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The Bauhinia flower represents Hong Kong's essence. The different stages of its blooming mirror the journey of curiosity, exploration, and ultimately the culmination of tireless efforts. As such, the Bauhinia is a metaphor for the endless depths of knowledge continuously expanded upon by countless researchers. Like butterflies drawn to the flower, these research papers possess the potential to enthrall and inspire those who read them. The illustration, paying homage to Chinese culture with its traditional *GongBi* style, bestows a unique touch to this cover. It serves as a celebration honoring the remarkable achievements of researchers and their profound contributions to the advancement of knowledge.

Artwork for cover by: JI, Sze Nga (Queena), G11 Student

Editor's Note

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to introduce the ninth volume of our annual student research journal, *Bauhinia*! At The ISF Academy, we firmly believe in the power of student-led research and its potential to shape the future; this journal allows us to continue nurturing the intellectual curiosity and academic prowess of our young scholars.

In an age where Artificial Intelligence (AI) technology continues to evolve and augment the research landscape, it is crucial to celebrate the rigor and intellectual pursuits of students. *Bauhinia* strives to emphasize the indispensable role of the human intellect amidst an AI revolution. Authentic research goes beyond mere data analysis and algorithmic outputs. It encompasses the cultivation of critical thinking skills, the pursuit of knowledge, and the relentless exploration of unanswered questions. While AI technology has undoubtedly enhanced the efficiency and precision of certain research tasks, it is human ingenuity and creativity that remain at the heart of genuine research; moving forward, *Bauhinia* will need to delve deeper into this consideration.

We extend our sincere gratitude to the passionate educators, mentors, and the *Shuyuan* editorial team that have supported student research and have made this journal possible.

Please join us in celebrating the exceptional research endeavors of our students. From articles comparing Chinese and Western sources about the element of water, tea, ideal societies, virtues, entertainment, war, and death, to technologies such as hydraulics, utility knives, medicine, antibacterial nanoparticles, solar panels, and a trash-picking robot, there's content to please every palette.

Thank you for your support; we look forward to your contributions, readership, and engagement with *Bauhinia*. Feel free to reach out at sy_team@isf.edu.hk.

Rachel Oser, Simon Griffin, Yulong Zhang, Diana Ibarra
Editors-in-Chief

編者的話

親愛的讀者們,

我們非常高興地向您介紹學生研究年刊《紫荊花》的第九卷!在弘立書院,我們堅信學生主導的研究的力量以及它塑造未來的潛能。這本期刊的存在,使我們得以持續培養年輕學者的智識好奇心和學術實力。

在人工智能(AI)技術不斷演進並增強研究領域的時代,表彰學生的嚴謹態度和求知之心變得至關重要。《紫荊花》致力於強調人類智慧在人工智能革命中不可或缺的作用。真正的研究不僅僅是數據分析和算法輸出,它涵蓋了批判性思維技巧的培養、對知識和未解之謎的不懈探索。儘管人工智能技術無疑提高了某些研究任務的效率和精確性,但真正的研究核心仍然是人類的獨創性和創造力。展望未來,《紫荊花》需要進一步將這一點考慮在內。

我們要向那些對學生研究充滿熱情的教育者、導師以及書院編輯團隊表示衷心的感謝,正是他們的支持使這本期刊成為可能。

請與我們一同慶祝我們學生的傑出研究成就。從比較中西方關於水元素的看法,到茶、理想社會、美德、娛樂、戰爭和死亡,再到關於液壓技術、多用途刀具、醫藥、抗菌納米顆粒、太陽能面板和撿垃圾機器人等技術的內容,應有盡有,每位讀者都能找到喜愛的內容。

感謝您的支持;我們期待著您投稿、閱讀和參與《紫荊花》。如果您有任何疑問,歡迎通過sy_team@isf.edu.hk與我們聯繫。

歐睿秋, Simon Griffin, 張玉龍, Diana Ibarra

Artist: Sunny Jiang
Title: *在這裡失去，在這裡尋找*
Medium: Acrylic on canvas, 81cm x 61cm
Description: This piece signifies the young generation's profound connection to cultural heritage. The girl lying in a room filled with porcelain symbolizes her lying among the delicate ceramic's fragility, embodying the essence of protecting culture. Each ceramic piece represents the vulnerability of our traditions; once broken, it becomes challenging to recover again. The painting reminds individuals to protect our cultural heritage for future.

A Note about Style

Articles included in this publication are written for many different purposes. Any differences in style are due to the need to adhere to the format required for that purpose. Generally, the Harvard Referencing style is used for articles written in English and Chinese. However, articles that were originally submitted as partial fulfillment of the International Baccalaureate (IB) programmes, such as the Diploma Programme's (DP) Extended Essay (EE) or Theory of Knowledge (TOK) course, have followed the specific requirements as outlined by the student's supervisor at the time of assignment, and they are published in this journal as they were originally submitted. A footnote under each article indicates the program from which each piece of work was culled.

關於文體的說明

本出版物中的文章是為許多不同目的而寫的。任何風格上的差異都是由於需要遵守該目的所需的格式。一般來說，一般來說，文章如果是用英文或中文撰寫的，會使用哈佛引用風格。然而，原先作為國際文憑(IB)計劃部分學業完成要求而提交的文章，例如文憑課程的延伸論文(EE)或知識論(TOK)課程，則遵循了學生在作業指派時的指導老師的具體要求，它們被原樣發表在這本期刊上。每篇文章下的腳注都注明了文章入選前所屬的項目。

What Views Did the Philosophers Thales and Laozi Have on the Element of Water?

Hailey Wong 黃嘉盈

Introduction

Water makes up over seventy percent of our planet's surface and is essential for all living things to survive. Since prehistoric times, water has prompted numerous philosophers from diverse civilizations to consider utilizing the notion of water to promote their own beliefs. Such philosophers included Thales, the earliest known western philosopher who claimed water as the primary substance of all matter, and Laozi, the founder of Daoism who believed water to be a reflection of the concept of *'Dao* 道*'*. In this way, similarities can be found in their recognition of the element as a primal part of the world's nature, although the elaboration of their philosophies differ.

In this essay, Thales and Laozi's views on water will be investigated in further detail, and a comparison will be conducted on their ways of thinking, as well as the reasoning behind their interpretations. The rationale for this inquiry arises from the symbolic prominence of water in both Ancient Greece and China, as well as its numerous properties that may be interpreted in multiple ways (Mithen, 2012). In addition, both philosophers and their theories may possibly impact contemporary science and respective western and Chinese cultural identity. This inquiry can also provide light on how philosophy as a mode of thought differs between Ancient Greece and China, as well as how they can be comparable despite the geographical and chronological distance between the two traditions.

1. Background Information

1.1 Thales

Thales of Miletus (624/623 – 548/545 BCE) was a philosopher, scientist, mathematician, and astronomer from Miletus in Ionia in Asia Minor. He is known as the founder of science and the first philosopher in the West for being the first to examine a natural or rational explanation for the workings of this universe, thinking more in the way of *logos* rather than *mythos*. He is also credited with influencing many other pre-Socratic philosophers, including Pythagoras, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Xenophanes, and was highly regarded by Aristotle. Some of his most recognized feats include predicting the solar eclipse on May 28, 585 BCE, utilizing geometry to compute pyramid heights, inventing five geometric theorems, and his cosmological theory involving water. He is said to have died of heat stroke at the 58th Olympiad (O'Grady, 2017).

As Thales was born and lived in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, much information about his life, such as his family or background, is unknown. While no writings or works attributed to Thales have survived, his achievements and thoughts were recorded by other philosophers such as Aristotle, who discussed Thales' theories in one of his major works, *Metaphysics*. Aristotle's account of Thales' hypothesis involving the *arche* will be heavily referenced in this essay.

1.2 Laozi

Laozi (老子) (Unknown, 6th century – 4th century BCE) founded Daoism, which was both a school of intellectual thinking and a religion in Ancient China. He was also thought to be the author of the *Daodejing* (道德經), a key Daoist work. He was recognised by Confucius as a philosopher, and the Daoist religion sometimes elevates him to the status of saint or deity. His writings had a great influence on Chinese religion, culture and other philosophers (Chan, 2018).

The *Shǐjì* (史記), a historical documentary by historian Sima Qian, is the principal source of modern understanding of Laozi's life. Laozi, also known as Li Er, is reported to be a native of Quren of the Chu state during the Warring State period. According to legend, Laozi was asked to write a book before sailing to the West and then disappearing from historical record. This book became known as the *Daodejing* (道德經), and it contained Laozi's thoughts on the nature of *Dào* (道) and the nature of the world, as well as integrity or

The above article was written as a culminating essay for the *Shuyuan* Comparative Philosophy Summer Program, 2022.

virtue (德). It is in this section that he defines how an ideal person should be like and connects it to the essence of water.

2. Interpretations of Water

Thales discussed water in a metaphysical sense, while Laozi used it in his moral philosophies. As such, the element was central to both their individual ways of thinking, even though their basic approaches to philosophy differed. However, their views also shared some similarities. Thales thought of water as the origin of all matter, and Laozi thought that water was nearest to how he envisioned *Dao*, or the nature of the world. As a result, as will be investigated further below, they both saw water in close association to the nature of the world, as well as conceiving of it as a superior element.

2.1 Summary of Thales' Theory

Prior to Thales' time, most people believed that the world and everything in it was created by the gods and titans of Greek mythology. According to Hesiod's theogony (Atsma, 2017), in Greek tradition the universe was thought to have arisen first from chaos itself, then through the creation and reproduction of deities. Thales presumably took what was mythology a step further and proposed his own theory of the origin of the world, stating that water was the singular substance that created all life and matter. As a result, the term "arche" was coined, which is a Greek word that means "beginning", "origin" or "source of action". Thales used this term to describe his discoveries about the relationship between water and the world. According to Aristotle's accounts of Thales' theory, the later philosopher presumed that Thales came to this conclusion through the concept of moisture:

> "Presumably he derived this assumption from seeing that the nutriment of everything is moist, and that heat itself is generated from moisture and depends upon it for its existence."
>
> Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Book 1 section 983B
>
> (Tufts. Edu, 2018)

Thales fixation on water as the "*arche*" is explained through this passage, especially with Aristotle's reference to the terms "nutriment" and "heat". The word 'nutriment' means nourishment or sustenance, supporting the idea that water is in part an origin of life. The passage also mentions that 'heat itself is generated from moisture' and 'depends upon it', which is a form of tautology stating and emphasizing that water also brings warmth, thus another form of nourishment upon life. Additionally, the simplest of metallurgy had been practiced prior to Thales' existence, so the transformative powers of water were not unknown. Water, due to its lower boiling and cooling points, exhibits changes in matter states easily. Hence it is also the most visibly unique element with direct ties to life, and it would make sense that Thales would have used it to support his hypothesis that the world had come from something other than gods.

Aside from Aristotle, other philosophers also emphasize the importance of water in Thales' ideas. Aetius, a Eclectic philosopher from the first of second century AD, mentions in the *Placita* that Thales considered the concept that:

> "Even the very fire of the sun and the stars, and indeed the cosmos itself, is nourished by evaporation of the waters."
>
> (Tufts. Edu, 2018)

First of all, Aetius uses hyperbole within this passage to emphasize the certainty and importance of Thales' theory. Thales' hypothesis was that water might change states, from solid to liquid to gas, and possibly beyond, to fire, air, or even the plasma and light from the skies and cosmos. The usage of "Even the very fire…" suggests a certain power or quality that only water holds — it wins over and is a fundamental part of even the opposing element of fire. Yet the choice of "nourished" to describe the state of the universe indicates that the powers of water are benevolent, and that Thales to some extent held respect and admiration for his '*arche'*. Furthermore, the term 'arche' itself, following the declaration of water as the only primary substance, suggests the amount of belief Thales had in his own theory, or at least in the concept that reality exists outside of the influence of gods.

In addition, Thales held the idea that the earth floated on water. However, this idea has only remained through Aristotle's descriptions and is only recorded in a single phrase:

> "Thales, the founder of this school of philosophy, says the permanent entity is water (which is why he also propounded that the earth floats on water)."
>
> Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Book 1 section 983B
>
> (Tufts. Edu, 2018)

In this passage, Aristotle reiterates that water is very important to life and reality. In stating that the earth floats on water, it acts as almost a form of imagery where the earth's balance is completely dependent on the element itself. Thus, the central role and relative

importance of water is established. This is also strengthened by the word choice of ‘permanent’, as it establishes water as a constant, suggesting once again that the element is in some way tied to reality or life itself.

Overall, Thales saw the importance of water in the world above all else, so much so that he developed two distinct hypotheses, of water creating everything and supporting the earth, to explain how life might have originated from it. Water served as Thales' way of explaining natural phenomena of the world through logic and reason.

2.2 Summary of Laozi’s Theory

Within Laozi's writings, water is linked to the *Daodejing's* central message, which is how Virtue (Dé 德) expresses *Dao* and how naturalness brings virtue. Thus, Laozi’s views on water had a moral aspect to it. The following passage is one of Laozi's most well-known phrases:

> “上善若水。水善利萬物而不爭，處衆人之所惡，故幾於道。”
> “The best of men are like water. The excellence of water appears in its benefiting all things, and in its occupying of, without striving, the low place which all men dislike. Hence (its way) is near to (that of) the *Dao*.”.
>
> (Ratcliffe, 2017)

Laozi believed that water is an element with superior qualities that corresponds with two of the main ideas in the *Daodejing*: ‘*Dao’* and ‘De’. The term ‘*De’* is most closely resemblant of the English word ‘virtue’, or the way one should act in accordance with personal and societal values. Water's nature is such that it ‘benefits all things’, supplying anything that requires it without discrimination. It also prefers to dwell in low places, so it is humble and does not seek glory. Kindness and humility are both qualities worth admiring in water, and as Laozi suggests that "the best of men are like water," that is, kind, fair, and humble.

Through the phrase “Hence is near to the *Dao*”, Laozi directly states the connection between water and *Dao*. In the passage, Laozi states that the ideal man should strive to be like water, because the nature of water is closest to *Dao*. According to Laozi and later philosophers, Daoism is said to be a cosmic energy that flows through all things and emphasizes the natural manner of the universe, thus the expression "going with the flow" (Cartwright, 2009). It also refers to a force that maintains natural and social harmony. *Dao* is "the everlasting order of the cosmos and, at the same time, its path," (ScienceDirect.com, 2012) thus placed at a value of high magnitude. As water is directly compared to the idea of *Dao*, as evidenced by the passage, it can be deduced that out of all the elements, Laozi believes water has the qualities most admirable and superior. Furthermore, the passage's diction or word choice emphasizes the quality of the element, such as 'best' or 'excellence,' both of which are examples of superlative diction. Along with the use of 'all' in 'benefiting all things,' there is also strong hyperbole within the passage concerning how Laozi sees water. This shows that Laozi sees much value in water and its qualities.

However, while Laozi's word choice demonstrates his admiration for water, he does not directly praise the element itself. Instead, water is always mentioned in relation to the *Dao* virtue. For instance, Laozi compared ‘the best of men’ with water, but at the end of the passage both were said to be merely near the way of *Dao*. Ultimately, Laozi admires and believes in *Dao* the most. As a result, although the philosopher did not directly regard water as a philosophical exemplar in and of itself he did admire the qualities that water could embody in relation to his own world view. Water was simply a means for him to further his ideology.

Laozi elsewhere discusses the nature of water in conjunction with weakness. Although this is not directly about the *Dao*, he does allude to a similar message as in the previous passage.

> “天下莫柔弱於水，而攻堅強者莫之能勝，其無以易之。”
> “There is nothing in the world weaker than water, and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it; - for there is nothing (so effectual) for which it can be changed.”.
>
> (Ratcliffe, 2017)

In his discussion of water, he establishes his admiration for the element’s fluidity or adaptability. Laozi's ideology does not actually promote weakness in its traditional meaning: while the English translator translated the words '柔弱' as ‘weak’, the meaning of the Chinese term is more akin to soft or fluid, which indicates less negative qualities. Within the passage, words like ‘weaker’ are used to describe water in contrast with ‘firm’ and ‘strong’, directly corresponding to Laozi’s declaration that there is

‘nothing’ that could take precedence over this weak nature of water. While the term ‘weak’ is often a negative term, here the contrast seems to heighten the praise for water’s qualities. Additionally, while water's softness and fluidity can indicate a direct relationship to physical strength, it can also be analogous to gentler or 'weaker' human qualities like kindness and humility, which Laozi established in previous passages.

3. Comparison

Both Thales and Laozi can be regarded as founders of philosophy in their respective cultures. Based on their estimated birth dates, they might have lived at the same time. Although neither could have heard of the other, they both came to the conclusion that water was inextricably interwoven with the world itself. While their interpretations differ significantly, with Laozi emphasizing the metaphorical rather than the physical portrayal of the universe, something about water prompted both thinkers to see it as a reflection of the world and life itself. However, their points also deviated from their core belief and differed with one another, such as the personal implications of Laozi’s concept in contrast with Thales’ more broad hypothesis.

3.1 Similarities

The main point of agreement between the two philosophers' perspectives on water is that they both saw the element as a fundamental part of the world itself. Thales believed that water was the source of all life and structure on Earth, whereas Laozi believed that water was the closest thing to the original and natural way of life, *Dao* and *De*. The parallels extend to Thales' ideas that the earth floats on water and that life is dependent on and shaped by water and moisture. This suggests that Thales and Laozi both linked the concept of water to reality. Moreover, in both philosophers' writings, water is extolled and viewed as an origin and an element of the highest power through the use of hyperbole and superlative diction. For this element to be directly compared with existence itself suggests a high level of respect and admiration for the element and its qualities.

However, while it is easy to say that both philosophers admired and praised water, it can be argued that the element itself is of little importance in comparison to the rest of their ideas in their philosophies. The two philosophers referred to water as something that humanity cannot live without, a common element, to establish their hypothesis or ideals. Thales' other accomplishments involve him attempting to use logic to answer fundamental questions, such as predicting solar eclipses, similar to a scientific hypothesis. As so much of his work has been lost, his work on the arche may not have been as central to his philosophy as modern historians believe; rather, it is an aspect of his work that his students continued to change and develop. Laozi's use of water as a tool is even clearer. In his case, water is always used as a comparison or metaphor, and is never directly addressed. Hence, their views on water are primarily linked to their own ideologies.

3.2 Differences

While Thales viewed water as part of a metaphysical inquiry into the structure of the world, Laozi’s reference to water is part of his philosophy related to morals and ethics. As such, it is the implications of their theories that are the primary difference between Laozi and Thales' views on water. In the case of the Greek philosopher, Thales was concerned with the physical properties of water in a literal sense. His hypothesis was based on observation and logic, and had no ramifications for human behavior. Unlike Laozi, Thales' perspective on water does not implicate anyone. His ideas about the possible formation of the world were not meant to impact one’s lifestyle. On the other hand, Laozi's theory primarily uses water as a metaphor to comment on individual behavior, rather than describing it as something physical to admire. He placed the most emphasis on the many properties of water and used them to support his claim, which is still followed as a main part of Daoist tradition.

Within the theories themselves, the main difference between Thales and Laozi is their philosophical approaches. What questions each philosopher sought to resolve differed. It is the difference between questioning one's fundamental existence and deciding which path to take while living. Or, to be more precise, an inquiry of how the world functions versus a method through which one could improve themselves. While Thales approached water as a scientific inquiry, Laozi saw it as a form of moral philosophy.

4. Influence of the Philosophers’ Views

Both Thales and Laozi’s theories had great influence on society in terms of cultural and historical impact. This is part of the reason why such a question regarding the two’s commonalities in terms of views on water was chosen.

As mentioned previously, Thales was the first western philosopher who broke away from religious views on the structure of the world in favor of logic. His legacy, particularly the term *'arche*,' would be passed down to his assumed disciple Anaximander and other presocratics. Various hypotheses about the main material of the world emerged, such as Anaximander's conception of *apeiron*, an infinite substance, or Anaximenes' theory of air as the *arche*. This eventually led to Leucippus and Democritus' idea of atomism, which said that the world is made up of minute particles visible to the naked eye. This notion ended up being close to what current science has revealed, therefore the word "atom" was retained. As a result, Thales indirectly developed the notion of science by establishing the beginnings of metaphysics.

In contrast, Laozi had a much more direct impact on society. Many of his values remain in circulation around not only China, but also the world. In terms of his sayings about water, they are amongst the most quoted sayings in the *Daodejing*. For instance, the chinese equivalent of "the best of men are like water" (上善若水), is an extremely common saying in China. The words "be like water" themselves are also quoted by famous people like Bruce Lee (Lee, 2020). Aside from this, Daoism has impacted several Chinese cultural specialities. Together with Confucianism and Buddhism, it is regarded as one of the three foundations of Ancient China. Because it is concerned with the nature of the cosmos, entire life attitudes such as *Wuwei* (無為), or non-action, have arisen. *Dao's* emphasis on nature paved the way for advancements in science (similar to Thales), notably in Chinese medicine. Because *Dao* gives balance and harmony to nature, Chinese medicine employs the concept of internal equilibrium, or *yin* and *yang*.

The influence of the two philosophers linger in modern day. Early metaphysical philosophy led to modern science, and the *Daodejing* remains as part of Chinese values and even a form of religion, encouraging people to be good. The presence and relative importance of water in the construction of their respective theories demonstrate the worth of studying such philosophers' perspectives on water.

Conclusion

This research has examined Thales' and Laozi's perspectives on water, both in terms of its purpose in the world's formation and elsewhere. While Thales' hypothesis is based on logical reasoning and deduction, and Laozi's is more of a metaphor for how one should act morally, the two theories have elements that play an important role in the justification of their primary belief, which is linked to how the world works. Overall, both philosophers have a very positive attitude about water and see the potential in its numerous features, which their ideas are based on.

In modern times, the concept of water's qualities remain pertinent in scientific inquiry and moral justification. Additionally, there is a greater emphasis on issues due to droughts and floods caused by climate change, as well as water scarcity in impoverished regions. However, it appears that with easy access to taps or pipes, many people have lost sight of the element's value that Thales and Laozi once saw. Yet the value of water has not decreased in the slightest; some now believe that water scarcity will fuel many future human conflicts (Milne, 2021). So perhaps we, as humans, need to pause and reconsider the value of water, lest we let it slip away unnoticed.

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Origin of Chinese Blue and White Porcelain

Shu Qing Zhang 章舒卿

Introduction

Widely regarded as the pinnacle of Chinese ceramics, Chinese blue and white porcelain has garnered international popularity for its distinctive color palette and intricate designs. Notably, the "Chinamania" of the 1800s catapulted the blue and white porcelain to international popularity. Members of the Aestheticism movement of the late nineteenth century began searching for art made for art's sake, as opposed to art created to emphasize a moral point or create a socio-political impact (Johnson, 2017). Influential Aesthetic artists like Dante Gabriel Rossetti and James McNeill Whistler started collecting Chinese blue and white porcelain in the mid-nineteenth century, which they believed to be the epitome of beauty in terms of color, material, and form (Chen, 2009). The blue and white porcelain quickly became the newest fashionable item, not only because of its artistic value but also because it was seen as aesthetically representative of the mysterious Orient. A century later, the Chinese blue and white porcelain-inspired dress designed by You Jia from the Beijing Institute of Fashion Technology became the ceremonial dress of the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games, further solidifying the notion that blue and white porcelain was iconically Chinese ("Poetry: Global Qipao Invitational Exhibition, 2020", n.d.).

But is Chinese blue and white porcelain exclusively Chinese in origin? Despite its fame, the inception of Chinese blue and white porcelain holds a complexity that is often overlooked. Though this porcelain contains elements that are undoubtedly Chinese, its cultural origins are more intricate than commonly assumed. Some scholars have examined the Persian aspect of its development and the Central Asian customers of the exportation (Crowe, 1995).

Others suggest that the blue and white porcelain was first made in the Song Dynasty, wholly disregarding the crucial role Persian merchants play in facilitating trade (Kessler, 2012). Still others dismissed the importance of Jingdezhen as its geographical birthplace during the Yuan Dynasty due to its relatively far distance from the capital of Beijing (Dillon, 1976). In brief, there has yet to be a comprehensive picture that brings all of these aspects together to form a holistic story on the development process of Chinese blue and white porcelain.

This paper builds on this scholarship by further exploring the culturally hybrid origins behind the famed Chinese blue and white porcelain. Specifically, this paper argues that Chinese blue and white porcelain is an amalgamation of Persian and Chinese influences that fully embodies the rich cultural dialogue that took place in the Yuan Dynasty. Although the blue and white color palette was not often used in Chinese art, the color blue was featured prominently in Persian and Mongolian mythology. This commonality, combined with the social conditions of the Yuan Dynasty allowed Persian merchants to first introduce the blue color of their own culture and subsequently the cobalt from the Persian mines to China. Chinese artisans then cleverly integrated these elements into a new type of porcelain by using existing porcelain-making technology and employing the newly explored underglaze technique to decorate the porcelain body in traditional Chinese motifs. As such, the Chinese blue and white porcelain was formed by a fusion of Persian and Chinese influences, both of which were crucial to its inception. Over time, Chinese blue and white porcelain became firmly and even exclusively associated with Chinese art and culture due to its rapid and widespread popularity, overshadowing the intricacies of the cultural exchange in its origin. Understanding the deeper history of Chinese blue and white porcelain reveals that this classically and iconically "Chinese" artifact was the result of a culturally hybrid process.

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1. Background of Pottery and Porcelain

Cultures around the world have created ceramics for ceremonial, practical, and decorative purposes by manipulating clay. However, there is a clear distinction between the raw materials and technologies applied to different types of ceramic making. Though both pottery and porcelain are made by molding and firing clay, the specific process of production differentiates them from one another. This distinction separates the appearance of the blue and white colors on pottery wares from the inception of Chinese blue and white porcelain.

The term "porcelain" bears an inherent set of characteristics that distinguishes it from pottery. Porcelain is defined as a white, fine-grained body that is resonant when struck (Valenstein, 1975). It is traditionally made from two essential ingredients: kaolin, a silicate mineral that gives porcelain its plasticity and structure; and petunse, which lends the ceramic its translucency and hardness (Anderson, 1990). Specifically, kaolin is the material that distinguishes porcelain from pottery. The addition of kaolin allowed wares to be fired at temperatures above 1200˚C. Due to the extreme heat to which it is exposed, the porcelain body only absorbs about one percent of water or is non-absorbent, providing a hard, fine, and white result that can be used as a sturdy base for different applications of decorations (Valenstein, 1975). Though the color combination of blue and white had also been used decoratively on Islamic pottery in the ninth and tenth centuries, it was an inherently separate type of ware from Chinese blue and white porcelain due to the differing manufacturing processes. Although Middle Eastern potters aspired to imitate Chinese imports, they faced obstacles due to the limitations of their natural resources and technology (Finlay, 1998). In an attempt to imitate Song Dynasty wares, faience, a white ancient clay material used in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, was rediscovered by Iraqi potters, which allowed for painted designs with more artistic variations (Jenkins, 1983). Faience was used in the Abbasid blue and white ware, an Islamic pottery that dates back to the ninth and tenth centuries (Wood and Tite, 2009). The use of faience produces a granular texture that differs greatly from the smooth surface of porcelain (Lucas, 1936). Due to impurities of the clay, the wares of the Middle East could not be fired beyond 1000˚C, which was also the temperature limit of kilns in the region (Al-Hassan, Unesco, and Hill, 1986). Consequently, pottery wares bear a duller color and coarser texture in comparison to porcelain wares. Although the making of pottery has been found in numerous countries, the process of producing porcelain has been pioneered by the potters of Jingdezhen, the porcelain-making city of China, which formed a solid basis for the foreign blue pigment that is to come.

2. Persian Influences

The central aesthetic element of the blue color used in Chinese blue and white porcelain was heavily influenced by outside cultures. The color blue was a core component of both Persian and Mongolian culture, becoming a bridge between the foreign influence of Persia and the ruling class of Mongolians during the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). The rise of a stratified social hierarchy in the Yuan Dynasty facilitated trade that cultivated an aesthetic appreciation of the blue color in the central Chinese land. The cobalt blue pigment that was later used in the Yuan Dynasty's blue and white porcelains also originated from the Kashan mines of Persia. Although unfamiliar to China at the time, the blue color and cobalt materials are essential elements in the history of Chinese blue and white porcelain.

2.1 Origin of Blue Color

One of the core components of Persian culture lies in the blue color that, in blue and white porcelain, appears decorated on the white porcelain body. Though the combination of blue and white was never favored in traditional Chinese culture, it was at the core of both Persian culture and Mongolian mythology. The importance of these two colors in both cultures allowed them to eventually thrive in China after the Mongols' invasion of the Southern Song Dynasty in 1279.

In 1219, Mongols invaded the Persian Khwarezmian Empire and conquered its Middle Eastern territory in what is now Central Asia, Iran, and Afghanistan. This was essential in sparking a cultural dialogue between the two cultures, uniting the Persian's and Mongolians' common appreciation for the color blue and making way for its appearance in Chinese porcelain.

Before the emergence of Chinese blue and white porcelain, the color combination of blue and white was seen as vulgar and garish in China. The traditional Chinese aesthetic of the period was embodied by subtle-hued monochrome wares (ceramics decorated with a single, uniformly-colored glaze). This kind of understated elegance was regarded as sophisticated by the Chinese literati of the time (Gerritsen, 2020). The contrasting effect of the blue and white colors was

drastically different from the previous monochrome wares, suggesting that the taste for this new aesthetic was not inherently Chinese. Furthermore, the combination of blue and white was antithetical to a purely Chinese sensibility in some ways. The two colors blue and white also represent the Chinese elements "Wood" and "Metal" respectively. In the Chinese philosophy of Five Elements (*Wu Xing* 五行), these two elements hold a disharmonious relationship, as Metal can physically destroy and alter Wood（肖世孟,2021）. The disharmony between the elements associated with the colors caused disfavor for this combination in the previous Dynasty, limiting its appearance prior to the emergence of Chinese blue and white porcelain.

By contrast, the blue color had long been sacred in Persian culture, appearing in numerous archeological excavations of tiles, glass, and earthenware. The prominence of this color arises from the dominant Islamic religion of Persia, in which blue symbolizes the impenetrable depths of the universe, bearing divine and heavenly associations (Nejad, Zarghami, and Abad, 2016). This culturally significant hue often carried over into Persian art of the time, many of which bore blue decorations. Between 1935 to 1940, The Metropolitan Museum of Art excavated numerous objects from Nishapur, a Persian city famous for its religious scholars and artists during the tenth century. There, archeologists found a ninth-century glass plate colored dark blue with cobalt, demonstrating both the incorporation of blue in Persian wares and the use of cobalt as a coloring agent ("Fragmentary Plate with Engraved Designs", n.d.). Similarly, Persian pottery with a cobalt blue base from the tenth to the thirteenth century has also been sold in a Christie's 2011 auction ("Four Persian Pottery Vases", n.d.). Through these excavations, it is evident that the color blue has long been central to Persia and was displayed in the decorations of Persian wares as early as the ninth century.

The color blue also became closely linked to Persian merchants during the Yuan Dynasty, as exhibited in a twelfth-century geographical treatise *Lingwai Daida* 嶺外代答 written by *Zhou Qufei*. He described Persians as dark-skinned and curly-haired, often decorated with gold jewelry and blue-patterned clothes (周去非, 1983). The mental connection that was drawn between the blue color and the Persians further suggests that the appearance of the blue color in Chinese wares originally stemmed from a Persian influence. Furthermore, the nomadic Mongols—the establishers of the Yuan Dynasty—have long worshiped the 'hazy blue wolf' and the 'white fallow doe' as their mythical ancestors. The creation story of Mongolians begins by stating that "[a]t the beginning there was a blue-gray wolf, born with his destiny ordained by Heaven Above. His wife was a fallow doe. They came crossing the Tenggis [Tengis River of Mongolia]. After they had settled at the source of the Onan River on Mount Burqan Qaldun, Batačiqan was born to them" (Rachewiltz, 1970, p. 56). The blue wolf and white doe were part of a deeply ingrained mythology that paved the way for blue and white hues to pervade the Mongolian culture of the Yuan Dynasty. Though this unexpected compatibility sparked from the cataclysm of Mongols' invasion of the Khwarezmian Empire, its impact quietly remained with both Persians and Mongols into the Yuan Dynasty. The importance of blue in Persian religion and Mongolian mythology infused the color with cultural significance, connecting the aesthetical element of the Chinese blue and white porcelain to a more diverse history.

2.2 Social Hierarchy of the Yuan Dynasty and the Role of Merchants

Persian influence was also introduced through social processes that led to important avenues of trade and production. The blue color was brought into China during the Yuan Dynasty, when the shift in social hierarchy created a welcoming condition for Persian merchants, encouraging the importation of cobalt from Persia.

The shift in the social hierarchy in Yuan Dynasty China was crucial in attracting Persian merchants to trade in China, leading to the importation of cobalt from Persia. In the spring of 1279, Mongols conquered the Southern Song Dynasty, ending its three-century-long reign. In its place, Mongols established a new Dynasty, named Yuan. To govern its citizens, the Mongols instituted a social structure that was distinctly different from any preceding dynasties, dividing the citizens into four ethnic classes of descending hierarchy: Mongolians, Semu people (non-Chinese), Northern Chinese, and Southern Chinese. The "Four Class System" stipulated that each class receive drastically different treatment, ensuring Mongolian dominance despite their minority population and preventing the Chinese from revolting against the foreign rulers (Dardess, 1972). Though this segregated system relegated native Chinese to the bottom class, it raised the status of foreign merchants, granting them social mobility that encouraged foreign trade. The Semu people of the second class represented an assortment of foreign ethnicities, such as people from Central and West Asia,

including the Persians. As a group, Semu people were granted numerous privileges at both governmental and personal levels. For instance, positions in the Branch Secretariats (*Xingsheng* 行省), Bureau of Military Affairs (*Shumiyuan* 樞密院), and other administrative functions were all open to Semu people while being strictly forbidden to Chinese. Mongols and Semu people were also generally exempted from harsher punishments (e.g., tattoos, death penalty) in the High Court of Justice (Theobald, 2021).

The high status of the Semu people attracted Persian merchants, who capitalized on the new openness of the Yuan Dynasty and their social mobility by connecting Persia and China through trade, including the material exchange of cobalt and the cultural exchange of the color blue. This shift in social hierarchy was essential in driving both overland and overseas exchange. With their newly conquered land, Mongols now ruled an empire that spanned the majority of Asia, stretching into Europe. This unification of northern and southern land reopened pathways such as the Silk Road, which had previously been cut off by the loss of Song territory, allowing international trade to flourish. The blooming trade attracted flocks of Persian merchants, who traded along the large coastal city of Quanzhou, one of the largest ports in the Yuan Dynasty. To further encourage foreign trade, Quanzhou merchants were only taxed at a fixed rate of 1/30, and its success prompted the Yuan Imperial Academy Advisor (*Shizu* 師祖) to lower the taxing rate of all ports from 1/15 to 1/30 in 1293 (Pearson, Li and Li, 2002). As more Persian merchants settled along Quanzhou, the demand for local Persian-styled necessities increased accordingly, specific wares bearing blue decorations. The active search for Persian culture and art within Quanzhou prompted the merchants to import cobalt from their own country into China, hoping to integrate the blue color into the local production of wares (Finlay, 1998). With the newly instituted social hierarchy, Persian merchants were able to establish themselves as important intermediaries in the trade of goods and facilitated the importation of cobalt into China.

2.3 Source of Cobalt

Due to the shift in the hierarchy in the Yuan Dynasty, Persian merchants were able to import cobalt, a key ingredient for blue and white porcelain, into China. Though local Chinese cobalt would be mined and used in later dynasties, the first cobalt pigment tested and applied was imported from the Kashan mines by Persian merchants. The cobalt from the Kashan mines is characterized by distinctive chemical properties that were later used to distinguish it from other sources of cobalt.

But what exactly was cobalt in this time period? The term “cobalt” was not used until 1735, when it was discovered by George Brandt in Stockholm and added to the periodic table (Gusenius, 1967). Prior to this, it is difficult to pinpoint whether the related terms refer to discrete substances or were used interchangeably. This ambiguity may be a key source of the academic debates surrounding the origin of Chinese blue and white porcelain, as the previous lack of definitive evidence regarding the source of cobalt has created uncertainty regarding the role of Persian merchants in the development of Chinese blue and white porcelain. To explore the true extent of the impact of the Yuan Dynasty cultural exchange on Chinese blue and white porcelain, the source of the cobalt must be examined in detail by consulting both ancient records and modern technology.

In the early stages of foreign trade, Persian merchants bought samples of cobalt ores from local Muslim apothecary shops and sold them to potters for new experimentation. The rising demand for cobalt from kilns gradually led to the importation of cobalt oxide, sourced from the Kashan mines in Persia and sold to China. The cobalt of Kashan was mentioned in numerous accounts from the time period, one of which was Abu'l-Qasim Kashani’s treatise on ceramics. Abu al-Qasim Kashani was a reputable Persian historian in the Mongol court, a descendant of a prominent tile-making and potter family in Kashan (Blair, 1986). In his records, a material named “Sang-i lajvard” is described, bearing similarities to cobalt ores:

> The sixth is the stone lajvard, which the craftsmen call Sulaimani. Its source is the village of Qamsar in the [Zaher] Mountains [of] Kashan, and the people there claim that it was discovered by the prophet Sulaiman. It is like white silver shining in a sheath of hard black stone. From it comes lajvard color, like that of lajvard-coloured glaze, etc. Another type comes from farangistan [roughly meaning the western world] and is ash-colored and soft. And there is a red kind found in the mine which is a deposit on the outside of the stones and is like the red shells of pistachios. This kind is very strong but is a fatal deadly poison
>
> (Allan, 1973, p. 112)

In Persian texts, Kashan is often referred to as the mine of “lazuli.” The Persian word “lajvard” refers to the village of Laj in Badakhshan, Afghanistan, which was known for its source of lapis lazuli. However, the Kashan mine does not produce lapis lazuli, despite its name. Scholars hypothesized that this attribution was likely due to the lazuli blue color of the cobalt. The most commonly accepted analyses of this text interpret the “white silver shining in a sheath of hard black stone”

as cobaltite, the “ash-colored and soft” as asbolite, and the “red kind” that is also a “fatal deadly poison” as erythrite (hydrated cobalt arsenate) (Allan, 1973). This text allows for the cobalt to be traced back to the time when the term “cobalt” was not used. According to Abu al-Qasim Kashani, all three cobalt-bearing minerals (cobaltite, asbolite, erythrite) are mined from Kashan and may have been the type imported to China during the Yuan Dynasty.

The uncertainty lies in the lack of consensus among different sources concerning which type of cobalt-bearing mineral was used. This debate may be one of the influencing factors in the argument of Chinese blue and white porcelain’s origin, as without the details there is no concrete proof of the use of Persian cobalt, only sources that point out the existence of cobalt ores in the Kashan mines during the relevant time period of the Yuan Dynasty. The different interpretations of Abu'l-Qasim Kashani’s treatise on ceramics were outlined in J.W. Allan’s “Abū’l-Qāsim’s Treatise on Ceramics.” In an account by Ali Mohammad Isfahānī, only erythrite is cited: referred to as the one that “breaks out of the hill like blossoms” (Isfahni, 1888). Among the European accounts, erythrite is only mentioned (as cobalt bloom) by Schindler and Ladame. The idea that asbolite (a mineral containing hydrated oxides of manganese and cobalt) was a major cobalt mineral in the Kāshān deposit was mentioned by Olmer, Launay, Ladame, and Wulff. However, mineralogical and x-ray diffraction analyses reported found no evidence of the presence of this mineral in the ore (Matin and Pollard, 2017). The contradicting observations and lack of scholarly consensus create ambiguity around the subject of the cobalt used during the Yuan Dynasty.

Though the exact mineral used remains unclear, modern chemical composition studies reveal that the cobalt used in Yuan Dynasty porcelain did originate in Kashan. This connection was established by comparing the chemical composition of Kashan cobalt ores and Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain fragments. Analytical data from Matin and Pollard’s (2015) study of elemental composition within Kashan cobalt ore indicates high amounts of arsenic (As) and iron (Fe) but contains neither nickel (Ni), copper (Cu), nor zinc (Zn) (2007). This composition aligns with Wen and Pollard’s analytical study of the blue pigment in Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain, in which the pigment is shown to be also high in Fe and As, low in manganese (Mn), and lacking Zn. The alignment of chemical composition between the cobalt ore of Kashan and the pigment on Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain suggests that the blue pigment used in these porcelains has indeed originated from the cobalt deposits of Kashan. Referring to the chemical formula of the three minerals mentioned in Abu'l-Qasim Kashani’s treatise on ceramics, the presence of arsenic (As) in the chemical formula of both cobaltite and erythrite may have been the reason why it was described as “fatal deadly poison.” The corroboration between both ancient records and modern technology further verifies the Persian origin of the cobalt that was introduced to China and applied in the Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain.

3. Chinese Influences

Although the social hierarchy of the Yuan Dynasty allowed cobalt from the Kashan mines to be imported into China by Persian merchants, it took a major Chinese contribution to transform it into blue and white porcelain. In China, porcelain craftsmen experimented with this foreign raw material of cobalt in the city of Jingdezhen. The artisans of Jingdezhen transformed the original idea of using blue into the physical product of Chinese blue and white porcelain through the underglaze application of the cobalt pigment and traditional Chinese artistic designs.

3.1 Origin of Jingdezhen

Though the Chinese city of Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province had yet to become a bustling “porcelain capital” at the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, the natural resource of kaolin clay and existing firing methods there provided a foundation for the exploration of the novel pigment.

The kaolin clay of Jingdezhen was key to its production of high-quality wares. The mastery over Jingdezhen’s natural resources placed the city in prime condition for receiving and experimenting with foreign cobalt pigment. Kaolin clay is a local natural resource of Jingdezhen and undergoes numerous stages of processing before it can be used as an ingredient in porcelain clay. After being pulverized, the powder of raw kaolin is then purified and sieved, mixed with water, and dried into malleable clay (Aytepe, 2018). This material required several processes of purification before becoming clay with high plasticity and thermostability (Jepson, 1984). The alumina in it also allows the body to become a pure white color after firing, a marking trait of Jingdezhen porcelain. Even before the introduction of cobalt to Jingdezhen kilns, the potters had already harnessed the local resource of kaolin clay to produce wares that were harder, whiter, and more durable, providing a strong basis for the cobalt application. Throughout the Song Dynasty, Jingdezhen produced a white ware, known as *qingbai* 青白. *Qingbai* is made by firing the porcelain body at high temperatures, resulting in a white base. Patterns are then pressed and coated with a glaze that becomes a translucent white hue when

fired, tinged with blue where the glaze pools (Finlay, 1998). The mass production of *qingbai* 青白 wares demonstrates Jingdezhen's capability of harnessing the local resource of kaolin clay and mastering high-temperature kilns. The opening of a twelfth-century poem by Song Dynasty statesman Hong Mai reads "Fuliang [craftsmen] skillfully fire porcelain / its colors liken to jade" (洪邁,1934). This poem exhibits the author's recognition of the jade-like porcelain of Fuliang, a county under the administration of Jingdezhen. However, the *qingbai* 青白 never gained enough favor against the popularity of monochrome wares. As a result, Jingdezhen remained subordinate to Longquan City until the Yuan Dynasty.

This neglect persisted until the first Yuan Dynasty emperor, Kublai Khan, took a genuine interest in Chinese culture and religion, especially Buddhism. He requested large supplies of white wares to be produced for Buddhist rituals, and, to fulfill his request, the Yuan officials turned to Jingdezhen (Macintosh, 1994). This acknowledgment of Jingdezhen's white wares spurred its initial development toward the successful production of Chinese blue and white porcelain. In the words of Jiang Qi in "Notes on Ceramics" (*Taoji* 陶記), "Its vessels of clay were pure white and without blemish; of old, they have been sold in different places, and they have always had the epithet 'Rao jades,'" where he highlighted the jade-like quality of the white porcelain wares of Jingdezhen (傅振倫, 1994). "Notes on Ceramics" is the most ancient document about Jingdezhen porcelain, and its date of production has been hotly debated. Rose Kerr and Nigel Wood (1974), the authors of the ceramic volume from Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, refer to the date of 1214-1234, offered by Liu Xinyuan (1937-2013), a famed ceramics expert (1974). French archaeologist and ceramics scholar Zhao Bing argues that the text should be seen as a product of the mid-thirteenth century (Zhao, 2002). Others suggest this text was produced during the Yuan Dynasty (i.e. dating between 1279 and 1368) without further specificity. The lack of precision in the exact production date of the text suggests the gradual process that led to the eventual recognition of Jingdezhen's craftsmanship, a continual evolution of techniques that led up to the production of Chinese blue and white porcelain.

3.2 Underglaze Technique

Kublai Khan's interest in white porcelain coincided with changing conditions of porcelain manufacturing, resulting in a large migration of potters into Jingdezhen from two prominent kiln sites, Cizhou and Jizhou. The inflow of expertise allowed the idea of using cobalt in porcelain to materialize through the application of the underglaze technique.

With the foreign pigment at hand, Jingdezhen potters began to experiment with possible methods of application, taking inspiration from techniques used in different kilns. The long practices of ceramic production techniques in China inspired the exploration of applying cobalt pigment. In the broad history of ceramics in China, the use of overglaze dominated most of the designs, and underglaze decorations only appeared in Tang Dynasty wares, bearing "blurred" or "splashed" patterns (Jiang, 2009). However, the underglaze designs on Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain are characterized by precise details and vivid depictions. This leap in underglaze techniques in porcelain-making was a result of the culmination of expertise from different kiln sites that converged at Jingdezhen.

The migration of Cizhou and Jizhou potters was essential in developing the underglaze method used in the making of blue and white porcelain. Cizhou is situated in the Hebei province, and its wares are reputed for their dark designs on light backgrounds. Cizhou craftsmen have been using the underglaze technique with iron-based pigments since the tenth century, developing a distinct black and cream porcelain profile. Cizhou wares were made by applying the pigment on the ceramic body and occasionally incising through color to reveal the white beneath, creating contrasting and intricate patterns (Gerritsen, 2020). As iron-based pigments and cobalt-based pigments are both metal-based, the Cizhou technique was the original inspiration for the use of underglaze application of cobalt blue pigment on the porcelain body.

In 1127, the capital of Northern Song fell to Jin invaders, marking its collapse. This geopolitical shift during the Song Dynasty created the convergence of potters in Jizhou, including the craftsmen of Cizhou. The loss of northern land triggered a large southward migration which brought many northern craftsmen (including ones from Cizhou) to southern kilns, namely Jizhou. Jizhou (modern-day Ji'an) is situated in Jiangxi province, not far from Jingdezhen. Many refugees of the war settled here as the garrisons established created a variety of job opportunities for migrants (Gerritsen, 2020, p. 84). According to Wu Songdi's figures, Jizhou received the highest number of migrants in the whole Jiangxi prefecture (葛劍雄, 200). The flow of different influences and techniques

nudged Jizhou wares away from producing the monochrome pieces of the early Song Dynasty, into the realm of patterned and decorated surfaces. The melting pot of Jizhou absorbed characteristics of multiple different kilns, notably the stacking method of the firing process from Dingzhou, overglaze and underglaze from Cizhou, glaze transmutation techniques from Juntai, as well as the "hare's fur" and "partridge feather" designs from kilns in Jian'an (Gerritsen, 2020). The infinite possibilities granted by the different techniques allowed Jizhou craftsmen to mimic and explore a variety of styles.

Despite this, Jizhou did not become the porcelain capital of the empire. The "Prefectural Gazetteer of Ji'an" (*Ji'an Xianzhi* 吉安縣誌) offers a brief explanation: "at the end of the Song Dynasty, the clay was exhausted and the kilns changed, and thus they moved to Fuliang"(定祥、劉繹). This depletion of resources caused an outflow of potters to Jingdezhen, where the gradual flow of techniques and ideas resulted in the assimilation of numerous ideas that inspired the production method of blue and white porcelain. With the mastery of making high-quality porcelain bodies, Jingdezhen was the prime location for receiving and applying new ideas to unlock the production method of Chinese blue and white porcelain.

Ultimately, the culmination of expertise in Jingdezhen allowed for the underglaze technique to be further refined. This technique was then used to apply the novel cobalt pigment, producing the sharp contrast and precise contours that allow for intricate designs. To do this, the cobalt pigment is diluted with water and painted directly onto the white body after the porcelain body has been fired. The order of painting before glazing is the key process that was influenced by Cizhou kilns' underglaze technique. The pigment of cobalt oxide applies in a gray-black tone and only becomes blue after firing. The non-porous surface also displayed every stroke and was unforgiving of mistakes, requiring the artist to have command over their brushwork ("Things You May Not Know About Blue and White Porcelain", 2018). Though Jingdezhen potters had experience with high-temperature kilns, the placement of glaze over the pigment was an alteration that required more precision in the firing process. If the temperature is too high, the porcelain turns grayish and the glaze may bubble, but if the temperature is too low, the porcelain is dull, lacking its sheen ("Things You May Not Know About Blue and White Porcelain", 2018). At the perfect in-between, the porcelain should have a smooth surface with a slight sheen. The viscosity of the glaze prevented the cobalt pigment from diffusing during the firing process, allowing for intricate designs to be precisely represented on the final piece (Finlay, 1995). The resulting effect after firing is a striking contrast between the detailed blue image and the pure white base, reflecting the drastic development of the underglaze technique as a result of the culmination of expertise in Jingdezhen.

3.3 Motif and Design

With the production method of Chinese blue and white porcelain came to the artistic freedom to design and decorate its surface with the new blue color. Although several early Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain bear Persian designs, Jingdezhen artists began incorporating Chinese aesthetical elements to create a product representative of Chinese culture. Most notably, the design of naturalistic motifs and depictions of traditional folktales showcases a distinctly Chinese aesthetic despite the use of Persian cobalt as the pigment.

At the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, many wares displayed Islamic motifs and Farsi characters. Islamic designs are often characterized by geometrical symmetry and ornate motifs. This particular style was derived from Islamic metalwork, distinguishable by the extending ornaments and mathematically organized space, drastically different from the natural flow emphasized in Chinese artworks (Medley, 1975). In 2009, shards of Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain were found in the Hongwei Yingyuan in downtown Jingdezhen. These pieces featured Persian verses along the rim with themes of love and wine, suggesting that there were Persian artisans in Jingdezhen during the early stages of blue and white porcelain production, incorporating Persian culture into its motif （肖世孟, 2021）. However, these Islamic motifs slowly became replaced by Chinese elements as the customers for the porcelain became more diverse.

The naturalistic motifs in Chinese culture have been carried into porcelain designs in the form of both flowers and animals. Themes of nature have long been used as inspiration for Chinese art and literature, from landscape paintings to poetry and odes. Though porcelain wares are used for practical purposes, their surfaces are adorned with such motifs. One example of a decorative floral design can be found in a certain blue and white peony jar from the Yuan Dynasty, auctioned at HKD $8,100,000 in 2012 ("Bonhams: An Important Large Blue and White Globular Jar, Guan

Yuan Dynasty", n.d.). This jar was an archetypal example of Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain in shape and motif. The thick wall and weighted base suggest that the jar was made to store water or alcohol, and the large surface area allows ample space for painted decorations. The neck is painted with a collection of curling florals and winding leaves (composite flower scroll), below which is a band of lotus, alternatingly facing up or down around the broad shoulder of the jar. On the central horizontal band, a continuous scroll of six large peony flowers alternates between profile and full-faced depictions, surrounded by twisting vines with leaves and buds. Many of the leaves and flower heads are lightly incised with parallel grooves to accentuate the details, a practice inherited from the Cizhou kilns. Separated by a thin strip of a curling classic scroll, the slightly tapered band below is encircled with a band of cloud-like trefoil dangling within individual frames. This jar is covered with floral patterns, but the most prominent motifs of the peony sit in the central band.

Peonies are featured frequently in both Chinese art and literature even before the development of Chinese blue and white porcelain. The peony's broad petals and voluminous form lend themselves to the description "flower of wealth and prosperity," and the further associations to nobility stem from the presence of peonies in Chinese imperial palaces as early as the Tang Dynasty (618-907) ("Say It with Flowers: An Expert Guide to the Symbolism of Chinese Ceramic Decoration | Christie's", n.d.). A notable example of peony-themed works was Emperor Huizong's Peony Poem in the Song Dynasty. Written in his signature calligraphy style of "slender gold script" *(Shou Jin Ti* 瘦金體), Emperor Huizong vividly portrays the lush beauty of peonies through creative descriptions and aureate verses (宋代墨寶冊：宋徽宗書牡丹詩, n.d.). The portrayal of peonies on this jar was a continuation of the peonies portrayed in previous dynasties, bringing a dash of Chinese aesthetic to the otherwise foreign color combination of blue and white. The other floral is the lotus motif present on the shoulder area that curves into the central band of the jar. The lotus originally takes its symbolic meaning from Buddhism, where it is considered sacred for its purity (Koehn, 1952, p. 136). In the Song Dynasty, Zhou Dunyi's "Ode to Lotus" (*Ai Lian Shuo* 愛蓮說) referred to the lotus is described as being beautiful and stainless even as it rises from mud（王秋珍, 2006）. The historical associations with the peonies and lotus depicted add elements that are closely tied to Chinese culture. The symbolism of these flower motifs illustrates the incorporation of Chinese elements into the aesthetic aspect of the blue and white porcelain, making it undeniably Chinese.

In addition to floral patterns, animals are often portrayed on Yuan Dynasty Chinese blue and white porcelain. For example, a Yuan blue and white "fish" jar was auctioned for GBP 2,136,000 and currently remains in an anonymous European collection ("A Magnificent and Rare Yuan Dynasty Blue and White 'Fish' Jar", n.d.). The main body of the porcelain depicts four different fish swimming through aquatic plants. Fish became a popular animal motif during the Yuan Dynasty, and although the exact message behind the depiction of fish has yet to be defined, certain philosophical and historical associations may have contributed to its popularity. In Chinese stories and proverbs, fish have long embodied the philosophical attribute of being in harmony with one's environment. In the anecdote "Joy of Fish," fourth-century Chinese philosopher Zhuangzi (鄭天倫, 2018) briefly mentioned the ease and bliss of fish in the water to his friend Huizi. The proverb "like fish in water" (*Ru Yu De Shui* 如魚得水) also captures the easy agility of fish in the water and is used to describe a person who is comfortable in their environment. The symbolism becomes clear in Buddhism beliefs, where fish have been known for their freedom from all restraints, and it can even be suggested that the symbol of fish represents the unrestrained life that Chinese literati yearned for when living under Mongol rule when many were deprived of the opportunity to pursue their aspirations (Williams, 1976). The word for fish (*yu* 魚) is also a homophone of the word for abundance or surplus (*yu* 餘), which lends itself to the association of good fortune, popularizing the use of the fish motif in everyday items (Eberhard, 2006). The myriad ofphilosophical meanings and historical associations surrounding the imagery of fish connects its appearance on blue and white porcelain to the wider Chinese culture. Previously, the fish motif was often used in paintings by the Southern Song Hangzhou Academy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Zhejiang province (Scott, n.d.). This practice continued throughout the Yuan Dynasty and may have influenced the neighboring province of Jiangxi, where Jingdezhen was. The depiction of natural motifs is not only distinctly different from the Persian style but also embraces the philosophical connections between nature and humans that are inherent to Chinese culture.

Another common genre of visual themes is figural and narrative illustrations, often inspired by Chinese folktales and mythology. Currently, there are eight surviving Yuan Dynasty blue and white porcelain jars that portray a narrative design (Scott, n.d.). The most recent addition to the seven previous survivors is a Yuan Dynasty jar that depicts a story derived from the

History of the Warring States (*Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策) (Scott, n.d.). During the war between the states Yan and Qi, the enemies captured the Qi general Sun Bin. His master Guiguzi descended from his mountain to rescue him, bringing along a line of people. Guiguzi is a semi-mythological character who was a recluse in Guigu (Ghost Valley). The image on this particular jar depicts the old man Guiguzi sitting on a two-wheeled cart pulled by a tiger and a leopard (Scott, n.d.). Such stories are often original pieces of history, which have been mythologized as they were passed down through time. The portrayal of well-known stories put a local twist on the newly developed blue and white porcelain, infusing foreign ideas and raw material with Chinese culture.

Through the depiction of Chinese aesthetical elements using Persian cobalt pigment, the two cultural influences fully merge into one object, inseparable from each other. The artistic motifs and designs encapsulate parts of Chinese history, philosophy, and culture, translating it into visuals that can be universally appreciated.

Conclusion

Although many find the Chinese blue and white porcelain to be quintessentially Chinese at first glance, its origins are deeply rooted in the cultural exchange that took place during the Yuan Dynasty. The individual elements of the Persian blue color, Kashan cobalt pigment, Jingdezhen underglaze technique, and Chinese artistic design all assemble to comprise the renowned Chinese blue and white porcelain, embodying the fusion of Persian and Chinese culture. By only regarding the beauty of this artifact without examining the diverse influences of its origins, the intricate cultural dialogue behind the Chinese blue and white porcelain is neglected, leading to careless classifications and confining perspectives. Conversely, a deeper investigation into the origins of the Chinese blue and white porcelain reveals the complex cultural conversations that took place behind simpler narratives, prompting viewers to reconsider the exclusive nature of art and uncover more nuanced stories behind these famed historical artifacts.

As Chinese blue and white porcelain rose to prominence in the Ming and Qing dynasties, many pieces were exported globally, ranging from Japan to the Middle East, and eventually Europe. Though the form and design of these pieces were modified to suit the respective market, they still possessed a style that was distinct of the Orient. From that point on, the local production of Chinese blue and white porcelain was linked to a global network of trade and commerce. Diogo do Couto, an official historian of Portuguese India, documented the Portuguese merchants' possession of Chinese blue and white porcelain in the Indian Ocean, as well as how they mediated the trade from Jingdezhen to the nobilities of sixteenth-century Europe (Boxer, 1951). With the establishment of the British and Dutch East India Companies in 1600 and 1602, Chinese blue and white porcelain was fully propelled into global circulation (Gerritsen, 2020). By exploring a deeper understanding of Chinese blue and white porcelain's origin, we can appreciate it as not only an icon of Chinese art history but a symbol of the intricate cultural exchanges that link people together through art.

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談西餐引入對清末上海社會與文化的影響

Cathy Huang 黃楷芯

引言

我國飲食歷經千百年的民族融合與風俗變革，形成了世界上最獨特、豐富和多元的飲食文化。隨著中國與外來文化的交流增加，各民族的餐飲也受到了影響。清末時期，中國不斷受西方列強在經濟與文化上的衝擊，因此一步步被動打開國門，從歷史悠久的古代社會進入現代開放社會。在文化方面，飲食的交流在中國走上現代化道路之中至關重要。人們通過享受美食，體驗飲食文化實質層面中的香味、烹調方法、食材等元素，可以欣賞並體會美食精神層面的歷史、習俗、思想。

清朝第一次正式接觸西餐是 18 世紀，馬戛爾尼訪華使團與清政府派來談判的王武官與喬文官在「獅子號」上一起用西餐（鄒振環，2007）。鴉片戰爭後，隨著通商口岸的增加、訪華的商人、傳教士、遊客、定居的外國人越來越多，第一批西方殖民者來到了上海，1845 年開闢中國第一個租界，引入了各國獨特的文化與食物。1868 年，同治七年，第一個由外國人開設的西餐館在上海開業 —— 亨白花（上海大學出版社，2018）。西餐逐漸傳入民間，引發近代上海飲食文化大規模變革。上海西餐館對當地社會影響深遠 —— 飲食文化多樣化反映了上海城市文化空間的拓展，伴隨著中國融入世界潮流、走上現代化的道路。

本文將參考清末民初雜誌、店舖廣告、漫畫、美食評論專欄等資料，從中外的兩個角度分析西餐引入近代上海後，對社會的影響，以及探究西餐館作為身份文化認同的重要性。

一、中西合璧及身分認同

晚清小說《中國偵探羅斯福》中曾有以下的一段情節(南風亭長，1909)：

> 上燈後，二偵探便到徽州麵館老丹鳳去吃飯。…… 二人問堂倌道：「這城裡晚上有什麼熱鬧的處所嗎？」堂倌聽他們滿口是上海口音，知道是人地生疏的客商，便想了一會，答到：「這裏城裡沒有什麼戲館、番菜館，晚上吃過飯，便沒有市面了。」

徽州城裏麵館的堂倌接待二位偵探一聽到他們的「上海口音」，就立馬做出「番菜館」的聯繫，說明西餐已是上海餐飲文化習以為常的一部分了。

十九世紀末，上海租界中的西餐特別受當地人的歡迎——因此，上海人看到了商機，便自己開設西式餐館、提供更適合中國人口味的西餐。著名華人自創的大菜館「一品香」（圖一）被《上海春秋》的

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美食家評價：「一品香的大菜 ，才有點菜吃 ，下得肚子，煎牛排就不會那麼血淋淋，望之生畏了。」（曹聚仁，1996）。這種中西合璧的飲食叫「西菜中吃」，意味著吃西餐，但餐館環境與中式舊酒樓毫無二致，正宗的西餐烹飪方式也調整改良。清朝各地漸漸出現了具有當地特色的西菜，如廣東大菜、寧波大菜、上海大菜等等（鄒振環，2007）。其實，許多中國人認為只有改良過的西餐才好吃，例如「烙蛤蜊」就是根據上海人習慣的口味改良的法式「烙蝸牛」（上海大學出版社，2018）。可見西餐不僅已經與本土文化相融合，而且激發了中西合璧的新派飲食文化。

圖一. 福州路西藏路口的“一品香”，是上海最早由中國人開設的西餐館之一（廣東人民出版社，2020）

隨著上海西方文化的深化，西餐館也變成了上海人身分文化認同的一部分。著名的「紅房子西菜館」在老一輩上海人的記憶中留下了深刻的印象，「吃西菜到紅房子」是日常生活中耳熟能詳的說法；紅房子不僅受百姓的喜愛，餐館也常常舉辦外交活動，例如 1959 年劉少奇主席在陳毅副總理的推薦下曾經到紅房子舉辦重要會議。紅房子是老一輩上海人童年的美好回憶和城市歷史的一部分 —— 著名作家胡展奮曾說：「西餐變成了我們生活的一部分，是一種溫馨、一種回憶，也是一種懷舊」。

此外，西餐的引入也帶來了新的生活方式。西式咖啡館是當時上海主要帶著西洋風情的場所（資訊咖，2023）。《大上海指南》提到咖啡館較為安靜又舒適的環境，提供了與朋友休閒聊天的場地（王昌年，1947）。悠然的西式觀感也成為人們在清末社會的壓迫感下的精神逃避與心靈歸屬（Han, 2020）。晚清著名美食評論家瑕瑢曾說：「我可以坐在小咖啡得著麻醉的飲料去消愁，我可以冷冷地視察夜市裡的罪惡。」這裏指的「罪惡」就是對社會的批判，反映了晚清上海人對社會的不滿以及對新文化的嚮往。

二、刻板印象與階級區分

西餐曾稱「番菜」又稱「西菜」、「大餐」或「大菜」。在傳統中國人看來，「番」是指歷史上向中國朝貢的周邊小 國，而中國是居於世界中心的中央大國。因此「蠻」、「夷」、「胡」和形容西餐的「番」都自然帶著某種貶意。1819 年，西餐正式傳入中國之前，麥都思在《地理便童略傳》雜誌中諷刺和誇張性地描述西餐使用刀叉的禮儀為「自相割食」。亨特（1911）也記錄了嘲諷「番鬼」飲宴的場景，描述吃的生魚肉「幾乎跟活魚一樣」。因為飲食習慣的差異，人們對洋人有「脾氣兇殘」、「粗鄙原始」等刻板印象，也會使用「番鬼」等種族侮辱性詞語（鄒振環，2007）。

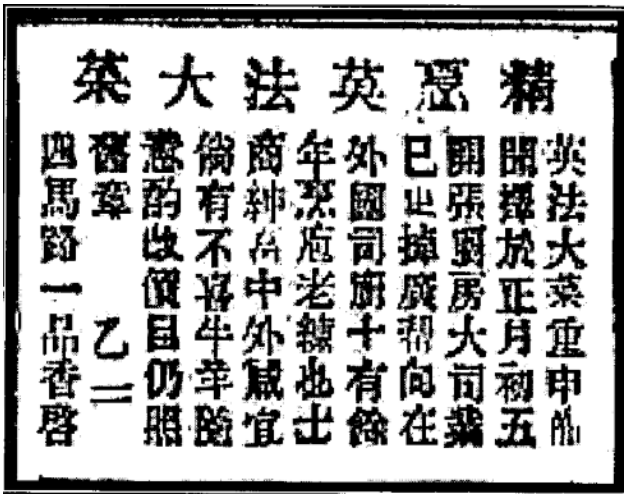
但是到了二十世紀初，歐美商人紛紛聚集到上海經商投資，使上海變成了全國

中西方文化融合的經濟貿易中心。上海的西餐館已非常普遍，四馬路附近聚集了德大、復興等不少高級西餐館。西餐館的出現與發展，直接得益於國內貿易發展和中外商貿交流 —— 隨著中國逐步打開國門、國民接觸外國文化的機會增加，更容易適應和包容這些變化。上海人不僅開始包容西式餐飲，而且開始追求西餐的時髦。

圖二. 孫繼，1909

如前所述，西餐館先是在上海各國租界的俱樂部或是外國洋行裡附設的，而就餐者僅限於外交官、外國商人與頂尖富豪，同時代表擁有著富貴、權力及高等教育背景。1909 年上海《圖畫日報》中「吃飯之不平等」的諷刺性漫畫（圖二）。此圖是先左後右的觀看順序，右下戴眼鏡的男性，從手中拿著的叉子、椅子、桌子的形式看來，明顯在吃西餐。同樣從他的衣服、打扮、坐姿也可以推測他是一名知識份子。圖中其他四位則是拿著筷子吃中餐的乞丐、平民、官員。

許多西餐館在宣傳廣告中專門推廣向知識份子、高收入群體來塑造上檔次、高級的形象。《申報》中一品香西餐館的廣告（圖三）清晰說明一品香的廚師專門從事「英法大菜」，並且的客層只限於「士、商、紳、富」，突出該餐館奢華、高端的形象。此外，紅房子西菜館推出了「紅房子鑰匙」，當時叫「榮譽居民」（相當於現代的「VIP 貴賓」），希望他們可以經常來紅房子，對菜式和服務提出建議（上海大學出版社，2018）。唐魯孫 2004 年的《吃在上海》中提到西餐廳，尤其「紅房子」，是上海貴族身分認同的重要成分 —— 它的名聲提供了「文化」與「昂貴飲食」的認同機制。西餐如此昂貴也是因為新飲食文化的出現「意味著業主必須選傭專業的『技術集團』來進行操作，以便提供更高等的飲食，因此並非所有階級都能共用。」（陳友朋，2009，轉引石毛直道，1982）。一品香的廣告中重點提到原本出身粵菜、在西方擔任廚師「十有餘年」的主廚 —— 可見技術專一、經驗豐富、作西菜的華裔廚師是高檔餐廳的重要指標。



圖三.《申報》，1881

據學者統計，當時女工每月收入可低至一元五角、錢莊的跑街月薪六元，而上等西餐館一人一頓飯就可以花上四元錢（鄒振環，2007）。由於有能力去趕時髦、消費昂貴的西餐大都屬於受過教育或家境優渥的富裕階層，因此吃上西餐對廣大勞動人民而言，是一種炫耀財富的消費行為，也是一種追求時髦的表現，而不是對西方文化有真正學習與瞭解。

隨著西餐館新盛並成為奢侈品代名詞，去西餐廳也因此變成了當時大家追求的時髦，甚至到對中餐產生了厭煩的態度——《圖畫日報》第四十六號《上海社會之現象，大餐間請客之熱鬧》中曾提到「各省人士之至滬者，往往不喜中國菜而喜大餐，故各大菜館之生意皆非常興盛。抑中揚西。亦吾國人好尚變遷之一端也。」（孫繼，1909）然而崇洋的現象不限於上海，這更突出了西餐的引入對中國社會更廣泛的影響。清末民初期間也存在著「器必洋式，食必西餐」的說法，反映了人們對西方文化和崇敬和追捧的態度（陳友朋，2009）。

當時的社會風氣之下，無論高級富豪或平民百姓都對吃西餐趨之若鶩，只是食材的精緻程度大相逕庭：吃西餐是富人的消遣，而廣大人民只去普羅館徒勞地嘗試追求流行。普羅館或普羅是英文「Proletarian」的翻譯，是社會底層勞動人口的簡稱。普羅館用西方速食的模式，快速製作、高熱量、大眾化的食物來滿足勞動者作體力活消耗的能量（Swislocki, 2002）。無論是到高檔的西餐館或價格平民化的普羅館，人們都會炫耀這樣的消費行為、追求潮流。當然，因為西餐餐桌禮儀較多且複雜，勞動人民又對外來文化懵懂，所以當時的文學作品中常常出現「西餐失禮」的笑料（陳友朋，2009）。普羅館的出現和「失禮」的現象加劇了西餐階級區分的含義。

總結

近代上海城市發展是各個方面拓展的過程 —— 地理和文化空間的改變推動了西洋文化的引入、推進了中國走向現代化的道路。西餐不僅是一扇直觀西洋文化的視窗，也記錄了上海歷史文化變遷的路徑。中西文化的碰撞與融合產生了獨特的社會現象，在身分認同、社會階級等方面對當時和後世的社會影響深遠。無論是上海老一輩人的溫馨嚮往、或貴族的身分認同，西餐館早已象徵上海人海納百川的獨特形象。通過上海餐飲的變遷，我們瞭解到飲食是超越人類維持生命的自然現象 —— 飲食是一種帶著強大的民族歷史含義的意識、觀念和交流方式。西餐在上海的發展是中國進入現代社會關鍵的一步，意味著國人對外來文化的包容、理解、與接納。

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Attitudes towards Guiding Forces and Their Influence over Our Actions — A Comparison of Epicurus's *Letter to Menoeceus* and Laozi's *Daodejing*

Charlotte Dixon 狄雅諾

Introduction

The extent to which we have freedom and control over our lives is a topic often discussed in modern philosophy, and one which continues to impact how free will and its limitations are understood in different cultural settings. Most recently, the topic has been discussed in the book *Free Will* by Sam Harris, which provides just one of many varying perspectives on free will in modern times. A related traditional idea, specifically the role of guiding forces in our lives, can be traced back to Ancient China and Ancient Greece.

The comparison between the Western and Eastern idea of guiding forces is an interesting one, demonstrating that not only has this curiosity about freedom been a prominent theme for centuries, but also that different parts of the world shared an interest in this topic. Ancient Greece and Ancient China had very different cultures and philosophies, yet they both discussed guiding forces, expressing slightly differing perspectives on their existence and the amount of control they had in our lives.

This essay will discuss the concept of guiding forces in Epicurus' *Letter to Menoeceus* and Laozi's 道德經 (*Daodejing*). The Greek and Chinese concepts of guiding forces in this essay can roughly be expressed as "fate" in English, but have their own meanings in the original languages of the texts, and thus the original terms *εἱμαρμένη (heimarmene*), and 道(*Dao*) will be used throughout.

In his *Letter to Menoeceus*, written around 380 BCE, Epicurus argues that a guiding force or *heimarmene* doesn't control our lives – that most things happen by choice, and some things happen by chance. He believed that individuals have freedom over their actions and choices, and therefore should also be held

responsible for them. Laozi's *Daodejing,* a well-known religious text of Daoism, dates from around the same time in 400 BCE. In it, Laozi expresses the similar belief that a greater force, in this case *Dao*, guides but does not command, and that individuals have freedom in accordance with the will of the universe and of *Dao*.

The common belief between the two philosophers is that a guiding force exists but does not exert complete influence over us, which means we still have control over our actions. Through a discussion of these two texts, we can strive to understand the reasons behind similarities and differences in their beliefs.

1. Context and the Concept of Guiding Forces

1.1 Ancient Greece

Epicurus, born in Samos in 341 BCE, was well known for his "materialistic metaphysics, empiricist epistemology, and hedonistic ethics" (Wasson, 2016; Fieser and Dowden, 2023). In his *Letter to Menoeceus*, Epicurus recorded his thoughts about the extent to which our actions are controlled or influenced by a guiding force. In Ancient Greek culture at the time of Epicurus, the concept of a higher power or guiding force was very prominent, and terms such as Fate, Fortune, Chance, Necessity, and Destiny appeared often in philosophical texts (Raphals, 2013).

In the dictionary, the literal translation of *heimarmene* is "what is allotted to one" or "what has been allotted to one" (Xenotechnites, 2023). It is thought to be a participle form of the Greek verb μείρεσθαι (*meiresthai*), meaning "to receive as one's lot", which is derived from the same root as *Moira* or fate (Ipl.org, 2023). This suggests a belief in the inevitable influence of *heimarmene,* as everyone has their own share of fate. However, the translation "allotted" also suggests a more gentle, passive role, where *heimarmene* is understood to be what one receives, rather than something one acquires.

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Interestingly, in Greek mythology, *Heimarmene* is a goddess of fate or destiny, specifically of the universe as a whole, as opposed to the destinies of individual people (Bertelsen, 2019). This mythological belief perhaps also reflects the idea that *heimarmene* directs the general path of peoples' lives, as opposed to controlling the specifics. Overall, this suggests that the role of *heimarmene* was to guide, not to command.

1.2 Ancient China

In China 道家思想(*Daojia sixiang)*, or Daoism, was a prominent school of thought in 400 BCE. Laozi was a key figure in influencing and popularising Daoism. One legend about Laozi relates that toward the end of his life he left China for the West, and while passing through the gates at the border, the gatekeeper begged him to write something to leave behind. Laozi is said to have written the eighty-one chapters of a book called the *Daodejing* as a result (Columbia.edu, 2023b).

Daodejing, which can be translated as *"Scripture of the Way and its Virtue"* , discusses the meaning of *Dao* and the way that things unfold (ucsd, 2023). The Chinese word *Dao* means a way or path; in the context of Daoism it refers to the way of the universe and the natural order of things. Daoists believed that human life is only a minor part of a greater process of nature, and that nature, not humans, controls what happens. Therefore following the flow of Nature, and living life in harmony with it, is a way to avoidsuffering. For Daoists, assertiveness was the root cause of violence and aggression, because they believed that insistence and excessive desires were "bound to cause injury both to oneself and to others" (Columbia.edu, 2023). Thus, Daosits denounced violence on the basis that it reflected an ultimate ignorance of the Way of Nature.

A central principle of Daoism was 無為(*wuwei)*, meaning non-action. This did not represent the belief that people should do absolutely nothing, but that they should do nothing that was out of accord with *Dao* and the universe's will. In the *Daodejing*, *Dao* is closely linked to the idea of *wuwei*, which therefore suggests that the guidance which *Dao* offers is passive.

2. Attitudes towards Guiding Forces

2.1 Epicurus

The Ambiguous Concept of *Heimarmene*

In Ancient Greek philosophy the extent to which guiding forces such as *heimarmene* influence individuals' lives was a difficult concept to understand, due to the uncertainty of the future. Epicurus rejects the idea of *heimarmene* and similarly sees it as uncertain. This is represented in the following extract from Epicurus' *Letter to Menoeceus*, in which he writes about how people should take a detached approach to life, and not be overly concerned with the matter, because the future is unclear.

> μενμονευτέον δὲ ὡς τὸ μέλλον οὔτε πάντως ἠμέτερον οὔτε πάντως οὐχ ἠμέτερο ἵνα μήτε πάντως προςμένωμεν ὡς ἐσόμενον μήτε ἀπελπίζωμεν ὡς πάντως οὐκ ἐσόμενον.
>
> As to how we live our lives, we must always remember that the future does not wholly belong to us. But on the other hand, the future does not wholly not belong to us either. In this I mean that we can never wait for the future with a feeling of certainty that it will come to pass, but neither can we despair that the future is something that will never arrive.
>
> (Epicurus, *Letter to Menoeceus* [Hicks Trans.])

Epicurus' use of "but on the other hand", conveys a dialectical and questioning tone, suggesting that he is questioning the belief in guiding forces by considering multiple perspectives, hence his confusing and contradictory claims. He considers multiple perspectives with his contradictory sentences, writing first that "the future does not wholly belong to us", but also that it "does not wholly not belong to us". This sense of confusion mirrors the uncertainty of the future itself, as well as having a rhetorical effect by making the argument seem like two sides of a conversation. In the above quotes, the use of the double negative, in which he contradicts the previous sentence, is a representation of the ambiguity of the concept of *heimarmene*, and Epicurus' own struggle to identify the role that it plays in peoples' lives. Therefore, Epicurus highlights the ambiguity of guiding forces.

Criticism of Those who Believe in *Heimarmene*

In another extract from his letter, Epicurus calls men who believe in *heimarmene* unwise. He uses a questioning tone to condemn the existence of *heimarmene*, and to mock those who believe that it exists.

> τὴν δὲ ὑπό τινων δεσποτιν εἱμαρμένεν πάντων γγελῶντος <εἱμαρμένεν; οὗτος γὰρ ἑαυτὸν παρέχει τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπεύθυνον, ἃ μὲν κατ΄ ἀνάγεκεν γίνεσθαι τιθέμενος,> τὴν δὲ ὑπό τινων

δεσποτιν εἰμαρμένην πάντων γγελῶντος <εἰμαρμένην; οὗτος γὰρ ἑαυτὸν παρέχει τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπεύθυνον, ἃ μὲν κατ΄ ἀνάγεκην γίνεσθαι τιθέμενος,> ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης, ἃ δὲ παρ΄ ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἀναγκην ἀνυπευθυνον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τύχην ἄστατον ὀρᾶν, τὸ δὲ παρ΄ ἡμᾶς ἀδέσποτον, ᾧ καὶ τὸ μεμπτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκεν.

The wise man laughs at the idea of Fate, which some set up as the mistress of all things, because the wise man understands that while some things do happen by chance, most things happen due to our own actions. The wise man sees that Fate or Necessity cannot exist if men are truly free, and he also sees that Fortune is not in constant control of the lives of men. But the wise man sees that our actions are free, and because they are free, our actions are our own responsibility, and we deserve either blame or praise for them.

(Epicurus, *Letter to Menoeceus* [Hicks Trans.])

In this passage, Epicurus denies the existence of *heimarmene*. Specifically, he personifies *heimarmene*, describing it as a feminine figure by mentioning that some people treat it as the "mistress of all things". However, despite personifying *heimarmene* as a mistress in a position of control and power, he undermines this concept by stating that *heimarmene* "cannot exist". Therefore, Epicurus suggests that *heimarmene* is actually powerless, and thus is merely a superstition. Instead, he says the wise man understands we alone are responsible for our choices, because "while some things do happen by chance, most things happen due to our own actions.".

Epicurus uses a humorous and scornful tone in this extract to criticise people's belief in *heimarmene* as a guiding force. His repetition of "wise men" conveys his scornful attitude towards those who do believe in *heimarmene*, as the implied criticism is that those who do not laugh at the idea of *heimarmene* are "unwise", as any intelligent person understands that *heimarmene* does not exist.

Furthermore, Epicurus groups Fate and Necessity together here, saying that neither exist. The circular nature of the argument is interesting, as he bases his claim that fate and necessity do not exist on the idea that humans are "truly free", which is subsequently based on fate and necessity not existing. This logical fallacy reflects the naturally confusing and uncertain nature of the argument, highlighting Epicurus' own uncertainty about the future and the control that people have.

Additionally, the word αδεσποτον (*adespoton*) means 'free', and it is composed of two parts: *a*, meaning 'not' or 'without'; and *despoton*, meaning 'master'. Thus, when Epicurus says our actions are free, he is actually saying that our we, and our actions, are subject to no master. Through this, Epicurus highlights that external masters such as *heimarmene* do not have control over us, and instead the person who carries out the actions has a choice and control. Therefore, because our choices are not predetermined by a master, the individual has responsibility for their own actions.

Further Criticism of Guiding Forces

In the following passages, Epicurus further rejects both *heimarmene* as well as all other guiding forces. Although he writes that he thinks believing in the gods is better than believing in *heimarmene*, he also rejects the extent of their power.

ἐπεὶ κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ περὶ θεῶν ᾧ καὶ μύθῳ κατακολουθεῖν ἢ τῇ τῶν φυσικῶν εἰμαρμένῃ δουλεύειν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα παραιτήσεως ὑπογράφει θεων διὰ τιμῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀπαραίτητου ἔχει τὴν ἀνάγκην.

It would therefore be better to believe in the fables that are told about the gods than to be a slave to the idea of Fate or Necessity as put forth by false philosophers. At least the fables which are told about the gods hold out to us the possibility that we may avert the gods' wrath by paying them honour. The false philosophers, on the other hand, present us with no hope of control over our own lives, and no escape from an inexorable Fate.

(Epicurus, *Letter to Menoeceus* [Hicks Trans.])

The diction in this passage is harsh and bold, calling those who promote the concept of *heimarmene* "false philosophers", while those who submit to the idea "slaves". This highlights his belief that they are powerless, and thus that their role in our lives is minimal. Epicurus expresses his belief that trusting in the gods is more sensible than believing in *heimarmene*, because the decisions of the gods are able to be influenced through supplication. Moreover, Epicurus writes that there is a possibility that we may escape what the gods intended for us through prayer, which demonstrates that he thinks we are able to influence guiding forces, and they therefore do not have absolute power over us.

Similarly to Epicurus' rejection of *heimarmene*, in the following passage he also diminishes the importance of the role of Fortune, enforcing his belief that the gods exist, but that they do not have that much power.

> τὴν δὲ τύχην οὔτε θεόν, ως οὶ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ὑπολαμβάνων, οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀτάκτως θεῷ πράττεται, οὔτε ἀβέβαιον αἰτίαν, οὐκ οἴεται μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἐκ ταύτες πρὸς τὸ μακαπίως ζῆν ἀνθπώποις δίδοσθαι, ἀρχὰς μέντοι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν ὑπὸ ταύτες χοπηγεῖσθαι. κπεῖττον εἶναι νομίζει εὐλγίστως ἀτυχεῖν ἢ ἀλογίστως εὐτυχεῖν. πέλτιον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πράξεστι τὸ καλῶς κπρθὲν <μὴ ὀρθωθῆναι ἢ τὸ μὴ καλῶς κπρθὲν> ὀρθωθῆναι διὰ ταύτην.
> In the same way, the wise man does not consider Fortune to be a goddess, as some men esteem her to be, for the wise man knows that nothing is done at random by a god. Nor does he consider that such randomness as may exist renders all events of life impossible to predict.

(Epicurus, *Letter to Menoeceus* [Hicks Trans.])

Interestingly, both *heimarmene* and Fortune are depicted as having feminine qualities, and are treated with a lack of respect. Specifically, he describes *heimarmene* as a "mistress", and states that Fortune should not be considered a "goddess", as goddesses have intention. Thus, Epicurus minimizes the role and importance of both *heimarmene* and Fortune, and diminishes their importance, further supporting his belief that guiding forces are very influential in peoples' lives.

2.2 Laozi

Discussion of *Dao*'s All Encompassing Influence

The *Daodejing* is a long text separated into multiple sections, many of which discuss the impact and influence of *Dao*. In the following extracts, Laozi demonstrates the expansive yet subtle influence of Dao, and the attitude that individuals should have towards it.

> 大道泛兮，其可左右。萬物恃之以生而不辭，功成而不名有。衣養萬物而不為主，可名於小；萬物歸焉而不為主，可名為大。以其終不自為大，故能成其大。
> The Great *Dao* is all encompassing. Its influences pervade all directions. All living things depend on it. But the *Dao* works quietly. It accomplishes yet makes no claims. It provides clothing and nourishments yet does not take command over anything. Ever aspiring for non-existence, it can be called little. Providing a home to all the living things yet claiming no ownership, it can be called great. Exactly because the Dao never takes itself as great, it is truly great.

(Laozi, *Daodejing*, 34. [Ho Trans.])

In this extract from the *Daodejing*, Laozi calls *Dao* "泛兮" (all encompassing), suggesting that it is an omnipresent, influential force. Moreover, the character "大" ('big' or 'great') appears multiple times in the above extract, and can be interpreted in various ways. It may be taken to mean that *Dao* is worthy of being followed; yet it may also further indicate the expansiveness of *Dao*, in relation to "萬物" (all things) which it presides over. Both of these interpretations support Laozi's belief in *Dao* as a powerful guiding force. Laozi's use of diction highlights that Dao "influences", but does not command. His repetition of "而不為主" (claims no ownership) is a further indication of the freedom that Dao offers, despite being influential.

Dao as a Nourishing Force

In the following passage, in which Laozi is discussing the operation of *Dao*, he supports the understanding of *Dao* as a guiding force, rather than a controlling one. Specifically, he conveys his belief that it is there to guide and nourish us, similar to a mother figure.

> 故道生之，德畜之；長之育之；亭之毒之；養之覆之。生而不有，為而不恃，長而不宰，是謂 玄德。
> Thus it is that the *Dao* produces all things, nourishes them, brings them to their full growth, nurses them, completes them, matures them, maintains them, and overspreads them. It produces them and makes no claim to the possession of them; it carries them through their processes and does not vaunt its ability in doing so; it brings them to maturity and exercises no control over them; - this is called its mysterious operation.

(Laozi, *Daodejing*, 51. [Legge Trans.])

Laozi uses words with a gentle tone, such as "養" (nourishes) and "育" (nurses), to enforce his belief that the role of *Dao* is not to influence people's actions, but rather to care for, and guide them towards greatness. In addition, words such as "生" (birth) and "長" (grow)

appear multiple times throughout different extracts, emphasizing *Dao´ s* quality of giving and nourishing life. In this section, Laozi follows the structure of first describing a positive trait about *Dao*, such as that it "carries" people through their lives, which suggests that *Dao* has a passive role. He then follows by denying a more negative idea that *Dao* is in control, such as that it "claims possession", in order to further portray *Dao* as a positive force. He emphasizes that *Dao* "exercises no control" over people, directly highlighting that the role of *Dao* is not to guide, but not to interfere in a person's life.

The use of personification also paints *Dao* in a positive light as a motherly figure. This indicates a sense of respect and veneration towards *Dao* as a constant presence in individuals' lives, and one that is benign, protective, and whose authority should not be questioned. The positive depiction of *Dao* a mother perhaps also suggests its association with one of the core Chinese values 孝(*Xiao*), meaning filial piety, which dictates that a child should be respectful and dutiful towards their parents and other elders (Columbia.edu, 2023a). Through this, Laozi suggests that *Dao* should also be respected and obeyed, yet also loved, just as a mother should be. By comparing *Dao* to a mother, Laozi further highlights its role as a nourishing, caring force, rather than one that interferes with decisions and actions.

The Acceptance and Veneration of Guiding Forces

When writing about *Dao*, Laozi uses a respectful tone to convey his veneration towards guiding forces, and highlight his belief that *Dao* should be obeyed. Through this, he further supports the existence of guiding forces by suggesting that they are deserving of respect, and therefore must be accepted.

> 使夫智者不敢為也。為無為，則無不治。
> The Sage constantly tries to keep them without knowledge and without desire, and where there are those who have knowledge, to keep them from presuming to act on it. When there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal.
>
> (Laozi, *Daodejing*, 3. [Legge Trans.])

Laozi writes that the "智者" (Sage) knows to follow the path that *Dao* sets, highlighting his belief that *Dao* should be followed without question. The use of the word Sage suggests that those who are wise do not deviate from *Dao*'s guidance. The concept of respecting and not questioning guiding forces further portrays *Dao* as "motherly", as Laozi suggests that *Dao* is deserving of respect in the same way that a parent is. Laozi also mentions that individuals should practice *wuwei*, through which he supports his argument that people should abstain from individual action and follow *Dao.* Therefore, this section further highlights his belief that *Dao* is a guiding force which should not only be accepted, but respected.

2.3 Comparison

In the *Letter to Menoeceus* and the *Daodejing* respectively, Epicurus and Laozi both express that people have control over their own actions and that responsibility falls upon us. Although they differ in the expression of their points, the outcome and the message are similar. Epicurus refutes the existence of *heimarmene* as a guiding force and its role in compelling or directing individuals. Laozi supports the belief of *Dao* as a guiding force. Laozi believed that *Dao* directed people towards a general way of life, rather than creating a set path of actions for individuals. In this way, although Epicurus and Laozi differ in their opinions on the existence of guiding forces and the extent of their influence, they both demonstrate a belief that individuals still have control over their choices and actions.

Furthermore, although both Epicurus and Laozi refer to the guiding forces as feminine figures, their attitudes towards these forces differ greatly. Epicurus' lack of belief in and respect for *Dao* is in stark contrast to Laozi's veneration and respect with regard to *Dao*. *Dao* is painted as a motherly force, and a constant source of support and guidance. This contrast may highlight an important difference between Ancient Greek and Ancient Chinese values, as Epicurus describes *heimarmene* as a powerless female figure, while Laozi greatly respects *Dao* as an important female figure in accordance with the Chinese value *Xiao*.

Epicurus and Laozi also both reference a person of wisdom when discussing their contrasting beliefs about the way that guiding forces should be viewed. Epicurus mentions the "wise man" as a way of highlighting the unlikeliness of the existence of *heimarmene*, while Laozi references the "Sage" to emphasize that *Dao* should be followed without question. In connection with the idea of *Dao* as a motherly figure, Laozi conveys that guiding forces should be respected as if they were a parent, and thus should be accepted without question. In contrast, Epicurus uses a questioning tone to consider the

existence of guiding forces, which highlights his belief that they should not be blindly followed or believed in.

Conclusion

In Ancient Greece, *heimarmene* was viewed as a force that exercised control over people's lives. In his *Letter to Menoeceus*, Epicurus refutes this claim, instead stating that people should be held responsible for their own actions, indirectly arguing that people do indeed have control over their lives. In the *Daodejing*,*Dao* is described as a force that guides people through life and nourishes them. However, similarly to *heimarmene*, Laozi did not believe that it exercised any direct form of control or decision making over people's actions.

It is interesting to consider the implications of a belief in a guiding force, and the ways in which these two texts can inform our understanding of why people believe in free will or guiding forces in modern times as well. We can consider why, more recently, there has been a shift of perspective towards a general acceptance of the concept of free will.

On one hand, belief in a guiding force may offer people a sense of comfort and security in their lives, with the knowledge that regardless of their individual choices, there will always be a greater force to guide them. There is a degree to which this belief lifts the responsibility from the individual, thus minimizing the weight of their choices and actions. However, trusting in a guiding force as a source of comfort may also lead to complacency and a lack of effort, as people believe that their choices and actions are futile.

On the other hand, not believing in guiding forces may either discourage people, or give them a sense of freedom. It could be a burden to some to believe that there is no support from a greater force, and that the responsibility for their actions and choices falls solely on them. However, it can be freeing if people believe that there is nothing that is controlling or deciding their future, and they can instead choose their own path.

The exploration of guiding forces can reveal much about belief in Ancient China and Greece, as well as significant cultural aspects, including values such as *Xiao*, which may led to similarities and differences between them. Regardless of individual thoughts, we should strive to better understand the origins of beliefs in guiding forces, because exploring the past can help us better understand and reflect on our own beliefs.

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A Comparison of the Tea Production Processes of Pu'er in Yunnan and Silver Needle in Fujian

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Introduction

For centuries, China – the motherland of tea – has produced a diverse array of teas. There are even wild tea trees in Yunnan over 1000 years old. Over the centuries, tea production techniques became more sophisticated and advanced. Tea farms were developed to plant and cultivate tea leaves, and different regions developed unique tea customs. While all Chinese teas come from the *Camellia sinensis* tea plant, they have different tastes and aromas based on how their leaves are processed. China has six main types of tea, distinguished by their production processes: black tea (紅茶 *hong cha*), dark tea (黑茶 *hei cha*), green tea (綠茶 *lü cha*), white tea (白茶 *bai cha*), yellow tea (黃茶 *huang cha*), and oolong tea (烏龍茶 *wu long cha*). Among the main tea-producing regions of China are Yunnan and Fujian. Pu'er tea (普洱 *pu er*), a dark tea from Yunnan, has long played a central role in Chinese culture and China's foreign trade. Baihao Yinzhen (白毫銀針 *bai hao yin zhen*), also known as Silver Needle, is a white tea originating from Fujian, renowned for its freshness and light taste. In this essay, I intend to compare the tea production processes of Pu'er and Silver Needle. Each tea is distinctive and representative of their respective region. Therefore, a comparison of tea production processes involves not only the teas themselves but also the characteristics of the regions where they are produced.

A comparison of the tea production processes of Pu'er and Silver Needle allows us to reveal the different environmental, economic, historical, and cultural factors that have influenced the tea cultures of the provinces of Yunnan and Fujian. I shall first investigate the historical and trade background which involves identifying the impact of the Yunnan-Tibet Ancient Tea Horse Road (YTATHR) (滇藏茶馬古道 *dian zang cha ma gu dao*) on the fermentation stage of Pu'er tea production and on Pu'er tea's role as an important foreign trade commodity and public relations tool. The YTATHR is a trading route, with Pu'er tea leaves as the main commodity, connecting tea-producing Yunnan to tea-consuming Tibet that originated in the Tang Dynasty. It is a significant historical differentiating factor between the production processes of Pu'er and Silver Needle since Pu'er could be traded across regions, whereas Silver Needle was enjoyed locally. Secondly, I will explore how the geographical difference between Yunnan and Fujian – Yunnan being a province enclosed in mountains, and Fujian being a southern coastal province – influenced the degree to which technological development influenced the tea production methods. Fujian, a more accessible region than Yunnan, underwent more technological development than Yunnan, which allowed it to produce a wide variety of teas with advanced production processes. Yunnan's remote geography meant that it was not as influenced by reforms and technological advancements, and so it continued to be made in traditional ways. Lastly, I will explore the cultural factor which involves identifying the tea-drinking habits of different regions and the medicinal benefits of tea, and how that shapes the production processes of Silver Needle and Pu'er. By comparing the production processes of Pu'er and Silver Needle, I intend to demonstrate that historical and trade, environmental and geographic, and cultural factors have significantly influenced the production processes of both teas.

1. Production Process Outline

In its most primal form, tea was brewed by picking leaves from a nearby tea tree and putting them into a pot of boiling water. A clear limitation was that tea could only be brewed when there is a supply of fresh tea leaves nearby (Sigley, 2015, p. 326). If tea leaves are left for too long, they will wilt and oxidize, chemically reacting with oxygen and breaking down their cell walls (Chan, 2019). Although some degree

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of oxidation is necessary for tea production, too much will deteriorate the tea's nutritional value, appearance, and taste. To transport tea to areas that did not have native tea plants, tea leaves were dried to prevent oxidation, allowing them to be stored for longer. Despite both teas undergoing a drying process to halt oxidation, there are key differences in the production processes of Pu'er and Silver Needle. In particular, Pu'er, as a dark tea, can be post-fermented, while Silver Needle, a white tea, cannot. Post-fermented means that the tea leaves are further fermented after they are already 'made', or are able to be sold. For example, after Pu'er leaves are made, they are either sold or fermented again, which is called post-fermentation.

There are two types of Pu'er: *sheng pu* 生普 ["raw Pu'er"] and *shou pu* 熟普 ["mature Pu'er"] (Zhang, 2014, p. 12). *Shou pu* is produced by post-fermenting *sheng pu*, giving it a richer and more complex flavor. *Sheng pu* is produced from Yunnan's *da ye* 大葉 ["big leaf"] plant *Camellia sinensis assamica*. The leaves are usually harvested from Yunnan's wild forests, where some tea trees are over 1,000 years old (Liu, 2012, p. 2). After slight oxidation, the leaves are pan-fired in the *sha qing* 殺青 ["kill green"] process, halting oxidation. Then, the leaves are rolled and dried under direct sunlight. Leaves can also be dried on bamboo mats suspended over a charcoal fire. After drying, the loose *sheng pu* leaves are completed. They are typically compressed into *bing cha* 餅茶 ["cake tea"], which is disc-shaped. To make *bing cha*, leaves are steamed in a cloth bag, making them more pliable. Then, the bag is either pressed into a mold or between two large stones to achieve a disc shape. The disc is then placed on a rack to cool, then dried under direct sunlight or in a room of 35-40°C. Then, the *sheng pu* discs can be packaged and sold. Alternatively, the loose *sheng pu* leaves can undergo artificial fermentation through the wet piling process, which turns them into *shou pu*. To post-ferment *sheng pu*, leaves are piled in a heap, water is added, then the pile is covered with a tarp. The tarp traps heat and moisture with the leaves, encouraging fermentation. The temperature under the tarp is monitored so the tea does not over-ferment, and the pile is also periodically turned to achieve even fermentation. The pile is inspected periodically to achieve ideally fermented leaves, which are brownish-black. After the leaves have fermented, the pile is spread out so moisture can escape. The leaves are dried and fermentation ceases (Fong, 2012, pp. 50-55).

There are two methods of making Silver Needle: the partial sun-drying method, and the complete sun-drying method. Silver Needle is produced from small leaves at the tip of the plant, the smallest and the freshest, harvested in the spring. Like other white teas, they are withered slightly before drying. In the partial sun-drying method, thin layers of leaves are placed in bamboo baskets, which are then stacked on wooden racks so the leaves can air-dry under sunlight. Through air-drying, the leaves lose 80-90 percent of their moisture. Then, the residual moisture is removed by warming the leaves over a charcoal fire in tall baskets (Fong, 2012, p. 3). In contrast, the complete sun-drying method does not have an artificial drying phase. Bamboo baskets of leaves are stacked and moved to an area with indirect sunlight, where they lose 70-80 percent of moisture. Afterward, they are moved to direct sunlight, where the leaves are completely dry (Fong, 2012, pp. 3-4).

2. Historical and Trade Actors

2.1 The Yunnan-Tibet Ancient Tea Horse Road

It was the main road in a vast network of trading routes known as the Ancient Tea Horse Road (ATHR), which connected tea-producing areas of China to tea-consuming regions in China and mainland Southeast Asia. Established in the Tang Dynasty, when Tibet was an individual country known as *Tu Fan* 吐蕃, the road peaked in activity during the late Qing Dynasty and the first half of the twentieth century. On the ATHR, Pu'er was the main commodity. Pu'er tea was transported in *bing cha* form in burlap sacks on horse or mule. Caravans, or *ma bang* 馬邦, were the predominant method of transportation (Li, 2005). Caravans consisting of a few mule herders and their mules, were able to transport up to 90kg of tea leaves each. The YTATHR traversed a large range of topographical zones, including high mountain passes with up to 5000m altitudes, temperate rainforests, alpine forests and meadows, and the Mekong and Yangtze Rivers (Sigley, 2013, p. 238).

One of the reasons why Pu'er leaves were compressed from loose leaf form to shaped 'discs' but Silver Needle was not was because of Pu'er's involvement in the ATHR. *Sheng pu* was compressed into *bing cha* and packaged in thin sheets of paper for ease of transportation. Aside from being easily stacked on top of each other in the burlap sacks used to contain them, this separated tea into different 'units' that could be sold as one, as opposed to loose-leaf tea which would be difficult to separate and sell. Furthermore, the *bing cha* was made relatively thin, around 4-5 centimetres in thickness, which allowed for relatively easy

consumption. To drink tea from *bing cha*, one simply breaks off a piece of tea from the disc and brews it in boiling water. Even when not being transported, *bing cha* is easier to store in houses and factories than loose leaf tea, and more convenient for people to carry by hand.

Exported from Yunnan as *sheng pu*, the tea leaves were carried in burlap sacks through a range of topographical zones. The journey would take months, with dramatic changes in temperature and humidity as the caravan traverses different regions. Due to Pu'er being a large leaf with relatively high moisture content, temperature changes encourage fermentation. When temperatures are high, the leaf expands and releases moisture; when temperatures are low, the leaf contracts and absorbs moisture. The leaves coat themselves repeatedly in their own juices, fuelling bacterial and enzymatic activity within the leaf that drives fermentation (Fong, 2012, pp. 55-56). An environment with significant moisture can accelerate the fermentation process of Pu'er, so by the end of the journey, *sheng cha* became *shou cha*. The wet-piling technique that modern tea factories use to ferment *sheng pu* also exposes the leaves to high moisture levels and changes in temperature, mirroring the conditions that encouraged fermentation on the YTATHR. Legend says that the benefits of post-fermenting *sheng pu* were accidentally discovered as a result of caravan transportation, which prompted tea producers to post-ferment *sheng pu* in their factories (Zhang, 2014, p. 14). Fermentation gave the Pu'er leaves a richer flavor and a longer shelf life. In contrast, since Silver Needle was enjoyed locally, it was not fermented and had a shorter shelf life, as well as a lighter flavor.

A major reason why the YTATHR was established and continued to be used for centuries was that Pu'er tea was adored by Tibetans and other Southeast Asian nations. In nomad civilizations such as Tibet in the Tang Dynasty, people had a largely meat-based diet and needed to balance their diet with other nutrients that tea could provide. Furthermore, the fermented Pu'er tea had probiotics that aided in digestion, particularly that of greasy foods, which composed the Tibetans' diet (Sun and Yan, 2014). In the Qing Dynasty, the Manchu nobles also praised Pu'er for its ability to aid digestion. Pu'er was also relatively high in caffeine content, which helped energize people for labor and soldiers for war. Legend says that Zhuge Liang, the famous military strategist, cultivated tea in Yunnan to help his soldiers fight exhaustion (Fong, 2012, p. 50). The strong aroma and taste of Pu'er were also favored by Tibetans. China utilized the Tibetans' love for tea by creating a foreign policy they termed *yi cha zhi yi* 以茶治夷 ["using tea to control the barbarians"]: The Tang and Song dynasties established a monopoly in the tea trade and created 'Tea and Horse Bureaus' to facilitate trade in the Northwest of China and along the borders of Tibet (Sigley, 2015, p. 329). The Tibetans traded their horses for tea, creating a 'tribute system' of trade and diplomacy. By controlling the tea trade, China was able to prevent conflicts with Tibet by threatening to cease tea exports (Ibid.). As the ATHR was beneficial for both Tibet and China, the road flourished in activity and remained active for centuries.

2.2 The Fujian Maritime Tea Trade

Since the Han dynasty, people utilized Fujian's well-developed water transportation system to "facilitate communication between the Chinese interior and places connected to the South China Sea" (Yao, 2021, p. 44). In the Song dynasty, the people of Fujian initiated two strategies to economically support its growing population *pan shan* 盤山 ["challenging the mountains"] and *tiao hai* 跳海 ["jumping over the sea"] (Gardella, 1994, p.16). *Pan shan* targeted the interior provinces and entailed exploiting the uplands through cash croppings such as tea, indigo, and hemp. *Tiao hai* targeted the coastal provinces and included activities centered around maritime trade. Maritime trade became a major source of income for coastal provinces (Ibid., p. 16). Fujian's water transportation system helped it open up to a wider market beyond the province.

In the Qing dynasty (1636-1912), Fujian's neighboring Canton tea trade was a flourishing industry. Tea was essential in opening up China to Europe and North America- Robert Constant, a French merchant in the mid-eighteenth century, remarked "It is tea which draws European vessels to China; the other articles that comprise their cargoes are only taken for the sake of variety" (Gardella, 1994, p. 33). Evidence suggests that tea was the main export of China in the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century- tea comprised 70 to 90 percent of all cargoes exported from Canton from 1719 to 1833 (Ibid.). At that time, Fujian was one of the main tea-producing provinces in China, with transport routes to other provinces. Coastal Fujian affords ample evidence of characteristics of a commercial "frontier zone", in that it had a dominant role in commercialized agriculture, among other traits. Hence, Fujian's tea may have been exported to Canton, then sold to Western traders.

3. Geographical and Environmental Factors

3.1 How Fujian's Geography Influenced Tea Production and Trade

Fujian is a coastal province in southeast China. It is almost fully covered in mountain ranges of moderate elevation, save for some coastal plains (Falkenheim and Hung, 2021). The climate of the coastal area is semitropical, favoring tea plants, which like warm, humid climates (Li, 2005). Although Fujian's hot and humid climate is generally ideal for growing tea plants, Fujian tea plants are sensitive to low temperatures, such as frost and sudden temperature drops in spring. Thus, tea farmers must properly fertilize and irrigate their tea plants in order to absorb nutrients necessary for the plants' healthy growth. Ancient tea farmers came up with the "one basal and three topdressing" fertilization method based on the twenty-four solar terms.

Rivers cut across Fujian and flow into estuaries, forming natural harbors. Fujian's water transportation system through rivers and sea helped open it up to the global market, enabling the Fujian tea trade to prosper (Ibid., p. 44). It was able to influence and be influenced by other tea-producing regions in China, increasing Fujian's reputation as a tea-producing region and allowing it to make a wide variety of high-quality teas. In contrast, Pu'er tea is Yunnan's main tea product and is considered their specialty. Long-distance modern sailing technology has extended the trade waterways, expanding the circle of influence of the tea trade.

Fujian tea is mainly a mountain product produced in interior prefectures. This meant that tea was mainly involved in inter-provincial trade, which created Fujian's national reputation as a producer of high-quality teas. One of the possible reasons that Fujian people work so hard to cultivate tea, and constantly look for technical methods to improve their tea, may be to uphold their reputation as a producer of high-quality teas in an increasingly competitive market. Yao (2021) remarked that "Cultivation in Fujian therefore necessitated frequent fertilization as well as careful control of water resources". Fujian peoples' great efforts to achieve this may indicate their passion for tea cultivation.

In the modern day, Fujian's tea farmers have utilized computer technology to allow more precise and advanced irrigation and drying, which improve tea plant survival, reduce cultivation costs, and improve tea leaf quality. Methods of irrigation have evolved from flooding irrigation to pouring irrigation to dripping irrigation, allowing farmers to control the amount of irrigation to a more precise degree (Yao, 2021, pp. 45-47). Computer technology can determine the proper time for irrigation and water volume, and can even replace human labor when irrigating tea trees in dangerous places. With the development of computing technology, the control over the heating area, temperature, and time in tea stir-drying are monitored constantly and stored as historical data, allowing for the drying techniques to be extremely precise.

3.2 How Yunnan's Geography Influenced Tea Production and Trade

Yunnan has a series of high mountain ranges that branch out from its Tibetan border. It is an inland province with high elevation, thus it was relatively closed off from the rest of China in ancient times. In the mountain valleys, heat and high humidity provide an excellent environment for tea trees to grow (Kuo and Suettinger, 2022). Due to its remoteness, it was difficult to access and experienced slower technological and economic development. In the Ming Dynasty, the emperor Zhu Yuanzhang decreed that no more compressed tea would be made henceforth, causing Chinese tea to change from pressed to loose-leaf style (Liu, 2012, p. 5). However, due to Yunnan's remote geography, tea producers continue making traditionally compressed tea, which is why modern Pu'er is still sold in *bing cha* form (Fong, 2012, p. 50). Yunnan's geographical proximity to Tibet, which was a foreign country during most of Ancient China, made it an important province for foreign communications and trade. The YTATHR was established to encourage trade between Yunnan and Tibet. Furthermore, tea-horse bureaus were established so that Ancient China could trade tea to Tibet in exchange for horses (Bertsch, 2009), helping maintain peace between the two nations and solidifying the significance of Pu'er tea in Chinese foreign policy. Even in the modern day, Pu'er tea is used in traditional rituals, and as gifts.

4. Cultural Factors

4.1 Tea as a Cultural Practice

The composition of the Chinese character for tea, *chá* 茶, is deeply connected to Chinese culture. 茶 can be broken down into three components from top to

bottom: *cao* 艸 ["grass"], *ren* 人 ["human"], and *mu* 木 ["wood"]. The character of 'human' is between that of 'grass' and 'wood'. The composition indicates connectivity between humans and nature, connecting to one of the most fundamental concepts in Chinese philosophy- *tian ren he yi* 天人合一 ["unity of Heaven and humans"]. Simply put, *tian ren he yi* means "nature-human harmony" (Peng, Li, and Tian, 2015). *Tian ren he yi* is an ancient concept in Chinese philosophy, fundamental to systems of thought and culture such as Daoism, Chinese Buddhism, *fengshui*, and martial arts (Pohl, 2022, p.115).

Tea as a whole has become a symbol of Chinese national identity (Sigley, 2015, p. 339), but Pu'er and Silver Needle also have different cultural meanings on a national scale. Due to Pu'er's important role in opening China up to trade with other nations, and its significance as a foreign affairs tool, it has been nationally recognized as a 'tribute tea' and is still used in important cultural ceremonies (Sigley, 2013, p. 235). The ATHR is also an important cultural heritage marker and a hotspot for cultural heritage tourism (Ibid., p. 236). In contrast, Silver Needle was significant on a provincial level and is more well-known among tea experts rather than the general public. Silver Needle was first created in the late 1700s (Preedy, 2013, p. 34). Its freshness and relative lack of processing made it have a shorter shelf life than Pu'er, which limited its travel outside of Fujian. Hence, it was more enjoyed within the province. Silver Needle is considered widely to be "the highest grade of white tea available" (Ibid., p. 35), contributing to Fujian's reputation as a producer of high-quality teas.

Yao (2021) remarked, "Tea planting and sorting are not merely skills, but are part of a lifestyle that is embraced by the whole community". It is clear that Fujian tea farmers have always sought ways to improve the quality of their tea leaves, partly to maintain the reputation of Fujian tea internationally. In contemporary times, these tea farmers embrace new technology and new production methods in their everlasting pursuit to improve the quality of their tea. In contrast, Yunnan tea farmers uphold traditional methods of tea making (Hung, 2013). This is partly because, unlike Fujian's consciously cultivated tea plants, Yunnan mainly sources tea leaves from "ancient tea forests" *gu cha lin* 古茶林, with wild tea trees that are hundreds of years old. It is more difficult to adjust the quality of the tea leaves beyond their natural quality and would contradict Yunnan's unique reputation as a producer of 'wild', 'ancient' tea.

4.2 The Medicinal Function of Tea

Originally, tea was consumed for medicinal purposes (Gardella, 1994, p. 22). However, around the 8th century, it became slowly accepted as a beverage. The original character for tea, *tú* 荼, was mainly used in a medicinal sense. Lu Yu's *The Classic of Tea* 《茶經》 describes tea as such:

> "Tea as medicine has an extremely *han*[1] nature. It is most suited for virtuous and frugal individuals to drink. If one feels fevered and thirsty or has chest pain, headache, dry eyes, or stiff joints, drinking a bit of tea has the same medicinal effect as *ti hu* and *gan lu*[2]."

Tea contains a wide array of compounds that have salubrious effects. Caffeine, $C_8H_{10}N_4O_2$, is present in tea leaves and most concentrated in the buds and young leaves of a tea plant (van Driem, 2019, p. 761). Of the dry weight of young tea shoots and buds, 3% is pure caffeine (Ibid., p. 764). Its function in promoting wakefulness and alertness made tea popular in 17th-century Europe (Ibid., p. 761). Theanine, $C_7H_{14}N_2O_3$, is also found in tea (Ibid., p. 762). Theanine induces relaxation, enhances concentration, and sharpens both attention and memory while decreasing stress and anxiety, improving overall cognitive function. It constitutes between 1% and 2% of the dry weight of tea and makes up about 50% of free amino acids in tea. Drying tea leaves in the sun can double theanine content as opposed to drying tea indoors with hot air. Furthermore, sun-drying significantly increases the content of free amino acids in the tea, improving taste but decreasing catechin and chlorophyll content by 20% and 25% respectively (Ibid., p. 765). Pu'er and Silver Needle both include sun drying in their production processes, perhaps because it improves the taste of the tea. Tea also contains bioflavonoids, a class of polyphenols that have antioxidant properties.

Unfermented tea, such as Silver Needle, retains more natural polyphenols and thus has more health benefits than fermented teas, such as Pu'er. One of the most 'famous' bioflavonoids in tea are catechins, which are

[1] *han* 寒 ["cold"] is one of the Four Natures in Chinese medicine: *re* 熱 ["hot"], *wen* 溫 ["warm"], *liang* 涼 ["cool"], *han* or cold, and *ping* 平 ["neutral"]. Hot medicines were used to treat cold diseases, and vice versa.

[2] *Ti hu* and *gan lu* are medicines that give the drinker immense clarity, refreshment, and a sense of relaxation.

found especially in fresher tea leaves such as Silver Needle- in fact, catechins can comprise up to 30% of the dry weight of fresh tea leaves (Ibid., p. 769). In the production process of Pu'er, catechins are degraded to theaflavins and thearubigins through an oxidation process (Ibid., p. 776). Thus, Pu'er is rich in theaflavins and thearubigins (Wang et. al, 2021). These have anti-inflammatory, anticancer, and hepato-protective properties, but have less antioxidant activity than catechins (Tang et al., 2019).

Fujian people like to drink *kong fu* 空腹 ["empty stomach"] tea, which means drinking tea on an empty stomach. Pu'er is not suitable for drinking *kong fu* due to its relatively high amounts of microbes, tannin, vitamins, and caffeine which can damage the body if it is drank on an empty stomach. Conversely, Silver Needle, being a white tea, has the lowest amounts of caffeine out of all teas and is considered a 'lighter' tea than Pu'er, making it acceptable for *kong fu* drinking. Silver Needle contains more natural polyphenols, and will likely give people stomach irritation at most if drank *kong fu* (Mead, 2007).

Conclusion

Similar studies usually examine tea in general, or categories of tea, rather than specific teas. This study of specific teas reveals how production processes impact specific characteristics like the high quality of Silver Needle compared to other white teas and the historical significance of Pu'er as a foreign relations tool.

A comparison of the production processes of Pu'er and Silver Needle and the factors that shaped their production processes reveals much about the historical and trade; geographical and environmental; and cultural factors that define the tea-producing regions of Yunnan and Fujian. Through this, we can see holistically how culture and processes are sculpted by their environment and circumstances.

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To What Extent is Plato's Ideal State *(kallipolis)* as Described in *The Republic* and Lao Tze's Ideal Society in the *Dao De Jing* Similar?

Derrick Zhang 張配天

Introduction

The *Dao De Jing* and the Republic are the representative works of early Eastern and Western political thought. The *Dao De Jing* was attributed to Chinese Daoist philosopher Lao Tze in c. 400 BC, which conveyed his understanding of "Dao" and its applications through condensed aphorisms. The Republic is a Socratic dialogue authored by Greek philosopher Plato in c. 375 BC, concerning his understanding of a "just" city state. Both works convey their author's imaginations of an ideal state, through which we can grasp their perspective of the world, and draw interesting comparisons. This essay will contrast both ideal states, and determine the extent of similarity between them, by analyzing the two components of a state: its ruler and its citizens.

1. The Aims of Society Demonstrated by the Role of Rulers

Lao Tze's *Dao De Jing* and Plato's *Republic* place a strong emphasis on the ruler of their ideal states. To begin with, Lao Tze's central criteria for a ruler is to govern with the ideals of *Dao*, which is the natural order of the universe; "Tao models itself after Nature（*Zi Ran* 自然）" (Lin, 25). The reason why Lao Tze believes the natural order is the best way of governing is because: any action outside of the natural order would be considered an extremity, and extremities will always reverse (物極必反), proving counterproductive to one's objectives, so the best approach is to act according to the natural order. This is also Lao Tze's concept of *"wu-wei"* (non-action, 無為). Non-action is to not act on anything other than what is natural. Lao Tze's concept of *wu-wei* can be encapsulated in this passage: "Of the best rulers, the people (only) know that they exist" (Lin, 17). This passage indicates Lao Tze preference for a ruler that is not heavily involved in the lives of citizens, because when rulers are involved, they are interfering with the citizens' natural way of living, which goes against the Dao. Lao Tze defends the approach of *wu-wei* with moral relativism: "Because he does not compete, he does not meet competition" (Lin, 66). Because the ideal ruler takes no extreme action, he cannot be under effect of extremities reversing (such as effort leading to competition, policy leading to rebellion), ensuring the stability and longevity of his reign. This ties into Lao Tze's belief that "gentleness overcomes strength" (Lin, 36), because the more determined a ruler is to push himself on his citizens, the stronger he will be pushed back by the resistance. When a ruler is only lightly involved ("the people only know that they exist"), he will not face resistance from the people. This idea contrasts significantly against the strictly held social structure of Plato's *Kallipolis*; the tripartite societal division requires constant involvement from the ruler, which, when faced with resistance from the people, Plato expects to preemptively contain with the state loyalty that is engendered in the citizens.

Plato believes that states should be governed by a "philosopher king", who are meritocratically selected individuals that have a deep understanding of "the Forms". This means that they can access the immaterial world, where the essence of everything (the Forms) reside, granting them the ability to distinguish between the true and the false. The philosopher king should be one of the few in his state that has excelled in all stages of Plato's educational curriculum, and are therefore adept at the theoretical as well as the practical (military service, gymnastics, music), "to ensure they will remain steadfast when they are pulled in different directions" (Reeve, Book VII, 539e). Plato has high expectations for a philosopher king's ability, because he believes the philosopher king is responsible for creating a harmonious, and just, society: "Until philosophers rule as kings… cities will have no rest from evils" (Ferrari,

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Book IV, 473c). To promote harmony in a state, the leader must display authority to ensure civic matters are played out correctly; in Plato's case, it would require the philosopher king's authority to ensure the three classes of society (guardians, auxiliaries, craftsmen) can coexist in harmony. The philosopher king must be proficient in all matters so that he cannot be challenged in the theoretical or the practical ("remain steadfast when they are pulled in different directions"). To promote justice in a state, while maintaining aforementioned authority, philosopher kings must possess the ability to execute justice. Executing justice is essentially distinguishing between the right and the wrong, and is therefore the rationale behind Plato's expectation that philosopher kings are able to see the "Forms", because the "Forms" are the definition of what is "right", and thus reflects what is "wrong". This is why Plato states, "the knowledge of the Forms should be the great instrument of government" (Jowett, Book V, 473d), as it enables the execution of justice.

Although Lao Tze and Plato have vastly different criteria for the ruler of their ideal state, as illustrated above, a significant characteristic that both rulers share is the purity of their motives. Lao Tze believes that "the Sage eschews excess, eschews extravagance" (Lin, 29), meaning that the ideal ruler should be free from the desires that birth from greed. Desires guide us to take actions outside of what is natural, and is therefore against the way of Dao, so it must be restrained. The idea of "restraining desire" is also displayed in Plato's philosophy. Plato compares the rational soul to a charioteer pulled by two horses, a white horse, representing the spirited portion of the soul, and a black horse, representing the appetitive portion of the soul: "The soul is like a charioteer and two winged horses, one good and one bad, and the charioteer must guide them to their destination." (Bloom, Book IV, 439b) The black, appetitive horse, will guide the charioteer in the direction of his desires, and Plato believes one should suppress this force of appetite in the face of reason and spirit, demonstrating the similar conviction that desire should be restrained. "The state whose potential rulers are least eager to rule is the one that is most free, and the state whose rulers are most eager to rule is the one that is most unfree" (Bloom, Book IX, 576d). Eagerness to rule indicates a ruler's innate desire for power, and desire for power promotes the struggle for more power, ultimately resulting in tyranny. Here, we can see the agreement between Plato and Lao Tze that rulers should suppress their desires, in order to achieve the purity of motives, and consequently place communal interests before their personal interests.

2. The Aim of Society Demonstrated by the Identity of Citizens

A state can be bisected, generally, into rulers and citizens; therefore, we must also consider the role of citizens for a comprehensive comparison of the ideal states. Citizens play a "passive" role in the ideal state, and are essentially the product of a ruler's reign, but their collective identity can uniquely reflect Lao Tze and Plato's perception of the ideal society.

As explained previously, the ruler of Lao Tze's ideal state would have minimal involvement or interference in the lives of the citizens, as this best aligns with the principles of Tao. It is believed that this approach to governance would be most effective, because nature (*Zi Ran* 自然） is inherently good. This is reflected in the hypothesized virtuosity of citizens in the *Dao De Jing*: "When the government is lazy and indifferent, the people are pure and simple" (Yutang, 57). Because Lao Tze equates nature with goodness, Lao Tze believes that men possess good morals naturally. To defend his argument from the prevalence of immorality in society, Lao Tze attributes such phenomenon to external pressures placed on men, "when the government is strict and severe, the people are cunning and deceitful" (Yutang, 57). From this statement, we can see that Lao Tze believes social and economic disharmony fundamentally arises from imposing rules on the people, because citizens have to depart from their morality to navigate these oppressive systems. This contrasts starkly with Plato's regard for law as an instrument of maintaining social harmony. Plato believes that humans are inherently irrational, and hence adopts oppression in the form of rules to disable citizens from their natural behavior. Here, we can observe Plato's aversion from nature, as opposed to Lao Tze's adhesion.

Lao Tze posits that the "small state" approach (小國寡民) to civil structure, where the citizens govern themselves in groups of dozens, is most desirable, as this approach will not present desires to its citizens: "the supply of goods are tenfold or hundredfold, more than they can use" (Lin, 80). Men will consequently be satisfied with their simple lifestyle, because the ample resources at hand have eliminated the incentives to improve, and will rid them of desire or ambition. This idea is best encapsulated in this statement: "It's not that evil spirits won't have godlike power. It's that their power will not harm men" (Henricks, 60); desire will

simply have no effect when the people are already fulfilled and have no ambition. As we can observe, Lao Tze believes the cultivation of people's innate goodness requires a society where interference is kept to the minimum.

Contrary to Lao Tze's optimism, Plato is pessimistic about the untouched nature of man. The hierarchically distinct quality of Plato's ideal state reflects this; only the philosopher king has access to the "forms", and understands the true essence of "justice" and "goodness". The citizens of the state are deemed unfit for this higher knowledge, because Plato believes men are inherently irrational, as they rely on belief rather than knowledge (In Plato's "Allegory of the Cave", they are compared to prisoners who perceive the silhouettes as reality). Plato's understanding of human nature is further reflected through his high regard for laws, which is the direct opposite of Lao Tze's notion of minimal interference: "The law, I said, is an external authority which governs us and enjoins upon us our duties" (Jowett, Book III, 388d). As a further reflection of Plato's pessimism, he holds the belief that "people love (law), not because it is a good thing, but because they are too weak to do injustice with impunity" (Reeve, Book II, 359a), giving rise to the despondent thought that the very instrument to curb human irrationality only works because of human irrationality, highlighting that human irrationality can never be truly prevented, further validating Plato's advocation of active and strict moral governing.

Plato's proposal of active governing involves the meritocratic specialization of labor into three classes: craftsmen, auxiliaries and guardians. This is contradictory to Lao Tze, who holds that people should rely upon "self-sustenance", as this cultivates the suppression of materialistic and egotistical desires. Instead, Plato believes that people possess an innate talent for a specific task, which once discovered through the education system, must be held for their lifetime to ensure the optimal functioning of society: "One who is just does not allow any part of himself to do the work of another part or allow the various classes within him to meddle with each other" (Cooper, Book IV, 443d). As shown in this statement, a just person proactively confines oneself inside their societal obligation, meaning that he is maintaining harmony between the tripartite classes. Because the social classes are each representative of one component of the soul (appetitive to spirited to rational), this also indicates that a just person maintains harmony within his tripartite soul. In an ideal society where citizens are just, "the state…, when in operation, will be the common good of all" (Bloom, Book V, 464d). Therefore, we can see that Plato's aims for this ideal society to promote social peace with the cooperation of different social groups, fostering a mutually beneficial relationship and each adding to the common good. This framework of specialization provisioned in Plato's *Kallipolis* goes against the notion of self-sufficiency preached by Lao Tze. To live the best life, which is one adhering to the natural (*Zi Ran* 自然), we should rely on ourselves only for the lifestyle of primitive sustenance: "they return to knotting cords in their happy life" (Lin, 80). Specialization represents a concentrated effort to excel at only one facet of life, which is undesirable to Lao Tze because it cultivates development, a counterforce of nature, and reliance, an obstacle to a natural life.

Despite Lao Tze and Plato's disagreements on the inherent nature of citizens, and the corresponding actions that need to be taken, there are similarities between how both philosophers view the role of citizens. Fundamentally, the ideal citizen should display self-control for the sake of self and societal harmony. Lao Tze believes that self-control of one's desires will prevent one from committing extremities, and hence adhere to the way of Dao. Plato also saw self-control as a necessary component of a just society, as individuals able of controlling their own desires would be more capable of contributing to the common good. Through each philosopher's views on the roles of citizens, we are able to comprehend the broader level of their philosophical frameworks. Plato's tripartite soul theory illustrates that citizens should cultivate their self-control by enabling reason to serve as the guiding force over the other two components. This idea informs his views on citizen self-control, which he believed was essential for creating a just society. Lao Tze's concept of the "uncarved block" emphasizes the importance of following the natural order and avoiding external desires and ambitions. The uncarved block represents a state of perfection that exists before any form is imposed upon it, which can only be obtained when the forces of desire and ambition are subtracted from one's life. As we can see, each philosopher's view on citizens can convey the core values of their philosophical framework.

Conclusion

Lao Tze and Plato's political thought revolves on their respective fundamental intuition of "Dao" and "Justice". Both ideals, if fulfilled, will result in fulfilled citizens and a harmonious society; the ultimate aim of both philosophers are similar. However, "Dao" is achieved by following the natural,

whereas “Justice” is achieved through active governing, and this is what causes the differences between the states. In Plato’s *Kallipolis,* philosopher kings need to actively establish law and social structure, and citizens must comply by harmonizing their tripartite soul. Lao Tze’s ideal state advocates a more passive approach, where its rulers allow the natural order to unfold with minimal interference, and citizens live in adherence to the natural, unbounded by desire or ambition. An assumption on human nature underlies the thinking of both philosophers, meaning that neither framework is without blind spots. Plato’s aggressive approach would only be appropriate if human nature is indeed immoral, and Lao Tze’s relaxed approach is only feasible if human nature is moral. Nonetheless, both philosophers offer valuable insight on the pursuit of an “ideal society” that influence political thinkers to this day.

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論南宋姜夔詞的空間書寫

Xie Yue Yan 謝雨甄

引言

張炎《詞源》對白石詞推崇備至雲：「姜白石如野雲孤飛，去留無跡。……不惟清空，又且騷雅，讀之使人神觀飛越。」[1]說的就是南宋布衣詩人姜夔。姜夔，字堯章，是饒州鄱陽（今江西縣）人，號「白石道人」，世稱姜白石。白石少年時孤貧，屢試不第，但為人清高正直，不追求名利，終生未仕，浪跡江湖[2]。

現存白石詞 87 首[3]，縱觀學界的研究，主要是探究姜夔文藝思想、清冷詞風、地理空間等研究，如，耿肖俠《南宋詠物詞研究》[4]；韓國彩和李彩旗《清空騷雅幽韻冷香的白石詞——試論姜夔詞的藝術風格》[5]，與本題相似的有馬子舒的《姜夔詩詞的地理意象與地理空間》[6]。學界對姜夔詞的空間書寫研究不多。時間和空間是感知和創造美的價值的基本形式，可在姜夔詞中學界卻忽視了詩詞裡空間維度審美所生成的價值。「空間」也有相當多的理論穿透力，如：空間敘事學[7]、空間詩學[8]，讓空間有效地介入歷史、文學、身份等眾多研究論題。本文以「空間」概念進行探究，研究其詞如何通過空間技巧創造詞境，進一步探索詞人的精神空間，擴展對古典詩詞的理解向度，出於篇幅所限，本文僅就線條、視角、隔三點做一分析。

一、線條

詞中的有機部分便是其中藝術意境的表現，蘊含了詩人的思想內涵的核心。而線條，是畫面中不可或缺的美術語言，能為詩詞增添生命感。幫助詩人的思緒表達，也予以讀者充分的想像空間。姜夔利用不同線條展現符合中國審美文化獨有的意境空間。

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[1]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009 年 7 月第 1 版，頁 10。

[2] 蔡嘉真：<錢鐘書對姜夔詩之批評及其意義>，《南華大學文學系碩士班一年級》，2015 年，頁 34。

[3]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009 年 7 月第 1 版，頁 9。

[4] 耿肖俠：<南宋詠物詞研究>，《陝西理工大學碩士學位論文》，2022 年 6 月，中國知網。

[5] 韓國彩、李彩旗：<清空騷雅幽韻冷香的白石詞——試論姜夔詞的藝術風格>，《唐山學院哲學與人文科學·中文文學期刊》，2009 年，中國知網。

[6] 馬子舒：<姜夔詩詞的地理意象與地理空間>，《華中科技大學碩士學位論文》，2022 年，中國知網。

[7] 龍迪勇：<空間敘事研究：敘事學研究的空間轉向>，《中國作家網》，2015 年 12 月 07 日，http://cll.newdu.com/a/201710/17/25373.html，2022 年 11 月 23 日。

[8] 邱俊達：<朝向詩意空間：論巴舍拉《空間詩學》中的現象學>，《國立中山大學哲學研究所》，2009 年。

(一)直線展現「靜」與「清空」

在《夜行船》中詞人描寫吳興梅花「屋角垂枝，船頭生影」[9]，以線條描繪法記錄眼前所見。詞人用極簡的直線刻畫梅花在「屋角」低「垂」的姿態，由於直線與直線交錯間必然留有空間，所以便呈現了梅花枝枝分明的空間，有清爽意味。梅花倒影在「船頭生影」，於是「屋角」、「船頭」兩處皆有梅花。「屋角垂枝」屬於輸入空間[10]，投射了在「船頭生影」形成一個合成空間[11]。經過組合產生出「靜謐清冷」的畫面。又如《鷓鴣天（十六夜出）》裡「輦路珠簾兩行垂」[12]刻畫臨安皇帝車架兩側懸掛的珍珠簾幕，有垂範天下的帝王氣勢。可見，詞人使用直線的工筆描繪法，不論是寫梅的質樸畫風，抑或寫珠簾的正直神韻，都追求了靜與簡的線條，令詞境兼具清空與莊重。

(二) 曲線凸顯「亂」與「曠遠」

白石詞的直線構圖整飭，從而使得其空間範圍有力量及延伸之感，在詞境上更有開拓之效。但白石詞不止於此，「亂」也是其空間書寫的另一個重要手段。《探春慢》中有「梅花零亂春夜」[13]這「零亂」二字有效地展現出梅花片片墜落時隨意、輕盈之態。隨春風「亂」飄的梅花，便有了「亂線條」的動態感。雖是以「亂」形容，但是卻沒有一根錯線，因為每一根線條都是為了表現空間結構而服務的。這淩亂線條塑造出的混亂其實也暗示詞人心中的「亂」。同時，淩亂線條和散漫的構圖中，線條向四面八方飛出，帶有自由與瀟灑美，使讀者結合自身想像去真切感受場景中的情緒。於是，梅花淩亂「春夜」，增添了一種清冷之感，白石通過淩亂線條構造的離索意境，借「亂梅」折射內心淩亂的離愁別緒，無限拓展了詞境。

曲線除了能夠表現淩亂蕭條的離愁之態，還能表現情意悠遠意境。在《長亭怨慢·漸吹盡枝頭香絮》中，日暮時分的高城「只見亂山無數」[14]，這是一處平面遙望，無明確的視平線，一般只能見到山的輪廓。而「山」的輪廓便是曲線的呈現，曲線是動感極強的線條，經高低不一的山巒排列，有自由曲線，能展開讀者的視覺張力，表現瀟灑美的空間的開拓。也正是此隨意的重疊手法，使山之形狀被透疊、重合，形成山勢重重之景，也襯托作者心事重重之境。曲線山脈營造了無限連綿空間，頗有曠古悠遠之意境，在空間中詞人與愛人的纏綿情感得以無限延伸，蘊含「情意綿綿無絕期」[15]之情。

描述自然景物之曲線美是傳統詞常見的題材，白石的創造力不止於此，他心嗅薔薇刻畫了水波的水平移動曲線。《揚州慢·淮左名都》「二十四橋仍在，波心蕩」[16]形容湖面上的水波泛了層層漣漪，一圈

[9]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009年7月第1版，頁66。
[10] 余渭深、董平榮：《合成空間與中國古典詩詞意象》，第3期，重慶大學外國語學院，2003年，頁4。
[11] 同上註
[12]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009年7月第1版，頁201。
[13]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009年7月第1版，頁36。
[14]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009年7月第1版，頁97。
[15] 張中宇：《白居易《長恨歌》研究》，北京：中華書局，2005年9月，頁215。
[16]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009年7月第1版，頁1。

又一圈，不僅蕩漾在水中，也在詞人清寒的心中。所以，「波心蕩」中水波的曲線顯得柔韌，給予讀者柔美之感，同時，曲線條也是擾人心緒的利器。於是，水面上曲線恰恰對應了詞人心中波折，兩者憂愁連綿的情感基調是高度契合的。如此一來，詞人心不安，使得詞中意境也有了鬱悶之感。

以上可看出，垂直的梅花疏離清冷、珠簾莊肅，曲線則能抒發苦悶心情。經姜夔的別具匠心，運用直線和曲線這兩種自帶的活力與動態感的線條，建構出空明清曠的意境。

不過，在姜詞中大多只見直線與曲線，很少綜合運用線條。這樣一來，詞作的畫面感便具侷限性，呈千篇一律、缺乏新意的視覺效果。當意境缺少變化，便易致使讀者審美疲勞。反觀，很多其他詩人，例如王勃對線條的使用就更加豐富，《滕王閣序》中有「聳直」入重霄的山；「橫置」的閣道飛閣；「圓線條」的 彪渚；有「稜角」的桂殿蘭宮[17]。他用垂直線、橫線、圓線、稜角分明的折線，成功地構造一副美輪美奐的宮殿仙景。可見，姜詞在線條語言方面略顯單一，筆者認為如果姜夔可以在線條粗細、密度、觸感上用心，可進一步表現空間深度，詞境也隨之得到有效的建構。

二、視角

中國詩詞常用多角度描寫景物手法，從不同的視線角度觀察景物。 其中包括俯視、仰視等。而在不同的立足點觀察事物，可令景物的形象變幻多姿 ， 讓讀者對姜詞留下深刻印象。

(一)俯視與平視描繪「空靈遠」意境

在《一萼紅 》中詞人寫自己客居長沙登高時所見。序中言「亂湘流，入麓山」[18]詞人橫渡而上，登山後見「蕩湘雲楚水」[19]。顯然，詞人位於一個可以「一覽眾山小」[20]的高度，實現從上往下的俯視。詞人輕易看到「雲」的起伏，隨著心理作用，俯視鏡頭的角度會越來越大，讓人有一種被雲朵所包容或吞沒的無力感。此時俯瞰被擴張了主觀性，詞人受「雲」縹緲虛無的特性所同化，自覺遊興已盡，悲從中來，內心瞬間變得多感起來。以至於屢屢道出「目極傷心」、「空嘆時序」和「只怕春深」等悲慨之語。而當如此種種壓抑情感化為忿懣與嗟嘆，便使詞作生成空靈朦朧、若即若離的氛圍意境，讓詞人與讀者之間產生清冷疏離之感。

白石羈旅的苦澀對應了視角所產生的高處迷茫，詞人將此種愁苦通過平遠意境轉化為淡淡的憂傷。由於中國人對山水畫情有獨鍾，北宋郭熙針對山水畫論著《林泉高致》提出了對三遠法：「山有三遠：自山下而仰山巔謂之高遠；自山前而窺山後謂之深遠；自近山而望遠山謂之平遠。」

[17]（唐）王勃撰：<滕王閣序>，《歷代名文墨跡選》，中國傳媒大學出版社。
[18]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009 年 7 月第 1 版，頁 6。
[19] 同上註
[20]（唐）杜甫：《杜甫詩選》，三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2020 年 5 月第 2 版，頁 154。

[21] 白石借鑑「三遠法」之透視視角法描繪景物來實現空間的建構。在《慶宮春》中，詞人在除夕一雪夜賦詩。從「暮愁漸滿空闊」[22]開始，便為全詞定下了一個清麗深廣的基調。詞人劃動「雙槳」，視角從水平面出發，抬頭間將蜿蜒的山比喻為女子秀眉。此處，用平遠視角技巧呈現「傷心重見，依約眉山，黛痕低壓」有恬靜哀傷美感。可見，平遠視角中，詞人通過想像力，從船進出的「雲」擴展到遠處的「山」，呈現了空靈的視覺美。同時，「眉山」是眼見的創作實體，衍生出「黛痕低壓」的抒情人物形象，「眉山」與「黛痕」由分離走向了統一，寫遠山似美人，筆法新奇，拓展了詞的創作思路，改變了「山」原有的鈍感，賦予「山」精神情調，將詞境引向「遠」和「淡」的迷離詞境。

(二)移動視角烘托空幽之意境

除了以上的定點視角，值得一提的還有移動視角。在《一萼紅》中有兩處平移法。序有言「一徑深曲。穿徑而南，官梅數十株，如椒、如菽，或紅破白露，枝影扶疏。」[23]詞人通過平視視角呈現郭熙「每遠每異，山形步步移」[24]的技巧，展現庭院內「官梅」形狀及顏色的千奇百態，隨著詞人每一步的移動都生動地呈現出嶄新的畫面。後在正文中，又一處移步換景法「官梅」、「池面」、「牆腰」、「古城」是詞人穿梭小徑時所寫，轉向宏大清幽的意境。梅多有刻骨相思之情，並裝的地面與梅形成清遠刻骨的意境。古城陰雲沈沈帶來的壓抑之感，「雪」更寫出了寒意，正暗示了詞人心境之沈鬱。當主體逐漸擴大，平移視角也在隨之擴張，引導讀者去領略不同景致。讓讀者如置身其中，易受空幽意境感染，對詞人念遠懷舊之情產生聯想和共鳴。

可見，姜夔通過多視角透視法，追求「遠」的效果，把人的精神融入於客觀對象之中，達到物我兩忘的境界。且在視角的開拓過程中，讓雅景、山脈中的意境漸入「淡」、「無」、「虛」的境地。這種構建法擁有濃厚中國特色，十分成功，在豐富了讀者審美感知的同時，將人的視角與思想引向「遠」處，打破了空間的局限性，也實現了空間創造性。此外，「空」內含了對俗世紛擾的淡然，詞人在對山水景物的描寫中呈現了深邃、清爽之「幽然」意境，頗有中國古典禪意，也對應詞人內心的禪意，使詞境得以無窮放大，走向「沖淡」的精神境界。可見，姜夔用中式審美表現「空幽靈動」的意境，可有效引起中國文化圈的共鳴。

三、「隔」

空間可以是人物內心思想的投射，詞中所呈現的世界，便反映詞人的心理活動。換言之，空間不再是現實中的景，而是蘊含了深厚意蘊的精神空間。姜夔將空間進行分割，將自己歸隱於某一情感豐富的審美空間，讓讀者感受意境中滿滿人文氣息和文化烙印。

[21] 吳非撰文：<中國山水畫通鑑 -- 林泉高致>，《上海書畫出版社》，2006 年 1 月，頁 56。
[22]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009 年 7 月第 1 版，頁 170。
[23]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009 年 7 月第 1 版，頁 6。
[24] 吳非撰文：<中國山水畫通鑑 -- 林泉高致>，《上海書畫出版社》，2006 年 1 月，頁 62。

(一)現實空間簾幕之「隔」的孤獨處世

《鷓鴣天·元夕不出》是詞人在憶往日的舊情。元夕節這日，外面「風蕭聲動，玉壺光轉」[25]的熱鬧非凡，但詞人閉門不出，感慨而今臨安的元夕，是汴京淪陷之後的元夕，透露心中的隱痛。詞人獨自在「簾寂寂，月低低」[26]的小空間裡，感傷國運。單一個「簾」字便將詞人與外界隔開，詞人在簾內這一方狹窄空間中，盡現悲涼孤獨。於是，簾外喧囂的現實空間與簾內孤寂的內心空間相對立，給讀者提供了新穎的閱讀空間去體會詞人對國難和國恥的萬千思緒。最後，詞人依然抑鬱寡歡，末句「鄰娃笑語」的熱鬧進而反襯詞人落寞愁苦的心境，達到「以樂景襯哀情」的藝術效果，使意境擁有「愁更愁」的意蘊。

同樣，《秋宵吟》也寫了簾幕之隔。詞人故地重遊，在蕩蕩空樓中，全詞唯一的光源來自於那「一簾淡月」[27]，詞人強調了「簾」對月光進行了過濾，映照出柔和的靜謐之光，渲染低靡的氛圍，引詞人陷入深思。而詞人獨坐「古簾」後，簾外的空間是寂寥鬱悶的秋日，簾內的詞人也是這一般心緒。於是，簾外和簾內的情感意境蕭索又冷清，如出一轍。詞人被低純度的光影籠罩著，苦楚憂思始終無法釋懷，以空蕩蒼涼空間收場。

(二)虛幻空間山川之「隔」訴說別離憂傷

《隔溪梅令》的開篇便展現了精神空間，詞人幻想自己身處「浪粼粼」之靈魂的徜徉地。上片看花引發暮春之傷，下片陷入回憶，「木蘭雙槳夢中雲」[28]夢寐中，刻畫了「夢中夢」，詞人幻想與心愛女子一同泛舟。然而在後二句，詞人從夢的虛幻空間跌回現實空間「漫向孤山山下覓盈盈」[29]，從此女子和詞人之間便有了「孤山」之隔，詞人還欲「覓盈盈」，但通過「翠禽啼一春」[30]之典故，說明美人乃梅花女神的化身，美人無處可尋覓。可見，詞人匠心獨具，開拓虛擬空間並營造如夢如幻的朦朧意境，再將兩個虛擬空間進行重疊讓人沈醉美好時光，卻在夢醒之際用「孤山」狠心將有情人從虛幻和現實空間中生生分離。這樣的意境呈現了孤獨憂愁，讓讀者體會詞人的惆悵失意。

總的來說，姜夔通過創設簾幕間的孤寂之態、所愛隔山海的無奈這兩種「隔絕空間」來傾吐衷腸。從現實空間之隔，縱向延伸至虛幻空間之隔，筆者認為姜夔用「物」間隔空間之舉，與傳統的「天人合一」美學思想不同，個性化強，值得欣賞。古來相信天、地、人三者是相互依賴、促進的關係，所以詩歌創作時常常會踐行「天人合一」的思想，如陶淵明詩，在個體與世界尋求和諧共處之道。可姜夔卻將自己與現實進行屏絕，時而是為形所迫不得不爾，時而是為人間事深覺失意而

[25] 傅承洲：<蘇幸詞傳>，《中國歷代名家流派詞傳》，吉林人民出版社，1998 年，頁 56。
[26] 同上註
[27]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009 年 7 月第 1 版，頁 114。
[28]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009 年 7 月第 1 版，頁 179。
[29]（宋）姜夔著，陳書良箋注：《姜白石詞箋注》，北京：中華書局，2009 年 7 月第 1 版，頁 179。
[30] 姜夔：<疏影·苔枝綴玉>，《古詩文網》，2022，https://www.gushiwen.cn/gushiwen_9bdcf67a3d.aspx，2022 年 11 月 23 日。

選擇「畫地為牢」，展現其「孤雲野鶴」的清高個性，這種「隨慾」特質將吸引更多與其同頻共振的人，但這樣的讀者數量是少的。

從傳統的詩論來看，姜詞常常被人詬病，針對其意境不夠開闊，因為他利用「簾幕」、「山海」等具象事物為分離空間的媒介，空間分離方法過簡，使得空間中情感表達較為直白，整體基調略顯重複單 一。詞人該嘗試用抽象形式將空間割離，如蘇軾《江城子·乙卯正月二十日夜記夢》[31]之作，上闕感慨「十年生死兩茫茫」，下闕「夜來幽夢忽還鄉」，巧妙運用「入夢」橋段，將現實帶入夢中，並無使用具象物體來實現「隔」的空間。讓情感更為飽滿、浪漫色彩更甚，空間與意境共進入更高的文學境界。

結語

從以上的分析，我們大致可以從以下兩個方面對姜詞進行總結，其一是關於姜詞空間書寫的特色，其二是關於姜詞詞境。

首先，姜詞空間書寫特色。古代詩人對空間的書寫各不相同。首先，是自然景觀的空間意象，如《觀滄海》將曹操「周公吐哺」[32]的博大胸懷和高遠理想利用蒼茫的大海空間外化。第二，是歷史景觀讓空間裡意象昭示著興衰，李商隱《隨宮》「紫泉宮殿」和「地下」[33]呈現深邃的荒涼歷史空間。最後，有人世景觀的空間意象，李白「兩岸猿聲啼不住，輕舟已過萬重山」[34]詩人借聲音與移動空間抒發感傷。而姜詞在空間書寫上有著強烈的個人色彩，從上文分析可看出他善於通過線條的靜感與動感、視角的「遠」效果、「隔」的二重情感，創建個人化的意境。但在這種個人化意境形象的同時，也部分將其侷限在個人的小空間之中。

其次，關於其詞境上，姜詞突破了以前婉約和豪放派詩人們的基礎，擺脫了詞的世俗化，追求的格調醇雅。傳統上認為姜詞詞境清空，但從上文分析中可看出，其詞境比清空更加豐富。例如上文所分析：清雅莊重、離索冷寂、曠古悠遠、朦朧迷離等。可見，姜詞詞境也是很豐富的，且在此種詞境中也蘊含了無限韻味。所以，傳統觀點將白石詞境定為「清空」，有些狹隘。王國維在《人間詞話》中對白石「惜不於意境上用力，故覺無言外之味」[35]的評價可能也有失公允。總的來說，筆者認為，姜詞雖有其局限性，但以自成一派的空間表達與獨特的寫作風格獨樹一幟。

[31] 傅承洲：<蘇幸詞傳>，《中國歷代名家流派詞傳》，吉林人民出版社，1998 年，頁 74。
[32] 孫明君：<三曹詩選>，《古典詩詞名家》，北京：中華書局，2005 年，頁 74。
[33] （唐）李商隱著，（清）朱鶴齡箋注，田松清點校：<李商隱詩集>，上海古籍出版社，2015 年，頁 61。
[34] 胡振龍：<李白詩古注本研究>，《解放軍外國語學院"博士文庫"項目》，西安：陝西人民出版社，2006 年，頁 90。
[35] 王國維著：<人間詞話>，《晚清以來影響最大的詞學美學著作》，香港中和出版有限公司，2016 年，頁 43。

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The Conception of Death: A Comparison Between Epicurus and Zhuang Zi

Jamee Tsai 蔡寶瑤

Introduction

Death is a universal and inescapable phenomenon. Historically, the topic of death and morality has been a greatly discussed philosophical quandary. Death marks the end of life, making the two inextricable. By knowing that there is an inevitable end to our life as human beings, death motivates individuals to contemplate how individuals ought to live. Thus, one's conception of death can influence what we ought to achieve in our limited time.

This essay will explore the conception of death in the school of Epicureanism and Daoism, specifically in the works of the ancient Greek philosopher Epicurus (*Letter to Herodotus* and *Letter to Meoneceus*), and the ancient Chinese philosopher, Zhuangzi's (莊子) *Zhuangzi*. Through the comparison of Epicurus's and Zhuangzi's philosophy of death, I argue that despite the disparities in their cultures and philosophical thought, both philosophers came to notably similar conceptions of death as a natural process that is not to be feared. Both philosophers unpack reasons why the fear of death is irrational and hence should be avoided. On the one hand, Epicurus' model of death is intertwined with his hedonistic ethics. Epicurus emphasizes seeing death as a thing that causes no harm and argues that by expelling the fear around death, one can truly reach *eudaimonia*, the state of ultimate pleasure, fulfillment, and happiness. In contrast, Zhuangzi focuses more on the metaphysical dimension of death. Zhuangzi's model presents death not as annihilation, through which one merely becomes part of a new form of life in the cosmic *Dao* (道) and not living as an immortality entity, but a part of the endless cycles of *Dao*.

1. Context

1.1 Epicurus

Epicurus (341–270 B.C.E), the founder of Epicureanism, was one of the major philosophers of the Hellenistic period. The Epicurean school of philosophy flourished from the Late Hellenistic period until the Roman era in the 4th century CE.

This essay will examine Epicurus' *Letter to Herodotus and Letter to Menoeceus.* His *Letter to Herodotus* is referred to as the 'epitome of the most important doctrines' of Epicurus' metaphysics by Greek biographer Diogenes Laertius in his work, *Life of Epicurus*. *Letter to Herodotus* explores Epicurus' atomist conception of death, while *Letter to Menoeceus* is an epistolary piece addressed to Epicurus' disciple, which focuses on Epicurus' ethical teaching concerning his attitude toward death (Long, 1974, p. 46).

1.2 Zhuangzi

Zhuangzi 莊子 (369–286 B.C.E), also known as Zhuang Zhou 莊周, was a leading Daoist philosopher during the late 4th century B.C.E. Warring States period.

The text explored in this essay is *Zhuangzi* 莊子, one of the foundational texts of Daoism, which includes a discussion of death. *Zhuangzi* is written in a philosophical parable, which consists of 33 chapters traditionally divided into three parts: the "Inner Chapters", the "Outer Chapters" and the "Mixed Chapter". *Zhuangzi* is written in the form of a parable, in which the thinker engages in philosophical dialogues to provide alternative perspectives on the cosmological transformations between life and death (Hansen, 2014).

2. Conception of Death

2.1 Epicurus

Epicurus believes that death is a process of dispersion that strips an individual from all sensations. In *Letter to Herodotus,* Epicurus argues that all life is created by the configuration of atoms, which are units of

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indestructible material. According to Epicurus' theory of atomism, individual atoms are what comes before life, and also what comes after death:

> [...] of bodies, some are combinations, and some are the elements out of which these combinations are formed. The latter are indivisible, and protected from every kind of transformation; [...] They exist by their own force, in the midst of the dissolution of the combined bodies, being absolutely full, and as such offering no handle for destruction to take hold of. [41-42].
>
> (Epicurus., *Letter to Herodotus.* 41-42. [C.D.Yon Trans.])

In this quotation, the "latter" refers to atoms, which are the building blocks of life, "indivisible" and unalterable. Epicurus states that different atoms are able to form "combinations", which refers to all things in the universe, including humans. Thus, it can be understood that atoms are the first beginnings of human life. In Epicurean philosophy, atoms will forever exist as small particles in the universe, since they "are protected from every kind of transformation". Hence during death, a person will simply be a "dissolution of [...] combined bodies", since the atoms that make up a person cannot be annihilated into nothingness. These atoms will just return to the universe after one's death.

Furthermore, Epicurus uses his conception of death as a dispersion of atoms to argue that death is a painless process. Epicurus conceives life as a union of the soul and body, both of which are made out of atoms. The body is commonly understood as flesh and bones, or a physical vessel to contain the soul, whereas the soul serves to perceive sensations, such as pleasure and pain:

> [...] the soul is a bodily substance composed of light particles, diffused over all the members of the body, and presenting a great analogy to a sort of spirit, having an admixture of heat. [...] There exists in it a special part, [which is capable of feeling] immediate sympathy with the rest of the body. [63]
>
> (Epicurus., *Letter to Herodotus.* 63. [C.D.Yonge Trans.])

Epicurus reinforces the idea that the soul is composed of "light particles" which are atoms and are encapsulated or "diffused" over all bodies of life. The analogy comparing the soul to an "admixture of heat" serves to highlight that the soul is intangible, differentiating it from the physical body, and further serves to highlight the "special part" of the soul: Epicurus attributes to the soul the power of sensation, which is described as the "immediate sympathy with the rest of the body". However, for the soul to perceive sensations, support from the body is required.

> [...] when the soul departs, the body is no longer possessed of sensation; for it has not this power, (namely that of sensation) in itself; but on the other hand, this power can only manifest itself in the soul through the medium of the body. [...]
>
> (Epicurus., *Letter to Herodotus.* 64-65. [C.D.Yon Trans.])

In this quotation, Epicurus reiterates the interdependence between the body and the soul: The physical body is a vessel for the soul to reside. Without the soul, the body itself cannot feel, yet this power of sensation "can only manifest itself [...] through the medium of the body." At the moment of death, "the soul departs, the body is no longer possessed of sensation". When the atoms disperse at death, so does the soul, and hence Epicurus concludes that death is a painless and linear process of dispersion.

2.2 Zhuangzi

Zhuangzi contends that death is a process of transformation. This argument is supported by one of his passages in which he describes his reaction to the death of his wife:

> 不然。是其始死也，我獨何能無概然！察其始而本無生，非徒無生也，而本無形，非徒無形也，而本無氣。雜乎芒芴之間，變而有氣，氣變而有形，形變而有生。
>
> [When she first died, was it possible for me to be singular and not affected by the event? But I reflected on the commencement of her being. She had not yet been born to life; not only had she no life, but she had no bodily form; not only had she no bodily form, but she had no breath. During the intermingling of the waste and dark chaos, there ensued a change, and there was breath; another change, and there was the bodily form; another change, and there came birth and life. There is now a change again, and she is dead.]
>
> (Zhuangzi 莊子 - *至樂 [Perfect Enjoyment]* 2. [James Legge Trans.])

The above quotation frames death as a process of change from four stages: breath, bodily form, birth and life, and finally death. No matter what form a person

adopts, whether as breath or as a bodily form, they still remain as a part of the *Dao*. Zhuangzi repetition of the word "change" reinforces the transformative nature of life and death. Dying simply takes an individual back to the start of this cycle of change, whereby one commences onto the next form of life. By highlighting the cyclic nature of life and death, Zhuangzi establishes a mutually constitutive relationship between these two seemingly opposite and disparate ideas. Without birth, one would not be able to live, and without death, one would not be able to commence a new cycle of life.

The word "commencement" also highlights Zhuangzi's reflection on his wife's death, framing it not as a backward process, but instead moving forward into a new state of non-being, which is essentially the initial stage of pre-birth. Zhuangzi further illustrates death as a natural process by comparing it to the changes in seasons in the following quotation:

> 今又變而之死，是相與為春秋冬夏四時行也。
>
> [The relation between these things is like the procession of the four seasons from spring to autumn, from winter to summer.]
>
> (Zhuangzi 莊子 - *至樂 [Perfect Enjoyment]. 2.* [James Legge Trans.])

This simile highlights how the cyclical nature of the four seasons is similar to the transformation between life and death. Just like how the changes in seasons repeat itself year after year, living and dying happen continuously, hence, dying does not mean complete non-existence, but instead a transition to living on in the universe as another form. By comparing death to natural processes, Zhuangzi emphasizes the spontaneity of death.

Zhuangzi's emphasis on the idea of change and transformation serves to highlight the inevitability of death. Just like how humans cannot interfere with seasonal changes, dying and the "commencement" cannot be interfered with as well.

2.3 Comparison

Epicurus and Zhuangzi both recognize death as returning to nature. Epicurus' philosophy argues that when atoms disperse, they return to a united universe filled with other atoms. Zhuangzi believes that when one dies, they remain in the natural world as a new form of life. Despite both recognizing that death is inherently natural, Epicurus and Zhuangzi conceive death in different ways: Epicurus adopts a more linear approach of atomism, which believes that death is the dispersion of atoms. The dissolution of atoms strips away all sensations, hence making death a painless process. Zhuangzi, on the other hand, sees death as a cyclical process, in which one changes from breath to bodily form, to life, and finally death. Thus, death is no longer the end of life, but a threshold that allows one to progress through the cycle of transformation.

3. Attitude towards Death

3.1 Epicurus

Do not Fear Death

The implications of Epicurus' conception of death are reflected in his attitude towards death, namely the fear of death. Epicurus uses his conception of death to argue that the fear of death is irrational.

> Accustom yourself also to think death a matter with which we are not at all concerned, since all good and all evil is in sensation, and since death is only the privation of sensation. [...] For there is nothing terrible in living to a man who rightly comprehends that there is nothing terrible in ceasing to live; so that he was a silly man who said that he feared death, not because it would grieve him when it was present, but because it did grieve him while it was future. For it is very absurd that that which does not distress a man when it is present, should afflict him only when expected. [124-125]
>
> (Epicurus., *Letter to Menoeceus.* 124-125. [C.D.Yonge Trans.])

In this quotation, Epicurus argues that the fear of death is "absurd" for two reasons. Firstly, death is something "we are not at all concerned [with]" because death is the "privation of senses". Thus, it is invalid to fear death for the expected pain or evil it causes, since death can neither be good nor evil with the absence of sensation. Secondly, Epicurus believes that there is no point in grieving one's expected death as it not only distresses a man in the present but also "afflicts" a person with additional pain from the anxiety for one's inevitable death. Epicurus supports this point by setting up a contrast between two men, the man who "rightly comprehends that there is nothing terrible in ceasing to live" and the "silly man" who fears death. The word characterization of the latter as "silly", demonstrates Epicurus' critique of the silly man's feelings and attitude. Epicurus believes that one should act like the first man "rightly comprehend" death by seeing it as something that does no harm.

Epicurus continues to argue about the irrationality of the fear of death by saying:

> Therefore, the most formidable of evils, death, is nothing to us, since, when we exist, death is not present to us; and when death is present, then we have no existence. It is no concern then either of the living or of the dead; since to the one it has no existence, and the other class has no existence itself [...]
>
> (Epicurus., *Letter to Menoeceus.* 124-125. [C.D.Yonge Trans.])

Epicurus refutes the general view of death as "the most formidable of evils" by arguing that "death is nothing to us". This idea can be explained by the "No Subject of Harm Argument"(O'Keefe, 2023): Death is not present with the living, so death does not affect the living. When death is present, we no longer exist. Since death could only be bad to something that does exist, the dead are also not affected by it. Therefore, it is irrational to fear death as it is of no concern to "either of the living or of the dead".

Expel the Fear of Death to Live a Good Life

Epicurus believes that the fear of death partly stems from the fear of the gods, and hence grasping the nature of Epicurean theology is a key to expelling death anxiety. Epicurus argues:

> First of all, believe that a god is an incorruptible and happy being, as the common opinion of the world dictates; [...] and think that a deity is invested with everything which is able to preserve this happiness, in conjunction with incorruptibility. [...] But they are not of the character which people in general attribute to them; for they do not pay a respect to them which accords with the ideas that they entertain of them. And that man is not impious who discards the gods believed in by the many, but he who applies to the gods the opinions entertained of them by the many.
>
> (Epicurus., *Letter to Menoeceus.* 123-124. [C.D.Yonge Trans.])

This quotation represents Epicurus' rejection of traditional religious belief in favor of a more rational and naturalistic worldview. Epicurus refutes the common perception of the gods in Greek religion, which granted gods anthropomorphic qualities. Instead, Epicurus believes that the conventional knowledge of gods is "distinct", meaning that the common perception deviates from the true nature of gods. He does not deny the existence of gods, but rather than seeing gods as powerful and vengeful beings who demand worship, Epicurus characterizes them as "happy" and "incorruptible". The word "incorruptible" implies that gods would not act in their own interest by intervening with human affairs, as that would corrupt their immortality and divine nature. Epicurus believes that gods are already happy and content to not have to inflict power on humans to fulfill their desires.

For Epicurus, this view of the gods relates to the fear of death as many people fear death due to the perceived divine punishment they think they will receive. Epicurus expels this fear in two ways: firstly by arguing that there will be no afterlife and sensation after the death of the soul, hence we will not sense the pain of or even experience divine punishment. Secondly, Epicurus believes that gods have no motivation to exert punishment on humans as they have nothing that they want to achieve in return. Therefore by believing in divine punishment, it would be "impious" for one to think ill of gods. To conclude, not only is the fear of divine punishment and by extension the fear of death irrational but also impious.

3.2 Zhuangzi

Responding to the Death of Oneself

By recognizing that death is a process of returning to nature or the Dao, Zhuangzi is able to calmly accept his own death:

> 莊子將死，弟子欲厚葬之。莊子曰：「吾以天地為棺槨，以日月為連璧，星辰為珠璣，萬物為賮送。吾葬具豈不備邪？何以加此！」
>
> [When Zhuangzi was about to die, his disciples signified their wish to give him a grand burial. 'I shall have heaven and earth,' said he, 'for my coffin and its shell; the sun and moon for my two round symbols of jade; the stars and constellations for my pearls and jewels; and all things assisting as the mourners. Will not the provisions for my burial be complete? What could you add to them?']
>
> (Zhuangzi 莊子 - *列禦寇 [Lie Yu-kou] 16.* [James Legge Trans.])

Zhuangzi is nearing death and his disciples offer to give him a grand burial. Zhuangzi, however, rejects their offer and instead states that he does not need any additional provisions beyond what is naturally

provided. In this quote, Zhuangzi metaphorically compares elements of nature to burial items, such as the heaven and earth as his coffin, and the stars and constellations as his burial jewels. The metaphors create a vivid and poetic image of Zhuangzi's burial and emphasize his connection to the natural world. Zhuangzi displays no fear or anxiety regarding his death but instead welcomes it as death would signify his return to nature, or even becoming a part of *Dao*.

In another quotation from *Nourishing the Lord of Life*, the character Qin Shi discusses the model behavior in dealing with one's death:

> 適來，夫子時也；適去，夫子順也。安時而處順，哀樂不能入也，古者謂是帝之縣解。
>
> [When the Master came, it was at the proper time; when he went away, it was the simple sequence (of his coming). Quiet acquiescence in what happens at its proper time, and quietly submitting (to its ceasing) afford no occasion for grief or for joy.]
>
> (Zhuangzi 莊子 - *養生主 [Nourishing the Lord of Life] 5.* [James Legge Trans.])

In this quote, the term "Master" refers to life or the state of being alive. The Master's coming refers to birth and it "[going] away" connotes death. Zhuangzi's conception of death as an inevitable process is thus reestablished in this quotation, where Qin Shi believes that birth and death come at the "proper time" and act upon nature's accord. Due to our lack of control over our death, instead of resisting, Qin Shi states that we should just face it with "quiet acquiescence" and "submi[ssion]".

However, Zhuangzi and Qin Shi do not look forward to dying, as it would take away from one's appreciation of life. Even though Zhuangzi welcomes death as his own return to the Dao, he does not display any anticipation for death. Similarly, Qin Shi argues that one should face death with "no occasion for grief or for joy".

Responding to the Death of Loved Ones

Zhuangzi's conception of death also teaches how one should respond to the death of their loved ones:

> 莊子妻死，惠子弔之，莊子則方箕踞鼓盆而歌。……莊子曰：「……人且偃然寢於巨室，而我嗷嗷然隨而哭之，自以為不通乎命，故止也。」
>
> [When Zhuangzi's wife died, Huizi went to condole with him, and, finding him squatted on the ground, drumming on the basin, and singing. [...] Zhuangzi replied, [...] 'There now she lies with her face up, sleeping in the Great Chamber; and if I were to fall sobbing and going on to wall for her, I should think that I did not understand what was appointed (for all). I therefore restrained myself!']
>
> (Zhuangzi 莊子 - *至樂 ["Perfect Enjoyment"]. 2.* [James Legge Trans.])

In this quotation, Zhuangzi's reaction to his wife's death seems absurd. Instead of grieving, he is nonchalant and is even drumming and singing. His singing is not entirely in celebration of his wife's death but demonstrates how he is not overindulging in sorrow and is not negatively affected by her passing. However, Zhuangzi initially fails to accept her death peacefully and also displays grief, yet he reflects upon the commencement of her being in the cycle of life and death and is able to see her passing in another light.

Zhuangzi describes his wife's death as "[lying] with her face up, sleeping in the Great Chamber", illustrating a scene of a peaceful death. Zhuangzi explains how her death is a return to nature or "the Great Chamber", which portrays his wife's death as something noble. Hence, Zhuangzi believes in such occasions, it would be irrational to "fall sobbing", as it would mean that he didn't understand the true nature of death. Zhuangzi reflects on his initial reaction as something foolish, which restrained him from acknowledging the truth of death and by extension the truth of the universe, the Dao. In Zhuangzi, the different characters' attitudes towards death reflect the wisdom of Daoism, which encourages individuals to free themselves from preconceived notions of death as being a sad occasion, but instead, accept it as being an inevitable part of life. By doing so, Zhuangzi believes that an individual can attain the best life possible, by living in accordance with the *Dao*.

3.3 Comparison

Both philosophers' attitudes towards death stem from their conception of death, which allows them to argue against conventional reactions towards death — fear, and sorrow. Specifically, Epicurus believes that death should not be feared, whereas Zhuangzi believes that one should not mourn and grieve. Epicurus and Zhuangzi both argue that one should not be anxious about the death of oneself and others but for different reasons. Epicurus contends that death should not be feared because it is painless and free from divine

punishment. On the other hand, Zhuangzi argues that death should not be faced with sadness as returning to nature after death is not scary but bliss.

Conclusion

In conclusion, both Epicurus and Zhuangzi conceive death as a natural end to a life that causes no harm. As such, both philosophers emphasize the attitude of accepting death and not fearing death. Rather than trying to surpass death through immorality or grieving over the death of our loved ones, one should welcome death in a composed manner.

The value of this research into the conception of death is for a modern audience to reconsider death. Despite being an ancient philosopher from times so different to ours, death remains a prevalent topic in philosophy, as it is the inevitable fate all of humanity has to face. One's conception of death can hence influence their attitude towards it, as demonstrated by the philosophers. Regardless of how their ideas deviate from the modern and scientific understanding of death, no doubt, by reconsidering death from another perspective, individuals can face death in a healthier way.

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What can a Comparison between Liberalism and Confucianism Reveal about the Relationship between Virtues and Rights?

Pong Ka Huen Kennice 龐嘉萱

Introduction

The growing emphasis and concern over human rights in our political climate has raised questions about the fundamental moral idea of treating persons with equal respect and dignity. Even so, the visions of the good life have typically been a debate between Eastern and Western values, the latter presenting Western liberal democracy as the predominant model for universal human rights. The debate between Western versus Eastern philosophical values has typically been framed within a series of underlying assumptions. While liberalism represents liberty, democratic and individualism, Confucianism is regarded as coercive, restrictive, authoritative and communitarian (Nadeau, 2002, 107). Such associations polarize the West and the East, assuming mutual exclusivity between the two self-imagined ideologies that should be theoretically applicable to all social systems and global societies (Paramore, 2018, 527).

The New Culture Movement of 1919 epitomizes this phenomenon. The rejection of traditional Confucianism and promotion of Western liberal ideals depicts a clash driven by iconoclasm: some believed that freeing China from its cultural roots was the only way to revitalize the country into a prosperous, modern state. Chinese scholar Chen Duxiu (1916) argued that the lack of "national strength in China is because there has been no change in the thought of people." Specifically, Chen underscores that there must be a change in cultural thought for constitutional government—which was the ideal for prosperity—–to be achieved. Others such as Chiang Kai-shek provided a different perspective. He argued in his speech "Essentials of the New Life Movement" (1934) that Confucian values must be applied to ordinary life; and a nation that does not reflect them will not survive." The conflict presents a deeply rooted debate, reflecting the common perception of how there was little room for harmony between the promotion of new ideals of Liberalism and the old views of Confucianism.

Liberalism and Confucianism can be applied to different areas: philosophical thought, political ideology, state policies, cultural practices (Chan, 212). In taking Confucianism as a traditional thought, it is acknowledged that Confucianism is a rich philosophy that involves the ideas of many philosophers. However, I will be taking the *Analects* of Confucius as evidence, a collection of aphorisms and anecdotes that came to embody the values of the Confucian tradition. Yet it should be understood that Confucianism is not limited to this scope in real life conditions. I also take liberalism as a moral philosophy, showing how the notion of human rights coheres with how those rights are exercised (Richards, 1980, 461).

This article questions the one-sided view that liberalism is the only way to democracy, taking the approach of comparative philosophy to reconsider the stereotypical representations of Western and Eastern values. I argue that some ideas of rights in liberalism can also be found in other traditions; and Confucianism, a virtue-based morality, can also be a compelling and universal resource for human values for individuals in a community.

The article is divided into three sections. The first section compares the moral ideals of communitarianism and individualism, showing approaches to the notion of equality that share some similarities and contain certain differences. The second section compares the two philosophies' perspectives on the toleration of moral wrongdoing, showing how, contrary to conventional thought, Confucianism is not always coercive. The last section offers an overview of the relation between Confucius' aim to make moral progress by cultivating virtue and noninterference in liberalism, exploring how one can maximize freedom in a virtuous community.

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1. Equality Ideals: Individualism and Communitarism

The core issue of the debate between Liberalism and Confucianism can be attributed to the principles underlying the standards of "human rights," often covering a disagreement over what rights should be included in the enumeration of rights. Areas of dispute include but are not limited to the role of the individual, family, community, and how a state may guarantee or interfere with those rights (Nadeau, 2002, 108). Across most literatures, Renshaw (2014) represents the dominant view that Liberalism ensures rights by allowing individuals to act freely and achieve their own self-interests, while Confucianism emphasizes moral fulfillment of duties rather than claiming rights over neighbors.

1.1 The Liberal versus Confucian Ideal of a Community

One of the central ideas of Liberalism is that all people are born with rights, which they hold simply because they are human beings, not because the rights are entitlements granted by the state. In John Locke's formulation, the individual stands at the center of the community, being the one and only rational judge for one's own rights that allows individuals to act freely to achieve their own self-interests (Yeo, 2014, 145). This liberal thought of prioritizing the individuals' interests over the community reveals how liberalism prioritizes first generation rights. First generation rights emerged as a theory during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, based on the belief that powerful rulers of the state should not have the legitimacy to control the actions of individuals and that individuals should have influence over the policies that affect them (Council of Europe, 2014). The prioritizing of the individual over the state —– one way in which individualism is defined —– shows how Liberalism typically defines human rights as "freedom from" the restrictive nature of the family and the state, revealing how human rights in the liberal context is the fundamental equality of all persons. Thus, it is evident how both central ideas of Liberalism and first generation rights aim to protect the individual against exploitation by the state. In a modern day context, such beliefs are reflected in rights such as the right for individuals to participate in the government (Council of Europe, 2014).

On the first look, the idea of rights does not seem consistent with Confucian values. For Confucius, the idea of rights does not appear to fit the Confucian context because it motivates individuals to look at other members' interests as violations against their own interests. It is commonly thought that the Confucian ideal of a community takes a communitarian approach, taking a virtuous approach based on human relationships within the family. According to *The Analects*, human relationships are categorized in 5 ways: father-son, husband-wife, elder brother-younger brother, ruler-ruled and friend-friend (12.11). Such relationships are idealized so mutual love and care between members constitute core virtues. Specifically, a virtuous member of society in the Confucian perspective is someone who exemplifies the moral attribute of *ren*. *Ren* is not reflected through what one does on a surface level; it is believed to be a moral property of an agent in making moral actions (Fung, 2015, 92). For example, Chan interprets Confucius to state that *ren* is to *"love your fellow people."* To love means to pay respect and devote oneself to close associations with other wise men (Chan, 1999, 218). For example, a virtuous son would regard his rights in relation to the well-being of his family**.** This means that moral duties in Confucianism arise from social relationships, placing the Confucian self at the center of relationships, where the self is defined in relation to the family, community and the state.

1.2 Individual Role-Based Ethics

There is a general consensus that the idea of Confucianism does not support the liberal definition of human rights. Many scholars have argued that Confucianism is exactly the opposite, supporting the use of coercive power of the state over individual freedom (Nadeau, 2002, 108). For example, Rosemont (Rosement, 1988, 167) argues that because human beings have inalienable rights irrespective of cultural background, personal beliefs and values, individuals can live independently of culture. This view goes against the Confucian perspective of the ideal community because culture is a collective identity that individuals share.

> Confucius replied: "There is a government, when the prince is the prince, and the minister is the minister; when the father is father and the son is son."
>
> (*Analects*, Yan Yuan, Chapter 1, D.C Lau Trans.)

There is an argument premised on the assumption that familial roles do not give room for rights within virtuous relationships, thus a communitarian approach erodes a person's legitimate interests. However, Chan (1999) argues further that Confucianism would endorse rights in familial relationships because no ethics of benevolence would seek to diminish the needs of individuals. One way of interpreting the passage above is that a minister should fulfill his duty as a minister and a father should fulfill his duty as a father. Confucius argues that there is room for rights within such duties; the key is for individuals to fulfill their roles in order to protect themselves and build a stable and collective community.

Similarly, Confucius promotes the view that virtuous members in personal relationships will not even think of possessing rights over their partners; instead, focusing on mutual love would motivate individuals to participate in community with reciprocal commitments (Chan, 1999, 220). That means that virtuous members would care for the needs and interests of others. However, when a relationship turns sour —— such as when a marriage relationship in which one spouse is deceitful —— Confucius agrees with the view that formal and legal rights can be useful to protect personal interests (Chan, 1999, 221). Ultimately, it can be seen that both the liberal and Confucian perspectives acknowledge how both individual and familial rights can be an instrument for the vulnerable to protect themselves against exploitation.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), written by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 and founded on liberal principles, can also show how Confucianism is compatible with liberalism in a modern day context. Specifically, an early draft of the first article of the Universal Declaration stated that: *"All men are brothers. As human beings with the gift of reason and members of a single family, they are free and equal in dignity and rights."* Thus, the idea of how individuals are interconnected relates to the Confucian idea of *ren*. This is because the virtue of *ren* suggests that the self and community are mutually supportive and influenced by each other (Twiss, 1998). Therefore, it is evident how both liberalism and Confucianism view individuals as moral agents who have shared capacities for personal development, and everyone should have equal access to opportunities that allow moral virtues to reach their full potential (Nadeau, 2002, 114).

2. The Right to be Bad

Another distinction between Liberalism and Confucianism lies in the tension between a vision to protect individual's rights and a concern over the ways in which people ought to exercise them, especially over ways in which people may misuse their rights.

2.1 Individual Sovereignty and the Confucian Self

The liberal moral imagination supports the belief that a person has a higher order capacity to evaluate their first-order desires. Some examples of first order desires include thirst, sexuality, competence desires, desire for love and friendship (Richards, 1980, 466). For the liberal tradition, what differentiates human beings from other animals is the ability to evaluate first-order desires. Therefore, priority is given to rights that enable individuals to have full decision-making power over their first-order desires. Kant, a profound thinker of classical liberalism, identifies that individuals should be sovereign, to be ends in themselves on how to live their lives (Richards, 1980, 466). Following this ideology, people are within their rights to do the wrong thing. Conceptually, not giving money to charity and not helping a friend in need are common examples of when moral rights are used to do moral wrongs (Herstein, 2012, 344). The liberal perspective argues that a mere fact of someone engaging in moral wrongdoing does not entail that one should not have a right. Moreover, liberals argue that without a right to do wrong, individuals would not have the flexibility to truly understand their own values of "who they are" (Herstein, 2012, 351). Therefore, having a right to choose wrongfully is an essential condition for individual sovereignty; to strengthen the main function of rights which is to protect the interests of right-holders and ensure an access to freedom.

Confucianism offers justification for rights to be used to promote the moral and ethical life of *ren* (Chan, 1999, 230). For example, in Hsieh's interpretation of Confucian ideas, she states that "outside the limits of goodness, one should not be free." Specifically, moral autonomy is only useful when it is practiced as a part of the "moral life" (Hsieh, 1967, 313); if individual sovereignty is used as a justification for the pursuit of the bad, then individual autonomy would have lost its value and purpose. This alludes to how the Confucian perspective would not accept the rights of people who intentionally use their individual rights to promote morally bad behaviors (Sun, 2013, 4).

Confucius is recorded as saying:

> What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.
>
> 「己所不欲，勿施於人。」
>
> (*Analects* 15.24, D.C Lau Trans.*)*

From this quote, it appears that individuals who achieve the virtue of *ren* would rather give up certain desires and interests than put themselves into an unrighteous position (Sun, 2013, 5). Linking back to the view of communitarianism, Confucianism acknowledges that people can carry natural rights but emphasizes the need for rights to be used to fulfill duties and responsibilities in virtuous societal relationships.

2.2 Fostering Virtues and Moral Status

The depiction of how Confucianism does not tolerate a moral right to do morally bad behaviors led many scholars to believe that Confucianism is a coercive and suppressive ideology. However, this view is a misconception. Instead, Confucian attitudes place a lower reliance on legal forces such as punishment for maintaining social order. Specifically, Confucius states that rituals are a set of guidelines that can guide individuals from doing wrong. Confucius stated in the "rule of ritual" in the *Analects*, "Guide them by edicts, keep them in line with punishments, and the common people will stay out of trouble but will have no sense of shame (*Analects* 2.3). Thus, the emphasis on common people to stay out of trouble through accessing themselves with the set of guidelines provided by the rites shows how Confucianism prioritizes virtuous people over having a system of law that is forceful (Tan, 2011, 470).

Although rituals are a set of guidelines envisioned by Confucius, Confucians do not promote the use of legal coercion——a form of hard power——to justify or set boundaries of what is legally right or wrong. Confucius believed that legal punishment is not an effective solution to change one's personality and desires; only rites can change one's heart and soul. Chan reckons for Confucians that to live a genuinely virtuous life, an individual must see the point of that life ——to be motivated to live by virtues. Specifically, it is argued that one cannot be compelled by force to be virtuous, thus avoidance of punishment from legal rules is not a justifiable reason for virtuous action (Chan, 1999, 233). Similarly, the fostering of virtues is not done through a coercive and forceful means but can be achieved through moral edification and practice in rites.

To maximize the effect of moral edification, Confucius emphasises the need for rulers to be role models for the common people. Specifically, one of the fundamental principles of Confucianism suggests that those who are in a powerful position should take greater responsibility for the general society (Chan, 1999, 233).

Lord Ji Kang asked Confucius about the government, saying:

> "Suppose I were to kill the bad to help the good: how about that?" Confucius replied: "You are here to govern; what need is there to kill? If you desire what is good, the people will be good. The moral power of the gentleman is wind, the moral power of the common man is grass. Under the wind, the grass must bend."
>
> (*Analects* 12.19, D.C Lau Trans.*)*

Confucius argues that a virtuous ruler would not aim to control and impose their own interests over the common people. Instead, the ruler would be motivated to establish themselves as leaders that are responsible. That is, leaders do not have the ability to force decisions upon people; but people have the right to demand from rulers their fundamental security, basic needs for living, and conditions for self-development (Tu, 2002, 6). The only way to build a stable state with great institutional power is for the leader to set the right example for the common people to follow. If the wind blows in the wrong direction, the grass will bend in the wrong direction as well (Brown, 2021). By setting more strict demands on the ruler, this process encourages the individual's participation in the positive virtue of *ren*. While Confucianism may not be based on the liberal values like personal sovereignty, it is based on sympathy, on the notion that coercion is not effective in promoting moral ethics.

3. Negative and Positive Freedom: Noninterference and Cultivation of Virtue

The controversy over the liberal right-based morality and Confucian virtue-based morality can also be seen as a conflict between the principle of noninterference versus cultivating virtue as the common good in individuals.

3.1 Vision of a Good Life

In Liberalism, tolerance is a key virtue in providing humans with decision-making power. According to John Stuart Mill, no one should interfere with anyone else's decisions without justification. Specifically, liberals believe that the only condition for interference is when one inflicts harm on others, or violates the rights of others; otherwise, one may do whatever one wants to maximize first-order desires (Mill, 1859, 16). This view of noninterference relates to Berlin's view on negative freedom, where one should not be prevented by others from doing what one could otherwise do (Berlin, 1969, 120). It follows that the wider the sphere of noninterference, the wider a person's freedom becomes (Berlin, 1969, 121), thus libertarians promote that a certain minimum area of personal freedom should be drawn. The justification of the principle of noninterference is so that individuals can take full account of their responsibilities. Only by allowing individuals themselves to form decisions and take actions based on their own interests —— where the ultimate onus for the risks of success or failure is on the person —— can the desired basic right allow the person to live as a free and rational being (Richards, 1980, 474). Connecting this contemporary thought by Richards to the ideas of Isaiah Berlin, the prohibition of coercive interference allows people to fully maximize negative freedom. The liberal vision of good life is achieved in a sense that individuals take an attitude towards life where they are willing to explore, experiment, take risks and be open-minded (Mill, 1859, 53).

However, does ensuring noninterference constitute genuine freedom? Confucianism suggests that the liberal view of limiting interference does not inspire people to take virtues, characters and responsibility into account when making decisions. Confucius provides an alternative perspective to a vision of the good life. It is maintained that one should focus on the self instead of relying on extrinsic conditions.

Confucius once said,

> "In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself."
>
> (*Analects*, 14.5, D.C Lau Trans.*)*

Taking archery as a metaphor, Confucius first shows that when an archer misses the target —— a metaphor for mistakes in decision making —— one does not blame external conditions such as the wind or the arrow. Instead, Confucius believes that one should exercise reflective skills and evaluate one's own experience. This relates to Berlin's view of positive freedom, where individuals should be their own masters, acting rationally and choosing responsibly (Berlin, 125). For both Confucius and Berlin, a person is considered positively free only if his or her higher self is more dominant. If one struggles between conflicting lower desires when making decisions, one is not making the most rational decision and thereby is not a positively free individual (Lee, 2017, 369).

3.2 Critique of Liberalism and Confucianism: Reaching Co-existence

The West defines human rights as "freedom from" oppressive tendencies of the state, and justifies that this notion of negative freedom grounds human rights in equality of all persons. Because the nature of negative freedom focuses on the external factors with which the individual interacts, it provides confidence that the promotion of negative freedom can better guarantee protection against the dangers of oppression and suppression (Carter, 2022). However, Mill (1859) compared the development of an individual to a plant: growth only happens according to inner faculties and logic. Personal growth and the exercise of critical thinking skills are things that cannot be forced through coercion, but must come from within the individual. Accordingly, liberals agree with the Confucian view that self-realization is crucial to developing an admirable, virtuous character (Lee, 2017, 370). But having a vision of the good life would be limited without choice and opportunity, especially when there is suppression and torture. Thus negative and positive freedom should both be taken into consideration in modern society; human rights are best defined as "freedom from" and "freedom to" participate in the totality of human relationships (Nadeau, 2002, 111).

While liberals promote the principle of noninterference, it is indisputable that being embedded in inherited traditions and received values can be good for national identity and the solidarity of a promoting community. However, a criticism of the Confucian communitarian approach is the potential consequence of blind conformity. For example, in a father-son relationship, the father is deemed as a stronger party because of the act of procreation, and in a husband-wife relationship, the husband is deemed as a strong party because of biological differentiation (Nadeau,

2002, 115). Here, Lee criticizes the Confucian self-realization view of freedom. The view of the good life as having harmonious relationships with others is a crucial and high-order human good; but the roles would be depicted as hierarchical and unequal to the core if individuals do not reexamine given roles, inherited traditions and received values. This reaches a consensus between a liberal and Confucian view on rights and virtue: it is one thing to recognize what rights individuals have, and another to recognize when and against whom we should exercise the rights (Lee, 2017, 370).

Discussion and Conclusion

The dichotomy of rights and virtues by Liberals and Confucians has severe limitations. The presentation of Western liberal democracy as the only model for universal human rights does not take into account the diversity of human interests, desires, motives and purposes (Lee, 2017, 375). This paper has attempted to argue that Confucianism, as represented by the thoughts of Confucius in the *Analects*, can be compatible with the idea of human rights and be a virtue ethic simultaneously.

The dispute between Liberalism and Confucianism can be seen as a debate between the enumeration of rights, on the question of whether the scope should be limited to the individual, or include familial relationships as well. Specifically, Liberalism takes an individualistic approach to ensure the promotion of equality of all persons. On the Confucian view, a communitarian approach is taken by endorsing the virtue of *ren* as an instrument to protect important human interests. While both ideologies take different approaches to reach their vision of an ideal community, it is evident that both agree that adding a virtue of *ren* to the right-based approach can be used to protect the vulnerable and allow access to opportunities for the development of moral virtues (Nadeau, 2002, 114).

On the topic of individual sovereignty, liberals suggest that individuals have the right to do wrong. Kant identifies that full decision-making power is essential for sovereign individuals to protect personal interests. Conversely, Confucianism argues that virtues including *ren* can be used to promote a moral and ethical life. Yet contrary to common view, Confucianism is not a coercive ideology because it does not rely on punishment for maintaining social order. Instead, the fostering of virtue is achieved through moral education. Confucius emphasizes that those who are in a powerful position must take greater responsibility for society in general (Chan, 1999, 233), suggesting how virtuous rulers should be motivated to reflect the virtue of *ren*. Ultimately, a virtuous ruler who embodies *ren* serves as a role model for individuals in a society, so that Confucianism turns out to be compatible with the liberal view of how rights should be fulfilling for individuals.

Identifying Berlin's theory of positive and negative freedom, this paper has shown a conflict between the principle of noninterference versus cultivating virtue in individuals. John Stuart Mill (1859) argues that no one should be able to interfere with another's decision without justification. This liberal view of good life is achieved so that individuals can explore, experiment and take risks. However, Confucianism suggests that noninterference does not inspire individuals to develop virtues, characters and responsibility. For Confucius, individuals should be their own masters to reach positive freedom. However, the analysis in section 3.2 has shown that negative and positive freedom are inseparable and should both be taken into consideration for freedom to be maximized.

Through the mutual contrast of Liberalism and Confucianism concerning virtues and rights, what is presented is not an assumption of mutual exclusivity between the two self-imagined ideologies, but a harmonious relationship between virtues and rights. Insofar as Liberalism and Confucianism are connected, both perspectives should be revised and further developed to be applied in real life contexts, so as to achieve a greater degree of mutuality. Delving deeper into the interesting perspectives on virtues and rights will ultimately lead to a more rich and fruitful appreciation of both Liberalism and Confucianism.

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武士，異教徒，還是南明忠臣？
鄭成功在荷蘭、日本和中國的文學形象重構

Ben Han 韓煦謙

引言

「一個衣衫不整、醉醺醺的海盜咬著手指，喃喃自語，說什麼『損失慘重』。他又不經意地咬掉了自己的一塊舌頭，最後因失血過多而死。」(Van Doren and Keene, 1951) 荷蘭駐莫斯科大使寫了這些話，戲劇性地描繪了明朝將軍鄭成功的死亡。然而，鄭成功是這樣死的嗎？荷蘭人以這種方式形容他的動機會是什麼？

鄭成功（1624-1662），常被稱為「國姓爺」，是赫赫有名的傳奇人物。(Van Doren and Keene, 1951) 他是南明（1368-1644）將領，領導了1618-1683年的鄭氏南明，抵抗滿清對明朝及其殘餘地區（今華東和台灣）的入侵。1662 年，他從荷蘭人手中奪取了台灣，並將其作為根據地。

也許因他對荷蘭人的軍事行動，鄭成功在荷蘭被視為一個野蠻的海盜入侵者。然而，鄭成功在別的國家中也有不同的詮釋。在日本，鄭成功被尊為英雄，甚至被一些人崇拜。在中國，鄭成功被看做漢族團結，特別是反清情緒的象徵。這些差異使人不禁疑問：不同國家的劇作家是如何利用鄭成功的形象來加強他們國家的民族主義的？

不同學者們已經研究了鄭成功在後世文學中的形象。Donald Keene 認為，鄭成功的混血身份使日本的劇作家能夠將他作為日本文化代表。(Van Doren and Keene, 1951)Wang Chong 研究了中國和日本戲劇中對鄭成功的歷史和文學解釋，重點放在人物的戲劇化上。(Chong, 2007) 他們的工作雖然內容豐富，但沒有對鄭成功的歷史和文學形象進行充分的比較。更重要的是，西方（荷蘭）對他的描寫仍然沒有得到充分的研究。我的研究從亞洲和歐洲的角度提供了一個全新的跨文化比較視角，期望能夠為現有的學術研究做出了補充。

本文將探討鄭成功死後在荷蘭（1793 年），日本（1715 年）和中國（1906 年）創作的戲劇中的形象，通過比較歷史記錄和文學作品中對鄭成功的描述，來探究鄭成功的多民族身份如何吸引不同文化背景下的觀眾。本文認為，鄭成功的多元文化身份為作家們提供了一個可自由詮釋的框架，使作者能通過鄭成功來宣傳本國的民族主義，展現自己文化的優越性。

為了達到這個目的，本文分析了來自不同國家的三部戲劇，以展示不同國家的劇作家是如何片面敘述鄭成功的事蹟，來塑造對國家身份的詮釋。《福爾摩沙圍城

The above article was written as an independent research paper.

悲劇》（約翰內斯·諾姆斯，荷蘭，1793 年）講述了一位荷蘭牧師在鼓勵他的同伴與「邪惡」的鄭成功作戰時殉道的故事。《國姓爺戰鬥合集》（近松門左衛門日本 1715 年）側重於鄭成功的征服和勝利，強調了他的日本武士精神，而無視鄭成功主要是中國人的成長經歷。《海國英雄記》（浴日生，中國，1906 年）強調了鄭成功在戰敗和試圖與清朝媾和期間的英雄事蹟。

日本、中國和荷蘭作家給鄭成功起了三個不同的名字。日本劇作家稱他為國姓爺；西方劇作家更喜歡使用「國姓爺」的音譯「科辛加」（Koxinga）中國作家則保留了他的中文原名。本文將在相應的章節中使用這些不同的名稱。

一. 東西方的鄭成功

要理解文學作品中鄭成功形象的建構，我們需要先瞭解他的生平。鄭於 1624 年出生於日本，被賦予了名字福松。由於他的父親大部分時間在航海，鄭由日本母親撫養。(Jiang, 1960)

鄭六歲時搬到了祖籍福建，被命名為鄭森。在那裡，他遇到了自己幾乎不認識的父親鄭芝龍（1604-1661）。鄭芝龍催促他刻苦學習，爭取考上著名的南京國子監。(Huang, 1958)　鄭和他的導師錢謙益一樣，立志成為一名儒家學者和官員。(Hang, 2015) 鄭在完成國子監的初步學習後進入了國子監。在學院期間，他還學習了《孫子兵法》等軍書。完成學業後，鄭開始在他父親的貿易集團中開拓視野。

1645 年，鄭開始在明紹宗（年號隆武，1645-1646）手下任職。明紹宗雖然不是合法的皇帝，但他是明太祖的後裔。(Theobald, 2014) 紹宗對鄭森印象深刻，決定授予他許多頭銜。他給鄭取名「成功」，以及皇姓朱。這就是國姓爺」這一稱號的來歷。

然而，好景不長，1646 年發生了三起悲劇。首先，清軍俘虜並殺死了紹宗。不久之後，父親芝龍在土地與財富的誘惑下叛逃到清廷。(Wong, 1983) 然而，清廷違背了承諾，逮捕了芝龍並被把他押至北京。此外，為了獲得信任，鄭芝龍在叛逃清朝時將重要的關口打開。因此，在鄭芝龍北上時，清軍派兵直入鄭芝龍的總部安海。整座城市，包括芝龍的府邸，都被清軍掠奪和焚燒。鄭的母親田川松被強姦，甚至被迫自殺。(Huang, 1958) 這三起關鍵事件，促使鄭舉起南明旗幟，與清朝作戰。

從 1646 年到 1652 年，鄭擴大了他的帝國，獲得了許多縣和島嶼，包括廈門和金門雙子島。(Hang, 2015) 鄭試圖與其他南明勢力結盟，卻因清朝的幹擾而受阻。（Zhao, 1927) 鄭於是只靠自己的地下貿易網路來籌集資金，供養他的軍隊。(Hang, 2015)

此後，鄭因部下叛逃和反貿易措施遭受了一系列的失敗。他的兩個最傑出的指揮官叛逃，摧毀了鄭的貿易網路。 在南京慘敗後，鄭必須逃離大陸。(Hang, 2015) 福爾摩沙（台灣）無疑是最好的選擇，因為他的父親芝龍在那裡建立了聯繫，當地居民認可鄭家。事實上，鄭一直打算奪回它，自 1650 年代以來就一直在計劃軍事行動。然而，這將意味著與荷蘭人開始戰爭。

經過一年的策劃，鄭終於在1661年發動了對荷蘭人的軍事行動。(Hang, 2015) 鄭在軍隊規模上占據巨大優勢，在台灣也有居民的擁護。(Wong, 2017) 荷蘭人的海軍雖優越，但鄭的眾多戰艦通過包圍戰術，摧毀了技術先進的荷蘭旗艦赫克托。(Wong, 2017)很快，兩個最堅固的荷蘭堡壘被圍困，到 1661 年 7 月，只剩下熱蘭遮城堡。(Wong, 2017) 1661 年 5 月，鄭成功提出了投降條件：帶著必要的財物安全離開，否則荷蘭人全部被屠殺。荷蘭增援部隊於 7 月 30 日抵達，但無法支援熱蘭遮。(Wong, 2017)最後，在 1 月 27 日，荷蘭人同意了鄭的投降條件。(Wong, 2017)

鄭於 1662 年 6 月 23 日去世，享年三十七歲。如引言所述，他的死亡方式存在不同的說法。荷蘭人聲稱他在咬掉舌頭後因流血過多而死，而中國人說他在跪在明太祖的遺囑前病死。(Van Doren and Keene, 1951) 據清朝早期學者劉憲庭記載，鄭死前幾分鐘開始割下自己的肉。(Wong, 2017) 在他的一生中，鄭有海盜，商人和將軍的不同身份。作為一名海盜，他的海軍是他帝國的根基，他會向商人收取高額的「通行證」，以便與日本人進行貿易或安全旅行。必要時，他還使用軍事力量消滅競爭對手。作為一名商人，鄭在中國建立了龐大的地下貿易網路，獲得了巨大的利潤。雖然清朝最終摧毀了這個網路，但它最後成為了清日貿易的基礎。最後，作為將軍，鄭成功集結了數千名士兵與清朝作戰。他是一位驍勇善戰的將領，贏得了許多決定性的戰鬥。儘管清軍最終迫使鄭離開大陸，但他仍然能夠佔領台灣，繼續南明的抵抗。

二. 《福爾摩沙的悲劇》

荷蘭人在鄭入侵福爾摩沙（台灣）後創作了戲劇《福爾摩沙的悲劇》，並樹立了基督教至高無上的地位。通過醜化科辛加（劇中的鄭），他們展現了宗教賦予自己的優越性。

(一)鄭氏家族與荷蘭東印度公司的競爭

荷蘭人的命運和鄭家是分不開的。在芝龍時期，荷蘭人來到台灣定居，兩個帝國都和日本進行貿易，但鄭芝龍卻提供更優質的商品。（Jansen, 2000) 在鄭成功接管帝國後，它從原材料生產商轉變為加工商。這意味著他在台灣失去經濟和軍事權力。由於鄭將福爾摩沙（台灣）視為自己的土地，他試圖通過獲得政治影響力來彌補他失去的經濟權力。通過間諜和更多無證活動，鄭為他 1661 年接管台灣作出了鋪墊。(Hang, 2015) 台灣總督弗雷德里克·科耶特（Frederick Coyett）發現鄭露出的一些馬腳，在 1657 和 1659 年呼籲荷蘭人採取行動。(Wong, 2017) 然而，由於科耶特軍隊的傲慢和鄭對此的否認，科耶特的警告沒有被理睬。兩年後，鄭征服了台灣，在荷蘭引起了對鄭成功的極大仇恨。荷蘭人想在失去台灣後，找到一種方法來安慰自己。為了做到這一點，他們決定通過戲劇來表現鄭的不道德和野蠻的，因為他濫用了荷蘭的信任。由於這種不同的道德標準通常來自不同宗教，虔誠的荷蘭人將鄭的行為歸因於他缺乏信仰，將科辛加塑造成異教徒。

(二) 野蠻人鄭成功

約翰內斯·諾姆斯（1738-1803）於 1795 年創作了戲劇《福爾摩沙的悲劇》。他的繼父在他二十三歲時去世，給他留下了一筆可觀的遺產，使他能夠在經濟上有保障的情況下創作戲劇。在他的創作鼎盛時期，1755-1783 年，他的戲劇佔阿姆斯特丹所上演的戲劇的百分之九。《福爾摩沙的悲劇》在評論家中廣受好評，因為它提醒荷蘭人：儘管他們的軍事力量減弱，但他們仍然需要保持他們的文化和宗教優勢。(Nomsz, 2013)

該劇發生在熱蘭遮圍城戰（1662 年）期間，當時鄭試圖說服荷蘭人投降以減少雙方的損失。鄭派遣他的特使薩姆蒂和荷蘭牧師安東尼斯·漢布魯克（也是鄭的俘虜）前往熱蘭遮說服荷蘭人。然而，漢布魯克沒有聽從鄭的命令，而是鼓勵荷蘭人繼續戰鬥。回來後，漢布魯克被鄭當著其家人的面處決。這是一個真實的故事，展示了漢布魯克的高尚道德標準。

「國姓爺」科辛加的名字在劇中出現了三十五次，但每次都帶著憤怒和蔑視提到他，彷彿科辛加本人就是魔鬼或嗜血的野蠻人。台灣省長弗雷德里克·科耶特在劇中將科辛加描述為一個「暴君」，他讓「他的手下拼命戰鬥」，而當地人伊莉莎白則證實「他想用敵人的鮮血滿足他的復仇慾望」。 (Nomsz, 2013) 根據這些形象，荷蘭觀眾自然會認為科辛加是一個可怕的暴君。這個暴君會控制他的手下，像他對漢布魯克那樣威脅他們。「拼命」二字表現科辛加的士兵別無選擇；如果他們不這樣做，科辛加可能會屠殺他們全家。作者將科辛加描繪成一個只會給別人帶來痛苦的暴君。然而，科辛加在劇中甚至一次都沒有出場過。他的存在籠罩著整個戲，使他成為一個潛伏的惡魔，讓觀眾對科辛加充滿恐懼和仇恨。

漢布魯克和科辛加分別代表美德和邪惡兩個極端，他們的對比突出了荷蘭的宗教主導地位。當漢布魯克將科辛加的信交給科耶特時，他將科辛加和他的手下描述為野蠻人，心中只有「復讎、惡意和謀殺的慾望」。他聲稱他們表現出「背叛」、「仇恨」和「狡猾」。這幾乎是對魔鬼及其同夥的描述，而不僅僅是對科辛加軍隊的描述。諾姆斯巧妙地強調了這一點，讓漢布魯克稱科辛加具有「被地獄般的憤怒統治的思想」。(Nomsz, 2023) 事實上，「地獄」一詞能引起觀眾強烈的宗教情感，使他們只從「善」和「惡」的角度看待劇中人物。其結果則是漢布魯克將被榮耀化，而科辛加將被妖魔化，並最終表現出基督教的勝利。

作者通過表現即使魔鬼的同夥（科辛加的使者）薩姆蒂也尊重基督教，來突出宗教的力量。首先，漢布魯克稱薩姆蒂為「你，科辛加的奴隸」，建立了薩姆蒂與魔鬼的聯繫。而當漢布魯克和薩姆蒂到達科耶特的堡壘時，薩姆蒂批評科耶特的同夥是「沒有美德的基督徒」，他們的內心是「不光彩的」。(Nomsz, 2023) 薩姆蒂強調科耶特「沒有美德」這一事實，表明基督徒是值得尊敬的，是應有美德的。最後，在漢布魯克發表了關於面對命運（他的死亡）的榮耀後，薩姆蒂評論說：「多麼英雄!...他幾乎強迫我成為基督徒！」(Nomsz, 2023) 這表明，儘管薩姆蒂是一個魔鬼般的生物，他仍然尊重基督

教。如果連魔鬼都尊重一個宗教，它一定是極其強大的。在科辛加的恐怖和缺乏宗教信仰的背景下，諾姆斯讓荷蘭觀眾鄙視科辛加，同時宣稱荷蘭人的宗教學優越性。

(三) 反基督的鄭成功

諾姆斯通過將科辛加變成一個反基督教的異教徒來使他失去人性。在整部劇中，他只講述科辛加的奸詐和惡意，而不是讓他在舞臺上扮演角色。這給讀者對科辛加的邪惡留下了想像空間：當一個人無法親眼目睹某事物時，他更容易討厭它。通過將科辛加（和他的使者）與漢布魯克進行對比，他突出了漢布魯克的優越，再把它與宗教聯繫起來，以突顯宗教賦予荷蘭人的優越性。

該劇主要關注漢布魯克而不是科辛加。與本文將分析的日本和中國戲劇相比，科辛加更像是一個抽象事物。他在劇中的主要目的是發展情節，連他的試著薩姆蒂都比他更有個性。科辛加的邊緣化表示各國更關心的是把自己抬起來，而不是貶低其他國家。畢竟，一個國家認為自己是一切的中心。

三. 武士道與國姓爺之戰

鄭成功是當代數一數二的將軍，並擁有半日本的血統，因此在一個封閉的日本中地位顯著。日本劇作家近松門左衛門利用鄭的獨特背景寫了《國姓爺戰爭合集》，將國姓爺（鄭的日本形象名稱）描繪成有國際影響力的日本武士。這部戲劇強調了國姓爺的日本特色，並主張日本相對於中國的文化優勢。

(一) 鄭成功與日本

雖然「鄭成功」這個名字是中國名字，但鄭實際上是混血兒——他的母親是日本武士的女兒。鄭在日本度過了他的童年，作為一名武士後代，他在那裡學習了武士道的文化，並接觸了射箭和劍術等運動。(Hang, 2015) 因此，日本的文化，特別是武士的理想，深深地烙印在他心中。

在德川時代初期（1630年代），幕府實施了海上禁運，從而切斷了日本與世界其他地區的聯繫。(Hang, 2015) 這自然激起了當地人對與外部世界有聯繫的人的好奇心。許多人知道鄭或「國姓爺」，不僅因為他的軍事成就和日本血統，還因為他控制著一個龐大的商業帝國。鄭家和日本之間的貿易非常繁榮，以至於 1641 年共有 97 艘鄭氏船隻抵達長崎進行貿易。(Jansen, 2000)

(二)《國姓爺戰爭合集》

該劇的劇情圍繞著日本將軍國姓爺展開，他率軍保衛明朝並消滅韃靼人（滿清人）。和藤內（國姓爺的原名）和他的姐夫，清軍的將軍甘輝，聯手與韃靼人作戰，但卻與他有了矛盾。甘輝的妻子和婆婆為瞭解決兩人之間的糾紛，都自殺了。這個犧牲讓兩人願意一起合作，甘輝將「國姓爺」的名字授予了和藤內，如紹宗給鄭成功授予「朱」的皇姓。不久之後，國姓爺的聯軍解放了南京，並俘虜了韃靼王，救出國姓爺的父親。

近松門左衛門的戲劇以三種方式展示了日本人的自豪感：讓國姓爺體現武士道精神，讓國姓爺愛上一個日本人，以及比

較中國和日本文化。這是該劇不朽的關鍵原因，也說明瞭為什麼「國姓爺」這個名字今天仍然受到尊敬。

國姓爺的「武士道」可以從他的忠誠、勇敢和正直中看出，這是德川時代「武士道」的三個重要品質。[1]國姓爺通過與清朝將領甘輝談判來表明自己的忠誠。當國姓爺被錯誤告知甘輝不會與他聯手抗清時，他立即「拔劍」，並發誓要以「奪取『甘輝的』頭顱」來表示對明朝的忠誠。甘輝是清朝將領，所以如果他不與國姓爺結盟，他就會立即成為國姓爺的敵人。作者只強調國姓爺的忠誠精神，而不是他所從事的反清事業，進一步加強了國姓爺與日本武士道之間的聯繫。作者沒有寫「明朝」兩字，唯一提到「中國人」這個詞的情景，是憤怒的國姓爺對甘輝大喊大叫，稱其為「肮髒的中國人」的時候。(Van Doren and Keene, 1951) 由於這段話圍繞著國姓爺作為日本人的驕傲，德川時代的觀眾會將這種愛國自豪感與忠誠聯繫起來，從而在國姓爺和武士道之間形成了聯繫。

國姓爺的勇氣在他英雄般營救父親時體現得淋漓盡致。在南京時，李蹈天挾持了鄭芝龍，以死逼迫國姓爺離開。然而，鄭芝龍讓兒子回想起母親的自殺，這給予國姓爺勇氣，讓他能「衝上」李蹈天並「切斷父親的束縛」。(Van Doren and Keene, 1951) 作者用這個場景來突出國姓爺的勇氣以及他的武功之高。國姓爺能夠在李蹈天反應過來之前跑到父親身邊，展現出他精湛的武功。勇氣和武功是武士道的關鍵要素，這也是作者對武士階層的觀眾致敬——他們沒有戰鬥可以參加，但他們可以像武士一樣觀看別人戰鬥並粉碎對手，這正是國姓爺身上所體現出的日本文化。

國姓爺的正直體現在他的待人處事方面：「閉上眼睛，不要嫉妒，」國姓爺告訴他的妻子小松，強調「我們不能拋棄『栴檀公主』」，因為「她很可憐」。(Van Doren and Keene, 1951) 這顯示了國姓爺的仁慈：儘管知道栴檀不能給他帶來任何實際利益，他還是毫不猶豫地接受了她。他也很公正：雖然國姓爺愛他的妻子，但他仍然毫不猶豫地訓斥她對栴檀的諷刺。在這個場景中，作者讓國姓爺象徵武士道的榮譽和正義，讓鄭更接近日本武士形象。

作者通過讓他的妻子成為日本人，進一步「日本化」了國姓爺。國姓爺和他的妻子小松之間的關係體現了國姓爺與日本文化的緊密聯繫，讓觀眾把國姓爺想像成日本人。在這方面，小松作為情人是最可以「日本化」鄭的，因為只有愛情才可以體現如此親密的關係。當國姓爺計劃離開日本前往中國時，小松「緊緊抓住丈夫的袖子，開始哭泣和哀嚎」。當時的日本觀眾的情感與小松的契合，巧妙地激發觀眾的愛國情緒。(Van Doren and Keene, 1951)

最後，近松門將日本人與中國人進行了對比，以顯示日本人的統治地位。當國姓爺一家拜訪將軍甘輝時，守衛說由於

[1] 德川時代是一個非常和平的時期，所以武士道轉向武士的道德而不是他們的戰鬥勇氣。

戰爭原因，除非打扮成「罪犯」，所有外國人都不允許進入城堡。這個命令激怒了國姓爺，讓他大喊「骯髒的中國人！」然而，國姓爺的母親斥責國姓爺讓他的尊嚴妨礙了他的「正義事業」，隨後要求守衛把她綁起來。日本觀眾會同情國姓爺，認為中國人的命令是歧視和不公平的。國姓爺母親的無私與固執的中國士兵形成了鮮明的對比。因此，觀眾會不喜歡「中國人」，同時為同胞的無私而自豪。

從歷史上看，鄭被許多國家普遍認為是一個異國情調的混血戰士，在出身和成就方面無與倫比。然而，基於這一共識，日本文學作品將鄭「日本化」，將武士道、日本浪漫主義和愛國主義添加到這個歷史人物身上，並賦予了「國姓爺」這個名字，進一步將這個矛盾的戰士變成了愛國的象徵。

(三) 國際武士鄭成功

鄭在日本的歷史形象與他後來的文學形象有很大不同。從歷史上看，他與日本的唯一聯繫是在那裡長大並與該國進行貿易。但近松門左衛門在他的戲劇《國姓爺戰爭合集》中將鄭變成了著名的國姓爺。與鄭不同，國姓爺是真正的日本武士。他是與韃靼人作戰的愛國日本武士，而不是明朝的忠誠者。

近松門左衛門選擇將鄭塑造成「理想」武士，因為他在日本的名氣和缺乏競爭對手或替代。如前所述，日本人在 1600 年代中期（德川時代早期）很少有關於外部世界的資訊來源。在亞洲的所有英雄中，鄭是唯一一個同時出名（明朝的忠誠者）但也出現在日本（通過他的商業網絡）的人。由於德川時代是和平的，戰鬥劇，如《國姓爺戰爭合集》，為武士提供了一種有趣的消遣。

通過作者的發揮，鄭被塑造成國際武士，通過與清朝作戰為日本帶來榮耀。鄭的「日本化」（武士道、浪漫、愛國主義）將日本文化提升到中國文化之上，將鄭從海外海盜將軍的地位轉變為日本愛國主義的象徵，表明一個國家會為了政治目的不遺餘力地塑造人物。

四. 明朝忠臣與海上民族英雄的記錄

在中國，鄭的形象經常被用來宣傳中國民族主義，將其作為明朝抵抗的最突出象徵。然而，在浴日生的戲劇《海國英雄記》中，鄭則把國家放在首位，代表了理想的民族主義者。

(一) 二十世紀中國的革命分子鄭成功

二十世紀初，反清意識高漲，漢族英雄變成革命的象徵。清朝鎮壓漢族的政策激起了漢族人的憤怒。(Hang, 2015) 鄭的反清情緒與二十世紀漢人產生了共鳴：從 1900 年到 1912 年，鄭作為反滿戰士在中國文學中嶄露頭角，成為漢族民族認同的靈感來源和有力象徵。

(二) 民族英雄鄭成功

浴日生於 1906 年創作了戲劇《海國英雄記》，靈感來自對滿族統治者不平等對待漢人的民族憤怒。該劇的前三幕和序言於 1906 年 7 月發表在《民報》上，三個月後又發表了後三幕。然而，日本政府在 1908 年禁止了《民報》，因此該劇的

其餘部分從未出版。[2]儘管如此，序言中列出了未出版的九幕的標題和概要，讓我們可以瞭解並分析該劇。

該劇聚焦於鄭成功反清的大業。它先後每一幕描述的是：

在日本的童年（一至四），在中國的經歷（五），會見紹宗（六），宣誓效忠紹宗（七），與清朝作戰（八），離開海岸並擊敗荷蘭人，佔領台灣（九），去世（十），後代延續他的大業（十一），但最終向清朝投降（十一至十五）。(Yu, 1962) 這部戲劇與鄭家歷史吻合，可見敘事者只要改變小細節就可以影響敘事的重點。浴日生這個名字很可能是一個筆名，因為浴姓非常罕見，而且作者「浴日生」似乎只寫了這一個劇本。

在浴日生的戲劇中，作者希望讓鄭作為國家主義者，所以他叫自己國家「中國」，而不是「明」。通過將他虔誠、有原則的日本母親與叛國賊父親鄭芝龍進行比較，該劇強調了日本對中國的崇敬與臣服，以及對滿清的不屑，與塑造國姓爺人物的手法類似。

鄭將自己視為漢族人。他從小就鄙視清朝——小時候，他問父母韃靼人是「狗」還是「狼」，並要求他們給他「買一條來頑耍」。(Yu, 1962) 作者利用鄭的幼稚天真，在觀眾中引發愛國情懷，展現鄭的反清情緒。使用「狗」，「狼」兩詞有助於將滿清統治者貶低成野蠻人——像狗或狼一樣缺乏文化。

鄭被描繪成中國文明的支持者。當鄭離開日本時，他宣佈他將讓「中華祖國」「足跡遍太陽」。鄭稱自己為「中國人」，甚至使用了現代中國的象徵「華」。(Yu, 1962) 詞彙的巧妙運用將鄭與漢族民族主義聯繫在一起，喚起了讀者的愛國情緒。在日本的革命黨人們渴望像鄭一樣離開日本，前往中國與滿清作戰。

該劇將鄭的母親田川描繪成一個熱愛中國文化的外國人。她的舉止如中國女人，行為方面也效忠中國。這表示了中國國家主義之偉大：連其他國家的人都會尊敬它。當芝龍試圖說服田川和他一起向清朝投降時，她斷然拒絕，並嚴厲斥責芝龍：「自古道忠君愛國典有常。那苻萑呵，不外百姓大饑荒。鬧起來，敗則寇，成則王，國本總無妨。若說那些韃靼呵，是東胡賤種，殘忍可惡，騷臭難當。大丈夫誓不同與三光。那知道夫君呀，堂堂男子，不識夷夏防，心傷。」田川提到「愛國」和對滿族的譴責，表明她對中國人（而不是明朝）的欽佩和對滿族人的仇恨。(Yu, 1962)

自私的鄭芝龍與忠心耿耿的鄭成功形成鮮明對比，突顯了後者的英雄氣概和忠誠。田川批評鄭芝龍「堂堂男子，不識夷夏防」，只在乎「功名富貴」，能引起當時的民族主義讀者對芝龍的仇恨。在田川講話之後，芝龍仍然談到了他投降後將「受冊封侯」，進一步暴露了芝龍的自私。相比之下，在鄭成功與紹宗的談話中，鄭發誓「以身許國」。(Yu, 1962) 紹

[2] 孫中山等著名革命家為了躲避清朝（以及後來的北洋）政府的起訴，紛紛遷往日本。

宗告訴鄭，歷史上「幾曾見古今忠孝兩全人」，但鄭毫不猶豫地宣誓效忠並準備「以死報國」。鄭成功對中國的忠誠與鄭芝龍的自私形成鮮明對比，就像《國姓爺戰爭合集》中無私的國姓爺與甘輝手下迂腐固執的守衛之間的對比。。

(三) 鄭成功與現當代的民族主義

在劇中，通過細節的改變，鄭的明朝忠臣身份被巧妙地換成了二十世紀的愛國者。浴日生通過提升民族主義的威望，喚起觀眾的自豪感和愛國主義，號召他們行動起來，讓他們每一個人都成為第二個鄭成功。在革命期間，這些文學對中國原初民族認同的傳播至關重要。

即使在今天，鄭的敘述仍然被用於類似的政治背景。對一些人來說，鄭征服台灣與滿族作戰，可以類比中華民國佔領台灣對抗中華人民共和國，鄭成為台灣獨立的象徵。對於其他人來說，鄭成功，一個中國人，佔領台灣使其成爲「中國人的土地」，並被納入大中華區。三百五十年前，鄭成功絕不會想到這一點——鄭占領台灣，就像歷史上的大部分時間一樣，從來都不是政治化的行動。

但是，鄭成功仍然是兩岸華人心中的重要人物。事實上，今天在劇院和書店裡仍然可以找到許多鄭成功題材的電影、漫畫甚至戲劇，他仍然是不同的民族主義的象徵。鄭對清朝的抵抗，直到現在仍然被視為在為「中華民族」而戰。

結論

本文比較了荷蘭、日本和中國戲劇和歌劇中鄭成功的形象。鄭的多面身份使他的形象可以幫助不同背景的國家構建自己的民族主義。這三個國家的劇作家都精心挑選了鄭生平的片段，並將其納入他們的敘事中。

荷蘭人在與鄭的遭遇中遭受了重大的軍事失敗，將他描述為一個野蠻的異教徒，利用他缺乏宗教信仰來展示荷蘭在十八世紀後期的宗教優勢。日本文學突出了鄭的日本血統，並根據十八世紀日本流行的日本武士道將鄭塑造成一個忠誠、強大的戰士。而在二十世紀初，民族革命者將鄭描繪成反清領袖，以引發漢族的愛國情緒。

鄭的獨特背景使他可以這麼被詮釋。他的生活非常複雜：他忠於明朝，但差點與清朝達成了和平。他侵略了荷屬台灣，但即使他的投降條件已過期，他還是遵守了它們。他是一位明智的將軍，雖然他有時也會無故殺死自己的士兵。鄭的複雜性使他更容易受到文學的重新詮釋：改變小細節可以使他從惡魔變成英雄。

在所有這些文學描寫中，不同國家的作者都從鄭成功身上挑選元素，以宣揚一種原初的國家主義，從而產生了完全不同的鄭成功形象。他們沒有準確記錄歷史，而是創造性地解釋和重建歷史。鄭作為歷史人物與他的文學表現之間的距離，使我們能夠看到作者如何操縱鄭的形象來推進他們自己的政治（中國民族革命），文化（日本文化至上）或宗教優越性（荷蘭基督教）。

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How do Differences in Literary Features between Plato's *Allegory of the Cave* and Zhuangzi's *The Butterfly Dream* Reveal Differences in Attaining the Ideal State?

Charlotte Cheung 張天恩

Introduction

Zhuangzi 莊子 and Plato are prominent philosophers that expressed their philosophies through storytelling. Zhuangzi (369—286 B.C.) lived during the Warring States Period, where China was divided into multiple states marked by continuous geopolitical strife. The diversity of power factions in that era created an environment for hundreds of philosophies to emerge. Parables and allegories were used as a simple and effective way to communicate them, as shown across a variety of philosophical works, such as the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Mozi* 墨子, *Mencius* 孟子, *Xunzi* 荀子, and *Han Feizi* 韓非子, to name a few. (高談文化編輯部, 2013) Plato (428–348 B.C.) was an ancient Athenian philosopher who contributed to numerous fields, such as ethics, politics, metaphysics, and epistemology (Kraut, 2004). His published works take the form of a debate between two or more interlocutors. Allegories were used within the debates to illustrate abstract philosophies in an approachable and accessible manner.

In this essay, I compare *The Butterfly Dream* (or the *"Butterfly"*) 莊周夢蝶 by Zhuangzi and the *Allegory of the Cave* (or the *"Cave"*) by Plato, both of which are representative literature of the two philosophers that illustrates their inquiry of the truthfulness, of reality, and forms through the story. Specifically, by comparing the contrasting stylistic choices between the two texts, I aim to reveal fundamental differences in the two philosophers' perception of the ideal state of being. Note that the *Butterfly* is defined as a parable, as it is a simple and short story with a focus on the analogy instead of storytelling details. On the other hand, the *Allegory of a Cave* is an allegory, as it is a sustained story rich with metaphors (Ichiko, Maeno and Fletcher, 2019).

莊子·雜篇·寓言 [the chapter *Allegory* of *Zhuangzi*] says that *yu yan shi jiu* 寓言十九 [in allegories, nine out of ten sentences are believed], whereas *chong yan shi qi* 重言十七 [when referencing the wisdom of sages, seven out of ten sentences are believed]. Note that within this essay, "allegory" is a translation of the Chinese term *yu yan* 寓言 [a short fictitious story that uses an analogy to convey a philosophical idea]. Zhuangzi attributes this disparity in success to how the allegory *ji wai lun zhi* 藉外論之 [uses objective matters to prove one's point]. Kirkwood (1992) points out that Zhuangzi understood audience psychology and Zhuangzi noted that interpretation is better than direct statements when communicating ideas.

The *Butterfly* is a concluding story in the second chapter of the *Qi Wu Lun* 齊物論 [*Essay on the Uniformity of All Things*] of *Zhuangzi*:

> 昔者莊周夢為蝴蝶，栩栩然蝴蝶也，自喻適志與！不知周也。俄然覺，則蘧蘧然周也。不知周之夢為蝴蝶與，蝴蝶之夢為周與？周與蝴蝶，則必有分矣。此之謂物化。
>
> [Once Chuang Chou[1] dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He didn't know that he was Chuang Chou. Suddenly he woke up and [with a jolt, realized that he was] solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou. But he didn't know if he was Chuang Chou who had dreamt he was a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming he was Chuang Chou. Between Chuang Chou and a butterfly, there must be some distinction! This is called the Transformation of Things.]
>
> [Watson Trans. 2021]

The story questions the truthfulness of reality by showing how it is impossible to clearly distinguish what the reality between real life and the dream. They are parallel projections of existence that co-exist within each other, thus the character, being in the event itself, is unable to determine the existence of one clear

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[1] Note that Chuang Chou is equivalent to *Zhuangzi*.

reality. Zhuangzi says that what we believe feels so real combine just a dream. The butterfly fluttering joyfully had no idea that it was in a dream. However, the vividness and realness of the butterfly's experience, as shown by *xu xu ran* 栩栩然 [its fluttering motion] and *zi yu shi zhi yu* 自喻適志與 [contented happiness], reveals itself to be a dream. This then poses the question: How does one know that the feelings and thoughts of now, that feel so real, are not the product of a "dream"?

Another aspect the story explores is how physical distinctions between two distinct forms can melt away as *wan wu he yi* 萬物合一 [all becomes one] under the pretense that one can transform into another through the dual realities. The narrator first sets up the claim that "Zhuangzi" and the "butterfly" are two distinct physical forms. However, since the forms are mutable between dream and "real life", a form can become another form, thus ultimately, the distinction between the two forms melts away. This demonstrates *wu hua* 物化 [the *Transformation of Forms*], which is part of Zhuangzi's overarching philosophy that all "things", or forms, are ultimately the same.

The *Cave* is also a concluding excerpt in Book Seven of *The Republic* (514a-517c). This essay will refer by the English translation in *Republic (Hackett Classics)*, 2nd Edition, by G.M.A. Grube and revised by C.D.C. Reeve. Note that the *Cave* is narrated by the character "Socrates", a vehicle for Plato to express his philosophies, thus the ideas expressed by the character should ultimately be perceived as those of Plato, and not from the historical figure, Socrates (Kraut, 2004).

The story is set in a cave where prisoners are chained such that they can only look at what is in front of them for their entire life. They are shown shadows of the models of "forms", which they perceive as reality. A prisoner is freed from the chains, and the story describes his progression of having the same limited perception of reality as his fellow prisoners, then seeing the models of the forms as he arduously journeys out the cave, and finally seeing the forms themselves.

Plato's "forms" are definite and universal definitions of virtues, such as wisdom, courage, friendship, and more. Virtues are defined in terms of the good in Book 1 (Grube, 1992), and Plato believes that each individual's perception of goodness is subjective to the specific type of "desire" that dominates one's soul. He classifies desire into three types: appetitive, spirited, and rational, which generate money-lovers, honor-lovers and wisdom-lovers/philosophers. He then contends that as people are ruled by different desires, they generate different needs and wants in life, thus they have differing perceptions of goodness. Then, Plato upholds that the rational desire's goodness is the best and most correct form of goodness, as it allows the individual to approach the virtue itself instead of being clouded by its imitations. Thus, in *Allegory of the Cave*, the prisoner's strenuous journey out of the Cave to reach the realm of forms symbolizes the rigorous education necessary to change an individual's fundamental desires to attain true goodness (Grube, 1992).

Through this allegory, Plato establishes a linear and hierarchical relationship between different levels of goodness, contending that seeing reality is being able to see a certain type of goodness, which is achieved through rigorous training that changes one's nature, breaking free from the limited scope of the Earth. Plato uses imagery to explain the *Theory of Forms*, which is how every visible "form" in the world are mere copies of a higher "form". Just as identical cookies are made from the same mold, the "forms" that one sees are imitations produced by the "higher" version. In doing so, this allegory explains how the reality of the physical world, which symbolizes the "shadows", is not a true reality, as it is derived from ideas/forms, the mental form, which Plato holds as timeless and absolute.

1. Comparing the Nature of the Texts

Although both texts are imaginative literature that tell a story to convey a deeper philosophical meaning, as a parable and allegory, their fundamental nature is different. *The Butterfly* is a parable, a simple story that focuses on conveying the meaning, while the *Cave* is an allegory, a sustained story infused with metaphors (Ichiko, Maeno and Fletcher, 2019).

The *Butterfly* only contains 73 Chinese characters. The main plot is simply sketched out while details are omitted to bring the core philosophy, the Transformation of Forms to life. For example, the setting is simply described as *xi zhe* 昔者 [Once upon a time], then the story delves immediately into the interaction between Zhuangzi and the butterfly. Through "butterfly flitting and fluttering around", one can infer a natural, garden-like setting, however concrete contextual details such as the weather, scenery, and more are omitted. Also, the narrator simply states that the butterfly "didn't know" its parallel identity as Zhuangzi while omitting further indications of the butterfly's ignorance. The process of waking up from the dream is expressed by a succinct

e ran 俄然 [suddenly] and *qu qu ran* 蘧蘧然 [with a shock], which captures the essence of a jolting awakening while omitting further contextual details. Viewing the story as a whole, the only descriptive phrase is 栩⋯志與 [flitting… he pleased], which serves the purpose of expressing the butterfly's freeness, a core part of Zhuangzi's approach to attaining the ideal.

The brevity of each scene, and the swift transitions between scenes allow the story to progress rapidly. For example, between the third line "he didn't know he was Chuang Chou" and the fourth, "woke up", there is no transition phrase or a build-up. This allows the narrator to get straight to the crux, which is where the logical propositions are made. As a parable, the *Butterfly* emphasizes the philosophical message instead of story-telling. By providing only the essential, clear details of the story, the *Butterfly* is like a framework that leaves vast amounts of personal and free interpretation that varies from reader to reader. One could say that as it leaves interpretation to its audience, its message is unrestrained and evocative. This allows it to be a light and concise story containing a deep message.

On the other hand, the *Cave* is a sustained and lengthy allegory that exceeds more than 1500 words and with a descriptive setting. In contrast with the absence of a clear setting and lack of descriptive details in the *Butterfly*, Plato takes great effort to establish a fictional and impossible world laden with descriptive imagery. The setting for the *Cave* is created through precise contextual descriptions, such as "underground, cave-like dwelling", the entrance "both open to the light and as wide as the cave itself", and more. In 514a to 515a, the setting is described as: "Imagine an underground chamber like a cave… above which they show their puppets… are talking and some not". A fictional and impossible setting is created: an underground society with prisoners' "necks and hands fettered, able to see only in front of them" due to their bonds. Shadows of men and animals are cast by external "operators" to create an illusion of reality for the prisoners, likening their reality to one manipulated by "puppeteers" (514b). The third-person omniscient point of view employed in these descriptions allows the reader to understand how incredibly restrained the prisoners were, developing a sense of pity and an incredulous feeling towards their obviously confined perception of reality. This supports Plato's point of how pitiable it is for humans to be constrained by their desires, seeking a limited goodness that is but just imitations of higher forms of goodness.

The nature of the *Cave* is, on the surface, a question-and-answer dialogue between Socrates and the interlocutor Glaucon. However, instead of a true discussion in which ideas are exchanged and claims are challenged, this dialogue is one-sided where Socrates' claims one-sidedly propel the story onward, while the interlocutor simply agrees with Socrates' claims. This can be first seen in 515 BC, where when Socrates uses inductive reasoning to claim that the prisoners perceive truth as the "shadows of those artifacts", Glaucon repeatedly verifies his reasonings with short, static phrases such as "Of course", "They'd have to", "I certainly do", and more. As Socrates' inductive reasoning progresses throughout the allegory's entirety, the one-sidedness of the dialogue becomes more. Therefore, it would be correct to say that the entire allegory is actually an expansion of ideas led by the logical reasoning of Socrates the character. Thus, contrasting to the uncontained, open-ended interpretation Zhuangzi creates with the *Butterfly*, it can be seen that Plato wishes to convincingly prove a point and expound his Theory of Forms, doing so with the support of seamless and irrefutable logic.

2. Comparing the Structure and Style of the Texts

Structure refers to how events are sequenced; style refers to the distinct manner of writing. The two texts clearly have different structures and styles of writing.

The *Butterfly* is a parable consisting of only six sentences, thus it has a simple structure of starting with the butterfly's fluttering movements, then progressing onto the main ideas. One could say that its structure is simple, flowing in a casual manner.

The language of the *Butterfly* is concise, as seen from how the phrases are direct statements without using complicated language and structure. This can be seen from "He didn't know he was Chuang Chou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou." The narrator conveys the butterfly's ignorance with a simple "didn't know". His awakening is directly stated with "he woke up" without further describing, for example, the specific process of coming into consciousness with "reality". One could say that the narrator sketches out the story's outlines. Also, the omission of specific details, such as when the butterfly flutters, where it is fluttering, and more preserves the simplicity of the writing.

A possible reason for its simple structure and language may be that being a parable, Zhuangzi wishes to emphasize the philosophical meaning behind the story instead of the story itself. Indeed, the outlined story serves to reveal a deep philosophical message. Right after the story, through the rhetorical question 不知…周與？ [He didn't know that he was Chuang Chou], the audience realizes the inability to determine a singular and defined reality due to the two co-existing planes of existence - that of Chuang Chou and that of the butterfly in the dream - and the bi-directional ambiguity of which plane is reality and which is the dream. It is impossible to know which is which. This then encourages the idea of mutability between the two forms, however, the narrator swiftly refutes this stating that *ze bi you fen yi* 則必有分矣 [there must be some distinction (between the two)], posing a logical conundrum that is called *wu hua* 物化 [the Transformation of Things].

Another reason may be that unlike the *Cave*, where Plato creates a detailed and elaborate story to prove a specific point, Zhuangzi's aim is to encourage reflective thinking instead of proving a definite claim. Zhuangzi frowns upon the logical argumentation of competing schools of philosophy, instead gravitating towards silence and intuition (Kirkwood, 1992). Therefore, simplifying the story leaves an openness to various interpretations and meanings, allowing it to, through a few words, contain evocative rich meanings.

The language of the *Butterfly* is vivid. The description 栩…志與 [flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased] adds a lyrical tone and a touch of vibrancy, as the movement of the butterfly's fluttering light wings expresses a feeling of freeness, a sense of pure and unbridled joy. It can be said that this phrase is the centerpiece of the story due to its outstanding vividness compared to the rest. The butterfly may be interpreted as the epitome of living in a natural and pure state, lightly following the flow of nature, devoid of restrictions. As such, if the butterfly symbolizes the natural way of living, then the character "Chuang Chou" may represent the confined human form that is bound to rules. Thus, although there is an obvious distinction between the two forms, it could be interpreted that understanding the transformation of things allows one to live as one with natural nature, thus transcending earthly restrictions and leaving as one with nature, also defined as *tao* 道. Thus, in addition to the theme of whether or not a definite "real" plane of existence exists, another theme that can be derived is transcending earthly restrictions can allow one to live in its natural state.

The *Cave* is a lengthy dialogue spanning multiple pages. In contrast with the *Butterfly*'s simple and casual structure, the *Cave* is composed of an organized structure and is described in a logical and procedural manner. This establishes a linear progression of time and turns the story into an analogy for the journey of education to become a philosopher. It also works hand in hand with the rational and rigorous style of the *Cave*, which is seen from the inductive reasoning used to deduce events.

First, when the prisoner first looks at the light, the narrator deduces that "wouldn't his eyes hurt". In a logical progression, "wouldn't he turn around and flee towards the things he's able to see", as his eyes believe that they are "clearer" than the "things". These rhetorical questions serve as an analogy for the uneasiness when one first reaches the philosopher's perception of goodness due to feeling unaccustomed to a new way of perceiving reality, thus rejecting it at first.

Then, through education, he is "dragged away from there by force, up the rough, steep path", thus during the process, he would feel "pained and irritated". This illustrates the necessary but strenuous journey away from the "fake reality" of the physical world into the realm of truth. By establishing a cause-and-effect relationship, Plato invites the reader to place oneself into the constructed world of his allegory.

Next, the narrator logically transitions to how the prisoner would "need time to get adjusted" to the light before he could see things in the external world. The logical prowess of Plato shines through when this process is then split into multiple procedures: "at first he'd see shadows most easily", "then images of men and other things in water", and finally "then the things themselves". Through the leading terms "first" and "then", a logical and linear progression is established. Through the analogy, the narrator explains how one would move from understanding the images of models of "the things themselves", then to the models, then ultimately to the things. This reflects the process of self-cultivation, namely being ruled by an appetitive desire to a spirited desire then finally to a rational desire.

Another example is in 515 BC when the narrator establishes cause-and-effect relationships between the living conditions of the prisoners and their belief in the imitation of reality as reality itself:

Socrates: “Then if they were able to talk to each other, would they not assume that the shadows they saw were the real things?”

Glaucon: “Inevitably.”

Socrates: “And if the wall… passing before them?”

Glaucon: “They would be bound to think so.”

Socrates: “And so… the whole truth.”

Glaucon: “Yes, inevitably.”

Here, from the existing evidence given from the cave’s description, Socrates builds upon claim after claim which reveals fully the prisoners’ formation of reality.

Contrasting the concision and sketch-like plot of the *Butterfly*, each action is supported by specific descriptions, which illustrate fully the sensations felt and which guide the rigorous and logical stream of reasoning. This can be seen in the examples above. Thus, this demonstrates Plato’s goal of proving a specific theory, namely the method of creating philosophers governed by rational desires, thus he uses an organized structure, logical inductive reasoning, and specific descriptions to accurately capture his idea.

3. Respective Differences in Attaining the Ideal State

The identified vast differences in literary features can perhaps be explained by the philosophers’ differing views of attaining the ideal. The *Cave* shows that in Plato’s opinion, the ideal is achieved through actively changing one’s intrinsic nature through cultivation and effort into being ruled by one’s rational desire. This then allows one to understand the ultimate form of “virtues” and “goodness”. It is interesting to note that Plato understands the human psyche as being ruled. Even if one changes one’s ruling desire through effort, one’s thoughts and behaviors are still products of the desire’s influence. This implies that humans do not have true free will.

Plato also contends that personal growth is limited, even pre-determined. This can be inferred from the categorization of people into money-lovers, honor-lovers, and philosophers, and how only a selected few will be able to attain true goodness (Grube, 1992). In simple terms, Plato's ideal is exclusive to the selected few, whose purpose is to devote their virtues to leading society in a righteous direction. One can discover parallels with Confucianism, another Ancient Chinese philosophy, as both contend that the path to attaining goodness is the cultivation of the self with the aim of improving society. Confucius establishes a system of humanistic education to cultivate a *jun zi* 君子 [gentleman], meaning a virtuous person. An emblematic phrase of this philosophy is *xiu shen qi jia zhi guo ping tian xia* 修身齊家治國平天下 [cultivate the self, regulate the family, govern the nation, bring peace to the world], which states in a series of procedural steps how starting with self-cultivation can ultimately bring peace and order to the world.

Zhuangzi has criticized the Confucian philosophy of actively cultivating to change one’s nature to achieve an ideal state. In fact, the idea of “attaining” an ideal is one that he criticizes. Instead, he contends that the ideal person, defined as a *zhen ren* 真人 [real person], is achieved passively by accepting and embracing one’s intrinsic nature. This means transcending personal perceptions of the world, which he sees as biased. Taoism contends that all forms originate from one source, defined by *zi ran* 自然 [nature] also known as the Tao. Through this approach, a possible answer to the conundrum of the Transformation of Things could be found. Knowing that all forms originate from a singular source, one accepts thus transcends the physical differences between the two forms, which then allows one to see both as mutable and equal.

It is interesting to note that although both philosophers express the existence of a singular source of creation, namely the sun and nature, the method of approaching it differs greatly. Zhuangzi’s philosophy directly contrasts with that of Plato. Zhuangzi says that the very existence of cultures, rules, and the establishment thus comparison of morals - good and bad - are man-made concepts that goes against one’s nature. According to Taoism, these concepts that are supposed to improve society order, ironically, leads society further to chaos. “After Tao is lost then (arises the doctrine of) humanity. After humanity is lost then (arises the doctrine of) justice. After justice is lost then (arises the doctrine of) *li*. Now *li* is the thinning out of loyalty and honesty of heart. And the beginning of chaos.”（Laozi, Tao Te Ching) (「故失道而後德，失德而後仁，失仁而後義，失義而後禮。夫禮者，忠信之薄，而亂之首。」老子《道德經》)。

Differing from Plato’s categorization of people into specific castes, Zhuangzi sees all living beings as equal (Graham, 1969). According to him, as societies are formed, concepts such as rules and morals are generated in an attempt to maintain order and goodness. However, the very existence of rules distorts the nature of goodness, resulting in the loss of goodness. To Zhuangzi, one’s nature is distorted by the values and rules of society; by transcending these

man-made values, one returns to what was lost: a natural and intrinsic ideal.

Conclusion

Comparing the nature of both texts, the *Butterfly* is a parable that focuses on the philosophical message derived instead of storytelling intricacies. The story is constructed through outlines of major scenes, and contextual descriptions are omitted. On the other hand, the *Cave* is an allegory that on the surface constructed through dialogue, though it actually is a medium for the character Socrates' one-sided illustration of the prisoner's journey through deductive reasoning, laden with descriptions of bodily sensations, thought processes, and the environment.

Comparing the structure and style of both texts, the *Butterfly* uses simple, concise, and vivid language that outlines the story plot, with a hint of lyricism in the description of the butterfly's fluttering wings and contented happiness. Contrastingly, the *Cave* is constructed by rigorous reasoning and descriptive language that creates an extremely specific image in the reader's mind.

The differences in attaining ideals are clearly reflected in the contrasting literary features between the two texts. The rigorous storyline and descriptive language in the *Cave* reveals Plato's emphasis on order and the idealistic, effortful, and restrictive nature of his self-cultivation. Zhuangzi's use of simple language and his disregard for the construction of an elaborate storyline reveals a sense of freeness and lack of man-made order that reflects his idea of an intrinsic and effortless ideal.

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How is the Qin Emperor Celebrated in the Stele Inscriptions?

Stacy Zongyu Lu 陸宗妤

Introduction

The first empire of China, as many argue, is the Qin Dynasty (221 - 206 B.C.). It was a powerful dynasty, where many significant events took place and are remembered in history. Qin Shi Huang 秦始皇 (r. as Emperor 221 - 210 B.C.), commonly referred to as the first Emperor, was and still is a very controversial character. Conflicting views of him have never ceased. His achievements as an Emperor include unifying the country, building the Great Wall of China, and more. However, all great accomplishments come with a price. Whether it is death, exploitation, or poverty, huge harm was caused to the people of the Qin Dynasty. Therefore, many people, including people from the modern age, would view this Emperor as both a hero and a villain.

However, this was exactly what the Qin Emperor had feared: people having other impressions of him than just what he wanted. Because of how history is constructed, the victor usually has control over what is written about them, especially rulers. The Qin Emperor also attached great importance to his own reputation, making great efforts to maintain it. After all, rulers ensure the security of their own positions, limiting the unbeneficial statements and perspectives against themselves. Therefore, in hopes that the later generations would view him just like he wished them to, the Emperor used his own event recording method: The Stele Inscriptions. The Stele Inscriptions are stone tablets that the Qin Emperor erected and directed, each with its own carvings and writing. There are around seven inscriptions that are largely intact, placed on famous mountains in different areas of China (Kern 1).

The Stele Inscriptions are studied and analyzed, for the stones purport to record the Emperor's own words. Through these scriptures, we are able to see how the Qin Emperor hoped to be remembered, and how he presented himself to all under heaven.

1. Background of the Stele Inscriptions

During his reign, the Qin Emperor traveled to different places of ancient Qin and erected Stele Inscriptions on numerous elevated locations. The inscriptions' texts and calligraphy were later attributed to Li Si 李斯 who was the *zuo cheng xiang* 左丞相, meaning Qin Chancellor to the left (Kern 1). There are numerous pieces of inscriptions, but it must be noted that not all inscriptions were retrieved, and some were illegible (Kern 1). The Emperor began the production of the Stele Inscriptions in the third year of taking the throne, and continued to make journeys to erect the stones throughout his life (Kern 1). The Emperor "made a series of excursions through the eastern commanderies of the newly unified empire between 219 and 210 B.C" (Kern 1), toured the places personally to ensure a suitable place for the inscriptions, and commanded his officials to "erect stones (*li shi* 立石)" (Kern 1).

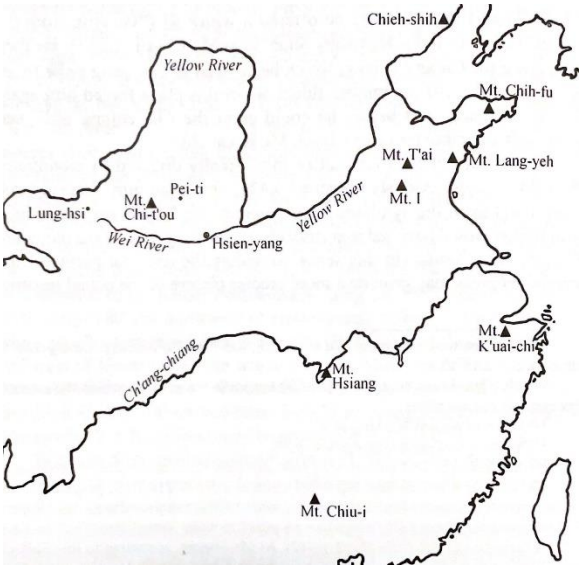

Figure 1. Locations of mountains and rivers (Kern 108)

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1.1 Location

The Stele Inscriptions were placed on uplifted sights, including mountains (Kern 1). The Emperor chose to place the inscriptions there, aiming for their height and symbolic values. Even in ancient times, mountains like Mt. Tai 泰 or Mt. Yi 嶧 were incredibly famous, for their location in the country and for their sacredness. The word *t'ai* means peace and safety, and even to this day, the word is used in many phrases, such as *guo tai min an* 國泰民安, which means the peace and safety of the country and people. These mountains also hold symbolic values other than the names, such as the demonstration of power and sacredness; and have been conquered by him, implying that he is at a level that holds power over the values. The stones can also be viewed as a flag, symbolizing a mark of territory, so all people would know that the Emperor rules over everything. In the past, mountains were the highest point on earth where humans could stand, and having the Emperor's mark also meant he was the highest above all. He looks down on all citizens from above, reigning over all with authority and position.

Some inscriptions were also found near the coast (Kern 1), signifying the international connections, proclaiming his words all over the world, and not just in the country of Qin. Through this, the Qin Emperor wished for acknowledgement and respect not just from Qin, but from other nations as well. The sight of stones in important places constantly reminds people of the Emperor's words, allowing them to be remembered whenever the sites are visited.

Mountains near the Yellow River 黃河 and *Chang-Jiang* 長江 would include Mt. Zhi Fu 之罘, Mt. Xiang 湘, Mt. Gui Ji 會稽, where the inscriptions were placed (Kern 114). All the mountains the Emperor chose to place stones on embodied a ritual meaning, and were linked with a tradition of an "overall cosmic ritual system" (Kern 114). Kern stated that the locations where the stones were placed were distinguished "with a superior status in the ritual geography of the empire. A location for an inscription was never just somewhere" (Kern 114). Likewise, the Emperor chose his first few stones to be placed around Mt. Lang Ye 瑯琊 and Mt. Zhi Fu 之罘, because that area was called *ming-shan da-chuan* 名山大川, meaning "famous mountains and great streams" (Kern 114). This indicates that the Emperor was fairly traditional, still upholding ritualistic habits, despite his claim to form his own traditions, as he mentioned that "Viewed against the old, [Our times] are definitely superior" (臨古絕尤) (Kern 39).

The Emperor also chose these specific locations for ceremonial reasons. In the past, sacrifices had to be made to the cosmic spirits, for people believed there were spirits who have the power to control the natural world, including river spirits that inhabited the rivers that the inscriptions were placed near (Kern 118). Tributes and rituals need to be made in order for prosperity and success to be recognized as the descendant of the ancestors Shun 舜 and Yü 禹 (Kern 118). The sacrifices made at those inscription locations integrated the mountains and rivers "into an overall cosmic ritual system" (Kern 114). This suggests that the Qin Emperor was very afraid that the ancient powers may not agree with his doings, so he gave sacrifices and held rituals to please the spirits at the inscription locations, reviving the tradition of making offerings to cosmic spirits, even after the tradition itself was lost for some time (Kern 114).

Though difficult to prove, the Qin Emperor's decision to inscribe his achievements on mountains may have been impacted by previous rulers who did similarly. According to Kern, the Zhou bronze inscriptions on ritual paraphernalia used in ancestral temples and nobles (that were discovered in the Eastern Zhou state) had a similar style of textuality, in sacrificial services to the cosmic spirits (62). This may indicate that the Emperor has continued this tradition of carving inscriptions and giving sacrifices to the spirits, as a form of adopting the ancient culture, and hoping to carry this forward to bring success.

2. Literary Style of the Stele Inscriptions

In the Stele Inscriptions, the Qin Emperor's image is thoroughly presented, though it should be noted that these words were attributed to Li Si 李斯, and were most likely inspected by the Emperor before they were carved. The content includes many aspects of the newly established Qin Dynasty, recounting the achievements of the new Emperor, as well as describing the Emperor himself. This was done to "eulogize the power of Qin (*song Qin de* 頌秦德)" to the public (Kern 1). From comparing inscriptions from different mountains, it was found that the contents were repeated, in both the vocabulary and format. Connected to the location, the Qin Emperor wanted everyone who had arrived at the stones to be able to read similar contents without having to go to different locations, providing a generalization and synchronization of information.

2.1 Virtues

Much praise and flamboyant language were included to present a righteous image of the Emperor to the public. To achieve this, carefully selected vocabulary was used to describe the character of the Emperor.

Many characters have been used frequently throughout all inscriptions, such as “sage” (聖) (Kern 26), “wise” (智) (Kern 26), “diligent” (勤勞) (Kern 26), “brightly shines” (明) (Kern 30), “virtuous power” (德) (Kern 31), which describe the personality and characteristics of the Qin Emperor. The impressions on the inscriptions address him as a hard-working, kind, reliable man, and he hopes to keep this impression for the citizens of the Qin Dynasty, as well as for later generations. It gives the Emperor a ‘godly’ sense, implying that he was above all others, and all good qualities and virtues were applicable to him as well.

All these words have been chosen carefully, and repeated consistently throughout the inscriptions, accentuating the image of the Qin Emperor. If it were to be categorized, the words describing him were poetic and written with flair, and they vividly form the image of the Qin Emperor, describing both his personality and his successful achievements, as well as giving him a glorious, divine aura.

2.2 Structure

In the history of ancient China, there has always been an emphasis on the format of writing. Many literature types would follow a certain rule, limiting the number of characters in a line, and keeping a sequence when writing. The Stele Inscriptions are no exception. All inscriptions follow a strict format, compressing every description into a four-word line. The four-word rule sounds simple but holds much meaning. A single line may illustrate many events. Other than this, it provides a sense of formality, refraining from forming a potentially messy or chaotic text. The texts seem ceremonious, providing the Emperor and the readers with auspiciousness, formality, and properness, creating an atmosphere of solemnity and rituality.

The inscriptions would also follow a specific structure, narrating the events in time sequence. For example, on the inscription on Mt. Lang Ye, the achievements were recited in time order, starting with the first accomplishment, “the August Thearch created a beginning” (皇帝作始) (Kern 26), which talks about the beginning of the Qin Dynasty, and ending with the last, “one uniformly writes the refined characters” (同書文字) (Kern 27), which talks about the unification of the language. There would also be timestamps and checkpoints within each specific inscription, clearly stating when the Emperor had completed an event and when he toured the respective destination, such as “now, in His twenty-sixth year” (維廿六年) (Kern 25) and “and ask to carve [this text] on [Mt.] Chih-fu” (請刻之罘) (Kern 40). It allows the content to be split into different sections within the text, and the events were narrated more according to time than the type of achievement, though there were connections for both. This created clear guidelines for the readers, being able to identify immediately the time as to when events occurred. It also provided smooth transitions between the stages, strengthening the formality and quality of this historical record.

Multiple inscriptions were written for the people to remember the Emperor’s rules by heart, for instance “and all find rule and model” (皆有法式) (Kern 20) and “Later generations will respect the received standards” (後敬奉法) (Kern 49). The Qin Emperor needed the citizens of Qin and later generations to be able to recite these words easily, so that the impression he wished to create could remain in their hearts. Knowing that there were many ceremonies in ancient China that required recital of literature or praise for an Emperor, the inscriptions were most likely formatted this specific way, also for convenience when memorizing and chanting.

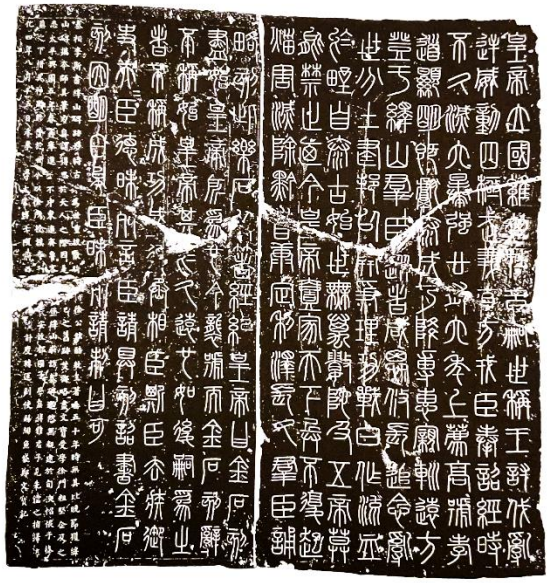

Figure 2. The Mt. Yi inscription (Kern 11)

3. Achievements of the Qin Emperor in the Stele Inscriptions

To celebrate himself in the inscriptions, the Qin Emperor also included his achievements and nationwide matters during the Qin period. The Emperor wanted to show his status and power through the good deeds he did for the nation.

However, the description of events in the Stele Inscriptions may be inaccurate, so the *Shi-Ji* 史記 and other historical references will be used to compare. *Shi-Ji*, written by Sima Qian, who "lived in the reigns of Emperor Jing (r. 156 - 140 B.C.) and Emperor Wu (r. 140 - 86 B.C.)" (Sima 29), describes the inscriptions and recounts the events that occurred in his narrative and his own knowledge.

3.1 First Achievement

The first achievement (not in a particular order) would be the unification of six nations into one as well as the unification of different systems that come after.

Some examples from the inscriptions:

> Created the regulations and illuminated the laws" (作制明法) (Kern 17)
>
> "Vessels and implements have their identical measures" (器械一量) (Kern 27)
>
> "One uniformly writes the refined characters" (同書文字) (Kern 27)
>
> "He eliminates uncertainties, fixes the laws" (除疑定法) (Kern 29)
>
> "Establishes and fixes the rules and measures" (建定法度) (Kern 35)
>
> "The six kingdoms had been restive and perverse (六國回辟) (Kern 36)
>
> "And for the first time He unified the great universe" (初一泰宇) (Kern 42)
>
> "[...] He standardizes the rules and models" (初平法式) (Kern 46)

The unification of the seven nations is a major achievement of the Qin Emperor, since the first dynasty of Qin was formed. During the unification, other systematic unifications such as the writing and measurements were unified, so all citizens would use the same system. According to Hansen, the Emperor did indeed unify measures, like units for lengths and volume, and even currency, which consisted of circular coins with a square in the middle for a string to thread together, instead of the Warring States currencies of knives, shovels, and shells (103). In addition to that, the Qin Emperor also ordered uniform width for roads so vehicles could travel (Hansen 103). Hence, it is indeed true and recorded that the Emperor unified the nation in measurements, laws, and systems, bringing convenience and order to the people.

3.2 Second Achievement

The second achievement would be the peace and prosperity of the nation's citizens under the Qin Emperor's rule. The Emperor refers to the people of Qin as "the black-haired people", as a consistent visual attribute unique to Qin. In the inscriptions, the Emperor wished to show the tranquility of living in the Qin era, by describing the quality of life for the citizens.

Some examples from the inscriptions:

> "He launched punitive attacks against the rebellious and recalcitrant" (討伐亂逆) (Kern 12)
>
> "The black-haired people live in peace and stability" (黔首康定) (Kern 14)
>
> "He boiled alive and exterminated the violent and cruel" (烹滅彊暴) (Kern 36)
>
> "And abroad punished the cruel and violent" (外誅暴彊) (Kern 38)
>
> "With rightness and awesome might We have punished them" (義威誅之) (Kern 46)
>
> "Rebellion and banditry are wiped out and gone" (亂賊滅亡) (Kern 47)

The phrases show the Emperor's purge of rebellion, with his hopes to keep the nation safe and secure under his ruling. These sentences created the impression that the Qin Emperor had driven out evil, and created peace and riches for the citizens of Qin. Connecting to the citizens, the Qin Emperor wanted to express his own identity using the reverence of other people, highlighting his contribution to the overall well-being of the citizens.

3.3 Third Achievement

The third achievement that the Qin Emperor recorded in the inscriptions would be the complete obedience and submission to him. As an emperor, he demanded the loyalty and respect of the citizens, in order for his

image to be well presented in front of others. Therefore, the total obedience of others to the Emperor is emphasized heavily in the inscriptions.

Some examples from the inscriptions:

> "The black-haired people, these he enriches!" (黔首是富) (Kern 27)
>
> "all people live out their full lives" (皆終其命) (Kern 28)
>
> "No one dares to be idle or negligent" (莫敢怠荒) (Kern 31)
>
> "There is none who does not declare himself [the Thearch's] subject" (無不臣者) (Kern 33)
>
> "the attending officials gaze in admiration" (從臣嘉觀) (Kern 35)
>
> "and there was none who was not respectful and submissive" (莫不賓服) (Kern 36)
>
> "The black-haired people are reverent and respectful" (黔首齋莊) (Kern 45)
>
> "There is none who does not obey orders" (莫不順令) (Kern 49)

The Emperor used the examples of others to illustrate his own power and authority. This creates a sense of unity, clarity, and obedience within the people, and through those, the readers could understand how well respected and submitted to the Emperor was. This also showed the success of the kingdom, now under the Emperor's rule, all the people were able to enjoy life the best way possible, submitting to the 'holy' power of the Qin Emperor.

However, according to Sima Qian's *Shi-Ji*, it was recorded that the obedience was often forced through cruel physical punishments. According to Sima's record, "[the Emperor] loves to intimidate men with punishments and death" (51), so many "dare not to speak" to "avoid being charged with crimes" (51). This shows that the respect and obedience to the Emperor may not be from his generous deeds as implied in the inscriptions, but rather an act of violence and abuse of power to force the people to remain silent under his rule.

Special cases, other than personality and achievements, have been recorded on the stones. Lines like "whenever the sun and moon shine on" (日月所照) (Kern 28), "gives warp and woof to all under heaven" (經緯天下) (Kern 37) are mentioned. Both these phrases do not display the Emperor's achievements, nor do they praise the Emperor directly. However, through these mentions of nature, the sense of forever, eternity, and infinity are created, again forming the 'surreal', 'holy' and 'celestial' glow of the Qin Emperor.

4. Implications

The Stele Inscriptions, although dating back a few thousand years, could still be very impactful on the views of people after the Qin Dynasty. Because it was very hard to find records from the Qin dynasty, the inscriptions provide a significant source in the documentation of ancient China. The inscriptions were, and are still, an important resource used by historians when investigating the Qin Dynasty, the Emperor himself, and even other significant figures who reigned after, to understand traces of the past. Therefore, in both the past and the present, the Emperor's inscriptions have been affecting the people, allowing many to discover more information and knowledge.

4.1 Guidelines for Later Generations

In modern times, it is important to refer to the past and study the history of many dynasties. What the rulers have said before will impact us greatly with understanding the current views of historical figures. The Qin Emperor made sure to allow all the people from later generations to listen and act according to his law. He wished – aided by the elixir of immortality – to rule forever. By carving the rules and his own biography into the stones, he could live for eternity within the people.

On the stone, the Emperor has written multiple times for his rules to live on infinitely, for example,"forever to serve as ritual norm and guideline" (永為儀則) (Kern 37) and "to express and transmit the constant model" (表垂常式) (Kern 37), representing the Qin Emperor's emphasis on his rules being the 'best' or the most 'righteous'. He wanted future generations to be obedient to him, submitting themselves to his power forever. His wishes could be applicable to now, since he wanted his ideologies "to be passed on to later generations" (垂於後世) (Kern 21).

4.2 Comparison with Other Historical Records

Compared to other historical records, it can be seen that some vital information has been neglected in the Stele Inscriptions. According to the *Shi-Ji*, The Qin Emperor, while invested in the production of the

inscriptions, “ordered Han Zhong 韓終, Hou 侯公, and a scholar named Shi 石生 to go in search of the elixirs of the immortals” (Sima 41). This was not mentioned in the inscriptions and was only later recorded by Sima Qian, who was born in the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 25 A.D.) (Sima). It can also prove that the Emperor was indeed trying to search for something that would extend his life, and could be confirmed by other historical sources as well. This reflected the Emperor’s thirst for power, wanting to be able to be in control forever, as well as, to a certain extent, his selfishness and greed.

It was also said in *Shi-Ji* that Li Si 李斯 (the person to who the inscriptions were attributed), who was the prime minister, had raised his concern about scholars learning from the old dynasties before Qin. According to Sima, Li Si said that “these scholars learn only from the old, not from the new, and use their learning to oppose our rule and confuse the black-headed people” (45), implying that the past needs to be forgotten in order to glorify the new dynasty better. Li Si also suggested for the Emperor to burn all records of previous historical periods, proposing that “Those who in conversation dare to quote the old songs and records should be publicly executed; those who use old precedents to oppose the new order should have families wiped out; and officers who know of such cases but fail to report them should be punished in the same way.” (Sima 46-47), making sure the people are living completely under the rule of the Qin Emperor, and that he would be in complete control and authority over the nation. Anyone who defied him or told vicious rumors about the Emperor was punished by death. An account of two scholars Hou 侯生 and Lu 盧生 defied the Qin Emperor when he had ordered them to find herbs of immortality, to extend his life, but they ran away and told the black-headed people about the Emperor’s lack of virtue (Sima 53). In response to this, the Qin Emperor buried alive over four hundred and sixty scholars for “spreading vicious rumors to confuse the black-headed people " while he “handsomely” treated the scholars, as a warning to the empire (Sima 53). However, because the Emperor “loves to intimidate men with punishments and deaths” (Sima 51), he grows “prouder and prouder while those below cringe in fear and try to please him with flattery and lies” (Sima 51), and “decides all affairs of state, great or small” (Sima 51), the scholars thought of the Emperor as a “tyrant” (Sima 53). The inscriptions may only present one side of view, and it fails to mention the scholars’ perspective, even though the Qin Emperor was fully aware of it. This also suggests that the Emperor purposely ignores negative feedback about him, and only chooses to include positive responses from others. This could imply that the Emperor is often tempted to break the older traditions, such as using violence to control the disobedient citizens as opposed to the traditional way of using knowledge and wisdom. However, as mentioned above, the Qin Emperor abides by ancient rules very strictly, especially when it involves higher powers other than humans. The Emperor fears the higher powers, and does not dare to risk his position. Therefore, the Emperor has a preference for controlling those of a lower status than him, as well as respecting the ones of a higher status, in order to completely secure his throne and be in ultimate control.

4.3 Responses from Later Dynasties

However, in contrast to what the inscriptions predicted, the later generations kept the same impression of Qin, and despite the burning of the scholarly records, the later dynasties did not view the Qin Dynasty as a very honorable and righteous period. According to Pines, the texts from the late Warring States period (453 - 221B.C.) generally reflected Qin as a negative empire. “Texts of that age often treat Qin as the ultimate cultural and political other, the “mortal adversary of the All-under-Heaven,” the “barbarian” state, which “has common customs with the Rong 戎 and Di 狄 [alien tribesmen]; a state with the heart of a tiger or wolf; greedy, profit-seeking and untrustworthy, which knows nothing of ritual, propriety and virtuous behavior.” (Pines 6). Despite the efforts of the Qin Emperor to leave a good impression, it seems the later periods were not influenced by the writing of the Stele Inscriptions. This may indicate that the impact of the Stele Inscriptions was not as significant as the Emperor had hoped, as the later dynasties largely recognized the wrongdoings and malicious character of the Emperor, despite not being mentioned in the inscriptions. In this regard, the Emperor failed to retain his ‘righteous’ and ‘moral’ image, even if he had hoped to maintain it with the inscriptions. Not only this, but the act of punishing scholars who recorded the history of the Qin Emperor was also known to the later dynasties, further labeling the Emperor as a brutal ruler.

It is also to be noted that the inscriptions will alter the visions and impressions of the Qin Emperor by the readers, possibly drifting away from the more objective truth. The inscriptions are not significantly valued in its historical accuracy, it instead provides perspective on the emphasis placed on portraying idealized images of the Emperor. Even in the *Shi-Ji*, there could be possible bias, because of how

information has been passed down to the descendants of the people who lived during the reign of the Emperor. As mentioned above, the rules, beliefs, and impressions of the Qin Emperor were written by the Emperor himself, thereby revealing how he wished for everyone else to view him.

Conclusion

The Stele Inscriptions of Qin is a significant historical reference when discovering the character and achievements of the Emperor of Qin. The Emperor, wishing that the people would not think of him badly, carved his own beliefs, achievements, and his positive personal qualities using the inscriptions.

In order to make sure the people would not think of him in a negative way, the Emperor had written inscriptions on stones, erecting them on famous mountains, hoping to allow the citizens to be able to read and remember his words. Through symbolic values and international connections, the Emperor hoped to allow people all over the world to be under his rule, demonstrating his power and his control over natural elements. His sacrifices have proved him to be submissive towards nature spirits, but also demonstrating his thirst for power and perfection. The styles of the inscriptions have also added literary elements and a sense of formality, allowing the readers to remember and chant easily. In contrast with other historical records, none of the negative impacts that the Emperor caused were documented, implying that the readers will forget those in time. The Qin Emperor used the inscriptions to extend his name and reputation across all under heavens and time periods, hoping to live on forever.

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從家庭式工坊的興起到衰落探究香港地區手工紡織業的演變

Jacqueline Kao 高小祺

引言

近百年來，中國這片土地經過百般曲折，受戰爭的摧殘、文明的壓抑，又迎來日後的文化昌盛、經濟繁榮。國共內戰時期，約 150 萬人選擇離鄉背 井、逃離干戈，湧入香港地區，開始自力更生、白手起家，為自己謀求生計 (Wikiwand, 2023)。

筆者的外曾祖父梁忠便是難民之一。為了從內地動盪的局勢中脫險，他隨著兩兄弟從廣東省新會市南下香港討生活，20 歲時由廚師學徒轉行進入裁縫師門。經過五年的磨練，他終於獨當一面，決定自行創業。在子女的幫助下，家庭式工廠「公泰祥」於 1950 年誕生，製作及銷售絲綿被。

筆者將會以家庭式絲綿被工廠「公泰祥」為切入點，分析其成立、發展和衰落歷程如何受到社會和行業變遷的影響。

研習中，筆者以家庭成員採訪和網絡資訊為資料來源，以小見大，展開對家庭工廠經營理念和行業發展對其影響的論述。

一.「公泰祥」的成立背景：1950 年代工業興起

1941 年，梁忠為避難而從新會老家南來香港。最初在餐飲業做廚師學徒，而後因生計，轉行到手工製造行業，成為裁縫學徒。

由於勤奮刻苦、手藝精良，梁忠掌握了核心技術。在師傅的鼓勵下， 躍躍欲試，用積攢了四年的生活費作為啟動資金，創設了自己的家庭工廠 — 公泰祥。

圖一、二. 祖母、父親等長輩與「公泰祥」匾額，2022 年。

The above article was written as as an essay for a G10 Chinese Humanities class, 2022/23.

「公泰祥」家庭工坊是在香港工業發展的黃金初期建立而成的。此時的香港地區已經開設了諸多大型織造工廠，如紹興織造廠，及大興織造廠。所生產的貨品以大眾為銷售對象，品質普通、價格低廉。從 40-50 年代香港棉紡織行業來看，內地南下的 30 餘名棉紡工業家帶著先進機器、雄厚資金及現代管理技術，開闢了香港工業的鼎盛時期 (香港記憶, 2012)。然而，與他們所不同的是，梁忠赴港後，白手起家，以獨到的商業視野打開了新的市場。

「公泰祥」家庭式工坊在中環結志街成立，以大戶人家為主要顧客。當時中環的居住群體多為攜帶資本南下，生於北方的中國人。他們習慣於蓋棉被，但是香港天氣炎熱，帶來的高級被褥無法適應當地天氣，而普通的棉紡織品無法滿足他們對生活品質的期待。

因此，梁忠以此為商機，製作做工精細、品質上等的手工純絲棉被，滿足顧客的需求。手工傳統製被流程為：開棉、鋪棉、彈棉、壓篩、牽紗、掄紗等步驟，然後翻面，需要重複上述動作十餘次 (巫宜虹 et al., 2008)。由於貨品質量過硬，口碑上好，一傳十，十傳百，生意愈加興隆，所以「公泰祥」在 1950 年代賺取了第一桶金。

二.「公泰祥」的發展

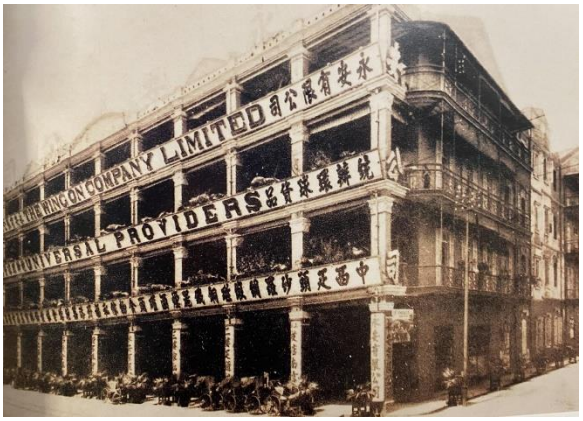
在 1950-1960 年代，「公泰祥」工坊經歷了興旺發展的過程。

建立之初，梁忠設計的商業銷售方式簡單，只針對追求高品質棉紡織產品的個體客戶。經過品質提升、口碑累積，「公泰祥」手工純絲棉製品的好聲譽，也由華人圈傳播在半山區的富有外籍人士，用戶群體進一步擴大。

圖三、四. 紗廠內的工人（香港記憶, 2012）

於大約1960年，「公泰祥」在良好的口碑下，開始擴大生產規模，僱傭工人，提供技術訓練。棉紡織過程需要雙人配合，工作繁瑣，費時費力，做一件棉被需四小時，一天產量最多兩件。

而擴大經營後，「公泰祥」的產品由每日一兩件提升至三五件。與此同時，梁忠看好大眾市場，希望將優質的家庭工坊絲綿被推廣到普通人家庭中，於是發展批發式經營，以供貨商的身份與他們建立供應並批發的合作關係。其中，包括當時非常有名的永安百貨、龍子行等大型商場。



圖五. 於 1907 年創辦，1920 年代時的香港永安公司 (鄭明仁, 2020)

圖六. 1946 年創辦中環百貨公司龍子行 (Tang, 2020)

三.「公泰祥」的結業

1970 年代，隨著香港經濟能力迅速提升、社會發展，製造業的成本也相繼增長，運輸、純絲原物料、租金都愈加昂貴。此外，以化學纖維為主的機器製被原料憑藉價格優勢和舒適度，引發了一種新的潮流，甚至於取代了純絲棉料純手工彈製棉被，成為了人們最新的追求。當時家庭式棉紡織工坊多數在大環境的影響下選擇歇業，手工製被技術開始沒落。

圖七. 南豐紗廠，香港三大紗廠之一（已倒閉）(何桂嬋, 2020)

梁忠憑藉著口碑和客戶的信任，仍然堅持製作純手工棉被，「公泰祥」的生意也在繼續維持。

然而，師傅們在密閉工作間內，需要忍受四處飛揚的棉絮，吸入肺中的棉絮也對身體有一定程度的傷害。隨著香港地區勞動保護法規的進一步完善，僱傭成本也隨之提升。

而與此同時，棉紡織工廠引進「開棉機」與「梳棉機」等機器，改善了彈棉棉絮亂飛的現象，也增加了彈棉量，簡化彈棉工序，棉被廠每日產量增至幾十件，縮短製造時間及人工力量，產量和收入雙雙大增(巫宜虹 et al., 2008)。

圖八. 開面機 (巫宜虹 et al., 2008)

圖九. 梳棉機 (巫宜虹 et al., 2008)

80 年代中期後，香港經濟進一步經歷從工業製造業到貿易金融業的轉型，伴隨著中國內地逐步打開貿易限制，香港紡織業廠商也在政策和人力成本的吸引之下，將廠房移遷至珠江三角洲。香港從工業生產地轉化成為營運中心，監督著跨地域的生產網，成為同時聯繫外地買家與內地工廠，「三角製造」關係中的代理商（香港中文大學, 2013)。1990 年代中期迄今，香港經濟結構中心移向高度服務業、生產前期和後期的管理與支援活動。隨著技術的進步，香港製造業趨近式微，手工製造的高端產品也在逐步被機器取代，失去了質量和價格優勢。

相比一天只能生產一兩條純絲棉被的家庭工坊，機械工廠的生產量和品質進步一日千里，50 秒便生產一條質量較高的絲棉被，與家庭工坊高端產品的品質不相上下。經歷了 80-90 年代客戶流失、銷售成本過高而入不敷出等經營困境，外曾祖父於 2003 年決定結束生意。

「公泰祥」的式微，也反映了香港家庭工坊以及手工業沒落的趨勢。雖然不時有老客戶找上門來，比如已經移民國外的老香港人，抱著一份情懷特意回香港買手工絲棉被，90 歲高齡的曾外祖父只能邀請他們來家喝一杯清茶，抱歉地告訴他們，「公泰祥」已經結業。

結語

俗話說，「棉被弓若咧彈，吵著三代人無法度安眠。」鑑鏘有力的彈棉聲在耳邊迴響，聲聲入耳、擾人清夢。在彈棉步驟已由機器代替的現代，這句話反映著老一輩人對留在過去的舊技術的懷念之情。

雖然手工絲棉被就好似傳統的手工旗袍業、十字繡工藝、竹編產業都因為製造業機器化而逐漸沒落，但我相信一條手製絲棉被能傳承三五十年，這樣的技藝及溫暖；即使機器化時代能快速製成，但在老一輩的心裡，卻是無法取代的。他們相信，「棉緣千里，再現棉華。」

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附錄：訪問

訪問者：高小祺

訪問對象：梁裁順（祖母，外曾祖父梁忠女兒）

Q：外曾祖父為什麼會來到香港？

A：躲避戰爭，討生活。

Q：外曾祖父從哪裡南下？

A：他 16 歲時和兩兄弟從廣東省新會市來到香港，因為當時製造業興盛，兩兄弟也走了這條事業道路，但不是製造棉被。

Q：外曾祖父如何入行香港織造業？

A：他一開始跟其他人一樣找工作賺錢時是當廚師學徒，在 20 歲時，遇上了一個為大戶人家縫製窗簾、椅套、及棉被的裁縫師門。經過五年的學習，裁縫師傅循循善誘之下，他終於能獨當一面。後來裁縫師傅退休，那時中小企業發達，於是外曾祖父決定自行創業， 成立自己的公司。外曾祖父在幾名子女的幫助下，一家家庭式工廠便誕生，我就是主要是協助製造生產純絲棉被的。

Q：那家工坊開在哪裡，名為什麼？

A：名為「公泰祥」，本來在中環結志街。「公泰祥」是家庭式工坊，只負責製造棉被並出貨給客戶或批發商。我們只接訂單，不會自己銷售。這種訂單通常來自大戶人家自己私下訂製，或者是百貨公司、路邊商店的大型訂單，他們會把貨拿去自己的店上賣，我們只顧自己開價。

Q：「公泰祥」與其他家族式工廠為什麼會式微？

A：外曾祖父的這門手藝是從 1950 年代直到這世紀初 2003 年。這是勞動力需求高的行業，但生產量是有限的。縱使有些客人很鍾情於純人手製作的絲棉被工藝，但都抵不過用機器生產的大工廠。故外曾祖父決定在 2003 年結束生意，那時他已接近 90 歲了。雖然我們不接訂單了，後來還是有許多老客戶——甚至有一些移民國外——都會特意回港找我們購買純手造的絲棉被，因為還存在一份情懷。當然還有因為，棉被非常好用。

Q：你認為香港製造業會復甦嗎？

A：不可能。現在的香港，是金融中心，土地少又貴，不可能有地方再建工廠。

（有修改）

The Concept of Impartiality: A Comparison between Mozi and Marcus Aurelius

Kiara Qizhen Ba 巴麒蓁

Introduction

In today's diverse world, it is essential to navigate cultural differences when engaging in conversations about fair treatment (Kuran and Sandholm, 2002). The concept of impartiality can be traced back to Mozi and Marcus Aurelius in Ancient China and Rome respectively. Thus, by comparing Mozi and Marcus Aurelius's thoughts on impartiality, the essay reveals a common belief in the importance of impartiality for societal growth. This cross-cultural comparison gives a new perspective on a universal concern with impartiality.

1. Philosophers and Impartiality

Philosophy scholars differ on the definition of impartiality. Some advocate for neutrality and unbiasedness, while others believe personal relationships promote compassion (Fraser, 2022; Riegel & Knoblock, 2013). The term 'impartiality' can be applied to Mozi's *jiān ài* 兼愛 and Marcus Aurelius' συνεργητικὸν, compassion and synergistic cooperation, emphasizing equality in decision-making for societal welfare (Blackburn, 2016). For some, implementing impartiality indicates promoting order and welfare by showing equal love to all members, while partiality shows favoritism (Riegel & Knoblock, 2013).

1.1 Mozi and Impartial Caring

Mozi (470-391 C.E.) was a Chinese philosopher and founder of Mohism. He rose to prominence during the Schools of Thought period (B.C.E. 770–221). After his death, his disciples compiled his teachings into a text named after him, *Mozi* "墨子", dated around 3rd Century B.C.E. This book explores his profound thoughts on various aspects including politics, ethics, and sciences, offering an invaluable peek into the philosophical landscape of ancient China.

Mozi's doctrine of impartiality, or *jiān à*i 兼愛, promotes altruistic and universal love for society. The character *jiān* "兼" means viewing the whole with unbiased acceptance, while *ài* "愛" signifies love or care. Therefore, *jiān ài* 兼愛 translates to impartial caring and implies loving society universally. Some scholars have also argued Mozi believed in treating others as one would treat oneself from the term *jiān ài* 兼愛, a more demanding interpretation of his doctrine:

> 是故子墨子曰：兼以易別。然即兼之可以易別之故何也？曰：藉為人之國，若為其國，夫誰獨舉其國以攻人之國者哉？為彼者由為己也。
>
> It is for this reason that our Master Mozi said: "Replace partiality with impartiality." But by what means can impartiality replace partiality? We say: If men treat other states as they do their own, who would selfishly mobilize his own state in order to invade another's state? For how he treats others derives from how he treats himself.
>
> (Mozi 墨子., *Mozi 墨子*. 16.2A. [Riegel and Knoblock Trans.]

In this quotation, Mozi uses the example of state wars to convey his belief that treating others as we treat ourselves can eliminate selfishness and, in turn, eradicate war and chaos. The demanding tone is evident through the use of the character *dú* "獨", which carries negative moral connotations related to partiality or being singled out. Additionally, rhetorical questions used before and after statements emphasize how impartiality should be demonstrated in society by treating individuals' states as one's own. The use of rhetorical questions not only creates a clear example that leads the reader through the logic of Mozi's argument, but also puts emphasis on the shorter statements prior to the questions. Through a consecutive repetition from *rán jí jiānzhī ... guó zhě zāi? Kiara Qizhen Ba* "然即兼之...國者哉？" [But by what means … another's state?], Mozi emphasizes

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imparting impartial caring while triggering an internal response from readers towards phrases like *jiān yǐ yì bié* “兼以易别” [Replace partiality with impartiality] and *wèi bǐ zhě yóu wéi jǐ yě* “為彼者由為己也” [For how he treats others derives from how he treats himself]..

Impartial caring is a complex concept that can be better understood through the exploration of its relationship with partiality. Mozi's phrase *jiān yǐ yì bié* "兼以易别" means "replace partiality with impartiality." He argues that bias towards certain groups or individuals (represented by the character bié) leads to societal turmoil, including violence and war. Thus, Mozi stresses the importance of replacing biases with impartial care for all members of society. By acknowledging both concepts within this phrase – partiality and impartiality – readers gain a deeper understanding of treating others without discrimination. Striving toward unbiased treatment fosters harmony, as seen in Mozi's contrasting concepts of *bié* "别" and *jiān* "兼" throughout his *doctrines. Mozi, having established the contrasting concepts of bié "别" and jiān "兼", often contrasts the two concepts in his doctrines, as also seen in the quotation below.*

> 既以非之，何以易之？子墨子言曰：「以兼相愛交相利之法易之。」
>
> Having condemned the practice of not loving others, what would they put in its place? The teacher of our Mozi says: “They replace it with the Rule of Impartially Loving Others and Reciprocally Benefiting Others.”
>
> (Mozi 墨子., *Mozi 墨子*. 15.3. [Riegel and Knoblock Trans.]

The quotation draws a parallel between partiality and impartiality, shown through phrases *jiān xiāng ài* 兼相愛 [impartial love] and *jiāo xiāng è* 交相惡 [mutual hatred]. Treating others impartially leads to unity, cooperation, and societal stability, while resentment causes division leading to chaos instead of harmony. Mozi's phrase "不可以不勸愛人者" [we must encourage to love others] reflects his conviction in advocating for impartiality and emphasizes our moral obligation to promote impartial love among all individuals for a more peaceful society. Kiara Qizhen Ba By drawing contrasting parallels between partiality versus impartiality, Mozi justifies the latter as morally upright conduct promoting equality amongst all humans.

1.2 Marcus Aurelius and συνεργητικὸν

Marcus Aurelius (121–180 A.D.) was a Roman Stoic philosopher and the final emperor of the *Pax Romana* era, which was marked by peace and prosperity. His work *Meditations* profoundly impacted readers' understanding of Stoicism during times of crisis (Robertson, 2020).

Marcus Aurelius believed that impartiality meant acting with “συνεργητικὸν” [compassion and synergistic cooperation] a part of our human nature and obligation. Compassion is focused on alleviating pain and addressing specific issues, making it a way to meet the needs of others and take steps towards building an impartial and harmonious society. For Marcus Aurelius, compassion had three elements: understanding, tolerance, and forgiveness (García, 2021).

First, Marcus Aurelius argues in his *Meditations* that compassion involves being attentive to another individual in order to understand them, which leads to achieving impartiality. By being compassionate, an individual understands the pain they can ease, thereby bringing about a harmonious society. Marcus Aurelius writes:

> Δεῖ κατὰ λέξιν παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὁρμὴν τοῖς γινομένοις, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἑτέρου εὐθὺς ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ τίνα σκοπὸν ἡ ἀναφορά, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου παραφυλάσσειν τί τὸ σημαινόμενον.
>
> Focus on what is said when you speak and on what results from each action. Know what the one aims at, and what the other means.

(Marcus Aurelius., *Meditations*. 7.4.1. [Hays Trans.]

By highlighting “παρακολουθεῖν” [focusing on] at the start of the sentence, Marcus Aurelius is advocating for the development awareness of the self and the others. The repetition of “καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἑτέρου” and “ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου” [on the other side] show a shift in the message: in being able to not only understand others but still treat them with respect, regardless of wealth, social status, or personal traits, thereby acknowledging the inherent value in everyone.

In this quotation, Marcus Aurelius illustrates his emphasis on impartiality by highlighting the importance of maintaining a sense of detachment from external events and a commitment to justice in one's own actions.

> Ἀταραξία μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτὸς αἰτίας συμβαίνοντα,
>
> δικαιότης δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ αἰτίαν ἐνεργουμένοις:
>
> τουτέστιν, ὁρμὴ καὶ πρᾶξις καταλήγουσα ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ κοινωνικῶς πρᾶξαι ὡς τοῦτό σοι κατὰ φύσιν ὄν.
>
> Indifference to external events
>
> And a commitment to justice in your own acts.
>
> Which means: thought and action resulting in the common good.
>
> What you were born to do.

(Marcus Aurelius., *Meditations*. 9.31.1. [Hays Trans.]

The word "Ἀταραξία" [indifference] highlights Marcus Aurelius's emphasis on the importance of detaching oneself from external events and focus on personal actions in order to promote the common good. This requires Kiara Qizhen Ba striving for the best interest of all members of society rather than just oneself or certain individuals, and treating everyone fairly, equally, and impartially.

According to Marcus Aurelius, being compassionate also means showing tolerance towards transgressions of the Common Law, which is a set of principles grounded in natural law that applies to all individuals regardless of social status or political influence, emphasizing the importance of impartiality and extending compassion equally to all individuals (Stanton, G.R, 1968). The Common Law emphasizes compassion towards others while directing people towards making moral decisions consistent with the universe's natural order. By following these principles, an individual can act impartially and contribute positively toward society.

> Ἕωθεν προλέγειν ἑαυτῷ: συντεύξομαι περιέργῳ, ἀχαρίστῳ, ὑβριστῇ, δολερῷ, βασκάνῳ, ἀκοινωνήτῳ: πάντα ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν ἐκείνοις παρὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν
>
> When you wake up in the morning, tell yourself: The people I deal with today will be meddling, ungrateful, arrogant, dishonest, jealous, and surly. They are like this because they can't tell good from evil.

(Marcus Aurelius., *Meditations*. 2.1.1. [Hays Trans.]

Aurelius believes that achieving impartiality requires self-awareness, comprehension of one's place in the world, and adherence to ethical conduct. The phrase "πάντα ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν ἐκείνοις παρὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν" [they are like this because they can't tell good from evil] highlights the importance of understanding moral principles for acting impartially towards greater good. Despite encountering individuals with undesirable traits, Aurelius believes the unfavorable traits stem from moral ignorance and does not let them affect his behavior towards others.

Lastly, Marcus Aurelius believes in forgiveness within impartiality. Significantly, Marcus Aurelius attributes this act of forgiveness to the Common Law, the Law that binds everyone in the Cosmic State:

> διὰ τοῦτο χρῶμαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν τῆς κοινωνίας φυσικὸν νόμον εὔνως καὶ δικαίως, ἅμα μέντοι τοῦ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἐν τοῖς μέσοις συστοχάζομαι.
>
> And so I'll treat them as the law that binds us — the law of nature — requires. With kindness and with justice.

(Marcus Aurelius., *Meditations*. 3.11.3. [Hays Trans.]

The idea of "κατὰ τὸν τῆς κοινωνίας φυσικὸν νόμον" [the law that binds us] implies a deep connection between all people governed by natural laws inherent in the universe. By recognizing and honoring these laws, individuals can cultivate empathy and understanding toward others, leading to compassion and impartiality in their actions. Specifically, the explicit values highlighted in the latter half of the sentence return to the discussion of empathy. 'Kindness' means showing consideration for others' feelings, while 'justice' requires impartial treatment. Marcus Aurelius believed in promoting social harmony by acknowledging people's motives and shortcomings, even when faced with malice, emphasizing the importance of impartiality in understanding and responding to others with compassion.

1.3 Comparison

Mozi and Marcus Aurelius both stress the importance of impartiality in society, with differing approaches. Mozi promotes social harmony by differentiating between partiality and impartiality within governments, while Marcus Aurelius emphasizes personal growth through understanding, tolerance, and forgiveness toward others. Mozi focuses on reducing chaos by promoting unbiased individuals' roles in society, whereas Marcus Aurelius promotes cultivating compassion to achieve self-fulfillment by treating others with impartiality. While Mozi focuses on the role of governments in reducing social turmoil, *Meditations* encourages individual self-reflection as a means to treat others with compassion. However, despite their different approaches, they share a commitment to cultivating impartiality for all.

2. Divinity and Impartiality

Mozi and Marcus Aurelius also both believed impartiality is linked to the divine. Mozi believed that impartiality was a manifestation of heaven's will, providing purpose in life through the promotion of impartial caring and social order, while Marcus Aurelius emphasized the importance of adherence to Cosmic State law, which is grounded in natural law and applied to all individuals impartially, as a means of fulfilling cosmic obligations and contributing to a harmonious society. Both agree that by exercising impartiality, individuals come into connection with divinity.

2.1 Mozi and Heaven's Will

Mozi offers two justifications for exercising impartial care, namely heaven's will and the general welfare of society, the second of which will be explored in the latter part of the essay. Primarily, Mozi describes heaven's will, *tiān zhì* 天志, as the reason for the emperor and his people to exercise impartial care. This term shows a reference towards the long-established concept of the Mandate of Heaven *tiān mìng* 天命, as suggested by the character *tiān* 天. In Mohism, *tiān* 天 refers to the god of the sky and the way of Nature (Fraser, 2022).

Mozi differs from the conventional Mandate of Heaven in believing that a person's life is not fixed as the typical belief. Instead, Mozi argues that individuals can change heaven's will by exercising impartial care in society. This benevolent act alters heaven's favor to oneself, emphasizing the weight and importance of impartial caring for prosperity. Mozi coins this doctrine as *fēi mìng* 非命 [not fate], condemning fatalism and promoting personal improvement for societal advancement (Riegel and Knoblock, 2013). Mozi, through heaven's will *tiān zhì* 天志, through presenting an impartial, moralized image of nature as an incentive, encourages individuals to act in the best interest of their community free from determinism.

Moreover, Mozi draws a parallel between heaven and impartiality, urging individuals to follow the footsteps of heaven by learning to care for everyone with impartial caring:

> 且今天下之士君子，中實將欲為仁義，求為上士，上欲中聖王之道，下欲中國家百姓之利者，當天之志，而不可不察也。天之志者，義之經也。
>
> If the ruling elite of today's world in fact desire to act humanely and righteously, truly seek to become superior gentlemen, and want to follow exactly the Way of the sage-kings and to do exactly what will benefit the state and the common people, they cannot but investigate the will of Heaven. Heaven's will is the warp in the fabric of righteousness.
>
> (Mozi 墨子., *Mozi 墨子*. 28.8. [Riegel and Knoblock Trans.]

Mozi utilized the example of sage-kings to demonstrate how impartial caring can lead to a stable and equitable society. He stressed the importance of aligning oneself with Heaven in order to attain higher moral behavior and character development, asserting that individuals should aspire to become exceptional gentlemen rather than just adhering strictly to rules. To bolster his argument, Mozi referenced historical figures and employed the concept of "聖王之道" [the Way of sage-kings] as an illustration of how one can follow successful sage-kings' footsteps in establishing fair societies grounded on its principles through harmony with heaven's will.

Mozi clarifies the connection between "the will of Heaven" and impartiality more clearly in his text in a previous line:

> 曰順天之意何若？曰兼愛天下之人。
>
> We may ask: What must we do to obey the will of Heaven? We may reply: Love impartially all the people of the world.
>
> (Mozi 墨子., *Mozi 墨子*. 28.3. [Riegel and Knoblock Trans.]

The belief in aligning with heaven's will promotes a moral structure for happiness and fulfillment as he believed emulating Nature's impartiality was key to promoting universal ethical principles applicable to all cultures and classes for righteousness and orderliness. In Mozi's view, *tiān* 天 [the way of Nature] upheld virtues such as *rén* 仁 [benevolence] and *yì* 義 [righteousness] through its actions, granting happiness and fulfillment to those who adhered to it. Furthermore, Mozi described Heaven as being unbiased towards providing resources and blessings for everyone on Earth impartially. Mozi strongly believed in "兼相愛，交相利," meaning mutual benefits derived from treating others with equal care – promoting benevolence along with righteousness throughout society.

2.2 Marcus Aurelius and the Common Law

Marcus Aurelius stresses the significance of impartiality through highlighting the Cosmic State in *Meditations*, the concept previously explored by philosophers like Chrysippus and Epictetus (K. Lerodiako-Nou, 2001). The Cosmic State embodies nature's unbiased approach toward all entities – be they incorporeal or corporeal beings. According to Marcus Aurelius, the human soul and the universe share the same set of natural principles and laws; violating natural laws has a detrimental effect on the soul. Thus, impartiality is crucial not just in establishing societal fairness and stability but also in safeguarding personal well-being.

According to Marcus Aurelius, impartiality could be exercised by showing compassion towards others. By treating everyone with kindness and respect, individuals can align themselves with the natural state of fairness and thereby attain a sense of purpose and fulfillment in their lives. In other words, this unbiased attitude is not only beneficial for personal satisfaction but also essential for societal well-being:

> Ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀσεβεῖ: τῆς γὰρ τῶν ὅλων φύσεως κατεσκευακυίας τὰ λογικὰ ζῷα ἕνεκεν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὠφελεῖν μὲν ἄλληλα κατ᾽ ἀξίαν βλάπτειν δὲ μηδαμῶς, ὁ τὸ βούλημα ταύτης παραβαίνων ἀσεβεῖ δηλονότι εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν θεῶν.
>
> Injustice is a kind of blasphemy. Nature designed rational beings for each other's sake: to help—not harm—one another, as they deserve. To transgress its will, then, is to blaspheme against the oldest of the gods.

(Marcus Aurelius., *Meditations*. 9.1.1. [Hays Trans.]

Marcus Aurelius stresses that treating everyone equally is essential regardless of their social status or background and that this can be achieved by promoting compassion and advocating for living in accordance with nature. Compassion can help individuals achieve impartiality by treating each person fairly and respectfully while adhering to the Common Law principles that reflect cosmic values, thus leading society towards a just state where all members are treated equitably without discrimination.

Marcus Aurelius also uses metaphors relating to the human body to emphasize the importance of impartiality and how exercising compassion brings the Common State closer to its impartial goals:

> γεγόναμεν γὰρ πρὸς συνεργίαν ὡς πόδες, ὡς χεῖρες, ὡς βλέφαρα, ὡς οἱ στοῖχοι τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω ὀδόντων. τὸ οὖν ἀντιπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις παρὰ φύσιν: ἀντιπρακτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι.
>
> We were born to work together like feet, hands, and eyes, like the two rows of teeth, upper and lower. To obstruct each other is unnatural. To feel anger at someone, to turn your back on him: these are obstructions.

(Marcus Aurelius., *Meditations*. 2.1.1 [Hays Trans.]

In this comparison, the various components of one's physical form are said to have been designed with distinct objectives in mind, which means that adhering to cosmic reasoning necessitates utilizing each part for its intended use. He asserts that "τὸ οὖν ἀντιπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις παρὰ φύσιν" [to obstruct each other is unnatural], indicating that discordance and resistance lead to detrimental effects such as tension, animosity or societal disintegration. This suggests that nurturing collaboration and harmony among individuals is in line with human nature and is achieved by being kind and impartial to each other.

2.3 Comparison

Both Mozi and Marcus Aurelius maintain the view that impartiality or the need to be caring stems from living in accordance with Nature and gods for the greater good. For Mozi, this manifests in the form of heaven's will, while in Marcus Aurelius, it is connected to the Common Law in the Cosmic State. A parallel between heaven's will and the Common Law can be made, as both philosophers derive a sense of impartiality from the Natural world and the universe. There is an additional similarity: Marcus Aurelius deems there to be a higher being that expresses the Common Law, aligning humanity with impartiality. Mozi, similarly, views the heavens as an existing godlike structure, governing humanity and imposing its influence through heaven's will *tiān mìng* 天命.

3. Social Implications of Impartiality

The scale of implementation of impartiality is similar in Mozi and Marcus Aurelius because both philosophers believe individuals are a part of a larger world around them, regardless of their individual identities. Mozi define the word as *Tianxia* 天下, while Marcus Aurelius refers to it as the Cosmic State, naming it after the Stoic term κόσμος, cosmos.

3.1 Mozi and *Tianxia*

The social implications of impartial caring lie in the good social consequences it brings due to the alignment with the way of nature and the will of heaven *tiān zhì* 天志. The justification Mozi provides is that all individuals prioritize their self-interest, and when society is filled with social harm, individuals' needs cannot be met. Only by exercising righteous values in alignment with nature can the state and its people prosper. This is shown in the quotation below.

> 天下之人皆相愛，強不執弱，眾不劫寡，富不侮貧，貴不敖賤，詐不欺愚。凡天下禍簒怨恨可使毋起者，以相愛生也，是以仁者譽之。
>
> When all the people in the world love one another, the strong will not overpower the weak, the many oppress the few, the rich deman the poor, the noble treat the humble with contempt, or swindlers cheat the simple, and hatred in the world will result from loving others. This is why the humane praise it.
>
> (Mozi 墨子., *Mozi 墨子*. 15.3. [Riegel and Knoblock Trans.]

Mozi advocates for an impartial approach that considers all in *Tianxia*, specifically emphasizing the significance of developing impartial love to maintain social stability and peace. The lack of such affection could result in unequal and chaotic conditions. If people do not love each other with fairness, then those in power will subjugate the weak while deceivers deceive the gullible. In his quotation, Mozi uses parallelism to stress equal treatment for everyone regardless of status or position; he shows the negative effects of partiality by emphasizing how "強不執弱... 是以仁者譽之" [the strong…loving others]. Repeatedly using phrases like "以相愛生也" [love one another], Mozi creates a sense of rhythm to emphasize the description of g his ideal society where social harmony and stability reign supreme.

From encouraging individuals in society to produce the greatest benefit, it can be seen that Mozi's doctrines are greatly influenced by cosmopolitanism, where individuals exercise impartial caring in alignment with heaven's will to ensure order within *Tianxia*, the wider community.

3.2 Marcus Aurelius and the Cosmic State

In *Meditations*, Marcus Aurelius believes in viewing oneself as a citizen of the Cosmic State, promoting justice and love within communities. He defines κοινωνικὸν τέλος [social end], as treating others with compassion to achieve harmony within actions without social purpose create chaos, distancing people from impartial goals. Compassion, by contributing to the social purpose, benefits both individuals and society at large, leading society to become more impartial and harmonious. Marcus Aurelius describes his reasoning by drawing a parallel between a prescription of a bee hive and the bee:

> Τὸ τῷ σμήνει μὴ συμφέρον οὐδὲ τῇ μελίσσῃ συμφέρει
>
> What injures the hive injures the bee.

(Marcus Aurelius., *Meditations*. 6.31.1. [Hays Trans.]

In the quotation, Marcus Aurelius uses a metaphor to showcase the importance of compassion within a society, where the efforts of all individuals takes the Cosmic State closer to its impartial goals to align with Nature. By comparing a community to a hive to a community and citizens to bees, Aurelius indicates that damage inflicted on society will ultimately harm its members. He argues that just as an injury sustained by the hive impacts every bee, implying that societal well-being hinges directly on the conduct of its populace at large. Linking the concept of impartiality, Marcus Aurelius argues that it is every citizen's responsibility as they need to prioritize the greater good and act selflessly, recognizing that every individual choice has a ripple effect on society.

Marcus Aurelius believes in the importance of impartiality and compassion as key components of the Common Law, which is essential for fulfilling the purpose of the Cosmic State centered around reason. By adhering to these values, citizens can contribute towards promoting stability within themselves and society as a whole, which can result in positive social outcomes.

3.3 Comparison

Both philosophers contend that Nature serves as a moralized standard or model that individuals should aim to act and align themselves with. Mozi and Marcus Aurelius conclude that humans should aim for impartiality for the common good of society. While Mozi prioritizes common welfare through impartiality and sacrificing the minority for the greater good, Marcus Aurelius emphasizes an individual's impact on mutual benefits in relation to the Cosmic State by acting with compassion.

Conclusion

Mozi sees impartiality as caring for others like oneself, while Marcus Aurelius views it as a way to care for individuals in the Cosmic State. Both philosophers trace the rationale behind impartiality as to live in harmony with nature and emphasize its importance for personal and societal growth. They also recognize its role in maintaining social order and achieving self-fulfillment. However, Mozi and Marcus Aurelius differ in their approach to impartiality. Mozi sees it as a means towards greater general welfare, while Marcus Aurelius views it as an end in itself. The two authors' works reflect this distinction: Mozi focuses on teaching his doctrines to emperors while *Meditations* is centered around self-fulfillment.

The fact that the philosophical beliefs of these thinkers may have been influenced by the time period they lived in is noteworthy. Marcus Aurelius ruled during *Pax Romana*, a period of stability in the Roman Empire, which gave ample opportunity for reflection on personal growth. In contrast, Mozi lived during China's Warring States era which was marked by political turmoil and division among smaller nations. By prioritizing the needs of the community over individual interests, he believed that society could achieve a more just and peaceful state. This was reflected in his emphasis on promoting social harmony through stability amidst instability, ultimately achieving greater good for society as a whole (Guo, Dong Ming, 2013; Zuoqiu, M. and Watson B., 1989; Duyvendak J.J., 1963).

Exploring the perspectives of historic thinkers regarding how to interact with others can provide an abundant understanding of modern society. Resolving national institutions, regional tensions, and global power plays remains challenging (United Nations, 2016). Mozi and Marcus Aurelius promote acting altruistically to achieve win-win, their doctrines offering an alternative to current politics with more recognition of cooperation. Mozi and Marcus Aurelius offer a distinct viewpoint on the present global situation through their unbiased stance that prioritizes empathy or love as a strategy for enhancing society. They urge us to reconsider cultural disparities, recognizing shared characteristics among diverse societies in order to ultimately encourage greater worldwide concordance.

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What can the Representation of Humans and Animal Figures in Ancient Roman Mosaics and Han Stone Reliefs (漢畫像石) Tell us about their Views of Entertainment?

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Introduction

The representation of humans and animal figures in ancient Roman mosaics and Han stone reliefs reveal the cultural similarities and differences between ancient 3rd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. Roman and Chinese civilizations. Specifically, this investigation includes their entertainment practices of hunts and circuses, the types of animals introduced, and human interaction, which provide insights into their beliefs or myths, social status, and relationships with animals. The themes researched on ancient animal entertainment practices include their origins, the circus, and hunting as represented in the Roman mosaic and Han stone relief artifacts.

1. Roman Mosaics and Han Stone Reliefs Reveal the Origins of Animals as Entertainment

Both Roman and Chinese cultures shared a fascination with animals in their respective forms of entertainment, albeit with distinct purposes and cultural influences as portrayed in their mosaics and stone reliefs. Roman mosaics display scenes of animal hunts and circuses, demonstrating the Romans' control over nature. The paradox of their sentimentality towards exotic creatures and their ruthless treatment of them is evident. The Chinese had a completely different approach to the use of animals in their entertainment as shown in their stone reliefs. The representation of wild animals and mythological creatures symbolizes different beliefs held by the ancient Chinese.

1.1 Origins of the Representation of Animals in Ancient Artifacts

Roman mosaics, found in homes, are visual records of both the Romans' celebration of their dominance over animals and their aristocracy's torture of those less privileged. The home and villa decorated with these types of Roman mosaics confirm that Romans used these decorations to impress guests and display their wealth. The mosaics show the grandeur of Roman entertainment, which was typically in honor of magistrates, governors, rulers, and emperors to display their accomplishments. These open representations of elite dominance demanded a great deal of time and resources. Historically, introducing exotic animals was a way for Rome's elite to outdo each other in extravagance, a commodity that brought praise. The scale of the events was immense, and this had a profound effect on Rome's politics and economy. As a result, the impact on Roman flora and wildlife was ecologically significant (Campbell, 2022). The fact that these types of scenes are found on mosaics of the time period provides evidence that the Romans celebrated the victory of humans over nature as an important component and objective of hunting. It could be possible that they wanted the next generations to admire the development and success of the humans before them (Stephan, 2016).

Stone reliefs of the Han Dynasty have been found inside tombs illustrating their belief in the afterlife and that the contents on the stone reliefs were the wishes of the host's afterlife. Though the stone reliefs have been discovered in the tombs of the elite, the primary purpose of having stone reliefs was to ensure that the host's afterlife would still be continuously enjoyable instead of celebrating their wealth or wanting the later generations to learn about their lives and culture like the Romans (百度百科, n.d.). The stone reliefs depict humans dressed up like animals that relayed important beliefs of the time. Additionally, the inclusion of entertainment practices like circuses and hunts emphasizes the enjoyment they received from these types of entertainment in that they wanted to continue them in the afterlife.

1.2 Historical Use of Wild Beasts: Tigers

Both Roman and Han cultures incorporated wild animals, such as tigers, into their forms of

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entertainment, but with different approaches and beliefs. The action of Romans capturing wild beasts originated in religious and sacrificial festivals within ancient Roman society, however, the elite in society wanted to show their power and resources by holding circuses, including violence and death of man and animals in large arenas with thousands watching their spectacles; the authorities summoned exotic animals from all over their vast empire. In order to ensure the availability of wild animals for entertainment, the Romans had to capture wild beasts from other regions, making sure to bring them back alive, which was difficult and dangerous (Brinkhof, 2021). Their collection included North African lions, panthers, elephants, and bears collected from Scotland, Hungary, and Austria, tigers from Persia, and crocodiles and rhinoceros from India. Tigers, the most popular wild beast, were involved in various types of Roman entertainment such as *venationes*, normal hunts, and *damnatio ad bestia*s (Colosseum Rome, n.d.). These animals had been transported to Rome simply in order to be hunted and killed as part of the entertainment and became an expensive form of entertainment that again represents Romans' opulence and love towards violent spectacles (Coley, J., 2010).

Unlike the Romans, the Chinese did not have to transport wild animals from far away or use them for violent entertainment. The only entertaining activities that involved the most popular wild animal, tigers, were hunts, horsemanship, and archery. Participants of the hunts were mainly generals or military chiefs who rode on horseback and used bows and arrows to hunt tigers. Tigers were dangerous and unruly animals, people back then believed that tigers could be reckless and fearless, as well as, affectionate and powerful (Dizon, 2020). So, since the Chinese did not have entertainment that involved fighting and violence, the appearance of tigers in stone reliefs is naturally not as prevalent as in the artwork from Rome. Additionally, wild beasts also appeared in circuses in China. In the circuses, people dressed as different wild animals and mythological creatures. *Yulong manyan* [people dressing up as animals and mythological creatures] was first performed for the Han by the King of the Cicadas as part of his tribute to the Han Dynasty. During that time, because the dynasty was peaceful and economically and culturally prosperous, they increased entertaining performances and chose to incorporate this tradition into their circuses (趙賀瀾說史, 2020). The people of the Han dynasty praised their own beliefs/myths through *yulong mangyan*, and this entertainment was loved by a large number of people of the Han dynasty.

1.3 Historical Use of Tamed Animals

In addition to wild animals, the ancient Romans and Chinese tamed many animals such as horses, dogs, monkeys, etc., yet for different motives and practices. For both cultures, they are present in the mosaics and stone reliefs assisting humans. The Romans liked to tame all the animals, including wild beasts and small animals, that were involved in their violent entertainment and to help them in their daily lives. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Romans and emperors genuinely liked their pets. However, all Roman empires slaughtered animals (and people) to varying degrees. Still, most historians concur that Rome remains unique in history for the degree to which it has indulged in the massacre of animals (Campbell, 2022). Their violent entertainment did not include house pets, whereas as evidenced in their stone reliefs, the Chinese liked to involve tamed animals like monkeys as a part of their circuses to add to the spirit of the atmosphere.

2. Roman Mosaics and Han Stone Represent the Circus as Entertainment

The artistic representations of mosaics and stone reliefs shed light on circus entertainment being drastically different in the ancient cultures of Rome and China from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. Yet, they do identify shared features like hunting and the use of wild animals. Ancient Roman mosaics involving animals provide evidence of a focus on the death and torture of man and beasts as entertainment and social commentary, housed in the large circus venues for thousands of spectators, featuring staged hunts, beast fights, and the spectator's favorite chariot races. However, the Chinese stone reliefs showcase a more intimate participatory and symbolic form of entertainment, engaged in different hunts for beasts as well as circuses that they had. A variety of entertainment such as acrobatics, music, and dress-up characters were included in Chinese circuses, all based on Chinese' beliefs and myths.

2.1 Gladiators in the Circus Arena and All Performing Arts Circus

The Roman mosaic *Gladiators in the circus arena* and the Chinese stone relief *All performing arts circus* display the use of animals in very different types of entertainment. The *Gladiators in the circus arena* (Figure 1) mosaic have four friezes featuring different types of entertainment. The bottom two rows, the third

and fourth friezes, demonstrate multiple activities: *venationes* [staged hunts], beast fights, and *damnatio ad bestias* [Latin for "condemnation to beasts"] (Britannica, 2011). Note that *damnatio ad bestias* was a Roman form of capital punishment that eventually involved the killings of Christians, runaway slaves, prisoners who committed murder or theft, and other undesirables by lions or other large cats in the Coliseum (Coley, J., 2010). Unlike the Romans, who had the Colosseum or other theaters for social and entertainment purposes, Chinese performances could be performed easily without these grand structures since the only requirement was to entertain the participants. The stone relief entitled *All performing arts circus* (Figure 2) represents performing arts - a generic term including martial arts, magic, animal taming, singing, dancing, farce, tightrope walking, and other acrobatic performances (中華思想文化術語, n.d). The scenes in this stone relief are very lively, many people are participating in the circus; however, no spectators are shown in the scene, indicating this entertainment is more participatory rather than the spectator-focused type of entertainment like the Roman circuses.

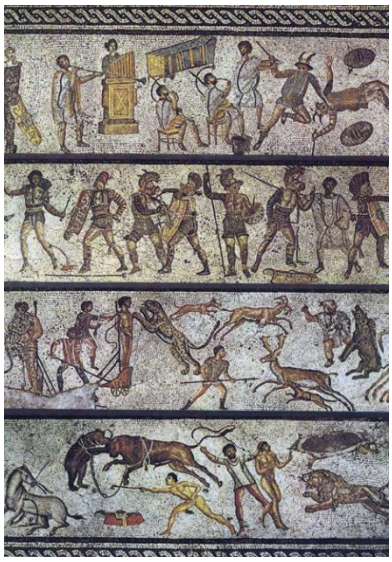

Figure 1. Gladiators in the circus arena (Zliten mosaic, 100 AD), a Roman mosaic, showing many violent entertainments in the arena

Figure 2. All Performing Arts Circus (《樂舞百戲圖》, Southern Han Dynasty), a huge piece of Han stone relief, including all types of celebrations the Chinese included in circuses.

Figure 3 & 4. A more detailed picture of the tiger (on the left) and the sparrow (on the right) of *yulong manyan*

Additionally, the mosaics and stone reliefs give details regarding the cultural differences shown in entertainment styles. Within the third frieze, the left-hand side of the *Gladiators in the circus arena* mosaic showcases *a damnatio ad bestias* where two naked, condemned people are being strangled on platforms with two other attendants tightening the ropes. Two leopards are depicted with one jumping toward the criminal and the other already eating the other criminal. Similarly, in the fourth frieze, the left-hand side shows a scene of both beasts fighting beats and a staged hunt. The scene of beasts fighting beasts is presented in the background, and at the forefront there is a staged hunt including a white horse. Furthermore, the right side of the frieze shows a different representation of *damnatio ad bestias* where a naked man is whipped and attacked by a lion. In comparison, in the *All performing arts circus*, there are four characters dressed up like animals, and this essay specifically explores two of the characters, the tiger and the sparrow (*yulong manyan*) (Figure 3 & 4). Though some sources say the character is dressed as a leopard, others claim that the character is dressed as a tiger. In the stone relief, there is a child dressed as a feathered, playful man leading a character with big ears, tiger-like stripes, fur, claw feet, a floating beard on the chin, and is in the posture of a tiger crouching (顧, 2013). The character is wearing a crown, which supports the idea that it is a tiger in that the Chinese have worshiped tigers since ancient times. They believe that tigers are powerful in the mountains and forests, with bravery and strength, and are a symbol and authority (劉漣, 2010). The character is also holding a belt in his left hand, and *bian mian (便面)* [a kind of fan of the Han Dynasty] in his right hand, celebrating the dynasty. The other character represents a sparrow, with a crown, spread wings, a long tail, tassels hanging from the mouth, and a small bell on the tail. In front of it is a barbarian with a pointed hat, holding a tree in his left hand, facing the big sparrow,

and raising his right hand to point forward. In Han culture, sparrows symbolize humbleness and freedom, and the term “barbarian” refers to people living outside the borders of the Chinese empire. Both sparrows and barbarians were used in the Han dynasty as symbols of freedom, in the stone relief, the sparrow character had spread wings which could represent its will to fly to heaven to gain freedom (華納公司怎麼聯繫, 2022). The four characters of *yulong manyan* in this area are centered on the "Four Spirits", which should represent the beautiful life in heaven in the form of drama to show the Chinese's beliefs through the symbol of the blissful world of ascension to heaven after death (顧, 2013). It shows a great contrast of value between the violence of the Roman mosaics and the symbolism and peace represented in the Chinese stone reliefs.

2.2 Quadriga of the Factio Veneta and All Performing Arts Circus (2)

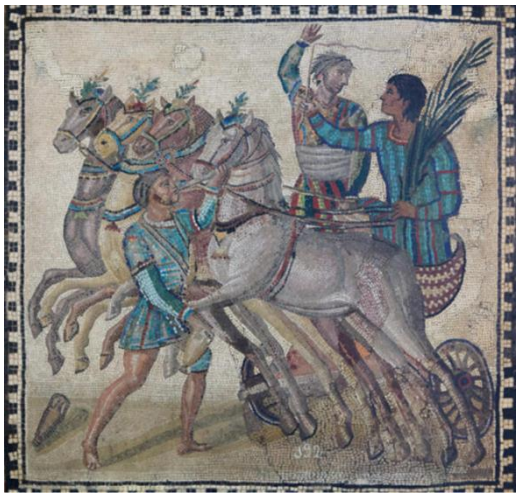

Figure 5. Quadriga of the factio veneta (200 BC- 300 AD, Rome, Italy) , an example of Roman mosaics, presenting the entertainment of chariot racing.

Another Roman mosaic is the *Quadriga of the factio Veneta* (Figure 5), showing a different type of entertainment - the chariot races. This mosaic represents a time when the blue team won the chariot race (Prisma Archivo, 2018). In standard racing practice, each chariot held a single charioteer who was a slave or contracted professional and was pulled by four horses, or sometimes two. Charioteers were allowed to bump, crash, or move in any way to get rid of one another. A collision or crash could result in serious injury or death for both charioteers and horses, adding to spectators' excitement and interest (Futrell, A., 2006). There are four different teams for Chariot Racing: green team, red team, white team, and blue team (Wikimedia Commons, 2023). The mosaic shows a scene of a celebratory lap completed by the winner (blue team) while holding the palm frond of victory and happiness shown on their face. Next to the charioteer is the sparsor [person who spills, spreads, or, rather, pours out] and prepares to water the horses. The man standing on the ground is the jubilator [large man-controlled Hoover vehicle] and hails the winner (Prisma Archivo, 2018). Through this entertainment, it can be seen that the Romans tamed horses to help them for their own benefit. While both the Romans and the Chinese tamed horses, this mosaic illustrates that they used them differently. Romans used them for large spectator entertainment like the chariot races but the Chinese used them for normal hunts.

Figure 6. All performing arts circus (2) (《百戲團》, Anqiu), a piece of Han stone relief that presents another celebration of circus entertainment the Chinese had

The other piece of stone relief of the *All performing arts circus* (2) (Figure 6). The overall stone relief is rather blurred, but it can be seen that the whole circus is lively. Among the animal-related ones is the costumed performance of a feathered man playing a dragon - the fish and dragon variations. People dress up as these mythological creatures due to their beliefs. Since the dragon is an ancient totem with many myths, legends, and divine powers, it not only symbolizes supreme power and authority for the Chinese but more importantly, it has the unconditional support of all and dominates the faith of all (張, 2019). It represents many noble spirits that the people believed in and have been a symbol of the emperor since ancient times (山楓說文化與歷史, 2019). There are also many monkeys performing with people in the stone relief. Monkeys were used in circuses because they were considered smart animals, symbolizing intelligence and playfulness. This action again proved how

monkeys were also tamed by the Chinese during that time.

Through the two different artifacts explained above, it is clearly shown that the two cultures have a huge difference in their entertainment cultures with animals. The Romans preferred violence to be the main factor of their entertainment as they created many different kinds of representations that involved humans and beasts. They would heavily pay to capture lively beasts for their animal entertainment. It is also a way for the aristocrats and elites to present their authority and status in their society. On the other hand, the Chinese were more wholesome in their beliefs and how to enjoy their entertainment. Violence is barely involved in their entertainment, animals were more a part of their performance and celebration. With the people dressing up and the company of the animals, the circus was enjoyable for both the performers and the spectators.

3. Roman Mosaics and Han Stone Reliefs Represent Hunting as Entertainment

Roman mosaics provide a glimpse into the circus games of the 2nd century B.C. Rome, which was immensely popular. One type of spectator sport performed in the large coliseums was stage hunts. This provided the citizens of Rome with the chance to watch gladiators fight wild animals. While the Chinese did not have staged hunts, they had normal hunts as a form of entertainment and respected nature as the hunts provided the citizens support with food and joy.

3.1 Tiger Fight with Female Gladiators and Horsemanship and archery

Figure 7. Tiger fight with female gladiators (200 AD) shows a scene of venationes with two gladiatrices and a tiger

Tiger fight with female gladiators, a Roman mosaic, and *Horsemanship and archery*, a Han stone relief, reveal huge differences between the two cultures' use of hunts as entertainment. Regarding the staged hunts, though typically the Roman gladiators taking part in the venationes were men, in the *Tiger fight with female gladiators* (Figure 7) are two gladiatrices (McElduff, n.d.) rather than gladiators using spears and handheld weapons to fight the wild tiger. Due to women being customarily wives and mothers, it is difficult to know exactly when women first appeared in the arena as gladiatrices or any other information about them. However, the sight of women fighting each other or wild beasts in arenas was shocking for the citizens due to this stereotype (Haynes, 2015). Furthermore, there was also a law from 19 A.D, the *Senatus Consultum from Larinum*, which restricted daughters, granddaughters, and great-granddaughters of senators or wives, daughters, and granddaughters of equestrians from appearing on stage or in the arena. This law also referred to an earlier law of 11 A.D. that prohibited freeborn girls under 20 from entering the arena. These laws are evidence that those in the arena were from a lower class and showcase the class divisions displayed during the hunts.

In the middle of the mosaic, the circular Greek letter is a prominent figure and symbolizes death. It is right above the tiger, meaning the tiger was to be killed by the gladiatrices. The symbol shows that Romans were proud of their superior wit, enabling them to kill beasts during *venationes* and immortalize them for future generations through mosaics (Viatemporis, n.d.). According to Theodore Foss the author of *RomanI ideas in the late republic about animals: Pervasive cruelty as indicated and propagated in the Bellum Catiliae of Sallust and interrelating narrative*, Ancient Greek and Romans at the impressionistic level, used "visual representations of animals as live entertainment" (Foss, 2013) to propel their negative and hostile ideas about animals. The weapons used by the gladiatrices in this mosaic are spears or arrows to be thrown and used to pierce the animals. Romans preferred close-contact hunting to long distance, making the hunt exciting for viewers.

On the other hand, the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.) approached hunting very differently with no staged hunts, but they separated normal hunts into horsemanship and archery, usually for hunting beasts, and field hunting for small animals like wild rabbits, deer, etc (張, 2019).

Figure 8. *Horsemanship and archery* (《獵虎圖》, Yuzhou, Henan), a stone relief that shows the scene of a general shooting a tiger with an arrow. The whole scene is shown in the picture at the bottom, and a detailed picture of the general on the horse is shown at the top.

In *Horsemanship and archery* (Tiger Hunting) (Figure 8) stone relief, the hunter is riding a domesticated horse while using a bow to hunt a tiger behind him. Chinese hunts occurred more at a distance from the hunted than did the Romans, and instead of using spears or axes, they used bows and arrows while riding on horseback.

People of the Han Dynasty attached great importance to hunting. Field hunting with domesticated hunting dogs was an activity for the rich (Mark, 2019). However, horsemanship and archery hunting had greater excitement and danger. Generally, those who mounted horses to hunt were generals or military chiefs, so the archer needed to be skilled, strong, brave, and intelligent. The bottom picture is a full-length image of the tiger hunt. The size of the tiger is exaggerated, and a frightened human is also added in the background to set the scene, highlighting the skill of the rider and the tense atmosphere of the entire portrait stone (張, 2019).

Riding a horse to help the hunter move faster shows how the Chinese domesticated horses as a tool for their own benefit. This not only proves ancient Chinese displayed their dominance over animals but also how they were advancing that dominance within their society as they proved their ability to use resources from nature to help themselves. Additionally, like the Romans, the number and type of horses were a sign of wealth. Horses were not only mostly used as transportation in ancient China, but were also an important part of China's historical army. They were a major strategic element in a part of the army, representing the military power of both warring parties (新浪體育, 2019). Not everyone could enjoy horsemanship and archery hunting; however, the generals or military chiefs could, showing the role of generals and military chiefs in society during that time period, as well as how this was an activity for the powerful and wealthy.

3.2 Roman Hunting Party and Field Hunting

Figure 9. Roman hunting party (200 AD), a piece of Roman mosaics that shows a scene of a staged hunt (Photo Researchers, 2013)

Beyond the staged hunt in Rome and horsemanship and archery in China, both cultures had field hunts. *Roman Hunting Party* (Figure 9) is a mosaic that shows a scene of Romans having a normal hunt for food, fur, and skin to keep or sell. Unlike most Roman sports, hunting was not a spectator sport so the hunter could enjoy the thrill of the chase.

The mosaic mainly focuses on the hunter with a spear, a hound, and a boar at the front of the scene. With the tools used and the distance between the animals and humans, it is shown that Romans were used to having close-contact hunting. The boar is one of the animals that was greatly hunted by the Romans due to its supposedly solitary habits. Through the position of the hound, it is shown that its barking toward the boar was to scare it from moving. Within the detail of the mosaic, it is evident that the hound's allegiance is to the human rather than the boar. This action shows how humans had already domesticated certain animals as pets or tools for their own benefit. The scene depicts the human as the dominant figure over nature.

People might think that the Ancient Romans were unsentimental towards animals because of the

brutality of the spectacles in the Colosseum. In reality, it depends on the kind of animal. Some animals were respected, and some were their food sources, yet dogs and birds, on the other hand, were often much-loved domestic animals. Dogs were seen as the ideal rodent killers, to guard the host (Copier, 2021). At the same time, having horses and dogs during that period was a sign of snobbery, and having a large number was an even better indicator of wealth (Jasiński, 2021). Therefore, it is logical to conclude that the hunters in this mosaic scene are rich Romans within society.

Figure 10. Field Hunting (《田獵圖》, Shandong Weishan County) , a part of a Han stone relief that presents field hunting

Figure 11. Field Hunting (《田獵圖》, Nanyang City, Henan Province, a part of a Han stone relief that presents field hunting

The other type of normal hunting for the Chinese, *Field Hunting* (Figure 10 & 11), is presented in the Han stone relief. In the picture on the top, the picture as a whole is relatively harmonious. Two hunters and two hounds look like they are patiently waiting for the arrival of their prey. One hunter is also carrying a crossbow. The bottom picture is different from the picture above; it shows that the hunter and his hounds are fiercely hunting two deer. The hunter is on the right side of the stone relief and outstretches his arms to summon his two hounds. The ancient people did not value the amount of flesh/meat dogs have (袁, n.d.), so, like the Romans, the Chinese had hounds to help them during field hunting rather than use them for food. However, unlike the Romans, hounds were a really common pet in China, not only the rich or emperors could own hounds, but normal citizens as well. Humans need patience and skills to domesticate animals like dogs, showing how the Chinese and Romans had become more civilized during this time period.

Conclusion

Overall, the analysis of Roman mosaics and Han Stone reliefs highlights the distinct cultural perspectives on animal entertainment in ancient Rome and China. These artworks reflect the social status, cultural norms, and beliefs of the respective societies. While the Romans sought entertainment through violent spectacles, showcasing their authority and status, the Chinese emphasized a more holistic and harmonious approach to their entertainment, celebrating the interconnectedness of humans and nature. Animals were a part of their performances and celebrations, with people dressing up and enjoying the company of the animals. The Chinese valued hunting as a means of sustenance and finding joy in nature, establishing a harmonious connection between humans and the natural world. Additionally, Roman mosaics portray gladiators and slaves fighting fierce creatures, highlighting the significance of bravery and fortitude in the face of peril, which was revered in Roman culture. The circuses were reminders for the people of Roman courage and the entertainment was a distraction to prevalent social tensions. The intimate participatory entertainment of the Chinese as represented in the stone reliefs also presented the significance of bravery and strength with their representations of the tiger figure. By studying these artistic representations, we gain a deeper understanding of how animals played a significant role in shaping ancient entertainment practices and offer a glimpse into the cultural nuances of the time.

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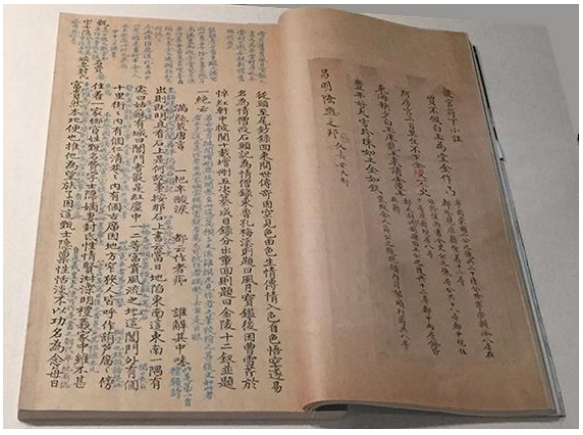
傳播和交流知識要面對哪些挑戰?

Zhiyu Zhang 張芝毓

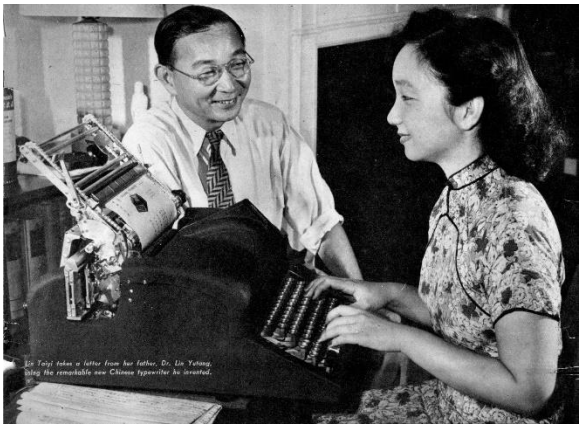
知識來源於認知者在探索世界時獲取的經驗，但由於種類繁多、傳播途徑多樣，因此知識在面臨外部環境、內在限制和文化差異時會遇到挑戰。本文將從政治權威、知識局限性和文化差異三個層面來討論知識在傳播和交流時受到的挑戰。



圖一. 展示的是《己卯本》其中一頁的正面照。《己卯本》是研究者認為最早出現的《紅樓夢》手抄本之一，目前儲存於中國國家圖書館。.

傳播和交流知識的過程中，知識可能會受到政治權威的挑戰。《己卯本》是清朝政府禁止《紅樓夢》發行後被後人創作的。《紅樓夢》被視為中國四大名著之首，記錄清朝貴族家庭的複雜關係。然而，由於書中抨擊當時政治腐敗、挑戰了主流家庭和性別觀念，因此一度被視為禁書。導致如今的《紅樓夢》是由多個手抄本合成的。

手抄本雖盡力複刻原版風骨，但仍被再創作者的局限性所影響。為流傳，再創作者刻意將作品向主流意識靠攏，導致手抄本往往有後文缺失、人物性格和思想與前文不符的問題。外在政治權威影響導致知識載體有被破壞、被禁、被刪改等風險。若無法及時補救，原有知識可能會永久消失。即使被解禁、再創作或刪改後發行，知識對受眾和社會的影響，從時間和空間的層面都無法和原版相契合，作者的本意可能無法傳達。另一層面，《紅樓夢》雖面臨傳播挑戰，其本身價值在時空中被反復檢驗。故，知識的意義和價值在面對挑戰時能保證它延續。



圖二. 我在人文課學習林語堂時曾瞭解過的明快打字機。照片拍攝於 1947 年，圖為林語堂向他二女兒展示打字機時拍下的廣告照。

The above article was written as a Theory of Knowledge (TOK) essay in partial fulfillment of the IB Diploma Programme, 2023.

知識本身的局限性也會在傳播和交流中受到挑戰。林語堂曾為解決傳統印表機工序繁雜的困難發明瞭明快打字機。它採用的「上下行檢字法」，能快速鎖定和列印漢字，從而提高效率。發明雖成功，但這款打字機結構複雜、製作成本和操作門檻高，使其無法得到量產和普及，最終未能被推廣成功。

圖二作為一種工具類知識，本身的局限性使其難以轉化為共用知識。其零件過於精細造價昂貴，不適合量產；同時對操作者水準的高要求，則限定了受眾。作為增加知識傳播效率的工具，其本身反而難以推廣使用，自限成了物件二傳播時面臨的挑戰。有些知識在難度、受眾範圍、被認可度等方面具有內在挑戰，這限制了其在傳播和交流時的廣泛性和有效性。故這些知識很難轉換為廣泛群體的共用知識。當然，這也引發了對知識普及性和可接受性的思考，從而使知識傳播和交流更加順暢。

圖三.《陽光彩虹小白馬》發佈在 Youtube 的音樂視頻截圖，收錄於大張偉 2018 年發佈《人間精品》專輯。

傳播和交流知識的過程中，文化差異在一定程度上會影響知識的傳播。《陽光彩虹小白馬》是我曾聽過的一首歌曲，其歡快的曲調所營造的氛圍深受中國年輕人喜愛。其歌詞中重複的詞語“內個內個”（nèi gē nèi gē），作為中文裡的代詞，旨在增強節奏感，卻與英文詞語“nigga”(有對黑人高度歧視之意）的發音相似，因此被指有種族偏見。最終歌曲被聽眾質疑，被惡搞者玩弄。創作者本想傳達的知識、情緒和創作本意被接受者曲解。

知識的接受常常會成為二次傳播者。當被曲解的知識傳播時可能會導致更多受眾產生認知偏差[1]，這使偏見和惡搞的傳播範圍更廣。知識本身的價值在文化差異的影響下被曲解和忽視，甚至成為嘲諷的工具。圖三中引發的種族偏見極度敏感且具爭議性，負面效應掩蓋了歌曲本身的情緒價值。故，文化差異可能導致誤解和引發矛盾，使知識傳播的準確性面臨巨大挑戰。另一方面，媒體全球化讓知識傳播更加迅捷，並更容易引起文化差異的爭議，但也提高了知識提供者對文化差異影響的認識。當傳播者考慮到這些因素時，或許可以減少這類挑戰的發生。

[1] 認知偏差：人們在認識和判斷事物時與事實本身產生的某種差別或偏離。這種偏差往往由於人們認知能力的有限性、問題決策時情境的依賴性以及情緒情感等因素的影響而產生。儘管認知偏差的產生是不可避免的，但我們可以採取多種策略進行干預和糾正，以幫助人們在現實生活中更好地實現決策和判斷。《統計與決策》2007 年 第 10 期 48-51 頁 。

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A Comparison of Aquatic Motifs in Minoan and Yangshao-Majiayao Pottery from the Late Neolithic Period to Bronze Age

Anqi Angie Wang 王安齊

Introduction

Though both the Yangshao-Majiayao culture (c. 5000-2000 BCE) in China and the Minoan civilisation (c. 2700-1450 BCE) in Crete (Greece) are well-researched independently, there has been minimal research conducted on the aquatic motifs of Majiayao culture and Minoan culture on both sides and none on the comparison between both cultures. However, despite the distance between the two cultures, the similarities in terms of geographical resources, time period, and vase styles make them worthy subjects of comparison.

Both the Yangshao-Majiayao and the Minoan civilizations built communities close to a water source, and part of their economies was based on fishing. Archeological finds from the Banpo site of the Yangshao civilization include findings of perforated fish (河南省水產學會, 2021). Yangshao culture (5000 –3000 BC) and its subsequent development, the Majiayao culture (c. 3300-2050 BCE), include many depictions of nets and detailed paintings of fish on its pottery. Similarly, there is evidence that fish and mollusks were a part of the Minoan diet (Seferou, 2020), and the Minoan civilization frequently used the waterways to trade their crops for materials from foreign places. However, the two cultures have certain geographical differences that make the comparison more nuanced and complex. While the Yangshao civilization was built close to the river and its economy was primarily based on agriculture, the Minoan civilization was built on Crete, an isolated island surrounded by seas on every side, and is well-known for its trade with foreign lands and seafaring expeditions.

However, the striking similarities between the two cultures tens of thousands of kilometers away cannot be ignored and raise important questions for scholars to answer: how do civilizations tens of thousands of kilometers apart develop a nearly identical configuration on pottery? Why do both cultures paint animals or creatures with reproductive abilities, but choose different animals as their totem of worship? Is there a common development in the idea of aesthetics in both cultures, regardless of the divide between the East and West? In this paper, I seek to present suppositions and initial answers to these questions. Although incomplete, this paper seeks to serve as a beginning for further exploration to seek more detailed answers.

The research aims to explore the differences and similarities in the aquatic figures portrayed on the pots in the Minoan and Yangshao civilizations and what they reveal about their relationship with the sea.

Particularly, the project has the following sub-objectives:

- To examine the water patterns portrayed on both the Yangshao and Minoan pots.
- To analyze the differences in the depiction and importance of fishing tools in Yangshao and Minoan society.
- To compare the differences in the aquatic motifs on Yangshao and Minoan pots.

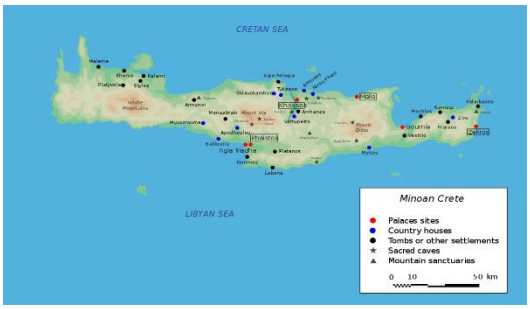

Figure 1. Map of Minoan Crete (Saint-Pol, 2012)

The above article was written as an independent research paper, an extension of a topic learned in Comparative Classics.

The Minoan civilization is a notable Bronze Age civilization that flourished on the island of Crete in the Aegean Sea from c. 2700 to 1450 BCE. Crete is a mountainous area with many natural harbors, and as a result, trading was a large part of the Minoan economy.

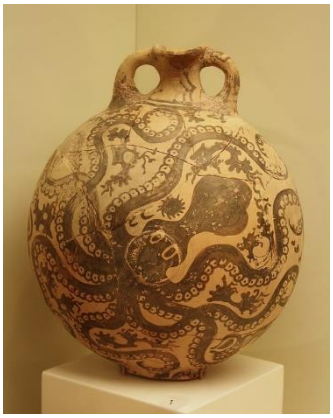

Figure 2. Vase in Marine Style (Cartwright, 2012)

The Minoans developed a "marine style" in around 1500 BCE in pottery, which was widely exported and traded with other Aegean civilizations (Cartwright, 2017).

Figure 3. Site of Yangshao Civilization (Kanguole, 2015b)

I seek to compare Minoan culture with Yangshao culture in both the late Neolithic and the Bronze Age. The Yangshao culture developed at the Banpo site in the late Neolithic, near two rivers: the Yellow River and the Wei River, and it is also well-known for its colorful pottery and well-documented to have interacted with the waters through fishing.

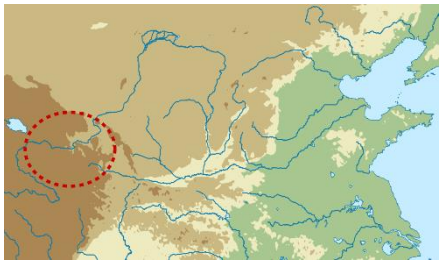

Figure 4. Site of Majiayao Civilization (Kanguole, 2015a)

Later on, Yangshao culture moved westward and resulted in the Majiayao civilization that flourished in modern-day Gansu province in c. 3300-2050 BCE. It inherited many traits from Yangshao culture and many scholars reckon that it is an extension of Yangshao civilization, hence its former name "Gansu Yangshao culture". The settlement was near the upstream of the Wei River, so the people had easy access to both the water source and quality soil. As a result, Majiayao culture relied upon agriculture as a means of living and archaeological findings show that they have started growing livestock and mainly used the river for watering their crops or occasionally fishing.

Despite the many miles of separation, the two cultures have remarkably striking similarities in their development and styles of pottery and their relationships with the sea.

1. Water Pattern

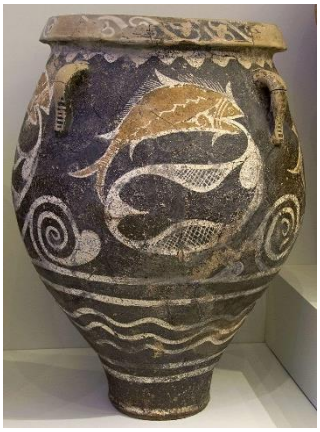

Figure 5. Pithos with Fish in a Net (Zde, 2014)

Figure 5 displays an image of a Minoan vase, named "Pithos with Fish in a Net" from the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion. It originates from Phaistos, one of the key centers of the Minoan civilization. The *pithos* is a type of vase used by the Minoans in the Bronze Age to store fluids or grains, like wine or vegetable oil, or potentially for burial or funerary purposes. Vases used for storage are typically undecorated as they were kept in the storerooms, however, vases for funerals are often more elaborate. Yet due to the small size of this *pithos*, it is unlikely to have been used for funerary purposes. Taking into account the extensive decoration and the place it was found, the *pithos* may have been used for ceremonial or religious purposes in Phaistos or may have been a storage vessel colored especially for use in the palace.

Figure 6. "Swirl-Pattern-Painted Pottery Jar with Four Pegs" （百度, 2022)

Figure 6 is a *guan* (罐) from the Majiayao culture. Similar to the *pithos*, it could have been a vessel used for storing liquids or foods. It has four pegs that can be used for the carrying or moving of the vessel, and on each side there are two handles, which may be used for carrying by hand. Combining the form with the patterns on the vase, it is plausible that the vessel was used to store or carry water from one location to another.

Figure 7. Side by Side Comparison of Both Jars

The striking similarity between the two vases is that they both exhibit the same layout and structure of patterns and friezes, as shown in Figure 3. The first frieze is a spiral motif, followed by straight lines, then by waves, then by straight lines. This pattern is seen in several other vases from both cultures, as seen below. It is interesting to note that all the Majiayao pottery featuring the spiral pattern all take the form of a *guan 罐 [jar]*, or a relatively wide jug with either two ears or four pegs. This perhaps suggests that this pattern was specifically for jugs that were used for storage and transportation, and the Majiayao people hoped to harness the waves' power to carry the vase around. It is also interesting to note that all the Minoan vases with this particular pattern are from Phaistos, one of the centers of economic importance for the Minoan civilization.

The use of the spiral frieze in both cultures can be explained by the prevalence of the spiral pattern in natural environments: in plants, animals, places, etc. For instance, snails and conch shells were present throughout the Aegean and may have inspired ancient Minoans to develop this pattern. Similarly, snail shells have also been found in Gansu, the region where Majiayao culture developed, and several spiral-shaped plants are native to Gansu and would have been present at the time.

The spiral frieze can also be interpreted as a naturalistic depiction of the ascending or descending motion of water, and the even nature of the lines throughout the vase shows that both cultures have developed certain painting tools and techniques to execute vase painting. The painting of the waves can also attest to both cultures' admiration for the waves because of their "unending" power, which may allude to the cyclical themes of death, life, and rebirth.

Figure 8. "A Painted Pottery Storage Jar" (Sotheby's, 2023)

Figure 9. Vase from Phaestus (Smarius, 2020)

Figure 10. Majiayao Painted Pottery Ewer with Flowers-Leaf and Ripple Design (National Digital Archive Program Taiwan, 2011)

Figure 11. "Kamares style three-handled beaked jug from Phaistos" (ArchaiOptix, 2021)

The similarities between the pottery style of the Minoan and the Majiayao people can suggest the possibility of a "pottery road" between the two cultures, a prelude to the silk road. According to Chinese scholar Lee Xin Wei's research, during the same period of Majiayao's development, the Cucuteni-Trypillia culture developed in Eastern Europe, and its pottery featured similar art styles (李新偉, 2019), namely a combination of curved triangles and parallel oblique lines. Similarly, Professor Tang Huisheng from Hebei Normal University has also made similar predictions about a possible interaction between Majiayao and the Indus Valley culture due to its marked similarities in art style and form.

These similarities made both Chinese scholars consider the possibility of the "Pottery Road", stretching between the plains of Gansu to the South of Central Asia and Kashmir in India, perhaps a precursor to the later silk road that developed between China and Europe (張欽等, 2021). However, perhaps the similarities between the patterns in Minoan and Majiayao pottery can show that the "pottery road" did not end in India, but stretched towards the Aegean and possibly even reached Crete and the Mediterranean.

Yet there is also the possibility that the two cultures developed this pattern independently. This raises the important question of the origin of these similarities: did these various cultures interact in some form in the past, or were the similarities simply a result of parallel human development, and the patterns arose as a result of similar conditions?

Both cultures put the wave patterns at the topmost of the design, which may insinuate that the water(either the sea or the river) was viewed by the ancient people not as calm but as violent or powerful. However, the evenly-spaced waves depicted on the "pithos with fish in a net" show a comparatively more predictable sea, whereas the swirls overlapping one another and the many circles involved show that the sea may have been more confounding and volatile for the Majiayao people. The swirls could represent the irregular flooding by the Yellow River.

This could reflect the different relationships the Minoans had with the sea and the Majiayao people had with the river. The Majiayao civilization was a largely agrarian society, and they mostly used the river for irrigation but would occasionally fish, and they experienced unpredictable flooding from the yellow river. In comparison, the repeated frieze of waves and fishes on the Minoan vase could show the desire and wish for plentiful fishing, and the pithos may have

been used for religious offerings for success in their marine expeditions.

2. Use of the Net

Figure 12. Pithos with Fish in a Net (Zde, 2014)

Figure 12 is a Minoan vase from the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion, named *pithos with fish in a net*. The vase tells a narrative of fishing through the naturalistic depiction of the ocean, a net, and a fish. From the depiction of the net, one can infer that nets were invented as a fishing tool and were likely to have been frequently used in Minoan society, and the painting of this scene on a palatial vase shows the importance of fishing in the Minoan economy.

On the vase, part of the net is caught in the mouth of the fish, reflecting the method Minoans used to trap fish. Fish are caught when they try to swim through holes in fishing nets and get their teeth caught in the mesh, and once they are trapped in this way, they can be dragged onto the beach with the net (Erenow, n.d.).

An unusual feature of the vase is the rendering of two nets, one facing the sea and one following the shape of the fish. This could represent the use of two nets simultaneously during fishing, which may have helped increase the yield of fish. An alternative interpretation is that the two nets represent two "frames" through which the artist conveyed the multi-step process of fishing. The net is first thrown into the water, as represented by the net facing the sea, then the fisherman catches the fish and hauls it up from the water, the net following the shape of the fish. By repeating the waves and the fish motif across the vase, the painter gives the viewer the impression of abundance and plentiful food awaiting the fishermen in the sea.

Figure 13. "Boat-Shaped Painted Earthenware Jug" (楊曉君, 2021)

Figure 13 is a water jug from the Yangshao civilization taking the shape of a boat. There are two holes, likely to be used for carrying or hanging, and on the stomach of the jug there is a mesh pattern in black, and the opening is shaped like a cup.

Combining the shape of the jug and its decorative pattern, it can be inferred that the Yangshao people were able to build ships, go out fishing, and use the net. Another possible interpretation combining the form and the use of the vessel is that the Yangshao people hoped their boats would often come back full of fish, just as they filled the jug full of water. The mesh on the stomach of the boat could be alluding to the practice of drying the net on the boat, a common practice used by ancient civilizations to preserve the net for a longer period. The fin-like triangles on the sides of the mesh pattern could represent the wish for a bountiful haul of fish. On the vessel, symmetry is used to create a visual equilibrium as well as create a stable vessel, perhaps representing an "ideal" boat with perfect balance.

In comparison, both civilizations have begun to use the net as a tool for fishing practices. The use of the net signals a significant development in both cultures, as the use of the net can enable larger and more stable yields, and the practice of fishing with the net also requires close coordination with multiple people (河南省水產學會, 2021). The use of the net in Minoan civilization could signal some kind of communication or interaction between the Minoans and the Egyptians, who used nets since 3000 BCE. Both cultures focused on the idea of the abundance and richness of food and success from their fishing trips, representing an ideal vision of a bountiful yield.

In terms of aesthetics, both cultures used symmetry and repetition to make their vessels more aesthetically pleasing: the Minoan painter repeated the fish and the waves of the sea, while the Yangshao painter repeated

the net on both sides of the vessel. Through symmetry and repetition, both cultures achieve a visual harmony that is pleasing to the eye.

3. Aquatic Animals

Figure 14. "Marine Style Rhyton From Zakros" (Ministry of Culture, 1994)

Figure 14 displays a conical rhyton from the Minoan civilization, often used for religious or ceremonial purposes to carry or heat wine. In the background, there are some marine flora and fauna, while in the foreground there are triton shells and a large sea-urchin shape. However, the absence of the animal inside shows that the Minoans may not have fully understood or interacted with the shell, but may have instead picked it up when it washed by the shores. All the marine creatures on the vase are symmetrical and may have been chosen especially for their aesthetic appeal.

Figure 15. "Pottery Bowl Painted With Fish Decoration" (Lakomska, 2021)

Figure 15 presents a fish-pattern-colored pottery basin from the Yangshao culture. The fish motif is repeated on the side of the basin, and the depiction of the fish shows the Yangshao people's basic knowledge of the fish's anatomy, including the dorsal fin, pelvic fin, anal fin, scales, caudal fin(tail), teeth, eye, nares(nose). This suggests that fish was a critical part of their diet and that their fishing activities were frequent.

Moreover, the frequent painting of the fish pattern and not any other animal suggests that the Yangshao people highly valued fish. This is due to their important role in society as a vital food source as well as a symbol of fertility and wealth since fish can lay hundreds of thousands of eggs. They are frequently used as votive offerings in religious ceremonies.

The vase to the left is named Octopus Vase from Palaikastro and features a large octopus as its subject spanning the entire vase, with sea urchins, coral, and triton shells surrounding it. The dominance of the octopus is evident from the little amount of negative space the painter leaves on the surface of the vase (Heath, 2016). Its large and long tentacles also appear to reach out in all directions, creating a sense of fear in the viewer, yet by putting it on the vase, the Minoans show how they have "conquered" the creature. The vase was used to hold valuable liquids, and since the octopus inhabits the sea, from the analogy between the sea and the valuable liquids, one can infer that the Minoans most likely had a positive impression of the sea. The semi-realistic depiction of the octopus shows that the Minoans were already familiar with the creature to some extent.

By comparison, both civilizations linked the sea to the idea of reproduction and regeneration. The Minoans admired the octopus with its ability to regenerate limbs (Berg, 2013), while the Yangshao people admired the fish's reproductive ability, themes that are closely linked to life and death. Though alike, reproduction and regeneration are not the same, and while the Yangshao people admired fish for its fertility, the Minoans may have admired the octopus for its regenerative power that may help the Minoans conquer injury and disease. As shown, the sea proved to be a precious resource promising prosperity to the ancients, and both cultures fished and consumed fish as a part of their diet.

The Minoan vessels feature a wide variety of animals and sea creatures, showing some degree of familiarity with the various animals of the sea, and the Yangshao culture showed familiarity and knowledge with the fish by drawing the anatomy of the fish. It can be

inferred that both cultures have ventured into the waters and have experienced fishermen.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the comparison between the Minoan and Yangshao-Majiayao pottery can inform one about the relationship between the people and the waters. The close similarities between the wave patterns of both cultures point towards a possible “pottery road”, and suggest that the Indus Valley culture or the Trypillian culture could have acted as “intermediary cultures” between the two cultures.

Similarly, both cultures focused on the idea of reproduction and regeneration in the figures they depicted, however, they differed due to the geographic differences between the two cultures as one of the cultures lived nearby the sea while the other lived by the river.

Both cultures show evidence of experienced fishing through the portrayal of fishing nets and various aquatic creatures with accurate anatomy. The use of the net signals a significant development in both cultures due to the scaling up of fishing and the challenging coordination (河南省水產學會, 2021). The use of the net in Minoan civilization could signal some kind of communication or interaction between the Minoans and the Egyptians, who used nets since 3000 BCE.

Both cultures focused on the idea of the abundance and richness of food and success from their fishing trips, representing an ideal vision of a bountiful yield. Through the use of symmetry and repetition, both cultures seek to achieve a visual harmony that is pleasing to the eye throughout the pottery. The standard of aesthetics for the ancients seems to be based on harmony and completeness.

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The Depiction of War and Violence in Ancient Greek and Chinese Literature: A Comparison of Homer's *Iliad* and the Poem *Hymn to the Fallen*

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Introduction

In ancient Greek and Chinese culture, the *Iliad* and *Jiu Ge* (九歌) were both considered to be the best poetry of the time. The *Iliad*, alongside the *Odyssey*, was a famous epic poem by Homer between 850 and 750 BC. It is one of the oldest extant works of Western literature still widely read by modern audiences. Similarly, the poem *Hymn to the Fallen* (國殤) is also a very well-known Chinese poem written between 339 and 278 BC that has been preserved in the ancient anthology *Nine Songs* (九歌), detailing different divine beings with some descriptions of war that correspond to what Qu Yuan experience as a poet from Chu Guo (楚國). These poems both depict scenes of war and the people who suffered its consequences. This article aims to compare and contrast the portrayal of war in an extract from the *Iliad* and the Chinese poem, *Hymn to the Fallen*.

Passage A: Homer, *Iliad*, 16.777-811

> *In the Iliad, the god Apollo supports the Trojans against the Greeks and especially aids the prince Hector. In this passage, Zeus allows Apollo to attack the Greek hero Patroclus in the heat of battle against the Trojans, foreshadowing his death by Hector.*
>
> "So long as the sun was high in the sky, the volleys of missiles found their mark, and men fell, but when it sank low at that hour when ploughmen unyoke their oxen, the Greeks proved masters of their fate. They dragged Cebriones' corpse away from the Trojans and, beyond the clash of arms, stripped it of its armour. Then Patroclus was minded to destroy the Trojans. Three times that peer of swift Ares attacked them, shouting his dread war-cry, and each time killed nine men. But when, like a god, you charged at them again, Patroclus, then your fate loomed in sight. For Apollo met you, terrible in combat. Apollo advanced, veiled in a dense mist, invisible to Patroclus in the tumult, stood behind him and struck him in the back with the flat of his hand. The warrior's vision spun, as Apollo knocked the helmet from his head, sending it under the horses' feet with a clang, and the plumes on its crest were streaked with blood and dust. [...] When Hector saw great-hearted Patroclus wounded and in retreat, Patroclus thudded to the ground, throwing the whole Greek army into consternation. As a lion's will to fight overpowers an indomitable wild boar when the fearless pair battle it out in the mountains over a little stream; both wish to drink there, but the lion's strength prevails and his panting enemy is overcome – so, after killing many men himself, Menoetius' strong son fell to a close-range thrust from Hector, who now spoke to him in triumph with winged words."
>
> [A.S. Kline Trans.]

Passage B: 《楚辭・國殤》(Jiu Ge, *Hymn to the Fallen*)

> 操吳戈兮被犀甲，車錯轂兮短兵接。
> 旌蔽日兮敵若雲，矢交墜兮士爭先。
> 凌余陣兮躐余行，左驂殪兮右刃傷。
> 霾兩輪兮縶四馬，援玉枹兮擊鳴鼓。
> 天時懟兮威靈怒，嚴殺盡兮棄原野。
> 出不入兮往不反，平原忽兮路超遠。
> 帶長劍兮挾秦弓，首身離兮心不懲。
> 誠既勇兮又以武，終剛強兮不可凌。
> 身既死兮神以靈，魂魄毅兮爲鬼雄。

"Grasping our great shields and wearing our hide armour. Wheel-hub to wheel-hub locked, we battle hand to hand.
Our banners darken the sky; the enemy team like clouds: Through the hail of arrows the warriors press forward.
They dash on our lines; they trample our ranks down. The left horse has fallen, the right one is wounded.
The wheels are embedded, the foursome entangled: Seize the jade drumstick and beat the sounding drum!

The above article was written as an essay for the G10 Comparative Classics class, 2022/23.

The time is against us: the gods are angry. Now all lie dead, left on the field of battle.
They went out never more to return: Far, far away they lie, on the level plain,
Their long swords at their belts, clasping their Qin bows, Head from body sundered: but their hearts could not be vanquished.
Both truly brave and also truly noble; Strong to the last, they could not be dishonoured.
Their bodies may have died, but their souls are living: Heroes among the shades their valiant souls will be."

[David Hawkes Trans.]

1. Depiction of War and the Battlefield

The depiction of war and battlefield through descriptions of gruesome and graphic imagery can be seen in both the *Iliad* and *Hymn to the Fallen* (國殤). In the *Iliad*, "So long as the sun was high in the sky, the volleys of missiles found their mark, and men fell," Homer uses the depiction of the sun and the sky to describe the unending battle that was raging for a long time with the use of "the sun was high". Time is measured with agricultural life allowing the audience to relate and contrast their everyday lives with the tragic world of war. This creates a vivid atmosphere through the detailed description of a day-long battle and the continuous action of falling men. This is very similar to the *Hymn to the Fallen*, where it says "Our banners darken the sky; the enemy team like clouds, (旌蔽日兮敵若雲)" The depiction of both the "sun" and the clouds" shows the use of imagery (借景抒情) to showcase the atmosphere and enhance the imagery of the battlefields.

Homer also uses detailed movement to showcase the tension and imagery during battle. For example, before Partroclus's death, Homer states "For Apollo met you, terrible in combat." This creates tension right before the climax of Patroclus's death, making the death much more vivid to the reader, building the tension of Patroclus's inescapable fate of death. The importance of fulfilling fate is very crucial in ancient Greek culture. Therefore, when Zeus allows Apollo to intervene in favor of the Trojans, Homer foreshadows Patroclus's death with the sentence "your fate loomed in sight", building the tension between the audience and the storyteller, idly waiting for the moment Patroclus dies.

The *Hymn to the Fallen* also uses multiple different examples such as "Through the hail of arrows the warriors press forward. (矢交墜兮士爭先)" and "Seize the jade drumstick and beat the sounding drum! (援玉枹兮擊鳴鼓)" to emphasize the climax of the battlefield. The use of the "jade drumsticks" and the "beat the sounding drum" gives the reader auditory senses, similar to "shouting his dread war-cry and each time killed nine men" where Homer uses "war cry" to enhance the atmosphere of the battlefield. Both poems use these climbing actions to create tension that ends with ultimate death with the use of imagery and sensory detail.

Through the examples above, I believe that the *Hymn to the Fallen* (國殤) had a better depiction of the War and Battlefield as it depicts not only the warriors, but the accessories such as the chariots (車錯轂), weapons (長劍、秦弓), and horses (馬). Although the *Iliad*, says "Apollo knocked the helmet from his head, sending it under the horses' feet with a clang", the use of the horse in *Hymn to the Falle*n is much more vivid describing them as "entangled (縶四馬)", bringing in much more tension and sense of uneasiness. In my opinion, such narrative devices create better imagery to not only consider how the soldiers fight but also why they fight, bringing in more emotions of sadness and despair to the overall tone of the passage.

2. Characterisation of Warriors

The characterization of warriors with uses of perspective change and epithets can also be seen in both poems. In the *Iliad*, Homer says "Patroclus was minded to destroy the Trojans." This shows Patroclus's determination and not giving up easily in the battle through Homer's describes the *aristeia* scene in which the warrior reaches his peak as a fighter and hero. The use of diction in the word "minded" shows how persistent he is in defeating his enemy and hints at Patroclus's *aristeia* and his perseverance for victory. Still, he is then proven to be wrong when he later meets his death. This is also shown in the way Homer portrays Patroclus's fighting skills with the rule of three in the phrase: "Three times that peer of swift Ares attacked them, shouting his dread war-cry and each time killed nine men." His combat abilities are shown through the highlights of his battle against his enemies, further conveying Patroclus's *aristeia* in battle.

This is also similar in the *Hymn to the Fallen*, where Qu Yuan writes "Heroes among the shades their valiant souls will be. (魂魄毅兮爲鬼雄)". The word "heroes" shows how even after death, they will view them as heroes that defended their country and sacrificed for their people. It also shows determination

and strength in the army, like in the *Iliad*: “But when, like a god, you charged at them again” uses the simile of “like a god” to describe the likes of Patroclus and “Both truly brave and also truly noble, (誠既勇兮又以武)” uses repetition of the word “truly” to further emphasize the warriors’ characteristics. They honor their names even after they die in battle through the description of “like a god” and “brave/noble”, describing the true characteristics of the figures. Homer also switches to a second-person perspective in the lines “Patroclus, then your fate loomed in sight” and “But when, like a god, you charged at them again” which creates a different tone as if warning Patroclus about his actions. The use of direct speech by Homer further shows his admiration for Patroclus. He addresses Patroclues directly three times with the use of “you” and “your” to show his admiration for the way he attacked the Trojans, yet he cannot escape his fate. The repeated direct address creates a personal connection between the poet and the character. It both highlights Patroclus’ glorious exploits and signals to the audience that his prophesied death is approaching. However, it might also showcase his determination and willingness to die for his people with the use of the word “minded to destroy the Trojans".

From the examples above, I believe that the *Iliad* has conveyed the characterization of warriors better than the *Hymn to the Fallen.* This is because the *Iliad* addresses one’s character individually and showcases their personality through a one-to-one character description. The theme of aristeia is shown more clearly when the audience can focus on one character’s actions, as Homer describes Patroclus’s style of battle using “shouting his dread war-cry, and each time killed nine men.” Compared to the *Hymn to the Fallen* where Qu Yuan addresses the soldiers as a whole, does not allow the audience to connect with a character personally. Being able to connect to a generalized group of warriors may allow people to understand the importance of families and companions, but creates less connection to a specific character’s feelings and personality as there is no specific address to one person. The use of “then your fate” in the *Iliad* shows how he is trying to communicate with Patroclus, warning him about his fate if he fights against the gods, saying how fate is inevitable and unchangeable, but also saying how he can change his fortune and the type of actions he takes before his ultimate fate.

3. Divine Intervention

Last but not least, the theme of divine intervention is shown in both poems, but with one written directly and one written more indirectly. In the *Iliad*, the appearance of Apollo is shown consistently throughout the poem. His appearance is followed by the description of Apollo’s actions that contrasts with their dramatic effect on Patroclus. The fact that the god Apollo supports the Trojans against the Greeks shows the involvement of Apollo in the Trojan War, and creates an introduction about the gods that support each side. This reveals how the ancient Greeks believed that the divine had a large impact on human affairs and that gods also have biases and opinions as to who might benefit them, indicating how they share human qualities as well. The showcase of how Apollo supports the Trojans is later revealed in the involvement of Patroclus's death.

This is also shown in the *Hymn to the Fallen*, where it states “The time is against us: the gods are angry. (天時懟兮威靈怒)” The depiction of “the gods are angry” also showcases the slight bias and human emotion both the Greek and Chinese divinities carry. They also use divine intervention to showcase the obvious divide between the mortal realm, and the divine realm displaying the superiority the gods have over the human’s fate through how quickly they can change them. In the Chinese poem, the phrase “the gods are angry” clearly depicts that they are dissatisfied with the mortal army, and are fighting against them for the enemy’s victory. However, the difference is that they do not fight physically like Apollo did, which contributes to the superiority they have over the mortals. Both poems show the divide and bias the divine gods have——towards the Trojans and Qin. Homer creates a dramatic moment & build-up by highlighting Patroclus’s qualities and skills followed by its shattering to stress Apollo’s divine power, foreshadowing Patroclus’s death in the line “For Apollo met you, terrible in combat.” It shows how Patroclus reaches the full stature of his incarnation as semi-divine violence until Apollo’s intervention, foreshadowing his downfall.

However, this contrasts with the *Hymn to the Fallen* which says “Their bodies may have died, but their souls are living, (身既死兮神以靈)” which depicts the dead as ghosts roaming around the land, as a result of the divine instead of describing how the divine intervenes in the war. This shows the clear difference in how Chinese intervention does not focus on the process of war but on the result, while the Greek intervention focuses on the description of the intervening process with clear descriptions of the divine’s presence. I believe that the *Iliad* showcases the divine intervention more clearly, as well as the

gods' involvement in mortal discourse. On the other hand, *Hymn to the Fallen* seems to be portraying divine intervention rather from the mortal being's perspective, which is not as effective in creating the imagery of the gods as it is only said from one perspective. Therefore, I think that the *Iliad* has a better portrayal of divine interventions.

Conclusion

In conclusion, both poems portray scenes of war and the battlefield, characterization of warriors, and divine intervention. From using vivid descriptions to connections of the mortal and divine realm, these extracts bring out the vividness of the events of the war, allowing the audience to feel they are involved in the story as well. Overall, I think that the *Iliad* extract conveyed more effectively the portrayal of warfare and the violence of war. It has a stronger sense in the characterization of individual warriors and divine intervention, where they both play a significant role in making the passage more vivid. Although the *Hymn to the Fallen* better portrays the gruesome ends of the battle, I believe that the *Iliad* has shown the results of the battle more successfully through the descriptions of divine intervention, making the poem much more graphic to its audience. Even though I believe that the *Iliad* was more effective than the *Hymn to the Fallen*, both poems tell emotional stories to the audience on the effects of war, and how it can be cruel and gruesome at times. However, these poems are points in history where literature flourishes through the use of storytelling.

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Living with Moderation: A Literary Comparison of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* and Mozi's *Mojing*

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Introduction

The first-century BCE Roman philosopher Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* and the fifth-century BCE ancient Chinese Mohist anthology *Mojing* both discuss the phenomena of overindulgence and excess, and act as a call to action encouraging a moderated lifestyle. Although separated by centuries and regions, the philosophies in these works can be compared to better understand how their authors interpreted immoderation and moderation. At the same time, since the two philosophies are similar, this essay will examine how the how the texts' authors use literary techniques such as form, tone, and style to promote their philosophies, develop their ideas, and create meaning.

1. Context

1.1 Immoderation and Moderation

The moderate lifestyle, now colloquially referred to as "minimalism", has been popularized through social media in the past decade as an act of protest against the overconsumption and maximalist lifestyles caused by the eager indulgence inherent in many capitalistic societies (Ofei, 2022). Moderation is about the concept of "less is more"— simplicity, utility and elegance (Larsen & Eriksen, 2019). On the other hand, immoderation embraces excess, extravagance, and over ambition (Ofei, 2022). Whilst Lucretius and Mozi do not praise, but rather condemn immoderation, it is still important to understand how they define the term and why they condemn it in the first place. As such, although the concept itself was popularized in the modern age, it dates back to Lucretius and Mozi, albeit in slightly different terms (Ofei, 2022).

1.2 Lucretius and Epicurean Philosophy

Titus Lucretius Carus was an Epicurean poet and philosopher of the late Roman republican era (Sedley, 2018). Philosophically, Epicureanism regarded the fear of death and punishment as the cause of anxiety among human beings and, consequently, as the source of extreme and irrational desires. Epicureans believed that by eliminating such fears and desires, humans would feel free to pursue their own natural desires (Konstan, 2022). In *De Rerum Natura*, moderation and immoderation are presented as two contrasting lifestyles — minimalist lifestyles reflect the Epicurean way, whilst immoderation is shown to refer to pursuing societal expectations and ambitions (Sedley, 2018).

Book 5 is the most pertinent for the discussion of these lifestyles. Lucretius condemns those living in pursuit of glory and ambition and he offers teachings about living one's life "vera ... ratione" [by true principles] (Lucretius, Rouse and Smith, 1992, ll.1117). In particular, there is a passage where Lucretius compares being overly ambitious to a path of danger. He even suggests a consequence of being cast down by thunderbolts as a result of maximalist ideals.

1.3 Mozi & Mohist Philosophy

In contrast to Lucretius, little is known about Mozi except for the fact that he might have been a contemporary of Confucius. The work most famously associated with Mozi, the *Mojing*, is itself a collection of writings by his disciples and there are no surviving texts of his own work (Fraser, 2022). Philosophically, Mohism promoted stability through a unified conception of morality, specifically through "moderation in use" which sought to eliminate wasteful luxury (Fraser, 2022). In *Mojing*, the words "儉節" [restrained] and "淫佚" [unrestrained] are

The above article was written as a culminating essay for the *Shuyuan* Comparative Philosophy Summer Program, 2022.

used to represent moderation and immoderation respectively (Fraser, 2022).

Book 1 and Book 6 are most relevant for this discussion. The two books have passages that explore respective consequences for both a lifestyle with moderation and one with immoderation. Book 1 examines the "聖人之所儉節也" [restrained and moderate sage] who brings the positive result of "天地和" [harmony for the heaven and earth] (Mozi and Mei, n.d.). In contrast, Book 6 delves into the negative consequences of a maximalist ruler on its people, particularly the deaths it will cause, in descriptions such as "不可勝數" [innumerable men die] (Mozi and Mei, n.d.).

2. Form

2.1 Lucretius

In the *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius uses the genre of epic poetry rather than dialogue, such as in Plato's *Republic*, or essays and letters as in the case of Seneca, to make his argument more convincing. As such, the ideas of immoderation and moderation are presented in the form of poetry in Book 5 (see section 3 and 4). In Book 1 ll. 935-950, Lucretius justifies his unique choice of genre as a technique to enhance the persuasiveness of his words:

> *Id quoque enim non ab nulla ratione videtur;*
> *Sed vetuli pueris absinthia taetra medentes*
> *Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum*
> *Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,*
> *Ut puerorum aetas inprovida ludifectur*
> *Labororum tenus, interea perpotet amarum*
> *Absinthi laticem deceptaque non capiatur,*
> *Sed potius tali pacto recreata valescat,*
> *Sic ego nunc, quoniam haec ratio plerumque videtur*
> *Tristior esse quibus non est tractata, retroque*
> *Volgus abhorret ab hac, volui tibi suaviloquenti*
> *Et quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle,*
> *Si tibi forte animum tali ratione tenere*
> *Versibus in nostris possem, dum perspecis omnem*
> *Naturam rerum qua constet compta figura.*
>
> For even this seems not to be out of place; but as with children, when physicians try to administer rank wormwood, they first touch the rims abut the cup with the sweet yellow fluid of honey, that unthinking childhood may be deluded as far as the lips, and meanwhile may drink up the bitter juice of wormwood, and though beguiled be not betrayed, but rather by such means be restored and regain health, so now do I: since this doctrine commonly seems somewhat harsh to those who have not used it, and the people shrink back from it, I have chosen to set forth my doctrine to you in sweet-speaking Pierian song, and as it were to touch it with the Muses' delicious honey, if by chance in such a way I might engage your mind in my verses, while you are learning to see in what shape is framed the whole nature of things.
>
> (Lucr. *De Rerum Natura* Book 1 ll. 935-950)
> [Rouse and Smith Trans.]

By comparing poetry with honey, Lucretius justifies his use of epic poetry to discuss Epicurean philosophy. He is feeding readers an uncomplicated and understandable version of his "ratio" [doctrine] (943). As the philosophy itself is also more difficult to interpret – as the range covers the "omnem naturam rerum" [whole nature of things] (949-950) - the use of poetry alongside metaphors allows readers to better understand Lucretius' more theoretical interpretations of Epicurean philosophy. Specifically, Lucretius compares poetry to Muses' "dulci melle" [delicious honey] (947), which connects his work not just to the divine, such as the Muses, but also compares it to the sweetness of honey. The Muses, worshipped on the Pierian which Lucretius mentions, were also the patron godesses of poetry (Williams, 2021). As such, many notable Greek and Roman poets began their poems by speaking to the Muses directly. Lucretius also adopts such an opening and, in doing so, follows epic tradition and solidifies his work as an act of poetry and thus celebrates his genre as a persuasive medium for his ideas about moderation (Eure, 2015).

2.2 Mozi

Mojing uses the essay format and persuasive essays are known to use "logic and reason to show that one idea is more legitimate than another" (Valencia College Communications Student Support Center, n.d.). Thus, the use of the essay format encourages critical thinking in the reader and uses the reader's own thinking as a tool for persuasion.

Throughout the work, the authors also quote the original Mohist philosopher, Mozi, such as in Book 6 Chapter 21 Paragraph 3:

> 故子墨子曰：「去無用之費，聖王之道，天下之大利也。」
>
> Therefore Mozi said: To cut out expenditures is the way of the sage-kings and a great blessing to the world.
>
> (Mozi. *Mojing*・Book 61. Chapter 21. Paragraph 3
> [Mei Trans.]

The use of quotes presents Mozi's original ideas and voice alongside the developed arguments of his followers. Thus, it associates the newer ideas with the original ones, minimizing personal tangents from the writers and ensuring the essay's credibility amongst its readers. Mozi's arguments also lend themselves to those of *Mojing's* authors, creating a fresh voice for the essay and, in the case of Paragraph 3, creating a strong conclusion for the authors. Such quotations, similar to bullet points, are also quite short and easy to remember, and are thus helpful for the reader to recall the argument after reading the essay (AB Lab, 2022).

2.2 Comparison of Texts & Effectiveness

Although Lucretius believes poetry to be comparable to the honey from the Muses, the essay format may be easier to absorb because poetry is also a difficult genre to master and less educated audiences may not be able to understand Lucretius' ideas (Narsaria, 2019). As such, the essay format allows the writer to connect with readers from a range of social classes since it is much more straightforward. At the same time, readers may find pleasure in the more eloquent diction of poetry and the process of decoding its messages, thus the honey sweetens the more complicated philosophical message which Lucretius is presenting, making his ideas more palatable (Narsaria, 2019). In particular, Lucretius' audiences would most likely have been the upper classes of Roman society, such as the equestrians and other patricians, as works of philosophy and poetry were often written by upperclassmen for other upperclassmen (Bernett, 2020). Thus, both genres are effective in communicating their arguments but may be more effective for different audiences.

3. Tone

3.1 Lucretius

Lucretius employs a mocking tone to promote his argument about minimalism and to criticize those who ambitiously strive and struggle for greater things instead of living a minimal life. In Book 5 ll. 1131-1135, Lucretius judges those who "pursue things based on hearsay than their own feelings":

> *proinde sine incassum defessi sanguine sudent,*
> *angustum per iter luctantes ambitionis,*
> *quandoquidem sapiunt alieno ex ore petuntque*
> *res ex auditis potius quam sensibus ipsis,*
> Leave them then to be weary to no purpose, and to sweat blood in struggling along the narrow path of ambition; since their wisdom comes from the lips of others, and they pursue things on hearsay rather than from their own feelings.
>
> (Lucr. *De Rerum Natura* Book 5 ll. 1131-1134) [Rouse and Smith Trans.]

The use of the flippant "sudent" [leave them then] (1131) singles out and distances those whom Lucretius condemns and appeals instead to those who follow his philosophies. The tone shows the distinctly inferior status of those who are struggling on the "angustum per iter luctantes ambitionis" [narrow path of ambition] (1132). He also shuns those individuals with a comparison using the word "potius" [rather than] (1134) between "ex auditis" [hearsay] (1134) and "sensibus ipsis" [own feelings] (1135), suggesting that they should be living differently: free from the hearsay of others and follow the Epicurean idea of listening to oneself. Therefore, Lucretius ridicules those who don't agree with his philosophy, suggesting that readers should thus agree with him, increasing the persuasive power of his work.

3.2 Mozi

In Book 6, the text presents the negative consequences of an excessive ruler in a bold and straightforward tone. Literary techniques such as rhetorical questions are also used to engage the reader and create a flippant and definitive attitude against immoderate rulers. In Book 6 Chapter 21 Paragraph 3, two rhetorical questions are used consecutively:

> …且大人惟毋興師以攻伐鄰國，久者終年，速者數月，男女久不相見，此所以寡人之道也…
>
> …Moreover the rulers make war and attack some neighbouring states. It may last a whole year, or, at the shortest, several months. Thus man and woman cannot see each other for a long time. Is not this a way to diminish the people?...
>
> (Mozi. *Mojing* · Book 61. Chapter 21. Paragraph 3 [Mei Trans.]

The use of a weaker rhetorical question which uses the question words of "此所" [is this not] and "也" [interrogative word] emphasizes the author's previous points regarding the lack of an effective government brought by exhausting lifestyles. It also directs the reader to the opinion of the philosopher, increasing its persuasive power.

> …與居處不安，飲食不時，作疾病死者，有與侵就伏橐，攻城野戰死者，不可勝數。此不令為政者，所以寡人之道數術而起與？…

> …Living in danger, eating and drinking irregularly many become sick and die. Hiding in ambush, setting fire, besieging a city, and battling in the open fields, innumerable men die. Are not ways of diminishing the people getting numerous with the government of the rulers of to-day?
>
> (Mozi. *Mojing* · Book 61. Chapter 21. Paragraph 3 [Mei Trans.]

The stronger rhetorical question followed by a question mark at the end of the paragraph suggests an obvious answer to the readers and thus creates a pensive but bold tone — there is a definitive answer and it leads to Mohist philosophies. The author also lists multiple consequences that all have violence and destruction as a common theme, such as "疾病死者" [being sick and dying] and "攻城野戰死者" [innumerable deaths caused by besieging cities and battling in open fields]. Not only do these words associate maximalist lifestyles with such destruction but because the consequences of destruction are so severe, it makes the author's argument more justified for the readers.

Thus, the two rhetorical questions create an increasingly strong line of argument, making the readers more easily persuaded by the straightforward structure and use of *logos*.

3.3 Comparison of Text & Effectiveness

The arguments in the *Mojing* are more grounded in reality with its realistic examples that can connect readers' daily lives with its philosophy. For example, the author discusses the consequences of "與居處不安，飲食不時" [living in danger, eating and drinking irregularly], a common occurrence when Mozi was alive as the Zhou Dynasty was constantly divided due to warring feudal states (Mei and Ames, 2019). The connection between readers' daily lives and the philosophy allows the readers to feel resonance with the text and thus be more easily persuaded to follow his philosophy. Despite the differences in genre, *De Rerum Natura*'s metaphorical approach similarly allows readers to be able to understand more difficult concepts more easily by creating connections and connotations (Schumacher, 2020). For example, the comparison between the actions of a doctor and the use of epic poetry allows readers to grasp the reasoning behind Lucretius' unorthodox genre. Not to mention, Lucretius is also able to incite more *pathos*, whilst *Mojing's* line of argument focuses on the use of *logos.* Through the strong diction he presents through poetry, Lucretius is able to use more powerful adjectives such as "incassum defessi" [weary to no purpose] (1131) to evoke an emotional reaction from readers (Chan, 2017).

4. Literary Devices

Both the *De Rerum Natura* and *Mojing* use literary devices to emphasise their specific observations and so allow readers to better understand their philosophies.

4.1 Lucretius

In Book 5, Lucretius discusses the importance of living life guided by principles and the negative consequences of not following such principles. At the start of the passage, he uses a variety of literary techniques to illustrate his main argument.

> *Quod siquis vera vitam ratione gubernet,*
> *divitiae grandes homini sunt vivere parce*
> *acquo animo; neque enim est umquam penuria parvi.*
>
> But if one should guide his life by true principles, man's greatest riches is to live on a little with contented mind; for a little is never lacking.
>
> (Lucr. *De Rerum Natura* Book 5 ll. 1117-1119) [Rouse and Smith Trans.]

Lucretius emphasizes the importance of a principled life by framing "vitam" [life] with the ablatives "vera" [true] (1117) and "ratione" [principles] (1117). By starting the passage about minimalist living, Lucretius is able to set the scene for a detailed comparison between those who lived worse lives and those who live life following the Epicurean philosophy. The emphatic placement of "divitae" [riches] (1118) is in paradox with the enjambment of "acquo animo" [contented mind] (1119), which in turn creates a dichotomy between the values, emphasizing the vast difference between the two lifestyles. Thus, Lucretius is able to expand on such differences by scorning one and praising the other.

Then, in Book 5 ll. 1120-1130, Lucretius develops his points by giving examples of negative consequences:

> *at claros homines voluerunt se atque potentes,*
> *ut fundamento stabili fortuna inaneret*
> *et placidam possent opulenti degere vitam—*
> *nequiquam, quoniam ad summum succedere honorem*
> *certantes iter infestum fecere viai,*
> *et tamen e summo, quasi fulmen, deicit ictos*
> *invidia interdum contemptim in Tartara taetra,*
> *invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant*
> *plerumque et quae sunt alis magis edita cumque;*
> *ut satius multo iam sit parere quietum*
> *quam regere imperio res velle et regna tenere.*

> Yet which men desired to be famous and powerful, that their fortune might stand fast upon a firm foundation, and that being wealthy they might be able to pass a quiet life: all in vain, since in the struggle to climb to the summit of honour, they made their path full of danger; and even down from the summit, nevertheless, envy strikes them sometimes like a thunderbolt and casts them with scorn into loathly Tartarus; since envy, like the thunderbolt, usually scorches the summits and all those that are elevated above others; so that it is indeed much better to obey in peace than to desire to hold the world in fee and to rule kingdoms.
>
> (Lucr. *De Rerum Natura* Book 5 ll. 120-1130) [Rouse and Smith Trans.]

In this section, Lucretius uses a personification of Envy to illustrate the negative consequences of having an ambitious lifestyle, and thus uses fear to persuade his readers to "parere quietum" [obey in peace] instead (1129). Throughout the passage, Lucretius focuses on the personification of "invidia" [envy] (1126) by describing what it would do to those who lead ambitious lives. Envy is personified as being associated with violence and anger through words such as "deicit" [strike] (1125) and "vaporant" [scorch] (1127). In this way, Lucretius uses a human-like Envy as an antagonist for those who desire to be "claros…potentes" [famous and powerful] (1120), depicting a supernatural force that incites fear in his readers. The personification of Envy also allows the associated emotions to be conveyed more strongly, convincing readers to not follow suit. Lucretius also uses specific words to create powerful diction in order to further the image of the strength of Envy. The use of the words "quasi fulmen" [like a thunderbolt] (1125) as a simile creates a perception of thunderous intensity for the readers. The repetition of the simile using a polyptoton of "flumen" [thunderbolt] (1125) through "ceu fulmine" [like a thunderbolt] (1127) also emphasizes Envy's ferocity and thus, its antagonizing behavior. As such, the lexical field of violent words allows Lucretius to emphasize the drastic results of greed and warns against its dangers.

4.2 Mozi

In Book 1 Chapter 6 Paragraph 9, the *Mojing* details the positive consequences of moderation by not just comparing the sage and the lesser man but by giving examples of such consequences.

> 凡此五者，聖人之所儉節也，小人之所淫佚也。儉節則昌，淫佚則亡，此五者不可不節。夫婦節而天地和，風雨節而五穀孰，衣服節而肌膚和。
>
> In all these five things, the sage is restrained and moderate but the lesser man is unrestrained and immoderate. If there is restraint and moderation, there is prosperity. If there is lack of restraint and moderation, there is decay. So there must be moderation in these five things. When there is moderation in respect of men and women, Heaven and earth are in harmony. When there is moderation in respect of wind and rain, the five grains ripen. When there is moderation in respect of clothes and garments, skin and flesh are in harmony (i.e. the body will be comfortable).
>
> (Mozi. *Mojing* · Book 1. Chapter 6. Paragraph 9 [Mei Trans.])

The author of this passage uses two main literary devices to further his points. First, there is the repetition of the words "儉節" [restrained] and "淫佚" [unrestrained] which juxtaposes one against the another (Mozi and Mei, n.d.). This juxtaposition allows the author to depict the difference between the sage and the lesser man, encouraging readers to live like the sage. By using both the positive and negative words in the passage, the author is also able to distinguish the differences between them – he suggests that prosperity is linked with "儉節" whilst decay is linked with "淫佚". Second, the author uses a tricolon to discuss the benefits of moderation. The tricolon makes the passage more impactful because it makes the three benefits seem more immediate through their placement in quick succession. Therefore, the tricolon encourages readers to associate moderation with these benefits and to strive for moderation. Thus, by using a tricolon and juxtaposition, Mozi is able to effectively communicate his ideas and ensure that it is persuasive for readers. The three examples which Mozi gave are also representative of the three aspects of life: "夫婦" [women and men] for relationships, "風雨" [wind and rain] for agriculture, and "衣服" [clothes and garments] for wellbeing (Mozi and Mei, n.d.). Thus, Mozi is able to demonstrate the breadth of positive consequences created by moderation. Agricultural prosperity is also represented by the term "五穀" [five grains], which are the five conventional agricultural products of China (Davidson and Jaine, 2014). In particular, the use of "五" exemplifies the idea of abundance and prosperity as it covers all factors of Chinese agriculture. The repetition of "節" [moderation], which appears four times throughout the passage, and "和" [harmony], which appears twice, also emphasizes the connection between moderation and harmony. Hence, Mozi uses repetition, a tricolon, tone, and allusions to emphasise the importance of moderation and therefore makes his philosophy more appealing to readers.

4.3 Comparison of Text & Effectiveness

Both *De Rerum Natura* and *Mojing* condemn immoderation and praise moderation as a principle for life. As such, both authors use juxtaposition between words that relate to moderation and immoderation in order to emphasize the difference between the two lifestyles, and so warn against the negative effects of immoderation and ambitious lifestyles. However, whilst the essay form constricts the literary devices of *Mojing*, the *De Rerum Natura* is able to include metaphors, dynamic word order, and personification to further its message. Whilst *Mojing* does not have as strong imagery as that seen in *De Rerum Natura*, its use of concision through emphatic repetition and a tricolons allows its message to be more memorable for readers, ensuring the transmission of the philosophy from the author to the reader.

Conclusion

Although Lucretius and Mozi use different forms, tones, and literary devices, both authors manage to communicate their ideas on moderation clearly. Lucretius' form is poetic and mimics the sweetening aspect of honey whilst the *Mojing* is less literary but simple to understand. At times, Lucretius' tone is more emotional, such as when he uses mockery to convey his hatred against those who are immoderate, enhancing the use of *pathos*. Mozi instead uses a more straightforward tone to communicate his ideas and thus uses more *logos* in his arguments. The literary devices of both authors increase their persuasiveness and allow their ideas to be effectively communicated to the reader. In that way, when writing and analysing philosophy, it is important to consider its genre and its literary techniques since they can enhance or impede meaning. This specifically also holds true for both ancient philosophers, as this essay demonstrates that their persuasive techniques can still hold sway over modern audiences and make their philosophies more appealing to readers.

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Artist: Sophia Jiang
Title: *Metamorphosis*
Medium: Oil paint on canvas, 48 x 36 inches
Description: These two self-portraits portray my journey of growing to cherish my Chinese heritage. On the left, my younger self cuts off her braids, representing the resentment I felt towards my culture when I was younger. On the right, the older me wears a qipao and weaves my younger self's hair into a braid lovingly, representing my newfound acceptance and appreciation for my culture. The blue caterpillar and butterfly further symbolizes my metamorphosis from ashamed to prideful of my culture.

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