

ABSTRACTS
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论文摘要以发言顺序排列

KEYNOTE SPEECH

From Anti-Japanese to Anti-Communism: Propaganda and Literary Practice in 1950s Taiwan

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In Taiwanese literary history, the 1950s has always been considered as the period of “anti-communist and nostalgic literature” due to the literary policies of the KMT government. Though there have been many academic achievements in related research, most have treated the “anti-communist literature” as a special and isolated phase within Taiwanese literary history. After being defeated in Civil War and fleeing to Taiwan, the KMT government denounced the CCP and planned to counterattack mainland China; the KMT government continuously relied on its hard-earned victory in the anti-Japanese War as an indication of the future success to come in the planned counterattack against the mainland. For this reason, the literature of the 1950s frequently looked back to the experiences of the anti-Japanese War. This essay will discuss the promotion of anti-Communist literary and artistic policies as well as examine the literary works produced within the period, including works by Zhang Daofan, Chen Jiyong, Wang Pingling, Li Chendong, and Zhao Youpei. This essay will also analyze the transformation of literary works and practices between the anti-Japanese and anti-Communist periods. This essay consists of four parts: “the organization and management of the literary and artistic groups”, “the guidance and promotion of the literary and artistic work”, “the editing of journals”, and “literary writing.”

Translated by Lü Jue (吕珏)

從抗日到反共：文藝工作與文學實踐的承繼及轉化

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在台灣文學史上，五〇年代向來被定位為「反共懷鄉文學時期」，並且歸諸於國民政府的政策性主導。近年來，儘管相關的研究已有不少成果，但多數把「反共文學」作為一個特定且孤立的階段性文學議題來研究。然而事實上，當時由國民政府所主政的台灣，除了在內戰的流亡傷痛中控訴共黨，期盼反攻還鄉之外，往往又緬懷抗戰的艱難勝利，把抗戰勝利作為未來反攻必勝，建國必成的保證。基於此一情結，不僅文學書寫要頻頻回顧過去的抗戰經驗，在文藝政策的擬訂及文藝工作的實踐方面，更不免要以先前的抗戰經驗為依歸。基於此，本文即以當時主導、推動反共文藝政策的關鍵人物張道藩、陳紀滢、王平陵、李辰冬、趙友培等人所從事的相關文藝活動為起點，進而探討從「抗日」到「反共」時期，文藝工作與文學實踐之間的承繼及轉化。全文將分由「文藝團體的組織經營」、「藝文工作的主導推動」、「報刊編輯」、「文學書寫」四方面進行。

PANEL I

The Horizon of the “East Asia” and the “South Advance” Practice of the Imperial *Kambun*: A Case Discussion of Japanese Magozō Sakura

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Since Taiwan, Japan and mainland China all use Chinese characters they are all linked to each other and are part of what is known as the “Sinosphere.” This phenomenon is called “*tongwen*” (of the same language) (*tongwen/doubun*), which is recognized by people all over the world. However, when looking at these various members of the “Sinosphere”, it is necessary to develop a different framework for explaining their differences and similarities. This paper will take a look at Japanese people Magozō Sakura (1861-1941) as an example to explain as a Japanese literary scholar, when he took his ability of imperial kanji “of the same language” as his “South Advance”, how he developed the efficacies and functions “of the same language” in Taiwan and mainland China. What was the appearance of the related-Chinese character which intertwined each other in East Asia? How were Chinese characters imagined and how did they represent the traveling experience, cultural feelings and national identity? As a writer who actively engaged himself in the Chinese or *kambun* writing all his life, Magozō Sakura played different roles in different regions, leaving behind numerous pieces of *kambun* writings, and hence creating a special East Asian *kambun* horizon, intertwined with South Advance. This paper will make use of Magozō Sakura’s border-crossing movements and writings to explore this *kanbum* literary scholar who came from the Japanese empire. What does the vast amount of *kanbum* works by Magozō mean in regions that speak the same language like Taiwan and Fujian? What is their connection to the two places? Finally how did *tongwen* become the standard and an enforced rule of cultural thinking, and even a foundation for Japanese ruling? In the case analysis of Magozō Sakura, this paper will explain that in the historical process involving the *tongwen* phenomenon in Japan, Taiwan and mainland China, the *kanbum* from the empire -- except for its connections, communications and response with poems -- also played an instrumental and resourcing role in colonizing, ruling and invading. This also manifested the political forceful function “of the same language” in the pre-modern East Asian region, and the contradictions in various forms of “Chinese character” writing practices.

Translated by Boyi Chen (陈博翼)

帝國漢文的「東亞」視域與「南進」實踐：以日人佐倉孫三為例的探討

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由於同樣使用了漢文（漢字）之故，臺灣、日本、中國彼此做為「漢字圈」一環的存在事實，或同早期所慣稱的「同文」現象，早已為世人所知悉與認可，然而面對「漢字圈」內臺灣、日本、中國「漢文/同文」其自身的非均質性與同一性，卻有著迥異的詮釋框架。本文在此擬以日人佐

倉孫三（1861-1941）為例來加以說明做為日本漢文人，當其憑藉著帝國漢文的「同文」能力而南進時，其在臺灣、中國如何發揮「同文」功效與性能？東亞各地彼此交錯的漢文關係鏡像，又會是怎樣的面貌？漢文如何想像、再現旅行體驗、文化感受與國族認同？做為一位畢生積極從事漢文書寫者，由於佐倉孫三一生中分別在不同地區擔任多種角色，並留下數量可觀的漢文創作，因此別富獨特的東亞漢文視域、南進實踐經驗與跨界交錯意義。是故，本文便欲藉由其人在日、臺、中的漢文跨界移動書寫，去探索這位來自日本帝國的漢文人，對於有著同文現象的臺灣與福建而言，佐倉氏的大量漢文創作究竟意味著什麼？與兩地關係如何？而「同文」做為一種文字現象，最終又何以會成為一種文化思想的規範與強制力道？甚至進一步為日人統治奠基？本文在進行佐倉孫三此一個案分析時，將會藉此闡明在日、臺、中同文交錯的歷程中，來自帝國的漢文，於從事溝通、交流、唱酬之餘，其實也曾發揮殖民、統治、侵略的工具性與資源性特質，由是而彰顯了「同文」在近代東亞區域的政治力學作用，以及東亞漢文相互之間的矛盾糾葛樣態。

Lovable Foe: Re-negotiating the Morality of Love in Wartime Taiwan

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This project intends to examine the structure of feeling in wartime Taiwan through the lens of popular romance, focusing on the discourses of love (as an emotional phenomenon), marriage, gender politics, sexuality and morality amidst the turmoil of the total war. The case in point is the cultural phenomenon of *Ke'ai de chou ren* (可愛的仇人, *Lovable Foe*), a full-length novel originally published in Chinese before the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1936, being translated into Japanese during the wartime in 1938, and underwent a aborted attempt of film adaptation. By comparing the Chinese and Japanese textual manifestations as well as readers' response, this project seeks to scrutinize the impact of wartime mentality on the consumption and reception of love story. Love story, in this case, is not only a narrative of romantic sentiment, but also a means to channel the emotions during negotiating the Taiwanese/Chinese tradition and the modernity that is structured by Westernization as well as Japanese wartime ideology. The cultural phenomenon of *Ke'ai de chou ren* in fact suggests a collective imagination of love that favors a tragic entanglement of love-hate relationship, and an "Asian" morality in which chastity as well as maternity are the ultimate forms of romantic love. The wartime ideology of "Greater East Asia" lurking in *Ke'ai de chou ren* becomes not only an escapist excuse for those who failed in love to leave Taiwan for Southeast Asia for a new life, but also a driving force of reconstructing an "Asian" morality of love, as opposed to "Westernized" modernity. In this project we will explore the following questions: How did the popular romance appropriate the war ideology to structure the narrative of love story? How did the readers respond to this appropriation?

可愛的仇人：重整台灣戰爭期的愛情與道德

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本文透過通俗言情小說來探討中日戰爭期間台灣的情感結構，以長篇小說《可愛的仇人》所引發的文化現象為中心，探討在總體戰下作為情感現象的愛情、婚姻、性別政治、性與道德之間的種種論述。《可愛的仇人》原為徐坤泉所作的漢文長篇小說，出版於中日戰爭開始前的1936年，發表後引起廣大迴響，戰爭爆發後於1938年由新文學作家張文環翻譯成日文，並有電影拍攝計畫，惜未能成功。藉由比較中文與日文的文本表現以及讀者回應，本計畫研究戰時心態對於愛情故事的消費與接受的影響。此處愛情故事不只是有關浪漫情感的敘事，更是在台灣/中國傳統與日本戰時意識形態結構下的西化現代性的折衝之間，疏導情感的途徑。《可愛的仇人》所引發的文化現象揭示了一種對於悲劇性的愛恨交織的關係的集體想像，以及將貞操與母性視為浪漫愛的終極形式的一種「東方」道德觀。「大東亞」的戰爭期意識形態隱隱潛伏在《可愛的仇人》中，不僅成為戀愛失敗者逃避的藉口，藉以離開台灣到南洋展開新生，也成為重新建構「東方」道德觀下的愛情的動力，以與「西方」的現代性相別。本計畫將回答以下問題：通俗言情小說如何挪用戰爭期的意識形態來結構愛情故事的敘事？讀者又如何回應此種挪用？

Affective Mapping of Wartime Beijing: Lao She's WWII Atlas of Emotions

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In his colossal trilogy *Bewilderment* (惶惑), *Ignominy* (偷生), and *Famine* (饥荒) of *Four Generations under One Roof* (1944-1950), Lao She (1899-1966) discloses an affective mapping of military violence, family degeneration, urban misery, and nation-state suffering in wartime Beijing, a warped and wounded city under Japanese occupation. This article charts the spatial trajectories of wartime feelings, such as nostalgia, mourning, shame, anger, and hatred, among others, which mediate the interactions of family and city, self and society, individual and nation, as well as urban history and traumatic memory in Lao She's WWII atlas of emotions. The Little Sheep Fold Lane, together with other real and fictional places and spaces ranging from the small clandestine room in the courtyard house to the gigantic Tiananmen Square in the heart of the city, display new "structures of feeling" triggered by Japanese conquest and its aftermath: a modern emotional negotiations between private obsession and public passion, between personal desire and collective guilt, and between quasi-loyalist affection and nationalist sentiment.

战争与情感：二战时期老舍笔下的北京

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在老舍宏大的《四世同堂》三部曲中（包括《惶惑》、《偷生》和《饥荒》），老舍揭开了一幅二战时期北京的情感地图：军阀黠武、家族衰败、城市陵夷、生灵涂炭，日本侵略下的北京满目疮痍。本文试图描绘战争情感（如怀旧、悼念、耻辱、愤怒、仇恨等）的空间性轨迹，以及这种空间性如何调和家庭与城市、自我与社会、个人与国家、城市历史与创伤记忆之间的关系，从而构成老舍在二战时期作品中的情感地图。老舍笔下的小羊圈胡同，以及其他那些小至四合院密室，大到天安门广场等等或真实或虚构的地方，都展现了由日本侵略而催生的新的“情感结构”。这些“情感结构”表现为一系列在个人迷恋和公共激情之间、在个人欲望与集体内疚之间、在对政权有保留的忠诚与民族主义情感之间的一种现代的情感博弈与妥协。

吕珏编译

The Emotional Cost of War: Women and the Politics of Dependency in Wartime Beijing

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To date, most studies on wartime inflation in China (1937-1949) have focused on its political consequences. Historians have argued that the economic crisis played a critical role in the demise of both the puppet regime under the Japanese occupation and the Nationalist regime, and contributed to the landslide communist victory in 1949. However, this paper attempts to shift the focus of analysis from the master history of political economy to exploring the emotional cost of war and wartime economic crisis. Relying on ethnographic accounts presented in criminal case files, the paper focus on lower-class women's personal experiences with runaway inflation and wartime shortages. It studies how their strategies of survival affected their understandings of the household economy and their interpretation of the family roles of husband and wife. I argue that economic hardship reinforced the hierarchical pattern of household authority that designated the man as the provider and the woman as the dependent. Desperate housewives in war-torn Beijing made use of the hierarchical pattern to justify their desertion to the court; they blamed men for not fulfilling their role as the family's breadwinner. In other words, women resorted to the "traditional language" of hierarchy and reciprocity to justify their transgressive behavior. In the end, the paper argues that wartime miseries and trauma eventually helped the newly established Communist authority promote its ideal of marriage and the family that were built on women's productive labor, the domestic mutual support, and the economic recovery under the socialist political order.

战乱时期北京的妇女、家庭、和经济危机

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二战和国共内战时期的北京经历了前所未有的经济危机，恶性通货膨胀和物资短缺严重动摇了城市的政治和经济秩序。迄今为止，历史学家们大多集中研究经济危机所引发的政治变革，他们强调失控的通货膨胀直接导致日伪政权和国民党政权的瓦解，成为共产党革命的经济和政治基础。本文试图超越这种宏观的政治叙事，从家庭和两性关系的文化角度，解读战乱引发的社会危机和情感创伤。依靠司法审判档案，本文着眼下层妇女眼中的战乱和经济危机，通过研究妇女的生存手段，发掘战乱是如何影响她们对家庭经济结构、抚养责任、和夫妻关系的理解。恶化的经济状况和生存危机强化了不平等的家庭经济结构，即丈夫承担抚养责任，妇女成为家庭经济的附庸。但是，妇女的依附地位并没有保障她们的物质生活。战乱和经济危机破坏了以男性为中心的传统家庭经济结构。从妇女离家出走的案件中可以看到，妇女将抚养视为一种男性责任，从而将家庭破裂的责任推给濒临破产的丈夫。战乱造成的情感创伤和婚姻家庭危机成为战后共产党妇女动员的文化基础和心理准备，新生的共产党政权将经济重建，特别是妇女参加生产，视为社会主义婚姻家庭的重要基础。

PANEL II

Dialectics of Retreat and Return: Spatial Imagination between the Mainland and Taiwan in the 1950s

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In 1949, with the power of the Communists growing across the mainland, the Nationalists retreated to Formosa to preserve their remaining forces. Since then, the strait between the mainland and the island has cut one nation into two, with both claiming China. The absolute physical division of national space did not obstruct them from imagining each other, across a short passage of time and little distance. Besides sporadic military conflict, the confrontation between the Nationalists and Communists continued in the form of words instead of wars, but the battle in the literary field has been no less ferocious than in the field of arms. Both Taiwan and the mainland nourished the profligacy of propaganda literature, one that ran to millions of words in place of bullets assaulting one another. Both were disturbed by the imaginary coming of the enemy. Thus the factual spatial separation did not cut the psychological tie, no matter if it persisted in the form of interdependence or hatred. The Communist and Nationalist, despite the absence of the other in real life, lived in the shadow of each other's intimidating image. Both revolutionary-historical novels and anti-Communist fiction register the physical division of China, as well as the psychological consequences of the national divide, in their ostensible stance of being true to reality. In this article, by comparing revolutionary-historical novels and anti-Communist fiction, with Du Pengcheng's *Baowei Yan'an* (Guarding Yan'an, 1954) and Chen Jiying's *Chidi* (Red earth, 1955) as examples, I investigate how the spatial imagination across the strait between the mainland and Taiwan operated on the level of narrative and how this imagination reflected and embodied the psychological repercussions of the split in 1949.

撤退与回归之辩证法：1950年代大陆与台湾文学中的空间想像

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1949年以后，随着共产党政权在大陆的稳固与壮大，国民党退居台湾以自保。此后两个政权隔海对峙，均宣称是中国的唯一合法代表。地理上的隔绝并没有阻碍两岸之间相互想像。除了零星的武装冲突之外，唇枪舌剑替代了流血的战争，不过激烈的程度没有丝毫减弱。海峡两岸共同催生了用于宣传目的的文学作品，枪弹不复存在，代之以口诛笔伐。无论是相互依赖或者是剑拔弩张，空间分离并未断绝心里上的联系。虽然双方没什么接触，但是国共两党生活在对方的阴影之下。无论是大陆的革命历史小说，还是台湾的反共文学，都体现了两岸空间上的隔绝和由此产生的心理反映。本文以杜鹏程的《保卫延安》与陈纪滢的《赤地》为例，讨论两岸之间空间的想像如何在叙述的层面展开，以及这样想象如何体现1949年两岸分离造成的心理震荡。

Joohee Suh 编译

Murder after Death: Displacement, Demobilization and Violence in the Transition from Wartime to Postwar in Taiwan

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One Sunday evening in the early spring of 1959, the wife of a Catholic parish leader returned from church to the Wenhua New Village military community (*juancun* 眷村) in Taichung, Taiwan. She discovered her home ransacked and the female servant drowned in the kitchen cistern. After some days of community fear and wild rumor, the police determined that the unfortunate victim had surprised a planned robbery conducted by a ring of demobilized soldiers and other young unemployed mainlanders. In the well-publicized trial and sentencing that followed, the Nationalist state took the power of enacting violence that it had once granted to the men as armed forces and wielded it against them in the form of the threatened death penalty. In this light, the case crystallizes the problems of military mobilization and demobilization, and the alleged transition from “hot” international and civil wars to “cold” political war that was meant to have taken place by 1959 but was still in question in this year of the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis. The Wenhua New Village murder also exposed rifts and cracks in the alleged cohesion of the Kuomintang regime of authority in Taiwan and in the community of displaced mainlanders -- as well as dissonance between them and locals they had displaced. Disparities of wealth and privilege; contrasts in local origins and resulting alliances; new institutional affiliations – ranging from religious groups to the military – that may have trumped locality; neighborhood dynamics: all were on display. With these variables behind it, the Wenhua New Village case raises the question: after thirty years of formal warfare and political terror in China and Taiwan, what meaning could be found in a single act of violence, done by and among military people to a civilian woman?

死亡之后的再谋杀：台湾战后初期的流离、复员与暴力

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1959年早春的一个星期天的晚上，台湾台中县一个天主教教区领导的妻子从教堂回到了文化新村，这是从大陆撤退到台湾的国民党部队和家属居住的眷村。她发现家遭洗劫，女仆溺死在厨房水池中。在接下来的几天里，整个社区笼罩在恐惧与流言之中，警察认为这个不幸的受害者死于一起有计划的抢劫。凶手是复员军人和一些年轻失业的大陆人。在随后的公开审判中，国民党政府判处凶手死刑。此案展示了军人动员与复员的问题，还有从武装的国际、国内战争转向从1959年开始的以政治宣传为主的冷战。文化新村的谋杀案也显示了岛内人民和大陆撤退来台军民内部的分裂。富裕与特权阶级的突出，本省與外省的对立，外来宗教与台湾本地宗教的对抗，到军事统治对台湾本地居民的绝对统治等问题都因文化新村一案而凹陷出来。一桩由军人对平民妇女实施的暴力案件，如何帮助我们进一步了解经历了三十年战乱和政治恐怖的大陆和台湾社会？

章闻韶编译

Chou Lan-ping and “Green Island Serenade”

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“Green Island Serenade” composed by Chou Lan-ping and written by Pan Yingjie in 1954, is a Mandarin pop masterpiece in Taiwan. From a music history point of view, “Green Island Serenade” marked a turning point in the development of Mandarin pop songs in Taiwan, for it was the first Mandarin pop song made by Taiwanese, the first pop album recorded in Taiwan, and the first Mandarin pop song to be received in Southeast Asia. In terms of social development, this song had also trained the first generation of post-war Taiwan Mandarin singers and promoted the development of Taiwan’s recording industry. In its ability to appeal to non-Mandarin speaking groups in Taiwan, such as the Hakka, “Green Island Serenade” also reflects the psychological adjustments that the mainland immigrant population and the indigenous population have had to make towards each other. Although it is considered to be simply a popular ditty of the markets, “Green Island Serenade” also gives a deep reflection on the countless changes taking place in Taiwan during the 1950s. This article examines this by looking at four different aspects. First, this article will take a brief look at Lan-ping’s life. In particular it will look at what motivated him to compose “Green Island Serenade.” Next, it will look at the “Green Island Serenade’s” spread in popularity first in Taiwan, then Hong Kong, the Philippines, and finally Malaysia. It will look at the song’s progress from being broadcast on the radio to becoming an album and later showing at various concerts throughout Asia. Finally, there will be an in-depth analysis of the song “Green Island Serenade” itself. From the lyrics we can see the Pan Yingjie’s ideals for a Taiwanese utopia clearly expressed. In looking at the song we can see Chou Lan-ping’s ability to keep the melody consistent while at the same time introducing variations.

Translated by Jesse Moll

周藍萍與《綠島小夜曲》傳奇

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《綠島小夜曲》由周藍萍作曲，潘英傑作詞，1954年夏天完成，是臺灣國語流行歌曲的代表作之一。由臺灣音樂史的角度來看，《綠島小夜曲》是二戰結束國府遷臺以後，第一首純由臺灣人創作的流行歌曲，第一首灌錄成唱片的流行歌曲，第一首向東南亞輸出的國語流行歌曲，因而此曲被視作臺灣國語流行歌曲發展的分水嶺。由社會發展的角度看，此曲培養了紫薇等戰後臺灣第一代的國語歌星，促進了臺灣唱片工業的發展。此曲也提昇了臺灣部分閩客等非國語族群聽眾對於國語歌曲的欣賞喜愛，反映了戰後遷臺新移民對於這個避亂來棲的福爾摩沙之島有了落地生根的溫暖想像，其中牽涉了更深一層的戰後不同族群各自的心理調適與彼此的試探交流，由此而言，《綠島小夜曲》雖是一首街市流行小曲，卻頗能蘊涵時代變遷的家國大義，值得深入追索。本文將由以下四個層面切入：首先建構周藍萍生平概略，特別著重於創作《綠島小夜曲》的動機經過。其次梳理《綠島小夜曲》如何由廣播而唱片，如何流行於臺灣，如何輸出香港、菲律賓、馬來西亞等地的歷程，並嘗試臚列各種演唱的版本及演唱者。其三則就《綠島小夜曲》的詞、曲兩者深入分析，由詞可以看出作詞人潘英傑對於臺灣有一種世外桃源的想像，由曲則可以看出周藍萍在五聲音階為主的優美旋律中蘊藏了迴環往復的參差變化，手法高妙。

PANEL III

Beyond the Eye of Violence: Mediating Visuality, Translating Trauma

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This paper attempts to answer the question of the comparability of trauma, and thus of the translatability of theories of trauma, through an alternative approach. Instead of using examples from Chinese contexts to confirm or contest the validity of theoretical approaches to trauma, I will use a genealogy of reflections on visually mediated trauma in Chinese culture as the basis for thinking about undertheorized aspects of the link between visuality and violence. My paper will construct a genealogy of what I call tentatively a displacement of visually mediated trauma, i.e. moments in which not the witnessing of trauma, but rather the witnessing of the witnessing of trauma becomes crucial to reflections on violence and ethics, as well as on mediality, modernity, and cultural difference. This visual trauma of the “second order” manifests itself, most famously, in Lu Xun’s frequently discussed scene in the preface to *Nahan (Call to Arms)* of looking at a lantern slide of the execution of an alleged Chinese spy by the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese war. The scene of a doubly and triply mediated scene of trauma—of not only looking at violence, but actually of looking at others looking at violence—recurs in Chinese cinema at crucial moments, especially in representations of Chinese being executed by the Japanese during the Second Sino-Japanese war, as in Zhang Yimou’s *Hong gaoliang (Red Sorghum 1987)* and, more recently, Lu Chuan’s *Nanjing! Nanjing! (City of Life and Death 2009)*. I will analyze these scenes of doubly displaced and visually mediated trauma with a view to thinking differently about trauma, its tie to visuality and mediality, and its representability, or, indeed translatability.

暴力视域之外：透过视觉媒介来翻译创伤

Andrea Bachner

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本文将试图用新的方式解读创伤的可比性以及创伤理论的可译性。本文并不旨在用中国文化语境中的例子来证实或挑战创伤理论的有效性，而是将中国文化中对以视觉为媒介对创伤的反思为基础来思考视觉与暴力的联系。本文将构建一个暂名为“以视觉为媒介对创伤的呈现”的理论谱系。作者关注的并非是对创伤的见证，而是见证对创伤的见证，并认为后者是反思暴力，伦理，媒介，现代性，和文化差异的关键。这个“二次”（second order）视觉创伤在鲁迅的《呐喊》序言中对观看关于中国特务在日俄战争中被日本人处决的幻灯片的描述中有突出表现。这些表现暴力和表现对暴力的观看的场面在中国拍摄的关于第二次中日战争的电影中反复出现。张艺谋的《红高粱》和陆川的《南京！南京！》便是两个例子。本文将对把创伤二次位移和视觉化的电影场面进行分析，并试图获得对创伤与视觉媒介的联系，以及创伤的可呈现性有进一步的认识。

谭彦冰编译

Crossing the River Twice: Re-enacting Civil War Battles and the Founding of PRC Documentary

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In this paper, I identify the founding moment of PRC newsreel and documentary in a Sino-Soviet co-production entitled *Victory of the Chinese People*, a color documentary film directed by the Soviet Union's most prized war filmmaker Lenoid Varlamov and completed in 1950. The film started production on the very day of the founding of the PRC, and in the subsequent eight months, it mobilized tens of thousands of PLA soldiers and spent a large amount of real cannon balls and bullets to re-enact all four "great battles" in the Chinese civil war, despite the fact that all these battles had been filmed in *real time* and on the *real* battlegrounds by CCP filmmakers just months before. Through a shot-by-shot comparison between this film's representation of the battles and the Chinese filmmakers' real-time newsreel footage, I argue that the adoption of the Soviet theory and practice of "re-enactment" in the making of "Victory of the Chinese People" laid the foundation for a PRC newsreel and documentary practice that relied on mass re-enactments and military mobilizations to make history intelligible to the mind's eye. Furthermore, re-enactments of past victories shaped popular imaginations and cinematic enactments of future victories, particularly in the Great Leap Forward, where the practice of "Documenting the Future" moved the documentary genre further into the realm of fiction, and aspirations into the realm of fantasy.

二次渡河：再现国共内战与中华人民共和国纪录片的创立

钱颖

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本文以1950年中苏合拍的获奖电影《中国人民的胜利》为例来鉴定中华人民共和国新闻影片和纪录片的创立时间。该片制作始于中华人民共和国建立的特殊时刻，并且在随后的八个月中鼓舞了成千上万的中国人民解放军士兵。该片耗费了大量的实炮和实弹来重演内战中的“四大战役”，而事实上中国共产党的电影制片人早在数月前，在第一时间真实记录了这些战役。通过将这部中苏合拍的再现历史的影片和中国摄影师的新闻影片胶片进行分镜头对比，我认为《中国人民的胜利》一片采用了苏联理论和“再现”的手法，依靠大规模实景再现和军事动员使历史事件变得清晰易懂，这些做法最终成为中国新闻影片和纪录片的基础。另外，再现过去的胜利塑造了大众想象，也影响了日后对重大历史事件的再现方式，在接下来的大跃进等运动中，纪录片逐渐脱离了记录历史和现实，而开始虚构现实，最终演变成一种对虚幻世界的冲动。

陈博翼编译

War, Political Violence, and Chinese Military Artists in the Age of Globalization

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In commemorating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Liu Haisu Art Museum in Shanghai, on June 1, 2009, put together what is known as the "Art Exhibition for Red Memory", featuring the works of 30 painters from the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA). Forming a special group within the Performing Arts Division of the PLA, these painters have been highly influential in promoting the national and political ideology of the Chinese Communist Party. In this exhibition there are two generations represented. The first generation of PLA painters, having lived through the May Fourth Movement, World War II, and the Cultural Revolution, represent an era where art and politics were closely intertwined, a phenomenon that the author refers to as "red politics." The first generation's memories of red politics, referred to as "red memory", something that they supported and were later victimized by, are etched into every facet of their paintings. The other works featured at the Red Memory Exhibition come from the second generation of PLA painters. Starting their careers in the 1990s, this new generation's paintings are markedly different from those of their predecessors. Not having to deal with the strong political censorship characteristic of the Mao era, the second generation has eagerly looked toward recent trends within Western painting for artistic inspiration. Furthermore, the second generation is known less for its emphasis on "red politics" and more for its focus on subjective visual imagination.

Translated by Jesse Moll

“红色记忆”与“视觉想象”：在战争与政治暴力中走向国际的中国军旅画家

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2009年7月1日，为庆典中华人民共和国60周年纪念日的到来，30多位中国军旅画家集结于上海刘海粟美术馆，举办了“‘红色记忆’艺术邀请展”。军旅画家是中国军队建制中一个特殊的群体，即文艺兵种。在红色国家政治意识形态的宣传上，在军队捍卫国家政治及其权力方面起到了重要的意识形态的宣传作用。从上个世纪1919年的“五四”运动以来，历经抗战、内战、抗美援朝、文化大革命的洗礼，第一代军族画家在政治与艺术两个层面上铸成的双重身份，深得红色政治的宠爱，同时，也深受红色政治的愚弄。这一切都记忆在他们作品的表现形式与内容中。然而，从上个世纪90年代到21世纪的现下，军旅画家在政治信仰与艺术诉求的双重身份上表现出分裂，他们对西方诸种艺术思潮的追求压倒了他们必须坚守政治信仰的努力。也就是说，不同于第一代军族画家的“红色记忆”，第二代军旅画家的“红色记忆”更具有他们这一代人的主体“视觉想象”。并且，他们在这个全球化的时代也以自己的记忆个性与记忆风格走向了国际画坛，在国际当代艺术界产生了巨大的影响。

KEYNOTE SPEECH

“禁忌文本”的产生及其解读

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米兰·昆德拉在其小说《不朽》中说，在今天让千万人惊心动魄的事件，到了明天，一切都会变得模糊不清，最终会被消灭得干干净净。昆德拉所指的是1968年苏联坦克入侵布拉格事件，他的小说对于民族集体遗忘的本能做了反思。人文学科之所以被人类创建起来，正是为了人类与自身的遗忘本能抗争，人文学科坚持真相，就是要为后人保留一个类似庞贝遗址似的“人类博物馆”。但从本质上说，这种抗争也是徒劳的。今人站在庞贝废墟之上，站在博物馆里陈列的从废墟里出土的古文明遗物或艺术品之前，并不能真正恢复火山爆发瞬间给人们带来的震撼与恐惧。于是，我们还是要寄希望于文学，我们只能通过艺术想象来唤起对当时事件的惊心动魄之感受。感受无法复原，永远属于当下，但想象却可以追溯得很远。现代大陆与台湾的历史上都经历过许多暴力事件，但是在集权统治下无法给予正常的表述，因此，文学创作就担当了拒绝遗忘、保留历史真实感受的责任。因为集权统治者对于意识形态有严密控制，文学文本不可能自由表达历史真相，它只能用隐晦的文学形象来暗示，作家不得不在创作中运用形象思维给以曲折的表达，形成了具有特殊意义的文本。本文把这类特殊文本称为“禁忌文本”，即在某种禁忌下出现的力图表达“禁忌”的文学文本。通过分析若干禁忌文本，探讨海峡两岸的文学是如何表达政治禁忌。

Tabooed Texts: Their Production and Decoding

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Milan Kundera says in his novel *Immortality* that, events that shake us up today may soon fade tomorrow and eventually evaporate to nothingness. What Kundera was talking about was the 1968 Prague invasion by the Soviet Union, and his novel is a reflection on a nation's instinct to forget. The establishment of humanistic studies is precisely an attempt to fight against such forgetting, and in its truth seeking to build a "Humanities Museum," much akin to the Pompeii historical site. But even such endeavors are essentially for naught. People today visit museums to look at civilizations' remnants or stand on the site of the City of Pompeii, but the splendor and awe of the volcanic eruptions that buried the City of Pompeii can never be seen again. So we still have to rely on literature. Only through literary imageries are we able to imagine the ancient. Both mainland China and Taiwan have suffered many a brutal incident in recent history. Under their respective authoritarian rules people were not allowed freedom of speech, and literature becomes the only vehicle through which historical truth can be preserved and forgetting can be resisted. But because of censorship policies, writers can only use subtle narrative techniques to suggest and imply, hence creating intricate texts full of metaphorical and symbolic hidden meanings. I call such texts as "tabooed texts" because they are produced under strictly censored environments. It is by analyzing the "taboo" in the texts that will allow us a better understanding of how politically censored topics are examined and reflected by writers across the Taiwan Strait.

Translated by Lingchei Letty Chen

PANEL IV

War, Forgetting and Remembering

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The Civil War in China ended sixty years ago. Those who remember it are now elderly. The war was a mean, dreadful time. For some people the end of the war meant liberation, for others total loss, for most Chinese it was something in between. There have been some great events of commemoration – the crossing of the Yangzi, Mao Zedong’s address from Tiananmen – but much of the war, whatever people felt about the outcome, was a period bitter, the losses so great that they were not to be remembered. For a long while the memories of the war were closed down, buried, apparently forgotten – but they were there to be recovered. This paper starts with an examination of the process of forgetting, and the reasons the memories of many of the experiences of the war – deaths, loss, separations – had to be shut down, until much later. The paper goes on to look at the retrieval of memory in the recent past through memoirs, historical analysis, and in public memory. Memory is capricious, unpredictable, given to exaggeration, but seldom completely false. For the civil war there is a dearth of other materials, making a reliance on memory to recover the period more significant than it might be for other periods.

战争、遗忘、和记忆

Diana Lary

不列颠哥伦比亚大学历史系

中国的内战在六十年之前结束了。如今还会想起内战的人大都步入晚年。这是一场非常可怕的战争。对于有些人来说，内战的结束意味着解放，对于另一些人来说是彻底的失败，而对于大多数的中国人而言，内战的结果介于两者之间。内战期间有一些值得纪念的伟大事件：比如百万雄师过大江、毛泽东在天安门城楼上的讲话；但是不管人们对内战结果的感觉如何，战争总是非常残酷的，人们蒙受的损失是如此巨大而不堪回首。在很长一段时间里，关于内战的记忆受到封藏、埋葬，几乎被整个彻底遗忘了。但是这些记忆仍可被重新唤起。本文将首先讨论人们对内战遗忘的过程，以及为何许多关于战争的记忆如何因死亡、失去和分离而被隐藏。接而本文将通过讨论回忆录、历史分析和公众记忆来分析这些记忆被追回的过程。记忆或许是多变、难以预料、易于被夸大，但记忆很少是完全错误的。因为关于内战的材料缺乏，所以记忆成了了解这一个时期不可或缺的重要材料。

Clarissa Polk (浦可兰) 编译

Literature as Testimony: Generational Remembering of the Mao Years

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In the decades following Mao's death which ended the Cultural Revolution, we see a generational remembering of the Mao era, beginning with the scar literature and continuing in nearly concurrent and subsequent literary trends like the root-seeking (*xungen*), the educated-youth (*zhiquing*), the prison-wall (*daqian*), the self-reflective (*fansi*), and the avant-garde (*xianfeng*) literature. Considering for a moment of these labels – it is not difficult to discern that the Maoist legacies are the underlying preoccupation underlying the post-Mao literary development. The first-generation of writer-survivors whose prolific literary works on the Maoist past help to create what Eva Hoffman calls “an era of memory.” This undertaking has been continued by the child survivors of the 1.5 generation in their postmemorial writings of their childhood and early adolescence. The connectedness of the memory of the survivors and the postmemory of the child survivors produce a powerful collective testimony to a traumatic past that has had affected millions and millions of Chinese. In this paper I argue for treating the body of literature by writers of the first-generation of survivors and those of the 1.5 generation of child survivors as literature of testimony. I place emphasis on bearing witness by these two generations of writers because I believe such an emphasis can help manifest “the ethics of remembrance in the aftermath of catastrophe.”

文学與见证：兩代人的“紅色记忆”

陳綾琪

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當今中國中生代作家全都是在毛時期出生長大的。不同年齡層者經歷過不同的政治運動與社會動亂——從土改到反右，到大躍進及三年飢荒，再到文革。這兩代作家的早年記憶對他們後來的文學創作有極深刻的影響。的確，當代中國作家有不少人常拿個人對過去的記憶作為寫作靈感的源頭，如韓少功，張賢亮，王安憶，莫言，蘇童，格非，余華等常拿個人對少年或是童年的記憶來做他們小說創作的題材。在當今記憶學研究理論中，對在不同年齡所累積的特殊記憶（如對戰爭，暴力，動亂等歷史性事件）有不同的區分。比如在文革前後出生長大，如前面所提的數位知名作家，他們要不是在文革中度過青年期（大約十五歲以後），要不度過兒童期（大約十一歲以前）。這兩個人生階段的記事能力，前者因為摻有個人的歷練，所以是一般所稱的“記憶”。而後者因為沒有個人參與的經驗參雜在內，再加上年紀小，所以學者定義其為“後記憶”，主要是因為這種記憶本身是零碎，片面，模糊，懵懂的，當多年後回憶起來時，往往需要靠相當的想象力來填補記憶中的空缺。在書寫上就更需依靠敘述技巧來再現這種片斷的記憶。但不論是記憶還是後記憶，對於它們的書寫都是一種對歷史創傷的紀錄。文學因此就是見證，而當代中國文學更是對毛時期的種種重大創傷與災難的續代見證。我相信唯有如此看待文學的見證功能，才有可能建立對重大災難記憶的倫理觀。

Memories of the Future in Contemporary Chinese and Sinophone Fictions

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A number of contemporary and Sinophone fictions bear witness to/against the past with recourse to writing about the future. In this presentation, I survey a few stories from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan that link memory not to the past but to the future. From the perspective of the future anterior, these stories form the anticipatory dimension of memory. However, these “anticipatory memories” are not necessarily unfounded. They are revived versions of those impressions called up by the imagination in the absence of the events that originally stimulated them. Simply put, they are “reflections on the past for the future” (*jianwang zhilai*). Some of these reflections appear in the guise of utopian fiction, and others in realist fashion, and still others a combination of both. To the extent that these stories may not all adhere to political correctness or abide by official guidelines, they add to our ideas of history and memory as narrative construct.

当代华语小说中关于未来的记忆

蔡建鑫

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在当代的华语文学中有不少小说以书写未来的方式来见证过去。本文分析的作品来自中国大陆，台湾和香港。它们将回忆与未来建立起联系。这些作品中的未来视角构建出记忆的“预知性”层面。这些预知性记忆并非凭空而来，而是源自已有的感受，但是激发这些感受的本来事件此时已经变得无关紧要了。简单的说，这些记忆书写“鉴往知来”。本文涉及的作品风格各异，或为乌托邦式幻想，或呈写实主义风格，或幻想写实合一。这些作品不附和官方话语，不图谋政治正确性，但对历史和回忆的叙事性做出了新的注解。

谭彦冰编译

Narration and Remembrance in Post-Cold War South Korean Literature

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In post-1945 Korea, the scale of “memory crisis” – a search for new ways to remember and commemorate the past and to situate oneself in history—connected deeply to the dominant literary tradition of Realism. Under decades of repressive dictatorships that authored a monolithic official history, readers sought a “true” story in literary works, and many Korean writers (the majority of them male) assumed duty as “historians” through their realist works. Such works, rich with historical allegory, thus functioned as archives of collective memories, and were understood as true stories of “us”. In the 1990s, after camaraderie created in opposition to political oppression suddenly evaporated, many searched for new narrative forms and modes to reflect the problems of individuals in post- and super-modernity. Against this backdrop, this paper focuses on literary works produced after the end of Cold War that deal with direct and indirect trauma from the Korean War, ideological divides between North and South Korea, and repressive regimes of the 1970s and 80s. While I explore some of the issues engaging fundamentals in Memory studies such as memory’s ownership as a contrast between personal and collective, I also examine how construction of narrative space coincides with the memory building process. Where a default notion of memory imagines time as continuous and linear, some of the chosen works invite reflection on spatial dimensions of remembering by disrupting an assumed “flow” of time, and thus its foundation for connecting past and present. Eventually, this project attempts to describe the poetics of the 1990s as they inscribe Post-Cold War literature in South Korea.

冷战后韩国文学的叙事与回忆

李志殷

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1945年以后的韩国，“记忆危机”与现实主义文学传统之间有极深的联系。在几十年官方历史撰写专制高压下，读者往往会在文学作品中企图寻求“真相”，因此许多韩国作家（其中多数为男性）便透过他们的现实主义作品承担了“历史学家”的责任。这些作品富于历史寓意，因而具有像集体记忆档案一样的作用，并往往被理解成真实的“我们”的故事。在1990年代，政治压迫不复存在，许多作家便开始寻求新的叙述形式来反映个人在后现代性和超现代下所面对的种种问题。在此背景下，本文关注于冷战结束后产生的文学作品。这些作品直接或间接地处理朝鲜战争、南北朝鲜在意识形态上的分离以及专制政权在1970年代和80年代造成的精神创伤。与此同时我将探讨一些与记忆研究有关如比较个人记忆和集体记忆的辩证关系。另外我也将探讨记忆在建构的过程中如何同时建构叙事空间。有一些对于记忆的预设概念是透过想象时间是线性移动的，另一些选定的作品则通过扰乱预设的时间“流”来引发记忆空间维度上的反思，因而也动摇了连接过去和现在的基础。

陈博翼编译

PANEL V

Romanticizing Violence: The War Memory of “Literature of the Seventeen Years”

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There is a general tendency to glorify violence in "Literature of the Revolutionary War" (革命战争题材文学) of China from 1949 to 1966. For the justification of the revolution, it is important to sanctify violence as heroism. The description of killing and death is not to trigger people's fear of violence, nor is it to cause their shock in the face of the destruction of life. Violence is often represented as the ultimate realization of class consciousness, and death is reprogrammed as revolutionary immortality. Yet this glorification takes many subtle forms for the better achievement of political goals and cultural needs. The strategy varies from Sun Li's avoidance of direct description of war, to Ru zhijuan's poeticizing of sacrifice in their war fictions. There are underlying rules for the description of violence in revolutionary literature of that time. It has to be clean, simplified, indirect, ungraphic, and without obsession to details. There are times when these rules are occasionally broken, as in Feng Deying's *Ku Cai Hua* (苦菜花), which is too graphic toward violence, and it is labeled as "naturalism". In this way, violence is romanticized along with the repression of its bully and people's trauma, and served as the remedy of violence itself.

浪漫的暴力：大陆“十七年文学”中的战争记忆

严峰

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1949年至1966年大陆的“革命战争题材文学”中普遍存在一种美化暴力的倾向。为了表现暴力的合理性，将暴力神圣化为一种英雄主义变得尤为重要。对杀戮和死亡的描述不是为了引起人们对暴力的恐惧，也不是为了使他们面对生命的毁灭时感到惊诧。暴力常被表现为阶级意识的最终形成，而死亡也被改编成一种革命的永生。但是为了更好地达到当时的政治和文化需要，暴力的神圣化采取了许多微妙的表现形式。从孙犁对直接描绘战争场面的回避到茹志鹃诗化的战争小说，其表现策略各不相同。然而革命文学题材的暴力描写有一共同的原则：对暴力的描写必须是纯粹的、简单化的、间接的、无画面的，并且不着力于细节。在一些偶然情况下，这个原则也会被打破，比如冯德英的《苦菜花》以其对暴力画面的过度描写而被赋予“自然主义”的标签。由此，被浪漫化的暴力压制了暴力的残酷和带给人们的创伤，并最终成为对暴力本身的救赎。

吕珏编译

In the Shadow of Violence: “Inward-Look” in Three Chinese Novels

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When the shadow of violence lurks in the wake of social upheaval, people develop a desire for literature that provides them with comfort while they are in such a vulnerable state; they seek literature that provides refuge for their hearts. This essay discusses the significance and limitations of this type of literature by examining three literary works published after the Cultural Revolution. In the first piece, Yu Hua’s “On the Road at Eighteen,” the narrator finally takes the refuge in a broken down truck to hide his wounded self from the exterior society. It symbolizes an attempt to flee from the public sphere to an imagined place of refuge. The second piece is A Cheng’s “The King of Chess”. It shows one’s quest for refuge through deep involvement with the outward society. Rather than a scholarly speculation, the narrator finds refuge in and becomes self-enlightened through his relationships with people at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The third piece is Ba Jin’s *Random Thoughts*. Unlike most Cultural Revolution narratives, Ba Jin’s work explicitly records how the Cultural Revolution has encroached on the depths of people’s heart and their views of the world. Each of these three works offered a different way for the heart to seek refuge and recovery while being confronted with the unfathomable trauma that was the Cultural Revolution.

Translated by Lü Jue (吕珏)

在暴力的阴影下：以三部作品讨论“回向内心”的文学

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在动乱过后，暴力的阴影还未消散，人们自然会产生一种“回向内心”（归趋、持守、修复）的文学。本文选择三部“文革”后的作品，讨论“回向内心”的文学的限制及其意义。《十八岁出门远行》是作家余华先锋时期的代表作之一。小说中描写的外部世界充斥着荒诞、背叛和暴力，“我”曾经做过抗争，但都失败了，失败就封存了主体行动与抗争的意义，“我”只有退回到自己的内心之中，在那里也只有在那里，“我”才是安全的。在阿城的小说《棋王》中，主人公以棋来摆脱物质环境的喧嚣而进入自由、自足的精神世界。《棋王》中的内心修为并不是“经院”式的，而是从同生活有关的具体问题的斗争中产生，与行进中的社会现实有着深刻扭结。内心的超越与求索在自我砥砺之后，再度打开，寻觅到了转化资源。“我”作为知识人/启蒙者，最终从王一生身上发现了真谛，这显然是个面向底层与民间的转变过程。巴金的《随想录》是一部“解剖自己心中的黑暗”的大书。与此相比，那些不关涉内心变动与劫难、不关涉内心伤痕的反思，实在显得浮浅。“文革”侵犯了人们的“内心深处”和“精神世界”，且创痛深巨，从此意义上说，新时期对心灵世界的修复，并非迂阔之举。

Underground Poetry during the Cultural Revolution

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During the Cultural Revolution, poems were the main channel of underground literature through which people testified, recorded, and preserved their experience by means of secretive manuscripts and oral transmissions. However, to what degree was this form of literature able to testify, record, and preserve the extreme condition of the time? The extreme condition that persisted throughout the era of the Cultural Revolution could be compared to a towering wall, lofty and impossible-to-cross, which rendered every language impotent and laughable, no matter how it would have been used in regular basis or even in official revolutionary literature. In this light, Czesław Miłosz, in *A Poetical Treatise*, describes the underground poems of wartime Poland as an expression of the mute who desperately struggles to make the sound that rises up from deep inside of his throat; however, no matter how he is eager to make the sound, there is no way to actually say something substantial. It was the noble intentions of the poems that decisively touched people's heart. In the vortex of fluctuating destinies that swept the whole China, the underground poets of the Cultural Revolution also experienced a certain transformation in their poetic expressions: from the glorious pinnacle to the eclipsed abyss. This paper examines the underground literature during the age of the Cultural Revolution from the perspective of self-consciousness that poets developed in their choice of language, focused on how they dealt with the extreme condition that was completely out of their control, and as a result of this, how they achieved the innovations that transcended previous linguistic boundary.

Translated by Joohee Suh

語言的登峰和探底——文革時期地下詩歌研究的一個視角

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在中國文化大革命時期，詩歌是地下文學的主要體裁，大多以秘密手稿或口頭背誦的方式流傳，發揮了見證、記錄和保存歷史的價值，可是，這些詩歌在多大意義上見證、記錄和保存了那一代人的極端處境呢？文革時代的極端處境就像一堵高高聳立的牆，強大突兀，無法逾越，在它面前，一切既定的常規語言，而不僅僅是官方的革命語言，都顯得無力和可笑。這種詩歌語言的困境，正如米沃什（Czesław Miłosz, 1911-2004）在《詩的見證》中描述戰時波蘭的地下詩歌所說：“在較深層次上，它表現得像個啞巴，徒勞地試圖從其喉嚨裡擠出一點聽得懂的聲音；極度渴望發言，卻無法成功傳達任何實質性的東西。它們作為詩流傳下來，打動我們，多半是因為詩人高貴的意圖。在個人命運的沉浮之中，文革時期的地下詩人或深或淺都經歷了某種語言的曆煉：從光明的峰頂落入黑暗的深淵。本文試圖從詩人對語言的自覺意識入手，考察文革時期的地下詩歌，如何面臨超出自己能力的極端處境，探測和觸摸語言邊界的各種嘗試。

PANEL VI

Financing Empire in Southwest China: Land, Commerce, and Local Society, 1680-1750

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This paper examines Qing (1636-1912) expansion into China's southwest border region (the provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou) beginning with the defeat of Wu Sangui's (1612-1678) rebellious Zhou forces in 1681, and concluding in 1750 with the Qianlong (r. 1736-1796) emperor's reversal of many of the interventionist policies endorsed during the preceding Kangxi (r. 1661-1722) and Yongzheng (r. 1723-35) reigns. I argue Qing expansion into the southwest was determined by its ability to appropriate and exploit the region's vast natural resources. Qing control of the copper, silver, salt, tea and timber industries was critical to state success, as was establishing oversight of the lucrative transnational and transregional trade networks with Tibet, Burma, and Vietnam. Central to this study, however, is an analysis of the Qing state's land reclamation policy (*kaiken*) in the southwest. I am interested in how the implementation of this policy changed over time (1680 to 1750) and space (not all areas in the southwest were equally amenable to land reclamation), how Qing officials assigned to the southwest adapted state policy to local conditions, and most important, how this land reclamation policy and the state's appropriation of other natural resources impacted the non-Chinese indigenous to this border region. The Yi uprising in northeast Yunnan (1729-32) and the Miao uprising in southeast Guizhou (1734-36) were in large measure responses to an assertive Qing state.

帝国财政与西南扩张：土地、商业和地方战乱，1680—1750

John Herman

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本文考查清帝国在中国的西南边界地区（云南和贵州）的扩张，始于1681年平定吴三桂（1612—1678）叛乱，终于1750年乾隆皇帝（1736—1796）停止执行康熙（1661—1722）和雍正（1723—1735）统治时期实行的扩张政策。我认为清帝国在西南的扩张取决于其对区域广大自然资源侵占和开发利用的能力。政府对铜、银、盐、茶和木材工业的控制，以及对利润丰厚的西藏、缅甸和越南的跨国和跨界贸易网络的监督，都决定帝国的成败。本研究的核心实为清代国家在西南的土地开垦政策。我感兴趣的是扩张政策在时间（1680—1750）和空间中的转变（并非西南所有的地区都需要土地开垦），派驻西南的清朝官员如何因地制宜地调整国家政策，以及更重要的，土地开垦政策与国家对其他资源的占有如何影响了当地的少数民族。发生在云南东北部的彝乱（1729—1732）和起于贵州东南的苗乱（1734—1736）是对一个扩张的清代国家巨大的回应。

陈博翼编译

Writing after Conquering: Visions in *The Qian Account*

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Local gazetteers and personal miscellaneous notes have given a lot of accounts on the history, culture and ethnic features of China's southwest. Not surprisingly, these texts often reveal on the one hand the gaze of the governing authority, which was driven by a combination of Confucian and Han Chinese forces, and on the other, the reflexive look on the Chinese "self." However, fictional works of expanded length that deal with the southwest are scarce. But the few works represent intriguing twists of cultural encounters and worldviews, probe into the depth of allegorical writing, and explore the potential for fictions to incorporate polyphonic characteristics. It is common to see in texts related to the southwest, notwithstanding their generic categories, mutually referential and competing discourses of history, legend, anecdote and imagination. In this paper I propose to study *Qian shu* (The Qian Account), written by Tian Wen, a high official who served as the Guizhou governor in the Kangxi reign, after the emperor conquered the region by military force. The book has been considered "a reference work for governing Guizhou." A close reading of it, however, will unveil how the author constantly confronted the generic formulas and challenged our expectations for a "book of government." In short, *The Qian Account* is permeated with aesthetic imagination, and at the same time reminds of the author's oscillation between the role of the conqueror's assistant and the taste of a poet. It is common that Han Chinese authors of the Ming-Qing period portrayed the people and culture of the southwest from a biased point-of-view, and recent scholarship has reflected on the question. In this paper I will not follow the step. I propose to look instead at the juncture where the author, the text and the genre meet.

書寫總在征服後：《黔史》的西南視野

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西南地方的歷史、人文與民族特色，中國歷代官方志書以及文人筆記中留下很多紀錄，這些文字往往透露中央政教、儒家思想與漢民族文化接觸他者時的眼神、以及回向自我的餘光。相對來說，虛構敘事的長篇小說就西南地方題材大幅發揮的例子，則屈指可數，而其中表現的文化接觸以及世界觀的扭轉，又自有寓意的深度，展開了小說容攝多音的特性。與西南地區有關的文本，不論其文類歸屬為史、為志、為記，或小說，都展現一個共同的特色，亦即歷史、傳說、見聞與想像虛構在同一話語體系中互參互證，又彼此競逐。故而這些文本雖似乎對西南文化的看法趨向一致，且在文字層次上出現許多重疊，但細膩的分析卻能展開時代、文類、個別文本與作者之間絲縷糾結的關係。在本文中，我將試著分析文類屬性不統一的著作，具體分析其敘寫黔地的方式，從而挑戰僵硬的文類觀，反思文本的多義可能。本文處理的著作，乃是由理黔大員田雯執筆，成書於康熙年間的「治書」《黔書》。田雯是清初政聲卓著的能臣，《黔書》的形式，初看表面則是以治黔手冊為名的官員筆記。然而若細審之，不難發現作者衝撞、模糊了他所採取之寫作形式的規範，挑戰了讀者的期待。可以說，《黔書》包裝為治書，卻瀰漫著審美的想像，透露作者在統治教化與文人趣味之間的游移。此類漢族文人對西南地方文化與民族的描寫，率皆以己視他，文化的偏見處處可見，幾一無例外，近年來的學術研究已做了許多反思，因此我不打算在此問題上著墨過多。本文討論的重點，將放在作者、文本與文類三者交會的火花之上。

Historian of a Poetic City: Chen Zuolin (1837-1920) and Nanjing's Post-Taiping Reconstruction

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As used in recent historical scholarship, the concept of “memory” calls attention to the variety of modes by which people store and express information about history. It therefore invites a series of questions about the ways particular actors have regarded their own pasts. How have they marked the passage of time? What have they seen as the monuments of their particular experiences or cultural heritage? How have they communicated to others their varied understandings of the past? To what extent have they termed their commemorative practices “history”? What, in short, were the media of their memories? For Chen Zuolin, the city of Nanjing was a central repository of the past, the preeminent site of memory. The utter devastation of the city in 1864 at the end of the Taiping War unmoored Chen, but he found in the process of rebuilding a way to assert new ideas about virtue, history, and politics. In the postwar period, Chen sought to revive the city’s poetic allure. Although Nanjing’s surface lacked the grandeur of Beijing or the beguiling confusion of Shanghai, its substance, Chen argued, made it as essential to a strong China. Nanjing’s bridges, canals, and buildings, however ordinary, each had a name and a story that Chen could incorporate into Nanjing’s already dense literary web. His detailed gazetteers of the city also proclaimed its recovery and recorded the efforts necessary to overcome the devastation of the Taiping War, and his selective presentation elided competing visions of the city (as missionary outpost, as treaty port, as railroad terminus, as subordinate to Beijing or Shanghai). He tried to show that Nanjing could stand at the center of the revival of the Qing polity, a font of wealth and power as well as a visible yet poetic monument to the virtues that would enable such a revival to take place.

诗化城市与历史学家：陈作霖与太平天国运动后南京城的重建

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近年来的历史研究广泛使用了“记忆”这一概念，这使我们开始关注人们储存和表现历史信息的不同模式。由此引发了一系列关于特定的历史人们如何看待过去的问题：如何标识时间的流逝？哪些事物可被视为他们特殊经历或者文化遗产的标志？他们怎么与别人交流对过去的不同理解？在何种程度上他们将这些交流称之为“历史”？简而言之，他们记忆的媒介是什么？对于陈作霖来说，南京是最重要的历史遗存。1864年，毁于太平天国战争的南京城使陈作霖感到迷茫，但是他发现重建南京可以成为一种革新道德、历史和政治的方式。在战后的岁月中，陈作霖努力寻求复兴南京城的诗意魅力。虽然南京城不具备北京的堂皇，也没有上海的魔幻，但是陈作霖认为正是南京的务实使其对建立强大的中国具有同样重要的意义。南京的桥梁、运河和建筑，无论多么普通，每一个都有特定的名字和故事，陈作霖可以将这些故事编织进南京本已繁密的文学网络之中。他的地方志构建起这样一个由许多彼此迥异的元素共同创造出财富与权力的社会。他为南京城详细描绘的图景记录了城市的复苏，以及人民为了克服太平天国运动的破坏所付出的努力，而同时他有选择性的记录也省略了一些与之矛盾的图景（比如南京可能是传教的前哨、不平等条约下的通商口岸、铁路终点站，以及从属于北京或上海之下的地位）。他试图证明南京可以成为清朝复苏的中心、繁荣富强的源泉。

Clarissa Polk (浦可兰) 编译

PANEL VII

Writing Trauma: Narratives of Sadness in *The Flowers of War* and *Nanjing Requiem*

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The horrible memory of the Nanjing Massacre left an irreversible injury in the mind of Chinese people; and unsurprisingly, it has been a central theme of a number of literary works and films. The recently published two novels, *The Flowers of War* by Yan Geling and *Nanjing Requiem* by Ha Jin, show serious descriptions of the distress and anguish Chinese people had to endure during this period of terror. Based on the analysis of these two novels, I aim to find some new elements of traumatic expressions and compare them with the narratives of tragedy revealed in previous literature. Both authors earned fame in Chinese literary world in mainland and overseas communities, with their unique perspectives to describe the atrocity of Nanjing. They focus on what happened within the domains of mundane life of people from different backgrounds, revealing the dark side of human nature. However, my analysis shows that they also display a clear weakness. Within the framework of tragic narrative centered on conveying nationalistic argument, these novels merely blame the foreign invaders for the suffering of the Chinese, without any serious discussion of nationalistic culture or history. With regard to the idea of national culture, in comparison with that of *Four Generations Living under One Roof* by Lao She, the two novels not only fail to further develop the topic but also retrogress backward. Furthermore, the episode of women in brothel, who attend the celebratory banquet of Japanese on behalf of female students, reveals an anachronistic viewpoint of sexual morality. Under a strong influence of a self-evident division of good and evil, as well as an epitomized description of political rivalry, these novels further lack an insightful pursuit and a deeper examination of human nature.

Translated by Joohee Suh

伤痛写作的是是非非：《金陵十三钗》、《南京安魂曲》中的悲情叙事

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1937年12月惨绝人寰的南京大屠杀给中国人的心灵上烙上了难以平复的伤痛，也成为文学影视作品展现的重心。近年来问世的严歌苓的《金陵十三钗》、哈金的《南京安魂曲》又一次浓彩重墨地展现了中华民族这一短时期内难以平复的创痛。我这里所要探索的是，和以前的伤痛写作文本相比，它增添了什么新的元素？两名蜚声海内外文坛的华裔作家技法精湛，以各自独特的视角展现了南京城蒙受的劫难，描绘了各色人等的生活境遇，或深或浅地触及了人性深处的黑洞。但细究之下，它的弱点也非常明显。与娴熟的文学技法相比，它们思想力度相对贫弱，没有超越前人的重大突破。在民族主义为主导的悲情叙事的框架内，它们没有对本民族的文化、历史进行深入的反思，只将悲剧归咎于外来的侵略者。和老舍《四世同堂》中对民族文化的反思相比，它不但没有拓展，反而倒退了一大步。而且《金陵十三钗》中对青楼女子替代学生出席日军庆功晚会这一情节设计反映出陈腐的性道德印记。在不容置疑的善恶观和政治图谱化的影响下，它们更缺乏对人性的深入探究与反省。

Chaos of War and “Poetic Representation of History”: Wen Tianxiang and *A Collection of Poetry by Du Fu*

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In Chinese literary history Du Fu’s poetry reflects the overall experience of the An Shi Rebellion (755-763) and lists the important events that happened during the chaos of the war. It describes the people’s suffering and gives a broad expression of society at that time. The spread of his writing during the war was an important event because it narrated the difficulties of ordinary people and opened society’s eyes to war using an extensive representation known as “epic poetic sagas.” This concept was first seen in Meng Qi’s Tale Poem. This paper argues that through the study of poetry, there existed a close relationship between “epic sagas” and the chaos of war. Five hundred years later Wen Tianxiang, imprisoned during the Yuan dynasty, created a poetic form consisting of four lines of five syllables. Using phrases from Du Fu under the title of *A Collection of Poetry by Du Fu*. This group of poems, through the manner of collected phrases, expressed his experience of war and his self-analysis of a dying dynasty at the end of the Song Dynasty. Because Wen’s poetic style is consistent with the poetry of Du Fu in its style and high degree of spirit, his poetry was regarded by later generations as “Wen Shan’s epic poetic sagas” (Wen Shan, an alternative name for Wen Tianxiang) and its poetic representation of history. The collection of 200 poems based on the poetry of Du Fu, artistically reflects Wen Tianxiang’s representation of literati’s collective state of mind during the Song period, as they faced the anguish of a dying dynasty and bitter war. Wen Tianxiang’s Du Fu collection is a poetic art tradition that possesses a rich connotation and combines traditional poetry with real events.

Edward Watson 编译

战乱与‘诗史’：文天祥《集杜诗》探析

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在中国文学史上，杜甫的诗歌因全面反映他经历的“安史之乱”，铺写战乱中的重要事件，叙述百姓苦难，展示战争中整个社会的广阔画卷，而被称为“诗史”。这一概念最早见于孟棻（敞）的《本事诗·高逸》：“杜所赠二十韵备叙其事。读其文，尽得其遗迹。杜逢禄山之难，流离陇蜀，毕陈于诗，推见至隐，殆无遗事，故当时号为‘诗史’。”此处实已经揭示出作为诗学观念的“诗史”与战乱存在着的密切关系。五百年后，文天祥在元人狱中创作了200首五言绝句，专集杜句而成，题为《集杜诗》，这组诗歌通过集句的方式抒写了他经历的宋末战乱和对亡宋的反思，因其与杜诗在形式和精神上的高度一致性，被后人誉为“文山诗史”（文天祥号“文山”，此称当自明人刘定之始）。这二百首集杜诗，艺术地反映出以文天祥为代表的宋季士大夫如何面对亡国之痛与战乱之苦，是诗艺传统与时事书写的结合体，具有丰富的内涵。

Remembering Revenge: Wu Jianren's *A History of Pain* and Late Qing Pessimism

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In the wake of the Boxer Uprising (1900-01), Wu Jianren (1866-1910) wrote *A History of Pain* (1903-06), a fictional narrative known to inspire nationalism among the late Qing readers. A close analysis of his revenge narrative, however, reveals a complicated historical pessimism, one that ultimately destabilizes his overarching nationalistic theme. Retelling the collapse of the Southern Song, the historical novel illustrates a series of violent acts during the Mongol invasion, particularly paying homage to loyalists while criticizing collaborators. This nationalist project demands the Chinese to rejuvenate their collective spirit, avenging the humiliating past and mobilizing for national salvation. In specific, Wu Jianren formulates narrative structure according to historical analogy, which he termed as “Borrowing the Past to See the Present.” His ambitious plan, however, becomes controversial considering the racial discourse prevalent at the end of imperial China. Accordingly, *A History of Pain* may play a role similar to the late Ming account “The Record of Ten Days in Yangzhou,” which functioned as a work of anti-Manchism. Meanwhile, the illustrations of violence suggest layered meanings which transcend both Han Chinese nationalism and Manchu loyalism. At the end of the Qing Empire, Wu Jianren witnessed the violence repeatedly taking place—especially through the dynastic cycle. This recognition testifies to the Chinese origins of the bloody competition among political factions. Consequently, Wu Jianren’s nationalism develops into a moral criticism in which he had no choice but to fabricate the details in official dynastic histories. Before the imminent dynastic collapse, Wu Jianren sought measures to take revenge on the unjust history. Through fictional narrative, however unrealistic, he fortified his moral critique.

記住仇恨：吳趸人的《痛史》與晚清歷史悲觀主義

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義和團運動結束不久，吳趸人寫了《痛史》以激發晚清讀者的民族主義意識。但是對其中復仇故事的具體分析展現了歷史悲觀主義的複雜性。該悲觀主義甚至暗中顛覆了作者所提倡的民族主義主題。該歷史小說重寫了南宋王朝的滅亡，並描寫了蒙古外族侵略所帶來的種種暴力行徑。作者對南宋忠臣表示格外的尊崇，而對通敵者進行嚴肅批評。《痛史》所表達的民族主義意在於激發中國人的精神革命，為過去痛楚的歷史雪恥，進而推動當下國家的救亡活動。在故事結構方面，吳趸人運用歷史類推法，即他所命名的“借古鑒今”。然而他的文本策略有引起爭議的可能，因為《痛史》處在晚清流行的反滿思想之大環境中。因此，人們傾向於將《痛史》與晚明的紀錄《揚州十日記》中的排滿思想相聯系。同時，對暴力的描述傳達了多重含義，其中一些超越了漢族民族主義和大清愛國主義。明清之際，明遺民文人形成了歷史悲觀主義意識。在他們看來，王朝的更替不一定意味著有“德”明君的出現。時至清末，吳趸人再次目睹了王朝循環往復過程中的暴力場面。這一認識證實了中國有史以來政治派別鬭爭的殘酷性。由此看來，吳趸人的民族主義必然發展成爲一種道德批判，其間他必須對正史進行修改加工。在王朝崩潰之際，吳趸人用自己的方式對不公正的歷史施以“復仇”。以小說爲媒介，通過虛構，吳進一步強化了他對晚清歷史的道德批判。

CLOSING THOUGHTS

War and Its Incomprehensibility

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In addition to stirring narratives of great battles and wrenching descriptions of their victims, China's writers, past and present, have frequently expressed the feeling of bewilderment felt by the victims, or even the observers, of war's violence. By using well-known examples from modern and premodern literature I mean to show that confusion and incomprehension may be one of the dominant themes in Chinese literary representations of violence and its aftermath. My examples will range from Lao She to Du Fu, focusing on novels of the late Ming and early Qing, *Sanguo zhi tongshu yanyi* of 1522 and the somewhat newer and perennially popular *Fengshen yanyi*, probably written late in the 16th century but finalized only in 1695.

“凭什么？”：暴力及其之不可解

何谷理

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除了对战争场面与战争受害者作出惊心的描述以外，自古至今，中国的作家频繁地抒写战争暴力的受害者与目击者的困惑。我以中国现代文学与前现代(premodern)文学中为人熟知的作品为例，说明迷惘与困惑似乎是中国文学中表现暴力及其后果的作品的一大主题。我所用的例子涉及众多作品，远至杜甫近至老舍。但我关注的重点在于晚明清初的两部小说：成书于1522年的《三国志通俗演义》以及较后完成的（大约创作于16世纪晚期，但直至1695年方才定稿）且流行不衰的《封神演义》。

谭彦冰编译