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THREE HISTORIANS: THOUGHTS ON READING THEIR BOOKS

My lecture today is about reading my colleagues' books. The only justification that I can think of for such an exercise is that it may add a personal dimension to our brief intellectual encounter here this month. Reading after all is a private act. It has public consequences of course, because we write reviews, invent or sustain polemics, teach or dismiss the ideas of the authors we read, and thus constantly reconstruct the critical discourse in our field. Nevertheless our reading is filled with subjectivity. We appropriate a book for ourselves when we read it. *My* reading is different from *yours* even when we agree on the critical strengths and weaknesses of a book. That is so because reading habits, personal idiosyncracies and predilections, and critical sensibilites inscribe themselves on a text as we read it. They affect our reception of a book because they *alter* it in the reading. It becomes ours, individually, whether we like it or not.

I for example read slowly, hypercritically, attending to style and texture. You may read more generously, indifferent to *how* the author makes an argument s/he makes it. If I

am asked to review a book I overread it. I get to know it too well. That distorts it for others even while it may inform them. You and I may derive equal pleasure (or pain) from a book, and equal knowledge of its subject, but we may understand it differently. We may share the same political predispositions, or cultural or social biases, but we cannot inhabit the same mind. We are prisoners of our own mindfulness. That being the case, my lecture, if it is successful, ought to tell you more about me than about the authors I want to discuss.

Those authors are Frederic Wakeman of Berkeley, Philip Kuhn of Harvard, and Jonathan Spence of Yale. I have chosen them arbitrarily, largely because I have enjoyed my encounters with their work even when I have disagreed with aspects of it. I do not believe they are more important historians than others in the field, though they certainly are influential, both as writers and teachers of history. I have no way of telling which, if any, of their works will stand the test of time and be read by later generations. They belong to no "school" of historiography so far as I can tell, though they represent an older inclination to regard political history, broadly conceived, as the true vocation of the historian. They have been concerned, that is, primarily with questions of power, authority, privilege, legitimacy, imperial and elite temperament,

organization and system. There are exceptions in their work of course.

Spence (in *The Death of Woman Wang*) and Kuhn (in *Soulstealers*) have made forays into the experience of the underclasses, and Wakeman (in an article in the journal *Modern China*) into the structural and theoretical problems of China's role in the world economy. But even in these writings, the focus has been largely on the state at the source of moral judgement, conventional values, and systemic might. Nevertheless they have helped to train a generation of scholars who have STEERED the entire field of Chinese historical studies in the U. S. in new directions. In that respect Wakeman, Spence, and Kuhn have produced not disciples but strangers at their own gates.

Let me give you a few examples before returning to their own contributions. In the last fifteen years there have appeared within our discipline utterly new sub-fields which are forcing us to redefine our perspectives as historians. State and society are still useful conceptual categories, but they are being stretched to the limit to contain new subjects and analysis. The social and cultural construction of gender roles is a burgeoning field. So is the historiography of sexuality. Historical epidemiology, especially the study of the social and cultural history of infectious diseases, is helping to redefine macro-regional analysis, demographics,

and the history of medicine and popular culture. Studies in ethnicity are producing new and unexpected conclusions about racial and vocational minorities (Manchus in their 19th century garrisons and Subei people in modern Shanghai for example). Remembrance and historical memory—what and how people remember and why—are now historical subjects in their own right. Just a few years ago they were barely words in our vocabulary. As the archives become more accessible, the familiar fields of social and economic history are producing new interpretations and passionate debates. We are being overwhelmed by creativity to the point that no one individual can any longer control all or even most of the literature in our fields. The result is a deepening of knowledge and a narrowing of perspective. We are becoming more learned and more ignorant at the same time.

Wakeman, Kuhn and Spence, by contrast, were trained in an era when amplitude of vision was both expected and attainable. As a result their work has a sovereign sweep to it. If they are intimidated by what they don't know, it doesn't show.

Professor Wakeman began by introducing to American sinology the rich possibilities of doing local history (*Strangers at the Gate*, 1966). His is a restless intelligence, however, and instead of immuring himself in local studies,

he has gone on to study rebellions, intellectuals and the limits of their autonomy, the philosophical milieu which produced Mao Zedong, and numerous preliminary studies for his great book on the Ming-Qing transition (*The Great Enterprise*, 1985). His early work, including the quixotic intellectual study of Mao Zedong (*History and Will*, 1973), still resonates with the voice and ironic vision of his mentor, Joseph Levenson. He has long since however established his own distinctive style, marked by narrative drive and a voracious appetite for detail: what the famous anthropologist Clifford Geertz has called thick description. This is most evident in the Ming-Qing book, a daunting 1337 pages.

The Grreat Enterprise is the closest thing in English to the *tongshi* tradition of Chinese historical writing. On the surface it is a gargantuan, fact-filled narrative of the end of the Ming and beginning of the Qing. It is comprehensive, mindnumbing in its detail. For all that, it's story is familiar, though better documented than ever before. The temptation, then, is to ask, "So what?" I have a lot thought about that. It seems to me that the book is really good at is precisely the dense textures of violence and paralysis which it creates. All those names of people whom we do not need to know, all the complex, slow, day-to-dayness of imperial failure (and Qing success),

all the marching of armies and spilling of words at court: All of this works to decelerate the tempo of history, weave a tighter fabric of narrative than we have had before. It's not that much is new or suprising, especially if one has read Professor Wakeman over the last fifteen years. Not new, then, but richer: dense with so much detail that history becomes almost suffocating—a burden of human lives which insist on a last (for many a first-and-last) hearing before they spill off the pages forever.

Famous figures, of course, do not spill off the page. They remain with us and require reinterpretation. This Wakeman does with princes and rebels and fools—Hong Taiji, Li Zicheng, and the rump Ming court at Nanjing, for example, but above all he does this with intellectuals.

We seem fated in our field to believe that intellectuals suffer better. Professor Wakeman certainly does nothing to disabuse us of that. His intellectuals suffer and suffer, whatever choices they made in that bleak and murderous age. And they wrote endlessly about the quality of their particular suffering. Collaborators penned essays of remorse and guilt, Qian Qianyi the most prominent among them. Stoics—Wakeman's term for those loyalists who chose neither to die for the old regime nor to serve the new one—confessed a different kind of guilt. It was the guilt of survival, a wrenching ambivalence which sent them into

cool eremetic laments. Wan Shouqi is Wakeman's exemplar here. Martyrs died by their own hand or by the enemy's sword, sometimes with just a whiff of madness about them, as in the case of Fan Chengmo.

The problem here is a certain glibness. Wakeman's intellectuals seem at times too self-absorbed, too exquisitely literary in their affirmations of guilt or loyalty. Our gaze is thus deflected from the harsher realities of resistance. Loyalist politics were, as we now know from studies of the Fu-she and local Jiangnan resistance campaigns, sordid and sometimes murderous, often selfish and mostly hopeless. Extortionists, mobsters, and local strongmen were loyalists too, and Fu-she sentimentalists sent whole cities to their death because of their sanctimonious and foolhardy commitments. Loyalism and collaboration were more problematical than one might gather from Wakeman's posturing intellectuals.

Nevertheless, Professor Wakeman makes a telling and important argument about the transdynastic value of loyalty. Qing emperors, after the conquest, honored the *act* of loyalty more than the actors. By the Qianlong reign the distinction between honored friends (loyal to the Qing) and honorable enemies (loyal to the Ming) had been erased. Shi Kefa was canonized by the Qianlong emperor along with Fan Chengmo and the hapless officials in Beijing who

drowned themselves rather than serve Li Zicheng. A particular value was transvalued as a general creed. The state was a timeless institution which transcended the mereness of mortal dynasties.

Professor Wakeman's book is filled with such insights, and we come away from it with a new respect for the resiliance and hegemonic power of the old imperial institution. Jonathan Spence, in a very different way, touches on similar things.

Professor Spence, as I am sure you know, is the best known writer on China in the U. S. His books reach an audience far beyond the confines of the historical profession, and in recent years he has become something of a literary personality, acclaimed for his artful use of primary sources for almost novelistic purposes. In fact, two years ago Caryn James, the *New York Times'* critic included Spence and his book, *The Question of Hu* (1988), in a discussion of writers who have set out creatively to undermine the distinction between reality and illusion in their recreation of historical personalities. All the other writers in her article were novelists. At the same time, however, Professor Spence has recently produced a monumental new history of China from late Ming to the present, *The Search for Modern China* (1990), which conforms to the conventional rules of chronological narrative, and which is indisputably

a work of professional historiography. Which, we might ask, is the real Jonathan Spence, the illusionist or the historian? In so far as he has made illusion a legitimate sphere of historical judgement, the answer must be both.

Spence's first book (*Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor*, 1966) gave no indication of the imaginative world he was to create in his later work. It was a straightforward research monograph in the tradition of his teacher, Mary Wright. Only with the appearance of his so-called "self-portrait" of the Kangxi emperor, *Emperor of China*, in 1974 did his new methodology appear. It was in essence the restructuring of the words of his subjects to evoke not biography or career but the inner emotional life of an individual or an age. He sought to recover the psychic temperament of the times. Dreams and thought processes, the quality of remorse or fear or yearning: these are the stuff of Spence's history. This is daring. It is also problematic.

Two questions occur: Is it right—that is, is it history? And is it possible? His readers have clearly answered the first in the affirmative, even while historians have been sceptical. Other historians, working in the social history of other fields—French and Italian history, for example—have gone some way to affirming the second question. Emmanuel Le Roi Ladourie, Natalie Zemon Davis, Robert

Darnton, and Carlos Ginsberg, for example, have become justly famous for recreating the *mentalités* of ordinary people in the French mountains and cities and in the butcher shops of urban Italy. Their materials, however, have been very different from those available to Spence, and their successes not necessarily prove the Chinese case.

To make his mental world work, Spence rearranges the written words of his subjects into painterly montages. He prefers of course their private reflections, but as we know, even these, at least for the emperor, and probably for many of the scholars and writers he studies in other books, were carefully edited before being printed. Spence draws on them *and* on the much-edited public records, for example, to construct his autobiographical sketch of the Kangxi emperor. He shows us the monarch "unrehearsed." His sources however are much rehearsed. Is there an unresolveable contradiction here?

With the *Death of Woman Wang* (1978) Spence had a problem. An illiterate, much abused woman left no written record. Her murder was recorded but nothing else. To recover the mental world of a poor victim of a violent backcountry town, he had to go to fiction. Pu Songling's demonic universe provides Spence with the materials for a curious, affecting, yet utterly unconvincing dream which is meant to be Woman Wang's legacy to history. It is only, I

fear, a legacy of Spence's imagination.

The most successful of Professor Spence's excursions into the mind of modern China is his *Gate of Heavenly Peace* (1981). Ostensibly this is a history of Chinese revolution from the late Qing to 1980. But no one interested in chronology and event would derive much benefit from a reading of it. Rather it is a series of resonances, an evocation of what it must have been like for intellectuals to reflect on their condition and to respond to the tensions of the times. This is not intellectual history. It is a psychological reinvention of temperament. And it is enormously effective. Professor Spence has an ear for the apt quote, a feel for both focus and ambiguity. His work is remarkably cinematic in its effect, and I have heard highly trained sinologists proclaim that "finally, we have a sense of what the revolution was really like." What I think they meant was that they felt as if they had been allowed *inside* the radical dislocations of mind that the first half of the 20th century wreaked on thoughful people, whichever side they were on.

In all of Spence's work violence is close to hand. It may be implicit in imperial commands, explicit in the degradation of women; palpable in a physical environment of earthquakes, floods, and deprivation, intangible in the stratified social relationships of status inequality. This is

no more evident than in his new big general history of the modern epoch.

The Search for Modern China began as a textbook but ended as a trade publication aimed at a general audience. The decision to market it as a popular work was the publishers, and the result is a glossy, lavish production, beautifully printed and illustrated. It has been much reviewed, both favorably and unfavorably. Professor Vera Schwartz, for example, praises its evocative sweep (*New York Times Book Review*, May 13, 1990); Andrew Nathan identifies it as a central text for the study of modern mass cruelty (*New Republic*, July 30 & August 6, 1990); Mark Elvin admires its skills at reconstructing events but dismisses it as lacking any conceptual rigor that might help explain *why* things happened (*The National Interest*, Fall 1990).

If there is a unifying theme in this 876-page it is the estrangement of state from society. The two moved along different trajectories. The state, whether dynastic, republican or communist, was concerned above all with continuity and system maintenance. Society by contrast was concerned with survival and the retention of scarce resources. And over four-centuries, from Ming to Tiananmen, this historical disjunction accounted for both the power and weakness of the Chinese state and the mobilizations and exploitation of society.

Within this doleful story ironies abound. The old Confucian moral community and the modern intellectual community of the universities never break free of the state they are committed to serve and to criticize; nor do they ever succeed in representing the voiceless, a class apart. They may be moved by altruism or condescension, but not by the spirit of representation. This intelligentsia, old and new alike, is thus frozen in place, privileged in status yet dependent on the state for definition. Chinese history, Spence and his critics seem to agree, has had no room for real autonomies.

Autonomy and authority are two of the great themes that Professor Philip Kuhn has studied with much sophistication over the last twenty years. Though he writes infrequently (and in a spare prose reminiscent of his teacher, John Fairbank), he does so with concentrated focus on the structure and dynamics of the old ruling order—both under the Qing and the Republic. His book, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China* (1970), was the first functional study in English of the Chinese gentry, asking not who they were (the question debated so long by He Bingdi, Zhang Zhongli, Mary Wright and others), but what they did. This work did much to fix in our minds the notion of "gentry activism"—political behavior which made local elites sometimes friends and sometimes enemies of the

state. In his influential article, "Local Government Under the Repbulic," (in Wakeman and Grant, ed., *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China,* 1975), he shifted his attention to modern times but still the central question for him was that of accomodation between state power and local authority—between mobilization and autonomy. This work more than any other, I believe, has inspired the application by others of modern theories of state-building and nation-making to the Chinese case.

Professor Kuhn constantly returns to the question of government: how it worked, how rulers maintained control, how people were ruled. To many it seems an old-fashioned subject, but Kuhn finds original things to say about it. Nowhere is this more evident than in his new book, *Soul-stealers* [jiaohun] (1990). This is the tale of a panic of superstition against sorcerey in the middle years of the Qianlong reign, and the government's reaction to it. It is an intricate, absorbing story, expertly told. At its heart is a startling campaign led by the emperor to subdue his high provincial bureaucrats, whom he accused of malingering—of failing to find the sorcerers.

Out of this, Kuhn develops a new analysis of the relationship between throne and bureaucracy. His purpose is to question the old Weberian notion of mutual incompatibility between the two components of absolutist power

wherein the ruler either dominated or was consumed by his bureaucracy; the more rules he imposed on the system, the more he was constrained by them. Kuhn draws on French sociological theory to say that things didn't work that way. He acknowledges that emperor and bureaucrats were simultaneously opponents and co-conspirators in the maintenance of the imperial system. But, he argues, this was not a zero-sum game. The two spheres of power did not wax and wane symmetrically.

Instead what happened was the confrontation of two kinds of power, arbitrary and routine, which dialectically kept the system from disintegrating. Both parties had a stake in maintaining things as they were. Bureaucratic routine, Kuhn says, was the great enemy to the autocrat. It blunted imperial initiative. It erected barriers of indifference or inaction which protected highly placed officials in the provincial bureaucracy. To break this routine exercise of power, the emperor had to inject into the system a strong dose of arbitrary power. And, key to Kuhn's argument, this got harder and harder to do as the imperial system grew old in the years of the late empire. Thus the emperor was required to invent political campaigns, remarkably similar to those mounted by modern autocratic regimes. He had to identify certain behavior as political crime, behavior, that is, which threatened to undermine

the very values and institutions of the political culture. Such campaigns jolted bureaucrats out of their complacency. And once routine was broken, the arbitrary power of the throne could be reaffirmed. Kuhn argues that this is just what happened in the soulstealing case. "The imperial spleen," he says, "could be vented upon provincial officials for failing to turn up master-sorcerers—a failure that was inevitable because no master-sorcerers existed." Intimidation worked, the imperial institution was reinvigorated, and those officials who survived the imperial wrath, as most of them did, could settle once again into the routine that assured them of continued status, honor and influence.

Kuhn's argument is elegant and complex. It is also, as I have recently argued elsewhere (*JAS* 50. 3, August 1991), anachronistic. There is no evidence that I know of that indicates that politics in the 18th century underwent a quantum change in the structure or culture of government. There is as much evidence that similar things went on in the Ming, if not earlier, and one is forced to conclude that the nature of Chinese imperial despotism has not yet been definitively understood. To his credit, however, Professor Kuhn has advanced the argument further than any one else in the field.

Wakeman, Spence, and Kuhn have given me much to think about as I have read Chinese history over the past

forty years. They compel one to be critical, to read with a sceptical eye. I mean that as praise, for why else read if not to take issue?

If you press me to assess their relative significance, I will equivocate. Some may consider them already obsolete, superceded by more challenging agendas. I don't. Professor Wakeman seems to know all those agendas, in fact has helped construct many of them. He is a muscular historian, overwhelming a subject with voracious reading and command of all the latest theory. His next book, already in manuscript will be a massive study of the Shanghai police in the 1920's and '30's. And I would not be surprised if the one after that was located in the Yuan dynasty! All of history seems to be his province.

Professor Spence will continue on his Proustian project to recover the illusive fragrances of a past age. His next book is to be on Hong Xiuquan and the Taiping rebellion, and we can be sure that a very different Hong will emerge than the one we have read about before. Spence is himself a gifted reader. He has an unerring feel for what can be extracted from other people's stories for his own reflections on the past. Often writers are violated by those who cite or paraphrase them. This is not so with Spence. He enhances them. We should all learn to read so well.

Professor Kuhn has made his life's work the study of

Chinese government. He is our physiologist of power, and his descriptive analysis has been as original as it has been delicately crafted. He seems always a step ahead of the rest of us. I do not know what his next book will be, though some say he is going back to the project on which he has worked for over twenty years, a study of government in the transitional years from dynasty to republic. We shall be required to read it.

三位史家以及對他們作品的反思

今天的演講，是關於解讀同行作品的經驗。我所以選取這個題目，唯一能想到的理由，是要爲我在這一個月與諸位的相互切磋中增加一個私人的面向。讀書畢竟是一私人行爲。不過，爲了要撰寫書評，挑起或參加論戰，傳授或批駁書中的論點，以及不斷重構我們專業範圍中富有批評性質的論域，它仍然有超越私人範疇的社會效果。雖然如此，讀書總不免主觀；所謂讀書，其實就是透過主觀因素的作用把別人的書據爲己有。縱使我們對同一本書的長處和短處有著相同的見解，我對這本書的解讀也不一定會和你完全相同。爲什麼會有差別呢？那是因爲我們不同的讀書習慣，個人獨特的怪癖和嗜好，以及對文中內容不同的感受性。這些差異都會透過解讀使每一本書呈現不同的風貌，並進而影響我們對每一本書的看法。也因爲這個緣故，不論我們喜不喜歡，經過解讀後，每一本書都變成我們自己獨有的東西。

我自己讀書，喜歡好整以暇，細細探求文章的風格和結構，尤喜歡吹毛求疵。而你們可能寬宏大量多了，只要言之成理，似不在乎作者是否眞的理路嚴謹。如果有人要我寫書評，我會把該書讀得過分仔細，結果便鑽了牛角尖，而鑽牛角尖的本身便是對

原作的歪曲，職是之故，我撰寫的書評即使能提供讀者某些有用的訊息，卻仍不免扭曲該書的原意。從同一本書中，你和我可能獲得一樣的樂趣或是痛苦，也可能獲得同一分量的知識。但是談到理解，你和我仍可能大不相同。或許你我的政治立場一致，文化和社會的偏好也大體沒有區分，但是你我兩人絕不可能因此而擁有完全相同的知覺。總之，我們都是知覺的囚徒。有鑒於此，我在講述三位史家的同時，便不能不更多地談到我自己——如果今天的演講還算成功的話。

我要討論的三位史家是柏克萊的魏斐德、哈佛的孔復禮和耶魯的史景遷。我選擇他們是相當武斷的，如果勉強說有什麼理由，那是因爲我喜歡他們三個人的作品。對他們的作品，我雖然有不同意的地方，但讀來仍覺是一大享受。在中國史研究這個領域中，我不相信他們比其他史家更重要，也不曉得他們的作品是否禁得起時間的考驗，而爲後代子孫所閱讀，儘管他們是很有影響力的作者和史學教授。從史學史角度看，我也不認爲他們三位屬於任何學派。他們所代表的可以說是比較傳統的歷史學風，認爲廣義的政治史纔是歷史學者所應致力的志業。他們主要關懷的課題是權力、權威、特權、法源、組織、系統、有血有肉的皇帝以及政治運作中的官紳。當然，他們的作品中也會出現一些例外。

史景遷在《王氏之死》這一本書中闖進了下層社會人民的生活領域，孔復禮在《叫魂》中也作過相同的嘗試。魏斐德在一篇

發表在《現代中國》雜誌的論文中，曾從結構和理論角度，探討中國在世界經濟中的角色。但即使在這些作品中，他們三個人的重點仍然是國家，而所謂國家乃指道德判斷、傳統價值和系統性強權的源泉。無論如何，他們三個人所直接或間接訓練的一代學者，已成爲美國學界在中國史研究方面開啟嶄新方向的主要人物。單就此點而言，魏斐德、史景遷和孔復禮三人培養的不是自己的弟子，而是自己門牆外的「異鄉人」。

在討論他們三個人的貢獻之前，先讓我舉幾個例子來說明我剛才所說幾句話的意思。在過去十五年當中，中國研究這個領域中出現了幾個新生事物，它們逼使歷史學者重新界定他們的視野。國家和社會雖仍然是很有用的觀念範疇，但其內含已經被擴展至極限，足以容納新的歷史課題和歷史分析。從社會和文化觀點對性別所扮演的角色的探討，以及性學史的研究，正方興未艾。而流行病學史，尤其是從社會文化史角度對流行病所作的研究，也正在衝擊著中國研究，它對區域研究、人口變遷、醫學史和民間文化研究都分別起了鉅大的影響。對不同少數民族、方言羣以及職業羣的研究，也是屢見新著，已相繼提出了不少我們所想像不到的全新論點。關於這一點，我所想到的兩個例子就是對十九世紀八旗駐防和近代上海「蘇北佬」的研究。至於研究人們的記憶和歷史的記憶，包括其內容、形成過程以及原因，這也自成爲一個獨立的研究課題。幾年前，在我們用來彼此溝通的語彙中，只有幾個簡單的字眼可以用來討論前述新課題。此外，隨著

資料的開放，就是在我們所熟悉的社會經濟史領域中，也是新解釋源源不絕，爭論異常熱烈。我們正處在「百花齊放、百家爭鳴」的時代。我們已不再可能掌握研究領域中的主要二手資料，更遑論是讀完前人所寫的研究文獻了。由於此一發展，我們的知識是深化了，但是我們的視野也同時窄化了。我們一方面是越學越多，另一方面卻是越知越少。

相形之下，魏斐德、孔復禮和史景遷是屬於另一個時代的人物。他們唸書時，「究天人之際、通古今之變」不僅是一個夢寐以求的目標，也眞有企及可能。因此，他們的作品都有君臨天下的氣魄。他們也許會有所不知而略感心虛，但在他們的作品中，卻從未流露過半點氣餒跡象。

魏斐德教授是美國漢學界地方研究的先驅，他在 1966 年出版的《臨門的異鄉人》這本書中，讓我們充分了解到地方史研究的無限潛能。只是，他那永不休止的勤奮，使他不甘於自囿，轉移到其他園地繼續探索。他研究過叛亂，研究過知識分子和他們自主性的限度，也研究過毛澤東思想的哲學根源。他在 1985 年出版了《大業》。爲了撰寫這本關於明末清初的皇皇鉅製，他也作了不少奠基的工作。他的早期作品，包括那本帶有即興之作味道的毛澤東研究，亦即 1973 年出版的《歷史與意志》，無論是在文章的風格和音調方面，或是在喜歡用反諷手法來對待問題方面，都令人聯想到他的啟蒙恩師——李文蓀。不過，經過這一學習階段後，他早已形成自己獨有的文風，其特點是敍事具有引人

入勝的魅力，而介紹細節則不厭其詳，結果便是著名人類學家 Clifford Geertz 所謂的「厚重描寫」。最明顯的一個例子就是剛才提到的那本《大業》，全書竟然有 1337 頁之長，簡直匪夷所思。

《大業》是一本最接近中國「通史」式的書。該書表面上是關於明清交替的敍述歷史，充滿無數繁瑣史實，無論篇幅之鉅，或是包羅之廣，還是細節之多，均在在令人敬而生畏。在資料來源方面，該書也要比前人著述詳實和豐富多了。儘管如此，該書所敍述的故事畢竟是我們所熟悉的，使我不禁想問：哪又怎麼樣？我想了很久，看來這本大書的眞正長處，正在於它那密不透風的文體，從而顯現當時的暴力氾濫和舉步維艱。魏斐德故意用我們不需要知道的歷史人名，用關於皇朝施政成敗的每天紀錄，用複雜詳盡的事情經過，用軍隊的行軍日誌和朝廷的發言紀載，以不斷減緩歷史的節奏，從而編織出一種獨特的敍述文體，針腳縝密，前所未見。該書並沒有前無古人或是令人震驚的發現；如果讀者拜讀過魏斐德最近十五年來的每一件作品，相信亦會有此同感。不過，魏斐德的大作雖缺乏新鮮感，卻要比其他人的著作豐盛多了。只是書中細節充斥，歷史變得叫人密不透氣，好像背上有一大堆人物，在他們被永遠扔出史書之前，正苦苦哀求著讀者聆聽他們的最後一次傾訴。其實對他們的大多數而言，這傾訴不但是最後一遭，而且也是破題兒第一遭。

有名的歷史人物當然不會被扔出史書。他們與我們同在，需

要我們重新加以詮釋。魏斐德重新詮釋了一些帝王、叛黨和笨伯，譬如皇太極、李自成和在南京偏安的南明朝廷。但是他詮釋最多的還是知識分子。

在我們研究領域中，我們似乎註定會相信，知識分子所受的苦難比誰都要厲害。對這一個看法，魏斐德也的確沒有爲我們做過什麼糾偏工作。明清之際本是一個舉目漆黑、殺機四佈的時代，不論士大夫作何抉擇，他們在魏斐德書中都註定要蒙受苦難，而這些知識分子也爲自己所經歷過的苦難，留下無盡的記載。失節降清的士大夫在文章中宣泄自己的悔恨和愧疚，其中以錢謙益最爲有名。至於那些既不選擇殉明也不選擇事清的前朝遺民，魏斐德叫他們斯多葛派，他們吐露的是另外一種愧疚。這種苟且偷生的愧疚，使他們終身憔悴於愧悔交纏的矛盾糾結中，致令他們如隱者一樣，發出淸淒的哀慟之聲。萬壽祺就是魏斐德選取的典範。還有選擇殉明或殉淸的士大夫，他們有的死於自盡，也有的死於敵人的屠刀。范承謨的例子顯示，有些烈士死時，還帶點瘋狂。

問題是，使用這種筆法敍述，未免稍嫌八面玲瓏。魏斐德筆下的知識分子在面對自己的罪孽或忠貞時，有時似乎太耽溺於自我，而在加以披露時，文彩又斐然可觀，以致我們的眼光被轉移了，根本看不到抗淸的殘酷現實。從對復社和江南抗淸諸役的研究中，我們現在已對明末和南明的所謂忠義之士有更深入的了解，知道他們的政治是骯髒已極，有些時候同室相殘，多數時候

更是自私自利，毫無希望。所謂忠義之士之中，有不少本身是以敲搾勒索爲業的，其中尤其不乏作姦犯科的地痞流氓和橫行地方的土豪劣紳。復社所謂愛國人士，爲了自己的留名青史，任意蠻幹，不惜以百姓爲芻狗，讓一個城池接著一個城池被屠。總之，抗清和降清背後存在著相當多的問題，這就不是單從魏斐德的大作中所能看得出來的了；魏斐德描寫的知識分子個個儀態儼然，看不出他們會有什麼見不得人的醜事。

不過，魏斐德教授提出了一個極其重要的論點，那是超越朝代更迭的「忠」這個價值觀念。在征服中國之後，清朝皇帝比那些明朝忠義之士更加尊崇忠義行爲。到了乾隆朝的時候，甚至連效忠前朝的遺民和效忠本朝的貳臣之間，也不管以前是否有敵友之別，都一視同仁了。因爲他們所事主上雖然有所不同，但是忠心耿耿卻無二致。有些前明官員寧肯蹈海，也不肯侍奉李自成，乾隆皇帝把他們併同 抗清而死的史可法 ， 以及殉清 死節的范承謨，一齊列入國家祀典，享受後代血食祭拜。經此過程，原來是具有特殊性質的價值觀念，倏地被轉化爲具有普遍性質的信條。從而顯示，國家乃是一個不受時間限制的制度，不像朝代不免興亡，它更具有超越永恆的價值。

魏斐德的大作充滿了類似以上論點的獨到見解。在加以拜讀之後，我們會對中華帝制的無比韌性和十足霸氣產生一種新的敬意。朝代儘管此起彼落，中華帝制卻始終難以取代。史景遷教授的作品和魏斐德很不一樣，但是他也觸及了同樣的主題。

眾所周知，史景遷教授在美國以中國爲寫作對象的作家當中，知名度之高可以說是無出其右。他的讀者不限於歷史行業。在最近幾年，他因爲利用一手史料創作了不少具有小說性質的嚴肅作品，甚至被認爲是一個文壇大將。其實兩年前，Caryn James 在《紐約時報》發表了一篇書評，用意是討論幾個文藝作家及其作品，即把史景遷和他的作品《胡先生的問題》列入了討論名單。她認爲這些作家在重塑歷史人物時，都具有創意，並且在讀者不經意之間成功地腐蝕了眞實和虛幻之間的區別。除了史景遷之外，她的名單之中，只有小說作家。不過，在此同時，史景遷卻在 1990 年出版了一本鉅著，書名《中國現代化的求索》。他這本書從晚明寫到現在，基本上是按照年代先後秩序敍述歷史，註有文獻出處，乃不折不扣的歷史作品。或許我們會問：眞正的史景遷先生究竟是創造意象的小說作家還是據史直書的歷史學者？由於他把幻境變成歷史判斷的正當範圍，這個問題的答案必然是他同時具有雙重身分。

史景遷的第一本書——《曹寅和康熙皇帝》，乃是中規中矩的研究專著，完全以他的老師 Mary Wright 爲模範，從中根本看不出來，他會在後來作品中創造出來一個獨特的想像世界來。到 1974 年他出版《中國的皇帝》這本有康熙皇帝自繪像意味的書，他纔建立起屬於他自己的特有風格。在這本書中，他揣摩康熙皇帝的心理，替康熙皇帝寫了一本自傳。他利用歷史人物留下來的記載，加以重組，目的不是寫一本傳統傳記，也不是要記錄

康熙的豐功偉業，而是要刻畫個人或是時代的內在感情世界。他所致力的是重新體現時代的心靈特質，故而夢境和思想過程是他的主要關懷，懺悔、恐懼和期盼也是同等重要的課題。他這種作法非常大膽，也極可質疑。

我們這裏有兩個問題要問：首先，這對嗎？也就是說，他的作品是歷史嗎？其次，這可能嗎？關於第一個問題，儘管歷史學者心存懷疑，他的讀者卻已經肯定答覆了。關於第二個問題，專治法國和意大利社會史的歷史學家，已以實際作品作了正面的回答。Emmanuel Le Roi Ladourie, Natalie Zemon Davis, Robert Darnton 和 Carlos Ginsberg 等人是其中享有盛名者，他們重建法國山區或城市一般平民的心態，也重建意大利城市肉店裏普通老百姓的心態。只是他們所用的資料和史景遷非常不同，而他們的成功也不表示中國歷史也可以用同樣手法對待。

史景遷以畫家的蒙太奇手法，把歷史人物留下來的文書紀錄重新編組，藉以運轉他所創造的心智世界。他偏好他們私下沉思的資料，但是如同我們所知道的，即使是這些資料，也都在出版之前經過仔細修改和潤飾。皇帝的這些資料已不用說了，恐怕絕大多數他所研究的學者和文人也都一樣。舉例而言，史景遷在爲康熙皇帝寫自傳時，取材於這種私人資料以及那些經過徹頭徹尾改寫的官方記錄。他所想要呈現的乃是一個沒有經過「排演」的君上，不過他的材料卻是經過不斷「排演」，這中間難道不存在著無法解決的矛盾嗎？

他在 1978 年出版的《王氏之死》也有類似問題。主角王氏並不識字，在飽受人間苦難後，也沒有留下任何文字紀錄。文獻只紀載她遭人謀殺，此外就沒有任何其他進一步的披露了。她來自充滿暴戾之氣的 窮鄉僻壤 ； 想要爲這個可 憐人刻畫她的內心世界 ， 史景遷不得不求助於小說 。 他借助於蒲松齡的《聊齋誌異》，從他的鬼魂世界 ， 找來素材 ， 爲王氏重新建構了一個夢境。這個夢境是史氏認爲的王女所留下來的歷史遺產，不過我以爲這個夢境怪異、做作，而且也毫無說服力，實際上它恐怕只是史氏本人想像力的創造而已。

史景遷不時探訪現代中國人的心靈世界，其中最成功的一次旅遊是 1981 年出版的《天安門》一書。全書擺明是一本關於中國革命的歷史著作，時限是從晚清到二十世紀八零年代。但是讀完全書，沒有一個對年代學或是歷史故事有興趣的讀者會覺得能够從中學到什麼東西。全書根本就是一連串的歷史回響，讀者可據以進入中國知識分子的內心世界，知道他們如何思考所處的時代環境，又如何因應所面臨的時代不安。這並不是思想史，這乃是時代心靈的重新締建。就此而言，他非常成功。史景遷對文章的聲調特別敏感，他知道什麼詩文適合徵引，他也有一種特有的天賦，知道攝影鏡頭應該採取什麼焦距，也知道什麼時候應該讓畫面曖昧不清，任人隨意詮釋。所以他的作品極像電影藝術，有一種特有的電影效果。有一兩位經過高深並嚴格訓練的漢學家對我說：「自從有了這本書以後，我們對革命究竟是怎麼一回事終於

有一點感覺了」。我想他們這幾句話的意思是說，《天安門》一書問世以後，他們豁然感覺有一扇大門被打開了，從此登堂入室，終於有機會一睹現代中國有識之士的內心世界，而對這些知識分子在劇烈世變中，不論作什麼政治抉擇，都一樣飽嘗的苦難和折磨，眞正有所心領神會了。

在史景遷的所有作品中，暴力總是俯拾皆是。暴力蘊藏在聖旨之內，也瀰漫於女性所受的屈辱之外。在一個由地震、洪水和貧窮構成的地理環境中，暴力似乎可以用手觸摸，但在一個地位不平等的階級社會當中，暴力又似乎無跡可尋。這一特色在史景遷有關現代的通史性新著中尤其明顯。

《中國現代化的求索》這本書在作者的最初構想中只是一本教科書，成稿之後卻成了以一般讀者爲對象的商業出版品。決定把這本書當成通俗讀物銷售的是出版商。這本書正式發行時，乃以豪華鉅製面貌出現，無論印刷或是插圖均精美異常。評論它的書評作者不少，反應有好有壞。舉例而言，Vera Schwartz 教授在 1990 年五月十三日的《紐約時報》書評雜誌中發表的書評就大加讚美，說它呼風喚雨，驅使鬼神，氣象宏大。Andrew Nathan 也在七月三十日和八月六日的《新共和》雜誌發表書評，說它是研究現代羣眾酷行的最主要文獻之一。Mark Elvin 在 1990 年秋季號《國家利益》上也讚美史氏重建史實的技巧；不過同時更批評它在概念上缺乏學術的嚴謹，以致無以解釋歷史的所以然。

在他這本長達 876 頁的鉅著中，如果說有一個統一的主題，那就是「國家」自「社會」疏離了。國家和社會各有不同的軌道。就國家而言，不論是明清、民國或中共，最主要的關懷都是延續治統，以及制度的維持。對社會而言，則大不相同。社會最關懷的是苟活人世和繼續保有已經供不應求的生活資源。從晚明到天安門事件，前後共有四個世紀之久，兩者的軌道不再平行，其具體軌跡卽是中國國家的強弱與興衰以及社會的被動員和剝削。

在這悲慘的歷史故事當中，反諷到處充斥。無論是儒家士大夫或是近代知識分子，都以國家爲己任，也都以批評爲要務，但他們全都沒有擺脫國家的最終控制，也從未成功地替無聲音的工農階級發言。易言之，他們爲民喉舌的動機或許是大公無私，或許是悲天憫人，但其中並無絲毫西方的代議精神。這些舊式士大夫或新型知識分子因此被凍結在固定地方，地位儘管崇高，也享有種種特權，但是自己的價值始終要靠國家來予以認定。史景遷或是批評他的人，儘管意見不同，似乎都同意一點，亦卽中國歷史上並無容許眞正政治自主存在的空間。

關於政治自主和政治權威這兩個最重要的歷史主題，孔復禮教授對之不但深入鑽研，而且已下了二十幾年的功夫。雖然他下筆謹愼，不輕易成書，但是他把焦點集中在清朝和民國統治的結構和變動，卻早已成一家之言（在文筆簡練方面，令人想起他的老師費正清）。他 1970 年出版《帝制中國晚期叛亂及其敵人》一書，首開英文著作以功能主義觀點研究中國士紳的先河。

他所問的問題不是誰是士紳（關於此一問題，何炳棣、張仲禮、Mary Wright 和其他學者有過辯論），而是士紳究竟做了些什麼。因爲有了他這本書的出現，我們腦中對於「士紳積極活動」纔開始有比較固定的概念，知道地方菁英分子有他們的政治行爲模式，因此之故，他們與國家的關係也時好時壞，或友或敵。在他那篇對於學界產生極大影響的論文「民國時代的地方自治」（1975）中，孔復禮的注意力轉移到現代中國，可是他的中心關懷依舊是國家權力和地方威權之間的因應關係，亦即他所說的動員和自主之間的關係。他這篇文章開風氣之先，啟發了許多學者，使他們以「國家建構」的種種理論來研究近現代中國的歷史。

孔復禮總是關懷政府這一個課題：它是如何運作的？統治者如何維持他的控制？人民如何被統治著？對某些人而言，這幾個問題都像老掉牙了似的，沒什麼可談的，然而孔復禮卻找到新鮮的角度來加以談論，結果新義迭出，發人深省。關於這一點，表現最明顯的是他的新書《叫魂》（1990）。這本書敍述乾隆中葉巫術迷信所引起的一次恐慌，以及當時朝廷所採取的對策。故事的情節錯綜複雜，也深具吸引力，孔復禮敍說的非常精采。故事的核心乃皇帝利用民間對巫術的恐慌，展開一次驚人的整肅運動。他指控各省高級文官陽奉陰違，以致剪人辮子的惡毒術士始終消遙法外，其實皇帝也不是眞正相信巫術有取人性命的效果，只不過是借以馴服疆吏罷了。

從上述故事之中，孔復禮發展出一套探討皇帝與官僚之間關係的新分析。他的目的是質疑 Max Weber 的一些觀念。Weber 認爲皇帝和官僚是構成絕對權力的兩個要素，兩者之間的關係總是彼此相斥，如果皇帝不能對百官頤指氣使，百官就會侵奪皇權，而且皇帝頒佈的法規越多，作繭自縛的可能性也就越大。孔復禮引用法國社會學家的理論，指出眞情並非如此。他雖然承認，在維持帝國秩序方面，皇帝和官僚之間的關係乃時而敵對，時而同謀，卻特別強調，它們兩者所擁有權力的消長，並不是零和遊戲，一方面有得，另一方面必然有失。而得失之間也並非必然平衡相抵。

孔復禮認爲，皇帝和官僚分別代表兩種不同的權力，一種是獨斷專行，另一種則是因循守舊，它們像是太極中的陰陽，相剋相生，相反相成，維持了一個制度的運作。兩方面都知道一旦禮崩樂壞，受害者將不止一方，所以必須同心協力維持現有的秩序。孔復禮認爲專制君主的大敵是官僚制度的因循守舊傾向。這一傾向使皇帝無從採取行動，它以漠然無爲所樹立的壁壘非常高大，專門保護那些在各省衙門中高居上位的封疆大吏。爲了打破這一傾向的不斷發展，皇帝必須行使其專斷權力。孔復禮指出，隨著皇朝由盛而衰，並逐漸進入末期，皇帝也發現他越來越難行使專斷的權力。因此皇帝必須尋找藉口，發動政治運動。在這一點上，皇帝和當代的獨裁政權實在異常類似。皇帝必須挑出一些政治行爲，指控它們違反本朝政治文化的基本價值觀念和制度，

並將之當作政治犯罪的具體罪行來加以處理。這種政治運動使官僚心生警惕，而不敢玩忽法令。一旦因循守舊的權力遭到徹底打擊之後，皇帝的獨斷專行權力就可以獲得新生，再次發揮功效。孔復禮認爲這就是叫魂一案的本質。他說：「皇帝的憤怒可以發洩到各省疆臣身上，指責他們不曾盡職，抓不到剪人辮子的大魔法師，其實本來就沒有大魔法師的存在，難怪無論如何緝拿都是失敗。」這種威嚇的辦法相當有效，皇帝制度因之恢復活力，那些僥倖逃過皇帝震怒的大臣在事過境遷之後，則可以回到老習慣，又是因循辦事，敷衍塞責，並繼續享受其榮華富貴和特權。

孔復禮的這一論證既漂亮且繁複，但我在亞洲研究學報（Journal of Asian Studies, 50. 3, 1991 年八月號）的一篇文章中卻指出，這一論證也有時代錯置的謬誤。並沒有證據顯示政府的文化和結構在十八世紀經歷了翻天覆地的變化。證據反倒顯示，同樣的情形也發生在明代或更早的時候。因此我們不得不下結論說，我們還尚未徹底了解中國專制皇朝的性格。不過，孔復禮如果不是後無來者，至少是前無古人，他把這一個關於中國政治制度的論證發展到極致，這仍然是了不起的貢獻。

我已經唸了四十多年的中國歷史了，魏斐德、史景遷和孔復禮提供我不少可加咀嚼沉思的見解。他們強逼人必須有批判精神，也必須以懷疑的眼光來閱讀書籍。我這種說法，毫無貶意，乃是眞心誠意的恭維；若我們不是要同他們攻難，又何必花精神讀他們的作品呢？

如果你們硬要我評價他們三人史學成就的高低，那我只好支吾其辭，顧左右而言它了。有人認爲他們已是過時的人物，現在已有比他們的關懷更具有挑戰性的歷史課題可以研究。我倒不認爲如此。對這些新的歷史課題，魏斐德教授似乎也都有相當的了解；其實，有些還是他自己最先提出來的。他是一個精力充沛的歷史學家，對消化史料有極大的胃口，簡直叫人覺得他狼吞虎嚥，把相關史料都吞嚥得一乾二淨。不僅如此，他還精通最近流行的各種理論，眞叫人佩服之至。他下一本書也是閎偉鉅製，聽說已經定稿了，題目是二十年代和三十年代的上海警察。假如他在這本大書之後，又要寫一本關於元史的鉅著，我也不會感覺驚訝，因爲任何歷史都似乎只是魏斐德朝廷下的一個省區而已。

史景遷將會依然故我，繼續他普魯斯特式的偉大計畫，專門從事於拯救過去歷史中的吉光片羽。他的下一本書是洪秀全和太平天國之亂。我們大可以確定，新書中的洪秀全一定和我們過去所唸過的不同。史景遷本人乃是一個懂得如何讀書的人，天賦極高，他有一種不會出錯的直覺，知道如何從別人的故事中吸取所需的養料，藉以表達他對過去歷史的省思。不少作品被人引用，甚至是成段的被人照抄，可惜作者的原意經常遭受嚴重扭曲。史景遷就不會犯這種毛病，在徵引過程中，他反而使文獻的原有意含更加豐富。我們都應該向他學習把書讀到這種高明境界。

孔復禮一生致力於中國政府的研究。他是我們最擅於解剖「權力」的生理學家。他敍事式的分析自成一格，不僅深具匠心，

而且新義層出不窮。他好像老是走在我們前面。我不知道他下一部書寫的是什麼？有人說，他回到已經下過二十多年功夫的研究計畫，研究清末民初過渡期間的政府。他的下一部作品，又將成爲我們的必讀之作，那是毫無疑問的。

IMPERIAL TASTE: THE MONUMENTAL AND EXOTIC IN THE QIANLONG REIGN*

You would be right to be skeptical about today's lecture, for it deals with a question best left to art critics or historians of manners. I am neither. This gives me great latitude to be both opinionated and wrong. The question of taste, however, interests me not in the matter of connoiseurship—the reading of paintings—but rather as a discourse of power. I shall try to develop an argument which suggests that there was an important political dimension to imperial style. It reinforced the ambience of absolutism and gave both physical and metaphorical dimension to the arbitrary power of the throne [figure 1]. I am not at all certain that what I have to say was unique to either the Qianlong emperor, on whom I shall concentrate, or Qing monarchs as a late imperial cohort. I think there is something much older and more deeply imbedded in Chinese imperial culture

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* This lecture is drawn from a longer piece, "A Matter of Taste: The Monumental and Exotic in the Qianlong Reign," originally published in Ju-hsi Chou and Claudia Brown, ed., *The Elegant Brush, Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor, 1735-1795* (Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), pp. 288-302.

that permitted the celebration of the monumental and indulgence in exoticism. Nevertheless it was during the high Qing that such celebration achieved its apotheosis in the reign of the great 18th century emperors. And as taste is always contextual, I want to start by sketching a familiar portrait of the age before turning to the emperors themselves.

The 150 years that mark the early and middle Qing, from the Kangxi reign to the end of the Qianlong period was an age of superlatives, the last brilliant epoch of the old Chinese imperial order. It began with the young Kangxi emperor reimposing order on a nation still riven by doubts and factions and the bitter aftertaste of wars of conquest and dynastic succession. As the chorus in the famous play, *Taohuashan* ruefully sang, "Alas, 'tis never easy to decide/ Which be the winning, which the losing side."① The age ended in the last decade of the 18th century with the Qianlong emperor, supremely confident and too old, proclaiming to King George III of England in an edict, that "The productions of our Empire are manifold, and in great Abundance; nor do we stand in the least Need of the Produce of other Countries."②

This was true; the empire was still politically and

① K'ung Shang-jen, *Peach Blossom Fan* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 30.
② Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1927); *Da Qing Lichao Shilu* (Qianlong), Vol. 1435, p. 15b.

economically self-sufficient. But now it was racked internally by rebellion and corruption and beset by a population so great that long familiar social relations and institutions could no longer bear the strain. China was about to come apart at the seams.

But in between Kangxi's youthful, iron-fisted reunification of the realm and Qianlong's octogenarian complacency about it, there grew in size, uneven wealth and complexity as diverse a society as China had ever known. Landless peasants, household slaves, tenant and sub-tenant farmers, private smallholders, entrepreneurial landlords and absentee landlords, peddlers, bandits, demobilized soldiers, tax farmers, pawnshop owners and usurers all competed with each other for increasingly scarce resources. The ruling classes constructed networks of patronage, literary style, and philosophical outlook in their country houses and metropolitan offices. Professional artists and writers produced family portraits and funeral orations, pinups and hackneyed verse, and a lot of local history for their patrons; other artists, amateurs (by profession), dabbled in the market but made their name by painting and writing for each other. Buddhist bonzes and Daoist charlatans, storytellers and music masters, courtesans and female impersonators, jugglers at country fairs and schemers at court made life rich and perplexing and the question of taste daunting.

Stratigraphies of Taste

At its lowest level, taste is a subjective matter, defined by that unassailable dictum, "I don't know anything about art but I know what I like." In the High Qing period, this was exemplified by such monsters of vulgarity as the *nouveaux riches* salt merchants of Yangzhou. They were among the richest men in the world and they consumed conspicuously. Over forty years ago He Bingdi gave us examples of their grostequerie, quoting from a contemporary source: "There was one who erected wooden nude female statues in front of his inner halls, all mechanically controlled, so as to tease and surprise his guests... Another... built for himself a huge bronze urinal... five or six feet tall. Every night he climbed up to relieve himself."③ At the other end of the aesthetic spectrum were those with such refined tastes that they were almost paralyzed by their exquisite sensibilities. As individualistic and idiosyncratic as the merchants, they proclaimed, in effect, "We know everything about art and thus what you should like." Li Yu in the 17th century wrote a series of little essays on the high purpose of dilettantism. He insisted on correct taste (his) in women's makeup, landscape gardening and

③ Ho Ping-ti, "The Salt Merchants of Yang-chou," *HJAS*, XVII (1954), p. 156.

architecture, utensils and curios, haute cuisine, flowering and decorative plants, "ways to enjoy life and to treat illness without medicine."④

Beyond individual expression of likes and dislikes, however, were what might be called collective canons of taste—shared traditions and expectations which gave definition to the perceptual world of individuals as members of social classes, regional groups, cults, factions, schools of thought, belief, and behavior. We know a lot about this sharing (and contesting) of values among China's literati and almost nothing about it among China's commoners—the anonymous and the poor. The Qianlong emperor made the grand tour of the south six times but came no closer to Chinese farmers and artisans and their local aesthetics than did his magistrates and connoisseurs.

The imperial palaces were of course filled with curios, the highest examples of specialist craft traditions, but beyond and beneath that, the gulf between "fine" and "folk" art was vast. Ordinary people could not afford to see, let alone buy, but in their crafts they left a stratigraphy of taste—shards of functional necessity and private delight, liturgical affirmations and mechanical skills. Their crafts and tools constitute a rich source for an archaeology of

④ Robert E. Hegel, *The Novel in the Seventeenth Century* (N. Y., 1984), p. 54.

popular aesthetics. And when social historians get round to these matters they are certain to show us a world of taste as much bounded by canonical prescription as the sphere of high art; an aesthetic defined in the first instance by use-value but no less decoratively and regionally distinctive for that. The domestic imagination awaits discovery.

Moving up the social ladder, into the academies, country mansions, urban villas and imperial court, individuals and households with literacy, leisure, land, and money had access to High Culture. This was an accumulation of values and sentiments that permitted gentlemen and some gentlewomen, courtiers, princes, monarchs—even some merchants—to share an aesthetic that they believed was universal, true, and beautiful.

Within the mental walls of High Culture was much diversity. Young 17th century gentlemen made something of a cult of individualism. A bare generation removed from the violent world of dynastic war which destroyed so many of their families' fortunes, they lived for the moment while proclaiming that they created for posterity. They read scholastic philosophy of course, but also pornography and garden manuals. They mooned about martyrs and the victimizations which accompanied the fall of the Ming. There was a rash of retirements into monasteries, a convenient "getting away from it all." This was the age of

the great eccentric painters. Chinese history is littered with hermits and angry old men.

By the time of the Qianlong reign, however, the cult of individualism had given way to an orgy of conformity. The state no longer looked the other way at radically idiosyncratic behavior; orthodox taste and conduct were much prized and highly rewarded. Eccentricity was much tamed. Defiance had been routinized, the venom of the Ming-Qing transition largely drawn. The middle decades of the 18th century were marked in social manners, intellectual purpose, and artistic pratice by notions of orderliness, by a glittering, complacent, sometimes self-indulgent fascination with "order, regularity, and refinement of life," to borrow G. M. Young's apt description of Victorian England. ⑤

This turning back and in to familiar orthodoxies—a kind of cultural involution—was both the strength and the limitation of high-culture concerns in the Qianlong era. It was possible, of course, to be passionate, *engage*, even dangerous in the cultivation of scholastic familiarities. The garden of orthodox after all was large and the labor-intensive intellectual aesthetic which it required kept 18th century scholars and artists busy and at times contentious.

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⑤ G.M. Young, *Portrait of an Age* (London, 1957), pp. 5,7.

The Politics of Monumentalism

The emperor on the throne was both part of the high culture he patronized and above it. He had license to be both greater and different: to flaunt monumentality and indulge, if he chose, the exotic. It wes through precisely these two "modes," the universal and the decorative, that the Qianlong emperor created a legacy of taste for unshakable imperial pomp, massive projects, and occasional displays of what can only be called elephantine delicacy.

It was practically an imperial requirement to awe—to sponsor that which was monumental, solemn, and ceremonial, literally to be bigger than life. The Qianlong emperor was not exceptional in this respect. Universal kingship, after all, embraced the cosmos, and that grandiose posture demanded suprahuman in architecture, ritual, and the performance of the manifold roles required of the emperor. Thus the mausolea and palace cities, encyclopedias and variorum editions, harems and armies of earlier monarchs set the imperial precedent of doing things big. Qianlong, the quintessential inheritor. completed some of these projects, copied others, and started several of his own devising.

The Qianlong emperor understood as well as any who came before him that monumentalism was essentially a political aesthetic. It did not need to please, only to inspire

and command—respect, fear, loyalty, belief. It was a public but not popular art, meant to reaffirm hegemonic sovereignty, omnicompetence, imperial legitimacy and the natural, harmonious order of things. These principles were most notably embodied in the architecture that surrounded the Son of Heaven and made him mysterious. The imperial city, walls within walls, comprised almost a thousand palaces, pavilions, terraces and courtyards, pleasances and residence halls. It recapitulated the spaciousness and symmetry of the cosmos. Within its 723,600 square meters it encompassed all of humankind, both hid and elevated the emperor, and exhausted, sometimes beyond endurance, generations of officials and courtiers who trod the vast spaces between audience halls in service and submission to the state.

The history of the construction of the imperial city is well known, and I would only remind you that the palace complex burned down so often that though it was begun in 1406 by the Yongle emperor, it was not completed as we know it today until the Qianlong period—a period of three and a half centuries. Everything about its construction was monumental. Stupendous quantities of treasure and natural resources were consumed: fine hardwoods (*nanmu* from the far southwest), marble, ceramic tiles, glazes, clays, gold leaf, mortar, and legions of craft specialists and corvèe

laborers. Thus for example the 180-ton slab of seamless marble earmarked for a newly installed dragon way (reserved for the emperor alone) in the late Ming, took 20,000 men twenty-eight days to haul from the quarries outside of Beijing to the palace over carefully ice-slickened roads, the only manageble means of transporting such an unwieldy burden. ⑥ And during his long reign, the Qianlong emperor spent at a minimum 76,482,967 taels of silver on his reconstructions and additions. The ability of the treasury to meet such expenses represented merely another face of the political economy of monumentalism.

The imperial custodians of this culture of mass and ritual order might be frivolous or profound, intellectually curious or dull-witted, sentimental or ruthless, but they approved the claustrophobia of universal sovereignty, its high solemn walls, and its mythic purpose. When the Kangxi emperor fingered his harpsichord, when the Qianlong emperor sat for his portrait by Jesuit painters, all the while engaging the missionary Benoist in talk of the French and Russian royal succession, they were dabbling, condescending to be dilettantes. What counted were home truths. Universalism was incompatible with cosmopolitanism, which implies not just tolerance but acceptance of the validity of competing

⑥ Yu Zhuoyun, comp. *Palaces of the Forbidden City* (N.Y., London, 1984), pp. 20-22, 32; for the Qianlong-era expenses, pp. 326-327.

claims. Neither Kangxi nor Qianlong in this sense were cosmopolitans. In their institutional roles as patrons and collectors, ritualists, *patresfamilias* to all humankind, as administrators and militarists, they and other emperors preferred or provoked the grand, reiterated gesture [figures 2-6]. Their eyes and, one suspects, their hearts, were firmly fixed in the past.

The measures of monumentality were personal as well as public. Kangxi, like Polonius, was wont to lecture his sons on the arts of moderation: "...avoid," he told them, "too much sex when you are young...I keep only three hundred women around the palace [and send home to be married those who reach the age of thirty]. You sons should do the same."⑦ And like Polonius, he did not always listen to his own counsel: He fathered his first child when he was only 13 years old and ended up with 56 children who lived for at least some time past birth. Qianlong by contrast had but 27. One dares not think too long on the armies of wetnurses, nannies, chambermaids, concubines, consorts, and wives required to produce and maintain this little mass of humanity.

The quantitative *grand geste* was a signature of the Qianlong reign. The emperor of course was capable of

⑦ Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China* (N.Y., 1974), p. 123.

temperance, even of ambivalence. It took him over six years at the beginning of his reign to determine just how he should come down on the matter of important fiscal reforms initiated by his father, the Yongzheng emperor. He was concerned lest draconian measures against corruption be misinterpreted as the work of a tyrant. ⑧ He could be cautious to the point of being dilatory, and for one long stretch in the middle years of his reign appears to have refused to name, even secretly, an heir apparent. But his taste for grandiosity could not be contained, as his famous "ten glorious campaigns" attested.

These expeditions served to show the flag and reassert imperial supremacy on the frontiers. They were expensive. As Zhuang Jifa has shown us, the Taiwan in 1787 required the shipment of almost one-and-a half million piculs [*shi*] of rice to the front; the total cost of all ten campaigns exceeded 151 million taels. ⑨ They were legendary in scale. Above all they were inspirational, or meant to be. The emperor on a memorial steel compared himself to Tang Taizong, and then sent off to Paris, via French East Indiamen at Canton, to have his exploits graven on copperplate. By 1784 sets of the engraving were widely

⑧ Madeleine Zelin, *The Magistrate's Tael* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 266-277.

⑨ Zhuang Jifa, *Qing Gaozong Shiquan Wugong Yanjiu* (Taipei, 1982), p. 494.

distributed throughout the realm, hung in imperial villas, palace buildings, garden pavilions and temples. ⑩ Long after the reasons for the campaigns were forgotten, buried in massive campaign chronicles [*fanglue*], the formal pantomimes of victory, frozen in these heroic tableaux, celebrated the emperor's virtue and accomplishments in the field. The *representations* of the triumphs became the triumphs themselves, transcending mere event and historicity.

It was not as a warrior, however, but as a collector and patron of the arts and letters that the Qianlong emperor excelled as a monumentalist. Himself a writer and painter, he produced more than 42,000 poems, huge volumes of prose writings, massive collections of state papers (as the recent publication in over 75 volumes of his *zhupi zouzhe* attests).

The emperor's two most enduring accomplishments in the field of collecting were the compilation of the *Siku quanshu* and the building of the Imperial Palace art collection. Again, I want here merely to quantify the familiar. The *Siku* project, over a period of 12 years from 1773 to 1785, employed some 15,000 copyists to produce 3,462 complete works (out of a total of 10,230 inspected) in 36,000 *juan*. 2,262 others were burned or censored.

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⑩ Nie Chongzheng, "Qianlong pinding Zhunbu, Huibu zhantu he Qingdai di tongbanhua," *Wenwu*, 1980, No. 4, pp. 63-64.

The numbers game is equally monumental with respect to the great palace art collection, largely the work of the Qianlong emperor. My figures are doubtless out of date and probably understate the case for monumentality. But they still do service as a mark of the Qianlong emperor's acquisitiveness. The Gugong collection here in Taiwan includes roughly 8, 800 paintings and examples of calligraphy, 27, 870 pieces of porcelain, 8, 369 pieces of jade, numerous bronzes and countless curios. I do not have figures for the Beijing collection, but it may be larger. Under Qianlong's auspices the unified collection may have been even greater, for since his time it has been periodically devastated by deliberate destruction (at the hands of the British and French in 1860), rebellion (in 1900 during the Boxer uprising), dispersal (after 1911 when the Manchu rump took part of it off to Manchuria), arson (which destroyed at least 1, 157 paintings in 1923), and civil war (1945-49).

The Qianlong emperor, who assembled so much of the palace holdings, was clearly an avid, and some say reasonably discerning, collector. He had a keener eye and certainly a more grandiose vision than his forbears. (The Kangxi emperor, for example, was prey to unscrupulous dealers who appear to have pawned off second-rate scrolls and

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⑬ James Cahill, "Collecting Painting in China," *Arts Magazine* (April, 1963), p. 70.

forgeries on the court.)⑪ Qianlong's collection would be the *summa* of imperial taste, an act of historical preservation of what was rarest and best; it would also be an affirmation of splendor: most would be best.

This tension between throne and merchant over the disposition and ownership of works of art was not exceptional. The 18th century was a collector's century and art changed hands often as merchant princes, art dealers and intermediaries, private individuals, artists and statesmen used paintings and curios as media of exchange, payment for debts, collateral for loans, marks of invidious social or intellectual accomplishment, gifts, bribes, and hoarded wealth.⑫ It is tempting, in this respect, to seek a pattern of competition between private (largely merchant) capital and public (bureaucratic) capital—between, that is, a commercial bourgeoisie and the imperial court—for the scarce resources of the art market. It might help explain the remarkable drive by the court under Qianlong to collect art quantitatively as well as qualitatively; it might also explain the art dealers' holding back of authentic works in expectation of better prices from the great private collectors.

Yet, though commercial capital was accumulated in vast amounts in the 18th century it was, as we know, never

⑫ James Cahill, "Types of Artist-Patron Transactions in Chinese Painting," (Unpublished ms, 1983; cited with permission); also the same author's "Collecting Painting in China," pp. 66-72.

permitted to create an independent bourgeoisie, a middle class with different, independent, more influential tastes than the gentry-imperial culture of court and bureaucracy. Merchant wealth was legally unprotected and always vulnerable to predation by the state. Its sumptuary pretensions were no match for the immense fiscal wealth and cultural hegemony of the throne. Competition was uneven; the market was skewed. And if the art dealers now and then made a killing, their profits, like their paintings, remained subject to expropriation by the state. The emperor's claim to the lion's share of the market was primary and assured. An enthusiast, he could indulge his whims and buy up paintings in job lots; a critic, he could force an owner to present a desired piece to the throne as a gift; an autocrat, he could break a merchant to get what he wanted.

A final aspect of the Qianlong emperor's penchant for the monumental was the periodic mobilization known as the imperial southern tour of inspection. Ostensibly organized for reasons of state—to show the crown and inspect water works—it was largely an exercise in self-importance and flattery. The mobilization of resources for such a trip was massive, the logistics complex. A flotilla of barges and boats had to be requisitioned to carry all the palace ladies and attendants who insisted on following in the emperor's wake. One such expedition also require 900 camels and

6,000 horses. ⑬ The emperor might inveigh against extravagance: All those lanterns and awnings and flower boats were vulgar, the fireworks unnecessary, the woodwind and string ensembles impermissible. ⑭ But no provincial governor or retired grandee would have dared take the Son of Heaven at his word, and the southern tours remained lavish displays of local wealth and overpreparation. The dignity of the throne would be preserved.

Much else was also preserved on these tours: architecture, repaired before the imperial eyes could be set upon it, art, and the removal back to the court of local artistic tribute, landscape and garden styles, and whole colonies of artists, scholars and writers who impressed the monarch en route with their works. ⑮ In fact the tours may be considered to have redressed the aesthetic imbalance between the Yangzi delta culture and the north: They removed the product from the buyers, the market, as it were, from the merchants. What was not acquired as gifts was purchased by the throne. The currency used was silk and the idiom that of rewards conferred: so many bolts of satin for so many scrolls or annotated collections of verse or antique curios. ⑯ There

⑬ Gao Jin, comp., *Nanxun Shengdian* (Preface, 1771), *juan* 114:7b.
⑭ *Nanxun Shengdian*, 68:3b, 4a, 6a; 69:2b; 70:2b; 71:4b.
⑮ Chen Congzhou, *Yangzhou Yuanlin* (Shanghai, 1983), p. 4; also Wang Wei, *Yuan Ming Yuan* (Beijing, 1957), p. 4.
⑯ *Nanxun Shengdian*, 68:3b, 4a, 6a; 69:2b; 70:2b; 71:4b.

was much decorum in the transfer of this cultural treasure and much prestige conferred upon the donors, but in the end the throne was enriched because it could not be ignored.

The Limits of Exoticism

Monumentality, then, served as a magnet. It overwhelmed, as it was supposed to and created in the process the very public it was meant to impress. The court's taste for the exotic, on the other hand, seems to have been limited in influence—a private affair between the emperors and the Western world. The 17th and 18th centuries were the great age of the Jesuits in China. They were admired by the emperor and used by him, as interpreters and diplomats, engineers, armorers, astronomers, architects, landscape gardeners. They were appendages of a world-embracing court and sources of incidental knowledge and pleasure. The operative word here is "incidental." Beijing in the 18th century did not ape or adapt their manners or dress as 8th century Chang'an did the styles and wares of the Turks and Persians at the outer limits of the Tang empire. Europe in the age of Qianlong was still beyond the horizon to all but a few traders, Catholic converts, and courtiers. Many officials attuned themselves to court tastes without assimilating them. They bought the clockwork automata which the Qianlong emperor prized so much and

sent them along to Beijing. They earned points, the emperor wound his clocks, and James H. Cox, the purveyor in London and Canton, and his Swiss counterparts in Geneva, made money. The appropriation of Europe in this fashion was almost an exact stylistic equivalent of the decorative fantasies of Chinoiserie which swept Europe in the same century.

The Yongzheng emperor posed for Lang Shining (Castiglione) [figure 7] in the manner of Versailles but knew nothing of it. The Qianlong emperor, much taken with great houses of Europe as he saw them in his Jesuits' books and in his mind's eye, built his famous Italianate chateau in the Yuan Ming Yuan, complete with formal gardens, an aviary, a maze, reflecting pools and fountains.

The whole was an exchange in superficialities. European monarchs constructed Chinese pagodas and pavilions; Chinese rulers built European mansions. European painters imagined fabulous creatures or simply quaint ones and called them Chinese; Chinese artisans, working from European models and designs sent out in the porcelain trade, rendered Europeans fabulous and funny. If few on either side understood the other, a lot of people profited from the trade in China ware, silks, and tea, and a lot of others derived harmless pleasure from their fanciful borrowings.

There was room for the frivolous and self-indulgent in

the great years of the high Qing. After that, pleasure parks and spinets would not do. Beleaguered nineteenth century court officials looked back nostalgically on the Qianlong reign: Power had been sublime, and if taste had sometimes been ridiculous, it didn't really matter. It was after all the expression of a people still in command of native values. Never again in Chinese history would those values and the taste they generated go unchallenged from without.

The Qianlong emperor, like Kangxi and Victoria, lived too long. His improbable durability became, like theirs, his greatest monument. His longevity was much celebrated, for it reaffirmed the gerontological basis of wisdom in a culture which prized precedent and regularity as the sources of order and refinement. His life became an Age, to which were attached styles, predilections, norms of behavior, schools of thought, prescribed expectation. It became a cultural as well as political reference point, the last time that a unified and universal Chinese world view would make sense and seem to work. Qianlong was the last of the giants.

Ch'ien-lung in middle age. A remarkably vibrant portrait, which stands in marked contrast to the official portrait (see figure 4), completed about the same time.

Figure 1 Qianlong in middle age

Ch'ien-lung as a Taoist priest, posed while he was still a prince, in 1734. The phrase, "Who knows the true self of this youth?" (cited on p. 261), is taken from the prince's inscription at the top right. The inscription is signed "Ever-Verdant Scholar," one of his early style-names. The lower inscription is a paean of praise by Liang Shih-cheng (see p. 153), one of Ch'ien-lung's tutors. It is dated May 1734.

Figure 2 Qianlong as a Daoist priest

Ch'ien-lung writing in spring setting (detail). Note that he appears to be copying a text. The youth in the lower right-hand corner is one of two serving boys attending the vernal sage. The emperor in his literary persona wore more than one guise (see figure 7).

Figure 3 Qianlong as a poet-scholar

Ch'ien-lung as the Buddha, in the middle of a traditionally composed mandala (detail). This is the most striking example I have found of the emperor's ecumenical claims and of his apotheosis in paint.

Figure 4 Qianlong as the Buddha

清高宗御錦雲駿瘦雙鹿圖

Figure 5 Qianlong in hunting

清高宗春蒐圖

Figure 6 Qianlong in hunting

清世宗雍正化妆像

Figure 7 A portrait of Yongzheng by Castiglione

帝王品味：乾隆朝的宏偉氣象與異國奇珍

各位可能對今天演講的題目感到奇怪，因爲這個問題最好是留給藝術評論家或風俗史家來處理，而我兩者都不是，這給我充分的空間去固執己見與犯錯。但品味問題讓我感到有趣的，並不是繪畫研究之類的藝術鑑賞，而是它可以被視爲一種「權力的論域」(a discourse of power)。我試圖演申的觀點是：皇室的風格中，有重要的政治面向；它加強了專制主義的氣氛，使帝王專斷的權力既有具體的展現，又有隱喻的作用。我完全不確定我所說的現象是乾隆皇帝特有的，還是清朝帝王這整個帝制後期的族羣特有的〔圖1〕。不過不管怎麼樣，我今天的討論將集中在乾隆身上。我認爲中國帝制文化中，有一古老與根植的取向，使帝王能縱情恣意於宏偉氣象與異國風味中。然而，直到盛清，在偉大的十八世紀帝王的統治時期，這種縱情恣意才發揮到極致。因爲品味總是受一定的時空脈絡影響，在我轉向這些皇帝之前，我將對大家所熟悉的時代背景作一描繪。

從清初至清中葉，也就是從康熙至乾隆末期的一百五十年，是一段輝煌的時期，也是古老中華帝制秩序中最後一個燦爛的時代，它開始於年輕的康熙皇帝。康熙在一個爲懷疑、黨派之爭、

改朝換代與皇位繼承等征戰的痛苦回憶所分裂的國家中，重新建立起秩序。就像在著名的戲曲「桃花扇」中，眾人所悲唱的：「只恐輸贏無定局，治由人事亂由天。」①這個時代在十八世紀最後十年中結束。年老而充滿自信的乾隆皇帝在一封詔書中，對英王喬治三世宣稱：「天朝物產豐盈，無所不有，原不藉外夷貨物以通有無。」②

這是眞的，帝國仍然能在政治上與經濟上自給自足。但這時，帝國內部正承受叛亂與貪污之苦，而且由於人口的高度成長，長久以來爲人熟知的社會關係與制度不再能够承受這種壓力而出現隙縫。中國卽將逐漸順此隙縫解體。

但是，從康熙以一英武青年，用鐵腕般的手段再度統一天下，到年邁的乾隆皇帝志得意滿之際，中國卻發展成一個在大小規模、財富多寡及複雜性上都相當歧異的社會——這種歧異的程度是中國歷史上從來沒有的。無地農民、奴僕、佃農、次級佃農、有地的小農、經營地主和不在地地主、販夫走卒、盜匪、復員軍人、包稅者、當舖老闆、放高利貸的人，紛紛競逐那些日漸減少的資源。在鄉村的房舍及城市的官署中，統治階級建立恩主——從屬的網絡、文學風格及哲學風貌。專業的藝術家和作家爲顧客創作家庭畫像、祭文、掛幅、格言以及許多地方誌。其他的

① 孔尙任，桃花扇（北京：人民文學出版社，1961），頁25-26。

② Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1927); 大清歷朝實錄（乾隆），卷1435，頁15下。

業餘藝術家（這些人其實可以說是「職業的」業餘藝術家，因爲他們也出售作品，有些甚至還訂立了一定的潤格，鄭板橋就是一個好例子）玩票性地出售作品，並藉著彼此之間的酬唱和交換作品而建立名聲。和尚、裝神弄鬼的道士、說書人、樂師、長三（高級妓女）、優伶、在鄉村市集與廟會中的變戲法者、朝廷的謀士等，使生活變得多彩多姿與混亂複雜，也使品味問題變得令人望而生畏。

品味的層次

品味在最低的層次，是主觀的東西，可以由下面這句無懈可擊的格言來界定：「我對藝術一無所知，但我知道自己喜歡什麼。」在盛清時期，暴富而鄙俗之極的揚州鹽商是很好的例子。他們是世界上的鉅富，揮霍無度。四十多年前，何炳棣曾根據時人的記敍，舉例說明鹽商的怪誕行徑：「有一個鹽商在內廳之前，豎置了一座木製裸體女人像，完全由機械控制，藉此來戲弄、驚嚇其賓客。……另一個人……則爲自己造了一個巨大的銅尿壺，……有五、六尺高。每晚他都爬上去撒尿。」③在這個審美光譜的另一端，是那些品味精緻，幾乎被自己敏銳的感覺所癱瘓的人。他們與鹽商一樣，個人意識強烈，作風獨特。事實上，他們宣稱：「我們對藝術無所不知，因此也知道你應該喜歡的東

③ Ho Ping-ti, "The Salt Merchants of Yang-Chou," *HJAS*, XVII (1954), p. 156.

西。」十七世紀的李漁寫了一系列的小品文，討論藝術嗜好的高尚目的。他堅持自己在女性化粧、庭園設計、建築、器物古玩、珍餚烹調、花卉養植、植物裝飾上都有正確的品味。對他來說，這些都是「享受生活及不靠藥物治病的方法。」④

不過在個人好惡的表現之外，還有一些可以稱爲集體的品味準則——共同的傳統與期望；這種傳統與期望界定了個人作爲社會階級、地域羣體、宗教派別、黨派、學術思想、信仰和行爲之成員的認知世界。對於中國士大夫價值觀的共有（以及彼此競爭），我們相當熟稔；但對貧苦無名的普通老百姓共有的品味準則，卻幾乎毫無所知。乾隆曾經大張旗鼓，六度南遊，但和他統領的地方官及鑑賞家相比，乾隆對中國農民、工匠和他們的地方性美學，並沒有更貼近深入的了解與接觸。

當然，宮廷中充滿了各式古玩，它們都是民間專門工藝傳統的極品。但在此之外、之下，「精緻」與「民俗」藝術間仍有一道鴻溝。一般老百姓沒有能力觀賞「藝術品」，更不用說買了。但在他們的手工藝品中，卻留下了各種不同層次的品味——在片瓦碎石中，我們看到功能上的需求和私人的愉悅、宗教儀式上的重覆和技藝的巧妙。他們的技藝與工具形成豐富的資源，可以讓我們對庶民美學進行考古學一樣的探索。社會史家一旦開始接觸這些東西，一定會向我們展示一個品味的世界——這個世界和

④ Robert E. Hegel, *The Novel in the Seventeenth Century* (N. Y., 1984), p. 54.

高等藝術的領域一樣，同樣受到準則的規範；以及一種美學——這種美學首先靠實用價值來界定，但裝飾功能也同樣重要，同時又充滿了區域的獨特性。這種家居生活內的想像力仍有待發掘。

沿著社會階梯往上走，進入書院、鄉間的大宅院、城市的豪門大第和宮廷，那些有教養、有閒暇、有土地、有金錢的個人與家庭得以接觸上層文化。這個文化是價值與感情的累積，使紳士、一部分淑女、朝臣、王子、君王，甚至某些商人分享一種他們相信是普遍、眞實與美麗的美學品味。

上層文化的心靈世界，紛繁多樣。年輕的十七世紀紳士創造了一種對個人主義的崇拜。改朝換代的戰爭——他們多數人的家庭與財富均因此而被摧毀——造成的慘烈世界，不過是一個世代前的事，現在他們爲眼前此刻而活，卻聲稱是在爲後代奠基舖路。他們當然閱讀學院派哲學，但也讀色情刊物和園藝手册。他們思索著伴隨明朝滅亡的烈士與種種犧牲。有許多人退隱到寺觀中，這成爲一種「遁世的方便法門」。這是一個產生古怪的大畫家的時代。中國歷史上充滿了隱士與憤怒的老人。

然而到了乾隆時期，對個人主義的崇拜卻被過度的一致性所取代。清王朝不再容忍激烈的怪異行徑，正統的品味與行爲大受褒揚。違規偏差的言行爲之馴化。抗逆不服的舉止受到規範而納入常軌。明清改朝換代的怨恨也多半被平息。在社會態度、智識目的與藝術實踐各方面，十八世紀中葉的特色是重視秩序的觀念。借用 G. M. Young 對維多利亞時代英國的描寫，⑤乾隆

⑤ G.M. Young, *Portrait of an Age* (London, 1957), pp. 5,7.

時期的特色也是對「秩序、規律和生活雅緻」的追求，表現出來的風格是炫耀、自滿、甚至自我耽溺。

這種回到熟悉的正統的趨向——一種所謂的文化內捲（cultural involution）——對乾隆時代上層文化所關懷的事物來說，同時是一種力量與限制。當然，研究學術上一些熟悉的論題，也同樣可能使人熱情慷慨，積極投入，甚至也可能產生危險的結果。不過正統的園地畢竟十分遼闊，在智識上、美學上需要人全力投注，這使得十八世紀的學者、藝術家鎮日忙碌，有時還爭吵不休。

「宏偉氣象」後面的政治

在位的皇帝一方面是他所支持的上層文化的一部份，一方面又超乎其上。他有權力比別人更偉大，又可以與眾不同；他可以誇示宏偉、龐大之物，也可以選擇浸淫於異國奇珍之中。正是藉著普遍性與裝飾性兩個「模式」，乾隆皇帝創造了一個品味的遺產，專事營造難以動搖的帝室壯麗、大規模的工程，偶爾也展示一下豪華的優雅。

讓一般人產生敬畏感正是皇室該做的事。他們必需支持宏偉、莊嚴以及儀式性的事物，同時這些事物表明了就是要大於俗世的存在。乾隆皇帝在這方面並不例外，畢竟，普遍王權包含了宇宙，而這般堂皇的姿儀、身價需要在建築、儀式以及帝王各種角色的扮演上，都展現出超乎凡俗的規模。如此一來，早期的

帝王所建造的壯觀陵墓和皇城，所編輯的卷帙浩繁的文集與集註本，以及所擁有的數量龐大的女眷與軍隊，都爲「以大取勝」的作風開了先例。身爲一個純粹的傳統價值的繼承者，乾隆完成了其中某些計畫，模仿了一些其他的，同時開始一些自己製作的事物。

乾隆和他之前的皇帝都知道宏偉之感基本上是一種政治美學。它不需要取悅於人，只需要去激起和支配人們的尊敬、畏懼、忠誠和信仰之情。這是一種公眾藝術，卻不是民間藝術，它被用來再次肯定君主的霸權、無上的能力、王室的合法性以及事物的自然和諧秩序。這些原則在環繞著天子，並使他看來神秘無比的建築上，表現得最明顯。被層層城牆環繞的紫禁城幾乎是由一個個宮殿、亭子、陽臺、庭院、寢宮所組成。它概括了宇宙的廣大與對稱。在七十二萬三千六百平方公尺之中，它涵蓋了人類的所有，一方面隱藏了，另一方面也尊崇了皇帝。它也使得世世代代，臣服於國家之下，並爲之效力的官員、朝臣在其廣闊的空間上來來去去，疲於奔命。

皇城的興建歷史眾人皆知，在此我僅提醒各位，皇宮曾多次被燒毀，所以它雖然從1406年永樂皇帝時就開始興建，但我們今天所見的這個規模，直到乾隆時期才完成。總共經歷了三個半世紀。所有和皇城興建相關的事物都是龐大的。它消耗了驚人數量的財富與自然資源：精緻楠木（來自西南邊陲）、大理石、琉璃瓦、彩釉、黏土、金箔、灰泥以及無數的工藝專家和民間伕役。

例如，爲鋪製一個新的龍道（專門保留給皇帝用）所用的一百八十噸無縫大理石的石板，在明代末期，花費了兩萬人的二十八個工作天，從北京外的採石地經由光滑的冰道拖到皇宮。（他們在路旁每隔半里挖一個井，然後將水灑到路上使之結冰）而這種方法在當時是搬運這種龐然大物的唯一方式。⑥在乾隆時期，至少花費了七千六百四十八萬二千九百六十七兩銀子在重建與增建紫禁城上。國庫有能力支付這筆錢僅僅代表「宏偉氣象」之政治經濟學的另一面。

管理這種大規模的文化和禮儀秩序的皇帝可能是膚淺或深奧的，可能在知識上有好奇心或愚笨不堪，也可能是感性的或無情的，但是他們都對普遍王權的窒息感、它高大而莊嚴的圍牆以及神秘的目的加以贊許。當康熙皇帝玩弄著他的大鍵琴，乾隆坐著讓耶穌會士畫肖像，並問傳教士 Benoist 有關法國和俄國的王位繼承問題時，他們其實是紆尊降貴，以一種淺嘗涉獵的態度成爲藝術的愛好者。重要的是傳統的價值。普遍主義和心胸寬廣的四海一家主義（cosmopolitanism）其實並不相容。後者不僅容忍，而且接受各種競爭性言論的正常性。就此意義而言，無論是康熙或者乾隆都不是四海一家主義者。他們常常扮演一些制度性的角色，像是文藝支持者、收集者、儀式專家、統治天下的「人主」，或是行政主管與統兵元帥〔圖2, 3, 4, 5, 6〕。這個時候，他

⑥ Yu Zhuoyun, comp. *Palaces of the Forbidden City* (N. Y., London, 1984), pp. 20-22, 32；關於乾隆時代的財政支出，見頁326-327。

們和其他皇帝其實都偏好，或做出一些偉大且重覆使用的姿態。我們懷疑，他們的眼光和內心其實都緊緊地固著在過去。

測量宏偉性的尺度是個人的，也是眾人的。康熙就像 Polonius 一樣，常常以中庸之道訓誡他的兒子：「當你們年輕的時候，要避免過度縱慾。……我只在後宮中蓄養三百個佳麗〔當他們三十歲，就遣返回家成親〕，你們也應該如此。」⑦不過康熙就像 Polonius 一樣，也不完全遵守自己的勸告：他十三歲時有了第一個兒子，而最後共有五十六個小孩，這還不包括夭折者。乾隆卻不一樣，只有二十七個孩子。我們無法想像爲了生育這一羣小孩，所需的大量奶媽、宮女與妻妾等。

數量的龐大是乾隆朝的特色。乾隆當然能够自制，他甚至也可以在不同的情緒、想法間擺來擺去。在他卽位之初，只爲決定對他父親雍正皇帝所開始的財政改革應該怎麼繼續，他猶豫了六年，理由是殘酷的反貪污措施可能被誤解爲專制的暴政。⑧他可能謹愼到步調緩慢的程度；在他統治的中期，有很長一段時間，他拒絕指定繼承人選——卽使是秘密進行。但他對宏偉與壯觀的品味卻不受任何控制，著名的「十全武功」就證明了這一點。

這些征討是爲了對邊界的鄰國宣揚國威並重申帝國之主權。它們的花費非常昂貴。正如莊吉發教授的研究所顯示的，1787年

⑦ Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China* (N.Y., 1974), p. 123.

⑧ Madeleine Zelin, *The Magistrate's Tael* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 266-277.

的對臺戰役，需要用船運送幾乎一百五十萬石的米到前線；而全部十全武功的花費則超過了一億五千一百萬兩銀子。⑨戰爭的規模宛如傳奇。更重要的是它們令人欣然神往，至少最初的目的是如此。乾隆在一個紀念石碑上將自己比擬爲唐太宗；他又派人搭乘廣州法屬東印度公司的船隻，到巴黎僱工將他征戰的成果翻刻在銅板上。到 1784 年，一組一組的雕板已經廣泛地留傳天下，掛在皇家建築、庭樓與廟宇的牆上。⑩當戰爭的理由早已爲人遺忘，並埋葬在卷帙浩繁的方略（戰爭年鑑）中時，凍結在銅板上一幕幕英雄事蹟的描繪，就像正式慶祝勝利的啞劇，頌揚著帝王的威德和在戰場上的成就。這些勝利的代表物超越了事件與歷史，成爲勝利本身。

但乾隆之所以贏得氣象宏偉的聲名，並不是因爲他在戰場上的表現，而是因爲他在收集與支持文藝上的成就。他自己是一名作家與畫家，創作了四萬兩千首以上的詩、卷册龐大的散文作品，以及大量的公文書（最近出版，超過七十五卷的硃批奏摺就是明證）。

乾隆皇帝在收集方面兩個最持續性的成就，是四庫全書的編纂與皇宮中的藝術收藏。在此我僅提出一些大家熟悉的數字。四庫計畫在 1773 到 1785 年十二年間，僱用了約一萬五千位抄寫者，出版了三千四百六十二種書（它們是從一萬零二百三十種被

⑨ 莊吉發，清高宗十全武功研究（臺北，1982），頁494。
⑩ 聶崇正，「乾隆平定準部回部戰圖和清代的銅版畫」，文物，1980，第4期，頁 63-64。

檢查的書中選出來的），總數三萬六千卷。此外另有兩千兩百六十二種書則被焚毀或查禁。

皇宮內的偉大藝術藏品，在數字上同樣龐大驚人，這些大部份是乾隆皇帝的傑作。我的數字無疑已經過時，而且可能有些低估了。但是它們仍然可以顯示乾隆皇帝的貪得無厭。臺灣故宮的收藏品中包括了大約八千八百幅字畫與法帖，兩萬七千八百七十件瓷器，八千三百六十九件玉器，大量的銅器與無數的古玩。我沒有北京故宮收藏品的數字，但可能更多。在乾隆贊助下的所有收藏品，可能較現在所見到的還要多，因爲從他那個時代開始，這些收藏品就不時受到有意的破壞（1860年在英國人和法國人之手），以及叛亂（1900年義和團事件）、流散（1911年後遜清王室曾將部分送往東北）、火災（1923年摧毀了至少一千一百五十七幅畫），與內戰（1945年到1949年）等因素的摧毀。

在皇宮中收藏了大量藝術品的乾隆，很明顯地是一個狂熱的收藏家，有人還認爲他有相當的鑑賞力。他比以前的皇帝有更銳利的眼光與更廣闊的視野（例如康熙皇帝就是狡詐掮客的受害者，這些狡詐的掮客在皇宮中以欺騙的方式將次級的繪畫與贋品脫手）。⑪乾隆的收藏是帝王品味中最高的表現，是對最稀有、最好的東西的歷史性保存；同時，這些收藏品無疑地都是光彩奪目之作，多半且是無上珍品。

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⑪ James Cahill, "Collecting Painting in China," *Arts Magazine* (April, 1963), p. 70.

皇帝與商人間對藝術品的處置與擁有的緊張關係並非例外。十八世紀是一個收藏者的世紀，當富商巨賈、藝術品的經銷商與掮客、私人收藏家、藝術家、政治家用繪畫與古玩作爲交換的媒介、付債的方式、貸款的抵押、招人妒羨的社會與智識成就的表徵、禮物、賄賂以及儲藏的財富時，藝術品也隨之快速轉手。⑫在這方面去尋找私人（多半是商人）資本與官方（官僚）資本之間——亦卽商業的中產階級與朝廷之間——對藝術市場之稀有資源的競爭模式是很誘人的。這可能有助於解釋藝術品經銷商常常把持住眞品，期望從有名的私人收藏家取得較好價格的原因。

雖然在十八世紀有些人累積了大量的商業資本，但誠如我們所知，他們卻永遠無法創立一個獨立的中產階級，不能在宮廷、官僚的士紳——皇室文化之外，發展出獨立、不同，而且更有影響力的品味。商人財富不受立法保護，常有受到國家掠奪的危險。商人窮奢極慾的憑藉無法和皇帝的巨大財富以及文化霸權相比擬。兩者之間的競爭是不對等的，市場也是倒向一邊。藝術品經銷商如果偶爾大賺一票，他們的財富，像他們的繪畫，仍有被國家沒收的危險。在藝術市場中皇帝有壟斷一切的能力，是超級大戶。作爲熱心人士，他可以隨心所欲，買斷一切現貨；作爲一個批評家，他可以強迫擁有者將他想要的作品送呈作禮物；作爲

⑫ James Cahill, "Types of Artist-Patron Transactions in Chinese Painting," (Unpublished ms. 1983; cited with permission); 亦見同作者的 "Collecting Painting in China," pp. 66-72.

一個專制君主，他可以使商人破產而得到他想要的東西。

乾隆最後一項對宏偉氣象的癖好，表現在動員民力的屢次帝王南巡上。表面上這是出於國家的理由，藉以顯示皇威與巡查水利工程，實際上卻多半是自負自大與諂媚阿諛的活動。這種巡行需要動用龐大的資源，後勤工作也相當複雜。必需徵調大規模的船隊，來運送那些堅持隨行王側的後宮佳麗與侍從。其中有一次巡行還需要九百隻駱駝與六千匹馬。⑬皇帝曾抨擊奢靡：他說所有的燈籠、布篷與花船都是庸俗；煙火不必要；管弦樂隊也不許可。⑭但是沒有地方總督或退休要員敢相信天子的話，南巡仍然毫不吝惜地展現了地方財富與過度的準備。皇帝的尊嚴無論如何要保持住。

其他許多東西也因南巡而得以保存：比如在天子看到之前已大事整修好的建築、藝術品，被運回皇宮的各地藝術貢品、景觀與庭園的風格，以及一批一批在皇帝南巡途中，以其作品贏得君王青睞的藝術家、學者和作家。⑮事實上，南巡或許可以被看成一種補救措施，減緩了江南文化在美學、藝術上超越北方的速度。南巡令買主釋出貨品，使商人失去市場，而美好的藝術品如果不是被呈獻作禮物，就是被皇帝買走。交易所用的貨幣是絲綢，慣用的語法是欽賜的獎賞，許多疋的緞子就如此化爲畫軸、

⑬ 高晉編，南巡盛典（前言，1771），卷114，頁7下。
⑭ 南巡盛典，卷68，頁3下，4上，6上；卷69，頁2下；卷70，頁2下；卷71，頁4下。
⑮ 陳從周，揚州園林（上海，1983），頁4；亦見王威，圓明園（北京，1957），頁4。

集註的詩集或古玩。⑯繁縟的禮儀換來這些文化珍寶，捐贈者則被授予各式各樣的頭銜與聲名。不過最後只肥了皇帝，因爲沒有人能輕忽他。

異國奇珍的限制

所以宏偉之感就像一個磁鐵。它讓人無法抗拒（最初設想的目的正是如此），也在整個過程中，創造出一批批它想要留下深刻印象的公眾。但在另一方面，皇帝對異國奇珍的品味卻似乎影響有限，它是皇帝與西方世界的私事。十七與十八世紀是耶穌會士在中國的偉大時代。他們以傳譯者、外交官、工程師、兵器製造者、天文學家、建築師、庭園設計者等身份受到皇帝的讚賞與重用。他們是一個擁有天下的朝廷的附屬物，也是偶然的知識與歡樂的來源。這裏有作用的字是「偶然的」。十八世紀的北京在生活方式或服飾上，並未模仿外人，也沒有作過什麼調適，不像八世紀長安那樣，深受唐帝國外緣的突厥與波斯人的風格與貨物的影響。在乾隆時代，除了少數商人、天主教徒、朝廷之外，歐洲仍然是遙不可及，難以想像的。許多官員雖然迎合皇帝的品味，但並沒有將之內化吸收。他們購買乾隆非常喜歡的機械鐘，並將之送往北京。他們邀得聖眷，皇帝爲鐘上發條，而在倫敦與廣州的供應商 Jame H. Cox 與在瑞士日內瓦的經銷商，則因此

⑯ 南巡盛典，卷68，頁3下，4上，6上；卷69，頁2下；卷70，頁2下；卷71，頁4下。

獲利。以這種方式將歐洲據爲己有，和在同一世紀橫掃歐洲，用中國古玩來滿足裝飾奇想的時髦熱，在風格上幾乎如出一轍。

雖然雍正願意讓郎士寧以凡爾賽宮的風格爲他作畫（在一幅畫像中他被畫成一位捲髮與身穿洋服的法國國王）〔圖 7〕，他對法國宮廷與文化卻一無所知。乾隆則從他閱讀的耶穌會士進呈的書籍和自己的想像中，看到歐洲的深宅巨邸，並爲之神往。他因此在圓明園建了有名的義大利式莊園，再加上官式的花園、禽舍、迷宮、反射倒影的池子與噴泉等，一應俱全。

這是一個膚淺的文化交換。歐洲君主建築中國式的寶塔與亭子；中國皇帝則建造歐洲式的華廈。歐洲畫家想像出一些神話中的人物，或自己憑空創造出一些離奇有趣的人物，就說他們是中國人；中國工匠以貿易瓷上歐洲人提供的模特兒與各種設計爲藍本，最後畫出的卻是荒唐、可笑的歐洲人。如果說雙方都對彼此沒有什麼了解，至少有很多人從中國器物、絲、茶的貿易中獲得利益，另外還有很多人從另一個文化中借來的奇思妙想中，得到一些無傷大雅的樂趣。

在清盛世的偉大歲月裏，輕浮之物與自我放縱仍然有存在的空間。此後，供人享樂的亭園與把玩的小玩意就顯得突兀刺眼。處處受掣肘的十九世紀朝臣，以懷舊的眼光回顧乾隆時代：權力既然已經到頂，品味偶爾荒謬一下，實在也無傷大雅。畢竟，這麼做的人仍然能够深切掌握本土的價值。在此後的中國歷史中，那些價值及他們所蘊育出來的品味再也沒有辦法不受外來的挑戰

了。

乾隆與康熙及 維多利亞女王 一樣活得太久 。 和其他兩人一樣 ， 乾隆那令人難以置信的長久在位 ， 成爲他最偉大的紀念事蹟。他的長壽爲人熱烈地慶祝、頌揚，因爲在一個重視先例和規則，並將此視爲秩序與練達之淵泉的文化中，乾隆的長壽再度確認了年齡是智慧的基礎的信念。他的一生成爲「時代」名稱，用以形容特定的風格、偏好、行爲規範、思想學派和規定的期望，也成爲文化和政治的參考點。這是最後一次，一個統一普遍的中國世界觀能够言之成理 ， 並好像實現 。 乾隆是最後一個歷史巨人。

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS: ILLUSTRATION AND THE PRE-HISTORY OF MASS CULTURE*

Introduction

During the past ten years the study of Chinese popular culture by my colleagues in the U. S. and Europe has become a thriving cottage industry. An entire program has been created at the University of California at Berkeley to conduct research on the subject. Librettos of country operas are examined for what they can tell us about *mentalités*—about the unlettered imagination. *Nianhua* and lay Buddhist scriptures are examined for evidence of canons of popular taste and exaltation. Professor Joseph Esherick discovers in rituals of spirit possession and village theatre the sources of Boxer inspiration and self-definition. Professor Rudolf Wagner deconstructs Hong Xiuquan's heavenly vision as a literalist text, symbolically familiar to his congregation—a local roadmap to the gates of Heaven, if not beyond. Professor William Rowe regards Hankou's late-19th century

* In the interests of brevity, I did not supply notes to this lecture. I will, however, be pleased to supply full documentation for both text and illustrations upon request.

dragon boat races as an early expression of popular municipal consciousness even while acknowledging the fierce regional and vocational competitiveness of those involved. Other scholars trace the transformation of parochial gods into transregional dieties as Song merchants traveled greater distances from home, taking their faith with them (Professor V. Hanson); or the appropriation of local cults by the state for reasons of normative compliance. (P. Duara)

It is clear that popular culture, once the preserve of ethnographers, has been infiltrated by historians. And as that has happened, sources (as well as subjects) have changed. Historians will never escape their primary reliance on texts, but non-verbal sources, such as symbols, signs, architecture, and artifacts, and quasi-textual sources, such as songs and spells and inscribed pictures, are beginning to force themselves on us as affirmations of things past. Among these, the *Dianshizhai huabao,* China's first major illustrated newspaper, has been rediscovered as an archive of late Qing urban taste and behavior. English and Japanese translators have published selections from the more than 4,000 items which appeared over 15 years from 1884-1899. Philip Kuhn, William Rowe, David Arkush and Leo Oufan Lee, to name just a few, have drawn on this source to illustrate their monographs. Ye Xiaoqing at Australian National University has just completed a 400 page Ph. D.

thesis on the *Dianshizhai huabao*, ① and of course my old friend Dr. Wang Ermin has written the major study in Chinese in your journal (*Jindaishi yanjiousuo jikan*).

The concensus is that *DSZ* is a unique source for the study of early modern popular culture. For example, it can be used to illuminate the building of a modern urban infrastructure: public and private transport (and traffic accidents), fire-fighting, police, running water, electrification [figures 1-5]; the increasingly public role of women [figure 6]; the emergence of a middle class which went to western-style restaurants, the theatre, the circus [figures 7-8]; the appearance of modernized dandies or playboys, adorned with "shades" (sunglasses) and umbrellas [figure 9]. This type of evidence is almost independent of the texts which accompany the illustrations. It derives from the pictorial representation alone—what we might call artifactual evidence for the modern sociologist. If, however, we read *DSZ* as it was meant to be read—as news—then it becomes something more than a collection of shards for an archaeology of popular culture. Rather it becomes a landmark on the road to mass culture, and it is that role which interests me here.

Toward a Pre-history of Mass Culture

News in the age of mass audiences and mass media

① Ye Xiaoqing, "Popular Culture in Shanghai 1884-1898", Ph. D. Thesis Australian National University, 1991.

is a subject in itself, and is being studied with growing sophistication today. ② It is its pre-history which interests me: news *before* the existence of mass culture. Mass culture may be defined as a culture anonymous in membership, trans-national or national in scope, "universal to all classes, and [often] consciously engineered and controlled from above." ③ The pre-history of mass culture then requires us to reduce our vision from the universal to the particular: from culture to cultures. These cultures may be regional in scope or local (specific to marketing areas, or villages—there is of course a debate over how local was); they may be vocationally specific (merchants wanted different news, one imagines, than itinerant doctors unless they both needed information on medicinal herbs or the whereabouts of the police, their activites often being illegal); particular cultures might be demographically defined (urban audiences being more differentiated, for example, than rural audiences), or constrained by class, race, gender (Manchu female highwaymen [figure 10] presumably having tastes and values different from butchers, bravos, or Bao tribespeople.) There were also of course private cultures and public ones. Some news was meant only for kinfolk, some for a parti-

② Cf. Leo Ou-fan Lee & Andrew Nathan in Johnson, et al, *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*; Nathan's earlier article on mass media; ongoing work of R. Stross.

③ Lee & Nathan, p. 360.

cular diety, some for the world at large.

It would be absurd, of course, to argue that these particularistic communities were mutually exclusive. The very act of *being* placed everyone in several of these, and many people in most of them. And we know a good deal about how information got to its targets from ancient times on: by the manifold mechanisms of word-of-mouth: night watchmen calling out their rounds, traveling salesmen and boxing masters trading or selling information to their clients, teahouses and temple fairs which were the equivalent of News Central, theatre troups, refugees, deserters, officials home on leave, riverboat sailors.

There were almost as many written media, though their target audiences were smaller. There were gazettes—official and unofficial, private and public mail services, woodblock prints, big and little character posters (*not* a post-revolutionary phenomenon), simplified popularizations of imperial sentiments (the moral equivalent of editorials), prescriptions and charms, and messages from the gods transmitted through mediums who would inscribe the word in sand. The list could go on.

Of all the sources of the news, pictorial illustration was a radical departure in the 19th century. New technologies of reproduction made this an age of cheap, accessible, graphic illustration, first in Europe, then America, finally

in East Asia.

We are so imbedded within an illustrated culture today that it is difficult to recall that linear type, not pictorial representations, once dominated public discourse. The assault on our visual sensibilities really began recently, even though historians can point to antecedents back to very early times. We know, for example, that as early as the 6 Dynasties period in China (3rd-6th c. AD) cartoon-like illustrations were being made: *lianhuan tuhua. Nianhua* [figure 11] may be considered single page cartoons and were produced in large numbers during the Qianlong period. Formal celebrations of imperial accomplishments were painted, drawn, and engraved on copper plate, such as those made at Paris in the 1770's and '80's for the Qianlong emperor. [figures 12-13] These representations of victories over the Dzungars and Vietnamese serve very much the function of the equestrian statue in the West, an iconography of martial valor. But they weren't news. Nobody saw them except the Court itself. The same is true of a series of thirty-three paintings celebrating the Chinese victory at Langson in Vietnam near the end of the Sino-French War in late March 1885. [figures 14-16] These were presented to the court with an explanatory commentary by Su Yuanchun of the Guangxi military command. The pictures were newsworthy, but there was no public to view them. (The *DSZ* by contrast

covered the war for a much wider viewership, as Wang Er-min has shown us.)

The notion of illustrating the news was also old. In 1567, for example, a French news report of "monstrous and frightful serpent" observed in Cuba was accompanied by a woodblock illustration of a "two-headed winged serpent." [figure 17] And three years later the *same* illustration was used to document a story of a "serpent of flying dragon, grand and marvellous," over Paris. Anomalies struck the Chinese pictorial imagination equally powerfully, though they were usually confined to encyclopedias, like the *Sancai tuhui.* [figures 18-19] Incidentally it was not unusual for *DSZ* later to emulate the French model and reproduce for contemporary purposes some of the old favorites. Thus this news report from Italy of a headless child born to a female criminal. [figure 20] The illustration of course derives from the *Shanhai jing*, and was reproduced in the *Sancai tuhui.* [figure 21] (There is no evidence that the Italians knew of either of these works.)

Woodblock prints, however, were expensive to reproduce in large quantities for ephemeral events, and it was only with the development of lithography that mass-produced illustration became feasible and desireable. It made possible a fateful revolution in perception, from a reading public to a viewing public.

Lithography and the Popularization of Illustrated News

Lithography was the accidental invention of Aloys Senefelder a young Bavarian printer and playwright who lived from the late Qianlong period into the Daoguang era (1771-1834). We have a laundry list to thank for the invention. One day in 1796 Aloys, the sole supporter of his mother and 8 siblings, ran out of paper just as the laundress came to fetch the family wash. In a stew, he grabbed a greasy homemade crayon and wrote out the list on a slab of stone. Later, on a hunch, he applied a mild acid to the stone which ate away about a playing card's thickness of the stone in every place except where the crayoned list stood. He then washed the stone in water, applied a greasy ink which adhered only to the crayoned laundry list—because oil and water don't mix—and printed a clean (though verso) image. And another. And another. In his long and careful memoir of the invention, he does not tell us that he ran out into the streets of Munich crying "Eureka!" but well he might have. By 1798 he had perfected the new printing technique, no longer needing to etch the stone. Merely by applying ink to oiled crayon, wetting the rest, and pressing very hard with crude, home made presses [figures 22-23], he produced the first lithographs.

Printing on stone required no engraving or etching skills. Only the skills of making copy as it were: creating the drawing first on specially treated paper, transferring it directly to the limestone and then pulling a heavy wooden scraper over a clean piece of paper laid on the stone. This was quick, easy, and above all cheap. Multiple copies could be "pulled." Industrial lithography was born; illustrations of current or historical events were soon affordable; so were reproductions of high art. Technology was to transform popular culture into mass culture, though the process would take another century to be complete.

By the 1820's Daumier was applying the new technology to his own political vision [figure 24], and the French press transformed mass-produced illustration into a political art.

In the dawning age of capitalism lithography became the hand maiden of the profit motive. If you were living in London or New York in the 1840's and were literate, you got your news in long doses of linear type. Then Henry Ingram, a tough-minded entrepreneur married art with news in the first English illustrated newspaper, the *London Illustrated News*, which came out for the first time on May 14, 1842. It contained 32 drawings in its 16 pages, and was sensationally received: 26,000 copies sold at 6d, though circulation dropped considerably once the novelty wore off. Its contents were a mix of the domestic and

foreign, society news, exotica and sensation. [figures 25-30: BURNING OF HAMBURG (MAY 14, 1842); ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE QUEEN (6/5/1842); EXOTICS (the functional equivalent of "Manchus" in the Ming, or Westerners in the Qianlong period); THE QUEEN'S FIRST RAILROAD JOURNEY].

The equivalent in the U. S. to the *London Illustrated News* was the "penny press," every bit as competitive and fixed on sensation to sell its papers. Fires were big items; all sorts of natural and human disasters were. [plates 31-32: THE NEW YORK SUN'S "AWFUL CONFLAGRATION OF THE STEAMBOAT LEXINGTON"; GREAT FIRE AT CHICAGO, OCT. 8th, 1871. Both Currier, later Currier and Ives].

Fires appear to have been of universal interest. Thus the Chinese joined in with the BURNING OF CANTON 1856 [figure 33: an oil painting].

Natural disasters were matched by human disasters, above all by war. If the U. S. civil war was the first modern war, the reporting of it, through photographs and lithographs may also have been the first modern vicarious experience of the battlefield. [figures 34-36: STORMING OF FORT DONELSON, TENN., FEB. 15, 1862; TAIPING ATTACK, JAN (?) 1856 (Xianfeng 5/11 mo.); ATTACKING THE TAIPINGS 1860'S. Court-commissioned painting.]

By 1884 the Chinese burghers of Shanghai had their equivalent of the penny press, and with it joined the technological drive to a mass culture. In May of that year, *DSZ* appeared for the first time. Produced lithographically, it was started by two Englishmen, Ernest and Frederick Major, failed tea merchants who 12 years before had gone up to Shanghai to start the famous *Shenbao*. Professor Wang has given us a comprehensive history of *DSZ* so I shall not repeat it here, only reminding you that it appeared three times a month over a period of fifteen years, resulting in a total of 4,653 illustrations, created by 24 graphic artists who appear to have had a free hand in selecting and captioning the stories they illustrated.

Like the *Illustrated London News*, the Shanghai version was above all aimed at making its owner richer. Putting out a newspaper in China in the 1870's and '80's was a risky business, for there wasn't yet something out there which we now call a reading public—a body of people who expected and *were* expected to be informed on a regular cycle of periodicity whether they knew each other or not. Officials were supposed to be informed. The literate classes expected to be informed. [figure 37: SINO-FRENCH EXCHANGE OF TREATIES at Tianjin 6/9/1885.] The notion that an at-large public was eligible to share such official news was not so much unthinkable as unthought.

And the experience of seeing one's officials at work must have seemed to some readers almost an act of voyeurism. Merchants, wealthy commoners, local wheeler-dealers, the underworld—all bought or traded or privately transmitted the information they needed. They often knew as much as the official classes what was going on, but they weren't supposed to.

What the earliest newspapers did was to legitimize access to public information. They may thus be seen as vehicles for the expansion of the community of gossip. Localism and provincialism were beginning to embrace a larger world. It would be wrong, however, to exaggerate the claim and thereby transform *DSZ* and *Shenbao* into mass media organs. Circulation was tiny. *Shenbao* began in the early 1870's with a press run of around 600, and even as late as the 1890's it was printing no more than 15,000-20,000, with *DSZ* numbering perhaps 10,000-15,000. This was spread over most of the provincial capitals of the empire, as Wang Er-min has shown. Yet until the advent of modern postal delivery by train and steamship, the very notion of general-circulation media was unthinkable. (I remind you that before steam, sailboats took 3 days and nights to get from Shanghai to Suzhou, now a 2 hour train ride: This inhibited the spread of general-circulation newspapers.)

Their early readership was urban, cosmopolitan, classically educated, highly literate, and at first limited to what one historian has called "a narrow sector of Western-influenced treaty port society" in Shanghai. Ye Xiaoqing argues that women, children, and the unlettered lower classes also enjoyed *DSZ*, presumably by osmosis as they certainly could not read the text which accompanied each illustration. The language was archaic and difficult, filled with classical tags, allusions, vernacular localisms, and haphazard punctuations. Dr. Ye exaggerates, I think.

What was News?

Scholars today debate the significance of *DSZ*. Wang Er-min takes issue with those who dismiss its contents as little more than a sort of updated *Liaozhai zhi yi*, filled with exotica and wonderment. He notes that only one-sixth of its contents can be considered of that ilk, the rest being an important vehicle for the transmission of new ideas and contemporary events. This is undoubtedly so. But I should like to cast the problem in a somewhat different light. The news, I think it can be argued, is *always* selective and usually atypical. This being the case, juxtaposition counts for much. The placement together of the sensational and sober, convention and innovation, event and story, fact and fiction, gossip and official pronouncements creates a

cognitive universe which we call the news. It may be shockingly inaccurate or trivial, or entertaining; it may be informative or educational; it may be a combination of all of the above. But it must be culturally rooted. It must resonate with contemporary expectations, whether those expectations are shopworn or fresh, alienated or complacent. As we know, the readers of *DSZ* were a little of all of these things. Thus a report from the front lines [figure 38: Battle of Majiang/Pearl Harbor] may be more current but not necessarily more compelling than a report of the execution of two felons by strangulation [figure 39].

The point I am trying to make is that both reports are useful to the historian. Both reflect the state of public discourse however inelegant or unenlightened it may seem to us in retrospect. *DSZ*'s subscribers got both what they deserved and what they wanted, and historians thus get an insight into a community reasonably comfortable straddling two worlds, the old and the new. So if *DSZ* chose to share its pages equally with Pu Songling and Li Hongzhang that is not reason to dismiss either as out of place or out of time. Shanghai's cosmopolitans were also provincials.

Old fashioned morality sat cheek by jowl with Progress. Readers of *DSZ* could thrill simultaneously to the satisfying (if accidental) drowning of a rebellious son [figure 40], to the grotesque tale of a man impaled through the rectum by

a wooden spar of a rotted bridge [figure 41], and to the impossibly exotic world of steam rollers, submarines, machine guns [figures 42-44], and hot air balloons. Railroads were big news in Shanghai, as they were in Philadelphia and New York [figures 45-48].

These modern contrivances were magical, strange beyond all normal experience. And precisely because of that, they fit easily into Pu Songling's symbolic universe. So did contemporary abnormalities. Midgets and giants exercised an attraction and repulsion on both sides of the Pacific [figures 49-52], confirming, I suppose, that the age of capital was filled with distortions and extremes. *DSZ*'s readers must have loved it. The affection for allusion was not lost in the rush for national news.

And plenty of national news there was: the Sino-French war (the first Chinese war covered by reporters in the field), Korean and Burmese politics, the Sino-Japanese war, to name just a few of the current affairs reported in its pages. Yet for all that, *DSZ* was remarkably apolitical. We see in its reporting a glimmer of patriotic sentiment, a hint of a modern national consciousness, but not yet of modern polemics. Still, this sort of news is not local. It transcends the particularities of the little community to whom it was first addressed. And by the first decade of the 20th century a national political consciousness and

critique was emerging in a radicalized press. [figure 53 "SELF GOVERNMENT"] Popular culture was merging with political culture, and the nationalization of consciousness was beginning its tempestuous course down the long years of the Twentieth Century.

figure 1 Private transportation: dandy and prostitute out for a drive

figure 2 Traffic accident (in Zhangyuan garden)

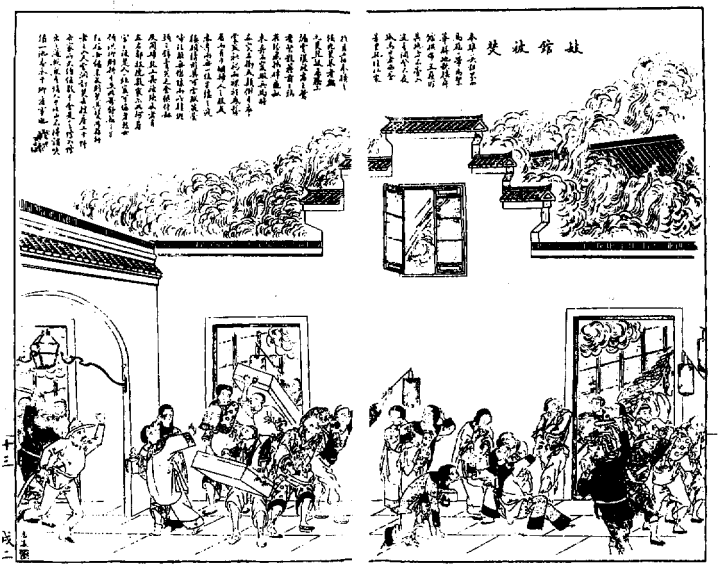


figure 3 Brothel on fire: Firefighters + Sikh & Chinese police

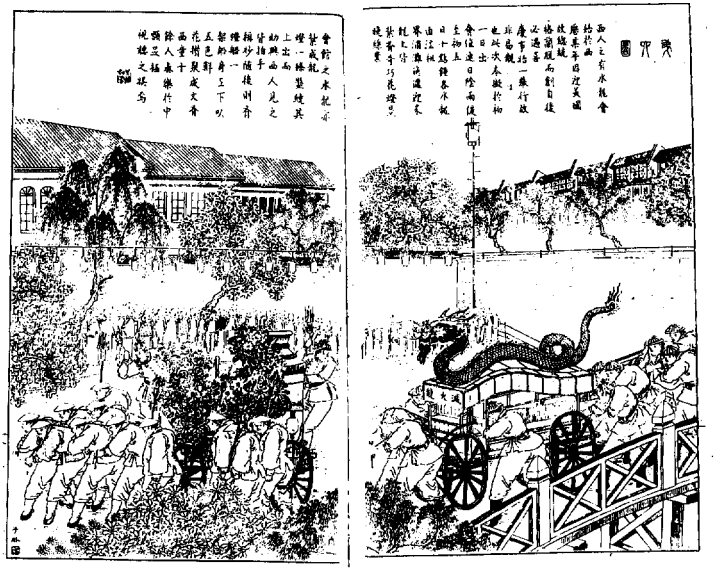


figure 4 Victoria Jubilee No. 4: Chinese fire brigades

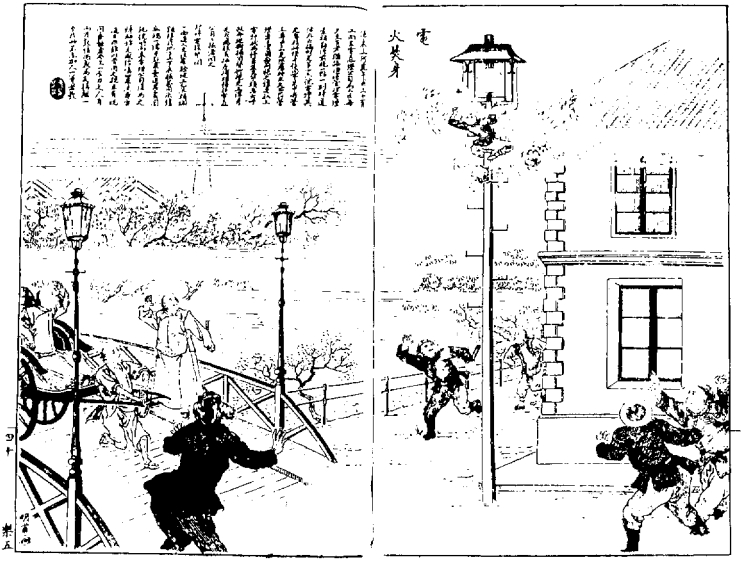


figure 5 Electric shock causes death: electrification

figure 6 Women's meeting

figure 7 Roller coaster (1890)

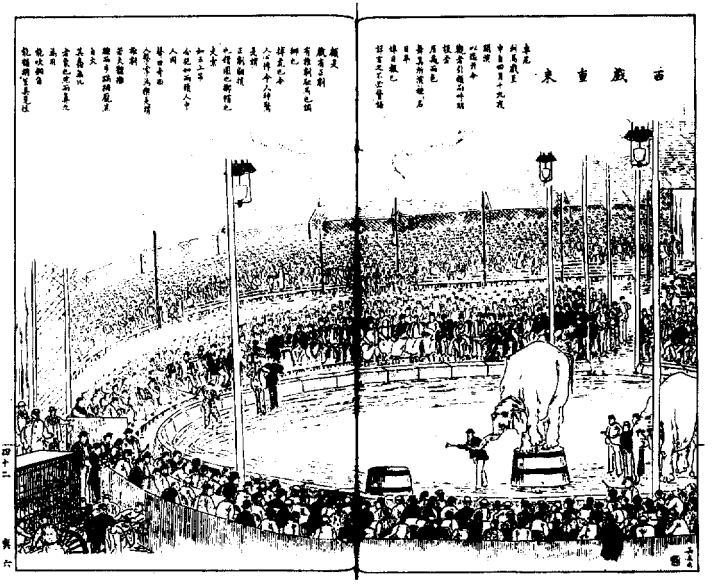


figure 8 Circus

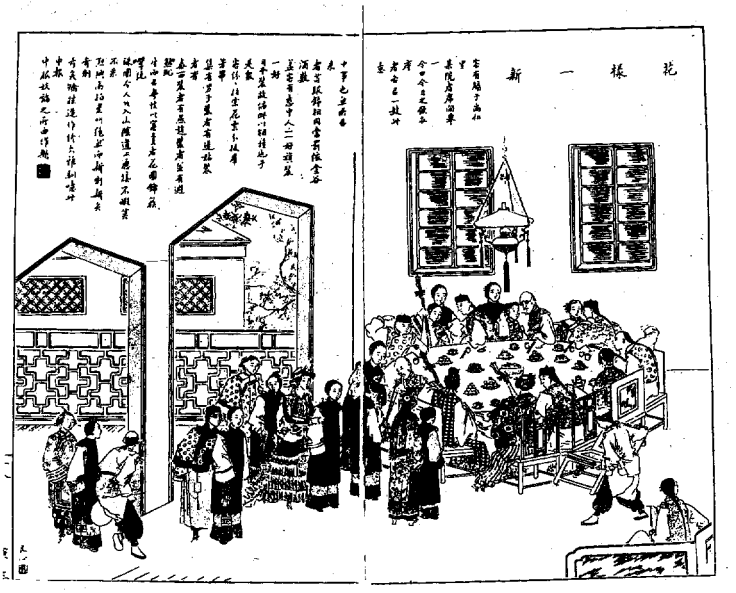


figure 9 Dandy (huahua gongzi)

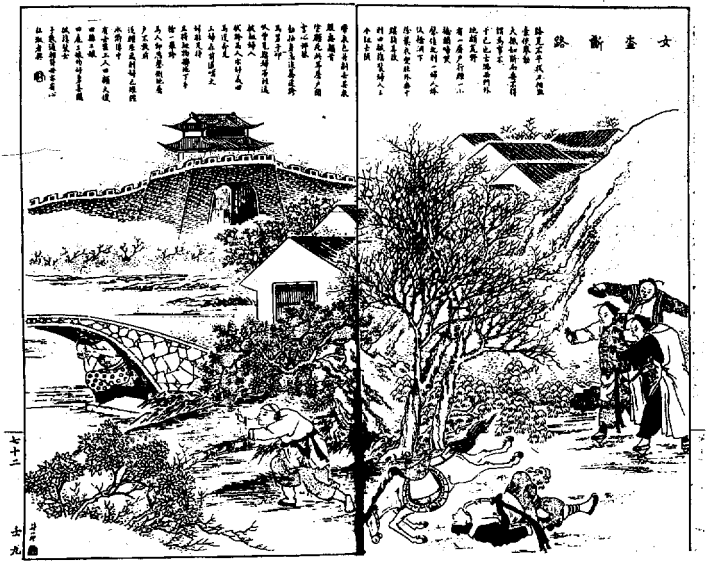


figure 10 Manchu female robbers with firearms

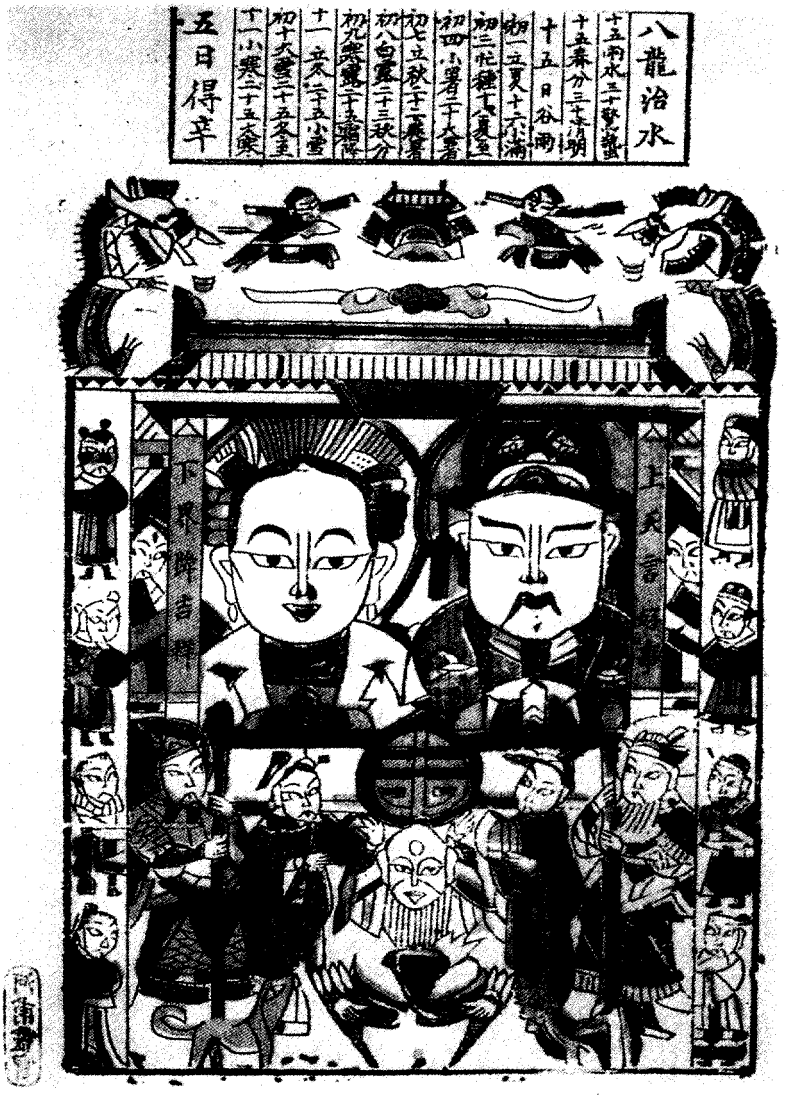


figure 11 Nianhua

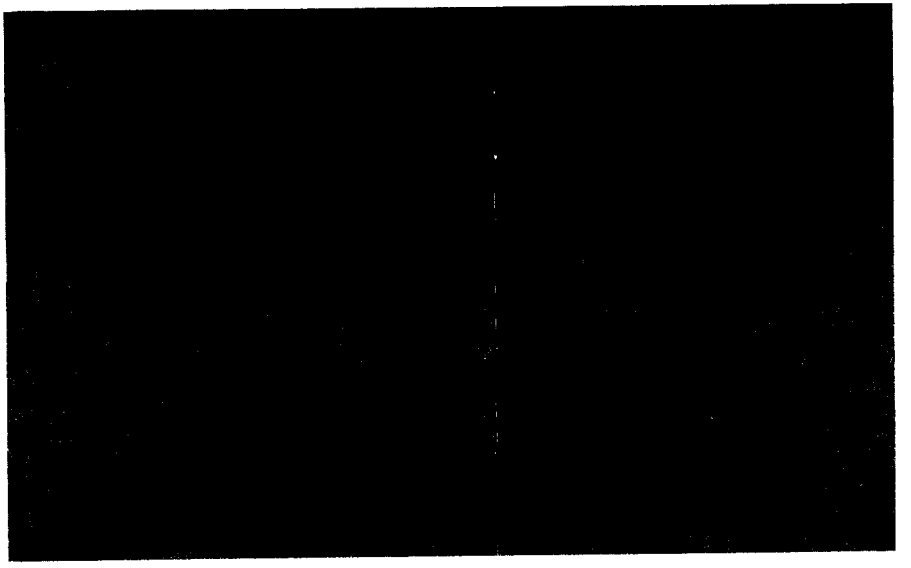


figure 12 Qianlong victories: Dzungar campaign 1774

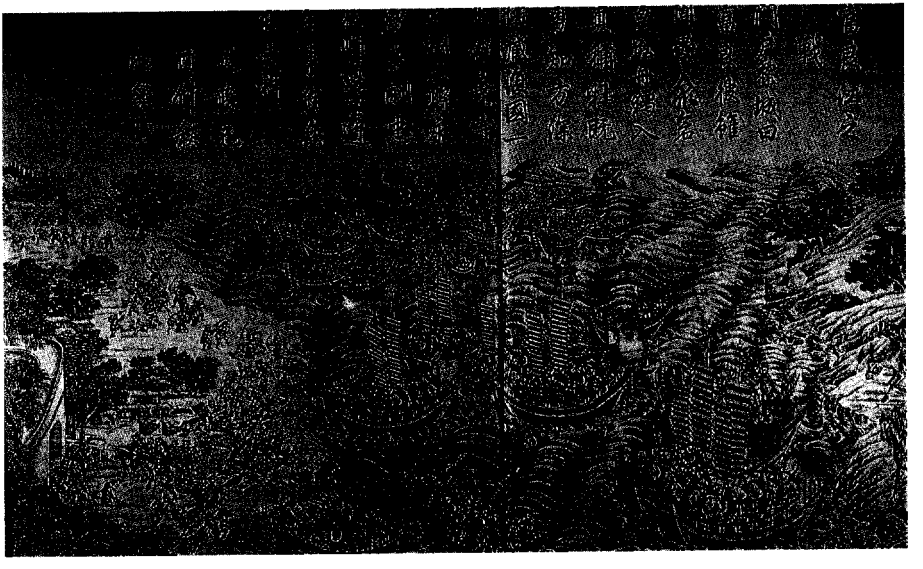


figure 13 Vietnam 1789

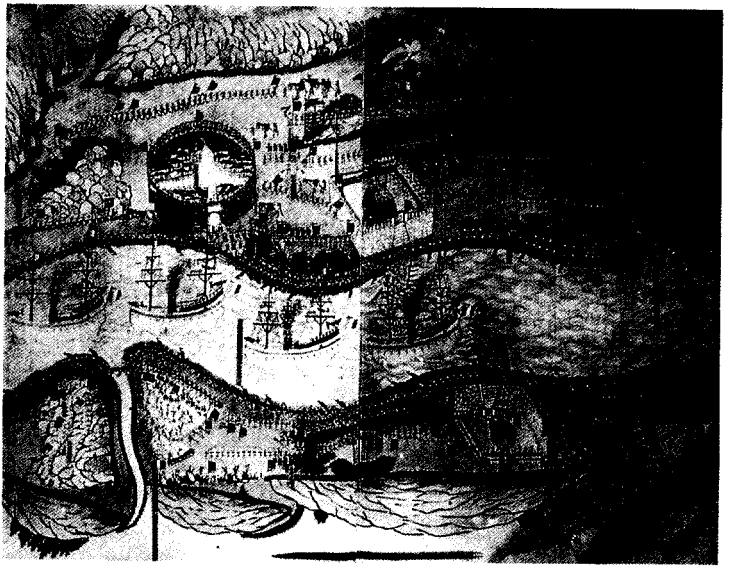
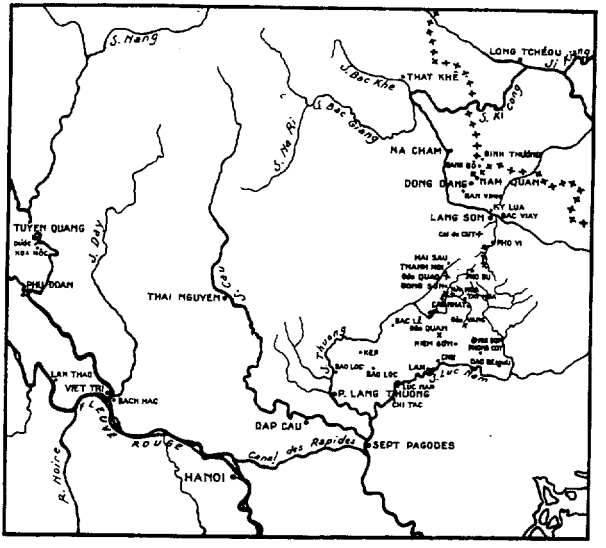


figure 14 Battle on Luc Nam River. One gunship is sunk, its captain killed; the other 4 retreat under fire from both banks and are damaged.



CARTE GÉNÉRALE DES OPÉRATIONS

figure 15 Map

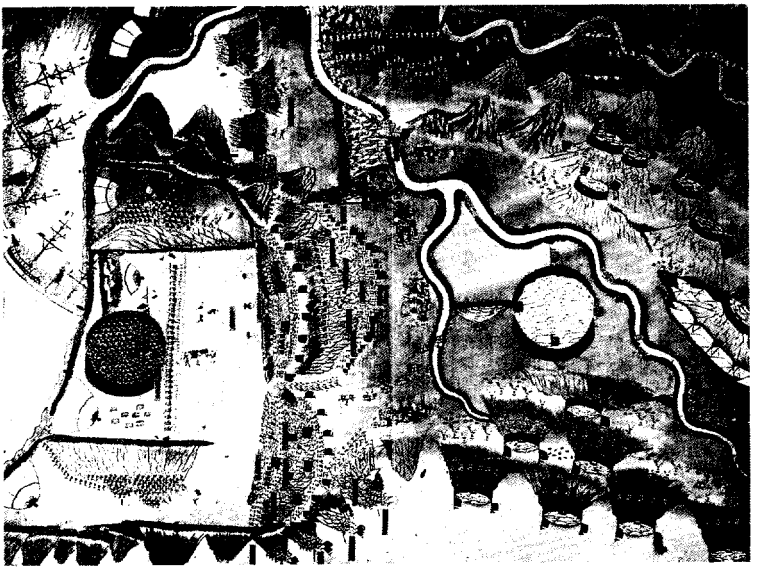
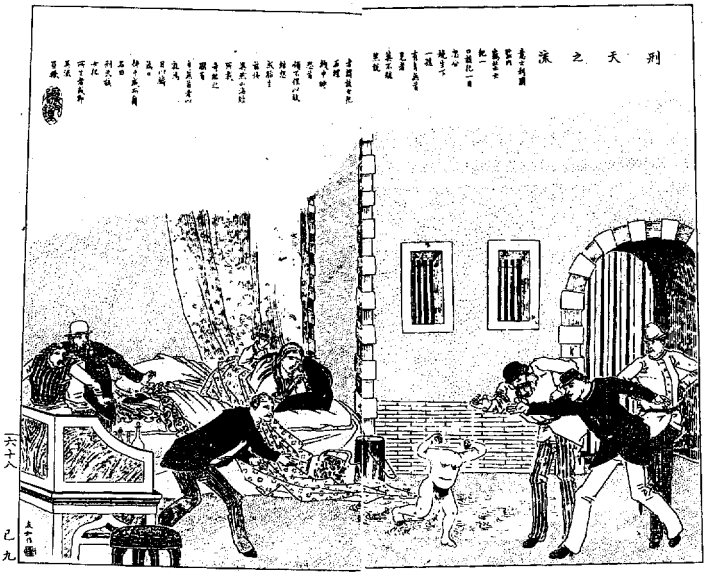


figure 16 French sue for peace after falling back to Chu. Six French officers on their knees sue for peace. Others carry a letter with the same aim.

figure 17 French two-headed winged serpent

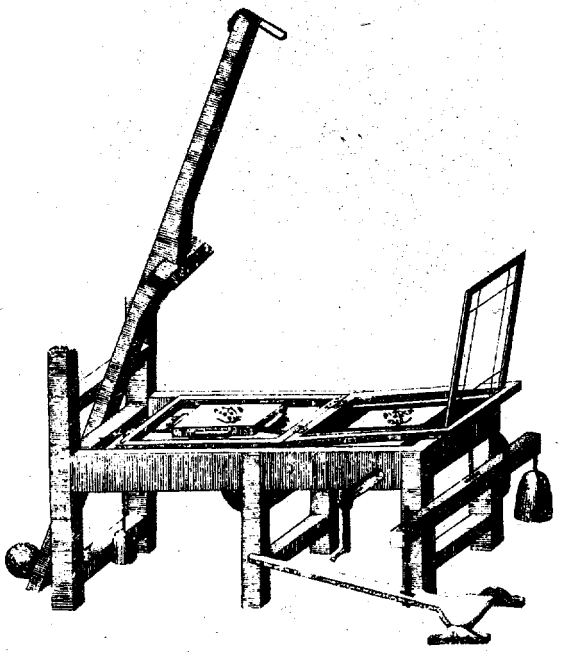
figure 18 Anomalies from Sancai tuhui

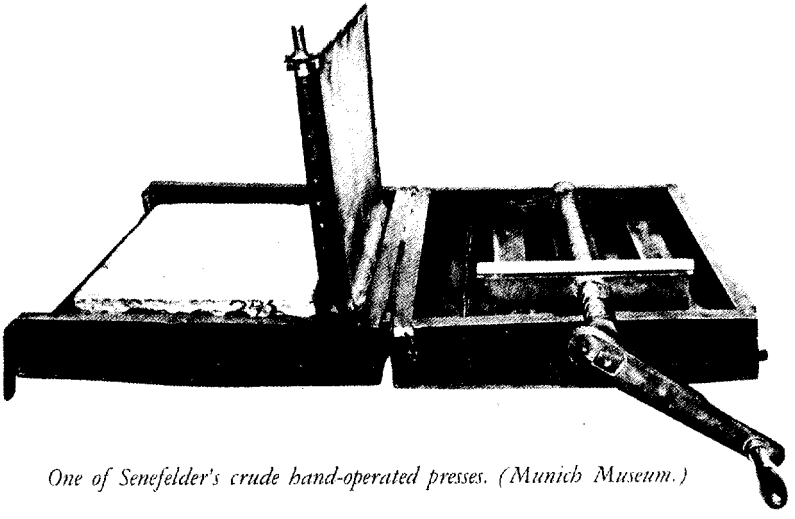
figure 19 Anomalies from Sancai tuhui



1. Fabulous beings. *a*, *above*, Headless Indians, from *Codex* 4810 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Early fifteenth century. *b*, *below*, Headless Westerner, from the Chinese *Classic of Mountains and Seas*.

figure 20, 21 Headless Child (2)





One of Senefelder's crude hand-operated presses. (Munich Museum.)

figure 22, 23 Senefelder's presses (2)

figure 24 Daumier, 15 April, 1834

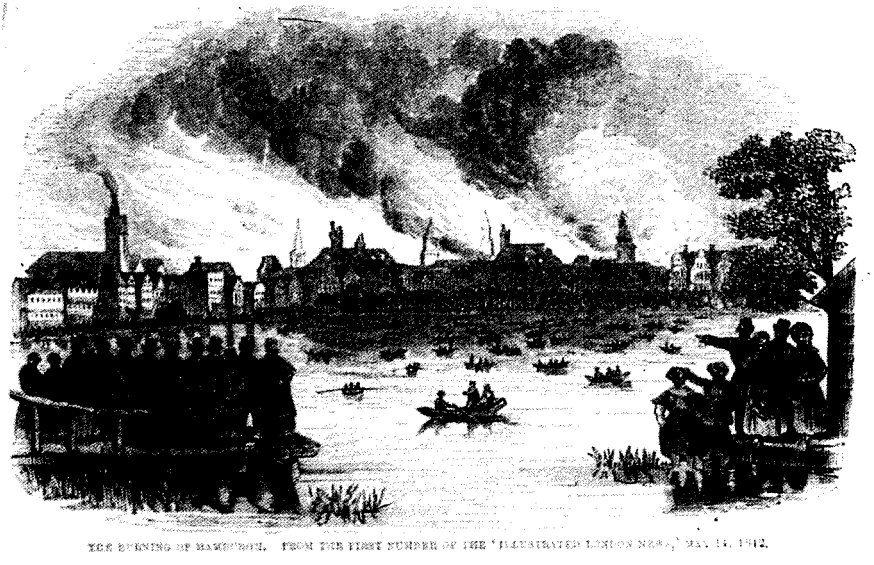


figure 25 Burning of Hamburg, May 14, 1842

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE QUEEN. FROM THE 'ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS,' JUNE 5, 1842.

figure 26 Attempted Assassination of the Queen, June 5, 1842

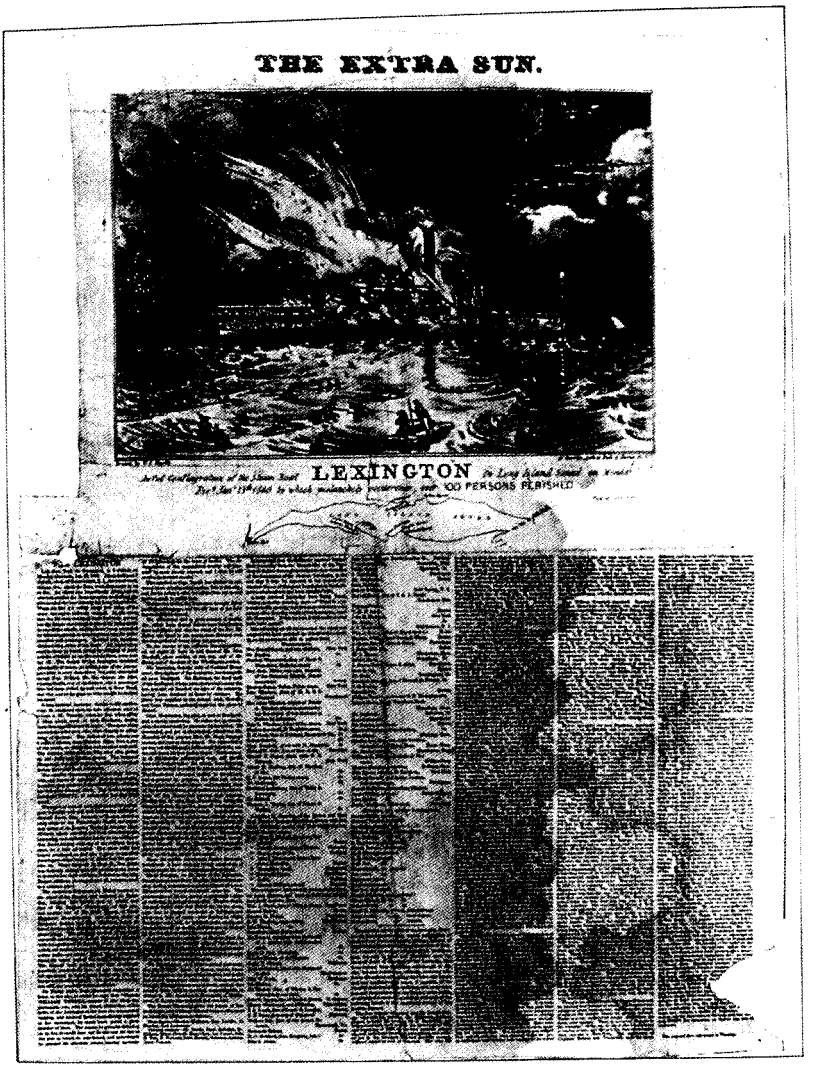
figure 27 Exotics (blacks from the colonies)

figure 28 Chinese exotics: Ming depiction of a Manchu

figure 29 Chinese exotics: Qing sketch of foreigners (Swedish barbarian and an Englishman)

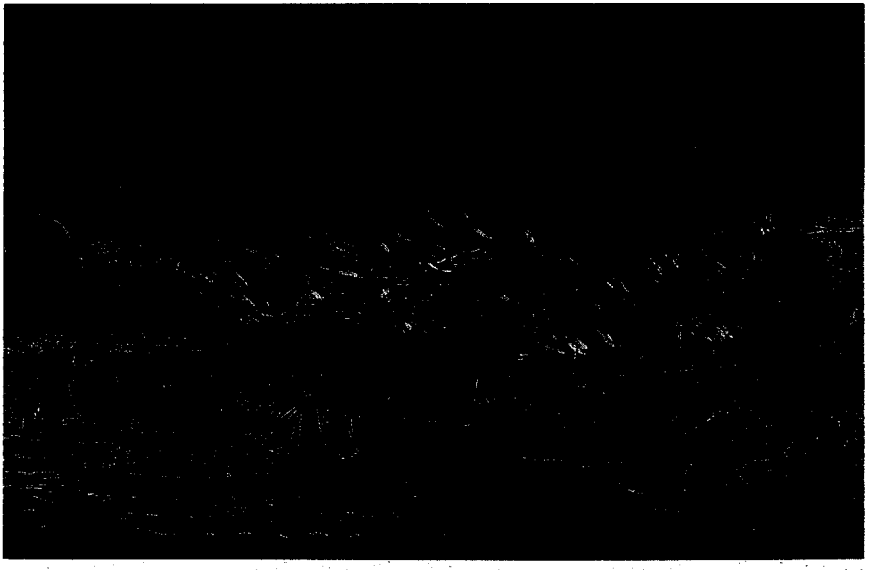
THE QUEEN'S FIRST RAILWAY JOURNEY. FROM THE 'ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS,' JUNE 19, 1842.

figure 30 The Queen's First Rail Journey, June 19, 1842



Awful Conflagration of the Steamboat LEXINGTON *in Long Island Sound*. Nathaniel Currier, 1840. (N. Sarony/W. K. Hewitt). The first illustrated news "extra."

figure 31 The New York Sun's : "Awful Conflagration of the Steamboat Lexington," Jan. 13, 1840.



The Great Fire at Chicago, October 8th 1871. Currier & Ives, 1871.

figure 32 Great Chicago fire, Oct. 8, 1871

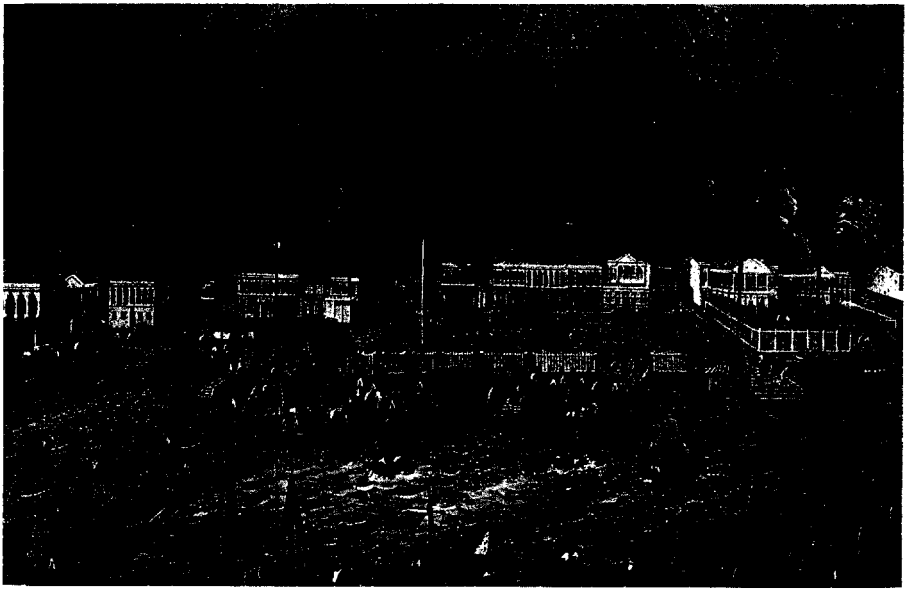


figure 33 Burning of Canton 1856 (oil painting)

THE STORMING OF FORT DONELSON, TENN. FEB. 15th 1862

figure 34 Storming of Fort Donelson, Tenn., Feb. 15, 1862

figure 35 Taiping attack, Xianfeng 5/11 mo. = Jan 1856?

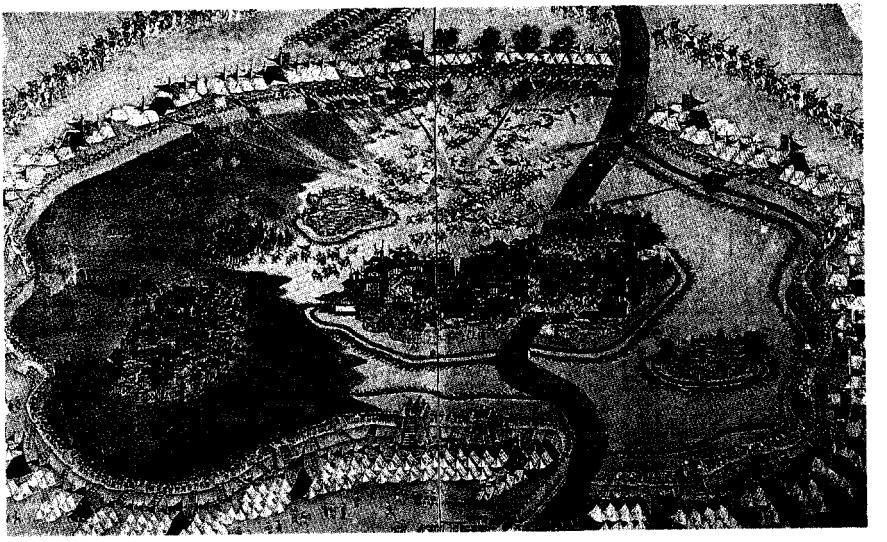


figure 36 Attacking the Taipings, 1860's: court-commissioned painting.

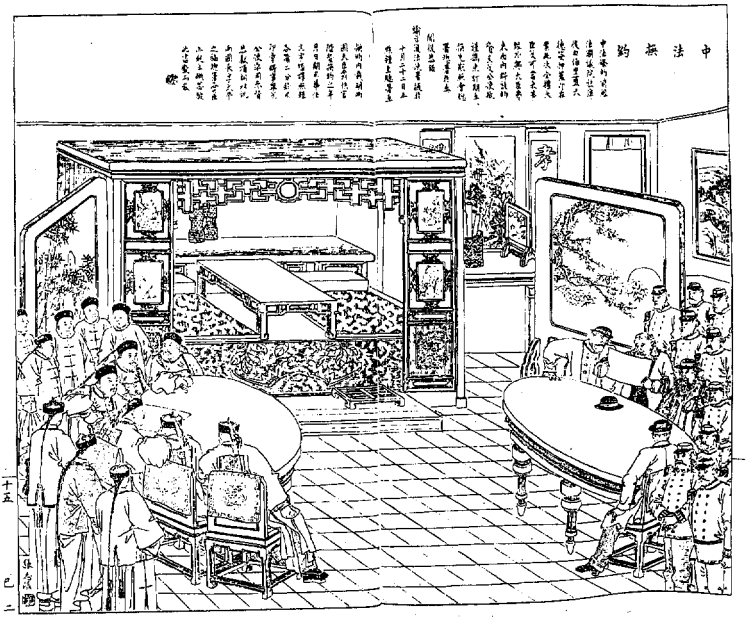


figure 37 Sino-French exchange of treaties ending the war, 1885

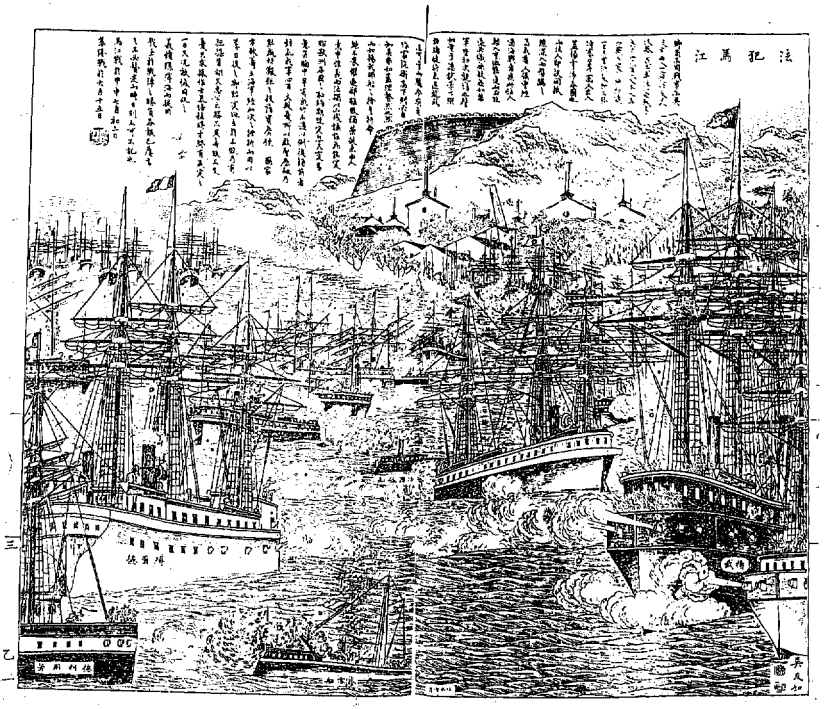


figure 38 Battle of Majiang

figure 39 Execution by strangling of two felons

figure 40 Drowning of a rebellious son

figure 41 Impaled through the rectum

figure 42 Street repairs: precursor of the steamroller

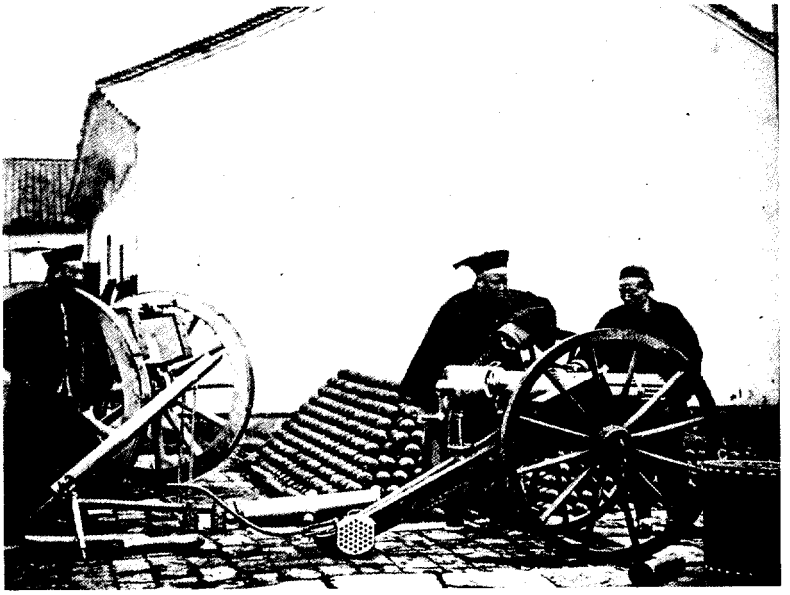


figure 43 Machine guns (Photo ca. 1868)

figure 44 The Wonders of the Machinegun

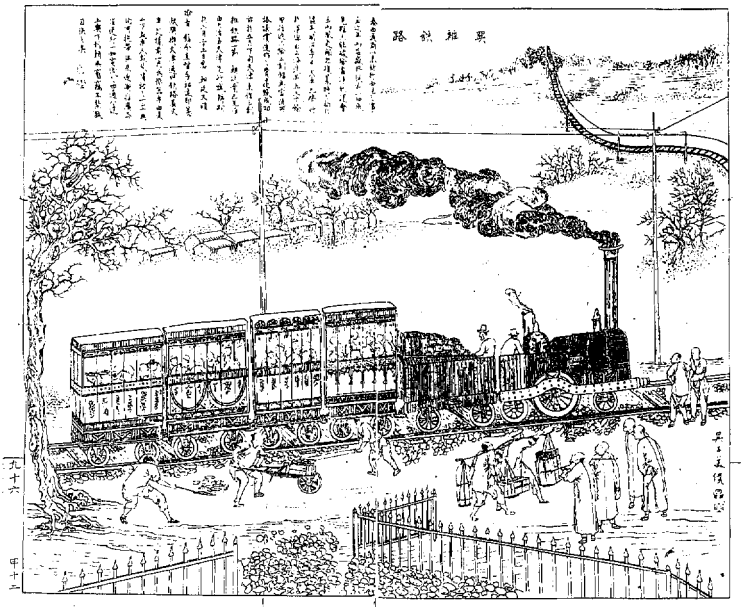
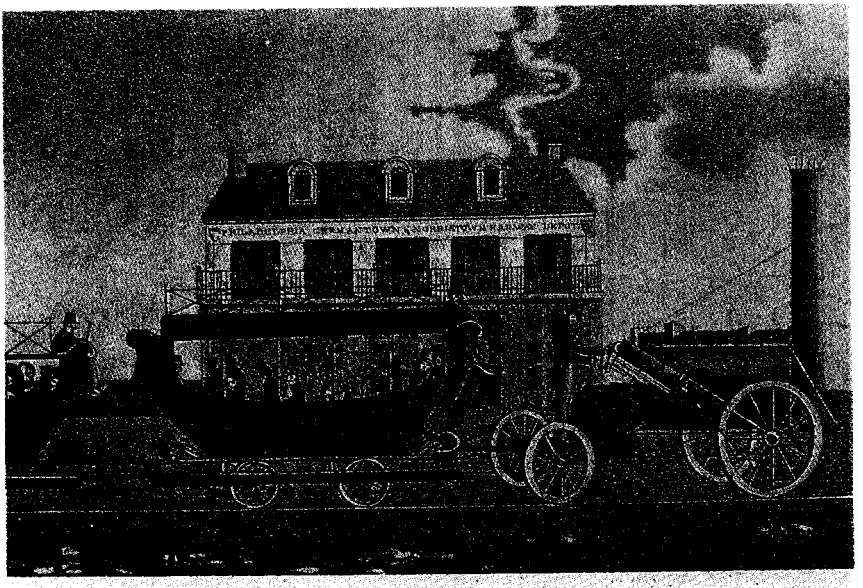


figure 45 Chinese railroad 1884, Tianjin-Tongzhou



PHILADELPHIA'S FIRST RAILROAD STATION, *c.* 1831
Print List Entry 305

figure 46 1st Philadelphia railroad station, 1831

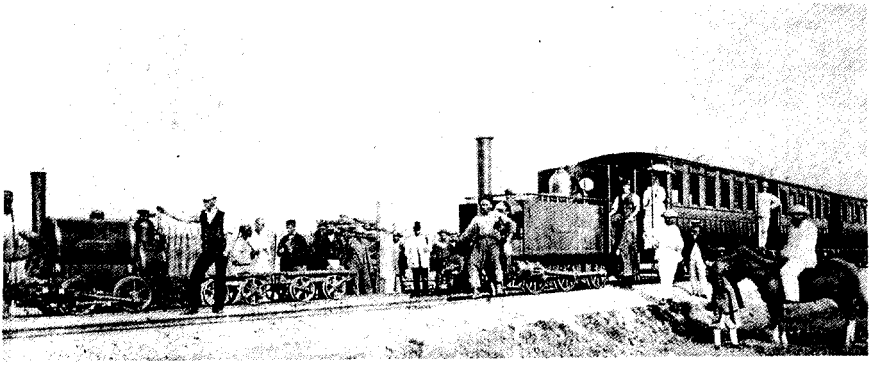
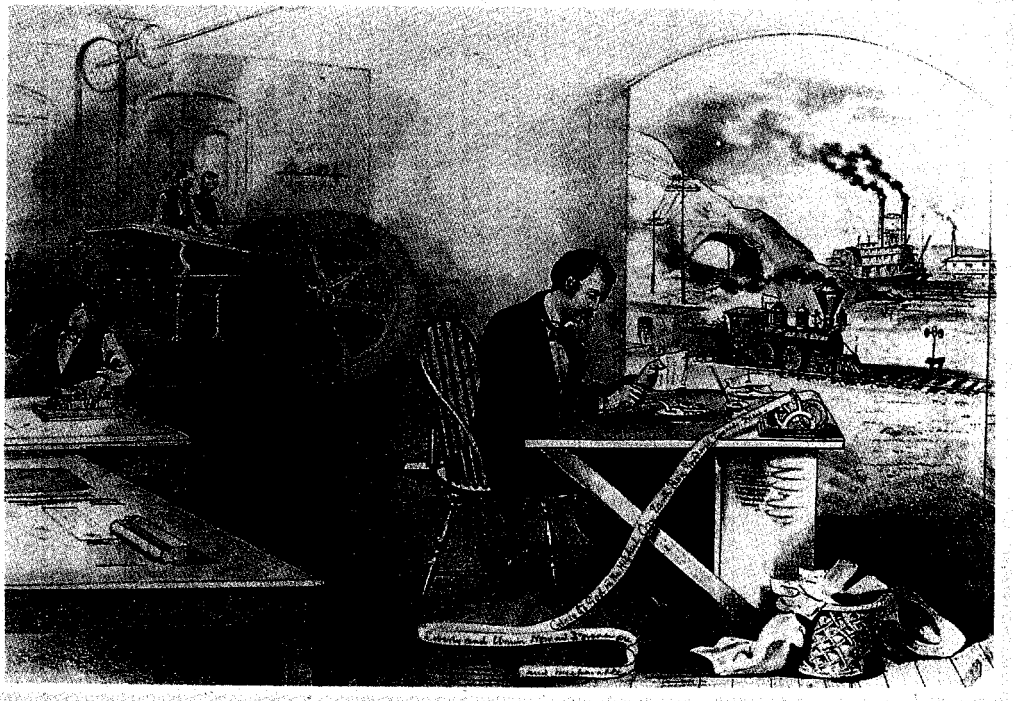
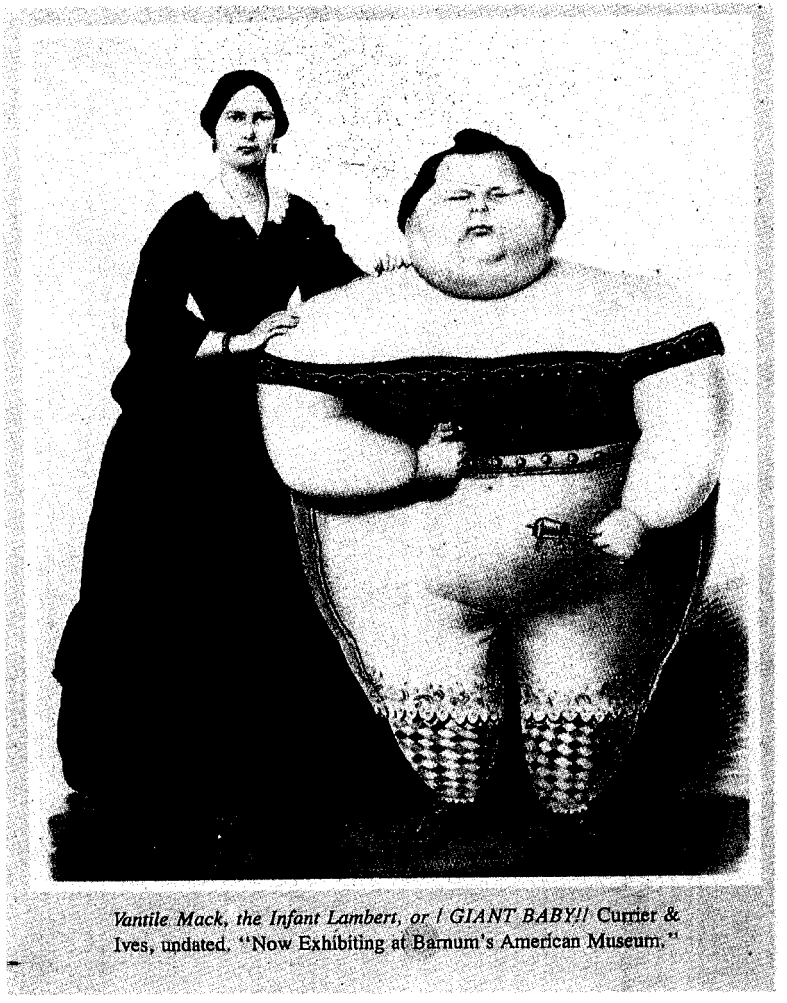


figure 47 China's first railroad, 1876, Shanghai to Wusong (30 li)



The Progress of the Century. / The Lighining Steam Press. The Electric Telegraph. The Locomotive. The Steamboat. Currier & Ives, 1876.

figure 48 Progress of the Centruy



Vantile Mack, the Infant Lambert, or I GIANT BABY!! Currier & Ives, undated. "Now Exhibiting at Barnum's American Museum."

figure 49 Giant Baby

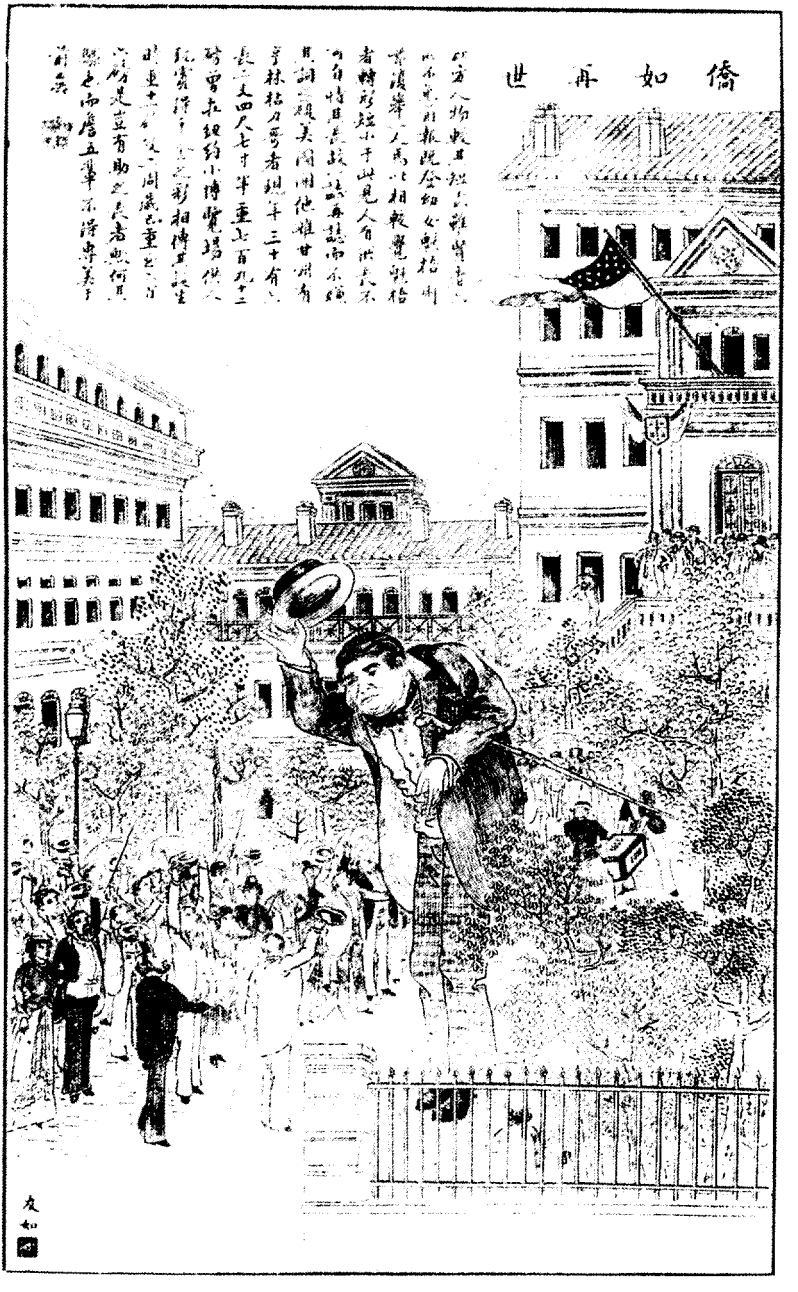


figure 50 An American Giant

figure 51 Tom Thumb and Wife

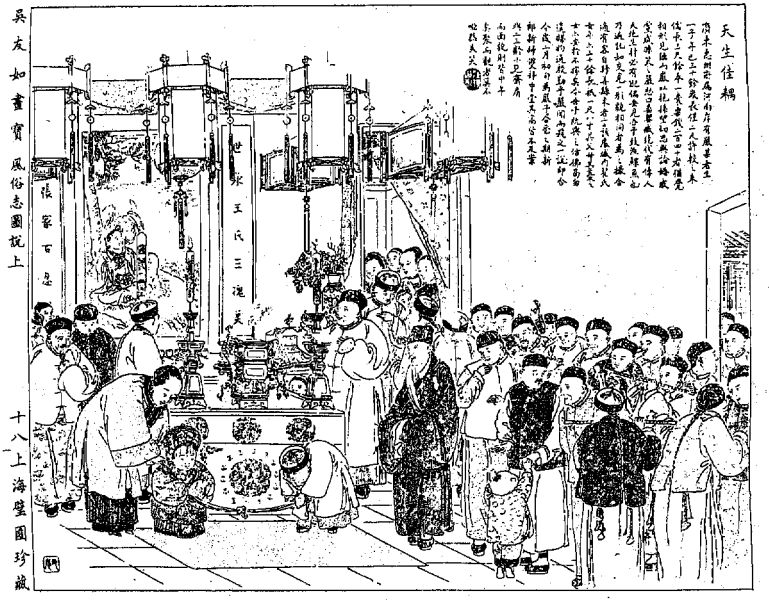


figure 52 A midget Match made in Heaven

figure 53 Self government

「畫中有話」：
點石齋畫報與大衆文化形成之前的歷史

導論

在最近的十年間，美國與歐洲歷史學界興起一股對中國大衆文化研究的熱潮。單在加州大學柏克萊校區就有一項專題計畫，專門研究此一課題。有些學者研究民間戲劇的腳本，試圖依此剖析世俗大衆的心態，反映白丁們的想像世界。也有人專門探討年畫及佛教居士的佛教經文，認爲它們可以驗證民間大衆美學品味的基準。Joseph Esherick教授研究義和團運動，發現神媒的宗教儀式與鄉村戲曲正是構成義和團精神及其團員自我認識的根源。Rudolf Wagner教授解構太平天國的天國意象，認爲這些天國意象具有引路路標的功能，導引會衆走向地上的天國之門。William Rowe 教授認爲十九世紀末漢口的龍舟賽可以視爲一種早期城市市民意識的表現，雖然他也承認參與者之間的激烈競爭具有濃烈的地緣和業緣性質。有的學者追溯地方性的神明轉變爲區域性神祇的過程，認爲地方神格的升級起源於宋代商人因經商遠行，隨身攜帶家鄉的保護神，以求旅途平安；經由商人的傳播，地方神明逐漸變成區域性的保護神（V. Hanson 教授）；也有學者指出

王朝政府公開將地方性神明納入國家信仰體系，以求從文化方面，強化百姓對王朝的忠誠（P. Duara）。

從這些研究，可以明顯看出歷史學家已經將視野擴大到大眾文化的研究工作，但他們覺察到非口語性的材料，例如象徵、符號、建築、器具，以及半文獻性的材料，如歌謠、咒語和圖片等等，也將成爲研究過去社會的重要史料。其中，點石齋畫報——中國首次刊行的繪圖報紙，已被公認爲研究晚清城市居民品味及其行爲的重要線索。點石齋畫報風行十五年(1884～1899)，刊載約四千餘幅繪畫頁，其中，有些部分已經譯成英文與日文出版。幾位知名學者如 Philip Kuhn、William Rowe、David Arkush 與李歐梵都曾引用部分材料作爲專書插圖。在澳洲國立大學，有位葉曉青博士完成了一本四百頁有關點石齋畫報的博士論文。當然，我的老友王爾敏教授也在近史所集刊中發表了一篇重要的論文。

很明顯的，學者已公認點石齋畫報是研究近代中國早期大眾文化的獨特史料。它既可說明早期城市的建構，如大眾運輸與私人的交通工具（與交通事故）、消防設備、警察、自來水及各種電器化配件〔圖1-5〕；也可研究女性的社會角色〔圖6〕；中產階層常去的西式餐廳、劇院及馬戲團〔圖 7-8〕；也有戴太陽眼鏡持洋傘的現代化的花花公子〔圖9〕。這類插畫材料幾乎獨立於文字說明之外，而成爲現代社會學者所謂的物證。如果我們仔細分析點石齋畫報的內容及其意涵，就像研讀新聞一般，可以發

覺這材料不再僅僅是一堆似乎毫不相干題材的組合（像考古學者所挖掘的陶器碎片），它們正是晚清及民國以來城市大眾文化的前身。我的興趣卽是從點石齋畫報研究近代大眾文化產生的淵源及其背景。

大衆文化形成的歷史淵源

在大眾讀者與大眾媒體的時代，新聞的本身就是一個研究的主題。對此學界已有精細的研究。我深感興趣的就是在大眾文化出現以前的新聞。大眾文化或許可以界定爲：一個沒有會員姓名的文化，其範圍可能是環球的，也可能是國家性的；「它對所有階級開放，而且（常常）受到上層有意識的指揮或控制」。爲此，研究大眾文化形成之前的歷史需要我們將眼光從「普遍的」化約爲「特殊的」，從「一個文化」轉爲「多元文化」。這些文化在範圍上可能是區域性的，也可能只是地方的（譬如對特定市集區域或某些村莊服務，當然低到地方那一層次，可待討論）；這些文化可能是某一職業人士所特有（我們可以想像，商人所需要的新聞就與走方郎中很不相同，除非是兩者都有需要知道有關草藥的消息，或是地方衙吏的動向，俾便提前走避，免被驅趕）；某些文化可能針對某一層人士而來（例如城市讀者的品味就遠較鄉下讀者來得複雜）。最後，文化也可能因階級、種族、性別而有不同表現（譬如滿州女匪〔圖10〕就跟屠夫、殺手或其他土著民族有不同的品味與價值觀念）。文化之中，有屬於私人、家庭

的性質，也有公開、官方的層次，譬如有些新聞只是給同族人看的；有些給同一信仰圈的地方人士覽閱；另外有些新聞則是以一般大眾爲對象。

這些因特殊羣體而產生的不同文化，當然不是互相排斥的。人只要存在，就得歸屬於其中的若干羣體，而許多人經常都有多重的羣體性質。我們非常清楚，自古以來人們如何將消息傳到其特定的目標；譬如多種口頭傳達方式；更夫的來回叫喊；四處旅行的商人與武師將各種耳聞消息傳給顧客，或與他們交換消息；茶館與廟會則相當於今日的新聞中心；此外遊走各地的地方劇團、難民、逃兵、返鄉休假的官員及船夫等等都是重要的消息媒介。

在口傳消息之外，我們知道也有各式各樣的文字媒體在傳播新聞，雖然它們的對象比較有限，但種類則不少，舉例而言，官方或非官方的公報、私人或公家的郵傳系統、木刻版畫、大字或小字報（不是現代革命後才有的現象）、普及化的帝王聖訓（例如「聖語像解」，其傳播道德的意向，有如今天媒體上的社論一般）、神媒透過扶乩取得的藥方、符咒以及神旨等。其他形形種種新聞傳播的渠道尚有許多，我們幾乎可以無限開列。

在各種新聞材料之中，圖畫式的插圖是十九世紀以後才有的，而在性質上也跟先前的新聞極不相同。新的複製技術使插圖成爲這個時代既價廉又普及的新聞素材。這些新技術起源於歐洲，再擴展到美洲，最後則傳佈到東亞各國。

今天我們對於插圖的文化已經習以爲常，以至於難以想像從前主導公共論域的居然是線條文字型的表達方式。其實，插畫是在近代才開始造成視覺衝擊的，雖然史家可以追溯較早以前插畫的前身。例如我們知道，早在六朝時期就已經有類似今日卡通的插畫，叫連環圖畫。傳統年畫，像單頁卡通〔圖11〕，在清乾隆時期已大量出現。乾隆皇帝在1770及80年代曾下令臣工描繪他的豐功偉業，再將這些刻圖送到巴黎請人製成銅版畫〔圖 12-13〕。那些代表戰勝準噶爾與越南所製的武勇圖像與西方騎士的雕像具有很類似的功能。但這些東西只有內廷才看得到。同樣的，1885年三月底中法戰爭快結束時，廣西將領蘇元春爲慶祝諒山大捷，曾令手下製作三十二幅插圖，並親自在圖案上說明戰役經過，恭送朝廷覽閱〔圖14-16〕。這些圖畫都有新聞的價值，但一般民眾卻看不到。（相對來看，正如王爾敏大作所顯示的，點石齋畫報有關中法戰爭的報導，卻是以廣大的讀者爲對象。）

爲強化新聞而附加插圖的觀念，其實也很古老。例如1567年法國新聞報導了一個在古巴所看到的「可怕的惡魔」，附有一個「兩頭有翅的惡魔」的木刻插圖〔圖17〕。三年之後，同樣的插圖被用來說明巴黎上空「巨大而令人驚異的飛龍惡魔」的故事。這類異常之物在中國圖畫裏，同樣具有很大的衝擊性，只不過它們多半出現在類似三才圖會那類的百科全書之中〔圖18-19〕。附帶提及的是，點石齋畫報後來也模仿法國的作法，爲當代人複製一些人們所熟悉的故事。點石齋畫報就曾刊載一則插圖，描繪

義大利有一女犯生下無頭小孩〔圖20〕，其實這個插圖來自山海經，再轉載於三才圖會〔圖21〕。義大利人其實都不知道這些書。

過去利用木刻大量複製時效短暫之插圖，當然是很昂貴的；大量印刷插圖，要等到石印技術發展之後，才有可能。此後，插圖在人們的感官上，便起了革命性的影響，將往昔的「讀者」變爲「觀賞者」。

石印與插圖新聞的普及化

石印技術是一個偶然的發明。發明者是一名出身巴伐利亞的年輕印刷者與劇作家 Aloys Senefelder，其生年約當乾隆至道光年間（1771～1834）。此項發明的靈感得自一張洗衣的清單。Aloys 全家，包括母親與九個兄弟姐妹，全都靠他的收入過活。在 1796 年的某一天，當洗衣婦來收洗全家衣物時，家中的紙剛好用完了。在匆忙中，Aloys 隨手抓了一隻油膩的自製蠟筆，在一片石版上寫下清單。後來，他突發奇想，讓稀酸侵蝕蠟筆未寫過的地方，其侵蝕的厚度大約像一張紙牌那樣。然後他將石版沖洗，塗上油墨，由於水與油不相混合，油墨只附著於蠟筆塗過的部分，用此印出了一張相當清楚的圖像（當然是左右相反的）。接著，Aloys 又一張一張地再印。在他詳細而謹愼的回憶錄中，並沒有告訴我們，他是否像阿基米德一般，跑到慕尼黑的街道上，大叫「我找到了！」，但如果他那樣做，這也不足爲奇。1798 年 Aloys 已經對此一技術作了進一步的改良，不再需要蝕

刻石版，只要將油墨塗到油蠟之上，再將其它部分弄濕，就可利用粗製的家庭滾壓機大量印出圖片〔圖 22-23〕。Aloys 於是製出了第一件石版印刷物。

石印不需要雕刻或蝕刻技術，所需要的只是複印技術：先在一種特別處理過的紙上畫上圖畫，然後直接將之轉移到石灰岩版上，再在石版上鋪上白紙，用力拉過白紙上沈重的木製刮刀。這樣做不但快、簡單，更重要的是便宜。許多份數的複製品能够這樣「拉」出來。這樣，工業的石版印刷術於是誕生了；此後，將時事或歷史附上插圖變成負擔得起的工作；在高級藝術的複製方面也是如此。科技進步將流行的文化轉爲大眾文化，儘管整個過程還需要等待一個世紀才能完成。

在 1820 年代，法國人 Daumier 已能利用這項新的技術製作政治諷刺插畫，推銷他的政治觀點〔圖24〕；法國報界由於大量出版插圖，乃至於插圖本身也變成一種政治藝術。

到了資本主義時代，石印已成爲牟利的工具。如果你生活在 1840 年代的倫敦或紐約，而你又識字的話，你所看到的新聞只是大量文字。1842 年 5 月 4 日，英國一位有魄力的企業家 Henry Ingram 首創倫敦畫報，將藝術與新聞結合起來。該報有十六頁，附刊三十二幅插圖，以每份六「便士」的價格賣了二萬六千份，受到讀者十分熱烈的反應。不過，等到讀者的新奇感消失之後，該報的發行量也很快就降下來。倫敦畫報的內容是國內外新聞、社交新聞以及各種奇聞怪事報導的結合〔圖 25-30：

火燒漢堡，1842 年 5 月 14 日；謀刺女王，6 月 5 日；國外奇聞（其功能類似明代的「女眞人」或乾隆時代在中國旅遊的西方人士）；英國女王首次火車之旅〕。

在美國也出現跟倫敦畫報類似的「廉價畫刊」，售價「便宜」，內容則聳人聽聞，充滿娛樂性。火災以及其他各種自然與人爲的災害都是畫報最愛刊登的大消息〔圖 31-32：紐約太陽報刊載「Lexington 號汽船上可怕的大火災」；芝加哥大火，1871年10月 8 日，二者均由 Currier 製作，後來改爲 Currier 與 Ives 具名出版〕。

全世界每一角落的人們，似乎都對火災有興趣。中國有幅油畫即描繪 1856 年廣州的大火〔圖33：油畫〕。

除了自然災害之外，就要以人爲災害，尤其是戰爭，最引人注目了。如果美國南北戰爭是第一個現代性的戰爭的話，那麼經由照片與石印圖畫對此戰爭的報導也可說是現代的另一種戰場經驗〔圖 34-36：田納西州 Donelson 營堡遭受攻擊的景象，1862 年 2 月 15 日；太平軍攻擊，1855 年 12 月（咸豐五年十一月）；1860 年代清軍攻擊太平軍（清廷授命臣工所繪）〕。

在 1884 年，上海市民也可看到一份廉價畫刊，此即該年五月出版的點石齋畫報。這一份以石版印刷的報紙是由兩位經營茶葉失敗的英國人所創設，亦即 Ernest Major 和 Frederick Major。在此十二年之前，他們在上海創辦了著名的申報。有關申報附送的點石齋畫報的歷史，王爾敏教授已有詳細論文，在此

不贅。我只要提醒各位，點石齋畫報爲一旬刊，前後發行十五年，聘有二十四位畫家，各自選擇題材，發表 4,653 幅圖畫，每幅圖片並附有說明文字。

點石齋畫報的創刊，跟倫敦畫報類似，目的都在賺錢。在 1870 及 80 年代的中國，發行報紙是相當冒險的事，因爲那時還沒有出現我們今天所謂的讀者羣：這羣人無論是否彼此認識，總是期望經由定期出版的刊物得知消息。在那個年代，現任官員有充分的公共資訊，本不足爲奇；讀書階級想凡事皆知，也可以理解。但若說尋常百姓也有資格分享官員所得到的消息，那所引起的反應，與其說是無從想像，不如說是從未想過〔圖37：1855 年 6 月 9 日，中法兩國在天津互換條約〕。對某些讀者來說，讓他們看到官員工作時的樣子可能就像偷窺人家隱私一般。一般行商坐賈、殷實平民、地方幫閑及黑社會份子只能出錢向人打探或私下傳遞他們所想知道的消息。透過私人管道，這些人往往跟官員一樣知道社會上所發生的事。但他們是逾越了社會所認可的本分，知道他們所不應該知道的消息。

中國早期報紙所做的工作就是把大眾傳播的理念合法化。通過報紙的媒介，原來只在小社區流傳的消息很快就流通到外面，地方上的大小事務也很快變成許多人都知道的事。不過，我必須指出，點石齋畫報與申報的發行量很小，尚未成爲大眾傳播媒體。在 1870 年代初期，申報只發行約六百份，即使到 1890 年代，它的發行量也未超過一萬五千到二萬份。至於點石齋畫報則

約有一萬至一萬五千份。誠如王爾敏所指出的，這些報刊曾流傳到全國各處省會，但並未在市曹間廣泛流通。大量媒體須等到火車與汽船加入現代郵政傳遞系統之後才出現的。（在此提醒各位，在蒸汽機出現以前，從上海到蘇州乘帆船費時三天三夜；現在坐火車只要兩個小時；交通條件顯然阻礙報紙的廣泛傳播。）

點石齋畫報最早的讀者羣多是上海租界區的市民；他們有大都會的見聞，受過古文訓練，能讀能寫。但他們充其量也只是某位史家所謂「上海租界地的一小撮洋化人士」。葉曉青認爲女人、小孩與未受教育的人也能享受點石齋畫報。這點，我不以爲然。由於這些婦孺文盲不懂圖畫中的說明文字，因此我只能假定是經過一種神奇的解讀過程而加以心領神會。可是點石齋畫報的文字典雅難解，其中充滿成語、典故與地方俗語，且標點又偶而爲之，我想葉博士的看法未免有失浮誇。

什麼是新聞？

有關點石齋畫報的歷史意義，在學界已引起若干爭議。有些人認爲此畫報的內容怪誕不經，充其量只是聊齋誌異的現代翻版。王爾敏不同意此項看法，他指出畫報僅有六分之一刊載這一類題材，其餘大部分則是傳播新觀念與重要時事。我認爲他的看法是正確的。不過，在此我想從另一個角度分析點石齋畫報的意義。我想，任何新聞都是經過挑選才刊登的，而其題材多半傾向於選用新奇古怪事物的報導。因此，新聞本身並不那麼重要，重

點在於新聞刊載的方式與版面安排。我們所謂的新聞，往往包羅萬象，其中有奇人怪事，也有正經議題；題材有通俗事務，也有創新發明之物；有實事報導，更有虛構；有街談巷語，亦有官方公告。林林總總，這些消息，在我們的腦海裏，共同舖設了一個我們所理解的世界。新聞可能是極不精確、瑣碎或具高度娛樂性；它可能是益智的或有教育性的；新聞更可能是上述所有功能的結合。但不管性質如何，新聞必須是植根於文化的，必須是反映當代之期望，無論這些期望是陳舊的或新鮮的、疏離的或令人窩心的。我們知道點石齋畫報的讀者抱有各種期望。因此刊登來自前線的報導〔圖38：馬江戰役〕或許使人知道重要時事，但這類報導並不必然就比登出絞死重犯的插圖來得令人注目〔圖39〕。

我認爲，對史家而言，這兩種報導都是有用的。儘管報導的內容或許不够典雅，也沒有啟發性，但這些報導卻反映了大眾輿論的水準。點石齋畫報的訂閱者得到他們所應得的，也想得的消息；歷史學家則透過畫報的內容剖析當時讀者的心靈及其所處新舊社會的交替情形。所以，如果點石齋畫報同時登載類似蒲松齡的作品與李鴻章的事跡，也不足以貶抑它的存在價值。上海的居民固然有世界性的觸覺，但他們的生活卻飽含地方色彩。

老式的道德說教與進步的觀念並存不悖。點石齋畫報的讀者一方面看到不孝逆子溺水（可能是意外的）〔圖40〕，感到道德上的快慰；對一個人被腐橋的木桿刺穿直腸的怪誕故事感到震驚〔圖41〕，但另一方面，讀者對壓路機、潛水艇、機關槍與熱汽

球所代表的奇異世界也感到興奮。鐵路剛傳到上海，當然是大新聞，就像當年費城與紐約開始行駛火車，也成了新聞報導的焦點一樣〔圖42-48〕。

這些現代奇異而有趣的發明，往往超出人們正常的生活經驗。也是因爲這個緣故，這些題材可以輕易地塞入蒲松齡所代表的怪異虛玄世界。其次，當時所出現的各種怪異、畸形事物，也很吸引讀者的注意。舉例來說，侏儒與巨人〔圖49-52〕在太平洋兩岸都是人們極感興趣，但也感到厭惡的東西。點石齋畫報的讀者一定喜歡看這類的插圖報導。顯然，讀者在閱讀國家要聞之餘，也喜歡看些新奇珍聞。

事實上，點石齋畫報刊載過許多國際要聞，譬如中法戰爭（第一個記者在戰場上直接報導的中國戰爭）、朝鮮與緬甸政治情勢、第一次中日戰爭等等；此外，還有很多的例子。雖然如此，點石齋畫報基本上仍是以娛樂爲主，避免牽扯政治。有時候它的報導會靈光一閃，出現一絲絲愛國情操，或一些對現代國家意識的暗示，但始終未曾出現現代型的論爭。畢竟這些報導仍不是地方性的。儘管針對的讀者最初是小社羣，但是至此則已經超越了小社羣的特殊性，而把讀者帶到更大的知性世界。等到二十世紀初期，上海的報界充滿激烈言論，有關國家前途的立論從此屢見不鮮，一股全國性的政治意識遂油然而起〔圖53：自治政府〕。到這個階段，大眾文化已經融化到政治文化之中。在此後漫長的二十世紀裏，各種政治評論充塞報章雜誌，全國民眾才普遍感染了各種型態的政治意識。

中央研究院近代史研究所編印

壹、中國近代史資料彙編

(一) 海防檔 十六開影印本，整部出售

咸豐十一年至宣統三年 (1861—1911) 46年9月出版

購買船廠 福州船廠 機器局 電線 鐵路	精裝本九册	新臺幣	3,600元
	平裝本十七册	新臺幣	3,300元
	(缺書)		
國外郵寄費另計			

(二) 中俄關係史料 十六開排印本，分册出售

甲編 民國六年至八年 (1917—1919)

書名	出版年月	册數	新臺幣
外蒙古	48.10	1	480元
中東鐵路	49. 4	2	570元
俄政變與一般交涉	49.12	2	1,020元
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新疆邊防	50. 6	1	300元
出兵西伯利亞	51. 8	1	480元
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乙編　民國九年 (1920)

書名	出版年月	册數	新臺幣
俄政變	57. 1	1	480元
一般交涉	57.12	1	480元
中東鐵路與東北邊防	58. 6	1	480元
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丙編　民國十年 (1921)

書名	出版年月	册數	新臺幣
一般交涉	62.12	1	570元
中東鐵路與俄政變	63. 5	1	570元
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國外郵紮費另計			

（三）礦務檔

同治四年至宣統三年（1865—1911）　49年8月出版

十六開影印本，精裝八册，整部出售，售價新臺幣 3,000 元，國外函購郵費另計。

（四）中法越南交涉檔

光緒元年至宣統三年（1875—1911）　51年12月出版

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（五）道光咸豐兩朝籌辦夷務始末補遺

道光二十二年至咸豐十一年（1842—1861）　55年2月出版

十六開排印本，精裝一册，售價新臺幣 480 元，國外函購郵費另計。

（六）四國新檔

道光三十年至同治二年（1850—1863）　55年2月出版

十六開影印本，精裝四册，整部出售，售價新臺幣2,200元，國外函購郵費另計。

（七）中美關係史料

輯別	出版年月	册數	新臺幣
1.嘉慶道光咸豐朝 2.同治朝上、下	57.12	3	1,500元
3.光緒朝一	77. 2	1	1,200元
4.光緒朝二	77. 6	1	1,500元
5.光緒朝三	78. 4	1	1,500元
6.光緒朝四	78.12	1	1,500元
7.光緒朝五	79. 9	1	1,800元

（八）近代中國對西方及列强認識資料彙編

輯別	關涉時間	出版年月	册數	新臺幣
1	道光元年至咸豐十一年（1821-1861）	61.11	2	1,050元
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3	光緒元年至光緒十九年（1875-1893）	75. 6	2	1,200元
4	光緒二十年至光緒二十六年（1894-1900）	77. 8	2	1,200元
5	光緒二十七年至統宣三年（1901-1911）	79.12	2	2,500元

（九）清季中日韓關係史料

同治三年至宣統三年（1864—1911）　61年12月出版

十六開影印本，精裝十一册，整部出售，售價新臺幣4,200元，國外函購郵費另計。

（一〇）教務教案檔 各輯均十六開影印本，整部出售

輯別	關涉時間	出版年月	册數	新臺幣	國外郵購加郵費美元
1	咸豐十至同治五年（1860-1866）	63. 2	3	1,710元	
2	同治六年九年（1867-1870）	63. 8	3	1,710元	
3	同治十至光緒四年（1871-1878）	64. 2	3	1,710元	
4	光緒五至十二年（1879-1886）	65. 5	3	1,710元	
5	光緒十三至二十一年（1887-1895）	66.10	4	2,280元	
6	光緒二十二至二十五年（1896-1899）	69. 9	3	2,000元	
7	光緒二十六至宣統三年（1900-1911）	70.11	2	1,500元	

（一一）中日關係史料 十六開影印本，分册出售

書名	出版年月	册數	新臺幣	國外郵購加郵費美元
歐戰與山東問題（民國三至五年，1914-1916）	63. 8	2	760元	
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路礦交涉（民國元至五年，1912-1916）	65. 9	1	570元	
二十一條交涉（民國四至五年，1915-1916）	74. 7	2	900元	
一般交涉（民國元至五年，1912-1916）	75. 6	2	1,400元	
山東問題（民國九至十五年，1920-1926）	76.10	2	1,200元	
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東北問題（四）（民國十至十六年，1921-1927）	81. 4	1	700元	
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（一二）膠澳專檔

光緒廿三年至民國元年（1897～1912）　80年6月初版

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（一三）保薦人才、西學、練兵

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（一四）澳門專檔㈠

光緒廿三年至民國元年　（1897～1912）　81年12月初版

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貳、史料叢刊

書名	編著者	出版年月	精裝本（新臺幣）	平裝本（新臺幣）
清末民初洋學學生題名錄	房兆楹輯	51. 4	75元	45元
伊犁交涉的俄方文件	袁同禮譯	55.11	（缺書）	
朱家驊先生言論集	王聿均、孫斌合編	66. 5	200元	180元
詹天佑與中國鐵路	凌鴻勛、高宗魯編著	66. 4	200元	150元
清季職官表附人物錄	魏秀梅編	66.12	500元	450元
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國民政府與韓國獨立運動史料	本所編印	77. 9	400元	350元
薛岳將軍與國民革命	黃壽恆等編著	77.12	400元	350元
澳門香港之早期關係	郭永亮著	79. 2	250元	200元
袁世凱家書	本所編印	79. 6	250元	200元
德國外交檔案	郭恒鈺、羅梅君合編	80. 4	250元	200元
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12.董文琦先生訪問紀錄	張玉法 沈松僑	沈松僑	75. 6	300元	250元
13.劉景山先生訪問紀錄	沈雲龍	陳存恭	76. 2	170元	120元
14.白　瑜先生訪問紀錄	郭廷以 張朋園	馬天綱 陳三井	76. 4	250元	200元
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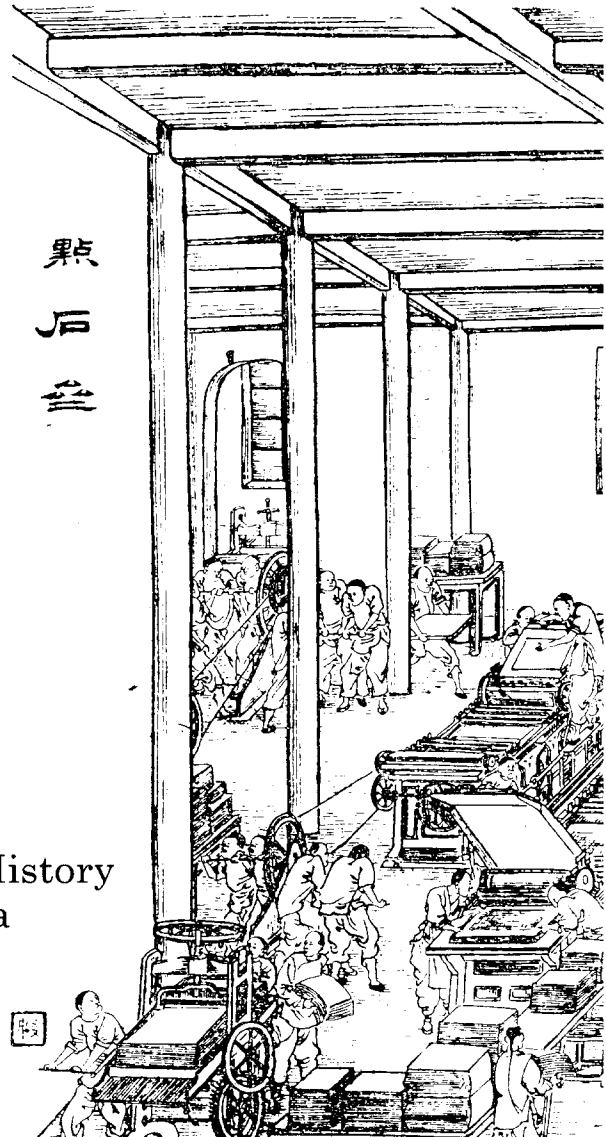

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