – 37.5%
– Rather yes than no – 37.5%

– Rather no than yes	– 14.3%
– No	– 1.8%
– I cannot answer	– 7.1%
– Other	– 1.7%

Summary 4: The results of the survey about the professional employment of our graduates show that 55.4% of the respondents work in a sphere, related to the Chinese studies, which is quite a high degree of relation. A remarkable fact that showed up in the survey is that the unemployment rate among the respondents is 0%. The professional spheres of employment (with more than one possible answer) are mainly business and trade (34.5%), education (34.5%), translation (23.6%), outsourcing services (20%), financial services (10.9%), technologies (10.9%), government administration (3.6%), academic research (1.8%). It is also remarkable to point out that most of the respondents are satisfied or rather satisfied with their professional employment (75% in whole), while those who are not or rather not satisfied account only for 16.1%, among them completely not satisfied are only 1.8% of the respondents. As a whole we can observe quite a good realization of our sinologists, with convincing perspectives for professional development.

Awards and Recognitions

Students graduated from the Chinese Studies Program are highly esteemed for their academic and professional achievements both in Bulgaria and abroad. Our students have always been among highest rating in scores among international students during their language training in China.

- January 2021 Hristina Teodosieva, 2nd year MP student was given the award for highest academic score and rate of attendance among international MA students in Beijing Foreign Studies University!
- June 2021 Stefan Rusinov, contract lecturer in the Chinese Studies Department, was awarded the National prize “Hristo G. Danov” in the category “Translator of Fiction” for contribution to the Bulgarian literary culture. The award was given

to Stefan Rusinov for the translation from Chinese of the novels “ The Three-Body Problem” – the first volume of the trilogy “Remembrance of Earth’s Past” by Liu Cixin, published by “Collibri” Publishing House and the novel “To Live” by Yu Hua, published by “Janet 45”.
- November 2021 Radina Yanuzova, 4th grade student, won II place in the final round of the “Chinese Bridge” World Competition!

Future plans and perspectives?

- Maintain and increase the level of academic training and research achievements;
- Keep up with the latest trends and innovations in Chinese studies and Chinese language teaching;
- Actively participate in domestic and international collaborative research projects and academic forums;
- Adapt to the dynamics of the ever-changing and unpredictable situation of work and life;
- Follow up the contemporary state of Chinese studies and meet the expectations of our new and prospective students;
- Include more practically oriented courses in the teaching curriculum that can be applicable in future employment;
- Develop good academic team.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Chinese Studies Department I would like to express once again our sincere gratitude to all our teachers and doyens of the Chinese Studies in Bulgaria, as well as to the leadership of Sofia University and the Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology for their continuous support for the development of the Sinology studies, to the Embassy of the PRC in Sofia and to Beijing Foreign Studies University for their good cooperation and support, and to all our colleagues and students in the Sinology studies that have always been a remarkable professional community.

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Maltese-English Code Switching as a Pedagogical Tool for the Localization of CFL in Maltese Secondary Education

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Abstract

Mandarin Chinese is the "fastest growing language being taught in the US" (Duff et al. 2012: 11) and also in other countries in Europe. In Malta, Chinese (Mandarin) was introduced as a foreign language option in one government school in the academic year 2017/2018, and since then, the number of learners and schools, where it is taught, has increased. The spread of Chinese Foreign Language (CFL) teaching and learning outside of China has led to a diversity of contexts where CFL is learnt and taught by students and teachers of diverse linguistic and ethnic identities (Tsung and Cruickshank 2011). The increase in the demand for CFL in various countries has also led to a growing number of local, non-native speaker teachers who are usually multilingual. Local teachers also contribute to localise CFL according to the needs of the students in their socio-cultural context and they also create local systems and curricula. The growth in the demand for CFL in Europe has also led to a "strong interest in the search for research-based effective pedagogy" (Xu and Moloney 2016: 158). The aim of this research paper is to contribute to "the search" for a "research-based effective pedagogy" especially in bilingual education contexts where teachers continuously code-switch between the first (L1) and second (L2) languages and the target language (TL). Code-switching between Maltese (L1), English (L2) and Mandarin Chinese (TL) happens for a number of reasons in CFL classrooms in Malta. Some of the main reasons are for the scaffolding of new linguistic knowledge; the comparison and contrast between Maltese, English and

Chinese grammar structures; the translation of vocabulary and to facilitate communication. The aim of this research paper is to discover how code-switching, as a pedagogical tool, contributes to the localisation of CFL in Secondary Education in Malta.

Keywords: Code-switching, bilingualism, pedagogical purpose of L1 & L2, CFL, localisation of CFL

The teaching and learning of Chinese (Mandarin) as a foreign language (CFL) in the contexts of the West where Chinese is not widely spoken or taught is continuously growing. According to the *Report of Language Situation in China,* published in 2006 by the Chinese Ministry of Education, over 30 million people were studying Chinese as a second or as a foreign language in different countries around the world. Since then, this number has grown and CFL education has become more diverse given the students' and CFL teachers' different first languages (L1) and different ethnic and socio-cultural identities. This diversity of socio-cultural contexts where CFL is being taught has given rise to a situation where CFL is not only taught in predominantly monolingual classrooms by native speaker teachers in Beijing, but also in classrooms in the West where both native and non-native speaker teachers speak more than the target language (TL) in their classrooms. Teachers of CFL in the West use the TL and other languages such as the L1 and L2 or other foreign languages for a number of pedagogical purposes. Due to the use of the TL and other languages, CFL classrooms have become, what Pratt (1999) calls the "contact zone", a place "where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other" (Pratt, *Arts of the Contact Zone,* 1999:2).

This research paper looks at CFL classrooms in schools in Malta as "contact zones" where in addition to the target language, Chinese (Mandarin), the medium of instruction in schools is bilingual: Maltese (the predominant L1) and English (the predominant L2). This is with the exception of CFL lessons done by ethnical Chinese teachers whose language of instruction, apart from Chinese (Mandarin), is so far English only. The aim is to find out how the bilingual medium of instruction contributes to the localisation of CFL curricula in a Maltese secondary school context.

Literature review: The pedagogical purposes of L1 in FL Teaching

The use of L1 in the teaching and learning of a foreign language has been discussed by linguists over the years. It has been argued that L1 is the point of reference for learners in the process of acquiring a new foreign language as learners tend to first base new grammatical knowledge on the L1 system and then adjust as more knowledge in the TL is acquired (Anton & DiCamilla 1999). Due to the scaffolding of new knowledge in TL and the linguistic knowledge that learners already have in their L1, L2 or any other foreign languages, a number of researchers argue that multilingual non-native speaker teachers are found at an advantage as they often share the L1 with learners and so they conduct lessons in a way that learners understand as both teacher and students have a common cultural and linguistic background (Antón and DiCamilla 1999; Blyth 1995; Cook 2001; Medgyes 1994; Swain and Lapkin 2000). Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher (2009:131) argue that L1 is very "beneficial as a cognitive tool that aids in L2 learning." Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher also argue that the use of both the students' L1 and TL is important to ensure a balance between students' understanding of the new material that is being taught and also exposure to the TL.

Code-switching between TL, L1, L2 and possibly other foreign languages occurs so naturally to bi/multilingual speakers that it is inevitable to completely avoid code-switching in the FL classroom. Scholars argue that teachers code-switch to the L1 for various reasons; to make sure that the students understand explanations, to carry out administrative tasks, to translate and to socialise with students, among other reasons (Cook 2001; Duff &Polio 1990). Thus, L1 has an important pedagogical purpose and code-switching between L1 and TL is done systematically (Duff & Polio 1990). As a result of the pedagogical purpose of L1, a number of studies have found out that both students and teachers have very positive attitudes towards L1 use in FL classrooms, especially in the case of beginner learners who are not yet fluent in the TL and who still need to build a solid foundation in understanding how TL works. As a result of this, it has been argued that a teacher's explanation, in both students' L1 and

TL, is more accessible to beginner non-native speaker learners than an explanation exclusively in the TL.

The pedagogical purposes of L1 mentioned above suggest that in order to be able to take advantage of such pedagogical purposes of L1, FL teacher needs to be proficient in the students' L1. This gives rise to the discussion on native and non-native speaker teachers and on who should be teaching CFL according to the context. By extension of Chomsky's (1965) theory that the native speaker is the sole authority on his language, in the past, native speaker teachers were idealised and non-native speaker teachers were only accepted in teaching jobs when there were not enough native speaker teachers, especially in countries where the TL is not widely spoken or taught. Later research idealised non-native speaker teachers because of their close proximity to their students and the similar linguistic and socio-cultural background (Braine 2010; Cook 1999; Cortazzi and Jin 1996; Kramsch 2003; Llurda 2005; Mahboob 2004; Medgyes 1991, 1999; Paikeday 1985; Rajagopalan 1999). With Paikeday's (1985) argument that "the native speaker is dead" because there is no clear definition of what exactly a native speaker is (Cook 1999; Medgyes 1992; Norton 2016; Rajagopalan 2004), scholars argue that since "nativeness" is not defined and does not necessarily reflect linguistic proficiency, being a native speaker is a construct of a person's socio-cultural identity. If being a native speaker is more a question of birthplace and socio-cultural identity and not necessarily linguistic proficiency, then the issue of being a native speaker of a particular language does not really matter in using students' L1 and L2 in FL classrooms for a variety of pedagogical purposes. What really matters in FL classrooms is the teacher's knowledge of the students' L1 and L2 and how to use them as to aid the students' acquisition of the TL.

The use of students' L1 and L2 in CFL classrooms not only facilitates the students' understanding of the TL's grammatical structures, but it also has a socio-cultural purpose as it localises the curriculum to make it appropriate for the cultural context where the teaching and learning is taking place. In fact, the use of the students' L1 and L2 in the CFL classroom depends on the context where the teaching and learning is taking place; a classroom for foreigners in China is very different from a classroom in Europe where Chinese is not widely spoken and where the students are mostly beginners. If one physically moves to China to be totally immersed in the TL, then in that context one would expect total immersion in the TL, but in a school context in Malta, one is not opting for a total immersion learning experience, but rather to gradually learn the TL in the cultural context of a local Maltese school.

Kachru (1985, 2005) discusses the cultural context where L2/FL teaching and learning takes place. In the context of English as a Second/Foreign language, Kachru (1985, 2005) creates a classification of three categories of teaching/learning English in different parts of the world. He classifies countries where English is traditionally the L1 (for example the UK, the US and Australia) as the inner circle. He also classifies countries that were colonised by the British and where English is the L2 (i.e. India) as the outer circle and then he classifies countries where English has no historical or cultural ties to the country but where English is studied as a FL (i.e. China and Japan) as the expanding circle. In the latter circle, English is not widely spoken or present in the community but it is taught as a foreign language within a classroom context.

In the light of Kachru's (1985) classification, Malta, a European country located in the heart of the Mediterranean, classifies as a country in the outer circle where English is concerned. This is because most people are bilingual in Maltese and English (Sciriha and Vassallo 2003, 2006) and English is *de facto* present in the daily life of the islanders. In fact, since the first year of formal schooling, all students learn Maltese and English and both languages are given equal importance throughout compulsory education. In the context of Malta, Chinese (Mandarin), along with the other foreign languages (Arabic, French, German, Italian, Spanish) taught in schools, classifies in the expanding circle, as it is only present within a classroom context.

In light of the classification of Chinese (Mandarin) in the expanding circle (Kachru 1985) in Malta, this research paper aims to find out how teachers and students of CFL in Maltese government schools perceive the pedagogical use of L1 (Maltese) and L2 (English) in an attempt to localise the curriculum according to the needs of Maltese students and schools.

Methodology

This research paper uses the case study design as its methodology. Case study is an "instance in action" (Simons 2009:4) as it focuses on a particular and from that particular it "yield(s) insights of universal significance" (Simons 2009:20). The aim of this case study is to research the use of L1 and L2 as media of instruction in CFL classrooms in Maltese secondary schools. The research instrument used in this research paper is the semi-structured interview. Interviews were conducted with teachers of Chinese (Mandarin) in secondary schools in Malta. To enable triangulation of data, interviews were conducted with both native speaker teachers whose medium of instruction is English and with local non-native speaker teachers whose medium of instruction is bilingual: Maltese (L1) and English (L2).

After the interviews, the data was transcribed, coded and themes were identified.

Three native Chinese speaker teachers participated in this research. All three native speaker teachers use English as their medium of instruction. Two non-native speaker teachers participated in this research, like the teachers of other subjects in Maltese secondary schools, they use a bilingual (Maltese/English) medium of instruction.

Discussion of results

The native Chinese speaker teachers whose language of instruction is English and who do not have any knowledge of Maltese were asked whether they felt disadvantaged because they could not communicate in Maltese at school. One of the teachers said that their lack of knowledge of Maltese is somewhat inconvenient especially when trying to keep discipline in the class. Another Chinese teacher said that since the students' level of English is good, there was never any language barrier between the teacher and students as English worked well as a medium of instruction. The teacher also remarked that the textbooks use English as a medium of instruction and that works well with students, so the teacher also used English as a medium of instruction as in the textbook.

Another native speaker teacher said that at times students communicate among themselves in Maltese and the teacher is not able understand what they say. Knowledge of the local language would in this case help to communicate with students. The non-native speaker teachers who use the bilingual medium of instruction (Maltese and English) said that they use both languages for different purposes; Maltese tends to be the language used for class management and for giving general information to the school administration and for communication with colleagues. Explanation of content related to the lesson tends to be in both languages; teachers code-switch to explain things in both languages in order to ensure that students understand. An explanation in both English and Maltese ensures that students understand the content that is being taught. This mainly occurs as they listen to the explanation twice and in two languages: if they miss any part of the explanation in one of the languages they have the chance to listen to the explanation again in the other language. One of the non-native speaker teachers remarked that students in the classroom are all bilingual, so they address the students in English when students speak among themselves in English while Maltese is used when students speak among themselves in Maltese. This shows that teachers tend to linguistically accommodate to the language choice of students. For local, non-native speaker teachers, using the bilingual medium of instruction is essential in order to ensure that students understand the content of the lesson in the language they feel that they understand the most. In addition to this, since both Maltese and English are used as languages of instruction in all other classes in state schools in Malta, for the local non-native speaker teachers it is the norm as well.

One of the native Chinese speaker teachers has remarked that they have tried to learn some Maltese phrases in order to get closer to the students and so that students feel that their language and culture are being appreciated by the teacher. The native Chinese speaker teacher has also remarked that being able to speak and understand

Maltese is an asset in order to bring students back on track if their discussion deviates from the lesson. All the teachers who participated in this research agree that knowledge in the students' L1 is an asset in the CFL classroom for a number of reasons: to compare and contrast grammar structures between L1 and TL and to ensure students' understanding of the content. Teachers also mention other socio-cultural reasons, for example learning some phrases in the students' L1 to close the cultural gap between the native Chinese speaker teacher and the Maltese students. The main language of instruction of the school is also necessary to communicate with colleagues, to understand staff meetings, to prepare administrative documents, to organise extra-curricular activities and to maintain discipline in class.

Native Chinese speaker teachers were also asked whether they experienced any difficulties to teach Chinese culture without any knowledge of Maltese language and culture. One of the native Chinese speaker teachers claimed that the lack of knowledge in Maltese does not affect their teaching of Chinese culture because the content is very basic and both teacher and students use English effectively. All native Chinese speaker teachers claimed that they did not experience any particular difficulties to speak about Chinese culture in their class because both students and teacher could communicate well in English. One of the native Chinese speaker teachers said that there is a lot of common ground between Chinese and Maltese culture and so students could understand well what the teacher was talking about. The local non-native teachers claimed that it is definitely an asset to understand the students' L1 in order to understand the students' background and to compare and contrast cultural concepts to ensure students' understanding of what was taught in class.

All teachers were asked whether L1 (Maltese) and L2 (English) are equally important as languages of instruction in CFL teaching and learning in Maltese secondary schools. One of the native Chinese speaker teachers argued that L1 (Maltese) and L2 (English) do not have the same importance in CFL teaching and learning as according to linguists, the L2 tends to be the language that most students refer to while learning an additional foreign language. In light of this, English is sufficient to learn Chinese in Malta. The majority of the teachers (both native and non-native) argue that both languages are important, as they are both medium languages through which students access Chinese. Local non-native teachers argue that Maltese is essential to work in Maltese-speaking schools as the usage of Maltese in class makes the content more localised and relevant. Maltese is definitely essential in order to fit in the culture of the school, to understand what is going on and to communicate with colleagues. L1 also becomes very useful to compare and contrast structures between TL and L1 or any other languages that students might speak to ensure understanding. One of the local non-native teachers claimed that some students even attempted to make comparisons between sentence structure and syntax in Chinese and Maltese and began appreciating how foreign languages work. The teacher also added that Maltese somehow enabled a friendlier and homey environment that facilitated the acquisition of Chinese with ease and comfort. Moreover, L1 became most useful in classrooms that had just started learning Chinese. Students had little or no knowledge of TL and Maltese could be used to introduce the major differences between L1 and/or L2 and TL, as well as the main grammatical characteristics of Chinese (Mandarin). For the local teachers, Maltese is essential both during classes and at school in general.

Finally, native Chinese speaker teachers were asked whether they would have used their knowledge in Maltese in their CFL classroom. All native Chinese speaker teachers agreed that they should acknowledge and respect the students' L1 and claimed that they tried to use it in some way in their lessons. They said that students were surprised and very happy to see that their Chinese teacher was making an effort to learn a few phrases in Maltese. By doing so, they would be bridging the gap between students and the target language.

From this short study on the use of L1 and L2 as medium of instruction in the CFL classroom in secondary schools in Malta, one could conclude that the students' languages cannot be ignored in CFL classrooms as all students (and teachers) come with a baggage of languages that can never be ignored. This is why Pratt (1999) speaks about foreign language classroom as "contact zones" "where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other" (Pratt, *Arts of the Contact*

Zone, 1999:2). Students' languages cannot be ignored, as they might as well be used for pedagogical purposes that ultimately play a role in understanding and learning a foreign language. The native Chinese speaker teachers in this study have tried to learn some basic phrases and words in Maltese (the students' L1) in an attempt to close the cultural gap between them and their students. On the other hand, local teachers, like their colleagues who teach other foreign languages, use both L1 (Maltese) and L2 (English) to repeat and revise content and to ensure that students understand, and also to carry out administrative tasks and to communicate with their colleagues. Definitely, using the students' L1 and L2 localises the CFL curriculum, as both local languages are included in CFL lessons. Apart from being important pedagogical tool, the bilingual medium of instruction also contributes to the localisation of CFL education in secondary schools in Malta because all other lessons use a bilingual medium of instruction.

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学习保加利亚语和汉语的大学生所面临的挑战——比较与分析

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Challenges for Students Studying Bulgarian and Chinese – Comparison and Analysis

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Abstract

In recent years, the number of Chinese university students learning Bulgarian and Bulgarian university students learning Chinese has increased as a result of the increasing cooperation and exchange between Bulgaria and China, but both sides face many difficulties in learning the language. This article uses questionnaires and comparative analysis to investigate the foreign language learning situation of Chinese and Bulgarian university students, and finds that the main factors that cause these learning difficulties are related to the differences between Chinese and Bulgarian languages, such as phonetics, verb morphology, tense system and writing system, which pose considerable challenges to both Chinese and Bulgarian university students. The article also compares and analyses the results of the two sets of experiments to provide a deeper, regional analysis and study of the learning challenges presented and to give recommendations that can be used as an authentic basis for future "teaching" and "learning" of the Chinese and Bulgarian languages.

Keywords: Bulgarian; Chinese; Learning Challenges; Comparative and Analysis; Foreign Language Teaching

近些年，随着中国与保加利亚合作加深，互鉴频繁。中保两国大学生在相互交流学习方面也呈现出一片繁荣景象。随之而来的语言问题也就摆在了众多学习者面前。由于中国与保加利亚地理间隔遥远，文化差异巨大，语系不同都导致了学习保加利亚语的中国大学生和学习中文的保加利亚大学生在学习语言时面临着诸多挑战。

本文以问卷调查法和对比分析法对两国大学生语言学习情况进行一系列探讨。通过观察双方语言学习的过程，发现两者既存在相似之处，又有较大差异。两份调查问卷中所凸显的异同将有助于两国大学生未来的语言学习。此项联合调查涉及学习者们学习外语时遇到的最困难与最容易的问题，也涉及到中国与保加利亚文化特征及学生学习兴趣的一系列问题。该联合调查同时设置了两项类似问卷，分别是以学习保加利亚语的中国大学生与学习汉语的保加利亚大学生为调查对象，问卷包括大量开放式问题并以此得出有关结论。

学生面临的困难包括句子结构、两种语言的语音以及时态系统之间的巨大差异。这些差异带给中国和保加利亚学生不小的挑战。本文通过对语言学习过程的探究，进一步对问题点进行国别化的比较研究。该研究突出引导学生发现学习过程中的存在的真实问题，总结比较并提出解决方案，为今后这两种语言的教与学提供参考。

一、双方学习过程中的最困难与最容易

参与本次调查的中国大学生共有 34 名，39% 的受访者表示学习保加利亚语的时间不到 1 年，30% 的受访者表示1 至 3 年，18% 的受访者表示3 至 5 年，12%的受访者表示已学习了5 年以上的保加利亚语。其中30 名受访者表示曾去过保加利亚，55% 的受访者有一年或更长时间在保加利亚求学的经历。参与调查的保加利亚大学生共有35名。42.86%的受访者表示已经学习中文3至5年,25.71%的受访者表示 1至3年，22.86%的受访者表示5年以上，8.57% 的受访者表示学习中文不到一年。调查中有24名受访者去过中国，其中3名属于短期旅行。其余的11名受访者均未去过中国。

学习保加利亚语最困难的方面：有38.24% 的受访者表示是听力部分，26.47%的受访者认为是口语，20.59% 的受访者

选择语法，14.71%　的受访者认为是写作。与学习汉语的保加利亚学生相比，37.14%的受访者表示中文口语最难，其次有28.57%和25.71%的受访者认为听力与写作也较难。

对于大多数中国学生来说，学习保加利亚语最容易的部分是口语，占38.24%；其次是语法，占29.41%；写作占17.65%；听力占14.71%。　对于学习汉语的保加利亚学生，他们认为最简单的是语法，比例高达57.14%，而听力、写作、口语差异并不大，分别为17.14%,14.29%和11.43%。

通过这些数据我们推断出以下有趣的现象：中国大学生认为保加利亚语口语比保加利亚语听力容易，而保加利亚大学生则认为汉语听力对他们来说比汉语口语要容易得多。然而这两个案例的共同点是：自由的口头交流，无论是感知还是表达，对学生来说都比看书和看资料困难得多。这种现象很可能是由于在学习过程中，专注于书面文本的课程份额大大超过了口语练习。另一方面，双方学生在回答中指出，与母语者交流的机会不足，这也是他们面临这些困难的决定性因素。

二、发音和句构方面共同存在困难

两组学生对“举例说明一个在保语/中文学习中感到难以学习的方面，为什么觉得难？”（例如：动词系统、发音、句子结构或其他）的结果为：

中国大学生学习保语难点排序			**保加利亚大学生学习中文难点排序**		
NO.1	13次	保语语法时态	NO.1	18次	汉语声调
NO.2	7次	保语发音	NO.2	10次	汉语逻辑表达
NO.3	5次	保语动词变位	NO.3	5次	汉语句子结构
NO.3	5次	保语句子结构	NO.4	3次	汉字问题
NO.4	3次	保语听力	NO.5	2次	汉语近义词辨析

表一 受访者学习难点排序表

通过中文与保加利亚语学习难点的调查显示，保加利亚大学生普遍认为中文的声调是最难以学习和掌握的；其次是中文的逻辑表达；第三和第四难的是汉语的句子结构和汉字问题；最后是汉语近义词辨析。

而对于中国的大学生而言，最难以学习的是保加利亚语语

法中的时态变化；其次是保加利亚语的发音（这里主要指保加利亚语中一些字母的发音难以掌握，如 л，р；在不同情况下“б” 和“п”、“г”和“к”的变化等）；第三难是保加利语中动词的人称变位和保语的句子结构；第四难的是保语听力。

发音方面共存困难

从两组调查结果中我们观察到第一个共同难点是两国学生在语言学习的过程中发音都存在困难： 它们分别是中文的声调和保加利亚语的有声和无声辅音。这些发音上的挑战源于汉语和保加利亚语在语音系统上差异较大导致的。汉语属于汉藏语系而保加利亚语属于斯拉夫语系，其次汉语语音和保加利亚语语音相比最突出的特点是声调。中文属于声调语言。保加利亚语是语调语言，它没有声调，相较于有声调语言背景的学习者来说，保加利亚学习者对声调意识较为模糊，在习得中也不太容易感知汉语的声调。[1]声调一直是对外汉语的重难点，对于母语为无声调的保加利亚汉语学者来说尤其困难。[2]例如母语是英语的学生在学习保加利亚语时，这种发音困难就不那么常见了，因为这两种语言的语音差异并不那么明显。这种情况与使用其他声调语言的人类似，例如说越南语的人更容易学习汉语语音。

词形和句构方面共存挑战

第二个共同存在的困难是保加利亚语和汉语不同的句构和词序。在保语中让中国学生感到最困难的是动词时态。在保加利亚语中有 9 种时态，并且动词词形会随着时态的改变而变化。而在汉语中几乎没有时态词形变化。汉语与其他语言不

[1] Chai, Sirui 柴思茹. “Baojialiya xuexizhe Hanyu chenshuju zhong de Shengdiaoxide pianwuyanjiu”. 保加利亚学习者汉语陈述句中的声调习得偏误研究 [Analysis about Errors in Tone Acquisition of Chinese Declarative Sentence among Bulgarian], *Jiangsu* 江苏, (2020): 71–43.

[2] Chai, Sirui 柴思茹. “Baojialiya xuexizhe Hanyu chenshuju zhong de Shengdiaoxide pianwuyanjiu”. 保加利亚学习者汉语陈述句中的声调习得偏误研究 [Analysis about Errors in Tone Acquisition of Chinese Declarative Sentence among Bulgarian], *Jiangsu* 江苏, (2020): 71–IV.

同，汉语属于孤立语，缺少曲折变化形式。[3]汉语中时态的变化多是通过一些副词，助词等虚词来实现的。这导致了保加利亚学生很难识别中文句子的时态，在判断时态上产生了一定的困难。除此之外，保语的动词还有不同人称的变化，在汉语中动词则无人称变化。保语里动词随人称和时态变化较多，无形中增加了中国学生的记忆难度，当学生开口说保语时总会先纠结人称，动词时态变形是否配对正确，这无疑会增加学生心理上的负担和抵触情绪。

对于发音难点的教学，教师在教学期间不能对学生的声调问题放任自流，如果不及时纠正就会形成“洋腔洋调”，等到形成习惯再想更正就会变得异常困难。但是教师在纠错期间也不能“凡错必纠”，要讲求方法，可尝试更加灵活的教学方式，避免打击学生的学习积极性。吕必松提出，随着二语习得的进行，在大量的记忆和机械的操练后，学生容易出现畏难情绪，产生恐惧感。[4]由此教师可以在口语课堂上设置较为有趣的语音游戏，如带领学生开展绕口令、电影配音等活动，也可以在上课前十分钟设置提问、竞赛、游戏、抢答、互纠等环节，同时设置有趣的奖惩制度，增加学生的学习兴趣和积极性。在具体教学中，一些教师因受教学进度的影响没有那么多时间带领学生纠音，那也可酌情在课后给学生布置“语音作业”。具体做法是教师给学生提供一段地道常用的汉语听力录音，学生精听后模仿。自己对比录音发现问题，之后将比较“完美”的录音交给老师，老师发现问题，做出评价后学生再次修改并录音，教师要根据学生的实际情况和诉求确定纠音的程度。且布置“语音作业”的次数不应太频繁，避免打击学生的学习动力以及避免学生产生畏难情绪进而放弃学习。

同样，对于学习保加利亚语的中国学生来说，发音也是一大难点。记住保加利亚语发音的方法之一是老师举例说明听起来相似但含义完全不同的单词。从实践中可以清楚地看出，这些例子越滑稽就越容易被记住。在保加利亚学习的中国学

[3] He,Wei 何伟. “Xiandai Hanyu shitai zhi xitong gongnengnshijiao yanjiu”. 现代汉语时态之系统功能视角研究 [Chinese Tenses: a Systemic Functional Approach]. *Journal of University of Science and Technology Beijing* 北京科技大学学报 4 (2015): 15–9.

[4] Lv, Bisong 吕必松. “Hanyu he Hanyu zuowei dierwaiyu jiaoxue” 汉语和汉语作为第二语言教学 [Teaching Chinese and Chinese as a Second Language]. Beijing北京, 2007.

生讲述了一个让他们最初听起来相似，但又可以永久记住的例子是“красавица”（美女）和“краставица”（黄瓜）。在掌握难发音的有声和无声辅音时，也可以举出类似的例子，如“боб”（豆子） 和 “поп”（牧师），“гост”（客人） 和 “кост” （骨头）等。当然，这只是中国大学生更注重保加利亚语正确发音的一个例子。总的来说，增加练习保加利亚语口语是必不可少的。在外语教学的初始阶段，教师应主要从语音和语法两方面纠正那些会导致口语误解的错误，比如保加利亚语中的重音问题。在初始学习阶段，保加利亚教师应强调正确读音，出现单词重音错误应及时纠正。还有，更重要的是让学生习惯用保加利亚语表达自己，不必担心他们会犯错，只有当他们能达到沉着冷静地使用外语时，才能准备好继续清除语言学习中无意义的错误。随着学习过程的行进，教师仍要继续指出学习者所犯的各种小错误，指导学生加以改正。在这里教师应该改正学习者犯的所有错误还是让其先习惯说外语然后再深入细节？可供建议的选项之一是在初始阶段主要解释最严重的错误，挑出较小的错误，但不投入太多注意力。另一方面，让学员多听正确的句子也是大有裨益的。不难看出，害怕出错是外语学习者最大的障碍。因此，纠错会集中在较大的错误上，但学习者说话时，最好不要轻易打断。只有在他讲完之后，才能给予他不足之处的反馈。

三、文化和社会因素的影响

在两份问卷的诸多问题中，我们选取了五个具有交叉性且对语言学习影响重大的问题进行对比研究，分析了背后的影响因素并对未来的学习产生借鉴意义。这些问题中有：“在学习保加利亚语/中文之前，第一次听说保加利亚/中国是在什么时候？那时您对保加利亚/中国的印象是什么？”两组学生的回答结果见下表：

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">对中国大学生的调查结果</th><th colspan="3">对保加利亚大学生的调查结果</th></tr>
<tr><td>名次</td><td>出现次数</td><td>对保加利亚初印象</td><td>名次</td><td>出现次数</td><td>对中国的初印象</td></tr>
<tr><td>NO.1</td><td>8次</td><td>保加利亚玫瑰</td><td>NO.1</td><td>13次</td><td>中国语言与文化</td></tr>
<tr><td>NO.2</td><td>6次</td><td>无印象</td><td>NO.2</td><td>5次</td><td>中国经济繁荣</td></tr>
<tr><td>NO.3</td><td>5次</td><td>保加利亚影视歌手</td><td>NO.2</td><td>4次</td><td>无印象</td></tr>
<tr><td>NO.4</td><td>4次</td><td>保加利亚酸奶</td><td>NO.2</td><td>3次</td><td>中国自然风光</td></tr>
<tr><td>NO.5</td><td>4次</td><td>保加利亚地理位置</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="4">孩童时期听说过中国的学生有9人。
高中和大学时期听说过中国的学生有14人。</td></tr>
<tr><td>NO.6</td><td>4次</td><td>保加利亚异域风情</td></tr>
<tr><td>NO.7</td><td>1次</td><td>保加利亚足球队</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">孩童时期听说过保加利亚的学生有2人。
高中和大学期间听说过中国的学生有11人。</td></tr>
</table>

表二 受访者对中国/保加利亚初印象调查结果表

对学生学习背景的调查，中国学生和保加利亚学生的调查结果差异较大。调查显示，中国学生在小学或孩童时期，仅有2人听说过保加利亚，而更多的中国学生在高中和大学期间首次听说保加利亚。中国学生对保加利亚的初印象排名第一的是玫瑰；其次是对保加利亚没有任何印象；再次是对保加利亚的歌手、影视作品有耳闻；对于保加利亚酸奶、地理位置、异域风情只排在第四位。

根据保加利亚大学生的调查结果来看：孩童时期和小学阶段听说过中国的保加利亚学生有9人；高中和大学阶段首次听说过中国的有14人。这与中国学生对保加利亚印象的调查结果成鲜明对比。更多保加利亚受访者在年龄较小时就对中国有一定的印象，而中国受访者在孩童时期较少听说过保加利亚。保加利亚大学生对中国的初印象主要集中在中国语言和文化方面，如中华文化、中保文化差异、中国文化遗产、中国文学等；其次是对中国经济繁荣有印象；再次是对中国没有任何印象；最后是一小部分人对中国的自然风光有印象。

学习动机的差异

Gardner 和 Lambert 在 1959 年发表的开创性论文《外语学习的动机变化》中，率先详细研究了学习外语的问题以及这种选择背后的动机。他们着眼于影响动机的社会和心理因素，将其区分为两种类型：工具型和整体型[5]。工具型是指学习外语的务实原因，例如：满足教育要求、获得社会认可、经济发展的潜在机会等。整体型是融合的动机，与融入不同文化群体、融入社区并了解其特征的愿望有关。

而中文与保语之间因语言受众人数的不平衡，导致中国学生对保语的学习意愿不太高，整体性的学习动机不强烈。目前中国开设保加利亚语专业的高校仅有4所（截至2021年9月30日，中国高校共有3012所[6]），分别是北京外国语大学，天津外国语大学，河北外国语学院，北京第二外国语学院。保加利亚高校（截止2021年4月26日，保加利亚大学共有 54所[7]）开设中文专业的高校有3所，分别是索非亚大学，大特尔诺沃大学，普罗夫迪夫大学。同时在保加利亚境内还有两所专门教授中文及中国文化的孔子学院——索非亚大学孔子学院和大特尔诺沃孔子学院，孔院还在保加利亚各地区的大中小学幼儿园下设若干孔子课堂，极大增加了保加利亚学生接触中文的机会。且汉语已被保加利亚纳入国民教育体系，在中学甚至小学阶段已有开设中文专业的学校，如保加利亚私立学校、第18中学、138中学等，这些学生在接受高等教育之前已有了好几年中文学习的经历，有的学生甚至已经通过了HSK6[8]考试。自2022年起，保加利亚”高考“的外语科目也增加了中文这一选项，相信未来将会有越来越多的保加利亚学生加入到学习中文的行列中来，这也

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[5] “‘integrative’ where the aim in language studies is to learn more about the language group, or to meet more and different people; ‘instrumental’, where the reasons reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement” (Gardner & Lambert, December 1959, p. 267).

[6] 数据来源于中华人民共和国教育部 http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xxgk/s5743/s5744/A03/202110/t20211025_574874.html, 最后登陆时间2022年2月28日。

[7] 这54所高等院校包括大学、专业大学和独立学院。数据来源于保加利亚国家统计局https://nsi.bg/bg/content/3400/%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%88%D0%B8-%D1%83%D1%87%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%89%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%BE-%D0%B2%D0%B8%D0%B4%D0%B4%D0%B4%D0%B4%D0%B4，最后登陆时间2022年2月28日。

[8] 这里指的是旧HSK6级（汉语水平考试最高级）。

使得中保两国语言受众人数的“天平”更加倾斜。

从以上的调查结果中得出，学习保加利亚语的中国大学生学习动机更加偏向于工具型。少有中国受访者表现出主动学习保加利亚语的情感因素。部分受访者面临专业调剂时开始接触保加利亚语；面临生活问题，如需在保加利亚定居或进行贸易活动时开始学习保加利亚语；面临留学保加利亚时开始接触保加利亚语等。总体来说，中国大学生选择学习保加利亚语的被动因素较多。反观保加利亚，多数保加利亚受访者在孩童时期已对中国有一定的印象和了解。主动、感兴趣类型的正面回答层出不穷。从教育心理学的角度来看，学习过程中影响学习效果的最大因素之一是学习者的情感因素。那么，在接下来的保加利亚语教学中，教师应在课堂上添加有关保加利亚国情和文化方面的内容，不仅能丰富课堂，调节课堂氛围，还能让更多的中国人对保加利亚建立整体认知，进一步引出学生学习兴趣，激发学习热情。

均对文化课程感兴趣

对于“学习保加利亚语/中文专业的学习过程中你最喜欢哪门课？此课程的教学内容是什么？”，两组学生的回答如下：

对中国大学生的调查结果			**对保加利亚大学生的调查结果**		
名次（由高到低）	出现次数	课程类型	名次（由高到低）	出现次数	课程类型
NO.1	4次	翻译课程	NO.1	8次	实用中文
NO.1	4次	口语课程	NO.2	5次	古汉语
NO.2	3次	民俗与文化	NO.2	5次	历史
NO.2	3次	视听与听力	NO.3	3次	文学
NO.2	3次	历史课程	NO.3	3次	翻译
NO.2	3次	保加利亚文学	NO.4	2次	象形文字
NO.2	3次	无	NO.4	2次	国际关系
NO.2	3次	语法课程	NO.5	1次	汉语方言学
NO.3	1次	保加利亚概况	——		
NO.3	1次	同声传译			

表三 受访者最喜欢的课程调查表

通过对两者学习意愿的调查，发现学习保加利亚语的中国大学生最喜欢的课程是“翻译课”和“口语课”；排在第二位的是“民俗与文化类课程”、“视听听力课程”、“历史课”、“保加利亚文学”与没有什么喜欢的课程；排在第三位的是”保加利亚概况“、“同声传译”。学习中文的保加利亚大学生普遍喜欢的课程是“实用中文”（包含听力、口语，较为实用的课程）；排在第二位的是“古汉语”和“历史”（历史主要涉及中国文学史、古代历史等）；第三位是“文学”和“翻译课程”；排在第四位的是“象形文字”与“国际关系”。

以上结果表明，这两个群体都对对方国家古代和现代文化感兴趣。正是以文化为导向的教学方法才能吸引住学生的兴趣并加深他们的理解。尽管许多学生的动机往往是务实的，与职业实现的潜在机会有关，但在教育过程中，他们对民族心理、历史和文化主题更感兴趣。

学习意愿的异同

“对您而言，最有趣最愉快的学习是什么？”回答可以分为以下几类：

对中国大学生的调查结果			对保加利亚大学的调查结果		
排名(由高到低)	出现次数	类型	排名(由高到低)	出现次数	类型
NO.1	14次	练习保语口语	NO.1	16次	书写汉字
NO.2	5次	自学提高保语	NO.2	5次	学习中文语法
NO.3	4次	感受保国文化	NO.2	5次	学习汉语拼音
NO.4	2次	拼读保语	NO.3	4次	练习汉语口语
NO.5	1次	了解保国历史	NO.4	3次	了解中国文化
——			NO.5	2次	朗读中文
			NO.6	1次	学唱中文歌
			NO.6	1次	学习中国历史

表四 对受访者在学习过程中最有趣、最愉快部分的调查汇总表

对学生们学习偏好调查显示，保加利亚绝大多数学生最喜欢书写汉字；其次是学习中文语法、学习汉语拼音；练习汉语口语；了解中国文化；朗读中文；学唱中文歌以及学习中国历史。而中国的大学生认为最有趣的是练习说保加利亚语；其次是以非正式教学的方式来提高自身保语水平，如有些受访者表示喜爱游学，有些则喜欢通过课后自主学习进一步提高保语水平，还有的受访者表示愿意通过观看和阅读保加利亚的影视作品和书籍进一步学习保语；排在第三位的是感受保加利亚的文化与生活，最后两项是拼读保语与了解保国历史。

以上结果表明，保加利亚大学生对书写汉字情有独钟，而中国学生则更乐于说保加利亚语。首先由于保加利亚语使用基里尔文字，这与属于汉藏语系的中文完全不同。汉语的拼音和文字两套系统决定了汉字无法直接被拼读，保加利亚学生在学习时需同时记住拼音、汉字和声调，这就对保加利亚的大学生提出了更高要求，在学会写拼音之余还必须要记住汉字的写法。其次带有独特中国特色传统韵味的“方块字”与基里尔文字在观感上也呈现出大不同，书写美观的汉字还时常能引申到自我意识、个人修养等更为高远的精神层面，如字如其人、见字如面等。这也显示出保加利亚学生除对汉语语言本体知识的学习外，在中国文化的润泽下开始更加注重起个人内修。笔者认为保加利亚大学生喜爱书写汉字的现象是非常令人可喜的。由于中文的特殊性，语音系统和文字系统并驾齐驱，若学生喜爱书写汉字就能一定程度上避免中文说得非常流利但写不出来汉字或在书写汉字时出现这里多一笔那里少两划的尴尬情况。在日常教学中教师也可以根据保加利亚学生的喜好，开展汉字书写比赛，举办硬笔书法展览活动来提高大家学习中文兴趣。

相比保加利亚学生对书写汉字的热爱，中国学习者的兴趣则更多集中在开口说保语上。论文开篇，我们就已看到中国受访者们高度体现出的工具型学习动机。他们期待能更快地保语加身，顺利通畅地与本族人沟通交流，也从侧面反映出中国学习者的务实性与突出的学习能力。再者，保加利亚基里尔文字和拉丁字母在书写上呈现出一定的相似性，所以保加利亚语的书写方面不会给中国学习者造成较大困难，这就使得对中国学习者来说，能尽快使用保加利亚语交流显得更为迫切。同时调查结果还显示中国学习者往往更喜欢在空闲时间享受自主学习，如阅读课外保语书籍，通过与保加利亚朋友见面、出游来

提高自身保加利亚语水平，以便更快融入当地的文化和生活中去，获取更多保加利亚相关信息等。

实际使用外语的机会

对于“您经常有机会练习保加利亚语/中文口语吗？在哪里练习？”受访者回答如下：

对中国大学生的调查结果			**对保加利亚大学生的调查结果**		
名次	出现次数	类型	名次	出现次数	类型
NO.1	13次	不经常和无机会	NO.1	14次	在大学
NO.2	11次	在大学	NO.2	10次	无机会
NO.3	5次	在生活中	NO.3	6次	在生活中
NO.4	3次	在保加利亚	NO.4	4次	每天练习
NO.5	2次	在工作中	NO.5	1次	经常练习

表五 受访者口语练习频繁程度调查结果汇总表

两国学生练习口语的频繁程度也显示出共同点：中保两国的大学生大部分都没有充足的机会练习口语。调查显示，保加利亚的大学生绝大多数只在学校才有机会练习口语；并列第二的是大多数受访者没有机会练习口语。尤其在疫情期间面对面练习口语的机会更是少之又少。同样数量的受访者则表示，在生活中有一定的机会练习口语（这涉及到朋友、模仿中国影视作品的台词和语气、通过网络社交平台等），但仍不是频繁的。排在第三位的是有4人表示每天都有机会练习口语（这主要因为有学生目前在中国留学以及朝夕相处的朋友是中国人等因素）。

对于中国学生来说。除了在学校之外，中国学生也同样没有什么机会练习口语。能在生活中找到练习口语机会的受访者只有5人（咖啡馆、异性朋友、社交平台等）；3名受访者表示在保加利亚的时候有机会练习口语，但是在中国没机会练习；2人表示在工作中有练习口语的机会。总体看来，中国学生没有机会频繁练习口语，这与保加利亚大学生的情况一致。

两种语言的使用者之间无法经常交流，随之而来的交流问题是阻碍双方学习的主要因素之一。解决这个问题的可能方法是创建一个在线平台，作为双方学生的共享空间并定期举行专

题会议，如“汉语角”、“汉语沙龙等”。在一个确定的地点和时间让学习者们有机会与来自其他国家的同事见面和交流。当然，在保加利亚和中国的大学内组织此类活动有助于实现这一目的。但由于两国学生人数不多且目前受疫情的影响，因此创建在线平台可能会更为成功，它可以帮助汇聚起更多对此有兴趣的人。

结 论

根据本文两位研究者的调查问卷和个人观察，可以得出以下结论：

1、在教育的早期阶段可明显看出，无论是学习保加利亚语的中国大学生还是学习汉语的保加利亚大学生，使用目的语交流都是最困难的。在学习的过程中，这些困难中虽有些许改观，但是口语课程的数量不足决定了这种趋势的持久性。在某些情况下，即使知识的水平提高，没有足够的口语练习，外语也无法真正提高。中国学生比较难听懂和理解保加利亚语，而保加利亚学生也比较难用中文正确表达。

2、两种语言发音的特殊性给学习者带来了很大的困难。在学习汉语中时，学生最大的问题是声调的习得，而在保加利亚语学习中是有声和无声辅音以及同音异义词。

3、中国学生在选择专业时，以务实性为主，而保加利亚学生则倾向于以个人兴趣。然而，在这两种动机下，培训中能引起最大兴趣的课程内容是文化类课程。

4、两组被调查学生的口语交流机会都非常有限。这决定了他们在掌握会话语音方面可能会出现一些问题。学生愿意与母语人士更多交流，但这样的交流平台尚未建立。

5、 在学习过程中，学生的积极性明显提高。这得益于教师高超的技能、课程的适用性以及学生自身的个人兴趣。

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Chinese Learner Corpus of Slovak Students: From Design to Annotation

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Abstract

The paper introduces the methodology of learner corpus research and the procedure of building a small-scale specialized Chinese learner corpus composed of texts written by Slovak students of Chinese. The longitudinal acquisition of the language material written by students with different proficiency levels of Chinese facilitates the assessment of the learner's interlanguage, its development and determination of the prevailing error categories. The design of the annotation tagset and the process of the error annotation represent important steps linked to the building of the learner corpus and they have impact on the use of the corpus for research purposes. In this paper, the application and importance of the specialized Chinese learner corpus is discussed along with the design and annotation criteria.

Keywords: Chinese, error annotation, interlanguage research, learner corpus

1. Introduction

The existing Chinese learner corpora either contain a limited number of texts written by Slovak learners or there is no language production of the Slovak learners, therefore the study of the Slovak learner's interlanguage is preceded by the creation of the specialized Chinese learner corpus. The preparatory work linked to the corpus building plays a key role for the error analysis and the future use of the corpus. The acquisition of the language material is followed by the determination of the criteria linked to the corpus design and the annotation standards.

Although the analysis of the language material is less demanding than the building of the corpus, depending on the research question and the extent of the corpus annotation, it is possible that additional annotation of the language material would still be necessary (Meyer 2002: 138). To limit this possibility, the future users and the research objectives need to be considered when designing the error annotation and adding information about the text files.

2. Methodology

The rising number of the available learner corpora aroused a discussion linked to the establishment of an appropriate method in the field of interlanguage research, and a comparative framework is perceived as a suitable approach for the clarification of the processes linked to the second language acquisition (SLA) (Granger 2015: 7). The researchers usually select for the linguistic analysis one of these two methods: contrastive interlanguage analysis (CIA) or computer-aided error analysis (CEA). In CIA, we either compare the learner's interlanguage with the production of native speakers or we compare the variation in interlanguage. The former requires the use of two corpora: the learner corpus and the monolingual corpus containing the language production of native speakers, whereas the latter solely concentrates on the errors in the language production of the learners as the distinguishing feature caused by the learner's different language background (Granger 2002: 10). Considering the degree of the similarity or dissimilarity between the learner's mother tongue and the studied language an important aspect, CEA helps us to determine the characteristics of the Slovak learner's interlanguage. Because of the fact that the Chinese learner corpus of Slovak students represents a small-scale corpus composed of texts written by students of one nationality and of the fact that the amount of the compiled language data is relatively low, in comparison to CEA, CIA is perceived as a less suitable approach for the analysis of the language material.

CEA is more precise than the traditional error analysis done manually and the learner's errors are studied in context along with the correct formulations. Another advantage is the use of a systematic error taxonomy and the annotation manual (Granger 2002: 12). Unlike the manual error analysis, CEA enables the quantification of the learner's language production, the determination of the interlanguage patterns as well as the error categories (Granger 2008b: 340). Although the complex error annotation of the language material is rather demanding, it is more practical than the annotation restricted to certain linguistic items selected according to the current needs of the research. The complete error annotation facilitates the identification of the learner's main difficulties and it broadens the applicability of the learner corpus for different research objectives (Granger 2002: 12). Apart from the error annotation, POS (part of speech) annotation is helpful for the query of the ratio reflecting the correct and incorrect use, for instance we compare the total number of the auxiliary verbs and the total number of errors marked in this category (Granger 2009: 23).

3. Design Criteria

In comparison to the existing Chinese learner corpora, the volume of the annotated language data in the Chinese learner corpus composed of texts written by Slovak students is far smaller, therefore this type of learner corpus is considered a specialized small-scale Chinese learner corpus.

As the corpus creator, one has the advantage of adjusting the parameters and features in the corpus based on the requirements of the research scope, therefore it is necessary to identify these parameters in advance and ensure that the language material and functionalities are in accordance with the research objectives (Meyer 2002: 100). When designing the learner corpus, Cui and Zhang introduce five principles for its building: the authenticity of the language material (the language material must correspond to the compiled original including all the errors, so that it depicts the actual language proficiency of the students); the balance (ensuring the acquisition of various text types across the different proficiency levels, diversity of the learner's nationality and striving to achieve balance across the different variables following the research possibilities); the systematic nature of the corpus (the included information must be complete, the target source of the language material – clearly determined); the dynamic nature of the corpus (continuous updating of the language material, e.g., on a yearly or semester basis); and the convenient use of the corpus (clear structure and simple user interface) (Cui & Zhang 2011: 105).

Before we proceed to the analysis of the language material, it is important to evaluate the corpus from various perspectives – does it contain a sufficient amount of processed language material; does it include all text types required for the research and is the language material representative, if these requirements are met, the corpus is considered as balanced (Meyer 2002: 100). The representativeness is a relative variable, because it differs depending on the type of the corpus, and the generalization of the research findings has to be conveyed with caution when interpreting the query results (Lindquist 2009: 43). The balance of the learner corpus is influenced by several factors such as diversified typology of the compiled language material or its proportional arrangement, and it is evaluated based on the included metadata (Li 2017: 47). Regarding the balance of the existing Chinese learner corpora and the diversity of the learner's nationality, it is relatively difficult to achieve the ideal balance, because the majority of the Chinese language students comes from countries of the Southeast Asia region, therefore the amount of the compiled language material written by these learners is naturally bigger (Zhang & Cui 2015: 129).

Even though the authors of the Chinese learner corpora tend to stress the importance of the corpora's balance across all provided metadata, the creation of the small-scale Chinese learner corpus focused on the study of the learner's interlanguage of the same nationality solves the problem with the imbalance related to this variable, and the ideal balance is not essential for the general study of the Slovak learner's interlanguage.

4. Acquisition of the Language Material

The study of the gradual development of the learner's interlanguage requires the longitudinal compilation of the language material

(Ellis 1997: 4), because it reflects the evolving proficiency level of the learners at different stages of their study.

The open-ended tasks represent a suitable source of the language material used for the creation of the learner corpus, because the language production of the learners is not guided by the necessity to use a particular language structure or formulations (Granger 2008a: 261). The acquisition of the language material for the Chinese learner corpus of Slovak students has been launched in 2018 and it is still in progress. The planned conclusion of the first phase of the acquisition process is the first half of 2022. The main part of the compiled language material contains texts written by degree students enrolled at the Department of East Asian Studies (Comenius University in Bratislava). The remaining part is language production of university and high school students with Chinese as an elective course or individuals that attend the Chinese language classes because of personal interest. The exam files defined as the controlled production of the learners represent a smaller part of the corpus, whereas the majority is composed of open-ended tasks. The homework is usually written based on a topic chosen by the teacher, but there are no additional requirements related to the necessity of using predefined language structures.

The amount of the provided metadata also has an impact on the future use of the corpus in the linguistic research (Granger 2002: 9), therefore the variety of the included metadata needs to be diversified to extend the use of the Chinese learner corpus of Slovak students in the future. The metadata contain unique student ID (maintaining learner's anonymity), degree or non-degree student, study exchange in China, gender, proficiency level (beginner – up to two years, intermediate – up to four years, advanced – at least five years), mother tongue (to enable the possible extension of the corpus in the future), proficiency in other languages, information about Chinese heritage, text type (homework, exam) and text length (in characters). Due to the relatively low number of Slovak students studying Chinese at Slovak institutions, when looking at the individual variables, the ideal balance of the corpus becomes of secondary importance, whereas the most important factor is the longitudinal compilation of the material reflecting the changing interlanguage of the learners. Nevertheless, it is not excluded that with the increasing amount of language data in the corpus, the selection of the language material will become more controlled and gathered in accordance with the distribution ratio of the metadata. Regarding the distribution of the language material covering the individual proficiency levels of the students, the current state displays that the largest part is composed of texts by intermediate-level learners.

Table 1. Corpus parameters (Oct. 2021)

Total number of texts	86
Total number of students	28

Table 2. Text's distribution based on the language proficiency (Oct. 2021)

	Nr. of text files
Beginner	24
Intermediate	39
Advanced	23

5. Error Annotation

It is common for the researchers to create the error annotation tagset following their research objectives and there are not any universally acknowledged standards for the design of the error taxonomy.

The creation of the annotation tagset and the query functionalities determine the applicability of the learner corpus for the linguistic research. The error categorization that depicts the differences between the learner's interlanguage and the correct form supplemented by the error taxonomy corresponding to linguistic categories is perceived as a suitable basis for linguistic research focused on the development of the learner's interlanguage (Chang 2016: 137). Because of the indistinct boundaries between the words in Chinese, the annotation rules play an important role in processing the language material. The annotation tagset that does not contain an excessive number of tags increases the manageability of the annotation, it facilitates the manual proofreading and enhances the annotation consistency (Zhou & Yu 1997: 239–240). The annotation consistency ensured by the manageability of the error annotation tagset is especially important in case that the annotation is conveyed by an individual researcher instead of a team composed of at least two annotators.

The annotation tagset, as introduced by the authors of the TOCFL Learner Corpus, combines the hierarchical taxonomy and the linguistic taxonomy (see Fig. 1). The former distinguishes four categories: missing, redundancy, incorrect selection, and wrong word order (Lee et al. 2016: 255). Apart from the basic linguistic categories, the creation of special tags for the structures that are characteristic for Chinese facilitates their direct retrieval from the corpus. The results of the research on teaching Chinese as a second language indicate that the acquisition of the sentence structures such as baziju (把字句), beiziju (被字句), or rangziju (让字句) is perceived as relatively difficult by the learners and thus they represent a common source of errors in the learner's language production (Chang 2016: 139).

Target modification taxonomy	
Missing (*M*), Redundancy (*R*), Incorrect Selection (*S*), Word Ordering Error (*W*)	
Linguistic category classification	
Word-level	action verb (*v*), auxiliary (*aux*), stative verb (*vs*), noun (*n*), pronoun (*pron*), conjunction (*conj*), preposition (*p*), numeral (*num*), demonstrative (*det*), measure word (*cl*), sentential particle (*sp*), aspectual particle (*asp*), adverb (*adv*), structural particle (*de*), question word (*que*), plural suffix (*plural*)
Grammatical Function-level	subject (*sub*), object (*obj*), noun phrase (*np*), verb phrase (vp), preposition phrase (*pp*), modifier (*mod*), time expression (*time*), place expression (*loc*), transitivity (*tran*), separable structure (*vo*), [numeral/determiner + measure] phrase (*dm*)
Sentence Pattern-level	complex noun clause (*rel*), 把 sentence (*ba*), 被 sentence (*bei*), 讓 sentence (*rang*), 是 sentence (*shi*), 有sentence (*you*), other patterns (*pattern*)
Mixture	formation (*form*), ambiguity of syntactic or meaning (*sentence*)

Figure 1. TOCFL error taxonomy (Lee et al. 2016: 240)

The error annotation is composed of three basic steps. First, the error is identified within the sentence, then the corresponding error category is selected and the last step is the error correction. The error annotation tagset has to fulfil several prerequisites. It has to be comprehensible, but also efficient and the extent of the employed annotation tagset needs to be large enough to provide a clear description of the occurring errors. The error taxonomy from the TOCFL Learner Corpus serves as a basis for the design of the tagset used in the Chinese learner corpus of Slovak students, but the error categories and the number of tags are adjusted according to the error typology present in the language production of the Slovak learners. Figure 2 displays an example of the error annotation that combines the hierarchical and the linguistic annotation.

我没有你喜欢那么[Wpron]音乐。	他没有[Ryou]从来[Wadv]游过[Mv]。	桌子上没有[Ryou]放着[Szhe]电脑。
我没有你那么喜欢音乐。	他从来没游过泳。	桌子上没放着电脑。

Figure 2. Annotated language sample

6. Conclusion

Despite the fact that there are already numerous language corpora available for linguistic research, their practical use is still relatively low (Petrovčič et al. 2020: 67), therefore it is necessary to convey more linguistic research embedded in the field of corpus linguistics. Due to the fact that the existing Chinese learner corpora contain a lower number of texts written by European students in general, it becomes even more evident in the case of a minor spoken language such as Slovak. A solution for the study aimed at the interlanguage of a particular group of learners is the creation of the small-scale Chinese learner corpus that reflects the evolving language proficiency of the learners. The findings of the error analysis are subsequently applicable in the methodology of teaching Chinese as a second language with a particular emphasis on the difficulties of the Slovak learners.

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More Emphasis on Users’ Needs in Learners’ Dictionaries: Conception of a Needs-based Learning Dictionary App for German CFL Learners

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Abstract

The study identifies German CFL learners’ difficulties with Chinese language acquisition and their needs for CFL dictionaries through an exploratory mixed-methods study involving interviews with 30 CFL learners and a survey with 379 participants. It also proposes a dictionary app for learning Chinese for German CFL learners with a focus on microstructural classes, access and network structures, and additional supporting functions.

Keywords: Needs Analysis, Learners’ Dictionaries, Dictionary App

Background

Numerous reference works for Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) have been published in recent decades with the increasing number of CFL learners. A small CFL dictionary for German learners (*Kleines Wörterbuch der Chinesischen Sprache* [KWC]) with about 4,000 Chinese and 3,800 German lemmas was published in 2019. However, recent surveys on use of CFL dictionaries show, most participants do not turn to CFL printed dictionaries (PDs) for reference, but to apps on mobile devices. Learning apps such as *Pleco* and *Hel-*

lo HSK are being used more frequently and becoming more popular among CFL learners. Dictionaries' design must take the needs of users into account, especially for learners' dictionaries, which are defined as an addressee-oriented type that takes the specific concerns and needs of foreign language learners into account (Hartmann & James 1998: 82; Herbst & Klotz 2003: 242; Tarp 2008: 130). So, it is doubtful whether PDs are still helpful to CFL learners. In view of these circumstances, this chapter is concerned with the following questions:

1) What kind of difficulties with Chinese learning and needs for dictionary products do German CFL learners have?
2) What kind of dictionary product would be suitable for German CFL learners?

Research Status of CFL Lexicography

Previous studies on CFL lexicography concern especially the weaknesses of CFL PDs in lemmatization, meaning explanation, and exemplification. Due to space constraints, details of these CFL dictionary reviews are omitted. Shortcomings of the reviews are mainly:

1) L1 equivalents (mainly English equivalents) of lemmas were found in few of the reviewed CFL dictionaries provided, but the absence of L1 equivalents is seldom addressed in the reviews, which in turn leads to the absence of L1 equivalents in new CFL dictionaries. CFL dictionaries without L1 equivalents prove to be extremely problematic for less advanced users.
2) Most of these reviews are methodologically characterized by impressionism. None of the reviews used tests or experiments to judge the quality of the CFL dictionaries or expressed concerns about whether reviewers' assumptions corresponded to actual dictionary use by CFL learners.

The insight that dictionary compiling should take the needs of target groups into account has a long tradition in learner's lexicography. The underlying reason for the shortcomings in the reviews is the lack of analysis concerning the users and their needs. Thus, CFL lexicography requires insights into the diverse regional- and national-specific needs of CFL learners (Zhang 2010: 152–153).

Besides, there are empirical studies in CFL lexicography, which have researched users and the use of CFL dictionaries. Monolingual CFL PDs, as mentioned earlier, were seldom used among the 210 learners in the survey of Yang (2007: 58). The 54 CFL students at Guangdong University of Foreign Studies in the survey of Xia (2009: 65–66) did not use any of the CFL PDs listed in the questionnaire. A comparable conclusion is drawn by Zhang (2011: 63) from his survey on the use of CFL Dictionaries among Asian learners at Jinan University. A more extensive survey was conducted by Xie and Li (2012: 63–64) among 295 CFL learners throughout China. According to their survey, CFL PDs published in China are used comparatively little for Chinese learning. More than half of the CFL learners preferred to use bilingual Chinese dictionaries with L1 equivalents, which perform significantly better than monolingual CFL dictionaries in reading, translating, writing and vocabulary retention. In all situations, electronic dictionaries (EDs) were used more frequently than PDs due to their quick and easy access. This result was confirmed by Jin (2016: 82–83): Ease of use, portability, quantity of lemmas, and understandability were the most important factors in their choice of CFL dictionaries.

Analysis of users' needs has extended to CFL dictionary apps in recent years with the spreading popularity of learning apps. A survey of Zhou, et al. (2017: 90–92) with 346 CFL learners in China on the use of CFL apps shows that the rate of app users is 62.6%, and the most frequently used apps are *Pleco*, *Hanping*, *Train Chinese*, and *Hello Words*. Learners' difficulties mainly involved pronunciation (32%) and characters (32%), in which all of these apps are unhelpful. Peng (2016: 245) makes suggestions for CFL dictionary apps through a mixed-methods design consisting of a survey with 103 participants in China and interviews with six CFL learners: updating neologism and internet vocabulary, selecting lemmas according to learners' needs, and classification of lemmas by different categories. In addition, learning functions in apps such as writing characters, forming and connecting sentences, and conveying cultural information, should be emphasized. Yang and Yang (2019: 80–81) conducted a survey on the use of Chinese dictionaries, including apps, with 100 CFL learners in China from different countries and their needs for a Chinese dictionary app. 77% of the surveyed CFL learners use apps exclusively. This was partly due to the difficulty with the radical indexes in PDs. According to the survey, the market leaders of Chinese learning apps for CFL learners are *Pleco*, *Google Translate* and *Youdao*.

It was confirmed by all these surveys that CFL learners in China prefer bilingual dictionaries and dictionary apps. Compared with the surveys on users and use of CFL dictionaries in China, relevant studies overseas, which aim at L1-specific needs analysis of CFL dictionaries, are few and far between. However, there is no evidence that the needs for CFL dictionaries of learners in China are the same as those of CFL learners overseas. Consequently, it is necessary to explore needs of German CFL learners before compiling a CFL dictionary product for them.

Design of Empirical Study on German CFL Learners

CFL lexicography lacks empirical studies on German CFL learners. In this case, qualitative methods can be used for exploring the dictionary needs of German CFL leaners, while quantitative methods can be applied to achieve generalization. The present study used an explorative mixed-methods design (Creswell & Clark 2011: 171–173), in which findings from the first conducted qualitative study about German users and their needs for CFL dictionaries was generalized by a quantitative study.

Following Hulstijn and Atkins (1998: 7–12) and Tarp (2008: 137–145), a guide for interviews with German learners was developed, including learning difficulties, habits, and attitudes towards CFL dictionaries and their use. The qualitative interviews in the present study employed intensity sampling (Patton 1990: 171), in order to select representative cases that can provide the richest information in response to research questions (Kromrey et al. 2016: 269–270). A total of 30 German CFL learners in speed-talking programs of Confucius Institute Bremen and Hannover were interviewed. Participants in speed-talking programs of Confucius Institutes were considered information-rich cases for the intensity sampling because they possessed information that researchers needed, were able to reflect, and had the time and willingness to participate. Another advantage of sampling by speed-talking is the diversity of subjects: Speed-talking offers the possibility to meet German CFL learners with different language proficiency motivation, etc., which can represent the totality of target groups. Based on qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2007) of the interviews with the aid of QDA-Software *NVivo*, a system of categories about difficulties and dictionary needs of German CFL learners was developed. Most of the extracted categories in this system were used as options in the questionnaire, including topics about difficulties, everyday learning, and dictionary use.

Main Results of the Empirical Study

A total of 30 and 379 German CFL learners participated in the interview and the survey, respectively. Twenty-five (83%) of the 30 interviewees were at the basic level, while approximately 86% of the participants (335) were elementary learners, based on their own assessment. The high percentage of elementary learners in both sub-studies is representative of the relatively small population of German-speaking CFL learners (approximate 10,000). The most important results from the empirical study are presented below.

The interviews show that German CFL learners prioritize the acquisition of listening and speaking skills, and listening is considered extremely difficult at the basic level. Interviewees found it particularly difficult to distinguish tones, which were also regarded as the main reason for difficulties in speaking. Pronunciation problems were mainly due to tones, certain sounds, and confusion with English and German. Interviewees at the intermediate level saw writing characters as the biggest problem due to the lack of systematic methods for learning characters. The difficulties with listening and writing characters were confirmed in the survey, as Figure 1 shows.

	Basic	Intermediate	Total
Listening	51.34%	20.45%	47.76%
Speaking	48.36%	34.09%	46.70%
Writing (character)	42.09%	38.64%	41.69%
Writing (text)	33.43%	38.64%	34.04%
Reading	19.70%	15.91%	19.26%
Others	5.67%	4.55%	5.54%

Fig. 1. Difficulties.

Twenty-two interviewees used EDs exclusively, and only two subjects preferred PDs. Five of the six subjects, who used both PDs and EDs, gave preference to EDs. This means that 90% of the interviewees (27) preferred EDs. The preference for apps and online dictionaries was also confirmed in the survey, as shown in Figure 2. Among the 27 ED users, 23 subjects mentioned medium-related features, with the voice output (15) being particularly notable. This function allows users to listen to lemmas and other information such as collocations and examples, which was generally viewed positively in the interviews. In addition, interviewees favored features like translating sentences into Chinese, creating flashcards, and comparing characters with the same sub-graphemes and similar meanings. The most popular ED type among the interviewed German CFL leaners was dictionary apps on digital devices (*Pleco* and *Leo*) because of portability and ease of use. The interviewed German CFL learners considered looking up through radical indexes in PDs to be challenging and requiring practice. According to the interviewees, difficulties with the radical indexes in Chinese PDs can be replaced by handwriting and scan-based input in apps with the advantage of easy access. According to the interviews, the learners mostly chose dictionary apps when they had questions about pronunciation, meaning, or orthography, including stroke orders of Chinese lexemes and searching for usage information and Chinese expressions.

	Basic	Intermediate	Total
Dictionary Apps (e.g. *Pleco*)	69.85%	93.18%	72.56%
Online-Dictionaries (e.g. *Leo.org*)	45.67%	61.36%	47.49%
Translation-Tools (e.g. *Google Translate*)	37.31%	31.82%	36.68%
Paper Dictionaries	14.93%	13.64%	14.78%
Lexicon und encyclopedia	5.07%	6.82%	5.28%
Others	5.67%	0.00%	5.01%

Fig. 2. Frequently used reference works.

According to the survey, as shown in Figure 3, a dictionary app for German CFL learners should be equipped with functions such as voice output, writing, and scanning. Besides pronunciation and meaning of lemmas (pinyin and German translations), the dictionary app should provide this information for examples. Other important microstructural classes are radicals, stroke orders, collocations, synonyms, antonyms, semantic fields, parts of speech, and language style.

	Basic	Intermediate	Total
Scanning characters	71.64%	75.00%	72.03%
Writing characters	67.46%	63.64%	67.02%
Speech output	65.67%	36.36%	62.27%
Sentence translation	60.00%	61.36%	60.16%
Flashcards	54.63%	45.45%	53.56%
Word nets	50.15%	40.91%	49.08%
Others	4.48%	4.55%	4.49%

Fig. 3. Digital functions.

Conception of Chinese Dictionary App for German Learners

According to the needs' analysis, a dictionary app with learning function (German: Chinesisch-Lernwörter-App [CLA]) would be suitable for German CFL learners. Considering the high percentage of elementary CFL learners in Germany, CLA should target this group and contribute to the acquisition of characters and vocabulary as well as speaking and listening skills, which are considered the starting point of the design.

A learning dictionary app for German CFL learners is characterized by a didactical selection of lemmas and a microstructure with selective classes. For the lemma selection, CFL word lists of EBCL, HSK 2021, HSK 2010 and HSK 2001 are to be consulted, and practical neologisms are to be included. Besides pinyin and German translations, grapheme-structural information, register, word formation, examples, and semantic fields of lexemes should be provided. A labelling system for German CFL learners with emphasis on compounding ability of characters and classification of lexemes by language level proves to be useful. Grapheme-structural information of characters includes radicals, sub-graphemes, etymography, and stroke orders and can promote character memory to varying degrees. Meanings of lexemes should be explained with German translations, which are also to be provided in examples for the sake of comprehensibility. Examples in the form of chunks (collocations, phrases, etc.) can be expanded into full sentences. Synonyms or antonyms can be placed directly after lemma signs in example sentences. Word formation and semantic fields on the basis of morphological and semantic relations need to be provided in appropriate amounts, which can promote understanding of the meanings as well as character and vocabulary acquisition.

Different kinds of access and network structures need to be included in the app. To solve the problems with radical indexes in Chinese PDs, it is necessary to facilitate access to the data in the CLA through speech input-, writing-, and scan-based search modes. The full-text- and index-based search modes contribute to searching for Chinese expressions for language production. For character and vocabulary acquisition, users are assisted by links between lemmas based on phonetic, morphological, grapheme-structural, and semantic relations. There is also the possibility to build individual word networks through linking for vocabulary expansion. Furthermore, the app can help to eliminate the difficulties in listening and character acquisition mentioned above: The listening options for lemmas and example sentences via speech output function can be converted into listening tasks and support the acquisition of listening skills. For character memory, mnemonic hints of all kinds are not only provided in the microstructure, but also offered as exercises in the app. The memorization of characters and words would be supported by digital flashcards, which users can create according to their own wishes and needs.

At the end of this article, it should be emphasized that "Lexicographic reference works should be regarded as functional information tools that are solely designed to cater to the information needs of their users in different usage situations." (Verlinde, et al. 2010: 1). The present study is considered exclusively as a pilot study to investigate the need of German learners for CFL dictionaries. Therefore, the design and development of CFL dictionaries require further analysis on the needs of target groups.

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IV. Society, Culture and Art

Системата на държавните изпити в Китай в началото на династия Сун (宋朝)

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The Chinese System of State Examinations at the Beginning of the Song Dynasty (宋朝)

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Abstract:

*The present study aims to shed light on the imperial examination system for obtaining civil service position in China (*科举制度*). The origins of the system are traced, but the emphasis actually falls on its reformation, strengthening and centralization during the Song dynasty (*宋朝*, 960–1279). The Song was one of the most significant Chinese dynasties, ending the period of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms and succeeding in unifying most of the country.*

*The object of this study is the policy of the emperors of the Song dynasty, and more precisely the first emperor (*宋太祖*), who, seeing the weaknesses of the state examination system by that time, was trying through a series of reforms to turn it into a workable system providing wider social mobility. The reforms in the examination system initiated by Taizu of Song pursued several goals: achieving rigor and objectivity in the conduct of examinations, but also in grading; banning recommen-*

dations; expanding the limitations for recruiting candidates; institutionalizing court examinations, etc.

Keywords: Imperial examination system; strengthening and systematization; Song dynasty; the civil-service system; reforms

Освен научните открития, може би най-значителният принос на Китай към съвременния свят, е неговата система на държавните изпити – „къдзю джъду" (科举制度). Системата се появява по време на дин. Суей 隋朝 (581–618), но едва след династия Сун 宋朝 (960–1279) е институционализирана и развита в достатъчно широк мащаб, за да оказва съществено влияние върху всички сфери на китайското общество.

Системата на държавните изпити има история повече от две хиляди години и нейното влияние в китайската култура се проследява и до днес. В династичен Китай пътят към богатство и добър живот се базира на добре платена държавна служба. Постовете са отворени за тези, които успеят да преминат – често обезсърчаващо трудните изпити. Китай е първата държава, в която академичните резултати са основа за бъдеща кариера. И до сега образованието в Китай се приема много сериозно и китайските деца са известни със своя стремеж към знания и упорита работа. Настоящите нагласи имат своите корени в древната изпитна система, където успехът е от изключително голямо значение. Начетеният и добре образован човек винаги е бил високоуважаван.

Прототип на системата съществува още през 3. в. пр.н.е. по време на дин. Хан. Инициатор на този първообраз на изпитната система е известният хански конфуцианец и държавник Дун Джуншу (董仲舒, 179–104 г. пр.н.е.) Много преди това, самият Конфуций е експериментирал модела, подбирайки своите ученици не според техния произход, но според интелектуалните им качества. Преди възникване на системата, кандидатите за държавен пост са били оценявани по системата на деветте ранга (九 品 中 正 制). Системата възниква при управлението на император Уън-ди от царство Уей (220–266 г.). Представителите на местната власт били задължени да препоръчват талантливи кандидати за държавни постове, които били класирани в един от деветте ранга. Тук голяма роля играела субективната оценка при отсъствието на строги критерии за подбор. Кандидатите за бъдещи чиновници са били преимуществено от богати и знатни семейства. Всъщност основната цел на държавните изпити била да се даде достъп до държавна служба на талантливи хора и от по-низшите слоеве на китайското общество. Преминала през различни периоди на спадове и подем, системата на държавните изпити продължава почти непрекъснато своето съществуване до 1905 г.

Системата „къдзю" заема важно място в политическия и културен живот на китайското общество, в социалната структура и във всички други области, правейки възможна вертикалната социална мобилност. От друга страна, системата предполага общество, в което критериите за просперитет лежат върху състезателното начало, в центъра на образованието и културната дейност стоят изпитите. Някои западни изследователи, между които е и Едуарт Краке (E. A. Kracke) смятат, че системата на държавните изпити заема централна позиция в политическата теория на Китай и в действителната социална структура (Kracke 1957: 257).

По време на дин. Сун системата постепенно се усъвършенства чрез въвеждане на по-строги правила и регламенти, което води до легализирането и стандартизирането на изпитната система и до намаляване на субективния фактор. В този период системата е във възходящ етап на развитие, пълна с енергия и жизненост. Английският изследовател Джон Уилям Чафи казва: „В дългата история на изпитната система, това, което в най-голяма степен отличава дин. Сун от останалите периоди, е нейният афинитет към реформи. При дин. Сун както никога преди, системата е подложена на огромни предизвикателства и е един смел, невиждан дотогава социален експеримент" (Chaffee 1985: 184). Британският историк и дипломат Джон Медоус (John W. Meadows) в своята книга ("Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China") препоръчва Великобритания да възприеме китайския принцип за състезателното начало при назначаване на държавна служба. Известният китайски революционер и историк Сун Ятсен (孙中山), след задълбочено изследване върху изпитните системи в Европа и САЩ, достига до извода, че изпитните системи на много страни са заимствани от Великобритания. Но ако се върнем назад до източника, ще видим, че тази система първоначално е взета от Китай. Един от основателите на британската система за държавна служба – Норт Скот – също признава, че системата за подбор на държавна служба чрез „открит конкурс", която те прилагат от 50-те години на 19. век, се основава на китайската изпитна система.

Въпреки съществуващите възможности за злоупотреби, в системата е заложен принципът за равноправие и издигане в йерархията благодарение на знания и упоритост и в този смисъл, тя стимулира голяма част от обществото да се стреми към знания. Основната цел на реформите в областта на държавните изпити, проведени в началото на дин. Сун, е гарантиране на обективност и безпристрастност. От една страна това е неизбежна тенденция и вътрешна потребност за развитие на самата система, от друга – за първите императори на дин. Сун това е начин да привлекат повече образовани хора в държавната администрация. Чрез реформи във всички области на стопанския живот, в това число и в системата на държавните изпити, китайското общество постепенно преминава от системата на доминиращите родове към система на отношения, базираща се върху интелектуалното ниво на индивида и резултатите от положените изпити. Централизирането на системата по време на дин. Сун води до отслабване влиянието на аристократичните и военни кланове, широко разпространение на конфуцианските ценности и стремеж към израстване в йерархията, основано върху индивидуални интелектуални заслуги, а не върху произхода. В продължение на столетия държавната служба си остава амбиция, поддържана от конфуцианската ценностна система. За Китай държавната изпитна система представлява важен мост, свързващ Двора с местния елит и осигуряващ известно равноправно участие в управлението на страната.

Независимо от какъв ъгъл разглеждаме системата, неоспорим факт е, че влиянието, което тя оказва в различни сфери на сунското общество, е невиждано дотогава. Формирането на концепцията за равни възможности не само насърчава подбора на образовани хора, но и стимулира появата на научно общество. Вследствие на поредица от реформи, осъществени от първите сунски императори, системата постепенно придобива обективност и строга регламентация. През този период широко разпространена става концепцията （读书人人有分） „всеки човек трябва да се образова“ (施德操 2009: 圈上).

Меритократичният идеал, залегнал в изпитната система, на практика не може да преобърне тенденцията преобладаващото мнозинство от кандидатите да идват от средите на богатите и знатни семейства. Причините за това са различни. Явяването на изпит е изисквало сериозна подготовка в продължение на години, много средства и достатъчно свободно време. Тъй като изпитите били сложни и изключително важни за бъдещата кариера на кандидата, в богатите и знатни семейства подготовката започвала още в най-ранна детска възраст, като за целта били канени най-известните частни наставници и учители. Бъдещият кандидат бил обучаван в перфектно владеене на литературния език уънйен (文言), получавал знания по история и калиграфия, учел наизуст огромно количество конфуциански текстове. Кандидатите от средите на народа, в по-голямата си част не са имали тези възможности. Въпреки всички свои недостатъци, обаче, изпитната система в древен Китай представлява огромен исторически експеримент в дългия и сложен процес на осигуряване на равен достъп до държавна служба на най-способните хора независимо от техния социален статут.

Що се отнася до съдържанието на изпитите, при династия Сун също настъпват някои промени. В основни линии, както при династия Тан се изисква възстановяване на каноничен текст, писмен отговор върху канона и поезия. След като Уан Аншъ (王安石) става съветник на първия министър на дин. Сун, той отменя частта поезия, фокусирайки вниманието върху разсъждения по канона, което да разкрие добро познаване на конфуцианските класически книги и способността на кандидата да формулира ерудирани, елегантни и кратки отговори. Допълнително се предполага кандидатът да бъде в състояние да разсъждава върху проблеми от различни сфери в текущата ситуация. Важен акцент се поставял върху способността за запаметяване. Изпитите включват три основни елемента: тест за запеметени класически конфуциански книги; дискусия върху актуални за времето си теми; литературна композиция. От кандидатите се изисквало да знаят наизуст огромно количество канонични произведения – „Петокнижие“ (五经), а от 12. в. нататък – „Четирикнижие“ (四书). По такъв начин в продължение на столетия всеки образован китаец, независимо от своите религиозни или философски пристрастия, бил носител на конфуцианския морал. „Петокнижието“ представлява компилация на пет древни текста, написани през 6–5 век пр.н.е и възстановени по памет при дин. Хан. Тук влизат: „Книга на промените“ (易经); „Книга на песните“ (诗经); „Книга на преданията“ (书经); „Записки на ритуалите“ (礼记); „Пролети и есени“ (春秋). Първоначално тук бил включен и шести канон – „Канон за музиката“ (乐经) , но поради това, че той бил загубен, по-късно частично бил добавен към „Записки на ритуалите“. „Четирикнижието“ представлява събрание на канонични текстове – дело на китайския философ от дин. Сун – Джуси (1130–1200). Тук са включени: „Съждения и беседи“ (论语); „Съчинения на философа Мъндзъ“ (孟子); „Великото учение“ (大学); „Средното и неизменното“ (中庸).

Преди да вземе властта през 960 г., първият император на дин. Сун (Тайдзу, 太祖) – Джао Куанин 赵匡胤 е крупен военачалник, участвал в борбата с киданите и против държавите от Северна Хан. Той успява да обедини разпокъсаната страна, като отново подчинява Юга; осъществява реформи, насочени към засилване на централната власт и отслабване на провинциалните военни губернатори, представляващи огромна заплаха за императорската власт още от времето на династия Тан; слага ред в управлението; възстановява и институционализира изпитната система. Благодарение на това, властта отново се насища с мъдри министри и учени чиновници – конфуцианци. Реформите, които

Джао Куанин провежда, целят по-голяма строгост и регламентиране на правилата в системата и разширяване рамките на кандидатите от народа. В началото той запазва системата на изпитите на дин. Тан и Петте династии, в която се различават следните категории: „дзиншъ“ 进士, „дзиудзин“ 九经, „удзин“ 五经, „кайюенли“ 开元礼, „саншъ“ 三史, „санли“ 三礼, „санчуан“ 三传, “сюедзиу“ 学究, „миндзин“ 明经, „минфа“ 明法 и др. Запазва и календара: през есента се провеждат окръжни изпити, резултатите от които се докладват в Министерството на обредите през зимата; през пролетта се провеждат столичните изпити. Осъзнавайки важността от централизиран подбор на кандидатите, през 962 г. император Джао Куанин публикува едикт, с който премахва съществуващата от средата на дин. Тан практика на тесни връзки между главния екзаминатор и издържалия изпита. Дотогава новоприетите дзиншъ, след като имената им били публикувани официално, тръгвали на посещения при тези, които са ги избрали, възприемайки ги като свои наставници, а себе си – като техни последователи. Така те изразявали своята благодарност и почит. Целта на тази мярка на първия император е да накара получилите научна степен да насочват своята благодарност и лоялност към императора като обществена фигура, а не към чиновника, провел изпита и записал кандидата. Всъщност тези особени взаимоотношения наподобяват до известна степен съвременните отношения между студент и неговия научен ръководител. И въпреки усилията да се изкоренят, тези връзки били толкова дълбоко вкоренени, че просъществували почти до дин. Мин.

Съществуващата при дин. Тан практика на „обществените препоръки“ (公荐) всъщност давала възможност протежета на висши сановници да бъдат включвани в списъците без предварителен конкурс. Тази практика водела до злоупотреби, защото „обществената препоръка“ (公荐) много лесно се превръщала в „лична препоръка“ (私荐) и по този начин ставала място, монополизирано от елита със силно влияние от страна на отделни личности.

В опит да се справи с явлението, император Джао през 963 г. издава указ: “От този ден нататък, чиновниците от Министерство на обредите нямат право да издават „обществени препоръки“. Нарушителите ще бъдат наказвани“ (李焘 1979: 卷4). Въпреки това, борбата с тази негативна практика продължава през целия начален етап на дин. Сун и след 1004 г. декретът няколко пъти е бил подновяван, за да се стигне до стандартизирането и привеждането на системата в завършен вид и свеждане до минимум влиянието на препоръките.

Император Джао създава Сун като династия, разчитаща на гражданската, а не на военната администрация, с високо културно ниво и с уважително отношение към науката. Той добре е научил уроците на предшествениците си от дин. Тан и Петте династии, преживели сепаратистки въоръжени бунтове срещу императора и прави всичко възможно да ограничи амбициите на почиващите на заслугите си военни, разчитайки на съветите на учените в управлението на империята. Той обичал да казва: „Първият министър трябва да ползва услугите на учените“ (李焘 1995: 卷七).

Съществуват исторически свидетелства, че понякога първият сунски император се е намесвал в изпитите, воден от свои собствени наблюдения. През 965 г. Тао Бин – син на учения от академията Ханлин – Тао Гу, успешно издържал изпита за дзиншъ. Императорът имал съмнения относно неговите способностите и разпоредил: “Издържалият изпит в случай, че е от семейство на държавни служители, може да бъде подложен от Министерството на обредите на повторен изпит“ («宋史»: 卷155).

В опита си да разшири рамките на кандидатстващите, император Джао създава особена почетна категория дзиншъ – 特奏名进士（тъдзоумин）или 恩科及第 (ънкъ дзиди). Това са кандидати, някои вече на възраст, които многократно, но безуспешно са се явявали на провинциалните изпити. След като имената им бивали докладвани в Двора и получели одобрение, те имали право отново да се явят на изпит, но на място, различно от родното им. За първи път това се случва през 970 г. Това решение е продиктувано от желанието да се помогне главно на по-бедните кандидати, което прави системата на изпитите по-привлекателна и достъпна. Тази допълнителна възможност разглежда кандидатите не толкова според таланта им, колкото според броя на явяванията и възрастта им. Тя давала допълнителен шанс и надежда на тези, отдали едва ли не целия си живот на подготовка за изпитите. Неуспелите кандидати толкова силно желаели да станат чиновници, че много често продължавали да се явяват до самата си смърт – често отчаяни и изпаднали в бедност. Длъжностите, които тези дзиншъ получавали, били по принцип по-ниски от редовните дзиншъ – 正奏名. Те обикновено били назначавани в архивите на окръжната администрация, отговаряли за съхраняване на документи, счетоводни книги, списъци на населението и др.

Сунският Тайдзу води истинска битка с ходатайствата и нарушенията в системата на изпитите. През 973 г. той се усъмнява в един от получилите титлата дзиншъ, само защото е от родния край на главния екзаминатор – учен от Ханлин. Джао Куанин нарежда повторно провеждане на изпита и сам участва в оценяването. От този момент нататък в изпитната система на древен Китай започва нейната институционализация като дворцовите изпити се превръщат в най-висшия етап на изпитите. Ето какво казва самият император по този въпрос: „В предишни времена, до изпитите имаха достъп само силните семейства, личното ми участие в изпитите ще промени системата и ще намали злото“ («宋史»: 卷 155).

Сунският Тайдзун (太宗)[1] си е давал ясна сметка, че системата не гарантира на всички преминали изпитите да станат велики администратори. Но той смятал, че системата работи, дори ако 10–20% от тях станат такива. Следвайки принципа „невисок добив от огромна площ“ (刘海峰 2006: 161), той на първо място разширява квотата на кандидатите за дзиншъ. Ако по време на дин. Тан всяка година това са били около 30 души, при император Джао Куанин общо са избрани 195, като само на първия изпит, проведен през първата година след като става император (977 г.), са излъчени 109 дзиншъ. След допълнителен преглед на документите, са допуснати още 184 души в категорията „допълнителни дзиншъ“ (特奏明进士). Така общият брой достига 500 души, на които са дадени чиновнически постове. Сунският Тай-

[1] 太宗, втори император на династията.

дзун организира 8 пъти изпити, в резултат на което получилите научна степен достигат 1487 души, от които 186 дзиншъ (刘海峰 2006: 162). Фактът на нарасналия брой на успешно издържалите и получили научна степен е неразделно свързан с деликатната политическа ситуация тогава, с необходимостта да се защити собственото политическо статукво. Но след като правилата вече са установени и се превърнат в закон, поколения след Сун ще ги следват непроменени. Именно Сун е династията, която в многовековната история на държавните изпити разширява в най-голяма степен мащабите на приетите дзиншъ. И този факт завинаги е свързан с усилията и политиката на първите сунски императори.

След като „вратата“ за явяване на изпити се разтваря все по-широко, излизат на бял свят и други недостатъци на системата. Налагат се нови мерки за справяне с тях. Закриването на името на изпитвания (封弥) върху изпитния лист за първи път се прилага в Късна Джоу в края на епохата на Петте династии, но само веднъж, така че то няма системен характер. При управлението на сунския Тайдзун вече са поставени под контрол връзките между главния изпитващ и изпитвания, забранени са обществените препоръки и допускането до изпит извън конкурса, но все още има възможност председателят на изпитната комисия да прояви пристрастие и субективност. Закриването на името най-напред се прилага при дворцовите изпити, след което тази мярка става задължителна при всички изпити. Повод за това става един случай, когато през 992 г. на столичните изпити се явяват повече от 17 000 кандидати. Постъпва жалба за несправедлива оценка, вследствие на което на главния квестор е разпоредено да докладва за протичането на изпита с препоръката имената на кандидатите да бъдат скривани.

След като става император през 998 г., третият сунски император Джъндзун （宋真宗） продължава да разширява мащаба на изпитите， насърчава стремежа към наука и усъвършенстване като начин за придобиване на слава и просперитет. Известно в продължение на векове е стихотворението „Да насърчаваме учението“ («劝学诗»), в което „четенето на книги“ се препоръчва като достоен начин за осигуряване на благоденствие и достоен живот. Тази знаменита фраза притежава не само огромна привлекателна сила за живеещите в бедност да бъдат упорити ден след ден, да използват младостта си за натрупване на знания и усъвършенстване, но тя описва максимално ясно обективните перспективи, на които всеки може да разчита, след успешно положен изпит.

За да стане системата на държавните изпити още по-рационална и справедлива, сунският Джъндзун продължава политиката на своите предшественици за реформи. През 1005 г., на изпита в императорския дворец в столицата, Джъндзун за първи път разпорежда писмените изпитни работи да бъдат преписвани от специални служители. Когато проверява писмената работа, оценяващият не вижда името на студента, но може да познае почерка или да види евентуален таен знак върху изпитния лист. А за да се избегне евентуалната подмяна на писмената работа от страна на преписващия, веднага след преписването той слагал специален печат. След този дворцов изпит, преписването също става задължително правило при провеждането на изпитите (刘海峰 2006: 161–165).

Тези мерки също допринасят за по-нататъшното ограничаване на субективизма при оценяването и откриват път към справедливо и безпристрастно оценяване и справедливо съревнование. В свитък 93 на «续资治通鉴长编» – „Всеобщо огледало в помощ на управлението“ (李焘 1995: 卷84), подробно се описва процедурата на изпита, която Джъндзун постановява през 1019 г.: след приключването на изпита писмените изпитни работи се събират, съответният чиновник заличава името и родното място на изпитвания, като поставя специален номер върху изпитния лист. След това последният се предава на друг служител, който преписва писмената работа. Преписаното копие отива в ръцете на главния екзаминатор, който го чете и оценява. След това, екземплярът се чете от втория по ранг изпитващ. Трето официално лице, натоварено с крайната оценка, счупва печатите на двамата оценители, подробно анализира различията, сравнява номерата, имената и прави крайната балансирана оценка, която записва като краен официален резултат. Този метод прави важна крачка в обективното оценяване и намалява до голяма степен злоупотребите (刘海峰 2006: 167)

Още една мярка, призвана да се бори с явлението непотизъм, се отнася до явяването на изпит на синове на местния елит по местоживеене. В тези случаи са били изпращани специални екзаминатори от столицата за обективно оценяване, или въпросните лица не са имали правото да се явяват там, където живеят. Тези изпити се наричат „особени изпити, проведени в друга провинция" „别头试" и се въвеждат след 998 г.

При Сун действащи вече чиновници също са имали право да се явят на изпит за дзиншъ, което също било предпоставка за корупция. Тези чиновници, които били доста хитри и обиграни, се явявали в специална зала за изпити (锁厅试), което гарантирало безпристрастна оценка. Те обаче, най-напред били задължени да се явят пред старшия чиновник на изпит по своята специалност и ако го издържат, тогава се явявали в Министерството на обредите. Тези, които се проваляли на този изпит, нямали право повече да заемат предишния си пост. През 1019 г. тези мерки стават още по-строги, като неиздържалите изпита били и глобявани и завинаги губели възможността да се явяват на изпит.

В началото на дин. Сун изпитната системата е все още неустойчива и търсеща пътища за усъвършенстване. Благодарение на първите сунски императори и техните усилия, системата започва да се съсредоточава върху обективността и справедливостта, като по този начин поставя здрава основа за реформите и усъвършенстването си при следващите императори и епохи.

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“中文+旅游”项目在普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂的可行性探究

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Exploring the Feasibility of Implementing *Chinese* + *Tourism* in Confucius Classroom at Plovdiv University

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Abstract

With the increasing cooperation between China and other countries, the demand of integrated professionals with Chinese language background is expanding. A new cultivated mood named Chinese + which combines Chinese language with industry knowledge starts to be the main trend among many Confucius Institutes. This thesis aims to give a brief introduction of Chinese + and current teaching situation in *the Confucius Classroom in Plovdiv University, explores the feasibility to implement Chinese + Tourism in the near future.*

Keywords: Chinese, Tourism, Industry Chinese, Feasibility

研究背景

1. "中文+职业培训"示范项目概述

根据中国教育部中外语言交流合作中心的官方网站显示，"中文+职业培训"示范项目[1]是指通过制定职业技能中文标准、研发职技中文考试及证书、开发"中文+职业培训"系列课程，与中外院校、企业、社会组织共同支持海外开展"中文+职业技能"项目，面向就业需求，培养为当地企业服务的复合型人才。自2020年5月至2021年12月，有关"中文+"的新闻报道[2]一共16篇。2021年12月15日在中文联盟直播平台顺利召开了国际中文教育助力职业院校国际化研讨会，会上介绍和讨论了"中文+职业技能"教育平台建设方面的实践和规划，通过技术赋能、模式创新，推进"中文+职业教育"课程国际化，实现海外本土化一线人才培养和企业需求的精准对接，大力发展"中文+职业教育"国际推广项目。

根据《人民日报》（海外版）2019年12月20日的报道，自2017年起，日本关西外国语大学孔子学院就开设"空乘汉语"课程。2019年国际中文教育大会首设"中文＋职业技能"论坛，邀请中外企业与教育专家共同讨论如何开展就业创业对接，与会代表各抒己见，就"中文＋"项目的可持续发展等话题展开讨论。单一中文语言教学转向"中文＋"教学是全球孔院在中文教学多元化方面做出的积极尝试，也是中文教学更好地服务当地经济社会发展的需求。"中文＋"项目纳入不少孔院的发展轨道之中，相关统计数据[3]显示，目前，泰国、马来西亚、坦桑尼亚、埃塞俄比亚等40多个国家100多所孔子学院开设"中文＋"课程，涉及高铁、经贸、旅游、法律、海关、航空等数十个领

[1] http://www.chinese.cn/page/#/pcpage/project?id=132
[2] http://www.chinese.cn/page/#/pcpage/search
[3] http://news.haiwainet.cn/n/2019/1220/c3541093-31685259.html

域。2020年11月5日，教育部中外语言交流合作中心与南京工业职业技术大学共建的“中文+职业技能”国际推广基地正式启动，代表着国际中文教育、职业教育走出去的深度融合，为整合国际中文教育和职业教育资源，实现融合创新和协同发展指明了实践方向。

2. 保加利亚旅游资源和外语导游从业资质和薪资调查

根据中华人民共和国驻保加利亚大使馆官网[4]介绍，保加利亚旅游资源较丰富。2018年接待外国游客1236.8万人次，主要来自罗马尼亚、土耳其、希腊、德国、塞尔维亚、北马其顿、俄罗斯、波兰、英国。截至2018年底，保加利亚有旅馆3458家，床位33.5万张。

根据保加利亚旅游部官网[5]信息，在保从事外语导游需具备以下条件：1）具有历史与考古学、宗教与神学、社会学、人类学和文化科学、旅游学、人文社科学等专业的高等教育背景。2）具有职业技术学校（院）导游三级或四级职业资格证书。3）中专学校毕业且具备导游四级职业资格证书。4）中专学校毕业且具备导游三级职业资格证书，且具有至少一年的工作经验。5）从事外语导游需具备工作语言B2（CEFR）水平。之后，还需要参加由保加利亚旅游部组织的统一考试，获得合法的导游从业证书，

3. 普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂汉语教学现状综述

自2011年起，普罗夫迪夫大学开设了汉语本科教育项目，包括“保语和汉语专业”（以下简称保汉专业）和“应用语言学（西方语言与汉语）专业”（以下简称英汉专业），学制四年。2017年语言学院面向全保招收硕士研究生，专业名称是旅游学中的语言应用与文化活动（汉语方向），申请学生的汉语水平应达到HSK五级以上（含五级）或相同水平，学制一年。上述三个专业均隶属于普罗夫迪夫大学语言学院应用语言学系。2016年1月15日，在国家汉办和索非亚孔子学院的资助

[4] http://www.chinaembassy.bg/chn/zzgjs/gjgk/

[5] https://www.tourism.government.bg/bg/kategorii/uslugi-v-turizma/izdavane-na-udostoverenie-za-pridobivane-na-pravosposobnost-za-0?fbclid=IwAR0-CrkqS69Xj1JYXRTsoiq8W-KGl5DYThdZVTJuCG4h9AP6OZcQ_CT4yxI

下，普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂正式揭牌，成为索非亚孔子学院下设孔子课堂。自2011年至2021年春季学期共计招收625名本科生，毕业62人。自2017年招收硕士研究生共计5人，毕业3人。

“中文+旅游”项目实施的可行性分析

1. 普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂已开展的教学实践和取得的前期成果

自2018年春季学期开始，孔子课堂公派教师王莹首次在四年级的《汉语口语》课程中引入《旅游汉语》的教学内容，至今已有四届学生学习了与旅游相关的行业汉语课程。在授课过程中，拥有国内双师型教师认证的公派汉语老师，结合自身的旅游专业知识和从业经验，和学生们分享了中国境内地陪和全陪导游的相关从业要求和服务技能，分析中国游客境外旅游的共性和特点，并以期末考核的形式让学生亲身体会地陪导游为中国客人介绍景点的服务技巧。于此同时，普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂通过参与《2019欧洲文化中心》的项目，与普罗夫迪夫市游客服务中心合作，于2019年发行了第一版《普罗夫迪夫市古城景点简介》（汉语版）。

2. 课程设置的优势

普罗夫迪夫大学虽然没有中文系，但是孔子课堂的课程种类相比保加利亚境内的各个孔子课堂和教学点来说是最多的。其教学目标基于汉语初学者的语言流利程度，在培养过程中综合了中国历史、哲学、文学等学科的知识，同时兼具了对中国民族文化多样性、地理概况和中国经济等方面的介绍。在保汉专业开设了《基础汉语》（1–4）、《中国国情》、《中国文学》等17门课程；在英汉专业开设了《基础汉语》（1–4）、《汉语语言技巧特训之听力》、《汉语口语》等10门课程。其中和中国文化、国情和历史相关的课程正好填补了中国导游资格证书考试中《导游基础知识》的部分内容。同时，授课教师也会横向延展让学生用汉语介绍保加利亚的相关知识，也为从事导游服务工作增加了专业知识储备。

3. 项目实施的机遇和未来目标

随着中国资本在普罗夫迪夫市的投资不断增加，在不同的合作领域都达成了广泛合作，如商务、旅游、科技联合等，两国人民之间互访交流的机会就会越来越多，同时，普罗夫迪夫市作为欧洲现存的最古老的城市之一，拥有超过7000年的人类居住史，旅游资源非常丰富。普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂可以成为实现两国之间的文化交流、信息沟通和教育教学的交流合作的桥梁，培养更多汉语人才，这也符合普罗夫迪夫大学《十年发展策略纲要（2011–2020）》的主旨。希望在未来五年的时间里，依托普罗夫迪夫大学语言学院建立保加利亚南部地区导游培训发展中心，组织包括汉语在内的外语导游岗前培训，在职教育等项目，实现设立汉语导游现场考试考点，培养汉语导游考试考官等目标。

“中文+旅游”项目实施的可行性设计

1. 以旅游行业汉语为指导的课程设置

基于2020年12月11日实施的《旅游汉语课程设置规范》，普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂拟在大学四年级开展行业汉语教学，逐步向开设《旅游汉语》方向，侧重旅游行业知识和相关业务的汉语表达的学习，增加《导游服务技能》（汉语）、《导游法律法规》（保语）、《导游实训》和《突发事件应急策略》等课程，旨在加强学生文化底蕴的基础上，明确学习任务和未来职业发展方向，增加专业知识储备，扩大就业范围。

2. 课程考核方法

在课程考试形式上，从单一的书面应试或口语交流转换到现场模拟实训，增加突发性事件的临场应对考核。通过语言和职业素养的双重考核，为学生减少踏出校门进入职场的适应期，逐步向行业精英式培养模式转变。

存在的不足和面临的挑战

1. 师资力量的不足

截止2021年春季学期，普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂有公派教师、本土教师和兼职教师共三人，其中只有公派教师具有中国导游职业资格证和领队资格证，且公派教师存在更换的情况，不能肯定之后派来的教师也同样具备相关的旅游行业知识。虽然学校的研究生层次教学中有旅游专业的教师，但只限于保语教学。因此，在“中文+旅游”项目推进的过程中，应鼓励本土教师和本科毕业生参加保加利亚导游职业资格证书的考试，以考促教，循序渐进。

2. 专业教材的缺失

目前，有关旅游的保汉双语教材几乎没有。市场上更多的是英汉双语的《旅游英语》类教材。因此，出版正式保汉双语的旅游行业汉语系列教材迫在眉睫。

3. 官方资质的认证

建立一个导游培训发展中心需要学校和政府部门不断的共同努力。由于新冠疫情的原因，旅游业几乎停摆，大量的导游失业或转业，业内重启信心不足。这个时候就更需要一个新的措施为旅游从业人员重拾希望。建立这样的一个培训中心，可以在旅游旺季为导游和旅行社提供更多的就业双选机会，在旅游淡季为导游在职充电，提升服务质量。

结论

在普罗夫迪夫大学孔子课堂开展“中文+旅游”项目是顺应时代发展的潮流教学改革，是符合中国教育部中外语言交流合作中心推行复合型人才培养目标的举措，具有广阔的发展前景。结合汉语语言学习，突出职业能力培养，改变传统的教学与考核模式，提高学生的跨文化交际能力，融会贯通，扩大就业机会，学以致用。

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Japanese Traditional Colors and Chromonyms: Inspirations and Evocations between Nature and Art

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Abstract

Due to the countless nuances of colors, we are surrounded with, languages must necessarily give up supplying a name to each of the infinite shades belonging to the chromatic space. Nevertheless, the Japanese language and, as a natural reflection, its cultural sensibility, has refined particular attention on seeing colors or shades over the past centuries, starting from a careful analysis of surrounding Nature. Nihon no dentōshoku 日本の伝統色*, Japanese traditional colors, witness in their chromonyms this peculiar perceptibility. Consequently, elements such as flowers, plants, birds, insects were employed to appoint each nuance with a name faithfully recalling the inspiring element; as a result, we can find the application of this chromatic richness in every art and craft form.*

The kimono is one of the most precious witnesses for our research to see how tastes have changed in the combination of colors and the resulting creation of new chromonyms. In specific historical periods, we met certain usage limitations related to color or tonality: these limitations arose from passing fashions (around the end of the seventeenth century) or from strict government laws aimed at defining social roles and levels (early eighteen century). In this way, we will pass from a chromatic exuberance to a mortification of brightness giving life to a variegated richness of nuances.

Keywords: Japanese traditional colors, chromonyms, Nature, *kimono*, fashions, restriction on colors uses for textile

Over the past centuries, the Japanese language and its cultural sensibility have devoted attention to seeing colors and shades through a careful analysis of surrounding Nature. The expression *Nihon no dentōshoku* 日本の伝統色*,* meaning 'Japanese traditional colors' witnesses this sensibility and refers to more than four hundred chromonyms. Therefore, names for flowers, plants, birds, and insects have been employed to appoint countless nuances that faithfully recall the inspiring elements. We will find examples of this chromatic richness applied in every art and craft expression, especially in the field of textile, aimed at a search on visual perception for harmony on a single surface.

The kimono is one of the most precious witnesses for our research because we can see how tastes have been changing in the combination of colors, and how new chromonyms have been created. In certain historical periods, we can observe certain usage restrictions related to a specific color or tonality and the result was a passage from a chromatic vitality to the reduction of brightness, creating a variegated richness of nuances (Nagasaki 2007: 25–44).

The starting point for this brief analysis of traditional Japanese chromaticism may be the so-called Munsell system's color scheme conceived and gradually developed at the beginning of the 20th century by the homonym American painter. In 1964 this system was at the base of a study on chromatic harmony led by the Japanese Institute of Color Research. Even if partially outdated, this scheme presents a three-dimensional scale based on the interpenetration of three elements: hue, value, and chromaticity. In other words, the chromatic tonality expresses the quality of the color, based on ten shades: five basics (red, yellow, green, blue, and purple) and five intermediates (yellow-red, green-yellow, blue-green, purple-blue, red-purple); the value of the color measures its brightness from white to black, while the chromaticity corresponds to the saturation of the color itself (Cooper 1929: 11–33; Horiguchi, Iwamatsu 2018: 827–833). The traditional Japanese colors we are going to discuss can be better understood through this modern theory, but the system of nomenclature in ancient times used a different kind of classification, based on the division of colors into three major natural macro-categories: botanical, animal, and mineral colors, thus highlighting a sensory relationship for the definition of chromonyms.

As illustrated in the studies of Prof. James Stanlaw of the University of Illinois, in the most ancient periods of Japanese history – Asuka and Nara (sixth-eighth century) – the colors in use and their terminology were strongly influenced by the continent – specifically, China and Korea – based on the Five Elements Theory; anyway, from the classical period of Japanese history – the so-called Heian period (794–1185) – attention to detail and a peculiar aesthetic sensibility for chromaticism are the concrete evidence of a new feeling (Stanlaw 2010: 205–211). During this historical period, the Japanese version of the *nijūshisekki* 二十四節季, 'natural calendar' of Chinese origin was introduced: a calendar in which the year is divided into twelve moons and each moon into two seasons; each of these subperiods had three definitions related to the evolution of natural phenomena, the cyclical development of flora and its colors. For example, the first fifteen days of the ninth month are named *hakuro* 白露, 'white dew'. The first five days are referred to as *kusa no tsuyu shiroshi* 草の露白し, 'white dew on the grass' (a still undefined shade of white). Or in the tenth month the last five days are related to the phenomenon of *momiji tsuta kibamu* 紅葉蔦黄ばむ, 'red leaf yellowing' (Kervern 1986: 7–17).

A perfect example of this chromatic sensibility can be found in the daily aspects of aristocratic life of the time: the maniacal care for the harmonious choice of colorful kimonos. In particular, the ladies of the court were wrapped in many layers of silk according to a system of color combination, the *irome no kasane* 色目の重ね, or 'overlapping of colors. This brought to the creation of a formal dress, the *jūni hitoe* 十二単 literally 'twelve layers,' a forerunner of today's kimono. The result was a use of chromatic harmony of different layers of clothing overlapping and sloping at the wrists and neck, more than the decorative aspects, such as embroidery or dyeing. Each other color use increased the possibility of obtaining a dissonant note: for this reason, the fewer colors used, the greater the chance of harmonious correlation was, which means the discovery of several possibilities of gradient shading of each color. Such meticulous care was inspired by nature since every color name derived from a flower or a plant and could therefore be worn only in the right season (Dalby 1993: 243–252; Dusenbury 2015: 166–167). For instance, the term *murasaki* 紫 refers to a shade of purple between red and blue; its name derives from the *Lithospermum erythrorhizon* (gromwell), a plant whose roots were used to obtain this colorant. Since it was extremely difficult to obtain the color, it was used only for the clothes of high-ranking courtiers and on special occasions (Uchida 2008: 242; Hamada 2007: 148): it was considered a «soft» color that tended to fade, and metaphorically conveyed the meaning of 'elegant decay' It cannot be a coincidence that the heroine of the most famous novel composed in the Heian period – *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語 (eleventh century) – was properly named Murasaki (Dalby 1993: 256–283). Another example refers to *momiji iro* 紅葉色 a vivid red which reminds the color of maple's leaves during the foliage period. For this reason, it was often used in the layered color combination with red and dark red standing for the overlap of maple leaves that turn bright red (Uchida 2008: 50). A further interesting example refers to the term *fuji iro* 藤色 which derives from the name of the wisteria flower. It was less expensive to obtain compared to *murasaki* purple and was the alternative – not only for women – for the dyeing of fabrics to achieve purple (Stanlaw 2010, 216–219). In *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 – The Pillow book composed around X–XI century, the author Sei Shōnagon praises among wonderful things the view of wisteria flowers with long clusters hanging on pine trees with deep colors (Uchida 2008: 232).

These examples reveal how the names were already standardized at that time since, in some cases, they were decidedly conventional. From this moment on, the constant research of the chromatic harmony became imperative to be followed not only in clothing but also on artistic and handicraft levels (Cliffe 2017: 13–19; Dusenbury 2015: 169–172).

Over time, we find further limitations on the use of specific colors because of either outdated fashion or strict governmental laws, aimed to define and control social roles and levels. An interesting example appears from the *kimono* in vogue between 1688 and 1704, the so-called Genroku era when precious *kimono* of the most varied colors was no longer the privilege of the aristocracy. The rich merchants and artisans of the time – the rising bourgeoisie – felt the need to step out and show their level of wealth, especially in a city like Edo (the ancient Tokyo). The desire to appear and find one's expression came out from the rigid division into social classes imposed by the military government of the time. It is, therefore, no coincidence that in this period and thanks to the less prestigious class of this new social order, the so-called "modern colors" appeared.

A clear example can be seen in some woodblock prints of the time, specifically in the work of Hishikawa Moronobu, author of an illustrated text – the *Kosode moyau makura-e* 小袖もやう枕絵 – a sort of fashion catalog created by one of the first stylists. In this way, the *kimono* could already be considered a sort of color palette where artistic creativity can widely range and the birth in this period of the painting on silk's technique (the *yūzen* 友禅 technique) is certainly not accidental (Dalby 1993: 285–335). An extremely popular color was the golden yellow *yamabukicha* 山吹茶, literally 'tea color of Kerria japonica' (Hamada 2007: 75) or *yamatogaki* 大和柿, a dull bright orange that, as the name suggests, reminds of the Japanese khaki. Other popular colors are *beniaka* 紅赤, a vivid red shade having a touch of purple (the term *beni* 紅indicates the red pigment from Carthamus tinctorius), or *rurikon* 瑠璃紺[1], a shade of blue reminiscent of Lapis lazuli: a chromonym traditionally found in scripture as the color of the Land of the Buddha (Dalby 1993: 285–335; Uchida 2008: 239).

These colors came under the definition of *hade* 派手, or showy because they revealed a greater intensity of self-assertion in those who used to display them. This unique florid boldness, made up of bright colors, complex and intricate designs, brought to a real explosion of life so that in this period people even came to organize fashion competitions between the wives of wealthy merchants to prove their beautiful costumes.

However, this period's aesthetic and economic tolerance soon gave way to more intense sobriety. Starting from 1720, forms of social repression and sumptuary laws limited the ostentation of luxury only to the rich classes. The fashion of the time, therefore, could no

[1] Also named *konruri* 紺瑠璃.

longer choose the combination of too many different and eye-catching colors. Subsequently, new textile techniques were adopted to bring more attention to the details, while the designs become smaller and simpler. *Hade* colors give way to *jimi* 地味 (modesty) – less intensity of self-assertion, being enclosed within oneself. Literally, 'the taste of the earth as savored by the root' (Kuki 1192: 97–122).

In this cultural phase, color seems to restrain its power focusing on three chromatic ranges: brown, gray, and blue in all shades. The Japanese aesthetic sensibility of the period could distinguish, for example, well over fifteen types of brown including a brown with a touch of dark red, literally 'sparrow color' or the color of the head of the sparrow *suzumeiro* 雀色, or *susutakeiro* 煤竹色, 'smoked bamboo brown,' which is a dark bamboo brown tinged with a grayish patina left by smoking. Or brown nightingale, *uguisucha* 鶯茶, a yellowish-green tinged with brown just like the feathers of the nightingale, and brown kite, *tobi iro* 鳶色, a deep brown with red shade just like the feathers of the kite[2]. We can also find clove brown *chōjizome* 丁子染め, a yellowish-brown typical of fabrics dyed with buds of clove. A further shade shows a terracotta brown, *taishairo* 代赭色, literally 'a color that replaces red' also known as 'red ocher', so named because of the famous red clay produced in the Chinese province of Daizhou (Uchida 2008: 77, 86, 92). The two last examples belong to a series of shades obtained by a simple but effective drop in brightness from red to yellow, through orange.

Gray, or ash color, is the stage perceived as colorless when going from white to black: it is the optical sensation that reveals a reduction in the degree of saturation. In this period, we could find the silvery gray *gin'nezumi* 銀鼠, a gray tinged with willow green, even if the name tells us something else: 'silvery gray mouse' or the *sakuranezumi* 桜鼠, literally 'cherry blossom mouse,' which is a pale cherry blossom color where the pale red is slightly dulled by gray or light ink[3]. Moreover, we even find the intense black color of blue *aonibi* 青鈍 'dull blue' which is a dye often used for the clothes

[2] From this nuance of brown also originated *benitobi iro* 紅鳶色 (a reddish shade), *murasakitobi iro* 紫鳶色 (a purplish shade) and *kurotobi iro* 黒鳶色 (a blackish shade).

[3] Colors called "*-nezumi*" -鼠 often represent a soft and cool shade.

of Buddhist monks and nuns. It is a color created by combining blue with ink-based dyes such as rubbers and mordant with iron. A shade between gray and dark blue (Hamada 2007: 25, 157, 161).

As we already explained, in the middle Edo period, brown and gray colors became increasingly popular, but indigo too was widely appreciated as an *Edo-mae* 江戸前 color, which gave rise to many chromonyms having "indigo" in them. An interesting example comes from *aitetsuiro* 藍鉄色, a combination of the popular indigo color and *tetsuiro* or iron color, a real touch of austerity, as needed (Cliffe 2017: 19–37; Uchida 2008: 223).

In conclusion, the examples presented in this paper clearly show an increasingly refined richness for metaphorical terms research which valorize and enhance the juxtaposition of nuances and shades of the same color. Despite the presence of literary and iconographic sources contemporary to the periods in question, it is difficult to evaluate the frequency of the actual use of this lexicon and the moment (or moments) in which this terminology was codified and classified.

Different perspectives of analysis can be associated, in fact, to the classification of Japanese traditional colors according to the modern Munsell's system based on three properties of color: hue – basic color, chromaticity – color intensity and value – lightness; or according to fashion's waves – as we have seen during Heian (794–1185) e Edo period (1603–1868); or according to inspiring elements. Anyway, the evolution of this lexicon highlights a complex series of social, cognitive, and linguistic interactions, rich, fluid, and flexible.

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Analysis of the Role of Health Silk Road in Pandemic Context under the 14th Five-Year Plan

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Abstract

In a globalized world, facing a pandemic that strongly affected all economies and societies worldwide, the inestimable value of human health is perceived as crucial. As part of its diplomatic strategy in the geopolitics of health and within the framework of its projection of the "Belt and Road Initiative" towards the development of a prosperous and harmonious society with a "shared community future for mankind", the People's Republic of China (PRC) has been implementing the "Health Silk Road". Due to the perceived need for a concerted effort made by several actors involved in the definition of policies in the face of global public health problems – global health governance – the Health Silk Road acquires a relevant role in this sphere of action. This analysis of the "Health Silk Road" is based on the principles of 14th Five-Year Plan of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), it traces a perspective of evolution of the concept for the next five years. Because no one is safe, until all are safe, the Health Silk Road is a mean by which PRC applies its strategy in the geopolitical arena of global health, with the purpose of consolidating its position as an indispensable agent in the supply chains of health products and an actor of global responsibility.

Keywords: Health Silk Road, 14th Five-year Plan, global health governance, geopolitics of health

Introduction

In the context of a globalized world in rapid transformation – namely in its global geopolitics – and in the aftermath of a pandemic that strongly affected all sectors of the economy and society worldwide, the widespread perception of the inestimable value of human health takes on an accrued dimension and relevance.

As early as 1946, the World Health Organization (WHO) defined health not only as the absence of disease, but as a full condition of physical, mental, and social well-being. For this to happen, the governments have become aware that this condition can only be achieved by defining and implementing intersectoral and multidisciplinary public policies that promote health. The perception that the social determinants of health (SDH) affect, directly or indirectly, the levels and gains in population health has given rise to this approach based on governance, whether local, regional or national, and even global.

What is meant by global health governance? And what is the impact of SDH in health policies?

Global health governance is a concept that derives from the concept of global governance, which has been more widely discussed in the scientific literature since the 1990s. Depending on the area of research and analysis, there are multiple definitions of these concepts, usually having in common the multidisciplinary and multilevel character of governance. The most frequently accepted definition of collaborative governance is "a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets." (Ansell & Gash, 2008, p. 544).

Based on this definition of collaborative governance, for this analysis, we adopt as a conceptual basis for global health governance, the definition given by Fidler (2010) which is: "the use of formal and informal institutions, rules, and processes by states, intergovernmental organizations, and non-state actors to deal with challenges to health that require cross-border collective action to address effectively". In this sense, we realize that health requires concerted action from actors in various sectors, because it is greatly affected – directly or indirectly – by policies adopted in other sectors and conditioned by SDH.

According to the WHO, SDH are related to the conditions in which an individual is born, lives and works. As shown in Figure 1, social, economic, cultural, ethnic, psychological, and behavioural factors that influence health status can also be considered; these factors can be housing conditions, nutrition, schooling, and employment conditions (Buss and Filho, 2007).

With the growing awareness on the part of policy makers that health requires a multisectoral and multidisciplinary approach, regulatory frameworks and directives have emerged in recent decades that meet this type of approach. As an example of this, we have the European Horizon 2030 program for Health, which was based essentially on two fundamental pillars – "Health for All" and "Health in All Policies" – followed by the new program called EU4Health. In addition to continue the previous one, this plan aims to respond to the needs that have arisen in the wake of the Covid–19 pandemic.

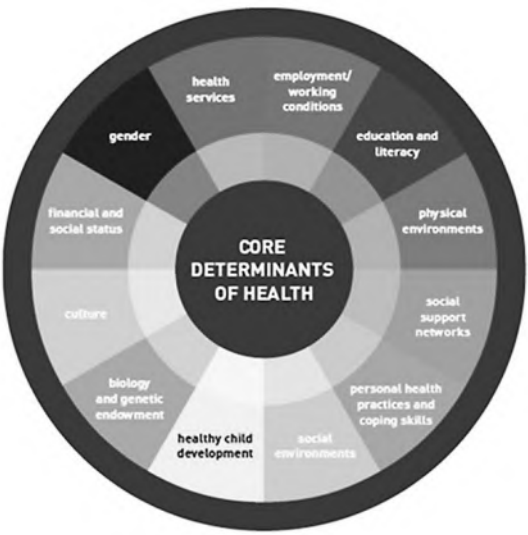

Fig. 1. Main social determinants of health
Source: Colleaga

In addition, the PRC followed similar plans advocating an approach based on the premise of „Health in All Policies“ as it can be seen in the advertising poster below (Figure 2).

Fig. 2. "70 years on: Health for All and All for Health"
Source: http://en.nhc.gov.cn/n_20132.html

As far as health is concerned, this fact is clearly evidenced in the 'Healthy China 2030' plan adopted in 2015, setting medium-term goals up to 2030. The plan's objectives are aligned with the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), specifically the Cluster 3 for Health.

"The United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development consists of 17 SDGs and was adopted in September 2015 by 193 members, resulting from the joint work of governments and citizens around the world to create a new global model to end poverty, promote prosperity and well-being for all, protect the environment and combat climate changes" (ODS, 2015/ own translation).

Regarding goal 3, related to health, it is described as follows: "Ensure access to quality health care and promote well-being for all at all ages" (ODS, 2015) and is divided into several specific goals as shown in the table below:

Table 1. Main goals of SDG 3 – Health

Specific goals of SDG 3 – Health	
Target	**Deadline**
Reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 deaths per 100,000 live births	Until 2030
Put an end to avoidable deaths of new-borns and children under 5, with all countries striving to reduce neonatal mortality to at least 12 per 1,000 live births and under–5 mortality to at least 25 per 1,000 live births	Until 2030
Put an end to the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and neglected tropical diseases, and combat hepatitis, waterborne and other communicable diseases	Until 2030
Reduce by one-third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases through prevention and treatment, and promote mental health and well-being	Until 2030
Strengthen prevention and treatment of substance abuse, including drug abuse and harmful use of alcohol	Without deadline
Reduce by half, on a global level, the number of deaths and injuries due to road accidents	Until 2020
Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health services, including family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programs	Until 2030
Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to high-quality essential health services, and access to safe, effective and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all	Without deadline
Substantially reduce the number of deaths and illnesses due to hazardous chemicals, air, water and soil contamination and pollution	Until 2030
Strengthen implementation of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in all countries, as appropriate	Without deadline
Support research and development of vaccines and medicines for communicable and non-communicable diseases, which primarily affect developing countries, provide access to affordable essential medicines and vaccines, in accordance with the Doha Declaration	Without deadline

Substantially increase health financing and the recruitment, training, and retention of health personnel in developing countries, especially in the least developed countries and small island developing states	Without deadline
Strengthen the capacity of all countries, particularly developing countries, for early diagnosis, risk reduction and management of national and global health risks	Without deadline

Source: Own elaboration (https://unric.org/pt/objetivo-3-saude-de-qualidade-2/)

In effect, 'Healthy China 2030' is a plan determined by the Chinese government in 2016 that outlines measures in the health sector with domestic targets to be achieved by 2030.

Its overall objectives are as follows: (i) continuous improvement of population's health; (ii) keeping major risk factors under effective control; (iii) increasing the delivery capacity of the healthcare industry; (iv) better institutional arrangements for health promotion (Zhuang, 2016).

'Healthy China 2030' is, thus, a tool for consolidating the reforms of the Chinese health system in order to solve internal problems, aligning it simultaneously with global directives, such as the 'Health for All' and 'Health in All Policies' guidelines, two of the pillars of the United Nations and European programmes (for instance, Horizon 2030) in the field of health.

Health Silk Road: project description, trajectory before and after Covid-19 pandemic

The Health Silk Road is an extension of China's global Belt and Road Initiative. The concept first emerged in 2015 and was officially adopted in 2017 through the official document entitled 'Beijing Communiqué of the Belt and Road Health Cooperation & Health Silk Road'.

During the High Level Meeting on the Belt and Road for Health Cooperation: Towards a Health Silk Road, held in August 2017 in Beijing, the WHO General-Director, commented favourably on the initiative, stating that it can become the stimulus needed to drive joint activities towards universal health coverage and that it contains the necessary foundations, such as building infrastructure, access to medicines and human resources, needed to build a platform for sharing experiences and promoting best health practices (Chen et al., 2019).

The concept of the Health Silk Road encourages regional cooperation and the broad participation of governments, international and regional organisations, academia, the private sector, civil society, and the public in a multisectoral, multilevel approach and in a spirit of collaborative governance (Cheng et al., 2019). The PRC is the driving country that, together with partner countries, has jointly published a series of agreements. This is the reason why the initiative has made the need to combat infectious diseases a priority for social and economic development. The implementation of the "Belt and Road" project is expected to facilitate progress in the elimination of infectious diseases such as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome caused by human immunodeficiency virus, as well as tuberculosis, malaria, and 17 neglected tropical diseases, which constitute SDG 3.3.

In addition, 41 programmes are active, including the China-ASEAN Training One Hundred Health Professionals plan and the China-Africa Cooperation Plan on Public Health. Non-governmental exchange and cooperation activities in various fields are complementary to government projects as they build public support for the "Belt and Road" initiative (Chen et al., 2019). The Health Silk Road also supports a narrative disseminated abroad by the Chinese media to build an image of a responsible actor in the face of the global health crisis, while reinforcing the legitimacy of the CCP.

14th Five-Year Plan: what is foreseen in it for health?

The 14th Five-Year Plan of the CCP is the document that outlines the strategic objectives at the national level for the period from 2021 to 2025. The first Five-Year Plan formally appeared in 1953 and since then these plans have been very important in defining the guidelines of national policies. This Five-year Plan has an added relevance due to the internal and external context in which it appears. From a domestic perspective, the PRC celebrated this year the CCP's Centenary and has achieved a remarkable level of economic and social development. The major goal underlying the whole plan is to make the PRC, according to President Xi Jinping, "a moderately prosperous country in all fields" (Xinhua, 2021). The new plan places great emphasis on technological development and innovation, as levers for sustained and sustainable growth, towards the second centenary – the one of the constitution of the People's Republic of China – which will occur in 2049 and which intends to mark the apogee of a modernised and prosperous socialist society. From an external point of view, this Five-Year Plan comes in a context of pandemic and economic stagnation at world level, which imposes huge challenges to its implementation.

The basic ideology of the 14th Five-Year Plan of the PRC rests on the following obligations of all Chinese people: (i) to hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics; (ii) to fully implement the spirit of the 19th National Congress of the CCP and the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th plenary sessions of the 19th Central Committee; (iii) adhere to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, and the "Three Represents" model, as well as Xi Jinping's new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics as guidance; (iv) fully implement the Party's basic theories and strategies, and (v) coordinate the promotion of economic, political, cultural, social construction, and the establishment of ecological civilization.

In turn, the principles to be followed to fulfil these duties towards the desired modern and moderately prosperous society are based on adherence to (i) the global leadership of the party; (ii) the people-to-people approach; (iii) the new concept of development; (iv) deepening openness reform; and (v) the concept of systemic governance (KPMG, 2021).

The 14th Five-Year Plan of the CCP is, therefore, a sort of extension of the goals and policies from the previous plan. However, there is less focus on growth targets in this new plan, especially at the GDP level, and the focus is now directed to the following topics: (i) "dual circulation" model; (ii) advances in technology and innovation area; and (iii) environmental protection and sustainable development.

The dual circulation model still lacks specific details in terms of its implementation, but it is a key notion of the 14^{th} Five-Year Plan. The concept suggests that in the future, priority will be given to 'domestic circulation' over 'international circulation' (Grieger, 2020).

The development strategy more oriented towards greater self-reliance in strategic sectors requires major domestic structural reforms and investment to unleash the purchasing power of Chinese consumers, as well as major innovation efforts that are expected to be mostly state-led. The dual circulation model is understood as "a new development pattern in which domestic and foreign markets can mutually boost each other, with the domestic market as the main pillar" (Zhu, 2020). Indeed, as international markets are less likely to drive China's economic growth in the near future, unlike in past decades, and the protection of advanced economies' cutting-edge technologies has become more sophisticated, the Chinese leadership is determined to further exploit the growth and innovation potential of its own market. This, however, will mean an increase in domestic demand, notably for services, through rising domestic income levels (Tang, 2020).

Therefore, the Chinese government wants to reorient its growth strategy by giving domestic consumption and domestic circulation a new role as an engine of sustainable growth in the future.

In brief, the main goals to be achieved with the 14^{th} Five-Year Plan are the following (Meidan et al., 2021):

1. Maintain the main economic indicators within the pre-established limits;
2. Growth of over 7% per year in investment in research and development;
3. Keep urban unemployment rates below 6%;
4. Increase urban residents to a rate of 65% of the population;
5. Increase the average life expectancy of Chinese citizens by 1 year;
6. Promote "green" development;
7. Promote a fair and high-quality development of the Belt and Road Initiative;
8. Entering a new stage of building a "peaceful and reunited China".

Regarding health, the official document of the Five-Year Plan mentions the word health 31 times and related terms such as "healthy" 12 times. During the period covered by this 14th Five-Year Plan, the medical care system with public medical institutions as its basis will continue its process of continuous improvement and the number of licensed doctors will increase to a ratio of 3.2 doctors per 1,000 inhabitants (Navas, 2020). Following the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic, the PRC has been expanding its sophisticated digital surveillance systems into the health sector, linking security and health (Cordeiro & Castro, 2020).

According to a preliminary analysis developed by KPMG (2021), the 14th Five-Year Plan foresees for health:

- ✓ Rapidly growing biopharmaceutical industry market;
- ✓ Strong growth potential for innovative medical device companies;
- ✓ Long-term positive development as well as export of the treatment model based on Traditional Chinese Medicine;
- ✓ Exponential growth of opportunities for digital primary care;
- ✓ Strengthening of quality and efficiency in the hospital network;
- ✓ Rapid growth in rehabilitation and physiotherapy services.

Due to the pandemic context, health assumes an important role in social and political terms, and has been the object of reflection by the PCC, a reflection that is mirrored in the 14th Five-Year Plan of the PCC.

Final considerations

The Health Silk Road is a project that marks the PRC's external action in terms of global health governance, within the scope of the Belt and Road Initiative. This project allows the materialization of its strategy and geopolitical position in global health with the ultimate goal of highlighting its role as an indispensable actor with global responsibility.

To achieve this goal, the PRC uses its five-year plans as policy tools, in particular the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021–2025) analysed here, and other plans such as ‘Healthy China 2030’, which introduces the concepts of “Health in All Policies” and “Health for All”, in line with world directives, two of the pillars of the United Nations and European programmes (Horizon 2030) in the field of health.

The general objectives of the ‘Healthy China 2030’ plan are as follows: (i) continuous improvement of population health; (ii) keeping major risk factors under effective control; (iii) increasing the supply capacity of the healthcare industry; and (iv) better institutional arrangements for health promotion (Zhuang, 2016).

With regard to the 14th Five-Year Plan, its aim is to help in defining the policies that will lead to the achievement of Xi Jinping’s great objective of ‘rejuvenating the Chinese nation’ and which involves making the PRC “a moderately prosperous country in all areas”.

This plan presents a focus on peaceful development, simultaneously sustainable and sustained, based on development based on innovation, technology and scientific research. In the various goals of this plan arise concerns about the “Green Economy:”, the development of the Belt and Road Initiative, where the “Health Silk Road” is also included. Within the scope of health and through the non-exclusive action of the Health Silk Road, the Five-Year Plan foresees the development of the biopharmaceutical industry, biomedicine, the export of the Traditional Chinese Medicine model and the development of infectious disease monitoring systems, as well as the creation of financial support infrastructures for the development of health-related projects, as well as the continuous improvement of the primary health care system and the efficiency of the hospital network.

We can therefore conclude that health plays an important role in social and political terms, and has been taken into consideration by the Chinese government and authorities, as reflected in the 14th Five-Year Plan of the CCP.

We can also conclude that this preponderance has a practical result in the policy options taken in the ‘Healthy China 2030’ and in the 14th Five-Year Plan and that ultimately aim to enhance the geopolitical position of the PRC and its influence in the world. This is so because with the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic it was realised that health is a 'global public good' that knows no borders and, therefore, the more influential countries are in this area, the more prominent they will tend to be on the international stage.

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V. History and Archaeology

The Unexcavated Sino-Sogdian Funerary Stone House in the National Museum of China

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Abstract

One stone house that was illegally excavated somewhere in northern China has been donated to the National Museum of China in Beijing by a Japanese collector in 2012. Unfortunately, the epitaph and any inscription is missing. This house-shaped monument typical of sixth century northern Chinese funerary art is embellished with unusual elements associated with Sogdians living in China. Those decorations not only present some points in common with other Sino-Sogdian monuments of this period (e.g., the oxcart and riderless horse alluding to the passage into the underworld, the whirling dance, and fire altars), but also unique peculiarities such as apotropaic guardians with unusual attire at the four corners of the stone house and the image of the owner of the tomb wearing a diadem surmounted with a crescent and sun. It definitely belonged to a foreign immigrant whose origins should be probably searched in Central Asia.

Keywords: Sino-Sogdian art, funerary stone house, Southern and Northern Dynasties

Introduction

The immigration and settlement of Sogdian people in China represent a well-known subject among researchers of Sinology and

Iranian studies. According to Chinese written sources, Sogdian Buddhist missionaries started to arrive just after the fall of the Han Empire (206 BCE–220 CE) while, during the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589), these immigrants were mainly traders and they followed other religions as well (De La Vaissière 2005). Richly embellished tombs excavated in Gansu, Shanxi and Shaanxi, and even family cemeteries found in Xinjiang and Ningxia definitely demonstrated that many Sogdians immigrated and settled in China especially during the sixth century CE. Scientifically excavated funerary monuments to be certainly attributed to powerful Sogdians were found in the northern suburbs of Xi'an. Investigations conducted on these monuments allowed to include in the group of "Sino-Sogdian" funerary objects also unexcavated ones that are now part of public and private collections (Marshak 2001; Lerner 2005; Wertmann 2015; Sun 2014; Li 2016).

The term "Sino-Sogdian" art started to be adopted by experts to describe those monuments that included both "sarcophagi" shaped as houses and funerary couches that were quite common in pre-Tang northern China (Müller 2019). As it is obvious to expect in situations like this, powerful Sogdians in China preferred to display local habits to appear as much as possible to be Sinicized officials. Some Chinese sources do not hesitate to disapprove of Sogdian funerary habits rooted in Zoroastrian traditions such as next-of-kin marriage and exposing the dead to be eaten by dogs (Grenet 2015: 142–3).

Studies intensified in the last twenty years on Sino-Sogdian monuments. They should be considered most likely the creation of Chinese artists. However, the scenes and subjects depicted on Sino-Sogdian monuments are clearly rooted in the religion and culture of Sogdiana with very little Buddhist elements. Scenes such as banquets, hunts, and funerals can be found often on Sino-Sogdian monuments. Images of Sogdian "Zoroastrian" deities also sometimes appear on Sino-Sogdian monuments and a parallel can be usually traced with Sogdian paintings from pre-Islamic sites from modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (Shenkar 2014; Shenkar 2017). Chinese authors used the specific term *Xian* 祆 to describe Sogdian religion that could be considered a local form of the faith usually called

“Zoroastrianism” or, better, “Mazdeism” (Riboud 2005a; Riboud 2005b). Many Avestan deities (and even Mesopotamian Nana) preserved their relevance in *Xian* religion. According to written sources, Ahura Mazda (called Adbagh) was an important deity in Sogdiana but not like in pre-Islamic Persia (Shenkar 2014: 63–5). Sogdian artists modelled the iconography of Adbagh on the one of Indian Indra; the elephant was his symbolic animal and the lyre his attribute (Compareti 2016: 228–30). Curiously enough, he does not seem to appear in any Sino-Sogdian monument while his description along with some other *Xian* deities can be found in Sogdian Buddhist texts exclusively found in China (Compareti 2009: 177–80).

Description of the stone house

One stone house to be probably included in the group of Sino-Sogdian funerary monuments has recently entered the collection of the National Museum of China in Beijing (fig. 1). It was illegally excavated at an unidentified site in northern China and entered the Japanese antiquary market circuit. Thanks to the interest of Mr. Horiuchi Noryoshi, it was donated to the National Museum of China in 2012 and it has been displayed there since 2014. After being reported by Dr. Li Ling, a former researcher in the National Museum of China and now professor at Art College of Sichuan University, the present writers were able to see the monument and publish one preliminary paper (Compareti, Li 2018). That funerary monument was also the object of two articles in Chinese (Ge 2016; Sun 2017).

Fig. 1. Stone house funerary monument in the National Museum of China. *Photo*: S. Li.

The stone house itself not including the roof structure is 211 cm long, 74 cm high and 84 cm width. The upper part shaped as a roof is 212 cm long, 46 cm high and 107 cm width. There is an L shaped door on the frontal panel 55 cm high. It reproduces the entrance of the stone house and possibly a stone door (now lost) was positioned there. Two circular iron nails in the upper part probably fixed the door to the rest of the stone house and it should not be ruled out that also an epitaph could have been positioned there or somewhere else in the unknown tomb. A pedestal, which is now missing, was originally supporting the entire massive structure (Sun 2017: 136).

Fig. 2. The four corner guardians of the stone house.
Photo: S. Li and M. Compareti.

Unfortunately, the epitaph is missing but it is pretty clear that the tomb occupant was a foreign immigrant. All the male characters reproduced on the external panels of the stone house have curly hair, prominent noses, and moustaches. Attitudes, garments, musical instruments and other accessories indicate the figures are Central Asian. On every corner of the stone house, there is the bas-relief of a warrior, possibly a tomb guardian with apotropaic properties, with very pronounced foreign faces: two of them are in three-quarter view, one is in profile and the last one is reproduced frontally (fig. 2). One of the figures in three-quarter is even covered with an animal skin, most likely a lion like *Vajrapani* of Gandharan sculpture featuring strong Greek traits (Tanabe 2005).

Decorative scenes on the panels

The house-shaped sarcophagus in the National Museum collection is typical specimen of fifth-sixth century northern Chinese funerary art although some specific traits can be observed as well. The columns on every side of the stone house are interspersed with the scenes of people without separating one scene from another. Almost every panel constitutes one big scene that, in our opinion, offers some parallels to the scenes on the other sides. The two longer panels include the one where the door and guardians are located in the front and the one facing back. The remaining two are the shorter panels facing left and right of the frontal panel, respectively. Every scene is created with carvings over the entire surface of the sarcophagus using the technique that also embellishes the Kang Ye funerary couch. For this reason, in order to distinguish clearly every detail it is necessary to observe the rubbings that have been prepared by the capable personnel of the National Museum (Lü 2016: 336–353) or the line-drawings published in two studies by Ge Chengyong (2016) and Sun Bo (2017) already mentioned above. Slight traces of reddish pigmentation are visible in some parts of the monuments but future investigation might reveal interesting details about this and many other enigmatic aspects of the stone house. There are no decorations nor traces of color inside the stone house.

Fig. 3. The two door guardians on the frontal panel.
Photo: S. Li.

On the long frontal panel there are two tomb guardians, one on either side of the door, who neither wear armor nor stand on an animal or demonic creature as in other Sino-Sogdian monuments. Their size is more than double than the four guardians in the corners (fig. 3). The door guardian on the left calls to mind a Central Asian man dressed in traditional attire removing his sword from its sheath in a gesture of threatening a potential aggressor. The sword is represented accurately with a ring pommel that is typical of this period (Dien 2007: 337). The clothes of this guardian are very simple but well represented with every detail of the belt, the "V" shaped opening of his caftan with two triangular collars on both sides, and his high boots clearly depicted. His facial features such as his eyes and nose appear exaggerated. He is probably the only person without curly hair in the whole decorative program of the sarcophagus. Several specimens of the "V" shaped opening with two triangular collars on either side of a caftan have been observed in Sogdian art (Naymark 1992; Yatsenko 2012). The Hephthalites (before mid-sixth century) introduced to Central Asia a unique triangular collar that opened on the right side (Kageyama 2015). On the right of the door, another unusual guardian is holding a long spear upside down with a ring in its finial. He does not wear any fitted dress but simply a cloak knotted in the front and possibly long trousers. Something is suspended on the left of his belt, possibly a short dagger and probably a little bag. This figure also features large eyes and a prominent nose. His short curly hair and the detail of the naked chest call to mind the Greek demigod Heracles. Curiously enough, he also has a moustache and looks very similar to the men represented all around the sarcophagus. Both door guardians present weapons and attitudes that point at their apotropaic function in the front of the funerary monument.

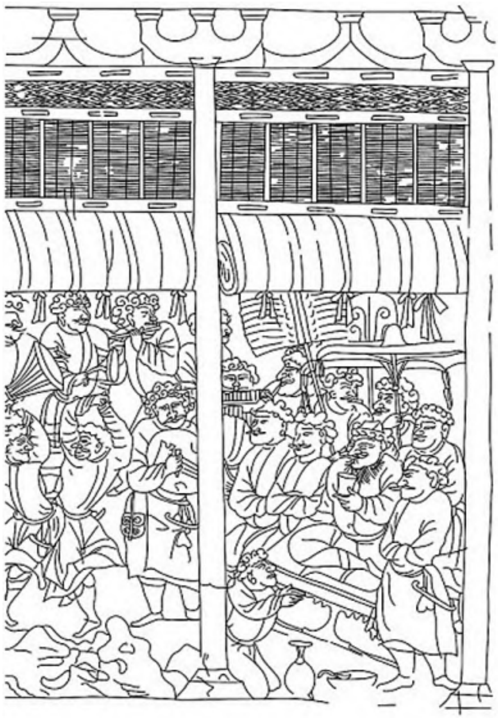

Fig. 4. Sketch of a group of men on the right of the door guardians.
After: Ge 2016: fig. 6.

The tomb occupant could be identified among the multitude of attendants as the robust man with some beard who recurs in three scenes on three sides of the stone house. On the right side of the Heracles-like door guardian, there is a scene with a group of men under an umbrella but only one is sitting cross-legged on a couch (fig. 4). He has a beard and is wearing a hat that suggests the typical headgear of the leader of the community of Sogdian immigrants (*Sabao*) as has been proposed on other Sino-Sogdian monuments. He is also the only one who is holding a drinking cup in his left hand. In front of this group, a music and dance performance is taking place. Kneeling in front of the main characters there is a smaller person next to some rock formations. He is possibly performing some kind of ritual as is suggested by the jar and the cup with a spoon inside not far from him. In Ge Chengyong's (2016: 74) opinion, the kneeling person holding the cup is waiting to refill it. It is not clear if he has his hands joined in an attitude of prayer or some other gesture.

Fig. 5. Sketch of a group of women on the left of the door guardians. *After*: Ge 2016: fig. 8.

On the opposite side, on the left of the swordsman guardian, six ladies are standing towards the door (fig. 5). They wear Chinese garments but the three in the front who are taller have a less complicated hairstyle than the three shorter figures in the back. The object resembling a fan that they hold in hands is slightly different: rhomboid for the taller figures and circular for the shorter. Ge Chengyong (2016: 74–5) identified the objects held by the three taller ladies as square flags. One man of the *Sabao*'s entourage is holding a very big fan next to the attendant holding the umbrella. It is worth observing that several attendants, the musicians, and even both dancers have the same suspended dagger with a bag like the Heracles-like door guardian. A very realistic architectonic structure is partly covered with curtains that are fixed to allow an ideal observer to see what is happening in the space delimited by six columns.

On the opposite side, the other longer panel presents a very crowded scene in which, once more, men and women are divided symmetrically in two groups (fig. 6). In the center, the *Sabao* and a woman who might be intended to represent his wife are celebrating some ritual while sitting on a couch under curtains beside a large hanging bell. No details differentiate the main woman from the rest of her female attendants while the bearded man is holding a cup in his right hand. He is not wearing any kind of headgear and his curly hair is exactly like that of his male attendants. In front of the central couple there are two kneeling men each armed with long sword and presenting an incense burner or portable fire altar. The person towards the right side seems to be placing something in the fire with his raised right hand. On both sides of the same central couple there is a large group of women on the left and a group of men on the right. Both groups occupy three sections delimited by four columns on each side. In the first section, there are respectively standing and kneeling women and men. In front of the first row of kneeling men on the right, there is a stack of tubular objects that could be wooden sticks. In his article, Ge Chengyong (2016: 78) made two suggestions: either the stick-shaped objects are high quality wooden material like sandalwood used to ignite and maintain the holy fire, or they are scrolls of sketches of *Xian* deities. According to Ciro Lo Muzio (who we wish to thank), those objects could be music instruments to be used during some ritual or festivity. Such interesting hypotheses do not explain however why these stick-shaped objects are not hold in hands by music players and why they are exclusively gathered on the side of men. Moreover, if they represented scrolls of sketches of *Xian* deities or even other paintings in Chinese style, why should they be represented on the ground and not hanging on the walls?

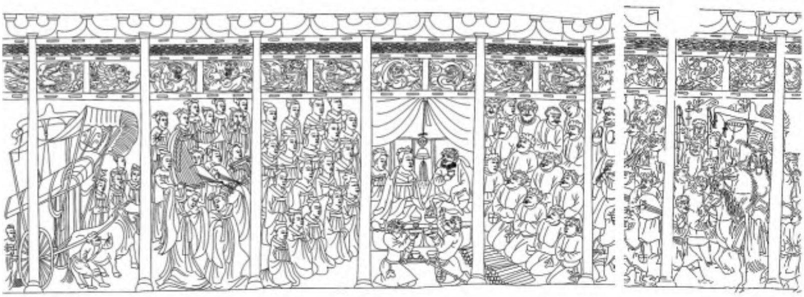

Fig. 6. Sketch of the longer panel in the back.
After: Ge 2016: figs. 11–16.

Behind the scene, which includes the main couple, there is a group of musicians and dancers on either side. The rigid separation of sexes is strictly observed in these two parts of the scene. At the end of both sides there is possibly a funerary scene alluding to the passage of the main couple into the underworld. Some women and a male attendant are leading an oxcart under a canopy on the left while a group of men leads five harnessed riderless horses under an umbrella on the right. This kind of representation is very common in Chinese funerary art between the Southern and Northern Dynasties and the Tang period exactly like in many other Sino-Sogdian monuments (Riboud 2003). However, there is usually only one harnessed and riderless horse under an umbrella. In the stone house of the National Museum the animals are five, possibly because they refer to other male members of the family. According to bilingual epitaphs found together with other Sino-Sogdian monuments, family tombs are not rare among Sogdians who lived in China (Yoshida 2005; Bi, Sims-Williams, Yan 2017).

It seems quite clear that the tomb occupant decided to have represented on the same panel two different moments of his life that were equally important in foreign immigrants' mind. In the light of very similar scenes depicted on other Sino-Sogdian funerary monuments and the parallel offered by the painted vase of Merv (to be considered a Zoroastrian ossuary), it is very probable that on the National Museum stone house there are representations of the marriage and funeral of the owner of the tomb and his wife or – as recently suggested by Mie Tanabe, who we wish to thank – even the funeral and a banquet that took place in the underworld. If this hypothesis is correct, it is then obvious to identify the scene on the front panel as another ritual or festivity observed by the family of the owner of the stone house at which men and women remained segregated. Some scholars suggested that this is a representation of the New Year's celebration taking place in a vineyard with men and women stay separated in the opposite parts of the panel (Grenet, Riboud 2003: 136). In the scenes on the National Museum stone house there is no depiction of grapes or other trees because the scenes are set ideally within a palace or in an enclosed garden as suggested by the sparse rock formations and a water stream in the shorter panel on the right. It is not possible to be precise about the festivity celebrated on the longer panel in the back of the stone house but it is clear that it is different from the scene on the opposite frontal panel.

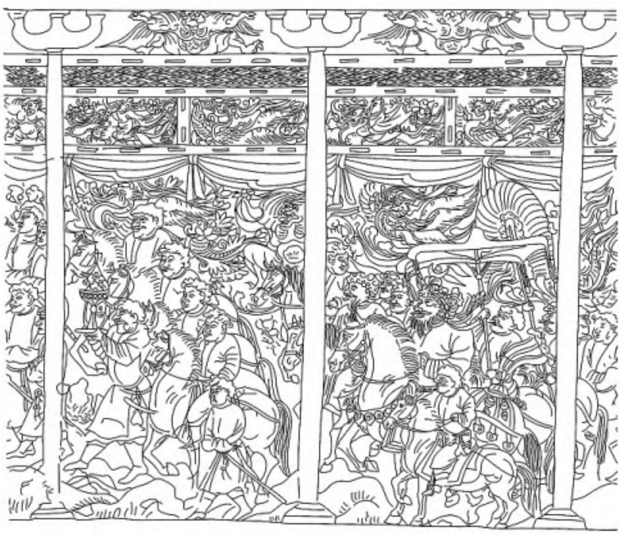

Fig. 7. Sketch of the shorter panel on the left.
After: Ge 2016: fig. 9.

The scenes on the shorter panels also present the same rigid symmetrical scheme and, in fact, the space is divided into sections by three columns on each side. In the panel on the left there is a parade of men walking or riding horses (fig. 7). The main figure is the same bearded man, though slightly larger in size, as in the other longer panels. He is riding a richly harnessed horse while his attendants are holding an umbrella to protect him. He wears a beribboned diadem surmounted by a crescent containing a circular object, probably a solar symbol. It is not clear if there are also spread wings on each side as in Sogdian, Hunnic, and Sasanian crowns (Kageyama 2007). Every person in the scene seems to ride or walk in the direction of the leader of the parade who is holding an object that could be an incense burner or a portable altar. Only two horse riders can be fully seen in this scene and it is worth observing that both of them have visibly a foot in the stirrup (Ge 2016: 75). Stirrups can be depicted sometimes on sixth century Sino-Sogdian monuments such as in two panels of the Yidu funerary couch and in one of An Jia and Shi Jun monuments (Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology 2003: figs. 31–32; Lerner 2013: figs. 1, 4; Qingzhou Museum 2014: figs. 7, 9; Yang 2014: figs. 111–112; Wertmann 2015: fig. 47). Among the Northern Qi mural paintings of the Xu Xianxiu tomb precisely dated to 571 CE there is the image of a riderless horse whose rich harness also includes a stirrup on the visible side (Cultural Relics and Archaeological Institute of Taiyuan 2005: figs. 31, 34). The paintings of the Xu Xianxiu tomb also present very strong connections with Central Asian goods, e.g. precious textiles embellished with typically Central Asian "pearl roundels" that can be observed on the saddle of the same horse and other apparel (Compareti 2004: figs. 1–3). In the chapter about the biography of Zu Ting of the *Beiqi shu* (History of the Northern Qi, presented to the court in 636 CE), there is possibly the only vague reference to highly estimated textiles embellished with string of pearls and other patterns such as peacocks. Despite the unclear description, this kind of pattern could actually point at something similar to the so-called "pearl roundel" pattern (Xu 2004: 393). It is worth observing that in the Xu Xianxiu tomb paintings there are also representations of swords with two suspension mounts but they are more detailed than those on the National Museum stone house (Cultural Relics and Archaeological Institute of Taiyuan 2005: fig. 7).

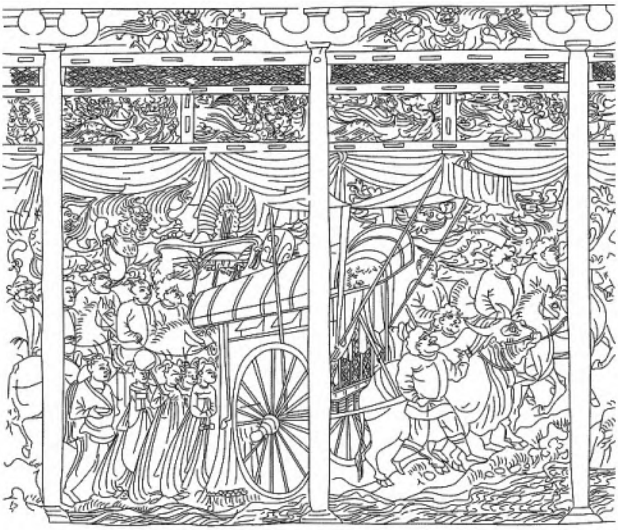

Fig. 8. Sketch of the shorter panel on the right.
After: Ge 2016: fig. 10.

The last shorter panel again presents a group of women and few male attendants leading an oxcart next to a river or lake (fig. 8). This scene was possibly also intended to be an allusion to the travelling of the wife of the male tomb occupant as is suggested by two windows in the upper part of the oxcart which are open to let fresh air enter. This scene could be considered to parallel the one on the opposite shorter panel embellished with a parade of men following an attendant holding a portable altar. The scene on the right panel can also be considered as the representation of a real journey that in those days Chinese noblewomen undertook on oxcart (Boodberg 1938: 224, 233). A reflexion of this practice by Chinese noblewomen curiously has been preserved in the work of the seventh century Byzantine author Theophylact Simocatta (Whitby, Whitby 1996: 191–2). On the use of coaches drawn by oxen to carry aristocrats on the long roads between the oases of the Tarim Basin there is also some evidence in documents found in the region of Turfan under Chinese suzerainty. Those documents attest that the transportation business of these wagons was often controlled by Sogdians (Arakawa 2008, 84–86). In the group of people following the oxcart at least two unidentified men wearing a *Sabao*-like headgear can be observed. It is not possible to be precise about their identity although it should not be ruled out the possibility that they were not just attendants but members of the family of the owner of the funerary monument, possibly his sons, who became *Sabao* in some other Sogdian communities in China or had the honor to wear the same headgear of their father.

There are still many enigmatic aspects of this funerary monument although it is pretty clear that it was not destined to a Chinese but a high-level foreign officer who lived in China and definitely got a very important position at court.

Fantastic animals and composite creatures

In these two scenes on the shorter sides there are also fantastic creatures such as *long* (dragons), *fenghuang* (phoenixes), and winged monsters flying in the air above the heads of the people attending the parade usually called *leigong* "thunder monsters" or *weishou* "terrifying beasts" (Bush 1975). On the left panel with the male parade, one can recognize starting from the uppermost level: two winged monsters represented frontally who seem to support the entire architectonic structure; six different creatures which include one monster in each farthermost frame, one single dragon and phoenix on the left and "immortals" riding dragons and phoenixes on the right. Finally, below the curtains, two phoenixes and one winged monster are flying in the air just above the parade of men. On the right panel with the oxcart, there are again two winged-like caryatids frontally represented in the supplementary level, six creatures disposed exactly like on the opposite short panel with the only difference that every phoenix and dragon-like creature has an "immortal" riding them and, finally, two winged monsters and one dragon just above the parade of women.

At least fourteen fantastic creatures can be observed also in the upper part of the longer panel in the back of the monument, with the only difference that, on this specific panel, people riding dragons and phoenixes (immortals?) do not appear. Also on this longer panel, fantastic creatures appear in sequence according to a very strict symmetrical order. Two dragons appear just above the main couple, two phoenixes each one in a frame within the space delimited by next two columns, two winged monsters, and finally a kind of winged fish next to another phoenix. Every sequence of flying creatures corresponds to a precise scheme and, as already observed above, only in the upper level of the shorter panels are there “immortals” riding fantastic creatures.

According to some scholars, these fantastic animals on the architectonic structures above the scenes on the two lateral panels and the one in the back of the monument would represent borrowings from Persian and Mesopotamian art (Shi 2004: 36–51, 130–6; Sun 2014: 163–91) although, it is worth noting, fantastic creatures exactly like these do not appear in ancient Persia nor Mesopotamia. Composite fantastic creatures have been among the favorite subjects in Persian seals and seal impressions starting at least since the Achaemenid period (Garrison 2017) but they do not look like the winged monsters in Sino-Sogdian monuments. Despite a certain abundance of winged and flying creatures in pre-Islamic Sogdian art (Azarpay 1975; Li 2021), nothing similar could be associated to the winged monsters and other fantastic animals just observed above. Wings looking like flames directly attached to the arms of flying creatures are completely unknown in pre-Islamic Persian and Central Asian arts. This specific way of representing wings started to appear in Islamic book illustrations just after the Ilkhanid period in Persia (1256–1335) and it should be considered a Chinese borrowing introduced into the “West” just because of the territorial continuity of the wide Mongol domain (Compareti 2019: n. 12). Therefore, identifications of those monsters as Persian or even Mesopotamian creatures seem to be arbitrary. Moreover, those scholars who supported such identifications did not explain their preference for Persian art while they completely neglected Central Asia. Most of the tombs that present several parallels with the funerary monument in the National Museum of China were destined to Sogdian immigrants and so it would be more reasonable to investigate Sogdian (or other Central Asian regions) and not just Persian (specifically Sasanian) art. Despite some points in common and very strong Mesopotamian heritage, Sogdian art was different from Sasanian artistic production that, in any case, still present many enigmatic points.

Fig. 9. Second-third century pedestal of a standing Maitreya, The Marteau Collection, Bruxelles.
After: Bussagli 1984: 55.

The winged creatures in Sino-Sogdian funerary monuments seem to be used quite often as part of the architectonic structures. Their function could be compared to columns or, better, atlas-like figures that were very common in Classical art. Images of winged atlas-like figures which look very similar to those in Sino-Sogdian art and specifically on the National Museum of China stone house were commonly represented in Gandhara Buddhist art. One second-third century statue of standing Maitreya in the Marteau Collection, Bruxelles (Bussagli 1984: 55) presents a pedestal embellished with a winged atlas that looks extremely similar to the monstrous creatures in the National Museum of China stone house (fig. 9). There is not enough evidence to state that Gandharan prototypes determined the shape of the winged creatures in Sino-Sogdian art. However, it is curious that those scholars who proposed parallels with Mesopotamian and Persian art did not consider at all Gandhara statues that are less ancient. Moreover, Chinese artists could have observed more easily Gandharan art objects (not necessarily statues) since that region of Northwestern India was in contact with China during the period of Kushan and Hunnic (Ephtalite, Kidarite, Alkhan, etc.) sovereigns than very ancient Mesopotamian or Persian specimens. In any case, a direct connection between Gandharan atlas-like figures and winged creatures in Sino-Sogdian art cannot be determined at this stage of our knowledge. More investigations should be accomplished in order to speak of connections or "influence".

It could be suggested that the origin of the fantastic creatures represented on the National Museum of China stone house should be searched within the frame of Chinese art and culture as some scholar has already attempted to demonstrate (Sun 2017: 147–50). Their origin is not easy to be determined. Jiang Boqin considered them as typical Chinese fantastic creatures that Sogdian immigrants adopted and used in their funerary monuments (Jiang 2015: 212–5). They definitely were among the most popular subjects on sixth-seventh century northern Chinese tombs and in contemporary painted Buddhist caves at Dunhuang (Bush 1975; Elisseeff 2011).

The association of people riding fantastic creatures in some part of the National Museum of China stone house with "immortals" cannot be proved but, in our opinion, it could point furthermore at traditional Chinese artistic formulae as already proposed by Jiang Boqin. Other connections with Buddhist lands such as Gandhara need further investigations.

Concluding remarks

The stone house in the National Museum of China presents unique peculiarities but it also has some points in common with other Sino-Sogdian monuments. Not only does the appearance of the main character identified as probably the owner of the funerary monument suggests foreign origins, most probably from Central Asia, but the appearance of the other attendants is also non-Chinese. The whirling dance accompanied by a foreign orchestra depicted three times on the stone house in the National Museum of China suggests Sino-Sogdian art, as do the allusions to rituals to be performed with incense burners or portable altars. These are allusions to religious beliefs possibly rooted in some form of Central Asian Mazdeism. One bearded man slightly bigger than his attendants is repeated on three panels and, in two cases, he is wearing a complex headgear. He is wearing an interesting diadem on the left panel that calls to mind a similar example in early eighth century Sogdian paintings from the royal palace at Penjikent (Belenitskii, Marshak 1981: fig. 30; Naymark 1992: pl. LXXXIII, 39). The bearded man is definitely the focus of those scenes and it seems obvious to consider him the owner of the funerary stone house. In all probability, he was an important civil or military officer of Sogdian origins who lived in China in the second half of the sixth century when stirrups and other accessories started to be used and represented more and more frequently in Chinese figurative arts. He wanted to appear as much integrated as possible in the multicultural and variegated society where he lived and that is why he embellished his tomb with fantastic creatures rooted in sixth century northern Chinese funerary art.

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Reconstructing the Imperial Life in *Biji*: A Study of Zhou Mi's *Anecdotes of Wulin*

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Abstract

As an important biji 筆記 *(jottings) of the late Southern Song and early Yuan periods, Zhou Mi's* 周密 *(1232–1298) Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 *(Anecdotes of Wulin) is conventionally regarded as historical records of city lives of ordinary people, written under the direct influence of the famous memoir, Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 *(A Dream of the Eastern Capital). Although Zhou Mi is deeply interested in history and is committed to preserve historical records of the fallen dynasty, his Anecdotes of Wulin is more than a collection of historic data. This article argues that the primary meaning of the Anecdotes is to strongly express the author's loyalty and identification with the imperial court of the Southern Song dynasty, especially its virtue values. Unlike Dongjing menghua lu, Zhou has spent over two-third of his book on describing the emperor and the imperial family. Instead of focusing on the common folks, he is more eager to show the lifestyles and virtue values of the imperial court and the elite class. By presenting the imperial life in the city of Hangzhou, Zhou reconstructs, fragment by fragment, a benevolent and prosperous society of the Southern Song, a memory that the author would like his readers to have and to identify with.*

Keywords: Zhou Mi, *Wulin jiushi,* loyalists, rituals, collective memory

1. Zhou Mi and the Writing of *Wulin jiushi*

Zhou Mi (1232–1298), courtesy name Gongjin 公謹, is a key figure of Song loyalist and literati in Hangzhou during the late Southern Song and early Yuan era. He is widely known for his poetry, *biji* (jottings) and his connoisseurship. Being a prolific writer and an intriguing loyalist, research of Zhou centers around his loyalism, poetry, and his erudite knowledge in art collection and historiography. This article examines one of his early jottings, *Anecdotes of Wulin* (thereafter *Anecdotes*). The purpose of writing the *Anecdotes* for Zhou Mi is primarily an exploration of the prime time of the demised Song dynasty. The book consists of 10 *juan* (chapter), with a total of seventy-one essays, recording rituals, festivals, imperial events, names of imperial buildings, famous sights-seeing spots, entertainment quarters, street performance and vendors in the city of Hangzhou.

The *Anecdotes* is often regarded either as one of Zhou's historic writings in reflecting the downfall of the Song dynasty which contains valuable historical information to supplement official histories, or simply an emulation of *Dongjing menghua lu* which shows a kaleidoscopic view of urban life of commoners. Compared to his later works of *Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語 and *Guixin zashi* 癸辛雜識, Zhou has no intention to reflect on the reasons leading to Song's downfall in the *Anecdotes*. Possibly, when writing the *Anecdotes*, he was overwhelmed by the shock and sadness, and was unable to judge or criticize. In the *Anecdotes*, he reconstructs the heyday of Southern Song and writes about the imperial court with great admiration and respect. By writing about the "objectivized culture", such as rituals, festivals and monuments, Zhou offers readers a composite picture of Wulin (another name of Hangzhou杭州),[1] the capital of Southern Song, and presents a different kind of historical engagement than those of official history. He depicts in vivid details of a bygone life (*jiushi* 舊事) that he wants himself and the posterity to remember as the Southern Song.[2] This marks the main difference of the *Anecdotes* from his other two *biji* which focus on political history.[3]

[1] As the West Lake is surrounded by Mount Wulin 武林山, Hangzhou was also known as Wulin in pre-modern period.

[2] In the preface, Zhou mentions how he relates past events to his children who do not believe him, and therefore, he writes them down for the posterity.

[3] Shang Yan 尚豔 has analysed *Qidong yeyu* and *Guixin zashi* from the per-

Concerning its relation to *Dongjin menhua lu*, whereas the *Anecdotes* shares some characteristics of the "menghua ti" 夢華體,[4] Zhou has proposed a different emphasis and organizational structure. More than two-third of the book are devoted to writing about rituals and important events of the imperial family. Even when writing about the festivals, Zhou always describes the imperial way of celebration before going into details of the commoners. The meaning conveyed by *the Anecdotes* is thus closely related to this focus of interest and writing strategy.

2. Reconstructing a Realm of Order, Virtue and Prosperity

Extant research of the *Anecdotes* is mainly about what historic information it has retained, thus focusing mainly on its historic value. When evaluating Zhou's intention in writing it, scholars tend to give a generalized conclusion that the jottings is a reflection of Zhou's loyalty for the fallen empire. This conclusion, however, is hardly satisfactory, for most of the writings written at during the transition of dynasties exhibit such characteristics. What makes the *Anecdotes* different from other works that also explore the past and written during the same period?

In the *Anecdotes*, Zhou builds an ideal society and he can totally relate himself as a member of it. On the surface, he seems only to record passively on the miscellaneous of urban life, but by using a third person view and a factual tone, he has depicted a self-explana-

spective of the unofficial historiography and how Zhou reflects on the faults of officials that led to the downfall of the Song dynasty. (Shang 2016.3: 93–102)

[4] Menghua ti" is a concept coined by Yi Yongwen 伊永文 who has annotated *Dongjing menghua lu*. By the "style of *menghua*", he refers to a kind of *biji*, devoted to recording social and cultural lives in the form of personal or collective memory. These works are often written in vernaculars, with a focus on ordinary people's life and in an objective tone. These characteristics make the "menghua" style writings distinctively different from official historiography or *yeshi* 野史 (unofficial histories). (Yi 2009.1: 114–119) (Yi 2004.6: 145–148). Afterwards, scholars generally use the term to refer to works about past, especially in urban writing, for example David Der-wei Wang's "Beijing menghua lu" 北京夢華錄 in his *Beijing: Dushi xiangxiang yu wenhua jiyi* 北京：都市想像與文化記憶 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2005).

tory picture of a society that is so orderly guided by rules and virtues which become the pillars of its prosperity. The author declares, in an "as-a-matter-of-fact" manner, that this is what life is like during the reign of Southern Song. This is his ideal world and he identifies himself with it even though it has vanished.

In the *Anecdotes*, the first three chapters are accounts of rituals performed during imperial ceremonies and festivals, and as a supplement, Chapter Eight adds details on a few other special occasions in the court. When reading these essays, one is impressed by the details offered. He is not preserving history, but making it alive. One can vividly "see" the rituals down to minute details. For example, in "Simeng jiachu" 四孟駕出 (imperial procession during the first month of the four seasons), the author traces the procession from its preparation. Then he records a list of 98 bureaus, of which their officials will participate in the procession. The name of the bureaus and number of participants of each department are listed according to the order of precedence. At the end of this episode, the author records how the guards of honour give salute when the emperor passes (Zhou 2015: 2–9). By giving a panoramic view, readers find themselves walking down the procession and watching the entire event. This episode is important in giving readers a general impression of what is needed when the emperor go out of the palace, as Zhou continues to refer back to this procession, when recording other rituals being performed outside the imperial palace.

The first chapter and first half of the second chapter are all devoted to record the imperial ceremonies offered to Heaven, the ancestors and the emperor. By reading these episodes, the author repeatedly impresses his readers by how the court and its governance are guided by appropriate rituals and order. This is not only shown in various rituals and ceremonies, but also extended to the empire's administration from military training to the running of state university.[5]

Li 禮 (rituals) is of great importance in people's life and statecraft of pre-modern China.[6] Confucian studies emphasize the politi-

[5] There are three essays about military training and related ceremonies, and two essays about state university. (Zhou 2015: 29–36, 38–40, 175–77).

[6] There have been many scholarly discussions of the significance of *li* and its

cal, institutional and educational functions of *li*. By showing the vivid details of the rituals and ceremonies (practice of *li*), Zhou wants to tell his readers that everything in Southern Song is well-organized, under the leadership of the imperial court, in an orderly and appropriate way, favoured by Heaven. It is particularly striking as all these were written after the downfall of Song, but Zhou writes as it is still the way of life. For him, the Song court is and will always be the legitimate ruler. On the other side of this token, the Mongols, the actual ruler, is not accepted by him.

This idea can be further explored in the essays devoted to the writing of filial piety in the *Anecdotes*.[7] Zhou has written extensively about this important moral value being cherished and practiced in the imperial family. Apart from essays about sacrifice to Heaven and the ancestors, Zhou praises filial piety of Xiaozong 孝宗 (1127–1194, reign time 1162–1189) time and again. The first essay of the *Anecdotes* "Qingshou cebao" 慶壽冊寶 (Celebration of Birthday and Conferment of Seal) is a ceremonial event of which the emperor celebrates the birthday of the Emperor Emeritus and pays homage to the Empress Dowagers. (Zhou 2015: 1–2) Xiaozong is praised as the most filial son in history who takes care of the Emperor Emeritus and Empress Dowagers with all he has, and the celebration of Emperor Emeritus is regarded by the emperor (and the author) as the most important event. To further demonstrate and praise Xiaozong's sincerity, Zhou Mi devotes Chapter Seven, the first chapter of the

relevant texts. Although the importance and implementation of *li* changed over time, but in general, the idea of emperor should act as a role model by following *li* in order to educate the populace and justify his rule remains to be true during the pre-modern period. For more discussions, see *Statecraft and Classical Learning: the Rituals of Zhou in East Asian History*, ed. Benjamin Elman and Martin Kern (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009).

[7] Filial piety is one of the most important notions in the Chinese culture. For modern studies of it, see Wei Cheng-tung, "Filial Piety in China: Its Development and Problem" (中國孝道思想的演變及其問題), in *Xiandai xueyuan*, 6.5 (1969): 1–9. In Hsieh Yu-wei's view, all Chinese virtues "have been based upon the filial concept and have thus radiated from this starting point. (Hsieh 1959.9: 56–57). Filial piety can be extended beyond family and become closely related to statecraft. Michael Nylan demonstrates how the Han court promoting filial piety for political purpose. (Michael 1996.116: 1–27)

supplement is "Qian Chun fengqin" 乾淳奉親 (Serving Parents in Qian and Chun periods) to give details on the acts of filial piety. (Zhou 2015: 163–174) As ceremonies and rituals can sometimes be reduced to performance, filial piety needs to be proved through daily actions. Qian and Chun refer to Qiandao 乾道and Chunxi 淳熙, the reign names of Xiaozong from 1165 to 1189, nearly covered his entire reign. Zhou selects vignettes from over decades in order to show how Xiaozong has served Gaozong 高宗 (1107–1187, reign time 1127–1162), his adopted father, modestly and unswervingly.

Filial piety is not only important within one's immediate family, but can be extended to the society through the notion of *sangang* 三綱 (Three Bonds), in which the relation of father versus son is a simile to emperor versus his subjects. By demonstrating filial piety towards senior members and ancestors of the imperial court, the ruler set an example of a filial son and his model is to be followed by his people. Zhou emphasizes the power of role model and relates filial piety to rulership. By portraying a filial emperor, recognized by Heaven, ancestors, his father and his subjects, the emperor's rulership is legitimized. He is deserved of loyal subjects just like how he has been loyal to his father. In fact, the Song imperial family is not as harmonious as Zhou described here. In *Qidong yeyu*, Zhou does not avoid talking about ruthless power struggle among the royal family and nobles.[8] In the *Anecdotes*, however, he selects only the positive side. In this sense, the *Anecdotes* is not aiming at analyzing or reflecting on the downfall of the dynasty, but a construction of an orderly, virtuous and prosperous society that Zhou has missed and mourned for.

By following rituals and filial piety, people are under the ideal rule of benevolence. This is fundamental to the strong, stable and prosperous Song Empire. The author then goes on to describe the prosperous business and urban life of Hangzhou in Chapter Five and Six, which now would not be misunderstood as a show off of luxury and desire.

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[8] *Qidong yeyu* is a jottings based on historic data collected by Zhou's father. In the preface, Zhou repeatedly stresses his father's knowledge in Song history. The purpose of writing this work is to preserve, validate and comment on historical events. (Zhou 2015.1: 3–4)

3. The Past and Present in the *Anecdotes*

More than just a wistful looking back to the good old days, Zhou is in fact experiencing this constructed past and he find himself living in it. In the writings about the past, the sense of time is of great importance, and the author and readers are going back and forth in past and present. On the one hand, the past is forever lost, on the other hand it resurrects and is reconstructed in the author's mind. In the narration of the *Anecdotes*, there is minimum indicating of historic time. In the preface, the author reminds readers that what he wrote mainly happened during the era of Gaozong and Xiaozong, but once we start reading the essays, historic time is seldom mentioned, except for Chapter Seven in which he gives a chorological record to show Xiaoaong's consistent acts of filial piety. Most events are written not as a piece of historic record or a memoir, but rather like presenting a painting in which time is frozen. The events, especially the ceremonies and rituals, are seldom specified to a particular period in history, but they are narrated as they happen year after year, in a continuum of time. The author seems to tell the readers that what he has recorded has happened and are still happening, and that one can visualize and even re-enact every single detail in these ever-lasting ceremonies, rituals, festivals, places of interest and business on the streets. The bustling city of Hangzhou seems to exist without the dimension of time. Therefore, the author is not writing about the "past", but he is writing the "present". "Past" is constructed as "present" in the *Anecdotes.* In this sense, Zhou is experiencing this ideal and ever-lasting realm when he constructs it. As he said, he has once thought life will continue just like what he has written in the *Anecdotes*, and when he reads these jottings after finishing it, everything seems to be just happened yesterday. (Zhou 2015: 1)

4. A Comparison to *Dongjing menghua lu*

Dongjing menghua lu has attracted most scholarly attention in the research of Song dynasty jottings as it has exerted great influences on later writings, and the *Anecdotes* is regarded one of them.[9]

[9] For English-language studies of *Dongjing menghua lu*, see Stephen H.

Indeed, the *Anecdotes* shares many similarities with *Dongjing menghua lu*. First, the background of the two books is related to changes in dynasties. The author of *Dongjing menghua lu*, Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 was forced to flee Bianjing (also known as Dongjing) in 1127, after residing there for twenty-four years.[10] *Dongjing menghua lu* is his reminiscences of the heyday of the Northern Song. Both Meng and Zhou have experienced the downfall of their country and they look at the past from a survivor's point of view. Both books write about festivals, imperial events, business in the capitals, and customs and traditions, preserving valuable historic information that is often neglected in official history. In fact, Zhou does mention *Dongjing menghua lu* as his inspiration of writing and he refers to his memory of the past as awakening from a dream in the preface to the *Anecdotes*. Despite their similarities, however, Zhou obviously has his own agenda.

First, Zhou has a strong interest in the Song imperial court. Apart from writing about the imperial events, when recording the annual festivals, Zhou always starts with what happened in the court, and sometimes he only writes about the celebrations in the court. For example, in the essay of the 1st Day of the Year (元正), traditionally the most important Chinese festival, Zhou's entire focus is at the court, leaving only a couple of sentences to describe the celebrations of commoners. In the essays about *Taiocai* 挑菜 (Picking vegetables, 2nd Day of the 2nd Month), *jincha* 進茶 (Tea Offering), *shanghua* 賞花 (Blossom Appreciation), Zhou only writes about how the royals enjoy on these occasions. (Zhou 2015: 40–41, 48–50) Apparently, writing about the popular customs and traditions of commoners is not Zhou's priority. Although *Dongjing menghua lu* also writes about imperial celebrations and important royal events, Meng is more interested in popular culture and lives of common folk. The focus of interest of the two books is essentially different.

West, "The Interpretation of a Dream. The Sources, Evaluation, and Influence of the 'Dongjing Meng Hua Lu'", *T'oung Pao*, 1985: 1/3 (71), 63–108.

[10] A brief introduction to Meng Yuanlao's stay in Dongjing, see Deng Zhicheng's 鄧之誠 preface to his annotations of *Donjing Menghua lu*. *Dongjing menghua lu zhu* 東京夢華錄注, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 1–4.

In addition to the imperial court, Zhou is also interested in presenting the ways of life of the elite class which is also not of much interest to Meng Yuanlao. In Chapter Ten, Zhou quoted two essays of Zhang Zi 張鎡 (1153–1235) as an example of the elite class (Zhou 2015: 219–229). The two essays record how and where the literati spend their time around the year. The two essays have shown the rarefied world of the literati. The artistic names of the buildings in Zhang's home and his idyllic life style belong only to an elite class with erudite knowledge in literature.

Zhou's preference in recording the court and the literati's lives makes a sharp contrast to *Dongjing menghua lu*. Meng's work is more like a city guide that provides many details on pleasure life, such as tea houses, wine shops, restaurants and brothels. Zhou, on the other hand, is more interested to present Hangzhou from the viewpoint of an elevated class, showing how the people (especially the ruling class) follow rituals and demonstrate virtue.

5. Concluding Remarks

When writing the *Anecdotes*, Zhou is trying to piece together not only the heyday of Song dynasty, but an ideal realm that he relates to as the past. To write about this glorified past means to cherish it and reconnect himself with it. In the *Anecdotes*, the Song dynasty is portrayed as not only the legitimate political ruler, but perhaps more importantly the symbol of high culture and virtue of which Zhou builds and confirms his identity that he might otherwise take for granted if there has not been a change in dynasties. This construction of the past is closely related to his present situation.[11] The strong expression of Zhou's admiration and loyalty toward the past implies his disapproval to the present Mongol rule, both politically and culturally.

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[11] Maurice Halbwachs explains collective memory with a "presentist approach", meaning that the memory of the past is always shaped by concerns of present. (Lewis 1992: 25, 46–51)

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Нов поглед към динамиката на взаимодействията между Хански Китай и Фергана (大宛)

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Reexamination of the Interactional Dynamics Between Han China and Ferghana (大宛)

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Abstract

The present article examines the main political, economic and ideological factors that contributed to the confrontation of Han China under the reign of emperor Wudi with the kingdom of Dayuan (大宛, Ferghana), as described in the Chronicle of Dayuan from the Records of the Grand Historian (《史记·大宛列传》). According to the historical narrative, the apple of discord that led to the sudden transformation of the peaceful relations between the two countries into military conflict were the so-called "blood-sweating horses" (汗血马) or "Heavenly Horses" (天马) that were bred in Ferghana. While modern scholarship proposes mainly pragmatic motives behind emperor Wudi's escalating desire to obtain some of these fine horses, these motives have not been supported by explicit textual evidence in the historical record. On the *other hand, the narrative in the Chronicle of Dayuan reveals the dualistic nature of Ferghana horses not only as a valuable economic resource, but also as a tribute with high ideological value: they were considered an auspicious omen, confirming the divine status of the emperor and symbolizing the submission of culturally diverse entities to his power. The author of this article suggests that motives beyond economic gain underlie Han Wudi's military expeditions against Ferghana, and these expeditions can also be viewed as a continuation of a long-established strategy of imposing the power and prestige of the Chinese empire on states that were perceived as potential threats or were unwilling to formally assert its supremacy.*

Keywords: Records of the Grand Historian, Han Wudi, Ferghana, Dayuan, War of the Heavenly Horses, tributary system, auspicious omens

Въведение

„Исторически записки" 《史记》, известни още като „Записките на Великия историк" (《太史公书》/《太史公记》/《太史记》) представляват една от най-ранните и влиятелни творби на Китай, завършена около 91 г. пр.н.е. от придворния историк Съма Циен[1]. Нейното създаване отнема около 18 години, през които авторът успява да обобщи в 130 глави събитията и личностите от цели две хилядолетия[2], поднасяйки ги живо

[1] Съма Циен (司马迁, 145–86 г. пр.н.е.) е учен, писател и астролог в двора на император У-ди (武帝, упр. 141–87 г. пр.н.е.). В ранните си години пътува из империята, опознава местните обичаи и събира фоклорно творчество. Първоначално е назначен за дворцов чиновник и изпратен в югозападната част на страната, а на двадесет и осем годишна възраст е издигнат в ранга на придворен историк, следвайки стъпките на баща си (вж. Sima 1982: 3293, 3296).

[2] Тази мащабна историческа творба съдържа общо 526 500 китайски йероглифа, което я прави почти четири пъти по-дълга от „История на Пелопонеската война" на Тукидид и впоследствие се превръща в образец за организация на династийните хроники на следващите епохи. За разлика от гръко-римската традиция, в ранната китайска историография до времето на Съма Циен описанията на чуждестранни държави и обичаи са нетипични и твърде лаконични (Chin 2010: 313–388), поради което той се счита за новатор в историческия дискурс.

и реалистично на своите читатели. На пръв поглед глава 123, озаглавена „Летопис за Даюан" (《史记·大宛列传》), не заема особено място в композицията на това мащабно историческо произведение – тя е поместена към края на последния раздел *„Биографии"*, което придава относително скромни очертания на поднесената в нея информация[3]. И в същото време, именно тази глава съдържа генезиса и генома на бъдещия Велик път на коприната, разкрива идейните основи и спецификите на китайската дипломация спрямо чуждестранните държавни образувания, като предоставя широко поле за паралели със съвременните външнополитически модели на КНР.

„Летопис за Даюан" представлява исторически разказ за откриването на безопасни пътища[4] към Централна Азия и установяването на дипломатически отношения на Ханската империя с държавите на запад по време на управлението на император У-ди (141–87 г. пр.н.е.). Това начинание е подтикнато от импулса за обединение срещу общия враг – воинстващите номади сюнну от северните степи, които все повече изземват функциите на военен и политически авторитет в региона. В китайските исторически извори сюнну се появяват като обединено политическо образувание към края на III в. пр.н.е., когато повеждат серия от завоевателни кампании срещу други азиатски номади (юеджъ и усун), както и срещу Китай[5]. През първата половина на II в. пр.н.е. племенната конфедерация на сюнну постепенно се пре-

[3] За дискусия относно автентичността на Глава 123 от „Записките на Великия историк" вж. Leslie & Gardiner 1982: 265–266.

[4] Осъществяването на контакт с царствата в Централна Азия в епоха без комуникационни средства несъмнено 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 потеглилите на път се прощават с живота си. Съдбата им зависи не само от прищевките на негостоприемната природа, а също и от благоразположението на етносите, обитаващи земите, през които преминават и снабдяването им с провизии от тях, както и от милостта на вилнеещите по пътищата разбойници.

[5] Вж. 《史记・匈奴列传》; 《史记・秦本纪》; 《汉书・匈奴传》; 《后汉书・南匈奴列传》; 《晋书・北狄匈奴传》.

връща в основната военна сила в Източна Азия, доминирайки над обширна територия, простираща се от Манджурия до т. нар. Западни региони (днешният Синдзян-уйгурски автономен район) и далеч на север чак до езерото Байкал (Psarras 1995: 103; Di Cosmo 1994: 1095).

Въпреки, че в историческия наратив на „Летопис за Даюан" сюнну играят важна политическа роля, основната нишка на повествованието се фокусира върху сложните взаимоотношения между Ханската империя и държавата Даюан (大宛). Даюан е китайският екзоним за далечно царство, разположено западно от Памирската верига, обхващащо средното и долното течение на река Сир Даря и Ферганската котловина (днес в Узбекистан и Таджикистан), което в западната научна литература условно се нарича Древна Фергана (Sun 1992: 150). За неговото съществуване китайците научават от сведенията на прочутия емисар Джан Циен (张骞), който е изпратен като посланик на Ханската империя до племето юеджъ, за да потърси в тяхно лице съюзник срещу мощната степна федерация на сюнну, превърнала се в източник на ескалиращо напрежение в ареала[6]. След като по време на пътуването си е заловен от сюнну и задържан за повече от десет години като техен пленник, Джан Циен все пак успява да избяга и отново възобновява мисията си на запад, решен да изпълни докрай поръчението на императора[7]. Около месец

[6] Държавата Даюан се споменава многократно и в по-късни исторически хроники, като например в главата „Летопис за Западните региони" от „Книга на династия Хан" 《汉书・西域传》 (съставена около 111 г. н.е.), но в тях до голяма степен се преповтарят сведенията и събитията, вече описани от Съма Циен. Вж. 《汉书・西域传》, 48–50 в Xu 1937.

[7] Въпреки, че първата мисия на Джан Циен привидно завършва с неуспех, при завръщането си в родината той предоставя на императора пълен доклад за местонахождението на племето юеджъ, както и за географафската и етнополитическата ситуация в Западните региони. По този начин дейността му дава начало на китайските пътеписи и сведения за чужди земи, които изграждат в съзнанието на неговите сънародници разбиране за съществуването и постиженията на коренно различните от тях култури, някои от които европеидни. Джан Циен записва географските местоположения, разстоянията от Ханската сто-

по-късно достига царството Даюан, което описва като голяма държава с над 70 града и население от няколкостотин хиляди души, граничещо с царствата Кандзю (康居), Дася (大夏), Юми (扜罙), Ютиен (于填), както и владенията на Големите юеджъ (大月氏) и усуните (乌孙)[8]. Той дава още сведения за бита, обичаите и устройството на страната, като обръща особено внимание на първокласната порода коне, получили името „потящи се с кръв коне" (汗血马) или „небесни коне" (天马), които се превръщат в страст за китайския император У-ди и в повод за двете военни експедиции на Ханската империя срещу Фергана. Според летописа, „императорът бил тъй запленен от конете от Даюан, че емисарите му се нижели един след друг по пътя в тази посока."[9]. Веднъж му съобщават, че жителите на град Ършъ (贰师) – столицата на Ферганското царство – имат превъзходна порода коне (善马), които пазят в тайна и отказват да дадат от тях на ханските пратеници[10]. „Императорът отдавна бил запленен от конете на Даюан и като чул това, сърцето му се изпълнило със задоволство. Изпратил група снажни младежи и майстори на карети с хиляда златни монети и един златен кон, за да отидат при царя на Даюан и да го помолят за някои от превъзходните коне от Ършъ"[11].

лица, населението, бита и обичаите, родствените връзки и икономическите системи на множество западни народи от китайска перспектива – информация, която поради важността си впоследствие влиза в официалните династийни историографии като „Исторически записки" 《史记》, „Книга на династия Хан" 《汉书》 и др. Тези описания и впечатления от обществата в Централна Азия служат като основа за моделиране на възприемането им от следващите поколения китайски управници, т.е. макар и непълни, те изпълняват важна инструментална функция по отношение на външната политика на империята (So 2006:172).

[8] Вж. Пасаж 6 от „Летопис за Даюан" в Sima 2016: 2317–2320. Българският превод на всички цитати от „Летопис за Даюан" е на автора на настоящата статия.

[9] Вж. Пасаж 21 от „Летопис за Даюан" в Sima 2016: 2325.

[10] Вж. Пасаж 29 от „Летопис за Даюан" в Sima 2016: 2332.

[11] Пак там.

Макар и кратко, това описание напълно отразява високата стойност на ферганските коне за Ханския двор и важността на мисията, с която са натоварени китайските пратеници. Нещо повече, според наратива са взети всички необходими мерки, за да бъдат придобити тези ценни екземпляри с методите на дипломацията и реципрочността. Освен високата си цена, златният кон, изпратен от императора, има и особена символична стойност, тъй като в Ханското общество златото е скъпоценен метал със висок статут, чиято употреба се ограничава само до аристократичните кръгове[12] (Liu 2020: 189). И въпреки това, тържествено поднесената молба на У-ди неочаквано среща твърд отказ, който прераства в размяна на нападки и ответни действия, които пораждат две мащабни наказателни военни кампании срещу Фергана през 104 г. пр.н.е. и 102 г. пр.н.е., останали в историята под името Войните за Небесните коне (天马之战)[13]. Тези кампании позволяват на Китай да разшири хегемонията си дълбоко в Централна Азия, тъй като благодарение на тях той не само успява да покори Фергана и да установи местен прохански режим, но също така и да проектира властта си и над множество по-малки оазисни градове-държави в Западните региони, принуждавайки ги да се оттеглят от съюзническите си отношения със сюнну и да преминат на страната на китайската империя.

Исторически контекст на взаимодействията между Хански Китай и Фергана

За да бъдат правилно анализирани тесните отношения между Китай и Фергана, при разглеждането на динамиката на тех-

[12] Текстологичните свидетелства разкриват, че от времето на император Уън-ди (文帝, упр. 180–157 г. пр.н.е.) насетне, васалните царства плащат ежегоден налог на Ханската империя под формата на златни кюлчета, а през 111 г. пр.н.е. император У-ди отнема ранга на 106-ма васални владетели поради лошата чистота на техните златни дарове (Вж. „Книга на династия Хан“ 《汉书》 6:187). От друга страна, златните украшения са сред императорските дарове, които Ханският двор изпраща на северните номади сюнну, за да спечели тяхното благоразположение (Вж. „Книга на династия Хан“ 《汉书》 94: 3758).

[13] Вж. Пасажи 29–34 от „Летопис за Даюан“ в Sima 2016: 2332–2339.

ните взаимодействия е необходимо да бъде очертан цялостният регионален контекст в този ключов исторически период. В началото на II в. пр.н.е. сюнну и Ханската империя не са единствените играчи на политическата сцена. Сред другите главни действащи лица са номадските народи, които доброволно са възприели васални отношения спрямо сюнну, както и малките царства и оазисни градове-държави в Централна Азия, които по времето на император У-ди се превръщат в повод за съревнование и съперничество между двата регионални хегемона. В дуалистичната концепция за външните отношения, която доминира през ранния период на династия Хан може да се види, че познатият свят на практика е разделен на две половини – китайските владетели и сюнну упражняват реална власт не само над народа на собствената си държава, но също така и политическо влияние над другите независими общности или царства, разположени в съседните територии (Di Cosmo 2002:197). Поради това, концепциите за регионално върховенство и зони на влияния са от съществено значение за правилното тълкуване на политическите събития, на фона на които се разгръща военната експанзия на император У-ди в Западните региони и Централна Азия към края на II в. пр.н.е.

При очертаването на границите на зоните на влияния централно място заема т. нар. трибутарна система, т.е. плащането на васални налози (贡) от страна на по-малките държави към регионалните хегемони[14]. Тук следва да се отбележи, че макар и трибутарните отношения да играят ключова роля в ранната китайска дипломация, в пред-Ханския период китайските управници прилагат и още няколко други метода за справяне с чуждестранните етноси и държавни образувания, обикновено в съответствие с актуалните политически нужди[15]. Древни източ-

[14] За по-подробен анализ на концепцията за „трибутарна система“ вж. Fairbank & Teng 1941; Yü 1967; Di Cosmo 2003; Zhang 2009.

[15] Макар и до известна степен остаряло, заслужава да бъде споменато изследването на Розуел Бритън (Britton 1935) върху аспектите на ранната китайска дипломация, което поставя широка концептуална основа за по-късни дискусии по темата.

ници като „Коментарите на Дзуо“ 《左传》[16], „Речи на царствата“ 《国语》[17] и др. разкриват механизмите за регулиране на отношенията на империята с културно различните субекти в региона (т. нар. „варвари“), като стратегиите, които се прилагат на практика по време на династиите Западна и Източна Хан (а и след това), могат да бъдат сведени до: изпращане на емисари (使, 行人), размяна на заложници/гаранти (质), сключване на брачни съюзи (和亲), аудиенции в императорския двор (朝) (Selbitchka 2015: 70–71). Изпращането на емисари при чужди етноси, както и вземането на заложници с дипломатически цели са практики, датиращи още от времето на династия Източна Джоу (770–221 г. пр. н.е.)[18]. Заложниците се явяват стандартна характеристика на трибутарната система и играят ролята на важна политическа свръзка между Хански Китай и царствата, които признават неговата хегемония. Васалните държави обикновено изпращат свои принцове в императорския двор като гаранти за поддържане на добрите отношения и мира. Според текстологичните сведения в периода на династия Западна Хан тази дипломатическа практика бързо набира популярност и броят на чуждестранните заложници нараства дотолкова, че се налага да бъдат построени специални резиденции за настаняването им (Yü 2008: 416–417).

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[16] „Коментарите на Дзуо“, чието авторство се приписва на Дзуо Циумин (左丘明, ок. 502–422 г. пр.н.е.) обобщено представя политическите, дипломатическите и военните събития в периода от 722 до 468 г. пр.н.е. Хрониката представлява паралелна версия с коментари на класическите китайски анали „Пролети и есени“ 《春秋》, превръщайки се във важен помощен текст за тълкуване на лаконичните и неясни пасажи в тях през следващите епохи.

[17] „Речи на царствата“ е сборник с около 240 речи, приписвани на владетели и министри от периода „Пролети и есени“ (春秋, 771–476 г. пр.н.е.). Авторът на труда е неизвестен, но се предполага, че е съставен поетапно в периода V–IV в. пр.н.е.

[18] Вж. сведенията от „Коментарите на Дзуо“ 《左传》в Legge 1861: 413, 420, 469, 648. За по-подробно изследване на политиката за размяна на гаранти вж. Yang 1952. Прототипи на Ханските модели на дипломация могат да бъдат потърсени и в други утвърдени още през Източна Джоу политически инструменти като плащане на налози (贡), аудиенции в императорския двор (朝), възлагане на специални поръчения (聘), изпращане на емисари (使), сключването на съюзи/договори (盟), прехвърляне на територии, предоставяне на убежище и медиация (Selbitchka 2015: 71–72).

Историческата практика на китайските управници за сключване на брачни съюзи (和亲 *heqin*, букв. „мир чрез сродяване“) между принцеси от императорската фамилия с владетели на съседни царства може да бъде проследена още по-назад във времето чак до периода на Западна Джоу (1045–771 г. пр.н.е.)[19]. Често пъти тя е прилагана като стратегия за омиротворяване на отношенията с враждебно настроени държави, които са твърде силни, за да бъдат победени с военни средства. През династия Западна Хан тази политика на поддържане на политическия баланс чрез невасални отношения, предполагаща равен дипломатически статут между императора и чуждестранния владетел, сигнализира приемането на двуполюсен световен ред от страна на китайската империя, макар че ефективността ѝ не винаги е налице (Di Cosmo 2002: 193; Yü 1967: 10–12).

До обединението на Китай през 221 г. пр.н.е. китайските царства са принудени да взаимодействат както помежду си, така и със съседни етно-политически образувания, но след основаването на империята дипломацията се ограничава само по отношение на чужденците. В периода на династия Западна Хан империята разгръща активни отношения с етносите, разположени на запад и северозапад от границите ѝ, като паралелно с това разширява влиянието си върху области на североизток и на юг. На този фон „Летопис за Даюан“ се явява ценен извор, който разкрива процесите на изграждането на връзки с културно различните субекти в Централна Азия, които осъзнават ползите от приятелството и търговията с мощен покровител като Ханската империя. Макар и схематично, историческият наратив пълноценно отразява сложната картина на тези взаимодействия, в която се преплитат пълна гама от интереси, интриги, съюзи, дипломатически ходове, предателства и военни походи. В този контекст внезапната трансформация на отношенията между Китай и Фергана е от особена важност, поради сериозните последици и съдбовната историческа роля, която изиграва за формирането на политическата картина на региона.

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[19] За подробно изследване на междуетносните бракове като външнополитически инструмент вж. Khayutina 2014; Holmgren 1990–1991.

Фактори, обуславящи динамиката на взаимодействията между Китай и Фергана

Анализът на ключовите моменти, които бележат прехода от мирни отношения към военен конфликт, изисква преразглеждане на основните политически, икономически и идеологически фактори, стоящи в основата на зараждането на антагонизъм и разгръщането на наказателни действия от страна на китайската империя. Сведенията от „Летопис за Даюан“ разкриват, че в този период Фергана е развъдник на породисти коне, които са един от най-ценните икономически ресурси на страната, търгуван не само с близки, но и с по-далечни държави като Индия. Някои учени предполагат, че ферганските коне са транспортирани в Кашгар, който по това време е оживен търговски център, а древни надписи на согдийски, бактрийски, партски, брахми, кароштти и китайски дават информация, че в търговията с коне са участвали търговци от най-различни азиатски региони (Ghosh 2000–2001: 127). Всичко това илюстрира важността на този отрасъл за местната икономика и е твърде възможно именно този факт да стои зад твърдата опозиция и нежеланието на жителите на Фергана да споделят най-добрите екземпляри от националното си богатство с чужди държави, независимо колко могъщи или добронамерени са те.

По отношение на мотивите, които разпалват ескалиращото желание на император У-ди да придобие Небесните коне от Фергана, също са предложени няколко прагматични причини. В древния свят тези коне са известни със своя елегантен и грациозен вид, същевременно са по-едри и издръжливи от породите, които преобладават в Монголия и Китай през първите векове преди новата ера (Liu 2020: 176, 194; Blackwood 2018), поради което навярно са възприемани от императора като потенциално средство за подобряване на качеството на Ханската кавалерия и спечелване на предимство срещу конните номади от племето сюнну. Друго логично предположение е, че императорският двор е възнамерявал да използва ферганските екземпляри за развъд и търговия с коне в Източна Азия, което би се превърнало в доходоносен бизнес, гарантиращ регулярни приходи за хазната.

Тези две хипотези обаче не са подкрепени от никакви експлицитни доказателства, съдържащи се в текста на летописа. Точно обратното, още в самото начало на дискурса за ферганските коне, авторът Съма Циен ни информира, че „по-преди, когато императорът се допитвал до „Книга на промените“[20], му било предречено, че „божествени коне ще се появят от северозапад“[21].

Това лаконично сведение съдържа многопластова културна информация, която извежда интерпретацията на мотивите на император У-ди за придобиване на ферганските коне на равнище, надхвърлящо обикновения прагматизъм. Значението на поличбите за поддържане на династичната легитимност през ранната династийна история на Китай е безспорно. Тълкуването на природни явления, знаци, образи, външни белези, както и на необичайни събития или животни, е важен политически инструмент, използван от управниците при вземането на решения и регулирането на държавните дела[22]. Докато слънчевите затъмнения, наводненията, сушите, епидемиите и т.н. се считат за предупреждения от небесното царство към Сина на небето да промени грешните си постъпки, то притежаването на редки и ценни животни като бял еднорог или прочутите Небесни коне (天马) от Фергана се приема за благоприятен знак, изпратен свише. В този смисъл васалните стоки, пристигащи от всички краища на света, сред които често присъстват екзотични животни, се считат за неопровержимо доказателство за широкия обхват на властта на могъщия император. Те укрепват представата, че монархът, притежаващ такива необикновени предмети, има всички небесни права да управлява империята. Поради това, подобно на други благоприятни знамения, налогът е смятан за отличителен знак

[20] „Книга на промените“ 《易经》, известна още като „Промените на Джоу“ 《周易》е един от най-древните паметници на китайската духовна мисъл, включена в основния конфуциански корпус от канонични текстове. Тя съдържа философска таксономия на Вселената, която в продължение на векове е използвана от китайската аристокрация като ръководство за етичен живот и предсказване на личното бъдеще и съдбата на държавата.

[21] Вж. „Летопис за Даюан“, Пасаж 21 в Sima 2016: 2326.

[22] За подробно изследване на гадателските практики в Древен Китай вж. Song 2018.

на Небето, удостоверяващ, че императорът законно притежава Небесния мандат (天命) (Selbitschka 2015: 68).

В унисон с традиционните си външнополитически механизми, Китай очаква от чуждестранните образувания, с които е установил дипломатически отношения, да участват в трибутарната система поне в някаква степен, като чрез този акт засвидетелстват признаването на политическата му мощ и лоялността си към него. Ето защо за Ханските пратеници предоставянето на Небесните коне като налог от страна на Фергана има особено значение като символично съгласие с военното и политическото превъзходство на Китайската империя. Противно на очакванията обаче ферганските благородници не само отказват да предоставят „едно от най-ценните съкровища на своята държава“, а освен това открито демонстрират презрение към империята като ограбват и избиват китайските емисари[23]. Твърдият отказ и унижението, на което е подложена мисията на У-ди във Фергана, недвусмислено показват активно противопоставяне срещу властта и интересите на Хан и следователно са наказуеми. В отговор императорът изпраща две мащабни военни експедиции (през 104 и 102 г. пр.н.е.), чиято цел е да възстановят накърнения имидж на империята, която винаги се е чувствала морално по-висша спрямо централноазиатските варвари, и да придобият Небесните коне чрез силата на оръжието. В резултат на огромните усилия, финансови и човешки ресурси, вложени в двете наказателни кампании, Китай успява да разшири териториите и влиянието си, да създаде про-Хански режими във Фергана и други владения на запад и да спечели доверието на множество градове-държави в близко съседство, което проправя пътя за по-късното създаване на Протектората на Западните региони[24].

[23] Вж. Пасаж 29 от „Летопис за Даюан“.

[24] Протекторатът на Западните региони (西域都护府), представлява административен апарат под прякото управление на китайското правителство, изграден в малките градове-държави в Таримския басейн между II в. пр.н.е. и II в. н.е. (Yu 2003: 57–59).

Заключение

Взаимодействието между Фергана и Ханската империя е от историческо значение, тъй като представлява един от първите големи контакти между урбанизираната индоевропейска култура и китайската цивилизация, който открива пътя към последващия материален и културен обмен в региона. Повествованието в „Летопис за Даюан“ разкрива причините за разгръщането на това взаимодействие и дуалистичния характер на ферганските коне като трибутна стока с висока идеологична стойност от една страна, и като ценен икономически ресурс от друга. През управлението на У-ди Небесните коне са считани за благоприятна поличба, потвърждаваща божествения статут на императора и същевременно символизираща подчинението на културно различните субекти пред неговото могъщество. Това ни дава основание да предположим, че мотиви, надхвърлящи икономическата изгода, вдъхновяват Хански Китай да положи всички необходими усилия за тяхното придобиване, въпреки че прагматичният аспект на мисията, който е имплицитно отразен, не може да бъде отречен. Двете наказателни експедиции на У-ди срещу далечното Централноазиатско царство могат да бъдат разглеждани още като продължение на отдавна установена стратегия за налагане на силата и престижа на Китайската империя върху държави, които са смятани за потенциална заплаха или не желаят официално да потвърдят нейното превъзходство. Зад успешната външна политика на императора стои не само силна амбиция и постоянство, но също така и поредица от умели стратегии като сключването на династични бракове и внушаването на респект у далечните съседи чрез демонстрация на могъщество, както и наличието на огромна военна сила, с която успява да наложи своята власт там, където дипломацията се проваля. В по-късния етап на своето управление, след като покорява сюнну, император У-ди инициира най-мащабното териториално разширяване на границите на китайската империя, предприемайки военни акции в териториите на днешните Вътрешна и Външна Монголия, Синдзян, Юннан, Гуанджоу, Виетнам, Корея и части от Централна Азия (Chang 2007: 173–177; Di Cosmo 1994: 1095).

Всички тези военни операции изчерпват държавните резерви и принуждават двора да търси други източници на доходи като въвеждане на нови данъци и на държавен монопол върху солта, желязото и виното, което предизвиква народни вълнения и създава вътрешнополитически дисбаланс.

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Sun Yatsen:
An Emblem of Chinese Modernity

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Abstract

Sun Yatsen is the quintessential Chinese historical figure representing modernity in the country: a revolutionary representative of Chinese national identity who is still revered on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. This paper takes an interdisciplinary approach to three emblems of Sun's politics and legacy, which are: 1) Sun's "photographic portraits" – as Provisional President of the Republic of China and as Director General of the National Railways; 2) the suit which he created and which was given his name; and 3) his mausoleum in Nanjing. The paper concludes that the three kinds of symbol have all been deployed to perpetuate Sun Yatsen's memory and appropriate it in support of later political agendas.

Keywords: Sun Yatsen; modernity; portrait; Sun suit; mausoleum

Introduction

Sun Yatsen is the quintessential historical figure representing modernity in China: a revolutionary representative of Chinese national identity. This short paper presents some preliminary research result on Sun's politics and legacy examined through an interdisciplinary approach drawing upon semiotics and the study of material culture and on social and political history. The research is based upon three distinctive symbols through which Sun is remembered in contemporary China: his "photographic portraits", his suit and his mausoleum. The ways these three emblems are used to produce meanings are examined in reference to the historiography in order to evaluate Sun's significance as a symbol of Chinese modernity.

Sun Yatsen: a "Larger Than Life" Figure

Sun Yatsen was born in 1867 into a peasant family in Guangdong province. Thanks to his elder brother, Sun Mei, a successful merchant in Hawaii who paid for his education, Sun was educated at an English-speaking school in Honolulu, and later at the New College of Medicine in Hong Kong where he qualified as a medical doctor in 1892. Sun did not go on to practice as a doctor, rather he became a revolutionary and later a politician.[1] His revolutionary goal was to drive out the Manchu dynasty which he and many others regarded as the cause of China's backwardness and corruption. To promote and raise funds for the "Save China League", he toured Europe and North America, occasionally returning to China in hopes of igniting a revolution. These hopes were not fulfilled, however. In 1895, while in London, Sun was kidnapped by Chinese Legation staff and held prisoner. It is likely that the intention was to return him to China for execution. He was only saved by vigorous protests from the British government who secured his release. The same year, Sun established the *Xing Zhong Hui* (興中會), the very first association to 'drive out the Manchus, restore China and establish a united government' (Schrecker 2004: 172).[2]

Sun's ideology is revealed in his Three Principles – Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood. These beliefs formed the background to Sun's foundation of the League of Common Alliance in 1898, which in 1905 became the *Tong Meng Hui* (同盟會), the forerunner of the Guomindang or Nationalist Party as it was renamed in August 1912. A series of failed attempts at revolution culminated on 10 October 1911 at Wuchang, where an uprising was unexpectedly successful. Sun was touring the USA, fundraising for the revolutionary cause at

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[1] For an in-depth of Sun's life and political career, see Bergère (1998) and Gordon (2010).

[2] On Sun's revolutionary activities and the revolution see Schiffrin (1970); Wong (1986); Lum (1999);Lee (2011), and Anderson (2021).

the time, but returned to China and accepted nomination as the provisional president of the Republic of China. Sun was inaugurated on the 1 January 1912, but stepped down few months later in favour of Yuan Shikai. Sun later became the Director General of the Railway Department.

The revolutionary cause was eventually betrayed by Yuan Shikai, the very same man who helped China to transit from absolute monarchy to republicanism through the abdication of the Qing Emperor. China became the first republic in Asia, but in 1915 Yuan tried but failed to restore the monarchy. Yuan died soon afterwards, but the country was ravaged by 12 years of conflicts between rival warlords until their eventual suppressions by Chiang Kai-Shek's Northern Expedition. After Yuan's volte-face, Sun and the democratically elected representatives of the Nationalist Party at the National Assembly took refuge in Canton, where Sun established his regime and set out to reconquer the country.[3] In 1925, however, Sun died of cancer in Beijing without having achieved his goal. Leadership of the Nationalist Party was assumed by Sun's brother-in-law, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang had married Song Meiling, sister of Sun's second wife, Song Qingling whom Sun had wedded in 1915. Sun's marriage to Song Qingling had generated considerable controversy as she was 26 years Sun's junior and Sun already had three children by his first wife, Lu Muzhen, who he had married at the age of 20 in an arranged union.[4]

Such was Sun's life. I now move to examine three significant symbols through which Sun is remembered in contemporary China, beginning with the two "photographic portraits".

Sun's "Photographic Portraits"

I focus here on two photographs of Sun Yatsen, the first portraying him as Provisional President of the Chinese Republic (Figure 1) and the second as Director-General of National Railways (Figure 2).

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[3] On Sun's political views and experience, see Wells (2001), Tjio (2017), and Tai (2020).

[4] On the Song family see Hahn (1941).

The first photograph is a symbol of a successful cause: the Chinese revolution which overthrow the Qing empire and established the Republic of China, the first republic in Asia. The revolution had been accidentally initiated in Wuchang on 10 October 1911 by members of the *Tong Men Hui* in alliance with rebellious elements of the military. The Wuchang uprising expanded to neighbouring provinces where insubordinate military commanders offered no resistance and by the end of 1911, the Qing dynasty had collapsed. In three months, a provisional government was established. Sun Yatsen was elected Provisional President and when the First Year of the Republic was proclaimed, on 1 January 1912, Sun assumed the office. Six weeks later on 12 February, the Qing Government abdicated and formally recognised the Republic, upon which, to avoid bloodshed, Sun Yatsen resigned his position in favour of Yuan Shikai, who was trusted by both revolutionaries and the monarchy, having acted effectively as a liaison between them. When Yuan Shikai was elected 2nd Provisional President, Sun sent his representatives, Song Jiaoren and Cai Yuanpei, to Beijing to ask Yuan to move to Nanjing. Yuan refused, ostensibly for fear of military mutiny, but more significantly, because he did not want to move away from his military and political base in Beijing (Brophy 2012: 343–4).

Soon after stepping down as president, Sun toured the country to examine the actual conditions of the nation, and subsequently advocated for the development of education and practical knowledge to modernize the nation. Sun was adamant that communications, particularly the railway network, were the backbone of the modernization process, so it was significant that in August 1912, he was appointed Director-General of National Railways. Sun made tours of inspection of the various railways already built, whilst planning the constructions of a further 200,000 miles of railway line over the following ten years. To study developments in railway construction, Sun visited Japan in February 1913 (Edmonds 1987).

Sun's second photograph portrays him on board of a train in Tianjin in August 1912, the month that he was appointed Director-General of National Railways. This photo symbolizes the modernization process, a cause dear to Sun as to most within the revolutionary movement. Since the formation of his first political association, the *Xing Zhong Hui* (興中會), Sun had wanted China to modernize at the same pace as Japan, an Asian country he saw as an inspiration, to be able to deal with Western powers from a basis of technological and military equality.

Therefore, Sun's first photograph embodies the successful revolution and the second the modernization process.

Sun Zhongshan's Suit

The third significant symbol through which Sun is remembered today is the *Zhongsan Zhuang* (中山装) or Sun Yatsen suit, known in the West as the 'Mao jacket'. As stated by Lu Hanchao, the origins of the suit are not known, but we do know that Sun acquired his in 1920 from the Rongchangxiang Woollen Fabrics and Western Suits shop in Nanjing Road, Shanghai, where either he bought a new suit or took one in a different style for alteration (Lu 1999: 253–4). The result was a civilian version of a military uniform. Sun's adoption of the suit during his time as President symbolised a rejection of both the traditional robes of the Qing bureaucracy and the civilian suits worn by Western political leaders. Rather, the suit presented an image which was both distinctively modern and distinctively Chinese. Consequently, the suit became the signature dress of the Nationalist revolution. Finnane explains its symbolism: "The jacket was close-fitting and buttoned down the centre, with square pockets at breast and waist, and was worn over trousers cut in Western style. In time, its unremarkable stylistic features were invested with deep political significance: the three buttons on each sleeve cuff stood for the Three Principles of the People, the four pockets for four Nationalist principles and the five front buttons for the five branches of the Nationalist government" (Finnane 2008: 183).

During the republican period, the Sun Yatsen suit became popular among students (Lu 1999: 254) and schools were prompted to adopt it as a school uniform as its central buttons did not distinguish between "left and right sides" (Harrison 2000: 177). The suit also became popular among the revolutionaries in Canton in the 1920s (Finnane 2008: 183). Harrison explains that claims that suit encouraged martial spirit made by those advertising school uniforms appealed to nationalist supporters and became associated with revolutionary spirit. To wear the suit was to embody this revolutionary spirit, to materially mark oneself as a modernizer committed to the revolutionary agenda.

After Sun's death in 1925, the Sun Yatsen suit remained fashionable and became increasingly popular even in rural areas, where it was seen as a symbol of a patriotic spirit, thanks to the Nationalist revolution. When the Northern Expedition ended successfully the fashion spread from the south to the north of China, and men who continued to wear traditional gowns were seen as old school, old regime. The popularity of the Sun Yatsen suit continued even after the end of the civil war of 1946–49 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China. A photograph of Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-shek taken in Chongqing during the negotiations following the end of the anti-Japanese war suggests a case of 'separation at birth' which was not too far from the fact in political terms. Their suits were virtually identical: well cut, of good material, and faithful to the style established by Sun Yatsen (Finnane 2008: 182–4).

This image is emblematic. In fact, both Chiang Kai-shek and Mao: representatives of the Nationalist and Communist parties of China respectively, wore the Sun Yatsen suit, demonstrating their loyalty to his political doctrine, the Three Principles of the People. To wear Sun's suit was a way to state publicly that they were the legitimate heir of Sun Yatsen, that their political doctrine was faithful to Sun's political vision.

Sun's Mausoleum

The death of Sun Yatsen was a political event of national importance. A few months before his death, in November 1924, Sun issued a *Manifesto on Going North*, in which he reaffirmed the Three Principles of the People as the political path for the return to a unified China and the achievement of the modernizing process. The manifesto, launched during his last battle, was transformed from a political programme to a political will after his death in Beijing on 12 March 1925.[5]

Two funerals were held for Sun in Beijing on 19 March: one was a private Christian ceremony according to his and his family's wishes, whilst the second was secular and public. The private funeral was a Protestant service held in the Great Hall of the Beijing Union Medical College. Immediately after the ceremony, Sun's coffin was moved to the park adjacent to the imperial palace buildings. Those drawing and escorting the hearse represented other groups symbolically claiming Sun as their progenitor – his GMD followers, dressed in formal gowns and black satin jackets, his student admirers carrying banners, and his Russian supporters. The coffin was draped with the GMD flag. After three weeks, during which the coffin lay in state while the public filed past it in homage, it was moved to the Temple of Azure Clouds in the Western Hills, Beijing, before being moved to Nanjing for burial, in accordance with his expressed wish. The burial in Nanjing was a national event, in which Sun's coffin was entombed in the mausoleum especially built for the 'Father of the Nation' under the aegis of the Nationalist Party, which was creating a cult of personality around their deceased leader (Bergère 1998: 407–8).

On 27 May 1929 the final journey of Sun's coffin from Beijing to Nanjing began. The funeral procession, composed of three trains, made several stops along the way to allow the nation to pay tribute to Sun Yatsen, and on 1 June 1929, the coffin of the late president was transferred to the mausoleum of the Purple Mountains, in the neighbourhood of Nanjing ("Remains of" 26 Jan. 1929; "Remains of" 25 May 1929). In the course of the national funeral led by Chiang Kai-shek and the principal nationalist leaders, accompanied by an army escort, punctuated by the sound of cannons and attended by the diplomatic corps and thousands of ordinary citizens, Sun Yatsen was installed in his last resting place (Hoste 8 June 1929). The monumental character of his tomb, fronted by a huge flight of steps, the beauty of the surrounding wooded hills, and the proximity of the burial mounds of the ancient Ming emperors, to whose shades Sun Yatsen had prayed at the founding of the Republic in 1912, all

[5] For an in-depth study of Sun's doctrine see Tai et al. (2020).

combined to enhance the solemnity of the setting and to encourage reverence.[6] According to Lai Delin, “the mausoleum should express a Chinese identity in addition to permanence and public character, two characteristics that were associated with architecture of the West and thus stood for modernity” (Lai 2005: 25). The character of Sun Yatsen’s distinctive revolutionary politics, which aimed to preserve Chinese identity by the appropriation of Western knowledge, had to be displayed by a monument aspiring to an international culture: a monument which broke with the past in its form and materiality. The shape of the enceinte walls was designed to form the silhouette of a bell, visible only from above, which was symbolically associated with the awakening of China.

Conclusion

From the Xinhai Revolution onward, Sun Yatsen assumed the role of unifier of the Chinese nation. His death consigned him to its ‘mythology’. Both Nationalist and Communist parties “made equal use of Sun Yatsen, presenting him as a symbol of revolution, national emancipation, modernism, and socialism. […] The facts were adapted to the demands of ideology and propaganda. And when, as Lenin had put it – “those facts proved too intractable, they were simply swept out of sight” (Bergère 1998: 408).

The three emblems of Sun’s legacy presented above all refer to the modern Chinese nation. First, Sun’s photograph as the first Provisional President of the Republic of China stands for the success of the republican cause, while Sun’s photograph in his role as Director-General of the National Railways is a symbol of his political aspiration to modernize China. These two photographs may be seen as icons, in that they represent Sun through resemblance to his appearance.

Secondly, the suit style that Sun created and that was given his name is a symbol of his power and was appropriated by those seeking to legitimate their own political positions by claiming his legacy. This was true of both Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong in the

[6] On Sun Yatsen’ mausoleum design, see Lai (2005).

1940s, but in more recent times we have also seen Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping wearing it on the national day. In these contexts, the suit can be seen as an indexical sign pointing directly to Sun Yatsen.

Finally, the mausoleum represents Sun's legacy to the Chinese people, and shows how in the early years of the Republic, architects sought to express the new republican ideals, support the cause of modernization, and stand for the Chinese identity in an international arena. The mausoleum is a symbol which associates Sun Yatsen with the modern Chinese nation he sought to create.

We may conclude that all three forms of sign identified by Pierce, icon, index and symbol, have been deployed to memorialize Sun Yatsen and harness his memory to various political agendas in China after his death.

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Fig. 1. Sun Yatsen as Provisional President of the Chinese Republic (*Source*: Chinese Cultural Association 1965: 47).

Fig. 2. Sun Yatsen as Director-General of the National Railways (*Source*: Chinese Cultural Association 1965: 50).

VI. Philosophy and Spiritual Traditions

Cognitive Pathways of Binary Code's Transfer into Human Language in "The Book of Changes"

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Abstract

The paper analyses the cognitive pathways that support the intersection of the various sign systems interwoven within "The Book of Changes" (11th century BC) and ultimately allow for their direct transfer into human language. The study is based mainly on the following commentaries: 1) Xiang Anshi's (1129–1208) "Playing with the Words of Zhouyi", and Li Guangdi's (1642–1718) "Observations on the Images in Zhouyi", etc.

Keywords: "The Book of Changes", binary code, image, trigrams, hexagrams, the teaching of yin–yang and the five phases, commentaries on "The Book of Changes", sign systems, encoding and decoding, cognitive mapping, spacetime cognition, cognitive web

The aim of this study is to reach the universal archetypal matrix that supports the chain of language production based on the complex variety of code systems underlying "The Book of Changes" *Yijing* 《易經》 (also known as "Cyclic Changes" *Zhouyi* 《周易》). We assume that the cognitive perception of the binary code (1/0, i.e. the "male" unbroken line ⚊ and the "female" broken line ⚋) and that of the written signs lie along the same psycho-geometric archetypal continuum. In regard to the binary code, this continuum can be viewed as an extension of the quantum dimension, where pairs of particles self-generate and annihilate each other, forming the fabric of spacetime, whereas in regard to Chinese characters, it stands behind their graphic, phonemic and semantic unity. This allow the two to intersect or even overlap, making the transferability between different codes and sign systems possible. The archetypal mode of perception is closely linked to the necessity to categorize objects and phenomena of the surrounding world (in Chinese script this function is carried out by the radicals/determinatives *zìgēn* 字根/*bùshǒu* 部首). The numeric perception (numbers as a sign system in its own right), on the other hand, embodies the fractal self-similarity of the micro and macro world, and leads to the ability to extrapolate the universal laws and regularities. Thus, the divination paradigm of "The Book of Changes" is intertwined with the symbolic meaning of numbers (numbers as repetition of the ontogenesis), visual codes of kinds (trigrams, hexagrams, etc.), the multitude of semiotic subsystems (discussed later on), consequently revealing a cognitive mapping founded entirely upon "pattern continuum" in the dynamics of *qi* 氣 and resonance between *in* and *out*, micro and macro.

In the divination procedure 50 stalks of yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*) are used. Fifty is the so-called *dàyǎn shù* 大衍數 – "the biggest number" or the "number of the great evolution"[1]. The diviner (or the person, who turns to "The Book of Changes" looking for an answer) manipulates them by following certain steps: i) extracting 1 stalk (which symbolizes "The Great Ultimate" *Tàijí* 太極) and putting it aside on the table; ii) randomly dividing the remaining 49 stalk in 2 sets (the so-called "two instruments" *liǎng yí* 兩儀, i.e. *yin* and *yang*) and placing them on the table; iii) taking out 1 stalk from the right set and placing it between the little finger and ring finger of the left hand to symbolize (together with the 2 lots) "the tree materials" *sān cái* 三才 (Heaven, Earth and Man); iv) dividing the stalks from the right set into groups of four (to symbolize "the four images" *sì xiàng*" 四象/"the four seasons" *sì shí* 四時) till 1 to 4 stalks are left,

[1] There are many theories how one arrives at that number: i) 10 Heavenly stems + 12 Earthly branches + 28 constellations = 50; ii) The Great Ultimate (1) + the 2 instruments (*yin* and *yang*) + the Sun and the Moon (2) + 4 seasons + 5 phases + 12 months + 24 solar terms = 50; iii) The primordial image (1) + Autumn and Spring (2) + the three types of ancient calendar (3) + the four seasons (4) = 10, multiplied by 5 (the five corpora *wǔtǐ* 五體) = 50, etc., to list a few.

and placing this remainder between the ring finger and the middle finger of the left hand; v) doing the same with the left set, and placing the remainder (1 to 4 stalks) between the middle finger and the index finger of the left hand; vi) counting all of the stalks in the left hand (mathematically they are either 5 or 9) and putting them aside; vii) the stalks on the table are brought together and the process is repeated from step ii) to step vi). The total number of stalks held between the fingers of the left hand the second time is either 4 or 8 and they are too put aside. The remaining stalks are brought together in order to repeat the process all over again from step ii) to step vi). The third time the total number of stalks between the fingers of the left hand is again either 4 or 8 and they are too put aside. Now the groups of 4 stalks that lie on the table are to be counted – there are four possible outcomes: 6, 7, 8 or 9. At this point, the first line (*yáo* 爻[2]) of the hexagram is obtained. Even numbers (6 and 8) correspond to a broken line (binary code 0), odd numbers (9 and 7) – to unbroken line (binary code 1). The entire process is repeated 5 more times to obtain all 6 lines, building the so called "original hexagram" *běn guà* 本卦 from bottom upwards. Six is considered an "old *yin*" – an unstable entity that is about to change into its opposite. Nine is an "old *yang*", also an unstable entity that is about to change into its opposite. In other words, the numbers 6 and 9 are the embodiment of change, and they turn out to be most sensitive to the fluctuations of our psycho-physical *qi*. In the case of these two numbers an additional transformational hexagram *zhī guà* 之卦/ *biàn guà* 變卦 is built and the future is read accordingly (i.e. "old *yang*" /9/ becomes "young *yin*" /8/, and "old *yin*" /6/ becomes "young *yang*" /7/).

[2] An interesting archetypal resonance is observable in the ideogram *yáo* 爻 (, ) 'line' (of a trigram/hexagram), composed of reduplicated numeral 'five' *wǔ* ㄨ () – the latter is an abstract representation of the interaction between *yin* and *yang* as intersection of the vertical and the horizontal axes – compared to the structure of the a human replicated chromosome  (made up of two strains of chromatids, one from each parent, connected at the center /magnification approx. 1000 times/). The chromosome is a basic building block of life, packed with DNA chains, whereas *yáo* 爻 is a unit of self-similarity in the micro and macroworld.

The resulting number – 6, 7, 8 or 9 – may seem random, but it is predetermined by our mind’s *qi* (focused on the question that is put forward), since everything we touch becomes permeated by it (needless to say that when the séance is conducted by a diviner, the influence is cast at a distance). The whole divination process is a repetition of the ontogenesis: 0 (emptiness/reservoir/infinity) → 1 (non-dual axis/boundary) → bipolar pair 01, each of its digits producing another bipolar pair 01, and so on ad infinitum. Through the ritualistic actions of the hands the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 are created, subsequently the *qi*-totality responds with the numbers 6, 7, 8 or 9, which is like seeing your own binary code reflection in a binary code mirror, i.e. the overlapping produces the exact coordinates – the localisation of ‘the self’ (the microcosm) in the big picture (the macrocosm).

In the “Commentary on the Appended Phrases” *Xicizhuan* 《繫辭》 this process is called *Dao* (Path): “One *yin* and one *yang* is called *Dao*” 一陰一陽之謂道 (see Fig. 1, where the endless bifurcation is limited to the number of the hexagrams – 64; compare with Fig. 2 showing the mathematical principle of bifurcation and its “endlessness”). *Yin* and *yang* are the exhalation and inhalation of the universe, “each of the ten thousand things bears *yin* and embraces *yang*. Coalescence of the two vital energies is called *unitive oneness*.” 萬物負陰而抱陽，沖氣以爲和 (section 42, *Daodejing*). In this sense, each situation in life is opposition and complementation of *yin* and *yang*. Reversing the direction leads back to the oneness of *Dao* (with psychological implications – “Do not stray from the central path!”).

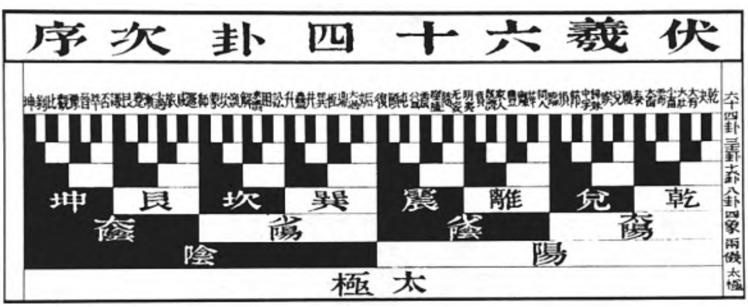


Fig. 1. The numerical repetition of the cosmogenesis from 1 to 2 to 4 to 8 to 64.

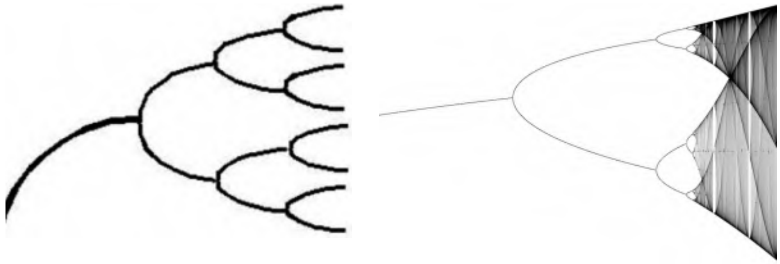


Fig. 2. Bifurcation theory in mathematics.

Numbers are entities bordering on *qi*, and through the described above quasi-mathematical method of divination, the aura/*qi* of the individual is translated into binary code with an extremely high precision. In turn, from the binary code images appear, i.e. the two individual trigrams that make up a hexagram. The binary code has an inherent unity 'signifier–signified' and the resulting images are directly readable in human language, grounded in the syntax of *in* and *out* (the lower trigram is 'in', the upper – 'out') which, spatially conceived, corresponds to 'down' and 'up' [just like in the radially organized system of the universe the basic directions are: *in* toward the center and *out* in a plurality of directions (Edmondson 1987)].

Apart from the original hexagram and the transformational one, 3 additional hexagrams have to be considered: 1) the opposite (*cuò guà* 錯卦) – all 6 lines are substituted with their opposites; 2) the inverted (*zòng guà* 綜卦) – the whole hexagram is rotated 180°; 3) the nuclear (*hù guà* 互卦) – a newly created hexagram, in which lines 2, 3 and 4 of the original one become a new lower trigram, whereas lines 3, 4 and 5 – a new upper trigram. This is done because of the relativity of the spatial cognition of 'the self' in regard to the rotation of the universe. The fortune-telling interpretation can be further concretised if additional 6 hexagrams are taken into account: the ones produced by changing 1 line at a time from bottom upwards (see the example given in Tab. 1).

Table 1

Hypothetical original hexagram (967779)	**Transformational hexagram** (877778)
No. 13 ䷌ *Tong ren* 同人 Fellowship **Transformational hexagrams** Opposite: No. 7 ䷆ *Shi* 師 Army Inverted: No. 14 ䷍ *Da you* 大有 Great Possessions Nuclear: No. 44 ䷫ *Gou* 姤 Encounter **Other relevant transformational hexagrams** (changing 1 line at a time + opposite and inverted hexagram for each): No. 33 ䷠ *Dun* 遯 Withdrawal (+ No. 19 ䷒ Lin 臨 Overseeing + No. 34 ䷡ *Da Zhuang* 大壯 The Big is strong) No. 1 ䷀ *Qian* 乾 Firmament (+ No. 2 ䷁ *Kun* 坤 Pure Earth) No. 25 ䷘ *Wu wang* 无妄 No Great Expectations (+ No. 46 ䷭ *Sheng* Elevation + No. 26 ䷙ *Da xu* 大畜 Great cumulation) No. 37 ䷤ *Jia ren* 家人 Family (+ No. 40 ䷧ *Xie* 解 Release + No. 38 ䷥ *Kui* 睽Contrariety) No. 30 ䷝ Li 離 Cohesion (+ No. 29 ䷜ Kan 坎 Whirlpool) No. 49 ䷰ *Ge* 革 Radical Change (+ No. 4 ䷃ *Meng* 蒙 Ignorance + No. 50 ䷱ *Ding* 鼎 Bronze Cauldron)	No. 28 ䷛ *Da guo* 大過 Great Surpassing Transformational hexagrams Opposite: No. 27 ䷚ *Yi* 頤 Nourishment Inverted: No. 28 ䷛ *Da guo* 大過 Great Surpassing Nuclear: No. 1 ䷀ *Qian* 乾 Firmament **Other relevant transformational hexagrams** No. 43 ䷪ *Guai* 夬 Resolution (+ No. 23 ䷖ *Bo*剝 Peeling + No. 44 ䷫ *Gou*姤 Encounter) No. 31 ䷞ *Xian* 咸 Copulation (+ No. 41 ䷨ *Sun* 損 Diminution + No. 32 ䷟ *Heng*恆 Eternity) No. 47 ䷮ *Kun* 困 Impass (+ No. 22 ䷕ *Bi* 賁 Adornment + No. 48 ䷯ *Jing* 井 Well) No. 48 ䷯ *Jing* 井 Well (+ No. 21 ䷔ *Shi he* 噬嗑 Assimilation + No. 47 ䷮ *Kun* 困 Impass) No. 32 *Heng* 恆 ䷟ Eternity (+ No. 42 ䷩ *Yi* 益 Benefit + No. 31 ䷞ *Xian* 咸 Copulation)

As we have mentioned, the spacetime fabric is interlaced with binary code 0/1 (particle/antiparticle; horizontal axis/vertical axis), thus the binary code itself can be envisioned as following the toroidal motion *Dao* (see Fig. 3).

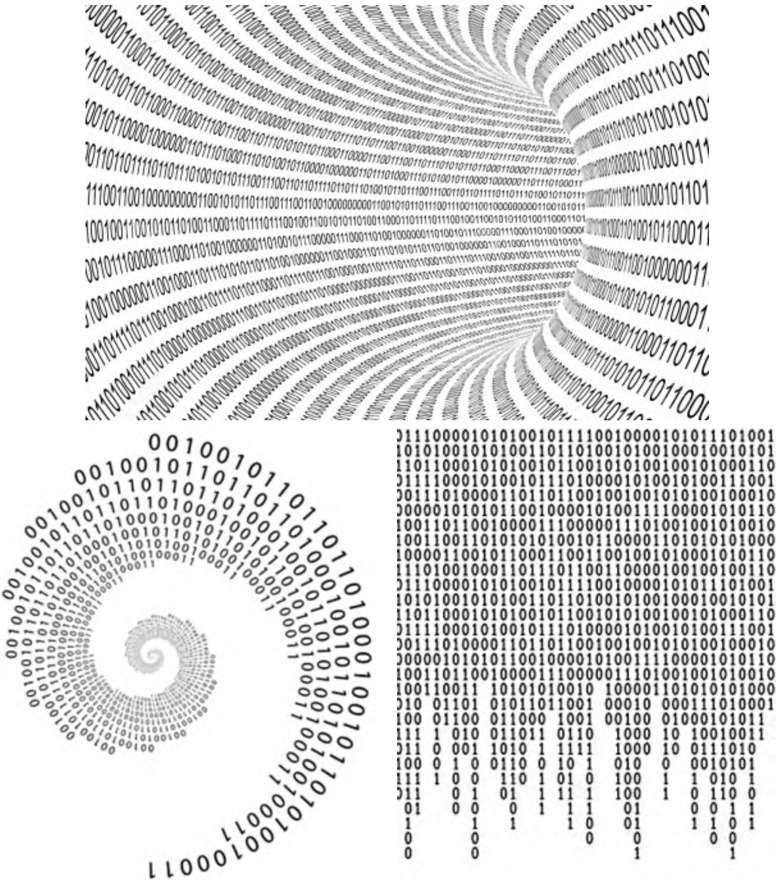


Fig. 3. Different representations of the binary code as fabric of spacetime.

There is change (instability) within the change because the medium of change is the hyper-sensitive psycho-cosmic fluid *qi*, which is in a state of constant flux and transition from 0 to 1 and from 1 to 0, i.e. the broken line easily “unbreaks” (2 → 1), while

Fig. 4. The yin–yang (0/1) checkmate board with yin–yang (0/1) figures

the unbroken line easily "breaks" (1 → 2). This explains why one moment we are in a difficult situation, the next – we overcome it, one moment we are well-balanced, the next – we lose balance. The process is akin to playing chess figures on a checkmate board (see Fig. 4) with the sole difference that in the system of "The Book of Changes" the black bishop, for example, would be able to make "white" moves as well, whereas the white bishop – "black" ones, i.e. *yin*-line can appear in odd positions (1, 3 and 5), whereas *yang*-line – in even positions (2, 4 and 6). These situations are characterised by dissonance: *qi* cannot flow properly, therefore they are usually associated with danger and impropriety.

Geometry of space is dependent on *qi*-vibration frequencies and the dimensionality of the cognizing mind. The trigrams are believed to have been derived from octagonal star patterns common for many Neolithic cultures in China (See Fig. 5). From a geometric point of

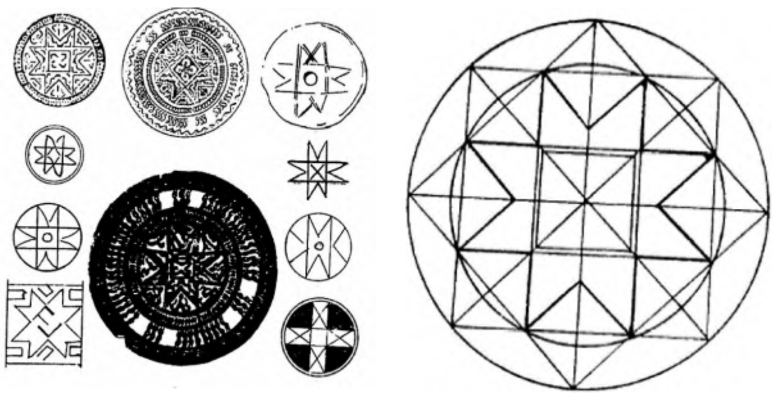


Fig. 5. Octagonal star pattern from Neolithic cultures and the universal grid that generates them.

view, most relevant to the hexagrams is the 64 tetrahedron grid (See Fig. 6) emerging from each of the endless number of points that comprise the fabric of spacetime/vacuum (in mathematics this is the largest number "googolplex" – $10^{10^{\wedge}100}$). The tetrahedron is its most fundamental geometric building block. Multiplying by octaves, it forms more and more complex structures: 1, 8, 64, 512 and 4096 (See Fig. 7), and this continues both on infinitely bigger and infinitely smaller scale, creating the perfectly balanced geometry of space (the so-called "vector equilibrium") (Haramein 2008). Putting two 8-star tetrahedrons together creates a 64 tetrahedron grid inside of which 2 octaves of cube octahedron are formed. The cube octahedron is the only 3D object that is equal and opposite in every possible way (all vectors are of equal length, including from the center to the edges (Haramein 2008).

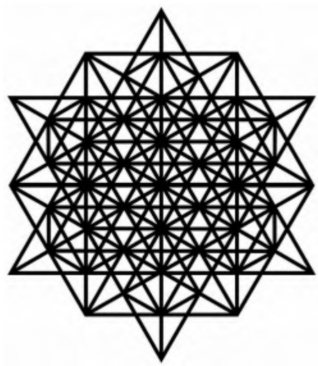


Fig. 6. The 64 tetrahedron grid that generates the hexagrams

The fractal scaling law suggests an underlying polarizable structured vacuum of mini white holes/black holes (Haramein 2008) (i.e. *yin*s and *yang*s) entangled in a toroidal dynamics *Dao*. Theoretically the 64 hexagrams can be combined with each other to form 4096 dodecagrams (12 lines, 12-digit binary code), but for obvious reasons the divination process is seldomly taken that far. By imposing a frame that includes maximum 6-lines onto the endless fabric of space-time/vacuum, we get the moment "now", and we can easily trace the fluctuations within these 6 semiological units.

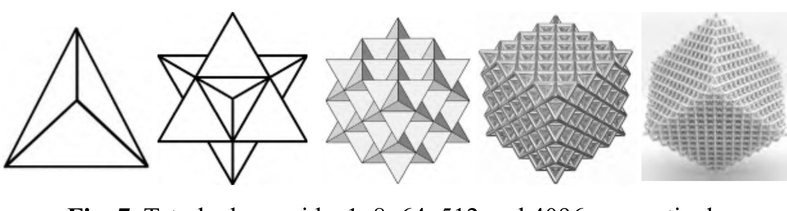


Fig. 7. Tetrahedron grids: 1, 8, 64, 512 and 4096, respectively

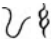
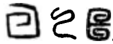
In “The Book of Changes” the divination paradigm relies heavily on image codes. Statistical analysis indicates that in the four chosen by us commentaries, e.g. “Explanation of Names” *Shiming* 《釋名》 (c. 200) [authored by Liu Xi 刘熙 (?–?)]; “Playing with the Words of *Zhouyi*” *Zhouyi wanci* 《周易玩辭》 (1198) [authored by Xiang Anshi 项安世 (1129–1208)]; “Observations on the Images in *Zhouyi*” *Zhouyi guanxiang* 《周易觀象》 [authored by Li Guangdi 李光地 (1642–1718)], and “Brief Examination on the Transformation of Hexagrams” 《卦變考略》 [authored by Dong Shouyu 董守諭 (1596–1665)], the character *xiàng* 象 is used 1,232 times, whereas the idea of “archetypal resonance”, in the sense of “to take after a certain image” *qǔ xiàng* 取象, is used 296 times. This reveals that the web of self-similarity is highly valued, and it becomes the starting point of predicting the future.

The character for ‘image’ *xiàng* 象 is a pictogram of an ‘elephant’ – , , but if we examine its variants in different styles – , , , , , etc., we can see that ‘abstractness’ overpowers ‘pictographicity’. The ‘head’ of the elephant becomes a ‘circle within a circle’ or is substituted by a ‘nose’ *zì* 自 – the epitome of ‘individuality’ and ‘selfhood’; the ‘trunk’ is a ‘wavy line’ or a ‘human-like’ element *jié* 卩/*rén* 人 that springs from within the ‘head’, the ‘body’ is represented by the universal sign for ‘fluidity’ *wù* 勿, etc. The clay elephant from Hemudu culture 河姆渡文化 (6500–7000 BP) with a net of concentric circles and line patterns covering its entire body (see Fig. 8), is considered to be an equinox and solstice model (Lu & Li 2000: 138). Under the action of animism, the image of the elephant was projected onto the cosmos and the astronomical phenomena, and with time evolved into the philosophical concept *dà xiàng* 大象 [dāt zĭɑŋ] ‘the great image’ (‘the infinitely large image’) or ‘the heavenly image’ *tiān xiàng* 天[3]象 [t‘ien zĭɑŋ] – another reference to the totality *Dao*, defined as “the form that has no form” and “the model that has no model”.

[3] *Dà* 大 () [dāt] and *tiān* 天 () [t‘ien] are “graphical cognates”, both representing a front view of ‘a standing person’. In the second character one line is added on top to signify the ‘heavenly sphere’ (The great *One Tài yī* 太一 [T‘āt ĭĕt]).

The character *xiàng* 象 'image'/'archetype' encompasses a wide range of meanings, e.g. 'phenomenon'; 'symbol'; 'form'; 'shape'; 'appearance'; 'law'; 'principle'; 'to resemble'; 'to imagine'; 'to follow the model of', etc., as well as 'portrait'; 'picture'; 'figure'; 'to bear semblance'; 'analogy'; 'for instance' (the cognate *xiàng* 像), etc. In Modern Chinese words closely related to cognitive percepts all incorporate the morpheme *xiàng* 象, e.g. *biǎoxiàng* 表象 'idea'; *chōuxiàng* 抽象 'abstraction'; *guānxiàng* 觀象 'to stargaze'; 'to foresee'; 'foretell'; 'omen'; *huànxiàng* 幻象 'mirage'; 'illusion'; *jīxiàng* 迹象 'sign'; *jǐngxiàng* 景象 'view'; 'scene'; 'sight'; *qìxiàng* 氣象 'meteorology'; 'scenery'; 'indication'; *wànxiàng* 萬象 'all manifestations of nature'/'all phenomena'; *xiànxiàng* 現象 'phenomenon'; 'appearance'; *xiǎngxiàng* 想象 'imagination'; *xíngxiàng* 形象 'form'; 'expressive'; *yìxiàng* 意象 'image', 'notion'; *yìnxiàng* 印象 'impression'; *zhēnxiàng* 真象 'true colours'; 'truth', etc. The listed words expose the inseparable link 'image–idea' that gives substance to the cognitive web, involved in the perception of external images, their absorption as inner images and in turn their projection as external ones.

Fig. 8. Clay elephant from hemudu culture

Two of the poetic principles/tropes employed in "The Book of songs" *Shijing* 《詩經》 (11th century BC–c. 700 BC) – the comparison *bǐ* 比 (based on similitude) and the prelude/portent/metaphor *xìng* 興 (shift from the macro picture to the micro picture) – are another proof that since time immemorial in the cognitive universe of the Chinese the signs/omens (and the numerological configurations) were established as a unified model of perception of the world. Ontologically speaking, the "unifier" is 'the self', as the Daoist term it – 'the thread of selfhood *Dao*' *Dào jì* 道紀. The concept bears implications on the geometric line (no matter wavy or straight, since all wavy lines are made of straight segments), equalising it with the ‘silk thread’ , the *qi*-filaments in turbulent flow , and the ‘embryo’ . Thus ‘the self’ is a pathway – a line, and any line can be read as ‘the self’. ‘The self’, interwoven in the ubiquitous spacetime fabric, spontaneously generates self-portraying binary code configurations, patterns and images. Through ‘the self’ all coordinates become the center; past, present and future become a closed circuit: this is how predictions can be made.

The self-similar (fractal) nature of the archetypes extends to the two-way process of linguistic encoding and decoding of information. The mode of cognition that carries out this process is highly intuitive, spontaneous and regressive. All visually perceivable patterns and images spring in the human mind as from the inlaid matrix of spacetime, and they are bound to produce geometric multi-dimensionality. The interactions of *yin* and *yang* on quantum level (seldomly conscious) correspond to energy frequencies, that are refracted through the system of numbers, and grow into something bigger and of conscious value – images and their symbolism. The activation of a given archetype is indicative of energy resonance between *in* and *out*, self and totality. The images are bound to undergo endless transmutations, they are – as the psychic energy – in a constant state of flux. In the form of mental images and ideations, they maintain webs of infinite interconnectedness on micro and macro scale, analogous to the interconnectedness of neurons and synapses in the human brain (see Fig. 9).

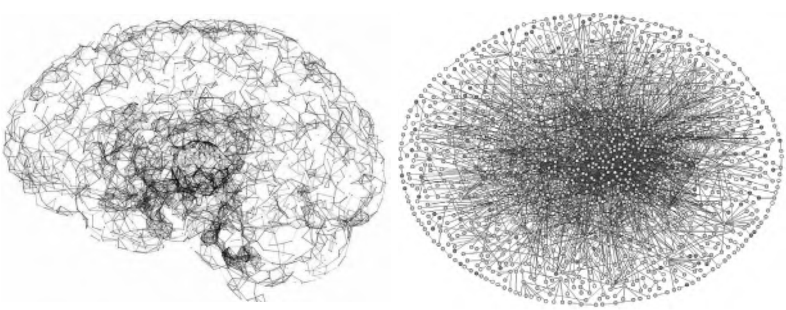


Fig. 9. Models of the interconnectedness of neurons and synapses in the human brain

Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) of the North Song dynasty in his “On Characters” *Zishuo* 《字說》 – a work on folk etymology – affirms that “The patters in the elephant tusk (*xiàngyá*) immerge influenced by thunder, whereas the meteorological patterns (*tiānxiàng*) appear under the influence of *qi*. That’s why, for ‘heavenly image’ (*tiānxiàng*) also the word ‘elephant’ (*xiàng*) is used.” 象牙感雷而文生，天象感氣而文生，故天象亦用此字. In the “Commentary on the Appended Phrases” we find the interpretation: “[The transformation of *yin* and *yang*] in Heaven begets images, on Earth – begets the form of beings. [The transformation] is what makes them observable.” 在天成象，在地成形，變化見矣, and also: “The lines (*yáo*) are imitative representations (*xiào*) of this. The images (*xiàng*) are pictorial representations (*xiàng*) of this.” 爻也者，效此者也。象也者，像此者也. The decoding of images is likely to begin in the visual association cortex, but their entirety can be grasped only through polymodal processing (activation of the whole brain). The so-called “small images” *xiǎo xiàng* 小象 (broken and unbroken lines) form “the big image” *dà xiàng* 大象 (2 trigrams on top of one another, i.e. the hexagram) and information is extractable both ways – from the small to the big, and vice versa. Of course, in the infinite spectrum of waves, the energy in the form of information can be decoded and encoded again and again in various ways, one of which is language.

As embodiments of binary code and imagery, the trigrams are packed with archetypal information, which can be read as follows (the trigrams are listed in accordance with the Later heavenly order *Houtian bagua* 後天八卦):

Table 2

Name of the Trigram	Image	Binary Code	Cardinal directions	Time	Archetypal Information	3-character mnemonic saying
1. 震 *Zhen* Thunder	☳	100	East	The Spring Equinox	Penetrative quality; downward direction; hardness; dynamicity	A cup face-up 震仰盂
2. 巽 *Xun* Wind	☴	011	Southeast	Beginning of Summer	Engulfing quality; softness; penetration	Openness bellow 巽下断
3. 離 *Li* Fire	☲	101	South	Summer Solstice	Implosion, self-termination; softness; enlightenment	Hollow in the middle 離中虛
4. 坤 *Kun* Earth	☷	000	Southwest	The Beginning of Autumn	Receptiveness; openness; softness; hollowness; passivity; obedience	Six broken pieces 坤六斷
5. 兌 *Dui* Lake	☱	110	West	The Autumnal Equinox	Evaporation at the surface; unstable boundary above; softness; joy	Broken on top 兌上缺
6. 乾 *Qian* Heaven	☰	111	Northwest	The Beginning of Winter	Wave dispersion; hardness; strength	Three continuous lines 乾三連
7. 坎 *Kan* Water hole	☵	010	North	The Winter Solstice	Water; evaporation upwards and tunneling effect downwards; hardness; obstacle; danger; death	A full line in the middle 坎中满
8. 艮 *Gen* Mountain	☶	001	Northeast	the Beginning of Spring	Volcano-like structure; hindrance; hardness; motionless	A cup face-down 艮覆碗

The 8 trigrams are further associable with different family relations, with animals, plants, geometric forms, parts and organs of the human body, zodiacal signs, Moon phases, colours, geometric forms, etc. Actually, correspondences with any other spatiotemporal, social and psychological classifications have been determined based on self-similarity and *qi*-resonance, but we are not going to provide details here. We have included the 3-character mnemonic description of each trigram, because these sayings are the workings of the archetype they describe, e.g. ☶ *Gen* 艮 Mountain is "a cup face-down" *gèn fù wǎn* 艮覆碗; ☳ *Zhen* 震 Thunder is "a cup face-up" *zhèn yǎng yú* 震仰盂, etc.

No transfer of archetypal information into language is possible without spatial orientation, ensuing from the starting point of 'the self'[4]. We can treat the trigrams (and the hexagrams) themselves as mental spatiotemporal visualisations, i.e. cognitive maps. All movement is in space and has a direction. The human ontogeny from the transport of the egg, its fertilization by a swimming sperm, to the movement of recombination of genetic material within the cell, to the zygote's transfer to the place of implantation (no matter whether it is an assisted movement or movement by itself) can be deemed as a movement forward (all other concurrent directions are relative and can be abstracted). The concept "nine directions" *jiǔ fāng* 九方 (the 8 points of the compass plus the center) means 'all possible directions', i.e. endless directions/vectors (even in an oversimplified sphere model, the googolplex number applies here). The "endless directions" of 'the self' embedded within the "endless directions" of the macrocosm (let's say in a multiple tori-within-a-torus model): their synchronization is a matter of profound insights like the ones accumulated in "The Book of Changes", later developed also in the art of geomancy (*kān yú shù* 堪輿術/*fēngshuǐ shù* 風水術), etc. In the same manner the movement of 'the self' within the hexagram is simultaneously upward (forward) and multi-directed. When a certain hexagram is activated (i.e. it appears as a self-image/self-reflection), the energy exchange between

[4] Judging by the etymology of space and time related Chinese characters, spacetime unequivocally originates from the corporeality of 'the self' (Koutzarova 2015).

yin and *yang* sequence in it creates resonance or dissonance exposing the external factors/forces that influence 'the self' at this point in space and time, causing change in its self-guided course. However, no matter what life situation we are in, "The Book of Changes" strongly suggests that there is only one correct path to follow – the middle way of inner centrality and balance (the contemplative inward space of self cultivation that can envelope the world). This correct path – the *Dao* – created by the two opposites *yin* and *yang* within and without, if viewed as life on earth in general, is connected to the prevalence of being, i.e. choosing the path that leads to further bifurcation (further procreation and expansion) and not its cessation (non-being). In ontogeny this is the principle of chance when the sperm "decides" whether to go left or right, while only one of the bilateral fallopian tubes has an ovum ready for fertilization.

All cosmic numbers, ratios and proportions are encoded within us corporeally (this includes the structure of the brain). Recycled in human perception and cognition (conscious or unconscious), they become the most fundamental background layer. Translated into binary code, they have the potential to relate space-time orientation through visualisations, in which the cognizer observes from within his/her mentally construed spacetime body the also mentally construed event-spacetime line (the so called "disembodied mental gaze") (Stocker 2014). The archetypally visualizable content in the hexagrams is so rich that it influences the global activity of the brain and its capacity to transmit information across the whole functional network (Escrichs 2019). We infer that reading the cognitive map, rendered by a given hexagram, involves brain activity of high dynamical complexity, i.e. broad communication of the whole brain over time and space, juxtaposable to that during meditative states (Escrichs 2019). This phenomenon can be attributed to the immeasurable amount of information that has to be processed simultaneously, and thus bound to be grasped intuitively. Below we include a list of the basic codes and sign systems interlaced within "The Book of Changes":

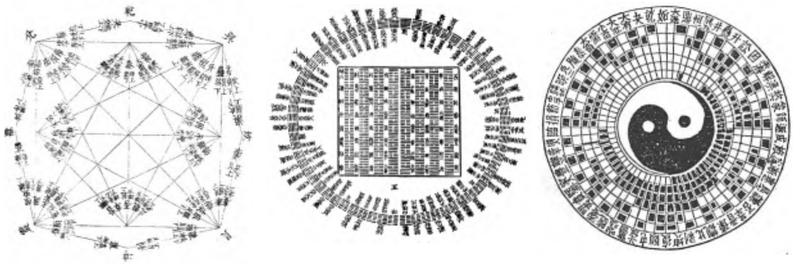
1. Odd or even numbers (the cell matrix of spacetime);
2. Broken ("female") and unbroken ("male") lines (the *yin–yang* modulatory system);

3. Binary code 1/0 (the dual rhythm of the universe);
4. Two definitive types of interaction between the two types of lines: *yin* over *yang* or *yang* over *yin* (i.e. “improper” vs. “proper”);
5. Four types of images (combinations of two lines): ⚏ old *yin*; ⚌ old *yang*; ⚍ young *yin*, and ⚎ young *yang*;
6. Lines (“the small images”);
7. Trigrams;
8. Hexagram (“the big image”);
9. The additional “image” (trigram) that distinguishes itself within the hexagram, when the repetitive lines are crossed out (e.g. No.10 ䷉ *Lǚ* 履 Treading consists of “Heaven *Qian* ☰ above, Lake *Dui* ☱ below”, but the trigram Fire *Li* ☲ also visually differentiates itself – a detail that should not elude the attention of the interpreter);
10. Five phases *Wǔ xíng* 五行 (5 directions of movement of *qi*, i.e. Tree *Mù* 木 – outward; Fire *Huǒ* 火 – upward; Earth *Tǔ* 土 – center-wise; Metal *Jīn* 金 – inward; Water *Shuǐ* 水 – downward)[5];
11. Resonance (responsiveness *yìng* 應) between 1st and 4th, 2nd and 5th, 3rd and 6th lines;
12. Interaction between neighboring lines (1st and 2nd; 2nd and 3rd; 3rd and 4th; 4th and 5th; 5th and 6th);
13. “Centrality” *zhōng* 中 (2nd and 5th position);
14. “Properness/rightness” *zhèng* 正 (*yin*-line in even position and *yang*-line in odd position);

[5] The trigrams Heaven *Qian* 乾 and Lake *Dui* 兑 (the phase Metal *Jin* 金) beget Water hole *Kan* 坎 (the phase Water *Shui* 水). The latter begets the trigrams Thunder *Zhen* 震 and Wind *Xun* 巽 (the phase Tree *Mu* 木). They in turn beget Fire *Li* 離 (the phase Fire *Huo* 火). Fire *Li* 離 begets Earth *Kun* 坤 and Mountain *Gen* 艮 (the phase Earth *Tu* 土). The latter close the clockwise generation cycle begetting Heaven *Qian* 乾 and Lake *Dui* 兑 (Metal *Jin* 金). The counterclockwise destruction cycle is as follows: Heaven *Qian* 乾 and Lake *Dui* 兑 (the phase Metal *Jin* 金) destroy Thunder *Zhen* 震 and Wind *Xun* 巽 (the phase Tree *Mu* 木). The latter destroy Earth *Kun* 坤 and Mountain *Gen* 艮 (the phase Earth *Tu* 土). Earth *Kun* 坤 and Mountain *Gen* 艮 destroy Water hole *Kan* 坎 (the phase Water *Shui* 水). The latter destroys Fire *Li* 離 (the phase Fire *Huo* 火). Fire *Li* 離 destroys Heaven *Qian* 乾 and Lake *Dui* 兑 (the phase Metal *Jin* 金).

15. The syntax of *in* and *out* (up and down), i.e. the crossing of the crucial boundary between the lower and upper trigram, etc.

Consolidation of all of the above systems and subsystems by the cognizer allows the information to be transferred into human language – written signs, text and narrative. We conjecture that the process of consolidation relies on syncretic mode of thinking and synesthetic type of sensory connectivity. The text produced in this manner is "omnipotent" (archetypally applicable to a vast array of individual situations): the "Judgement" of the hexagram (*guàcí* 卦辭) and the "Judgement" of the individual lines (*yáocí* 爻辭) are both endowed with this quality. The interpretation, on the other hand, must be deemed as laden with "subjectivity" (usually a double "subjectivity", i.e. that of the diviner and that of the person whose fortune is being told). Each sentence represents syntactically linked ideo-iconic signs, which require a round of decoding based on the etymons (i.e. the original meaning of the character) and the diverging extended meanings. The "big image" has built-in "small images"; a code system is embedded into another code system – at this stage the holographic nature of the hexagram becomes perfectly clear: each one implicitly contains the rest, and even a minute fluctuation of one line (or shift in the vantage point) will lead to transition into another hexagram. Fig. 10A shows the vectors/channels in a tetrahedron-like geometric object, along which these minute fluctuations take place. Fig. 10B offers a square-with-a-circle arrangement of the hexagrams, which symbolizes the union of Heaven and Earth and all bipolar pairs. The quadrangular arrangement corresponds to a magic square 8x8 that consists of 4 smaller 4x4 magic squares (which presupposes a rigid internal logic in the transition of one hexagram into another diagonal-wise, column-wise and row-wise), whereas the circular arrangement discloses the significant fact that 31 of 64 hexagrams (not including the "parents" – *Heaven* ䷀ and *Earth* ䷁) can be read as two different hexagrams depending on the vantage point – *in* or *out* of the circle. Fig. 10C is an excellent exemplification of the toroidal movement ensuing on the quantum scale and followed through to the "black and white" of the fabric of spacetime (represented as a specific sequence of black and white cells) that correspond to 64 archetypal situations of the human condition.



A B C

Fig. 10. Different arrangements of the 64 hexagrams:
A. Diamond; B. Square-within-a circle; C. Toroidal.

The commentary “Explanation of Names” writes: “The sage observed the images in order to create the hexagrams, he also observed the images to create the characters. Both the hexagrams and the characters are [have sprung from] the same [archetypal] images.” 《釋名》：“聖人觀象作易，亦觀象造字，卦與字通乎象者也。”. This encourages us to look for common cognitive ground for the decoding of the two systems. Chinese characters are ideographic entities, even the so-called “pictograms” *xiàngxíngzì* 象形字 (as we have already observed in the case of ‘elephant’ *xiàng* 象) are far from merely “resembling the form” *xiàngxíng* 象形 of objects. They are all eidetically generated mental images that function as iconic signs. As such, they can support a rather wide scope of meanings subsumable under a given archetype. In this sense, the psychological understanding that one archetype can generate limitless archetypal images is valid in regard to the polysemanticity of the characters. The archetypal dimension behind the way of thinking of the ancient Chinese remains active due to the preservation of the original signs of signification. We will note that in oracle bone script these signs clearly include (valid for the Modern characters too, if one knows where and how to look) the concept of *qi* (the dispersion and distribution of wave phenomena like light, liquids, sound, etc.) and the mentation of numbers as closest to *qi.* Thus, the smallest structural module of the Chinese characters can be traced back to the quantum behavior and the omniscient numeric encoding of the micro and macrocosm (by the way, this is the approach used by Xu Shen 許慎 in his etymological dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 《說文解字》). The next smallest module of language is the 'archetypeme' (traditionally treated as phonetic marker *shēngfú* 聲符). The archetypeme turns out to be the key to grasping the connections between the written signs, trigrams and hexagrams. In the case of "associative compounds" *huìyìzì* 會意字 – combinations of multiple radicals – the spatial arrangement is of crucial importance, because it corresponds to internally cognized space.

Roughly half of the characters that stand for names of the 64 hexagrams have one or a combination of components directly related to quantum behavior, fluid flow, numerals, silk fibers or embryology (See Tab. 3; repetitive characters are not included).

Table 3

Name of the hexagram	**Binary code**	**Quantum behavior**	**Fluid flow/*qi***	**Numerals (Explicit or Implicit)**	**(Silk) fiber/ fabric**	**Embryo/ snake**
No. 1 *Qian* 乾 Firmament	䷀		乙 energy; 丂 sound waves	**1** (丂) 气欲舒出，勹上礙於一也		
No. 2 *Kun* 坤 Pure earth	䷁	(申) electricity; (土) earth; minute particles	巛; 巛; 巛; brook; stream	**1, 2** (土)二象地之下、地之中物出形也 **1** gives birth to **2** (申) 2 + 1 = **3**		
No. 3 *Tun* 屯 Germination	䷂			**1** 从中貫一，一，地也		

No. 5 *Xu* 需 Waiting	䷄	(雨) rain drops 霝 minute particles		**1** 水从雲下也。一象天，冂象雲，水霝其間也	而 mus-tache	
No. 6 *Song* 訟 Lawsuit	䷅		（言） sound waves	**1, 2, 3, 4** (concentric) waves		(厶)
No. 9 *Xiao xu* 小畜 Lesser cumu-lation	䷈	（小） ; dots; minute particles			(玄) ; (茲)	
No. 11 *Tai* 泰 Great harmony	䷊	(氵) minute particles	水 water			
No. 18 *Gu* Ills	䷑					(蟲)
No. 23 *Bo* 剝 Peeling[6]	䷖	(彔) wood turning ; minute particles				
No. 25 *Wu wang* 无妄 No Great expec-tations → 无	䷘			**1** 兀 高而上平也。从一在人上 元 始也。从一		
No. 29 *Kan* 坎 Whirlpool	䷜	(氵) minute particles	水 water			

[6] For some of the English translations of the names of hexagrams and their Judgements, we have consulted and used (with modifications) The Classic of *Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (Lynn 1994).

No. 31 *Xian* 咸 Copulation	䷞			**1** 戌 五行，土生於戊，盛於戌，从戌含一		
No. 32 *Heng* 恆 Eternity	䷟			**2** 在二之閒上下		
No. 34 *Da zhuang* 大壯 The Big is strong → 壯	䷡			**1, 10** 士 數始於一，終於十。从一，从十		
No. 38 *Kui* 睽 Contrariety	䷥			**4** 癸 象水從四方流入地中之形 **2** eyes 目		
No. 42 *Yi* 益 Benefit	䷩	(氵) minute particles	水 water			
No. 46 *Sheng* 升 Elevation	䷭	dots; grains; seeds		**10** 升 十龠也。从斗		
No. 49 *Ge* 革 Radical change	䷰	dots		**30** 革 从三十，三十年為一世，而道更也		
No. 51 *Zhen* 震 Quake	䷲		乙 energy	**2** 从二		
No. 53 *Jian* 漸 Gradual Advance	䷴	(氵) minute particles	水 water			
No. 56 *Lü* 旅 Wanderer	䷷				(㫃) flowing banner	

No. 59 Huan 渙 Dispersion		(氵) minute particles	水 water			
No. 61 *Zhong fu* 中孚 Cordiality → 中					Banners flowing in the wind	
No. 64 *Wei ji* 未濟 The river has not been crossed yet → 濟		(氵) minute particles	水 water	2 齊/亝 二，地也 **1** **3** ears of wheat		

Let's take as an example hexagram No. 5 *Xū* 需 [sĭwo] Waiting. In the commentary, the character *xū* 需 is explained as equivalent to the homophone *xū* 須 [sĭwo] 'facial hair'; 'mustache'; 'beard' (there existed a cognate *xū* 顉 [sĭwo] 'to wait until the rain stops' 《說文》：“遇雨不進止顉也”). *Xū* 需 () [sĭwo] is composed of *ér* 而 (,) [ɳĭə] 'beard'; 'mustache'; 'sideburns' ('hairs falling symmetrically on both sides'), which due to archetypally conditioned graphical similarity (i.e. 'heaven' is 'the father', 'the father' is 'a male', only 'males' grow 'mustache') is interchangeable with *tiān* 天 (,) [t'ien] 'heaven' (front view of 'a person with head touching the sky'). Placing *yŭ* 雨 [ɣĭwɑ] 'rain' above *ér* 而 [ɳĭə] 'beard'; 'mustache'; 'sideburns' (interchangeable with 'heaven'/'sky' *tiān* 天 [t'ien]; see the variant of *xū* 需 [sĭwo] – 霙), depicts "rain above the sky", thus coinciding with the structure of the hexagram No. 5, i.e. "Heaven *Qian* ☰ bellow, Water hole *Kan* ☵ ['water'] above". The "Commentary on the Big Image" *Daxiang zhuan* 《大象傳》 quite literally replicates this picture: "Rain clouds gather in the sky, this is the Waiting (*Xu*)" [ɣĭwən ʑĭɑŋ ĭɑ t'ien, sĭwo] 雲上於天，需.

There are cases, in which the names of hexagrams are derived directly from archetypal semblance in regard to the general impression given by the line arrangement, e.g.

1. Hexagram No. 27 ䷚ *Yí* 頤 Nourishment goes by this name because archetypally it depicts the upper and lower jaw with food being chewed in between (4 broken lines, i.e. 8 small pieces), so the Judgement says: “Observe how [creatures] nourish [themselves], and find [a proper way] to nourish yourself.” [kuan ʎĭə, dzĭēt gĭəu k‘o d̥ĭět] 觀頤，自求口實;
2. Hexagram No. 21 ䷔ *Shì hé* 噬嗑 Assimilation varies in 1 digit from No. 27 Nourishment, i.e. the 4th line has changed from broken (softness) into unbroken (hardness). Now between the teeth of the upper and lower jaw there is an obstacle that has to be crushed and made pass. Judgement of the fourth male line is: “Like chewing dried meat with a bone in it” [ʑĭāt kan tʃĭei] 噬乾胏. “Explanation of Names” elaborates on the metaphorical meaning: “Between the jaws there is an empty space, but now a fish spike or a bone is stuck there. This situation can be likened to a country that has been disunited due to calumny and fallacy, this is as if in the pure and peaceful world under heaven a tyrant has ascended to the throne. Nothing can be in harmony then. These are all examples of the archetypal situation of the hexagram Assimilation”.[7]

There are numerous instances of ‘words’, derived from archetypal semblance with the “image” formed by the lines, e.g.

1. Hexagram No. 22 ䷕ Bì 賁 Adornment: “Second Female Line: Adorning his mustache.” [Pĭwən gĭə sĭwo] 六二：賁其須, the word ‘mustache’ comes from the upper trigram Mountain *Gen* ☶, which simply looks like it (the top line if taken for ‘mouth’, the ‘mustaches’ symmetrically hang downwards);
2. Hexagram No. 23 ䷖ Bō 剝 Peeling: “First Female Line: The peeling of the bed begins at the legs.” [peŏk dʒĭaŋ

[7] 《釋名》：“頤中空虛而閒鯁骨，家邦有情而隔讒邪，天下清平而出強梁，天下之事不得合者，皆噬嗑之象也。”.

ʎĭə tsĭwŏk] 初六：剝牀以足, both the image of 'the bed' 牀 [dʒĭɑŋ] (– verticalized icon that rotated 90° left becomes) and 'the legs' 足 [tsĭwŏk] comes from the archetypal reading of the image ䷖ – one bed board on top and front view (no perspective) of two legs underneath.

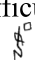
For text generation the self-similar correspondences of the trigrams (discussed in Tab. 2) are put into action, and so is their transformability, e.g. in hexagram No. 15 ䷎ *Qiān* 謙 Modesty, the Judgement of the first female line reads: "Must cross the great river." 用涉大川 [ʎĭwoŋ ʑĭap dāt ȶ'ĭwən]. The commentary elaborates: "Nuclear trigram is *Water hole* ☵ [K'am], which signifies 'water' [ɕiwəi]; another nuclear trigram is *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən], which signifies 'feet' [tsĭwŏk], the feet are in the water, that's how the image: "Must cross the great river." appears 《玩辭》："互坎爲水，互震爲足，足在水中，是'用涉大川'之象。".

The text itself is a semiotic system that consists of onomatopoetic elements, rhymes, interference between semantic fields, syntagmatic units (not always clear-cut) and syntax, leaving a lot of room for associative thinking and play of imagination. It is worth noting that the traditional exegesis on level word (typically 1 character = 1 word) employs predominantly the homonymic/homophonic principle (*shēng xùn* 聲訓), e.g. hexagram No. 1 ䷀ *Qián* 乾 Firmament, pronounced [gĭan] in Ancient Chinese, is explained as 'heaven' [t'ien] 《說卦傳》："乾，天也。" and 'strong'/'hard' 健 [gĭan] 《說卦傳》："乾，健也。" (the "Commentary on the Big Image" also says: "Heavenly [t'ien] movement is 'hardness' [gĭan]" 天行健 [t'ien ɣeɑŋ gĭan]), or hexagram No. 10 履 ䷉ *Lǚ* Treading, pronounced [lĭei] in Ancient Chinese, is explained with 'ritual' 禮 [liei] 履，禮也 [lĭei, liei ʎia], i.e. 'stepping in accordance with the ritual'. The exegetic approach used on sentence level is one of free associations, metaphors and allusions that stretch self-similarity to the maximum, e.g. the Judgement of hexagram No. 1 ䷀ *Qián* 乾 Firmament [Gĭan] states: "The Firmament is fundamentality" 乾，元 [Gĭan, ŋĭwan]. The ideogram *yuán* 元 (,) [ŋĭwan] 'fundamentality' shows 'the vertex of the human head', and in the commentaries is elucidated as: "'Fundamentality' is 'beginning', 'head', 'heaven', 'monarch', '*Dao*', 'infinitely large'." 《玩辭》："元者，始也，首也，天也，君也，道也，大也。". Further, all the relevant usages of the character *yuán* 元 [ŋĭwan] in the classic books are cited with explications.

We will not touch on onomatopoeic theory of language origin here, even though the reconstruction of the archaic Sinitic pronunciation would cast more light into the sound depiction and sound symbolism, traceable to the consonant clusters, and would allow us to extract additional archetypal information and explicate subtler semantic nuances (this could be a topic of another study). However, phonosemantic interference (Davydova 2020) and multisensory perception transpires in the frequent usage of binomes (both uninterrupted *liánmián cí* 連綿詞 and reduplicated *dié cí* 疊詞) and proves that the language production has occurred on a very archaic level. Let's examine one sentence and track down how the information flows together from modules to characters to phrases and sentences, etc.:

Hexagram No. 3 ䷂ *Tún*  屯 Germination
(Water hole *Kan* ☵ above, Thunder *Zhen* ☳ below)

Second Female Line: "Germination: struggling to push forward but remaining at an impasse. The [approaching] group of riders – they are no robbers; they [have come] to seek matrimonial union. A lady should practice chastity and should not marry. [After] ten years she may marry." 屯如邅如，乘馬班如，匪寇婚媾，女子貞不字，十年乃字。[Tiwən ȵĭɑ tĭan ȵĭɑ, ȡĭəŋ meɑ pean ȵĭɑ, pĭwəi k‘o xuən ko, niɑtsĭə tĭeŋ pĭwə dzĭə, ʑĭəp nien nə dzĭə]. The 21 characters used in the expression of ideas (punctuation added) are:

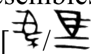
1. tiwən  – 'a seedling breaking the soil' → 'birth throes'; 'difficulties'
2. ȵĭɑ  – 'a lady-companion' /a kneeling person associated with a certain place; a kneeling person singing/ → suffix "in a state of…"/"in the form of… " → a modal particle (no meaning)

3. tĭan 邅 – ‘to move with difficulty’ (modules: 亶 [tan] ‘pile of grain’; 亩 [lĭəm] ‘granary’ + 辵 [ȶ‘ĭăk] ‘to walk on the road’ – “walking in a pile of grain”)
4. ȵĭα – same as 2)
5. ȡĭəŋ – ‘to climb up (a tree)’; ‘to ride on a horseback’
6. meα – ‘horse’
7. pean –‘two parts of a jade tally’ → ‘a group of’ → ‘a stud of (horses)’
8. ȵĭα – same as 2)
9. pĭwəi – ‘bamboo basket’ → a homophonous borrowing for the negative adverb ‘no’
10. k‘o – ‘rober’; ‘bandit’ /a hand holding a weapon and hitting/killing the head of the family/
11. xuən –‘to marry’ (modules: 昏 [xuən] ‘dark’ (*yin* energy/woman); 氏 [ʑĭe] ‘root’; ‘clan’; ‘family’ + 女 [niα] ‘a woman’ /a kneeling person/)
12. ko – ‘to copulate’ (modules: 冓 [ko] ‘to come into contact’/two fish touching at the mouth/ + 女 [niα] ‘a woman’ /a kneeling person/)
13. niα – ‘a woman’ /a kneeling person/
14. tsĭə – ‘a newborn’; ‘a child’ → ‘respectful way of addressing a person’ [13) and 14) form the disyllabic word 女子 [niαtsĭə] ‘a lady’]
15. tĭeŋ – ‘celibacy’; ‘chastity’ (modules: ‘bronze caldron’ + ‘a crack’; ‘divination’)
16. pĭwə – ‘unpollinated flower’ → a homophonous borrowing for the negative adverb ‘no’
17. dzĭə – ‘to give birth to a child’; ‘to reach maturity’; ‘to marry’ /a baby being born in a house/
18. ʑĭəp – ‘numeral 10’ /one knot tied on a rope/

19. nien  – ‘harvest’; ‘year’ /thousands of people collecting the ripe wheat; thousands of grain bundles/

20. nə  – ‘a nipple’; ‘milk’ → adverb ‘then’

21. dzĭə  – same as 17)

The numerological reading of the text in the “Observations on the Images in *Zhouyi*” is as follows (clarifications are added in square brackets): “First to fourth line [] can be viewed as the trigram *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən], which expresses the idea of “wishing to go forward, but stopping; wishing to stop, but continuing forward”, this is the image “struggling to push forward but remaining at an impasse” [tiwən ȵĭɑ tĭan ȵĭɑ]. The animal that corresponds to *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən], *Earth* ☷ [K‘uən] and *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] is ‘horse’ [meɑ]. *Earth* ☷ [K‘uən] and *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] all represent ‘plethora’/‘many’ [ȶĭwəm] [due to the multiple broken lines/pieces], this is the image of “a group of riders” [ȡĭəŋ meɑ pean ȵĭɑ]. *Earth* ☷ [K‘uən] resembles ‘spine’ [tsĭĕk] []; *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən] looks like a ‘horse’ [] [meɑ]; *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən] is on top of *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am], this is the image of “riding a horse’ [ȡĭəŋ meɑ]. In “The Book of Changes” whenever ‘riding a horse’ [ȡĭəŋ meɑ] appears, what is meant by it is ‘the soft [*yin*] riding the hard [*yang*]’ [inappropriate situation]. ‘No’/‘not’ [pĭwəi] is derived from *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am], in the trigram *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] all three lines occupy unfitting positions, which expresses the idea of ‘wrongdoing’ and ‘negation’. ‘The robbers’ [k‘o] take image after ‘stealing’ [dau] [ “drooling over riches” – 次 [zĭan] + 皿 [miɑŋ]]. ‘The marriage’ [xuən] takes image after *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am]. In the trigram *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] *yang*-line occupies *yin* (even) position and *yin*-lines occupy *yang* (odd) positions; *yin* and *yang* are matched; this is the image of ‘espousing’; ‘marrying’. The woman abides in the Water palace [the Magic square arrangement *Luò shū* 洛書/“The Bright Hall” *Míng táng* 明堂], which controls ‘matrimony’. ‘The copulation’ [ko] takes image after *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am], in which *Heaven* [gĭan] penetrates [pĭĕk] *Earth* [K‘uən], a man and a woman engage in sexual intercourse [keau], *yin* and *yang* merge, this is the image of “matrimonial union” [xuən ko]. That’s why, the words “they are no robbers; they [have come] to seek matrimonial union” [pĭwəi k‘o xuən ko] emerge from the trigram *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am]. In “The Book of Changes” there are three instances in which the phrase “they are no robbers; they [have come] to seek matrimonial union” [pĭwəi k‘o xuən ko] appears, and in all three of them the image is derived from the trigram *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am]. Apart from the current mention, the fourth female line of Adornment [Pĭwən] ䷕ [No. 22], the top male line of Contrariety [K‘iwei] ䷥, both have it. ‘The celibacy’ [tĭeŋ] is ‘to ask a divination question’ – an image taken after *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am]. *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] coincides with the half of *Lake* ☱ [Duāt], *Wind* ☴ [Suan], *Mountain* ☶ [Kən] and *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən]. ‘Lake’/‘opening’ [ ] [duāt] is ‘the shaman’ [mĭwα] [ideogram of ‘a shaman performing an incantation facing heaven’ [xiwaŋ] +)([pĕt] ‘8’; ‘to divide’; ‘to turn one’s back to’]; *Wind* ☴ [Suan] is ‘yarrow’ [ɕĭei]; *Mountain* ☶ [Kən] is ‘tortoise’ [kĭwə]; *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] means ‘words’ [ŋĭan] [water produces sounds]; ‘the shaman’ [mĭwα] evokes the image of ‘a person performing a divination rite”; ‘yarrow’ [ɕĭei] and ‘tortoise’ [kĭwə] stand for ‘the means of divination’; ‘words’ [ŋĭan] is ‘fortune-telling’, that’s why *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] evokes the image of ‘predicting the future’. Someone may ask: “‘Divination’ [pŏk] is ‘to ask [Heaven]’ [mĭwən]. Why would *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] express the idea of ‘to ask’ [mĭwən]?” My answer is: “When dealing with the six trigrams, children of *Heaven* ☰ [Gĭan] and *Earth* ☷ [K‘uən][8], any alteration of one line, does not result in change of the “big picture”, this is often the case in “The Book of Changes”. Let’s take as an example *Lake* ☱ [Duāt] and the idea of ‘words’ it conveys. If the first line is modified, the trigram changes to *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am]; *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] means ‘words of reproach’;

[8] Heaven *Qian* 乾 is ‘the father’’, Earth *Kun* 坤 is ‘the mother’. The remaining 6 trigrams are their offsprings: the Thunder *Zhen* is ‘the biggest son’; the Wind *Xun* is ‘the biggest daughter’; the Water hole *Kan* is ‘the middle son’; the Fire *Li* is ‘the middle daughter’; the Mountain *Gen* is ‘the smallest son’, the Lake *Dui* is ‘the smallest daughter.’

‘inauspicious words’; ‘a dispute’. If the middle line is modified, the trigram changes to *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən]; *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən] indicates ‘big words’; ‘empty words’; ‘fabricated words.’ If the top line is modified, the trigram changes to *Heaven* ☰ [Gĭan]; *Heaven* ☰ [Gĭan] is ‘words of wisdom’; ‘proverbs’; ‘that which has been said by ancient rulers.’ According to “Rites of Zhou Dynasty” any marriage has to go through six rituals […]. It is only after a divination that results in an auspicious omen that the man is allowed to marry the woman – this is the third rite, called “receiving a good omen” [nəp kĭĕt]. […] The character ‘to give birth’/‘reach maturity’ [dzĭə] is derived from the trigrams *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən] and *Fire* ☲ [Lĭa]. According to the Later heavenly order of the 8 trigrams, *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən] sits in the East; it presides over Spring and Birth; *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] symbolizes ‘difficulty’, i.e. ‘birth throes’. *Mountain* ☶ [Kən] is inverted *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən], that’s why it is said here not to give birth; *Fire* ☲ [Lĭa] is ‘a big belly’, it looks like ‘pregnancy’; the opposite of *Water hole* ☵ [K‘am] is *Fire* ☲ [Lĭa], that’s why the text says “should not marry/get pregnant” [pĭwə dzĭə]; underneath the top *yang*-line lies hidden ‘a big fire’/‘a great separation/shortage/lack’ [lĭa] [the middle *yin*-line], which evokes the image ‘the woman should not get pregnant and should not give birth’. When ‘the hard’ and ‘the soft’ has just began to interact, any birth would be difficult, that’s why we have the image: “A lady should practice chastity and should not marry” [niɑtsĭə tieŋ pĭwə dzĭə]. The second female line is the same as in *Fire* ☲ [Lĭa] and in *Earth* ☷ [K‘uən]; such a line is central, proper and resonates with the fifth male line. The way of the *Earth* ☷ [K‘uən] is imminent, the potential to bear children is present, at the end there is going to be birth. *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən] signifies ‘a person’, *Earth* ☷ [K‘uən] signifies ‘a mother’, *Mountain* ☶ [Kən] signifies “to accomplish in the end”, i.e. “to ultimately become a mother”, that’s the image “[After] ten years she may marry” [ʑĭəp nien nə dzĭə]. If the lady observes chastity and commits no transgression, she will one day bear children. The trigram *Thunder* ☳ [ȶĭən] corresponds to number 7 [ts‘ĭĕt] [ ], which resembles ‘a dipper’ [to] [ ]; The Big Dipper constellation presides over ‘humans’, that’s why it signifies ‘a person’. The image “ten years” [ʑĭəp nien] is derived from *Earth* ☷ [Kʻuən]; to *Earth* ☷ [Kʻuən] the heavenly stem *gui* [kĭwei] is ascribed, i.e. the 10th of the Heavenly stems”. In “The Book of Changes” there are 5 mentions of the phrase “ten years”. Apart from the current mention, the top female line of Return [Bĭəuk] ䷗ [No. 24], the third female line of Nourishment [ʎĭə] ䷚ [No. 27], the fifth female line of Diminution [Suən] ䷨[No. 41] and the second female line of Increase [Ĭĕk] ䷩ [No. 42], all have it. *Dharmadhatu* of Heaven and Earth reaches boundary in ten directions [the 8 points of the compass plus + *up* and *down*]; The Big Dipper rotates, the stars change position; as the numbers end [numbers start with 1 and end with 9; 10=1], seasons change; as seasons change, all things respond. That’s why “ten years” is [a period of time that] most manifestly depicts dynamism and most clearly denotes change.”[9]

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[9] “初四正反震，行而欲止，欲止还行，是‘屯如邅如’象。震坤坎俱馬，坤坎皆衆，是‘乘馬班如’之象也。坎象脊背，震象馬，震承坎，是‘乘馬’象。易言乘馬者，皆指柔乘剛也。匪，取象坎，坎三畫皆失位，乃有錯誤、否定之義。寇，取象坎之盜。婚，取象坎。坎之象，陽居陰位，陰居陽位，陰陽匹配，是爲婚嫁之象。又須女宿居坎宮，類主婚姻。媾，取象坎。坎之象，乾辟坤，男女交，陰陽合，是爲媾精之象。是以‘匪寇婚媾’皆取象坎也。易言‘匪寇婚媾’者凡三例，皆取象坎，本例及〈賁〉六四、〈睽〉上九是也。貞，卜問，取象坎。坎者，半兑也，半巽也，半艮也，半震也，兑爲巫，巽爲蓍，艮爲龜，艮爲龜，震爲言，巫象卜筮之人，蓍龜象卜筮之具，言象卜筮之辭，故坎爲卜筮之象也。或問：“卜者，問也。坎象問者，何也？”對曰：“六子之卦，一爻動而大象不變，此易之通例也。兑爲言，初爻動，象變坎，坎者，責言、咎言、爭辯言是也；中爻動，象變震，震者，大言、空言、虛妄言是也；上爻動，象變乾，乾者，前言、箴言、大人言是也。”按照周禮，婚姻需經“納采、問名、納吉、納征、請期、親迎”六禮，卜得吉兆後與女方定婚，即是納吉。[…]字，取象震離。後天八卦，震居東方，值春主生，坎爲難，難生也，艮反震，故不育；離爲大腹，象懷孕，坎對離，故不孕；一陰之下伏大離，彰其不孕不育之象。剛柔始交而難生，是‘女子貞不字’之象也。六二居離坤之位，中正以應九五，坤道備而生德具，終將孕育；震爲人，坤爲母，艮爲終成，終成人母，是‘十年乃字’之象。若夫人之守正不阿，必有一朝之遇也。震數七，其象斗，斗主人，故震爲人也。十年，取象坤，坤納癸，天干序十。易言‘十年’者凡五例，本例及〈復〉上六、〈頤〉六三、〈損〉六五、〈益〉六二是也。天地法界，極於十方，斗轉星移，數窮時變，時變物應。是故十年者，動之顯箸而變之彰明者也。”.

In the commentaries all 64 hexagrams are scrutinized in this manner, following the self-similarity stream of reasoning and meticulously tracing the correspondences 'image–word', till the merging points of binary code and etymology become palpable.

The spatiotemporal, social, psychological, etc. content of the 8 trigrams is further synchronized with the 64 hexagrams and wheels of self-similarity are extrapolated (See Fig. 11). In them all phenomena are grouped in accordance with the resonating *qi*-frequencies and their system becomes a foundation for predicting the future.

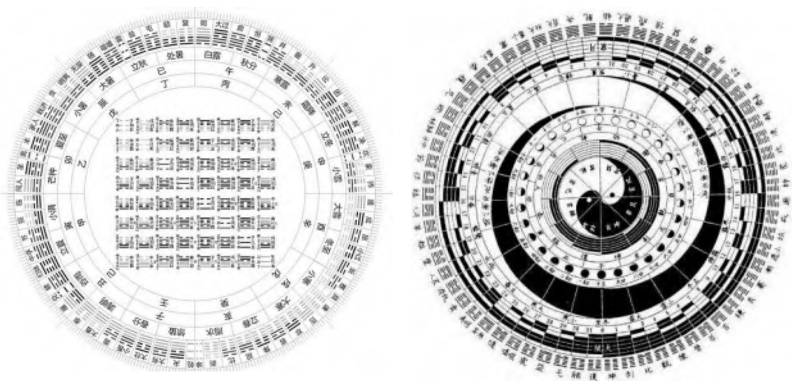

Fig. 11. Two versions of the Wheel of Self-similarity.

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Traditional Chinese Festival Qingming (Tomb Sweeping Day) as Expression of Ancestor Worship in the Chinese Folk Calendar

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Abstract

The paper is aimed at analyzing the traditional Chinese festival Qingming (Tomb Sweeping Day) – one of the most important festivals in the Chinese folk calendar – as a complex entity, functioning as formal and regular expression of the ancestor worship, which is central to the Chinese religious tradition. My main point is that this regularity provides for the traditional community the sense of existence in harmony with the Universe as a life-death continuum. I present the origin of the festival and the basic elements of the rituals and festive events during Qingming festival, and follow their development into the contemporary Chinese folk culture.

Keywords: Qingming Festival (Tomb Sweeping Day), Chinese folk calendar, 24 solar terms, ancestor worship, noetic

This paper presents some of the preliminary results of a larger ongoing study[1], aimed at analysing the role in the Chinese folk calendar of the traditional festivals dedicated to the dead. My main point is that in the structure of the Chinese folk calendar these festi-

[1] The cited data are based on results obtained from a study within the project "Local festivals: A resource of local communities for coping with crises", funded by National Science Fund – Ministry of Education and Science (KP–06-H45 / 5 from 30.11.2020).

vals can be understood as a specific semantic entity functioning as a regular expression of ancestor worship. This regularity provides for the traditional community the sense of existence in harmony with the Universe as a life-death continuum and this harmony is traditionally seen in China as the vital factor for the proper operating of human society.

Based on centuries-long observations of seasonal cycles in nature, every folk calendar constitutes a traditional way of communal life according to the natural cycles and as such it may be defined as a specific cultural heritage of the community which lives by its rules. In China the fundament of the folk calendar customs is the ancient system[2] of the 24 solar terms 节气, dividing the sun's annual circular motion into 24 segments. The system of 24 solar terms was developed in the Yellow River area and was used for centuries as a traditional timeframe to direct production and daily routines (UNESCO 2016; CSSN 2015). Various other elements were gradually woven into the canvas of this ancient collective knowledge, so that in the course of history the complex of Chinese calendar customs and rituals evolved, which eventually produced the systemic character of the social and religious life of the traditional Chinese community.

It is generally agreed that ancestor worship, along with animism and shamanism, characterises the religious beliefs and practices in China during the period of the Neolitics (c. 10 000–2000 BC) and the Shang dynasty (c. 1600–1046 BC); and that during the Zhou (1046–256 BC) dynasty it had become a significant part of the social practices of the Chinese state (Lu 2013; Johnson 1989: 34–44). At the dawn of the ancient Chinese state and society, the veneration of the ancestors was practised at special moments of the year only by official agents (clan leaders, later the king-priest) as part of a system of ideological rituals that served the state legitimacy[3]. Here we can see an expression of the ancient belief that only the leader of the clan possesses a soul[4]. However, in the course of history corresponding

[2] It began as early as the Spring and Autumn Period 春秋时期 (770–476 BC) of the Zhou dynasty 周代.

[3] During Shang and Zhou there were only temples for the ancestor of the state.

[4] For more on this see the abstract of my PhD-thesis: "The Worship of the

folk customs and rituals emerged and developed into a whole set of practices through which ancestor worship would function efficiently not only in the high-ranking stratum of the society – the political elites, but also in the lowest social strata. In this way were produced elements of the needed social cohesion and human cooperation, essential for the stability of the state. As a result of this centuries-long development, ancestor worship has been deeply embedded in the very fabric of the Chinese folk calendar. Although not always explicit, there is substantial connection between the venerating of the ancestors as part of the life-death continuum on the one hand and the traditional observation of nature cycles and laws in the folk calendar on the other. According to the Chinese tradition the ancestor 祖先 is a *"deified or elevated deceased family member who is ritually re-incorporated in the family life"* (Johnson 1989: 35) and is believed to be a very significant part of the life of their living descendants. Corresponding to the duality of happiness as absence of damage and profusion of benefit (Hein 2013: 118), the living descendants had to guarantee through regular sacrificial rituals the constant ancestral benevolence and protection and to avoid possible malicious impact of the ancestors on their individual and communal wellbeing.

There are rituals for the veneration of the ancestors on multiple levels: starting from the "sacred family duty" (Beach 2001: 6) of commemorating the forebears of the family; to the rituals for honoring the ancestors of the bigger clan; and up to worshiping the ancestors of the whole ethnic group and the state (e.g. for the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 and the Flame Emperor 炎帝, considered the legendary ancestors of the Han people[5]). This multilayered system of rituals enabled the gradual integration of the individual into the traditional community and secured the awareness of ethnic identity for all community members. It could be argued that the ancestors were being perceived as a factor in the existence of their descendants just as important as the natural conditions, the social order and the economic

mount Taishan in the folklore and religious tradition of China (with emphasis on the female deity of the mount)", Chapter II. The Worship of mountains in China: 1. The totem, the ancestor and the mountain. (in Bulgarian) (NALIS).

[5] Calling themselves "Descendants of Yandi and Huangdi" 炎黃子孫.

situation in which the descendants live. This can explain why in the Chinese folk calendar (as in the state rituals too[6]) the performing of ancestor worship was elevated to a level of importance equal to the strict obedience to the natural laws and cycles.

Let us here define the rituals: "Rituals are not empty routines; they are always embedded with symbolism and endorsed by cosmological explanations that provide significance, insight, and appreciation for the performers... Although ritual behaviors appear to be shrouded in mystery, their message to other adherents' acceptance is clear: participation in a ritual performance signals of the moral values encoded in the ritual." (Sosis & Ruffle 2004:111). In this context I would like to make specific use of the term *"noetic"* when analysing folk customs and rituals dedicated to the ancestors. What does "noetic" mean? It comes from the Greek word *noēsis* and according to the dictionary refers to the action of perceiving or thinking (Merriam-Webster online 2022). In its use by the Institute of Noetic Sciences, which studies consciousness and the mind, *noetic* describes inner wisdom, direct knowing, or subjective understanding (IONS 2022) – a definition based on the works of William James (1842–1910) – "an original thinker in and between the disciplines of physiology, psychology and philosophy" (Goodman 2021). The noetic, as explained by James, is a feature of the mystical experience. In his words the noetic quality is as follows: "Although so similar to states of feeling, mystical states seem to those who experience them to be also states of knowledge. They are states of insight into depths of truth unplumbed by the discursive intellect... and as a rule they carry with them a curious sense of authority..." (James 1902/1999: 253). In my opinion this meaning of the term "noetic" relates very well to folk customs and rituals connected to ancestor worship as a corpus of codified collective wisdom[7]. This corpus exists on the borderline between the rational and the emotional[8], between the consiousness

[6] For a very informative presentation of the practice of commemoration of the ancestors through their portraits in traditional China see Stuart and Rawski 2001.

[7] By definition the whole traditional folk culture is a complex of codified information needed for the survival, integration and efficient functioning of the community.

[8] Therefore, this complex of customs and rituals could also be observed through

and sub-consiousness of the traditional community to which it provides a channel for experiencing the connection with its ancestors in a mystical way. This mystical experience is being activated regularly in the timeframe of the folk calendar exactly through particular folk customs and rituals dedicated to the ancestors. Furthermore, the above-mentioned sense of ultimate authority of the mystical experience as well as its existence on the borderline between the collective consciousness and sub-consciousness are two of the fundamental characteristics of the way traditional Chinese culture practices ancestor worship in order to immerse itself in the Universe, beyond its perceived duality of rational and sensual. Exactly this connection with the undivided Universe constitutes the core of the Chinese concept of the ideal human existence in harmony with Nature 天人合一 and consequently the corresponding proper state governing.

With this background in mind we can direct our attention to the eleven traditional folk festivals recognized as the most important today for the Chinese people of the ethnic group Han 汉族, as listed on the official website "China Minzu (Ethnic) Cultural Resourses" 中国民族文化资源库[9] (China Minzu Cultural Resourses 2017). Paying closer attention to these top ranked traditional festivals would make one notice that more than half of them (six) are in one form or another dedicated to the ancestors: the Spring festival on the first day of the first lunar month 正月初一春节; the Day when the dragon raises its head on the second day of the second lunar month 二月二龙抬头[10]; the Qingming festival on the 3rd day of the 3rd lunar month 三月清明节; the Ghost Festival on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month 七 月十五鬼节(中元节); the Double Ninth Festival on the 9th day of the 9th lunar month 九月初九重阳节 and the Festival of the Winter Solstice in the 11th lunar month 十一月冬至节. We can evaluate the

the concepts of "emotion as substance" (情本体) and "emotio-rational structure" or "emotion noumenon" (情理结构) of the Chinese philosopher Li Zehou. For more on this see Tie 2020.

[9] This internet site is created and administrated by the National Ethnic Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国国家民族事务委员会 which means its selection is authoritative.

[10] Since in Chinese culture the dragon is believed to be not only the king of all creatures, but also the ancestor for the Chinese as a syncretic totem.

substance of these six festivals as the veneration of the ancestors. Each of them includes a specific set of rituals, but the core function of all of them is to maintain the connection with the ancestors as the origin of wellbeing for the living descendants and union with the whole[11] undivided Universe.

Let us now direct our attention to one of the six: the Qingming festival 清明节, known outside of China as the Tomb Sweeping Day 扫墓节. Starting from the year 2008, the Qingming festival has been upgraded to the status of national holiday, along with the Spring festival 春节 (Wageindicator.cn 2022). The Qingming Festival is probably the most emblematic of the festivals dedicated to the ancestors, therefore focusing on it is a good way to illustrate how the folk customs and festivals for the veneration of the ancestors create an intersection of nature and culture in the Chinese folk calendar.

The Qingming festival is celebrated every year in early April in China and among the Chinese diaspora worldwide. In Chinese traditional culture this festival corresponds in its functions to the days for the commemoration of the dead in Christianity: All Souls' Day and Soul Saturday. One particular aspect of its significance is its role as a cultural resource at the disposal of the traditional community for dealing with the existential crisis which arises from the psychological need to make death meaningful and accepted as an element of the natural cycle[12].

There are many different local forms of the customs dedicated to Qingming but *"one activity remains integral to any variation: the act of 'tomb sweeping'. This literally refers to people sweeping and cleaning the tomb sites where their dead ancestors lie"* (Wu, Cesarino 2019). Another traditional activity during Qingming is making rit-

[11] Here is to be mentioned the origin of the word "whole" from Middle English *hool* healthy, unhurt, entire, from Old English *hāl*; akin to Old High German *heil* healthy, unhurt (Merriam Webster online 2021 (b). Thought-provoking Heil means also sacred in modern German, just as holy means in English.

[12] For more on this topic see my paper "Traditional Chinese festival Qingming (Tomb Sweeping) as a resource for dealing with the existential crisis between life and death under the non-traditional conditions of the COVID pandemic" (Hein 2021).

ual offerings at the graves of the dead family members. The offerings can include incense sticks, ritual money, flowers, fruits, foods and all kinds of objects thought to be needed by the dead in the afterlife. As a general rule the central site for these rituals is the family grave but in the days around the very day of Qingming, people burn joss paper and offerings on the streets too.

To better understand the functions of Qingming in the folk calendar we need to trace the roots of this festival back to ancient Chinese culture. There are basically three main components of this festival complex, as laid out below:

The first component is the name Clear and Bright 清明 itself. It was originally a name of one of the above mentioned 24 solar terms 节气 in ancient China. The solar term Qingming (Clear and Bright) falls on the 3rd, 4th or 5th of April each year. This is the time when nature wakes up for a new life cycle full of fresh energy, and that is the reason why the ancient people called this moment of the calendar Clear and Bright. In the context of the traditional Chinese understanding of the Universe as a life-death continuum it is only logical that the celebration of the new spring and the new cycle of life in nature falls on the day for worshiping the dead ancestors.

The second component of the origin of Qingming is the ancient Festival of the cold food (Hanshi festival) 寒食节. The Cold Food Festival was a traditional Chinese holiday which according to the legend developed from the local commemoration of the death of the loyal nobleman Jie Zitui in the 7th century BC in Shanxi province (Zhang 2002). Besides the legendary explanation, there are many different academic theories about the origin of this tradition and each of them connects the custom to different ancient practices, one example being the custom called "changing the old fire for a new one" 改旧火为新火 conducted in order to start the new calendar year and to welcome the deity of Fire (Wei 2018). During Tang dynasty the Cold Food festival was already a fully-fledged festival for celebrating the new spring and at the same time for veneration of the ancestors. Later the activities of the Cold Food Festival were incorporated in the Qingming festival and the Cold Food Festival was gradually almost forgotten (Zhang 2009).

The third component of the complex Qingming is the ancient festival celebrated on the 3rd day of the 3rd lunar month: the so called Shangsi festival 上巳节[13], the Purification festival 祓禊, or the Double Third Festival 三月三节. *Shangsi* means the first day which includes the cyclical sign 巳 *si* from the so called Twelve Earthly Branches 地支. These cyclical signs were used in combination with another set of cyclical signs known as Ten Heavenly Stems 天干 in the system of the sexagenary cycle, also known as the Stems-and-Branches 干支 for recording time (Yan 1999). Shangsi was seen as a day for cleaning the house and going to rivers and lakes. According to some legends the festival marks the birthday of the Daoist deity Queen Mother of the West (Xi Wangmu) 西王母, who is believed to grow the Peaches of Immortality in her garden in the sacred Kunlun Mountain. The day is also associated with folk beliefs related to the opening of portals between the living and the dead (Chinasage 2021). According to other theories the celebration is said to be a commemoration of the birthday of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), the legendary Chinese ruler 4,500 years ago considered to be the ancestor of all Chinese people along with the Flame Emperor (Yandi) (Zhang 2011: 17–18; Li 2015: 3). According to tradition everyone had to bathe in the river on this day to clean out not only dirt but also bad luck and evil spirits. Gradually Shangsi grew into the activities of Qingming as a traditional occasion for spring outings and the so called "spring joy" 春嬉, i.e. unrestricted gatherings of young men and women by the river (Zhang 2011: 18; Xiao 2012).

Obviously, each of the elements incorporated in the Qingming festival is deeply connected with the idea of life and death as a dynamic continuum. This fundamental understanding of the human existence as part of the ever changing, yet eternal, Nature provides astonishing stability and longevity to the tradition of Qingming as worshiping the dead ancestors and new life at the same time. Exactly because of this fundamental meaning of Qingming, the festival today

[13] The existence of the Shangsi festival can be traced back to the end of the Spring and Autumn Period 春秋时期 (770–476 BC) of the Zhou dynasty 周代. (Zhang 2011: 17)

is as powerful and significant for all members of the Chinese cultural community as it has been throughout history.

Serving as a key social practice for marking life and death as a mutually defining dichotomy, the tradition of Qingming is able to take on various new and non-traditional forms exactly because it contains the multilayered content of millennia-old celebrations. Obviously, the rituals for worshiping the ancestors simultaniously with celebrating and enjoying nature are effective tools in creating a much needed sense of belonging to a bigger community such as the family, the clan, the ethnic group or the nation. These rituals also enable the individual and the traditional community to immerse regularly in the mystical yet very much real state of permanent connection to the Universe not fragmented by human rationality. This connection provides for the sense of being part of something more significant and durable than the very human vulnerability and fragmentation.

There are many other questions that have to be addressed in order to fully analyse the intersection of ancestor worship and the folk calendar in the Qingming festival. One of these questions is how ancestor worship nourishes the culture of filial piety 孝, which could be seen as a secular counterpart to the sacred veneration of the dead ancestors. This leads us to the connection between Qingming and the Double Ninth Festival on the 9th day of the 9th lunar month 九月初九重阳, known today as the Senior's Day 敬老节 – a day for ceremonial demonstration of filial piety to the living elderly. Another question would be around the efficiency of the recognition of Qingming and other folk festivals as officially celebrated holidays as part of the state policy for reinforcing the culture of filial piety. Also, what is the possible future of ancestor worshiping in the highly secular Chinese world? All these questions are to be dealt with in future research into the meaning and functions of the Chinese folk calendar at its intersection with ancestor worship.

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The Problem of Human Nature in Pre-Qin and Han Philosophy

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Abstract

The concept of human nature enjoys a privileged position in Chinese philosophy since Chinese thought has strong ethical and political dimensions. The understanding of human nature serves as the theoretical basis for ethical and political concerns. It determines the kind of life that one ought to live and the socio-political measures to be implemented. The Chinese concept of human nature took shape in the Warring States period (475–221 BCE) and developed in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 AD). The issues addressed in the early classics – the problems of morality, the Dao, the human nature, and the harmony of society, turn out to hold great interest for later thinkers. Each philosopher tried to put forth what he considered to be the most convincing interpretation – the development of the tradition is characterized by both continuity and change. Primarily, the thinker had to show the inaccuracy or even falsity of the previous concepts and to prove the strength of his own view, but this does not mean that he cuts himself off completely from past tradition. On the contrary, he had to rely on it to formulate new ideas. That is why it is worthwhile to expose the most important views on human nature in the Pre-Qin philosophy (before 221 BCE), what Han Confucians inherited from the past and how they went beyond the tradition.

Keywords: human nature, Pre-Qin philosophy, Han Confucianism, Dao, ziran, de

The question of human nature has come to be an enduring concern for generations of Chinese philosophers. Their insights into this topic have formed a unique tradition of philosophical thought of human nature and this tradition has attracted a great deal of research attention. In comparison with the large quantity of studies on the theories of human nature in pre-Qin times (before 221 BCE) and the Song-Ming dynasties (960–1644), less attention has been paid to those developed in the Han and Wei-Jin period (266–420).

It is generally agreed that Chinese philosophy aims to pursue a harmonious unity between Heaven and human beings (*tianren heyi* 天人合一). That is why the concept of human nature (endowed by Heaven, *Tian* 天) functions as a bridge between *Tian* and human beings. Confucianism and Daoism may debate with each other on many issues, but both agree that only by realizing one's nature can one achieve the harmony between oneself and Heaven. (Weili 2019: 1107)

First, let's give a brief outline of Confucian ideas of human nature in the Warring States period (475–221 BCE), a topic that has been well researched by scholars such as Feng Youlan. Second, we shall concentrate on the Han period, dealing with two questions. (1) How Han Confucians synthesized the early Confucian ideas and built a comprehensive framework of human nature? (2) Is there any innovation in this framework?

There is a reference to the concept of human nature in the *Analects*[1], pointing out the similarity and difference of human beings. The Confucius' disciple Zi Gong wondered why the views of Confucius on human nature and the way of Heaven could not be heard (*The Analects* 5:12). The words of Confucius on human nature are concise and ambiguous, which gives the framework of various interpretations of human nature in Chinese philosophy. When Confucius states that human beings are alike by nature, he points out the commonality of human nature vs. the individuality or diversity of human nature. In saying that through practice human beings are apart, Confucius seems to concentrate on human effort, which, together with the first half of his observation, introduces a contrast between a potential nature and a realized nature. Also, we may wonder wheth-

[1] It is believed to have been written during the Warring States period (475–221 BCE), and it achieved its final form during the mid-Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 AD).

er human beings are similar in their biological features or spiritual aspects – the conceptual ambiguity of human nature in the *Analects* makes it possible for very different renditions.

The problem of human nature does not occupy a central place in the *Analects*, but with Mencius (372–289 BCE) it became an enduring concern. According to him human nature is inherently good. That is, human beings are born with four makings, i.e., feelings of compassion, shame, courtesy and modesty, and ability to distinguish right from wrong. If they are carefully attended to, they will grow into the four virtues of benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. (Lau 1970: 82–83) Mencius' thought tries to base morality and the rites on the inner nature of human beings since they are natural derivatives of the fulfillment of human nature. Mencius' view that man's good nature justifies morality and the rites, became influential since the Han dynasty, and had deep bearings on later philosophers.

Mencius affirmed that human nature is the Mandate of Heaven, which can be interpreted as the moral principle in its absoluteness and universality. But he identifies human nature with one's sympathetic feelings or senses for the suffering of others. Such feelings or senses operate not purely as abstract principles but are psychological phenomena associated closely with one's physical body. Also, the significant role of *qi* in Mencius' thought is evident. He argued long to show that one should nourish one's *haoran zhi qi* (the flood-like *qi* 浩然之氣), which is a crucial part of moral cultivation. When one obtains the flood-like *qi*, he achieves a high level of moral perfection. Moreover, Mencius emphasized that in the process of growth of the innate goodness, one gains greater and greater moral strength. (Xinyan 2002: 155)

It is important to note that Mencius developed a certain part of his argument through refuting Gaozi's position of human nature.[2] Judging from Mencius' serious response to Gaozi, we can assume that in the time of Mencius, Gaozi's view had many supporters. It

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[2] Gaozi appears in the *Mencius* principally as an adversary, arguing that human nature is neither good nor bad. Gaozi's teachings are no longer extant, but he was a contemporary of Mencius and most of our knowledge about him comes from the *Mencius* book 6A, titled "Gaozi".

can be summarized as follows: (1) human nature is what is innate; (2) it is highly possible that nature is nothing but the craving for food and sex; (3) nature is neither good nor evil, just as water goes neither left nor right; (4) righteousness is external to human beings, as it is not intrinsic to human nature. Except for point (1), Mencius strongly objected to the other three. Chinese philosophers generally agreed on the concept of the innate human nature, but they disagreed on the substantive content of nature. Both points (2) and (3) look closer to the views of the Yang Zhu and the Daoist schools which we will consider later. Xunzi held a view very similar to point (4), though his approach is different from that of Gaozi. (Bloom 1997: 25)

Opposing Mencius, Xunzi maintained that the nature of man is evil, and his goodness is the result of education. Human nature is a set of desires that seek to be satisfied, but if everyone indulges in his/her desires, strife and chaos will result. The sage's teaching comes to overcome the chaos: it invents morality and the rites intended to transform the evil nature of human beings. With moral education, the benighted will become cultivated, and society will attain harmony. Xunzi strongly denied that human nature is innately good, because such a position would undermine the significance of the teachings of the sage. As he inquired, if man were good by nature, what then would be the relevance of the sage's words?

It is noteworthy to mention that Xunzi and Mencius maintained different views as to the origin of morality, which stems from their different views of human nature. For Mencius, morality is the natural flow of one's inborn nature that is inherently good; for Xunzi, morality is an external imposition that the sage placed on the common people. It must be highlighted that the disagreement between Xunxi and Mencius anticipated the distinction between virtue ethics and normative morality. As A. S. Cua points out, both notions of morality, the "internal" and the "external", or virtue morality and normative morality, have their own value. (Cua 1982: 280) If one takes into consideration both the psychological and social aspects of morality, the two understandings by Mencius and Xunzi, far from being mutually exclusive, turn out to be complementary, and equally necessary for a full comprehension of morality. (Sung 2016: 638–9)

In this light we must state that the issue of human nature remained a major philosophical topic during the Han dynasty.[3] The concepts of human nature of the Han thinkers represent a synthesis of the views of human nature from the Warring States period. However, this does not mean that they simply combined the previous views mechanically; rather, they made their own contributions. They expressed in a concise or systematic way the idea of *qi* endowment, which turned out to be the most important theory in Chinese philosophy. The Han philosophers developed the division of "three grades" of human nature that we find in the *Analects* 17:3 – the most intelligent, the most stupid and those who stand between these two categories.[4]

Confucianism was accepted as the state ideology of Han, which contributed to the development of a distinctive Confucian school with a canonical curriculum and ideological focus. Han Confucianism is different from early Confucianism in the Warring States period. Mencius and Xunzi were individual thinkers who had different philosophical concerns, and they were not associated with one and the same school. Nevertheless, when Confucianism was established as a unified system supported by the Han court, which comprised most of the prominent scholars of the period, it began to maintain common views shared by its followers. One of these theories bringing together the Confucian thinkers is that human nature is a mixture of good and evil. Anyway, each thinker reinterpreted the classical heritage in his own way and the syncretistic intellectual orientation did not entail identity of positions.

The prevalence of the view that nature is a mixture of good and evil was largely due to the influence of Dong Zhongshu and Yang Xiong. According to them the human being is formed after Heaven as a dual operation of *yin* and *yang* (阴 阳 passive and active cosmic forces), and the human person also has ambivalent nature of human-

[3] It attracted the attention of many influential thinkers of that time, such as the orthodox Confucian Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒 c. 179–c. 104 B.C.), the "Daoistic Confucian" Yang Xiong (楊雄 53 B.C.–18 A.D.), the unorthodox thinker Wang Chong (王充 27–100?), and the high official Liu Xiang (劉向 77 B.C.–6 A.D.).

[4] "Only the most intelligent and the most stupid do not change." (Chan 1963: 46)

ity and malice. “Man’s nature is a mixture of good and evil. He who cultivates the good part will become a good man and he who cultivates the evil part will become an evil man.” (Chan 1963: 289) In approaching human nature, Han thinkers like Wang Chong and Xun Yue (荀悅 A.D. 148–209) realized the discrepancies of the views of the Warring States in explaining real life phenomena. As noticed by them, if the view that human nature is innately good is right, how can one explain the wicked kings of Jie (桀) and Zhou (紂)? On the other side, if man is evil by nature, where should the three sages Yao (堯), Shun (舜) and Yu (禹) be placed?

That is why the Han thinkers combined Mencius’ and Xunzi’s theories. When discussing the nature of the common people, who stand somewhere between the good and the bad, a mixture of Mencius’ and Xunzi’s views would explain better the variety of man’s characters. Any credible theory of human nature must take into account both the paragons of virtue and examples of evil in the Chinese past. But when the sage and the wicked are considered as examples of morality and immorality and they do not change their nature from infancy to old age it would be incorrect to say that there is human corruption in the nature of the sage, or that there is something good in the nature of the wicked. Therefore, no Han thinker has claimed implicitly or explicitly that the nature of the sage and that of the wicked is a mixture of good and evil.

But as far as the sage and the wicked are human beings, the Han philosophers had to explain the specifics of their nature. They developed the theory of the three grades of human nature to explain the *individual* differences in characteristic patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving (the variety of personalities). The term “three grades (san pin 三品) of human nature” is often ascribed to Han Yu (韓愈 A.D.768–824), a Tang Confucian and an outspoken opponent of Buddhism and Daoism. According to him “Human nature can be divided into three grades: the upper, the medium, and the lower. The upper is good and good only. The medium may be led to be either upper or lower. The lower is evil and evil only.” (Chan 1963: 451–452) Anyway, the beginnings of this theory can be traced back to the Han dynasty and even earlier. We have already mentioned that in the

Analects 17:3, Confucius indicates that human beings fall into three categories in terms of intelligence.[5]

Accordingly, human beings can be divided into three groups: the sages, the most vicious human beings, and the common people between them. This is a division in terms of nature: the upper and the lower categories are good and evil by nature, and their virtuous or malicious nature remain forever so. The middle grade is changeable through human effort. As Dong Zhongshu, Yang Xiong, and Liu Xiang reveal, whether a person is good or bad depends on his/her own aspirations. In view that nature is a mixture of good and evil, the common people are alike; but they make different efforts for moral cultivation.

The synthetic conclusion of Wang Chong indicates the strength and weakness of each previous position of human nature. "I therefore consider Mencius' view of good nature as referring to people above average and Xunzi's view of evil nature as referring to those below average; and Yang Xiong's view of mixed nature of good and evil as referring to ordinary people." (Chan 1963: 295–296) Good nature and bad nature refer respectively to people above and below average. According to Wang Chong's theory of *qi* endowment, people gifted with sufficient *qi* have a larger "good" part in their nature while those endowed with meager *qi* have a larger "bad" part in their nature. But most importantly, both can be changed through education. So, if someone has a good nature and another has a bad one, it means that the former has a larger good part than the latter. This does not affect the fact that ordinary people have a mixed nature of good and evil.

Dong Zhongshu also classified human beings into three grades, but his view on nature refers not to the upper and the lower, but to the medium grade (the nature of the common people). The upper and the lower grades refer to the sages and the wicked respectively – their nature doesn't change, and the significant role of education has nothing to do with them.[6] Despite the differences in the concept of

[5] "The most intelligent, the most stupid and the common people." (Chan 1963: 46).

[6] If human nature is entirely good, there is no need for education; if it is completely bad, education hardly works. Education is meaningful only to the common people, who have a mixed nature of good and evil.

human nature formulated by Confucius, Mencius, Xunzi and Han Confucians, they all made the conclusion that education is necessary. Han Confucians claimed that having a good nature does not mean that the ordinary person is completely good. Both the good and bad elements in nature are just potential – through education one turns potential into reality. Education is also required for extinguishing the bad seeds at their earliest stage. People receive from Heaven a nature that cannot turn good by itself. It is the duty of the ruler to obey the will of Heaven to complete the nature of people by education. This is reminiscent of Xunzi's view that the sage transforms the nature of the people.

Wang Chong believed that it is the superior's responsibility to teach the inferior – this thought is the same as in Dong Zhongshu's theory. This theory presupposes that the superior is virtuous. Ideally, in Confucianism only virtuous men should be credited with high official positions; only the sage is qualified to be ruler. But the ruler to be a sage and those in high positions – virtuous, is an ideal requirement, which is hardly realized in real life. Also, the nature of endowed *qi* determines the nature of human beings. One's nature is virtuous or malicious, as one is endowed with good *qi* or bad *qi* – Wang Chong's expressions of benevolent *qi*, deviant *qi* and bold *qi* suggest that *qi* has some good or bad aspects within itself. The concept of *qi* endowment reduces the abstract theory of human nature to a more substantive material *qi*.

This allowed Han thinkers to explicate the issue of human nature in terms of potentiality vs. reality, commonality vs. individuality, equality vs. inequality, and mind/spirit vs. life/body. But how to construe "naturalism" in Daoism and especially the term *ziran* 自然 (self-so/naturalness)? What is the ultimate goal of Daoist philosophy regarding nature: a spiritual enlightenment, or the preservation of the physical body?

The Confucian thinkers approached human nature from a moral perspective, but the situation is quite different in Daoism. The *Daodejing* and the inner chapters of the *Zhuangzi* contain no reference to the term "human nature". But this term occurs frequently in the outer and miscellaneous chapters of the *Zhuangzi* and other

Daoist texts, such as the *Guanzi* and the *Huainanzi*. Probably later Daoists had to address this issue under the influence of the Confucian doctrine of human nature. This makes us ask ourselves whether the early Daoists were not interested in the problem of human nature or if it was simply beyond their comprehension? Is there any idea of human nature in the *Daodejing* and the inner chapters of the *Zhuangzi* despite the absence of the word "nature" in them? The ideas of human nature in the *Daodejing* and the inner chapters of the *Zhuangzi* focus primarily on the origin of human nature and its relation to the *Dao*, while in the outer and miscellaneous chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, human nature refers to a life of health and longevity. In early Daoist philosophy nature is understood as a principle, but later it refers to something that is substantive. The Daoist approach to human nature is naturalistic and the later Daoists, overwhelmingly concerned with self-preservation, considered human nature as equivalent to life.

Although the terms "nature" and "human nature" do not occur in the *Daodejing* and the inner chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, this does not mean that the texts do not convey any idea of human nature. The absence of the term "human nature" in the *Daodejing* is perhaps due to the fact that the term *de* 德 (endowment) conveys a meaning similar to that of *xing* 性 (nature). As *de* is the differentiation of the *Dao* (the Way) into human beings and things, it can be interpreted as nature. While the *Dao* generates all creatures and human beings, *de* sustains them and guarantees them a prosperous and carefree life. It is the essence of Laozi's view of human nature: to maintain throughout one's life what one is endowed with from the *Dao*. (Yingshi 1985: 133)

We must also take into account the difference between Daoism and Confucianism. While Confucians were concerned with the Way of human beings (*rendao* 人道), Daoists were more interested in the Way of Heaven (*tiandao* 天道) and that is why they paid little attention to the nature of human beings. But Confucianism and Daoism share the same goal, i.e., a harmonious relationship between Heaven and human beings. In Daoist philosophy, this harmony comes if one fully comprehends and spontaneously follows the *Dao*. The basic divergence between the two schools lies in their understanding of the *Way*: for Confucians it is a moral principle, for Daoists it is a principle of naturalness and non-action.

Based on these differences Daoism and Confucianism constantly discussed education, rituals, human nature, and the happy life. A *lasting result* from these debates is the tendency in early Daoist texts to deny the Confucian conception of human nature. Laozi says, "get rid of benevolence and discard righteousness, and people will return to filial piety and kindness" (The *Daodejing* 19: 1). Also, in the *Zhuangzi* we find the statement that man's true nature had been distorted by benevolence and righteousness (The *Zhuangzi* 8: 22). Daoists maintain that human nature is not at all what Confucianism had conceived in moral terms. They explain extensively what human nature is not, but how do they define it?

Early Daoists affirm that nature means what a person or a thing is endowed with naturally. But actually, benevolence and righteousness, which have been rejected by Daoists for being artificial, can be said to be naturally endowed in the Confucian worldview. The problem is that this definition is very broad, because it includes feeling, capacity, characteristics, physical features and intelligence. Assuming this broadness, in Daoism the meaning of nature is completely dependent on the context. For instance, in the eleventh chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, nature means natural life, in the eighth chapter it means the basic function of sense organs; elsewhere it means capacity, or a constant life course, or the essence of life itself.

H. Roth sketches the development of the concept of nature in Daoism, which can be summarized in three kinds of theories. (Roth 1992: 37–41) 1) the Yangist theory, according to which nature is an innate tendency for longevity; 2) the Primitivist theory connects nature with the simple (素 *su*) and unhewn (樸 *pu*). 3) The Syncretist theory found in the *Huainanzi* and in the *Zhuangzi* is a combination of the Yangist and the Primitivist views developed in the miscellaneous chapters of the *Zhuangzi*. It suggests that human nature is an intrinsic tranquil essence ultimately based in the *Dao*. The *Dao* is both transcendental and immanent – it is internal to things and should not be treated apart from its creations. The nature of each human being is formed by the *Dao* in him/herself. Conceived in this way, human nature is a synonym of the root to which human beings should return.[7] Laozi says, "things are numerous and various, but each returns to its root (The *Daodejing* 16)."

The idea of human nature in the inner chapters of the *Zhuangzi* is similar to that in the *Daodejing* – human nature is based in the *Dao*.[8] According to Zhuang Zhou, to live a peaceful life in a world of constant change, one must know the *Dao*. Unlike Laozi, he conceived the *Dao* principally as a source of ceaseless transformation regulating the cosmos. Once realizing that everything is transient and nothing lasts forever, people will not be affected by loss and gain, including life and death. Zhuangzi advises us "to approach *de*" (進德) (The *Zhuangzi* 2:6), which means the same as "returning to the root" (歸根) in the *Daodejing*. One should follow the self-so *ziran* (自然) and this allows one's nature to be completely fulfilled as a perfect reflection of the *Dao.* A person fully fulfilling his nature is at one with the *Dao* and achieving this state is the ultimate goal of Daoism. The ideal sage is called "the authentic person" (真人 *zhenren*), "the numinous person" (神人 *shenren*), or "the perfect person" (至人 *zhiren*). As an embodiment of the *Dao*, the sage does not resist transformation, following the changes of the external world and attaining the ultimate *de* (德之至). (Yun-hua1990: 225)

Laozi and Zhuangzi based human nature in the *Dao* – the most important aspect of it is *de*, i.e. the share of the *Dao* in each human being. The concept of *de* is interposed between the *Way* and its creation, making the transcendental *Dao* present in each thing and being – it is crucial to keep this *de* intact and constant. In the outer and miscellaneous chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, the issue of human nature is no longer mediated by the term *de*, though it is still in use. In these chapters the word "nature" is used frequently and points directly to human beings and the myriad things. The term "nature"

[7] The Chinese term for "root", *gen* 根, means the fundamental, the core, and the focal point of a thing, and in Daoism can be used as a synonym for the word "nature".

[8] The term "nature" does not occur in the inner chapters but occurs frequently in the outer and miscellaneous chapters.

is in contrast with the term *de*, which indicates a prior concern with the *Dao*; it denotes a shift in Daoist concern from the *Dao* to human beings, or from the absolute principle to individual life.

As A. C. Graham notes, "nature seems to refer, not to life in general or particular lives, but to the course of life proper to man, in particular to health and longevity." (Graham 1986: 10) We can get an idea of the Daoist notion of human life from its criticism of other views. To live a life of health and longevity, the misunderstanding of human nature should be avoided. The moral concept of human nature in Confucianism is the main target of Daoist criticism. Daoists also disagree with the view, which holds human nature to be physical desires – according to them, this understanding is just as wrong as the Confucian view. The view that human nature includes natural desires is popular during the Warring States period.

Daoism perceives human life as composed of two sides, body (身 *shen*) and heart/mind (心 *xin*). Only if the body and mind are both nurtured, one can live a healthy and long life. However, false views often mislead people and ruin their otherwise harmonious lives. The Confucian view that human nature is benevolent and righteous damages one's originally tranquil and simple mind, and the view that human nature is only physical desire damages one's body. Since moral cultivation is highly valued, people cannot realize the disturbance that it causes to the human mind and life. As mentioned in the outer and miscellaneous chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, people realize how ridiculous it is to lose your life for profit, but it is not easy to understand that to sacrifice one's life for reputation and morality is no less harmful. In the Daoist view, while morality disturbs the tranquility and simplicity of the human mind, uncontrolled physical desires destroy the human body.

In the outer and miscellaneous chapters of the *Zhuangzi* human being is intended to live a life of health and longevity, and for this purpose one needs to take care of both mind and body. The sage dispels the Confucian conception of human nature, and thus frees himself from concern with moral achievement. Also, we should not associate human nature only with physical desires – it is decisive to save ourselves from insatiable desires. To maintain one's mind tranquil and simple and confine one's body only to basic needs, means to live a life of health and longevity.

Both Confucians and Daoists aimed at harmony among the people and harmony between people and Heaven, but they differ with respect to the method of achieving that harmony. Confucians are trying to strengthen the rites, as an attempt to enable people to nourish the moral seeds in human nature. Daoists opposed this trend and tried to mitigate the effects of the rites imposed on human beings as much as possible to uncover the original simplicity of the human nature. For Confucians moral nature is only a potential and may not reach fruition without external aid. They rely heavily on rites as an effective method supporting people in developing their moral potential. In contrast, Daoists trust in human nature and assign their expectations to it. Once the rites that distort the true nature of the human being were removed, everyone will rediscover his or her true nature and natural harmony will be restored.

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Някои представи за времето във Ведите

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On Some Notions of Time in the Vedas

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Abstract

Thinking about time we are trying to find the innermost grounds of our own existence and experience. But with causality in mind we often reduce time to abstract physical or quantitative time of calendars from which the sacred of the present moment and the sacred of eternity have disappeared. On the basis of extracts from the Rigveda we will consider some Vedic conceptions about time's cyclic and/or vectorial character, having in mind that the insights on time often are some of the most certain indications for the deep structure of all mental constructions of a given culture.

Keywords: Rigveda, time, year, cyclic time, linear time, the wheel of the year

Идеите за времето са в основата на идеите за човека и света, за всичко, което се случва. Като мислим за времето, ние се опитваме да открием най-съкровените основи за собствените си преживявания и съществуване.[1] Въз основа на откъси от *Ригведа*

[1] За представите за времето в Древен Китай вж. Koutzarova 2015; Koutzarova 2019: 45–47; Koutzarova 2021: 105–111. За концептуализацията на

(канонизиран около XII в. пр.н.е.)[2] тук ще разгледаме някои ведически концепции за цикличната и/или векторната същност на времето. Като изключим два химна от *Атхарваведа* (19.53–54), ведическите текстове не изказват последователни идеи по отношение на времето, които да са събрани в отделни глави или химни, а по-скоро информацията е частична, разпръсната из различните текстове. За идеите за времето понякога трябва да се съди опосредствано във връзка с идеите относно други същини и концепти, затова се налага информацията да се търси и систематизира с ясното съзнание, че няма само една последователно и ясно изразена идея за времето в Древна Индия.

Самватсара – годината

В сборника с химни *Ригведа*[3] думата, с която се обозначава всеобхватното време, е самватсара (*saṃvatsará*)[4] – „година“. В един от космогоничните химни (предпоследния химн от Ригведа) се казва:

ṛtáṃ ca satyáṃ cābhī́ddhāt tápasó ’dhi ajāyata
táto rā́trī ajāyata tátaḥ samudró arṇaváḥ
samudrā́d arṇavā́d ádhi saṃvatsaró ajāyata

представите за времето в китайската езикова картина на света и за начините, по които времето се представя в съвременния китайски език посредством пространството, вж. Tsankova 2021; Tsankova 2020; Yang et al. 2020. За възприемането на времето в Древна Персия и Иран вж. Kostadinova 2021.

[2] Датировката на ведическата литература е затруднена поради липсата на писмени паметници от древността и се осъществява само приблизително въз основа на архаичността на езика, позовавания на едно в друго произведение (с което може да се определи относителната архаичност на дадено произведение спрямо друго) и др. Освен това някои части на различни произведения са много по-архаични от други и вероятно битуват много дълго време преди паметникът да е оформен като едно цяло.

[3] Съставен около 1200 г. пр.н.е., но съдържащ множество по-архаични химни с възможен произход около 2000 –1700 г. пр.н.е.

[4] А също и само *vatsá* (без представката *sam*) от праиндоевропейската дума **wet-* „година“, ст.гр. *étos* „година“, хетски *witt* „година“. Английската дума *weather* и българската дума *вехт* (вероятно „такъв, който е просъществувал много години“) също възхождат към праиндоевропейската дума **wet-*. По-подробно вж. Mallory, Adams 2006: 302.

ahorātrā́ṇi vidádhad víśvasya miṣató vaśī́
sūryācandramásau dhātā́ yathāpūrvám akalpayat
dívaṃ ca pṛthivī́ṃ ca antárikṣam átho súvaḥ (*Rigveda* 10.190.1–3)

1. И двете – космическият ред (*рита*, *ṛta*) и истината/битието (*сатя*, *satya*)
са родени от огъня (*тапас*, *tapas*)[5], когато е бил запален.
От него е родена нощта, от него разпененото море.
2. От разпененото море е била родена годината (*saṃvatsará*),
която разпределя дните и нощите
и разпростира волята си над всичко мигащо[6].
3. Дхатри[7] подреди според правилния им ред[8] Слънцето и Луната,
Небето и Земята, междинното пространство и светлината.

В този космогоничен мит като първа същина се явява запаленият огън – *тапас*. Следват космическият порядък – *рита*[9], и истината/съществуващото/битието – *сатя*. И двете същини, които следват – разпененото море, неподдаващо се на оформяне,

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[5] Освен „огън“ думата *тапас* може да означава и „топлина“, „жар“. В превод на Милена Братоева (Bratoeva 2012a: 210) този стих гласи: „Порядъкът и истината се родиха от пламналата жар./ От нея възникна нощта, от нея – прииждащият океан.“ В своя коментар към този стих Братоева посочва, че: „На онтологично равнище тапас поражда материалния свят, а на епистемологично – истината, тоест вътрешната трансформация, която представлява своеобразно духовно прераждане.“ (Bratoeva 2012a: 211). Тук освен за първичния огън при сътворението, текстът загатва и за разпаления жертвен огън, който пресъздава света отново в критичните мигове на границата между светлината и мрака.

[6] Т.е. над всичко живо.

[7] Дхатри (Dhātṛ, букв. „основателят“, „установяващият“, „създателят“, „поддържащият“, „разпоредителят“, „организиращият“) е името на божество, което изпълнява всички тези функции и отговаря за поколенията, брака, здравето, богатството, времето и смяната на сезоните. Във ведическия период Дхатри е свързан или се отъждествява с боговете Савитри (Savitṛ), Праджапати (Prajāpati), Твашри (Tvaṣṭṛ), Брихаспати (Bṛhaspati), Митра (Mitra), Аряман (Aryaman), Вишну (Viṣṇu) и др. В поствroutine периода главно се отъждествява със създателя Брахман (Brahman) или с Праджапати (Prajāpati). Вж. Monier-Williams 1992: 514. В конкретния текст като деятел *дхатри* или като божество Дхатри може да се отнася и към годината *самватсара*. Това тълкуване изглежда съвсем логично в настоящия контекст.

[8] Букв. „според това, кое е първо (*pūrvá*)“.

[9] Вж. Bratoeva 2022.

неопределимо, отчуждено от сферата на знаковостта[10], и нощта – първичната тъма, тук са символи на неразчленения и неподредения хтоничен свят, на първичните води.[11] Всички тези същини получават конкретна реализация или представяне посредством годината – тя първа се ражда от океана[12] и първа задава конкретния порядък на нашия свят. Това е една конкретна реализация на изконния абстрактен ред, на изконното движение рита (*r̥ta*)[13]. Думата *рита* възхожда към глаголния корен *r̥* (*ри*) „движа се", „вървя"[14], от който се образува и абстрактното съществително име от женски род *r̥ti* „движение", „вървене", „ход", а също и думата *r̥tu* „подходящо време (за приношение)", „точно определено време", „сезон", „период", „ред", „правило", а според Луис Рену[15] преди всичко „поредност", „последователност (във времето и пространството)", „ред".[16]

Първо се ражда порядъкът, после времето. Времето параметризира реда, параметърът се избира да е затворена крива – окръжност или по-скоро елипса. Тя се нарича година – *самватсара* (*saṃvatsará*)[17], а самият ред задава движението по тази крива. Това, което определя как всичко се движи по окръжност, като задава нейните очертания, или траекторията на всеобщото движение, е видимият път на Слънцето, еклиптиката.

Тук става дума за определен вид схематично или геометрично представяне на времето посредством пространството, което е по-характерно за нашата съвременна култура. Тоест това е съвременна пространствена илюстрация на древната представа за ци-

[10] Вж. Marazov 2021a: 100–101.

[11] За водата (морето, реката) и връзката ѝ с огъня и с пътя към отвъдното в индоевропейската митология вж. Marazov 2021a: 100–108. За водата, огъня и ролята им при сътворението вж. Marazov 2021b.

[12] Тук има алюзия към Слънцето, което се ражда от океана всяка сутрин.

[13] Вж. Bratoeva 2022.

[14] По-подробно за етимологията на думата *рита* вж. Bratoeva 2022.

[15] Renou 1955–1969.

[16] За първичността на представата „поредност" по отношение на представите за време и пространство в Древна Индия вж. Ruseva 2022.

[17] В Махабхарата Самватсара е едно от имената на бог Шива. Бог Шива се отъждествява и с времето и е наречен също Махакала (Mahākāla) „Великото време".

кличното време. Доколко древните индоарии са имали подобни на нашите представяния и проекции на времето в пространството е спорен въпрос. Разбира се, видимият път на Слънцето несъмнено е в основата на подобни представяния. Символи, образи и персонификации на времето като световното дърво, оста, разпъната от лунните възли Раху и Кету, танцуващия Шива и др. разкриват по-различен подход от нашия към представянето на времето посредством пространството. Равнопоставеността между време и пространство е по-силна при древните индоарии, като двете – време и пространство, се вплитат в звука (или в речта), който подобно на светлината се счита за разпъващ, разгъващ вселената.[18]

Изследвайки света около себе си древните индоарии не се опират само на метода на анализ и впоследствие на синтез, а по-скоро се опитват да виждат същините в тяхната цялост, като конфигурация далеч не идентична на съставните си части. Относно годината те откриват, че това е реално разгръщащ се цялостен процес, в който частите са определени от множество фактори, но и от отношението си със целостта, с годината и с вложените едни в други по-малки единици. При дефинирането на тези единици от съществено значение е определен тип симетрия – по-малките единици да наподобяват по структура по-големите. Разделянето е на базата на противопоставянето нарастване/намаляване на светлината. Има противопоставяне/разделение на ден и нощ (най-често), като точките на преход са сутрин по изгрев и вечер по залез, или на периода от полунощ до пладне, когато светлината нараства и на периода от пладне до полунощ, когато светлината намалява[19], т.е. две страни на един цялостен цикъл. Има разделение на светла и тъмна половина на лунарния месец, съответно когато Луната расте *шукла пакша* (*śukla pakṣa* „светла половина“, букв. „светло крило“[20]) и когато Луната намалява *кришна пакша* (*kr̥ṣṇa pakṣa* „тъмна половина“, букв. „тъмно крило“); светла и тъмна половина на годината –

[18] Вж. Ruseva 2022; Bratoeva 2012a; Bratoeva 2015.

[19] За това второ разделение вж. например *Шатапатха брахмана* 2.1.3.1–3.

[20] Тук алюзията за времето/месеца като птица напомня много на българската когнитивна метафора времето лети.

уттараяна (*uttarāyaṇa*, букв. „северен път“ или „път на север“ на Слънцето, от зимното до лятното слънцестоене, когато видимо изгревът и залезът се изместват все по̀ на север и светлината и денят нарастват) и *дакшинаяна* (*dakṣiṇāyana*, букв. „южен път“ или „път на юг“ на Слънцето, когато видимо изгревът и залезът се изместват все по̀ на юг и светлината и денят намаляват).[21]

Всъщност изглежда, че индоариите възприемат света и своите преживявания като организирани и структурирани цялости, като отделните части или подмножества имат структурата на цялото и се дефинират от функцията си в цялото, дефинират се чрез цялото.

Така че годината определя частите, които я съставят, а не е вторично явление, което се появява от тези части. Самото осъзнаване на целостта на годината определя колко и как ще бъдат разпределени частите – сезони, месеци, половин месеци, дни, *мухурти* и т.н. Човек вижда първо кръга, после съставящите го дъги.

Именно годината задава специфичните функции на частите си (в кой час на кой ден от кой месец трябва да се прави това или друго). Всъщност простото изреждане на отделните части не задава годината, по-скоро отношението на влаганите една в друга структури на различни нива. Все едно има съвсем малки кръгове, които се влагат в по-големи, те от своя страна – в още по-големи и т.н. докато се стигне до годината, а в постведическата епоха и до все по-големи цикли на съществуване. Не забравяме, разбира се, че кръговете са пространствено представяне на повторяемостта на определени явления (с различна честотност) и всъщност кръгът няма общо с природата на времето, а само я илюстрира. Тази илюстрация всъщност е доста жива благодарение на нашето вплитане на усещанията за време и движение, на наблюдението на кръговите орбити на Слънцето и Луната. Може би най-добрата илюстрация на това влагане на цикли в цикли, всички те с подобна структура, наподобява фрактална структура, но тук такъв вид структура се осъществява, се осъзнава не пространствено, а времево или по-скоро събитийно.

[21] Подробно разглеждане прави González-Reimann 1988: 29–33, 43–53; González-Reimann 2019. Вж. също Thapar 1997, Thapar 2007.

Идеята за симетрия (от типа ден-нощ, светла-тъмна половина на месеца, северен път – южен път на Слънцето), за подобие между съставните части и цялото (всички те се влагат едно в друго и имат подобна структура – разделени са на две половини – светла и тъмна) прави цялото творение подредено и стабилно, неподвластно на хаоса, защото всеки един елемент на това творение е включен в подредената схема на битието. Този тип схема уподобява малкото на голямото, прави ги съизмерими в тяхното подобие, прави ги от един и същ тип. А това означава и че мигът може да се отъждестви с най-дългия период време и в някакъв смисъл, че самото време е относително. Това разделяне на годината на все по-малки елементи с подобна структура напомня разчленяването на пуруша, от което се създава света. Както пуруша – космическият човек, е разчленен и пожертван, така и времето – годината бива разчленена на все по-малки периоди и пожертвана.[22] Тук става въпрос за мита за Праджапати, който по подобие на *пуруша* от *Ригведа* 10.90 излъчва света от себе си. Праджапати се отъждествява с годината. В края на всяка година творението се изчерпва, редът се изтощава, дните свършват, Слънцето е все по-кратко на небето.[23]

В *Ригведа* откриваме и още един концепт, тясно обвързан с годината, който се среща в текстовете на епоса и *Пураните* – колелото на времето (*калачакра*, *kālacakra*). В *Ригведа* ясно е описана колесницата на Слънцето, чието единствено колело се върти около небето. Ще разгледаме откъси от прочутия и много енигматичен химн-загадка *Ригведа* I.164, наречен *Ася вамася* (*asyá vāmásya*, именован така, защото започва с тези думи) с автор ведическия *риши* (*r̥ṣi*) Диргхатамас (*Dīrghatamas*)[24]. В химна той описва своите видения и прозрения във вид на т.нар. *брахмодя* (*brahmodya*) – загадки, свързани със същността на мирозданието, природните явления, боговете и ритуалите, човешкия

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[22] По-подробно за пуруша вж. Lingorska 1998; Bratoeva 2012b: 201–207; Bratoeva 2017; Ruseva 2018b; Yankov 2020: 74–91.

[23] По-подробно за Праджапати вж. Bratoeva 2012: 213–219.

[24] Букв. „пребиваващ дълго в тъмнина“. Диргхатамас е *риши* или провидец, автор на химните *Ригведа* I.140–I.164, който според *Махабхарата* е роден сляп заради проклятие на Брихаспати (*Br̥haspati*).

живот и др. Отговори на загадките не се дават, а това допуска множество тълкувания.[25] Според Луис Рену[26] целият химн изобилства с представяния на годината и слънчевия цикъл.

duvā́daśāraṃ nahí táj járāya
várvarti cakrám pári dyā́m ṛtásya
ā́ putrā́ agne mithunā́so átra
saptá śatā́ni viṃśatíś ca tasthuḥ (*Rigveda* 1.164.11 = *Атхарваведа* 9.9.13[27])

páñcapādam pitáraṃ dvā́daśākṛtiṃ
divá āhuḥ páre árdhe purīṣíṇam
áthemé anyá úpare vicakṣaṇáṃ
saptácakre ṣáḷara āhur árpitam (*Ригведа* 1.164.12 = *Атхарваведа* 9.9.12)

páñcāre cakré parivártamāne
tásminn ā́ tasthur bhúvanāni víśvā
tásya nā́kṣas tapyate bhū́ribhāraḥ
sanā́d evá ná śīryate sánābhiḥ (*Ригведа* 1.164.13 = *Атхарваведа* 9.9.11)

sánemi cakrám ajáraṃ ví vāvṛta
uttānā́yāṃ dáśa yuktā́ vahanti
sū́ryasya cákṣū rájasaiti ā́vṛtaṃ
tásminn ā́rpitā bhúvanāni víśvā (*Ригведа* 1.164.14 = *Атхарваведа* 9.9.14)

duvā́daśa pradháyaś cakrám ékaṃ
trī́ṇi nábhyāni ká u tác ciketa
tásmin sākáṃ triśatā́ ná śaṅkávo
arpitā́ḥ ṣaṣṭír ná calācalā́saḥ[28] (*Rigveda* 1.164.48 = *Атхарваведа* 10.8.4)

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[25] Johnson1976; Ruseva 2018a. Откъс от този химн е преведен на български език и коментиран в Ruseva 2018a. По-подробно за енигматичния характер на *брахмодя* и връзката на тези словесни двубои с ритуала вж. Toporov 1971; Bratoeva 2012b: 78–81; Bratoeva 2015; Bratoeva 2017.

[26] Renou 1955–1969, Vol. 2: 102.

[27] GRETIL.

[28] *Rigveda.* По-подробно за тълкуването на тези стихове, както и на целия химн вж. Brown 1968; Johnson 1976; Kuiper 1983: 45; Luis González-Reimann 1988: 29–31; Elizarenkova 1989; Houben 2000; Jamison, Brereton 2014: 349–359.

11. Не се износва колелото на *рита* с дванайсет спици,
докато все обикаля по небето.
Седемстотин и двайсет са синовете,
прикрепени по двойки към него, о Агни!
12. Някои казват, че петкракият баща с дванайсет форми
е в горната половина на небето.
Другите тук казват, че виждащото навсякъде (Слънце)
е в долната (половина), прикрепено към [колесница със]
седем колела с шест спици.
13. На въртящото се колело с пет спици,
на него стоят всички същества.
Оста му не се нагрява, въпреки че товарът му е огромен.
Ведно с кораба си не се разпада още от древни времена.
14. Заедно със своя наплат
неостаряващото колело се завъртя далеч.
Теглят го десет [коня], впрегнати в опънатия [ярем].
Обвито с въздушното пространство,
окото на Слънцето се движи.
Всички същества са закрепени на него.
48. Дванайсет са сегментите, едно е колелото, три части има
главината.
Но кой може да го разбере?
На него са прикрепени заедно, като че са пръчки,
300, пък и 60 отгоре, които се движат безспир.

В стих 11 колелото е годината, дванайсетте спици са месеците, а седемстотин и двайсетте сина са дните и нощите.[29] В стих 12 са представени два различни варианта на определянето на годината. Първото схващане, че Слънцето е в горната част на небето, определя Слънцето или времето, зададено от него, като върховно. Горната част на небето е областта на непрестанна светлина, в която обитават боговете, небето на Варуна. Тази област е невидима за човека, чието зрение не може да пробие свода на небето, булото *nā́ka*, което разделя долната от горната част на небето. Другото схващане, което изглежда подкрепя и авторът Диргхатамас (обърнете внимание на словосъчетанието *átha imé*

[29] Виж Brown 1968.

anyé букв. „тук тези други“), е, че Слънцето е в долната половина на небето. То е нещо като похлупак или дупка в булото *нака* и през Слънцето човек преминава в света на светлината отвъд.[30] Седемте колела може да са шестте двойки месеци и допълнителния месец, а шестте спици може да са сезоните.[31]

Възможно е под „въртящото се колело с пет спици“ да се има предвид и петилетка – това е най-малкият период, който съвместява слънчевите и лунните цикли – пет години са съставени от 1830 дни, които представляват 5 слънчеви години (366 × 5 = 1830) и 62 синодални месеца (62 × 29,5 ~ 1830).[32]

В стих 48 трите части на главината са трите сезона. Според *Ригведа* 10.90.6 първото жертвоприношение е продължило година, съставена от три сезона:

yát púruṣeṇa havíṣā devā́ yajñám átanvata
vasantó asyāsīd ā́jyaṃ grīṣmá idhmáḥ śarád dhavíḥ (*Rigveda* 10.90.6)

„Когато боговете извършиха жертвоприношението с *puруша* като жертва,
тогава пролетта беше разтопеното масло,
лятото – горивото, а есента – възлиянието.“

В по-късните ведически текстове също годината се отъждествява с колело:

devacakraṃ vā etat pariplavaṃ yat saṃvatsaraḥ. tadamr̥tam. tasminnetat ṣaṭṭayamanna adyam. grāmyāśca paśava āraṇyāśca oṣadhayaśca vanaspatayaśca apsucaraṃ ca pariplavaṃ ca. taddevāḥ samāruhya sarvāṃllokān anupariplavante. devalokaṃ pitr̥lokaṃ jīvalokam. imamupodakamagnilokam. r̥tadhāmānaṃ vāyulokam. aparājitamindralokam. adhidivaṃ varuṇalokam. pratidivaṃ mr̥tyulokam. rocanaṃ brahmaṇo lokam. nākaṃ sattamaṃllokānām. tadyadabhiplavamupayanti. saṃvatsarameva te

[30] Пак там.

[31] Пак там.

[32] González-Reimann 1988: 38–42; González-Reimann 2009; Pingree 1963; Pingree 1981; Thapar 1997, Thapar 2005; Thapar 2007. Макар и ритуалната година да има 360 дни, понякога годината се определя като имаща 366 дни. По-подробно за разновидностите на ведическия календар вж. Oldenberg 1894, Falk 2008.

yajamānāḥ samārohanti. tasminnetat ṣaṭtayamanna adyamāpnuvanti. grāmyāṃśca paśūnāraṇyāṃśca oṣadhīśca vanaspatīṃśca apsucaraṃ ca pariplavaṃ ca. (*Каушитаки брахмана* 20.1.1–16)[33]

Въртящото се колело на боговете е годината. То е безсмъртието. В него е храната, биваща шест вида: домашни и диви животни, растения, дървета, животни, които ходят и плуват във вода. Качени на него [боговете] се движат из всички светове – света на боговете, света на предците, света на живите, света на Агни, разположен близо до водата, основания на *рита* (*ṛta*) свят на Ваю, непобедимия свят на Индра, небесния свят на Варуна, света на смъртта във всяко небе, светлия свят на Брахман, най-истинското от небесата. Така извършват ритуала *абхиплава*. Наистина така жертващият се възкачва на годината. В нея получава храната, биваща шест вида: домашни и диви животни, растения, дървета, животни, които ходят и плуват във вода.

Взаимодействие между циклично и линейно време: колелата се въртят, колата върви напред

Макар и в *Ригведа* ясно да са определени основните цикли – ден-нощ, светла-тъмна половина на месеца, северен-южен път на Слънцето (денонощие, лунен месец, година), няма развита система за разделяне на времето на по-големи цикли.[34] Трите разделения на времето – денонощието, лунарният месец и годината, се описват като циклични процеси, а изгревът и залезът на Слънцето и Луната се описват често като раждане и умиране.[35] Както видяхме по-горе, според *Ригведа* 1.164.11, 13 колелото на годината се върти непрестанно, а Месецът (Луната) се ражда всяка сутрин:

návo-navo bhavati jā́yamāno áhnāṃ ketúr uṣásām eti ágram.

bhāgáṃ devébhyo ví dadhāti āyán prá candrámās tirate dīrghám ā́yuḥ. (*Rigveda* 10.85.19)

Щом се роди, е съвсем нов,
върви пред зората като знаме на дните.

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[33] GRETIL.

[34] Вж. González-Reimann 1988: 25–44; González-Reimann 2009.

[35] González-Reimann 2009.

Като дойде, разпределя дяла за боговете.
Месецът (Луната)[36] удължава живота.

Съзиданието и разрушението на света обаче не се считат за повтарящи се процеси (както е в по-късните текстове на *Махабхарата* и *Пураните*), сътворението е еднократно и вече се е случило, но годината се изчерпва и жертвоприношението в края ѝ уподобява сътворението. С жертвоприношението не се създава светът наново (поне според *Ригведа*), а се влива нова сила в следващата година, редът отново се влага в света и годината се зарежда с храна за хората. Многократно се посочва, че Небето и Земята не остаряват:

mahā́n sadhásthe dhruvá ā́ níṣatto antár dyā́vā mā́hine háryamāṇaḥ.
ā́skre sapátnī ***ajáre ámr̥kte*** *sabardúghe urugāyásya dhenū́.* (*Rigveda* 3.6.4)

Щастлив, великият се намира тук, в сигурната си обител
между Небето и Земята, двете велики,
неостаряващи, неразрушими,
даряващи нектар млечни крави –
съпругите на ширококрачещия (Агни).

А в химн към Небето и Земята се казва:

… dyā́vāpr̥thivī́ váruṇasya dhármaṇā víṣkabhite ***ajáre*** *bhū́riretasā*. (*Rigveda* 6.70.1)

… **Неостаряващите**, имащите много семе Небе и Земя
бяха държани надалеч едно от друго
според закона на Варуна.

В химн от *Ригведа* към всички богове се пита:

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[36] Във ведийски и в санскрит думите, означаващи „Луна“, са от мъжки род. Затова тук си позволявам да преведа думата *candrámas* „Луна“ с вече архаичното в българския език „месец“. Смятам, че родът на основни концепти и думи е важен за разбиране на мирогледа на дадената култура. В писмеността деванагари няма противопоставяне на главни на малки букви. Освен това имената на божествата съвпадат и с характерното за тяхната основна функция явление или същина, като рядко двете значения може да се отделят. Затова в преводите съм избрала да пиша с главни букви „Луната“ и „Слънцето“, „Небето“, „Земята“ и „Зората“. Всички те обозначават до една или друга степен персонифицирани божества, към които има множество химни.

kíṃ svid vánaṃ ká u sá vr̥kṣá āsa yáto dyā́vāpr̥thivī́ niṣṭatakṣúḥ.

saṃtasthāné ***ajáre itáūtī*** *áhāni pūrvī́r uṣáso jaranta.* (*Rigveda* 10.31.7)

Каква е била гората, какво е било дървото,
от което са оформени Небето и Земята,
двете, които стоят заедно, **неостаряващи, дълговечни**?
Дните, предишните Зори – те остаряват.

Самата богиня на зората не остарява и е безсмъртна:

śáśvat puróṣā́ ví uvāsa devī́ á tho adyédáṃ ví āvo maghónī

átho ví uchād úttarām̐ ánu dyū́n ajárāmŕ̥tā carati svadhā́bhiḥ (*Rigveda* 1.113.13)

Отново и отново в миналото е изгрявала богинята Зора.
Ето я, щедра и днес!
Ще изгрява тя и в бъдните дни, неостаряваща, неумираща,
движи се според собствената си природа.

Останалите боговете също са безсмъртни:

suadhvarā́ karati jātávedā yákṣad devā́m̐ ***amŕ̥tān*** *piprá́yac ca* (*Rigveda* 7.17.4)

Джатаведас[37] (Агни) ще извърши жертвоприношението добре,
ще принесе на **безсмъртните** богове и ще ги зарадва.

Времето в *Ригведа* има два аспекта – единият е свързан с вечно повтарящите се цикли на деня и нощта, на нарастваща и намаляваща Луна, на увеличаване и намаляване на деня, а другият е линейното необратимо време. Зората (*uṣas*) е възпявана като донасяща светлината и разпръскваща тъмата, но именно тя е и тази която донася старостта и изчерпва дните на човека:

púnaḥ-punar jā́yamānā purāṇī́ samānáṃ várṇam abhí śúmbhamānā

śvaghnī́va kr̥tnúr víja āminānā́ mártasya devī́ jaráyanti ā́yuḥ (*Rigveda* 1.92.10)

Раждаща се отново и отново,
украсяваща себе си все със същия цвят,
като успешен (комарджия), с най-добро хвърляне

[37] Букв. „притежаващ всичко“ или „познаващ всичко родено“, епитет към бога на огъня Агни.

намаляващ залога (на противника),
богинята (Зора) намалява живота на смъртния,
като го състарява.

Цикличните явления ни дават усещане за вечност, непроменливост, всичко се повтаря непрекъснато в по-малки вложени във все по-големи периоди. От друга страна, всичко родено умира, зората на следващия ден доближава съществото до неговия край. Въпреки това като погледнем живота, той е един низ от циклични явления – структурата остава приблизително същата, докато материалната съставка постоянно се променя. Става въпрос за хомеостазата – цикличното поддържане на съществото – тялото се обновява, всяка тъкан на тялото постоянно губи милиони клетки, но живото същество се възражда постоянно до деня на смъртта.

В този смисъл Годината, времето в *Ригведа* е подобна на жив организъм, който може да се самовъзпроизвежда, съставните му части също са цялости, които се самообновяват.[38] Така Годината-време може да се персонифицира – като бог демиург Праджапати[39], който се възражда отново и отново по време на зимното слънцестоене. По-малките градивни единици се възраждат в миговете на преход от тъмно в светло – по новолуние, в утрото или в полунощ и започват своя упадък при прехода от светло към тъмно – по пълнолуние, по здрач или по пладне. Именно затова тези мигове са от огромно значение за древноиндийската култура.

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[38] За способността за самостоятелно възпроизвеждане автопоезис (от др. гр. αὐτός авто-, ποίησις сътворяване, създаване), характерна за живите организми, вж. например Luisi 2006. При автопоезис живият организъм се разглежда като дисипативна структура – структурата остава същата, а материалът постоянно се обновява. „Зависимата организация създава мрежа от реакции, които създават молекулярни структури, които от своя страна създават зависимата организация, която после създава структурата и т.н. Няма начало и край; това е времево явление, чиято природа е циклична. Произходът на живота е всъщност започването на тази цикличност. Нашата стрела на времето тогава се превръща посредством произхода на живота в цикличен процес…“ Luisi 2006: 104.

[39] Праджапати излъчва съществата от себе си и се изчерпва. Налага се да се направи жертвоприношение, така че Праджапати-годината да стане отново цял.

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Searching for the Transcendent in Modern China

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Abstract

After Shangdi and even Tian became things of the past, some of the New Confucian thinkers agreed upon the immanent transcendence and thus the religious aspect of Confucianism seemed to be solved. Nevertheless, this kind of inward religion emphasizing the self and its journey to accomplishment still seemed to be needing something less subjective and more misterious in order to become complete. The aspiration for a universal form of Confucianism also put forward a very interesting debate which could also highlight views on the transcendent. This paper aims at synthesizing and comparing the degree to which various forms of a higher, transcendent principle concentrated the studies and debates of 20th century Confucian thinkers in China, also touching upon the more recent problem of loyalty to the Party and the central concept of "the people" as a formula meant to fill the functional space of religion.

Keywords: New-Confucianism, transcendent, Heaven, religion, the people

Introduction

The problem of the transcendent in the Chinese culture has always been a very sensitive one for the Western researcher. That is because, for the Europeans at least, this topic is to be approached by way of two rather independent domains of knowledge, i.e. philosophy and religion. For the Western philosophers, from Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas to Hegel, God was the absolute transcendent, and by this they pointed to notions such as ‘independence’, ‘freedom’, ‘distance’ or ‘above’. For theologians, God is not far and “the Kingdom of Heaven is within” (Luke, 17:21), (神的国就在你们心里、中间, 路加 17:21) or at least is transcendent in His substance and immanent in His works.

Transcendence in Ancient China

In Ancient China, what Shang dynasty worshipped was a rather “personal” God, a primeval ancestor, *Shangdi* 上帝, bearing antropomorphic descriptions and believed to be ruling over the world beyond, of other deceased rulers called *di* 帝, and also over the world of the living “in a regular and decisive manner” (Ames & Hall 1987: 202). So one can easily state that, while looming above and being the absolute ruler of both worlds, but also related and accessible through sacrifices and divination, capable of influencing the worldly events, *Shangdi* cannot be seen as an absolute transcendent entity.

In the Zhou dynasty, *Shangdi* was gradually replaced by *Tian* – Heaven, seen as a more depersonalized deity. Even though Bernhard Karlgren interpreted the character *tian* 天 as representing an antropomorphic deity, other sources such as *Shuowenjiezi* point to that which is above one’s head, truly great and unique, while classics like the *Book of Documents* or the *Book of Songs* speak about *Tian* as being “a designation for the regular pattern discernible in the unfolding process of existence” (Ames & Hall 1987: 203), actually involved in existence, in close relationship with earth and human beings, its will being manifested in the voice of the people. Let us not forget that it is since the Zhou times that *Tian* has a son, *tianzi* 天子, in the person of the current ruler, a relationship that seems to replicate that of *Shangdi* with the Shang rulers.

By this, one could infer that, even though less personal than *Shangdi*, the ancient concept of *Tian* is not presented as a transcendent deity either.

In Confucius’ view, as depicted from the assertions in the *Analects*, the concept of Heaven is seen as one of regularity and order in the Universe, source of all phenomena and processes of natural change (Ames & Hall 1987: 208) and yet not delineated or distanced from the world it constantly nurtures. Let us remember that even though Confucius does not offer an extensive explanation of his understanding of Heaven he, nevertheless, mentions it as caring (*Analects* 9:5), understanding (*Analects* 14:35), undeceivable (*Analects* 9:12) and worthy of awe (*Analects* 16:8).

Mencius, in his turn, links the most personal grain seed and its growing programme to Heaven when saying that "He who realizes his nature (*xing*) realizes Heaven (*Tian*)." (*Mencius* VII A, 1). But the most relevant quotation from Mencius is the one he himself mentions from the *Book of Documents*: "Heaven sees as the people see; Heaven hears as the people hear" (*Mencius* V A, 5). The people that Mencius speaks about is that which "is to be valued most", as he also would say (*Mencius* VII B, 14), and which has the right, in his view, to depose the ruler when he is not worthy of his mandate (*Mencius* V B. 9).

Transcendence in Modern Age

In modern times, we shall go through the New Confucian thinkers' views on transcendence mainly as most of them are supporters of the religious dimension of Confucianism.

Our attention must focus especially on thinkers such as Mou Zongsan and Tu Weiming, who are the main advocates of the transcendent dimension of Heaven, this time identified more clearly by the addition "The Way of Heaven". Nevertheless, as we shall see, in presenting their views, they stress upon a more paradoxical instance, that of immanent transcendence 内在超越 *neizai chaoyue*, which could be associated with the Christian view on God's essence vs. God's manifestations.

Mou Zongsan:

> *"The way of t'ien as*[...]*high above denotes transcendence. When the way of t'ien is invested in the human person and resides internally in him as human nature, it is then immanent. On this basis, we can use an expression that Kant liked to use, and say that in one sense the way of t'ien is transcendent, and in*

another it is immanent (immanent and transcendent are opposites). When the way of t'ien is both transcendent and immanent, it can be said to have both religious and moral import: religion stresses the transcendent meaning, and morality stresses the immanent." (in Ames & Hall 1987: 204–205).

This kind of twofold approach, this 二元论 *eryuanlun*, peppered in translation with terms of order like "when" and "then", is more akin to the Western view on things, especially with the separation between religion and morality. So Heaven manifests itself through "investment" in what is totally here and now, the human being, and thus its transcendence is made accessible, while this accessibility plays a very important role in the smooth functioning of society as long as it is manifested or results in morality.

This kind of relationship or orientation towards transcendence (*chaoyue*), which rejects its absolute independence, is also supported by Mou Zongsan in his explanation of the notion denoting another aspect of Heaven's way of manifestation: the Mandate of Heaven *tianming* 天命:

"The concept of t'ien ming as expressed in its transcendent aspect has imperceptibly within it an immutable, unchangeable standard which causes us to feel that under its sanction we must not err or transgress at all in our conduct. To have a sense of t'ien ming, one must first have a sense of transcendence, a possibility only when one accepts the "existence" of the transcendent." (in Ames & Hall 1987: 205).

First of all, we can see that the transcendence of Heaven's manifestation is only one of its aspects, while the observers can sense it only if they open up to the possibility of its existence. It is thus a matter of approaching and understanding of this transcendence by means of posture and disponibility of the observing subjects.

But this kind of quest of understanding Heaven in its transcendence, is also the most appropriate reflection of the effort for self-knowledge, as Tu Weiming (2006: 134) points while quoting Mencius. Tu Weiming stresses the interrelatedness of the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humans – *Tiandao* 天道 and *Rendao* 人道.

And, considering that transcendence and the reality of life cannot be separated, then Heaven must be both transcendent and immanent.

This is also the way in which Liu Shuxian points to the immanent transcendence problem as seeing "the Dao of Heaven at work in the world". Furthermore, in his view, "humans can participate in the creative process of the Dao of Heaven while the Dao of Heaven can enter and merge with human life" (Bresciani 2001: 465).

For the authors of the renowned "Manifesto on behalf of the Chinese Culture Respectfully Addressed to the Mankind", published in 1958, i.e. for Zhang Junmai, Mou Zongsan, Tang Junyi and Xu Fuguan, human nature, infused by Heaven, is in itself transcendental. Also known as the moral conscience or the moral self, *benxin* 本心, for them it is the only true self, it can be built-up, in obedience to the will of Heaven, through self-cultivation. And this is another way to show that the immanent transcendence of Heaven is made possible by this close relationship with the human being.

As Feng Youlan expresses it, the human beings have to become conscious of their roles as citizens of Heaven or as members of the Universe, to understand their being one with all reality, and to have knowledge of the principle (*li* 理) in order to become firstly morally perfect (*xian* 贤) and then sages (*sheng* 圣) and be elevated to the transcendent sphere. This kind of assertion starts from the postulate that the moral self exists in any human being as potentiality, but is also based on the permanent preoccupation for both the inner sage and to what benefits society at large.

The Transcendent Orientation of Governance

In his work titled "The Religious Question in Modern China" 2010, Vincent Gossaert wrote that "The modern Chinese state, in its various incarnations, has always incorporated, in its identity, in its ideology and its practices, many elements that bear functional and structural similarities to a religious institution – a pattern which climaxed with the CCP's revolutionary eschatology and with the Mao cult." (Gossaert 2010: 56). Even though state policies seemed to be engaged in a secularization process, one can clearly witness that the nation and the state bear a sacred status, to be combined with a "quasispiritual belief in the power of human will and morality to transform society." (Gossaert 2010: 56).

The moralization of governance, pursued by Chinese leaders from Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping, within the process of state sacralization, are instances of political religiosity, Gossaert states. In it, the state and its agents are sources of legitimacy, regulators of order and examples of moral transformation. The revolutionary asceticism, sacrifice for the cause of the Party and heroism in general form the fundation for the utmost pantheon of this kind of religion.

And if we are to look for the transcendent, bearing in mind that it also has an immanent dimension, I would dare to suggest that this would be 'the People' (*renmin* 人民).

Since 1949, China is a People's Republic, the army is also People's Liberation Army and the most important institutions and publications have the word "people" somehow involved.

In his speech entitled „On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" delivered on February 27, 1957, at the Eleventh Session of the Supreme State Conference[1], Mao Zedong gave a complex and mobile definition of the term "people" by which we can see that it varies according to different circumstances. First of all, he defines the term "people" as opposed to "enemy":

> *The concept of "the people" varies in content in different countries and in different periods of history in a given country. Take our own country for example. During the War of Resistance against Japan, all those classes, strata and social groups opposing Japanese aggression came within the category of the people, while the Japanese imperialists, their Chinese collaborators and the pro-Japanese elements were all enemies of the people. During the War of Liberation, the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs – the bureaucrat-capitalists, the landlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries who represented these two classes – were the enemies of the people, while the other classes,*

[1] Mao went over the recorded text and made certain changes before its publication in the *People's Daily* on June 19, 1957.

strata and social groups, which opposed them, all came within the category of the people. At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favor, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people. (https://www.marxists.org/reference/ archive/mao/selected-works/volume–5/mswv5_58.htm)

In short, “the people” points to those who “favor, support and work for” the Chinese country, Party and leader (because “the cause of socialist construction” in too vague a term to not be given a face) and especially to those who are “opposed” to whomever manifests against these entities, according to the historical circumstances.

It was also Mao Zedong who said that even if a nuclear bomb is dropped in China and kill half or more of its population, the Chinese people can regenerate quickly. He was also very fond of the story “The Foolish Old Man Removes the Mountain” 《愚公移山》, in which what mattered were not individuals but generations upon generations of individuals who would engage tirelessly in the project of removing a mountain from the doorway of their house.

Nowadays, the CCP, is also very dedicated to the cause of the people, as one can see within the Opinions on Strengthening and Improving Ideological and Political Work in the New Era of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (中共中央《关于新时代加强和改进思想政治工作的意见》) which mentions “the fundamental task of consolidating the common ideological foundation for the unity and struggle of the whole party and the people of the country” (巩固全党全国人民团结奋斗的共同思想基础这一根本任务), “serve the people” (为人民服务), “persist in putting the people at the center, practicing the party’s mass line, and taking the people’s yearning for a better life as the goal of the struggle” (坚持以人民为中心，践行党的群众路线，把人民对美好生活的向往作为奋斗目标), “serve the masses (of people)” (服务人民群众), “educate the people” (教育人民), to “better meet the new expectations of the people’s spiritual and cultural life” (更好满足人民精神文化

生活新期待) while the most important objective for the officials at any level is harmony among the people. (http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2021-07/12/c_1127647536.htm)

When speaking about parts of the nation, or some categories of individuals, the speech takes into account "the masses" (*qunzhong* 群众), "population" (*renkou* 人口), "locals" (*jumin* 居民). As a matter of fact, "the people" does not mean the sum of all individuals in China, it does not refer to somebody in particular.

Therefore, in my opinion, one could state that "the people" could bear a transcendent dimension, as it is always the source of the individuals, their destination, their perfect instance, "the people" can never perish, it can never turn bad, it is at the same time here and everywhere and knows everything. And as, in Mao's words, "Our People's Government is one that genuinely represents the people's interests, it is a government that serves the people" (and this bears much resemblance to the American concept of popular sovereignty – "we, the people", but with many different implications – "government of the people, by the people, for the people") the Party represents the true incarnation of the national spirit (*minzu jingshen* 民族精神), constituting a synthesis of the nation's thought consciousness, value orientation, moral norms, qualityes of character and cultural tradition.

Conclusions

In the entire Chinese tradition, *Shangdi* or Heaven, or that which can be interpreted as having a transcendent dimension, has always been closely linked to the people, especially having the ruler as the mediator, as one can see in the character for "king" – *wang* 王, in which the upper and the lower horizontal lines are connected by a vertical axis, with a third horizontal line in the middle. This is one of the reasons that the transcendent cannot be seen as lacking its immanent dimension. But while for thousands of years the transcendent was placed symbolically in the upper position, ever since 1949 the picture is to be looked at upside down, and even though the visual result is the same, Heaven no longer seems to be represented in it.

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