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Editor's Note

As an independent school steeped in Chinese culture within a global context, we are proud to present the fifth edition of Bauhinia. With this publication, each previous Bauhinia, though unique in focus, now forms an interconnected whole, as expressed by the Chinese concept of *wuxing* 五行.

The aim of this journal is to showcase the academic endeavors of secondary students, as well as to provide them with a forum to engage in a community that values intellectual pursuits. The final works produced here are a culmination of a rigorous research process involving the formulation of a research question, methodical examination for evidence, and deep analysis, in order to synthesize knowledge and understanding. Such opportunities and skills are promoted by the various Shuyuan programs.

In this quinary edition of Bauhinia, a high level of student scholarship is demonstrated through essays culled from the Needham Research Institute Scholars' Retreat, and from the IB Diploma Programme, through its Theory of Knowledge course and subject-specific Extended Essays. Each of these initiatives allows students to construct understanding in particular cultural and historical contexts, as research is conducted in bilingual and multi-disciplinary settings. Hence, the students may write their articles in either Chinese or English.

Bauhinia V explores unique and varied topics, such as the acceptance of acupuncture in the West, the cultural significance of traditional Chinese musical instruments, whether love is inherently violent, as portrayed in Ovid's Amores, the significance of "cold" imagery by an ancient Chinese poet, China's perception of the color Yellow, and a comparison of Buddhist architecture between India and China.

The Editorial Board invites the reader to join this academic community by delving into the topics that sparked passion in our students.

編者的話

作為一所植根中國文化、兼具全球視野的私立學校，我們很高興推出這叫人引以為傲的第五期《紫荊花》。這份學術刊物，以及過往的每一期《紫荊花》，儘管各具焦點，但都在一個相互聯繫的整體裏，恰如中國五行的概念的呈現。

這學術刊物的目的，旨在展示中學部學生的學術成就，並為他們提供一個契機，得以參與一個重視知識追求的社群。這裡的每一份論文作品都是經過嚴格的研究過程的成果，包括制定研究課題，有系統地辨識證據和進行深入分析，繼而綜合知識和理解。透過「書院」的各種課程計劃，學生得以研習磨練有關技能。

此期《紫荊花》中，透過弘立書院「書院」的其中一個重要課程— 李約瑟研究院研修項目以及國際文憑的「知識論」及「拓展論文」課程，得以選出高水平的學生作品。內裏的每一個研究項目都讓學生能夠在雙語和多學科的環境下進行研究，從而在特定的文化和歷史背景下建立論題。因此，學生可以自由以用中文或英文撰寫文章。

第五期《紫荊花》探討了獨特而多樣的主題，例如：西方對針灸的接受性、中國傳統音樂的樂器及其文化意義、奧維德的《Amores》所描繪的愛情是否天生就是暴力、中國古代詩人對「冷」的意象的表達、中國對黃色的認知，以及印度與中國佛教建築的比較。

編輯委員會透過這群學子對研究的熱情，誠意邀請讀者加入這個學術界的討論。

Acupuncture in the West:

To What Extent was Acupuncture Accepted in Europe between the 1600s and the 1800s?

Allason Hsu

Introduction

There are many fundamental differences in Eastern and Western medicine. Yet some Chinese medical practices have been successfully adopted in the West. Acupuncture is a case in point, illustrating how people from different geocultural backgrounds are able to share practices, and achieve some degree of cultural understanding and acceptance.

Acupuncture is a technique that consists of puncturing the skin with a fine needle to get rid of maladies (Lu and Needham xix). The practice began in Neolithic China around 10,000 B.C., and first appeared as a method whereby pressure was applied to sore spots with a stone, to excise boils and relieve pain (Unschuld 24). One of the first recorded practices of using a fine needle for acupuncture was from the first century B.C., in an ancient Chinese treatise on health and disease, *Huangdi Neijing* 黃帝內經 (Lu and Needham 89). *Huangdi Neijing* is a compilation of various writings dated around 300 B.C. (Curran). From the 6th century onwards, acupuncture began to spread, reaching Japan and other parts of Asia ("History of Acupuncture").

As acupuncture is now also practised in Europe, America, and other countries in the West, there must have been a point in time when acupuncture had spread from Eastern countries to the Western world. The first introduction of acupuncture in the West dates back to more than 300 years ago during the 1600s, by European merchants and traders (Lu and Needham 269-285). Acupuncture's case is unique, because when associated with their original theories, very few other Chinese medicines or techniques have successfully been introduced and practised significantly by members of the Western community up until today.

This report will discuss the different means by which acupuncture was spread and introduced to the West (specifically Europe), the extent to which acupuncture was accepted, and some of the reasons why this transmission between two cultures was able to exist.

1. Theory

The theory behind traditional acupuncture is based on the Chinese view that the body is a holistic whole, consisting of an equal balance of *Yin* 陰 and *Yang* 陽 (Dale). An imbalance in *Yin* or *Yang* could cause disruption to the flow of *Qi* 氣, leading to disease or pain ("Yin and Yang Theory").

Qi is an invisible energy which keeps the body's systems in balance, and maintains one's health. This energy flows through pathways in the body called channels 經 and meridians 絡, which are similarly invisible (Lu and Needham 24-39).

The goal of acupuncture is to restore the balance of *Yin* and *Yang* within the patient's body by releasing the "bad" (or disrupted) *Qi*, in order to rid them of their malady. To do so, acupuncturists puncture certain points on the body, known as acupoints, which are connected by channels and meridians (Barnes 88). However, these acupoints are not always located at the site of pain; one acupoint could correspond to a malady which appears in a distant limb. This was a major source of confusion for European physicians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as dominant medical theories of that time were based on those of the ancient Greeks.

Although the Greek theories were more anatomically based than the Chinese theories, they also placed importance on balance within the body. They believed that the human body contained four humours: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. Physicians believed that an excess or deficiency of any of the four humours would result in disease (Bivins 9). This humoural theory thus somewhat mirrors the Chinese theories of *Yin* and *Yang*, where similarly, an imbalance within the body could cause sickness or disease.

We will see in the following sections how these similarities and differences affected European acceptance of Chinese acupuncture.

2. First Western Accounts of Acupuncture

During the 17th century, acupuncture was introduced into the West for the first time. This was carried out mostly European by traders in Japan and China, but also via missionaries living in the East. Travelling from Europe to Asia was a difficult and dangerous passage. Not only were there dangers of pirates and shipwreck, but the journey would take almost an entire year; it took six months to sail from Europe down to the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, followed by three to four months to reach anywhere in Asia (Marshall). Despite a lack of easy communication, information regarding acupuncture and Chinese medicine in general was able to reach the Europe. This provided a foundation upon which new knowledge could be built, demonstrating an astonishing level of acceptance and interest in these exotic practices.

Excluding Deshima, Japan was closed off from the rest of the world between the 17th and 19th centuries (Barnes 151). Deshima was an artificial island constructed off the coast of Nagasaki, where a limited amount of trade occurred; the Japanese were forbidden from sharing any information about their country or their culture to the foreigners who traded there (Bivins 72). Many of these merchants were from the Dutch East India Company (the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, abbrev. VOC), which was established in 1602 to trade with the East, thus increasing Dutch economic status shortly after gaining independence from Spain ("Dutch East India Company"). As the VOC was one of the most important European trading companies in East Asia, it is not a surprise that prominent individuals in the history of acupuncture in the West were often their employees.

One such figure was Jacob de Bondt (1598-1631), the first to bring acupuncture to the West. De Bondt was a Dane, sent to Batavia (now Jakarta) as a surgeon general for the VOC in 1628 (Lu and Needham 270). Thirty years later, he published *Historia Naturalis* in Europe, a treatise on tropical plants and medicines from the East Indies (Ma and

Grant 215), in which he included first-hand accounts of Japanese and Chinese acupuncture, practised in Batavia (de Asúa 51):

> *"The results (with acupuncture) in Japan which I will relate surpass even miracles. For chronic pains of the head, for obstructions of the liver and spleen, and also for pleurisy, they bore through (the flesh) with a stylus made of silver or bronze and not much thicker than the strings of a lyre. The stylus should be driven slowly and gently through the above-mentioned vitals so as to emerge from another part, as I myself have seen in Java." (Lu and Needham 270).*

Although the information provided by de Bondt was not completely accurate, it provided an opportunity for physicians in Europe to become aware of the practice of acupuncture. The accuracy of knowledge was able to increase over time as new information was introduced by later physicians, such as William ten Rhijne (1647-1700).

William ten Rhijne was a Dutch member of the VOC. He stayed in Deshima for two years as a resident physician (between 1673 and 1675), and was thus able to witness and learn about acupuncture in Japan (Bivins 69). In 1683, after returning to Europe, he published the book *Dissertatio de Arthritide; Mantissa Schematica; De Acupunctura; et Orationes Tres: I. De Chymiae et Botaniae Antiquitate et Dignitate, II. De Physionomia, III. De Monstris.* In this book ten Rhijne described channels and meridians for the first time in European literature (Lu and Needham 271). Additionally, he mentioned the use of bronze figures to identify acupoints, and included four Chinese and Japanese diagrams which similarly depicted channels, meridians, and acupoints (Figures 1-3). In this work, he also included eyewitness accounts of acupuncture, including one of his own bodyguard who was treated by acupuncture for a common, colic-like disease known as *Senki* (Lu and Needham 276).

Figure 1. William ten Rhijne. Trunk acupoints. 1774. Celestial Lancets; A History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa. Lu, Gwei-Djen, and Joseph Needham. 1980. Routledge Curzon, 2002.

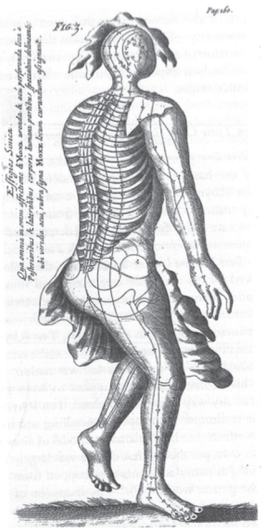

Figure 2. William ten Rhijne. Meridian drawing. 1774. Alternative Medicine? A History. Bivins, Roberta E. Oxford University Press, 2010.

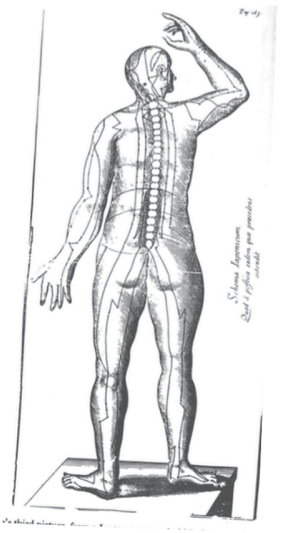

Figure 3. William ten Rhijne. Posterior acutracts. 1774. Celestial Lancets; A History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa. Lu, Gwei-Djen, and Joseph Needham. 1980. Routledge Curzon, 2002.

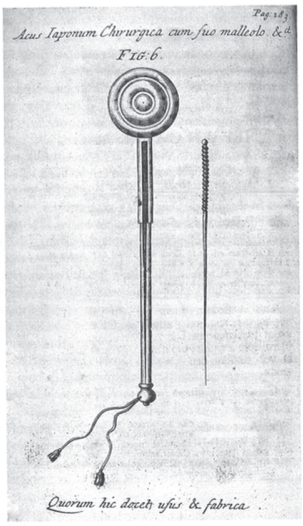

Figure 4. William ten Rhijne. Japanese surgical needle. Alternative Medicine? A History. Bivins, Roberta E. Oxford University Press, 2010.

Within his publication, ten Rhijne also drew parallels between the use of needles in acupuncture (Figure 4) and in preexisting western surgical practices such as bloodletting (Lu and Needham 276). In doing so, he familiarised Western audiences to acupuncture, which facilitated its acceptance in the West.

The German naturalist, Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), also played a significant part in the transmission of Eastern medical practices to the West (Lu and Needham 288). Similarly, he was sent to Deshima as a part of the VOC in 1690, residing there for two years as a medically qualified physician. Two years after returning to Europe (in 1694) he published a dissertation which included two 'excellent descriptions' of Japanese acupuncture and *moxibustion*, and also a detailed account and an image of acupuncture being used to cure a case of *Senki* (Lu and Needham 288). Additionally, the publication contained other images detailing the equipment used (Figure 5), as well as a figure which was precisely labelled with the location and names of 60 of the most common acupoints (Figure 6). The latter led Western physicians to realise that acupoints were not always located at the point of pain.

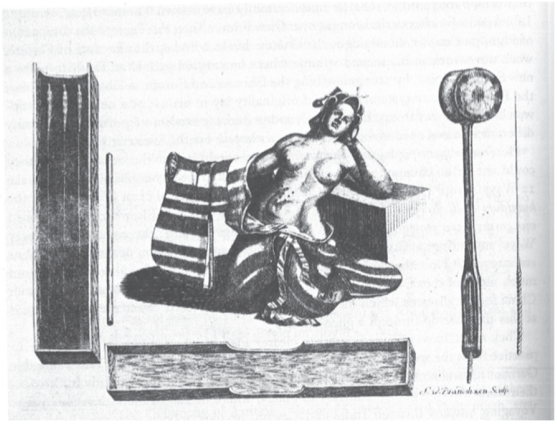

Figure 5.. Japanese Senki Acupoints. 1712. Celestial Lancets; A History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa. Lu, Gwei-Djen, and Joseph Needham. 1980. Routledge Curzon, 2002.

Many physicians, including ten Rhijne, were not aware of the differences between Eastern and Western medical theories then, which could partly be attributed to poor explanation, and partly to the language barrier between both Chinese and English, as well as Japanese and Chinese (Lu and Needham 291). As a result, the channels and meridians in the

Chinese and Japanese diagrams were mistaken for being anatomical (Lu and Needham 277).

At the same time, acupuncture was also introduced to Western Europe through Jesuit missionaries in China. In the late sixteenth century, Jesuits led by the Italian Matteo Ricci arrived in China and stayed there until the end of the eighteenth century. Many missionaries served as good sources of information regarding China during this time ("History of Christianity in China").

For example, Michal Boym, the son of a Polish physician, was a Jesuit missionary who contributed with an acupuncture-related publication. From 1645 to 1649, he worked between Tonkin (in the Red River delta region in Vietnam), Hainan, and Guangxi (Lu and Needham 284). After his death, a number of his manuscripts, such as *Les Secrets de la Médicine Chinoise* and the *Specimen Medicinae Sinicae*, were published by a former surgeon general for the VOC, Andreas Cleyer (Barnes 75). Although not credited manuscripts in there, many of them were in fact written by Boym. The former detailed channels and meridians, methods of acupuncture, and types of acupuncture needles that were used in Japan. Though it is not clear whether or not he had witnessed acupuncture himself, Boym also described the 12 regular channels within this book, published in 1686 (Lu and Needham 295).

By the end of the seventeenth century, travel accounts had given European readers a general idea regarding acupuncture. Information was not always gathered first-hand by those who had observed acupuncture, yet knowledge was effectively transmitted to the West. Although this knowledge did not result in an instant gain of acupuncture's popularity in the West, the aforementioned publications were highly significant. They informed Europeans about the basics and the existence of acupuncture, which would facilitate the development of this practice and provide information upon which to base future investigations.

3. European Reception and Investigation of Acupuncture

During the early to mid-eighteenth century, the importance of empiricism began to rise within the Western scientific world. This method of conducting science is often attributed to a British philosopher of the seventeenth century, Francis Bacon. He believed that scholars shouldn't be restricted by their expectations and ways of thinking when producing knowledge, but instead should be observant and objective . Before the rise of empiricism, scientific inventions were often assessed against pre-existing ones. However, from the 16th century onwards, concrete and observable evidence became increasingly valued (Bristow). This was significant to the success of acupuncture in the West; scholars were more open-minded towards accepting new knowledge, and were willing to question existing practices. Along with the rise in empiricism, slight similarities between the aforementioned Chinese and Greek theories further facilitated acceptance of acupuncture in Europe during this time.

Albeit slowly, over the eighteenth century knowledge regarding acupuncture and other Eastern practices became more and more recognised in the West. Instead of publications, much of the new information was able to be transmitted via correspondences between Europeans (often Jesuit missionaries) living in the East, and physicians in the West. Though these correspondences were often concerned with traditional Chinese medicine in general, acupuncture was still being increasingly discussed, reviewed, and reported across Europe (Barnes 37).

One individual who corresponded to contacts in the East was Pierre Sue (1739-1816), a professor of surgery at the *École de Médecine de Paris* (Barnes 186). Instead of personally travelling to China, he sent a series of questions in 1786 to a missionary (Fr. Raux) living in Beijing, regarding different medical practices and theories in the East, such as the treatment of Gangrene (Barnes 186-187). Many physicians in the West were surprised by the information he received, which suggested that the Chinese rarely amputated, but instead used different means, including acupuncture, to rid themselves of maladies (Barnes 187). This demonstrated a contrast in the means of gathering information between the two centuries.

In the early 19th century, many more European scientists and physicians carried out tests and experiments to test the efficacy of acupuncture. By this point in time, 'Western' acupuncture was seldom based upon its original Chinese theories (Bivins 116). Acupuncture was simply recognised on the basis of being empirically successful; the seventeenth century accounts of acupuncture, including those stating that patients could be instantly healed, provided within publications by VOC physicians and merchants were still influential (Bivins 117). The medical establishments of the 19th century placed increasing emphasis on the importance of being able to empirically prove the efficacy of traditional healing methods. Acupuncture was thus able to conform to the experimental standards set by the medical society in terms of what was reliable and what was not, contributing towards acupuncture being more readily accepted in Europe.

Bloodletting was one of the traditional healing methods that was put on trial during this period. In 1809, the Bordeaux Academy of Medicine raised a series of questions regarding the methods, advantages, disadvantages and efficacy of bloodletting (Bivins 112). L. V. J. Berlioz clarified to the academy that acupuncture was not a form of bleeding.

Bloodletting was previously a common technique practised in the West, to bring the body's four humours to balance. Both the practices of acupuncture and bloodletting involve puncturing the skin to restore balance in the body, and thus were superficially similar. Diseases such as fevers were often thought to be the result of a surplus of blood; in order to reduce the surplus, the patient's skin would be punctured at the location of of a major vein or artery (Lu and Needham 5). Large amounts of blood would be drawn out to bring the humours back into balance (Bivins 115). This often led to detrimental results, and physicians were starting to doubt its efficacy. Although the similarities between the *Yin Yang* theories and the humoural theories were not accounted for in the West, and although acupuncture was not meant to induce bleeding, the questions raised about acupuncture as a form of bloodletting drew renewed attention to the Eastern practice.

The inclusion of acupuncture in Berlioz's essay led him to further investigate the practice of acupuncture (Bivins 113). Upon treating patients with acupuncture, he found that it was extremely effective at reducing muscular and nervous pain. Berlioz included these findings in subsequent essays that he submitted to the Society of Medicine of Paris (*Société de Médecine de Paris*) in 1812 and 1813, in response to the same question first raised by the Bordeaux academy. This time, his writings were noticed and earned awards, and the information he published regarding acupuncture reached a larger audience. This was crucial to acupuncture's publicity in early 19th century society. Having received education in Paris (the centre of medical science at that time) and being a physician

who personally experienced acupuncture, his word was held in high esteem, and acupuncture gained more credibility. Subsequently, various Parisian hospitals even included acupuncture as a regular practice administered to patients (Bivins 115).

Another method by which people tried to prove or disprove the efficacy of acupuncture and other practices was by experimentation. Dr. Antonio Carraro was one physician who conducted a series of experiments in 1826 to prove the efficacy of acupuncture, attempting to use acupuncture to resurrect kittens who had shown no signs of life (Stollberg 315).

According to de Vannes, to carry out the experiment, Carraro held an eight day old kitten under water until it had shown no signs of life. After being examined, it was yet again placed within the body of water to ensure it wasn't breathing. Once it had been lifted out of the water, it was then dried with cloth and laid out under the sun, and the kitten still did not move. Around 45 minutes after the kitten had first been submerged into the water, a needle was then inserted into the kitten's heart until it reached the backbone, and remained there. After 15 seconds, the kitten was reported to have begun to move, and came back to life. Although it had remained in an anguished state for two hours thereafter, it had fully recovered within a month, upon its return to its mother. This experiment was successfully repeated with another two kittens, despite the fact that one did not get a chance to fully recover, passing away after its mother had accidentally lay down on the kitten (347-349). It was dissected afterwards, and Carraro found that 'no blood escaped into the pericardium (the membrane surrounding the heart) ("Viscera"). This supposedly demonstrated that a needle could indeed be punctured through vital organs such as the heart without causing excess bleeding or death (Barnes 347-348). This experiment was significant in that it provided evidence for the efficacy of acupuncture.

On the other hand, there were ethical and scientific arguments against this experiment. Apart from the ethical problem of of killing a young living animal for scientific research, kittens are known to be able to survive periods without oxygen, as they are born without their lungs being fully developed (de Vannes 349). Therefore, it is arguable that they would have been able to recover without being treated by acupuncture. Additionally, the results of this experiment still proved nothing about the efficacy of acupuncture on human patients.

Throughout the rest of the century, word of mouth, hearsay, and eyewitness accounts worked alongside experimentation to increase awareness and acceptance of acupuncture in the 1800s. Many wealthy or well-known members of society were able to afford novel treatments such as acupuncture, and promoted the treatment within their social circle, bringing the technique to light for a wider use (Bivins 121-124).

Conclusion

After a period of decline following the Opium War, acupuncture is enjoying a second revival today.

Today, acupuncture is used for many different purposes and is based on many different theories. For instance, in Germany many physicians now offer acupuncture as a musculoskeletal treatment. It is even offered as part of insurance coverage, demonstrating the extent to which physicians use this technique on their patients (Hinrichs 314). Elsewhere it is also practised as a holistic treatment based on ancient Chinese theories. Traditional acupuncture has also given rise to a variety of needling techniques, some of which are based more on Western anatomy such as dry needling (Mackinlay). Such

techniques are so different from traditional acupuncture that some question whether they can still be considered acupuncture at all.

Acupuncture's story is unique in that it surpasses geographical and cultural boundaries as a traditional Eastern practice which has successfully become integrated into Western society. The spread of acupuncture to European countries reflects the methods of acquiring knowledge and the extent to which people have been willing to accept new information over time. As there is still no consensus in the Western world regarding its efficacy and scientific robustness, the practice is still being investigated. Acupuncture has not only provided physicians in the West with numerous opportunities for exploration of Eastern medicine and culture, but also further opportunities to develop new techniques. The transmission of acupuncture demonstrates the importance for the sharing of knowledge, and for society's mindset in the acceptance of unfamiliar knowledge. Understanding acupuncture's story may assist similar, lesser known techniques to develop in society today.

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The Chinese *Pipa* and its Social Image During the Tang Dynasty

Brian Cheng

Introduction

The *pipa* 琵琶, otherwise known as the Chinese lute, is a fretted chordophone not dissimilar to the Western guitar. With its origin two thousand years back in Ancient Chinese history, it is still played by many in the modern day, whether solo or in groups. Throughout the two millennia from its creation to the present day, it has evolved to become distinct from its ancestors, earning its status as a fully domestic Chinese instrument. Along with the *guqin* 古琴, it is one of the most popular Chinese instruments, making it an international symbol of traditional Chinese music.

In this report, my goal is to explore how the *pipa's* development has shaped the social image that surrounds it. Specifically, this paper focuses on the instrument during the Tang Dynasty, as that was when the instrument reached the peak of its popularity. Thus, there would be more sources regarding the topic. I hope that this paper will be able to use the instrument as a lens with which to view the world in the Tang Dynasty, i.e. I believe that the *pipa* can tell us a bit more about the world back then.

The research upon this topic was conducted through consulting various types of sources, including poems, as well as plays, murals and paintings. In this report, since understanding the background and the history of the *pipa's* development is crucial to understanding how and why the *pipa* was so influential, this paper discusses the *pipa's* history, before discussing what role the *pipa* played in Tang society. Then, this paper analyses the social image surrounding the instrument, and the social values and themes that came to be associated with the instrument.

This paper addresses three questions:

Who played the *pipa*?

Who listened to the *pipa*?

What values and themes became connected to the *pipa*?

At the end of this, I will draw conclusions about what the *pipa* can tell us about Tang society.

1. Background

1.1. Early History of the *Pipa*

The *pipa's* ancient ancestors were the first lutes ever. They started out in what we now know as Central Asia and the Middle East, near Mesopotamia. They then disseminated outwards; as a result, almost all indigenous musical ensembles across Eurasia and North Africa contain instruments structurally similar to lutes (Millward 92).

The *pipa's* roots lie in a Persian instrument known as the *barbat*. As well as the *pipa* family, this instrument eventually influenced the development of the Arabic *oud*, the Greek *pandoura*, the European lute, and ultimately the guitar (Millward 93). Some scholars suggest that it was influential to the point where the word '*pipa*' is actually derived from the Persian name '*barbat*'. The first lute in China entered through the Xiongnu: a nomadic people who lived on the Asian steppe, in what today roughly constitutes Mongolia, Northwestern China, East Kazakhstan, and East Kyrgyzstan. This occurred during the time of Qin and Han Dynasties.

The first textual sources mentioning *pipa* refer to this primitive lute as a *Qin pipa*, derived most likely from the Xiongnu by labourers sent to build the Great Wall on the Northwestern border. While it is vastly different from the modern *pipa*, it is still a recognisable cousin of the instrument. It was supposedly played corvée? workers on the Wall, as some relief from the arduous working conditions (Millward 259). A primary source from the time supports this claim: a man by the name of Yu Shinan 虞世南 wrote in his poem *Pipa Fu* 琵琶賦 about how near the end of the Qin Dynasty, labourers on the Great Wall created an instrument called the *xiantao* 弦鼗 - an archaic term for a *pipa* - under harsh conditions in the North to cope with their gruelling lifestyles.

Another origin story of the *pipa* from *Pipa Fu* is an important Chinese legend. It tells the story of Wang Zhaojun: a princess of the Han Dynasty who was sent to marry a Xiongnu chief in order to establish peace between the Han Empire and the invading nomads. The *pipa* was supposedly invented by modifying a zither so that she could play it on horseback to remind her of home. While the existence of Wang Zhaojun as a historical figure is not disputed, the invention of the *pipa* specifically for her is likely false. Well known amongst the Chinese community, the princess is considered one of the four Ancient Chinese beauties, and her influence reaches to the modern day: in fact, famous *pipa* music, such as the piece *Zhaojun Chusai* 昭君出塞 [Lady Zhao exiting the Great Wall], is still performed today. Though the *pipa* was more likely invented by labourers on the Great Wall, the story of Wang Zhaojun is equally important as it illustrates the type of society back then where women were treated unfairly and had no say in their own futures. It is important to note here that both stories share a commonality: they represent *pipa* as an instrument for expressing the sorrow and suffering of the oppressed; in the first case, the poor, in the second, women.

Figure 1. Morihage, Kosumi, 王昭君圖. Edo period, *Tokyo National Museum*, Tokyo, Japan

1.2. The *Pipa* in the Tang Dynasty

The *pipa* became what it is now during the Tang Dynasty. The first half of the Tang Dynasty was one of several Golden Ages of Chinese culture when the Chinese empire flourished, witnessing great innovations in culture, arts and science. As a result of its power, many foreign kingdoms near and far

sought to establish good relations with Emperor Tang. In order to do this, they sent tributes with various gifts from their own lands in order to appease the Chinese emperor. Because of its power, the Tang Dynasty is characterized by a cultural confidence which allowed its people to be open to foreign cultures. This period of Chinese history is thus known for its cosmopolitanism, and as a result, "Chinese popular music began to sound like the music of the city-states of Central Asia" (Schafer 52). Most of this occurred through the Silk Road: a trade route that essentially connected China to the rest of the world through Central Asia, thus becoming the driving force for intercultural interaction in Ancient China.

These gifts included musicians and their instruments. The modern, pear-shaped *pipa* entered China during this period, originating from Central Asia (Millward 260). This suggests that the term *pipa* has been used to refer to two similar but distinct instruments in Ancient China - the aforementioned *Qin pipa* and the modern *pipa*. Nowadays, the earlier, round *pipa* from the Qin Dynasty has survived under the name *ruan* 阮, though it is less commonly found.

Court

The *pipa* reached the peak of its popularity in the Tang. The Emperors of Tang enjoyed its music and it became the primary court music of the age. Foreign dance suites from Kucha were especially appreciated (Millward 96). This led the emperor to establish an imperial institution dedicated to training and raising musicians for the court called the *Liyuan* 梨園 [the Pear Garden]. The instrument was played solo, in ensembles, and as accompaniment for exotic dances, which were popular with the public.

Professional musicians did not have a high social status. When they were brought to the Tang emperor as gifts, they were essentially slaves (Schafer 51). This, however, only means that they were servants without freedom; while they were excluded from the civil examinations, meaning that they would not be able to become part of the ruling class, it does not necessarily mean that they were treated badly. In fact, quite contrarily, many musicians were respected for their skills and music even if they weren't free, and as their work was greatly entertaining to the emperor, the empire made sure they lived well.

Music

Chinese traditional music is split into two main genres*: yayue* 雅樂 – a type of formal ritual music reserved for important ceremonies and occasions – and *suyue* 俗樂 – a type of more vulgar, entertaining music that was less formal but more popular and widely enjoyed by both royalty and common people alike. The *pipa* was an instrument belonging to the *suyue* type, being a folk instrument (Bresler 85).

As a result of its popularity, the instrument and its music grew in complexity. For instance, while the general shape and structure of the *pipa* remained constant, some *pipas* were known for having five strings rather than the usual four, and others were decorated intricately with various ornaments. An example would be a Tang Dynasty *pipa* that is the earliest preserved instrument of its kind called the 螺鈿紫檀五弦琵琶 [mother-of-pearl rosewood five-string *pipa*]; as its name suggests, it is a highly decorated work of art, and is shown below (Figure 2.).

Figure 2. 螺鈿紫檀五弦琵琶 Tang Dynasty, Shōsōin, Nara, Japan

As for the music, the ancient repertoire for the *pipa* is now mostly lost; however, it is known that many songs played were exciting in nature. The *pipa* played music that was often used to depict battles and wars. Some musicians experimented with "slides and strange percussive sounds" to depict certain phases of a battle (Robertson 52). This shows that the instrument had grown to become symbolic and representative to a certain degree at that point, demonstrating its level of sophistication.

The *pipa* was also an important instrument for the development of Chinese music as the Chinese modal theory is centered around it, owing to the use of frets, which makes it easy to visualise the relationship between notes, as opposed to, say, an aerophone (Millward 260). As a direct result of this, the *pipa* made playing music more accessible to people as visualising pitch differences was easier.

Religion

The *pipa* was also tightly linked to Buddhism, and thus held great religious value. The connection with Buddhism to *pipas* likely lies in the fact that they both came through the Silk Road. Many murals in Dunhuang, a crucial node on the Silk Road, depict various figures within Buddhist culture playing the *pipa*. Found in cave temples and tombs across Xinjiang and Western China, these pictures often depict "stringed instruments in orchestral settings, especially as entertainments in Buddhist paradises" and "apsaras and devas in attendance on buddhas and bodhisattvas" (Millward 260).

Figure 3. A Feitian Playing *Pipa*. Tang Dynasty, *Kizil caves*

Literature

During the Tang Dynasty, the *pipa* took on a much more cultured image through its increased usage in literature when compared to previous eras. Tang poets adopted the instrument and used it to help write poems meant to be sung. This helped create a more sophisticated, intellectually high-class image for the *pipa* (Robertson 52), though it was never as gentlemanly and scholarly as the Chinese *guqin*. As a result of this, it was often mentioned in Chinese poetry in the Tang Dynasty; in fact, some literary works were written with the instrument as the main topic.

A well-known example of this is Tang poet Bai Juyi's 白居易 poem, *Pipa Xing* 琵琶行, which tells the story of the poet in exile meeting a woman who had once played *pipa* for the emperor, but was eventually replaced by younger, prettier players once she started aging. Others include a poem called *Guyi* 古

意 by poet Li Qi 李頎 that mentions a fifteen-year-old girl who, considering the context, is probably a foreign girl playing as part of a troupe to entertain the soldiers. She is "proficient at *pipa* and dancing", and plays *pipa* for a general's army so well that they "shed tears like raindrops falling": [遼東小婦年十五，慣彈琵琶解歌舞。今爲羌笛出塞聲，使我三軍淚如雨。] (Li Bai).

1.3. Why did the *pipa* become popular in the Tang Dynasty?

The *pipa's* rise in popularity from its original lowly status in the Tang Dynasty was a rare occurrence in Chinese court music. What led to it being favoured by the court and the common folks alike?

A combination of factors influenced the rise of the *pipa*. I hypothesise that the connection the *pipa* had with Buddhism may be one factor, as Buddhism travelled up the Silk Road and increased vastly in popularity due to the endorsement of the Chinese imperial household: many Tang Dynasty emperors were devout Buddhists. Additionally, the *pipa* was fairly accessible and easy to learn as a musical instrument. The expanding repertoire of the instrument opened it up to experimentation, thus appealing to a wider range of tastes and cultures; it was also an exciting instrument to listen to, as shown in the energetic pieces which are depictions of military battles, which is in keeping with the military culture of Tang aristocracy.

However, more importantly is how the unique power of Tang led to its being receptive to foreign influences. These foreign peoples and cultures were mysterious and intriguing; they attracted the attention and interest of the court and the public alike. This sparked an appreciation for exoticism in the Tang society, which indirectly led to the *pipa's* rise in popularity, as it led to the establishment of the *Liyuan* and thus created an institution that systematically brought foreign talents to the court. Thus, it can be concluded that the Tang Dynasty's respect for multiculturalism and diversity allowed foreign cultures to flourish and disseminate, leading the *pipa* to be enjoyed by many, causing the instrument's rise in popularity.

2. Social Image of the Pipa

2.1. Who played the pipa?

From the start of the Tang Dynasty, the image of *pipa* players found within the period's literature was remarkably consistent. They could be divided into three broad groups - the poor, women, and foreigners – and according to these stereotypes, we can make inferences regarding the instrument's social image.

The Poor

Many poems and other literary works involve impoverished *pipa* players. For instance, as mentioned above, *Pipa Xing* features characters who are relatively poor. Other accounts, from various time periods, such as this one from the Ming Dynasty, suggest that *pipa* players were common as beggars: "Many blind men and women of Hangzhou study *pipa* and sing stories old and new, or historical episodes to obtain food and clothing" (Millward 268). In fact, this image was one that was so strong that it might have survived to influence the writing of *Pipa Ji* 琵琶記, a play from the Yuan Dynasty which portrays a *pipa* player with a similarly desperate financial and social status.

Figure 4. Gu, Hongzhong. 韓熙載夜宴圖. Tang Dynasty, *Palace Museum*, Beijing, China.

Women

Many *pipas* player were women. Though not exclusively a feminine instrument, sources show that often, women were the ones playing it. For instance, in the works discussed above - *Pipa Ji* and *Pipa Xing* - the main characters who played the *pipa* were women. The painting above (Figure 4.) also shows a woman playing the instrument. This seems to be compatible with the social standards of the time: since men were granted positions of power and educational opportunities, it makes sense that women were relegated to lower statuses such as that of a court entertainer and musician. Despite this, it still goes against traditional patriarchal values, and is remarkable in that so many opportunities were given to women.

Foreigners

Being an originally foreign instrument, it is only natural that the people who played were mostly foreign as well. American sinologist Edward H. Schafer refers to "the musicians of Kabūdhān, called Ts'ao by the Chinese" who were "mostly lutanists" and who "outnumbered all other nationalities among the foreign musicians in China" (Schafer 54). Within Ancient Chinese literature, there are even more references to the instrument being played by Hu people - a blanket term for any non-Han peoples in China or its Northern vicinity. Li Rubi 李如璧 writes in his poem *Mingyue* 明月 about a lonely man in a remote part of China, longing for home: "A Hu man plays the *pipa* in the Northern wind" 胡人琵琶彈北風. Another poem discussed above - Li Bai's *Guyi* - mentions "a young girl from Liaodong" (today's Liaoning) 遼東小婦, likely a foreigner.

2.2. Who listened to the *pipa*?

The Rich

However, the instrument was not limited just to the poor. While the rich and the scholarly were traditionally associated with the *guqin*, which was considered a gentleman's instrument, the *pipa* was also enjoyed by the upper class. Evidence of the literate and the cultured playing and enjoying the instrument's music includes Li Bai's *Yebie Zhangwu* 夜別張五, in which the poet listens to the instrument after a night of drinking with a friend: 「橫笛弄秋月，琵琶彈陌桑」 (Li Bai). This shows that the instrument's music was not exclusive to the lower class. On the contrary, it was listened to by the social elite as well. A distinction must be drawn, however. More often than not, while the rich and the powerful enjoyed the music of the *pipa*, they were likely rarely the ones to play it.

Thus, it can be seen that the music of the *pipa* was enjoyed by people of all backgrounds in the Tang Dynasty. The fact that the emperor

himself allowed it to become the primary court music of the dynasty shows that the range of socio-economic statuses amongst the instrument's listeners was as large as it could have possibly been, as even the most powerful person in China enjoyed the music. "The habit of listening to exotic sounds, and of expressing fashionable enthusiasm for them, spread from the court among the aristocrats, and so among all classes of urban society" (Schafer 51). As seen in the painting above (Figure 4.) from the Southern Tang kingdom (which came directly after the Tang Dynasty), a high-ranking government official is being entertained by a *pipa* player, showing that the upper class enjoyed the instrument's music as well.

Men

There are relatively few explicit references in literature to males playing the instrument. Instead, men are more often mentioned listening to the music: for instance, in the previously mentioned *Yebie Zhangwu*, the poet Li Bai is listening to the *pipa*: "Listening to song and dance in the silver candlelight, holding the goblet of wine. The flute plays under the autumn moon; a *pipa* plays the song of Mo Sang." 聽歌舞銀燭，把酒輕羅裳。橫笛弄秋月，琵琶彈陌桑。(Li Bai). Similarly, as previously discussed, in his poem *Guyi*, poet Li Qi describes soldiers listening to the *pipa* music, while Bai Juyi's aforementioned *Pipa Ji* refers to a court musician playing for the emperor. As seen, there is plenty of evidence to support the idea that the audience of the *pipa* was often male.

The Han People

As the *pipa* instrument rose to prominence and as it spread across China from its original entry point in the Middle East, it gradually began integrating into Chinese culture, until its current status nowadays as a popular and recognizable Chinese instrument. The fact that it was adopted into Han Chinese culture is a testament to its widespread popularity amongst the Han people.

2.3. What themes is the *pipa* associated with?

As shown above, the instrument was played by a wide variety of people, but ultimately became associated primarily with a select few of the groups discussed above:

- The poor
- Women
- Hu people

With these associations came certain abstract meanings and themes which the *pipa* connotes.

Grieving and Suffering

The reason that the *pipa* was originally associated with suffering perhaps concerns its origins. From the very beginning of the *pipa's* history, it was considered the instrument of people with lower social statuses, who lived hard lives. As mentioned, the earlier *Qin pipa* was created by impoverished corvée workers on the Great Wall in the Qin Dynasty as a coping mechanism that helped relieve the hardships they faced when toiling on the wall.

Then, when the pear-shaped modern *pipa* entered China, the players were originally of low social status as well. They were often tributes coming from foreign nations as gifts for the Tang emperors, meaning that they were essentially mere slaves. Certain sources also suggest that the people who played the *pipa* were almost always living in poor conditions: both *Pipa Xing* and *Pipa Ji* have main characters who have essentially been exiled. Li Rubi's *Mingyue* places the player of the *pipa* in a highly remote area, referencing frigid, gloomy weather on a frontier.

At the same time, the *pipa's* link to suffering is not only bound to materialistic poverty. In *Pipa Xing*, for instance, the main character is exiled not only because of her poverty: she also suffers from isolation, loneliness, and a loss of prestige. Once she grows old and her beauty fades, she is exiled from the Imperial Palace and essentially discarded. This demonstrates how as a theme linked to the *pipa*, grieving and suffering does not necessarily have to do with wealth.

It is possible that the instrument became linked to the collective emotions of sorrow and exile experienced by all of the groups above, whether the player was a slave worker, a servant, or an outcast. An image of sadness and misery has been subsequently associated with the instrument, which has been ingrained and reinforced within traditional Chinese culture.

Freedom and Exoticism

The *pipa* also had connotations of freedom, carefreeness, and romanticism that came with the cosmopolitan nature of the Tang Dynasty. This can be viewed through two lenses: women and foreigners in China.

As previously discussed, a historical precedent of women playing the *pipa* was established early on in the instrument's history. Contrary to the long-established traditions of the time, the rise of the *pipa* likely reflected the increasingly liberal attitudes of Tang people towards patriarchal society. This can be inferred from how the Tang Dynasty saw *suyue* rise to prominence as a new form of court music, eventually becoming so integral to the court that independent institutions dedicated to training musicians were formed - the aforementioned *Liyuan*. When compared to traditional, male ritual musicians who played *yayue*, the fact that an instrument played mostly by women was able to thrive in the court and even receive the emperor's favour could be attributed to a shift in the function of court music because of the Tang Dynasty's cosmopolitanism and openness to change.

This helps to embody the theme of freedom. With the rise of the *Liyuan* and other institutions; in the Tang Dynasty, women were offered new opportunities to develop their own talents, evident in *suyue's* rising importance in social life. This represented an increase in the state's multiculturalism, as what was considered acceptable for court music expanded with the *pipa* to include a more diverse range of music types and players. These changes were not necessarily confined to the court either, as illustrated with the example of Li Qi's *Guyi*, where the *pipa* was being played by a young woman in a remote region of the country.

Additionally, the *pipa* also became heavily linked to themes of exoticism and exploration through its association with Hu people. This is because the *pipa* originates from an area beyond traditional Chinese territory and culture; this image is likely further reinforced by the fact that the *pipa's* rise to prominence occurred in a contextual backdrop of Chinese people expanding across Central Asia, in the process sending many Chinese people towards desolate frontier regions populated by non-Han people and exotic cultures, where the *pipa* was an integral part of a unique and fresh cultural landscape.

A famous example of the above in Tang literature is the poem *Liangzhou Ci* 涼州詞 by poet Wang Han 王翰, which tells the stories of soldiers sent out to conquer *pipa*-playing regions of Asia in order to expand the Tang Dynasty's territory and strength. An exotic atmosphere is created by the *pipa* and other elements, such as the grape wine which the soldiers are drinking, which are characteristic of the more exotic regions of Central Asia.

The exotic nature of the *pipa* does not only stem from Chinese expansionism: it also resulted from foreign people entering a multicultural and diverse China for the first time and bringing their unique cultures with them, which were of interest to many Chinese people. An example of this is the Buddhist murals of *pipa* players in Dunhuang – a relatively remote city in the desert in Gansu, in the Northwest of China. A crucial node on the Silk Road, many cultural exchanges likely occurred in here, or in similar cities, which likely served as melting pots of various cultures, where the *pipa* became popular. The remote location further reinforced the air of exoticism around the *pipa* as an instrument played by people from afar, as well as a romantic sense of freedom where authorities exercised little control.

Overall, between the two main meanings of grieving and freedom, which one is expressed depends heavily on the author's situation and role: with the exotic character could come either the sense of freedom and romanticism of exploring the unknown, or the sense of isolation, misery, and bleakness. Examples in literature include in Li Qi's *Guyi*, where the poem's tone is balanced between the young barbarian girl's pride in her music, and the soldiers' tears, as they are aware that many may not return from the war. Another is in *Liangzhou Ci*, where soldiers were sent out to remote territories to fight wars and increase the Tang Dynasty's territory. The tone of the poem can be interpreted as either triumphant and heroic from a conqueror's perspective, or gloomy and desperate from a conscript's perspective; the *pipa* plays a role in expressing both these ambivalent emotions. Regardless, what is certainly there is the exotic, adventurous and unrestricted character of the environment.

Conclusion

Tang was truly a Golden Age of cultural development. The foreign cultures that entered influenced China so significantly that it led to the integration of various cultural elements - including music, musicians and their instruments - into what we now view as traditional and domestic Chinese culture. The *pipa's* rise in popularity provides a lens through which to view Tang society: it tells us that modern China's culture was not strictly home-grown, that Tang China was open to foreign influences, and that Tang's cosmopolitan nature led to greater intercultural understanding and awareness.

Through the literature on the *pipa* and the social images and traits associated with the instrument, we can also gain insights into the society and culture of the time: for instance, how the instrument can reflect both a sense of suffering and freedom at the same time, and how a new niche of instrument players was formed and filled by the formerly underprivileged: the poor, women, and foreigners. The instrument is an example of something that was able to transcend social gaps and generate empathy amongst players and listeners alike, while also demonstrating the unprecedented multicultural and cosmopolitan social attitude of the time.

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「一片幽情冷處濃」

—— 論《納蘭詞》中寒涼意象的來源與意義

謝坤逸

引言

王國維曾言：「納蘭容若（之詞），北宋以來，一人而已。」[1]，納蘭性德對意象的使用尤其耐人尋味。其中，寒涼意象的出現頻率格外令人矚目。所謂寒涼意象，指任何帶有「寒、冷、涼」等字眼修飾的名詞；亦指寒涼氣候現象如：「西風」、「雪」、「霜」、「冰」等名詞；以及「梅花」、「落花」等象徵秋冬季節的名詞。

經統計，在納蘭所撰寫的三百四十六首詞中，寒涼意象共出現於二百四十五處。[2]其中，頻繁出現的意象分別 有：冷香、寒月、凉宵、寒衾、寒枕、冰輪、寒花、涼月、雪衣、冷枕、寒濤、寒煙、寒雲、寒雨、西風、寒沙、寒潮、寒柳、涼露、寒灰、梅花、黃花、暗香、北風、冰霜、雪等。

這些寒涼意象為何頻繁出現，其之於《納蘭詞》風格、藝術的意義又是什麼？這方面的研究在目前尚不多見。本文就納蘭詞中大量出現的「寒衾」、「寒枕」、「寒雨」、「西風」及「寒香」等詞語的使用做出一些探討，嘗試發現這些詞語使用背後的深刻意義。

對於《納蘭詞》的風格，嚴迪昌言其「淒艷而真摯自然」[3]。邊塞詞亦是「蒼涼清怨」[4]。納蘭的情傷與漂泊，皆以寒涼意象的形式反映於詞中。而前代詞人也對納蘭使用的寒涼意象有重大影響。南唐後主李煜的詞和以晏幾道為主的北宋詞為納蘭性德所喜，他曾言：「花間之詞，如古玉器，貴重而不適用；宋詞適用而少質重，李後主兼有其美，更饒煙水迷離之致」[5]。徐乾學更謂：「好觀北宋之作，不喜南渡諸家」[6]。寒涼意象的使用影響了納蘭詞風的形成，亦與前人詞作有所對比，在受晏幾道與李煜影響的同時，突破了文學傳統，展現了納蘭的創造力。

以下從納蘭妻子逝世、出塞漂泊及前代詞人的影響為切入點，結合統計、將寒涼意象放在文學史的同類意象傳統中進行比較探究。

[1] 王國維（撰）、黃林等（導讀）：《人間詞話》（上海：上海古籍出版社，2000 年），頁 13。
[2] 詳見附錄：《納蘭詞》寒涼意象統計初編。
[3] 嚴迪昌：《清詞史》（江蘇：江蘇古籍出版社，1990 年），頁 279。
[4] 同上註，頁 283。
[5] 納蘭性德：《淥水亭雜識四》，《通志堂集》卷十八（上海：上海古籍出版社，1979 年），頁 706。
[6] 徐乾學：〈通議大夫一等侍衛進士納蘭君墓誌〉，載納蘭性德（撰）、趙秀婷、馮統一（箋校）：《飲水詞箋校》（瀋陽：遼寧教育出版社，2001 年），頁 367。

一. 出身、悼亡與漂泊：寒涼意象的來源

納蘭容若一生都在與寒冷糾纏。納蘭於順治十一年農曆臘月十二在京師出生[7]，兒時在北方生活，幼年被稱作「冬郎」[8]，少年因患風寒落榜廷試，青年隨聖祖出塞，最後更是因寒疾早逝。其出身和成長的經歷，尤其是在北方的滿人生活，是其在詞作中頻繁使用寒涼意象的重要原因之一。

其次，受納蘭妻子逝世影響，寒涼意象在其最受後世矚目的悼亡詞中被頻繁使用。納蘭之妻盧氏的去世是其詞風轉變的重要契機，使其突遇巨變，寫出情傷腸斷的悼亡詞。[9]《納蘭詞》中以題目表明悼亡之作的共有七篇，而題目未標明卻實是追思亡妻的作品共有三四十篇[10]。納蘭於康熙十三年迎娶妻子盧氏，而其妻於康熙十六年五月末產後患病而逝[11]。這短暫的三年成為了納蘭日後追憶的主要片段。人於傷心之時會感到身體和心靈上的冷意。這種冷意源自失去後的孤獨和寂寞感，與妻子仍在世所帶來的溫暖相對比，並在納蘭的悼亡詞中以寒涼意象的形式集中反映出來。

除此之外，納蘭一生作為一等侍衛曾多次隨康熙帝出巡、漂泊，因而寫有大量與苦寒旅途相關詩詞，其中，寒涼意象亦被頻繁使用。自二十三歲始任乾清門三等侍衛起，納蘭年年隨扈遠行，時長多為整年，由正月一直奔波至十一、十二月，直到其三十一歲病逝那年，被封為一等侍衛。[12]期間，據記載[13]，納蘭共撰寫了九十七[14]首詞，此中五十三首[15]為旅途中所撰。羈旅的入骨嚴寒通過寒涼意象將冷意具象化，繼而聯繫所去之地的苦寒，強調詞人對生命之脆弱的領悟，使抽象的主觀情感變得可摸可觸。

可見，納蘭出身所處的地理環境、妻子逝世的情傷經歷與隨帝多次出塞之旅皆對《納蘭詞》中寒涼意象的頻繁使用造成了影響，寒涼意象亦是其在詞中反映生活的直接渠道。

二. 寒衾、寒枕：觸目傷懷之體現

在《納蘭詞》大量出現的寒涼意象中，「寒衾」、「寒枕」意象的使用十分醒目，以不同形式出現了四十四次[16]。這些反復出現的寒涼意象背後，體現出了納蘭複雜豐富的情感糾結。沿著「寒衾」和「寒枕」的意象使用，讀者可以發現納蘭緬懷夫人的一條條線索。

納蘭與其夫人共結連理，同被而眠。夫人去後，每見到身邊這些物件，便能想到妻子當時在身側的一幕幕具體的情形。枕頭和被子代表了夫妻的親密，睹物思人，最能帶給作者巨大的感傷。《浣溪沙·十八年來墮世間》一首，最能體現這一點：

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[7] 趙秀婷、馮統一：〈納蘭性德行年錄〉，《承德民族師專學報》第 4 期（2000 年 11 月），頁 12。
[8] 納蘭性德《填詞》：「冬郎一生極憔悴。」
[9] 嚴迪昌：《清詞史》，頁 281。
[10] 同上註，頁 280。
[11] 趙秀婷、馮統一：〈納蘭性德行年錄〉，頁 16。
[12] 同上註，頁 16-20。
[13] 同上註，頁 12-21。
[14] 同上註，筆者經年譜統計納蘭於 23 歲到 31 歲間撰寫的詞，數量為 97 首。
[15] 同上註，筆者經年譜統計旅途中所撰寫的詞，數量為 53 首。
[16] 詳見附錄：《納蘭詞》寒涼意象統計初編。

「十八年來墮世間。吹花嚼蕊弄冰弦。多情情寄阿誰邊。

紫玉釵斜燈影背，紅綿粉冷枕函偏。相看好處卻無言。」[17]

納蘭性德描述了當時妻子盧氏嫁給他的那晚，藉著燈影看她倚靠在枕邊的樣子。他將妻子比作墜落塵世的仙子，而側靠床邊枕頭上的一幕則深深地逗留在了他的腦海中。可見，此處的「枕函」作為寒涼意象承載了當年新婚夜的美好，也解釋了納蘭頻繁使用此類寒涼意象的原因。

不僅如此，與此美好回憶相對應的還有納蘭現下的孤獨。這一對比也藉由「寒枕」之意象展現出來。如另一首《浣溪沙》表現出的那樣：

「肯把離情容易看，要從容易見艱難。難拋往事一般般。

今夜燈前形共影，枕函虛置翠衾單。更無人與共春寒。」[18]

此處，納蘭用了與《十八年來墮世間》中同樣的詞「枕函」，並與「春寒」聯繫在一起，強調枕頭被子的單薄、寒涼。這顯然又是一首緬懷妻子的 詞，納蘭睹物思人。結婚時藉著燈影看妻子靠在枕頭上，如今藉著同樣的燈影卻意識到再看不到妻子的模樣了。可見，納蘭通過「寒衾」、「寒枕」的使用，寄託了自己無限的哀傷感情。

另一首《減字木蘭花（燭花搖影）》亦是藉冷衾懷念亡妻：

「燭花搖影。冷透疏衾剛欲醒。待不思量。不許孤眠不斷腸。」[19]

納蘭此處所描述的斷腸之痛也伴隨著燈燭之影和冰冷的衾枕。這種失落和寂寞感隨著寒涼意象「冷透疏衾」蔓延於全詞。同樣，燈影下照的不再是妻子仙子般的側影，而是寒冷的被子與枕頭。缺失感再一次給納蘭帶來了寒冷。新婚之時的溫暖與妻子逝世後的冰冷產生對比，兩首《浣溪沙》可謂對應精妙，加強了悼亡詞的情感表達。

晏幾道亦寄情於「寒衾」、「寒枕」抒發自身的孤獨與寂寞感。《阮郎歸·舊香殘粉似當初》一詞便是如此：

「衾鳳冷，枕鴛孤。愁腸待酒舒。夢魂縱有也成虛，那堪和夢無。」[20]

詞中的憂思鬱結借冰涼的衾枕凸顯而出，表現了詞人心境的淒涼，餘下的詞作中也有相似的用法。可見「寒衾」、「寒枕」這兩個意象在表達孤寂感上有著可溯的文學傳統，納蘭卻相較前人而言流露著更真摯的悲情。其對衾枕的寒涼化處理在詞集中屢屢可見，這是在前代詞人晏幾道與李煜的創作中所未展現的。從此也可見《納蘭詞》之獨特性。

[17] 納蘭性德（撰）、趙秀婷、馮統一（箋校）：《飲水詞箋校》（北京：中華書局，2011年），頁 65。
[18] 同上註，頁 355。
[19] 納蘭性德（撰）、趙秀婷、馮統一（箋校）：《飲水詞箋校》，頁 140。
[20] 晏殊、晏幾道（撰）、張草紉（導讀）：《晏殊詞集·晏幾道詞集》（上海：上海古籍出版社，2010 年），頁 446。

由此可見，受其情感經歷的影響，納蘭選擇書寫寄託著自己與妻子美好回憶的枕頭、被子，因妻子逝去而變得冰冷側面襯托出他因孤單寂寞而感到的寒冷。衾枕是彰顯夫妻間親密的物件，同床而枕的他們如今卻陰陽兩隔，伊人所攜帶的溫暖也隨之逝去。衾枕所起到的作用類似於儲存著夫妻間一個個瞬間的盒子，寄託著夫妻二人在婚房中的回憶，每每是懷念、回憶的契機。

三. 寒雨、西風：羈旅苦寒的具體化

作為康熙帝身邊扈從的一等侍衛，納蘭年年苦於奔波，常常往返於苦寒的塞外之地。其中，「西風」[21]、「寒雨」[22]意象的出現次數頗多，以突出邊塞荒涼、艱苦的惡劣環境。

環境描寫多有渲染氛圍、使讀者身臨其境之效。《百字令·宿漢兒村》一詞借西風意象突出了邊塞之苦：

「無情野火，趁西風燒遍、天涯芳草。」[23]

這首詞開頭短短十三個字便將塞外的荒涼呈現在了眼前。作為古代詩詞中的常見意象，「西風」營造一種秋天蕭瑟、悲涼的氛圍，突出了旅人漂泊的淒苦。而納蘭也似是那野草般被西風吹拂一身，倍感寒涼。「野火」與「西風」又是客觀無情的，更為詞人之處境增添了遠在塞外身不由己的痛楚。

另如「飄泊天涯。寒月悲笳。萬里西風瀚海沙。」[24]「北風吹斷馬嘶聲。」[25]「君不信，向西風回首，百事堪哀。」[26]等詞句無一不強調了塞北的寒冷，突出了納蘭對其漂泊生活的感概。在如此飽受煎熬的境況之下，詞人加倍感受到了生命的渺小和脆弱。所謂「百事堪哀」，便是借「西風」意象表現出的對人生的總結。

寒雨」意象的使用也是如此。在陰雨之中感受到的人生苦楚，相互襯托，更增添了人生的無奈。納蘭的《蝶戀花》一詞，便結合了「西風」與「寒雨」兩個意象：

「不恨天涯行役苦。只恨西風，吹夢成今古。沾衣況是新寒雨。」[27]

北風的呼嘯聲與冰冷的寒雨夾雜在一起，烘托出詞人對眼下生活的惆悵與無力。為了再度強調納蘭不得不繼續前行的無奈，與「西風」的持續呼嘯不同，納蘭著重呈現的是「寒雨」的突然而至。以「新」這一字點出，著重於旅途中寒冷出現所帶來的更為悲涼的變化。「沾衣」二字更是強調了寒雨打濕衣衫，緊貼于詞人身上，帶來持續的刺骨之寒。從此可見，納蘭受邊塞苦寒之景及天氣影響，借捕捉「西風」與「寒雨」兩個

[21] 西風亦指涼風、霜風、驚風、北風、秋風等同類意象。
[22] 寒雨亦指涼雨。
[23] 納蘭性德（撰）、趙秀婷、馮統一（箋校）：《飲水詞箋校》，頁 251。
[24] 同上註，頁 22。
[25] 同上註，頁 68。
[26] 同上註，頁 256。
[27] 同上註，頁 91；說明：語境甚落寞，不似扈蹕之作。蓋為康熙二十一年求往覘梭龍途中所詠。是年春，隨駕至奉天；秋，再出榆關。「又到」云云即謂此。蕭關，謂雁南去而已，非實指。

主要意象刻畫了內心的無奈與迫切的逃離之念。

前代邊塞詞的成就雖不顯著，但南唐後主李煜的意象選擇和使用語境與納蘭的十分相似，李煜的《烏夜啼》與納蘭的《蝶戀花》可做一比：

「林花謝了春紅，太匆匆。無奈朝來寒雨晚來風。」[28]

「寒雨」這一意象同樣出現在一首借景表達詩人眼下生活的惆悵與無力的詞中。晏幾道亦有「細雨輕寒今夜短」[29]之新雨微寒，卻徹骨的用法。納蘭或是受南唐後主及晏幾道影響，以相同的「寒雨」意象刻畫內心的無奈。通過對這些寒涼意象的頻繁使用，納蘭突出了他隨康熙帝出塞的七年中，在旅途中所感受到的人生磨難。這一系列由寒涼意象帶出的荒涼與艱苦，奠定了其邊塞詞「蒼涼清怨」[30]的總體基調。

四. 寒香、冷香：對過往殘跡的捕捉

「寒香」[31]、「冷香」是《納蘭詞》中又一類獨特的意象。「寒香」是虛無縹緲的，代表著納蘭對亡故妻子殘存的記憶，是妻子留下的模糊香味，亦是屋內無處不在、揮之不去的淡淡痕跡。熏香、香料等可通過燃燒釋放煙霧，而燃後殘留的冷卻的煙灰，又給人一種持久的涼意和意猶未盡的惆悵。冷香、殘香、寒灰、寒煙，就是納蘭常用的這一類抒情意象。

《菩薩蠻·新寒中酒敲窗雨》一詞中，作者對「寒香」的用法奇特，幾乎與晏幾道有幾分神似。

「新寒中酒敲窗雨，殘香細裊秋情緒。才道莫傷神。青衫濕一痕。」[32]

「殘香」在屋內緩緩燃燒，其煙慢慢向上飄揚，這是一個多麼安靜場景呀。正是這種屋內外安靜與寒冷的對應，營造了本詞特殊的哀怨意境。古有香消玉殞這一說法，潘安也曾言：「流芳未及歇，遺掛猶在壁。」當「殘香」依然留存，盧氏便如還在人世般陪伴在納蘭身邊，也由此突出了秋天的傷感氣息、納蘭的相思之苦。納蘭為思念亡妻，多番尋香、捕香、記香，不但尋找妻子留下來的縹緲痕跡，還努力將其捕捉，並用文字記錄下來。

《蝶戀花·蕭瑟蘭成看老去》亦是將其對亡妻的思念借「寒香」這一寒涼意象加以傳遞的代表作：

「重到舊時明月路。袖口香寒，心比秋蓮苦。」[33]

詞中納蘭再次來到舊時與妻子共踏之路，袖口殘留的寒香使他試圖抓住過去。「秋蓮」將悲秋的氛圍渲染，「袖口香寒」本應香氣甚淡，同

[28] 李璟、李煜（撰）、鄭學勤（校點）：《南唐二主詞》（上海：上海古籍出版社，1985年），頁 9。
[29] 晏殊、晏幾道（撰）、張草紉（導讀）：《晏殊詞集·晏幾道詞集》，頁 613。
[30] 納蘭性德（撰）、趙秀婷、馮統一（箋校）：《飲水詞箋校》，頁 283。
[31] 寒香亦指冷香、殘香、寒灰、寒煙等同類意象。
[32] 納蘭性德（撰）、趙秀婷、馮統一（箋校）：《飲水詞箋校》，頁 165。
[33] 同上註，頁 92。

樣可見詞人在刻意尋找與妻子相關的縹緲痕跡。

晏幾道的詞中也頻繁出現「香」這一詞。其中「殘　香」、「寒香」也曾被用作傷春悲秋的代表意象。

「春殘雨過，綠暗東池道。

澹秀色，黯寒香，粲若春容，何心顧、閒花凡草。」[34]

晏幾道將「寒香」用「黯」字修飾，突出了冬末春初寒香朦朧隱約的氣息，雖傷感對象有所出入，二人所使用的寒香意象皆為營造氛圍、強調在寒冷季節之中的傷懷之感。

在南唐後主李煜所著的三十八首詞中，「香」這一意象同樣頻繁出現，同樣起到了借景寫情的作用。

「綠窗冷靜芳音斷，香印成灰。」[35]

在《采桑子》這首詞裏，作者同樣抒發了自己在某一季節中的傷感之情。不同於秋末春初的時間設置，李煜在這裏描繪的是晚春女子的心境。而「香印成灰」這一意象的使用，突出了時間的漫長，因為「灰」更是有殘留之跡的意思，如《納蘭詞》中的「冷香」一般，營造出一種在朦朧中消逝之感。正如〈大酺·寄梁汾〉中「萬一離魂遇，偏夢被、冷香縈住」[36]一般，盼望妻子屋內的衾枕、冷香將其留住。

納蘭受自己推崇的詞人晏幾道影響，頗愛借景緬懷過去，發感傷之情，用寒涼意象深化內心情感。值得注意的是，在前代兩位詞人的基礎上，納蘭在詩詞中強調了秋冬季節「尋香、捕　香、記香」這三個連貫的動作，是有意之舉，不是在傷春悲秋時做出的文字遊戲。

結論

《納蘭詞》中的寒涼意象頻繁出現，背後有著值得挖掘的文學和社會的意義。他對寒涼意象的使用並非偶然，而是分別受到了情感、旅途和前代文學傳統的影響，促使其在潛移默化之下借寒涼意象表達出複雜且濃厚的感情。結合統計數據、對比前代詞人作品及對文本的精讀分析，我認為納蘭大量使用寒涼意象的原因及意義可以歸納出如下幾個方面：

一，納蘭詞中的寒涼意象運用，是他創作中引人注目的特點。他的刻骨銘心的喪妻之殤與內在孤獨，通過「寒衾」、「寒枕」等意象得到了詩意的表達，同時這種表達也形成自己獨特的，「淒艷而真摯自然」[37]的風格。

二，納蘭將出塞旅途之苦寒以詞的形式形象描繪出，借「西風」、「寒雨」等意象表達無奈與迫切的逃離之念。此外，寒涼意象的使用還奠定了其邊塞詞「蒼涼清怨」[38]的寫作風格，是他人生磨難的文學體現。

三，納蘭將香消玉殞這一文學概念以尋香、捕香、記香這一連串的形式加以刻畫，并結合「冷香」等寒

[34] 晏殊、晏幾道（撰）、張草紉（導讀）：《晏殊詞集·晏幾道詞集》，頁 412。
[35] 李璟、李煜（撰）、鄭學勤（校點）：《南唐二主詞》，頁 8。
[36] 納蘭性德（撰）、趙秀婷、馮統一（箋校）：《飲水詞箋校》，頁 272。
[37] 嚴迪昌：《清詞史》，頁 279。
[38] 納蘭性德（撰）、趙秀婷、馮統一（箋校）：《飲水詞箋校》，頁 283。

涼意象，將其緬懷亡妻的內心痛楚形象地加以展露。納蘭對妻子生前留下的殘跡透過切骨之寒加以捕捉，觸發內心的迴響。

在對寒冷的體驗中，納蘭感受到了生命的脆弱。這種對生命意識的深刻認知使他將厚積的情感由心而發，更代表性地反映了人生的苦難。在前代詞人晏幾道及李煜的影響下，納蘭結合自身對寒冷的切身體會，形成了獨特的抒情風格。由此可見，寒涼意象在《納蘭詞》中起到了表意的點睛之用。

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How Does Lugou Bridge Reflect the Rise of Beijing as a Political Centre?

Daisy Wang

Introduction

Although the Lugou Bridge (盧溝橋) is perhaps most known for its role in the Japanese invasion of China, it possesses a past which is much richer and deeper, closely intertwined with the history of Beijing (北京). In this essay, I will demonstrate how the history of Lugou Bridge reflects the rise of Beijing as a political centre.

Figure 1. Picture of the Lugou Bridge taken from the GGOGO 吉帝旅遊 (GGOGO Ji Di Travel) website

1. The Structure of Chinese Stone Arch Bridges

In order to fully understand the question posed, we must first discuss the Chinese stone arch bridge in general. The earliest stone arch bridge which still survives in China is the Zhaozhou Bridge 趙州橋 completed in 605 CE, but the earliest credible records of a stone arch bridge in China date back to 135 with the Jianchunmen Stone Bridge 建春門石橋 (Tang 232), which demonstrates a long history of the stone arch bridge in China.

Figure 2 Zhaozhou Bridge (趙州橋)

Although there were stone arch bridges built by other contemporary civilisations, such as the Ancient Romans, the Chinese stone arch bridge remains unique in terms of both technique and material. Similar to the Roman bridges, special care was taken to constructing the keystone, while the rest of the arch would be constructed of stones of the same size, which were relatively easy to fashion (Fugl-Meyer, 86-87). However, unlike the Romans, the Chinese did not have knowledge of hydraulic mortar, so they refrained from the usage of mortar in the foundations and rarely used it in the arch or sidewalls (Fugl-Meyer 87). Instead, the

bridge was held together mostly through mortise joints, and double dovetail joints held together by iron clamps (Needham 169-170). The Chinese arch bridge is also distinguished from similar Western styles through its minimal usage of material. It is also characterised by its usage of thin stone shells, unlike the relatively cumbersome designs of the Romans (Needham 169). Although this allowed the Chinese to be very economical with their stone usage, it also made the bridges susceptible to changes in the foundations. To deal with this, the Chinese invented arches that could sustain damage even if their foundations moved considerably (Fugl-Meyer 88). Essentially, the arch of a Chinese bridge is built to be like a loose chain, and all forces that could affect the arch itself are transferred through the filling of clay and loose stone chips to the shear walls (Fugl-Meyer 90) as shown in Figure 3.

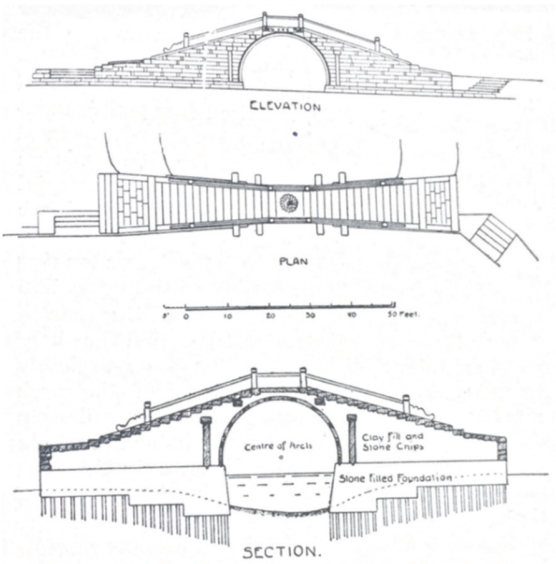

Figure 3. Diagram of the structure of Chinese stone bridges, taken from "Chinese Bridges" by H. Fugl-Meyer

For each arch of a bridge there are two shear walls to support it. This allows the bridge to be extremely durable, in spite of any damage to its foundations. For example, we can see this in Figure 4, where a bridge in Suzhou shows considerable damage to its foundations, but the bridge itself remains structurally sound.


Illus. 45. *Bridge at Soochow demonstrating how serious a deformation this type of bridge can withstand.*

Figure 4. Taken from "Chinese Bridges" by H. Fugl-Meyer

2. Lugou Bridge in Chinese Bridge Building History

Not only must we understand how the Chinese stone arch bridge in general was built, we must also understand where the Lugou Bridge stands in Chinese bridge history. Quite frankly, from an architectural point of view, Lugou Bridge does not hold a particularly important place in Chinese bridge building history. It is neither the first or last of its kind, nor is it the longest or shortest of its kind (Tang 232). From a structural point of view, it does not possess anything of particular interest and it resembles most bridges of its kind. The Lugou Bridge is built like most typical Chinese stone multi-arch bridges (Kong 30).

This begs the question: why is it that this structurally unremarkable bridge has managed to become one of the most, if not the most, famous of Chinese bridges? A large

reason for its fame is its location, situated right at the west of the Beijing imperial capital. Built at roughly the same time as Beijing's rise as a political capital, during the Liao, Jin, and Yuan dynasties, the rise in status of the Logou Bridge is deeply linked to the rise of Beijing.

3. The Rise of Beijing as an Imperial Capital under Northern Nomadic Rulers

After understanding bridges, we must now understand the other element of the question posed: the city of Beijing and its rise as a political capital. The start of Beijing as a city can be traced back to roughly 3,000 years ago, when it was the capital of the state of Yan 燕 and known as Ji 薊. From the beginning of Qin to the late Tang 唐 period, what is now modern Beijing 北京 was regarded as nothing more than a trading centre, where its geographically advantageous position allowed for the Han 漢 to trade with minorities to the north of China (Hou and Deng 57).

Despite being a relatively prosperous and strategically important city, Beijing had no real political significance until the late Tang dynasty (Hou, and Deng 57). It was with the rise of the Khitans 契丹, who were the founders in 907CE of the Liao Empire, that Beijing started to gain political importance. Through a series of military conquests, the Khitans slowly gained power in a period from 907 to 926 CE, culminating in the Khitans making their first attacks on the You Prefecture 幽州. They chose to attack the You Prefecture 幽州 due to its geographical location - it had a series of very important military strongholds close to the Great Wall, and it served as a backdoor to the Tang territories, thus it was a strategic bridgehead if one wanted to conquer the Tang (Hou, and Deng 59). However, it would not be until 936 CE that Liao would gain control of the Sixteen Prefectures of Yan and Yun 燕雲十六州, which includes regions from Datong 大同 to Beijing.

Once in control of Beijing, the Liao set out to move their capitals into their newly acquired land. The Liao established a system of five capitals with one "primary capital" 中都 and four "secondary capitals" 陪都. All political activity took place in the primary capital, which was where the emperor lived, and the secondary capitals were in charge of ruling over nearby regions (Hou, and Deng 55). Under Liao rule, Beijing was chosen as a secondary capital. This represents the beginning of the rise of Beijing's political status, as it was the first time Beijing had been deemed a city of political importance. In 960CE, through a coup d'etat, Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 founded the Song Dynasty 宋. Recognising the strategic importance of the Sixteen Prefectures of Yan and Yun, his successors launched a series of military campaigns to regain them, none of which were successful (Franke, Herbert, *et al.* 226-229).

At the same time, the Jurchens 女真 were rising. In 1115, the chieftain Wanyan Aguda 完顏阿骨打 united the Jurchen tribes, led a revolt against the Liao and established the Jin Dynasty 金 (Hou, and Deng 60).

The rise of the Jurchens was not unnoticed by the Song. The Song believed that the Jin could help them regain the lost Sixteen Prefectures of Yan and Yun, and so decided to form an alliance with them against the Liao. In 1120, the Song-Jin alliance started their invasion of Liao. However, the Song had very little success in their military campaigns, while the Jin were victorious, conquering all of the Sixteen Prefectures of Yan and Yun. By 1127, the Jin had taken over all of the former Liao territory. The Jin had inherited the Liao multi capital system, and set their primary capital in Huining Prefecture 會寧府,

modern day Acheng district, Harbin (Hou, and Deng 62). The Jin had achieved massive success over the Song, capturing its capital Kaifeng, its emperor, and effectively ending the Northern Song dynasty. The Jin pushed the border between Southern Song and foreigners even further south than before, meaning that the Jin centre of power was much more southern compared to the Liao centre of power. Due to their weak military power, Southern Song was unable to recover its lost territory, and it would remain that way until the fall of the Jin under the Mongol invasion in 1234 (Franke, Herbert, *et al.* 226-229).

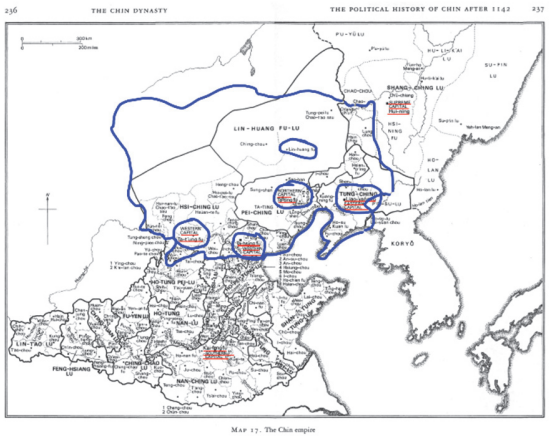

Figure 5. Map comparing Liao territory (circled in blue, with blue circles representing the capitals) with Jin territory (solid black borders, with capitals underlined in red). Taken from "The Cambridge History of China - Alien Regimes and Border States" with modi

In 1151, came in the second turning point in Beijing's political history. Prince Hai-ling made the groundbreaking decision to move the main capital of Jin from Huining Prefecture to Yanjing City 燕京城, or modern day Beijing (Hou, and Deng 62). Inspired by the splendour of Southern Song cities, he ordered that the entire city be remodelled and grand palaces be built (Eberhard, Wolfram, and Jeffrey F. Meyer 27). Through use of harsh corvee labour, the construction was quickly complete by 1153, and Prince Hai-ling started moving the country's capital to Beijing (Hou, and Deng 62). This event represents the start of Beijing as the centre of all political activity in the country. This is a trend that has mostly persisted throughout the subsequent dynasties, including the Yuan 元, Ming 明, Qing 清, and PRC 中華人民共和國, and perharps for centuries to come.

4. Rise of Nomadic Empires in the North of China

The rise of Beijing as a political capital is thus closely linked to the rise of non-Han powers in the 10th and 12th century, specifically the Empires of Liao and Jin. In the early 10th century, the Liao grew in power through numerous military conquests. With this, they decided to seize the Tang territories, and because of its geographical location, Beijing was one of the first places that they decided to invade (Hou, and Deng 59).

The Khitan invasion of Beijing actually helped to raise its profile because of the need to strengthen its defence (Hou, and Deng 59). Then, it was the Liao appointment of Beijing as a secondary capital that marked a second milestone in Beijing's rise as a political centre. The Jin actually contributed the most towards Beijing's rise as a political centre by appointing it as the primary capital, setting a trend that would continue until today. Through both of these dynasties, we can begin to see how it was the rapid rise of foreign powers that greatly contributed to Beijing's rise.

We can now begin to address the question posed - how does the Lugou Bridge reflect Beijing's rise as a political centre? The reason for Beijing's rise as a political centre can be attributed to two main reasons: its geographical location, and the rise of the nomadic tribes in the north, and both of these reasons are clearly reflected in the Lugou Bridge.

5. Building of the Lugou Bridge

One key factor to understanding the Lugou Bridge's importance is Beijing's geographical location. Even before its rise to political prominence, Beijing had never been an agricultural centre, but rather a trading centre connecting the Han and the non-Han regions (Hou, and Deng 54). As a result, when Beijing became the capital of the Jin dynasty, due to the increased population density, it required more and more supplies to be transported to it.

In order to accomplish this goal, the Jin emperor had two options: transport by land or transport by water. At the time, the cheapest form of transport was by water, and the Jurchens were very clear of this fact. The Dynastic History of the Jin 金史, mentions that it would be beneficial if the Lugou River could be used to transport goods by water (Tuo Tuo 686). However, records also state that the waters of the Lugou River were too rapid for transportation by ferry to be practical in the long run (Tuo Tuo 687). Therefore, the bridge was built almost as a last resort, as there was no other way of transporting goods across this very crucial pathway.

To fully understand the importance of the Lugou Bridge, we must also understand its geographical location. When examining the map of Beijing in the Jin Dynasty, we can see that the Lugou bridge was situated right next to the capital, making it a key pathway to the royal city (Hou 24). During this period of time, Southern Song envoys regularly made trips to the Jin capital, and they recorded official government travelogues. When we examine the records left by a Southern Song official by the name of Cheng Zhuo 程卓, we can see that he used the bridge as an exit from the Jin Capital (Cheng). I have traced one of Cheng Zhuo's routes to and from the Jin capital, which can be seen in Figure 6. Here, we can clearly see that the Lugou bridge acts as a key moment on his journey in and out of the capital, demonstrating the Lugou bridge's importance to travellers.

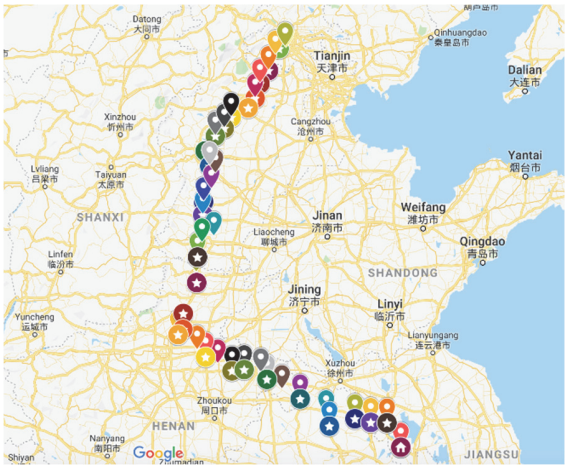

Figure 6. Map tracking the journey of Song envoy Cheng Zhuo from Song territory to the Jin capital and back . The Lugou Bridge is marked by the light green circle with a white star on it closest to Tian Jin.

There are very few historical records regarding the actual construction of the bridge, with all of the records coming from the Dynastic History of the Jin. Records show that due to its advantageous geographic location, the Lugou river had been considered for use as a canal in 1170. However, there was a massive flood in 1185, and this idea was abandoned. In 1188, Jin Shizong 金世宗 declared that the area was crucial to transport and travel, and commenced the construction of the Lugou bridge. Jin Shining passed away in 1190, and the bridge was completed in 1192 under the rule of his son, Jin Zhangzong 金章宗, who named it Guangli Bridge 廣利橋. However, no records have been left regarding the actual amount of labour and materials it took to build the bridge.

6. The Lugou Bridge Rise to Fame

The Lugou bridge was built to be very sturdy, which helped to display Beijing's political status. It was not built like its primitive

predecessors to be a simple wooden bridge, one that would get swept away by the next flood (Tuo Tuo 686), but instead it was built to last for many years, which is easily seen in the fact that it is a Chinese stone arch bridge (Kong 30). As detailed before, this design is remarkably strong, being able to withstand immense weight and even damage to its foundations. This is a clear indication that the Jin emperor intended Beijing to become their permanent capital.

It was also built in an extravagant style. In order to reflect the wealth of the newly founded Jin capital, the Jin would have wanted to have a lavishly built bridge as a status symbol. What most likely happened is that the Jin wanted a bridge that would be able to reflect the grand splendors of the palaces that they had built. As detailed before, the city had been completely rebuilt from 1151-1153 under orders from Prince Hai-ling, and was made to be even more luxurious than the Southern Song capitals in order for Prince Hai-ling to prove his worth as a ruler (Eberhard, Wolfram, and Jeffrey F. Meyer 26). Therefore, as an extension, the Lugou Bridge was constructed in a similarly grand style, showing just how important Beijing was to travellers and envoys who would pass by the bridge on their way to Beijing, the new capital city. Indeed, upon coming across the bridge, Marco Polo wrote:

> *"... there is a very handsome bridge of stone, perhaps unequalled by any other in the world. Its length is three hundred paces, and its width eight paces; so that ten mounted men can, without inconvenience, ride abreast ... On each side, and from one extremity to the other, there is a handsome parapet, formed of marble slabs and pillars arranged in a masterly style. ... Upon the upper level there is a massive and lofty column, resting upon a tortoise of marble, and having near its base a large figure of a lion, with a lion also on the top. Towards the slope of the bridge there is another handsome column or pillar, with its lion ... throughout the whole length of the bridge, are filled up with slabs of marble, curiously sculptured, and mortised into the next adjoining pillars, forming altogether a beautiful spectacle." (Polo 178)*

Through Marco Polo's account, we can clearly see how these travellers were extremely impressed by this magnificent bridge, and how they come to associate the splendours of the Lugou Bridge with the new capital city of Beijing. If Beijing did not have such a high political status, the authorities would not have invested so much money into building such a lavish bridge. It would not have been a worthwhile investment without enough traffic to cross it. As one of the main purposes of the bridge was essentially for the Jin government to advertise their wealth, it would not make sense for them to build a very lavish bridge in a place where there was no one to witness it.

But perhaps the more significant impact of Marco Polo's account of the bridge would be its fame outside of China. Polo's fantastical account of the bridge represents the first account of this bridge to people beyond China, helping to greatly bolster its fame and prestige.

At the same time, the Jurchens had recognised that the location of the Lugou Bridge made it a must for travellers back in 1170 (Tuo Tuo 686). Through these three pieces of evidence, we can infer that in its prime, the Lugou Bridge must have had high volumes of traffic, indicating its significance.

Conclusion

Since its construction in the Jin Dynasty, the Lugou Bridge has seen more than eight hundred years of Beijing history. Through the history of the Lugou Bridge, we can see the rise of Beijing and its inseparable relationship with the rise of nomadic empires. Truly, we see that it was the rise of these

polities that pushed Beijing to the forefront of China's political stage, replacing the previous political centre of Luoyang 洛陽 and Chang'an 長安 in the Central Plain (Hou, and Deng 51). Under Han Chinese rule, Beijing received little attention, but Khitan military aggression led to a higher profile, before being appointed as a secondary capital under the Liao and primary capital under the Jin (Hou, and Deng 53). The Lugou Bridge's construction is during a period when Beijing first became a primary capital, a key stage in its rise as the political centre of China. The Lugou Bridge captures a specific moment in time when Beijing was still in its infancy as a capital city, still having to prove its worth to the rest of the nation, but already intended as the capital for many centuries to come. We can see this in both the beauty and the structure of the Lugou Bridge.

Truly, what we can learn from the Lugou Bridge is the importance and the contribution of non-Han nomadic powers to the rise of Beijing as a political centre. Often overlooked in history books, their contributions have been crucial to the development of China, creating many key turning points in. However, it is time for us to re-evaluate the importance and contribution of such nomadic groups to Chinese history, and for us to finally recognise what they have offered to China's development. After all, after creating magnificent structures like the Lugou Bridge and kickstarting the rise of Beijing and so much more, it is only fair that we finally give them the recognition that they deserve.

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Amor et Arma in *Amores* 1.1 to 1.9

Tiffany Zhang

Introduction

Ovid's *Amores ("Loves")* is a collection of elegies that trace the evolution of a love affair between the speaker, also known as the *amator* "lover", and his mistress, Corinna. The *Amores* was written during the reign of Augustus, who politicized several personal matters through legislation. One of these areas was marriage, specifically extra-marital affairs, which were suppressed by the law *lex Iulia de adulteriis* enacted in 18 BCE. This event/law is significant, as the *Amores*, like other love elegies, was an erotic verse, and thus discussed ideas and behaviors censured by traditional moralists and Augustan legislation.

While known for its ingenuity and whimsical nature (Nicoll, 300), the *Amores* also make frequent reference to both explicit and implicit violence, especially in the first nine poems of Book 1. These references to the theme of war create a coherent program that explores the relationship between love and violence. In the first poem, Cupid/*Amor* violently takes control of the *amator*, who submits to Love's power as a captive. The second poem elaborates on the nature of *Amor's* violence against lovers in general, in which the readers are told about Cupid's arrows and its violent consequence. In the third poem, the violence becomes emotional, as a result of an unnamed woman's indifference to the *amator's* advances. In the fourth poem, we see a return to physical violence – this time directed against the husband of his mistress. The central poem, which is also the least overt in its violent imagery, nevertheless details a mock struggle between two lovers as the mistress feigns resistance. Poem 6 shifts back to the theme of physical violence; this time against the janitor who refuses to open the gate for the *amator*. Poem 7, exploring further the topic of physical abuse, constitutes a violent climax, as the amator beats his mistress and berates himself for the beating, whilst Poem 8 culminates with the *amator* using his bare hands to strike an old woman, who has advised Corinna to direct her attention elsewhere. Finally, the elegiac series concludes in Poem 9 with an extended military metaphor directly equating lovers and soldiers.

Some scholars dismiss the references to violence as merely a display of Ovid's wit (Barsby, 19), part of a larger campaign to amuse his audience, who may not have appreciated the demands of Augustan moral legislation. Other critics, however, argue that these references to violence are more than a witty exercise. Greene (345) contends that the *Amores* should be interpreted as a critique of the inherently violent nature of love, an exposé that calls into question fundamental Roman attitudes, while Cahoon (294) claims that these references to violence suggest that

love is a "domestic manifestation of the same impulses that have motivated both civil war and military aggression abroad."

This essay will explore the relationship between love and violence as portrayed in Ovid's *Amores*, focusing on the first nine poems of Book 1, as these explore the theme most coherently. While some scholars, such as Cahoon, include 'captivity' (297) in this discussion to suggest that love is a form of subjugation, this essay precludes analysis of that aspect. I will argue that Ovid develops the theme of love as violence throughout the first half of Book 1 by interweaving five thematic strands, which are introduced in the first eight poems, and culminate in the extended comparison in Poem 9. These five stands are: the use of fire imagery; the portrayal of love as an embodiment of *furor* "madness"; intertextual references to epic poetry; extended military metaphors; and the transformation of *manus* "hands" from instruments of love into weapons of violence.

1. The significance of *Amores* Poem 9

In Poem 9, the speaker likens lovers to soldiers and underscores this claim by repeating *militat omnis amans* "every lover serves as a soldier" (9.1-2) word for word at the beginning and end of the first couplet. Through a series of balanced similes, he directly compares the pursuit of love to the waging of war. The first similarity concerns age – just as it is most appropriate for young men to fight in battle, it is most suitable for youths to love (9.3-6). The second simile further describes how lovers and solders are alike, with both men keeping watch at night – the soldier must guard his captain's door, while the lover must guard that of his mistress (9.7-8). The journeys they are to undertake are also arduous – climbing mountains and crossing rivers, either literally or metaphorically (9.9-14). Both must keep an eye on their dangerous foe (9.15-18). Both must conduct sieges, where one besieges a town, the other his mistress (9.19-20). Both must maneuver at night and bestir their 'weapons' while their enemies asleep (9.21-26). Both must evade guards (9.27-28), and may succeed or fail (9.29-30). These various comparisons are clever and often leave readers dazzled, but some scholars commented that these similes are more entertaining than convincing (Murgatroyd, 570).

In addition to similes, Ovid compares love and war through literary *exempla*, including mythological references to Achilles (9.33-34), Hector (9.35-36), Agamemnon (9.37-38), and Mars (9.39-40), renowned warriors famed for their profoundly violent natures, but who were also known lovers. Through these *exempla*, Ovid implies that success in war and in love demand the same qualities, and since fighters were lovers, lovers should also be considered fighters. Despite the illogicality of this argument (Murgatroyd, 571), the similarities between love and violence are clear and consistently developed throughout the poems. In my view, this seeming paradox is the principal literary purpose of the work itself. Bearing this in mind, I believe Poem 9 is one of the most pivotal poems of Book 1, because it functions as the pinnacle of the comparison between love and violence. Through the use of the indicative verb *militat* ("soldiers") (9.1), Ovid explicitly states that every lover *is* a soldier and therefore uses a string of similes and mythological *exempla* to support his argument.

2. Fire Imagery

Ovid employs fire imagery throughout the first nine poems of the *Amores*, especially in the first two, to highlight the complex, interconnected relationship between love and violence. Fire, which represents the ardent

passion of a lover (Athanassaki, 133) and symbolises violence, is an ambiguous image. By weaving together these two interpretations of fire, Ovid suggests the inherently violent nature of love. In Poem 1, the speaker describes the calamity that would ensue if Venus and Minerva were to switch roles and take up one each other's sacred symbols. He rhetorically asks what would happen if Minerva should fan into flame the kindled torch of love (*ventilet accensas flava Minerva faces;* "if golden Minerva should fan the lighted torches" 1.8). The *accensas faces* in this line may be interpreted as either marriage torches or flames of desire (Ristroph, 3); in either case, the fire described here is one of passion. This playful inversion sets an amorous precedent for fire imagery that is developed in the subsequent poems.

Near the end of Poem 1, however, the speaker has been shot by *Amor*'s arrows and is on fire (*uror*, 1.26). Unlike the first description, the fire image now focuses on the violence perpetrated by *Amor*. The speaker is ablaze with desire due to the divine arms that have wounded him. Ovid's use of the passive *uror*, as opposed to a verb like *ardeo*, places emphasis on the agent that set him on fire – in this case, the arrows (*Sagitta*); as a weapon. The two antithetical uses of fire imagery in Poem 1 thus establish the overarching connection between love and violence.

In Poem 2, the speaker recognizes that he has been assailed by love (2.5) and engages in an internal monologue where he compares his passion to a burning fire, wondering whether to yield or to resist, thereby aggravating the blaze (*cedimus, an subitum luctando accendimus ignem*, "Do we surrender, or do we inflame the sudden fire by struggling" 2.9). The use of the gerund *luctando* (2.9) is noteworthy, since the verb *luctor* has clear connotations of violence. In this line, the speaker is equating the kindling of the fire in his heart with a struggle, a battle against *Amor*, suggesting the violent nature of his passion. This is also supported by words such as the subjunctive verb *cedamus* (2.10) and the deponent infinitive *mori* (2.11). In the same poem, the *amator* also declares subservience to *Amor*, comparing the god's power to a fire that burns those who come too near (*fervida vicino flamma vapore nocet* " Your fiery flame injures with a close heat 2.46). In lines 43-44, the lover declares that *Amor* will touch many with his flame and inflict on many a wound (*tunc quoque non paucos, si te bene novimus, ures; tunc quoque praeteriens vulnera multa* dabis "Then also in passing you will give many wounds"*)*. The anaphora of *tunc quoque* ("then also") draws parallels between the two verses and indicates that the speaker is equating the act of setting one alight with the act of dealing wounds. Fire, which symbolises love and passionate desire in Poem 1, is now presented as a violent and dangerous weapon that can cause harm. All in all, these examples show clearly how Ovid purposefully uses fire imagery to reinforce the complex connection between love and violence early in the poems.

3. *Amor* as an Embodiment of *Furor*

Ovid also presents love as an embodiment of *furor* multiple times throughout Poems 1-9 to suggest the wild, frenzied, and thus violent nature of love. In Poem 2, the *amator* flatters *Amor* by describing a scene of military triumph led by the god of love. In this metaphor, Error and Madness are personified as the soldiers of Love (*Blanditiae comites tibi erunt Errorque Furorque*, "Flatteries and Error and Madness, constantly having followed" 2.35), while Conscientiousness (*Mens Bona*) and Modesty (*Pudor*), Roman goddesses with a long-established worship in the state religion (J. Miller, 289), have their hands tied fast behind their backs (*manibus post terga retortis*, "with hands tied behind his back" 2.31-2), indicating their frenzy state. Athanassaki notably summarises this

image as the triumph of irrationality over rationality and of shamelessness over modesty (135).

This relationship between *furor* and *amor* is further reinforced in Poem 4, where the speaker, Corinna, and her husband attend a dinner party. At the beginning of the poem, the reader is invited to sympathize with the speaker's plight when seeing his mistress in the arms of another. The *amator* compares himself to a centaur, thereby alluding to the mythical wedding of Hippodamia and Pirithous, and suggesting his intent to ravish the married woman. Not only is this comparison grotesque, but it also attributes to the *amator* an uncontrollable and extremely violent sexuality – *furor* again – in the manner of a centaur (P. Miller, 162).

In addition, *Furor* plays a dominant role in Poem 7. In the first line of this poem, the speaker begs an unnamed friend to put shackles on his hands until his *furor* (7.2) has subsided, for it was *furor* (7.3) that moved him to raise his reckless hands against his mistress. He describes his blows as *vaesana* "frenzied" in line 4, himself as *demens* "insane" in line 18, and his strength as *vaesanas* again in line 25, emphasizing his unsound state of mind. In an attempt to downplay the atrocity of his act, the speaker asserts that there have been precedents for this kind of violence, specifically referring to Ajax and Orestes who both perpetrated violence due to the *furor* inspired by the gods (7.7-10). By comparing his situation to theirs, the speaker is again implying that he too was mad when he struck his mistress, thus emphasizing the emotional turmoil experienced by one in love. Moreover, the speaker describes himself in lines 43-44 as being swept along like a swollen torrent (*tumidi torrentis*), and made the prey of blind anger (*caeca ira*). It is also interesting to note that this line not only recalls the Iliadic simile in 5.87 (Stirrup, 829), but here, the word *ira* functions as the subject and *me* (referring to the speaker himself) as the object in this verse, which highlights how the speaker is overpowered by his *furor*. Once again, the poem emphasizes the overwhelming, wild and violent nature of love.

4. Allusions to Epic and Mythology

Through intertextual references to epic poetry, such as the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Aeneid*, Ovid creates multiple opportunities to interweave the characteristic militaristic subject matter of epic poems with the amorous focus of love elegy. Although Ovid is working within the elegiac tradition by introducing his speaker and establishing the circumstances in which he is writing his love poetry, the *Amores* is unique in many ways. Whilst the Latin elegiac poet Propertius begins his first poem with the words *Cynthia prima* (1.1.1), which points out to his audience that his *puella* is first in his heart, and Tibullus, in his *Carmina*, prioritizes the quiet country life with his lover Delia (1.1.57-8), the *Amores* opens with the word *arma*. By quoting Virgil directly, Ovid cleverly misdirects the audience to expect epic. However, this intention is promptly scratched by a higher authority, namely *Amor*, who steals away one foot from the second line (*risisse Cupido dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem*, "Cupid is said to have laughed and to have stolen away one foot" 1.3-4). In this way, the weighty epic hexameters of line 1 are immediately transformed into the light elegiac couplets of line 2. This humorous and clever change in meter establishes the poetic framework of the work (McKeown, 11-12) and connects violence to love explicitly from the start.

A more subtle allusion to the epic tradition is featured in the opening of Poem 5. Corinna makes her appearance at the hottest hour of the day during the hottest time of the year (*aestus erat, mediamque dies exegerat horam*,

"It was sultry, and the day had driven out the middle hour" 5.1). The timing of her appearance is significant, according to Papanghelis (54), who states that midday, just like midnight, is a time fraught with paranormal possibilities – a feature of epic. Nicoll argues that this opening is a reference to the apparition scenes in the *Aeneid* (2.268, 3.147, 8.26, and 10.215), which opens with an indication of time – usually night. Here, *aestus erat* is an adaptation of the Virgilian *nox erat* (43). The mention of *silvae* (5.4) also references epic convention, since woods are a common setting for divine apparitions (Nicoll, 45). Venus appears to Aeneas *in media…silva (*Virg. *Aen*. 1.314), while Hermes reveals himself to Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* X. 275) in a clearing in a forest. Moreover, the use of the exclamatory phrase, *ecce Corinna venit* "Look, Corinna comes", is another feature of the Virgilian apparition, where dramatic entrances are typically introduced by *ecce*.

Another epic reference occurs in Poem 7, where the speaker describes the seven-fold shield of Ajax as *septemplex* (7.7). While the seven-fold shield can be traced back to the *Iliad* (7.220, 222, 245, and 266), the Latin term *septemplex* to translate the Homeric *ἑπταβόειον* was coined by Virgil, and can only be found at the end of Book 12 of the *Aeneid*. It is used in the climactic scene which closes the epic, where Aeneas pierces the shield of Turnus (*orasque recludit | loricae et clipei extremos septemplicis orbis*, 12.924-5). Ovid's phrase *clipei dominus septemplicis Aiax* occupies the same metrical position as Virgil's *clipei extremos septemplicis orbis*, suggesting that Ovid's echo of Virgil's unique phrase was largely intentional (Morrison, 573). This invites an examination of Turnus' death scene, which is also significant in its relation to *furor*. Like Ajax and the *amator*, Aeneas also succumbs to *furor*. Upon driving Turnus to his knees, Aeneas is enraged by the sight of the belt of Pallas, and kills his enemy in the spur of the moment (*Aen.* 12.945-7). The *amator*'s madness thus not only imitates that of Ajax, but the use of the adjective *septemplex* also evokes the *furor* of Aeneas, provoked by his love for the young Pallas. In conclusion, via the incorporation of multiple intertextual references to Virgil, Ovid draws parallels between love elegy and the violent tropes of epic, thereby developing the overarching theme of love as violence in the *Amores*.

5. Military Metaphors

Ovid uses warfare as a metaphor for love to reinforce the idea that love, like battle, involves conquest and is violent in nature. This metaphor is developed through the use of military lexis, violent language, and triumphal imagery. Military lexis is evident in the plethora of weapons mentioned. Throughout Poems 1-9 of the *Amores*, the word *arma* is used multiple times. Most notably, it is used metonymically to stand for warfare and combat (1.1, 4.8, and 9.35), to symbolise the 'weapons' or charms of the *amator* (6.30, 6.39, 9.26), and to refer to the weapons of *Amor* (2.22). Interestingly, the weaponry of *Amor* is described in most detail with words such as *pharetra, spicula, arcem, sagittas* (1.21-5). In addition to weapons, military-specific terminology can also be found throughout the first nine poems. These include: *bella* (1.1, 9.45) and *proelia* (8.96) to refer to a fight between two rivals over the same woman; *praeda* (2.19, 3.1, 8.56) and *capti* (9.24) when referring to those who have succumbed to the power of love, or those being pursued by an *amator*; and *hostis* (6.31, 9.17, 9.21, 9.26) and *rivalis* (8.95, 9.18) to refer to one's competitors in love. Other military terms include *signa* (7.67) and *in statione* (7.68), where the speaker comically urges his mistress to return her hair 'to their posts', thereby implying that a woman's attractions are akin to soldiers in war.

Similarly, nouns such as *custodum* (9.27), *vigilum* (9.27), *agmina* (9.23), *miles* (9.14), and *castra* (9.1) all call to mind the machinery of war. Such military lexis not only characterizes *Amor* as a hostile force and the *amator* as a victim, but also further develops the extended metaphor of love as war.

The idea that love is warlike can also be seen from the use of verbs indicating either conquest or suffering. For instance, the speaker claims that he has been assailed by love (*temptarer amore*, 2.5), that love vanquishes all men and gods (*superas hominesque deosque*, "You overcome both men and gods" 2.37); that love overcomes (*domita est*, 3.17); and that love torments (*torqueor*, 4.46). Such verbs of conquest continue in Poem 9, where Ovid explicitly uses battle as a metaphor for love. The rivalry for love is violent, and the lover must besiege (*obsidet*, 9.19) a woman and break into her (*frangit*, 9.20), as if she were a city that must be conquered.

A final connection between love and war occurs in Ovid's "extended, exuberant descriptions" (J. Miller, 287) of military triumphs in Poems 2 and 7. Not only does such imagery again emphasize the conquest and domination of love, but it also reinforces the metaphor of love as war, where successful 'conquests' or the capturing of *praeda* are celebrated. In Poem 2, the *amator* falls victim to the power of love and becomes a prize in the celebration of *Amor*'s triumph. *Amor* plays the role of a *triumphator*, and is hailed as a *victor* (2.50). Ovid includes details, such as the chariot he rides (*currus*, 2.24); his train of captives (*capti iuvenes captaeque puellae*, "Captive young men and girls" 2.27); and the cheering crowd (*populo clamante triumphum*, "with the people shouting about your triumph" 2.25) stretching forth their hands (*ad te sua bracchia tendens vulgus,* "extending their arms to you" 2.33). Miller calls this description an "erotic rendering of the Roman institution *triumphus*", a burlesque of the "august ritual procession" central to Roman culture (289). In Poem 7, however, the triumphator is no longer *Amor* but the *amator*. Unlike Poem 2, the tone is ironic, since the speaker is ridiculing himself for triumphing over a mere *puella*. All the conventional elements of military triumph are once again included. The scene of triumph begins with a sequence of imperative verbs, directed at himself, the *amator*, who must circle his hair with laurel (*cinge comam lauro*, 7.36), pay his vows to Jupiter *(votaque redde Iovi*, 7.36) and have a thronging retinue that follows his chariot (*tuos currus comitantum turba sequetu*r, "let the crowd of followers who accompany your chariot" 7.37). In this triumph, the *amator* becomes a victorious general who has 'conquered' and 'defeated' his enemy, once again reinforcing the metaphor of love as war.

6. Transformation of *Manus*

All these aspects, taken together, allow us to more carefully consider the evolving characterization of the hands *(manus*) in Poems 1-9 of the *Amores*. This gradual shift in characterisation of the *manus*, from agents of love to weapons of violence throughout the first eight poems, suggests the fundamental commutability between gestures of love and acts of violence. In earlier poems, such as Poem 3 and Poem 4, the *manus* is presented as instruments of love between lovers. For instance, in 3.24, Europa grasps the bent horns of Jupiter with her virgin hand (*virginea tenuit cornua vara manu*, "Held the curved horns in her virgin hand"). Here, hands are used as a means to express affection and sexual excitement. In Poem 4, the speaker takes on the role of a *praeceptor amoris* "tutor of love" and teaches his mistress the art of adultery at a dinner party. His instructions, many of which have to do with how she is to communicate with him via

hand gestures, concern physical interaction. For instance, the *amator* tells Corinna to read words from his fingers (*verba leges digitis*, 4.20); to touch her rosy cheeks with her tender finger (*purpureas tenero pollice tange genas*, 4.22); to gently hold the lowest part of her ear with her hand (*pendeat extrema mollis ab aure manus*, 4.24); to turn her ring about her finger (*versetur digits anulus usque tuis*, 4.26); and to place her hands on the table (*tange manu mensam*, 4.27). The fact that words such as *manus* and *digitus* appear frequently, suggest the importance of the mistress's hands in her communication with the *amator*.

Throughout the poem, the *amator* also mentions how much he desires to feel his mistress' touch (4.4). He is scarcely able to keep his hands from her (*vix a te videor posse tenere manus*, 4.10), and orders her to lay her hand on whatever of him she is able to touch (*quidquid ibi poteris tangere, tange, mei* 4.58). Through the use of polyptoton, in which the infinitive *tangere* and imperative *tange* are side by side, Ovid emphasizes the *amator*'s desperation, whilst injecting humor into the poem. In addition to instructing his mistress on how to interact with him, the speaker also forbids her from getting too intimate with her *vir*, warning her to neither let him place his arms around her neck (*nec premat inpositis sinito tua colla lacertis*, 4.35) nor to submit to his touch (*nec sinus admittat digitos habilesve papillae*, 4.37). In this context, the *manus* function as instrument of erotic passion.

In Poem 5, the *manus* of the *amator* takes on a slightly more violent role. While they caress (*tetigi*) the *puella*, they also tear away her tunic (*deripui*), and clasp her body (*pressi*). In Poem 7, the climax of the violence, the *manus* actually becomes a weapon itself. The *amator* raises his reckless hands against his mistress (*in dominam temeraria bracchia movit*, 7.3) and, with raging blows (*vaesana manu*, 7.4) leaves his sweetheart in tears. By rending her hair (*deducit comae*, 7.12) and striking her (*perculit*, 7.32), he leaves her injured (*laesa est*, 7.34). The *manus* thus become dreadful (*formidatas,* 7.62), unholy (*sacrilegae*, 7.28) hands that must be punished. The speaker begs his friends to put the shackle upon his hands (*adde manus in vincla meas*, 7.1), for they have deserved the chain.

Poem 8, in which the speaker listens in as a crone, Dipsas, who instructs Corinna on how to win expensive gifts from her lovers, reinforces such characterisation of the *manus*. Agitated by Dipsas's advice, the speaker exclaims that his hands could scarcely restrain themselves from tearing her sparse white hair (*at nostrae vix se continuere manus, quin albam raramque comam*, 8.110-111). These *manus*, which the *amator* could barely keep away from touching his mistress in Poem 4 (*vix a te videor posse tenere manus,* "Yet I hardly seem able to keep my hands from you"), are the same set of *manus* that the speaker can barely restrain from violently assaulting Dipsas in Poem 8 (*at nostrae vix se continuere manus*). The similarity between the two lines – comprised of the same words with similar order – highlights the complete transformation of *manus* from agents of love into violent weapons, and thus reveals the ease with which gestures of love can become acts of violence.

Conclusion

The poem *Amores* begins by introducing a series of thematic strands, that are explored over the course of the first eight poems, leading up to the pinnacle moment in Poem 9 where love and violence are directly equated with the verse 'every lover *is* a soldier' (*militat omnis amans*, 9.1). These thematic strands, developed consistently through Ovid's verbal dexterity and wit, bring an artistic coherence to the beginning of the

Amores and an attractive appeal to it as a whole. The stylistic features incorporated in the work include: Ovid's use of flame imagery; the portrayal of love as an embodiment of *furor*; allusions to epic poetry; military metaphors; and the shift in characterisation of *manus*. Living in a nation famed in war, Roman poets often used the military experience and language to create subtext in their works, which delighted their educated Roman audience.

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蛇、暴風雨和船

—— 論《包法利夫人》中象徵性比喻對悲劇命運的暗示

馬婉佳

引言

艾瑪·包法利的悲慘結局使讀者印象深刻，而在艾瑪的一生中，這一結局其實以「象徵」的手法被反復暗示著。福樓拜選用了帶有象徵意義的事物作為喻體穿插在情節中，形成「象徵性比喻」。象徵性比喻除了使抽象的情感具象化外，更暗示了艾瑪一步步走向覆滅的命運。「蛇」、「暴風雨」與「船」是三個貫穿艾瑪一生、被頻繁使用的喻體。本文將結合喻體本身的特點和其所在的情境，從三個方面分析這些象徵性喻體如何暗示了艾瑪註定悲劇的人生。

一. 蛇：充滿危險的慾望

在小說的重要情節中，蛇的比喻多次出現[1]：宴會、子爵、情夫.....構成了艾瑪遙不可及的理想，而蛇在西方社會，特別是西方神話中又有著「危險」和「誘惑」的傳統意義；此處將兩者結合，用意深遠。

侯爵的宴會是艾瑪「人生走向毀滅的起點」，「蛇」在此首次出現，作用非同小可。在參觀侯爵花園時，艾瑪所見的花草被比作了蛇：「上面還掛著一些蛇窩似的花盆，盆邊上垂下一些纏在一起的綠色枝條，好像蛇窩裡擠不下的蛇。」[2]前文作者還在描寫宴會的金碧輝煌：「艾瑪一進餐廳，就感到一股溫暖的氣味.....枝形大燭台上的蠟燭.....多面體的水晶.....長長的餐桌.....」，而此時作者筆鋒一轉，突兀地將宴會中的花盆和植物比作蛇窩和蛇，成功引起讀者對「蛇」這一喻體用意的思考。果不其然，宴會後，上流生活對艾瑪的誘惑促使她狂熱追求物質滿足，最終破產，被逼上絕路。蛇此處可以被理解為「危險」的象徵[3]，暗示艾瑪的命運將急轉而下。

除追求物質外，艾瑪還執著精神和肉體享受——她也因此與萊昂產生了起起伏伏的情愫。在萊昂去巴黎後，福樓拜借用了伊甸園有關蛇的神話，暗示了蛇「誘惑」和「危險」的特質：「但是慢慢地这种感情就淡薄了.....莱昂还不死心，隐约看见一线希望，在未来的岁月里闪烁发光，就像神话里的万绿丛中挂着一个金苹果似的。」眾所周知，夏娃在受到蛇的誘惑后和亞當偷食了禁果，即這裡出

[1] 分別是出現在侯爵的宴會上，艾瑪開始無法忍受平淡生活時，艾瑪準備與羅多夫私奔的前夕，以及在艾瑪與萊昂的幽會中。

[2] 福樓拜著，許淵沖譯：《包法利夫人》北京：中央編譯出版社，2015 年 4 月，第 53 頁。

[3] Brombert Victor H, Novels of Flaubert - A Study of Themes and Techniques (Princeton University Press, 2016), pp.85.

現的金蘋果，從此被趕出了伊甸園。藉此，蛇將人引向危險的誘惑這一反面意義就被凸顯出來了。后來，在與萊昂重逢偷情時，艾瑪「脫起衣服來毫無羞恥感，一下就把束腰的絲帶揪掉，細長的帶子像一條花蛇似地嘶嘶響。」細長的帶子和摩擦的聲音本身就具有著蛇的形態和聲響，絕妙地形象化了當時偷情的場景；此外，蛇在這裡還具有深層的象徵作用：它不僅有誘惑的含義，還更直接地點出艾瑪追求慾望的道路上所蘊含的危險，最終致艾瑪於死地。[4]結合後文，偷情使艾瑪墮入感情的絕望，導致她自殺，蛇的出現又一次暗示了「誘惑」所帶來的「危險」。

二. 暴風雨：感情的激情和破壞性

在本書中，暴風雨象徵了兩種特質：「激情」和「破壞性」。它被多次用來比喻艾瑪的情感觀念：「愛情……應該突然而來，光彩奪目，好像從天而降的暴風驟雨……不料牆上已經有一條裂縫了。」[5]作者將愛情比作暴風雨體現了艾瑪理想愛情的兩面性：一方面，愛情如暴風雨一般驟然而至、翻天覆地，雙方都要不顧後果地身心投入；而另一方面，激烈的暴風雨會使「屋頂」瓦斷磚裂，留下一片狼藉，就如不切實際地追求童話般的感情，將給她人生帶來難以察覺的破壞——在小說中即是後半生飽受經濟和情感危機的折磨。在艾瑪剛回歸平庸生活時，這種破壞性又被強調了：「沃比薩之行在她的生活中留下了一個大洞，就像一夜的狂風暴雨，有時會造成山崩地裂一樣。」[6]繁華的宴會短暫滿足了艾瑪所需的激情和虛榮，但緊隨平凡生活的落差也讓艾瑪情緒一落千丈，自甘墮落。暴風雨的象徵意義中的「激情」交代了艾瑪悲劇命運的起因，而「破壞性」也為艾瑪的結局埋下伏筆。

三. 船：走向毀滅的命運

「船」貫穿著艾瑪的一生，在其人生不同階段的三個喻體中最直接地暗示她的死亡結局——船，象徵著艾瑪在人間的洪流中註定悲劇的命運。當艾瑪被情夫羅多夫拋棄時，「她覺得廣場的地面都在動搖……好像一條船在海浪中顛簸。」[7]艾瑪經歷感情大起大落的體驗被作者比作在海浪上顛簸的船，不僅體現出艾瑪在面對海洋般不受控制的情感波動時感受到的無助和痛苦，也表現出艾瑪的命運如海洋上脆弱的小船一樣，隨時會被命運浪潮覆滅這一險境。此外，艾瑪與萊昂在馬車上偷情時也出現了船：「……瞧著這輛走個不停的馬車，窗簾拉下，關得比墓門還更緊，車廂顛簸得像海船一樣。」[8]作者將馬車的窗簾與墓門作比較，還強調窗簾比墓門還要密不透光，間接將馬車和墳墓聯繫起來，使死亡的氣息在這一情節中更加突出，此處同時又出現了船，耐人尋味。此外，修道院老姑娘小說里「月下的小船」、與萊昂偷情時「船型」的床和與其水上幽會中乘坐的「船」中都有出現「船」意象，聯繫艾瑪偷情等行為給她人生帶來的跌宕起伏，「船」也暗示了艾瑪的一系列

[4] Brombert, Victor H. Novels of Flaubert - A Study of Themes and Techniques. Princeton University Press, 2016, pp.85.
[5] 同前注，第 99 頁。
[6] 同前注，第 55 頁。
[7] 同前注，第 204 頁。
[8] 同前注，第 245 頁。

情感追求會使她的命運如船在洶湧的大海中一般脆弱、危機四伏。最後，作者對艾瑪棺材的比喻，在艾瑪人生的終點再次強調了船象徵的悲劇命運：「……於是棺木一顛一顛，好像迎風破浪、上下顛簸的小船。」[9]小船在艾瑪為愛情和上流生活遐想、偷情以及下葬時的出現形成了前後呼應，不僅反復突出艾瑪命運將會隨著情感的波動而危機重重，也暗示了艾瑪最終無法避免的悲慘結局。

結論

福樓拜曾經在書信中寫道：「寫作不應該隨心所欲，而要用頭腦。」他認為一個作者要隱藏自身對人物行為的評價，并將文學上升到與科學一樣精準的程度。[10]而福樓拜在《包法利夫人》中帶有濃重寫實色彩的寫作風格或許是受到時代背景的影響：當時歐洲第一次工業革命步入尾聲，科學領域發展迅猛，通過刷新人類對所處世界和自身的認知，「科學」所象徵的「客觀理性」在人們心中留下了難以磨滅的時代烙印。除了受到時代背景的影響以外，福樓拜醫學世家的成長背景也反映在了他的寫作中：他在父親的醫院中度過童年，耳濡目染醫務人員的工作日常，對醫學的冷靜、客觀的從業態度體會深刻，在解剖學領域他也頗有研究，他甚至說「我如此為醫學的研究所吸引。我總想解剖。我要小上十歲，我會做的。」[11] 這樣的背景使他的寫作更具「置身事外」的客觀和冷峻。左拉稱福樓拜是「自然主義之父」[12]，韋勒克譽他為現實主義的「代表人物」，福樓拜自己雖然否定了這些稱號[13]，但也親自肯定了寫作科學嚴謹的重要性，[14]這些觀點都體現了「客觀性」在《包法利夫人》中的重要地位。

但是，萊蒙認為其作品風格並不是純粹的客觀描寫，而應該被形容為「主觀的現實主義」，即福樓拜雖然盡量將情感和環境描寫得客觀具體，但讀者仍能看到他在背後對個別細節的放大或省略、以及加快或放慢安排情節發展的主觀意志。通過本文分析可見，福樓拜的客觀性描寫不只停留在對事物的白描，更通過象徵性比喻中對客觀喻體的選用，傳達了自己主觀的精心安排。他藉助「蛇」、「風雨」和「船」這些喻體的象徵意義，在艾瑪不同的人生階段中鋪墊并暗示了她在理想與現實的衝突下將面臨的悲慘結局，從而增強宿命感，實現了文學創作中客觀描寫和主觀意圖的完美結合。

[9] 福樓拜著，許淵沖譯：《包法利夫人》（北京：中央編譯出版社，2015 年 4 月），第 341 頁。

[10] 亨利·特羅亞：《不朽作家福樓拜》（北京：世界知識出版社，2001 年），第 184 頁。

[11] 李健吾：《福樓拜評傳》（長沙：湖南人民出版社，1980 年），第 22 頁。

[12] 李艷：<福楼拜对现实主义小说的超越>，《当代小说》，2008 年 12 月 28 日。

[13] 福樓拜卻對屠格涅夫批評左拉：「如果……你就看到他怎樣以為自己已經發現了自然主義。至於作為兩種永恆元素的詩歌和風格，他甚至提都不提。」，并對喬治·桑表明「我憎恨時興成為現實主義的東西，即使他們奉我為現實主義的權威。」（轉引自王欽峰：<重審福樓拜的現實主義問題>，《國外文學》2001 年第 1 期，第 95-96 頁。）

[14]「……一篇市長發表演講的報導，其中的一句話與『我』昨夜寫《包法利夫人》時用的句子一模一樣（省長在農展會上的發言）……‘我’歡欣鼓舞。當文學達到與科學一樣精準的程度時，是那樣的剛強有力。」（轉引自李嘉懿：<福樓拜文學思想嬗變研究>，《三峽論壇》，2015 年 7 月。）

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知識的協作與協作的知識

涂一凡

論題中的「總是」與「從不」將協作與一己之力分為了二元對立的觀點，即只要不是一己之力都算是協作。協作與一己之力的二元對立性在日常生活中非常常見，比如體育競技中的「個人項目」與「團體項目」之分，比如學生功課中個人項目與小組項目之分。筆者認為，二元對立的模式過於簡單化知識產生過程中不同形式與性質的協作。協作的具體定義是有爭議的，包括借鑒與引用是否能算是協作等，這裡將通過用狹義與廣義的概念歸納兩種極端，來討論這一爭議，進而討論協作與一己之力之間的非二元對立性。狹義的協作這裡定義為幾個人共同參與某種活動，在同一時間地點朝著同一目標而努力，產生新的知識。而廣義的協作則定義為在包含狹義協作的同時，也包括借鑒與引用等不在同一時間地點乃至目標的，但對結果的生成有著正面影響的努力。廣義的一己之力只需要在某件事的榮譽或者貢獻完全或絕大部分歸功於一個人時即可。狹義的一己之力則指沒有另一個人對知識的產生造成了影響。

筆者認為，定義狹義的協作，主要是為了區分引用或共同署名論文。自然科學中通過協作產生知識的例子，包括 1969 年諾貝爾生理學或醫學獎的三位得主對於病毒複製機理的研究。[53]三人中，德布呂克是物理學家，他將物理學追求精確計算的思考方式，建立模型的研究方法，以及他自己關於物理學的經驗與記憶，帶到了研究過程中。而生物學家盧裡亞與生物化學家赫爾希則提供了生物學角度，經驗主義的研究思路。三人通過交流各自的記憶、經驗與研究方法，成功發現了病毒的基因結構與複製機理。這三人的合作非常緊密，所以是共同署名論文，共同得獎。即使他們的研究無疑建立在前人的基礎之上，被引用的人並不會得獎，因為運用狹義協作的定義，我們可以清晰地將知識產生的功勞，以及由此帶來的獎勵頒發給這幾個直接產生新知識的人。

在狹義的協作定義下，藝術領域中也不乏通過協作產生知識的例子。比如說立體主義風格的起源，就歸功於畢卡索與喬治·布拉克兩位畫家。[54]萊納德·蘭黛在一次演講中提到，兩人會用同樣的繪畫素材在畫室裡同時開始創作，以至於二人風格的接近讓人

[53] "The Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine 1969 - Press Release."Nobelprize.org, Nobel Media AB, 2019, www.nobelprize.org/prizes/medicine/1969/press-release/.

[54] "Cubism History." Edited by History.com Editors, History.com, A&E Television Networks, 26 July 2017, www.history.com/topics/art-history/history-of-cubism.

難以區分作者。[55]兩人視對方為摯友，是“互相繫著保險繩的登山夥伴”。兩人提出的立體主義，與當時主流寫實審美概念大相徑庭。即便布拉克的《埃斯塔克的房子》比畢卡索 1907 年問世的《亞威農少女》晚了不少時間，我們依舊根據兩人緊密協作的情況，將立體主義風格的起源歸功於兩位畫家，而不僅僅是畢卡索。結合兩個領域的案例可以發現，狹義的協作定義能夠在一定程度上合理地判斷知識的功勞歸屬。

但是有些知識的產生難以納入狹義的協作，那麼我們是否可以將其稱為「僅憑一己之力」呢？自然科學領域的一個例子是物理學家普朗克提出的黑體輻射公式。他通過想像與直覺，分析了盧梅爾與普林斯海姆等科學家的實驗資料，於 1900 年 10 月 19 日提出了他對黑體輻射公式的猜想。[56]但是這一成果——他的公式是建立在其它科學家的實驗資料之上的，受到了其他人的幫助。又比如藝術領域中，達·芬奇創作《蒙娜麗莎的微笑》時使用了一種名為暈塗法(sfumato)的手法[57]。這一手法被認為是達·芬奇獨自發明的手法——同時期的歐洲也沒有其他畫家成功運用這一手法，所以不能算是與他人的協作產生。但是，他這一手法也是建立在歷史上諸多寫實風格畫家對於光影，透視的研究之上的。這兩個例子之中，兩人是否是「以一己之力」完成了研究、創新了技巧，是具有爭議的。我們可以根據上述狹義的一己之力的定義，來將兩者的成果歸為不是僅憑一己之力，亦或者根據廣義的定義將兩者的成果歸為確實僅憑一己之力。但是無論如何，這兩種看法都是有局限性的，在任何一種定義下，都難以還原知識產生過程中不同人複雜、難以量化的貢獻。

又比如，門捷列夫所整理的元素週期表正是一個既依靠協作也僅憑他個人天才創造的例子。在他之前，已經有不少人嘗試整理元素週期表了，比如 1829 年 德國化學家德貝萊納提出的「三元素組」[58]。但是門捷列夫通過自己的想像與邏輯推理，將擁有類似特性的元素整理在了同一列表中，從而預測了其它尚未發現的元素的存在。[59]他的研究建立在之前很多化學家通過實驗得出的已知的 56 種元素的特性之上; 這些科學家的知識成為了他記憶的一部分，為他的實驗提供了幫助。

在藝術領域中，難以區分一己之力與協作的案例更多，比如獨立遊戲製作人 Toby Fox 為遊戲《Undertale》所創作的背景音樂皆是依靠電子軟體，獨立創作的。但是同時，在一個 Game Informer 的採訪中，Toby Fox 承認自己的靈感源自「所有我聽過的音

[55] Lauder, Leonard A. “Cubism: The Collaboration of Picasso & Braque.” YouTube, Aspen Institute, 14 Aug. 2014, www.youtube.com/watch?v=5N3s5jdUVFo.

[56] 金尚年. ″量子物理学各发展阶段大事纪要.″ 《物理》, vol. 16, no. 1, 20 Jan. 1987, pp. 58–60. 爱学术, www.ixueshu.com/document/8eae0fe9a04e7aef318947a18e7f9386.html.

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[58] “Dobereiner's Periodic Table.” Corrosion Doctors, Kingston Technical Software, 2019, corrosion-doctors.org/Periodic/Periodic-Dobereiner.htm

[59] “Mendeleev's Periodic Table.” Corrosion Doctors, Kingston Technical Software, 2019, corrosion-doctors.org/Periodic/Periodic-Mendeleev.htm

樂，尤其是電子遊戲配樂」。[60]換言之，其它作曲家對於 Toby Fox 的記憶、經驗與審美產生了影響，從而影響了他創作新的遊戲配樂。

結合上述，無論是狹義的定義還是廣義的定義都具有合理性，也都具有局限性。協作與僅憑一己之力可能可以在特定的定義中有二元對立的性質，但是在很多時候兩者有所重疊，或者不能囊括知識產生過程中不同種類與形式的人力影響。協作之中可以有貢獻的區分，而根據貢獻的分佈，可以用以區分協作的類型與程度。這樣的理解方式下，協作與僅憑一己之力不再是二元對立的概念，不再是一個是與否的問題，而是一個程度問題。更進一步推衍這一理論，更加"僅憑一己之力"也許並不代表更加「不協作」。比如畫家達芬奇可能比 Toby Fox 借鑒了更多的人，但是同時自己的創新更加顯著，那麼也許可以說，達芬奇創新的過程更加「僅憑一己之力」的同時「更加協作」。這樣子的認知更加符合現實，可以更好地解釋與歸納知識產生過程中人力所帶來的影響與貢獻。

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How Does *The Orphan of Zhao* Demonstrate the Traditional Chinese Concepts of Blood Revenge and Filial Piety?

Chloe Cheung

Introduction

Filial piety is a value based on the principles of hierarchy, obligation and obedience towards the elderly. The Confucian idea of filial piety is constructed on the fact that one's body exists because of one's parents. Chinese people in the modern age believe that being filial towards their parents means to take care of their parents, show love, respect, support and worship their spirit after their death. However, according to the *Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars* 二十四孝, it also includes: stealing food for one's mother; attracting mosquitos to feed on one body instead of one's mother's; lying down on the ice to fetch fish for one's stepmother; wrestling with a tiger to save one's father; and to dress in ridiculous costumes and perform pranks to amuse one's parent.

From these stories, it shows that the particular behaviours that are qualified as being filial in traditional China are not always unequivocally benign. The most controversial implication of filial piety may be the practice of blood revenge. What should one do when his or her parents have been killed? Should the obligation of filial piety justify the act of blood revenge, or indeed permit him or her to seek revenge personally? Would such acts of violence come into conflict with other core Confucian values, such as benevolence and mercy?

Blood revenge is a prominent theme in traditional Chinese literature, which provides a rich lore of real-life situations from which to explore these questions. This research paper will analyse one famous Yuan dynasty play, *The Orphan of Zhao* 趙氏孤兒, by dramatist Ji Junxiang (紀君祥) focusing on three pairs of father-son relationship staged in the piece and on the moral ambiguity of filial piety with respect to these relationship. We will also look at how modern adaptations of this play have changed certain elements, thus criticising the traditional understanding of blood revenge as a filial obligation from the contemporary perspective.

1. Summary of the Play

The play is set in the Spring and Autumn period, in the court of Duke Ling of Jin 晉靈公. Minister Zhao Dun 趙盾 and general Tu'an Gu 屠岸賈 are his two most influential men. Due to an imbalance of power in court, Duke Ling fears that he is losing power to Zhao Dun and plots to kill him. However, Zhao Dun is warned by a general and therefore flees the capital.

Zhao returns to the court during the reign of Duke Cheng 晉成公, and his son, Zhao Shuo (趙朔) soon inherits his palace. However, Tu'an Gu, a former favourite of Duke Ling, sets out to exterminate all male members of Zhao's clan. Han Jue, a general in the court, soon finds out of this plan and tries to dissuade Tu'an Gu from carrying it out, but to no avail. Therefore, he decides to warn Zhao Shuo about Tu'an Gu's plot, but Zhao does not believe him and stays in the Capital. Tu'an Gu soon succeeds in slaying the Zhao family.

However, Zhao Shuo and his wife had been expecting a child, who is then born after his father's death. The lady entrusts the infant to the family pharmacist, Cheng Ying 程嬰, who smuggles the baby out of the palace. However, on his way out, he is stopped by the general Han Jue 韓厥, who lets them go out of compassion for the infant. Han Jue then commits suicide. Next, Cheng Ying replaces the Orphan of Zhao with his own infant son. When Tu'an Gu starts searching for the baby, Cheng Ying hands the surrogate baby to Gonsun Chujiu 公孫杵臼, a retired minister, and ostensibly denounces him for hiding the Orphan of Zhao. The house of the Gongsun is searched; both Gongsun Chujiu and the surrogate baby are executed.

To reward Cheng Ying for revealing the location of the "Orphan", Tu'an Gu adopts whom he believes to be Cheng Ying's son, Cheng Bo 程勃, and teaches him martial arts. The boy is, of course, the real Orphan of Zhao. However, when he grows up, Cheng Bo finds a scroll about the Zhao family in Cheng Ying's office. Cheng Ying confesses to Cheng Bo that he is, in fact, the Orphan of Zhao, and Zhao Shuo, his father, was killed by Tu'an Gu. Upon hearing this, the Orphan swears that he will "personally murder that traitor". He exterminates Tu'an Gu and his whole clan. When the Orphan is reinstated to his hereditary position and regains his lands, Cheng Ying commits suicide to join Gongsun Chujiu.

2. Traditional China's Permissive Attitude toward Blood Revenge

The main plot of *The Orphan of Zhao* is a dutiful son's revenge of his murdered parents. The fact such revenge is presented in an entirely positive light is telling; blood revenge was long tolerated in traditional China. Indeed, in one of the canonical books, the *Liji* 禮記 [Book of Rites], we find this commandment: "It was said that a son should not live under the same sky with the enemy of one's father. He should sleep on straw with the bare earth as his pillow. He should resign any official post he might have and concentrate all his energies on seeking vengeance." (Ch'ü 79)

During the Zhou Dynasty (1046-256 BCE), the government permitted blood revenge. As long as the avenger had made a report to the government authorities before seeking revenge, he would not be held guilty of any criminal behaviour (Ch'ü 79). Because blood revenge was a complicated matter, and there was no uniform way of dealing with these disputes, there was a specialised office dedicated to handling cases of revenge, which acted as the official mediator between the offender and the avenger.

During the 1st century BC during the Qin Dynasty, the government grew stronger under the rule of Qin Shi Huang, and enacted laws to restrict the matter of revenge. In spite of the new system, the private hatred between two parties still predominated, and revenge was exacted between them for generations. To quote Han T'an, a notable Han Dynasty politician, "New hate always follows the old ones, and sometimes a whole family is exterminated" (Ch'ü 80) .

While public authorities in traditional China were generally cautious not to sanction the right of blood revenge in law, such acts, particularly when they were accomplished under adverse circumstances and against more powerful foes, were often praised as the manifestation of utmost filial piety. Their authors could even receive official honours for their filial behaviour. "The belief that revenge is justified was so deep in people's minds that not only general and scholarly opinion was sympathetic to the avenger, but many of the officials who administered justice also looked upon it as right" (Ch'ü, 84) The aforementioned *Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars* include one story, whose protagonist is Zhao Eqin 趙娥親. Zhao Eqin's father, Zhao An, was killed by his fellow countryman, Li Shou. Because he was confident that nobody would avenge his death, Li Shou held a banquet to celebrate. When she was told by her son, Pang Yu that Li Shou was boasting of his success, Zhao Eqin armed herself with a knife and set out to find him. She encountered Li Shou in broad daylight and stabbed his horse, causing him to fall from it. She then fought with and killed him, then cut off his head. With the head in her hand, she went to the county office and asked to be executed. Magistrate Yin Jia was deeply sympathetic towards her act and declared that he would rather resign his position than punish her. An amnesty was issued; and she was able to escape punishment honourably.

Such acts were still recorded well into the 20th century, such as the famous case of Shi Jianqiao who assassinated the warlord Sun Chuanfang; because the latter had previously ordered the execution of her father, in a Buddhist society where Sun had retired. After a lengthy legal process, she was given a state pardon by the Nationalist government on October 14, 1936.

Ji Junxiang, the author of *The Orphan of Zhao*, was inspired by the story of Zhao Shuo, Cheng Ying, and Tu'an Gu, recorded in the *Shi ji* 史記 [Records of Historians]. *The Orphan of Zhao* references the historical episode while modifying certain elements.

This situation is a textbook example of blood revenge. As in the case of Zhao Eqin and Shi Jianqiao, the Orphan is avenging his biological parents against the culprit directly responsible for their murder.

The legal cases and the filial exemplars we have discussed earlier illustrate the wide acceptance of blood revenge in traditional Chinese society, which was viewed as the proper and appropriate way to resolve such conflicts. However, the situation in *The Orphan of Zhao* is more complex than usually portrayed in Confucian classics and in the Law. It includes more variables to consider, such as the relationships between the father and the son, and who the actual culprit is. *The Orphan of Zhao* also reveals the moral ambiguity of blood revenge as an absolute filial duty. We shall now discuss this ambiguity through closer analysis of the three pairs of father-son relations staged in the play: Zhao Shuo and the Orphan of Zhao (alias Cheng Bo); Tu'an Gu and the Orphan; Cheng Ying and his own son.

Interestingly, *The Orphan of Zhao* is also the most often adapted Chinese play in the West. It was the first Chinese play to be translated into a Western language (namely French) in 1735, and was then adapted five times during the 18th century, twice in English, once in French, once in German, and once in Italian. There has also been 22 modern adaptations, including productions by the Royal Shakespeare Company, National Theatre Company of China, and Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria. The "Staging China" collection of the University of Leeds lists eleven different recent productions of the

play in China, the UK, Korea and Nigeria (Li 2017). Therefore, we will further highlight its moral ambiguity through a cross-cultural lens, looking at the ways foreign adaptations of *The Orphan of Zhao* have modified certain elements of the play.

2.1. Zhao Shuo and Cheng Bo

The idea of filial piety in society was so firmly embedded as a general principle that Zhao Shuo already expected his unborn child to avenge the injustice, despite not knowing his parents. Upon Zhao Shuo's execution, he announces, "Wait until that child of mine has grown to manhood" and "For the three hundred of us— Revenge! Take revenge for our injustice" (West and Idema, 76).

Various other characters in the play also speak of the revenge as a given. When the Orphan finds out about the horrific deeds that Tu'an Gu has inflicted upon his biological family, he exclaimes, "This confuses and upsets my seat of emotions, I'm no man if I don't kill that traitor! I'd dare set matters right!" (West and Idema, 101). During the process of avenging his parents, he vows, "Today I will wreak vengeance, and risk my life to execute that gang of traitors. In short, it's his life that is over, he's bound to die!" (West and Idema, 108) The perpetrator describes the moment as a glorious event and the action worthy of commemoration. Thus he portrays blood revenge as a worthy act to be praised by society.

In another scene of the play, when Cheng Ying tries to persuade Han Jue to let the Orphan and him go, he describes the dreadful situation that has arisen, and announces, "[the lady Zhao] she ordered me, Cheng Ying, to conceal him and protect him, so later he can eventually grow up and become a man, who will look after the ancestral graves of the Zhao family" (West and Idema, 81). This hints that the Orphan has the Confucian duty to "look after the ancestral graves" by taking revenge for the family, so that their deaths do not go to waste. The Orphan is portrayed like the object of a prophecy, whose destiny has already been written.

However, a modern reader may argue that, from the point of view of the Orphan, this gory duty is not obvious because he has never known his biological father. Even from the traditional Confucian point of view, we can question whether a son should take upon himself the revenge of a biological father he has never known. Indeed, the classical Confucian conception of the five fundamental human relationships on which social harmony depends postulates the reciprocity of duty: the ruler needs to be benevolent and thereafter the subject owes him loyalty; the father needs to be kind and affectionate and thereafter the children owe him filial piety. This raises the question whether the son needs to avenge a father whom he has never known.

In an adaptation of *The Orphan of Zhao* in 2012, produced by the Chinese National Theatre, the Orphan of Zhao refused to carry out the revenge, arguing that he never knew his biological father and that he did not feel that it was his obligation to kill his father's mortal enemy (Zhang Ying). This refusal is understandable and acceptable in modern society. Due to the integration of Chinese and Western cultures, people's value system has drastically changed. People no longer feel the need to unquestioningly abide by duty as dictated by tradition, but have greater respect for individual choices. As the theater critic Li Xiaolong commented in a review of the play, the disregard of personal will and values is a very prominent problem in traditional Chinese literature. The Orphan was not shown as an individual, but as merely a tool within a prophecy to avenge his parents. "It

seems that the mission of revenge is written in the Orphan's DNA, which is the main significance of his existence" (Li 2017). This modern adaptation can be seen as an attempt to correct that shortcoming.

2.2. Tu'an Gu and the Orphan

Another father-son pair is Tu'an Gu and the Orphan. The author did not extensively write about Tu'an Gu and the Orphan's relationship and only fleetingly mentions that Tu'an Gu has personally taught the Orphan martial arts. This may be because the author does not want the audience to sympathise with Tu'an Gu. He also stereotypes Tu'an Gu as the main villain of the play, who planned to usurp the kingdom and deserved death regardless of what he had done to the Zhao family. Moreover, a more detailed portrayal of Tu'an Gu's relationship with the Orphan would lead the audience to question whether by seeking revenge for his biological father, the Orphan did not violate his duty of filial piety to Tu'an Gu as his stepfather. As shown in the *Twenty-Four Exemplars*, filial piety extends towards step-parents who have no blood relation with the son or daughter. Such stories have a huge impact on traditional China as the *Twenty-Four Exemplars* is seen as a guidebook on how to act.

The conflicting duty of filial piety the Orphan should have felt towards his two fathers is totally obliterated in Ji Junxiang's original play. When Cheng Ying finally tells him the history of his family, the Orphan simply disregards his filial bond towards Tu'an Gu and makes the dramatic exclamation: "Tomorrow, after I will first go see our lord the duke, then I will personally murder that traitor, together with all the officials and ministers at court" (West and Idema, 58). He does not seek verification from others to confirm the truthfulness of the information, but nonetheless pledges to kill his stepfather. However, this is very unrealistic because it requires the Orphan to easily disregard the role that Tu'an Gu has played in his life, and break the bond between them before considering the implications.

Changes were made in modern adaptations, such as an adaptation by The Royal Shakespeare Company, where the loyalty of the Orphan is conflicted between his biological father and his adopted father, seemingly hesitant to kill Tu'an Gu just to avenge the father he has never known (University of Leeds). This notes that the reason the Orphan refused to kill is partly his lack of affection towards his biological father, and partly his bond with Tu'an Gu as his stepfather.

2.3. Cheng Ying and Son

This last father and son relationship brutally displays the ambiguity of the concept of filial piety. Cheng Ying replaces his biological son with the Orphan of Zhao. He knew that Tu'an Gu would slaughter his son, and yet he let this happen in front of his own eyes in order to save the son of his master, Zhao Shuo. For the Yuan Dynasty playwright Ji Junxiang, this was laudable, as Cheng Ying's loyalty to his master, Zhao Shuo, was seen as more important than his personal love for his son. He was required to sacrifice his son for what was deemed a greater good. Society would not condemn Cheng Ying for this act, and would even consider him to be a hero.

Ji Junxiang's play is a deliberate and interesting, rewriting of the historical facts about the events it depicts. According to the *Records of the Historian,* which inspired the play, Cheng Ying did not sacrifice his own son: he replaced the Orphan with a child purchased on the street to whom he had no emotional or intimate connections (West and Idema, 51). By inflating Cheng Ying's sacrifice, Ji Junxiang may have intended to make him a greater hero. However, by that same token, the playwright makes Cheng

Ying's sacrifice of his own son morally dubious. For even within the value system of traditional Confucian ethics, the power which a Chinese father legally holds over his son is not unchecked, unconditional or limitless. A father cannot put to death a son who has not committed a grave crime. This may even jeopardise the very idea of filial piety, which, as we have previously seen, is conceived of as a response to the father's love. Cheng Ying's act thus falls into a grey area left to be explored in further adaptations of the play. For a society in which political loyalty is not a non-negotiable obligation, Cheng Ying's absolute loyalty to the Zhao family cannot justify the sacrifice of his own son "for the greater good".

Cheng Ying's sacrifice of his own son may be difficult for the audience to understand, who may indeed find it too gruesome to acknowledge as justified. This is why Western adaptations frequently change or elaborate on this point. The earliest adaption was Voltaire's 18th century play, *Chinese Orphan*, which was performed all over Europe, and which is significant in the history of European theatre because it was the earliest play where actors performed in authentic costumes (West and Idema, 56). Instead of sticking to the original storyline of *The Orphan of Zhao*, Voltaire set the play in Yuan Dynasty China under Mongol domination, and turned it into a love story: Idame, the mother of the boy, could not bear to sacrifice him, and so gave away her husband's plan to the conqueror Genghis Khan; the latter spared their lives because he harboured a secret passion for her. Voltaire deemed the sacrifice of Cheng Ying's son in the original play too violent, and that it would be more appropriate for the art culture of France, and their humanist values, to omit it.

The Royal Shakespeare Company's adaptation of The *Orphan of Zhao* in 2012 followed the basic plot of the original play but added emotional depth to Cheng Ying's act. At the end, Cheng Ying was about to commit suicide, and the ghost of his son appeared on his side. Their dialogue went as follows:

> *Cheng Ying: My wronged son, my love, place your cold hand here in the fold of my gown, and show me how to hold the knife. I do not lack courage but I doubt my strength and skill.*
>
> *Help me to die.*
>
> *Ghost: The moon is sharp on the blade. Hold it here below the rib. And if you do truly love me, I shall taste it in your heart's blood.*
>
> *Cheng Ying: Place your hand on my hand. Help me direct the blade.*
>
> *Ghost: There. The Ghost tastes the heart's blood. You love me. You always did love me. And now you belong to me forever.*

This scene describes the ghost of Cheng Ying's son exacting revenge on the father, thus guiding the play to complete a full circle. The playwright let Cheng Ying express his remorse, thus emphasising his deep love of his family.

Conclusion

Through these different adaptations, we can see that the modern perception of the Confucian values has changed drastically. This may be due to the new connection between the East and the West, thus tangling and combining their values and morals to form new beliefs. When modern individuals look back into a play that describes the hard choices characters face, they may reflect on why people kill and how people choose between conflicting moral values. Confucius once recommended that one should "recompense injury with justice (以直報怨)" (Legge). But what can be deemed as "justice" to a given "injury"? And who has the right to impart such justice? Today, people still find themselves losing a beloved parent due to

someone else's wrongdoing. To "seek justice", they can rely on the modern judiciary system, a supposedly impartial institution. Yet there is still possibility for the legal system to be found failing, such as by being influenced by external sources due to bribery. People can still find themselves facing similar hard choices as the Orphan of Zhao. Our careful reading of the historical play does not give us any simple answers to such questions, but exhorts us to reflect rationally on our acts, instead of blindly carrying out whatever society dictates.

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How did China's Perception of the Color Yellow Evolve Across History After Encountering Western Racial Thinking?

Rachel Choy

Introduction

The color yellow has been significant throughout China's history. Firstly, the color yellow is associated with one of five elements, Earth (Yangmei Jianwu), essential to farming and people's basic livelihood. Across ancient Chinese mythology, the color yellow has appeared in many stories, notably in the creation myth on the beginning of mankind, in which the mother goddess, Nüwa, sculpts humans after her image using yellow mud, thus creating the "yellow soil people." One of the five legendary emperors was also called the "yellow emperor" (Keevak 2), and one of the longest rivers in China was called the "yellow river". Interestingly, contemporary Chinese people still identify themselves as "Sons of the Yellow Emperor" (Keevak 219). As a garment color, it started out as a commoner's color due to the dye being cheap to make, but it gradually rose in status, until it became established by law as a color exclusive to the emperors of China. More recently, the color was seen as different and used for the expression of ambiguities, as well as Western racial associations dealing with East Asians. Cultural phenomena such as the "yellow peril" have also been tagged with this color. This paper will explore the changing meaning of the color yellow in Chinese culture, particularly how it was changed by, and changes in return, the Western understanding of yellow as a racial classification.

1. Yellow in Traditional China

As aforementioned, the color yellow has had many different meanings in ancient China, but the most pervasive meaning of all in Chinese society is its use as a color of clothing. Most people today believe that yellow was the color exclusive to the emperors, but until the Tang dynasty, it was the commoner's color. The pigment was cheap and easy to retrieve from gamboge and orpiment (Schafer 213). Across history, not just in Chinese culture, the most expensive or rare pigment would usually become the royalty's color. For example, purple was a prestigious and rare pigment, being used as a royal color not only in China, but also in the Roman empire. As a matter of fact, in the early Tang Dynasty, an edict mentioned that officials above the third rank would wear purple (Yangmei Jianwu). To the Chinese, it was crucial to distinguish social and official rankings through differentiated outfits (Yangmei Jianwu). Therefore, this raises questions about how yellow became known as the emperor's color.

As yellow was often the color a commoner would wear, it may be seen unexpected that yellow would later be known as the imperial color. The rise of yellow began during the Sui

dynasty, as Emperor Wen particularly liked the color. The yellow favored by the elite was *zhehuang* 赭黃, "earthly yellow", a brownish and dark shade of yellow. However, the meaning behind the color shifted during the Tang Dynasty. An edict was issued for the first time to forbid nobility, aristocrats, and officials to wear the yellow, because a mayor wearing this color during night time was once mistaken for a commoner and attacked "洛陽尉著黃衣夜行，為部人所毆" (Yangmei Jianwu). This, however, did not stop the rise of yellow as a color. As such, the period of the Five Dynasties (907 – 960 AD), provides one of the first instances where yellow was clearly associated with emperorship. The idiom "to take the yellow robe" [黃袍加身] refers then to the first emperor of Song, Taizu 宋太祖趙匡胤 (927 - 976), who was declared emperor by his soldiers when they forced a yellow robe onto him (Yangmei Jianwu).

Yellow only started to be forbidden to commoners from the Ming Dynasty in 1368AD. One possible reason is due to the imperial family surname Zhu 朱, meaning vermillio. A quote from Confucius; notably says that the "detestable purple has stolen the glory of vermillion" (Yangmei Jianwu). This may have contributed to dethrone purple as the imperial color. Yellow continued to be banned from being used by commoners during the Qing Dynasty in 1644 founded by the ethnic group Manchu. The Qing Dynasty built its empire based on Manchurian traditions and aesthetics; this included replacing the original imperial *zhehuang* 赭黃 with a lighter, brighter shade of yellow, known as *minghuang* 明黃 or "bright yellow". This shade of yellow could only be worn as court attire or during official ceremonies and was rarely used for casual wear. Following the downfall of the Qing Dynasty and imperial rule in China, yellow was no longer a color reserved solely for the emperor and the elite of society. Instead, the Chinese began to gradually identify themselves as yellow within Western encounters.

2. How Chinese became to be known as "Yellow" in Western Thought

The Chinese rarely considered classifying themselves as yellow, it was the Europeans who had influenced and pushed the Chinese to be identified by such color, or to classify different people according to their skin color. Interestingly, before the Chinese began to be known as "yellow", they were once acknowledged as a white race. Earliest accounts on the race's skin color were during the late twelfth century, by medieval travel narratives, such as Marco Polo (Keevak 44). Chinese were "white like us; the greater part of them dressed in cotton, cloth, and silk." Skin color and degree of material civilization were at the time closely connected. (Keevak 31).

If Chinese were once seen as "white", how did they become known as the "yellow" race? A potential reason could be the rise of xenophobia in the West in the eighteenth century. Yellow was then considered the color of dull, lifeless items. Carl Linnaeus, also described as the father of modern taxonomy, had used "*luridus*" to describe the East Asians, emphasizing that their skin color looks sickly (Keevak 36). In earlier centuries, Western writers who tagged Chinese as "white" and pale-skinned also believed them to be distinguished, civilized, and worthy of receiving Christianity. On the other hand, eighteenth-century authors who labeled the Chinese as pale yellow also stigmatized them for being lethargic under a tyrannical government system, stuck with pagan religions, and who did not hold the same humanist and liberal values as the Europeans. (Keevak 36). The Chinese "becoming yellow" and the rise of xenophobia in Europe are

therefore closely connected, and the fact that the Chinese did not accept Western ideas entirely could have added fuel towards these xenophobic.

In the nineteenth century, when Chinese people migrated to America, Canada, or Australia to mine or build railroads, they worked with higher efficiency, and also requested lower wages than the locals, making them more competitive (Keevak 126). Local Western people were angered as they saw job opportunities being taken away from them. This further added to the xenophobic ideas that were growing. At the end of the Qing Dynasty (1644 - 1911), the Boxer Rebellion took place in 1900, which sparked fear and anxiety as the Chinese rebelled against Western forces and rejected Western colonization, imperialist intentions, and Christianity; this event further contributed to the negative image of the Chinese in the West.

To illustrate this, one dan found many pieces of artwork that encapsulate the "yellow peril", the most notable being commissioned by the German emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II, who ruled from 1888 to 1918, and called "Nations of Europe! Join in the Defence of Your Faith and Your Homes" (Figure 1). This piece was created in 1895, the year the Sino Japanese war ended. The artwork illustrates the allegorical people of Germany guided by the Archangel Michael against Asia, which is depicted as a golden Buddha. The Buddha is overshadowed by dark, stormy clouds that help amplify the supposed threat that the East brings. Amongst the clouds, there is said to be a Chinese dragon looming within the chaos (Doran 127). The Germans are seen clutching weapons to greet the oncoming threat. The German press at the time called the Buddha a "heathen idol", sitting atop a "demon of destruction". Another piece of artwork called "The Yellow Peril: European Nightmare" (Figure 2), provides a clear example of popular mass media in the first half of the twentieth century (Doran 125). Depicting an endless stream of Chinese men emerging from the celestial empire, while European nation representatives are resting in bed; showing that the Chinese may attack when the Europeans least expect it.

Both of these artworks exemplify the racist connotation of the "yellow" race (Doran 124). The term implies that East Asians are uncivilized and dangerous posing a threat to the west (Keevak 2). In both artworks, the Chinese are portrayed as a threat. In the piece Wilhelm commissioned, the German people are shown acting in self-defense while under the tutelage of the archangel (Figure 1). However, the second piece portrays the Chinese invading Europe first (Figure 2). One piece shows that the West should attack first, whilst the other piece depicts the East invading the west. Both pieces reflect the West's intentions to wage war with the East. Wilhelm's piece is more straightforward, contrasting with the more subtle second piece that encourages viewers to preemptively attack the Chinese.

3. Racial Categorization and the Chinese Response

Interestingly, despite all these negative connotations, the Chinese accepted the designation "yellow" quite willingly and did not pay much attention to the association with race. To them, categorizing humans by their "appropriate" color was not common. However, skin tones were traditionally associated in China with social hierarchy. Chinese women were considered beautiful if they had pale skin, as this meant they did not have to labor outdoors (Keevak 128).

In addition, as stated beforehand, many elements in Chinese mythology revolve around the color yellow, such as the myth of Nüwa and the Yellow Emperor. This arguably facilitated the inception of Western

ideas about skin color into the Chinese mindset (Keevak 129).

Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858 - 1927), in particular, had an interesting philosophy regarding racial thinking. He was close to the Guangxu Emperor 光緒帝 (1871 - 1908) and an enemy of the empress dowager, Cixi 慈禧太后 (1835 - 1908). He was a political thinker, social reformer, and scholar, and had written profusely about skin color in his *Book of the Great Union* 大同書. His ideas revolved around the unification of the "white" and "yellow" race. The merging of these two major races would create a new order. Kang Youwei argued that "dark" races were inferior to the "white" and "yellow" races, while the latter were equal (Kang 143). The "white" race was, according to him, "assuredly superior", but he believed that the Chinese were by far more intelligent. He said, "The silver-colored race is spread out over the globe, while the gold-colored race is still more numerous." In his writing, he often refers to the "white" race as "silver", and the Chinese as "gold" (Kang 130). Since gold is more valuable than silver, Kang Youwei tries to show that the Chinese still trumps over the Westerners.

It was not just controversial figures like Kang Youwei who had their traditional ideas affected by Western racial ideas. Sun Yat Sen, the founding father of the Republic of China, also believed the Europeans' racialized categorization (Keevak 130). He notably wrote that Mankind is divided first into the five main races, white, black, red, yellow, and brown, and that the Chinese belong with the yellow race.

In China, the idea of a "white peril" had also been used to refer to the Russians, whom they believed are the real threat. To the Chinese, white is known as the color of death and decay (Keevak 31). Thus some Chinese turned the idea of white supremacy on its head, redefining yellow as a better color than white.

Conclusion

The color yellow started in ancient China as a color for commoners, and then evolved to an imperial color exclusive to the emperor. The color was then seen in a different light, and became an expression of ambiguities. Cultural phenomena were later tagged with this color, such as the yellow peril.

In the eighteenth century, the West had begun to see the Chinese as a "yellow" race. This was due to the rise of xenophobic ideas in the West, alongside with China's isolation and avoidance of European contact. Racist and stigmatizing ideas emerged through this skin color identification. The hatred already expressed by some people who felt threatened by the Chinese, led to the term "yellow peril". Whilst some Chinese people rejected the idea of white supremacy over the "yellow" race, some accepted the idea.

In recent times, racist thoughts around the yellow peril have died down but such racism still lurks in our society: the Chinese or Japanese are still being labeled "yellow", with the Native Americans finding themselves tagged as "red", and African Americans called "black". Racism is deeply rooted in such habits as identifying a race by color, and their influence may not be easily undone.

In conclusion, while there are still racial issues in the world, they have certainly been reduced. Many Chinese people still identify themselves as the "yellow" race, whether it stems from the mythological stories of Nüwa or the Yellow Emperor, and later due to the acceptance of the color given by Westerners. There is no doubt that the color "yellow" has a significant meaning in Chinese society, and will continue to play a key role in Chinese culture and identity.

Figure 1

Figure 2

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知識與證據

董晉瑜

新的知識每天都在產生。知識的建構需要諸多條件，其中最重要的是必須有相關證據的支持。證據有多種形式，不單是收集到的數據或觀察到的現象。任何能夠支持新知識的理論、材料、推斷或構思，都可能被看做是證據的一種。每一種證據都會或多或少增加知識的可信度。沒有證據支持的知識，只能是無源之水，無根之木，難以讓人取信。

知識的產生必然與證據息息相關，這在多個學科中都不難看出。比如說自然科學，便是建立在我們所觀察到的現象之上。很多人認為世界遵循一套特定的運作方式，而我們將其稱之為客觀真理。由於自然科學中所有的研究都是為了更加接近此客觀真理，所以我們的證據也必須從自然界中，通過觀察、分析，以及實驗提煉出來。這裡，我們面對的新的問題是：有多少證據的支持才足夠證明一種知識的準確性呢？

證據自然是越多越好，而其中大規模的數據最容易使人對背後的結論加以接受，從而對研究的準確性深信不疑。然而，實際情況是，由於社會文化的多元性及科技手段的局限，研究人員往往無法得到所需要的數據，從而為新知識的產生提供充足的證據。比如說在經濟學中，研究者往往無法讓自己的理論和學說，天衣無縫地模擬我們社會的真實運作，也無法理論化每一個參與社會經濟活動的公民的行為和想法。因此，經濟學家不可避免地要用一些必要的假設作為自己研究的「地基」，從而讓學科朝著一個特定的方向延伸與發展。經濟學中的核心理論之一，便假設所有人都有無止境的慾望。因此必須出現分配資源的方法，以分配有限的可使用資源。儘管這一核心理論符合多數現實情況，但卻沒有考慮到其他可能影響一個人作出一個經濟決定的因素，而整個學科的發展卻需要這樣一種核心理論的支持。相似的情況在很多其他學科中也能看到。如果想完全依賴證據而排斥任何想象推斷的成分，那麼新的知識的產生將會非常地艱難。

學科與學科之間對證據的需求也不盡相同。比如說與藝術創造有關的學科對證據的依賴就相對較少。在視覺藝術中，人們更重視獨特性與唯一性。不同的價值觀或文化背景，經常導致同一幅畫在不同人的眼中可能有不同的解讀和評價。例如達利的繪畫，在一些人看來是天才之作，甚至是不可複製的，能夠深刻揭示世界的本質。然而對另一些人來講，他的畫也許只是混亂的思維和可笑的色彩與線條的組合，沒有任何參考的價值。又如在物理學中，由於人們普遍相信世界客觀真理的存在，因而科學家總是在通過研究和實驗證據，追求具有唯一性和恆久性的結論。通過設計嚴格，並由專業人士進行的實驗得出結

論，並舉一反三，運用到其他相關的範疇中。這和視覺藝術不追求特定的思想方式與標準答案的發展方向正好相反。

在一些對知識的證據有較大需求的學科裏，也經常會出現必須接受超越其證據的結論的情況。比如說宇宙形成的過程，就是我們所無法證明的。天體物理學家認為，宇宙初開大約是在 140 億年以前。當時並沒有人類，甚至沒有地球。如果想要研究宇宙初開的情況及發展過程，我們必須通過推算、假設和想像等方式，結合現存的一些局部證據，如微波背景輻射等，去嘗試推演宇宙演變的過程。由於無法全面復原宇宙形成的狀況，科學家甚至通過輻射的波長去想像並模擬億萬年前的宇宙。他們提供的證據很難說是足夠的，但在科技手段仍舊侷限的今天，我們依然會接受他們的結論。而隨著科技手段的進步，天體物理學家的理論會逐步完善，從而一點一點地去接近客觀真實。

另一個值得我們去深思的問題是，為一種新的知識提供完全的證據是否可能？同樣在自然科學中，科學家在得出某種結論的時候，往往基於過去觀察和實驗的情況的綜合。結論的目的是嘗試解釋某一現象發生的原因。但他們在釋出結論的同時，卻已經假定了下一次做相同的實驗，會得出同樣的結論，儘管任何人都不能確定這一點。在很多看似證據充分的結論的背後，其實隱藏有很多理論上的不確定性。人們只能將這些不確定性視為理所當然，並假設這些不確定性並不存在。

「如果我比他人看得更遠，那是因為我站在巨人的肩膀上。」[61]牛頓的這一句話原意是為了歌頌前人的研究成果，但同時也體現出了知識產生的遞進性。新的知識建立在舊的理論和前人的努力之上。新的知識會對舊有知識進行補充說明，甚至會推翻並取代某一些舊有的理論。在創造新知識的時候，人們常以懷疑舊有知識的真實及準確性為前提，對知識提出疑問和質疑，並通過各種方式尋找答案。事實上，任何知識的產生都會和假設與臆測產生關係。比如說，「所有天鵝都是白色的」 這一句話，是學者通過觀察多隻白色的天鵝得來的結果。他們通過假設所檢查過的一部分天鵝能夠代表所有的天鵝，建構出「所有天鵝都是白色的」這一種知識論斷。當然，黑天鵝的存在使現在的我們知道並不是所有的天鵝都是白色，但當時的人卻對此深信不疑。人類的知識體系便是在這樣一個推翻及取代的循環中慢慢完善，從而逐步接近客觀真理。接受超越其證據的結論這一行為在多個學科中都能看見。由於我們很多事情都不能找到充分的證據，我們只能假設所看見的局部能夠代表知識的整體。在自然科學中，我們無法知道下次的實驗結果是否會一樣。但也因為這樣，我們除了接受超越其證據的結論以外，沒有其他選擇。

「接受超越其證據的理論」這一說法帶給人一種知識的不確定，沒有可信度的感覺。但總體而言，它卻是

[61] 〈給羅伯特．胡克的一封信〉，艾薩克．牛頓，1675，https://www.creative-wisdom.com/education/essays/others/shoulder.shtml

人們創造和接受新知識的一種普遍的方式。假設、臆測和想象在知識的創造過程中有著不可替代的作用。這不單因為對有些結論我們無法找到全面的證據加以證明，也因為在我們創造知識的過程中需要這種假定和推測讓學科能夠繼續發展。即使以後發現這些假設可能存在錯誤，我們依然能從中得到有用的啟發。就如細胞學說在發現有誤的情況下會繼續被科學家廣泛運用。因此，我同意論題中的觀點。假如我們不去接受超越其證據的結　論，知識的創造(特別是在自然科學中)會非常困難，甚至根本不可能。

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To What Extent was the Repression of Buddhism in 845 Ideologically, Economically and Politically Motivated?

Mandy Zhao

Introduction

Between 842 to 845, Tang Dynasty China suppressed Buddhism. Emperor Wuzong issued orders to shut down and destroy tens of thousands of small country retreats, shrines and monasteries, and enormous temples in the cities (Dalby 666). This is known as Wuzong's Great Suppression of Buddhism 武宗滅佛.

Most historians and textbooks characterize the suppression as ideologically motivated, this paper however aims to explain not only the ideological reasons, but also the economic and political motives behind the suppression. This paper argues that the repression was more economically and politically motivated than being ideologically based.

1. Religious/ Ideological Motives

The most commonly accepted reason for the suppression is the ideological different between the people and the imperial government, in particular the hardline Confucians or fervent Taoists in the Tang court. There is valid ground for this argument.

More than two decades before the suppression of Buddhism in 819, Confucian poet Han Yu expressed anti-Buddhist sentiments through his poem 諫迎佛骨表 [Memorial on the Bone of Buddha]; a protest against the Emperor Xianzong's decision to receive the Buddha's hone. His poem argues that Buddhism is "no more than a cult of the barbarian… who did not speak the language of China and wore clothes of a different fashion" (Hartman 583). As well as these xenophobic statements, he also accused Buddhism of corruption and noted how Buddhism had in prospered in the empire during the Tang Dynasty, quoting Confucian ideology to support his points (Hartman 584). In Han Yu's poems represent the best-known stirrings of a great intellectual reaction against Buddhism (Reischauer 221). They demonstrate that even before the suppression in 845, there was already discontent with the power and status of the Buddhist religion.

Emperor Wuzong's edict on the suppression further substantiate Confucian prejudice as a credible reason for the suppression. He claimed that "if even one man fails to work the fields someone must go hungry; if one woman does not tend her silkworms, someone will be cold" (Hartman 856). The edict promoted the Confucian ideology that men should farm and women should weave in order to maintain a stable and prosperous country. Thus, the imperial government believed that Confucian ideology should be valued above the foreign Buddhism.

Many sources portray Emperor Wuzong as a Daoist. Ennin, a Japanese monk living in China at the time, described Emperor Wuzong as a devout Daoist who issued an edict calling on the scholars of his court to take up the religion. (Reischauer 246). According to Ennin, Emperor Wuzong's stance is clear in his favour of Daoists over Buddhists. During the All Souls' Festival of 844, for example, when the Buddhist monasteries outdid themselves with their displays of offerings, the Emperor confiscated these offerings and instead presented them to the Daoist monasteries. On the occasion of the Emperor's birthday in 842, the imperial court hosted two debates between Daoists and Buddhists. The Daoists were rewarded by being "granted the purple" to wear, and the Buddhists received no award (Reischauer 228-229). Ennin also implied that the Emperor obsessively pursued Daoist elixirs of life under the influence of Daoist priests (Reischauer 228).

As a devout Buddhist, Ennin's diaries are likely biased against Daoism. He is not alone, however. A non-Buddhist source, "New History of the Tang" by Ouyang Xiu, also claims that "the Emperor himself was an ardent Daoist whose personal beliefs were tinged with fanaticism due to his quest to seek the secret of immortality" (Dalby 589).

Therefore, both Ennin and Ouyang Xiu's depiction of Daoism in the Tang court are in line with the narrative that the rise of Daoism among the ruling class led to the suppression of Buddhism.

It is significant to note that Emperor Wuzong's suppression of Buddhism began, a mere 50 or so years after the An Lushan rebellion (703-57). This rebellion represents a catalyst for growing xenophobia in the empire. The An Lushan rebellion was a military uprising against the Tang Dynasty (Dalby 5860). The rebellion was led by An Lushan, a military officer of Sogdian and Turkic ethnicity with a seasoned force estimated to be between around 100,000 to 200,000 men. The imperial government, in comparison, was ill-prepared; it only had small detachments of palace guards under its direct control (Dalby 562). As An Lushan fought his way to Chang'an, Emperor Xuanzong fled for Sichuan and was forced to relinquish his throne to the heir apparent, Suzong (Dalby 563-564). Only with the help of Uighur and Turkish cavalry was the emperor successful in driving the rebel forces out of Chang'an in the spring of 757. The imperial government relied on employed foreign mercenaries and the war remained in stalemate until Emperor Suzong's death in 762 (Dalby 567). After Emperor Daizong ascended the throne, the imperial government had to counter the Tibetans who seized the opportunity to reclaim lost land. The war ended when Emperor Daizong reclaimed Luoyang with the help of generals who had defected.

Seen in this context, the presentation of Buddhism as a foreign religion was, arguably, connected with growing xenophobia. A mere 50 years after the rebellion, court historians deemed An LuShan's Sogdian and Turkic ethnicity as the catalyst that provoked a cultural defensiveness which occasionally turned into xenophobia in later Tang (Wright 83) (Lee 22). The denunciation of An Lushan on account of his foreign ancestry was similarly applied to Buddhism, bolstering the rhetoric that Buddhism does not belong in Tang society. Amongst the literati and the common folk alike, sentiment was turning against things of foreign origins, paving the way for the suppression of Buddhism in 845.

There is also evidence that Confucianism, Daoism or xenophobia alone could not have caused the suppression. Many high officials at court were attracted to elevate forms of philosophical Buddhist thought and ritual.

This attraction can be seen in the surviving corpus of Tang prose and poetry. In fact, Ennin's diary details many occasions when Li Deyu, the chief executer of the suppression in 845, demonstrated Buddhist piety not required by his position. These acts include his part in the carving of a Buddhist image and personal donation of a hundred bushels of rice and 1000 strings of cash for monastery repairs. He even went out of his way to preserve certain Buddhist murals during the suppression (Reischauer 230). Additionally, many high officials at Wuzong's court did not share the same perspective on Daoism as Emperor Wuzong; they saw it as political poison - an interesting pastime - but saw no cause to enlist (Dalby 668). Despite his Daoist beliefs, Emperor Wuzong did grant Buddhism a place in his court through the aforementioned birthday celebration and rain ceremonies. Thus, the belief that Buddhism was a foreign cult was not shared by all memebers of the ruling class at the time of the suppresion (Dalby 668).

In addition to ideological reasons, the emperor and his ministers also had stronger, more concrete motives to act against Buddhist monasteries with such severity. We shall now turn to these economic and political reasons.

2. Economic Motivations

Despite the Buddhist ideal of abstinence, Buddhist monasteries in Tang China were very wealthy. Their wealth had three sources - tax exemption, imperial patronage and land ownership.

The most obvious economic motivation for the suppression of Buddhism is the tax exemption enjoyed by monasteries. Ever since the inception of Buddhism in the Han Dynasty, fiscal authorities had treated Buddhist monks as a distinct demographic separate from the laity. The Chinese monastic community was established as a separate class that could expect to be maintained by the community (Gernet 95). The argument in favour of such tax example is best summarised in the monk Huiyuan's (334-416) treatise "A Monk Does Not Bow Down to the King" 沙門不敬王者論. Huiyuan stated that the Buddhist clergy, whose aims were far removed from ordinary men, could not be expected to display outward signs of obeisance to lay authorities. (Hurvitz and Tsai 426). Huiyuan argued that a monk stood outside of the framework of lay life since he had left his household life to join the Buddhist clergy; therefore he should not be obliged to pay tax and perform corvée duties (Hurvitz and Tsai 427). The authorities and general public at the time also mostly agreed that monks were lodgers beyond the earthly, secular world, who did not conform to the secular pattern with their tonsured heads and distinguishing garbs (Hurvitz and Tsai 427). Following this principle, monks produced nothing, possessed no land and thus could not be taxed (Gernet 30).

The second source of wealth were favours of various kinds bestowed by generous patrons. In 730, Princess Jinxian presented a memorial to the Emperor to obtain permission to donate her property, which comprised of a wheat field, an orchard and wooded slope to the Yun Ju monastery (Gernet 122).

Emperors and their kin frequently donated to officially recognized Buddhist monasteries, which were founded to serve state purposes. Many official monasteries received large sums of money to chant sutras and spells in honour of imperial ancestors or to celebrate the birth of an imperial prince (Wright 70). In the capital, Chang'an, Buddhism was omnipresent. The gilded finials of innumerable temples and pagodas, the tolling of temple bells, the muted chanting of sutras, and the passing to and fro of solemn

processions were evidence of this omnipresence (Wright 70).

Imperial patronage culminated during the reign of the empress Wu Zetian. The Empress favoured Buddhism because it was, arguably, the religion she used to justify her claim to the throne. Due to the severity of Confucian injunctions against female rule, Empress Wu Zetian would never be accepted in her position (Guisso 294). With the widespread beliefs of Mahayana Buddhism, however, Empress Wu presented herself as the reincarnation of the female deity Maitreya, monarch of the world in a minor sutra called Mahamegha or Great Cloud 大雲 (Guisso 304). The Empress generously patronized the Buddhist clergy through acts such as founding state maintained Great Cloud Temples 大雲寺 in every prefecture of the empire. The nine monks who compiled the commentary confirming her as the reincarnation were also ennobled as dukes of counties and given the insignia of high ranking officials. The Empress ordained over a thousand monks and incorporated the words Maitreya the Peerless 彌勒佛 into her title to reaffirm her Buddhist descent. (Guisso 305-306) After she ascended the throne, she continued to build temples all over the empire and to frequent Buddhist monasteries.

Buddhist monasteries were important economic centres: they owned material wealth and considerable expanses of land. Emperor Wuzong said in the edict of the suppression of Buddhism in 845 that "it [Buddhism] wears out the strength of the people with constructions of earth and wood, pilfers their wealth for ornaments of gold and precious objects… while the public temples and private chapels have reached boundless numbers, all with soaring towers and elegant ornamentation sufficient to outshine the imperial palace itself" (Hartman 856). In leaving the family, monks also abandoned agricultural labour. At the time of the suppression of Buddhism in 845, there were approximately 4,600 monasteries and more than 4,000 sanctuaries. The large establishments possessed 30 acre on average and not even the smallest chapel had been deprived of land to provide for its monks (Gernet 139).

Buddhist monks argued they were forbidden to harm plants and animals. Monks were also forbidden to dig the soil, to fell trees and to cut grass. They considered the acts of sowing and planting to be impure and improper (Gernet 95). Lay servants and slaves therefore committed these Buddhist sins on their behalf (Gernet 126). Monastic slaves were typically convicts who had been sentenced to death or forced labor and thus donated to the Buddhist monasteries by private individuals or aristocrats (Gernet 128). Monastic slaves lived in the monasteries and swept the temples, cultivated the land and tended the livestock. At the time of the suppression in 845, there were approximately 150,000 monastic slaves (Gernet 139). Thus, secular authorities lost a significant percentage of the labor force to Buddhist monasteries.

Stockbreeding was also common in Buddhist monasteries. Virtually all monasteries had animals donated by the faithful. These animals included oxen for plowing and transportation and sheep for the manufacture of wool. In the eighth century, the state endowed monasteries in Shanxi and Jiangsu had a sizeable allotments of pasture lands (Gernet 123).

Buddhist monasteries can consequently be seen as a huge economic burden for the state, particularly in times of financial difficulties. One such time would be during war. For example, the costly campaign against the An Lushan rebellion 安祿山之亂 amounted to the fantastic sum of 200,000 strings of cash a day according to Ennin (Reischauer 253).

The An Lushan rebellion dwindled the empire's finances and resulted in a situation of fiscal deficit, Buddhist monasteries, meanwhile, thrived. Replenishment of the state coffers could be another incentive to intensify the suppression of Buddhism in the latter part of 844 (Dalby 667).

The imperial government's fiscal deficit worsened over time, while the number of officially registered religious people rose steadily during the time of the Tang Dynasty: nearly 50,000 in 624, 60,000 in 650-683, 126,100 under the reign of Emporer Xuanzong in the first half of the eighth century, and 260,000 before the suppression (Gernet 36). The imperial government was unable to tax a significant growing demographic, yet they could not revoke the tax exempt status of Buddhist monasteries on sound grounds either. It is possible the imperial government took advantage of the increasingly xenophobic societal attitudes as a means to justify reclamation of monastic wealth.

During the reign of Emperor Xuanzong, the sale of ordination certificates was being legalized. The process was being managed by the authorities instead of a religious leaders. The aim of the preferential ordinations was to raise funds and provide financial assistance for the imperial government during the An Lushan rebellion (Gernet 49). Though the decree provided short-term support for the troops facing the rebellion, the long-term impact meant that the imperial government was unable to collect tax from an even larger portion of the population.

This imbalance between production and consumption can be seen in Emperor Wuzong's edict on the suppression of Buddhism. The edict described how Buddhism has "poisoned" the nation and "spread to the hills and plains of all nine provinces". Emperor Wuzong explained this phenomenon when he wrote: "each day finds its monks and followers growing more numerous and its temples" (Hartman 585).

In summary, the economic incentives for the suppression of Buddhism in 845 included the great wealth of monasteries, made possible by their tax-exempt status. The imperial and aristocratic patronage and land ownership that lead to the imperial government's fiscal deficit was another strong economic incentive to suppress Buddhism. Concrete financial incentives for the imperial government's suppression of Buddhism are thus clear.

3. Previous Attempts at Suppression

The state had long been aware of the economic power of the monasteries. Before the suppression of Buddhism in 845, however, it had only sought to reduce their power through piecemeal solutions that did not tackle the problem at its roots.

At the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century, for example, Emperor Xuanzong wanted to put an end to the large number of transformations of private estates into monastic estates. A decree in 713 forbade princes, aristocrats, and personages of lower rank from presenting petitions requesting the transformation of their estates into monastic land (Gernet 122).

Emperor Xuanzong also banned the practice of preferential ordination, but to no avail. A decree dated 731 reads: "Now we have undertaken no ordinations for some twenty years. Yet inquiries have brought to our attention the fact that outside the capital territory there are young monks and young nuns of less thirty years of age" (Gernet 123).

Evasion of military services through religious obsessation was rife in the eighth century and was another reason that motivated the state to

curb monasteries of their power. In the founding years of Tang, specifically, the year 722, the militia system of enlisted peasants (Fu-bing) was abolished, causing shortages in soldiers for campaigns and for guarding the frontiers (Gernet 33). The reluctance of the Chinese peasantry to submit to the rigours and dangers of military service could explain why the number of entries into religious orders during the sixth century increased significantly.

Despite this lack of soldiers, demand for troops continued to grow. This fact led an historiographer during the reign of Emperor Gaozu, Fu Yi, to propose an obligatory conscription of monks. Fu Yi argued that superstitious propaganda has brainwashed the Chinese peasantry into donating money to the monastery and joining the religion. He stated that people's ardent faith resulted in the large number of monks. He also advised the imperial government to round up the monks of five monasteries to form a solid battalion. Fu Yi claimed that there would be enough monks to create six armies if all the monasteries in the empire were recruited. He also said that monasticism not only deprived the state of the taxes it could levy on the peasantry (Buddhist were for the most part of peasant origin), but it also deprived the state of future subjects liable to taxation and corvée duties due to the celibacy vow monks make upon entering the religion.(Gernet 33).

Buddhist monks vehemently rejected Fu Yi's anti-Buddhist proposals. The monk Mingkai argued that monks and nuns spend little and the real culprits were the great officials who lived in luxury yet complained about the monastic community's contribution to the financial equilibrium of the state (Gernet 36). Ultimately, Fu Yi's proposal was not adopted (Gernet 33).

Before the suppression of Buddhism in 845, the Tang court attempted many unsuccessful ventures in reducing the economic power of Buddhism. Although these attempts at suppressing Buddhism were to no avail, they paved the way for the radical action taken by Emperor Wuzong in the suppression of Buddhism in 845.

4. Political Game behind the Suppression

In addition to economic reasons, the Great Suppression of Buddhism in 845 was also politically motivaed. Specifically, the suppression could have been part of a political game between officials and eunuchs, and between the central government and its provincial leaders.

4.1. Re-assertion of Central Power

Following the An Lushan rebellion, power was decentralized and dispersed among provincial warlords and leaders. Since much of the recovered land was previously led by An Lushan, his fall resulted in a power vacuum. There were no immediate replacement from the imperial government because much of Tang's military power at that point came from hired cavalry. Virtually independent high officials took power in the regions which An Lushan used to command. Even after the ban on preferential ordinations, officials still carried out illegal ordinations for their own profit. Preferential ordinations soon became a prerogative of provincial governors (Gernet 58). Autonomous provincial governors were able to personally levy tax from the temples, which meant that money was flowing into private, not state coffers (Dalby 667). This lucrative business opportunity at a time of decentralized power explains why the ban was not enforced outside of the capital and continued to gain traction among local officials as a means to earn more profit.

The private sale of ordination certificates was carried out by Wang Zhixing in the region of modern Anhui at the beginning of the ninth century. A memorial by Li Deyu, the then administrator of the western part of Zhejiang at the time, reports that despite the fact that private ordinations had repeatedly been prohibited by imperial orders, Wang Zhixing, the military governor of Xuzhou, still established an ordination platform in Suzhou and derived considerable profits from it. Wang Zhixing posted notices around the region to invite people from south of the Yangtze and the Huai to apply for ordination. Many people seized this opportunity to evade taxes, to the extent that approximately every household of three adult members had one who was ordained (Gernet 59). Ordinations were purely transactional; there was no religious ceremony and many returned home upon receiving the certificate.

The sale of ordination certificates by Wang Zhixing was not an isolated case in that period, but it caused a scandal because of the very advantageous price that was offered (Gernet 59). Another example of the private sale of ordination certificates was the civil governor of Jiangxi, Yin You, who installed an ordination platform at the Bao Li monastery in Hong Zhou (Gernet 60). From 825 onwards, the sale of ordination certificates no longer benefitted the state coffers. The sale of ordination certificates enriched private individuals alone.

Such disregard to the imperial government was a direct challenge to authority and therefore an incentive for the government to respond. Thus, the reassertion of central power would be another strong incentive for Emperor Wuzong and his government to instigate the suppression of Buddhism in 845. The attempt at centralisation of power is also in line with the trend of taking many measures to regain power from provincial military governors and local garrisons in late Tang Dynasty (Dalby 486-492).

4.2. Li Deyu's Agenda

In addition to the power struggle between central and provincial government, the suppression of Buddhism in 845 may also have served the power struggle between different court factions. In particular, the suppression benefitted Li Deyu, the chief minister at Emperor Wuzong court who was responsible for carrying out the suppression. Although Li Deyu was personally attracted to elevated forms of Buddhism, he could not neglect the benefits the suppression would bring to state finance and the power of the imperial court. He was also aware that a suppression could help him promote an elaborate state ceremony to strengthen the cult of the great emperors and statesmen of early Tang Dynasty (Dalby 668). An example of this motivation can be seen in how he proposed to establish a "Shrine to Martial Glory" 昭武廟 using funds confiscated from Buddhist temples in recently conquered Zhao Yi 昭義 province. Li Deyu supported the use of former Buddhist buildings near Luoyang to restore important imperial shrines destroyed during the An Lushan rebellion (Dalby 668).

Ennin suggested that the early stages of the suppression may also have been linked to Li Deyu's efforts to curb the power of the eunuch Qiu Shiliang. Qiu Shiliang had a significant claim on the Emperor's favour at the time (Reischauer 233). Qiu was a pious Buddhist and the government official responsible for overseeing the Buddhist establishment (Dalby 669). Ennin revealed that following Qiu's death in 843, he was replaced by Yang Qinyi, who was not a protector of Buddhism like his predecessor. Following Qiu's death, four of his principal henchmen and their slaves, as well as his adopted son and heir were all executed

(Reischauer 235). This suggests that the suppression of Buddhism could have be connected to the efforts in reducing the power of the eunuchs. From Li Deyu's perspective, the suppression could encourage a split between the monarch and his eunuchs (Reischauer 237).

Conclusion

Taking into account the ideological, economic and political motives, I argue that the Tang imperial government was especially motivated by the potential economic benefits a suppression of Buddhism. The ideological incentives certainly had elements of truth, but were secondary to the economic incentives as they alone were not strong enough to warrant such an extensive movement. Additional perks that personally motivated certain court officials to take action against Buddhism were another contributing factor. In conclusion, the suppression of Buddhism in 845 was largely an austerity measure rather than a persecution of a religion.

Lastly, further questions about the impact of the suppression of Buddhism in 845 can also be raised. According to *The Cambridge History of China* volume 3, which is based on the diary of the Japanese monk Ennin, the only exceptions to the suppression were the superior prefectures, which were permitted to retain one temple, and the capitals Chang'an and Luoyang, which were manned by thirty monks each for the celebration of the official Buddhist cult (Gernet 45). The suppression of Buddhism in 845 forcefully laicized 250,000 monks and killed or injured many of them (Dalby 666). The devastation of Buddhist property, scriptures and sacred objects was severe (Dalby 666). Both sources portray the suppression in 845 as a brutal attack that almost crushed Buddhism. However, looking at the statistics of 700,000 ordained clergy in 830 provided by Gernet, which included both legitimate and illegitimate monks and nuns, in comparison to the 250,000 that were laicized, one can see that only around 35% of the total were laicized. Ennin's diary also states that 46,600 monasteries and shrines were destroyed and 410,000 monks, nuns and their slaves were laicized. Despite the numbers, one must keep in mind that both the edict and Ennin's diary were written from the capital, Chang'an. Thus, the sources were likely to more accurately reflect the local situation than the regions further away from the capital, especially since the imperial government was losing control of the provinces. Hence, the different claims on the effectiveness of the suppression of 845 show that there are varying opinions and perspectives on the immediate aftermath of the historical event. These are some questions that can be further explored in future research.

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How and Why Buddhist Architecture Changed During its Spread from India to China

Diana Ma

Introduction

Buddhism, the oldest foreign religion with many adherents, first came into China around 64-74 A.D. The introduction of Buddhism not only brought new religious belief, but also new aesthetics including the building style of South Asia. During the adaptation of Buddhism into local society, its monastic architecture also localized, giving rise to the unique architectural types of Chinese Buddhism we know today. From Eastern Han to Northern and Southern Dynasties, Buddhism was still at the stage of entering and being accepted by Chinese society. From Northern and Southern Dynasties to the Tang Dynasty, Buddhism gradually became more influential in Chinese society (Fu 166). However, not until the end of Tang Dynasty were Buddhist canons completely translated into Chinese (Guo 3-19). After the Tang Dynasty, Buddhism had mostly finished its localization as it has transformed into an independent religious system of China. This paper traces this process of transformation of Buddhist architecture from South Asia to East Asia, and focuses on the following points: the Indian Buddhist architectural types, Chinese Buddhist architecture that conserved Indian styles, and original characteristics of Chinese Buddhist architecture.

By doing so, we seek to gain not only a deeper understanding of the history of traditional Chinese architecture, but also to explore the interaction between Chinese society and a foreign religion at that time.

1. The Buddhist Architecture in India

Overall, Indian Buddhism brought with it two original elements of architecture into China: Grotto and Stupa (Zhang 71-76).

Grotto is the oldest form of Indian Buddhist architecture (The Buddhist Architecture). It is carved into cliffs and is usually located at remote rural areas far away from society and its politics. Chaitya and Vihara are two main types of Grotto with different functions.

The Chaitya, also known as ‘Chaitya-Griha’, primarily play a role in storing Buddhist material include relics, statues, scriptures and utensils (Li 14). Therefore, Chaitya were usually used for meetings or assemblies of prayers (Buddhist Sculpture). Walking down along the side of the rectangular corridor of the Chaitya, one would see a pillar with shrines or Stupa placed at the centre of a semi-circular end, where worshippers can circumambulate. Circumambulation, also called Pradakshina patha in Hindi, is a meditational practice of Buddhist teaching for the faithful (Shelby). People are required to walk around a sacred object on their right to show respect to it. As one of the oldest Indian Grotto built around 120 BC (Banerjee), Karla caves show a typical design of the Chaitya.

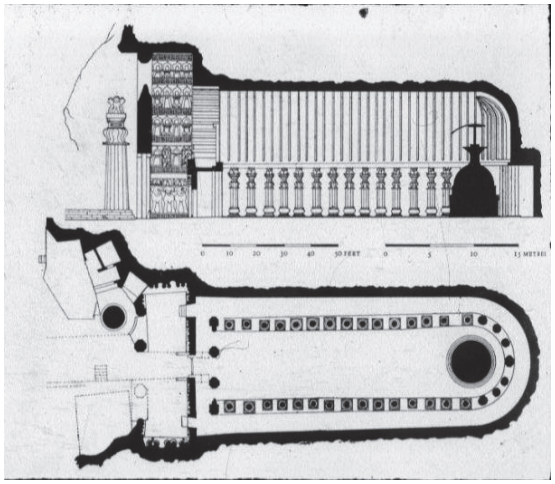


Figure 1.Plans of the Chaitya hall of Karla Caves in India (Chen, Qingxiang)

The Vihara was designed as accommodation for monks and usually built near the Chaitya (Edu). While the Chaitya functioned as a worship hall, the Vihara was usually used as a monastery for monks' meditation and Buddhist learning (Shah). The small cells of cave 1 at Ajanta shown below, for example, was able to hold around 22 monks (one monk per cell).

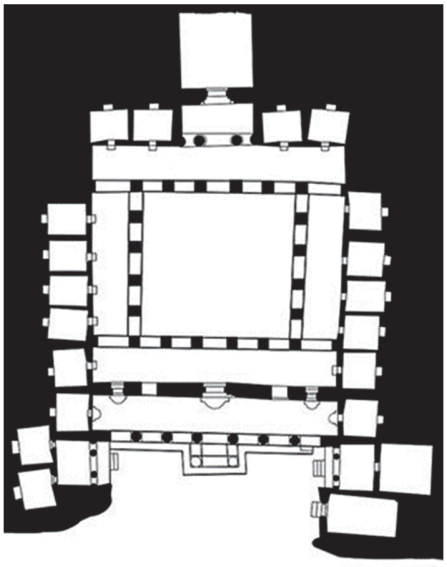


Figure 2. Plans of cave 1 at Ajanta, a typical Vihara hall for prayer and living, 5th century (Shelby).

Unlike the Grotto, the Stupa was a structural emblem of Buddhist doctrines for practice and rituals (Violatti). According to an account from the Maha-parinibbana Sutta [Last Days of Buddha] (D.II.143-3), when Buddha was asked how to deal with his remains after his death, he replied that his remains should be cremated after being wrapped by multiple layers of cloth and placed within two iron vessels, following the tradition of Cakkavatti emperors. The relics should then be placed in a Stupa 'catummahapathe' [where four roads meet] (Harvey 68). That is how Stupa originated.

A typical Stupa consists of Toranas, Pradakshinapatha, Anda, Harmika, Yasti and Chatras. A Stupa is usually surrounded by four Toranas (gateways), each leading to a road. This represents the openness and universality of Buddhist teaching (Harvey 70). Anda is the hemispherical dome containing Buddha isn't relics. Yasti in Hindi symbolizes the *axis mundi* which is a line in Vedic mythology through the Earth's center around which the universe was thought to spin. Surrounding the Yasti, there is the Harmika, which is a gate or fence. Both of them are topped by Chatras, which are umbrella-like objects representing 'protection and royalty' (Shelby).

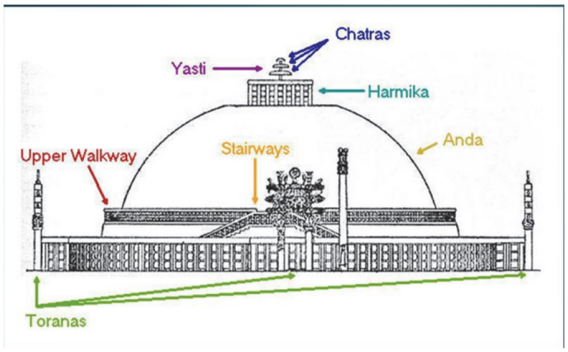


Figure 3: The basic structure of a Stupa

2. Buddhist architecture in China

Before the spread of Buddhism into China, Chinese architecture had experienced a dramatic change. In Neolithic times, sunken household clusters and timber-framed stilt houses were invented. In the Shang Dynasty, rammed earth became widely used, with which enormous palaces and graves could be constructed later in this time period. A system for regulating hierarchy, positions and scales of architecture eventually emerged in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Period, which is a typical characteristic of Chinese architecture (Chen, Jielin). The Weiyang Palace 未央宫, built around 200 BC, was a typical specimen of such traditional Chinese architecture. Common Chinese architectural traits, such as kiosks (Ting 亭), terraces (Tai 台), storied buildings (Lou 楼), pavilions (Ge 阁), house on terrace (Xie 榭), and a watchtower flanking the palace gate (Que 阙) were all demonstrated in this masterpiece. Also, according to a drawing of the Weiyang Palace from the Qing Dynasty, hip roofs and saddle roofs can be spotted, which are two Chinese traditional rooftops showing the hierarchy of the owners - this will be discussed in the section on Chinese temples (Longmenshik).

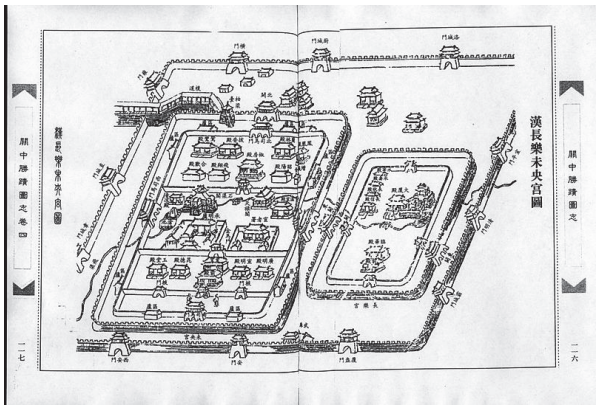


Figure 4. A drawing of Han Changle Weiyang Palace from Guan Zhong Sheng Ji Tu Zhi by Biyuan, Qing Dynasty [清朝的畢沅著作：《關中勝跡圖志》卷四](Yue)

2.1. Grottoes

Mogao Grottoes, whose construction began in 366 A.D. are the oldest of Buddhist Grottoes. According to a book written by Li Junxiu 李君修 (active during Tang Empress Wu's reign) entitled *Fo Kan Ji* 佛龕記[An Account of Buddhist Shrines], a monk named Lezun 樂僔 saw a mountain shining with a thousand Buddhas bathed in golden light. Therefore, Lezun decided to set up the first Vihara there for meditation, followed by another monk named Faliang 法良 who also constructed a Vihara near Lezun's. Later on, more and more people got involved in the construction of Grottoes, including the provincial governors and the common folks from the entire province (Li Ru).

The Chaitya in Dunhuang still preserved the basic arrangement from the Indian Chaitya shown in Figure 5. Even though the Stupa originally placed at the end of the Chaitya was replaced by a central pillar with shrines, the function of the Stupa such as Pradakshinapatha was still well preserved (Xu G.M).

However, instead of having an arched roof, the Chinese-version Chaitya integrated a double-pitch roof, which was the most common roof design for Chinese traditional architecture.

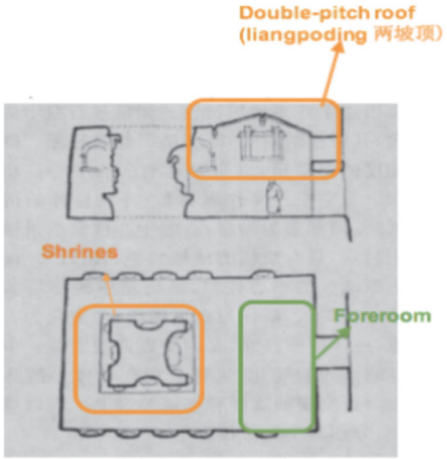


Figure 5: A chaitya in Mogao Grottoes

Additionally, the figure of a shrine found in the Mogao Grottoes (Figure 6), shows four vertical structures erected on both sides, called Que 闕, which refers to watchtowers flanking the palace gate. This is one of the most distinct styles from Chinese multi-storied buildings.

Figure 6. A que-shaped shrine in Mogao Grottoes

Also, Pagodas made of masonry and bricks with traits of Chinese timber architecture such as *Dougong* 斗拱 [Bracketing unit] were found in Grottoes built during Northern and Southern Dynasties especially in Northern Wei.

Figure 7. Chinese wooden architectural elements such as Dougong imitated on the pagoda placed at the centre of 2nd grotto in Yungang Grottoes in Northern Wei.

Interestingly, costumes of some josses built after the Northern and Western Dynasties were changed from the one shown in Figure 8 into the Han-style *Shidafu* 士大夫 [scholar-officials] shown in Figure 9, which was possibly the result of Emperor Xiaowen's policy of Sinicization 漢化政策 at that time (Nandu).

Figure 8. A joss of Maitreya with crossed ankles in Magao Grottoes (412-460

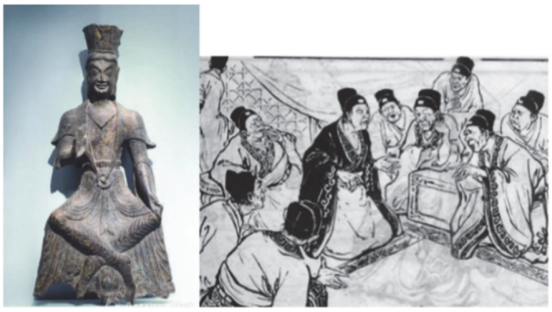


Figure 9 A comparison between the joss of Maitreya with crossed ankles in Northern Wei (525) and the image of *Shidafu* in Eastern Han (Emperor Ling).

2.2. Pagodas

A Pagoda, according to the definition provided by Merriam Webster Dictionary, is ‘a tower in eastern Asia usually with roofs curving upward at the division of each of several stories and erected as a temple or memorial’.

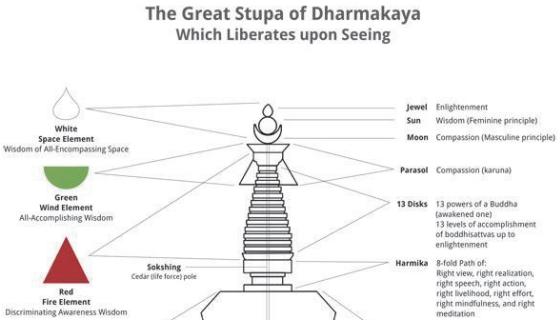


Figure 10. The top of a Stupa.

The top of a Pagoda is usually designed in a similar way as that of a Stupa (Fu). The spires of a Stupa and a Pagoda both consist of three objects symbolizing a ‘jewel (enlightenment), sun (wisdom) and moon (compassion)’. Different from the top of the Stupa, the top of a Pagoda replaces the three umbrella-like objects with 13 disks which represents ‘13 levels of accomplishment of Buddha up to the enlightenment’ (“Great Stupa Symbolism.”).

When Buddhism was introduced into China, under the influence of Taoism, local people worshipped both Buddha and the Taoist divinities Yellow Emperor and Laozi. They believed that immortals in Taoism preferred to live in multi-storied buildings 仙人好樓居. Consequently, the hemispherical dome of a Stupa was transformed into a multi-storied Pagoda. Nevertheless, there were still a few Indian characteristics remaining in the Pagoda. One of them is the layout of Pagodas’ bottom. The Pagoda in Songyue Temple 嵩岳寺 maintained a circular base, similar to the four gates of the Stupa.

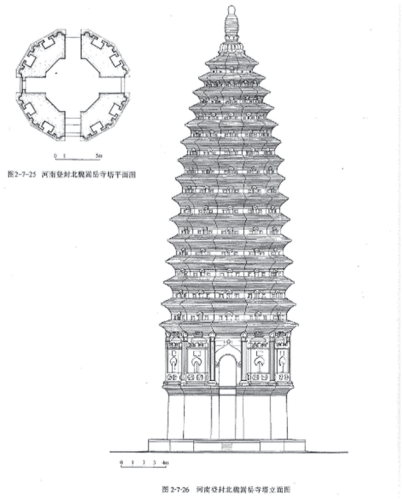


Figure 11. A pagoda in Songyue Temple 嵩岳寺, Hebei, China.

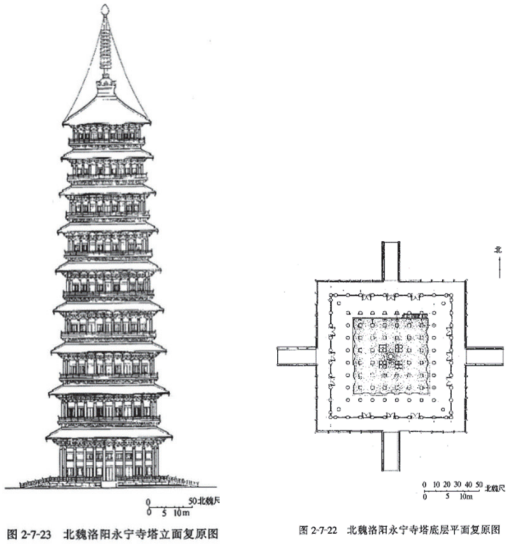


Figure 12. A pagoda in Yongning Temple, Luoyang.

At the same time period, there is another typical example, the Pagoda in the Yongning Temple 洛陽永寧寺 in Luoyang, built during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. The four gates were preserved, but the shape of the base was converted from a circle into a square, which further embedded the elements of Chinese Timber architecture into Pagodas during this transitional period.

Later, upper-class people in China started competing with each other by comparing whose Pagoda was higher with more storeies, and gradually, a ‘close-eaved Pagoda’ was developed. The emergence of this type of architecture also ensured the safety of the building by avoiding corrosion and fire hazards.

2.3. Temples

During the localization of Buddhism in China, temples became the main trend of Chinese Buddhist architecture. The change of the internal layout and the increase of building types inside the temples, are two ways to show how temples in China evolved and developed (Fu 166).

The layout of the White Horse Temple, whose construction started in 68 A.D, and was the first temple set up in China, best illustrates the localization of Buddhism in Chinese society. A wooden Pagoda was erected as a main building of the temple by Emperor Ming, which was unfortunately destroyed due to wars and rebuilt in 1546A.D (Baimasi). Similar internal arrangements can also been seen in the Ze Rong Temple 漢末徐州笮融浮屠祠 in Xuzhou and in a temple at the south of the Luoyang Palace 曹魏洛陽宮西佛圖 in Cao Wei, where Pagodas were placed and surrounded by attics and plank roads. The original text mentions this design as *Ge Dao* 閣道, which can be assumed as refering to attics and plank roads, which are *Ge* 閣 [pavilion], and *Zhandao* 棧道 [plank road] respectively. In other words, Chinese Buddhist temples were actually built around the Pagodas they contained 立塔為寺, as is shown in Figure 13 (Fu 166).

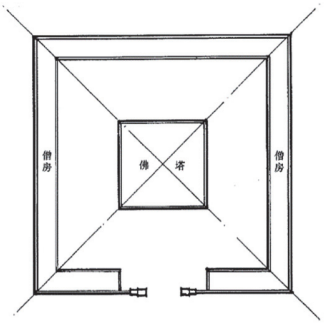


图 2-7-2 立塔为寺的佛寺平面模式图

Figure 13.

Western Jin was a time of frequent social unrest when people required more support from religions. Hence Buddhism was provided with a chance to spread further into China. There were increasing visits of foreign monks and a large number of Buddhist scriptures were translated. By Eastern Jin, Chinese Buddhist temples were not only built with space for worship, but also for lectures and sermons. During this time period, the general layout of temples tended to be more regular by adding gates and other subordinate buildings (Fu 168).

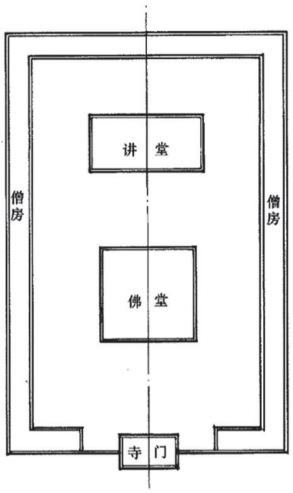


图 2-7-3 堂塔并立的佛寺平面模式图

Figure 14.

Besides social unrest, another reason for the increasing scale of temples was due to the spread of Hinayana and Mahayana into China simultaneously, which asked followers to conduct ascetic practices. However, effects brought by this form of Buddhism were much weaker with its decline in China later on. By contrast, Mahayana monks were not expected to beg for food and live outside in the wild anymore. Some of them could even own private property. After *Kumārajīva*, temple economics began to develop with the stabilization of middle and upper class monks' status. As a result, places such as storerooms and residential areas were designed in a temple (Fu 168).

At the end of Northern Wei, donating houses for the use of temples became popular. Especially after the battle of Heyin in 528 A.D (*Heyinzhibian* 河陰之變), lots of aristocrats lost their lives and their houses were mostly used as temples, which preserved the general layout of the original houses (Fu 170). Since the layout of residential buildings didn't correspond to those of a temple, the size of the Pagodas was diminished and the position of Pagodas was often changed. Also, setting up Pagodas became popular among people in the South. For example, in the Chang'an Temple 建康长安寺 in Jiankang, up to five Pagodas were built one after another. The random and excessive distribution of Pagodas eventually weakened the status of the Pagoda in a temple (Fu 172).

Generally speaking, governors of Northern Dynasties tended to pursue legitimacy so the layout of temples are more regular and tidy. However, temples in Southern Dynasties had to be built according to the natural environment. Therefore, they tended to preserve existing temples and continued expanding on them. Specific examples are the Jianchu Temple 建初寺 and Pengcheng Temple 彭城寺 built in Eastern Wu (Fu 173).

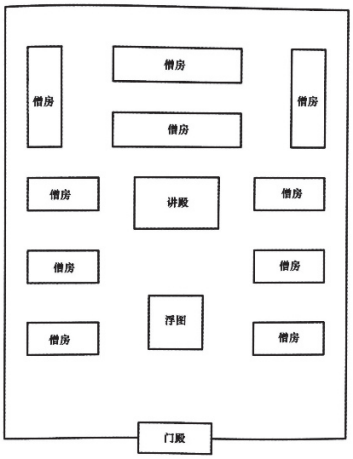
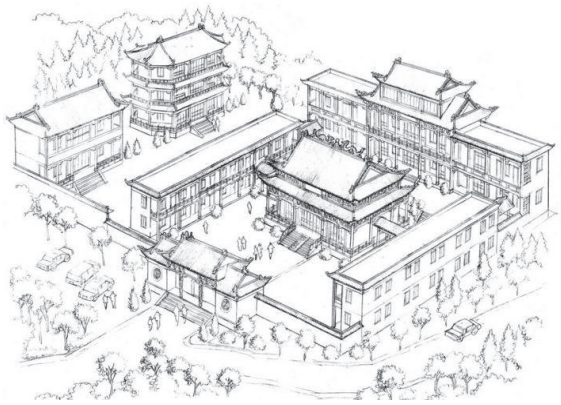


Figure 15. The layout of a temple in Northern and Southern Dynasties (Nandu)

Since the Tang Dynasty, temples had already been separated into governmental and non-governmental ones. Places such as Xingxiang Yuan 行香院, Shengrong Yuan 圣容院 and Ying Tang 影堂 emerged for the purpose of prayer, storing josses and commemorating famous monks. In addition, the style of roofs of main halls of some temples was also applied in accordance with their social levels. The following types of roofs are categorized from highest hierarchy to the lowest: hip roof (*fudian ding* 庑殿顶), saddle roof (*xieshan ding* 歇山顶), suspension roof (*xuanshan ding* 悬山顶), gabbled roof (*yingshan ding* 硬山顶) and paraboloid roof (*juanpeng ding* 卷棚顶 *ou haquan* 海券). The main halls of the Foguang Temple and the Wutai Nanchan Temple are two examples that applied different types of roofs to show their distinct hierarchies.

The Foguang Temple, as a governmental Buddhist temple, employed a hip roof, which is the highest-standard roof. By contrast, the Nanchan temple, which is a non-governmental Buddhist temple, was constructed in the way of a normal residence of the rich and applied a saddle roof.

Figure 16. A model of the main hall of Foguang Temple ("Suitang").



Conclusion

To conclude, there are several reasons for the localization of Buddhist architecture. From the perspective of foreign monks, they had to rely politically and economically on local governments or strong powers who were more likely to construct Buddhist architecture by imitating their own government offices or residence. Also, since Chinese traditional architecture had already become an important component of people's daily lives at that time, applying the style of Chinese traditional architecture, allowed the public to be more willing to accept this foreign religion (Zuo).

Localization is not the full story of the development of Chinese Buddhist architecture. New architectural elements introduced with Buddhism such as the Pagoda later became a well-known and representative symbol of China with its continual development after localization. The story of Chinese Buddhist architecture shows us how foreign culture received locally can produce something new. By learning about interactions between these two cultures, we can have a deeper and broader understanding of the history of Buddhism and of foreign cultural influence in China.

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