ASIAN STUDIES

SPECIAL ISSUE:
THE MANIFOLD IMAGES OF ASIAN HISTORY

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Editor's Foreword

Introduction

Jana S. ROŠKER

History is the awareness and knowledge of the past. It is the narrative of past eras that influence our present. It is based on a form of collective memory, it is the story of who we are, where we come from and may reveal parts of our future.

It is of utmost importance for our self-image and also for understanding the world we live in. There is a history of every region, every topic, every discipline and every area—from music to technology, from literature to governmental systems or economics. History gives us a clear picture of how different facets of society functioned in the past, so that we can understand how it came to the way it functions today.

Although the results of historical investigations are not always directly visible and obvious, it is essential for us as human beings to understand them if we want to preserve, but also change and develop, the societies in which we live and the humanity within us.

This issue of the journal *Asian Studies* will examine the cultural, social and intellectual legacies of the various Asian regions. Its geographical scope extends from China to Iran and from Afghanistan to Fujian. It examines different aspects of history, from classical and modern intellectual history to art, political and gender history. It clearly shows that the history of this vast and diverse region is complex.

This volume is divided into four different content categories that deal with different aspects of the social and cultural realities of Asia. The first explores gender stories. It opens with Jana S. Rošker's critical introduction to Chinese gender history, which focuses on the famous female Confucian scholar from the Han dynasty, Ban Zhao. In addition to questioning certain prejudices against classical Confucian views on the role and position of women, the author also points out some previously unknown aspects of Ban Zaho's work that reveal the importance of her work for gender equality. The following article is entitled "The Paradigm of Hakka Women in History", and was written by Sabrina Ardizzoni. It presents the narrative of women in the history of the Hakka, and shows by means of a detailed analysis how and under what circumstances it has developed until today. Through her analysis of important social phenomena such as education, migration and women's narratives, the article focuses on the historical construction of female Hakka identity and the individual and group consciousness of Hakka women.

The final article in this thematic scope was jointly written by two authors, namely Mundayat Meera and Khatera Yekta. It examines from different cultural and historical perspectives the complex situation of Afghan women, the importance of their participation in politics and also the problems associated with this topic. The authors examine various interrelated problems they encounter in their work, ranging from educational barriers and economic dependence, to patriarchal social and cultural values.

The second thematic scope deals with cultural heritage and cultural exchange. It consists of two contributions. In the first article the Iranian authors Habib Sharafi Safa and Alireza Ali Soufi analyse artistic artefacts that belong to the oldest preserved images in Iranian history, namely the miniature paintings of Nasuh Matrakçi in the historical city of Dargazin. The authors show how and why the three surviving three images at two different locations can give us a new understanding of the social, political and cultural significance of this city in the Safavid period. The second article in this section introduces the beginning and development of Asian studies in Chile. The author Gonzalo Maire presents this development through the lens of three descriptive, synchronous, aspects that are characterized by objectivity, comprehensibility and the centrality of certain discourses. The article starts from the methodology of transcultural studies, surpassing thereby the traditional and orthodox orientalist perspectives.

The third scope is characterized by philological studies. It contains three contributions, that—each in its own way—examine certain classical Chinese concepts. The first is Téa Sernelj's work on the classical Chinese aesthetic concept of *qiyun shengdong*, which highlights its complexity and offers a critical presentation of the Modern Confucian scholar Xu Fuguan's widely accepted interpretation. This first essay is followed by Hu Xiangnong's article entitled "The Relativity of *Ren* (Humaneness): Re-examining 2A6 and 6A6 of Mengzi from the perspective of Self-Introspection in Experience". The essay offers a fresh and innovative reinterpretation of the above text by re-evaluating two different but so far most common interpretations of its ethical content. In the third and final essay in this section, which is entitled "An Exceptional Portrait of Yang Zhu and Mozi: Beyond the Mencian Track", Yao-Cheng Chang proposes a new and challenging explanation of Yang Zhu and Mo Di, offering an interesting and well-founded critique of common interpretations of the value of their work. The paper argues that such simplified readings can lead to severe misunderstandings of classical texts and their axiological evaluation.

The last section deals with modern and contemporary Chinese intellectual history and consists of two articles. The first is Jan Vrhovski's essay entitled "Shadowlands

of Objectivism and Comprehensiveness: An Introduction to Key Concepts in Zhang Shenfu's Philosophical Thought (1919–1948)". In this informative text Vrhovski gives an overview of the basic concepts and ideas of the philosophical thought of Zhang Shenfu, who was one of the leading intellectuals from Republican China. Since Zhang is still relatively unknown (especially in the Western academic world) despite his brilliance, the author also wishes to provide a provisional foundation for further research and a possible reassessment of Zhang Shenfu's significance for the development of intellectual history in modern China. The special edition concludes with Gregor Paul's essay "From Marx and Engels to Sino-Marxism Focusing on Communist and Confucian (*rujia*) Notions of Loyalty and Self-Criticism". Paul's article depicts and compares central elements of Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism and Maoism, focusing on the relationship between the latter and Ruism (Confucianism) and its impact on the ideologies of the Chinese Communist Party.

This diverse and rich range of historical images clearly demonstrates that historical narratives from different spaces, places and areas can provide us—despite their mutual distance—with a wealth of information about how people from different parts of the Asian world behave, how they feel and what they value. Although at first glance they are not directly linked to one another and therefore cannot provide a coherent insight into Asian history as such, the contributions in this special issue are like colourful stones in a vibrant mosaic. They clearly show why we cannot distance ourselves from history: it provides the most reliable grounds for our reflection on how cultures and societies work. Such reflection is indispensable if we are to live truly consciously and preserve our human autonomy.

SPECIAL ISSUE:
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Historical Aspects of Gender Studies

Confucian Humanism and the Importance of Female Education: The Controversial Role of Ban Zhao[1]

Jana S. ROŠKER*

Abstract

The problem of the relation between the female gender and Confucian humanism is far more complex than it seems to be on the first glance. Especially if we consider the many misogynistic phenomena we can encounter in the course of Chinese history, such as foot-binding or the concubinage, we might be inclined to think that female philosophy was impossible in traditional China. This paper aims to challenge the standard views on this problem. It aims to shed some light on the fact that in this context we have to differentiate between classical teachings that were relatively egalitarian in nature, and later ideologies that more or less openly promoted the inferior position of women in society. The paper will analyse the work of the female Han dynasty scholar Ban Zhao (45–117 CE), who was the first well-known female thinker in the history of Chinese philosophy. Through this analysis, the author also aims to expose the contradiction between dominant conventions on the one hand, and latent, often hidden criticism of gender relations in female writings of traditional China on the other. In this way, the paper aims to promote a more culturally sensitive approach to the historical and conceptual study of gender discourses in China by connecting textual analyses with actual and comprehensive knowledge of the historical and social contexts in which they were placed.

Keywords: Chinese gender studies, women in Chinese history, Confucian humanism, Female philosophy, Ban Zhao

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Konfucijanski humanizem in pomen izobraževanja žensk: kontroverzna vloga Ban Zhao

Izvleček

Problem odnosa med ženskim spolom in konfucijanskim humanizmom je veliko kompleksnejši, kot se zdi na prvi pogled. Če upoštevamo številne ženskomrzne pojave, s katerimi nas sooča kitajska zgodovina in h katerim sodita, denimo, povezovanje stopal ali konkubinat, bi lahko dobili vtis, da ženska filozofija v kitajski tradiciji ni mogla obstajati. Pričujoči članek prevprašuje takšno uveljavljeno stališče. Opozarja, da je treba tudi v tem pogledu razlikovati med egalitarnostjo izvornega konfucijanskega nauka in poznejšimi konfucianističnimi ideologijami, ki so odkrito zagovarjale manjvrednost žensk. Avtorica analizira delo učenjakinje Ban Zhao (45–117 n. št.) iz obdobja dinastije Han, ki je znana kot prva mislica v zgodovini kitajske filozofije. S to analizo želi med drugim opozoriti na protislovje med prevladujočimi konvencijami na eni strani ter na latentne in pogosto prikrite kritike spolnih razmerij pri ženskih delih na drugi. Namen članka je spodbujanje kulturno bolj rahločutnih pristopov k zgodovinskim in vsebinskim študijam spolnih diskurzov na Kitajskem s pomočjo besedilne analize ter aktualnih in celovitih znanj in družbenih kontekstov, v katere so ti umeščeni.

Ključne besede: kitajske študije spolov, ženske v kitajski zgodovini, konfucijanski humanizem, ženska filozofija, Ban Zhao

Introduction: The Present Situation

In his book *Distant Observation* (守望的距离) the respected contemporary Chinese philosopher Zhou Guoping wrote: "Women participating in philosophy causes great harm both to philosophy and to women. 女人搞哲学，对于女人和哲学两方面都是一项损失。"(Zhou 2003, 325)

This quote has become rather famous over the last few years, and spread across the world of Chinese academia in general. Quite a few Chinese women who write their own work and are working in the field of philosophical research are often met with sarcastic smiles of male colleagues who wink at them and quote Zhuo Guoping, instead of engaging in a theoretical debate with them and their ideas.

This sort of patriarchal discourse of male theorists is, of course, based upon good intentions, since it is clear that philosophy is a male domain precisely because it uses a rigid terminological apparatus, complex concepts and thought puzzles which harm what supposedly lies at the very core of every "normal" woman: Her femininity (read: weakness), loveliness (read: naivety) and beauty (read: objectness).

Zhuo Guoping himself justified his opposition to women engaging in philosophy by saying:

> Whenever I see a smart woman drowning in the labyrinth of conceptual speculations and speaking incomprehensible sentences, I cannot help but become sad. My heart hurts when I see a bright girl climbing to the peaks of metaphysics and shedding tears over its depth. Bad philosophy upsets us and good philosophy shocks us. Neither is good for female beauty. The fact that I am against women participating in philosophy actually derives from my regret of their loss of subtle eroticism and tantalising beauty.

> 看到一个聪慧的女子陷入概念思辩的迷宫，说着费解的话，我不免心酸。看到一个可爱的女子登上形而上学的悬崖，对着深渊落泪，我不禁心疼。坏的哲学使人枯燥，好的哲学使人痛苦，两者都损害女性的美。我反对女人搞哲学，实出于一种怜香惜玉之心。(ibid., 327)

The young Chinese female theorist Jia Cuixiang has written that women working in this field naturally become shaken, as Zhuo's tone of reminds one of the silent, yet unmercifully serious threats of the dark, hidden guards, who attentively watch the gates that lead into the opulent palace of philosophical thought, and protect it from women, who are seen as being inherently profane and therefore strictly forbidden from entering (Jia 2004, 2). Jia continues and warns of the close connection between such points of view and the patriarchal tradition of China:

> We encounter many problems when applying a more thorough analysis of such value judgments. Firstly, this is about the poisonous influence of feudal doctrines[2], which have reigned long in Chinese tradition. In accordance with this tradition, a woman was truly a woman only when she respected womanly virtues and acted according to them.

> Morals dictated that women should view being uneducated and untalented as strengths and should abide by appropriate regulations: "Do not show your teeth when smiling, when walking your skirt should stand still". Secondly, these viewpoints are a reflection of the image of a woman created by a man within a patriarchal society. Since the end of matrilineal

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2   The traditional Chinese socio-economic system in most cases is not feudal. The only time a system which could be compared to feudalism prevailed in Chinese society was in the period of the Western Zhou dynasty (around 1046–771 BC). However, contemporary Chinese intellectuals mostly still equate the traditional Chinese societal system arrangement with a feudal society. This is a case of the unreflected adoption of Marxist categories, which were established in accordance with the development of European societies.

tribes, there is a dominance of patrilineal social order in which men take up the central and primary position. That is why the decision on what a woman should be like is always made by men. Nonetheless, most men are still of the opinion that a woman should be gentle, loving and humble. A lot of women still inhibit their potential and repress their talents. No wonder we became a second-grade gender and we still are neither equal nor independent. We are still subjugated by and belong to the first-grade gender, men. We are defined by the roles of mothers, daughters and wives. And yet these are roles acquired in societies created by men. This also undoubtedly holds true.

事实上，仔细分析一下对女人的这种价值判断，就会发现有许多问题。第一，当然是中国封建礼教的长期遗毒的影响。什么"女子无才便是德"，女人要遵守妇道和妇德，要坐有坐样，走有走样，"笑不露齿，行不动裙"，这样才象一个女人。其次，是父权社会中男性对女性的塑造。自母系氏族社会解体以来，人类社会就一直是以男性为中心地位的父系社会。女人应该怎样，这取决于男性的价值判断。在大多数男人的眼里，女人应该是温柔的、可爱的、娇小的等。女人为了博得男人的欣赏和欢心，也会努力地把自己的天性压抑住，塑造成男性喜欢的样子。所以波伏瓦才会说，女性是第二性的，她从来没有取得过与男性独立、平等的地位，她从来都附属于第一性——男性。女人的母性、女儿性、妻性等都是后天的、被男性社会所塑造出来的。此话有一定的道理。(ibid., 3)

All of these factors naturally contribute to the fact that only a few women decide to study philosophy. This is because the prevailing opinion in modern society is still that philosophy is not suitable for women.

We often hear people advising women to pursue the study of Chinese literature and culture, foreign languages, marketing or law. These are supposed to be good subjects which are suitable for women, since they adhere to feminine tenderness and vitality. The decision to study philosophy is seen as unwise, or even frightening.

常听人们谈到，作为一个女孩最好去学中文、外语、贸易、法律等专业。专业好又具有女孩子气，似乎这些专业更适合女性温柔、灵活的气质。而学哲学则被看作是一个不明智的，甚至是可怕的选择. (ibid.)

Discrimination of Women in Philosophy—A Global Problem?

Of course, the view set out by Zhou Guoping is also a reflection of conservatism, which has been spreading across the whole of China in the last two decades. Nevertheless, China is no exception in this regard, as the proportion of women in philosophy remains low even in the most advanced societies of the West.

In Europe, for example, the number of women who work in the field of philosophy is "alarmingly low" (Anderl 2013, 1), and the situation is similar on other continents of the "developed world". The American sociologist Kieran Healy investigated the ratio of women who received doctorates in different disciplines in the United States in 2009, and the results showed that the least women received them in the field of philosophy (see in Anderl 2013, 1). It turned out that the percentage of women with doctorates in philosophy is even smaller than the percentage of women in other subjects traditionally considered as being "male", such as math, chemistry or astrophysics. This inequality is also reflected in the amount of academic employment. Only 21 percent of philosophers in the USA are female, and the same goes for the UK. To put this in context, just under half of all university professors in America are female, and thus they are strongly underrepresented in philosophy.

What are the reasons why it is harder for women to gain recognition in the field of philosophical research? While there are several answers to this question, they remain at the level of speculation.

One supposition, according to which women think differently than men, as supported by philosophers such as Hegel or Schopenhauer (and which is, by the way, also supported by many feminist theoreticians, albeit on a value-neutral level), cannot be empirically proven. On the other hand, there are a number of well-grounded psychological studies which imply the existence of implicit prejudices and stereotypes, such as, for example, the notion of "subtle incompetence".

Such ideas are extraordinarily powerful in science and philosophy, and recent studies[3] have shown that members of certain social groups in which such prejudices prevail display less efficiency, as their knowledge of these prejudices influences their concrete actions in the sense that they become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Perhaps it is not too unrealistic to expect that this sort of uncertainty influences women who work in the field of philosophy as well, as it is run by white, heterosexual and able-bodied men. The effect of such psychological phenomena is perhaps one of the reasons why there are many discrepancies between the genders when it comes to the publication of philosophical articles in the most prestigious

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3   See for instance Altanian (2018, 3), and Anderl (2013, 14).

academic journals. The female philosopher Sally Haslanger compared the number of male and female authors who have published an article in one of the five most important philosophical journals in 2005. She found that 95.5 percent of articles published in the leading philosophical journal *Mind* were written by male authors. Only in one of the five issues was the number of female authors comparable to the number of women employed in departments and institutes of philosophy (Haslanger 2005, 30). If we put the assumption that women are naturally worse at creating good theories aside, there can remain two possible reasons for such numbers. Women are either publishing fewer articles, or the reviewers are holders of (unconscious?) gender prejudices, as Haslanger found (ibid., 32) that the review processes for such papers are far from being completely anonymous.

Haslanger also found that the number of women working in the humanities is continually growing, and that the imbalances between genders in such subjects are already a lot smaller than in the natural sciences, with one exception: philosophy (ibid.). The Swiss Association of Women in Philosophy came to the same conclusion with regard to the situation in Switzerland (Altanian 2018, 2). Its president, the philosopher Melanie Altanian, also believes that the main reason for this is a widely accepted biologistic prejudice according to which women are more emotional and men more rationally analytical.

It is thus no wonder that many women in philosophy work in the field of feminist philosophy, which has introduced many innovative foundations, concepts and theories into an academic field that remains dominated by men. Most of these female philosophers bring new feminist insights into the framework of traditional Western philosophical disciplines, including their analytical, continental and pragmatic traditions.

These new insights are often radical, as they include many interventions into the common ways of philosophical reasoning. By influencing traditional fields of theoretical work, which stretch from metaphysics, ethics, logic, phenomenology to epistemology and ontology, these female philosophers are introducing new concepts, perspectives and dimensions to them. In this way, they are not only changing the sub-disciplines in question, but also widening the horizons of philosophy itself. They touch upon themes which have hitherto belonged to the margins of philosophy, without being treated by anybody.

Some examples of such new approaches are linked to the concept of the body, to discrepancies between social classes, to the division of labour, disability, family, reproduction, the self, sexual work, human trafficking and sexuality. They also bring a specific, feminist outlook to the discussion of questions regarding the problems of science, globalization, human rights, popular culture, race and racism.

Chinese Philosophy and Confucian Humanism through the Lens of Gender Studies

All this sheds a different light on the main topic of this article, which deals with women in Chinese philosophy and their role in shaping Confucian humanism. Against this background, it becomes clear that female philosophers in China are not only limited by the gender prejudices of their own, Chinese culture, but also by those which have wider universal and global dimensions. Despite this, it is mainly the traditional Chinese patriarchy which defines and conditions most of their activities. In the following parts of this paper, I will therefore first introduce the culturally conditioned features of this specific form of patriarchal order, and explore the role of women in the Chinese philosophical tradition.

If we think of all the infamous manifestations of the oppression of women, such as foot-binding or concubinage, one might think that female philosophy would be an impossibility in premodern China. However, the question of the connection between the female gender and Chinese philosophy is far more complex.[4] While the pre-Qin classics (including Confucianism, as the most recent studies and interpretations show) actually supported the ideas of gender equality and promoted equal opportunities for education, many later periods brought restrictions and increasingly rigid limitations to women's access to learning.

Quite a few contemporary researchers believe that the long-lasting presumption of the inherent sexism of classical Confucianism is both too superficial and outdated (e.g. Pang-White 2009, 1–2). The opinion that Western feminist theories are not an appropriate tool to understand the structures of sexual relationships and the value of women in classical Chinese discourse is also widely held (Kim 2014, 396–97). Instead, most theoreticians promote a more culturally sensitive approach, which would connect textual analyses with actual and comprehensive knowledge of the historical and social contexts in which these discourses were placed.

If we follow the assumption of Simone de Beauvoir, according to which a woman is not born but becomes one, then we first have to understand the symbolic and societal meaning attached to the term "Chinese woman", in the sense of a sexual as well as a cultural being. If we assume that every culture is vital and that the social construction of gender is both social as well as cultural, then it becomes clear that the collective view of the foreign "Other" through the lens of Western frameworks is not only an inappropriate tool, but also leads to the elimination of

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4   Even in the earliest Chinese mythology, the universe was created by two deities, namely a male (*Fuxi*) and the female (*Nüwa*) one (see for instance Vampelj Suhadolnik 2019, 48; Zhao 2019, 13).

the essence of the subject we wish to research. What is even worse is that by accepting this approach, we automatically accept the alleged superiority of Western culture, as it would serve as a kind of umbrella norm under which it is possible to conceptually subsume all other cultures regardless of their local and empirical particularities (Rosenlee 2006, 3).

In the Confucian *Analects*, for example, there are no sexist statements. Confucian humanism is based upon a presumption, which—similar to modern Western feminist theories—follows the approach of a cultural construction of social roles: by their innate qualities, all human beings are very similar to each other; but by their education they get to be wide apart. This clearly humanistic approach is based on a kind of social constructivism, according to which people are equal in terms of their biological disposition. At the same time, it reveals the meaning and potentially transformative function of education.

The only quote which could be interpreted as an expression of belittling women, and is therefore cited wherever there is a need to "prove" the patriarchal nature of original Confucianism, reads as follows:

> The Master said: "Girls and servants are the most difficult to get along with. If you are too familiar with them, they lose their humility. But if you maintain a distance towards them, they become offended."
>
> 子曰：「唯女子與小人為難養也，近之則不孫，遠之則怨。 (*Lunyu* s.d. Yang Huo: 25)

However, recent etymological and hermeneutical research shows that this is actually not about women or girls, but more likely about male and female servants, about farmhands and maids (e.g. Kinney 2017, 149–50). Such an interpretation implies that this statement does not have any sexist and patriarchal connotations.

Most scholars, however, agree that there was less sexual equality in later periods, the fault of which they attribute to Confucianism and Confucian ethics. Although this assumption is true to some degree, it is misleading. We must not forget the many differences between Confucianism as moral philosophy and Confucianism as a mainstream normative ethics. This differentiation was already established in the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), when the state ideologists under the leadership of Dong Zhongshu formed a new doctrine in which they took the teachings of original Confucianism, which were rather progressive for their time, and merged them with the despotic ideology of Legalism. In this way, the originally egalitarian Confucian teachings became a dogmatic Confucian state doctrine, and the philosophical questions of this once proto-democratic discourse were replaced

by rigid state-formed dogmas, which emphasized hierarchical differences between people and increased the authority of those in power. After the blossoming of the so-called Neo-Confucianism during the Song (960–1279) and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties, the legitimisation of oppression—and with it, of course, the increasingly difficult position of women in Chinese society—were continuous factors that only became stronger over time.

Larger mass rebellions of women and their progressive male colleagues against such gender inequality and patriarchal Confucian ethics arose only much later, at the dawn of the modern age. These uprisings came into existence in the scope of the new cultural renovation, which mostly drew its potential from the Western mindset, and manifested itself most clearly in 1919, within the so-called May 4th Movement.

But before taking a closer look at what role women's philosophy had in this context, we need to return to the period of the beginning of the creation of patriarchal ideology, to the time of the Han dynasty and the periods that followed. The element of hierarchy in social positions, which was placed at the forefront of Confucian teachings by Dong Zhongshu, after the Han dynasty served as the basis of the new state doctrine, permeated by an ideology, which was supposed to guarantee order and peace in the new society of early medieval prosperity. These modified teachings subsequently served as the basis of state ideology.

The Changing Fate of Female Intellectuals in Chinese History

As is well known, the relationship between men and women or the (superior) husband and (subordinated) wife was one of the five fundamental, rigidly hierarchical relationships within these teachings. During the Han dynasty, that is, during the period of the consolidation of a new social system which was based upon a linkage of political and economic power, the position of women was still relatively strong. It was not until the Song dynasty and the second reform of Confucianism that the prevailing morality began to exclude women from education and to cripple their feet with binding.

Therefore, it is not surprising that during the Han dynasty we can still find a woman (Ban s.d., 45–117) whose intellect was so extraordinary that it was even recorded in the official Confucian historiography, which normally ignored any intellectual achievements of women. In all likelihood, however, this is not so much due to the greatness of her intellect, as due to the fact that this woman knew how to use it for the benefit of the new, rigid Confucianism and, ultimately, also in

favour of the emerging patriarchy. This is clear in the very title of her most famous work, *Lessons for Women* (*Nü jie*), which will be treated more in detail in the next section of the present paper.

In contrast to the official Confucian doctrine, which propagated a strict, patriarchal social hierarchy, Daoism based itself on incomparably more egalitarian assumptions. The equality of men and women is also one of the more notable peculiarities of the Daoist religion. Because of these characteristics, its theological system differed greatly not only from the state doctrines and corresponding ideologies, but also from all other influential religious systems:

> In many worldwide religions, we see a tendency to devaluate or even exclude women. Daoism, however, has treated women with respect; and that is one of its most obvious peculiarities, which distinguishes it from most other religions. Daoist practice and theories offered women a key to spiritual transcendence and independent decision making over their fate. Women in Daoism had completely the same opportunities for education as men. Therefore, in Daoism, women could also become "enlightened masters". (Li 2004, 3)

A lot of women engaged in Daoist theory and practice in different periods of Chinese tradition, and many of them left numerous written works, which have mostly been forgotten. Moreover, since we cannot (especially from the Daoist titles) determine the gender of authors whose biographies we do not have, there are probably a lot more female Daoist authors than the official intellectual history of Chinese tradition leads us to believe. As Li Suping (2004, 4) wrote about traditional China: "Many women have studied and practiced Daoism, but their theories have not been systematically researched as of yet".

Of course, these female Daoists also focused on writing works that were specifically meant for women, which—unlike the earliest holy texts of folk Daoism—acknowledged the differences in Daoist theory and practice defined by gender. Here, we cannot forget the female Daoist master Sun Bu'er (1119–1182).

Since the possibility to achieve enlightenment is given both to men and women, many such works discuss the peculiarities of a female practice of the Way. Works such as *Nü jin dan* (*The Golden Female Principle*), *Kun yuan jing* (*The Classic of Female Oneness*), *Kundao gongfu cidi shi* (*Philosophical Poetry for Achieving the Spirit of the Womanly Dao*), *Sun Bu'er er yuanjun fayu* (*Quotes of the Honourable Master Sun Bu'er*) and many others. These texts focused on the specific conditions of women and took into account their physical and mental characteristics.

Here we also have to mention the work of Wei Huacun (252–334), one of the most famous female Daoist masters from the period of the Six dynasties, in spite of the fact that her works were only stored in the closed archives of Daoist temples, and thus difficult for the public to access. However, for now let us mention a few more names of some other influential female Daoist masters of this period: Wu Cailuan, Fan Yunqiao, Cui Shaoxuan, Tang Guangzhen, and Zhou Xuanjing, among others (see Cleary 1989, 12). Most of them are not famous only for their theological writings (such as were written by Wei Huacun), but also for their philosophical and cosmogonic poetry, similar to those typical of Laozi's *Classic of the Way and its Virtue* (*Daode jing*).

The period at the beginning of the development of the Neo-Confucian doctrine was responsible for many practices that were harmful and hateful towards women. However, even though such practices as foot-binding existed in this period, we can still find many creative as well as influential female scholars and thinkers from this time.

Although Neo-Confucianism was undoubtedly the main discourse which prevailed in official ideational history after the Song period, there were also many Buddhist and Daoist works produced by women in China during this time. However, they stayed in the shadows of official historiography. Mostly these philosophical works were elaborating upon classical and popular Daoism and its syntheses with Buddhist influences. In the field of the development and specific upgrades of Confucian ethics, it is also important to note the work of the following three of the female authors: Song Ruoshen (768–820), Song Ruozhao (761–828) and Empress Xu (1362–1407) of the Ming dynasty.

The feminist questioning of the traditional patriarchal society in China, as well as everywhere else in the world, began in a more organized and systematic sense only at the beginning of the modern age. Individual, quite influential feminist thinkers, such as the progressive female writer and activist Qiu Jin (1875–1907), wrote on many important feminist issues. She warned of oppression and criticized the unequal status of women as early as the 19th century.

Together with Xu Zihua (1873–1935) she founded the journal *Chinese Women's News* (*Zhongguo nü bao*). She was involved in the organization of many revolts and rebellions against the corrupt Qing dynasty, and championed equal rights to education and employment. She was sentenced to death and shot because of her activities against the state in 1907.

A significant role in raising awareness regarding gender conditioned discrimination of women was played by Lu Xun, one of the greatest progressive writers

of the modern age. The liberation of women represented one of the important goals of the May 4th Movement (1919), which some scholars equate with the beginning of the Chinese Enlightenment. Another important fighter for women's rights was the female anarchist He Zhen (1884–ca. 1920), the life of whom we will take a closer look at next.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China (1949), the women's movement became integrated into the framework of the Chinese Women's Association (*Zhonghua quanguo funü lianhe hui* 中华全国妇女联合会), which—of course in accordance with state decrees—worked for the promotion of state policies on women and family, while at the same time protecting the rights of women within the governmental institutions. Although in its concrete practices this official organization mostly still reproduced the dominant position of men, we can find in this period several individual female writers who tried to approach the analysis of gender-based inequality through the lens of serious philosophical questions. Here we have to mention the case of Li Xiaojiang (born in 1951), a female Marxist theorist who worked on the history of women's theory from the perspective of historical materialism. She is also known as the founder of women's studies and women's philosophy in modern China. Alongside her work concerning the historical analysis of women's movements, she also became famous as one of the first female feminist philosophers who strove for the illumination of the specific characteristics of women's position in China, and for the creation of new paradigms based on the differentiation between the achievements as well as needs of Western and Chinese feminism. As such, in many of her works she revealed that in traditional China the social construction of gender was already seen as a self-evident, natural fact. She also showed that in many respects Chinese women were less radically discriminated against than women in the West. Among other ways, she showed this with a philological analysis of Chinese characters that designate different genders.

In contemporary China, many feminist groups are active within non-governmental organizations, and also within lesbian groups, which work within the Chinese LGBT Association. However, all such organizations still operate under considerable of pressure from the government, which in recent years further increased its efforts to make clear that the "real" liberation of women was their fulfilment within harmonious family life.

As such, in the last few decades the idea of a woman as an autonomous political subject has been much more strikingly developed in Taiwan. However, the philosophical dimensions of such female autonomous subjects are even there met with many still remaining prejudices deriving from the Chinese patriarchal tradition.

The Paradoxical Role of Ban Zhao (45–117)

Ban Zhao was primarily a historian, who completed a large part of the official *History of the Western Han Dynasty* (*Han Shu*), which was started by her brother Ban Gu (32–92). Ban Zhao finished the missing parts of the book, mainly the last eight chapters; she also included an extensive genealogy of the imperial mother, and much additional information, which had hitherto not been preserved or recorded. Later she also wrote the *Discussion on Astronomy* (*Tianwen zhi*) together with Ma Xu, who was a student of her father. The inclusion of this work marked the completion of the *History of the Western Han Dynasty*, one of the most important works of traditional Chinese historiography.

She was also an excellent mathematician, astronomer, poet, rhetorician, essayist and writer. Sadly, most of her work did not survive. Alongside all of this, Ban Zhao also engaged in ethics, and is most renowned as the author of the most famous Confucian book for women, namely *Lessons for Women* (*Nü jie*).[5]

Ban Zhao was born to an upper-class family in Anling, next to the town of Xianyang in today's Shaanxi Province as the daughter of the famous writer Ban Biao and the sister of the historian Ban Gu. She was the grandniece of the important female intellectual and poet Ban Jieyu (ca. 48 BC–ca. 6 BC). Ban Zhao was a quick learner and became a real bookworm in her early youth. She married when she was fourteen, but her husband died relatively early. After his death she did not remarry, but instead dedicated her life to reading, writing and art.

Her *Lessons for Women* is a booklet that included regulations of Confucian ethics and generally advised women to be humble and respectful in order to contribute to the preservation of harmony in their families. She proceeded from essentialist gender definitions, such as the following one:

> From their birth on, men are like wolves, always afraid of being too lame.
> From their birth on, women are like mice, always afraid of tigers.
>
> 生男如狼，犹恐其尪；生女如鼠，犹恐其虎！(Ban s.d., III)

On the other hand, she also repeatedly stressed that women should be well educated, even if this was most often interpreted as a patriarchal virtue, as numerous later interpreters believed that Ban Zhao wanted women to study chiefly for the purpose of serving men. More accurately, she supported the notion of a woman who is attentive to the point of sacrificing her own position. The work was first

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5   Later on, this work was included in the so-called *Four Books for Women*, (*Nü si shu*). Therefore, *Lessons* had wide circulation in the late Ming and Qing dynasties.

meant for women of her own Zhao clan, but later it quickly began to circulate at the court, where it soon became one of the most popular and well-known books for women. Its popularity continued over many centuries; it was used as a kind of guidebook that was believed to contain the behavioural norms and appropriate spiritual orientation of women.

In the imperial library Ban Zhao taught Empress Deng Sui and several courtiers, and gained a considerable amount of political influence by doing so. The Empress and concubines called her Superior, and awarded her with many fine-sounding titles. The Empress often consulted Ban Zhao on matters of state after she became regent for the newly born Emperor Shang of the Han dynasty. As a sign of gratitude, the Empress employed both of Ban Zhao's sons as state officials. Ban Zhao was also the court librarian, the chief editor of several works that were published in court, and trained experts in other fields of intellectual work. In this occupation, she also organized and was vital in spreading Lu Xiang's renowned *Biographies of Famous Women*. She most likely also watched over the rewriting of manuscripts from bamboo slips to paper, which was invented at the time.

Her *Lessons for Women* are collected in their entirety as part of the *History of the Western Han Dynasty* (*Han Shu*). Ban Zhao is described as an "exceptionally well educated and highly talented" person in the preface of this work (Rosenlee 2006, 103).[6] In the central chapter, "Four Virtues" (*Si de*), a virtuous woman is defined above all by strictly obeying the rituals that are ascribed to her gender, and by remaining within the boundaries of the "inner" (*nei*) sphere in both her actions and general way of life, meaning she should live her life within the four walls of the family home. This life, of course, demanded the knowledge of different household skills and was strictly separated from the "external" (*wai*) sphere. The latter, which remained reserved for the male gender, included trade, politics and other public activities. It was only much later, in the premodern Ming and Qing dynasties, that a more progressive reading of Ban Zhao's *Lessons* became prevalent among educated women.

These educated women openly, loudly and clearly opposed the then popular slogan which declared that virtuous women are those who have no talent (ibid., 104). With the help of excerpts taken from Ban Zhao's work, they aimed to prove that being talented was actually an important prerequisite for women to even comprehend the meaning, significance and the mysterious structure of the important rituals that guided life:

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6   Sabrina Ardizzoni (2020, 284) also notes that her *Lessons* belong to the oldest Chinese books on the ethical foundations of women.

> But if we only educate men and not women, we will only hide and cover up the structural differences in rituality, prescribed to each of them!
>
> 但教男而不教女, 不亦蔽於彼此之數乎! (Ban s.d., II)

Even though—as already mentioned—many later interpreters believed that Ban Zhao's support for female education was only so that women could better serve men, such passages could also be interpreted in the sense of advocating gender equality in spite of the different social roles prescribed to man and women. According to Ban Zhao, all girls should study at least from the age of eight until the age of fifteen (ibid.).

Later female intellectuals also applied Ban Zhao's concept of "female speech" (*Fu yan*)—which was understood for centuries as only a terminological guide for the speech of women—to women's literature, and with that they gained access to the external sphere.

Numerous scholars also interpret Ban Zhao's conservativism as an attitude which resulted from her high political position. Being a woman, she was *a priori* in danger. Her close relation with the Empress was of a very fragile nature, because the political influence of the two women could have been easily overcome with the excuse that women were not allowed to occupy such important positions in the "external" sphere. Her public acknowledgment of the allegedly inferior or inherently subordinated position of women would—according to such interpretations—function as an expression of loyalty towards the patriarchal state, in which Ban Zhao occupied one of the highest positions.

On the other hand, we cannot forget the fact that *Lessons for Women* was the first work in Chinese history which explicitly called for the literacy and education of women (ibid., 106). If we evaluate this fact by considering the social and ideological context in which the book was written, it quickly becomes clear that it included very progressive, and perhaps even radical and revolutionary ideas, since one of the main Confucian classics, the *Book of Rituals*, (*Li ji*) openly states that only male children should be educated.

Precisely the radicalism of her argument, which advocates women's literacy, is something fundamentally different from the otherwise conservative *Lessons*. This inconsistency always pushed intellectuals and researchers into the problems China faced in the past into constructing a coherent interpretation of the intentions that actually lead Ban Zhao to write this guidebook (ibid.).

Epilogue: Revealing New Images of Chinese Female Philosophers

Undoubtedly, Ban Zhao's fight for the education of women had a great influence on later generations in China. Her work is also important in the framework of Confucianism, because it helped to eliminate the discriminative prejudice of the contradiction between talent and female virtue, which were defined in the *Lessons* as being mutually complementary and positive attributes of morally irreproachable and successful women.

On the one hand, Ban Zhao's work reveals the egalitarian and humanistic elements within the classical Confucian discourses. On the other, it points to the fact that the story of Chinese female philosophers is not entirely black and white. Far from being silent, Chinese female philosophers have often engaged in the discipline throughout history. However, similar to the situation in numerous other regions and cultures, the women philosophers of China have been unjustly ignored in the prevailing narratives of the history of philosophy. Revealing their images and studying their work will thus certainly help us to transform our current conception of philosophy as a "white" and "male" discipline.

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The Paradigm of Hakka Women in History

*Sabrina ARDIZZONI**

Abstract

Hakka studies rely strongly on history and historiography. However, despite the fact that in rural Hakka communities women play a central role, in the main historical sources women are almost absent. They do not appear in genealogy books, if not for their being mothers or wives, although they do appear in some legends, as founders of villages or heroines who distinguished themselves in defending the villages in the absence of men. They appear in modern Hakka historiography—Hakka historiography is a very recent discipline, beginning at the end of the 19th century—for their moral value, not only for adhering to Confucian traditional values, but also for their endorsement of specifically Hakka cultural values. In this paper we will analyse the cultural paradigm that allows women to become part of Hakka history. We will show how ethical values are reflected in Hakka historiography through the reading of the earliest Hakka historians as they depicted Hakka women. Grounded on these sources, we will see how the narration of women in Hakka history has developed until the present day.

In doing so, it is necessary to deal with some relevant historical features in the construction of Hakka group awareness, namely migration, education, and women narratives, as a pivotal foundation of Hakka collective social and individual consciousness.

Keywords: Hakka studies, Hakka woman, women practices, West Fujian

Paradigma žensk Hakka v zgodovini

Izvleček

Študije skupnosti Hakka se močno opirajo na zgodovino in zgodovinopisje. Kljub temu da imajo ženske v podeželskih skupnostih Hakka osrednjo vlogo, v glavnih zgodovinskih virih skorajda niso omenjene. V rodoslovnih knjigah se ne pojavljajo, razen kot matere ali žene, čeprav se v nekaterih legendah pojavljajo kot ustanoviteljice vasi ali junakinje, ki so se v odsotnosti moških odlikovale v obrambi vasi. Pojavljajo pa se v sodobnem zgodovinopisju skupnosti Hakka, tj. v najnovejši disciplini z začetki konec 19. stoletja, in sicer zaradi svoje moralne vrednosti, torej ne le zaradi spoštovanja konfucijanskih tradicionalnih vrednot, temveč tudi zaradi specifičnih kulturnih vrednot skupnosti Hakka. V tem prispevku bomo analizirali kulturno paradigmo, ki ženskam omogoča, da postanejo del zgodovine skupnosti Hakka. S pregledom najzgodnejših zgodovinarjev te skupnosti, ki so opisovali

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ženske Hakka, bomo pokazali, kako se etične vrednote odražajo v zgodovini te skupnosti. Na podlagi teh virov bomo videli, kako se je naracija o ženskah v zgodovini skupnosti Hakka razvijala do danes.

Pri tem se je treba spoprijeti z nekaterimi pomembnimi zgodovinskimi značilnostmi pri oblikovanju zavedanja o skupnosti Hakka, in sicer z migracijami, izobraževanjem in ženskimi pripovedmi, ki so ključni temelj kolektivne družbene in individualne zavesti skupnosti Hakka.

Ključne besede: študije skupnosti Hakka, ženske Hakka, ženske prakse, zahodni Fujian

Introduction

The role of Hakka women in Hakka history is a central but contradictory one. Whereas the history of Hakka lineages goes back to fairly ancient times, Hakka historiography is a relatively recent arrival, and coincides with the process of group-cohesion construction. This cohesion is based on establishing a distinction from nearby groups, without distancing one's self too much from the Han, and is based on historical and cultural features.

Hakka studies are strongly grounded in history, interlacing the family history of migrating Han groups—at first from the Central Plains to the southern regions of Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Jiangxi, and later towards Guangxi, Sichuan, and Hunan—with local history as recorded in local Gazetteers (*difang zhi* 地方志) as well as in family and genealogy records (*jiapu* 家谱 and *zupu* 族谱). The aim of this paper is to analyse the narrative lines emerging from Hakka studies conducted from the end of the 19th century to the present. We will see how some relevant historical features in the construction of Hakka group-awareness, namely migration, education, and different narrative threads on Hakka woman (*kejia nüxing* 客家女性), are a crucial foundation for Hakka collective social and individual consciousness. To do so, we will consider Hakka historiography, looking for the socio-cultural features which bring the Hakka woman into Hakka history. Highlighting the multi-faceted historiographic narrative that reflects the cultural framework of *womanhood* in the Hakka social context, we seek to answer the following question: what is the paradigm of women in Hakka culture, as reflected in Hakka history and society? Our analysis of Hakka historiography shows that, in Hakka history, women have had and continue to have an axiomatic role as a social subject, because of their ethical/functional value. The multi-faceted representation of Hakka women in historiography and in oral and artistic popular tradition mirrors the integration of diverse strata in local culture history.

Our focus will be on West Fujian—a mountainous area known as Minxi 闽西—located about 200 km from the seaside city of Xiamen, where three provinces share common borders: Fujian, Jiangxi, and Guangdong (*min yue gan* 闽粤赣). Geographically it lies within the basins of the Ting, Yongding, and Jingfenxi rivers, the three main rivers of the region. Tingjiang is the longest river in West Fujian, running north-south in Fujian and ultimately joining the Hanjiang in Guangdong. It has many culturally significant meanings, not least the fact that it is also known as the "mother river" (*mujiang* 母江).

Methodologically, we have considered the main historical sources that fulfil the function of identifying the three points that frame the placement of Hakka women (migration, education, and *womanhood*), namely: missionary sources of the 19th century; primary scholars in Hakka studies, most of whom are, in fact, Hakka themselves; local Gazetteers; Minxi Hakka family and genealogy records (*jiapu* and *zupu*); and literary sources on Hakka women. We have also taken into account folk narratives and beliefs and material culture elements collected in Minxi Hakka village fieldwork between 2014 and 2018, based on the premise that:

> Official histories, dissenting histories, and the myths, festivals, theatre, and ritual of popular gods are all open to being interpreted as operations of historical signification and its celebration. (Feuchtwang 2001, 5)

It is in this corpus that we are going to search for the paradigm of women in Hakka historiography.

The Land and the People

The Hakka *Kejia* 客家 people belong to the Han ethnic group, officially a subgroup,[1] the cohesiveness and identification of which, on both local and national and transnational levels, is strongly based on cultural and historical features, namely the historical waves of migration from central to southern China, the strong sense of rurality, and the perpetuation of a corpus of practices, beliefs and attitudes. Language also plays a central role, but, especially in this axiomatically migrating society, it is not the primary element of group identification.[2]

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1   The Han ethnic group is divided into eight subgroups, and in addition to the Hakka the other seven are the Northerners, Wu, Gan, Xiang, Yue, Northern Min (Minbei), Southern Min (Minnan) (Zhang Shengyou 张胜友 (1948–2018) in An 2015, 1).

2   There is no unified Hakka language. There are many different Hakka spoken languages, many of which are not reciprocally comprehensible. With the "Hakka revival" of the last few decades, there has been an academic trend to try and codify a common Hakka language.

Minxi is considered "the cradle of the Hakka people", though it is home to other ethnic groups as well, such as the Minnan and the She—the last being the only local ethnic minority recognized as such by the central government.[3] In the past two centuries, Hakkas from these villages and counties—historically known as *bamin* 八閩—have taken part in a global diaspora, while still maintaining strong links to their ancestors' land as overseas Chinese *huaqiao* (Lin 2006, 376).

As a group, the Hakka people's cultural boundaries are highly permeable, and they are known for their inclusiveness towards other groups and adaptability in new cultural and physical environments.

Moreover, the Hakka group displays a strong sense of belonging and cohesion, which makes individuals appear to be very unified from the outside, but greatly diversified from the inside. Hakka studies scholars refer to this as "plural unity" (*duoyuan yiti* 多元一体), borrowing the expression from Fei Xiaotong 1988 (Cai 2004, 73–77; Wu 2012), or "multi-bodied unity" (*dati yizhi* 大体一致) (Xie 2003). Their identity narrative coincides with the historical narrative of migrations, during which communities were formed and then settled in the different territories of South-East China and, starting from the 18th century, in South-East Asia, and, from the 19th and 20th centuries, in the world at large.

Hakka society, like rural societies in South China generally, is patriarchal; communities are characterized by a family structure composed of clans united by large-scale kinship patriarchal alliances, wherein marriages are exogamous, patrilineal and virilocal (Freedman 1958a, 1958b, 1970; Cohen 2005; Faure 1990, 2007; Hu, Huang and Zhang 2014 (2006); Brandtstadter and Santos 2009; Malighetti 2014; Bruckermann and Feuchtwang 2016).

The basic unit is the village, which is traditionally a single-surname settlement; but there are many examples of villages that include the union of different family groups. Hakka women have always been a reference point for the family and for the whole village—from which men of working age emigrated, and still emigrate today, in search of their fortunes, leaving the care of the household, elderly, children and fields to their wives and betrothed.

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3   Recent demographic assessments show the presence of other provenances as well, such as the Hui, Miao, Zhuang, Manchu, etc.: a total of 14 ethnic groups, many of which concentrated in the Zhangping jurisdiction zone (Ceng et al. 2011, 12–42). The area is also home to others, mainly women, from foreign countries, especially Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar.

The Importance of History in a Migration Identity Narrative

The first systematic studies on Hakka origins and history date back to the 19th century. Missionaries posted to South China were the first to show interest in the field, originally from a language standpoint,[4] and subsequently branching out to anthropology and history. The Hong Kong-based bimonthly journal *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, renamed *The China Review: Or, Notes and Queries on the Far East* in 1872, collected sinological essays as well as translations of classical and folk texts. From 1867 onwards, the Rev. Ernest John Eitel, of the Basel Mission and the London Missionary Society, later second editor-in-chief of *The China Review*, ran a column entitled *Ethnographical Sketches of the Hakka Chinese*; in 1873, he was the first to publish a tentative outline Hakka history in a western language, *An Outline History of the Hakkas*, which was held in high esteem by latter-day historians. He places the origin of the Hakka clans in the 3rd century BCE, setting them geographically in the Northern Plains, and states:

> It is but quite lately, through the Tai-ping rebellion, that the Hakkas have obtained a place in the annals of the Middle Kingdom. Before that time no historian ever mentioned them as far as I am aware. (Eitel 1873, 160)

Indeed, to this day no earlier mention of this group as "Hakka" is known. The main sources for Eitel's historical outline are the family records held by the various clans (*jiapu*s and *zupu*s), oral traditions, songs and ballads. He recalls their errant wanderings from the North—Shandong, according to him—to the South, on account of persecutions. According to Eitel's reconstruction, the mountains on the border between Fujian, Jiangxi, and Guangdong came to be inhabited from the Tang dynasty onwards. At the beginning of the Ming era, he says, an "overwhelming" number of Hakkas fled from this area, for reasons unclear to him, and established themselves in the Canton area, in Jiaying 嘉应. From this moment on, Jiaying Prefecture began to feel the influence of the Jiangxi and Fujian cultures. From here onwards, Eitel devotes all his attention to the vicissitudes of the Guangdong Hakkas. From Qianlong's reign on, he states, the Hakkas gained more and more credibility on the part of the central government, who considered them more reliable than the Punties (*punti* is the Cantonese pronunciation of "native" *bendi* 本地) and the Minnan (AKA

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4   Hakka is considered one of the Han group of dialects. According to Yuan's (1983 [1960]) classical taxonomy, the Han groups are: 1. Northern languages; 2. Wu; 3. Xiang; 4. Gan; 5. Hakka; 6. Yue; 7. Min. The more recent classification by Zhang Shengyou (fn. 1) divides the Min group into Northern and Southern Min.

Hoklo or Ho-lo). Many of them were enlisted under the Eight Flags, where they gained prestigious positions after passing the relevant literary and military examinations. The Hakka, moreover, defined as "simple-minded but stalwart", led the Taiping Rebellion: Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1814–1864) came from a Hakka family, and so did the other two Taiping "sovereigns". The prowess of Hakka soldiers was also recognized by the English and French, who called them the "Bamboo Rifle Corps". The war between the Hakkas and the Punties, which heavily impacted southern Guangdong between 1855 and 1868, engendered a further Hakka migration from the Canton territory in every direction, as well as overseas. The survivors roamed the countryside, some took up banditry, others took shelter in mountain areas, where they found refuge and built fortresses to defend themselves from Punties and wandering bandits.[5] Eitel defines their settlements as "Little Republics" (ibid., 163). Xu Xuzeng 徐旭曾 (1751–1819), the High Steward of Canton, in an attempt to mediate and bring peace to the two groups, awarded the Hakkas a *per capita* sum of money to induce them to go and farm remote lands in Jiangxi, Hainan, Macao, and elsewhere. In the fourth issue of *The China Review*, Ch. Piton integrates Eitel's historical information in a note "On the Origin and History of the Hakkas", adding the detail of a settlement stop in the East Fujian town of Shibi 石壁, in Ninghua jurisdiction (Piton in Dennys 1873, 222–26); this is still considered by Hakka studies historians as an important waypoint for the migration course that, during the Southern Song period (1127–1279), brought the Hakka clans to Fujian (Zheng 2009, 13, among others).

As one may already infer from these early narratives, the migration history of family groups from central China to the south stands out as a primary factor in group awareness as well as an important factor of cohesiveness. The emergence of the term Hakka (*kejia* 客家, *ke* 客 meaning "guest"), is itself an historicized concept, related to the migration process.

The abovementioned Xu Xuzeng was government delegate for Hepingxian, Guangdong, sent to deal with the conflicts that had arisen between Hakkas (*keren* 客人) and Punties (*bendi*) in 1808 (Xu 2016, 16–17). Xu was impressed by the powerful group awareness that distinguished the Hakkas from the natives:

土自土，客自客. 各自保留特色。

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5   In Guangdong and Southern Jiangxi, the traditional Hakka dwelling, the *tulou* 土楼, is built like an actual fortification, whereas in Fujian, where the Punti-Hakka conflict was less violent, the *tulou*s, many of which have been preserved to this day, are less martial, more elegant, and more refined in architectural details. On the architectural features of *tulou*s in different areas in Minxi, Jiangxi and Guangdong, see Xie (2009, 80); An (2015, 292–314); Huang (2020).

Natives are natives, guests are guests, each has its own peculiarities. (ibid., 17)[6]

Slightly after Xu, Huang Xiangtie 黄香铁 (1787–1853), in the nine chapters of his 1880 *A Journey to the Cave*,[7] describes the life of Guangdong villages, their territory, education, customs, local history, dialect, forms of art, and religious beliefs. In the chapters dedicated to the language he refers to a group of people who spoke a different language, one that comes from the outside, spoken by "guests" *kehu* 客户 that had populated the area since the Southern Song, and had come from the Central Plains (Lin 2015, 199–223). Originally, the term we use for Hakka today was associated with migrants "on the run" that interfaced with local populations in varying degrees of conflict, as in the fierce Guangdong Hakka-Punti 1855 war. Their relations with central authority were not organic, and they did tend to unite into groups where kinship was the main binding force. In the chronicles of other populations where the Hakkas settled, there is a derogatory connotation attached to the name that implied not only banditry, but also destitution and poverty. In reference to the *Hakka people* (*kemin* 客民), they are called *Hakka bandits* (*kefei* 客匪), *mountain brigands* (*shanzei* 山贼), *gentle brigands* (*raozei* 饶贼), *Zhangzhou bandits* (*zhangkou* 漳寇) (Xie 2009, 79). The *Hakka gentry* (*keshen* 客绅) are called *rebel chieftains* (*nifan shou* 逆反首) or *bandit chieftains* (*zeishou* 贼首) (Constable 1996, 69). The Hakka people's effort to counter this negative stigma has been a major driving force towards an upwardly redefinition of their status.

In 1933, Hakka historian Luo Xianglin/Lo Hsiang-lin (1906–1978), in his *Study on Hakka Origins*,[8] provided the vast Hakka family with academic dignity within Chinese and foreign scholarship, and set the theoretical framework for the definition of Hakka as an "ethnic group" (Ge 1999; Chen 1996; Fang 2012). Luo's enquiry was based on data collected from various historical sources, first of all the family books (*jiapu*) and genealogy books (*zupu*) of Hakka lineages in different areas of South China, as well as on previous studies in English and Chinese.[9] According to Luo, in the migration process, the Hakkas achieved integration in local communities "like fish in a lake" (Luo 1992, 1), and were no longer distinguishable from the latter.

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6   The Chinese-English translations here and below are mine.

7   石窟一征. Published after his death, by his son.

8   客家源流考. In this analysis I refer to the reprint published in 1992 by Shanghai Wenyi Chubanshe, and to the more recent edition (Luo 2018).

9   Among which George Campbell's 1912 *The Origin of Hakka Migrations*; Huntington's *Character of Races* and Maciver's *Hakka Dictionary*. These and others quoted in Luo (2018, 21).

His main contribution was to single out five phases in Hakka migrations, for each of which he outlined distinct characteristics. The first phase would go back all the way to the 4th century CE, when, after the invasion of the five nomad peoples—Xiongnu, Xianbei, Jie, Quang, Di—the Western Jin dynasty (265–316 CE) moved southwards and founded the Eastern Jin (317–420) (Luo 2018, 40). Even in this early phase, the groups that fled the northern plains under the influence of the nomad invaders split up between those who embarked on various small-scale migrations in all directions, heading for zones close to the lands they were escaping from, and those who moved further away, southwards, until they reached Fujian as well as central and southern Jiangxi, always within Han-populated areas. It is estimated that this included about one million people, one sixth of the total population.

The second phase dates to the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907), when people escaping the territories affected by the turmoil of Huang Chao's (874–888 CE) revolt headed for far-away lands inhabited by non-Han populations (ibid., 46–47). These settled mostly in the Min area of Ninghua, Tingzhou, Shanghang, and Yongding, and in the Southern area of Ganzhou in Jiangxi (Gannan) (ibid., 49).

The third, more massive exodus took place under the Song (960–1279), especially during the 12th and 13th centuries, during the Mongol invasions, when many came to colonize the mountain areas on the borders between West Fujian and East Guangdong, and concentrated especially in the Tingzhou 汀洲 territory (ibid., 49–58). This triangle is considered today the area which has maintained the "original" Hakka culture. Luo points out that in this later period there was a very large-scale mingling of Hakkas with the local populations, especially She minorities; this is also confirmed by the data on population increases in the areas concerned.

The fourth migratory phase took place at the end of the Ming dynasty (1644). Luo associates it with overpopulation and an imbalance between cultivable land and the number of inhabitants. In this phase, migrations affected eastern Sichuan, Guangdong, and western Jiangxi, as well as Hunan (ibid., 58–60). At the same time, moreover, many families, wishing to escape the turmoil generated by clashes for the imperial throne between the Ming and Qing, became followers of the warriors of the Zheng family, well known for the deeds of the hero Koxinga [Zheng Chenggong 郑成功 (1624–1662)], and faithful to the Ming—and undertook the settlement of Taiwan (ibid., 61). From the economic standpoint this period is characterized by a diversification in production activities, which, from this time onwards, opened up to four well-defined categories: animal husbandry,

farming, mining, and trade over land and on the seas. The population increase in the Yongding area brought problems related to overpopulation—epidemics, social disorders, and religious struggles—and the people were also plagued by natural disasters (Hu 2009 [2006], 7).

According to Luo's periodization, the fifth phase, dating from about 1862 onwards, was contemporary to himself, and described the Hakka migrations towards Guangdong, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, as well as to other areas in western central China, as ongoing phenomena, in the course of this process Meixian 梅县 and Shantou 汕头 in Guangdong became important harbour cities for Hakka routes towards East and South Asian countries (Luo 2018, 63).[10] This is the same period in which the Hakkas begin to be noticed by Westerners, who remark on their linguistic peculiarities and their conflicts with the Punties:

> The great predominance of the Hakka element on the Kau Lung peninsula would seem to indicate Hakka aborigines for Hong Kong itself. Nevertheless there are old shopkeepers in the villages who profess to remember the occupation and say that each village has always had a distinctive character. Thus Shaukiwan has always been Hakka, but Wongnaich'ong always Punti. The villagers of Little Hong Kong indignantly deny that they are Hakka, but "their speech betrayeth them". They may be Punties, but half their words are Hakka. (L. P. C., *Notes and Queries* No. 7 in Dennys 2020, 108)

The main causes of this last migration, according to Luo, are to be seen in overpopulation and competition with local people, but also in the wish to better one's social and economic position by conquering new territory. He also quotes Eitel's remark about the High Steward of Canton paying the Hakkas a *per capita* sum to induce them to move to new territories (Luo 2018, 62).

Moreover, Skinner (in Leong and Wright 1997) is of the opinion that the success of Luo's historiographic approach lies in the fact that he was able to give scientific credence to an oral narrative hitherto internal to a group who already recognized

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10   Many, driven by circumstances, decided to emigrate voluntarily in boats known as "floating jails", in order to go and work in foreign countries as coolies (*kuli* 苦力). Between 1881 and 1930, the estimate is that more than eight million people went to seek their fortunes overseas. After boarding in Fujian or Guangdong ports, immigrants would reach Malaysia and from there get shipped away to destinations in all five continents. About 70% of them were bound by manual labour contracts which fell just short of slavery. The main destinations were British and Dutch colonies, but also America and Europe (An 2015, 709–11). Those that were wealthy enough to carry out independent projects headed mainly towards Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, and India (ibid., 715).

itself as composed of migrants and settlers in various South China territories, and claimed a common origin from the Central Plains.[11]

With Luo comes the importance that Hakka studies attribute to the lineages of family descent, starting from the genealogy books; this was also held valid by Western scholars, i.e., Leong (1997), Freedman (1958a; 1958b), and Constable (1996). Contemporary historical studies enrich Luo's periodization with elements deriving from the analysis of other indirect sources, studies on demographic flows in local gazettes, on the flows of goods, and on exchanges with neighbouring populations (Minxi Hakka Friendship Association 2013; An 2015; Cao 2018).

Erbaugh's outline of the Hakka people's history, published in 1992 in *The China Quarterly* and again in Blum and Jensen (2002), highlights the formation of Hakka communities through the lens of historical linguistics, and concludes by underscoring the importance of Hakka languages as a feature of cohesion among various groups, both in China and the diaspora. She also introduces the conceptual paradox of "Hakka obscurity and high political position". Again, in Erbaugh (2002, 188) gender equality, solidarity, mobility and military prowess are highlighted as key strong points of Hakka culture and history. Cohen (1968; 1996; 2005) tends to analyse Hakka culture as strongly linked to the linguistic evolution of Hakka dialects, otherwise connoted as an indistinct whole: spatially connecting millions of people in China and the diaspora, and chronologically "fossilized" in a sort of unchanging, conservative container. This idealized vision of Hakka culture was received and furthered by many scholars in early Hakka studies. Constable (1996) collects many of these, reflecting the older attitude, while at the same time introducing a new approach: that of the importance of locality in historical and anthropological studies.

The vision of "unity in plurality/plural unity" (*duoyuan yiti*) put forward by Fei Xiaotong (1988) became an important way to describe not only Chinese civilization as a whole, but Hakka culture itself. Starting from the mid-1990s—which saw a revival of practices and beliefs that had been placed within the framework of superstition from 1949 onwards, and as such had been provisionally erased from memory—what came to the fore was the local dimension.

The innovative and complete ethnographic research on Hakka studies produced by a team led by John Lagerwey for the Hakka Research Center at Jiaying University in Meizhou (Guangdong Province) collected works by scholars from South China universities and has published—so far—a 30-volume series: *Traditional Hakka Society* (*Kejia chuantong shehui*). In this massive publication, the aim is to

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11   "These men and others identified and codified Hakka values and forms and propagated a Hakka cultural past with a view to enhancing the depressed social status of a despised people." (Skinner in Leong and Wright 1997, 30)

draw the map of the various nuances within the different people who recognize themselves as Hakka. The series includes articles and monographs written by local experts invited by Lagerwey to be active informants on their own culture.

As seen so far, Hakka historiography confirms that the migration narrative is pivotal for Hakka community awareness.

Women in Hakka History

The centrality of women in Hakka group awareness is noted by both foreign and Chinese (Hakka and non-Hakka) scholars:

> Women have become, in a sense, objectified as a symbol of Hakka identity, an embodiment of Hakka qualities, and the basis of a Hakka claim to a rhetoric of equalities. (Constable 1996, 119)

Moreover: "Hakka women embody Hakka culture"[12] (Wu 2011, 16), and "There are people who consider the Hakka woman as a representation and a symbol of Hakka culture"[13] (Xu 2016, 11), in continuity with Luo Xianglin's (1933 [2018]) earlier remarks. All Hakka scholars single out Hakka women for never having adopted the custom of foot-binding. However, Hakka women still had to submit to the rules of their main occupations (*si tou si wei* 四头四尾): "They mind the field and the soil, the pot and the hearth, the needle and the thread, the home and education"[14] (Xie 2005a, 210).

Western scholars of the 19th century were also struck by the particular characteristics of Hakka women, and contributed to the coalescence and consolidation of the link between the gender aspect and Hakka identity.

In *On the Origin and History of the Hakka,* Ch. Piton reports a village foundation folk story in which a woman plays a central role. It is the legend of "Kudzu village" (*Geteng keng* 葛藤坑), also reported by Luo (2018, 65) and still alive in Fujian as an example of female virtue. The story is purported to go back to the time of Huang Chao's revolts, in the 9th century CE. It is said that in those days a fugitive woman was bringing two children with her, the older one on her shoulders, while the younger one followed on foot. Huang Chao himself saw her and asked her why she was carrying the eldest and not the youngest. She answered that the eldest one

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12   客家妇女是客家文化的典型体现.

13   有人把客家妇女视为客家人的代表和象征.

14   田头地尾; 锅头灶尾; 针头线尾; 家头教尾.

was her nephew, and since she had heard that Huang Chao kidnapped children, she did not want him to be taken away. Since the youngest was her son, she could keep him on the ground. Huang Chao understood, and allayed her fears. He told her to go back home and put a branch of Kudzu (*Geteng* 葛藤, Chinese arrowroot) on her front door. It would have been a symbol for all the rebels not to touch any home with a Kudzu vine at the door. The village homes were thus protected by Kudzu branches, and that is why the village was then called Geteng Village. In this story, the female virtue of holding back on her own personal interest and bestowing favour on a son of her brother-in-law instead of her own spreads out to the whole village and protects it. According to Ch. Piton, this is the legend of the origin of the village of Shibi, in Fujian Ninghua county, currently considered the door to Fujian Hakka settlements. Other village foundation legends report the presence of female characters, such as those of the villages of Tianluo Keng and Xiayang in Yongding district. Moreover, when village founders are celebrated, the male founder is generally venerated together with his wife, as in Chendong 城东 village's *Si yue ba* 四月八 festival in Yongding. In Yanpocun 严婆村 village, in Changting 长汀, two women, and no men, are credited as founders of the settlement. These are only some examples of historical—or semi-historical—women linked to village foundations who did not enter the official books of history, but were transmitted in the local collective memories and in material culture.

At the dawn of the Hakka historiographical tradition, the Westerners stationed in Hong Kong observed Hakka women and distinguished them from the other, mainly Punti, womenfolk.

> It is an interesting question, too, why the entire prostitute class of Hong Kong should, apparently without any exception, be Punti. I believe that the Hakka women are more domestic, laborious and "keepers at home", and more faithful; while the Punti women are fond of finery, fickle, frivolous, and more set on gain than their simpler Hakka sisters. (L. P. C., *Notes and Queries* No. 7 in Dennys 1867, 108)

In his seventh chapter, dedicated to "Hakka Nature", *Kejiade texing*, Luo Xianglin speaks about Hakka women, and defines them as "hardworking and resistant to hardship" (*jianku nailao* 坚苦耐劳), "extremely independent and self-sufficient" (*zui zizhong zili* 最自重自立). He also states that they make a sizable contribution to family life and to the state, and are appreciated by all. He furthermore quotes from an article dedicated to Guangdong Hakka women, "Notable Hakka Women from Guangdong",[15] published in the biennial journal

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15 值得注意的广东客家女. By Xin Geng 心根; *Funü gongmin* 妇女共鸣 No. 2/2, pp. 22–30 February 1933.

Funü gongmin 妇女共鸣.[16] This article recounts the position of Hakka women in the family and society, their economic and production roles, their relationships with their husbands and their attitudes towards life. It also referred to the custom, well-attested in all local historical sources, according to which men emigrated far away (the recurring expression is *panhai* 潘海), while women were left in the village with the elderly and the young.

> When men emigrate and do not return for more than ten years, as is very often the case, they [the women] manage easily. If they have fields to farm, they farm them; if they do not, they will rent a few *mu* of land, as much as necessary to feed the family all year round. (Luo 2018, 191)

The woman left at home alone, in the traditional rammed-earth *tulou* that shelters all the members of the family, became its *de facto* head: she organized the fieldwork, administered the family finances, and also took care of construction work to terrace hill slopes and build roads.

> When women have to farm, they farm. When there is no farming, in the day they take goods to the market, or do some tailoring jobs for third parties, whereas in the evening they weave at the loom … Thus, not only are they able to provide for the family's basic support, but manage to make what is needed for their sons and daughters' education. The Hakka woman is the mainstay of the family. (ibid.)

The way the author highlights the role of the Hakka woman in society—whether as a participant in the collective life of the village, or in terms of her skills—is fairly remarkable:

> She also has an important role in society. She shares in the costs incurred for annual feast-days, fertilizer, and buying farm appliances, and partakes in the economy by making money circulate and depositing her savings. She is fully competent about everything that regards traditional farming practices, in which she is quite knowledgeable and experienced, and this allows the Hakka woman to expand economic activity and attain a higher social status. (ibid.)

However, throughout her life, a Hakka woman's most important identity role was above all carried out in her family:

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16 The journal founded in Shanghai in 1929 by the Guomindang's Women Union, and published until 1944.

The Hakka woman is the most important reference point for the whole family, that relies on her for its cohesion: her children depend on her for their education, her husband for support in his activities, and all of Hakka-kind for the continuation of the lineage. (ibid.)

Luo also adds that Hakka women:

do not use makeup, do not bind their feet or bust to attract men's attention, do not give prominence to their shoulders or breasts. … They are frugal in dress and meals, save food and money for their family and for when their husband returns home. (ibid., 192)

He also highlights the *jianfu* 健妇, the tireless and strong female model that is traditionally handed down as a feature of Hakka cultural singularity:

The Hakka woman is very proficient in her work, she wakes at daybreak, goes to bed late at night. In the daytime she doesn't shirk from any chore … Even when she is advanced in years she keeps up her commitment to household affairs and farming, she takes an interest in every family member, is a good example, is never idle, just like when she was young and strong. (ibid.)

What one must add here is that the paradigm of Hakka woman brought about by the early Hakka historians is a founding element of Hakka identity. In historical and literary sources, Hakka virtues attributed to women like diligence, strength, competence and dedication coexist with the idea that Hakka women's status is on equal terms with men's. In Hakka historiography, gender equality draws the (flexible) line between the Hakka and non-Hakka cultural frameworks. On the other hand, this gender equality paradigm is actually often disclaimed, perhaps right within the same discourse, by evidence showing exactly the contrary.

Female social subjugation was made clear in the official historical records, where they did not have the right to have a name, but were recorded, if at all, as "wife of …". In the case of wife of a lineage founder, they were addressed to as "great-grandmother" (*potai* 婆太) and their name would appear in the genealogy books and on the memorial tablet dedicated to the ancestor cult with the honorific title of "deceased mother" (*bi* 妣).[17] Even the exemplary women recorded in the gazetteers, despite the fact that they were distinguished for their virtue, chastity (*zhen* 贞), or moral

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17   The definition in the *Shuowen jiezi* is: 殁母也從女比聲. For electronic version, see https://hanzi-yuan.net/. Accessed August, 2020.

integrity (*jie* 节) towards their husbands—sometimes to the point of committing suicide (*zhenlie* 贞烈)—did not appear under their own name, but under the relevant male's family name and kinship relation. As a way of example, we can quote here the 31st Chapter in "Republican Era's Yongding Gazette", entitled *Biographies of Exemplary Women Lienü zhuan* 列女传 (Xu 2015, 727–91), thus echoing Liu Xiang's 刘向 (79–8 BCE) classic *Biographies of Exemplary Women, Lienü Zhuan* 列女传.[18]

It is divided into six sections ("Moral women" (*jienü* 节女); "Heroines" (*lienü* 烈女) (corrected with the homophone "Exemplary women" (*lienü* 列女)); "Chaste wives" (*zhennü* 贞女); "Honourable ladies" (*shuyuan* 淑媛); "Good mothers" (*xianmu* 贤母); "Centenarian ladies" (*shoufu* 寿妇). The entry line for every lady quoted is: "XX *shi* 氏 (original family name), XX *qi* 妻 (wife of XX)". Their personal stories, from 10 to 80 characters long, highlight their devotion to their families, and specifically their husbands, who in some cases they had not yet married (they were fiancées, *weihunqi* 未婚妻).

In general, after that of strength, the second paradigm that allowed women to enter the official historical records was moral virtue. Gazette data enable us to pinpoint this very significant feature.

In the 18th-century "Tingzhou Gazette" (Qing dynasty, reign of Qianlong) analysed in Xu (2011, 115–18) the numbers of Minxi women listed were as follows:

Table 1: Exemplary Women in 18th Century local Gazette.

Epoch	Virtues	Number
Song dynasty	Chaste wives, moral women 贞, 节	186
	Heroines for their chastity 贞烈 (segregated or self-immolated)	1
Yuan dynasty	Heroines for their chastity 贞烈 (segregated or self-immolated)	1
Ming dynasty	Chaste wives, moral women 贞, 节	45
	Heroines for their chastity 贞烈 (segregated or self-immolated)	50
Qianlong era (up to his 17th year–1772)	Chaste wives, moral women 贞, 节	720
	Heroines for their chastity 贞烈 (segregated or self-immolated)	79

18   This is the earliest literary collection of biographies especially focused on women. Liu Xiang's *Lienü zhuan* initiated the *lienü* 列女 historical tradition as a part of official dynastic history.

The data is also significant in the "Yongding Gazette-Republican Era" (Xu 2015, 727–92):

Moral women	节妇	626
Chaste wives	贞女	30
Honourable ladies	淑媛	23
Good mothers	贤母	4
Centenarians	寿妇	53

As we can see from the data, women who segregated themselves or self-immolated to show their devotion to their husbands were greatly celebrated, even until recent times. This shows that the virtues linked to the subjection of women to family duties, to the *nei*,[19] were held in great honour until the modern age.

The moral paradigm links Hakka women to Hakka culture. This is what emerges from foreign and Chinese historians (all men) of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries: the Hakka woman historical narrative lines up with the culture narrative. In the second half of 20th century there is a large shift in such historiography, as Hakka women enter into the official records with a new identity, one which overlaps that of the tradition, without totally wiping it out.

In the following paragraphs we will see how the social construct is built in line with the "traditional" heritage, on top of which the paradigm of the Hakka woman enters into official history.

The Traditional Heritage: The Moral Paradigm in the Hakka Woman's Social Construct

At the basis of Hakka society lies the strong distinction between the women's realm and the men's realm (*nannü zhibie* 男女之别), and a sharp differentiation of roles. As Luo writes:

> The (adult) men of the household might also take part in household activities, but their most important role does not lie there, it lies in society. ... Husbands, who do not know about household affairs, do not ask too many questions and their wives, on their part, are not pleased if they interfere with house chores. (Luo 2018, 191)

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19   We will look at this concept of *nei* 内 in the following section.

This division between what lies inside, *nei* 内, and what is outside, *wai* 外, is proof of the powerful link between Hakka culture and the classic tradition. The *Neize* 内则 chapter of the *Liji* is one of the oldest sources.[20] In *Neize*, 57 we read: "Men are positioned on the outside, women in the outside (*nan ju wai, nü ju nei* 男居外，女居内)." And in *Neize*, 14: "Men do not talk about what refers to the inside (of the household), women do not talk about what refers to the outside (*nan bu yan nei, nü bu yan wai* 男不言内，女不言外)."

The *Neize* establishes the norm for male/female differentiation *nannü zhi bie* (男女之别), as it emerges in the separation of spaces and spheres of action, of *inside* vs. *outside* (*nei/wai* 内/外), of studies, of ceremonial performance, and even of clothing, as well as of family relationships.

The gender construction stemmed from the *Neize* is transmitted throughout the multifaceted Confucian tradition and it flourishes in the *Lixue* School, from which the Hakka culture draws heavily.

Many Hakka scholars agree in identifying the outline of the Hakka women's social construct within the ethical framework of the Neo-Confucian *Lixue* School. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), whose reformed Neo-Confucian line of thought is specifically known today as the Fujian School (*Minpai* 闽派), was a Fujian native from Youxi County (currently part of the Sanming jurisdiction), and spent a long time in Jianyang and Yanping, always in Fujian, where he held numerous lectures and attracted many disciples (Xie 2002, 97). But the great diffusion of Neo-Confucian principles took place later, during the Ming period (1368–1644), that is to say, in the time during which, *mutatis mutandis*, West Fujian settlements consolidated into the forms that they still have. In 1516, Wang Yangming 王阳明 (1472–1529) was sent to South Jiangxi, and thence travelled to the Fujian Hakka and She (畬) areas, to rebuild social order after the dramatic disorders that had characterized the area in the first half of 16th century (Liu 2013, 126). In the political process of encouraging the local formation of alliances, aimed at facilitating the relationship between local and national government, Wang Yangming promoted an alliance, the *Nangan xiangyue* 南赣乡约, among Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong: this was also an ideological tool, meant to promote morality (Xie 2005b, 7; Liu 2013, 169). Wang not only introduced the *Baojia* 保甲 system,[21] but also decreed that each family was to

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20 This is the 12th chapter of the *Book of Rites* (3rd century BCE), one of the five chapters of the Confucian canon. It marked the distinction between *womanhood* and *manhood* through the definition of different rituals, *li*. Legge (1885) translates *Neize* as *Family Conducts*, whereas Ebrey (2002) translates *Domestic Regulations*. Luo's (2017) translation is *Ceremonies about Management of Families*. The Chinese term *Neize* will be used here.

21 Ten households make a *Pai* 牌, presided over by a *Paitou* 牌头. Ten *Pai* 牌 are a *Jia* 甲, presided over by a *Jiazhang* 甲长; ten *Jia* 甲 are a *Bao* 保, headed by a *Baozheng* 保证. Several *Bao* 保 make up an alliance and form a *Lian* 联, presided over by a *Lianzhang* 联长 (Leo and Dai 2000, 46–47).

provide an education in Confucian values for all its members (Xie 2005a, 116), including women. The Hakkas, in their striving for social redemption and well-aware of their provenance from separate and distinct families, enthusiastically endorsed the directives of the alliance, and expressed their loyalty to the sovereign.

Here we can try to answer to the following question: to what extent was the adherence to *Lixue* ethics able to redeem the migrant communities of *kejia* and raise them to the highest social level?

We have to consider that the settlers occupying new territories were in continuous interaction with local populations, among which the only officially recognized local minority was the She. The She practiced serpent cults and other nature cults, they were mainly hunter-gatherers, knew little agriculture, and their code of conduct was not considered to be compatible with that of the Han. The "Tingzhou Gazette", describes them in the following terms: "… when husband and wife have sex and a child is born, they drop him on the naked earth, wash him in a spring, without avoiding wind and sun." (Zeng 1748, chap. 41, 142).

Cult, ethical and ritual differences were important features to distinguish one's own group from "barbarians", *man* 蛮. The *Lixue*, as a strong, dominant ideology, provided a useful instrument with which to establish the impulse to improve one's collectivity and social mobility. In this ethical framework, the separation between the male and female worlds (*nannü zhibie*) became an imperative, just like a wife's chastity and fidelity towards her husband (*zhen*). Generally speaking, the social hierarchy (*wulun* 五伦), of *mengzian* origin,[22] became the prerequisite for the construction of *personhood*, and it led to the Threefold Obedience and Four Virtues (*san cong side* 三从四德),[23] the basis for women's ethics. Moreover, the rituals that Zhu Xi codified in his *Family rituals* (*Jiali* 家礼) became the norm in local communities, entrenched as shared cultural standards. Xie (2005d, 47) reports

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22   In *Mencius* one reads: 聖人有憂之，使契為司徒，教以人倫：父子有親，君臣有義，夫婦有別，長幼有序，朋友有信. father-son, ruler-minister, husband-wife, big brother-little brother, friend-friend. (*Mengzi, Teng Wengong*, Shang: 4)

23   The rule of the "Threefold Obedience" (to the father, to the husband and to the son) appears in early Confucian texts, such as: *The Book of Rites–The Great Suburban Sacrifice* (*Liji-Jiaotexing* 礼记 - 郊特牲); Liu Xiang's *Biographies of Exemplary Women–Maternal Rectitud –The Mother Instructor of Lu* (*Lienü Zhuan – Mu Yi – Lu zhi mushi* 列女傳-母仪-鲁之母师); Ban *Gu's Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall* (*Baihutong* 白虎通). The Four Virtues for women (*si de* 四德) appear in *The Rites of the Zhou* (*Zhouli-Tiangong Zhongzai* 周礼-天官冢宰: 131) as Women's Ethics, Women's Speech, Women's Appearance, Women's Works (*fu de, fu yan, fu rong, fu gong* 妇德、妇言、妇容、妇功); they are explained in more detail by Ban Zhao (45–115 CE) in her *Admonitions for Women* (*Nüjie* 女诫), where the author described them in the 4th chapter "Women's Conduct" (*fu xing* 妇行). On the textual construction of a *womanhood* based on the submission of women to men, see Rosenlee (2006), and Ardizzoni (2020).

that in the "Ninghua Gazetteer 宁化县志" one reads: "Capping, wedding, funeral, ancestor cult ceremonies must all be held in respect of Zhu Xi rituals."[24]

The *Lixue* School emphasized the centrality of the patriarchal family as the core of society. As Wang (2003, 321) puts it: "The family […] originates with oneself and extends to others. Nothing comes before the family." Within the family, women were framed within the formula of the Three Obediences and Four Virtues from which the idealized figures of daughter, wife, and mother originated.

In a society devoted to the lineage's ancestor cult, in which the transmission of power runs along patriarchal bloodlines, male offspring are essential, and this greatly affects a woman's position in society and generates her contradictory position within the family. Subjugated to the imperative of producing male descendants, she is framed within the family's reproductive role—a role which has been preserved even in modern times—but placed in a position of social inferiority within society. The quest for progeny emerges in the traditional practices of invocation for a son (*qiuding* 求丁), made to female (especially Guanyin) or male (Guangdi Gong, Jixiang Pusa, Baosheng Dadi, etc.) deities. Spirits *shen* 神, like the Pregnant Womb Spirit (Tai shen 胎神), or natural deities like trees, mainly hibiscus around which pieces of red paper or cloth are tied, or revered stones, are honoured with offerings of oil, tea, candy, incense, and so on; otherwise amulets, diagrams, magic spells may be used.[25] This is why many female deities are worshipped in Hakka rural villages, and a statue of Guanyin is always placed in a niche in the main hall in every *tulou*: to call for the birth of sons, or to protect the newborn ones. In the Minxi mountain areas, women, before the family planning laws introduced in the Reform period by Deng Xiaoping, would have on average 5 to 12 children. Even after the law took effect, many babies, especially girls, were not officially recorded with the register, and were abandoned, sold, or otherwise disposed of.[26] The disparity between a man and woman in the Hakka tradition is commonly recognized, and already marked birth. In current linguistic use, giving birth to a boy is referred to as *tian ding* 添丁 (Fang et al. 2012, 34), whereas a girl's birth is indicated as *ban ding* 半丁, a "half person". These common modern

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24 冠、婚、丧、祭，一遵朱子之书.

25 Zhou Jinshui (2018, 538–44) highlights all the customs and rituals that even nowadays must be held in the perinatal period: devotion to the gods and spirits, blessings on the labour room and on the woman in labour, and the taboos related to labour and to the post-natal period. Any mistake in these rituals may have negative consequences for the newborn or mother, in the short or long run. Fang (2012, 74–75) thus states that when a woman finds out she is pregnant, the family will go to the local Guanyin temple to ask for protection.

26 Eitel reports that: "The proportion of females killed immediately after birth is generally estimated by Hakkas to be about two-thirds of the whole number of females born." (Eitel 1867, 98)

sayings come from the ancient literary tradition. "Jewel" (*nongzhang* 弄璋) for newborn boys and "tile" (*nongwa* 弄瓦, indicating today a small ceramic object, or tile) for newborn girls are still living terms in the Hakka-speaking area. These come from *The Book of Songs* (*Shijing*) verse: "when a boy is born, one says that one has a jewel in one's hands; when a girl is born, a ceramic tile", and this line has been transmitted in the Confucian tradition through Ban Zhao's *Admonitions for Women*, Ch. 1:

> 古者生女三日，卧之床下，弄之瓦砖。

> In ancient times, when a female baby was born, after three days she was put under the bed to play with a ceramic tile. (Chen 1992, 6)

A few days after a child's birth, offerings in the ancestor temple or to the *Tai shen* altar are made to guarantee the newborn's health (*you zi* 佑子). If a boy, red rice balls shaped like turtles are offered, if a girl, the rice balls are shaped like peaches. It is important for the mother to follow the isolation period (*zuo yuezi* 坐月子) of 30 to 40 days after the child is born.

Hakka community ritual practices and social values, especially from the 16th century onwards, were configured on the one hand as faithfulness to *Wen* 文, the official, traditional literary culture of the *Lixue* School, but on the other as faithfulness to *Wu* 武, martial culture, through which they expressed their loyalty (*zhong* 忠) to imperial power—basically the Ming. During the Qing period, however, Hakkas showed their support for peasant revolutionary rebellions such as the Taiping, and, finally, from the 1920s onwards, their endorsement of Mao Zedong and his establishment of the first Soviets, throughout the Long March and the rest of the 20th century.[27]

By way of conclusion: the complex of Hakka lineages is not ethnically defined, but is marked by the adherence to a shared culture, and individuals, often distributed throughout non-adjacent territories, often do not even speak Hakka. What unites the Hakka community is its history—the memory, continuity of descent lines, preservation of practices, beliefs, and actions, along with certain techniques related

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27   The ideals of *Wen* and *Wu* are expressed in the cult of local deities found in myriad rural altars throughout the Minxi territory: Wenchang 文昌 God of Literacy, Kuixing 奎星/魁星 (大魁夫子, 大魁星君) The Big Dipper, God of Examinations, and Guan Yu 关羽. The last of these is considered the God of War and is worshipped all over China, as well as in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, and South East Asia. He is known also as Guangong 关公. Guanyu/Guangong, represents loyalty to family and lineage (Hu 2009, 228). The earliest *Wen* temple was built in Tingzhou fu in 1160. In Yongding it was built in 1479 (Zhang 1994, 820).

to the body (Mauss 2002 [1934]),[28] handed down from one generation to the other, are the features that supply the individual with the means for self-identification within the group. In the process of constructing a society as distinct from that of native populations, and in the search for a cohesive bond for that cultural group, women held and still hold a central role. In the following paragraphs we shall see how the transmission of educational values linked to *Wen* has contributed to the construction of a binary gender society, wherein the multifaceted nature of Hakka women plays a primary role in its history.

The Transmission of Ethical Values: The Paradigm of Education

Education is highly valued among the Hakkas, where folk sayings celebrate the importance of schooling. In the *Zengguang Xianwen* 增广贤文,[29] a Ming epoch *ci* 詞 ballad which was widespread in the Hakka communities as a popular mountain-song (*shan-ge* 山歌)*,* the saying goes: "Raising a son without educating him is like raising an ass, raising a daughter without educating her is like raising a pig."[30] Moreover: "No matter what one's poverty or troubles are, one must make it so that children study, even at the cost of selling the latrine jar" (ibid.).[31] Study is linked to the perpetuation of family: "He who does not study has no wife" (ibid.).[32]

The importance attributed to education is recurrent in many features in Hakka villages: cults, practices, sayings, and customs, and not least in the willingness of successful Hakka migrants abroad to establish local schools for farmers.[33] This was true also in the past, when every well-to-do family's *tulou* had its own private school, the *shuyuan* 书院, or *sishu* 私塾, for its offspring. In Zhongchuan village, a primary school was founded by the members of the Hu 胡 clan in 1670, to

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28   "*Les façons dont les hommes, société par société, d'une façon traditionnelle, savent se servir de leur corps*" (Mauss 2002 [1934], 5). Marcel Mauss offers a fourfold classification: birth and midwifery techniques, childhood techniques, adolescence techniques, adult life techniques (ibid., 14–20).

29   See http://www.millionbook.com/gd/y/yiming/000/003.htm. (Accessed July 10, 2020). It collects many references drawn from the above-mentioned tradition, showing a continuity with the segregationist ideal of the Neo-Confucian ethics prescriptions for women prescribed by Sima Guang, Zhu Xi and the *Lixue* School.

30   养子不教如养驴，养女不教如养猪.

31   家再穷，人再苦，卖屎缸，也要供孩子读书.

32   不读书，无老婆.

33   There are many examples of this. Among the most distinguished ones, we may quote here Hu Wenhu 胡文虎 (AKA Aw Boon-Haw, 1882–1954), founder of the Tiger Balm brand, who set up and subsidized more than 300 schools in China and over 40 abroad, (see An 2015, 739–41; Xu 2016, 42–47; Hu 2019, 33.) His daughter Hu Xian 胡仙 (AKA Sally Aw, born 1932) is also known for her philanthropy in educational projects.

prepare candidates for imperial examinations (Li Zhou in Leo and Dai 2000, 104). A private teacher was hired, jointly paid by all the members of the lineage and sub-lineages. The students—boys and girls alike—did not pay fees, but regularly offered gifts to the teachers, mainly vegetables or other food (ibid., 94–95). Deserving students were rewarded with collective scholarships, awarded by the whole village, with honour rolls exhibited in the family temple room, or in other collective spaces.

In order to honour those who had acquired special merits, celebratory poles were set up in the space in front of the village ancestor temple. In the Zhang family ancestral temple in Taxia, Zhangzhou jurisdiction, built in 1772, there are still 24 celebratory poles, 14 of which were erected between the year of the temple's foundation and 1902, the year in which the imperial examinations were abolished. In front of the Hu ancestral temple in Zhongchuan, 15 of 36 original poles remain, whereas in front of the Hongkeng Lin temple there are 24 poles, all reconstructed after having been knocked down in previous years. However, such poles were meant to celebrate the successful men of the lineage. The first instances of poles celebrating women date after 1978, when the custom was revived after having been outlawed during the Mao years. In fact, ten new poles were set up in front of the above-mentioned Zhang family temple in Taxia village after 1978, some of which are dedicated to distinguished women.

Gender education values were conveyed not only in formal instruction, but also in oral lore addressing everyone, including illiterate women. What follows is a ballad from the Hakka folk tradition, *The Hakka Spouse* (*kejia buniang* 客家哺娘詞), used to convey the core values of gender education. It is recorded in many genealogy books, and it is shown in the Hakka Family Prescription Museum in Hongkeng, in the area dedicated to Hakka women.

The Ballad of the Hakka Spouse

The young Hakka mother awakes at cockcrow, washes her face and combs her hair; she brews the tea, puts the soup on the fire, makes breakfast. Only then does the first light of day appear; she scrubs the floor with wine and water and fills the jars with clean water. Even before eating, she does the laundry, prepares food for the pigs and feeds them; meanwhile, the soup simmers slowly. First she takes care of the oven, then of the pots, everything is cleaned to a polish, then she takes to needle and thread, she sews and embroiders adroitly. Her man is away, he works and takes care of his business, some men have gone overseas, others to nearby villages; the woman stays at

home and she has to be able to do everything, both small and great things, light and heavy labour. First of all, working in her field, on the land, cultivating fruits and grains, climbing up and down the mountains, moving fast, with silence in her heart. In her vegetable garden she grows greens, turns the grindstone, drives the pestle. She harvests bananas, cuts grass, sings mountain songs in a nightingale's voice, at the fourth hour she takes up work again, bearing the carrying pole by herself. When doing housework, she does not mind not eating well; when working in the fields she does not mind the wind and the snow. She always acts according to the rules, she knows who lies above and who lies below, she respects her parents-in-law. She holds her sons and daughters dear to her heart, she misses those who are far away, she instructs her husband and her children, and holds in great consideration the virtues of the right path. Farm work and study are important for her … (From the Hakka Family Precepts Museum, Hongkeng. May 2015)

A direct timeline connects *The Ballad of the Hakka Spouse* with the *Neize*, by way of Ban Zhao's *Admonitions for Women* (see footnote 23, above) and the women's moral prescription books of the *mengxue* 蒙学 literature, the primary textbooks for females, such as the *Four Books for Women*.[34] The diamesic transformation—from written text to sung ballad—is a strategy for reaching illiterate subjects such as poor peasants and women.

In traditional society, whereas the education of boys was aimed at preparing for imperial examinations as literati officials or military officers—and, after exams were abolished in 1902, at improving one's social status—the education of girls was limited to the acquisition of basic literacy skills that might allow them to study the *mengxue*. Through the study of primary books, they acquired competence in a set of traditional practices conveyed in those texts. Through those practices they were not merely regarded as a positive examples, but also reflected the level of civilization of the whole community. The ideal of "virtuous wife and good mother" (*xianqi liangmu* 贤妻良母), embodied in *mengxue* instruction manuals, was based on the woman paradigm of the above-mentioned *san cong si de* (Xu 2011) transmitted in the multi-stratified Confucian school, with its strong emphasis on the predominant position of men in the society (*zhongnan qingnü* 重男

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34   A collection of manuals assembled in 1624. They included, besides Ban Zhao's *Admonitions for Women*, the Song Sisters' *Women's Analecta* (*Nü Lunyu*), Empress Xu's *Instructions for Women* (*Nüxun/Neixun*), *Lady Liu's Quick Guide for All Rules for Girls (Nüfan Jielu)*. For a complete translation of the *Nü Sishu*, see Pang-White 2018. So far, it is the only English edition which includes all the four books in translation.

轻女). In a line of continuity, and also in modern times, the maintenance of social harmony is based on this, while breaching of the Way of Women leads to disruptive consequences, both within the family and outside, within society (Lieberman 1998; Ebrey 2002; Barlow 2004; Rosenlee 2006; Hershatter 2007).

This is the reason why, from the Ming dynasty onwards, there was a flourishing of educational texts for women. As reported by Huang Majin (1995, 22), in the West Fujian Hakka area the more widely-read books for female instruction were:

A One Thousand Words' Instruction for the Inner Chambers	*Guixun Qianzi Wen*
The Classic for Girls	*Nü'er Jing*
The Classic of Filial Piety	*Xiaojing*
Ban Zhao's Prescriptions for Women	*Ban Zhao Nüjie*
Women's Analecta	*Nü Lunyu*

To these texts we shall add also the above-mentioned *Zengguang Xianwen* 增广贤文 (*Enlarged Writings of Wisdom),* and *The Ballad of the Hakka Bride* (*Kejia buniang ci* 客家哺娘詞), which was meant to reinforce the *womanhood* moral prescription.

As mentioned above, at the dawn of the Republican era there was a shift in Hakka women historiography, as a reflection of the intellectual transformations and modernizations that took place on a national scale. In the Minxi region, in continuity with the family school tradition (*sishu*) noted above, pre-eminent young Hakka men who had studied or worked abroad founded between 1890 and 1910 the first modern schools in Western Fujian, prompted by modernist reformers like Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei. In the Yongding District townships and villages, such as Hongkeng, Gaotou, Xiayang, and in the Liancheng District, the first modern schools provided an education on subjects such as mathematics and science, together with the old classical texts. Girls were admitted to these schools as well, but, other than a few rare exceptions, just for a maximum of three years. A young woman from Gaotou, Jiang Yue'e 江月娥 (1902–1988), whose biography was published in 2007 by her son, Lin Shangxiang, was admitted in 1908 in the local school in Beishan, where the students studied the following (Lin 2007, 35):

Sanzi jing 三字经, *Qianzi wen* 千字文, *Youxue Jinglin* 幼学琼林, *Qian jia shi* 千家寺, *Guwen Guanzhi* 古文观止.

Beside these classical *mengxue* texts, they studied mathematics and science (ibid.). After the first years, whereas Jiang Yue'e's two brothers were sent to the city to further their education, at 16 she was betrothed and married. She is recorded as an exceptional lady in the area, as she was educated enough to be able to help her husband once they emigrated to South-East Asia and ran imported good shops. Her husband, Lin Fuzhang 林福章, the grandson of a distinguished family from the neighbouring village of Hongkeng, was educated in the local Rixin School (*Rixin Xuexiao* 日新学校), another modern institution,[35] one funded by his father, who was a tobacco dealer and had studied in Japan.

There were also schools run by missionaries in Fujian, but not many in the remote hills of Minxi until the years immediately preceding the foundation of the PRC (Xie 2005a, 205–13). The main function of these institutions was that of rescuing orphaned and abandoned girls xxxxxxxx, many of whom , instructed in the Christian faith, became nuns, or emigrated.

In those years the first school for women was established. According to Li (1996, 72), this can be credited to a Guangdong woman from Jiaying, Ye Bihua 叶璧华 (1841–1915). In 1906 she funded the Yide Women's School, in Meixian, with the stated intent of raising the social position of women. Between the year in which this school founded and the first years of the Republic, six other schools for girls were founded in Meixian (former Jiaying), and many Hakka students were hosted there.

Women's liberation and education were the focus of the first documents of the "Political Resolution of the First General Assembly of the Delegates of the Minxi Chinese Communist Party"[36] of July 1929 (in China Central Archive 1989, 5) and the "Resolution on Women's Movement in Minxi",[37] February 1930 (Research Center 1986, 90–95).

In this period some women not only acquired education, but also took up an active part in educating other women. Two distinguished cases are those of Fan Lechun (1903–1941) and Zhang Jinghui (1915–1930), both born to poor Yongding farmers, who joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1929 and are recorded as women who took their destinies in their hands through education.

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35   The Hongkeng *Rixin* 日新 elementary school was built by the Lin family in 1907 (Xu 2015, 339).

36   *Zhongyang Minxi diyi ci daibiao dahui zhi zhengzhi jueyi* 中共闽西第一次代表大会之政治决议案.

37   Available at: https://www.marxists.org/chinese/reference-books/ccp-1921-1949/05/053.htm. (Accessed August, 2020.)

In the next example it is interesting to note the coincidence of two factors in relation to a returnee from abroad (*fanke* 番客)—education and revolution. Cheng Kangrong's (1915–1940) family was from Qiling, in Yongding, but she had been born in a *huaqiao* family in Burma. Her father, Cheng Ximei, had taken part in Sun Yatsen's *Tongmenghui*, and she returned to China with him and her 18-year old sister when she was fifteen. She studied in Jimei high school and enrolled in Xiamen University.[38] When the Japanese invaded China, she quit her studies and joined the resistance. Given the dangers of the times, her father wanted her to leave the country. But she refused, wanting to follow her Communist comrades. Though disowned by her father and sister, Cheng Kangrong stayed on. With two other young students, Xiao Zheng and Xiao Zhou, she volunteered to teach in village schools, and they began their work in Qiling, acting as CCP underground operatives (Qiling was a Guomindang (GMD) stronghold). In class they used revolutionary and anti-Japanese materials, preparing them personally, and introduced ballads and operas with new contents. In the villages of Shuangshan and Huhe they took part in the foundation of night schools for women. Xiao Zheng was then sent to serve the CCP in Xiamen, while Cheng remained, was captured by the GMD and tortured to death.

Jiang Yue'e, introduced above, was also a *fanke*, as she returned to her village in 1942, hoping to help her husband recover from tuberculosis. In 1949 she was very active in teaching in night school for farmers, first in Hongkeng and then in other villages, with the help of her daughter, Lin Yunying, who was 29 at the time.

Even if these individuals entered official history as revolutionary women and embodied the new spirit of revolutionary times, the continuity of education of rural Hakka with the traditional moral instruction was not interrupted. Even in the 21st century, the contiguity among historical narrative, folk *kejia buniang* narrative, and *mengxue* educational texts stands out to a high degree.

Conclusion

We identified here the most meaningful paradigms that characterize the socio-cultural construct of the Hakka woman and build her relationship with history: she embodies the sense of rurality; she is in charge of maintaining the knowledge of practices, beliefs, and attitudes that identify the community group; she is responsible for producing male descendants. She is thus entrusted with keeping

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38   For this reason she is listed among the revolutionary heroes in Xiamen University Museum. She is the only woman on this list.

the thread of history intact, through the perpetuation of the lineage, in the fulfilment of the main physical task—that of procreation and the maintenance and education of children—as well as the moral one, i.e. the transmission of cultural knowledge and values through example and ritual practices (*yi shen zuo ze* 以身作则). She represents continuity, and also transformation.

By way of conclusion, we might draw four historiographic narratives of the Hakka woman:

1. That of the strong woman (*jianfu*) committed to work and hardship. This is the most frequent narrative. As we saw in this paper, the sociological feature of Hakka rural communities in which men emigrate and women stay home required endorsing the value of a strong woman capable of taking care not only of the house (the inner space *nei* traditionally dedicated to the feminine), but also of the outside, the work in the field (etymologically the origin of the character for man *nan* 男).

2. That of the virtuous woman (*xianqi liangmu*), also required by the absence of most men from the village. The importance of family values in the *Lixue* School strongly emphasizes harmony (*hexie* 和谐) among family members and relies on the capability of the young woman (女) to adapt in the new family as a married woman (*fu* 妇), become a mother and then a grandmother. The imperative of marriage and procreation is reinforced by the fact that women's names and stories are inserted into the genealogy books only once they achieved the main moral objective of granting a male descendant to the lineage. These two historiographic models were originally reinforced by the reports of missionaries who, as we have seen, attributed a higher moral value to the Hakka women than to non-Hakka women in an urban environment, and, in rural environments, admired their strength and endurance.

3. That of the revolutionary woman (*geming nüxin*) born in the Marxist historiographic tradition. As a response to the extreme poverty and subjugation to a patriarchal society, the attention that the Minxi Soviet government (1927–1931) gave to the woman liberation's issue generated many practices which involved female participation in the new, idealized society, such as political agency, literacy, and social liberation. Thus, many women are depicted in Hakka history as revolutionary heroes, from their participation to the Taiping movement, to the First Gannan-Minxi Soviet, and the Long March, on to joining the CCP and grassroots organizations.

This narrative, together with the first two, is quite present in local authors' literary renditions, such as in He Ying's *The Tenderness Years* published in 2009 and

serialized on television in 2014 in 30 episodes (*The Woman in the* Tulou), as well as in biographies on local mothers, written by devoted sons or grandsons with a strong intent to fill the gaps in official historiography—such as the biography of Jiang Yue'e, celebrated in the book written in 2007 by her son, Lin Shangxiang: *The Mother in the* Tulou. Finally, we may recall here Zhu Xiuhai's 2016, *Hakka People*, and the 2004 TV series *Women Inside the Fortress*, where the women's narratives adhere very much to these three models.

4. The model of the global Hakka woman that emerged after the 1990s, when women's emigration began to be highly encouraged by the government. In her migration experience, the Hakka woman knows how to contribute actively to the success of her family history. This is tied to the importance of philanthropy (as in the case of Hu Xian/Sally Aw), is praised at the local government level, and celebrated in commemorative steles, family temples and in *jiapu*s and *zupu*s. "Inspirational" women belong to this category, like China's first female conductor, Zheng Xiaoying (1929–), who has become the symbol of Hakka women on account of her personal fame as chief conductor of the China National Opera House.

This configuration of historiographical models for the Hakka woman, which co-exist at the same time and emerge in turn according to the discourse and moment within which they are delineated, brings into play Tang Junyi's dichotomy between "moral self" and "real self".[39] As morality represents the foundation of the self, woman, as an historical subject, is integrated within history and morality at the same time.

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39   "The real self refers to the self as an object of reality, fixed or captured within time and space. It is limited and determined by things and events pertaining to a certain time and space. It is a phenomenal self." (Tang Junyi in Rošker 2011, 94)

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The Challenges to Political Participation of Women in Afghanistan: Historical and Cultural Perspectives

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Abstract

Issues of women's rights, including political and social rights, are important topics and relevant to the political development of countries. Unfortunately, many Afghan women have been deprived of their rights and privileges for numerous reasons. The purpose of this study is to investigate and identify the challenges facing women's political participation in Afghanistan and to present strategies that can pave the way for women's political participation. The results show that there are challenges in the context of women's political participation, most notably cultural, historical and ideological problems. Afghanistan's current socio-economic environmental conditions contribute to tribal culture and clan-centric life patterns, characterized by patriarchy and centred on manhood. The patriarchal structure of society defines and interprets religious teachings as masculine and in favour of men. Cumulatively, issues such as educational barriers, economic dependence, gender gaps, and hundreds of other such obstacles, are at the root of the challenges to women's political participation. The relationship between these causes is such that the strengthening of one leads to the strengthening of the others, and vice versa.

Keywords: political participation, women's rights, tribal culture, patriarchy, gender equality

Izzivi političnega udejstvovanja žensk v Afganistanu: zgodovinske in kulturne perspektive

Izvleček

Ženske pravice, ki obsegajo tudi politične in družbene pravice, so pomembne in ključne teme za politični razvoj držav. Na žalost so bile zaradi različnih dejavnikov številne ženske v Afganistanu prikrajšane za svoje pravice in privilegije. Namen te študije je raziskati

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in identificirati izzive, s katerimi se Afganistanke srečujejo pri političnem udejstvovanju, ter predstaviti strategije, ki bi utrle pot političnemu udejstvovanju žensk. Rezultati so pokazali, da izzivi izvirajo iz kulturnih, zgodovinskih in ideoloških premis. Trenutne družbeno-ekonomske razmere v Afganistanu spodbujajo plemensko kulturo in osredotočenost na osrednjo vlogo klanov, za katere sta značilna patriarhat in poudarjanje vloge moških. Patriarhalna struktura družbe verske nauke določa in interpretira kot moške in v prid moškim. Kumulativno so teme, kot so ovire pri izobraževanju, ekonomska odvisnost in razlike med spoloma, temeljni izzivi za politično udejstvovanje žensk. Odnos med temi vzroki pa je tak, da krepitev enega vodi do krepitve drugih in obratno.

Ključne besede: politično udejstvovanje, ženske pravice, plemenska kultura, patriarhat, enakost med spoloma

Introduction

Women's rights, particularly political and social rights, are among the most critical concerns in numerous countries around the world. In the international arena, the political participation of women has proven to be one of the necessary conditions for development. Women, as part of society, have the inalienable liberty to chart the course of their destiny through recognition and enforcement of their rights and the exercise of sovereignty, including political participation. Thus, women in all spheres of political power and at all levels of decision-making can excel by recognizing and exercising their rights. Unfortunately, in Afghanistan various barriers exist—such as traditional, cultural, linguistic, gender, and customary beliefs—that hold back women from being an active political force to reckon with. Studies show that the construction of gender roles and asymmetrical relations of women and men in social, economic, political arenas are an outcome of historical practices emanating from patriarchal ideology (Ali 2018, 33). This study attempts to analyse and identify the historical and cultural aspects of women's political role, identify the challenges to women's political participation in Afghanistan, and present strategies to overcome them. Identifying the challenges to women's political participation and enhancing opportunities for women's political engagement can in turn augment people's political participation, deepen democracy, strengthen political vision, and lead to political development and a sustainable, inclusive society.

Participation and Challenges: Conceptual Framework

A better understanding of the key concepts and fundamental premise of the discussion would be useful. To this end, in the first section the concepts and

generalities of this research are examined, such as what is meant by a challenge, and what is participation?

Challenge as a Word: Challenge as a word means inviting someone to fight, calling on them to prove something, or to fight for superiority in terms of ability, power, and so on (Aghabakhshi 1995).

Challenge as an Idiom: Challenge as an idiom means calling a person, rival, or opponent into a fight and provoking them to prove their competence and ability. It is also referred to as a situation in which the focal problems and crises have historical roots (ibid.).

Participation: The word participation means the act of taking part in an activity or event (Hornblower, Spawforth, and Eidinow 2012).

Political Participation: Political participation is one of the key concepts in this research, although there are various interpretations and there is no clear and comprehensive definition. However, what follows are some explanations of this concept:

a) *Participation in Politics*: Many of the definitions that fall under the concept of political participation refer to this concept as meaning the free participation of citizens in politics, which is also defined in the *Culture of Political Science* (Aghabakhshi 1995) as "participation in politics and involvement in politics; citizens' organized efforts to choose their leaders, effectively participate in social and political activities and influence Government formation and governance".

b) *Influencing the Government or Supporting the Political System*: Sajjadi (2007) states that political participation encompasses both competition and support, which is predominantly in the form of games and influence. So, the objective is to have more active participation. He described political participation as "a set of activities and actions of citizens to influence the government or support the political system" (ibid., 99). He notes that just as the roots and foundations of political participation in different individuals and societies have different types and scope, they also have different levels, such as intense, moderate and weak, and the contribution of each of the factors to citizen's political participation is also different (Sajjadi ibid. 2008, 100). Hence, the obstacles and challenges of political participation are also linked to various causes.

Hekmatnia defines political participation as an essential sociological terminology (Hekmatnia 2011, 160). He defines political participation as involvement in political processes that lead to the selection of political leaders and determine or influence public policy (ibid.). Anthony Giddens in *The Third Way and Its Critics* refers to the nature of political participation and clarifies its voluntary aspect,

separating political activities from political participation, seeing political participation as a political right (in Hekmatnia 2011, 160). Political participation here refers to all the legal activities of non-state citizens that are more or less intended to directly influence the selection of government agents (ibid., 162).

In general, political participation is behaviour that influences or intends to influence government outcomes. Some experts believe that the first analysis of the cultural and political conditions of any society requires special attention to its primary source, the human element. Every form of cultural or social behaviour derives from human interaction in society. Hence, political participation, which is human involvement in decision-making, often emanating from citizenship, is one of the primary practices of a community.

Today, the concept of political participation has undergone a profound conceptual evolution. If in the past, participation was only meant to interfere with or be involved in something, today it defines participation as that part of the voluntary behaviour of individuals to intervene in any matter. Political participation, which is the most prominent form of participation, is the entry into the field of being elected or to elect someone, to intervene in the macro- and micro-levels of political decision-making that are relevant to the fate of the society. Political participation has several levels, the primary being voting, and the penultimate being people's representatives holding executive, legislative, administrative, and leadership positions. In other words, political participation encompasses basic involvement in civil society, public domain discourses, and voting, as well as interest in the political system, participation in informal governmental sectors, membership of quasi-political organizations, demonstrations, and seeking political or administrative office (Eskandari 2013).

Women's Political Participation: According to the concept of political participation, women's political participation can be defined as the voluntary activity of women to legitimately and legally, directly or indirectly, influence the choice of rulers and the governance process (Eskandari ibid. 2013). It includes the participation of women at all levels of political systems and processes.

Women's Political Participation: Theoretical Framework

Public participation as one of the essentials of political development is now rigorously studied, and the multi-dimensional nature of women's political participation in particular has drawn the interest of innumerable thinkers. Today's society is witnessing manifestations of patriarchy in the political arena in various forms. Hence, identifying obstacles to women's political participation and seeking to

reduce them to lay the groundwork for political development is critical. Afghanistan, as an underdeveloped country, must strengthen political participation in general, and women's political participation in particular, to achieve political development. Numerous factors have an effect on the forms and degrees of women's political participation in Afghanistan, including the level of schooling, the place of residence, and attitudes towards girls, as well as the other factors that affect the political participation of men and women in general, as a population. These include factors like the type of political structure, economic conditions, educational levels, dominant ideologies and so on. Among such factors, it is the traditional political culture of Afghanistan that has wielded decisive power and influence on the political participation of the people, and even more so with regard to women's political participation. Moreover, this is found to be true not only during any one particular historical era or particular political configuration of Afghanistan, but throughout the country's history. The traditional political culture of Afghanistan has had a powerful historical bearing on its present political nature.

Sociologists and political science theorists have brought forward numerous theories about political participation and the factors that affect it. Among them, Inglehart believes that there is a deep link between political culture and political participation. He believes that the inter-relation between deep-rooted attitudes, values, and democracy is very strong, and that democracy requires encouraging, supportive attitudes and social tendencies among the general public for progressive development and stability, and these attitudes and values should be encouraged in the popular political culture (Inglehart 1988, 1204). Therefore, he focuses his thesis on culture, stating that it is a system of beliefs, values, and experiences that are commonly shared among the people, and handed down from generation to generation (ibid. 1990).

Inglehart's theory as a theoretical framework lends itself powerfully to the arguments of this paper. He advocates that political participation is the quintessential component of democracy, and a key requisite for the evolution of political culture that is needed to craft sustainable democracy. This theoretical framework is employed to investigate the interaction and effects of political culture on women's political participation in Afghanistan. The political culture of Afghanistan being predominantly traditional and tribal is found to be the main obstacle to the political participation of women in Afghanistan.

In his book *Political Sociology of Afghanistan*, Abdul Qayyum Sajjadi states, "The social structure of Afghan society is a tribal structure with traditional ethnic political culture, which is firmly based on ethnic and tribal criteria and beliefs. It carries components of anti-development and anti-modernization in it" (Sajjadi 2012, 238). Therefore, in his view, the features of traditional and tribal political

culture are undemocratic and anti-development. He lists the features of tradition-al culture as follows:

- Traditional culture is an oral culture and is unquestionable. It is an individ-ual-centric culture, rather than being focused on personality or capability, which are essential requirements for any role, be it political.

- The community is anarchistic and the rule of law has no room in society.

- The social unity between people in this society is focused on blood and eth-nicity, not by intellectual unity, and the boundary between self and alien is focused on the tribal and ethnic boundaries (ibid., 239).

The prevalence of traditional culture is considered by Sajjadi as not only the root cause of several problems in governance, political management, and development, but also as making it difficult for governments to embrace democracy (ibid.). Tra-ditional historical residues not only have retrograde effects on the extant political culture, but the traditional tribal culture of Afghanistan, in addition to being an-ti-development, is also anti-woman.

Sima Samar states that role of Afghan women in politics has been limited by the tra-ditional culture of a patriarchal society (Afghan Voice Agency, 2015). Sajjadi, a Mem-ber of Parliament, also believes that traditional society's characteristics hinder women's participation in politics (ibid.). Traditional political culture has directly affected the political participation of women in Afghanistan throughout its history. Traditional tribal culture, as has been prevalent in Afghanistan, does not believe in equal rights and opportunities for women. In such a culture, gender biases, gender discrimination, and an inferior view of women are all clearly evident (WCLRF, 2017).

In Afghanistan's traditional patriarchal tribal culture, women's duties are confined to the home, with the education of girls being seen as worthless, while women's life-long suffering and the lack of healthcare are chronic issues of concern (De-jban 2000). Historical studies show that such discrimination was not limited to the dark period under the Taliban regime alone; instead, the history of Afghani-stan is riddled with patriarchal ideologies and practices that became salient fea-tures of traditional tribal culture. Jude Benjamin, a researcher at the International Committee on Afghanistan in New York, cautions the folly of considering the Taliban as the root cause of women's low status, and says any such conclusion only shows inadequacy in the study of Afghanistan's history (ibid.).

In summary, the theoretical propositions of Inglehart, as contextualized by the works of thinkers like Sajjadi, become useful in analysing the challenges of politi-cal participation of women in Afghanistan, and will be applied below.

Research Methodology and Data Collection

The challenges of political participation vary from country to country at any given time. This paper gained insights by examining the studies, processes, and views of people from multiple disciplines, across social strata, class, and ideologies, as made available in the public domain. The descriptive-analytical method has been chosen for this research, with the use of secondary data. The data was collected from various books, journals, international publications, government archives, and other sources.

Challenges of Women's Political Participation in Afghanistan

Challenges: Culture, Tradition and Religion

Nearly four decades of war and violence in Afghanistan have been ample provocation for violent behaviour in Afghan society, and individuals surviving within this model of a martial culture have practiced the most brutal behaviour while dealing with each other. Moreover, one of the most vulnerable sections of Afghan society that has been brutally affected by violence is women. Unfortunately, violence against women is not limited to any one social institution, like the family and home. Many Afghan men are unable to accept women's participation anywhere at all, including social-political spheres. In Afghanistan, barring women from entering the labour market and not letting them work as equals to men remains a severe challenge to the greater participation of women in society. Reports have even documented instances where many men in the Afghan community cannot bear to see a picture or image of a woman in the public domain. As such, several instances have been reported where the posters of female candidates contesting elections have been torn down, showing clear resistance to women's participation even at lower levels of governance and administration. In addition to tearing down or taking away of pictures of female candidates, such women often also receive threatening phone calls demanding that they leave politics. Such cases indicate the entrenched patriarchal belief system and practices among Afghan men, who are unprepared for an equitable and free electoral contest between men and women as equal citizens with equal rights, following democratic values and practices. The fact that women have a legal right to stand for election seems irrelevant to the dominant ideology, rooted in traditional tribal patriarchal culture.

Patriarchal Traditional Culture

Patriarchy is a male authority system that oppresses women through its social and economic institutions (Abbott and Claire 1997, 324), with such power stemming from the fact that men have greater access to resources and the privileges of power structures inside and outside the home, and mediate their division and distribution in society. The existence of a patriarchal culture in Afghanistan's historical past forces women to conform to men's wishes. It considers women's existential value to rely only on religious practices, reproduction and their use for men in society. This patriarchal culture also governs the formulation of political rules, allowing only men to hold high political and social positions. Moreover, the historical and cultural context of Afghanistan has always pushed women to stay away from politics and other such social milieus, and limiting women's roles, responsibilities, and duties to survival, sustenance, taking care of the home and the next generation (Mohseni 2011, 308).

Patriarchy is a socio-cultural construct favouring male dominance erected in the name of culture, tradition, norms, and customs through various social institutions, beginning with the family, and simultaneously perpetuating gender gaps and inequalities through social processes and institutions. This is certainly one of the critical factors that stamp out women's aspirations in Afghanistan, including political ones. It systemically erects obstacles specifically for women. In the name of patriotism the superiority, valour, and righteousness of men in Afghan society get glorified and remain almost an unchanging practice and principle. This glorification of male valour and dominating spirit demands that men establish supremacy over women, which involves the constant breaking down of women's personality, invalidation of their emotions, feelings, aspirations, participation, and self-esteem. In patriarchal and traditional beliefs, the traits of a man are those of a courageous hard-worker and provider, while women are seen as weak, ignorant, a burden, and so on. Even in literature, public perceptions and linguistics women are depicted as the personification of ignorance, weakness, laziness, and so on. In traditional Afghan culture, good and successful women are compared to men, and bad men are always treated like women. So much so that the worst traits for men to possess are those considered to be feminine, while the best attribute for women to cultivate is to be "like a man". Clearly, in traditional thinking and popular belief, a woman is considered to be created by God only to serve the husband and/or the male relatives in the family, and for housekeeping. It is thus clear how and why women are pushed out of their rightful status in society and are instead stereotypically regarded as secondary "creatures".

Studies in India show that barriers to active participation of women are an in-built feature of patriarchal society; constructed and maintained by social institutions like

the family, religion, education, political system, and media using an assortment of gender biases, prejudices and practices against women (Meera and Gowda 2013, 74).

Patriarchal societies use conservative traditions that undermine women's overall participation in society, including political participation. Because of this culture, structure, and system, women's activity outside the privacy of the family is deemed to be unacceptable. The sexist prejudices that sometimes take the form of "science" in the epistemic network of this patriarchal system can have catastrophic effects, in that they misuse and misinterpret the natural features of femininity and womanhood to mislead and deter women from entering politics or other public or community spaces in society. However, in the emerging global world of open communication and information exchange, and with the increase in women's awareness and development, it is clear that women's demands and expectations are moving to a higher level where women's rights, roles, and equality demand acknowledgment, albeit slowly. Today, Afghan women want to be actively involved in becoming the architects of their own lives as well as participate in various stages of strategic development planning and national decision-making, because women's presence in society, along with their socio-economic-political participation, is a matter of fact. Seeing all people as equal whatever their gender is a value that needs nurturing and strengthening, as it will lead to greater gender equality, set out as goal number five in the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (UNO 2018). Freedom of thought and the presence of women in public spaces like politics are thus markers of developing inclusive communities and collective rational intentions.

The study of cultural perceptions and practices clearly shows that the traditional cultural context in Afghanistan and the way women are viewed is a significant challenge to their political participation and for a more equal society. The culture that relegates women's roles and contributions only to the home creates a vicious circle of dependency and deprivation for women, not only socially, economically, and politically, but also psychologically. Such a culture poses a challenge to women who wish to make their mark in the community and aspire to contribute and realize their potential. Instead of encouraging equal opportunities, such traditional patriarchal societies challenge women by seeing them as inferior, weak, and "out of their proper place" if not at home. This has been established by studies that show the negative perception of women working outside of the home. Often, such employed or gainfully occupied women are seen as worthless and disgraced in Afghanistan. This kind of culture in itself hinders women's participation and development. Custodians of patriarchal tribal culture place the blame for more calls for women's right upon the influence and diffusion of The "other", newer cultures through global communication and information dissemination. At the

same time, some studies claim that these traditions from outside—calling for more women's right—are not original to Islamic culture and have led to the disorientation of women along with a negative impact on their total integration into Afghan society (Rahin n.d.).

Religion

Religion poses major challenges to women's political participation in Afghanistan. Religious customs, interpretations by clerics, religious teachings, and conservative custodians within mosques prevent women from participating in politics. The patriarchal structure of Afghan society, which is predominantly Islamic in its religious profile, shows that religious teachings favour men. The masculine commentary on religious texts prohibits women's participation in the public domain. Interpretations of religious tenets by several clerics are proof of this. In one of the provinces in Afghanistan a cleric issued a fatwa during a parliamentary election stating that "it is forbidden for voters to vote for a female electoral candidate when there are male candidates". This is an example that shows how social institutions like religion can prevent women from participating in elections. Religious authorities in Afghan society can also issue a fatwa to prohibit women from voting, as the Taliban have repeatedly done. Therefore, one of the barriers and challenges to the participation of women is the institution of religion (Mohseni 2011, 300).

Islam has often been a means of consolidating the political power of rulers and kings in Afghanistan, notes Sajjadi. Three main sources of legitimacy can be traced in the country: firstly, ethnicity; secondly, the source of legitimacy embodied through the principle of nationality in the Loya Jirga—the traditional grand assembly of the Afghan people; and thirdly, the divine origin of legitimacy from Islam and the teachings of the religion. These three sources of legitimacy are the more subtle formulations used in establishing the political legitimacy of the rulers. At the same time, those who possess power operate on the principles of ethnicity-based policies and discriminative practices based on ethnic and religious divisions (Sajjadi 2012, 135). Accordingly, the political participation of citizens who have no place in any of the sources of legitimacy is not considered as necessary or significant (ibid., 145). The examination of political participation in Afghanistan reveals a strong juxtaposition of religion, ethnicity, and discriminative policies. In a religious society where religious discrimination is rampant, it is clear that other religious parties do not have equal chances to participate in or win elections; it is equally true that the equal participation and representation of women as a political force has a long way to go. Interestingly, even in the context of political leadership

women's role is relegated to fulfilling household duties and becoming the mother of many intelligent sons who will go on to lead the nation as men in power. The society, political system, or even the family does not care about women, who they are or what they become. Therefore, being a woman is in itself seen as a challenge in a religious society. Moreover, the fact that Afghanistan has an almost entirely Muslim population is a barrier to the participation of citizens of other religions.

Religion in Afghanistan has a defining power in politics, and religious institutions are monopolized by clerics who are influenced by the traditional conservative culture. Therefore, political and religious institutions work in tandem to protect and perpetuate patriarchal traditional culture and vested interests rather than to promote progressive culture, equal opportunities, and making women's political participation a reality.

Challenges: Position of Afghan Women in Family and Society

Population dispersion, harsh climatic and geographic features, an agricultural-based livestock economy, lack of urban infrastructure, lack of communication, limited economic resources, arid and mountainous climate, and other environmental factors have caused rural and tribal life to be the dominant living-cultural paradigm in Afghanistan for hundreds of years. The social structure in the tribal society is relatively constant, based on ethnic and tribal standards and beliefs (ibid., 44). A characteristic feature of this type of social life is the dominance of tribal traditions and norms, habits, symbols, rituals, myths, and primitive moral values. The most enduring manifestation of this kind of tribal culture is embodied in the patriarchal paradigm. The dominance of the ethnic system in the process of communal life and the dominance of rural culture, even among many urbanized populations, along with social perceptions and cultural knowledge oriented towards value and identity, have greatly influenced the personality of women under the patriarchal paradigm (Heywood 2008, 475). Male-centeredness is a set of patriarchal cultural values based on masculine standards, and any theory that defines women's lives as deviating from that of a masculine standard is male-centred (Abbott and Claire 1997, 325).

Dominating tribal traditions and norms, habits, symbols, and rituals is another challenge facing Afghan women. Men maintain control over women's bodies, feminine sensibilities and free choice in the feudal and rural culture, and the historical passivity and the psychological onslaught of expectations and gender role stereotyping of women have continued incessantly over generations. This has resulted in another great challenge faced by women, which is the widespread

prevalence of mental, psychological, and emotional ill-health and stress, which is often deftly concealed from society, and especially from male scrutiny, due to social stigmatization.

Women in Afghanistan often suffer from mental stress, emotional emptiness, social disconnect, excessive self-censorship, low (or no) self-esteem, fear and anxiety of "encountering" or interacting with men, the tendency for seclusion and isolation, lack of courage and confidence, especially in expressing desires; a sense of inferiority, negative self-image, viewing oneself as belonging to men, overly dependent on men's abilities; a sense of anxiety, insecurity, and even fear to claim or exercise personal autonomy; fear of social activities; social conditioning that makes women need to be sheltered by male guardians and decision-makers; undermining of women's agency and concealment of their talents and capabilities. These are all "home-grown" challenges that cause women to remain in the background, depriving themselves of socio-economic and political opportunities as well as their rights. Thus, much of the social disadvantages and individual challenges faced by women are rooted in the same psycho-educational spaces and patterns of socialization that emerge from the context of socio-cultural-economic-environmental systems, processes, and settings. In this context, the aspirations and possibilities for women's political participation can seem bleak or insignificant. The barriers blocking women from political participation become manifold in such a traditional tribal culture, where even men from non-ruling tribes are denied active political participation. In such settings gaining equal opportunities for women to participate is not easy to achieve, and even more so in politics which is considered a male bastion.

The primary role of a man, as ordained by tribal culture, is that of a provider and protector of his family, which translates into earning the money needed to support the family. On the other hand, society expects a woman to be a nurturer and comforter for the family. A woman is expected to be in the house and do all the routine household chores every day of her life, for the sake of her family. Besides, the reproductive role of bearing and rearing children is exclusively placed on her. Her role here includes the responsibility of raising children into fine adults, with the duty of imparting education and the transfer of culture also placed on mothers. A woman also has to be the caregiver to all in the family, including the old, sick and young. Working within the family for no-pay or in others fields for additional income, doing all tasks related to family livestock management, extending support to her husband in his work as and when he needs or demands, maintaining harmonious familial relations, and following traditional rituals and festivals, are just a few of the expectations for a woman. Interestingly, none of these tasks or the woman's role in them are generally

acknowledged or considered as valuable, hence her labour and contributions remain unaccounted, undervalued, and invisible.

Like the famous proverb goes, "one who gives bread gives orders", and thus the role of men as providers is given more importance. Therefore, in the Afghani tribal family system, more attention is paid to men and boys than girls and women, which continues into the present with the preference for sons. In such a culture, secondary status is given to women and girls at home and outside. Gender role stereotyping ensures that women themselves subscribe to such patterns of thinking, choosing, doing, and so on. Through the process of patriarchal socialization girls and women are made to believe that they are weak, need male protection, are less important, less capable and their primary role is to be married, have children, and serve one's husband and his family.

Even society employs different standards of measure for men and women, viewing girls and women either with pity or sympathy, measuring them up based on their external appearance, degree of servitude, and so on. Workplace stereotypes also encourage the secondary status and lower position bestowed upon women in both the family and society. This percolates into public sphere, including politics, as manifested in the many challenges to women's political participation and development.

Women in Afghanistan: The Past and Present

The Historical Position, Political Participation and Challenges of Afghan Women

The record of Afghanistan's history shows that Afghan women have been courageous and talented, but rendered victims under the pressures of traditional society. They have not been in the right place at any given time, and their spirit, talent, and personality have been suppressed in various ways. Historically, Afghan women's pathways to acquire knowledge, education, a scientific outlook, and rational thinking have been blocked by the strict oppression that forces them to lead lives of despondency and discrimination, almost like the living dead in the cemetery of time. Despite this, there has been no lack of talented women, and Afghan women have never been quiet, but instead have written their names in the pages of history through their presence, perseverance, resistance, and socio-political movements for equality.

Princess Rabia Balkhi (856 AD–926 AD), from the Balkh region located in present-day northern Afghanistan, is historically credited as the first poetess in the language of Dari, and became famous for her expressive poetry about her love for

a man who was a slave, for which she was imprisoned and then her veins were cut, leading to her death. Historical narratives record that despite this she defiantly continued to write poetry on the walls of her prison cell in her own blood till her last breath, and thus became a symbol of resistance. Rabia exercised her freedom to choose her love, and valiantly resisted all efforts to suppress her freedom of expression through poetry.

The history of Afghanistan is witness to several such records of courage and sacrifice from women. They have always been just as active as men in making history and independence in Afghanistan, but have always faced violence and been seen as inferior. The abilities, talent, and grit of Afghan women in the fields of art, culture, literature, and the political arena are evident. Although the political visibility of women is relatively low, some have indirectly influenced political change through the selection of the crown prince, in the position of the king's wife and queen mother, and at other times had more direct effects.

Afghan history is marked with narratives on the situation of women, their activities, and their deprivations through the chronology of events, years, and periods of rule. Historical accounts directly mention women like Queen Gouhar Shad (1447–1457), who as the Queen of Herat ruled for about ten years after the death of her husband King Amir Timor. History records that she led a cultural renaissance through patronage of art, architecture, and trade, transforming the town of Herat into a seat of power, oasis of learning, religion, and business. Architectural splendours like a mausoleum, mosque and minarets still stand as mute testimony of her governance. During the Timuri era (1370–1507), encouraged by religious tolerance and lack of ethnic, linguistic, and regional prejudices, the urban women were able to participate in social affairs and develop their talents and education more than ever before (Mohseni 2011, 29).

The Ghaznavi period (977–1186), despite its reputation for progress in literature and science, still lacked the presence, participation, and progress of women due to the nature of despotism and discrimination at that time.

As Afghan society became engulfed in domestic tyranny through superstitious beliefs and practices, the flow of ideas, pace of development, and political participation of not only women but all other segments of society stagnated. Afghani women experienced even more severe forms of oppression and deprivation within the authoritarian tribal system.

The Ahmad Shah era (1747–1772) witnessed a humiliating attitude towards women. Men of the tribal family were so dominated by traditions that they even used women to leverage their trade. Society then condoned the disgraceful

attitude and custom of considering women as the 'property' of men. The era of Timur Shah (1772–1793) was no different. In the despotic tribal system, women were always victims under the onslaught of demands dictated by the power play of tribes. Women were used as sexual slaves of the influential houses and made victims of tribal violence, which continued even during the so-called peaceful era until Abdul Rahman Khan (1880–1901). Poor women were taken hostage after bloodshed to strengthen the relations between the two tribes. The times of Abdul Rahman Khan (1880–1901) witnessed the height of oppression against women (Mohseni 2011, 45). During this dark period, history witnessed the enduring power of women through their protests, writings, and poems, and even encouraging and equipping female freedom fighters. For example, during the Maiwand war (1880) and the second British invasion (1880), women were directly involved in the conflict along with men, such as the young Miss Malalai who carried the national flag on the battlefield after the death of previous flag guard, and started singing epic poems to encourage the fighters to fight and resist (Ghobar 1993). Other brave women also fought against injustice and cruelty with all their heart and strength, and so became symbols of zeal, integrity, and courage.

King Habibullah Khan (1901–1919), as Ghobar writes, claimed to be a reformer and proponent of women's rights and wanted to stop the multiple marriage system (ibid.). History says Amanullah Khan (1919–1929) ushered in some changes to increase the equality and rights for men and women under different laws, whereby women finally received the right to education. This was the historical period when women's efforts founded many schools, and girls and women were sent abroad to study. However, the radical, westernizing policies of Amanullah Khan stirred up fanaticism, and with the advent of Habibullah Kalkani (1929) women's political participation and their right to education were disrupted. When King Nader Khan (1929) came to rule with his tribal despotism, schools for girls were closed, students pursuing education abroad were compelled to return, and the path that was gradually opening up for social and political participation not just narrowed down, but was simply closed. However, it was then during the Zahir Shah era (1933–1973) that the constitution was ratified by the Upper House (1965), and the right of all citizens to vote was recognized. This provided the basis for greater political, legal, legislative participation of women. For the first time in the history of Afghanistan, the election of 1965 recorded voting by women, and also saw women getting elected to Parliament. The political arrival of female delegates such as Aziza Gardizi and Homira Seljuki was recognized by Zahir Shah, who made them Senate Representatives (Farhang 1992, 720). This period, which is known as the era of democracy, may have been the first in the history of Afghanistan when women could legally engage in their organizational activities. The

ruling period of the People's Democratic Party (1978–1992) was short-lived for several political-cultural reasons, including their increased promotion of modern western notions of culture and freedom, which were not tolerated by Afghanistan's traditional and religious community.

However, the period of Daud Khan (1973–1978) marked even greater encouragement for the education of Afghan women than what was witnessed during the term of Zahir Shah. The Revolutionary Society of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) also started its activities in 1977, aiming to fight for women's rights and secular democracy. However, the activities of this movement faced innumerable challenges due to its goals of greater secularism, gender equality, social justice, and human rights, and members were often forced to carry out its mission covertly. (Ekhlasi 2010, 453)

After the Saur Revolution in 1978, the seizure of power by the communist People's Democratic Party, the equality of men and women in all social, economic, and cultural spheres, and especially in the political and civil areas, were expressed in Article 12 of the rules governing the regime. Many writers believe that the most important advance in this period was the fight against women's illiteracy. Although it provided the basis for women's political, social, and educational activities, even then extremism and irrationality continued and created conflicts with the religious community in Afghanistan, and eventually provided the ground for the return of the oppression of women's rights and equality in society. With the rise of the Mujahideen (1992–1996), fighters against the Soviet occupation, communist extremism faced fierce opposition. This political tide against the communist regime unfortunately also meant strong opposition to the communist agenda of encouraging the social and political participation of women. So, in this period, women's political and social participation, and even their cultural activities, were forbidden, and this was one of the most challenging periods for Afghan women in recent their history, ranging from deprivation of education and political participation to cutting off their heads and removing organs as punishments. And the worst of all periods was the Taliban regime (1996–2001), when all forms of oppression were inflicted on the already suffering women, and all in the name of Religion. The precepts of religion and religious interpretations were used during this period to fiercely deny women their rights to education, employment, or work outside their house, to assemble in public places, even to see a doctor, and so on.

The oppression of women during the Taliban regime was so blatant and severe that it woke up the international community, assemblies, and organizations. Amnesty International reported that all the rights of women in Afghanistan had been violated, and severely condemned the Taliban's actions. Moreover, at the

UN Commission on the Status of Women, which is held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York every year, a resolution on the status of women in Afghanistan was adopted. This addressed human rights violations against women and girls, which included all forms of discrimination, calling on the Taliban to end their discriminatory policies and practices in Afghanistan and recognize the dignity and equal rights of women and girls (Mohseni 2011, 78).

After the overthrow of the Taliban regime, the Bonn Conference was held from November 21 to December 6, 2001, under the auspices of the UN. Among the six main issues discussed were those of the security and rights of women, which included an emphasis on the presence of women in governance, and the establishment of processes to empower women and development of institutions focusing on women in Afghanistan. In the fourth section of the Independent Commission of Loya Jirga, Article 2 (c), the appointment of representatives and the significant presence of Afghan women in the Emergency Loya Jirga (2002) is emphasized, and women's participation in the formation of the Emergency Loya Jirga was highlighted. It was under the Interim Government (2001–2002) that the obligation was spelled out to set up the emergency Loya Jirga and elect 21 members of the commission from among the qualified persons consulted by the United Nations, including three women, namely, Mahboba Hoqoqmal, Soraya Parlika, and Homeira Nemati. One thousand five hundred and one members were appointed by the commission to attend the Emergency Loya Jirga, of which 160 were women, and Sima Samar was elected the First Deputy Chairperson of the body. In the first election for the transitional government, Massouda Jalal was nominated for the presidential election, the first time a woman had stood for high office, and she received a considerable number of votes. Women like Asifa Kakar and Mukarrama Akrami were present in the constitutional Loya Jirga and in the nine-member commission set up to draft the constitution by the interim government. In the year 2003, when the transitional government created the 35 members commission to draft the constitution, seven women were present, and a special committee consisting of 20 women was set up under Mahhboba Hoqoqmal, to further formulate policies and uphold women's rights. The committee which was mandated to evaluate the drafting of the constitution added another article, "Ensuring equal rights for men and women and eliminating all forms of discrimination against women". It also called for a minimum of two women instead of one to be present in Parliament and provincial councils. In the new constitution, unlike the famous Sunni and Shia's religious fatwas, under the rule of the President, Parliament, and Senate, the law did not prohibit women from engaging in any sphere and set the foundations for equal treatment, while also approving steps for affirmative action and positive discrimination for women to be represented in the Parliament,

Senate, Provincial Council, and District Council. This marks the beginning of the historic and monumental march of Afghan women towards equal opportunities and outcomes in all spheres, including political participation. The act of adopting international conventions has since come into law, where equality between men and women is an important pillar (Mohseni 2011, 89–90).

According to Sarabi (2004, 45), the constitution of Afghanistan is in the interests of women. This statement is true to the extent that, when equality in law is implemented in practice, then discrimination in policy or practice should not prevail. The new Afghan constitution (2004) has a humanist Islamic approach that envisages "an Islam in harmony with the fundamental values of modern humanism; such as the human being's self-determination and innate dignity, democratic activity, human rights, socio-political justice and an optimistic view of rationality and reason" (Shah 2016, 33). This lays a foundation that can underpin democracy, as stated in Article 22: "All discrimination and privilege between Afghan nationals are prohibited. Men and women have equal rights and responsibilities against the law." This article in the country's constitution rejects all forms of discrimination and formally recognizes equal rights for men and women, although it was already mentioned in the earlier constitution by Daud Khan (1973) and the communist regime (1978–1989). But these earlier attempts were not explicit and clear to the same extent, and could not be applied in the community. However, due to the favourable socio-political situation that ensued following the Bonn Agreement (December 5, 2001), the Afghan people started a new social, economic, political, and cultural life under the broad umbrella of democracy.

The Present Position, Political Participation and Challenges of Afghan Women

The adherence and incorporation of international human rights treaties in the new constitution have made a towering difference to the lives of Afghan women. Article 7 of the constitution clearly states that "The government, the United Nations Charter, the international treaties, that Afghanistan has joined and shall follow the Declaration of Human Rights". In addition to these commitments, the transitional government of Afghanistan, with international backing, established the Independent Human Rights Commission in Afghanistan (2002) to prevent and combat any form of ethnic, religious, sexual, and all other forms of discrimination in the country.

The new constitution, in Article 58, formally endorses the Human Rights Commission: "The government shall establish an independent Human Rights

Commission to monitor and improve the protection of human rights in Afghanistan." Anyone can submit their grievances to the Commission, and the Commission will examine the human rights violations through legal authorities and assist in defending everyone's rights. Afghanistan's accession to the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" also reflected the harsh realities that have been enslaving Afghan women historically, culturally and politically, and showed promise that the country will be able to embark on journey that eventual ends all forms of discrimination, upholds human rights, and achieves gender equality and social justice. The dark years of the Taliban regime were the most devastating times for Afghan women in recent history. Acceptance of various international treaties by Afghanistan and its new constitution have strengthened the pathways for women's participation and leadership in Afghan society. For example, the eligibility criteria to be met by presidential candidates are spelled out in Article 62 of the new constitution, in which there are no formal restrictions on a woman becoming the President of Afghanistan.

Examination of the extant situation shows that though the constitution has paved the way for women to enter the political arena, the actual size of women's representation is still very small and needs encouragement. Effective inclusion of a good number of women representatives in important political talks and peace processes, as well as the importance assigned to their views, proposals, and ideas, leaves much to be desired. The challenges of converting words and aspirations into reality are real in Afghanistan. Making the representation and participation of Afghani women more effective is the challenge of today, and one that is among the major development concerns in the country.

Several challenges remain to be faced. For example, many of the representatives in the High Peace Council (former Taliban members) do not believe in the equality and rights of women (WCLRF 2017, 4). The Women's Political Statement on Peace, Security and Political Participation states that the majority of decisions in the High Peace Council's Executive Committee are made by men and imposed on women, and that women members of the High Peace Council, of which there are very few, have not been informed or even invited for discussions held on the peace process (ibid., 6). The Women and Child Legal Research Foundation reports several threats to active political participation and leadership. The findings include women's effective political participation continuing to be poor; women's active participation in national and international discussions being inadequate; that women's concerns need to be better addressed and included in national agenda; that participation needs to move beyond women's mere presence to active participation and leadership (ibid., 9–10).

The Afghan Women's Network campaign entitled "Afghan Women Will Not Go Back" represents the current position of women in the face of recent concerns about ignoring their role, presence, and voice in national debates (Afghan Women's Network n.d.).

The attack of 9/11, US military interference in Afghanistan, followed by the Bonn Conference and the formation of a new Afghan government, were all turning points for Afghanistan, particularly for Afghan women.

In its journey towards development and sustainable growth, Afghanistan as a society strives to overcome several deep-rooted challenges that remain from its historical cultural composition, characteristics and experiences. Elements of tradition, culture, ethnicity, and religious interpretations have formulated the belief systems of the people. The traditions, values, culture and religious beliefs that characterized traditional tribal Afghan society have had negative impacts on the lives of Afghan women in all spheres, including their identity, self-esteem, well-being, education, employment, and political participation. The male-dominated tribal society of Afghanistan, with its patriarchal belief system, has made women and their work remain within the four walls of their homes, so much so that generally women are not allowed to step out without male members accompanying them, even to visit a doctor during serious illness.

Progressive religious thinkers and researchers in Afghanistan consider that Islam in its original form does not profess or condone discriminatory attitudes towards women. Such thinkers believe that woman must be treated as equal members of the human community with equal rights to those given to men in Islam. Hence confining women only to the family and within the house, denying them opportunities for education, employment, financial independence, and political participation all derive from the masculine patriarchal narratives and interpretations of Islam, tribal culture, and traditional conservatism. It is stated that Islam in its true essence values women's dignity of life and financial independence. However, due to patriarchal interpretations these basic tenets have been ignored, make women second-class citizens.

Various religious authorities have a strong influence in Afghan society, and are considered to be important sources of power and legitimacy, and they are by far the most significant factors in making anti-feminine statements that impact the individual, social, political, economic, and legal destiny of women (Vaezi 2013). Religious institutions, the clergy, Loya Jirga, tribal chiefs, and tribal elders continue to be influential and play a powerful role in social, political and cultural spheres in Afghanistan. Their perceived role in regulating social order, defining social relationships, monitoring social contracts, controlling individual

and inter-personal behaviours continues, and thereby allows the continuation of historical patriarchal perceptions and discriminatory practices against women, from the past into the present.

The prevailing attitude and practice of treating women as second-class, subordinate citizens and like 'property' owned and controlled by men presents many challenges for women in all walks of life, including political participation, which in turn not only oppresses one half of society but fundamentally weakens it as a whole and retards the development of the nation. To break these vicious cycles there is an urgent for a strong political will, social mobilization, and sustainable empowering processes, structures, and perspectives that all aim to uphold women's rights as human rights. Gender-sensitive policies, enabling institutional structures, systems and processes are important in this context, and the sustained political participation of women is a key component in this.

Strategies and Suggestions

"Women hold up half the sky" is a popular quote that states the truth that: women constitute half of human society. It is beyond doubt that women and men are meant to be natural equal partners in life and society, and when this fact is accepted it dismantles the very tenets of patriarchy as well as the historical and cultural roots of gender inequality.

Society sees development when its members as stakeholders, its processes, institutions and agencies all subscribe to a shared vision of higher ideals and are pro-actively committed to achieving them. Therefore, barriers to women's participation in family, culture, value, economic, and social contexts need to be first identified and dismantled, including the complete elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women. Gender-sensitive female empowerment processes are essential here.

Strategies to overcome the challenges to the greater political participation of women and to encourage their equitable partnership in the development process broadly require paradigm shifts in the policies, processes, institutions, attitudes, values and culture of society, with an unequivocal commitment and emphasis on freedom, equality, equity and justice for women, men and the others in Afghanistan. Gender mainstreaming is a pre-requisite fore this, and the socio-cultural and political incorporation and institutionalization of equal opportunity principles, gender sensitivity, and capability building are vital, as is an empowering eco-system.

Some of the definitive steps that need to be taken up as a high priority include the following:

1. Elimination of illiteracy and promotion of universal progressive education for all is fundamental. One of the historical, deep-rooted causes of many ails in Afghanistan is widespread illiteracy, lack of progressive education, and a lack of awareness about issues such as human rights. Therefore, the expansion and strengthening of prevailing initiatives and new, innovative mass education and literacy campaigns involving adult education, evening study centres, universal school education and an emphasis on the education of girls should be put in place. Violence and deprivation thrive where society breeds ignorance, nepotism, and discriminatory Literacy can make a positive difference.

2. Education needs to be viewed from a broader premise to include capacity building, skill development, leadership development, self-development, life skills, vision-building, social entrepreneurial development and attitudinal changes using BCC (Behavioural Change Communication).

3. Effective awareness and IEC (Information Education Communication) campaigns using multiple mass media, including traditional folk media, theatre, music in Dari and Pashto and other local languages, portraying women as equal partners in society and development will be useful points of influence. Encouragement and support for civil society organizations, NGOs, and people's collectives, along with research, learning and development institutions, are other effective ways to build partners for sustainable development.

4. Gender sensitization and gender mainstreaming in all social institutions, including religious ones, along with collaborative partnerships for advocacy of human rights, gender justice, zero tolerance for violence and discrimination against women and girls need to be adopted as flagship policies and programs of the government. The role of international agencies like the UNO and other aid agencies is critical in ensuring global commitment and pressure against any "going back" to the old days, as now feared by women in Afghanistan. The support and commitment of religious leaders and their institutions is invaluable and must be enlisted and guaranteed for the success and sustainability of the changes envisaged.

5. The laws protecting women's freedoms have an active and beneficial role in eliminating violence, including domestic violence. The equal rights of women and men need to be upheld in all walks of life, including the right to education, to work and employment, the right to property, to health care (including reproductive health care), to vote, to contest in elections, to be elected and

win elections to become political leaders and policymakers. In short, women should have the same rights as men.

6. Also critical for women are the alleviation of poverty, greater employment opportunities, along with public and workplace safety. Economic rights and empowerment can increase the confidence and capabilities of Afghan women, and thus enhance their political participation. Cooperatives can make a positive difference and bring powerful possibilities.

Equal rights for women are now guaranteed for the first time in the Afghan constitution, although political will, belief in female empowerment and gender equality are still needed for the greater appointment of women at all levels of decision making.

Conclusion

Historically and culturally, Afghanistan's conservative traditional tribal society has blocked women's progress. Patriarchal beliefs, biases, and processes, including socialization combined with traditional tribal culture and social institutions under despotic rule throughout the country's history, have caused a deep-rooted schism in society perpetuating oppression, discrimination and tyranny. Afghanistan's current socio-economic, political, environmental conditions reinforce its tribal culture and clan-centric life pattern, characterized by patriarchy. It is clear that the patriarchal structures of society are defining and dictating all walks of life, and that masculine narratives of history, religion, and cultural practices present women with educational barriers, economic insecurity, the burden of domestic drudgery, restrictions on physical mobility and autonomy, widening gender gaps and other obstacles to women's political participation. The relationship among the causes of these barriers is such that the strengthening of one leads to the strengthening of the others, and vice versa. It is thus essential to work in a comprehensive manner to overcome these barriers.

In the first transitional period of the Afghan government it established a Ministry of Women Affairs under the leadership of a woman for the first time ever. This emerging period created a relatively open socio-political space for Afghan women's activities, resulting in a new wave of progressive, well-informed students, educated and working women, even a female candidate for president. These developments are a ray of hope even amidst the complexities of the post-conflict situation originating from previous era, deep-rooted patriarchy, gender gaps, massive illiteracy, governance issues and more. Enhancing women's participation in all spheres, including political engagement, can augment people's representation,

strengthen political vision, deepen democracy, and lead to gender equality and a sustainable, inclusive society.

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SPECIAL ISSUE:
THE MANIFOLD IMAGES OF ASIAN HISTORY

Cultural Heritages and Exchanges

Rereading the History of Dargazin City in Nasuh Matrakçi Miniature Images

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Abstract

This article focuses on the miniature paintings of Nasuh Matrakçi who came to the west of Iran during the Safavid period. Matrakçi's miniatures are among the oldest surviving images of Dargazin city, the like of which cannot be found in other travelogues and historians' works. The surviving three images at two different settings can help us understand the urban and social status of Dargazin in the Safavid period. The findings indicate that, thanks to its Sunni residents and because of its geopolitical significance, Dargazin was of great interest to Ottoman and Safavid rulers who turned it to the governing base of the region. This played an important role in the city's development in the way that in some areas, like the design of gardens, the traditional architecture of the Safavid period was mixed with original Persian style.

Keywords: Hamadan province, Ottoman, Dargazin, Matrakçi, miniature

Ponovno branje zgodovine mesta Dargazin skozi podobe miniatur Nasuha Matrakčija

Izvleček

Članek se osredotoča na miniature Nasuha Matrakčija, ki je v zahodni Iran prišel v času Safavidov. Njegove miniature spadajo med najstarejše ohranjene podobe mesta Dargazin. V drugih popotniških besedilih in zgodovinskih delih ni mogoče najti takih podob. Tri ohranjene podobe, ki kažejo dva različna prizora, nam pomagajo razumeti urbani in družbeni status Dargazina v času Safavidov. Zahvaljujoč sunitskemu prebivalstvu mesta in njegovemu geopolitičnemu pomenu, najdbe nakazujejo pomen, ki ga je mesto imelo za Otomane in Safavide, v času katerih je bil Dargazin upravno središče regije. Ta status je imel pomembno vlogo

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v razvoju mesta, kar se kaže v tem, da se je na nekaterih področjih, kot je oblikovanje vrtov, tradicionalna arhitektura safavidskega obdobja mešala s prvotnim perzijskim slogom.

Ključne besede: provinca Hamadan, Otomani, Dargazin, Matrakçi, miniature

Introduction

Dargazin in Hamadan province was previously a part of a much wider region named A'lam or Elmar,[1] being its ruling and central city. When Safavid came to power, all the A'lam region was named after the city. As the nearest place to the Safavid Kings' capital, namely Qazvin, considerable importance was attached to it. At the same time, Dargazin was located along Iran's most important central routes, such as Qazvin to Hamadan, Rey to Hamadan, and Soltaniyeh to Isfahan, the last of which passed straight through it and had an important role in the development of Dargazin for many centuries. These connections alongside the agricultural boom and the proliferation of fertile lands led to a surplus of crops being exported to other areas (Lambton 2013, 183; Petroushevsky 1965). Based on the account of Hamdallāh Mustawfī (680–750 AH / 1282–1349 AD), Dargazin had a myriad of gardens at the centre of the area called "A'lam", in which grains, cotton, grapes, and high-quality fruit were farmed (Mustawfī 1985, 44–66). According to the Chardin report, yogurt was also sent to Isfahan in the summer and a caravanserai named Dargazinian was established there (Chardin 1993, 1499). Along this same route, namely the one which connects Soltaniyeh to Isfahan, Nasuh Matrakçi came to Dargazin with Sultan Suleiman and painted the oldest surviving pictures of the city. Matrakçi's miniatures, created in 1533–1535 AD / 940–942 AH, show the status of Dargazin and its prominent elements. A re-reading of his works and comparing them with those of other travellers' can determine the location and situation of the places and type of urban architecture and gardens shown. Moreover, the miniatures contain real and valuable information about architecture and urban planning, especially from the western regions of Iran (Matrakçi 1976, 161). According to Franz Taeschner (1956), this book is the only 16th century urban planning document in the Middle East from an architectural and topographical point of view (see also Jafare and Balilan Asl 2015, 37). The artist also used a bird's eye view to capture images, drawing the city from above, which today can be considered as aerial and satellite images. This has thus added to the significance of these paintings and made them key documents with

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1   A'lam or Almar in the past was one of the great historical areas in Hamadan that was a large geographical area, and Dargazin was at its centre and its largest city.

regard to urban and social studies of this area, as well as studies of the gardens of Iranian cities.

Accordingly, the present study seeks to answer the question of how Matrakçi illustrated Dargazin, what is the relation of these images with the images of other cities and reports of other travellers, and what are their salient features? No research has yet been done to analyse Matrakçi's pictures of Dargazin, although there has been some work on Matrakçi's pictures of other cities. The first research that can be considered as close to the present study is Elham Jafare and Leda Balilan Asl's (2015) study of "Historical Re-reading of Khoy City in the Safavid Period, Based on Matrakçi's Miniature from the Tourists' Perspective", in which the authors carry out a comparison between Matrakçi's pictures of the city, monuments and relics and the works of other travellers. Other research in this field include the study of Hanachi and Ahadnejad (2006) entitled "Re-reading of Sahebabad Square from Chardin and Matrakçi's Pictures Based on Historical Texts", in which the authors rely on the works of tourists and historical information and compare them with Matrakçi and Chardin's miniature works to re-read Sahibabad Square. Within the same domain, and related to Matrakçi's pictures of Dargazin gardens, other studies entitled "Safavid Gardens: Types and Patterns" (2006) and "Safavid Royal Gardens" (1997) by Mahvash Alami which investigate the Safavid Royal Gardens and their features should be mentioned. Furthermore, we can refer to Marianna Shreve Simpson's research (2008) under the title "Mostly Modern Miniatures: Classical Persian painting in the Early Twentieth Century", in which the author examines the miniatures in the versions of the book *Khamsa* from Amir Khusraw Dihlavi. The portraits of people are the main feature of these miniatures, whereas there are no people in Matrakçi's work, and only views of the town and its surroundings are seen in them. Therefore, in the present study the author relies on Matrakçi's pictures to collect historical data and documents and finally presents the results in the form of an analytical-comparative research.

Detailed Considerations of Matrakçi's Miniatures

Nasûh b. Karagöz al-Bosnawî or Nasûh b. Abdullah al-Silahî al-Matrakçî or for short Matrakçi Nasuh Bey came from a Bosnian family. Either his father or grandfather was drafted into the state service. He was renowned in the 16th century as a mathematician, historian, geographer, cartographer, topographer, musketeer, and was an outstanding knight, calligrapher and engineer. Because he was a musketeer, he was also called al-Silâhî (the musketeer or gunman). He was a

polymath, writer, artist (he pioneered a particular artistic style for depicting cities) and theoretician. He wrote books in these fields, all in Turkish, and a brief discussion of these follows later in this study. He received the nickname "Matrakçi" after he created a game called Matrak. Matrak means "amazing" in Turkish and "çi" is a suffix. Therefore his nickname means "he who plays (invents) the amazing game" (Ayduz 2008).

Nasuh Matrakçi Bey was a skilled illustrator and painter who accompanied Sultan Suleyman in his invasions of Iran. He depicted various towns during the Ottoman troops' brief stays in them, which are included in the book *Bayan-i Manazil-i Safar-i Iraqayn-i*. This contains detailed information about Sultan Suleyman's first attack against Iran's Safavid between 1533 and 1536 AD. Matrakçi's pictures show Ottoman army camps in Iran and other places where Sultan Suleyman Khan passed on his way from Tabriz to Baghdad. Dargazin was one of those places where the Sultan visited and Matrakçi managed to draw. These drawings are the oldest and most complete images of Dargazin. However, the originality of these drawings and the extent to which they reflect reality is one of those issues for which there can be no exact answer, and thus there have been some conflicting opinions in this area. According to some researchers, all of the drawings were based on observation and the artist tried to depict what he had seen. Therefore, "avoiding exaggeration" has been regarded as one of the most pervasive qualities of Matrakçi's works. Franz Taeschener (1956) spoke for the authenticity of these works, but he also warned that we should be cautious in using them. After all, as these drawings go back to a long time ago, they are subject to changes, and the symbols which are present in them are mostly symbolic, rather than telling about reality (see Vampelj Suhadolnik 2019, 50, 64; Zhang 2019, 88; Lam 2019, 133). In spite of this, Taeschener introduced Matrakçi as a municipal analyst and recognized his drawings the only important documents with regard to urban development in 16th century Iran. According to Professor Yurdaydin, even though the miniatures were drawn by looking at the town from the opposite side, they were drawn with a bird's eye view perspective, without any exaggeration, and based on observations (Matrakçi 1976, 161). These works can thus be considered as a valuable topographical source because they pay special attention to the outstanding buildings like mosques, mansions, and so on. Furthermore, Norman G. Johnson, in his book *The World of Urban Development in Nasuh's Miniatures*, which was published in 1971, recognizes the importance of miniatures in sketching the houses in a town and applying many different colours to them. With the analysis that has been performed on Matrakçi's miniatures, and with considering the opinions that has been gathered about them, we can figure out the type and place of topographical elements and

other structural qualities of the towns and we can also rely on them to rebuild and renovate the historic ruins or buildings.

Some Features and Distinctions of Matrakçi's Paintings with Other Similar Works

Iranian also known as miniatures include works from various periods of Iranian Islamic history, mostly in the form of representations of literary, scientific, technical, and historical books, as well as some religious works. In this type of art, the whole nature and environment desired by the artist is depicted in a small format. The Middle age marks the onset of this type of art. Although the history of the art of illustration and painting in Iran dates back to ancient times, it reached its peak in the Islamic period and especially with Tabriz School of Painting in the court of the Mongol Ilkhans in the late 7th century AH / 13th century AD and early 8th century AH / 14th century AD. At this time, the artists of the Chinese-Uighur school, who were mostly skilled at drawing maps, and the Baghdad School artists, who belonged to the Mesopotamian Arab painting tradition, created a new style. With the merging of the two schools during the middle of the 8th century AH / 14th century AD, the school of writing in Iran entered a new stage. Due to such an identity and role, the German scholar Schulze called the Tabriz School the mother school for the development of the art of painting in the Orient (Bayani 1977, 117). However, in the Safavid period, and with the unrest and war during the reign of Shah Tahmaseb I (1576–1514), a group of painters of the Tabriz School once again joined the court of the Ottoman rulers and were supported by Sultan Suleyman. After that, the art of book illustration in Iran declined and Istanbul became an important hub of this practice. In fact, it can be said that book illustration in the Ottoman Empire owes its existence to Iranian art, since Ottoman art could never have existed without contact with Iranian art (Ipsirogly 1980, 11). However, in addition to decorating books and literary and mystical works, the art of illustration in the Ottoman Empire found another use, and that was the military and political use of paintings to draw military maps and nautical charts. Its founder, Piri Reis, was one of the most important artists in the field, influencing Ottoman painters and documentarians after him, especially Nasuh Matrakçi. The paintings of Piri Reis included charts of weather conditions and scales and sea distances, as well as paintings of resorts, rivers, castles, and more (Atil 1987, 78). It is obvious that Piri Reis used not only cartographic sources, but also illustrated manuscripts and numerous diagrams to produce his unique maps (ibid., 80).

These images are the first examples of an atlas in the nautical topography genre, which was continued a generation later by Nasuh Matrakçi paintings, with their

special and unique designs. These used size and colour to create an image appropriate to their subject (mapping) and in order to draw the paths of the army and achieve the other goals that all maps have. Matrakçi's paintings depict reality in a symbolic way, in accordance with the common visual traditions of his time. In addition to the visual aesthetic, these paintings played a major role in transmitting historical and cultural concepts. These images, all taken from a high angle and the so-called bird's eye view, act as a camera that moves towards and out of the subject in different places and increases or decreases the breadth of vision, depending on the area to be shown in the paintings. Sometimes it focuses on a specific place and examines it from up close, and sometimes it distances itself from and introduces the region with a more general view (Sanei 2012, 62). However, it should not be assumed that because of the very small scale of the images in miniatures that only a small part of nature can be found in them, or that since nature is the inspiration of a miniaturist, he thus have no choice but to depict only a small landscape. The truth is very different. Instead, the effort to create these miniatures and inspire ever more appreciation is a special feature that distinguishes miniatures from other types of Iranian painting. The miniaturist is an artist who depicts everything that he thinks is interesting to others and does not follow any customary rules of painting (Murad Ganjeh 2009, 48). Therefore, in these images, which are a bridge between cartography and visual arts, the presence of colour, line, and concept can be seen in the most abstract form, and it can be included in the field of geographical imaging, which is itself a form of scientific imaging (Sanei 2012, 59) In addition, these drawings can be considered a kind of cartographic map because both science and art played a key role in shaping them. In other words, these maps depict reality with a symbolic expression. This style and its characteristics continued for centuries and even appeared in other fields, such as guide maps for the Haj or drawings with different themes (ibid., 65).

Introducing the Geography of Dargazin

Dargazin, or Darjazin in Arabic, is one of the rural districts of Razan[2] in the northeast of Hamadan province, located 85 kilometres to the northeast of the

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2   Hamadan is divided into western and eastern parts because of the Alvand mountain ranges. These mountains are a natural barrier in the northwestern and southeastern sides, and based on the political divisions in eastern and western districts function as a barrier between the central plateau and central Zagros, and to the west border (west and southwest) have created some connected plains like Malayer, Nahavand, Tuyserkan, and Asad Abad, which are categorized under the group of western plains. On the other side of Mount Alvand to the eastern (east and northeast) border, there are some plains such as the Hamadan-Bahar (Chahar Bluk or Samine Rud), Ghahavand (Shera'), Kabudarahang, and Razan-Famenin, on which Dargazin is also located.

province and five kilometres to the east of Razan, at a of longitude 49 degrees 10 minutes and latitude of 35 degrees 21 minutes. It is located at an altitude of 1830 meters, with the total elevation of Razan plain being 1850 meters. The amount of rainfall in this area is about 319.2 mm per year, and the water is mainly supplied by the Kariz and aqueducts. Due to rich rangelands and fertile lands, agriculture and livestock thrive and the main crops are wheat, barley, alfalfa and legumes (Ministry of Interior of Republic Iran 1950; Bosworth 2007, 20).

The Dargazin region meets the Kharaqan mountains in the north, Saveh in the east, Hamadan province in the south, and Sardroud located in Hamadan in the west. As this region is located midway between Hamadan and Qazvin, it has long enjoyed significance. Dargazin currently has two districts. One of them is Dargazin-e Olya, of which Razan town is the centre, and this includes 43 villages such as Razin, Changarin, Mahnian, Farsejin and Velashjerd. The second district is called Dargazin-e Sofla, which was previously a part of Famenin borough. However, it has been separated from its villages which include Tamuzan, Behkandan, Jamishlu, Asleh and Givdarreh (ibid.). The majority of villages and rural districts of Dargazin were the closest to connective roads like the one running from Qazvin to Hamadan, which was one of the side routes of the Silk Road, and to the Mesopotamia highway to Rey, which passed east of Dargazin (Tucker 2015, 136). The latter was of great importance to Dargazin before the Ilkhanate gained power in Soltaniyeh.

However, the road that branched off from Qazvin, passed Abgarm and Avaj and went through the Kharaqan area, joining Dargazin and then Hamadan, gained importance since the Ilkhanate, for whom the centre was Soltanyeh, and as a consequence Dargazin became important as a location on the way to other places (Sharafi safa et al. 2017). This route, then, forked into two in the Dargazin area, one of which joined Golpayegan and Isfahan, and the other of which reached Hamadan, and from there went on to Baghdad. That was a part of the route taken by Nasuh Matrakçi, when he accompanied Sultan Suleyman and his invasion of Iran, some parts of which were recorded by Matrakçi (2000, 45). Therefore, the physical and human geography of Dargazin along with the nearby connective routes caused its economic prosperity and ethnic diversity and, undoubtedly had an influence on attracting the attention of rulers. This is substantiated by studying the historians' and geographers reports, especially those of Turkish tourists.
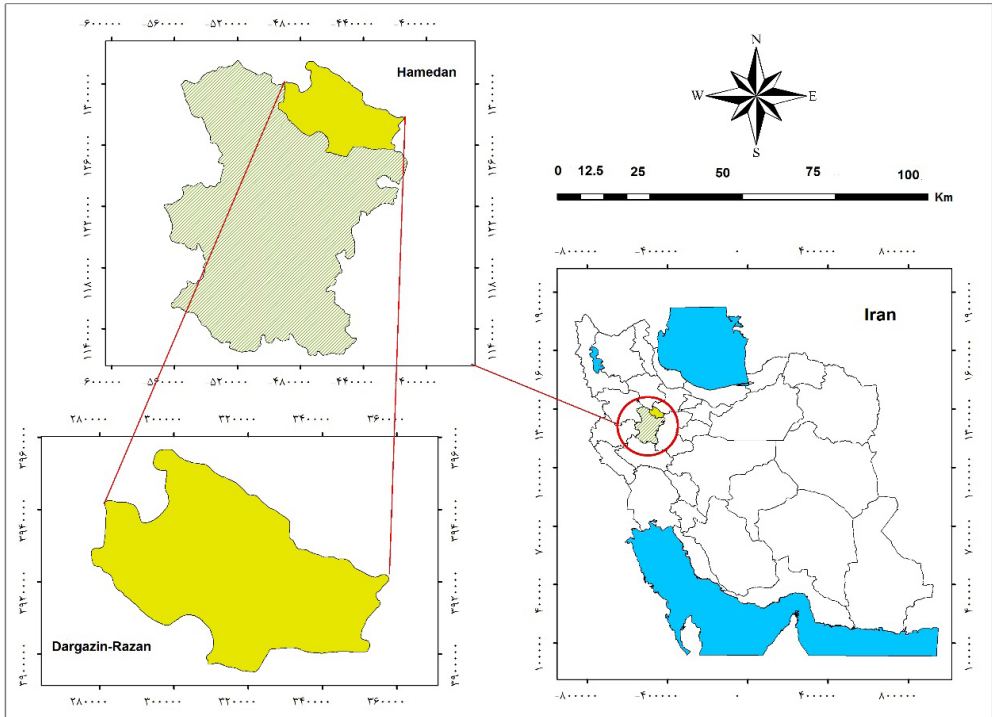
Figure 1. Geographical location of Dargazin in Hamadan. (Source: https://storegis.com)

Nasuh Matrakçi during Sultan Suleiman's Expedition to Iran

Ottoman Sultan Suleyman (900–974 AH / 1494–1566 AD) conducted two campaigns in Iran. The first time he went to Qasr-e Shirin and Baghdad through Khoy, Tabriz, Zanjan, Soltaniyeh, Dargazin and Hamadan, coming back through Qasr-e Shirin to Tabriz. The next time he came near to Hamadan when chasing Shah Tahmasp I, only to leave Iranian territory afterwards. Nasuh Matrakçi, the chronicler and army secretary of the Ottoman Court, who accompanied the troops at the time, presented a report on the campaign and illustrated most of the campsites on the Ottoman route in the book *Beyan-i Manazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn (The Stages of Suleiman the Magnificent's Iraq Campaign)* (1976; 2000). The campaign began in early 940 AH / mid-second half of 1533 AD, and lasted for about two years, until Rajab 942 / January 1536 AD. It was then that the Ottoman troops passed through Azerbaijan, Ajam and Arab Iraq, hence the Ottoman historians named it "Safar-i Irakeyn", meaning the travel of two Iraqs (Matrakçi 2000, 35).

In the first campaign of Sultan Suleyman, the Ottoman army reached Soltanyeh and Abhar after conquering Tabriz and the cities on the way. On 12 Rabi' al-Thani 941 AH / October 20, 1534, they departed for Baghdad by leaving Abhar through Sain Qaleh. After leaving campsites including Parsian Zavieh, Koushk Robablar Village, Abgarm, Ave/Avaj, Darband-e Qaraqan, Hamian Village (Mahnian), Dargazin, Sazin Village, Dastgir (Dastjerd) Lain Chaman (Laljin), arrived in Hamadan and then continued on its way to Arab Iraq *via* Aramand (Arumand), Sa'id Abad or Sadawa, Darband-e Sonqor, dinavar in Kermanshah. It then arrived at the fortress of Delawar on 28 Rabi' al-Thani, and the next day, according to Matrakçi, passed Razor, reached the Bistoun districts, and eventually reached the Arabic Iraqi border on 10 Jumada al-awwal, seizing Baghdad. They spent the whole winter there and on 28 Ramazan 941 AH / April 1535 AD left the city to for Tabriz.

Nasuh Matrakçi, who accompanied the Ottoman army in these campaigns, produced a picture of the city during the two stops of the Ottoman army, which is considered the oldest existing image of the city. Matrakçi illustrated the cities along the way for the Ottoman troops, depicting each of these campsites according to their significance and size. In some cases he painted some places in the form of a single image and in other cases, such as Tabriz, Soltanyeh and Dargazin, on one or more page(s). Since some settlements, such as Qar-e-Tapeh, Mianeh, and Khan Sarcham, and Dargazin, were visited by the army twice they have portrayed twice, from two different perspectives (Matrakçı 2000, 76). This drawing of Dargazin in two different times and from several different angles has some advantages for researchers with regard to both the comparisons that can be made and the documentary value of the images (ibid. 1976, 164).

Although Matrakçi draw what he saw, since he did not have the opportunity to paint and complete the book until two years after the campaign, it is likely that this time-lapse had some impact on the images (ibid. 2000, 77), and thus their accuracy cannot be confirmed with certainty. Nonetheless, the painter obviously tried to portray everything he saw, and so avoiding exaggeration is an essential feature of these images, and the painter also tried to make the images fit reality as much as possible, with realism being noted as among the features of these pictures. Therefore, Matrakçi's miniatures are the oldest and in fact the most complete existing images of some of the Safavid cities, and they are also important in terms of showing the composition of cities and providing architectural examples and some of the architectural history of the area.

The Reports of some Historians, Geographers, and Travellers to Dargazin

Throughout history, many historians, geographers, and travellers have explored the political, cultural, social, and urban contexts of Dargazin, some of which have come from direct observations. Here, before discussing the status of Dargazin in the Safavid period and in Matrakçi's images, it is necessary to consider the views of some of the other people who visited Dargazin or learned about it from other sources. The oldest text in which Dargazin is mentioned is the missing book named *Nafsat – Al masdur fe Fotūr zamān al-ṣodūr wa ṣodūr zamān al-fotūr (In the History of Seljuk Ministers),* by the minister Anushirvan ibn Khalid ibn Muhammad Kashani (532 AH / 1138 AH). Emad-Al Din *Kateb Esfahani* (519–597 AH / 1125–1201 AD) and Yaqut-al-Hamawi (626 AH / 1229AD) quoted from it as follows: "There is a town from Alam region and *Abu 'l-Qasim Anasabadi Dargazini*, the minister, is from there." (Emad-Al Din *Kateb* 2004, 264; Yaqut-al-Hamawi 1995, 451). Emad-Al Din Kateb, in the biography of a Dargazini minister, writes:

> *Anasabad* is a village from Elmar near Dargazin. *Abu 'l-Qasim* introduced himself as a man from Dargazin, because Dargazin is the largest rural area of that region. Most of the people there are heterodox and cultists. The majority of them are the followers of Mazdak. (Emad-Al Din *Kateb* 2004, 264; Crone 2012, 187)

This place became very important during the time of the Iraqi Seljuks due to the emergence of ministers from Dargazin. Nasser al-Din Monshi Kermani (675 AH / 1296 AD) writes:

> As ministers were chosen from Dargazin, it should have been called Dorgozin, meaning "the Chosen Pearl", and not Dargazin. For a while, people's job was wonderful and profound. Ministers were so easy to find and Dargazin was like Yemen. (Monshi 1985, 13)

When Khaqani (520–595 AH / 1126–1199 AD) arrived in Iraq Ajam in late 547 AH or the spring and summer of 548 AH, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad ibn Mahmoud Seljuq (548–555 AH / 1153–1160 AD) and the ministry of Jalaluddin Dargazini (500–578 AH / 1106–1182AD), he saw the city well and said that it no longer had its former glory (Khaqani 1978, 4, 30), because there was a period of chaos in Hamadan and Dargazin between the falls of the Iraqi Seljuks and the emergence of the Mongols. Consequently,

there are not many reports on this period. However, with the beginning of the 7th century AH, Yaqut al-Hamawi (574–626 AH / 1178–1229 AD) presents the first reports on the status of Dargazin. Yaqut mentions it as "Darkajin" in the Elmar region of Hamadan, located midway between Hamadan and Zanjan. *Abu 'l-Qasim* Nasser ibn-Ali Dargazini (died 526 AH / 1132 AD) was minister to Sultan Mahmud bin Muhammad Saljuq (died 485 AH / 1092 AD) and to Toghrul III (590 AH / 1194 AD), who was assassinated in 521 AH. He was originally from a village with the name *Anasabad* in Alam region. Since Dargazin was the largest rural area of the region he was known as Dargazini, meaning "from Dargazin" (Yaqut-al-Hamawi 1995, 451; Awad 1999, 355). The most complete account of Dargazin is from Mustawfī Qazvini (1281–1349), the 8th century AH historian and a court official of the Ilkhanid dynasty, who obtained it from direct observations of Dargazin. Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, in the division of Hamadan districts, considered Dargazin as a part of Khoreh[3] (Kureh) of Alam, and stated:

> Dargazin used to be a village from the area of Alam. It is now a rural district and some other places are called by its name. It has an elevated land and a lot of gardens producing good quality grapes, cotton and other fruits. Its people are of Shafi'i faith with pure religion, and Sheikh al-Islam Sharaf al-Din Dargazini's—May God Benefit Muslims by Lengthening his Life—court salary is one toman and two thousand dinars. (Mustawfī 1985, 72–73)

After Mustawfī's detailed report on Dargazin, comprehensive information about the social and urban status of the place became available not earlier than the Safavid period, when Evliyâ Çelebi (1020–1093 AH / 1611–1682 AD), the well-known Turkish traveller, came to Dargazin. According to Evliyâ Çelebi's report, Dargazin Castle in the Safavid period had five towers and battlements, walls and public places (Evliyâ 1896, 355). There are also some later reports about Dargazin. Zeynalabdin Shirvani (1193–1253AH / 1779–1837AD), who visited Dargazin in the mid-13th century AH, wrote:

> It's a pleasant village, belonging to Hamadan. In the old times it used to be a city, but gradually it has fallen into ruin. Now, it has approximately 1,000 houses and several villages are its subordinates. It has gardens galore and grains are cheap. It is located on flat earth and its surroundings

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3   "Khoreh" or "Kureh" is derived from the Greek word "chora", which can be considered equivalent of a province based on today's geographical divisions (see Ibn al Athir 1983, vol. 4, 191; Ibn al-Balkhi 1984, 121; Pygoluskaya 2008, 240).

are expansive. Its water is clean and supplied from Kariz. The weather is healthy, the people are Turks and from Qaragozlu tribe. They're all Shiites. Those possessing perfection and dignity, including Seljuq viziers, have come from there. Dargazin and its eminent figures have frequently been visited by the author. (Shirvani 1968, 830–31)

In other sources Dargazin is mentioned briefly. For instance, Texier, in his travelogue, recorded it as Targazin and stated that Mehran and Ave (Avaj) are located to its south and north, respectively (Schwartz 1896–1926, 535–36).

Re-reading Nasuh Matrakçi's Miniature Pictures

Introducing the Images

From the town and castle of Dargazin, three pictures by Nasuh Matrakçi are left, two of which show the town, its walls and the areas surrounding it. The third picture captures Dargazin gardens. In the first picture, which is more comprehensive, the miniaturist tried to show the route from Tabriz to Baghdad taken by Sultan Suleiman's forces. A proof of this is Matrakçi's mentioning some names such as Sazin and Lain Chaman (probably Lalejin), which is located to the east of Hamadan with a greater distance from Dargazin (Figure 2). However, in the second picture Matrakçi painted for Sultan Suleyman's second campaign (942 AH / 1536 AD), the aforementioned names of Sazin and Lain Chaman are no longer seen. Furthermore, the painter has shown the town from a closer distance and with more details. This is due to the fact that, this time, the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman did not go beyond Dargazin in his second campaign in pursuit of Shah Tahmasp. He gave up chasing the Shah, and instead returned to Soltaniyeh and Tabriz via Abgarm and Abhar, after staying in Dargazin for some days. This led to the second image being dedicated solely to Dargazin, which is one of the unique images in the book, in which the full details of the town can be compared and contrasted with the first picture (Figure 3).
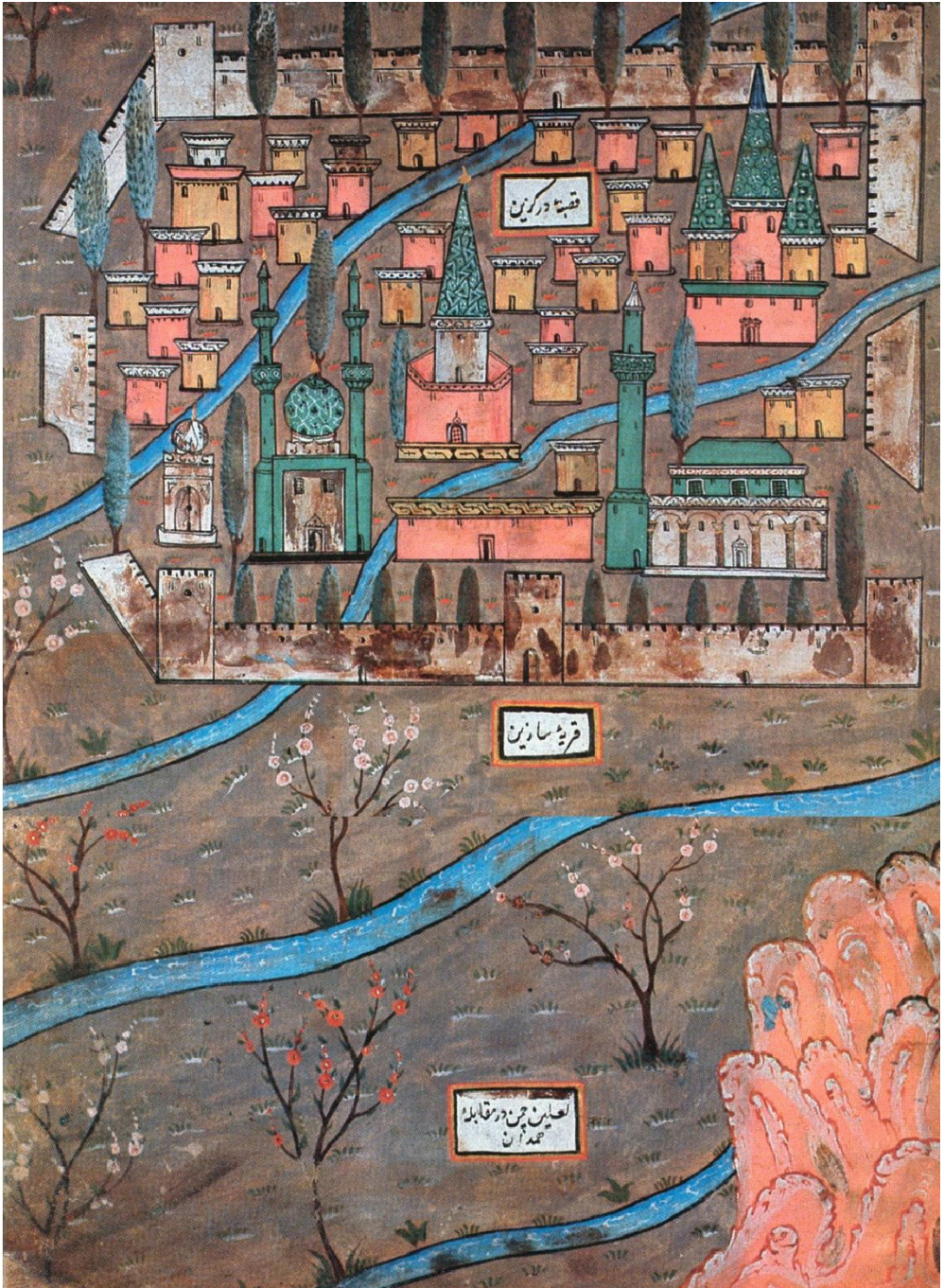
Figure 2: Matrakçı's picture of Dargazin and its surroundings on Sultan Suleyman's route to Baghdad (Source: Matrakçi 2000)

Figure 3: Dargazin during the second campaign of Sultan Suleiman (Source: Matrakçi 2000)

Physical Features of Dargazin and Its Surroundings in Nasuh Matrakçı's Paintings

Walls and Surrounding Areas

One of the salient features of Matrakçi's miniature paintings is painting cities from a high angle, which gives a comprehensive view with more details. This feature kept the painter's eye on the surrounding areas of towns, castles, fortresses and the types of materials used, in addition to displaying more detail in the pictures. The city fortresses and ramparts have been depicted in various colours and building materials, which may indicate the importance and solidity of the fortresses. The colouring used in the images of Dargazin and the materials shown, compared to other castles, also indicate a simple but solid design that can be compared to Abhar Castle. But since—unlike for other towns—there are two surviving images of Dargazin Castle, drawn at different times, one can investigate the changes to the city and the castle in a one-year period. For example, in the second image (Figure 3), in addition to the open parts of the castle that can also be seen in the first picture, parts of the fort walls, especially on the south side of the city and next to the main gate, have been destroyed and only a small part of it remains, which does not appear to have been a waterway passage, as some have speculated, as it can also be seen in the east and west parts of the Dargazin images that the water passage ran both below the fort and the open passageways. We also see the Dargazin gardens and pictures of Abgarm, Khoy and other cities. However it is possible to consider the open part of the fort as a gateway to orchards or simply due to a period of chaos and conflict during the war between the Ottoman and Safavid troops in these areas.

Like the other cities, Dargazin fortress, as shown in the picture, is surrounded by a wall of five towers, which has a large entrance in the south and smaller entrances on the left and right. Similarly, in the north part of the fort, there are two smaller doors. Moreover, the painter did not neglect other details of the city, and even painted the shrubs and trees inside the fort with great care. In these pictures, cedar trees along the north and south sides of the fort are orderly and painted darker in contrast to the scattered trees inside the city. In terms of design, they are different from the trees in Sazin and Lain Chaman, with some blossoming trees seen among them. The painter also noted a few other places besides the open space around the castle, but did not go further to draw a specific buildings there, because his aim was to show the route taken by the Ottoman troops. For this reason, the place referred to in the picture as Sazin has no buildings and there is not any information about it today. However, Sazin seems to have been one of the important sites and stops of the Ottoman troops midway between Dargazin

and Hamadan.[4] In the middle of the image, there is a river that runs east-west, and is wider than any other river in the area of Dargazin Castle, with white waves on a blue background. This river is most likely Qareh Chay[5] River, which crosses through the middle of the Hamadan to Dargin road, and the painter has used it very carefully to specify the stop zones. Moreover, according to another local name, "Lain Chaman" (Lalejin), which the author mentions in "Dar-Moqabe-le-ye-Hamadan", Sazin can be located between Hamadan and Dargazin, of which today nothing is known.
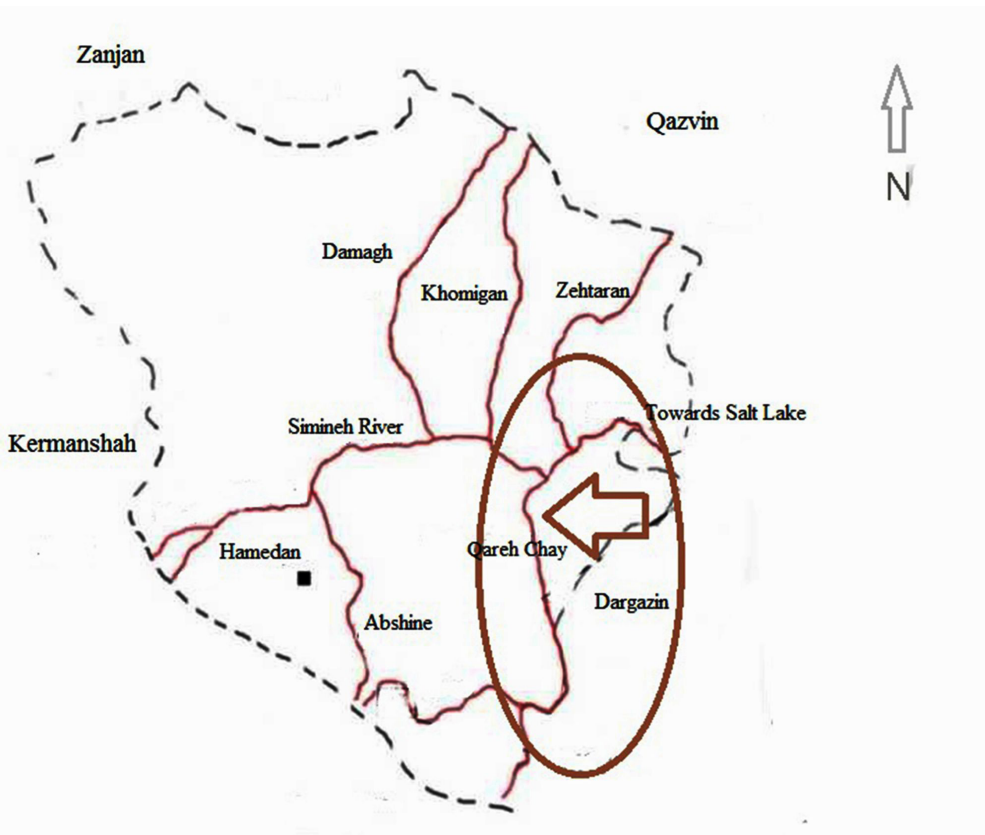
Figure 4: Qareh Chay river route in Hamadan and adjacent provinces (Source: Khodabakhsh and Vafaei 2010, edited by author)

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4   It is worth mentioning that there is another Sazin in Zanjan province. Although it is very close to the border between Hamadan and Zanjan, to the west of Dargazin, it very unlikely to be the place in the painting.

5   "Qareh Chay" is a large river in the centre of Iran that originates from the heights of Hamadan province and finally flows into the salt lake in Qom province.

Re-Reading the Buildings and Interior Architecture of Dargazin in Matrakçi's Pictures

In the illustrations, the viewer is first drawn to the colour and the interior of the city, and then to the outer space of the fortress, which is far less important and is illustrated to show the city's location, as described earlier. In these pictures, the main city gate is located in the southern part of the fortress, with smaller doors a short distance from it, along with elements such as rivers, houses, public centres, mosques, trees and some other buildings, which make up the main body of the city. In the pictures of Dargazin, however, some elements in other pictures, such as bridges, cannot be seen, because the blue paths shown in the image—unlike the larger and wider river seen in the southern part of the fort between Dargazin and Hamadan—were mainly small waterways which supplied water to Dargazin city and its orchards.

The most prominent vegetation in Matrakçi's pictures is cedar trees and flowering shrubs, which can be seen in all three available images of Dargazin. In the first (Figure 2) we see the cedar trees inside and around the fortress, but the scattered cedar trees inside the castle are darker in colour compared to the surrounding fortress trees. In the second picture, we see flowering shrubs, as also seen in the first picture, mainly outside the fort and in Lalejin and Sazin areas.

Other important elements in these pictures are the buildings, which are shown in different designs and sizes. The buildings in are painted pink and pale goldenrod, and only turquoise has been used to decorate the tiles. The buildings do not overlap as they used to, and some of them are covered with a part of the roof or other buildings walls, but the amount of overlap is so small that one can easily see every element. In the tradition of the painter's other works, the city's main buildings are easily recognizable. A mosque with a dome and two turquoise minarets can be seen on the right, and other buildings, including tombs with a cone-shaped dome and a monument with a round dome, on the far left. If this painting is compared with others then differences can be noticed in colouring, applying several colours for one building, the type of decoration, the amount of detail and even the shape of the elements in the picture and the height of the painter's point of view (Sanei 2012, 96). In the second picture, the painter has drawn the city from a shorter distance and in greater detail. In terms of colouring, the buildings are very well-drawn and a wide range of colours, such as blue, orange, yellow, azure, green and brown, attract attention. Since the buildings in this picture do not overlap, the viewer can see the whole image clearly and without any obstacles. In the first picture, many ordinary buildings, probably residential, are visible and are located mostly in the northern part of the image. However, in the second picture where the artist has drawn the city from a short distance, fewer smaller houses are seen and

larger and more important buildings are scattered everywhere. The first building is a mosque on the left which has a similar building on the right with a minaret. In the first picture, the chapel is drawn separately in the middle, but it is drawn as a joined chapel connecting the two mosques. Here, the artist has drawn details of the domes and minarets, and has not ignored other details such as the cedar and blossoming trees. This is probably the same mosque that Muṣṭafā Naʾīmā, the Ottoman traveller who came to Dargazin during Husrev Pasha's offensive (1039–1040 AH / 1629–1630 AD) refers to, saying that there was a mosque in the middle of the city and the city was located in the middle of some gardens. Nevertheless, during their three-day stay the Ottoman army killed many of the inhabitants, stole their possessions and destroyed the city, just like they did at Hamadan (Naʾīmā 1864–1866, 35). The mosque of Dargazin may also have been intact until Naʾīmā travelled to Dargazin, but then completely disappeared because of the events that he mentioned. In Matrakçi's picture, another important building is seen in the right-hand corner, which consists of three cone-shaped domes, covered with hexagonal ornaments. The design uses six colours of purple, yellow, orange, green, black and pale goldenrod. A little further on the left corner there is a three-domed building, which was not visible in the first picture, has a different colouration, and is limited to black and orange in its decoration. Next to it is another green domed building, probably the tomb of one of the key figures of the city. There is also another tomb in the right-hand corner where parts of the colour have been scratched and damaged. Next to it is another building with a tall, green dome that may have belonged to one of the important figures of the city. But of all the buildings mentioned in the picture, it is only the latter tomb that survives today and is known as "Imamzadeh Azhar". The modern façade of the building corresponds to the picture by Matrakçi and there is not much difference in the design of the building. The only change is in the design of the dome, a part of which it is hidden behind the chapel of the mosque.

Today, there is nothing left of what was can be seen in Matrakçi's miniatures, except for a few hills and the tomb that was noted above. This building is today located in the east of the residential area in Dargazin (see Figure 5, No. 2). A look at the location of this tomb and the modern map of Dargazin shows that after the killing, looting and destruction of the late Safavid era the development of the site occurred westwards (see Figure 5). In Matrakçi's pictures of Dargazin, Imamzadeh Azhar is located exactly in the middle of the image, with a river passing in front of it, which still remains as a large valley and floodplain. Considering the prosperity of the city in the Safavid period and the location of the aforementioned building in the middle of it, the areas to the east and west of Imamzadeh Azhar should be considered the former urban area of Dargazin. Today its eastern part remains uninhabited, which is the main part of the city in Matrakçi's pictures, with the Dargazin gardens located

just below it (Figure 5, Nos. 3 and 7). Most of the old hills of Dargazin are also in this same area, and the old cemetery surrounds the building. According to the pictures and evidence available, the city was not developed much on the south side, and its whole territory did not transcend than that shown in Figure 5. In contrast, on the north side its boundary went a little further, traces of which are still visible on both sides of the road. Nowadays a road passes through the ruins of the old city. The picture shows some rivers, as well, which today correspond to the aqueducts and canals that flow into Dargazin from the north (see Nos. 4, 5, 6). Dargazin enjoys fertile lands to this day, and has retained some of the signs of its history of ups and downs.

Figure 5: Development of Dargazin based on satellite images (Source: https://www.google.com/maps/search/@35.3585779,49.0815087,1278m/data=!3m1!1e3?hl=fa, edited by author)

Dargazin from Evliyâ Çelebi's View and Comparing It with Matrakçı's Pictures

Çelebi's journey to Dargazin (1065 AH / 1655 AD) and his account of the city, about a hundred years after the travel of Nasouh Matrakçı, show that this place continued to have a special reputation and status. A comprehensive report on the city and its urban, cultural and social status proves this. Evlia Çelebi attributes building of the castle to the Sassanid King Yazdegerd, and says that it had previously been a small village until the castle was built. It then developed in

the 8th century (740 AH / 1339 AD) (Çelebi 1896, 355). According to Çelebi's report, Dargazin Castle, as can be seen in Matrakçi's picture, was pentagonal with five towers, three of which were located in the south and two in the north. He stated that the castle had three gates, and that Hamadan and Baghdad gates were attached. He then added that although the castle appears to be large, it is smaller than Hamadan Castle. Çelebi divided Dargazin Castle into two parts, internal and external. The internal part is encircled by a moat and the khanate, bathroom and the bazaar are located there. The external part is also surrounded by a large moat and seven large houses, five madrasas, ten maktabs, seven khanates, four bathrooms, seven large gardens and 600 stores are located there. Chahar Suq (marketplace) is decorated with brown stones (ibid.). Evliyâ Çelebi contends that the city of Dargazin is similar to Diyarbakır in Iraq, where the fort contains large quantities of weapons and ammunition and has a large military garrison with an entourage and Darugha (ibid.). Çelebi's report on the outer and inner parts of the castle, the bazaar and other parts of the city shows that Dargazin was more developed and important compared with when Matrakçi travelled there, and it was the centre of the region (ibid., 355–57). For this reason, although Matrakçi carefully documented Dargazin in pictures and separated Dar-al-Hokuma from the other parts of the city in the drawing of Tabriz and other places, not all that Çelebi has mentioned in his report can be seen in Matrakçi's work. Therefore, if Matrakçi's pictures are the first in the field, Çelebi's report must be considered the most complete and comprehensive report on the urban and social status of Dargazin.

Dargazin Orchards in Matrakçi's Pictures

Physical Features of Dargazin Gardens

Nasuh Matrakçi drew Dargazin gardens in one of his pictures, the like of which cannot be found in his other works. From Matrakçi's point of view, these gardens were a small portion of Dargazin, which were illustrated separately and can be compared with other similar gardens of the Safavid period in Isfahan and Qazvin. Matrakçi's picture of Dargazin is one of his masterpieces, the view and composition of which is modern and different. It is as if the miniaturist were standing in parallel with the vertical passage that divides the picture into two parts, and drew the gardens from there (Sanei 2012, 101). The painter looked at the garden from different angles and drew it, thus making the picture coherent and comprehensible. Despite the damage to the buildings over time, the colours, decorations and floors of every building can still be seen.

In Matrakçi's picture of Dargazin gardens there is a main passage to which a side road joins. However, unlike similar ones in Isfahan (Chahar bagh), the gardens do

not overlap each other in the picture of Dargazin. The gardens are surrounded by cedar trees and water flows from one garden to another. In all the gardens, there are similar elements such as cedar trees, trees in blossom, waterways and buildings. The existence of mansions in the middle of gardens is another feature of these pictures. The appearances of the buildings differ from one another and the painter has drawn them in different sizes based on their level of importance and magnificence (ibid.). As has already been mentioned, the Dargazin gardens are similar to those of the Safavid period in Isfahan and other cities, and these pictures can even be considered the oldest images of the Safavid period that survive from before the capital was moved to Isfahan. An examination of existing reports also shows that when Shah Tahmasp (930–984 AH / 1524–1576 AD) chose Qazvin as his capital (950 AH / 1544 AD) he began to expand the city and Dar-al-Hokumah, and most of his additions and incorporations of additional territory into the city involved gardens and mansions dedicated to the royal family and court. This part was converted into a city garden which was later called "Sa'adat Abad" (Alami et al. 2008, 49). It is probably at this time that Dargazin became important in the immediate vicinity of the capital (Qazvin), and there was a version of royal gardens there. A confirmation of this claim may be Çelebi's report that also cited Dargazin as the centre of these areas (Çelebi 1896, 22).

Dargazin, the Model for Garden Cities

The main structural elements of the city can be divided into three parts: (a) centrality or core; (b) city structure; (c) small aggregates. The structure of the city was the connecting factor of the small aggregates of the city, and in most cases "Ma'bar" (Literally, thoroughfare) constituted the main element of the structure (Mansouri 2007, 52). A thoroughfare, which rose in importance as an urban element from the Safavid period on, was established in order to introduce the re-identification of the city as the largest wooden city resort, according to the Iranian garden model and as the pivotal element of a Safavid garden city (Haghighat bin et al. 2007, 19–29). In fact, state axes were used to integrate the spatial structure of the city (Arabsolghar 2016, 83). These axes were influenced by the garden, as an—axis is a prominent urban element in the cities of the Safavid era, with the refurbishment and development of the city done with the help of garden-axes in cities such as Qazvin, Isfahan, Mashhad, Neyshabur and Shiraz. The garden-axes were divided into longitudinal and lateral sections, and the axis of the Dargazin gardens was the north-south axis with the aqueduct route entering the city for the use of government buildings and people (see Figures 6 and 7). Therefore, the locating of urban and suburban gardens should have been subject to the slope of land and water resources.

Figure 6: Matrakçı's pictures of the Dargazin gardens (Source: Matrakçi 2000)
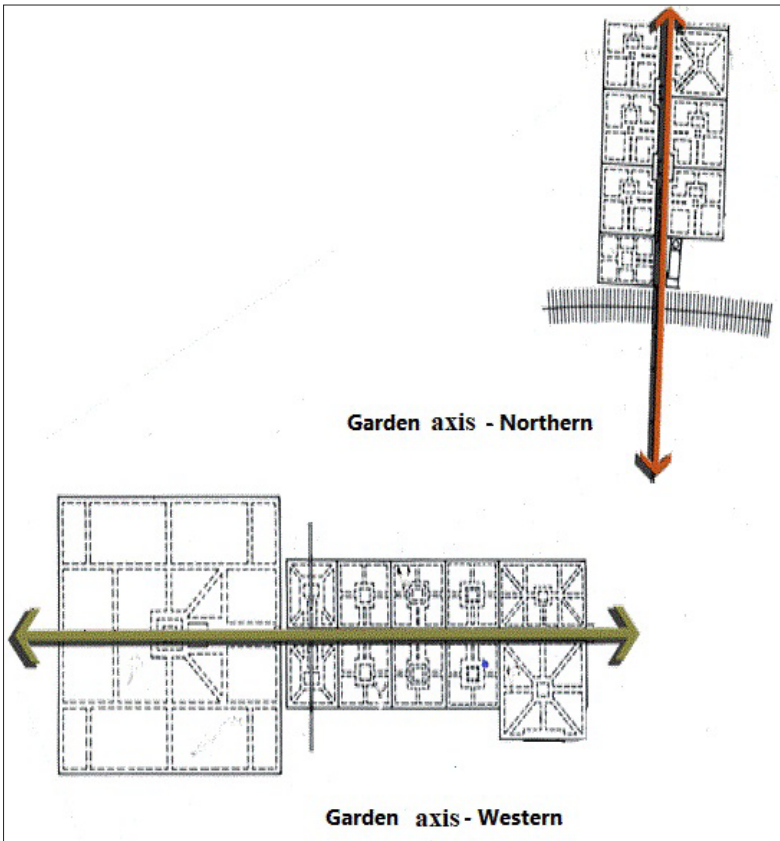
Figure 7: Linear model of the gardens (Source: Arabsolghar 2015)

The Dargazin gardens, like Iranian gardens in different periods, used linear and cross-sectional irrigation methods that were also seen in gardens such as "Delgosha-ye-Eram", Fin Garden and "Chehel sotoun". Although the Dargazin gardens were known by different names, such as "Chahar bagh", Shahi and the longitudinal gardens, they had the same functionality and characteristics of Iranian gardens, and the most prominent elements include open waterways and mansions, enclosed gardens, unity in diversity, diversity in unity, creating perspective and lengthening the garden (Moharami 2016). However, there are differences in the design of the gardens as well. For one thing, in Matrakçi's pictures each of the gardens has a portal, which is not symmetrical, in contrast to Chahar bagh. Rows of intertwined plane trees circle the garden where people could walk under its green arch. Chahar bagh was a kind of longitudinal garden that served as a street and connected the royal neighbourhoods in the city with suburban

gardens. The main elements of the design of these gardens were a simple plan with a width that encompassed the waterpaths and ponds with pine and cedar trees, while the edges of this street were adorned with portals of various gardens (Alami and Javari 2006, 83). These semi-open spaces were located along with the main axis of the garden and used to provide a place for people to talk and drink with one another. Similar buildings can be found in the paintings of Haft Awrang (authored in 872–890 AH / 1468–1485 AD) by Abd ar-Rahman Jami (Alami, Jeihani and Rezaei 2008, 55).

City gardens formed a system of urban spaces that facilitated varying degrees of interaction between the king and his subjects by exploiting features of the design and display of royal grandeur (ibid., 53). An Iranian Garden was a place where people were allowed to engage in social activities in an environment that brought together outstanding achievements in art and nature. Furthermore, the gardens could have made every aspect of social life potentially enjoyable. It is thus clear how the gardens were a wonderful facility that the king could provide to obtain the support of his subjects (ibid., 55). Although many of these gardens are nowadays destroyed, the traces of their main network can still be seen in the Dargazin residential context.

Conclusion

Nasuh Matrakçi's paintings of Dargazin contain valuable information about the urban situation, its location and the surrounding areas. In this regard, the results obtained in the two cases of urban mapping and painting of gardens in Dargazin are discussed. In the two existing images of the city, the city's castle, towers and fortifications, public buildings, government buildings, religious buildings, cypress trees, vegetation and waterways can be directly seen. An examination of the city's interal structures, which from the artist's point of view can be seen in two ways, near and far, with a view from a high angle, gives a special advantage to these images, enabling a comparison of the two works. By examining the images and comparing them with historical reports some damage was discovered in the castle in the second image, which was the result of the battles between the Shah Tahmaseb and the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman and some local riots. In addition, by examining these paintings in more detail, a number of public, governmental, and religious buildings were discovered, which show political and religious significance of the city. The correctness of the drawings was confirmed by the painter, who came to Dargazin a century later, with further confirmation provided by the current location of this area. Another valuable characteristic of

these images is the precision in painting the buildings, show the architecture without any problems, and separating the shrines, mosques, and so on. These drawings, with their unique design and with the help of size, colour, as well as showing the geographical area of the city, using some names of neighbourhoods and borders being designed on the basis of rivers, are very suitable for their purpose (i.e. mapping). With the aim of drawing the path of the army of Sultan Suleyman, these works achieved the goal that all maps pursue. However, a careful look at the area around the city in the drawings shows that the painter did not adhere to the geographical directions or accurately record them. Since the distances in the works of Nasuh Matrakçi are by no means reliable, the artist was nowhere near the exact geographical distances. Some of these places around the city of Dargazin are either not located there at all or are at a great distance from it, which indicates the importance of the maps for political and military purposes, rather than strictly geographical ones. But the second category of Matrakçi's paintings includes the painting of the Dargazin gardens, which contains valuable information about the architecture of these. The tree planting system, the division of water between the gardens, the division of the land network and the determination of the boundary between the gardens and the trees, and the location and geometry of the plan of the towers inside the garden can all be seen. The examination and attention to detail in these paintings show a connection among the components of the gardens. The stream of water resources that run under the garden walls, without disturbing the façade, the streams in front of the building and fruit trees, and the use of octagonal plans in the structures inside the garden to better use sunlight, show a kind of garden design suitable for cold climates. To these elements can be added some water features and the creation of pools on higher areas to control the water and bring it to the gardens, all of which shows the evolution and progress in the use of private and public resources in this place. Therefore, relying on these components, it can be claimed that the Dargazin gardens, as noted by Evliyâ Çelebi who saw them up close during his visit a century later and was amazed by their beauty, were used for recreation, and thus to increase the well-being of the residents of this place in the Safavid period. This research, in addition to proving the position and importance of Dargazin in the past by relying on the paintings of Nasuh Matrakçi, provides information on how to create traditional recreational spaces for new architects and urban planners. It also seeks to create a new branch of historical studies based on painting, and contributes to the works of scholars in using these valuable documents to enrich historical research.

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The Category of Asian Studies in Chile: About the Object and Its Rules

Gonzalo MAIRE*

> *The episteme is not a slice of history common to all the sciences:*
> *it is a simultaneous play of specific remanences.*
>
> Michel Foucault

> *The evil that modern revolution has put into work is similar to that of metaphysics:*
> *it is that of the words that no determined idea is linked to.*
>
> Jacques Rancière

Abstract

This research article consists of a study on the category of Asian Studies in Chile. The work aims to describe, synchronously, three instances that characterize its *contingency*: first, the process of objectivation of "Asia"; second, the rules that enable its enunciability and field within knowledge; and, third, the central discourses that intertwine it. Thus, this work proposes that the category of *Asian Studies* in Chile is composed of at least three rules of enunciation: the notion of *bridging, practicality* and *similarity*. Such concepts allow the limitation and organization of the different discursive regions of Asian Studies, the range of things it can say and the ways in which Asia occurs as an object of study.

Keywords: Asian Studies, transdisciplinarity, transculturality, philosophy

Kategorija azijskih študij v Čilu: o predmetu in njegovih pravilih

Izvleček

Pričujoči članek proučuje kategorijo azijskih študij v Čilu, pri čemer sinhrono prikaže tri primere, ki označujejo njeno *nepredvidljivost*: prvič, proces objektivacije »Azije«; drugič, pravila, ki omogočajo polje znotraj znanja in njeno izražanje; tretjič, osrednje razprave, ki jo prepletajo. V članku predlagam, da kategorijo azijskih študij v Čilu sestavljajo vsaj tri pravila artikulacije: pojem premostitve, praktičnosti in podobnosti. Takšni koncepti

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dovoljujejo omejitve in organizacijo različnih diskurzivnih področij azijskih študij, razpon tem, o katerih se lahko izrečemo, in načine, znotraj katerih Azija nastopa kot predmet proučevanja.

Ključne besede: azijske študije, transdisciplinarnost, transkulturnost, filozofija

Introduction: From the Views on Asia to the Question of Asian Studies[1]

Ever since the appearance and impact of the "Asian miracle", which is the name for the mainly economic phenomenon that occurred in Asia during the second half of the 20th century,[2] an extensive debate on its consequences for global geopolitical reorganization has been ongoing.[3] Without the intention of creating a compendium of such discussions, I want to focus on a broad framework: this regional affair, which enveloped Asia as a zone of strategic and economic influence, also made possible the revaluation of the Pacific Ocean when compared to the Atlantic and, at the same time, helped to break and nuance the hegemony of the widespread view of Europe as the economic and geopolitical centre of the world.

Starting in the 15th century, the Atlantic was the predominant ocean for Latin-America: the signing of the *Tordesillas Treaty* (1494) not only ended the legal process on geographic delimitation,[4] but also marked a starting point for the dis-

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1   The following article exposes results from the Postdoctoral FONDECYT ANID/CONICYT, Project N° 3190223, titled: "The Museum as a Clash of Gazes: Construction and Impact of the Concept of "Orientalism" in the Institutionality of the Museum from the Perspective of Asian Pieces Collection of the National Museum of the Fine Arts", where the author is the Responsible Researcher (RR).

2   Only for the purpose of delimiting vocabulary, without obviating that its reach is part of the core surrounding this research, Asia will be understood not only as a territoriality, but as a complex multidisciplinary phenomenon of study. In light of the work interwoven here, the reader will realize that I emphasize North East Asia above all else. This is a geographical area that involves China, Korean and Japan.

3   I describe the progressive interference of the Asian region in the contemporary globalization processes from a double conductive thread: first, in its integration capacity in spite of the diversity and possible antagonism of its constituent states; and second, of incorporating a participant voice in an international community (Delage 2010).

4   As quoted in the book *Disertación histórica y geográfica* (1749, 21) …, that discusses the bordering limits of the *Tordesillas Treaty*, the geographic delimitation signed consisted of "370 to be counted from Cape Verde to the west, for all that falls to the west of the same line [it refers to the Demarcation Line of the treaty] belongs forever to the Crown of Castile and of Leon; and what is to the east, belongs to Portugal." ("370 fe huvieffen de contar defde las Islas de Cabo Verde al Occidente, para que todo lo que cayeffe al Occidente de la mifma Linea pertenecieffe para fiempre jamás à la Corona de Caftilla, y de León; y lo que eftuvieffe al Oriente, à la de Portugal."); in other words, the document partitions in a general level, America as an Atlantic zone and a Pacific zone, from which the influence zones would be set. The Spanish-English translations here and below are mine.

tribution of lands in the so-called New World, which accelerated the processes of colonization and the establishment of zones of influence that lasted until the second half of 20th century.

At the same time, a new paradigm of modernity was being made and spread in the Atlantic, and its effects can still be traced in Latin-American societies. Such a paradigm developed in two aspects: on the one hand, a partitioning, confrontational worldview, in which European ethnocentricity is universalized as centric—an ideology of progress—and, in the other, of a periphery—the non-European world—that is incapable of self-understanding. Dussel reflects on this point in terms of dialectic of power:[5]

> 1) Modern civilization understands itself as more developed, as superior (which means sustaining an ideologically Eurocentric position without any afterthought).
> 2) Superiority forces a "moral responsibility" on the more advanced to develop the more primitive, rude and barbarous.
> 3) The road of this educational process must be monitored by Europe (which is, in fact, a unilinear European-style development, that is supported without any awareness of the "developmental fallacy"). (Dussel 2000, 49)[6]

In contrast, the growing regional influence of Asia in the last decades of the 20th century has enabled Chile to transform its geographical situation—namely that of facing the Pacific Ocean—into a favourable one with high growth forecasts. Such an achievement is above all due to international and economic integration that speaks in favour of the elaboration of a new geopolitical and economic state strategy. To a large extent, this has enabled Chile to open up to the outside world.[7] I

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5   On the same matter, Jean Ziegler develops what could be defined as a crosscurrent, the phenomenon of "hate towards the West", from three components of violence: universalization of an economic system, capitalism, that would be defined by the monopoly of right and done (Braudel); the imposition of democracy as the only form of *civilization*; and the unrestricted compliance with the laws that define the European development model (Ziegler 2017).

6   "1) La civilización moderna se autocomprende como más desarrollada, superior (lo que significará sostener sin conciencia una posición ideológicamente eurocéntrica).
2) La superioridad obliga a desarrollar a los más primitivos, rudos, bárbaros, como exigencia moral.
3) El camino de dicho proceso educativo de desarrollo debe ser el seguido por Europa (es, de hecho, un desarrollo unilineal y a la europea, lo que determina, nuevamente sin conciencia alguna, la "falacia desarrollista")."

7   As revealed by Pilar Armanet, the current state view on the Pacific begins at the end of the Chilean military dictatorship, in the wake of "predominant geopolitical rationality in certain zones of the previous government and from the armed forces perception of Chile belonging to the Pacific as the fundament of strategic potential for future projections in the following decades." (Armanet 1992, 42) ("La racionalidad geopolítica predominante en ciertos sectores del gobierno anterior y de las fuerzas armadas que perciben la pertenencia de Chile al Pacífico como el fundamento de una potencialidad estratégica de grandes proyecciones para las próximas décadas.")

am referring in particular to the introduction of an active presence in international forums, debates and multilateral organizations[8] since the 1990s, in addition to the diplomatic sphere and contacts in the private sector:

> The economic weight of the countries in Asia Pacific will continue to rise, in particular that of China, India, and Indonesia, and this will cause a significant modification in the weight of Western nations in the coming decades. This is expected to manifest itself in a shift in economic activity from the Atlantic to the Pacific. (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 2018, 36)[9]

Such interest in Asia, as Eduardo Rodríguez (2006) noted, has—at least in the diplomatic sphere—intertwined three areas that need to be explored: the state, business, and the academic or cultural sphere. This is a theme that is reaffirmed by Daniel Rojas and José Miguel Terán, who emphasize "the diplomatic missions and bilateral Chambers of Commerce present in various countries in the region, as well as meetings between government agencies, participation in multilateral organizations and forums, and the creation of academic institutes" (Rojas and Terán 2017, 244).[10]

In the academic field, attention to Asia has meant the diffusion—or progressive consolidation—of a specific field of research, a concrete intellectual dominion and a place of convergence of certain topics and statements that, by convention, would be defined as Asian Studies (de la Riva 2005).

However, the description of Asian Studies can be misleading: the researchers and academics dedicated to Asia in Chile are not a large community, although they are growing in number. The reasons behind this growth include the foundation of new university centres, the wider availability of scholarships for studying abroad and, in general, the impact of this geographic zone on Chile's interests (Miranda 2013; Murakami 2017; Götz 2019). It is also true, however, that the work of such

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8   For more details, Chile has a presence in APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) forum, FOCALAE (Forum for the cooperation of Latin America-East Asia), treaties with the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and the new Asian region integration project, the Pacific Alliance (AP) among other examples. For further information, see Pérez Guíñez 2017.

9   "El peso económico de los países del Asia Pacífico continuará elevándose, en particular, China, India e Indonesia. Esto provocará un claro efecto de modificación del peso de occidente en el mundo en las décadas que vienen. Este escenario se manifestaría en un desplazamiento de la actividad económica del Atlántico al Pacífico."

10   "Las misiones diplomáticas y las cámaras de comercio bilaterales presentes en diferentes países de la región, así como los encuentros entre autoridades gubernamentales, la participación en organizaciones y foros multilaterales y la creación de institutos académicos."

scholars (due to the demands and limitations of their disciplinary and professional situation, among other reasons) is often located in other, more consolidated and more productive research areas.

Following this idea, could it be said that a Chilean point of view, with a proper, verifiable, academic authority on its statements on Asian Studies exists? If it does, then what are the rules of formation of both the object and its discourses that would allow the differentiation of Asian Studies from other fields of knowledge? How does one identify an Asian Study? What kind of meaning does "Asia" have as an object of study in Chile?

Even if it is not possible to represent the entire production of knowledge about Asia in Chile, i.e. to package the active disciplines that would ultimately fall into the category of Asian Studies or to define their objectivity unambiguously, with this research I would at least like to outline a number of principles that make the appearance of the object "Asia" possible and examine how they influence the authority of the statements of a particular academic field in Chile. This article proposes examining the extent and purpose of the category of Asian Studies in the country, in terms of the rules that define and specify the centric and peripheral discursive regions that hierarchize this field. It also proposes that the first zones of Asian Studies establish the norms of the formation of the object, and the second take over their expressive possibilities, or are shown in a contiguous or adjacent manner, or in that of another order. As a first survey of the academic category of Asian Studies in Chile, this work is also concerned about thinking of itself not only as a starting point for future inquiries or formulations, but also as a potential horizon of thinking with regard to the place occupied by the discourses and the range of decidability that a researcher dedicated to Asia can have, according to the rules of formation set out in the following sections.

This research is part of a hybrid field, set within transdisciplinarity studies, philosophy and post-orientalism.

The Study of Asia in Chile: The Existence of Rules, from the Base of the Object

The academic approach to Asia is not univocal or homogeneous, but it is not random either. In fact, the delimitation of its object of investigation—Asia, or the foci of attention that develop from this vocabulary—is not *a priori*. Rather, it corresponds to the results of successive instances of what has been said, which formulate and describe the field in their genesis and historical permanence, revealing

the types and persistence of certain statements, their problems and legitimacy, the scope and profile of the object; in summary, this study examines how Asia has become more legible, decipherable, and normalized by the disciplinary experience in Chile.[11]

As such, the first question is: What is the environment of Asia, as an object of thought? What dimensions would the invocation of its name suggest in the context of its investigation? The answer can be neither complete nor satisfactory, since its resistance transmutes the purely geographical, democratic or cultural, and thus also the disciplinary fields that verify its visibility as an object. Asia is not just a regional space, a political or economic image, nor is it the sum of all possible signals: it is more like what is offered in the place where all these encounters take place. Such irreducibility is not a metaphysical way of defining Asia; the opposite is true: it consists in thinking of the *historical provocation* in which "its truth" is courted.

I deploy this scope through Michel Foucault, who when commenting on the subject of madness stated that:

> The unity of the discourses on madness would not be founded on the existence of the subject of "madness", or the constitution of a sole horizon of

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11   The legibility that I have mentioned has two bindings that, from the general literature of the studies on Asia, have been dangerously intertwined. The first belongs to a conquest with a theorical-regional weight (a geopolitical verve), as it is situated from a conception or image of the world distributed binarily between a space where Reason formulates Truth, a certainty about the world, and another that opposes it:

A unique image of the world would not be constituted by equal and pacific elements, but by a hierarchy of places […] The most well-known representation of this type is the global West-East dichotomy, where the West is completely opposite to the East, and from which it is understood that the West should set an example for the East. (Agnew 2005, 18)

Una imagen única del mundo no estaría constituida por elementos iguales y pacíficos sino por una jerarquía de lugares […] La representación más conocida de este tipo es la dicotomía global Oriente-Occidente, donde Occidente es totalmente opuesto a Oriente, y desde la cual se entiende que Occidente debería de ser un ejemplo para Oriente.

The second concerns, by consequence, that which has been exposed about the East-West dichotomy: the risk of an ontology by contraposition of the object of study, in respect to the speaker. This is developed in Edward Said's literature, precisely as a set of discourses that allow representations of Asia:

[Orientalism is] the distribution of a certain geopolitical conscience in aesthetic, erudite, economic, sociological terms. Historical and philosophical texts; this is the product of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made of two different halves, East and West) and also […] a certain will or intention of understanding—and in some cases, controlling, manipulating or incorporating—what is manifestly a different world (alternative or new). (Said 2008, 34)

[Orientalismo es] la distribución de una cierta conciencia geopolítica en unos textos estéticos, eruditos, económicos, sociológicos, históricos y filológicos; es la elaboración de una distinción geográfica básica (el mundo está formado por dos mitades diferentes, Oriente y Occidente) y también […] una cierta voluntad o intención de comprender—y en algunos casos, de controlar, manipular e incluso incorporar– lo que manifiestamente es un mundo diferente (alternativo o nuevo).

objectivity: it would be the group of statements that make the apparition of objects possible for a determined period of time. (Foucault 2017, 22)[12]

The quote distinguishes the two consecutive moments of the historicity of an object: the process of construction of the object, in other words, the accumulation of all the plot statements that are installed in a problematic crossroads—in the quote's case, madness—and of another, the rules of formation—principles of admission or exclusion, which mediate on top of the *contingency*[13] of the object. In a partial manner, Foucault characterized the possibilities of the formation and existence of the discourse and the speaker as follows:

In a society like ours, we of course know the proceedings of exclusion. The most obvious, and most familiar is the forbidden. We know that we do not have a right to say everything, that we cannot speak of everything in any circumstance, that nobody, after all, can speak of nothing. Taboo of the object, ritual of the occasion, privileged and exclusive right of the speaking subject. (Foucault 1971)[14]

A speaker not strained by exclusionary or prohibitive practices does not exist: his discourse(s) are subject to the fights for domination and regulation; the same happens to an object, which cannot be outside of the contingency or the event of its speeches:

Thus, Asian Studies, dominated by humanities and the social sciences, have been about the study of the "society" and "societies" in the region, in their

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12   "La unidad de los discursos sobre la locura no estaría fundada sobre la existencia del objeto 'locura', o la constitución de un horizonte único de objetividad: sería el juego de las reglas que hacen posible durante un período determinado la aparición de objetos."

13   The contingency of the object is, to time, its event. If the interpretation that every object of study is the successive juxtaposition of approximations is accepted, and of certain rules that—in the background—guide the possibilities of what is written about it, then, the contingency of the object has the qualities of an event described by Slavoj Žižek: first, as "an event […] that is the effect which appears to exceed its causes" ("un acontecimiento […] es el efecto que parece exceder las causas") (Žižek 2019, 17), in other words, the historical, successive and simultaneous articulation that conforms the enunciative dimension about an object; second, in even more complicity with Foucault's lecture, the event is "a change in the approach through which we perceive the world and relate to it" ("un cambio del planteamiento a través del cual percibimos el mundo y nos relacionamos con él") (ibid., 23–24).

14   "Dans une société comme la nôtre, on connaît, bien sûr, les procédures d'exclusion. La plus évidente, la plus familière aussi, c'est l'interdit. On sait bien qu'on n'a pas le droit de tout dire, qu'on ne peut pas parler de tout dans n'importe quelle circonstance, que n'importe qui, enfin, ne peut pas parler de n'importe quoi. Tabou de l'objet, rituel de la circonstance, droit privilégié ou exclusif du sujet qui parle."

various dimensions, in the past and at present. The complex plurality of these "society" and "societies", or societal forms, that do indeed co-exist, endure and enjoy some functional stability, have made it imperative for researchers to apply an equally diverse set of approaches, some discipline-based (anthropology, sociology, geography, history, political science, etc.) and others thematically-oriented (development studies, gender studies, cultural studies, etc.) in studying Asian society. (Shamsul 2006, 44)

The starting points of this research are as follows: first, the concept of Asian Studies (in Chile) does not fit the description of a homogeneous field, a specific type of knowledge or a distinctive object towards which some academics and researchers aim questions. What is stated as Asian Studies is a common place of crossover, a site where discourses, systems of enunciation that come from fields that have been consolidated by the Chilean academic community according to its conjuncture of demand or desirability, unite and meet. Second, and derived from the above, it will be argued that the object "Asia" can be traced, in a safe manner within the academic field, from the discursive context of the political and economic history of Chile. This can be done, specifically, from the perspective of geopolitics, economics, and international relations (Quezada 2010; Wilhelmy 2016), in whose rules of formation it is possible to discern, for the time being, three principles of normativity: the *bridge*, *practicality*, and *similarity*. Language studies, migration, and diaspora, among others, start appearing in a more peripheral way or as a complement to the main subject(s).

I will develop this thesis in the next sections of this article, highlighting the following warning about the focus and limitations of this work: it is not my intention to register or characterize each of the academic works that refer to Asia individually, regarding a specific function, or to analyse their conceptual structures. Neither is it my aim to elaborate a "history of the uses of the word Asia" in the specialized Chilean literature. The purpose of this work is more limited: it is to describe or outline, in a panoramic way, where Asia and Asian (as an object of study) academic production in Chile comes from, and the relationships from which it emerges. Overall, it is a matter of determining from which rules it is possible to generate an accepted and reproducible authority in speech; in short, my intention is to delineate the general situation in which the category of Asian Studies currently finds itself in Chile.

The Chilean Political-Economic Conjuncture: The Idea of the *Bridge*

The ties between Chile and Asia can be traced back to the 19th century. Two periods can be provisionally discerned, according to the national literature on Asia: the first would appear with the signature of the *Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and*

Navigation in 1897, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of China in 1915, and with the Republic of Korea in 1962. Here, as part of Chile's projection towards the Pacific, we must point out the incorporation of Rapa Nui (Easter Island) to the national sovereignty in 1888. These four all have a similar emphasis, namely seeing Asia in terms of relational politics and the international consolidation of Chile.[15]

Since the end of the 19th and until the second half of the 20th centuries, Chile's relations with Asia were mostly unrelated to economics, and to the various cultural processes affecting Chilean society (Takeda 2006; Paladini 2016).[16] Only a few instances of tension with Asian countries are reported in this time, in particular with Japan, as a consequence of the politics of Salvador Allende and the strained relations with the United States. Such situations put at risk cooperation cultivated at the economic and diplomatic levels, in whose logic Chile was an exporter of raw materials for Japanese industry, while Japan invested in the country:

> The relations between Chile and Japan were characterized by the development of an alternative path that describes the coexistence between the daily continuity of diplomatic activity and an active bilateral policy

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15   For a deeper understanding, I suggest three interesting titles: Juan Salazar's *Chile y la comunidad del Pacífico* (1999); *La política exterior de Chile, 1990–2009: del aislamiento a la integración global* (2012) from César Ross and Mario Artaza; and Eduardo Rodríguez's, *Chile, país puente* (2006).

16   In fact, from a cultural point of view, the relations with Asia are much more intense, as they are in the middle of synchronic processes such as Latin-American modernism, orientalism and all of the literary and material production by the Eastern travelers. Among the reasons that explain this interest, Verónica Ramírez mentions religion themes, but:
There were other reasons […] The spiritual crisis, as part of the effects of the discussion on laicization of the State, starring conservatives and liberals, as well as then anti-positivist environment transmitted from Europe […] On the other hand, the rise to money of miners and bankers after the War of the Pacific allowed their families to afford luxury goods and travel for long periods of time. But, mainly, the strong "frenchification" of our society during the last decades of the XIX century. (Ramírez 2017, 151)
También hubo otras razones […] La crisis espiritual, como uno de los efectos de la discusión de la laicización del Estado, protagonizada entre conservadores y liberales, así como el ambiente antipositivista transmitido desde Europa […] Por otra parte, el enriquecimiento de mineros y banqueros tras la Guerra del Pacífico permitiría a sus familias darse mayores lujos y viajar por periodos prolongados. Pero, sobre todo, el fuerte afrancesamiento de nuestra sociedad durante las últimas décadas del siglo XIX.
Hernán Taboada described this phenomenon as a sort of peripheral orientalism, "in other words, one that borrows its central categories from those spread in Europe" ("es decir, uno que toma prestadas sus categorías centrales de las que habían sido difundidas en Europa") (Taboada 1998, 287). In the Chilean case, Mauricio Baros distinguishes two moments: one, pre-configurator of the Eastern imaginary, brought from Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, and another of settlement with the modernization of the state, between the end of the 19th century and 1919 (Baros 2011).

to reduce insecurity introduced by the economic-social transformations by Allende's government, which polarized Chile's growing contingent reality. (Ross 2014, 281)[17]

Another example happened during the government of the Unidad Popular (Magasich 2013), when they acknowledged the People's Republic of China as the state representative of the Chinese community, instead of Taiwan.

The second period in Chile's relations with Asia starts in the 1980s, in the middle of the country's civic-military dictatorship, with a move to strengthen Chile's geopolitical relations, including with Asia, due to the progressive isolation of the country.[18] This was a project that lead to the renewed opening of diplomatic offices in Asia, a new emphasis on ASEAN and the region, and in boosting exports to Asia (Wilhelmy 2010). During the return to democracy, starting with the government of Patricio Aylwin (1990–1994), Chile's attempts to enter various multilateral Asian forums, sign free trade treaties[19] and, at the same time, establish national bodies to link with Asia all aimed at reintegrating Chile into the global system. In this regard, the approval of Chile's membership of APEC in 1994 was a transcendental event.

From these earlier events, and in the context of the foundation of the Pacific Alliance (PA) in 2011, it can be seen that the image of a *bridge*—and the various shades which colour it, such as *integration, connection, platform* or *exchange*— has resonated with regard to the Chilean position towards Asia. In the founding

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17   "Las relaciones entre Chile y Japón se caracterizaron por el desarrollo de un camino lateral, que describe la coexistencia entre la continuidad rutinaria de la actividad diplomática y una activa política bilateral para reducir la incertidumbre, que introducían las transformaciones económico-sociales que impulsaba el Gobierno de Allende y que polarizaban crecientemente la realidad contingente de Chile."

18   After 1973, because of the *coup d'état*, Chile severed its diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, except Romania. The human rights issue was a decisive factor in the suspicious gazes of Western Europe and, at that moment, of the European Economic Community. In contrast, Edmundo Varas reveals, "relations with the majority of Asian countries and those on the Pacific were satisfactory and, in the eighties trade relations even increased by a significant amount" (Varas 2012, 79). ("… las relaciones con la mayoría de los países asiáticos y del Pacífico fueron satisfactorias e incluso, en la década de los años ochenta, las relaciones comerciales se incrementaron de manera significativa.")

19   On this matter, the OECD highlights this liberalizing strategy as one of the most distinctive characteristics of the Chilean economy, even though underlining its inherent risks in terms of regulations and impacts on smaller enterprises, among other points:
       Chile's trade intensity is highly dependent on international trade liberalization (Haugh et al. 2016). Its wide-ranging network of preferential trade agreements led to low tariffs and higher trade, GDP per capita and employment (Schmidt-Hebbel, 2017), and the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership could allow further gains. (OECD 2018)

declaration of the PA, the objectives of the body include: "to build, in a participatory and consensual manner, a space of deep integration in order to gradually move towards the free movement of goods, services, capital and people" (Acuerdo marco de la Alianza del Pacífico). On this issue, César Ross states:

> The hypothesis that Chile had to transform into a bridge between Japan/Asia and the MERCOSUR was an idea pushed by the Chilean side and its business committee that the Japanese counterpart assumed as theirs in the year 1994 (Comité Empresarial Chile-Japón 1994). (Ross 2007, 117)[20]

The weakness of the word bridge is that it is indiscriminately utilitarian, adapted by its use to a kind of effort to bring states and their economies closer together, where Chile, in the manner of a stepping stone, would set a transregional role: "This PA has, from its origins, the mission of constituting itself in a privileged forum for the projection of its members towards the rest of the world, and especially as a bridge to the Asia-Pacific region" (Legler et al. 2018, 158). The importance of the bridge also hovers around the logic of international relations, foreign policy and perhaps the field of economics. This is what can be stated on a practical level about this term.

However, I consider that a *bridge* is also a place of manifestation, of individualization, a point of exposition for the discourses surrounding Asia; the *bridge* is more than a meaning, a *telos*, a hermeneutic: it is the formal dimension in which an inseparable requirement of this specific type of literature appears, it's an element that makes the different inquiries *become related*—the orders of desire carried by a discourse—cohabited as Asian Studies. The *bridge* is the "shut-off valve" that "truly" places propositions and disciplines and thus controls the discourse, through fixing its limits, with regard to the subject in question. And finally,

> Not all discursive regions are equally open and penetrable; some are highly defended (differentiated and differentiable), while others seem open to almost all winds and are made without previous restriction at the disposition of each speaking subject. (Foucault 1971)[21]

Putting the *bridge* into play produces the navigation and gradual discovery of its object: then, a dark zone (Asia) becomes clear, separate from other plots, and (re)

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20   "La hipótesis de que Chile debía transformarse en un puente entre Japón/Asia y el MERCOSUR fue una idea impulsada por el capítulo chileno del Comité y que la contraparte japonesa asumió como propia en el año 1994 (Comité Empresarial Chile-Japón 1994)."

21   "Toutes les régions du discours ne sont pas également ouvertes et pénétrables; certaines sont hautement défendues (différenciées et différenciantes) tandis que d'autres paraissent presque ouvertes à tous les vents et mises sans restriction préalable à la disposition de chaque sujet parlant."

producing a distinctive analytic, there is thus an act of formation of new concepts, which in the case of Asia introduces its *contingency*. Otherwise, following Foucault, "defining in its singular individuality a system of formation [here, through the notion of *bridge*] is, then, characterizing a discourse or a group of statements by the regularity of a practice" (Foucault 2017, 99).[22]

The *bridge* points, in its most original and radical level, to the problem regarding the Chilean state in the question: In what way can the unheard of, the unknown, *be thought of?* How to make the object of that which has yet to acquire a body, frontiers, language, and regularity visible? I glimpse in the *bridge*, even as an image, the properties of linking and projection; therein lies its value as a relationship, as the minimum formative unit of the object of Asian Studies.

The bridge bears an epistemological burden: it locates a minimum threshold or certainty—of "making things real", as Foucault suggests—of the axis on which the object is cut and temporalized. In this way, Asia is not a kind of noumenon, something non-conceptual, but the place given to an experience, an act of utterance, distributed as a point of contact between two shores, two distances correlated by rules.

And the *bridge* is a projection too, since such a link is mediated by the common space holding it, which is in itself a norm of being. This regimented place represents the appearance of the disciplinary, the world that is conjured with a specific sense, and where a set of statements defined by the truth of that appearance can be formulated and transmitted. The *bridge* is thus not a tangible object, but a rule that allows the individualization of objects and the creation of relationships between things. For example, the bridge is not comparable either with the economic value of its parts or with any way of describing its phenomenon; yet the bridge expresses itself through itself as a place for a possible relationship. This place of possibility therefore adheres to rules and allows the visibility of its object—Asia—in a certain way, in which only certain acceptable statements and discourses find their way in. Through the characteristics of the bridge, the market installs a dimension of enunciation, a context of the existence of concrete speech, in which Asia is objectified as a commercial or strategic partner:

> Up until not too long ago, the relationship between the countries of the Pacific Rim was focused almost solely on their immediate neighbours or the periphery, without the existence of transpacific communication [...]

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22   "Definir en su individualidad singular un sistema de formación [nota del autor: aquí, a través de la noción de *puente*] es, pues, caracterizar un discurso o un grupo de enunciados por la regularidad de una práctica."

The Asian-Latin-American link has been strengthened only since *the apex of commercial trade.* (Salazar 1999, 27–28 [emphasis is mine])[23]

As a rule of specification of a manner of speech regarding Asia, the *bridge* does not determine the content or knowledge resultant of the groups of possible statements, but instead installs a "surface" of appropriation and formulation of the object. In Foucauldian terminology, the *bridge* maintains its positive aspect, "a field in which eventually formal identities, thematical continuities, concept translation, controversial games can be deployed. Therefore, positivity plays a role that can be described as *historical a priori*" (Foucault 2017, 167).[24] As such, the *bridge* gives a field of communicability to the speaking agents, allows for the historical reality of the statements—in this case, from the discursive domains of economics and international relations, with respect to the object "Asia". In the present section, we shall use two more cases as examples.

The first clearly expresses the scope of the concept of *bridge* and its appropriation:

> This magnum opus [referring to the Central Trans-Andes train project, or *Tren Trasandino Central* in Spanish] is part of the Bicentennial Project and cannot be in any other way since, without a doubt, it will contribute to the concretion and entrenchment of the idea […] of Chile as a bridge country between the Asia Pacific and Mercosur […] This strategy of a country that develops beyond its frontiers is enriched today with the concept of connectivity. (Rodríguez 2006, 73)[25]

The second case is a part of Chancellor José Miguel Insulza's speech for the inauguration of the Asia-Pacific Council in 1998, where the fields of economics, geopolitics and international relations are asserted:

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23 "Hasta hace no mucho tiempo, la relación entre los países ribereños del Pacífico se concentraba más que nada en sus ámbitos vecinales inmediatos o en la periferia, sin existir corrientes de comunicación transpacíficas […] La vinculación asiático-latinoamericana se ha intensificado sólo a partir del auge del intercambio comercial."

24 "Un campo en el que pueden eventualmente desplegarse identidades formales, continuidades temáticas, traslaciones de conceptos, juegos polémicos. Así, la positividad desempeña el papel de lo que podría llamarse un *a priori histórico*."

25 "Esta magna obra [refiriéndose al proyecto del Tren Trasandino Central] está inserta en el proyecto Bicentenario y no puede ser de otra manera porque, sin duda, contribuirá a la concreción y afianzamiento de la idea […] de Chile como un país puente entre el Asia Pacífico y el Mercosur […] Esta estrategia de un país que se desarrolla más allá de sus fronteras se enriquece hoy con el concepto de conectividad."

> We must keep building a web of neighbouring relations and of free trade instruments, with the purpose of projecting Chile as the supplier of services and entrance point to the South American markets […] It must be said very clearly. The reasons and interests that throughout our history have motivated and keep motivating the actions of Chile in the Asia-Pacific continue to be active […] as a fundamental variable of Chilean foreign policy. (Salazar 1999, 25)[26]

But a *bridge* is not able to totalize the contingency of the topic "Asia". Nor does it attempt to answer the question of the possibilities of its knowledge. On the contrary, it suspends them, lets them migrate from the field of language. By instituting only a surface of enunciability, the bridge does not question how Asia is possible as a rule. It merely constitutes the field for the enunciative act. Therefore, Asia is never the sight of the untold (that which has no experience or ability to comprehend), but an object that is given to thought in a certain way, already delimited and articulated.

So far, we have excluded two topics from this conversation: The first is the question of whether the communication that the bridge offers is reciprocal between both sides from the perspective of the student and the subject of study, and *vice versa*. The second is whether the figure of the bridge makes it possible to place certain disciplines equally in the category of Asian Studies, finding within it one their places of resonance and speech.

Teleology of the Object of Asian Studies: A Practical-Utilitarian Way

The *bridge*, as I have conjectured, is a principle of appearance and connection for the discourses on Asia, that allows us to give a location—a field—to its objectification. That being said, the *bridge* describes the limits of the event and the accumulation of statements that create its identity; it also evidences its temporal circulation and the relativity of its findings. What can be said about Asia is not infinite, but is conditioned by the rules of its emergence, which condense the category of Asian Studies. We must now ask ourselves, however, about how the object "Asia" is conceptualized, with some uncertainty due the modality and accuracy of the possible answers.

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26   "Debemos seguir construyendo una trama de relaciones vecinales y de instrumentos de libre comercio, con el fin de proyectar a Chile como un proveedor de servicios y como puerta de entrada hacia los mercados sudamericanos […] Hay que decirlo claramente. Las razones e intereses que a través de nuestra historia han motivado y motivan la acción de Chile en el Asia-Pacífico continúan plenamente vigentes […] una variable fundamental de la política exterior chilena."

It could be argued that the limits and homogeneity of speech on Asia and its repetition in the academic space are defined by the related disciplines themselves: from them and through their practices, the problematic domain of the object and its legibility threshold would be formed. Nevertheless, such a conjecture does not answer the question, as it only provides the facts or acts of a disciplinary authority: Do all axioms conjectured about Asia imply a link with an Asian study? In other words, if Asian Studies are the performativity of an attempt of building a *bridge*, is the object "Asia" equally individualized unitarily for all disciplines?

No. The cohesive force, the irruption of the connection of the *bridge*, is radial. There are central disciplinary spaces in Asian Studies—the disciplinary scope—and intermediary and peripherical spaces all the way to their exclusion. What then sets the adherence range of a discipline to the category of Asian Studies? The answer is a teleological quality.

The *way the object "Asia" is thought of* is due to a condition of coincidence, of interrelation of the statement with its goals. It does not mean that Asia is constrained on top of an empirical formulation of pure objectivity and utility in the sense of what has been said, but instead in respect to a specific connective logic that occurs between two objects that sympathize in synchrony, in association: one on an explicit level, the other by rebound.

Elaborating on this, another rule that crosses the different discourses and enunciative modalities, like Asian Studies, is that the object is thought of teleologically. This is, it is thought of in the function of a tool, a vehicle, a calculated intermediation. The studies of international relations, or economics or geopolitics, tend to decode "Asia" as an object from the possibility of an instrumental fit, by derivation, to an additional object. The object "Asia" is not an isolated one, desirable and examined in itself. It is instead subject to infinite connections, comparisons, effects and overlaps with other similar objects, in a highly porous and interchangeable context—the economic phenomenon, international affairs, diplomacy. The goal of Asian Studies is outside of itself, outside of its reach, in the attention to its *incidence* (Sanhueza and Soto 2009).

The following note, published by the European Science Foundation (ESF), is quite meaningful in this context:

> The study of Asian languages, cultures and civilizations contributes pivotal insights into the diverse aspects of humanity. European identities have been and continue to be shaped by centuries of interaction and exchanges with Asia in the traditional scope of the notion. *The study of Asia*

is therefore essential in the making and preservation of our own European identity. (Sterckx and Luca 2012, 7 [emphasis is mine])

Asia is not the occasion for strangeness nor confrontation, but a sort of condition to study our own representation. Not in the sense of being the object of a comparison, or the application of a transcultural view (Silius 2020), but from the interests and effects on one's own (economic, political, national) identity. In Said's work this instrumental articulation was also announced, situated from a geopolitical perspective:

> The East is not only Europe's next-door neighbour, but also the region where Europe has placed its biggest, richest and oldest colonies, it is the source of its civilizations and tongues, its cultural rival and one of its deepest and most repeated images of the Other. (Said 2008, 19–20)[27]

At the national level, I expose this rule from the presentation of some academic research centres and spaces, and the recognition of its intended meaning. At the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, specifically in its Asian Studies Center, the following is expressed on one of its lines of research:

> The axes of research are oriented by the great challenges of the new millennium and the needs of Latin American societies of generating profound knowledge about Asian interlocutors and *of augmenting the competitiveness of Chilean professionals in a global society.* (Centro de Estudios Asiáticos n.d. [emphasis is mine])[28]

At Diego Portales University, the Asia Pacific Center has as its purpose "the generation of networks and applied knowledge in the field of business between Asia and Latin America" (Centro Asia Pacífico n.d.);[29] while inside the International Studies Institute of the University of Chile (Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile), the new Chinese Studies programme proposes "promoting a stimulating environment for the development

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27   "Oriente no es solo el vecino inmediato de Europa, es también la región en la que Europa ha creado sus colonias más grandes, ricas y antiguas, es la fuente de sus civilizaciones y sus lenguas, su contrincante cultural y una de sus imágenes más profundas y repetidas de lo Otro."

28   "Los ejes de investigación se orientan por los grandes desafíos del nuevo milenio y por la necesidad de las sociedades latinoamericanas de generar conocimiento profundo sobre interlocutores asiáticos y de *aumentar la competencia de los profesionales chilenos en una sociedad global* [el subrayado es mío]."

29   "la generación de redes y conocimiento aplicado en el ámbito de negocios entre Asia y América Latina."

of multidisciplinary studies that can analyse the relations between China and Latin America and that, at the same time, facilitate the comprehension between those cultures in a global society" (Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile n.d.).[30]

To these rather random samples is added a common validation of Asian Studies: the framework of the object is teleological, in relation to a second object that connects it. The first object is the direct corpus of analysis—the way in which the enunciation of Asia is presented—the second object is presented in a testimonial, depositional manner as the phenomenon of using information given by solidarity, succession or communication from the first object. All research that makes use of the various discourses, readability operations of the Asian event, or that allows for a submission to local or regional contextuality, is described in this logic, either in terms of effects, reciprocities, mixtures or environments. I refer to proposals such as "the effects of the slowdown of the Chinese economy in Chile", or "the economic and strategic importance of Japan in commemorating the 120 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations with Chile", "Chile's projections or challenges in ASEAN, the Asia-Pacific", and so on.[31]

The complicity of the *bridge* and the *practical-telos* give rise to a game of inclusion-exclusion, a tension brought forth by its justification of the different discourses that intervene in the construction of the Asian object; and to the same extent, they also shape its confines, the hierarchization of its valuation and incidence in Asian Studies. The following quotation synthesizes all that is teleological-practical, as well as projective, of the thinking on Asia and the outline that surrounds the taxonomy of Asian Studies in Chile:

> The economic weight of the countries in the Asia-Pacific zone will continue to rise. In particular, China, India and Indonesia, and this will cause a significant modification in the weight of the Western nations in the

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30   "promover un entorno estimulante para el desarrollo de estudios multidisciplinarios que puedan analizar las relaciones entre China y América Latina y que, al mismo tiempo, puedan facilitar la comprensión de ambas culturas en una sociedad global."
Additionally, I recommend reviewing Santiago Carranco's article, "Asia a través de la Academia Occidental: un análisis comparativo" (2017), where the incorporation of Asia—more accurately, Southeast Asia—is examined in detail from the international relations course's curriculum in Latin America, the Andes region and the northwestern view.

31   A split would have to be made, which rather than clarifying would in fact make the issue of Asian Studies more complicated. Within the formative rule of its end, there would be some things that can be said that complements the place of intersection of the great discourses on Asia in a radial way. This is where language studies, religion studies, contributions of social sciences and history come in. Thus, in terms of a taxonomy of Asian Studies (if one can accept this image), the degree of enunciation on Asia is gradual, guided by a centre and a periphery.

coming decades. This scenario would manifest itself in a shift of economic activity from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

If we accept this hypothesis, it would be necessary to adopt the necessary policies to intensify actions taken towards that region by South America, or Latin America as a whole, and in particular to materialize Chile's vocation to be a platform and a bridge between Latin America and Asia Pacific. (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile 2018, 36)[32]

It is a fact that the inscription within the category of Asian Studies of research on the impact of Chinese companies in Chile, the history of diplomatic relations with Japan, introduction of the Korean language as an undergraduate degree, Asian collecting in Chile or the morphological study of the *haliotiss sorenseni* have different levels of compatibility regarding *impact on the field*. This also affects the capacity of and insistence on transversality, transit and registration with regard to the concomitant fields, its ability to be compelling and relevant to the way in which the object of "Asia" has been outlined and, in the end, its ultimate viability of acceptance as belonging to this category of knowledge.

Analogy as the General Normativity of the Asian Studies

In the following paragraphs we shall explain the last rule that characterizes the decidability of Asian Studies in Chile. We are referring to an analogy which perpetrates a role of synthetizing the other two. In it, two possible meanings are consigned: one that refers to the type of intentionality—which is one of exclusion, characteristic of any space of study—of the field to be studied, in which the analogy operates irrupting as an emphasis, a certain procedure, a mode of making Asia happen by *similarity*. The second meaning refers to the positivity which allows the discovery of the object, the structural form in which the tools for its examination are put on the surface, on what a repetition is inscribed on.

Without a doubt, not all propositions about Asia are verified as Asian Studies, nor is all knowledge on Asian things contained in this category. What defines this

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32   "El peso económico de los países del Asia Pacífico continuará elevándose, en particular, China, India e Indonesia. Esto provocará un claro efecto de modificación del peso de occidente en el mundo en las décadas que vienen. Este escenario se manifestaría en un desplazamiento de la actividad económica del Atlántico al Pacífico.
Si aceptamos esta hipótesis, será necesario adoptar las políticas necesarias para intensificar las acciones hacia esa región por parte de América del Sur, de América Latina en su totalidad, y en particular materializar la vocación de Chile de ser plataforma y puente entre América Latina y Asia Pacífico."

position? Is it the impact of the subject of study? The methodology or framework used for the encounter? The academic formation of the speaker? Foucault sheds some light on the matter:

> Knowledge is also the field of coordination and subordination of the statements on which concepts appear, are defined, applied and transformed […] knowledge is defined by possibilities of utilization and appropriation offered by the discourse (this way, the knowledge of political economics, in the classic era, is not the thesis of sustained theses, but *the set of points of articulation about other discourses or other practices that are not discursive.* (Foucault 2017, 337 [emphasis is mine])[33]

The background of the issue—the minimum threshold of retention of the statement within Asian Studies—is the *will to know* (*la volonté de savoir*) that (*re*) organizes the production of knowledge in a determined context, in whose hypothesis lies framed the problem analysed by Foucault in his 1971 lecture at the Collège de France: "Truth is not what is linked to knowledge: each one of these two terms is linked to the other in a relationship of support and exclusion" (Foucault 2012, 47).[34] In a broader sense: truth and knowledge about Asia are in a state of adaptation, crisis and transformation of the view of the related knowledge, in which the intentionality of the subject—its possibilities of speech—is hardly the starting point for articulations of connection, domination or deformation of the object: it is located in the *media res* of the rules of what can be said. Due to the effect of knowledge—truth—the specificity of knowledge is "characterized by the fact that many differences are violently brought together, violated in order to enforce the analogy of similarity, common benefit or belonging and brand them as equal" (ibid., 233).[35] Asian Studies, in their historical configuration, compose a kinship, an *interdiscursive dependence* (Foucault 2014) within the many forms that its object approaches the process of thought, the diversity of possible networks that permeate it.

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33   "Un saber es también el campo de coordinación y de subordinación de los enunciados en que los conceptos aparecen, se definen, se aplican y se transforman […] un saber se define por posibilidades de utilización y de apropiación ofrecidas por el discurso (así, el saber de la economía política, en la época clásica, no es la tesis de las diferentes tesis sostenidas, sino *el conjunto de sus puntos de articulación sobre otros discursos o sobre otras prácticas que no son discursivas)* [el énfasis es mío]."

34   "La verdad no es lo que está ligado de pleno derecho al conocimiento: cada uno de estos dos términos está con respecto al otro en una relación a la vez de apoyo y de exclusión."

35   "Se caracteriza por reunir a la fuerza varias diferencias, a las que violentan para imponerles la analogía de una semejanza, una común utilidad o pertenencia, y señalarlas con una misma marca."

On the one hand, similarity is inoculated from the experience of commentary; however, it is limited in particular to the repetition of a restrictive threshold of object analysis, which is the starting point for repetition in a field of disciplinary knowledge. It also offers a commonality between statements made at a distance (what was said at a distance and what is important in its return in an interlinked form).

As Foucault warned, *similarity* is not a simple copy, or a reiteration:

> In a discipline, unlike in commentary, what is supposed in the beginning is not a meaning to be rediscovered, nor an identity that must be repeated; this is what is required for the construction of new expressions. To have discipline, the possibility of formulating, and indefinitely formulating new propositions must exist. (Foucault 1971)[36]

Commentary, for example, is recognized within these limits through quoting strategies, bibliographic repetition, and the observance of certain epistemological figures (West-East, Democracy-Dictatorship, etc). These are nodes where the statement takes its foundation of validity, to the extent that *it is in the truth* of that repeated disciplinary fact, which involves, in other words, being within the principles, the concurrence criteria of certain disciplines:[37] "Discipline is a principle to control the production of discourse. It establishes limits through the play of an identity that takes the shape of a permanent update of the rules" (Foucault 1971).[38]

Another mode of similarity in the dimension of scientific discourses is their exemplary status, the element of comparison, which is transformed into a model or

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[36] "Dans une discipline, à la différence du commentaire, ce qui est supposé au départ, ce n'est pas un sens qui doit être redécouvert, ni une identité qui doit être répétée ; c'est ce qui est requis pour la construction de nouveaux énoncés. Pour qu'il y ait discipline, il faut donc qu'il y ait possibilité de formuler, et de formuler indéfiniment, des propositions nouvelles."

[37] As an anchor point, the index of decidability of an object is mediated by the conjunction of knowledge of the discipline that intercepts it. At first glance, it can be understood that knowledge according to Foucault is an internal governance regime (of power) and at the same time, a truth: "It is used, then, the word knowledge, which is given and in a defined dominion" (Foucault 1995, 14). ("Se utiliza, entonces, la palabra saber, que se refiere a todos los procedimientos y a todos los efectos de conocimiento que son aceptables en un momento dado y en un dominio definido".) On the text *Dit et écrits*, volume III he adds: "truth is linked circularly to the systems of power that produce and support it, and to the effects of power that induces and renew it. Truth regime" (Foucault 1994, 160). ("La vérité est liée circulairement à des systèmes de pouvoir qui la produisent et la soutiennent, et à des effets de pouvoir qu'elle induit et qui la reconduisent. Régime de la vérité".)

[38] "La discipline est un principe de contrôle de la production du discours. Elle lui fixe des limites par le jeu d'une identité qui a la forme d'une réactualisation permanente des règles."

paradigm through systematic reference to practice: an individual case becomes the norm, or, the norm generates a series of cases.[39]

A second sense of analogy is co-participative with regard to the previous one, whose orientation is rather phenomenic. The analogy fulfils a principle of method, of the possibility of experience. The production of contemporary knowledge from modernity accentuates—in general—the experience of the world from the emancipation of comparison as heuristics, a dialectic that arises from the abstractions of the object of study (called scientific abstraction in science), from the analysis of its characteristics (Balduzzi 2009), and in which compatibility, kinship, assembly or antagonism are examined in comparison with other, similar cases.

However, due to the crisis of positivism, the object is not conceivable as a mere fact given to thought, but rather as a mediation with language and the rules that establish a regime for the (re)cutting of reality. In the irreducibility of the object's experience, what *has never been seen before*, or the *foreignness* as untranslatable, indecipherable or overflowing would not be possible. By contrast, the experience of the world is given within the original horizon of the subjection of the event with the word, the concept and its meaning.

This fact is fundamental in today's world in order to place the scope of the analogy in Asian Studies as a cognitive phenomenon. I contextualize its immediate effect through the hypothesis developed by Byung-Chul Han:

> The times where an "*other*" existed are gone. The other as a mystery, as seduction, as eros, desire, hell, and as pain has disappeared. Today, the negativity of an "other" gives way to the positivity of an equal. (Han 2019b, 9)[40]

There is no longer an Asia as a new event that is happening—its appearance is not a *strange* event, but a pure communicability, one that corresponds to the satiety of the analogy between the object and its capacity of being assessed by thought.

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39   Regarding the concept of the paradigm in Foucault, and its possible links with the term used by Thomas Kuhn, Giorgio Agamben examines a double connotation in the case of Foucault; it constitutes a case and defines the intelligibility that constitutes it:
Giving an example is, then, a complex act that supposes that the term acting as paradigm is disabled from its normal use so as to not be moved to another area, but, on the contrary, to show the cannon of that use, which is not possible to display in other ways. (Agamben 2010, 22–23)
Dar un ejemplo es, entonces, un acto complejo que supone que el término que oficia de paradigma es desactivado de su uso normal no para ser desplazado a otro ámbito, sino, por el contrario, para mostrar el canon de aquel uso, que no es posible exhibir de otro modo.

40   "Los tiempos en que existía el *otro* se han ido. El otro como misterio, el otro como seducción, el otro como eros, el otro como deseo, el otro como infierno, el otro como dolor va desapareciendo. Hoy, la negatividad del otro deja paso a la positividad de lo igual."

Asia has transformed into an "extension" of the margins of Western discourses and in that, become a forgotten fragment of the radical quest for its pretended universality:

> In the West the foreign was for a long time an object of extreme exclusion or appropriation […] Now, it is thought that everyone is in some way equal, complacently. This way the foreignness disappears once again from the internal, from what is of one's own. (Han 2019b, 11)[41]

An example: APEC (the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation), an economic forum for the Asia-Pacific region, is a vital space for Chilean trade development and its advances in global markets since the 1990s. But APEC does not include the object "Asia" nor is it equivalent. It is another object, a transregional forum that establishes its own rules of articulation between its parts and participants, and the ways to form its enunciation. However, for the discourses of Chilean foreign policy and the economic field (in terms of the rules of *bridge-practicality*), the conceptualization of APEC is analogous to the object Asia. Whether the enunciative vocabulary or the propositional rules of the object "Asia" gave an identity and regularity to the object "APEC", or if it was the other way around, is something that is relegated to obscurity. The analogy then establishes an *enunciative homogeneity* (Foucault 2017), that is, an act of derivation and definition of both objects that, considering Asian Studies, becomes compatible with enunciating it using the same logic, the same form of rationality:

> Chile has inserted itself in a determined and successful manner into the Asia Pacific. The inclusion in APEC in 1994 was a significant event, followed by the signing of free trade agreements with South Korea in 2004, China in 2006 and Japan in 2007. *Our relationship with China, Japan and Korea today does not require further explanation, its weight internationally is undeniable* [emphasis is mine]. It does not require a special boost either, as they are our biggest trading partners in the region and there are strong political and diplomatic ties. (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile 2014, 9)[42]

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41   "En Occidente lo extraño fue durante mucho tiempo objeto de violenta exclusión o apropiación. No estaba presente en el interior de lo propio […] En la actualidad se piensa complacientemente que todos son de algún modo iguales. Así vuelve a desaparecer lo extraño en el interior de lo propio."

42   "Chile se ha insertado en forma perseverante y exitosa en el Asia Pacífico. La incorporación al APEC en 1994 fue un hito relevante, seguido por la firma de trata-dos de libre comercio el 2004 con Corea del Sur, el 2006 con China y el 2007 con Japón. *Nuestra relación con China, Japón y Corea hoy no requiere mayor explicación, su peso internacional es innegable* [emphasis is mine]. Tampoco necesita un especial impulso, pues son nuestros mayores socios comerciales en la región y hay sólidos lazos políticos y diplomáticos."

Communicability—a state of extension and oblivion—establishes, on the one hand, the *legality* of the speech of the subject and the field on the object; on the other, its *translation game* is set. Asian Studies, as a frame where the norms of legibility of an object cross paths, puts into play linking procedures, analogical figures, and the unconditional of transmission of a disciplinary speech, that creates a hermeneutic on the *Asian* object: the affirmative opening of an "economic analysis on China", "an inquiry on the principles of the Asian miracle", "the geopolitical status of North Korea", "Japanese translation", "the Asian art", etc. Due to the license with which some disciplinary discourses are invested—be it for its jurisdiction as a *bridge*, or usefulness, like geopolitics, economics or international relations—there would be no problem, no *noise*, in the utilization of Western categories for the purpose of giving a certain *appearance* and for the "instrumental" repetition of Asia. Moreover, the Asian object can be conceived for the same reasons as correlate, simile or *double*.[43] It is a "continuous body" in the immersion of disciplinary speech.

The nullity of the *noise* and the appearance of the *double*, derived from the analogy, could be understood as an interruption of the experience of the Asian object. The interruption of the experience is, finally, the radical problem of the limits of language, knowledge and the confrontation with that which is *unseen*, as:

> The experience is, in effect, oriented before anything, to the protection of surprises and that a shock is produced always implies a failure in the experience. Obtaining experience from something dignifies the act of taking its novelty, neutralizing its shock potential. (Agamben 2015, 53)[44]

In conclusion, if the academic vision in Edward Said's work produced representations of the East (which were rather limited to the European colonial regions and distant territories), both in the form of deformations and in the form of an

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43   The idea of a *double* used here is a reference to Clément Rosset and his work *L'objet singulier* (2007). If what is real is that which stays identical to itself, that which is elusive to any form of apprehension, then there would be restlessness about the representation—the image—being made of the world: What is a double? Or, what does a substitute of what's real imply? I think its effect is similar to the analogical component in Asian Studies: awakening a sense of reality; which is but that of legitimacy for a pretended *revelation* of what's real in that double: "The privilege of the double is that of proposing, on the most acute way possible, the question of what is real […] of being a revelator, more or less the same way the word development is used in photography" (Rosset 2017, 20). ("El privilegio del doble es el de proponer, de la manera mas aguda posible, la cuestión de lo real […] de ser un revelador, más o menos en el sentido fotográfico del término.")

44   "La experiencia en efecto está orientada ante todo a la protección de las sorpresas y que se produzca un shock implica siempre una falla de la experiencia. Obtener experiencia de algo dignifica quitarle su novedad, neutralizar su potencial de shock."

ontology (of the West), one could argue that—starting with Byung-Chul Han—the phenomenon of Asian otherness was replaced by the acceptance of a necessity/utility of communication, in which thoughts about Asia transcend its ontological stamp to correspond as an ideology.[45]

Conclusions

There exists a conceptual darkness that this research aimed to enlighten, as an initial exploration of the subject: the links historically established between Chile and Asia would transform Asian Studies—in the academic realm—from a supposed specificity and unity. Apparently, as a nucleus of research and approaches to Asia, a concrete domain would also be expressed using this category, a homogeneous and cultivated meaning of a type of differentiating knowledge and, in general, a *will of knowledge* focused upon its object, Asia. This would mean that the distribution of what is Asian would already be determined and differentiated in each of the academic fields of reflection (Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Southeast Asian Studies, etc.), in the models of analysis, the possibilities and forms of questioning the object of investigation, and the accessible fields of expression; in summary, the conditions of arrangement for a defined speech about Asia.

This research, focused on the Chilean case, has attempted to refute that characterization. First: the object of analysis, coded as "Asia", is not a precedent, nor is it passive or mute with regard to the category of Asian Studies. Likewise, the category of Asian Studies has been constructed through significant discursive

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45   By the use of the word *ideology* I am not establishing any *a priori* definition for the subject of knowledge, as could be read between lines in Michael Foucault's characterization. Refer to:
the fundamental codes of a culture—those that rule its language, its perceptive schemes, its changes, techniques, values, the hierarchy of its practices—preset, for every man, the empirical orders that have something to do with it, and within which will be recognized. (Foucault 2009, 5)
Los códigos fundamentales de una cultura—los que rigen su lenguaje, sus esquemas perceptivos, sus cambios, sus técnicas, sus valores, la jerarquía de sus prácticas—fijan de antemano para cada hombre los órdenes empíricos con los cuales tendrá algo que ver y dentro de los que se reconocerá.
I point to ideology from a regime that is symptomatic and devoid of a meaning of reality, closer to Slavoj Žižek's reflection on the matter:
Ideology is not simply a "fake conscience", an illusory representation of reality, it is instead this reality which is already conceived as "ideological"—"ideological" is a social reality whose existence implies the lack of knowledge of its participants […] that individuals "do not know what they are doing". (Žižek 2019, 46–47)
La ideología no es simplemente una "falsa conciencia", una representación ilusoria de la realidad, es más bien esta realidad a la que ya se ha de concebir como "ideológica"—"ideológica" es una realidad social cuya existencia implica el no conocimiento de sus participantes […] que los individuos "no sepan lo que están haciendo".

systems, disciplinary scopes and rules that have drawn the interest and desire of the Chilean State about Asia: the economic, geopolitical and international relations dimensions.

As a result, Asia does not happen "spontaneously" as an object of research, but rather it is formed from successive inquiries and interrogations, the history and juncture of the interweaving of discourses, its statements, and the possibilities of speech that—at a given moment—refer to it.

Secondly, the existence of a declaration or a set of proposals on Asia is not sufficient to authenticate its identity or its belonging to the category of Asian Studies. Instead, it is necessary that the declaration is linked to certain rules of education (and acceptance), which has been indicated as its contingency. The contingency of Asian Studies in the historical modality in which the object "Asia" finds itself is interwoven with laws of appearance, discourse hierarchies, articulation practices and circumstances of repetition at the disciplinary level.

Therefore, not everything that is within the realm of decidability, that is "speakable", defines a study on Asia, even if it corresponds to the analysis of an Asian phenomenon. This distinction of that which is or is not within the *truth* of such studies is a central point of problematization about the consistency and the transformations that this category develops in time. Just to reinforce the point about *truth*, I shall utilize Foucault's characterization, as it is relevant to this case:

> As *truth*, I do not understand, in effect, a kind of general rule, a set of propositions. I understand by *truth* a set of procedures that allow everyone to pronounce statements that are always considered truthful. (Foucault 2012, 77)[46]

Thirdly, studying the *contingency* is—and must be—the starting point for thinking about the taxonomy and discursive rules of Asian Studies in Chile. It has therefore been argued that Asia's contingency in Chile from the last decade of the 20th century on is structured by the framework, discursive capacity and limits that geopolitics, international relations and economics provide and allow. In order for the contingency implied to be a historical event and not just a virtuality, it has been necessary to install certain communicative regularities and inclinations, defined as formation rules, through Chile's rapprochement with Asia.

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46   "Si se quiere por verdad no entiendo, en efecto, una especie de norma general, una serie de proposiciones. Entiendo por verdad el conjunto de los procedimientos que en todo momento permiten a cada uno pronunciar enunciados que se considerarán verdaderos."

As a result, I have described the existence of three units of *contingency,* or *relations*, in the Asian Studies in Chile, without trying to exhaust its consistency or quantity: the *bridge,* the *practicality* and *similarity*. The importance of these components is not so much in terms of the way propositional criteria are established about the object of study, as it is in the conjugation of the order and structure of the things the field of Asian Studies has a right to say.

Fourth, formation rules have a decisive influence on the visibility and event horizon of Asia as a field of exploration and specific genre of knowledge production at the conjunctural level. However, their scope is wider, as they transform the borders, schemata and possibilities of Asia's singularization into a hierarchical network for the insertion of statements, possibilities of discourse, and possibilities of compartmentalizing what is Asian.

Consequently, Asian Studies are not a homogeneous plane of enunciation, even if what is being said is within the current limits of contingency. The rules of formation of Asian Studies imply a strategic network of relations that are excluding and asymmetric, whose form tends to be radial: the closer a speech is to the central disciplinary fields (economic, geopolitical), the more the enunciation is stabilized in *what is accepted as truth* and the act of repetition. By this, we mean that it is legitimized as a specific rationality—an ideology—deployed over Asia.

Fifthly, at present in Chile, and based on from the acceptance and repetition of the contingency on Asia—the rules of formation of what it can say—a kind of dialogue with these regions and cultures has developed, which is unique through similarity. The similarity does not, in the sense indicated here, indicate a comparison or a common point to get to know each other and is, I am willing to say, symmetrical (Dussel 1995). Rather, the feeling of similarity generally attempts to universalize an ideology—or, as Žižek describes it, a false consciousness—in the form of an attempt at "transversal communicability" with Asia. How is this whole and universal intention of analogous dialogue with Asia expressed and pursued? Basically, in the conviction that the formation rules of the object Asia and the disciplinary fields they cover have a discursive modality that can be suitable for any geographic region, any disciplinary field, and any system of proclamation. Such rules also presuppose an ideal, demonstrable and shared *objectifying* ideal. For Foucault, we would be faced with a *threshold of formalization* (*seuil de formalisation*) (Foucault 2017), i.e. a modality of speech and discourse that is no longer thought in the face of a state of non-scientificity, but which is redefined from within its own rules and utterances.

Geopolitics, economics and international relations possess without a doubt an internal re-elaboration of their discursive practices—what could be called their

theories—on Asia. But they have never been deprived of their legitimacy as a practice and set of relations of what can be said about Asia.

As a final result of this study, it can be said that the term Asian Studies in Chile describes all forms of utterance and discursivity that are placed and reproduced as a possible place and in a radial manner within this predominantly geopolitical and economic contingency, according to their rules of origin, positions within the truth and thresholds of formalization.

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SPECIAL ISSUE:
THE MANIFOLD IMAGES OF ASIAN HISTORY

Developments of Classical Chinese Concepts

The Problem of the Authenticity of the Aesthetic Concept *qiyun shengdong*: Xu Fuguan's Analysis and Interpretation[1]

Téa SERNELJ*

Abstract

The article explores Xu Fuguan's analysis and interpretation of the concept of *qiyun shengdong* 氣韻生動, which is considered to be one of the most important, fundamental and complex concepts in Chinese aesthetics and art. It was created by Xie He in the Wei Jin period (220–420 AD), which is marked as a turning point in the development of Chinese aesthetics. The complexity of the concept of *qiyun shengdong* is reflected in literary works, painting, calligraphy, and music, as well as in literary theory and the theory of painting.

According to Xu Fuguan, *qi* refers to the external features of the artwork, while *yun* expresses the internal characteristics that are a matter of the human spirit. For Xu, *shengdong* signifies the manifestation and fusion of *qi* and *yun* in the artwork. Xu Fuguan claimed that the profound comprehension of this concept is fundamental for understanding the essence of Chinese art. The article also addresses the problem of translating this aesthetic concept into English and discusses the problem of its authenticity.

Keywords: Xu Fuguan, *qiyun shengdong*, Xie He, Chinese aesthetics, Indian theory of painting

Problem avtentičnosti estetskega koncepta *qiyun shengdong*: Xu Fuguanova analiza in interpretacija

Izvleček

Članek proučuje Xu Fuguanovo analizo in interpretacijo koncepta *qiyun shengdong* 氣韻生動, ki velja za enega najpomembnejših, najbolj temeljnih in najkompleksnejših konceptov v kitajski estetiki in umetnosti. Vzpostavil ga je Xie He v obdobju Wei Jin, ki pomeni prelomnico v razvoju kitajske estetike. Kompleksnost koncepta *qiyun shengdong* se odraža

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tako v literarnih delih, slikarstvu in glasbi kot tudi v literarni teoriji in teoriji slikarstva. Po Xu Fuguanovem mnenju se *qi* nanaša na zunanje lastnosti umetniškega dela, medtem ko *yun* izraža notranje značilnosti, ki se tičejo človeškega duha. Za Xu Fuguana *shengdong* pomeni manifestacijo in zlitje *qija* in *yuna* v umetniškem delu. Xu Fuguan je trdil, da je poglobljeno razumevanje tega koncepta bistvenega pomena za razumevanje bistva kitajske umetnosti. Članek obravnava tudi problem prevajanja tega estetskega koncepta v angleščino ter problem njegove pristnosti.

Ključne besede: Xu Fuguan, *qiyun shengdong*, Xie He, kitajska estetika, indijska teorija slikarstva

Introduction

Xu Fuguan (1903–1982) is one of the representatives of the second generation of Modern Confucians, a philosophical current that was established in the second half of the 20th century in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Modern Confucianism as an important philosophical discourse in contemporary China did not emerge due to the desire for a modern synthesis of the Confucian and Euro-American traditions alone, but also as a consequence of an axiological crisis in both traditions (Rošker 2016, 154).

Besides Xu Fuguan, the members of the second generation were Mou Zongsan (1909–1995), Tang Junyi (1909–1978) and Fang Dongmei (1899–1977). Xu Fuguan's research fields mainly covered philosophy, the sociology of culture and literary and art criticism, and he was one of the first theoreticians of the specific Chinese aesthetics in Contemporary Chinese thought. In this respect, Xu Fuguan's historical, conceptual and semantic analysis and interpretation of one of the most complex concept in Chinese aesthetics, namely that of *qiyun shengdong*, is considered one of most comprehensive and profound.

In Western sinological, aesthetic and art theory works, *qiyun shengdong* 氣韻生動 is mostly translated as "rhythmic resonance", "spirit resonance", "creating rhythmic vitality", "spiritual resonance and life motion", "spirit consonance engendering a sense of life", and similar terms.[2] Xu Fuguan is however very critical of translating *yun* 韻 in terms of "rhythm" or "resonance", because according to him *yun* has much wider conceptual spectrum and its meaning also depends on the context in which it occurs (ibid.). As an aesthetic concept, *qiyun shengdong* was first

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2   As we will see further on, *qiyun shengdong* is very hard to translate into Indo-European languages because of its wide range of connotations.

mentioned by Xie He[3] in his *Record of the Classification of Ancient Paintings* (*Gu huapin lu*[4]) in the middle of the 5th century AD, where he set it as the first and most important law and characteristic in the theory of Chinese painting.[5] However, *qiyun* itself appeared much earlier in poetry. This principle remained valid until the beginning of the 20th century, when the Japanese and Chinese theoreticians began to associate it with the idea of subjectivism, and subjective expression as something that was opposite to the form and, consequently, the objectivity of Western realism (Vampelj Suhadolnik 2013, 97–98).

Xu (2002, 91, 92) writes that *qiyun shengdong* was already mentioned by Gu Kaizhi before Xie He, although Gu used different terminology, namely "the transfer of spirit" (*chuanshen* 傳神) as the main criteria (or law) of painting. Gu claimed that the crucial meaning in the art of painting is precisely the author's "portrayal of the transfer of spirit" (*chuanshen xiezhao* 傳神寫照[6]) and its representation via the external form. This kind of representation is what we are able to see, while the spirit belongs to the unseen, but can be felt. The "spirit" (*shen* 神) is the essence of human beings and the specific characteristic of every individual. According to

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3   Xie He 謝赫 (ca 479–502 AD) was a painter and art critic. He is best known for his "six laws of painting" (*huihua liufa* 繪畫六法), which must be taken into account in the critical judgment of a painting. Xie wrote these *six laws* in his foreword to the book *The Records on Ancient Painting* (*Gu huapin lu* 古畫品錄), where he classified the artworks of 27 painters into three categories according to the artistic value of their works. These six laws changed over time, gaining different and new meanings, but within the framework of Chinese aesthetics they are still considered as the basic criteria of Chinese painting. Xie He's six laws are written in the form of parallelism, which is a typical form of writing in classical Chinese. According to Xu Fuguan, the first two characters are the core of parallelism, while the other to refer to its concrete application as revealed in praxis. The credibility of the translation of the six laws is still a subject of academic debate.

4   Xie He specified the laws in the form of numerical listing, which was, according to Victor H. Mair adopted from an Indian theory of painting, the *Sadanga*. (The credibility of Mair's hypothesis will be discussed at the end of the article.) Xie He's six laws or principles are as follows: 一曰, 氣韻生動是也 *yi yue qiyun shengdong shi ye* ("the first is priciple is the harmonious dynamics of creativity"); 二曰, 骨法用筆是也 *er yue gufa yongbi shi ye* ("the second principle is the usage of brush to present the balanced qi"); 三曰, 應物象行是也 *san yue yingwu xiangxing shi ye* ("the third principle is portraying the image in accordance to objects"); 四曰, 隨類賦彩是也 *si yue suilei fucai shi ye* ("the fourth principle is application of colour in accordance to the type of object"); 五曰, 經營位置是也 *wu yue jingying weizhi shi ye* ("the fifth is the placement and positioning"); 六曰,傳移模寫是也 *liu yue chuanyi moxie shi ye* ("the sixth is copying the old masters to transmit the tradition"). The English translation of the first and second laws, which are the most difficult to translate, will be thoroughly explained and discussed in the last part of the article.

5   Although Xie He's theory of painting was still somehow in the embryonic stage, it later became a concise and comprehensive system, which was, according to Xu, already a masterful creation right from the very beginning (Xu 2002, 84).

6   In traditional Chinese painting, the verb to "write or describe" (*xiehua* 寫畫) was often used instead of the verb "to paint" (*huihua* 繪畫), because painting as an artistic genre actually evolved from calligraphy (Xu 2002, 85).

Xu, the expression and representation of the human spirit (and human relations) through painting was a conceptual shift in aesthetics that happened in the Wei Jin period (220–420 AD). During this period, painting focused on representation of the inner world which became the main object in the art of painting. In the Wei Jin period, representations of the human being aimed to reflect the beauty of the human character and interpersonal relationships, and thus were not about the depiction of human physical characteristics, but rather the depiction of the human spirit. This tendency was not only revealed in painting, but in all art genres. In contrast to the sculptures and paintings of the Han dynasty (206–220 BC), where painters mainly depicted the legends and famous personalities of Chinese antiquity, the aesthetic elements of the Wei Jin period reveal a completely new direction in Chinese art. Although the theme of Han dynasty painting and sculpture was partially transposed to Wei Jin, it was with the difference that the painters focused primarily on the display of their spirit, through which they expressed their inner value and meaning. Representation of the human spirit therefore became the main principle and criterion of Wei Jin art and aesthetics. This conceptual shift represents remarkable progress in traditional Chinese art, which is especially evident in the field of painting.[7] According to Xu, *qiyun shengdong* is precisely what makes this kind of transformation possible (namely, the transfer of human spirit into the painting or any work of art) (Xu 2002, 91, 92).

The "transfer of spirit" (*chuanshen*) is thus the basis of figural painting in China that has been transmitted from the Wei Jin period. Xu believes that the significance of Gu Kaizhi's *transfer of the spirit* is more clearly and accurately reflected in Xie He's description of the concept of *qiyun shengdong*. In other words, all that Gu Kaizhi called *chuanshen*, as well as all other concepts related to the spirit, such as *shenqi* ("vitality of the spirit"), *shenming* ("clarity of the spirit"), *shenling* ("the divine spirit"), were merged into one by Xie He, which he called *qiyun shengdong* (ibid.).

For Xu, *qiyun shengdong* is in fact a concretization and refinement of the idea of the spirit, hence it is worthy of careful and profound examination. Xu Fuguan's research is thus multi-layered. He investigates individual concepts within the concept *qiyun shengdong*, namely the concepts *qi* and *yun*, that embody their own meanings and connotations but, as we will see further on, are inextricably connected in the artwork. In the following subsections, which follow Xu Fuguan's structure of analysis, we will examine and evaluate his analysis of individual concepts within the phrase (or category) *qiyun shengdong*.

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7   It is therefore not surprising that Xu emphasizes (2002, 91) that Chinese painting as an independent artistic genre does not begin before the Wei Jin period.

Qi as the Philosophical and Aesthetic Concept

Qi 氣 is one of the most complex concepts in Chinese intellectual tradition and philosophy. In Indo-European languages there exists a whole range of different translations of this term; the most frequent ones are "air", "breath", "vitality", the "source of life", "energy", "matter", and the like. Below, we are going to have a closer look at a series of additional connotations of this concept that are important for a more comprehensive understanding of the aesthetic concept *qiyun shengdong*.

Qi has belonged to the most basic categories of understanding reality from China's earliest philosophical discourses (Rošker 2017). Primarily, the ancient Chinese philosophers understood *qi* as an embodiment of natural phenomena. For them, there existed six types of *Heavenly qi (Tianqi)*: *yin*, *yang*, rain, wind, darkness and light that were connected to the five phases (*wuxing*) of the Earth: metal, wood, water, fire and earth. Of the six Heavenly *qi*, the rain and the wind brought the birth of all things or beings. *Qi* of the light and darkness shows the change of day and night as one of the laws of nature; in this context, the binary category *yin* and *yang* represents the character of all earthly or weather phenomena. In addition to creating all phenomena of nature, *qi* of Heaven and Earth also created human beings (Wong 1989, 46). This definition can be found, for example, in the chapter "Neiye (Inner Aspects)" of the important political text *Guanzi*, written in the Spring and Autumn period around 770–476 BC:

> All human beings are created in a way that Heaven contributes its essence and the Earth its form. When the two merge, a human being is created.
>
> 凡人之生也，天出其精，地出其形，合此以為人. (*Guanzi, Neiye*: 7)

This essence (*jing*) is defined earlier in the text as the essence of *qi*:

> The essence is the essence of *qi*.
>
> 精也者，氣之精者. (ibid.: 3)

The concept of *qi* as the essence or source of life has thus become a kind of ontological foundation of existence:

> Things are alive, as long as the *qi* is present (in them); without *qi*, they die.
>
> 有氣則生，無氣則死. (ibid., *Shu yan*: 1)

The cosmic *qi* thus creates all things, and since it provides for the survival of humans (and all other beings), a person has to respond to it in such a way that he or

she behaves virtuously, otherwise the balance of Heaven and Earth is disturbed and this leads to chaos:

> If human beings do not act according to the *qi* of Heaven and Earth, chaos prevails among people.
>
> 夫天地之氣, 不矢其序, 若過其序, 民亂之也. (Guoyu in Wong 1989, 47)

Qi, as a onto-cosmological entity, thus obtained a moral character which had a central importance in Confucianism. The concept of *qi* in the sense of "cultivation of *qi*" (*yangqi*) begins with Mencius (379–289 BC), and shows a connection with physical, bodily aspects, and thus we can also call it the "physical life force" (*shenglide shengmingli*) (Xu 2002, 94). However, Mencius emphasized that moral virtues are indispensable for the cultivation of *qi* in the human body, especially righteousness and sincerity, which reciprocally work on the operation of Heaven, as reflected in a calm and stable social and political situation (Wong 1989, 48).

Awareness and cultivation of *qi* was of course also central to Daoist physical and meditative practices such as *qigong*, *taiji quan*, "fasting of the heart-mind" (*xinzhai*) and "sitting in forgetfulness" (*zuowang*). The main difference between Daoist and Mencian or Confucian techniques of perfecting the personality is that the goal and purpose of the first was to achieve a harmonious fusion of humans with *Dao* or nature, and the purpose of the latter the cultivation of moral character.

As the essence of life, *qi* is therefore closely related to bodily senses and perception. In this sense, it already reaches the sphere of Chinese aesthetics:

> Heaven has six sorts of *qi*, they give birth to five tastes, they manifest themselves in five colours and are fulfilled in five tones.
>
> 天有六氣, 降生五味, 發為五色, 徵為五聲. (*Chun qiu zuo zhuan* s.d. *Zhao Gongyuan nian*: 2)

As mentioned earlier, *qi* as a moral concept first appears in the philosophy of Mencius. As a basic aesthetic concept it occurs in the Wei Jin period. Tastes, colours, sounds and other elements are all transmutations of *qi*. The mediation of *qi*, especially its essence, which is reflected through the interacting of *yin* and *yang*, is the central and most fundamental purpose and goal in Chinese art (Wong 1989, 45).

As an aesthetic concept, *qi* was first mentioned in the late Han dynasty by Cao Pi in relation to literature in his work *Discussions on Literature* (*Dianlun lunwen* 典論倫文) where he stated:

> In literature, *qi* is the master, it can be dim clear and bright or dim and murky and cannot be attained by force.
>
> 文以氣為主, 氣之清濁有體, 不可力強而致.

According to Xu, *qi* is connected to the physical in the sense of the creative potential that is transformed into the artwork. For him, human emotions, feelings, and an imagination are born in *qi* and are secondarily expressed in a work of art, so for him all metaphysical connotations of *qi* are redundant (Xu 2002, 95).

The *qi* which in literary art expresses itself through ideas, emotions and imagination is actually the accumulated *qi*. Therefore, the individual character that shapes the artwork is determined by *qi*. The transmission of the "spirit" (*chuanshen*), which we mentioned above, is actually expressed through *qi*. The *qi* which sublimates and fuses with the "spirit" (*shen*), becomes an artistic *qi*. Thus, through the acting of *qi*, the artist's inner life becomes visible outwardly. According to Xu (ibid.), this is one of the most interesting features of Chinese literary theory, and Chinese art in general. The connection of the *qi* with the "spirit" (*shen*) becomes the entity or unity. Therefore, the term *shenqi* ("the spirit of *qi*") was used very often at that time (ibid.).

On the other hand, *qi* also represents the artist's "moral character" (*pinge* 品格) as a lofty quality that creates the background of the artwork. In the Wei Jin period, *qi* in the context of art was considered as the "power of *qi*" (*qili* 氣力) or the "momentum of *qi*" (*qishi* 氣勢). Often the character *gu* 骨 ("framework or bone") was used instead of 氣, which in fact symbolized it (ibid.).

From the foregoing, we see that *qi* as an aesthetic concept refers to human creative potential, which is the basis of artistic creation. This potential is closely linked to the emotions, feelings and imagination that emerge through perception and comprehension of the world through the sense organs, and in the aesthetics of the Wei Jin period reflect the beauty of human inwardness. The representation of this inner world was the fundamental goal and aesthetic criterion in the art of the Wei Jin period.

Basic Semantic and Aesthetic Connotations of the Concept of *yun*

The word *yun* 韻 first appeared in the Han dynasty. We can find it in the oldest Chinese etymological dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* from the first century AD, where it is defined as a "harmony" or "to harmonize": *yun, he ye* 韻, 和也. The same definition also appears in the *Guangya* encyclopaedia from the Wei period in the 3rd

century AD. According to Xu Fuguan, at that time the character for harmony 和 (*he*) was replaced by the character *yun* 韻 (Xu 2002, 94).

As in the case of *qi*, the meaning of *yun* also differs according to the particular context and artistic genre. In phonology (*yinyunxue* 音韻學) it holds the meaning as "tone". In poetry it means "rhyme". In painting, *yun* is most often translated as a "rhythm" or "rhythmic resonance". As mentioned earlier, in Xu's view such a translation is not adequate because it does not cover all its meanings. Wong (1989, 57) also believes that in the Chinese theory of music the translation of the word *yun* as a "rhythmic resonance" is not incontestable.

In aesthetics and philosophy, *yun* has more profound and more complex meanings, and therefore it is necessary to study in detail its original meaning as well as its various connotations in different contexts.

In Chinese tradition, *yun* was related predominately to music. The earliest appearance of *yun* can be traced to Cao Zhi's 曹植 (192–232) *Essay of the White Crane* (*Baihe fu* 白鶴賦):

> I listen to the pure and clear *yun* of the subtle *qin*.[8]
>
> 聆雅琴之清韻. (Cao Zhi in Wong 1989, 57).

We can also find it in Ji Kang's (224–263 AD) poetic essay on *qin* (*Qinfu*), where the following is written (ibid.):

> From the change of *yun* and subtle melody, a wonderful feeling appears.
>
> 改韻易調,奇弄乃發.

Although at first *yun* was used with the meaning of rhythm in music, the character *lü* 律 soon replaced it, and from then on *yun* was rarely used in relation to music (Xu 2002, 98). In music, *yun* referred to the musical expression or the melodic movement. But later, it was transferred to literature and phonetics. In the latter, *yun* is more or less defined as a tone. In poetry or in poetic essays, the meaning of *yun* becomes much clearer if we take a look at Liu Xie's definition, written in his famous work *The Literary Spirit and the Carving of the Dragon* (*Wenxin diaolong*), the most important Chinese classic on literary theory and literary aesthetics, written in the 6th century AD:

> The sequence of different tones is called harmony, and the sequence of the same sounds is called *yun*.

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8   A Chinese string instrument similar to a zither.

異音相從謂之和，同声相应谓之韻. (Liu Xie: VII, Shenglü: 2)

Wong[9] (1989, 58) points out that in this case *yun* refers to rhyme and not to rhythm.

According to Xu, no matter if we use *yun* in music or literature it contains the meaning to be in harmonious proportion or to harmonize. For Xu, one of the connotations of *yun* refers to the harmonious sound or the spirit of sound, but in no case it could be understood as rhythmic (Xu 2002, 99).

Wong (1989, 62) specified the meaning of *yun* in music, which in fact means the art of mastering the modulation of the tone, that creates a kind of "surplus of feeling" (*yunwei* 韻味).

In the art of painting, *yun* appears primarily in relation to *qi*, and therefore in the context of painting it is difficult to study *yun* independently, therefore their connection in the concept of *qiyun* will be discussed in more detail below. However, we will first devote ourselves to some additional connotations of the term *yun* in the context of aesthetics.

As an aesthetic concept, *yun* primarily refers to the expression of human character and spirit as revealed in the artwork. Xu also defined it as the recognition of "human relations" (*renlun jianzhi* 人倫鑑識), which was comprehended as a reflection of self-cultivation in the *Xuanxue* philosophy. In this context it actually expresses the "unity of spirit and form" (*shenxing heyi* 神形合一) that is represented outwardly, namely through images in the work of art. At that time, it was termed the "atmosphere" or "general feeling" (*fengqi* 風氣). According to Xu, this connotation of *yun* exists in nature: 自然有雅韻 (Xu 2002, 100).

Xu's interpretation of *yun* as the concept expressing the recognition of human relations (or their ethics) refers to mapping the harmony and reciprocity of sounds onto human relations (ibid., 101). He believes that *yun* in music and literature is actually created through the unity of various sounds. This variety of sounds is exceeded in music of high quality and thus the so-called unified sound is created. We are able to experience this unity, but on the other hand it is not a matter that we can specifically point out. Therefore, we can say that *yun* is the spirit of the sound. We can imagine this by using the analogy of human beings: people cannot abandon their physical form or their character, but on the other hand, they are able to transcend their spirit into harmonious unity with others. Xu Fuguan is therefore convinced that *yun* carries the meaning of the beauty of an individual's character and their feelings, but

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9   Besides Xu Fuguan's interpretation of the concept *yun*, I also refer to Wong's interpretation because he thoroughly researched its original meaning in the context of Chinese music.

only as long as they are harmonious and based on the internalization of Confucian ethics. In this regard, Xu does not relate *yun* to sound. This type of beauty is reflected outwards, namely through human expression. This sort of *yun*, where the spirit and the external world are fused together, is expressed in paintings and this is precisely the central meaning of *yun* in the concept *qiyun* (Xu 2002, 102).

At first glance, it seems that *yun* as an aesthetic concept depends on *qi*. *Qi* is a vital or creative force that manifests itself throughout an artwork, while *yun* is reflected in the fragments of individual images or expressions. Therefore, the concept of *qi* was the central criterion in the evaluation of an artwork, while *yun* was more the expression of its (*qi*) perfection. A similar definition of both concepts in Chinese traditional aesthetics was given by Wang Qingwei (2004), arguing that *qi* is the source of all things and the basic idea of the cosmos, life and art itself in traditional Chinese culture, but the presentation and expression of *qi* are achieved precisely through *yun*. The characteristic of *yun* is not the description or depiction of the external form, but the expression of human inwardness (or human spirit) which shows things beyond their external image and as such depends on the state of the spirit of the subject (Wang 2004).

In the Song dynasty *yun* was considered as the highest beauty that an artist is able to achieve (Wong 1989, 63). Since then, *yun* has been, if not more important than at least as important as *qi* in Chinese aesthetics, representing a disclosure of perfected artistic performance, accompanied by a mature and accomplished personality (ibid.).

But in general, it was considered that *qi* includes *yun*. However, those elements such as inwardness, feeling and expression are factors that are more related to *yun* than *qi*.

Although there are differences between *qi* and *yun*, both concepts are essentially inseparable and reciprocal:

> If *qi* is considered to be the substance of the work, then *yun* determines the way in which the substance is expressed. *Qi* is a vital creative force, and *yun* a wonderful and sophisticated expression of *qi.* (Wong 1989, 65)

In the next subsection, we will focus on the reciprocal relationship between *qi* and *yun* and have a closer look at the internal structure of the term *qiyun*.

The Concepts of *qiyun* and *qiyun shengdong*

As we have seen, *qi* and *yun* both express the human spirit. Hence, *qi* was often defined as *shenqi* 神氣 and *yun* as *shenyun* 神韻. Xu (2002, 101) considered

that *qiyun* 氣韻 is "humans' second nature" (*ren de di er ziran* 人的第二自然). The beauty of art can only occur within and on the basis of this second nature, as already described by Zhuangzi (ibid.). Xu emphasized that Zhuangzi pointed out the possibility (or potential) that humans in their first nature recognize their second. This is mainly about achieving the unity of nature (cosmos, *Dao*) and man. It is a state of breakthrough, which represents the highest sphere of Zhuangzi's philosophy. This breakthrough is a kind of inspirational leap, an act of transformed human consciousness, accompanied by a state of absolute freedom where a human being enters some other world or is able to see the world from a different perspective (ibid.). For Xu, *qiyun* is a deeper reflection of the emergence of this other human nature, namely, the "fusion" or "unity of man and nature" (*tianren heyi*), which is manifested in works of art. At the same time, Xu believes that both *qi* and *yun* derive from the recognition and respect of interpersonal relations. This recognition refers primarily to the human feelings and emotions that are common to all people.

Qi and *yun* also clearly express the beauty of the unity of the spirit and external form. In this context, Xu emphasized that *qiyun* has no connection to sounds whatsoever, and therefore he strongly rejects the idea of translating the term *yun* as rhythm (Xu 2002, 102).

The fusion of *qi* and *yun* into a single concept (or binary category) occurred in the Wei Jin period. The fact that Xie He determined *qiyun shengdong* 氣韻生動 as the first aesthetic criterion is not that surprising. As we will see below, Xie He added to the concept of *qi*, which is already multifaceted itself, the concept *yun*, which can also be understood as its binary counterpart.

In the context of Wang Bi's ontology of *benmo* 本末 ("root and branches") we could also consider comprehending *qi* as *ben* and *yun* as *mo*. In this sense, *qi* would mean the essence and *yun* its expression (or reflection). Below, we are going to explore whether *qiyun* could in fact be understood as a binary category.

Xie He discussed *qiyun* in relation to artworks, which are never determined objectively but instead established by the artist's personality. Before Xie, this relation was already discussed by Liu Xie in his work *The Literary Heart-Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍) (Xu 2002, 102). The artist's personality consists of *yin* 陰 ("shady side") and *yang* 陽 ("sunny side"), *gang* 剛 ("strong and solid") and *rou* 柔 [10] ("softness and tenderness"). All four principles are transferred to the work of art. *Yinyang* and *gangrou* are the expressions of the dynamics of *qi*. According to Xu, Xie understood *qi* as depicting the "beauty of

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10   These concepts or principles originate from the *Book of Changes*, in addition to the Heavenly and Earthly *qi*.

yang and *gang*" in the artwork, (*yanggang zhi mei* 陽剛之美), and *yun* the "beauty of *yin* and *rou*" (*yinrou zhi mei* 陰柔之美), where the basis of beauty lies in "clearness" (*qing* 清). For Xu, this clearness refers to the artist's personality that is liberated from selfish desires and utilitarian tendencies (ibid.).

Despite the difference between *qi* and *yun*, we need to take into consideration their mutual and dynamic relationship. Therefore, they cannot be absolutely separated, and although some people consider that *qi* is the guiding principle, since it appears first in the term *qiyun*, neither of the two poles can dominate or be primal (Wong 1989, 64).

Yin, *yang*, *gang* and *rou* have to coexist in an artwork, and none of them should be too expressed or neglected. An artwork that contains too much *qi* has a lack of sensibility, if there is too much emphasis placed on *yun*, it can lead to a lack of internal tension and expressive power. Therefore, preservation of a harmonious balance between *qi* and *yun* is crucial for the creation of a great artwork (ibid.), and consequently for its aesthetic evaluation.

On the other hand, from the aforementioned analysis of *qi* and *yun* and their mutual relation, they can also be understood as a binary category in the sense of Wang Bi's ontology of *benmo* and his aesthetics of *yixiang*[11]. As mentioned above, in this binary category *qi* appears as a "root", "basis" or "essence" (*ben*), while *yun* is a sophisticated and perfected expression of this "essence" (*mo*). In this respect, *yun* cannot exist without *qi*, and the quality of the expression of *qi* itself is thus possible only and merely through *yun*.

Xu Fuguan saw the structure of their relationship in a similar way, but draws attention to the fact that in art *qi* can exist without *yun*, while *yun* cannot exist without *qi*. According to Xu, the very idea of *qiyun* originates from Zhuangzi's philosophy, since it contains many Zhuangzian concepts, such as *qing* ("clearness", "brightness"), *xu* 虛 ("emptiness"), *xuan* 玄 ("depth") and *yuan* 遠 ("distance", "remoteness") (Xu 2002, 102).

The question of the second part of the phrase *qiyun shengdong*, the *shengdong* part, was also discussed by Xu. In classical works we cannot find a more detailed or unambiguous explanation as to whether *shengdong* has an independent meaning or is the manifestation of their complementarity, as Xu suggested. He emphasized that before the Wei Jin theoreticians began to use the word *shengdong*, they often referred to the term *shengqi*, which can be interpreted as "movement" (*yuedong* 躍

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11   *Xiang* ("image, symbol") and *yi* ("meaning, idea") are the central concepts in Wang Bi's cosmological and epistemological theory. Both concepts were transferred to the field of art and aesthetics. Their fusion is known as *yixiang*, which was first discussed by Liu Xie and is considered as an important aesthetic ideal.

動), "birth", "reality" and also the "production of *qi*". It seems that this concept was later transformed into the term *shengdong* (Xu 2002, 108).[12] The whole structure of the concept *qiyun shengdong* is the same as the structure of the concept *qiyun*. While its first element can exist without the other, the reverse is not possible (ibid.).[13]

According to Xu Fuguan, the significance of Xie He's *shengdong* in the concept *qiyun shengdong* is defined as:

> If there is *qiyun*, then there is also *shengdong*. (ibid.)
>
> 有氣韻, 則有生動矣.

Since the term *shengdong* can also be understood as the "dynamics of life" or the "life force", and since *qiyun* is therefore a precondition for its manifestation, Xu Fuguan is probably right when arguing that *qiyun* is the "sublimation of the life force" or—in a Daoist sense—"the essence of life". Since this is about the essence of the artwork, which is the product of human creativity, the question arises as to whether *qiyun* is a matter of cultivation and education, or it is a product of intuition, talent and the perfected character of the artist.

The concept of *qiyun* in the artwork cannot be understood merely as the beauty of the balance between the individual elements or parts that compose the work of art, but it is primarily the expression of human feeling and emotion. Of course, we can talk about universal feelings, which in fact are felt by all people, but *qiyun* is primarily the expression of the individual inwardness of an individual and their unique spirit, which in its own way experiences the internal and external world, and is able to express and reflect it through the artwork. In this context, Xu believes that *qiyun* is not something that a person can learn through education and practice, but is a natural (or inborn) talent that cannot be acquired.

Xu argued that one of the greatest abilities of the artist is precisely that they are able to recognize *the second nature* of human beings in the first one (Xu 2002, 119). To

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12   *Shengqi* is actually the basis of the concept of the "spirit" (*shen*) in Gu Kaizhi's concept of "the transfer of spirit" (*chuanshen*) and in Xie He's *qiyun*. *Shengdong* is the external expression of feeling that is displayed in the painting, while *shengqi* refers to the inner life that reveals itself via external appearance, namely the artwork. From this, we can conclude that *shengdong*, in its internal meaning, does not reach the depth of the meaning of *shengqi*. *Shengdong* occurs through *qiyun* and is its natural, spontaneous effect, to which narration is added. Therefore, *shengdong* refers exclusively to *qiyun* and has no independent meaning (Xu 2002, 108).

13   Of course, the word *shengdong* may also appear in other contexts in which it has no connection to the concept *qiyun*, just as the concept *yun* in other contexts (that is, outside of the art of painting and aesthetics) can also occur individually and independently of the concept *qi*.

what extent this ability is present (or not) becomes evident if the artist can, in their own life, creatively sublimate this second life. *Qiyun* in the painting or in any other artwork is the expression of its spirit. The spirit of this artwork originates from the spirit of the artist. The transformation of the artist's spirit and its transfer to the object of art are something that goes beyond the question of the artist's skill or technique. As Xu points out, *qiyun* is actually a "talent given from Heaven" (*tiancai* 天才) or a "kind of inborn (or innate) disposition" (*tianfu de qizhi* 天賦的氣質) (ibid.).

To transfer the spirit of the landscape means to express the *qiyun* of the landscape. To be able to express this *qiyun*, the artist must first be able to transform themselves and become united with the spirit of the landscape. This means that the artist must eliminate desires and express the silence and calmness that are the subject and essence of the spirit of art. In this way, the illumination of the subject of their artistic spirit, which is actually in the observation of the beautiful, is able to transform the landscape into the object of beauty—and this is precisely the illumination and display of the spirit of the landscape. Therefore, the spirit of the landscape spontaneously penetrates into the beauty of the spirit as the subject of art. In this they mingle, and this is called "the searching for an inner remote landscape", or *qiyun* in Chinese aesthetics (Xu 2002, 120).

Xu emphasized that this transfer of spirit or *qiyun* is not about imitation or mimesis of the landscape or the external world on the painting, but rather the representation of the spirit of the landscape through the artist's own spirit, which is revealed through their skill (ibid.).[14] The source of this representation is therefore not the skill, but the essence of the spirit of art which arises through the transcendence and transformation of the life of the artist. For this reason, art itself has the ability to transform and transcend human beings (ibid.).

The precondition for the transfer of the spirit of life into the physical image of the artwork, namely the precondition for the realization of *qiyun* in the artwork, is the attainment of the empty and peaceful heart-mind and the state of absolute freedom that Zhuangzi speaks about in his philosophy "of free and easy wandering (floating)" (*xiaoyao you*).[15] Thus, for Zhuangzi, the creative input of *qiyun* into the work of art also derives from the purification or fasting of the heart-mind (ibid.).

Xu argued that if an artist wants to achieve *qiyun* in their artwork, they must follow a certain structure that can be represented through the mastering of technique

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14   隨手寫出, 皆為山水傳伸 (*suishou xiechu, jiewei shanshui chuanshen*).

15   This is not just Xu Fuguan's opinion, but is also a view that was represented by other traditional Chinese aestheticians. For example, Guo Ruoxu, a renowned art critic of the 11th century, wrote: "In all art paintings, the essence of *qiyun* is in the floating of the heart-mind (*Fan hua, qiyun ben hu you xin* 凡畫, 氣韻本乎遊心)" (*Zhongguo hualun* 2017).

or skill. But *qiyun*, which is manifested through the art object, in fact originates from the artist's own efforts with regard to self-cultivation, which clears the "mud and chaos" from the heart-mind. In the fusion of the spirit of the artist with the artistic object, there exists liberation.

According to Xu, this kind of self-cultivation (in a Confucian sense) and the ability to liberate one's own spirit (in the Daoist sense) were required if one were to become and be considered as a great artist in traditional China. Having such an ability or not was actually a dividing line that separated true masters from those who only master the skill (Xu 2002, 120).

The Problem of Translating the Concept of *qiyun shengdong* and the Question of Its Autochthony

In the final part of this article, we will provide a critical evaluation of Xu's interpretation of this important concept in Chinese aesthetics. We will focus mainly on two points that run like a red thread throughout Xu's whole discussion of this concept. The first is Xu Fuguan's emphasis on the autochthony of the concept of *qiyun shengdong* and his negation of theories assuming that it (together with the other five laws of painting) was adopted from the ancient Indian art theory of Sadanga (six limbs). A critical evaluation of these views in a contemporary context is important in the framework of re-evaluating classical Confucian and Daoist elements in classical Chinese art theory or aesthetics, as well as for integrating intercultural dimensions into discourses of this academic field.

The second point is Xu's position that we cannot translate the concepts *yun* and *qiyun* into Western languages as rhythm or rhythmic vitality.

Xu Fuguan came across the idea of the resemblance and presupposed adoption of Sadanga by Xie He in Percy Brown's book *Indian Painting*, written in 1920, but he strongly rejected this assumption (Xu 2002, 121). Xu actually believed that the similarity of the two is merely a coincidence, and that the origin of Xie He's *six laws* cannot be attributed to the Indian Sadanga, even though the very origin of the latter is supposed to have been even a few centuries older. Xu also argued that one can only find three out of the six laws of painting that correspond to Sadanga. Presumably one of them is supposed to be formal equivalent to *qiyun shengdong*, but Xu emphasized that its meaning is less profound and complex than Xie He's *qiyun shengdong*.

In the article "Xie He's 'Six Laws' of Painting and their Indian Parallels" (2004, 81), Victor H. Mair, [16] using linguistic and historical analysis, puts forward a thesis

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16   Viktor H. Mair is a sinologist and specialist for Chinese history, literature and Buddhism.

that Xie He's laws of painting were actually adopted or influenced to a great extent by Indian Sadanga. Mair argues that both classical works were created around the same time and had a significant influence on the theory of painting in both cultures. India and China had a lot of contact at that time, especially through Buddhism, which strongly influenced Chinese culture during the Wei Jin period. Mair therefore argues that it is very likely that Xie He actually adopted the structure and content of Indian Sadanga in his theory of painting. For Mair, this assumption can be verified by the fact that ancient Chinese texts, namely the classical texts before the arrival of Buddhism, do not contain a numerical enumeration, which Xie used in his six laws of painting. Mair also mentions that most Chinese academics hold the opposite view, arguing that the first two of the six laws were already visible in earlier works of the authentic Chinese traditional aesthetics of painting (ibid., 116).

Mair's position that the numerical classification,[17] which is supposed to have been transferred from the ancient Indian text, is something rare in Chinese classical texts is completely wrong, however, because as even Mair himself points out it can be found in the form of numerical designation, such as "ten moral obligations" (*shi yi* 十義), "ten errors" (*shi guo* 十過), "five states" (*wu xing* 五行), etc., as well as in the work of Han Feizi and in the *Annals of Lü Buwei*. As for the last pair of characters, i.e. *shiye*, Mair argues that he could not find these in dictionaries or lexicons with the meaning they are supposed to have in the six laws, in addition to which, in his opinion, they are very rarely present in classical texts, especially in sentences beginning with the first pair of characters, that is, *yiyue*. He points out that in Sanskrit it is quite common for sentences to end with *eso'isti*, which means "that is".

In fact, the situation is exactly the opposite, as the combination of the initial and final pair of characters, as well as the number of laws, can already be found in Xu Shen's etymological dictionary *Shuowen* from the 2nd century, which lists six categories of characters and ways of writing. In addition, in Liu Xie's literary theory work *The Literary Heart–Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong*), written shortly before Xie He wrote his theory of painting, we can also find the same structure of writing the individual laws of literary theory. Numerical enumeration can also be found in most Chinese classical works, whether Confucian, Daoist, or Moist, and even in the work *The Internal Classic of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi Neijing*) from the 5th century BC.

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17   The very structure of the sentence of Xie He's laws is, as already stated: 一 曰 氣韻 生動 是 也 (*yiyue qiyun shengdong shiye*), 二曰 骨 法 用筆 是 也 (*er yue gufa yongbi shiye*), etc. Mair focuses on the first and last pair of characters (*yi yu*e: where *yi* means "one, the first"; *yue* means "to say", "it is said"; and *shi ye*, where *shi* means "this" or "that"; and *ye* means "is" or has the function of equalizing both parts of a sentence).

Although Mair himself points out in the article that Xie He may have been inspired by Xu Shen's dictionary, despite all these "technical" facts he still insists that Xie He took his theory of painting from the ancient Indian Sadanga and further tries to prove his thesis with the substantive parallels between the two theories. The six laws of Indian painting are:

a) *Rupa bheda*: variety of forms–the depiction of things as they are seen concretely;

b) *Pramana*: spatial distribution, relations between objects;

c) *Bhava*: presentation of feelings, emotions;

d) *Lavanya yojanam*: charm; the internal characteristics of the depicted figure;

e) *Sadrashya*: similarity;

f) *Varnikabhangam*: a way of painting and using colours.

Mair sees parallels between Xie He's first law, *qiyun shengdong* and *bhava*, and the second law of *gufa yongbi* (骨法用筆) with *lavanya yojanam*. I believe that *qiyun shengdong* does not include the representation of emotions or moods as required by the law of *bhava*, but reflects the dynamics of the binary and complementary poles of traditional Chinese cosmology and the harmonious unity of nature and man, which aesthetically expresses the artist's inner world.

As for the second resemblance, namely to *lavanya yojanam*, which means the inner properties of the image, it seems that the meaning of *gufa yongbi* is the expression of the balance of *qi* or vitality using (or via) the brush (*yongbi*). In his theory of literary art, Liu Xie speaks of *gu* ("skeleton, framework") as the structural organization of the artwork. The etymological meaning of the character *fa* 法 is the "balance". Xie He's first two laws are inherently related to each other, as they determine the aesthetic property and method for achieving the highest aesthetic value of the artwork.

As for the other laws of painting in both traditions, they are practically the same, as they highlight the universal (technical) laws of composition, since they also exist in the Western theory of painting. Although there may be some Indian influence in terms of inspiration for Xie He, I nevertheless agree with Xu Fuguan's view (as well as with the opinion of many other Chinese academics) that Xie He's theory of painting is authentically Chinese because it belongs to a tradition that is paradigmatically different from Indian or Buddhist ones, especially concerning the relationship between humans and nature or the cosmos. The fundamental

difference in the two aesthetics of painting can already be seen in the first law of Sadanga, namely the *rupa bheda*, which is a demand for a realistic depiction. As we have seen, the fundamental feature of the Chinese aesthetic of painting is precisely in recreation and not in representation.

When discussing the parallels between the two theories or the authenticity of Xie He's theory, it may not be irrelevant to consider the possibility that Xie He took the structural form of a hexagram from the *Book of Changes* when numbering the laws. The latter was at the forefront of the Wei Jin period within the Xuanxue Neo-Daoist school. Given that the concept of *qiyun shengdong* includes a manifestation of the dynamic relationship of *yinyang*, *gangrou* ("hard and soft"), and Heavenly and Earthly *qi*, which derives precisely from the *Book of Changes*, we may consider the possibility that it was on this basis that Xie He opted for such six-part classification.

Moreover, the six-part classification can also be found in the *Book of Poetry* (11th–7th centuries BC), where the individual forms and contents of the poem are divided chronologically. From these examples, we can conclude that the number six symbolized a kind of cosmic and structural order. Of course, this is also a subject for further consideration and research.

As we have seen from the analysis of the concept of *qiyun shengdong*, Xu Fuguan considers *qiyun* to be a traditional aesthetic concept that is older than its presentation in the work of Xie He. Although it is theoretically possible that Xie He actually encountered the Indian theory of painting and that he transferred Sadanga and its structure to the Chinese context, as Victor H. Mair (2004) argues, we must nevertheless be extremely careful with such claims, as they are ultimately unprovable and thus dubious.

Moreover, Xu Fuguan in his work *The Spirit of Chinese Art* also offers plenty of hard-to-refute evidence for the thesis that the foundations of aesthetics created by Xie He are Daoist in nature, and contain many elements of the ancient Chinese classics from the period of the autochthonous Chinese, namely the pre-Buddhist tradition.

All this once again confronts us with the problem of translating *qiyun shengdong* into Indo-European languages.

Xu disagrees with the translation of *qiyun* in terms of "rhythm" or "rhythmic", which he found in the works of prominent experts on East Asian art, such as Stephen Wootton Bushel's work *Chinese Art*, written in 1904, Laurence Binyon's book entitled *Painting in the Far East* from 1908, and *The Meaning of Art* by Herbert Read, written in 1931. Xu is thus problematizing the translation of *yun* as

"rhythm" or "rhythmic" itself, as well as the fact that the Western scholars transferred such translations to the whole concept of *qiyun shengdong*.

He emphasizes that in the work *Shishuo xinyu* (*A new Account of the Tales of the World*), the collection of dialogues and stories from the late Han dynasty (25–220) to the North and South dynasties (420–589), written by Liu Yiqing (403–444), *qi* and *yun* were not discussed together, but separately. From this work, Xu quotes a phrase where *qi* and *yun* are mentioned separately in the following phrase *fengqi yundu*, where the expression *fengqi* was one word that meant the "atmosphere", while the other, namely *yundu*, meant "degree" or "intensity of the *yun*". According to Xu, the painters and theorists clearly distinguished *qi* and *yun* from each other until Xie He (Xu 2002, 94).

Xu strongly rejects Herbert Read's and Laurence Binyon's position that *qiyun* can be felt as rhythm through the harmonious arrangement of brushstrokes. He argues that this is exclusively a matter of human imagination, subjective feeling and metaphor, and that *qiyun* is not rhythmic in this sense. According to Xu, *qiyun* is also linked to the "unified harmony of brushstrokes", but this alone cannot create *qiyun shengdong*. In addition, Xu points out that the difference between Western and Chinese painting is that Western painters focus upon what is in the brushstrokes themselves, while Chinese painters pursue what is beyond them.

In Western painting, rhythm is a surplus that is expressed through the harmony of brushstrokes (or lines). Of course, Chinese painters also focus on brushstrokes, but the final goal of their creative process is that the painter forgets the lines, frees themself from their limitations and expresses creativity and the freedom of their spirit. Therefore, according to Xu, *qiyun* (or *yun*) cannot be translated as "rhythm" or something "rhythmical" (ibid.).

Given that, on the other hand, rhythm has been emphasized by Xu as something that relates exclusively to the sequence of sounds (ibid., 99), we can also ask ourselves whether Xu actually understood the English term correctly, since it is one that far exceeds the connotation of time-steady and repeated sequences of sounds in music. Besides, Xu also argues that the sophisticated (refined) *yun* "exists in nature" (*ziran you yayun* 自然 有 雅韵). From this *yun* (and also *qiyun*) can in fact be understood as a rhythm that is reflected through repeated processes in nature. Nature (or Heavenly *dao*) does have a rhythm of its own, which it follows and at the same time creates. If we transfer the meaning of the *yun* (which, of course, is not its only meaning) into the field of art and concrete artistic creations, it can actually be understood in this way.

If the aesthetic ideal of Chinese painting in the Wei Jin period and later, in the landscape painting of the Song dynasty, is the transfer of the spirit of nature in the most direct way (bearing in mind that Chinese painting is not about mimesis), this is also necessary for representations of the rhythms that actually happen in nature. These rhythms are created through brushstrokes, or in the case of poetry through rhyme, rhythm and the sound of individual words. However, I can agree with Xu that rhythm or rhythmic is not an appropriate translation of the concept *yun* or *qiyun*, because it does not cover all its conceptual meanings, but at the same time I consider that, given the aforementioned argument, rhythm is also one of its important and central connotations. But on the other hand, Xu's position that such a translation is problematic in the sense that it is something that only belongs to the sphere of human imagination seems out of place, because art and aesthetics are dealing precisely with human imagination, inspiration, human emotions, perception, and so on, where the inclusion and usage of metaphorical language is of immense importance.

Nevertheless, Xu's analysis and interpretation of the concept of *qiyun shengdong* clearly shows that it is actually very difficult, if not impossible, to translate it into any Indo-European language that could adequately express its complex meaning.

Of course, further research will demonstrate whether it would be most appropriate to adopt this term and use it in the original Chinese as *terminus technicus*,[18] or the scholars dealing with Chinese aesthetics will decide on some general and hopefully credible translation of this central concept in Chinese art and aesthetics.

However, on the other hand, it is of course important that Chinese concepts find as many authentic translations as possible in other languages. That is why I have decided to translate *qiyun shengdong* as the "harmonious dynamics of vitality", which in my opinion captures the essential meaning of this term relatively well. Despite its complex and multifaceted meaning, I have translated *yun* as "harmony", which corresponds to its original or fundamental meaning. *Qi* is translated as "vitality" and *shengdong* as "dynamics", since in Chinese cosmology binary poles or categories such as *yinyang*, *benmo*, *liqi* as well as *qiyun* are in a reciprocal and dynamic relationship.

Conclusion

If we consider the aesthetic concept of *qiyun shengdong* as the principle that constitutes the artistic recreation of nature as revealed in the artwork, it should be

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18   Like the adopted concepts in their original form like *qi*, *yin* and *yang*, *li*, *dao* for example.

understood within the framework of Chinese cosmology and Daoist philosophy. The binary category of *qiyun* represents the result of the operation of many complementary cosmic forces, such as the *yinyang*, *gangrou*, emptiness and fullness, nearness and distance, darkness and light, etc., which are revealed in the work of art, ideally in the same way that Dao creates the cosmos and all things. In Chinese tradition, the true artist was considered to be a person who was actually a sage in the sense that they were able to understand the ways of the external world and of the inner worlds of human beings. If one wants to enter the process of creativity, one must first empty oneself, and cut off desires and utilitarian inclinations, as Zhuangzi suggested in his methods of *fasting of the heart-mind* and *sitting in forgetfulness*. Therefore, this conceptual background, in my opinion, is quite contrary to Sadanga's *bhava*, which Mair sees as the counterpart of *qiyun shengdong*. Bhava as the depiction of human emotions and feelings into the painting is something that deals with the characteristics of human beings, while *qiyun shengdong* goes far beyond this and reveals the beauty of a highly cultivated personality on one hand, and the vitality of a dynamic and harmonious relationship between human beings and nature, on the other.

However, even if there may be some Indian influence in the sense of an inspiration for the establishment of the six laws by Xie He, I would argue that they are authentically Chinese because they belong to a tradition that is paradigmatically very different from the Indian or Buddhist one, especially in terms of the relationship between humans and nature.

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The Relativity of *Ren* (Humaneness): Re-examining 2A6 and 6A6 of the *Mengzi* from the Perspective of Self-Introspection in Experience

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Abstract

A textual difference exists between 2A6 and 6A6 of the *Mengzi*: In 2A6, the heart-mind of *ceyin* (compassion), *xiuwu* (shame), *cirang* (courtesy and modesty), and *shifei* (moral judgement) are said to be the four "*duan*" (germs) of *ren* (humaneness), *yi* (optimal appropriateness), *li* (observance of the rites), and *zhi* (wisdom), whereas in 6A6, the term "*duan*" is not found. For this reason, some scholars today criticize the interpretation that translates "*duan*" as "starting point", which implies a substantial difference between the four germs and *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* that apparently does not exist in 6A6. Instead, these scholars prefer another interpretation that takes "*duan*" as an indication of the essential sameness between the four germs and *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* that are originally possessed by a morally perfect heart-mind. This essay re-evaluates these two interpretations. First, it argues that compared to the first, the second interpretation's argument for a morally perfect heart-mind is less compatible with the nature of Mengzi's moral philosophy as a teaching that focuses on self-introspection and moral cultivation in experience. Second, this essay reinforces the first interpretation by demonstrating the existence of two different senses of *ren* (as well as *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*) in the *Mengzi*, thus allowing it to coherently suggest that the heart-mind possessing the four germs as innate moral feelings is the same as the "relatively antecedent" *ren*, which is, at the same time, the starting point for developing the "relatively consequent" *ren* that is substantially different from the former.

Keywords: *Mengzi* (*Mencius*), 2A6, 6A6, *xin* (heart/heart-mind), *ren* (humaneness), moral cultivation

Relativnost pojma *ren* (človečnost): ponovna raziskava odsekov 2A6 in 6A6 knjige *Mencij* s perspektive izkušenjske samointrospekcije

Izvleček

Med odsekoma 2A6 in 6A6 knjige *Mencij* je naslednja tekstualna razlika: V odseku 2A6 je srce-razum, ki goji *ceyin* (sočutje), *xiuwu* (sram), *cirang* (vljudnost in zmernost) in *shifei* (moralno presojo), obravnavan kot štiri »*duan*« (kali) vrlin, tj. *ren* (človečnost), *yi*

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(optimalna primernost), *li* (upoštevanje obredov) in *zhi* (modrost). V odseku 6A6 pa pojma »*duan*« ni mogoče najti. Zato danes nekateri strokovnjaki kritizirajo interpretacijo, v kateri je pojem »*duan*« preveden kot »izhodišče«, kar implicira bistveno razliko med štirimi kalmi ter *ren, yi, li* in *zhi*, ki pa v 6A6 očitno ne obstaja. Namesto tega so ti strokovnjaki veliko bolj naklonjeni razlagi, po kateri je »*duan*« označba za bistveno enakost štirih kali ter *ren, yi, li* in *zhi*, ki jih izvorno poseduje moralno izpopolnjen srce-razum. Ta esej ponovno ovrednoti ti dve interpretaciji. Prvič, članek zagovarja stališče, da je v primerjavi s prvo argument druge razlage za moralno popoln srce-razum manj skladen z naravo Mencijeve moralne filozofije kot nauka, ki se osredotoča na izkušenjsko samointrospekcijo in moralno kultivacijo. Drugič, ta esej podpre drugo razlago s ponazoritvijo obstoja dveh različnih pomenov pojma *ren* (kot tudi *yi, li* in *zhi*) v delu *Mencij*. S tem pa dopušča, da ta koherentno kaže, da je srce-razum, ki poseduje štiri kali kot ponotranjena moralna občutja, enak »relativno predhodni« vrlini *ren* in je hkrati izhodiščna točka razvoja »relativno posledične« *ren*, ki pa se občutno razlikuje od prejšnje.

Ključne besede: *Mengzi* (*Mencij*), 2A6, 6A6, *xin* (srce/srce-razum), *ren* (človečnost), moralna kultivacija

Introduction

In 2A6 of the book of *Mengzi* (*Mencius*), the early Confucian master Mengzi 孟子 (ca. 372–ca. 289 BCE) says:

> The [heart-mind] of compassion is the germ of [humaneness]; the [heart-mind] of shame, of [optimal appropriateness]; the [heart-mind] of courtesy and modesty, of observance of the rites; the [heart-mind] of [moral judgement], of wisdom. Man has these four germs just as he has four limbs … If a man is able to develop all these four germs that he possesses, it will be like a fire starting up or a spring coming through. When these are fully developed, he can tend the whole realm within the Four Seas, but if he fails to develop them, he will not be able even to serve his parents.[1]

This passage has been analysed by almost every Confucian commentator and philosopher in history, but instead of examining these ancient analyses, I would like to focus on two prevailing interpretations among contemporary philosophers that

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[1]   惻隱之心，仁之端也；羞惡之心，義之端也；辭讓之心，禮之端也；是非之心，智之端也…凡是四端於我者，知皆擴而充之矣，若火之始燃，泉之始達。苟能充之，足以保四海；苟不充之，不足以事父母。 The translations of the *Lunyu* 論語 (*Analects*) and *Mengzi* are from D. C. Lau (with my occasional modifications). For the rest of the Chinese texts, the translations are my own.

have been circulating since the time of New Confucianism (*xin rujia* 新儒家) in the 20th century.[2]

The first was proposed by Tang Junyi 唐君毅 (1908–1979):

> The heart-mind and nature of human beings are first seen in humans' possession of the heart-mind of four germs of compassion, shame, courtesy and modesty, and moral judgement. This heart-mind of four germs can be said to be the *starting point* [emphasis added] of the four virtues of humaneness, optimal appropriateness, observance of the rites, and wisdom, but it is not yet sufficient to be regarded as the complete virtues of humaneness, optimal appropriateness, observance of the rites, and wisdom. … This manifestation of the heart-mind of compassion and shame and of four germs that Mengzi speaks of, at the beginning, just represents a person's psychological state or activity, which is a kind of internal feeling of disturbance, unbearableness, and carelessness that is still insufficient for moral practices … It is only the purely subjective and passive feeling of disturbance and unbearableness. (Tang 1986, 221)[3]

In other words, Tang understands the term "*duan* 端" (germ) in the sense of "*duanshi* 端始" (starting point), which suggests that the four germs possessed by our *xin* 心 (heart/heart-mind) are instantaneous reactions that are yet to be developed and thus are substantially different from *ren* 仁 (humaneness), *yi* 義 (optimal appropriateness), *li* 禮 (observance of the rites), and *zhi* 智 (wisdom) as fully developed "complete virtues" (*quande* 全德).[4]

More recently, and deeply influenced by Tang, Roger Ames comes close to this interpretation when he argues that the heart-mind of human beings contains an

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2   This certainly does not mean that these two modern interpretations are completely new and without any historical background. On the contrary, we can find the ancient versions of both interpretations, and some of the scholars mentioned in this essay, regardless of which interpretation they prefer, occasionally draw support from the ancient Confucian commentators and philosophers, especially from those belonging to the school of Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism (*song ming lixue* 宋明理學). However, given the limited space, I will leave problems associated with the historical background of the two interpretations aside and instead treat them as originally proposed by the contemporary scholars.

3   此人之心性，初見于人之有惻隱、羞惡、辭讓、是非之四端之心。此四端之心，可說為人之仁義禮智之四德之端始，然尚不足稱為仁義禮智之全德……此孟子所說之惻隱羞惡之四端之心之表現，又初只是一人之心靈或生命，一種內在的不安、不忍、不屑之情，尚未及於實際之愛人之行為者……只是純主觀之消極的不安、不忍之感情。

4   In another place, Tang also argues that compared to *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* as the complete virtues, the undeveloped heart-mind of four germs is "tiny and weak" (*xiao qie wei* 小且微), emphasizing their difference (Tang 1989, 48–49).

"ethical sensorium" as a generalization of its primal and morality-related conditions, such as the four germs. However, this sensorium needs to be "articulated across the particular narrative of a distinctly human life as a collaboration between person and world" in order to grow into *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* (Ames 2011, 142–43). Fu Peirong 傅佩榮 explicitly defends the interpretation that the term "*duan*" tells us that the four germs are "sprouts but not completion" that require "protection, nourishment, and extension" (Fu 2010, 75).[5] Similarly, Philip Ivanhoe argues that the four germs are "weak and fragile" as "the beginning of morality", and "require a period of growth in order to reach maturity" (Ivanhoe 1990, 30–31). Furthermore, Shun Kwong-loi 信廣來 takes *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* as "four aspects of the ethical ideal", suggesting that "the four germs (*tuan* [*duan*])" should be regarded as the "predispositions" that constitute "the starting point for ethical development", directing us toward the ethical ideal, just like a sprout is the starting point from where a mature plant grows (Shun 1997, 48, 138).

On the other hand, some scholars (Cai 1990, 43–46; Li 1994, 113–14; Li 2018, 76; Ng 2014, 104–6; Yang 1992, 58–63) challenge this interpretation by emphasizing that in 6A6, Mengzi says:

> The [heart-mind] of compassion [is humaneness], the [heart-mind] of shame [is optimal appropriateness], the [heart-mind] of respect [is] the observance of the rites, and the [heart-mind] of [moral judgement is] wisdom. [Humaneness], [optimal appropriateness], observance of the rites, and wisdom do not give me a lustre from outside; they are in me originally.[6]

This time, the term "*duan*" disappears, and Mengzi does not mention that the four germs need to be further nourished in order to become *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*, which all seems to imply that they are substantially the same and are all originally possessed by human beings, in contrast to what is suggested by Tang and others. For this reason, these scholars prefer an interpretation made by Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 (1909–1995), which, in short, claims that the "*duan*" in 2A6 should be interpreted as a sort of "*duanni* 端倪" (indication) or "*duanxu* 端緒" (inkling) that can reflect this substantial sameness between the four germs and *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* in 6A6.

In what follows, I will first elaborate on Mou's interpretation in more detail to see how it is supposed to solve the problem faced by the first interpretation proposed by Tang and others (Section 2). I will then evaluate Mou's interpretation

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5   它表示萌芽而非滿全。這個心善之「端」需要護持、存養與擴充。

6   惻隱之心，仁也；羞惡之心，義也；恭敬之心，禮也；是非之心，智也。仁義禮智，非由外鑠我也，我固有之也。

by examining whether it is compatible with a general thesis regarding the nature of Mengzi's moral philosophy that is identified and accepted by both Tang and Mou, which suggests that this philosophy should be understood as a teaching on self-introspection and moral cultivation in experience without presupposing any first moral substance and principle. Examined from this perspective, Mou's interpretation turns out to be less adequate than that of Tang, as it barely fits within this general thesis (Section 3). Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, the question as to how we can rely on Tang's interpretation to bridge the textual difference between 2A6 and 6A6 has not yet been properly addressed. Therefore, I will reinforce this interpretation by virtue of demonstrating the existence of two different senses of *ren* (as well as *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*) in the *Mengzi*.[7] More specifically, I will argue that the *ren* in 6A6 is a "relatively antecedent" *ren* that is defined on a different basis from the "relatively consequent" *ren* in 2A6. Therefore, it is consistent to claim that the original heart-mind containing the four germs as innate moral feelings is substantially the same as the relatively antecedent *ren*, which at the same time is the germ, or starting point, from where the relatively consequent *ren* can be developed (Section 4). Finally, this essay will end with a short conclusion.

Mou Zongsan's Interpretation of 2A6

As Mengzi points out in 2A6, the heart-mind of compassion arises when a person suddenly sees a young child on the verge of falling into a well. In such a case, the person feels compassion "not because he wanted to get in the good graces of the [child's] parents, nor because he wished to win the praise of his fellow villagers or friends, not yet because he disliked the cry of the child".[8] Rather, compassion will spontaneously arise in the person's heart-mind as long as the person is a human being. According to Mou Zongsan, this spontaneous feeling of compassion

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7   According to Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), there are two ways to understand the relationships between *ren* and *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*: "*Ren*, if it is taken as a undistinguished whole, then this whole forms one unified atmosphere of life; *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* are all included within *ren*. If it is taken comparatively, then *ren* and *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* are on a par" (仁，混淪言，則混淪都是一個生意，義禮智都是仁；對言，則仁與義禮智一般) (Zhu 1986, vol. 1, 107). Both Tang and Mou understand the relationship in the first way (Tang 1986, 73; Mou 2013, 229), but apparently, at least in the case of 2A6 and 6A6, Mengzi treats *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* on an equal basis, as indicated by the structure of his argument. Even so, in order to avoid verbosity, I will only use *ren* for elaboration on most occasions, and what will be argued to hold true for *ren* will also hold true for *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* on an equal basis. Since the primary concern of this essay is to show that there are multiple senses of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*, the second-order question regarding on what basis these virtues can be further distinguished from each other goes beyond its scope.

8   非所以內交於孺子之父母也，非所以要譽於鄉黨朋友也，非惡其聲而然也。

is evidence that the essence of the heart-mind shared by all people that gives rise to this compassion is in fact no less morally perfect than the heart-mind of *ren* (*renxin* 仁心) of a moral sage, for a sage and a morally ordinary person will have exactly the same spontaneous reaction driven by their heart-mind under such a scenario. Furthermore, Mou asserts, in addition to compassion, this heart-mind of *ren* can also reveal itself in different circumstances as unbearableness (*buren* 不忍), disturbance (*buan* 不安), and other "moral" feelings that are not blind but involve some kind of normative judgements. Accordingly, all of the moral feelings that both Kongzi (Confucius) 孔子 (551–479 BCE.) and Mengzi have discussed in their dialogues are nothing but different manifestations of the same heart-mind of *ren* (Mou 2013, vol. 3, 220, 229).

Although it is beyond doubt that "the entirety of the heart-mind of *ren*" (*renxin quanti* 仁心全體) is originally possessed by all humans, Mou emphasizes that this heart-mind can reveal its practical significance only when it manifests itself as a "limited appearance" (*juxian xiang* 局限相) in experience, that is, in some specific circumstances such as seeing a child in danger (ibid., 221). From here, Mou argues that a morally ordinary person differs from a sage as the former is ignorant about the fact that,

> The specific heart-mind of compassion that manifests in correspondence to a particular occasion seems to be limited by the particular occasion and manifests as a limited appearance, but it is in fact the flow of the entirety of the universal substance on this particular occasion; the inkling [the heart-mind of compassion] and the substance of *ren* will not become two essentially different things simply because of this limited appearance. (ibid.)[9]

Consequently, unlike a sage, a morally ordinary person does not realize that they already possess the heart-mind of *ren* (in the appearance of the heart-mind of

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9   而對應一特殊事機而呈現之具體的惻隱之心雖儼若為特殊事機所拘而顯一局限相，然而其實即是那普遍之體之全部流注於此，不因有此局限相，端緒與仁體即成為異質之兩物也。Mou's discussion of the ignorance of morally ordinary people and the need to make them become self-aware of their morally perfect heart-mind can also be found in Mou, *Cong Lu Xiangshan dao Liu Jishan* 從陸象山到劉蕺山 (From Lu Xiangshan to Liu Jishan) (1979, 335–45). It should also be noticed that for Mou, the ignorance of morally ordinary people does not refer to their heart-mind, i.e., it does not mean that their heart-mind itself is ignorant and morally impaired, for this would suggest that the heart-mind of ordinary people is morally inferior to the heart-mind of sages, thus contradicting with the thesis that everyone's heart-mind is morally perfect as such. Rather, Mou thinks that the ignorance is caused by the natural desires associated with other sense organs that cover up the heart-mind and impede the morally perfect heart-mind from freely manifesting itself (ibid., 230–31).

compassion) and is unable to apply it to other occasions that also require them to be compassionate.

Following this line of thought, Mou believes that what Mengzi says in 2A6 regarding the development of the heart-mind of compassion does not refer to a process of moral cultivation that develops and transforms the heart-mind of compassion into the heart-mind of *ren* since they are already substantially the same; instead, it is a moral cultivation that enables us to "be compassionate on one occasion and also be compassionate on every other occasion" (ibid.).[10] With regard to this kind of moral cultivation, Mou acknowledges that the heart-mind containing the different moral feelings can be taken as the starting point from where the extensions of these feelings to more occasions take place, but we should always keep in mind that these kinds of extensions just increase the number of times the heart-mind manifests itself, while the quality of the heart-mind is already morally perfect in itself and does not require further improvement. Therefore, the term "*duan*" in 2A6 should rather be interpreted as "*duanni*" (indication) or "*duanxu*" (inkling), which designates the heart-mind of four germs as an indication of our originally possessed *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* revealing themselves and requiring extensions to more occasions in daily life (Li 1994, 113–14; Mou 2013, vol. 3, 220).

Under this interpretation, Mou and those who follow him believe that it is consistent for Mengzi on the one hand to claim that "the heart-mind of compassion is *ren*", emphasizing their essential sameness, while on the other hand also claiming that "the heart-mind of compassion is the germ of *ren*", emphasizing the manifestation of the heart-mind of *ren* and its need for extension in experience. The apparent difficulty faced by the interpretation proposed by Tang Junyi and others regarding this textual difference between 2A6 and 6A6 is therefore solved.

Re-examining Mou's Interpretation under the General Background of Mengzi's Moral Philosophy

From the above analysis, we can see that Mou Zongsan attributes to Mengzi the view of a morally perfect heart-mind that can actively manifest itself as various moral feelings in experience. This somehow addresses the interpretive issue associated with the textual difference between 2A6 and 6A6, but it is another question as to whether the existence of such a heart-mind is compatible with the general background of Mengzi's moral philosophy.

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10   一處惻隱，處處惻隱。

What is this general background? By this, I refer to an overarching thesis regarding the nature of Mengzi's moral philosophy that Tang Junyi and Mou Zongsan agree on despite their different opinions on how to interpret 2A6. Tang thinks that Mengzi does not presuppose any first moral substance and principle (Tang 1989, 21–24),[11] and that the central aim of his teaching is to "uplift every human being's heart-mind and will, raise them from below, and set them up towards the top" (Tang 1986, 214).[12] This is achieved by encouraging people to keep "self-introspecting" (*fanxing* 反省) in experience and become more and more "self-conscious" or "self-aware" (*zijue* 自覺) of the fact that they are human beings, which are different in nature from brute animals and capable of becoming morally more excellent (ibid., 218). Likewise, Mou believes that the philosophy of Mengzi—and Confucianism in general—should be appreciated as a "study of sageliness within" (*neisheng zhi xue* 內聖之學) and "teaching of becoming virtuous" (*chengde zhi jiao* 成德之教) (Mou 2013, vol. 1, 9). The primary concern of this teaching relates to moral cultivation, and "as to the problem of ontology, the understanding of it is an outcome of self-introspection in the midst of performing moral practices self-consciously" (ibid., 11).[13]

Indeed, nowhere in the book does Mengzi propose any moral substance at first, nor does his moral reasoning rely on a top-down model starting with some universal moral principles. In fact, Mengzi explicitly opposes the idea of "holding to an inflexible oneness" (*zhiyi* 執一), which is a position he attributes to three of his major academic opponents at that time (*Mengzi* 7A26). As to Mengzi's own position, we can see that in the case of *ren*, the term is associated with different moral feelings, and some of these feelings, such as compassion in the case of seeing a child in danger, are obviously different in content from others, such as the love one feels toward one's parents (*qinqin* 親親) (*Mengzi* 4A27, 7A15), and the grudges that occasionally arise from loving one's parents (*qinqin zhi yuan* 親親之怨) (*Mengzi* 5A1, 6B3), suggesting that none of these feelings alone can be used to define the property of *ren* without the danger of overlooking other qualitatively different *ren*-related feelings. Additionally, in 6B6, Mengzi describes three historical figures with very different and even contrary characters that he considers as the exemplars of *ren*, and then states that "All that is to be expected of a [morally exemplary person] is [humaneness]. Why must he be exactly the same as other [morally exemplary persons]?"[14] This again points to the fact that *ren* is not something fixed and universal that can be given beforehand to guide our behaviour.

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11   This is a general thesis that Tang attributes to all major branches of Chinese philosophy and not just to Mengzi.

12   興起一切人之心志，以自下升高，而向上植立之道。

13   至于本體問題則是由自覺地作道德實踐而反省澈至者。

14   君子亦仁而已矣，何必同？

Instead, Mengzi often urges us to think about questions such as why, when both are humans with the same initial conditions, a sage can "set an example for the Empire worthy of being handed down to posterity" while we are so ordinary (*Mengzi* 4B28).[15] To find the answer to this, we must "seek it within ourselves" (*fan qiu zhu ji* 反求諸己) (*Mengzi* 2A7). This self-examination certainly does not refer to the kind of meditation that can be practiced silently in a room on our own, since without presupposing any first substance and principle, it is doubtful whether such a meditation can even take place in a meaningful manner. On the contrary, the properties of our "selves" that we can reflect upon will become available to us only when we constantly interact with the external world. In this sense, such self-introspection is an inward examination that is inseparable from outer experiences.[16] This point is highlighted when Mengzi's statement "There is no greater joy for me than to find, on self-examination, that I am true to myself" is connected with "Try your best to treat others as you would wish to be treated yourself, and you will find that this is the shortest way to [humaneness]" (*Mengzi* 7A4);[17] when Mengzi points out that the sage king Shun needs to "hear a single good word and see a single good deed" and only then can he fully realize the propensities toward goodness that distinguishes him from animal-like savages (*Mengzi* 7A16);[18] and when Mengzi attempts to ask King Xuan of Qi to look inward to his own heart-mind of unbearableness and take it as the basis for moral practice, the very possibility of such self-introspection and moral cultivation is based upon the king's past experience of feeling unbearable toward an ox (*Mengzi* 1A7).

It is reasonable, therefore, to follow Tang and Mou and read Mengzi's moral philosophy primarily as a teaching that focuses on self-introspection and moral cultivation in experience without any presupposition. By taking this general thesis into account, I think the problem regarding the compatibility of Mou's interpretation of 2A6 and 6A6 can be rephrased into a question: Can we realize, at some point of such self-introspection and cultivation in experience, that we have a heart-mind that is morally perfect, as Mou suggests?

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15   舜人也，我亦人也。舜為法於天下，可傳於後世，我由未免為鄉人也。

16   Roger Ames makes a similar point and coins the alternative term "intra-spection" in place of "introspection" in order to emphasize this inner-outer aspect of the self-introspection suggested by Mengzi and other Confucian masters (Ames 2016, 50). I agree with Ames that Mengzi's self-introspection cannot be accomplished by focusing entirely on the internal, but I will not adopt his term "intra-spection" as this may introduce other implications of Ames's philosophy that I do not agree with, such as his overemphasis on the importance of familial and social relations at the expense of innate moral feelings.

17   反身而誠，樂莫大焉。強恕而行，求仁莫近焉。

18   及其聞一善言，見一善行。

As Tang points out, the very first step of self-introspection starts with reflecting on the distinction between human beings and brute animals (Tang 1986, 217). Needless to say, biological differences exist between humans and non-human animals, but these apparent external differences are not what Mengzi is concerned about. Rather, what concerns Mengzi is the "slight" (*jixi* 幾希) difference that can really distinguish humans from brutes when both share the same desires for living and reproduction (*Mengzi* 4B19). Mengzi believes that it is not difficult to realize that, in experience, there are some moral feelings that can naturally arise in our heart-minds, such as those mentioned in 2A6 and 6A6, that pertain to human beings alone. In 2A6, Mengzi states that "whoever is devoid of" the heart-mind of compassion, shame, courtesy and modesty, and moral judgement "is not human",[19] while the same is outlined in a more positive tone in 6A6, which proposes that these feelings are "possessed by all men alike".[20] For Mengzi, these innate moral feelings are what really highlight the uniqueness of humans and distinguish them from other animals.

At this point, regarding the characteristics of our heart-mind, I think we can know this much: It is an active entity that possesses and gives rise to various moral feelings in experience. However, whether it is already morally perfect remains unclear and needs further investigation as the self-introspection proceeds to the next step, which is to reflect on the difference between morally ordinary people and moral sages. There are several occasions where Mengzi emphasizes the fact that sages are humans just like others, which implies that through proper moral cultivation it is possible for anyone to become a sage (*Mengzi* 1A7, 3A1, 4B28, 4B32, 6A7). Nevertheless, just as we say in everyday life that "a good guy is different from a bad guy", there must be some difference between a morally noble and an ordinary or deficient fellow. From here, Tang and Mou, and those who support either of them, will have different considerations: In theory, it could be that the difference lies in the development of the initial heart-mind that the sages have achieved as the result of their moral practices, as Tang suggests. Alternatively, it is equally possible that the initial conditions remain exactly the same between sages and morally ordinary people; rather, their difference is marked by the fact that sages can make full use of their initial conditions in the sense that they can let their heart-mind manifest whenever and wherever it is required, whereas ordinary people cannot, as Mou suggests. Without presupposing any first substance and principle, this puzzle cannot be resolved unless one commences moral practices in experience and then self-introspects afterwards.

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19   無惻隱之心，非人也；無羞惡之心，非人也；無辭讓之心，非人也；無是非之心，非人也。
20   惻隱之心，人皆有之；羞惡之心，人皆有之；恭敬之心，人皆有之；是非之心，人皆有之。

Let us consider 1A7, in which Mengzi instructs King Xuan of Qi on moral cultivation. The passage begins with the king asking Mengzi whether he is capable of becoming a true king who can always care for his people. Mengzi assures the king that he can, because Mengzi once heard that the king spared an ox from being sacrificed upon seeing the innocent animal tremble in fear. Mengzi tells the king that this very heart-mind of unbearableness is evidence of his capability to become a true king and thus that his "failure to become a true king is due to a refusal to act, not to an inability to act".[21] What the king needs to do is to extend this heart-mind of unbearableness to his people and relieve them from suffering in the same way as he relieved the ox.

Suppose that after some kind of moral training, the king successfully extends his heart-mind of unbearableness to his people. If we just look at the consequence of this extension, it is simply that the king's heart-mind of unbearableness has arisen on one more occasion, which seems to support Mou's thesis, but David Wong makes the point that the quality of the heart-mind, together with its feeling of unbearableness toward the people after moral cultivation, is unlikely to be the same as the original heart-mind and its feeling of unbearableness toward the ox, because the original unbearableness is just a spontaneous reaction that does not necessarily contain a clear reason for action, and the original heart-mind is not yet developed so as to be able to reflect on such reactions and refine them into action-guiding feelings (Wong 2002, 191–92).

It is true that upon seeing the ox and feeling unbearable, the king does act to spare it from suffering, just like in the case of 2A6 when, upon seeing the child about to fall into a well and feeling compassionate, the person will be driven by an urge to save the child. However, these examples tell us nothing more than this: With the original heart-mind and its innate moral feelings, we can act morally in situations where we are directly exposed to the moral patients in such a way that causes moral feelings to spontaneously arise; this does not suggest that in other cases, where we either do not have such direct experiences or are in touch with the patients under circumstances that make them appear to be (but not in fact) less deserving of help—cases in which the feelings that immediately arise are not those purely moral ones—we can still rely on the original heart-mind to carry out appropriate actions. That is, when Mengzi asks the king to merely think about his poor people or, as Wong suggests, when the king, say, comes across a homeless person in the street who approaches and begs him for money, it is most likely that the feeling that spontaneously arises in the king's heart-mind this time will be an indescribable and vague one, which may be a blend of various different feelings instead

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21   故王之不王，不為也，非不能也。

of pure unbearableness (Wong 2002, 193). Despite the king being intellectually aware (after Mengzi reminding him) that he should respond to his people with the same feeling and action that he once had toward the ox, without moral cultivation the king is unable to refine his vague feeling into an unbearableness that can provide him with the reason and motivation to help his people.

In other words, what the moral cultivation Mengzi has in mind aims to achieve is to extend the king's heart-mind of unbearableness to cases where the moral feeling will not spontaneously arise—where the spontaneous feeling (as an unreflected reaction) instead arises cannot be simply identified as unbearableness. This will require the king to be trained so that his heart-mind becomes morally sensitive enough to crystallize and refine those spontaneous but vague feelings into clear moral feelings that can guide his actions. Consequently, these newly extended moral feelings will be substantially different from the original ones as they are the result of careful reflections that are always practically efficacious, whereas the original ones are merely moral reactions that are, in terms of their spontaneity, not different from other natural reactions; although they can lead to moral actions on some occasions, as natural reactions, it is hard to tell whether these are driven by determined reasons or just psychological urges (ibid., 195–96).[22] This is also why, I think by following Wong, that Mengzi says at the end of 2A6 that if one fails to develop the heart-mind of four germs, one cannot even serve one's parents with the original heart-mind containing these unreflected moral reactions. Furthermore, in 6A14 and 6A15, Mengzi answers his student by stating that a morally exemplary person differs from a morally ordinary person precisely because the former's heart-mind gets nourished and can *si* 思 (think/reflect). According to the current interpretation, this reflection is directed to the innate moral feelings, and supplies these with the originally lacking "action-guiding content" (ibid., 191).

Unfortunately, it appears that in the end King Xuan of Qi did not set forth to achieve moral cultivation. However, supposing that he had done so and had self-introspected during or after such cultivation, it would be reasonable to posit that the king would have realized that he was becoming more morally sensitive and trustworthy, and his heart-mind was becoming sharper and more primed for manifestation. In this sense, the king would have realized that he was becoming a better king with a kinder heart-mind. This realization of "becoming better" simultaneously negates Mou's thesis that there is a basis to propose that the heart-mind is morally perfect in itself and does not require further

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22   Exactly how this kind of moral cultivation should be carried out is beyond the scope of the current discussion. Basically, Wong thinks that it requires the interaction between the heart-mind and *qi* 氣 (vital energy) and what he calls "analogical reasoning" (ibid., 193–94, 197–204).

improvement.[23] In comparison, the interpretation proposed by Tang Junyi and others, which admits that the original heart-mind of four germs can and needs to be further developed, works more effectively in such a context.[24]

Ren in a Relative Sense: A Reinforcement of the First Interpretation

Let us now turn to consider how the textual difference between 2A6 and 6A6 can be possibly addressed under Tang Junyi's more adequate interpretation of "*duan*".

To my knowledge, many of those who support Tang's interpretation did not spend too much effort on bridging this textual difference; the way by which they deal with it is simply to read 6A6 as if the term "*duan*" is still implied there despite its apparent disappearance (Ames 2011, 140; Fu 2010, 75, 172; Shun 1997, 189). That is, according to them, in 6A6, when Mengzi says the heart-mind of compassion, shame, respect, and moral judgement are *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*, and *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* are "in me originally", we should understand Mengzi as if he still means that these four moral feelings are the *germs* of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*, and it is these four germs, not *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*, that are originally possessed by the heart-mind.

This solution, however, is not ideal in my opinion. The main reason for those scholars to add "*duan*" in 6A6 is presumably because they believe that this will make 6A6 become more consistent with the general background of Mengzi's

23 Surely, one could still argue that everything about the heart-mind that one realizes during moral practices has originally been possessed by the heart-mind. In other words, what one discovers is nothing more than what was already there in the heart-mind. However, without presupposing any first substance, on what basis can this argument be established? Perhaps we can still postulate an all-inclusive and morally perfect heart-mind, but such a postulation will not in turn have any practical significance and is definitely not what Mou and those who support his interpretation have in mind, for Mou strongly opposes the idea of treating the heart-mind as a merely abstract, static, and metaphysical postulation (Mou 2013, vol. 3, 214–15).

24 In his analysis of Wong's account of moral cultivation, Ng Kai-chiu 吳啟超 believes that Wong's argument will actually support Mou's interpretation of 2A6 (Ng 2014, 95–102). Based on the above discussion, it should become clear now that this is a misreading of Wong. As noted, although the end result of the moral cultivation in 1A7 will be the heart-mind of unbearableness arising on one more occasion, which seems to conform to Mou's idea that one should "be compassionate on one occasion and also be compassionate on every other occasion", the crucial difference is that Wong thinks that the extended heart-mind of unbearableness will be substantially different (morally more developed) than the original heart-mind of unbearableness, whereas Mou believes that the heart-mind is already morally perfect and will remain constant during the moral cultivation. Given his belief in a morally perfect heart-mind and his praise of Wang Yangming's 王陽明 (1472–1529) reading of the *Mengzi*, Mou agrees with Wang that the main task of moral cultivation is to recover the originally perfect heart-mind by virtue of gradually removing the obstructions (the turbid *qi*) from it so that the innate moral feelings can more freely manifest themselves (Mou 1978, 15; 1979, 335–45). This is the type of moral cultivation that Wong openly opposes (Wong 2002, 191).

moral philosophy as one that emphasizes moral cultivation and development. However, this to some extent also brings the uncharitable implication that if we do not add "*duan*" then 6A6 as it is will not appear to be entirely consistent with the general context of the *Mengzi*, which also indicates that the *Mengzi* lacks an overall consistency due to the disappearance of "*duan*" in 6A6.[25] This kind of thinking gets expressed when, for example, Chen Daqi 陳大齊 (1886–1983), who also supports Tang's interpretation that the heart-mind originally only possesses the germs of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*, argues that "To say 'the heart-mind of moral judgement is the germ of wisdom' is acceptable, to say 'the heart-mind is the wisdom', however, is overstated. … To say the heart-mind of compassion and of the other feelings is the germ of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* is acceptable, but to say it is the same as *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* is not" (Chen 1953, 19).[26] Similarly, Fu Peirong comments that by "examining them [2A6 and 6A6] as a whole, the teaching of 'good germ' [in 2A6] is more comprehensive, and reading it in comparison with Mengzi's other phrases, it is also more consistent" (Fu 2010, 172).[27] For this reason, in order to make 6A6 become as consistent as 2A6 and achieve an overall consistency, "*duan*" has to be read into it.

This certainly does not mean that a more adequate solution to the textual issue cannot be found if one adopts Tang's interpretation. On the contrary, it appears to me that some of these scholars could do better because the appropriate solution to this problem is already implicitly embedded in some of their works; what we need to do is to dig it out, develop it, and use it to reinforce Tang's interpretation by

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25 One may find an excuse for such lack of overall consistency by appealing to the fact that the *Mengzi* is an ancient text that had been edited and recompiled many times by different writers and commentators throughout the history, not to mention the difficulties associated with preserving it (for the history of the development of the *Mengzi*, see Zhao and Sun 1999, 3–11). This suggests that the *Mengzi* we read today may indeed lack an overall consistency, but we should not expect the text to be as consistent as a modern academic work anyway. Therefore, in the case of 6A6, we can accept that the missing of "*duan*" breaks the overall consistency of the *Mengzi* without blaming ourselves for being uncharitable interpreters. I will not take such defence into serious consideration for the following reasons: First, instead of being an argument based on textual support, it is more like an assumption whose validity cannot be proved or disproved with the texts that we have at the moment. Second, I feel that such defence has the danger of being abused, for it can be employed whenever one finds a particular passage or sentence in the *Mengzi* does not match one's overall interpretation of the text. The attitude toward the *Mengzi* that I find more beneficial to take is to treat it as a work that strives for overall consistency, and not to overlook any small textual difference and apparent inconsistencies. As I will show, in this case, the more effort one spends on carefully considering the one-word difference between 2A6 and 6A6 will not go in vain, for through such deliberation one will get to discover an important characteristic of *ren, yi, li,* and *zhi*.

26 謂「是非之心，智之端也」，則可，謂「是非之心，智也」，則不免推斷過當……謂惻隱等心是仁義禮智之端，則可，為惻隱等心即是仁義禮智，則有未可。

27 合而觀之，善端之說較為周全，並且配合孟子其他語句來看，也較為相洽。

reflecting more deeply on the question of what the writer or editor of the *Mengzi* is really trying to suggest at 6A6 with the missing character "*duan*", without assuming that it might just be due to an inconsistency.

Let us stay with *ren* for a demonstration of this. In the previous section, we have already seen that for Mengzi the property of *ren* cannot be fully reflected by a single feeling or action—it is something flexible but not fixed. One can also get the feeling that there may be multiple senses of *ren* being invoked in the *Mengzi* by noticing that, on the one hand, being *ren* sometimes simply means being a man or loving and serving one's parents (*Mengzi* 4A27, 7A15, 7B16), while on the other hand Mengzi, just like Kongzi, is reluctant to acknowledge himself as an exemplar of *ren*, indicating that achieving *ren* is indeed not an easy matter (*Mengzi* 2A2). In addition, he also states that "With [humaneness], the point, too, lies in seeing to its being ripe" (*Mengzi* 6A19),[28] which seems to suggest that we already possess a kind of raw and immature *ren*, and what we need to do is to nourish it further.

Tang Junyi argues that since Mengzi's self-introspection takes place in experience without presupposing anything at first, and experience itself is always "changeable without fixed directions" (*bianhua wu fang* 變化無方), the outcomes of this self-introspection—our views such as what properties we originally possess, what their characteristics are, how they can be further developed, and what the newly developed properties look like—will also be changeable and revisable as we proceed with our moral practices, encounter new circumstances, and gain new materials for self-introspection (Tang 1989, 24). Fu Peirong likewise argues that for Mengzi, humans are lively creatures that have the ability to freely develop themselves while interacting with the world. Therefore, when we look at the internal human conditions, we should be aware that these are also dynamic and embrace change (Fu 2010, 186–87). Following the same line of argument, Roger Ames goes one step further to claim that "*Ren* is both antecedent and an outcome" (Ames 2011, 182). That is, *ren* is the starting as well as end point of moral cultivation; it is a developmental and transformative virtue, and as it develops, it will carry different connotations depending on the context of its usage.

This kind of thought can be textually supported. Consider 7A15, where Mengzi tells us on what basis he calls something *ren* (and *yi*):

> What a man is able to do without having to learn it is what he can truly do; what he knows without having to reflect on it is what he truly knows. There are no young children who do not naturally love their parents, and when they grow up will not [naturally] respect their elder brothers.

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28   夫仁，亦在乎熟之而已矣。

> Loving one's parents is [humaneness]; respecting one's elders is [optimal appropriateness].[29]

This highlights that loving one's parents is regarded as *ren* solely on the basis that it is a sensibility that people are born with without the need for learning and reflection, and apparently, just like feelings such as compassion and unbearableness, the love that one feels toward one's parents is also a moral feeling that pertains to human beings alone.[30] On this ground, we can use *ren* to designate our initial moral state, which is represented by the manifestations of the innate moral feelings of the original heart-mind.

The passage above continues with the last sentence: "*Wu ta, da zhi tianxia ye*",[31] which has been understood and translated differently by various commentators. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1909–1992), for example, take it as another explanation of why loving one's parents is *ren*. For them, the phrase means that loving one's parents is *ren* for no other reason than the fact that everyone in the whole Empire can feel the same, emphasizing once more that it is called *ren* because it represents the initial moral condition shared by all people (Yang Bojun 1960, 284; Zhu 2011, 331). On the other hand, Zhao Qi 趙岐 (ca. 108–201) and Jiao Xun 焦循 (1763–1802) believe that the phrase means that since *ren* is already possessed by humans, there is nothing left to be done except for extending it to the whole Empire (Jiao 2017, 744; Zhao and Sun 1999, 359); this is also the interpretation adopted by D. C. Lau (1921–2010) in his English translation of the passage: "What is left to be done is simply the extension of these [loving one's parents as *ren* and respecting one's elder brothers as *yi*] to the whole Empire" (Lau 2003, 293).

It is not my concern here to examine which of these two interpretations is philologically more accurate. Rather, what I would like to emphasize is that in order for either of them to be contextually coherent, a different sense of *ren* needs to be acknowledged. To see why, consider the following from 7B31:

> For every man there are things he cannot bear. To extend this to what he can bear is [humaneness].[32]

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29   人之所不學而能者，其良能也；所不慮而知者，其良知也。孩提之童，無不知愛其親者；及其長也，無不知敬其兄也。親親，仁也；敬長，義也。

30   Arguably, we love our parents in some particular ways and with some particular feelings that are different from brutes, just like Zhu Xi points out that "The reason why humans are different (from brutes) is because they have *ren, yi, li*, and *zhi*, so that when they are sons, they show filial piety; when they are brothers, they show respect to their elder brothers; how can brutes be able to show these!" (人所以異者，以其有仁義禮智，若為子則孝，為弟則悌，禽獸豈能之哉！) (Zhu 1986, vol. 4, 1347).

31   無他，達之天下也。

32   人皆有所不忍，達之於其所忍，仁也。

Now, if one follows Zhu Xi and Yang Bojun's interpretation of the last sentence of 7A15, without acknowledging a different sense of *ren*, it would be difficult to understand why the extended heart-mind of unbearableness, which has been shown in the previous section to be substantially different from the original one, is also regarded by Mengzi as *ren* in 7B31. Similarly, if one follows Zhao Qi and Jiao Xun's interpretation of 7A15 while adhering to a single sense of *ren*, then the question we can ask is: What will the extension of the *ren* in 7A15 be called? 7B31 tells us that it will still be called *ren*, but then an immediate problem arises as it is inappropriate to use the same term in exactly the same sense to refer to two substantially different virtues that represent different moral states. It is therefore more consistent to read 7A15 and 7B31 as describing two different senses of *ren* that carry different connotations; specifically, the one in 7A15 refers to the original heart-mind of moral feelings that designates the same initial moral state shared by all human beings, and the one in 7B31 refers to its extension that designates a more advanced moral state that is achieved by virtue of moral cultivation.

Support for this reading of *ren* also comes from 1A7. After King Xuan of Qi spared the ox from sacrifice, Mengzi assured him that "The [heart-mind] behind your action is sufficient to enable you to become a true king" and "[the action driven by the heart-mind] is the way of a [*humane*] [emphasis added] man",[33] which again points to the sense of *ren* that represents the king's original heart-mind of moral feelings. However, as discussed above, Mengzi still urges the king to cultivate and extend this kind of *ren* so that he can

> Treat the aged of your own family in a manner befitting their venerable age and extend this treatment to the aged of other families; treat your own young in a manner befitting their tender age and extend this to the young of other families, and you can roll the Empire on your palm. … In other words, all you have to do is take this very [heart-mind] here and apply it to what is over there. Hence one who extends his bounty can tend those within the Four Seas; one who does not cannot tend even his own family. There is just one thing in which the ancients greatly surpassed others, and that is the way they extended what they did.[34]

This is what Mengzi thinks a true sage king will practice, which is a kind of governance generally considered by Confucians as the "governance by *ren*" (*renzheng* 仁政). However, the content of this kind of *ren* obviously differs from the one that

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33   是心足以王矣。是乃仁術也。

34   老吾老，以及人之老；幼吾幼，以及人之幼。天下可運於掌……言舉斯心加諸彼而已。故推恩足以保四海，不推恩無以保妻子。古之人所以大過人者，無他焉，善推其所為而已矣。

King Xuan of Qi already has; it corresponds to the *ren* illustrated in 7B31, which can be obtained only by extending one's original heart-mind of moral feelings through moral cultivation.

Some may suspect that if we allow the extended and developed heart-mind of moral feelings to represent another sense of *ren*, then this will cause problems for also continuing to regard the original heart-mind and its innate moral feelings as *ren*, since the latter appears to be less qualified compared to the former. As far as I am concerned, this does not pose a problem because there is no textual evidence suggesting that these two senses of *ren* are mutually incompatible. In both 1A7 and 7B31, Mengzi just says that the extension of the original heart-mind is *ren* but does not suggest in any way that because of this the original heart-mind itself can no longer be regarded as *ren*. More importantly, given that Mengzi's self-introspection starts in experience without presuppositions, we will not realize the sense of *ren* described in 7B31 until we firmly cultivate our initial moral conditions. In other words, at the beginning, at the very first stage that we realize we are different from brutes, we only have the original heart-mind possessing those unreflected, innate moral feelings that can be referred to as *ren*. This *ren* provides us with the basis for revision, and it is only in relation to the revision of this *ren* that the heart-mind of moral feelings that is later developed and extended through moral practices can be referred to as *ren* in a "relatively consequent" sense. Correspondingly, when we look back from this later stage of moral cultivation, the original state from where we depart can be taken as *ren* in a "relatively antecedent" sense.

Another point that needs to be noticed is that the innate moral feelings that spontaneously arise from the original, undeveloped heart-mind in given situations surely constitute the starting point of moral cultivation for everyone, but I think we should not for this reason call the *ren* that is used to designate this initial moral state an "absolutely antecedent" *ren*, because once the moral cultivation begins, it is a continuous and endless progress in practice, and so the *ren* that is realized in the midst of this moral cultivation will also be continuously developed and revised so that one cannot get its "absolutely consequent" sense. For example, the life of Kongzi vividly displays a constant process of moral development without a predetermined end (*Analects* 2: 4), which is also reflected by his disciple Zengzi 曾子 (505–435 BCE) when he says: "[A morally exemplary person] takes [humaneness] as his burden. Is that not heavy? Only with death does the road come to an end. Is that not long?" (*Analects* 8: 7).[35] Death indeed brings an end to one's worldly life, but the sense of *ren* realized at some point during one's lifetime

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35   仁以為己任，不亦重乎？死而後已，不亦遠乎？

is always at the same time consequent to the one that preceded it and is antecedent in relation to the one that will follow, so the *ren* that one finally realizes at the time of one's death can also be taken as relatively antecedent and immature compared to the next, more consequent *ren* that one would potentially realize if one could live longer. As humans with limited lifespans, the only thing we can do is to proceed along the endless path of moral cultivation as far as possible, and as we proceed, there will always be a more consequent *ren* waiting ahead of us. To avoid using terms such as "absolute" or "absolutely" and use "relative" or "relatively" instead is precisely to capture this aspect of moral development.

Finally, equipped with this understanding of *ren*, we can now hold to Tang Junyi's interpretation of 2A6 while explaining why "*duan*" exists in 2A6 but disappears in 6A6. It should become clear that the *ren* in 6A6 is used in the relatively antecedent sense, which represents the original heart-mind of compassion as people's initial moral condition. However, in 2A6, Mengzi emphasizes the need for moral cultivation, so the same heart-mind of compassion becomes the "*duan*", or starting point, of the relatively consequent *ren*, which points to the state that one achieves after some moral practice, in which one's heart-mind will become morally more sensitive and capable, and the moral feeling will also be different from the innate one as it is no longer a psychological urge but contains in itself a clear reason for action. Therefore, it is consistent to claim that the heart-mind of compassion is the same as the relatively antecedent *ren*, which is simultaneously the starting point from where the relatively consequent *ren* can be developed. Since *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* are spoken of on an equal basis in 2A6 and 6A6, what holds true for the heart-mind of compassion and *ren* also applies to the other three feelings and *yi*, *li*, and *zhi*. Overall, we can say that the heart-mind of the four germs is substantially the same as the relatively antecedent *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* and is the starting point from where the relatively consequent *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* can be developed.

Conclusion

The discussions in this essay have hopefully made it clear how the textual difference between 2A6 and 6A6 of the *Mengzi* should be handled. In my opinion, compared to the interpretation arguing for the existence of a morally perfect heart-mind, the interpretation of 2A6 proposed by Tang Junyi and others, which takes the term "*duan*" as the "starting point" that indicates the need for further improvement of the original heart-mind, is more consistent with the general background of Mengzi's moral philosophy as a teaching on self-introspection and moral cultivation in experience without presupposing any first moral substance

and principle. Furthermore, this interpretation will not be invalidated by the missing of "*duan*" in 6A6, for under this interpretation, *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* in the *Mengzi* can all be understood as developmental virtues that have different meanings depending on the context of their usage—a point that can be firmly supported by the original text. By explicitly demonstrating the existence of different senses of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* in the *Mengzi*, we are able to take the heart-mind of the four germs to be the same as the relatively antecedent and sprout-like *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* described in 6A6, which at the same time constitute the starting points for developing the relatively consequent and ripe *ren*, *yi*, *li*, and *zhi* described in 2A6. In this way, we can well explain the textual difference between 2A6 and 6A6 while maintaining the more adequate interpretation of 2A6.

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An Exceptional Portrait of Yang Zhu and Mozi: Beyond the Mencian Track

*Yao-cheng CHANG**

Abstract

This paper examines the coupling in early texts of two masters, Yang Zhu 楊朱 and Mo Di 墨翟. The two thinkers are most famously paired in the *Mencius* as the prominent preachers of extreme doctrines, while they are also sometimes presented in other early texts such as the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* as useless debaters on trivial topics. These alternative portrayals of Yang-Mo are usually simplified as a second-rate imitation or repetition of the standard Mencian depiction. The paper argues that such a reading represents a serious misunderstanding of the pre-imperial textual transmission. Unfamiliarity with Yang-Mo as sophists may also be the result of the unconscious acceptance of Mencius' description. The unconventional portrayal of Yang-Mo, very likely relatively unrelated to Mencius' portrayal, had its own history in early China. Presented in various contexts, this alternative Yang-Mo image was once circulated in various forms for different intended audiences.

Keywords: Yang-Mo, Yang Zhu and Mozi, Mencius, *Zhuangzi*, *Han Feizi*, open textual culture

Neobičajen portret Yang Zhuja in Mozija: onkraj mencijanske steze

Izvleček

Članek obravnava povezovanje dveh mojstrov, Yang Zhuja 楊朱 in Mo Dija 墨翟, v zgodnjih besedilih. Najbolj znano besedilo, ki oba misleca predstavi kot dvojico, je knjiga *Mencij*, ki ju obravnava kot pomembna pridigarja skrajnih doktrin. Kot par pa sta včasih predstavljena tudi v drugih zgodnjih besedilih, kot sta *Zhuangzi* in *Han Feizi*, kjer pa sta obravnavana kot nesposobna razpravljavca o trivialnih temah. Te alternativne upodobitve dvojice Yang-Mo običajno poenostavljajo kot drugovrstne imitacije ali ponavljanja ustaljene mencijanske upodobitve. Članek razpravlja o tem, da takšna branja kažejo resno nerazumevanje predcesarskega prenosa besedil. Nepoznavanje dvojice Yang-Mo kot razpravljavca o sofizmih je lahko prav tako rezultat nezavednega sprejetja Mencijevih opisov. Nekonvencionalne upodobitve para Yang-Mo, ki so bile zelo verjetno bolj ali manj nepovezane z Mencijevimi upodobitvami,

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sežejo v zgodnjo Kitajsko. Predstavljene so bile v različnih kontekstih, tako da je ta alternativna podoba para Yang-Mo nekoč krožila v različnih oblikah, namenjenih različni ciljni publiki.

Ključne besede: Yang-Mo, Yang Zhu in Mozi, *Zhuangzi*, *Han Feizi*, odprta besedilna kultura

When Yang and Mo Were Presented in a Non-Mencian Context[1]

The expressions "*Yang Mo*" 楊墨 and "*Yang Zhu Mo Di*" 楊朱墨翟 (hereafter "Yang-Mo" for both) in early texts (ca. 4th–1st centuries BCE), such as the *Mencius* 孟子, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and *Han Feizi* 韓非子, have been a focus of recent studies on early Chinese intellectual history.[2] Many of these have demonstrated the profound influence of Mencius' 孟子 (ca. 371–289 BCE) portrait of the two masters, Yang Zhu 楊朱 (ca. 440–360 BCE) and Mozi 墨子 (ca. 479–391 BCE).[3] These two thinkers are coupled in Mencius' depiction because, in his eyes, they were the most prominent schools in his time that define the two furthermost points of the spectrum of thought: Yang Zhu promotes the selfish doctrine of "acting for oneself" (*weiwo* 為我) while Mozi altruistically "cares equally for all" (*jian'ai* 兼愛).[4] The literature on Mencius' portrayal

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2   Both expressions can either refer to the two historical figures (Yang Zhu and Mozi as thinkers and perhaps the founders of intellectual schools) or thinkers affiliated with Yang and Mo traditions (the followers of Yang Zhu's and Mozi's teachings; the Yangists and Mohists).

3   Mencius' portrayal has had an enormous influence on later scholars since at least the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward. The image of Mencius' Yang-Mo was repeatedly imitated by several later Confucians, including Yang Xiong 揚雄 (ca. 53 BCE–18 CE), Wang Chong 王充 (ca. 27–100 CE), Han Yu 韓愈 (ca. 768–824 CE), Zhu Xi 朱熹 (ca. 1130–1200 CE), and Wang Yangming 王陽明 (ca. 1472–1529 CE). It served as a recurrent trope by which the tasks of later Confucians were compared to that of Mencius, who attempted to rescue the precarious intactness of Confucius' Way from the increasing threat of heresy.

4   The translation of *jian'ai* as "caring equally for all" might not adequately represent the Mohist view as seen in the text *Mozi*. This term would be better rendered, on the basis of the three chapters of *Mozi* titled "Jian'ai", as "inclusive care" or "caring inclusively". However, this translation might represent the view of the *Mencius*, in which *jian'ai* is related to the image of "benefiting the world by wearing off one's hairs" (摩頂放踵利天下, 7A26). For relevant discussion, see Defoort 2013 and 2018. My translation "caring equally for all" is inspired by her works.

of Yang-Mo can be broadly divided into three trends. Firstly, there has been increasing scepticism about the reliability of Mencius' portrayal. In line with Hu Hong's 胡宏 (1105–1161 CE) distrust, modern scholars such as Tang Yue 唐鉞 and Qian Mu 錢穆 suggested that the conflation of Yang and Mo in history was largely a result of Mencius' rhetorical invention, rather than a genuinely equal status of Yang and Mo in popularity during Mencius' time (Tang 1982 vol. 4, 540–53; Qian 1994, vol. 5, 285–87).[5] Besides this claimed popularity, Mencius' attribution of the two extreme doctrines to the two masters was also questioned (Defoort 2018). Studies in the second trend have more historical interest in the portrayal's influences. Scholars have traced the use of the term "Yang-Mo", throughout Chinese history, as a symbol of extremism and heresy (Lyell 1962; Andreini 2014) or as a rhetorical trope used against intellectual rivals (Defoort 2020). The third trend focuses on the reconstruction of Yang-Mo's philosophical positions (Shi 2004; Zhang 2014; He 2015, 2–13) and the implications of Mencius' accusations (Li 2009; Yang 2014; Shi 2015).[6] This paper offers a different contribution

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5   Back in the Song dynasty, the Confucian scholar Hu Hong 胡宏 (1105–1161) already expressed his doubt about Mencius' depiction of Yang-Mo. (Hu 1987, 281–82) In the 1930s, Mencius' portrayal's authenticity was intensely questioned in the "Doubting the Antiquity" (*yigu* 疑古) movement by several articles published in the magazine "Gushi Bian 古史辨" (*Debates on Ancient History*), esp. vol.4 (first published in 1933). Kwong-loi Shun also points out that "there is little evidence that Yangist teachings were influential during Mencius' time, and this has led some scholars to suggest that Mencius exaggerated the movement's influence" (Shun 2000, 36). For a pair of prominent schools that really existed in early China, they should have left more written traces if compared with the tens or nearly hundreds of pre-Qin and Han mentions of another pair of prominent schools Ru-Mo (*Ru Mo* 儒墨, *Kong Mo* 孔墨 *Kongzi Mozi* 孔子墨子, *Kong Qiu Mo Di* 孔丘墨翟). Regarding the current studies on the uses of "Ru-Mo" in early China, see Nylan 2009; Harbsmeier 2013; and Lee 2014.

6   There has been an abundant discussion about the reconstruction of Yang Zhu's philosophical position. Most scholars believe that the teachings of Yang Zhu must have been quite influential during Mencius' time; otherwise, Mencius would not have warned his readers so forcefully of the threat of Yang Zhu's thought. To fill the gap in ancient intellectual history, on the one hand, modern scholars associate Yang Zhu with more ascertained traditions such as Daoism (along with Laozi and Zhuangzi) and the reclusive hermits who "escape from the world" (*bi shi* 辟世). For example, Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895–1990) and A. C. Graham consider the fragments from the *Lunyu* (14.37; 14.38; 14.39; 18.6; 18.7; 18.8) as resources to understand the root of Yangist thought. On the other hand, as Feng Youlan puts it, modern scholars tend to consider the thought of Yang Zhu "must be deduced from scattered references in a number of works by other writers" (see Feng 1948, 60–65). A. C. Graham considers that there are several chapters containing Yang Zhu's thought without mentioning his name, such as the five chapters from the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (namely, "Taking Life as Basic" 本生, "Valuing the Self" 重己, "Honoring Life" 貴生, "The Essential Desires" 情欲, and "Being Attentive to Aims" 審為) and the four chapters from the *Zhuangzi* (namely, "Abdicating the Throne" 讓王, "Robber Zhi" 盜跖, "Discourse on Swords" 說劍, and "The Old Fisherman" 漁父) (see Graham 1989, 53–56). Since *Zhuangzi* chapter 8 mentions the "disputation" (*bian* 辯) of Yang and Mo, Graham regarded these "Yangist" chapters from the *Zhuangzi* and *Lushi Chunqiu* as examples of the very disputation of Yang, whose style differs from that of the Mohist disputation (see Graham 1989, 55–56; 2001[1981]: 221–23; 2003: 88–89, 92).

to this topic, in which the non-Mencian portrayals of Yang-Mo rather than Mencius' is brought to the fore. This alternative focus enables us to reconsider how textual culture was actively involved in the formation of the Yang-Mo combination in early texts. The paper argues that the coupling of Yang Zhu and Mozi in some early texts is better seen as a product of dynamic development in a highly open and fluid textual culture rather than, as is usually assumed, the imitation or repetition of a stable Mencian depiction of Yang-Mo.

The *Mencius* is not the only early text that combines Yang and Mo.[7] Several pre-modern scholars have already noticed that Yang Zhu and Mozi are also paired in the *Zhuangzi*, but most of their interest was still on Mencius' claims against the two heretical figures.[8] Modern views of the Yang-Mo combination have also been largely shaped by the *Mencius*. Even those who find fault with Mencius' view are still substantially indebted to or framed by his depiction. They might reject the informational, descriptive, evaluative, or interpretive stance of Mencius' portrayal—the proclaimed popularity of Yang-Mo, the mottos ascribed to them, and Mencius' interpretation and disapproval of these—but yet accept some aspects of it, such as its originality, the pairing of Yang-Mo, the opposition between them, and even their existence. Furthermore, Mencius' portrayal generally enjoys a special status as the prime (or even the sole) source of information about the coupling of Yang-Mo in early China. Almost all studies of the Yang-Mo coupling frame their investigation in terms of this privileged portrayal. When they sometimes take into account of other descriptions of Yang-Mo, such as those in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, their primary purpose is generally to fit these "minor" descriptions into the frame of Mencius' portrayal.[9] Setting aside the preoccupation with the *Mencius*, we will be more aware of other alternative early descriptions in which the non-Mencian elements figure prominently, such as the theme of fruitlessness (*wuyong* 無用) and the combination of Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi (*Zeng Shi* 曾史 or *Zeng Shen Shi Qiu* 曾參史鰌).

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7   Apart from the three mentions in the *Mencius* (3B9, 7A26, 7B26), there are ten more mentions of Yang-Mo in other pre-Qin and Han texts—three in the *Zhuangzi* (ch. 8, 10, 12), one in the *Han Feizi* (ch. 47), one in the *Hanshu* 漢書 ("Yang Xiong Zhuan" 揚雄傳), one in the *Fayan* 法言 (ch. 2), three in the *Lunheng* 論衡 (ch. 84), and one in the *Fengsu Tongyi* 風俗通義 (ch. 7). Half of these mentions are more or less repetitions of Mencius' portrayal, which leads to the impression that the early descriptions of Yang-Mo are probably derived from Mencius' exaggeration. Yang Zhu and Mozi together are also sometimes affiliated with a group of thinkers, such as the mentions in the *Zhuangzi* chapter 24, *Huainanzi* 淮南子 chapter 13, and *Zhonglun* 中論 chapter 11.

8   The Song dynasty *Zhuangzi* commentator Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (1193–1271) pointed out that "Mencius castigates Yang and Mo, and it is frequent that this text [i.e., the *Zhuangzi*] also uses the term 'Yang-Mo' to refer to them together (孟子闢楊墨，此書亦以楊墨兼言者屢矣)" (Ling 1998, 885). In the Yuan dynasty, Jin Luxiang 金履祥 (1232–1303) in his commentary on Zhu Xi's *Mengzi ji zhu* 孟子集注 also noted that "the text *Zhuangzi* as well often speaks of the disputation of Yang and Mo (莊子書亦盛言楊墨之辨)" (Jing 1991, 31).

9   Examples such as Zhang 2014; Shi 2015; He 2015.

It is not surprising that Yang Zhu and Mozi could be portrayed in a wide variety of ways. The intended audience of the Yang-Mo portrayals may have deeply influenced how the two masters were presented, as these images vary from the radical preachers of the immoral doctrines "acting for oneself" and "caring equally for all" that threatened the very core of Confucian values, to the prominent debaters on unprofitable topics such as the "hard and white" (*jianbai* 堅白) and the "same and different" (*tongyi* 同異). This paper suggests that the inconsistencies in the early portraits of Yang-Mo are not a matter of accuracy but rhetoric. The disparate descriptions of Yang-Mo are more likely meant as literary or rhetorical devices that produce different impacts on different audiences. The variance of portrayals may also, to some extent, reveal the bias of the authors. Instead of considering the non-Mencian depictions of Yang-Mo as inaccurate or the second-rate repetition of Mencius' portrayal, this paper perceives all early portrayals of Yang-Mo equally as to some extent rhetorical. This allows us to problematize the privileging of Mencius' portrayal over the other, and revalue the underappreciated non-Mencian portrayal of Yang-Mo in early texts. This portrayal can still be traced on the basis of the coherent descriptions from *Zhuangzi* chapter 8 ("Webbed Toes" 駢拇), chapter 10 ("Ransacking Coffers" 胠篋), chapter 12 ("Heaven and Earth" 天地), and *Han Feizi* chapter 47 ("Eight Persuasions" 八說).[10] To fully explore this undervalued portrayal of Yang-Mo, the paper, in its first two sections, provides a detailed reading of the passages where Yang and Mo are presented as useless sophists and contrasted with virtuous practitioners and then, in the third section, a discussion of the textual relations between these Yang-Mo passages and those in the *Mencius* is presented, in which their textual statuses are reconsidered in light of recent studies and with reference to the concept of open *versus* closed texts.

The Portrait of Yang-Mo as Disputers of Useless Words

The early portrayal based on the descriptions in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* (henceforth the Zhuangzian-Hanfeizian portrayal) is first marked by its distinctive emphasis on the futility and unprofitability of the disputation of Yang-Mo.

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10   The term "Yang-Mo" appears thrice in the *Zhuangzi* (8/22/3-19; 10/25/12-20; 12/34/3-9). "Yang" is also mentioned together with four other debating rivals in the "Xu Wugui" 徐無鬼 chapter (24/69/19-23): "There are four positions of Ru, Mo, Yang, and Bing [i.e., Gongsun Long 公孫龍]. Adding you, master [i.e., Huizi 惠子], it makes five (儒、墨、楊、秉四，與夫子為五)." Other Yang Zhu stories in the *Zhuangzi* include an anecdote about Yangzi 陽子, who was lodging in the inn with two concubines, one pretty and one ugly (20/56/9-11), and two dialogues between Lao Dan 老聃 and Yang Ziju 陽子居, which is believed to be another name for Yang Zhu (7/20/19-23; 27/80/26-27/81/4). In one of these Yang Ziju passages, Yang Ziju's question receives the same criticism from Lao Dan as the "disputers" (辯者) do in another *Zhuangzi* passage (12/31/15-20).

In *Zhuangzi* chapter 8, the images of having "webbed toes" (*pianmu* 駢拇) and "extra fingers" (*zhizhi* 枝指) are used as metaphors for the fanatical obsession with artificial standards and skills which corrupt people's "inborn nature" (*xing* 性).[11] Prominent figures in different fields are chosen as illustrations: Li Zhu 離朱 is obsessed with his examination and classification of colours and patterns, Music Master Kuang 師曠 with that of sounds, and Zeng-Shi with morality. Having "webbed toes" in their obsession with useless "disputation" (*bian* 辯), the likes of Yang and Mo also lose their inborn nature:

> Are those who have webbed toes in their disputation not artfully manoeuvring the phrases as if stacking balls on top of each other or tying knots, sending their minds wandering amid the "hard and white" and the "same and different", and arduously praising those useless words? That is exactly what [the likes of] Yang and Mo do.[12]

> 駢於辯者，纍瓦[丸]結繩竄句，遊心於堅白、同異之間，而敝跬譽無用之言非乎？而楊墨是已。(*Zhuangzi* 8/22/9-10)

Yang Zhu and Mozi are here depicted as manipulating words like stacking balls and tying knots, which display a marvellous but useless skill. Instead of being the advocates of the subversive ideas of "acting for oneself" and "caring equally for all", they are portrayed as thinkers disputing over issues such as the "hard and white" and the "same and different".

A cautious distrust of this description may arise out of the traditional attribution of these two issues to other figures.[13] For example, Qian Mu (1895–1990), who perceives the coupling of Yang-Mo as a result of exaggeration, argues that Yang-Mo in this *Zhuangzi* description should be rendered as a "false" combination that

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11   For a detailed discussion of the themes of artificial standards and inborn nature, see Baggio 2014.

12   Except for the texts where passages are more conveniently signified by a number and a letter, such as the *Mencius*, all my references to primary sources would be from D. C. Lau *ICS Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series* (1993–2002). All my translations from the *Zhuangzi* are based on Mair (1998) and Ziporyn (2009).

13   The two issues are more famously attributed to other "sophists". A more likely member of these debaters is Gongsun Long 公孫龍 (ca. 320–250 BCE), who was said to "excel at the disputation on 'the hard and white'" (善為堅白之辯) in *Shiji* 76 (平原君虞卿列傳). He was also said to dispute over both issues in *Shiji* 74 (孟子荀卿列傳), *Huainanzi* 11 ("Equalizing the Customs" 齊俗訓), and *Zhuangzi* 17 ("Autumn Floods" 秋水). Another connection is that there is a chapter called "On the Hard and White" (堅白論) in the received text named after Gongsun Long. One other candidate is Hui Shi 惠施 (or Huizi 惠子, ca. 370–310 BCE), who is said to be obsessed with the "hard and white" in *Zhuangzi* chapter 2 and chapter 5. In *Zhuangzi* chapter 33, he is also said to "have the proper understanding of the disputers" (曉辯者) and be resonant with their delight in sophistry.

patterns itself on Mencius' portrayal (Qian 1994, 285–87). Considering Yang as a meaningless constituent, he proposes to read this passage as a description of the later Mohists instead of real Yang-Mo.[14] Qian's reading is an illustration of a general attitude towards this description: a lack of appreciation of its uniqueness and informativeness not only because of Mencius' influence but also because of a preoccupation with factuality. Although recognizing the rhetorical nature of Mencius' portrayal, he is still enthralled by the quest for a plausible explanation of this description on a sound "factual" basis. This determined his opinion of what a proper portrayal of Yang-Mo should be.

Yang-Mo as Disputers *versus* Zeng-Shi as Practitioners

The second characteristic feature of the Zhuangzian-Hanfeizian portrayal is Yang-Mo's recurrent attachment to another pair of figures: Zeng Shen (ca. 505–432 BCE) and Shi Qiu (or Shi Yu 史魚, ca. 534–493 BCE). The former was a disciple of Confucius, famous for his practice of "filial piety" (*xiao* 孝), the latter a minister of Wei 衛 considered as a representative of "moral straightness" (*zhi* 直) or "loyalty" (*zhong* 忠). These two figures, in *Zhuangzi* chapter 8, are depicted as those who "have extra fingers in their humaneness (*zhi yu ren* 枝於仁)" by "pulling up the [artificial] virtues and blocking the inborn nature in exchange for a good name, thus making the people of the world trumpeting and drumming forth in pursuit of unreachable standards (擢德塞性以收名聲，使天下簧鼓以奉不及之法) (*Zhuangzi* 8/22/8-9)". In contrast with the disputers Yang and Mo, who express their pursuit of useless distinctions using their mouths, the practitioners Zeng and Shi express the pursuit of inauspicious moral standards through their deeds. The two pairs of figures, therefore, are often juxtaposed with each other. For example, in *Zhuangzi* chapter 10, although being mixed with other "experts" such as Li Zhu and Music Master Kuang, Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi are closely tied up with each other in the same sentence:

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14   In Qian's opinion, Yang merely serves as a meaningless constituent so as to follow Mencius' combination. He also considered that Mo here is unrelated to the early Mohists, who normatively advocated the core Mohist doctrines such as "caring equally for all". Alternatively, it refers to the later Mohists, who developed delicate linguistic techniques in the descriptive analysis of Mohist theories and engaged themselves in the discussion of the "hard and white". Qian's impression is probably based on *Zhuangzi* chapter 33 ("Tianxia" 天下), in which some of the later Mohist schools are depicted as "denouncing each other with the disputations about the 'hard and white' and the 'same and different'" (以堅白、同異之辯相訾, *Zhuangzi* 33/98/23-25). This impression may also be enhanced on the basis of some relevant passages from the so-called "Mohist Canons" (*Mojing* 墨經).

Only when the (virtuous) deeds of Zeng and Shi are pared back, the (eloquent) mouths of Yang and Mo are gagged, and the humaneness and righteousness are discarded, will the virtues of all under Heaven begin to merge in obscurity.

削曾史之行，鉗楊墨之口，攘棄仁義，而天下之德始玄同矣。(*Zhuangzi* 10/25/17)

In *Zhuangzi* chapter 12, the pair of Zeng-Shi is first contrasted with the robber Zhi 盜跖 (and the tyrant Jie 桀) in terms of morality, followed by a remark on Yang-Mo a few lines later:

Though there may be a divergence in the practice of righteousness between [the tyrant] Jie and [the robber] Zhi, on the one hand, and Zeng and Shi, on the other hand, they are the same in terms of having lost their original nature (…) Yet Yang and Mo went striding around and thinking that they had attained something, but that is not what I would call the attainment. If what you attain brings confinement, then can that be attainment? If so, then the dove or the owl in a cage may also be considered attainment.[15]

[桀]跖與曾史，行義有間矣，然其失性均也 (…) 而楊墨乃始離跂自以為得，非吾所謂得也。夫得者困，可以為得乎？則鳩鴞之在於籠也，亦可以為得矣。(*Zhuangzi* 12/34/6-7)

The combination of Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi also appears in *Han Feizi* chapter 47.[16] Here the disputatious intellects Yang Zhu and Mozi are contrasted with the virtuous practitioners Bao Jiao 鮑焦 and Hua Jiao 華角. The contrast between these two pairs of figures is implicitly associated with another contrast between the intellects Kong and Mo 孔墨 and the practitioners Zeng and Shi:

15　Going by the fragments in Cheng Xuanying's 成玄英 *Zhuangzi* commentary and *Zhuangzi* chapter 11, Liu Shipei 劉師培 argued that there should be a missing character "Jie" 桀 before "Zhi" 跖.

16　Back in the 1930s, Luo Genze already pointed out that since the term "Zeng-Shi" only appears in the four Outer Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* and several chapters of the *Han Feizi* (some of which also contain the combination of Yang-Mo). Luo argues that these passages in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* are very likely to be composed by the same author or school. "Apart from these fragments, few have mentioned Zeng and Shi. Therefore, it is highly suspicious that these fragments are written by a single hand or school. (除此數篇外，很少提到曾史的，則這幾篇的同出一派或一人之手，是有極大嫌疑的.)" (Luo 1958, 287) The passages that contain Zeng-Shi are from *Hanfeizi* chapter 26, chapter 38, and chapter 46. However, putting aside the enthusiasm for tracing authorship and dates of transmitted texts, these passages might be more safely seen as different early fragments sharing the same textual pattern.

What only incisive intellects can understand should not be made an order, because the people are not all incisive. What only the worthies can practice should not be made a law, because the people are not all worthy. Yang Zhu and Mo Di are universally regarded as men of incisiveness. Regardless of how incisive, they should not be promoted as officials because they intervened in the turmoil in their time but yet did not solve it in the end. Bao Jiao and Hua Jiao are universally regarded as worthies. Regardless of how worthy, they could not be turned into farmers and warriors because Bao Jiao dried up to death like a tree while Hua Jiao drowned himself in a river. Therefore, the intelligent should make full use of their disputation to investigate what the ruler wants to investigate; the able should make full use of their conduct to practice what the ruler values as meritorious. Now that the rulers of this time consider useless debates as incisiveness and honour unprofitable activities, seeking in this way to achieve wealth and strength for the state is impossible. The erudite, learned, disputatious, and intelligent people are like Kong [Qiu] and Mo [Di]. However, since Kong and Mo never engaged in agricultural work, what did the state gain from them? People who cultivate filial piety and reduce their desires are like Zeng [Can] and Shi [Qiu]. However, since Zeng and Shi never engaged in offensive warfare, how did the state benefit from them?[17]

察士然後能知之，不可以為令，夫民不盡察。賢者然後能行之，不可以為法，夫民不盡賢。楊朱、墨翟，天下之所察也，干世亂而卒不決，雖察而不可以為官職之令。鮑焦、華角，天下之所賢也，鮑焦木枯，華角赴河，雖賢不可以為耕戰之士。故人主之所察，智士盡其辯焉。人主之所尊，能士盡其行焉。今世主察無用之辯，尊遠功之行，索國之富強，不可得也。博習辯智如孔、墨，孔、墨不耕耨，則國何得焉？修孝寡欲如曾、史，曾、史不戰攻，則國何利焉？(*Han Feizi* 47/140/9-14)

In this *Han Feizi* passage, Yang Zhu and Mozi are similarly portrayed as the most illustrative examples of incisive intellects who attempted to solve the problems of their time with useless disputation, and Zeng and Shi as examples of moral practitioners. Although Yang-Mo is no longer tied up

17   This rendition is modified on the basis of W. K Liao's work (1959) and a translation provided by Christoph Harbsmeier's *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* (http://tls.uni-hd.de/home_en.lasso).

with Zeng-Shi, their respective roles of disputers and practitioners remain the same.[18]

The common feature shared by these passages from the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* is that Yang-Mo always play the role of distinguished disputers and Zeng-Shi of famous moral practitioners. What all the portrayals of Yang-Mo share, including Mencius', is their association with *bian*, as two Yang-Mo passages in the *Mencius* (3B9 and 7B26) also explicitly mention the topic of disputation. However, Mencius' mentioning of Yang-Mo's disputation is outlined in a very different scenario, namely with Yang-Mo and their followers as dangerous opponents with whom the Confucians must dispute. As opposed to the theme of Mencius' portrayal of Yang-Mo (i.e., the perilousness of Yang-Mo's teachings), these non-Mencian descriptions of Yang-Mo (together with Zeng-Shi) focus on their futility and lack of profit. The descriptions in the *Zhuangzi* rather emphasize that they have lost their inborn nature while that in the *Han Feizi* highlights that they contribute nothing to the prosperity of the state. The fact that the same Yang-Mo as useless disputers are described by different texts with variations in contexts might be a sign that this Yang-Mo portrayal was once circulated in various forms. The fluid descriptions were probably the product of the reuse of a basic portrayal adapted to fulfil the needs of different authors. This could explain why among the different textual styles there are several shared formulaic elements, such as the pairing between Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi, the roles of eloquent disputers and moral practitioners, and the theme of uselessness. That is to say, this portrayal had its own history in early China, which was very likely relatively unrelated to Mencius' portrayal, or at least should not be simplified as just one of its imitations or repetitions. This textual fluidity will be discussed later in the next section of this paper.

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18   Here, Yang-Mo and Ru-Mo are related in terms of both being disputatious intellects. In other early and medieval texts, it seems that sometimes Ru-Mo and Yang-Mo are interchangeable. There are similar expressions in *Zhuangzi* 11 and 12 (*Zhuangzi* 11/27/11-12; 12/34/6-7), where both Ru-Mo and Yang-Mo are portrayed as "starting to stride around" (乃始離跂). In a *Zhuangzi* 10 quote in Lu Zhongxuan's 盧重玄 Tang dynasty *Liezi* commentary, the role of Yang-Mo seems to be replaced by Ru-Mo, which is different from the received *Zhuangzi*:

Hence the *Zhuangzi* says: "If we glue up the eyes of Li Zhu, then all the people of the world will acquire a keen vision. If we break the fingers of Carpenter Shu, then all the people of the world will be skillful. If one wants to bring together the learning of Ru and Mo, feeling confident about one's judgment of right and wrong and regarded oneself as profuse…"

故莊子曰：膠離朱之目，故天下皆明矣；戾工輸之指，故天下皆巧矣。合儒墨之學，矜是非之名以為富…(Yang Bojun 1979)

Moreover, Chu Boxiu 褚伯秀 (fl. ca. 1246), in his compiled annotation to the *Zhuangzi*, replaced the pair of Ru-Mo with Yang-Mo in his commentary on *Zhuangzi* 11: "For this very reason we know that what is called sagacious, wise, humane, and righteous may serve as foot chains and manacles; Zeng and Shi and Yang and Mo may also be the useful tools exploitable for Jie and Zhou. (由是知世所謂聖知仁義未必不為桁楊桎梏，曾史楊墨未必不為桀跖利器。)" See Chu 1983.

The role of useless disputers is thus, unsurprisingly, not exclusively played by Yang-Mo. Several early texts also share the same motif (i.e., uselessness) and similar contrast (i.e., the disputers *versus* practitioners), in which the role of Yang-Mo can be replaced by other similar actors, such as Gongsun Long, Huizi, the pair of Ru and Mo, Shen [Dao] 慎道 and Mo, and Hui Shi and Deng Xi 鄧析. All these actors are playing the role of disputers, and sometimes related to the vague thesis of the "hard and white". This disputers-practitioners contrast also sometimes extends to a wider contrast, namely between masters of different fields. In this broader contrast, famous masters such as Li Zhu, Music Master Kuang, and Carpenter Chui are classified according to which sense organ is involved in their skills (see Appendix).

One may consider these descriptions of Yang-Mo to be less informative because the role of disputers can be played by other figures too, and thus the roles themselves seem more important than the actual figures, who turn out to be replaceable. Their informational value is then diminished by the likelihood that they are not an intentionally faithful portrayal of Yang-Mo, but a recurrent theme contingently in the shape of Yang-Mo. However, this conclusion is again caused by a fixation with the factuality of a portrayal, which may not be entire adequate in the case of the *Mencius*. This alternative portrayal may, moreover, be a bit disappointing compared to Mencius' unique portrayal of Yang Zhu promoting "for oneself" and "not pulling out a hair" (7A26) and Mozi "caring equally for all" and "wearing smooth from the crown to the heels" (摩頂放踵, 7A26). In contrast, the portraits of Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* are far from unique descriptions—they could describe any other early debaters. This difference gives the impression that the latter portraits are less informative. However, the metaphors of pulling out hair and wearing smooth one's body are, in fact, also not exclusive to Yang-Mo.[19] If the description about hair nevertheless serves as an informative portrayal of Yang-Mo, why not the role of useless disputers as well? Furthermore, other figures such as Shen Dao, in comparison, would not be expected to have a unique depiction—scholars are more comfortable with Shen Dao merely being one of the seemingly replaceable actors of disputers.

The two abovementioned traits—the futility theme and coupling of Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi—define a type of Yang-Mo portrayal that is distinct from Mencius' characterization. But the ascendancy of Mencius significantly influenced the understanding of Yang-Mo, thus diminishing the status of alternative Yang-Mo portrayals. To fully break through the unquestioned dominance of Mencius' depiction, we still need to reconsider the textual relations between different early portrayals of Yang-Mo.

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19   For the discussion of Yang Zhu and the image of hairs, see Defoort 2018.

Interrelations between the Early Mentions of Yang-Mo

The dominance of Mencius' portrayal of Yang-Mo over that in other texts, including the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, to some extent rests on the assumption of *Mencius*' chronological precedence. Qian Mu explicitly articulated this presupposition in 1935.[20] Being one of the scholars who have noticed that there are also mentions of Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi*, he explained this commonality as "merely owing to the fact that the text [*Zhuangzi*] came after the *Mencius* and adopted the name of Yang-Mo (特其書出《孟子》後，襲用楊墨之名)" (Qian 1994, 286). What Qian expressed here was and has largely remained a prevalent opinion. It relies on the view of *Mencius* as a highly reliable text that can be ascribed to authors of middle Warring States, namely Mencius and his followers. As for the *Zhuangzi*, its Outer and Miscellaneous Chapters are supposed to be produced by the many hands of late Warring States or Western Han (ca. 3–1 cent. BCE) writers.[21] These opinions together could lead to the conclusion that the Yang-Mo passages in the Outer Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* (ch. 8, 10, 12) are later texts that might have been influenced by those in the *Mencius* (3B9, 7A26, 7B26). The same holds for the Yang-Mo passage in the even more reliably dated late Warring States text *Han Feizi* (ch. 47).[22] The interrelations between those Yang-Mo passages, however, can be revisited in the light of some recent studies. To argue that the mentions of Yang-Mo in the *Mencius* may not necessarily be the origin of the others, I discuss three points: the complex composition of the *Mencius*, the location of the Yang-Mo passages in the remarkably homogeneous part of the *Zhuangzi*, and the concept of "open textual culture" as a useful analytical tool.

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20   One other reason might be that Mencius' portrayal is more arresting and better known than the others. Esther Klein's insight into the Inner Chapters of *Zhuangzi* is perhaps again applicable in this case. For scholars working on early texts, it is a habit of mind to consider insightful and refined works as masterpieces by great masters in early times. It is natural to presume the ingenious Mencius' portrayal to be the origin of the relatively less elegant descriptions of Yang-Mo in other texts. However, "a work of genius can arise in almost any time". The elegance of a portrayal could also be a result of later refinement of primitive ones. See Klein, 2011, 306.

21   It is widely accepted that the relatively more coherent Inner Chapters, which are supposed to be the work of the historical Zhuangzi (ca. 369–286 BCE), are a more reliable source of Warring States thought than the other parts of the received *Zhuangzi*. For a reflection of this prevalent opinion, see Klein 2011.

22   According to Bertil Lundahl, there is a group of chapters for which there is external evidence in the *Shiji* 史記 and *Huainanzi* to support Han Fei's (ca. 281–233 BCE) authorship. These "safest" chapters include chapters 11, 12, 22, 30–39, 49, 50. Connecting to the theme of "self-defeating behaviour", which is brought up in the chapter 49, and echoing the topics of several "safest" chapters, *Han Feizi* 47, "Eight Persuasions" 八說, is widely regarded as a chapter written by Han Fei himself. See Lundahl 1992, 139–69.

It is a prevalent opinion that the *Mencius* is a more reliable source of Warring States thought than most transmitted texts. The reason for this, as Michael Hunter (2014) pointed out, is perhaps *Mencius*' consistency in thought and language.[23] However, some scholars considered the composition of the *Mencius* no less complex than other transmitted texts. For example, Bruce and Taeko Brooks argue that the *Mencius* can be more plausibly seen as a text of different layers due to its seeming inconsistencies. In their view, the Yang-Mo passages, which occur in books III and VII of *Mencius*, belong to the latest layer of the text (just before the Chu 楚 conquest of Lu 魯 in 249 BCE) (Brooks and Brooks 2002, 242–43, 256–58), while most scholars regarded them as representative of the historical Mencius. Michael Hunter also contends that at least some fractions of the received *Mencius* can be dated to the Han period (Hunter 2014, 74–75). Even though their views of the dates might also, to different degrees, be problematic, these considerations are sufficient to appreciate the likelihood that the Yang-Mo passages in the *Mencius* may not necessarily predate and thus influence those in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*.

The second point is about the location of the Yang-Mo passages in the received *Zhuangzi*. Compared to the *Mencius* and *Han Feizi*, the received *Zhuangzi* is more obviously an assembly of different groups of material. The division of the *Zhuangzi* into different sections, such as "inner", "outer", and "miscellaneous", has played an essential role in its complex textual history, and the Inner Chapters are conventionally viewed as a more authentic section. Scholars adopting this view, like Qian Mu, might perceive the Yang-Mo passages in the *Zhuangzi*, which are located in the non-Inner Chapters, as less reliable records of the thought of the historical Zhuangzi (ca. 369–286 BCE), who is supposed to have lived approximately at the same time as Mencius.[24] However, this view has been challenged by recent studies (Klein 2011).[25] If the Inner Chapters are not necessarily more privileged, the location of the Yang-Mo passages in the Outer Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* should no longer be a valid reason for considering them as less reliable or less important.

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23   D. C. Lau considers that the *Mencius* is "extraordinarily well preserved" and A. C. Graham believes that it is "unusual among the early philosophical texts in raising no problems of authenticity" (Hunter 2014, 58–59).

24   Qian mistrusted the Yang-Mo passages in the *Zhuangzi* for their being in the Outer and Miscellaneous Chapters (外雜諸篇), which are clearly not written by a single hand and in a single period. In contrast, the Inner Chapters (內篇), which are considered to be written by the historical Zhuangzi, seem more reliable and only mention the pair of Ru-Mo (Qian 1994, 285).

25   Esther Klein proposed the possibility that the Inner Chapters did not exist before Liu An's 劉安 (c. 179–122 BC) compilation of the *Huainanzi*, for most of the textual parallels of the *Zhuangzi* found in other earlier texts are from the Outer and Miscellaneous instead of the Inner Chapters.

Scholars have also noted that the three mentions of Yang-Mo in *Zhuangzi* chapters 8, 10, and 12 come from a group of texts that are generally considered among the most coherent parts of the received *Zhuangzi* (Graham 2001, 197).[26] Going by similarities in terms and topics, many scholars believe that this homogeneous corpus could be attributed to a single (group of) author(s) (Luo 1958, 284–88; Guan 1961, 319–58; Zhang 1983; Graham 2003; Liu 2003, 84–88, 134–47; Baggio 2014). This homogeneity encourages scholars to treat this group of texts as a coherent textual unit. Most of their discussions rest upon the belief that texts with similar traits could be dated to the same period. Accordingly, they tend to perceive similar phrases (such as "Yang-Mo") and textual parallels found in presumably more reliable texts whose dates are more established (such as the *Han Feizi*) as the evidence to determine the date of this textual unit (Luo 1958, 284–88; Graham 2003, 84; Baggio 2014, 13–18; Li 2018). However, as Esther Klein has pointed out, the complex nature of the received *Zhuangzi* as a compiled, edited and often rearranged text suggests the possibility that its coherence and consistency may be due to the editing process (Klein 2011, 310). We should avoid over-interpreting the textual consistency as a sign of single authorship, and thus dating the entire textual group in the same period. An alternative is to consider these similarities as the result of a compilation in which similar texts were selected, assembled, or edited on the basis of their primitive forms. To more clearly explain what I mean by "primitive forms", I refer to the concept of "open text".

Qian Mu considered that the mentions of Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* are the "adoption and continuation" (襲用) of Mencius' original combination of Yang-Mo. However, this kind of thinking, according to Du Heng's research, is perhaps a view "applying the logic of closed texts onto a largely open textual culture" (Du 2018, 25). In her dissertation, Du pointed out that there are two different ways of imagining early textual cultures, namely, a world of "open texts" whose contents are substantially fluid and adaptable, and that of "closed texts", whose contents are already "packaged together and stabilized as an integral whole" (ibid., 23).[27] A text is "open" when "the majority of its users are not preoccupied with its faithful reproduction", whereas a text is "closed" when "the majority of textual producers are concerned with its accurate replication" (ibid., 11).[28] As a result, concepts such

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26   As A. C. Graham pointed out, "Within the medley of a book called Chuang-tzu, there is one other writer with an identity as distinctive as that of the Chuang-tzu who wrote the Inner Chapters. He is the author who wrote the first three Outer Chapters (chapters 8–10) and the introductory essay of the fourth, whom we shall call the "Primitivist"" (Graham 2001, 197).

27   Du borrowed and modified this terminology from Gerald Bruns. In Brun's meaning, a closed text is "the results of an act of writing that has reached a final form" (Bruns 1980, 113).

28   Accordingly, the users-producers of open texts are mainly interested in "making use of this pre-existing text to fulfill different needs in their own contexts". The users of closed texts, instead, are absorbed in "preserving the text itself, often associating it with an earlier production context (real or imagined)" (Du 2018, 11).

as "authenticity", "citation", and "imitation" of a text are only meaningful in closed textual culture. Du also identified the problem that the current view of early texts has to a degree been influenced by how closed texts are expected to behave, even though pre-imperial Chinese texts were mostly open and did not circulate like modern books.

An alternative way to view the mentions of Yang-Mo in early texts can largely benefit from insights formulated by Du Heng on the nature of open *versus* closed texts. The Yang-Mo passages in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, as explored in the previous section, were very likely once open texts since there are many formulaic repetitions among them and similar passages in other early texts. A possible way of imagining the formation history of these Yang-Mo passages from their primitive forms as a "primordial soup" (ibid., 4) of open texts to their final form as closed texts goes as follow. In Table 1, I distinguish between four different stages of development. In the first stage, there were independently circulating textual units about thinkers who are associated with disputation, and some users-producers of these open texts specified these disputers as Yang-Mo. Next, these Yang-Mo open texts were adapted into two different types, namely, the portrayal of Yang-Mo as a dangerous threat and unprofitable disputers; these may have been the sources of what is known as, respectively, Mencius' portrayal and the Zhuangzian-Hanfeizian portrayal of Yang-Mo. The third stage is a transitional period when these Yang-Mo texts were adapted and packaged with other texts to form different kinds of relatively stabilized texts (namely, Confucian and the so-called "Daoist" or "Legalist" texts). That is to say, they were gradually finalized as the form that is perhaps very close to their current one in the received texts. I call the texts at this stage closing texts because they might not yet have been considered by their composers and users as closed texts attributable to particular authors. In the final stage, they were eventually completely closed with the help of not only the functioning of "para-text" (namely, author name and chapter and book title) but also accredited repetitions (namely, references and citations) from other texts.[29]

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29   Du uses "para-text" to refer to "the textual elements that produce the body authorial". These elements are often the devices that are "employed to identify, circumscribe, and stabilize a textual unit against the backdrop of ever present tendencies toward variation", and reflect "the wishes and efforts of the human agents involved the textual productions in any medium". This term was coined by Gérard Genette. In his original use, it refers to the textual elements, such as the title, author name, and preface, that surround the main text (Genette 1997, 1–2; Du 2018, 2, 26–27; 2019, 264).

Table 1

primordial soup of open texts (pre-Imperial China)	open texts about Yang-Mo (or other thinkers) associated with disputation		
	open texts about Yang-Mo as dangerous debating rivals	open texts about Yang-Mo (or other thinkers) as unprofitable disputers	
closing texts (relatively stabilized packaged texts)	closing texts about Yang-Mo as threats to the Confucians	closing texts about Yang-Mo as masters who have lost their inborn nature	closing texts about Yang-Mo as masters contribute little to the prosperity of the state
closed texts (Imperial China)	Yang-Mo passages as the part of the *Mencius* (3B9, 7A26, 7B26); with accredited repetitions in the *Fayan*, *Lunheng*, and *Fengsu Tongyi*	Yang-Mo passages as the part of the *Zhuangzi* (ch. 8, 10, 12)	Yang-Mo passage as the part of the *Han Feizi* (ch. 47)

To reconsider the question of whether the mentions of Yang-Mo in the *Mencius* influenced those in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, it seems that we should not regard the interrelations between them as what has been described as "reception" or "intertextuality". In the alternative model, the interrelations already occurred at the stage when they were open. Therefore, the best possible deduction from it is that some pre-existing open texts about Yang-Mo already existed before the compilation of these received texts. We should admit some degree of uncertainty about the various dates of these emerging texts and our inability to answer the question of which Yang-Mo portrayal is the earliest and most original.[30] With this admission, our readings of the Yang-Mo passages in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* will be less troubled by the seductive but indeterminable question of whether these mentions of Yang-Mo came after and were influenced by the ones in the *Mencius*.

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30   Even if we were able to answer the question of whether the Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* post-dates that in the *Mencius*, the premise that the earlier instance of a term is the source of the latter one would still be problematic. It is equally possible that these mentions are unrelated incidents or joint effects of a common cause—perhaps the real prominence of these two schools at that time is the common cause of the mentions of Yang-Mo in different texts (but for some reasons the number of mentions is limited). In any case, it seems that it is nearly impossible to prove that the Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* is influenced by that in the *Mencius*.

Conclusion: Yang-Mo beyond Mencius' Portrayal

In our re-examination of the Yang-Mo passages, we found that the images of Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* are unique due to both their accusation of useless verbal disputation and the coupling of sophists and moral-practitioners. We also realized that an unbiased reading of these Yang-Mo portraits could only be arrived at with effort due to the profound and variegated influences of Mencius' depiction. Unfamiliarity with Yang-Mo as sophists may be the result of the unconscious acceptance of Mencius' depiction of them as advocates of extreme egoism and altruism. Or we might, like Qian Mu, be suspicious of Mencius' portrayal but still retain its special status as the prototype for other early descriptions. These influences have marginalized a unique type of Yang-Mo portrayal that once dynamically circulated in an open textual culture. Like the blind men figuring out the nature of an elephant, we can learn when opening up to a variety of views and experiences. It is certainly unwise to privilege one individual's perception without accepting new experiences. How much more so in the case of learning and conceptualizing a historical pair of masters from the remote past for whose existence there is so little textual evidence.

Appendix: Fragments with the Shared Motif of Uselessness and the Shared Contrast ("Disputers-Practitioners" or "Disputers-Practitioners-Experts")

Text	Disputatious intellects	(Im)moral practitioners	Other masters
Zhuangzi 8 "Webbed Toes" 駢拇	Yang and Mo 楊墨 (disputation 辯, the "hard and white" and the "same and different" 堅白同異)	Zeng and Shi 曾史 (humaneness 仁); Bo Yi and Robber Zhi 伯夷盜跖	Li Zhu 離朱 (keen eyesight 明); Music Master Kuang 師曠 (keen hearing 聰)
	go awry and indulge in humane and righteous deeds and be crafty in the use of keen hearing and eyesight 淫僻於仁義之行、多方於聰明之用; humane and righteous conduct 仁義之操; practices of perversity and excess 淫僻之行		
Zhuangzi 10 "Ransacking Coffers" 胠篋	the mouths of Yang and Mo 楊墨之口	the deeds of Zeng and Shi 曾史之行	the ears of the blind-musician Kuang 瞽曠之耳 (keen hearing 聰); the eyes of Li Zhu 離朱之目 (keen eyesight 明); the fingers of Carpenter Chui 工倕之指 (dexterity 巧)
	[only when] humaneness and righteousness are discarded will the virtues of all under Heaven be intermingled into obscurity 攘棄仁義，而天下之德始玄同		

Zhuangzi 11 "Preserving and Accepting" 在宥	all the Ru and Mo arouse 儒墨畢起; it was then that Ru and Mo started striding around and flipping back their sleeves among fetters and manacles 儒墨乃始離跂攘臂乎桎梏之間	the deeds of Robber Zhi and Zeng and Shi 盜跖、曾史之行; on the lower part there were Jie and Zhou, on the upper part there were Zeng and Shi 下有桀跖上有曾史	
Zhuangzi 12 "Heaven and Earth" 天地	Yang and Mo were starting to put on airs and think that they had achieved something 楊墨乃始離跂自以為得	Though there may be a divergence in the practice of righteousness between Jie and Zhi and Zeng and Shi, they are the same in terms of having lost their original nature 跖與曾史，行義有間矣，然其失性均	
Han Feizi 41 "An Enquiry about Disputes" 問辯	although their sayings are extremely incisive 言雖至察; regarding convoluted as accurate and broad culture as discrimination 以難知為察，以博文為辯; the words of the "hard and white" and the "widthlessness" 堅白無厚之詞	although their deeds are highly determined 行雖至堅; considering difference from the masses as talent, and opposition to superiors as resilience 以離群為賢，以犯上為抗; men wearing the garments of Ru and girding the swords of the cavaliers 儒服帶劍者	
Han Feizi 47 "Eight Theories" 八說	Yang Zhu and Mo Di 楊朱墨翟 (incisive 察, understanding 知); the intelligent 智士; useless debates 無用之辯; Kong and Mo 孔墨 (erudite, learned, disputatious, intelligent 博習辯智)	Bao Jiao and Hua Jiao 鮑焦華角 (worthy 賢, practicing 行); the able 能士; unprofitable activities 遠功之行; Zeng and Shi 曾史 (cultivating filial piety and reducing desires 修孝欲寡)	
Xunzi 8 "The Teachings of the Ru" 儒效	What gentlemen would call "wise; disputatious; incisive" (…) Causing Shen [Dao] and Mo [Di] to make no progress in disseminating their doctrines, or causing Hui Shi and Deng Xi not to insinuate artfully their investigations. 君子之所謂知/辯/察者(…)慎墨不得進其談，惠施鄧析不敢竄其察	What gentlemen would call "worthy" 君子之所謂賢者	

Zhuangzi 2 "Qiwulun" 齊物論	Huizi 惠子 (leaning against the parasol trees 據梧)		Zhao Wen 昭文 (playing zithe 鼓琴) Master Kuang 師曠 (beating rhythm with a stick 枝策)
	三子之知幾乎(…)以堅白之昧終 The intelligence of these three masters was virtually complete (…) some ended their days in the obscurities of the discussion of the "hard and white".		
Huainanzi 11 "Placing Customs on a Par" 齊俗訓	Gongsun Long, who always refutes a disputation and counters an argument, who differentiates between the same and the different and the hard and the white, cannot share his course with the masses 公孫龍折辯抗辭，別同異，離堅白，不可與眾同道也	The Northerner Wu Ze, who condemned Shun and threw himself into the abyss of Qingling, cannot serve as the model of the world. 北人無擇非舜而自投清泠之淵，不可以為世儀	Chang Hong and Music Master Kuang, who foretell fortune and predict without failure, cannot share the same job as the masses. Luban and Mozi, who carved the wood to make a kite and flew it and the kite did not come down for three days, cannot not be made carpenters. 萇弘師曠，先知禍福，言無遺策，而不可與眾同職。魯般墨子以木為鳶而飛之，三日不集，而不可使為工也。

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SPECIAL ISSUE:
THE MANIFOLD IMAGES
OF ASIAN HISTORY

Modern Chinese Intellectual History

Shadowlands of Objectivism and Comprehensiveness: An Introduction to Key Concepts in Zhang Shenfu's Philosophical Thought (1919–1948)[1]

Jan VRHOVSKI *

Abstract

The article aims at presenting an overview of the main concepts in the philosophical thought of Zhang Shenfu, one of the leading intellectuals from Republican China (1912–1949). The study sets out from a brief summary of Zhang's intellectual achievements, and proceeds by offering a more concise picture of the main influences, developmental stages and finally also central ideas of Zhang's thought. By offering a general view on the concrete confluences and dissonances between the keystones of Zhang's philosophy on one side, and its alleged sources in Western and Chinese philosophy on the other, this study further aims at presenting a new insight into the unique characteristics of Zhang's philosophy. At the same time, by setting the discussion on Zhang's philosophy in a broader context of contemporary intellectual discourse, the article also endeavours to establish a tentative basis for the future critical analyses and potential revaluations of Zhang Shenfu's role in intellectual history of modern China.

Keywords: Zhang Shenfu, objectivism, comprehensiveness, Modern Chinese philosophy, dialectical materialism, Western science, mathematical logic

Mejna območja objektivizma in vseobsežnosti: uvod h ključnim pojmom filozofske misli Zhang Shenfuja (1919–1948)

Izvleček

Članek podaja pregled osrednjih pojmov v filozofski misli Zhang Shenfuja, enega pomembnejših kitajskih intelektualcev iz republikanskega obdobja (1912–1949). Študija poda kratek povzetek Zhangovih intelektualnih dosežkov, celovitejšo sliko glavnih vplivov in razvojnih stopenj ter osrednje ideje Zhangove filozofske misli. S splošnim pogledom na

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konkretna sovpadanja in razhajanja med temeljnimi pojmi Zhangove filozofije na eni strani ter njenimi domnevnimi viri v zahodni in kitajski filozofiji na drugi poskuša ta študija predstaviti nove vpoglede v edinstvene značilnosti Zhangove filozofije. Z umestitvijo razprave o Zhangovi filozofiji v širši kontekst sodobnega intelektualnega diskurza želi članek hkrati vzpostaviti začasno osnovo za prihodnje kritične analize in morebitna ponovna ovrednotenja Zhang Shenfujeve vloge v intelektualni zgodovini moderne Kitajske.

Ključne besede: Zhang Shenfu, objektivizem, obširnost, moderna kitajska filozofija, dialektični materializem, zahodna znanost, matematična logika

Introduction

Zhang Shenfu 張申府 (1893–1986), originally called Songnian 崧年, was an important Chinese intellectual, who contributed greatly to the propagation of Western science, analytical philosophy and dialectical materialism in 1920s and 1930s China. As an important member of the May Fourth intellectual elite, he took part in shaping of the left-oriented intellectual movement at Peking University. As a close colleague of Li Dazhao, Zhang was a senior member of the communist movement in Beijing and a cofounder of the CPC (Communist Party of China). Having been a notoriously outspoken and prolific writer, and later also as an important member of the first modern Department of Philosophy at Qinghua University (between 1929 and 1936), Zhang played an important role in the processes of the dissemination and establishment of Western modern philosophy in Republican China.

In the intellectual history of modern China, Zhang has generally been credited for pioneering contributions to the introduction and propagation of the philosophy of Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein in the 1920s and early 1930s.[2] To a minor degree, Zhang has also been credited for his general introduction of Freud's psychoanalysis in the early 1920s,[3] and the earliest introduction of the philosophy

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2   Thus, for example: Wen and Cui (2001, 359–66).

3   As an example of first introduction Jiang and Ivanhoe (2013, 26–28) mention Zhang's article "Social Questions (*Shehui wenti* 社會問題)" from 1922, which written and published during his stay in Paris. Allegedly in 1922, Zhang attended Freud's lectures at the University of Paris (Zhang 1993, 99). However, Zhang was already interested in modern psychology back in the late 1910s, mainly due to his impression that Russell also had a deep interest in psychology. Thus, in 1920 he published an abridged translation of Russell's essay "The Modern Science of Psychology (*Jindai xinlixue* 近代心理學)" in the New Youth, which also mentioned Freud's psychoanalysis.

of the Vienna School (early 1930s), in particular the thought of Rudolf Carnap.[4] Above all, he is given credit for his support for the philosophy of Russell and Wittgenstein—he also created the first translation of the latter's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* into Chinese.[5] However, maybe the most important of all Zhang's contributions to the development of the discourse of modern science and philosophy in China was his early dissemination of the notion of mathematical logic, followed by his many-year long lecturing about Russell's mathematical logic at most prestigious Chinese universities, such as Peking and Qinghua. Zhang was also the first Chinese philosopher to have organized a specialized course on mathematical logic, Russell or Wittgenstein at any Chinese university.[6]

Beside biographical accounts, all that still bears testimony about Zhang's active role in the intellectual developments of the 1920s and 1930s has been preserved in a relatively rich corpus of his philosophical writings. His collected works reveal both what may have been the main reason why Zhang was erased from the historical archives of mathematical logic in China, as well as the manner in which Zhang actually propagated philosophical and scientific ideas from the West. Apart from numerous translations of works by Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Rudolf Carnap, and the like, the main corpus of Zhang's writings that touched upon either modern philosophy or mathematical logic was written in form of philosophical meditations, through which Zhang expounded either on matters of a practical, political nature or his own philosophical worldview. Throughout Zhang's opus from the 1920s and 1930s, a general notion of mathematical logic usually occurred alongside the main collection of other key ideas, which Zhang adopted from Russell, dialectical materialism, Vienna School or traditional Chinese cosmology and ethical thought. In this sense, Zhang's comprehensive, syncretistic philosophical outlook was also the main means of his propagation and dissemination of the above-mentioned ideas.

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4   Together with his younger brother Zhang Dainian 張岱年 (1909–2004). See, for example Jiang Yi (2009).

5   The translation titled *Mingli lun* 名理論 (*Luoji-zhexue lun* 邏輯哲學論) was published in two parts in the *Xiandai pinglun* 現代評論, in 1927 and 1928.

6   The nature of his role in the history of mathematical logic in China is still a matter of discussion. The majority of historical surveys on this subject either do not recognise Zhang's role at all or only briefly mention him as the first proponent of Russell's philosophy in China. As examples thereof, see Zhou and Zhou 1989, 1–25; Zhou 2004, 398–406; Lin and Zhang 1983; Shi and Zeng 1998; and Song 2000. This trend has been reversed only recently by the study of Su and Dai (2019), who in their article "Zhang Shenfu's Contribution to Early Dissemination of Mathematical Logic in China (Zhang Shenfu dui shuli luoji zai Zhongguo zaoqi chuanbo de gongxian 張申府對數理邏輯在中國早期傳播的貢獻)" delivered a non-critical overview of Zhang's publications and translations from the 1920s and 1930s, set into the framework of Zhang's own autobiographical accounts of that period.

When it came to his contribution to the development of mathematical logic as a scientific discipline, he was first and foremost one of the leading propagators of the *notion* of mathematical logic, which he communicated through his version of an all-encompassing and profoundly pragmatic scientific worldview. Even when, in the final years of the 1920s, he started lecturing at the prestigious Qinghua University, teaching the first ever courses devoted explicitly to mathematical logic and Russell in China, he applied the same approach in these lectures as in his philosophical meditations.[7] Zhang tended to explain concepts from mathematical logic from an everyday perspective, intertwined with problems from contemporary politics and ethics, as well as the general scientific outlook. Furthermore, in the early 1930s the content of his lectures on logic also gained a strong political undertone, due to his ardent advocacy of dialectical materialism and then philosophical conviction that mathematical logic and dialectical materialism could be combined into one, on the other.

Zhang's philosophical attempt to create a synthesis between two contesting currents in contemporary Chinese philosophy, namely dialectical materialism and analytic philosophy (or more specifically dialectical method and mathematical logic), also constituted the main reason behind Zhang's rise as one of the most important leftist intellectuals in the early 1930s. Thus, the unofficial Marxist historiographer from the period, Guo Zhanbo 郭湛波 (original name Guo Haiqing 郭海清, 1905–1989), recognized Zhang's attempt to bridge dialectical materialism and mathematical logic as an important phase in (the Marxist vision of) the development of logical method in China[8] (Guo 1965, 225–32).[9] While this philosophical outlook, which constituted the main source of his intellectual renown in the 1930s, represented the second phase of Zhang's intellectual development, similar efforts to interlink social and political reform with the main results of Western science, and to synthesize a socialist vision of society with analytical natural science, had already been at the forefront of his endeavours in the 1920s. Looking from the perspective of later political developments, one might conjecture that Zhang's main contribution to intellectual development in Republican China was his tireless advocacy of the profound theoretical compatibility

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7   His tendency to translate logical concepts into simple, everyday terms, and his strong impetus towards illuminating the interrelatedness of theory and practice, made his lectures on logic the most popular and well-attended class at the department (Sun 1988, 30).

8   Apparently, this was an important agenda of leftist intellectuals at the time, especially given the fact that logical treaties were among the rare English texts that were read even by Mao Zedong himself (Tian 2019, 18).

9   I am referring to Guo's work *Chinese Intellectual History in the Last Fifty Years* (*Jin wushi nian Zhongguo sixiangshi* 近五十年中國思想史), which was first published in 1935. Guo was also a former student of Zhang.

between Marxist philosophy on one side, and analytic philosophy and traditional Chinese thought on the other. Through his philosophy, for more than two decades Zhang made great efforts at convincing the young Chinese Marxists of the immense importance of things like "mathematical logic", comprehensiveness and greater objectivism for all future constructions of Chinese society.[10] It is not only due to his key role and influence within the course of intellectual developments of the 1920s and 30s, but also due to the extreme relevancy of Zhang's philosophical thought in a broader temporal perspective, that his ideas ought to be considered as important for our understanding of the modern China.

Besides Zhang's intellectual extravagance, one of the main reasons why his philosophy went widely unnoticed for so many decades is related to his gradual academic and political demise which followed his arrest and—politically motivated—expulsion from Qinghua University in 1936.[11] Following the events of 1936, the academic persona of Zhang Shenfu started slowly fading into obscurity,[12] while his political demise was completed in 1948, when he was finally banished from the circles of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and declared the enemy of the people by the Guomindang (GMD, KMT).[13] The affair of 1948 was also the main reason why, for many decades following the establishment of the People's Republic (PRC), both his philosophy and contribution to the establishment of mathematical logic in China were almost completely forgotten. Zhang's life and thought were rediscovered only in 1979, and only as a result of his interviews with Vera Schwarcz (see Schwarcz 1992).

Consequently, from the early 1980s on, numerous studies devoted to Zhang Shenfu's philosophy started to emerge in Chinese academic circles. The first substantial act of rediscovery happened with the publication of *The Collected Scholarly Writings of Zhang Shenfu* (*Zhang Shenfu xueshu lunwenji* 张申府學術論文集) in

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10   Zhang allegedly recruited both Zhou Enlai and Zhu De into the Chinese Communist cells he established in Paris and Berlin. When Mao Zedong was working as an apprentice at the Peking University Library, Zhang was his supervisor. Later, in the late 1930s, Mao wrote letters of reverence to Zhang, and in the early 1940s met with him on several occasions during his visits in Chongqing (Meng 2014, 23).

11   Zhang was arrested on charges of having participated in the 1936 student protests in Beijing, which broke out in the aftermath of the December 9th Movement (1935).

12   Following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 Zhang served as a member of the People's Political Council, until in 1940 he renounced the position after a conflict with the Council's President Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石. After that he assumed the post of the editor-in-chief of the government' periodical *Wartime Culture* (*Zhanshi wenhua* 戰時文化) (Zhang 1993, 114–15). Ultimately Zhang ended up working again in the library of the Peking University.

13   The reason for this was the publication of his article "An Appeal for Peace (Huyu heping 呼籲和平)", which became the target of fierce criticism by the Party.

1985. However, the most important studies on Zhang Shenfu's philosophy started to appear only in the late 1990s.[14] The following decade saw a further increase in the number of Chinese studies on Zhang's philosophy.[15] However, as indicated by Guo Qiyong (2018, 324) in his book *Studies on Contemporary Chinese Philosophy* (*1949–2009*): in numerous publications on Zhang Shenfu that were published in the last four decades "the inner logic of his dialectical materialism, his incorporation of traditional Chinese thought … into his philosophy, and his integration of Western logic and analytic philosophy into dialectical materialism remain relatively unexplored".

This article thus intends to provide a new attempt at grasping Zhang's incorporation and integration of Western and Chinese thought, by presenting an overview of a few main concepts or keywords that constantly reoccur in his writings in the period between 1919 and 1948. Secondly, this study will try to tentatively link these concepts either to their original sources or major events in the contemporary Chinese intellectual world. Apart from "comprehensiveness", which is the thread connecting his entire philosophy, the article will closely examine the notions of "pure" or "greater objectivism", "dialectical materialism", "logical" and "dialectical analysis" and "concrete relativism" in Zhang's philosophy. Zhang's notion of mathematical logic, which is essential for our understanding of not only his philosophy but also of the early development of this scientific discipline in China, will be discussed in a separate study. This article is therefore intended as a preliminary study to subsequent critical discussions on the content and value of Zhang Shenfu's philosophy.

We shall first take a closer look at three main influences in Zhang's intellectual development.

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14   For example: in 1997, the essay entitled "Zhang Shenfu's Philosophical Thought (Zhang Shenfu de zhexue sixiang 张申府的哲學思想)" was written by his younger brother Zhang Dainian and published as a chapter of his book *Culture Clash and Cultural Fusion* (*Wenhua de chongtu yu ronghe* 文化的衝突與融合). Li Weiwu 李維武 devoted an entire chapter of his doctoral dissertation entitled "Ontological Questions in Twentieth-Century Chinese Philosophy (Ershi shiji Zhongguo zhexue bentilun wenti 二十世紀中國哲學本體論問題)" to an in-depth analysis of the main pillars of Zhang Shenfu's philosophy.

15   Among most notable publications was the book *Exploring the New Culture of Modern China: A Study of Zhang Shenfu's Thought* (*Xiandai Zhongguo xin wenhua de tansuo: Zhang Shenfu sixiang yanjiu* 現代中國新文化的探索：張申府思想的研究) by Guo Yiqu 郭一曲 (2002). Zhang's philosophy was also analysed in Guo's article "Analytical Dialectical Materialism: Zhang Shenfu's Philosophical Thought (Jiexi de bianzheng weiwu zhuyi: Zhang Shenfu de zhexue sixiang 解析的辨證唯物論：張申府的哲學思想)" (2001).

The Three Influences: Chinese Tradition, Russell and Dialectical Materialism

Even though between 1919 and 1949 Zhang produced a considerable number of texts, covering a wide array of different questions and topics, it is extremely difficult to distil a comprehensive image of his philosophy from these. One of the main reasons for this is that in the vast majority of cases Zhang's views were conveyed through concepts adopted from philosophers like Russell. Works that would offer a profound and broad insight into the whole picture of his world of ideas are thus extremely rare. Even his central philosophical work, *Reflections* (*Suosi* 所思) (1931), consists only of fragments, a concatenation of more or less abstract flashes of thought. Moreover, in his entire career Zhang did not produce a single original text on mathematical logic, mathematics or any other fields he had been concerned with academically, but rather devoted all his energy to the dissemination of individual concepts or "keywords" related to his scientific worldview, usually in concrete political or social contexts. It was quite probable that Zhang himself was also fully aware of this shortcoming of his philosophical repertoire, which was the reason why, in 1945, almost a decade after he was discharged from his post as a professor of logic and Western philosophy at Qinghua University, he composed an article entitled "My Own Philosophy (Wo ziji de zhexue 我自己的哲學)" (1945a).

However, a closer look at Zhang's writings from the period between early 1920s up to the late 1940s reveals three main sources behind his ideas: Russell's scientific worldview, traditional Chinese thought (Confucianism and ancient cosmology), and dialectical materialism. According to his focus at the time, Zhang's thought can be divided into three major periods: In the first, which stretched from late 1910s, when he arrived at Peking University, down to around 1928, Zhang's thought revolved around a specific version of Western scientific worldview as advocated by Bertrand Russell. In the second period, which started in late 1920s and lasted until the end of his academic career in 1936, Zhang turned his attention towards dialectical materialism, combining it with notions from Russell's philosophy, ideas related to the Vienna School, Wittgenstein, and philosophical concepts from Chinese tradition. Zhang's ideas from the first half of this period were summarized in his *Reflections* (1931). Finally, following his expulsion from academia, the orientation of Zhang's philosophical thought underwent another drastic transformation. Thus, from around 1936 until his political demise in 1948, Zhang's focus shifted to the idea of "new enlightenment" (*xin qimeng* 新啓蒙),[16] democracy and the advancement of science in China.

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16   After he was released from prison in 1936, Zhang and his friend Chen Boda 陳伯達 (1904–1989) started what became known as the New Enlightenment Movement (see: Schwarcz 1986, 222–30).

In addition to ideas from the above-mentioned three main sources, throughout his entire academic and political career Zhang's thought was defined by his persistent tendency towards comprehensiveness. Zhang's incessant effort to create harmonic syntheses between seemingly antagonistic principles, concepts or theories, was not just a standpoint or an attitude Zhang had consciously decided to adopt, but rather a perspective inherent in traditional Chinese cosmological (in Confucianism a "onto-moral") outlook, a harmonistic holism founded on the idea of complementary dialectics—the concept of "equilibrium" (*zhongyong* 中庸, formerly compared to the idea of "the [unprejudiced golden] mean"),[17] "humaneness" (*ren* 仁, also translated as "benevolence; humanity"), and so on. On the other hand, however, in the intellectual developments following the May Fourth period such syncretistic visions were not exactly typical of the so-called "modern" attitudes towards the future Chinese identity. The idea of synthesizing, for example, Western scientific (material) civilization and Chinese spiritual civilization, had been more prevalent in the earlier period, when such harmonization was considered necessary within a profoundly evolutionary perspective. Even though, as we have said, this might have well been an inherently traditional way of cosmological thinking, a more direct source for Zhang's preference for, as it were, "dialectical harmonization", might have been Zhang's senior colleague and former teacher of logic Zhang Shizhao 章士釗 (1881–1973).[18] In fact, Zhang Shenfu's autobiographical accounts suggest that even his interest in logic as well as his attitude towards terminology and significantly antiquated style of "logical writing" might have as well been the result of Zhang Shizhao's influence (Zhang 1993, 72–77).[19]

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17   Zhang also spoke about "proportionality" or "proper measure" (*fencun* 分寸), which he also equated to emotional temperance, "authentic good" (*zhen shan* 真善) and "beauty" or "excellence" (*mei* 美) (Zhang 2005 III, 184–85).

18   In his political writings, published in the Tiger magazine(s) from 1914 on, Zhang developed a harmonistic (*xiehe* 協和) theory of evolution, which stipulated the harmonic unity between the mutually opposed Western and Eastern culture as the main condition for the "evolutionary preservation" of both. Zhang further adopted the traditional concept of the mean (*zhong* 中) to explain the necessity for a synergetic relationship between the antagonistic factors in the universe (see Guo 2000). In parallel to his philosophical views, Zhang Shizhao espoused a universalistic notion of logic, which also entailed the universal application of knowledge across cultures. See: Zhang Shizhao's *Essentials of Logic* (*Luoji zhiyao* 邏輯指要)—the manuscript for the book, which was first published in 1939, was originally completed in 1917. Zhang Shizhao's harmonistic views on logic and science were also summed up in his speech for 20th anniversary of the university (Guoli Beijing daxue 1918, 15).

19   On the early nature and impact of Zhang Shizhao's "logical writing style" (*luoji wen* 邏輯文), see Kurtz 2020.

The above-mentioned inclination to philosophical comprehensiveness was already present in Zhang's early thought.[20] If in the early 1920s this innate proclivity of Zhang's was still working in service of his fervent devotion to Russell and "all things scientific", his priorities changed in the years following the polemic on science and the view on life (*kexue yu renshengguan* 科學與人生觀)[21] which developed in 1923. Generally speaking, this debate caused yet another schism in the Chinese intellectual climate, which had always been quite prone to dichotomic self-representation. The new dilemma had been set out by Zhang Junmai 張君勱 (1887–1969), who proceeded from a notion of the bipartite division of world-philosophy, to a dichotomic division between science and views on life (Nelson 2020, 183), or in other words, between objective and subjective systems of knowledge. In this Zhang Junmai on the one hand reconfirmed the old paradigm of the innate subjectivity of Chinese thought, yet on the other established a relation between Chinese thought and intuition, comprehensiveness, free will and, most importantly, the cultivation of the inner self with a strong emphasis on the uniqueness of an individual's mind (*xin* 心), or psyche (Zhang Junmai et al. 1997, 33–40), Thus, in the second half of the 1920s, Zhang's profound desire to harmonize pairs of irreconcilable poles became stronger than ever. His battle to overcome the division between the subjective and objective, which was catalysed by his explorations of Freudian psychoanalysis and growing passion for materialist dialectics, led him to scrutinize his former image of Russell, and to conclude that his "logical analysis" represented only one side of the "cosmological coin".[22] Consequently, in the second half of the 1920s he developed his own solution to the

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20   For instance: during Russell's visit in China, in 1921, in an essay "My Reservations about Russell" Zhang's long-standing friend Liang Shuming warned against "quests for an all-encompassing, comprehensive philosophy" such as the one pursued by Zhang. Liang went on to add:
Truths attained through such comprehensive philosophies might sound good. Indeed, they appear to be perfect in their claim to certainty. But the real truth is always more complex. It is neither as pleasant nor as fine sounding as Russell likes to claim. A scholar is an expert only in his own field. Outside of it, he is just a commoner. Zhang Shenfu is right in saying that "Today's philosophy belongs either to the Russell's school of to that of Bergson". One is a leader in rationalism, the other is a leader in non-rational thought. (Schwarcz 1991/2, 138)

21   The chief representative of the pro-science side in the debate, Ding Wenjiang 丁文江 (1887–1936) alternatively called the debate "Science and Metaphysics" (*Kexue yu xuanxue* 科學與玄學).

22   In a conversation with V. Schwarcz, Zhang admitted that:
Russell, you see, ended up so one-sided in his philosophical outlook. His philosophy is useful in seeing only discrete parts of a problem. I wanted to think about the whole. In many ways Russell was biased. He opposed materialism. But materialism and idealism are just two sides of the same coin. Materialism does not see the mind (*xin* 心) while idealism fails to appreciate outward realities. My own philosophy seeks for a more comprehensive view of experience, for a more thorough realism, for an expansive objectivity. (Schwarcz 1991/2, 143)

objectivist dichotomies bothering the minds of his fellow countrymen, a method or epistemological theory which he chose to call "pure objectivism".

Apart from "comprehensiveness", the core of Zhang's philosophy consisted of various concepts, principles or perspectives extracted from the three main sources set out above. At the same time, at a macroscopic level, Zhang's philosophy was also a synthesis between three kinds of worldviews. Thus, when it came to his affinity with Russell's philosophy, Zhang did not simply adopt particular ideas, but rather the form of scientific worldview or objectivity which was conveyed through the Russell's thought. In Zhang's understanding, all aspects of Russell's thought were founded on pure scientific facts, derived with the help of most advanced scientific methods and theories of the time, above all else mathematical logic and relativistic physics.[23] He believed that the essence of Russell's thought resided in mathematical logic, which in itself was a harmonic fusion between mathematics and logic.[24] Furthermore, in Zhang's understanding, Russell's main philosophical method, which he chose to call the "logico-analytical method" or "logical analysis", was derived directly from mathematical logic. Back in 1920, when Zhang was preparing the stage for his mentor's arrival in China, he described Russell and his work in the following manner:

> Russell is currently the world's leading mathematical philosopher, who greatly contributed to the founding of a most splendid new learning (i.e. mathematical logic (*shuli luoji* 數理邏輯), also called symbolic logic (*jihao luoji* 記號邏輯) or logistic (*luojisitike* 邏輯斯諦科)), which inaugurated a new period in the development of modern scientific thought. Founded on his critical survey of mathematics, he also established a new kind philosophical method (in terms of spirit it is the scientific method in philosophy, in regard to manner it is the "logical and analytical method" (*luojide*

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23   Zhang started closely following modern physics after his conversations with Russell, held in Beijing in 1921. Nevertheless, because in his Chinese lectures Russell also devoted much attention to Einstein and the epistemological consequences of modern physics (Schwarcz 1991/2, 133), his Chinese audience seems to have got the same impression, namely that Russell's philosophy was inherently intertwined with relativistic physics and hence an integral component of the same worldview. In his critical expositions on Russell's "logicist New Realism" from 1922–1923, the philosopher Zhang Dongsun—who accompanied Russell for the most time of his stay in China—regarded Einstein's relativity as one of the main epistemological tenets of the former's logicist variety of realism (see Zhang Dongsun 1923).

24   In "A Revolution in Science" (1920b) Zhang claimed that, alongside non-Euclidean geometry in mathematics and theory of relativity in physics, Russell's mathematical logic constituted on of the three main revolutions in science. In his view, its revolutionary character came from the fact that in itself it harmonically intertwined both mathematics and logic (Zhang 1920b). On Zhang's early ideas on dialectical nature of mathematics see Zhang's article "Philosophical Principles of Numbers" from 1919.

he jiexide fangfa 邏輯的和解析的方法), which might also be translated as "*mingli-jiexifa*" 名理 解析法 [logico-analytical method]). His philosophy (called "logical atomism" or "absolute pluralism", which presupposes the existence of various kinds of individual [entities] and relations and does not rest on the cosmological foundations that presuppose an existence of one all-encompassing entity. In plain words: it is a new research that sets out from the "relations" and rests on the "theory of external relations") counts as the most influential in the contemporary philosophical and intellectual circles. Recently, he has also taken this "logico-analytical method", which already had such a great effect on mathematics and philosophy, and conducted new research in psychology, having obtained results that correspond in great part to the newest psychological teaching of behaviourism (*xingdong zhuyi* 行動主義), that emerged in America, and "neutral monism" (i.e. the American School of New Realism). (Zhang 1920a, 4)

At least three of key terms given above from Russell's philosophy were also retained in Zhang's later thought: logical analysis, mathematical logic and the notion of neutrality.[25] When his philosophy approached a certain degree of maturity in the mid-1930s, Russell's influence on Zhang condensed into the notion of "logical analysis", which was now extended to include the Vienna School and Kurt Gödel, while mathematical logic was still defined as its underlaying methodological basis. Concurrently, Zhang also retained a strong interest in relativistic physics, from which he extracted his own epistemological idea of "relativity".

In parallel with the version of "structural objectivity" (see Daston and Galison 2007) described above and extrapolated from Russell's scientific worldview, quite early on Zhang also discovered a strong affinity for materialist dialectics. The reason why Western dialectics might have had such a great appeal for Zhang and Chinese intellectuals in general resided in its profound consonance with

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25　Between years 1919 and 1920, Zhang disseminated Russell's idea of the universe as a "continuum" (*xiangxuxing* 相續體, "continuous substance"). He compared this idea of continuity to one from Buddhist epistemology—although he later withheld this information, apart from history of logic and philosophy of brothers Cheng, Zhang's focus in his undergraduate studies of philosophy had also been Buddhist philosophy (see Guoli Beijing daxue 1918, 365). The notion of continuity in mathematics was also mentioned in the public debate on Russell's mathematical philosophy in 1925. Most importantly, even the devout Buddhist and scholar of Confucian philosophy Liang Shuming found Russell's idea of "continuity" very convincing. In his critical essay on Russell's philosophy from 1921, Liang stated: "Following Mr. Zhang's urgings, I have also tried to read Russell's works and to like them. And, in fact, found that some aspects of his theories accord well with my own thought—such as his social psychology … I also found Russell's theories of cognition and of the essential continuity of all matter very suggestive …" (Schwarcz 1991/2, 137)

traditional Chinese reasoning and its cosmological perspectives.[26] Thus, Zhang maintained a similar idea of dialectical materialism and traditional complementarian dialectics. In Zhang's eyes, the discerning feature of dialectical materialism, however, was that it claimed to be founded on scientific facts and laws of nature deduced from concrete science. Whereas on the one hand Zhang related its alleged universality to his notion of comprehensiveness (*tong* 通, also "compatibility" or "free circulation"), on the other he also recognized in it the traditional idea of the "equilibrium" (*zhong* 中, also "the mean") and "humaneness". Nonetheless, similarly as in the case of Russell, Zhang did not want to invest his entire faith in dialectical materialism. Moreover, he elevated the traditional ideas to a position above both dialectical materialism as well as logical analysis, which he deemed to be profoundly one-sided outlooks. The traditional ethical-coloured ideas of harmonic "mean" and enlightening "humaneness"—which to Zhang somehow resembled the scientific/objectivist spirit, were both implicit in Zhang's crowning theory of "pure objectiveness" (cf. Schwarcz 1991/2, 143). In a typically traditional sense, these ideas or onto-moral attitudes were all bridging together the private and common, subjective and objective, inner sensations and outer facts, and the ethical and material aspects of human existence.

Finally, regarding the content of Zhang's notion of "dialectics", it must be noted that he understood the materialist notion of dialectics from what would be called a traditional Chinese perspective. Generally speaking, Zhang interpreted dialectics through the prism of two key components of the traditional Chinese worldview: complementary or harmonistic dialectics (*xiangcheng xiangfan* 相成 相反) and the perpetually changing (*bianhua* 變化) totality of the universe. Consequently, Zhang's initial point of criticism against materialist dialectics had been its seemingly static notion of sublation (*Aufhebung*) or, in terms of dialectical materialism, qualitative leap forward, which in Zhang's eyes seemed to represent

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26   In fact, Zhang spoke about the complementarity of dyadic principles long before he discovered dialectical materialism. In his short essay "Philosophical Principles of Numbers" (Shu zhi zheli 數 之哲理) from 1919, for instance, Zhang expounded on the phenomenological relatedness between pair of functionally opposite mathematical operators and natural principles an ever-changing world. He said:

In the ever-evolving world, there always exist two aspects which mutually oppose and create each other. Being mutually correlative, together they form function and variable (*han-bian* 函變) … If one progresses, at the same time the other recedes. If one is diverse and complex, the other is singular and simple. A dynamic factor has got a corresponding static one. If there is a progressive aspect, at the same time there also exists a complementary conservative factor … Therefore, the method of governing the world does not go beyond harmonizing and adjusting these two aspects. Following their natural posture, one certainly will attain their equilibrium. (Zhang 2005 II, 18)

Zhang continued: "Many social theoreticians are familiar with this principle, and thus say that 'the society's progress is nothing but differentiation and integration'." (ibid.)

a "static" idea of change.[27] In his later writings Zhang reaffirmed the connection between the idea that everything changes (*Tianxia meiyou bubian de* 天下沒有不變的) in ancient Chinese cosmology (*The Book of Change*, *Yijing* 易經) and (materialist) dialectics (Zhang 1939b, 7). Zhang's signature work, *Reflections* (*Suosi* 所思), reveals that he understood materialist dialectics as consisting of a static or perpetual complementarity between contradictory principles on one side and, as it were, a principle of dynamic change as embodied in the idea of sublation (*Aufhebung*) on the other. In Zhang's understanding, these two were reflective of corresponding concepts of complementary dialectics and change from "Chinese culture" (Zhang 2005 III, 168). Observed from another perspective, interpreting what Zhang believed to be Hegel's idea of dialectics and logic,[28] he also maintained that the pattern of dialectical complementarity, which he so keenly espoused, repeats itself indefinitely throughout both the doctrine of dialectical materialism as well as the underlying fabric of the universe. In this sense, every aspect of reality, be it something which embodies either thesis or antithesis, is in itself both "static" and "dynamic".[29] In contrast, in the dialectic principle Zhang saw a necessary dynamic process of change, which encompasses every aspect of existence. Consequently, in his conscious or unconscious attempt to create a balanced synthesis between traditional Chinese and Hegelian dialectics, Zhang

27   In the article "On Translation (Lun fanyi 論翻譯)" from 1927, Zhang defined (materialist) dialectics as a theory expounding the principle of the "synthesis (entanglement) of positive and negative, mutual opposition and mutual creation", proposing the terms *duikanfa* 對戡法 and *cuozongfa* 錯綜法 as alternative Chinese terms for it. Zhang further boiled the meaning of the principle of (materialist) dialectics down to two definitions: the first one involved a notion of ever-changing universe and the other the principle of change (involving thesis, antithesis and synthesis). Zhang's main point of contention with Marxist dialectics resided in its idea of evolution, which Zhang described in terms of transformative "swings", and which in Marxist dialectics "appears to [take place only] for a limited period of time (*qiongqi* 窮期的); speaking in terms of swings, after [the change] had swung to and fro, [everything] will return back to a static (*jingzhi* 靜止) [state]. I am afraid that this is but an empty desire" (Zhang 2005 II, 99). Because at the time he was still a strong adherent of Russell and because in the same year he also got immersed into Wittgenstein's *Tractatus*, Zhang concluded that the "principle" of change in the world of tomorrow is still uncertain and unknown to us—he quoted well-known Russell's statement that it is not certain that the sun will rise tomorrow—and concluded with last sentence of the *Tractatus*, that we must be quiet about what cannot be spoken about (ibid.).

28   Zhang directly discussed Hegel only on a few occasions. Beside his late "Household Words" (*Jiachang hu*a 家常話), he mentioned Hegel in *Reflections—Continued* (Zhang 2005 III, 182–83), where he also delivered an expanded definition of his idea of materialist dialectics, which, however, also reveals great discrepancies with both Hegel's and the materialist notion of dialectics.

29   In line with Engels, Plekhanov and Lenin, Zhang believed that the dynamic aspect had a precedence over the static. However, Zhang also believed that any aspect of human thought in essence is already of a "dynamic" disposition, which he understood under qualities of "liveliness" (*huo* 活), "thoroughness" (*zhouquan* 周全), attention to the interrelatedness of things, evolutionary perspective, complementarity of opposites, unity of theory and practice etc. (Zhang 2005 II, 330).

actually failed to get an adequate grasp of the latter, which he contorted in ana-logical accord with his version of traditional cosmology.

The Pillars of Zhang Shenfu's Philosophy—*Reflections* (1931)

As already mentioned in the introductory remarks, the first major formative turn in Zhang's philosophy occurred when he started distancing himself from Russell and devoting more attention to traditional and materialist dialectics. The seminal impetus, however, that eventually led to the shift in direction of his thinking came from his recognition of the vital necessity of "comprehensiveness", and the prior-ity of "greater objectivism" over the blunt analytical dissection of facts. In Zhang's opus this shift had been most concretely manifested in a series of general phil-osophical meditations composed between 1928 and 1930. These were eventually epitomized in his monograph *Reflections* (*Suosi* 所思), issued in 1931. *Reflections* consists of a collection of homonymously titled short meditations written in the years between 1924 and 1930, which were supplemented by a few of Zhang's quintessential writings from the late 1920s. As Zhang's signature-work from the period, *Reflections* offers the most exhaustive insight into his world of ideas, pro-viding a set of clear-cut statements about the main ideal pillars of his philosophy.

In the introduction to *Reflections*, Zhang wrote that all ideas raised in the text had been derived from two main principles:

1. Mutual opposition (*xiangfan* 相反) and mutual creation (*xiangcheng* 相成)—a harmony of contradictions.

2. Scientific method as the method of pure objectivity (*chun keguanfa* 純客觀法). (Zhang 2005 III, 53)

In the subsequent part of the introduction, Zhang offered the following explana-tion of the above two principles:

> On the first point, the (bi)polarity of phenomena,[30] I have already ex-pounded on in a publication from the beginning of 1919. At that time, I was still unaware of the nowadays widespread notion of dialectical meth-od. But, in truth, to get to these conclusions one would only need to look at the facts realistically. Besides, to speak about *yi* 易 (change) in terms of one *yang* and one *yin* is basically an extremely ancient idea espoused by the Chinese. The same idea is also equal to Confucius' "humaneness" (*ren* 仁). "Humaneness" and "the scientific method"; I believe these are the

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30   Zhang is referring to the article "Philosophical Principles of Numbers" (1919).

two most precious things. Among the things which in recent years have most often reappeared in my mind or resounded from my throat, were in particular the following four ideas: analysis (*fenxi* 分析; formerly, I especially preferred to use the word *jiexi* 解析), pluralism (*duoyuan* 多元), objectivism (*keguan* 客觀) and realism (*qieshi* 切實). If we combine the last two, we can obtain the fashionable notion called "materialism" (*weiwu* 唯物). Also, as was explained by Russell, the person who most understood these things, the key characteristic of what is generally referred to as "the theory of realism", …, was the belief that the method [ought to] reside in analysis and cosmology in pluralism. Because of that, I am most opposed to the ideas of "everything or nothing" and the anthropomorphism (*renhua sixiang* 人化思想) which is disseminated by the literati. Instead, I strongly believe that, in its entirety, the world is unanimous and complex. Originally, I spoke about the "entanglement between the positive and negative" or used to say that everything is mutually entangled. It is also possible to put it like this: Events in the world are always random (against expectations) in this or another way, they mutually cause (give rise) or suppress each other, swinging in or out of existence. (ibid.)

In the same section of *Reflections* Zhang also gave his idea of "comprehensiveness" in philosophy:

I believe that "comprehensiveness" (*tong* 通) is the ultimate goal of philosophy. Analysis, pluralism, objectivity, and realism all are ways of "comprehensiveness". They are all applications of "comprehensiveness". Conversely, "comprehensiveness" is also a complement to analysis, etc. The mutual entanglement of everything can only be comprehended through "comprehensiveness". Only through comprehensiveness will one not succumb to rigidness (obstinacy). Only thus, one will be able to grasp two [opposite things] and employ the mean (*zhong* 中). In that way, one will be able to accumulate numerous views and recognize the reason why the obscure is hidden from one's sight, and restore each one to its appropriate position. (ibid., 54)

The above two excerpts from *Reflections* reveal Zhang's strong propensity towards comprehensive worldviews. In a more explicit way, Zhang draws a parallel between the idea of dialectical complementarity of opposites from traditional Chinese philosophy and dialectical materialism. In Zhang's opinion, science and philosophy both share a common objective in a universal system of knowledge, which would be endowed with a just as universally applicable

dialectical-analytical method. Secondly, what Zhang further proposed was a syncretic marriage between the above-described dialectical principle on one side and scientific objectivity on the other.[31]

Figure 1: The title page of the 1931 publication of the book *Suosi* 所思 (Reflections)

On the other hand, Zhang's exposition on the central pillars of his "modern scientific" outlook can also shed some light on the intellectual background of his understanding of modern science and philosophy. As noted above, it also explains why Zhang recognized in dialectical materialism a plausible and objective doctrine. That this quest for reconciliation between any antagonisms of this universe did also involve the problematic relationship between East (China) and the West transpires in the following statement: "In my opinion, 'humaneness' (*ren* 仁) and 'scientific method' are humankind's greatest treasures. Humaneness comes from the East and scientific method comes from the West" (Zhang 2005 III, 64). In other words, like Zhang Shizhao before him, Zhang's comprehensive philosophical outlook also aimed at creating a synthesis between the spiritual civilization of the East and the material and analytic West. Interestingly, the potential adhesive for the two poles was provided in the form of a few key concepts from traditional Chinese philosophy. Thus, in addition to being a nature-related or ethical principle, Zhang also recognized in *ren* 仁 (humaneness) a form of scientific/objectivist attitude, which can lead to objectivist enlightenment and benefit people by means of conferring on them an insight into the realm of truth.[32] Already back 1927, Zhang presented his first idea of a possible methodological solution, one that would adequately embody both the principle of humaneness as well as scientific method, and at the same time satisfy the vital precondition of "comprehensiveness". He chose to call this theory "the method of pure objectivism" (*chun keguanfa* 純客觀法).

Finally, the overall configuration of the main pillars of Zhang's philosophy, as outlined in his *Reflections*, can be illustrated by the following scheme:

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32   One of Zhang's later articles, "Humaneness and the Visionary (Ren yu xianjuezhe 仁與先覺者)" (1939a), reveals that his notion of *ren* 仁 derived heavily from his reading of Zhu Xi 朱熹. Zhang reconceptualized Zhu Xi's notion of humaneness, emphasizing its equality with the ethical value of scientific attitude as well as its inherent connection to Western philosophical doctrines, which in one way or another created a synthesis between two antagonistic categories. On Zhu Xi's definition of *ren* see, for instance Huang 2017, 180–209. Intriguingly, in his *Reflections* Zhang also emphasized that love (*ai* 愛) embodies both the principle of complementarity (*xiangcheng xiangfan*) as well as the method of pure objectivism (Zhang 2005 III, 144).

Tong 通
(Comprehensiveness)

Harmony of contradictions		↔	Scientific method	
Confucius' **"humaneness"** (*ren* 仁) *Book of Change* (complementarity of *yin* and *yang*)		↔	Method of **pure objectivism** *chun keguanfa* 純客觀法	
(*Dialectical*) **Materialism**		↔	Russell's **New realism Logical Analysis**	
↗	↖		↗	↖
Realism	Objectivism		Analysis	Pluralism

Apart from the six main pillars set out above—from dialectics to the scientific method—Zhang's epistemological views in *Reflections* were also derived from modern physics. In the late 1920s, Following Russell's example, Zhang endeavoured to integrate various aspects of modern physics, such as Einstein's Theory of Relativity, theory of atoms and quantum mechanics, into his own philosophical discussions.[33] The immediate result of his longstanding interest in modern physics was also his epistemological standpoint of "*concrete relativism*" (*juti xiangduilun* 具體相對論) which he developed at the beginning of 1940s. Nevertheless, in the time when Zhang was still writing his *Reflections,* his focus was still fixed on "neutral monism", a concept with which Russell used to describe his own version of New Realism. In the earliest parts of *Reflections* (around 1925), Zhang advocated a version of "monistic dualistic plurality", where "monism refers to neutral monism and plurality refers to absolute pluralism" and "dualism refers to dialectics and polarity"[34] (Zhang 2005 III, 61).

As Zhang himself indicated in the preface to this book, the notion of dialectical materialism started to appear only in the latter parts of his, as it were, intellectual diary (*Reflections—Continued*), composed after 1928. Concurrently, in these later sections, Zhang's idea of "pure objectivism" *had* already evolved into a theory of "greater objectivism" (*da keguanfa* 大客觀法).

In the subsequent section of our discussion, we will take a closer look at the above-listed central concepts in Zhang's philosophy in the period between 1919 and 1948 (apart from "mathematical logic").

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33   Here, I am referring to articles like "A New Discovery in Science" (1928), and "Russell on New Theory of Atoms" (1928).

34   Beside Russell and Confucius, Zhang's *Reflections* also contain numerous references to Wittgenstein, Freud, Frege and Zhuangzi. In one of his meditations, Zhang also mentioned Frank P. Ramsey's work *The Foundation of Mathematics*.

Key Concepts in Zhang's Philosophical Thought

Greater Objectivism

The theory of "greater objectivism" represented Zhang's first concrete attempt to create a universal epistemological method, which would be able to integrate all aspects of human perception and cognition. By setting out to reconcile the realms of subjective and objective, Zhang also wanted to attain harmonic complementarity between human understanding of the antithetical aspects of existence in general.[35] As we have already indicated above, it could be argued that Zhang's attempt at merging together the objective and subjective into a more comprehensive view of knowledge was implicitly echoing the main intellectual dilemma of the time, which, in great part, had been promulgated through the science and the view on life debate. Zhang's probable solution to the problem of the inner epistemic schism of the modern human being, as established in the debate, was first described in a short essay entitled "The Method of Pure Objectivism (*Chun keguanfa* 純客觀法)" from 1927.[36]

The term "pure objectivism" was an early version of Zhang's later notion of "greater objectivism" (*da keguan* 大客觀). The term appeared for the first time in his article "A Comparative Discussion on Modern Philosophy (Xiandai zhexue jiaolun 現代哲學校論)" issued in 1926,[37] where Zhang discussed two antagonistic currents in Western philosophy: realism and idealism.[38] He maintained that the antagonistic relationship between the two currents of thought was rooted in the qualitative dichotomy within human nature. Combining the traditional dichotomy between *yin* and *yang* and the Marxist dialectics of nature, he asserted that, in general, there exist two kinds of human disposition:

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35   Here, I assume that Zhang maintained a holistic notion of reality, where the epistemic duality was seen as a direct reflection of a dialectical nature of the universe.

36   The essay, which was first published in the *Chenbao fukan* 晨報副刊 in 1927, was later reprinted in *Reflections*.

37   Zhang's recapitulation of current trends in Western philosophy from 1926 was based on his reading of Joad's *Introduction to Modern Philosophy*—in the same year Zhang completed his translation of this work. The above-mentioned article was published under the title "Xiandai zhexue jiaolun 現代哲學校論 (A Comparative Discussion on Modern Philosophy)".

38   A bipartite division of philosophy was also applied in Zhang Dongsun's early critical excursions into logicism and New Realism (Zhang 1922, 15–16). Zhang distinguished between two philosophical systems, where the first one represented a "philosophy of thought" that advocated logicism, transcendentalism and rational knowledge; while the contesting "philosophy of life" advocated a form of psychologism, empiricism, stressed particular content and stood against rational knowledge. According to Zhang Dainian, this classification was borrowed from the thought of Zhang Junmai.

> One is progressive, the other conservative; one appreciates new, the other adores old; one is revolutionary, the other reactionary; one is fast, the other slow; one is sensitive, the other apathetic; one is dynamic, the other static ...[39] We could simply collectively call them left and right. (Zhang 1926a, 81)

In Zhang's opinion, the above-described dialectical schism within the forces of the universe also gave rise to the distinction between the realist and idealist schools of philosophy.[40] As one would expect, Zhang spoke in favour of the realist school, for which he gave the following explanation:

> Realism presupposes the existence of the real ... it observes reality through reality. It is objective and aims at overturning the fallacies of mind. It emphasizes knowledge and the universal patterns (*li* 理). Usually, it seeks support and guidance in the natural laws of transformation (*tianxing* 天行, "movement of Heaven"). By application of analysis as its method, it focuses on what is presently at hand, it resolves trivialities and does not ignore what is universal and primary (universal elements). It is harmonious with science; it is young and revitalizing. In its search for knowledge within the real it advances bravely ... (ibid.)

In the above excerpt, the term "analysis" refers to Russell's "logical analysis", which Zhang regarded as a method consistent with the principles and results of mathematical logic. In this very sense, he looked upon mathematical logic as a key component of an objective outlook on reality.

In the conclusion of the above-mentioned essay from 1926, Zhang already raised the idea that philosophy has one single aim: to establish a "broader view" of reality. Moreover, that in philosophy the greatest priority must be assigned to logical analysis and synthesis. However, as Zhang later discovered, such all-encompassing objectivity also entailed a due inclusion of all aspects of human nature, namely the sphere of subjectivity. Thus, in the final sentence of the article he enthusiastically asserted that a future kind of world-philosophy would only be created by virtue of the method of "pure objectivism", which would itself combine the two aspects.

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39   The terms static and dynamic had been adopted from Marxist discourse on the dialectics of nature and dialectical materialism in general. In his *Dialectics of Nature*, for instance, Engels spoke about two contradictory forces in the universe: attraction (gravity) and repulsion (energy of the stars).

40   The representatives of the former, progressive current in philosophy, were Russell and Whitehead, while at the other side of the divide were philosophers like Bergson, Driesch, and so on.

One year later, in 1927, Zhang had already delivered the first version of such an all-encompassing objectivism. The article "The Method of Pure Objectivism (Chun keguanfa 純客觀法)" elucidates its core idea in the following way: "[pure objectivism] goes beyond (跳出) the dichotomy between subjective and objective, [and at the same time remains] objective by attaching the utmost importance to the objectiveness" (Zhang 1927a, 57). The relationship between "subjective" and "objective" was further interpreted in terms of *si* 私 "private" and *gong* 公 "common", where the subjective was seen explicitly as the inner perspective and the objective as a view from without. Consequently, the ultimate aim of a purely objective view would be to overcome the one-sidedness of either subjectivity or objectivity and in turn endow both with a higher level of objectiveness. In order to demonstrate the feasibility of such an extraordinary idea, Zhang provided the following diagram:
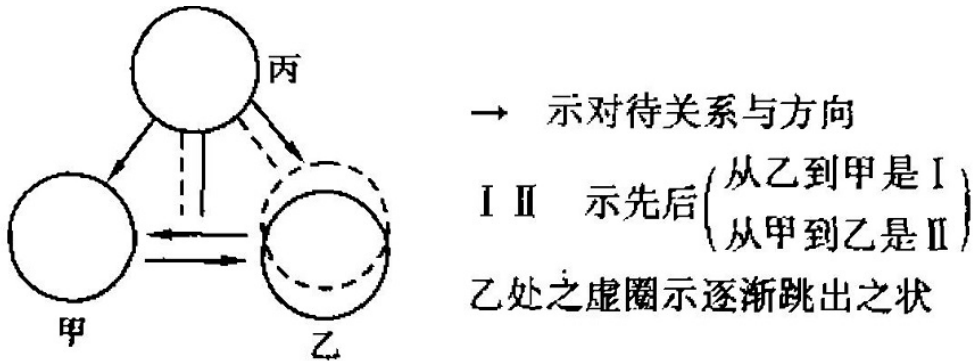
Figure 2: Zhang's Diagram of Pure Objectivism (Source: Zhang 2005 II, 95)

Zhang provided the following explanation for this diagram:

> In their basis, the subjective and the objective are antithetical; they are contrary to each other, yet they still depend on each other. We could also say that they mutually oppose and create each other (*xiangfan xiangcheng* 相反想成). In the picture, the symbol A (甲) represents the objective, and the symbol B (乙) represents the subjective. Between A and B there is a reciprocal relationship, expressed by two the arrows pointing in opposite directions. What I call "going beyond subjective and objective" means to leave behind the antithetical opposition between A and B. But to do that, we must first surpass the subjective domain. The area signified by the symbol C (丙) represents the place we want to attain by leaving the relationship between A and B. The single arrows represent

the relationship and direction of our surpassing. When we jump to the point C, and we take another look at A and B, are they not viewed from without? In that way, have they not already both become objective? This is what we mean by saying that "subjective is also objective". But when we look from C, the event of antithesis we have previously seen, the objects A and B become even more so a product of fabricated distinctions (in logic this is called "a logical construction" which maybe we could also call "logical fabrication"). ... "when the pure objectivism is established these become mere events". This is already to speak about things and events from methodological point of view, therefore the cosmological [maxim] we should obtain from pure objectivity ought to be: everything makes up its own event. (Zhang 1927a, 57)

In short: pure objectivism surpasses both the conventional objectivism and subjectivity by means of presenting a view on both from without. At the same time, the pursuit for such a dialectical synthesis would essentially also satisfy an ethical goal, for, in Zhang's eyes, one of the main objectives of humaneness was also related to the attainment of the principles of "equilibrium" (*zhong*) and "humaneness" (*ren*).

Another important source for Zhang's theory of pure objectivism was Einstein's concept of relativity, in which, in a philosophical sense, the objective and subjective views become redefined through the so-called "observer's effect". Indeed, Zhang explicitly claimed that his newly invented method was devised in accordance with the recent tendencies in modern science, such as relativist physics and behaviourist psychology (Zhang 2005 II, 97).

In the parts of his *Reflections* written a year later (1927/1928), Zhang indicated that his objectivism equalled Russell's ethical neutrality. This correlation was supposed to reside in the fact that the method of pure objectivism enabled a harmonic unison between self and the nature, making both indistinguishable from each other (Zhang 2005 III, 83–84). In *Reflections—Continued* (*Xu Suosi* 續所思) (around 1930), where his idea of dialectical materialism had already occupied the central place in Zhang's philosophical outlook, he emphatically ascribed to greater objectivism the ability to solve all the problems of humankind (ibid., 165).

In the early 1930s, the notion of dialectical materialism lay at the very heart of Zhang's philosophical meditations. Basically, Zhang treated dialectical materialism as a methodological utility akin to the aforementioned concept of logical analysis. Already in the sequel to his *Reflections*, Zhang pointed out that the

dialectical method[41] was a "science of sciences, technique of techniques and method of methods" (ibid., 178). Formerly, Zhang had ascribed the same attributes to logical analysis, which seems to have retained a similar place in his later philosophy. Moreover, regardless of the level of their objectivist potency, in the framework of greater objectivism they both ought to be supplemented by the subjective intuition and imagination. With the gradual ascent of dialectical materialism, in Zhang's eyes its very essence became ever more synonymous with philosophy as such. Whereas in the earliest parts of *Reflections* Zhang maintained that philosophy "straightens the virtues (*de* 德) and enlightens [the correct] human relations (*lun* 倫)"[42] (ibid., 90), in the parts written after 1930 he ascribed the same attributes to the dialectical method, reducing its main principles to liveliness (*huo* 活), universality (also *quan* 全 "whole") and practice (ibid., 178). Furthermore, in Zhang's opinion the proximity between dialectical materialism and the Confucian value of "humaneness" was based on the fact that in Marxism one of the main objectives of the revolution (*geming* 革命) was to resolve social contradictions—i.e. to "harmonize" human relations.

Objectivism Versus Materialism

Greater objectivism and dialectical materialism remained at the forefront of Zhang's philosophy up to the late 1940s. In 1945 Zhang reformulated his theory of greater objectivism in his article "My Own Philosophy (Wo ziji de zhexue" 我自己的哲學)". At this stage, Zhang's approach relied heavily on his new understanding of dialectical materialism and his notion of concrete relativism. Thus, in the 1945 exposition of his philosophical views, he distinguished between a (as it were) "legitimate" scientific objectivism and a mechanist objectivism. The latter, which Zhang compared to the "observer's view", was defined in the following way:

> It does neither recognize the function of the subjective, nor does it exhibit human power, but simply maintains the current objective circumstances. This is a "dead" objectivism. It is a mechanical type of objectivism. This is the form of objectivity, which 50 years ago Lenin portrayed as standing in contrast with materialism. It is a least acceptable form of ideology. (Zhang 2005 II, 335)

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41 In the debates on dialectical materialism from the first half of the 1930s, the term "dialectical method" (*bianzhengfa* 辯證法, also "dialectics") was synonymous with "dialectical logic" (*bianzheng luoji* 辯證邏輯). In the earliest Chinese expositions of dialectical logic, which relied in great part on Plekhanov's critique of formal logic, dialectical logic was also referred to as "dynamic logic" (*dongde luoji* 動的邏輯).

42 He further defined virtue as "what perfects all things and beings" and human relations as "what makes all things and beings equal".

Zhang's version of objectivism, on the other hand,

> both recognizes the objective and is aware of the existence of the subjec-
> tive. In one sense, the so-called "greater" objectivism broadens the scope
> of objectivity, and at the same time also integrates into his own system
> the subjective. It relies mainly on the objective and integrates the sub-
> jective and the objective into one. On one hand, it recognizes objective
> facts and makes them its foundation, and on the other hand also accepts
> the function of the subjective. The objective is not only the objective,
> but it also encompasses subjective elements. A nonsensical approach in
> Western philosophy is creating a sharp antagonism between the subjec-
> tive side of the human being and the so-called independently existing
> outer world, which does not include the human. My objectivism intends
> to avoid this [problem]. A realistic recognition that humans are also a
> kind of thing (*wu* 物) can definitely reduce many inconveniences that are
> troubling the humankind. (ibid.)

In addition to this, Zhang also alleged that this "greater objectivism" could also
"pacify the mind through attainment of the principle" (*li de xin an* 理得心安).
While, as before, the main aim of greater objectivism was comprehensiveness,
"another meaning of my greater objectivism is related to knowledge. Knowledge
starts with perception. I believe that knowledge which comes from perception is
neither subjective nor objective, but a form of relationship between the subjective
and the objective" (ibid., 336).

In the 1930s one of Zhang's priorities was the spreading of dialectical materialism,
and this also gave rise to a fundamental need to integrate the theoretical tenets of
dialectical materialism into his own comprehensive philosophy.[43] In consequence,
Zhang composed an article titled "Objectivity and Materialism (Keguan yu wei-
wu 客觀與唯物)" (1933), in which he set out to demonstrate how his notion of
greater objectivity and dialectical materialism were merely two sides of the very
same thing. In order to prove his point, Zhang redefined the main aim of greater
objectivism as the synthesis between theory and practice, because it also included

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43   In 1932, for instance, in an essay titled "Egg and Chicken—Heroes and Circumstances: On an
Application of Dialectical Materialism (Jidan yu ji – Yingxiong yu shishi: weiwu bianzhengfa
yingyong zhiyi 鷄蛋與鷄 – 英雄與時勢：唯物辯證法應用之一)", where Zhang claimed that
dialectical materialism can resolve paradoxical questions like "What was first, a chicken or an egg?"
because it embodied the principle of evolution (Zhang 2005 II, 166–69). The resolution of the
problem of "chicken and egg" by dialectical method was not Zhang's original idea, but was adopted
from contemporary Chinese translations of keyworks of Soviet Marxist philosophy—e.g. Tao Bo's
陶伯 translation of Bukharin's *Historical Materialism* (in 3 volumes) from 1930 (see Bukharin 1930
III, 8 (Appendix I)).

value judgments. Rendered in this way, Zhang's objectivism would be aimed at perfecting the human capacity to realise value-ideas, which cannot be divorced from the domain of the subjective. Zhang also pointed out: "What is the meaning of 'value' (*jiazhi* 價值)? It means '*zhi* 值': 'to be just right', 'with right measure'" (Zhang 2005 II, 179). Ideas, however, have to be understood, perceived or defined by the people, who are in turn also transforming them into values. Consequently, the subjective within greater objectivism must necessarily represent elements pertaining to a social class and cannot be considered as something individua, and in this very point Zhang recognized its main practical application.[44] Greater objectivism does not neglect human effort or human influence. It attaches importance to the real and stresses human practice. Hereby, it not only focuses on current, factual circumstances, but also on what is potential or caused by these circumstances. It encourages people to realise their future potentials (ibid.).

Shortly before this, Zhang also published an article entitled "Dialectical Complementarity and Pure Objectivism (Xiangfan xiangcheng yu chun keguanfa 相反相成與純客觀法)" which proposed the same relationship between pure objectivism and the traditional concept of dialectical complementarity (*xiangfan xiangcheng* 相反相成, "mutual opposition and mutual creation").[45] According to Guo Zhanbo, in this article Zhang defends his position that the dialectical method is purely objective and that consequently a philosophy established upon such principle (i.e. dialectical materialism) has got scientific bases. Later, Zhang's claims were countered by Zhang Dongsun, who adamantly denied that dialectic materialism had been established on objective science.[46]

Regardless how effective dialectical materialism was alleged to be in solving various kinds of scientific and social problems, as Zhang himself conceded, in its essence it still differed significantly from the equally significant methods of logical analysis and mathematical logic. Consequently, Zhang concluded that, as just

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44   Zhang claimed that greater objectivity does not neglect human effort or human influence. It attaches importance to the real and [at the same time also] emphasizes human practice. Hereby, it does not only focus on current, factual circumstances, but also on the potential or what is caused by these circumstances. It [also] encourages people to realise their future potentials. (ibid.)

45   The article is mentioned in Guo Zhanbo's 郭湛波 *Chinese Intellectual History in the Last Fifty Years* from 1935 (Guo 1965, 227). It originally appeared in *Xueyuan* 學園, a supplement to the *Beiping chenbao* 北平晨報.

46   Guo Zhanbo (1965, 263) summarized the main thesis of Zhang Dongsun's article as follows: Mutual opposition and mutual creation (*Xiangfan xiangcheng* 相反相成) are Hegel's dialectics (*duikan fa* 對勘法), and pure objectivism is a method which goes beyond every coordinate system. The two of them can in no way match each other. Therefore, one can absolutely not produce or develop pure objectivism out of [the principle] of mutual opposition and mutual creation.
The alleged article of Zhang Dongsun—titled "Xiangcheng xiangfan yu chun keguanfa 相成相反與純客觀法"—was also mentioned in Cai 1936, 35.

another method, the dialectical method could not replace logic, nor could it replace science as such (Zhang 2005 II, 169).

Between Logical Analysis and Dialectical Materialism— "Dialectical Analysis"

Zhang's understanding of the term "logical analysis" was intricately related to his notion of mathematical logic as one of the most advanced products of contemporary Western science (see Zhang 1920a, 4). In Zhang's eyes, "logical analysis" represented a method of philosophical inquiry, a theoretical extension of the otherwise purely scientific mathematical logic, where the main results and mechanisms of the latter were extrapolated to solving problems of a practical and theoretical nature. In other words: logical analysis was a practical extension of mathematical logic.[47]

Under this meaning, logical analysis represented a recurring concept in Zhang's philosophical and political writings. In the second half of the 1920s, when Zhang first discovered Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, he also regarded it as a component of "logical analysis". Similarly, in the early 1930s, when Zhang and his younger brother Zhang Dainian were introducing the Viennese School to Chinese philosophical circles, he also regarded this movement as a direct outcome of "logical analysis." This reveals that in later years, for Zhang, "logical analysis" simply denoted an analytical variety of philosophy, which was methodologically based on mathematical logic. In the 1930s, when he was still a professor of logic at Qinghua University, his fascination with mathematical logic also led Zhang to devote his attention to the thought of Rudolf Carnap and Kurt Gödel—although none of his writings explicitly demonstrated that he really understood their work.

In his second overview of contemporary Western philosophy, the essay "Main Currents in Contemporary Philosophy (Xiandai zhexue de zhuchao 現代哲學 的主潮)", which was published in the *Qinghua Weekly* (*Qinghua zhoukan* 清華 周刊) magazine in 1934, Zhang presents a new image of world philosophy, dominated by two contesting philosophical schools: the first was "logical analysis" and the other dialectical materialism. While in Zhang's opinion the main objective of the school of "logical analysis" was to "clarify thoughts and words"

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47   In contrast to the majority of stark exponents of Marxist philosophy from the 1930s and 40s, Zhang believed that formal logic is in its essence entirely "dynamic"—namely, that it essentially incorporates all major aspects of dialectical method, and that its character depends only on the angle from which you study it. Therefore, he also advocated the motion that formal logic could be fused together with dialectics to form one harmonic entity (see Zhang 2005 II, 330).

so as to render them capable of expressing objective facts, the chief concern of materialism was the existence of objective facts *per se*. In this very definition of analysis and materialism, Zhang recognized the same relationship as previously believed to have existed between science and the view on human life (*renshengguan* 人生觀), where the latter had also been linked to traditional Chinese thought (see Zhang Junmai 1997). Thus, by analogy, in his writing from 1934 Zhang recognized in dialectical materialism a form of philosophy which, apart from the scientific method (inductive aspect) also incorporated practical aspects such as "revolutionary practice" and a "life-oriented attitude". As such dialectical materialism could be seen as an important locus of Zhang's search for comprehensive worldviews—dialectical materialism as a holistic view on matter, changes and the interrelatedness among phenomena. At the same time, with regard to mathematical logic, Zhang's focus now turned away from Russell to the Vienna School and Prague as the current centres of mathematical logic and probabilistic logic in Europe (Zhang 1934, 10–11).

In the spirit of his greater objectivism, Zhang believed that although dialectical materialism and logical analysis might appear to stand in absolute opposition to each other, in fact they are entirely complementary and compatible. They both, for example, originated in science and denounced metaphysics, and are compatible in the sense that due to their diametrically opposite characteristics (e.g. one is specific while the other tends towards generalization), they represent the most effective supplements to each other (ibid., 10). The supposition that dialectical materialism can supplement "logical analysis" or, more specifically, mathematical logic led Zhang to assert that the former could also be used for resolving problems in fundaments of mathematics, especially where logicism (*shuli luoji hua* 數理邏輯化 "logicization of mathematical principles"), formalism (*xingshilun* 型式論) and intuitionism (*zhijuelun* 直覺論) had been unable to present any feasible solutions. According to Zhang, many philosophical problems could also be solved through the combined application of both logical analysis and dialectical materialism.

At the beginning of the 1940s, when Zhang's philosophical thought entered yet another developmental phase, Zhang conceived his final theory of "concrete relativism" (*juti xiangduilun* 具體相對論). In its initial form, this idea had already been mentioned in his essay on contemporary philosophy from 1934. In the context of his "concrete relativism", the dialectical method and logical analysis were further merged into one single methodological body, which he believed to be an important step towards the comprehensiveness and application (*yong* 用) of scientific knowledge. In his attempt to devise such a comprehensive method, Zhang coined the terms "dialectical analysis" (*bianzheng jiexi* 辯證解析) and "analytical dialectical materialism" (*jiexi de bianzheng weiwulun* 解析的辯證唯物論) that

stood for a fusion between dialectical materialism and logical analysis, and the central methodological machinery of "concrete relativism" (Zhang 1934, 12). In this unlikely marriage, the focus of the "dialectical part" would be to study relationships, changes and developments, to examine internal contradictions (struggle between the opposites), relationships of mutual opposition and mutual production (*xiangfan xiangcheng*), and the dialectical development of quality and quantity. While, on the other hand, the duties of logical analysis would be semantics, logic, and theoretical systematization.[48] Zhang further claimed that another common feature of logical analysis and the dialectical method lay in their strong propensity towards the unification of all sciences.

As we have already noted above, the above-mentioned synthesis between logical analysis and dialectical materialism was presented as an integral part of his epistemological theory called "concrete relativism".

Concrete Relativism

In its essence, Zhang's idea of "concrete relativism" was derived from Russell's "neutral monism", and his notion of relativity of knowledge based on his interpretation of relativity in physics. Initially, Zhang also referred to his theory as "absolute relativism" (*juedui xiangduilun* 絕對相對論) or "relative absolutism" (*xiangdui jueduilun* 相對絕對論).

In "Concrete Relativism (Juti xiangduilun 具體相對論)" from 1943, his earliest essay devoted exclusively to this theory, Zhang raised two major theses: "truth is concrete" and "the absolute is the concentration of the relative". Herewith, Zhang wanted to indicate the complexity of the question of truth and falseness (of a theory or proposition). Zhang proposed his theory of concrete relativism as an alternative to traditional epistemologies, which fail to take into account the above-mentioned fluidity of true and false. Moreover, in his concrete relativism he also endeavoured to supply a methodology which could provide the pivotal criteria for establishing the right measure (*zhong* 中 or *zhi* 值) of truth (Zhang 1943, 320–21).

With respect to the main cause for the above-mentioned epistemological obscurity, Zhang adopted the standpoint of the Western proponents of the linguistic turn, focusing on the positiveness of language (sense and meaning). At the same time,

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48   Namely: logical reasoning, differentiation between types (i.e. Russell's theory of types); logical form, definition of classes, sets, functions and variables; a study of relations; establishment of theory on facts; systematisation of inference and dissolving fallacies (Zhang 1943, 322).

he also claimed the same idea had been inherent in the traditional Chinese substance-function (*ti-yong* 體-用) dichotomy (e.g. nature versus man, order versus mediation). Zhang also believed that this dichotomy was embodied in the twofold structure of his philosophy: dialectics as its technique (pursuit for *dao* 道) and logical analysis as its method. In order to demonstrate the objectiveness of his epistemological views, Zhang claimed that they were deduced from Russell's theory of types. At the same time, he asserted that Russell's theory in itself not only proved that "dialectical analysis" was attainable, but also demonstrated that rectification of relations between names and actualities (*ming-shi* 名實) was crucial for its attainment of comprehensiveness and practical implementation (Zhang 1943, 322).

Zhang's theory of concrete relativism was recapitulated in an article entitled "The Central Point of My Philosophy—Concrete Relativism (Wo de zhexue de zhongxindian – Juti xiangduilun 我的哲學的中心點 – 具體相對論)" which was published in 1945. In this, Zhang emphatically stated that the central source of his concrete relativism was "the theory of types form Russell's mathematical logic", whereas its other notable sources included Einstein's theory of relativity, dialectical materialism and Chinese philosophy (Zhang 1945b, 10). He also reiterated his conviction that as a comprehensive synthesis of all branches of science concrete relativism could both significantly improve the rational capacity of the human mind and contribute to one's inner (ethical) self-cultivation.[49]

Because at the time Zhang believed physics to be the most important of all sciences, he proposed that in the process of verification in "concrete relativism" one would also have to examine the spatial and temporal dimensions in which a proposition or a theory is located—in addition to its evolutionary aspects and causal circumstances related to its sense. Zhang described such a verification as determination of the type, level, order and relational aspect within a proposition. While such an application would reveal the concreteness of facts, a concurrent "relativism" would imply that truth is not determinable in a straightforward way. Finally, in Zhang's view such a "concrete and relative" method would lead to the

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49   An idea that was in line with Confucian notion of knowing (*zhi* 知) or wisdom (*zhi* 智) as an integral part of one's inner self-cultivation (*xiushen* 修身). In a similarly "traditional" manner Zhang also assumed that "the perfection of dialectical analysis and a consistent practice of concrete relativism would be able to pacify people's minds, bring unity to the world and establish a harmonic relationship between the nature and man (Zhang 1945b, 11–12). In this sense, it becomes clear how the ethical aspect of Zhang's comprehensive philosophy rested heavily on the Confucian concept of humaneness (*ren* 仁), which in the latter developments within East Asian Confucianisms was ascribed the same attributes and was believed to lead to same practical results—common welfare, inner harmony, etc. (For a detailed study on the concept of humaneness in East Asian Confucianisms see Huang 2017.) It is important to note that in such inclusion of the ethical aspect into his theory Zhang also recognized an essential prerequisite for its universal value and objectiveness.

complete clarification of language: by recognizing that language requires con-
creteness and the principles (*li* 理) [it denotes] are relative, one can prevent all
mistakes and dispel all delusions (Zhang 1945b, 11–12).

Conclusion

The above outline of recurring key concepts from Zhang Shenfu's philosophy
reveals a number of special features, ones that ought to be taken under closer
examination, not only in future surveys of the thought of this important Chinese
thinker, but also in more general excursions into the intellectual history of modern
China. Among the most outstanding and obvious such features is most certainly
the intriguingly deep-running traditional undertone to all of Zhang's attempts at
grasping the meaning of his favourite Western teachings and ideas, as well as his
persistent struggle to merge Western science with traditional Chinese cosmology.
As indicated in the introductory remarks to this study, Zhang's intellectual devel-
opment was crucially defined by the apparently schismatic dilemma of modernity,
which incised a deep gorge between the two alleged poles of the modern world.
Having been still deeply immersed in the ideas and perspectives of tradition-
al China—like many of his contemporaries—Zhang was barely able, and at the
same time probably also unwilling, to overcome the profound differences between
traditional and Western scientific worldviews. Hence, his intellectual undertak-
ings signified the stage or fragment in the process of adoption of Western ideas
when the traditional base still prevailed over the system of ideas extracted from
the Western thought. Here, it further needs to be noted that when it came to
intellectual appropriation the logic in intellectual translation of Western natural
science was not entirely the same as in the case of Western philosophy—or as the
Chinese intellectuals themselves decided to call this category, the "view(s) on life"
(*renshengguan* 人生觀). While, in the 1920s and 30s, the first (science) essentially
involved a sense of onto-moral imperative (having been recognized as "objective")
and utilitarian necessity, the second touched on the sense of cultural identity or
essence as an objectively autonomous spiritual realm (the subjective), as the main
umbilical cord still interconnecting the day-to-day reality of modern China with
its philosophical past.

Like other intellectuals from the period, Zhang's notions of Western science and
philosophy rested predominantly on establishing analogies between the patterns
and concepts in traditional thought/perception on one side, and corresponding
patterns or, maybe even more importantly, *terms* in Western scientific worldviews
(as holistic systems) on the other. Correspondingly, what appears to us as clear

errors in understanding—e.g. his idea of materialist dialectics—is also an expected outcome of such an analogical method of exploring certain ideas within a fundamentally holistic worldview, dominated by traditional concepts and categories as the basic norms of "similarity".

From his early years on, Zhang's enthusiastic examinations of the philosophy of Bertrand Russell, mathematical logic and dialectical materialism were saturated with palpably traditional perspectives, including a strong dialectic and holistic view of reality. Gradually, Zhang himself also became aware of this essentially traditional feature of his thought, and in turn consciously embedded the idea of harmonic complementarity between opposites (*xiangcheng xiangfan* 相成相反) into his ideas about Western science, logic, analytical philosophy, and so on. The same principle was also extrapolated into his idea of pure or greater objectivism, which he also derived from the traditional Chinese idea of "comprehensiveness" (*tong* 通), which again indicates a universal interpenetration of all things and principles that compose the universe. On the other hand, deriving from the inherent ethical connotations of the cosmological constellations of principles in Confucian thought, Zhang further established a connection between the "objectivistic spirit" of the Western scientific worldview and the Confucian concept of "humaneness" (*ren* 仁), which embodied yet another aspect of the all-encompassing unity of principles. Broadly speaking, in Confucian thought this concept represented the intersection between one's inner moral cultivation (subjective) and the external order of things (objective), as the crucial starting point for attaining substantial consonance with the pattern (*li* 理, also "principle") or the way (*dao* 道) of the universe.

Zhang's erratic and, on the surface, rather extravagant and inconsistent way of writing, made him a notoriously controversial thinker, already back in the years when he was still active as a philosopher. From the early days on, his writing was occasionally immensely cryptic and his conclusions extremely hasty and over-generalizing. However, a more scholarly counterpart to Zhang Shenfu soon arrived in the philosophical persona of his younger brother Zhang Dainian, who inculcated Zhang's syncretistic philosophical ideas together with his key concepts into his own elaborate discussions of contemporary and traditional Chinese philosophy. In this sense it needs to be noted that Zhang Dainian's philosophical writings from the 1930s constitute an important part of the whole picture, which might help us better understand Zhang Shenfu's thought.

Finally, even though from the vantage-point of a Western philosopher Zhang Shenfu on many occasions critically failed to understand certain concepts and theories from Western philosophy (most notably the notion of dialectics in Hegelian

and Marxist philosophy), still his colourful scholarly style, his intellectual and political renown, his pioneering contributions (mostly in the propagation of certain notions) to Chinese studies of analytic philosophy and mathematical logic, and his immensely influential role in pivotal moments and movements in Republican China, make him an immensely important figure in modern Chinese intellectual history. Most of all, as a Republican intellectual Zhang also deserves to be studied because of his remarkably unique philosophy, which painted in the eyes of his numerous students and adherents—many of whom would go on to be leading Chinese Communists—an alternative, fundamentally "harmonic" and synthetic version of intellectual modernity, where, in an equally unique manner, a special place was reserved for both traditional thought as well as Western scientific notions such as mathematical logic and relativistic physics. Consequently, in the light of all the reasons set out above, a deeper interest and study of Zhang Shenfu and his philosophy may offer additional and crucial insights into one of the most important chapters of modern Chinese history. Moreover, because Zhang was also one of the leading proponents of dialectical materialism in China, a closer look at his thought may also offer a better insight into the general circumstances that surrounded the very formation of the intellectual foundations of socialist China.

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From Marx and Engels to Sino-Marxism Focusing on Communist and Confucian *(rujia)* Notions of Loyalty and Self-Criticism

Gregor PAUL*

Abstract

The paper sketches and compares main components of Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, and Sino-Marxism, especially Maoism. In particular, it deals with the relation between Maoism and so-called Confucianism *(rujia)*. It is argued that this relation has been—and still is—characterized by both Maoist criticism of Confucius as well as absorption of 'Confucian' ideas. In briefly analysing commonalities and differences between the various theories and 'practices', especially the ways the Communist Party of China conceived of and asked for loyalty to the Party, reasons are given for their development, achievements, and failures.

Keywords: Marxism, Maoism, *rujia* (so-called Confucianism), loyalty, self-criticism

Od Marxa in Engelsa do sinomarksizma s poudarkom na komunističnem in konfucijanskem (*rujia*) pojmu lojalnosti in samokritike

Izvleček

Članek vsebuje orise osrednjih komponent marksizma, leninizma in stalinizma ter njihove primerjave s sinomarksizmi, predvsem z maoizmom. Pri tem se osredotoča zlasti na odnos med maoizmom in tako imenovanim konfucijanstvom (*rujia*). Avtor je prepričan, da je ta odnos temeljil (in še vedno temelji) na maoistični kritiki konfucijanstva, po drugi strani pa je (bil) opredeljen tudi z absorpcijo določenih »konfucijanskih« idej. V kratki analizi vzporednic in razlik med različnimi teorijami in »praksami«, zlasti tistimi, ki so bile povezane s konceptom lojalnosti Komunistični stranki Kitajske, avtor prikaže osrednje razloge za njihov razvoj in dosežke, pa tudi za njihove poraze.

Ključne besede: marksizem, maoizem, *rujia* (t. i. konfucijanstvo), lojalnost, samokritika

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Some Basic Teachings of Marx and Engels[**]

Some basic teachings of Marx and Engels[1] may be summed up as follows:

The world ought to be changed into a better one, characterized by a *classless society* in which nobody can oppress or exploit others. Thereby, the particularly Marxist idea is that of a classless society.

To be able to end *class-struggle* (Marx 2015, 11), the world must first be adequately understood. That is, it has to be realized that it is the material but not the ideal factors that determine its features and development. Marxism thus advocates a *materialist ontology* and causality (ibid., 330). Thereby, materialist factors include economic ones.

Historical developments follow the laws of *dialectical materialism,* built on the Marxist critique of the idealistic nature of the Hegelian dialectics (see Marx 1959, 64). These laws enable both adequate description and, more importantly, reliable prediction.

The world as Marx and Engels experienced and analysed it was characterized by the oppression and exploitation of wage labourers by their employers (ibid., 7). Marx and Engels referred to the oppressed as the proletariat and to the oppressors as the bourgeoisie and capitalists. According to Marx and Engels, most workers

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[1]   These central theses were mainly published in Marx 1959 and 2015, and Marx and Engels 1969. Please note that I am *not reducing* Marxism to the points I mention. I do not even try to list all basic teachings of Marx and Engels, but only name *some* of them. Also, I am aware that Marx and Engels voiced other convictions and also dealt with other topics besides those I refer to in my selection. For instance, the "young Marx" put forward a kind of philosophy of humaneness, and it was this philosophy that influenced some Chinese Marxists who—because of this influence—were not Maoists but can be called "humanist Marxists". These Chinese Marxists played an important role in the political discourse of the 1980s. The most well-known of these is Li Zehou, and according to him (2020, 334) Jin Yuelin (1895–1984), Feng Youlan (1895–1990), Zhu Guangqian (1897–1986) and Tang Yongtong (1893–1964) also "accepted" Marxism, although they were certainly no Maoists. Moreover, in the history of Marxism, many different "schools" developed. In Russia, besides Leninism and Stalinism, there was Trotskyism. In Europe, the Neo-Marxism of Georg Lukács (1885–1971), Ernst Bloch (1885–1977), and Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979) flourished. All three held that the *Überbau* (super-structure) can influence the socio-economic basis, and that this influence can contribute to leading to a better world. In short, this Neo-Marxism had strong humanistic features. Similar to Li Zehou, Lukács, Bloch, and Marcuse thereby emphasized the importance of aesthetics, arts and literature.

In my paper, I do not deal further with most of these schools, developments, or doctrines. The sole exceptions are the philosophies of Feng Youlan and Li Zehou, for the latter especially is an outstanding example of a Sino-Marxist who is not a Maoist. As far as I know, he never agreed with the brutality (inhumaneness) of Mao's politics and with the personality cult that culminated during the so-called Cultural Revolution and, ultimately, in the embalming of Mao's corpse.

were forced to accept extreme oppression, since otherwise they would not have been able to survive. To end this, Marx and Engels called on the proletariat to unite and overthrow the ruling system. In order to achieve this, the *use of force* was regarded as necessary (Marx 2015, 360).

This process of liberation, Marx and Engels argued, ought to be led by groups who (best) understood the extant socio-economical situations and who acted in the interest of the proletariat thus, in a certain sense, representing it. According to Marx and Engels, *Communist parties* best fulfilled these requirements.

Characteristics of Sino-Marxism[2]

The version of Marxism that was developed in China comprises features formulated in the *Communist Manifesto*[3], as well as features of Leninism, Stalinism, traditional Chinese thought, and Maoism (i.e., teachings *and practices* between ca. 1949 and 1976), and can thus be called Sino-Marxism. In particular, it comprises the notion of class struggle, the notion of a classless utopia, and the notions of historical dialectics and Communist party leadership. As the *Manifesto* already pointed out, Maoism in particular emphasized that force must be used to realize the Marxist utopia.

Whereas the notion of a world free of oppression and exploitation can express a universally valid ethical norm, the other notions are of a particularly Marxist kind. Thereby Leninism, Stalinism, and Maoism differed from the positions of the *Manifesto* in that they strongly emphasized, and almost relentlessly defended, *Communist party leadership*, even going so far as to promote the *personality cult* of certain party leaders, especially Stalin and Mao, who willingly gave in to the temptations of power. These personality cults even survived the deaths of Lenin, Stalin, and Mao, whose bodies were embalmed/conserved and so to say enshrined—a bewildering procedure from Marxist materialist and atheist points of view. In Sino-Marxism, and especially Maoism, the traditional *rujia notion of self-cultivation* was used as a means to preserve, defend and strengthen party leadership. Emphasizing the *importance of self-criticism*, and forcing opponents of the

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2   In 2019, the journal *Asian Studies* published a special issue on the Sinization of Marxism. Even though several informative papers included in this issue were illuminating the topic from different views, similar to the topic of this article (see for instance Altınok 2019; Sernelj 2019; Dessein 2019; Krawczyk 2019), none of them has particularly focused upon questions regarding the connection between crucial Confucian values and Marxist axiology. The present article aims to fill this gap.

3   This is a common abbreviation of the title, the complete version of which reads *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see Marx and Engels 1969).

Party to publicly criticize themselves, it became an efficient instrument to enforce loyalty. Sympathy for the First Emperor and *fajia*-teachings also served to supplement Maoist justification of Party leadership (Roetz 2016). In line with this, the practices of Leninism, Stalinism, and Maoism were characterized by using *force* to an extent and with an intensity Marx and Engels would never have imagined, since according to them meaningful use of force required the existence of certain socio-economic conditions that did not exist before the Russian Revolution and in China during the 1950s and 60s. Mao Zedong, in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" and "Talk on Questions of Philosophy" (Mao 2007), insisted on the *inevitability of using force* even for maintaining the (intermediate, transitory) state of socialism in China.

Moreover, his notion of "synthesis" as actually a kind of complete victory over an "enemy", and his notion of permanent revolution—a rather radical interpretation of the theory of historical dialectics—served as justification for the Maoist practice of force. From a logical point of view, Mao's theory of force implied that a completely peaceful or harmonious society could, or would, never be realized.

As I try to show further in the following, the different features mentioned were partly constitutive, auxiliary, catalytic, and/or supportive of the development of Sino-Marxism. There are also other factors that contributed to this development, such as Chinese scholars' attempts to apply Marxist criteria of periodization to Chinese history (Louie 1986; Schickel 1976), though the factors referred to were probably of particular significance.

General Features of Marxism that Explain Its Success

Except for the use of force, the success of Marxism was, and is, due to features that are rather universal than of a particularly Marxist kind, namely its humane goal, this-worldliness, and its intention not only to teach humaneness, but to also put it into practice.

For who would earnestly argue or act against the idea and *realization of humanity* except egoists? Especially unjust inequality—as exemplified by a class-based society—is regarded as unacceptable by most people. The desire for justice is very strong, for injustice in many cases is incompatible with the law of non-contradiction that requires that similar socioeconomic conditions, or similar individual conditions, have similar consequences. Let me state already at this junction that the classic *rujia* notions of *ren* and *yi*—i.e. the concepts of *ren* and *yi* put forward in the *Lunyu, Mengzi, and Xunzi*—are certainly notions that, like the

Marxist ones, are conceptions that (ideally) exclude cruelty, exploitation, and in-justice. One of the explanations the *Lunyu* repeatedly provides for the meaning of *ren* is that it entails abiding by the Golden Rule, a law that anthropologists and ethnologists regard as a universally valid moral principle. However, because of its specific features, such as its emphasis on the importance of social stratification, *rujia* socio-political philosophy differs significantly from the Marxist utopia of a classless society.

This-worldliness is also an attractive feature of any theory and doctrine, for it promises a good, or better, human life *here and now,* although one must admit that millions of people regard the religious promise of an eternal afterlife as even more attractive. This, however, is relevant for our topic only in so far, as non-religious societies or cultures are more receptive to Marxism than religious ones.[4] I am of course speaking in broad terms. Traditional Russian society and culture before 1917 was strongly determined by religious beliefs, especially beliefs in the existence of the Christian God. Such beliefs were obstacles that had to be overcome by force to establish Communism. In contrast, certain features of traditional Chinese culture before 1949 favoured realizing the universal features of Marxist humanism. Though religious beliefs existed, as they also do in the 21st century, they were never as widespread or powerful as in Russia. In particular, the Chinese elite, i.e. scholars and officials, rarely believed in gods, and even more rarely in the Christian God.[5] In this respect, they were more rational than most Westerners.[6] Their positions are also evident from the sharp criticism the Japanese *kokugaka* 国学 the "School of the [our] country [Japan]", voiced against Chinese *rujia,* particularly the *Mengzi,* emphasizing that Japan was a divine country whereas China was what one could call a secular nation, dominated by extreme rationality (Paul 2013). Marxist this-worldliness manifests itself as ontological materialism and atheism. The *Lunyu* may be called agnostic, the *Mengzi* may have features that are nowadays dubbed spiritual—but not more than this—and the *Xunzi* argues

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4   One could also put it the other way round: societies in which religious beliefs are strong, especially the belief in the existence of a God, such as the US, (traditional) Poland, or Saudi Arabia, (generally) abhor and often even fight atheism.

5   This is also the opinion of Li Zehou (e.g. 2020, 23, 28, 316–17, 321, 325). See also p. 275 below.

6   Devoted Christians supported religious wars, the pursuit and execution of "heretics", and the burning of witches. Even outstanding scholars, such as Albertus Magnus (c. 1200–1280) declared that if a certain mathematical truth contradicted Christian faith, the latter would overrule the former. Like many others he thus held that divine revelation could be more reliable than even the law of non-contradiction. All these Christians were by no means mere "victims" of their times, for even during the Middle Ages there lived Christians who opposed intolerance, superstition, and cruelty. I need not emphasize that many Chinese scholars have criticized what they regarded as Christian irrationality.

in favour of atheism. In his brilliant essay on Marx and Confucius, Guo Moruo (1892–1978) (1999) expresses a similar view. As to the ontological question, it did not gain significance before the rise of so-called Neo-Confucianism. Interest in ontology lessens of course the importance and influence of this-worldly orientation, since its metaphysical character makes difficult intersubjective understanding or agreement.

Marx maintained that the world should not be only explained, but rather be changed into a better one[7] (see Marx 1969, XI, 3), and it would be difficult to find those who would disagree. However, whereas in the West, theory and practice are often clearly distinguished, and any gap between the two tends to be deplored, classic *rujia* teachings, particularly the *Xunzi,* emphasize that it displays a lack of understanding of what may be called truth if one does not also act according to one's knowledge of the truth. The *Xunzi* goes as far as stating that if one is not a *junzi* (noble man) one cannot have knowledge (or understanding *zhi* 知, 智). To put it briefly and somewhat roughly: according to classic *rujia,* understanding implies honesty, living up to one's words, and ultimately putting into practice one's insights. Marxist interest in practice, or Marxist interest in realizing theory was, and is, certainly in keeping with classic *rujia* teachings, but is also shared by the Communist Party of China (von Senger 2016a, 147), and Mao repeatedly emphasized the necessity of practice. (e.g. Mao 2007)

Chinese Disputes about the Relation between General Ethical or Social Norms and Marxism

From the 1950s through the end of the Cultural Revolution, the question of whether "abstract" or "general" teachings identifiable in or deducible from traditional Chinese philosophy, could, or actually did, support the realization of Communism in China has been fiercely debated among Chinese scholars and Party members. Whereas Feng Youlan (1895–1990) argued that such "abstract" or "general" inheritance of tradition was not only justified, but even advantageous to (or supportive of) realizing Communism, others maintained that there is no such thing as "abstract" or "general" teachings, but only class-related positions. Feng Youlan supported his view by reference to the notion of *ren* and to Engels' *Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (Louie 1986, 45, 69, 73, 74). Feng Youlan's approach was termed the "method of abstract inheritance" (*chouxiang jicheng fa* 抽象继 承法 (ibid., 51)). Feng's opponents insisted that a philosophy

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7   The 11th thesis on Feuerbach reads: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it". (Marx 1969, XI, 3)

can only mirror, or reflect, its class affiliation. Louie (ibid., 45–61) has given an excellent account of the respective disputes, while Schickel (1976) provided related material. In my opinion, though a general and/or abstract norm, such as to think and behave humanely, is understood differently in different contexts and by different people, such a norm is nevertheless conceived of as a valid principle. The very possibility of interpreting it in the specific sense desired, or required by the specific conditions given, facilitates developing, or supports, just those principles or views that are in question. For instance, *ren* could be used as a term that includes a Communist notion of equality. To further illustrate what I mean: it is a fact that the Aristotelian notion of "right middle" has remained, and still remains, a fruitful and inspiring notion in ethical discourse, in spite of its being developed in a slave society, and in the context of an ethics that defended such a practice. In my view "the method of abstract inheritance" did indeed facilitate the acceptance of Communism in China, be it only because it served as a kind of a psychological inspiration. Thus (as mentioned in note 1, above) Li Zehou may be right stating that Feng Youlan "accepted" Marxism, though Feng was of course no Maoist. However, one should perhaps distinguish between different phases in Feng's career, and keep in mind that his Communist opponents (also) forced him to declare approval of/compliance with Communism.

In addition, and rightly or wrongly, the Confucius cult of the 21st century certainly furthers acceptance of a "socialism with Chinese characteristics". "Ordinary" Chinese people conceive of this cult as a Communist support—a tourist opportunity provided by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)—of (what they may regard as) Confucian teachings.

Particular Features of Marxism that Explain of Its Success

However, such general concurrences between, or overlapping of, Marxist and classic *rujia* as indicated by the notions of *humaneness (ren), justice (yi), this-worldliness, atheism, and changing the world into a better one,* do not of course suffice to explain the development of Sino-Marxism. Though they can be regarded as catalysts that made Chinese culture and society particularly receptive to the *general* humanistic features of Marxism, Marxism also included particular teachings that contributed to the development of Sino-Marxism, among them the *doctrines of the leadership of Communist parties and the necessity of using force to realize a class-less society.* The traditional *rujia* view that societies must be structured hierarchically, and the traditional respect for elites, as well as *rujia* sympathy for statism, facilitated acceptance of the Marxist idea of Communist Party leadership (as has also

been pointed out by Louie 1986, 191–92). On the other hand, neither the *rujia* notion of a stratified society nor actually existing Sino-Marxism, including the idea of the leadership of the Communist Party, are compatible with the ideas of a classless and stateless society, even if acknowledging that the Chinese society of the 21st century may be only a transitional state on the way to ultimately realizing a Marxist utopia.

Leninism, Stalinism, and especially Maoism—particularly the practice that determined the years from about 1955 to 1976—would not have come into being without the *massive and brutal use of force.* The same applies of course to the dictatorship of the Khmer Rouge. Even if one holds that use of force is *sometimes* inevitable if one wants to realize a better world, and even given that such use of force will finally prove to be *a justifiable step* on the way to a better world, the extent and intensity of force used in establishing Leninism, Stalinism, and Maoism remains questionable. Not that classic *rujia* did not include theories and justifications of bloody revolutions. Here I only mention the *tianming* ("Mandate of Heaven", i.e. moral justification and legitimate change of rule) doctrines in the *Mengzi* and *Xunzi,* but this does not change the given view. It only shows that Sino-Marxists, especially Maoists, could even utilize classic *rujia* thought for defending their use of force. One thing however should be clear again: *The dictatorship of the respective Communist parties, and the massive and intensive use of force, was the main factor for successfully establishing Communist states.* One may compare this to the "achievements" or "success" of Christianization e.g. in Central and South America. Mao's decision to rely on peasants rather than urban proletarians, however, could be justified even by reference to the *Communist Manifesto*.

The intricate relation between the Sino-Marxist notion of an ideal Communist on the one hand and the *rujia* notions of an ideal personality on the other can be illustrated by analysing and comparing the respective concepts of loyalty and criticism. In Maoism, loyalty is conceived as more or less unconditional obedience to the Communist Party of China and/or to Mao, whereas in classic *rujia* it is regarded as self-critical *and* critical devotion to the ruler(s). These teachings differ significantly from what is called Han Confucianism, Song-Confucianism, and several later versions of what has been erroneously named Confucianism. Most of these later teachings are supportive of oppressive regimes, incompatible with the *Mengzi's* and *Xunzi's* theories of criticism and *tianming*. I have dealt with this issue already in my book *Aspects of Confucianism,* published in 1990, pointing out the inhumane implications of, for example, Neo-"Confucian" spiritualist ontology and the almost logical consequence of the *lixue's li*-concept that *li,* "principle", (as Dai Zhen (1724–1777) rightly stated) can be used to kill people. Now, as the Maoist device of self-criticism—i.e. the demand and enforced practice

to (publicly) criticize oneself if one deviates from the views of the Communist Party of China—and Liu Shaoqi's (1898–1969) *How to be a Good Communist* (1939) prove, Maoism (and to a lesser degree Sino-Marxism in general) has been strongly influenced by *rujia* notions of loyalty and *self*-criticism, though more by Neo-"Confucian" than the classic *rujia* notions.

Whereas the *Lunyu* and the *Xunzi* require both openness for criticism (implying a self-critical stance) *and* readiness to criticize, Liu emphasizes uncritical loyalty, if not obedience, to the Communist Party, thereby suggesting (or at least insinuating) that such loyalty can also be justified by *rujia* teachings and thus would be in line with traditional Chinese thought. Liu's reference to the *rujia* notion of self-criticism is already obvious from the original Chinese title of his work, *Lun gongchandang yuande xiuyang*, "On the Self-Cultivation of a Communist Party Member" (see also Louie 1986, 10, 43, 73, 201). "Self-cultivation" (here *xiuyang*) is a central term and norm of *rujia,* and in particular implies self-criticism. In 1998, Ruan Qing 阮青 (born 1957), in an influential essay, stated that ("Confucian") self-cultivation (*xiushen sixiang* 修身思想) concords with the (Sino-Marxist) methods of criticism and self-criticism (*piping ziwo piping zuofeng* 批评自我批评作风), thus also actually recognizing the influence of *rujia* on Sino-Marxism (see also van Ess 2016, 5, 69, 70). In the 1960s and 70s, however, "self-criticism" amounted to self-destruction. Again and again, people were forced to degrade and disgrace themselves. One of the most impressive notions of *rujia* philosophy was thus perverted into a means of ruthless oppression.

Except for (wrongly) justifying their methods by reference to classic *rujia* teachings of self-cultivation, Maoists could of course also rely on similar methods used by Stalin to oppress or even do away with opponents.

Before Khrushchev started the process of de-Stalinization (after 1953), the Chinese Communist Party, and in particular Mao, more or less followed Stalin's ideology and politics, inviting Russian advisors and technicians to visit China. Moreover, since the 1920s Chinese students studied at the Sun Yatsen University in Moscow. In 1925, a set of guidelines were published to regulate the studies and behaviour of the Chinese students (Bauer 1990, 688). This demanded unconditional loyalty to the Communist Party, denying existence of the free will of the individual, and asking for strict and unreserved criticism of the (seeming) failures of fellow students, and for servile self-criticism and acceptance of criticism (ibid., 686). One student stated that this enforced self-criticism terrified and terrorized everybody. Even if you criticized yourself honestly, there were almost always others who would go further in criticizing you. If one did not accept criticism, one was criticized even harsher. Some people even lost control of their bladders in fear (ibid., 689).

As Liu Shaoqi puts it:

> A Party member's personal interests must be unconditionally subordinated to the interests of the Party. (Liu 1939)

> The test of a Party member's loyalty to the Party, the revolution, the cause of Communism is whether or not he can subordinate his personal interests absolutely and unconditionally to the interests of the Party whatever the circumstances. (ibid.)

> [A good Communist] does not fear criticism and at the same time is able to criticize others with courage and sincerity. (ibid.)

> Communists who have a weak sense of duty towards the Party … fear … self-criticism … (ibid.)

Again and again, Liu emphasizes the necessity of what he regarded as appropriate criticism and self-criticism, supporting his arguments with quotes from the *Lunyu* and *Mengzi*. This approach has had widespread social consequences, as we can see from the following example:

> During the Cultural Revolution, one Chinese woman accused herself as being worse than a sheep, comparable to a swine or a dog, continuing that even such self-criticism could not do justice to her failures. "I hate, hate myself! I hate my past, I hate my present, I hate my future …" (Bauer 1990, 713)

Though with Khrushchev, Stalinism came to an end in the Soviet Union, its influence continued in China, particularly since Mao sympathized with its radical ideas of party rule and personality cult. Even the so-called "Great Terror" of the Moscow propaganda trials of the 1930s became a model of Maoist politics.

However, the Soviet Union almost lost its function as an informant about the West in general. This favoured a certain turning inward in China, which was favourable to strengthening the influence of traditional Chinese culture on the development of Sino-Marxism (Louie 1986). In 2018, the Beijing Academy of Wang Yangming Philosophy published a booklet entitled *Cultural Confidence & National Rejuvenation*. Though it mainly aims to be a guide for enterprises (!), it also addresses the general reader.

The central contents can be summed up as follows: The China of the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Xi Jinping, is both determined by the leadership of the Party and by traditional Chinese culture, thus being a "socialist

country with Chinese characteristics" (Beijing Academy 2018, 23, 154, 156). To substantiate and illustrate this, the booklet again and again quotes Xi Jinping and such philosophers as Confucius, Mencius, Wang Yangming (1472–1529), Laozi and Zhuangzi (4th century BC) (cf. also ibid., 120). As to important features of this combination or confluence of Marxism (ibid., 23) and Chinese philosophy, it mentions "self-cultivation" (ibid., 13, 26, 143, 209, 210), "unity of knowing and doing" (ibid., 190), the goal of establishing a "moderately prosperous society" (ibid., 146), and, particularly in reference to the *Zhongyong* 中庸, "The Doctrine of the Mean" (ibid., 26), and *xinxue,* Wang Yangming's doctrine of the heart-mind, a self-cultivation that starts with the cultivation of one's *xin,* the "heart-mind", and ends with including all of mankind in one's inner thoughts and feelings. In this connection, even Xi Jiping's idea of a new Silk Road is referred to as an attempt to realize the *rujia* idea of an all-inclusive extension of an individual's commiseration for the whole world (ibid., 144; see also ibid., 142, 143). It is also worth noting that the (*rujia*) "value" of "self-cultivation" is characterized as "highly agree[ing] … on [an] individual … level … with [a] socialist core value" (ibid., 26, 210). The booklet is a strange mixture of propaganda and scholarship, but seems to depict the self-perception of Xi Jinping's leadership.

By the way, in the above mentioned essay Guo Moruo (1999) points to possible similarities among the *rujia* notion of *datong* 大同, "Great Unity", in the *Liji* 禮記, "The Book of Rites", and a Marxist utopia.

The theory and practice of self-cultivation and particularly self-criticism is an excellent example of how *rujia* ethics could be used to justify, and ultimately strengthen and enforce, loyalty to the Communist Party, leading to an indeed Sino-Marxist, or Maoist, conception of Marxism-Leninism. Another impressive example of Sino-Marxism is Mao Zedong's notion of the original Marxist idea of historical dialectics, which he interprets as processes of resolving contradictions. According to Mao's essay "On Contradiction" (in Mao 2007), every entity and situation is characterized by internal and external contradictions—contradictions with other entities or situations—that as such trigger historical development. Moreover, every historical situation is characterized by a principal contradiction and several minor contradictions, the resolution of which constitutes progress. Mao expressly bases his theory on his understanding of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, quoting Lenin several times. Interestingly, he also refers to several ancient and medieval Chinese authors and texts, thus suggesting that his theory could be also supported by some traditional Chinese sources, such as Sunzi's (6th century BC) *Bingfa*, *The Art of War*, or that the Marxist notion of undialectical metaphysics can be illustrated by the philosophy of the "Confucian" Dong Zhongshu (ibid., 179–84).

It should be noted that Mao uses an extremely wide notion of contradiction, and his definition of the law of contradiction conspicuously contradicts the logical principle of (non-)contradiction that a concept c or a proposition p is not, and cannot be, non-c, non-p or not p. Mao states: "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and of society and therefore also the fundamental law of thought. It stands opposed to the metaphysical world outlook" (Mao 2007, 101). Although I cannot enter into a discussion of this statement, it seems clear that it actually expresses an ontological and in this sense metaphysical law, whereas a law of thought is a device used to find, for example, such an ontological principle. Mao's view of contradiction thus leads to fundamental problems of Marxist epistemology.

In the context of our topic, it is more important that Mao regards criticism and self-criticism as methods by which "contradiction within the Communist Party is resolved" (ibid., 78), though, in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions", he even states that both kinds of criticism are means of "self-education for the people", thus conceiving of them in the same way *rujia* teachings of "self-cultivation" do (ibid., 138). Also, and very much in keeping with his politics especially during the Cultural Revolution, he emphasizes that "criticism and self-criticism" "should help to strengthen … the leadership of the Communist Party", thus actually only paying lip service to the idea of "free discussion" when he maintains that "those who disapprove of these criteria can still state their own views and argue their case" (ibid., 158). It is, however, not only the *rujia* notion of self-cultivation that Mao could utilize to argue for self-criticism, but the even broader *rujia* notion of education and learning. Mao's emphasis on mass education and the education even of Party members, i.e., his repeated insistence that everybody must (more or less continuously) study Marxist theory, as well as the establishment of so-called education camps, seems to be in keeping with *rujia* ideas on education.

Li Zehou's Humanist Sino-Marxism

Though Maoism, in its misuse of Confucian concepts of elite leadership and self-cultivation (i.e. self-criticism), makes an extremely interesting topic for Chinese studies and political studies in general, one would not do justice to Sino-Marxism if one would not also (if again only briefly) deal with Chinese humanist Marxism as exemplified by Li Zehou's (born 1930) philosophy. This is not to just offer a more comprehensive picture of Sino-Marxism, or even a 'complete' one (which would be the task of many books). Humanist Sino-Marxism is important because it testifies to the differences that (can) exist between political

enforced ideology (Maoism) and what people, if allowed to voice their opinions without being subjected to political oppression (or at least without being threatened to be put into prison, not to mention being tortured and publicly humiliated), would like to say, and actually dare to say. Chinese humanist Marxism is thus an example of the universal force of humaneness—independent of whether one agrees with its Marxist features or not. Leninism, Stalinism, Pol Pot's communism, Maoism (and of course also Nazism), Western Neo-Marxism and Chinese humanist Marxism all demonstrate that both cruelty and humaneness are *not primarily* functions of cultures, or cultural mind-sets, but rather universal human (biological) potentialities or dispositions. As noted above, Li Zehou, similar to Lukács, Bloch, and Marcuse, conceived of a pleasant aesthetic experience as an experience of individual freedom, and emphasized the importance of art and literature as a means to build a better world. On the level of theory, he accordingly put much emphasis on aesthetics. Again similar to the three Western Neo-Marxists, he thereby utilized conceptions based on the aesthetics of Immanuel Kant (1704–1804) and Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), especially the notion of the free play of all faculties of the mind as constitutive of conscious individual freedom. Differing from Lukács, Bloch, and Marcuse, he however devoted much space to discussions of music, rites and ritual. This is of course since music (*yue*) and rites (*li*) both significantly influenced Chinese philosophical conceptions of humane culture. Li rightly conceives of himself as a Marxist insofar as he criticizes Kant's apriorism from empirical, historical and materialist points of view, explicitly relies on the early Marx's humanist thoughts, especially on what he regards as Marx's aesthetic approach to doing away with the self-estrangement caused by wage labour.[8] On the other hand, Li, in his theory building, utilizes and integrates ideas from traditional Chinese philosophy. This does not only apply to classic *rujia* teachings about music and rites, but also to what Li rather generally calls "the pragmatic reasoning that formed the Chinese tradition" and the "eschewing" of "religious faith" (Li 2020, 325). In fact, Li explains the influence of classical Chinese thought on the development of Sino-Marxism in much the same way as I do above.[9]

To put it somewhat differently, Li Zehou's Sino-Marxism is a philosophy of beauty that functions as an ethics of harmonious freedom. His main sources for this are (i) the aesthetics of Kant and Schiller, (ii) Marx's normative notion that man

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8   One may argue that the young Marx's philosophy, as put forward in his *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844, is no Marxism. But since it includes an elaborate theory of estrangement or alienation, it certainly is, though it significantly differs from Leninism, Stalinism, or Maoism, or what is often called orthodox Marxism.

9   I completed these explanations before I came to know Li's respective position(s).

should produce according to rules of beauty, and (iii) the tradition of Chinese aesthetics. (i) Li utilizes Kant's and Schiller's conception of the free play of (all) faculties of mind as constitutive of, and experiencing, (the perception of) beauty (see Li in Li and Cauvel 2006, 174). In so doing, Li approvingly refers to Kant's notion of beauty as a "symbol of freedom", and Schiller's statement that "beauty is freedom in appearance". He also agrees with Schiller's notion of the "play impulse" (ibid., 94), and Schiller's idea that men are "really free … only … when [they] are playing" (ibid., 94). Expressed in everyday language, Li thus maintains that the ideal human life means that what one likes to do is what one ought to do, and that what one ought to do is what one likes to do.[10] (iii) Since Li, however, holds that what he regards as Kant's and Schiller's apriorism and idealism, falls short of actually contributing to building a better world (ibid., 39; Li 2018, 306, 324, 325), he supplements their philosophies with Marxist materialist humanism. As I see it, Li does not conceive of Marx's observation that "man produces in accordance with the laws of beauty" (see Li 2018, 326–35, especially 333; see also Li in Li and Cauvel 2006, 179) as a merely descriptive statement, but also as a norm, namely that man, as a free and autonomous individual, *should be able* to produce in such a way. In short, this would indeed mean that labour should be a kind of pleasant and pleasing creativity, doing or producing something beautiful. Li seems to believe that such a goal could indeed be achieved. In his view the history of mankind, and especially the continuous invention and use of new tools, could make possible such an achievement (Li 2018, 323–24).

The German original of Marx's statement reads "der Mensch formiert … auch nach den Gesetzen der Schönheit" (Marx n.d.). As the context shows, this proposition is an explanation of Marx's conviction (or claim) that human beings can "truly produce" only if they are "free from physical needs". Since according to Marx "truth" in production is a necessary condition for unestranged labour, and since labour should not involve estrangement, one of its requirements is that it

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10   Though Li does not express himself this way, his related statements imply this. For instance, Li characterizes beauty variously as a "unity of truth and good manifest as free sensible form in objective nature" (Li 2018, 324, 331), as an expression of "the ideal pursued in the humanization of nature" (ibid., 333), as "the humanization of external nature or a humanized nature," and, most significantly, as the "practice of freedom" (Li and Cauvel 2006, 57), "a form of freedom" (in Rošker 2018, 85), stating that "aesthetic experience or sense of beauty … is, in essence, a pleasant sense of freedom" (Li in Li and Cauvel 2006, 93). As an illustration of what he means by "humanization of nature", he mentions that beautification turns eating into dining and sexual desire into love (Li 2018, 329; see also 2010, 41; most clearly, however, in Li and Cauvel 2006, 90–94). Further supportive of my interpretation are phrases such as "unification [harmonization]… of the sensuous [emotional, pleasing and pleasant] and the rational [moral]" (Li 2010, 6); unification "of the senses and reason" [faculties of desire and morality] (ibid., 10), and similar passages (ibid., 34).

ought to be carried out following the laws of beauty.[11] Li thus ultimately argues that Marx's notion of individual freedom, i.e. a "true" life without any estrangement, is only possible if people (always) act according to the laws of beauty, thus turning every kind of labour in creative, beautiful work (Li 2020, 330; see also Li 2018, 332).[12] (iii) To further support his approach, Li quotes a saying attributed to Confucius, and makes use of Xunzi's theory of *li* (which does not only refer to rites in a narrow sense of the notion, but also to the idea of established conventional and becoming behaviour). According to this theory, one of the main functions of *li* is to permit for expressing feelings without (thereby) indulging in uncontrolled emotions and/or violating social rules (see e.g. Li 2020, 111; Paul 1990). This means, for instance, that one can and should show (measured) grief at one's parents' burials. The saying attributed to Confucius, "following the desires of the heart without overstepping the bounds of right", clearly expresses the ideal of doing what one likes to do, thereby doing what one ought to do (*Lunyu* 2.4, quoted in Li 2010, 48). (It provokes, however, the unwanted association that this is not so difficult when you are old, for it is attributed to the 70-year old Confucius.) Moreover, Li repeatedly and correctly emphasizes that traditional Chinese culture highly valued pleasurable, aesthetic experiences.

Concluding Remarks

On its way from Europe to China, Marxism underwent several changes although certain basic teachings remained the same, especially the characterization of human history as class struggle, the notion of the communist parties as the vanguard of socio-political progress, and the conviction that realizing a communist utopia required the use of force, which was, to repeat, certainly the most important reason for the spread of Marxism, or, more appropriately, communism. In Leninism, Stalinism, and Maoism, the changes led to a decrease in Marxism's original humanism. The Sino-Marxism of the 21st century has certainly and significantly improved the material situation of the Chinese people, very much in keeping

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11   Since the context of the quote is of crucial importance for an adequate understanding of Marx's position, I cite it too: "[Das Tier] produziert nur unter der Herrschaft des unmittelbaren physischen Bedürfnisses, während der Mensch selbst frei vom physischen Bedürfnis produziert und erst wahrhaft produziert in der Freiheit von demselben … der Mensch formiert daher auch nach den Gesetzen der Schönheit." (Marx n.d.) To translate: "[The animal] only produces under the rule/dictate of direct/instantaneous physical needs, while man even produces [then when] free from physical needs, and [actually] only truly produces if free from them … man thus also constructs/produces according to the laws of beauty."

12   Similarly, Li (2020, 313) maintains that "Zhuangzi's … opposition to alienation" is an aspect (or function) of Zhuangzi's philosophy as an ultimately aesthetic one.

with the goal of solving "the [extant] principal contradiction between the grow-ing material and cultural desires/wants of the people and the underdeveloped … production" (Xi Jinping, quoted in von Senger 2016a, 146; see also 154), thus establishing at least a "moderately prosperous society" (see above footnote 5). The focus on improving material welfare, and the impressive achievements made in the pursuit of this aim, should further be understood as a conscious and inten-tional reaction to the asceticism and poverty caused by Maoism, and as a return to Marx and Engels' ideas who, in the *Manifesto*, denounced as "reactionary" "universal asceticism" and "crude social levelling"—a position also confirmed by Deng Xiaoping's (1904–1997) verdict of 1996 that "poverty is not socialism" (in von Senger 2016a, 147). However, it may still be argued that this great achieve-ment has been accompanied by enforcing too strong a loyalty to the Communist Party, and too strong a restriction of individual freedom. This issue remains even if one admits that the socialism with Chinese characteristics of the 21st century is but an intermediate step on the long way to a classless society. Socialist mate-rialism as materialist capitalism? Regardless, Chinese Communists could quote the famous German Marxist writer Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) who—also a convinced materialist—emphasized, "Erst kommt das Fressen, dann die Moral" (Brecht 2004, 104), the meaning of which can be expressed in English as "first comes food, then morality", "first bellies are filled, then comes morality", or "First feed me, then you can preach to me".

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OTHER TOPICS

Social Capital, Innovation, and Local Resilience: Tokyo Neighbourhood in Times of Crisis

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Abstract

This paper is based on research that centres on the city of Tokyo, a mature city that is experiencing various transformations, in order to show how social capital and innovation can help build up resilient communities. It presents two major topics: 1) the potential of localities and their social capital and social innovation to actively react to change, and 2) the role of localities for inclusive urban governance. By focusing on five small neighbourhoods in the south of Taito-ward in central-east Tokyo, the paper addresses the following questions: a) what kinds of social networks and interaction exist at the local level, b) how are residents contributing to neighbourhood revitalization and community identity, and c) what are specific examples of social innovative practices, emerging in periods of crisis, in the case-study area as a direct response to the COVID-19 pandemic? By adopting a mixed methods approach drawing especially on in-depth interviews conducted with a range of independent business owners, the study reveals the dynamics between long-term residents and newcomers as they negotiate shared identities that continue to shape the present and future of some of Tokyo's oldest neighbourhoods. The research findings highlight the need for good urban governance to draw on an improved understanding of the potential of localities, place-based social capital building, and new social practices that are emerging in local third sectors, such as volunteer-run industry-based organizations, which are vital in maintaining informal networks as an alternative to more traditional neighbourhood groups to bond, bridge, and link diverse community members.

Keywords: Tokyo, community, social capital, social innovation, COVID-19

東京、コミュニティー、ソーシャルイノベーション、社会資本、新型コロナウィルス

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Socialni kapital, družbena inovativnost in odpornost na lokalni ravni: Tokijska soseska v času krize

Izvleček

Članek temelji na študiji Tokia, razvitega mesta v preobrazbi, in želi pokazati, kako lahko socialni kapital in družbena inovativnost pripomoreta k oblikovanju odpornosti na lokalni ravni. Obravnava dve temi: 1) potencial socialnega kapitala in družbene inovativnosti na lokalni ravni pri dejavnem odzivanju na spremembe in 2) pomen lokalne ravni za vključujoče vladovanje v mestih. Članek se osredotoča na pet manjših sosesk na jugu mestnega okrožja Taito v osrednjem delu vzhodnega Tokia, da bi odgovoril na naslednja vprašanja: a) Kakšne vrste družbenih omrežij in odnosov obstajajo na lokalni ravni? b) Kako prebivalci prispevajo k revitalizaciji soseske in skupnostne identitete? c) Kakšni specifični primeri družbeno inovativnih praks so se razvili na območju študije kot neposreden odgovor na pandemijo Covida-19? Študija z uporabo mešane raziskovalne metode, ki je temeljila predvsem na poglobljenih intervjujih z neodvisnimi podjetniki, razkriva dinamiko razmerij med staroselskimi prebivalci in prišleki v procesu nastajanja skupnih identitet, ki oblikujejo sedanjost in prihodnost nekaterih najstarejših tokijskih sosesk. Izsledki raziskave izpostavljajo, da je treba za dobro vladovanje v mestih izboljšati zavedanje o razvojnih potencialih na lokalni ravni, o lokalno opredeljenem socialnem kapitalu ter o novih družbenih praksah v lokalnih terciarnih sektorjih, kot so prostovoljske organizacije, ki izhajajo iz podjetništva. Te so lahko ključnega pomena pri vzdrževanju neformalnih družbenih omrežij in alternativa tradicionalnim sosedskim skupinam pri druženju, premoščanju nasprotij in povezovanju različnih članov skupnosti.

Ključne besede: Tokio, skupnosti, socialni kapital, družbena inovativnost, Covid-19

Introduction[1]

In recent years, the pace and scale of urban change have accelerated in many cities in Asia. Globalization and neoliberal reforms have driven up the flow of capital and people into cities. This has led to growing spatial, economic, and social inequalities within cities, as well as between urban and rural areas. Furthermore, changes in population flow, household structure, and living arrangements have weakened community ties and a sense of place, especially in older urban neighbourhoods that once had distinctive characters and qualities. New urban policies that promise to improve the quality of everyday life for all residents are heavily shaped by market orientation, privatization, and commodification, resulting in diverse conflicts between developers and residents, which are most

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1   The paper has not been previously published and is not being considered for publication elsewhere.

visible at the neighbourhood scale (Fujii, Okata and Sorensen 2007). As such, the communities are susceptible to economic, social and cultural change caused by gentrification, social fragmentation and changing lifestyles (Pinet 2017). The central goal of this paper is thus to study the effects of these kind of changes on urban communities and the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of everyday life. We are particularly interested in how residents are securing a livelihood in rapidly altering megacities in Asia, and what role the locality, social capital, and social innovation play in their daily lives. This paper studies the city of Tokyo, whose different urban and social changes—including unbalanced growth, expansion, shrinkage, aging, and distribution of wealth—will provide insights into the challenges other Asian cities may face in the near future (Wang, Yang and Qian 2020). To understand these shifts at the local level, it is important to identify specific individual/collective practices and innovative responses to improve the daily lives of all members of the community (Moulaert et al. 2010; Ho 2019).

In this paper, we analyse socio-spatial transitions observed at the neighbourhood scale through two main themes: 1) the potential of localities to build up resilience in utilizing social capital and innovation and 2) their role for inclusive urban governance. Following a discussion of key theories applied to the case of Japan, we will introduce the research problem, research methodology, and the case of Tokyo, including its approach to urban governance. We then contextualize and approach the case-study area before exploring the urban community, embedded identities, and daily narratives that mirror the local transformations taking place. In conclusion, we will emphasize that a focus on the neighbourhood scale and a strong community identity, based on a range of social interactions and networks, can secure a good level of social capital, innovation, and local resilience, which can help to inform and implement urban policies that are more inclusive, effective, and sustainable in the long-term.

Conceptual Approach

To lay out the context for our research, we contend that urban change is caused by a range of urbanization processes (Simone and Pieterse 2017). While most developing cities in Asia are characterized by rapid urban growth, there is also a rising number of metropolitan areas, better known as post-growth or mature cities—including Tokyo—which have to deal with shrinking urban areas, an aging population, the lack of a skilled workforce, and failing security systems, among other challenges (Chiavacci and Hommerich 2017; Muramatsu and

Akiyama 2011). This shows the enormous range of urban issues governments are facing in the twenty-first century, urging stakeholders to take responsibility by developing and implementing more inclusive urban policies (Gerometta, Haussermann, and Longo 2005).

For this reason, we consider good urban governance as both a normative and analytical concept, which aims to build better cities that are responsive to their residents (Hendriks 2014). Inclusive urban governance can develop solutions for the rising number and complexity of social problems by means of new social integration policies that are stimulated and driven by a strong (sense of) community, social capital, and innovation (Kratke 2011; Osborne, Baldwin and Thomsen 2016). Different scholars have defined a community as a social unit having many things in common, including social norms, values, and customs (Craig, Mayo and Popple 2011; Ritzer 2007). Others have argued that a functioning group shares trust, cooperation, identities, and reciprocity, often referred to as social capital, which includes tangible (e.g., public spaces) and intangible resources (e.g., different actors or networks), which together determine how well the group or community works, especially in times of crisis (Aldrich and Meyer 2015; Daniere and Luong 2012; Kim et al. 2017).

Some communities share a strong sense of place, as they are situated in a specific location, physically bound in real space, or virtually located through communication platforms. A community organizes itself in various forms and types, including local neighbourhoods, collectives, and collaborations, nested hubs, social gatherings, and new co-working spaces. In short, a community is made up of different networks, including formal and informal, public and private, physical and virtual networks, among others (Elmqvist at al. 2018, 281). In this sense, the paper aims to inquire what role the community, social capital, and emerging practices of social innovation play, recognizing social innovation mainly as a set of new social practices that aim to address urgent social needs in a better way. These practices are highly shaped by their local environment and should be studied in their specific context (Ayob, Teasdale and Fagan 2016). The paper argues that the case of Japan provides useful insights, as different communities have faced complex issues caused not only by economic, political, or social transformations, but also different types of disasters, leading to the development of several, often innovative, approaches to recover from them (Dimmer 2016; 2014; Imai 2012; Okata 2009).

Interestingly, social innovation is also (slowly) taking off in Japan, as there is a rise in new types of enterprises, cooperatives, and organizations, especially NGOs, which aim to foster awareness, education, and social solutions for

diverse issues (Fujisawa et al. 2015). Other work shows that the various types of new, innovative businesses and collaborations are becoming increasingly diverse (Toivonen 2013; 2016), and that social innovation practices are successfully utilized by local governments to revitalize public places and urban communities (Ishigaki and Sashida 2013; Martinus 2014). Therefore, this paper argues that local networks and social practices should be studied in more detail to develop better urban governance approaches, as local communities command different capabilities (including the bonding, bridging, and linking of social capital, innovation, and resilience) that they draw on to absorb the shocks and stresses caused by different changes (Aldrich 2012; Zolli and Healy 2012).

Research Questions and Methodology

The discussion raises the following research questions: (1) what kinds of social networks exist at the local neighbourhood level, (2) how are residents contributing to neighbourhood revitalization and community identity, and (3) what are specific examples of social capital and innovation emerging in periods of crisis, specifically during the COVID-19 pandemic?

The research methodology draws on approaches by scholars such as Ho (2019), who sheds light on the importance of studying cities from the viewpoint of the neighbourhood, especially those in large cities in Asia that face pressures from rapid urban expansion, redevelopment, and uneven growth. Ethnographic research on the neighbourhood scale allows researchers to understand existing relationships between locals and newcomers, traditional and contemporary networks, local associations and the government, and their insights can help the city government to manage social interests rather than just economic or political ones (ibid., 33). Moreover, Moulaert's (2010) analysis of social innovation processes in different European neighbourhoods has shown that a mixed methods approach and in-depth case study generate unique local knowledge, often overlooked by quantitative studies. Next to the analysis of policy documents and statistics, interviews with local experts and participatory research involving neighbourhood residents are revealing (intangible) facts about community ties, which allows researchers to understand the complexity of local transformations, social capital building, and innovation at the grassroots level (Moulaert et al. 2010, 65).

Wissink and Hazelzet (2012) have tried to understand local social networks in Tokyo through closed-ended questionnaires (sent in written form to residents who responded anonymously) to achieve a larger sample size (over 700)

covering several sites. However, for a more in-depth understanding of how social networks are formed, maintained, and changing, we adopted a mixed-method approach in the following phases: (1) field site observation and urban walks, (2) semi-structured interviews, and (3) analysis of secondary sources (including administrative data and social media sources). The data gathered from semi-structured interviews involved small business owners who live and work in the study area. The choice of interviews as an ethnographic method aims to provide rare insights into the everyday lives of residents living in an overlooked and lesser known area of Tokyo. Case studies of single sites are "valued for their ability to uncover the complexities on the ground and for their role in developing an understanding of the local world" (Ho 2019, 59), an argument that recent studies of neighbourhoods in Tokyo also verify (Kohama 2019; Vankova, Nakamura and Witthöft 2018).

The study's focus on one site could be considered a limitation, as the study is bound in its locality. The authors also had difficulty finding interviewees (about one in four contacted accepted), especially during the uncertain months at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, as many businesses were closed and all interviews had to be conducted online.[2] To support the transition from on-site to online research, we referred to Wasson (2000, 11), who recognizes the internet "as a digital fieldsite," providing an alternative set of data in addition to data collected "on the ground" (a physical fieldsite). Thus, the researchers studied websites, blogs, and social media accounts to track the ongoing activities of our informants and their interaction with others through these platforms.

The next section will introduce the city of Tokyo, its approach to urban governance, and local governmental projects to understand the wider context of the urban community and research participants.

Context: Contemporary Tokyo

Being twice reduced to rubble, by the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 and the World War II air raids in 1944 and 1945, Tokyo was rebuilt by its citizens and developed in many areas into unplanned settlements (Sorensen 2004, 314). This organic growth and urban setting resulted in what some scholars describe as a "city of villages" (Fukutake 1989) to explain the visual complexity and strong identity of traditional Tokyo communities. Others have argued that a "city of neighbourhoods" is a better description for understanding the current

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2   A state of emergency was declared in Tokyo on April 7, 2020, which lasted until May 25, 2020.

sociocultural, political, and economic changes, which become most perceptible at the level of the smallest unit of the city, the neighbourhood (Imai 2017, 24).

Tokyo's urban landscape, however, changed dramatically from 1986 to 1991, as investment in real estate and stocks shifted into overdrive, creating what became known as the bubble economy. Following the bursting of the bubble in early 1992, Japan entered a prolonged slump from which it has yet to fully recover. The following years became known as the "lost decade," resulting in new complex challenges, social problems, and inequalities (Sonobe and Machimura 1997; Ueki 2000). New campaigns focused on urban revitalization, and urban renewal programs were developed with the aim to start a new phase of economic stability. The prevailing mood changed from national pride and confidence to pessimism, leading to a phase of self-reflection as architects and planners started to question existing urban policies that mainly focused on a global city approach (Gottfried 2018).

The pressure to realize more prestigious projects with global appeal increased from 2013 when Tokyo won the bid to host the Olympics in 2020. Since then many—especially formerly rundown and lesser known—neighbourhoods (including the case-study area) have experienced different waves and forms of gentrification (Waley 2016, 620). In addition, many areas have been affected by gentrification caused by the tourist boom in Japan in the last few years (Kondo 2019). It is important to add that the global COVID-19 situation has resulted in the delay of the 2020 Olympics from 2020 to 2021, and the abrupt end of the tourist boom, as well as a further increase in existing inequalities and poverty levels, the full extent of which is still unknown (Imai 2020; Japan Today 2020).

The complexity of ongoing social issues, the lack of financial support and effective policies, and the failure to support existing decentralization attempts all push researchers to question whether the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's (TMG's) current urban governance approach will lead to a better quality of life in inner-city areas or to a worsening of existing problems (Chiavacci and Hommerich 2017).

Urban Governance

The TMG administers 62 municipalities: 23 special wards, 26 cities, five towns, and eight villages. Tokyo's 23 special wards are, in principle, subject to the same regulations that apply to the cities, but the special ward system has been designed to meet the distinctive needs of a large metropolis in which the TMG

maintains its authority and transfers specific functions to local municipalities (Vogel 2001). Consequently, the demands of local communities or neighbourhoods are often not addressed, as the TMG follows mainly a top-down, centralized approach to communicate with the different municipalities (Sorensen 2006). There are positive examples from the last two decades, as more communities have successfully established their own way of increasing the level of citizen participation and local "community building", or *machizukuri,* activities to improve their local environment (Ikawa 2008). However, attempts to shift more power and functions to local municipalities for a more balanced governmental approach have had limited success so far, as most municipalities still depend heavily on the TMG, especially in times of increasing economic constraints (Tanaka and Tanaka 2016).

Yet, as Ho (2019) pointed out, it is especially the creation and maintenance of a range of neighbourhood amenities (including neighbourhood groups and social networks) that will benefit the city as a whole, improving the lives of local residents as well as visitors. Such communities can share their valuable knowledge and experience with other local and city governments, which can in turn encourage citizens to participate and engage in local *machizukuri* efforts (ibid., 28).

In Japan, most members of a community traditionally belonged to a local neighbourhood association called a *chonaikai.*[3] Though such groups are losing their significance (Capitanio 2018, 448), they coexist among other emerging social groups and are still considered to have an influence on the outcome of different policies (Capitanio 2018; Pekkanen, Tsujinaka, and Yamamoto 2014). Thus, it is worthwhile to study local policies and projects that have been successfully realized.

The community of Yanaka in the northern part of Taito-ward, Tokyo, is well represented in the current literature as a special historic district to be preserved, and there is a wide consensus that the area should be protected. Yet, as there were no official preservation laws that could be applied to Yanaka, it was through the efforts of the local neighbourhood planning group that the district was able to halt the kind of large-scale high-rise developments appearing in many other dense, small-scale neighbourhoods (Sand 2013, 58). In the 1980s, local initiatives began to propose ways to deal with processes of urban restructuring, which also started to occur in many inner-city neighbourhoods in Tokyo. The *machizukuri*

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3   In the *chonaikai*, residents are expected to participate as volunteers in efforts such as garbage collection, fire safety, street sanitation, and disaster prevention drills (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka and Yamamoto 2014). Another important group is the *shotengai* (local shopping street) association, where local shopkeepers are the core members.

approach has become a popular method as local communities can suggest ideas to the local government and other stakeholders to find the best possible solution to address local needs (Teh and Sasaki 2014). In 1989, an NGO called Yanaka Gakkō (Yanaka School) was founded to share their knowledge and ideas to preserve the historic townscape. Since then, the group started to collaborate with other neighbourhood groups to preserve the traditional features of the district and spread the word to other areas and cities (Shiihara 2010).

In comparison, Nerima-ward in Tokyo is following a specific approach using its unique position and identity as the birthplace of Japanese anime. Nerima is home to around 80 anime production companies and several educational institutes that helped to establish many people in the anime industry. The ward has different campaigns to raise the public recognition of anime, boost the number of visitors to the area, and drive urban revitalization attempts to spread anime culture. Other goals include constructing anime character monuments in prominent, public spaces and organize anime competitions in which young animators and talents can connect with and learn from each other. These projects aim to help strengthen the district's anime businesses as a main industry, with the hope that other industries can also be revitalized. Turning the anime culture into a local and collective community identity of which all residents are proud is the ultimate goal of the ward office, even though regular surveys show that not all locals are satisfied with this approach (Condry 2013, 33).

Governmental Efforts in Taito-ward

Our target study area is the southern part of Taito-ward, which is a lesser known area in the ward and deserves further study as it has initiated a diverse range of local projects in the past twenty years.[4] The ward has experienced different forms of decline, but the local government has succeeded in promoting local industries to revitalize the area (Waley 2012, 156). Taito-ward is considered a traditional industrial area with a history of manufacturing and craftsmanship. As these industries declined, so did the neighbourhood population, which led to the closure of schools and other facilities. Several ward initiatives are thus specifically aimed at reviving traditional industries, including the establishment of Taito Designers Village in 2004. Converted from a vacant elementary school, the facility supports promising new creators by providing a heavily subsidized studio space for three years. Though not a requirement, many designers

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4   See Taito-ward's website https://www.city.taito.lg.jp/ for various plans, statistics and industry information, including details on the promotion of industry within Taito-ward

have stayed to work in the area after "graduation", and have established independent stores and studios (as in the case of two of our interviewees). In 2011, the ward supported another initiative, the founding of the membership-based Monomachi Association, which aims to support and connect local businesses within a clearly defined boundary (membership is only for those who operate within the area it defines), including our target neighbourhoods. It is run by volunteers, who organize the main three-day Monomachi event to introduce local creative businesses to the public.[5]

The ward offers several other programs to support new businesses in the form of one-off grants and low interest loans.[6] As a result, the area has experienced a renewed interest in recent years, with the influx of young creatives in addition to the families moving into newly built apartment blocks. The latter represents the national and local government promotion of development as a way to stimulate the economy, while the former aligns with our interest in the culture-led regeneration process shaping urban communities in contemporary Tokyo. By using the south of Taito-ward as a case study, we aim to gain insight into how the local government, civil organizations, neighbourhood and new social networks are working together in response to different social needs, especially during the COVID-19 crisis. Though the challenging times are far from over, it is already clear that many vulnerable members of society are being adversely affected in both the short and long term, reinforcing the need for more in-depth study of urban communities (Béland, Brodeur and Wright 2020).

Case-Study Area

The case-study area is located in the southern part of Tokyo's Taito-ward, in five neighbourhoods that cover approximately one square kilometre: Misuji, Kojima, Kuramae, Asakusabashi, and Torigoe (Figure 1). In the Edo period (1606–1868), the area was a centre of commerce and industry, with many warehouses, shops, and manufacturing facilities. It was known to have a concentration of small- to medium-size wholesalers that produced and distributed products such as toys, small leather goods, hats, stationery, and jewellery/accessories. The area is also home to many businesses that provide materials to the makers and craftspeople who produce the necessary parts or tools for the end product.

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5   The event started in 2011 with 16 stores participating; there were about 190 stores in 2019, and 70 stores confirmed their participation for the online event scheduled for October 2020.

6   All of the six newcomers we interviewed (Interviews 8–14) had received some form of financial support from Taito- ward when they started their business.
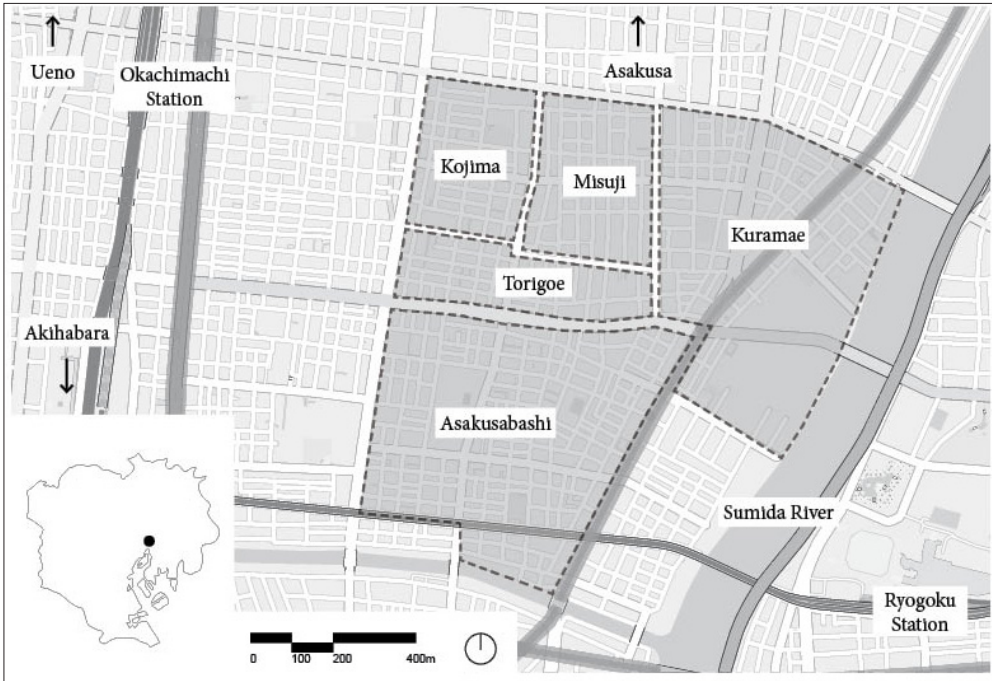
Figure 1: Mapping the local neighbourhood (Source: Authors 2020)

Economic activities declined from the 1970s due to major shifts in industry, including the outsourcing of labour to elsewhere in Japan and overseas and the increasing dominance of larger-scale manufacturers that embraced mass production. Many small businesses thus found it difficult to compete or pass their family business onto their children, who preferred more stable office jobs. This had spatial and social impacts, with the rise of vacant spaces and a weakening of longstanding social ties. The neighbourhood experienced a concurrent decrease in population, leading to the closure of schools and other facilities.

Today, the neighbourhood has a peaceful feel, characterized by quiet and walkable streets that are still lined with old buildings (Figure 2), some of which have survived from the pre-war period. It contrasts with nearby bustling tourist destinations such as Akihabara Electric Town, Ueno, and Asakusa. The area is now home to numerous craft workshops, artist studios, and small businesses, which form a strong *monozukuri* (local production and manufacturing) culture. New shops and products are often featured on blogs and online guides, which portray the area as a cool, up-and-coming neighbourhood, dubbed the "Brooklyn of Tokyo" (Live Japan 2019), where you can find "quirky cafes, design boutiques and specialty stores housed in trendy converted warehouses" (Hoy 2019).

Figure 2: Visitors at a 1920s shophouse that has been converted into an art gallery and artist residence in Kojima, Taito-ward (Source: Authors 2020)

Approaching the Site and Interview Process

Following a first phase of site observation using several visual and ethnographic methods (including locally made walking maps) to analyse the case-study area, potential interviewees were identified. Interviewees were selected from small independent business owners in the target neighbourhoods (Figure 3). An effort was made to include a range of business types and ages, from long-established family businesses to newer ones (Table 1). Between March 2019 and August 2020, businesses owners were interviewed following a snowball principle (von der Fehr, Sølberg and Bruun 2018). From a total of 46 business owners contacted, 14 respondents agreed to participate in the research (including three in neighbouring areas outside the target study area). Two interviews were conducted via email; the remaining interviews were conducted via a phone or video call between April and August 2020. After obtaining consent from the interviewees, the interviews were recorded and transcribed. Four of the interviewees agreed to a follow-up interview to discuss the ongoing impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Table 1. Information on Interviewees

No.	Age	Gender	Type of Business	Year established	Business location	Date of Interview
1	40s	Male	Butcher reopened as specialty pork store	1929/2017	Torigoe	a) May 4, 2020 b) Aug 11, 2020
2	40s	Male	Paper and stationary	1938	Honjo	May 14, 2020
3	40s	Male	Miso specialty store	1957	Torigoe	Aug 15, 2020
4	70s	Male	Second-hand bookstore	1958	Kuramae	Aug 1, 2020
5	70s	Male	Glassware	1959	Yushima	May 15, 2020
6	50s	Male	Silverware	1964	Misuji	a) May 1, 2020 b) Aug 6, 2020
7	60s	Female	Towels and blankets	1997	Asakusabashi	Aug 18, 2020
8	30s	Female	Illustrator	2014	Asakusabashi	a) May 7, 2020 b) Aug 4, 2020
9	30s	Male	Wine bar	2015	Kuramae	a) April 30, 2020 b) Aug 12, 2020
10	30s	Male	Café	2016	Misuji	April 29, 2020
11	30s	Female	Fashion designer	2017	Matsugaya	July 29, 2020
12	30s	Couple	Gallery and art residency	2018	Kojima	April 30, 2020
13	50s	Male	Café and woodwork	2019	Kojima	May 21, 2020
14	30s	Female	Textile designer	2019	Kojima	Aug 12, 2020

The interview questions were split into three parts. The first part gathered general data on the informants' background, including age, hometown, place of work, and residence, and why they chose to live and/or work in the area. The second part sought to clarify their social networks (or lack of), both formal and informal to understand their ties to the community and local organizations. Emphasis was placed on how they viewed their relationship with others in the community, who they went to for help, and how they interacted with others from the perspective of either being a newcomer or a long-term resident. The last part contained

questions in relation to the current COVID-19 situation to understand the impact and reflect on the importance of existing social networks.

| Cafe and Leather Goods | Toy Shop | Bookstore | Roast Pork Shop |
| Studio and shop | Gallery | Cafe | Wine Bar |

Figure 3: Visual analysis of storefronts and workspaces of small businesses in the target study area (Source: Authors 2020)

Urban Identities in Transition

The Young Creative Newcomer

One of the newcomers and young business owners is Miki-san,[7] a freelance illustrator in her mid-30s, who moved into the Kuramae neighbourhood five years ago with her partner (Figure 3). Her studio is located in Asakusabashi,

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7   *San* is an honourific suffix for Japanese names; the closest translation in English is "Mr." or "Ms."

within walking distance from her home. In our interview, she noted how the area still has the compactness and character of an old *shitamachi* (downtown) area, which she finds attractive, but was not sure if this will still be the case in 10 years:

> There are many new people moving into new, taller apartment buildings, especially young couples and those with young children, who often frequent new galleries or coffee shops. At the same time, I noticed about five old toy wholesalers have shut down in the past two years. I am worried that the local character will be lost.

She also talked about the visible decline of the local, old-fashioned shopping street called *Okazu-yokocho*,[8] which used to cater to the craftspeople and local workers who worked in the area. Miki-san is drawn to the small and dense neighbourhood in eastern central Tokyo because it still retains a traditional character. Yet, she also commented that the area has lost some of its character in recent years, "We have too many fancy cafes now and I feel I cannot leave the house underdressed anymore, even if it is to go to the convenience store". When asked how she feels about tourist guides describing Kuramae as "the Brooklyn of Tokyo", Miki-san acknowledges, "the area was almost forgotten ten years ago, as much as I don't like the comparison the branding shows there is some success in revitalizing the area in recent years" (Interview 8a, May 7, 2020).

One example of a popular shop she brought up in our interview is Kakimori, a paper and stationary store that specializes in handmade notebooks. (Figure 4). Though the store opened in 2010, the owner has managed to gain the respect of locals by supporting smaller businesses, engaging them to help make its products, while also attracting visitors to the area.

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8   *Okazu* means side dishes, usually consisting of vegetables, fish, and pickles, which are eaten with rice to complete a *teishoku* (a typical Japanese set meal). *Yokocho* means alley or side street.

Figure 4: The Kakimori stationery store in Misuji, Taito-ward (Source: Authors, 2020)

Miki-san chose to live in the area because she wanted to be closely connected to other creatives. She graduated from the Taito Designers Village in 2012 and set up her own studio in the area soon after. Nowadays, she mainly supplies design and illustration services to public institutions like museums and the local council, as well as cafes and other local businesses. Miki-san does not know her neighbours and is not a member of the local *chonaikai*, which she views as irrelevant to her already busy everyday life. However, she is an active member of Monomachi, through which she has made many valuable work and personal connections, including long-term residents such as her current landlady who occupies the ground-floor retail space below her studio.

Miki-san noted Monomachi's flat hierarchy, which makes her feel that she can voice her opinions freely despite being one of the youngest members. However, she questions the organization's inclusiveness, as many other local but non-Japanese business owners do not seem to be involved, including the Indian and

Pakistani craftspeople who have been working in local jewellery stores for many years. Nevertheless, she volunteers considerable time to help with its activities, which she admits has been demanding at times. She values the people she meets in Monomachi, some of whom have become her clients (she regularly provides her illustration and branding services to local businesses). Along with those associated with the Taito Designers Village, they are her main social networks in the area:

> This is the first time in the eight or so times that I have moved that I have been able to know like-minded people in my local neighbourhood, and I really enjoy being able to say hi to people I know when I pop into shops or meet people on the streets.

During the early stages of COVID-19, when she worked more from home, she still felt connected to the community and has advised other creatives, including older business owners on how to use online platforms (Interview 8b, August 4, 2020).

Reinventing the Traditional Business Model

In comparison, Sato-san, a third-generation meat-shop owner, was born and raised in the Torigoe neighbourhood. The shop was opened in 1929 along the *Okazu-yokocho* by his grandparents and continued by his parents until they retired (Figure 5). Sato-san wanted to carry on the business but knew it was not feasible due to the increasing competition and change of lifestyles among his generation. In our interview, he said:

> The main reason for small traditional shops closing is that people aren't buying from them anymore as they prefer big supermarkets and convenience stores. Another problem is the children (of the owners) do not want to run the shop, myself included. Living in Tokyo is expensive, and it is difficult to make a living as a butcher.

The store was closed for several years until 2017, when Sato-san reopened it to offer an original product not available in supermarkets.

> I thought hard about how I could continue the business in a feasible way and came up with the idea to reopen as a specialty store. I only sell one product, grilled pork using my own original recipe, and open only one day of the week. I was surprised at how popular the idea became with locals and was able to attract both old and new customers.

Sato-san offers limited stock and closes as soon as he has sold everything. While keeping his office job as an editor during the week, he currently manages all aspects of the shop himself, including the production, packaging, selling, and promotion, which are skills his parents passed on to him. Importantly, he maintains a positive attitude without high levels of stress compared to others, as the size of his business is manageable. Sato-san has successfully reinvented the traditional business model and has not been as affected by the current pandemic situation. In our follow up interview, he said he has increased the opening times to three days a week (selling out straight away) to meet demand, as many locals working from home have discovered his shop and more people prefer to buy locally since the pandemic started (Interview 1b, August 11, 2020).

Sato-san's personal networks include people he has known since childhood, including his classmates and their parents, many of whom are also shop owners. As the older shops shut down, however, such personal connections are also decreasing. On a neighbourhood level, he is a member of the local *chonaikai* and *shotengai* associations, and regularly participates in local activities including the Torigoe festival, *shotengai,* and Monomachi events. Still, he has noticed the distance between the old and new shop owners:

> I wish for more collaboration between the older and new generation, but it is hard as older residents are more conservative. But I also think newcomers need more respect for older residents and not just impose new ideas without much consideration for the older owners. We need more conversation and exchange, which is happening in places like Monomachi, but such opportunities are rare.

Despite being active in organizations and enthusiastic to contribute, he reveals that it has been challenging to make any real changes in the current situation, as everyone is busy focusing on their own business (Interview 1b, August 11, 2020).

Figure 5: Entrance to the traditional shopping strip, Okazu-yokocho, in Torigoe, Taito-ward (Source: © David Stormer Chigusa, JapanVisitor.com, reproduced with permission)

Small and Sustainable

Riku-san is a newcomer who has owned a small wine bar in Kuramae since 2015 (Figure 3). He was drawn to the neighbourhood for its quiet downtown vibe, and now lives nearby with his partner and young child:

> I liked the quiet and peaceful feel of Kuramae and would often cycle through the area on my way to Asakusa nearby. There were not many shops then as the area is a wholesale town. I would say I am one of the first waves of new restaurants and eateries opening in Kuramae, many others followed about one year after me.

He also noted that the neighbourhood has attracted an increasing number of domestic and foreign tourists, as it is close to such popular sightseeing spots as Asakusa. However, he does not actively seek to attract new customers: "My bar only has seven seats, so I think it is better to only serve people who want to come". Riku-san, similar to Sato-san, does not employ any staff as he prefers to cook and serve his customers himself.

He has no interest in expanding or marketing his business, and prefers to be more exclusive, away from the main street. When asked about local neighbour-hood networks, he replied that he is not actively participating in any community groups or events, as the area is very compact, and he does not need organized occasions to gather or share specific information. He has, however, participated in the local annual neighbourhood festival and sometimes meets and drinks with shop owners. He also joined some Monomachi events but cannot think of any similar groups for his industry:

> The number of restaurants is small compared to the craft sector […] We already know each other and are quite close with other shops who have opened within the last five years, but I would say there is some distance from restaurants that have opened say 30 years ago. (Interview 9a, April 30, 2020)

Looking at his comments, we can argue that Riku-san values personal connections over growth, and is content with the small scale of his business, which has proved to be sustainable, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. This seemed to be an advantage, as even though he had to close his shop for two months he was pos-itive about the situation and thinks that small businesses like his are more resilient (a similar view to Sato-san's), as they do not have to worry about paying staff and are eligible for financial support from the government. During our follow up interview, Riku-san stated that he is now serving customers again one group at a time, offering three slots a day, which has been popular with families who prefer to dine privately. He does not have a website or phone number, but is active on Facebook, Instagram, and Line (messaging platform) to communicate with his customers. He also stated he is back to 90 percent of his regular earnings. This is surprisingly high considering reservations were not needed before the pandemic (Interview 9b, August 12 2020).

Preserving Tradition through Crafts

An example of a longstanding business is a third-generation, family-owned hand-crafted silverware business established in 1964. The lead craftsman and his four adult children operate the business from a rented building in the Misuji neighbourhood. While the rent is not cheap for them, they value the local community connections:

> The Taito-ward area is compact and has a concentration of small busi-nesses where we can all share wisdom and work hard together. Sure, the

rent may be cheaper in the suburbs, but we would be disadvantaged to be so far away as we are a small company working in a traditional craft, where access to information and personal relationships are very important.

They are active in several groups aimed at promoting traditional crafts both at the ward and Tokyo city levels and belong to the *chonaikai*, participating in the local festival. One of the sons, Tanaka-san, said during our interview that he notices a difference between younger designers and traditional businesses like theirs:

Monomachi mainly supports designers and creators, my younger brother shows some of his new designs in their events. I think our goals are different, as the younger designers are interested in creating new things while traditional businesses like ours are trying to preserve our craft for as long as possible. But I think the coexistence of these different groups is what makes us (Taito-ward) strong and attractive to customers. (Interview 6a, May 1 2020)

One of Tanaka-san's biggest concerns during the pandemic was their factory rent, as their greatly reduced working hours heavily affected the output of new products. It is also difficult to attract new customers who may not be willing to invest in a high-quality product without seeing it in person first. However, he said in our interview that he is even more worried about the aging population, including customers and skilled craftspeople:

We have an aging community, where the average age is over 60. There is a lack of motivation amongst the older craftspeople as they struggle to find apprentices and successors. I worry about them, as they are not as connected as younger people and have a hard time using online platforms. I try to help by keeping them up to date with the latest news and communication as they have no online presence, but they need more help and assistance. Older residents value personal connections more, especially in stressful times like now. (Interview 6b, August 6, 2020)

Discussion

Hybrid Identities, Social Networks and Community Identity in Times of Crisis

The interviews showed how different people perceive, react to, and adjust to diverse changes in the neighbourhood, such as rising rents, traditional shops closing,

and wealthier new residents. Although the area has experienced varying degrees of gentrification, our group of old and new shop owners is trying to form their own local networks to coexist alongside each other. At the time of this research, the global pandemic caused by COVID-19 had changed the way people live and work, especially for small business owners. Good levels of social capital and innovation are crucial to strengthening local resilience and the community's ability to provide its members with social support and a strong sense of belonging, especially during times of crisis. The interviews show that long-established local networks such as the *chonaikai* and *shotengai* associations are no longer serving the wider community as effectively as before. Based on our interviews, we found out that only one of the six newcomers have joined the local *chonaikai*, unlike most older residents, which confirms citywide trends (TMG 2015, 24). The *shotengai* association is also dwindling, with about ten core members (Interview 1b, August 11, 2020). Older shop owners are struggling to stay in touch with the community once they (have to) shut down their shops and lose their main form of communication, whereas younger residents can more easily make use of tools such as smartphones or the internet. This also shows that traditional neighbourhood groups have not been able to welcome newcomers in recent decades (Brasor and Tsubuku 2015) and struggle to gain the support of younger residents, who will be crucial to help during the pandemic and recovery (Kreitman 2020). This leads us to believe that the *chonaikai* and *shotengai* associations are limited in their response to the current COVID-19 situation. To confirm this, the authors analysed the websites of several local *chonaikai*, whose activities currently seem to be limited to the distribution of masks, informing people of the latest news, and warnings about scammers who might approach older residents.[9]

In contrast, we heard from one of our interviews about an innovative online initiative of the ward to gather information about local restaurants who offered a takeout service during the state of emergency. The online app was set up by a ward assembly member through Google forms in April 2020, which was turned into an app by the local tourism department; it features 63 restaurants and has over 21,000 views to date.[10] This example shows that some groups have been able to swiftly adjust by shifting their businesses operations online and connecting with the ward and potential customers in new ways, using the available resources (Interview with Taito-ward member, August 12, 2020).

The interviews highlighted the increasing importance of new emerging social networks, based on mutual interests, especially work, as they help newcomers and

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9   At the time of writing, the Yamabushi town association had distributed 7,000 masks to its members (10 per member), see https://kitaueno.exblog.jp/.

10   For information on the app, see https://t-navi.city.taito.lg.jp/news/?itemid=215&dispmid=459. The app can be accessed here: https://taitotakeout.glideapp.io/.

young creatives to take part in community life. This study argues that existing and new emerging social networks could better communicate and work together to develop a range of local projects to improve the daily lives of different members, as seen in the neighbouring Adachi-ward, which has implemented new projects with younger residents who provide regular support to elderly, disabled and others in need (Waterson 2014).

In the target study area of Taito-ward, two key organizations were identified as important groups connecting a range of small businesses: 1) Taito Designers Village and 2) Monomachi Association. Taito Designers Village has been especially active during the COVID-19 crisis, regularly posting updates about events and increasing their online activity. For example, one of our interviewees had the idea to showcase the designers over the organization's Instagram live feed to inform people about the work in progress and activities planned in the near future (Interview 14, August 12, 2020). This shows that local organizations are open to new ideas proposed by different members.

Another good example mirroring active engagement in social networks is Miki-san, who belongs to Monomachi's organizing committee. In our follow up interview, she stated that volunteering can be time consuming but will benefit independent businesses, including her own, in the long run. This is already proving true, as her private work has increased since the COVID-19 pandemic began, as cafes and other local businesses have requested her expertise to produce flyers, illustrations, and related branding material (Interview 8b, August 4, 2020). Monomachi has also strived to teach online skills (e.g., how to set up SNS accounts or organize Zoom meetings) to older business owners, which is promising to hear as this addresses the concerns of Tanaka-san, a silverware craftsman, helping to connect older and younger, long-standing and new residents (Interview 6b, August 6, 2020).

The above statements confirm our argument that a range of formal and informal networks is crucial in challenging times, as webs of informal relations and inter-action function like small social innovative bubbles. Different members exchange new ideas on social media channels, despite their physical isolation. This shows how closely social media and social capital are intertwined, inspiring new innovative practices that help the community to recover (Jung and Moro 2014; Kaigo 2012). In Taito-ward, this inspired others to continue to drive forward their ideas, and it was surprising that even during the pandemic new shops such as Ome Kitchen (2020), an environmental conscious farm and restaurant, have opened in the neighbourhood and are helping to improve the community.

In contrast, a shop owner like Riku-san is not seeking more ways to engage with others in the community. He has so far been spared the negative effects of the

pandemic. He does not feel the need to overly use social media to promote his business, and has not signed up to the ward's takeout service app. The compact local area is sufficient for Riku-san to feel connected, and he has sufficient resources and support from the ward and his personal networks to carry on his business. The pork-shop owner Sato-san is also doing well, as he is increasingly selling his products online, thanks to existing relationships with department stores and an increased number of local customers. In comparison, older businesses like Tanaka-san's are struggling with challenges such as rising rent prices, a shrinking number of regular customers, and aging craftspeople like his father, who cannot operate modern communication tools to promote the business. This shows that while social networks are important, financial assistance from the government and local ward office is crucial to keep businesses afloat during times of crisis. Specific and targeted assistance to those in need, in particular the elderly, is most important and should be addressed immediately.

Conclusion

The aims of this research were twofold: to analyse the potential of localities to build up resilience in utilizing social capital and innovation, and highlight the role of localities for inclusive urban governance. The research has shown that the area tries to actively use existing social capabilities to include newcomers who do not always blend in with the community. It is especially the aim and effort of the independent shop owners to bond, bridge, and link old and new customers and residents with each other. Most newer residents interviewed stated that one of the most attractive aspects of the area is the identity of the community, shaped by the diverse social networks and relationships among residents. They felt that such networks, which are normally very closed off to newcomers, are in fact open and welcoming, allowing space for change and adaption. Yet, some feel these networks are still limited to those who are "Japanese", even though more non-Japanese people are living and working in this area permanently.

This shows that views are divided, and due to our chosen research methodology we were limited in the views we could represent. Even though we tried to approach a variety of community members, the pandemic prevented us from conducting more on-site observations and interacting with the interviewees in their own environments to verify the results. Instead, the current situation required us to triangulate our initial results with additional data collected online, and follow-up and additional interviews (with e.g. local ward officers), organized in

a much shorter time span than preferred. However, this demonstrates that an adjustment of the research methodology is a crucial part of the research process, and can also help other researchers to transition to remote research. Moreover, urban communities worldwide are affected by the ongoing impacts of COVID-19, and it will be necessary to compare these cases to learn how different communities are responding and recovering to gather examples of best practice in the future.

Furthermore, we learned through this research that the focal urban community displays a high degree of social capital and innovation, especially during times of crisis where informal networks and relationships have been cultivated in third places and transition zones, including the internet. These places are important as they secure the necessary level of social interaction and mobilize social capital, which functions as a kind of glue holding the community together. In particular, the personal narratives showed that the community was and is able to absorb and respond to different stresses in its own way, though some people living in the neighbourhood are challenged by different economic/technological issues and need more support than others. If a community finds ways to include all of its members, then these processes can actively contribute to increase local resilience and the ability to respond to shocks (Aldrich and Meyer 2015). This ability is highly influenced by the level of social capital and social innovation, which can be best maintained by securing the existence of diverse social networks while also including new emerging social activities, social practices, and hybrid identities.

In sum, the results of this research support the argument that strong communities can share their experience and knowledge with other local and urban governmental bodies, which can then ensure that new policies and projects have a better chance to be effective and successful. Thus, it is only if the micro, meso, and macro levels of urban governance communicate and work closely together that we can secure the local support, participation, and resilience needed to create more inclusive urban communities and public places. In other words, inclusive urban governance should aim to empower all residents socially, politically, and economically to increase the capabilities of local communities and the city as a whole.

Finally, we suggest that similar studies could analyse other localities within central Tokyo, the wider periphery, and other areas in Japan over a longer time period to further understand the impact of policies at the local level. These cases can then be compared with international ones, especially urban neighbourhoods in Asian mega cities, to gain more insights into the future challenges of these areas.

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ASIAN STUDIES IN SLOVENIA

Družbena mobilizacija na lokalni ravni in preobrazba mest v Južni Koreji: Razvoj skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v Seulu

Blaž KRIŽNIK*

Izvleček

Za Južno Korejo sta bila v preteklosti značilna hiter gospodarski in urbani razvoj, ki so ju spodbujali intervencionistična država in špekulativni trgi. Javnost je bila iz odločanja večinoma izključena. Na preobrazbo južnokorejskih mest so poleg tega vplivale obsežne rušitve revnih sosesk in nasilne deložacije prebivalcev. Tako so se na lokalni ravni pojavile različne oblike družbene mobilizacije, katerih cilj je bil zaščititi interese prebivalcev in lokalnih skupnosti ter uveljaviti njihovo skupno pravico do mesta. Članek obravnava razvoj skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v Seulu kot primeru družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni. Kvalitativna študija primera temelji na longitudinalni analizi vzrokov za nastanek, ciljev, organiziranosti in delovanja skupnostnega gibanja, s čimer želimo celoviteje razumeti pomen družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni za preobrazbo južnokorejskih mest. Izsledki študije kažejo, da je skupnostno gibanje pomembno vplivalo na krepitev skupnostnega povezovanja in s tem na preobrazbo mesta na različnih ravneh. Poleg tega študija opozarja na protisloven položaj skupnostnih gibanj v razmerju do države, saj morajo za uresničitev svojih ciljev z njo dejavno sodelovati, a hkrati ohraniti svojo finančno, organizacijsko in politično samostojnost. Skupnostno gibanje na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v Seulu je bilo pri tem razmeroma uspešno, zaradi česar lahko predstavlja zgled samostojnega in dolgoročno vzdržnega skupnostnega povezovanja v mestih.

Ključne besede: družbena mobilizacija, lokalne skupnosti, skupnostno povezovanje, Songhak Maeul, urbana družbena gibanja

Social Mobilization in Localities and Urban Change in South Korea: The Evolution of the Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni Community Movement in Seoul

Abstract

South Korea experienced rapid economic and urban growth in the past that was driven by an interventionist state and speculative markets, and citizens were largely excluded from

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decision making. Urban change also used to be characterized by the large-scale demolition of poor neighbourhoods and forced evictions of the residents. As a result, different forms of social mobilization emerged in localities, aiming to protect the interests of the residents and local communities, and claim their collective right to the city. The article examines the evolution of the Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni community movement in Seoul as a case of social mobilization in localities. The qualitative case study is based on a longitudinal analysis of causes for its emergence, aims, organization and practice of the community movement to better understand its importance for urban change in South Korea. The results of the study show that the community movement strengthened community building and contributed to urban change at different levels. They also reveal the contradictory relation between the state and community movements, which must maintain their financial, organizational and political autonomy while collaborating with the state to achieve their aims. In doing so, the Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni community movement has successfully maintained its autonomy, for which it can be considered a good example of autonomous and sustainable community building in cities.

Keywords: community building, local community, social mobilization, Songhak Maeul, urban social movements

Uvod

Za Južno Korejo (v nadaljevanju Koreja) sta bila v preteklosti značilna hiter gospodarski in urbani razvoj, ki so ju spodbujali intervencionistična država in špekulativni trgi (Castells 1992). Hitra industrializacija je pripeljala do množične selitve podeželskega prebivalstva v velika urbana središča in do njihove izjemne rasti. Priseljenci so se pogosto naselili v revnih barakarskih naseljih, kjer je konec šestdesetih let živela okoli tretjina prebivalcev korejskih mest (Ha 2001; Mobrand 2008). Država je skušala z različnimi ukrepi izboljšati kakovost bivalnega okolja v barakarskih naseljih in jih nadomestiti s sodobnimi blokovskimi naselji, ki pa so bila predvsem namenjena bogatejšim. Revni prebivalci so bili iz urbane prenove večinoma izključeni (Kim 2010; Chang, Nam in Lee 2018). Preobrazbo revnih sosesk so spremljale nasilne deložacije in razselitev prebivalcev, kar je dolgoročno povečalo neenakosti v korejskih mestih. Kot odgovor na rastoče neenakosti in družbeno izključevanje so se v mnogih revnih soseskah pojavile različne oblike družbene mobilizacije, katerih cilj je bil zaščititi interese prebivalcev in lokalnih skupnosti ter uveljaviti njihovo skupno pravico do mesta (Cho 1998; Douglass, Ard-Am in Kim 2001; Križnik 2009; Jeong 2012; Kim Sangmin 2017; Shin 2018).

Članek obravnava skupnostna gibanja v revnih soseskah kot značilno obliko družbene mobilizacije v korejskih mestih, s čimer želi avtor članka celoviteje

razumeti njihov pomen za preobrazbo mest z vidika korejskih kot tudi urbanih študij. Korejske študije urbani razvoj namreč pogosto povezujejo z intervencionistično državo in špekulativnimi trgi, medtem ko je vloga družbene mobilizacije razmeroma zapostavljena (Park 1998; Kim in Yoon 2003). Avtor se zato osredotoča na pomen skupnostnih gibanj v urbanem razvoju in na njihovo razmerje do države kot najpomembnejšim akterjem preobrazbe korejskih mest. Razmerje med državo in civilno družbo se je z leti iz nekdaj izključujočega sicer spremenilo v bolj vključujočega (Kim 2013). Posledično sta se v zadnjem desetletju v korejskih mestih uveljavila bolj vključujoče načrtovanje in upravljanje bivalnega okolja. Pri tem izstopa prestolnica Seul, kjer je Seulska mestna uprava (v nadaljevanju mestna uprava, SMG) vključevanje javnosti in sodelovanje z lokalnimi skupnostmi prepoznala kot “ključ do oblikovanja bolj humane družbe” (Park 2014, 443). Hkrati je razumevanje družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni pomembno tudi z vidika urbanih študij, saj lahko prispeva k celovitejšemu vrednotenju urbanih politik, ki si prizadevajo za oblikovanje samostojnih in dolgoročno vzdržnih lokalnih skupnosti in mest (Manzi at al. 2010; Ho 2019).

Članek temelji na kvalitativni študiji primera razvoja *skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawang* (금호·행당·하왕지역 주민공동체 운동),[1] ki ga je Cho Myung Rae (1998, 99) prepoznal kot “najbolj izstopajoč primer” družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni v Koreji. Hkrati velja za redek primer samostojnega in dolgoročno vzdržnega skupnostnega povezovanja v Seulu (Wi 2015; Kim Jun Hui 2017). Čeprav študija v tem pogledu ni reprezentativna, pa nepretrganost družbene mobilizacije v obravnavanem primeru omogoča longitudinalno analizo vzrokov za nastanek, ciljev, organiziranosti in delovanja skupnostnih gibanj kot tudi boljše razumevanje pomena družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni za preobrazbo mest. Med letoma 2017 in 2020 je avtor članka s sodelavci opravil polstrukturirane poglobljene intervjuje s tremi aktivisti, nekdanjimi udeleženci skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni ter s tremi strokovnjaki s področja skupnostnega povezovanja v Seulu. Intervjuje je dopolnil s terenskim delom in jih kontekstualiziral s študijo zgodovinskih virov, ki vključujejo zapise v množičnih medijih (Kim 1994; 1999; Yang 1994; Kim 1996; Lee 1997; Kim 1999), znanstvene in strokovne članke (Kim 1997; Cho 1998; Wi 2015; Kim Jun Hui 2017) ter dokumente skupnostnih

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1   Območje Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni obsega soseske *Geumho 1ga-dong* (금호1가동), *Haengdang 2-dong* (행당2동) in *Wangsimni 2-dong* (왕십리2동, nekdaj Hawangsimni-dong) na zahodu okrožja Seongdong-gu v Seulu.

organizacij z obravnavanega območja (Hawang 2–1 District Tenants Rights Committee 1995; NDPC 2019).[2]

Članek je razdeljen na šest delov. Uvodu sledi teoretski pregled, ki obravnava različne oblike družbene mobilizacije in urbanih družbenih gibanj v mestih, njihov pomen za skupnostno povezovanje in preobrazbo mest kot tudi razmerje med lokalnimi skupnostmi, civilno družbo in državo. Teoretskemu sledita zgodovinski pregled družbene mobilizacije in preobrazbe revnih sosesk v Koreji ter študija primera skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v Seulu. Članek se zaključuje z razpravo in sklepnim delom, v katerem so predstavljeni glavni izsledki ter omejitve študije.

Pregled: preobrazba mest in družbena mobilizacija na lokalni ravni

Družbena mobilizacija na lokalni ravni je bila do sedemdesetih let redkeje predmet celovitejše znanstvene obravnave. Zanimanje za njen nastanek, cilje, delovanje in pomen se je v urbanih študijah povečalo, ko so se v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja v evropskih in ameriških mestih množično pojavila različna skupnostna gibanja, sosedska združenja in prostovoljne organizacije (Pickvance 1985). Delovanje nekaterih od njih je bilo izrazito kratkotrajno. Protesti proti širitvi cest v stanovanjskih soseskah, denimo, so pogosto zamrli, ko so protestniki dosegli svoje cilje. Hkrati s kratkoročnimi so se pojavile tudi dolgoročno usmerjene oblike družbene mobilizacije, kjer so si prebivalci, na primer, prizadevali za izboljšanje dostopnosti stanovanj, ohranitev naravne in kulturne dediščine ali za vključevanje v načrtovanje in upravljanje bivalnega okolja. Za takšna *urbana družbena gibanja* so bili značilni "delovanje zunaj uveljavljene strankarske politike, nizka stopnja hierarhičnosti in formalne organiziranosti, spodbujanje neposredne participacije ter različne oblike neposredne akcije in protestov" (Day 2006, 141).

Kljub temu urbana družbena gibanja niso naključni izrazi nezadovoljstva, ampak organiziran civilnodružbeni odziv na strukturne neenakosti v kapitalističnem mestu, ki se na lokalni ravni med drugim odražajo v poblagovljenju skupnega dobrega – vključno s poblagovljenjem naravnih virov, stanovanj, prostora in storitev – v komercializaciji lokalne kulture in izključevanju javnosti (Harvey 2012). Vzroki za nastanek in delovanje urbanih družbenih gibanj so posledično povezani z

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2   Med zapisi v množičnih medijih sta pomembna družbeno angažirana dokumentarna filma *Ljudje Haengdang-donga* (행당동 사람들) in *Gradimo drugačen svet: Ljudje Haengdang-donga 2* (또 하나 의 세상: 행당동 사람들 2) režiserja Kim Dong-wona (1994; 1999). Oba predstavljata sicer subjektiven, a hkrati etnografsko bogat vpogled v razvoj in delovanje skupnostnega gibanja v nekdanji soseski Songhak Maeul.

varovanjem skupnega dobrega kot tudi s krepitvijo kolektivne potrošnje, kulturne identitete in politične samostojnosti lokalnih skupnosti (Castells 1983). Skupaj s sorodnimi civilnodružbenimi organizacijami urbana družbena gibanja tako organizirajo proteste, bojkote, shode, peticije, forume in druge oblike pritiskov na javne institucije, s čimer skušajo zaščititi svoje interese in uveljaviti skupno pravico do mesta (Mayer 2007). S tem se krepi organizacijska sposobnost urbanih družbenih gibanj, ki je poleg vodstva, materialnih in človeških virov, medsebojnega zaupanja ter notranje enotnosti med glavnimi pogoji za njihovo uspešno delovanje (Fainstein 2011).

Hkrati nanje vplivajo številni zunanji dejavniki, zlasti strukturne priložnosti, kot so širši zgodovinski in družbeni okvir ali uveljavljen politični sistem in njegove institucije (Pickvance 1985; Fainstein in Hirst 1995). Zunanji dejavniki lahko družbeno mobilizacijo zavirajo ali spodbujajo, kar je v veliki meri odvisno od razmerja med civilno družbo in državo na nacionalni kot tudi lokalni ravni (Robson 2000). Država lahko urbana družbena gibanja zatira, jih ne upošteva ali pa skuša njihovo delovanje podrediti lastnim interesom. Lahko pa v njih prepozna enakopravne partnerje in z urbanimi družbenimi gibanji sodeluje v obojestransko korist (Somerville 2016). Takšno sodelovanje se pogosteje razvije na lokalni ravni, ki je domače okolje delovanja urbanih družbenih gibanj, medtem ko za državo predstavlja osnovno raven zagotavljanja javnih storitev, načrtovanja in upravljanja bivalnega okolja ter vladovanja v mestih (Cho in Križnik 2017; Ho 2019).

Spodbujanje skupnostnega povezovanja je pomembno tako z vidika vladovanja v mestih kot tudi za delovanje urbanih družbenih gibanj, zlasti *skupnostnih gibanj*, ki predstavljajo značilno obliko družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni (Castells 2009; Kim Sangmin 2017). Skupnostno povezovanje naj bi okrepilo omrežja družbenih odnosov in organizacijsko sposobnost lokalnih skupnosti ter jih opolnomočilo, da se uspešno spopadejo z družbenimi neenakostmi in izključevanjem na lokalni ravni (Ledwidth 2011). Družbeno izključevanje lahko negativno vpliva na družbeno povezanost lokalnih skupnosti kot "odprtih in prepustnih omrežij družbenih odnosov" (Massey 1994, 121). Nasprotno lahko močnejša družbena povezanost spodbuja sodelovanje med prebivalci, krepi njihovo medsebojno zaupanje ter s tem pozitivno vpliva na oblikovanje dolgoročno vzdržnih in samostojnih lokalnih skupnosti in mest (Manzi et al. 2010).

Lokalne skupnosti so pomemben partner države pri zagotavljanju kolektivne potrošnje in krepitvi lokalne samouprave v mestih (Ho 2019). Vendar se zaradi neoliberalizacije vladovanja v mestih vključenost države v zagotavljanje kolektivne potrošnje zmanjšuje, njeno odgovornost in naloge pri zagotavljanju javnih storitev pa morajo vse pogosteje prevzemati nekdanja skupnostna gibanja in prostovoljne

organizacije. S tem se dolgoročno »zmanjšujeta njihov politični vpliv in mobilizacijska sposobnost«, medtem ko se hkrati povečuje njihova odvisnost od države (Mayer 2007, 92). Država pri tem kljub »poudarjeni retoriki partnerstva in opolnomočenja […] navadno ne kaže pretiranega razumevanja za lokalne procese in tradicije, hkrati pa pričakuje, da si vse lokalne skupnosti želijo in so sposobne slediti njeni centralistični politiki« (DeFilippis, Fisher in Shragge 2010, 91). Prisvojitev in institucionalizacija družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni predstavljata v tem pogledu obliko nadzora nad civilno družbo ter postajata sestavni del neoliberalnega vladovanja v mestih (Somerville 2016).

Na pomen urbanih družbenih gibanj za preobrazbo mest tako neposredno vpliva njihovo razmerje do države. Če v tem razmerju ne dosežejo »organizacijske in ideološke samostojnosti«, lahko ostane njihov vpliv omejen na lokalno raven preobrazbe mest (Castells 1983, 322). Prav skupnostna gibanja imajo zaradi svoje vpetosti v lokalno okolje v primerjavi z ostalimi oblikami družbene mobilizacije v mestih pogosto razmeroma omejeno samostojnost, zaradi česar težko vplivajo na strukturna protislovja v kapitalističnem mestu. Kljub temu pa lahko s svojim delovanjem vplivajo ne le na izboljšanje bivalnega okolja na lokalni ravni, ampak hkrati »prispevajo k višji stopnji demokratične participacije« (Fainstein 2011, 177) ter »oblikovanju skupnih pomenov in identitet« v mestih (Castells 2009, 64). V tem pogledu lahko imajo skupnostna gibanja kljub omejeni samostojnosti pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju lokalnih skupnosti, prispevajo k njihovemu opolnomočenju ter s tem tudi k bolj vzdržnemu in pravičnemu urbanemu razvoju.[3]

Drugače od evropskih ali ameriških mest, kjer zaradi postopnejše urbanizacije in močnejše civilne družbe obstaja daljša tradicija družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni, je bila za Korejo značilna hitra urbanizacija pod vplivom intervencionistične države (Castells 1992). Avtoritaren režim je nadziral in nasilno zatiral vsakršno družbeno mobilizacijo, ki bi ogrozila njegov prevladujoči položaj v družbi (Katsiaficas 2012). Družbena mobilizacija na lokalni ravni je zato potekala hkrati z boji za demokratizacijo družbe, zaradi česar so se urbana družbena gibanja v korejskih mestih pojavila razmeroma pozno in so se pogosto razvijala ter delovala v neposrednem konfliktu z državo (Douglass, Ard-Am in Kim 2001; Mobrand 2008; Jeong 2012; Kim Sangmin 2017). Korejska mesta se v tem pogledu pomembno razlikujejo ne le od evropskih in ameriških, ampak tudi od številnih mest v Vzhodni Aziji (Shin 2018). V nadaljevanju

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3   Vendar pa nekatera skupnostna gibanja svoje interese uveljavljajo izključno na račun drugih, kar pogosto vodi do notranjih delitev v lokalnih skupnostih kot tudi do širših družbenih konfliktov (Day 2006). V takšnih primerih seveda težko govorimo o prispevku skupnostnih gibanj k pravičnemu urbanemu razvoju.

obravnavamo prenovo revnih sosesk in skupnostno povezovanje v Seulu, s čimer želimo urbana družbena gibanja umestiti v širši zgodovinski in družbeni okvir preobrazbe korejskih mest.

Okvir: revne soseske in lokalne skupnosti v Seulu

Špekulativna prenova revnih sosesk

V šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja je v Seulu prišlo do izjemne rasti prebival-stva. Zaradi hitre industrializacije se je število prebivalcev v kratkem času več kot podvojilo in z 2.444.874 prebivalcev v letu 1960 naraslo na 5.536.169 v letu 1970 (Križnik, Cho in Kim 2019). Konec osemdesetih let je imela korejska prestolnica več kot deset milijonov prebivalcev, s čimer danes predstavlja središče ene od naj-večjih metropolitanskih regij v Vzhodni Aziji. Hitra rast prebivalstva je povzroči-la pomanjkanje stanovanj, kar je najbolj prizadelo revne priseljence z obubožane-ga podeželja. Ti pogosto niso imeli druge možnosti kot življenje v prenaseljenih in nezakonito zgrajenih *barakarskih naseljih* (판자촌), v katerih je bila v začetku sedemdesetih let okoli tretjina vseh stanovanj v Seulu (Tabela 1) (Ha 2001; Kim in Yoon 2003; Mobrand 2008).[4]

Tabela 1. Število prebivalstva, stanovanjskih enot in nezakonitih stavb v Seulu (Vir: prirejeno po Kim in Yoon (2003); Mobrand (2008); SMG (2020))

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Prebivalstvo	2.444.874	5.536.169	8.366.756	10.627.790	10.373.234	10.575.447
Stanovanjske enote	275.436	600.367	968.133	1.430.981	1.916.573	3.399.733
Nezakonite stavbe	40.000	187.554	154.047	94.974	53.911	33.744

Kljub zelo slabim življenjskim razmeram sta bili za barakarska naselja značil-ni močna družbena povezanost in medsebojna solidarnost njihovih prebivalcev. Revni priseljenci so se namreč pogosto naselili v soseskah ali celo stanovanjih, kjer so že živeli njihovi sorodniki ali znanci. Ti so jim poleg bivališča nudili tudi socialno oporo ali pomagali pri iskanju dela. Močna vpetost v sosedska družbena

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4   Število nezakonitih stavb zaradi različnih metodologij po posameznih letih ni povsem primerljivo. Hkrati nekateri podatki poleg stanovanjskih vključujejo tudi nestanovanjske stavbe. Kljub temu se število nezakonitih stavb pogosto uporablja kot kazalnik rasti revnih sosesk v korejskih mestih (Ha 2001; Kim in Yoon 2003; Mobrand 2008; Chang, Nam in Lee 2018).

in gospodarska omrežja je bila med glavnimi razlogi, da se številni prebivalci niso mogli ali želeli odseliti iz barakarskih naselij (Mobrand 2008, Kim 2010). Ha (2001, 390) navaja, da so bile za 74 odstotkov prebivalcev "sorodstvene vezi in prijazno sosedstvo" ob "nizkih stroških bivanja in dostopnih najemninah" med glavnimi razlogi za življenje v revnih soseskah.

Država je s spodbujanjem samopomoči in skupnostnega povezovanja na začetku sicer skušala izboljšati razmere v revnih soseskah, a se je kmalu osredotočila na njihovo rušenje in gradnjo novih blokovskih naselij (Chang, Nam in Lee 2018). Vendar ne eno ne drugo ni pomembneje pripomoglo k zmanjšanju njihovega števila niti ni izboljšalo dostopnosti stanovanj v mestu (Park 1998). Od konca sedemdesetih let je država pobudo pri zagotavljanju stanovanj zato prepustila trgu, s čimer

Slika 1. Blokovsko naselje v soseski Geumho 4ga-dong v Seulu (Vir: Križnik 2014)

je želela na eni strani učinkoviteje rešiti pomanjkanje stanovanj, medtem ko je na drugi spodbujala gradbeništvo in nepremičninske trge. Špekulativna urbana prenova je v osemdesetih letih postala gonilo obširne preobrazbe revnih sosesk (Kim 2010; Cho in Križnik 2017; Shin 2018). Delež nezakonitih stavb je posledično do leta 2000 padel na tri odstotke (Tabela 1), s čimer sta se hkrati izboljšali dostopnost stanovanj in kakovost življenja v mestu. Povečalo se je število

blokovskih naselij (아파트 단지), ki so postala prevladujoča oblika stanovanjske gradnje v mestu (Slika 1) (Ha 2001). V njih se danes nahaja 58 odstotkov vseh stanovanj v Seulu, medtem ko jih je bilo leta 1970 v blokovskih naseljih zgolj štiri odstotke (Križnik, Cho in Kim 2019).

Vendar se je na račun množične gradnje blokovskih naselij močno poslabšala dostopnost stanovanj za revne (Kim 2010). V osemdesetih letih sta se namreč "javni in zasebni sektor osredotočila na zagotavljanje tržnih stanovanj, pri čemer je bila gradnja neprofitnih stanovanj za revne v celoti zanemarjena" (Park 1998, 278). Zaradi špekulativne urbane prenove so se morali najemniki in lastniki manjših zemljišč, ki so v številnih revnih soseskah sicer predstavljali večino prebivalstva, soočiti z rušitvijo svojih domov, nasilnimi deložacijami ter razlastitvami. S tem so razpadla močna sosedska družbena in gospodarska omrežja, ki so zlasti za revne predstavljala glavni vir socialne opore, zaposlitve ter osebne in skupnostne identitete (Ha 2001; Križnik 2009).

Družbena mobilizacija in lokalne skupnosti

V zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih je tako prišlo do prvih primerov družbene mobilizacije v revnih soseskah in protestov proti urbani prenovi (Mobrand 2008; Kim Sangmin 2017). *Gibanja za pomoč revnim v mestih* (도시 빈민 운동), ki so jih organizirale napredne verske in študentske organizacije, so skušala z organiziranjem samopomoči in izobraževanjem revnih prebivalcev izboljšati življenje v barakarskih naseljih. Njihovo delovanje se je v osemdesetih letih razširilo na boj proti nasilnim deložacijam ter za pravičnejše odškodnine in stanovanjske pravice najemnikov kot temeljne človekove pravice. Nova *gibanja proti deložacijam* (퇴거 반대 운동) so se leta 1990 povezala v Korejsko koalicijo za stanovanjske pravice (주거권 실현을 위한 국민연합, KCHR) ter se organizirano uprla špekulativni urbani prenovi in nasilju države, ki je odkrito podpirala rušenje kot tudi preobrazbo revnih sosesk (Shin 2018). Med protesti proti deložacijam je tako pogosto prihajalo do nasilnih spopadov med aktivisti in prebivalci na eni strani ter plačanci lastnikov zemljišč in policijo na drugi (Ha 2001; Harvey 2012).

Čeprav skupnostno povezovanje sprva ni bilo med cilji gibanj za pomoč revnim ali gibanj proti deložacijam, je postopoma postalo pomemben del družbene mobilizacije v revnih soseskah. V devetdesetih letih so aktivisti prepoznali opolnomočenje lokalnih skupnosti kot učinkovito obliko boja proti revščini in deložacijam. Hkrati so se v tem času pojavila nova *skupnostna gibanja* (지역 사회 운동, 마을만들기 운동, 마을공동체 운동), ki so si s spodbujanjem skupnostnega

povezovanja prizadevala za ohranjanje in prenovo lokalnih skupnosti (Jeong 2012; Ahn, Wi in Yu 2016). Povezane lokalne skupnosti so postale v delu civilne družbe prepoznane kot alternativa rastoči individualizaciji ter družbenim in gospodarskim neenakostim v korejski družbi (Katsiaficas 2012; Kim Sangmin 2017). Vendar so se skupnostna gibanja v primerjavi z gibanji za pomoč revnim ali gibanji proti deložacijam pojavljala predvsem v bogatejših soseskah, ki drugače od revnih večinoma niso bile predmet špekulativne urbane prenove (Kim in Križnik 2018).

V tistem času se je začelo postopoma spreminjati tudi razmerje med lokalnimi skupnostmi in državo, ki je bilo v preteklosti zaradi njenega podpiranja urbane prenove in nasilnih deložacij pogosto konfliktno in izključujoče (Shin 2018). Z demokratizacijo in decentralizacijo korejske družbe je država prepoznala pomen skupnostnih gibanj za izboljšanje kakovosti življenja in krepitev lokalne samouprave v mestih (Jeong 2012). Od konca devetdesetih let je tako skušala spodbujati in institucionalizirati skupnostno povezovanje, s čimer se je nekdaj konfliktno razmerje postopoma spremenilo v bolj vključujoče partnerstvo med državo in lokalnimi skupnostmi (Cho in Križnik 2017; Kim Sangmin 2017). Leta 2012 je mestna uprava (SMG 2015, 240) postavila "lokalne skupnosti v središče oblikovanja urbane politike" ter institucionalizirala različne oblike skupnostnega povezovanja in vključevanja javnosti v načrtovanje in upravljanje bivalnega okolja v Seulu (Ahn, Wi in Yu 2016; Križnik 2018; Cho in Križnik 2020). Za mestno upravo je postalo skupnostno povezovanje eden od "najučinkovitejših načinov vključevanja lokalnih skupnosti v oblikovanje grajenega okolja" (Centre for Livable Cities in The Seoul Institute 2017, 87).

Kljub temu pa mestna uprava v praksi pogosto ohranja močan vpliv na skupnostno povezovanje, kar lahko negativno vpliva na samostojnost in dolgoročno vzdržnost lokalnih skupnosti kot tudi na krepitev lokalne samouprave v mestu (Park 2013; Kim Sangmin 2017; Križnik, Cho in Kim 2019). V nadaljevanju obravnavamo razvoj skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni kot primeru samostojnega in dolgoročno vzdržnega skupnostnega povezovanja v mestu (Wi 2015; Kim Jun Hui 2017), s čimer želimo poleg zgodovinskega razvoja skupnostnih gibanj razumeti tudi vlogo države pri skupnostnem povezovanju v Seulu.

Primer: razvoj skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni

Zgodnje obdobje: začetek družbene mobilizacije na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni

Na hribovitem in slabo dostopnem območju *Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni* (금호·행당·하왕십리지역) se je do sredine devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja ohranila ena največjih in najrevnejših sosesk v širšem mestnem središču (Kim Joong-sik 1996). Začetki njenega razvoja sovpadajo s hitro industrializacijo in urbanizacijo mesta v zgodnjih šestdesetih letih, ko so se na širše območje množično naselili revni priseljenci. Ti so se preživljali predvsem s priložnostnimi in slabo plačanimi deli v lokalni tekstilni industriji in gradbeništvu (Wi 2015). Velika večina od okoli 76 tisoč prebivalcev so bili najemniki, medtem ko je bil delež lastniških stanovanj leta 1990 manj kot četrtino vseh stanovanj (Tabela 2) (SDI 1994). Območje je bilo izjemno gosto pozidano s pritličnimi, slabo vzdrževanimi in večinoma nezakonito zgrajenimi hišami ter prepredeno s številnimi ozkimi ulicami (Slika 2). Na območju urbane prenove Hawang 2–1, kjer so pozneje zgradili sosesko Songhak Maeul, je bilo pred urbano prenovo nezakonitih kar 87 odstotkov vseh stanovanjskih stavb (SDI 1996, 126).

Tabela 2. Število prebivalstva na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni (Vir: SDI 1994; SMG 2020)

	1990	1998	2000	2010	2020
Geumho 1ga-dong	24.497	11.756	11.643	16.218	15.855
Haengdang 2-dong	22.546	9.392	28.966	26.060	24.543
Wangsimni 2-dong	28.950	18.332	15.604	19.161	17.755
Skupaj	75.993	39.480	56.213	61.439	58.153
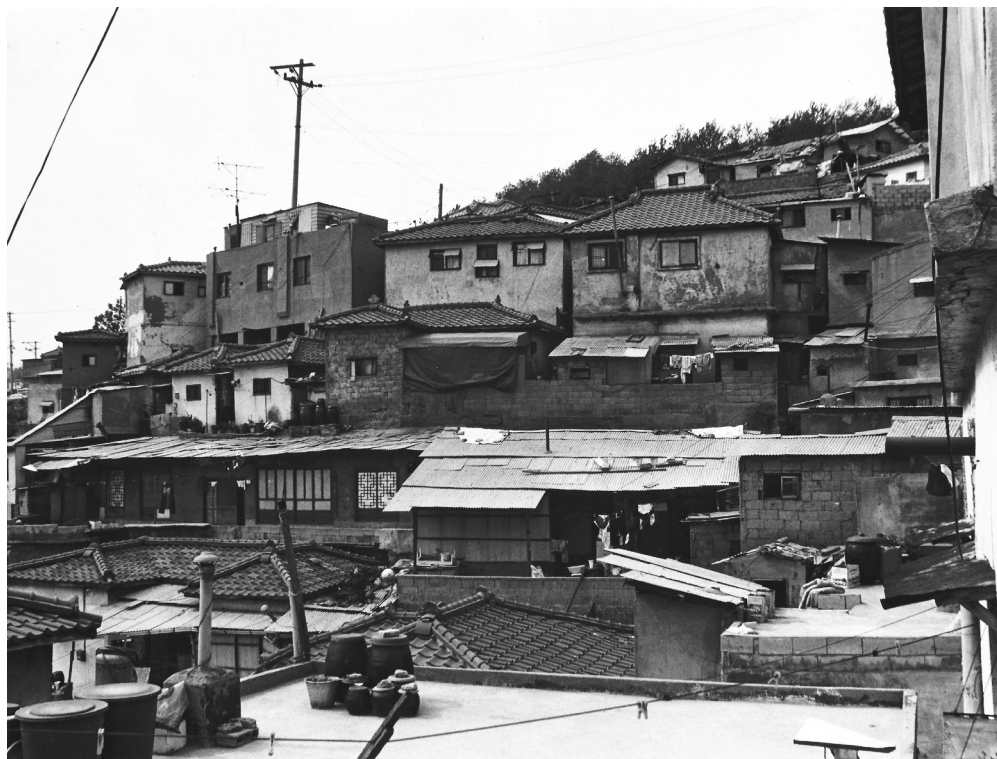
Slika 2. Soseska Haengdang-dong pred urbano prenovo (Vir: © Lim Chung Eui, ChungAm Archive, 1990)

Začetek družbene mobilizacije na območju sega v leto 1987, ko sta se v Haengdang-dong iz soseske Bogeumjari Maeul priselila izkušena aktivista Park Jae-cheon in Lee Hyeon-ok (Kim Jun Hui 2017). Skupaj z aktivisti in prostovoljci iz katoliških in študentskih organizacij sta v naslednjih letih uspešno organizirala različne oblike samopomoči in izobraževanja za revne prebivalce. Tako so med letoma 1987 in 1989 ustanovili različne skupnostne organizacije, ki so med drugim vključevale otroško varstvo in obšolske dejavnosti (오순도순애기방, 행당 배움터), izobraževanje za odrasle (금호·행당 어머니학교), kulturne dejavnosti (주민 단오한마당) ter študijske krožke (희망의집공부방, 민들레공부방, 푸른하늘공부방) (Kim 1997; Kim Jun Hui 2017). Zlasti otroški vrtci in študijski krožki so "omogočili komunikacijo med lokalnimi prebivalci" ter postali središča družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni (Kim Jun Hui 2017, 393). Aktivisti so se leta 1989 povezali v skupino Srečanje (이모임), ki se je leta 1991 preoblikovala v Svet aktivistov na območju Geumho-Haengdang (금호·행당지역 활동가협의 회, v nadaljevanju Svet aktivistov) (Wi 2015).

Vendar je bolj kot pomoč revnim glavna skrb Sveta aktivistov postala obširna urbana prenova območja Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni. Mestna uprava je leta 1993 potrdila gradnjo novega blokovskega naselja z 11.032 stanovanji, ki naj bi izboljšala dostopnost stanovanj in kakovost bivalnega okolja. Poleg tržnih naj bi zgradili tudi 3.485 najemniških stanovanj (Kim Jun Hui 2017, 399). Kljub temu se je pokazalo, da bo urbana prenova bolj kot revnim najemnikom koristila lastnikom zemljišč, ki so sicer predstavljali manj kot 20 odstotkov vseh prebivalcev (SDI 1994). S špekulativnim nakupom starih stanovanj so nekateri lastniki pred začetkom urbane prenove pridobili prednostno pravico do novih, katerih vrednost je pozneje običajno močno presegla začetni vložek (Kim 2010). Lastniki zemljišč so zato hiteli z deložacijami najemnikov in rušitvijo njihovih domov, s čimer bi zagotovili hiter potek urbane prenove (Kim Jun Hui 2017). Najemniki so lahko pri tem izbrali med odškodninami ali novimi najemniškimi stanovanji, vendar so se morali v obeh primerih z območja urbane prenove stalno ali začasno izseliti (Yang 1994).

Večina nekdanjih najemnikov je do leta 1994 zapustila območje Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni (Tabela 2). Na domovih je vztrajalo okoli 350 družin, ki si zaradi slabega materialnega položaja selitve niso mogle privoščiti. Gradbene korporacije in zlasti združenja lastnikov zemljišč so skušali preostale najemnike ob podpori države nasilno deložirati. Najeti plačanci so ustrahovali prebivalce, jih pretepali in preganjali z njihovih domov (Kim 1994; Yang 1994; Lee 1997). Svet aktivistov je maja 1993 zato ustanovil Odbor za pravice najemnikov (세입자대책위원회, v nadaljevanju Odbor najemnikov), ki je v naslednjih letih skupaj z ostalimi skupnostnimi in civilnodružbenimi organizacijami odigral ključno vlogo v boju proti deložacijam in za stanovanjske pravice najemnikov (Slika 3).[5] Pri tem so zlasti študijske sobe kot "neke vrste izpostave Odbora najemnikov" pomagale pri ozaveščanju prebivalcev in njihovem vključevanju v skupni boj (Kim Jun Hui 2017, 395).

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5   Transparenti na sliki sporočajo: »Uprava okrožja [Seongdong-gu], ki ne upošteva Odbora za pravice najemnikov, se mora zbuditi!« in »Naj se uresniči pravična stanovanjska politika!«.

Slika 3. Boj proti nasilnim deložacijam v soseski Haengdang-dong (Vir: Združenje prebival-
cev Seongdonga, 1994)

Osrednje obdobje: skupnostno gibanje v soseski Songhak Maeul

Sočasno si je Odbor najemnikov prizadeval za gradnjo začasnih in zagotovitev najemniških stanovanj v novi blokovski soseski (Hawang 2–1 District Tenants Rights Committee 1995). Začasna stanovanja naj bi preprečila deložacije, s čimer bi najemnikom omogočila bivanje na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v času urbane prenove. Najemniki bi tako lahko ohranili tudi zaposlitev, ki bi jo zaradi deložacij sicer izgubili. Po končani urbani prenovi naj bi se najemniki iz začasnih preselili v nova najemniška stanovanja (Wi 2015). Kljub pozitivnim učinkom takšnega pristopa na vzdržnost sosedskih družbenih in gospodarskih omrežij so se gradbene korporacije in združenja lastnikov zemljišč redko odločali za gradnjo začasnih stanovanj, saj so zanje pomenila dodaten strošek. Vseeno je Odbor najemnikov ob pomoči civilnodružbenih organizacij (천주교 도시빈민회, KCHR) in posredovanju države (국민고충처리위원회) z združenjem lastnikov nepremičnin dosegel dogovor o gradnji šestih sosesk s skupno 240 *začasnimi stanovanji* (가이주단지), kar so prebivalci razumeli kot

uresničitev "temeljne človekove pravice do trajnostnega skupnostnega življenja" (Cho 1998, 102).[6]

Soseska *Songhak Maeul* (송학마을) je bila zgrajena oktobra 1995 za 378 najemnikov z območja urbane prenove Hawang 2–1 ter je postala največja in hkrati najdejavnejša med soseskami z začasnimi stanovanji.[7] Nahajala se je na robu gradbišča novega blokovskega naselja, na mestu današnjega *otroškega parka Nongol Saessak* (논골새싹 어린이공원). Poleg 102 zelo majhnih stanovanj so se v soseski nahajali še skupnostni prostori, učilnica s knjižnico, vrtec z otroškim igriščem, manjša trgovina in industrijski obrat, v katerih je delovala zadružna kooperativa (Hawang 2–1 District Tenants Rights Committee 1995). Kljub razmeroma nizki kakovosti bivalnega okolja so bile za sosesko značilne močna družbena povezanost, medsebojna solidarnost in skupnostna identiteta (Kim 1994; 1999; Kim 1999). Njeni prebivalci so se po lastnem pričevanju počutili kot "velika družina" (Lee 1997, 11), kjer so "ljudje resnično skrbeli drug za drugega" (Kim Jun Hui 2017, 408).

Močna družbena povezanost je bila v veliki meri posledica skupnega boja proti deložacijam, kar je hkrati izboljšalo organizacijsko sposobnost skupnostnega gibanja (Cho 1998). Odbor aktivistov je skupaj z nekaterimi najemniki aprila 1995 ustanovil Načrtovalno skupino za območje Geumho-Haengdang-Hawang (금호·행당·하왕지역 기획단, v nadaljevanju Načrtovalna skupina), ki je "preučevala, razpravljala in načrtovala skupnostne dejavnosti za novo sosesko z začasnimi stanovanji" (Wi 2015, 55). Aktivisti so selitev videli tudi kot priložnost za opolnomočenje lokalne skupnosti pri "premagovanju družbene in kulturne izključenosti revnih prebivalcev ter izboljšanju njihovega materialnega položaja" (Lee 1997, 11), in ne nazadnje tudi kot korak k oblikovanju samostojne in dolgoročno vzdržne lokalne skupnosti v novem blokovskem naselju.[8] Med letoma 1995 in 1999 je Načrtovalna skupina organizirala redna mesečna srečanja, na katerih so prebivalci odločali o različnih vidikih skupnega življenja. Organizirali so otroško varstvo in izobraževalne dejavnosti (행당배움터, 마을만들기 주민학교), upravljali proizvodne in potrošniške zadruge (논골의류생산협동조합, 옷과사람들, 송학구판장) ter ustanovili Zadružno hranilnico Nongol (논골신용협동조합) (Kim 1997; Cho 1998; Kim 1999).

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6   Začasna stanovanja so zgradili v vsakem od šestih območij urbane prenove na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni. Stroške njihove gradnje so si razdelili gradbene korporacije, združenja lastnikov zemljišč in najemniki (Kim Jun Hui 2017, 386).

7   *Songhak Maeul* (松鶴마을) pomeni sosesko borovcev in žerjavov, ki simbolizirajo dolgo življenje. Ime lahko v prenesenem pomenu razumemo tudi kot *dolgoživa soseska*.

8   Načrtovalna skupina je leta 1994 pripravila dolgoročen načrt razvoja lokalne skupnosti (금호·행당 주민운동 10년 계획). V pripravo je bilo vključenih več kot petdeset prebivalcev, aktivistov in članov civilnodružbenih organizacij in neodvisnih strokovnih združenj (Wi 2015, 55).

Proizvodne zadruge naj bi zagotovile delovna mesta za prebivalce soseske Song-hak Maeul, vendar se zaradi omejenih zmogljivosti in težkih razmer v tekstilni industriji dolgoročno niso obdržale. Nasprotno pa hranilnica Nongol še danes zagotavlja posojila za prebivalce in podpira skupnostno povezovanje na območju (Kim Jun Hui 2017; NDPC 2019). Pri upravljanju zadrug in hranilnice se je Načrtovalna skupina zgledovala po dobrih skupnostnih praksah ter povezovala s sorodnimi skupnostnimi gibanji (복음자리마을, 일꾼두레회, 실과바늘, 한솥밥) in civilnodružbenimi organizacijami (한국주민운동정보교육원, CONET, Asian Coalition for Housing Rights) v Koreji in tujini. Poleg tega je sodelovala z neodvisnimi strokovnimi organizacijami (한국도시연구소), s katerimi je soorganizirala posvetovanja in pripravila dopolnila k nacionalnemu zakonu o urbani prenovi, ki bi pravičneje urejal stanovanjske pravice najemnikov (Cho 1998; Kim 1999).

Po letu 1997 je začela Načrtovalna skupina sodelovati z mestno upravo, ki je s pomočjo Odbora prebivalcev za zeleni Seul (녹색서울시민위원회) podprla njena prizadevanja (논골작은환경모임, 작은환경교실) za izboljšanje bivalnega okolja v soseski Songhak Maeul (Kim Jun Hui 2017). Načrtovalna skupina je leta 1998 ustanovila tudi Svet za lokalno samoupravo v najemniških stanovanjih okrožja Seongdong-gu (성동구 공공임대주택 주민자치협의회, v nadaljevanju Svet za samoupravo), ki je sodeloval pri načrtovanju nove blokovske soseske, pripravljal prebivalce na selitev v najemniška stanovanja in jih ozaveščal o pomenu lokalne samouprave (Wi 2015). K temu so sicer skušali pritegniti tudi prebivalce lastniških stanovanj, da bi tako izboljšali sodelovanje med njimi in najemniki (Kim 1999). Prav izključevanje revnih najemnikov je namreč v Koreji pogosto vzrok za družbene konflikte v blokovskih soseskah z najemniškimi in lastniškimi stanovanji.

Pozno obdobje: povezovanje skupnostnih organizacij v okrožju Seongdong-gu

Kljub temu je selitev v najemniška stanovanja močno spremenila cilje, organizacijo in delovanje skupnostnega gibanja. Začasna stanovanja v soseski Songhak Maeul so leta 1999 podrli, njeni prebivalci pa so se preselili v novo *blokovsko sosesko Daerim* (대림아파트). Število prebivalcev soseske Haengdang 2-dong se je od leta 1998 do 2000 tako povečalo z 9.392 na 28.996 (Tabela 2). V enakem obdobju se je delež lastniških stanovanj povečal z 18 na 40 odstotkov (SDI 1994; 2000), kar kaže, da so se v novo blokovsko sosesko poleg najemnikov vselili zlasti bogatejši prebivalci, ki niso imeli veliko skupnega z nekdanjo sosesko Songhak Maeul, še manj pa z bojem proti deložacijam in za stanovanjske pravice najemnikov. Novi

prebivalci se tako niso dejavneje vključevali v obstoječe skupnostne organizacije (Kim Jun Hui 2017).

Hkrati so na skupnostno gibanje zaradi razkola z aktivisti vplivali tudi slabši odnosi med prebivalci nekdanje soseske Songhak Maeul. Razkol se je pojavil v začetku leta 1999 zaradi neizplačanih odškodnin, ki so jih zaradi rušitve soseske Songhak Maeul po prepričanju aktivistov neupravičeno zahtevali nekateri najemniki. S tem se je "hipoma porušilo obstoječe omrežje družbenih odnosov" in skupnostno gibanje na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v Seulu je za nekaj let skoraj povsem zamrlo (Wi 2015, 61). Med letoma 2002 in 2008 je sicer prišlo do poskusov oživitve skupnostnega povezovanja, ki pa so bili za razliko nekdanjega boja proti nasilnim deložacijam in za stanovanjske pravice najemnikov usmerjeni v izboljšanje bivalnega okolja, zlasti v krepitev lokalne samouprave v okrožju Seongdong-gu (Kim in Križnik 2018).

Aktivisti iz nekdanje soseske Songhak Maeul so aprila 2008 ustanovili Združenje prebivalcev Seongdonga za izboljšanje kakovosti življenja in lokalne samouprave (생명·살림·자치 성동주민회, v nadaljevanju Združenje prebivalcev), ki je med drugim znova obudilo zadružništvo (Kim Jun Hui 2017). Čeprav je bila prva potrošniška zadruga v soseski Songhak Maeul sicer ustanovljena že leta 1997, je bilo njeno delovanje razmeroma neuspešno. Z izboljšanjem materialnega položaja v novi blokovski soseski pa se je med prebivalci povečalo zanimanje za zdravo prehrano in odgovorno potrošnjo. Novoustanovljene potrošniške zadruge (생명살림사업단, 성동두레생활협) je finančno in organizacijsko podprla hranilnica Nongol (NDPC 2019), ki je poleg tega podpirala tudi druge oblike skupnostnega povezovanja, vključno z delovanjem Združenja prebivalcev, izobraževalnimi in kulturnimi dejavnostmi (성동협동교육원, 성동주민단오한마당, 성동주민자치소통센터) ter pomočjo za mladino in starejše (주민 어울림마당, 하늘나무사랑방). Zadružna hranilnica Nongol je na ta način nadaljevala delo nekdanje Načrtovalne skupine pri oblikovanju samostojne in dolgoročno vzdržne lokalne skupnosti na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni (Wi 2015).

Pri tem so se obstoječe skupnostne organizacije dejavno povezale s sorodnimi skupnostnimi ali civilnodružbenimi organizacijami v okrožju Seongdong-gu. Dejavnosti Sveta za samoupravo je že leta 2002 nadaljeval Center za lokalni razvoj Seongdonga (성동지역사회발전센터). Združenje prebivalcev se je leta 2009 vključilo v novoustanovljen Center za lokalno samoupravo prebivalcev Seongdonga (성동주민자치운동센터), ki je povezal številne lokalne skupnostne organizacije. Njihovo sodelovanje se je okrepilo po letu 2012 z oblikovanjem omrežja Seongdong Maeul Net (성동마을넷), ki ga je s pomočjo programa za podporo lokalnim skupnostim (서울마을공동체지원사업) dejavno podprla tudi mestna

uprava (Seongdong-gu 2014). Ta je sodelovanje javnosti in uprave okrožja Seongdong-gu prepoznala kot eno uspešnejših v mestu, zaradi česar se v okrožju trenutno izvaja več pilotnih projektov skupnostnega povezovanja, celostne urbane prenove in prenove lokalne samouprave.

Razprava: razvoj skupnostnega gibanja in preobrazba mest

Cilji, organiziranost in delovanje skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni kot tudi posledice njegovega delovanja so se s časom pomembno spreminjali. Kljub temu da je vključevalo različne in včasih nasprotujoče si skupine aktivistov, prebivalcev in prostovoljcev kot tudi različne skupnostne in civilnodružbene organizacije, pa lahko govorimo o organizacijsko in idejno razmeroma enotnem skupnostnem gibanju, ki ga je zaznamovala močna zgodovinska, družbena in geografska vpetost v lokalno okolje. Njegov razvoj je na organizacijski in simbolni ravni zaznamoval boj proti deložacijam in za stanovanjske pravice, kar je vplivalo na oblikovanje in družbeno povezanost lokalne skupnosti v soseski Songhak Maeul ter na poznejšo krepitev lokalne samouprave v okrožju Seongdong-gu (Cho 1998; Kim Jun Hui 2017). V tem pogledu lahko družbeno mobilizacijo v nekdanji soseski Songhak Maeul postavimo v središče skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni.

Njegovi začetki so povezani z gibanji za pomoč revnim in proti deložacijam, ki so se v osemdesetih letih pojavili v revnih soseskah kot odgovor na rastoče družbene neenakosti in izključevanje v korejskih mestih. Primeri takšne družbene mobilizacije, denimo, vključujejo Bogeumjari Maeul v mestu Siheung ali skupnostna gibanja v soseskah Hawolgye-dong, Muak-dong, Nangok-dong ali Sanggye-dong v Seulu (Kim 1999). Čeprav v tem pogledu ni posebnost, sta drugače od drugih primerov skupnostnega povezovanja v Seulu za skupnostno gibanje na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni značilni velika samostojnost in dolgoročna vzdržnost, saj z izjemo krize po selitvi v novo blokovsko sosesko deluje neprekinjeno že več kot trideset let (Wi 2015; NDPC 2019). Neprekinjenost družbene mobilizacije omogoča longitudinalno analizo vzrokov za nastanek, ciljev, organiziranosti in delovanja skupnostnega gibanja ter s tem tudi boljše razumevanje pomena družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni za preobrazbo mesta.

Tabela 3. Razvoj skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v Seulu

	Zgodnje obdobje	Osrednje obdobje	Pozno obdobje
Čas	1987 do 1995	1995 do 1999	po letu 1999
Glavni cilji	odprava revščine, boj proti deložacijam in za stanovanjske pravice	izboljšanje bivalnega okolja, skupnostno povezovanje	skupnostno povezovanje, krepitev lokalne samouprave
Delovanje	organiziranje pomoči, otroškega varstva, kulturnih dejavnosti, izobraževanja, protestov in boja proti deložacijam	organiziranje kulturnih dejavnosti, izobraževanja, zadrug, delavnic in javnih forumov, načrtovanje in priprava na selitev	organiziranje kulturnih dejavnosti, izobraževanja, zadrug in delavnic, vključevanje v lokalno samoupravo
Značilne skupnostne organizacije	srečanje, vrtci in študijski krožki, Svet aktivistov na območju Geumho-Haengdang, Skupina za Dano festival, Odbor najemnikov	načrtovalna skupina, vrtci in študijski krožki, Zadružna hranilnica Nongol, proizvodne in potrošniške zadruge, Svet za samoupravo	združenje prebivalcev, potrošniške zadruge in skupnostni centri, Center za lokalno samoupravo prebivalcev Seongdonga, Seongdong Maeul Net
Odnos države	zatiranje skupnostnega gibanja	neupoštevanje skupnostnega gibanja	sodelovanje s skupnostnim gibanjem

Razvoj skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni lahko glede na njegove cilje razdelimo na tri obdobja (Tabela 3). *Zgodnje obdobje* zajema razvoj skupnostnega gibanja od začetkov družbene mobilizacije leta 1987 do selitve v začasna stanovanja leta 1995. V tem času sta bila njegova glavna cilja odprava revščine ter boj proti deložacijam in za stanovanjske pravice, čemur je bilo podrejeno tudi skupnostno povezovanje. Sledilo je *osrednje obdobje* razvoja skupnostnega gibanja med letoma 1995 in 1999. Glavna cilja družbene mobilizacije sta postala izboljšanje bivalnega okolja v soseskah z začasnimi stanovanji in priprava na selitev v načrtovana najemniška stanovanja. Poleg tega je postala pomemben cilj skupnostnega gibanja tudi krepitev skupnostnega povezovanja, kar naj bi pripomoglo k oblikovanju samostojne in dolgoročno vzdržne lokalne skupnosti v novem blokovskem naselju (Wi 2015). S selitvijo v najemniška stanovanja leta 1999 se je začelo *pozno obdobje v* razvoju skupnostnega gibanja, ko je po krajši krizi prišlo do oživitve in nadaljevanja skupnostnega povezovanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni.

Cilji, organiziranost in delovanje skupnostnega gibanja so bili tesno povezani z izboljšanjem družbenega in materialnega položaja prebivalcev. Za območje Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni sta bili nekoč značilni revščina in močna družbena izključenost, zato je bilo delovanje skupnostnih organizacij sprva usmerjeno na organiziranje pomoči in izobraževanja za revne prebivalce (Tabela 3). Po začetku

urbane prenove se je njihovo delovanje usmerilo na varovanje prebivalcev pred deložacijami, organizacijo protestov in podpisovanje peticij za zaščito njihovih stanovanjskih pravic (Kim 1994; Cho 1998). Selitev v soseske z začasnimi stanovanji in ustanovitev zadrug sta močno izboljšali družbeni in materialni položaj revnih prebivalcev, ki so se "z delom v zadrugah [materialno] prvič osamosvojili" (Kim Jun Hui 2017, 410). Nove skupnostne organizacije so prebivalce hkrati pripravljale na življenje v načrtovani blokovski soseski. Selitev v najemniška stanovanja je za večino med njimi tako pomenila trajno ureditev stanovanjskega in materialnega položaja, kljub temu da je tudi v novi blokovski soseski prihajalo do izključevanja revnejših prebivalcev. V poznem obdobju so se skupnostne organizacije osredotočile na vključevanje različnih družbenih skupin v lokalno samoupravo, kar je pripeljalo do tesnejšega sodelovanja med skupnostnim gibanjem in državo (Wi 2015).

Susan Fainstein (2011) ugotavlja, da so urbana družbena gibanja vzajemno povezana z javnimi institucijami, čeprav jim s svojim delovanjem sicer nasprotujejo. Zato je tudi na družbeno mobilizacijo na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni poleg družbenega in materialnega položaja prebivalcev pomembno vplival odnos države do skupnostnega gibanja (Tabela 3). Država je v zgodnjem obdobju odkrito podpirala špekulativno urbano prenovo in deložacije najemnikov, s čimer je kršila njihove stanovanjske pravice (Cho 1998; Kim 1999). Vendar pa je zatiranje in neupoštevanje postopoma zamenjal bolj vključujoč odnos države do skupnostnih gibanj kot posledici "izjemnega vzpona skupnostnih gibanj v devetdesetih letih, ki je v civilni družbi pomembno vplival na oblikovanje kritične 'razprave o skupnosti'" (Kim Sangmin 2017, 3822). Tako sta bila za pozno obdobje značilna dejavnejše sodelovanje z državo in vključevanje skupnostnih organizacij v lokalno samoupravo, kar je povečalo institucionalizacijo skupnostnega povezovanja v okrožju Seongdong-gu.

Institucionalizacija urbanih družbenih gibanj lahko pogosto poveča njihovo odvisnost od države (Mayer 2007; Somerville 2016). V Seulu sta se zaradi institucionalizacije skupnostnega povezovanja v zadnjem desetletju tako povečala vpliv mestne uprave na skupnostna gibanja in s tem tudi njihova odvisnost od državne finančne in organizacijske podpore (Kim in Križnik 2018). Kljub temu je skupnostno gibanje na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni zaradi močne organizacijske sposobnosti ohranilo razmeroma veliko samostojnost. Nanjo so poleg neprekinjene družbene mobilizacije vplivali tudi predano vodstvo, v katerem so imeli vodilno vlogo izkušeni aktivisti, družbena povezanost lokalne skupnosti, ki je bila v veliki meri posledica uspešnega boja proti deložacijam in za stanovanjske pravice, ter dejavno sodelovanje s sorodnimi skupnostnimi gibanji in civilnodružbenimi organizacijami. Izmenjava izkušenj z njimi je med drugim pomagala

pri ustanavljanju zadrug v soseski Songhak Maeul. Pri tem je imela pomembno vlogo Zadružna hranilnica Nongol, ki je od ustanovitve naprej finančno in organizacijsko podpirala skupnostno gibanje ter tako prispevala k njegovi samostojnosti (NDPC 2019).

V tem pogledu se družbena mobilizacija na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni razlikuje od skupnostnih gibanj, ki so se v zadnjem desetletju razvila ob finančni in organizacijski podpori mestne uprave. Čeprav so študije o posledicah institucionalizacije skupnostnih gibanj v Seulu na njihovo samostojnost redke, pa kaže, da v primeru državne podpore skupnostno povezovanje redko preseže obstoječ normativni okvir in ostane pogosto omejeno na lokalno raven preobrazbe mesta (Kim in Križnik 2018). Nasprotno so aktivisti in prebivalci nekdanje soseske Songhak Maeul spoznali, da nepravične stanovanjske politike ni mogoče spreminjati na lokalni ravni. Povezali so se s civilnodružbenimi organizacijami (CONET, KCHR) in se vključili v boje za stanovanjske pravice na nacionalni ravni, za katere Shin (2018) ugotavlja, da so pomembno prispevali k sprejetju pravičnejše nacionalne zakonodaje o stanovanjskih pravicah leta 2015. Hkrati z zavzemanjem za stanovanjske pravice je skupnostno gibanje na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni dejavno sodelovalo tudi pri krepitvi skupnostnega povezovanja in lokalne samouprave v okrožju Seongdong-gu (Wi 2015). S tem je preseglo svojo lokalno vpetost in je vplivalo ne le na izboljšanje bivalnega okolja na lokalni ravni, ampak je prispevalo tudi k širši preobrazbi mesta.

Zaključek

Študija razvoja skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v Seulu kaže, da družbena mobilizacija na lokalni ravni vpliva na preobrazbo mest na različnih ravneh. Na lokalni ravni je družbena mobilizacija izboljšala bivalno okolje ter materialni in družbeni položaj prebivalcev. Hkrati so se na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni okrepila omrežja družbenih odnosov in skupnostne identitete. Na širši ravni je skupnostno gibanje dejavno sodelovalo s sorodnimi skupnostnimi gibanji in civilnodružbenimi organizacijami, kar je pripomoglo h krepitvi skupnostnega povezovanja in lokalne samouprave v mestu ter k oblikovanju pravičnejše stanovanjske politike na nacionalni ravni. Prav krepitev skupnostnega povezovanja na različnih ravneh je eden od najpomembnejših dosežkov družbene mobilizacije na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni. Skupnostno povezovanje je pri tem služilo zlasti krepitvi vključevanja javnosti in opolnomočenju lokalne skupnosti, da zaščiti interese prebivalcev in

uveljavi njihovo skupno pravico do mesta. Študija v tem pogledu kaže, da so skupnostna gibanja pomembni akterji preobrazbe korejskih mest.

Poleg tega izsledki študije kažejo tudi na pomen sodelovanja med skupnostnimi gibanji in državo. Mestna uprava je skupnostno gibanje na območju Geumho--Haengdang-Hawangsimni sprva izključevala in zatirala, od konca devetdesetih let naprej pa se je med njima razvilo bolj vključujoče sodelovanje. V razmerju do države je položaj skupnostnih gibanj tako izrazito protisloven, saj morajo za uresničitev svojih ciljev na eni strani ohraniti finančno, organizacijsko in politično samostojnost, medtem ko morajo na drugi z državo dejavno sodelovati. Skupnostno gibanje na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni je bilo pri tem razmeroma uspešno, k čemur so med drugim prispevali neprekinjenost družbene mobilizacije, izkušeno vodstvo, družbena povezanost lokalne skupnosti ter povezovanje s sorodnimi skupnostnimi gibanji in civilnodružbenimi organizacijami. V tem pogledu se pomembno razlikuje od novejših skupnostnih gibanj, ki se razvijajo ob finančni in organizacijski podpori mestne uprave. Takšna skupnostna gibanja zaradi večje institucionalizacije težje ohranjajo samostojnost v razmerju do države, kar lahko negativno vpliva na dolgoročno vzdržnost skupnostnega povezovanja in omejuje njihov vpliv na preobrazbo mesta.

Študija razvoja skupnostnega gibanja na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni v Seulu ima tudi nekatere omejitve. Predvsem je omejena na redek primer samostojnega in dolgoročno vzdržnega skupnostnega povezovanja v Seulu, zaradi česar je potrebna previdnost pri posploševanju njenih izsledkov. Poleg tega bi bilo treba hkrati z razvojem skupnostnih gibanj pogledati pomen drugih oblik družbene mobilizacije na lokalni ravni, ki jih študija ni neposredno zajela, kot so prostovoljne ali sosedske organizacije. Drugače od skupnostnih gibanj delovanje prostovoljnih organizacij običajno ni omejeno na posamezno geografsko območje, medtem ko je za sosedske organizacije značilna večja institucionalizacija. Na koncu je treba opozoriti, da je študija obravnavala skupnostno gibanje na območju Geumho-Haengdang-Hawangsimni kot organizacijsko in idejno razmeroma enotno, pri čemer se ni ukvarjala z notranjimi delitvami ali z vlogo različnih skupin in posameznikov pri njegovem razvoju. V tem pogledu bi bilo dobro obravnavo družbene mobilizacije v korejskih mestih razširiti, s čimer bi lahko celoviteje razumeli njen pomen za preobrazbo mest in družbe nasploh.

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DISCUSSION

Ritual Process and Symbolic Transformation in Cultural Landscapes of Proto-Urban Bactria: Introduction and Reflections on the New Book by Nona Avanesova

Vladimir I. IONESOV*

Nona A. AVANESOVA: *Buston VI – The Necropolis of Fire-Worshippers of Pre-Urban Bactria* (2016, Samarkand: IICAS. 640 pages. Paperback. ISBN 978-9943-357-28-0)

Introduction

The focus of this discussion is a recent book on the Bronze Age Proto-Bactrian culture of Southern Uzbekistan. I dare say that there are some books that inspire us to study monuments, and there are some monuments that inspire us to write books. But there are some books that become scientific monuments themselves in documenting the archaeological artefacts in the form of texts, messages, and narratives. Among such academic works is the monograph *Buston VI – the Necropolis of Fire-worshippers of Pre-urban Bactria* (Samarkand: IICAS, 2016. – 634 pp. ISBN 978-9943-357-36-5), recently published by the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS). This book was written by Professor Nona Avanesova, of the Faculty of History at Samarkand State University (Uzbekistan). The Proto-Bactrian civilization is a key proto-state phenomenon in the ancient history of Central Asia, which existed at the transition between a 'primitive' society and the formation of the early state. This essay, based on the reviewed book, discusses some significant aspects in the study of social and ritual-symbolic practices that change the cultural landscapes of complex proto-urban societies. The book examines key issues related to the clarification of the historical and cultural developments of this period as they appear in the archaeological record. It is shown that the social complexity of proto-urban

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cultures is a phenomenon which owes its genesis to a number of multi-compound organizational processes. The Proto-Bactrian cultural world (the so-called Sapalli Culture), presented by archaeological Buston and Djarkutan objects with different ritual-symbolic artefacts of a necropolis, belongs to a trans-boundary zone which sees the interaction of agriculturalists and nomads. It gives reason to consider the Sapalli Culture as transitional both chronologically and spatially, and offers evidence for this type of multi-compound process.

The Proto-Bactrian Civilization as a Cultural Phenomenon in the Ancient History of Central Asia

Archaeological excavations at these early monuments of Southern Uzbekistan (Fig. 1) testify that in the middle and second half of the second millennium BC Sapalli Culture was the early urban agglomeration of Northern Bactria, which was the economic, political, ideological, trade and religious centre in this Central Asian region (Askarov 1977; Askarov and Abdullaev 1983; Ionesov 1990; Kohl 1984).

Figure 1: Map of Uzbekistan and the adjacent territories (Source: Avanesova 2016a, 8)

The author of the book is N. A. Avanesova, a well-known scientist-archaeologist, and skilled researcher of the Eurasian cultures of the Bronze Age. Avanesova began her extensive fieldwork at sites of proto-urban Bactria in spring 1985 in the Sherabad party of the Surkhandarya expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. The archaeological site examined in the book is the necropolis of Buston VI researched by the author from 1990 to 2008. For more than 30 years, Nona A. Avanesova has been the head of the Archaeological Museum-Laboratory at the Samarkand State University (Avanesova 1991; 1995; Avanesova and Dzhurakulova, 2008; Ionesov and Kasparov 2020).

For three decades, unique materials were collected, and fundamentally new ways of illuminating the historical roots of the peoples of Central Asia and the ethno-cultural contacts of the ancient settled agricultural and cattle-breeding inhabitants of the Eurasian continent were proposed. Avanesova has put forward a reasoned enough hypothesis that ritual sets of artefacts of the necropolis of Buston VI can be reconstructed as representing specific figurative graphic writing, based on the Rigveda. Avanesova discovered in the structure of the necropolis a series of specific structures (boxes) for the cremation of the deceased. She studied this material thoroughly. Currently, throughout the territory of the Eurasian continent, these buildings are the oldest known crematoria, dating from the end of the second millennium BC.

A specific characteristic of the Sapalli Culture can be seen in the widespread use of imitative rites in mortuary practice. The ritual funeral imitations include clay anthropoid figurines, models of altars, sacrificial grounds, grave constructions, burials of animals, and jar graves (Fig. 2).
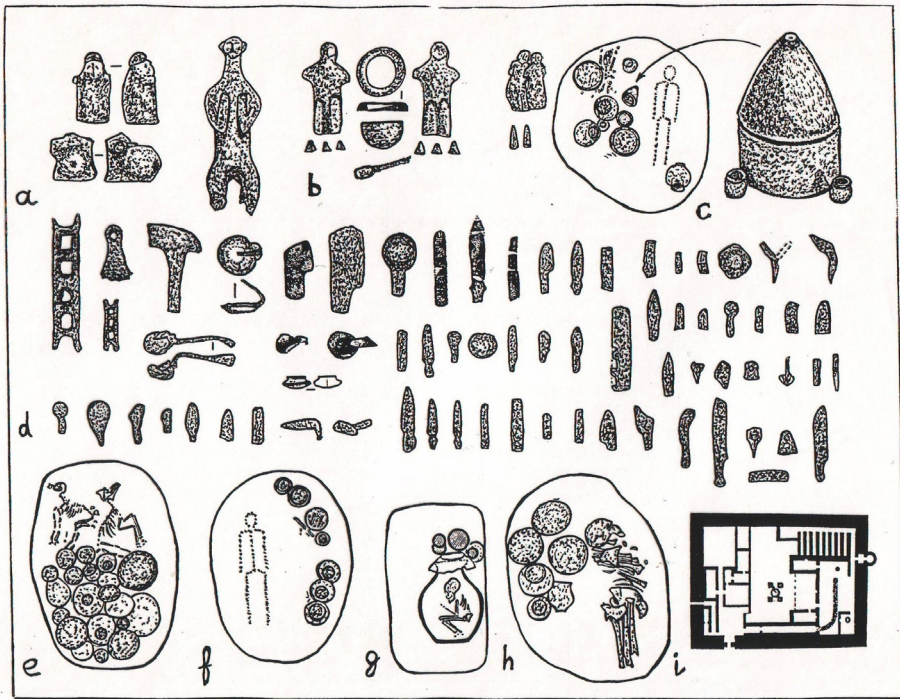
Figure 2: Archaeological manifestations of imitative ritual practices in the Sapalli Culture. a) anthropomorphic clay figurines; b) anthropomorphic figurines, miniature clay altar and clay vessels with spoon, cone-shaped objects; c) cylindrical vessel with roof-shaped lid and hand-made cups, with plan showing disposition in grave ; d) miniature tools and weapons; e) burial with immolated sheep; f) cenotaph with wood or cloth figurine (dummy); g) jar burial; h) burial with disarticulated bones; i) plan of the Temple of Fire at Djarkutan. (Source: Ionesov 1999)

The Necropolis Buston VI and its Archaeological Attributes

More than 500 burial objects granting the scientist an exceptionally rich and distinctive set of archaeological artefacts were excavated and studied in detail during fourteen field seasons on an area of 6,176 square meters. Different samples of ritual and cult activities of one of the important centres of settled farmers of Northern Bactria of the late second millennium BC were reconstructed in the light of disclosed and documented materials. This area was a part of the Central Asian circle of cultures of the Ancient Oriental type in the active phase of transformation and

genesis of the early urban civilization (Askarov 1977; Avanesova, 1995; 2016a; 2016b).

The author has noted that this publication is aimed to put the most complete and comprehensive description of the archaeological source at her colleagues' disposal. Not only exhaustive graphic tables of every burial, but also the description of basic traits of burial rites are given. It is quite important that the monograph includes a vast database of quantitative and qualitative indices represented by the ritual groups and types of ritual objects and artefacts.

The author's great archaeological field experience, skilled laboratory processing, and professional intuition gave her the opportunity to obtain such extensive and thoroughly documented materials. The necropolis was excavated using a method of study appropriate to burial grounds, continuous excavation by hand. The research method of continuous polygonal analyses allowed the discovery of the material evidence of ritual acts without missing even the finest components, opening up the possibility of the comprehensive study of the planography and dynamics of the functioning of the necropolis.

The systematically organized planographic structure of the site is an uncommon feature compared with other burial grounds from the same time. The author has ascertained that the necropolis was not only a place for burial, but at the same time a ceremonial centre, or sanctuary, for cult ceremonies and rituals.

According to the sum of attributive material features, Avanesova classifies the site of Buston VI as a cult-burial complex of the temple type of Northern Bactria. From the chronological point of view, the Buston ceremonial centre is the earliest form of the open type of temple found in the late second millennium BC (Avanesova 2016a, 509–11). The evidence for this is the well-organized ritual spatial structure of the necropolis which served as a staging ground for the symbolic dramaturgy of religious-ritual cults and burial practice.

The author divides the archaeological complex of the necropolis into two groups of objects: those with a burial purpose, 211 in number (41.1%), and those without a burial purpose, 295 in number (58.3%). In addition, the burial-cult practices of the Buston population were rather differentiated, with various methods used to send the deceased into the next world. The site's importance as well as the detailed archaeological description of every group of burial grounds and the associated ritual constructions is carefully elaborated in the book.

Ritual Poly-Variance in Mortuary Practice of Buston VI

The structure of the ritual practices associated with the site includes: single corpse interment; the partial or total dissection of the dead (re-interment); burial grounds with post-funeral premeditated disturbances (desecrated graves); partial burial grounds (fractional graves); cremation; cenotaphs (graves without human remains or objects); burial grounds with "thanksgiving" or redemptive human sacrifices (parts of the corpse have been cut off). N. A. Avanesova attributes such a ritual poly-variance to the socially ranked and ethnically heterogeneous structure of the Buston society, which was favourable with regard to kickstarting the Bactrian cultural genesis.

The author's note that the Buston system of rites is not a simple symbiosis of funeral traditions of the Sapalli Culture deserves attention. Avanesova has adduced proof that innovations in the cult practice of Buston VI (cremation, fractional burials, abundant sacrifice of animals and human beings, the stone structures of chambers and constructions above graves, the sacred graves, etc.) are evidence of inclusion of the Eurasian nomads into the sphere of cultural and ethnic contacts with farmers of the prehistorically Northern Bactria. In addition, the author deduced that the Buston phenomenon bears the distinct seal of syncretic originality and becomes the core generating new stereotypes embodied in the period of urban Bactria (Avanesova 2016a, 523–28).

Avanesova's study of one the most representative sites of the late Bronze Age has brought about a revolutionary change in our ideas about the sources and content of the civilization of Bactria, and how it entered the cultural and historical heritage of the Central Asian peoples. I consider the outstanding results of the author's archaeological research not only as a significant academic success, but also as the appropriate result of the long-term, indefatigable and purposeful work of an exacting scientist, noticing every little detail. One eloquent example of such attention to details is the following observations of the author: "… there are cases, when remains together with smouldering coals were put into the grave, where remains burnt out (tempering the soil) in the hole covered by the near-bottom part of a jar"; "evidently, every new act in the chamber started with the lightening a fire"; and "fireplaces above some burial grounds were a mark of a grave". The so-called funeral feasts (89 cases) or grounds for the sacrificial food used during the ritual funeral feast, as fixed and documented by the author, should be noted in the same line of very precise observations by this exceptional scientist-archaeologist (ibid., 13–23).

The author acknowledges that we proceed from the premise that every detail of sacral objects carries a definite symbolic meaning that was well known in the past.

Exactly this enthusiasm and attention to detail has allowed Avanesova to collect, step by step, the representative material pieces of evidence composing the material language of the site. No wonder that she managed to make every small, 'silent' and imperceptible artefact speak, and this move from local episodes to epochal events. However, the artefacts of Buston VI not only tell us the important data about themselves, but also raise some questions and encourage further research.

Indeed, the materials that are the focus of Avanesova's work raise issues with regard to the epochal transformation of culture, although, as the author acknowledges, such issues cannot always be resolved. It is noted in the book that a cultural innovation of the late second millennium BC in preurban Northern Bactria was the establishment of special sacral grounds with a non-burial purpose, where the ritual actions and liturgical ceremonies prescribed by tradition for interment and after took place. In this case, if actions at the time of burial took place in this location (burning the corpse in a box (type I), exhibiting the dead (type II) etc.), it is unclear why this sacral ground is categorized among those objects with a non-burial purpose? While it is clear that the ground is not a burial itself, it is an integral part of burial rite.

Ritual Imitation and Symbolic Burial Grounds

I once suggested that burial rites in general and the Sapalli Culture in particular are a multistage cycle of ritual actions (with a total of six stages identified), from the moment of death to the posthumous symbolic personification (funeral feasts and other commemorative acts). Undoubtedly, the given sacral constructions of Buston VI prove the presence of this burial cycle by the ritual transmission in the Sapalli Culture (Ionesov 1999).

Another issue is a separate group of objects in the necropolis, such as the so-called fictitious, symbolic burial grounds, cenotaphs and sacrificial burials of animals. The author defines these as "graves of not direct burial purpose" (Avanesova 2016a, 20–25). However, can objects called "graves and burial grounds" really not have a burial purpose? The term "symbolic graves" should be clarified. It seems that the use of "symbolic graves" as a contrast to the factual burial grounds may be admitted just at the level of the empirical classification of objects. In their ritual-semantic ranking the term "symbolic" is surplus relative and its meanings are obscured, because it puts forward a question: do other ritual burials lack symbolic content and can ritual practice be non-symbolic?

In Sapalli Culture cenotaphs and the related rituals are seen in the use of anthropomorphic clay figurines, models of altars, sacrifice areas, methods of

grave construction, burials of animals, and urn burials. The most distinctive of these features are the cenotaphs and the votive bronze replicas of tools and weapons.

A lengthy process of institutionalization of secular and sacred power preceded the spread of imitative ritual in the Sapalli Culture, and culminated in the establishment of the palace and temple complexes at Djarkutan. Its Temple of Fire seems to reflect the incorporation of the novel imitative ritual subsystem into traditional practice. Almost all of the varied evidence of imitation in burials (votive replicas, cenotaphs, sacrifices, etc.) is represented in the temple. Moreover, the temple itself was the embodiment of the imitative-ritual system, as the complex and multilevel world of religious symbols was clearly reflected in its architecture, plan, and contents.

It is obvious that the votive objects were magical things, and through them people tried to influence their immediate environment, and on being included in a ritual they began to play an active social role. However, explaining the value and symbolic nature of ritual actions and their imitative attributes, using the mortuary rites of the Sapalli Culture as an example, in no way solves this problem. It is just the beginning of a comprehensive, theoretical study of this topic.

Every ritual is a means of transmitting vital issues of society and social challenges. Ritual is a mode of regulating social relations, reflecting experiences of integration inside the cultural system. The formation of rituals and other symbolic actions is determined, first of all, by the formation of a new system of social-normative values in proto-state civilizations.

The various collections of mono-functional clay items are especially important for the interpretation of world-view concepts and ritual stylistics of the Buston population. The detailed descriptions and catalogued systematization of all artefacts found at Buston VI, such as sculptures (anthropomorphic), altars, pottery (vessel, dipper-scoop and spoon) and cone-shaped counter tokens are given in the book. They were discovered in this combination neither at a single Bronze Aged site of Central Asia, nor in the cultures of Ancient East and the Eurasian steppes.

Avanesova is able to use the materials to show that the clay items allowed users to enter the world of ritualized self-consciousness and thus had not only utilitarian, but also the sacral-symbolic properties. The basic detail of the semantic code of the clay items is sculptures distinguished in size (from 14 to 25cm) and individual style of workmanship. Importantly, all of these items are the artistic personification of a human image. But it was ascertained that sex was not always

accentuated, and the anthropomorphic images had a ritual regulating function[1], not a sacral-iconographical characteristic.

Material Text in Mythic-Religious System

Following Avanesova, it is impossible not to admit that "it is the early material text that aimed to 'explain' in the language of symbols the mythological and worldview concepts of the population of pre-urban Bactria, which analysis indicates has some striking coincidences with the mythic-religious systems of the Indo-Iranians". The well-grounded analysis of the entire totality of artefacts of interment with votive attributes has allowed the author to deduce that "the language of symbols of clay items corresponds to the figurative graphic writing of the ritual type (mythological iconography of ritual 'text')". The inhabitants of Buston VI manipulated the simplest materials objects and created very complicated mythological compositions in the language of symbols (Avanesova 2016a, 20–27).

The complex of factors characterizing the special features of the cultural-economical type of the Sapalli population and the historical condition in the Proto-Bactrian society in the late second millennium BC assumes the existence of the preconditions needed for the origin and spread of a new ideology. On this point Avanesova proposes that the main stimulus for transformation was the penetration of some groups of a cattle-breeding population (the tribes of the Andronovo, Srubny, Tazabagyab and Beshkent cultures) into the ancient Bactrian region (ibid., 26–28). The artefacts of other cultures also indicate the presence of a diversity of the steppe traditions in the culture of the Buston population. The analysis of the whole collection of ceramics of the steppe type of Sapalli Culture is evidence that penetration of the cattle-breeding tribes into Bactria began in the pre-Andronov period (the Petrov period) from the territory of the Southern Urals area, and then notably intensified in the Fedorov period (ibid., 30–35).

The influence of such tribes significantly transformed the cultural values of the population and the entire orientation of Sapalli Culture. For example, a new level of technical support (the chariot) gave the possibility for a real leap in the sphere of communication and travel. The mobility of cattle-breeders definitely

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1   Regarding this fundamental function of ritual regulation, we can observe certain ideational connections between the semi-nomadic and semi-agrarian cultures of Central and Eastern Asia; see for instance Vampelj Suhadolnik 2019, 5. It would certainly be worthwhile to explore this connection in greater detail, for such a research could doubtless offer us some new insights into the essential links among art, symbolism, religion, rituality and cosmology in early Euro-Asian cultures. Indeed, many scholars have pointed out the lack of thorough research on these important questions (e.g. Zhao 2019, 17).

promoted the activization of migration processes and widened the circle of economic and cultural links. The issue of the interrelations of the ancient farmers with the steppe communities is, according to Avanesova, the issue of not only the interaction of two alien worlds, but also the issue of the cultural genesis of the civilization of Bactria, which was formed on the multi-component basis. In connection with this, several factors leading to the main cultural shifts are singled out: 1) direct interaction of tribes with their synchronous settling; 2) advancement of a separate group from the west and north to the south conditioned by the special features of the raw materials and resources in the different areas; 3) occupation of the land is also possible as a result of aridization of the climate (Avanesova 2016a, 540–45).

We should support the Avanesova's claim that the steppe factor can explain the differentiated approach to burial-ritual practices and the spread of new forms of rites. However, the claim that the diversity of ritual practices is not linked to the inner tendencies of development of the Sapalli society seems to be quite radical. All the more so because the author admits that at the final stage of the historical development of the pre-urban Bactria the penetration of the steppe population reflects a deep inner crisis taking place in the farming oases, and connected to a worsening demographic and economic situation (ibid., 520–26).

Social Transformation and Syndrome of Recurrence in Cultural Process

In addition, the build-up of recurrent practices expressing the reproduction of artefacts of an earlier culture by a later culture clearly took place in the Sapalli Culture (Ionesov 2015). This can be seen in the revival of early local Sapalli traditions in ritual and items (Avanesova 2016a, 527), the presence of a separate group of pottery with the genetic underlying cause of early samples of the Sapalli Culture, and cases of the direction of graves running from north to south becoming more frequent, which might be attributed as phenomenon of neo-archaic model. It is noteworthy that we have previously revealed the analogue processes in materials (excavations of 1984–1992) of the Djarkutan group of burial objects (Ionesov 1990; 1999; Ionesov and Pavlenko, 2002). Such evidence allows us to interpret the revival of archaic traditions in the cult-ritual practice and the material culture as clear evidence of a Sapalli-Djarkutan renaissance. It is thus impossible not to agree with the author that at the final stage the peculiar pivot of further historical development was the steppe cultural genesis and revival of the local early Sapalli traditions in ritual and items (ibid., 521–27).

The question of the phenomenon of the recurrence of archaic traditions in the so-called Buston period occupies an extremely important place in our understanding of the sociocultural processes taking place at the final stage of development of Sapalli Culture, and the issue that I raised in my earlier articles. The phenomenon of rebirth fits into the logical series of fundamentally important transformations of the Proto-Bactrian society, and I consider it one of the key mechanisms of the cultural adaptation of society in the borderline situation of a radical transition to a new sociocultural style. The revival syndrome is widely represented in many crisis / transition societies. A similar situation was expressively reflected in the burial complexes of the Buston time, and at the same time in various aspects of the funeral rite—in the types of burial, in ceramics, in bronze and stone products. After a several centuries' long break the Sapalli traditions of jar and pair burials reappear. For example, vases on tall thin stems, kettles with pipe-like spouts, vessels with wide bases, pot-like *khumchi* without necks, bronze miniature decanters-*surmadons*, amulets with zoomorphic and plant patterns, etc.

It seems to me that it should be considered that the phenomenon of "recurrence" of archaic traditions at the Buston stage were the last attempt, through the intensive reanimation of old tribal cults, to stop the slide of the culture into the crucible of irreversible historical transformations. This is certainly a significant and indeed fundamental issue, and without it one cannot understand the logic of the cultural genesis and transformation of Proto-Bactrian civilization.

Conclusion

The unique materials of the archaeological excavations of the Buston VI necropolis given in N.A. Avanesova's monograph document the formation of a new period of Sapalli Culture at the final stage of its transformation. The co-existence of different ceramic traditions, the artistic poly-stylistics in the design of the metal and stone items, the multicomponent features of ritual practice reflect a complicated cultural and genetic process in the Sapalli Culture. There is a clear demonstration of a wide spectrum of growing cultural links with the population of the steppe world, and it raises the possibility of new approaches to historical modelling.

It is also obvious that the cultural situation fixed in the object articulations of the studied site corresponds to the situation formed on the whole territory of the pre-urban centres of Central Asia. At the same time, the process of cultural synthesis caused kindred, but qualitatively different cultures, i.e. the cultural levelling and transformation led to the formation of a new community and ideology based on fire-solar symbolism.

A thorough analysis of vast amounts of factual material enabled Avanesova to come to the conclusion "that we are at the stage of a qualitative leap in the elaboration of issues on the Indo-Aryans", with the author adding that it may be necessary to "consider the definite part of the Buston population as the Indo-Aryans" (Avanesova 2016a, 38–40).

Avanesova notes that the historical-cultural content of the cult and ritual practices, issues on modelling, interpretations of the burial rites and cultural genesis of the Sapalli society in the late second millennium BC will be generalized and discussed in a second book. However, it is already clear that her voluminous monograph is a valuable and thoroughly documented resource of unique archaeological sources. Professor Avanesova has managed to widen the sign field of the object world of the Sapalli Culture, to show its symbolic order and possibilities of transformation, and to encourage researchers to further historical and culturological reconstructions. Thereby, the publication of the total collection of material artefacts of Buston VI is, without doubt, important not only for archaeologists of the Central Asian region, but also for the those around the world dealing with the elaboration of concepts and models of development for the first civilizations.

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