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ASIAN STUDIES

ISLAMIC CULTURES IN EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Contents

Guest Editor's Foreword: Islamic Cultures in East and South Asia

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The world is home to 1.6 billion Muslims, the vast majority of whom reside in Asia. Not only is Indonesia with its 210 million Muslims the largest Muslim country in the world, but the combined Muslim populations of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh far outweigh those of the Arab world. What's more, China's Hui—the so called Chinese Muslims (discussed in this issue by Yamazaki-Unno), who remain relatively unknown even among their coreligionists, are approximately as numerous as Tunisians. The rich history as well as the great geographic and ethnolinguistic diversity of the Asian continent fostered a myriad of traditions and practices as various communities adopted Islam. Yet Asian Muslims with their distinct lifestyles are usually not the first to spring to mind as the representatives of Islam and the Muslim world.

This special issue explores the intricate histories and realities of Islamic thought and Muslim lives in East and South Asia from religious, social, political and artistic perspectives. It demonstrates that development of Islam—in religious, cultural and political terms—has been a complex process shaped by distinctive regional, local or even personal (see Petek's article) considerations and responses to Islam's universalist teachings.

South Asia is culturally and intellectually one of the centres of Muslim world in terms of influence and importance. For centuries it has presented one of the fountainheads of Islamic learning, often visited by Muslim scholars from afar who stopped and studied there on their years-long pilgrimages, including to Mecca. That this significance is not waning today is exemplified by the fact that the largest contemporary Islamic lay movement, Tablighi Jamaat, which commands dozens of millions of followers worldwide (including in China), originated in early twentieth century India. Culturally, South Asian Islam is characterised by practices alien to large parts of the Middle East, such as music, dance and figurative art (for the latter, see Petek in this volume), and it is precisely such syncretism that time and again evokes attempts to restore "pure" Islam, thus leading to establishment of new religious schools.

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East Asia, on the other hand, is considered peripheral to the Muslim world, if that at all. The presence of above mentioned Chinese Muslims—descendants of foreign Muslim merchants who settled in China from the seventh through the fourteenth centuries and became Sinicized in language and much of the culture due to assimilation pressures and intermarriage with Han—may seem exotic to Muslims from Islam's core regions, or a demonstration of the greatness of Islam, boasting historically established, thriving communities in the heart of this grand civilization and global superpower. Yet as the growing scholarship on Islam in China shows, despite (or perhaps because of) life at the margins and the accommodation to Chinese society and culture, Chinese Muslims have persistently been concerned with their own orthodoxy and orthopraxy. They have maintained contact with and sought knowledge from what they called the Western regions, and all the significant currents in Islamic thought and practice found their way to China. Chinese Muslims (much like their counterparts in Southeast Asia) are also a good example of the importance of commerce for the spread and development of Islam. More recent in origin and much smaller in number are Muslim communities in Japan, which are mostly comprised of Indonesian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Iranian immigrants and their Japanese wives who converted upon marriage. Japanese intellectual and academic engagement with Islam and Muslims, however, is far from negligible, offering new perspectives and valuable insights into Islamic thoughts and practices (see Al-Daghistani's and Unno-Yamazaki's articles).

Islam, then, is not monolithic nor are Muslim lives uniform. As local cultures and practices significantly influence the practice of Islam, this may beg the question: what is Islam and who is Muslim? Arguing against the essentialising, reifying and totalising constructions of Islam, an anthropologist might answer with Talal Asad that it is a discursive tradition, where the discussion of a certain present (Islamic) practice is tied to its past (and future), and where any definition of being Muslim is bound up with the relations of power, with contestation and conflict; in other words, Islam as a struggle over Islamic normativity. Another anthropologist, Gabriele Marranaci, however, suggests that we should proceed from studying people who feel Muslim and treat Islam only as map of discourses which rationalise, symbolise and ritualise this feeling. As the authors of this special volume come from a variety of disciplines, they adopt a range of approaches.

The issue is divided into two thematic sections. The first examines the influence Islam as an ideology may exert on social action, demonstrating how reference to Islamic teachings may serve to justify different, sometimes even opposing practices. The article "Cutting off the Queue for Faith, Preserving the Queue for Face: Chinese Muslims' Queue-Cutting Movements in North China during the Xinhai Revolution Period", by Noriko Unno-Yamazaki, is a fine-grained study of the very

different ways Chinese Muslims in the metropolitan areas of Beijing and Tianjin justified whether or not they and their coreligionists should join those of their Han compatriots who cut off the queue as a symbol of rebellion against the Manchu-ruled Qing dynasty and in support of the new Chinese nation state project. Unno-Yamazaki presents the arguments of several influential thinkers and imams, showing that—in the published writings of that period, at least—there was a considerable consensus that wearing a queue is at least inappropriate if not forbidden in religious terms. The queue cutting among Chinese Muslims thus tended to be advocated on religious rather than on nationalist grounds. Yet her case study further complicates the standard piety-and/or-patriotism explanations of Chinese Muslims' activities in the first decades of the twentieth century. As she shows, many probably cut their queues simply to follow the ever-growing trend around them, and at least one important imam chose to refrain from cutting it in order to avoid internecine conflicts in his community, thus preserving the social standing of his position, in spite of his private belief that the queue was un-Islamic.

In the next article, "The Dynamics of Islamic Ideology with Regard to Gender and Women's Education in South Asia", Forkan Ali focuses on the discussions of Muslim intellectuals in the late colonial period on the education of women and women's rights. Not unlike elsewhere, then, the raising of women's educational levels was one of the central concerns of nationalist-cum-modernist and pietist movements among Muslims on the subcontinent. As Ali demonstrates with reference to Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan, this has largely remained an unfulfilled promise, even as countries gained their independence.

The second section examines various aspects of Islamic theory and philosophy in more or less explicitly comparative terms. It opens with Sami al-Daghistani's article "The Time Factor – Toshihiko Izutsu and Islamic Economic Tradition", in which the author draws on Izutsu's semantic theory to offer new insights into the Islamic economic thought. Following this Japanese comparative philosopher, al-Daghistani argues that Islamic economic tradition is underpinned by a unique set of notions and values that derive from the worldview which is embodied in the key concepts of primary sources of Islam. He adopts key word analysis to the classical and contemporary Islamic economic thinkers and their views on the interrelation of time and money, or the time value of money. He shows that while both conventional economics and Islamic economic thought agree on money's basic usefulness for the exchange of commodities, the fact that in Islam money should be utilised to improve the human condition and has no value in itself (i.e. as a commodity) imbues all economic behaviour, especially that of interest and money utilization with moral considerations. We should thus speak of Islamic ethico-economic, rather than simply economic terms.

The following article by Nina Petek, entitled "Aesthetics of the Classical Period of the Islamic Mughal Empire in India through the Portrait of Abū al-Fatḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar", examines the development of Mughal Art as a parallel process of Akbar's personal development. The author traces the gradual transformation of this extraordinary ruler from a young, inquisitive boy who assumes the throne earlier than expected to a mature man who becomes not only a political unifier but also a great spiritual leader of his multicultural empire. The three-stage evolution is detailed through the changes in paintings created at Akbar's court, the three phases of his quest for Oneness reflected in the choice of motifs and painting styles. For Akbar, Islam, particularly in its mystical interpretations, becomes the framework which is interwoven with many other traditions, especially Hinduism, and a rich, cosmopolitan tapestry emerges both from Akbar's life and in Mughal paintings of his period.

Finally, this special issue concludes with a review by Jana S. Rošker of the 2016 special volume of the journal *Synthesis Philosophica* on Islamic and Comparative Philosophy. Edited by Nevad Kahteran and Daniel Bučan it, too, endeavours to shed light on the versatile traditions of Islamic thought and Muslim practice.

Maja Veselič, Guest editor

Social Shifts and Ideological Conversions

Cutting off the Queue for Faith, Preserving the Queue for Face: Chinese Muslims' Queue-Cutting Movements in North China during the Xinhai Revolution Period*

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Abstract

This article attempts to relativise the nationalism of Chinese-speaking Muslims, which has tended to be overemphasized in previous studies, focusing on a movement in which Muslims in North China cut off their braids or queues—Manchu men's traditional hairstyle imposed on Chinese people under the Qing rule—and related debates among the Muslim elite before and after the Xinhai Revolution. Unlike some Chinese men who cut off their braids for patriotic reasons or anti-Manchu sentiment, Muslims did so for religious reasons, arguing that Islam forbids queues because they look like the tail of a pig, an animal considered to be unclean in their religion. It is notable that some Muslims simply followed the social trend among the majority and cut off their queues, while a young Muslim scholar in Tianjin chose not to do so to prevent conflicts among Muslims and save face. This study thus illustrates the complex and diverse opinions of Muslims at that time, which cannot be completely explained by patriotism or piety.

Keywords: Chinese Muslims, queue (hairstyle), Xinhai Revolution, North China, nationalism

Rezanje kit za vero, ohranjanje kit zaradi ugleda: Gibanje za rezanje kit kitajskih muslimanov v severni Kitajski v obdobju revolucije Xinhai

Izvleček

Članek poskuša relativizirati nacionalizem kitajsko govorečih muslimanov, ki je bil v prejšnjih študijah tako zelo poudarjen, tako da se osredotoča na gibanje, v katerem so si muslimani v severni Kitajski rezali svoje pletenice ali kite – tradicionalno pričesko mandžurskih moških, vsiljeno kitajskemu ljudstvu pod vladavino Qing – in s tem povezane razprave med muslimansko elito pred revolucijo Xinhai in po njej. V nasprotju z nekaterimi kitajskimi moškimi, ki so si kite odrezali zaradi patriotskih razlogov ali protimandžurskih

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občutkov, so muslimani to storili iz verskih razlogov, saj so menili, da islam prepoveduje kite, ker so videti kot rep prašiča, živali, ki v njihovi religiji velja za nečisto. Izpostaviti velja, da so si nekateri muslimani kite odrezali preprosto zato, ker so sledili družbenim smernicam, medtem ko se je vpliven mladi muslimanski učenjak v Tianjinu odločil, da tega ne bo storil, s čimer je hotel preprečiti konflikt med muslimani in rešiti svoj ugled. Obravnavana študija tako prikaže večplastna in raznovrstna mnenja muslimanov v tistem času, ki jih patriotizem ali pobožnost ne moreta popolnoma pojasniti.

Ključne besede: kitajski muslimani, kite (frizura), revolucija Xinhai, Severna Kitajska, nacionalizem

Nationalism, Hairstyle, and Faith

Earlier research on the modern history of Chinese-speaking Muslims[1] has exclusively concentrated on how the Muslim elite sought to accommodate their religious identity within their national identity and expressed patriotism for the Chinese nation. Scholars have emphasized the importance of Muslim reformists' "survival strategies" (Matsumoto 2003), and "efforts for national integration" (ibid. 2006, 139), examining how they "strove to be patriotic and nationalistic" (ibid., 118) and "implemented the Islamic revival movement in order to coexist with the other ethnicities" (ibid., 138).[2] Some researchers even romanticise Muslims' "contribution" (Ch. *gongxian* 貢献) to the Chinese nation[3], and present an overwhelming emphasis on the "patriotic" and "pious"[4] qualities of Muslims, frequently citing the slogan "*aiguo aijiao* 愛國愛教" ("to love one's homeland is to love faith") which derived from the Arabic saying "*ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān*" ("love for the homeland is part of faith") first spread by Islamic reformists in the Middle East (ibid., 126). However, nationalism was not the sole characteristic of Chinese-speaking Muslims in the early twentieth century. To reconsider Muslims' patriotism, this study looks at the example of queue-cutting, which is often regarded as evidence of Chinese people's patriotic behaviour and anti-Qing sentiment.

1   Chinese-speaking Muslims in this article are roughly equivalent to present-day *Huizu* 回族, one of the ethnic minorities in the People's Republic of China, who are said to be the descendants of Arab, Persian, and Turkic Muslims who had visited China and intermarried with local people.

2   As for the Islamic revival movement in Beijing promoted by a noted Islamic scholar Wang Kuan 王寬 (or Wang Haoran 王浩然, 1848–1919) and his followers in the early twentieth century, see Unno-Yamazaki (2016).

3   For a representative example, which emphasises Muslims' contributions to the Chinese nation during the Xinhai Revolution, see Chen (2011).

4   For example, Ma (2006) presents how "patriotic" and "pious" Muslim intellectuals in modern China, such as Ma Jian 馬堅, tried to reorient and reposition Muslims and Islam by minimising differences and maximising commonalities with Han nationalism and socialism during the Republican and the Communist regimes.

As is widely known, a queue (Ch. *bianfa* 辮髮, or *bianzi* 辮子) or cue is a male hairstyle traditionally worn by certain Eurasian nomads like Jurchens and Manchus, where the front and the sides are shaved while the rest of the hair is tied into one or two bunches and twisted into a long plait or plaits, worn either at the back of the head or one on each side of the head. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Manchus led by Nurhaci (1559–1626), the founder of the Qing Dynasty, and his son and successor Hong Taiji (1592–1643), were gaining ground and preparing to conquer China. Under the Manchu rule, some Chinese wore the queue style to denote their submission to the new rulers even before the Manchus had crossed the Great Wall (Kuhn 1990, 53). Dorgon (1612–50)—fourteenth son of Nurhaci and the uncle and regent of Fulin (1638–1661), the first Qing emperor to rule over China—first announced the head-shaving policy on June 5, 1644 (Wakeman 1985, 420). Under the slogan "Keep your head, lose your hair; keep your hair, lose your head" (ibid. 1975, 58), the Qing rulers forced people, especially Han Chinese, to give up their traditional hairstyles and instead adopt the queue as a "measure of a person's loyalty toward the Qing throne" (Cheng 1998, 128), and thus "persecuted hair growers without mercy" (ibid., 125). This requirement was met with stubborn resistance and sometimes caused public fear.[5] Due to the harsh enforcement of the hair-cutting rules, abandoning the queue came to denote an expression of rebellion against the Qing.[6] Indeed, the queue in China was "a fashion to die for" (Metzger 2014, 27) and "a symbol of allegiance to the ruling dynasty" (Kuhn 1990, 12). Meanwhile, the Manchu rulers did not issue any equivalent rules about female hairstyles.

Previous studies, which discuss how the queue came to an end in China and the overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia before and after the Xinhai Revolution, have elucidated the political and social significance of the hairstyle, mainly by analysing the anti-Qing/Manchu sentiments and nationalistic discourses of the Han Chinese elite (Ryū 1990; Godley 1994; Cheng 1998; Yoshizawa 2003; Hou and Hu 2005; Mochida 2012).[7] Most of these works emphasise the political aspects of the queue-cutting movement among the Chinese people, and link it to

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5   In particular, people in the Jiangnan region between Shanghai and Nanjing fiercely resisted the policy (Wakeman 1975, 55–7; Wakeman 1985, 646–50).

6   The members of the Taiping Rebellion in the late nineteenth century let their hair grow to wear a traditional Confucian hairstyle that was different from the Manchu queue. The Qing government referred to them in official documents as "long hair rebels" (Ch. *changmao zei* 長毛賊) or "hair traitors" (Ch. *fazei* 髮賊) (Cheng 1998, 128).

7   Tejapira (1992) focused on the queue hairstyle in Siam (i.e. today's Thailand) before the early twentieth century as an alleged sign of "Chineseness" to examine the genealogy of "Chineseness", asserting that this was a recent invention in Thai racist discourse that had little to do with the queue itself.

modernisation and nationalism. At the same time, Chinese-speaking Muslims, who were "perceived as Chinese and had to wear the queue or be punished by the same law as other Chinese" (Lipman 2006, 104), were also forced to adopt the hairstyle.[8] In the early twentieth century, some Chinese-speaking Muslims in Beijing and Tianjin, the national capital region and political centre of China, cut off their queues one after another, not for reasons of nationalism or modernisation, but because of their religious faith and the social trends surrounding them. By examining Muslims' disputes over whether the queue was un-Islamic, drawing mainly on periodicals published by Chinese-speaking Muslims in North China, this study provides a brand-new viewpoint on the queue-cutting movement by showcasing the example of Chinese-speaking Muslims and illuminating an unknown aspect of the Muslim communities in Beijing and Tianjin in the early twentieth century from the perspective of hairstyle and appearance. It will also present the interesting example of Chinese-speaking Muslims with regard to the links that tie hairstyle and human beings' bodily expressions, politics, cultures, and religious faith.

It is well known that discussions on queue-cutting were often connected to the end of costume changing (Ch. *yifu* 易服) during the Xinhai Revolution (Yoshizawa 2003, 122, 131–5; Cheng 1998, 132–3). I will not talk about these issues in this article, since there is not much said about clothes in Muslims' discussions over queue-cutting. Still, it is interesting that the male Muslim elite in Beijing did not seem to pay much attention to women's foot binding (Ch. *chanzu* 纏足), which was a common practice present in China from the tenth century until it officially ended in 1949, and often regarded as problematic in terms of the modernisation of the Chinese nation.[9] The male Muslims in Beijing and Tianjin who were literate enough to write articles in periodicals were more concerned about queue-cutting than foot binding. It can be said that the absence of descriptions of foot binding in the Muslim media reflects the indifference of the male Muslim elite toward women's issues, as well as the urgency of discussing the topic of queues.

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8   On the other hand, Turkic-speaking peoples of the Tarim Basin (roughly equivalent to present-day Uyghurs) did not need to wear a queue—except for their leaders, who had to travel to Beijing to pay homage to the Manchu emperors (Lipman 2004, 22). Interestingly, some Turkic Muslim officials and *begs* (a local Muslim governor in East Turkestan) in Xinjiang eagerly appealed for the "right to wear the queue" so as to show their steadfast loyalty to the Empire (Millward 1998, 215–6).

9   For the origins, purpose, practice, and demise of foot binding in China, see Ko (1997; 2002). Chinese-speaking Muslim women, particularly in the northwest part of China, such as Gansu, had practiced foot binding (Hastings et al. 1916, 893). James Legge (1815–97), a Scottish missionary and scholar, claimed that in 1881 he came across a placard in a mosque in Canton in southern China that denounced foot binding, saying Islam did not allow it since it was a sin against God's will (Legge 1881, 111–2). The *Xidaotang* 西道堂, a Chinese Islamic sect based in the Northwest China, advocated cutting off the queue and opposed the binding of women's feet (Dillon 1999, 143).

Muslims' Queues as Seen by Foreigners

Before examining Muslim polemics over the practice of queue-cutting, I will introduce a perspective on Muslims' queue hairstyles in Beijing, as seen by two foreigners who visited China in the early twentieth century: Marshall Broomhall (1866–1937), a British Protestant missionary to China, and Abdürreşid İbrahim (1857–1944), a Russian-Tatar journalist who travelled to China in 1909.[10] Their descriptions are valuable in that they carefully observed and depicted Muslims' hairstyles, which may have been so natural for the Muslims themselves that they did not record them.

Broomhall noted the appearance of Chinese-speaking Muslims, and gave particular attention to their moustaches and hairstyles, writing as follows in his book *Islam in China*:

> Reports, emanating from districts as far apart as Kansu, Manchuria, and Canton, speak of the habit of clipping the moustache flush with the upper lip for the length of the mouth alone, it being allowed to grow at the sides as long as it will. This custom is said by themselves to have descended from Moses, and has the advantage of enabling them to identify one another when among strangers. The Mullahs and Ahongs[11] in many cases, if not always, shave the entire head, and all conceal the queue during worship. (Broomhall 1966, 222)

According to Broomhall, a fellow missionary from Canada named Donald MacGillivray also noted the Chinese-speaking Muslims' queues and caps in Shandong during worship at a mosque: "Their queues were carefully tucked away under these caps by winding them round the head. The priests and a few helpers wound a long piece of white cloth around their caps, and thus made very fair turbans". (ibid., 187–8) In another part of *Islam in China*, ten Chinese Muslim men in Beijing seem to have shaved their heads at around the same time (ibid., 242), instead of having queues that they tucked away under their caps only during worship.

The caps referred to here are the skullcaps that Huizu still wear today, which are called "worship caps" (Ch. *libai mao* 禮拜帽) or "Muslim caps" (Ch. *Huimin mao*

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10   For İbrahim's trip to China in 1909 and his relations with Chinese-speaking Muslims, see Yamazaki (2014).

11   *Ahong* is the Chinese transliteration of *ākhund*, the Persian term for a Muslim cleric or a worship leader of a Muslim community. Its Arabic synonym is *imām*. It is also transliterated as *aheng* 阿衡 or *ahun* 阿渾, and its Chinese synonyms are *jiaoshi* 教師 and *zhangjiao* 掌教. For its definition, see Wang (2001, 2).

回民帽).[12] Since these caps are not very thick and there is almost no space to put something inside them, it must have been rather bothersome for Muslims to need to tuck away their queues under these caps. Moreover, since one of the Five Pillars in Islam and a mandatory religious duty for every Muslim is to pray five times a day, having to put one's queue under one's cap would have been a frequent annoyance. Abdürreşid İbrahim, who also looked at Chinese-speaking Muslims' worship during his stay in Beijing, noticed that Muslims tucked the queues in their caps during the service. He recorded that, while worshipping (Pe. *namāz*), the Chinese people (Ot. *Çînliler*, i.e. Chinese-speaking Muslims) wore caps similar to Bukhara caps instead of turbans, that they put their long hair into the caps, and that they wore these caps only in mosques and always let their hair hang free apart on other occasions (İbrahim 1911, 22–3). This description indicates that the Muslims did not wear caps outside mosques, and let their queues hang down their backs.

It seems İbrahim was highly interested in queues, and asked locals the reasons for wearing them wherever he went, in both Beijing and Shanghai.[13] He expressed his respect for Chinese men, for their preservation of their national culture, as seen in their clothes and queues (ibid., 154), comparing the situation to the Ottoman Empire where some people were embarrassed to wear their national fez headdress, and noting that Chinese people were superior to the Ottomans in that they cherished their national dress (ibid., 554). Nevertheless, İbrahim was not happy that Chinese-speaking Muslims had queues (ibid., 512). In Beijing, he was introduced to a very old man by an ʿ*alim* (i.e. a scholar, an intellectual man), when the topic of hairstyles came up in their conversation by chance (ibid., 565). İbrahim, after telling the old man a lot of the Hadith and teachings of Islam, advised him to shave his entire head, saying that anyone who was a Muslim, especially those who had lived long like the old man, had to assume the right attitude towards the Prophet's Sunnah (i.e. deeds and sayings of Muhammad). In other words, İbrahim thought Muslims should cut their queues because they were against Sunnah. He stated that the braid grew like the tail of a mouse (ibid.). Perhaps he said this to avoid writing the word "pig".

A similar description can be seen in a travel book written by Süleyman Şükrü, an Ottoman government official who visited China at the beginning of the twentieth century: he claimed that having queues was contrary to the practice of the Prophet

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12   It is said that the Muslim males' caps derive from the Arab and Persian Muslims who came to China in the Tang Dynasty and became prevalent during the Yuan era (Tao 2003, 13–4). Besides the caps, Broomhall mentioned *ahongs'* (i.e. *imams'*) turbans and Muslim women's dress as well (Broomhall 1966, 223).

13   "A Hairless Man in China" (İbrahim 1911, 575–6), "Shanghai" (ibid., 582–4).

Muhammad, and that Muslims should distinguish themselves from non-Muslims by employing Islamic clothing and lifestyles (Şükrü 2005, 563). However, neither İbrahim nor Şükrü offered any clear reason for why a queue hairstyle was contrary to Islamic teachings. Are there any specific hairstyles that are prohibited for men in Islam? According to *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, one of the more authoritative Sunni Hadiths, which was edited by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (810–870), the Prophet Muhammad forbade *al-qaza*', a hairstyle in which one part of the hair is shaved and another is left.[14] There is also a verse in the *Qur'an* which implies that Allāh prefers his believers to have their heads shaved and their hair kept short.[15] It is unclear if İbrahim had this in mind when he suggested that the old man cut his queue, but it is certain that a queue looked extraordinary to this Russian Muslim visiting China for the first time. Although there are some mistakes and prejudices in *'Âlem-i İslâm*, İbrahim was allowed to take a good look at the Muslim community in China as a fellow believer and thus carefully observe local Muslims with his clear insight. His observations that many of the Chinese-speaking Muslims in Beijing had queues in 1909, that they tucked these queues into caps during worship, and that local Muslims did not care about his criticism of queues as "un-Islamic", are especially interesting in light of the contrast with the queue-cutting movement after 1911.

Reasons for Queue-cutting

According to Yoshizawa Seiichirō, by 1910 the Qing authorities were discussing queue-cutting. The Political Advisory Board (Ch. *Zizhengyuan*資政院), a temporary central assembly established in Beijing to prepare for constitutional monarchy in the late Qing Dynasty, passed a vote to abolish queues. Although the proposal was stopped before the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, to some extent queue-cutting was promoted by servicemen, students, and civilians, particularly by the urban elite who considered themselves to be "enlightened". After that, since the revolutionary regime promoted queue-cutting, more and more people started to cut their queues as they followed the trend of change (Yoshizawa 2003, 154–5).

There were three main reasons for queue-cutting. First, a queue was not compatible with the policy of increasing national prosperity and military power, because it is difficult to move one's body with a queue. Second, foreigners despised queues. Third, the Han Chinese rejected queues because they were forced

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14   Book 72 "Clothes", No. 803 (Bukhārī 1997, 428, 429).

15   Chapter 48 *Al-Fath* (*The Victory*), Verse 27 (Ahmed Ali and Mirza 2004, 1535).

on them by the Manchu Dynasty (ibid., 154). Muslims' queue-cutting might be regarded as consistent with the general view that "the idea that the problems of clothing and customs were involved in the entire social order seemed to be very natural" (ibid., 148–9). However, as will be described later, Muslims had their own context within which to assert and practice queue-cutting. Therefore, this section reviews the Muslim debate over queue-cutting in *Zhengzong Aiguobao* (正宗愛國報) (ZhA: Genuine Patriot Daily, Beijing, 1906–1913)[16] and examines the related practices.

Starting in autumn 1910, several articles in *Zhengzong Aiguobao* began to discuss the decisions on queue-cutting and changing clothes by the Political Advisory Board, and the situation of queue-cutting in cities such as Beijing. Let us consider an article entitled "Islamic Ahongs Should Cut Queues", reprinted in *Zhengzong Aiguobao* in November 1910 and contributed by a prominent Muslim journalist from Tianjin named Liu Mengyang 劉孟揚 to *Minxingbao* (民興報), a magazine which he published himself.

> Our Chinese men's queues (Ch. *fabian* 髮辮) and women's foot binding are the things that we, Islam (Ch. *Huijiao* 回教, i.e. Muslims) should not have. It is just hard to break with [them] because they are customs. Despite knowing these two do not agree with Islamic teachings (Ch. *jiaozhi* 教旨), all of us Muslims (Ch. *Huijiaoren* 回教人) do not try to [stop these practices], and nobody tries to improve [these customs]. Putting foot binding aside, let's first talk about queues today. We Muslims treat worship as an important duty. Ablution is essential during worship, but these queues cause inconvenience for performing ablutions. It is not necessary to talk about the ordinary Muslims, but what about ahongs? Usually, we feel as if these queues did not exist, but we have to put them on the head when wearing caps and tuck them away under the caps. It goes without saying that these queues are unnecessary. Now the atmosphere (Ch. *fengqi* 風氣) for queue-cutting has been created. Almost every day, there are people who cut off their queues. I often come across such people. It [i.e. such a scene] is not novel at all. The weirdest thing is that I have never heard that those people who should never have queues have cut off their queues.

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16   *Zhengzong Aiguobao*, founded and run by a Beijing-based Muslim Ding Baochen 丁宝臣 (1876–1913), was the first periodical published by Chinese-speaking Muslims. In this newspaper, Muslim contributors recorded the daily lives of Muslims and sometime expressed their opinions on various topics. It was widely read by Muslims in northern China, but was addressed to a wide Beijing audience regardless of the readers' religious backgrounds. For more details of this newspaper, see Unno-Yamazaki (2016, 33–5).

He continues:

> What kind of people should not have queues? They are our Islamic ahongs. What ahongs preach about in the prayer hall [in mosques] is what Islam [i.e. Muslims] should not do. [Strangely enough] Ahongs usually prohibit [things against the Islamic teachings], but the only thing that ahongs still do not dare do is to cut off this inappropriate queue. It seems the queue is not in accordance with the Islamic teachings. On the 15th [of the month], I went to the funeral of the Zhang family who are my relatives. All the close friends of mine who are also Muslims saw me with the queue cut off and said that it [i. e. cutting the queue] matches the creed. Since cutting the queue is in accordance with the Islamic teachings, not cutting off the queue does not match the creed. Ahongs are the people who are in charge of the administration of religious things. It is almost like they themselves are doing something against the teachings of Islam. In the past, there was no trend of queue-cutting, but we can no longer say that is true, because now the atmosphere (Ch. *qifen* 氣氛) has been created. Our Islamic ahongs, there is no obstacle to standing up together. Everyone, just cut them. Moreover, foreigners call our Chinese queues pigs' tails (Ch. *zhuweiba* 猪尾巴, i.e. the tail of a pig). It is the character *zhu* 猪 [i.e. pig] which our Islam hates the most. Why do ahongs still have such things on their heads? Cut them immediately. (Liu 1910, 6)

To reiterate Liu's points, the first reason he—who had already cut his queue—called for ahongs to cut their queues is that they were a nuisance during worship, and it was bothersome to tuck them under caps when at prayer. This description reminds us of how İbrahim and Broomhall recorded the hairstyles and caps of Chinese-speaking Muslims. The second reason is that foreigners called queues pigs' tails, which referred to a taboo in Islam. It is not difficult to imagine that Muslims in northern China, who repeatedly had troubles with non-Muslims over fake ḥalāl food and the pork taboo, and even hated homonyms that sounded like *zhu* 猪 (pigs) (Unno 2016, 16–9), strongly rejected queues knowing that foreigners called them "pigs' tails".

It is unclear how much influence Liu Mengyang's article had, but it was reported in *Zhengzong Aiguobao* in December 1910 that approximately forty students of a school named Shunzhimenwai Xiangxuetang 順治門外湘學堂, and six students who learned Arabic in a mosque (probably located in Beijing) had cut their queues (Anonymous 1910). Furthermore, Wang Jingzhai 王静齋 (1879–1949), a prominent ahong from Tianjin, responded to Liu's article in this manner:

Recently, I read speech notes by Mr. Liu Mengyang, published in *Tianjin Baihuabao*.[17] Its title is "Islamic Ahongs Should Cut Queues". I cannot but be embarrassed when reading this, because we ahongs should observe Islamic teachings, recommend good deeds, and prevent bad deeds [by other Muslims]. We should not do things that disagree with Islamic teachings in the first place. Although these useless and harmful queues disagree with Islamic teachings, nevertheless, great and sophisticated ahongs with good reputations do not intend to cut them in general and even advocate [not cutting the queue]. Moreover, all of our ahongs are conversely advised [to cut their queues] by outsiders. The persons who should recommend [cutting the queue] are paradoxically advised to do so by other people. Isn't that an embarrassing thing? […]

Some may say, "Although the queue should be cut off, why don't you ahongs cut it?" I would say, "Among Muslims, there are many stubborn people (Ch. *Huijiaoren duo you wangu de* 回教人多有頑固的)". Generally, they think that it is heresy to react as occasions may demand. […] Having a queue does not by any means agree with Islamic teachings. Habits and customs tend to create this sort of evil custom, which is hard to break with. If anyone cuts a queue, he will definitely be insulted by people without common sense. (Wang 1910)

Wang Jingzhai thus thought queues to be against Islam, and recommended that other ahongs cut them off, as Liu Mengyang did.

Wang Jingzhai continued noting that Zhang Ziwen 張子文 (or Zhang Dechun 張德純, 1875–1966), one of the central figures of the Beijing Muslim community at that time, was subjected to severe criticism when he cut off his queue in spring 1910.

I remember that some stubborn people (Ch. *wangu dangmen* 頑固党們) severely criticized Zhang Ziwen 張子文, an ahong in Beijing Madian 馬甸, when he resolutely cut his queue this spring. Some say Mr. Zhang disregarded *guocui* 國粹 [i.e. the essence of the nation] (but having a queue disregards the Islamic teachings); others say he accommodates Western people (as they might not know what kind of person

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17   It cannot be confirmed whether this article was reprinted in *Tianjin Baihuabao*, since the only back numbers currently available are from No. 80 (published on 10 April 1910) to No. 254 (1 October 1910). Still, judging from the title, author, and contents, this article should be the same as the one that was written by Liu Mengyang, originally published in *Minxingbao*, and later reprinted in *Zhengzong Aiguobao* on November 29, 1910 with the title "Islamic Ahongs Should Cut Queues".

the Prophet Muhammad was). Eventually, they nicknamed him Monk Zhangsi (Ch. *Zhangsi heshang* 張四和尚). […] The funniest thing is that, even though the tops of the queues of some aged, virtuous elder ahongs (Ch. *niangao youde de lao ahongmen* 年高有德的老阿衡們) are not as big as copper coins, whether they are old or young, they hate to cut them off. Isn't it funny? Great, respectable and sophisticated ahongs with reputations, I respectfully recommend you to cut your queues immediately. I say only once. Don't make people laugh when they see your heads, ha, ahongs. (Wang 1910)

Considering that most of the articles advocating queue-cutting in *Zhengzong Aiguobao* were published after autumn 1910, Zhang Ziwen would have been one of the earliest Muslims in Beijing to cut off his queue. This episode provides us with valuable information about what those Muslims who were against queue-cutting, who were often called "stubborn people" and whose opinions were seldom included in the Muslim press, were actually thinking. It is notable that Wang Jingzhai intentionally made fun of the "aged, virtuous elder ahongs" who had not cut off their queues yet, which implies that there was a generational gap between older and younger ahongs over whether or not to cut the queue.

Two more things can be identified from the above quotation that explain many Muslims' disagreement with queue-cutting. First, these Muslims opposed queue-cutting because they did not want to look like Buddhist monks. The word "*heshang*" literally means a Buddhist monk, and Buddhist monks were exempted from the queue and shaved all of their hair.[18] The expression "*Zhangsi heshang*",[19] which was used to ridicule Zhang Ziwen, thus implied that he was no longer a Muslim, which would have been an unbearable insult as he was a devoted Muslim. It is therefore interesting that both Muslims in favour of and against queue-cutting were afraid that others would see them as non-Muslims. Second, the above quotation reveals that the "stubborn people" criticized Zhang Ziwen's queue-cutting for the lack of *guocui* 國粹. This word originally referred to Japanese nationalism (Ja. *kokusui* 国粹), which harshly criticized Westernisation and encouraged the Japanese to cherish their own history and culture under the sovereignty of the Emperor. The terminology was invented by a Japanese intellectual and politician named Shiga Shigetaka 志賀重昂 (1863–1927) and rapidly spread during the Meiji era. This concept was borrowed by Chinese intellectuals, yet developed in a different way in China where the revolutionaries used it not to support the Qing Dynasty, but

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18 Besides Buddhist monks, men in mourning, young boys, and Taoist priests (who let their hair grow) were exempted from having the queue (Rhoads 2000, 60).

19 The number *si* (four) is from his *paihang* 排行, or seniority in age within one family generation.

instead to oppose it.[20] The word *guocui* in Wang's article can be translated simply as "nationalism", or can be understood as "the national essence" if we assume that the author considered the queue a national symbol of China.

In this article, Wang Jingzhai introduced two episodes in the Arabic scriptures to explain the reasons Muslims must not keep their queues. The first story was about a man who had his hair cut but left half of it long after the Prophet Muhammad had passed away. Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Quḥāfah al-Ṣiddīq (573–634), a senior companion of Muhammad and the first Muslim Caliph, "thought this hairstyle to be against Islamic teachings" and chopped the man's head off. The second episode involved an Islamic leader putting a man to the sword for saying that he did not like the cropped hairstyle which Muhammad favoured (Wang 1910). Leaving the veracity of these episodes aside, what should be emphasized is that both Liu and Wang recommended that other Muslims cut their queues on the grounds that they were contrary to Islamic teachings, while non-Muslims were being told to cut their queues to increase national prosperity, military power, and free themselves from Manchu rule. This fact indicates that Chinese-speaking Muslims did not always act in accordance with the slogan, *Aiguo aijiao* ("to love one's homeland is to love faith").

In other words, contrary to non-Muslims' queue-cutting movement, which was motivated by anti-Qing sentiment and patriotism, for Muslims queue-cutting was also a matter of religious belief. Perhaps for that reason, *Zhengzong Aiguobao* had few descriptions of Confucian ethics, while the non-Muslim urban elite in the late Qing period tended to discuss the pros and cons of queue-cutting in light of Confucian values, arguing that "to cut a queue is to hurt the body given by one's parents. It is unfavourable because it is against the ethics of filial piety (Ch. *xiao* 孝)" (Yoshizawa 2003, 148). Also: "A queue is a hairstyle that shaves more than half of the hair, so it is against the teachings of Confucius" (ibid.). Moreover, though non-Muslims hated queues because they were a custom of Manchu rulers and seen as "barbarian (Ch. *yi* 夷)", it is likely that Muslims avoided discussing the "barbarism" of queues. This does not mean that anti-Manchu sentiment did not exist among Chinese-speaking Muslims during the Qing rule over China.[21] Nonetheless, as far as the Muslim elites in Beijing and Tianjin in the early twentieth century were concerned, they were reluctant to take a hostile attitude towards Manchus, although they were not altogether pro-Manchu.

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20   For further studies on the *guocui* movement in modern China in relation to Japan, see Kawakami (2001) and Han (2015).

21   Atwill (2005, 139) has pointed out that Du Wenxiu 杜文秀, who was the leader of the Panthay Rebellion in Yunnan, was not targeting the Han Chinese. Rather, he had anti-Qing and anti-Manchu sentiments and wanted to destroy the Manchu government.

Difficulties of Queue-cutting

We do not know how ordinary Muslims reacted to the reports that Liu Mengyang, an eminent journalist, and Zhang Ziwen, who had great influence on Muslim communities in northern China, had cut their queues. In any case, the situation greatly changed from the time when Abdürreşid İbrahim had recorded Muslims' queue hairstyle in 1909, as queue-cutting became a mainstream practice by the second half of 1911.

The names and occupations of people who cut their queues in Beijing and Tianjin were listed in *Zhengzong Aiguobao*, although it was not shown whether they were Muslims or not. At the same time, the discussions on queue-cutting by the Political Advisory Board were often reported, and several articles on the pros and cons of queue-cutting were published in the newspaper. Some Chinese were worried that it would be difficult to find jobs if one rushed to change one's hair and style of clothing (Mengdie 1911). Still, the *Zhengzong Aiguobao* favoured articles that recommended queue-cutting as soon as possible, saying, for example, "Chinese people's queues are ridiculed by foreigners" (Letian 1911), or "[a queue] looks good only because we are used to it" (Xinmin 1912). It is difficult to check the names of the contributors or whether the authors of these articles were Muslims because they used pennames. Nevertheless, it can be safely assumed that *Zhengzong Aiguobao* took a positive attitude towards queue-cutting, and the opposing view was seldom presented in the newspaper.

Notably, a short article was published in *Zhengzong Aiguobao* on January 2, 1912, right after the establishment of the Republic of China, saying that a Muslim hair-cutting comrade association had been founded in the Qianmen area in Beijing (Anonymous 1912a). It reported that some members would soon organize a hair cutting group for Muslims, and that it would be located inside the seventh primary school for the learning of Islam and Confucianism in Qianmenwai Puchenshi (Ch. *Qianmenwai Puchenshi jingru diqi xiaoxuetang* 前門外鋪陳市經儒第七小學堂). This organization's goals and practices are not totally clear, but it seems that they promoted the slogan "freedom of haircut (Ch. *ziyou jianfa* 自由剪髮)" and queue-cutting by Muslims.

The queue-cutting movement continued for a while, even after the establishment of the Republic of China. Several lists of the names of people who cut their queues in Beijing were published in *Zhengzong Aiguobao* through 1912. Not all of these were necessarily Muslims, but it would not be surprising if some of them were Muslims. We can see that queue-cutting had reached across generations from the

fact that the name of a 10-year-old was listed (Anonymous 1912b).[22] Pro-queue-cutting articles also continued to be published: "The number of queue-cutting people has been increasing day by day. Not only people in academia, politics or military, but also those engaged in business know the benefits of queue-cutting very well" (Baofa Xingwuzi 1912). Moreover, an article also said: "Cut queues immediately, or it will be too late when you really have troubles" (ibid.). There must have been Muslims who were encouraged to cut their queues by these words rather than by patriotism or faith. In other words, as is discussed in Liu Mengyang's article above, it was also the social atmosphere of the times, in which people had already cut their queues, that made Muslims cut their hair.

Nonetheless, it was true that a certain number of people in Beijing chose not to cut their queues, even when eighty or ninety percent of the population had already done so in Nanjing, which later became the capital of the Republic of China (Yoshizawa 2003, 145). As Cheng (1998, 135) noted, "As the queue-cutting issue was related to the conflict between the new and old forces and ideologies, it gave rise to many disturbances and incidents of unrest around the country." There were also a certain number of Muslims who were against queue-cutting. Let us take a look at an article entitled "Describing the Reasons Why Our Ahongs Never Advocate Cutting Queues" (Anonymous 1912c), presenting an opposing view to the article that announced the foundation of the Muslim queue-cutting comrade association. The author of this article, who called himself *jiaoshi* 教師 (i.e. *ahong*) and *xiaosheng* 小生 (i.e. my humble self), and was called *gexia* 閣下 (i.e. his Excellency) by other Muslims, spoke out on the difficulties of recommending queue-cutting to anti-queue-cutting Muslims in Tianjin.

The author thought that the queue was neat and clean, saying that the hairstyle was the essence of the nation (Ch. *guocui* 國粹), something which only Chinese people have in this world. At the same time, he wanted to cut his own queue, because he thought that the old customs should be removed along with the old regime when it was gone. He also believed that, even though the queues did not contravene Islamic teachings, "they were opposite to the deeds of the Prophet Muhammad" (Anonymous 1912c, 5), as they were annoying during worship, and it was more convenient if they cut them. He agreed with Liu Mengyang's opinion that queues were against Islamic doctrine, and was very dissatisfied with the behaviour of the ahongs in Tianjin who did not follow Liu Mengyang's proposal of cutting them off. However, the author eventually gave up on the plan of cutting his own queue because of the opposition of ordinary Muslims. As he stated, it was not until the author became an ahong himself that he became aware that some

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22   A similar list can be seen in No. 2051, published the next day.

Muslims were so stubborn that they had the power to give ahongs trouble. Young ahongs such as he were not powerful enough to urge such stubborn people to cut their queues. He suggested that, if an old custom, like the queue hairstyle, did not disrespect Islamic teachings, then ahongs should not pay too much attention to it and should refrain from prohibiting it immediately to avoid resistance from Muslims and save faces (Ch. *bao timian* 保體面).

It is difficult to identify the author of this article, because it is impossible to check the original text in *Tianjin Baihuabao* (天津白話報). But, judging from the context, he was an ahong based in Tianjin who had expressed his agreement with Liu Mengyang's argument on queue-cutting. If so, it is probably safe to say that Wang Jingzhai, about 30 years old, was the author who contributed this article to support Liu. If what is stated in this article is true, anti-queue-cutting Muslims were so persistent in Tianjin that ahongs could not persuade them otherwise. It can thus easily be imagined that there was severe friction between them and pro-queue-cutting Muslims. It is surprising that the author, i.e. Wang Jingzhai, who supported Liu Mengyang, eventually decided not to cut off his queue, even though he thought that the queues were against the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad. As a young Muslim who had just became an ahong, Wang Jingzhai could only compromise to avoid the resistance of "stubborn" older Muslims and save face (Ch. *bao timian* 保體面), and took a wait-and-see attitude, trying to be neutral and flexible.

Here, I would like to focus on the word *timian* 體面, one of those that can be translated as "face" in a sociological context and idiomatically refers to an individual's public self-image based on her/his own sense of dignity or prestige (Goffman 1967, 5). This term, which thought to have its origin in the Chinese language (Ho 1976, 867), is regarded as "the key to the Chinese spirit" (Lu 1959, 129) and "the most delicate standard by which Chinese social intercourse is regulated" (Lin 1935, 200). I am not aiming to simplify the history of Chinese-speaking Muslims, yet it seems that their guiding principles have aspects that can be understood with the concept of face. The episode of the young ahong in Tianjin, probably Wang Jingzhai, shows us that saving face was his motivation for acting to preserve the queue. He wanted to cut off his queue because of his *faith* in Islam, but preserved it to save *face*. Also, instead of persisting in his belief that the queue was against the teachings of the Prophet, he chose to keep his queue for the long-term aim of not provoking conflicts among Muslims. In other words, keeping a queue was wrong according to the regulations of Islam. However, by doing so, Wang was trying to pacify the anti-queue-cutting Muslims and preserve stability and harmony among the Muslim community in Tianjin. The tension between religious faith and social face may, to some extent, thus help us to understand the real-life practices of Islam in China and Muslims' interactions with others.

Conclusion

In order to deconstruct the nationalism of Chinese-speaking Muslims, which has often been overemphasised in previous studies, this article has shown that Chinese-speaking Muslims were also upset by queues and tormented by what was called hair disaster (Ch. *fa'e* 髮厄) or hair wickedness (Ch. *fahuo* 髮禍) (Kuwabara 1927, 332). Unlike non-Muslim Chinese men who cut their braids because of anti-Manchu sentiment and nationalistic feelings, some Muslims cut theirs off for religious reasons, as they claimed that the hairstyle was un-Islamic and contrary to the practices of the Prophet, making the following claims: queues are bothersome when one performs worship; they look like pigs' tails, which should be avoided in Islam; the Prophet Muhammad liked a close-cropped hairstyle; and his companion disliked a hairstyle which was shaved halfway. Still, a certain number of Muslims tried to preserve their queues. Their opposition was so intense that a young Muslim scholar in Tianjin abandoned cutting off his queue to prevent conflicts among the community and save his face.

To be sure, as previous research has pointed out, during the Qing Dynasty hair was "a means of social control and a focus of cultural and political conflict" (Cheng 1998, 138) and "hair needs to be interpreted as a public symbol" (Godley 1994, 53): "for Han Chinese, the queue hair style embodied the alien conquest, the power of autocracy, and the downfall of traditional rites and cultural pride" (Cheng 1998, 128). However, in the limited case of the Muslim elite in the urban areas of Beijing and Tianjin, queue-cutting was discussed in terms of their inner religious beliefs rather than political issues. In other words, they interpreted the queue-cutting movement in modern China, a symbolic form of social activism of the Xinhai Revolution and one of the most influential events in the modern history of East Asia followed by the collapse of the Qing Dynasty and the establishment of the new Republican regime, in their own context.

As Christian missionaries witnessed and reported, Chinese-speaking Muslims tucked away their queues and concealed them under their caps in the early twentieth century. Some also cut off the queues, as Muslims themselves described, because it was troublesome to hide them under their caps. It is also possible that they did not want to leave their "un-Islamic" queues hanging down their backs during worship. Muslims' attitudes toward the queue-hairstyle remind us of what Marshall Broomhall recorded about their "compromise", by which they pretended to pray to idols or the Imperial Tablet (Ch. *wansui paizi* 萬歲牌子), which had to be placed into each mosque.

Their [i.e. Muslims'] attitudes as students or as officials towards the worship of the Emperor and of Confucius, or even of idolatry, is that of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excuse themselves by saying that they only do so outwardly and not in heart. (Broomhall 1966, 228)

Certainly, Muslims' efforts for national integration and patriotism, as symbolised by the slogan *Aiguo aijiao* ("to love one's homeland is to love faith") and even the title of the newspaper *Zhengzong Aiguobao* (lit. *Genuine Patriot Daily*), which this article has mainly drawn on, were significant throughout the twentieth century. However, at the same time, attention should also be paid to their everyday "compromise" with what Broomhall called "an empty official ceremony" (ibid.). For them, the queue must have been another one of these, as it embodied the reality of the obligation to accept "pagan" rule, whether from the Manchus or Han Chinese. This may explain why the Muslim elite did not express anti-Manchu sentiment. While the Han Chinese were liberated from the Manchu rule and enjoyed freedom of hairstyle under the government dominated by the Han Chinese, the birth of a new regime meant that Muslims again had to seek ways to construct a stable relationship with the un-Islamic, "heathen" government.

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The Dynamics of Islamic Ideology with Regard to Gender and Women's Education in South Asia

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Abstract

The article presents an investigation on certain anthropological-social aspects and the social organization of women with a focus on female education and women's rights in Islam in South Asia, and especially in the subcontinent. It starts with the Moghul period and then turns to the colonial era and contemporary developments. Through the movement for independence from colonial rule of Britain, the Muslim identity in the South Asian region rose in a state of transformation, reform and development. This occurred due to several factors that encouraged the regeneration and reviewing of Indian society in response to the condemnation, discrimination and chauvinism of their colonial rulers and their deep-seated legacy. Women of the society, who were censured to be subjugated by the native men as entitled by colonial rulers, empowered this transformation by taking direct and indirect participation in it even though patriarchal norms and mind-sets have been a durable feature of South Asian society, cutting across faith communities and social strata, including the Hindu, Buddhist and other non-Islamic traditions on the subcontinent. While religious arguments are generally used in efforts to preserve the asymmetrical status of men and women in economic, political, and social arenas, this investigation attempts to show that religious traditions in South Asia are not monolithic in their perceptions of gender and women's education. The structure of gender roles in these traditions is a consequence of various historical practices and ideological influences. Today, there is a substantial variability within and between religious communities concerning the social status of women. At different times and in different milieus, religious points of view have been deployed to validate male authority over women and, in opposition, to call for more impartial gender relations.

Keywords: women's education, Muslim identity, South Asia, gender roles, transformation of society

Izvleček

Dinamika islamske ideologije glede na spol in izobraževanje žensk v južni Aziji

V prispevku je predstavljena raziskava nekaterih antropološko-socialnih vidikov in socialne organizacije žensk, ki se osredotoča na izobraževanje in pravice žensk v islamu v južni Aziji, posebej na Indijski podcelini. Začne z mogulskim obdobjem in se nadaljuje

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s kolonialnim obdobjem in obdobjem sodobnega razvoja. Z gibanjem za neodvisnost od britanske kolonialne vladavine se je muslimanska identiteta na območju južne Azije pre-obrazila, reformirala in razvila. To se je zgodilo zaradi več dejavnikov, ki spodbujajo re-generacijo in prevpraševanje indijske družbe in so odgovor na obsodbo, diskriminacijo in šovinizem kolonialnih vladarjev in njihove globoko zakoreninjene zapuščine. Ženski položaj v družbi je bil cenzuriran, da bi si jih lahko podredili lokalni moški, ki so to pra-vico dobili od kolonialnih vladarjev. Pozneje pa so ženske dobile moč in so se neposredno ali posredno vključile v družbo, kljub trdno zakoreninjenim patriarhalnimi normami in miselnosti v južnoazijskih državah, ki so prevevale vse verske skupnostih in družbene sloje, vključno s hinduizmom, budizmom in drugimi neislamskimi tradicijami na podcelini. Verski argumenti se običajno uporabljajo v prizadevanjih za ohranitev neenakega položaja moških in žensk v gospodarskih, političnih in socialnih sferah, ta raziskava pa poskuša pokazati, da verske tradicije v Južni Aziji niso enotne pri dojemanju spola in izobraževanja žensk. Struktura vloge spolov v teh tradicijah je posledica različnih zgodovinskih praks in ideoloških vplivov. Danes v verskih skupnostih obstajajo precejšne razlike, tudi glede družbenega statusa žensk. V različnih obdobjih in okoljih so verska stališča uporabljali za potrjevanje moške oblasti nad ženskami, pa tudi nasprotno, pri zahtevah po enakoprav-nejšem odnosu med spoloma.

Ključne besede: izobraževanje žensk, muslimanska identiteta, Vzhodna Azija, Južna Azi-ja, vloga spolov, transformacija družbe

Introduction—Inquiry of Rhetoric for a Return to the Noble Time

The British Empire ruled over India for a long time and influenced the sub-continent socially, politically, economically, and most prominently, in terms of its consciousness. However, colonial rule then unhurriedly fell into decline with the drive for emancipation, and the independence movement of the 1930's–40's. With the movement for freedom the Muslim identity in the region (and also that of the Hindus) went into a state of transformation, reform and development. There are many factors associated with this development. In brief, this happened when the reproduction and thinking of Indian society encountered the condemnation, prejudice and chauvinism of its colonial rulers and their inbred bequest. Mainly, Muslims felt defamed (as did Hindus) by the British attacks on their masculin-ity which was seen as effeminate and thus pitiful. Muslims thus looked to the past, similar to Hindus, for explanations and facts that would disprove this. They considered their position in relation to a past golden era, and this then lad to an encompassing protest and call for emancipation.

The participation of women and their dominant contribution for the movement was remarkable. They not only aroused and motivated men into action in the fight against Indian subordination by the colonizers, but also delivered a vehicle that

empowered transformation. The cultural conflict among subcontinent woman was one of the focal grounds in the struggle for a Muslim identity. Even so, regardless of the imagery used, a key issue in any related discussion whether women were seen as having any significance and meaning in Islamic reformation and transformation that occurred in India or not. It is important here to read the ideological difference in terms of the subjects, and if there was an interconnected identity to this. Likewise, it is relevant to examine whether these ideas came to a culmination in the formation of an Indian and Pakistani identity or not. Moreover, what is obvious in the women's inquiry is not merely their need to find space for a fresh identity to contest old arrangements, but also their roles in terms of philosophy, ideology and their presentation. It is also important in this study to look at whether women were supported by the Muslim movement in India, or simply adornments to the appearance of transformation. These issues progress through the representation from historical genealogy to contemporary development that emphasize on the roles of religious thoughts, practices, and actors in shaping social attitudes and norms around gender, and the aim of this work is both to enlighten ongoing discourse and to sustain efforts to define productive paths forward on women's empowerment and education.

However, at the end of the nineteenth century, colonialism in India had been reorganized and justified in Britain by several philosophies and ideologies, with many issues regarding women being noted here. Gender was employed as part of a rationalization of European rule, along with the proposition that Indian women happened to live under the subjugation of local men (Minault 1998, 21–45). This status was considered to be grounded upon economics, racial subordination or cultural inferiority. The exercise of ceremonies and sacraments that were seen as abhorrent (such as to *Sati*[1] and early marriage), were regarded as especially brutal to the culture of the British. These incidents were, however, also exaggerated and said to be far more prevalent than they actually were. Sinha, in his book *Colonial Masculinity*, locates masculinity as the focus of colonial and nationalist politics in late nineteenth century India. Sinha places the investigation very precisely in the setting of an imperial social formation, investigating colonial masculinity not only against the background of social forces within India, but also as enclosed by and framing political, economic, and ideological shifts in Britain (Sinha 1995, 20–85). Considering the whole population of Indians as a solitary entity, the treatment of the local women by men was seen as an error in the generalized sense, and unmanliness was considered to be natural in Indian

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1   *Sati* or suttee is an outdated Hindu funeral tradition where a widow immolates herself on her husband's pyre or commits suicide in another fashion soon after her husband's death (Gilmartin 1997, 141).

masculinity. The colonizers thought and believed that there are countless factors behind this, such as, a poor diet, nonexistence of manly restraint, and a tropical climate. The general consequence of this was seen as a loss of male endurance and fortitude. Indian men had misplayed their sexual self-control and therefore were obliged to participate in so-called entertainments such as early marriage and/or child marriage, masturbation, and further actions that were seen as "unmanly" (ibid. 15–20). Apart from this, there are several other issues relevant to this study Sinha deals with in his book.

Consequently, the inference of such interpretations of Indian society was that the men of this region were sexually debauched, and therefore feeble, and were also too disobedient to govern themselves. It was considered that one of men's duties was to act as a protector and combatant in the sense of the European tradition of maleness, and thus it was the responsibility of British gentlemen to protect the troubled women of the Indian subcontinent. This view was also extended to white women, as seen in the framework of the *Ilbert Bill* of 1883[2], which gave educated Indian men partial administrative rights. It was strongly contended by many whites in India, however, that such an arrangement was the doorway to sexual domination and the obliteration of a kingdom.

> It is seriously meant that natives who practice polygamy treat their wives as caged birds, kept in the dark chiefly for the creation of sons…who immolate infants of tender age to marriage, who compel infant widows to remain widows till death—are as such competent to try European men and women? (ibid., 42–45)

Religious Ideologies about Women's Education

There was the impression in European imperialism that India was a realm that had collapsed into devastation. It was from this decentralization that nations such as Britain wanted to progress, but Indians seemed to have no involvement in this development. The motivation of both Hindu and Muslim nationalism was focused on this move towards renovation. At this significant turn, both principles

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2   The *Ilbert Bill* was a bill announced in 1883 under the supremacy of the Viceroy Lord Ripon and was transcribed by Sir C.P Ilbert, the legal member of the Viceroy's Council. As stated in the Act, Indian judges could try a European accused of a crime. Lord Ripon had a lengthy conversation with Sir CP Ilbert to modify the act, thereby favouring the Indians. This is named the famous Ilbert Bill or the White Mutiny (1883). Nevertheless, the overview of the bill ran into strong opposition in Britain and from British settlers in India, who played on racial tensions before it was passed in 1884 (Metcalf 2002, 120).

and creeds supported the idea that India had misplaced its previous magnificence and dropped into spiritual decay. Since the colonial background of the action of women had been employed so as to reinforce their regulation, Muslim reformism aimed to employ very similar notions to weaken its grip; a contrasting logic in favour of women, Islam, and India could disprove colonial propaganda (Whoopla) and contradictions. Corresponding to the many public publications of the British India who were nervous about the *Ilbert Bill*, the pro-Indian forces now had a form of capitalism and the stream of literature to present their own viewpoints and ideologies, which worked to promote nationalism and unity[3].

> The fact of the matter is that nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies, while racism dreams of eternal contaminations, transmitted from the origins of time through an endless sequence of loathsome copulations: outside history (Anderson 1991, 149).

The concept of Islamic reform was not exclusive to the colonial system at the start of the twentieth century. The notion of a revitalization of Islamic sentiments and reappearance in a more virtuous age had been around for a long time, such as at the commencement and the conclusion of the Mughal Empire. In the repercussion of Mughal decay, writers like Shah Waliullah encouraged a revolutionary attitude to restructuring[4]. This subject would be recurrently discovered by Indian Muslims, aiming to revive the essential principles of Islam, suggesting not only that the Muslims of South Asia had drifted from a more honourable time, but also that the identity of the belief had changed by exposure to Indic civilizations that had no exact home in Islam. Contingent on who was referred to as the subject, women's enquiries with regard to Islam in South Asia were associated with a previous, healthier age, one which had been dishonoured by religious and social heterogeneity, as well as pluralism.

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3   Anderson notes the developments that shaped the communities: the "territorialisation" of religious beliefs, the weakening of traditional kingship, the communication between capitalism and print, the improvement of vernacular languages-of-state, and shifting notions of time. He shows how an "originary" nationalism born in the Americas was modularly accepted by widespread movements in Europe, by the imperialist powers, and by the anti-imperialist confrontations in Asia and Africa (Anderson 1991).

4   As a reputed religious teacher of the eighteenth century, Shah Waliullah of Delhi was renowned as one of the chief philosophers from the age of fifteen. He assisted in reviving the Islamic awareness by channeling the streams of the Sufi spiritual heritage into traditional Islam and reverted to the fundamentals of Sufi experience in order to demonstrate that, fundamentally, Sufism is one discipline. He showed, for instance, that the long-standing supposition that Sufi principles were separated between Apparentism and Unity of Being was an alteration of appearance alone, the concluding creed of Ibn Arabi being seen as simply a less-advanced phase in the overall (Al-Dihlawi and Fry 1980, 14–97).

The poet-philosopher-comparativist M. Iqbal[5] considered education as inevitable for both males and females, thinking that: acquiring knowledge is a human need, which eventually helps in making the choice between good (*khair*) and bad (*sharr*), and between just (*haqq*) and unjust (*batil*) (Mas'ud 1986, 3–6). Iqbal appreciated intellect, but he critiqued contemporary thought for overreaching it at the expense of intuition or affection. He thought that the good man is imaginative and original, for creativity is the most valuable and unique gift of man (Saiyidain 1997). He must be able to deploy his intelligence to connect the forces of nature for his own good and also to escalate his knowledge and power.

> Enslaved life is reduced to small rivulet.
> Free it is like the boundless ocean. (ibid., 24)

Iqbal emphasized the prominence of freedom, which permitted an investigation into the environment, for the exercise of selection and discernment in the use of methods and substance, and for learning by straight experience. In spite of the importance of the individual, Iqbal did not disregard the role of the community and its culture in the give-and-take dynamics with the individual (Nor and Bahroni 2001, 23).

> The individual exists in relation to the community.
> Alone he is nothing.
> The wave exists in the river.
> Outside the river, it is nothing. (Saiyidain 1997, 24)

However, the appearance and representation of women offered in this development could be indiscriminate and generalized into two procedures. Firstly, women were beleaguered as products of the Indic civilization, surviving with a lifestyle inappropriate to Muslims. Secondly, women were out of regulation because of the Indic and colonial structure. Mutually, both of these issues characterized a noticeable symbol of moral deterioration in a time without Islamic regulation. Activists and reformers of the nineteenth century observed the "degeneration" of women in Islamic society as the creation of the *Nawabi* regime, summoning the appearance of hedonistic courtesans (Hadi 1961). A mutual thread in the argument over this degeneration was that Muslim women were spiritually and knowledgeably

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5   Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938) was an exceptional poet-philosopher born in India. He was, conceivably, the most powerful Muslim intellectual of the twentieth century. His philosophy, though eclectic and taking inspiration from Muslims thinkers such as al-Ghazali and Rumi and Western philosophers such as Nietzsche and Bergson, was engrained essentially ingrained in the *Qur'an*, which Iqbal read with the compassion of a poet and the perception of a mystic. Iqbal's philosophy and thinking is known as the philosophy of *khudi* or Selfhood.

underprivileged and the resources in which this could be addressed lay with education. Women were regarded as in a terrible necessity of being protected from their misrepresentation, misconception, and maltreatment lest their lack of awareness contaminate their children and all of the social order. It was the philosophy of how women should be educated and what the consequences would mean for the future of Islamic culture that these philosophers were arguing about.

There were many discussions in the society regarding women's education. Poets, such as Yusuf Gada[6] attached the situation of women in society as one suggestive of offensiveness, one that needed to be resolved by their husbands and fathers and following the Persian conventions and customs. He ascribed this to Hinduism and exploitation of Islam, as seen in Sufism (Metcalf 2006, 103). There was a model in such disputes that saw Islamic women as disobedient children, and the errant women of Indic and British traditions as a disapproving other. Incarceration for the correction of women seemed too analogous to the approaches of their colonial rulers; the path to Islamic reform would thus embrace female education. *Ulama* (Islamic scholars) such as Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi[7] and Sayyid Mumtaz Ali[8] reasoned that women's education was vital because women had similar mental faculties as men and therefore had the capability to be educated if wanted. He also argued that renunciation of this ran counter to Islamic understanding, for it debased other members of the belief and encouraged their disgraceful maltreatment (Metcalf 2006, 105). Thanawi believed that men and women had their own typical behaviours as Muslims but women were particularly significant, for religious female figures such as, Fatima (daughter of Prophet Muhammad) followed the central values of Islamic beliefs. He also thought that an appropriate Indian Muslim woman displayed educated, modest behaviour, as all Muslims should, but also was proficient at activities within the domestic realm. His interpretation of women was different from the Western notion of the "*Ladies of the Home*", for he was endeavouring to locate men and women within a similar jurisdiction, not as masters of dissimilar domains. Thanawi did not consider women as perfect wardens of the home or endue with certain female gifts; they needed the plinth Victorian society place them upon. Men and women were thus notionally observed as similar, but had dissimilar duties.

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6   Yusuf Gada was a Sufi poet who was a disciple of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Muhammad Ciragh-i-Delhi. His views on education and moral issues were widely accepted. His book *Gift* was used in educational institutions as a textbook. (Hadi 1995, 629)

7   Ashraf Ali Thanwi (1863–1943) was an Islamic Indian intellectual of the Sunni Deobandi School. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi was a strong supporter of the Muslim League. He and his followers provided their whole-hearted support to the mandate for the formation of Pakistan. (Khan 1988)

8   Sayyid Mumtaz Ali (1886–1935) was a popular example of a vernacular-using reformer. He was engaged in religious debate and published on religious controversies. Mumtaz Ali was a person of good repute for his pioneering role in Urdu journalism for women. (Jones 1992, 180)

Mumtaz Ali agreed with Thanawi that men and women were alike and the same before Allah, and allowed a similar education. He endorsed the existing judgments on obedience to untruthful customs in Islam, and postulated that women had a more sophisticated place in Islamic law than they were seen as having, and the one way to address this was to practice of Islam back to its appropriate form, which required educating women. Though he too acknowledged women had a role in arranging the household and nurturing of children, this should not have disqualified them from having a similar education as men. Women as insulated, ill-informed individuals were an insult to Islamic ideas of learning, and *purdah*[9] was not observed in association with the *Shariat*[10]; this would have simply encouraged modest behaviour which could be practical for both genders (Minault 1998, 20–50). He thought that when men and women were educated similarly under the *Shariat*, these inequalities would vanish. Correspondingly, Mumtaz Ali claimed that women were an essential piece of the Islamic distinctiveness and identity, and if men were not enthusiastic in working toward better self-government of them, they may well be powerless with regard to looking for a Muslim identity outside of India. To Mumtaz the individual was political, in that women were a sign of Islam's freedom or signified the sustained bondage to Indic traditions that debauched it.

On the other hand, Islamic writers, like Nazir Ahmad[11] and Abdula Maududi[12] emphasized the prominence of women's education in Islam as a tool of cultural congruence, coherence and the creation of a new social order. Maududi criticized the lifestyle of Western women as one that requested misapplication. Taking references from newspapers, investigations, and medical accounts of maltreatment from Britain, he supposed that the complexities and difficulties of gender could

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9   Purdah is a religious and social exercise of female privacy widespread among some Muslim and Hindu communities in South Asia. It may have two forms: physical isolation of the sexes and the prerequisite that women cover their bodies in order to cover their skin and hide their appearance (Wilkinson-Weber 1999, 74).

10   Islamic law or Sharia law.

11   Nazir Ahmad known as "Diptee" (Deputy) Nazir Ahmad (1831–1912) was an Urdu writer, social and religious reformer, and scholar. He was concerned with Muslim women's education, and their lot in general. Most of his novels on an impeccable woman, who is both practical and erudite, and seen as a leader for young girls (Naim 1984, 290–314).

12   Abul A'la Maududi, known as Abula Maududi, (1903–1979) was an Islamist philosopher, jurist, journalist. His abundant works were written in Urdu, but then translated into English, Arabic, Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Burmese and many other languages. He thought that politics was indispensable for Islam, and that it was essential to establish I and conserve Islamic culture from what he saw as the evils of secularism, nationalism, women's liberation, communism and socialism as they were the results of Western colonial imperialism and the Islamic world wanted to be intellectually sovereign, in an idea often called intellectual decolonization (Nasr 1996, 49).

be simplified to three harmful factors that ran opposing to the natural order. These are the equality of women, the economic freedom of women, and unobstructed mingling of the sexes. This was an image of an animalistic society that exemplified the notion of moral deterioration (Metcalf 2006, 113). He attacked those he observed as emulators of Western culture, such as *babus*, who he called parrots of the British and the West. The way in which a well-ordered, appropriate society would be gained was from Islamic education, and he thought this advocated the "natural superiority" of husbands over their wives.

Therefore, Maududi asked and worked for education for women that was equivalent to that given to men, but this was an education that prepared them for a wife's role; education was thus a way of making a woman experienced. To Maududi, a woman's liberty was inevitably linked to the right to her husband's legacy and financial control, as well as the right to decline a marriage (although not in a contradiction of the wishes of her family). Since Maududi saw women as naturally open to emotional immoderation, *purdah* was not merely satisfactory, but to some degree should be sustained so as to uphold social order and, in astonishing irony given his repudiation of Western understanding, scientifically valid.

> Since biologically woman has been created to bring forth and rear children, psychologically also she has been endowed with such abilities as suit her natural duties. This explains why she has been endowed with the natural feelings of love, sympathy, compassion, clemency, pity, and sensitiveness in an unusual measure. And since in the sexual life man has been made active and women passive, she has been endowed with these very qualities alone which help and prepare her for the passive role in life only…That is why she is soft and pliable, submissive and impressionable, yielding and timid in nature. (Maududi 1939, 120–1)

Regardless of Maududi's attack on Western ideas about women and the culture which he sensed had contaminated Islamic identity, his approach was very similar to that laid out Victorian ideas about women as children who needed the emotional and physical safety of men. Similar to Victorian "science", he even quoted the "derangement" of women based on menstruation, pregnancy, and panic as reasons to give them equivalent treatment. Corresponding to European and American ideas and fashions, Maududi's dream of education for Muslim women thus seemed more decorative and figurative than substantive.

Reorganizers and social reformers like Nazir Ahmad supported education for women as a crucial characteristic of the *Shariat* and an apparatus of social reform in the greater Indian society, nonetheless his opinions on female "emancipation"

necessitated their domesticity and obedience. In *Mirat al-'Arus* he showed the idyllic learnedness of the female central character, Asghari, as a sophisticated and agreeable way to educate girls although always in on reputable, controlled terms, with the woman learning in her household and for no financial achievement (Lal 2008, 19). In the text, the polite, appropriate daughter, Asghari, teaches only girls from *sharif* families and not the others. The girls are acknowledged as exceptional with regard to sewing, stitching, cutting and dying clothes, as well as general housework. In this understanding, Asghari is shown not as a person in *Mirat* but more a paradigm of female education. The woman is cultured by education as the source of the *Shariat* in her arena, receptive a polite and obedient education that she can then pass on to her children. It was as a result of this perfect archetype that Ahmad reinforced the idea of the education of women as an apparatus of future understanding. This is seen in how Ahmad elucidates general view of *Mirat*,

> I do not deny that too much learning is unnecessary for a woman, but how many women are there who acquire even so much as absolutely necessary?" Girls/women may never be able to read and write like boys/men, but they do need literacy "sufficient to meet [their] own requirements". (ibid., 26)

Ahmed believed that the *Shariat* and the *sharif* way of life would generate virtuous, representational citizens that appear as symbols. Skilled men offered reflection and action, while women deployed their education to perform with "tenderness and deep devotion" to them. To Ahmed the system was complex, as in spite of the obligation to educate women and free them from colonial and Indic traditions, men were still prioritized. "[Their] creation was merely to ensure the happiness of [men], and it is a woman's duty to keep a man happy…it is ignorant if a woman considers a man her equal (ibid., 23)." Apart from of philosophical discussions, the execution of women's rights in Islam with regards to India was surrounded by a combination of different viewpoints that expressed progressive policies with restrictions. Underneath the recognized *Shariat*, daughters were permitted to share their father's possessions and assets, an observation that was measured in compliance with the *Qur'an* and the *Hadith* in a nation where numerous communities experienced customary laws in its stead, ones that debarred women from any sort of ownership. These sorts of policies were not challenged by the Raj, since they benefited the rich who preserved their landholdings in this way (Minault 1998, 11–43).

Near the beginning of the twentieth century the alliance of *ulama* arose, represented by Muslim middle-class reformers, organisers, influencers and Westernised politicians with nationalist reactions and feelings. This coalition, though, is often

presented as far more united then it actually was. We can note here the gatherings in 1910's, such as when the All-India Muslim Ladies' Conference demonstrated against legal unfairness and discrimination against women, as seen in divorce laws and polygamy. This received outrage in the Muslim press. More so than with the rhetoric of Thanawi and Ali for greater freedom against the background of Islamic society, by the time the formation of Pakistan was a possibility, it emerged that the wider perception of female liberty was more in line with that of Maududi and Ahmad, representative of the Islamic ethical order and a society apart from India.

Regulations and orders, such instance the *Shariat* Application Act of 1937, influenced the advance in women's rights desired. This also helped in articulating a Muslim identity in a legal construction that added vigour to the nationalist call for collectivity. In a satirical move, women placed themselves in an analogous sentiment to Muslim society as women in the West, using depictions and metaphors that supported the merits of their culture, but with no voice of their own. Women, while conferred with, were expected to concur (ibid., 30–40).

However, in Pakistan, the call for the education of women in Islamic society was and remains one of broken promises and empty words. Nowadays, the literacy of girls in the nation is still very low especially in regions like, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. Indeed, it is as low as three percent, as Amir Latif notes (Latif 2011). The principal reasons for this are because of both a wish for child labour in a poor country and cultural beliefs that are unenthusiastic about educating girls. For both reasons, parents frequently do not permit their daughters to be present at school. In extreme cases, religious fanatics have acid in the faces of girls who try and educate themselves despite their religious principles. Guaranteed education for women and girls as well as equal access to education in order to build stronger and more resilient communities, thus, remains a dream for many.

> Gender equality in education is a basic human right—it is also essential to achieving sustainable development. In our increasingly globalized world, the societies that succeed best will be those which guarantee women and girls equal access to education, thereby giving them the skills and the opportunities to develop their talents and interests, so they can contribute to building stronger and more resilient communities. (Bokova 2017)[13]

Subsequent to the formation of Pakistan, women's inquiry was rapidly abandoned, with women being a sign of national and religious identity that was disconnected from India but no longer relevant when that state was formed. Nowadays, courageous

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13   Irina Bokova delivered at 37th Session of the UNESCO General Conference, Promoting Girls' and Women's Education for Gender Equality, in November 2013 (see Bokova 2014).

individuals like Mukhtaran Mai[14] and Malala Yousafzai[15] puts efforts into uphold-ing institutions that promote education for girls and are under continuous attack, threats that go fundamentally uninvestigated and without punishment by the gov-ernment. With transformed media attention, the women's inquiry in Pakistan has moved from one of South Asian identities to a worldwide level. The conventions of the West, in which Muhammad Ali Jinnah aimed to build Pakistan on more than a simply religious notion, have started to put the nation under the microscope. In any circumstances, the reasons for discrimination and signs of how the philosophies of freedom for Muslim women have been implemented are seen vividly with reference to the current and previous issues. Since these sorts of revelations come with a sense of disgrace and a longing to continue the work that started over a century before, a continuing fight against the very superstition the *ulama* condemned, and a fight for the religious acknowledgment of women as human beings.

Equal opportunity, gender parity and the empowerment of women have long had a prominent position in dialogues about development in Bangladesh, since the country (previously known as East Pakistan) achieved freedom after nine-month war. The country's 1971 sovereignty coincided with a greater spotlight on gender matters in international development primarily expressed via Women in Develop-ment policy and afterward reconceptualised as Gender in Development demon-strating growing acknowledgment of the socially built nature of gender functions and associations. The new Bangladeshi government and the quickly rising civil society saw women's empowerment as a central aim, and as, a reaction to the aggression against women during the Liberation War of 1971, as well as to gain financial support offered by foreign donors for programs aimed helping women. Certainly, reviewing development works in Bangladesh today, most schemes have clear stipulations of the effects on women.

However, there are grave and deep-rooted barriers to genuine and significant equal opportunity for women in Bangladesh. The country has one of the highest

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14   Mukhtaran Bibi now recognized as Mukhtār Mai, is a Pakistani woman from the village of Meer-wala of the Muzaffargarh District of Pakistan. In June 2002, Mukhtar Mai was the survivor of a gang rape as a form of honour vengeance, on the orders of a tribal council of the local Mastoi Baloch clan that was wealthier and more influential than her Tatla clan in that region. Even though custom would call on her to commit suicide after being raped, Mukhtaran spoke up, and pursued the case, which was publicized and circulated by both domestic and international media. Though the security of Mukhtaran, and her family and friends, has been in danger, she remains a candid advocate for women's rights. She initiated the Mukhtar Mai Women's Welfare Organization to assist support and educate Pakistani women and girls. (Kristof and Wudunn 2009)

15   Malala Yousafzai is a Pakistani activist for female education and the youngest-ever Nobel Prize laureate. She is well known for human rights advocacy, especially the education of women in Pakistan.

percentages of child marriage and juvenile motherhood in the world, and aggression against women remains an all-encompassing social reality, connected in part to the prevalence of dowries and uneven power dynamics in the home. The growing contribution of women to the labour force, chiefly in the garment sector, has made women a newly powerful economic group and increased their mobility, but these achievements have been undermined by insecure working circumstances, long hours, and poor employment conditions. Active and working women also experience a double load of household tasks and paid income work, as things have changed slowly in the domestic sphere. The shifting social function of women, with their growth of prospects in terms of education and employment, has appeared as the main fault line in the progressively more polarized atmosphere between secular and religious social powers.

Religious Viewpoints on Gender in South Asia—Various Historical Aspects

Considering the devoted communities and social divisions at its centre, male dominated customs and approaches have been a lasting characteristic of South Asian society. Religious points of view are thus frequently employed in efforts to uphold the uneven position of men and women in economic, political, and social realms. Besides, it is significant to note that religious traditions in South Asia are not monolithic in their views of gender, which are the consequences of miscellaneous historical practices and ideological manipulations. Nowadays, as before, there are substantial inconsistencies, within and among religious groups concerning the social status of women. At different periods and in different circumstances religious influences have been employed to validate male supremacy over women and, on the other hand, to call for more reasonable gender associations and representations.

As confirmation of the immense range and variety of religious views on gender parity, some of the well-established calls to increase women's privileges in nineteenth century South Asia came from religious leaders of Islam, as discussed earlier, and also from Hindus, such as the reformer Ram Mohan Roy[16], originator of the *Brahmo Samaj*, who was notably influential in the elimination of *sati*. Later,

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16   Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) was the creator of the Brahmo Sabha movement in 1828, which produced the Brahmo Samaj, a powerful socio-religious reform movement. His authority was obvious in the fields of politics, public administration and education and religion. He was well-known for his efforts to institute the abolishment of the practice of *sati*. Ram Mohan Roy's influence on modern Indian history was a revitalization of the pure and moral principles of the Vedanta school of philosophy as originated in the Upnishads (Sastri 1974).

his descendant Keshad Chandra Sen[17] wanted to ended *purdah* and polygamy. He also initiated move to abolish child marriage and permit women to inherit property, and widows to get married again (Mitra 2007). This period of time saw substantial legal and social progress for women. Intellectuals and other influential persons, nonetheless, note the paternalistic character of such reforms, indicating that women infrequently had a voice or action in these debates (Shehabuddin 2008). South Asia is a region settled by a Muslim population, but the approach towards this tradition and even the elucidation of the sacred texts varies from region to region. This, somehow, has been the circumstance since Islam's arrival on the subcontinent. In Afghanistan, Islamic ideologies have often been used by leaders to govern and suppress the lives of women, Islam cannot be overlooked in the democratization of Afghanistan, however, as it plays too prodigious a role in society (Kissane 2012, 10–28). Throughout the efforts for Indian sovereignty, a standard inspiration for such reforms was to adopt the modern features of the West and therefore destabilize the ethical rationalisation for colonial intrusion into Indian society (Murshid 1983).

Islamic restructuring, transformation and reform movements have had a profound effect on fundamental gender norms in South Asia. The muscular nature of South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Afghani and Bengali) Islam put it at the centre of many such actions since the nineteenth century. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan represents a difficult backdrop in which to observe gender roles and relations, and women's education in particular, as such things entrenched in the country's history and religious ideology. The democratisation of education necessitates a pluralistic education model that includes State and nongovernmental sectors, as well as secular and non-secular institutions, making it accessible to the highest number of Afghans possible (Kissane 2012, 10–28). Education that teaches and encourages critical thought, *ijtihad*, and introduces concepts of gender equality—supported by *Qur'anic* scholarship led by Islamic feminists—is imperative. In contrast to Hindu reformers of the time, these religious actions and representations are more focused on internal rejuvenation and a return to orthodoxy. Their attitude to the colonial authorities—and the supposed introduction of and obligation to follow Western social norms—was unsympathetic, especially in relation to gender (Hassan 2011, 155–67). Islamic reformers placed an emphasis on the piousness and moral qualities of women, and praised them for exemplifying the family and society.

Paying attention to the function of women in the diffusion of morals and values, Islamic restoration efforts have in recent years started to highlight women's religious

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17   Keshab Chandra Sen (1838–1884) was an Indian Bengali Hindu philosopher and social reformer who endeavored to integrate Christian theology within the structure of Hinduism (Sastri 1974).

education with the intention of promoting piousness and appropriate religious observations. Till recent times, the majority of women in the region had little access to proper education, or to religious matters. Excluded from ceremonial worship in the mosque, women frequently took part in syncretic and unconventional religious observations in the home or at local holy places, especially in the countryside. The supposed spiritual and ethical vices of South Asian Muslim women in this regard were claimed to be an existential danger to Islamic society. A number of reformers thus saw women as possible "enemies from within" (Shehabuddin 2008). At the same time as this has been used as the principal rationalization for keeping rigid social control over women, it also requires same admittance to Islamic education, and can to a degree clarify the eagerness of many *madrasas*[18] to open entry to girls, following government actions to attain gender equality in education.

As observed through a few developments over time, the *Sufi* way of life and customs that symbolize some of the initial versions of Islam in South Asia, have normally permitted complete and more equivalent contributions by women in religious life, despite the fact that gender norms differ extensively across *Sufi* communities within the region. As seen in practice, *Mazars*, the mausoleum holy places to *Sufi* saints, are not subject to the rigid gender isolation of Indian and Bangladeshi mosques. In several *Sufi* groups women also have leading positions.

Characteristically portrayed as a more spiritual facet of Islam, *Sufis* promotes a direct association with the celestial, which is frequently accomplished through music and dance (Ahmed 2010). These sorts of unconventional exercises have led to important points of disputation with conventional reformers and leaders. Nevertheless, the appearance of feasible alternative narratives to the typical Islamic dialogue on gender associations, as embedded in *Sufi* mores, has fundamentally been dissuaded due in part to the strong separations between instructions (*tariqa*) and the well-established inward religious focus of various *Sufi* movements.

The apprehension, nervousness and anxiety between sacred traditionalists and secular feminists are very old phenomena. Members of South Asia's vocal and active women's associations, ideologically ingrained in Western feminism, were ferocious antagonists of the government supported Islamization of the 1980s (e.g. in Bangladesh) where religion was seen as the key force in the domination of women in South Asia. It has been noted that South Asian women's communities are principally constructed of urban middle- and upper-class women, reflecting the harsh class separations in South Asian society (Shehabuddin 2008). This region itself is highly diversified and there is a diversity in the women's educational levels across regions such as in the Republic of India (for example, in Kerala almost a decade

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18   Islamic educational institution

ago the literacy rate among Muslim women was about 85%), and there is also a high proportion of highly educated Muslim women among the elites in many areas. This profound class separation limits the options for impoverished and rural women, many lot of whom idealize and imagine responses to subjugation in more varied ways than those who force the debate on women's rights and opportunities nationally. The hostile attitude of secular women's communities toward religion has in some instances caused barriers with poor and religious women making room for Islamists to defend these communities. Certainly, Islamist communities together with those connected with the greater Islamic political party are trying to move towards the more rights-focused speech of the women's interest groups, setting out dialogue that describes the rights of women as those openly approved in the *Qur'an*, which are deduced as balancing rather than equivalent to those of men. These communities give the impression of being connected to the Middle East in building an "Islamic modernity", and perceive the veil as an indicator of the contemporary and authorized Muslim woman, which in many cases creates disputes within nations (Rojario 2006, 368–80).

In this ideological stratum there has been a momentous propagation of women's *taleem* (*Qur'anic* conversation) among the middle class, anticipated as nurturing a "correct" perception of Islam and Muslim womanhood (Huq 2008, 457–88). Several of these groups are connected with Jamaate Islami and their educational wing, Islami Chhatri Sangstha, over and above the already accepted religious movements such as Tablighi Jamaat. Several others exist without an unambiguous association. These women's *taleem* are ingrained in a "textually-based piety" that in various instances discards vital South Asian (Indian, Pakistani and Bengali) cultural demonstrations of womanhood, together with the performing of folk songs. In mirroring the roles, hopes and prospects of woman at home and in society, and restructuring their identities as women, *taleem* associates are forms of organization, but normally without the wish to deal with or confront patriarchy (ibid. 2011, 225–39). In line with the well-established secular nature of the women's movement in South Asia, the still developing Muslim women's communities, such as *Musawah*, which employ a scriptural foundation to confront gender discrimination, remain unstable.

Conclusion—Anticipating the Future

Compare to earlier times, South Asia has made substantial progress toward gender parity, and this is mirrored in several social and economic indicators. Nonetheless, the South Asian experience provides several views of both conformist and

traditional approaches to women's empowerment and education. Such advances can make it difficult to distinguish how far gender matters are deep-rooted in specific socio-cultural circumstances, and therefore can make it easy to disregard issues that can obscure or eventually weaken educational liberty, empowerment or efforts at greater equality. Certainly, in spite of substantial achievements, entrenched patriarchal social norms still triumph in many situations, and especially in the region's multifaceted religious and cultural traditions.

The experiences of South Asia indicate the need for improved knowledge about of the manners and behaviours of men, in order to encourage them to accomplish gender parity and educational liberty. This reflects the findings of an assortment of research efforts, such as those published by the International Center for Research on Women, Promundo, MenEngage, and Sonke Gender Justice. This mounting body of works highlights the necessity for plans that stress the dynamics between women and men in contrast to keeping women in seclusion. Men are able to and must take up a decisive role in shifting views of maleness that are destructive to women, and so eventually changing the gender norms in their communities.

As discussed in this investigation, religious leaders and reformers have a unique function to play in such approaches based on their social persuasion and ethical roles. While there are ideological gaps on gender subjects and women's education, various local development initiatives and rights groups (both civil and human rights) are working towards persuading imams and other spiritual figures to change. Women's communities and interest groups frequently recognize partnerships with spiritual leaders as ways of promoting their social rights and abilities, although they still face many obstacles.

Religious and spiritual figures have been occupied in various gender-related initiatives in South Asia, signifying the aim to adopt a number of strategies to reduce the social and ideological gaps over these subjects. The vigorous contributions of religious reformers, *ulama* and *imams* can be observed as having performed a vital role in obtained about wider social recognition for family issues, girl's education and other topics in South Asia and the decrease in the fertility rate. Moreover, in recent times, more than a few organisations, working together with UNICEF, UNFPA, and the Asia Foundation, have tried to engage religious leaders, philosophers, *imams* and other religious figures through the government' and non-government' Islamic and non-Islamic organisations on matters varying from violence against women to women's education and dowries. The results have thus far been positive, although such initiatives are still too small and ineffective for large scale change. Problems also linger with regard to the ability of such an agenda to connect with more conventional religious leaders, as well as the types of issues that

can be dealt with through an Islamic framework. At the same time as religious leaders have been enthusiastic in speaking against dowries using scriptural points and views, several claim that there is no the similar kind of religious basis to combat child marriage, for instance.

South Asia's understanding of educational liberty and Islamic education (for instance *madrasas*) for girls shows that the possible influence of religious involvement is huge, but—predominantly on subjects of gender empowerment and secular education—can be complicated. Conventional religious groups in South Asia have long made allegations of cultural imperialism over the introduction of Western social approaches, norms and ideas about rights, education and empowerment. It is apparent, however, that even if the aim is to better understand the structure and continuation of prejudiced and bigoted social exercises, norms, and approaches, and so to realise the hopes of women in the region, then appealing to religious actors, *ulama* and philosophers is key. A profound and more distinct discourse that highlights the religious and cultural aspects of gender can help women's rights campaigners as they push for more even-handed and equivalent gender relations in South Asia.

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Islamic Theory and Philosophy

The Time Factor – Toshihiko Izutsu and Islamic Economic Tradition

*Sami AL-DAGHISTANI**

Abstract

This paper interrogates the notions of time and money in Islamic (economic) tradition by applying Toshihiko Izutsu's theory of the key terms of a worldview. A Japanese scholar of Islam, Toshihiko Izutsu (1914–1993), wrote extensively on Islamic studies, eastern mystical traditions, and Sufism. His theory of key ethical concepts in the *Qur'an* is a semantic analysis of an Islamic worldview, which can be applied also more specifically to economic thought in Islamic tradition. Applying Izutsu's theory would shed light on the main ethico-economic concepts and postulates in Islamic intellectual history, such as the notions of time, money, and commodity purchases, as well as their relation to man as a time-contingent being. As well as the introduction and conclusion, this paper is divided into three main parts. In the first part, I introduce Izutsu's life and his semantic theory. The second focuses on Islamic economics and its relation to *Sharī'a* as a moral concept, whereas the third part inquires more specifically upon the notion of time and money in classical and contemporary Islamic economic thought.

Keywords words: Toshihiko Izutsu, time, money, Islamic economic thought

Časovni dejavnik – Toshihiko Izutsu in islamska ekonomska tradicija

Izvleček

Članek obravnava pojma časa in denarja znotraj islamske (ekonomske) misli, sklicujoč se na teorijo ključnih konceptov pogleda na svet Toshihika Izutsuja. Japonski preučevalec islama Toshihiko Izutsu (1914–1993) je napisal več del o islamu, vzhodni mistični tradiciji in sufizmu. Njegova teorija ključnih etičnih konceptov v Koranu predstavlja semantično analizo islamskega pogleda na svet, ki je uporabna tudi v okviru ekonomske misli v islamski tradiciji. Izutsujeva teorija osvetljuje glavne etično-ekonomske koncepte in izhodišča znotraj islamske intelektualne tradicije, na primer pojme časa, denarja, kupovanja blaga, pa tudi njihov odnos do človeka kot bitja, odvisnega od časa. V prvem delu članka sta predstavljena Izutsujevo življenje in njegova semantična teorija. Drugi del se osredotoča na islamsko ekonomijo in njeno povezavo s šeriatskim pravom kot

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moralnim konceptom, tretji del pa proučuje pojma časa in denarja znotraj klasične in sodobne islamske ekonomske misli.

Ključni pojmi: Toshihiko Izutsu, čas, denar, islamska ekonomska misel

Introduction

Time has always been regarded as an indispensable factor in managing economic activities in both Western and Islamic economic thought. Historically, Islamic culture was affiliated with commerce, and Islamic civilisation has made seminal contributions to economic thought amid the Islamic expansion of trade, sciences, and knowledge (Crone 2004). Various Muslim scholars—who will be introduced in the following paragraphs—have analysed the notion of time in relation to demand and supply policies, the role of labour, utilisation of money, profit and interest, and commerce in general, invoking the moral precepts of *Sharī'a*,[1] which link the realm of the legal with the moral, conjoining *'ilm* (knowledge) with *'amal* (deed).

Toshihiko Izutsu (1914–1993), a Japanese scholar of Islam, proposed a semantic analysis of *Qur'anic* terms, arguing that the *Qur'an* is capable of being approached from a number of viewpoints (Izutsu 1964). Central to Izutsu's work is the view that principles of ethics or values are basically derived from worldviews. As such, by scrutinizing the theological, philosophical and especially semantical connotations of the key concepts in the *Qur'an*, such as *Allāh*, *khalīfa*, *'abd*, *waḥy*, and others, then the notion of *khalīfa* or vicegerent (see *Qur'an* 2:30) can be interpreted as a time-dependent being carrying certain moral responsibilities also concerning economic activities.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the conceptualisation of time in Islamic economic philosophy through some of the key ethico-economic terms in the *Qur'an* and intellectual history of Islam that correlate to the perception of human being as *khalīfa* or a time-induced being or vicegerent (Al-Qāḍī 1988). Since Western economic theories consider time as inter-dependent with money (as seen in the time value of money), in this paper I interrogate this proposition, and explore a reverse postulate—the underlying correlation between the concept of money and time in Islamic tradition. Given the importance of moral and cosmological considerations in economic activities in Islamic tradition, and the epistemological lacuna between Western and classical Islamic economic theories, the specific

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1   *Fiqh* and *Sharī'a* are inequivalent, for the latter is as divine law encapsulated in the *Qur'an*, while the first is the body law extracted from detailed Islamic sources, which are studied and interpreted by learned men as the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. With *Sharī'a*, I refer in this article to the overall moral law and cosmology in Islamic tradition, and not only to the legal corpus.

research question this paper examines is as follows: "what is the nature of the concept of time in Islamic economic thought, and how does the notion of time determine economic activities in Islamic tradition?"

In this paper, I will—by introducing Izutsu's conceptualisation of semantic analysis and by providing an overview of Islamic economic theories, including *Sharīʿa* as a moral paradigm—examine the specifics of classical economic thought in Islam in relation to the concept of time and money as interrelated categories. More specifically, this will be conducted by extrapolating some of the key terms and accounts on economic behaviour, money and deferred payments in the works of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), for, among numerous other classical Muslim scholars, such as Abū Yūsuf (d. 798), al-Shaybānī (d. 804), al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 894), al-Dimashqī (died in early twelfth century), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1404), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 1441), they made seminal contributions to economic thought in Islam. Following classical Islamic scholarship, I will analyse contemporary scholars on Islamic economics, such as Rauf Azhar, Muhammad Fahim Khan, Muhammad Haneef, Hafas Furqani, and Ridha Saadallah, and their discussions on the time value of money, as well as other moral considerations concerning purchases, the utilisation of money and interest in Islam.

This paper is divided into three main parts, in addition to the introduction and conclusion. Part one discusses the life and works of Toshihiko Izutsu, as well as his theory of semantic analysis and ethical concepts in the *Qur'an*, which is a point of departure for discussing Islamic economic theories and the concepts of time and money. The second part analyses economic thought in Islam and *Sharīʿa* as a moral conception, while the third part investigates the applicability of ethico-economic concepts (e.g. money and time) in (classical) Islamic economic tradition in light of Izutsu's theory. This is essential in reconditioning economic thought in Islamic tradition as primarily a moral endeavour that is not separated from the cosmological and metaphysical qualities of *Sharīʿa*, as well as linked to other fields of knowledge, such as systematic theology (*kalām*), philosophy, and law. I will turn to both primary and secondary literature—the primary literature consists of Toshihiko Izutsu's works and classical Arabic texts of Muslim scholars who wrote on economic thought (as listed above), while the secondary literature includes contemporary scholarship on Islamic economics.

Toshihiko Izutsu and the Moral Premises of *khalīfa* as a Time-correlated Being

Toshihiko Izutsu was a Japanese scholar of Islamic philosophy and author of many books on Islam. He taught at the Institute of Cultural and Linguistic studies at

Keio University in Tokyo, The Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy in Tehran, and McGill University in Montreal (Izutsu 2008). Izutsu was familiar with *zen* meditation from an early age, which he acquired from his father. In 1958, he completed the first direct translation of the *Qur'an* from Arabic to Japanese, which is still renowned for its linguistic accuracy. Being fluent in more than a dozen languages, he was attracted by the contemporary thought of Ferdinand de Saussure, Roland Barthes, Jacques Lacan, and Derrida. He also developed an interest in philosophy and religion as a platform to establishing the common basis for comparison between various religious traditions. Izutsu explored "Oriental philosophies" and clarified their comprehensive structural framework by using comparative studies, philosophy, and linguistics (ibid.). Izutsu made three contributions that are deemed especially crucial to the study of comparative religion. First, he proposed and applied the methodology of semantics in interpreting philosophical texts. Second, he delineated the scheme of the basic structure of "Oriental" (East Asian) philosophy for the comparative study of religions, and third he undertook the study of the so-called "Oriental" (mystical) traditions (ibid. 1994 and 2007). His semantic analysis of the structure of the key-concepts of each philosophical system can be found in the work on Ibn 'Arabī (d. 1240), Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu (Izutsu 1983), and as well in *Ethico-religious Concepts in the Qur'an* (ibid. 2002). Both Sufism and Taoism contend that there is a five-layered structure of being. The first layer is called "an absolute Mystery" or "Zero-point of being", which translates into the absolutely unknown-unknowable stage transcending all differentiation, articulation and limitation (*wujūd*, Mystery of Mysteries, Chaos).[2]

Key-terms of a Worldview

Izutsu believed that the so-called "Oriental" philosophy conceptualised by Arab and Persian scholars is also significant in Western intellectual history. According to Izutsu, unlike Western philosophy, Eastern philosophies have less of a historical uniformity. One of the key terms in Islamic thought is the (ultimate) reality of existence or *wujūd*, which became more widely recognizable with Ibn 'Arabī (Ibn 'Arabī 1946).[3] Izutsu argues that the *Qur'an* is capable of being approached from a number of different angles, such as theological, philosophical, sociological, and

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2   What Izutsu calls "Oriental philosophy" is a mystical philosophy interpreted as a conceptual expression of a mystical experience from the East. For more see e.g. Al-Daghistani (2014); Chittick (2007).

3   The Arabic word *wujūd* (from verb *wa-ja-da*) is translated as existence, presence, being, or substance. In Islamic philosophical and mystical tradition, it denotes a more profound meaning, depicting existence as a whole, as deriving from or being found by God.

grammatical, including the semantical. Izutsu focused on the semantic structure of the *Qur'an* (Izutsu 1964 and 2002). He defines semantics as "a science concerned with the phenomenon of meaning" (ibid. 1964, 1, 2), and an analytic study of the key-terms of a language in order to eventually arrive at a conceptual level to grasp the *Weltanschauung* or worldview. Central to Izutsu's work is the view that principles of ethics or values are basically derived from different worldviews. Even though philosophical systems would agree upon a particular term within a worldview, how that worldview is materialized and what moral value it holds, differs among them. This is due to the semantic content of those ethical terms, which are formed in the midst of the "concrete reality of human life in society" (Haneef and Furqani 2009, 175), extending also to economic systems and worldviews. Therefore, every economic system, e.g., capitalism, socialism, as well as economic tradition in Islam, has a particular set of values, which are unique to the system that derives ethical categories from its worldview. These ethical principles are implicitly incorporated in the notions, concepts, assumptions, ideals and theories of economic conduct. In order to identify the specifics of economic thought in Islamic tradition and examine its foundational concepts, including the notion of time, Izutsu's semantic theory of a worldview provides insights into the key ethical terms in Islam.

Ethical concepts, which are translated into the economic goals and social-realities of a society, are shaped by the particular worldview that underlies them. In Izutsu's words, "a moral code is actually part of an ideology where each vocabulary, or connotative system, represents and embodies a particular worldview (*Weltanschauung*) which transforms the raw material of experience into a meaningful, 'interpreted' world" (Izutsu 2012, 12). Since *Qur'anic* concepts are closely interdependent and derive their concrete meanings precisely from the system of relations, Izutsu states that these concepts form among themselves various groups, connected with each other in several ways. Some of the focal words for Izutsu are *Allāh*, *Islām* (submission to God), *īmān* (faith), *kāfir* (unbeliever), *nabī* (prophet), *rasūl* (messenger), *waḥy* (revelation), and *khalīfa* (vicegerent). He admits that a certain degree of arbitrariness in choosing the *Qur'an*'s keywords is unavoidable, yet, in his view, the items chosen appear to be central to the *Qur'anic* worldview.

For Haneef and Furqani, contemporary Muslim economists who analysed Izutsu's work in light of Islamic economic thought, modern Islamic economics studies the behaviour of man and the related economic endeavours (Haneef and Furqani 2009, 182). The authors' approach to Islamic economics is embedded in the Islamisation of knowledge process that was pioneered by contemporary Muslim scholars, such as Isma'il al-Faruqi and Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (Al-Faruqi 1982; al-Attas 1985). The proponents of the Islamisation of knowledge, including

various Muslim economists (Naqvi 1994), see the economic agent in Islamic economic thought as "*homo Islamicus*", as someone who will rely on *Sharīʿa* in applying Islamic principles in economics (Haneef and Furqani 2009, 183). According to classical Islamic scholarship, human existence is due to man's role as *khalīfa* as time-dependent being, contingent upon the moral predicaments that arise in relation to economic behaviour. This indicates that the economic and moral transformation of man stems from both internal (inner) and external (outer) conditions. According to Haneef, in Islamic economics two types of relations are present: "the fundamental 'vertical' relation between God (the Creator) and man (the created), *Allah* and human being or *insan*, as well as the 'horizontal' man-man relationship" (Haneef and Furqani 2009, 183), which also determine and define the particular economic behaviour of man.

Two concepts that are specifically pertinent to an Islamic worldview that have special relevance for the study of economic activities are *khalīfa* as vicegerent and *ʿabd* as servant or slave (Haneef and Furqani 2009, 183). The word *khalīfa* itself translates as a "successor" or "vicegerent", and it has been bestowed to mankind according to the *Qur'an*. In the *Qur'an* (2:30), it is stated that man has been made a *khalīfa* on earth to ordain divine patterns, through which he is also granted free will to apply or reject ethically driven stipulations. This role is regarded by Muslim scholars as one that concerns the trusteeship through which man can establish a virtuous life.[4] Such a role also gives people the capacity to act appropriately in the domain of economic-related activities. In this context, humans are considered as physical, intellectual, as well as spiritual beings (*Qur'an* 32:6-9; Rahman 2002, 190). A person's role as *khalīfa* cannot be perceived as merely a personal obligation, but is in fact a collective obligation of all mankind. In this respect, the *Qur'anic* worldview is essentially "theocentric", which further presupposes that major concepts in the *Qur'an* are interrelated with cosmological concepts. According to Haneef and Furqani, it would not be possible to claim an ethical position as Islamic, without connecting the major terms and categories, including those pertaining to mundane activities, such as those concerning economic conduct. This strong connection between the notion of oneness or unity (*tawḥīd*) and human ethics constitutes a dynamic relationship in the Islamic tradition, which cannot be found in the teachings of conventional economics. For al-Faruqi, the pioneer of the Islamisation of knowledge, *khalīfa* is an agent, a mediator through which divine will is manifested through time and space (al-Faruqi 1989, 434), while for al-Attas man is an epitome of the cosmic constellation (al-Attas 1978, 68). For the proponents of the Islamisation of knowledge, applying the concept of *khalīfa* in Islamic economics means placing divine will at the centre of all matters, from

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4   See, for example, Fazlur Rahman 2002.

which *tawḥīd* epistemology—centred on the oneness of God—develops. According to Izutsu, the *Qur'anic* "theocentric" worldview is maintained and reflected in the main ethical concepts that can also pertain to economic behaviour, whereby the utilisation of money, time factor, sales and purchases are related to the ethical categories of man as a time-consumed, finite being, who serves higher ends. An Islamic economics agent is thus one whose behaviour is prompted by the spirit and laws of the economic mechanism encapsulated in the values of the *Qur'an*.

In this respect, the role of *khalīfa* is in actuality part of a grand *raison d'etre* of cosmological creation as a whole, encompassing man through the engagement of *'ibāda* as a wholesale realisation of and obligation to divine categories that also have significance for the mundane realm. All man's actions, including his economic activities, are viewed in this complete commitment to creation by following the moral framework of *Sharī'a*. The *dunyā* (the present world) is through the role of *khalīfa* related to the *ākhira* (the after-world), whereby economic activities rely and are interdependent on the factor of time and its cosmological appropriation. This ontological position is for Izutsu in line with the epistemological consideration, whereby the nature of an Islamic agent is based on the ethics of the *Qur'an* (Haneef and Furqani 2009, 191). Such a consideration is for Haneef and Furqani missing in mainstream economics, in that human endeavours to achieve economic pursuits are based on the idea of maximising one's utility, and can potentially disregard the time factor as an ethical category.

The Nature of Islamic Economics and the Notion of *Sharī'a* therein

Contemporary Islamic economics, which was informed by the Islamisation of knowledge process as well as by Western economic theories, rests upon "*homo Islamicus*" as an ideal type of economic agent (Tripp 2006). It is often regarded as a field of study and a platform, which provides incentives to carry out ethically stipulated economic practices, including Islamic finance and banking. Despite various contemporary theories on Islamic economics and different approaches to its subject matter, there is no unitary understanding as to whether Islamic economics has a separate existence from Islamic legal, theological or moral considerations in Islamic tradition.

For various contemporary Muslim economists (Aydin 2013, 14), the main premises of Islamic economics are derived from the main sources of the *Qur'ān* and *hadīth* (Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad), in addition to the endeavours of the *fuqahā'* (Muslim legal specialists and jurists) who elaborated on these two scriptural sources. The *fuqahā'* produced sophisticated writings on

jurisprudence and implemented them in the system today known as the Islamic law or jurisprudence.

According to some Muslim scholars (Khan 2002, 63–65), Islamic economics is aligned with the fundamental principles of *Sharī'a* as a legal institution. The legal methodology (and consequently the whole of contemporary Islamic economics) refers to *Sharī'a* not only as a divine immutable law, but as a prescribed framework as the substantive law or *fiqh*. Yet, *Sharī'a* as a "pathway to be followed" entails moral teachings of Islam, and it is understood to include both Islamic moral values and legal prescriptions. The implication is that *fiqh*, is expected to contribute to the welfare and public good (*maṣlaḥa*).[5] This also includes the five prescriptions developed by classical Muslim scholars. Any human act falls under one of the following five types, and so can be considered as obligatory (*wājib* or *farḍ*), recommended (*mandūb*), reprehensible (*makrūh*), permissible (*mubāḥ*) or forbidden (*ḥarām*) (Reinhart 1983, 195). Kamali contends that while the first and last types of activities (*wājib* and *ḥarām*) have legal force, the remaining three fall in the domain of morals that cannot be adjudicated in courts (Kamali 2008, 47). When *Sharī'a*, for instance, proscribes usury or gambling, these become not only legal obligations but primarily moral precepts, since classical Islamic scholarship not only encompassed the moral underpinnings of *Sharī'a* (ibid., 49), but also did not distinguish the concept of the legal from the moral (Hallaq 2013).

The fact that contemporary Islamic economics is treated as a subcategory of Islamic law,[6] is because "Islamic law" and "Islamic legal studies" are rather modern constructs (Hallaq 2013, 10 f) born out of the intellectual, legal, cultural and political contestations between the Europeans colonial power and their Muslim subjects, including Islamists' re-appropriation of key Islamic concepts. Therefore, contemporary Islamic economics cannot be described in a simple formula of conventional economics coupled with basic Islamic tenants and ethical stipulations (including the institutions and mechanisms of *ribā* or interest, *zakāt* or tax payment, and *waqf* or religious endowment). For critics of Islamic economics (Kuran 2004), the corpus of this tradition is largely the result of applying Islamic legal methodology and apparatus[7] to conventional secular economics in the process of carrying out the Islamisation of knowledge in the domain of economics. In order to reassess economic conduct in Islamic tradition as it was conceived in pre-modern times—before Islamic (legal) scholarship underwent systemic restructuring of

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5   *Maṣlaḥa* as part of Islamic law has always been part of *fiqh* literature. *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'a* or objectives of Islamic law and *maṣlaḥa* or social utility are related concepts. For more see e.g. Ouda (2012).

6   For more on contemporary Muslim economists see e.g. Naqvi (1994) and Choudhury (1996, 366–81).

7   For Naqvi, this is encapsulated in Islamic ethics, whereas for Choudhury in the *tawḥīd* epistemology (see Choudhury 1994, 475–503).

its intellectual makeup, including the sociology of knowledge—it is necessary to analyse key economic terms in light of Izutsu's semantic theory.

Economic Thought, the Time Value of Money and Sales Transactions in Islam

Taking Haneef and Furqani's method further in applying Izutsu's semantic approach to classical Islamic scholarship would yield a specific methodology for how to approach economic tradition in Islam by investigating the key economic concepts and terms, which are interlinked with the moral substrate of a specific worldview. This also encompasses the conception of time and corresponding economic mechanisms.

The notion of time plays a significant role not only within Islamic philosophical and theological tradition, but specifically in relation to virtuous conduct and economic pursuits, and is often related to the theories of production, capital, money, labour, and deferred payment.

Classical Islamic Scholarship on Moral Economics

The time value of money is a well-known concept in Western economics that allows interest on loans (Khir 2013, 1). While money in conventional economics is understood as a commodity (Walras 1926), Islamic tradition and its economic institutions generated a very different narrative of money as a means to achieve higher ends.[8] While in Western tradition the theory of general equilibrium by Walras constitutes the common ground for the development of modern economics (ibid.), the concept of time in Islam is bound to man as the vicegerent of God, seen as a time-dependent being that extrapolates morally driven behaviour in all domains, including economics, and thus this concept is related to interest and the utilisation of money. From this perspective, the time-money amalgam in classical Islamic economic thought is not equivalent to that seen in (neo)classical economic logic, whereby growth theory goes hand in hand with technological progress and factors of production, such as capital and labour. Since economic preservation has in Islam a moral and cosmological component, it ought not to be studied on its own terms but in conjunction with other fields of inquiry. Moreover, economic thought in Islamic tradition ought not to be considered as scientific only to fulfil the requirements of a positivist economic philosophy which claims objectivity,

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8   For more on the moral economics in classical Islam see e.g. al-Ghazālī (1987).

and hence to appeal to its specifications, but should rather be investigated within its own tradition, considering the related legal, social, political, and above all, moral indicators.

In *sūra al-Baqara* (*Qur'an* 2:275) it is stated that God has allowed sales and forbidden *ribā* or (excessive) interest,[9] in which the time factor plays a key role. Rauf Azhar notes that there were many variations of the term *ribā* existing simultaneously, indicating that *fiqh* scholars interpreted the concept in various ways, although none of these variations appeared in the time of the Prophet. The number of *ribā* terms that appear in the *fiqh* literature

> is quite understandable in view of the differences between the perspective of the *Qur'ān* and that of the *ḥadīth* literature on the subject. At the fundamental level, there is the so-called *Qur'ānic ribā*, which was originally known as *ribā al-jāhiliyya* (pre-Islamic *ribā*), and then there is what has been called *ribā al-ḥadīth*. This latter variety is given several names depending partly on the nature of transaction for which it is being defined, and partly upon the individual likings of the different *fiqh* scholars. (Azhar 2009, 281)

This also includes *ribā al-faḍl* (on barter transactions), *ribā al-buyū'* (on barter transactions), *ribā al-dayn* or *duyūn* (transactions with debt, and *ribā al-nasī'a* (on barter transactions on a deferred payment basis). Despite the different understanding of the *ribā* by early (and contemporary) Muslim scholars, there is a general understanding that any increase in the basic loan in an exchange for deferred payment is perceived as illicit (Saadallah 1994, 81), and makes it instead a component of the price itself. The time value of money also has a legal premise, stipulating the primary and auxiliary payment: If "things may be excused in the secondary that are not excused in the primary" (Al-Suyuti in Khir 2013, 9), indicating that a difference exists between an increment on deferred payment of a loan (*qard*), as well as an increment on a deferred payment in a deferred sale (*bay' mua'jjal*). Any commodity can be exchanged for money, yet in order to prevent misuse of an exchanged commodity simply to earn more money, certain ethical and legal parameters apply. Since money on its own cannot be used to fulfil human endeavours, it can be utilised only to advance human conditions (as *maṣlaḥa*).

Classical Islamic jurists discussed the time value of money as a deferred period in a loan (*al-qard hal 'ām mu'ajjal*). Various classical scholars defended the superiority of the present to the future consumption of money and purchases of commodities.

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9   "God has permitted sale and prohibited usury" (*Qur'an* 2:275).

For instance, al-Sarakhsi stated that a buyer and seller should make an oath before conducting business due to its relation to the value of the price of a commodity. For classical Islamic scholars, (excessive) interest was viewed as an ill-use of money, since money was invented as a medium for the exchange of goods, and in order to monitor the value of commodities, yet with the activity of lending money it became a source of mistreatment and misappropriation (Islahi 2014, 52).

In accordance with *Sharī'a*'s moral imperatives, al-Ghazālī also analysed three elements of trade—agreements between buyer and seller, the commodities in the transaction, and the content of the agreement. The seller should not sell a commodity to a person who is either a minor, mentally ill, a slave, blind or to someone who makes illicit gains (al-Ghazālī n.d., 2: 64–65; al-Ghazālī 2001, 471), for this clearly undermines the ethical rulings of fair economic conduct due to the exploitation of the subjects involved on the basis of illicit appropriation. Similarly, one should not perform trade activities with the following individuals for obvious reasons pertaining to their lack of moral predisposition, unless dealings with them do not imply a violation of licit means of obtaining gain: a tyrant, a usurer, a person who provides false accounts/statements, a thief, a person who indulges in bribery and corruption or a person of doubtful character (ibid. 2001, 472). For al-Ghazālī, there should be no fraud in weights of quantities in determining the price of a commodity, since complete decency and honesty are to be expected. Even though her sees man as predisposed to temptation and illicit activities, no fraud should take place in the pricing of commodities and the correct price ought to be disclosed (ibid., 356). The principle of justice must be facilitated; therefore, if a buyer offers a higher price than that on the market, the seller ought not to accept it, since an excess of profit might occur, even though the excessive price in itself is not an unjust deed (ibid. n.d., 2: 79). Al-Ghazālī upholds that *iḥsān* has to be practiced in the market, namely "doing something extra for another beyond the material benefits, though that extra is not an obligation, but merely an act of generosity" (Ghazanfar and Islahi 1997, 22). According to Ghazanfar, al-Ghazālī indicated the correlation between market and price correctly when stating that the farmer sells his product at a low price due to the problem of not having enough buyers. Furthermore, he suggests that the seller, out of benevolence, should not accept a high profit on a particular product just because the buyer is anxious to purchase it. The limit of the profit is not clearly stated by al-Ghazālī; nevertheless, given the role of benevolence and the overall injunction of *Sharī'a*, the rate should not exceed 5–10% of the price of a good (ibid. 1997).

Ibn Taymiyyah also analysed an exploitative nature of money, and concluded that the distinction between interest on consumption loans and production loans should not be applied, whereby the imaginary time value of money is regarded as illicit.

The possibility of the lender investing his money and earning profit is a matter of conjecture; it may or may not materialize. To exact a higher amount over and above the sum lent, on that conjectural basis is a kind of injustice and exploitation. (Ibn Taymiyyah and al-Razi in Islahi 2005, 52)

The opposite of this is a profit and loss-sharing endeavour, where the former is to be shared with a ratio determined in advance before the agreement between the involved parties, and in case of loss, the owner of the capital bears the loss whilst the other party bears the loss of the invested labour. (Ibn Taymiyyah in Islahi 2005, 52.) Barter exchange with commodities which differ in quantity and in the time of delivery are called *riba'l-fadl* and *riba'l-nasi'ah*, and according to Islamic scholars such exchanges contain interest and are thus forbidden.[10] The only time a seller can be coerced into an exchange of commodities is when he has to sell his goods at the price of the equivalent, only to protect the interests of other sellers (Ibn Taymiyya 1976, 190).

As indicated in classical Islamic scholarship, markets ought neither to function freely, nor according to prices set in advance; instead, benevolence should be exercised in the market through the advertisement of a product's fair price (ibid. 1963). Following this reasoning, no excessive profit made from a buyer by the seller can be justified as legally acquired, which is why exercising leniency is to be upheld when purchasing from a poor seller. Moreover, the possibility of cancelling an agreement or the flexible repayment of debts are at one's disposal, as well as fair repayments of debt. The extension of credit or deferred payment when selling to the poor is possible, whilst refusing the debt held by a poor buyer in cases when he cannot afford to pay it back is considered licit. In connection with exchanges and purchases, handing over a commodity in advance without demanding the payment is lawful, if deemed necessary.

Contemporary Muslim Scholars' Views on the Time Value of Money

Contemporary Islamic economics and finance has been critiqued as being a subsidiary operational field of Islamic law, and a hybrid economic system, combining conventional economic postulates with fundamental Islamic tenants (Kuran 2004; Tripp 2006; Al-Daghistani 2016). Islamic banking as its principal end-product

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10   This prohibition is based upon the following tradition: "I heard Allah's Messenger (*ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wasallam*) forbidding the sale of gold by gold, and silver by silver, and wheat by wheat, and barley by barley, and dates by dates, and salt by salt, except like for like and equal for equal. So he who made an addition or who accepted an addition (committed the sin of taking) interest", Sahih Muslim, 2005, No. 3852.

has also been subjected to various analysis by the opponents and proponents of its methodology. Nonetheless, certain concepts and terms that have been used by contemporary Muslim economists are linked to the fundamental understanding of an Islamic worldview. This also has bearings for the perception of money and time in Islamic economic scholarship.

The idea behind the time value of money is that money is worth more at times when transactions take place, rather than at any given point in the (near) future. As such, an important element is the so-called theory of positive time preference, coined by Austrian economist Eugene Von Bohm-Bawerk (d. 1914), denoting that a good has higher exchange value at the time of sale or purchase compared to in the (near) future, and thus a higher exchange value as well as price (Khir 2013, 4). According to Muslim scholars' interpretation of money, wealth and man's well-being, *Sharī'a* lays out the rules with regard to sales transactions and regulates the time value of money. Contemporary Muslim scholars assert that the time value of money is regarded as licit in Islam, yet it is distinguishable from the conventional perspective in that the former advocates "a different price in a cash sale as opposed to a credit sale" (ibid., 2). The question is, however, whether the Islamic rejection of interest on loans is equal to and precludes the mechanism of time value of money. For Muhammad Fahim Khan, a positive time preference is accepted in Islam "as long as no fixed and predetermined time value is assigned to money" (ibid.). Some Muslim ideologues and scholars, such as Mawdūdī (1903–1979) and Fazlur Rahman (1919–1988), as well as other contemporary Muslim economists, have opposed the time value of money concept, since in their view it adds interest to loans. For Mawdūdī, however, the distinction between past and future purchases is void (Mawdūdī 2011, 81–86). Muhammad Fahim Khan takes a similar position, since for him the claim that the theory of positive time preference does not necessarily presuppose an interest-based activity is illogical, and should thus not be observed (Khan 1991, 35–45). By avoiding positive time preference, as long as there is no predetermined value of money, one can eliminate interest in economic activities.

According to Saadallah, a contemporary Muslim economist, in light of Islamic law, the dual perception of time is operative in financial transactions. The time factor plays an important role in sales and loans. A sales transaction is introduced to the concept of time if either of its two components, commodity and price, are deferred (Saadallah 1994, 85). Deferment in sales is licit in Islamic tradition, yet it cannot take place if both commodity and price are being deferred at the same time (ibid.). Moreover, gold and silver are not to be exchanged for credit, but gold should instead be exchanged only for gold and silver for silver. Muslim scholars have theorised that trading on credit is illicit since gold and silver are (like money)

only a medium of exchange, whereas Hanafi scholars claim that the ban is due to the weight difference (ibid.).[11]

Further, a sale with a higher price might not be considered as interest (*ribā*), even if a sale on credit might be higher than when the payment is made on the spot, and the time factor is not regarded as separate from the sale of the commodity while being deferred (ibid., 89). On the other hand, the increase with deferred payment involves an estimation of a price by the seller and the buyer. Despite the fact that arguments for and against deferred sale exist throughout the spectrum of Islamic law, classical economic thought in Islamic tradition stipulates moral considerations when utilising money and operating with time-sensitive agreements and commodities.

Concluding Remarks

Toshihiko Izutsu's writing on Islamic scholarship and the *Qur'an* are significant in critically assessing and further developing the moral foundations of some of the key economic and ethical terms, linked to the Islamic *Weltanschauung*. By focusing on the semantic analysis of those ethico-economic terms, this paper outlines the epistemological considerations of concepts such as time, money, and *khalīfa* within classical and contemporary Islamic economic philosophy. Izutsu's semantic analysis is therefore pertinent to the theoretical application of such concepts and their meaning to the subject of Islamic intellectual history in general, and in the field of Islamic economics in particular.

Mainstream economics derives its ethics based on a particular liberal worldview that is tied to a materialistic perception of reality, which further eliminates moral and spiritual perspectives of economic philosophy. The Western neoclassical economic idea of treating money as a commodity (which often portrays time as money) indicates the importance of time only in relation to economic endeavours and financial gains, and hence differs from the Islamic perception of time, which corresponds to economic activities as part of the overall moral considerations that arise in relation to time. In this aspect, classical Islamic economic thought derived ethical stipulations from an Islamic worldview through the primary sources of

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11   Similar ideas can be observed in al-Ghazālī: "Creation of dirhams and dinars is one of the bounties of Allah. The entire world of economic activities is based on transactions with these two kinds of money. They are two metals, with no benefits in themselves. However, people need them, in order to exchange them for different things—food, clothing, and other goods. Sometimes a person needs what he does not own and he owns what he does not need." Al-Ghazālī argued that usury can occur in two forms. It can occur in an exchange of the same commodity, e.g. gold for gold, i.e. product for product, but with a difference in quantity and in time of delivery.

Islam and its intellectual tradition, whereby its key concepts, such as *khalīfa, ribā, maṣlaḥa, ʿadl* and others, constitute its very foundations. On the other hand, contemporary Islamic economic discourse is informed by both Islamic and Western theoretical postulates, exposing its epistemic hybridity. However, the majority of Muslim scholars hold that deferred payments are lawful under certain conditions, and interest-free exchanges in Islamic economics are addressed in balance with the social interest, and therefore in accordance with the injunctions of Islamic moral precepts which see money as only a medium of exchange and as a means to achieve higher ends.

From such a perspective, an Islamic economic worldview is in its polyvalence perceived as comprehensive and all-encompassing conceptualisation, as it does not dichotomise the *is* from *ought*, divine from mundane, secular from spiritual, and *ʿilm* (knowledge) from *ʿamal* (deed). Classical Islamic economic scholarship asserts that the factor of time in economics is closely related to overall cosmological proportions, and is thus, in essence, a moral category.

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Aesthetics of the Classical Period of the Islamic Mughal Empire in India through a Portrait of Abū al-Fatḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar

Nina PETEK[*]

Abstract

The reign of Abū al-Fatḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar (1556–1605) was a fruitful period of the political, cultural and spiritual synthesis of Persian, Indian, and European tradition, as well as an artistic and aesthetic renaissance. This cosmopolitan, universal and charismatic ruler strived for the external, political, material and spiritual well-being of his colourful empire. In search of a balance between the external and internal, and in his endeavours for the unification and uniformity of India he gradually created a completely new style of Mughal arts, which is a stunning reflection of his personality's transformations, principles, insights, interests, and spiritual growth.

The paper focuses on a psychological portrait of the ruler, who dictated aesthetics and the style of the classical period of Mughal arts which consists of the three basic developmental phases of Akbar's enigmatic character. The thesis on the parallel development of Akbar's personality and Mughal arts is supported by research on the influence of certain European and Persian aesthetic elements, and mainly on the influence of Indian philosophical-religious tradition (the doctrines on *rasa*, *bhakti*, *yoga*, and *tantra*). The early period of Mughal arts, with predominantly realistic elements, coincides with the ruler's dynamic, youthful enthusiasm and immense curiosity to acquaint himself the most varied aspects of external events and appearances. The second, the mature period, which enriches this earlier realism by means of mystical elements and the symbolism of Indian pre-Mughal painting, is marked by the shift into the interior and by searching for the harmony between the material and spiritual. In the late period of Mughal painting, however, reflexive and lyrical works prevail, which are a reflection of completion of Akbar's spiritual quests, and the unique project of multifaceted synthesis that he undertook and promoted.

Keywords: Mughal aesthetics, miniature painting, hybrid art, Akbar the Great

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Estetika klasičnega obdobja islamskega Mogulskega imperija v Indiji skozi portret Abūja al-Fatḥa Jalāla al-Dīna Muḥammada Akbarja

Izvleček

Plodovito obdobje vladavine Abūja al-Fatḥa Jalāla al-Dīna Muḥammada Akbarja (1566–1605) je bilo čas politične, kulturne in duhovne sinteze perzijske, indijske in evropske tradicije ter umetniške in estetske renesanse. Svetovljanski, vsestranski in karizmatični vladar si je namreč prizadeval za zunanje, politično in materialno, ter hkrati duhovno blagostanje svojega raznovrstnega imperija, v iskanju ravnovesja med zunanjim in notranjim ter v svojih prizadevanjih po združitvi in poenotenju Indije pa je postopoma ustvarjal povsem nov slog mogulske umetnosti, ki je osupljivi odraz njegovih osebnostnih preobrazb, nazorov, uvidov, interesov in duhovne rasti.

Članek se osredotoča na analizo psihološkega portreta vladarja, ki je narekoval estetiko in slog klasičnega obdobja mogulske umetnosti, ki sestoji iz treh temeljnih razvojnih faz Akbarjevega enigmatičnega značaja. Teza o paralelnem razvoju Akbarjeve osebnosti in mughalske umetnosti je podprta s preiskavo vpliva določenih evropskih in perzijskih estetskih elementov ter predvsem vpliva indijske filozofsko-religijske tradicije (doktrina o *rasah*, *bhakti*, *yoga*, *tantra*). Zgodnje obdobje mogulske umetnosti s pretežno realističnimi elementi sovpada z vladarjevim dinamičnim mladostniškim zanosom in neizmerno vedoželjnostjo po spoznanju najrazličnejših plasti zunanje pojavnosti. Drugo, zrelo obdobje, ki realizem obogati z mističnimi elementi in simboliko indijskega predmogulskega slikarstva, je zaznamovano z obratom v notranjost in iskanjem harmonije med materialnim in duhovnim, v poznem obdobju mogulskega slikarstva pa prevladujejo refleksivna in lirična dela, ki so odraz dovršitve Akbarjevih duhovnih iskanj in edinstvenega projekta večplastne sinteze.

Ključne besede: mogulska estetika, miniaturno slikarstvo, hibridna umetnost, Akbar Veliki

Introduction

Islam first arrived in India in the last part of the seventh century AD, but the sixteenth century was definitely a turning point regarding its influence in the region. This came with the establishment of the Mughal Empire (1526–1858), which embraced almost the entire area of present-day India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, and was the beginning of one of the most stunning periods in Indian history. The Mughal Dynasty was not the first Islamic dynasty in India, but it is definitely considered one of the most important, mainly because of the rule of Abū al-Fatḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar (r. 1556–1605),[1] one of the most influential rulers of the Mughal Empire and India as a whole. He was not only skilful on the political stage, but he also had a unique, exceptional, charismatic and cosmopolitan spirit,

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1   Years denote the period of his rule.

and can be credited for a true renaissance of the arts in India, i.e. the emergence of a new synthetic style, known as Mughal painting. The new dynasty thus did not only influence various aspects of the socio-political reality of the land. But also contributed to hitherto unimagined dimensions in the development of arts and aesthetics. The intertwinement of many varied styles, which together formed a new artistic idiom, took place at the heart of Akbar's court, which fast became an innovative cultural and artistic focal point, with a library that also served as a gallery, a room for the debates, and a painting atelier.

It should be noted that what is termed Mughal painting is actually the fruit of Akbar's deeper spiritual aspiration, which, among other things, triggered an entire cultural and social revolution. As such, rather than examining the detailed historical events and offering a historical perspective on this, as documented in numerous studies of the Mughal Empire, the current study presents an examination of the development of Akbar's spiritual personal history, divided into three phases, which can help to explain the chronological puzzle of Mughal painting.

The paper works to support its thesis about the parallel development of Akbar's personality and Mughal painting, with the era's unique and unrepeatable cultural, social, religious, and political synthesis that saw the influences of India, Europe, Central Asia, Tibet, Nepal, and China merging together. After introducing Akbar's political, cultural, spiritual and artistic development, as well as the essential characteristics of Mughal painting which grew in the period of his rule, this paper approaches the central thesis by looking at the four elements of Indian spiritual tradition which influenced on the parallel development of Akbar's personality and Mughal painting: the theory of Indian aesthetics (*rasa*), *bhakti*, *yoga,* and *tantra*. On the basis of the influences of certain aspects of Indian cultural heritage, religion and philosophy and the records contained in Akbar's biography, the *Akbar-nāma*, which bears witness to the ruler's multi-layered personality and many interests, along with an analysis of some individual samples of Mughal painting, this paper divides the development of Mughal arts and Akbar's personal growth into the three essential periods that together form a complex picture of Mughal aesthetics.

Although there are several studies on the topic of Mughal art and aesthetics, it seems that none have so far addressed this particular issue in detail.

The Portrait of Akbar the Great and the Uniqueness of Hybrid Art of the Mughal Period

It is true that Humāyūn, also called Nāṣin al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 1530–1556), the second ruler of the Mughal Empire, a son of the famous Bābur, known also

as Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 1526–1530), the founder of the Mughal dynasty, was not the man who initiated the Mughal arts. However, there is no doubt that he was an important in its birth[2]. In addition to a profound interest in philosophy, poetry, music, and astrology, he was exceptionally enthusiastic about painting, and employed huge numbers of painters at his court. A few months after he had conquered Delhi in 1556, he fell down the stairs of his mighty library, very drunk, as well as addicted to opium, and died. His son Akbar (which means "the Great") was born in 1542, and thus occupied his father's throne not even fourteen years old, without any of the skills a ruler requires. However, his energy and intelligence enabled the Mughal Empire to quickly become the strongest kingdom in the entire history of India.[3]

To a great extent, this was, without a doubt, due to the fact that Akbar was not only a warrior and ambitious ruler, but also a philosopher and a mystic. He was born with such a temperament and he remained a mystic to the end (Smith 1917, 348, 349). At the start of his rule he set up temples all over India and financed the construction of mosques. His original orthodoxy was increasingly relaxed by his enthusiasm for the poetry of Persian Sufis, and later for Hinduism. In the context of Sufism, he was especially interested in Ibn al-'Arabī and his introduction of the pantheistic One into Islamic monotheism, which is the essence of all things and thus the essence of all the religions. The latter was one of the key foundations for the later declaration of a new religious system. Akbar's charismatic, dynamic and bold nature roamed over a diverse range of interests: from hunting and fighting to music, poetry, architecture, and painting. With regard to his immense love of art, the journey he undertook with his father from Kabul to India was a key turning point. There he was given lessons in painting, which later gave rise in his meaningful contribution to the establishment of the Mughal School of painting.

The peak of Akbar's political power extends between the years 1569 and 1572. In this time, the construction of the capital Fatehpur Sikri ("the City of Victory") also occurred. He moved there after the birth of his son Nūr-ud-dīn Muhammad Salīm, known by the name Jahāngīr, in 1569. In the process of expanding his imperial power, Akbar was always followed by a love of books and painting, which was inherited from his grandfather and father, and although, as numerous sources

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2   Cary-Welch et al. state that Bābur "set the mood of Mughal painting" and Humāyūn "established its form" (Cary-Welch et al. 1987, 14), which was finally invented by his son Akbar. Akbar "made every possible use of the conditions that already existed, encouraging the traditional system of their subject in the most liberal manner" (Brown 1924, 19).

3   Cary-Welch et al. compare him with the Indian king Aśoka: "With the emperor Aśoka (r. app. 269–232) of the Maurya dynasty, Akbar ranks as one of India's great philosopher-kings" (Cary-Welch et al. 1987, 15).

state, he never learnt to write and read (he was supposedly limited by dyslexia, according to Chakraverty (2005, 35)), he became one of the most universally educated rulers. Moreover, being illiterate was no real obstacle to this, as courtiers read to him daily. Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak, Akbar's closest friend and biographer, wrote in his history of Akbar's life and rule, the *Akbar-nāma* (in the third part, titled the *Āīn-I Akbarī*, to be more exact), which was written between the years 1589 and 1600: "/…/ among books of renown, there are few that are not read in His Majesty's assembly hall" (1873, 103). When listening to the reading aloud of books from his father's library,[4] Akbar was said to remember every single word. Following the model of his father, he employed painters[5] at his court and paid close attention to the production and illustration of manuscripts.[6] Akbar's love of books was thus also a love of paintings.[7] The latter decorated the walls of his palace, where he founded an atelier. Under the leadership of two skilled Persians, Mīr Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad, who arrived in India from Iran in 1555, dozens of mostly Hindu painters were trained. In addition, in 1575 Akbar devoted a part of his new residence to a room called Ibādat Khāna ("House of Worship"), for socializing and philosophical debates, where he invited people with the most different beliefs and religions. This room, a spiritual junction for the meeting and synthesis of different cultures, became a source of surprising novelties in the fields of religion and painting. In this cosmopolitan atmosphere, people with very different skills from all corners of the world rallied, not only from India and Central Asia, but also from Europe and Africa—in addition to soldiers, bureaucrats, officials, noted politicians, merchants, and travellers, there were also poets, philosophers, painters, musicians, merchants, and fortune tellers in great numbers.

At the peak of the golden age of the court atelier and the debate room, in 1582, Akbar declared a new religious system Dīn-i Ilāhī ("the Divine Faith"),[8] which emerged on the basis of profound and piercing debates among Hindus, Jains, Muslims, Christians, and Zoroastrians, which usually lasted long into the night. This created a controversy in orthodox Islamic circles, and attracted significant

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4   Akbar continued adding to his father's library, and by his death it included around 24,000 volumes of Persian, Arab, Hindi, Sanskrit, Kashmiri, Greek and Latin texts, which embraced, in addition to *belles-lettres*, the works from the fields of religion, philosophy, anthropology, history, mathematics and astrology.

5   In ten years of Akbar's rule, there were supposed to be thirty painters and seventy assistants from Persia, Central Asia and mostly from India employed in the atelier.

6   His father Humāyūn became enthusiastic about illustrating manuscripts at the court in Tabriz in Persia.

7   Court painters also illustrated those books which were a part of the personal library of Akbar's mother, Ḥamīda Banū Begum.

8   This religion, the heart of Akbar's cosmopolitan plan, was never actually adopted by the masses.

criticism and disapproval. There is no doubt that the wealthy men in Akbar's court were more enthusiastic about his passionate zeal as a youthful warrior, although this did not last for a very long time. One event driven by this, which was at the same time a cause for Akbar's first significant personal change and the entire nature of his rule, was the killing of Hemu, the Hindu general of Surs in 1556. Under the leadership of the military commander of the Mughal army Bairam Khan, Akbar's soldiers, in the presence of the ruler himself, pushed an arrow into Hemu's eye, which penetrated to the other side of the general's skull, moving through the brain tissue. This incident was essential of Akbar's personal transformation, which started with a growing resistance to Khan's methods, and the fading of his youthful admiration of the commander's fearlessness. Dislike of Khan, which increased in Akbar after this cruel killing, caused him to send the commander on a pilgrimage to Mecca. However, Khan never returned from this trip, as he was killed by Afghans on the way. Another key event in Akbar's personal development occurred in 1562, when he was overtaken by a mystic experience while riding a horse, which stumbled and fell badly. Akbar understood this as a message from God, and thus his unique method of imperial conduct and attitude towards those with different beliefs, mostly regarding religion, were set.[9]

Akbar's change in attitude towards non-Muslims was also impacted by his interest in the various aspects of Hinduism, which is evident from his translating and illustrating the basic Hindu texts between the years 1580 and 1600, such as the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. His purpose was to enlighten the Muslims in his court and entire empire, and thus establish a bridge over the abyss which divided Muslims and Hindus. Without any doubt, Akbar's use of translations here was a reflection of his multi-layered nature and sincere interest in the Indian cultural and spiritual legacy, which already existed before his personal transformation. At the same time, these translations also served as tools for strengthening political power and preserving stability. Before Mughal rule was established, India was fragmented and economically unstable. There were also problems due to disagreements between Muslims and Hindus, with this relationship being, as Akbar realized, the most festering wound of his empire. As such, as one of the conditions for the power and stability of the state, as well as social harmony, Akbar recognized the need to

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9   After this event, Akbar adopted a number of measures which, however, did not reduce the power of his empire, but instead strengthened it to previously unimagined degrees. "He prohibited the enslavement of Hindu prisoners of war, allowed Hindus to occupy important governmental posts, and abolished a tax on pilgrims and a poll tax on non-Muslims." (Cary-Welch 1978, 17, 18) He also married a Hindu princess, the daughter of the ruler of Amber Raja Bihārī Mal, in 1562. One of his wives, Mariam-uz-Zamani, even followed Christian traditions.

establish a sense of symbiosis between Muslims and Hindus. Hindus therefore became his irreplaceable counsellors and soldiers. He did not choose the people who formed his closest circle according to their religion or ethnicity, but according to their skills and knowledge.

In addition to serving as Akbar's spiritual laboratory, which enriched the spirit of the young man, Fatehpur Sikri was also the focus of the ruler's imperialistic plan, whose main goal was the union of the empire. The cultural and spiritual atmosphere behind the walls of the emperor's palace thus influenced his actions on the stage of the contemporary social and political reality. The process of establishing the strength of the empire, and, at the same time, consolidation and strengthening his authority, were conducted in an entirely unique way—through innovations on the basis of religion and painting, which became the most important part of his political program.

Art was thus a multi-layered reflection of Akbar's principles, by which he established a special dialogical discourse. He kept his distance from dogmatic Islam, and instead of proclaiming the superiority of such rules he emphasized the equality of all religions and beliefs. On top of a synthetic religious system that drew elements from various religions, Akbar crowned himself as the supreme authority, sovereign and Earthly representative of God. This latter role was in accordance with the conception of the royal function in both Hinduism and Islam—a king is the representative of God on Earth, and is responsible for the spiritual and material welfare of the people. This double position of the ruler was also adopted by Akbar. In the *Akbar-nāma* he is described as the ruler of the world, the "depicter of the external, revealer of the internal" (Minissale 2009, 223)—he ruled the outside world, the Mughal Empire, and at the same time was responsible for the multitude of internal spiritual worlds, which lived within the conquered border on the face of the Earth. This is also in accordance with Akbar's complex and unique nature—he was not only interested in conquering external areas, he was also a spiritual master. This is exactly why he realised the necessity of establishing a balance between both sides, as he stood in a position where he became responsible for each of them, and as a king he had the power to put in force his cosmopolitan beliefs. Moreover, in this process he silenced all the complaints at his court by means of his spiritual greatness, and without any use of force.

Without a doubt, Akbar is a paradigmatic example of a true divine ruler who was able to overcome the naked, imperialistic tensions over the whole spread of his territory. The fact that art represented the centre of Akbar's personal and political life is proven in a quote from Āīn-I Akbarī, often cited in the literature:

There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge. (Abu'l-Fazl 1873, 108)

However, Akbar did not become the ruler of the spiritual world by proclaiming one truth only, but instead by way of a peculiar synthesis which was also reflected in an entirely new language of arts. This universal project of synthesis led to the development of Mughal painting. Akbar is thus an example of a ruler who determined the prevailing artistic style or, to be more exact, his personal growth laid down the paths for the new art. At the same time, the latter influenced the development and transformation of Akbar's personality, where is possible to speak of a tight connection, and, at the same time, mutual conditionality between the two.

The painting of the Mughal period is an exceptional example of a hybrid but original, elaborated and perfected in style, which is a mix of of Persian (and thus indirectly also Chinese[10]), Hindu, Jain and European elements. It is a peculiar synthesis of the cultural heritage of Hinduism and Islam, which is the fruit of Akbar's restless efforts in order to establish a spirit of tolerance. At the same time, the curiosity of the ruler's universal spirit opened the gates of India with regard to European aesthetics. Gonzalez stated that the true ontology of Mughal painting "was born of a subtly modulated transitive relationship between three distinct aesthetic metaphysics, that of Persian, Indo-Sultanate, and European pictorialities" (2015, 283). The Mughal style of painting is not distinguished just because of its innovative aesthetic dimensions, but also because of a cluster of values, beliefs, ideals, and ideas of various traditions, which were deftly woven into the linear style of Persian painting, reflecting a new understanding of the world and the place of humans within it.

Mughal art was also a way of enforcing Akbar's political power, establishing social harmony and forming a religious synthesis. It was manifested through the ruler's strongest weapon, books. Through all history, Muslims are termed as "the people of the book", and in the period of Akbar's rule books occupied the throne

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10   The Chinese influences on India were mainly second-hand, through Persian arts, and the interaction between the two different artistic traditions is, as Coomaraswamy states, "sometimes quite charming" (1910, 880). The connection between both originated with works of pottery in the ninth century. Mughal rulers were collectors of Chinese porcelain, decorated with distinctively Persian features. Moreover, Persians were also delighted at certain Chinese features (above all the mythological entities, clouds and rich and perfected plant patterns).

above all the other ways of establishing wealth and enforcing the power. But along with books, such high status was also assigned to the art of painting. Many of the paintings from Akbar's period were thus created as illustrations of manuscripts (historical books, religious and philosophical texts, *belles-lettres*, and so on) and their translations. Numerous independent compositions were also preserved. Mughal paintings presented a huge album of the world and the diverse grandness of its multi-layered reality, intersecting with a premonition of the inevitable laws of life and death, as well as the search for immortality, and this can be seen in the works knows as miniatures. The term "miniature" derives from the Latin "minium", which means "red lead", and was used to emphasize the initial letters in a manuscript.

> In spite of a mistaken etymology since the seventeenth century, the word miniature was connected with "minute" and was also used to describe small portraits /…/. In the Indian context, "miniature" generally refers to a painting or illumination, small in size, meticulous in detail. (Chakraverty 2005, 8)

In the context of Mughal painting, the term denotes illuminations and masterpieces in larger formats, among which there were also wall paintings. Miniature painting, "a colorful phase in Indian cultural history" (ibid., 33), became much more common in the East and West between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, used as a part of manuscripts that were written on palm leaves,[11] i.e. in the Buddhist and Jain tradition. Other illustrations of holy scriptures in India date back to some centuries before Christ.

The Development of the Mughal Artistic Style through the Spiritual Evolution of Akbar the Great

In order to systematize the examination of the parallel development of Mughal painting and Akbar's personality, the latter is divided into three phases. To further clarify these three periods, this paper approaches the outlined psychological and artistic development by illuminating the influence of four streams from Indian spiritual heritage which are tightly intertwined, and which co-formed the Mughal aesthetics in this period: the doctrine of Indian aesthetics (*rasa* theory), *bhakti*, *yoga,* and *tantra*.

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11   In the fourteenth century palm leaves were gradually replaced by paper.

The Influence of Indian Traditions on the Development of the Mughal Arts: *Rasa*, *Bhakti*, *Yoga*, and *Tantra*

As has already been indicated, Akbar highly appreciated all forms of Indian arts. At the same time, Mughal patrons and artists, e.g. Abu'l Fazl, Mirza Khan, and Saif Khan Faqirullar, were very familiar with various treatises on the Indian arts, which they were also translating into Persian. The Mughals also knew the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*The Drama Manual*),[12] the earliest surviving treatise on the origins, nature, and performance of the dramatic arts (music, dance, and theatre), ascribed to the sage Bharata. The text offers essential elements of the doctrine of Indian aesthetics, which is based on the *rasa* concept. *Rasa* (flavour, taste, aesthetic experience, joy) was defined as a distinctive feature of dramatic experience, aesthetic enjoyment in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which could be evoked in actors and the audience itself. The *rasa* theory was based on the analysis of feelings and various aesthetic experiences. It was further developed by Abhinavagupta (c. 975–1025), one of the most important representatives of Kashmiri Śaivism, who focused his attention on the close relationship between *tantr*ic ritual and aesthetic experience. *Rasa* as an expression of the condition of an individual (experience and mood) was defined also as the soul of every art. He added the ninth, *śānta rasa*, which represents the supreme peace of mind, to Bharata's list of eight *rasa*s.[13] The aesthetic experience, *śānta rasa*, is analogous to the mystic experience (*brahmāsvāda*), where the aim is to achieve a state of selflessness, transcending the ego, and thus one of union, which leads to the experience of blissfulness. What is essential here is the fact that the theory of *rasa* was certainly known at the Mughal court by the late sixteenth century (Butler Schofield 2015, 410). In particular, it became involved in all the aspects of the various artistic forms at the court during Akbar's rule. The doctrine on *rasa*s thus influenced all the types of art at the Mughal court. In Mughal paintings, all the types of *rasa*s are manifested: in the early period, it was mostly *śṛṇgāra rasa* (sensual pleasures), in the mature period its second dimension (spiritual love), and in the late period the *śānta rasa* took precedence. Butler Schofield notes that all the *rasa*s were also present in Sufism:

> All nine *rasa*s are explored, savored, tasted, and transformed for the purposes of teaching the Sufi how to control and sublimate his baser emotions—a notion that has clear links with Islamicate understanding of

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12   It achieved its final form in the fourth century AD. However, there were already some parts in the second century BC.

13   There are eight emotions (love, laughter, sorrow, energy, anger, fear, disgust and amazement), which engender eight corresponding *rasa*s: *śṛṇgāra* (erotic), *hāsya* (comic), *karuṇa* (pathetic), *vīra* (heroic), *raudra* (furious), *bhayānaka* (fearful), *bībhatsa* (grotesque), *adbhuta* (wondrous).

cultivating the emotions through artistic means in order to balance mental and physical health. (Butler Schofield 2015, 412, 413)

The Indian doctrine on *rasa*s was reformed by Rūpa Gosvāmī in accordance with his Vaiṣṇava orientation, and he introduced a systemized demonstration of Vaiṣṇava aesthetics in his work the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* (usually translated as *The Ocean of the Essence of Devotional Rasa*), and defined *rasa* in a religious sense. As the supreme *rasa* he chose *bhakti rasa* (devotional *rasa*), which constitutes the highest religious experience based on the focus on God Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme Reality, which is the One beyond all diversities.

The new devotional aesthetics[14] thus influenced the mature period of Mughal aesthetics. Here, it is necessary to stress what on many occasions is overlooked, although exceptionally important, the fact that Akbar himself influenced the rise of the devotional *bhakti* movement. Burchett describes the Mughal empire as a "religiopolitical idiom in which Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* institutional forms became key symbols of power and deportment, and thus *bhakti* communities became beneficiaries of extensive patronage" (2012, 3). The rise of *bhakti* was thus inseparable from Mughal socio-political developments, and Akbar was precisely the man who contributed most to the rise of Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* because of his cosmopolitan codes and symbols of virtue, deportment, and aesthetic sophistication (ibid., 35).[15] As such, the even tighter connection between the religious and aesthetic was formed, an aesthetic and religious experience. Both were based on acquiring a sense of union, the precondition of which was exceeding the individual, distancing oneself from the ego, and this was especially marked in the late period of Akbar's aesthetics.

In addition, the Mughal rulers were quite familiar with the characteristics of *yoga*, and "it is striking that the Mughals, in particular, became patrons of *yogi* establishments" (Ernst 2005, 24). As has already been indicated, Sufism also influenced Akbar in important ways. In the classical doctrines of the latter, the elements of *yoga* and *tantra* were interlaced in the period of Akbar's rule. Sufi texts of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries articulate the practice and conception of *yoga*, which shows "Islamic domestication of *yoga*, which makes it integral to Sufi discipline" (Hatley 2007, 361). In addition, the texts of the sixteenth century

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14   There are also some fascinating parallels between the *bhakti*, devotion with royal ceremonials, loyalty, and service that Mughal officials gave to the emperor and that offered by Vaiṣṇava *bhakta*s to God (Burchett 2012, 40).

15   The fact that Swami Haridāsa, a known Vaiṣṇava poet, is said to have been the teacher of Tansen, the accomplished musician of Akbar's court, shows that various Vaiṣṇava movements were rather close to Akbar.

Fig. 1: "Krishna Holds Up Mount Govardhan to Shelter the Villagers of Braj" (folio from an illustrated manuscript the Harivaṃśa), ca. 1590–95. Medium: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 2: "Misbah the Grocer Brings the Spy Parran to his House" (folio from an illustrated manuscript the Hamza–nāma), ca. 1570; attributed to Daswant'h, Mithra. Medium: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on cloth; mounted on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

also reflect a Nātha *yogi* orientation (Vaiṣṇava-oriented Sufi texts occur in the seventeenth century; ibid., 362). *Tantric yoga* thus became an integral component of Sufi practice in that period.[16] Eaton makes an interesting point that Muslims perceived northern Bengal as a fabulous and mysterious place, inhabited by expert practitioners of the occult, *yoga*, and magic (1993, 77). These very mystic elements of *tantric* tradition are noticeable in the mature period of the Mughal aesthetic. In addition—the same as in the case of the upper levels of aesthetic experience in the doctrine of *rasa*s—the practices of *yoga* and *tantra* are interlaced in Sufi doctrines, aimed at achieving egoless absorption, union and pure awareness of the presence of God, which became the aim of artistic (and personal) expression in the latter period of Mughal painting.

According to these statements, it is possible to confirm the mutual influences of the Hindu and Islamic spiritual worlds. Not only that Akbar accepted certain flows of Indian tradition due to his open and curious spirit, but also that he contributed to their independent existence and further development, which is another dimension of his cosmopolitanism. To sum up, the intertwinement of various aesthetic experiences, *rasa*, *bhakta* devotional religion, *yoga* and *tantric* magic and mysticism, is manifested in the transformations of Akbar's personality and development of Mughal aesthetics. The depiction of varied emotions and worldly pleasures is characteristic of the early period of Mughal arts. Therefore, aesthetic experience in this context derives mostly from visual delight, while the elements of spiritual pleasures, an aspiration for mental satisfaction, and aesthetic experience, which is aimed at overcoming the profane, start to emerge in the mature period to a greater extent, which culminates in the late period of Mughal arts in Akbar's reign.

Pluralism of Superabundance of the Appearance: Subtle Naturalism of the Early Period of Mughal Painting (1556–1579)

Already as a child, Akbar was eager for knowledge. Born in India he was thrilled over the immense diversity of the land, the variety of the world stretched between life, death, and immortality. This youthful amazement, where Akbar's interest in the physical world derived from, he nourished for all of his life. This is reflected especially in the early period of Mughal painting (1556–1579), with its peak in the time of establishing the court's atelier in Fatehpur Sikri in 1569, where mostly Hindu

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16   Here, it is worth mentioning that, with the curious exception of the patronage given by several of the Mughal emperors, including both Akbar and Aurangzeb, none of the Muslim rulers of India is known to have been a supporter of *tantric* religious cults (Lorenzen 2002, 26).

Fig. 3: "Assad Ibn Kariba Launches a Night Attack on the Camp of Malik Iraj" (folio from an illustrated manuscipt the Hamza–nāma), ca. 1564–69; attributed to Basāwan, Shravan. Medium: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on cloth; mounted on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 4: "The Spy Zambur Brings Mahiya to the City of Tawariq" (folio from an illustrated manuscript the Hamza–nāma), ca. 1570; attributed to Kesav Das, Mah Muhammad. Medium: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on cloth; mounted on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

painters worked. Akbar especially appreciated these, for he believed that "their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them" (Abu'l-Fazl 1873, 107).[17] The first phase of the development of the Mughal painting is denoted as the golden age of Akbar's school of painting:

> Nothing like Fatehpur Sikri ever was created before or can be created again. It is 'a romance in stone'—the petrification of a passing mood in Akbar's strange nature begun and finished in lightning speed with that mood lasted—inconceivable and impossible at any other time or in any other circumstance. (Smith 1917, 445)

In his youthful and passionate zeal, Akbar was interested in all the layers of the world and life—everyday human matters, especially luxurious happenings at the court in all of its might, actual and historical events, dramatic demonstrations of tumultuous occurrences on the battlefields and in conquest, as well as other acts heroism. Common depictions from this period, such as courtly parties, lovers on the terrace and garden, and so on, reflect the manifestation of *śṛṅgāra rasa* (erotic love, romantic love, and passion) in the arts. It is *rasa*, which is the source of different forms of sensual pleasure. At the same time, its other dimension emerges (although not to such extent as in the mature and the late period), i.e. *śṛṅgāra rasa* as spiritual love, which goes beyond all that is profane.

Early Moghul art includes some portraits of rulers, important persons at court, Islamic aristocrats, soldiers and other people who inspired the ruler, among which there were also European merchants and travellers who were especially interesting to Akbar. He was enthusiastic about the richness of the plant and animal world, as well as about varied happenings in it—and this distinguishes Mughal painting from the Persian and Hindu traditions. The earliest paintings in Hindu manuscripts reflect the Hindu view of the world and mostly depict different layers of the transcendent cosmic order, with a lot of mythological and symbolic materials, while in early Mughal painting the a conception of man and history is more characteristic, which brought an entirely new vision of life—the idea of the importance and preciousness of particular aspects of everyday life, entirely ordinary events whose value is the same as that of events with incomprehensible cosmic ages and in the divine spheres.

It is from this orientation of Akbar's interests that the style of early Mughal painting itself, which includes realistic and naturalistic elements, derives. Historical

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17   According to the words of Abu'l-Fazl, Akbar met his painters at least once a week. Then they debated, exchanged views, experiences, and agreed on the themes that would decorate manuscripts and canvases.

events, happenings at court, and the animal and plant worlds are showed as clearly, factually and directly as possible. In the latter period of Mughal painting, the influence of the West, which was accepted by Akbar with great enthusiasm, is present. When he became a ruler, Akbar's youthful enthusiasm developed into sensitive compassion for the needs of different groups. His religious tolerance also derives from the perspective of the king and his sympathy, respect, and fascination with India itself. Sources state that Akbar walked all over India and talked to people, wishing to learn as much as possible about their cultures, habits, principles, and beliefs, and then he learned of numerous problems which troubled the population, such as the friction between Muslims and Hindus. He is also said to have participated in numerous Hindu religious festivals, by which he deepened his cosmopolitan views and understanding of the differences in his lands. However, he did not only stand up for the union of Islam and Hinduism, but also for that of all the other religions, which he pursued even more intensively after meeting Jesuits. In the early period of Akbar's rule, the Portuguese established their trading posts in India, and the king met with a delegation of Jesuit Fathers from the Portuguese colony of Goa in the Fatehpur Sikri[18] in 1578. The Portuguese gave Akbar an illustrated Bible, by which they spread Christianity in India,[19] which enthralled the ruler so much that he ordered his court painters to also include the realistic style in the images into their creations. He also ordered Abu'l-Fazl to translate the Bible into Persian, the official language of the Mughal Empire. At this time, Christian motifs and substantive elements were introduced into Mughal iconography. Bailey calls this the "Mughal 'conquest' of the Catholic art" (1998, 24).[20]

Abu'l-Fazl describes Akbar's fascination with the greatness of Western painting as based on the "magic making of the Europeans. The delicacy of work, clarity of line and boldness of execution, as well as other fine qualities, have reached perfection, and inanimate objects appear to have come alive" (Cleveland Beach 2002, 55). Thus Akbar's Mughal artistic style is a synthesis of Persian elements, Indian painting and "European illusionistic techniques, such as modeling of forms" (Canby 2005, 40), which is how elaborate and naturalistic images of human life were created. The influences of the European style are also evident in the increase of the use of shadow, the employment of scientific linear and aerial perspectives, in

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18   Akbar is said to have met two Jesuits in Bengal in 1576. He discussed religion with them, one of his favorite topics.

19   Illustrations of important events helped Jesuits to promote the Christian faith.

20   One example of a distinctively Christian feature in Mughal art is a picture in the manuscript *Khamsa-e-Khusrow*, made for Akbar in 1595 and titled "Alexander Lowered into the Sea". It shows an apocryphal event from the life of Alexander the Great, with the man a large glass bell and submerged into the sea. Another famous work of art with Christian features is "The Birth of the Virgin" from 1581.

a different treatment of the landscape, a special form of backgrounding (*dūr-nā-ma*, distant scene), and in the production of large oil paintings on canvas (Brown 1924, 177, 178).

However, in all these paintings, which present a small, illustrated history of various aspects of the physical world, it is possible to notice a combination of the spiritual and material, as also seen miniatures, which bring together "the world of flesh and spirit" (Cary-Welch 1978, 75). Akbar was in fact interested in mysticism in all religions, which was due to the influence of Sufism, which absorbed some of the important elements of the *tantr*ic tradition and *yoga*, whose goal was to achieve a supreme spiritual state and union. If the luxury of the court, perfected to the smallest detail, can be seen over most of a painting's surface, in the background there are windows of the palace, unnoticeable at first glance, through which a view of the garden, enlightened by a mysterious and supernatural light, can be seen.[21] Spiritual and mystical connections with the physical can also be found in the depiction of dervishes, in which small details, such as facial expressions, direct the beholder to that which is otherwise inconceivable and exceeds human understanding.

The subtle realism of Mughal works of art, with their energetic and rhythmic structure, intertwined with the otherwise bounded dimensions of the spiritual world, is distinctively dynamic, and this is where the difference in style compared to Persian painting occurs—the Mughal style is less manneristic and static; it is much more dramatic, which is of course in line with Akbar's adventurous spirit which dictated the early painting style. There, in addition to the impact of the ruler's spirit on the emergence of this style of painting, the influence of Indian art is also evident, i.e. in the depiction of a large room where something is happening, and uplift and dynamism of the event. However, it needs to be added that Akbar's painters pursued the latter to unimagined dimensions. This is best illustrated by the most stunning creation of the Mughal creative laboratory, a series of giant pictures on cotton, a vast work *Dāstān-e Amīr Ḥamza* (the *Ḥamza-nāma*, *The Story of Prince Ḥamza*), which depicts the adventures of Amīr Ḥamza. The pictures in the *Ḥamza-nāma*, contributed by hundreds of painters,[22] represent the key conceptual and aesthetic notions of early Persian court painting. Every picture focuses on a single dramatic event, an episode, and all are full of a feeling for the depth of the space, its tangibility and actual presence. Dynamic gestures and facial expressions are also seen. In the background of this there are the origins of a psychological

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21   An outstanding example is the painting from the period of Jahāngīr, "Prince Khurram (later Shah Jahān) Weighted against Metals".

22   The illustration of the manuscript was finished in the period 1572/1573.

Fig. 5: "Alexander Visits the Sage Plato in his Mountain Cave" (folio from an illustrated manuscipt the Khamsa-e-Khusrow); 1597–98; attributed to Basāwan. Medium: main support: ink, opaque water-color, gold on paper; margins: gold on dyed paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 6: "Hamza's Heroes Fight in Support of Qasim and Badi'uzzaman" (folio from an illustrated manus-cipt the Hamza-nāma); ca. 1564–69, attributed to Shravan, Daswant'h, Tara. Medium: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on cloth; mounted on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

motivation, which is especially distinctive in the late period of Mughal painting. In addition to actual events, a real psychological drama, invisible on the first glance, is also taking place in the paintings.

Otherwise, the events behind the walls of the palace are also marked by some vulgar hedonism, which is based mostly on drinking alcohol and other intoxicating substances, and the consequences of doing so, which stirred the painters' imaginations.[23] This extensive work, which contains around 1,400 pictures, was created in a predominantly Persian style of painting. It was started by Mīr Sayyid Ali, the painter and poet with a "mystic strain of Sufi inspiration" (Chakraverty 2005, 41), who was assisted by more than 50 painters. The images are thus a reflection of the aesthetics of Mīr Sayyid Ali, which are based on the idea that this world is a mirror of the divine One, although expressed according to the norms of Akbar's atelier (ibid.). At the same time, the full series of these paintings is a marvellous visual equivalent of Akbar's youthful spirit and energy in the period when he started to rule, bursting with vitality and curiosity. What can be noticed, however, as that which separates Mughal painting from the earliest paintings of Hindu and Jain manuscripts—in addition to the much greater diversity of events—is the intensity of the dynamics. Everything in the paintings bubbles with movement, even the trees and rocks. The most varied forces of nature, which act in a turbulent occurrence of the human world, are thus depicted in a peculiar way. This sense of dynamics is deepened by the dramatic moves and facial expressions of the people, and, at the same time, by the depth of space, where the influence of European art is evident. A single major event is usually presented in each painting, and this is accompanied by many marginal and varied actions, including in the world of animals (which are shown independently, too), hidden in the shadows of the rocks and treetops. These stunning, yet at first glance unnoticeable, images are characteristic of early Mughal painting, which was much less common at the end of the sixteenth century, and almost disappeared during the last years of Akbar's rule. Therefore in Mughal Islamic miniatures, bordered by framed sides, a seemingly limitless space is filled with luxurious appearances, infinite motion, diverse events, and many small details, among which none is less significant, making an exuberant whole. In the multi-layered visual experience such works offer, spilled over the entire canvas, the ambition of the painters for the total reduction of empty space is evident, which derives from Akbar's yearning to capture the world with all of his might, "his likenesses /…/ of all the grandness of the realm" (Abu'l-Fazl 1873, 108, 109). At the same time, the latter most likely derives from the nomadic fear of empty

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23   An excellent example of turbulent happenings behind the walls of the palace is the painting "Ḥamza's Spies Attack the City of Kaymar" (app. 1570).

space (lat. *horror vacui*). This characteristic aspiration to fill space, the absence of emptiness, is also shown in the lack of depicting the sky, which causes fear of emptiness and incomprehensible limitlessness. If the sky was shown, then it was rarely empty, but always filled with colours, lightning, light, dawn, smoke, fog, clouds, or full of stars. In its deep and mostly filled blueness, the sky created the atmosphere of fairy tales. A mass of these small details stirs a sense of virtuosity, wonderment, and imagination, which—in spite of the realistic or naturalistic style used—carefully preserves the field of free interpretation to capture what is unthought and unsaid, which thus, remains, and must always remain, undepicted.

The dynamics of contents and completeness of the compositions were co-created by the palette of colours used, which include many vivid and subtle shades and which conjure a special atmosphere in the otherwise reduced landscape (with the aim of focusing attention on them main event), with the images filled with mountains or the edges of cities in the background. The latter points to another characteristic of the early Mughal painting, which was entirely different to Indian painting. With Mughal art space did not stir any feeling of depth, but was more a case of the dynamics of the surface, an exhibition of the harmony of the universe.

The elements of realism and naturalism are also reflected in the rich creations of plants and animals. The numerousness of such distinctive features indicates Akbar's interest in the richness and variety of Indian flora and fauna, which his grandfather Bābur had also been enthusiastic about. These flora and fauna differed a lot from those in Central Asia, and Akbar's son Jahāngīr became especially fascinated with this topic. Depicting elephants and tigers became common,[24] as well as birds in pairs (in the latter, the medieval Islamic practice of painting animals in pairs is reflected), animals fighting and the law of the stronger were also common themes (here the influence of Sufism with regard to the transience of the physical world is present, as wells the constant change which marks this world; these concrete fights are transferred to the symbolic level in the second period of Mughal art). In spite of the various realistic sets of Mughal paintings, it is possible to find numerous mythological animals also in them, such as dragons, which were a very common motif.[25]

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24   Elephants and tigers are a common motif in Indian painting.

25   The distinctive features of dragons came to Mughal art through Persia, which accepted various mythological entities from the Chinese, as seen in paintings on textiles and ceramics in the period of the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368) and the early period of the Ming (1368–1644), when contacts between the Persians and Chinese were very intense (Tittley 1981, 3). Mughal painters accepted the Chinese image of the dragon which was combined by Indian *makara*, a half terrestrial and half marine entity. It was created in the Persian manner.

Fig. 7: "Umar defeats a dragon"(folio from an illustrated manuscipt the Hamza-nāma), 1577, attributed to Daswant'h, Tara. (Source: Europeana Collections)

In the later period, animals were often placed in a supernatural landscape, where they showed that which was invisible in the physical world and could only be sensed by a vigilant spirit. In addition to the at first naturalistic and later increasingly more symbolic paintings of animals, the distinctive features of plants were popular—trees, flowers, bushes, individual stems with flowers, and tendrils in arabesques, which emerge not only as illustrations in manuscripts but also in decorative artistic pieces, textiles and architectural buildings (the depiction of plants in and on mosques is a direct reference to paradise). In addition, pictures of plants decorated the edges of the miniatures. In Mughal painting, the richness of the plants is accompanied by Indian flora, among which the lotus flower was especially popular. Mughal artists were also enthusiastic about the plains of wild tulips in Kashmir. A cypress, intertwined with a flower, was often depicted, representing a metaphor for youth. The king and his court painters, behind the marvellous appearance of flowers and other plants, anticipated that which emerged in those works produced in the second and later periods under Akbar—the insight into the immediateness of beauty and the process of its inevitable passing.

Assimilating the Depth: Aesthetics of Ambivalence and Harmony of the Mature Period of the Mughal Painting (1580–1595)

Akbar's spiritual and intellectual interests were confronted by a "dramatic change" (Kossak 1997, 10) after 1580, and mostly after 1585, when he moved to the capital in Lahore in today's Pakistan. At this time he transformed the structure of the work that took place in the atelier—instead of working as a group, the painters in new capital worked individually. These artists painted the walls of the new palace, among other projects.

After 1585, Akbar's style is still aimed at the earthly realm. However, it becomes more intuitive, filled with emotions, more mature insights and empathy for all living things. The latter is evident in the images of nature and various events, produced on the basis of attentive observation. This is how Akbar searched for deeper answers to the important questions that interested him. Realism, along with the ruler's youthful enthusiasm for heroism and the luxury of the temporal world, is now accompanied by an aspiration for a subtler spiritual quest and fulfilment. Some pictures are thus much more intimate, peaceful, marked with more limited colours and less dramatic overall. However, most of the paintings still show turbulent events, but based on entirely different backgrounds, representing a shift from the rather dreamlike heroic idealism of the first period, and announcing the mature Mughal style.

The structure of the focal events is even more intensive, similar to the first period, and produced by the play of light and shadow, where the influence of the West is evident. This latter period marked Akbar's gradual retreat to inwardness and dedication to intellectual and spiritual endeavours. Naturalistic, realistic, and lively depictions of events in early Mughal paintings, which reflected Akbar's achievements and broad range of interests, are also accompanied by more complex elements of individual work,[26] which were also common after Akbar's death and under the rule of his son, Jahāngīr. Interest in the depiction of the most varied layers of the human personality begins with the *Akbar-nāma*, which is an outstanding portrait of the king's character. In the work itself, we can follow all three phases of the Akbar's psychological development. The painters also showed external events from the ruler's life, which were full of action and energy. The tendency to depict the inner condition of a person through their external appearance was becoming stronger at this time, and this was how the inner world was manifested on canvas,

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26   Portraits were common in most of the Asian painting traditions, but never in such a way as in Mughal arts (Brown 1924, 141). Mongols took their inspiration from the Chinese, and the latter was adopted by Mughals from their Mongolian ancestors. Akbar's love of portraits derived from his interest in different kinds of people.

through colours and images of turbulent events. Therefore, symbolic, philosophical, and religious elements came to dominate the actual external incidents. The portraits perfected in this period reflect the psychological conditions of the people they depict, as influenced by the Indian doctrine on *rasa*s. Namely, when depicting human nature the key link was between the exterior and interior—the external manifestation of something triggers some internal experience or indicates a certain internal condition. The painters in this later period tried to depict the internal condition of a person, as manifested by his or her facial expressions, pose of the body, gestures, and movements.

This was also seen in images of animals, which were depicted in paintings which illustrated fables and fairy tales, that were exceptionally popular reading at the ruler's court. Miskin, an especially valued painter at the court, and who was especially skilled at depicting Indian fauna, enthusiastically painted the large Indian cats (tigers, cheetahs, lynxes, leopards, and lions) and animal behaviours, as associated with tales from the collection of Indian animal stories, the *Pañcatantra*. However, in addition to accurately painted animals he also presented caricatured and imaginary beasts, which came "from the Miskin inner zoo" (Cary-Welch 1978, 57), but which at the same time personify various aspects of human nature, which is in accordance with the style of the second period examined in this study.

Already in the early period of Mughal painting, depicting animals and people fighting was a common theme, and on most occasions the predator is human, and one of the young king's favourite activities was hunting. In the paintings of the second period, however, hunting has a symbolic significance. In fights, the king represents God, while the beasts represent various evil powers. Both are a part of the cosmic plan, the fight between good and evil, although the fight itself is not essential, and the process shows the intertwinement of diverse aesthetic experiences (*rasa*), above all *vīra* (heroic), *raudra* (furious), *bhayānaka* (fearful), and *bībhatsa* (grotesque).

This shift to symbolic was inspired by Akbar's second mystic experience, which occurred in 1578, while hunting, and thus announced the new artistic style. This also contributed to the formation of a new religious system. While hunting, claims Abu'l-Fazl,

> a sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction of cognition of God cast its ray. /…/ About this time the primacy of the spiritual world took possession of his holy form and gave a new aspect to his world-adorning beauty … What the chiefs of purity and deliverance (i.e. *Sūfī* seers) had searched for in vain, was revealed to him. (Burn 1937, 120)

Fig. 8: "Bahram Gur Sees a Herd of Deer Mesmerized by Dilaram's Music" (folio from an illustrated manuscript the Khamsa-e-Khusrow), late 16th Century; attributed to Miskin. Medium: main support: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; margins: gold on dyed paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 9: "Buffaloes in Combat", late 16th Century; attributed to Miskin. Medium: ink, watercolor, and gold on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

At that moment, Akbar stopped hunting, disgusted with its cruelty and violence. Therefore, the mood from the early paintings of fights, full of rampage, passion, and energy, was substituted by calm and silence, which radiate from the selection of colours. After this key event, Akbar started to give gold to poor and holy men. He also deepened his interest in spiritual matters, and even more eagerly participated in conversations with philosophers, artists, and followers of various religions. He thus shifted from his function as the ruler of the external realm, who desired to grasp the world in all of its fullness. Instead, he was increasingly interested in conquering the depths, and was thus becoming a seeker of things that were more obscure, unfathomable and harder to grasp, the matters that give the surface its true significance. As such, Akbar led his aesthetic vision to the unknown and not yet conquered zone of that realm where the images on the surface derive from. In this can be seen the influence of Sufism, interlaced with the philosophy of *yoga*. At the same time, it is also possible to notice the convergence of *śānta rasa*, which is the experience of the unspeakable and supreme, thus overcoming all the other aesthetic experiences, which are mostly tied to the profane.

Fig. 10: "Akbar Hunting" (folio from the Akbar-nāma), late 16th Century. Medium: opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

If the first period of Mughal painting was full of Akbar's insatiable interest for diverse people, lands, and nature—in short, in all the layers of external existence, the others were marked by his shift inwards, through which he tried to attain a common foundation, a common denominator. The Oneness which is basic to all the immeasurable variety of the external. Akbar's aspiration to understand the world and the position of humans within it is accompanied by a desire to understand our relationship with God. In addition to Sufism and *yoga*, it is also possible to identify a clear influence of devotional aesthetics here, which is reflected in the concept of *bhakti*. *Bhakti rasa*, the taste of devotion, the religious pleasure of Oneness, is based on loving devotion to God. Hita Harivaṃśa, a North Indian Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* poet, composed passionate works about the loving relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Rādha. This relationship became an archetype of the spiritual love between God and humans or the soul. The way to meet to God was paved with art, which is also reflected in Mughal works. Devotional aesthetics thus had an exceptional influence on Akbar, and so on the development of the arts—Akbar's enthusiasm for the archetypical loving relationship which leads to the experience of Oneness explains the frequency with which Rādha and Kṛṣṇa appear in paintings of this period. The emotional bond between the two of them represented the path leading to internal fulfilment, where, however, all traces of any kind of relation disappear. Only the sense of Oneness and the unequalled union remain, to which Akbar tried to move in all the periods of his life. Here, it is also possible to notice the manifestation of *śṛṅgāra rasa*, this time in the form of spiritual love, which is closely linked to Sufi romance, the metaphor of the journey of a human soul toward the divine. These facts indicate the stunning integration of the most varied elements of Indian aesthetics and Sufi tradition, which culminated in Akbar's steadfast endeavour to achieve insight into that which is the basis of every religion.

Simultaneously, Akbar's care for restoring equilibrium between the external and internal, and material and spiritual, emerged at this time, and he remained devoted to his political and spiritual project, i.e. achieving social harmony. The idea of needing to reach a consensus between Muslims and Hindus was now accompanied by Akbar's insight that he was the person who was responsible for harmony in the first place—that there would be no unity if he did not research and understand the different aspects of Hinduism in detail. In this process, he reached for his most familiar and effective took—books, and thus a massive amount of translation took place in this period. Akbar thus formed an intellectual environment where the basic translated works of Hinduism were also studied by Islamic courtiers, i.e. with the intention that they would come to understand Hinduism, and thus deepen and share Akbar's spirit of acceptance, respect, and tolerance.

Akbar's political strategies become dominated by spiritual and intellectual seeking, while also reflecting his sincere interest in India and love for it. This is probably the reason why his main political goal was reached, since

> Akbar saw what both Bābur and Humāyūn had never seen—the inherent capabilities of the Indian people, their culture, their aspirations, and their ideals. He realized that the failure of his forebears and also of his co-religionists, who had established themselves in various parts of India, to maintain anything like harmonious rule was due in a measure to their lack of sympathy with the Indian races, to a disregard of their manners and customs, their arts and sciences, and their mental outlook. (Brown 1924, 58)

In taking care to unify a multitude of varied internal empires to achieve harmony of the external word, Akbar, without any doubt, outshined his grandfather and father.

Therefore, parallel with the massive translation projects of this time, a mature style of Mughal painting was created, where Indian elements were most powerfully present. One of the most important translations from Sanskrit to Persian was certainly the *Mahābhārata* (*Razm-nāma*, *The Book of War*, translated between the years 1582 and 1586), an epic with a complex story, and, at the same time, one of the most fundamental Hindu philosophical and religious works. However, Akbar was not enthusiastic about the *Mahābhārata*, due to the martial events and heroics it depicted, having lost his youthful enthusiasm for these. Instead he wanted to get to know India in more detail: from its culture, religion, philosophy, and mythology, to the structure of its society and politics.[27] When the translation work of a group of Persian scholars was finished in 1586, the volumes were then prepared for illustrating, with painters contributing 176 pictures. Akbar ordered copies of the resulting *Mahābhārata* to be made, so that this work of exceptional significance would spread over the entire Mughal Empire.

The translation of the *Mahābhārata* was essential for the emergence of many Hindu divinities on canvases of Mughal painters. Akbar's goal of merging varied elements in this context was opposed by the more orthodox members of his court. They were most annoyed by his careless disregard of the *Qur'an*'s prohibition on portraying the divine. However, in India such images were desired. In these pictures the various wonders performed by Hindu gods are also portrayed, a further proof of Akbar's open spirit. Depicting Hindu gods in this way had a special

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27　Initial Akbar's enthusiasm for the *Mahābhārata* derived from the devotion of Hindus for this extensive work, which was also evident by the stunning recitation of its huge number of stanzas, which is around 100,000.

intention: to present the complex structure of religious life in India to Muslims and to arouse a feeling of religious tolerance towards non-Muslims. Akbar believed that many people blindly trust the religion which they were born into. As such, these people are unable, due to their own actions, to understand the Truth, which is the noblest goal of the human intellect. He therefore provoked people at his court and more broadly to have a greater openness of the spirit, and to be more open-minded in order to build knowledge about other religions, for this was the only way to understand their own religion. He believed that one single religion could not have a monopoly on the Truth, for the Truth is immeasurably multi-layered. The most skilful painter in his work on the *Mahābhārata* was Daswant'h, who is believed to have been the main painter at Akbar's court in this period. As reports Abu'l-Fazl in the *Akbar-nāma*: "In a short time he surpassed all the painters", but "the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide" (1873, 107). It is most likely that the ambivalences of Daswant'h's personality contributed to his remarkable work, a visual experience not only of the *Māhabhārata* but also of the entire India in all of its immeasurable depth.[28]

The paintings of the *Mahābhārata* are the case of a Hindu subject and Mughal style of painting in the first period. However, the style was modified due to Akbar's way of thinking. The paintings of the *Mahābhārata* are, due to the nature of the contents of the book, still dynamic and full of action, with the focus on events having been revived. However, in this case, the skilful realism is also intertwined with elements of that which would be described by an unlearned viewer as irrational. In fact, it is only with the visualization of an invisible and unimagined viewpoint of reality that one can understand the essence of an occurrence. The realistic scenes of the bloody war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus, which include drinking blood from dead bodies, remind us of visions in nightmares at first glance. Otherwise, they state the influence of the *tantr*ic tradition, which is shown by visually rich images depicting non-depicting and being beyond expression, which Akbar became acquainted with through Sufism, which assimilated certain elements of this tradition. *Tantr*ic tradition enriched *yoga* practice with elements of magic and mysticism, which is evident in Mughal depictions of the experiences, energies and different layers of existence, as well as its constant transformations, which are experienced by an individual in the process of converging to the invisible, the Supreme. On the journey through various worlds and realities, an individual also encounters traumatic experiences, which is represented in paintings depicting horrible demons, which induce fear and discomfort by the energetic intensity of their presence. However, they show themselves as such only to the unlearned, the

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28   Two of Daswant'h's exceptional images in the *Mahābhārata* are "A Night Assault on the Pāṇḍava Camp" (1582–1586) and "Bhīma Kills the Brothers of Kichaka" (1582–1586).

Fig. 11: "A Night Assault on the Pāṇḍava Camp" (1582–1586); attributed to Daswant'h and Sarwan. (Source: Wikimedia Commons, Creative Commons)

Fig. 12: "Bhīma Kills the Brothers of Kichaka" (1582–1586); attributed to Daswant'h, Miskin. (Source: Wikimedia Commons, Creative Commons)

one who suffers the pains of attachment to his own small ego, which develops fear as a defensive mechanism. Therefore, it is a case of needing to shift from the usual perception and visions to visualization of the inner world, the various visions that arise in meditative experiences and which lead to an awakening which exceeds even the most vivid imagination.

Daswant'h definitely succeeded in creating a deep aesthetics of ambivalence, which unites the luxury and diversity of various occurrences, the ravishment of life, and the traumatizing of imminent destruction, all marked by a hint of the presence of the invisible. In the background of the visual experience intertwining philosophy, religion, mythology, ahistoricity, and reality, there is an affirmation of all the layers of existence as well as Akbar's attempt to comprehend the core of Hinduism, which he recognized as the same in all the religions, among which there is, in fact, no difference. Any differences there appear to be are thus only a product of ignorance.

Depicting Non-depicting: Aesthetics of the Late Period of Mughal Painting (1596–1605)

In the last decade of Akbar's rule, the dynamic style of the first and partially second period is replaced by peaceful, quiet, contemplative, and poetic illustrations with extreme minimalism in terms of events, without any rich narrative contents. This shows the last twist in Akbar's personality, which was conditioned by a sense of the closeness of death. The space on the canvas was suddenly apportioned to the emptiness too, which replaced the dynamics of the earlier images. The paintings become a kind of flow of thoughts. They show idealistic, remote worlds, different from the everyday. The characters move in an airless space, which is often not bordered with the slopes of the mountains or cities. A deep dimension of the half-empty space is filled by fluid, evasive movement, which is entirely different from the earlier concrete, deliberate and conscious moves and gestures. Instead of heroic zeal, the paintings are pervaded by a certain elegance and emotion, a rather elegiac, gloomy and melancholic atmosphere, along with an insight into death, which again draws Mughal aesthetics nearer to the lyrical Persian style and multi-layered symbolism of pre-Mughal Indian painting.

Animals, which are placed in a lonely, desolate landscape, are a common motif in this era, which inspires an aesthetic feeling of serenity and peace. These motifs, which are placed into a placid, remote environment, create a spiritual atmosphere in nature, and conform with the nature of *śānta rasa*, which is marked by the re-treat of the ego and to the interior, and thus replaces the turbulent and profane

Fig. 13: "A Muslim Pilgrim Learns a Lesson in Piety from a Brahman" (folio from an illustrated manuscript the Khamsa-e-Khusrow), 1597–98; calligrapher: Muhammad Husain Kashmiri; artist: Basāwan. Medium: image: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; margins: gold on dyed paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 14: "Royal Horse and Runner" (illustrated album leaf), 16th–17th Century. Medium: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 15: "Portrait of Emperor Akbar Praying" (illustrated single work), early 17th Century. Medium: ink and gouache on paper. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

events of the early period of the Mughal arts, and the dynamic quest for Oneness from the mature period of Mughal painting, which is marked by the most varied experiences. In addition, individual portraits are also present here,[29] based on the revelation of certain layers of personality and individual moments in time, which seem unimportant at first glance but are still vital the character portrayed and his mental condition. In such works Akbar's interest in human personality is reflected, in all its nakedness and mystery, imperfections and virtues, evasive surface and incomprehensible depth. The portraits from this period are a true psychological study, vital spiritual documentaries. Through these depictions "those that have passed away, have received a new life, and those who are still alive, have immortality promised them" (Abu'l-Fazl 1873, 109). Under the direction of Akbar, his painters managed to capture that which is most evasive—the soul, its transience and, simultaneously, eternity. At the same time, Akbar reached what he had been

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29   The fact is that Mughal painting was essentially a masculine art, and the portraits of women are rather rare. "/…/ artists were never allowed to enter the inner regions of women's quarters, so that their portrayals of girls and women are based on contemporary ideals—although it was generally known what the aristocratic Mughals look like" (Schimmel 2004, 159).

eagerly looking for his entire life. Therefore, in this period, he let himself peacefully move on to the practice of non-depicting.[30]

Conclusion: Searching for Union in the Immeasurable Variety

Rich Mughal visual depictions of the most diverse layers of reality, marked by a dramatic power, explosive energy, and intensity of communicativeness, and at the same time by serenity, calmness and harmony between sensual pleasures and inner delight, which cannot be entirely captured into words, create a catalogue of a fascinating fragment of the history of India, written and painted by Akbar the Great. The charismatic ruler, who paved the path to a new understanding of the world and who found home in every single religion, managed to create a home for everybody and the rule of peace, as well as material and intellectual-spiritual welfare, in his multicultural empire. Islam thus became the juncture of the meeting of diverse religions and universal beliefs through Akbar's restless endeavours for unity, harmony, peace, and truth. Akbar was thus not only an imperialistic mogul and political leader, but also a philosopher, mystic, and eternal truth seeker. The identity of a spiritual leader, caretaker of the material and spiritual layers of reality, based on a true curiosity and enthusiasm about everything that existed, both visible—people, nature, and their creations—and invisible, exceeded naked ambition with regard to the exercise of political power.

In the course of outlining this thesis about the development of Mughal aesthetics as a peculiar reflection of Akbar's personality, his multi-layered thought and different segments of spiritual history of the ruler himself, which also contributed to the extraordinary cultural and religious change from around the early Mughal period, the influences of the European and Persian, but mostly Indian spiritual tradition (*rasa*, *bhakti*, *yoga*, and *tantra*), were illuminated in the paper. Therefore, the complex development of the nature of the Mughal painting was divided into the three periods, parallel with Akbar's personal growth, interests, efforts, and quests, supported by the historical facts and references from the emperor's biography.

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30   "The world endures but an hour. Spend it in prayer, for the rest is unseen." The latter idea clearly describes the mood of the late period of Mughal arts in the time of Akbar's rule. This is part of the inscription on one of the arches of Buland Darwaza, or "the Gate of Victory", in the centre of Fatehpur Sikri. On this mighty Islamic architectural monument there are also Jesus's words, carved in stone, entirely in Akbar's style, of course. The entire inscription says: "Isa (Jesus), Son of Mary (on whom be peace) said: The World is a Bridge, pass over it, but build no houses upon it. He, who hopes for a day, may hope for eternity; but the World endures but an hour. Spend it in prayer, for the rest is unseen."

In the early period of Mughal painting (1556–1579), the influences of the Indian doctrine on aesthetics are reflected. The latter is based on various aesthetic feelings (*rasa*s). In the paintings from this period, the manifestation *śṛṇgāra rasa* is most visible, which is also in accordance with Akbar's interests of the time and with his aspiration to grasp the immeasurable greatness of the profane, which is, at the same time, also the source of numerous sensual pleasures. In the visual richness of these images, a deeper spiritual dimension is also present, which is evident in the emperor's interest in that what is hidden under the surface, and is the basis of all the variety of occurrence. As such, the influence of Sufism was indicated in the discussion, and this was enriched with the teachings of *yoga* in Akbar's time. The latter teachings supplemented Sufi efforts to achieve mystic revelation and converge with a sense of Oneness. However, Akbar sought Oneness, the supreme foundation of everything, not only as a philosopher, but also as a political leader, wherein his ethical deportment is reflected. Namely, he realized his striving for Oneness as a philosopher, mystic, and believer in the context of his social reality, where he strived for unity and union. His means of achieving the harmony in the context of the spiritual as well as social reals were the arts. The more intensive quest for union and harmony which was supplemented by his youthful enthusiasm to become acquainted with all the layers of visible occurrence is evident in works from the mature period of the Mughal style (1580–1595), which is still marked with an orientation towards to wealth of the profane, but deeper quests are also raised to a larger extent. The influence of Vaiṣṇava devotional tradition is present in these works of arts, and this had an exceptional influence on Akbar and was an excellent addition in his assimilation of the supreme, God, and Oneness through the Mughal arts. The concept of *bhakti*, which is thus reflected in various depictions from this period, radiates the other dimension of *śṛṇgāra rasa* as spiritual love, and devotion to the superlative, where it converges with the aesthetic feeling of *śānta rasa*, the supreme experience of peace and Oneness. However, before the realization of supreme serenity, the retreat to the interior, the second period of Mughal arts was interlaced with a quest for balance between the external and internal, which is evident in the wild, energetic events which symbolize dynamic internal experiences and, at the same time, Akbar's zealous quest for Oneness through the arts. Here, the influence of the *tantr*ic tradition is present, which Akbar also became acquainted with through Sufism. In the late period (1596–1605), however, the retreat into the interior is visible in the works of art and in the process of a more abstract visual conception that creates an aesthetic inner delight, marked with peace and serenity, which also coincides with Akbar's turbulent and dynamic quests. When listing the influences of certain Indian traditions on the development of Mughal arts, it is worth emphasizing that Akbar was—in addition to drawing on such the elements and taking inspiration from

them—to a great extent admirable for preserving their autonomy and enabling their further existence and development. Therefore, he enhanced and encouraged Hindu cultural, religious and philosophical development at the heart of a Muslim empire.

It is a fact that Mughal period in India—with regard to the unfathomable dimensions of time—is only a fragment in the history of India and Islam. However, this period has not been outshined, for it is above time and always topical, if we consider the influences and immeasurable greatness of the cosmopolitan spirit and atmosphere which were created by Akbar at his court, and which pervaded his empire as a whole. Nowadays, Akbar's appeal, which overcomes all racial, religious and cultural limitations, is resonating especially sonorously.

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Islamic and Comparative Philosophy – An Assessment of a Special Issue of *Synthesis Philosophica*

*Jana S. ROŠKER**

In the beginning of 2016, the renewed Croatian philosophical journal *Synthesis Philosophica* 62 (2) has published a special issue devoted to Islamic and comparative philosophy. The issue was edited by two well-known experts on Islamic and Arabic philosophy, Professor Nevad Kahteran from the University of Sarajevo, and Daniel Bučan, a retired scholar who teaches the Introduction to Arabic philosophy at the University of Zagreb and University of Split.

The main goal and a crucial motivation of this interesting issue was to establish a fruitful dialogue between the Islamic philosophy and various Western traditions of thought. Hence, it represents an important and valuable contribution to intercultural studies in cross-cultural and comparative philosophy, especially given the fact that despite its extremely rich and significant traditions, Islamic philosophy is still relatively unknown and unexplored in the Western academic world.

Hence, it is by no means coincidental that in Western research on Islamic philosophy, the non-reflected use of a theoretical analysis, which is a result of specific historical processes and the related, typical organizational structure of societies, may prove to be a dangerous and misleading mechanism. Concepts and categories can namely not simply be transferred from one socio-cultural context into another. Thus, in current intercultural discourses, the debate on the philosophical dimensions of Islamic texts and their role in the context of Islamic thought has been developed increasingly successfully under the aegis of rediscovering and applying specific traditional Islamic methodological approaches, concepts and categories.

The confrontation and understanding of different cultures is namely always linked to the problem of differences in language, tradition, history and socialization processes. Thus, for Western scholars, the interpretation of various aspects and elements of the Islamic culture is always linked to the geographic, historical, political and economic positions of the interpreter as well as the subject of interpretation.

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Traditional Western conceptions of Islamic culture and philosophy were constituted within the scope of Orientalism, which laid the foundations of and conditions the colonialist approach to the study of cultures, which are not the fruit of the so-called Judea-Christian tradition. The non-reflected use of a scientific analysis which is, in itself, the result of specific historical processes and the related, typical organizational structure of society including its specific ideologies, may prove to be a dangerous and misleading mechanism. In contrast to Judeo-Christina theoretical discourses, Islamic philosophy has namely been developed upon a basis of different underlying ontological, epistemological and metaphysical paradigms, and because it accordingly applied specific categorical and conceptual apparatuses, it cannot be completely understood through the lens of traditional Western methodologies.

The contributions in this volume, however, mainly proceed from the most important methodological condition, which allows the authors to achieve relevant conclusions, despite the complexity of the above-mentioned problems: this condition has been fulfilled by their consciously endeavors to preserve the characteristic structural blocks and specific categorical laws of the cultural circles discussed.

The volume opens with an informative and detailed introduction, written by both editors. It describes crucial goals, multifarious problems and deep insights underlying the creation of the volume and offers a relatively detailed description and analysis of all individual contributions, included in it.

The first two articles are devoted to the work of the most important Croatian pioneer of the so-called "Asian philosophies", Čedomir Veljačić, who passed away in 1997. Although he was mainly and expert in Indian and Buddhist philosophy, his hitherto unpublished introduction to his Ph.D. Dissertation, entitled "An Introduction to the Comparative Study of Indian and European Philosophy", which is preceded by Snježana Veljačić-Akpınar's overview of his work, represents an important aid to the understanding of problems and visions of comparative intercultural philosophy. A vital contribution to theories underlying this discourse can also be found in the next essay, entitled "How Constructive Engagement in Doing Philosophy Comparatively Is Possible". The essay was written by Bo Mou, a well-known Chinese expert in this field.

His essay is followed by Ali Paya's paper "Muslim Philosophies: A Critical Overview", which narrows the aforementioned issues to the distinct field of Islamic studies. Nader El-Bizri's contribution "Falsafa: A Labyrinth of Theory and Method", also deals with questions pertaining to the methodology of comparative theoretical approaches, focusing upon the search for a suitable method for a revival and modernization of classical *falsafa* texts through the lens of contemporary philosophic methodologies.

Osman Bakar's article "Towards a New Science of Civilization: A Synthetic Study of the Philosophical Views of al-Farabi, Ibn Khaldun, Arnold Toynbee, and Samuel Huntington" is dealing with the inherent development of philosophical views on Islamic though through the lens of civilization science, grounding his theory upon a the concept of its epistemic status.

The main topic of the next contribution, written by Massimo Campanini is dealing with a comparison between the medieval Arabic polymath Ibn Rushd and the renewed renaissance scholar Giordano Bruno. His article entitled "Ontology of Intellect: The Happiness of Thinking in Averroës and Giordano Bruno" analyses political dimensions of their respective views on epistemology from the perspective of the highest good. The next paper, which was written by one of the editors of the collection, Daniel Bučan, also treats some crucial philosophical views of Ibn Rushd. Under the title "Active Intellect' in Avempace and Averroës: An Interpretative Issue", the author compares his work to the theory of Ibn Badža, another important Arabic philosopher from the twelfth century.

This scope is followed by Snežana Vejačić- Akpınar's second contribution entitled "Al-Ghazali, Skepticism and Islam", in which the author critically introduces some crucial methods and motivations for Al-Ghazali's search for certain and indubitable knowledge in Islam. Al-Ghazali's thought is also in the center of the interest of the next paper, which is entitled "Thinkable and Unthinkable" and was also written by Danile Bučan.

In his contribution "A Discourse on the Soul in Later Islamic Philosophy", Mehdi Aminrazavi traces back and brilliantly analyses the discourses regarding the concept of the soul in the work of several important Islamic philosophers. Sara Sviri's article "Seeing with Three Eyes: Ibn al-ʿArabī's barzakh and the Contemporary World Situation", on the contrary, is focused on the analysis of the work of one great master of Islamic, especially Sufist mysticism, focusing upon his concept of the so-called "third principle" (*barzakh*).

The next contribution was written by Željko Paša under the title "The Concept of God's Unity in the Kitāb farā'id al-fawā'id fī uṣūl ad-dīn wa-l-ʿaqā'id by ʿAḅdīšū' bar Brīḫā". In this paper, the author deals with the problem of the Oness of God on the one, and with the comparison of this paradigm with the Christian concept of the Trinity of God. Intercultural philosophical comparisons and dialogues are also the main topic of the next two articles, namely "Culture In the Global World and Opportunities for Dialogue, and Philosophy as a Tool of Achieving the Worthy Life", both written by Alexander N. Chumakov.

The last—but certainly not least important—essay in this scope was contributed by the first editor of the present volume, Nevad Kahteran and has a crucial and pivotal importance for the collection. It is entitled "Recognizing a Model of Post-modern Pluralism through Looking at Islam from the Standpoint of Far Eastern Traditions: A Dialogue between Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism". The author Chinese proceeds from the problems, connected to the fact that Non-European philosophies still represent a riddle to most Western intellectuals. The primary difficulty is their inability to answer the fundamental question of whether they should be considered philosophies at all. These issues are connected to the problem that in general, scholars trained in Western philosophy have limited access to and knowledge of the general theories and original philosophical aspects of these discourses. Many features of classical non-European thought strike most of them as obscure and unsystematic, and therefore lacking in theoretical reliability. In this context, we might ask ourselves the general question of how do European, Islamic, Arabic, Indian, Chinese, African and Latin American philosophies justify their being European, Islamic, Arabic, Indian, Chinese, African and Latin American while at the same time sharing in the universal applicability of the term philosophy.

As Ram Adhar Mall, on of the greatest pioneers in the field of intercultural philosophy exposes, any aswer to this question must consider the cross-cultural elements that shape different traditions to various degrees. Hence, it is mistaken to think that intercultural philosophy is just a fashionable expression in the scope of postmodern thought. In spite of the alleged "liberal pluralism", which is considered as a crucial basis of both, postmodern and intercultural discourses, intercultural thought is by no means a result of postmodernity. It rather exists in its own right, beyond plain historicity and contextuality. Hence, Kahteran also emphasizes that intercultural philosophical dialogues cannot proceed from any absolutistic and exclusive claims to the sole possession of philosophical truth. Therefore, the meeting of different cultures, philosophies and religious traditions—with all its global technological formations—calls for an intensive and reciprocal dialogue. According to him, recognizing the comprehension, analysis, and transmission of reality based on diversely structured socio-political contexts as a categorical and essential postulate offers the prospect of enrichment.

The present special issue of *Synthesis philosophica* represent a first step in such endeavors. In addition to the sixteen aforementioned theoretical articles, the issue concludes with Maja Veselič's report on the 4th STCS Conference that was organized in Ljubljana in December 2015 by the Department of Asian studies under the title *Comparative Perspectives: Islam, Confucianism and Buddhism*. In the last section, it also includes five book reviews written by Nevad Kahteran.

The volume is of great importance, especially for the region of Central and Southern Europe, for it clearly points to the crucial role of Islamic philosophical discourses for the common ideational heritage of humanity and also for the development of European philosophy. For centuries, Islamic philosophy, similar to other philosophies all over the world, has been the driving force for the creation of ideas and the shaping of knowledge that forms and develops human understanding, launches human curiosity, and inspires human creativity. The present collection represents a precious contribution to the rising awareness of the fact that the Western philosophical theory does not constitute the sole, universally valid epistemological discourse, something that was taken for granted by most Western theorists less than a century ago. It clearly shows that polylogues between different forms of intellectual creativity are not only possible but also sensible and valuable.

Asian Studies in Slovenia

Prostorje kot kulturni proizvod – Refleksija na današnje prostorje japonskega avantgardnega gibanja v šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja*

Klara HRVATIN**

Izvleček

Eno ključnih dogajanj v široki paleti japonske avantgardne umetnosti v zgodnjih šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja je proizvedlo umetniško gibanje Sōgetsu (*Sōgetsu geijutsu undō* 草月芸術運動). To je od svojega začetka leta 1958 skoraj desetletje in pol ponujalo bogat eksperimentalni in inovativni prostor japonske umetnosti. Raziskovanje in arhiviranje fenomena tega gibanja in njegovega skupnega prostora (umetniškega centra Sōgetsu) sega v začetek enaindvajsetega stoletja, medtem ko je spletno mesto in participatorno spletno objavo dobilo šele leta 2013.

S kvalitativno raziskovalnim pristopom (predvsem neformalnega in pol-strukturiranega intervjuja) članek ponazarja, kako lahko gledamo na prostorje umetniškega gibanja Sōgetsu in ga definiramo. Upošteva predvsem načine arhiviranja ter (re)produkcije nekaterih glavnih del, značilnih za gibanje. Članek prikaže, kako je to prostorje v konfliktu z osnovnimi koncepti gibanja v šestdesetih letih, med katerimi sta bila med glavnimi eksperimentalni duh in meddisciplinarno sodelovanje, in kako lahko to prostorje vidimo z vidika današnjega koncepta potrošništva.

Ključne besede: umetniško gibanje Sōgetsu, prostorje, umetniški center univerze Keio, MoMA post, Toshi Ichiyanagi

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Places and Spaces as Cultural Production – Reflection on Today's Place and Space of the Japanese Avant-garde Movement of the 1960s

Abstract

The Sōgetsu art movement (*Sōgetsu geijutsu undō* 草月芸術運動) turned out to be one of the key happenings in the wide palette of Japanese avant-garde art in the early 1960s. With its start in 1958, for almost decade and a half it provided a rich experimental and innovative space for Japanese art. The research and archiving of the phenomenon of the movement and its common venue started at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and only obtained its online resource and a participatory platform in 2013.

Through qualitative research (semi-structured interviews, informal interviewing), this article illustrates how we can look on and define today's *place and space* of the Sōgetsu art movement, taking into consideration especially the ways of archiving and (re)production of some of the main works which were born out of the movement. It gives an insight into how those *places and spaces* were in conflict with the main concept of the movement in the 1960s, among which the experimental spirit and the cross-disciplinary cooperation were two leading ideas. It also touches upon the question of how those *places and spaces* could be seen in the relation to the nowadays inevitable aspect of consumption.

Keywords: the Sōgetsu art movement, places and spaces, University Keio art center, MoMA post, Toshi Ichiyanagi

> Takrat so bila čudovita, toda v tem obdobju ta dela nimajo enakega pomena. Umetnost iz šestdesetih let je postala kvalificirana in akademski svet jo je dodobra prečesal. In če ljudje iz šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja ponavljajo ta dela in pridobivajo oblast nad njimi, je to dolgočasno dejanje. (Takahashi v Hrvatin 2012, 61)

Uvod v umetniški center Sōgetsu: Koncepti in aktivnosti

Čeprav se zdi, da je šlo le za umetniško prizorišče oziroma prostor, kjer je potekalo veliko umetniških aktivnosti, moramo poudariti, da kadar govorimo o umetniškem centru Sōgetsu ali Centru[1] (*Sōgetsu āto sentā* 草月アートセンター), z njim impliciramo umetniško gibanje Sōgetsu (*Sōgetsu geijutsu undō* 草月芸術運動), katerega osrednji prostor je bil Center (Yūji Takahashi, v pogovoru z avtorjem, 19. februar 2011). Kot eden ključnih v široki paleti avantgardnih gibanj v zgodnjih šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja je skoraj desetletje in pol ponujal bogat eksperimentalni in inovativni prostor japonski umetnosti.

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1   Skrajšano za umetniški center Sōgetsu. Prav tako v članku avtorica za skrajšano obliko zapisa umetniškega centra Sōgetsu uporablja kratico SAC.

Aktivnosti in združenja, ki so potekali pod okriljem gibanja, presegajo današnje ozko in strogo parceliranje umetnosti v samostojne prostorčke bodisi glasbe bodisi likovne umetnosti bodisi grafičnega oblikovanja etc. Gibanje odseva duha tistega časa v japonski umetnosti, ko sta bila v ospredju meddisciplinarno in eksperimentalno sodelovanje (tako na nacionalni kot internacionalni ravni) med umetniki z različnih umetniških področij. Danes povsod prepoznavni umetniki so bili aktivni v tem gibanju oziroma so v njem s sodelovanjem na različnih področjih začenjali svojo pot. Hiroshi Teshigahara, direktor Centra, naslednik očetove šole ikebane sloga Sōgetsu, je krepko posegel v hierarhijo filmskih velikanov in pokazal drugačna pota takratnemu mehanizmu filmske industrije. Svoje ideje je združil z dramatikom Kōbōjem Abejem in skladateljem Tōrujem Takemitsujem in tako so na dan prišli filmi, ki so začeli pot neodvisnega filma.[2] Takšnih in drugačnih sodelovanj je bilo sicer nešteto. Tōru Takemitsu je ogromno sodeloval tudi z grafičnim oblikovalcem Kōheijem Sugiuro pri realizaciji t. i. grafičnih notacij, z ilustratorjem Yōjijem Kurijem na glasbeno-ilustratorskem platnu in še bi lahko našteli.

Sodelovanja umetnikov so zapolnjevala mnogovrstne aktivnosti, ki si jih je Center zastavil kot reprezentativne. Težko bi opredelili, katere so bile najpomembnejše, je pa večina aktivnosti pripadala oz. se v grobem delila na eksperimentalne koncerte, recitale nove sodobne glasbe ter predstave eksperimentalnih filmov in animacij (t. i. *Sōgetsu Music Inn, Sōgetsu Contemporary Series, Sōgetsu Cinematheque*); glasba je prednjačila od 1958. do 1965., medtem ko so po tem obdobju prišli v ospredje film, animacija in t. i. underground gledališče.

Samo delovanje umetnikov oz. Centra je spodbujalo inovativnost, eksperimentiranje, idejo sodelovanja (t. i. kolektivizma) ter celostne ali totalne umetnine (*sōgō geijutsu*). Pozornost je vzbujalo tudi sodelovanje s tujimi umetniki. Sledili so idejam, ki so nasprotovale vrednotenju umetnosti, kakršno je takrat prevladovalo v družbi. V primerjavi z vplivi serializma in konkretne glasbe, vidnih v zgodnejših avantgardnih gibanjih (glej Hrvatin 2016), je Center odprl novo pot hepeningu, dogodkom, različnim oblikam skupinske improvizacije, multimediji in konceptualni umetnosti (Everett 2009, 189). Kot osrednji koncept, ki se je sprva iz glasbenih dejavnosti razširil na celoten spekter umetniških del v Centru, je pomembno opozoriti na *nedoločenost*, ki sta jo na Japonsko ponesla Toshi Ichiyanagi in John Cage.

O gibanju in njegovih dogodkih najbolje priča katalog razstave *Sōgetsu to Sono Jidai (1945-1970)*, ki sta ga leta 1998 izdala Mestni muzej umetnosti Ashiya (Ashiya Shiritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan) in Mestni muzej umetnosti Chiba

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2   Zanimiv je tudi njihov filmski manifest, v katerem se odvračajo od filmske industrije in v ospredje postavljajo kolaborativni pristop do filma ter v nasprotju s filmsko industrijo v tistem času gledajo na film kot na celostno umetnost.

(Chibashi Bijutsukan). Med drugim je zanimiva tudi pred nekaj leti izdana publikacija *Produkcijski zapiski* (*Purodakushon nōto*, 2007), ki izčrpno prikazuje samo delovanje in sodelovanje umetnikov pri nastajanju predvsem neodvisne filmske produkcije gibanja. Raziskovanje ter arhiviranje gibanja se je sicer začelo dokaj pozno, kot smo že omenili; šele leta 2013 je pridobilo spletno mesto in participatorno spletno objavo.
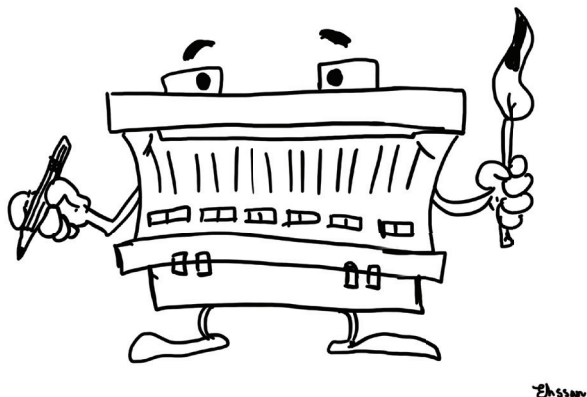
Karikatura 1: Umetniški center Sōgetsu (1958–1971) kot multi–umetniški prostor (Vir: Ehssan Sakhaee)

Avtorica bo v članku definirala današnje prostorje gibanja skozi prizmo predvsem kvantitativne metode raziskovanja, v prvi vrsti z neformalnim, pol-strukturiranim intervjujem z arhivisti gibanja ter z njegovimi umetniki. Že od leta 2008 spremlja arhiviranje samega gibanja, kar zajema obdobje pred prvo objavo spletnega mesta o samem gibanju (ki jo je omogočil umetniški center Keio) ter prav tako obdobje pred participatorno spletno objavo, ki jo je napravil muzej MoMA (leta 2013). Poleg metode obdelovanja literature ter analize virov na temo gibanja Sōgetsu, obiska in analize arhivskega materiala gibanja Sōgetsu (tako v umetniškem centru Keio kot tudi v arhivu centra Sōgetsu) so ji neformalni in pol-strukturirani intervjuji ter osebna korespondenca z arhivisti omogočili vpogled v njihovo aktualno delo, načine arhiviranja ter (re)produkcije nekaterih glavnih del, značilnih za gibanje.

Arhiviranje gibanja določa pomembno prostorje gibanja. Poleg arhiviranja bo prikazano tudi drugo potencialno prostorje gibanja, ki ga zaznamuje vse pogostejša reprodukcija del iz gibanja ter izdajanje glasbe, prvotno posnete v umetniškem centru Sōgetsu, ki je na plano prišla v zadnjem času. Koliko relevantno je to prostorje in kakšen odnos imajo do njega umetniki-člani gibanja? Tudi v ta namen bodo uporabljeni pol-strukturirani intervjuji in intervjuji, tokrat s še živečimi

umetniki iz obdobja gibanja, predvsem z glasbenikom Yūjijem Takahashijem ter grafičnim oblikovalcem Kōheijem Sugiuro.

Raziskovanje samega gibanja in njegovo arhiviranje je še vedno precej mlado. Članek želi predvsem osvetliti današnje prostorje gibanja, ki se je izoblikovalo na začetku enaindvajsetega stoletja, pri čemer je njegov namen opozoriti na morebitne konflikte s prvotnimi lastnostmi gibanja.

Konstrukt pretekle umetnosti v sedanjosti – kako je viden v prostorju umetniškega gibanja Sōgetsu

Seveda je umetniško gibanje Sōgetsu že obrodilo sadove in se vpisalo v zgodovinsko beležnico umetniških gibanj (čeprav je trajalo nekaj desetletij, da je prišlo na plan), vprašanje pa je, kako ta produktivna in zanimiva preteklost živi danes, obkrožajoč naša življenja? Kaj se zgodi, kako zaznamujemo zanimivo zgodovino v današnjem času, ki ima v primerjavi z letom 1960 drugačna kulturna izhodišča, visoko razvito informativno tehnologijo, drugačno delovanje trga, političnega sistema, globalizacije, močnejšo institucionalizacijo etc.?

Novi pristopi k arhiviranju: Umetniški center univerze Keio in MoMA

Instituciji, ki sta danes v veliki meri odgovorni za gradivo o gibanju, med drugim ga shranjujeta in sta sodelovali pri oblikovanju podatkov za spletno objavo, sta arhiv dvorane Sōgetsu, ki ima svoj prostor znotraj stavbe šole ikebane sloga Sōgetsu, ter t. i. RCAAA (krajše za Archives at Research Center for the Arts and Arts Administration ali Arhiv raziskovalnega centra za umetnost in umetniško administracijo)[3] na univerzi Keio oz. v umetniškem centru univerze Keio, ki je odgovoren za precejšen del arhiva umetniškega gibanja Sōgetsu.

V arhivu dvorane Sōgetsu (ta stoji na istem mestu, kjer je bil sedež gibanja in kjer je bilo še pred kratkim edino mesto arhiviranja), je v knjižnici shranjen le še skromen delček dokumentov, kot so:

a) arhivska knjižnica Sōgetsu, v kateri lahko najdemo tako knjige kot revije v povezavi s SAC-om;
b) fotografski material: izčrpna kolekcija fotografij in negativov, ki pričajo o zakulisju filmskega ustvarjanja, obiskov tujih umetnikov itd.;

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3 V zadnjem času je aktualno urejanje arhivov velikanov japonske umetnosti, kot so Hijikata Tatsumi, Takiguchi Shūzō, Yui Shoichi, Nishiwaki Junzaburō in drugi.

c) vabila mednarodnim skladateljem (*Kokusai Sakkyokuka Shōtai*);
d) posterji, brošure ter vabila (v obliki razglednic) na prireditve v okviru samega SAC-a;
e) partiture oziroma deli partitur, shranjenih in v lasti SAC-a;
f) fotokopije časopisov ter člankov, povezanih z dogajanji v SAC-u,
g) glasbeni posnetki na kasetah (*SAC Te-pu*) celotne glasbe, ki je bila posneta v Centru: 266 primerov iz obdobja od leta 1960 (2.16) do leta 1964 (5);
h) redek video material;
i) kopije revij SAC (SAC Journal), ki jih je Center izdajal.

V tako imenovanem kotičku *ikebana plaza*, tudi znotraj dvorane Sōgetsu, prodajajo tako revije kot knjige na temo šole ikebane Sōgetsu, poleg tega lahko najdemo nekaj katalogov in brošur ter knjig[4] tudi na temo dogodkov v Centru.

Slika 1: SAC Journal – publikacija Centra (iz arhiva umetniškega centra Keio) (Vir: avtorica)

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4   Predvsem gre za literaturo, ki jo je drugače težko najti v prosti prodaji. Takšni so na primer *Production note* (glej bibliografijo) ali pa katalogi s samih razstav v Centru (Yoko Ono »Fumie« ter »Beyond the seeing – Visualized Characters and music«).

Več gradiva v povezavi s SAC-om, kot ga je najti v sami arhivski knjižnici dvorane Sōgetsu, je danes arhiviranega in shranjenega na univerzi Keio, v arhivu RCAAA. Precejšen del gradiva (čeprav ne vsega, kot je jasno iz prejšnjega odstavka) je dvorana sama zaupala v oskrbo in shranjevanje univerzi Keio. Kronološko je klasificirano v naslednjem zaporedju:

1) *SAC Journal* – publikacija Centra, sprva imenovana SAC,
2) Sōgetsu Music Inn – eksperimentalni jazz koncerti,
3) Sōgetsu Contemporary Series – recitali sodobne glasbe,
4) Sōgetsu Cinematheque 1–4 – animacija in eksperimentalni film in
5) Sōgetsu Chronological 1–5 (Kronologija Sōgetsu 1–5).

Prav tako je omenjeni center z gradivom, ki ga je dobil v začasno uporabo od arhiva dvorane Sōgetsu, oblikoval pregleden časovno-linearni zemljevid vseh dogodkov Centra, ki so razvidni iz shranjenih artefaktov. Prenesli so ga tudi na spletno mesto oziroma so zanj oblikovali spletno mesto na internetni strani arhiva umetniškega centra univerze Keio. Kasneje je bil prestavljen oziroma pripet na t. i. participatorno spletno stran muzeja moderne umetnosti MoMA, imenovano *post – notes on modern and contemporary art around the globe*, v sklopu projekta C-MAP (Contemporary Modern Art Perspective). *Post* svoj spletni prostor v prvi vrsti posveča moderni in sodobni umetnosti zunaj glavnih oblikovalcev smernic umetnosti (Severne Amerike in Zahodne Evrope) in kliče k prispevkom tako posameznikov kot institucij z vsega sveta. (*post* 2013)

> Post je zasnovan kot participativna platforma. Ko ustvarite ID uporabnika, lahko kdorkoli na spletnem mestu objavlja komentarje, besedila, slike in videoposnetke. Če želite začeti, kliknite zavihek »SIGN UP«. Če se želite pridružiti pogovoru, kliknite gumb »DISKUSIJE«, ki se pojavlja skozi celotno spletno mesto. Izberite »FOLLOW« na desni strani vsake spletne strani, če želite dodati posodobitve, ko dodate nove materiale, ki se nanašajo na vaše interese. (ibid.)

In čeprav vse skupaj spominja na okence Facebooka, oziroma na neke vrste »akademski Facebook«, je s tem gibanje leta 2013 prvič dobilo novo, moderno prostorje in tako razširilo svoj tematski sklop na spletnem portalu ter opozorilo publiko na obstoj in pomembnost umetniškega centra Sōgetsu.

Začetek pred aplikacijo *posta* pa je predstavljalo postavljanje baze podatkov s pregledom vseh aktivnosti oziroma vseh planiranih dogodkov, orisanih glede na ohranjeni natisnjeni material (vključno s fotografijami dogodkov, vabil, posterjev, brošur, etc.) arhiva dvorane Sōgetsu, ki se ga je intenzivno lotila skupina kustosov umetniškega centra Keio.
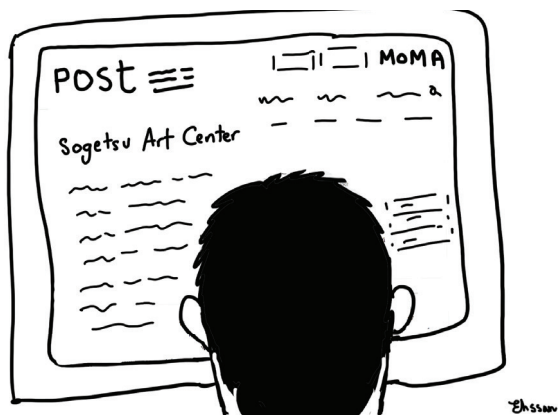
Karikatura 2: Post – današnje prostorje gibanja Sōgetsu (Vir: Ehssan Sakhaee)

Sliki 2 in 3: Prva pregledna razstava posterjev in drugega ohranjenega materiala, ki priča o dogod-kih v umetniškem centru Sōgetsu (umetniški center Keio (KUAC) univerze Keio, Into the Penumbra of Printed Matter: Sōgetsu Art Center, 1958–1971) (Vir: Sen Uesaki)

Pionirsko so digitalizirali shranjene »dokaze« vseh dogodkov (v obliki časovne linije), za katere so imeli ohranjene dokumente (Slika 4). Za urejanje samega materiala sta odgovorna predvsem kustosa Hitoshi Kubo in Uesaki Sen, od leta 2011 pa Uesaki Sen[5] (Kubo Hitoshi, osebno sporočilo avtorju, 15. september 2017). Leta 2009 sta v sklopu umetniškega centra univerze Keio sprva organizirala razstavo *Into the Penumbra of Printed Matter: Sōgetsu Art Center, 1958–1971* (草月アート センター ― 印刷物という『半影』), Mining Art Resources Minato and Keio University Art Center, 2009, ki je bila prva razstava vseh ohranjenih natisnjenih dokumentov o gibanju (Sliki 2 in 3).

Med drugimi dogodki omenimo še simpozij z naslovom *Projecting Against Sōgetsu Art Center and its Archives* leta 2011. Kustos Sen Uesaki je v zbirko arhiviranega gradiva želel vključiti nove načine arhiviranja oziroma obujanja samega materiala, na primer ponovno izdajanje publikacije SAC Journal, ki so jo izdajali v času gibanja. Zadnji izmed projektov na to temo je delo Hitoshija Kuba in njegov nov koncept arhiviranja, ki ga je podprla japonska agencija za promocijo znanosti (JSPS).

> Postopek arhiviranja spominja na postopek urejanja filma. (…) Če pogledamo na montažo arhiva malo drugače, arhivski materiali spominjajo na filmske posnetke. Ob vsakem dogodku obstajajo tri perspektive, iz katerih lahko gledamo na dogodek. Vstopnico, letak, plakat, etc. samega dogodka imenujem *pro-spect* dogodka (vezan na vidik dogodka pred samim dogodkom), fotografije, recenzije v revijah in časopisih so *retro-spect* (vezan na stališče dogodka po zaključku dogodka). Spomini osebe, ki je videla dogodek, so *spectacle*. Glede na to, kako montiramo omenjene tri perspektive dogodka, oblikujemo penumbro dogodka. (Kubo Hitoshi, osebno sporočilo avtorici, 24. maj 2016)

Koščke arhivskih filmskih posnetkov je stkal v film o režiserju Hiroshiju Teshigahari. Način dela, ki ga odseva takšno arhiviranje, je zelo inovativen, način, na katerega ga predstavlja umetniški center univerze Keio (KUAC), pa potrjuje njihovo osnovno idejo iskanja novih načinov arhiviranja:

V ta namen se ukvarjamo s številnimi teoretičnimi študijami in praksami, ki so namenjene izpolnjevanju zahtev dobe, v kateri živimo. Zavedamo se, da živimo v informacijski dobi; obdobju, ki je označeno s hitro spreminjajočimi se vrednostmi in senzibilnostmi, za katero je značilen soobstoj pogosto protislovnih ali nasprotujočih si konceptov in praks. Sistemi, ki so nam na voljo za vključevanje takšne resničnosti, se pogosto izkažejo za neprimerne. Zato se je KUAC zavezal k iskanju novih modelov kulturne dejavnosti, ki se ne opirajo na uveljavljene akademske okvire, in k spodbujanju ustvarjalnih občutljivosti, primernih za različne sisteme vrednot sedanjega časa. Naš splošni cilj je prispevati k ustvarjanju živahnega kulturnega okolja. (Keio 1993)

Začetki samega arhiviranje gradiva o umetniškem centru Sōgetsu segajo v leto 2004, na umetniško univerzo Tama v Tokiu v sklopu zbirke Kuniharuja Akiyame. Na željo Hiroshija Teshigahare je Kuniharu Akiyama kot član umetniškega gibanja Centra prevzel odgovornost za oblikovanje arhiva Sōgetsu v novi stavbi Sōgetsu (od leta 1978). Del tega arhiva je bil tudi na Umetniški univerzi Tama. Tako Kubo Hitoshi kot Sen Uesaki sta sodelovala pri zbirki na tej univerzi, kasneje se je zbirka prenesla v umetniški center univerze Keio (Kubo Hitoshi, osebno sporočilo avtorici, 15. september 2017).

Reprodukcija del umetniškega gibanja Sōgetsu

Ponovne uprizoritve

Znano je, da je gibanje spremljala široka paleta umetniških kreacij, med katerimi jih je v zadnjem času veliko doživelo ponovne uprizoritve. Takšen primer je skladba skladatelja Tōruja Takemitsuja *Mizu-no-Kyoku* (水の曲). *Mizu-no-Kyoku* ali *Glasba kapljic* je bila prvič predstavljena na Takemitsujevem solo koncertu, ki je bil eden izmed koncertov v sklopu Skladateljske skupine, eni izmed zgodnjih aktivnosti Centra v seriji Sōgetsu Contemporary Series. Šlo je za prvo sodelovanje med skladateljem in tonskim mojstrom Centra Yūnosukejem Okuyamo, s katerim sta se lotila eksperimenta, kako vodne kapljice spremeniti v glasbo; posnela sta raznovrstne zvoke vodnih kapljic in jih kasneje manipulirala z električnim modulatorjem. Z daljšim naslovom, ki je bil objavljen ob prvi izvedbi kompozicije, *Nō – Water music* (能舞による 「水の曲」 *Nōmaini yoru mizuno kyoku*), lahko delo opredelimo kot novi hibrid glasbeno-vizualne izkušnje, ki je prvotno združeval skladbo za trak, spremljavo dveh flavt in ene alt flavte, določene prostorske dispozicije instrumentov in zvočnikov, osvetljave in plesa *nō* s plesalcem Hisaojem Kanzejem.

Po premierni izvedbi je bila skladba *Mizu-no-Kyoku* v glavnem izvajana zgolj kot glasba na traku (brez spremljave flavte in plesa) in je bila kot takšna zaigrana tudi na simpoziju *Dela Hiroshija Teshigahare* (1963). Sledila je izvedba na festivalu *Nuova Consonanza III Festival* v Rimu (1965), festivalu *Festival of early electronic music in Paris* (1988) in koncertu *Music from Japan* Concert (1997).[6] Ponovno predvajanje skladbe je bilo tudi del prireditve *Obuditev umetniškega centra Sōgetsu* (*Saigen: Sōgetsu āto sentā*, 再現草月アートセンター) ob šestdeseti obletnici šole ikebane Sōgetsu in predvsem ob trideseti obletnici samega Centra. Predvsem zanimivo pa je, da je skladba sčasoma postala tudi del repertoarja gledališča *nō*, kot je razvidno iz programa Narodnega gledališča *nō* (glej Kokuritsu 2011) v Tokiu. Seveda je to eden zanimivejših primerov, kako se je delo naprej izvajalo in nato kot glasba na traku dobilo svoje mesto v stalnem repertoarju gledališča *nō*.

Še eden izmed primerov kontinuirane reprize del iz časa gibanja, pri katerem pa ne gre za konkretno glasbo, je t. i. hepening istega avtorja, *Blue Aurora for Toshi Ichiyanagi*, iz leta 1964. Danes ga lahko slišimo v izvedbi zasedbe *Blue Aurora Saxophone quartet*, ki je delo pogosto izvajala v letih 2012–2013. Predhodne izvedbe vključujejo Toshija Ichiyanagija in Itoja Kena na prireditvi *Projekt Takemitsu* v Niigati, iz leta 2000, medtem ko je Sunao Isaji leta 2002 posnel novo različico hapeninga. Najzgodnejša verzija predstave sega v leta delovanja Centra, 1) premierna predstava Johna Cagea, 2) spet ena izmed različic izpod rok skladatelja in bobnarja Stomu Yamash'te in ena tudi od samega avtorja hepeninga Tōruja Takemitsuja.

Za delo *Blue Aurora* je značilno, da ni natančno določeno oziroma, če smo natančnejši, da uporablja koncept nedoločenosti. Ne vsebuje klasične notacije; ta je nadomeščena z abstraktno grafično notacijo, besednimi znaki, ki se uporabljajo kot njene ključne besede, ter napotki za uprizoritev. Dolžina predstave, izvajalci in prostor predstave niso opredeljeni. Če se omejimo na njeno glasbeno interpretacijo, je edino pravilo, ki ga velja pri tem upoštevati, to, da se moramo držati ključnih besed kompozicije. Izvajalci imajo na ta način svobodno možnost izvedbe, zato koncept nedoločenosti daje možnost neskončnih različnih izvedb.

Izdajanje glasbe posnete prvotno v umetniškem centru Sōgetsu

Ponovnim uprizarjanjem del se je pridružila tendenca izdajanja CD-jev z glasbenimi posnetki. Ena najzanimivejših je v zadnjem času kompilacija glasbenih del, ki je bila prvotno posneta v umetniškem centru Sōgetsu, iz časa samega gibanja, oz. izdaja originalnih posnetkov, ki jih še vedno hrani dvorana Sōgetsu. *John Cage*

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6   Za podrobnosti glej Siddons (2001, 104); Kawasaki (2009, 1069–70).

– *John Cage Shock Vol. 1* (2012) ter *John Cage – John Cage Shock Vol. 3* (2012) reprezentirata zvok tedanjega Centra, s poudarkom na t. i. Cageevem šoku, in predstavljata premierne kompozicije Johna Cagea, Christiana Wolfa, Tōruja Takemitsuja in Michaela von Biela v izvedbi Davida Tudorja, Yūjija Takahashija, Kenjija Kobayashiya in Toshija Ichiyanagija.

Posnetki nudijo slušni vpogled v leto 1962 (meseca oktobra), obisk Johna Cagea in Davida Tudorja v umetniškem centru Sōgetsu. V spremnem programu CD-ja prepričljivo opozarjajo na to, da gre za »velik zgodovinski zaklad« (Forced 2017), ki je »ostal skrit in neslišan pol stoletja, vendar ostaja nespremenjen« (ibid.). Ne pozabimo, da vsebuje tudi redke fotografije in spremno besedo v angleščini in japonščini s komentarji odločilnega skladatelja pri prenosu del Johna Cagea na Japonsko, Toshija Ichiyanagija.
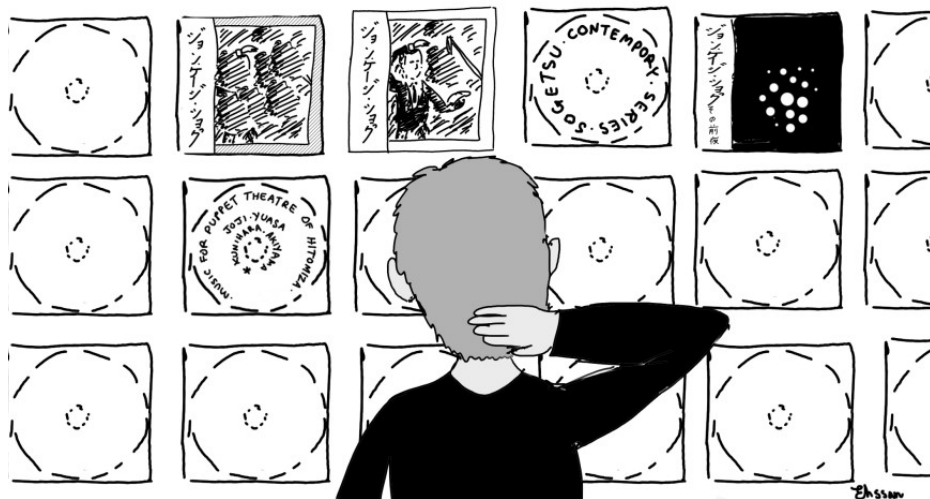
Karikatura 3: Pospešena tendenca izdajanja glasbe umetniškega centra Sōgetsu (Vir: Ehssan Sakhaee)

V isto skupino spadajo tudi CD-ji iz serij *Sōgetsu contemporary series*, številka *14:* Duo recital Toshija Ichiyanagija in Keijija Kobayashija, ki nosi naslov *Noč pred Cageevim šokom (The night before John Cage shock)*, iz leta 2016. Tudi ta CD v svojem naslovu uporablja popularizacijo Cageevega šoka, tokrat naznanja dogodke pred samim nastopom Cagea na Japonskem; recitalom Toshiya Ichiyanagija ter Kenjija Kobayashija.

Ena izmed sklad na CD-ju je *Pile*, za katero je Toshi Ichiyanagi uporabil metodo igranja na notranji del klavirja, skupaj z glasom Yoko Ono, njegove takratne žene.

Šlo je za takrat prvo in edino delo, ki je pri svoji izvedbi uporabljalo živo elektroniko. (Omega 2015) Delo je tudi dandanes pogosto ponovno izvajano v živo.

Omenimo lahko tudi zgodnejšo serijo enaindvajsetih CD-jev z naslovom *Nepoznana japonska glasba* (*Obscure Tape Music Of Japan*), med katerimi je veliko del, ki so jih predvajali v Centru, kot so *Glasba za lutkovno gledališče Hitomi-za* (*Obscure Tape Music of Japan*, vol. 2), posnetki eksperimentalne lutkovne skupine, ki je leta 1962 nastopila na odru umetniškega centra Sōgetsu, glasbena drama *Rdeči Kokon (Akai Mayu)* skladatelja Makotoja Moroija in Kuniharu Akiyame (*Obscure Tape Music of Japan*, vol. 2), *Makoto Moroi / Kuniharu Akiyama – Music Drama Akai Mayu* ter številna druga. Izdajanje CD-jev iz te serije sega v leto 2004 in se še vedno dopolnjuje. Pred letom 2004 verjetno tako rekoč nismo imeli tako populariziranega dostopa do glasbenih posnetkov gibanja. Nekaj kompozicij je bilo zbranih v posameznih albumih skladateljev, sama ozaveščenost o gibanju ter glasbi iz gibanja pa še ni bila v ospredju.

Konflikti med »tedaj« in »zdaj«

Iz oblik, v katerih se danes izrisuje prostorje umetniškega Centra, je razvidno, da se je oblikovala skupina, ki je začela ter tudi nadaljuje oživitve del iz šestdesetih let. V veliki večini ta poteka pod taktirko skladatelja Toshija Ichiyanagija, ki je bil eden vodilnih pri samem gibanju, ter prav tako v sodelovanju še z nekaterimi bivšimi člani gibanja, kot so Takehisa Kosugi, Mieko Shiomi in drugi. Posredno ali neposredno so odgovorni za današnje recepcije gibanja, med drugim za večino ponovnih uprizoritev, prav tako pa so gonilna sila in avtoriteta ponovnega izdajanja glasbe. Seveda so se izoblikovale tudi skupine drugih umetnikov, ki izvajajo njihova dela. Vzemimo na primer prireditev k razstavi *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentations in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950–1970* – imenovani Works by Ichiyanagi, Kosugi, Ono, and Shiomi (Večer del Ichiyahagija, Kusugija, Ono, in Shiomi), na kateri so se glasbeniki Rhodri Davis, Jeremy Drake, Rich West in drugi posvetili obujanju svojih del iz tega obdobja.[7]

Med smernicami prvotnega gibanja ter njegovega obujanja in oživitve je pomembno poudariti tisti, ki ju med današnjo prezaposlenostjo z ideologijami rekreacij in reformacij svet umetnosti neštetokrat spusti skozi rešeto svojih ideoloških poslanstev.

Koncepti gibanja oz. obdobja gibanja. Obstaja glavni trk oziroma dihotomija v pristopih, ki jih je zagovarjalo gibanje v šestedesih letih, in tem, kar dandanes

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7   Glej *Rajikaru concert program.*

»prodajamo« iz takratne zakladnice. Poglejmo si moto samega gibanja/umetniš-kega centra Sōgetsu, ob katerem nam postane jasno, da »prodajamo« ravno to, proti čemur se je gibanje bojevalo s svojim delovanjem.

> Cilj centra je bil zagotoviti prostor umetnikom iz različnih umetniških zvrsti, da bi se zbirali in ustvarjali, prikazovali in kritizirali drug drugega brez kakršnih koli omejitev. Sistem, v katerem umetniki kreirajo svoje delo, je v ospredje postavljal kreativnost in se zavzemal za zaščito umet-nikov in njihovih kreacij pred komercializmom. (*Sōgetsu o shiru*)

Ne smemo pozabiti, da gre za gibanje, ki se je odlikovalo po dokumentarnem filmu, prvo, ki je prineslo eksperimentalni film Japonski, koncerte žive elektron-ske glasbe, grafično notacijo, popularizacijo podzemnega filmskega svetu itn. In avantgardno gibanje se je prvotno navezovalo izključno na tiste umetnike, ki niso pripadali uveljavljenim umetniškim organizacijam, ali pa na dela, ki so uporabljala nekonvencialne sloge ali medije.

Koncept narave dela. Dela, ki so bila v osnovi zgrajena skupinsko/kolektivno (do te mere, da je bilo včasih težko določiti avtorja) in so bila eksperimentalna v svoji osnovi, so sedaj urejena in izdana pod določenim imenom. Izgubijo *naravo* dela, v kateri so bila narejena, ter značilnosti svojega prvotnega bitja (obstoja).

Eden osnovnih konceptov, ki je vplival na gibanje, je koncept *nedoločenosti*. Pri glasbeni izvedbi je to pomenilo kompozicijski postopek, v katerem so nekateri aspekti glasbenega dela prepuščeni naključju oziroma svobodni izbiri interpreta. Vsakič ko se je določeno glasbeno delo izvedlo, je bilo drugačno, ali, bolje rečeno, se je kontinuirano spreminjalo skozi proces izvedbe dela. Tako sta delo in njegova uprizoritev izgubila pomen »določenosti« in pustila veliko možnosti izvedbe (če-prav sta vsebovala nekaj določil, ki jih je bilo treba upoštevati). Podoben proces je bil viden tudi pri samih nastankih del oziroma je nedoločenost prinesla prav tako manj posredovanja skladateljeve volje v sam zvok (Jež 2015, 78).

Umetnina, ki je sledila nedoločenosti, je bila ob vsaki ponovni uprizoritvi upri-zorjena drugače in je kot takšna »živela naprej«. Enako je veljalo za hepen-ing, eno osrednjih oblik na odru Centra predvsem in tudi kot del avantgardne umetniške kolaborative Fluxusa, ki je bil viden kot oblika t. i. dejavne (aktivne) umetnosti.

> Hepeningi so ena od umetnostnih dejavnosti, ki se lahko izogne neizogib-ni smrti v stiku z javnostjo, h kateremu je obsojena vsa druga umetnost, saj nikoli ne morejo biti preveč izpostavljeni, ker so zasnovani le za kratek čas; mrtvi so, dobesedno, vsakič, ko se zgodijo (Kaprow 1968, 2).

Ta koncept je ponazarjal nekaj povsem drugega od standardiziranja umetniških oblik ter prav tako zaključenih oblik izdajanja in objavljanja osrednjih del, ki so se rodila iz gibanja. Glede na to so rekonstrukcije (vsakršne re-…) del, čeprav nanje lahko gledamo tudi z veliko pozitivnih stališč, nesmiselne oziroma nas današnja oživitev gibanja, predvsem ponovna oživitev ter izdajanje glasbe (verjetno prav tako partitur), ne zadovolji.

Kar se zgodi, ko se srečamo z deli iz obdobja avantgardnega gibanja Sōgetsu, je, da ob poslušanju teh del, njihovih predstavitvah oziroma ponovnih izidih, ostanemo brez *procesa dela;* oziroma bolje rečeno bistva/duše dela, ki je pravzaprav igralo pomembno vlogo v tistem času. Sam produkt umetniškega dela, katerega rezultat je bil pripisan konstantnim spremembam ob vsaki izvedbi, je bil drugotnega pomena.

In kaj naj bi na oživitev gibanja porekli nekateri še živeči glavni predstavniki gibanja? Verjetno bi se lahko izoblikovali dve močni skupini: ena bi bila sestavljena iz skladateljev, ki so aktivno udeleženi v samo oživitev gibanja oziroma so njegovi privrženci, medtem ko lahko pri nekaterih izmed glavnih predstavnikov gibanja opazimo nasprotovanje takšnim akcijam. Yūji Takahashi, eden od treh najznačilnejših avantgardnih skladateljev Japonske, ni privrženec današnjega oživljanja aktivnosti (Yūji Takahashi, v pogovoru z avtorjem).

> Takrat so bila dela čudovita, toda v tem obdobju nimajo enakega pomena. Umetnost iz šestdesetih let je postala kvalificirana in jo je akademski svet dodobra prečesal. In če ljudje iz šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja ponavljajo ta dela in pridobivajo oblast nad njimi, je to dolgočasno dejanje. (Takahashi v Hrvatin 2012, 61)

V svojem razmišljanju se mu pridružuje tudi eden izmed grafičnih oblikovalcev gibanja, Kōhei Sugiura, ki ne vidi zadostnega pomena ne vrednosti v skladateljevih sedanjih aktivnosti (Kōhei Sugiura, v pogovoru z avtorjem). Poudarja tudi, da je tisto, kar dela prav tako zgubijo s prenosom v sedanjost, šok ali presenečenje, ki so ga povzročala nekdaj (ibid.).

Zaključek

Umetniško gibanje Sōgetsu je z začetkom dvajstega stoletja razvilo novo prostorje: priča smo izbruhu založniških in akademskih stvaritev na temo gibanja, novim pristopom arhiviranja umetniškega centra univerze Keio, ki so v sodelovanju z muzejem moderne umetnosti MoMA pripeljali tudi do prve spletne participatorne objave na temo gibanja (*post*), valu oživitvam umetniških del iz obdobja ter

prvih izdaj posnetkov iz glasbenih zakladnic samega prostora gibanja, umetniške-ga centra Sōgetsu.

Avtorica opozarja na dihotomijo med vidiki, ki jih je zagovarjalo gibanje v šestde-setih letih oziroma ki so gibanje odlikovali, ter današnjim procesom obujanja pre-teklih del gibanja in založništva glasbe iz obdobja gibanja. Ti s svojo pojavnostjo negirajo koncepte in naravo dela, ki so imeli velik pomen pri nastanku teh del. Predvsem velja opozoriti na koncept nedoločenosti in proces nastanka samih del, ki sta s takšnimi načini oživljanja del iz obdobja negirana in zapostavljena. Pri-družuje se umetnikom, nekaterim od še živečih predstavnikov gibanja, kot so Yūji Takahshi in Kōhei Sugiura, ki v obujanju del iz obdobja ne vidijo tehtne vrednosti.

Na koncu verjetno velja, da je današnje prostorje umetniškega centra Sōgetsu tesno povezano z današnjo družbo in njenimi aspekti potrošništva. Verjetno bo počasi ozi-roma sčasoma to gibanje zraslo v nekaj čisto drugačnega od svojega izvirnika; še en »artikel na policah« potrošniške sheme ali še en primer, kako je potrošništvo umetnosti (in ne razumevanje umetnosti) postalo dober prijatelj reprodukcije/produkcije ume-tniških del. Po temu sodeč so arhivisti, kot sta Sen Uesaki in Kobo Hitoshi s svojim naprednim in izvirnim delom, ki na boljše načine poudarja tudi same lastnosti pre-teklih del in opozarja nanje, še vedno v prednosti pred reprodukcijo in ponovnim objavljanjem del, tako da lahko njihovo delo označimo kot bolj produktivno od drugih poskusov oživljanja gibanja. Danes želimo določiti produkt, bodisi v smislu glasbene notacije bodisi ponovnih izidov glasbenih del, na način, ki ga želimo prodati. Nujno pa je treba opozarjati in prikazovati proces dela, ki stoji za samim delom in je bistven za razumevanja dela in gibanja – to pa je lahko tudi ena naših akademskih nalog.

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Medkulturni pristop k Li Zehouhevi teoriji sedimentacije – primerjava z Jungovimi arhetipi*

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Izvleček

Avtorica v članku podaja kontrastivno analizo Li Zehoujevega koncepta sedimentacije in koncepta arhetipov C. G. Junga. Članek najprej podrobno predstavi koncept sedimentacije in pokaže, zakaj pri njem ne gre samo za estetski, temveč tudi za kulturno-psihološki pojem. Na osnovi tovrstne predstavitve Lijeve konceptualizacije in teoretskih osnov sedimentacije avtorica kritično primerja ta pojem z Jungovimi arhetipi. Članek nazorno prikaže, da so razlike med obema konceptoma zelo daljnosežne, saj nakazujejo splošno oziroma paradigmatsko razliko med referenčnima okviroma prevladujočih zahodnih diskurzov na eni in specifično kitajske teorije na drugi strani.

Ključne besede: Li Zehou, sodobna kitajska filozofija, C. G. Jung, arhetipi, sedimentacija

Intercultural Approach to Li Zehou's Theory of Sedimentation – Comparison to Jung's Archetypes

Abstract

The author provides a contrastive analysis of Li Zehou's concept od sedimentation and C.G. Jung concept of archetypes. The article first presents the concept of sedimentation in detail and shows why it is not only aesthetic but also a cultural-psychological concept. On the basis of this presentation of the Li's conceptualization and theoretical basics of sedimentation, the author critically compares this notion with Jung archetypes. The article clearly shows that the differences between the two concepts are very far-reaching, as they indicate the general or paradigmatic difference between the reference frameworks of the dominant Western discourses on one side and the specific Chinese theories on the other.

Keywords: Li Zehou, Contemporary Chinese Philosophy, C.G. Jung, archetypes, sedimentation

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Uvod

Članek obravnava Li Zehoujevo teorijo sedimentacije kot izvor estetskega občutja in razvoja umetnosti. Li Zehou je bil udeleženec slovite razprave o estetiki, ki je v petdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja na Kitajskem razvnemala številne intelektualne duhove. Udeleženci te razprave so si prizadevali utemeljiti zlasti marksistično teorijo estetike, hkrati pa jim je uspelo postaviti teoretsko osnovo estetike, ki zavrača konceptualizacijo in sloganizacijo umetnosti. V takšnih družbenih in političnih okoliščinah je tudi Li Zehou utemeljil svojo filozofsko teorijo umetnosti in estetike.

Za Lija sta umetnost in estetsko izkustvo zmožna voditi človeštvo k doseganju popolnosti skozi proces kultivacije. Človeška bitja so postala zmožna občudovati umetnost in estetska izkustva (čustva?) ali stališča skozi mentalne forme ali sedimentacijo (*jidian* 積殿) kot proces nalaganja ali zgostitve družbenega, racionalnega in zgodovinskega, ki tako postane nekaj individualističnega, čutnega in intuitivnega. To je doseženo s pomočjo počlovečenja narave.

Da bi Li Zehoujevo delo lahko ovrednotili v okviru globalne estetike, članek v njegovi estetski misli poudarja določene tradicionalne kitajske elemente, hkrati pa ponuja kritični pretres dveh konceptov, ki sta sicer vsak zase nastala v Evropi in na Kitajskem, a vendarle vsebujeta številne podobnosti. Na eni strani Li Zehoujevo teorijo sedimentacije obravnava kot izvor estetskega izkustva in razvoja umetnosti, na drugi strani pa raziskuje teorijo arhetipov Carla Gustava Junga, ki jo nato primerja z Lijevim osrednjim konceptom sedimentacije. Razlike, ki se pokažejo skozi kontrastivno analizo obeh konceptov in njunih idejnih ozadij, lahko namreč pomagajo pri razlagi določenih diskurzivnih in paradigmatskih razlik med zahodno in kitajsko mislijo.

Zgodovinsko ozadje: Kitajska »estetska vročica« v dvajsetem stoletju

V času vsestranskega prevzemanja zahodnih idej, ki je bilo značilno za Kitajsko na začetku dvajsetega stoletja, je estetika kot akademska disciplina igrala zelo pomembno vlogo. Na eni strani je bila estetska teorija akademsko polje, ki je bilo osvobojeno bremena politike, na drugi strani pa je filozofija umetnosti kot del estetike ustanovila platformo za pripoznavanje in vnovično ovrednotenje dolge in bogate kulturne dediščine Kitajske. Ne preseneča torej, da so v zadnjih dveh desetletjih dvajsetega stoletja, ki sta bili na Kitajskem v znamenju ekonomske (in tako v določenih družbenih in kulturnih tudi politične) liberalizacije, težavna vprašanja, ki so se nanašala na to kulturno dediščino, vodila k neštetim razgretim

razpravam o vprašanju kitajske estetike, ki so na prelomu tisočletja cvetele pod modno oznako »estetska vročica«. Li Zehou je bil ena osrednjih figur v teh debatah in njegova filozofija estetske misli se je oblikovala ravno skozi diskurzivni proces, ki je nastajal v njih. Z namenom, da bi bolje razumeli družbenopolitični kontekst, v katerem je nastalo Lijevo delo, bomo torej najprej na kratko predstavili osnovne razvojne stopnje, ki so pripeljale do kitajske »estetske vročice«, in se dotaknili njihovih poznejših implikacij.

Kitajska estetika je nastala na začetku dvajsetega stoletja. Čeprav je gibanje 4. maja[1] popolnoma zavrnilo in diskreditiralo konfucianizem in na splošno tradicionalizem (Rošker 2017, 45) – skupaj z vso konservativno ideologijo, ki sta jo nosila s seboj –, je večina Kitajcev svojo kulturo dojemala kot estetsko v njenem bistvu. To stališče je bilo izjemno pomembno, zlasti kar zadeva celotno antitradicionalistično ozračje, ki je prevladovalo na Kitajskem med procesom soočanja z zahodnimi idejami in usvajanjem zahodnega znanja (Pohl 2015, 91). Zato ne preseneča, da je estetika kot akademski študij lepote[2] (*meixue* 美學) začela cveteti ravno v tistem času. Poleg tega je bila estetika intelektualno polje, znotraj katerega so intelektualci poskušali redefinirati bistvo kitajske kulture in utemeljiti novo identiteto Kitajske po koncu njene cesarske zgodovine (Woei 1999, 49).

V procesu prevzemanja zahodnih konceptov, veščin in znanja kitajski intelektualci niso bili zgolj pasivni in nereflektirani prejemniki, temveč so se kritično spraševali o svoji lastni kulturni tradiciji v novem družbenopolitičnem kontekstu. Kitajska estetika se je kot akademska disciplina do popolnosti razvila nekje do sredine dvajsetega stoletja. Sprva je nanjo močno vplivala zahodnjaška miselna tradicija (zlasti nemški idealizem in marksistični materializem), a hkrati tudi številni elementi tradicionalne kitajske kulture. Med dolgim seminarjem o tradicionalni kitajski zgodovini so prevladovale številne razprave o literaturi in umetnosti, toda v teh kontekstih

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1   Tu imamo v mislih daljše obdobje, ki sega onkraj ozkega časovnega okvira demonstracij kot takih, t.i. »novo kulturno revolucijo« gibanja 4. maja (*wu six in wenhua yundong* 五四新文化運動), ki so jo začele omenjene demonstracije in je potekala med letoma 1919 in 1923. Čeprav številni strokovnjaki menijo, da je bilo gibanje izpeljano pod zastavo »totalne vesternizacije« (glej na primer Pohl 2003, 473), bi moralo biti to stališče nekoliko omehčano, saj je v tistem času pokazalo nekatere nagibe k ohranitvi določenih tradicionalnih konceptov in vrednot, kot tudi k postavljanju sinteze med tradicionalno kitajsko in zahodno mislijo.

2   Termin so na Kitajsko prvič prinesli kitajski študenti, ki so študirali na Japonskem. Pred drugo svetovno vojno je Japonska za Kitajce predstavljala zrcalno sliko. Številne moderne kitajske besede izvirajo iz japonskega (in zatorej evropskega) sistema, npr. filozofija, estetika, literatura, umetnost itn. (Gao 2006b, 107). Po mnenju Li Zehouja prevod besede estetika s kitajsko besedo *meixue* 美學 (dobesedno: študij lepote) ni niti primeren niti točen. Namreč, zahodna beseda estetika izvira iz starogrškega pojma, ki se nanaša na percepcijo. Li Zehou predlaga *shenmeixue* 審美學 kot veliko boljši in primernejši prevod tega pomena, saj se dejansko navezuje na študij procesa prepoznavanja in dojemanja lepote (Li 2006, 19).

kitajski učenjaki niso utemeljevali istih (ali vsaj primerljivih) estetskih kategorij in konceptov kot teoretiki, ki so določili zahodni tok estetske misli. Medtem ko so estetiko kot teoretsko disciplino »uvozili« z Zahoda, so si mnogi moderni in sodobni učenjaki prizadevali napraviti sintezo med določenimi zahodnimi koncepti na eni strani in nekaterimi ključnimi pojmi, ki so bili utemeljeni v toku zgodovine kitajske estetike na drugi strani. V naslednjem poglavju bomo razpravljali o specifiki kitajske estetske tradicije, v okviru katere so nastajali dotični pojmi.

Preden pa se tega lotimo, je pomembno, da vemo, da je vpijanje zahodnih idej znotraj kitajske estetike vodilo k različnim intelektualnim tokovom. Ti so se določali glede na različne poglede na to, ali je lepota subjektivna, objektivna ali oboje, ali na to, kako razviti kitajsko estetiko kot disciplino. Pri definiranju kitajske estetike so bodisi stremeli k sintezi z zahodno estetiko bodisi poskušali najti njeno brezprimerno enkratnost. Med razpravo o teh problemih so se kitajski estetiki sklicevali na nemško filozofijo osemnajstega in devetnajstega stoletja, pa tudi na konfucijansko, daoistično in budistično filozofsko tradicijo.

Wang Guoweijev koncept *jingjie* 竟界 kot estetsko stanje zavesti je tipičen poskus sinteze med kitajsko tradicijo in zahodnimi idejami. Wang je namreč kitajski budistični koncept *jingjie* interpretiral skozi Kantovo »estetsko idejo« in na ta način znotraj te nove in svojevrstne kitajske estetike ustvaril svež in zelo pomemben koncept. Čeprav ni postregel z nobeno novo teoretsko razlago pojma in čeprav ga je uporabil zgolj v povezavi s poezijo, je *jingjie* »kmalu pridobil splošni estetski pomen, ki hkrati označuje estetsko idejo kot najbolj sublimno stanje duha« (Pohl 2015, 91). Po Wangu je tradicionalna kitajska estetika začela usihati. Hkrati pa je Wang Guowei znotraj tega mišljenjskega polja začrtal prehod k prvenstveno zahodni paradigmi (ibid. 2007, 425).

Srečanje Kitajske z zahodno mislijo in kopico novih, fascinantnih idej je med drugim vodilo k iskanju primerljivih pojmov znotraj kitajske kulturne tradicije. Dekan pekinške univerze v času gibanja 4. maja, Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), je bil napreden intelektualec, ki je prvi oblikoval idejo kulturnega in estetskega samorazumevanja Kitajcev. Med študijem v Nemčiji se je seznanil z zahodno filozofijo, zlasti s Kantom. Medtem ko je Zahodnjake razumel kot ljudi, ki jih je odločilno izoblikovala religija, je trdil, da je estetika, kot kombinacija ritualov, umetnosti, lepote in etike, na Kitajskem praktični »duhovni« ekvivalent religiji na Zahodu. V tem duhu je poudarjal pomen estetskega izobraževanja kitajske mladine. Takšno izobraževanje naj bi nadomestilo verouk, kot so ga izvajali na Zahodu (ibid. 2006, 91). V kitajski tradiciji se je namreč estetsko izkustvo od nekdaj dojemalo kot najvišje stanje človeškega srca-duha (*xin* 心), ki je ljudem omogočalo izkustvo višje ravni bivanja, s primerljivimi učinki in pomenom, kot je izkustvo religije na Zahodu.

V tistem času sta bila v intelektualnih krogih, kar zadeva razvoj kitajske estetike, v glavnem dva tokova. Prvi je trdil, da bi bilo glede na to, da ima estetika zahodne korenine, odveč razvijati posebno disciplino z imenom »kitajska estetika«, na podoben način, kot bi bilo odveč utemeljevati »kitajsko matematiko« ali »kitajsko logiko«. Drugi tok pa je ugovarjal, da bi bilo kitajsko literaturo in umetnost (in tudi literarno in umetnostno teorijo) glede na njuno dolgo tradicijo koristno in nujno raziskati s primerno in ustrezno metodologijo. Tovrstno teoretsko preiskovanje in raziskovanje bi vodilo k utemeljitvi nove akademske discipline, kitajske estetike, ki bi lahko tako priskrbela dobro in dragoceno razlagalno orodje za razvoj tradicionalne kitajske misli (Gao 2006a, 28).

Gao Jianping[3] je kot najbolj vplivne učenjake Kitajske dvajsetega stoletja v polju estetike posebej izpostavil Zhu Guangqiana, Zong Baihuaja, Cai Yija in Li Zehouja. Po njegovem mnenju je bil Zhu Guangqian tipičen predstavnik tako imenovane »zahodne estetike na Kitajskem«. Prevedel je številne klasike zahodne estetike (Platona, Croceja, Vica in Hegla) v kitajščino in uvedel znanstveno metodo združevanja zahodne misli in kitajske snovi. Na drugi strani pa je Zong Baihua prvi v kitajščino prevedel Kantovo *Kritiko razsodne moči*. Imel je poseben smisel za raziskovanje umetnosti in zato je izdatno študiral teorijo slikarstva, na drugi strani pa je razkril tudi veliko razliko med kitajskim in zahodnim duhom umetnosti in s tem tudi med obema vrstama estetike.

> Zatrjeval je, da zahodno slikarstvo izvira iz arhitekture in zato vsebuje polno znanstvenih implikacij, medtem ko kitajsko slikarstvo izvira iz kaligrafije in vsebuje podobne ritme kot v glasbi in pri plesu. Po njem zahodna estetika temelji na prostorsko-časovni zavesti, v dihotomiji med subjektivnim in objektivnim, medtem ko kitajska estetika implicira razumevanje sveta skozi istovetenje slednjega z naravo. (ibid., 26)

Po mnenju Gaoja je Zong poskušal dopolniti model zahodnih teorij z izvirnostjo enkratnih detajlov iz kitajske umetnosti.

Petdeseta in šestdeseta leta so bila zaznamovana z veliko razpravo o estetiki med Zhu Guangqianom, Cai Yijem in Li Zehoujem.[4] Ozadje razprave je bilo prizadevanje kitajske komunistične partije za ideološko narodno reedukacijo intelektualcev,

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[3]   Poleg Li Zehouja in Wang Kepinga je Gao Jianping eden izmed vodilnih kitajskih estetikov.

[4]   Li Zehou je začel svojo estetsko misel razvijati v petdesetih letih; v tistem času je bil močno pod vplivom Marxovih *Ekonomsko-filozofskih rokopisov*, v katerih je razvijal teorijo alienacije ali odtujitve. Stremel je k rekonstrukciji Kantove epistemologije skozi Marxove ideje glede družbenega življenja in prakse, torej materialno produkcijske dejavnosti, kot je izdelava in uporaba orodja (Pohl 2005, 92). Na podlagi tega razišče tudi različne koncepte človeške narave, ki jih je najti tako v starodavnem konfucijanstvu kot pri zgodnjem Marxu (ibid. 1999, XIV).

s pomočjo katere naj bi idealizem zamenjali z dialektičnim materializmom in s tem okrepili širitev marksistične ideologije na Kitajskem (Rošker 2017, 3). Naslednje pomembno vprašanje v razpravi v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih med Zhu Guangqianom, Cai Yijem in Li Zehoujem se je glasilo, ali je lepota subjektivna ali objektivna, ali drugače, ali je rezultat idealističnega ali materialističnega pogleda na svet. Zhu Guangqian je zagovarjal, da je lepota spoj subjektivnega in objektivnega, Cai Yi je trdil, da je lepota objektivna, medtem ko je Li Zehou vztrajal, da je družbena, objektivna, pa tudi intuitivna (Woei 199, 50).

Na drugi strani pa je imela razprava še en pomemben poudarek. Postavila je teoretske temelje, ki so poudarjali koncepte iz teorije umetnosti in zavračali konceptualizacijo tako imenovane »sloganizacije« (i. e. ideološke propagande) umetnosti. V prvih letih po ustanovitvi LR Kitajske so bili kitajske študije in estetika močno pod vplivom sovjetskih teorij in ideologij. Potem ko so se leta 1956 odnosi med Kitajsko in Sovjetsko zvezo ohladili, so kitajski estetiki poskusili utemeljiti svoj lastni sistem. Žal je ta poskus znova grobo prekinila »velika proletarska kulturna revolucija«, ki je trajala od 1966 do 1976[5] (Gao 2006b, 109).

Medtem ko sta Zhu in Zong pripadala prvi fazi razvoja kitajske estetike, ki jo je zaznamovalo raznovrstno uvajanje zahodne misli v začetku dvajsetega stoletja, pa sta Cai Yi in Li Zehou predstavnika druge faze, ki je nastopila v zadnji polovici dvajsetega stoletja, v kateri so v ospredje prišle levičarske ideje. S pomočjo materialistične epistemologije in s poudarkom na tem, da je lepota objektivna in »tipična«, sta si prizadevala teoretsko utemeljiti marksistično estetiko. Kot levičarska intelektualca sta si hkrati prizadevala tudi za umetniške intervencije v domeno družbene realnosti (ibid.). Čeprav ta teorija umetnosti ni povsem nasprotovala čustvom in občutkom in čeprav je trdila, da mora biti vsaka umetniška zvrst »tipična«, poleg estetskega elementa na primer določena s svojimi specifičnimi in enkratnimi značilnostmi, sta Cai in Li v bistvu še vedno zagovarjala preseganje individualnosti in čutov v polju umetnosti (ibid.).

Kot materialistični filozof je Li Zehou prav tako trdil, da je lepota objektivna, ker je družbeno uprizorjena, in kot taka mora biti neodvisna od psihologije posameznika. V tem vidiku se je nanašal na Marxovo teorijo, ki trdi, da v zunanjem svetu ni nič lepega na sebi in da zgolj skozi objektifikacijo človeškega bistva postane »podružbljeno« in tako lepo. Pri tem naj bi šlo za kolektivni proces, in ne za proces individualne psihologije (Woei 1999, 62). V tem smislu je Li poudaril, da so

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5   Kmalu po izbruhu teh nemirov v LR Kitajski je tajvanski filozof in esejist Xu Fuguan objavil enega svojih najvplivnejših del o kitajski estetiki *Duh kitajske umetnosti* (*Zhongguo yishu jingsheng* 中國藝術精神), v katerem razpravlja o kitajski umetnosti in estetiki po vzoru Cai Yuanpeija, torej s poudarkom na duhovni dimenziji in njeni tesni povezavi s kitajsko kulturno identiteto (Pohl 2015, 92).

idealistični estetiki zvedli lepoto na individualni subjektivni smisel za lepoto in jo motrili kot rezultat določenih predempiričnih, subjektivnih »psiholoških funkcij«, ki so, po njihovem mnenju, skupna vsem človeškim bitjem. V tem pogledu so idealisti zanikali objektivni obstoj lepote kot rezultat družbenih in zgodovinskih pogojev (ibid., 60).

Vendar pa je bila glavna skrb v estetski razpravi v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih ustanoviti marksistično estetiko na Kitajskem kot del razširjanja marksistične ideologije po letu 1949. Med vsemi drugimi tako imenovanimi »odprtimi razpravami« o različnih problemih, znotraj katerih je najvišja politična elita odločala o tem, ali so pravilni ali napačni,[6] je bila estetska razprava po zaslugi notranje povezave med umetnostjo in družbo pravzaprav edina izjema. Mao je v svojih *Govorih na Yan'anskem forumu o literaturi in umetnosti* maja 1942 jasno izrazil zahtevo, da je vloga umetnosti služiti ljudstvu in socializmu, v pomenu razrednega boja in potreb revolucije (Li 2006, 32). Z nastopom kulturne revolucije je estetika doživela zaton, vendar so rezultati razprave znova prišli v ospredje v času estetske vročice, kmalu po Mao Zedongovi smrti. Kot je bilo že omenjeno, se je »estetska vročica« pojavila kot ideološko osvobodilno gibanje, ki bi ga lahko označili kot razsvetljenstvo ali renesanso na Kitajskem (ibid., 23).

Estetsko vrenje je po celotni državi postalo izjemno popularno in je povzročilo velikanski val prevodov različnih zahodnih avtorjev o estetiki, kar je bilo pokazatelj, da je estetika postala vodilna disciplina v humanistiki na Kitajskem. V šolah in na univerzah so se pojavile zahteve po poučevanju estetike, knjige o estetiki pa so postale knjižne uspešnice. Tovrstna vrnitev estetske misli je bila plod izčrpanosti in naveličanosti predhodnih vseprisotnih ideoloških prisil in revolucionarnega asketizma. Ljudje so si želeli raziskovati nove načine izražanja lastne individualnosti, in v tem pogledu so se ukvarjali tudi z vprašanjem, kaj je lepota (ibid.).

Osemdeseta in devetdeseta je definiralo sistematično prevajanje zahodnih literarnih teorij, ki so poudarjale vsebino kot jedro interpretacije. Kar zadeva avtohtone diskurze o kitajski estetiki, je Li Zehou v tem obdobju v akademskih krogih, ne samo na Kitajskem, ampak tudi v tujini, pridobil neizmerno pozornost in spoštovanje.

Li Zehoujev teoretski prispevek k teoriji estetike bomo obravnavali v tretjem poglavju, pred tem pa si na kratko oglejmo njegov pogled na zgodovinsko ozadje tradicionalne kitajske estetike, v katerem se večinoma osredotoča na daoistično in konfucijansko filozofijo. Težko bi bilo namreč dojeti glavne metodološke pristope Lijeve estetske teorije, ne da bi poprej razumeli njene značilne poteze.

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6   V zadnjem primeru so bili zagovorniki teh mnenj seveda tudi kaznovani.

Značilnosti tradicionalne kitajske estetike

Zato da bi zagotovili pogoje za globlje razumevanje paradigmatskih plasti, ki so osnova Li Zehoujeve estetske filozofije, to poglavje vključuje osnovni pregled in kratko razlago zgodovinskega razvoja kitajske estetike, kot jo je Li interpretiral v svojih delih, ki se ukvarjajo z estetiko, zlasti *Pot lepote* (美的历程) in *Štiri predavanja o estetiki* (美學四講). Ta se začne s šamansko kulturo kot začetkom estetskega zavedanja in poteka skozi stoletja, medtem ko nanj vplivajo različni tokovi filozofske misli, vključno s konfucijanstvom in daoizmom. Po antičnem obdobju so nanj močno vplivali tako imenovani pristopi Chu Sao,[7] pozneje pa filozofija budizma Chan.[8] Vsi ti diskurzi so se osredotočali na koncepte lepote, estetskega izkustva in estetske zavesti, pa tudi na njihovo neposredno in nerazdružljivo povezavo z moralnostjo in etičnimi vrednotami tradicionalne kitajske kulture.

Tradicionalna kitajska estetika se dotika vprašanj človeškega obstoja, univerzuma, človeških razmerij in družbe. V tem okviru se estetski problemi ne obravnavajo kot problemi védnosti, v pomenu iskanja odgovorov na vprašanja, kaj sta estetika in lepota – kar je bil pogosto v zahodni estetiki (Sernelj 2015, 78). Tradicionalna kitajska estetika je zgrajena bolj na ozadju človečnosti in razmisleka o človeških odnosih in družbe, kjer so filozofija, estetika in življenjska izkušnja povezane v celoto (Xu 2006, 78). Ni torej naključje, da Li Zehou pripisuje večjo vrednost estetskemu kot kognitivnemu in etičnemu. Zanj estetika ni niti ponotranjenje razuma (kognicije) niti njegova zgostitev (etika), temveč sedimentirani spoj razuma in čutov (Wang 2007, 251).

Ta pogled se močno razlikuje od zahodne estetike, ki je definirana kot »veja filozofije, ki se ukvarja z naravo umetnosti, lepote in okusa, z ustvarjanjem in občudovanjem lepote«.[9] Poleg tega se zahodna estetika jasno razločuje od epistemologije in etike, saj je znotraj njenega konceptualnega okvira umetnost avtonomna entiteta, ker se ukvarja s čuti. Zato je umetnost kot taka po nujnosti osvobojena kakršnega koli moralnega ali političnega smotra (Gethmann-Siefert 1995, 7).

Kot bomo videli v nadaljevanju, so moralne in etične implikacije tradicionalne kitajske estetike igrale bistveno in poglavitno vlogo v tradicionalni kitajski družbi in kulturi. Li Zehou je prav tako večkrat poudaril tesno povezavo med estetiko, etiko in epistemologijo (glej na primer Li 1987, 238 ali Li 2001, 87).

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7   Kot bomo videli v nadaljevanju, se izraz nanaša na estetiko slovitega pesnika zgodnjega srednjega veka, Qu Yuana (340–277 pr. n. št.).

8   »Po navadi sledim Liu Ganjijevi premisi, ki pravi, da čeprav je kitajska estetika zelo raznovrstna in kompleksna, je v resnici ni več kot zgoraj omenjene štiri vrste (Liu 1995, 181). Toda sam sem dodal še estetiko obdobja Wei-Jin, zaradi njegovih številnih pomembnih prispevkov h kitajski estetiki nasploh.«

9   Definicija 1 »estetike« iz spletnega slovarja Merriam Webster.

Po slovarju *Shuowen* kitajska beseda lepota ali lepo (*mei* 美) pomeni enako kot dobro ali dobrota (*shan* 善) (Shuowen jiezi 2015, Yang bu, Mei).[10] Li Zehoujeva analiza pismenke *mei* 美 je pokazala, da piktogram odslikava človeško bitje, ki na glavi nosi ovnovo glavo in/ali perje in po vsej verjetnosti izvaja obred, ki predstavlja šamanistično tradicijo zgodnjih družb antične Kitajske. Na drugi strani pa, če pogledamo oba dela piktograma, lahko prikazuje tudi velikega ovna. Velik oven implicira lepoto v smislu zunanje podobe, toda tudi kot njegove notranje lastnosti kot dobre hrane. Oba pomena se nanašata na čutno eksistenco osebe, njenih potreb in občutkov na eni strani, na drugi strani pa njegove družbene eksistence, skupnosti in racionalnosti (Li 1984, 44). Neki drugi vidik lepote v kitajski tradiciji se nanaša na umetniška dela in druge objekte (na primer objekte zunanje narave), ki proizvedejo estetsko ugodje (ibid., 43). Li prav tako poudari, da se celo v sodobni Kitajski besedo lepo uporablja v več kontekstih, ki so povezani s človekovim čutnim izkustvom, etičnimi vrednotami in estetskim ugodjem.

Po Li Zehouju sta se materialni in duhovni produkciji (in estetska zavest) začeli z izdelavo in uporabo orodja. To misel je prevzel od na orodje osredinjenega materializma Engelsa in Plekhanova,[11] ki trdi, da so se vse zgodovinske spremembe zgodile kot posledica razvoja orodja (Woei 1999, 52). S tega vidika je orodje kot predmet, ustvarjen za preživetje, tvoril osnovo prvobitnih družb, pri čemer je njegovo okrasje kot rezultat človeških idej in domišljije vodilo k razvoju religije, umetnosti in filozofije (Li 1984, 17). Zato so se starodavna totemska magija in rituali preoblikovali v politične in družbene institucije, totemske pesmi in plesi pa so se razvili v umetnost (glasba, ples) in literaturo (miti, pesmi, poezija in legende) (ibid.). Čaščenje totemov in šamanskih pesmi je postopoma zamenjalo čaščenje junakov in prednikov; z drugimi besedami, počlovečili so se in racionalizirali. Ta proces preobrazbe se je dopolnjeval od dinastije Shang do dinastije Zhou, sočasno z uvedbo patriarhalnega sistema.

Razvoj estetske zavesti in izkustva je privedel do transformacije realističnih živalskih podob v abstraktne simbole, ki jih še vedno lahko občudujemo na lončevini iz neolitika in na bronastih umetninah iz tistega časa. Ti simboli so vsebovali kompleksen konceptualni pomen. Njihove forme so pomenljive, saj nakazujejo družbeno določene pismenke, zatorej predstavljajo izvor estetskih čustev in lepote kot take. Čisto prezentacijo naravnih objektov so zamenjale črte, ki vključujejo značilnosti, kot so simetrija, ravnotežje, stalnost, prekinitev, ritem, spremembo, enotnost itn., izražene

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10   美與善同意 (»Mei yu shan tongyi.«) »Lepo in dobro sta eno.«

11   Georgi Valentinovich Plekhanov (1856–1918) je bil prvi Rus, ki se je razglasil za marksista. Stremel je k razvoju estetske teorije na podlagi znanstvenega socializma in marksistične filozofije, da bi spodbudil proletarsko razredno zavest. Bil je ustanovitelj socialnodemokratskega gibanja v Rusiji (Woei 1999, 52).

na zaokrožen način. Pogosto se bile reprezentacije subjektivnih občutij v gibanju (Li 1984, 27). Ta preobrazba je izjemno pomembna za razumevanje tako kitajske kaligrafije kot tudi kitajske literature, saj obe temeljita na zgoraj navedenih načelih. Kitajske pismenke vsebujejo tako simbolni pomen kot abstraktnost, in kot take imajo v sebi imaginativno ter imitativno razsežnost (ibid., 40). Ustvarjalno bistvo črt je skozi raznovrstnost form omogočilo izraz občutkov, idej in čustev, ki so se pozneje razvijali naprej in se nazadnje spremenili v »umetnost črte« kitajske kaligrafije.

> Postopoma je razvila zapletene zakone svoje strukture in sledila nameri proizvajanja »neslišne glasbe in negibnega plesa na papirju, da bi izrazila človeška čustva in ideje« (ibid., 43).

Estetska vrednost in estetska zavest o umetnosti je postala vidna v tako imenovanem obdobju pred dinastijo Qin (770–221 pr. n. št.), ko se je Kitajska ločila od primitivne magije in religije in vstopila v dobo racionalizma (ibid., 46).

Konfucij je spremenil religijski značaj primitivne kulture, rituale in glasbo v pragmatično in ateistično naravo človeških razmerij, družbenopolitičnih konceptov in umetnosti v vsakdanjem življenju ljudi. Osrednje žarišče je bilo uporaba morale in etike v procesu izobraževanja in samokultivacije človeških bitij. Religijsko vlogo primitivnih ritualov je spremenil v sfero medosebnih razmerij in jih definiral kot sočlovečnost (ren 仁). Prejšnje čaščenje in podreditev bogovom sta se spremenila v nekakšno notranjo, vključeno etiko, ki je postala pomembna tudi v prevladujočem značaju in družbeni vlogi kitajske umetnosti in estetike (ibid., 49).

> Umetnost ni bila zunanja forma ritualov, »temveč je morala naslavljati čute in biti splošna, hkrati pa je morala biti povezana z družbeno etiko in posledično s trenutno politiko« (ibid., 50).

Glasbo so dojemali kot najvišjo formo umetnosti, saj je njena harmonična struktura najbolj jasno utelešala integracijo človeškega razuma in čustev. Poleg tega, da je ponujala veselje in ugodje,[12] je vsebovala tudi zmožnost oblikovanja in uravnovešanja družbenih in moralnih čustev posameznika. V tem smislu je Konfucij prvi poudaril družbeni pomen lepote in umetnosti (Liu 1995, 181). Zanj je bila lepota utelešenje ren 仁 (sočlovečnosti), ki je bila najvišji cilj konfucijanske filozofije. Konfucijanci so poudarjali funkcionalni značaj in praktičnost umetnosti znotraj izobraževanja in samokultivacije, ki so ju dojemali kot poglavitna procesa pri ustanavljanju moralne in harmonične družbe, ki temelji na človeški racionalnosti in (so)človečnosti. Zatorej sta bili forma in vsebina umetnosti zelo natančno

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12   Pomen pismenke yue 樂 je tako glasba kot veselje.

strukturirani in nadzorovani, kar je na primer razvidno iz konfucijanskega razlikovanja med primerno in »neprimerno« glasbo.[13]

V nasprotju s tovrstno praktično naravnanostjo umetnosti je v razumevanju zunanjega sveta daoistični pristop predlagal bolj svobodno in bolj avtonomno pozicijo umetnosti in izraza človeških čustev. Daoisti so bili prvi, ki so umetnost, lepoto in svobodo združili z naravnim redom in smotrnostjo. Zavračali so razlikovanje med pravilnim in napačnim *shi/fei* 是非 in hierarhično družbeno strukturo, praktičnost in namenskost in smotrnost umetnosti, ki so bili vsi zelo pomembni elementi v konfucijanski misli.

Najvišji cilj daoistične filozofije je bila uresničitev osebne svobode v skladu z naravo ali Daojem. Po Liju Zhuangzijeva in Laozijeva filozofija predstavljata estetski pogled na življenje. V percepciji sveta sta poudarjala izraz človeške domišljije, čustev in intuicije, kot tudi:

> *laissez – faire* razmerje med človeštvom in zunanjim svetom, ki presega uporabnost. Osredotočila sta se na estetsko razmerje, na notranjo, duhovno in bistveno lepoto, na nekognitivne zakone umetniške kreacije. Če se je konfucijanski vpliv na poznejšo literaturo nahajal zlasti v tematiki in vsebini, se je daoistični vpliv nahajal pretežno v zakonih ustvarjalnosti – v estetiki. In pomen umetnosti kot enkratne forme ideologije se nahaja natanko v njenih estetskih zakonih. (Li in Cauvel 2006, 51)

Posledica je bila, da so bili naravnost, spontanost, domišljija in svoboden izraz čustev najpomembnejši doprinos daoistov k starodavni kitajski estetiki.

Sinteza konfucijanske in daoistične estetike se je pojavila v obliki estetike Chu Sao, njen predstavnik pa je bil Qu Yuan (340–277 pr. n. š.) (Liu 1995, 185). Chu Sao se nanaša na južno državo Chu, in na Sao, ki izvira iz slovite Qu Yuanove pesmi *Li Sao* 離騷 (*Srečevanje z žalostjo*). Jug je bil pod vplivom severnega konfucijanstva in kulture, pa vendar tudi šamanistične tradicije, kjer so bili magija in miti še vedno zelo živi.

> Li Sao je združevala nebrzdane romantične predstave prvobitnega mita in ognjevit individualni značaj in strasti, ki so se pojavile skupaj s prebujenjem človeške racionalne narave v popolno, organsko celoto, ki je označevala resnični začetek kitajske lirične poezije (Li 1994, 67).

Qu Yuan je sprejel konfucijanski nauk o človečnosti in dobroti, toda zavrnil poslušnost in zmernost. Tako je raje vključil daoistične koncepte svobodnega izraza

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13   Npr. 惡鄭聲之亂雅樂也 (Lunyu 2015, Yang huo 18).

individualnih čustev in domišljije, medtem ko je odpravil vprašanja pravilnosti in napačnosti (Liu 1005, 185).

Romantični duh estetike Chu Sao se je nadaljeval in se razvijal dalje tudi v dinastiji Han. Svet ljudi in svet bogov sta se v pozitivni maniri stalila v eno; bogovi niso bili več prevladujoča sila, temveč jih je, ravno narobe, premagalo človeštvo (Li 1984, 74).

Ta transformacija psiholoških stanj se je izrazila v slikovitih prikazih vsakdanjega življenja (žetve, običaji, hrana, bivališča itn.), ki se je združevala z domišljijo, fantazijskim svetom, upanjem, željami, veseljem in ljubeznijo do trenutnega življenja.

Estetika obdobja poznega Wei-Jin pa je bila v popolnem nasprotju z romanticizmom Chu in Han. Zaradi skepticizma, ki je prevladoval kot filozofski trend, so bile tesnobnost ob minljivosti človeškega življenja, žalost zaradi življenjske negotovosti, izgube bližnjih in doma itn. glavne teme, ki so prevladovale v literaturi in umetnosti. Nekateri najpomembnejši kitajski estetski koncepti, kot so »ritmična vitalnost« (*qi yun* 气韵) in »besede ne izčrpajo pomena« (*yan bu jin yi* 言不盡意) itn., so bili proizvod tega nihilističnega duha obdobja Wei-Jin.

Prevladujoča namera izraziti notranjega duha je dosegla vrhunec v diskurzih budizma *chan* 禅, ki je v sredini dinastije Tang (618–907) postal novi trend v kitajski estetiki. *Chan* je vključeval daoistične ideje ločenosti in umika iz posvetnih zadev, kot tudi daoistično stremljenje k duhovni svobodi, od njega pa se je razlikoval po metodi. Daoisti so se osredotočali zlasti na harmonijo z neomejeno in večno naravo (ali *daojem* 道) za doseganje duhovne svobode in odmaknjenosti, medtem ko so budisti Chan trdili, da sta *dao* in ves zunanji svet zgolj iluzoričen proizvod človeškega uma in kot taka ne obstajata. Tako je filozofija *chan* predlagala umik v pusti notranji svet. Njen prispevek h kitajski estetski sodbi in umetnosti pa je najti v izrazu zavestnega notranjega življenja in v introspekciji subjekta (Liu 1995, 187).

Za konfucijanstvo, daoizem in Chan je estetsko izkustvo izkustvo najvišjega stanja človeškega srca-uma. To stanje se lahko doseže z neprestano prakso (*gongfu* 功夫) in z obvladovanjem umetniških veščin, ki na koncu vodi k utelešenju Daoja (bistva ali noumenona univerzuma). Kot je v »Zgodbi kuharja Dinga« predlagal Zhuangzi: »Všeč mi je Dao, ki predhodi vsakršni spretnosti« (Zhuangzi 2015, Nei pian, Yangshen zhu, 2).

Zato Wang Keping (2007, 141) pravi, da je Li Zehou vpeljal koncept tako imenovane praktične estetike, in poudari, da je njeno bistvo prvič razvil v *Štirih razpravah* (glej Li 2001). Po Karlu-Heinzu Pohlu je neprestana praksa vodila k intuitivnemu obvladovanju umetniškega medija: »Zato je prvi ideal tradicionalne kitajske estetike doseči stopnjo umetniške popolnosti v umetniškem delu, ki je, navdano

z 'vitalno resonanco' (*qilun*), videti kot delo narave, a vendarle razkriva občutek duhovnega obvladovanja (Pohl 2015, 6).«

Li Zehoujeva filozofska estetika in teorija sedimentacije

Glavni koncepti Li Zehoujeve teorije estetike, ki jo na eni strani sestavljajo nekateri poglavitni tradicionalni kitajski koncepti in na drugi strani več kantovskih in marksovskih pojmov, so počlovečenje narave, naturalizacija ljudi (spoj človeka in narave), tehnološke in družbene formacije, psihološke in čustvene formacije, in, kar je najbolj bistveno, koncept sedimentacije. Vsi se medsebojno povezujejo v celoto njegove estetske misli. Li je zgodovino razumel kot proces, ki je dosegel svoj idealni cilj v domeni estetike, ki ga je razumel kot zvezo narave in svobode.

Kot je bilo že omenjeno, po Liju kitajska estetika ne zadeva ničesar religioznega ali mističnega, temveč temelji na racionalizmu, kot sta ga razvila konfucijanstvo in daoizem. Njuni komplementarni in medsebojno povezani vlogi predstavljata pomembno rdečo nit intelektualne misli, ki se je vlekla skozi vso tradicionalno kitajsko estetsko misel. Kitajsko filozofijo in estetiko so vodili bolj pragmatizem in praktična racionalnost vsakodnevnega življenja, človeška razmerja in politični koncepti, kot pa kakršna koli abstraktna in težko razumljiva racionalistična teorija (Rošker 2006, 186).

Po Liju sled pragmatizma in racionalnosti vodi nazaj k zgoraj omenjeni šamanistični kulturni tradiciji (*wushi chuantong* 巫史传统) dinastij Shang in Zhou, zaradi česar Konfucija ne dojema kot izumitelja, temveč kot ustvarjalnega prenašalca ključnih konceptov in nosilcev starodavne kulture, ki se je pozneje predstavljala kot konfucijanska filozofska misel (Chan 2003, 117). Razmerje združitve med Nebom (oziroma naravo) in človekom se je uprizarjalo v šamanističnih ritualih, ki so jih vodili praktični cilji, kot je molitev za dež in podobne pragmatično usmerjene duhovne dejavnosti, in ne prošnja za odrešitev človeške duše. Nebo ni predstavljalo antropomorfnega Boga oziroma bogov, temveč se je človeku razodevalo v obliki funkcije med ritualno uprizoritvijo (ibid.). Tudi pragmatična vsebina ritualov je tako razlog, da jih niso dojemali kot mistične oziroma v nekem smislu metafizične.

Koncept počlovečenja narave[14] temelji na njegovi filozofiji antropološke ontologije

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14   Zhu Guangqian je bil prvi, ki je ta termin prevzel iz Marxovih zgodnjih spisov, kjer ga je slednji definiral kot proces transformacije narave skozi človeško delo ali materialne produkcije na naravi in zato njeno počlovečenje. Zhu je uporabil termin počlovečenje za dejavnost zavesti, kot sta umetnost in estetika. Li pa je trdil, da je imel, čeprav je Marx termin uporabil zgolj, kar zadeva ekonomijo, zelo pomembne estetske implikacije. S postopno podreditvijo ali udomačitvijo narave skozi človeško delo so bili ljudje zmožni dojeti tudi njeno estetsko vrednost. (Woei 1999, 79)

(*renlei xue benti lun* 人類學本體論), znotraj katere je študij biti kot izvora (*ben* 本) in telesa (*ti* 體) stvari, kot tudi kitajski monistični ali unarni svetovni nazor (zavrnitev dualističnega pristopa, tj. um/telo, narava/človek, substance/materija itn.), kjer je vse, kar je, povezano z obstojem človeških bitij, razumeti z družbenega in zgodovinskega vidika, in ne metafizičnega (Li in Cauvel 2006, 40).

Zato trdi, da »bit ne more biti ločena od obstoja človeških bitij (ibid.)«. Lijeva antropološka ontologija se osredotoča na družbeno prakso kot konkretni proces zgodovinskega razvoja človeških bitij kot celote (ibid.). Pozneje je svojo antropološko ontologijo spremenil v ontološko teorijo historične antropologije, da bi »še bolj poudaril zgodovinsko specifično naravo, tako materialne baze človeške družbe na eni strani kot raven razvoja psihičnih moči človeških bitij« (Chan 2003, 108).

Družbena bit ljudi je natanko mesto, kjer ljudje kot biološka bitja presežejo svojo biološko naravo. To je proces počlovečenja fizične narave (*ziran de renhua* 自然的人化). Li pri procesu počlovečenja narave prevzame Marxovo idejo dveh ravni, toda, kot bomo videli v nadaljevanju, vključi tudi proces ponaravljenja človeka (*ren de ziranhua* 人的自然化). Prva raven zadeva počlovečenje zunanje narave, tj. počlovečenje gora, rek, sonca in celotnega univerzuma. Znotraj tega procesa je človeštvo ustvarilo materialno civilizacijo. Druga raven zadeva počlovečenje notranje narave, tj. čutov, percepcije, občutkov in želja, s katerimi so ljudje ustvarili duhovno civilizacijo (Li 2004, 31). Počlovečenje narave se je razvijalo skozi produktivno prakso dela, ki jo Li opiše kot izdelovanje in uporabo orodja (*gongju* 工具). Materialno civilizacijo je definiral kot tehnološko in družbeno formacijo (*gongyi shehui jiegou* 工艺社会结构), duhovno pa kot kulturno in psihološko formacijo (*wenhua xinli jiegou* 文化心理结构) osnovne realnosti, kjer

> se prva nanaša na materialne pogoje, v katere so vrojeni posamezniki: naravno okolje, fizična struktura človeškega telesa, in raven tehnološkega razvoja v vsakem posameznem zgodovinskem obdobju. Druga se navezuje na duhovne kapacitete posameznikov: razum, čustva in volja. (Chan 2003, 109)

Glavni koncept znotraj tega procesa je koncept subjektnosti (*zhutixing* 主體性), ki ga Li opredeli kot subjektivno človeško željo in težnjo razumeti resnico, pa tudi kot hrepenenje po dobroti in ljubezen do lepote (Rošker 2006, 182).

Vse to oblikuje kognitivni mehanizem, ki proizvede tehnološko-družbeno in kulturno-psihološko formacijo. Koncept subjektnosti se manifestira tako na objektivni kot na subjektivni ravni. Pojavi se skupaj z družbeno uresničitvijo materialne realnosti, tj. skozi proces produkcije. Na drugi strani pa vsebuje tudi subjektivno

raven družbene zavesti, ki se manifestira v kulturno pogojenih mentalnih strukturah. Zatorej za Lija subjektnost ni v prvi vrsti subjektivno zavedanje posameznika v pomenu čutov, občutkov, želja itn., temveč se bolj nanaša na rezultate človeške zgodovine, ki se manifestirajo v globokih strukturah etične in estetske zavesti (Li 2001, 183).

Poleg subjektnosti kot poglavitnega koncepta znotraj počlovečenja narave, Li vpelje tudi tradicionalni kitajski koncept človeške narave (*renxing* 人性), o katerem razmišlja kot o združitvi čutnosti in racionalnosti, narave in kulture, in tehnološko-družbene in kulturno-psihološke formacije v človeški zavesti. Z drugimi besedami, človeška narava je združitev družbenega in racionalnega (nekaj, kar vpliva na posameznikovo zunanjost) ter biološkega in čutnega (na animalistični ravni v posamezniku). Gre za rezultat vzajemnega pronicanja čustvenega življenja in racionalnosti, zlitje naravne in družbene narave, ki je proizvod nepretrgane evolucije (Woei 1999, 106).

> To poenotenje se ne uresniči z mehanskim seštevanjem teh elementov, temveč skozi dinamični proces počlovečenja narave, in tako skozi interakcijo med človeškimi subjekti in naravnimi objekti. V tem procesu čutnost in naravnost transformirata racionalnost in družbene dejavnike. (Rošker 2006, 183)

Ta transformacija se prikaže v občutku lepote (*meigan* 美感), ki je rezultat človeških družbenih in produkcijskih praks. Li trdi (v Li and Cauvel 2006, 88), da počlovečenje zunanjega sveta razločuje znotraj zunanje realnosti in preoblikuje svet v lepe objekte in pokrajine, kar nato postane izvor lepote. Po njem sta torej oba procesa rezultat zgodovinske prakse človeške družbe.

Li lepoto razloži v pomenu marksističnega koncepta počlovečene narave:

> Narava kot taka ni lepa. Lepa narava je rezultat podružbljene narave, tj. rezultat objektivacije človeškega bistva. Podružbljenje narave je zatorej osnova njene lepote.[15] (Li 2002, 184)

Li zato trdi, da lepota sama po sebi ne obstaja in ni a priori lastna človeški percepciji, lepota pa ni definirana niti zgolj skozi človeško čutnost, temveč je rezultat zgodovinskega procesa materialne in psihološke produkcije.

Naša neposredna (intuitivna) percepcija konkretnih podob vedno že

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15   „自然本身并不是美; 美的自然是社會化的結果, 也就是人的本質對象化的結果. 自然的社會性是自然美的根源.“

implicira veliko zelo kompleksne vsebine iz našega družbenega življenja, vključno z našim dojemanjem in razumevanjem samega življenja. To pomeni, da percepcija zaobsega naše prepoznanje razmerij med stvarmi.[16] (Li 2002, 7)

Nalaganje in zgostitev družbenega, racionalnega in zgodovinskega v nekaj individualističnega, čutnega in intuitivnega je to, kar Li imenuje sedimentacija, ki se pojavi v procesu počlovečenja narave. Sedimentacija je zlitje družbenega in individualnega v zgodovinskem procesu, ki vodi k psihološki in kulturni formaciji (Pohl 2015, 93). Človeška materialna produkcija z njenim psihološkim ekvivalentom prepušča sediment v človeški razum in je v resnici dinamični proces, ki nenehno poteka znotraj kulturno-psihološke formacije:

Skozi vso zgodovino človeštva so družbene in materialne prakse oblikovale in še naprej oblikujejo človeške kulturno-psihološke formacije skozi procese sedimentacije. Preprosto, naše psihe, vzorci misli, načini obnašanja, naše umetnosti in institucije so proizvodi človeškega delovanja, ki je v interakciji z zunanjim svetom in se skozi zgodovino človeštva spreminja. (Li in Cauvel 2006, 5)

Ta proces sedimentacije (*jidian* 積殿) se je začel z oblikovanjem in uporabo orodja, kot to imenuje Li, ki je zgodnje človeštvo razločilo od živalskega stanja. Uporaba orodja je omogočila ljudem spreminjanje družbenih in naravnih svetov, ki so vzajemno spreminjali tudi njih, tako v psihološkem kot v fiziološkem smislu. Te materialne in psihološke dejavnosti so skozi čas privedle do mentalnih form ali sedimentacij, ki so se izražale skozi kulturne in psihološke formacije. V človeškem razumu se sedimentacija pojavlja na treh ravneh oziroma sedimentih:

1. v biološkem sedimentu oziroma sedimentu vrste, kot forme, lastne vsem človeškim bitjem, npr. kognitivne zmožnosti, kategorije mišljenja itn.;
2. v kulturnem sedimentu, ki zadeva navade razmišljanja in občutenja, ki so tipične za kulturo, v kateri se rodimo;
3. v individualnem sedimentu, ki je naša interakcija s svetom in svetovnim nazorom, ki se nakopiči iz naših življenjskih izkušenj (Cauvel 1999, 158).

Te sedimentacije so nenehno v dinamičnih procesih spreminjanja in medsebojnega

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16   „在…各別事物的具體形象的直覺本身中, 即已包涵了極為豐富複雜的社會生活的內容, 包涵了我們對這種生活的了解和認識, 而這, 就正是包涵了我們對事物關係的認識。"

vplivanja, in nikakor niso a priori kategorije našega razuma (v Kantovem pomenu), temveč zlitje družbenega in posameznega, ki se pojavi skozi zgodovinsko evolucijo družbe in materialne produkcije. Na drugi strani pa Li zagovarja, da je sedimentacija nalaganje družbeno racionaliziranih, arhetipskih form percepcije zunanjega sveta. Te racionalizirane zunanje forme ne delujejo

> kot prisilna moč, ki je od zunaj vsiljena posamezniku, temveč prej kot nekaj, kar je podobno notranji naravi, odtisnjeno, ponotranjeno in »sedimentirano« v utripu, pogledu in občutju posameznika, in kar se izkuša v polni radosti soglasja in »svobode« (Rošker 2006, 185).

Po Liju se proces sedimentacije kot nalaganje takšnih arhetipskih elementov pojavlja na treh ravneh. Vsakič ko ta sedimentacija doseže točko saturacije, vodi k naslednji, višji stopnji ustvarjanja estetskih občutij in objektov. Ta osnovna raven je tako imenovana »osnovna sedimentacija« (*yuanshi jidian* 原始積澱) in predstavlja temelj za »umetniško reprezentacijo (*yishu jidian* 藝術積澱)«, ki omogoča ustvarjanje form. Saturacija »umetniške reprezentacije« vodi k »vitalni sedimentaciji (*shenghuo jidian* 生活積澱)«, ki je temelj umetniške ustvarjalnosti (ibid.). Estetska senzibilnost je najbolj pomembna človeška sposobnost, ki skozi proces psihološke in kulturne sedimentacije spreminja naše razumevanje sveta (Bruya 2003, 138).

Narava je postala objekt estetskega občudovanja (ali estetski objekt) šele potem, ko je proces počlovečenja narave dosegel določeno stopnjo zgodovinskega razvoja, ko so ljudje naravno okolje dojeli kot vir in orodje človeškega vsakdanjega življenja. Šele takrat so naravni objekti (gore, reke, oblaki, dež, luna itn.) začeli vsebovati bistvo lepote in izražati estetske lastnosti (Li in Cauvel 2006, 72).

Zaznavanje lepote in estetska občutljivost sta se skozi zgodovinski proces počlovečenja narave ukoreninili v našem psihološko-kulturnem sedimentu, medtem ko je naturalizirano človeštvo njegova zrcalna slika. Termin naturalizirano človeštvo se nanaša na tri pomene: (a) na naravo kot življenjsko okolje, (b) na naravo kot predmet občudovanja in zabave, in (c) na medsebojno vključevanje ljudi in narave skozi posebne prakse (npr. *qigong*, meditacija itn.), skozi katere se naučijo prilagoditi svoje telo in duha ritmom narave (ibid., 75). Li Zehoujev koncept »zlitja človeka z naravo« se kaže kot ekvivalent njegovi interpretaciji »počlovečenja narave«, ki pa je v svojem bistvu marksističen pojem.

Po Liju (2001, 87) počlovečenje narave in zlitje človeka z naravo (ponaravljenje človeka) temeljita na klasičnem kitajskem konceptu enotnosti Neba in človeka (*tian ren he yi* 天人合一), ki je tako v konfucijanstvu kot v daoizmu zelo pomemben

in tehten koncept.[17] Ta »enotnost Neba (Narave) in človeka« ni vključevala zgolj »počlovečenja narave« (*zirande renhua* 自然的人化), temveč tudi »ponaravljenje človeka« (*rende ziranhua* 人的自然化). Po Liju je svojevrstni duh kitajske estetike, ki temelji na komplementarnosti konfucijanstva in daoizma, zajet natanko v tej enotnosti. Zato je za Lija teorija enotnosti Neba (Narave) in človeka hkrati teorija transformacije človeka in narave, saj vključuje tako počlovečenje narave kot ponaravljenje človeka. Pravzaprav v teh dveh konceptih vidi »dve različni imeni za isto vsebino[18]« (ibid.). Po Li Zehouju naturalizacija človeštva predstavlja pendant počlovečenju narave. Usmerjena je k človeški izpopolnitvi oziroma k celovitosti človeške narave« (Wang 2007, 251).

Počlovečenje narave se v konfucijanski tradiciji pojavlja kot poudarek na moralnih vrednotah in etiki, medtem ko se ponaravljenje ljudi izraža v daoistični (zlasti Zhuang Zijevi) filozofiji, ki daje velik pomen osebni svobodi:

> Ko konfucijanci govorijo o »enotnosti neba in človeka«, ga pogosto primerjajo z medsebojnim vplivanjem med ljudmi, postulati prilagodljivosti in poslušnosti v razmerjih. Toda, po Zhuang Ziju se ta »enotnost Neba (Narave) in človeka« lahko doseže zgolj skozi radikalno negacijo medčloveških odnosov. Konfucijanci določajo pomen posameznika glede na njihova razmerja z drugimi, medtem ko Zhuang Zi išče njegovo vrednost natanko v odsotnosti tovrstnih razmerij.[19] (Li 2001, 187)

Po Liju konfucijansko počlovečenje narave temelji na socializaciji in kultivaciji človeških nagonskih želja in potreb in uravnovešanju ter oblikovanju človeških čustev glede na medsebojne odnose in moralnost. Zato tudi estetske forme (šest konfucijanskih umetnosti) odsevajo tovrstne namere in zahteve.

Daoistično (zlasti Zhuang Zijevo) ponaravljenje človeka temelji na odmiku od človeških zadev in moralnih zakonov ter na združevanju izključno z zakoni narave. Zhuang Zijevo razmišljanje o umetnosti življenja je nevede ustvarilo najvišjega estetskega duha, kar je umetniška udejstvovanja šele omogočilo. Zhuang Zijeva umetnost potepanja brez cilja (*xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊) je sestavljena iz obvladovanja

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17 V svojem članku »Ponovno odkritje enotnosti neba in človeka« (2007, 237) tudi Wang Keping poudarja pomembnost tega pojma, ko trdi, da »je v današnjem času težnja k ponovnemu odkrivanju relevantnosti »enotnosti neba in človeka« z branjem novih in tudi modernih sporočil v tem starem konceptu. To je postala odprta dejavnost, ki vsebuje in vabi k premisleku v drugo, k transkulturni razlagi in celo k ustvarjalni transformaciji, zaradi skrite univerzalnosti za skupno dobro.«

18 一個內容兩個名詞而已

19 „儒家講 ‚天人合一' 常常是用自然來比似人事, 遷就人事, 服從人事; 莊子的 ‘天人合一’, 則是 要求徹底捨棄人事來與自然合一. 儒家從人際關係中來確定個體的價值, 莊子則從擺脫人際 關係中來尋求個體的價值".

tehnike (*gongfu* 功夫), estetske popolnosti, svobode in osvobajanja človeškega duha, da bi se doseglo enovitost z Daojem, ki je najvišja estetska izkušnja.

Lijev koncept sedimentacije psihološko-kulturne formacije in tehnološko-družbene formacije je proizvod tako počlovečenja narave kot naturalizacije ljudi. Izraža se skozi estetsko zavest in ustvarjalnost v določenem zgodovinskem obdobju. Sedimentacija je, kot je bilo povedano zgoraj, neprekinjen in dinamičen proces človeške zavesti. V svoji teoriji sedimentacije najde Li nekaj podobnosti z Jungovim konceptom kolektivnega nezavednega in arhetipov, toda, kot bomo pokazali v nadaljevanju, sta si ta dva precej različna.

Li Zehoujeva sedimentacija nasproti Jungovim arhetipom: vzorčna kontrastivna analiza

Kot je bilo pokazano v prejšnjem poglavju, se Lijeva teorija sedimentacije nanaša na kulturne in psihološke formacije, ki nastajajo in se prenašajo skozi družbeno in biološko evolucijo človeških bitij, in je kot taka posledica materialne in duhovne produkcije zgodovinskega in družbenega procesa. Številni sodobni strokovnjaki, vključno z Wang Kepingom (2007, 250), zagovarjajo močan vpliv zahodne misli na Lijevo teorijo s tem, da poudarjajo, da je Lijeva predpostavka zgodovinske sedimentacije, s katero se metaforično nanaša na skrite strukture človeške inkulturacije, tesno povezana z Jungovo arhetipsko psihologijo, Piagetovo genetsko epistemologijo, Bellovo estetsko hipotezo, in – seveda – z Marxovo praktično filozofijo. Ker se jo je največkrat povezovalo z Jungovim konceptom kolektivnega nezavednega in arhetipov (glej na primer Woei 1999; Wang 2007; Chan 2003 itn.) in ker je pojasnitev paradigmatske razlike med obema konceptoma nujna zaradi daljnosežnih idejnih in medkulturnih implikacij, bomo tu opozorili na glavne nasprotujoče si lastnosti obeh pojmov, torej sedimentov in arhetipov.

Li Zehou je tudi sam ugotovil, da obstajajo nekatere podobnosti med Jungovo teorijo in njegovim lastnim naukom:

> Mislim, da ideja C. G. Junga o kolektivnem nezavednem z arhetipi ponuja dragocen pristop k psihološko-čustvenemu vidiku človeških bitij. Jung je menil, da so skozi evolucijo človeških možganov prvobitna družbena izkustva človeške vrste zapustila fiziološke sledi v lobanjskem živčevju in formirala različne nezavedne arhetipe. Te so se skozi dednost prenašale z generacije na generacijo in oblikovale kolektivno nezavedno. Vloga umetnika je vzbujati skrite, vendar mogočne arhetipe v duhovih posameznikov, tako da se ti odzivajo na ostanke prvobitnih izkustev in na moč

teh arhetipov. Jung je v umetnosti in estetskem izkustvu razkril nadindividualno, kolektivno. Njegovi vpogledi imajo mnogo skupnega z mojim naukom o sedimentaciji. (Li 2006, 87)

Jung je na naslednji način definiral svoj koncept kolektivnega nezavednega in arhetipov:

> (Poleg našega nezavednega) obstaja še drugi psihični sistem kolektivne, univerzalne in neosebne narave, ki je identičen pri vseh posameznikih. To kolektivno nezavedno se ne razvija individualno, pač pa je podedovano. Sestavljajo ga predobstoječe forme, arhetipi, ki lahko postanejo zavestne šele sekundarno, in ki dajejo dokončno obliko določenim psihičnim vsebinam. (Jung 1990, 43)

Obstoj Jungovega kolektivnega nezavednega pomeni, da je v tem idejnem okviru posameznikova zavest vse drugo kot tabula rasa in nikakor ni imuna na vnaprej določene vplive. Ravno obratno, po Jungu

> nanjo v največji meri vplivajo podedovane predpostavke, povsem ločeno od neizbežnih vplivov okolja nanjo. Kolektivno nezavedno v sebi združuje psihično življenje naših prednikov, daleč nazaj do najzgodnejših začetkov. Gre za matrico vseh zavestnih psihičnih pojavov, ki ima zato vpliv, ki v najvišji stopnji ogrozi svobodo zavesti, saj nenehno stremi k vodenju vseh zavestnih procesov nazaj na stare poti. (ibid., 112)

Lijeva sedimentacija je tudi neke vrste »kolektivno nezavedno«, ki pa je predvsem ne moremo razumeti v pomenu Jungovega ahistoričnega diskurza. Jungovi arhetipi so namreč nespremenljive in statične formacije, ki bi jih lahko šteli že za neke vrste transcendentalne forme, katerih obstoj pa Li, kot smo že pokazali, odločno zavrača. Torej Lijeva sedimentacija ni nekaj, kar se biološko »deduje«; je dinamičen, nenehno spreminjajoč se proces psiho-kulturnega razvoja. V tem procesu prevladujoč način produkcije določene vrste družbe proizvede natanko določeno kulturno-psihološko formacijo, ki nato vodi posameznike, ki pripadajo tej družbi, k določenemu videnju realnosti in delovanju. Z drugimi besedami: bistvena razlika med Li Zehoujem in C. G. Jungom je v Jungovem postulatu, ki postavlja, da so arhetipi, pridobljeni v davni preteklosti, a priori prvobitni vzorci, ki obstajajo v našem tako imenovanem kolektivnem nezavednem. Lijeva teorija sedimentacije pa je precej drugačna, ker poudarja dinamični vidik spremembe v našem nezavednem, ki je rezultat vpliva materialnega napredka družbe na psihološko kulturno formacijo našega duha.

Ta psihološko-kulturna formacija je tudi kolektivna, v smislu, da vsi člani določene kulture pridobijo in si delijo isto kulturno kodo, npr. načine vedenja, običaje, vrednostne sisteme itn. Vendar je, v nasprotju z Lijem, Jung svoje arhetipe, ki jih je razumel kot simbole, ki odsevajo vedno enkratno izkušnjo božanskosti in imajo zmožnost človeku dati slutnjo božjega, medtem ko hkrati varujejo posameznike pred njegovim neposrednim izkustvom, obdal z nekoliko mistično in religiozno dimenzijo (Jung 1990, 8).

Ti simboli so vraščeni v širok miselni sistem in predstavljeni skozi religijo ali katero drugo mistično prakso. Po Jungovem mnenju se jih da razkriti v umetniškem ustvarjanju, zlasti slikarstvu, in jih spodbuditi, da preidejo iz kolektivnega nezavednega na zavestno raven. To metodo je uporabljal v svoji terapevtski praksi, da bi na nezavedni ravni pomagal svojim pacientom razrešiti prvobitne religiozne/mistične konflikte. Takšna interpretacija religije in takšen poskus vlečenja vzporednic med mitologijo in posameznikovim duhom pa dokazuje težnjo k močnemu posploševanju, ki zanemarja pomembne kulturne razlike.

To se močno razlikuje od Lijeve interpretacije form in simbolov, ki so se skozi čas sedimentirali v kulturno-psihološko formacijo »kitajskega duha«. Li trdi, da so se totemski rituali, pesmi, ples in miti razvili v politične institucije, poezijo, literaturo, slikarstvo in kaligrafijo zaradi materialne ali (tehnične) produkcije in razvoja družbe, ki je nato hkrati spreminjala duhovno produkcijo človeštva. Na neki način predstavljajo zamrznjene slike pradavnine, vendar zaradi njihovega spreminjanja skozi zgodovinski proces v duhu ljudi ne morejo biti prisotni kot nekaj statičnega in nespremenljivega. Poleg tega, kot smo lahko videli v prejšnjem poglavju, kitajska kultura, na primer zaradi racionalnega duha, ki je prevladoval v dinastiji Zhou, ni utemeljila religije. Ti arhetipi pa so, kot je bilo že povedano, statični vzorci iz pradavnine, ki se pojavljajo v človeškem nezavednem, kar je prav nasprotno Lijevim dinamičnim strukturam sedimentiranih plasti, ki se v naših duhovih nenehno modificirajo. Zato se Lijev koncept sedimentacije v psihološko kulturnih formacijah lahko razume kot kolektivno nezavedno edino v smislu kulturne identitete, ki je pridobljena skozi proces socializacije, ali kot podedovano kulturno kodo družbe, v kateri smo se rodili. Toda ta prirojena kulturna koda ali kulturna identiteta kot kolektivno nezavedno ni zgrajena iz prvobitnih form, kot predlaga Jung v svoji teoriji arhetipov, temveč se nenehno spreminja v sozvočju z materialnim in duhovnim razvojem družbe.

Iz te primerjave je jasno razvidno, da je s pomočjo uvedbe temeljne vloge materialnega in tehnološkega vpliva na sedimentirano psiho-kulturno formacijo v človeškem duhu Li idealistično in spekulativno naravo Jungovega pogleda dopolnil s pomembnimi komponentami iz Marxovega historičnega materializma. Torej, če vzamemo v zakup zgoraj omenjena dejstva, postane površinska podobnost med

Jungovim kolektivnim nezavednim in psihološko-kulturno formacijo dokaj zanemarljiva. Na drugi strani pa je s poudarjanjem pomena vloge, ki jih v teh procesih prevzemajo dejavniki, ki spadajo v sfero človeške psihologije, nadgradil tudi marksistično teorijo družbenega razvoja. Skratka, če upoštevamo zgoraj omenjena dejstva, postane površinska podobnost med Jungovim kolektivnim nezavednim in psihološko-kulturno formacijo, dokaj zanemarljiva.

Zaključek

Z vidika zgornje primerjave lahko tako pokažemo na nov vidik razumevanja Li Zehoujeve estetike in filozofske misli. Kot je bilo ponazorjeno z Jungovo idejo arhetipov, statična narava zahodnih kategorizacij pogosto ne upošteva kulturnih raznovrstnosti. Filozofija pa bi morala biti vseskozi medkulturna, zlasti estetska misel, kajti področje lepote pripada vsem človeškim bitjem v enaki meri. V tem smislu lahko Li Zehoujev kompleksen, toda zelo odprt sistem nedvomno razumemo kot prispevek k prihodnji medkulturni razpravi o naši skupni estetiki, etiki in epistemologiji.

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Strukturna zveza zavesti ter zunanjega sveta v kitajski tradiciji*

*Jana S. ROŠKER***

Izvleček

Strukturna združljivost človeške notranjosti in zunanjega sveta predstavlja eno temeljnih paradigem tradicionalne kitajske epistemologije. Ta vidik, ki je nadvse dragocen ne zgolj za sinološke raziskave kitajske filozofske tradicije, temveč tudi za razvoj epistemoloških teorij v svetovnem merilu, ostaja še vedno zakrit s stoletno tradicijo napačnih interpretacij nekaterih osrednjih pojmov in kategorij klasičnih kitajskih diskurzov. Pričujoči članek predlaga novo videnje kitajske idejne tradicije skozi prizmo koncepta strukture.

Ključne besede: kitajska filozofija, kitajska epistemologija, struktura, strukturna semantika

The Structural Alliance of Mind and External World in Chinese Tradition

Abstract

The structural compatibility between human mind and the external world represents a basic paradigm of traditional Chinese epistemology. This aspect is of immense importance not only for sinological research in Chinese philosophic tradition, but also for the general, worldwide development of the theory of knowledge. However, this paradigm has still been hidden behind false interpretations of certain central Chinese traditional notions and categories. The present article suggests a new insight into the structural composition of traditional Chinese philosophy and epistemology.

Keywords: Chinese philosophy, Chinese epistemology, structure, structural semantic

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Uvod

Strukturalizem (vključno s svojo kritično negacijo oziroma nadgradnjo, imenovano poststrukturalizem), je v Evropi in ZDA ena najpomembnejših teoretskih paradigem dvajsetega stoletja, ki je najmočneje vplivala na idejne tokove sodobne lingvistike, sociologije, antropologije, zgodovine, psihoanalize, literarne teorije in sorodnih ved. Prvi tovrstni pristopi so izhajali iz lingvistike; ta model se je kmalu razširil tudi na vrsto ostalih disciplin, zlasti na antropologijo, psihoanalizo in literarne študije. Strukturni model, nadgrajen z dinamičnimi vzorci poststrukturalistčnih diskurzov, je predstavljal prelomnico v razumevanju esence in funkcije jezika, subjektivnosti, kulture ter politične stvarnosti.

Na sorodne modele lahko naletimo tudi v kontekstu tradicionalnih kitajskih filozofskih diskurzov, ki sicer zaradi svoje dosedanje omejenosti na krog kitajsko govorečih bralcev ne morejo zapolniti kulturoloških vrzeli v (post)strukturalizmu sodobnega časa; zato menim, da sodi predstavitev teoretskih iztočnic tovrstnih kitajskih modelov k prvenstvenim nalogam sinologije. Konec koncev se lahko kontrastivna analiza tradicionalnih kitajskih ter evropsko – ameriških teorij v tem okviru (kljub vsej splošni problematičnosti tovrstnih kulturoloških primerjav) izkaže kot smiselno orodje za razčiščevanje nekaterih osnovnih vprašanj o naravi človeškega dojemanja in komunikacije.

V kitajski tradiciji sodi strukturni pristop k temeljnim epistemološkim načelom filozofskega razmišljanja. Že samo dojemanje stvarnosti je v tem kontekstu pogojeno z združljivostjo struktur zunanjega sveta človeške zavesti. Zato se bomo v pričujočem članku posvetili predvsem razjasnitvi in predstavitvi tradicionalne kitajske strukturne epistemologije.

Dojemanje strukture

Preden se posvetimo podrobnejši obravnavi specifično kitajskega dojemanja strukture in njene onto-epistemološke[1] funkcije, moramo najprej pogledati, ali v percepciji in interpretaciji tega pojma sploh obstajajo medkulturne oz. jezikovno pogojene razlike, in kakšne naj bi te razlike bile. Odgovora na ti dve vprašanji bomo poskušali poiskati preko raziskave prevladujočih pojmovanj strukture znotraj kitajske in evropske idejne tradicije.

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1 Ta termin izraža komplementarno dojemanje razmerja med stvarnostjo in zavestjo oziroma med danostjo in spoznanjem. Zato uporabljam izraz onto-epistemologija za označevanje tradicionalnih kitajskih diskurzov, ki vprašanj biti (bivajočega) in vprašanj dojemanja le-te niso obravnavali ločeno, v okviru različnih paradigmatskih ogrodij.

V indoevropskih jezikih, ki tvorijo osnovo tkim. zahodnih teorij in diskurzov, izvirajo različne inačice besede struktura iz latinskega izraza *structura*, ki pomeni urejeno povezanost oziroma zgradbo. V glagolski obliki (*struere*) pomeni ta latinska beseda ustvarjanje (notranjega) ustroja neke stvari ali nekega sistema po metodi, s katero so deli neke celote povezani med seboj in hkrati s celoto, katero tvorijo.

Sodobni kitajski ekvivalent tega izraza je beseda *jiegou* 結構,[2] ki je bila v splošno terminologijo sodobne kitajščine uvedena na pragu prejšnjega stoletja kot prevod angleške besede *structure*. Ker se fonetična struktura kitajskega jezika precej razlikuje od fonetične strukture indoevropskih, se tujke na Kitajskem večinoma tvorijo s prevodi etimoloških pomenov besede, ki se uvaja. Zato se etimološka pomena latinskega izraza *structure* in njenega sodobnega kitajskega prevoda *jiegou* v veliki meri pokrivata. Tudi večina sodobnih indoevropskih izpeljank iz latinske besede *structura* se v kitajščino običajno prevaja s tem izrazom in tudi izraz strukturalizem pri tem ni izjema, saj je njegov kitajski sinonim *jiegouzhuyi* 解構主義.[3]

Četudi je sestavljenka *jiegou* razmeroma nova, pa je tudi v kitajski tradiciji obstajal soroden, četudi precej starejši izraz. To je beseda *tiaoli* 條理, ki pomeni strukturni red. Razlika med obema izrazoma je v njunih posamičnih pomenskih odtenkih in kontekstualnih konotacijah: medtem ko je poudarek prve predvsem na konotaciji konstrukta, se pomen slednje običajno povezuje s sistematiko.[4]

To ni naključje, če pomislimo, da se je beseda *jiegou* na Kitajskem pojavila kot razmeroma nov prevod angleške besede *structure* v kontekstih tehniških in naravoslovnih znanosti. Drugi termin, t.j. *tiaoli* 條理, ki je izražal tradicionalno videnje strukture na Kitajskem, je sestavljen iz zloga *tiao* 條, ki izvorno pomeni vejevje, in zloga *li* 理, ki predstavlja klasični starokitajski izraz, soroden temu, kar razumemo pod besedo struktura oziroma (strukturni) vzorec. Izvorni pomen te klasične kitajske sestavljenke je namreč sistematski ustroj vejevja, ki tvori strukturo krošnje ali razraščenega stebla rastlin. V svojem prelomnem delu o novih metodologijah je Li Gong 李塨 (1659–1746), kitajski učenjak iz sedemnajstega stoletja, medsebojno povezavo obeh terminov definiral takole:

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2   V starejših besedilih iz začetka dvajsetega stoletja pogosto naletimo tudi na besedo *jiagou* 架構, ki se je sprva celo nekoliko pogosteje uporabljala za označevanje termina structure. Vsekakor je pomen obeh prevodov takorekoč identičen (povezano ogrodje oz. omrežje).

3   Obrazilo »*zhuyi*« (主義) = »-izem«

4   Zanimivo je dejstvo, da so vse indoevropske inačice besede struktura v kitajskih slovarjih prevedene izključno z izrazom *jiegou*, medtem ko je v večini slovarjev, v katerih so kitajski izrazi prevedeni v indoevropske jezike, tudi beseda tiaoli prevedena v posamičen indoevropski jezik kot ustrezna inačica besede struktura.

> Sistemsko urejenost (*tiaoli*) stvari imenujemo struktura (*li*). Le-ta pa je vsebovana v stvareh samih. (Li Gong, cp. Xia Zhentao 2, 1992, 400)[5]
>
> 事有條理曰理，即在事中。

Termin *li* 理 se v zahodnih virih običajno prevaja z izrazom *princip* ali *načelo*. Tovrstno intepretacijo[6] te starokitajske pismenke je prevzela tudi večina sodobnih kitajskih teoretikov. Vendar nam njen natančnejši prevod v smislu strukture lahko odpre nov vpogled v naravo klasičnega kitajskega dojemanja stvarnosti in tudi v nove možnosti tvornega dialoga med tradicionalno kitajsko in evropsko filozofijo.

Poznavanje tradicionalnega, specifično kitajskega razumevanja strukture nam bo namreč pomagalo razumeti tudi marsikatero sodobno strukturalistično teorijo novejše kitajske filozofske produkcije. Nekateri kitajski teoretiki so o strukturnem pristopu k spoznanju spregovorili že na pragu obdobja moderne[7]; številni rezultati njihovega dela predstavljajo tvorno sintezo sodobnih evroameriških teorij in onto-epistemoloških izodišč njihove lastne, »zahodnemu« akademskemu svetu zaenkrat še precej neznane, idejne tradicije.

Li kot struktura jezika in pomena

Tukaj predlagana interpretacija tega termina v smislu strukture je sicer neobičajna, vendar se zdi smiselna iz večih razlogov. Tak pomen je delno razviden že iz izvornega, etimološkega ustroja pismenke *li* 理, ki je sestavljena iz fonetičnega dela 里 in radikala, ki nastopa kot nosilec pomena in označuje žad 玉. Izvorno je pomenila ustroj linij oziroma barvnih šlir v žadu. (Bauer 2000, 256–257) A.C. Graham, eden novodobnih pionirjev v raziskovanju antične kitajske logike, sodi k redkim sinologom, ki so ta termin dejansko dojemali kot izraz strukturnega vzorca oziroma strukture:

> Li is the patterned arrangement of parts in a structured whole, of things in an ordered consmos, of thought in rational discourse, and in *Names*

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5   Vsi prevodi citiranih odlomkov kitajskih besedil v slovenščino so avtoričini. Za podrobnejšo razlago in utemeljitev prevodov posameznih terminov glej knjigo *Li: struktura kot temeljna epistemološka paradigma tradicionalne kitajske filozofije* (Rošker 2011). Ker so razlogi za te prevode kompleksni in večinoma povezani z daljšimi razvoji pomenskih konotacij, jih v omejenem prostorskem okviru pričujočega članka ne morem posebej navajati. Isto velja za konkretna imena in osrednja dela tradicionalnih kitajskih filozofov oziroma njihovih osrednjih del, ki so merodajno vplivala na kompleksne semantične razvoje in filozofska razumevanja tovrstnih ključnih terminov.

6   Za podrobnejšo problematizacijo in kritiko tovrstnih interpretacij gl. Rošker (2008b).

7   Pri tem velja posebej izpostaviti predvsem panstrukturalistično teorijo Zhang Dongsuna 張東蓀 (1886–1973), gl. Rošker (2008a, 232).

and Objects,[8] of words in a completed sentence. Its emergence in the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960–1279) as one of the central concepts of neo-Confucianism was the culmination of a long development. In the pre-Han philosophy it attracts attention especially in the Interpreting Lao-tzu of Han Fe tzu,[9] who uses it of the specific configuration of properties ("square or round, long or short, coarse or fine, hard or soft") in each kind of the thing. (Graham 1978, 191–2)

Medtem ko je termin *li* v najzgodnejših delih označeval predvsem materialno, čutno dojemljivo strukturo, se je po drugem stoletju pred našim štetjem pričel proces abstrahiranja tega pojma: v kasnejših delih je bil namreč pogosto uporabljen tudi kot struktura kozmosa in/ali družbe, kot struktura besedil, struktura jezika in pomena in kot struktura zavesti (Rošker 2008b). Kot omenjeno, predstavlja v okviru tradicionalnega kitajskega pogleda na svet združljivost strukture kozmosa na eni, in strukture zavesti na drugi strani temeljni predpogoj človeškega zaznavanja in dojemanja realnosti. Zato si bomo v nadaljevanju nekoliko podrobneje ogledali kasnejši razvojni proces pomena termina *li*, ki je na temelju njegovega razumevanja v smislu strukture jezika in pomena privedel do pojmovanja zaznave in dojemanja kot strukturne zveze zavesti in zunanjega sveta.

V neokonfucijanskih[10] razpravah, kjer predstavlja koncept *li* osrednjo, vse specifične posamične vzorce združujočo osnovno strukturo vsega obstoječega, je bilo seveda že dolgo jasno, da mora biti *li* hkrati tudi osnovna struktura zavesti, njenega dojemanja in izražanja. Potemtakem mora biti *li* tudi struktura jezika. Kot pripadnik klasične konfucijanske tradicije istoveti neokonfucijanec Cheng Hao 稱顥 ta novi, v skladu z imanentno metafiziko opredeljeni koncept vseobsežne, a hkrati povsod prisotne strukture (*li* 理) s pojmom narave (*tian* 天), torej najvišjega konfucianskega kozmičnega načela, katerega občasno (še vedno) poimenuje tudi z besedo *dao* 道. Vsekakor se v Cheng Haotovi filozofiji z vso jasnostjo nakazuje inherentna povezanost vseobsežne strukture *li* ter konkretnega človeškega mišljenja (in s tem jezika):

> Narava je struktura (ali: strukturirana); njen duh na čudežen način oplemeniti vse obstoječe in ga lahko jezikovno izrazi (Cheng Hao/Yi, Er Cheng ji 1981: IV Sui Yan 1179).

> 天者理也, 神者妙萬物, 而為言者也.

8　　Grahamov prevod poglavja »Mingshi lun 名實論 (O imenu in stvarnosti)« moističnega kanona *Mozi* 墨子.

9　　V transkripciji pinyin: Laozi, Han Feizi.

10　　Neokonfucianizem (*Xingli xue* 性理學): tretja reforma izvornega konfucijanstva, ki se je razvila zlasti v obdobjih dinastij Song 宋 (960–1279), Yuan 元 (1271–1368) in Ming 明 (1368–1644).

A tovrstna prepričanja, na katera naletimo v delih neokonfucijanskih filozo-fov dinastij Song in Ming, so plod tisočletne tradicije, ki se je osredotočala na proučevanje strukture konceptov, jezika in pomena.

Klasični filozofi predqinskega obdobja[11] so v svojih disputih o imenih (koncep-tih) in stvarnosti (*ming* 名 – *shi* 實) še izhajali iz razumevanja stvarnosti kot ob-jektivnega zunanjega sveta oz. kot zunanje oblike ali forme stvari. Ta forma je bila neposredni del strukture stvari, kakršna je, kot smo videli, prihajala do izraza v antičnem konceptu *li*. Struktura pomena (*yili* 意理), kakršno prvič srečamo šele v obdobju Šestih dinastij (Liu chao 六朝, 220–581), pa ni bila več zgolj nekaj, kar bi lahko bilo neposredno povezano s stvarmi, oziroma, kar bi bilo del njih samih. Pri tem konceptu je šlo že za prvi rezultat določene stopnje abstrahiranja pojma strukture (*li*). Zato so se predstavniki Šole misterija od disputov o razmerju med imeni (koncepti) in stvarnostjo preusmerili na obravnave razmerja med jezikom (*yan* 言) in pomenom (*yi* 意) ter na raziskave strukture konceptov oziroma imen (*mingli* 名理). Pri tem je šlo za enega največjih teoretskih preobratov v zgodovini tradicinalne kitajske miselnosti (Tang 1955, 65). Lahko trdimo, da predstavljajo razprave filozofov Šole misterija (Xuan xue 玄學), ki obravnavajo razmerje med jezikom in pomenom, teoretsko nadgradnjo antičnih disputov o razmerju med imenom (konceptom) in stvarnostjo.

Za boljše razumevanje tega teoretskega preobrata si najprej oglejmo osnove najbolj značilnih modelov klasičnega kitajskega dojemanja razmerja med imeni (oziroma koncepti) in stvarnostjo (*ming* 名 – *shi* 實).

Osnova: razmerje med koncepti in realnostjo (ming 名 – shi 實)

Binarna kategorija *ming* 名 in *shi* 實 se v indoevropske jezike običajno prevaja s terminoma imen in stvarnosti. Pri tem gre za komplementarni odnos med dvema faktorjema, ki opredeljujeta ne zgolj epistemološke, temveč tudi socialno teorijo, saj je bilo poimenovanje razumljeno v smislu socializacijsko pogojenega dojema-ja stvarnosti. Zato lahko pojem *ming* 名 (izvorno: ime) dojamemo v smislu kon-cepta; pri odnosu med *ming* in *shi* gre torej za konceptualizacijo stvarnosti.

Pretežni del klasične, t.j. predqinske kitajske epistemologije se še ni ukvarjal z abstraktnimi vidiki razmerja med jezikom in pomenom, temveč je bil v največji meri osredotočen na določitev razmerja med imeni in stvarnostjo, katero le-ta izražajo. Krizno obdobje Vojskujočih se držav (Zhan guo 戰國 475–221 pr.n.št),

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11   To je prevod kitajskega strokovnega termina (*xian Qin shidai* 先秦時代), ki označuje klasično ero kitajske filozofije v obdobju Vzhodne dinastije Zhou (Dong Zhou 東周, 770–256 pr.n.št).

ki predstavlja obdobje razcveta klasičnih filozofskih šol, je bilo opredeljeno z nenehnimi boji posamičnih fevdnih državic za oblast in prevlado nad ostalimi. Zato so bila etična vprašanja v središču pragmatično orientiranih socialnih naukov tedanjega časa (Dessein 2017, 84). V tem kontekstu je večina klasičnih učenjakov v postulatu družbene harmonije videla osrednji ideal svojih teoretskih prizadevanj; možna, na obzorju bližnje prihodnosti porajajoča se združitev celotne Kitajske je obljubljala možnost miru in prenehanja nenehnih krvavih vojn in bojev za prevlado, ki so merodajno določali to obdobje. Za delovanje novega, združenega imperija ogromnih razsežnosti pa je bilo potrebno poenotiti tako zunanje pogoje, kot tudi notranje dejavnike skupnega življenja: merske enote, osne razdalje, pisavo, zakonodajo, s tem pa tudi jezik in celo miselnost v smislu konceptualnega dojemanja realnosti. Potreba po poenotenju osrednjih konvencij je torej vključevala potrebo po posplošitvi struktur, ki bi lahko služile kot formalno ogrodje medčloveških interakcij; zato je bila v osrčju (proto)epistemoloških prizadevanj kitajske klasike standardizacija jezika in njegovih struktur. Zato ni čudno, da je problem odnosa med stvarnostjo (*shi* 實) in njenim »pravilnim« poimenovanjem (oziroma konceptualizacijo, *ming* 名) postal eno osnovnih epistemoloških vprašanj antične Kitajske.

Prvi teoretiki, ki so izhajali iz predpostavke, po kateri je razmerje med stvarnostjo in njenim poimenovanjem oziroma njenim konceptualnim dojemanjem opredeljeno z enotno strukturo, so bili predstavniki Moistične in Nomenalistične šole. Že v šestem stoletju pred našim štetjem je nomenalist Deng Xizi zapisal:

> Najprej si moramo ogledati, kako izgleda podoba stvari in dojeti njeno zunanjo obliko. Pravilni koncept (te stvari) določimo glede na njeno strukturo. (Deng 1976: Wu hou pian 35)
>
> 故見其象，致其形，循其理，正其名

Tudi moistom je kot temeljno orodje, pri opredeljevanju razmerja med stvarnostjo in njenim konceptualnim dojemanjem oziroma poimenovanjem služila stavčna oziroma jezikovna struktura. Pri tem je šlo za eno osrednjih nalog metode disputne oziroma semantične logike, ki tvori teoretsko osnovo poznega moizma:

> Disputanti razlagajo ločnice med resničnim in neresničnim, opredeljujejo meje med urejenim in kaotičnim, razlagajo področja identitete in diference in raziskujejo strukturo konceptov (imen) in stvarnosti (Mozi 2000, 45/173).
>
> 夫辯者，將以明是非之分，審治亂之紀，明同異之處，察名實之理.

Tukaj gre torej za epistemologijo strukturno pogojenih zaznav, v katerih naj bi se koncepti vzpostavljali v skladu z inherentno sistematiko objektov spoznavanja, ki so del zunanje stvarnosti. Dong Zhongshu, reformator konfucianske ideologije iz dinastije Han, je to idejo o strukturni povezanosti imen in stvarnosti načeloma prevzel, četudi so zanj kot konfucianista imena (v smislu konceptov) seveda primarna in četudi je temeljna struktura jezikovne, družbene in etične sfere zanj oblikovana v skladu s »pravilnimi poimenovanji«, t.j. v skladu s koncepti, ki niso arbitrarni, temveč nosijo v sebi apriorno esenco stvarnosti[12].

> Koncepti so glavni element (kozmične) strukture. Če bomo uporabili pomen tega glavnega elementa za obravnavanje vseh zadev, bomo lahko dojeli (razliko) med resničnim in neresničnim ter jasno in samoumevno ugledali (razliko) med tem, kar je skladno in onim, kar je v nasprotju. To nam bo omogočilo uvid v njihovo povezanost z nebom in zemljo... Če bomo tako vse zadeve obravnavali v skladu z njihovimi koncepti, ki so v skladu z naravo, se bo ločnica med ljudmi in naravo zabrisala in človek se bo z njo poenotil. Če se bo tako poenotil z naravo, bo v soskladju s (kozmično) strukturo. (Dong 1989: Shencha minghao 35)

> 名者，大理之首章也，錄其首章之意，以窺其中之事，則是非可知，逆順自著，其幾通於天地矣。... 是故事各順於名，名各順於天，天人之際，合而為一，同而通理.

Od strukture konceptov (mingli 名理*) do strukture pomena (yili* 意理*)*

Prve interpretacije, v katerih je termin *li* dojet tudi kot abstraktna struktura jezika, najdemo torej že v delu poznih moistov. V poglavju *Daqu* moističnega kanona, ki obravnava predvsem definicije različnih osrednjih pojmov, naletimo na naslednji zapis:

> Stavki nastajajo iz razloga, rastejo v skladu s strukturo in se premikajo v skladu s kategorijami (Mozi 2000: 11.zv. Daqu 44, 172).

> 夫辭以故生，以理長，以類行也者

Kljub svoji tesni povezanosti s konfucianskim dojemanjem jezika v funkciji konceptualnega dojemanja realnosti znotraj binarno opozicionalnega razmerja med

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12   Antični in srednjeveški konfucianci zagovarjajo konceptualno spoznavno teorijo, saj predstavljajo koncepti v Konfucijevem sistemu esenco stvarnosti (gl. njegovo Teorijo pravilnih imen 正名 v Rošker 2008a, 12).

imeni (koncepti, *ming*) in stvarnostjo (*shi*), je tudi Dong Zhongshu, podobno kot nekateri drugi filozofi obdobja dinastije Han, hkrati pričel nadgrajevati tudi moistično predpostavko, po kateri je jezik sistem, strukturiran v skladu s konceptom *li*. Koncepti oziroma imena naj bi v procesu nastajanja jezika služili kot nekakšne kode, preko katerih se je bilo možno dokopati do vpogleda v strukturo:

> Ko so ljudje ustvarjali jezik, so se najprej obnašali kot slepci: sledili so simbolnim znakom imen (konceptov), da bi dobili vpogled v njihovo strukturo in bi jo lahko na ta način osvojili (Dong 1989: Shencha minghao 35).

> 民之為言，固猶瞑也，隨其名號，以入其理，則得之矣。

Konfucijanski reformatorji pa še zdaleč niso bili edini, ki so na tak način razvijali dediščino poznih moistov. Jezik kot urejen sistem, ki pravilno deluje samo v skladu s strukturo *li*, je prav tako poudarjal tudi avtor daoističnega dela Huai Nanzi 淮南子 (2. stol. pr.n.št.). Ko je opisoval ljudi iz idealne družbe preteklosti, je zapisal, da je bil

> njihov jezik urejen in usklajen s pravilno strukturo (Huai Nanzi 2009: Yuan dian).

> 其言略而循理

Kasneje, v obdobju Šestih dinastij (220–581) pa je vprašanje sistematske strukturiranosti jezika – zlasti v okviru neodaistične Šole misterija (*Xuan xue*玄學) – že predstavljalo enega osrednjih filozofskih problemov. Člani te struje so ustvarili in razvili celo filozofsko disciplino, ki je nadaljevala moistično in nomenalistično tradicijo semantične logike, in katero so poimenovali z izrazom *mingli*名理 (struktura imen oz. konceptov). Raziskovanja in debate o tovrstnih vprašanjih so bila v intelektualnih krogih tega obdobja nadvse priljubljene in sčasoma se je ime te discipline pričelo uporabljati kot sinonim za filozofijo nasploh[13] (prim. Tang 1955, 65).

Tako je najznamenitejši predstavnik Šole misterija, Wang Bi, v svojih komentarjih k Laozijevem *Klasiku poti in kreposti* (道德經) zapisal:

> Če ne znamo razločevati posamičnih imen (konceptov), ne moremo govoriti o strukturi jezika (Wang 1974, 87).

> 夫不能辯名，則不可與言理.

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13   Ker je šlo pri tem v prvi vrsti za semantično logiko, tudi nikakor ni naključje, da so prvi prevajalci zahodnih filozofskih terminov, denimo Yan Fu 嚴復, termin logike prevajali z izrazom *Ming xue* 名學 (Nauk o imenih/konceptih) (prim. Cui 2005, 17).

V svoji metodologiji se je zavzemal za takšno hermenevtiko, ki temelji na iskanju pomena, skritem znotraj strukture celotnega besedila.

> Najprej se z iskanjem dokoplješ do pomena (posamičnih konceptov), nato pa s sklepanjem do njihove strukture (Wang 1974, 87.).
>
> 尋而後既其義，推而後盡其理。

Wang Bi se je v svojih študijah ukvarjal predvsem z razmerjem med pomenom (*yi* 意), besedami (*yan* 言) in simboli oziroma znaki (*xiang* 象). Zanj je posamični pomen del metafizične strukture, ki jo lahko povzamemo s skupno besedno zvezo »pomenska struktura« (*yili* 意理). Besede in simboli pa so nastali kot opisni / metaforični/ izrazi posamičnih pomenov znotraj te strukture. Ti izrazi so znaki, ki imajo zaznavne oblike, preko katerih jih je možno določiti; zato sodijo v sfero fizičnega, določljivega, oprijemljivega. Če jih torej poskušamo opredeliti skozi optiko tradicionalne metode določevanja stvarnosti preko binarnega koncepta osnove (*ben* 本) in vrha (*mo* 末), katero je v svojem idealističnem modelu uporabljal tudi Wang Bi, potem sodi pomen v sfero abstrakcij in tvori metafizično osnovo, na kateri se oblikujejo besede in simboli[14]. (Zeng 2002, 175) Predstavniki Šole misterija so izhajali iz predpostavke, po kateri so koncepti (*ming*) osnova jezika (*yan*), pomen (*yi*) pa je vselej razviden iz strukture (*li* 里), saj se ne nahaja v stvareh (*wu* 物) samih.[15] (Tang 1955, 66.)

Strukturno semantične raziskave Šole misterija so izhajale predvsem iz moističnih in nomenalističnih osnov, hkrati pa tudi iz še starejših paradigem Zhuangzijeve epistemologije in filozofije jezika. Ta osrednji predstavnik klasičnega daoizma je seveda zagovarjal tezo, po kateri jezik ne more popolnoma izraziti pomena, pomen pa ne more popolnoma doseči *daota* (Zhuangzi 2001, 67). V obdobju Šestih dinastij (220–589) sta se glede vprašanja o tem, ali jezik lahko, ali ne more do popolnosti izraziti pomena, izoblikovali dve idejni struji, od katerih je prva zagovarjala pozitiven, druga pa negativen odgovor[16]. Osrednji zagovornik prve, Ouyang Jian, je svoje stališče argumentiral z vidika strukture (*li*) pomena:

> Struktura se izoblikuje v zavesti, zato jo jezik lahko izrazi. Preko strukture jezika določamo objekte, katere lahko zato med seboj razlikujemo s

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14 "然而, '意' 是 形上的理, 合稱為 '意理', '言' 與 '象' 乃因言議比擬 '意理' 而設, 有形跡可尋可憑藉, 為形而下者. 因此, 就王弼的本末關係架構而言, '意' 為形而上的層极, 乃是 '言', '象' 所由據之 '本', 針對所擬表述的 '意' 而言, '言', '象' 是末." (Zeng 2002, 175)

15 言之所本在名, 意之所及恆在理, 而不必在物.

16 Najpomembnejši predstavnik prve struje, ki je zagovarjala, da jezik ne more izraziti pomena, je bil Wang Bi 王弼, najbolj znani predstavnik druge, nasprotne struje pa Ouyang Jian 歐陽建.

pomočjo konceptov. Koncepti se spreminjajo glede na objekte, jezik pa glede na strukturo. Tega dvojega ne moremo ločiti. In ker ju ne moremo ločiti, lahko jezik vselej (dokončno) izrazi pomen. (Ouyang Jian, Yan jin zi lun, v Tang 1955, 67)

夫理得於心, 非言不暢. 物定於彼, 非名不辨. 名逐物而遷, 言因理而變. 不得相與為二矣. 苟無其二, 言無不盡意.

Ouyangovo stališče je torej osnovano na konceptu strukture, ki izhaja iz zavesti in v sebi združuje jezikovne, konceptualne in semantične vzorce. Vsi trije dejavniki so dinamični in spremenljivi, tako kot tudi tisto, kar jih povezuje, torej sama struktura (*li*). A tudi Wang Bi, njegov najbolj znani nasprotnik, v svojem stališču o tem, da jezik ni zmožen do popolnosti izraziti pomena, pri argumentaciji tega svojega prepričanja ne izniči strukturne povezave med jezikom in pomenom, temveč zgolj problematizira verodostojnost koncepta (*ming*) kot takega[17]. To stališče je prevzel tudi Wang Bijev sodobnik He Yan (190/?–249), katerega teorija je znana pod imenom *Nauk o brezimnosti* (*Wu ming lun* 無名論). Guo Xiang (252/?–312), tretji znameniti predstavnik Šole misterija, je zastopal stališče, po katerem so imena (koncepti) po eni strani nekaj, kar objekte izraža (bodisi v vizualni, ali v zvočni obliki), po drugi pa nekaj, kar naše predstave o njih omejuje. Poudarjal je, da potrebujemo koncepte samo tako dolgo, dokler ne dojamemo strukture (*li*) objektov, na katere se ti nanašajo[18]. (Guo Xiang, cp. Tang 1955, 68)

Pri osrednjih razpravah vodilnih filozofov tega obdobja, ki so večinoma pripadali omenjeni Šoli misterija oziroma akademski skupini Čistih pogovorov (*Qing tan* 清談), torej pri razpravah o strukturi konceptov (*mingli*) oziroma strukturi pomena (*yili*) je pravzaprav šlo za zametke strukturne semantike, kakršna se je več kot poldrugo tisočletje kasneje razvila tudi v zahodnih lingvističnih diskurzih. Izhajale so iz predpostavke, po kateri se pomen posamične besede oblikuje glede na njene odnose z drugimi besedami. V tem smislu so teoretsko nadgradili tradicijo starokitajskega pismenstva, ki je v formalno semantičnem smislu temeljila na pomenskih paralelizmih in specifično kitajski strukturi analognega mišljenja. Na ta način se je v tradicionalnih kitajskih diskurzih postopoma izoblikoval specifičen stil besedil, katerih pomenska struktura je temeljila na vsebinah in vzajemnih relacijah besednih polj.

V svojih razpravah o pomenski strukturi so predstavniki Šole misterija vsekakor presegli jezikovno logične dispute Moistične šole in Šole imen. Slednji šoli, ki

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17 Ker sodijo njegovi komentarji k Laozijevem Klasiku poti in kreposti k osrednjim virom njegove filozofije, ni slučaj, da Wang Bi pri tem seveda prevzame Laozijevo stališče o nezmožnosti poimenovanja (konceptualizacije) večnega, t.j. resničnega daota (道可道非常道).

18 明此理也, 則名跡可遺 (Guo Xiang, cp. Tang 1955, 68)

sta delovali še v predqinskem obdobju, sta se ukvarjali z vrsto vprašanj o naravi stvarnih objektov, ki so bila povezana z logiko oziroma sistematizacijo njihovih konkretnih lastnosti, z njihovo obliko, barvo ter količino, pa tudi z njihovo dinamiko ter umeščenostjo v čas in prostor. Četudi je pri tem deloma šlo za nadvse abstraktne razprave, so se le-te vselej nanašale zgolj na neko konktretno obstoječo stvarnost oziroma na strukturo te objektivne, konkretno obstoječe stvarnosti. Tudi kadar so se nanašale na konceptualno določitev teh objektov, so ostajala ujeta v takrat nadvse modne debate o razmerju med imenom (konceptom) in stvarnostjo. Prej omenjeni teoretiki iz obdobja Šestih dinastij pa so v svojih disputih že priče-li obravnavati strukturo pomena, ki ne sodi več v območje konkretno obstoječe, objektivne zunanje stvarnosti (Tang 1955, 68). Kitajskim filozofom tega obdobja ni šlo več samo za odgovore na vprašanja o »pravilnem« vedenju, t.j. o »pravilnih« ritualih, ne za iskanje modrih izrekov, ki bi ljudi navdihnili k modrejšemu, etično bolj izpopolnjennemu življenju, in jih s tem privedli do harmonične družbe, tem-več za refleksije izgovorjenega in za raziskovanje razmerja med tem, kar je bilo izgovorjeno, in stvarnostjo, na katero naj bi se le-to nanašalo. Poskušali so raziskati, kakšni koncepti (imena) so primerni za označevanje določene stvari, in kakšni ne. Obratno pa so tudi pri vsakem obstoječem imenu (konceptu) poskušali ugotoviti, na katere vrste stvarnosti se lahko, in na katere se ne more nanašati. Iz teh raziskav so poskušali izpeljati pomenske ločnice, ki razmejujejo posamične koncepte; s tem so želeli opredeliti napake in nesporazume, do katerih je prihajalo zaradi netočne uporabe imen. Za razliko od teoretikov zgodnejših obdobij so se ti filozofi v svojih študijah med drugim ukvarjali tudi že z epistemološkimi razsežnostmi metajezika. Popolnoma jasno je namreč, da so se posvečali predvsem raziskovanju vprašanja o naravi razmerja med človeškim razmišljanjem oziroma analiziranjem lastnih miselnih konceptov na eni, in temi koncepti kot takimi na drugi strani:

> Na ravni logike je šlo tukaj za višjo raven mišljenja, kot pa je raven enostavnih teorij, na kateri se neposredno in enodimenzionalno razmišlja zgolj o stvareh in dogajanjih zunanje stvarnosti. Teorije, ki so izdelane na takšni osnovi, so abstraktnejše in sodijo k teorijam višjih kognitivnih ravni. Pri tem gre za teorije, ki obravnavajo vprašanja o naravi samih teorij. Principi, ki so izpeljani iz takšnih teorij, so principi o tem, »na kakšen način se principi vzpostavljajo«. Tukaj gre torej za drugačen tip strukture (*li*). Vse zapise o disputih filozofov predqinskega obdobja, ki so obravnavali vprašanja o razmerju med imeni (koncepti) in stvarnostjo, začenši od Mozija pa vse do Xunzija, lahko obravnavamo kot temelječe na realističnem nazorju. Seveda so vsi ti zapisi tvorili eno od osnov, iz katerih je kasneje, v obdobju Šestih dinastij, vzniknila teorija strukture konceptov (imen). In vendar moramo priznati, da je kitajska miselnost od obdobja

predqinske filozofije razmerja med koncepti in stvarnostjo, pa do ob-
dobja šestih dinastij in njegove filozofije konceptualnih struktur doživela
izjemno progresiven preobrat. (Tang 1955, 66)

這在邏輯層次上, 是比一般的思想言說, 只直接向外思想甚麼東西甚
麼行為之道者, 乃更高一層的思想. 而 至荀子之一切關於名實問題
的討論文字, 皆當做如是觀. 而此亦可說即魏晉以下名理之論的一淵
源所自. 但從先秦之談名實, 至魏晉之談名理, 卻是中國思想史的一
大轉進.

Sodobni tajvanski teoretik Tang Junyi, avtor gornjega citata, je prvo, enostavnejšo
raven diskurzov iz predqinskega obdobja, ki so obravnavali vprašanja o razmerjih
med koncepti in stvarnostjo, za razliko od kasnejših diskurzov o strukturi koncep-
tov (*mingli*) iz obdobja Šestih dinastij, poimenoval z izrazom struktura stvarnosti
(*wuli* 物理)[19]. Potem, ko so filozofi obdobja Šestih dinastij na tak način definirali
razliko med obema vrstama ali tipoma strukture, se je odprlo vprašanje njune
združljivosti. Kot omenjeno, izhajajo namreč novoveške kitajske epistemologije
večinoma iz predpostavke o kompatibilnosti zunanjih in notranjih struktur[20], v
kateri vidijo ne zgolj lastnost, temveč tudi osrednji predpogoj zaznavanja, do-
jemanja in komunikacije. V obdobju neokonfucianstva dinastije Song (960–1279),
v tisti dobi torej, v kateri je struktura (*li*) postala ena osrednjih konceptov kitajske
srednjeveške in novoveške filozofije, je predstavljala strukturna zveza med zunanjo
stvarnostjo, človeško zavestjo in jezikom že dolgo znano predpostavko. Cheng
Hao je to povezavo opisal na naslednji način:

Struktura narave na čudežen način preveva vse obstoječe in ustvari tudi
jezik (Cheng in Cheng 1981: IV, Sui Yan 1179).

天者理也, 神者妙萬物, 而為言者也.

Zaznava in dojemanje kot strukturna zveza zavesti in zunanje realnosti

Zametke te teorije strukturne združljivosti lahko zasledujemo nazaj vse do prvih
stoletij našega štetja. Wang Bijevi sodobniki so namreč že dokaj natančno opre-
delili tudi povezavo med strukturo zunanjega sveta in strukturo zavesti, četudi
pri tem niso izhajali iz semantične strukture jezika, temveč iz aksiološko-estetske

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19   V sodobni kitajščini pomeni ta izraz fiziko oz. fizikalno znanost, včasih pa tudi fizikalne zakonitosti.

20   Z izrazom zunanje strukture so tukaj mišljene strukture zunanjega sveta, t.j. objektov, z izrazom
      notranje strukture pa (subjektivne) strukture zavesti.

structure glasbe. Tako tudi diskurzi konceptualnih struktur, s kakršnimi so se ukvarjali pripadniki Šole misterija in zlasti tudi predstavniki skupine Čistih pogovorov, niso bili omejeni zgolj na semantično strukturo jezika oziroma človeške govorice v ožjem smislu, temveč so obravnavali tudi drugačna vprašanja posredljivosti oziroma komunikacije med zunanjim in notranjim svetom. V tem oziru velja omeniti predvsem Ji Kangovo (221–262) razpravo o zvokih[21], v katerih zagovarja stališče, da v zvokih samih ni nikakršnih čustev, četudi lahko ljudje ob poslušanju le-teh začutimo žalost ali veselje. Posamični sodobniki tega filozofa so zagovarjali nasprotno pozicijo in trdili, da so čustva latentno prisotna že v samih zvokih oziroma v strukturi glasbe. V obeh primerih gre, kot poudarja Tang Junyi, za povezavo (oziroma relacijo) dveh struktur (*li*), namreč zunanje in notranje (Tang 1955, 68).

Ne glede na diametralno nasprotje njihovih konkretnih tez so namreč oboji, tako zagovorniki Ji Kangove teorije, kot tudi njegovi nasprotniki, izhajali iz predpostavke, po kateri lahko določena zaporedja oziroma določeni vzorci zvokov (ritmična in tonalna struktura glasbe) v človeški zavesti vzbudijo določena čustva. To je možno zaradi tega, ker strukturirana ni samo glasba, temveč so na način, ki je s to strukturo združljiv, strukturirana tudi čustva (kot del zavesti)[22].

> Zato je majhno žalost lahko prenašati, ob veliki nesreči pa planemo v jok. To je princip žalosti. In medtem ko majhna radost samo nekoliko razvedri naš obraz, bomo ob velikem veselju bruhnili v smeh. To je struktura veselja. (Ji 2009, 2)
>
> 夫小哀容壞，甚悲而泣，哀之方也；小歡顏悅，至樂而笑，樂之理也。

Razprave o epistemoloških osnovah glasbe so predstavljale enega od diskurzov, ki so obravnavali razmerje med receptivnimi organi in zavestjo. Tudi tradicija tovrstnih idej seže daleč nazaj v obdobje predqinske filozofije. Antični Kitajci so zavest (*xin* 心), ki je predstavljala sedež misli in emocij, in ki naj bi se nahajala v srcu (središču) človeka, često dojemali kot vrsto receptorja[23]. Zavest je bila razumljena kot osrednje oziroma vodilno čutilo, kot tisti organ torej, ki je selekcionaral

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21   *Sheng wu ai le lun* 聲無哀樂論. Kot obrobno zanimivost lahko navedemo, da je v tej razpravi pismenka *li* uporabljena tudi glagolski funkciji in pomeni v njenem kontekstu uglaševati inštrument.

22   Medtem ko je predpostavka o tem, da predstavlja glasba sistemsko urejeno strukturo tonov in ritmov skupna antičnim in srednjeveškim tradicijam Kitajske in tradiconalne Evrope, se je predpostavka o tem, da naj bi imela tudi čustva svojo strukturo, na »zahodu« uveljavila šele na pragu dvajsetega stoletja.

23   Glej na primer Mengzijev citat:口之於味也，有同耆焉；耳之於聲也，有同聽焉；目之於色也，有同美焉。至於心，獨無所同然乎？心之所同然者，何也？謂理也，義也。(Mengzi 2001, 200)

in hkrati interpretiral čutne vtise, katere so mu posredovala ostala čutila. Lahko bi rekli, da so bila slednja dojeta kot organi, ki omogočajo zaznavanje, medtem ko je predstavljala zavest tisto inštanco, ki je omogočala dojemanje zunanje realnosti oziroma tistega, kar so ji čutila glede te realnosti posredovala. V legalističnem delu Guanzi, ki je sicer pripisano protolegalističnemu politiku Guan Zhongu iz sedmega stoletja pred našim štetjem, vendar je po vsej verjetnosti nastalo šele precej kasneje, se ta vodilni položaj zavesti ne nanaša več zgolj na receptivne, temveč na vse pomembne organe v človeškem telesu. Tak pristop je bil značilen za diskurze legalistov, ki so koncepte konfucianske hierarhije postavili na abso- lutistične temelje. Tovrstni diskurzi spominjajo tudi na takšno videnje odnosa med (podrejenim) telesom in (nadrejenim) duhom, kakršen je prevladal v antični in srednjeveški Evropi:

> V telesu zavzema zavest položaj vladarja. Devet organov nastopa kot njeni podaniki ali uslužbenci. Zavest ureja principe (*dao*), v skladu s kat- erimi delujejo, organi pa sledijo njihovi strukturi (njihovim vzorcem) (*li*). (Guanzi 2009: Xinshu shang)
>
> 心之在體，君之位也。九竅之有職，官之分也。心處其道，九竅 循理。

Ker poteka strukturiranje po antičnem kitajskem videnju vselej v skladu z neko že obstoječo strukturo (Rošker 2008b, 45), mora biti potemtakem tudi zavest, ki »ureja« strukturne vzorce realnosti, sama v sebi strukturirana. Tudi prej omen- jeni neodaoist Ji Kang iz obdobja Šestih dinastij jo razume kot nekakšno krovno entiteto, ki v sebi združuje vrsto različnih, posamičnih strukturnih vzorcev:

> Zavest ureja množico struktur (Ji 2009, 2).
>
> 故心役於眾理

Ji Kang je očitno predpostavljal nekakšno kompatibilnost med človeškim zave- danjem in strukturo zunanjega sveta:

> Zavest in struktura sta v vzajemnem soskladju (ibid.).
>
> 心與理相順

V neokonfucianstvu je spoznavanje objektov preko njihove strukturne zveze z zavestjo že predstavljalo pomembno epistemološko metodo. V enajstem stoletju je bila metoda strukturnega prepoznavanja objektov še ločena od metode za- vestnega, kognitivnega spoznavanja le-teh. Shao Yong (1011–1077), predhodnik

najbolj znanih neokonfucianskih filozofov in nekakšen pionir neokonfucianske miselnosti, je med posamičnimi epistemološkimi metodami vzpostavil jasno hierarhijo; po njegovem je empirična metoda najenostavnejša in nas zato lahko privede zgolj do površnega spoznanja. Metoda zavesti, katero je po vsej verjetnosti razumeval kot dojemanje zunanjih objektov preko razmišljanja, nam lahko nudi že nekoliko bolj poglobljeno, četudi še vedno ne prav popolno spoznanje. Do le-tega, torej do resničnega dojetja najgloblje, notranje narave objektov je po njegovem mnenju možno samo preko metode strukturnega razumevanja[24]. (Xingli da quan 1989: X, 32a, 812)

Vsekakor je bila strukturna narava zavesti in prepoznavanja za predstavnike neokonfucianske Šole zavesti (*Xin xue* 心學) očitno že dolgo znano dejstvo, saj jo že eden pionirjev te idealistične usmeritve, Lu Jiuyuan (1139–1193), eksplicitno definira kot tako:

> Zavest je strukturirana (Lu Jiuyuan, cp. Xia Zhentao 2, 1992, 157).
>
> 心即理也

Zhu Xi (1130–1200), utemeljitelj in osrednji predstavnik realistične struje neokonfucianstva (*Li xue* 理學) je zato menil, da je zavest (*xin* 心), podobno kot osnovni strukturni vzorec (*li*), vseobsežna in povsod oziroma v vsem prisotna. Vendar je razlikoval med neosveščeno zavestjo in tako, ki omogoča tudi zavedanje sebe (in s tem, seveda, tudi zavedanje drugega). Prva je a-priorno prisotna v vseh stvareh:

> Prav vse stvari pod nebom, tudi najmanjše in najnežnejše, imajo zavest, samo da ta zavest nima sposobnost zavestnega dojemanja. Vse na svetu ima tovrstno neosveščeno zavest[25]. (Zhu 1996, 218)
>
> 天下之物，至微至細者，亦皆有心，只是有無知覺處爾... 天地自有箇無心之心

Pri tem gre za zavest, ki oživlja in oplemeniti vse, kar obstaja, in katere ne moremo meriti z našimi človeškimi (oziroma zemeljskimi) kriteriji. Tako zemlja in nebo (t.j. binarni koncept, ki simbolizira komplementarno relativnost bivajočega) nezavedno ustvarjata, medtem ko modrec (ozaveščeni človek) zavestno ne deluje[26]

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24   以目觀物，見物之形，以心觀物，見物之情，以理觀物，盡物之性. (Xingli da quan, 1989: X, 32a, 812)

25   Dob.: zavest brez zavesti.

26   問：「天地之心亦靈否？還只是漠然無為　？」曰：「天地之心不可道是不靈，但不如人恁地思慮。伊川曰：『天地無心而成化，聖人有心而無為 。』」(Zhu 1996, 218)

(Zhu 1996, 218). Na podlagi tovrstne diferenciacije med osveščeno in neosveščeno zavestjo nam Zhu Xi predoči tudi povezavo med strukturo in zavestjo, rekoč:

> Zavest je torej tisto, kar vodi, a to vodilo je strukturirano. Ni tako, da bi obstajala nekakšna struktura zunaj zavesti, ali kakšna zavest zunaj strukture. (ibid.)
>
> 心固是主宰底意，然所謂主宰者，即是理也，不是心外別有箇理，理外別有箇心。

Prav zato, ker je tako strukturirana, deluje tudi neosveščena zavest vselej v skladu z naravno premeno bivajočega:

> Tole velja za vsako rastlinico, za vsako deblo: kadar se prevesi proti polu yanga, ustvarja (je ustvarjeno) in kadar se prevesi proti polu yina, prične umirati. Pri tem gre za pozitivnost in negativnost, ki sta v njih vsebovana.
>
> 且如一草一木，向陽處便生，向陰處便憔悴，他有箇好惡在裏 (ibid.).

Na področju etimologije Zhu Xi vseskozi poudarja koncept *liang zhi* 良知 (apriorno védenje, izvorno oziroma prirojeno znanje); zanj je to tisti element prirojene zavesti, ki je prav tako že apriorno urejen v skladu s strukturo narave. Ta koncept so še posebej poudarjali predstavniki idealistične struje neokonfucijanstva, torej predstavniki prej omenjene Šole zavesti (*Xin xue* 心學).

> Praznanje moje zavesti je skadno s takoimenovano naravno strukturo (Wang 1929, 57).
>
> 吾心之良知，即所謂天理"。

S to načelno predpostavko o strukturni usklajenosti zavesti in narave so se skoraj pol stoletja kasneje načeloma strinjali tudi predstavniki realistično usmerjene Akademije vzhodnega gozda (*Donglin shuyuan* 東林書院) in sicer ne glede na vsa siceršnja, precej načelna teoretska razhajanja, ki so paradigme njihove nove metodologije povsem jasno razmejevala od miselnosti idealistične Šole zavesti. Tudi Gao Panlong (1562–1626) namreč zapiše:

> Jasna človeška zavest ni nič drugega kot struktura narave (Ming ruxue an 1983, 1406).
>
> 人心明只是天理

Strukturno pogojenost našega zavedanja so predpostavljali tudi vsi kasnejši filozofi. Združljivost strukture notranjega in zunanjega sveta so poudarjali celo spoznavni teoretiki, kakršen je bil Dai Zhen (1724–1777), eden osrednjih, nadvse realistično usmerjenih filozofov osemnajstega stoletja, ki je sodil k poslednjim predstavnikom relativno avtohtone[27] kitajske epistemologije:

> Fizične pojavne oblike človeka in ostalih bitij izhajajo iz narave, zato so z njo vedno in povsod skladne. To, kar nas obkroža, so zvoki, barve, vonji in okusi. Zvoke, barve, vonje in okuse zaznava vsak, kdor se nahaja v naravi. Tisto, kar nam omogoča njihovo zaznavanje /kar nam odpre kanale vzajemne ustreznosti/, so ušesa, oči, nos in usta. (Dai 1991, Mengzi ziyi 157–8)

> 人物受形於天地，故恒與之相通。盈天地之間，有聲也，有色也，有臭也，有味也，舉聲色臭味，則於天地間者無或遺矣。外內相通，其開竅也，是為耳目鼻口。

To strukturno prekrivanje pa se ne odraža zgolj v človekovih čutnih organih, temveč tudi v njegovi zavesti. Pri tem nikakor ne gre za koncept holistične identičnosti, kakršen se često pripisuje klasičnemu kitajskemu videnja sveta, temveč za strukturne povezave med človekovo notranjostjo in zunanjim svetom, kateri po Dai Zhenu obstaja ločeno in neodvisno od naše zavesti.

> Okus, zvok in barva so v stvareh, in ne v meni, vendar jih s svojimi organi lahko zaznam in razločujem, kar mi je v zadovoljstvo... Struktura in smisel stvari sta v njihovi sistematiki in pravilni razčlenjenosti. Če le-to združim s svojim razumom[28], lahko (to strukturo in ta smisel) razločim in to mi je v veselje. (ibid., 155–6)

> 味與聲色，在物不在我，接與我之血氣，能辨之而悅　之。。。理義在事情之條分縷析，接於我之心知，能辨之而悅之。

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27 S frazo »relativno avtohtona« tukaj označujem kitajsko filozofijo, ki je nastala še pred vplivom vdora evropske in ameriške miselnosti; ker je bila budistična miselnost v tistem času že skoraj poldrugo tisočletje sinizirana, lahko tukaj njene eksplicitne in implicitne vplive štejemo kot del kitajske idejne tradicije.

28 Dob.: ... z osveščenim znanjem; Tukaj smo termin *xin zhi* 心知, ki dobesedno pomeni osveščeno znanje, prevedli z besedo razum, četudi naj bi bila ta »rezervirana« za prevode pismenke *li* 理, ki pa je bila, kot smo videli, skozi vso kitajsko tradicijo večinoma dojeta kot strukturni vzorec oziroma struktura.

Zaključek

Strukturna združljivost človeške notranjosti in zunanjega sveta predstavlja eno temeljnih paradigem tradicionalne kitajske epistemologije. Ta vidik, ki je nadvse dragocen ne zgolj za sinološke raziskave kitajske filozofske tradicije, temveč tudi za razvoj epistemoloških teorij v svetovnem merilu, ostaja še vedno zakrit s stoletno tradicijo napačnih interpretacij nekaterih osrednjih pojmov in kategorij klasičnih kitajskih diskurzov. Tako so že koncept *li* že prvi sinologi[29] namreč razumevali kot termin, ki se nanaša izključno na idejno sfero. Dejstvo, da se je pismenka *li* v vlogi filozofskega koncepta v zahodno literaturo torej vseskozi prevajala v smislu idejnega principa, načela, (naravne zakonitosti) ali logosa, je vsekakor povezano z metodološko problematiko humanističnih ved, ki vse do sredine dvajsetega stoletja ni poznala (in torej tudi ni mogla upoštevati) inkomensurabilnosti[30] teoretskih pojmov, ki izhajajo iz različno strukturiranih diskurzov različnih kulturnih in jezikovnih okolij. Ker je evropska tradicija temeljila na karteziansko dualističnem dojemanju stvarnosti, ki narekuje temeljno ontološko razlikovanje med materijo in idejo, so namreč tudi prvi prevajalci kitajskih neokonfucianskih klasikov v komplementarnem razmerju med konceptoma *li* (struktura) in *qi* (tvornost) avtomatsko in nujno uzrli dualistično razmerje med principom ideje in snovnosti.

Tradicija napačnega razumevanja koncepta *li* se je v zahodni sinologiji ohranila vse do današnjega dne. Tovrstno dojemanje pa ni odločilno vplivalo zgolj na »zahodno« percepcijo osnovne narave kitajskih teoretskih diskurzov in zlasti tradicionalne kitajske filozofije, temveč – preko procesov modernizacije[31] – tudi na način, na kakršen sodobni kitajski teoretiki razumejo »svojo lastno« idejno tradicijo. Ta hermenevtični »nesporazum« je privedel do številnih nenatančnih ali celo popolnoma zgrešenih interpretacij določenih osnovnih paradigem tradicionalne kitajske filozofije.

> Pričujoči članek je pokazal, zakaj in na kakšen način se je v tradicionalni kitajski filozofiji izoblikovala paradigma, strukturne združljivosti človeške notranjosti in zunanjega sveta kot predpogoja človeškega zaznavanja in dojemanja resničnosti. Ta vidik, ki je dolga stoletja ostajal zakrit s stoletno tradicijo napačnih interpretacij nekaterih osrednjih pojmov in kategorij klasičnih kitajskih diskurzov, je namreč pomemben ne zgolj za sinološke raziskave kitajske filozofske tradicije, temveč tudi za razvoj epistemoloških teorij v svetovnem merilu.

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29   Prvi »sinologi«, torej prvi evropski teoretiki, ki so se v poznem sedemnajstem stoletju pričeli ukvarjati s prevajanjem in analizo klasičnih kitajskih virov, so bili katoliški misijonarji, zlasti jezuiti.

30   Termin Paula Feyerabenda (1980). Gre za nesoizmerljivost teoretskih konceptov, ki so nastali v različnih kulturnih okoljih oziroma v različnih jezikovno-miselnih tradicijah.

31   Beri: pozahodenja

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