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China in Transition

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concerne le *topos*, le fonctionnaire peut avoir ordonné qu'il soit libéré et restitué au sanctuaire; en ce qui concerne les gens enlevés, le fonctionnaire peut avoir ordonné la sauvegarde de leur intégrité physique (voir A. Bielman, *Retour à la liberté*, 1994, n° 38) et la défense de s'approprier ce que leur appartient. Le fonctionnaire qui a donné ces ordres aux soldats ne peut être que Zeuxis, vu que Antiochos et Zeuxis, au cours de la campagne en Carie, se sont engagés dans la défense des sanctuaires contre les abus de l'armée, et que Zeuxis est spécialement chargé par Antiochos de « prendre soin des sanctuaires » (J. et L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon*, n° 10-11).

Guerre, enlèvement et rapatriement de *hiera somata* représentent une situation de bouleversement dans le sanctuaire de Sinuri similaire à celle représentée par les inscriptions du sanctuaire d'Amyzon dans les circonstances mêmes de la campagne séleucide en Carie : je me réfère, *e.g.*, à la lettre d'Antiochos III ou de Zeuxis à Amyzon (fin de mai 203) ; au décret d'Amyzon en l'honneur de Hermias (203-202) (ll. 4-7 : « les *hiera somata* ayant été capturés pendant la guerre, il se rendit comme ambassadeur auprès d'Antiochos à ses frais et ramena les *somata* ») ; au décret d'Amyzon en l'honneur de Ménéstratos (novembre-décembre 201), qui a tout fait afin que les Amyzoniens récupèrent leur *aposkeuè* retenue à Alinda (J. et L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon*, n° 9, 18, 15).

Les documents d'Amyzon sur la *aposkeuè* et sur les *hiera somata apachthenta*, la lettre de Sinuri sur l'occupation du *topos* et sur les [*hiera somata*] *apachthenta* sont des documents étroitement apparentés dans une Carie parcourue par l'armée séleucide en campagne en 203-201. Ces documents montrent que la discipline de l'armée et le respect des sanctuaires sont des attitudes souhaitées par Antiochos et par Zeuxis plutôt que pratiquées, à Amyzon comme à Sinuri.

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China in Transition

1. Great Transformation: Double Movement in China
2. Learning and Adapting: The Case of Rural Healthcare Financing in China

What constitutes China's model of transition? According to the conventional wisdom, it has two key components. On the one hand, its development-oriented state has been unwaveringly following market-conforming policies. On the other, the ruling communist party has been indomitably resisting political pluralism.

The two lectures contend that neither of the two attributes can explain the China model. The first lecture shows that China has since 1978 undergone a great transformation consisting of a double movement rather than a single movement towards a self-regulating market system. The politically induced expansion of market forces in the early years of reform has recently been met by a countermovement aiming at protecting man and nature against the perils inherent in a self-regulating market system. In other words, “market reform” is not an accurate characterization of China’s development trajectory. In the meantime, China’s political system has become increasingly transparent and participatory, which enhances policy makers’ responsiveness to newly emerging problems, imbalances, and difficulties. This explains why one survey after another have shown that trust in party/state institutions is fairly high in China compared to many, if not most, so-called “electoral democracies.” The political responsiveness is an important factor that has contributed to the rise of the countermovement.

If “authoritarian capitalism” misrepresents the China Model, what the model really is? The second lecture argues that if there is a China model at all, it is a model of never strict adherence to any ideologically circumscribed “model”.

As a large country in rapid transition, the problems facing China are unique and extremely complex and there is no model for China to emulate. Thus, as pointed out by the architect of China’s reform, Deng Xiaoping, at the outset of the reform, China could only “seek truth from facts,” not from dogmas.

Such open-minded pragmatism nurtures strong willingness on the part of Chinese policy makers to learn from all sources, in particular from local initiatives and from both centralized and decentralized experimentations. In retrospect, almost all major policy changes in China have gone through a process of trial and error on a limited scale first. Only when they deliver tangible benefits, are they scaled up, rolled out across the country, and improved along the way. China has also learned from international sources, including so-called “Washington consensus”. Rather than blindly following any orthodox prescriptions, however, China practices “selective borrowing,” retaining its own policy space as to when, where, and how to adopt foreign ideas.

To react to unintended outcomes, unforeseen events, newly emerging problems, imbalances, and difficulties, Chinese policy makers have tried to fine-tune policy instruments or even change policy goals according to lessons learned from earlier periods. They never make a distinction between so-called “market-conforming” and “market-supplanting” policies in a dogmatic way. To meet the most pressing needs of the people, they have adopted different mixes of two kinds of policies in different periods of transition in line with Deng’s encomium to “cross the river by feeling for stones”.

Precisely because China never believes in “one-size-fits-all”, the country has been able to create, however imperfect, a viable alternative path to modernity, vastly different to that followed by the West.

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Nagarjunakonda: Monasteries and their School Affiliations

The following investigation stems from a desire to explain narrative reliefs from the so-called Amaravati School, i.e. the Buddhist sites in Andhra Pradesh (1st c. BC and 4th c. AD). Seemingly, the reliefs from this school should be related to textual sources preserved in ‘northern’ Buddhism due to numerous scenes having no counterpart in Pali literature. As still many reliefs are left unexplained, an attempt should be made to establish school affiliations of the monasteries in which the reliefs were unearthed, with reference to the largest excavation site in the region, Nagarjunakonda, the ancient Vijayapurī of the Ikṣvāku.

Inscriptions provide us with information about four Ikṣvāku kings, ruling in the valley between approx. 210 and 310. Vijayapurī had been founded earlier by the Sātavāhans to whom the Ikṣvāku were subordinated. When independent, the local dynasty tried to imitate the great Sātavāhanas from Dharaṇikoṭa, approx. 125 km downstream, in the vicinity of which stands the stūpa known today as Amaravati. The Buddhism must have been very important, since there were nearly 40 Buddhist sites in the close vicinity of Vijayapurī. All those monasteries existed side by side, maintaining different architectural forms.

The monasteries with stūpas without the *āyaka*-projections seem to belong to traditional schools; in two such establishments inscriptions were found connecting them with the Mahāvihāravāsins, the Theravāda-Vibhajyavāda school from Ceylon. The site 7/8, whose inscription connects it with the Mahīśāsakas, had stūpas with *āyakas* but no apsidal temple. Another monastic community known from the inscription belonged to the Bahuśrutīyas. Two apsidal temples facing each other and containing stūpas are most characteristic features of this monastery. Interestingly, site 4 (without any inscription) also had two apsidal temples but none of them had inside a stūpa.

The next group of monastic units comprises sites with a stūpa, a *vihāra* and two apsidal temples (one of which containing a stūpa and the other one – a Buddha statue). Such site is no. 9 whose donation inscription connects it with the school of the Aparamahāvīnaśailīyas. In contrast to all sites discussed above, the stūpa in