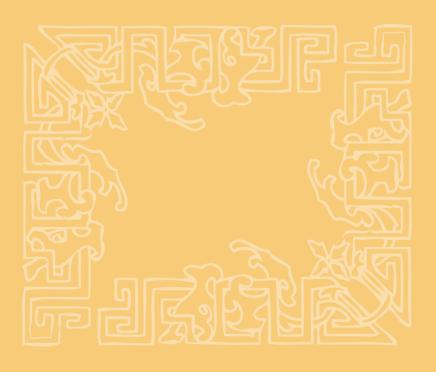
有方大學學報

Southern University College Academic Journal Jurnal Akademik Kolej Universiti Selatan PP19707/04/2022(035322)

第15期 Volume 15/Jilid 15



August 2022

南方大学学报 Southern University College Academic Journal

编辑委员会

Editorial Committee

主编

Chief Editor

黄琦旺

Ng Kee Ong (Ph.D., Fu Dan University)

彭念莹

Pang Nian Yin (Ph.D., National University of

Singapore)

执行编辑

Executive Editor

谭勇辉

Tam Yong Huei (Ph.D., Nanjing University)

编委

Committee Members

(名字以英文字母为顺序)

(Names Listed in Alphabetical Order)

张耀龙

Chan Yew Loong (Ph.D., Nanjing University)

骆俊彦

Lok Jun Yan (M.A., Fudan University)

陈奕进

Tan Jee Chin (M.A., National Tsing Hua

University)

陈胜强

Tan Shen Kian (Ph.D., University Tun Hussein

Onn Malaysia)

黄荟如

Wong Wai Kuan (M.A., Beijing Normal

University)

特邀编委

林颖璇

Lim Ying Xuan (M.A., Universiti Putra Malaysia)

国际编辑顾问

(名字以英文字母为顺序)

丁荷生(新加坡:新加坡国立大学)

李瑞腾(中坜:中央大学)

刘宏(新加坡:南洋理工大学)

陈靝沅(英格兰: 牛津大学)

杜维明(美国:哈佛大学)

王賡武(新加坡:新加坡国立大学)

王润华(马来西亚:南方大学学院)

吴俊(南京:南京大学)

International Editorial Advisors

(Names Listed in Alphabetical Order)

Kenneth Dean (Singapore: National University of

Singapore)

Lee Jui-Teng (Zhong Li: National Central

University)

Liu Hong (Singapore: Nanyang Technological

University)

Tan Tian Yuan (England: University of Oxford)

Tu Wei-ming (USA: Harvard University)

Wang Gungwu (Singapore: National University of

Singapore)

Wong Yoon Wah (Malaysia: Southern University

College)

Wu Jun (Nanjing: Nanjing University)

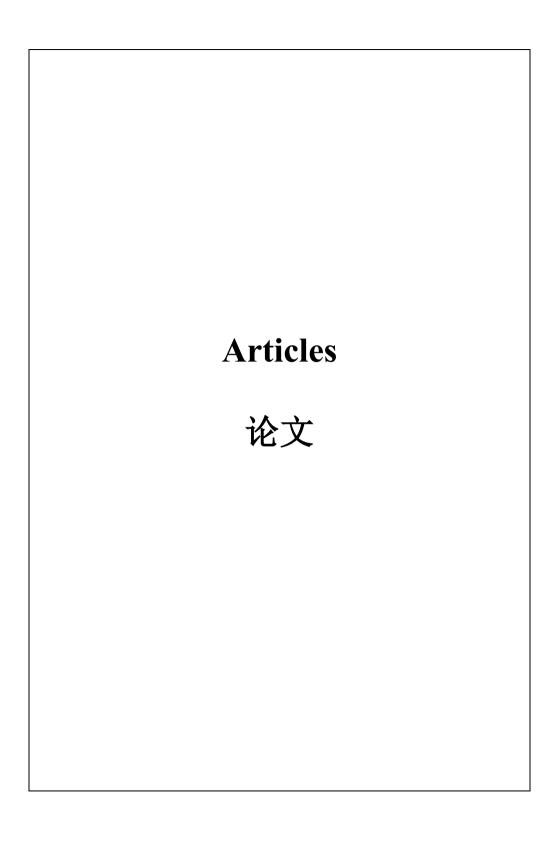
Contents 目次

Articles • 论文

黄琦旺 Ng Kee Ong	《古韵》——一个民国女子记忆和观看里的抒情 Ancient Melodies - A Lyric in The Memory and Viewing of A Woman in The Republic of China	1
	手上丝绸之路国际学术研讨会 elt & Road Initiative (BRI): Maritime Silk Road mic Conference	
骆俊彦 Lok Jun Yan	从杜中与佟暖的书写及学琴经验看 60-90 年代马新与中国琵琶艺术交流境况 Pipa Art Exchange between MalaysiaSingapore and China in 1960s Reveals From Du-zhong and Tong- nuan's Writing	33
彭念莹 Pang Nian Yin	1920年代新加坡华文阅读选择——书籍杂志 Singapore Chinese Reading Choices in the 1920s Books and Magazines	47
谭勇辉 Tam Yong Huei	神思故土,笔润炎洲——马六甲青云亭书法文物与闽南书坛的传承关系 The Relationship Between The Heritage of Cheng Hoon Teng Temple Calligraphy in Malacca and The Calligraphy Scene in Southern Fujian	67
王润华 Wong Yoon Wah	重构海上丝路上的东南亚汉学新考古 Rethinking the Development of Sinology along the Maritime Silk Road	85
林大伟 Lim Tai Wei	The Political Economy of China's Arctic Polar Silk Road	119
祝圣怡 Thock Sheng Yi	Malaysia's Pandemic Prevention and Control Strategy, Pivotal Measures in Precarious Times.	139

Book Reviews • 书评

黄荟如	邢诒旺《墨汁和月色:邢诒旺诗选 1998-2013》	159
齐晓鸽	王润华,南治国《东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究》	161
王建刚	张森林《朝向环境伦理:新马华文诗文中的生态书写(1976-2016)》	164
张森林	郭永秀主编《五月诗社截句选》	167



《古韵》——一个民国女子记忆和观看里 的抒情

黄琦旺*

摘要

凌叔华出生于二十世纪初的末代皇朝。父亲淩福彭 1895 年(光绪二十一 年)为官,是传统文人雅士"雅嗜绘画,与名画家齐璜、姚华、陈年、王梦 伯、陈衡恪等过从甚密"。凌叔华外曾祖父谢兰生为广东著名画家,父亲见她 也有绘画才情, 因此对她寄予厚望, 冀望她也成为高雅文人。她因此自幼跟慈 禧太后宠爱的画家缪素筠学画,又跟辜鸿铭学英文、诗词,稍长又拜师王竹 林、郝漱玉学山水画。1911年民国之后,她的视野扩展到日本、五四文学运 动、 世界历史和语体文, 使她反思自身与社会, 其或自身与世界的关系。 《古韵》正是视野开阔之后, 淩叔华的女性自觉——她于 1936 年抗战时期于 四川乐山到 1941 年期间跟吴尔芙通信往来中开始应吴尔芙的要求用英文书写 这所谓的"自传",一直到吴尔芙投水自尽后两人的信息才断截。1947年渗 携女儿到伦敦与夫婿团聚定居,认识了诗人萨克维尔·维斯特(Vita Sackville-West 1892-1962)。经由萨克维尔找来吴尔芙的丈夫雷纳德·吴尔芙(Leonard Woolf 1880-1969), 在他们苏萨克斯郡(Sussex)的故居吴尔芙遗物中找到 了淩叔华英文自传的手稿。雷纳德于 1953 年在自己的出版社荷盖斯(Hogarth Press) 出版了这些手稿——命名 Ancient Melodies (古韵)。就传统文人雅士 和欧洲女性自觉书写这两种情境,本文以《古韵》为依据观看淩叔华的书写在 传统抒情和现代主义之间的双重对话:即在中国传统父权及西方现代主义的女 性话语的干扰之间的复原和模拟。淩叔华的《古韵》一方面以记忆中的母亲和 "太太们"的形态进行传统抒情的复原,另一方面则从小说的叙述中不断跟现 代和女性主义作自觉性的双重对话。当中叙述者以童年的记忆和小女孩的观看 进行美学上的"触见感知"(synaesthesia),从内化的审美抒情来和域外英语 世界的读者达至共鸣,很实在的呈现一个民初女子自身意识的成长。另一方 面,《古韵》以"乐"为名,意图以音乐的时空,清楚连接叙述的时间和绘画

^{*} 南方大学学院人文与社会学院中文系副教授。电邮: kong@sc.edu.my

的空间,体现她与文本中女性之间共同的情感意识,超越传统和现代界限纯粹传递艺术内化的精神。

关键词: 淩叔华 古韵 复原与模拟 触见感知

Ancient Melodies - A Lyric in The Memory and Viewing of A Woman in The Republic of China

Ng Kee Ong**

Abstract

Ling Shu-hua was born at the end of Qing Dynasty in the early 20th century. His father, Ling Fu-peng, became an official in 1895. Ling Shu-hua's greatgrandfather, Xie Lan-sheng, was a famous painter in Guangdong. His father thought that she also had a talent for painting, so he placed high hopes on her, hoping that she would also become an elegant scholar. Therefore, she studied painting and became a student to Miao Su-yun, a painter favoured by the Empress Dowager Cixi, and learned English and poetry from Ku Hung-ming. After a while, she studied landscape painting instructed by Wang Zhu-lin and Hao Shu-yu. In 1911, the beginning of the Republic of China, she expanded her vision to Japan, the May Fourth Literary Movement, world history and stylistic writing, which enabled her to create awareness between herself and the society or herself and the world. It made her reflect on what it meant to be a woman writer, which led to the production of Ancient Melodies followed by the widening of vision. Ling Shu-hua began to write her so called "Autobiography" in English at the request of Virginia Woolf during the period of the Anti-Japanese War in 1936 when she corresponded with Wolff in Leshan, Sichuan, until the information of the two was cut off resulting from the suicide of Woolf in 1941. In 1947, Ling brought her daughter to London to reunite with her husband to settle down and met the poet Vita Sackville-West (1892-1962). Through Sackville, Woolf's husband Leonard Woolf (1880-1969) found the manuscript of Ling Su -hua's English autobiography in Woolf's relics in their former residence in Sussex. Reynard published the manuscripts named Ancient Melodies in 1953 in his own publishing house, Hogarth Press. Grounded on the two situations of traditional literati and European feminism writing, this article takes Ancient Melodies as the basis to examine the dual dialogue between traditional lyricism and modernism in Ling Su-hua's writing: that is, the recovery and mimicry between the distractions of

^{**} Associate Professor, Department of Chinese Studies, Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Southern University College. Email: kong@sc.edu.my

female discourse in the context of traditional Chinese patriarchy and Western modernism. On the one hand, Ling Shu-hua's *Ancient Melodies* restores traditional lyricism in the form of mothers and "wives" in memory; among them, the narrator uses childhood memories and a little girl's perspective to express aesthetic synaesthesia or "punctum" from the internalized aesthetic lyricism to resonate with readers in the English-speaking world outside China, and realistically presents a woman in the early Republic of China, and her growth of self-consciousness. On the other hand, *Ancient Melodies* takes the similarity of "music" and intends to us time and space in music to clearly connect the time of narration and space of painting. This reflects the common emotional awareness between her and the women in the text, transcending the traditional and modern boundaries purely conveys the spirit of art internalization.

Keyword: Ling Shu-hua Ancient Melodies recovery and mimicry synaesthesia

发上依稀的残香里, 我看见渺茫的昨日的影子——远了, 远了。 ————朱自清〈仅存的〉

前言

本论文从类自传小说《古韵》观看淩叔华的书写在传统抒情和现代主义之间的双重对话:即在中国传统父权及西方现代主义的女性话语的干扰之间的复原和模拟。论文拟分两部分——先理出淩叔华的《古韵》一方面以记忆中的母亲和"太太们"的形态进行传统抒情的复原,另一方面则从小说的叙述中不断跟现代和女性主义作自觉性的双重对话。第二部分对《古韵》作文本阅读¹,分析文本当中童年的记忆和小女孩的观看以怎样的形态呈现一个民初女子自身意识的成长,以完成"触见感知"(synaesthesia),从内化的审美抒情来和域外英语世界的读者达至共鸣。此外,本文亦尝试解析《古韵》以"乐"为名,是否意图以音乐的时空,清楚连接叙述的时间和绘画的空间体现她与文本中女性之间共同的情感意识,超越传统和现代界限纯粹传递艺术内化的精神。

一、1900年到1911年:民国女子淩叔华

1900 年为清光绪二十六年农历庚子年(鼠年),西方各大国不断与清政府订立条约租借中国的土地,光绪帝变法失败,年少的皇子被安排继承风起云涌的皇朝。那一年,北方山东义和拳在直隶焚毁教堂灭洋人洋教,南方孙中山继杨衢云任兴中会会长;而清政府正悬赏十万白银缉拿康有为、梁启超,严禁他们的报章,应洋人的吵嚷顺便也查禁义和团。袁世凯镇压山东义和团期间,杨衢云赴日与孙中山议谋广东起义。义和团没有被禁反被清政府默许"扶清灭洋",英、美、奥、意、俄、法、德、日八国联军二千人反击义和团,进入北京,在廊坊遭义和团袭击,义和团进驻北京大肆消灭教堂包括围攻北京西什库大教堂(Church of the Saviour)。慈禧向各国宣战,八国联军攻入北京,慈禧太后在北京沦陷当即偕光绪帝离京西逃,后以光绪帝名义发布"罪已诏",向列强政府赔礼致歉。英军抢先占领山海关,李鸿章抵北京与八国联军谈判……。清政府无法相信再过九年它就彻底成了二十世纪初的末代皇朝,虽然它于1901年在香港成功去掉革命分子杨衢云。

[《]古韵》共有十八篇,本文择选与"记忆中的太太们"及作者在一个女孩成长之中植入的女性 自觉为主要的内容,偏重于〈穿红衣的人〉〈母亲的婚姻〉〈中秋节〉〈第一堂绘画课〉〈一 件小事〉〈阴谋〉〈义父义母〉〈两位表哥〉八篇全书较核心的部分。

凌叔华就出身在二十世纪初的末代皇朝。父亲凌福彭 1895 年(光绪二十一年)与康有为同榜进士,官至顺天府尹、直隶布政使,属北京市长和河北省总督的官职,过传统文人的生活"稚嗜绘画,与名画家齐璜、姚华、陈年、王梦伯、陈衡恪等过从甚密",因此凌叔华自幼跟慈禧太后宠爱的画家缪素筠学画,又跟辜鸿铭学英文、诗词,稍长又拜师王竹林、郝漱玉学山水画。2六岁的凌叔华常在白墙上涂鸦,某日被父亲友人王竹林发现并推荐3,凌叔华的绘画才情被父亲寄予厚望,常以其外曾祖父谢兰生为广东著名画家来鼓励她,并蓄意制造一个古文人的环境冀望她也成为高雅文人4。因此,鲁迅在《新文学大系·小说二集》导言给了她一个称誉:"世态的一角,高门巨族的精魂"。如果说 1900 年到 1911 年间,凌叔华以"小十"的童稚在他既官又父的安排和熏陶下窥看中国古典文人雅士的世界;1911 年民国之后她的视野扩展到日本、五四文学运动、世界历史、《庄子》和语体文,面对的是自身与社会,甚或自身与世界的关系。民国在她的成长中赋予了她一个自身,使她作为民国女子,在白话文世界的思想启蒙中,有自由的能力重审一段难能可贵的"世态一角的高门巨族"。

成长中经历的审美经验对一个人的艺术自发固然是关键的,在历练中审美的意识却更能自觉的激发个人的艺术创作。凌叔华的出生正好介于传统和现代的关键,而巧妙的是她的家族背景将她浸染于文雅的艺术氛围当中,这样的氛围与她自觉中的创作意识相互冲击,却也在某个艺术共同的刺点5或"触见感知"上融汇,构成了现代文学中凌叔华书写的可能性与典型性。她一方面从古典抒情传统的内化特质静观现代化过程并维持"女性素质",另一方面以现代的视野深思并与亦官亦父的高门巨族对话来探索"自身素质"。

在维持"女性素质"和探索"自身素质"的两难中,周蕾以一种经济与社会关系的考量,看出凌叔华的书写在女性与社会惯有的"贤淑的交易"(virtuous transactions)中,用"合规格的文字不合规格的题材"暗中进行毁约的企图⁶。可以说,凌叔华清楚自身处在多重时空意识当中:十岁以前,女儿身在仕宦家族的悲哀被她绘画的荣殊缓过,传统抒情审美洗涤了性别的哀痛:然而传统抒情审美的静态和现代自由意识的动态比较之下,另一种(超越

² 刘绍铭主编〈民国人物小传〉,载《传记文学》第 57 卷第二期,台北:传记文学出版社 1990,页 135。

³ 详见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·第一堂绘画课》,北京:中国华侨出版社 1994,页 49-50。

⁴ 详见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·蕡先生》,北京:中国华侨出版社 1994,页 72。

^{5 [}法]罗兰·巴特(Roland Barthes)著,赵克菲译《明室——摄影纵横谈》,北京:文化艺术出版社 2003,页 86 谈到刺点(punctum),本文会以此作为《古韵》创作过程中的审美历练的感知,但不用"刺点"这个词,而采"触见感知"或"触视",以突出其与人的感觉神经系统的直接关系。

⁶ 周蕾《贤良淑德的交易——阅读凌叔华的三篇小说》,载《女性人》4〈谁控制我的身体〉,台 北:联经1990年9月,页125。

女性)悲哀情境⁷和(体现人的)荣殊又出现。按"贤淑交易"的观点,在十岁以前她自发的投文人雅士审美传统所好,脱离了小女儿的悲境是一次交换;十岁以后她自觉的受现代自由意识的启蒙脱除文雅审美的囹圄,再做一次交换。这之间,在十三、四岁进入天津女子师范,张姓老师推荐他阅读《庄子》,显然凌叔华是以《庄子》哲学来克服高官仕宦文雅审美传统和现代自由意识的两难(具有交换的筹码)的:

读完《庄子》,我开始能看清无形无色的美的事物了。我能看见我的白日梦。我常一坐就是几个小时,静思冥想一些从前从未理会过的意念。我很少跟妈和姐说话。只是有时想跟爸聊聊,我知道他会对我此时想的感兴趣,可惜他不在家。

After I studied Chuang Tze, I began to be able to see beauty in things without form and colour. I could see my dreams in daylight. I used to sit for hours and hours thinking of ideas that had never occurred to me before. I talked less to my mother and my sister. My father was away, though sometimes I wished I could talk to him, because I remembered he was interested in something that was similar to what I was thinking at this time.⁸

抒情传统意境弥补了现代过度的理性思维,淩叔华在艺术表现上借助模仿(与其说交易)来面对传统,将之置放在现代审美情境中试练。进一步,作为民国女子,她追求的自由意识清楚向她展示高门巨族中性别困境带来的悲哀和命运,抗战期间她迫切要在现代女性意识的启蒙之间寻索自身属性,这形成了她作品中传统和现代互为"表里"的多重对话更急切的表现。特别在淩叔华与英国作家吴尔芙(Virginia Woolf 1882-1941)的书信往来,越透露出她的现代困境和传统束缚。吴尔芙的指示、鼓励和交流,越显现淩叔华书写意识中的多重对话直接面向自身。这种对话的典型在 1953 年出版的《古韵》得以确立,总结了她民国女子在新旧之间徘徊的刺点。

周蕾先生的"贤淑交易"观,从经济实用的情义和女性主义的知性角度呈现凌叔华小说的意义。这给我一个启发,是否可以再从审美经验上看其书写,思索传统抒情意识和现代启蒙(包括男性的"女性主义")意识的双重交替之间,凌叔华以怎样的对话策略构成她书写的多元特质,超越原有时空的多重困厄?

⁷ 这种情境可在《古韵·义父义母》一文中淩叔华写她义母——一位典型古典美女的孤独悲凉中窥见。

⁸ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·老师和同学》,北京:中国华侨出版社 1994,页 150。原文见 Su Hua. *Ancient Melodies*. The Hogarth Press London (2nd Impression), 1969, pp. 238-239。淩叔华先以英文写作《古韵》,为此所有《古韵》中引文,将附上原文对照。

(一)传统抒情的复原:古韵——记忆中的母亲和"太太们"

古韵(melody)是一种时空。如同古代音乐,作为释放欲望和情感的时空,转换人一般本质成"君子"特质,把人所属现实时空转换为自然。这之间的过程不断在进行复原——以内化,以记忆的方式。

复原与音乐和画有关系,许多人认为淩叔华的小说"以画入小说"9。早期重视美学的朱光潜在《小哥儿俩》序写到:"这里我认识的是一个继承元明诸大家的文人画师,在向往古典的规模法度之中,流露出她所特有的清逸风怀和细致的敏感……作者写小说像她写画一样,轻描淡写,著墨不多,而传出来的意味很隽永……"10。高友工先生认为抒情是内化、内向的美典,物象成为感象再成为心象,心象印存在意识层必经过一种复原,复原需要形式如线条、语言作为外指符号来完成。因此一种直觉印象的捕捉,须经由一段内化的过程(这个过程是一种自发的审美,可成为艺术也可能只被记忆直到忘切),再经想象力进入创作过程(进入自觉的审美成为艺术表现):

抒情艺术本身是一种有限制的艺术形式,它必须是一种形式本身可以很快地完成。只有这样他才能显现它与创作者本身合为一体,而使欣赏者可以想象作品后面的作者,尤其作者创作时的活动和心境。11

时间的复原就在这样的内化过程,转化感知里无形的情感为有形的符号,同时 在描绘中复原书写者记忆里触见的情状,就如同音符转化抽象的乐声,线条再 现不在眼前的物象景色。

卡尔维诺在《给下一轮太平盛世的备忘录·快》(quickness)末段虚构¹²了一个庄子画蟹的故事或可用来解说高友工所谓的"形式本身可以很快地完成"并与作者合为一体:

……现在我再说一个故事来收尾。这是一个中国故事: 庄子多才多艺, 也是一位技巧精湛的画师。国王请他画一只螃蟹。庄子回答说需要五年的时间、一座乡间的住宅和十二名听差。五年以后他还没有动笔, 说:"还需要五年。"国王同意了。在第十

⁹ 杨义《中国现代小说史》第1卷,页288-289。

¹⁰ 朱光潜〈小哥儿俩〉序,载《淩叔华小说集》II,台北:洪范 1986,页 460-461。

¹¹ 高友工《美典:中国文学研究论集》,北京:三联书店 2008,页 132。

¹² 苏轼《书蒲永升画后》也有一则: "唐广明中,处士孙位始出新意,画奔湍巨浪,与山石曲折,随物赋形,尽水之变,号称神逸。其后蜀人黄筌、孙知微皆得其笔法。始,知微欲于大慈寺寿宁院壁作湖滩水石四堵,营度经岁,终不肯下笔。一日,仓皇入寺,索笔墨甚急,奋袂如风,须臾而成,作输泻跳蹙之势,汹汹欲崩屋也。知微既死,笔法中绝五十余年。"见《苏东坡全集》,河北:中国书香1994,页303-304。

年的年底,庄子拿起笔来,只用了一笔就顷刻间画成了一只螃蟹,完美之极,前无古人。¹³

关键点就在心象产生的一段内化、自发性的审美过程,所谓的直觉印象。如果再经过想象力进行自觉的艺术创作活动,这个阶段的审美形式复原,尤其是修辞,可以因时代情境不同而变换外符。凌叔华十岁以后受五四文学运动的启蒙,她明白用语体文创作的意义,在某种程度更可以"解放"一种文化传统符号的束缚而达到释放传统抒情的意义(卡尔维诺也深知这样的策略,所以它虚构了庄子画蟹衍化成"快"的书写策略)。朱光潜《小哥儿俩》亦深明此道:

看她的画和过去许多人的画一样,我们在静穆中领略生气的活跃,在本色的大自然中找回本来清净的自我。这种怡情山水的生活,在古代叫做"隐逸",在近代有人说是"逃避",它带着几分"出世相"的气息是毫无疑问的;但是另一方面看,这也是一种"解放"。人为什么一定要困在现实生活所画的牢狱中呢?我们企图作一点对于无限的寻求,在现实世界之上创造一些易与现实世界成明暗对比的意象的世界,不是更能印证人类精神价值的崇高么?14

自发性审美的内化阶段的抒情经验虽未必会经过想象力而由创作过程再复原,但这个阶段是传统艺术精神极度重视的"美",甚至认为"此一内在精神之存在和运行并不需要外观"¹⁵。"形式"其实是会破坏这一层美,艺术表现的根本精神或至高境界要求不以形害质,简易淡朴迅速或散化把技巧放得最低(把创作的自觉性和知性放得最低),才能"以此形内窥其神"。从这点来思考凌叔华的语体文写作,以及以画入文的"清逸风怀"和"隐逸的出世像",充分表明她将抒情艺术精神奉为圭臬——那已经不是传统和现代的问题,而纯粹是艺术的精神本质。她以这样的"内窥"来完成她对"太太们"形态的复原,把现实经验转换到审美经验上,勾勒出她们表象,以复原她们本质上的"美"的心态,尤其是"母亲的形象"。朱光潜也注意到这个审美的态度:

作者是文学家也是画家,不仅她的绘画的眼光和手腕影响她的文学的作风,而且我们在文人画中所感到的缺陷在文学作品中得到应有的弥补。从叔华的画稿转到她的《小哥儿俩》,正如庄子所 说的"逃空谷者闻人足音爱然而喜"。在这里我们看到人,典型的人,典型的小孩子像大乖、二乖、珍儿、凤儿、枝儿、小

^{13 [}意]依塔罗·卡尔维诺(Italo Calvino)著,吴潜诚译《给下一轮太平盛世的备忘录·快》,台北:时报出版社 1996,页 78-79。

¹⁴ 朱光潜《朱光潜全集》第九卷,安徽:教育出版社 1993,页 212。

¹⁵ 高友工《美典:中国文学研究论集》,页 132。

英,典型的太太姨太太像三姑的祖母和婆婆,凤儿家的三娘以至于六娘,典型的佣人像张妈,典型的丫鬟像秋菊,跄跄来往,组成典型的旧式的贵族家庭,这一切人物都是用画家笔墨描绘出来的,有的现全身,有的现半面,有的站得近,有的站得远,没有一个不是活灵活现的。¹⁶

凌叔华在《小哥儿俩》自序透露喜欢用儿时印象写意:

书里的小人儿都是常在我心窝上的安琪儿,有两三个可以说是我追忆儿时的写意画。我有个毛病,无论什么时候,说到幼年时代的事,觉得都很有意味,甚至记起自己穿木屐走路时掉了几回底子的平凡事,告诉朋友一遍又一遍都不嫌繁琐。怀恋着童年的美梦,对于一切儿童的喜乐与悲哀,都感到兴味与同情。17

儿童的印象或儿童的直觉印象,其审美经验正是自发的,在这样的审美境地她感觉到一种愉快,这样的愉快来自她感受到的,一定程度的自由。《古韵》的大半部更是以儿时记忆复原凌氏家族的六个太太,并焦距太太们作为"妻子"和"母亲"角色的两种形象,这些人性在环境压抑下悄悄展露的自身情欲和爱,更是凌叔华要处理和思索的意识。

(二)现代与女性主义双重对话:今韵——自我身份的确立

若说传统抒情让淩叔华建构起内在化的审美意识,五四现代文学语体文、白话化倾向知性的、实用性的语文表现则让她思索自我身份。淩叔华在新加坡版《淩叔华选集》后记提到:

有些"选家"好意硬派我做五四运动健将,这也使我受宠若惊,在五四时我是个中学生,正醉心古画古诗以及中国一切的古艺术。后来考入燕大,在报上看见冰心、胡适之的新诗,因为自己不大懂,只觉得好笑,等到二三年后,自己也用语体文写作时,却又怕爸爸不高兴,常常偷偷的藏过那本或那张有我作品的报纸或刊物。(先父始终没有读过我写的小说)。18

"用语体文写作"必须"偷偷藏过",这几乎在父亲的世界里不可登大雅之堂。这不就跟她的出生被母亲"恳求别说出去"类似?

¹⁶ 朱光潜《朱光潜全集》第九卷,页214。

¹⁷ 凌叔华《小哥儿俩》自序,见《凌叔华小说集》Ⅱ,台北:洪范 1984,页 459。

^{18 《}淩叔华选集》后记,见《淩叔华选集》,星洲:世界书局,1960,页260。

从佣人跟姐姐们的闲谈中得知,我降生的最不是时候。尽管这个家四五十口人,但当时只有两个人知道妈又生了个女儿,一个是张妈,一个是去请接生婆的老门房王森。……妈流着泪恳求张妈别说出去。

From the daily chat of my mother's maid with my elder sister, I knew that I had chosen a most unfavourable time for my arrival in the family. Although she was living in a large household of forty or fifty people, there were only two people who knew Mother had given birth to another baby girl. One was Chang Ma, Mother's maid, the other was Wang Sen, the old gateman who was sent to fetch the midwife...... Mother would have given anything to keep the news a secret as long as possible. With tears in her eyes she implored her maid several times. 19

这样的"出身",让淩叔华早熟且孤独:

我很乖巧,在大人眼里好像一只"缩在角落里的小猫",没人在意,外出时,妈总说:"一只麻雀飞走了。"我性情柔弱,也许因为是妈妈的第四个孩子,家中的第十个女儿,自小没人留心。时间一久,我也习惯了。

I was considered a quiet girl, and was never sent out; but I often went of my own accord. It seems nobody ever paid any attention to me when I was with the grown-ups 'like a little pussy cat in the corner'; when I went out quietly Mother always described me as a tiny sparrow flying around'. I was a good-natured child, perhaps because I was Mother's fourth child and the tenth daughter of the family and naturally neglected. So I got used to this neglect.²⁰

五四和语体文在这样的序列下,很明显在传统官宦世家跟女人的"她者"身份 类似——被认定是一种"命运":

妈笃信命运,还有一个原因。我一岁时,妈又意外有了五个月的身孕。由于悲伤、劳累,妈在床上躺了近三个月。幸好五妈常来,帮她照看孩子。爸和三妈却好像什么也没看见。妈认定这是命。"就是英雄好汉也拧不过命"……

¹⁹ 淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·中秋节》,页 39。原文见 Su Hua. 1969, Ancient Melodies. p.67。

²⁰ 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·中秋节》,页 39。原文见 Su Hua. 1969, Ancient Melodies. p.67。

There was another reason that made Mother believe firmly in fate. When I was a year old, she had unexpectedly had a five months baby boy. Quite hopeless and exhausted, Mother lay in bed for about three months. Fortunately Fifth Mother often came to see her and look after her children, as Father and Third Mother both seemed to neglect her in her grief. When Mother got up she decided this was her fate. "Even a brave hero or a strong man cannot overcome his fate."

"语体文"和"女人命运"在仕宦家族的同质性,让凌叔华在其中看自身,这 反而是她可以安全释放自我的新知识、新表现:

我一想到自己是个女孩就感到自卑,总不敢大声说笑,我很敏感,因为 家里根本没有打算要我。爸发现我能画画,才突然宠爱起我来。除了妈、五姐和八姐,家里人对我也改变了方式,他们说我要是成了画家,那是老天瞎眼。三妈一见到我,总是怪声怪气地称我"大画家"。经过她的院子,我总设法避开她。

I often felt unhappy when I considered that I was only a girl. I always hesitated to talk or laugh because I was very sensitive about the fact that I was not wanted in my family. When my father knew that I could paint, I suddenly became his favourite child. Everyone treated me in a different way, except my mother, Fifth Mother, and my own sisters. They talked about the possibility of my becoming a painter as a miracle. Third Mother called me 'great painter' in a mocking tone whenever I saw her. I always tried to avoid meeting her when I passed her courtyard.²²

必得在一种利益关系上建立一个女孩儿与父亲的关系,乃至于家里的身份,正如周蕾所谓的"贤淑的交易"。五四现代世界的敞开,冰心、胡适之"好笑"的新诗,释开凌叔华"总不敢大声说笑"的抑郁,建立了她对自身属性的认知。她"藏过父亲"的语体文,如避开三妈院子的小十,是第一遭"毁约"行动,突破了女子在传统里的实用价值、经济价值,才真正走向无用的、内化的审美经验——既她所谓的"我开始能看清无形无色的美的事物了。我能看见我的白日梦"。

1938 年抗战时期,淩叔华与夫婿随武汉大学西迁四川。战乱期间是知性和实用主义先行的时代,男性的地位和使用价值突现了女性书写的无用,流离忙碌的生活使淩叔华心情非常不好,读了英国作家吴尔芙《一个人的房间》(A Room of One's Own1929),她萌生许多感触。她给吴尔芙写信问"如果她

²¹ 淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·中秋节》,页 40。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.69。

²² 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·义父义母》,页 124。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.201。

俩位置调换,吴尔芙会做些什么?"²³看来当时的淩叔华对自己"作家"的身份产生了"无用武之地"的疑虑。吴尔芙的唯一劝解是:工作。²⁴这个建议促成了以英文写成的《古韵》(Ancient Melodies)。

史书美认为就吴尔芙所处位置: "吴尔芙对凌叔华及其作品的评价和凌叔华以其作品做出的回答,展现了东方主义和女性主义颇为矛盾的相互交织关系"²⁵,吴尔芙这位第一世界女性似乎促成了凌叔华作为第三世界女性以欧洲读者的考量,进行了自我东方主义化的书写,使《古韵》刻意把她熟悉的中国人生活习俗蓄意强调,导致异国色彩的产生。于是对第一世界国女性意识的崇仰,是否凌叔华再次以从属的地位和西方女性主义作交易,那《古韵》的书写意义在哪里呢?若换个角度看,除去人与人的经济利益和社会关系,凌叔华是否同样的以内观的审美来和吴尔芙进行强烈的知性对话(这可从两人交换的礼物窥见:凌送一个漂亮的小盒子装的两件小礼物,吴送一套兰姆散文集以及夏洛特·勃朗特传),包括吴尔芙在阅读《古韵》初稿时以"魔力"(great charm)来称许这样的书写²⁶,都让我看到凌叔华把她"无形无色的美"这种强调内在抒情的艺术形态尝试嵌入英文的知性。内化抒情性在某一种意义上看,更是一种阴柔书写的显现。

凌叔华似乎给了我们一个示范,面对权威的宰制,她会从美感经验的内化展现可以被接受的抒情,甚或复原了的传统。究其实她以内在审美的态度消解了权威的外在形式,完成艺术的精神。内在抒情的温和阴柔在内里其实也打破了所谓"男性语言"或"女性语言"。美国学者苏珊兰瑟(Lanser,Susan Sniader)不认同以"女性语言"区分女作家与男性权威,认为叙述者与受述者的性别会因文字语言的表层与深层而击毁,但是表面文本的"女性","软弱无力"或故作软弱无力,却形成一种颠覆意图的掩护,凭借这样的掩护,叙述者隐藏在虎视眈眈的文学权威注视里,对想象的读者倾吐秘密。我们或者可以称这种虚构话语的叙述为一种超脱语言的隐喻与换喻,或一种复原:

表面文本是一种"裂变的极至"(disruptive excess),或曰"拟态模仿"(mimicry):它故意采取"女性"立场,通过暴露自己卑微无助的具体细节(同时也暴露了对"霸权话语"的依赖关系)来夸大女性特征,以此获得具有颠覆性的效果。女性声音听起来柔和依顺(conform),为的是"合乎"(con)形式

²³ 详见吴鲁芹《文人相重——维吉尼亚·吴尔芙与淩叔华》,传记文学第四十二卷第三期,台北: 传记文学出版社 1983/3,页 59。

²⁴ V. Sackville- West Introduction, Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.7.

²⁵ 史书美〈地区语境下的性别协商:林徽因与淩叔华〉,载[美]史书美著,何恬译《现代的诱惑:书写半殖民地中国的现代主义》,南京:江苏人民出版社 2007,页 242。

²⁶ 详见吴鲁芹《文人相重——维吉尼亚·吴尔芙与淩叔华》,传记文学第四十二卷第三期,页 60。 另见 V. Sackville- *West Introduction*, Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. pp.7-10。

(form)。这样"女性语言"就成了对付异化隔离和检查的巧妙办法,成了躲避现实威胁的有效途径。²⁷

二、读《古韵》

《古韵》是淩叔华于 1936 年到 1941 年期间与吴尔芙通信往来中开始写的。其中机缘来自淩叔华给吴尔芙的一个问题:如果他们的位置调换,吴尔芙会做些什么?吴尔芙回答:

我多么希望我能帮你一点忙,我知道你们比起我们来有更多的理由不快活,所以由我来给你任何意见指点,都是愚不可及的事。我可以给的指点或者忠告——那也是我自己曾经尝试过的——就是工作。……日后你可能用英文写出你的生平,这正是我现在很想建议你去做的事。你的英文好到足够传达给别人你想传达的印象。别人不懂的地方,我可以替你修改。28

因这样的动机,淩叔华于是在抗战时期于四川乐山用英文写了这所谓的"自传"寄给吴尔芙,彼此往来一直到吴尔芙于 1941 年投水自尽为止,两人的信息断截了。1947 年淩携女儿到伦敦与夫婿团聚并定居,认识了诗人萨克维尔维斯特(Vita Sackville-West 1892-1962)。谈到那一段书信往来和英文写的自传,萨克维尔立刻找来吴尔芙的丈夫雷纳德·吴尔芙(Leonard Woolf 1880-1969),在他们苏萨克斯郡(Sussex)的故居吴尔芙遗物中找到了淩叔华英文自传的手稿。雷纳德于 1953 年在自己的出版社荷盖斯(Hogarth Press)出版了这些手稿——命名 Ancient Melodies(古韵)。按吴鲁芹的推测,1947 年取回的手稿只占《古韵》全书十八章的一半,另一半内容,是在萨克维尔"一定要把你的书写完"的鼓励下,在伦敦完成的。²⁹

凌叔华这份文稿可以说失而复得,吴尔芙的修改看来不大,若后半部是写于四十年代末,那么这本英文自传,作者的书写是自主的。她把这份难得的书写历程以及自己从出生到五四运动开始的阶段名为"古韵"——以乐命其名,必有深远之义。这或可在第十四章〈义父义母〉写与义母的情感中寻得其迹。这一章特别写了义母说的两个跟音乐有关的故事:一是高山流水,伯牙、

²⁷ 苏珊.S.兰瑟(Lanser, Susan Sniader)著,黄必康译《虚构的权威:女性作家与叙述声音》,北京:北京大学出版社 2002,页 13。

²⁸ 详见吴鲁芹《文人相重——维吉尼亚·吴尔芙与淩叔华》,传记文学第四十二卷第三期,页 57。 V. Sackville- *West Introduction*, Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. pp.7–8。

²⁹ 详见吴鲁芹《文人相重——维吉尼亚·吴尔芙与淩叔华》,传记文学第四十二卷第三期,页 62-63。V. Sackville- *West Introduction*, Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. pp.7-8。

钟子期的故事;二是嵇康外甥装死骗舅舅弹〈广陵散〉的故事。一则说知己一则择美而固执,在在流露她对吴尔芙的深切惋惜和致高敬意。她思念义母的文字几乎也在思念吴尔芙;

从第一眼见到我,她就显得跟我很熟,可我不记得以前见过她。几年以后,当我听到她的死讯,感到非常悲哀。

At the first sight of her when she returned, I felt she was very familiar to me, but I could not remember where I had met her. Several years later, when I heard the news of her death, I felt very sad.³⁰

另一方面这一章也提到宋代著名乐曲《普安藏》和《彻堂藏》——"僧人听到淙淙流水,便把佛经撇在一旁,忘情于清丽幽雅、宁静超然的山景之中,在一股强烈的感情冲动下写成",而她注意到义母以此二曲来消解烦闷,达至心境平和,淡泊雅然之境。若我们可以接受写义母的字里行间亦有对吴尔芙的情感,那么用《古韵》为名似乎要借乐之形式在有限的时间内展开无限的空间——内在审美的空间。把在时间限制内的生死离别之情,装置在内在的抒情空间,就如义母弹奏《彻堂藏》消解激荡的情欲,达至心境平和,淡泊雅然之境。

高友工先生引音乐理论家朱克坎(Victor Zuckerkandl)1956 年《声音与象征》谈音乐的时间和空间架构。时间在音乐是"重复规则的节奏",而听觉的空间——尤其是中国音乐的单音特质,是"音和音之间的动势形成的一种开放的空间"³¹。换一种说法,乐音和乐音之间的撞击,不管短促还是延长,会给触觉和视觉神经很深切的感受——音乐家托马迪斯(Alfred Tomatis 1920-2001)说那是一种"触见感知"(synaesthesia)³²,它开启一个想象的、开放的空间,让人因"触见"而感动。罗兰巴特《明室》谈浏览旧照片和照片那些死去的人物和迁移的景物,也提出了照片里某些局部给观看者"刺点"(punctum),而产生了感动或共鸣³³。

凌叔华 1938 年后寄给吴尔芙的"自传"想必是一篇篇散文或短篇小说,1947 年后整理经吴尔芙阅读后的"遗稿",思索如何完成一书必也经过一番哀恸之"刺"。她先在手稿上产生"触见感知",才萌生以乐为名的整体架构。这样的结构有意在清末民初,这个有限的时间上展现记忆中母亲和父亲的"太太们"的形态;并与之在她与吴尔芙在有限时间上有关女性意识的交流重

³⁰ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·义父义母》,页 117。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*.p.198。

³¹ 高友工《美典:中国文学研究论集》,页 197-198。

³² 郭美女《声音与音乐教育》,台北: 五南出版社,2000,页109。

^{33 [}法]罗兰·巴特(Roland Barthes)著,赵克菲译《明室——摄影纵横谈》,页 86。

叠。她复原给吴看的传统女人在皇朝末代的"最后姿态",也映现了她自己的姿态。

以下以时间——记忆(触)和空间——观看(见)略分析《古韵》中几个场景和几个空间与其中人物的关系,尝试思索淩叔华以乐的概念形成的结构底蕴。《古韵》共十八章,读起来像是按时序直叙,但跟中国章回一样其实每一章都可以是一篇独立的短篇小说。仔细阅读,会感觉到作者从记忆中作叙述,连贯起事件与时间之间的关系,但更重要的是她要在这个叙述的时间和关系当中置放一幅一幅图像,在这些空间当中展示人物永恒的姿态和印迹。

(一)"记忆"有多长

1938年(民国 27年),生活在战乱的现代女性淩叔华,从记忆里去搜索童年时的母亲和父亲的太太们,近四十的她是否深切感受到她们的宿命和抑郁的处境?这个记忆呈现在叙述当中表面上不到十五年,但那记忆关联着妇女在几千年传统当中的抑郁。时间的压力几乎让淩叔华在叙述中产生"触见感知"以至有一股强烈的情感要写出她们的形态,但在叙述当中我们看到这几千年的时间压缩在格局极小的命运当中,回荡着话本和章回小说里女子反复的悲剧调子——这些女孩被丢失、被贩卖,哪怕遇到好人家,最终嫁作妾,妾与妾之间为了保护自身唯一的地位明争暗斗,寻求一个不会为他们作主的男人替他们作主。

于是叙述的起点置放了一个被判刑的红衣男囚和一个苍白美丽的女囚。这两场被叙述成"戏"的景观,男的生命演出是壮烈、勇敢且暴戾的,但却受众人称许而显得有智慧(那囚犯大声唱"人活着这一辈子是一场梦,傻瓜才会把死放在心上"Life is a dream, he sang first; then he sang that only fools mind very much about death)³⁴; 女囚在审判过程中因美貌而被议论,并认为她的美貌是哄骗审判官私情以得缓刑的认证,引起的骚动甚至造成审判官太太吞鸦片自杀。男人的精神和女人的身体在这样的对比下显出了传统赋予我们记忆的时间性质——这些区别男女生存条件的意识形态牢固得已经是中国人的时间和记忆本质了,这样的本质或者就是我们熟悉的"命运"。而作为审判官的父亲,对于女囚的美做出了很具知识分子姿态的阐释:他认为自杀的妾犯了个错误,关貌是一种水中月镜中花,他是不会傻得想去摘这个假象。于是在叙述者的记忆中:"长着一双黑亮眼睛,面孔苍白消瘦的女人,杨柳一般在微风中缓步而行的时候"(young women with a pale thin face and a pair of bright black eyes, walking like a willow branch shaking in the wind)³⁵,楚楚可怜复又风情万种的

³⁴ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·穿红衣服的人》,页 4。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. p.16。

³⁵ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·穿红衣服的人》,页 6。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. p.20。

就是一种"女囚"的样子。两场戏几乎尖锐的显示"革命"和"风情"在中国传统伦理意识当中是会被砍头的"囚"。

从这两场相对戏剧性的审判和行刑,叙述者展开一系列时间堆迭成的二元对立的意识——男/女、阴/阳、刚/柔、贵/贱。十八章的叙述,都在在突显妻妾身份的不同等、读书人和农家、商人阶级有别,有无子嗣,旧式和新式男婚女嫁之别,文人雅士和平民之别,传统读书人和现代读书人之间的差异等等。

如果音乐的时间性是"依仗重复规则的节奏来体现",那么在《古韵》,沿着判定男人女人属性的两场"刑场"(命运),接下来的叙述则在记忆中重复传统惯性思维并以此作为叙述的规则。作者一方面汲取话本章回的形式以及故事原型来显示这样的反复——刑场和公堂、母亲朱兰童年时被父亲丢失了辗转被贩卖、老花匠的生命哲理、鬼故事、各种典故传说、妻妾关系等叙事都模仿古典小说的原型;另一方面从人物语境中反复强调的意识体现这些规则的回旋(如时间的回旋)——最明显的是母亲对命运的慨叹:"就是英雄好汉也拧不过命"(even a brave hero or a strong man cannot over come his fate)36、太太们激烈和愤懑的情绪中透露的委屈:"有好多事你不知道,我敢说,对我们吵架老爷不会动心的……"(There are many things you don't know, Old Man, I'm sure, would be quite unmoved by our quarrelling……)37、还有父亲面对女人乱阵时的懦弱:"我站在他前面,他眼盯着纸面,潇洒挥毫,而我却还想着前院六妈和三妈吵架的场面……我猜可能跟爸有什么关系。我多希望爸能告诉我,他是否为她们吵架感到难过。但他看上去好像什么事也没有发生,脸色还是平日那般温和平静。"

I stood in front of him. His eyes were fixed on the paper and his hand was moving the brush, but I was flying out to the front court, for all the time I still felt that I could hear their abusive words, I could only guess that Father had something to do with it. How I wished Father would tell me whether or not he felt sorry about their quarrel: No, he looked as if he had not felt it, his face looked as mild and calm as it always did.³⁸

在这些语境外的是父亲和他圈子里的淡泊文雅,以修身养性为主的世界。其父说: "那些新派人物接受西洋的东西时,也会失掉一些东西,他们就不欣赏书法。可你知道,书法是修身养性的佳径,眼手合一,意到笔随,整个身体都有一股气韵。" (Those new-fashioned people certainly have missed something as they adopt the Western way. They don't respect character writing. You see, character writing is the best way to make one's heart at peace. One concentrates

³⁶ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·中秋节》,页 40。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. p.69。

³⁷ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·一件小事》,页 57。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.93。

³⁸ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·一件小事》,页 59-60。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. p.97。

one's mind on doing it, though it is easy, but it occupies one's whole mind, for one must use one's eyes and hand as one is doing it.) ³⁹当然包括现代知识分子的启蒙思想构成的新氛围(两位表哥)。叙述者则以自身女性的孤独感来夹杂在父亲传统的审美意图以及新旧交替的喧哗当中:

……所有这一切使美丽的宫殿失去了神秘色彩。过了一会儿,我又望向遥远的西方,透明的光线把连绵起伏的西山勾勒得清晰可见,好似一堵绛紫色的水晶屏障,松树和白塔更为这景色披上了幻影。我还无目的地观望了半天,模糊感到,所有这些大概都是什么人事先设计好的。天好的时候,每种颜色搭配得是那么完美和谐、令人神迷心往。

这一切深深打动了我,它不同于我离开家乡时那种对自然朴素的热爱,在我独自欣赏美景时,已有了一种思念什么的感觉。我思念家乡,梦想自己静静地坐在家乡某地的山石上。一股离愁别苦慢慢袭上心头,好像把石子扔进池塘,平静的水面溅起水花,圆圆的涟漪越来越大,最后消失。

This fact made the beautiful palaces feel less mysterious.

Then I would turn my head to look at the other distant view. In the transparent sunlight the western hills, with one fold after another becoming lighter and lighter in the distance, seemed like a purple crystal screen. The pinetrees and the white pagodas all contributed to this illusion. Looking aimlessly for a long time, I had a vague feeling that all this must have been carefully planned by someone. Such a good arrangement of every beautiful colour, the perfect harmony, the fineness of the day, all fascinated me. In the depth of my mind I felt something really touched me. It was different from that simple love for nature which I felt when I went out to the country. Viewing such beautiful scenery on a fine day when I was by myself, I always had a sense that I was missing something. I would feel a longing for certain places in my native country, where I imagined myself sitting silently on a rock, A little bit of departed sorrow dropped gently into my heart; it was like a pebble thrown into a pond: the smooth surface of the water gives a tiny leap upward, and small and big circles appear suddenly one after another and then suddenly vanish.⁴⁰

¹⁹ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·一件小事》,页 61。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. p.98。

⁴⁰ 见淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·第一堂绘画课》,页 48。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. pp.81-82。

以上引文原为一段,我把它分段有意突显两种情境:前一段"无目的"、"模糊"或"神迷心往"是自发的、被牵制的情感;后一段"欣赏"从而"思念"产生"离愁"已经进入内在的审美经验,并自觉地在渲染/创造一个外在形式一一重审传统与自身作为女子存有的形态。凌叔华有意将记忆转作为音乐(古韵)的时间性,连接起传统惯性的意识,并非一般的写实再现生活的材料和典型性揭露或批判,反而欲加以审美意义展现内在抒情,把它置放在现代的意义上。这一次的挑战不是语体文而是英文,面对的是表意和表音的转换甚或"翻译",要怎样不失去文字表象的形态,"触视"或"刺点"十分重要。作者于是减少了她小说中擅长的以物拟情的复杂暗喻(比如"绣枕"和大小姐的心理实为一体)除了叙述中反复的"乐调",画面感、情境和女性的情绪和姿态,至少得先让她的第一个读者(吴尔芙)建立起同理心:

……我非常喜欢你写的东西,我觉得它们很可爱,很有魔力。当然,一开头,一个英国人读起来有点困难,比方说一个人有几个太太……不过读了一会儿,也就弄清楚谁是谁了……所有的譬喻,陌生而有诗意。至于一般人能懂多少,我就不知道了。"

但从整个结构来看,淩叔华把《古韵》这所谓的自传浓缩在不超过十五年的记忆,末代皇朝到新兴民主国家就已经提供了一个"刺点",连接起世界的共同记忆。传统意识在"乐韵"的反复回旋意图进行了一种解析,让域外的读者熟悉那几千年古国的陌生及其末代的余韵,从而在叙述上呈现了一种"魅力"或"魔力"。

然而淩叔华的目的不是叙述上的魅力或魔力,而是在于其"可爱"处一一那天真的小十和她的伙伴以及她眼中女人们的形态。尤其是女人们,卅八岁的淩叔华(1947 年后整理失而复得的稿时几近五十岁)在记忆浏览这些长辈,如同小女孩从百宝箱把诸宝一件一件开释,细细触动手工艺精湛的饰物。

(二) (以小女孩的观点) 观看

面对知性、表音、分析性的文字书写,淩叔华如何保存传统内在抒情的审美?上文提出"触见感知",作者自发性审美的内化抒情经验必有此"触视",经过想象力而由创作过程把心象复原,把这个感知传递。传统艺术精神"美"的意境甚至可以被释为"此一内在精神之存在和运行并不需要外观",因此"形式"其实是会破坏这一层美,淩叔华喜简易淡朴,迅速如"庄子画蟹"或散化的笔法,把技巧或创作的自觉性和知性放得最低,才能"以此形内

⁴¹ 这里用吴鲁芹《文人相重——维吉尼亚·吴尔芙与淩叔华》的翻译,传记文学第四十二卷第三期,页 60。另见 V. Sackville- *West Introduction*, Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. p.8。

窥其神"。这也是她在整理《古韵》与域外读者作意识交流所作到的艺术表现——她很熟练且巧妙的用了小女孩仰视的角度。说是仰视因为:所有这些大概都是什么人事先设计好的……每种颜色搭配得是那么完美和谐,令人神迷心往。惟有小女孩的真淳能忘情,像僧听流水,产生一股强烈的感情,随兴创作。

换言之,作者以画入文的"清逸风怀"和"隐逸的出世像"充分表明了艺术精神,传统和现代殊途同归,纯粹表现艺术的本质。此一小节将以《古韵》中对母亲和义母的描绘和小十"内窥"的室内空间来看她对"太太们"形态的复原,把现实经验转换到审美经验上,勾勒出她们表象,以复原她们本质上的"美"的心态。

1. 观看两种形态意识: 当母亲的身体在"贤淑的交易"以外

在《古韵》的叙述中,母亲贯穿每一章节,除却第一章"楔子"似的序曲,第二章即写母亲朱兰的前半生际遇,随着对母亲形象的复原,贯穿每一章节的就是母亲"对命运笃信"的意识。精彩的地方不在叙述者浓缩在这十五年内的传统妇女形象,而在一个女子给母亲的身体在记忆中做了一次小女孩(小十)眼中真淳的审美"内窥"(叙述者形容那是"缩在角落里的猫,没人在意"的视角),并在创作过程中"触视"以复原身体自身的美——在与社会、家国"贤淑交易"以外的美感。从这样的审美"内窥",清末民初的女人在传统意识和现代女性意识触碰之际,有了特定可"触视"的形态。不同于《古韵》中小十的叔祖形容的通俗小说上的人物绣像"身着古装,非常好看"42,这个画像之所以为一种形态,在于"触见感知"。且比较以下两种画面:

朱兰进来帮着打开卷挂轴。她穿了一件深蓝色丝织上衣,黑缎子裤,皮肤像清晨的莲花瓣一样粉嫩鲜艳,大眼睛里流露出温柔和亲切的神情,一张樱桃小口微微含笑,更给她增添了迷人的魅力,她那苗条的身影在屋里飘来飘去。……朱兰开启画轴时,手指富有魅力地一开一合,好似雪白的睡莲,这富于韵律的节奏,使这位著名学者不由想起了一个春夜写下的一首动情的诗。他的眼睛始终没有离开她。这个夜晚在他心底又留下了一首新诗,把他带回到二十年前。当时,他正渴望向心爱的人唱一曲最喜欢的歌。他在京城见过无数的迷人歌女和宫苑姝丽,但现在看来,她们只不过是些经过雕饰的假花。43

⁴² 淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵》,页85。

⁴³ 凌叔华著, 傅光明译《古韵·母亲的婚姻》, 页 15。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.31。

Then Ju-lan was called in to help them roll and unroll the valuable scrolls of pictures and calligraphy. She wore a powder-blue silk coat and black satin trousers (in those days unmarried girls often wore trousers). Her skin was as fresh and fair as the petal of lotus in early morning. Her large eyes sparkled with tenderness. Her cherry-like lips, with a perpetual smile, added more charm. Her slender figure curtsy to the guest as old Mr. Pan introduced her as a foster daughter.

As Ju-lan helped to roll and unroll the scrolls her fingers appeared like white orchid petals opening and closing in many enchanting forms. The distinguished scholar unconsciously compared her rhythmic movements to a beautiful poem he had composed one spring evening. He could hardly take his eyes off her. This evening entertainment left a new poem in his heart which brought back his youth of twenty years ago, when he was longing to sing his best song to a pretty maiden. He had seen hundreds of the charming singing-girls in the capital and many beautiful noble ladies of the court, but he thought them no more than artificial flowers now.

这一则描写几户有意模仿话本中对女子描摹的标准,以示传统男人视角中对女人身体一贯的浏览。但这里有一个比较特别的视角,是对朱兰启动画轴的手指"一开一合"。我们再从其它章阅读这一双手:

……看妈刺绣,是我记忆里一首小诗。她那好看的手指,在 竹绷子上下织来织去,发出细微悦耳的声音,给人一种时空的和 谐。一次,妈问我喜欢绣什么颜色的鞋,我竟不知为什么,眼里 忽然盈满了泪水。

Watching Mother silently doing her embroidery work on a fine day is a poem left in my memory. Her fine needle went up and down into the material which was mounted tightly on a frame; the only thing audible was the pleasant faint sound this made, its tone in harmony with the time and place. Once Mother asked me what colour I would like on the shoes she would embroider for me, and tears suddenly filled my eyes. I did not know why.⁴⁴

这一个画面和上一则画面的差异是很大的,女子的手指在织绣之中熟练闲适的运动显示出的美感,带给小女孩很大的"触视",它复原了女子身体情态在任何局限的情境中自发产生的美,手指与绢帛极细微的触动发出的有规律的"乐声"感知它则直入人心轻触心弦,"竟不知为什么,眼里忽然盈满了泪水"表

⁴⁴ 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·母亲的婚姻》,页 15。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.31。

示它超越了形式。这样的画像,在《古韵》中是"音和音之间的动势形成的一种开放的空间",让读者萌生想象的空间。相依为命的母亲和五妈梳头的情态也是一个时时穿插在各章的形态:

……五妈来帮妈梳头,妈也帮她梳。我喜欢看她们梳头,因为我喜欢听她们讲从不跟孩子说的家里的人和事。有时,五妈让妈读用口语写成的广东民谣,即使不识字的人也能听懂,还能跟着唱。妈的声音非常好听,唱起来好像清晨流动的小溪,她一遍遍地唱,使人如痴如醉。

Fifth Mother came to help Mother to dress her hair, and Mother would also help her to do hers in return. I liked to watch them, because I was interested in hearing their chat about people and all sorts of problems which they would never talk of to their children. Sometimes Fifth Mother would ask Mother to read some Yuh-ou, a collection of Cantonese ballads written in poetical form, but in the colloquial language; so unlettered people can appreciate and follow the story while the singer tells it. My mother had a most beautiful voice when she sang Yuh-ou. As she repeated the seven-words-aline again and again to a simple tune, it seemed to me as if one were listening to a flowing stream on a fine morning. One simply felt blissful to be there to enjoy it.⁴⁵

这个画面同样的突显女子的自得其乐,梳头的亲昵情态和唱歌的愉悦,不只歌声如"清晨流动的小溪",梳理的头发亦如水流,女子的体魄之美自然流露。让人"如痴如醉"。只有在作者的笔触,从记忆中对这些身体有深切的"感知",读者才能突破形式和语言的障碍,被这些身体情态"触动"。

另一个在《古韵》中特殊的女子形态,是小十的义母:

从第一眼见到我,她就显得跟我很熟,可我不记得以前见过她。几年以后,当我听到她的死讯,感到非常悲哀。我偶尔翻翻画本,觉得她长得很像蒙娜丽莎,温柔的眼睛,玫瑰般的嘴唇,还有她的鼻子,都很像,她站在我面前的姿态,也像画中的蒙娜丽莎。她个子不矮,穿了件蓝睡衣,优雅地坐在沙发上。

At the first sight of her when she returned, I felt she was very familiar to me, but I could not remember where I had met her. Several years later, when I heard the news of her death, I felt very sad. I chanced to glance at my collection of picture postcards. I suddenly

⁴⁵ 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·阴谋》,页 62。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.101。

realised the portrait of the Mona Lisa was like her. She had those tender eyes, rose-like lips, and a nose pointed but the right size. The way she stood before me was very much the same as in the picture. She was tall and wore a blue robe the colour of a precious stone. She sat gracefully beside me on a Chinese sofa.⁴⁶

这样一个蒙娜丽莎,以黄金分割和谐分划出来的有感知的现代形象,是大大刺激了小十的。她第一个反应是认为这位很独立自主的女人应该是"孤独的"。 当义母"紧紧的拉着我的手",小十是激动的:

是义母的温柔善良和独特的艺术气质吸引了我。我是家里的第十个女儿,自然不被看重,我就记不得曾在爸、妈的膝头撒娇耍赖过,倒是有一次生病,妈坐在我的床头,心疼地抚慰着我,这是我童年时代最幸福的记忆。

It was my Foster-Mother's tenderness and her artistic temperament that charmed me. Being the fourth child of my mother and the tenth daughter of the family, I was naturally neglected. I cannot recall that I had ever sat on mother's or father's knee. My happiest memory early childhood was when I was ill. My mother sat on my bed to attend to me, so that I could talk to her and look at her as much as I liked.⁴⁷

义母给她的是知性和感性融会的"触视",让她看到隐匿的情感显示的情态,每一种情感都具有画面和旋律,在义母的手指的弹拨和讲述当中。小十描绘义母的形象有两则致感动:

……义母便带我出城,找个大空场放风筝……北京春天的风有时凛冽刺骨,我记得有一次冻得差点放了手中的线,风筝忽然显得重了,几乎把我拉起来。我感到自己好像成了一条咬钩的鱼。我大叫起来,一是兴奋,二是害怕。义母过来抱住我,接过我手中的线,把风筝放得更高了。我坐在一块石头上看着她。每当在露天看到湛蓝的天空,枯黄的草地,一幅美丽的风筝放飞图便展现在眼前,我非常想念义母。

.....my Foster-Mother took me to fly kites on a field of open ground outside the City Wall of Peking.The spring winds in Peking are sometimes very violent. Once I remember that I could hardly hold the string, the kite suddenly became very heavy and almost lifted me up. I felt as if I were a fish and were caught on a line. I

⁴⁶ 淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·义父义母》,页 122。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.198。

⁴⁷ 淩叔华著, 傅光明译《古韵·义父义母》, 页 124。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.201。

screamed loudly - not because I was frightened, but from excitement and joy. My Foster-Mother came and embraced me. She took the kite, then she let it go upward, higher than I could. I sat on a rock to watch her. A beautiful picture of a kite flying always appears in my mind when I am on an open plain, when the sky is blue and the grass is yellow. I miss my Foster-Mother terribly.⁴⁸

……叫她给我唱一首送别曲《阳关三叠》……我想真正的情感是超越语言的。义母的歌喉婉转动听,她讲的国语带有山东口音,语调平缓亲切,富有魅力,仿佛在夏夜里一条流水潺潺的小溪,又如同微风吹过春日清晨的竹林。她唱完以后,我动情地哭了。

...... Then I asked her to sing me the 'Yang Kwan' a farewell song......strong emotion is always beyond words, I think.My Foster-Mother had a very beautiful voice. She spoke Mandarin with the accent of Shang-Tung Province. Her voice was low and pleasant and always fascinated me. It was as lovely as a stream murmuring on a summer night, or the sound of a gentle breeze blowing through a bamboo grove on a spring morning. When she finished the song, I could not help weeping.⁴⁹

义母不同于内敛的母亲,也不同于情绪暴躁情有不甘的妻妾们,她的知性和感性的融合,使其中情欲的释放能带着和谐的艺术气质,转化了她作为与社会伦理交易的女性身体,展现在小十眼里的是一位让她钦佩的,有情有义的女子。这个形象让我感觉带有淩叔华对吴尔芙的悼念。无论如何,在所谓的新旧交替中,时代的变异并未能让一位出众的女子的自主性被接纳:

皎洁的月光照着义母好看的脸,这灰色的幽光带给我难忘的 忧伤。此时正值早春,水仙、梅花盛开,馨香袭人。

The moon shone on her lovely face, its pale light brought an unforgettable sorrow into my heart. It was in early spring, the narcissi and the plum-trees were flowering and their scent was sweet.⁵⁰

¹⁸ 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·义父义母》,页 127。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. pp.206-207。

⁴⁹ 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·义父义母》,页 128。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. pp.208-209。

⁵⁰ 淩叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·义父义母》,页 129。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.210。

义母带出来的"触见感知"是很大的,她带出来的悲戚不是因为她作为一个不自觉的女子,相反的正是她的自觉性让她显得特别孤独。在这个意义上,凌叔华用这个清末民初生动的女子情态,来和吴尔芙《一个人的房间》链接贯通。

2.空间与情欲

空间跟语言,如同情境与语境,深藏着一个人不经意的思维形态。《古韵》"乐"的内在抒情另一个重要的审美"内窥"既是文人书室和园林空间的描摹。这样的描摹来自章回小说(如《金瓶梅》、《红楼梦》)对士人房屋和园林大肆描摹的传统,房子内部结构多喻为人的心态、房与房之间的连接、距离和位置亦可喻为人与人之间的关系。《古韵》有相当多的篇幅描摹屋内空间设置和庭院,甚至写花匠带她去游览的宫廷园林的缩影。比较能表现出《古韵》女性"触视感知"的是与小十有关的三个空间,一个是乍醒还梦时一块可驰骋的、孤独的空间,另一是父亲在她房里设计的画室,第三个空间是义母的房间。室内或室外设置是静态的,不会像人物情态那样带动情感。在叙述当中放置这样的空间实际上是在不动的物质和其中细节上牢牢抓住人的意识和心理瞬间即逝的形迹,那里正藏着人情感上原本的形貌,释放着人的真挚情欲。

小十在未被画家王竹林推荐给她父亲时,常"猫一样蜷缩在又厚又暖和的被窝里":

闭上眼,静听屋外呼呼的风声,有时觉得挺远,有时觉得风就要破门而入。我把自己想象成一位冒险的英雄,奇异的景观便浮现在眼前,想象力也随着风声变得越来越大胆、狂放,我常梦见自己在广袤的大海上漂泊,波浪载着我在咆哮的海水里起伏奔涌。我从来不感到害怕和绝望,相信希望就在一片新奇的土地上。有的时候,强劲的风呼啸着卷走院子里夏日用来遮阳的席棚,只剩下光光的竹架。长短不一的竹竿变成众多的乐管,狂风吹过,发出的声音恰似美妙的天国音乐。我便在这奇妙有力的乐音中,任想象的羽翼自由翱翔:神仙披着美丽的长袍乘风飘舞,去参加天国音乐会。我也在里面,很快乐!

As with my eyes closed I listened to the wind howling outside, sometimes far away in the distance, sometimes as near as if it were entering the bedroom. I would imagine myself to be the hero of many adventures. Splendid visions came to me frequently. My imagination seemed to become bold and active with the help of the great winter wind. Often I dreamed that I was floating on a vast sea, the waves rising and falling as they carried my body up and down amidst the noisy water; but I was not frightened or in despair; I felt that there was hope in a new and strange land. Sometimes this great wind blew

strongly through the courtyard, blowing through the mat awnings which shade it in summer days and were now standing bare with their wood and bamboo frames. The long and short bamboo sticks became so many pipes blowing out of tune which sounded like heavenly music. With this mysterious and powerful music, I let myself be carried away by my imagination: I could see gods and fairies sailing in the sky with their beautiful robes flying in the wind, all coming to attend the heavenly concert. What a joy to think I was one of them!⁵¹

这是个极隐私的空间,几乎无形迹是小孩子内心自发的审美心理,在那里欲望可以"咆哮如海""强劲呼啸如风"可以快乐狂放。但另一个空间正和这个自由的想象完全相反,那是父亲知道她的才情后,给她设计的画室:

我的房间布置得像真正的画室,家具都是爸挑选的。房子两侧是窗户,一侧窗前是一大架开满了花的紫藤,微风吹过,香味扑鼻,就好像那花吃到了嘴里。另一侧窗前是紫丁香,白色和淡紫色的丁香花在阳光下显得格外迷人,香气时苦时甜,令人和欢醉。这时我想起在戏园子看过的几出戏,越回味越觉得。面对紫藤的窗前,摆放着一条黑漆桌案,光滑透亮,大红海。面对紫藤花。我常在这张桌子上练习书法。一张红得发亮,看知美丽的紫藤花。我常在这张桌子上纸子的,红红红色光亮,看久了,令人目眩,简直妙不可言。这种红色也许是南上红溪桌,看久了,令人目眩,简直妙不可言。这种红色也许是蓝色家具,再合适不过。即使家具涂上了别的色,它的色也能看出来(用这种红漆是爸的主意,我同意了)。大方凳正与红漆桌和配,它比椅子高些,恰好让我这个小女孩坐在上面画画。

My bedroom had recently been arranged like a real studio. All the furniture had been selected by Father. There were windows on two sides. One was facing a large purple wistaria, now in full bloom. The sweet smell was blown into one's nostrils, until one almost felt one had eaten the flowers. The other window was facing the lilac trees. The tiny white and lavender flowers looked charming in the sunlight; their smell, sometimes sweet, sometimes bitter, made me think of some plays I had seen at the theatre; the more one smelt it the more one liked its fragrance. Before the wistaria window was a long black lacquer table for my desk. Its lacquer was smooth and bright. One could see the reflection of the wistaria flowers beautifully in it. I often did character

⁵¹ 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·第一堂绘画课》,页 46-47。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. pp.78-79。

writing on that table. A large red lacquer table was in front of the lilac window. The best red lacquer in Peking was something words cannot describe; it was not like some red paint which makes one's eyes sore if one looks at it for long. A painter of experience might perhaps mix red, blue, and bright brown; then this colour would come out like the red lacquer we make in Peking. This was a kind of red which gave one a feeling of superb beauty rather than charm or prettiness. It went well with black or unpainted furniture; one did not feel it out of place. If it were put among lacquered furniture of many colours, it stood out in its own colour. (My father's idea of this red lacquer; I agreed with him then and still agree with him.) A large square stool matched the red table. It was higher than the chairs, just right for a young girl to sit on and do her painting.⁵²

这是一个很讲究的雅室,人为的布置使它整齐、典雅并发出适度的香气。越讲究就越体现出情欲的压抑,像"红漆发亮得令人眩目",它收藏并堆迭了千古情欲。可以吃进嘴里的香气几乎不是来自花香,而是情欲压缩到某个程度挥发的气味(像提萃花香的香水)。小十在描述这个空间之前,正经历了三妈和六妈为了争得父亲宠爱而破口大骂,甚至大打出手的乱局。这个"我的房间"不是一个可以任其做主的空间,反而正是"贤淑交易"的赋予空间,被束缚的意识是双重的,因此"这使我想起戏园子的几出戏,越回味越馥郁芳香"。

同是雅士,义父义母的屋里设置有不同,义父是"穿过一扇屏风。一只古青铜香炉里香烟缭绕,香味雅淡怡人,好像置身于松林之间"、"双人床那么大的办公桌""一张大石桌"和"一只古琴",另加"大大小小的花盆,有兰花、水仙、梅花,还有结满一簇簇的红莓果",相对的古朴、遒劲、大气。义母的卧室也有这样的古风,却略显得孤清:

我坐在屋里,环视整个房间。家具都是红木的,雕花不如我家的精致,桌、椅上都铺着蓝色和紫色的汉代丝绸,不待刺绣。纱窗帘是浅黄色。阳光照进,嗅闻到一股水仙的馨香。在过去养殖水仙是门艺术。水仙养在盆里,放上水,铺上精选的小卵石。从水仙到小卵石的选择,能看出养花人的情趣、品性。

窗前摆放着一张大的红木桌子,桌上有两个大理石花盆,一个养着水仙,另一个养着一种雅致的状似松树的植物。

While I was waiting, I looked round the room. The furniture was all made of red wood, but the carving was not as elaborate as in our house. The cushions and table and chair covers were thick blue or

⁵² 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·一件小事》,页 59。原文见 Su Hua1969, Ancient Melodies. p.96。

purple Hanchao silk with no embroidery. The window curtains were light yellow gauze. The sun was now shining into the room; its heat made the narcissi smell sweet. To grow narcissi was an art in the old days. The narcissi were grown in a pot with water, and pebbles of all kinds were selected and laid in it. From a narcissi pot one could judge the taste of the owner, because the selection of the pot and the pebbles would show it.

A long, wide redwood table was before the window. On it were two large square marble pots; one had narcissi on it, the other a small, beautifully shaped pine-tree arranged amidst rocks as on a real mountain-side.⁵³

这样一个空间,相比于小十典雅别致香气逼人的画室则简朴而有意接近自然,刻意彰显的个别情趣和意向减少了压迫的氛围。水仙一再被强调更让人在淡雅中瞥见不落俗套的孤独。

这些空间,尤其是女人"赋予"的空间藏有千古文明底蕴下神秘的情欲心理及其想象,进入屋里空间和它的布置,"触见感知"加上想象空间,让人更能一览无遗的对女子的位置做更多的思辨。小十记忆和眼里的这三个空间正是自我身份,传统文人雅士以及女性自觉意识的具体空间或形态的展示,是叙述、对话、时间以外,静止且放大的内在情欲的具现。

总结

《古韵》比起淩叔华其它名篇,较少引起读者的注意,可能因为她的读者认为那不是写给东方人看的。经过他人手中译后的《古韵》,则又让人感觉那不是出自淩叔华手笔。 这样一个文本,反而让我感觉到其中因陌生而构成的多面性和多重对话,唯一不同的是当中的审美经验和内在抒情,这也是伍尔夫和萨克维尔感觉到的其中魅/魔力。《古韵》回望清末明初,在它写成和出版的时段,民国和五四却也已经成为"古韵",这反而又让这个文本的形式产生更多层的隐喻。以上阅读的尝试,让读者感知《古韵》将回忆名为"韵",从自发性的传统文人情境到语体文自觉性的自我审美意识;内在审视经由其快与简的形式,产生音乐性的叙述时间,而思忆时空在清晰的描绘里展现绘画空间,贯穿其间的是节奏和韵律带出来的情感:上文所举篇章,在角色情感的缓急中相对于作者对其中空间、景物的勾勒,简易朴质的形式看似简单,却饱含当今文学书写忽略掉的内在审美经验。阅读《古韵》,无论就淩叔华的英文本

⁵³ 凌叔华著,傅光明译《古韵·义父义母》,页 121。原文见 Su Hua1969, *Ancient Melodies*. pp.197-198。

或较后的译本,都会恍然发现,失却审美经验和内在抒情的创作,丧失"触见感知",修辞即成为了麻木而自闭的封闭空间。《古韵》内在审美的艺术自觉,铺展和保存的,或者就是民国的美——属于民国的现代抒情。

Special Part

The Belt & Road Initiative (BRI):
Maritime Silk Road International
Academic Conference

特辑

一带一路: 海上丝绸之路国际学术研讨会

从杜中与佟暖的书写及学琴经验看 60-90 年代马新与中国民间琵琶艺术交流境况

骆俊彦*

摘要

佟暖(原名杜国俊)是新加坡知名诗人兼作家,也是一名业余琵琶手。他的文学书写曾提及学琵琶的因缘及种种经历,由此延伸的线索颇能映现 60-90 年代——新马华乐起步到发展的年代——新马民间个体户学琵琶/华乐的实际情况。受兄长杜中(原名杜敬明)影响,佟暖与琵琶结缘,开始习琴。杜中之于佟暖的影响不仅在对琵琶的热忱和琴技上,更在于对艺术和政治、时代之间关系的思索。60 年代的政治敏感使兄弟俩在生活和习琴路上遇到困境,但佟暖却坚持这门艺术,并以一己之力于 90 年代向中国琵琶界名流学习,实践其文学创作以外的另一壮举。

关键词: 佟暖 杜中 琵琶

^{*} 南方大学学院人文与社会学院中文系讲师。电邮:jylok@sc.edu.my

Pipa Art Exchange between MalaysiaSingapore and China in 1960s Reveals From Du-zhong and Tong-nuan's Writing

Lok Jun Yan**

Abstract

Tong Nuan (Tor Kok Choon), who is a famous Singaporean poet cum author Tong Nuan (Tor Kok Choon), is also well known as an excellent amateur Pipa player. He once expressed the reasons and the experiences of learning the instrument through his literary works. The clues extended from his writing can reflect the actual situation of Pipa/Chinese music among Singaporean and Malaysian folks between 1960s to 90s – which is also the era of the development of local Chinese music (Hua Yue). Influenced by his elder brother Du Zhong, Tong Nuan began to learn Pipa and attached to the instrument. However, Du Zhong's influences on Tong Nuan were not only his enthusiasm toward Pipa and its skills, but also his thinking about the relationship among arts, politics, and the times. Due to the political sensitivity in 1960s, the brothers encounter difficulties in their lives, especially along the way of learning Pipa. However, Tong Nuan persevered through agony and did not give up on his passion toward arts. He successfully mastered and further pursued Pipa's arts with the grand masters in China on his own in 1990s. This is another feat he had achieved other than his literary creation.

Keywords: Tong Nuan Du Zhong Pipa

^{**} Lecturer, Department of Chinese Studies, Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Southern University College. Email: jylok@sc.edu.my

前言

马来亚和新加坡的华乐肇始于二十世纪五十年代,在华乐活动尚未蓬勃以前,中国南来的地方音乐及戏班乐师已在本地活动,甚至定居。在马新与中国尚未建交的年代,华乐的起步道路十分崎岖;民间双边往来受到限制,导致师资、乐器、曲谱等资源匮乏,除了依靠香港输入,居留本地的地方戏曲乐师成了华乐最主要的养分。杜敬明(杜中)和杜国俊(佟暖)兄弟俩是作家,也是琵琶手;他们的书写隐现艰难的学琴经历,特别是在政治敏感的六十年代。杜中怀着对社会的热忱和抱负只身带着一把琵琶远赴中国,却不幸遇上"文化大革命"而罹难;佟暖在故乡坚持兄长所教的琵琶,亦受到政治的打压。杜氏兄弟是相当特别的个案,通过分析他们的书写及梳理他们学琴的种种经历,能够呈现60-90年代马新与中国民间琵琶艺术交流的境况。本文以杜氏兄弟为探讨个案,主要因为二者都是业余琵琶手;他们出身一般中产家庭,既非音乐世家或音乐科班出身,也不以音乐为职业,是纯粹的琵琶爱好者。尤其佟暖,不借助某个团体而单凭自己的爱好和能力,于九十年代结识中国琵琶界大师们并向他们学习。这种"单独户"的形态异于一般透过团体接洽的交流,更能体现该年代民间对文化艺术追求的执着精神。

一、从佟暖与琵琶的因缘——杜敬明谈起

后来我哥只身从新加坡回中国,临走前将这把琵琶卖给乐器店老板以换取旅途盘缠。所幸的是,老板深爱我哥情义,后来即使有人出高价也不愿出让这把琵琶。直到八十年代中期,时隔 20 多年后,我买回了这把琵琶,感觉好像是我哥回到家里。1

佟暖在若干诗和散文中述及他英年早逝的兄长杜敬明——青年即丧命于政治斗争的漩涡,让人倍感荒诞遗憾之余,逝者生前的行为、身后留下的文字及其产生的蝴蝶效应(尤其体现于佟暖)尤值得我们关注。它揭示该时代,艺术在世界政治大环境的缝隙间存在的一种形态;当中的艰难和焦虑,在五十多载后政治氛围已然不同的今人视线里也许是容易被忽略且难以切身体会的。

佟暖原名杜国俊,1950年生于英属新加坡殖民地,1963年开始向兄长杜敬明学习琵琶,直到1965年杜敬明"悄然去了中国"为止。杜敬明"凭一股爱国热忱赴中国大陆,后来被分配到广东蕉岭华侨农场,不幸在文革期间遭迫

¹ 佟暖《魁星踢斗落银盘——哥哥留下的一把琵琶》,截引自"南洋随笔新加坡华文论坛": http://www.sgwritings.com/bbs/viewthread.php?tid=67430;截引日期:22.09.2021。

害至死。"²遇害那年是 1968 年。杜敬明赴中国时随身携带一张"产自北京,六十年代自香港流传至新加坡"后所购下的精品老红木琵琶。这张琴随着主人离世而尘封,直至八十年代佟暖家人赴祖籍,才意外发现此遗物并将之带回。遇害前一年,杜敬明寄回的家书夹着一帧手抱此琴、摄于农村的照片,装束端庄体面,腼腆的微笑流露笃定的神情;照片背页以钢笔书七律诗作《秋日偶题——于资产阶级反动路线围攻声中》,笔迹刚毅。³

浓云愁雾暗千山,着雨红旗湿不翻。风卷苇花扑面白,霜侵枫叶透心丹。四金书粲扫秋瑟,五两杯深浮暮寒。独坐溪头弹大海,琵琶弦外浪三千。⁴

佟暖因杜敬明而得机缘学琵琶,但很快这位启蒙老师就悄然离家进而遇难。佟暖非但未因此终止习琴,兄长的性格思想行为遭遇还给他带来冲击和影响,琵琶亦自此成为佟暖书写/生命里的一个重要的隐喻。

我珍藏的这把琵琶,是上世纪六十年代初我跟我哥学琵琶时用的,也是我哥身后遗留下来的其中一把琵琶,我给它起了个名字叫"秀才"。5

杜敬明有两把琵琶, "秀才"是另外一把,老红木丝弦制,产于江苏。杜敬明远赴中国时需要盘缠,故将这把琴售予新加坡当时极少数的华乐乐器店翁展发。廿余年后佟暖购回这把琴,使他"感觉好像是我哥回到家里"。由此可见,琵琶是哥哥精神的一种化身,如《魁星踢斗落银盘》所暗示,那是"情义"——个人的热忱及人间的温度。以至于后来与佟暖相遇的许多张琵琶都成了可纪念之物——"每把琵琶,于我都是一桩桩心事。时过境迁,曾经的人与

² 杜敬明生于 1939 年海峡殖民地新加坡,祖籍福建泉州。小学于崇正学校、巴爷里峇英校,中学在莱佛士书院就读。结业后在道南小学任教,随后至新加坡广播电台专职翻译,亦曾参与文艺出版社和《星岛报》的编辑工作。50 年代末用笔名杜中、杜仲、墨朱、公孙豹、白青、秋笳等发表作品。曾出版译作《我的歌献给一切人》(Peter Blackman)和《美学的批判》(Christopher Caudwell)。其诗作及译诗收录于杜中、严思、佟暖的兄弟合集——《我的歌献给一切人》(2012 出版)。杜敬明生平详见:杜中、严思、佟暖(合集)《我的歌献给一切人》新加坡:热带文学艺术俱乐初版,2012,页 1。

³ 佟暖《琵琶弦外浪三千——哥哥留下的另一把琵琶》,参见"南洋随笔新加坡华文论坛": http://www.sgwritings.com/bbs/viewthread.php?tid=67452; 截引日期: 22.09.2021。

⁴ 杜中、严思、佟暖(合集)《我的歌献给一切人》,新加坡:热带文学艺术俱乐部初版, 2012,页62。

⁵ 佟暖《魁星踢斗落银盘——哥哥留下的一把琵琶》,截引自"南洋随笔新加坡华文论坛": http://www.sgwritings.com/bbs/viewthread.php?tid=67430。

事也显得渺远,但总不能忘怀。好像和老朋友说话,琴音之外,有更多温馨的回忆。"⁶

佟暖未透露杜敬明在中国的实际遭遇,许是不很清楚,看来更像是基于爱护而不愿多说。《秋日偶题》首两句已隐约显露杜中当时的逆境——和一般书写"红旗"的作品的乐观基调不同,"着雨红旗湿不翻"所散发的情绪显然是郁闷、委屈、甚至有点不得志的,这一情绪是理想与现实的落差所导致?虽不清楚杜敬明在中国的实际经历,但佟暖的《红树林里还开着你英雄的火焰花》这首长诗却以走马灯的形式呈现杜中遇难的残影,当中"一张二元钱的借条","'我什么也没说'的半截纸头"等诗句相当声色地呈现了被冤枉的情景。值得关注的是,诗歌叙述者的视角显示了佟暖眼中兄长的形象,透露着赞颂甚至仰慕的姿态,试看节录:

他们就这样/掩埋了你一身淤黑的骸骨/丢来一张二元钱的借条,还有/你写着"我什么也没说"的半截纸头……/哥啊哥/为了全人类的解放/十年后,他们有脸还来/——一个清白的"爱国归侨"/(……)//将这诗行一字一字/往天烧,记下你/快半个世纪的沉默无言/我深信是黑的你绝不肯说成白/哥啊哥/你不是孤儿/你也不是弃子/在中南半岛/在马六甲海峡/在千万座岛屿的/红树林里/ 还开着你的梦想/开着你英雄的火焰花7

在叙述者眼中,哥哥因不肯将黑的说成白的而遭到牺牲,是个正直的诗人、思想者,常为"诗仙的魂"、"哲思的另一种高度"而心动,是"回不了家门"的流浪者,是"英雄"。这首诗其实是杜中诗作《火焰树》相隔数十年、相隔两界的一个回应。

火焰树是赤道的英雄树/英雄树上开的是火焰的花/照眼通红一派英雄色/英雄本色谁不爱它//翩翩海鸥衔来了漫天的彩霞/河滩上飞溅着金色的浪花/我踏着嵌满贝壳的灰泥路/红树丛里寻找你的家8

佟暖显然以杜中自创的火焰花形象隐喻其浪漫与理想。这浪漫的精神特质还可以在杜中的许多诗篇看见,如"只等卖命的时刻一到/嘿——瞧老子手上这把刀"(《狂歌》),"然而我们不再沉默/力量挥出无数拳头"(《给——》),"我要一口气游过太平洋/而在这笑声歌声中/我的生命便展开/如烈

⁶ 佟暖脸书贴文,写于 30.03.2021。参见: https://www.facebook.com/parktor; 截引日期: 24.09.2021。

⁷ 杜中、严思、佟暖(合集)《我的歌献给一切人》,页 396。

⁸ 杜中、严思、佟暖(合集)《我的歌献给一切人》,页34。

火,如大海"(《妳来了》);其中《宣言——个青年向我叙述他定情的经过》更是典型的浪漫风格作品,最能凸显杜中的浪漫气质:

分析杜中诗作是为了勾勒出其强烈、真挚、浪漫的精神特质,这一精神特质很为佟暖欣赏和赞颂,亦构成了佟暖对于青年兄长的记忆。然而,杜中的浪漫性格使他在现实中招惹祸害一事却不得不让佟暖反思,特别是兄长离开后,佟暖在学琴路上的种种遭遇,使他的书写多了一种杜中诗所不具的沉着。

二、六十年代华乐的困境

杜敬明离开新加坡后,佟暖转向杜敬明的老师吴膺赞(吴继宜)学琵琶。六十年代初,马来亚和新加坡皆处于"冷战"的政治氛围中,英方有意识地控(抑)制共产党及左翼思想在本土的扩张。此时自治的新加坡正逐步迈向独立,政治神经十分敏感;文艺活动,尤其被当局认为普遍左倾的华裔的文艺活动成为被监视的范畴之一。

在一次纪念中国音乐家冼星海¹⁰的音乐晚会¹¹上,佟暖首次登台演奏琵琶,即初尝政治浮威:

"我记得当时演奏的是最平常的一首《阳春白雪》。尽管琵琶弹奏得很一般,听众也不过数十来人。可是不得了,过后有人找上

⁹ 杜中、严思、佟暖(合集)《我的歌献给一切人》,页 38-39。

¹⁰ 冼星海(1905-1945)祖籍广东番禺,出生于澳门,现代中国著名音乐家,代表作有《黄河大合唱》;童年时期(1911-1921)曾在新加坡生活长达十年,在养正学校上过学。冼星海在新加坡的事迹可参见:何乃强《冼星海在新加坡十年》,新加坡:玲子传媒出版,2013。

¹¹ 据佟暖所述,这场纪念冼星海的音乐会是在道南校友会天台举行,年份为 1967/68 年(已记不清)。

我家,对我说只有 XX 党才弹琵琶,奇了怪了,在那样的年代,弹琵琶也背上莫名其妙的罪名。"12

演出之后,"所用的校友会的乐器被充公了,不知下落"¹³,佟暖亦遭内政部官员"登门造访"。据他回忆,当时被内政部官员质问道"你为什么要学琵琶,学琵琶、弹琵琶是共产党,去弹钢琴吧、拉小提琴吧,你学西方的东西我们不反对你。"¹⁴内政部登门调查的导因与杜敬明赴中国一事有关,或许也因晚会活动的主题内容引起当局的注意,跟琵琶(这件乐器和音乐)本身没有直接关系。不过在这"非黑即白,回过头去看都是冷战思维作怪"的年代,"XX 党才弹琵琶"已经成为政治意识形态下的一种刻板观念。这件事甚至成为佟暖丧失上大学资格的导因之一;这种刻板认知在高小至初中阶段的佟暖眼中甚是莫名其妙,而他通过叙述另一件往事来凸显这个荒诞。小学五年级时,因在本子里写了一个简体字,被老师训斥道"只有共产党才写简体字",为此"挨了两鞭,揉着红肿的手心,也不敢告诉家人,找个机会问兄长什么是共产党?他指着报上说,'打叉的就是共产党'。//从那开始,我专看报章上有打XX的新闻,也没琢磨出什么名堂";更为反讽的是,这位老师后来"经常往返中国大陆,还写了不少优美散文,歌颂神州的山山水水",却没有搞清楚事实上"倒是国民党先搞汉字简化"。¹⁵

写简体字,弹琵琶,甚至仅一次"参加学校戏剧会的活动",都足以成为一种政治身份或立场的标签,由此不难感受六十年代笼罩马新社会的政治压力。佟暖是在这样的氛围里度过青春时期学琵琶的日子,这两个事件对他的冲击想必相当大,以至于他用"冰凉"和"被火烫的感觉"来形容背负莫须有罪名的感觉。

"这事不是什么冷笑话,却一直搁在我心底,冰凉着。"16

"打 XX 的烙印有被火烫的感觉, 历史的标签始终在那儿立着, 提醒人们这一路走来多么崎岖, 有多少人为的障碍。尽管如此, 我始终忘不了那时的横街窄巷, 那时的有情有义, 犹如黄霑带着那一股江湖正气和人间烟火的歌声。"¹⁷

被标签的经验也许让佟暖对杜敬明的遭遇产生一丝感同身受,因此佟暖在书写中更欲表现的是青少年对世界的热忱——"那时的有情有义"、"江湖

¹² 佟暖《六十年代关键词——对照》, 收录于《南洋艺术》37期(2012年9月), 新加坡: 南洋艺术学院及红海传媒联合出版, 2012, 页 69。

¹³ 佟暖《六十年代关键词——对照》,收录于《南洋艺术》37期(2012年9月),页69。

¹⁴ 这段信息源自佟暖访谈,访谈稿未发表。

¹⁵ 佟暖《六十年代关键词——对照》,收录于《南洋艺术》37期(2012年9月),页65。

¹⁶ 佟暖《六十年代关键词——对照》,收录于《南洋艺术》37期(2012年9月),页65。

¹⁷ 佟暖《六十年代关键词——对照》, 收录于《南洋艺术》37期(2012年9月), 页 69。

正气"、"人间烟火"之于他们若不说真实,也是不虚的。杜敬明带着这种热血去到一个"左"的世界,却遭到致命的挫败,佟暖怀着一样的热忱留在"右"的世界,也避不了重重波折。两个案例皆显示六十年代,文艺很大程度被束缚在政治的话语框架中,其发展可谓道阻且跻。

三、杜中与佟暖的琵琶师承及学琴经历

杜敬明学琵琶的年代正值华乐在泛马来亚刚起步。据北马华乐教育家赖亚来叙述,五、六十年代"华社对华乐的认识不深,也不普及,乃至被当著唱大戏或治丧的音乐。" ¹⁸这一刻板观念之所以在华社间流行并非无缘由。

1949年新中国成立后,长达二十多年的时间未与泛马来亚¹⁹各邦建立外交关系,两个区域的文化交流虽未完全中断却受到严重阻隔。据新加坡琵琶演奏家吴奕明的研究,新加坡华乐活动"开始于 1953 年,跟当时的新中国民乐发展,步伐相当接近。"²⁰但"在殖民地政府统治下,华乐没有得到好好的发展,外在客观环境的阻力,内在经费、资料、场地、乐器、师资等等条件不足"。²¹在政治力量不支持的情况下,华乐和许多华人文化活动一样,主要依靠民间自发经营。

马新学习民族乐器者几乎无法直接向当时中国民乐界老师学习,除通过香港能够获得一些资源以外,无论技术、乐器、曲谱等方面主要还得依赖在本地从事民间戏曲的艺人及制琴师。半岛的情况也几乎相同,学习华乐都是"从民间地方戏曲的丝竹乐队与民间艺人的弹唱开始。"²²这样的情况持续到七十年代马(新)中逐步重建外交关系、恢复经济往来,人民获得更宽松的出入双边国境权限后才有质的突破。

于是这些从事戏曲和地方音乐的艺人成了本地华乐最初的养分,他们大多是"从中国南来的地方音乐师傅,已经在本地落地生根倒是事实,他们教导地方音乐,如潮乐、汉乐、广东音乐、福建南音"。²³这些民间地方乐种对本地华乐的影响在今天看来也许不及稍后兴勃于中港台的现代华乐大,但它确实

^{18 《}大马华乐发展》,发布于《东方日报》(22.11.2015),截引自"马来西亚东方日报": https://www.orientaldaily.com.my/news/maidong/2015/11/22/114010;截引日期:6.10.2021。

¹⁹ 泛马来亚(Pan-Malaya)亦称全马来亚(All-Malaya),是战后普遍使用的词,指涵盖马来亚、新加坡、北婆罗、砂拉越、和文莱的英属殖民地。马来西亚未成立前,泛马来亚各邦隶属于不同政体,但拥有相近的历史背景和社会文化形态。

²⁰ 吴奕明《新加坡华乐发展史略——一九五三年至一九七九年》,新加坡: 玲子大众传播 (新)私人有限公司出版,1998,页2。

²¹ 吴奕明《新加坡华乐发展史略——一九五三年至一九七九年》,〈前言〉。

²² 《大马华乐发展》,发布于《东方日报》(22.11.2015),截引自"马来西亚东方日报": https://www.orientaldaily.com.my/news/maidong/2015/11/22/114010;截引日期: 6.10.2021。

²³ 吴奕明《新加坡华乐发展史略——一九五三年至一九七九年》,页3。

留下了弥足珍贵的印记,也传承了一些在中国早已式微的传统。这些都体现在 杜氏兄弟的琵琶师承影响里。

吴膺赞又名吴继宜,祖籍广东潮安,杜敬明与杜国俊曾先后向他学习琵琶,是他较早的学生之二。吴氏于五十年代初在新加坡潮汉乐团体——余娱儒乐社拜潮州音乐名宿李业齐为师,学习潮州琵琶,并于 1956 年赴中国进修北琵琶。²⁴潮州琵琶与北琵琶(现代琵琶)是不同的琵琶流派,在演奏技法和风格上存在蛮大的差异。

传统潮洲琵琶的持琴办法是演奏者右腿翘左腿之上,琴体与身体呈六十度角倾斜,右手下臂内侧靠琴体右下弧角,手腕向内弯曲,手指呈鸡爪状。这种持琴方式和三弦类似,右手活动空间和力度受到限制,左手支撑琴身重量也失去灵活性。当时吴膺赞先生已经意识到这些弊病,五十年代末返潮汕老家时学来《十面埋伏》(据吴老先生口述)一曲,就一改斜抱琵琶为竖抱。25

据佟暖忆述,吴膺赞藉由还乡之便,向同乡时任潮州文化局局长吴藏石²⁶进修琵琶。吴藏石虽为潮汕人,但弹的是北琵琶。吴膺赞向他学《十面埋伏》(秦鹏章演奏谱),从北琵琶获得启发,改进潮州琵琶的技法,形成自己的风格。七十年代吴膺赞曾于马六甲演奏此曲,录音意外被香港琵琶名家吕培原听见;吕培原来访新加坡时特地寻访吴膺赞,只为听他现场弹奏。吴膺赞后来也传授这首琵琶经典武曲予杜敬明,惟是否传授完整就不得而知。当时马新几乎无法找到琵琶曲谱,杜敬明通过在新加坡广播电台工作的便利而能够听到许多唱片。他以听音记谱的方式学新曲子,请吴膺赞在记好的谱上标出指法再传授给他。²⁷

以上论述可看出杜氏兄弟的琵琶师承如下:

李业齐(潮州琵琶);吴藏石(北琵琶)→吴膺赞→杜敬明;杜国俊

七十年代民乐师资十分匮乏,杜敬明离开新加坡后,想继续学琴的佟暖只好到 翁展发乐器店。老板一听佟暖弹琵琶,觉得与杜敬明神似,便引荐他到大芭窑 修德善堂找吴膺赞学琵琶。吴膺赞是修德善堂的座办,当时佟暖就在修德善堂 里练琴。"我到现在还很怀念那个时光",佟暖忆述,"因为修德善堂很大,

²⁴ 吴奕明《新加坡华乐发展史略——一九五三年至一九七九年》,页 11。李业齐从中国南来 新加坡,是余娱儒乐社的音乐导师,精通潮乐和汉乐。

²⁵ 佟暖《关于琵琶下出轮指》,截引自: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_520dc33f0100la9w.html; 截引日期: 8.10.2021。

²⁶ 吴藏石(1914-1979)又名吴膺汉,广东潮安人;1935年在杭州艺专学习西洋画专业,50年代任潮汕文化局局长,是潮汕著名油画家;除了绘画,也擅弹潮州筝和北琵琶。

²⁷ 这段信息源自佟暖访谈,访谈稿未发表。

晚上的时候没有人,老师在那儿打太极拳,我在这边弹琵琶《卸甲》,琵琶的声音在善堂里回响,那个时光很有诗意。"²⁸后来因忙碌没有再跟吴膺赞学下去,但几乎每年年节,佟暖都会到大芭窑拜访吴膺赞,沏茶谈论琵琶。九十年代以后,佟暖有机会到中国向其他老师拜师学艺,无疑大大丰富其琴艺,但杜敬明和吴膺赞给予他的影响却是根本且深远的。

潮州琵琶与北琵琶虽然有差异,但相对于完全不同系统的南音琵琶、越南琵琶来说,还是比较接近且易于相互借鉴的。例如,(一)潮州琵琶和北琵琶抱琴的角度虽不同,但皆以手指弹拨琴弦(南音琵琶则用拨子);(二)潮州琵琶和未改制前的北琵琶皆以七律(中国传统音律系统)排四相十二品;(三)潮州琵琶同较早期的北琵琶流派诸,如无锡派、平湖派、崇明派一样,使用"下出轮"技法²⁹。

佟暖在杜敬明的启蒙和吴膺赞的指导下已熟练下出轮技法。北琵琶自五十年代起,经由浦东派和汪派(上海派)的发展,"上出轮"逐渐取代"下出轮"成为主流。随着几十年"上出轮"的普及化,"下出轮"已近乎绝迹。一直使用"下出轮"的佟暖九十年代到中国向浦东派大师林石城学琵琶时,林氏就惊讶于佟暖习得的下出轮,并呼吁他嫑再改为上出轮。对于要不要改用更方便的"上出轮",佟暖也曾经过一番考虑挣扎:

包括吴膺赞老先生,演奏琵琶都改用上出轮而不用下出轮了。// 我虽也一度踌躇难决,不知是不是也顺应潮流,改下为上。后来,有机会得到林石城教授教诲,林老很赏识我的下出轮音色,再三劝解希望我保持一贯风格。就这样我一直没改用上出轮,且一下到底,从一而终。30

除了受林石城的鼓励之外,佟暖最终选择继续使用"下出轮"还另有原因。他在访谈中透露,一方面是"下出轮有下出轮的风格",能够表现"上出轮"所不具的纤细唯美;而更关键的原因还在于对兄长杜敬明的缅怀:

²⁸ 这段信息源自佟暖访谈,访谈稿未发表。

²⁹ "轮指"是琵琶演奏长音的基本技法之一,分"上出轮"和"下出轮"两种。"下出轮"是以小指起轮,紧接名指、中指、食指、拇指的一种轮指,而"上出轮"的指序则是食指、中指、名指、小指、拇指。北琵琶较早期的流派,如无锡派、平湖派、崇明派,甚至已失传的北派直隶琵琶,以及潮州琵琶,都以下出轮为主;北琵琶发展到后期,如浦东派、汪派(上海派),因乐曲不断丰富化,上出轮显然较能适应,因此"上出轮"逐渐取代"下出轮",成为琵琶轮指的主流。

³⁰ 佟暖《关于琵琶下出轮指》,截引自: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_520dc33f0100la9w.html; 截引日期: 8.10.2021。

其实上出轮我也学, 也会, 但我还是偏爱下出轮, 因为那是原本 我哥哥教我的东西,不愿放掉。31

佟暖因这段学琴经历传承了"下出轮"技法,在业余琵琶手当中实属罕见。即 使是职业演奏家,时下都很难看到使用"下出轮"者,只有零星少数还保留, 包括香港的吕培原及其徒弟中的少数(如港中大的冯通教授)、中国的潘亚伯 等。近年来,中国大陆一些琵琶家——如平湖派传人——开始有意识地复兴 "下出轮"。马新一带华乐发展规模虽不及中华地区宏大,但许多容易在追求 讲步的洪流中遗失的传统, 在马新一带却未曾中断。

吴膺赞兼备潮州琵琶和北琵琶学养,"他一生教学桃李无数,这批学生 过后也继其衣钵,培育出大批琵琶学生"——这是吴奕明对他的评价。32可见 作为南洋华乐起步年代的琵琶教育家,吴膺赞融汇潮州琵琶和北琵琶的技法与 音乐精髓, 自成一格, 并对新一代的琵琶学生有所影响: 而杜敬明和杜国俊— 一尤其后者就是典型的个案。佟暖的琵琶师承和学习经验也凸显了在外交中 断、社会环境艰巨、学习条件欠缺的情况下,民间对艺术追求和传承的韧性。

四、九十年代佟暖与中国琵琶界的交流

二十世纪七、八十年代,马新的华乐资源无论教材、乐器、影音皆依赖 香港进口。香港当时不仅是中国大陆与海外各地物资的中转站,也是中国文化 传播枢纽。其中对马新华乐界来说, 最盛大的交流始于香港银星艺术团于 1966 及 1977 年两度莅临新加坡演出,以及 1971 年到吉隆坡的赈灾义演。 1966年,银星在新加坡国家剧场的演出除了独唱、合唱、舞蹈、舞剧、民乐 以外,还有著名琵琶演奏家林风坐镇,独奏《十面埋伏》和《送我一枝玫瑰 花》: 1977 年的演出则有蔡雅丝的琵琶独奏。33除了银星艺术团带来的琵琶演 出,七十年代还有一些香港知名琵琶演奏家在新加坡办过专场独奏会,如 1971 和 1972 年两次"吕培原琵琶独奏会", 1975 年"冯德明琵琶独奏会", 1976 年"林风、徐华南琵琶二胡演奏会"。这些演奏会构成了七、八十年代 马新的琵琶艺术空间。以 1971 年"吕培原琵琶独奏会"为例,这场演出获得 马来西亚潮州筝名家陈蕾士客串。一场在新加坡的演出往往能够吸引半岛的华 乐爱好者专程跨境跑动。"引用'叹为观止'来形容这场音乐会,实不为 过",这是新加坡知名琵琶家吴奕明的评价,"对学琵琶的人士来说,这场表 演无疑是一堂很好的学习课。同时也激发了不少人对学琵琶的信心。"34佟暖

³¹ 这段信息源自佟暖访谈,访谈稿未发表。

³² 吴奕明《新加坡华乐发展史略———九五三年至一九七九年》,页 11。33 吴奕明《新加坡华乐发展史略———九五三年至一九七九年》,页 34、133。

³⁴ 吴奕明《新加坡华乐发展史略——一九五三年至一九七九年》,页66。

是否到过这些对学生而言票价也许不菲的演奏会现场,不得而知,但整体的氛围无疑会鼓动甚至提供审美潮流予学琵琶的人。上述例子也显示七、八十年代的华乐环境相比六十年代已有所改善。

八十年代末、九十年代初,佟暖因工作经常到访北京,有机会去中央音乐学院向林石城先生上课。林石城是琵琶界泰斗,他兼具演奏和学术修养,整理了许多琵琶古曲谱,对现代琵琶的贡献相当重要。除了学习乐曲,林石城对佟暖的影响主要有两点。其一:据佟暖叙述,现代人比较浮躁,很少人愿意在冗长的古曲中挖掘其丰富的音乐语言、形象和内涵,喜欢把传统古曲改编缩短;林石城反对这种做法,十分苛刻地要求这些东西要能够完整地传承下来一一因此,浦东派的同一首古曲,难度往往要比现代改版的更高一些;佟暖以为这个理念是没错的。其二:八十年代末林石城到新加坡演出时,鼓励佟暖从事琵琶教学,认为"学了琵琶,你不教学是很可惜的一件事情";佟暖认为自己非科班出身,在重视资历的新加坡很难立足,但后来还是听从老师"从孩子做起"的意见,开设儿童琵琶班,前后教了十多名孩童。35

除了林石城先生,佟暖在九十年代及千禧年后还跟许多琵琶名家交流和 学习,包括王范地、俞良模、李乙、制琴师高占春等。佟暖与他们结识的机缘 是在珠海的玉石琵琶发布会上,由林石城推荐佟暖参加。

"我实在是很羞涩,自己又不是专业的;他们那些是科班出身的,很不简单。但是,因为我不是专门的一个老师教出来,而是自己学的,这样反而给我一个自己去摸索(的学习模式),不局限于一种(门派)"³⁶

和这些琵琶演奏家的交流中,佟暖除了意识到学音乐"必须以一种开放的态度"而非固步自封于某一门派以外,更关键的是培养乐手对音乐的理解和感悟能力。举例而言,俞良模曾问佟暖如何理解《飞花点翠》,"要把它弹成冰天雪地,松树怎么抖下覆盖它的雪,还是要把它弹成飞花流水?这完全是两个境界,两种理解。";李乙也曾提醒他,《浔阳琵琶》每一章节的结束语都是很哀伤的,然而许多人却把这首曲诠释成优美的风景。偏重技术培训,忽略对音乐的体悟和诠释恰恰是今天华乐教育非常显眼的问题,对佟暖而言那是"民族文化教育的失落"。

佟暖对琵琶和音乐在美学意义上的理解,甚至比许多科班出身的专业乐手深刻。除去音乐教育这个大的问题不谈,我认为佟暖有如此深刻的理解,原因在于他学琵琶的整个历程都是处于一种"系统以外"的位置——没有从一而终的老师,非科班出身,非职业乐手,业余自学——因此可以发现主流所不

³⁵ 这段信息源自佟暖访谈,访谈稿未发表。

³⁶ 这段信息源自佟暖访谈,访谈稿未发表。

见。从自发学琴,自行寻索资源,以致与琵琶名家结识交流,以此构就一个壮举。

小结

佟暖的书写及学琴历程所开展出来的各种线索向我们呈现了 60-90 年代马新与中国琵琶艺术在民间交流的实际图景。杜敬明作为佟暖的琵琶启蒙老师及兄长,其历难给予佟暖思想上相当大的教育,使佟暖在书写及习琴路上不断涌现一个思索——即个人对艺术和美的纯粹追寻与政治之间的对峙,并从中认清一门艺术是会被政治化和意识形态化的;从一个面向揭示六十年代马新琵琶和华乐起步之艰难。吴膺赞作为杜氏兄弟的琵琶老师,其师承这条线索则显示在艰难和无政治势力支持的情况下,民间艺术爱好者自发的交流形态,他们如何通过有限的渠道汲取养分,求变革的同时也默默地传承。佟暖在自身、兄长及老师的经验基础上,单凭对琵琶的热爱及一己之力,以非职业乐手、非科班出身的"身份"与中国当代琵琶界最优秀者建立关系,这本身就是佟暖文学创作以外的另一个壮举。

参考文献:

- 1. 杜中,严思,佟暖著《我的歌献给一切人》,新加坡:热带文学艺术俱乐部初版,2012。
- 2. 佟暖《六十年代关键词——对照》, 收录于《南洋艺术》2019 年 9 月 第 37 期, 新加坡: 南洋艺术学院及红海传媒联合出版, 2019。
- 3 佟暖《魁星踢斗落银潭——哥哥留下的一把琵琶》,参见"南洋随笔新加坡华文论坛"http://www.sgwritings.com/bbs/viewthread.php?tid=67430。
- 4. 佟暖《琵琶弦外浪三千——哥哥留下的另一把琵琶》,参见"南洋随笔新加坡华文论坛"http://www.sgwritings.com/bbs/viewthread.php?tid=67452。
- 5. 佟暖《关于琵琶下出轮指》,参见: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog 520dc33f0100la9w.html。
- 6. 《大马华乐发展》,参见《东方日报》(22.11.2015) "马来西亚东方日报" 网报 https://www.orientaldaily.com.my/news/maidong/2015/11/22/114010。
- 7. 吴奕明《新加坡华乐发展史略——一九五三年至一九七九年》,新加坡: 玲子大众传播(新)私人有限公司出版,1998。

1920 年代新加坡华文阅读选择—— 书籍杂志

彭念莹*

摘要

在 20 世纪 20 年代的新加坡,华人移民社群已经逐步在增加扩大中,相应的华文文学文化生产也渐次发展,当时移民们除了选择阅读华文日报,不少华文书局也提供了许多阅读选择,以来自中国(特别是上海)的书籍、杂志为大宗。本论文通过收集 20 年代华文报章上所刊登的华文书局广告,约略可以重现当时在新加坡的读者通过书局可以购得的华文阅读选择。论文的第一部分先罗列整理 20 年代曾在华文日报以及华文小报上刊登广告的华文书局;第二部分讨论 20 年代华文书局经营者的国族认同及启蒙心态,从中国南来的知识分子企图拯救和改变文化水准低落的南洋,而华人移民们的国族认同几乎完全倾向于中国;第三部分分析 20 年代报章书局广告所呈现的华文阅读选择,以商务印书馆广告上列明的书籍杂志为主要讨论对象;最后为结论。

关键词: 新加坡 阅读选择 华文书局广告 书籍杂志 商务印书馆

^{*} 南方大学学院人文与社会学院中文系副教授。电邮: nypang@sc.edu.my

Singapore Chinese Reading Choices in the 1920s - - Books and Magazines

Pang Nian Yin**

Abstract

In Singapore in the 1920s, the Chinese immigrant community was gradually expanding, and the corresponding Chinese literary and cultural production was also gradually developing. At that time, in addition to choosing to read Chinese daily newspapers, many Chinese bookstores also provided many reading options. Books and magazines from China (especially Shanghai) are in bulk. By collecting the advertisements of Chinese bookstores published in Chinese newspapers in the 1920s, this paper can roughly reproduce the Chinese reading choices that readers in Singapore could buy through bookstores within the period. The first part of the article first lists and sorts out the Chinese bookstores that advertised in Chinese daily newspaper and Chinese tabloids in the 1920s. The second part discusses the national identity and enlightenment mentality of Chinese bookstore operators in the 1920s. Intellectuals from southern China tried to save and change Nanyang, where the cultural level was low, while the national identity of Chinese immigrants was almost entirely inclined to China. The third part analyzes the Chinese reading choices presented in the advertisements of newspapers and bookstores in the 1920s, focusing on the books and magazines listed in the advertisements of the Commercial Press as the main object of discussion. The last part is the conclusion.

Keyword: Singapore Reading choice Chinese Bookstores' Advertisement Books and magazines Commercial Press.

^{**} Associate Professor, Department of Chinese Studies, Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Southern University College. Email: nypang@sc.edu.my

在 20 世纪 20 年代的新加坡,华人移民社群已经逐步在增加扩大中,相应的华文文学文化生产也渐次发展,当时移民们除了选择阅读华文日报,不少华文书局也提供了许多阅读选择,以来自中国(特别是上海)的书籍、杂志为大宗。根据现今可见的资料,在战前较有规模的华文书局约有 22 家,兼做出版的书局颇常见,当时商务印书馆、中华书局、世界书局(前身为正兴书画公司,也就是今天的大众集团)、上海书局为其中出版、分销和零售的佼佼者,称为战前"新加坡四大书局"。1除了这四大书局,当然还有许多规模不大的小书局,由于史料的散佚,今天可见的相关材料非常稀少,但是通过收集 20年代华文报章上所刊登的华文书局广告,约略可以重现当时在新加坡的阅读者通过书局可以购得的华文阅读选择。

一、20年代新加坡的华文书局

首先,先通过下表罗列出 20 年代曾经在新加坡主要的华文日报²上,刊登过广告的华文书局:

	《叻报》	《新国民日	《南洋总汇	《南洋商报	《星洲日报》
		报》	新报》	>>	
年	-	槟城竞竞书 局 中华书局 商务印书馆 曹万丰兄弟 公司	商务印书馆	-	-
年	-	模城竞竞书 局 中华书局 商务印书馆 曹万丰兄弟 公司	商务印书馆	-	-
1922 年	中华书局	槟城竞竞书 局	商务印书馆	-	-

¹ 曹蓉〈新加坡书业百年回顾(1900-2009)〉,见王虹主编《读书滋味长——大众集团八十五周年特刊》,新加坡:大众控股有限公司,2009,页30-32。

² 由于 20 年代华文日报有散佚的情况,故此表仅是现存资料的收集,无法达致百分百正确无误。

		中华书局			
		商务印书馆			
1923 年	中华书局	槟城竞竞书 局 商务印书馆	商务印书馆	-	-
		曹万丰兄弟 公司			
1924 年	中华书局	中华书局 商务印书馆 曹万丰兄弟 公司	-	商务印书馆	-
1925 年	中华书局	中华书局 商务印书馆	-	商务印书馆 中华书局	-
年	中华书局 商务印书馆 上海书局 华侨书局	模城竞竞书 局 中华书局 商务印书馆 华侨书局 上海书局	-	商务印书馆 中华书局 华侨书局	-
年	上海桥书局中面商书局局	中商华上曹公新(开新中上画星华务侨海万司新怡智星国海公洲书印书书丰一书保书书书正司书局书局局兄一局)局局局兴一局馆	上海书局星洲书局	商外华界。	-
1928 年	上海书局 通商书局	槟城竞竞书 局	上海书局 星洲书局	商务印书馆 中华书局	-

³ 此"世界书局"是"中国上海三大印书机关"之一,委托陈嘉庚公司为南洋总代理,在南洋销售书籍杂志,与后来改名为世界书局的上海正兴书画公司,应该没有牵连。见世界书局广告《南洋商报》(1927年4月25日)。

	新的书局 美美图书 公司	中商华上新(中上画星新南美司华务侨海新怡国海公洲的强美书印书书保书正司书书书图局局局,局兴一局局局书商,局兴一局局局,	合强书局 新的书局 南强书公 美	世界海公桥商州 是 书 是 是 是 是 是 是 是 是 是 是 是 是	
年	南强书局	中商上新(中南美司南局南司华务海新怡国强美 洋(洋书印书书保书书图 旅蔴图局书局,局局书—店坡书四、	美美图书公 司 南强书局 商务印书馆	商中上画华通星新印书正司书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书书	商中华中南新美司三星上上画务华侨国强的美民洲海海公印书书书书图 书书书正司书局局局居书 店局局兴馆

通过以上这个表,可以清晰发现在 20 世纪 20 年代的上半期,新加坡最重要的两家书局就是商务印书馆和中华书局,其他如竞竞书局位于槟城,而曹万丰兄弟公司则是贩售国货的公司,书籍只是它其中一类的商品⁴;但是到了 20 年代的下半期,尤其是 1927 年至 1929 年间,书局如雨后春笋般出现,来自中国的书籍、杂志种类更为丰富;由此看来,1927 年大批知识分子,因中国国内政治局势动荡而南来⁵,的确推动了新加坡的文学文化生产,不管是华

⁴ 曹万丰兄弟公司广告,见《新国民日报》,1921年9月12日。大约到1924年,从《新国民日报》上的广告可知其改名为上海曹万丰书局。

⁵ 方修《马华文艺思潮的演变》,新加坡:万里文化,1970,页45。

文日报副刊或华文小报生产,以及华文书局的成立,都在 20 年代下半期达致 高峰。

根据王赓武在 1973 年的整理,新加坡大约在 1925 年就开始出现华文小报⁶; 杨松年则注意到 1927 年至 1929 年新马所生产的华文小报特别多。⁷现今可见 最早的新加坡华文小报生产于 1927 年,下表将列出 1927 年至 1929 年曾在新 加坡华文小报⁸上,刊登过广告的华文书局:

	1927年	1928年	1929年
《星报》	中华书局 商务印书馆 中国书局 通商书局 星洲书局 青年书局(欢乐 园) 上海正兴公司	上海正兴美术公司 中山书局 合强书局	南强书局
《曼舞罗》	-	-	新的书店
《七天》	星洲书局	中山书局 合强书局:永 成、中山、明 星、合强、星 洲、中兴、星 州、民智、星	-
《一粲》	星洲书局 商务印书馆 上海书局 通商书局 中国书局	星洲书局 上海书局 中国书局	-
《前驱》	星洲书局	-	-
《南熏》	-	中山书局	-
《南星》	-	合强书局	南强书局

⁶ 事实上王并没有定义小报,今天读他的文章,会发现他将所有非日报都归类为小报与杂志,并且不曾区分小报与杂志。王赓武〈新加坡早期华文小报与杂志〉,见《南洋文摘》第14卷第11期(1973年11月20日),页740。

⁷ 杨松年《大英图书馆所藏战前新华报刊》,新加坡:新加坡同安会馆,1988,页25。

⁸ 华文小报散佚情况远比日报更为严重,故此表仅收集现可见材料,无法全面。

		# P D =	
		华侨书局	
		中山书局	
		美美图书公司	
《新报》	-	中山书局	-
		美美图书公司	
		上海泰东图书局	
		星洲书局	
		小小书局	
		合强书局	
		(代理书局:锦	
		记、民智、中	
		山、中兴、华	
		侨、新的、星	
		洲)	
		彩虹文学社	
《华侨周报》	-	华侨书局	-
		上海书局	
		合强书局	
		小小书店	
		(代理书局: 小	
		小、星洲、中	
		山、永成、合	
		强、南强、中	
		国)	
		中山书局	
		星洲书局	
		星星书局	
		南强书局	
《马来小报》	_	- 用油 [7]用	利亚公司
		_	
《平民》	-	-	星星书局
// T \ \ \			华侨书局
《开心》	-	-	利时报社(代理
			省港大小报)

将选择在华文日报和华文小报上刊登广告的书局做对比,会发现重叠性相当高,显然 20 年代可以负担广告费的书局,或说有广告意识的书局,就在以上两表内;但是如商务印书馆和中华书局等大型书局,很明显更多是利用日

报宣传,而在华文小报上则出现一些不曾在日报出现的小型书局⁹的广告,想来和广告费用的高低有些关系;再来,也许因为小报版面较小的关系,习惯在日报刊登大量书目的商务印书馆、中华书局、上海书局、上海正兴书画公司等,在小报都不列出书目(或只有少量书目)¹⁰,而仅有简单宣传介绍标语;再次,在 1929 年 7月 1日《马来小报》第 25 期上刊登的利亚公司广告,是以"公仔书"批发作为标语,有连环图画小说和各大公司曲本,似乎与流行粤语方言的香港有关,而 1929 年 6 月 29 日《开心》第 7 期的利时报社则宣称代理省港大小报,是 20 年代新加坡华文报章上极少数和香港出版报刊扯上关系的广告。

二、20年代华文书局经营者的国族认同及启蒙心态

在一般社会中,宣扬思想文化或意识形态的就是"知识分子",知识分子通过舆论渗透或是宣导统治阶层的理念,使民众认同某种文化价值观念,统治集团就能够控制及支配社会。"早期马来亚绝大部分的华文报章和中国改良派以及革命派的关系密切,和中国民族主义更是息息相关,值得深思的是下面这段言论:

······我们脱离大陆以后,总觉得寄人篱下,不若列强在大陆那样威风;上海啦,汉口啦,天津北京大连啦,他们都有租界居留。我们也有国家呀.为什么不能和列强那般做去呢?······¹²

这里流露出来的是对帝国主义的一种向往,既然列强可以在中国为所欲为,那么移居海外的华人为何不可以在移居地采取强势作风?读完整篇文章,会发现这其中的心态十分复杂,包含了对列强的矛盾心理——既嘲讽列强又似乎倾慕,对中国是眷恋("那里有我们的故乡,有我们的家园,有许多令我们存念不忘的自然境界。")又痛其不奋起("为什么大陆将起没,我们华人的梦还没有醒吗?"),这其中想要复制帝国主义的念头是最惊人的。Edward W.Said 在《东方主义》里头借由 Antonio Gramsci 文化霸权理论指出"欧洲文化的主要元素,便是同时在欧洲之内与之外的文化霸权:欧洲人自我认定是较

⁹ 如果不计小报代理书局,而只谈刊登广告的书局,只在小报刊登广告的书局其实仅有青年书局、中山书局、上海泰东图书局、小小书局、彩虹文学社、利亚公司和利时报社七间。

^{10 《}一粲》的星洲书局广告和《华侨周报》的华侨书局广告是例外,因为这两份小报都是由书局本身出版的,兼具宣传功能。

Antonio Gramsci. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence & Wishart. 1971, pp.12 - 14.

¹² 王少如〈我们的发刊词〉,见《大陆》第1期,1928年12月10日。

其他非欧洲人和非欧洲文化更为优秀的一种想法。"¹³许多来自中国的知识分子带着高高在上的优越感,企图拯救他们眼中更为落后的南洋地区。19世纪开始,南洋华人移民的主体都仅是略识文字抑或文盲,按照黄锦树的说法,像康有为这样流寓南洋的顶尖中国士大夫与这些新客"两者间知识学养的距离或不只一百年"¹⁴,很难避免 20 世纪以后南来知识分子在知识上的优越感。

此外,当时新加坡的日报和华文小报所刊登的文学作品,也许在文字或是形式上都不太成熟,甚至有些宣传口号般的外露和直白,但在感情上都认同于中国而非作者所在地:

我亲爱的娃娃们呀!我们赶快觉悟呵!这热得死的南岛岂是我们的祖家?我们的祖家,是那温和可爱的中华。我们不要以为南洋是个好地方,别人土地,住也不久长。我们不要以为人家待我很好,非我同胞终须提防。我亲爱的娃娃们呀!我们要知道哟!我们明是中国少年,我们明是中国侨民,为什么大家称我们"娃娃"?难道不是因为我们错认爹娘,忘掉了祖国,忘掉了同胞?哎哟"娃娃娃娃"这是轻贱的名称, 这是我们的污点。我们要把这名称除掉,我们要这污点洗净,还我本来面目,做一个中华民国的好国民。15

这首诗读起来完全不能算是一首成功的作品,文字浅显,缺乏韵味和诗意,没有想象力,感情外露无深度,但是它的内容却值得重视: 首先诗歌完全认同于中国,而这个中国就是中华民国,再来强调不管生活的地方多么好都不重要,因为那终究是别人的土地,再次忘本是不能被接受的,甚至是一种污点、一种被轻贱的行为。这首作品很好地说明了当时海外华人移民的国族认同倾向,他们认同于他们的本乡,因此也就认同于中国,即使事实上他们并不了解政治上的纷扰、矛盾、复杂和多变。夏志清指出中国现代文学"感时忧国"(obsession in China)的特质16已经成为此领域研究学者的共识,刘禾也指出: "'五四'以来被称之为'现代文学'的东西其实是一种民族国家文学。这一文学的产生有其复杂的历史原因。主要是由于现代文学的发展与中国进入

Edward W. Said. *Orientalism.* London: Routledge & K. Paul. 1978, p.7. Edward W. Said 著,王志 弘等译《东方主义》,台北:立绪文化,1999,页 10。

¹⁴ 黄锦树<域外中文、另类租借,现代性——论马华文学史之前的马华文学>,见《文与魂与体:论现代中国性》,台北:麦田出版,2006,页81。

¹⁵ 知知群英(罗思宗)〈娃娃〉, 见《华侨周报》第 10 期, 1928 年 11 月 19 日。"娃娃"应该就是土生华人 baba 的误读。

Chih-tsing Hsia. "Obsession with China: The moral burden of modern Chinese literature". A history of modern Chinese fiction. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999, pp.533 - 554.

现代民族国家的过程刚好同步,二者之间有着密切的互动关系。"¹⁷。当审视 20 年代新加坡华文报章文学材料时,会发现这种不管是在产地或者是文学类型方面都被视作边缘的文学产品,并不曾对中心作出明显的反抗或是解构,反而更像是中心的影子帮手。¹⁸

从中国南来的知识分子企图拯救和改变文化水准低落的南洋,而华人移 民们的国族认同几乎完全倾向于中国,所以20世纪20年代华人移民的报章生 产及书局成立,从某程度而言,的确就是某种特殊类型的文化移植。此处以 20 年代的华文书局作为主要讨论对象。首先,从书局开办的宗旨谈起,20 年 代初期商务印书馆以及中华书局明显是当时最重要的两间书局。以商务印书馆 而言,新加坡分馆在 1916 年的开业,是商务对南洋出版业重视的明证。据记 录,1916年商务因经济不景气,关闭了湖州、九江、韶州、蚌埠、洛阳等地 的分馆¹⁹,但却在远离国土的新加坡开设分馆,虽然一般的研究者都强调商务 印书馆对中国近代文化、知识生产的贡献20,或许也不能否认当时商务负责人 张元济对华侨教育、文化的重视21,然而不该遗忘的是商务印书馆创办的宗 旨, "商务"这个名称已经很好解释了作为民营企业对营利的重视,书籍就是 商品22: 商务印书馆在新加坡开设分馆,很大原因应该是此地为南洋华人人口 的集中地及文化中心,作为商务文化版图的重要据点,新加坡分馆绝对是有利 可图, 《张元济日记》就记录了 1916 年新加坡分馆"杂志销路极佳, ……小 说销路好"23,作为中国近代最重要的民营出版机构,商务印书馆在追求营利 的同时,明显也对中国近现代知识文化在南洋的传播起了重大作用。中华书局 的情况亦如是,作为商务印书馆最大的竞争对手,中华书局新加坡分局也在同 时期部署完毕24,作为 20 年代两大书局在中国版图(包括香港、台湾)以外 唯一的据点,新加坡作为中国文化生产者对南洋华人进行文化传播的重要战略 地位不言而喻。

¹⁷ 刘禾〈文本、批评与民族国家文学——《生死场》的启示〉, 唐小兵编《再解读——大众文艺与意识形态》, 香港: 牛津大学出版社, 1993, 页 30。

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. "The New Historicism: Political Commitment and the Postmodern Critic". H. Aram Veeser (ed.). *The New historicism*. New York: Routledge. 1989, p.281.

¹⁹ 张人凤〈商务印书馆和南洋华侨读物的出版发行〉, 见复旦大学历史系, 出版博物馆编《历史上的中国出版与东亚文化交流》, 上海: 百家出版社, 2009, 页 553。

²⁰ 如史春风《商务印书馆与中国近代文化》,北京:北京大学出版社,2006,就强调商务与中国近代政治思潮、中西文化和教育的密切关系。

²¹ 张人凤〈商务印书馆和南洋华侨读物的出版发行〉,见复旦大学历史系,出版博物馆编《历史上的中国出版与东亚文化交流》,页 552 - 553。

²² 王飞仙《期刊、出版与社会文化变迁——五四前后的商务印书馆与《学生杂志》》,台北: 政大历史系,2004,页20-21。

^{23 《}张元济日记》,河北:河北教育出版社,2001,页93。

²⁴ 周其厚《中华书局与近代文化》,北京:中华书局,2007,页30。

1926年9月20日,上海书局在《叻报》首页刊登了四分之一版的启事,宣布书局的成立宗旨及方向,强调"促进文化唯一的工具:就是学校同书局",启事这样写:

……星洲是南洋商业的中心,各种事业,都极发达,惟有民众极需的文化机关——书局,却还不过寥寥二三家,这是侨胞怎样的以为缺憾啊,益以年来国内人士南渡者日众,即侨胞子弟亦日益蕃盛,在这种繁大的民众迫切的需要之下,自然的产出上海书局来,这个产儿——上海书局——将怎样的努力来供给吾亲爱的侨胞的需要呢?上海书局,是附设在国货界的先进中华商店以内,采办上海和北京百数家书局图书的精英,以及一切教育用品,罗致万种,荟萃一堂,尤倾重新文化的书局,尽我们微弱的力量,努力地促进侨胞的文化,吾侨文化倘能日益增进,则祖国国际地位,必随之日益增高,吾侨胞的责任,是怎样的重大,即本书局该怎样的努力啊……

20世纪 20年代新加坡的商务印书馆和中华书局,都是中国的书局在此地设立的分馆,是中国文化生产者向新加坡华人移民传播新文化、教育知识的重要据点;但是即使是新加坡本地成立的书局,在整个国族认同上明显仍旧认同于祖国,上海书局不仅名称假借于当时中国最大的文化生产中心——上海,输入的也是中国生产的书籍杂志,念念不忘的仍旧是对文化水准低落的华人移民们进行启蒙的重要性;1926年10月12日,上海书局又在《叻报》刊登大版启事,声明双十节时上海书局不休息,是为了要"启迪人们知慧的渊薮,发扬文化的机关",所以不能和其他商家一般在双十节休业;同年11月29日,上海书局也在《新国民日报》上刊登广告:"……南洋人所以头脑不十分新鲜,也是因为缺少新知识的灌输……上海书局为着这里的需要,特向北京上海……等处书坊选办许多新文化图书……",广告上还列出大批书目,上海畅销杂志《良友》就在书目内。

战前"新加坡四大书局"除了商务印书馆、中华书局以及上海书局外,就是后来改称世界书局的上海正兴书画公司²⁵,除了名称不离"上海",正兴书画公司的报章广告也以"上海"作为号召: 1927 年 10 月 17 日《新国民日报》上的正兴书画公司广告就以"上海新到图书"作为醒目的巨大标语,附上书目供参考; 1928 年 1 月 4 日的《新国民日报》则刊登了正兴书画公司"赠送月份牌"的启事,"特将今年最新式上海时装美女月份牌赠送各界",除了输入书籍杂志等文化产品,还要将上海的时尚潮流同步带入; 1929 年 11 月 4日《星洲日报》上刊登了接近三分之一版的上海正兴美术公司广告,赫然以

57

²⁵ 又称上海正兴公司或上海正兴美术公司。

"党化教育"作为大标题,宣传根据国民党党义所编撰的小学教科书,中国政治势力对南洋文化教育的影响可见一斑²⁶。

除了这些名称上认同于中国的书局(还包括如中国、华侨等),即使如 星洲书局一般, 从名称上看全然本土的书局, 仍旧难脱中国的影响: 1927 年 11 月 7 日, 《新国民日报》上刊登了一则星洲书局"开幕纪念"的广告,广 告中注明星洲书局将于 11 月 15 日开幕27; 11 月 21 日, 《新国民日报》又刊 登了星洲书局的"开幕宣言": "……我们这星洲书局,就是群星中一颗新发 现的小星, ……把那微弱的光, 尽量地放射出来, 在这欧亚交通枢纽的新加 坡,努力地负起沟通东西文化的责任,介绍一切的学说思潮,……",宣言中 自比为星体,要依靠太阳光的反射,宣称"我们自然亦要倚着著作者,出版 者,供给我们传播的原料",无需赘言,当时在新加坡根本尚未出现成气候的 华文著作者和出版者,一切"传播的原料"无非来自中国; 1927 年 12 月 12 日的《南洋商报》上所刊登的星洲书局广告,主打"星洲书局介绍的 '美'",就搬出蔡元培和张竞生等中国现代重要的知识分子,作为书局推介 画作的背书: 1929 年 9 月 2 日《星洲日报》上的星洲书局广告,则是"国庆 之预备",为庆贺双十节而推出"大小布国旗"、"大小布党旗"、"大小纸 党国旗"等,双十节就是是当时新加坡华人移民社群的国庆日。此外,当时新 加坡的许多小型书局都以进口中国出版书籍杂志作为号召,比如 1927 年 3 月 14 日《新国民日报》刊登了新张开幕的新星书局广告: "本局专办上海各大 书局新旧小说,美女、各省风景照片发售……"; 1928年2月14日的《新国 民日报》则可见新的书店的广告,主打独家代理上海世界书局、北新书局、光 华书局、开明书店、创造社以及北京朴社、海音社、未名社等出版的各种书籍 杂志,兼售"商务印书馆、中华书局教科书";1928 年 7 月 2 日的《叻报》 刊登了美美图书公司的"新张预告": "本公司为促进南洋文化,增益侨胞国 学起见,特由国内各大书局,採到大帮最近出版新文化书籍什志,以供各界诸 君公余阅读……"; 林林种种, 不备尽录。

²⁶ 可参看郑良树《马来西亚华文教育发展史》第一分册中第四章〈国民教育的延伸〉。郑良树《马来西亚华文教育发展史》第一分册,吉隆坡:马来西亚华校教师会总会(教总),1998,页 261-370。

²⁷ 刊登在《星报》第15期的"星洲书局开幕预告"则预告星洲书局于11月1日正式开幕,10月5日先行交易。星洲书局广告,见《星报》第15期,1927年10月1日;《一粲》第一期,在版首刊登了星洲书局启事,说明星洲书局于11月15日正式开幕,与《新国民日报》相同。星洲书局广告,见《一粲》第1期,1927年11月5日。

三、20年代报章书局广告所呈现的华文阅读选择——书籍杂志

李欧梵在《上海摩登》一书中特别辟了一章, 讨论印刷文化和中国现代 性建构的关系,书中讨论来自西方或准西方新的现代价值观和思想,如何在中 国大众出版业中迅速传播:上海集中了中国最多的报社和出版社,是生产现代 性观念的文化中心, 李以商务印书馆的《东方杂志》、教科书和文库生产为聚 焦对象,讨论商务印书馆所代表的大众出版业,在中国现代化启蒙事业上的重 要角色。2820 年代,新加坡商务分馆作为商务印书馆文化版图的重要一员,和 当时商务遍布中国全境的分馆有同样功能,扮演流播和建构国民现代性知识的 角色,唯一且最大的差别就是新加坡是英属殖民地,不属于中国版图:坚毅的 移民们在异乡建立了属于自己的会馆、学校、报章和书局,所谓的中国现代化 启蒙事业,也随着书局的建立扩展到了国境以外。Benedict Anderson 提出民族 是想象的共同体, 从建构的过程来思索民族主义, 在他的论述里, 新观念的时 间以及印刷资本主义是民族想象的重要元素,以本地语(vernacular)为核 心,小说和报章的阅读被强调为想象的基础,印刷的报章书籍作为大众消费 品,参与了民族国家的建构过程。29远在千里之外的华人移民,通过华校教 育、华文报章生产以及书局作为中介,似乎也参与了现代中国的想象建构过 程。此处同样选择商务印书馆作为例子,通过商务刊登在华文报章上的广告, 重构阅者在当时的华文书局能够购买的华文阅读选择。

作为当时新加坡最大型的书局之一30,商务印书馆的广告分布在不同的日报和少数的小报上,1921年2月21日商务印书馆在《新国民日报》上刊载商务印书馆创立二十五年纪念广告(附图一),举办"提倡国语,奉赠书卷"活动,商务新加坡分馆从1921年2月18日至3月25日赠送书卷,广告上列出三大类书籍,包括新法教科书、小学中学书以及其他本版书和杂志,正好是商务最重视的类型。³¹到1926年8月23日,《新国民日报》上商务印书馆三十年纪念的广告(附图二),多列了第四类仪器、文具和玩具,以及第五类原版西书和寄购图书,提供书籍文具种类与日俱增。³²

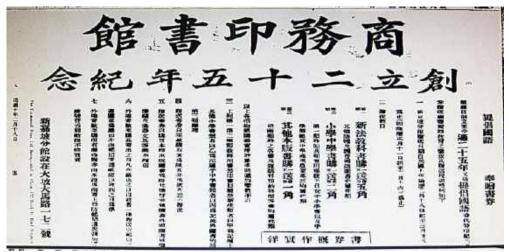
²⁸ 李欧梵著,毛尖译《上海摩登:一种新都市文化在中国 1930 - 1945》增订本,香港:牛津 大学出版社,2006,页53-75。

Benedict Anderson. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983, ch 3.

^{30 1924}年2月18日,新加坡商务分馆在《新国民日报》刊登扩充启事,启事上列出: "原有店堂专设仪器文具部,二层楼改设书籍美术部,三层楼改设批发部定货部事务部,添租货栈另设存货部。"足见新加坡商务分馆发展稳健,规模完善。

^{31 《}新国民日报》,1921年2月21日。

^{32 《}新国民日报》, 1926年8月23日。



(附图一)



(附图二)

首先,就像所有研究商务印书馆的学者所强调的,教科书事业是商务对近现代中国最大的贡献: "一个出版公司如何通过集体努力,成功地实现了其自定的'启蒙'任务,而他们的努力也促进了共和政府的民族建构"³³。1924年1月7日,新加坡商务分馆在《新国民日报》刊登了全版广告,醒目的标题

³³ 李欧梵著,毛尖译《上海摩登:一种新都市文化在中国1930-1945》增订本,页62。

写着:"依照新学制办理的学校,应该采用依照新学制编辑的教科书,商务印 书馆的新学制(中学、小学)教科书是全照新学制编辑的",标题下面分别介 绍了新学制的初级小学(包括国语、社会、自然、算数、常识五科)、高级小 学(包括国语、公民、历史、地理、算数、理科、卫生、外国语等)和初级中 学(包括国语、历史、地理、公民、自然科学、混合算学、英语等)用书,也 介绍了新学制简易师范用书(包括教育学、教育史、各科教学法、学校管理 法、哲学纲要、心理学、伦理学等),最下方则罗列编辑人和校订人的名字, 另可见"另备说明书样本书目,承索即寄",展现了商务在华人移民地区教科 书竞争中强烈的企图心和气魄,事实上,从 1920 年开始,教科书就占了商务 在《新国民日报》上广告的巨大比例;而除了商务本身,其他新加坡书局也以 贩售商务印书馆和中华书局的教科书为卖点进行盲传,比如 1927 年 2 月 28 日,《新国民日报》上刊登的上海书局广告这样写道: "……学校里先生!你 们的教科书还没有采办么?要用中华书局出版的呢?或是商务印书馆出版的 呢? 我这里都是全备,卖价极其便宜……": 1928 年 1 月 30 日《新国民日 报》上的星洲书局也这样写: "各学校董事校长教员先生均鉴,贵校开学应用 校具仪器,文房用品以及商务中华出版教科,请至敝局赐顾……";由此可见 商务和中华的教科书之战34,从中国延伸到了新加坡华人移民区。35商务印书 馆在教育事业上用心甚深,除了教科书,还参与实际的教育事业,包括学校、 图书馆、幼稚园、师范讲习社、夜校、函授学社等36,而在新加坡商务分馆的 广告上,也可见函授学社的招生37。

除了教科书以外,在商务的行销中占据大比例的还有实用类的书籍,比如作文示范、学习国语用书、英文习语大全、中国医学大辞典、英华大辞典、动物学大辞典、哲学辞典、英文大辞典、教育大辞书,综合英汉大辞典、实用地图、英文世界地理、商人宝鉴、科学大纲、工业用书以及大量参考书等,除了让学生们得到协助,也提供了移民们在学校系统外的学习机会,让就业者有自我增值及学习的可能性。广告上可见大量的丛书出版,包括有:体育丛书、百科小丛书、医学及新智识丛书、学艺丛书等,受过基本教育的移民们通过书局购买书籍,可以获得许多现代新知识。

再来,移民们也可通过书局买到各类型文学作品,林(林纾)译小说是 1921年商务分馆广告的主力宣传对象之一;1923年的广告上可见《希腊罗马 文选》、莎士比亚的《李尔王》及《麦克白》、泰戈尔诗集《飞鸟集》、《英 文近世短篇小说集》、《现代日本小说集》等;1927年有文学研究会社丛书

³⁴ 李家驹《商务印书馆与近代知识文化的传播》,北京:商务印书馆,2005,页 59 - 60;周 其厚《中华书局与近代文化》,页 135 - 143。

³⁵ 商务印书馆和中华书局是 20 年代马来亚及新加坡华校的主要课本供应商。郑良树《马来西亚华文教育发展史》第一分册,页 352。

³⁶ 李家驹《商务印书馆与近代知识文化的传播》,页 55 - 56。

^{37 1922}年及1925年的《新国民日报》可见。

等等。除了翻译作品和中国现代文学作品,商务也重编古籍,提供古典方面的书籍选择,包括有说部丛书、四部丛刊、宋人小说、汉魏丛书、顾氏文房小说、国故新采、续古逸丛书等等,即使已在家乡千里之外,移民们仍可与国内读者一般,通过商务分馆预购书籍;商务通常会将所出版新书印成书目备送,承索即赠,读者可根据书目进行订阅。

除了书籍以外,杂志是商务的重点文化商品,20 年代在《新国民日报》上的商务分馆广告所提到的杂志颇丰富,包括: 《儿童世界》(周六出版)、《儿童画报》(半月刊)、《英语周刊》、《小说月报》、《东方杂志》、《教育杂志》、《学生杂志》、《少年杂志》、《妇女杂志》、《民铎杂志》、《学艺杂志》、《科学杂志》、《美育杂志》等,商务提供订阅服务,这些杂志"在向读者提供于日常生活有实用价值的知识"38。即使在文化水准低落的南洋,离乡背井的华人移民只要具备基本阅读和消费能力,就可以通过书局这个管道,接受成为一个现代人及好国民的知识灌输,1929 年 7 月 29 日的《星洲日报》39上,就刊有商务"万有文库"发售预约的广告,第一集总共一千种书,计叻洋三百七十六元正(可分期付款),只要付得出这笔钱,就可以习得"中国现代性想象的主要知识基础"40; "万有文库"在《星洲日报》8 月 26 日的广告宣传为"为读书界介绍万有知识""为图书馆解决三大困难",对象设定似乎是当时的华文学校。

从报章广告看来,商务印书馆主打的都是知识性的读物,至少在广告上看来并不鼓吹休闲的消遣读物,20 年代上半期,在《新国民日报》41上主打休闲读物的是曹万丰兄弟公司,1920 年开始就在广告中列出哀情小说、言情小说、侦探小说、滑稽小说、黑幕小说、历史小说、政治小说、武侠小说、社会小说等各种类别的小说读物,广告大标题还有"男女游戏大观"、"家庭万宝全书"、"婚姻指南"、"侦探学讲义"等,明显趋向软性阅读;1921年4月4日的广告上,还出现香艳书箱系列:《古今艳史大观》、《香艳丛书》、《历代香艳密箱》、《香艳大观》等等,阅读此类书籍"如与无数美人笑谈一室,莺啼燕语,询怡情之妙品也"(附图三);当然曹万丰也售卖新文化类书籍及新小说丛书,但是并不成为广告主打,大约是与当时的商务印书馆和中华书局做一明显区隔。1924年改名为上海曹万丰书局后,仍旧主打新旧小说,并在广告中打出"消遣良友"的宣传字句。

³⁸ 李欧梵著,毛尖译《上海摩登:一种新都市文化在中国 1930-1945》增订本,页 59。

³⁹ 1929年1月之后,商务印书馆就不在《新国民日报》刊登广告了,1929年创刊之《星洲日报》则开始刊登商务印书馆的广告。

⁴⁰ 李欧梵著,毛尖译《上海摩登:一种新都市文化在中国 1930-1945》增订本,页73。

⁴¹ 选择《新国民日报》作为观察对象,因为在此日报刊登广告之书局数量最多,而且从 1920 年至 1929 年,意即整个 20 年代都刊有书局广告。



(附图三)

20 年代的下半期,新加坡的书局多了起来,大部分书局的广告却仍旧主打严肃读物,比如 1926 年 11 月 15 日《新国民日报》的华侨书局广告,主推孙中山、蒋介石和三民主义的相关书籍,杂志也是《语丝》、《创造周报》等文艺杂志; 1926 年 12 月 13 日《新国民日报》的上海书局广告列出新到北京晨报社的丛书、开明书局、光华书局、创造社的书籍,出现较软性的杂志:《良友》、《新女性》、《东方杂志》等; 要等到 1927 年,上海书局的广告才见《晶报》等上海小报的名字出现,1927 年 6 月 20 日才出现主打《百星艳影》这类新书的广告词; 1928 年 4 月 23 日《新国民日报》上星洲书局的广告才主推《明宫十六朝演义》,打出"大明二百余年皇室宫禁的神秘黑幕"、"大明十有六朝帝后嫔妃的风流韵事"这样耸动的宣传标语。然而整体看来,书局广告仍旧以严肃及知识类型书目为主,如曹万丰兄弟公司这样大事宣扬"消遣良友"读物的,仍旧属于少数,不过 1927 年 3 月开始,新星书局就开始附设小说流通社,出租各种类型的小说,打开阅者除购买书籍以外的另外一种阅读选择。

从报章广告看起来,20 年代新加坡的华文阅读选择就是当时中国——尤其是上海地区书局的移植,新加坡的华文书局从中国进口书籍,再转卖给华人移民,这个货真价实的英国殖民地中的华人社区,通过会馆、华校、报纸和华文书局的运作及生产,几乎就是中国的文化移植地。然而即使非常稀少,当时的华文书局还是提供了一些南洋本土生产的书籍杂志,1928年3月13日《新国民日报》上刊登了一则广告,上方标语为:"请各界注意 南洋破天荒之出版巨刊 图片美丽内容丰富",这是位于槟城新南洋杂志社为将要出版的《新南洋月报》打广告42,广告词要求所有留心"实业、世界大势、南洋情形、祖

^{42 1928}年3月5日的《南洋商报》也刊有相同广告。

国时事、美术、文艺、商业、教育"者不可不看;1928年5月7日的《新南洋月报》广告列出了首期目录,分为图画及文字两部分,图画部分的内容包括了〈印人之大宝森节〉、〈槟城华侨的迷信观〉、〈南洋美术家的水彩及油画作品〉等本土部分,也有〈黄花岗七十二烈士墓〉的中国色彩,还有〈英国大力士之武艺〉、〈时事鸿影十二幅〉的世界格局,文字部分有〈马来亚行政概况〉、〈英属华侨教育概观〉等论说文,还有〈深夜〉、〈雨〉、〈梦〉等抒情文字;到1928年7月2日,还可以看到此刊物第三期的广告,不过似乎改名《新南洋图画杂志》。1928年4月30日,《南洋商报》上刊登了另一份杂志《新声丛刊》5月5日出版的广告,除了刊物特色和宣传,还列出了第一期目录,依序为〈卷头语〉、〈评论〉、〈最近树胶之问题〉、〈矿山估价〉、〈国民经济〉、〈莫泊三的短篇小说〉、〈杜鹃女士之诗〉、〈通讯〉、〈来件〉、〈世界时事〉、〈祖国要闻〉及〈本坡小新闻〉,编辑看来努力在南洋、故乡和世界的分配比例当中求取平衡。

除了上述杂志,1928年6月11日,《南洋商报》出现了张相时《华侨中心之南洋》的书籍广告,本书讨论英属马来、英属波罗洲、荷属东印度、暹罗、缅甸、越南、菲律宾等地,分地志、沿革、政治、社会、财政、金融、交通、产业、贸易等等,由《南洋商报》、商务印书馆和中华书局代售,并征求代理,仅看广告,无从得知写作者的背景;1928年12月10日的《新国民日报》上,刊登了丘守愚《我七年南洋群岛之生活》这本书的推介广告⁴³,特色包括:南洋插图三百余幅、七年来南洋商业及教育之详细记载、亲历百余埠之实地调查录、英荷法暹各属南洋最近之社会经济教育实在情形,还收录了短篇小说七、八种,这本书定价叻币九元,预约价则为叻币五元,第一期就号称印一万本,实是南洋出版界的大事。

商务印书馆也出版南洋的相关书籍,比如 1928 年 9 月 24 日《南洋商报》上的商务印书馆广告,就推介黄强的著作《马来鸿雪录》,此书为游记,是作者三渡南洋之后所作,"举凡自然之情形、人生之状况、大至政治组织、小至饮食服饰、皆有翔实之记载";商务在教科书方面也因应南洋情况作出些微调整,1928 年 6 月 5 日《新国民日报》上的商务印书馆广告就推介"荷属南洋史地补充读物",声明是"为便利校长教员先生们教授史地一科起见特编一种补充读本······",足见即使当时的中国文化生产者,多么强势地向华人移民输入知识文化,都不得不针对生活在当地者的需要,而做出相应调整。

1928 年 7 月 30 日,《叻报》的通商书局广告中,出现了《新嘉坡画报》,这份 20 年代新加坡出版的画报如今可在《民国画报汇编·港澳卷》⁴⁴当中找到。虽然看不到这份画报的创刊号,但是从 1929 年 8 月 14 日发行的第 56 期《新嘉坡画报周年纪念号》当中可以找到创刊的日期和动机等相关资

^{43 1928}年11月5日的《南洋商报》也刊有相同广告。

⁴⁴ 姜亚沙、经莉、陈湛绮主编《民国画报汇编·港澳卷》,北京:全国图书馆文献微缩复制中心,2007。

讯:《新嘉坡画报》是在 1928 年 7 月 17 日创刊⁴⁵,创刊的动机"原始于五三惨案之发生",济南惨案震撼了南洋华人移民,"各地筹赈会纷纷设立。仗义解囊助赈者。不拘贫户富商。妇人孺子。同人以激于义愤。乘印刷之便利。因创画报。以广宣传。并谋介绍祖国固有文艺。及近代新兴艺术。使同侨人士得见时事的写真。与得到美术的安慰"⁴⁶;这份由位于新嘉坡水仙门二马路五十九号的新嘉坡画报社发行的画报,创刊的目的和宗旨似乎和中国政局和故土情怀密不可分,然而内容中还是留下了当时华人移民们在移民地的照片和文字记录,比如第五十一期的〈南洋之事〉刊有柔佛居銮华侨总理奉安纪念会和新加坡南洋女子体育专门学校的照片,第五十二期的〈南洋之事〉则刊有新加坡惠群义学员生合影,第五十三期则是上海乐华足球队与马来亚华人球队比赛的合影等等,虽然每期占据比例不多,但还是留下了珍贵的华人移民生活记录,也替20年代的华文阅读者增加多一种以照片为主的阅读选择。

四、结论

由于英国殖民政府政策的关系,马来亚(包括新加坡)的华人移民社区 是个相对封闭的圈子,英国殖民统治希望华人保持中华性(Chineseness),因 为他们非常重视华人自身和东南亚华人以及中国人社群商业网路的密切联系, 这当然是因为华人在商业上扮演的重要角色47; 20 到 30 年代来自中国的民族 主义浪潮使原就封闭的华人移民社群更趋狭隘, 再加上南来文人浓重的文化优 越感,中国出版文化巨大影响力隐隐然成型。但是这并不是唯一的答案,因为 在一切背后有另外一股帝国的力量在运转,马来亚是英国殖民地,殖民地政府 的政策才是影响至巨的力量, 马来亚华人的中华性存在与否? 如何存在? 更多 时候是和殖民地政府的布局息息相关; 商业利益的追求是殖民地政府的首要考 量,华人商业网络的保持才是殖民地政府关心的焦点,容许中国民族主义的流 播并不是问题,伤害到商业利益才是问题。表面上看来,南来文人操纵着文学 文化生产和话语权, 华文日报的国族倾向全面倒向中国, 华文书局贩卖大量来 自中国的书籍杂志,这个华文阅读场域似乎只是中国文化生产的移植地:然而 事实上,这个阅读场域的逐步成长,趋向更丰富更多元更有在地关联,已经突 破了刻板的复制。在华文日报副刊生产及华文书局所提供的华文阅读选择外, 1925 年新加坡华文小报出现,在 1927 年至 1929 年达致生产高峰,这个小报

⁴⁵ 俊〈新嘉坡画报周年纪念〉,见《新嘉坡画报周年纪念号》第56期,1929年8月14日。

⁴⁶ 编者〈本报之今后〉, 见《新嘉坡画报周年纪念号》第56期,1929年8月14日。

Shamsul A.B. "Texts and Collective memories: The construction of "Chinese" and "Chineseness" from the perspective of a Malay". Leo Suryadinata(ed.). *Ethnic relations and nation-building in Southeast Asia: The case of the ethnic Chinese*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. 2004, p.125.

生产者所开创的新型言谈空间,除了承载由于受到主流纯文艺副刊推挤而无法 立足的综合性副刊内容之外,边缘、自由而多元的小报言谈空间也记录了华人 移民在殖民地求存的种种心路历程;日报副刊受到主流文学潮流演变的影响, 成为严肃的新兴文学堡垒,华文小报的出现让当时华文阅读场域保有较多元的 选择,自由而充满生命力,在中国书籍杂志的输入狂潮中,小报对生活在殖民 地底层移民生活和欲望的记录,显得珍贵。

神思故土,笔润炎洲——马六甲青云亭书 法文物与闽南书坛的传承关系

谭勇辉*

摘要

中国书法艺术流传至马来西亚的历史可追溯至明清易代之际。以闽南地区为主的华人远渡重洋来到马六甲,创建马来西亚最早的华人庙宇"青云亭"。青云亭重视先贤文物之传承,保留了不少从清初至二十世纪的匾额、楹联、碑铭等珍贵书法文物。其可按主题分成颂扬神佛恩德及褒扬追思先贤功绩、彰显领袖仁德两类。这些书法作品主要出自闽南漳州、厦门的书家手笔,是福建书法艺术流传海外的明证。就艺术风格而言,青云亭的墨宝既与明末清初的书风一脉相承,又与黄道周等闽南书家文人的精神底蕴有着微妙的联系。青云亭的特殊意义和价值,在一带一路的潮流中,将能为中国、马来西亚两地的书法文化交流带来很好的契机。

关键词: 书法 马中文化 闽南书法 青云亭 一带一路

^{*} 南方大学学院人文与社会学院中文系主任。电邮: yhtam@sc.edu.my

The Relationship Between The Heritage of Cheng Hoon Teng Temple Calligraphy in Malacca and The Calligraphy Scene in Southern Fujian

Tam Yong Huei**

Abstract

The history of Chinese calligraphy in Malaysia can be traced back to the Ming and Qing dynasties. The Chinese, mainly from the southern Fujian region, travelled across the ocean to Malacca and established the earliest Chinese temple in Malaysia, the Cheng Hoon Teng Temple. It has preserved a number of valuable calligraphic artefacts such as plaques, couplets and inscriptions dating from the early Qing Dynasty to the 20th century. These can be divided into two categories, namely those celebrating the benevolence of God and Buddha, and those commemorating the achievements of the sages and highlighting the benevolence of the leaders. These calligraphic works were mainly written by calligraphers from Zhangzhou and Xiamen in southern Fujian, and are evidence of the overseas spread of the art of calligraphy in Fujian. In terms of artistic style, the ink treasures at Cheng Hoon Teng Temple are both in line with the calligraphic style of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, and subtly linked to the spiritual heritage of southern Fujian calligraphers and literati such as Huang Daozou. The special significance and value of Cheng Hoon Teng Temple will be able to bring about a good opportunity for cultural exchange in calligraphy between China and Malaysia in the trend of the Belt and Road.

Keyword: Calligraphy Malaysia-Chinese Culture Southern Fujian Calligraphy Cheng Hoon Teng Temple One Belt One Road

^{**} Head, Department of Chinese Studies, Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Southern University College. Email: yhtam@sc.edu.my

一、引言

中国书法流传马来西亚的历史肇始于文人南迁之时,在中国古代文人的观念里,神州大地以南的海洋群岛,都是文化落后的蛮荒之地,几乎从未引起过他们的留意;加上儒家"修身、齐家、治国、平天下"思想的影响,文士皆以考取科举功名、报效家国为己任,因此在漫长的岁月里,"南溟"之地只是一个文人藉以抒怀想象的文学意象,若想他们远涉重洋游历一番,似乎不是一件容易实现的事。

政治因素成为了扭转这情况的契机。明朝覆灭至清朝康、乾时期,来自闽粤地区的人民因不愿接受满清的统治,毅然以遗民的身份买楫南下,航行于海上丝绸之路,最终定居于当年郑和船队多次驻扎的马六甲¹,秉承着老祖宗的思想和精神,构建出中国海外最早的华人社会之一。²根据史料记载,1641年马六甲已有华人约 1000 名,至 1750 年增至 2161 名。³这群华人之中并不乏通晓文墨之士,而且有的还是马六甲华人领袖,他们在构建华人社会的同时,也以温润的翰墨传达了民族的情感和思想观念。数百年之后,相关的墨迹流传至今,成为马来西亚华人历史及书法发展的重要见证,蕴含着丰富的文化信息。有鉴于此,本文拟以马六甲青云亭的墨宝为切入点,探讨早期马来西亚华人书法与闽南书法文化的传承关系,以及其所蕴含的前瞻性。

二、青云亭概况

华人远赴南洋谋生,都无法逃避航海途中和侨居异乡的安危与乡愁,为了满足心灵的慰藉,他们来到南洋后都要建立寺庙,虔诚祈祷神灵保佑他们的生活平安顺利,于是便形成了"有海水的地方就有华人,有华人的地方就有寺庙"的特色。在南洋众多华人庙宇之中,马六甲青云亭的名气相当大。青云亭坐落于马六甲城庙堂街(Jalan Tokong),是马来西亚最古老的华人寺庙之一。明清之际,华人飘洋过海来到马六甲谋生,在此立庙供奉观世音菩萨,祈求子孙后代安康顺利,平步青云,故将寺庙命名为"青云亭"。在步入青云亭前,可见山门镌刻着榜书"南海飞来"(图 1),意即观世音从南海飞来护佑

¹ 按:马六甲的古名有"满刺加"、"满刺甲"、"麻六甲"、"麻刺甲"等,本文采今日通用之名。

² 按:《明史》卷三二五《满剌加传》载:"(满剌加)气候朝热暮寒。男女椎髻,身体黝黑,间有白者,唐人种也。"

³ 参考李长傅《马来亚华人之发展》,《南洋史地与华侨华人研究——李长傅先生论文选集》, 广州:暨南大学出版社,2001年,第169页。

众生,是南洋观音寺庙常见的词语。佛教人士认为,观世音菩萨于南海普渡众生,而南海又是早期华人迁居南洋的唯一途径,故"南海飞来"一词蕴含着早期南洋华人的共同心愿。由于早期马六甲华人大多来自福建,所以也将妈祖、关公、文昌帝君等神祇请入青云亭受香火供奉,这使得青云亭成为释、道文化的融合体,真切地反映出南洋华人的多元信仰心理。



图 1: 青云亭山门匾额——南海飞来(本文图片皆为笔者摄于 2013 年)

据《敬修青云亭序》所载,青云亭于 1673 年由华人甲必丹郑芳扬和李为经筹资创建⁴。甲必丹是荷兰语"kapitein"的音译,为首领之义。荷兰人统治马六甲期间(1641-1824),委任华人领袖为甲必丹,管理华社事务。1824 年英国占领马六甲后,废除甲必丹制度,马六甲华人遂选举"亭主"代替甲必丹职务,直至 1915 年为止。在这两百余年间,青云亭成为甲必丹与亭主的日常办公之地,是马六甲华人宗教、政治与族群活动中心,地位显赫。

作为马来西亚华人历史的见证者,青云亭历来备受当地华社的尊崇与爱戴。数百年来,青云亭几经修复和扩建,而目前所见之格局面貌,早形成于清嘉庆六年(1801年)甲必丹蔡士章在任期间。青云亭最近的一次修复是在2000年杪,因过程严谨认真,后于2003年荣获联合国教科文组织颁布的亚洲太平洋区古迹修复工程优越奖。

三、墨宝的主题与精神内涵

步入青云亭,宛如置身于中国闽南泉州、漳州的庙宇之中,处处雕梁画 栋,虽然历经岁月的洗礼,却从古雅深沉的色泽中,散发出一种鲜活动人的气

^{4 《}敬修青云亭序》云: "于龙飞癸丑岁(1673年),始建此亭,香花顶盛,冠于别州。" (傅吾康、陈铁凡合编《马来西亚华文铭刻萃编》,吉隆坡: 马来亚大学出版社,1982年,第245页。)

息,而最能让青云亭彰显庙堂恢弘气势的,莫过于悬挂各处的匾额、楹联,以及竖立于主殿后院的碑铭。这些不仅是马六甲华人历史的重要文物,还是优秀的书法作品,若按主题内容区分,则可分为两类:

第一类是颂扬神佛恩德,这主题无异于一般寺庙所见。比如"慈悲永现""道济咸安""慈济无私""母德永昭""湄岛声灵"等匾额,前三者颂扬观世音菩萨,后二者则颂扬妈祖。这些匾额大多出自华人领袖或乡贤之手,年代从清代嘉庆一直延续至民国时期,表明马六甲华人已将对平安生活的渴望上升为永恒的追求,尤其在身处异国、缺乏政府保护的情况下,他们似乎更情愿地将此追求寄望于神明的关照和守护。

第二类是褒扬追思华人先贤功绩、彰显领袖仁德。相较于第一类,这类则是儒家精神与情怀的体现,是青云亭特有的文化现象。作为心灵寄托之地,青云亭易让华人产生强烈的归属感,凭着这个优势,其逐步发展成社会福利和行政中心。荷、英时期的甲必丹或亭主,实际扮演着"父母官"的角色,从相关的墨迹中我们能够了解这一点。如亭主薛文舟所题写的一些楹联:



图 2: 楹联——万里外治民到底无亏善政,百年前着绩至今犹仰高风。上款: 恭赠君翁李甲必丹大寿图联;下款:亭主薛文舟拜题

图 3: 楹联——郑播经纬知百世之功勋有自,李传政刑定千年之德业无疆。 上款: 恭赠;下款:亭主薛文舟拜题。 薛文舟(1793-1847),又名薛佛记,祖籍漳郡浦邑东山上营社,于 1839至 1847年间任青云亭第二任亭主。薛文舟生于马六甲,却能写得一手好字,揣测其师承,很可能是流寓马六甲的一些文人。以上两副楹联,颂扬了马六甲华人甲必丹郑芳扬与李为经在政经文教上的卓著贡献。郑芳扬是首任华人甲必丹,生平事迹不详。李为经(1614-1688),明末福建同安人,明亡后远渡马六甲。据《甲必丹李公济博懋勋颂德碑》载曰: "公讳为经,别号君常,银同之鹭江人也。因明季国祚沧桑,遂航海而南行。悬车此国,领袖澄清。保障着勚,斯土是庆。抚缓宽慈,饥溺是兢。捐金置地,泽及幽冥。休休有容,荡荡无名,用勒片石,垂芳永永。"5由此可知,李为经为马六甲华人提供了民生保障和各种福利,故百余年后仍然被人们铭记于心,甚至后来的甲必丹与亭主们,也以中国文人传统的题图方式对这位先贤进行追思和纪念。图 3 那帧身着明代衣冠的儒者画像,绘于李为经晚年的一次寿辰,画像上悬挂的则是华人甲必丹曾有亮(1771-1822)的题词(图 4)。虽经年日久,字迹有些模糊,但文意基本可知:

闻其□将□世,□□人几百年希而得之。邂逅之间即而视之, 有威可畏,趋而就之,有议可象。容貌庄严,虽善绘事乎图中,然 其玄冕素服,轻文尚质,已烛见其肺腑。则余所闻其行已恭,其 事上敬,其养民惠,脍炙讴歌,相传勿替!噫,斯人也!有是德而宜有 是福也!善夫。

书赠李府君翁老先生寿图之庆 年家后学曾有亮拜题



图 4: 曾有亮《书赠李府君翁老先生寿图之庆》

⁵ 傅吾康、陈铁凡合编《马来西亚华文铭刻萃编》,第 223-224页。

简约凝练的文字,已将李为经的素养和功绩涵括其中。这份源自儒家"见贤思齐"思想的追念之情,随着墨宝的流传后世,相信曾感召了无数的华裔子弟。继曾有亮之踵,薛文舟也李为经的寿图撰写了对联(即图 3 所示),这副对联除了称扬之外,还表达了对儒家仁政突破疆域限制的肯定和自信感。

与之前的华人领袖相比,薛文舟对李为经的崇敬之情发挥得最为淋漓尽致,他曾将李为经的神主迎入青云亭后的功德祠,由此开启了华人先贤领袖享受后人香火的礼遇。虽然薛文舟生长于马六甲,却自幼接受传统儒家教育的熏陶,对于没有血缘关系的先贤,薛文舟的言行已体现出儒家"老吾老以及人之老"的精神,而对于已故的至亲,他更是义无反顾地实践"慎终追远"的孝思。薛文舟的先外祖父邱兴隆没有子嗣,死后无人供奉香火,薛文舟为此感到非常难过。在华人传统观念中,供奉外姓祖先并不符合伦理规范,但于心不忍的薛文舟,仍然与青云亭的耆老们商议,极力争取将外祖父母的神位迎入福德祠中。薛文舟最终得偿所愿,他怀着恭敬与感恩之心写下《兴隆邱公牌记》,讲述事情的来龙去脉。这篇散文情真意切,完全没有一般记事文章的套语,特将页文抄录于此:

公邱府之苗裔也,讳兴隆,世居榕城新安。少倜傥,有远志,贾于呷国,遂族焉,以为源远流长之计。讵意偕妻王氏讳三娘弃世,不得兰孙桂子,绵绵葛垂,森森竹立,竟成伯道之痛,伤如之何?幸有生下三女,长曰鸾娘,次曰凤娘,三曰养娘,即余之母亲也。余虽属外孙,宁不目击心悲?欲从祖祔食,议非其伦,欲等祀以孝告,后恐难继第,为此事寸衷耿耿,莫可明言。爰请呷中列位诸耆老仝同公,议配享之事,蒙其许诺,而外祖考妣之神有所凭依,实余之厚幸也。今将外祖二位神主配入青云亭内,与曾讳六官同龛,即偹出呷钱壹仟文银盾充公为业,以便上下相承,代为生息,聊偹四时祭祀之需,庶乎笾豆铏羹,世世得充其寔,禴祀蒸尝,时时勿替其典。因为之序,勒碑以冀崇祀永垂不朽云尔。

道光廿三年岁次癸卯端月拾三日漳郡浦邑东山上营社 薛佛记谨立



图 5: 薛佛记《兴隆邱公牌记》(清道光廿三年,1843)

这篇散文完好地留存至今,悬挂于壁上供后人观览。文中"外祖考妣之神位有所凭依,实余之厚幸也",正与儒家"生事之以礼,死葬之以礼,祭之以礼"的传统心理一脉相承。这也表明,虽然薛文舟出生于马六甲,但却自幼深受儒家传统教育的熏陶,通过对儒家教育的身体力行,他的善举无疑成为后人最佳的学习典范和借鉴。据前人研究,十八世纪末至十九世纪初,马六甲的华文教育已开始萌芽,拥有相当数量的华文学堂,尤其是闽人开办的私塾,在 1815 年就有八间,培育了近一百五十名学生。7而薛文舟与他之前的华人领袖们,恰巧大都来自福建。作为朱熹长期著书立说、倡道讲学之地,福建的儒学风气到了清代依然很兴盛,如书院、县学、义学、家塾等各式学校颇为普遍8,人才辈出,而明末清初千里迢迢来到马六甲担任私塾先生的福建文人们,肯定也以宣扬儒家思想为己任。了解了这时代背景,我们就能明白为何甲必丹与亭主们的字迹,总是散发出温柔敦厚的书卷气息。

⁶ 朱熹《论语章句集注·为政第二》,《四书章句集注》,北京:中华书局出版社,1983年,第55页。

⁷ 参考林孝胜《十九世纪新华社会的分合问题》,柯木林、林孝胜《新华历史与人物研究》,新加坡:南洋学会,1986年,第71页。

⁸ 据何绵山《闽文化概论》〈第九章:教育〉第 214 页记载: "明清时书院已不仅仅密布于闽北理学之乡和政治文化中心福州,而是遍及全省。如明代闽东新建十余所书院,闽西新建三十余所,清闽西新建书院一百余所,闽东新建书院近 30 所。"又,同章第 217 页记载: "明代福建有 2410 人中进士,在全国仍名列前茅; ……清代福建有 1337 人中进士,仍略高于全国平均水平。科举业的兴旺,大大推动教育的普及。"(北京:北京大学出版社,1996 年)

四、闽南书风的影响

马六甲与中国的文化传承关系,也在青云亭的墨宝中获得充分展现。马六甲青云亭是中国书法海外流传史中重要的一环,而马来西亚华人书法的历史篇章,也应从青云亭掀开序幕。中国书法经历数千年的发展,来到明清时期可谓积淀深厚,各种风格面貌都能在前代寻找到渊源根据。当我们鉴赏青云亭的墨迹时,可能会轻易地将之与王羲之、欧阳询、颜真卿、米芾等赫赫有名又影响深远的古代书法大家联系起来;然而,如果要准确地判断出青云亭书法的风格,笔者认为,还需要考虑两点:其一是书写者祖籍的地域书法文化,其二是明末至清初中国书法的发展状况。

青云亭创建人与历届领袖与闽南的渊源甚深,历届华人甲必丹与亭主皆来自闽南。根据曾衍盛《马来西亚最古老庙宇——青云亭个案研究》,得知青云亭现存之古文物中,仍保留不少由甲必丹、亭主或闽南书家题写的牌匾及楹联。

类	年份		正文	立物者	籍贯
别					
牌	乙酉	1705	青云古迹	曾其禄10甲	厦门
匾				必丹	
	雍正乙卯	1735	香光普照	王宗典	鹭江
	乾隆丙午	1786	慧眼观世	陈起厚	福建
				甲必丹	
	乾隆丙午	1786	救世婆心	陈配观	南安
	嘉庆辛酉	1801	灵 (云) 山第一	蔡士章	漳州
				甲必丹	
	嘉庆己巳	1809	慈悲永现	邱若惠	漳州

表 1: 青云亭现存由清代闽南籍人士所立之牌匾、楹联9

⁹ 此表根据曾衍盛《《马来西亚最古老庙宇——青云亭个案研究》(2011年1月第1版)〈第二章:青云亭历史沿革〉第22页表(3)〈青云亭现存之古文物〉整理,表中仅列出籍贯确定为闽南者。

¹⁰ 黄存桑著,张清江译〈马六甲华人甲必丹〉云: "依照叶华芬的记载,曾六官(笔者按:即曾 其禄)为一逃亡中国的亡命徒,原籍厦门。他曾大肆修筑与扩充青云亭,据说厅内的观音堂 (目前的大殿),即为公所建。观音堂中有一木匾,上刻'青云古迹'四字,据说是出自甲必 丹曾六官的手笔。"(载黄存桑著,张清江译《华人甲必丹》,新加坡:新加坡国家语文局, 1965 年,第 3 页)

[1 3/1 1	
			* · • ·	
嘉庆己巳	1809	观世自在	曾有亮	福建
			甲必丹	
嘉庆己巳	1809	母德永昭	陈遐伯	漳州
嘉庆丙子	1816	参讚化育	何大章	漳州
			太学生	
嘉庆丙子	1816	水德配天	谢希明	漳州
道光丙戌	1826	万夷钦服	曾谋	厦岛
道光丙戌	1826	法界时春	曾世芳	福建
			甲必丹	
-	-	道济咸安	邱逊康	漳州
			太学生	
-	-	郑播经纬知百世之功勋	薛文舟	漳州
		有自	亭主	
		李传政刑定千年之德业		
		无疆		
-	-	恭贺君翁李甲必丹大寿	薛文舟	漳州
		图联	亭主	
		万里外治民到底五亏善		
		政		
		百年前著绩至今犹仰高		
		风		
-	-	恭赠	陈敏政	泉州
		德望著三州华民追思先	亭主	
		雨露		
		政声推五老呷地久仰旧		
		恩膏		
	嘉庆己巳 嘉庆丙子 嘉庆丙子 道光丙戌 道光丙戌	嘉庆己巳 1809 嘉庆丙子 1816 嘉庆丙子 1816 道光丙戌 1826 道光丙戌 1826	嘉庆己巳 1809 母德永昭 嘉庆丙子 1816 参讚化育 嘉庆丙子 1816 水德配天 道光丙戌 1826 万夷钦服 道光丙戌 1826 法界时春 - - 道济咸安 - - 郑播经纬知百世之功勋有自李传政刑定千年之德业无疆 - - 恭贺君翁李甲必丹大寿图联 万里外治民到底五亏善政百年前著绩至今犹仰高风 - - 恭赠 德望著三州华民追思先雨露 政声推五老呷地久仰旧	嘉庆己巳 1809 母德永昭 陈遐伯 嘉庆丙子 1816 参讚化育 何大章 太学生 嘉庆丙子 1816 水德配天 谢希明 道光丙戌 1826 法界时春 曾世芳甲必丹 - - 道济咸安 邱逊康太学生 - - 郑播经纬知百世之功勋有自李传政刑定千年之德业无疆 - - 恭贺君翁李甲必丹大寿图联万里外治民到底五亏善政百年前著绩至今犹仰高风 亭主 - - 恭赠 陈敏政亭主 - - 恭赠 陈敏政亭主 - - 恭赠 陈敏政亭主

如表所示,青云亭所存清代匾额及楹联大多由漳州人士所立,这些珍贵的书法墨迹可能出自立物者或漳州书家手笔。明清两代,漳州书法底蕴深厚,名家辈出,如下表所示:

表 2: 陈寿祺《福建通志》11载录的明清两代漳州书法家

书家名字	相关记载		
明朝			
黄道周,字幼	黄石斋书法,天下称曰漳体,黄石斋文法,天下称曰黄		
玄, 又字螭若、	体。黄体与倪体并驱而漳体径自独行,其见重于一时者		
螭平,号石斋	如此。		
	(卷二百七十五 (丛谈))		
蔡润石,字玉卿	工书法,与先生逼似。		
(黄道周夫人)	(卷二百七十五 (丛谈))		
陈範,字伯畴	甫弱冠, 輒谢去应制业而盛为声歌, 故自称诗民。多险		
	语而好用难韵。工书,草隶尤擅场。		
	(卷二百十四〈明文苑传〉)		
李宓,字羲民	工诸体书,董其昌尝具书币请其书。晚年以《黄庭内外		
	经》,一经一纬,王羲之书外景而不书内景,殊缺事,		
	因续书三千字补之。结体工妙,论者以为天女六铢,繁		
	采丽密,自然缥缈,今所存摹搨甚多。		
	(卷二百二十四〈明艺术〉)		
陈日炳	与宓相伯仲。(卷二百二十四〈明艺术〉)		
张维藩,字虚	博通经史,能诗作字,喜用秃笔仿锺、王、颜、柳而自		
舟,诸生。	成一格。吴人王穉登酷喜之,索得其片纸支言,以为至		
	宝。		
	(卷二百二十四〈明艺术〉)		
盛接,字汝晋	善篆、隶、草书,工诗能琴。		
	(卷二百二十四〈明艺术〉)		
徐昆,字裕夫	工篆隶通琴理,兼画山水。		
	(卷二百二十四〈明艺术〉)		
杨祺,字吉生	少补诸生,明亡后结茅于北山语云峰。工书画,寸纸尺		
	幅,人争贵之。		
	(卷二百二十四〈明艺术〉)		
清朝			

 $^{^{11}}$ [清]陈寿祺等撰《福建通志》(共十册),同治十年(1871)重刊本,台北:华文书局,1968年。

詹明章,字莪士	工吟咏,善书法。 (卷二百三十九〈国朝文苑〉)
魏万,字大干	工书,学颜鲁公,得其筋骨,展之为寻丈,约之为针芒。于《家庙》、《麻姑》二碑尤为神肖。请书者具币甚腆,大干随手散去,不留一钱。 (卷二百四十七〈国朝艺术〉)
黄巅,字小山, 邑诸生。 严仙藜,字太乙	草书学怀素,亦擅名。 (卷二百四十七〈国朝艺术〉) 能诗善画,名流多慕尚之。 (卷二百四十七〈国朝艺术〉)

举例而言,李宓的书法造诣,曾惊动晚明地位显赫的董其昌,而黄道周这位能够跻身中国书法史的大家,其书体以籍贯命名,足见其书法成就对漳州有着重大的意义。有理由相信,在往后的一两百年间,这群以黄道周为首的漳州书家书法及艺术理念,将会对漳州的书法风气造成一定的影响。因为在那个年代里,资源与地理环境相对匮乏闭塞,唐宋以前大家碑帖并不像今天那样轻易获取,故乡贤书家的书帖、墨迹自然成为了漳州及邻近乡邑文士心追手摹的首选范本,从而逐步孕育出闽南独特的书风。

闽南独特书风的形成,与黄道周的倡导关系密切,其《与倪鸿宝论书法》云: "字自以逎媚为宗,加之浑深,不坠佻靡,便足上流矣。" ¹²书论史对此"遒媚"书风已多有评论,指的是一种刚柔结合的审美,要求在遒劲清健之中透出俊秀温润的气息,而"浑深"可理解成线条骨力深厚扎实,不落纤弱习气。黄道周渊博的学问及刚直清廉、忠贞的人品,深受漳州人民的崇敬与称道,在以乡邦先贤成就为傲的心理下,自然也会接受他对上乘作品的衡量标准。笔者认为,所存介于康熙至道光年间的书法墨迹,都在一定程度上受到黄道周"遒媚"书风的影响。

¹² 刘正成、傅红展编《中国书法全集·黄道周卷》,北京:荣宝斋出版社,1994年,第327页。转引自于洁〈黄道周的"遒媚观"书学思想探析〉,《书法赏评》2020年第5期,第27页。



图 6: 牌匾——云山第一上款: 時大清嘉慶陸年歲次辛酉桐月下款: 知六甲政事特校甲必丹大蔡士章敬立

图 6 的"云山第一"是华人甲必丹蔡士章(1750-1802)所题。此帧榜书雄奇宕逸,气势饱满,其"一"字,突兀而起,结字欹侧,飞白甚多,显得苍雄老辣,势如天风海涛,振奋人心,颇有黄道周行草书写惯例中的架势。蔡士章应是华人甲必丹中书法水准最高的,除青云亭之外,马六甲宝山亭¹³也保留了他所题写的牌匾及楹联,如图 7、图 8 的行书,皆于沉厚遒劲中显现骨气神采及灵动之势。



图 7: 牌匾——保傽幽明 上款: 戊午菊月; 下款: 甲政蔡士章

¹³ 黄存桑著,张清江译〈马六甲华人甲必丹〉云: "一七九五年,蔡甲(笔者按:即蔡士章)在三宝山脚健一宝山亭,位于三宝井(Perigi Raja)之旁。根据叶华芬的记载,蔡甲建筑该亭之本意,是要提供每年清明节上山祭祀及扫墓者应用的。"(载黄存桑著,张清江译《华人甲必丹》第3页。)



图 8: 楹联——魂依甲地万古幽明沾福德,公庇征人千年享祀配春秋下款: 特授甲政蔡士章题

青云亭其他书法墨迹大体上与上文所述类似,在黄道周刚柔并济、静中显动的书法基调上,融入了前代各家之长。如图 8 榜书"母德永昭"圆润雍厚,体格源自欧阳询法书,并掺入其他书家笔法,如"母"、"德"字的颜体气息尤其明显,"永"字則颇似王羲之体。图 9 榜书"水德配天",字势纵长,骨力深厚,极具黄道周榜书大字遗风,端雅清畅,温婉平和,又融入欧阳询、柳公权楷书笔意,以及米芾(如"水")、王羲之(如:"天")之体。图 10 "道济咸安"榜书,和畅洒落而不失遒劲厚重,成为王、欧书体融合之境。



图 8: 牌區——母德永昭(1809) 上款: 時嘉慶歲次己巳葭月穀旦 下款: 漳郡澄邑龍美陳遐伯敬立 印章: 朱文: 龍美白文: 陳遐伯印



图 9: 牌區——水德配天(1816) 上款: 大清嘉慶丙子歲葭月穀旦 下款: 漳郡澄邑石塘謝希明敬立



图 10: 牌匾——道濟咸安下款: 澄邑新江太學生邱逊康立

就书法审美而言,"遒劲"一般认为是德高望重的书家所散发出来的一种摄人力量,历经荷兰及英国统治时期的华人甲必丹及亭主,被殖民政府委以重任,一方面需要藉着翰墨来传达自身的修养和定位,另一方面也需要向华侨昭示神恩浩荡,因此"遒劲"的书风自然与他们的信念契合。至于"媚"所涵盖的灵动、俊丽、神气、潇洒等风格,不仅极适合渲染人们心中对神灵飘逸之姿的想象,还隐约地传达出青云亭领袖们风流俊爽的性情。值得一提的是,从青云亭建筑的整体来看,以"遒媚"为主的牌匾、楹联正好符合闽南传统庙宇融合"庄严与洒脱、活泼"的趣味¹⁴。

进一步说明,表 1 所列的书法文物,其年代正好对应清代书法帖学与碑学发展的转变期。上文提及的甲必丹曾有亮《书赠李府君翁老先生寿图之庆》,明显師法董其昌,亦见颜真卿、赵孟頫笔意,格调文雅畅达,潇洒中有沉著溫厚之致,这与帖学前后期董其昌、赵孟頫书风鼎盛有着密切的联系。然而,青云亭书法文物却没有体现出兴起于乾隆、嘉庆之后的碑派风格,若结合上文表 2 所提供的线索加以观测,可知清代初、中期闽南漳州地区的书法仍然根深蒂固地传承锺、王、苏、米之法(史称黄道周亦师法锺繇),而且对当代主流书坛的接受并不同步。

82

¹⁴ 曾衍盛〈青云亭与闽南建筑装饰风格〉云: "各地地方特色形诸于建筑模式,尤其在装饰上更在在地凸显了各地域民俗风格取向,从而加强了建筑艺术的价值,并赋予建筑思想内涵的表现力。以庙宇为例:中国北方之庙宇庄严肃穆,气派雄伟;南方庙宇则庄严之余,多一点洒脱、活泼的趣味。"(载曾衍盛《马来西亚最古老庙宇——青云亭个案研究》第五章,第147页。

结语与展望

马六甲是马来西亚华人最早的群居之地,由于时代变迁,当时所建的许多中 国式建筑几乎荡然无存, 唯独剩下香火鼎盛的青云亭, 依旧驻守在古城一隅, 肩负着护佑华裔子民的使命。而这也表明, 马六甲华人先贤数百年的心血与精 神,悉数倾注于青云亭,方使其幸免于历史浪涛的淘汰,以及烽火的洗劫。从 明末至清代道光年,中国厉行海禁政策,华人出洋必须承担一定的风险。15因 此,中华文化流播南洋是一件十分艰巨之事,若无信念相同的群体为之守护, 将无法在海外扎根成长。华人是一个对文字情有独钟的民族,尤其到了异国他 乡之后,往往会通过彰显汉字的方式强化自身的民族文化的认同感,如青云亭 的众多墨宝便是典范之一,其一方面体现出早期南洋华人对原乡故土文化的眷 恋和关怀;另一方面,又成了在异国安身立命的精神食粮与引路明灯,这包括 对神明、天地恭敬谦和的态度、对乡邦前贤的缅怀和感恩,以及对后辈的感召 和叮嘱等。深受黄道周"遒媚"书风影响的青云亭书法,可视为闽南书法在海 外的延续与传扬, 以及马来西亚华人书法发展的开端。马六甲甚至马来西亚华 人数百年的精神世界,很大程度上浓缩汇聚于青云亭的墨宝之中,这使得它们 的价值已远远超出艺术鉴赏层面,成为后人开启早期马来西亚华社思想奥秘的 一把钥匙。

近年来,以黄道周为代表的闽南书法艺术越来越受到福建文化单位的重视,围绕黄道周书法举办了书学研究与文物活动,如 2017 年 8 月泉州中国闽台缘博物馆举办的"水流行云——闽台书法五百年特展暨闽台书风学术研讨会";2018 年 2 月福建博物馆举办的"黄道周书法艺术作品展";2018 年 6 月漳州县博物馆举办的"黄道周书法创作作品展";2020 年 2 月福建省文化厅、漳州市人民政府举办的"闽籍书画名家抢救工程——黄道周书法艺术作品展"等。如今,在"一带一路"计划的潮流下,上述主题活动的构思应延伸海外,将马六甲青云亭书法纳入"道周遗风"或"闽南书风"对外传扬的概念中进行观照和探索。笔者希望能引起马、中两地学者及文化单位意识到青云亭书法文物的新价值,并催生两地合作契机,举办系列相关的研究及文化活动。这样一来,这些散落在大马的闽南书家墨迹,将逐步地建构出传承脉络和谱系,为马、中书法文化交流史增添壮丽的篇章。

¹⁵ 如朱杰勤《华侨史》云: "顺治康熙年间,郑成功据厦门抗清的时候,曾经下令: '凡闽人在番,托故不归,复偷漏私回者,一经拿获,即行正法。'一般久居海外的华人自然不愿冒死回国。" (桂林:广西师范大学出版社,2011年,第47页。)

重构海上丝路上的东南亚汉学新考古

王润华*

摘要

英国汉学大师理雅各(James Legge,1815-1897)在 1839 年被伦敦的传教会(London Missionary Society)派遣到马六甲(Malacca)教会工作,当时他才二十岁。一年后,理雅各出任马六甲的英华书院(Anglo-Chinese College)校长,而这书院在 1825 年由马礼逊(Robert Morrison,1782-1834)所创立。马礼逊与理雅各两人,都是到了马六甲后,其汉学研究兴趣才开始,后来马礼逊成为英国汉学的最早的开拓大师,而理雅各成为英国牛津大学首任汉学教授。他的四书注释与英文翻译 The Chinese Classics 的巨大工作,就是在马六甲的英华书院开始进行的。

以马六甲为中心的海上丝路应该被肯定为现代汉学研究的一个极重要的起点。这种突破传统思考方式,去思考中国与东南亚文化现象的多元性的汉学传统,是新加坡与马来西亚学者探讨研究中国文化的重要传统。今天我们所称呼的南洋研究、东南亚研究、汉学的发展史的完整性与多元性尚待更多考证与挖掘资料。最近几十年更多资料已逐渐出土。其实随着 15 世纪初年明朝郑和下西洋,很多南下中国学者已开始研究。譬如马欢写了《瀛涯胜览》(1416)、费信撰写了《星艖胜览》(1436),到了请代如书写马来亚的谢清高口述,杨炳南笔记的《海录》、李钟珏(1853-1927)撰述的《新加坡风土记》、马建中写的《南行记》(1881)等著作,关于南洋地理文化,都算是二十世纪前重要的南洋研究的开拓者。

在新马,早在 1877 年,欧洲人就成立亚洲学会之分会,战前 1940 年创立的以华文为主的南洋学会,1949 年创立的以英文为主的中国学会的学刊。欧洲学者与中国南来的文化人如郁达夫、许云樵、陈育崧、韩槐准、郑子瑜等与土生华人都参与发展海上丝路上的汉学研究。

今天我们需要整合东西方学者的南洋研究、东南亚研究、汉学研究等不同名称的学术研究与资料,重写与建构海上丝路上的多元文化汉学。

关键词: 海上丝路 马六甲 汉学 南洋研究

^{*} 南方大学学院人文与社会学院中文系客座教授。电邮: yoonwah@sc.edu.my

Rethinking the Development of Sinology along the Maritime Silk Road

Wong Yoon Wah**

Abstract

Many studies published in the past decades have traced the development of Sinology along the Maritime Silk Road as one of the world's oldest centres of Chinese Studies outside China from 15th Century through to the present day. When China's Ming Dynasty's Admiral Zheng He 郑和 (1371-1433) commanded the world's mightiest fleet to Malacca seven times from 1405 and 1433, he brought along a group of scholars who were well-trained to study the culture of Southeast Asia. These Chinese scholars wrote travelogues and miscellaneous reports soon after the trip. For Example, an awareness of overseas Chinese and other peoples in Southeast Asia appeared in Ma Huan's 马欢 (Born 1400) Ying Ya Sheng Lan《瀛 涯胜览》which was written in 1451. Rev. Robert Morrison (1782-1834), and Rev. William Milne (1785-1822) established Malacca's Anglo Chinese College in 1818. Morrison planned to establish this school that would allow Western missionaries to learn Oriental cultures and languages. He also hoped that the school would play a role in introducing the East to the West and vice versa. Morrison and William Milne translated the Old Testament together and launched an influential magazine called Chinese Monthly Magazine (察世俗每月统记传). It was the first Chinese language newspaper or magazine in the modern sense of the world, which was run from 1815 to 1822. Morrison's Chinese studies research interest developed in Malacca and Southern China during his missionary assignment. He was not only a Presbyterian preacher, but also a pioneering sinologist and lexicographer, who was considered the "Father of Anglo-Chinese Literature". Another British James Legge (1815-1897) served as a representative of the London Missionary Society in Malacca and Hong Kong (1840-1873). He became the first Professor of Chinese at Oxford University (1876-1897) when he returned to London after his trip in Malacca and Hong Kong. These scholars inspired later imperial China's official travellers, Western colonial officials and local Scholars' works which are variously called Nanyang Studies, Overseas Chinese Studies, Southeast Chinese Studies, or Sinology.

^{**} Adjunct Professor, Department of Chinese Studies, Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Southern University College. Email: yoonwah@sc.edu.my

Keyword: Maritime Silk Road Sinology Southeast Asian Chinese Studies Nanyang Studies Chinese Western scholars

一、被遗忘的海丝路上的新汉学新起点

古海上丝绸之路,也叫陶瓷之路、香药之路,是陆上丝绸之路的延伸, 联合国科教文组织认定的海上丝绸之路起点位于中国福建省泉州市。形成主因 是因为中国东南沿海山多平原少,且内陆往来不易,因此自古许多人便积极向 海上发展。为了解决陆路受地形影响的不便性,前往西域会经过许多不适合人 类居住的地区,此外南北宋年间,游牧民族盘据华北地方导致丝路断流。中国 东南海岸,冬夏两季有季风助航,因此也增加了由海路通往欧陆的方便性,遂 令海上丝绸之路贸易更加蓬勃。在古代中国即有此项交流,尤其是对中国东南 沿海的居民而言,更是显著。¹

海上丝绸之路从中国南方沿岸港口泉州出发,航海线路和地域分为东亚、"东南亚"、"印度与西亚北非"与西方,中国泉州通向世界其他地区的海上通道,连接世界不同的文明,促进了中外物质文明和精神文明交流,丰富了中国文化的内涵,对整个人类文明史产生了重要影响。

2013年9月10月,中国提出建设"丝绸之路经济带"和"21世纪海上丝绸之路"的宏伟构想。"一带一路"的互联互通项目将推动沿线各国发展战略的对接与耦合,除了经济等方面,对我们研究人文的学者来说,增进沿线各国人民的人文交流与文明互鉴,文化包容,加强文明交流共享,是人文领域研究的重要课题。²

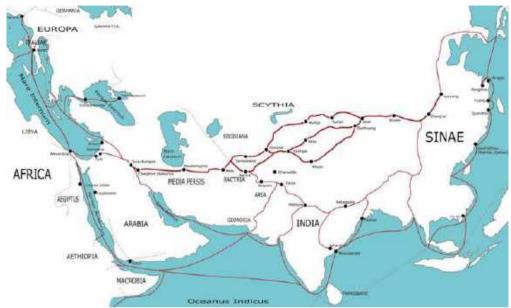
在明朝郑和下西洋后,海上丝绸之路自此有具体路线。丝绸之路不仅运输丝绸,而且也运输瓷器、糖、五金等出口货物,和香料、药材、宝石等进口货物。最早利用海上丝绸之路的则是罗马商队与使者,于公元 166 年抵达中国;而迄今东南亚出土的最早沉船和中国瓷器也属于西亚的阿拉伯帆船,年代为公元 830 年的晚唐。而更重要东西文化的交流因此开始,东西文明更从此紧密结合。³

重回历史现场去思考,我们发现海上丝绸之路上,许多珍贵的华人文化历史与共同记忆,受到西方殖民者的压抑,故意被遗忘了,现在需要重新挖掘出来,建构中西文化交流历史,尤其中国与东南亚及华人华侨的关系。本文集中讨论的汉学,包括南洋研究、东南亚华人华侨研究、东南亚研究,以海上丝路上的东南亚为焦点的起源与发展。

¹ 王天有,徐凯、万明编,《郑和远航与世界文明》,北京:北京大学出版社,2005。

² 关于一带一路的倡议、概念、目的,见贾益民〈一带一路背景下大学的机遇与使命〉,《南方大学学报》第四期(August 4,2017),页 1-20。

³ 王天有,徐凯、万明编《郑和远航与世界文明》。



上图:从中国陆路与海路出发的两条丝绸之路。

二、郑和下西洋与海上丝路文化考古: 初期汉学的发现

明代郑和率领当时世界上最庞大的舰队,七次下西洋。这一系列的和平与文化之旅,首次在公元 1405 年 7 月 11 日出发,至今六百多年。为了探险新世界和新知识,郑和舰队不怕汹涌的浪涛,启航越洋过海,走向新陆地和新岛屿。郑和的文化远航,启发了华人及其文化走向异域,走向新世。我们东南亚的华人祖先就是沿着同样的海路,在明清时代开始飘洋过海,大量移民到了新马及东南亚各地域,甚至世界各地。我们现在明白人口移民也是文化移民,在新的土地上把中华文化传播、发扬和创新。4

⁴ 六百年纪念触发的纪念研究文章实在很多,如王天有、等人编《郑和远航与世界文明》。新马本土知识出发的研究,参考曾玲主编《东南亚的"郑和记忆"与文化诠释》,合肥:黄山书社,2008。





上图: 当年郑和登陆的今天马六甲河口照片及郑和塑像。

郑和航向西方,根据比较可靠的史料,原沿途停留作深度文化交流,特别有五次在马六甲(Melaka,Malacca)停留很久。我自小常到郑和的海军与使节驻扎与挖井的马六甲河口与三宝山游玩,记得许多神话与史实难分的故事,如郑和协助马来人击败外来侵略者,建立了马六甲王朝,西方殖民者还未侵略之前,已成为马来西亚历史上第一个强盛的国家,也使马六甲成为东南亚商业最繁盛的城市。5但是我们还没完整建构东南亚海上丝路,特别是新马又以马六甲为中心的汉学新起点。

纪念与研究郑和与海上丝路之旅,学者都没注意到它与今天的国际汉学研究的密切关系。郑和七下西洋,前后 29 年,目的固然很多,我们人文研究的学者,最应该注意的是文化之旅的重大意义与成就。郑和带领一大批精通阿拉伯文、马来文、英文、梵文等语文的语言专家、又有深度多元文化认识,而且跨知识领域的学者,充分准备去执行一场实地调研的学术之旅。虽然原始的航海纪录早已遗失,以及航海医生陈良绍《遐观集》、匡愚《华夷胜览》等等随船人员著作皆已失传,前后随郑和下西洋的大学者马欢、费信、巩珍三人都将见闻与研究心得纪录著书并流传了下来,他们各自著的《瀛涯胜览》、《星槎胜览》、《西洋番国志》便成为研究郑和以及明代东南亚文化、历史、经济、物产的第一手资料。6

⁵ 本文撰写,特别注重新马学者有本土意识写的史料处理,如邱新民《东南亚文化交通史》,新加坡:新加坡亚洲研究会,1984;鲁白野《马来散记》,新加坡:星洲世界书局,1954;林水 檬,骆静山编《马来西亚华人史》,吉隆坡:留台联总,1984。

⁶ 王天有、徐凯、万明《郑和远航与世界文明:纪念郑和下西洋600周年论文集》,北京:北京大学出版社,2005。



上图:《瀛涯胜览》、《星槎胜览》、《西洋番国志》封面。

(一) 马欢著《瀛涯胜览》

以马欢所著《瀛涯胜览》为例。他曾随三宝太监郑和于永乐十一年(公元 1413年)、永乐十九年(1421年)和宣德六年(1431年)三次下西洋:

1.公元 1413 年随郑和第三次出访,到了访占城、爪哇、旧港、暹罗、古里、忽鲁谟斯等国。

2.公元 1421 年第四次出访,到过访满剌加、亚鲁国、苏门答剌、 锡 兰、小葛兰、柯枝、古里、祖法儿、忽鲁谟斯等国。

3.公元 1431 年郑和第七次出访,太监洪保派遣马欢等七位使者到 天方朝圣。

马欢将下西洋时亲身经历的二十国的航线、海潮、国王、政治、风土、地理、人文、经济状况等纪录下来,在景泰二年(1451)写成《瀛涯胜览》。从永乐十四年(公元 1416年)开始著书,经过 35 年修改和整理,在景泰二年定稿。《瀛涯胜览》中对二十国的民俗描写细致入微,各国学者公认为重要的史料,被广泛引用。例如在《暹罗国》一章中关于青年男子切割阳物外皮,嵌入十几颗锡珠,富人则嵌空心金珠,内嵌细沙,行动有声。《瀛涯胜览》中关于印度及其周边国家的,有榜葛刺国、锡兰国、小葛兰国、柯枝国、古里国等纪录;而且很多南洋国家和地区都有梵文名字,说明古代印度对这些国家的影

响;这都是后来研究印度历史的重要文献。印度历史学家阿里(Ali)教授说:"如果没有法显、玄奘和马欢的著作,重建印度历史是完全不可能的。"⁷

(二) 费信著《星槎胜览》(又名《大西洋记》)

《星槎胜览》又名《大西洋记》⁸,明朝费信著。他曾于永乐七年(1409年)、永乐十年(1412年)、永乐十三年(1415年)宣德五年(1430年),四次随郑和下西洋。正统元年(1436年)费信撰写了《星槎胜览》,纪录下西洋时所见所闻各国风土人情,凡四十四国,集为二卷。其中费信所写占城国、宾童龙国、灵山、昆仑山、交栏山、暹逻国、爪哇国、旧港、花面国,满刺加国、九洲山、苏门答剌国、龙牙犀角、龙涎屿、翠蓝屿、锡兰山国、小具南国、柯枝国、古里国、忽鲁谟斯国、拉撒国、榜葛剌国等二十二国,都是亲身经历、现场考察与研究的学术成果。《星槎胜览》流行两种版本,二卷本和四卷本。二卷本是费信原作,文字芜俚,四卷本是修订本,较原本有较多的增删,文字雅洁。

法国汉学家伯希和(Paul Eugene Pelliot,1878-1845)认为,费信《星槎胜览》所记各国,凡马欢《瀛涯胜览》有的,其内容之详细和重要性都不及《瀛涯胜览》,但《星槎胜览》所记录的宾童龙国、交栏山、九洲山、翠蓝屿、锡兰山国、小具南国,拉撒国不见《瀛涯胜览》。除了《星槎胜览》,费信还著有《天心纪行录》一卷,已失。9

^{7 [}明] 马欢《瀛涯胜览》,成书于景泰二年(1451 年),马欢著,万明校注《明钞本《瀛涯 胜览》校注》,北京:海洋出版社,2005 年;马欢著,冯承钧校注《瀛涯胜览校注》,商务印书馆,1935 年;1955 年中华书局重印。《瀛涯胜览》一书有商务印书馆 1935 年出版的冯承钧校注本《瀛涯胜览校注》,和海洋出版社 2005 年出版的万明校注明钞本《瀛涯胜览》校注。《瀛涯胜览》在国际上名声很大,著名汉学家迈耶斯、格伦德威尔、戴文达、伯希和等都曾研究论述此书。瀛涯胜览有 J.V.G.Mills 的英译本: Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores。参考百科:

 $https://baike.baidu.com/item/\%E7\%80\%9B\%E6\%B6\%AF\%E8\%83\%9C\%E8\%A7\%88/1012629 \\ .$

^{8 1936}年冯承钧根据罗以智校天一阁本为底本,和国朝典故本校订;又因费信书采自汪大渊《岛夷志略》的内容很多,又根据藤田丰八《岛夷志略校注》互证,编成《星槎胜览校注》,1936年商务印书馆印行,1954年再版。

⁹ 冯承钧翻译《郑和下西洋考》,上海商务印书馆,1935。翻译自伯希和〈十五世纪初年中国人的伟大海上旅行〉("Les Grands Voyages Maritimes Chinois au Debut du 15eme siecle"),《通报》,1933 年第 30 期。

(三) 明朝巩珍著《西洋番国志》

郑和下西洋,是举世震惊的壮举,在他最后的一次远航队伍中,有一位南京人巩珍。巩珍生长在南京,从孩童时起就经常谛听人们传颂郑和下西洋的盛事,他还曾几次和小伙伴们一起,跑到下关江边迎接郑和船队,终于,在他十六七岁时,被派往郑和第七次远航的船队下西洋,从明宣德六年(公元 1431年)至宣德八年(公元 1433年)被提拔为总制之幕(相当于秘书)。

他随同郑和先后访问了占城、爪哇、旧港、满刺加、苏门答腊、锡兰、古里及忽鲁漠斯等二十余个国家。三年后的 1433 年 7 月,才平安返回南京。 巩珍对此行途中的山川形势、人物风俗、物产气候等,都一一作了忠实而详尽的记录,写进了他的《西洋番国志》一书中。此书和郑和的另两个随行人员-马欢所撰的《瀛涯胜览》及费信所撰的《星槎胜览》并称为记载郑和下西洋史实的三部最初史料,为研究郑和下西洋史事及明初中国航海事业提供了重要材料。而《明史·外国传》即主要依据巩珍的《西洋番国志》一书修撰。

《西洋番国志》不如马欢的《瀛涯胜览》、费信《星槎胜览》那样广泛流传,几百年来读过《西洋番国志》的人很少。17世纪末钱曾所著《读书敏求记》和《四库全书总目提要》提到它。10

三、重返海上丝绸之路上的西方汉学:西方视野与方法的建构

我们需要整合东西方学者的南洋研究、东南亚研究、汉学研究等不同名称的学术研究,重写完整的海上丝路上的汉学。在马六甲多元文化碰击后的西方汉学,带来西方视野与方法。柳存仁教授(1917-2009)曾将马来西亚汉学的开始追溯至马六甲王朝与明代初期的文化交流。¹¹我在 1998 年撰写的〈一轮明月照古今:贯通中国古今文学的诠释模式〉也指出马六甲是现代汉学的重要起点之一:

^{10 《}西洋番国志》不如马欢的《瀛涯胜览》、费信《星槎胜览》那样广泛流传,几百年来见过《西洋番国志》的人很少。17 世纪末钱曾所著《读书敏求记》和《四库全书总目提要》提到它。1948 年天津一位藏书家将所藏《西洋番国志》彭氏《知圣道斋》抄本捐赠北京图书馆。1958 年向达写了《西洋番国志的发现》报告,刊登在新加坡《南洋学报》14 卷。1959 年经过向达校注由中华书局出版《西洋番国志》。现知《西洋番国志》有下列版本:彭氏《知圣道斋》抄本,今藏北京图书馆。丁氏《竹书堂》抄本,今藏南京图书馆。

¹¹ 柳存仁〈国际汉学研讨会开场演词: 马来西亚和汉学〉, 收录于《国际汉学研讨会论文集》, 吉隆坡: 马来亚大学中文系、马大中文系毕业生协会, 1994, 页 12-23。后收录于《中国文化》第 10 期(1994 年 8 月), 北京: 中国文化杂志社, 页 251-261。

由于我自己出生于当时新加坡与马来西亚还未分家的英国殖民地马来亚(Malaya),我常常以本地作为现代汉学(Sinology)的其中一个起点而感到骄傲。1824 英国从荷兰殖民者夺取马六甲的统治权。英国汉学大师理雅各(James Legge, 1815-1897))在1839 年被伦敦的传教会(London Missionary Society)派遣到马六甲(Malacca)的华人传教会工作,当时他才二十岁。一年后,理雅各出任马六甲的英华书院(Anglo-Chinese College)校长,而这书院在1825年由马礼逊(Robert Morrison,1782-1834)所创立。马礼逊与理雅各两人,都是到了马六甲,其汉学研究兴趣才开始,后来马礼逊成为英国汉学的最早的开拓大师,而理雅各成为英国牛津大学首任汉学教授。他的《四书》注释与英文翻译 The Chinese Classics 的巨大工作,也是在马六甲的英华书院大概 1839年开始进行的,1844年搬迁到到香港继续完成。12

马礼逊与理雅各在东西文化交通要道上的中西文化交流经验,使他们立志成为诠释中国文化的汉学家。理雅各跨国界的文化视野,就给中国的《四书》带来全新的诠释与世界性的意义。所以马六甲应该被肯定为现代汉学研究的一个极重要的起点。这种突破传统思考方式,去思考中国文化现象的多元性的汉学传统,是新加坡与马来西亚学者探讨研究中国文化的重要传统¹³。这个重要的发展,在过去中国与海外受华文教育的华人学者在其撰写的论述中往往缺席,有的是由于不会利用外文资料,或是故意忘记与忽略殖民者的贡献。在国际化与多元化的学术话语发展中,这跨文化的多元文化的汉学是人类重要的研究领域。





上图: 左,郑和登陆的今日马六甲河口与右图,当时停泊河口的舰艇模型。

¹² 王润华《越界跨国文学解读》,台北:万卷楼,2004,页293-312。

¹³ 王润华《越界跨国文学解读》,页 294-295。

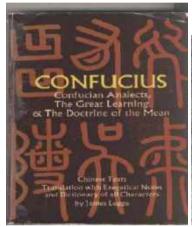
(一) 英华书院与西方汉学的建构

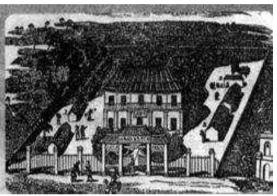






上图: 左起一二: 理雅各及其与中国翻译助手, 左三: 马礼逊。





上图: 左起理雅各在马六甲开始翻译的《四书》, 马六甲英华书院建筑群。

目前香港英华书院校史说该校历史悠久,创校于 1818 年¹⁴,那是指当年在马六甲成立的英华书院(1818 到 1843,Anglo-Chinese College),创立人是伦敦传道会(London Missionary Society)的马礼逊(Robert Morrison,1782-1834)¹⁵。马礼逊是一位非常有远见的人。1814 年东印度公司的势力已遍及马来半岛的马六甲、爪哇和槟城等华侨聚居地,由于马六甲当时为来往东西方的必经国际港口,又较靠近中国的大清国,而清国政府又严厉管制西方传教活动,所以他和米怜(William Milne,1785-1822)¹⁶最后决定以马六甲作为传教基地,等待中国打开大门。在等待的时候,他就计划做好中西交流的知识武装。1818 年马礼逊在马六甲就创办了英华书院,它当时就有今天的大学规模。选择了四大项目给学生修读:宗教教育、英语课程科学、人文知识。为了

Ying Wa College, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ying Wa College.

¹⁵ Robert Morrison (missionary), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Morrison_(missionary).

William Milne (missionary), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William Milne (missionary).

他们以后传教时与中国传统文人绅士接触,学生须学习儒家中国经书,不至于被传统中国读书人歧视。¹⁷

那时接受教育的青年有西方与东方人,英华书院办学的主要目的之一就是教欧人学习中国语言及中国文字,但同时也教华人学习英文。这是基督教传教士开办的第一所中文学校,在中文教育史上有重要意义。英华书院在中国近代教育史上的意义在于它不是一所纯粹的神学院,而是一所同时面向一般青年的教育机构。它实际上开创了中国近代教会开办的中小学与大学之先河,为以后教会中小学校及大学的发展提供了宝贵的经验与模式。从本课题研究的角度来说,它是基督新教东来以后西方人学习汉语的第一所学校,它不仅培养出了第一个华人传教士梁发¹⁸,同时也培养出了像摩尔(John Henry Moor,1800-1880)¹⁹、亨德(Willian Hunter,1755-1812)²⁰这样的西方近代汉学家,更是英国第一代的大汉学家成长的学术机构。除了英华学院以外,传教士还在南洋地区为一般老百姓开设了许多英文学校,对亚洲教育提供典范性的模式。

后来英华书院搬到香港,造就了很多中西文化人才。英华书院的规模虽不大,但理想却崇高,是以沟通东西文化及实现全人教育为目标。马礼逊、米怜都是对中国文化有相当了解与尊重的传教士,所以这所学校收华人学生,也收外国学生,学习的课程有中学,也有西学。它不是一所狭义的神学院,而是以成为东亚研究中心为目标。对于这种比较自由开放的文化、教育理念,马六甲英华书院从 1818 年创立,到 1843 年迁往香港,根植马六甲的时期为廿五年。前后七任校长,皆为伦敦会传教士,依序为米怜、宏富礼、高大卫、修德、汤雅各、伊云士及理雅各。其中多半也具有汉学家的资格,例如高大卫(David Collie)翻译四书;修德(Samuel Kidd ,1804-1843),中英著述不少,回英国后 1837 出任伦敦大学首位汉学教授(Professor of Chinese at University College, London)²¹;理雅各翻译四书五经、出任牛津大学汉学讲座,更是一位西方公认的汉学大师。²²

Brian Harrison. Waiting For China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1979; 吴国雄《马礼逊(1782-1834)的传教和文化事业》,新加坡国立大学中文系荣誉论文,1998。

Liang Fa, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liang Fa.

Amelia Teng. "Canadian PM Justin Trudeau a descendant of Raffles Institution's first headmaster". The Straits Times, https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/canadian-pm-justin-trudeau-a-descendant-of-raffles-institutions-first-headmaster.

²⁰ 他以印度学成就最大。参考 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William Wilson Hunter。

²¹ Samuel Kidd, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel Kidd.

²² 与马六甲英华学院的很多西方汉学家,参考上引顾长声《从马礼逊搭配司徒雷登》,上海:上海书店出版社,2005; Brian Harrison. Waiting For China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca.

(二)建立印刷出版文化: 西学东传有力的引擎

1815年,马礼逊带领助手传教士米怜(William Milne,1785-1822)、刻字工人梁发(1789-1855)等人从大清国来到华人聚居的英属殖民地马六甲。米怜牧师则被任命为英华的首任校长。1810年梁发在广州十三行学印刷期间,结识英国传教士马礼逊和米怜。1815年梁发随米怜到馬六甲,帮助他印刷出版中文刊物《察世俗每月统记传》。²³主持印刷出版,后来成为英华出版社(Anglo-Chinese Press),它有三个中、英、马来文印刷所组成,分别印刷中文、英文、和马来文书刊。他们出版的中文书刊包括新知识、天文、地理、历史科学。对中国文化产生极大的影响。

马礼逊当年创办英华书院的办学宗旨,出发点在于促进中西文化的交融。所以英华书院除教学设备外,最重要的就是印刷部门。马礼逊知道,印刷是能够突破中国对外封锁、强攻中国文化的利器,不断印刷、不断分发,西方基督教义及文化就能入侵亚洲,尤其中国,西方就能够拥有中华文化。印刷出版文化出也可促进中国现代化,是西学东传时有力的引擎。英华书院中有许多员工全力投入印刷工作,出版中文、英文、马来文的书刊。第一份中文报纸《察世俗每月统记传》,早在书院成立前的一八一五年就按月出刊了。马礼逊与米怜合作译成的新旧约全书中文版《神天圣书》,就因印刷所的设立,一边翻译,一边出版,效果快速。当然更是书院另一光荣的出版产品,就是《劝世良言》引发了太平天国的革命。24

中国与世界华文新闻刊物最早出现在马六甲。马礼逊更是先驱人物,他到马六甲不久,就创刊了全球首份中文近代刊物。到中国不久,马礼逊就感到工作难以开展,于是将传教基地转到马六甲,梁发原在广州十三洋行学印刷期间,结识英国传教士马礼逊和米怜。1815 年梁发随米怜到马六甲,帮助他们印刷出版中文刊物《察世俗每月统记传》,由米怜主编,于 1815 年 8 月 5 日创刊。《察世俗每月统记传》大概是英文 The Chinese Monthly Magazine 的音与意的变通合并而成。中文名称"察世俗"推测为 Chinese 的译名,"每月"即为 monthly 按月发行,"统计传"则为英文 magazine(杂志的广东话的音译。主要编辑者为米怜(为主笔)、马礼逊 与麦都思(Walter Henry Medhurst, 1796-1857)印刷工梁发也曾为刊物最后数期撰稿。它的特色是图文并茂除了圣经汉译及介绍基督教教义的文章外,《察世俗每月统记传》以浅显文字系统性介绍世界历史、民俗风情、天文等方面的知识。

《察世俗每月统记传》这本刊物被新闻史学界公认为全球最早的中文近代报刊,也是马来西亚第一个中文报刊。从此掀开西学东渐的中国近代报业发

²³ 梁发, https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E6%A2%81%E5%8F%91。

²⁴ Brian Harrison. Waiting For China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca.

展史帷幕。1821年,因为米怜病重,《察世俗每月统计传》停刊,历时7年,共出7卷。²⁵

(三) 从马六甲输出的中国革命典范

哈里逊(Brian Harrison)撰写的《等着中国开门: 马六甲的英华书院》 (Waiting For China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca), 这书的命名实在 很巧妙。这说明西方人善于利用中国境外安全的、交通便利的马六甲作为颠覆 中前潜伏基地。后来中国革命分子如孙中山也利用新马作为根据地,推翻清朝 政府。上面已说过,"太平天国"的革命思想与历史,也是马六甲对中国历史 进程的贡献,也就应该得到肯定。洪秀全革命思想的萌芽,与阅读梁发撰写, 马礼逊修改的宗教小册子《劝世良言》不无关系。梁发最重要的著作就是 1832 年所写的《劝世良言》。它基本上是九本小册子合订一起。其中一部分 是从圣经的旧约、新约的教训中选出来的。另外一部分讲述基督教的教义。梁 发是用很浅显的,一般人易懂的话把基督教的教义和一部分的圣经精选出来成 为《劝世良言》。这本书后来对洪秀全的太平天国有很大的影响。洪秀全初期 对基督教的接触来自《劝世良言》,就是日后太平天国开国者洪秀全的思想根 据。没想到这本书后来落入洪秀全手中,引发了十六年的太平天国的革命。来 自花县的秀才的洪秀全,就是在道光十六年(1836年)于广州贡院前得着该 本《劝世良言》,后来就受该书的影响而设"拜上帝会",建立了日后的太平 天国。中英南京条约签订后,梁发回到在香港、广州等地宣教。1843年,因 清政府追捕,梁发逃到新加坡、马六甲,5年后又潜回广州。26

从西方人利用马六甲梁发与太平天国革命的关系,也是以后华侨成为中国国内革命之母模式的原型。后来像孙中山推翻清朝的革命,也以马来西亚与新加坡为基地。

(四)中西文化交流的火车头: 汉学中的翻译学建构

马六甲的英华书院创立的另一个典范是翻译。他们认识到中西文化的交流,必须通过翻译,翻译人才的培养与翻译书籍的出版,而且是双向的。马礼逊自己在中国就开始翻译的,1819 年完成《旧约》中文翻译,在马六甲出版。1823 年,新旧约圣经合并在马六甲出版,名为《神天圣经》,成为中译史上重要里程碑。马礼逊所翻译的中文圣经是第一本中文圣经,在他之后还有麦都思翻译的中文圣经(1843 年),但马礼逊的翻译本因为时间最早和翻严谨,后来成为普遍使用的版本。

²⁵ 王慷鼎〈《从察世俗》到《东西洋考》: 马、印、新华文杂志发源研究〉,《新加坡华文报刊 史论集》,新加坡:新加坡新社,1987,页 9-20, www.fed.cuhk.edu.hk/history/doc2000/。

²⁶ 鲁白野《马来散记》,新编注释本,新加坡周星衢基金,2019,页338-345。

1823 年马礼逊出版了一部重要的汉英对照字典《华英字典》(1815-1823),这是他在马六甲时前后期所完成,印刷出版是在澳门。这是世界上第一本汉英与英汉词典。²⁷当时大部分的欧洲人都懂英文,因此懂英文的宣教士就可以根据这部字典来学习中文,或从事翻译工作。所以《华英字典》和传教的小册,是马礼逊的重要贡献。²⁸在这项奠基性的工作中他得到梁发和其他一两位中国助手的帮助。1816 年他把中国文化经典《三字经》、《大学》等翻译成英文。马礼逊完成了了中国历史上很多第一:第一部英汉字典——《华英字典》,第一个把《圣经》译成中文,以自己的医学知识在澳门开办了第一个中西医合作的诊所,他也被英国肯定为汉学、字典、翻译的开拓人,与英华文学的之父(a pioneering sinologist, lexicographer, translator and considered the "Father of Anglo-Chinese Literature")。

我在前面说过,理雅各在 1939 年底到达马六甲,马上出任华英书院校长。后来英华书院迁往香港, 理雅格随着迁居香港。理雅各从 1841 年开始着手翻译中国经典的一生巨大计划。他自己在《中国经典》(Chinese classics)的序言中说,1840 年初到马六甲开始阅读《论语》,不但学汉语,也开始翻译:

The author arrived in the East as a Missionary towards the end of 1839, and was stationed at Malacca for between three and four years… in the beginning of 1840 to commence the study of the first of the Works in the present publication. (1839年底本人已传教者身份来到东方,驻扎在马六甲三到四年。1840年我开始研究《中国经典》中的第一本《论语》。)

马礼逊把西学推展到东方,尤其中国,理雅各则一生将儒家经典传到西方。他一到英华书院的图书馆,即发现它是东西方的知识宝库:

In this respect he was favourably situated, the charge of the Anglo-Chinese College having devolved upon him, so that he had free access to all the treasures in its library. He had translations and dictionaries in abundance, and they facilitated his progress. (这样他很幸运被分派到这里,管理英华书院,他自由的阅读图书馆的宝贵藏书,他有很多翻译与词典,使到他进步神速。)

²⁷ 吴国雄《马礼逊(1782-1834)的传教和文化事业》,新加坡国立大学中文系荣誉学位毕业论文,1998,页43-58。

²⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A Dictionary of the Chinese Language.

²⁹ James Legge. "Preface iii". The Chinese Classics — Volume 1: Confucian Analects, New York: Dover Publications, 1971.

James Legge. "Preface iii". The Chinese Classics — Volume 1: Confucian Analects.

据说该馆除英国方面大量捐赠西方的书籍,该馆竟有 2850 卷中文手稿,还有马来文、泰文的手稿,以及许多文物。虽然他在出发前,已在伦敦读过几个月的中文,但到了马六甲,这个多元种族多元文化的人文环境激发了他世界性的视野,他认为要引起中国的注意而不做深入的了解是一个悲剧,于是开始研究中国文学与文化。对传教的西方人士,他认为更要认识中国人的文化与思想。结果理雅各超越教会与殖民主义的服务,成为国际性的一流学者。后来还与 Max Muller,完成翻译与出版共五十大册的 Sacred Books of the East(1879 and 1891)。1876-1897 年理雅各担任牛津大学第一任汉学教授。1897 年理雅各在牛津逝世。31他是第一个系统研究、翻译中国古代经典的人,从 1861 年到 1886 年的 25 年间,将《四书》、《五经》等中国主要典籍全部译出,共计28 卷。当他离开中国时,已是著作等身。理雅各的多卷本《中国经典》、《法显行传》、《中国的宗教:儒教、道教与基督教的对比》和《中国编年史》等著作在西方汉学界占有重要地位。32





上图:马礼逊编辑出版了世界上上第一部英汉字典与汉英字典:《华英字典》

以上传教士兼汉学家的著作 已开始受到学者注意与研究,但还没有广泛纳入汉学或东南亚研究之中,作系统的论述不上图: 近年世界各国学者努力整理曾在中国传教士的工作,为人文社会各领域研究提供重要参考资料。多。目前可参考的伟烈亚力(Alexander Wylie)著,倪文君翻译《1867 年以前来华基督教传教士列传及著作目录》33,顾长声的《从马礼逊到司徒雷登》,34在新马的大学,已成为学术研究的重要领域,如王润华编的《新马汉学研究》35

David Hawkes. "Classical, Modern and Humane". *Essays in Chinese Literature*, eds John Minford and Siu-kit Wong, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1989, pp.4–6.

³² James Legge, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James Legge.

³³ 伟烈亚力(Alexander Wylie),倪文君翻译《1867 年以前来华基督教传教士列传及著作目录》,桂林:广西师范大学出版社,2011。

³⁴ 顾长声《从马礼逊到司徒雷登》,上海:上海书店,2005。

³⁵ 王润华、杨松年主编《新马汉学研究》,新加坡国立大学中文系出版,2001。

所提供的研究论著资料,显示已持开拓研究这领域。像吴国雄《马礼逊(1782-1834)的传教和文化事业》就是一个小例子。³⁶还有邱继來的论文〈基督新教传教士與马华文学:论〈古今圣史纪〉與与〈张远两友相论〉³⁷更显示与本地华文文学的初期发展也会有关连。这个领域,希望能持续扩大。在英国各大图书館,都有保存他们的著作资料,尤其华文学者群,应该加以使用,加强我们华语学界对的东南亚西方学者的汉学的话语权。



上图:近年世界各国学者努力整理曾在中国的西方传教士生平事迹,为研究人文社会 各领域问题的重要资料。

(五) 建立华人在地化与文化创新的新典范

过去我们看郑和下西洋、华人移民、英华书院、马礼逊、中西文化交流、《察世俗每月统记传》、《劝世良言》都是从中国为中心论述出发,或是西方殖民的东方主义思考,换一个角度,从本土的文化论述来看,我们惊见马六甲,华人最早移民点,竟成为中西文化交流的一个缩影,给以后中华文化在地化、华人政治认同、中西文化的交流与创新,带来许多模范性的典范。

中国 21 世纪和平崛起与发展的三大趋势已被界定为物质文明、政治文明、精神文明的发展,即谋求中国自己的发展,继续积极参与经济全球化以及

³⁶ 吴国雄《马礼逊(1782-1834)的传教和文化事业》,新加坡国立大学二中文系荣誉毕业论文, 1998

³⁷ 邱继來〈基督新教传教士與马华文学: 论〈古今圣史纪〉与〈张远兩友相论〉〉,张锦忠,熊婷惠《异代新声: 马华文学与文化研究集稿》,高雄市: 国立中山大学學人文研究中心/文学,2019,页9-22。

实现中华文明在全球上的复兴。³⁸中国的和平发展的第三大趋势将是中华文明在同世文明相互再交汇,马六甲的中华文化初遇世界文化的经验,更值得我们参考。

马礼逊与理雅各在海上丝绸之路的东西文化交通要道上的中西文化交流经验,使他们立志成为诠释中国文化的汉学家。理雅各跨国界的文化视野,就给中国的《四书》带来全新的诠释与世界性的意义。所以以马六甲为中心的海上丝路应该被肯定为现代汉学研究的一个极重要的起点。这种突破传统思考方式,去思考中国与东南亚文化现象的多元性的汉学传统,是新加坡与马来西亚学者探讨研究中国文化的重要传统。但是我们不要忘记,19世纪协助基督教传教士在马六甲研究中华文化、教授华语文、翻译《四书》、《五经》,有很多中国移民曾参与研究与传播,只是殖民者都把成就归属西方人,而故意遗忘华人的贡献,目前我们已知道梁发对马礼逊与米怜的文献编辑与出版,有重大贡献。马六甲的英华书院也培养了很多汉学家。

今天我们所称呼的南洋研究、东南亚研究、汉学的发展史的完整性、多元性尚待更多考证与挖掘资料。最近几十更多资料已出逐渐出土。其实随着15世纪初年明朝郑和下西洋,很多南下中国学者已开始研究。马欢写了《瀛涯胜 览》(1416)、费信著述《星艖胜览》(1436),到了清代如书写马来亚的谢清高口述,杨炳南笔记《海录》、李钟珏(1853-1927)《新加坡风土记》、马建中《南行记》(1881)等写南洋地理文化,都算是最早的南洋研究。在新马,早在 1877年,欧洲人就成立亚洲学会之分会,每年出版学报,许云樵的《丹丹考》英文论文发表在此学刊,白德尔爵士(Sir Roland Braddell)的长文〈马来亚古史研究〉(1935-41)与〈古代马来亚考〉(1947-51)曾连载于此刊。战前 1940年创立的以华语文为主的南洋学会与 1949年创立的以英文为主的中国学会的学刊。前者以英文学者为主,后者多是中国南来的文化人如郁达夫、许云樵、陈育崧、韩槐准、郑子瑜等人参与。39

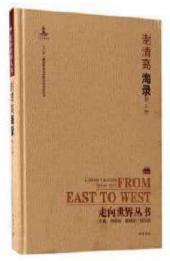
因此我们需要整合东西方学者的多语文的南洋研究、东南亚研究、汉学研究等不同名称的学术研究,重写海上丝路上的多元文化的的建构。

³⁸ 见新加坡《联合早报》200511月4日: 〈前中央党校副校长郑必坚:中共奉行内外"三和"政策〉。

³⁹ 参考李志贤《南洋研究:回顾现状、与展望》,新加坡:八方文化与南洋学会,2012;程光裕〈新加坡与马来亚的汉学研究〉,《世界各国汉学研究论文集》,台北:国防研究院与中华大典编委会,1967,页71-108。

四、二十世纪前海上丝路汉学: 从东南亚到欧洲落地研究

今天我们所称呼的南洋研究、东南亚研究、汉学的发展史的完整性与多元性尚待更多考证与挖掘资料,以多元的视角深入分析评论。最近几十更多资料已逐渐出土,以上所述,其实随着 15 世纪初年明朝郑和下西洋,很多南下中国学者已开始研究。上述谈过马欢写了《瀛涯胜览》(1416)、费信著述《星艖胜览》(1436),到了清代如书写东南亚的谢清高口述,杨炳南笔记《海录》、李钟珏(1853-1927)的《新加坡风土记》等写南洋地理文化,都是一流的,更多突破性的南洋研究。





上图:清代谢清高口述,杨炳南笔记《海录》、李钟珏《新加坡风土记》、等写南洋 地理文化,更多突破性的的南洋研究。

18 世纪末,来自广东梅县的谢清高随商船出洋,但却不幸遭遇海难。如同鲁滨逊,40他被一艘葡萄牙船只搭救而起,并留在船上成为水手。因此有机会走遍世界各地,学习各地的语言文化和风土人情。最后,原来没有受过教育的他,以口授的方式整合出近代第一本亲身经验的世界文明报告著作《海录》。41他对西洋各国的认知大致准确,面对世界时不卑不亢的态度,似乎与今人有着几分相似。背后也有着华夷观念与世界的冲突,甚至还有他对于母国未来命运的忧思。他的《海录》是中国学者第一次将西方文明的信息传播到中国,提出了一些独到见解。对中西文化交流史的研究有较为重要的参考价值。谢清高口述的世界,大致分为南亚、东南亚和过了好望角后的大西洋两岸。这

⁴⁰ Daniel Defoe. Robinson Crusoe. London: Penguin Books, 2003.

⁴¹ 谢清高,https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E8%B0%A2%E6%B8%85%E9%AB%98/1835831。

一认识非常颠覆传统,没有保守的中央之邦观念,对当时的清人来说非常罕见。

由于谢清高是被葡萄牙商船搭救,所以对于被称为"大西洋国"的葡萄牙描述最详细,其他列国的描述都是以葡萄牙为基础展开。这说明他能观察到当时欧洲各国差异中的共性,从整体上把握和中原文明体系截然不同的异域文化。例如从国王到平民都是一夫一妻制。西方如葡萄牙,建立了议会制度、银行、军校、图书馆等公共设施。这一细节证明了谢清高密切了解文化生态,比当时大多数中国人的眼界开阔。

从李钟珏(1853-1927 年)这个世代的著作如他的《新加坡风土记》⁴²,很多具有当地长期生活经验为基础验的撰述,更有深度。李钟珏为清朝政府外交官员,曾任中国驻新加坡领事。光绪十三年(1887 年),李钟珏赴新加坡任职与游历两个月,后根据自己的观感写成《新加坡风土记》。从游记式的漫谈过渡到专题记述新加坡风土人情的中文著作。后由其谱弟江建霞收入《鹣阁丛书》中出版,商务印书馆据以排印,收入《丛书集成》初编。新加坡史学家许云樵曾把木刻本复制,稍加注释,附上一序,由新加坡南洋书局出版。该书不分卷,主要记述新加坡地理、物产、风俗习惯、人口等,兼亦述及英国在新加坡的统治、军队、机构等。对新加坡华侨社会及英国殖民政府剥削和压迫华侨的情况,尤其对苦力贸易(或"猪仔贸易")和"猪花"(被拐卖到南洋各地的中国妇女)以及英国殖民者诱惑华侨吸毒(鸦片)、赌博等,记述颇详。为研究英国统治新加坡时期与华侨历史的珍贵资料。⁴³

同样的,我们也要建构这个时期欧洲学者的东南亚研究与成就。这方面在一些资料书籍如《世界各国汉学研究论文集》第一与第二集,44王赓武的〈海外华人研究的未来〉,45《新马汉学研究》46已有记载,但我们需要更深入,更有系统的分析与论述。

五、多视角、世界语言论述的南洋研究

就在 1940 年前后,汉学在东南亚开始走向国际化,中英文的论述、中国的南洋研究、东南亚本土、西方学者的研究兴起。1940 年以华语文为主的南洋学会(The South Seas Society)与 1949 年以英文为主的中国学会(China

⁴² 李钟珏《新加坡风土记》,新加坡:南洋书局,1947。

⁴³ 李钟珏《新加坡风土记》,页 13-18。

⁴⁴ 台湾中华大典编印会编辑,《世界各国汉学研究论文集》第一与第二集,台北:中国文化学院 出版,1967。

Wang Gengwu. "The Future of Overseas Chinese Studies". *Don't Leave Home: Migration and the Chinese*, Times Academic Press, 2001, pp.277–295.

⁴⁶ 王润华、杨松年主编《新马汉学研究》。

Society)及其学刊创立。前者多是中国南来的文化人如郁达夫、许云樵、陈育崧、韩槐准、郑子瑜等也有土生华人加入,借助中国古籍进行南洋课题研究⁴⁷。后者为西方人士与本土受英文教育学者。所以我们需要整合东西方学者的南洋研究、东南亚研究、汉学研究等不同名称的学术研究,重写海上丝路上的多元文化的汉学建构。

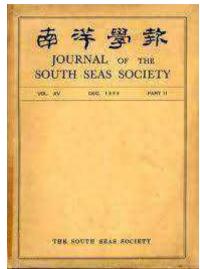
新马的南洋研究开始主要以东南亚与中国的关系为焦点,而又以华人为主要研究课题。许云樵(1905-1981)说"南洋研究在东方人看来是一门特殊学问,但在西方人的眼中,只是汉学家的研究范围之内的一个部门"。48在新马独立前后南洋学会无论在《南洋学报》及其出版的书籍来看,多数学者,确实从中国文化出发来研究东南亚,如 1940 年该会成立与出版《南洋学报》的发刊词所言: "负有沟通中国与南洋文化,发扬优良的中华文化"。早期在《南洋学报》发表的论文,如关楚璞的〈南洋华侨与中国法律〉、韩槐准(1892-1970)〈天后圣母与华侨南进〉、许云樵〈三宝太监下西洋考〉、〈郑昭入贡清廷考〉等。49但是需要注意,从初期开始,《南洋学报》就有不少西方学者的英文文章发表,或是翻译西方学者的文章,这是很有眼光的视野。2010 年 12 月,南洋学会成立 70 周年,该会举办研讨会并出版了《南洋研究:回顾、现状与展望》,总结了七十研究领域与方法。要了解马新汉学或南洋研究的发展,这本文集值得参考。50

⁴⁷ 许云樵《星马之南洋研究与华学关系》,收录于《中马中星文化论集》,台北:中华大典编印 会,1968,页1。

⁴⁸ 许云樵〈五十年来的南洋研究〉,见高信,张希哲主编《华侨史论集》,台北:正中书局, 1080

^{49 《}南洋学报所出版的每一期》及该社所有出版书籍,参考改该社网站: https://www.southseassociety.sg/。

⁵⁰ 李志贤主编《南洋研究:回顾、现状与展望》,新加坡:八方文化,2012。





上图: 新马最早创办的学报。

新马的英文学者群 1949 年创立的新加坡中国学会(The China Society of Singapore),其成员主要为新加坡本土受英文教育的文化和学术知识分子及欧美人士。重要发起人有:李绍茂(Lee Siow Mong)、王梅痴、郑惠明、张杰生、吴佛吉、叶平玉、王盛治等。第一任会长为林文庆(Lim Boon Keng,1869-1957),出版年刊《新加坡中国学会年刊》(The Annual of China Society),主要发表英文论文,这与西方汉学相似,因为其宗旨是:"其旨是收集有关中国的文化之资料,藉以互相参考,共同研究,沟通中西文化。"51 而之前以华人与华文为主的南洋学会及其《南洋学报》,成立初年宗旨是沟通中国与南洋文化,这是两者最大不同点。《新加坡中国学会年刊》出版于1949 年至今,涵盖面很广,内容包括文学、历史、社会、哲学、习俗、宗教文化等。在协助非华文源流人士了解中华文化与本地华人社会和事物方面,发挥了一定作用。该刊当时以华文论述的以韩槐准、连士升、逍遥天、郑子瑜等人为最多,英文论述常出现的有林文庆、李绍茂),E.C.S. Atkin,Cheng Hui Ming(郑惠明),Jou Bien Ming(周辨明),Alan Elliott,Kenneth Robinson,Tan Ee Leong等。52

其实更早在 1877 年欧洲学者在新加坡已成立皇家亚洲学会之分会(Royal Asiatic Society)。⁵³另外很多欧洲学者如白德尔爵士(Sir Roland Braddell,

⁵¹ 参考中国学会官方网站: https://chinasocietysingapore.org/。

⁵² The China Society, Singapore, https://chinasocietysingapore.org/.

⁵³ The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1877),参考 https://royalasiaticsociety.org/about-us/。

1880-1966),参与编辑《新加坡百年史》⁵⁴,《新加坡之光》⁵⁵等书。惠德里博士(Dr. Paul Wheatley,1921-1999)著有《马来半岛地理文化历史研究》。⁵⁶他们也经常在新马的如马来亚大学的《热带地理学报》与《马来亚历史学报》等英文刊物上发表论述。很多殖民地官员,如白思尔(Victor Purcell,1896-1965)撰写《马来亚华人》(The Chinese in Malaya)⁵⁷,《东南亚之华人》(The Chinese in Southeast Asia),⁵⁸从殖民地政府的观点分析华人社群,也有深度。我们也不能忽视。⁵⁹

这些早期西方学者的著述都构成新马独立前的世界重要汉学研究资料。 今天学者做研究,必须具有多元文化与多元语文的能力与视野,必须跨学界了解所有学者群的学术成就。⁶⁰



上图: 新马目前研究东南亚各知识领域的刊物。

Walter Makepeace, Gilbert E. Brooke, Roland St. J. Braddell. One Hundred Years of Singapore. London: J. Murray, 1921.

⁵⁵ Roland Braddell. *The Lights of Singapore*. London: Methuen, 1947.

Paul Wheatley. The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961.

⁵⁷ Victor Purcell. *The Chinese in Malaya*. London: Oxford University Press,1948.

⁵⁸ Victor Purcell. *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*. London: Oxford University Press, 1st edition 1951, 2nd edition 1965. Chinese translation: 郭湘章译《东南亚之华侨》,台北: 国立编译馆,1967。

⁵⁹ 简单的叙述参考:程光裕〈新加坡与马来西亚的汉学研究〉,中华大典编印会裕国防研究院编辑《世界各国汉学研究论文集》,第二集台北:文化学院出版,1966,页81-83。

⁶⁰ 程光裕〈新加坡与马来西亚的汉学研究〉,中华大典编印会裕国防研究院编辑《世界各国汉学研究论文集》,页 71-108。



上图: 新马目前研究东南亚各知识领域的刊物。

新马独立以后,尤其进入 1970 年代以后,两地新成立的学术团队及其学术期刊很多,如成立于 1982 年的新加坡亚洲研究学会,出版《亚洲文化》学报,刊载中英文论文,致力于对文化历史研究与普及的学术与知识。⁶¹成立于 1984 年的马来西亚华社研究中心出版《马来西亚华人研究学刊》,刊登马来西亚华人社会的相关的研究论文,范围涵盖文化、历史、社会、经济、政治和族群关系各领域,包括华人与马来西亚其他族群或海外华人的研究。⁶²《华人研究国际学报》创刊于 2009 年,由南洋理工大学中华语言文化中心、英国曼彻斯特大学中国研究中心、中国社科院海外华人研究中心联合编辑。⁶³新加坡华裔馆在 2005 年创刊《海外华人学报》是一本致力于促进海外华人研究的国际跨学科学术期刊,只发表英文撰写的论文。出版内容包括研究论文、实证研究、理论研究,以及书评,主要涉及世界各地海外华人及其社区的相关议题,在多元环境下通过多种形式探讨"华人性",为离散华人研究、跨国研究,以及在特定国家背景下对华裔及其社区的研究做出贡献。⁶⁴南方大学 2005 年创刊的《南方大学学报》专门发表与东南亚各领域相关的人文与社会研究课题。⁶⁵

以上及其他大学与研究机构,尤其英文期刊还有很多,他们呈现极其重要的新研究趋势,一方面是世界汉学研究其中一个中心,值得重视,又是建构本土(马新)与区域研究的新典范。这些大约 1970 年代开始陆续强势出现的学者群,多数毕业于欧美著名大学,受过严格的学术研究训练、掌握多种语言与知识能力,善用学科的分析技术、能以本土、国际、档案资料建构论述。以

⁶¹ 新加坡亚洲研究学会,https://sgsocietyofasianstudies.wordpress.com/。

⁶² 学刊-华社研究中心,http://www.malaysian-chinese.net/publication/booksmag/journal/。

⁶³ 华人研究国际学报,https://www.worldscientific.com/worldscinet/ijdcs。

^{64 《}海外华人学报》第十六卷第二期出版,https://chinoisenidf.hypotheses.org/5263。

⁶⁵ 南方大学学院-南方大学学报,https://www.southern.edu.my/research/SUCAJ/。

目前在各大学机构为例,先后曾任教职于新加坡各大学的王赓武、崔贵强、吴振强、廖建裕、王润华、梁元生、黄贤强、李智贤、刘宏,马来亚各大与学术机构的陈志明、郑良树、林开忠、苏庆华、林水豪、安焕然等在各研究领域都有成果。⁶⁶新一代的学者群多数走向更专业的领域,譬如东南亚的华文文学研究学者群,多数在新马各大学任职,随意举目前比较活跃的有许文荣、王润华、许通元、黄琦旺、潘碧华、孙彦庄、林春美,庄华兴、张松建、陈志锐、张森林、李树枝、廖冰凌等等,又开拓了许多新领域新课题。

新马新一代汉学或称海外华人研究的学者,其中最有国际性代表的是王 赓武,他建构世界典范性的、影响深远广泛的,他自称的海外华人华侨为 Overseas Chinese Studies。他有独到的学术视野与方法。他说他自己的视野与 方法特点是: ⁶⁷

既不是纯粹从中国,也不是纯粹从南洋出发,这是我的特点,我不是完全接受东南亚的观点,又不是完全接受中国的观点,因此我觉得自己比较客观,我对两边都有感情,但都不让其中一方超过另一方。

他又说学术方法上,从不全盘的套用西方研究的理论与方法:

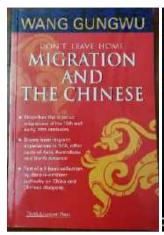
至于学术方法而言,我从未试图系统地采用莫里斯·弗雷得曼和比尔,史金纳的做法,即将研究海外华人所得的观点用于解释中国社会本身。我既没有将华人同化的许多历史和当代模式,也不同意只是考察华人回应东南亚民族主义的新方式研究。取而代之,我的研究总是在两个充满希望和含意模糊的立场之间运动,一个是中国的希望,中国希望最终将所有海外华人视为侨居者,是中国人大家庭的成员,他们的忠诚和爱国主义在切实需要时是可以指望的。另一个是华人移民和定居者的希望,他们希望他们的子女头种程度上在文化上依然是华人,而且至少确保几代的血统。

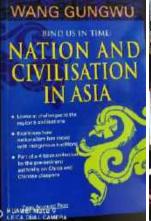
近年新加坡时报学术出版社(Times Academic Press)出版的一套四册以英文撰写的海外华人研究论文集是王赓武的代表作,亦是海华华人研究的经典著作:

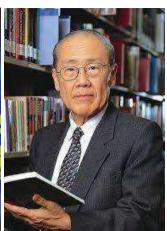
- 1. Don't Leave Home: Migration and the Chinese.
- 2. Chinese Relation with the Malay World.
- 3. Chinese Dilemmas in reconciling its past with its present and future.
- 4. Chinese Civilisation and nationalism in the Asia Pacific.

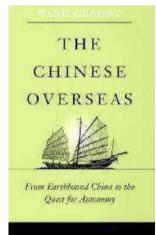
⁶⁶ 这些学者的著作目录,参考王润华、杨松年编《新马汉学研究》。

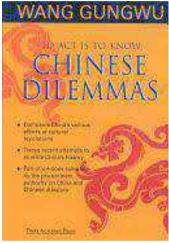
⁶⁷ 刘宏主编《王赓武访谈与言论集》,新加坡:八方文化,2000,页9-13。













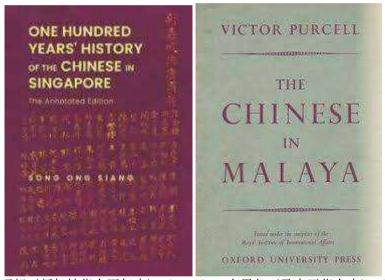
上图: 王赓武研究华人华侨的著作图像及其照片

大师级的学者之外,近二十年来年轻的学者纷纷崛起,逐渐走向专业性很强的,研究深入细致的专题研究开始出现,结合中国传统考据与西方汉学治学方法与精神的著作很多,如新加坡学者许振义《布衣南渡:中国民间文艺在新加坡的传播与变迁》便是一个小例子。⁶⁸

除了本土生长的新马新崛起的华文学者,也要了解不少本土长大,欧美受教育的只会英文的学者如宋旺相(Song Ong Siang, 1871-1941)与新加坡中国学会那群学者。此外还有来自欧美的学者在本地作田野调查,也建立新的研究华人典范。这些学术成果,也应该重视,纳入我们的学术版图。1950年前后如英国学者白思尔(Victor Purcell)著作很多。其中《马来亚华人》

⁶⁸ 许振义《布衣南渡:中国民间文艺在新加坡的传播与变迁》,南京:南京大学出版社,2018。

(The Chinese in Malaya) ⁶⁹,与 The Chinese in Southeast Asia) ⁷⁰影响力巨大,这一群学者的论述带有殖民主义的优越感与偏见,他们采用原住民与各新移民的比较手法论述,目的是协助殖民政府了解如何管控统治华人及其他移民族群,无形中也对各地区华人的经济、文化与社会力量,从殖民者的利益来观察,诠释与分析都带有偏见。后来英国伦敦经济学院来本地区实地调查裴德曼(Maurice Freedman)他的《新加坡与华人社会》(Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore),研究华人家族的的企业与婚姻结盟关系⁷¹,美国康奈尔大学的施坚雅(William Skinner,1925-2008) ⁷²,提出地形宏观区域分析模式及理论研究,在泰国、印尼的华人社群,与中国南方的社会与经济研究极具权威性。他们的研究模式在国际学术界产生重大影响,但反而在新马华人学群中影响不大。



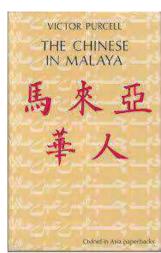
上图:宋旺相〈新加坡华人百年史〉(1922),白思尔〈马来亚华人史〉(1948)图像

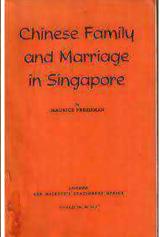
⁵⁹ Victor Purcel. *The Chinese in Malaya* (马来西亚华人). London: Oxford University Press, 1948; Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1950.

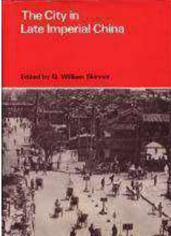
Victor Purcell. *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*. London: Oxford University Press, 1951, 1965.

Maurice Freedman. Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957.

George William Skinner. The City in Late Imperial China. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977; The Chinese City Between Two Worlds. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974.







上图: 白思尔〈马来亚华人史〉华文译本,英国裴德曼(Maurice Freedman)新加坡 华人社群研究专着图像。

西方学者的南洋研究,特别对东南亚华人,及华人在本土与中国的文化关联,都是宝贵的学术与历史文化遗产,其方法多元而创新,虽然有些具有西方与殖民主义的偏见。以上谈到的汉学,包括中英文及其他外文的对东南亚与华人华侨的研究,有三大类型不同。第一,在殖民时代,尤其受殖民教育思想、东方主义思想影响的学者,无论是西方或本土学者,他们的研究主要重点是为殖民者如何统治与管控华人族群而写。白思尔的华人在东南亚的研究就是典型例子。第二,早期华文撰写的南洋研究学者群如南洋学会,主旨是沟通中国与南洋文化,也发扬中国传统文化。第三,英文学者群如中国学会是研究与发扬中华文化,沟通中西文化。

从学术思考与方法,需要区分他们的不同。早期华人的南洋研究,多以华文撰写,从中国出发,重视中国地理历史、文化与南洋各地区的关系,从中国解读东南亚华人。马新独立后,改变从本土观点解读问题,但也有兼顾的。另一群受西方训练的学者,他们分析的视野与方法比较现代化,科学化,如裴德曼以考古华族文化习俗分析华族社群的生活模式,施坚雅采用科学的地形空间宏观区域理论,划分与分析中国城市、经济,因地形而形成不同的板块,这种分析模式及理论方法,称为 physiographic macro-regions of China。

二十世纪后期以来,无论本地学者或西方学学者,英文或华文著作,在 研究方法上基本上都很科学化、国际化,研究的课题也追随新学术思潮,逐渐 相似化。目前最大变化是学者都有多种语言的能力,能越界跨国使用资料、方 法跨学科、视野国际化。期待各个学群互相交流,百花齐放。突破以前不同语言学群的隔离。⁷³

六、结论:不断改名定位、整合重组、越界转型本土化国际 化的东南亚汉学研究

东南亚以新马为中心的汉学定义很广:结合早期中国与东南亚的南洋研究、西方汉学、与后来各现代学术的学科如社会学、政治学、人类考古、版本学,还有跨学科的二十世纪的兴起的殖民主义、后殖民主义、族群研究、女性主义等等。我曾经以〈不断改名定位、整合重组、越界转型、本土化国际化的中文系〉为题,讨论全球的中文系的过去与现在,⁷⁴现在我觉得这个题目,也适合用在东南亚研究华人华侨与文化的过去与现在。以下的几种重要的新马汉学或南洋研究的参考资料专书,值得参考:

- 1) 陈光裕的〈新加坡与马来亚的汉学研究〉(《世界各国汉学研究论文集》⁷⁵。
- 2) 许云樵〈五十年来的南洋研究〉⁷⁶,高信,张希哲主编《华侨 史论集》。
- 3) 王润华,杨松年主编,《新马汉学研究》。77
- 4) 李志贤编的《南洋研究:回顾、现状与展望》。78

⁷³ 参考 Wang Gungwu. "The Future of Overseas Chinese Studies". *Don't Leave Home: Migration and the Chinese Singapore*, Times Academic Press, 2001, pp. 277-295; 廖建裕〈从南洋研究到东南亚研究〉,李志贤主编《南洋研究:回顾、现状与展望》,页 93-102。

⁷⁴ 王润华主编〈不断改名定位、整合重组、越界转型、本土化国际化的中文系〉,《全球化时代的中文系》,台北:文史哲出版社,2006,页11-26。

⁷⁵ 陈光裕〈新加坡与马来亚的汉学研究〉,《世界各国汉学研究论文集》,台北: 国防研究院与中华大典编印会出版,1967 第二集,页 71-108。

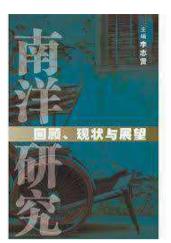
⁷⁶ 许云樵〈五十年来的南洋研究〉,见高信,张希哲主编《华侨史论集》。

⁷⁷ 王润华,杨松年主编《新马汉学研究》。

⁷⁸ 李志贤编《南洋研究:回顾、现状与展望》。









上图: 陈光裕、许云樵、李志贤、王润华编著新马华人研究资料图像

以新马或东南亚为中文论述华人华侨的研究,从中国出发,到本土观点到全球视野的研究,从单语(中文)到英文与其他语文的论述,众声喧哗,建构成不可忽视的世界汉学。但是过去我们很严重的忽略海上丝路的中文书写与英文论述的汉学发展与成果,特别十五世纪郑和下西洋舰队上的学者的拓荒之著述、二十世纪之前旧中国与殖民主义西方学者的成就,甚至今天英文学者的著述。

新马汉学发展史的完整性与准确性尚待更多考证、挖掘与整合。比如林文庆在近二十年新加坡国家图书馆建构的资料库,使我们更全面了解他 1914 出版的中文专书《孔教大纲》 (Principles of Confucianism),英文专书有

《中国内战危机》(The Chinese Crisis from Within,⁷⁹《从儒家立场看世界大战》(The Great War from the Confucian Point of View,1917),及很多以英文论述儒家思想与中国政治的学术论文⁸⁰,甚至 1929 年上海商务印书馆出版的英文翻译《离骚》⁸¹。泰戈尔(Rabindranath Tagore,1861-1941)、英国汉学家克福德(Hugh Clifford,1866-1941)、英国剑桥大学汉学家吉尔斯(Herbert Giles,1845-1935)各写一篇序言或前言。可见那时林文庆已被世界汉学界重视。吉尔斯在序文中甚至说林文庆的英文翻译《离骚》是当时英国汉学界(马来亚当时是英国殖民地)最完美的翻译:"最后我要说的是:近来人们感叹大英帝国已经失去了她在汉学的领导地位,今得豪威泰莱 G.H. Howitt Taylor 的《三国演义》,及林文庆博士《离骚》这两部英译佳作,使我相信大英帝国从此可高枕无忧。"后者目前收藏在新加坡国家图书馆。⁸²新加坡国家图书馆有相当完整的林文庆藏书,如下:⁸³

中文著作有:

1911: 《普通卫生讲义》 (Putong weisheng jiangyi; "Elements of Popular Hygiene")

1914: 《孔教大纲》 (Kong jiao dagang; "Principles of Confucianism")

英文著作有:

1901: *The Chinese Crisis from Within* (published under the pseudonym "Wen Ching")

1917: The Great War from the Confucian Point of View, and Kindred Topics, being Lectures Delivered During 1914-1917

1927: Tragedies of Eastern Life: An Introduction to the Problems of Social Psychology

1929: The Li Sao: An Elegy on Encountering Sorrows

⁷⁹ Wen Ching, edited by Rev. G. M. Reith. The Chinese crisis from within. London: Grant Richards, 1901

Lim Boon Keng, https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP 855 2004-12-27.html.

⁸¹ Lim Boon Keng. *The Li Sao: An Elegy on Encountering Sorrows*. Shanghai Commercial Press, 1929. (上海商务艺术馆,1929). With an introductory note by Hugh Clifford and prefaces by H.A. Giles and R. Tagore.

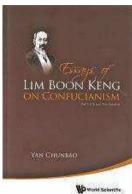
⁸² 此书目前收藏在新加坡国家图书馆。

⁽https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_855_2004-12-27.html)。 又参考新加坡国立 大学收藏本: *The Li Sao: An Elegy on Encountering Sorrows* / by Chu Yuan; translated into English verse with introduction, notes, commentaries, and vocabulary by Lim Boon Keng; with an introductory note by Sir Hugh Clifford; and prefaces by H.A. Giles, Rabindranath Tagore, Chen Huan-Chang. Reprinted in Taipei: [s.n.], 1972.

Lim Boon Keng, https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP 855 2004-12-27.html.







上图:林文庆的著作,《离骚》与儒家论文集图像

过去多数的华文的南洋研究或是汉学学者,严重视而不见英文论述。在多元化的时代,我们开始注意到英文学界,从很早就开始出现很多了不起的学者,除了林文庆、辜鸿铭(Ku Hung Ming,1857-1928)⁸⁴、伍连德(Wu Lien The,1879-1960)⁸⁵、宋旺相(Song Ong Seong, 1871-1941)及很多欧美学者,我们不能因为他们不能使用中文资料,不心向中华文化而把他们排除在外。希望以后学术界重新整理这些被遗忘的汉学遗产。⁸⁶如宋旺相;他的英文著作《新加坡华人一百年史》(One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore)出版于 1923 年,是极重要的一部早期华人史料。⁸⁷

马新的汉学发展史料,不少还有待搜集,很多资料还未发掘与整理。学术研究如海纳百川,如王安石说: "巨川非一源,源亦在中流"。⁸⁸河流永远多源头,多支流,永不终断。无法分何时开始,更难设阶段之分。"新史主义"(New Historicism)告诉我们,历史发展从来就不是沿着一条直线前进的,而是存在着不断的变化与众多的拐点。期间,有些事件对历史改变进程路线,学术史的发展也是如此。新历史主义指出,历史充满断层,何况历史由论述构成。以福柯(Michel Foucault,1926-1984)的概念,我们应透过各种论述去还原历史,而该种论述,是根据当时的时间、地点、观念建构的。⁸⁹

我们读史料,即使像莱佛士(Stamford Raffles,1781-1826)的传记,莱佛士不但是一位精明能干的英国殖民主义的侵略者、政府的行政人员、也是一位热心的研究东南亚的自然学家。他的马来助理及马来文老师阿都拉(Munsyi

116

⁸⁴ Gu Hongming, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gu_Hongming.

⁸⁵ Wu Lien-teh, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wu Lien-teh.

⁸⁶ 请查阅新加坡国家图书馆与新加坡大学图书馆藏书藏书。简要论述参考陈光裕的〈新加坡与马来亚的汉学研究〉,《世界各国汉学研究论文集》,页71-108。

⁸⁷ Song Ong Siang. One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore. Singapore: World Scientific Publications, 2020, first published in 1923 by Murray in London.

⁸⁸ 王润华编〈华亭十咏只八〉,《上海太阳诗选》,台北: 文史哲出版社,2010,页 19。

⁸⁹ 王岳川《后殖民主义与新历史主义论》,济南:山东教育出版社,1999。

Abdulah, 1796-1854)在马来文学作品《阿都拉传》里对莱佛士有一段这样的描写: "他准备了一本大簿子,纸张都是厚厚的。那是用来收集各种叶子和花朵,有些东西无法收在当中,他就请一个很会描绘各种花鸟果木的广东人,生动地将它描绘下来,并附上详细的说明。"90这也是东南亚研究论述一种的开始,只是华文学者以自己的南洋研究为中心话语,西方变成边缘的话语,因此故意被忘却。所以新历史主义了解历史是由权力话语构成的政治权力、意识形态、甚至文化霸权,常常是历史的形成。所以历史需要不断改写修正。存在着不断的变化与众多的拐点。

以前我们以为马华文学史的源头一定是在华人办的华文副刊上,现在新出土的档案资料,发现最早的的华文报刊是在马六甲的英国传教士办的《察世俗每月统记传》,英国传道士米怜 1815 年抵达马六甲后,他与华人学者、作家,每月发表各种体裁的很白话的文章。我们几乎可以说,五四文学不是唯一启发东南亚新文学的源头。像这些新出土的资料,加上 21 世纪多元文化的思维,我们应该海纳百川,重写新马文学史,虽然 1917 年中国新文学运动影响的文学最为重大。重写更完整与多元的文学史,2021 年在拉曼大学与美国哈佛大学联办的〈马华文学研究华语语系国际学术研讨会国际研讨会〉,我发表了论文〈反思与重构:新马华文文学的多元复杂系统〉提到这点。91〈马华文学研究华语语系国际学术研讨会〉。马新汉学的起点,在多元文化与全球化的时代,我们可考虑把它要推前到郑和登陆马六甲之后的英国传教有点关系,写上一笔没有政治不正确之嫌。其实我们前辈学者,郑子瑜早在 1960 年在〈马华文学的历史应该远溯过去〉已说过类似的话:92

马华文学的历史,该从何时起始呢?答案是 14 世纪初年,明成祖时郑和下西洋之后,马欢的《瀛涯胜览》(作于 1416 年),费信的《星槎胜览》(作于 1436 年),(约在同时写成 的还有巩珍的《西洋番国志》),虽说是以过客身份所写的作品,但都有有关马来亚地方风物的描写,或"采摭各国人物之丑美,壤俗之异同"(《赢涯胜览序》),或"历览风 土人物之宜,采辑图写成快"(《星槎胜览》序),文字优美,且附有诗篇,文学情趣相当浓厚,说它们是早期的马华文 艺作品,也未尝不可以。

他还说:

所以需要把年代推得更远,从十四世纪的明代,到清代,从 马欢开始,左秉隆、黄遵宪等作家及其作品。实际上中国的白话

⁹⁰ M. Collis. *Raffles*. Singapore: G. Brash. 1982, pp.13-24.

⁹¹ 〈马华文学研究华语语系国际学术研讨会〉 (International Conference of Sinophone Malaysian Literary Studies), July 30-31, 2021。论文集还在出版中。

⁹² 见郑子瑜早在 1960 年写的〈马华文学的历史应该远溯过去〉,郑子瑜《郑子瑜学术论著自选集》,84-91。

新诗发展史上,黄遵宪可以说是第一个用白话来写诗的人,"我手写我口"就是他的口号,很多他的诗都是在新加坡写的,以东南亚的风土人情为题材,与东南亚紧紧俩联系在一起。⁹³

可见我们的前辈学者很早就提出重写我们的东南亚汉学或华文文学的历史。

⁹³ 关于明代以来的旧文学作家与作品,见〈与君话冷炎州月:新华古典文坛〉,《新加坡华人通史》新加坡:新加坡从相会馆总会,2015,页337-384。

The Political Economy of China's Arctic Polar Silk Road

Tai Wei LIM*

Abstract

The People's Republic of China (PRC) has an intention to pave a Polar Silk Road to play a bigger role in the political economic transformation of the Arctic and Antarctic regions. This was officially inked in the newly-unfurled 2021-2025 Five Year Plan (FYP) in March 2021. FYPs are planning mechanism in place since the founding of China in 1949, which is a legacy of its socialist origins in the command economy. China appears to be focusing on practically harnessing resources from the polar region while cooperating with friendly powers like Russia. It would also seek to protect and exploit its interests and rights perceived within its strategic worldview. Minerals and shipping routes that involve icebreakers and ice-free ports are within this purview.

Like other Arctic council members, China is aware of the opportunities that open up in formerly icy Tundra regions due to the melting of ice caps as a result of climate change. Northeast Asian powers like Russian Far East, China and Japan have already experimented with the arctic shipping routes that makes logistical distances shorter between Western Europe and East Asia. Rising technology power from China intends to utilize technologies like satellites to keep tabs on the ships plying through these routes and also observe changes in maritime ice formations in the Arctic. The polar routes are not without its critics, including environmentalists. Technology may also be part of the solution. Deploying area studies, political economy, political science, international relations, history and other lens, this writing is multidisciplinary in its perspective and carries out interpretive work on this cutting-edge development in China's silk road series of outreach. The polar silk road could potentially form a third maritime network for Chinese trade.

Keywords: Arctic Silk Road China Polar shipping

This writing is derived from a small section of the author's publication on maritime silk road handbook.

^{*} Senior Research Fellow adj. National University of Singapore (NUS) East Asian Institute (EAI). Associate and Lecturer Singapore University of Social Sciences. Email: limtaiwei2009@gmail.com

中国北极极地丝绸之路的政治经济学

林大伟**

摘要

中华人民共和国(中国)有意铺设极地丝绸之路,以在北极地区的政治经济转型中发挥更大的作用。这在 2021 年 3 月新推出的 2021-2025 年五年计划 (FYP)中正式签署。五年计划是自 1949 年中国成立以来的规划机制,是其社会主义起源于命令经济的遗产。中国似乎正专注于实际利用极地地区的资源,同时与俄罗斯等友好大国合作。它还将寻求保护和利用其在其战略世界观中的利益和权利。矿产、涉及破冰船和不冻港的航线都在此范围内。

与其他北极理事会成员一样,中国意识到由于气候变化导致冰盖融化,在以前结冰的苔原地区开辟了机遇。俄罗斯远东、中国和日本等东北亚大国已经在试验北极航线,缩短西欧和东亚之间的物流距离。崛起的科技大国中国打算利用卫星等技术来密切关注在这些航线上航行的船只,并观察北极海冰形成的变化。极地路线并非没有批评者,包括环保主义者。技术也可能是解决方案的一部分。本书运用地域研究、政治经济学、政治学、国际关系、历史等多个视角,多学科视角,对中国丝绸之路系列拓展的这一前沿发展进行阐释工作。北极航线有可能形成第三条丝绸之路。

关键词: 北极 丝绸之路 中国 极地 航线

^{**} 新加坡国立大学东亚研究所高级研究员。新加坡新跃社会科学大学讲师。电邮:limtaiwei2009@gmail.com。

Introduction

The polar region had always fascinated explorers, traders and adventurers. The Portuguese explorer Gaspar Corte-Real reached Greenland in 1500 and delivered about 60 slaves captured in Newfoundland in a second trip before vanishing into the Arctic waters.² For centuries, like the Europeans, China is keen to have multiple routes for its sea lanes and overland routes of communication and trade, looking at exploiting all trade routes that have less geopolitical competition and less exposed to hostilities from other competitive naval powers than the current established maritime silk route (MSR). 3 China itself traversed the Maritime Silk Road (MSR) and dominated it during the early period of the Ming dynasty in the 1400s. Throughout world history, the maritime silk road (MSR)'s bottleneck straits are dominated by other big powers and, even in the best of times, they are prone to geopolitical, security, economic and political challenges outside China's sovereign control. In the Industrial Age, European trawlers mapped out the fish-rich (especially cod) Grand Banks in North Atlantic and, amongst them, the English fishermen named their fishing grounds Frobisher Bay and Davis Straits while one of them discovered Hudson Bay for the British and Albany for the Dutch. In addition to establishing presence on the Hudson Bay area, the English sailors navigated near the Arctic Circle and started a lucrative business in fish seafood and furs, continuing further in the north-easternly direction to Russia while competing with the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope to India.⁵

China's historical sea lanes of communication and trade (SLOCs) to Western Europe/European Union (EU) went through the Suez Canal while SLOCs reaching the eastern US go through the Panama Canal. To reach other parts of the maritime trading world, China's maritime fleet also must also go through the bottlenecks of the Straits of Malacca, Lombok, Bali, Miyako and Somalian coast. As the polar ice caps melt, it opens up a new route through northern Europe for ships to go through a shorter route from northeast Asia to Europe. A new sea route has emerged due to climate change and the melting polar caps ---- the Arctic route. The growth of the

Hayes, Carlton J.H.. *Medieval and Early Modern Times*. New York and London: MacMillan and Collier MacMillan, 1983, p. 346.

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

⁴ Hayes, Carlton J.H.. *Medieval and Early Modern Times*. New York and London: MacMillan and Collier MacMillan, 1983, p. 346.

⁵ Hayes, Carlton J.H.. *Medieval and Early Modern Times*. New York and London: MacMillan and Collier MacMillan, 1983, p. 392.

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

polar silk road is capturing the attention of great powers. Global warming is hastening the ability of different countries to access the Arctic region for merchant marine trade. In 2017, the number of cargoes shipped through the Northeast Passage has accelerated by more than ten times since 2013.⁷ The polar silk road offers the opportunity for a shorter route between the major Northeast Asian trading entities. Russians and Northeast Asian stakeholders are not the only ones that can benefit from the emergence of the polar routes. The new shipping routes can also potentially improve the declining economy of the U.S. eastern seaboard and northern European cities.⁸

The Arctic sea route has a component known as the North West Corridor that connects the coastal Northeast China with the East Coast of the United States of America. The North East Corridor links East Asia with the European maritime cities. It runs from the East China Sea, through the Sea of Japan to Sea of Okhotsk, Bering Straits, Northern Russia and finally into Europe via Scandinavian waters. It can be an alternative to the geopolitically-crowded area of the Miyako Straits. The Miyako Strait between Okinawa and Miyako Island is proximate to China's near seas as an access point for China's People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) North and East Sea Fleets to reach the Pacific Ocean. This Strait has the presence of US Pacific Power, Russian Far East fleet and Japanese self-defence force ships.

Since its economic reforms started in 1978, China has integrated into the world economic order and become an international economic power that relies on maritime and sea trade, building up the globe's third biggest merchant marine fleet after Panama and Liberia (whose fleets are flying these countries' flags out of convenience and other pragmatic economic reasons). ¹⁰ Since 2016, China has motivated its merchant marine fleet to display Chinese flags and navigate through the Northwest Passage via the Arctic Ocean, a feat made possible due to climate change and global warming, so as to reduce the duration needed to traverse between

Reuters. "A Chinese cargo ship specially built for the Arctic has embarked on its first Northern Sea Route voyage" dated 10 August 2018 in *Arctic Today* [downloaded on 10 August 2018], available at https://www.arctictoday.com/chinese-cargo-ship-specially-built-arctic-embarked-first-northern-sea-route-voyage/

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.¹¹ These Arctic routes can deliver goods from east to west within a shorter time.¹² The trip from Shanghai to Hamburg via the Arctic route is 2,800 nautical miles less than the Suez Canal route in the maritime silk road (MSR).¹³ There are no chokepoints and bottlenecks like the Straits of Malacca and Suez Canal which are sometimes considered overcrowded and dangerous. This is due to political instabilities, geopolitical rivalries, terrorism, and piracy. Deploying area studies, political economy, political science, international relations, history and other lens, this writing is multidisciplinary in its perspective and carries out interpretive work on this cutting-edge development in China's silk road series of outreach. The polar silk road could potentially form a third maritime network for Chinese trade.

The Northern Sea Route reduces approximately 20 days from the duration taken by ships sailing through the maritime silk road (MSR) utilizing the time-tested Suez Canal passage. ¹⁴ COSCO Shipping has clocked in such readings when they navigated their ships through the Arctic northeast passage (Despite of this, China's increasing presence has apparently worried the Arctic in terms of its potential longitudinal security aims). ¹⁵ This anxiety is found in the mass media writings in the West. A number of voyages were successfully trialled and conducted not just by the Chinese. In 2017, a pioneering Russian tanker traversed the northern route from Norway to South Korea without an icebreaker companion. ¹⁶ In 2018, the Tian En became China's inaugural freight vessel custom deliberately constructed by COSCO Shipping specialized for navigating and transporting goods in polar Northern Sea Route through the Arctic Polar Silk Road that connects Asia with Europe through the Western Pacific Ocean, the west of Hokkaido, the Soy Strait, the Bering Strait

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

BBC News. "China to develop Arctic shipping routes opened by global warming" dated 26 January 2018 in *BBC* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-42833178

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in Reuters [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8

Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in Reuters [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8

BBC News. "China to develop Arctic shipping routes opened by global warming" dated 26 January 2018 in BBC [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-42833178

and the Arctic Ocean.¹⁷ Traveling through the Suez Canal from Shanghai Port to Port of Hamburg in Germany through the Northeast Passage reduces the length of the trip by 2700 nautical mile while using the Northeast Passage from Murmansk Russia to Shanghai will reduce the journey duration by 16 days and conserve 20% more fuel than traversing through the conventional maritime silk route.¹⁸

The Arctic routes also carry the possibility of facilitating Northeast China's coastal economic development and revive its northeast *dongbei* rustbelt, creating jobs for polar shipbuilding, logistics, fisheries, mining and tourist industries. ¹⁹ More recently, China has self-declared its status as an entity in the near-Arctic region. From January 2021 onwards, China is expanding President Xi's number one economic initiative full name (BRI) to the Arctic by opening up shipping lanes made possible by climate change and global warming and. In its first official Arctic policy white paper, China encouraged companies to construct infrastructure and test commercial voyages in Arctic shipping routes as part of a "Polar Silk Road". ²⁰ This is a continuation of its 2018 plan for that region. In its inaugural policy paper on the polar region in 2018, China indicated it "hopes to work with all parties to build a 'Polar Silk Road' through developing the Arctic shipping routes" as every country's "rights to use the Arctic shipping routes should be ensured". ²¹

China has incentives to build or capitalize on another global trading route. Beijing is particularly anxious about overdependence on the Malacca Straits where 85% of China's maritime trade traverses (it also serves as China's links to the Indian Ocean and South China Sea/SCS) while Panama Canal's capacity is maxing out even with expansion and Suez Canal's insurance premiums are ballooning due to piracy and the Middle Eastern conflicts.²² While some see developing the Arctic

Reuters. "A Chinese cargo ship specially built for the Arctic has embarked on its first Northern Sea Route voyage" dated 10 August 2018 in *Arctic Today* [downloaded on 10 August 2018], available at https://www.arctictoday.com/chinese-cargo-ship-specially-built-arctic-embarked-first-northern-searoute-voyage/

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8

BBC News. "China to develop Arctic shipping routes opened by global warming" dated 26 January 2018 in *BBC* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-42833178

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

route as another way to access the global trade and tap into another site for extracting natural resources, other see the melting polar caps as a global crisis since it is flooding the coastal cities of the world. At the moment, it is still unknown if this Arctic route can overtake the importance of the maritime silk road (MSR). China's biggest shipping line, China Ocean Shipping (Group) Company (COSCO), started a navigation study of the Arctic sea routes in 2012, making eight Arctic trips in 2018.²³ In its maiden voyage, the Chinese cargo ship named Tian En carried 37,000 cubic meters of wind power equipment acquired by Western European EU countries like France, the Netherlands and Sweden, which could travel more than 18 500 km to its end customers during a trip that took more than 30 days.²⁴

The superpowers in the world are already exerting their ownership in parts of the Arctic region. Five powers (USA, Russia, Canada, Norway and Denmark) have a 370 km zone marked around their territories in the Arctic. Iceland and Norway are also competitors to Russia for the future development of the Western European of the Arctic shipping hub.²⁵ The area that is currently undisputed is being marked out as well, especially by the Russians as their sovereign possession. Former US President Donald Trump was also interested to purchase Greenland for Arctic Sea Lanes access and rare earth minerals in that area as well. US has deployed nuclear bombers in the Arctic region while North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has conducted large-scale fighter exercises and landed exercises, such as the Trident war games to deter Russian approaches. To prevent conflicts in that region, some are advocating a military and strategic dialogue to avoid accidental clashes from happening. Russia is certainly firmly set to dominate the region. Millions of Russians are currently living in that region. Resources are marked out for Russian ownership as well. The United Nations Laws of the Sea is also being used as a legal basis to determine international ownership of the Arctic maritime region. Currently, some cooperation is being arranged at the Arctic Council, in which a rotating chair and its members meet regularly to discuss the future of the Arctic. Climate change is seen as a non-detrimental issue where all stakeholders can cooperate.

China's emergence in the Arctic and polar regions. Even though China is a non-Arctic state, it has become proactive in the polar region as an observer member

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Reuters. "A Chinese cargo ship specially built for the Arctic has embarked on its first Northern Sea Route voyage" dated 10 August 2018 in Arctic Today [downloaded on 10 August 2018], available at https://www.arctictoday.com/chinese-cargo-ship-specially-built-arctic-embarked-first-northern-searoute-voyage/

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

of the Arctic Council since 2013.²⁶ China is focused on the Arctic sea routes and region to have a foothold in future Arctic engagements, negotiations and treaties that can benefit their shipping lines and state-owned enterprises (SOEs) economically (but even these are secondary to geopolitical concerns).²⁷ In 2018 when China released its agenda to construct Arctic Polar Silk Route shipping lanes, the leaders opined that global warming made shipping through the Arctic was crucial for global trade. Therefore, China would collaborate with Russia and other Arctic countries to lay out the polar routes.²⁸ In 2018, China laid out its policies for the Arctic trade as a self-defined Near Arctic State. The US Trump administration refused to recognize the term 'near arctic state'.

Regardless of US political reactions and/or the viability of Arctic transits, Beijing is currently instituting moves to upgrade and promote Shanghai as the leading premium Northeast Asian Arctic shipping hub to connect with the Chinese ports of Qingdao, Dalian, and Hong Kong/Taiwan's Kaohsiung as supporting ports.²⁹ China's management of mega ports, its status as the globe's third lowestcost container shipper reinforces the Chinese State Oceanic Administration's vision of the Arctic route in enabling Shanghai to become a "new Venice" and the heart of an emerging Sinocentric East Asian maritime order.³⁰ Likewise, the Arctic states in Europe and the West are keen to shore up their interests in the Arctic silk road and institutionally, China is relegated as an observer in the Arctic Council. The realists amongst political observers view the regional rivalry over the polar regions as attempts by regional states to shore up their national interests and sovereignty as part of a zero sum game. There are, however, some constructivist and functionalist cooperation as well. For example, the Chinese have set up their Arctic observation station at the Yellow River Station in Svalbard Norway and the China-Iceland Arctic Science Observatory at Karholl Iceland. In Kiruna Sweden, the Chinese are operating Sweden's first China Remote Sensing Satellite. These are all bilateral joint ventures (JV) research stations. All these research capacities contributed to China

.

Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in Reuters [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

²⁸ BBC News. "China to develop Arctic shipping routes opened by global warming" dated 26 January 2018 in *BBC* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-42833178

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

securing a place as an observer in the Arctic Council. In 2019, China produced its first indigenously-built ice breaker ship known as Xue Long 2.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) has an intention to pave a Polar Silk Road to play a bigger role in the political economic transformation of the Arctic and Antarctic regions. This was officially inked in the newly-unfurled 2021-2025 Five Year Plan (FYP) in March 2021. China has intentions to build a "Polar Silk Road" by proactively and pragmatically engaging with Arctic and Antarctic regional development its 2021-2025 Five Year Plan (FYP) and "raises its ability to participate in the protection and utilisation of the South Pole". FYPs are economic plans to implement the Chinese Communist Party's Politburo Standing Committee (PSC) decisions since the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 and a legacy of its socialist origins in the command economy. China appears to be focusing on practically harnessing resources from the polar region while cooperating with friendly Arctic powers like Russia. It would also seek to protect its perceived interests and rights found within its strategic worldview. Minerals and shipping routes that involve icebreakers and ice free ports are located within this worldview.

Like other Arctic council members, China is aware of the opportunities that are opening up in formerly icy Tundra regions due to the climate change and the melting of the ice caps. Northeast Asian powers like Russian Far East, China and Japan have already experimented with sailing ships through the arctic clocking shorter logistical distances between Western Europe and East Asia. In April 2016, China's Maritime Safety Administration published a manual indicating the optimal routes from the North American northern coastal regions to northern Pacific. Chinese government spokesperson Liu Pengfei noted, "Once this route is commonly used, it will directly change global maritime transport and have a profound influence on international trade, the world economy, capital flow and resource exploitation." Arctic shipping also incurs expensive insurance costs while China would also simultaneously need to come up with infrastructure budgets to build ports that can manage custom-made Arctic-proof large-sized freight boats/ships to serve Arctic traffic transhipment needs (to small sub-ports), loading and unloading goods in those facilities.

Reuters Staff. "China pledges to build 'Polar Silk Road' over 2021-2025" dated 5 March 2021 in Reuters [downloaded on 5 March 2021], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-polar-idUSKBN2AX09F

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Mineral resources. Greenland, Russia, Canada, Norway and Alaska have unexploited minerals and natural gas.³⁴ Historically, the polar regions' resources have been researched by generations of scientists. A student of Linnaeus and botanist Anton Rolandsson Martin (1729-1785) and zoologist Sven Loven (1809-1895) conducted modern polar research (in 1837 in the case of Loven) with Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences funding to explore the possibility of opening up a maritime North Pole route in addition to conducting scientific research.³⁵ The US National Science Foundation (NSF) collaborates with Chinese polar agencies through a Sino-US yearly scientific dialogue on Arctic issues until May 2019 when then Secretary of State Mike Pompeo warned, "[Time to face the Arctic's strategic challenges and that Arctic states should not focus solely on scientific cooperation]...[as] China's pattern of aggressive behaviour elsewhere will inform how it treats the Arctic'.³⁶

In October 2019, U.S. and Canadian government representatives met to talk about a joint strategy on protecting critical minerals that could restrict China's mineral exploration activities in Alaska and Canada.³⁷

Besides scientific exploration and shipping routes, China is also keen on precious mineral resources embedded in the polar region that can be exploited as ice caps melt from global warming.³⁸ Amongst the Arctic powers, Russia and Greenland are perhaps the most welcoming to China's presence in joint Arctic energy exploration and extraction.³⁹ China also envisions its northeast Arctic port hub of the future as a processing hub for Arctic resources which can enrich Chinese Arctic

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Tseng, Chin-Yin and Xinchun Wang. "Scientists among Merchants: Linnaeus Apostles Onboard Vessels of the Swedish East India Company and the Advancement of Scientific Travels" dated September 2020 in *International Journal on Belt and Road Initiative China and the World Ancient and Modern Silk Road Vol. 3 No. 3*. Singapore and New Jersey: World Scientific. 2020, p. 205

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Reuters Staff. "China pledges to build 'Polar Silk Road' over 2021-2025" dated 5 March 2021 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 5 March 2021], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-polar-idUSKBN2AX09F

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

shipping.⁴⁰ The receding frozen ice is revealing spots where extraction of resources (oil, natural gas, rare earths, etc.) can take place. China is fast moving up in the ranking to emerge as one of the largest mining investors in Greenland and forging a free trade deal with Iceland.⁴¹ However, the extraction of fossil fuels is worrying advocates of the Paris climate accords. China's overall civilian, strategic oil and mineral demand require polar resources, Arctic maritime and air lanes, so the Chinese leadership is leading a multi-level, multi-agency push into the region while proliferating awareness of Arctic opportunities for the average Chinese individuals and firms in preparation for its exertion of future rights.⁴²

Polar environmentalism. China's 2018 white paper emphasized new freight routes connecting Asia and Europe via the Arctic Northeast, Northwest and Central Passages, which have some environmentalists concerned about the impact on delicate polar environments. In 2018, then Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Kong Xuanyou told *Reuters* news agency that Western or global counterparts are anxious that China wants to plunder Arctic resources or hurt the environment were "absolutely unnecessary" despite China's enthusiasm in extracting hydrocarbons, minerals, fishing and other commodities in the polar region along with other countries and Arctic players. At China appears to pledge their support for environmental concerns. The January 2021 Chinese white paper noted that China looked into the exploitation, extraction, and processing development of oil, gas, mineral resources, non-hydrocarbon fuels, fishing and tourism industries "jointly with Arctic States, while respecting traditions and cultures of the Arctic residents including the indigenous peoples and conserving natural environment". This is

⁴⁰ Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Reuters Staff. "China pledges to build 'Polar Silk Road' over 2021-2025" dated 5 March 2021 in Reuters [downloaded on 5 March 2021], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-polar-idUSKBN2AX09F

BBC News. "China to develop Arctic shipping routes opened by global warming" dated 26 January 2018 in BBC [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-42833178

Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8

important as since 2014 China has become the globe's biggest trader and oil importer.⁴⁶

Similarly, to promote sustainable development, the Russian leadership vowed to clean up the Arctic Region and also protect the polar bears. Russian scientists are also keen to study ancient frozen ice to understand the terrain and geological makeup better. China (the world's largest producer of rare earths minerals) has moved quickly to obtain concessionary rights to rare earths in places like Greenland. These initiatives are forerunners of what would eventually become China's 'polar silk road', which some suspect may eventually come under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Others are less worried. Some naysayers and pessimistic maritime and navigation specialists argue that maritime freight firms are likely to be turned off by the unpredictable random nature of Arctic ice movements, underdeveloped infrastructure in the polar region, comparatively shallow waters, absence of modern maps and higher insurance premium.⁴⁷

Sino-Russian cooperation. Global climate change is increasingly making the Northern Sea Route (NSR) ice-free as the Russians lack resources for the infrastructure and ship fleets to ply the route without help from other countries or their multinational corporations (MNCs). As Chinese economic power and financial resources can make up for these deficiencies. China also declared its mission to be construct Chinese ports at Murmansk, Sabetta, Arkhangelsk, Tiksi and Uzden as the Russian ones are too low-tech to manage busy shipping activities or big container volumes. The Chinese may be convinced that Russian military protection along the Arctic waterway makes it safer than the Suez Canal that it perceives are surrounded by countries engaged in religious strife and unstable politics but Russians may also have the nagging suspicions that China is keen to dominate the route. Russian plies

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

⁴⁹ Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

the Northern Sea Route (NSR) to transport bulk shipments of commodities like oil and coal whereas the Chinese visualize the route as one that will eventually be dominated by container traffic and have intentions to dominate that route with construction of ports to manage such transit flows and cargo movement.⁵¹

Superpower rivalry in Russia's backyard. Some in the West opine that Russia and China still have some lingering suspicions about each other. The US is also suspicious of these two rivals. The US Arctic fleet is vigilant about moves by the other players in the polar region even as it plans planning ways to project US powers into the Arctic region. The Americans are also keen to offer funding for regional players like Greenland as an alternative to the Chinese polar silk road. Both Russia and the US are also wary of Chinese submarine presence in the Arctic region as well. In September 2016, five People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) warships steamed through the international Bering Sea waters off Alaska for the first time in Chinese military navigation history.⁵² On the other hand, China on its part is trying to downplay such competitive sentiments. The Chinese State Council Information Office which is the state organ that runs the daily affairs of the state and implement the technocratic initiatives laid down by the politburo standing committee (PSC) stated that "China hopes to work with all parties to build a 'Polar Silk Road' through developing the Arctic shipping routes."53 The narrative divide is still out there as to whether China will seek to be patient about making incremental changes to the current world order in areas where it cannot be about change, or whether Beijing will be proactive in making known its interests and rights in the Arctic region.⁵⁴

Large swathes of Arctic Ocean maritime waterways are near or within sovereign Russian territorial waters and both Russia and Canada designate these parts of the Arctic sea routes as internal waters under Article 234 of the United Nations Convention for the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which gives them the rights to place restrictions on ships that traverse these routes.⁵⁵ Besides the Americans,

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8

⁵⁴ Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Chinese and the Russians, Canada asserts ownership of most Northwest Passage regional waters while the Chinese view expressed through the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Hua Chunying noted Canada regarded those routes as its own waters, but she also indicated that some other countries believed it was open to international navigation.⁵⁶ Even smaller players like Iceland has aspirations to be the Atlantic trans-Arctic shipping hub to lure European shipping towards the upper Northern or Transpolar route to bypass Canadian and Russian-claimed waters where Murmansk has emerged as another competing potential hub.⁵⁷

The competitive instincts of the Arctic powers appear to be manifesting in these geopolitical strategic moves. In Ottawa, the spokesperson for then Foreign Minister (FM) Stephane Dion declared there is no automatic right of transit passage in the waterways of the Northwest Passage while other Canadian opinion-makers articulated that "We [the Canadians] welcome navigation that complies with our rules and regulations. Canada has an unfettered right to regulate internal waters." In other scenarios, some observers put forward the proposition that any tensions between China and Russia is likely to invite the US to come in. The major powers with interests in the Arctic region are essentially seeking the power and will to control trade routes, the right to lay underwater pipelines, assert fishing rights, control over sea lanes of communication (SLOCs), maritime access (to Arctic states like Greenland and Iceland), underwater mineral extraction rights, scientific research rights, installing underwater cables for communication, etc. The fact that the Arctic maritime region is rich in fossil fuels like oil and natural gas may bring about a resource curse or a commodities boom to the region.

Russia sees the Arctic region as a means for its eventual economic revival as a great power and will be vigilant to ensure continued Chinese reliance on its facilities, technologies and geopolitical support, especially since China is located further away from the Arctic region. For the Russians, the linkage between Rotterdam (a prominent port city in Western Europe, presumably at one of the furthest Western ends of the Arctic Route) and Yokohama (a major port city in Japan) is much shorter through the Arctic Route than through the traditional maritime silk road. Russia hopes to build up its fleet of conventional and nuclear-powered icebreakers. The Arctic Northern route is the most used route in the polar region and the Russian government makes it mandatory for all ships plying through to be led by a Russian ice breaker in a convoy formation (some in the West and

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

China consider the expensive convoy costs and the procedure to be burdensome).⁵⁹ The Russians have also built a three-leafed clover-shaped base (Northern Clover Base) in the New Siberian Islands. Some argue that Russia is playing for time to prevent Chinese or Western domination of the Arctic route and therefore guards its interests (endangered by a financially-strapped Russian shipbuilding industry) carefully to ensure that Russian ice breaker construction does not get left behind, superseded or slow down. Using nuclear-powered icebreakers, the Arctic Northern sea route can be open for trade and commerce for several months of the year, the route would be available for use for three to four months of the year, while the Northern Sea and Transpolar routes can also be usable by merchant marine for slightly shorter periods.⁶⁰

Russian Atomic Energy Agency (Rosatom) in charge of atomic-powered icebreakers invited bids from contractors to build their new floating icebreaker construction dock, but no Russian shipyards participated due to the unprofitable low budgets and Rosatom eventually gave the contract to Turkish shipbuilders. ⁶¹ A Chinese shipbuilding firm counteroffered and challenged the Turks with a better deal, prompting Russia's Anti-Monopoly Service to scrutinize the Chinese challenge, a development that some Russian suspects may result in either a successful Chinese bid, becoming a major player in Russian icebreaking manufacturing industry or simply delaying the construction of a new generation of Russian icebreakers. ⁶² Since 2010, China has become the globe's biggest shipbuilding power. ⁶³ Chinese shipbuilders have proactively reached out to regional polar powers and states. With the inauguration of the Polar Silk Route, the shipbuilder behind Tian En, COSCO Shipping Specialized, has linked up with nine European Union (EU) nations plus Russia (Belgium, the Netherlands, Finland,

⁵⁹ Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

⁶³ Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Germany, the United Kingdom, Belarus, Russia, Denmark and Norway), and it has also made contact with Japan (and its commercial entities).⁶⁴

Some observers and commentators argue that superpower or big power rivalry will inevitably spill over to the Arctic polar regions. Some sovereignty-cautious Russians may argue Chinese short-term assistance in the Northern Sea Route (NSR) facilitate Chinese dominance of ice-free passages within a number of years, e.g. as detailed in a *Sovershenno Sekretno* article dated 26 April 2021. ⁶⁵ China's Silk Road Fund is the major investor in the Russian shipping line Marine Arctic Transport that will provide full-year trans-Arctic shipping services. ⁶⁶ Both the Chinese and the West are keen to bring down the costs associated with using the Arctic route. The Russian ice-breaking fees (US\$500,000 per trip) by its icebreaker convey may need to go down by 25% for the Arctic sea route to become economically attractive competitive vis-à-vis the alternatives of the Suez and Panama Canals route. ⁶⁷

China's potential involvement in the Northern Sea Route (NSR, a backyard of Russian President Vladimir Putin) may also heighten competitive instincts with the Russians goals and some Russians, and Western observers following this school of thought may see Russia as a junior partner in any potential "Polar Silk Road". From Western perspectives and Russian sceptics of a Polar Silk Road, a Beijing-led NSR (Northern Sea Route) may facilitate Chinese power projections across the Arctic and come up to Russian interests and Western national interests. 69 Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Kong Xuanyou tried to allay these concerns, "Some people

Reuters. "A Chinese cargo ship specially built for the Arctic has embarked on its first Northern Sea Route voyage" dated 10 August 2018 in *Arctic Today* [downloaded on 10 August 2018], available at https://www.arctictoday.com/chinese-cargo-ship-specially-built-arctic-embarked-first-northern-searoute-voyage/

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

⁶⁶ Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

may have misgivings over our participation in the development of the Arctic, worried we may have other intentions, or that we may plunder resources or damage the environment...I believe these kinds of concerns are absolutely unnecessary."⁷⁰ At the same time, however, in the longer term, the Western media/think tanks have also observed that the Chinese government is also shoring up support and awareness for its state initiatives by educating the populace on Arctic affairs, rouse patriotism and self-confidence among youths on issues related to this region.⁷¹

Chinese interests in ice breaker repair contracts in Russia were also under scrutiny by Russia given its own inability in financing the NSR (Northern Sea Route), prompting the Russians to look for more affordable means to further their interests in the NSR. ⁷² During the COVID-19 coronavirus pandemic, China completed two modern indigenously-built icebreakers (with a third to be launched soon in the pipeline) and a large number of support ships). ⁷³ This hints at a future without reliance on Russian icebreakers for escorting Chinese ships in the northern polar waters, paring down Russian influence along the way, reducing Chinese expenditures and making the Arctic route more attractive. ⁷⁴ Cooperation between Russia and China restrains the US ability to influence either one of them, but some Western observers noted that Russia may herself search for non-Chinese allies in the future, especially if Chinese presence in the Arctic threaten their interests, sovereignty and territorial control. ⁷⁵

Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in Reuters [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

China is keen to expand its interests in the polar region with a major shareholding in Russia's Yamal liquefied natural gas (LNG) project that can provide China with four million tonnes of LNG annually, as declared by state-owned China Daily (CD). ⁷⁶ Because of competitive instincts in Russian development of the polar region vis-à-vis other powers, Russia also saw opportunities in working with other major Asian powers like South Korea, India and Japan. To the Western media and cautious Russian observers, this could reduce overreliance on Western or Chinese investments, trade and commerce. An old friend of Russia, India, is also courted in this context. At the Forum, Russian President Putin also urged his country's investors and wealthy individuals to consider investing in developing Russia's Far East. Tax incentives, infrastructures, state-prioritized privileges were used to entice these investors. India provided a special credit line to develop the Russian Far East. As part of the same Russian Far East initiative, Japan and Russia are also collaborating on building a natural gas LNG pipeline to tap into Arctic resources. The point was to supply these gas resources to Asia with gas tanker facilities constructed in the Kamchatka Peninsula. By opening up the Russian Far East, Russia is in effect trying to develop the Far Eastern end of its Northern Sea Route vision which is based on running maritime conduits through the Arctic Route. This route is made possible by global warming which will make it usable all year round without frozen obstacles. The Russian concept is to use its Russian Far East to link up with Japan and Korea and Southeast Asia (ASEAN or Association of Southeast Asian Nations). India is using its clout to pull in Japan to support the Russian Look East policy that has intentions to open up the Arctic Route to shorten shipping that traditionally uses the maritime silk road. Russia is keen on attracting Indian, Japanese and South Korean investments in this route, hedging against overdependence on Chinese funding. Some in the West opine that the Russians are wary of Chinese traditional claims over its Far East, including the city of Vladivostok. Russia is compelled to work with the Chinese due to Western sanctions over Russia for the Crimean annexation.

Concluding remarks – the Global Commons. The future of the polar silk road may actually rest upon technological innovation making the route pliable. In end-2020, China announced plans to position a new satellite to track shipping routes and monitor Arctic sea ice changes in the Arctic in 2022.⁷⁷ Rising tech power China intends to utilize technologies like satellites to keep tabs on the ships plying through these routes and also observe changes in maritime ice formations in the Arctic. The

Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8

Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 18 Issue: 73* [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/

polar routes are not without its critics, including environmentalists. Technology may also be part of the solution.

China, Russia and the US are keen to dominate this route in the contemporary context. China's diplomatic strategy is engaging vulnerable smaller Arctic states like Iceland, Greenland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden while avoiding suspicions from Russia, Canada and the United States. Thus, smaller players like Finland, Norway and Denmark are shying away from picking sides between the U.S. or China and cooperate with both powers on Arctic events and strategies. However, others in Western Europe are arguing that the region should belong to all of humankind as a common heritage. Russia has staked its claim in 2007 and has militarized that region, starting with some Cold War bases (where some Soviet-era Gulag camps exist).

The more altruistic amongst the stakeholders in the region ask for the Arctic region to be considered a global good for humanity, a global space for all to collaborate. They see it as a global right to treat the Arctic as an open sea. Other legalists want the space to be regulated by international maritime law based on mutually agreed treaties and agreements (i.e. international law of the sea or the polar code). China is putting together an international coalition of like-minded countries that will support China on important matters (including polar routes) like the Group of 77 even as its augments relationships with non-Arctic countries that are aligned with China's opinions on global rights to Arctic resources, high seas and seabed resources.⁷⁹

Bibliography

BBC News. "China to develop Arctic shipping routes opened by global warming" dated 26 January 2018 in *BBC* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-42833178

Blanchard, Ben, Clarence Fernandez/Jonathan Oatis (editors) and Reuters Staff. "China wants ships to use faster Arctic route opened by global warming" dated 20 April 2016 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 20 April 2016], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKCN0XH08U

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amchamshanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping

- Brady, Anne-Marie. "China's Interest in Arctic Shipping" dated January 2020 in *Insight Magazine AmCha shanghai* [downloaded on 31 January 2020], available at https://www.amcham-shanghai.org/en/article/insight-magazine-chinas-interest-arctic-shipping
- Goble, Paul. "China Helping Russia on Northern Sea Route Now but Ready to Push Moscow Aside Later" dated 6 May 2021 in *Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume:* 18 Issue: 73 [downloaded on 6 May 2021], available at https://jamestown.org/program/china-helping-russia-on-northern-sea-route-now-but-ready-to-push-moscow-aside-later/
- Hayes, Carlton J.H.. *Medieval and Early Modern Times*. New York and London: MacMillan and Collier MacMillan, 1983.
- Reuters Staff. "China pledges to build 'Polar Silk Road' over 2021-2025" dated 5 March 2021 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 5 March 2021], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-polar-idUSKBN2AX09F
- Reuters. "A Chinese cargo ship specially built for the Arctic has embarked on its first Northern Sea Route voyage" dated 10 August 2018 in *Arctic Today* [downloaded on 10 August 2018], available at https://www.arctictoday.com/chinese-cargo-ship-specially-built-arctic-embarked-first-northern-sea-route-voyage/
- Reuters Staff. "China unveils vision for 'Polar Silk Road' across Arctic" dated 26 Jan 2018 in *Reuters* [downloaded on 26 Jan 2018], available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8
- Tseng, Chin-Yin and Xinchun Wang. "Scientists among Merchants: Linnaeus Apostles Onboard Vessels of the Swedish East India Company and the Advancement of Scientific Travels" dated September 2020 in *International Journal on Belt and Road Initiative China and the World Ancient and Modern Silk Road Vol. 3 No. 3*, Singapore and New Jersey: World Scientific, 2020.

Belt and Road Initiatives 2021: Malaysia's Pandemic Prevention and Control Strategy, Pivotal Measures in Precarious Times

Thock Sheng Yi*

Abstract

The outbreak of the pandemic, COVID-19 in Wuhan city, China during December 2019 has put the world into an emergency state where health, economic and social issues have become major challenges for most of the countries all over the world. China's pandemic prevention strategies have attained tremendous success, and it acts as a role model for many countries. Malaysian government adopted the similar pandemic prevention as China in March 2020, which was quite a success in the first year of pandemic prevention.

However, it started to crumble after Sabah state election on 26th September 2020 and the removal of lockdown in November 2020. Moreover, the occurrence and spread of virus variants such as Delta, Alpha, Beta, and Gamma are rapid, and the virus now has become air-borne. Therefore, the daily cases of COVID-19 spikes up to the average of 20,000 cases per day for two months now. Factors contributing to the success and failure of the pandemic prevention strategies and control measures in Malaysia are analysed and evaluated. A conclusion will be drawn to the overall situations that happened in Malaysia during this pandemic period.

Keywords: COVID-19 Pandemic's Prevention Strategy Malaysia

^{*} Head, Department of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Faculty of Business and Management, Southern University College, Malaysia. Email: sythock@sc.edu.my.

一带一路倡议与 2021 年的冠病防控: 检视马来西亚的防控策略

祝圣怡**

摘要

2019 年 12 月中国武汉市爆发的新冠病毒疫情将世界置于紧急状态。健康,经济和社会问题已成为世界上大多数国家的主要挑战。中国的疫情防范战略取得了巨大成功,为许多国家树立了榜样。马来西亚政府于 2020 年 3 月采取了与中国类似的流行病预防措施,这在预防新冠病毒疫情大流行的第一年取得了相当大的成功。然而,在 2020 年 9 月 26 日的沙巴州选举和 2020 年 11 月解除封锁后,它开始崩溃。此外,Delta、Alpha、Beta 和 Gamma 等病毒变体的发生,因为这些变体病毒的传播速度很快,病毒现在已经通过空气传播。因此,COVID-19 的每日病例在两个月内飙升至平均每天 20,000 例。这篇会议论文将分析和评估导致马来西亚流行病预防战略和控制措施成功和失败的因素,也总结马来西亚在大流行期间发生的总体情况和总体局势。

关键词: COVID-19 大流行病预防策略 马来西亚

^{**}南方大学学院企业与管理学院旅游与酒店管理系主任。电邮: sythock@sc.edu.my

Introduction

Looking back the 20th and 21st centuries, the world and Southeast Asia have encountered 3 influenza pandemic which are HIN1 in year 1918-1919, H2N2 in year 1957-1958, and H3N2 in year 1968, which has an estimated death of 1- 4 million death for each pandemic (Jamal Hisham Hashim, 2021).

In the 21st century, the pandemic caused by the outbreak of H1N1 in the year of 2009-2010 which caused a total death of 100,000 to 400,000 globally. In Malaysia, we have had a total 4 four encounters of influenza epidemic, which started off with the Spanish Flu in 1918, followed by the Nipah virus in 1999, then SARS in 2003 and now with COVID-19.

COVID-19 was detected in Wuhan City, situated in Hubei Province, China on 31st December 2019. The prevention of the spread of virus were started off by the China's Government and most of the countries have ever since learnt from them as they did a great job of practicing social distancing and curbing the virus, including Malaysia. The key factors which make Malaysia successfully curb the transmissions in the first half of 2020 will be discussed. On the other hand, the crucial factors which caused the failure of the prevention and control strategies and will be evaluated as well. A conclusion drawn is the exit strategy introduced by the government to public, urging the community to learn to live with COVID-19 virus safely.

Timeline of COVID-19 outbreaks in Malaysia

The first case of COVID-19 case happened in Malaysia could be traced back to 4th of February 2020, when a 41-year-old man returned from Singapore and started to develop a cough and fever. The second case of COVID-19 was the close contact of the first case, in which the 40-year-old female developed similar symptoms and tested positive for COVID-19. However, she did not have any travel history. Only that she was the sister of the first case of COVID-19 case in Malaysia. Hence, she was the first local transmission case in Malaysia. On 12th of March 2020, Malaysia had its first sporadic case of COVID-19 patient who had no travel history nor close contact with the previous cases patient. This was considered the first wave of COVID-19 outbreak in Malaysia from the date of 25th January to 15th February 2020, a total of 22 cases.

The cases of COVID-19 cases grew slowly initially in March 2020 until one of the religious gatherings took place in Sri Petaling, Kuala Lumpur, which caused a drastic and rampant rise of daily cases. The religious event was a four-day mass gathering with 16,000 participants from Southeast Asia. Two to three weeks after the event, Malaysia was reported as the nation with the highest cases of COVID-19

cases in Southeast Asia. This resulted in the second wave of outbreak started from 27th February to 29th April 2020 with a collective case of 5949. Since some of the participants were from other Southeast Asia countries, neighboring countries like Singapore, Brunei, Thailand, Philippines, and Vietnam were all affected due to the spike of COVID-19 cases.

July to September were recorded the lowest cases when it went down to two digit per day or even single digit of cases per day. During this period, all front liners could finally rest and take some weight off the shoulders. Unfortunately, the third wave of COVID-19 outbreak hits Malaysia the heaviest until today. This outbreak started off with the election Sabah on 26th September 2020 and causes the massive outbreak in almost all states in Malaysia during the early October 2020 with the highest cases of 8082 in Sabah, 3357 cases in Selangor, 2853 cases in Kuala Lumpur, and 1940 cases in Kedah from 1st of September to 19th October 2020, (The Star, 2020).

Prevention Strategies and Implementation Timeline

To curb the spread of COVID-19 virus in Malaysia, Malaysia's government prevention strategy and measures are based on three major principles, namely decelerate global infections, decelerate local infections and outbreaks, and implement community mitigation measures. The prevention strategies and measures include Movement Order Control (MCO), Conditional Movement Order Control (CMCO), Enhanced Movement Order Control (EMCO), Full Movement Order Control (FMCO) and Recovery Movement Order Control (RMCO). Movement Order Control will be renewed every two weeks based on careful review by the government and daily positive cases recorded for all the states in Malaysia.

Movement Control Order MCO

On 16th March 2020, Malaysia's positive COVID-19 cases raised up to three-digit number of 533 cases and the Malaysia's Prime Minister, Tan Sri Dato' Haji Mahiaddin bin Md Yasin, announced the very first Movement Control Order (MCO) in Malaysia. The first phase of MCO lasted from 18th March to 31st March 2020, the first trial of 14 days of social distancing to curb the spread of virus. The Movement Control Order is imposed under the Prevention and Control of Infectious Diseases Act 1988 and the Police Act 1967, which cover a range of activities. All religious worship venues and non- essential business premises were ordered to close for operation and business, while essential services and businesses could operate as usual.

Essential services and businesses including supermarkets, markets, convenience shops or any shops which sold daily necessities and essentials. Prime Minister also said that all sorts of mosque and religious activities would be suspended, and that decision was made by the National Council for Islamic Religious Affairs.

Other than that, all citizens of Malaysia were also banned from travelling internationally and domestically for this period and for those Malaysians who returned from other countries must go through screenings, health checks and self-quarantine for 14 days. Malaysia's borders were also closed for foreigners, and they are forbidden from entering Malaysia's border. All pre-schools, primary, secondary, and tertiary education regardless government or private were all closed mandatorily. All government sectors were also closed except those departments which provide essential services like energy, transportation, electricity, water, sewage, telecommunications, banking, broadcast, food supply, security, pharmacies, and other essential services. On top of that, only 1 person from each family was allowed to go out to purchase food and daily necessities and 1 car can only occupied by 1 individual. Although prevention strategies were implemented, the daily confirmed cases remained high. Therefore, government announced that the Movement Control Order was extended for another 14 days to 14th April 2020.

After the implementation of 4 phases of MCO (reviewed every two weeks), the figure of COVID-19 positive cases was gradually declining in trend. Therefore, the government started to implement Conditional Movement Control Order (CMCO) on 4th May 2020 and Recovery Movement Control Order (RMCO) on 10th June 2020 when the cases declined to a single digit daily.

After RMCO, the consequences of inter-district and interstate travel, tourism and leisure activities were seen from the daily confirmed positive COVID-19 cases spike up to the highest level in Malaysia where it reached 5 digit per day with its highest 24,599 on 26th August 2021 (Hirschmann, 2021). The daily cases of COVID-19 went uncontrollably high started on 13th July 2021 with the number of 11,079 and continued to remain in 5 digits until 2nd October 2021 with the case of 10,915. The cases started to decline to 4 digits on 3rd October with 9066 cases until 12th October with 7276 cases. On 11th October 2021, the Prime Minister of Malaysia announced that interstate and inter-district travel were allowed as the number of cases drop significantly. All recreational and tourism activities are allowed with the strict implementation of SOPs.

Most of the Movement Control Orders are quite similar. However, some measures are tightened in light of the severity of situation and the daily confirmed positive cases.

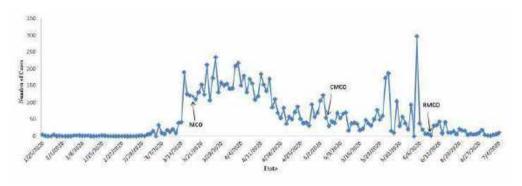


Figure 1 shows that the timeline of first wave and second wave of COVID-19 outbreaks and different prevention strategies implemented based on situational analysis.

Conditional Movement Control Order

During CMCO period, movement within the CMCO area was permitted. However, movement to other CMCO, MCO, RMCO and EMCO areas was not permitted except getting police permission. The number of passengers permitted in a private vehicle was according to the capacity of the vehicle. However, high risk individuals like senior citizens and children were not encouraged to go to crowded, public, and open areas (Sunil, 2021) (KKM, 2021).

All airports and seaports, public transport services such as LRT, MRT, ERL Monorails, ferries, taxis, e-hailing, planes were allowed to operate. However, food delivery services were only allowed to operate from 6am to 12am. Lastly, interstate travel was allowed for long distance married couples with police permission and letter (Sunil, 2021) (KKM, 2021).

Business activities like supermarkets, shopping malls, retail shops and convenience shops were allowed with strict SOPs from 6am to 12am while restaurants, street food stalls, roadside hawkers, hawker centers, food courts could only be allowed to operate and provide dine in services from 6am to 12am with the strict compliance with SOPs. All sorts of markets in terms of sizes can be operated until midnight with the supervision of local authorities. Other than that, all sizes of government and private healthcare providers are allowed to operate 24 hours, while pharmacies can only operate from 6am to 12am (Human Resources Online 2021) (KKM, 2021).

Although many businesses could operate in the said time frame, safe social distancing measures and protocol should be practiced and flowed strictly by all business owners and operators. The business operators must ensure and display the maximum number of customers can present in their business premises at one time based

on the location's capacity. All points of entrance should have a respective entry and exit with at least one-meter social distancing, and hand sanitizers must be provided at the entrance and used by the customers before entering any business location.

Moreover, all business operators were required to present a MySejahtera QR code at the entrance to allow customers to scan before entering any business premises. The scanning of MySejahtera QR before entering any premises was mandatory for everyone in Malaysia as one of the tracking measures of the COVID-19 outbreaks. Other than that, all body temperature of customers' needed to be scan at the entrance of any business premises. Customers with body temperature higher than 37.5 degree Celsius were not allowed to enter any premises. All employees, customers and suppliers were required to wear face masks in all public places (Sunil, 2021) (KKM, 2021).

Enhanced Movement Control Order

Senior Minister Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri Yaakob announced that large parts of Selangor and Klang Valley needed to undergo Enhanced Movement Order which was an enhanced version of Movement Control Order from 3rd to 16th July 2021 as part of the stricter version of prevention measures to stop the spread of the COVID-19 virus. This decision was made after careful considerations and risk assessment by the Health Ministry as the number of confirmed cases spiked up every single day over the past weeks in July 2020 (Arumugam, 2021).

The prevention measures started with only one entry and exit point in EMCO area. This entry and exit points were strictly closed where no civilians can go in or out from the EMCO areas and these areas were 24-hour armed and monitored by police and the military forces. All residents in EMCO areas were prohibited to leave their residential area and there is only one person per household was allowed to go out and purchase daily necessities within 10km radius. All residents could only leave their home in the time frame of 8am to 8pm where exception could only be made with police approval and emergencies. There was only one individual per vehicle unless there was a patient of emergency, who needed to be taken care and drive to hospital, may travel inter-district or interstate to seek for medical care and COVID-19 vaccination appointments. However, work and government vehicles for essential services could run at full capacity (KKM, 2020). In terms of public transportation, all public buses, trains, taxis, e-hailing rides, and ferries could operate at 50% capacity while in taxis and e-hailing services, only one passenger was allowed in one vehicle. However, airports and seaports were allowed to operate as usual (KKM, 2020).

As for economic activities such as various sizes and types of food preparing and providing operators such as hawker centers, restaurants, street food stalls, food trucks etc. were only allowed to operate from 8am to 8 pm daily without providing dine-in services. Other than that, daily necessities providers such as hyper marker, supermarket, convenience shops groceries shops and malls were only allowed to operate from 8am to 8pm daily. Malls, supermarket and hypermarket were limited to only shops which provide daily supplies and necessities are allowed to operate in the time period of 8am to 8pm. While public market and permanent farmer's markets are allowed to operate in the time frame of 6am to 2pm, other markets such as daily markets, morning markets, night markets and late night bazaars were not allowed to operate at all (KKM, 2020).

Under EMCO, all sizes of hospitals, clinics and medical laboratories were allowed to operate as usual. Other than that, pharmacies, veterinarians, and pet food stores could operate in the time period of 8am to 8pm (KKM, 2020). While for petrol stations, they could only operate in the time duration of 6am to 8pm except for those in tolled highways, which are allowed to operate for 24 hours (KKM, 2020). While for all sorts of educations, all institutions regardless private or government needed to remain close during EMCO period. All childcare services were prohibited to operate in this period as well (KKM, 2020). All civil workforce in essential services was reduced to a limit of 20% and this did not include front liners and security. For the civil servants in non-essential services sector were all required to work from home. While for private sectors, only 60% of the workers who worked under essential services in operations and management were allowed (KKM, 2020). During EMCO period, all main roads were closely monitored by the armed forces like police and military by setting up multiple roadblocks to ensure that citizens were only travel within 10km radius based on their residential addresses. Any individuals or operators who violated the above rulings would be fined under the Prevention and Control of Infectious Diseases Act 1988. (Act 342) (KKM, 2020).

Key Successful Factors of the COVID-19 Prevention Strategies and Measures in the First to Third quarter of year 2020

Before the third wave of COVID-19 hit hard on Malaysia in October 2020, July to September was the period with the lowest recorded positive COVID-19 cases and lowest death rates in Southeast Asia. The crucial successful factors contribute to the pandemic curbing and managing are: (1) advanced planning and preparation, (2) implementation of vigorous contact tracing, (3) seamless and regular communication from to government to citizens, as well as a (4) good cooperation and compliance by citizens towards strict lockdown measures with stringent punishments for breach of the law during lockdowns (Rahman, 2020).

Advanced planning and preparation

Since the outbreaks of COVID-19 in Wuhan City, the capital of Hubei Province in China, Malaysia's Ministry of Health promptly has taken the proactive initiative to start planning since December 2019, the same month the COVID-19 outbreak in China. In January 2020, Ministry of Health started to give training to approximately 12 government hospitals and online meetings were conducted for all frontliners in Malaysia approximately twice per week (Rahman, 2020).

Other than that, Ministry of Health (MoH) allotted Sungai Buloh Hospital, a government and public hospital located in the suburban area of Kuala Lumpur, the capital city of Malaysia as one of the first main hospital to specifically treat COVID-19. Before the waves of COVID-19 cases hit Malaysia, MoH have instructed some of the hospitals to empty up the ICUs and transfer ICUs' patients to other hospital. Most of the main hospital allotted specially to treat COVID-19 cases was renovated in a fast pace to increase its capacity. Some of the segments of the hospitals such as daycare centers and operating theatres are converted into ICU beds to accommodate the increasing patients of COVID-19 (Rahman, 2020).

By the end of January 2020, approximately 26 hospitals across Malaysia were ready and on standby to treat COVID-19 patients. This strategy was learned and adopted from the strategies and great work practised in Wuhan. China's committed dedication towards the implementation of prevention strategies against COVID-19 virus manifested in building an emergency hospital to treat COVID-19 patients in just 10 days. This left the world in awe by just how effective in terms of execution and dedicated to cure COVID-19 patients. This measure was adopted by Malaysia to prepare our health system before any reported case locally. Simultaneously, university labs and other additional labs engaged themselves in a joint effort to increase the diagnostic capacity for COVID-19 so that the test results can be accelerated (Rahman, 2020).

Moreover, from the past experiences that Malaysia has had with other infectious respiratory viruses, such as Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) and Nipah Virus, therefore, Malaysia was proactive in having advanced planning and preparation for COVID-19 virus. Therefore, from December 2019 to April 2020, Malaysia's Government increased the main hospital used to treat COVID-19 from initial 26 to 40 hospitals, screening hospitals from 56 to 120 hospitals, as well as increase of ventilator machines to treat COVID-19 patients from 526 units to 1043 units (Rahman, 2020). This was part of

the factors why Malaysia was recorded as one of the lowest death for COVID-19 country before October 2020.

Quarantine and contact tracing

From the past experiences dealing with other infectious respiratory viruses and learning from China's COVID-19 pandemic prevention strategies and measures, Malaysia hospitalized all COVID-19 patients free of charge even for foreigners. During the first and second waves of COVID-19 in Malaysia, all individuals who travelled to high risk country and reported close contact are hospitalized as well. Other than that, testing for COVID-19 at government hospitals was also free of charge and the fees are borne by the government, so that potential patients, low salary foreign workers were able to get tested to prevent and contain the possible spreading to public. Effective contact tracing measures implemented including designing an app, MySejahtera which all individuals living in Malaysia must download and scan the QR before entering any premises so that all individuals could be traced easily when outbreaks happened at any particular place (Khalid, 2021).

In order to curb the spread of COVID-19 virus, the government came up with several types of Movement Order Control which includes of partial or full lockdowns and selective preventive measures as well as recovery exit strategy (Khalid, 2021). All Malaysians who returned from abroad need to go through a 14 days quarantine in quarantine hotels and their health situations would be monitored and reported if symptoms of COVID-19 were developed. All Malaysia's borders were closed and no international travel were allowed as well so that the spread of virus could be contained. All public gatherings and meetings including government and religious were prohibited as well (KKM, 2021).

Regular and Seamless Communication

The government played a good role in communicating with citizens by going live on National Television twice per day at 3pm and 5pm respectively to report on the daily situational analysis and positive cases recorded by Ministry of Defence and General Director of Ministry of Health ever since the first of lockdown in March 2020. The objective of doing so was to keep the public posted and updated on the situation of the spread of the virus and new cases daily and also sharing of guidelines and updates from the government (Khalid, 2021). The government through all platforms urge public to practise better hygiene practices such as wear face mask,

even double face mask, face shield, wash and sanitize our hands regularly, practice social distance of at least one meter with others and avoid close contact with others (Chan & Bharat, 2020). Other than that, Ministry of Health also launched different campaign like Avoid 3Cs which means avoid crowded space, confined space and close conversation and practise the 3Ws which means wash hands regularly, wear face mask, warning others to comply to break the COVID-19 virus chain (MoH, 2020).



Figure 2 display the daily communication images that created and published by Malaysia's government through various media platforms including in live streaming and social medias to communicate and update daily COVID-19 situations in Malaysia to the public.

Law enforcement

Malaysians were considered community who obeyed and gave high cooperation and compliance when it came to compliance to all sorts of rulings when lockdowns were implemented. It acted as a key success factor where Malaysia was able to contain the spread of virus until September 2020. Almost all, in fact 97% of Malaysians complied with the rulings for different types of Movement Order Control from time to time (Zolkepli and Sivanandam, 2020). The compliance level in Malaysia was much higher as compared to other ASEAN countries.

Strict law enforcement were being imposed such as high amount of fines and jail terms to those who failed to comply such as failure to wear face mask in public areas, and those who failed to do self-quarantine after returning from high risk countries or had close contact with positive cases (Chin, 2020).

The above strategies are the key successful factors which help Malaysia to defeat and break the chain of the spread of the COVID-19 virus and help to flatten the curve. The blend of the said strategies made Malaysia successful in terms of contained the spread of virus if compare to other countries such as European countries.

Key Factors which caused the COVID-19 Prevention Strategies and Measures failed in the Fourth Quarter of 2020 to Third Quarter of 2021

Malaysia has been seen as a successful country in combating this COVID-19 pandemic where daily cases and deaths were reduced to zero in September 2020. Following are the main reasons that the situation and cases spiked uncontrollably high since October 2020 gradually from 4-digit cases per day to 5 digit per day and reach its highest in the August 2021:

Lack of awareness

The first factor is some of the citizens in Malaysia did not take this virus seriously where they had low awareness that this pandemic could take lives away. Therefore, they did not wear their facemask properly, mostly did not cover their nose until lives of closed ones were taken away and testimonials made by the COVID-19 patients in the ICU. The government had to educate them through various means including the launching of the 3Cs and 3Ws campaign (Khalid, 2021), documentary of the frontlines and COVID-19 pa-

tients, strict law enforcement such as high amount of fine and jail terms to keep them to stay at home and have social distancing among each other.

Hygienic situations of the foreign workers' hostel

There are numerous manufacturing industries in Malaysia which hired hundreds of foreign workers to manufacture essential goods and product such as medical gloves. There was a serious outbreak of COVID-19 cases in several plant of manufacturing companies such as Top Glove Corporation Bhd, a cooperation which manufactures medical gloves to all over the world. The beds in the hostels were too close, and hygienic level was unsatisfactory. Therefore, serious outbreaks happened and caused the plant to shut down and its stock prices to plummet, and that also contributed to the spike of the daily reported cases in Malaysia. Foreign workers were also not vaccinated as Malaysia's citizens came first when it came to vaccination. Hence, the daily reported cases remained high for months. However, most of them were fully vaccinated in October 2021 as there are many walk-in vaccination centers available for them to ensure community safety.

COVID-19 Vaccination progression are too slow

The situation of COVID-19 went skyrocketed high as the vaccination appointment in Malaysia only started in February 2021, prioritizing only senior citizens and frontliners and government leaders. The senior citizens gradually received their appointments only in the April 2021 right after the front liners. The types of vaccines available in Malaysia were AstraZeneca, Pfizer, Sinovac, Moderna and others. There were also rumors that AstraZeneca vaccine could cause fatal side effects such as thrombus which can cause death; hence, majority of the Malaysians possessed a passive attitude by rejecting to get vaccination in the first place. When the cases spiked up sky high daily, and the country ran out of vaccines for its citizens, Malaysians were anxious and tried to grab any vaccines that were available in May 2021.

Malaysia were running low in vaccines despite 4 digits confirmed cases per state daily, which created a panic situation in the nation because the batches of vaccines bought are delayed in dispatchment. However, after a few weeks, due to the good diplomatic relationship between China and Malaysia, the Chinese Government decided to donate 500k of vaccines to Malaysia on 16th June 2021 which save Malaysia out of the hot water immediately (The Star, 2021). Then, Japan donated 1 million doses of AstraZeneca vaccines to Malaysia later at 1st July 2021 (The Star, 2021). While United States also do-

nated 1 million doses of Pfizer-BioNtech vaccines on 5th of July 2021 (The Straits Times, 2021). With the donation of vaccines, Malaysian was able to speed up the vaccination process with 672 vaccines centers set up all around Malaysia (Jawatankuasa Khas Jaminan Akses Bekalan Vaksin COVID-19 (JKJAV), 2021).

All adults were required to register themselves in MySejahtera apps for vaccination then vaccination appointment would be given batches by batches gradually to Malaysia citizens, permanent residents, and even foreign workers without any charges. The curve of daily reported cases and deaths decline when more and more public has been fully vaccinated. On 11th of October 2021, interstate travel was finally allowed and resumed for Malaysian as lockdowns has been implemented for countless months as 90% of adult population has been fully vaccinated. The long awaited dine in, tourism, recreational activities have all been resumed for now.

Conclusion

Malaysia was deemed as a successful country to defeat COVID-19 pandemic until September 2020. Malaysia's government were well-prepared when faced COVID-19 pandemic due to the precious experiences from SARS, MERS, H1N1 and Nipah pandemic. However, COVID-19 hit Malaysia the hardest nonetheless after October 2020 until October 2021. The daily reported cases are still remained at 4 digit daily. The key successful factors such as (1) advanced planning and preparation, (2) implementation of vigorous contact tracing, (3) seamless and regular communication from to government to citizens, as well as (4) good cooperation and compliance by citizens towards strict lockdown measures with stringent punishments for breach of the law during lockdowns, which are valuable lessons and worth imitating in combating the next pandemic in the future.

In spite of having a success in defeating the COVID-19 pandemic in the first half of 2020, it might result in Malaysia's economic crisis as the various lockdowns were too long. Although it was good for breaking the COVID-19 chain and flatten the curv, it was not favorable in terms of economic and socioeconomic aspects. Many people lost their job, entrepreneurs had to close down their business. Many people became depressed and suicidal because of the lockdowns, loss of loved ones, loss of job, loss of financial sources. Malaysia's government also implemented exit strategies such as CMCO and RMCO to ensure that the economy can bounce back despite the pandemic.

The pandemic has transformed our daily norms. By avoiding crowds, online meetings and gatherings are normalized. Work and study can be in any part in the

world if there is internet. People practise to wear face mask and sanitize hands regularly in order learn to live with the virus maybe for years until the virus fully disappears.

Malaysia's government recent exit strategy is to urge the public to learn to live with the COVID-19 virus. They have proposed 3 strategies such as targeting control towards clusters, enhancing awareness of COVID-19 virus and strengthening community enforcement. Enhanced Movement Control Order will be implemented towards the area of outbreaks and clusters for targeting control towards clusters. All Malaysians should have high awareness towards COVID-19 virus and learn to live with it and lastly, citizens and law enforcement work together towards a safe community. Hopefully, Malaysia can recover from this pandemic soon with fully vaccination communities in terms of healthcare system, economic aspects, and social aspects.

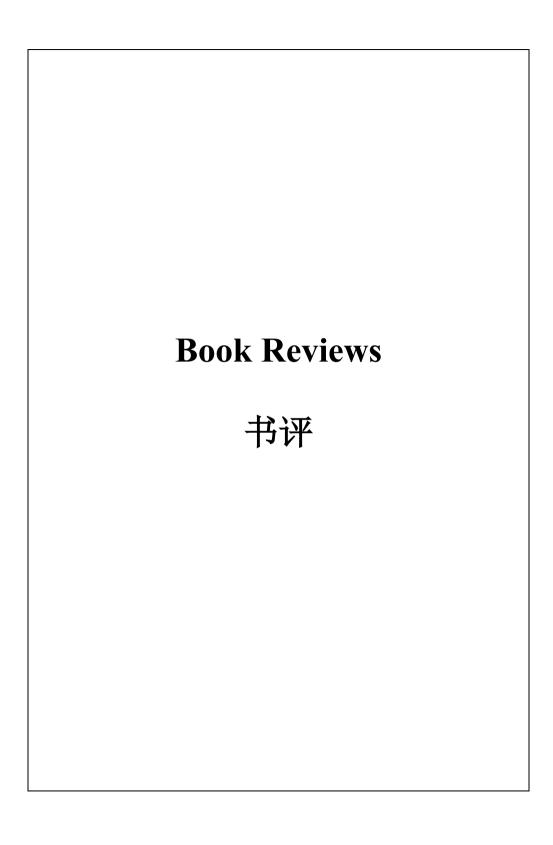
References

- Arumugam, T. (11 January, 2021). *MCO, CMCO, RMCO: Dos and don'ts*. Retrieved from New Straits Times: https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2021/01/656469/mco-cmco-rmco-dos-and-donts
- Chan, Jade, and Arvind Bharat. 2020. Organisations Take Proactive Stance to Ward Off Virus Spread. *The Star.* 13 February. https://www.thestar.com.my/metro/metronews/2020/02/13/organisations-take-proactive-stance-to-ward-off-virus-spread.
- Hirschmann, R. (08 October, 2021). Number of daily confirmed cases of the novel coronavirus infection COVID-19 in Malaysia as of October 7, 2021. Retrieved from Statista: https://www.statista.com/statistics/1110785/malaysia-covid-19-daily-cases/
- Jamal Hisham Hashim, M. A. (07 May, 2021). COVID-19 Epidemic in Malaysia: Epidemic Progression, Challenges, and Response. *Frontiers in Public Health*, pp. 1-19.
- Jawatankuasa Khas Jaminan Akses Bekalan Vaksin COVID-19 (JKJAV). (14 October, 2021). *PROGRESS STATISTICS FOR THE NATIONAL COVID-19 IMMUNISATION PROGRAMME*. Retrieved from Jawatankuasa Khas Jaminan Akses Bekalan Vaksin COVID-19 (JKJAV): https://www.vaksincovid.gov.my/en/statistics/
- Khalid, M. A. (15 May, 2021). COVID-19: Malaysia Experience and Key Lessons. *Aisan Economic Papers, Volume 20, Issue 2*, pp. 73-92.
- KKM. (07 December, 2020). Kementerian Kesihatan Malaysia: COVID-19.

 Retrieved from SOP PERINTAH KAWALAN PERGERAKAN
 DIPERKETATKAN (PKPD): https://covid19.moh.gov.my/faqsop/sop-perintah-kawalan-pergerakandiperketatkan-pkpd-emco

- KKM. (25 May, 2021). *Kementerian Kesihatan Malaysia: COVID-19*. Retrieved from SOP PERINTAH KAWALAN PERGERAKAN BERSYARAT (PKPB): https://covid-19.moh.gov.my/faqsop/sop-perintah-kawalan-pergerakan-bersyarat-pkpb-cmco
- MOH (Ministry of Health). 2020. Situasi Terkini 31 Ogos 2020 [The Latest Situation: 31st August 2020]. Accessed 5 October 2021. http://covid19.moh.gov.my/terkini/082020/situasi-terkini-31-ogos-2020.
- MOH (Ministry of Health). 2020. Updates on the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) Situation in Malaysia: 27 April 2020. Putrajaya: Ministry of Health. http://covid-19.moh.gov.my/terkini/042020/situasi-terkini-27-april 2020/97%20Kenyataan%20Akhbar%20KPK%20COVID-19%20(27%20April%202020)%20-%20EN.pdf.
- Ministry of Health Malaysia (MOH). COVID-19 media centre: press release. 2020 Available from: http://moh.gov.my/index.php/pages/view/2019-ncov-wuhan-yataan-akhbar [Accessed 6 October 2020].
- Rahman, Fifa. 2020. The Malaysian Response to COVID-19: Building Preparedness for "Surge Capacity," Testing Efficiency, and Containment. Drugs for Neglected Diseases Initiative. *KPKesihatan*. 16 June. https://kpkesihatan.com/2020/06/16/the-malaysian-response-to-covid-19-building-preparedness-for-surge-capacity-testing-efficiency-and-containment.
- Sunil, P. (01 April, 2021). Latest April 2021 SOPs for Malaysia's CMCO and RMCO in designated states. Retrieved from Human Resources Online: https://www.humanresourcesonline.net/latest-april-2021-sops-for-malaysia-s-cmco-and-rmco-in-designated-states
- The Star. (09 September, 2021). *China to contribute another one million doses of Sinovac vaccine to Malaysia*. Retrieved from The Star: https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2021/09/29/china-to-contribute-another-one-million-doses-of-sinovac-vaccine-to-malaysia

- The Star. (01 July, 2021). One million doses of AstraZeneca vaccine from Japan arrive in KLIA on Thursday (July 1). Retrieved from The Star: https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2021/07/01/one-million-doses-of-astrazeneca-vaccine-from-japan-arrive-in-klia-on-thursday-july-1
- The Straits Times. (05 July, 2021). *US donation of 1 million Pfizer Covid-19 vaccines arrives in Malaysia*. Retrieved from The Straits Times: https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/us-donation-of-one-million-pfizer-covid-19-vaccines-arrives-in-malaysia
- Zolkepli, Farik, and Hemananthani Sivanandam. 2020. MCO Compliance at 97% But 482 Arrests over March 26--27. *The Star.* 28 March. https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2020/03/28/mco-compliance-at-97-but-482-arrests-over-march-26-27.



邢诒旺,《墨汁和月色:邢诒旺诗选 1998-2013》,雪兰莪:有人出版社,2022年1月,287页。



如果没有墨汁,那就以月色为诗。我在《墨汁和月色: 邢诒旺诗选 1998-2013》看到一位诗人对诗的崇拜、景仰和执着,以及自身有意识地对诗进行反复实践与实验、琢磨和反思,并将哲学、信仰精神揉入创作。

邢诒旺在马华诗坛耕耘多年,屡次获得重要文学奖项,诗作常见于报章副刊,曾出版过十本个人诗集,是颇为多产的马华诗人。《墨汁和月色:邢诒旺诗选 1998-2013》(简称:《墨汁和月色》)是邢诒旺的第一本诗选集,内文共有十辑,收录 96篇诗作。其中分别收录他自 1998 年至 2013 年间出版过的《锈铁时代》《恋歌》《家书》《盐》《螺旋终站》《法利赛恋曲》《副词》的 78 篇诗作,

另 18 篇则是曾发表但未结集的诗作。

除了十辑诗作,《墨汁和月色》也附上〈作者后记〉〈作品初稿日期及 发表记录〉〈作品评论索引〉,将作者自选的、这些有代表意义的作品有系统 地纪录起来。其中〈作品评论索引〉可见作者对作品反馈的慎重看待。

以"墨汁和月色"为自选集的命名,作者邢诒旺在辑前自我调侃说后来对于墨汁与月色的注解也只是用"逻辑对直觉"的加以解释: "墨汁是人间,月色是天光,墨汁和月色便是天人交感"。作者后又在后记中联想延伸: "所谓墨汁和月色,也不妨是一个渐老的顽童,兀自以身心为笔,以天地为砚,以一生为纸,一晃,划过了半生"。而〈墨汁和月色〉这首长诗开篇便写到: "墨汁和月色/都是灾难般的礼物/重复着/醒觉的痛苦",我便以为墨汁和月色都是创作的缪斯,让他即便在诗与美的梦中也必须保持着对诗与美的谨慎与崇拜,这样的缪斯便是灾难般的礼物。我又在诗中拼凑出: "墨汁是生活的乳汁,月色是夜之火炭上的奶油",墨汁是血淋淋的生活,而月色则是遥不可及的想象,这般"逻辑对直觉"的解读。如果墨汁和月色是缪斯、也是生活与想象、或是其他的一百种解读,也都有成为"诗"的可能,或许也可视为一种"如果没有墨汁,那就以月色为诗"的执着。

《墨汁和月色》每一辑前都有作者小序和自画插图,这样的结构在一般 诗集中较少见,反映出作者有意识地对诗进行反复实践、琢磨和反思,诗作以 外还建立了"诗学"的结构。小序内容主要介绍辑中的诗作来源、题材与体 裁;其中也运用各种文学和美学理论分析诗作,反思自己有意识的创作与无意 识的关联;有的部分也分享对自身创作或审美有所启发的作家作品或思想。读 者在阅读小序时仿佛与作者跨时空精神对话,与直接读诗不同,像是先听他絮 絮叨叨自我剖析,了解他的"诗学",再进入他设计好的诗中的世界。这样的结构无疑是先为读者铺陈认知先行组织者,让读者的阅读成为有意义的接受,并且有可能更加准确地与作者的思想连结,达到更高层次的阅读。这样的安排与设计,也体现了作者对诗作和美学的实践、实验、追求的野心,同时也是他对创作与实验成果的一次有理论系统的整理。

诗集中充满宗教和神话的隐喻,开篇以《创世纪》为引言,每一辑前的自画插图都以中国神话寓言或圣经故事为题。自画插图是另一种形式的诗的载体,也是作者对于诗的呈现形态的实验与实践,可视为作者精神自画像,从神话寓言或圣经故事中隐喻作者对于诗(或美或人生)的哲学意义。大禹治水、女娲补天、精卫填海、后羿射日、夸父逐日、嫦娥奔月,都是以凡人肉身对抗自然力量的神话寓言,也可视为凡人对于自身力量的极限挑战与追求。自画插图中出现三次刑天舞干戚,刑天形象勇猛,但因为没有头颅,所以只能永远与看不见的敌人厮杀,永远战斗,故陶渊明曰:"刑天舞干戚,猛志固常在"。其中还有圣经故事自画插图:大卫与狮子,大卫凭着对耶和华上帝的信仰,勇敢地打败狮子和熊,凡人的身躯因为信仰而迸发出无限力量和勇气。综合以上,便可知作者"以画明志"的哲学意义:明知自身的弱小,却仍具备与自然或困难斗争的勇气和精神,以追求自己理想中的世界(诗歌、审美或人生)。

现代诗的体裁形式本就十分自由,但这份自由在《墨汁和月色》得到更具"自由"意义的发挥。《墨汁和月色》中收录邢诒旺二十岁至三十五岁,这十五年间他不断探索诗的各种形式的可能,包括自由体、十四行、长诗、组诗、小诗、散文诗等。当然,在直觉创作的当下,并不太可能如此系统地按时期进行诗作形式的选择,作者在归纳选集时有意识地将体裁形式分类,也是企图建立自身"诗学"的结构。作者在〈恋歌·画像〉辑中提到:"个体的经验意识也不妨能形成个体的史诗",实际上"个体的史诗"的概念也覆盖了整本诗选集,从〈梦中渴醒〉到〈墨汁和月色〉,每一辑的体裁形式的诗歌开始与结束,交织成这十五年的一首长篇史诗。

诗集本身也是一首诗,是实验与实践的成果,欣赏诗的过程也经历美学、诗学与哲学的对话。《墨汁和月色》还有很多值得玩味儿的细节,值得对美学、诗学、哲学有深入思考的读者细细品味;也很适合一般对现代诗感到好奇的读者,可在一本诗集中看到现代诗的各种可能,与作者进行美学对话;其中的结构安排与分析方法,对其他文学创作者或研究者也能有所启发。

黄荟如南方大学学院人文与社会学院中文系wkwong@sc.edu.my

上海文学研究的东南亚视角——评《东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究》

王润华,南治国《东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究》,上海:上海远东出版社,2021年10月,380页。



历史学者贺圣达先生曾指出,提起汉学研究,与中国紧邻的东南亚汉学研究,无论对比欧美还是日本的汉学研究,在中国内地对其全面系统的了解都还不够。究其原因,有关资料缺乏和重视不够兼而有之。¹作为汉学研究的一个重要方面,关于东南亚汉学中的中国文学研究的系统论著,也难寻见。从这个角度来看,上海社科院文学研究所组织编纂的《东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究》²一书,整理综合近一二十年来东南亚学界对上海文学的主要研究成果,可以说是对二十世纪以来上海文学乃至中国文学研究视野和研究资料的一次拓展和丰富。

本书由新加坡著名学者王润华教授和南治国博士主编,收录了张曦娜、周维介、伍燕翎、林春美、余云等十四位学者、作家关于上海文学研究的十七篇论文,及五篇关于上海作家的随笔、访谈。涉及中国现当代文学史上众多重要作家,如鲁迅、郁达夫、徐志摩、张资平、张爱玲、杨骚、刘呐鸥、刘延陵、王安忆等。从这些作家名单可以看出,东南亚汉学对上海文学的定义是广义上的,即这些作家并不一定出生在上海,但他们曾经长期在上海从事文学创作与文化工作,并有所建树和影响。

在本书中,王润华教授创新地使用现代遗传学理论,从遗传基因的角度,来解读东南亚华人世界的鲁迅思想遗传,以及非华语创作中的文学人物与鲁迅小说人物生命共同体的血缘关系,从而揭开东南亚奇特的"鲁迅神话"、"鲁迅崇拜"之谜,为我们呈现出一个反殖民的、左倾的、政治的鲁迅,具有批判、反抗精神的鲁迅,文学创作典范的鲁迅,亚洲文化核心价值的鲁迅等多元的鲁迅形象。这是鲁迅文学在与东南亚本土的碰撞中,形成的"东南亚世界的鲁迅",是不同于其他国家、地域的鲁迅形象,这为全球的鲁迅研究提供了独特的东南亚视角。

用跨界的基因遗传学阐释上海文学也是本书的一个重要研究方法。东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究重点关注的,是那些与东南亚本土发生"血缘关系"

¹ 贺圣达《东南亚汉学研究的历史回顾》,《国际汉学》,2003年01期。

^{2 [}新加坡]王润华、[新加坡]南治国编,上海:上海远东出版社,2021年10月版。

的上海文学或上海作家编者尝试寻找本土文学中的中国文学遗传基因,探索上海文学对东南亚世界的书写想象。在这样的编纂理念下,东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究视野,体现出两个鲜明的特征:一是并不把上海文学作为一个地域性的文学概念,而是将其作为中国现当代文学史发展进程的一部分,一个观察、理解中国文学的视角,进而总结出上海文学作为中国经验,乃至亚洲经验的丰富意义。二是东南亚汉学并不单单以"他者"的视角观看上海文学,而是在对东南亚文学与上海文学的比较中,通过对文学现象的分析归纳,来看中国文学对东南亚文学的影响和建构。

本书在研究方法上还有两个突出的特征。首先是注重历史资料的开掘,以及作家生平资料的发现。王润华《从解密的影像解读鲁迅与东南亚左倾运动的三种模式》,通过近几十年来新加坡、马来西亚、越南、印度尼西亚等地已经解密的历史影像、文字资料,包括报刊、书籍、教科书、电影、照片等,来还原鲁迅在东南亚文学、思想、社会等各层面的全方位影响。例如在 1937 年的新马新闻报刊中可以看到,参加新马鲁迅逝世一周年大规模纪念活动的就有很多没有阅读能力的码头工人,这直接显明了鲁迅在新马华人世界的左倾政治意义大于文学意义。同时从这些影像资料中也可以对比出越南小说人物形象塑造与鲁迅小说人物形象的共同性,以及鲁迅作品对印尼左派政治运动的推动,展现了鲁迅在非华裔国家跨种族跨语言的影响。这些资料直接有力地展示了东南亚鲁迅塑像的过程。

王润华《中日人士所见郁达夫在苏门答腊的流亡生活》和《郁达夫在新加坡与马来亚》,夏菁《郁达夫的南洋梦:南洋经历与其游记》三篇文章,则通过大量资料的收集和整理,重返郁达夫于 1938年 12 月南下新马办报、宣传抗日至 1945年 8 月在苏门答腊岛失踪这段自我放逐与死亡的历史现场,从文学创作、文学实践、个人生活遭遇等各个角度,为我们呈现出一个文化人、商人、日军翻译等多面的郁达夫。他人缘好、善交际,有商人头脑,不停地逃亡求生,斡旋于东南亚华人与日本人之间,这样的郁达夫与中国文学中作为浪漫作家的郁达夫是不一样的。正如王润华教授在文中所说,"新马文艺界对郁达夫在南洋的最大贡献,是在资料的整理上"。

东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究方法的另一个鲜明特征是,通过文本细读的方式,进入作品内部,通过归纳、整理、论证来清晰展现中国文学基因遗传图谱。王润华先生深入东南亚文学文本内部,通过人物形象的塑造、艺术手法的使用、文学参与社会改造的使命等研究手段,推演出新马作家黄孟文小说中的惠兰、印尼作家普拉穆迪亚笔下的爪哇人克明、越南作家南高书写的越南农村人志飘等人物形象,都与鲁迅小说中的人物有密切的遗传血统关系。南治国、林春美、赵秀敏三位学者的论文,则关注刘呐鸥、徐志摩、张资平、张爱玲作品中的南洋书写。这几位中国现代文学史上特色鲜明的重要作家,曾在南洋短暂停留或者压根儿没有到过南洋,他们对南洋的印象是浮光掠影的,甚至

是想象的。通过对这些南洋书写的细读,东南亚学者用"他者"的视野呈现了 上海作家在异域书写中对中国文化传统的思考与内省。

值得一提的是,东南亚汉学家对上海文学的分析研究是在全球视野下进行的,但东南亚学界又不过于依赖西方理论,而是立足于总结和表达东南亚本土的经验和问题,结合中国内地的文学研究,以及中国文化的内在精神谱系,来阐释和解读上海文学。这样的包容的、交织的、开放的视野,可以为中国内地的文学研究提供有益的借鉴。首先,在研究上海文学的同时,东南亚学者也将本土文学、文化发展的过程,对中国文学的传承和创新呈现了出来,体现了自觉的东南亚本土化视野和自主的文化传播的意识;其次,在国际视野下,文本细读对作品的还原,资料收集对作家形象的还原,不屈从于理论的表达,而更在乎作家精神传承的展现(例如南治国博士从"旅程"意义的角度来分析刘呐鸥《赤道下》),从而使研究文论避免落入抽象的教条,具有诗意的可读性。

但这种立足于东南亚本土、将上海文学作为观察中国文学的一个视角的研究意识,既有敞开,也有遮蔽,在一定程度上忽略了上海文学独特的地域特征以及上海文学发生的历史语境。可喜的是,东南亚汉学界也看到了这个问题,在本书中马来西亚学者伍燕翎、黄妃即开始关注王安忆作品中的上海都市描绘、上海日常生活的书写,以及王安忆作品中的语言实验。

历史学家朱维铮先生曾经用"窗外的视角"来形容外国汉学研究的意义:"我"坐在屋子里头,可以告诉你屋里的细节;而"你"站在房间外面,可以告诉"我"房间的位置。³东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究视角,不仅为上海文学研究提供了丰富且珍贵的研究资料,更提供了理论和方法上的成功经验,对于我们进一步思考上海文学的丰富性、拓宽上海文学研究的视野大有裨益。

齐晓鸽 上海《书城》杂志编辑部主任 qixg@shxinhua.net

163

^{3 [}加]卜正民:《哈佛中文史》中文版自序,王兴亮等译,上海:中信出版社,2016年版。

张森林《朝向环境伦理:新马华文诗文中的生态书写(1976-2016)》,新加坡:新跃社科大学新跃中华学术中心,2021年,406页。



《朝向环境伦理:新马华文诗文中的生态书写(1976-2016)》一书,是张森林的博士论文的修订版,因为其论述问题的重要性和本土性强的特点,被列为新跃人文丛书之一。我们都知道,一篇博士论文,当中论述问题的重要性是论文最终成败的关键。进入 21 世纪以来,全球变暖带来的各种极端天气和自然灾害,相信每个人都感同身受。人类生存和生态保护不平衡,导致生态受到严重破坏,反过来影响到人类生活质量,问题日益突出。生态保护应运而生,其之所以重要,是因为生态破坏很多是不可逆转的,或必须为此付出沉重的代价,比如动物的绝种、土地的沙漠化等。直至今天,虽然生态保护日益受到重视,但可付诸实施的

保护方法却缺乏,生态保护与社会利益的矛盾冲突始终存在。在这个大前提下,选择新马华文诗文中生态书写作为博士论文的研究方向,研究动机是明确易懂的。然而,能真正下决心去深入研究,收集整理大量相关文本和研究文献,并按主题解读赏析其中的代表性作品,提出自己独到的见解,为后续类似研究找到突破口,还是让我们感受到作者的很强的危机意识、历史责任感和担当精神。因为这个题目涉及多学科,包括科技、教育、医疗、人文、地理、农业、工商业等,如果没有足够的批评探索勇气,研究很容易流于泛泛之谈。

除了问题的重要性,张森林选题的目光也是独到的,选择马华生态书写为研究对象有其优势。生态书写在新马华文文学中一直以来都引起足够重视,特别是在脱离殖民走向独立的初期,产生了很多优秀的生态书写作品。其动力在于新马作者为了树立国家或文化认同,努力寻求本土特色写作,摆脱中国主导的华文文学。比如本书提到的王润华创作于 1997 年的《猪笼草》:"当我们带着殖民地图与枪炮/在岛上的热带雨林探险/猪笼草绿色的叶子/首次撞见我们这群红毛人/企图转过身就逃走/一颗子弹爆炸后/所有叶子都惊吓成/一个个高脚酒杯/悬挂在天空//在黑暗贫瘠的丛林里/迷失方向后/我们口渴又饥饿/高深的杯子里/倾倒不出半滴酒/也抖不出半片阳光/只有毒液与昆虫的尸首"。诗歌画面感很强,只有几句,却通过拟人、移情等手法,呈现出雨林生态和人一起被殖民的痛苦状况。猪笼草属于热带植物,猪笼草这一意象,后来也出现在诗人的其他作品中,给人留下深刻印象。诗人田思《红树林哀歌》第二节:"它是潮汐换班的终站/它是鱼族贝类的托儿所/它是甲壳昆虫的游乐场/它是尖嘴长脚的水鸟/喋喋交换讯息的市集"。终站、托儿所、游乐场、水鸟、市集,从这些和人类日常生活息息相关的意象,读者就不难理解保护红树

林的重要意义,加深对红树林这一环境适应标志物的理解。诗人伊蝉《雾都候鸟记》第二节: "天空很大/云层却容不下羽绒的重量/别为我短暂的飞掠而长期小题大做/我不会在你的彩虹底下筑巢/我的树干将高于这座城市的胸脯"。此诗采用夸张手法,通过一只候鸟和整个天空的对比,表达人面对烟霾的弱小无助。在本书中,这样的诗歌以及批评、分析、对比、赏析等等,比比皆是,寓意深刻,耐人寻味。

作者在撰写本书的时候,已经在文学创作和评论,特别是在诗歌、散文和微型小说等领域,有了一定积累和成就。比起普通的生态书写研究者,张森林对诗歌意象、诗歌语言、诗歌内涵或质感有更敏锐的感觉,更容易从浩如烟海的文献中辨别找出适合支持论文观点的作品,并从多元角度思考和赏析这些作品。不仅如此,作者自己也有生态书写经验,他的组诗《十灭》围绕地球污染与环境破坏,书写面临绝种的动物,并拓展到对人类和文化灭绝的担忧。《十灭》曾获第六届新加坡金狮奖诗歌组佳作奖。如果考虑到作者在这方面的优势,就不难理解本书研究起点高,采用文学批评、文化分析与比较研究相结合,就是水到渠成的事情。难能可贵的是,张森林无论是作为诗、歌评论者,都坚持写自己最熟悉的东西。比如,他的这本书限定了书写内容时间段为1976到2016年间,而这也正是他自己参与生态写作的时间段。这是一种严肃谨慎而又负责的治学态度,避免了因为所论述的问题处在作者专业之外而可能带来的文学批评局限性,这种治学态度,很值得我们学习借鉴。

全书共分六章,分别从政治伦理、人文伦理、社会伦理和科技伦理等领 域展开对新马华文诗文的解读、赏析与批判,各章之间既独立又有机地结合在 一起。政治伦理部分讨论了国家认同感在后殖民初期的特殊意义,列举了一些 反映华人移民、拓荒和对殖民者反抗的诗文,比如王润华的诗集《热带雨林与 殖民地》。人文伦理章节讨论了价值观及其规范,从锡矿、胶林到生态女性主 义,作者列举了一些典型的新马华文生态书写诗文,包括希尼尔、黄明恭、戴 畏夫、郭永秀、宋铭等人的诗歌或散文,并给出有独特见解的赏析。谈到人的 生存, 离不开人与人、人与社会的关系, 本书的社会伦理部分, 探讨了这种关 系。从诗文赏析,读者看到原生态植物,比如雨林和红树林,被毁灭性砍伐带 来的恶果,除了听到有识之士的大声呼吁,也体会到诗人的怜悯之情。科技伦 理部分,作者用很大篇幅论述了科技作为第一生产力对生态平衡所起的重要作 用,特别是科技发展带来的现代化和全球化思维,探讨在享受科技发展带来的 生活素质提高和生活便利的同时,如何保护生态。书中提到工业化带来的酸 雨、海洋污染、光污染、气候暖化、厄尔尼诺,以及近几年来发生的禽流感等 等,在环境破坏的背后有很大的利益关系。最后一章"余论:朝向环境理论" 是本书论述的核心。作者提到了为保护生态,政府、团体或个人所做的努力和 取得的成效,强调生态整体主义,核心是将生态的整体利益作为最高价值,而 不是把人类的利益作为最高价值。循着这一思想,为生态保护制定出长远规 划。一些大的事件,如马来西亚的生态保育、新加坡河的十年清河运动、新加 坡植物园申遗成功等,书中都有提及。虽然没有达到散文或诗歌描绘出的人与自然和谐相处的生态环境,但政府的重视程度值得肯定。新加坡的绿化工作是不遗余力的,当听说新加坡有两百万株树的时候,相信很多人会大吃一惊,"花园城市"盛名当之无愧。当然,取得这些成功付出的代价有目共睹,也告诫世人要珍惜来之不易的生态环境,鼓励华文写作者以文学歌颂、赞美环境保护作为己任。

值得一提的是,书里提到的新马作者都以注解方式给出作者简介,为读者更深刻理解作品及其创作背景提供了完整的材料。比如,锡矿和胶林的书写,引述王润华的诗《吞吃雨林的怪兽》,书中不仅从字面解读文本,而且提供了诗人在成长过程中认识不断加深的记录、诗歌产生的背景、创作过程、表达方式等等,有利于进一步加深对诗歌的理解,留下深刻印象。

新加坡是一个多元种族社会,在东西方文化交流中扮演桥梁作用。本书除了新马两地作家诗人外,也参考了国际上,特别是一些发达国家和地区,关于生态保护的具有权威性的研究成果。从文献收集整理到批评、分析、对比、赏析,作者付出艰辛的劳动。本书对想要了解或研究新加坡和马来西亚华文书写,特别是有关生态书写的读者,具有很高的参考价值。

王建刚 新加坡资讯通信研究院高级科学家 jgwang@i2r.a-star.edu.sg

郭永秀主编《五月诗社截句选》,台北:秀威资讯科技股份有限公司, 2020年,268页。



自新诗从旧体诗系统中衍生出来而自成一体后,加诸在新诗身上的标签从来就未曾中断过。就诗歌内容和风格而言,有所谓的"史诗""写实诗""现代诗""抒情诗""叙事诗""朦胧诗"等诗体;就诗歌形制和长短而言,有所谓的"十四行诗""长诗""短诗""小诗""截句""三行诗"等诗体。

在东南亚国度中,泰国是一个致力于六行以内小诗创作的国家。2006年,以泰国诗人为主的诗社"小诗磨坊"成立了。林焕彰是这个诗社的唯一台湾人,泰国方面有曾心、苦觉等 11 位诗人。十年磨一剑,2017年,"小诗磨坊"成员合著了《小诗磨坊小诗精选》。

中国学者王珂在《磨坊为何享誉世界——〈小诗磨坊小诗精选〉序》中指出,新诗的小诗是英雄创造的诗体。他说: "古今中外诗歌史上都存在的微型诗体,如古希腊的'诗铭',现代汉诗中的小诗源于古代汉诗中的绝句、日本诗歌中的俳句和印度的'伽陀'(偈)及泰戈尔的小诗。这种诗体在百年新诗中已经形成了一定的诗体传统,是百年来新诗诗体建设中基本成熟的两种准定型诗体(新格律诗、小诗)之一。"

除了合著《小诗磨坊小诗精选》之外,曾心也与中国学者朱文斌联合主编《新世纪东南亚华文小诗精选》,这本书在 2018 年由浙江工商大学出版社出版。

至于"截句",则是白灵、萧萧、李瑞腾等台湾诗人、学者提倡的文体。根据白灵的说法: "所谓'截句',一至四行均可,可以是新作,也可以是从旧作截取。为让诗更多元化,小诗更简洁、更新鲜,期盼透过这样的提倡让庶民更有机会读写新诗。"在这里,白灵提出了两种形式的创作: "旧作截取四行以内的诗句"和"四行以内的新作"。

新加坡作家卡夫的截句选集《卡夫截句》在 2017 年于台湾出版,卡夫编著的《截句选读》和《截句选读二》,也先后在 2017 年和 2019 年于台湾出版。这三本书通过截句赏读,提倡截句创作,也显示了新华作家与台湾出版社之间的紧密合作。

2020年12月,秀威资讯出版郭永秀主编的《五月诗社截句选》。此书收入新加坡五月诗社20位成员的截句创作,他们是:蔡志礼、蔡家梁、陈军荣、淡莹、董农政、郭永秀、李宁强、林得楠、林方、林锦、林也、刘瑞金、

沈斯涵、王润华、伍木、希尼尔、韩昕余、郑景祥、周德成、周昊。除了林方的截句是 12 首之外,其余 19 位作者,各收入十首截句,总共 202 首截句。

通过上述的事实比较,我们不难发现,小诗的长度是以六行为限,而截句是四行以内。台湾是亚洲华文现代诗的发祥地,数十年来,台湾的现代诗对东南亚国家影响颇大,包括菲律宾、越南、新加坡和马来西亚等国家在内,都明显受过台湾现代诗的影响。在泰国的"小诗磨坊"中,林焕彰的引导作用肯定不在话下,而在截句创作的提倡上,经由台湾和新加坡诗人的共同努力,正使得截句创作朝向蓬勃的方向迈进。

五月诗人的创作风格,包括主题思想与艺术追求,历来研究者的研究成果颇丰,当中有一些作品已成为不断被传阅与论析的经典。本文着重于从《五月诗社截句选》探讨截句的形制。在每位参与作者所呈现的截句中,有一些是从一首组诗中截取截句,例如伍木的《金丝猴》《白鳃豚》《朱鹮》《华南虎》《梅花鹿》《丹顶鹤》《羚牛》《白鹳》《雪豹》《大熊猫》,是从其组诗《十灭——濒临绝灭的一种诠释》中截取的;郑景祥的截句是以"组截句"《人到中年——郑景祥截句诗十首》的形式呈现,包括《黑斑即永恒》《奈何皱纹》《老回望青春》《装进眼袋》《老掉牙》《放弃白发》《肚腩圆谎》《故意失眠》《害怕健忘》《临终妄想》等主题一致的截句;周昊的截句也是以"组截句"《截事成诗》的形式出现,包括《刷牙》《打领带》《寒暄》《叫外卖》《打字》《撒谎》《看新闻》《散步》《冲凉》《做恶梦》。

李宁强其中的五首截句是以"组截句"的形式出现,截取自《广角镜》的《摄影五式》,即以摄影为主题的《自拍》《对焦》《人像写真》《特写》《快门》。王润华的十首截句是以五组"组截句"的形式呈现,每一组"组截句"有两首,各呈现一个主题,包括截取自组诗《皮影戏》的《影子的家庭背景》《傀儡的自白》;截取自组诗《象外象》的《河》《早》;截取自诗歌《屋外》的《屋外(一)》《屋外(二)》;截取自组诗《戒严后的新村》的《戒严后的新村(一)》《戒严后的新村(二)》;《重返高速公路》截取自组诗《重返高速公路》之四《电灯柱上的小鸟》,《重返新加坡港口》截取自组诗《重返新加坡》之《重返新加坡港口》,虽然截取自不同组诗,但这两首截句的主题都是"重返"。

在形制上有特点的截句还包括刘瑞金的《风景》《距离》《青春》《回忆》《口袋》《真颜》《写诗》《阴影》《自己》《颜色》。这十首截句的题目都是两个字,而且都是两行截句,格式上相当统一。

从上文我们得知,截句的来源有二: "旧作截取四行以内的诗句"和 "四行以内的新作"。截句与原诗作之间的题目处理,是截句一个可供玩味之 处。在《五月诗社截句选》中,淡莹的截句《出门进门》《晒衣》《心愿》 《听蝉》《楚霸王》《虞姬》《伞内·伞外》《飞鸿》《年轮》《春》,与林 方的截句《世纪》《游子吟》《蜡烛》《星之葬礼》《幕》《废墟》《稻草 人》《敝屐》《一把橡实》《雨季》《思念》《诗人的踱步》,有一个共同 点,那就是两人的截句都是截取自同名的诗作。林方的截句后面还一一注明原诗作的创作年份,资料相当详尽。蔡志礼的六首截句截取自同名诗作:《书香》《变脸》《鱼市里的鱼》《心底蛙》《挂一枚月亮在家中》《世上最远的距离》,另外四首截句没有注明截取出处,我理解为原诗本身就是四行以内的截句。

相比之下,郭永秀的十首截句中,截句题目与原诗作题目,有时一样,有时不一样:《筷子》截取自《筷子的故事》,《夏日荷塘》截取自《四季相思》,《建筑物》截取自《建筑物》,《泥土》截取自《泥土》,《露珠》截取自《荷塘》,《长发》截取自《咏长发》,《希望》截取自《等你,在绵绵的雨中》,《弹筝》截取自《弹筝的小女孩》,《千年之约》截取自《太阳岛之歌》,《萨斯》截取自《隔离,以爱和坚持》。

反观李宁强的另外五首截句,截句题目与原诗作题目完全不一样:《圣托里尼在打盹》截取自《海边一群建筑客工》,《咖啡狂想》截取自《跌入南洋咖啡的黑洞》,《方块字》截取自《文字梦魇》,《近晚》截取自《候鸟进行曲》,《禁足》截取自《隔断》。

此外,林也的截句《绿装》截取自组诗《彩色分析》之四,《征途》截取自《跑道》,《夜未央》截取自《夜未央》,截句的题目与原诗作的题目之间或保持一致,或保持一定的联系。蔡家梁的截句《草书》截取自 2011 年新加坡金笔奖华文诗歌组第二名作品——组诗《黑白讲》之一《草书》的最后几行;《九宫格言》截取自《九宫格言》。沈斯涵的其中三首截句《北京三部曲之京城》《北京三部曲之黄包车》《北京三部曲之北漂》,都是截取自组诗《北京三部曲》。蔡家梁与沈斯涵的截句题目与原诗作的题目之间还保持一致性。

《五月诗社截句选》的 20 位作者中,九位也有诗作收入《新世纪东南亚华文小诗精选》,他们当中,林锦的《交通灯》、林也的《征途》,在这两本书中都有出现。我们不妨从此二诗的呈现方式,进一步比较"小诗"与"截句"的不同。

林锦的《交通灯》在《新世纪东南亚华文小诗精选》中的呈现方式: "站着纹风不动/无须挥手无须吆喝/要走/要停/全得看/我的眼色";《交通灯》在《五月诗社截句选》中的呈现方式:"纹风不动,十字路口站着/无需招手无需吆喝/要走,要停/全得看我的眼色"。

林也的《征途》在《新世纪东南亚华文小诗精选》中的呈现方式: "你听听檐角雨滴/你看壁上徐悲鸿的马/神采夺人/明天出发时/将是天朗万里"; 《征途》在《五月诗社截句选》中的呈现方式: "你听听檐角雨滴/壁上徐悲鸿的马神采夺人/明天出发时/将是天朗万里"。

相较之下,《交通灯》在《新世纪东南亚华文小诗精选》中是六行,在《五月诗社截句选》则是四行;《征途》在《新世纪东南亚华文小诗精选》中

是五行,在《五月诗社截句选》也是四行。不只行数减少,而且在用字上更为凝练,所散发出来的诗味更浓。

无独有偶的是,林也在这两本书中的《征途》,副题都是《拙作〈跑道〉截句》,可见《新世纪东南亚华文小诗精选》除了"小诗"之外,对于"截句"这样的名词也不排斥。不过,《拙作〈跑道〉截句》这样的字眼作为副题,似有可商榷之处,尤其是放在《五月诗社截句选》中,在体例上与其他作者同样截取自原诗作的截句的处理方式显得格格不入。

张森林 新跃社科大学 teosumlim@gmail.com

Southern University Academic Journal Guideline for Submission

- 1. Southern University Academic Journal publishes articles and book reviews annually, focusing on literature, history, geography, education, politics, economics and social/cultural issues in Southeast Asia.
- 2. Submissions are welcomed from all scholars of the world. Do not submit more than one manuscript at a time; submissions cannot have been previously published (including on the internet or as part of a dissertation or thesis). Do not include any information in the paper that would divulge the authorship of the paper.
- 3. The review process for all submissions begins usually a month after receipt. The deadline submission date is (15 April). The Journal's editorial committee will be responsible for collecting and reviewing the manuscripts and other related matters. Authors will be notified of the decision by the Journal's editorial committee at the end of May. Manuscripts will be reviewed by the editorial committee then sent anonymously to two experts for evaluation for blind referee.
- 4. The Journal is a Chinese language international refereed journal, however, papers in English or Malay would be considered. Chinese manuscripts should be between 10,000-30,000 characters in length, and English and Malay manuscripts between 5000 8000 words.
- 5. Simplified Chinese characters will be used throughout the Journal. Authors will need to translate traditional characters into simplified characters.
- 6. All submissions should include the following information both in Chinese and English: title, abstract (not to exceed 250 characters/words), and keywords (no more than five). Follow the MLA style format for English manuscripts. Chinese manuscripts should conform to the style sheet included in every issue of the journal.
- 7. Please provide the following information on a separate sheet of paper: name, institution, and position (in both Chinese and English for the above), contact address, email address, and telephone or fax number. Please also note if the paper has been presented at a conference.
- 8. Articles published in *Southern University College Academic Journal* cannot be reprinted, translated, republished or reproduced in any form without first acquiring written permission from the journal.
- 9. Articles / book reviews published will be uploaded on the webpage for wider reading. With submission, the authors would agree that upon publication the article will be freely available online for un-restricted non-commercial use, distribution and reproduction.
- 10. Manuscripts should be sent to:

Editor Southern University Academic Journal Southern University College PTD 64888, 15Km, Jalan Skudai, P.O. Box 76, 81300 Skudai, Johor, Malaysia.

Email: suaj@sc.edu.my

Book Reviews

- Southern University College Academic Journal accepts book reviews in Chinese published in the last three years. However, special reviews in English and Bahasa Malaysia would be considered.
- 2. Books to be reviewed must be related to literature, history, geography, education, politics, economics and social/cultural issues in Southeast Asia.
- Reviews written in Chinese should be from 2000 to 2500 characters; and 3. reviews in English and Malay should be 1000-1500 words.
- 4. Please send review copies marked "For Book Review Only" to the Book Review Editor.

Book Review Editor Southern University Academic Journal Southern University College PTD 64888, 15Km, Jalan Škudai, P.O. Box 76, 81300 Skudai, Johor, Malavsia.

Email: suaj@sc.edu.my

南方大学学报

征稿简则

- 1. 本学刊具有包括内审与外审的审查制度,为全球研究海外华人与中华文化,特别东南亚地区的华人与跨族群至文学、历史、地理、教育、政治、经济、社会、文化之学术重要学报,每年出版一期,刊载以华文论述研究东南亚华人与文化之论文及书评为主。
- 2. 本学刊公开,欢迎国内外学者随时赐稿,不接受研究生文稿,但欢迎老师与研究生联名发表。每期投稿每人以一篇为限。来稿不得先以任何形式出版(网路文章视同已出版)。因为匿名审查之故,文稿中请避免留下作者相关资讯。
- 3. 每期截稿日(四月十五日)。本学刊设有编辑委员会,处理集稿、审稿、编印及其他相关出版事宜。所有来稿经编辑委员会初审通过后,送请专家进行双匿名审查。作者与审查者之身份互不透露。编辑委员会将参考审查意见,作成决议(五月底),并将结果通知作者。
- 4. 本学刊为中文学报,由于跨语言、学科与族群研究交流之重要性,也发表例外推荐的英文与马来文论文。以一万字至三万字(含注释、参考资料)为原则。
- 5. 中文文稿以简体为准: 繁体中文请自行转换字码。
- 6. 来稿一律请附:中英文题名、中英文摘要、中英文关键词。摘要(中文、英文、马来文)限二百五十字以内,关键词以五个为限。请务必按本刊撰稿体例撰写,以利作业。英文稿请依 MLA 格式论述。
- 7. 来稿请另纸注明中英文姓名、服务机构、职称(如助理教授、副教授)、通讯地址、电子邮件信箱、电话或传真号码。
- 8. 本刊发表之文字, 非经本学刊书面同意, 不得翻印、翻译或转载。
- 9. 本学报将出版印刷与电子数位版,以便更广泛的转播。提交论文予本学刊即表示作者同意。
- 10. 来稿请寄送 Word 或 pdf 档储存之电子档。邮寄地址为:

Editor

Southern University Academic Journal Southern University College

PTD 64888, 15Km, Jalan Skudai, P.O. Box 76, 81300 Skudai, Johor,

Malaysia.

电子邮件信箱: suaj@sc.edu.my

书评

- 1. 本学刊欢迎出版商和作者寄来三年内出版的英文、中文、马来文的学术专书与文学创作文集(如诗、小说、散文集与戏剧等),编辑部会请学者写书评,发表于本刊上。
- 2. 中文书评字数以二千至二千五百字为原则。
- 3. 请将书本寄给"书评编辑"(信封请写"书评本")。

书评编辑 Book Review Editor Southern University Academic Journal Southern University College PTD 64888, 15Km, Jalan Skudai, P.O. Box 76, 81300 Skudai, Johor, Malaysia. 电子邮件信箱: suaj@sc.edu.my

中文撰稿体例

- 一、 来稿请依题目、作者、中英文摘要、中英文关键词、正文、图片、引用书目 之顺序撰写。
- 二、 各章节使用符号, 依一、(一)、1、(1)等顺序标示。
- 三、 请用以下标点符号: 书名、期刊名等之中文标题一律採双尖号《》。单篇文章、古籍篇名等之中文标题一律採单尖号〈〉。
- 四、 段落內的引文号: "",如:中文的"史"字;
- 五、 引文号内的引文: '',如:"天子有问无以对,责之'丞'"。
- 六、 注脚请用 9 级字,字体与正文相同。标示注脚请用阿拉伯数字,号码全文连续,置于标点之后。
- 七、 徵引书目,请依下列格式:
 - (一) 专书: 作者《书名》,出版地:出版者,西元年份,页码。

如:

- 甘永川《群众运动与新加坡社会 1945-1955》,新加坡:新加坡 国立大学中文系荣誉学位学士论文,1998年,页37-38。
- (二) 期刊论文:作者〈篇名〉,《刊物名称》卷期,西元年份月份,页码。

如:

- 林安梧〈经典诠释的存有学探源——关连《存有三态论》的根源 性探讨〉,《南方学院学报》第三期,2007年11月,页33-45。
- (三) 论文集论文:作者〈篇名〉,论文集编者《论文集名称》,出版地: 出版者,西元年份,页码。

如:

- 张爱玲〈自己的文章〉,载《张爱玲文集》卷 4,合肥:安徽文 艺出版社,1992年,页174。
- 八、年代及页数请一律使用阿拉伯数字。

《南方大学学报》第 15 期 . 2022 年 8 月

Southern University College Academic Journal, No. 15, August 2022 Jurnal Akademik Kolej Universiti Selatan, No. 15, Ogos 2022.

Website / 网站: https://southern.edu.my/publication-suc-academic-journal.php

- 《南方大学学报》前期名称为《南方学院学报》。自 2005 年至 2011 年共出版 7 期。2013 年改名为《南方大学学报》后至今年 2022, 共出版 8 期, 从 14 期开始, 统一期数, 故称本期为第 15 期。
- 本刊从这期开始,除出版印刷实体本,也欢迎读者上本学报网站免费 阅读所有论文。
- The journal was first named Southern College Academic Journal and has published 7 volumes from 2005 to 2011. In 2013 the journal was renamed Southern University College Journal with 8 volumes published in 2022. Therefore, the present volume is No 15.
- Beginning from 14th issue, our journal is published in printed and digital versions. The digital version is free for reading with the link provided.

主编: 黄琦旺、彭念莹

执行编辑: 谭勇辉

编委: 张耀龙、骆俊彦、陈奕进、陈胜强、林颖璇

黄荟如

编辑助理: 黄秀秀

校对: 黄荟如、陈奕进、林诗敏

排版:南方新媒体中心

封面设计: 陈宥敏封面题字: 郑良树

出版:南方大学学院出版社

Southern University College

PTD 64888, 15km,

Jalan Skudai, P.O.Box 76,

81300 Skudai, Johor, Malaysia.

电话: 607-5586605

传真: 607-5563306

电邮: suaj@sc.edu.my

印刷: Vertex Printing

19, Jalan Cahaya Kota Puteri, 81750 Masai, Johor Bahru, Johor.

电话/传真: 607-5206366 (5 lines) / 607-5206476

出版日期: 2022年8月

定价: RM30.00

国际书号 ISSN: 1823-5522

e-ISSN: 2948-4618

版权所有•翻印必究

Contents目次

Articles · 论文

Ng Kee Ong	Ancient Melodies - A Lyric in The Memory and Viewing of A Woman in The Republic of China	ľ
Special Part: The Be	连上丝绸之路国际学术研讨会 elt & Road Initiative (BRI): International Academic Conference	
骆俊彦 Lok Jun Yan	从杜中与佟暖的书写及学琴经验看 60-90 年代马新与中国琵琶艺术交流境况 Pipa Art Exchange between MalaysiaSingapore and China in 1960s Reveals From Du-zhong and Tong-nuan's Writing	33
彭念莹 Pang Nian Yin	1920 年代新加坡华文阅读选择——书籍杂志 Singapore Chinese Reading Choices in the 1920s Books and Magazines	47
谭勇辉 Tam Yong Huei	神思故土,笔润炎洲——马六甲青云亭书法文物与闽南书坛的传承关系 The Relationship Between The Heritage of Cheng Hoon Teng Temple Calligraphy in Malacca and The Calligraphy Scene in Southern Fujian	67
王润华 Wong Yoon Wah	重构海上丝路上的东南亚汉学新考古 Rethinking the Development of Sinology along the Maritime Silk Road	85
林大伟 Lim Tai Wei	The Political Economy of China's Arctic Polar Silk Road	119
祝圣怡 Thock Sheng Yi	Malaysia's Pandemic Prevention and Control Strategy, Pivotal Measures in Precarious Times	139
Book Reviews •	书评	
黄荟如	邢诒旺《墨汁和月色:邢诒旺诗选 1998-2013》	159
齐晓鸽	王润华,南治国《东南亚汉学中的上海文学研究》	161
王建刚	张森林《朝向环境伦理:新马华文诗文中的生态书写(1976-2016)》	164
张森林	郭永秀主编《五月诗社截句选》	167

