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The title of the painting is "Cold Fog on Lake and Mountain". The intention is to depict a misty winter mountain scene, creating a poetic world where "it is possible to work, to look, to travel, and to live" (in the words of Guo Xi, a painter of the Northern Song Dynasty). At the bottom of the painting, boats pass by without a trace, leaving only ripples of water of varying depths, inviting one's imagination; several groups of rustic huts and winding mountain paths loom between rocks and trees, waiting to be explored; in the distance, misty mountain colors and a hint of cold greenery indicate the arrival of spring. This painting was completed on New Year's Day, 2022.

畫的標題為《湖山寒霧》，黃詩琦意在描繪一個煙霧迷濛的冬日山色圖景，創造一個"可行、可望、可遊、可居"（北宋畫家郭熙提出）的詩意世界。畫面下方船隻駛過不見蹤影，只留下深淺不一的水波紋，引人遐想；幾座古樸茅屋和盤旋山路在山石和樹林之間若隱若現，待人探索；遠處迷濛的山色和點點寒翠昭示著春的來臨。此畫完成於 2022 年元旦。

Editor's Note

It is with great pleasure and pride that we present the seventh edition of Bauhinia. Through an on-going pandemic and global weariness, our students continue to astound us with their commitment to academic endeavors.

Bauhinia aims to honor this excellent scholarship, emerging either from our distinguished curriculum at the ISF Academy, and/or as a product of our unique extracurricular programs offered by Shuyuan. The mission to be "Independent, Global, and Chinese" is manifested within the topic choices and self-directed learning that went into these papers. The work ethic, as well as the research and communication skills gained through writing these articles reflect the Eight plus One Virtues espoused at the ISF Academy, namely 'zhi' (Intelligence Wisdom) and 'ai' (Passion for Learning Life).

The works presented continue to grow in quality and quantity and thus, the Bauhinia is once again offered in two parts: the first issue contains articles that are more Humanities-focused, while the second issue is more focused on STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics). The diversity of articles also illustrates the bilingual and multidisciplinary nature of our school. Topics herein include how Lucretius and Xunzi's interpretations of the problem of evil reflect their conceptions of divinity, a study on the relationship between the colour and mass of selected Main Sequence Stars, and an analysis of 'rain' imagery in Nalan Xingde's 納蘭性德 lyrics 詞.

It is imperative to highlight that the layout of this seventh edition of Bauhinia is a product of home-grown talent: Daisy Wang and Dionne Yeung, two students who recently graduated and enthusiastically partook in the editing process. We thank the entire Editorial Board for their time and dedication in reviewing this publication, and it is our hope that such intellectual pursuits are what will continue to bind us as students, mentors, editors and designers within a truly collaborative academic community.

You are invited to join this community by exploring the content that sparked such passion in our students. Your engagement and responses are most welcome: sy_team@isf.edu.hk.

Rachel Oser

關於文體的說明

我們非常高興和自豪地推出第七期《紫荊花》。在全球疫情之下，許多人都身心俱疲，而我們的學生繼續以他們對學術研究的投入，給我們帶來驚喜。

《紫荊花》旨在表彰這些優秀的學術成果，這些成果來自於弘立學院的優秀課程，以及「書院」項目所提供的獨特的課外活動。在這些論文的選題和自主研究中，同學們展現了「獨立精神、中華美德、全球視野」的弘立書院使命。通過撰寫這些文章，同學們增進了學術操守以及研究和溝通技巧，體現了弘立書院所倡導的「八德一智」，即「智」（聰明智慧）和「愛」（對學習和生活的熱情）。

同學們的研究論文在質量和數量上都不斷增加，因此，本期《紫荊花》再次分為兩輯：第一輯文章側重於人文科學，而第二輯則更側重於 STEM（科學、技術、工程和數學）。文章的多樣性體現了我們學校的雙語和多學科性質。其中的主題包括：盧克萊修和荀子對「惡」問題的解釋如何反映他們對神性的概念，對所選定的主序星的顏色和質量之間關係的研究，對納蘭性德詞中「雨」意象的分析，等等。

必須強調的是，第七期《紫荊花》的版面設計來自於本校人才。王雨涵和楊岱殷，這兩位剛剛畢業的學生，熱情地參與了編輯工作。我們感謝整個編委會為審閱這份出版物所付出的時間和精力，我們希望這樣的智識追求，能夠繼續把我們作為學生、老師、編輯和設計師的不同角色，在一個真正具有合作氛圍的學術社群中聯繫起來。

我們邀請你加入這個社群，探索這些激發出學生們如此的學術熱情的內容。我們熱切歡迎你的參與和回應：sy_team@isf.edu.hk。

歐睿秋

分析李時珍在寫《本草綱目》人部時的道德底線

Alina Wang　王語涵

一、 引入

《本草綱目》是李時珍編寫的一本中國古代「百科全書」，其中記載了各種各樣的中藥材。這本書的編排極端其規整，從目錄來看，它的編排邏輯是基於藥材本身的特質而定。雖然我們今天常以為中藥即為草藥，但是《本草綱目》中成千的藥材當中，只有一部分可以算作「草藥」，「草藥」所歸類的「草部」也只是全部十六個大類中的一個。中藥不限於草藥，還有「禽部」、「獸部」，以及「人部」。
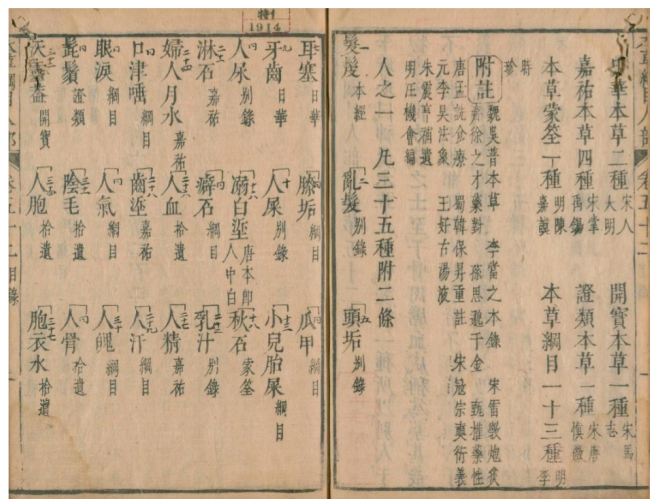
圖一：《本草綱目》人部目錄[1]。

本草綱目「人部」，顧名思義從人身上取的藥

材，例如眼淚、牙齒、頭髮等等，有些甚至在今天看起來顯得十分離譜、瘆人，像是人的血、肉、骨等等。那麼這些令現代人極度不解，卻在古代頻頻出現的使用人藥的行為，又該怎麼理解和剖析呢？人的哪些部分，在什麼情況下可以入藥呢？李時珍在編寫《本草綱目》「人部」時，以及人們使用人藥時，會給自己劃定哪些道德底線呢？本文將會針對此問題來進行探討。

（一） 人部的源流

在了解李時珍編寫人部的底線前，先需要了解「人部」是怎麼演變出來的。人藥最初在中國古代的藥典中是沒有單獨的分欄的，它只是「禽獸部」的一部分，直到北宋時期的《日華子本草》發佈時，「禽部」和「獸部」被分開來，而人藥則被歸類到了「獸部」。到了宋朝，唐慎微在編輯《經史證類本草》的時候，「人部」才被單獨區分開來。一直到《本草綱目》，李時珍將這個分類法再次昇級。他在《凡例》中寫到：

舊本玉、石、水、土混同，諸蟲、鱗、介不別，或蟲入木部，或木入草部。今各列為部，首以水、火，次之以土，水、火為萬物之先，土為萬物母也。次之以金、石，從土也。次之以草、穀、菜、果、木，從微至巨也。次之以服、器，

從草、木也。次之以蟲、鱗、介、禽、獸，終之以人，從賤至貴也。[2]

李時珍在〈凡例〉中提到了自己在分類本草時的理念，也就是從「賤」到「貴」的一個排序：先從最基本的元素水和火開始，最後以人為結尾。「人部」從最初混在「禽獸部」一直到《本草綱目》的獨立門類，反映了中國古代人們對於自己——作為人類在自然世界中的地位的認知產生了變化，他們相信人類不應該跟禽獸相提並論，而是聰慧的、獨特的、至高的存在。

二、 「人」與「物」的界線

使用人身體身上的部位來製作藥，在現代的角度來看絕對是殘忍、不人道的。但事實上，在中國古代，人們也不見得把人類完全視為可以拿來使用的物體。這可以從李時珍把人類歸到最尊貴的位置的行為看出。《本草綱目》將所有曾經被記載過、以及所有可以使用的人藥全部進行記載。那麼當時人們對於「人」和「物」的區分界線又在哪裡呢？學者陳秀芬認為，人藥可以大致被分為四個類型，分別為身外物、流出物、身內物、以及身後物[3]。但而其中並不是所有都如現代人們所想像的殘忍。比如說身外物，它指的就是本來就處於身體之外的物體，比方說頭髮、耳垢等等。雖然奇異，但像是耳垢、頭垢這些都是可以直接取自

人表皮。再者，像是頭髮這一類的身外物都是具有不斷的自身再生能力，所以身外物是《本草綱目》中所有「人部」藥中，最不可能在獲取過程中涉及殺傷他人的一類。

但除了身外物，其餘的流出物、身內物、以及身後物大多會在提取過程中涉及殘忍的行為。流出物是原本屬於身體裡面，後來被自然排洩出來的物質，像是眼淚、女性月經等等。但這些流出物中卻不包含涕或痰，因為這些被認為是病症的表現形式，不可以作為藥用。還有，雖然說是「自然排出」，但古代往往出現一些人為的催促行為，這會給被取藥者的身體帶來傷害。身內物是取自活人身體裡的藥物，比如說治療療疾的人膽和人肉。如果說死亡是區分「人」與「物」的一個分割線的話，那麼身內物的採用就會具有最大的爭議性[4]。古代常常出現威脅逼迫活人交出自己身上的身內物，這必然會傷及無辜，所以身內物也是提取方法最為殘忍的一類人藥。最後就是身後物，它即為取自於死者的人藥，都是無法從活人身上提取或者是提取後會導致被取藥者殘疾或身亡的人藥，像是治療骨病的人骨和驅邪祟的「天靈蓋」[5]。

三、 禁忌底線

在《本草綱目》人部的各個藥材下出現最頻繁的字眼是「邪術」以及「愚人」，一個用來批判販賣者，一個批判使用者，也就是那些觸及

[2]李時珍：〈本草綱目・凡例〉，《本草綱目》，1596年。

[3]陳秀芬：〈從人到物–本草綱目人部的人體論述與人藥製作〉，《國立政治大學歷史學系論文》，中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊，2017年9月，第595-597頁。

[4]陳秀芬：〈從人到物–本草綱目人部的人體論述與人藥製作〉，《國立政治大學歷史學系論文》，中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊，2017年9月，第596頁。

[5]即為頭蓋骨。

了李時珍禁忌底線的人們。那麼何為底線？又是以什麼標準批判販賣者和使用者呢？李時珍對於人藥的主要禁忌底線為以下兩點。

（一） 殘忍

殘忍主要是批判人藥的採取方式不當，在採取的過程中對人的健康和生命造成了傷害。其包括了除了身外物的其餘大部分人藥。

北虜戰場中，多取人膽汁敷金瘡，云極效；但不可再用他藥，必傷爛也。若先敷他藥，即不可用此。此乃殺場救急之法，收膽乾之亦可用，無害於理也。有等殘忍武夫，殺人即取其膽和酒飲之，云令人勇；是雖軍中謬術，君子不為也。[6]

在和蒙古人在北方邊境戰爭時，人們取人膽來治療金瘡，雖然有效，但是李時珍也極力強調這是「沙場救急之法」，由於取用方式過於殘忍，沒到危急時刻是萬萬不可為。於是他批判那些飲人膽來「壯膽」的人們是「殘忍武夫」聽從了「軍中邪術」。

另一種常見的案例是女人月經的提取。人們相信童女的初次月經是最具有治療金瘡功效的，於是許多為了掙黑錢的「邪術家」會通過一些強制手段來催促童女月經從而採取[7]。而這些行為很大可能會對女童造成終生的身體傷害。李時珍對於這些行為表示氣憤，他稱這些通過不道德方式取藥的行為為「邪術」，並稱那些相信邪術的人們為「愚人」，是不理智的。

古代也有人們會去從死人身上採取骨頭來治療骨病，可這一點跟古代中國的思想觀念有所衝突之物。中國傳統觀念認為，人們不可以拿別人的死後身軀，這是對死者的極度不尊重。中國之所以在晚清強烈抵制西方醫學的人體解剖也是這個原因。所以李時珍和許多晚明人士對使用死者的骨頭的這種行為做出嚴厲批評[8]。

古人以掩暴骨為仁德，每獲陰報；而方伎之流，心乎利欲，乃收人骨為藥餌，仁術固如此乎？且犬不食犬骨，而人食人骨可乎？[9]

李時珍在《本草綱目》中也批判了這個行為，他認為死者的軀幹是不可以被人們所毀壞的，這是仁德的表現。但是，卻有很多邪術家為了功利名利去收人骨，更是批判到，犬都不食用犬骨，那麼人食用人骨的道理又在哪？雖然在現代人看來死後人骨並不會危害生命，在殘忍的程度方面，人骨與人膽和經血是不同的，在現代人看來死後的的人骨並不會危害生命，但是中國古人思想很重視死留全屍，所以取死人骨也是「不仁」的。

（二） 邪穢

邪穢指的是藥物本身的不潔和可能擁有的邪祟，通常為身後物。「殘忍」和「邪祟」的區別在於，「殘忍」是強調對被取了身體部分的人造成了傷害，而「邪祟」是說會對吃藥的人帶來詛咒。

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[6]李時珍：〈本草綱目・人部・人膽〉，《本草綱目》，1596 年。

[7]李時珍：〈本草綱目・人部〉，《本草綱目》，1596 年。

[8]陳秀芬：〈從人到物−本草綱目人部的人體論述與人藥製作〉，《國立政治大學歷史學系論文》，中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊，2017 年 9 月，第 596 頁。

[9]李時珍：〈本草綱目・人部・人骨〉，《本草綱目》，1596 年。

近見醫家用天靈蓋治傳尸病，未有一效。殘忍傷神，殊非仁人之用心。[10]

李時珍對於天靈蓋（頭蓋骨）的批判是認為這種從死者採取的藥物非但「未有一效」而且還「殘忍傷神」，會給吃藥的人帶來厄運。南宋時期的《夷堅志》中有記載一位名徐大忠的古人在與父親赴中都任官的途中在路上碰到了一具骷髏，而徐大忠曾在藥書上聽聞天靈蓋可以入藥，於是就將頭骨撿走了，隨後收到了櫃子裡。結果到了夜裡，徐大忠稱夢到鬼童來找他索要「移屍錢」，第二天早上便稱這骨頭附有邪祟，將它丟至池塘[11]。

四、 儒家思想對李時珍的影響

李時珍的思想很大程度上反映了儒家的倫理價值。李時珍反覆強調的一個標準是「仁」，也就是不可以因為救一個人而傷害另一個人。「不仁」，即為自私地為了自己的利益而不惜傷害他人。而在「仁」以及「不仁」之間的界線，除了不違背殺生的原則，還有「人之為人」的道德概念：只要你是人，就不可以食用人，即為同類，不然就是「非人」[12]。

同時值得注意的是，李時珍也反對以儒家道德的名義傷害生命的行為。古代有一種非常常見的身內物的使用，也就是「割股療親」，顧名思義，就是割下自己的血肉來給父母親做藥用。這在中國古代是非常普遍的作法，特別是在唐朝之後，割股療親的案例逐漸增多。人們之所以相信割股可以療親，一方面是基於「同類互補」的迷信，但另一方面，割股療親被人們認為是孝道的「最極致」表現。他們認為，只要上天看到他們能夠為親人做出這麼孝順的表現，就會大發慈悲，讓他們的父母奇跡般地痊癒[13]。然而在《本草綱目》中，李時珍卻對這種普遍的行為做出了批判。

身體髮膚，受之父母，不敢毀傷。父母雖病篤，豈肯欲子孫殘傷其支體，而自食其骨肉乎？[14]

在這裡李時珍批判割股療親這種極端和迂腐的行為，他引用的倫理依據正是儒家孝道的名言：「身體髮膚受之父母，不敢毀傷」。在他看來，割股療親，不是真正的孝，反而違反了孝道。他同時也批評接受子女股療親的人，說人們怎可以食用自己的親骨肉，忍心看到自己的子孫受到傷害。

五、 結論

總而言之，李時珍對於人藥的使用的倫理底線基於兩個規範：殘忍以及邪穢。而在這兩個道德觀之中，貫穿了不少儒家思想的「仁」和「孝」，包括了儒家孝道批判的割股療親。但

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[10]李時珍：〈本草綱目・人部・天靈蓋〉，《本草綱目》，1596年。

[11]陳秀芬：〈從人到物–本草綱目人部的人體論述與人藥製作〉，《國立政治大學歷史學系論文》，中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊，2017年9月，第606頁。

[12]陳秀芬：〈從人到物–本草綱目人部的人體論述與人藥製作〉，《國立政治大學歷史學系論文》，中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊，2017年9月，第598頁。

[13]陳秀芬：〈從人到物–本草綱目人部的人體論述與人藥製作〉，《國立政治大學歷史學系論文》，中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊，2017年9月，第590頁。

[14]李時珍：〈本草綱目・人部・人肉〉，《本草綱目》，1596年。

是這些並不可被我們直接認為是愚蠢的行為，因為這個「同類相補」的思想變換了一種形式繼續留在了眾多中國人心中。觀念、比如說吃什麼補什麼，都是當時的「以物補物」演變而來的。但其實，在當時，人們的想法也沒有出現極端化，個人有自己的想法。今天的醫學雖然已經遠遠超過了李時珍時代的醫學水平，但是醫學依然需要面對各種倫理問題。例如近期出現了一起觸及了人們道德底線的事件。在 2018 年，深圳的研究所出現了首起「基因編程嬰兒」，這個新聞一被爆料就大受人們各方面的批判（陳凌懿 ，張弘），而在這件事件後的醫學倫理又該怎麼被評價，又會怎麼被後人紀錄呢？這些都是後話了。

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An interrogation into Seneca's characterization of *Fortuna* from a Stoic perspective

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Research Question

What is the role of *fortuna* in Seneca's conception of the 'happy life'?

Introduction

In Lewis' *Elementary Latin Dictionary*, *fortuna* is defined as "chance, luck, fate, and fortune" (323). Since "chance" and "fate" are commonly seen as opposite explanations for events, I was intrigued by the breadth of *fortuna*'s definitions and the apparent contradiction between the random forces of chance and predetermined notions of fate.

This compelling paradox drove me to investigate the use of *fortuna* in antiquity. *Fortuna*, originating from the Latin word *fors*, was first used as a loose reference to luck, appearing often in Roman tragedy and history before slowly evolving into a corporeal figure and goddess. According to Matthews, *fortuna* first appeared in Naevius' (270 - 201 BC) *Bellum Punicum*, a historical epic that chronicled the Punic War (17), characterizing her as a goddess (Ennius and Caecilius Secundus 505). Later works, such as Terence's *Eunuchus* and Livy's *ab urbe condita*, also employed *fortuna* as a personification of luck that aided protagonists in everyday life. However, the best way to comprehensively understand *fortuna*'s ambiguous nature may lie within philosophy, which possesses an inherent analytic clarity that traditional literature lacks – and it is only through this didactic precision that *fortuna* can then be wholly investigated.

I was particularly fascinated by its role within Stoicism. As Baltzly states, the Stoic believed "the person who is genuinely happy lacks nothing and enjoys a kind of independence from the vagaries of Fortune." Though simple, Baltzly's statement raises a pertinent question as to what *fortuna* is, how this independence can be gained, and *fortuna's* role in happiness. Stoics believed happiness to be the central goal in life, which could only be attained if one had self-mastery over their own emotions, overcoming their desires for materialistic objects whilst living with balance and reason (Edwards). One of the most prominent Stoic thinkers who discussed this was the influential writer and politician Seneca (4-65 AD) whose *epistulae morales ad Lucilium* – a collection of 124 letters addressed to his friend Lucilus – explored this at length.

The *epistulae* is arguably unlike any other Stoic text as it is one of the most thorough examinations of *fortuna*, which appears over 168 times across all of the letters (Matthews 273), providing a fertile foundation for analysis. Seneca's letters were also inherently instructive, aiming to guide Lucilius on the path to betterment in life through carefully crafted moral lessons. Though addressed to him, they seemed to be also meant for a wider audience, as Seneca admits, "*posterorum negotium ago; illis aliqua quae possint prodesse, conscribo.*" [I am working for later generations, writing down some ideas that may be of assistance to them. *Epist.* 8.2], revealing an underlying purpose to pass on Stoic lessons for a larger audience beyond his time, making it ideal for analytical purposes. Secondly, these short, intimate conversations are very persuasive vehicles in delivering philosophical lessons without being overwhelmingly technical. Their epistolary concision, coupled with Seneca's distinct clarity, would best suit such an analysis of how *fortuna* was generally understood at that time, rather than other philosophical work that was not aimed at wider consumption.

In his letters, Seneca notably urges that we must "*in plenum cogitanda fortuna est*" [reflect upon Fortune fully and completely 91.9], a crucial reflection that echoes across his works, leading the reader to question why *fortuna* is to be so "fully" scrutinized. Seneca's emphasis on *fortuna* can be possibly attributed to personal experience; as translator Gummere suggests in his foreword, "Fortune, whom Seneca as a Stoic so often ridicules, came to his rescue." (10). This "rescue" refers to the miraculous discharge of the indefinite exile Emperor Claudius sentenced him to in 41 AD (Kamp 102). Though *fortuna* may have come to his rescue, it was arguably, also *fortuna* who caused it in the first place – her influence implicit in every facet of his life.

Such reasons prove Seneca's *epistulae* to be fruitful source material for the interrogation of fortuna; thus formulating my research question: "What is the role of *fortuna* in Seneca's conception of the "happy life?" Out of the corpus of the *epistulae*, I have chosen quotations most relevant in interrogating his portrayal of *fortuna*, most notably from letters 16, 76, 82, and 98, among others, which provide the most insight into this elusive concept.

First, I explore the Stoic conception of the "happy life", finding that ratio [reason] is crucial in finding happiness as it promotes internal stability that insulates us from external luck. I then attempt to define *fortuna* – concluding that *fortuna* is not synonymous with Fate nor Chance, as Seneca employs *fatum* and *casus*, respectively, to represent such concepts. In deducing this, I find that *fortuna* can instead be seen as an intermediary figure between Fate and Chance; an ambiguous, but powerful being. *Fortuna* has both benevolent and adversary influences on our lives, and, rather than being an impediment, *fortuna*, even when negative, can be a teacher and driving force to one's character if used as a learning experience, with Stoic virtue at the heart of Seneca's lesson.

1 Stoicism and *fortuna* in the "Happy Life"

Happiness is central to Stoicism as one of the ultimate goals in the cultivation of virtue, achieved by ridding oneself of external distractions and vices (Frazier). Many virtues make up Seneca's conception of the "happy life", including wisdom, trueness, and reason. However, his discussion of ratio may perhaps be most relevant to the "happy life", as he explicitly states "*in hoc uno positam esse beatam vitam, ut in nobis ratio perfecta sit.*" [that the happy life depends on this and this alone: our attainment of perfect reason. 92.2]. This "*ratio perfecta*" is defined in an earlier letter as a "*iudicium verum et immotum.*" [true and never-swerving judgement. 71.32]. In particular, our "never-swerving" rationality is important "*quod ratione, qua valentius nihil est, casum doloremque et inuriam subgit.*" [because it brings into subjection chance and pain and wrong by means of that strongest of powers: reason. 74.20]. Clearly, *ratio* is crucial to Seneca in allowing us to make judgements independent of external influences, while its all-encompassing utility is stressed through polysyndeton [*casum doloremque et inuriam*].

Most importantly, this *ratio* is crucial as it "*stat contram fortuna.*" [stands its ground against Fortune. 92.2.] Our reliable judgement is what allows us to fight against the powers of *fortuna*, and presents a clear dichotomy between the reliable, internal virtue of reason and uncontrollable, external forces in our lives. Seneca establishes that for the wise man, "*ex alieno pendet nec favorem fortunae aut hominis expectat. Domestica illi felicitas est.*" [His joy depends on nothing external and looks for no boon from man or fortune. His happiness is something within himself; 72.4], our "*felicitas*" reliant on nothing but ourselves, not expecting anything from other men, nor *fortuna* herself. With the goal of Stoicism and importance of ratio established, I will now seek to determine exactly what *fortuna* is and how Stoic virtues may come into play.

2 *Fortuna* as Fate

Fate can perhaps be best defined by the notion that human lives are governed by divine power towards predetermined ends. On several occasions, Seneca seemingly paints *fortuna's* powers as Fate, complaining that "*...consilio meo nihil fortuna permittit*" [Fortune gives no free play to my plans. 16.4].

Here *fortuna* actively appears to oppose individual agency, the verb "*permittit*" personifying *fortuna* as a divine power who has oversight over Seneca's life.

However, *fortuna*'s identification as Fate becomes less certain as the word *fatum* is also regularly used by Seneca. He cautions Lucilius that one should "*patienter excipere fatum et facere imperata*" [patiently accept fate and obey its commands. 76.23], with the use of "*imperata*" displaying the commanding power *fatum* holds over our lives, and how mortals have no choice but to obey it. He further alludes to *fatum* as the "*lege divina*" [divine law, 76.23] which "*universa procedunt*" [the whole creation follows. 76.23], evidently as a predetermined, divine force that controls the course of the universe. It is clear that *fatum* is overwhelmingly powerful as it "*nos inexorabili lege fata constringunt*" [Fate binds us down by an inexorable law 16.5], with "*constringunt*" highlighting its oppressive, unchangeable stance towards us.

While *fortuna* does seem to share certain characteristics of Fate, when we take into account Seneca's explicit use of the word *fatum*, which appears 21 times across the *epistulae* Seneca, it seems that these concepts are not synonymous. If they were, it can be assumed that Seneca would have elected to only use one of the two. Furthermore, Seneca hints at differences between these concepts in the way he describes them, with *fatum* characterized with forceful language like "*inexorabili*" or "*constringunt*", while *fortuna* is described with more ambiguous language and elements of chance – as will become clear in the following section.

3   *Fortuna* as Chance

If not Fate, *fortuna* is also often interpreted as Chance. Chance can be defined as the occurrence of events that are seemingly random and unpredictable. Occasionally, Seneca alludes to *fortuna* as a source of good luck, repeatedly mentioning the "*beneficium fortunae*" or "*munera...fortuna*" [gifts of Fortune 63.7, 8.3]. However, her benevolence is often fickle and unpredictable – as seen when Seneca discusses Scipio's victory in the Sec-

ond Punic War, saying: "*et Scipionem in Africa nominis sui fortuna destituat*" [and the good fortune that attended the men of the name of Scipio may desert them in Africa. 71.10]. Although *fortuna* aided their victory, her gifts are easily retracted with a swift "*destituat*"; with the sharp turn of *fortuna*'s luck aptly reflective of her erratic, random nature. This is compounded as he warns one not to be "*verietate fortunae perterritus.*" [frightened by the instability of Fortune. 9.12]. This "instability" is what ultimately seems to make *fortuna* more similar to Chance than Fate – from our human perspective, there seems to be no overarching governing force for our lives, but rather filled with instability and randomness.

Despite this, it becomes apparent that *fortuna* cannot fully mean Chance, especially when Seneca liberally uses *casus* throughout the letters. Once again, his conscious effort in using two distinct words suggests there are clear nuances that set them apart. He reminds Lucilius that he must "*te contra levitate casus rerum que casum sequentia instruxeris*" [equip yourself against the fickleness of Chance and its consequences 98.4]. Seneca clearly resents and disapproves of *casus*, placing himself in opposition to its forces, using a strong, pejorative tone against its "*levitate*" and "*sequentia*".

Frakes further separates the two as he proposes "the acts of *fortuna* pertain to events of human will [*voluntas*], while *casus* has to do with the non-rational" (10). He clearly distinguishes between *casus* and *fortuna*, focusing on her effects on the human world rather than the genesis of her power. He suggests that *fortuna* not only pertains to, but also possesses *voluntas*, whereas *casus* concerns aspects utterly unpredictable and "non-rational", thus making it impossible for the wise man to understand or control, but *fortuna*, less so. Perhaps more subtly, this distinction in *voluntas* can be seen in the language itself – where *fortuna* is consistently referred to as a feminine "her" [*ipsam fortunam* 113.28], whereas *casus* notably lacks such gendered pronouns, often translated as a neuter, objective "it", as seen above, "*levitate casus rerum que casum sequentia*" [fickleness of Chance and its consequences 98.4], or "*omnis casus, antequam exciperet*" [overcome all the strokes

of Chance....anticipating their attack 113.27]. This lack of personal pronouns, with the translator opting to use impersonal "its" and "theirs", highlights *fortuna*'s human-like *voluntas* and the non-human unpredictability of *casus*, setting the two apart.

4 *Fortuna* as an Intermediary Between Fate and Chance

The difference between *fatum*, *fortuna*, and *casus* are made most explicit when Seneca states that philosophy "*adhortabitur ut deo libenter pareamus, fortunae contumaciter; haec docebit, ut duem sequaris, feras casum.*" [will encourage us to obey God cheerfully, but Fortune defiantly; will teach us to follow God and endure Chance. 16.5]. Through chiastic, mirrored word order, Seneca separates *deo*, *fortunae* and *casum* as three distinct entities – presenting *fortuna* as the middle ground between two stark opposites. *Deus* makes it explicit that there are higher divine powers in control of our lives, which are best represented as *fatum*. However, *casus* contrasts against *deus*, referring to certain unpredictabilities with no preordained outcome or rationalization behind it, and to which we owe no obedience. Through adverbs like "*libenter*" and "*contumaciter*" (16.5) used above, Seneca suggests that unlike *casus*, *fortuna* and *deus* must both be obeyed, but one "gladly", and the other "defiantly" – creating a parallel between one's active rebellion against *fortuna* compared to willing obedience to *deus*. In the juxtaposed, distinct use of these three key terms, it seems clear that *fortuna* is neither fully *casus* or *fatum*, but rather embodies the grey area between the two dualities.

This is ratified by Schubert, who comments on the same quotation, saying, "in Seneca's eyes it may well have been possible to harmonise the two principles [chance and fate], if one takes *fortuna* as the restricted human outside perspective on an internally determined course of events." (147). This is intriguing as Schubert believes that regardless of the genesis of *fortuna*'s powers in Chance or Fate, the two can be essentially merged as to symbolize all the circumstantial events we have to contend with. Under a human perspective, such forces and events are inherently indistinguishable and equally unpredictable – suggesting that perhaps differentiating between the two isn't crucial, but more importantly, finding ways to fight against it, regardless of the genesis of *fortuna*'s powers.

Seneca broaches this matter when outlining the importance of virtue, stating, "*Unum ergo bonum ipsa virtus est, quae inter hanc fortunam et illam superba incedit cum magno utriusque contemptu.*" [Virtue itself is therefore the only good; she marches proudly between the two extremes of fortune, with great scorn for both. 76.21]. It is thus clear that *fortuna* comes in two distinct forms – most likely being "*good*" and "*bad*" fortune – and that Stoic virtue guards against both defiantly. This leads us to question how this is exactly done and how one must respond to such extremes of *fortuna* – which will be explored next.

5 Responding to *fortuna* as a Force of Good

One of the "extremes of fortune" can be interpreted as her benevolent offerings of good luck, which is responsible for our success and wealth. This is best seen when Seneca commends Lucilius saying, "*te in altum fortuna misisset!...rapida felicitas, provincia et procuratio,*" [Fortune had raised you to such heights!...your swift rise to prosperity, by your province and position as procurator, 19.5]. Such emphasis on *fortuna* indicates her significance in the everyday lives of the Roman people, particularly in materialistic, outward displays of affluence and reputation.

He even comments, "*habent fortunae: ille dives, hic pauper est, ille grationsus, potens,...hic ignotus plerisque et obscurus*" [of Fortune: this man is rich, that man poor, this one is influential, powerful... that man is unknown and obscure to most. 66.34]. Through the juxtaposition of "*dives*" and "*pauper*", we see the clear role *fortuna* plays in determining our materialistic success. Seneca almost nonchalantly and readily lists these attributes – with the men passively being given wealth and power with no semblance of personal agency. Despite *fortuna*'s beneficent nature, Seneca reminds us be-

cause our circumstances are so casually, randomly distributed, the same can be as easily taken as given.

Here, the most crucial lesson lies within *fortuna*'s divine, temporal advantage over us, with Seneca telling Lucilius that even the best of fortune, over time, will eventually "*ad inertiam versa et magnis opibus exitosa res, luxus.*" [end in sloth, or by that vice which is fraught with destruction even for mighty dynasties, luxury. 71.15]. This striking statement reminds readers that despite *fortuna*'s gifts, temporary fulfillment found in material fortune is often short-lived and meaningless, whereas the cultivation of happiness through virtue is long-lasting and worthwhile. When granted with *fortuna*'s favour, Seneca advises readers that "*omnia, quae fortuna intuetur, ita fructifera ac incunda fiunt si quihabet illa, se quoque jabet nec in rerum suarum potestate est.*" [All things that Fortune looks upon become productive and pleasant only if he who possesses them is in possession also of himself, and is not in the power of that which belongs to him. 98.2]. Seneca asserts that true, stable happiness can only exist if the individual takes the gifts of *fortuna* into their own account, relying on internal character and self-sufficiency.

After all, happiness is perhaps best placed in the hands of the individual rather than in the unpredictable hands of *fortuna* – seen as Seneca exclaims, "*quam magnificum sit plenum esse nec ex fortuna pendere!*" [how pleasant it is to demand nothing, how noble it is to be content and not to be dependent upon Fortune! 15.9]. This independence seems to be of the highest nobility and virtue, lauding a steadiness in character that cannot be found anywhere in our world of unpredictability.

Ultimately, Seneca believes that even when *fortuna*'s gifts are favourable, its outcome is fundamentally determined by the individual's approach in facing and retaining that luck, rather than *fortuna* herself. One cannot perceive good fortune as an easy road to success and happiness, but a gift that must be carefully maintained by character and virtue to become resistant to her fickleness.

This is the heart of Seneca's Stoic lesson – urging us to face good fortune with reason and virtue, lest the instability of *fortuna* deceive us.

6 Responding to *fortuna* as an Ethical Antagonist

At the other end of the spectrum, this leads us to question what one should do when faced with *fortuna* as an adversary, rather than a beneficiary. On several occasions, Seneca's characterization of *fortuna* is starkly antagonistic, with Matthews encapsulating it best, stating "Seneca creates, through his obsession with *fortuna*, a new ethical antagonist for the Stoic philosopher." (272).

Most prominently, Seneca employs an overarching motif of warfare to characterize the relationship between us and *fortuna*, questioning, "*quid ergo mortem, vincla, ignes, alia tela fortunae non timebit?*" [Is he not to fear death, imprisonment, burning, and all the other missiles of Fortune? 85.26]. By asyndetically listing *fortuna*'s powers as inimical, destructive forces, Seneca displays a vastly different side to *fortuna*, who can easily and willingly sabotage any happiness we hold with her "missiles". His rhetorical tone strengthens this, as if any response to *fortuna* other than fear or resistance seems laughable.

Seneca even says, "*nullus autem contra fortunam inexpugnabilis murus est; intus instruamur.*" [But no wall can be erected against Fortune which she cannot take by storm; let us strengthen our inner defences. 74.19], portraying her as a formidable, violent force that overcomes our defences. It is here that *fortuna* becomes an ethical antagonist, luring us in with false gifts that are suddenly subverted into "*insidiae*", with Seneca arguing "*munera ista fortunae putatis? Insidiae sunt.*" [Do you call these things the "gifts" of Fortune? They are snares. 8.5]. These gifts, though seemingly benevolent, are traps because they never last, inspiring a false sense of security – *fortuna* can take as readily as she gives, leaving us weaker than we were before.

When faced with these "snares", Seneca believes that the best effort lies within one's "*intus*", or as

Rowe puts it, our "internal wall of a soul shaped by virtue" (25) that provides us a self-sufficient happiness lacking in fortuna's fickle gifts. By practicing Stoicism, *fortuna* is barred from our soul and internal happiness, which is an "*inexpugnabilis murus*" [impenetrable wall 82.5] which "*quem fortuna...non transit*" [Fortune can find no passage into 82.5]. Contrastingly, attempting to defend ourselves externally – through circumstantial means rather than internal virtue – is ultimately futile, and it is only through the cultivation of virtue that brings our happiness far from the reaches of *fortuna*.

Beyond fortifying our virtuous defense, Seneca also stresses the importance of learning from *fortuna* when faced with adversity, and as Fisher elucidates, "Fortune is not our enemy; she is our teacher." One can choose to shun *fortuna* and blame their misfortune on her, living a life of contempt and indignation, or to learn from one's circumstances and invariably cultivate virtue on their own accord. Rather ironically, the wise man is "*in effectu tunc maximus, cum illi fortuna se opposuit.*" [greatest in performance at the very time when Fortune has blocked his way. 85.27]. The real battle is not against our external circumstances, but in the individual's attitude in facing *fortuna* – choosing either to succumb to her temptations, or to find happiness independently.

Most importantly, "*inter se contraria sint, bona fortuna et mens bona, ita melius in malis sapimus;*" [at opposite poles are good fortune and good sense; that is why we are wiser when in the midst of adversity. 94.74]. Cleverly using chiastic word order, Seneca reinforces that "*bona fortuna*" and "*mens bona*" cannot coexist, as 'good' Fortune invariably weakens our defenses as we relish in the happiness that we have been gifted. It is adversity that strengthens us as the best Stoics learn from *fortuna*, and by standing against her, one acquires ratio, freedom, and ultimately, happiness.

This is best encapsulated by Seneca's closing message in his last letter: "*tunc habebis tuum, cum intelleges infelicissimos esse felices.*" [You will come to your own when you shall understand that those fortunate are really the most unfortunate of all.

124.24]. This poignant lesson places emphasis on "[coming] to your own", reminding readers that happiness comes from within, and ironically, it is "misfortune" that may be the most beneficial in the long-term, just as long as one knows how to learn and grow from the experience.

Conclusion

Fundamentally, Seneca's *fortuna* isn't bound to contradictory parallels like Fate or Chance – *fortuna*'s fickle instability sets her apart from the predetermined, constricting forces of Fate, whereas her human-like *voluntas* separates her from the unpredictable, irrationality of Chance. Instead, *fortuna* acts as an intermediary force between the two, and from our limited human perspective, embodies all the circumstantial, unexplainable external factors outside of our control. Whether it is through deceptive "gifts" of luck or "snares" of misfortune, we cannot fully oppose or fight against *fortuna*'s power, but can defend ourselves by cultivating Stoic ratio. Seneca asserts that our Stoic reason allows us to judge *fortuna* wholly, recognizing her hidden antagonism because of her temporary, fickle nature, making her an unreliable source of happiness. The reasonable Stoic knows that when *fortuna* turns against us, one should instead learn from her, embracing adversity as a teacher, invariably cultivating virtue and experience by endurance.

Crucially, Seneca believes "*valentior enim omni fortuna animus est...beataeque ac miserae vitae sibi causa est.*" [the soul is more powerful than any sort of Fortune...and of its own power it can produce a happy life, or a wretched one. 98.2], highlighting the pivotal power of individual character in contrast to *fortuna*. In this way, it is our own virtue and character that determines our lives and happiness, not the uncontrollable, capricious powers of *fortuna*. The heart of Seneca's lesson lies within our perspective and mindset; while our lives are bound by *fortuna*, our happiness is not. No matter how ardently we "defiantly obey" *fortuna*, our circumstances are unchangeable, but it is our response that determines her powers as beneficial or adversary. Our character and soul, when steeled with virtue, is where the most lasting, fulfilling

happiness can be found.

The crux of the *epistulae* lies within its socio-political context – written under the stifling imperial reign of Emperor Nero, Seneca crafts Stoicism as a solution to those living in an era of limited personal agency, reflecting his own powerlessness under imperial rule. For him, *fortuna* symbolizes all the imperial, divine, and random forces beyond his control, and perhaps in the ultimate refutation of *fortuna*, committed suicide in 65 AD, echoing his previous sentiments: "*quae sit libertas quaeris? Nulli rei servire, nulli necessitati, nullis casibus...fortunam...ego illam feram, cum in manu mors sit?* [And what is freedom, you ask? It means not being a slave to any circumstance, to any constraint, to any chance...When I have death in my own control, shall I take orders from Fortune? 51.8.]. Poignant yet strikingly defiant, Seneca asserts his agency in a world rife with unpredictability, carving a life independent of *fortuna*'s powers.

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What role does "The White-Haired Girl" play as propaganda art and the psychological mechanism of propaganda during the Cultural Revolution?

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1   Introduction

Propaganda art is a prevalent aspect of modern society. It has been used to back up political campaigns in historical and current events (Smith 23). Building upon traditions of popular protests and political culture, the Chinese Communist Party used "Mass mobilization of emotions" through propaganda art as a prominent strategy in psychological engineering before and during the Cultural Revolution. Its legacy continues to exert an influence on the attitudes and actions of people living in the modern world (Elizabeth J. 111).

This research paper looks at a notable piece of theatrical propaganda art, The White-Haired Girl (白毛女), and two of its adapted works: the 1950 film and 1968 ballet version, focusing on different elements that bring out a distortion of reality through "emotion work". Additionally, by examining adaptations of the play during the period between the end of the Chinese Civil War and the brink of the Cultural Revolution, this paper will compare modifications made within the adaptations, thus bringing out the evolution of the Chinese Communist Party's ideology and how the manipulation of emotions is used.

2   The White-Haired Girl 1950 Film

The White-Haired Girl was first produced in 1945 as a village theater play by a group of artists from the Chinese Communist Party. It was inspired by stories regarding a "White-Haired Goddess" during the early 1940s in the northwestern part of the Hebei province. The "White-haired goddess" soon turned out to be a poor peasant woman who lost her family and survived in the wilderness. The Eighth Route Army found her and resettled her in her village (King 191). As no full script or video record of the original 1945 theater version survived, I chose to recount the plot based on the 1950 film.

The 1950 film version, adapted from the play, was set in "the old society", a model version of a rural society before the establishment of the PRC where poor peasants were oppressed by rich landlords. It mainly focuses on a poor peasant girl named Xi-er (喜兒). Her father Yang Bailao (楊白勞) worked for a nefarious landlord named Huang Shiren (黃世仁). One day Yang Bailao was not able to pay back his debt to the debt collectors of the landlord. Therefore, the landlord forced Yang Bailao to sell his daughter to the landlord's family as payment. Yang Bailao, overcome by grief, committed suicide by drinking poison. The next day, a messenger from the landlord came to Xi-er's village with a contract, containing details about taking Xi-er away. Despite the other peasants' protest, Xi-er was dragged away by the landlord's men. Xi-er, now a servant in the landlord's family, was constantly abused and sexually assaulted by Huang Shiren himself. One day, Da Chun (大春), Xi-er's lover, tried to rescue Xi-er out of the house but was caught by the landlord and his men. Forced to flee, Da-Chun crossed the sea to join the Red Army (also known as The Eighth Route Army). Eventually, Xi-er escaped the landlord's house with the help of another servant, Er-Shen, (二嬸) but was chased into the wilderness by the landlord's men. Facing harsh obstacles and hardships living in the wilderness for two years, Xi-er's hair turned white. She found a small temple where villagers gave offerings and stole them. Soon, when they noticed that the offerings kept disappearing, more villagers came to give offerings as they saw her as a "White-haired Goddess". One stormy night, the landlord and his men were

coincidently in a temple with Xi-er. Upon thinking that Xi-er was the "White-haired Goddess", the landlord and his men ran out. Meanwhile, Da-Chun, now a member of the Eighth Route Army, decided to investigate the so-called goddess and liberated the peasant village. He saw Xi-er and followed her into the woods. Soon, Xi-er recognized Da-Chun and they reunited. The landlord was captured by the Eighth Route Army and surrounded by a mob while they sang insults towards him. The landlord's house was taken down, and all his possessions were burnt. Happily, Xi-er and Da-Chun returned to their former life, working in the fields.

When the 1950 film version of The White-Haired Girl was released, the People's Republic of China had just been established, and laws surrounding land reform were being implemented. According to Meng Yue, one of the first critics of the film post-Cultural Revolution, the depiction of the class struggle is a direct adaptation of the traditional popular discourse of the struggle between the moral and the immoral: "This 1950 film version vividly brought out the Chinese Communist Party's didactic message that "the old society forced human beings to turn into ghosts; the new society changes ghosts back into human beings," (193).

One of the elements that nudged the film to a one-sided perspective and drew up some connections to the Chinese Communist party class struggle was the music, specifically in the songs the characters sang throughout the film. The initial version of The White-Haired Girl used folk tunes to create its songs (Perris 99). Most of the folk songs were drawn from peasant culture, making it easier for the audience to relate to the main characters. In the beginning of the film, we are introduced to "the old society", described by Yang Bailao when he sings the lyrics, –"the old man breaks his waist, his children and grandchildren are skinny, such suffering has no end (「老人折斷腰, 兒孫筋骨瘦, 這樣的苦罪沒有頭。」)", describing his suffering as a peasant in society. When Xi-er is captured by the landlord's men and forced to work in the landlord's household, she sings the lyrics -" Why are the poor suffering, why are the rich so ruthless? (「為什麼

窮人這樣苦, 為什麼富人這樣狠?」)", highlighting the gap between the rich and poor in her society, reflecting the society before the PRC was established. Interestingly, in contrast to most modern musicals and operas, in which all the main characters get at least one song, only the peasants sing in the White-Haired Girl. Huang Shiren does not get a single song throughout the film. As music is a form of artistic expression which directly appeals to the audience's emotion, by prohibiting the villain such an aesthetic expression of his voice, the audience only gets to judge Huang Shiren based on his villainous actions, and his limited perspective in the conflict. The film thus posits itself on the side of the peasants, and it leads the audience to assume that the landlord was unambiguously evil and violent.

Another element that identifies The White-Haired Girl as propaganda art was how the characters are shaped. Xi-er and Yang Bailao in the first four minutes of the film are shown as hardworking and humble, automatically making them stereotypical hero characters of the story. The film subsequently portrays a good relationship between the peasants, particularly between Yang Bailao and Xi-er, while there is only distaste between Huang Shiren and his family members. Huang Shiren is also shown as violent and evil through his actions within the film, especially when he is seen forcing Yang Bailao to sign the contract, selling his daughter to his household, giving the audience a negative impression of him.

The use of costumes further emphasizes character stereotypes. The film plays with the contrast between darkness and light afforded by the monochrome medium. Black, the color often associated with death, evil, fear, and authority is commonly worn by the landlord and his men. In contrast, white, the main color used in the surroundings, is evident in the snow where Yang Bailao is found dead, thus making this film literally into a "black and white" story.

3 The White Haired Girl 1968 Ballet

The ballet version of The White-Haired Girl, adapted from both the 1950 film and original 1945 play, made its debut on April 30, 1966, for the May Day celebration. It was acclaimed by critics as a model theatrical work for revolutionizing the form of ballet (King 194). By the time the ballet was released, China was on the brink of the Cultural Revolution. This political context is reflected in a few significant changes in the plot compared to the film and the play.

3.1 Changes due to the Adaptation to a New Medium

One major difference between The White-Haired Girl film and ballet is the personalities of the main characters. Unlike the film, the theatrical setting allows for more dramatic body language. Xi-er and Yang Bailao are shown as strong and rebellious. A new "fist clenched in front with arms bent at the elbow" gesture was created, as a statement of defiance, and used alongside ballet body language. Xi-er is portrayed as a powerful revolutionary heroine instead of a humble peasant (Chan 1).

Symbolism of the Chinese Communist Party is shown at the end of the ballet and thoroughly emphasized when featured in this live stage performance with color compared to the 1950 black and white film. When the landlord and his men were arrested by the Eighth Route Army and brought out to the peasant crowd, they moved in small crouching movements, making them look inferior to Xi-er and the other peasants. The image of Xi-er standing out as a white-haired figure to the landlord creates contrast to the peasants and landlords, except that their roles are switched from before. This demonstration of power in the ballet was a reversal of the injustice the peasants suffered at the beginning. Then, Xi-er leads the peasants out of the cave, and everyone bursts into song, singing the words, –"The sun is coming! (「太陽過來了！」)". This is followed by the appearance of the Red Sun rising on the horizon with Xi-er standing in the middle, surrounded by other peasants. The Red Sun was immediately recognizable to the people during the Cultural Revolution as the symbol of the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong, already popularised by the revolutionary song, "The East is Red" (東方紅). The revolutionary color red is additionally emphasized through the raising of red flags, shown in weapons and clothing, and worn as accessories. It is also commonly featured in other "model works" during the Cultural Revolution, such as "The Red Lantern" (紅燈記) and "The Red Detachment of Women" (紅色娘子軍).

3.2 Changes to the General Plot

Portrayal of Peasants

Allusions towards political campaigns play a main role in propaganda art, where The White-Haired Girl demonstrated many elements that further promoted the Chinese Communist Party's ideology. After Xi-er was taken away to the landlord's household, Da Chun and the peasants failed to fight off the landlord's men, leaving themselves defenseless. Despite this, they rejoiced upon seeing a sign saying "Eighth Route Army" ("八路軍"). The music turned joyful while the peasants danced around the stage. By the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, the Eighth Route Army had become the National Liberation Army of the Republic of China, serving under the command of the Chinese Communist Party. To the peasants, the Eighth Route Army was the savior to their harsh lives, foreshadowing the liberation of the peasant village at the end of the ballet. The Eighth Route Army played a larger role in the ballet than the 1950 film, emphasizing its rise in importance to society during the Cultural Revolution.

Another change to the general plot was the portrayal of Yang Bailao in the ballet. Similarly to Xi-er, Yang Bailao was also shown as a warrior-type character throughout the beginning of the ballet. Instead of begging at the feet of the landlord, Yang Bailao fought back with a stick when he was forced to sell Xi-er. The evolution of the "class struggle" mentality during the Cultural Revolution was therefore shown by Yang

Bailao making a spontaneous act of resistance (5). Instead of being a powerless man who commits suicide because of guilt, Yang Bailao made a noble sacrifice by fighting desperately against the landlord and his men.

The Fate of the Landlord

The most significant change throughout the three versions of The White-Haired Girl, including the original play, 1950 movie, and 1968 ballet, was the ending. According to American journalist Jack Belden, at the end of the original play, when Xi-er's home village was freed by the Eighth Route Army and Da Chun, the land got divided. Xi-er got her share of land and even the landlord his (King 192). This ending drew similarities to happenings in China when the play was just created. In 1945, China was fighting in the civil war, and the Chinese Communist party tried getting the peasant's support without overtly antagonizing the land-owning gentry. They were following the Marxism-Leninism ideology, which sought to establish a classless society. The ending also represented a form of collectivization, which was potentially placed to encourage forthcoming land reform laws.

At the end of the 1950 film, instead of getting an even share of land, the landlord was denounced by a crowd of peasants. This similarly reflected the situation in China during the 1950s. During this time, China had just established the PRC and was beginning to implement land reforms and struggle sessions. Struggle sessions were used to secure the fidelity of Chinese people during the land reform campaigns. These sessions sought to mobilize mass emotions through propaganda by "Speaking Bitterness (訴苦)" sessions in which peasants were encouraged to accuse the landlords (Li 107). The ending of the 1950 film was another example of struggle sessions in China during that period.

The 1968 ballet ended with the landlord being beaten by the peasants, followed by their execution which was handled by Da Chun with two gunshots. The endings, from the landlord who is given a share of land, to the execution of the landlord by a peasant, showed the evolution of the Chinese Communist Party's ideology. 1968 was a revolutionary year, as the Chinese Cultural Revolution was in its midst, and the "Cleansing of the Class Ranks" movement was on the run. From May 25, 1968, 30 million people were persecuted for being "traitors, spies, capitalist-roaders, dregs, and those of the Five Black Categories", including landlords (Song 1). The ending was shown as more violent and rebellious, reflecting the successes of mass mobilization, the chaos caused in the Cultural Revolution, and an example of the "Cleansing of the Class Ranks" movement.

Sex/Gender Issues

Another major change to the subplot between the different adaptions was Xi-er's sexual assault. Despite the White-Haired Girl 1950 film's immediate success because of its innovative combination of old and new cultural elements, several remaining cultural elements of old China, including the suicide of Yang Bailao and the rape of Xi-er, disturbed some critics (Kibler 3). In the original village opera version of the play, Xi-er reportedly believed she would marry the landlord who raped her at first, but this was already cut in the film as it did not go along with the "class-struggle" mentality (Ying 179). In the 1968 ballet version, the rape of Xi-er, including the bearing of the child, was completely cut out. Xi-er was portrayed as strong enough not to let the landlord rape her, let alone wishing to marry him. Additionally, traditional Chinese culture tended to view women as responsible for the act of rape. Women often fell under the authority of their male relatives, female chastity was highly-priced, while men could keep concubines (Allen-Ebrahimian). As rape was regarded as a taboo in Chinese culture, the victim was often rejected by society for failing to preserve the integrity of her body. Xi-er, raped by the landlord, would disturb this culture, as she became a compromised victim rather than a flawless defender. Therefore, the ballet intentionally omitted this scene to let Xi-er maintain a revolutionary status.

Furthermore, a notable change in the ballet was Xi-er's status, reflecting the gender problem in China. Even though Xi-er was the protagonist in the 1950 film, she was not able to take full credit for the success, as she was constantly controlled by male figures. This was due to the traditional value system, derived from China's gender hierarchy, where gender inequality was neglected. Only Xi-er's father, Yang Bailao, has the authority to trade her as a form of payment. Huang Shiren violates this by depriving him of his paternal authority over Xi-er. As a result, Yang Bailao fails to complete his duty as a father, and also fails to honor his arrangement with Da Chun. At the end of the film, Da Chun regains his possession of Xi-er, also becoming the hero of the story. While Xi-er, even after experiencing all the years of heroic struggle, returns to the traditional role of a wife (King 194).

However, in the 1968 ballet, all sexual and romantic elements were eliminated as the regime (Chinese Communist Party) frowned on romantic relationships during the Cultural Revolution. In the eyes of society, love was considered a corrupt, bourgeois emotion, and sex was taboo (Dikötter 299). Therefore, Xi-er and Da-Chun's relationship was mostly seen as platonic during the ballet. This was proven when Xi-er and Da-chun did not have a duet dance after the village was liberated in the ballet, which in this case was against the ballet genre convention. Xi-er only danced amid other women, indicating a strict gender segregation. In the film, Xi-er and Da-Chun ended up working together, something which did not occur in the ballet, where they both joined the army but remained in segregated gender-specific groups. During the Cultural Revolution, which was when the ballet was released, Mao encouraged women to "join in productive activity" and said that they must receive equal pay. The ballet desexualizes Xi-er into a productive member of the working class, and her status as a woman is empowered due to the revolution and Mao's message of gender equality (Liu 1).

4 Art and Propaganda in the History of the Chinese Communist Party

Despite the fact that The White-Haired Girl is a typical piece of propaganda art, as it is a one-sided narrative that makes the viewer see things black and white, that most of the reality revolves around a grey area. Propaganda requires a "hostile imagination", a psychological construction placed deeply in the minds of the viewers that transforms those not supporting the main characters into "The Enemy" using words and images (Zimbardo 11). In the case of The White-Haired Girl, it makes the viewers assume that all peasants are good, while all landlords are evil. Real-life scenarios are far more complex. Propaganda art oversimplifies or exaggerates scenarios, distorting reality.

Mao Zedong was a master of connecting passion and politics, who relied on "emotion work" in pursuing his party's goals. "Emotion work" is conveyed through propaganda art, creating the mass mobilization of emotions, which meant more frequently provoking emotion over reason. This was another key ingredient in the Communist revolutionary's victory. Patterns of emotion work developed during the Chinese Civil war lived on in the PRC, and the legacy of "Mass Mobilization of Emotions" continues to exert a powerful influence on the behaviors and actions of people in post-Mao China (Elizabeth J. 111).

Long before the PRC was established, because spoken drama had become a powerful means of communicating revolutionary messages, the Chinese Communist Party used theater to bring out an emotional reaction that was used intentionally to solidify popular commitment among the peasants, mobilizing the revolution. This resulted in many theatrical performances growing out of old traditions that linked rural operas and peasant protests. A propaganda worker in the Jiangxi Soviet recalled the dramatic performances which were used to generate support for the Red Army, "When the audience watched comic scenes they laughed loudly; when they watched tragic scenes they lowered their heads and wept or angrily de-

nounced the landlords. Thus we knew that the drama had deeply stirred the audience, achieving propaganda results (Pan 146; Elizabeth J. 113).

Through these performances, peasants were encouraged to do something about their emotions by articulating their accusations against their former oppressors. Accordingly, the emotional commitment was heightened through techniques such as "speaking bitterness" (訴苦) and "denunciation" (控訴). Rapidly, the situation developed into mass criticisms, and public executions of landlords, which were a highly visible yet inherently transitory way of harnessing emotional energies to revolutionary ends (112:113:117).

In 1937, an Academy for Arts was established at the Chinese Communist Party's base in Yan'an. Its purpose was to promote the "rectification of people in the arts", in which the objectives and methods of communist arts were explained. Mao's speeches, published as " Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art (在延安文藝座談會上的演講)" became an oracle for artistic workers in the PRC. He often raised questions such as "Literature and art for whom?....". This was a question solved long ago by Marxists, in which the answer was, " our literature and art should serve the millions and tens of millions of working people." Subsequently, public musical performances in the PRC were never an aesthetic or recreational experience alone. They had to demonstrate ideological value, and verbalized to avoid non-participation.

After the establishment of the PRC, Mao declared that Chinese art, literature and music must improve three groups: The peasants, the workers, and the army. Propaganda art grew steadily to incorporate new media, as seen in The White-Haired Girl, helping to serve the increasingly radical political campaigns of the early decades in the PRC. Propaganda art reached its climax in the Cultural Revolution starting in 1966, where The White-Haired Girl was made into a canon of propaganda art, alongside seven other works. These works were called "model works (樣板戲)", and were the only ones permitted to be performed or studied, including The Red Lantern, and The Red Detach-

ment of Women (Perris 96:108:110).

The ballet The Red Detachment of Women (紅色娘子軍) is a particularly interesting variation to the basic theme of The White-Haired Girl. The plot also revolves around the daughter of a poor peasant in the old society, when China was still under the Nationalist's rule. The daughter is enslaved in the household of an evil landlord but eventually escapes and becomes a proletarian soldier in the Red Army. The main difference between the two plays is that the main character Wu Qinghua's (in The Red Detachment of Women) fighting spirit does not go unexamined. She is the agent of the story, and the plot mainly focuses on her maturation into social adulthood. The main theme in The Red Detachment of Women is "women's true emancipation can only be achieved through taking part in the class struggle led by the Communist party". The Communist party is personified as a male figure. The play encourages individuals to sacrifice themselves for the greater good of the Communist course, whereas in The White-Haired Girl, the play provokes emotion over reason to cloud the audience's judgment on the enemy, who are the landlords (Di 9).

5 Conclusion: Propaganda Art in the Modern World

Propaganda art during the Cultural Revolution was effective in manipulating people's beliefs, specifically the peasants towards the Chinese Communist Party through provoking emotions over judgment, shown through The White-Haired Girl. Stereotypical characters, symbolism, and music are frequently communicated in adapted versions of The White-Haired Girl, as the play views the concept of peasants and landlords as black and white. Through comparing the developed versions of the play, the Chinese Communist Party's ideology is seen to have evolved from the Chinese Civil War until the end of the Cultural Revolution.

Today, propaganda art comes in many forms, including songs of protest, posters, movies, paintings, and in a more recognizable form: memes.

It has become prevalent in modern society and is an omnipresent aspect of life. Today's propaganda art invades our life unsuspectingly and alters our consciousness in ways we still do not fully understand, as discerning facts from fiction is becoming increasingly challenging while technology continues to develop. The rise of fake news, with the help of technology, is making it harder for people to see the truth. Since propaganda art only provides one perspective of reality, we need to take a step back to look at the bigger picture of things, and to see them from a wider perspective.

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Labels are a necessity in the organization of knowledge, but they also constrain our understanding.

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Language is deeply rooted in the use of labels. The process of 'labelling' is how we organize the world around us, and for the purposes of this essay, is the act of classifying certain ideas or objects into groups, as opposed to merely naming. By labelling something, we distinguish it from other entities, attributing to it certain traits shared with the same group. In my very first Psychology lesson, my teacher asked us if we believed the subject was a 'philosophy' or a 'science'. Stumped by such a simple question, I was baffled by the phrasing which suggested philosophy as almost the *antithesis* of science – something that was clearly untrue. Here, it became clear that labels possess certain connotations that make it subjective to the individual's interpretation, contrasting against the denotation of the word itself, causing the root problem and misunderstanding in labelling. This drove me to consider how these labels influence how we understand knowledge, especially through different AOKs. Through examining the nature of Biology in the Natural Sciences and Psychology in the Human Sciences, I assert that while labels are crucial in organizing and distinguishing between concepts and driving the production of new knowledge, they are inherently limited and often prohibit holistic understanding of concepts.

Most prominently, labels are crucial as they are characteristic identifiers that distinguish concepts from one another. This is especially seen in Biology, which investigates and classifies the origins, structure, and evolution of living organisms. This is seen in the labelling of symbiotic relationships between organisms, with groups including mutualism, commensalism, competition, or parasitism. These categorical groups allow the unique interactions between organisms to be more easily identifiable and are necessary for understanding the minutiae of complex ecosystems. For example, a commensal relationship indicates that one species benefits from their interaction, while the other is unaffected; whereas a parasitic relationship is similar, but the other organism is harmed instead. This labelling is undoubtedly helpful in understanding the nature of these symbiotic relationships but the ambiguity in them being either 'unaffected' or 'harmed' leaves it open to interpretation.

This leads to an issue in conveying knowledge, as these connotations may hold different meanings to certain knowledge-communities. In a group of scientists studying Ecology, the specific denotation of an organism being 'harmed' may be obvious and defined within a certain parameter for their subject area. Whereas to the general public or average student, due to their lack of expertise in this specific area of knowledge, they may draw on their *own*, unique schematic frameworks of the word 'harm', which may be unrelated to Biology or Ecology, thereby interpreting it more widely, limiting our understanding of a certain concept.

This also leads us to question when generalizations of knowledge are appropriate and the degree it should be done to. One may argue a scientist may use something like the binomial nomenclature system to limit these misunderstandings, where an organism is classified with each taxa adding distinct traits before isolating it as a unique organism with its genus and species. This allows one to deduce the unique characteristics of an organism solely by its name, with strict denotations attached. While saying "*corvus corax*" may be more specific than merely saying the 'common raven', it is clearly less accessible to the general public, and more of an organized, *naming* sys-

tem rather than a labelling system. Different labels may be more useful for different purposes and under different situations, and there is ultimately a delicate balance between understanding and knowledge. While labels are a necessity in the organization of such matters, the intended audience and purpose are crucial in determining whether a label is ultimately effective in the organization of knowledge, and is thus highly dependent on the knower's perspective and their ability to separate the *connotations* and *denotations* of a label.

In the Human Sciences, however, psychologists aim to explain human behaviour, emotions, and mental processes, but as they are subjects of the human mind, it is immensely difficult to pin down abstract processes of our own thinking. This is especially seen when attempting to investigate abstract, individual behaviours like love or memory. Psychologist Robert Sternberg famously developed the triangular theory of love – labelling three components of interpersonal relationships, including 'passion', 'intimacy', and 'commitment' (Sternberg 113), with different combinations of love created under each principle. Sternberg's labels contributed immensely to social psychology as he was the first to truly discern between different forms of love in such simplistic terms.

Although Sternberg's labels for love aids the organisation of knowledge, due to the vague language, they can be interpreted in a multitude of ways. For example, although 'passion' is often positively associated with all-consuming enthusiasm or intimacy, it can also be negatively associated with feelings of hatred or rage. This again raises the distinction between a label's connotation and denotation, and may be interpreted differently with certain traits associated with it. This lack of precision in labelling often leads to concepts being easily misconstrued, inhibiting understanding, but the extent may differ according to the subject. This is due to the inherent methods of inquiry in each AOK: the Natural Sciences tend to ask direct, causational questions, meaning fewer ambiguities are present as there is a 'correct' answer. However, the Human Sciences often

ask correlational questions where explicit answers are harder to find, allowing more ambiguity as it is subject to the researcher's biases when interpreting certain phenomena. I argue that because of this, in Psychology, the effectiveness of labelling is less influenced by precision, but should regardless be defined with as much systematic standardization as possible, allowing for consistency in its application despite the individual connotations present.

Secondly, by systematically labelling things, labels can also drive the production of new knowledge. Labelling is an inherently logical process of categorization, and through processes of deduction, can be used as a way to extrapolate and determine new avenues of knowledge. This is most prominently shown in Mendeleev's periodic table, which was first published in 1869 illustrating the properties of newly-discovered elements. By systematically arranging and classifying the initial 63 elements by recurring trends, Mendeelev was able to accurately predict the existence of undiscovered elements (Lasky). Similarly, in psychology, Atkinson and Shiffrin first devised the Multi-Store Memory Model in 1968, which separated our cognitive processes into 'sensory memory', 'short-term memory' and 'long-term memory' (Atkinson and Shiffrin 105). However, it was these distinct classifications of memory that further propelled Baddeley and Hitch's Working Memory Model in 1974, who realized the lack of a coordinating 'executive' unit over these processing centres. Thus, they proposed the 'central executive' – a monitoring system that processes information through sensory medium (Baddeley and Hitch 48) – a processing unit Psychologists now find crucial to the encoding of memory.

These examples explicitly show the role of labels in the production of new knowledge, where the inherent act of classification pushes one to think beyond these distinctions, developing new theories on what exists in between these labels. This is true of both AOKs, and perhaps even more so in the Natural Sciences, where its basis in objective observation allows certain patterns to be more systematically deduced.

Finally, despite the utility of labels in distinguishing concepts and production of new knowledge, they prohibit a nuanced, holistic understanding of a concept. By labelling two things, we invariably omit the dynamic interplay or the grey area that exists between them. Even more so, by labelling a group with distinct traits, we invariably direct the knower in separating different groups, while they may share other underlying similarities that were unlabelled. This is best seen in the inherent demarcation of AOKs – what *really* distinguishes between the Human and Natural Sciences? Why does such a clear divide exist? Although I previously argued that they had inherent differences in purpose and observation methods, they share innumerable similarities in their modes of inquiry, which involve a general seeking of the truth – whether it be in the natural or human world – and by dividing them into two, neglects their interdisciplinary opportunities into two, separate disciplines.

For example, the process of labelling one's sexuality forces characteristics that exist on spectrums to become monotonous, discrete variables – neglecting one's multi-faceted traits by reducing them into a single label. Perhaps the most crucial distinction lies within the use of labels for either personal or shared knowledge. Clear, classifying labels allow us to share knowledge amongst a group of people, using systematic conventions that facilitate and enhance understanding. However, for one's *own* identity and internal understanding, labels may in fact constrain understanding of ourselves as individuals with unique experiences and identity.

Through the exploration into the role of labels within the Natural and Human sciences, this essay argues that while labels are necessary for distinguishing between concepts and driving the production of new knowledge, they are inherently reductionist, prohibiting rounded, holistic understanding. The crux of the issue lies within the individual's method of distinguishing between connotations and denotations in labels, making the effectiveness of labels highly dependent on its subject area, purpose, audience, and whether they are shared. This has significant implications on how we use language, generalize concepts, and attribute labels in our daily lives. Without labels, even the most fundamental methods of communication and understanding would be inhibited, but must be applied consistently and logically to maximize its effectiveness, urging us to consider the power of language and critically evaluate our use of labels.

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「詩中有畫」——評席慕蓉詩歌繪畫技巧

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摘要

席慕蓉是聞名海峽兩岸的詩人、散文家、畫家。她的詩永遠都充滿美感，即使詩歌的基調負面，她也能美輪美奐地將這些情感展現出來。兼畫家與詩人雙重身份的席慕蓉對美似乎有一種天生的偏愛，她對身邊的事物觀察的細微入至，並將其記錄下來引入詩中，與自身經歷、情感所糅合，勾勒出一幅完整的藝術畫面。她「詩中有畫」，將繪畫技巧滲透於對意象的選擇與拼接，繪畫的表現方式與技巧和詩歌的表現藝術交融，以此展現出古典意境之美。

在多方閱讀與探究下，筆者發現席慕蓉受時代影響，「新古典主義」詩歌效應，使她的詩作上烙上深深的古典印記。[1] 她遵循著中國古典抒情詩以情為中心的表現原則，詩中的事物皆以構造意境為目的也就是就王國維在《人間詞話》中所提到的「有我之境」——「即詩人將某種感情移入所描寫的景物，從而使所描寫的景物浸潤濃厚的感情色彩而形成意境」的應用[2]。

然而，繪畫手法究竟對意境的構成有多大的影響？王維的詩可謂是對詩畫結合最生動的詮釋：「落花寂寂啼山鳥，楊柳青青渡水人」、「行到水窮處，坐看雲起時」[3]。蘇軾評：「王維的畫，畫中有詩，王維的詩，詩中有畫」[4]，在繪畫、創作時筆墨清新，格調高雅，傳達出一種詩意的境界。席慕蓉亦如此，她在詩中常以繪畫手法塑造場景，突破了文字常有的厚重感及由於瞬間性和靜態感而帶來的局限，塑造出更加生動且富有實感的意境。

在《繪畫形式語言視角下王維詩歌英譯研究》中，作者將繪畫技巧細化為 colors（色彩），lines（線條）及 planes（平面）[5]。在通讀全文後，筆者發現作者所指的平面更像是通過連接詩歌中的意象而組成的圖形，注重點在於意象在畫面中的位置。因此，本文將以空間代替平面，參照此框架，以構圖佈局、線條造型、色彩填充三種繪畫技巧，探討席慕蓉構建出獨特的意境之美。

[1] 周潔：《論席慕蓉繪畫對其詩文的影響》，中南大學，2010，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

[2] 王仁鳳：< 淺析席慕蓉的愛情詩 >，《北方文學》，黑龍江作家協會，2011 年 6 月刊，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

[3] 袁行霈：< 中國古典詩歌的意象 >，《中國詩歌藝術研究》，北京大學出版社，1987 年版，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

[4] 王素：< 淺析繪畫技巧在古典山水景物詩中的運用 >，《天府新論》，四川省社會科學界聯合會，2006 年第 1 期，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

[5] 唐圓圓：《繪畫形式語言視角下王維詩歌英譯研究》，廣東外語外貿大學，2019 年，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

一、 擴展空間中意境層發

在繪畫的過程中，透視是必不可少的。把三維的物體反映到畫面上，卻仍保留物體本身與物體之間的聯繫，使人在平面的畫卷上仍感受到原有的立體事物以及他們存在的空間，不損失畫面上原有的內容[6]。席慕蓉的詩中採用了橫卷的形式，畫面物體不需要與人眼對實景的感覺一致，而是強調和實景拉開距離。橫卷中的畫面以連續的圖像展開。在《流浪者之歌》中，彌漫著詩人因失去愛人而感受到的寂寞、懊惱與悔恨。她寫「我是一滴悔恨的融雪/投入山澗再投入溪河/流過平原再流過大湖... 在流浪的盡頭化作千尋瀑布」[7]。從「我」化作「融雪」流入「溪河」，最終從「瀑布」落下的過程中，讀者能夠感受到畫面逐漸展開，圖景物象緩緩呈現——在自然的洪流之中，頹廢與渺茫的意境在富有層次感的畫面中愈發清晰。詩人感受到了「我」與自然的共通之處，消融了人與物之間的差異，把自己的情思託付給了自然萬物。人與自然親密無間的應和關係，與古典詩歌的意境觀一脈相承，使得文字間又多了一重古典之美。

除此之外，席慕蓉還經常使用疊層式構圖法[8]，她形象層層相疊而成，在視野上無限展開，前景不擋後景，相互連接，互有穿插和對比。《鄉愁》中席慕蓉化鄉愁的情感為可視可感的畫面，在「物皆濁我之色彩」之上，逐漸展示三重畫面的疊加。第一重畫面是在稀疏的星空下，「故鄉的歌是一支清遠的笛/總在有月亮的晚上響起」[9]，一輪明月中映出一個吹笛的身影。一個有月亮的晚上，這就是鄉愁的起源，詩人看著月亮仿佛能「看見」故鄉的聲音，以通感的手法將笛聲印在讀者眼中。然而，當詩人想去追溯故鄉的面貌，卻發現「故鄉的面貌卻是一種模糊的悵惘/仿佛霧裡的揮手別離」。月亮被蒙了層紗，映出一個迷霧中揮手的背影，模糊的看不清表情，看不清身形。猶如在記憶中依稀難辨的故鄉，在記憶的迷霧中揮手遠去。最後，身影被樹所覆蓋：「離別後/鄉愁是一棵沒有年輪的樹/永不老去」[10]。這棵沒有年輪的老樹是身處異地遊子剪不斷的鄉愁，它的根深深沒入故鄉的土中，以愁苦澆灌而變得參天之高。以客觀而言，故鄉並不惆悵，月亮未蒙上紗，樹不會沒有年輪，因為詩人的鄉愁之思的注入，所有的景物被罩上主觀情感，從眾透露詩人對故鄉可望而不可及的惆悵之情。如李白在《春夜洛城聞笛》中所寫一般，「誰家玉笛暗飛聲，散入春風滿洛城。此夜曲中聞折柳，何人不起故園情」。席慕蓉的鄉愁同樣起於笛聲，在笛聲、月光與參天古木三個意象所構造的情境中，將沉鬱孤愁的意境展現的極為透徹。

二、 線條交錯顯悲涼

在國畫中，畫家的思想情感被賦予在了筆墨線條之上，「情到濃時，筆墨線條濃重厚實，情淺

[6] 張育英： 《中西繪畫藝術比較–焦點透視與散點透視》，中國書畫網，www.chinashj.com/ysll_ysllsy/13355.html，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

[7] 席慕蓉：《席慕蓉詩集: 七裡香》，長江文藝，2017 年 9 月 1 日，第 30 頁。

[8] 王毅：＜論中國國畫構圖中的構成元素＞，《美與時代 (中)，Beauty & Times》，玉溪師範學院美術學院，2016 年 08 期，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

[9] 席慕蓉：《席慕蓉·世紀詩選》，出版社：爾雅出版社有限公司，2000 年 5 月 20 日，第 16 頁。

[10] 席慕蓉：《席慕蓉·世紀詩選》，爾雅出版社有限公司，2000 年 5 月 20 日，第 16 頁。

言薄，筆墨線條簡單明瞭」[11]。這樣一來，作品與其受眾之間變連接起一條思想感情溝通的橋樑，藝術性更加濃厚。

席慕蓉常常在詩歌裡用繪畫中的線條來構成畫面，從而增強詩歌的表現力。她的線條是直線與弧線的碰撞，勾勒出事物的質感與精神面貌。在《等待的歲月》中席慕蓉寫到：「我自認為對線條很敏感……於是在上課的時候，常用線條的刻畫來表現光影。」[12]因此，她的線條並非是工筆細描為以假亂真，而是借著簡略的筆法塑造令人印象深刻的形象，從而抒發情感，營造意境。

在《高速公路的下午》一詩中，她寫到「路是河流/速度是喧嘩/我的車是一支孤獨的箭/射向獵獵的風沙」[13]。路是直線，車在直線與曲線之間交替，風沙的線條與如箭一般射出的車碰撞然後散開。三種線條不斷交錯，碰撞，然後散開，給人奔騰的壯闊氣勢，頗有「天門中斷楚江開，碧水東流至此回」般的豪邁意境。同時，對「河流」、「箭」與「風沙」三重意象的選擇則並不是來自都市的車水馬龍，而是因「我」極度的思念故鄉而映在眼前，與真實的景象所重合。線條變成了負數，情感也是交雜的。這些集中在高速公路上的線條的快速變動，展現出北方人豪放、奔放的特色，豪邁的意境之中混入了苦澀的鄉愁情感。

再如《山月-舊作之一》，詩的第一句就寫：「在山中午夜松林象海浪/月光替松林剪影」[14]。松林是垂直向下的曲線，月光既然是為松林剪影，就應該是一條條傾斜的直線，在碰撞到松林後停止，融匯為曲線。簡潔明瞭的線條好似鉛筆速寫般勾勒出松林的輪廓。一切細節都被影藏在松林陰影之中，製造出清冷的意境。比起《山月》中松林的朦朧，在《樹的畫像》之中，詩人勾勒出一棵線條清晰的樹在空茫的原野中立著。其中「而千山萬徑都絕滅了蹤跡」[15]化用的是柳宗元的《江雪》中的「千山鳥飛絕，萬徑人蹤滅」，正因為周圍的空白，由筆直線條構成的樹才顯得更加孤獨、突兀，古詩詞中的孤寂與悲涼之氣撲面而來。

《邂逅》中的線條不再是對事物輪廓的刻畫，而是涵蓋在意象的刻畫之中。詩人捨棄了以勾勒外形來渲染氛圍，反而以三個身體相關意象而構成意境。「你把憂傷畫在眼角/我將流浪抹上額頭/你用思念添幾縷白髮/我讓歲月雕刻我憔悴的手/然後在街角我們擦身而過/漠然地不再相識」[16]。憂傷的眼，幾縷白髮，憔悴的手，讀者的眼前展現出這樣的畫卷：歲月改變了兩人的容顏，他們擦肩而過。席慕蓉以清晰、簡練的筆法，刻畫出邂逅卻不相識的惆悵之情。不僅如此，刻畫衰老意象的線條如同跨越時間一般，仿佛重現了衰老的過程，把詩歌原本就惆悵的情感再度渲染，加入了時間逝去卻無從挽留的滄桑感。

[11]韓卓娜：《國畫的筆墨與線條分析》，《明日風尚》，南京市文學藝術界聯合會：編輯部郵箱，2019 年 01 期，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

[12]周潔：《論席慕蓉繪畫對其詩文的影響》中南大學，2010 年，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

[13]席慕蓉：《席慕蓉詩集：七裡香》，長江文藝，2017 年 9 月 1 日，第 98 頁。

[14]席慕蓉：《席慕容詩集：無怨的青春》，長江文藝，2017 年 9 月 1 日，第 34 頁

[15]席慕蓉：《席慕容詩集：七裡香》，長江文藝，2017 年 9 月 1 日，第 59 頁。

[16]席慕蓉：《席慕容詩集：七裡香》，長江文藝，2017 年 9 月 1 日，第 22 頁。

由此可見，席慕蓉以素描般的細膩筆觸勾勒形體，線條流暢、精緻、簡潔，構成事物的剪影。然而簡易的輪廓又被她以真摯的情感所填充，情注入景中，飽含古典意境的意蘊。

三、 色彩繁複見厚重之美

若是說席慕蓉的線條是素描的勾形，那她給形體填充的色彩來自于對自然的理解。席慕蓉的詩歌展現出的是屬於自然的色彩。她十分敏銳的捕捉到周圍附在環境上的色彩，並記錄著色彩的流動。因此，在她的詩歌中，色彩繁複疊加，從不單調。

如在《山林-舊作之一》中，席慕蓉寫：「管它是什麼/深遠的黑透明的藍/一點點淡青一片片銀白/還有那幽幽的綠映照著映照著」[17]。黑色的夜色，藍色的夜空，綠色的山林以及銀白的月。五種不同的色塊拼接處午夜的山林，似乎如螢火蟲般閃爍著，更是烘托出山林裡夜色茫茫，只能依稀從月光的照射下窺到些許色彩。這些屬於大自然的色彩，偏冷的色調，疊加構成了幽清明淨的意境。這樣一個午夜，詩人焦灼的心理覆蓋成了山林原有的色調，賦予其別樣的顏色。而其後，星星、林火和梅花鹿三個意象的出現給詩歌添上了較為明亮的色彩，此處詩人的心中萌生了希望，等待著「你」。然而「你」卻處處留意，不願說出對「我」的愛，於是「月光使我聾了山風不斷襲來/在午夜古老的林中百合蒼白」，詩人的心如百合般蒼白，雖在黑夜中不可見，卻因情感的強烈而投射在了林間。兩人皆未說破愛情，全詩也沒有提到愛

情，但詩人癡癡的情思卻從文字中滲透，愛情的古典朦朧之美由此呈現。

席慕蓉對雄奇瑰麗、開闊壯麗的意境營造同樣爐火純青。在《暮歌》一詩中，她使用了多重環境色：「我喜歡將暮未暮的原野/在這時候/所有的顏色都已沉靜/而黑暗尚未來臨/在山岡上那叢鬱綠裡/還有著最後一筆的激情」[18]。「暮色」是傍晚昏暗的天色，詩人觀察到的色彩被披上一層灰色變得模糊不清。在國畫中，潑墨法是用大筆蘸上水墨，使之飽和。即在較淡墨上，點上較濃之筆，使這一塊淡墨中增加層次[19]。此處的潑墨潑出的是朦朧的暮色，將天空染成暗紅又帶著些許紫色，各種顏色交疊暈開。天空中似乎還留有晚霞的色彩，黑色的夜幕即將襲來。在這樣昏暗的畫卷中，突然有著一抹「鬱綠」，在天空的幕布上，以細筆添在天空上。在這生命無拘無礙的宣洩中，流動的色彩充滿了靈動，席慕蓉的情感是如此熱烈，使色彩中充斥著雲雷奮發之美。

《暮歌》中的色彩是糅雜成一體的，因都是環境色而顯得相得益彰，但在《命運》一詩中，她選用了對比色使得詩歌充滿了衝擊力。「海月深深/我窒息于湛藍的鄉愁裡/雛菊有一種夢中的白/而塞外/正芳草離離/我原該在山坡上牧羊/我愛的男兒騎著馬來時/會看見我的紅裙飄揚/飄揚/今夜揚起的是/歐洲的霧/迷失在灰黯

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[17]席慕蓉：《席慕蓉詩集: 無怨的青春》，長江文藝，2017 年 9 月 1 日，第 34 頁。

[18]席慕蓉：《席慕蓉詩集: 七裡香》，長江文藝，2017 年 9 月 1 日，第 90 頁。

[19]書法印象：《潑墨國畫是潑出來的，有的還潑幾遍，你有見過嗎?》，搜狐，2019 年 3 月 14 日，www.sohu.com/a/301220531_100131725，2020 年 10 月 20 日。

的巷弄裡／而塞外／芳草正離離」[20]。詩歌中，海與草原，紅裙與霧，湛藍與灰暗，這些顏色都是張力極強的對比色彩，從而將充滿浪漫、自由色彩的意象與現實的、灰暗的意象組合呈對比。一組組的對立色彩是對命運反復無常的抗爭，詩人對故鄉嚮往的情思在其中引上頂峰，構成了一幅充滿詩人抗爭之美的意境。

四、 特點及不足

在上文中，筆者分析了席慕蓉詩歌的繪畫風格，她如何通過空間、線條和色彩來寄託情感，構造古典意境。然而縱觀文學史，以畫入詩從不是席慕蓉的獨創。在這一部分中，筆者將評價席慕蓉詩畫技巧的精妙、不足，以及做出的創新。

首先，在對詩歌空間的構造中，席慕蓉將散點透視以橫卷和疊層式構圖法展現。她的畫面是鋪開的，時空一層層的更迭，詩人一生的情感蛻變也得以訴說，讀者的情緒也隨之被喚起，融入到畫中。例如在《霧起時》她以年輕戀人在「濕潤芳香的林間」相互依偎開篇，整個畫面籠罩著一層朦朧的夢幻色彩。「霧散後卻已是一生／山空／湖靜」，霧散後，一生的時光已經過去，山空、湖靜和背影呈現出孤寂、悲涼的意境。霧起霧散，前後對比鮮明，「霧」的意象連接了時間與空間。

首先，在對詩歌空間的構造中，席慕蓉將散點透視以橫卷和疊層式構圖法展現。她的畫面是鋪開的，時空一層層的更迭，詩人一生的情感

蛻變也得以訴說，讀者的情緒也隨之被喚起，融入到畫中。例如在《霧起時》她以年輕戀人在「濕潤芳香的林間」相互依偎開篇，整個畫面籠罩著一層朦朧的夢幻色彩。「霧散後卻已是一生／山空／湖靜」，霧散後，一生的時光已經過去，山空、湖靜和背影呈現出孤寂、悲涼的意境。霧起霧散，前後對比鮮明，「霧」的意象連接了時間與空間。

席慕蓉所使用的線條做到了勾勒物體的質感與精神面貌，她把握住了線條的本體特徵。直線的直爽、挺拔，曲線的柔和與曖昧，兩者相交更能展現出意象之間的關聯與動態感。席慕蓉能自然地將繪畫的這一媒介引入她的詩歌中，大大增強了詩歌的表現力——本來單調的景物，由於線條的組合顯得並不單調。筆者認為，席慕蓉對線條的使用雖稱不上巧如天工，但也是使用得當，足夠營造出靈動、富有想像空間的意境。

對於色彩的使用，無論是捕捉環境中客體的固有色彩，還是以對比色加強表現力，席慕蓉做到了得心應手。她對大自然色彩的流動觀察細緻，多重色彩在她筆下卻能顯得和諧舒緩。例如《草原》一詩中她寫花朵，「有猩紅的小百合，淺藍的野風信子，／金黃的毛茛和紫色的喇叭花，／還有櫻草、飛燕草及細高的蘿菲草」，整個草原像是一片花毯，充斥著紅藍黃紫，色澤分明。正因為內蒙古是席慕蓉的家鄉，使得她回憶家鄉時想到的是美麗如畫，使得草原上的花都綻放的五彩斑斕。

同樣，席慕蓉對色彩的使用仍有些許局限性。多重色彩的堆積使得詩歌似乎有一些累贅之意，無法做到「恰到好處」，過多的色彩過度地

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[20]席慕蓉：《席慕容詩集：七裡香》，長江文藝，2017年9月1日，第101頁。

刺激了讀者的感官，也限制了聯想的空間。例如，在王維的詩中他僅用一個或兩個單純、清晰的顏色，調動讀者的種種聯想，進行積極的對情景的「再創造」[21]。「日日採蓮去/洲長多暮歸/弄篙莫濺水/畏濕紅蓮衣。」在交代完人物環境後，置於詩的末尾的一個「紅」字，給人留下的印象特別強烈。詩人創作的終點成為了讀者想像的起點，一種色彩便勝過多重色彩的超載，由讀者自行「再創造」的意境更具一番趣味。

結語

「詩情畫意，只在闌杆外，雨露天低生爽氣，一片吳山越水。」[22]「詩情」是詩人情感的自主流出，「畫意」則是意象的拼接。因為自身是畫家，席慕蓉對「美」更加的敏感，也更容易被美所打動。她的筆下染上了繪畫的色彩，將詩情畫意巧妙融合，以連貫的空間、碰撞的線條、環境色彩三個方面為詩歌營造出古典意境之美。

但美不中足的是她的詩歌過度的向繪畫靠近，在繪畫技巧與詩歌技巧的結合略勝一籌。雖有種種欠缺，但仍能展現詩畫一體的藝術風采，構建引人入勝的意境。

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[21]文達三：＜試論王維詩歌的繪畫形式美＞，《中國社會科學，Social Sciences in China》，湘潭大學，1982 年05 期，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年10 月20 日。

[22]唐圭璋：《全宋詞（五）簡體版：宋詞二萬首》古月社電子出版，2015 年6 月26 日，中國期刊全文數據庫，2020 年10 月20 日。

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論赤壁之戰在不同版本的「三國」中的分別

Yiu Jun Max Tsai　蔡耀進

三國時代發生在 208 年至 280 年。這段歷史雖短，但這個時代充滿着人才與英雄。說到三國時代，人人想起《三國演義》裡面刺激的戰役、驍勇善戰的猛將、與神機妙算的軍師。當然，說到三國，不能不說「赤壁之戰」。許多人心中的三國歷史事件來自《三國演義》，一本根據史書《三國志》編寫的小說，裡面帶有虛構內容。宋代以後，民間出現了「尊劉貶曹」的傾向，《三國演義》也不例外。當然，說到三國，不能不說「赤壁之戰」，而說起「赤壁之戰」，我們會想起「草船借箭」、「火燒赤壁」、「借東風」，想起神一般的諸葛亮和「小氣鬼」周瑜。有人把《三國演義》中的「赤壁之戰」當真，忽略了正史《三國志》，因此也冤枉了一些本是英雄的歷史人物。因此，我們應該討論赤壁之戰在不同版本的「三國」中的分別，讓我們明辨是非。

一、《三國志》中對赤壁之戰的不同記錄

《三國志》是記敘三國時代歷史的史書，被後人稱爲「正史」。《三國志》共有 65 卷，《魏書》有 30 卷，《蜀書》有 15 卷，《吳書》有 20 卷。關於赤壁之戰的內容分散在《魏書武帝紀》、《蜀書吳主傳》、《周瑜傳》、《魯肅傳》與其他人物的「傳」與「紀」中。《三國志》作者陳壽是晉朝人，父親是蜀國將領馬謖的部下，當馬謖被諸葛亮斬首時，其父也受到了牽連。雖然如此，但陳壽仍然以客觀的態度去編撰《三國志》，還寫到：「評曰：諸葛亮之爲相國也，撫百姓，示儀軌，約官職，從權制，開誠心，布公道」[1]。因爲陳壽生活在魏晉時期，因此他以魏國爲「正統」，魏國君主立爲「紀」，蜀國與吳國的君主立爲「傳」。然而，《三國志》這個書名已經說明陳壽把三國視爲平行的政權，沒有可以拔高任何一個政權的地位。因爲陳壽以中立的態度去面對歷史，因此《三國志》得到了後人的肯定，成爲了《四史》之一。

「赤壁之戰」是東漢後期所發生的戰役。這場戰役決定了當時三國鼎立的格局，也成爲了後人經常討論的歷史事件。在這場戰役中，曹操被劉備與孫權的聯軍擊敗。《三國志》對「赤壁之戰」的記載很少，會互相矛盾，甚至會有些遺漏，這樣給後人帶來許多疑問。雖然如此，但「赤壁之戰」卻是《三國演義》中最著名，最精彩的段落，原因這個段落帶有最多的虛構成分。

根據《三國志·武帝紀》：「公（曹操）至赤壁，與備戰，不利。于是大疫，吏士多死者，乃引軍還。備遂有荊州江南諸郡。」[2]曹軍

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[1] 陳壽，《三國志·蜀書·諸葛亮傳》。
[2] 陳壽，《三國志·魏書·武帝紀》。

在「赤壁之戰」中失敗的原因是士兵得了瘟疫，《三國志·武帝紀》也沒有提及吳軍與曹軍交戰的事。曹軍在赤壁戰敗只用「不利」兩個字草草地概括，可見《三國志》對「赤壁之戰」的描述極爲含糊。《魏書》中的《蔣濟傳》和《郭嘉傳》都提及曹軍在赤壁遇上了瘟疫的事情。在曹操手下爲官的阮瑀在《爲曹公作書與孫權》中更說：「昔赤壁之役，遭離疫氣，燒舡自還，以避惡地，非周瑜水軍所能抑挫也。」[3]當時曹操並不承認自己在赤壁兵敗；其一，當時的船是他自己燒毀的；其二，他們燒船的原因是因爲瘟疫導致他們停止作戰；其三，退兵是爲了離開瘟疫流行的東吳惡地，而不是因爲被周瑜的水軍擊敗。

《三國志·賈詡傳》中的注文對「赤壁之戰」失敗原因的概括與《武帝紀》略有不同：「赤壁之敗，蓋有運數。實由疾疫大興，以損凌厲之鋒；凱風自南，用成焚如之勢。天實爲之，豈人事哉！」[4]曹軍首先遇到了疾病，之後遇到了東南風，讓東吳的火攻成功。曹軍在赤壁兵敗是因爲運氣不好。《賈詡傳》來自《魏書》，而其說曹軍被吳軍的火攻擊敗，可見《三國志》中內容會互相矛盾。

《三國志》中的《蜀書》又給「赤壁之戰」帶來另外一種截然不同解讀。這讓後人非常疑惑，因爲同一本史書竟給一個歷史事件帶來兩個版本。《三國志·蜀書·先主傳》曰：「先主遣諸葛亮自結於孫權，權遣周瑜、程普等水軍數萬，與先主幷力，與曹公戰於赤壁，大破之，焚其舟船。先主與吳軍水陸並進，追到

南郡，時又疫疾，北軍多死，曹公引歸。」[5]《三國志·諸葛亮傳》也記載了孫權接受諸葛亮的結盟之策。《三國志·周瑜傳》說火是孫劉聯軍放的，但是裡面也寫到：「時曹公軍衆已有疾病」可見曹軍中的確有瘟疫。

二、 《三國演義》對《三國志》的改寫

三國時代結束之後，三國故事逐漸成爲了通俗文藝的題材，被後人不斷講述、渲染和改造。唐朝留下了很多吟詠「三國」故事的詩歌，其中很多是關於赤壁之戰，例如李白的《赤壁歌送別》和杜牧的《赤壁》。到了宋朝，城市經濟擴大，出現了更多「三國」題材的作品。戲曲方面有「刺董卓」和「罵呂布」等，「說三國事」也變得更普遍。在《東坡志林》中，有一段記載寫：「至說三國事，聞劉玄德敗，顰蹙有出涕者；聞曹操敗，即喜唱快。」[6]可見「說三國事」這個項目出現了「尊劉貶曹」的思想。《三國演義》也繼承並強化了這一趨勢。

《三國演義》是根據《三國志》的歷史小說。作者羅貫中，有關他的記載不多，後人對他在世的時段有爭論。從《錄鬼簿續篇》可以推斷他生在元末明初的時候。《三國演義》吸收了很多民間傳說的內容，許多內容與《三國志》不吻合，比如「三氣周瑜」、「孔明借箭」這些故事都是虛構的。

[3]阮瑀，《爲曹公作書與孫權》。
[4]陳壽，《三國志·魏書·賈詡傳》。
[5]陳壽，《三國志·蜀書·先主傳》。
[6]蘇軾，《東坡志林》。

《三國演義》中「赤壁之戰」的經過包括「蔣幹中計」、「草船借箭」、「苦肉計」、「龐統獻計」、「借東風」、「火燒赤壁」。這些故事都帶有虛構成分。

蔣幹是真實的歷史人物，在世的期間也拜訪過周瑜的軍營。在《三國演義》中，他被描述爲一個自以爲是的人物，但《三國志·江表傳》寫到：「幹有儀容。以才辯見稱，獨步江淮之間，莫與爲對。」是個才貌雙全的人物。「草船借箭」這件事確實發生過，卻發生在孫權身上，而且發生的事件在「赤壁之戰」以後。「連環計」是羅貫中經過移花接木後形成的故事。根據易中天的《品三國》[7]，曹操在初戰失利後，軍中的病人增加，因此他下令把戰船用鐵鏈鎖在一起。《龐統傳》沒有提及龐統在赤壁之戰中的參與，因此可以推斷「龐統獻計」是虛構的。

《三國演義》中最精彩的段落是「火燒赤壁」，但上文說過，《三國志》中記載的歷史對「火是誰放的？」卻爭議很大。《魏書》說是曹操自己放的，《蜀書》卻說是孫劉放的。《三國志·江表傳》記載了一封曹操給孫權的信：「赤壁之役，值有疾病，孤燒船自退，橫使周瑜虛獲此名。」[8]而《三國演義》選擇根據《蜀書》中的「赤壁之戰」來進行編輯加工。因此後人心目中的「赤壁之戰」並不是真相。

三、 周瑜和諸葛亮的人物形象

《三國演義》對《三國志》的一個重大改寫是周瑜和諸葛亮這兩個人物的形象。《三國演義》中有關周瑜的名句都是貶義的，例如「既生瑜，何生亮」以及「周郎妙計安天下，賠了夫人又折兵」。「三氣周瑜」和「草船借箭」等故事讓周瑜顯得心胸狹窄。《三國演義》中的周瑜想盡辦法要陷害諸葛亮，最後卻「氣死」自己。

實際上《三國志·周瑜傳》曰：「（周瑜）性度恢廓，大率爲得人」[9]，《三國志·江表傳》提及劉備對周瑜的評價：「公瑾文武籌略，萬人之英，顧其器量廣大」。歷史上的周瑜是個文武雙全，胸懷大量的英雄。可見事實上，「三氣周瑜」並不存在，就算眞的存在，也不會成功。《三國志·江表傳》曰：「瑜還江陵爲行裝，而道於巴丘病卒，時年三十六。」[10]周瑜實在巴丘發病而死，而不是被「氣死」的。

諸葛亮與周瑜在《三國演義》中其實是「一對」人物。小說中，周瑜小氣的人物形象襯托了諸葛亮高尚的品格。「舌戰羣儒」，「草船借箭」，與「借東風」等故事讓諸葛亮顯得出神入化。在《三國演義》第46回中，魯肅對諸葛亮說：「先生眞神人也！」[11]這凸顯了諸葛亮足智多謀的人物形象，也表現了羅貫中對諸葛亮的推崇。

[7]易中天：《品三國》，上海文藝出版社，2017。

[8]陳壽，《三國志·吳書·江表傳》。

[9]陳壽，《三國志·吳書·周瑜傳》。

[10]陳壽，《三國志·吳書·江表傳》。

[11]羅貫中，《三國演義》，第46回。

《三國演義》中的諸葛亮和歷史上的諸葛亮有很大的不同。諸葛亮在《出師表》中寫到：「先帝知臣謹慎。」《三國演義》中的諸葛亮卻一次又一次地遞出險招，並不謹慎。陳壽在《三國志》中給諸葛亮的評價提及了他依法治國，撫百姓，把他稱爲「識治之良才，管、蕭之亞匹矣」。這些都是誇諸葛亮是一個傑出的政治家，卻沒有提及他在軍事方面的成就。陳壽把諸葛亮比成管仲與蕭何，兩位傑出的政治家。從此，可以推論出諸葛亮比較擅長治國，不是一個神機妙算的軍師。

實際上，直到唐宋，詠懷赤壁的作品中，都是把周瑜作為主角的。蘇軾的《念奴嬌·赤壁懷古》說"三國周郎赤壁"，沒有提到諸葛亮。蘇軾還說周瑜「雄姿英發，羽扇綸巾」，「談笑間，檣櫓灰飛煙滅」。而羅貫中把「羽扇綸巾」變成了給諸葛亮設定的人物形象。杜牧的《赤壁》稱周瑜爲周郎。「郎」是褒義詞，可見當時的人們尊敬周瑜。杜牧作詩《赤壁》：「折戟沉沙鐵未銷，自將磨洗認前朝。東風不與周郎便，銅雀春深鎖二喬。」這裡提及了「周郎」與東吳的「二喬」，卻沒有提及諸葛亮。可見《三國演義》貶低周瑜，把諸葛亮變成赤壁之戰的主要功臣，不光改寫了《三國志》，也改變了到宋朝為止的通俗文藝對赤壁故事的講法。

杜牧作詩《赤壁》：「折戟沉沙鐵未銷，自將磨洗認前朝。東風不與周郎便，銅雀春深鎖二喬。」這裡提及了「周郎」與東吳的「二喬」，卻沒有提及諸葛亮。同樣，關於「赤壁之戰」的《念奴嬌·赤壁懷古》也沒有提及他。這些作品讓後人質疑諸葛亮在「赤壁之戰」中的參與程度。

結論

本文的研究發現，「赤壁之戰」有「歷史版本」，也有「小說版本」。周瑜與諸葛亮這兩個人物也有「歷史形象」和「小說形象」。《三國演義》的名氣讓周瑜與諸葛亮的「小說形象」變得更加普遍，使得常人心中的周瑜心胸狹窄，諸葛亮神機妙算，「小說形象」逐漸變成了「民間形象」。

「赤壁之戰」作爲「四大名著」之一，裡面的精彩段落讓這場戰爭的「小說版本」變得更加知名，人們也因此忽略了歷史中的「赤壁之戰」，利用一個「尊劉貶曹」的態度去面對這段歷史。歷史中的「赤壁之戰」並沒有「草船借箭」，「借東風」等情節。連著名的「火燒赤壁」的真假也令人懷疑。再進一步想，《三國志》對「赤壁之戰」記錄簡單可能是因爲這場戰爭原本規模有限，對歷史的影響也不大。

火是誰放的？參與戰爭的人數有多少？因爲《三國志》對這場著名戰爭的記載很疏漏、簡單，甚至相互矛盾，這些最基本的問題被忽略了，而人們都把小說中浪漫的「赤壁之戰」當真，從此冤枉了偉大的歷史人物，也掩蓋了神祕的真相。

這個充滿英雄和人才的三國時期，永遠會讓後人津津樂道，短短一百年不到的歷史橋段成爲了中國歷史上最精彩的時代之一，而「赤壁之戰」的疑團可能永遠都解不開。

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How do the somatic traits of the Pekingese dog reflect global interactions throughout Chinese history?

Dionne Daiyin Yeung   楊岱殷

Introduction

Lap-dogs of ancient China were loyal companions to commoners and the Imperial family alike. In modern form, they continue to be so to the people today. One such dog is the Pekingese (*Beijing gou* 北京狗), also known as the lion dog (shizi gou 獅子狗). The Pekingese breed is characterized by its miniature size, stubby legs, long, shaggy coat and short muzzle. Though the Pekingese is named after China's current capital, it interestingly cannot be considered an entirely native Chinese breed, but an embodiment of global interactions throughout Chinese history. Throughout many dynasties in ancient history, they were bred meticulously to inherit specific somatic traits that were likely developed due to religious belief, to provide good luck, or to resemble various creatures. When investigating the potential inspiration, we see that non-native aspects are influencing the selection of the dog.

The modern Pekingese dog has identifying traits with stubby legs, stocky body, short muzzle, big eyes, and long fur (especially at the shoulders and neck). However, to trace the lineage of this breed, it must be acknowledged that they begin with general traits that slowly differentiated over time. Towards the start of the Pekingese's phylogenetic tree, wolves slowly evolved into dogs through domestication. Many unreconciled theories suggest different locations and dates for the origin of domestication, though it is commonly suggested that they originated approximately between 32,000 and 10,000 years ago (Wang *et al*. 22). During this process, they underwent rapid phenotypic radiation due to artificial selection and closed breeding systems by humans (Freedman and Wayne 282). The Mediterraneans bred

a miniature sized dog, and it was not until after the Silk Road was established that such dogs appeared in Chinese sources around 100 AD, during the Han dynasty. These dogs were named "Ba" 巴 and described as dogs with stubby legs, short muzzle, as well as belonging under the table. Since then, the features of the dog morphed over time as its popularity fluctuated. In the Qing dynasty, the Pekingese that we know today has individualized from "Ba" into its unique breed (Collier 151). This research paper will delve deeper into the history of the Pekingese, and explore the roles of global interactions in the development of the breed.

1 Mediterranean Ancestry

1.1 The Maltese

It is thought that the Pekingese originated from the Maltese dogs, brought in from the Mediterranean region in the Eastern Roman empire through trade (Schafer 78). Similar to the Pekingese, the Maltese grow to 7-10 inches tall, with a compact body, long fur, brown eyes, and black buttoned noses (Various). Sculptures of these dogs are depicted in figures 1 and 2.

There have been numerous depictions and references to the Maltese from vases as early as circa 500 BC, to sculptures in *circa* 300 AD. The Maltese of this time was commonly referred to as the *Melitaeus catulus* in Latin, or ελιταῖον κυνίδιο (Melitaion kunidion) in Greek, named after the country Malta. The earliest depiction of the Maltese from circa 500 BC was found on an amphora found in Vulci, a city in Italy.

The inscription, "Melitaie" is one of the many variations of the words for Malta (Hurt), indicating that the dog in this depiction is indeed a Mal-

Fig. 1. Ancient sculpture of a Maltese dog from hjbcoins. "Ancient Roman Bronze Maltese Dog." Steemit, 2018, https://steemit.com/dog/@hjbcoins/ancient-roman-bronze-maltese-dog.

Fig. 2. Ancient sculpture of a Maltese dog. "A ROMAN BRONZE DOG."; Christie's, www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-roman-bronze-dog-circa-2nd-3rd-century-5425456-details.aspx.

tese. The proportions of the vase project the small body of the Maltese in relation to the human figure, confirming the existence of the characteristic small size of this dog, as seen in Figure 3.

The Maltese persisted after its appearance in 500 BC. The Roman vase: "Attic Red Figure Chous", shown in Figure 4 estimated to be created in 450-440 BC depicts a small Maltese underneath a grape. Viticulture was prominent in Ancient Rome since it grew from colonies to a republic through adopting the wine culture in its conquered regions. Vineyards were common to many households, and wine was a staple of domestic life (Johnson 59-63), hence suggesting that the Maltese dog was commonplace among households in Ancient Rome.

An English translation of Aristotle's work, "Aristotle's History of Animals", compares the size of the Maltese breed to an ictis, or weasel (Aristotle, Cresswell, and Schneider 239). This corroborates with the inscriptions in the previous vases, which further confirms the existence of the Maltese and its short-legged traits in the Mediterranean from

at least the 4th century BC. For a clearer depiction of the ancient Maltese race, Roman sculptures of second and third centuries AD demonstrate possible clear resemblance with the small, stocky-built Chinese Pekingese dogs.

While research has demonstrated that European Maltese genes might have been infused into Pekingese dogs (Cohn), we must further look at the Silk Road to establish the possibility of a direct linkage between them.

1.2 Roman Trade

The Silk Road was first opened in the Han dynasty, heightening trade relations across the Eurasian continent and bringing to China many exotic non-native commodities.

In 138 BC, Zhang Qian 張騫, an envoy, was dispatched to make an alliance with Yue Zhi 月氏 to

Fig. 34. Melitäer auf rotfiguriger Amphora aus Vulci.

Fig. 3. Amphora of Maltese from *circa* 500 BC, Vulci (Inscription: Melitaie) from Hurt, Carla. "The Melitan Miniature Dog: The Most Popular Lapdog in Antiquity." Found in Antiquity, WordPress, 15 Nov. 2013, www.foundinantiquity.com/2013/11/15/the-melitan-miniature-dog/.

Fig. 4. "Attic Red Figure Chous" in the Pennsylvania Museum from Daniels, Maria; "Attic Red Figure Chous."; The Ancient Greek World, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2002, www.penn.museum/sites/Greek_World/pottery_big-25.html.
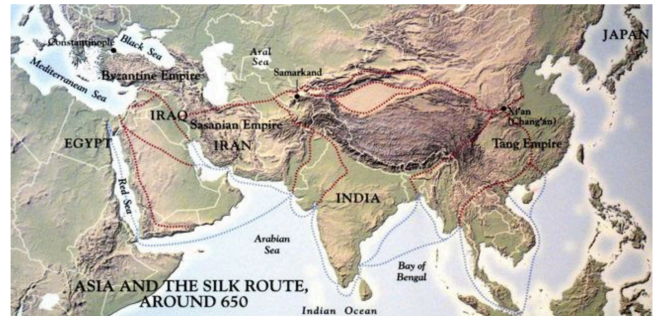
Fig. 5. Map of the Silk Road circa 650. "Asia and the Silk Road Around 650."; Silk Road History, https://wegslttisnl.com/china-silk-road-tours/history.html

take down Xiong Nu 匈奴. Though his diplomatic endeavors were in vain, he was able to bring back key geographical intel on Central Asia that paved the way for the establishment of the Silk Road, a flourishing hub for trade, attracting pilgrims, merchants, and travelers (Liu 15).

Along the Silk Road, trade was booming. Rome and China, though separated by great distances, frequently traded to and through intermediary countries, both by sea and by land, as shown by Figure 5, the Silk Road was able to connect China and Rome through both land and sea routes. It was Rome's great demand for silk that helped fuel many of the businesses in the Silk Road. According to calculations, India, China, and Arabia drew at least 100 million sesterces, equivalent to approximately 42 million Euro today, from Rome, simply through trade (Hirth 227). In the meantime, many international goods flowed into China, including special breeds of dogs. In fact, the first receipt of goods in China from Rome through intermediary countries was in 91 BC. The first Chinese embassy was sent to Parthia, who received an offering to

the Chinese court with large bird-eggs and jugglers from Lijian (123), which some scholars believe to be the Eastern Roman Empire (Waugh).

As a courtesy to maintain mutual trade relations, tributes of exotic animals and rare commodities were often gifted to one another. In the 7th century AD, a "Dog of Hrom", or dog of Rome, was gifted to the Chinese emperor by the Byzantium Empire. The dog was described in the records of the Wenxian Tongkao 文獻通考 as being highly clever, standing at 6 inches tall and 1 foot long,

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and able to carry torches in its mouth and lead horses by the reigns (Schafer 78; Collier 127).

Fig. 6. A painting of Tang Dynasty court ladies adorning their hair with flowers (Zhou Fang 周昉, Zanhua Shinu Tu 簪花仕女圖) . "《簪花仕女圖》局部放大."; 百度百科, baike.baidu.com.

The small dogs soon rose to popularity during the Tang dynasty, when it often appeared in historical sources. One Tang dynasty painting, Figure 6, depicts a small dog with short legs and short muzzle playing with palace ladies. Considering the exquisite robes the ladies wore, it further suggests the palace status of the dog, as a form of entertainment for women in the upper class. Even the lady Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 herself owned an early form Pekingese dog named "Wo" 倭, which translates to "dwarf". In one account, Empress Wu and the Emperor were playing chess. When Empress Wu was losing, she let Wo run loose and knock over the chess set (Schafer 78).

In addition to trade, the predominance of Buddhism in Tang dynasty China also contributed to the popularity of such dogs, as its somatic traits were given religious significance.

2 Buddhist Inspiration

The Silk Road not only brought about the "Dog of Hrom", but also created the gateway for Buddhism to enter China, ultimately bringing new influences that likely helped shape the Pekingese Dog.

Buddhism originated in India; it gradually spread to the Kushan Empire in Central Asia, from there it entered China through the Silk Road. Though when and how Buddhism entered China is still a topic of debate, it is commonly accepted that it spread between the first half of the first century BC and the middle half of the first century AD (Liu 139).

Buddhism became increasingly more widespread and influential during the Tang Dynasty. Between the third and fourth AD, the cave and statue construction movement in the north of China gained momentum, with cave temples in Gansu, Sichuan, Shanxi, and Henan provinces (Ebrey). Of which, the Maijishan Grottoes in Gansu province with over 7,200 Buddhist sculptures and over 1,000 square meters of murals were constructed between 384 and 417 AD (Sullivan, Darbois, and De Silva-Vigier). In AD 477, there were 6,478 officially registered monasteries in north China, and by AD 534, more than 30,000 were established (Liu 145). This led to the first official historical writing of Buddhism and Taoism in AD 554. During the Tang Dynasty, Buddhism became one of the dominant religions (2). With the commitment of copious amounts of time and effort to translating Buddhist texts, sculpting cave monuments, as well as building monasteries, the great influence of Buddhism over the people is clear.

Buddhism was not only accepted by the common people, but it was also adopted by the imperial court, in particular, Wu Zetian 武則天. Before and during her reign, the empress supported and sponsored Buddhism extensively by sponsoring monks, supporting translations, erecting temples, and worshipping relics. For instance, in 695 AD, Empress Wu sponsored a new catalog of the canon as well as a Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary that contains approximately 1,000 Chinese Buddhist loanwords. Rather than teaching a strict text of Buddhist religion, under Empress Wu's reign, a wide range of factions and systems of ideas were taught. This diversity contributed to the increased creativity in the array of resulting Buddhist art, with new iconographic formulations and symbols. In her reign, Empress Wu drove the Buddhist movement and artistic expression, expanding the influence of the religion (Karetzky 113-150).

In the age of expanded Buddhist influence and artistic expression, Buddhism has integrated into Chinese culture (Guang). Thus, the impact it had on the Pekingese must be examined. In this case, the Chinese name of the Pekingese - lion dog, is worthy of note. The lion is a foreign species, with no historical records in China until the Eastern Han Dynasty (Koon). Instead, their native habitats were in Africa and South Asia, and were frequently brought in through trade. During the rise of Buddhism, the lion gained popularity and status in China, being viewed as a majestic predator comparable to the tiger, though the obsession over lions was fueled further by its rarity (Schafer 84). Most lion depictions, however, were not realistic portrayals. Rather, they were fanciful, conventionalized types of lions as brought by India with Buddhism, showing that China's idealization of lions is swayed by Buddhist beliefs (Collier 92).

Lions have important symbolic meanings in Buddhism. They are symbolic of bodhisattvas, divine beings with high levels of spiritual development; they are sometimes known as "the sons of Buddha" or "Buddha's lions", as seen in Figure 7. They stand for royalty and protection, wisdom and pride (Choskyi). They are often represented as stone sculptures, to serve as guardian spirits and to remind monks that they must devote themselves to Buddhism. Furthermore, people often keep miniature tokens of lions to act as talismans (Collier 120).

The Buddhist lions share many defining features with the Pekingese: short snout, stocky body, large lustrous eyes, and slanted ears. It is a reasonable conjecture that these features have been translated to the ancestry of Pekingese dogs.

Later, Lamaism, also known as Tibetan Buddhism, also contributed to the worship of Buddhist lions in China. Lamaism was established as the state religion in the Yuan dynasty, which was founded in 1721. After the fall of the Yuan dynasty, it continued to be a prominent religion in China under the Ming, and particularly the Qing dynasties (Weidner 173). The integration of Lamaism into China may also have influenced the traits of a Pekingese.

Fig. 7. A Buddhist lion statue from Kodner Galleries; "Large Chinese Bronze Buddhist Lion."; Bidsquare, https://bidsquare.com/online-auctions/kodner/large-chinese-bronze-buddhist-lion-1468518/

Fig. 8. A modern Pekingese dog; "Pekingese." Omlet, www.omlet.co.uk/breeds/dogs/pekingese.

For instance, the Lamaist "Hou" 朝天吼 features a long tongue that hangs out of the mouth, similar to the typical Pekingese whose mouths gape open frequently. The features of the Lamaist Buddhist lion are highly distinctive. With short bodies, massive legs and pads, rectangular head, and a short nose, they resemble a canine more so than a feline. Their manes are bushy, curled and wig-like, the tails are short and bushy, with fringes of fur behind the limbs of the lion. These specific descriptions match the Pekingese dog (Collier 157).

3 Lion dog becoming the "Pekingese"

The next period that is an important milestone for the development of the Pekingese dog is the Qing Dynasty. In the Qing Dynasty, the Manchus took

the throne of Beijing. In this period, the Pekingese were prominently bred selectively.

There is a certain culture in the palace for breeding the perfect dog. During the Kangxi period, the breeding of the palace dogs was so specific that eight different races of lap-dogs emerged, including the Pekingese. But it was only during the Qian Long period that the name of the Pekingese, *Beijing Gou* 北京狗, emerged (151). During the Xianfeng period from 1851, up to 4,000 palace eunuchs in the "Forty-eight Places" of the palace competed against each other to breed the dog with the best features. Including their dogs into the "Dog Book" at the time was the highest compliment. Many extreme techniques were utilized to achieve this. For instance, to allow for an outward projection of the tongue towards the left or right of the mouth, the eunuchs forcibly stretched the tongues of the dogs during its puppyhood (157).

Besides breeding for the emperor, another incentive lies in providing good luck to families. A translation of the geomantic book from the Qing Dynasty (*Gezhi Jingyuan* 格致鏡原) states that, "The appearance of certain markings, such as a black or yellow coat in conjunction with a white head, or two white forelegs in a black dog, was hailed as a sure presage of official appointment." (47).

The breeding of dogs with special marking lends towards good luck in several aspects, such as wealth, status, and lineage; dogs that resemble mythological creatures such as a unicorn (*Qilin* 麒麟) or phoenix are regarded more auspiciously. Typically, breeders who present dogs with special markings as gifts are rewarded with material wealth such as rice, and/or an official rank in the palace, and these dogs were highly esteemed. The incentive of good luck, as well as material rewards from the palace, led to a very specific characteristic of Pekingese for markings, shape, and size, where they are bred in rigorous fashion as demonstrated by palace eunuchs in order to express these phenotypes and features.

The "perfect" Pekingese dog includes long lists of features pertaining to face shape, body form, an-

gles of features such as the ears, specific markings, and more. It was a well-known fact that Empress Dowager Cixi (reign 1861-1908) was highly fond of the Pekingese, in which she supposedly created the first set of standards for the appearance, behavior, and treatment of the Pekingese. Among her many conditions, some examples include being small and having a shaggy forefront and a black face (Pręgowski 136).

The most commonly adored features of Pekingese are faces shaped like abacus discs, but the snout is short enough such that a knife can be cut vertically down the face without harming the dog. The figure should have a defined waist, compact and sturdy body, and short legs where the forelegs are unbent, and the hind legs are erect. Color markings such as the three-flower-face (三花臉) where there is black around the eyes, yellow on the forehead, and white around the mouth are also features that are highly praised. Apricot shaped ears, goldfish-like eyes, *"Ruyi"* (如意) scepter-shaped nose, and many more specific guidelines are made for these small lap-dogs (Collier 155-158).

4   20th Century to the Modern Era

During the Qing Dynasty, the Pekingese gained popularity globally. It began when Empress Dowager Cixi gifted many Pekingese to many diplomats as rapprochement; from the wife of the Japanese Minister, Uchida Kosai, to the wife of the American Minister, Sarah Conger (Pręgowski 136). However, the first Pekingese dog in Britain was Looty, shown in Figure 8, the Pekingese from the looting of the Summer Palace in 1860. Being an oriental novelty, Looty was presented to Queen Victoria and treated with high regard and became one of the Royal Collection of Dogs. A professional oil painting has even been commissioned to depict Looty, as shown in Figure 9.

Shortly following Looty's arrival, four more Pekingese were brought to England by Captain Lord John Hay. These Pekingese were purely bred in the Captain's kennels and sold for 50 pounds each (Entract). As a Chinese icon, the Pekingese rose in popularity along with Chinoiserie in upper-class British society and reached heights as

Fig. 9. An oil painting of Looty in 1861 by Friedrich Wilhelm Keyl from Haven, Cynthia; "Friedrich Keyl Painting of Looty."; Stanford, 14 Sept. 2010, news.stanford.edu/news/2010/september/morris-west-rules-091410.html

a lap-dog (Cohn), such as in Figure 10,

In 1910, the United Kingdom had 600 kennels dedicated to breeding Pekingese dogs. The Pekingese also enjoyed popularity in the United States. In 1983, a magazine from Florida was established: "The Orient Express", to be the "voice" of the Pekingese breed. Even as a show dog, the Pekingese have gained success. Prominently, a Pekingese named Palacegarden Malachy won Best in Breed and Best Toy in the 2011 American Kennel Club Show, winning the hearts of many (Cohn).

It was because of the Pekingese's popularity in the West that the breed was able to survive past the Chinese Civil War and the establishment of the Communist party in China. Due to the extensive amounts of money devoted to pampering the Pekingese rather than the people during the Qing dynasty, the Pekingnese were labeled as bourgeois symbols and were targeted by angry citizens. The Pekingese were not only demoted from their imperial status, but they were also, along with millions of the species as a whole, killed and banned to reduce the competition for food during the Cultural Revolution. Only very few Pekingese survived the sacking of the Forbidden City, and the popularity of companion animals as a whole (cats and dogs) remained stagnant until the 1990s. Dur-

HER MAJESTY, THE LATE QUEEN ALEXANDRA.
(By permission of H.R.H. The Princess Victoria.)

Fig. 10. "Alexandra of Denmark (1844-1925), Queen of the United Kingdom and the British Dominions and Empress of India (r. 22 January 1901—6 May 1910)" from Cohn, Don J. "Bite Foreign Devils Instantly." A Pride of Pekingese, China Heritage, 2018.

ing the 90s, as observed in Shanghai, most barely had enough resources to take care of themselves and their family, much less to look after a dog. After the 90s, along with increased affluence was the resurgence in the Pekingese, particularly purebreds, due to a high demand for commercial purposes (Pręgowski 137). However, the overbreeding and inbreeding for the simple purpose of making money led to producing Pekingese without much regard to the previously enforced traits by the Manchus. The traits of the Pekingese have since broadened (Cohn).

The broadening of the characteristic Pekingese traits was a result of globalization as well. The West does not carry the same culture and tradi-

tions as the Chinese, and hence do not share the same value for specific markings, sizes or shapes. With a different cultural aesthetic and lack of rigorous selection throughout the globe, the modern Pekingese has developed a wide range in characteristics, shapes, and sizes, and has become a race with broader classifications: a plumage of fur around the neck, a thick and flowy coat with a variety of colors, as well as a compact, muscled, and short body (Team).

5 Conclusion

The Pekingese has a long history in China and is often considered quintessentially Chinese. Yet, at its essence, the Pekingese is a kaleidoscopic product of the many global interactions and international relations. Genetically proven as an ancient race of dog, it has existed in Chinese history since the Tang Dynasty. It is strongly suggested that it became the amalgamation of Roman trade, Buddhist influences from India, Lamaist influences from Tibet, rigorous breeding by the Manchus, and finally a broadening of traits occurring across the globe.

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情愛、家國與夢幻：論南宋和明清之際詞中的「香」

Tin Yan Cheung　張天恩

「香」是飄渺神秘、無聲無息的意象，詞作為一種常常用來抒發婉約情感的文體，多使用「香」這種具有幽微特質的意象來表達情感。「香」的獨特之處是它本是一個可見的物質，例如宋代以來常用來薰染衣物和房間的「心字香」，「香」同時也常常代表一個人的氣息、氣質，如晏幾道《臨江仙·夢後樓臺高鎖》：「記得小蘋初見，兩重心字羅衣」，「心字香」既指被心字香薰染的羅衣，又代表初見歌女小蘋時，作者對她最鮮明的印象。這種跨越實虛的氣質，這讓「香」往往帶上一種精神上的象徵。早在屈原的《離騷》中，「香草」就已經象徵美好理念及品德「香草」和「美人」時常配搭在一起，開啟「香草美人」的文學傳統。漢代的王逸在其《〈離騷〉序》中寫道：「《離騷》之文，依《詩》取興，引類譬喻，故善鳥香草，以配忠貞；惡禽臭物，以比讒佞；靈脩美人，以媲於君。」[1]可見，「香」很早就跟「佳人」聯繫在一起，象徵美好的品質，進一步引出作者政治理想的寄託。在南宋和明清之際這兩個特殊的歷史時段，「香」除了常代指已逝佳人留下的回憶，更是因外族侵略、改朝換代的背景，而被賦予了更為豐富的內涵。當文人沈溺在喪國之痛時，「香」其虛無與久久不散的特質，更能在含有政治寄託的詞中，象徵昔日的朝代留下的美好回憶。再者，「香」和「夢」的意象常常組合在一起，共同營造出一種飄渺迷離的氛圍和情緒。

一、情愛：香與女性記憶

首先，「香」的特質常常象徵和女子，特別是對過往或已逝女子的記憶。「香」裊裊娜娜、連綿不斷，由淡到濃，融入在環境中。這如同回憶，也是由點滴引起，零零碎碎的。

如姜夔的《暗香·舊時月色》：

舊時月色。算幾番照我，梅邊吹笛。喚起玉人，不管清寒與攀摘。何遜而今漸老，都忘卻、春風詞筆。但怪得、竹外疏花，香冷入瑤席。

江國。正寂寂。嘆寄與路遙，夜雪初積。翠尊易泣。紅萼無言耿想憶。長記曾攜手處，千樹壓、西湖寒碧。又片片、吹盡也，幾時見得。[2]

姜夔，南宋詞人，號白石道人，過著漂泊無定的生活。在光宗紹熙二年（1191）的冬天，在友人范成大的居處住滿一個月，創作《暗香》及《疏影》兩首自度曲。上闋中飄入筵席

[1]洪興祖：〈離騷經章句第一〉，《楚辭補注》，白化文、許德楠、李如鸞、方進校，一版，第 2 頁，中華書局，1983 年 3 月。

[2]姜夔：〈暗香〉，《姜白石詞箋注》，陳書良校，一版，第 125 到 126 頁，中華書局，2009 年 7 月。

的香氣，是「冷」的、淡淡的，不是華麗的簾幕中的薰香，而是外頭疏梅散發出的冷香。事實上，「香」只有味道，沒有溫度，在此詞人用了通感描寫。詞人給予了「香」以「冷」的溫度，正是為了突出詞人失去「玉人」和因為變老而起的寂寞。「喚起玉人，不管清寒與攀摘」即回憶起美人不管清寒的天氣，與自己摘梅花的情景。隨後詞人以「何遜」這個人物來代指自身的衰老，並自覺喪失華麗浪漫的「春風詞筆」。而正是外頭稀疏的梅花的「冷香」，喚起了詞人對「春風詞筆」和美人共享的美好回憶。配合上詞人昔日在清冷的月色下，獨自一人在梅樹邊吹笛的情景，香的「冷」就如同被冷落的陳年舊事，如今一絲絲地引起詞的回憶。香雖稀疏清淡，卻仍然帶來花的味道和「春風詞筆」的回憶。「香冷入瑤席」作為上闋的結尾，用「香」意象連接到「回憶」這個主題，引出下闋詞人對這個主題的延伸：「紅萼無言耿想憶。長記曾攜手處，千樹壓、西湖寒碧。」紅萼默默無言，回憶深記於心中。時常回想曾經攜手之處，千顆梅花樹壓在西湖寒冷凍結的綠水之上。詞人看到了紅萼，就憶起美人，憶起昔日共同欣賞過的西湖風景。整首詞圍繞著「回憶」的主題，而「香」就是激發這一切的契機。

南宋詞人吳文英在《風入松》中，也借「香」意象，傳達出對一位已逝女子的念念不忘：

聽風聽雨過清明。愁草瘞花銘。樓前綠暗分攜路，一絲柳、一寸柔情。料峭春寒中酒，交加曉夢啼鶯。

西園日日掃林亭。依舊賞新晴。黃蜂頻撲鞦韆索，有當時、纖手香凝。惆悵雙鴛不到，幽階一夜苔生。[3]

整首詞以跳躍的模式去展開。詞的上闋通過「愁草瘞花銘」，即沒有心情去起草葬花的輓歌，來帶出寫暮春時節對一個人的思念。「樓前綠暗分攜路」，即一片深綠色的柳樹邊的曾經的離別之路，這引出了回憶的主題。在下闋，「黃蜂頻撲鞦韆索，有當時、纖手香凝」的虛寫，則以鞦韆索上所凝結的「香」來把對已逝女子的記憶具象化。黃蜂不斷地撲向鞦韆的粗繩，因為當時在握著繩子的纖纖細手上的香味仍凝聚在上面。通過對黃蜂的側面描寫，可見詞人對那位女子是多麼深情。「凝」字表面上描寫香停留在繩子上的現象，還能引申出詞人自身對這位女子的回憶及情感就像凝聚在那一刻，久久不逝。女子雖已逝，但她留下的「香」，她的美麗，依然在詞人的腦海中飄蕩著。按著這條思路，那些「頻撲」的「黃蜂」正代指詞人自己不停地苦苦尋找關於女子的回憶。可見「香」的意象普遍用來描寫已逝佳人留下的餘韻，及抒發詞人對佳人的念念不忘。

二、 香與前朝記憶

除了象徵與女子有關的記憶，在南宋及明清之際，「香」也常常象徵詞人對前朝美好的記憶。如姜夔的《疏影》：

苔枝綴玉，有翠禽小小，枝上同宿。客里相逢，籬角黃昏，無言自倚修竹。昭君不慣胡沙遠，但

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[3]吳文英：〈風入松〉，《夢窗詞集校箋》，孫虹、譚學純校，一版，第 953 到 954 頁，中華書局，2014年 5 月。

暗憶、江南江北。想佩環、月夜歸來，化作此花幽獨。

猶記深宮舊事，那人正睡裡，飛近蛾綠。莫似春風，不管盈盈，早與安排金屋。還教一片隨波去，又卻怨、玉龍哀曲。等恁時、重覓幽香，已入小窗橫幅。[4]

此詞是詞人於南宋光宗紹熙二年（1191 年）寫的一首詠梅詞，此詞使用了五個與女子有關的典故，其中三個與下場悲劇的宮中女子有關。在上闋，「昭君」兩句用了王昭君遠嫁匈奴的典故；在下闋，「猶記」三句用了宋武帝之女壽陽公主的典故，公主在含章殿下午睡時，梅花飄落額頭，花痕在其額上久久不散；「早與安排金屋」用了《漢武故事》中的典故：「若得阿嬌作婦，當作金屋貯之也」，即傳說漢武帝說過若陳阿嬌成為皇后，那應蓋座金屋來讓她住。從昭君的典故可見，此詞中她的形象是懷念故國的哀怨形象。「不慣」和「暗憶、江南江北」抒發出對故鄉的懷念，而「想佩環、月夜歸來，化作此花幽獨」則塑造出一個空靈孤寂的形象。姜夔生活在南宋時期，而對這一時代的文人來說，導致北宋滅亡的「靖康之變」，常常成為其詞中的政治寄托的對象。此詞詠梅花的凋零，並明顯地運用悲劇性的宮中女子的典故。所以，詞中的梅花的凋零，能讓讀者聯想到在靖康之變中，被金兵虜走的宮中女子。詞人借助她們的「凋零」來悲嘆國家在靖康之變的遭遇。這樣一種政治寄托式的解讀常見於歷代對這首詞的評論中，如學者沈祖棻在《宋詞賞析》中評此詞：

「昭君」二句，發二帝之憤，以「胡沙」及「江南江北」對照點出。用「暗憶」字，尤見去國之悲乃所不敢明言，唯暗憶耳。「想佩環」二句，謂故國難歸，唯有「環佩空歸夜月魂」而已。···換頭「深宮」，謂汴京之宮，「舊事」，謂靖康二年以前的事。[5]

基於以上的政治寄託解讀，「還教一片隨波去」明面上指梅花飛落，但由於梅花和宮中女子融為一體、以物寫人，因此指宮中女子被俘虜，就像花朵脫離了「根」；他們被金兵沾污，就像被世俗的污水沖流。所以，在尾句「等恁時、重覓幽香，已入小窗橫幅」中，可見「幽香」指這些薄命的宮中女子，乃至其所在的北宋給詞人留下的淒清餘韻。曾經的宮中女子所代表的昔日昌盛的家國，如今已由具象的梅花轉變為虛幻的「幽香」。特別是「幽」字帶出一種幽怨、昏暗、僻靜、綿長的感覺。「幽」在整首詞中出現了兩次，第一次在「想佩環、月夜歸來，化作此花幽獨」，第二次在「等恁時、重覓幽香，已入小窗橫幅」。時代遺忘了那些被侮辱的女子。在詞人的想像中，她們已成為一縷縹緲虛無的「香」，像王昭君的怨魂「化作此花幽獨」。回憶是美麗的，也是孤寂和悲涼的。這淒清的「香」蘊藏著詞人對沒落的前朝無窮無盡的感慨。詞人除了「幽香」之外，還通過「等」、「重覓」及「已入」等強調過往和現在的字眼，配合上前面幾句的「猶記」、「莫似」、「早與安排金屋」、「還教」及「又卻怨」，突出今昔對比，悲嘆出美麗的梅花飄散，只留下一絲幽香的淒清意境，更悲嘆北宋

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[4] 姜夔：〈疏影〉，《姜白石詞箋注》，陳書良校，一版，第 132 頁，中華書局，2009 年 7 月。

[5] 姜夔：〈疏影〉，《姜白石詞箋注》，陳書良校，一版，第 137 頁，中華書局，2009 年 7 月。

昔日的昌盛遙不可及，已成為飄渺回憶：「已入小窗橫幅」，昔日已定格在畫屏中，只能觀看回想而不能觸摸。

明清之際李雯的《風流子·送春》，也使用「香」意象來象徵前朝記憶：

誰教春去也？人間恨，何處問斜陽？見花褪殘紅，鶯捎濃綠，思量往事，塵海茫茫。芳心謝，錦梭停舊織，麝月懶新妝。杜宇數聲，覺餘驚夢；碧欄三尺，空倚愁腸。

東君抛人易，回頭處、猶是昔日池塘。留下長楊紫陌，付與誰行？想折柳聲中，吹來不盡；落花影裡，舞去還香。難把一樽輕送，多少暄涼。[6]

此詞收錄於李雯《蓼齋後集》，其中的作品皆寫於明亡後，詞人被困在北京的時段。清兵入關後，李雯的父親死於京城的兵亂，此時自己也被困在京城內，窮困潦倒，無法把父親的遺體送回故鄉江南去安葬。因此，在文人龔鼎孳的推薦下，李雯萬分痛苦與無奈地投靠了清廷，還疑似為其寫了《致史相國書》的勸降書，成了為人所不齒的「貳臣」。出生於江南官宦文人之家，從小就受「忠君愛國」理念教育的李雯，在仕清之後產生出一種深刻的罪感。在一封致南方正在致力抗清的友人陳子龍的書信中，他深感自己「失身」，並形容自身「余沉海水底」[7]，不久便鬱鬱而終，可見仕清對李雯的沈重心理打擊。李雯在改朝換代、

外族入侵的背景下，作為貳臣深感矛盾與愧疚，但在當時的情況下，他無法直抒心意，只好借詞來婉轉地抒發心中複雜的情感。

歷代以來，「春天的離開」是詞中一個最為普遍，且所寄託情感較為豐富的主題——「春天」可代指一切美好的東西，包括女子、包括前朝。結合《風流子·送春》的創作背景，就可看出此詞借即已逝去的「春」暗指曾經的大明的政治寄託。詞人在下闋寫道：「留下長楊紫陌，付與誰行？」「紫陌」的意思是京城的路，而在滿清入關後，恰恰就是佔據了這個首都，滅了明朝。因此，詞人借此問句，正是在悲嘆滿清佔據了京城，成為這些京城大道的新主人。反觀大明，「杜宇數聲，覺餘驚夢」，這個「夢」被「驚」醒，化為泡影。結尾處「落花影裡，舞去還香」，飄落的花遺留芳香。若詞中暮春的意象代指昔日的明朝，那「落花」的「飄落」及「舞去」則能視為明朝的滅亡。「香」淡淡的，只剩下一股香味化入空中，帶有悲涼感。一個「還」字，帶出詞人雖為貳臣，卻對前朝的逝去難以釋懷的強烈情感，詞人只能通過「春天」逝去後留下的一縷「香」表達無限眷戀之情。經歷了喪國之痛，作為貳臣的李雯只能通過回憶去表達出對前朝的留戀，來沖淡其負罪感。詞人的矛盾、愧疚及無力感，加上對前朝難以釋懷，都借最後一句「難把一樽輕送，多少暄涼」帶出。

三、夢幻：「香」與「夢」的意象組合

在南宋及明清之際的詞中，「香」和「夢」兩個飄渺的意象時常一起出現，烘托出虛實結合的氛圍：「夢」在醒後變得似有似無，留下的

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6 李雯：〈風流子·送春〉，《蓼齋後集》，清順治十四年（1657）石維崑刻本，卷一。

7 李雯：〈東門行寄陳氏附書〉，《蓼齋後集》，清順治十四年（1657）石維崑刻本，卷一。

餘韻卻無窮無盡;「香」則是一個融入在環境中、微妙的氣息,亦有這種若有若無、餘味無窮的特點。

吳文英的《風入松》上片有「交加曉夢啼鶯」,其下片有「黃蜂頻撲鞦韆索,有當時、纖手香凝」,可見詞人正是用了「夢」和「香」的意象組合來營造意境。「交加曉夢啼鶯」指清晨的夢交雜著黃鶯的叫聲,可以表達出一種浪漫但迷離、殘碎的幻想。「纖手香凝」指佳人纖纖細手凝聚在鞦韆上的氣息。「夢」與「香」兩者都是虛幻且美麗的,它們共同烘托出詞人沈溺在曾經的美好,徘徊在現實和往事中的感覺,凸顯出詞人的執著。

明末詞人陳子龍的《憶秦娥·楊花》也使用了「香」與「夢」的意象組合:

春漠漠,香雲吹斷紅文幕。紅文幕,一簾殘夢,任他飄泊。輕狂無奈春風惡,蜂黃蝶粉同零落。同零落,滿池萍水,夕陽樓閣。[8]

楊花即柳絮。詞人在第一句中以「香雲」來指柳絮,接著在第二句寫「一簾殘夢」。柳絮飛舞代表春天的消逝,更象徵女子從花樣年華到衰老的變化。「香」因為其飄渺的特點,襯托出柳絮的「飄泊」之感,以及「殘夢」的虛幻之感。因此,當柳絮配上殘破的夢,就抒發出一種既飄渺又零落的感覺,使讀者感到悵惘。

歷代的詩詞中常用「雲」來比喻女子的美麗的髮髻,因此此詞中的「香雲」一語雙關,也可解讀為帶有香氣的雲鬢。「香」裊裊娜娜的特質襯托出雲鬢的輕柔,塑造出一個美麗又虛幻的女子形象,使「紅文幕」染上一種迷離的氣息。聯繫上創作背景,陳子龍是雲間三子之一,和明末名伎柳如是談過一場深刻的戀愛,而柳如是的原名是「楊愛」。因此,由於同字的關係,學者陳寅恪認為陳子龍凡是詠「楊花」的詞皆有可能和柳如是有關。「一簾殘夢,任他飄泊」中的「他」表面上指「楊花」,亦可引申解讀為指柳如是。柳如是和陳子龍雖然情投意合,但作為伎女,注定她和陳子龍無法共度一生。因此,「楊花」的漂泊能引申出詞人無奈之下,讓柳如是離開的深層含義。楊花的特質是輕盈、隨風飄蕩,而「香」美麗又虛幻,正對應著柳如是漂泊無依的身分,及兩者之間「一簾殘夢」的戀愛。

反觀《南鄉子·落花》,此詞是柳如是一首致陳子龍的應和詞,同樣將「香」與「夢」組合在一起:

拂斷垂垂雨,傷心蕩盡春風語。況是櫻桃薇院也,堪悲。又有個人兒似你。莫道無歸處,點點香魂清夢裡。做殺多情留不得,飛去。願他少識相思路。[9]

「莫道無歸處,點點香魂清夢裡」,意思即「不要說(我)沒歸處,(我化為)點點滴滴的香魂,出現在你的清夢裡」,構成

[8]陳子龍:〈憶秦娥·楊花〉,《陳子龍全集》,王英志校,一版,第654到655頁,人民文學出版社,2011年6月。

姜夔:〈疏影〉,《姜白石詞箋注》,陳書良箋注,一版,第137頁,中華書局,2009年7月。

[9]柳如是:《南鄉子·落花》,收入《全清詞·順康卷》,南京大學全清詞編纂研究室編,第三冊,第1476頁,中華書局,2002年。

「香魂清夢」的組合。「魂」和「夢」作為主要意象，帶出一種縹緲虛無的記憶的味道。其中，「香」作為美麗女子的獨有體氣質，為「魂」添加一絲飄渺及婉約之態。在此，「香」透過襯托主要意象「魂」，營造出一種迷離、清麗，並沈醉其中的感覺，和「夢」間接聯繫。「香」和「夢」型態多變、若即若離、久久不散，如同思緒。陳子龍憐惜柳如是，但也只能「任他飄泊」；而柳如是回應：自己的歸處，就如「香」出現在昔日情人的「夢」中，留下零零碎碎卻又無窮無盡的餘韻。

力感。同樣是個「香」字，作為意象，其含意在時間的變遷中也跟著演變、深化：從單純代表花草散發出的香味，到唐宋時期代表女子獨有的婉約氣質，而到了南宋及明清之際更提升到朝代變更的象徵。

四、 結論

總括而言，「香」在南宋和明清詞中有多重意義。一個常見的含意是過往或已逝女子的氣息。女子飄渺不定、容易飛逝的香味，如同她留下的餘韻；詞人通過其不散來傳達出相思之情。這在南宋詞人姜夔的《暗香》、《疏影》及吳文英的《風入松》可見。其次，由於改朝換代的背景，「香」其飄渺易逝的特質，讓其在南宋和明清詞中更能含有政治寄託，代表昔日的朝代留下的美好回憶，傳達出詞人的留戀。這體現在姜夔的《疏影》及李雯的《風流子·送春》中。最後，「香」常與「夢」出現在同一詞中。兩者同樣是虛幻的意象，「香」更帶有一種女子婉約及迷離的氣息，因此能共同營造出一種徘徊在虛實之間的意境。

「香」飄渺、美好的特質，有利於讓詞人牽動思緒、抒發愁緒，來表達出昔日的美好如今已散入空中的情形。特別在南宋和明清之際的詞中，「香」飄渺不定的特質，更能抒發出當時的文人經歷喪失家國和被外族入侵的迷茫與無

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談胡風對唐朝婦女服飾的影響

Lucie Siu　　肖語泓

摘要

唐朝是我國歷史上受胡漢文化交流以及融合的影響最廣泛的朝代，胡風在唐朝社會的流行和外交政策、交通、經濟發展有著密切的聯繫。本文將從胡風在唐朝盛行的背景作為切入點，探討胡風影響下的唐朝婦女服裝。

一、 胡風在唐朝社會上的流行

唐朝是我國古代社會的最鼎盛時期，也是世界上最強大的帝國之一，更是當時的世界商貿文化交流中心。因此，唐朝在當時有著十分高的國際地位。胡人看到唐朝如此繁盛，抱著不同的希望前來。他們有的仰慕唐朝強盛的國力，成為了朝廷上的官員；有的仰慕唐朝豐富的文化，來唐朝學習；有的仰慕唐朝繁榮的經濟，來唐朝經商。這些胡人在學習唐朝先進的文化的同時，也為唐朝帶來了屬於他們的胡文化。

胡文化的主要傳播是通過絲綢之路的外交和貿易。在交流的過程中，胡漢文化進行了碰撞和融合。絲綢之路在原有三條路線的基礎上，開闢了兩條新的路線，使絲綢之路達到了鼎盛。同時又開闢了一條新的中印交通路線，這樣使東西方交往更加通暢便捷。便利的交通使胡人更加方便地來到唐朝，傳播自己的文化[1]。

唐朝推行了自由靈活的對外貿易政策來鼓勵更多經商胡人到中國進行貿易。唐朝政府允許外來經商胡人長期在中國定居，並給他們一定的減稅優惠，許多胡人在中國同唐朝人結婚。唐朝所制定的貿易法律允許外來貨幣在中國流通，使唐朝變成了當時的貿易大國之一，促進了中外經濟的交流，也有利於胡文化在中國的傳播[2]。
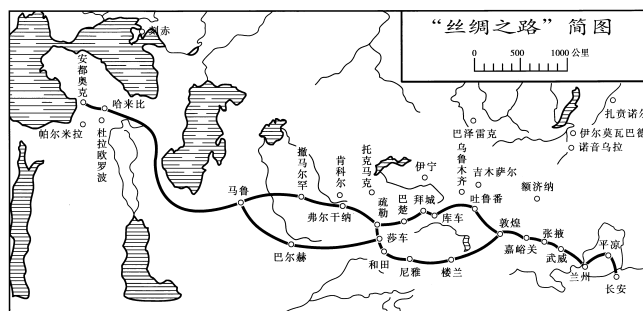
圖一：絲綢之路簡圖（從莎車到馬魯，敦煌到疏勒為新開闢路線）[3]。

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[1]昭陵博物館：〈淺論大唐文化中的胡風元素〉，2018 年 12 月 4 日，<http://www.yidianzixun.com/article/0KkZhTWi>。

[2]陳培愛，夏寶君：〈中國古代對外傳播的分期與特點〉，《新聞愛好者》，2008 年 11 月：48-49。

[3]鄭炳林，高國祥：〈「絲綢之路」簡圖〉，《蘭州大學敦煌學研究所》，2008 年，中國工具書網絡出版總庫，2014 年，<https://refbookimg.cnki.net/CRFDPIC/R200902039/r200902039.0016.0[0771dc10957ea].png>

圖二：彩繪雙環望仙髻女舞俑[4]。

圖三：彩繪回鶻髻持果盤女立俑[5]。

二、 胡文化影響下的唐朝婦女服飾

唐朝服飾因受到外來文化以及胡風的影響，跟前朝表現出許多不同的特點。发髻是唐朝女子裝飾的重點，可以很明顯看出對胡人女子发髻的效仿。仔細觀察圖二，女子发式為高髻。諸多发式中，雙環望仙髻和回鶻髻（圖二）最為常見，最為流行。謝弗曾在《唐代外來文明》一書中寫道：「婦女的发式和化妝也流行『非漢族』的樣式，而八世紀的宮女則時興『回鶻

髻』[6]。盛唐時，許多唐朝公主的侍女梳著高髻，有時裝飾簪釵或步搖，外出一般戴胡。

唐朝婦女的社會地位比前朝有所提高，同時受到胡風影響，女性的服飾因而更加開放，襦裙服就是很好的例子。襦裙服是唐代女性的主要服飾之一，襦裙領口較低，裙腰較高，外披紗羅衫，使身體上的肌膚若隱若現，展現出女性豐滿且性感的身材。從襦裙服的特點，我們也可以看出當時人們的思想觀念是極為開放的。再者，在服裝色彩上，唐朝服飾的顏色多為艷麗，重視衣裙色彩的美化功能，流行紅、紫、黃、綠，尤以紅為時尚。相比之下，宋朝婦女的服飾則強調本色，追求整體和諧及色彩的典

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[4] 〈彩繪雙環望仙髻女舞俑〉，《館藏精品》，陝西歷史博物館，2016 年 12 月 7 日，<http://www.sxhm.com/index.php?ac=article&at=read&did=10484>

[5] 〈彩繪持果盤女立俑〉，《館藏精品》，陝西歷史博物館，2016 年 12 月 11 日，<http://www.sxhm.com/index.php?ac=article&at=read&did=11567>

[6] （美）愛德華·謝弗：〈唐代的外來文明（彩色插圖珍藏本）〉，2005 年 12 月 01 日，陝西師範大學出版社：195-208.

雅[7]。從多種顏色的碰撞中，唐朝女子的不同氣質也顯現了出來。

圖四為盛唐的壁畫〈都督夫人太原王氏〉，太原王氏是天寶十二載 (753 年) 前後出任晉昌郡都督的樂庭瓌的夫人[8]。如壁畫所顯示，都督夫人身著石榴紅裙，肩披薄帛，梳著高髻，身後二個女兒也分別穿著鮮豔的綠裙和黃裙。大女兒同母親一樣梳高髻，小女兒則是戴鳳冠，身後的侍婢均為女著男裝，位於夫人和女兒身後。壁畫中的服裝色彩繽紛，佈滿了花紋，顯得紛繁靡麗，富麗堂皇，也將女人美麗的身材表露出來。

圖四：〈都督夫人太原王氏〉，出自：敦煌莫高窟 130 窟南壁[9]。

7Charles D. Benn, "Clothes and Hygiene." Daily Life in Traditional China The Tang Dynasty, Greenwood Press, 2002, pp. 97–117.

8〈都督夫人太原王氏〉，《個人圖書館》，2011 年 1 月 28 日，<http://www.360doc.com/content/11/0128/18/401904_89625840.shtml>

9〈都督夫人太原王氏禮佛圖〉，《香港賽馬會呈獻系列：敦煌–說不完的故事》，香港文化博物館，2015 年 1 月 5 日，<https://www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk/zh_CN/web/hm/exhibitions/data/exid218/exhibit_24.html>

唐朝婦女服飾的另一個特點是盛行女著男裝。女著男裝在中國古代社會中極為罕見，但唐代女性卻喜穿男裝，尤其是生活在社會風氣開放環境中的貴族女性。許多貴族女性向往西域女子的颯爽英姿，因此都開始效仿胡人女子的穿著風格。女著男裝的主要特點為頭戴襆頭，身穿窄袖圓領缺胯衫，腰系緞帶，足著烏皮靴[10]。相比於男裝的單一，女著男裝的胡服花色與裝飾比較豐富。圖五即為女著男裝的例子，中間女子為頭戴胡帽的仕女。

圖五：〈捧盆景仕女圖〉，出自：章懷太子李賢墓前甬道東壁[11]。

結論

總而言之，胡風對於唐朝婦女服飾的影響主要是風格和色彩兩種方面。對比前朝婦女服飾，唐朝服飾的風格明顯更加美豔絕倫，比以往樸素保守的風格更加開放，也更能體現出女性的婀娜多姿之美。基於色彩上，就如筆者之前所說，唐朝女性服飾更加注重誇張的色彩，如大

10莊申：〈化妝服飾篇〉，《長安時代：唐人生活史》，香港大學美術博物館，2008 年 10 月：67。

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紅大綠等等。有趣的是，很多唐朝流行的女性服飾特徵流傳到了現在的女性服飾。我們上街很多看到的女性服飾，如同唐朝時期的一樣，越來越注重於體現「美」這個詞。就如同 20 世紀流行的到旗袍，緊身的樣式能更加體現女性的嫵媚。唐朝女性服飾所包含的特點又會怎麼流傳到二十一世紀呢？這就得看我們新時代的設計師是否能將其特點融合在以後的服裝裡了。

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An exploration of the literary techniques used to comment on the importance of legacy in *Hamilton: an American musical*

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1　Introduction

Hamilton: An American Musical is an innovative, sung-and-rapped-through musical that premiered on Broadway in 2015 went on to win 11 Tony Awards and a Pulitzer Prize for Drama, thereby cementing itself as a musical juggernaut. The critically acclaimed musical chronicles the life of America's first treasury secretary and founding father, Alexander Hamilton, whose integrality to the formative years of the United States caused his life story to be inextricably intertwined with the story of America's founding, making Hamilton the quintessential "American Musical". The musical's libretto, lyrics, and music were written by Lin-Manuel Miranda who also originated the title role on Broadway.

Hamilton is famed for its eclectic blend of contemporary music genres like hip-hop – developed in the Bronx borough of New York City in the 1970s – with traditional Broadway-style show tunes. Miranda's artistic choice facilitates his storytelling as he seeks to use hip-hop to highlight Hamilton's commonalities with hip-hop icons – sharing humble beginnings, untrammelled ambition, and mastery of verbal combat – in order to provide a relatable yet informative depiction of this historical figure in his biographical musical (Perrin). *Hamilton's* amalgamation of ethnomusicological styles also serves to "legitimise hip-hop in musical theater" (Miranda and McCarter 196), illustrating Miranda's tendency to subvert conventions which hints at his deeper goal: to challenge popular but mistaken conceptions about America's founding.

Miranda's use of the hip-hop genre which was pioneered by African-American and Latino communities also naturally decrees that the production should not be restricted to a monoracial, historically accurate casting (Vargas). Hence, *Hamilton's* production is culturally significant for the portrayal of powerful historical figures by actors of colour, as this anachronism arguably allows historically marginalised ethnicities to lay claim to a country that has continually denounced them.

The musical is also a trailblazer in American culture as it addresses the historical glorification of America's "infallible" founding (Brown). One only has to look as far as the Capitol Building's fresco, *The Apotheosis of Washington*, to witness how the founding fathers are exalted as literal gods while the founding era acquires a legendary status in history (Zahn). Through his lyrical choices, Miranda refutes the epoch's mythologisation by humanising the illustrious founding fathers and divulging less glorious moments of America's formative years, jolting audiences into "thinking about popular culture" as it "casts new light on some of the most storied events in American history" (Rosen). Hence, Miranda presents an unorthodox interpretation of the founding to subvert perceptions of its past (Rose).

2　Research Question

Considering how *Hamilton* has left an indelible mark on American society, the musical's libretto is worthy of literary analysis to understand how Miranda's creative use of language enabled a simple musical to become a certified cultural phenomenon. This essay intends to examine **how Miranda uses characterisation and poetic techniques to shed light on the theme of legacy**, a prominent motif in *Hamilton* as numerous characters spend the entire musical obsessing over how they will be remembered in history. Furthermore,

one cannot examine a historical retelling without discussing how legacies shape narratives of the past, making Miranda's preoccupation with legacy crucial to this analysis.

This essay intends to demonstrate that Miranda uses characterisation, sound devices, metaphor, and second-person pronouns in *Hamilton's* libretto to reveal that historical figures have an innate and potentially destructive desire to leave behind a legacy, yet these legacies may be misrepresented, undermining the accuracy of history.

With regards to the research question's dual focus on poetic devices and characterisation, since the musical is character-driven, deconstructing Miranda's use of characterisation is essential to fully understand the musical's impact on the audience.

Additionally, hip-hop is not a poetic device in itself but an amalgamation of rhyme, pun, consonance, assonance, and metaphors, hence, Miranda's consistent utilisation of these poetic devices constitutes his ode to hip-hop in *Hamilton* (Salvo).

3   Analysis

Throughout *Hamilton*, legacies signify the way in which posterity remembers an individual. Thus, leaving behind a legacy is akin to immortalising oneself in history. Since historical narratives are founded on legacies, distortion of the latter threatens the accuracy of history. Through shedding light on the concept of legacy, Miranda achieves three effects: he supplements the audience's comprehension of historical figures and events, he challenges the prevailing narrative of America's founding, and he sheds light on the pitfalls of historiography.

3.1   Deepening the audience's comprehension of history

Hamilton opens with the titular protagonist meeting the main antagonist, Aaron Burr, for the first time. As Hamilton inquires about how to emulate Burr's success, Miranda uses dialogue to indirectly characterise both men's contrasting personalities:

Burr advising Hamilton to "talk less, smile more" (Miranda and McCarter 24) illustrates Burr's appreciation of reticence and his desire to win others' approval through physical appeal. Meanwhile, telling Hamilton "don't let them know what you're against or what you're for" demonstrates Burr's tendency to remain neutral to stay in everyone's favour. Clearly, Burr puts on an agreeable façade to increase his chances of success, thereby placing himself in a position to leave behind a notable legacy.

Miranda juxtaposes Burr's tight-lipped tendency with Hamilton's outspoken temperament as Hamilton vehemently denounces Burr's impartiality by questioning "If you stand for nothing Burr, what'll you fall for?" (25). Here, Miranda uses indirect characterisation through speech to indicate that Hamilton dislikes Burr's spineless neutrality. Hamilton openly embraces the down-"fall" that Burr hopes to avoid, as defending one's beliefs to the death has its benefits too: one can be immortalised in martyrdom. Evidently, both men employ different strategies to make their mark on history, as one hopes to achieve success by staying in public favour to ensure longevity in a position of power, while the other hopes to die an inspirational death. Therefore, Burr and Hamilton's dichotomous approaches converge on a common goal: to acquire recognition and acclaim, thereby leaving behind a legacy. Through contrast and indirect characterisation, Miranda presents the diplomatic Burr as a foil to the confrontational Hamilton to emphasise historical figures' desire to leave behind a legacy. In illustrating their legacy-driven conflict, Miranda enriches the audience's understanding of the Burr-Hamilton rivalry, setting the scene for their animosity which culminates in a historic duel. Hamilton's desire to be forthright in the name of legacy also deepens the audience's comprehension of the Hamilton-Reynolds affair – the sex scandal that destroyed Hamilton's career – as Hamilton's prioritisation of honesty explains why he publicised the sordid truth.

The pertinence of legacy to historical figures is further reinforced when Miranda uses consonance to extol Hamilton and his revolutionary era com-

panions as a "bunch of revolutionary manumission abolitionists" (27). The consonance from the sibilant "sh" sound in "revolutionary", "manumission", and "abolitionist" allows this laudatory description to stand out from the verbal density of the musical number, consequently ingraining Hamilton's heroism in audiences' minds – he declares himself a "revolutionary abolitionist" to demonstrate his admirable progressiveness. Hence, Miranda clearly illustrates Hamilton's aspiration to leave behind a favourable legacy in history.

Though Miranda divulges Hamilton's progressive beliefs, in doing so, he perpetuates an idealised depiction of historical figures à la "Founders Chic", a style of revising early American history by presenting an overly complimentary portrayal of the founding fathers (Romano and Potter). By describing Hamilton as a "manumission abolitionist", labelling him as a supporter of the abolition of slavery, Miranda paints Hamilton as upstanding, conveniently disregarding how Hamilton had hired in slaves and even married into a major slave-owning family (Magness). The adjective "revolutionary" also implies that Hamilton's support for slaves' liberation was impactful and pioneering, an untrue assertion since his complicity in the slave trade was undoubtedly counterproductive to the liberation of slaves. Hence, Miranda fails to acknowledge Hamilton's cognitive dissonance in his extremely positive description, therefore missing an opportunity to shatter the façade of Hamilton's rectitude by revealing this founding father's non-commitment to his beliefs. Instead, Miranda reinforces the romanticised narrative of the founding fathers that he tries so hard to challenge throughout the musical, for the sake of creating a progressive hero that modern Americans can wholeheartedly idolise and elevating the musical's agreeability with audiences.

Later in the musical, Miranda uses indirect characterisation to reveal the destructiveness of the desire to leave behind a legacy. As Burr tells Hamilton that Clermont Street has been rechristened Mercer Street in honour of the late General Mercer, both men wistfully ponder Mercer's posthumous ease in securing a legacy: "all he had to do was die." (Miranda and McCarter 186). Hamilton and Burr even consider dying a hero's death appealing as it is "a lot less work" and even worth "a try", thus, Miranda reveals through dialogue that they have essentially developed death wishes for the sake of being remembered. By illustrating this self-destructive aspect of legacy-building, Miranda divulges that leaving behind a legacy is the single greatest achievement a historical figure can hope to achieve as legacies ensure remembrance. Hence, Miranda enhances audiences' understanding of the historic Burr-Hamilton duel as it is the destructive result of historical figures' legacy-building – the duel was provoked by Hamilton disparaging Burr's reputation, prompting the latter to defend his honour (Wallenfeldt).

The all-consuming nature of legacy-building is especially potent when Hamilton's attempt to protect his legacy backfires. When Hamilton's rivals, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, discover dubious payments from Hamilton to a Mr James Reynolds, Jefferson and Madison seek to undermine Hamilton's political career by threatening to accuse him of embezzlement. To clear himself of legal wrongdoing, Hamilton drafts his exposé (later known as the Reynolds Pamphlet), during which he convinces himself that "this is the only way I can protect my legacy" (Miranda and McCarter 232). Here, Hamilton finds consolation in the belief that he can "protect" his political reputation through publicising the fact that his dubious payments were for a legal yet more heinous act: an extramarital affair with Reynolds' wife. Hence, Miranda uses direct characterisation via dialogue to divulge how Hamilton myopically prioritises legacy over his family's dignity; he only considers the merits of divulging his sex scandal – that it will "protect his legacy" – thus his fixation on legacy-building blindsides him by making him overlook how his affair may humiliate his wife and children. Additionally, through suggesting that Hamilton will be able to "write [his] way out, overwhelm them with honesty", Miranda reinforces that Hamilton's obsession with clearing his name has caused a destructive oversight of his ruination as he is out of touch with public sentiment; his admission to treacherous adul-

tery will not allow him to "write his way out" of trouble, it will harm his reputation rather than salvaging it. Hamilton's inability to separate his life from legacy-building is his hamartia, the fatal flaw that leads to his downfall. Through exploring the devastating consequences of aspiring to leave behind an honourable legacy, Miranda enhances audiences' comprehension of the historical causes and effects of the Reynolds pamphlet.

3.2 Challenging the prevailing narrative of America's founding

When George Washington – arguably the most deified founding father of all – first appears in the musical, Miranda uses consonance and assonance to challenge the prevailing historical narrative that idealises Washington and founding fathers alike. When Washington acknowledges history's depiction of himself, Miranda repeats bilabial and fricative consonant sounds in "model of a modern major general" and a "venerated Virginian veteran" respectively (61), creating pleasant-sounding alliteration that draws the audience's attention to these accolades, with the pleasing, flawless rhythm generated by consonance mirroring the perfect, flawless standards Washington must live up to as America's lionised liberator. Miranda also uses assonance to repeat the close-mid front unrounded vowel ɛ, or the "eh" sound when Washington addresses how others are "embellishin' my elegance and eloquence", drawing attention to how the masses idealise Washington by exclusively propagating his admirable qualities. Consequently, Miranda gives Washington a voice and vulnerability using consonance and assonance to draw attention to how he is not as flawless and omnipotent as purported. The inflation of Washington's legacy even warrants his first spoken line in the musical to be "Can I be real a second?" to establish a distinction between the publicised narrative and his "real" personality. In demonstrating how misrepresented legacies may undermine the accuracy of historical narratives – as evidenced by Washington's exaggerated portrayal – Miranda exposes the skewed public perception of historical personae to refute the narrative that the founding fathers were infallible and god-like.

Following the deconstruction of Washington's apotheosis, Miranda uses second-person pronouns to continue critiquing excessively rosy outlooks on history. After the Battle of Yorktown secured America's independence from Britain, King George III, the former king of the American colonies, wonders aloud, "What comes next? You've been freed. Do you know how hard it is to lead?" (126). Here, Miranda's use of the second-person pronoun "you" enables him to break the fourth wall to suggest that the audience doesn't "know how hard it is to lead" because the romanticisation of the American founding glosses over the hardships encountered during the epoch. Contrary to popular belief, the end of the Revolutionary War did not immediately usher in prosperity for America. In fact, the rousing musical number "Yorktown" was a contender for the closing number of Act 1 of *Hamilton* but was ultimately rejected as its sunny view of America's founding is incongruous with America's struggles. Even John Adams, a founding father who lived to see America's founding mythologised, "begged [people] to remember that the country's birth was painful, contentious, and not remotely finished when the British went home" (124). Hence, by illustrating how a nation's legacy may be distorted to perpetuate conjectural perceptions of the past, Miranda subverts glorified narratives about America's infancy.

3.3 Shedding light on the pitfalls of historiography

Miranda notably comments on the misrepresentations of legacies in the musical number, "Room Where It Happens", which revolves around the Dinner Table Bargain, an event shrouded in secrecy as it is unclear how known rivals, Hamilton and Jefferson, agreed upon lucrative political decisions over one dinner.

Miranda criticises the deification of founding fathers and reveals the lack of clarity in historical events when Burr condemns the underhanded circumstances of the bargain: "My God! In God we trust, but we'll never really know what got discussed" (188). Through rhyme, Miranda high-

lights the phonetic similarity between "God" and "got", creating a double entendre for the word "got" as Burr laments that we'll never really know what "God" discussed. With Burr's frustration aimed at Hamilton and Jefferson's secrecy, this pun likens the founding fathers to gods, satirising the narratives that aggrandise founding fathers. Similarly, by exclaiming, "no one really knows . . . how the sausage gets made", Miranda uses metaphor to compare posterity's lack of expertise on the past to the public's lack of understanding on trade secrets like "how sausages get made", thereby implying that history may be obscured due to deliberate secrecy in closed-door deals. Hamilton and Jefferson's strategic clandestinity urges the audience to contemplate how intentional distortion of legacies, such as the bargain that transpired in "the room where it happens", prevents history from being accurate and reliable, as seen in how Burr is forced to summarise the specifics of the compromise using the vague pronoun "it". Hence, Miranda ascribes the modern deification of founding fathers to posterity's lack of clarity on historical events, consequently confronting the pitfall of historiography: history can never fully capture the past due to the dearth of documentation and transparency.

At the musical's climax, Miranda stresses the fickleness of historiography – one can never control how they are portrayed in history if at all. When Hamilton and Burr's opposition culminates in a fateful duel, Hamilton's final moments are dramatically prolonged through a spoken-word monologue, a departure from the sung-through musical to imbue this scene with dramatic importance. As Hamilton asks, "If I throw away my shot, is this how you'll remember me? What if this bullet is my legacy?" (273), Miranda uses the second-person pronoun "you" to inform the audience as a synecdoche of America that "this bullet" – a symbol of his duel – has shaped how "you" (future generations) remember Hamilton, as Hamilton becomes best known for this sensational duel rather than for other achievements. Thus, by illustrating how legacies can be misrepresented through an overemphasis on selective events, Miranda reveals the travesty of history: the volatility of lega-

cies deny historical figures control over how they shall be remembered.

Miranda also uses metaphors to further illustrate the instability of historical narratives. If a legacy is "planting seeds in a garden you never get to see" (273), then leaving behind a legacy is a posthumous action as the fruits of one's labour only appears after one finishes making their mark on the world. Since historical figures "never get to see" how their legacy comes to fruition, Miranda reinforces their lack of control over their memorialisation. Miranda also likens legacies to writing an unfinished song "someone will sing for me", indicating that though Hamilton builds the foundation of his legacy, how his legacy will be interpreted is beyond his control because others will continue adding onto the "song" he began. This potent metaphor yet again breaks the fourth wall, forcing audiences to confront the malleability of legacies as Miranda overtly acknowledges how he has shaped Hamilton's legacy by incorporating his words into musical numbers, literally completing the song others "will sing for me". Such is the fatality of historiography; it is not up to you, but rather posterity, to secure your legacy and tell your story, possibly misrepresenting it.

When Hamilton is shot by Burr and the latter confronts the gravity of his actions, Miranda uses direct characterisation through speech to illustrate the worrying lack of nuance in history: as Burr laments that he "paid" the price for killing Hamilton because this action will paint him henceforth as "the villain in [Hamilton's] history" (275), Miranda exercises the hindsight he possesses from living in the 21st century to portray Burr's remorse, as Burr predicts his vilification in American history (Wills). Burr's remorse for killing Hamilton also draws attention to the devastating consequences of an over fixation on legacy-building, because Burr's ardent pursuit of a pristine reputation has ironically cost him his legacy. As a result, Burr's downfall, catalysed by one single attention-grabbing action, exemplifies how history can easily reduce a complex individual to the two-dimensional role of a "villain", with little room for redemption. Hence, historiography's fatal flaw is that history obliterates.

Miranda makes a powerful statement by ending the musical not with Hamilton's death but with the aftermath, hinting at how legacies outlive their owners. In the final musical number, "Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Your Story", when the company asks, "Who remembers your name? Who tells your story?" (Miranda and McCarter 281), Miranda uses anaphora and repeats "who" to prompt audiences to doubt the accuracy of history. Since the power to shape narratives is vested in "who lives, who dies, who tells your story", legacies will always be vulnerable to misrepresentation by future generations, threatening the integrity of history. Hence, Miranda expresses the double-edged sword of history – it is as unreliable as it is informative. The inevitable risk of leaving behind legacies is laid out in the open: legacies are less dependent on what you did when you were alive, and more contingent on what others do after your death.

4 Conclusion

Overall, Miranda uses characterisation and poetic devices to depict the centrality of legacy in history. The array of devices used are well suited to achieve Miranda's intended effects; characterisation illustrates how an obsession with legacy-building leads to ruination, while attention-grabbing second-person pronouns expose the audience's complicity in perpetuating glorified narratives of America's founding. Finally, the motley collection of poetic techniques constituting the musical's musicality (rhyme, assonance, consonance) and creation of meaning (metaphor) allow impactful lyrics in musical numbers to stand out, thereby accentuating the historical significance of legacies.

Miranda's intended effects – which include educating the audience about history, disrupting widespread misperceptions about history, and addressing flaws of historiography – are expected due to the nature of *Hamilton's* content. After all, like any historical musical, *Hamilton* should discuss the implications of historical events and dispel misconceptions while addressing the limitations of recorded accounts.

Among these effects, Miranda's challenge of the perception of America's founding is arguably the most culturally impactful, as he redefines what it means to be a patriotic American. In providing a more honest depiction of the founding, Miranda jolts American audiences from their complacency as they realise America never was and still is not flawless. For example, the fact that *Hamilton* makes a 'daring political statement' through inviting non-white actors to portray powerful figures is a testament to how there is still much progress to be made for America and its racist status quo (Ball and Reed).

However, historical inaccuracies limit the profundity of *Hamilton's* cultural influence as Miranda contradicts his original intention to challenge historical glorification; considering the libretto's liberal use of artistic license, *Hamilton* is at best an innocuous, uplifting work of historical fiction, and at worst, a work that insidiously romanticises unscrupulous historical figures. Through romanticising the founding fathers à la Founders Chic, Miranda presents a post-racial view of history which offers Americans absolution in their patriotism (Romano and Potter). By creating in *Hamilton* a staunch abolitionist and depicting founding fathers as charismatic, Miranda absolves modern audiences' guilt in rooting for slave owners and other unscrupulous public figures, thereby presenting founding fathers in more a palatable manner to progressive audiences. Historian Nancy Isenberg even criticises Miranda's actions as "history should be jarring, not wrapped up in a pretty bow" (Lewis), indicating that tailoring a story to suit the interests of the target audience is a flaw of fiction. Miranda's preoccupation with legacy is manifest in his creative decisions, as even he is guilty of misrepresenting narratives to shape the imprint that *Hamilton* will leave in modern America.

Though there are drawbacks to "patriotic mythmaking" (namely, the loss of historical accuracy), no audience member is under the impression that the founding fathers were people of colour who had rap battles to settle national disputes, thus audiences are likely to maintain a degree of scepticism about *Hamilton's* accuracy. Thus, "jarring"

historical narratives are not threatened by the fictionalised narrative propagated by *Hamilton*.

In fact, "tying history up in a pretty bow" is necessary in *Hamilton* due to the entertainment aspect of the musical genre and the optimistic nature of historical fiction. As the success of a musical depends on its entertainment value, ugly truths are inevitably written off to present an agreeable narrative for audiences' enjoyment, hence, creative license is a hallmark of the musical genre. Similarly, historical fiction is often written due to the writer's desire to produce a historical hero that contemporary audiences can rally around, therefore fiction's appeal lies in its ability to "tie history up" and engage with escapist, motivational hope rather than depressing realism.

Despite Miranda's limited success in refuting romanticised narratives – a symptom of the genre – he still catalyses insightful discussions about the limitations of historiography. Through emphasising that historical accounts of America's founding are still speculative despite the era being a highly scrutinised time in history, Miranda guides audiences in understanding how historiography can never wholly document the past, consequently persuading the public to adopt a more critical angle when reviewing recorded history – especially that of America's founding – no matter the genre in which it is presented.

As a work of historical fiction, *Hamilton* epitomises the power of literature; in filling in historical blanks, fiction illuminates what is not recorded in history. Just as Hamilton's composition of the Reynolds Pamphlet exemplifies words' ability to make a difference, Miranda's masterful use of literary techniques demonstrates that language, when expressed skilfully, is a force to be reckoned with, as he has cast a new light on historical heroes and the American mythos. The power of language and literature, ranging from Hamilton's historical verbal acuity to Miranda's profound depiction of legacy, is undeniable.

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What triggered the 19th century Chinese diaspora from Xiamen to Southeast Asian countries?

Song Yi Jaqueline Chan　陳頌儀

Introduction

From the beginning of the 19th and up until the early 20th century, over 20 million Chinese people journeyed across the South Seas to Southeast Asia (Choong Wilkins). These people were known as "sinkeh", or「新客」, by pre-existing Chinese settlers in those regions. The sinkeh established new communities and traditions, mixing with indigenous cultures while still preserving their Chinese roots. Xiamen is a city and port in the southeastern province of Fujian. In the 19th century, it was an embarkation point for laborers seeking to go to other destinations, and the gathering place of Fujian overseas Chinese (Ebrey and Liu 220-261). In this essay, I will look at historical events of the 19th century and evaluate how they would have acted as push and pull factors for over 20 million Chinese people to leave their hometowns from the port of Xiamen, and journey to Southeast Asia.

Fig. 1. A map of Fujian and surrounding colonies in Southeast Asia during the 19th century.

1 Xiamen

Xiamen is a port city in China's southeastern Fujian province. "Xiamen City" was built and established in Early Ming (1387). Zhou Dexing 周德興 (?-1392), the Duke of Jiangxia, ordered the build-up of Xiamen City to improve coastal defenses. This marked the beginning of Xiamen's history. Although it was built to resist enemy encroachment, promoted and led by Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (1624-1662), Xiamen became a gate for "connecting with foreign countries and enriching China" (The Information Office of Xiamen Municipal People's Government).

Xiamen is known as the "Garden on the Sea", as a result of its excellent harbor surrounded by sheltering islands. In 1841, British troops captured the city after the Opium War and made it into one of its own settlements (The Information Office of Xiamen Municipal People's Government). Xiamen was controlled and developed by the British Empire pre-eminently as a tea and labor output port. As a major city opposite Taiwan, there were major Taiwanese investments in the region (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Xiamen"). Trade in the region grew, peaking in the 1870s, but then declined. Xiamen ceased to serve as the entrepot of Taiwan's foreign trade when the Japanese occupied Taiwan in 1895. However, due to the development of the colonial economy in Southeast Asia, the demand for labor increased substantially. Thus Xiamen became a labor output port and the gathering place of Fujian overseas Chinese, stimulating the urban development of Xiamen and making it a typical maritime Chinese city. Xiamen is

now one of China's five Special Economic Zones (The Information Office of Xiamen Municipal People's Government).

Geography also played a crucial role in this human migration. The map above shows Xiamen and its relation to European colonies during the 19th century. The close proximity of European colonies in Southeast Asia to Xiamen offering economic opportunities could also be the large reason that of 30 million Chinese immigrants, 20 million went to Southeast Asian regions (Lockard 765-781).

2 The Qing Dynasty: Historical Context

During the time in question, China was governed by the Qing dynasty (1644 –1912). The Qing dynasty was founded by the Manchus, a group of non-Chinese people living in the northeast of China. The Qing dynasty saw many high points of traditional Chinese civilization, but Qianlong (1711 –1799) would come to be known as the last great emperor of the Qing dynasty (Ebrey and Liu 220-261). 19th century China saw multiple uprisings, wars, famines, and its reputation crumbled. The major population boom revealed the flaws of the government as it was unable to solve the land shortages, labor surplus, and famine that came as a result. Foreign powers coming to the region also continued to plague the Qing regime until its end in 1911.

3 Wars and Political Tensions

The period between 1839 and 1949 is now largely known as China's Century of Humiliation. It began with China's defeat in the First Opium War (1839-1842). Foreign traders illegally exported opium to China, and its popularity grew rapidly. Large-scale addictions to the drug that subsequently followed created serious social and economic disruption. In 1839, Official Lin Zexu 林则徐 (1785-1850) was dispatched to Guangzhou to compel foreign traders to stop bringing opium into China and encourage the Chinese to stop smoking it. This was met by great displeasure from British opium traders, who lobbied for war with China.

The First Opium War revealed the flaws and weaknesses of China's military and navy, as they were no match for the massive British expeditionary force. Following this, an agreement was worked out in Guangzhou, which called for the ceding of Hong Kong. The Opium War waged on. Despite a determined counterattack to British forces by Chinese troops, the British were largely successful in their subsequent campaigns against Qing military forces. After the British took Nanjing, the Chinese were forced to surrender, and The Treaty of Nanjing was signed. This treaty ended the first opium war, raised China's indemnity to twenty-one million ounces of silver, abolished the Co-hong, opened five treaty ports (Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai, and Xiamen), and fixed the tariff at 5% (Pletcher). This is now known as "the first unequal treaty", as many of similar nature would follow.

The Opium War was only the start of a series of wars that plagued China throughout the 19th century. All of them had devastating socio-economic consequences. For example, the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864). This rebellion was a result of displeasement stemming from a combination of factors, including mass opium addictions, great disruptions from the Opium War, conflicts amongst locals and new settlers in the Guangxi region, and unemployment as the opening of new ports put people out of work. The rebellion was one of the deadliest conflicts in human history, spreading over 16 provinces, destroying over 600 cities, and killing between 20 to 70 million people (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Taiping Rebellion"). Other major conflicts included the Second Opium War (1956-1960) (which legalized coolie trade and opened 10 new ports to foreign trade and residence), the unequal treaties (the first one of which opened Xiamen as a trade port and gave foreigners an independent legal, judicial, police, and taxation system within treaty ports), the Boxer Rebellion, and finally the fall of the Qing Dynasty. These wars demonstrated China's inadequacy in modernization efforts, crushed national morale, and prompted people to seek opportunities outside of the weakening empire.

4 Population Boom

At the beginning of the 1800s, China had around 300 million people. By the 1850s, China's population exceeded 450 million, more than three times the number of people in the 1500s ("Qing China's Internal Crisis: Land Shortage, Famine, Rural Poverty"). This population spurt had enormous ramifications on every aspect of Chinese life. This growth was also even more difficult to deal with as regions had already begun to struggle to absorb internal migration by the 18th century. Villages and towns grew closer, farms grew smaller, and labor was in surplus everywhere. Everything farmers could do to maximize the profits from their plot of land was exhausted. Farming efforts intensified, expanding the use of irrigation and fertilizer, opening even the smallest lands previously considered too marginal, and accepting and implementing New World food crops such as maize and sweet potatoes. The choicest lands became occupied, and with too many people fighting over too few resources, the potential for conflict over rights to water or rights to tenancy naturally increased, causing social tensions.

Governments and local administrations also struggled to keep up with the rapid population growth. By the turn of the 19th century, one district magistrate, the lowest level official who took responsibility for all local administration, was responsible for an estimated 250,000 people ("Qing China's Internal Crisis: Land Shortage, Famine, Rural Poverty"). People essentially had nothing to fall back on in times of crisis. The extent of suffering that ensued, as a result, was most disastrous during the Northern Chinese Famine (1876–1879).

Although every possible method of food production was exhausted, there was not enough for the growing population. The Northern Chinese Famine from 1876 to 1879 is one of the worst famines in Chinese history, having disastrous effects on all five of the Northern Chinese provinces and killing over 9.5 million people ("Qing China's Internal Crisis: Land Shortage, Famine, Rural Poverty"). The cause was a three-year drought, however, the devastation resulted in increasing

levels of dissatisfaction with the Qing government from its people.

5 Economic Opportunities

For the majority of Chinese history, the Chinese state was a leading power in the region, with few external pressures. Even through most of the 18th century, the Qing government had little pressure to expand revenues, as it had no comparable neighboring power, and even ran budget surpluses.

In the 19th Century, however, as a result of the population boom, drought, and internal as well as external conflicts, many people in China were

Fig. 2. A woodblock print from The Famine in China, Committee of the China Famine Relief Fund (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1878). Pictured are citizens selling furniture and even pieces of their house. After killing all of their livestock and pawning their implements of agriculture, the people pictured have settled on this last resort. They sell everything they can until no purchaser can be found.

starving and unemployed. Additionally, after 1842, the economic decline of Guangzhou, stemming from the collapse of its tea trade, put more out of work, adding to the country's large and growing unemployed population.

Peasant households who now had unprofitable farms had to send their men out to work or engage in other forms of employment. At home, women and girls mostly performed spinning and weaving tasks, which also prevented the development of a textile industry, as these women and girls would do these tasks for a return far less than would be needed to maintain a full-time worker.

European powers used this desperation to their advantage and hired Chinese people as cheap laborers for mines and plantations in their Southeast Asian colonies. European colonies bore the high start-up costs for colonies as there were guaranteed markets for the goods that could be harvested in these tropical regions, back home. Manual laborers were known as coolies, or 「苦力」, meaning "the laborer of hard work". Because of Xiamen's geophysical position as a southeastern port, it became one of the two main gateways for people leaving and returning to China.

Fujianese traders were involved as labor recruiters, grocers, pawnbrokers, and bridges for communication, although they did not work as the prime movers of coolies, and were not the largest beneficiaries of these deals. They encouraged people to join by promising easy riches. However, once coolies arrived at their place of work, they would first have to pay off their agents who sent them there, then for the cost of transportation, boarding, and food, before being able to pocket a small return. Additionally, many coolies suffered poor physical health and died on the job. Although Chinese people did fare better in some places than others. Great fortunes were made in the tin business in British-dominated Malaysia. However, in Spanish-controlled Philippines and Dutch-controlled Indonesia, the Chinese had to put up with repeated persecutions. Early in the 19th century, the Dutch seized the mines in Borneo that the Chinese had worked on for generations. Hostilities between Chinese settlers and

the Dutch lasted until 1854 after Chinese emigration to the region essentially ceased. On the other hand, in Java, where Chinese merchant communities were well established, the Dutch used Chinese merchants as tax farmers, and some Chinese became very rich in this way. By the 1900s, there were more than 500,000 Chinese living in Dutch East Indies (Luxley).

6 The Chinese and Fujianese Diaspora to Southeast Asia

Chinese diaspora in South-East Asia did not start in the 19th century. Since the Ming dynasty and until that point, Chinese from southern coastal regions, namely Fujian and Guangdong, had formed mercantile communities throughout Southeast Asia. Fujian had long been a center for trade, and through numerous social dynamic changes, the Fujianese had remained one of the principle shippers and traders of Southeast Asia. Many Fujianese merchants were the region's tax collectors, harbor masters, and financial advisers before and even after the establishment of European colonies. Additionally, Fujian produced many agricultural migrants who spread across China and Southeast Asia. The Fujianese were so widely known for their skill in growing sugar that Europeans deliberately sought out Fujianese sugar farmers for their European colonies. Fujianese farmers would also be followed by a few Fujianese merchants, who provided retail goods such as condiments, and even opium, and helped send money back home (Pomeranz).

The expansion of European Imperialism brought new opportunities for enterprising Chinese. In Singapore, which was founded on essentially barren land in 1819, the Chinese began to pour in. The rich mineral deposits found in Malaysia's tin mines also attracted many Chinese. There, a credit-ticket system was made to bring sinkeh to the Straits Settlements, where the Chinese would be brokered as coolies to prospective employers for a fixed indenture. By the mid-19th century, there were around 10,000 Chinese people in Malacca, and the Chinese ethnic group had grown to be the dominant group in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore.

Later in 1895, Malaysia emerged as the world's largest supplier of tin, and by 1911, there were over 185,000 Chinese employed in the region's tin mining business alone. Chinese sinkeh often blended well with local communities, intermarrying and adopting the region's language and customs (Luxley).

The Baba practice was widely seen in overseas Chinese communities. In the context of marriage, this involves the groom moving into the bride's family home, and this originated out of mutual need. Well-established Baba families wanted to strengthen their Chinese ties, and have their daughters marry sinkeh Chinese immigrants. For the sinkeh families, this marriage allowed him to elevate his status in life as his in-laws with deeper roots in the region, would be more financially stable. Through this, strong overseas Chinese communities were formed. Those born in the region of Chinese descent are referred to by the Malay term of Peranakan Chinese.

7 History running through our veins

My mother is a 7th generation Peranakan Chinese. Based on written accounts from my great-grandmother, I know that her great-great-grandfather was a first-generation immigrant to Malacca, Malaysia, however, the story of why he immigrated was not recorded. This is why I set out on a quest to answer this unknown question and began further research. He was originally from Fujian and –assuming a generation is 20-25 years – would have left from his home province and set out for Malacca around 1845-1880, although the exact year is unknown. Based on my research and the knowledge that he and his son never received a formal education, it is therefore likely that he was sent as a coolie to the tin mines in Malacca to work as cheap labor.

His son was Pang Teck Joon (PTJ), and more is known to my family about his life. In a written account by Pang Siew Peck, my great-grandmother, in the book *Seven Generations and Counting*, wrote, "PTJ was a second generation immigrant born in

Malacca. After his father passed away, he came to Singapore with his mother and settled here". Pang Teck Joon was an overseas Chinese, who spoke fluent Chinese (Hokkien), and Peranakan Malay. Although Pang Siew Peck did not specify why he did not return to China, we may surmise that the reason was due to the time of his immigration colliding with China's century of humiliation, and so he decided to go to a completely foreign place instead of returning to his hometown in Fujian.

In terms of the history of Singapore, this also could have been a result of its establishment as the capital of the British Straits Settlements in 1832. The free trade policy in Singapore also attracted many Chinese to trade, and many more settled down in the region.

Fig. 3. My great-great-grandmother and her grandchildren.

Later Pang Siew Peck wrote that despite having no formal education, PTJ was able to make a great life for himself. He most likely was one of the fortunate coolies who survived and were able to make better lives for themselves. But unfortunately, no more details about his and his father's lives were recorded.

In new places where sinkeh settled, numerous opportunities were found. As Pang Siew Peck recalled, "Aside from operating a store, PTJ also invested in property. Perhaps it was the migrant desire for roots that prompted him to make these tangible purchases". From here, he marked the beginning of a new era for his family to come.

Conclusion

Based on my research, I believe it was a mixture of political, social, and economic instability, on top of the population boom and geographical location of Xiamen in relation to European colonies housing new work opportunities, that led to 20 million Chinese journeying across the South Seas in search of new lives from the port of Xiamen. Many Chinese left in the early 19th century in search of job opportunities. From there, as China fell deeper into their Century of Humiliation, with endless wars, starvation, and endless internal and external political conflicts, these overseas Chinese may have been disincentivised to return home.

History is never a black-and-white tale. It becomes full of paradoxes when we vary our vantage point and look at it from another perspective. We often tend to read historical events from a big picture perspective and seldom see the details and nuances of individual stories; however, zooming in and looking at the lives of people in the grassroots society gives us a deeper insight into historical movements that still shape our lives today.

Our modern world has been shaped by cruel events, but also by the resilience of ordinary people who found a way to bounce back from hard times. The European colonization in Asia was at once the cause of the Qing dynasty's humiliation and the opportunity for an enterprising Chinese diaspora. As a result of my ancestors adapting to difficult times through the form of emigration, I, a half Fujianese-Singaporean and half Hainanese-Hongkonger, can be here today to continue this human history.

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「在對事物進行描述和做出解釋之間有一條清晰的界線。」你在多大程度上同意這一論斷?

Johnson Li　李嘉辰

事物,我們可以以描述或解釋的方式來呈現;知識,會以或描述或解釋的形式到來。描述某事物時就是在陳列對該事物直觀表象特徵的觀察,而提供解釋則是對事物的原理或存在邏輯進行梳理。乍一看,一條清晰的界限的確存在。可即使它真的存在,也是建立在語言對描述和解釋的定義上的。以語言為線索,從人文與自然科學知識的發展歷程、個體與共享知識兩方面去考慮,我們就會發現兩者難解難分的一面。

人類慣於用語言給事物的性質分類。根據『知識維度』[1],知識分為四類: 事實性知識——點滴的基礎事實;過程性知識——能夠指導我們執行程序;概念性知識——成系統、有概括性的知識;元認知知識——有關如何認知、影響認知的因素的知識。那麼,結合先前描述和解釋的定義,前兩類知識多以描述的形式被表達,而後兩者常以解釋的形式出現。例如,一本指導小朋友如何混合三原色得到自己想要的顏色的繪畫指南給出的就是描述,因為它僅是

按操作順序列舉了已有事實。而關於如何歸類並命名本次的新型冠狀病毒,則是對病毒分類法進行解釋,因為它涉及到該分類法則的原理和對人類認知而言的存在意義。

然而語言的存在將我們拖回現實。在知識被共享的過程中,語言原本應生活所需而生,讓我們快捷地指代及形容事物。隨著人類的知識體系逐漸豐富,語言衍生出了邏輯——語法——並成為了能解釋事物存在邏輯的工具。比如,『隨壓力增大,反應會試圖最小化壓力,因此化學平衡會傾向反應方程中氣態分子少的一邊』概括了部分化學平衡的知識。其中,語法導致知識被拆分成了描述與解釋: 先用語言的指代功能形容反應平衡的變化,再以語法說明壓力和反應平衡點的因果關系。由此可見,語言製約了知識的傳遞過程,而描述與解釋間的『界線』就是這一行為的副產品。當我們用一個詞語為某知識定性時,便排除了所有其它的詞語——所有其它可能的分類方法。如果把某知識看作一座山,試圖用語言給它貼上標簽的結果就常常是『遠近高低各不同』。經濟學中需要用微積分來求邊際收益;對演算的過程性描述,亦可以認為是對邊際收益的概念性解釋。可見,我們無法用語言劃出那道頗理想化的界線;四分法的局限性暴露無遺。

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[1] Factual Knowledge, Conceptual Knowledge, Procedural Knowledge, Metacognitive Knowledge. 英特爾:〈布盧姆分類學: 用新視角檢視老標尺 — 知識維度〉,《schoolnet.org》,2007,www.schoolnet.org.za/teach10/resources/dep/thinking_frameworks/bloom_taxonomy_4.htm,2020年2月4日。

再著眼於知識的發展歷程。由於研究的是具有多樣性的人性和人類活動，人文學科中解釋同一現象的新舊理論經常同時成立。例如，對於實際經濟產出，新古典主義模型認為需求和成本都能使其增長，而凱恩斯模型則認為它取決於市場容量；甚至還有建立在它們頭上的後凱恩斯模型等新的解釋。這樣一來，它們之間會出現重疊，有些更是被用作了他者的描述，以發展出新的解釋。又如對文革的稱謂，原先的『十年浩劫』變為『艱辛探索』，這樣的描述本身也同時解釋了這段歷史及當代人的史觀。描述與解釋也就不那麼容易分開了。相比之下，因為更為嚴謹和具邏輯性，自然科學在發展過程中會淘汰錯誤理論，完善正確解釋。例如，《本草衍義》中用『……然常偏丙位。蓋丙為大火，庚辛金受其製』描述但錯誤解釋了磁偏角，已被現今的理論淘汰；《河防述言》中用『如水弱必束之使其勢急，如水強必泄之使其勢平』描述且部分解釋了水的動勢能，後來『勢』字在物理學中被用於指代物體因位置含有的能量。在這些過程中，解釋或更新或換代，似乎唯有描述未變。

『勢』被完善的過程亦可被理解為是將它原本『有某種潛力』的字義作了一個類比，用它的比喻義指代物體做功的能力。可是，類比及其載體語言的存在，是否會使界線更為模棱兩可？講到電場強度時，物理老師總會補一句『這就好像你離地球的重心越近，受到的引力越大』。類比如同介於描述和解釋之間的『快捷鍵』，通過聯繫起兩事物某特定性質上的相似之處，來方便我們更快地了解它們的存在邏輯。但同時，類比也很含混不清：上面例子中到底說的是電場、重力場強度的原理相似還是成因相同呢？題目中提到的『界線』亦是類比：界線原是地理上的分隔，那在這裏到底指的是描述與解釋用法上的區別還是所傳遞內容的本質差異呢？由此看來，知識傳遞並非是簡單的描述與解釋『兩部曲』，因此強行應用二分法不甚現實。

對於個體知識，界線是否存在卻另當別論。與其被語言分為現象與說明來傳遞，個體擁有的知識並不需要有任何能夠被實質化（例如被寫出來）的形態。以直覺為例，幾乎沒有賽車手能說明他每次是如何判斷出車輛即將失去抓地力，還控製方向避免車毀人亡，否則人人都能學成賽車手了。直覺的存在意味著除了描述與解釋，或許還存在著其他類型的知識存在形式。我們可以叫它『印象』，其中包含直覺、記憶甚至是想象。這些知識是我們頭腦中對事物的判斷，亦是所有通過語言傳遞的概念的來源——我們需要先對事物做出判斷，再將其轉換為語言表達出來。這可能才是最『純淨』，未被語言或是先前提到的歸納法『格式化』的知識吧。在個體知識裏，描述與解釋恐怕是難解難分的。

綜上，由於在自然與人文科學中對知識的追求方法以及語言在其中扮演的角色的不同，從『四分法』分類知識、類比的知識傳遞方式、個體與共享知識的差異等不同角度來界定描述與解釋的黑白，得到的結果截然不同，更導致所謂『界線』越來越模糊。從知識的發展我們倒是可以推斷：或許沒有永恒的解釋，只有永遠的描述。可是，如果能夠被完全解釋代表某知識是正確的，那以上結論難道意味著永遠沒有真理嗎？根據我們對語言局限性的分析，恐怕，『真理』從被定義為『永遠正確的恒量』的那一刻起，就註定不存在於我們不斷更新

換代的世界中了；也許只有描述，或是『印象』，永存。

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How do Lucretius and Xunzi's interpretations of the 'problem of evil' reflect their conceptions of divinity?

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Introduction

How does God, an omnipotent, omnibenevolent, and omniscient being, exist in a world with evil and suffering galore? Ancient Greek philosopher Epicurus raised this epistemic question just less than three thousand years ago. Many philosophers have attempted to reconcile the Problem of Evil within an ontological context; however, this problem can also be re-evaluated through a moral lens, wherein one tries to answer the overarching question: what roles can divinity play in a world with evil? This paper aims to investigate the Problem of Evil as articulated by Lucretius and Xunzi 荀子 and how their responses to this problem reflect their conceptions of divinity.

In section 1, I clarify my understanding of Lucretius and Xunzi, the contexts in which their works were written, and their larger philosophical goals. In section 2, I outline their views on divinity and discuss the way they lay a foundation for their resolutions to the Problem of Evil. In section 3, I shed light on the origin of evil and attempt to explore the extent to which evil is innate in humanity. In section 4, I compare their doctrines of education as a tool to eradicate evil and the implications of their drastically different approaches.

1　Context

1.1　Lucretius

Lucretius was an Ancient Roman poet and philosopher (94 BC –c. 50 BC) most known for articulating the thoughts of the philosopher Epicurus through the novel means of poetry. Perhaps because of the

turmoil he witnessed in public life[1], Lucretius was a devoted follower of Epicureanism, a school of thought that saw futility in the internecine strife and bloodshed of civil war. Epicureans advocated that nothing existed in the universe except matter (comprised of atoms) and empty space. Instead of seeking purpose in the relentless pursuit of power and pleasure, Epicureans scorned the competitive struggle for status in society, locating perfect happiness in a mental state called *ataraxia* ἀταραξία ('undisturbed peace') (Godwin 17).

1.2　Xunzi

Xunzi 荀子 was an ancient Chinese Confucian philosopher, often regarded as the third of the three great classical Confucians (after Confucius and Mencius). Xunzi was born in the state of *Zhao* 趙 during China's Warring States period (479-221 BC), which began with the disintegration of the *Zhou* 周 dynasty and ended with the unification of the empire under the *Qin* 秦 (221-206 BC). Xunzi is said to have pursued his studies at the *Jixia Xuegong* 稷下學宮 ('Jixia Academy') in the state of *Qi* 齊, where the philosopher was exposed to rigorous intellectual exchanges between thinkers from different persuasions. He is most known for his be-

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[1]For example, in 91 BC, the Social War between the Romans and their Italian allies erupted after the Romans wouldn't grant the Italians equality, prompting their revolt under the leadership of Poppaedius Silo and Papius Mutilus (H.H. Scullard: *From the Gracchi to Nero*). Over the course of his life, he witnessed the Marian – Sullan Civil Wars, which resulted in the brutal dictatorship of Sulla, who imposed his rule on Rome in the late 80s BC and butchered many of his opponents. In 63 BC, he also saw Cicero thwart the conspiracy of Catiline, who allegedly threatened to murder large numbers of Roman senators. Some of the conspirators were arrested and executed without trial, while others were defeated in battle.

lief that ritual is crucial for reforming humanity's original "evil" nature – *xing ben e* 性本惡.

1.3 Comparison

Both philosophers lived in chaotic times with incessant warfare and unstable politics. As a result, Lucretius and Xunzi shared the same goal of attaining order and peace, although their understanding of 'order' and the means by which they reached their objectives were strikingly different. Lucretius strove toward tranquility and *ataraxia*, largely by ridding the individual of their fear of death, and a hallmark of his philosophy was distance and estrangement from the suffering that permeated society. Xunzi's goal, on the other hand, was one of collective social harmony.

2 Divinity

Firstly, it is important to understand that despite the different cultural climates in which Lucretius and Xunzi lived, their views on divinity and the role it plays in human life are remarkably similar.

2.1 Lucretius

In the world as the Epicurean sees it, gods exist, but they do not meddle in our affairs. They are neither attracted by good deeds nor touched with anger. Humans are irrelevant to them, and are unable to propitiate them either.

> *omnis enim per se divum natura necessest*
> *immortali aevo summa cum pace fruatur*
> *semota ab nostris rebus seiunctaque longe;*
> *nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis,*
> *ipsa suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri,*
> *nec bene promeritis capitur nec tangitur ira.*

> *For it is inherent in the very nature of the gods that they should enjoy immortal life in perfect peace, far removed and separated from our world; free from all distress, free from peril, fully self-sufficient, independent of us, they are not influenced by worthy conduct nor touched by anger.*

> (Lucr. *De Rerum Natura* I.45-49
> [Smith Trans.])

Lucretius challenges the way the reader thinks about divine activity, stating that the gods do not rule the universe. In fact, Lucretius deems nature to be "her own mistress⋯, accomplishing everything by herself spontaneously and independently and free from the jurisdiction of the gods" (II.1090-1093). Lucretius informs us that intrinsic to the very nature of the gods is immortal life far removed from the human realm. This is because, if gods were troubled by our behaviour, they would lose their happiness and therefore no longer be 'gods' (Case 105) (II.646-651).

The Epicureans found significance in these gods, because they represented the ideal form of being. It is Lucretius' goal that, by contemplating them as they truly are –beings free from all care who enjoy a supreme peace of mind –the reader can aspire to achieve that same blissful state within the confines of a human lifespan.

2.2 Xunzi

In the eyes of Xunzi, *tian* 天 ('Heaven') is an indifferent and impersonal system, as opposed to an anthropomorphic deity who is propitiated with sacrifices, rewards good, and punishes evil. Heaven, together with Earth, instead represent the orderly and amoral forces of Nature, the work of which is defined as 'that which is accomplished without anyone's doing it and which is obtained without anyone's seeking' (17.27-28). Xunzi articulates his conception of Heaven like so:

> 天行有常，不為堯存，不為桀亡。應之以治則吉，應之以亂則凶。彊本而節用，則天不能貧；養備而動時，則天不能病。

> 《荀子・天論》

> *There is a constancy to the activities of Heaven. They do not persist because of Yao. They do not perish because of Jie. If you respond to them with order, then you will have good fortune. If you respond to them with chaos, then you will have misfortune. If you strengthen the fundamental works and moderate expenditures, then Heaven cannot make you poor. If your means of nurture are prepared and your actions are timely, then Heaven cannot make you ill.*

> (Xunzi. Xunzi · Tianlun 17.1-5

Here, Xunzi references *Yao* and *Jie*, a legendary sage king and tyrant respectively. Although their inborn natures were the same, they were different in the way they cultivated themselves. While *Yao* reformed his original nature, *Jie* did not, and they consequently represent opposite ends of the moral spectrum. Through this, Xunzi demonstrates that Heaven does not reward good kings with peace and prosperity, nor punish tyrants by having them deposed. These results come about through their own good or bad decisions.

Thus it is clear that the philosopher takes a naturalistic stance in his view of religion. Heaven acts as it always does. It is devoid of any morality, consciousness, or intention and the events of nature (or Heaven) are regular and invariable (Slater 890).

2.3 The disinterestedness of divinity

Lucretius and Xunzi's conceptions of divinity are surprisingly similar. Both philosophers assert that divinity does not intervene in human affairs at all. Therefore, they argue that it is wrong for humans to fear divinity, on the simple basis that there is nothing to be afraid of. Lucretius writes that mortals, after they observe certain unusual terrestrial and celestial phenomena, wrongly "abase their minds with dread of the gods because their ignorance obliges them to attribute everything to the government of the gods and to admit their sovereignty" (VI.51-59). Xunzi claims something similar: "the falling of stars and the groaning of trees are simply rarely occurring things among the changes in Heaven and Earth and the transformation of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽. To marvel at them is permissible, but to fear them is wrong" (17.146-149). Therefore, Lucretius and Xunzi agree on two matters: one, that divinity is detached from the human world. Two, that, as a result of this separation, there is no need for mortals to fear them.

2.4 Relationship between nature and divinity

Despite the fact that both philosophers share similar conceptions of religion in that regard, they diverge quite significantly in terms of their understanding of the relationship between nature and divinity. While Lucretius argues that they are two different entities (i.e. the gods are not responsible for nature's activities) (II.1090-1093), Xunzi believes that they are one (i.e. when talking about Heaven, he is referring to the natural conditions of our world) (17.27-28). In the Epicurean world, the gods are anthropomorphic and have agency; in the Xunzian world, this is not the case. This difference drastically affects their responses to the Problem of Evil and the ways in which they reach their goals.

Lucretius divorces the concept of divinity, which he considers legitimate, from that of divine causality, which he deems fictitious. Divine causality refers to the idea that divinity alone is the first and proper cause of the world and our being. Of his four arguments on why this is the case, one is particularly interesting. The poet asserts that the governing of a chaotic universe like this one would be beyond the power of these beings (V.87). He does not see fit to assign to them omnipotence; the gods do not have the ability to create or regulate this world, and by extension, also do not have the ability to eliminate evil. On the other hand, Xunzi's understanding of Heaven is remarkably naturalised. In his mind, Heaven is equivalent to Nature, indifferent to human affairs and without a moral will, squaring very well with the theories of contemporary empirical science.

2.5 Implications

These two thinkers have thus provided an answer to the Problem of Evil. Lucretius argues that evil exists in a world with divinity because divinity does not engage in human affairs and does not have the ability to eliminate it. Xunzi, on the other hand, argues that there is evil in this world because divinity is no more than an impersonal natural force with no agency, whose activities are always invariable and constant.

3 Origin of Evil

Ultimately, by extension, both philosophers believe that the source of morality is human. It comes from our dealings and relations with other

people, not from any external source. However, while Lucretius believes that evils originates from religious superstition, Xunzi asserts that the source of evil is our own *xing* 性 ('human nature').

3.1 Lucretius

Lucretius believes that man misconstrues the true nature of the gods, because popular religion teaches him that the gods engage in the sordid affairs of the human world. Man fears death, because he fears the punishment waiting for him in the afterlife (I.109-1.112). Lucretius is adamant that this is not the case, and that death merely "dissolves…[the] union" of the atoms that make up our bodies (II.1004).

The fear of Acheron (i.e. the Underworld) "disturbs human life from its deepest depths, suffusing all with the darkness of death, and allows no pleasure to remain unclouded and pure" (III.37-41). The great evils of this life spring from it because, driven by the desire both to escape eternal punishment and to gain eternal glory after the death of the body, men are driven to blind ambition (III.59-74). Therefore, it is because man has understood the workings of the world incorrectly that evil has arisen.

3.2 Xunzi

Perhaps because of the political turmoil during the Warring States period, Xunzi claims that evil –which can be interpreted as the chaos and disorder humans live in –arises because human nature is ugly and that "their goodness is a matter of deliberate effort" (23.1-13). Here, *xing* ("nature") represents the raw material that man is made of, something that does not substantially change over time. It is through his *wei* 偽 ("conscious activity") that man can *hua* 化 ("transform") his own *xing* ("nature") and his own *qing* 情 ("emotional nature") to reach full moral value (Scarpari 485).

Xunzi puts forward a series of arguments as to why following one's inborn nature leads to adverse consequences and ultimately, disorder in society. People's nature is such that they are born with a "fondness for profit" and "feelings of hate and dislike" in them, causing contention and villainy to

arise, and he concludes that if they were to follow their inborn dispositions, they would inevitably turn to disrupting social order and harmony (23.1-13). What makes going along with our natural preferences possible is the *ke* 可 ("approval") of *xin* (心) ("heart/mind"). Yet, what the heart/mind approves of differs, and this is what divides the wise from the stupid (10.6-7). Although the heart/mind could have blocked these problematic pursuits of objects of desire, it does not necessarily do so if it does not deliberate or if it deliberates wrongly. Wrong deliberation happens when the heart/mind is ignorant of the *dao* 道 ("Way"), the correct ethical standards (Tai 10):

> 故心不可以不知道；心不知道，則不可道，而可非道。人孰欲得恣，而守其所不可，以禁其所可？以其不可道之心取人，則必合於不道人，而不合於道人。以其不可道之心與不道人論道人，亂之本也。
>
> 《荀子‧解蔽》

One's heart must not be ignorant of the Way. If the heart does not know the Way, then it will not approve of the Way, but will rather approve what is not the Way…To use a heart that does not approve of the Way and to join together with people who do not follow the Way when judging people who do follow the Way —this is the root of chaos.

(Xunzi. Xunzi ‧ Jiebi 21.145-155 [Hutton Trans.])

3.3 Danger of emotion and desire

Both Lucretius and Xunzi warn their reader against the dangers of excessive desires and disturbing emotions, as they prevent them from attaining peace and harmony. According to Lucretius, men who fear death become greedy in an attempt to increase their wealth and power while they can. Similarly, this fear gives rise to troubling emotions like distress, anxiety, and anger. They wreak havoc on the lives of those affected, who force themselves to lead a lifestyle that is debilitating and destructive to their peace of mind (III.69-77). In the same vein, Xunzi deems self-interest and untamed human desire to be the main cause of social disorder and evil. When these empty and in-

ordinate desires run rampant, alongside people's unmanaged anger and hatred, they very naturally lead to political instability and unrest (Sung 638).

3.4 Ignorance

Both Lucretius and Xunzi believe that evil exists because of humans' ignorance. Lucretius concludes that the fears of death are completely irrational because they result from a false and confused understanding of this phenomenon.. Contrary to popular belief and religion, there is no punishment in the afterlife or divine sanction; the mind and the spirit are material and mortal, so they cannot live on after death. By the same token, Xunzi insists that the natural state of the heart/mind is one that is ignorant of the Way, and only concerned with profit. When the heart/mind does not know the Way, it will have no inherent inclination to make the right decisions that will lead to order (638).

4 Eradicating Evil

How, then, do people eliminate the evil that is so deeply rooted within them? Both Lucretius and Xunzi maintain that education is the strongest means of doing so, although they differ quite significantly in the kind of education they propose.

4.1 Lucretius

The main evil in human life, the fear of death, is eradicated by the principal program of Epicurean education: dispelling the superstitions and misunderstandings of religion that bind man to a terrifying life after death, a life which in reality does not exist, for neither mind nor soul survive the death of the body (Campbell 57). That is the very aim of Lucretius' poem: to liberate the reader from pain and terror and substitute those feelings with *ataraxia*.

Having established that divinity is not responsible for governing the universe, he proceeds to reject the idea of divine sanction, stating that the notion that man is ultimately answerable to the gods for his actions on Earth stems from our own misunderstanding. He explains, there are images that "visit us when we are awake or asleep, and terrify our minds each time we see [them]" (IV.30-37). He clarifies that they are not images of the dead from Acheron but simply *simulacra*, groups of atoms which have formed into a delicate film, emanated by all objects and humans due to their vibrations.

Once this true explanation is understood, Lucretius asserts that the reader's disturbing emotions and desires will give way to repose and tranquility. They should now turn to the gods, beautiful and untroubled creatures who function as the concrete embodiment of the Epicurean ideal man (III.18-23). Thus, the gods prove to be of great importance for human ethics, acting as 'our own graphic idealization of the life to which we aspire' (Sedley 29). They function as objects for our emulation, leading the ideal life which the good Epicurean endeavours to live.

4.2 Xunzi

The evil that resides in our human nature is eradicated through education and self-cultivation in Xunzi's world. *li* 禮 ("ritual") is central to Xunzi's elaborate and systematic account of moral cultivation. At the beginning of Chapter 19, Discourse on Ritual, the philosopher presents to the reader the origin and justification for ritual: to "divide things among people, to nurture their desires, and to satisfy their seeking". Ritual "causes desires never to exhaust material goods, and material goods never to be depleted by desires, so that the two support each other and prosper" (19.8-11). For Xunzi, only Confucian ritual can provide a way for people to live in harmony with each other and order their relentless pursuit of satisfaction for both the greater societal good and individual flourishing. However, teachers and proper models are necessary for education as well. Teachers transform their students into *junzi* 君子 ('1gentlemen"), the ideal human standard, by beautifying their inborn dispositions and nature so that they conform to the Way (23.27-28).

Nevertheless, the process of reforming a student's innate tendencies is an arduous one, and the metaphors he uses are particularly significant.

Xunzi likens the process of learning from a teacher to the "steaming and straightening" of crooked wood, and the '1honing and grinding" of blunt metal, as only then do they become straight or sharp (23.19-22). Crooked, raw timber does not straighten on its own accord, neither does dull metal sharpen without external force. Both the impetus for change and the final shape are imposed from the outside, and the steaming and pressing work against the hard resistance of the board.

4.3   Reason vs Force

The philosophers, however, diverge greatly when it comes to the kind of education they advocate. The Epicurean education, taking the form of DRN, is instructive and informative. It grounds the reader in the atomic physics of nature, and through empirical evidence and logic, seeks to disprove popular notions of religion that interfere with *ataraxia*. The Xunzian education is prescriptive and authoritarian. Teachings of morality are not to be self-learnt, but rather taught in a coercive manner. It must be imposed on the student from the outside, wherein their natural desires and inclinations are suppressed and redirected, contrary to their initial understanding and impulses (Schwitzgebel 154).

4.4   Perception of Human Nature

The fundamental difference that distinguishes Lucretius' more gentle approach from Xunzi's more rigid style lies in their different understandings of the reception of this moral knowledge by the student. In Lucretius' eyes, reform is an internal process which cannot be forced onto the reader. The responsibility of the educator is merely to provide this information in the most agreeable manner in order to maximise its appeal to the student. It is also because of this very reason that he chooses to communicate Epicurean philosophy through poetry. He explains this unexpected choice by likening it to medical practice; just as doctors may use honey to sweeten bitter medicine, Lucretius employs harmonious poetry to communicate truths that may otherwise be hard to digest (4.11-15, 21-26).

In Xunzi's eyes, external impetus is absolutely necessary. The wood in his metaphor is not convinced to become straight in the way that Lucretius' students might be, it is forced to do so. Since the morally 'immature' cannot discern right from wrong for themselves, they can only follow and internalise the rules given by their teacher. In other words, Xunzi clearly pictures moral transformation as a slow, unnatural, and challenging process that relies on external guidance and coercion, contrary to our original impulses.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented a comparative analysis of Lucretius' and Xunzi's responses to the Problem of Evil. Both thinkers share similar conceptions of divinity, as detached and disinterested beings, and of morality, as an intrapersonal system of governance generated from human nature. However, their philosophies strongly diverge when it comes to identifying the source of evil and the means of eradicating it. Lucretius is an Epicurean, who holds pleasure as the greatest good and pain as the greatest evil. Upon witnessing all the pain and suffering around him that he believes to have stemmed from religious superstition, Lucretius advocates for Epicurean education, in which one comes to apprehend the true workings of the natural world. Xunzi is a Confucianist whose values revolve around social morality. Disorder and chaos in society are a result of people's insatiable desires running rampant, and consequently the only way to maintain social harmony is through constant practice of ritual, overseen by austere teachers and models, to nourish these desires.

The role that divinity plays in our lives is also worth rethinking. It has evolved over time to reflect humanity's changing worldviews and knowledge of the universe. In the West, traditional Greco-Roman paganism gave way to Christianity because of the appeal of its salvation for all mankind. The Church rose in power but its authority was eventually challenged by the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment. In the East, people first worshipped their ancestors and

the gods —personifications of nature —until the concept of Heaven developed in the Zhou dynasty (c. 1046 –226 BC), ultimately leading to the rise of the *zhu zi bai jia* 諸子百家 ('Hundred Schools of Thought'). In Chinese culture, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and the early folk religion form the basis of Chinese tradition. In a way, these two thinkers were well ahead of their times, conceptualising this higher power in ways never done so before, as more distant beings who operate constantly, disinterested in the lives of humans.

The different approaches of education that Lucretius and Xunzi adopt also reflect a greater debate that transcends time and space, and continues to be a topic of discussion in the contemporary age. How does one harness the transformative power of education? While Lucretius uses reason to transform the perspectives of the reader to ultimately dispel their irrational fears of death, Xunzi stresses the importance of exerting external force on the student. Which, then, is the correct approach, if any? What type of education can transform our nature? More importantly, is transformation of our nature what we should strive for? It is important to remember that we can and we should study the past, because revisiting these two philosophers' thinking may reveal more insight about the human condition to us than we realise.

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How does understanding the history of Yuanming Yuan and the Chinese zodiac aid in building our perspectives on the political debate of returning the zodiac fountain heads to China?

Lok Tong Coco Yeung 楊樂同

Introduction

Over the past 20 years, there has been an ongoing political debate about whether or not the zodiac fountain heads from Yuanming Yuan 圓明園, the Old Summer Palace, should be returned to China after they were looted during the Second Opium War. This paper will explore the existing arguments of this debate and the historic and cultural background of the fountain heads to form new arguments and build on perspectives.

1 History of Yuanming Yuan

Gardens are an important part of Chinese culture and history. A standard, traditional Chinese garden is said to be the architectural representation of slowly unfolding a painted scroll (Wong 10). Since the Tang dynasty, the people have named their gardens with lyrical names written in the finest of calligraphy, further enhancing the elegance and refinement of the garden (13). This article was written as a culminating essay for the Shuyuan NRI (Needham Research Institute) Scholar's Retreat at Cambridge University, 2020.

Yuanming Yuan, also known as the Old Summer Palace, was designed in part by Jesuit missionaries residing at the imperial court during the Qing dynasty (MIT Visualising Cultures). Beginning in 1709, Kangxi emperor, who ruled from 1662 to 1722, refurbished the many desolated gardens in Beijing left behind by the Ming dynasty after he fully secured his power (Wong 73). The construction of Yuanming Yuan, or the Garden of Perfect Brightness, was the first to start. Yuanming Yuan consisted of many different styles of architecture, most of which were traditional Chinese, but many were also influenced by the West. The area known as Xiyang Lou 西洋樓, literally Western Buildings, spanned 65 acres in Yuanming Yuan, where Western-style architecture was concentrated. the Xiyang Lou were the first foreign architecture to ever exist in an imperial garden (59).

Emperor Qianlong's interest in European fountains piqued when they appeared in pictures presented by Jesuits. According to traditional Chinese garden design, imitating nature is the most important principle. Water areas were designed to take the shape and characteristics of waterfalls, lakes, and brooks as in the natural world. As the Chinese ideal of garden designing was to imitate nature, fountains were uncommon in China and definitely a European device (20). As fountains were especially popular in 17th century France and Italy, the French and Italian Jesuits presented a fountain design to impress the emperor with (60).

Emperor Qianlong commissioned Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione to draw pictures of Rococo-style palaces to be built in Yuanming Yuan (Green 46). Castiglione consulted many technical experts, such as Jean-Denis Attiret, Ignatius Sickelpart, architect Ferdinando Moggi, as well as Chinese engineers when designing the palatial structures (Wong 60). But most importantly, he sought help from Father Michel Benoit, a priest trained in mathematics, mechanics, and hydraulics, to design fountains to be added to palaces. Benoit presented sketches of a fountain that combined Chinese mythology and European aesthetics and hydraulic technologies to Qianlong (Green 46), who swiftly approved and allowed construction to begin. His fountain had sprouting zodiac heads, which later stood grand in front of the Haiyan Tang
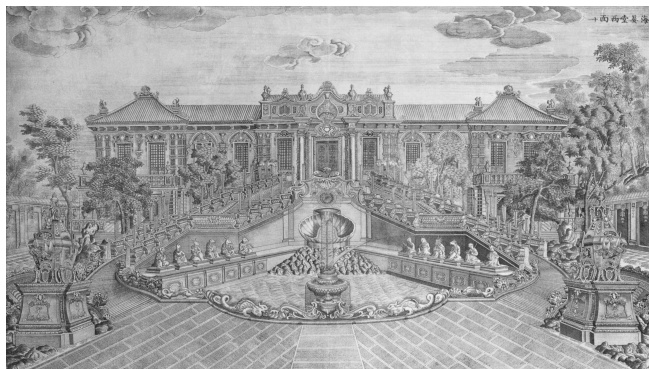
Fig. 1. Original design of the Haiyantang fountain

海晏堂 [Hall of Calm Seas]. While the results may not fully meet the criteria of perfect European architecture, the fact that Romantic architecture was well-adapted and blended into Chinese imperial gardens was already a breakthrough (Wong 60). Chinese poets and artists would visit the Old Summer Palace for exposure to European architecture (Green 49).

As an imperial garden, Yuanming Yuan functioned mostly as a place of pleasure where royals can enjoy the scenery and the collected artifacts, while formal businesses, such as ceremonies, rituals, and celebrations, were held in the Forbidden City. While his predecessors and successors all enjoyed the garden, Qianlong stood out as the one who most treasured Yuanming Yuan, spending the most money and time on it. Qianlong adored the Old Summer Palace and spent as much time in this imperial garden as possible. Even the British general Elgin marvelled at Yuanming Yuan, saying "I don't wonder that the Emperor preferred Yuanming Yuan [over the Forbidden City]" (Wong 141). Politically, the Forbidden City was much more significant than Yuanming Yuan. However, Yuanming Yuan was also a highlight of the imperial capital.

2 The Bronze Zodiac Heads

The part of Yuanming Yuan that will be discussed specifically are the zodiac fountain heads. The zodiac fountain heads were bronze-plated sculptures attached to stone bodies in human shape, placed on the two sides of the fountain that stood at the bottom of the staircases which lead up to Haiyan Tang (Fotopoulos). Designed by the Je-

suit missionaries, the sculptures were arranged to act as a water-clock. The twelve shichen 時辰 were represented by their respective zodiacs; the fountain heads would shoot out water when it was time (Malone 151). Similar statues have also been found in the Winter Palace (152). Neither the bronze heads nor the statues were placed at very significant parts of respective palaces, showing that, at the time, these statues were of peripheral value. Their architectural significance lies mostly in their hybridizing Chinese and European designs.

3 History of the Chinese Zodiac

Where did the design of the fountain heads originate from? The origin of the Chinese calendrical animals is usually told through a famed legend, in which the Jade Emperor told the world he wanted twelve animals to represent the zodiac signs and that the first twelve animals to register will be elected. The animals would race, and the order of the zodiac became rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, monkey, cock, dog, and pig. Though the story has different versions, in all of them, the rat betrays the cat and wins first place while the cat did not make the final lineup.

However, that is merely a legend and the precise historical origin of the Chinese zodiac remains a mystery; not much is known about the early beliefs of the twelve calendrical animals. Whether they originated from China has also been controversial as parallels of the calendrical animals can be found all over the world. Some scholars, such as Joseph Needham, famed for his scientific research and exploration of history in China, believed that they were from China (Needham and L. Wang 396–406: 3). Another better-supported theory would be that the Chinese zodiac has Buddhist origins, and entered China during the sixth century (Ho). During that time, China was under the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism, with the belief in bodhisattvas –beings who are able to reach Nirvana but delay their arrival to save others. The twelve calendrical animals were said to have found shelter in caves that were formerly occupied by bodhisattvas, and from there, they

Fig. 2. Chinese Zodiac Figures from Tang Dynasty (王建平)

would roam over the world and use their magical powers to save those born under their respective birth signs. Some sixth-century Buddhist cave shrines depicted animals near mountains, leading to the suggestion that the animals could have been referring to the bodhisattvas (119).

Although people commonly speak of "zodiac animals", ancient sculptures and paintings have shown them to be more than just animals, but rather species that are able to transform between humans, hybrids, and animals. They are sometimes represented as fantastic beings, each with an animal head sitting on a human body, dressed in official robes, this uncanny hybrid form is the epitome of their mystical status (103). The Yuanming Yuan fountain heads depict the zodiac animals to be a human-animal hybrid where they have animal heads but are sitting tall as if they are humans. In Chinese, this type of hybrid being is known as *shoushou renshen* 獸首人身 [animal-head human-body].

4 Application of the Zodiac

Though the early history of the zodiac animals remains unfathomable, it has undoubtedly been a part of Chinese culture for a long time. Traditionally, the Chinese timekeeping system split the day up into 12 parts, with each being 2 hours long. This 2-hour period is known as a shichen 時辰 and each one of the calendrical animals corresponds to a shichen. The table below shows the shichen each animal corresponds to, and their translation into the modern 24-hour system (Ho). Moreover, there is also a twelve-year cycle in Chinese tradition, in

which every year is represented by one of the zodiac signs. People used their zodiac sign to recall what year they were born in, instead of using a numerical year as in the West (Z. Wang et al. 129). Besides being used for timekeeping, the zodiac is also known for its uses in fate prediction. Chinese people use zodiac signs to calculate life spans, predict behaviour, and determine compatibility between two individuals (Wei-pang). Guan Lu, who was a master of magical arts from the Three Kingdoms period, was said to have predicted his life span based on his zodiac and the lunar eclipse that occurred on the night of his birth (Ho 105). However, should this anecdote be true, it would disprove the aforementioned theory that the zodiac signs were introduced into China in the sixth century. This further shows how unclear the zodiacs' origin is and how little we know of its historical development in China. Additionally, the zodiac has also been used for decoration. An almanac found from the Northern Song dynasty in Dunhuang had the calendrical animals represented as emblems on chronograms, alongside Tai Sui, a deified form of the planet Jupiter (Ho). People worshipped Taisui, therefore the animals next to him would also have been well respected, reflecting their high and fantastic status. This is the deeper cultural context behind the Yuanming Yuan fountain heads.

5 The Invasion, the Looting and the Auctions

In the 1850s, the Taiping rebellion caused deep internal turmoil and social unrest in China. The Imperial Government did not expect a foreign invasion, as it was busy handling internal problems. The British took this opportunity to seek extensions of trading rights in China. The French joined the British, using the excuse that a French missionary had been murdered in China in early 1856. In 1858, the British forced the Chinese into negotiating and signing the treaties of Tianjin. A year later, they returned with diplomats to ratify the treaties but the Chinese forbade them from passing through Taku forts to get to Beijing. The British refused to take an alternate route and attempted to push through Taku, but they were forced to turn back, suffering heavy casualties.

Zodiac	Shíchén	Time	Zodiac	Shíchén	Time
Rat	Zǐ 子	23:00 - 01:00	Horse	Wǔ 午	11:00 - 13:00
Ox	Chǒu 丑	01:00 - 03:00	Goat	Wèi 未	13:00 - 15:00
Tiger	Yín 寅	03:00 - 05:00	Monkey	Shēn 申	15:00 - 17:00
Hare	Mǎo 卯	05:00 - 07:00	Cock	Yǒu 酉	17:00 - 19:00
Dragon	Chén 辰	07:00 - 09:00	Dog	Xū 戌	19:00 - 21:00
Snake	Sì 巳	09:00 - 11:00	Pig	Hài 亥	21:00 - 23:00

Table 1. The Zodiacs And The Shíchén They Correspond To (包雙龍易學網)

Therefore, in 1860, British and French troops returned with larger warships. They destroyed the Taku forts and continued to Tianjin. (Pletcher)

In October 1860, Anglo-French troops captured Beijing and invaded the imperial garden (Rujivacharakul 91). The French troops arrived at Beijing during the evening of October 6th, 1860, and forced their way into the precincts of Yuanming Yuan. British troops joined the French the next morning. Lord Elgin, the British commander (incidentally the son of Lord Elgin who looted the Parthenon marbles), described the Summer palace as "really a fine thing, like an English park" (Wong 140-141). The European officials started by touring the garden with their ladies. Following this was the ransack and looting. To this day, still, nobody is sure who triggered the looting, but the French and the British both accused each other for initiating it. However, scholars have found that the British looted a much larger area, and carried away heavier objects because they had horses, while the French were confined to smaller items (141-142). Together, the Westerners robbed no less than eighteen places in Yuanming Yuan. Basically anything of value, such as gold, silver, enamel, porcelain, jade, silk, and embroidery, was carried off (142).

However, this does not mean that the French and British troops were the only ones to have stolen from Yuanming Yuan. Locals saw this as a chance to take from Yuanming Yuan as well (Fotopoulos 612). Although we can conclude that the British and French forces were the root cause of this ran-

sack, no one yet truly knows who took the fountain heads in the first place.

The first three of the zodiac heads, the Ox, Tiger, and Monkey, resurfaced in an auction in Hong Kong in 2000. The Chinese government protested; they saw the auction as all the more provocative that it was held in Hong Kong, which was ceded to Britain after the First Opium War in 1840 and had only just been returned to China in 1997. The day before the auction took place, the Chinese government asked the auction house to stop, but the auction still went ahead. In the end, China bought all three of the bronze heads for a total of $4 million USD. After this event, the repatriation of the Yuanming Yuan fountain heads became a patriotic pursuit. The Macanese businessman, Stanley Ho, put in great effort to repatriate the remaining fountain heads. In October of 2003, the alleged original Dog head was to be sold, but the sale was cancelled due to skepticism over the statue's authenticity. In 2009, a Chinese American man bought a dog head, but the authenticity was never verified. Also in 2003, the Pig head was purchased for $770,000 USD, and in 2007, the Horse head was purchased for the highly inflated price of $8.9 million USD.

The biggest media sensation came in early 2009. Pierre Bergé, a French collector and businessman, planned to auction off the Rat and Rabbit head on behalf of his late business partner, Yves Saint Laurent. The Chinese government demanded they be returned, claiming their ownership over this property. Bergé responded by saying that he will send the two fountain heads back, but in return,

he demands human rights for the Chinese people and freedom for Tibet. This only further angered China, who vowed to reclaim all of the zodiac heads. In February of 2009, a Chinese man named Cai Mingchao stepped up to purchase the Rat and Rabbit heads. At first, he was praised as a national hero, but he later backed down from the purchases, claiming he was afraid that the statues would not be able to get into China. The general public quickly turned their backs on him, saying he inflated the price and forbade other Chinese from actually going through with the purchase. Eventually in 2013, the Pinault family purchased the statues through a private deal and donated them to China as a symbol of friendship and peace (Fotopoulos). Hence, officially, till date, seven of the twelve heads have been returned, the other five remain nowhere in sight.

6   Controversy surrounding the fountain heads

These auctions have caused huge controversies in China. The crux of the controversy was whether or not they can be considered as "national treasures" or guobao 國寶, and how should national treasures be defined.

Let us first take a look at the arguments presented by supporters of the reclamation of these fountain heads, such as Niu Xianfeng, the Deputy Director-General of the Chinese Fund for Rescue of Cultural Relics Lost Overseas. He believes that national treasures have emotional sustenance and are cherished by the people, which is what makes them so valuable. Niu argues that these fountain heads ought to be returned to China based on two main ideas: the respect of the historical context and the legality of the provenance of the object. He argues that the fountain heads should be returned to where they were historically meant to be, because on one hand, the historical context is meaningful, only if returned can the treasure be fully appreciated; and on the other hand, a collector can only be said to own an object if all transactions of that object were legal. In the case of the Yuanming Yuan fountain heads, the initial looting was illegal, regardless of the question whether they were taken
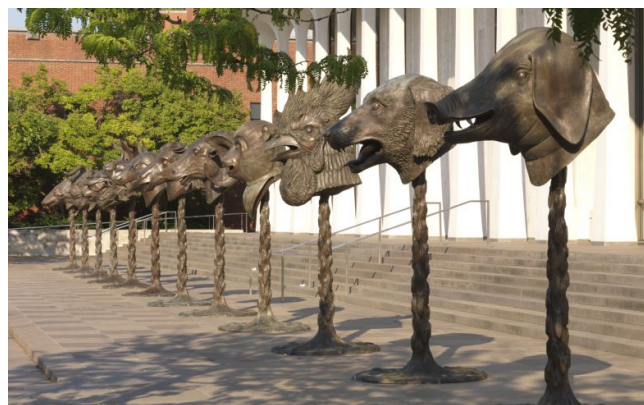
Fig. 3. Circle of Animals / Zodiac Heads (Perwana)

by the Westerners or by locals. This is an internationally accepted consensus. However, Niu does not agree with the acts of purchase: he argues that auctioning these treasures off is like "hijacking" the emotions of the Chinese people for financial gains. He proposes instead that the heads should be returned to China for free. He reckons that this is hard to achieve in practice, but believes it is politically and morally correct ("牛憲鋒: 圓明園獸首須歸還中國圓明園應該當原告").

However, some prominent public figures have voiced their disagreement. In particular, the artist Ai Weiwei created a satirical installation in 2010, named Circle of Animals/Zodiac Heads.

The installation was inspired by the Yuanming Yuan heads. Ai created two versions, one of which is made of bronze and far larger than the original, and the other is gold-plated and smaller (Green 46). The artist has expressed disagreement about the zodiac heads being classified as a national treasure. Ai's reasoning was that they were designed and made by the Italian and French, presented to a Manchu Qing dynasty emperor, who ruled over China as alien conquerors, and so if the zodiac heads are "national treasure", the "nation" referred to is unclear (50).

Conclusion

We can see that both sides of the controversy provided valid arguments. However, their fundamental assumptions are different; therefore they were essentially talking past each other. First, people who advocate the return of the fountain heads

have a good argument that these fountain heads originated from a loot, therefore their legal belonging to the current owners is not unproblematic. Had the looting taken place more recently, today's international law would have unambiguously ruled in favour of their return to China. However, applying these principles to historical loots raise thorny questions. From this point of view, the case of the Yuanming Yuan fountain heads is not unique. The most prominent precedent is the case of the Greek Parthenon marbles in the British National Museum. The British Museum holds an abundance of foreign treasures that are put on display for people around the world to view, including pieces of marble from the Parthenon in Athens. The Parthenon marbles' journey to the British Museum started when the seventh Earl of Elgin took the pieces of marble back to England after the Ottoman sultan who then ruled over Greece made this statement: "when [Lord and Lady Elgin] wish to take away some pieces of stone with old inscriptions and figures, no opposition be made.' He later convinced the British government to purchase the marbles from him to improve the British imperial image. The marbles were moved to the British museum in 1832. Greek governments have been petitioning for the return of the marbles since they regained their independence. In 2009, the Acropolis Museum of Athens was opened, with a specially designed space to hold the marbles, and many Greeks are still waiting for the return of the marbles. Despite the many requests from Greece to have the marbles returned, the British government has refused every single one, as the Parthenon marbles are one of the most famous and popular attractions in the British museum (National Geographic).

The Parthenon marbles illustrate well the legal and moral grey areas into which fall these artefacts originating from historical lootings. We should reckon that there are no simple solutions. For instance, if everything that was stolen from another nation in history is returned, what would our world look like? Would all major museums in the West be emptied of their collections? While national states gain pride and touristic resources from the returned cultural properties, would the world become more parochial and lose its spirit of diversity? And how far should the principle go, will there be an obligation for the USA and Australia to be returned to the indigenous people? These are debates of global interest that can illuminate, and be illuminated by the controversies surrounding the Yuanming Yuan fountainhead.

On the other hand, critics like Ai Weiwei are concerned with entirely different questions. Instead of criticising the historical looters, they criticise the current Chinese government for manipulating public opinion and distorting the historical significance of Yuanming Yuan. From this point of view, they also have a good point that the fountain heads are far from a symbol of a pure and unchanging Chinese national culture. As we have seen, Chinese zodiac is likely to have developed from Indian influence, and it has spread to neighbouring countries such as Japan, Korea, Singapore, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Thailand. In other words, the Zodiac cannot be said to belong to one culture. Secondly, the fountain heads were designed and made by the Italian and French Jesuits, for a Manchu emperor who did not consider himself Chinese, in a garden built with European engineering technology to house European luxury goods. However, the other side also has a good point that regardless of the origin of the fountain heads, the looting of the Yuanming Yuan leading to their loss was also part and parcel of their complicated history, and their emotional significance cannot be lightly dismissed.

There is the financial question. We know that the fountain heads were sold for a tremendously inflated price. While one can argue that national treasures are priceless and the sum of money should not matter, we must not ignore the fact that the sum of $13,670,000 USD spent on purchasing the fountain heads could instead have been spent on infrastructure and to help those in need (National Geographic). Moreover, the fountain heads have little artistic value: the craftsmanship is not fine. But we once again return to the counterargument that a national treasure should not be based on its artistic value, but rather its historical and emotional significance for the national identity.

In the end, we can see that there is no simple solution to the controversy surrounding the Yuanming Yuan fountain heads. One's perspective is necessarily determined by one's own values and assumptions: whether one truly cherishes fountain heads and feels an emotional connection to the artefacts, or rather focused on the realistic, monetary, and practical issues. However, understanding the history behind Yuanming Yuan and the Chinese Zodiac can allow us to gain a more balanced view of this political debate.

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從秦陵、秦兵馬俑看秦始皇的生死觀念

Michael Wang　王昱皓

摘要

公元前二百二十一年，秦始皇領導著秦朝大軍完成了他的統一事業，結束了春秋戰國諸侯林立的局面，成為了歷史上第一個統一中國的帝王，並發明了皇帝的稱號、統一了文字、度量衡，對中國歷史有著十分重要的影響。不過就在他完成統一大業的第十一年，秦始皇在巡遊期間駕崩，秦二世胡亥繼位。儘管秦始皇駕崩，他仍為後人留下了舉世聞名的秦始皇陵、秦兵馬俑等多個著名文物古蹟。本文將會討論在秦始皇的生死觀念與秦陵、秦兵馬俑之間的聯繫。

一、 什麼是秦陵、秦兵馬俑

秦陵是秦始皇陵的簡稱，其整體面積為五十六點二五平方千米，相當於七十八個北京故宮地大小。秦陵本身分為了很多更多小部分，如珍禽異獸坑、馬厩坑、秦始皇子女墓、修陵人墓、彩繪銅車馬坑、石鎧甲坑、百戲俑坑、文官俑坑等等。而舉世聞名的秦兵馬俑就是其中之一[1]。

秦兵馬俑是於一九七四年三年月，當地農民在打井時意外發現的，而國家文物局則於一九七六年派考古隊前來探測，便發現了規模宏大的兵馬俑坑[2]。兵馬俑屬於秦始皇的陪葬品，地理位置位於秦陵封土以東一點五公里以外，而其本身的佔地面積就已經有約兩萬平方公里。目前所發現的兵馬俑有八千多個，而其中沒有一個兵馬俑的面部特徵是重複的。不光如此，每一個陶俑的站立高度均與真人幾乎一模一樣，秦俑的平均高度為一點八米，最矮的為一點七二米，最高的為兩米。每一個陶俑的細節都被秦朝的工匠做到了極致，人俑的鬍鬚、甚至指甲上的線條都清晰可見。而馬俑的肌肉線條以及牙齒數量也是十分的細緻，每一匹馬都有六顆牙，這是年輕健壯馬匹的象徵[3]。

目前所發現的秦兵馬俑分為三部分：一號坑、二號坑、和三號坑。其中一號坑的規模最為宏大。一號坑中的兵馬俑所組成的是一個有步兵以及戰車所組成的混合作戰軍陣。二號坑則是由步兵、騎兵、戰車、以及弓弩兵共同組成的軍陣。三號坑是三個坑中規模最小的，考古學家們推測其為一號二號坑中的軍陣的指揮所。

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[1] 孟建明、李江：《秦兵馬俑》，夏居憲、郭燕編，中國旅遊出版社，2009，頁 27-67。

[2] 王雙懷：〈兵馬俑被譽為'世界第八大奇蹟'，它'奇'在哪裡？〉，《中國文化研究院 - 燦爛的中國文明》，2020 年 2 月 26 日，chiculture.org.hk/sc/china-five-thousand-years/467。

[3] 孟建明、李江：《秦兵馬俑》，夏居憲、郭燕編，中國旅遊出版社，2009，頁 93-94。

由中國旅遊出版社所出版的書《秦兵馬俑》中寫道：「兵馬俑是我國秦代雕塑藝術的精品，以寫實的手法，運用模、塑、雕、刻、堆、貼、提、切等多種工藝手法……是迄今為止人類史上最大的藝術雕群，看成是戒掉數一數中的珍寶，它以『大、多、精、美』的藝術特色征服了二十世紀的現代人。」[4]其中「大」指的是秦兵馬俑整體規模的宏大；「多」便是指的陶俑數量之多，這是世界歷史上前無古人，後無來者；「精」則指的是陶俑的精細程度，正如上文所寫，陶俑的每一個人體細節都被做到了極致，甚至連他們的年紀、民族、閱歷等不同方面都給展現了出來。而「美」則指的是每一個陶俑都神態各異，十分生動。雖然如此，但是其實秦兵馬俑，乃至我們現在所發現的秦陵，都也只不過是其中的冰山一角。

二、 秦始皇的生死觀念

中國現存有關秦始皇的歷史記載中，最具有權威、廣為流傳的是漢朝史官司馬遷所編寫的《史記》。在《史記》中的《秦始皇本紀》裡，有兩段對秦始皇生死觀念的記載。第一段記載的是徐福出海為秦始皇求長生不老藥：「既已，齊人徐市等上書，言海中有三神山，名曰蓬萊、方丈、瀛洲，仙人居之。請得齋戒，與童男女求之。於是遣徐市發童男女數千人，入海求仙人。」[5]從這一段中，《史記》向我們講述了秦始皇為了求得長生不老藥

而做的準備。

而其中所提到的蓬萊、方丈、瀛洲則是中國古代傳說中位於海中的三座仙山。對這三座仙山進行記載的古代史書數不勝數，其中最為細緻的描寫則是出自春秋戰國時期的《列子·湯問》。其中寫道：「其上台觀皆金玉，其上禽獸皆純縞。珠玕之樹皆叢生，華實皆有滋味，食之皆不老不死。所居之人皆仙聖之種；一日一夕飛相往來者，不可數焉。」[6]這一段文言文中描寫了這幾座仙山上的景象：島上的樓閣全部是由金銀建造的；上面的各種動物都長著純淨的白色毛髮；珍奇的植物遍地叢生，而那裡的花和果實味道香醇，吃了可長生不老。島上的居民則如似神仙一般，一早一晚在空中飛來飛去，互相交流，數量數不勝數。從以上的這段記載中我們可以猜測秦始皇所追求的那一種長生不老：他很有可能想要徐福找到仙島上的果實，並因此可以在人世間達到長生不老。換句話來說，他一開始希望的，是能夠在人世間讓自己的肉體以及靈魂達到永生，永遠存留在這個世界上。

徐福第一次出海失敗後回來稟報秦始皇，說有條大魚阻止他們出海。《始皇本紀》又記載道：「乃令入海者齎捕巨魚具，而自以連弩候大魚出射之。自琅邪北至榮成山，弗見。至之罘，見巨魚，射殺一魚。」[7]為此，秦始皇親

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[4]孟建明、李江：《秦兵馬俑》，夏居憲、郭燕編，中國旅遊出版社，2009，頁 93-94。

[5]漢籍電子文獻資料庫：〈史記·始皇本紀〉，《漢籍電子文獻資料庫官網》，http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihpc/hanjiquery?@10^{1}838338180^{9}0

^../hanjimg/hanji.htm，2019 年 9 月 20 日。

[6]易文言：〈列子·湯問·列禦寇〉，《易文言官網》，http://ewenyan.com/articles/liezi/6.html，2019 年 9 月 20 日。

[7]漢籍電子文獻資料庫：〈史記·始皇本紀〉，《漢籍電子文獻資料庫官網》，http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihpc/hanjiquery?@10183833818090../hanjimg/hanji.htm，2019 年 9 月 20 日。

自出海，並且射殺了一條大魚。在《史記》上述的記載中，展現出了秦始皇對於求得長生不老藥的執著。

可是同樣是在《史記》中的《始皇本紀》，又記載了與上述截然不同的另一種生死觀念：「始皇初即位，穿治酈山，及並天下，天下徒送詣七十餘萬人，穿三泉，下銅而致槨，宮觀百官奇器珍怪徒臧滿之。令匠作機弩矢，有所穿近者輒射之。以水銀為百川江河大海，機相灌輸，上具天文，下具地理。以人魚膏為燭，度不滅者久之。」[8]在這一段的記載中，則講述了秦始皇為自己建造陵墓的過程，以及陵墓中的構造。而從修建陵墓一事，我們又可以看出秦始皇截然不同的另一種生死觀念：不再是追求這個世界的長生不老，而是在為自己死後前往冥界進行準備。

對這樣一個變化的合理解釋，便是在嘗試求長生不老藥失敗後，秦始皇選擇面對生死，並且為自己在冥界的一切可能性做準備。他意識到了自己無法讓自己的肉身不死，並因此無法以自己當時的形態永遠存留在這個世界上。因此，他選擇走上了另外一條永生之路，將死亡看做自己形態的一個轉換過程，並在自己死後讓靈魂在冥界永生。但是無論如何，從《史記》對秦始皇記載中，我們可以推斷出他是十分重視、甚至可以說害怕死亡的。這一點在秦兵馬俑以及秦陵上都得到了很好的證實。用殉葬俑絕對不是源於秦朝，也並沒有終於秦朝。

在更早的西周時期便已經有人開始用人俑代替活人殉葬，而在春秋戰國時期隨著奴隸制度的廢除，活人殉葬變得更為少見了。從秦朝開始，殉葬俑的發展則逐漸走向了頂峰[9]。另一個十分典型的殉葬俑群則是漢朝的漢陽陵了，可是這與秦兵馬俑有著兩個本質上的不同。首先，秦始皇的兵馬俑是兵陣，而從秦陵出土的文官俑以及百戲俑的數量則相對較小；漢陽陵則正好相反，其中的生活用品以及與生活有關的人俑、動物俑佔目前出土的主要部分。第二，相比秦兵馬俑，漢陽陵人俑更加的細小，細節方面也遠不如秦兵馬俑[10]。而秦始皇之所以要把秦兵馬俑做得如此之精細、真實、體系完整，很有可能是因為他害怕自己死後會遭到生前被他處死的人們的報復，因此他會需要一隻實打實的戰鬥部隊，在他死後繼續保護他、幫他再次征服他的敵人。同時這也解釋了為什麼這些兵馬俑出土時都是手握真實的兵器，為什麼除了兵馬俑以外還要特意在秦陵的其他區域活埋戰馬、陪葬鎧甲等等。不光如此，整個秦陵的政治體系幾乎完整，再現有文陣、武陣，並且如果《史記》所記載屬實，還模擬整個秦朝的山川河海[11]。從此可見，秦始皇的意圖很有可能便是想要在自己死後的冥界再一

[8]漢籍電子文獻資料庫：〈史記·始皇本紀〉，《漢籍電子文獻資料庫官網》，http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihpc/hanjiquery?@10^{1}838338180\$^9$0\˝˝./hanjimg/hanji.htm，2019 年 9 月 20 日。

[9]張鵬：〈誰是始作俑者？〉，《中國文化研究院 - 燦爛的中國文明》，2019 年 11 月 12 日, https://chiculture.org.hk/tc/china-five-thousand-years/2351。

[10]黨小娟：〈秦始皇陵與漢陽陵陶俑的比較研究〉，《百度文庫》，2017 年 5 月 23 日，https://wenku.baidu.com/view/24433d8dc67da26925c52cc58bd63186bceb92e6.html?re=view

[11]段清波：〈秦始皇帝的生死觀〉，《新浪網》，2019 年 9 月 18 日，k.sina.cn/article_5044281310_12ca99fde02000y445.html。

次建立起自己生前所建立的大秦帝國，繼續稱霸。

三、 生死觀念源於何處

秦始皇的這兩種生死觀念都不是他自己憑空想像出來的，而是當時最為盛行的兩種不同生死觀念。秦始皇一開始所追求的所謂長生不老記載在戰國時期的《韓非子·說林》，其中寫道「有獻不死之藥於者，謁者操以入。『可食乎？』曰：『可。』因奪而食之。王大怒，使人殺中射之士。中射之士使人說王曰：『臣問謁者，謁者曰「可食」，臣故食之。是臣無罪而罪在謁者也。且客獻不死之藥，臣食之，而王殺臣，是死藥也，是客欺王也。夫殺無罪之臣，而明人之欺王，不如釋臣。』王乃不殺」[12]。其大意為有人獻給了楚王長生不老藥。而當負責送藥的官員要把藥拿給楚王時，一個衛兵在聽說藥可以吃後便將藥搶過來吃了。楚王一怒之下要殺掉這個衛兵，但是這個衛兵說：『我吃的是長生不老藥，如果大王殺了我，那麼這便不是長生不老藥了，因此是是客人欺騙了您。而大王殺死了一個沒有罪的臣子，並證明有人在欺騙大王。不如把我放了吧』。而楚王在聽完他的話後便決定不殺他了。儘管這是一篇諷刺長生不老藥的短文，但是它也是中國歷史上第一個對於長生不老藥的文字記載。從中我們可以看出在戰國時期求長生不老藥以追求肉身的長生不老便的想法已經存在了，而結束了戰國亂世的秦始皇會有這樣的生死觀念也便說的通了。

而秦始皇后來有關冥界的生死觀念則可以最早追溯到商氏族，也便是商朝的祖先。商族的人認為人死後靈魂不滅，因此商族人在埋葬死者的時候經常會將死者生前的奴僕一起殺掉殉葬，並希望這些奴僕可以在死後的世界繼續服侍他們的主人[13]。而戰國時期的儒家著作《禮記·效特性》則記載到『魂氣歸於天，形魄歸於地』[14]，其意義則為人死後分為『魂』以及『魄』；『魂』，也便是靈魂會離開人世，回歸於『天』。而『魄』，也便是肉體形態則會回歸於『地』。如在秦公一號大墓，秦景公（公元前 576 年—公元前 537 年）的墓中便出土了多達一百八十六具殉葬者的骨骸。從中我們可以看出其實秦始皇這一個有關冥界的生死觀念早在商族時期便已經存在了，並在戰國時期已經成為了十分主流的生死觀念了。

結論

總而言之，從秦兵馬俑以及秦陵上，我們可以對秦始皇的生死觀念進行一個有根據，但是同時十分大膽的猜測：在經歷了出海求仙的失敗之後，秦始皇決定正式的對自己死後進入冥界的生活進行準備，並且意圖在冥界建立一個與他生前一樣、強大的秦帝國，以便他死後可以繼續稱霸。可是因為秦朝年代的久遠，太多的歷史文獻、記載被永遠的遺忘丟失在了歷史的長河之中，真正得以留存下來的文獻少之又

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[12]中國哲學書電子化計劃：〈禮記·效特性〉，《中國哲學書電子化計劃官網》，https://ctext.org/liji/jiao-te-sheng/，2019 年 9 月 20 日。

[13]蟲離先生：〈幽冥全景：中國冥界、陰司、鬼門和地獄全解剖〉，《夏小強的世界官網》，2020 年 5 月 31 日，https://www.xiaxiaoqiang.net/china-underworld/.html，2021 年 4 月 25 日。

[14]中國哲學書電子化計劃：〈禮記·效特性〉，《中國哲學書電子化計劃官網》，https://ctext.org/liji/jiao-te-sheng/，2019 年 9 月 20 日。

少，而導致我們現代人對秦始皇乃至秦朝的了解都十分的有限、表面化，並且我們所知道的信息來源也可以說是十分的單一，因此可靠性沒辦法得到十足的保障。

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To what extent can Eileen Chang's '*The First Incense*' 《第一爐香》be understood through a Freudian lens?

Marsha Lau　劉卓怡

Introduction

Sigmund Freud (1856 - 1939) was a renowned Austrian neurologist recognized for his complex theories on human psychology (Bloom). The influence of his theories was so significant that they appeared in China as early as the 1920s, attracting significant interest from Chinese literary authors (Wang 7). Based on the subtle descriptions of female sexual psychology found in Eileen Chang's works, scholars claimed that she was one of the many Chinese authors influenced by Freudianism (9). However, there is no direct evidence of Chang's encounter with Freudianism in her lifetime. Therefore, one cannot conclude that Chang's works were directly influenced by Freud. Nonetheless, many scholars had previously analysed Chang's stories through a Freudian lens to understand Chinese literature from a Western psychological perspective. The most commonly studied works were Jinsuoji 《金鎖記》[The Golden Cangue], Hong Meigui Yu Bai Meigui 《紅玫瑰與白玫瑰》[Red Rose and White Rose], and Sejie 《色，戒》[Lust, Caution]. Diyi Luxiang 《第一爐香》[*The First Incense*] is a short story within the collection of Qingcheng Zhilian 《傾城之戀》[Love in a Fallen City], hence was seldom analysed by scholars on its own, especially against the Freudian framework. Therefore, this paper attempts to explore the extent to which Freudianism is applicable in understanding *The First Incense* by Eileen Chang. Freudian theories will be referenced to analyse Chang's motives in producing literature as well as the psychology of the main characters in the story. Elements in it that contradict Freud will also be raised to provide a balanced argument as to show the limits of the Freudian framework of analysis. This paper ultimately proposes that although most behaviour and thought processes of the heroines in *The First Incense* can be comprehended by Freud's theories to a great extent, there are various elements in the short story that contradict and extend beyond Freudianism.

1 Freud's Theory of the Mind

In Freud's Theory of the Mind, he identifies a human's mental apparatus as having three main parts: the id, ego, and the superego. The id is known as the unconscious, animal side of human nature with instinctual desires. "It is filled with energy reaching it from the instincts, but it has no organization, produces no collective will, but only a striving to bring about the satisfaction of instinctive needs subject to the observance of the pleasure principle" (Storr 61). The id is present at birth and longs for sexual fulfillment and survival. As a child develops, the superego is derived from parental prohibitions and criticisms. Due to the long period of childhood, parental and societal standards become embedded as one's own psyche and form the superego (63). The superego ultimately becomes a part of one's unconscious and projects forces of societal morals and values. The ego is the part of the mind that represents consciousness and is originally derived from the id. It uses reason and logic to respond to changes in the external environment by mediating between the id and superego impulses. The ego attempts to satisfy the instinctual demands of the id while considering the societal morals projected by the superego (62).

2 Eileen Chang

Eileen Chang (1920 - 1995) was born in a privileged family in Shanghai, but behind the wealth was a rather unhappy childhood. Chang's mother

valued her personal liberation over her daughter's well-being. As an admirer of the European culture, she often visited the United Kingdom by herself, leaving her family behind and staying for long periods of time. Therefore, Chang did not have the opportunity to spend quality time with her mother. Meanwhile, her father was an opium addict and did not pay attention to her. The irreconcilable differences between Chang's parents led to a divorce when she was just eleven years old, which imposed a long-lasting impact on the girl (Kam 3). The Unfortunate Her, written when Chang was twelve years old, was published a year after the divorce of her parents. In the same year, her mother left for the United Kingdom again and her father married another woman, who became Chang's stepmother. This woman treated her poorly, but such abusive behaviour was neglected by her father. Instead, Chang's father would violently beat her whenever she argued with her stepmother. The majority of Chang's published work during this period of time in turn encapsulated the unfortunate incidents that occurred during her unhappy childhood (4). Due to these traumatic experiences, Chang witnessed first-hand the dark side of human nature, which was channeled into her writing. As a young adult, she already portrayed the themes that were repeated throughout her career: the misfortunes that befall young women and the unfulfilled desires of human beings.

Eileen Chang continued to perfect her writing skills throughout her education, producing not only literature but bilingual film reviews as well (6). She became one of the most successful writers in Shanghai in 1943 to 1944, during which she produced her famous short story collection Love in a Fallen City and The Golden Cangue (Britannica). She carried her individualist stance by choosing to steer clear of the political tensions in China for most of her life, until she passed away in 1995 (Yeh 140).

3 *The First Incense*

Freud displays a curious attitude to the arts. He believes that sublimation of unsatisfied libido is responsible for producing all art and literature (Storr 92). Fantasies arise from childhood, which are fulfillments of unsatisfied wishes, corrections to an undesirable reality. If sexual desires are fully satisfied or discharged, then art will not be necessary. As a result, a happy person never fantasizes, only one with unfulfilled yearnings. Furthermore, play, dreams and fantasies are considered childish, escapist techniques to compensate for an unsatisfying reality, hence adults do not turn to such behaviours as a means of expressing their wishes (101). As violence and aggression are socially unacceptable, the only defense mechanism available to artists is to produce art. Therefore, the creation of all literature serves the purpose of providing authors an outlet to express their unsatisfied fantasies.

Freud's explanation of the existence of literature corresponds to Eileen Chang's writing experience. She endured an unhappy childhood due to the absence of loving and harmonious parents. According to Freud, the accumulation of traumatic experiences since a young age caused Eileen Chang to develop fantasies and a longing for a peaceful, loving family (Cai 23). The unsuccessful marriage of her parents gave her a negative impression of love, resulting in her establishing a connection between love and tragedy. Eileen Chang's earliest works, written when she was a teenager, drew directly from her childhood experience. However, the themes from such works were repeated throughout her writing career. Therefore, from a Freudian point of view, literature provided Eileen Chang a platform to channel her emotions into writing, as a coping mechanism.

The creation of *The First Incense* was inspired by Eileen Chang's perceptions of reality. The two protagonists' corrupted love story is perhaps an expression of what Eileen Chang believes love is based on her observations of her parents' marriage. The decline of the heroine Ge Weilong may represent the fate that Eileen Chang inevitably finds herself in. As a result, her intention of writing *The First Incense*, according to Freud, can be interpreted as expressing her unsatisfied desires that are embedded in her since childhood.

The First Incense is about a teenager, Ge Weilong 葛薇龍, who is originally from Shanghai but moves to Hong Kong. However, due to economic conflicts, her parents cannot afford her education in Hong Kong and decide to return to Shanghai. If Ge Weilong continues her education in Shanghai, she will have to study an extra academic year, whereas if she stays in Hong Kong, she can graduate secondary school after the current semester. Therefore, Ge Weilong wishes to stay in Hong Kong to finish her secondary school education. In order to overcome the financial obstacle, she visits her wealthy aunt to request support for her education and accomodation. Ge Weilong's aunt Madame Liang 梁太太 is not on good terms with Ge Weilong's father because she abandoned the family to marry a wealthy man, who died soon after, resulting in her being a widow. However, Madame Liang agrees to take care of Ge Weilong in her mansion. Within three months in the Liang residence, Madame Liang exposes Ge Weilong to the wealthy side of society by gifting her luxurious clothing and bringing her to events in the entertainment industry, in hopes of using her to attract men. Ge Weilong meets Qiao Qiqiao during an event, a socialite popular amongst the women. She falls in love with Qiao Qiqiao and wishes to marry him, not only because she loves him but because she intends to escape Madame Liang's control. The idea of marriage does not appeal to Qiao Qiqiao and Ge Weilong's love is unrequited; however they become intimate by starting a sexual relationship. After an incident with Ge Weilong spotting Qiao Qiqiao flirting with the helper of the Liang household, she decides to return home to her parents in Shanghai. On the way, Ge Weilong encounters internal conflict: whether she truly wishes to return to her parents in Shanghai or stay in Hong Kong with Madame Liang. She finally decides to stay in Hong Kong, and Madame Liang teaches her how to behave around men to draw attention. She decides to give up her education to earn money for Qiao Qiqiao, and the two marry.

3.1 Ge Weilong

The short story is mainly driven by its characters, as Eileen Chang illustrates the decline of women when exposed to the materialistic world. Using Freud's Theory of Mind as a framework, one can achieve a deeper understanding of the main characters. Ge Weilong is the main protagonist of the story, thus she drives the central plot. She encapsulates very effectively the frustrations and destructiveness of a woman who is situated in a modernizing world but trapped in a stifling household (Kam 7). Ge Weilong is naturally beautiful. Eileen Chang not only directly states Ge Weilong's beauty, she also compares her physical appearance with the other women living in Madame Liang's mansion. Ge Weilong is described as 「粉撲子臉」 [Puff face] (Chang 7) and 「粉蒸肉」[Beefy steamed meat] (8), whereas the two Hong Kongese helpers in Madame Liang's mansion are described as 「排骨」 [Pork ribs] (8). This means that Ge Weilong's body figure is adequate to societal beauty standards, her skin is fair, and her female physiques are distinct, hence she is perceived as beautiful; whereas the helpers are too thin for societal specifications. Ge Weilong's physical appearances contrast the average female in Hong Kong, which intrigued Madame Liang to take advantage of her to fulfill her own carnal desires. Madame Liang thus takes action to manipulate Ge Weilong into being a means to attract men, causing Ge Weilong to decline.

When Ge Weilong visits Madame Liang for the first time, Eileen Chang provides a detailed description of Ge Weilong's outfit.

> 她穿著南英中學的別致的制服，翠藍竹布衫，長齊膝蓋，下面是窄窄褲腳管，還是滿清末年的款式。

> *She wore her unique knee-length Nanying Secondary School uniform with a turquoise sweatshirt. Beneath were tight trousers, and the whole outfit exhibited a late Qing dynasty aesthetic,"*(7).

Ge Weilong's uniform symbolises her initial innocence and close connection to her superego because it implies that she is being educated, hence regularly reminded of societal values. The purpose of this visit is to persuade Madame Liang to offer financial aid to enable completion of Ge Weilong's Secondary education. Because education is

socially perceived as a mandatory process for children to undertake, Ge Weilong's intention to seek assistance to complete her education reflects her attachment to her superego. Knowing Ge Weilong's agenda in paying a rare visit, Madame Liang speaks harshly to challenge her. Ge Weilong first introduces herself, 「姑媽，我是葛豫琨的女兒」 [Auntie, I am Ge Yukun's daughter], in which Madame Liang responds, 「葛豫琨死了麼？」 [Is Ge Yukun dead?] (12). Despite the difficult questions from Madame Liang, Ge Weilong manages to maintain composure and answers each question politely. Madame Liang is initially hesitant to help Ge Weilong due to the unresolved conflict between Ge Weilong's father and herself. Recognising this tension in the way of her demand, Ge Weilong continues to please her aunt by repeatedly complimenting her as a forgiving and understanding person and blaming herself for not visiting more regularly in the past. This reflects Ge Weilong's clever and patronizing qualities to achieve her desires. From a Freudian standpoint, Ge Weilong's ego is active and sides toward her superego significantly more than her id because she uses a civilised manner to meet the demands projected from her superego impulses, attempting to satisfy her unconscious forces while preventing conflict.

Ge Weilong experiences the first turning point when she settles into her new room for the first time.

> 薇龍打開了皮箱，預備把衣服騰到抽屜裏，開了壁櫥一看，裏面卻掛滿了一幅，金碧輝煌...... 到底不脫孩子氣，忍不住鎖上了房門，偷偷的一件一件試穿著，卻都合身，她突然省悟，原來這都是姑媽特地為她置備的。

> *Weilong opened her suitcase, ready to unload her clothes into the drawers, but when she opened the closet she found its interior full of gleaming, glamorous clothes. Like the child she still was, she locked the bedroom door and secretly tried on all the clothes, all of which fit perfectly. Suddenly she realised that her aunt had prepared them specifically for her* (22).

The luxurious clothes are a strategy for Madame Liang to lure Ge Weilong into staying in her mansion and the unveiling of them symbolises her exposure to materialistic interests. Ge Weilong's unconscious desires suddenly overcome her steady control, causing her to become drawn to the deluxe fashion. However, despite the initial attraction, she notices that all are purposeful arrangements to manipulate her, which highlights her stable conscience. Being aware of Madame Liang's hidden motives, Ge Weilong criticises her aunt's cruel schemes, 「這跟長三堂子裏買進一個人，有什麼分別？」 [How is this different from purchasing a prostitute?] (22).

As Madame Liang takes Ge Weilong to more social events, she increasingly begins to enjoy the attention and glamorous lifestyle more, representing her declining success to suppress her growing unconscious desires. She often finds herself being attracted to wealthy men and luxury items, but remains grounded by reminding herself that she does not wish to follow in Madame Liang's footsteps. Ge Weilong is determined to escape Madame Liang's control by marrying a rich man. However, she desires true love, not love that arises from materialistic advantages like Madame Liang's previous marriage. Ge Weilong's commitment to distance herself away from Madame Liang's influence shows that her superego maintains domination in her mental processes.

However, Ge Weilong experiences another significant turning point when she meets Qiao Qiqiao 喬琪喬, a philanderer who behaves according to his id. Because Qiao Qiqiao has encountered many experiences with women, he draws Ge Weilong in rather easily. Ge Weilong falls in love with Qiao Qiqiao because of his physical looks and his consistent demonstrations of physical affection. During a car ride home with Madame Liang, Ge Weilong thinks about Qiao Qiqiao and longs for him, which can be understood as her id demanding sexual attention. She no longer thinks about her pursuit of education, which represents a growing distance between her and her superego.

After an intimate scene, Ge Weilong is confident that Qiao Qiqiao loves her. She realises that al-

though he offers various words of affirmation, he never directly expresses such feelings. Unconcerned about such behaviour, Ge Weilong believes this is just Qiao Qiqiao's unique way of displaying love to her. At this point, Ge Weilong's id is so strong that her desires completely interfere with her perception of reality. Before this, she acknowledges that her love is unreturned, but now her sexual desires become so intense that she persuades herself that her fantasies are indeed reality. She soon experiences a heartbreak when she catches Qiao Qiqiao with Madame Liang's helper. This incident led her to the decision to finally leave Madame Liang and return home to her parents as her desires are temporarily suppressed. First-handedly observing Qiao Qiqiao's unloyal behaviours alarmed her superego, enabling her to realise the morally inclined decision that she has to make in response to this situation. On the way back to Shanghai, Ge Weilong second guesses her decision to travel home and encounters a mental conflict between whether to stay in Hong Kong with Madame Liang or reunite with her parents. Falling in love with Qiao Qiqiao activated her sexual demands significantly, causing her to feel uneasy about leaving him. She fails to suppress her id which results in such desires to manipulate her initial decision to leave. In addition, Ge Weilong has become addicted to the glamorous lifestyle in Hong Kong which her parents will not be able to offer. Travelling back home is seen as a decision that originates from the superego because it means that Ge Weilong can once again be in touch with her family and receive virtuous guidance from parental influences.

Her trip is prolonged by her indecisiveness, the opposite ends of her id and superego battling to dominate the final decision.

> 從這一刹那起,她五分鐘換一個主意——
> 走!不走!走!不走!在這兩個極端之
> 間,她躺在床上滾來滾去,心裏像油煎似
> 的。

> *From this moment, she changed her mind every five minutes - Leave! Don't leave! Leave! Don't leave! Stuck between two extremes, she rolled around on the bed, her heart feeling like boiling oil* (55).

After switching her decision multiple times, Ge Weilong's id overwhelms her superego and she chooses to stay in Hong Kong because her desire for Qiao Qiqiao is too intense for her superego to persuade otherwise. Ge Weilong returns to Madame Liang's mansion and expresses her hope to marry Qiao Qiqiao, self-willingly deciding to sacrifice her education to earn money for him. Ge Weilong officially abandons her superego by giving up her pursuit of education to fulfill her sexual desires. The fact that Qiao Qiqiao still does not love her is not a constraint to her final decision because she no longer wishes for the genuine, harmonious type of love that her superego originally seeked. She only cares about satisfying her primitive yearning, therefore the particular person that enables this satisfaction is insignificant. Even though Qiao Qiqiao and Madame Liang place a significant influence on her, Ge Weilong makes all of the decisions by herself knowing both of these characters' agendas, thus her decline is fully self-willing.

3.2 Qiao Qiqiao

Qiao Qiqiao is the main male character of *The First Incense*, as well as Ge Weilong's love interest. Unlike Ge Weilong, Qiao Qiqiao does not change throughout the story and remains as an accurate embodiment of the id. He is born into a wealthy family; however as one of the youngest siblings, he does not have access to his father's assets, but desires a magnificent life similar to his childhood. His ego is relatively strong but only responds to his id impulses and neglects his superego.

Qiao Qiqiao presents a very strong sexual desire which he satisfies by attracting women whenever is convenient. During his first meeting with Ge Weilong, he recognises her beauty and acknowledges her as a suitable female companion. His id tells him to satisfy his sexual desire immediately, but his ego mediates this force by persuading him to communicate in a civilised manner. Therefore, he acts flirtatiously as he initiates a conversation with Ge Weilong. He asks questions about her preferences of Shanghai and Hong Kong, then

demonstrates his ability to speak multiple languages, all in hopes of attracting Ge Weilong to him. Qiao Qiqiao is clever in the sense that he recognises rather quickly what Madame Liang's intentions are for taking care of Ge Weilong in her mansion. He utilises this knowledge to further attract her, by bringing up such topics in conversations to make Ge Weilong feel understood. For example, during a private conversation between the two, Ge Weilong explains her desire for marriage, in hopes of escaping Madame Liang's manipulations. Qiao Qiqiao responds with:

> 薇龍，你太好了。你這樣為你姑媽利用著，到底是為誰辛苦為誰忙呢？你疲倦了，憔悴了的時候，你想她還會留下你麼？薇龍，你累了。你需要一點快樂。
>
> *Weilong, you are too good. You allow your aunt to use you like this, but who is this exhaustion and trouble for? You are weary, when you are haggard, do you think she will still keep you here? Weilong, you are tired, you need some happiness* (43).

Following this short verbal exchange, Qiao Qiqiao and Ge Weilong become intimate together, thus his id is finally satisfied. After this scene, Qiao Qiqiao departs with Ge Weilong, where he encounters the helper of the Liang household, Ni'er. Without hesitation, Qiao Qiqiao seduces Nier aggressively without her consent, which proves his total failure to suppress his id. During this scene, Qiao Qiqiao's actions are driven solely by his unconscious mind because even his ego is not steady enough to control the strong impulses radiating from his id, which explains his exertion of aggression. Qiao Qiqiao's wild behaviour to satisfy his sexual demands proves his abandonment of his superego, instead allowing his id to dominate his psyche.

Although Qiao Qiqiao does not love Ge Weilong, he pursues her for the financial benefits that marriage can bring. In contrast to the previous example, Qiao Qiqiao does not achieve this goal through the means of aggression; instead his conscience tells him to attract Ge Weilong using the strategy of resistance. When Ge Weilong expresses her

wishes to marry, Qiao Qiqiao directly counters her request,

> 我是不預備結婚的。即使我有結婚的能力，我也不配。我在五十歲之前，不能做一個令人滿意的丈夫……龍，我不能答應你結婚，我也不能答應你愛，我只能答應你快樂。
>
> *I don't plan to marry. Even if I have the ability, I am not suitable. Until I turn fifty years old, I cannot be a satisfying husband to anyone⋯Weilong, I cannot promise you marriage, I also cannot promise you love, I can only promise you happiness* (43).

This clearly implies his lack of love toward Ge Weilong. Freud states that attraction is intensified by the resistance which dominates the situation, especially if the same intention is not requited by the beloved (Mann 29). Especially when power from both sides are unequal, Qiao Qiqiao being a male and conscious of his motivations, while Ge Weilong is a young woman vulnerable to internal conflicts, intended resistance from Qiao Qiqiao leads to Ge Weilong becoming even fonder of him. His strategy works in his favour because Ge Weilong finally decides to sacrifice her education to marry him. The application of resistance proves that Qiao Qiqiao's ego is active because it is making calculations that allows him to pursue his instincts in a more civilised manner. However, when deciding to manipulate Ge Weilong as such, Qiao Qiqiao never considers the moral implications behind his actions, how doing so may cause a long-lasting negative impact on Ge Weilong. Freud states that when behaviour that violates societal values is undertaken, the superego will punish the ego by causing feelings of guilt. The superego will also cause feelings of guilt when the ego gives in to the id's demands (Mcleod). Qiao Qiqiao does not feel any regret about his actions, which shows his complete abandonment of his superego.

3.3   Madame Liang

Madame Liang is Ge Weilong's wealthy aunt. She is not born from a particularly wealthy family, but

marries a high-class man, which enables her to live a magnificent life. However, she achieves this by abandoning her family, causing long-lasting tension between Ge Weilong's father and herself. Her unconscious desires are so intense that her ego abandons her superego impulses when making decisions, resulting in her to leave her family in pursuit of love. She experiences a heartbreak when her rich husband passes away; since then she has been attempting to seek male companionship. As the satisfaction of her id is taken away, she desperately longs for the same fulfillment. Therefore, she finds Ge Weilong appealing because her youth is advantageous in attracting men. Despite the strong sexual desires, Madame Liang's ego still dominates her psyche in a sense that she attracts Ge Weilong in a non-violent manner.

Throughout the story, Madame Liang is trapped in her unsatisfied desires, veiled by a glamorous outlook. Eileen Chang provides many descriptions of Madame Liang's mansion to reveal the unpleasant truth under the layers of luxury. During the first few days of Ge Weilong's arrival, she walks away from Madame Liang's mansion to explore the area. Eileen Chang writes:

> 滿山的棕櫚、芭蕉，都被毒日頭烘焙得乾黃鬆鬈，像雪茄煙絲……薇龍向東走，愈走，那月亮愈白，愈晶亮，彷彿是一頭肥胸脯的白鳳凰……再回頭看姑媽的家，依稀還見那黃地紅邊的窗櫺，綠玻璃窗裏映著海色。那巍巍的白房子，蓋著綠色的玻璃瓦，很有點像古代的皇陵。

> *The palms and bananas that covered the mountain were baked into dried yellow pine curls by the poisonous sun, like cigarette tobacco…Weilong walked eastward, the further she walked, the whiter and brighter the moon was, as if it was a fat chested phoenix…Looking back at her aunt's house, the red and yellow colored window lattices were barely visible, the green glass reflecting the ocean. That white house, covered in green tiles, looked slightly like an ancient tomb* (Chang 18).

The palms and the moon are both natural elements, things that people would normally perceive as precious and beautiful. However, Eileen Chang describes these elements negatively and compares them to unattractive things, such as cigarette tobacco and a fat chested phoenix, giving the reader an unsettling feeling about such elegant natural features. These comparisons reflect Madame Liang's truth: although she lives a magnificent life on the outside, she suffers with many unfulfilled fantasies on the inside. Eileen Chang further describes Madame Liang's mansion like a haunted tomb, decorated with tiles and window lattices in rich uncomplimentary colors. The descriptions remind one of not only a grave, but a prison, trapping Madame Liang inside. It is as if her id impulses are so overwhelming that it shadows her superego, disabling the ego from taking its forces into account.

Due to Madame Liang's desperation for male companionship but limited by her age, she takes advantage of Ge Weilong. Her ego uses reason to achieve her demands while avoiding conflict, by bringing Ge Weilong to multiple social events to expose her to possible suitors. Before falling in love with Qiao Qiqiao, Ge Weilong develops a liking towards a young man in her choir group named Lu Zhaolin 盧兆麟. Knowing about Ge Weilong's infatuation, Madame Liang invites Lu Zhaolin to her backyard party, not for Ge Weilong, but for herself to pursue a younger male. When Lu Zhaolin arrives, Madame Liang seizes his attention immediately without providing Ge Weilong any opportunity to act. She neglects Ge Weilong's sentiment to satisfy her id desires, which demonstrates selfishness and violation of the superego principles.

Madame Liang's gradual manipulation of Ge Weilong is successful, as Ge Weilong finally decides to marry Qiao Qiqiao and stay in Hong Kong. Her id is not fully content yet because she has not found a permanent suitor to fulfill her sexual desires any time. However, she uses Ge Weilong as a tool to attract men, thus grasping a more stable source of sexual satisfaction.

4 Contradictions to Freudianism

Although certain aspects of Freudianism can be applied to analyse *The First Incense*, the short story is not a direct reflection of such theories. Therefore, some elements in *The First Incense* are recognised to be contradictory to Freud's theories. Freud admitted to a lack of knowledge on female psychology, hence the majority of his theories were androcentric. He claimed that because women lacked a penis, they lack the ability to develop the superego which makes them inferior to men (Storr 34).

On the contrary, Eileen Chang focuses her stories on female characters, hence *The First Incense* is no exception. She portrays the strength of numerous female characters explicitly; they not only live out legendary lives, but also represent fate, emotion, marriage, and the existence of tragedy (後云云). Therefore, Eileen Chang often describes the female characters as having more depth than the male characters. For example, the protagonists' names in *The First Incense* reveal the gender perception that Chang wishes her readers can generate. The name of the main female character, Ge Weilong, is a relatively pleasant name to verbalise and hear because each character creates a different sound. The third Chinese character, Long 龍 [Dragon], is typically used in male names because in traditional Chinese culture, the dragon is a symbol of the emperor, thus implies power and capability. This reflects how Eileen Chang views women: strong and resilient, which contrasts the stereotypical descriptions of women during the 1940s.

In addition, the dragon is the culmination of the Yin 陰 and Yang 陽, which are used to represent the interconnectedness of opposing forces that give rise to each other in the natural world. Each node of the Yin Yang symbol is shaped like a horseshoe, similar to the body of a dragon, with small circles at one end depicting the eye of the dragon. This end represents the dragon's head, which guides the energy forward. The other end represents the dragon's tail, which hauls the energy backwards. Due to this conflicting nature, it takes two contrasting dragons to maintain a state of balance

(Roper). Naming a woman Long highlights the twin sides of her personality; Yin and Yang, her id and superego respectively. This symbolism implies a dynamic nature of Ge Weilong's personality, though masculine she is prone to influences by external forces, such as Madame Liang and Qiao Qiqiao. Although Freud perceived the id as a negative side of human nature, the concept of Yin and Yang embedded in Ge Weilong's name signifies the importance of interdependence between the id and superego in the complexity of her character. It is this complementation that drives her behaviour and mental processes, ultimately creating depth to her personality.

By contrast, Qiao Qiqiao is the main male character in *The First Incense*. His name is not as pleasant to say or hear because all three characters create a similar sound. His name is rather feminine, contradicting the general public perception of men. Eileen Chang exchanges the stereotypical qualities of male and female in the characters' names, portraying Ge Weilong as masculine and Qiao Qiqiao as feminine. Freud states that women are inferior to men, however Eileen Chang believes otherwise, which she expresses through these names.

According to Freud, due to the low status of women, they are incapable of developing a mental apparatus as sophisticated as men, therefore unable to establish a superego. However, as analysed previously, Ge Weilong has a strong connection with her superego at the beginning of the story, whereas signs of such impulses are never apparent in Qiao Qiqiao's behaviours. Qiao Qiqiao's actions are mostly driven by a desire for female companionship, to satisfy the demands of his id. Although he does often act rationally, his ego seldom accounts for his superego instincts. On the other hand, Ge Weilong successfully suppresses her id until the influence of Madame Liang and Qiao Qiqiao becomes too overwhelming to sustain that. Nonetheless, she is gifted with outer beauty and has the potential to be intelligent, proven by her determination to pursue education at the beginning of the story. Although Ge Weilong declines towards the end of the plot, her frequent mental battles between accepting the life Madame

Liang offers and returning to her previous life with her parents proves the existence of a superego in her psyche. Not only does Eileen Chang counter Freud's theory on the inferiority of women, she also extends beyond Freudianism by exploring the nature of female psychology.

Conclusion

Certain aspects of *The First Incense* correspond to the Freudian framework, including Chang's subconscious intentions in producing literature, and the psychology of the main characters in the story. Ge Weilong's decline can be comprehended as a gradual separation between her ego and superego. Madame Liang's manipulative behaviour toward Ge Weilong exhibits the presence of a strong ego attempting to satisfy the sexual desires of the id without exerting behaviour deemed undesirable in society. Meanwhile, Qiao Qiqiao's socialite behaviours can be understood as a consistent failure to suppress his id. While Freud's theories are helpful in understanding aspects of *The First Incense*, the recurring theme of female empowerment reflected in the story is an element that cannot be compressed into a Freudian framework. Eileen Chang's implementations of strong characteristics in female characters and primitive characteristics in male characters contradict Freud's beliefs on gender hierarchy. Therefore, Freudianism can act as a perspective to analyse Chang's *The First Incense* to a great extent; however, concepts that extend beyond Freudianism are nonetheless present. Further analysis can be extended to other literary works in the twentieth century using the Freudian framework to gain a deeper understanding of the connection between Freudianism and common themes reflected by Chinese authors.

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Li Qingzhao's 李清照 lyrics 詞 as a reflection of women's status in the Song dynasty

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Introduction

Li Qingzhao 李清照 (1084 – 1155) is widely regarded as one of China's greatest poets. Her father, Li Gefei 李格非, was a professor at the Imperial Academy; her mother had some reputation as a poet. Fostered in an environment favorable to the study of literature, Li was dedicated to her learning and amassed a profound understanding of Chinese classics and literature as an adolescent (Wang iv).

At eighteen, Li married Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠, a student of the Imperial Academy. Their union was a successful arranged marriage, as the pair shared a passion for reading, writing, and epigraphy (Wang iv). While they enjoyed their time together, the Jurchen invasion and political turmoil of the Northern Song 北宋 period resulted in Zhao becoming sick while travelling to Jiankang 建康 for an official government post (Wang iv). When Li arrived to care for Zhao, he was deathly ill and passed away soon thereafter (Egan 136). Li's subsequent remarriage to Zhang Ruzhou 張汝舟, a lesser-known government official, is highly contested as a part of her biography, despite its documentation in *A Letter Submitted to the Hanlin Academician Qi Chongli* 投翰林學士綦崇禮啟 (Li 60-67). Li remained in Hangzhou 杭州 in her later years, where she spent the end of her life in grief and isolation (Wang v). Li wrote many works during her lifetime, including fifteen complete shi poems, one rhapsody *fu* 賦, and a few prose pieces that still exist today (Egan xx-xix). Of her lyrics, forty-three of certain attribution remain (Wang xii).

This essay examines the lyrics of Li's most famous works to reveal the status of women in the Song Dynasty. A selection of Li's archetypically feminine works, her feminine lyrics, and her non-traditional works, including her essays and lyrics in the masculine form, are analyzed to yield insight into the lives of women during the Song Dynasty. This investigation of Li's works considers not only the meaning of her writings, but also the social and historical implications of selected pieces, as well as later perceptions of her works. The purpose of such analysis is to demonstrate how Li's poetry captures the essence of the female experience in the Song Dynasty and to highlight the authenticity of Li's works, which make her one of the most revered Chinese poets today.

1 Lyrics and Female Writers in the Song Dynasty

While Li's body of work is diverse in both form and topic, her most popular works are her lyrics 詞. Lyrics originated during the Tang Dynasty, when poets formed meters from popular songs, adding their own *ci* 詞 or "lyrics" (Miao 25). Based on popular tunes, each lyric is linked to a particular tune, of which roughly 800 are known (Heule 6).

The popularization of lyrics was associated with images of boudoirs, women, and love, thus leading to its association as conveying "feminine" sentiments (Yu 108). This feminine form of lyrics is known as the *wan-yue* style 婉約派 (Owen 852). From the fourth century onward, men writing in a "woman's voice" became popular, oftentimes using lyrics to do so (Paul 112). These lyrics were composed for female singers, representing a stylized female voice. In contrast, a "masculine" style of lyrics was born when Su Shi 蘇軾 created the *hao-fang* style 豪放派 of the lyric (Owen 852). Masculine lyrics purposely contrasted with the feminine –achieved through language, theme, and "male" emotion (Yu 139).

Distinctions that existed within lyrics also extended across forms of poetry. In comparison to the feminine mode of lyrics, the popular poetic form *shi* 詩 is known as the masculine mode of poetry. This sentiment is noted in the phrase "the lyric is delicate, *shi* poetry is stately" 詞媚詩莊.

Li primarily wrote in the feminine style of lyrics, as did many women of her time (Owen 852). Her eloquence and articulation in her feminine lyrics gave rise to the categorization of her works as the *Yi-an* style 易安體 (Heule 6). While Li endeavored to gain repute through her masculine works, it was through her feminine lyrics that she ultimately achieved canonical status (Egan 3).

Both courtesans and elite women wrote during the Song Dynasty, but none reached the status of Li due to prevailing societal beliefs. Courtesans were occasionally invited to perform their own compositions in festive gatherings (Egan 15), while women in the upper echelons of society learned to write, embroider, and play musical instruments to improve marital prospects (13). As women's writing was viewed as deeply personal, publishing their works represented releasing their inner lives into the world (25). These beliefs are summarized in the prevalent saying from the time that "a woman's lack of talent is a virtue" 女子無才便是德. Societal impositions on women prevented them from openly publishing their works, thus contributing to the prevalence of male authors publishing works in the feminine style. These works created an environment where women were not represented, limiting the expression of feminine views to those conveyed through the lens of male authors. However, Li's entrance into the literary sphere elevated the power of women's writings by showcasing authentic portrayals of female experiences.

2 Li Qingzhao's Archetypically Feminine Works

Li's archetypically feminine works refer to her lyrics, from which she broke into the male-dominated literary sphere. Her lyrics conformed to the tradition and established themes of women's writing.

2.1 Building Upon Established Portrayals of Women

Li's To the Tune "As If In A Dream" (no. 5) 如夢令 (Li 100-101) recounts the speaker's emotional distress during a bout of rain the previous night. The poem unfolds along the themes of sorrow, anguish, and affliction.

如夢令

昨夜雨疏風驟。

濃睡不消殘酒。

試問捲簾人，

卻道海棠依舊。

知否。

知否。

應是綠肥紅瘦。

To the Tune "As If in a Dream" (no. 5)

Last night the rain was intermittent, the wind blustery.

Deep sleep did not dispel the lingering wine.

I tried asking the maid raising the blinds,

Who said the crab apple blossoms were as before.

"Don't you know?"

"Don't you know?"

"The greens must be plump and the reds spindly."

(Egan trans.)

As If in a Dream draws from the poem *Too Lethargic to Arise* 懶起 by Han Wo 韓偓 (Fuller 413). While Li's choice to "rewrite an established work" 檃括 is not unconventional, her expansion on the work of her male predecessor shows an attentiveness to emotion. In Han's poem, the final four lines are placed after the woman is established. In Li's

poem, these four lines, the least conventional element of the poem, are expanded upon and recontextualized (Egan 328).

懶起

昨夜三更雨，

今朝一陣寒。

海棠花在否，

側臥卷簾看。

Too Lethargic to Arise
Last night, rain at midnight;

This morning, a gust of cold.

Do the crabapple flowers remain or not?

Lying on my side, I roll the curtains to look.

(Egan trans.)

While Han's lines simply portray a maid rolling up curtains, Li develops them into a rousing emotional outburst and contrasts the speaker's sorrow with the maid's nonchalant attitude towards the withered blossoms outside. The maid's failure to notice the condition of the blossoms or lack of reaction provokes the speaker's outburst "'Don't you know? Don't you know?' The greens must be plump and the reds spindly"知否。知否。應是綠肥紅瘦. Li's use of "spindly"瘦 as the last word of the poem is directly lifted from the earlier lines of Han's poem, though the context of the word is changed and applied to the blossoms, rather than the woman (Egan 328). This manipulation of language is inventive, achieving the effect of distanciation. By projecting the inchoate emotion of the speaker onto the tangible form of an external object –the blossoms –the conclusion to the poem becomes more subtle.

Li's transformation of an established work conveys her ability to express emotion in her writing. Her use of language and expression differs from that of her male counterparts. Li's male predecessors repeatedly conveyed the emotion of a female speaker solely through the weather or her physical appearance, whether through the rain and wind in Han's

poem or the depiction of a woman with no observable female voice in Emperor Wu of Liang's 梁武帝 *Song of Midnight* 子夜歌 "From carmine lips a sensuous song bursts forth, while jade fingers play on seductive strings."恃愛如欲進，含羞未肯前。朱口發艷歌，玉指弄嬌弦 (Yu 112). Whereas the work of her contemporaries merely conveys a perceived image of the female experience, Li creates an evocative portrayal of a woman's life in the Song Dynasty.

2.2 Portrayal of Feminine Themes

To the tune "Drunk in the Blossom's Shadows"(no. 20) 醉花陰 (Li 126-127) builds upon the established theme of an isolated, grieving woman. The lyric is amongst those commonly selected in Song anthologies (Egan 232), including *As If in a Dream* and *To the Tune "Dabbing Crimson Lips"*.

醉花陰

薄霧濃雾愁永畫。

瑞腦銷金獸。

時節又重陽，

寶枕紗廚、

半夜涼初透。

東籬把酒黃昏後。

有暗香盈袖。

莫道不銷魂，

簾捲西風、

人比黃花瘦。

To the Tune "Drunk in the Blossom's Shadows" (no. 20)

Light mist, thick vapors, sad through an endless morning.

Camphor incense turns to ash inside the golden beast.

Again it's Double Ninth Festival,

to the precious pillow, within the gauze netting

a chill enters at midnight.

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Holding wine after sunset by the eastern fence,

a subtle fragrance fills the sleeves.

Don't say she's not heartbroken –

as the west wind lifts the blinds,

she's more withered than the yellow flowers.

(Egan trans.)

As If in a Dream and *Drunk in the Blossom's Shadows* both portray a grieving woman. The description of flowers and style of the poem made this obvious to readers in the Song Dynasty, despite no direct reference to the pronouns of the speaker (Li 233). The women are afflicted with unnamed issues, and a highly emotional account of their experiences is provided. In *As If in a Dream*, the emotional nature of the poem is conveyed through descriptions of the sporadic weather that reflect the speaker's instability, leading to her final outburst. In *Drunk in the Blossom's Shadows*, this instability is reflected in the description of the speaker's "[sadness] through an endless morning" 愁永晝, with no observable change in her mood or the tone of the poem by sunset in the second stanza, revealing her loneliness and isolation. The turmoil in the speakers' lives is shown by Li's use of "withered" or "spindly" 瘦 as the last word of each poem, highlighting the physical toll of emotional distress on the women.

Additionally, *Drunk in the Blossom's Shadows* conforms to the image of the chaste woman. Following Song Dynasty social expectations, widows were to remain unmarried while in mourning (Ebrey 204). Whether the woman featured in the poem is a mourning widow or a faithful wife, Li's description of a woman waiting for her lover to return but not finding him, even after a year has passed, conforms to Song ideals of chastity.

To the Tune "Dabbing Crimson Lips" (no. 54) 點絳唇 (Egan 176-177) similarly explores the domestic lives of Song women, depicting maidenhood rather than grief or loss. The lyric describes a young maiden resting on a swing, who is startled and flees when a guest arrives. Li creates an air of flirtatiousness, characterizing the young woman

as gentle and bashful at the approaching guest, presumably a bachelor.

點絳唇

蹴罷鞦韆，

起來慵整纖纖手。

露濃花瘦。

薄汗沾衣透。

見客入來，

襪剗金釵溜。

和羞走。

倚門回首。

卻把青梅嗅。

To the Tune "Dabbing Crimson Lips" (no. 54)

Getting off the swing

she straightens her clothes languidly, her fingers slender.

The dew is heavy, the blossom frail,

patches of perspiration stain her dress.

Seeing someone come,

in her stocking feet, gold hairpin slipping,

she runs bashfully away.

At the door she pauses, turning to look back,

and sniffs the green plum in her hand.

(Egan trans.)

The young maiden in the lyric is playful in her private quarters, yet when exposed to the external gaze of a guest, she restrains the spontaneous expression of her nature to conform to social expectations of proper female behavior. The final lines of the poem join the two sides of her behavior: spontaneous and disciplined, private and public. As she pauses at the door to sniff the green plum, her outgoing, youthful self resurfaces from beneath the disguise of propriety.

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Dabbing Crimson Lips is reflective of traditions of maidenhood and Confucian ideals that were prevalent in the Song Dynasty. During this period, men and women spent most of their time away from each other. When together, they were to avoid physical contact (Ebrey 23). The description of the young maiden as "[running] bashfully away" 和羞走 reflects the societal expectation of women to remain isolated from the company of men until marriage. The reaction of the woman to the guest's arrival is, therefore, representative of Confucian beliefs regarding the separation of the sexes during the Song Dynasty (23).

Through such descriptions as the young maiden languidly straightening her clothes or her "gold hairpin slipping" 金釵溜, Li paints a vivid image of a young woman. Li's own experiences of maidenhood possibly aided her creation of this poignant scene, allowing her to convey the inner thoughts of a young woman more accurately, as compared to her male contemporaries.

The selection of these three works in anthologies and authoritative collections is significant, as it reveals which of Li's poems were relevant during and beyond her lifetime, thus providing insight into popular portrayals of women at that time. Notwithstanding their originality, Li's lyrics may have been anthologized because they conformed to an established image of women in poetry. *As If in a Dream* and *Drunk in the Blossom's Shadows* are similar in structure: the view outside prompts a woman to reflect on her inner emotions. The works are tethered to "boudoir grief" 閨怨, a term used by male literary critics to describe female anguish (Heule 7). *Dabbing Crimson Lips* depicts a bashful image of maidenhood in contrast to themes of sorrow and isolation, showing a young woman's conformity to Song perceptions of propriety. As women's writing was perceived as personal and private, it follows that works displaying "boudoir grief" or otherwise portraying women's domestic lives were selected in many Song anthologies.

As a prolific writer across both poetic and non-poetic forms, Li's choice to portray women and their experiences via lyrics is particularly signifi-

cant. As lyrics were performed by courtesans and singing girls, the form allowed Li to express sentiments pertaining to the female experience during the Song Dynasty. Li likely drew from her lived experiences, creating a certain verisimilitude in her works through her attentiveness to atmosphere and language. Li's lyrics create moving depictions of life for women during the Song Dynasty, whether through the portrayal of a lone speaker observing Double Ninth festival, a woman's emotional outburst at a trivial event, or an image of spontaneity and discipline at conflict in maidenhood.

3 Non-Traditional Works

Li is a more versatile writer than usually acknowledged. While not as well-known or as numerous as her lyrics, Li's non-traditional works yield insight into her thoughts on entering the literary sphere as a woman. These works include her theoretical essay *On Lyrics* 詞論 and her masculine lyric *To the tune "The Fisherman Is Proud" (no. 3)* 漁家傲, as well as writings on politics and war.

3.1 Understanding of the Lyric Form

In her essay *On Lyrics* 詞論 (Egan 2019, 54-59), Li expresses her thoughts on the tradition of lyrics through a critique of male poets of the Song Dynasty who wrote in the format. Her use of the story of Li Balang 李八郎 and the criticism she levies against her contemporaries implies a certain advantage as a female writer.

Li opens the essay by recounting the story of Li Balang 李八郎 from Li Zhao's 李肇 *Supplement to Tang Dynasty History* 唐國史補. Li Balang, revered for his great talent, disguises himself and attends a celebration. As various performers and courtesans sing, Li Balang volunteers to perform. At first the people mock him for his lowly appearance; however, after seeing Li Balang perform they are awestruck by his great talent and regret looking down upon him based on his appearance. Li Qinghzhao's framing of the narrative parallels her own experiences as a woman in the literary field. As one of the only well-known women writers of the time, she was looked down upon for being a

woman. While her intrusion into a literary field dominated by men was not explicitly unwelcomed, her identity as a woman set her apart from the popular poets of the day.

After narrating the story of Li Balang, the essay turns towards a critique of popular male lyricists of the time. Li states her belief that lyrics are widely misinterpreted and misunderstood as a literary form. Of her contemporaries, she states "still, what they wrote reads like nothing more than *shi*, poetry that has not been properly polished, and frequently their lines violate the prosodic rules" 然皆句讀不葺之詩爾，又往往不協音律者 (Li 58-59). Her explanations on the difference between tones and notes between lyrics and *shi* poetry display her understanding of the form, alluding to her advantage over other writers of the Song Dynasty as a result.

Li's essay is a powerful argument for the inclusion of women writers in the literary canon. Her retelling of the story of Li Balang demonstrates that talent should not be disregarded because of outward appearances or, otherwise, identity. She proceeds to critique writers who she deems to not fully understand lyrics whilst highlighting her own ability to write in the form, thus justifying her place amongst her contemporaries.

3.2 Writing to Seek Purpose

In her later work, *To the tune "The Fisherman Is Proud" (no. 3)* 漁家傲 (Li 98-99), Li uses the masculine style of lyrics to express her ideas on writing. Featuring a celestial motif, the poem details a conversation with the Lord of Heaven on the direction and meaning of her life, exploring ideas of divinity and the meaning of life beyond the domestic sphere (Egan 50).

漁家傲

天接雲濤連曉霧。

星河欲轉千帆舞。

彷彿夢魂歸帝所，

聞天語。

殷勤問我歸何處。

我報路長嗟日暮。

學詩謾有驚人句。

九萬里風鵬正舉。

風休住。

蓬舟吹取三山去。

To the tune "The Fisherman Is Proud" (no. 3)

The sky joins billowing cloud-waves to morning mists.

The River of Stars begins to turn, a thousand sails dance.

My dreaming soul seems to have gone to the Lord of

Heaven's place, where I hear Heaven speak.

What is your final destination, it asks, showing real concern.

The road is long, I say, and the day already late.

I write poetry, but my startling lines are produced in vain.

A wind blows thousands of miles, the giant phoenix will soon take flight.

Oh wind, do not slacken!

Blow my little boat to the distant Isles of Immortals.

(Egan trans.)

Written towards the end of her life, *The Fisherman is Proud* is a culmination of Li's experiences as a writer. Through her response to the Lord of Heaven, Li expresses her self-doubt and frustration regarding the reception of her poetry, but not with the poems themselves. While her body of works was critiqued and read in her lifetime, Li remarks "I write poetry, but my startling lines are produced in vain"學詩謾有驚人句, indicating her belief that her poetry did not elicit the desired response. Despite her inner conflict, she still believes that her dedication to poetry is the purpose of her existence and views poetry as her life's work (Egan 51).

The poem demonstrates Li's transcendence of the style of poetry imposed on female writers. *The Fisherman is Proud*, and Li's other works pertaining to politics and war, demonstrate a breakthrough in women's literature. The work is notable as it expresses the unconstrained and powerful energy of masculine lyrics and it was generally well-received by traditional critics (Owen 582). While the poem is masculine in style and tone, it is also a deeply personal expression that demonstrates a breakthrough in how women expressed their emotions in writing.

Writing is clearly an intensely individual and personal act to Li. Writing is not only an expression of emotion, but also central to her identity and self-perception. Writing could be said to form a refuge from her domestic life, as it did for many women in the Song Dynasty. Li's deep connection to writing is not only reflective of the growing population of female writers in the Song Dynasty, as composing poetry and other literary works was not uncommon for women in elite society (Egan 13), but also of the view of writing as a personal, reflective act and a means of escape from their domestic lives. Through this deep connection to writing, Li produced innovative works that resonate with readers across time by conveying the emotions and authentic experiences of Song Dynasty women.

Conclusion

Li's writings, whether in the feminine form of lyrics or otherwise, provide insight into life as a woman in the Song Dynasty. In terms of Li's feminine works, the performative nature of lyrics makes such works a powerful and personal form of poetry, allowing Li to provide an authentic perspective of women's lives in the Song Dynasty in a male-dominated field. Li's use of feminine lyrics is skillfully tailored to describe the female experience, making her works more powerful. Li's non-traditional writings venture beyond feminine lyrics, transcending themes of domestic and everyday life and shedding light upon Li's perspective on writing and her growth as a writer in her later years. By exploring life beyond the domestic sphere, Li justifies her writings, revealing the purpose that she found in writing, as well as the passion that allowed her to reach canonical status.

Li's lyrics reveal everyday life for the Song Dynasty woman, ranging from societal expectations imposed on women to their personal lives and inner thoughts, while her non-traditional works transcend everyday life and touch on themes of divinity and the meaning of life. The themes explored in Li's works, coupled with her great skill as a writer, allow her to produce striking literary compositions. Through this delicate balance, Li reached canonical status and continues to draw modern readers to her poetry.

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How do Plato and Han Feizi's interpretations of human nature shape their different penologies?

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Introduction

How effective are punishments in repressing crime rates in society? Various theories of punishment have been raised across different cultures as political philosophers attempt to come up with the most effective system to run a state or a society. Penology is the study of policies concerning the infliction of punishment on offenders as a consequence of their wrongdoing. Penological views have been shaped by previous philosophers, who developed theories based on their interpretations of the reasons behind crime. What is the best way, however, to deal with crime? Many approaches have been suggested that bring different impacts to society.

In this essay, I will explore the respective penologies of Plato, an Athenian philosopher from Ancient Greece and Han Feizi (韓非子), a Legalist (*fajia* 法家) from Ancient China. After considering their respective views on human nature, reviewing their penological system and the aims and applications of the punishments they propose, I will demonstrate that Plato's and Han Feizi's perception of human nature plays a fundamental role in shaping their penological system. While the penology of Han Feizi is more pragmatic and feasible, Plato's approach is more comprehensive and empathetic to individuals.

1 Comparison of penologies

1.1 The Interpretation of Human Nature

Interpretations of human nature are an integral part of the political philosophies of both Han Feizi and Plato, and comparison of their approaches will give insight into reasons behind their different penologies.

1.2 Han Feizi

Han Feizi believes that humans are predominantly selfish by nature, and "it is among people's natural tendencies to dislike physical labor and enjoy leisure" [夫民之性, 惡勞而樂佚。] (Han Feizi, chapter LIV). People who have no desire to be productive members of society, will naturally tend to delight in chaos and detach themselves from laws [夫民之性, 喜其亂而不親其法。] (Han Feizi, chapter LIV). However, he does not deny that there are valuable inclinations within peoples' natural tendencies informing them of what is beneficial for society as a whole, which may allow them to exemplify virtuous traits. Nevertheless, the exemplification of different traits by people can be inconsistent and depends on their respective external circumstances (Bárcenas 2012). His views are supported by his observations of varying human nature (*xing* 性) and behaviour in different historical and social circumstances[1].

To obtain political order, Han Feizi finds it fundamental to recognise that natural tendencies possess both valuable inclinations and crude and undeveloped traits, as "the natural tendencies of humans are deeply intertwined with their respective views of the nature and aims of government and ultimately, of human life" (Bárcenas 2012). Han Feizi wrote, "to govern effectively all under the heavens one must accord with the inclinations of the people" [凡治天下, 必因人情。人情者有好惡, 故賞罰可用; 賞罰可用, 則禁令可立, 而治道具矣。] (Han Feizi, chapter XLVIII). Asserting an external force through laws, namely rewards and punishments, can channel desirable human tendencies,

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[1] "輿人成輿則欲人之富貴, 匠人成棺則欲人之夭死也, 非輿人仁而匠人賊也, 人不貴則輿不售, 人不死則棺不賣, 情非憎人也, 利在人之死也。"(《韓非子·備內》)

as human nature (*xing* 性) involves complex tendencies and traits.

1.3 Plato

Plato believed that the soul itself is divided into three parts: reason,(τὸ λογιστικὸν), spirit (τὸ θυμοειδές) and appetite (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν), known as the Tripartite Soul Theory (Blackson). Reason is conscious-awareness, making decisions based on beliefs about what is good and bad; spirit represents passion; appetite includes myriad instinctive desires for pleasures, comforts, physical satisfactions, and bodily ease, which arise independently of any beliefs about what is good and bad (Kerns).

As Plato argues in 441e4 in Book IV of *The Republic*, we experience mental conflict when these aspects are not in harmony, making us liable to commit crime. In the properly balanced soul, harmony is achieved when reason rules, spirit is reason's ally, and appetite is under control. Since reason knows what is good and bad, a human being whose soul is in harmony always acts for the sake of the good.

Throughout his account of human nature, Plato emphasizes the role of education in promoting the traits required for citizens to be self-governing, where "appetite" is controlled. It also helps citizens grow towards the universal good and realise the contributions they make to social well-being (Noonan).

1.4 Comparison

Both philosophers believe that human nature can be malleable; Han talks about how it changes according to circumstances, while Plato emphasises how citizens can become more virtuous through education. Both agree that humans naturally pursue pleasure and avoid pain, acknowledging that there is a part of human nature that has raw desires to be controlled to prevent instability and crime.

However, both philosophers have different ways of controlling raw desires. For Han, the laws are an effective means as an external agent, a guiding principle which limits citizens from acting on their own raw desires (Han Feizi, chapter XL). For Plato, education ensures that reason rules over spirit and appetite, implying that human self-governance is the best way to avoid crime. In their treatment of human nature, Han focuses on the undeveloped and crude natural tendencies of people, while Plato utilises the tripartite soul theory to illustrate how citizens can potentially reach an ideally free and self-governing state. Han stresses how desired characteristics of human nature can be brought out through laws as an external agent, whereas Plato is more concerned with how internal harmony can promote justice in the individual and then, by extension, promote justice in society as a whole.

Overall, while Han recognizes the complexity of natural tendencies, he ultimately focuses on the suppression of negative traits and somewhat neglects the individual's potential for self-cultivation. In his society, good behaviour is promoted by extrinsic motivation and fear of punishment, rather than any desire for a person to be a better version of themselves, which may not be effective in all instances. Plato, on the other hand, adopts a more optimistic view, focusing on how education can make people more virtuous, thereby maximizing their potential as individuals. However, while Plato recognizes human potential, this becomes problematic due to his imposition of a strict social hierarchy. Ultimately it seems that while Plato is optimistic about the role individual's can play in society, this may come at the direct expense of human freedom and the freedom of the individual to live as they choose.

2 Oversight of penological systems

Comparison between the philosophers' penological systems enables connections to be drawn between context, interpretations of human nature, and political thoughts.

2.1 Han Feizi

Though Han Fei understands that everyone has their reasons for acting, he advocates for the state

to work under the predetermined processes of its laws; people working for the state must not act on their own reasons. The ruler sets up the government and then allows it to run by itself, refraining from any personal intervention in the actual affairs of administration.

Whoever is in the position of the ruler must follow the penal code and cannot use the law for personal gain because he is fundamentally constrained by a commitment to state welfare; he must justify the laws in terms of public interest (Schneider). This is seen when Han says that "If the rewards and punishments are not according to what is promised, then no one will listen when bans are to be implemented" (Han Feizi p.272). To prevent the possibility of corruption, Han views *shi* ("power" 勢) as a tool, establishing that it is the position of the ruler, not the ruler himself, that holds the power, hence the system of law ran the state, not the ruler ("Han Fei, the Geatest Chinese Legalist philosopher"). In accordance to *fa* ("law" 法), the principle of the Two Handles (*er bing* 二柄) establishes standards for the ruler to reward and punish, guaranteeing that punishments are systematically predictable (Watson, *Han Fei Tzu: Basic Writings*).

2.2   Plato

In *The Republic*, Plato argues that a group of philosopher kings should govern the state as they have the knowledge and ability to bring about happiness and justice (Matassa). Later in *The Laws*, Plato attempts to describe the ideal city, Magnesia, which Plato equipped with a substantial and detailed code of criminal law. Plato's penology involves a moderate dictator and a wise legislator who develop the legal code and constitution (709a-710e), followed by jurymen who will implement the punishments (Baima). These officials will be guided by wisdom and "true opinion" (Stalley 1995). Since Plato aims to promote virtue, the jurymen are responsible for the diagnosis of the criminal's nature and psychic vice to prescribe the most suitable punishment, which contains some form of teaching. The judgement of the jury involves various factors such as status, age, intent and the gravity of the crime.

2.3   Comparison

Both philosophers suggest the need of rulers to govern the state, with Han's ruler being wise and concerned with public interest, and Plato's rulers being philosopher kings. Although Plato later prioritises the judgement of the jury for issuing punishments, ruling positions in both cultures require some sort of specific training or characteristic.

However, these training requirements differ in the sense that the Chinese ruler is assumed to be guided by enlightened self-interest, but uses the law system as a guide to govern the state instead of his own wisdom. The Athenian rulers, in contrast, are trusted to make reliable decisions with their knowledge. Han Feizi's strictness arises from the concept "ruling by law", where whoever holds the law holds absolute power. For him, since human nature is so complex, the law should be given more importance and power than the ruler, who might have unreliable judgements due to unstable natural tendencies. On the other hand, Plato's less prescriptive perspective might have originated from the "rule of law", where the law as a divine power connected to the gods blesses the men who follows it (715c-d) (Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF)). He prioritises the judgement of the juries, making them the real arbiters of justice. This could be explained by his view that humans could potentially reach an ideal state of the soul mentioned earlier, where the juries can be trusted to make reliable decisions by weighing up different variables as they have received enough education and are justified to issue suitable punishments for individuals. Allowing the jurors flexibility in judgements ensures punishments that more accurately fit the nature of the specific crime, as criminal acts result from complicated factors.

Ultimately, Han prioritises the whole over the individual, while Plato thinks that each individual should be brought to their best for the whole to work. Han's penological system is clear and feasible in practice due to its uniformity, ensuring that the ruler would not make wrong judgements due to personal interests. Another advantage of this penological system is its potential to create a more balanced society that provides some degree

of justice and protection for its subjects (Han Feizi, XXXVI). The strict laws enable the ruler to put an end to the reception of advantages brought by inherited positions of distinction, and give equal opportunities for those without birth-privileges but are more deserving. However, this system might be too blunt an instrument, assuming that all criminal acts deserve the equal severity of punishment. It is also hard to determine whether or not the ruler can actually prioritise the country before his personal interests, given the power of desires as Han himself had mentioned earlier.

Plato's system, in contrast, promotes punishment as a means of moral education and rehabilitation. The "ruling of law" where people with knowledge serve the law prevents the possibility of tyranny, allowing progress towards Plato's envisioned society. The use of expert judgement can promote equity, where every criminal receives deserved punishments according to the particular offence. However, his system could be idealistic and inconvenient to implement due to uncertain factors like the reliability of the judgement of the juries, and how juries can ensure that their judgments are not swayed by others. This raises thoughts on how much we should prioritise the judgment of the individual in Plato's system than the regimented order of Han's.

3 The Aims and Applications of Punishment

Comparison between the aims and application of punishment for Plato and Han Feizi provides insight into their effectiveness in achieving their societal goals.

3.1 Han Feizi

Han Feizi lays emphasis on clarity in his penal code. "Two Handles" (*er bing* 二柄), where the ruler uses rewards and punishments to govern, is used "to exalt the ability to do good" and "to exalt crudeness" (Bárcenas 2013). Han utilises self-interest, assuming that people would avoid harm and therefore refrain from committing crime, and instead pursue rewards by doing good to society (梁啓雄. Liang, Qixiong and Han, Fei). This aligns

with his notion of the natural tendencies of people and their inherent malleability to circumstances, where humanity can be reformed to build an orderly society through external means.

To deter individual offenders and society as a whole from crime effectively, he advocates heavy penalties for both major offenses and minor infractions; minor crimes brought fines, beatings or harsh labour, while serious crimes would bring whipping, decapitation, boiling, being torn apart, and more (Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF)). He thinks harsh punishments are effective for exerting the *shi* (legitimacy) of the ruler, thus helping him build a state without evil (*jian bu rong xi* 奸不容细) as mentioned in 《制分》[2](Han Feizi, XIV). Han's punishments are carefully graded according to the seriousness of the offence, and the codes will have detailed rules about special considerations (MacCormack). Han believes by punishing the lighter offences by harsh penalties, the more serious offences could be prevented [愛多者則法不立，威寡者則下侵上].

Another role of punishment is to ensure that everyone is fulfilling their duty in society. Any deviation from prescribed duties of subordinates will receive punishment, implying that unquestioning obedience is required at all times. He wrote, "if one of the ministers comes forward with big words but produces only small accomplishments, the ruler punishes him... because they do not match the name that was given to the undertaking. Likewise, if one of the ministers comes forward with small words but produces great accomplishments, he too is punished... because he considers the discrepancy in the name given to the undertaking to be a fault too serious to be outweighed by great accomplishments" (Witzel). The harsh penology of Han Feizi can help him achieve the societal goal of maintaining order and power, particularly in a time of great political instability.

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2 '而聖人者，審於是非之實，察於治亂之情也。故其治國也，正明法，陳嚴刑，將以救群生之亂，去天下之禍，使強不陵弱，眾不暴寡，耆老得遂，幼孤得長，邊境不侵，君臣相親，父子相保，而無死亡係虜之患，此亦功之至厚者也。愚人不知，顧以為暴.'

3.2 Plato

According to Plato, punishment is a necessary part of criminal law, but it is a last resort and, to the extent that it is needed, it is a sign of the failure of civic education. Relying on civic education, the Athenian considers it practicable to impose light penalties for most crimes . For example, the emphasis in cases of theft is upon restoring the severed connections between the offending member and the rest of society (862c). Plato's leniency reflects his willingness to give reformable criminals the opportunity to regain their places as members of the community, corresponding to the reformative goal of punishment.

Plato's belief in instilling a sense of virtue to help one live a life of happiness (*eudaimonia*) is essential to his penology. His code of law is partially inspired by the Socratic Paradox, which asserts that anyone who commits a wrong action is acting unwillingly, because they lack the knowledge to act correctly (Gorgias, 509e). Plato believes that bad mental and moral states are involuntary (86de, 87b), and arise from a poor condition of the body or bad nurturing, whereas regimen (*diaita*) relieves us from the disease of vice. When the soul is properly ordered, only just actions can result, and even if harm results by mistake, the situation may be taken to be involuntary injustice and no legal guilt is imposed upon the actor (Laws, 863, 864). Hence, justice (*dike*), applied in the shape of punishment (*kolazein*) as a regimen, can relieve the criminal from the illness (*noson*) of injustice.

The central aim of the additional judiciary penalty is to reform the criminal and make him or her hate injustice –"... whatever procedure someone may use to bring about hatred of injustice and desire, or lack of hatred, for the nature of the just—it is this that is the task of the noblest laws" [862d4–862e1]. According to Plato, punishment that causes suffering is of itself an evil; it is good only to the extent that it brings about some greater good, ordinarily the reformation of the wrongdoer or the deterrence of others (Laws, 854, 859). The core of Plato's penology is therefore to "cure" a criminal by reformative punishments to make all citizens virtuous (Baima).

Under Plato's emphasis on the cultivation of a virtuous society, citizens also play a role in this punishment system and are encouraged to be gentle towards curable offenders[3]. However, in cases where hopes for reform are slim and examples must be made to deter others, anger is necessary. Popular anger demands not merely that crimes be punished, but that the people at large have a direct say in the process, which affects the judgement of the jurymen. In this way, Plato focuses on cultivating a sense of reverence for the law, where the most effective deterrent for crime is fear of public disapproval, or shame. This implies that his penalties aim at the ideal of both reforming (σωφρονιστυος ένεκα) the criminal and achieving general deterrence. The combined aims of reformation and deterrence can promote self-cultivation and prevent crime at the same time, helping Plato work towards his ideal, virtuous society.

3.3 Comparison

Despite Plato's curative view of punishment, harsh penalties like death and imprisonment are seen in both penologies, implying that extreme measures will always be necessary in a penological system, although there are different circumstances for the usage for these penalties.

Though deterrence is a common aim of punishment for both philosophers, they achieve this in different ways. For Han, it is the punishments themselves and the fear of being harmed that deters both the offender and the public from committing crimes. However, the element of shame and public disapproval experienced by offenders, combined with reformative education, is the main deterrent preventing Athenian citizens from committing crimes.

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[3]In regard to crimes against the public, it is necessary, first, that the majority have a share in the decision. For when someone does an injustice to the city everyone suffers the injustice, and they would justly be vexed if they had no share in such trials. . . . Even in private suits it is necessary that everyone take part as much as possible. For anyone who does not share in the right of judging considers himself not at all a sharer in the city itself." (Plato, Gorgias 768b; cf. Aristotle NE 1132b33–33a1)

This difference is connected to their diverging ultimate goals of penologies. Han values society as a whole over individual well-being, so his punishments focus on maintaining order and power for the society. On the other hand, Plato values self-cultivation as a means to achieving his ideal society, so he views reformation as the primary aim of punishment. In trying to achieve these aims, Han Feizi's punishments in combination with rewards are likely to yield immediate effects due to the natural tendency of humans – behaviour is likely to change as people are motivated to receive rewards and will refrain from committing crimes to avoid punishments. Meanwhile, Plato's system of rehabilitation is a long-term strategy as time is invested in the reformation of the criminal, to transform his character to pursue justice and refrain from committing crimes through education.

Both penologies also differ in terms of clarity. Han's penology involves clear and consistent punishments in his overarching system, eliminating any possibility of irrational decision making and ensuring that the ruler can execute punishments and rewards that are desirable for society as a whole (Harris). On the other hand, Plato is more flexible in the distribution of punishments and allows his jurymen to consider different factors, perhaps ensuring fairer or more appropriate punishment deserved by offenders. Further, by focusing on good and bad characters and stressing the society's shared responsibility for shaping character, Plato's goal is more empathetic towards individuals, whereas Han's system is somewhat harsh, ignoring the specific context wherein a crime took place.

Overall, Han puts the interests of the state above the individual. Crimes are not judged purely in their own terms –instead, the judgement is weighted with considerations prioritising the state as a whole. The person punished by deterrence is being used for society's goals and is not necessarily being punished based on what he deserves. Nevertheless, the clarity and consistency in Han's punishments ensure order and convenience in the execution of punishments, which is desirable especially in times of political instability. However, Han's penology neglects the range of socio-economic factors and lack of educational opportunities which, though they do not excuse crime, certainly may contribute towards it. In this sense, punishments are not empathetic towards individuals and are not useful, since no plan for rehabilitation is offered. His system disregards moral qualities inherent in human nature, focusing solely on outcomes instead of motivations that may have led to immoral acts.

Plato's method, on the other hand, is not only more empathetic to individuals, but can also serve as a means of moral education that ultimately contributes to building a virtuous society. Despite its enlightened approach, there is still room for error and manipulation in his system owing to the freedom of the jury to make case-based judgements. Since the heart of character reformation is a process of taking responsibility that only the individual can do for himself, the ability for offenders to really reform depends on the wider educational and social context, so the practicality of Plato's penology could also be questioned (Stalley 1995). Since Plato's system is based on an ideal state, his ideology may never be truly applied, as no society would be willing to devote the resources for rehabilitation that Plato requires. Another concern might be how the jurymen can decide who has potential for reform.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have presented a comparison of the penologies of the ancient philosophers Han Feizi and Plato in the aspects of human nature, oversight of the injustice system, and the aims and applications of punishment, presenting reasons why their approaches to human nature play a fundamental role in shaping their penological system. Han Feizi provides a more realistic depiction of human nature based on empirical and historical evidence which he can apply in his penology, in contrast with Plato's Tripartite Soul Theory, which is more idealistic and abstract. However, Han Feizi's interpretation of human nature may lead to an overly pessimistic view of the human's potential for growth and change, which is reflected in the harsh nature of his punishments

and contrasts markedly with Plato's focus on education and individual rehabilitation.

Cultural context greatly influenced both philosophers' penologies. Living in a period of political instability, Han Feizi focuses on elements that are impediments to order within the state, rather than those that are impediments to the wellbeing of the individual (Harris). For this reason, externally imposed means are used to shape moral ends; it is potentially an effective strategy for overall social cohesion, but would make individuals worse-off. On the other hand, Plato's family was aristocratic and distinguished, and during his time the temporary overthrow of Athenian democracy was thought to be responsible for their failure in a war. Plato, with his high status as an Athenian citizen, treats the laws as a means of civic education and a strategy for building a harmonious and virtuous society, resulting in his reformative punishments which are more empathetic towards individuals but are too idealistic when realistically applied.

The work of these philosophers have modern implications. Points of intersection in this essay shed light upon the true nature of humans as well as inevitable flaws in a punishment system. Our current penological systems tend to be more Platonic, emphasising the importance of promoting an enlightened, liberal way of living with reformative systems. However, cases of recidivism present limits to this, showing that transforming every criminal is impossible and suggesting that the deterrence of harsh punishments may well be better in certain instances. Most modern societies have adopted both philosophers' penologies to some degree and operate on a spectrum concerning how much attention they devote towards either rehabilitation or deterrence, demonstrating that there is still no easy answer to methods proposed by these thinkers. Modern penologists should take into consideration the balance between deterrence and reformation, or explore alternative methods when developing the most suitable penological system to deal with current issues of crime.

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Learning from the West: whether the withdrawal of the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) reflected Li Hongzhang's shift in attitude about Western education for Qing China

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Introduction

The Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) was an ambitious project in Qing China to open its gates to the West. Started in 1872 and called off in 1881, 120 students were sent in four cohorts over four years to the United States to receive higher education under the commission of Viceroy Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-Chang 李鴻章, 1823-1901) and the supervision of Yung Wing (Rong Hong 容閎 1828-1912). The teenage boys were to be enrolled in the program for 15 years, attend top universities in the United States, then promptly return to China to support matters of national importance such as the military, the naval fleet, transport, engineering, and telecommunications in the Self-Strengthening Movement (洋務運動) (Leibovitz and Miller)).

The Self-Strengthening Movement originated in 1861, when the second Opium War ended with the Convention of Peking and the Taiping Rebellion raging at its fiercest. A faction of Qing bureaucrats aimed to restrengthen China's ailing military through the incorporation of superior Western technology, enhancing the navy and army to ward off Western invasions and crush internal rebels. Such technology included guns, artillery and warships. Additionally, the movement championed using Western Learning *xixue* (西學) to cultivate homegrown talent as merely purchasing Western equipment is an unsustainable method of defense. The movement's proponents argued that the reason the West suddenly became so powerful is their study of mathematics in particular which manifests itself greatly in the practical field of engineering. Though the movement marked the beginning of a reform of thought in China (Rhoads

1-2), it was never meant to introduce Western religion, politics and sciences into the Chinese system (Pomfret 85), and it is an unapologetically practical movement at its core.

The CEM was viewed by both contemporary and modern commentators as a daring strategic move. It was expected to reinvigorate the waning Qing dynasty with Western-trained personnel, however, the CEM did not proceed as planned. The mission was hastily put to an end in 1881 and all students were recalled, the vast majority of whom before they could finish their studies. In its home country of China, the CEM was generally regarded as a failure, a victim of Li Hongzhang's withdrawal of support as his attitude towards Western education shifted, indicative of a system of backwards thinking that defined the downfall of the Qing dynasty. However, this essay will argue that this was not true. Instead, Li called off the CEM not because of an attitude shift, but due to a plethora of reasons —not least because the United States Government disallowed CEM students to attend military academies which defeated the purpose of the CEM for Li's agendas.

1   The Visionary and the Patron

The CEM was the brainchild of the visionary Yung Wing, the first Chinese graduate of a Western university (Yale University in 1854). He was excited to experience Western education personally, "Old Yale is surrounded with an atmosphere of ambition... I was never subject to such excitement. I enjoy its influence very much" he stated in a personal letter upon his admission (Yung, *Yung to Williams*). Though Yung loathed mathematics, he excelled in English instead and was elected librar-

ian of Yale. He concluded that Western prosperity came from its liberal education, and hoped in his autobiography that "through Western education China might be regenerated, become enlightened and powerful". He further proclaimed that the youth of China shall enjoy "the same educational advantages that I had enjoyed" (*My life in China and America* 41). For Yung, the first step to realize that ambitious dream was conducting small-scale trials *in situ*.

Yung's dream, however, could come to fruition and overcome technical, financial and logistical challenges without official governmental support. When he returned to China in 1854 he worked at a few jobs with little recognition or success, but as the Self-Strengthening Movement gained traction in the 1860s, he was eventually able to contact a prominent bureaucrat Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kwoh-Fan 曾國藩, 1811-1872) about his plans and in 1870, with some persuasion, Yung was able to rally his support and patronage. Zeng also referred Yung's plans to Li Hongzhang, who would be Zeng's political successor and figurehead of the Self-Strengthening Movement.

Li's political career started in 1844 under Zeng's mentorship. Later in 1850, during the Taiping Rebellion, he organized an anti-Taiping militia with his father and gained political prominence. He was seen by contemporaries as a powerful political mastermind and strong advocate of industrialization, for which he was named the "Bismarck of the East" by contemporary Japanese statesman Itō Hirobumi (伊藤博文) (Liu 6).

Earlier in 1864, Li wrote to the Zongli Yamen (Tsungli Yamen 總理衙門, an early Chinese proto-foreign ministry), stating that the problem with the Chinese is that the literati were "immersed in the time-honoured practice of essay writing and of doing calligraphy in small and regular characters that they do not have time to devote to practical and mechanical work", a problem he thought would be solved by encouraging technology (Liu, 34). His remarks referred to the standardized imperial civil service examination system called *keju* 科舉 that tested understanding of the Confucian classics (*sishu wujing* 四書五經), which appeared

increasingly disconnected from the necessities of the new industrial age. In his opinion, the West demonstrated a strong correlation between education, industrialization and prosperity, therefore China should emulate them to self-strengthen. Thus, Li oversaw the building of the Pei Yang Fleet (北洋海軍) and numerous other practical Self-Strengthening projects. He also took pain to create educational institutions, such as the Kuang-Fang-Yen Kuan (廣方言館) in Shanghai, one of the first dedicated to teaching foreign language in China, which later expanded to include all manners of Western Learning such as algebra, geometry, trigonometry, "foreign language, customs and institutions", mineralogy, metallurgy, or the design and operation of machinery (Fairbank 536-537).

Evidently, Yung Wing and Li Hongzhang shared a positive understanding of the importance of Western education. Yung's initiative cohered with Li's faith in Western technology, armaments and military tactics. However, both men developed different visions for the CEM. While Yung dreamt that it would produce people who would appreciate the benefits of Western practical know-how as well as Western culture with Western customs and virtues, like himself, Li was more practically-minded. His motivation for sponsoring the CEM was primarily gaining Western-trained military and naval personnel for his other Self-Strengthening projects (Fairbank and Liu 249). As Yung Wing had little political power to influence his own program, his vision became a footnote to Li's. Li started negotiating with the American government to grant the CEM students opportunities to study at the United States Military Academy in West Point, NY and the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, MD, which ultimately was the stumbling block that led the mission to its dissatisfying end.

Thirty applicants were selected to constitute the first cohort of CEM students, enrolled in 1872. In the next three years, 90 more would be chosen. Most of the CEM students hailed from two provinces: 83 from Guangdong and 22 from Jiangsu, while the other 15 came from coastal provinces Zhejiang (8), Fujian (2) and Shandong

(1), and landlocked Anhui (4). Of those who came from Guangdong, 39 came from Xiangshan county, Yung Wing's birthplace and 15 from Nanhai (Rhoads 19, 21). Since the CEM had initial difficulty finding willing recruits (20), Yung himself may have persuaded some friends and relatives to enlist their children in the program, though there is insubstantial evidence that this occurred. All 120 recruits were boys and 117 were between 10 and 15 years old.

After their recruit, the CEM students were sent to Shanghai for preparatory training, primarily English for basic communication. Shanghai was chosen as it was the first city in China with significant Western influence through its foreign concessions. It was many students' first real exposure to foreigners and the Western way of life. However, two boys were brought up in an English-speaking environment, being the sons of the English instructor at the prep school, and one other, Yung Wing's nephew, was already in the United States when he joined the CEM's second cohort. Three CEM students were recruited from missionary schools in Jiangsu and three from Queen's College in British Hong Kong. In total, less than a dozen students had any manner of contact with Western learning and most did not even know the alphabet. The prep schools were bilingual, and Chinese was taught in the same way as contemporary schools, complete with corporal punishment. The students remained in the prep school for between three months and a year (Rhoads 31-37).

The students made their way to the United States by sea and reached Springfield, Massachusetts by train, a journey which took approximately one and a half months. There, they were distributed to volunteer hosting families in Connecticut and Massachusetts, where they were homeschooled until the students could sufficiently communicate in English and study without any foreign assistance. Most students completed this phase in 1-3 years (Rhoads 88).

Afterwards, the students were expected to attend university to become acquainted with Western mechanics, while Li also hoped that some students would attend military academies. Of the 43 students who eventually attended university, 29 chose to pursue science and engineering-related fields, responding to these expectations (Rhoads 121). The students were entitled to 15 years of government-funded study, after which they had to return to China. As of the summer of 1881, two had officially graduated from the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University: Zhan Tianyou 詹天佑 and Ouyang Geng 歐陽庚; while Elijah Laisun (Zeng Pu, 曾溥) had also graduated from Sheffield not entirely under the official CEM program, and he was later dismissed. By the summer of 1881, exactly half of the 120 students had already studied in universities or been admitted for the school year of 1881-82 (131-133). A few boys had been sent back for a variety of reasons, one for running up bills and two for physical altercation, while some had fallen ill (135-136). Ultimately, the two Sheffield graduates would be the only ones to officially graduate as CEM students. Later in 1881, the mission was suddenly withdrawn and all the students were recalled to China, bringing the first Sino-American education joint venture to an abrupt and untimely end.

2 Cultural Reasons for the Recall

Why were the students recalled? A conventional narrative in textbooks, mass media and public discourse argues that cultural conservatism among the influential elite of the Qing influenced the emperor to halt the CEM. Opponents to the program were so scandalized by the students' rampant Americanization and their disdain and neglect of the Chinese language that Li changed his mind about Western education for China.

Conservatism among officials certainly played a major role in thwarting the CEM, particularly Wu Zideng (Woo Tse-Tung 吳子登, 1818-1885) who replaced the lenient Ou Eliang (區諤良, Circa.1846-??) as the CEM commissioner in the winter of 1880 (Rhoads 137, 160). Wu was not an ignorant xenophobe. He was serving the Chinese embassy in Europe, training Chinese youth in navy schools when he was called forth to replace Ou. Despite being familiar with youths in the West, he was horrified at the change that took place for the

CEM boys. He blamed the boys' Americanization squarely on Yung Wing's laxness to impose sufficient Chinese influence on the boys. (143-165).

Wu took a significantly harder cultural line compared with the previous commissioners. He tripled the number of required hours spent on Chinese studies, and stipulated that every weekend the students would need to come to the CEM headquarters to study Chinese and the Sacred Edict. He was immensely dissatisfied by the fact that all the CEM boys had forgotten how to speak Chinese. In an angry letter to the students he wrote: "...you must keep in mind that the original design [sic] for going abroad was for you to acquire a Western education and not for you to forget the regulations of your native country", which was published in the Hartford Daily Courant on 27 April 1880 (Rhoads 160).

Wu was correct in observing the students' neglect of the Chinese language. The extended period of stay in the United States without proper Chinese influence had a long-lasting impact on the boys' young minds —most dropped Chinese and adopted English as their mode of communication. To counteract this, Wu set up a Chinese prize fund all the students could attend, divided into three categories: calligraphy —writing beautiful Chinese characters; literature —storytelling in Chinese; and opinionated writing on current affairs — expressing novel ideas fluently. The top prize winner received a 30 dollar award. What happened to the prize fund later was unclear as very little information is recorded (Rhoads 83).

Later in the program, the CEM Commission also institutionalized mandatory Chinese language and culture lessons for all CEM students. This decision was very unpopular with the students, some describing the facility in which the Chinese classes were held as "the hell house". The CEM students were required to attend the class for two weeks at a time, and at least eight weeks over a full year. Officially the reason to set up this class was to prevent the CEM boys from "being beguiled into heterodoxy", and to prepare them when they come back to China. However, some did see this as an opportunity to socialize with other CEM boys

(Rhoads 85).

The Americanization of the students was more or less expected by the CEM commission. However, nobody ever envisioned such open defiance to official instructions and deviance from traditional Chinese culture and values. The following show a few examples of this.

1. Despite the CEM forbidding students from participating in religious events, students in Williston created a group intended to spread Christianity back in China, the "Chinese Christian Home Mission". The spread of Christianity was especially aided by the fact that the majority of the host families were Protestant Christians. Though the CEM gave explicit instructions to the host families not to force upon the students any religious obligation, the same instructions also stated that the students "must observe the regulations of the family in which they live, and the rules of society". As a result, most of the families sent their CEM students to Sunday school (Rhoads 152), a gray area in the instructions.

2. At college, many took to the Western cult of masculinity, embracing sports and activities, and some became very proficient at them. Chinese cultural norms are at great odds with Western ones regarding such activity. The traditional Chinese belief claims that physical effort is only for peasants and that the learned should refrain from even going outdoors (Rhoads 144).

3. The CEM commission ordered all the students to wear traditional Chinese robes. Under intense mockery and social pressure, all the students ditched their robes. The commissioners reluctantly made this permissible. However, they took a much harder stance on the "queues", a braided strip of hair running down the back of the head. Under the same social pressure, some students contemplated cutting it off. However, the queue symbolizes the pledge of allegiance towards the Manchu Qing dynasty, and cutting it off was punishable by death in China (Rhoads 149). Even under such

immense pressure from the commission, two of the 120 students (the aforementioned Elijah Laisun and Zhong Juncheng 鍾俊成) eventually abandoned the queue. They were dismissed from the program immediately. Elijah was able to finish his studies and graduate from Yale independent of the CEM (150-151). The mere occurrence of this audacious act affirmed many top officials' belief that the students were out of control and viewing the Qing government unfavourably.

4. It is taboo in China for teenagers of different genders to mix socially: boys and girls are separated once they reach puberty. The CEM boys were not bound by tradition: they walked hand in hand with girls, and the girls returned the gesture to the CEM boys, often preferring them over Americans (Rhoads 156). The lack of traditional Chinese restraint regarding gender relations only provided another indication of the students' de-Sinicization.

5. The CEM outlawed naturalization outright. Although no CEM student dared to naturalize as a U.S. citizen, two refused to return to China and plotted an escape upon their recall in 1881, and six other students found a way to go back to the U.S. to finish their studies after the CEM had ended.

In short, the CEM students in the United States were not bound by Chinese cultural, social and political restrictions, and the CEM commissioners and bureaucrats worried that they would soon have little control over these newly Americanized students, on whom they spent a fortune trying to make into the future of China's military.

3 Practical Considerations

These cultural reasons are certainly significant in the CEM's downfall. However, this essay argues that to fully account for the recall of the CEM, particularly to account for Li Hongzhang's decision, we also need to consider practical reasons.

- The growing cost, with the budget expanding by 25% in 1877.

- The worsening of Sino-American relations that resulted in the students being unable to enrol in American military colleges.

From this perspective, I argue that Li's commitment to Western education and the West in general has not shifted before and after the CEM. He remained steadfast to training China's military and industrial experts in the West, but the United States had become unreliable as the partner for such a mission.

The program's cost is a usually overlooked factor in the CEM's withdrawal. The initial budget of the program was 1.2 million taels (1 tael = 50g of silver, circa 1.64 million USD in 1872 and 34.5 million USD in 2019) over twenty years (Rhoads 10). Li felt that this budget was justified since it could come from the "60 per cent account" of the Shanghai Customs Revenue (Fairbank 539). However, despite a 25% budget increase enacted in 1877, the program still failed to meet financial expectations, and produced what undoubtedly increasingly felt like diminishing returns. Though not a deal-breaker, the ever-expanding cost certainly made the withdrawal decision a lot easier.

All the cultural issues and arguably even cost could have been tolerated had the CEM been able to meet Li's primary goal of training military personnel through study in military academies.

One of the main reasons Li approved of the CEM is the favourable political conditions that the Burlingame Treaty signed between China and the United States in 1868 granted to those seeking education (Rhoads 10). Article VII of the treaty stated explicitly: "...Chinese subjects shall enjoy all the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control of the government of the United States, which are enjoyed in the respective countries by the citizens or subjects of the most favoured nation⋯" (United States and Printed Ephemera Collection). In a similar Japanese program led by Mori Arinori (森有礼) around 1871, their students were given approval to study at the United States Military Academy at West Point, NY. However, a parallel never materialized for the CEM students since congres-

sional approval was needed, and that seemed increasingly unlikely amidst the growing domestic anti-Coolie (low-skilled Chinese workers) protests (Rhoads 123). The refusal for West Point to accept Chinese students was a clear violation of the Burlingame Treaty as China was a Most Favoured Nation. As Congress had the final say, there was little Li could do.

The Burlingame Treaty was originally motivated by America's desire to exhort trade with China and to spread Christianity. The treaty also granted the Chinese the right to free immigration and travel, and guaranteed all Chinese people the opportunity to work in the United States without any prerequisites. Americans initially welcomed this treaty; however, popular and political discontent eventually rose on the West Coast, as many believed that the Chinese were taking low-skilled jobs away from "free white labor" . They argue that Chinese workers, by their abundance, are employed for much lower wages than their white counterparts, who were competitively disadvantaged (Rhoads 169).

Under mounting racial pressure, the Angell treaty was signed on 17 November 1880, which banned the immigration of "coolies" to the United States. Though only impacting low-skilled workers and not at all intended to thwart the CEM, the two nations' increasing distrust ultimately hastened the decision to call off the CEM. Indeed, less than a year after the students' recall, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 brought to an end all Chinese immigration to the United States with little exception.

Li embarked on the CEM hoping that the students would be able to immerse themselves in American military academies and bring valuable practical know-how back to China and build strength from the ground up. With the CEM students unable to attend American Military schools, Li found few further reasons to sustain the mission. The CEM was no longer as useful to acquire Western technology and expertise as initially thought. Coupled with the ballooning cost, even without any cultural clashes, the program would have ended under Li's guidance regardless. In some ways, Li's

giving up on the CEM precisely revealed his character as a practically-minded politician.

In conclusion, the impossibility of CEM students to enrol in American military academies was an incredibly significant, and often overlooked, factor leading to the withdrawal of the CEM, along with a plethora of cultural reasons commonly cited. The plan of sending youth to the United States has lost value to Li with this volte-face of American policy. To the delight of the critics of the mission, the Emperor, Li, and the CEM commissioners pulled the plug on the CEM.

Yung Wing's holistic vision for the CEM did not result in tangible, short-term outcomes. Instead, the reality for his vision to construct a whole new nation with entirely foreign values could take significant amounts of effort and money and could span generations. Though a justifiable long-term plan, the CEM was undeniably costly, and its immediate contribution to Self-Strengthening with no possibility of military school admission was far from evident. In the end, the CEM in its contemporary form did not suit the interests of the Qing government and Li, as noble and upright it seemed to Yung.

Could the CEM have been salvaged? In retrospect, such a salvation would be near impossible —the nature of this mission was complicated and the political and social climates in both countries were tense. For Yung Wing, who had been keen on other students emulating his Western education, the withdrawal of the CEM hurt him personally. Not ready to give up, he tried, without success, to persuade the government to revert their decision (Rhoads 180). Afterwards, he resorted to working for the government as an envoy before returning to his family in the United States in 1902 illegally, lonesome and old, to watch his son graduate from Yale. He died in 1911 in Hartford, Connecticut after publishing his memoir, in which he lamented the recall of the CEM, calling Wu Zideng a liar and an underminer of Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guofan's work (Yung, *Yung to Williams* 201-203).

What Yung Wing's memoir does not mention is Li Hongzhang's continued commitment to Western

learning. In 1877, another joint-educational program started under Li Hongzhang's partial guidance. This time, European countries would host this venture. Thirty promising graduates from the newly established Foochow Arsenal were sent for no less than three years of "advanced study" (Fairbank 541). The aforementioned Wu Zideng was appointed commissioner to this program, before he was summoned to lead the CEM. Comparing the CEM and the Foochow Arsenal mission, the CEM students were much younger: they were from 10 to 15 years old, whereas the Foochow students were at least 5-8 years older than them. As young teenagers, the CEM students were more impressionable, leading to their rampant Americanization. The Foochow students were less prone to being Westernized since the program is a fifth in length of the CEM and the students strictly studied mechanical and practical knowledge exclusively (though some slipped through loopholes and studied other disciplines instead).

The different demographics of the two programs suggest that most cultural issues that plagued the CEM were because of the students themselves. They were prone to cultural pressure, thrown into the deep end of American society, and lived as a racial minority alone in a foreign country. As a result, they were eager to integrate into Western society as Western boys, not Chinese.

Li developed solutions that kept Westernization to a minimum while maximising the utility of the Foochow Arsenal program. As a result, there were no such cultural tensions, and three more groups of Foochow Arsenal graduates were sent in 1882, 1886 and 1897 (Fairbank 541). These programs were sanctioned both before and after the CEM was withdrawn. As both events were sanctioned by Li Hongzhang, it can be inferred that his views on Western education had not shifted with the withdrawal of the CEM.

Conclusion

The CEM, despite its fate, greatly contributed to the development of late Qing China and the nascent Republic of China. The very initiation of the program, and the fact that it was able to gain official traction, demonstrates progress in the mentalities of China's policymakers, the Imperial Court having recognized that China had fallen behind the industrialized West and needed to take action. The same mentality change would lead to other reforms, one of the most significant being the abolition of the antiquated keju imperial civil service exams in the final years of the dynasty. Thus, the CEM is in many ways a reification of a paradigm shift of educational attitudes in China, as abstract, traditional learning based on the classic texts and memorization was gradually ousted for concrete, Western fields such as mathematics, physics and engineering.

The CEM students were able to assist China in its diplomatic affairs as well. In 1909, two years before the Qing dynasty's collapse, as a result of the Boxer Protocol, the United States President Theodore Roosevelt set up the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship, which promised to sponsor Chinese students' study in the United States. Two former CEM students played a key role in setting up the scholarship: the Chinese Ambassador to the United States Liang Pixu (Liang Pi-Yuk 梁丕旭) successfully convinced the U.S. government to remit excess money from the Protocol, and Liang Dunyan (Liang Tun-Yan 梁敦彦), the president of the Foreign Ministry, agreed to use the funds to exclusively sponsor Chinese students for study in the United States (Rhoads 213).

Li Hongzhang had died by this time, but his spirit lives on, not only in the approximately 1300 students who benefited from Western education through the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship, but also in the millions of hard-working Chinese today studying in the West to establish China as a global superpower.

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論納蘭性德詞中的「雨」意象

Yue Yan Xie　謝雨甄

納蘭性德（1655-1685，以下簡稱納蘭），出身滿洲正黃旗貴族，受康熙賞識被封為禦前侍衛，他文武兼備，其詞作被王國維譽為「北宋以來，一人而已」。可納蘭一生並不快樂：在愛情上他因妻子盧氏早逝而受到重創，使他創作了「哀感頑艷」的《飲水詞》。在納蘭詞的意象中，「雨」出現的頻率極高。在傳統詩詞中，「雨」是一個常見意象，但是，納蘭對於「雨」意象的使用，則更為頻繁和細膩，「雨」意象完美地與其真切的悼亡之情相結合，帶出豐富的內涵。其中，「雨」的聲音可以襯托詩人的心情，幫助納蘭抒發對妻子的思念之情。其次，對雨勢之「小」的描寫，使其詞的整體風格更為婉約、含蓄，更細膩地表達其情感。最後，「雨」的溫度能夠營造淒涼的意境和氛圍，使詩人沈溺在悲痛的回憶當中。

首先，納蘭常常借「雨」的聲音，抒發其深夜無眠時，對妻子的一種悽婉、綿延不絕的思念之情。在《采桑子·誰翻樂府淒涼曲》中，納蘭寫道：

誰翻樂府淒涼曲？風也蕭蕭，雨也蕭蕭，瘦盡燈花又一宵。

不知何事縈懷抱，醒也無聊，醉也無聊，夢也何曾到謝橋。[1]

此詞以「誰翻樂府淒涼曲？」這個問句開始，是真的有人在奏樂曲嗎？結合下一句，或許便是「風」和「雨」一起合作演奏了那首淒涼、蕭瑟之悲曲。納蘭首先刻畫了「風」和「雨」這個組合發出的「蕭蕭」聲，使讀者不難想像納蘭在一個下著雨、吹著涼風的蕭蕭雨夜中，被風雨聲牽動情緒，變得消沈。「雨」和「風」是「淒涼曲」中的主旋律，風雨交加能夠營造一種壓迫、低落的氛圍。「瘦盡燈花又一宵」又暗示了詩人輾轉反側，一夜無眠，也說明只有夜「雨」是持續性的，在漫漫長夜中陪伴著他。縱然納蘭並未表明自己在為何事所愁，但從「不知何事縈懷抱」我們可以猜測納蘭是在懷念某人，可推斷他思念的人正是他的妻子。淒婉、蕭索的風雨「曲」，襯托出了納蘭徹夜難眠的情況，空虛寂寞的情緒籠罩著他的心頭。盧氏早亡，納蘭因此受到很大的打擊，蕭蕭的雨聲正襯托出其往事縈於懷抱的苦悶。在《沁園春·瞬息浮生》中，納蘭夢見亡妻淡裝素服，兩人執手哽咽的場面：

瞬息浮生，薄命如斯，低徊怎忘。記繡榻閒時，並吹紅雨；雕闌曲處，同倚斜陽。夢好難留，詩

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[1] 納蘭性德：《飲水詞箋校》，趙秀亭、馮統一箋校，遼寧教育出版社，2001 年，第 21 頁。

殘莫續，贏得更深哭一場。遺容在，只靈飄一轉，未許端詳。

重尋碧落茫茫。料短髮、朝來定有霜。便人間天上，塵緣未斷，春花秋葉，觸緒還傷。欲結綢繆，翻驚搖落，減盡荀衣昨日香。真無奈，倩聲聲簷雨，譜出迴腸。[2]

詞中出現過兩處「雨」：「記繡榻閑時，並吹紅雨」，回憶起與妻子在榻上閒聊時，看著窗外紅色的花瓣伴雨飄落的場景，因此，「紅雨」是勾起納蘭對妻子的懷念的主要意象。滴滴「紅雨」墜落的型態，彷彿是妻子的逝世。隨即，納蘭開始刻畫自己苦苦追尋亡妻的蹤影但又不可得的沉痛心情，感嘆道「真無奈，把聲聲簷雨，譜出回腸。」這裏，納蘭是無奈的，只能在無眠中，聽著外面的「雨」滴落在屋簷上的聲音。「聲聲簷雨」，說明納蘭心裡十分靜，每一點每一滴的雨都能清清楚楚地聽見。聽著雨聲的納蘭，覺得「雨」就像為他譜了一首曲一般，是一串傷感的音符，其聲淒厲幽怨，一聲聲讓作者「譜出回腸」，也讓讀者感到萬分惆悵。因此，「雨」的聲音，能夠使納蘭陷入思念妻子時連綿不絕的悵惘。

其次，納蘭對「小」雨情有獨鍾，雨勢之「小」能夠使詞的整體風格變得更為婉約、含蓄，讓納蘭能夠細膩地表露其情感。如《菩薩蠻·隔花才歇簾纖雨》：

隔花才歇簾纖雨，一聲彈指渾無語。樑燕自雙歸，長條脈脈垂。

小屏山色遠，妝薄鉛華淺。獨自立瑤階，透寒金縷鞋。[3]

「簾纖雨」是如珠簾般的綿綿細雨，表現出作者細膩入微的觀察，「纖」原本是形容女子的型態婀娜且嬌小的詞，這使得雨附有了女子的韻味。這裡的「小」雨與第一段中悲涼的「風雨」聲、淒美的「紅雨」及幽怨連綿的「簷雨」不同，第一段中的「雨」都是比較大面積的，而描寫「簾纖雨」的時候，讀者能夠明顯感受到鏡頭聚焦在簾幕邊的「細雨」，納蘭描寫的是細節，也表現出了更為細緻的情感，風格更為婉約。又如《荷葉杯·知己一人誰是》：

知己一人誰是？已矣。贏得誤他生。有情終古似無情，別語悔分明。

莫道芳時易度，朝暮。珍重好花天。為伊指點再來緣，疏雨洗遺鈿。[4]

納蘭借「為伊指點再來緣，疏雨洗遺鈿」表達了對妻子深情的懷念，以及來生還能結為夫婦的願望。詞中描繪了一邊下著雨勢極小的「疏雨」，作者一邊整理「遺鈿」的情形，亦情亦景。此雨非彼「雨」，結合詞作背景，讓人想到納蘭為懷念妻子所流下的眼淚。「疏雨」緩慢的節奏感也襯托納蘭動作的緩慢，使他思念妻子的情感越來越濃鬱。總體來說，「小」雨不但表現出納蘭對妻子細膩的思憶，也令詞的

[2]納蘭性德：《飲水詞箋校》，趙秀亭、馮統一箋校，遼寧教育出版社，2001，第 316 頁。

[3]納蘭性德：《飲水詞箋校》，趙秀亭、馮統一箋校，遼寧教育出版社，2001，第 210 頁。

[4]納蘭性德：《飲水詞箋校》，趙秀亭、馮統一箋校，遼寧教育出版社，2001，第 167 頁。

整體風格變得溫婉。

再者，「雨」的溫度更可以營造更為真切的淒涼意境，使納蘭的情緒在低沈、壓抑的氛圍中流露出來，增強感染力。在亡妻忌日當天，納蘭寫下《金縷曲·亡婦忌日有感》：

此恨何時已。滴空階、寒更雨歇，葬花天氣。三載悠悠魂夢杳，是夢久應醒矣。料也覺、人間無味。不及夜臺塵土隔，冷清清、一片埋愁地。釵鈿約，竟拋棄。

重泉若有雙魚寄。好知他、年來苦樂，與誰相倚。我自中宵成轉側，忍聽湘弦重理。待結個、他生知已。還怕兩人俱薄命，再緣慳、剩月零風裏。清淚盡，紙灰起。[5]

其中寫到「雨」的詞句為「滴空階、寒更雨歇，葬花天氣。」「寒更雨歇」說明「雨」在寒冷的夜晚時分停了，「雨」在這裡是寒冷的。納蘭在寒冷溫度下，想起了妻子，認為這是一個適合「葬花」的天氣，暗示妻子之亡如花之凋謝。納蘭感受到的「寒」在「雨」的伴隨下，更加的冷冽逼人，營造了一種淒冷的氛圍。於是，這「寒雨」不僅代表了在當時事實環境下的「寒」，也暗示了納蘭心中因妻子離世，不能陪伴自己左右的心「寒」。納蘭在詞中的最後一句，刻劃了「清淚盡，紙灰起」的畫面，在某種程度上「清淚」正對應上闋的「寒雨」，「紙灰」伴隨著詞人的「清淚」和「寒雨」飄散在空中。「寒」與「灰」同樣參雜在「雨」當中，「寒」是無情、蒼涼的，而

「灰」更是個毫無生氣的顏色，使得淒慘陰冷的意境更生動地展現出來。「寒」和「灰」的結合也造成了溫度的對比，燒起來的「紙灰」是熱的，「寒雨」卻是冷的，冷熱對比映襯了納蘭複雜的思緒。所以，「寒雨」在環境中起到了關鍵作用，表現了納蘭對於妻子的離世的傷心欲絕，對餘生的心灰意冷。納蘭途徑謝道韞家，有感而發，作《山花子·林下荒苔道韞家》：

林下荒苔道韞家，生憐玉骨委塵沙。愁向風前無處說，數歸鴉。

半世浮萍隨逝水，一宵冷雨葬名花。魂是柳綿吹欲碎，繞天涯。[6]

「半世浮萍隨逝水，一宵冷雨葬名花」，指半生的命運就如隨處漂流的浮萍一樣，而無情的「冷雨」，一夜間便把名花都摧殘了。「名花」在這裡指謝道韞，也暗指自己的亡妻。納蘭怨恨「冷雨」，認為是無情的「冷雨」把一朵朵本該燦爛綻放的花毀滅了。所以，通過「寒雨」和「冷雨」這種冷冽、刺骨的雨，能夠營造淒靜、昏天黑地的意境和氛圍，暗示作者淒冷的情緒。

總的來說，在納蘭性德的《飲水詞》中「雨」出現的頻率很高，且都是苦悶、纏綿、哀傷的雨。其中「雨」的聲音可以襯托詩人的心情，助其抒發其對妻子連綿不絕的相思之情。小「雨」可以使詞的整體風格變得婉約，讓讀者體會到納蘭的細膩情感。最後，「雨」的溫

[5]納蘭性德：《飲水詞箋校》，趙秀亭、馮統一箋校，遼寧教育出版社，2001，第 143 頁。

[6]納蘭性德：《飲水詞箋校》，趙秀亭、馮統一箋校，遼寧教育出版社，2001，第 188 頁。

度能夠為詞營造蒼涼、蕭條的意境和氛圍，帶出作者淒冷的情緒，增強感染力。以納蘭詞為切入點，我們能夠了解到「雨」的不同特徵，都有助於作者抒發其情感。其實自然界的雨，原本是最平常不過的現象。但在中國歷史悠久的古典詩詞中，在情感細膩的詩人的筆墨下，雨被賦予了豐富的情感，有時是靈感的源泉，有時又是一股情緒的催化劑，因此古詩詞中的「雨」是非常值得深入分析的意象。

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How do Plato and Confucius' conceptions of the ideal man inform their notions of the role of creative freedom in society?

Yuet Yee Kleio Kwok   郭玥怡

Introduction

The question about the relationship between individual creativity and social cohesion is a perennial one. What is the power of individual creativity? How can it transform us, and our societies? What are the limits we should place on self-expression? What is, and should, the role of Art in society be? This paper will shed light on these questions by exploring the way Plato and Confucius' conceptions of the ideal man influenced the role both designate to poetry in their societies. In section 1, I contextualise both figures and outline the aims of their larger philosophical projects. In section 2, I introduce both philosophers' conceptions of the ideal man and the role he plays in creating a harmonious society. In section 3, I define poetry as both philosophers understood it, and propose a relationship between poetry and the cultivation of the ideal man. In section 4, I compare the role of poetry in their respective education curricula and discuss the resulting implications. In section 5, I examine the psychological impact of the creation and consumption of poetry on individuals. I also explore the socio-political functions of poetry, and attempt to shed light onto the extent to which both philosophers' attitudes towards poetry helped them achieve their shared, overarching goal of social order.

1   Context

1.1   Plato

Plato (428 - 348 B.C.) was an Athenian philosopher during the Classical period of Ancient Greece, and the famous student of Socrates. In the wake of the turbulent times after the Peloponnesian War, he strove to combat what he perceived as the widespread immorality of the public through the attainment of absolute knowledge, or Forms, the unchangeable ideals of which all we see in the physical world are imperfect imitations .

1.2   Confucius

Confucius (551 - 479 B.C.) was an ancient Chinese philosopher, political theorist and teacher during the Spring and Autumn period. The feudal system of the Western Zhou dynasty had degenerated significantly (*li beng yue huai* 禮崩樂壞), the sovereign (*tianzi* 天子) was reduced to a mere figurehead, and the various vassal states (*zhu hou guo* 諸侯國) fought for supremacy. Confucius sought to restore social harmony by advocating for the restoration of Western Zhou cultural values, which he deemed the peak of civilization. Unlike Plato, he was exclusively concerned with worldly affairs[1], and did not devise a metaphysical justification for his system.

1.3   Comparison

Both philosophers lived in times of chaos and sought to combat what they identified as moral degeneracy. This instability gave rise to their shared goal of social harmony, but manifested differently: whilst Plato advocated for a new way of managing society, Confucius advocated for a revival of past ways. Both, however, did not see their goals come to fruition during their lifetime. It can be argued that Confucius' utopia has more appeal than Plato's because of the many attempts to realise it throughout the centuries, which is not the case for Plato's *Kallipolis* despite the *Republic*'s intellectual and historical significance.

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[1] 「未知生，焉知死?」 "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" – Confucius, The Analects (Lunyu 論語), Xianjin 先進 12

2 Conceptions of the Ideal Man

2.1 Plato

Plato's ideal man embodies justice (δικαιοσύνη), "the having and doing of one's own and what belongs to oneself", which implies a natural order that all should adhere to. This is in accordance with his theory of the tripartite soul, which divides the soul into three parts: appetite, spirit, and reason. In both the individual and the state, Plato favoured reason, as it was through this faculty that one could make the transcendental leap to understanding the Forms.

2.2 Confucius

Confucius' ideal man, the *junzi* 君子[2] ('respectable person'), exemplifies the supreme moral virtue *ren*[3] 仁. *Ren* denotes an outward manifestation of ideal Confucian behaviour, the individual fulfilling their duty to contribute to a flourishing society, and is exemplified through acts of altruism. The *junzi* behaves according to propriety, 礼 *li*, in all situations spanning from religious ceremonies to familial relationships to attain harmony, 和 *he*. This conception is based on the assumption that human beings are fundamentally good, and can be shaped through self-cultivation. The flourishing of the individual was crucial because Confucius believed that exemplary moral behaviour must first be achieved internally before it could expand outwards to the state (X. Cai).

2.3 Relationship with the Ideal Society

Both philosophers were concerned with creating a group of perceived 'ideal men' to actualise their vision of an ideal society, because both operated on the assumption that a virtuous soul mirrored a virtuous state. As a result, they devoted much of their philosophies to the cultivation of such humans. The key difference, however, is that Confucius strove to elevate all individuals to a state wherein one "could follow what [the] heart desired, without transgressing what is right", which differs from Plato's goal of training reason, the charioteer of the soul, to forcefully steer the soul in the direction of the Forms.

2.4 The Ruling Elite

In some respects Confucius' *junzi* is very similar to Plato's ruling class of philosopher guardians. This is because both philosophers highlighted the importance of entrusting the management of the state to the enlightened. Plato argued that, only upon understanding the Form of the Good (which he believed all Forms and thus all things originated from), would one be fit to rule, because only then would he be capable of making decisions for the greater good, thereby ensuring a just society. Likewise, Confucius believed that a ruler must be a *junzi* to uphold harmony. Both placed particular emphasis on the morals of the ruling class, and warned of the horrors that would befall the state if those who governed it were corrupt.

3 Conceptions of Poetry

The question that arises now is: how did Plato and Confucius conceive of poetry? How does it align (or not) with their larger philosophical aims and their pursuit to craft the ideal man?

3.1 Etymological Definitions

The conceptualisation of poetry in both traditions can be traced to etymological explanations that predate both philosophers; arguably this "gives [both definitions] special claim to truth" (Owen 27). The Greek word for poet, *poietes* ποιητής, comes from *poiein* ποιεῖν, which means "to make, to create", which reveals an underlying assumption that the poem is "made" and thus inherently artificial. This raises questions about the extent to which it can truthfully depict the Forms, which was Plato's key concern. The Chinese word for poem is *shi* 詩. The traditional definition breaks the word into its component parts, *yan* 言 and

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[2]Literally: 'person of high stature'; 'son of the monarch'. This term is also often translated as 'gentleman'.

[3]Loosely translates to "humaneness" , but other translations include "benevolence", "love", "empathy", *etc.*

zhi 志[4], stating that poetry "articulates what is on the mind intently"[5], the focus here being on the degree of involuntariness; of the instinctual response to a world outside the individual.

The key difference, then, is one of control: the Greek definition hints at a degree of separation between poem and poet, for the poem is the object of the poet's will; the Chinese definition, however, assumes that the poem is the writer (Owen 27). This difference is so crucial because it shapes both philosophers' understanding of the relationship between reader and writer, reader and text, but also how the poets themselves behave.

3.2 Plato

Plato's metaphysical theory was incompatible with his conception of poetry. He deemed poetry an inferior art form because its mimetic nature led people further away from the Forms, stating that poetry "is an inferior thing cohabiting with an inferior and engendering inferior offspring." He also believed that poetry appealed "to the inferior part of the soul", appetite (which was closely linked to emotion), for it "water[ed] and foster[ed] these feelings when what we ought to do is to dry them up", and "establishe[d] them as our rulers when they ought to be ruled". As Plato deemed reason the superior method by which to obtain knowledge of the Forms, he was naturally cautious of forces that diminished its control over the soul.

3.3 Confucius

The word *shi* ('poem' 詩) in Confucian texts, by contrast, refers to one specific text: the *Odes* (*shijing* 詩經). This was the oldest existing anthology of Chinese poetry and one of the 'Five Classics' (*wujing* 五經), a collection of core pre-Qin Confucian texts allegedly compiled by Confucius. It

is composed of three parts: the first, *feng* 風, describes aspects of daily life, for example marriage and courtship, and is a metaphor for the ideal relationship between the public and the ruling elite. The second is *ya* 雅, and contains classical music in the capital area of the Zhou Empire. The last section, *song* 頌, is composed of songs used in sacrifices to spirits and ancestors, but also celebrates the achievements of the ruling class. Confucius inherits and extends the tradition of *shi yan zhi* 詩言志 by emphasising the unity between external manifestation, the poem, versus the inner state, the *zhi* (孔 198).

The function of poetry is summarised as such in the *Analects*: "The Odes serve to stimulate the mind. They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation. They teach the art of sociability. They show how to regulate feelings of resentment. From them you learn the more immediate duty of serving one's father, and the remoter one of serving one's prince. From them we become largely acquainted with the names of birds, beasts, and plants."[6]

3.4 Poetry and the Ideal Man

Both philosophers shared the belief that poetry was immensely powerful. These assumptions shape their attitudes towards poetry before they even think about adapting it to achieve their philosophical aims: Plato was already wary, and Confucius already inclined. Both also advocated for the use of poetry in their societies to help nurture the ideal man and and devised various criteria to ensure that the poetry in their states would adhere to their moral curriculum.

4 Poetry in Education

Plato and Confucius believed that poetry could be used as a means of instilling "proper values" in the populace; for this reason, both philosophers focused on the moral value of poetry in education. In the Confucian tradition, the name for poetry's

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[4]*Zhi* is often translated as "intention", but this is misleading because it emphasises a sense of voluntariness and free will that is incongruous with the Chinese understanding of the spontaneous manifestation of the inner mental state, which "privileges the involuntary origins of any act of volition" (Owen 28). A better translation may be "that to which the mind goes".

[5]「詩言志」– *The Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書), *Canon of Shun* (*Shundian* 舜典) 16

[6]「詩, 可以興, 可以觀, 可以群, 可以怨。邇之事父, 遠之事君。多識於鳥獸草木之名。」Confucius, The *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), *Yang Huo* 陽貨 9

educational function is *jiaohua* 教化, which translates to "teaching and transforming" (Mao Shixu). Both also paid particular attention to the youth, because only by training them to become ideal citizens could this new generation be entrusted to govern and maintain the ideal state.

4.1 Plato

Plato argued that "we must look for those craftsmen who by the happy gift of nature are capable of following the trail of true beauty and grace, that our young men, dwelling as it were in a salubrious region, may receive benefit from all things about them". Thus he allocated poetry one of the most important functions in his *kallipolis*: to educate the youth. In Book II of the *Republic*, Plato writes that children "should, from childhood up, imitate what is appropriate to them". By "appropriate" content, Plato refers to virtues he believes are befitting of good men, which he describes and justifies in Books II and III: piety to the gods, honouring one's parents, friendship, self-control, and courage. He summarises the main function of poetry as such: "...and so from earliest childhood insensibly guide them to likeness, to friendship, to harmony with beautiful reason", reason being a key faculty he hopes poetry will impart onto the souls of the youth.

Nevertheless, Plato was plagued with concerns about the corruptive influences of poetry. He maintained that censorship was necessary because "the young are not able to distinguish what is and what is not allegory, but whatever opinions are taken into the mind at that age are wont to prove indelible and unalterable". Hence he asserted the state should strive to "bring the fairest lessons of virtue to their ears", and in this way facilitate the cultivation of ideal men.

4.2 Confucius

Confucius shares a similar view regarding the moral purposes of poetry, which he succinctly describes as "having no depraved thoughts"[7]. The goal of moral cultivation, however, was not to force people to abide by various rites (*li* 禮), but instead to unconsciously aid the audience in internalising proper virtues so they would naturally behave in ways that were befitting of a *junzi*. In essence, poetry was a viable tool to elevate one to a state wherein one "could follow what [the] heart desired, without transgressing what is right"[8].

4.3 Poetry as a tool for moral education

The key difference between the two is that Plato focused on the corruptive power of poetry, whereas Confucius emphasised its power for good, which influenced the way both philosophers used poetry in their educational systems. Plato feared that the mimetic nature of poetry caused more problems than it solved. He was especially worried about the impact of "immoral" (that which does not adhere to his moral criteria) poetry on the youth. The duty then falls on the state to propagate moral poetry, which Plato believed could only be accomplished through censorship to ensure that future guardians would be "god-fearing men and god-like in so far as that is possible for humanity." Confucius, as indicated by the moral imperative of the *Odes* ("having no depraved thoughts"), did not regard poetry as a subversive force at all –it is the solution to immorality instead of its cause.

4.4 A timeline of Poetry in Education

Both philosophers placed poetry in the earliest stages of their education systems. Plato regarded this stage as crucial in the development of the youth into his ideal man because "it is then that [the young mind] is best moulded and takes the impression that one wishes to stamp upon it". Confucius states that "it is by the *Odes* that the mind is aroused"[9], indicating that poetry marked the beginning of one's education and lifelong journey to become a *junzi* for it roused (*xing* 興) one's interest in self-cultivation. This, however, is where the philosophers' views diverge. Plato limits the study of poetry to the elementary stages

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[7] 「思無邪」– Confucius, The *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), *Wei Zheng* 為政 2

[8] 「從心所欲不逾矩」– Confucius, The *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), *Wei Zheng* 為政 4

[9] 「興於詩」– Confucius, The *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), *Tai Bo* 泰伯 8

of education on the ground that when one truly understood the Forms (as all the guardians did), poetry, as the lesser art in contrast to the Ideal, would be unnecessary, but its corruptive influence could affect anyone at any stage. Confucius, by contrast, constantly instructs his disciples to refer to the *Odes* because he believes its impact, particularly in social and political terms, reaches far beyond the first "enlightenment" stage. This once again highlights the key differences between the understanding and role of poetry in the two traditions.

5   Poetry as a Psychological Good

Unlike Plato, Confucius also examines the impact of poetry on the poet. This is exemplified through his theory of *yuan* 怨, which posits that one of the core functions of poetry is to let the writer vent their grievances. By offering the people an outlet to express their emotions through poetry, Confucius offers what is arguably a healthier and more sustainable approach to dealing with emotion. Instead of advocating for its suppression, he proposes for one to feel the range of emotions, from sorrow to happiness and even resentment, but in a controlled manner (which is very similar to Aristotle's notion of *catharsis*, but revolves around the wellbeing of the poet instead of the audience). He believed that these regulated outbursts prevented the accumulation of heightened, frenzied emotions, which both philosophers agreed were very damaging to both the individual and the society. This method provides a safeguard against the irrational behaviour stirred by emotion that Plato so feared, but also illustrates that there is a way to negate the perceived vices of poetry without limiting the use of it.

Plato's disregard for the wellbeing of the poet is linked to his wider views regarding the role of the individual within the state. Although both philosophers prioritise the order of the state over individual fulfillment, Confucius celebrates more of the personal achievements of the *junzi*, whereas Plato's individual is completely subordinate to the polity.

6   Poetry as a Social Force

The wellbeing of the state was the priority of both philosophers, and their assessment of poetry revolved around its utility to society. This is evident in the way Plato justifies the expulsion of the "immoral" poet by comparing the effect of emotion ruling the soul to the ruin of the state through bad governance: "just as when in a state one puts bad men in power and turns the city over to them and ruins the better sort." (*Republic* 605b).

6.1   Poetry and Politics

Plato makes a clear distinction between poet and statesman, stating that if the poet possessed true knowledge of what he imitates, he would rather do great deeds than sing of them. Much of the poetry in the *Odes*, however, is not explicitly concerned with matters of the state, nor does it explicitly expound the nature of virtue, as was the assumption in Plato's *Kallipolis*. The *Airs of the State* (*guo feng* 國風), for example, reflects the voice of the common people, and is firmly rooted in the sphere of everyday life. Confucius points to the poet's sincerity when expressing *zhi* to bridge the distance between ruler and subject, and reestablish a platform of communication that had fallen into disuse during the breakdown of the feudal system in the chaos of the Spring Autumn period. By allowing the voice of the people to be heard in a process known as *feng* 風 (which is a homophone with *feng* 諷, meaning "to condemn, to satirise") wherein "those below could criticise those above"[10], the ruling class found another valuable source of information that enabled them to keep an ear to the ground, and could then implement policies that appeased the masses.

6.2   Poetry as a social force

Plato's view of poetry can be encapsulated in the line: "[poetry's] power to corrupt, with rare exceptions, even the better sort, is surely the chief cause for alarm." (*Republic* 605b) As a result, he was preoccupied with eliminating the risk of his audience being exposed to the negative effects of

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[10] 「下以風刺上」– *The Great Preface* (*Shi Daxu* 詩大序)

poetry. He proposed to heavily censor its contents and form, proclaiming that "we can admit no poetry into our city save only hymns to the gods and the praises of good men". This included banning the verse of culturally significant poets like Hesiod and Homer, for he believed that they "composed false stories which they told and still tell to mankind". By contrast, the nebulous roles poetry assumed in the Confucian tradition allowed for more varied uses of poetry unique to China: the *Odes* were frequently quoted during diplomatic discourse for their euphemistic qualities known as *fu shi* 賦詩. Although the tradition arose during the Spring and Autumn period, politicians have quoted poetry throughout history and still do today, which is a testament to its cultural and political significance.

The fundamental difference between the two is the value they place on history and tradition. Plato's decision to expel the great poets from his ideal state is a rational one if considered purely from a moral angle, for it is true that their works do not align with his views. However, this censorship also signifies the erasure of Athenian culture as Plato knew it, which he encourages because he regards it as highly flawed[11]. One way to understand Plato's denunciation of poetry is, as James Adams states, because "his attitude was determined by educational considerations, and throughout Book X he was thinking less of the inherent possibilities of Art, than of actual Greek Art and Poetry considered as the exponents of a moral and religious creed which Plato himself emphatically disowns." This conflict between two ways of life is the essence of Plato's famed "old quarrel between philosophy and poetry".

Confucius, on the other hand, embraces the *Odes* as a relic from the past; in fact, this is where its value lies, because he strove to return to a period he heralded as the height of civilization, Western

Zhou. Furthermore, he advocated for the use of poetry not only for its educational function but also as a political convention. The indirectness of metaphor was in fact favoured during negotiations, and diplomats were known to misconstrue the original meaning to fit their context (*duan zhang qu yi* 斷章取義).

Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored the ways their wider philosophies inform Plato's and Confucius' understanding of poetry. Plato was an idealist and believed in the primacy of thought and perception over material reality, which led him to consider poetry in terms of its ability to help the public attain absolute truth; Confucius was largely concerned with the tangible world of the living, and hence assessed poetry in terms of its applicability to everyday life, but also as a model for ethical living. This in turn determined the role of poetry in their societies, which seem to be on opposite ends of the spectrum: Plato feared the corruptive power of poetry and sought to minimise the risks it posed to society; Confucius strove to harness its affective properties to benefit the individual and society, and promoted the *Odes* for the historic values it reflected. Despite these fundamental differences, the way both philosophers used poetry was largely the same – as a moral and educational tool to create a group of ideal men who would realise their ideal states.

If we view poetry strictly as a tool to ensure political stability (the alleged "greater good'" according to both philosophers), then, like any other policy, its success is dependent on its ability to solve the problems at hand, and it is thus inseparable from its circumstances. Our conception of poetry has evolved through time: the rise of modernism and later postmodernism signify a rebellion against traditional conventions and the pursuit of new forms of expression. The modern concept of "art for art's sake", which dictates that the value of a work of art should be judged separately from its moral, political, or utilitarian merit, is just one example of this divergence from and rejection of old ways. Although modern studies tend to ap-

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[11]Plato's disappointment in contemporary times perhaps contributed to his choice to start afresh in the pages of the Republic instead of actually attempting to enact it in reality (and hence it remains an "ideal" state). This differs from Confucius, who spent the later half of his life searching for a lord who would realise his vision.

proach Confucius' and Plato's theories as the origins of literary criticism, instead of investigating them in terms of their applicability as a method of governance and moral education in the modern age, studying the history of poetry helps us better understand current debates. As we interrogate and challenge our conceptions of poetry, we begin to question all that we think we know about creative expression: what is art? What role should art play in society? Is there an 'ideal' method to utilise art? Different cultures have arrived at different answers: the West, for example, largely prioritizes the individual over the collective, and champions near unlimited freedom of expression. However, has this led to a more harmonious society? The question, then, becomes whether censorship (or lack thereof) is the right answer or not, and whether our utopia aligns with the views of either philosopher. Studying past theories may yield unexpected insights and help us approach the problem from a new perspective.

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Neither silk nor a road: the precious stone trade along the Silk Road during the Tang dynasty

Ho Long Wong　黃浩朗

Introduction

While global trade and interactions are ubiquitous and convenient today, globalization is by no means a completely new phenomenon in the 21st century. The Silk Road was an important and complex trading network that first developed during the Han Dynasty, which facilitated foreign trade and cultural exchange between China and the West for over two thousand years, and up to this day remains largely significant with China's recent Belt and Road Initiative. This early form of globalization connected East Asia, Central Asia, and parts of Europe, and served as a bridge between the East and the West. As James Millward describes, the Silk Road was "neither silk nor a road" (Millward 20). In fact, the Silk Road was much more than just silk or a road. The Chinese exported silk, tea, porcelain and many other well-desired commodities, and received goods such as precious metals, wool, and precious stones in return. In addition to economic exchanges, the Silk Road also accelerated the spread of ideas, cultures, and religions. Though the Silk Road was thought to originate during the Han Dynasty, this paper will examine the conditions during the early to mid-Tang Dynasty, where the Silk Road trade really flourished and arguably rose to its peak. In particular, we put our focus on the precious stone trade, which includes the trade of jade, lapis lazuli, amber, etc. By examining the conditions of both the general environment of commerce and the exchange of precious stones specifically, this paper seeks to gain a better understanding of the role that the Silk Road played as a driver in economic and cultural development during the Tang Dynasty.

1 The trading environment of the Tang Dynasty

As trade is never free from political entanglements, the foreign policies and economic stability of the Tang Dynasty was a dominant cause for the golden age of the Silk Road. The Tang Dynasty was one of the most prosperous dynasties in the history of China, especially during the seventh century, hence receiving its name of Datang shengshi 大唐盛世 [prosperous period of the Tang Dynasty]. During the early phases of the Tang Dynasty, the Tang court had a very open and welcoming policy to foreigners, which attracted many foreign merchants to settle in parts of China, including Yangzhou, Guangzhou, and the capital city of Chang'an. However, since the An Lushan rebellion (安史之亂) in 755, the conditions for foreigners started to decay, as "several thousand Persian businessman in Yangzhou were killed [by Tien Shen-Kung 田神功 in 760]" (Schafer 18), and "foreign traders were slaughtered [during Huang Chao's rebellion (黃巢之亂)]" (16). In 845, Manichaeism also suffered alongside Buddhism during the great persecution of foreign faiths (會昌毀佛) (10). Despite the initial success of the Tang Dynasty and a brief rejuvenation towards end of the 8th century, it never fully recovered its glory.

The Tang empire also garrisoned the western section of the Great Wall and established its suzerainty over oasis towns, and imperial protection of the Silk Road played a central role in stimulating long-distance trade of luxuries and exotic commodities (Liu 87). Furthermore, the relative stability and prosperity of the country, especially during the early Tang Dynasty, contributed to great number of foreign merchants, some of

whom settled in Chang'an. In particular, the capital was a major economic and political hub, and was one of the world's largest urban settlements at that time, "with an estimated population of 2 million taxable residents in the cosmopolitan" (Schafer 20), with a substantial population of foreigners, including merchants, missionaries, and clerks. This is evident in the establishment of the Western Market (西市), where most of the merchants from Central Asia conducted their trade of foreign goods and exotics (Whitfield 82), and was near the western gate that directly led to the Silk Road (See Figure 1).
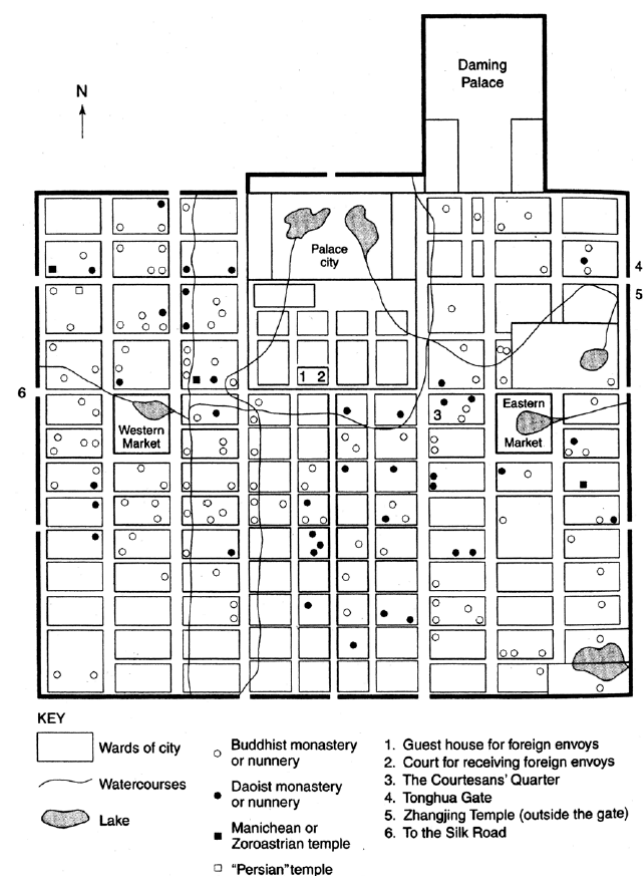

Fig. 1. Map of Chang'an during the Tang Dynasty (Whitfield 83)

However, despite the large evidence of increased interconnectedness and foreign diversity in Chang'an and other trading centers of China, the Silk Road was by no means an easy route to prosperity. Although the economic incentives and opportunities were very promising at the time and the activity was quite profitable, the conditions of the Silk Road were very perilous. Not only were there several geographical and natural obstacles such as the steep mountains

and deserts in Central Asia and modern Xinjiang, merchant groups also constantly faced the threats of bandits, which could ruin the efforts of their journeys. For example, the *Hushang yudao* tu《胡商遇盗圖》[Foreign merchants encountering bandits] cave painting found in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang vividly portrays a group of merchants being robbed by bandits from a valley (See Figure 2). Considering the immense distance of over 3000 miles between Samarkand and Chang'an, the journey of merchants along the Silk Road was certainly filled with difficulties.

Fig. 2. Cave painting of foreign merchants encountering bandits (Museum.)

2 The main stakeholders involved in the precious stone trade

Contrary to popular belief, the Silk Road was not all about silk. A diverse range of goods were traded along the route and cultural exchanges also occurred as a result of the Silk Road. One of these exotic goods that were traded along the Silk Road were precious stones, which the Chinese had a large demand for. However, the vast majority of them were imported through the Silk Road. Before we examine in detail the conditions of the precious stone trade, it is essential to understand the main actors that were involved in the trade. While the origins of these precious stones are distributed all over Central Asia, the main dealers of precious stones were Sogdians and Persians, both of Iranian descent, who benefited the most from these exchanges. This paper will first focus on the role of these Central Asian merchants, before examining the demands within the Chinese population, including from the common people all the way up

to aristocrats and rulers.

The Sogdians were an indispensable part of the precious stone trade, either acting as intermediate traders and sourcing precious stones or directly bringing precious stones onto the Chinese market in person for sale, and as a result many of them were able to make a considerable fortune. Although the Sogdians never achieved political unity, they were mostly active around the small, populous city-state of Samarkand (in modern Uzbekistan), a center for trading gems, and they were also natural traders. As cited in the Old Book of Tang (《舊唐書》),

> （粟特人）生子必以石蜜內口中，明膠置掌內，欲其成長口常甘言，掌持錢如膠之黏物。

> *the Sogdians would put rock sugar in their babies' mouth, and put gelatin on their hands, so their children will grow up to be sweet, eloquent, and good at business, which shows how they were raised to become merchants.*

> (Wu)

Their achievement in trading was renowned, but they were also involved in trading a far wider range of goods than the precious stones. For example, in a taxation document of the Turfan region, it was found that 29 of out of the 37 transactions involved Sogdian traders; their merchandises included "grapes, silverware, and precious stones such as the sea amber from the Pala empire (Modern Northern India)" (Bakhodir 2). Furthermore, as recorded in the Great Tang Records on the Western Regions (《大唐西域記》), a narrative written by the famous Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘, many precious merchandises from foreign countries were stored in the small, populous city-state of Samarkand" (Whitfield 46). There is also evidence suggesting that Sogdians brought their own religions into China as well, notably Zoroastrianism (祆教), such as the building of the "Sassanian Zoroastrian temple of Hsien-Tzu" (Hayashi 87). They were extremely important in acting as a bridge between the East and the West, as Persian

became the lingua franca of the Silk Road (Millward 21). Through the process of commerce, they were also important in the cultural and religious exchange on the Silk Road.

The role of Sogdian and Persian traders could also be explored through tales that circulated around China. Though they were often stereotypical, speculative and may not be the most accurate portrayal, they do offer a good overview of the social image of these traders. During the Tang Dynasty, a poor Persian was almost considered a laughable contradiction. There were also many stories that mentioned Persian or Sogdian traders and their precious stones and gems, such as Su E's 蘇鶚 the *Duyang Zabian*《杜陽雜編》, the *Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang* (《酉陽雜俎》), and the encyclopedia *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (《太平廣記》).

For example, one of the famous stories about Persian merchants is the story of Hu merchants recognizing hidden treasure (胡商識寶). In Dai Fu's 戴孚 Kuang-i Chi《廣異記》, he told the story of a Persian merchant identifying precious stones from rocks:

> 近世有波斯胡人，至扶風逆旅，見方石在主人門外，盤桓數日。主人問其故，胡云：「我欲石搗帛。」因以錢二千求買。主人得錢甚悅，以石與之。胡載石出，對眾剖得徑寸珠一枚。

> *The westerner from Persia who came to Fu-Feng looked up a hotel. He saw a square stone outside the host's door. He loitered about for several days until the host asked his reason. The foreign merchant said, I desire this stone for pounding silks, and he sought to buy it for two thousand cash. The merchant then took the stone and broke it, revealing a small precious stone.*

> (BastillePost)

This story shows how gems and precious stones were closely associated to foreign merchants. Though this story may be fantasized, this shows how Persian merchants were perceived to be gem

experts and wealthy, as they were able to recognize the treasure hidden inside the stone and exploited the asymmetric information to buy it for a cheap price. This could be further explored through the slightly extreme story of cutting one's belly to hide a pearl (剖腹藏珠) recorded in the Extensive Records of the Taiping Era, which describes the story of a foreign merchant hiding a precious stone inside his stomach and only revealing it upon his death. Though many of the stories and tales that were spread across Tang society like the ones mentioned above were probably exaggerated, the consistency still shows the social image of Persian and Sogdian merchants during the Tang dynasty, and how many of them were perceived to be very wealthy and experts with precious stones.

3 Precious stones traded along the Silk Road

Although many precious stones were traded along the Silk Road during the Tang Dynasty, it is impossible to closely examine each of these in detail. This paper will look specifically into a few main and significant precious stones, including jade (玉), lapis lazuli (青金石), sese (瑟瑟), and amber (琥珀). However, it is also worth noting the nature of historical sources. Many of these historical records are incomplete and vague, though the history of Tang is studded with references of diplomatic gem transfers, they are seldom identified by name in historic records. For example, a precious stone may just be referred to as a "rare jewel [or] famous treasure" (Schafer 222). Therefore, it is often difficult to identify specific stones that each Chinese term refers to, and we follow the identification made by the historians Edward Schafer and Berthold Laufer. As no reliable quantitative data is available, this paper will focus on examining the general conditions and potential impacts through literary contexts and qualitative records.

Firstly, jade was one of the most important precious stones traded on the Silk Road. Jade is unique as a precious stone because the demand for it was largely one-sided. The Chinese valued jade extremely highly, and the value of jade was even higher than gold at that time (Liu 3). De-

spite the desire, value, and sophisticated cutting techniques in China, the material itself was not produced locally. Most jades came from the ancient kingdom of Khotan (modern-day Xinjiang), as well as other sources abroad (Schafer 224). Even to this day, Khotanese jade (和田玉) remains a symbol of high-quality jade. These were sent to China through trade or tributes, such as "a white jade ring gifted to Emperor Xuanzong (唐玄宗) by Samarkand" (226). They were also cut into small everyday objects and accessories such as vases, ornaments, and goblets.

As this stone was valued by the Chinese extremely highly, it is not surprising that there are also many historical works of literature and poetry from the Tang Dynasty citing jade. The most famous of them is Wang Han's 王翰 Liang Zhou Verses (《涼州詞》), in which he talks about the life of soldiers near the border readying for battle. He writes:

> 葡萄美酒夜光杯，欲飲琵琶馬上催。醉臥沙場君莫笑，古來征戰幾人回。
>
> *They sing, they drain their cups of jade, they strum on horseback their guitars. Why laugh when they fall asleep drunk on the sand? –How many soldiers ever come home?*
>
> (*The Jade Mountain: A Chinese Anthology: Being Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty, 618-906*)

Through the first line「葡萄美酒夜光杯」, literally meaning the fragrant wine in the jade cup, it shows how the reflective jade material was shining in the dark. The jade referenced here is a type of serpentine (酒泉玉), a type of jade sourced in the Qilian Mountain (祁連山) near modern Gansu ("Yeguang beidiao"). This shows how jade was popular amongst people in China at that time, from normal citizens to poets, and even the imperial family and Emperor of the Tang Dynasty. Furthermore, the popularity and fame of the poem till this day also reflects the fame of the jade at that time. Not only did jade have significant material value in China, its cultural significance was also equally important. It was considered a holy

stone and was used for ritual implements and ceremonies, such as the tablets deposited at Mount Tai (泰山) by the emperor to worship the gods (Schafer 225).

Another important precious stone that was being traded on the Silk Road was lapis lazuli. Sometimes referred to in Chinese as qingjinshi 青金石 or sese 瑟瑟, this stone was another that is highly valued by the Chinese. Although it does not have much significance in Chinese culture, there was still a high economic value placed on this stone. The Chinese often associated lapis lazuli as a Persian gem par excellence, but in fact, this stone had little to do with Persia itself. The main market for lapis lazuli was in Khotan, hence receiving its name of the "stone of Khotan" (231), but the real sources of lapis lazuli were from the mines in Badakhshan along the Oxus River (modern day Amu Darya near Northeastern Afghanistan), which was part of the Chach Dynasty at that time and has been the main source of lapis lazuli in the region for over 6000 years (Whitfield 52). This stone was used to make ornaments for women during the Tang Dynasty, as evident in Wen Tingyun's 溫庭筠 poem *The Lapis Lazuli Hairpins* (《瑟瑟釵》), describing the gems set "like halcyon-dyed ice, in the falling clouds of a woman's black hair" (「翠染冰輕回雲光，墮孫壽有餘香」) (Schafer 232).

Although the sourcing of lapis lazuli did not involve the Persians, it was one of the raw materials for Sassanian gems and held a special significance in Persian architecture for its symbolism of the sky. This is evident in "the Takhtitakdes, the 'throne in the shape of a cupola', of Khusro II (590-628) over which was a baldaquin of lapis lazuli and gold, showing the stars and planets against the blue of the sky" (Schafer 231). As Max Bauer writes in his classical study *Precious Stones*, "the best quality [of lapis lazuli was] sold at Bokhara (Modern day Bukhara, Uzbekistan) for thirty to sixty tillas" (Laufer 521). Through the poem *The Lapis Lazuli* Hairpins, the properties of lapis lazuli can also be examined. As cited in the poem, sese was bright blue in color with transparent and reflective properties (「翠染冰輕透露光」), and therefore it would be reasonable to assume sese as a reference

to the lapis lazuli that we know today. The desire for exotic goods such as lapis lazuli permeated all social classes, and its applications ranged from accessories such as hair ornaments to construction materials for temples and buildings.

Finally, another precious stone that was being traded on the Silk Road was amber. Literally meaning tiger's soul (虎魄) in Chinese, the name of amber originated from a tale that the congealing glance of a dying tiger forms this waxy mineral. There are believed to be many sources of amber that were sold in China. Edward Schafer suggests that the precious resin was a product from Rome, imported via Iran (Schafer 247); G. Jacob claims that Persians derived amber from the Baltic, while the Roman author Pliny the Elder suggests amber was sourced from mines in India and parts of modern day Yunnan (Laufer 522). The Romans had little access to knowledge of Chinese luxury products, while Schafer and Jacob are modern scholars that have access to more modern historical and geographical methods, so the judgement of the two contemporary scholars are likely to be more accurate. However, it can still be reasonably concluded based on these sources that amber was likely sourced from a range of locations and brought into China.

4 The implications and influence of the precious stone trade

The precious stone trade along the Silk Road had major positive economic implications for both the Sogdians and the Tang Dynasty, as it brought large profit margins for the foreign merchants, accelerated trade and economic development, and fulfilled the domestic demand for exotic goods in the Chinese society. However, the Hu (literally meaning western barbarian, mainly referring to Sogdians and Persians) merchants that were involved in the precious stone trade also had major influence on the culture and society of the Tang Dynasty. For example, the immigration of foreign merchants during the Tang Dynasty was also followed by the import of cultural traditions, such as Hu costumes (胡服), Hu Whirling Dance (胡旋舞), bars with Hu ladies (胡姬酒肆) and many more.

Tang Dynasty poet Yuan Zhen 元稹 wrote "women make themselves western matrons by the imitation of Hu makeup, entertainers present Hu tunes in their devotion to Hu Music" (《和李校書新題樂府十二首·法曲》「女為胡婦學胡妝，伎進胡音務胡樂。」) (Schafer 28). This shows how Tang women's makeup was influenced by western culture, as well as the import of foreign music into China. While this only shows a correlation between the two subjects, it can be said that the precious stone trade and many other commerce activities along the Silk Road together led to the widespread influence of foreign culture in Tang Dynasty China. "The palace of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang was also heavily influenced by Persian elements" (Hayashi 88), which shows how the spread of Persian culture permeated all social classes of the Tang Dynasty.

Furthermore, religion also spread into the Tang Dynasty, including Zoroastrianism (祆教), Manichaeism (摩尼教), and Buddhism (佛教). The spread of religions formed zones of common beliefs that transcended political or even linguistic boundaries (Millward 28). In the vicinity of foreign settlement, churches such as "the Sasanian Zoroastrianism temple of Hsien-Tzu and the Manichaeism church Ta-Yun Kuang-ming Ssu (大雲光明寺)" were introduced into Chang'an during the 7th century (Hayashi 87). The impact of Persian and Sogdian merchants was particularly significant in the spread of Zoroastrianism. As mentioned in the Records of Chang'an City (《長安志》),

> （胡祆祠于）武德四年立，西域胡祆神也。祠內有薩寶府官，主祠祆神，亦以胡祝充其職。
>
> *the Zoroastrian temple was established in the fourth year of Emperor Gaozu, the founding emperor of the Tang Dynasty's reign.*
>
> (Bakhodir 17)

The temple also had a role named sabao (薩寶), the leader of the temple and served by a foreigner. This shows how temples of foreign religions were being built in the Tang Dynasty and administered by foreigners to watch over the interests of merchants. Particularly, the leader of this temple sabao was also the chief of caravan merchants (Schafer 20). The existence of such institutions once again demonstrates the interconnectedness between religion and trade during the Tang Dynasty.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that the Silk Road was much more than just silk or a road. The Silk Road accelerated cultural agglomeration and economic exchange between China and the West. Benefitted by the liberal foreign policy and stability of the Tang court, the Silk Road reached its golden age during the early Tang Dynasty. One of the trades that occurred along the Silk Road was the precious stone trade, in which we have examined three specific types of stones: jade, lapis lazuli, and amber. The desire for such exotic goods permeated all social classes, and demonstrates significant monetary and cultural value. Finally, based on qualitative evidence and literary references, we conclude that the precious stone trade, Sogdian merchants and the Silk Road exchange as a whole all played an important role in the economic, political and social development of the Tang dynasty.

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Needham Research Institute (NRI)
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The following article were written as culminating essays for the Shuyuan NRI Scholar's Retreat at Cambridge University, 2019.

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- Neither silk nor a road: the precious stone trade along the Silk Road during the Tang dynasty (Ho Long Wong 黃浩朗)

Shuyuan Classics Summer Program
暑期中西哲學比較研究項目

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- Labels are a necessity in the organization of Knowledge, but they also Constrain our understanding. (Clarisse Tsang 曾子瑜)

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