論文組主題
尋找地方聲音：明清時期帝國法律秩序在地方社會的適用 Finding Local Voices: The Adaptation of Imperial Legal Order in Local Societies during Ming and Qing China
議題說明

　　明清兩朝以朝廷的集權立法聞名。在取代了異族的統治後，兩朝均試圖以強有力的法律機制來創制新的社會秩序。其目的之一便是將國家權力滲透到地方社會，影響人們的日常生活。誠然，王朝法律的實施對地方社會有著形形色色的影響。但是，王朝法律的推行不能忽視地方社會勢力及實情。本論文小組旨在探討明清兩朝"帝國法律秩序的地方化"如何促進了地方聲音以及創建了地方意識。姜永琳探討的是在明帝國，非漢族群如何與帝國勢力與權威抗爭，從而在邊疆地區維持了他們的社會政治地位和法律權利。吳艷紅研究的是明帝國開創者規制的學校法律《臥碑》如果被適用於地方社會，指出帝國在推行法律秩序一體化的過程的同時，也顧及甚至促進地方利益。邱澎生從另一個側面探討了"中央-地方"的互動關係，即蘇州和重慶的商人們是如何利用帝國法律保護自己的權益。他指出，商人們在解決商業糾紛的過程中，依然致力於平衡商業利益和政治風險。總之，本組論文說明，地方社會對平衡中央/地方兩者利益的努力和措施展現了對集權化帝國權威的抵制和轉向，從而保護了地方社會的權利，釋放了地方社會的聲音。

　　China's Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1636-1912) dynasties are well known for their centralized legal establishments. Both regimes, after overthrowing/ conquering the previous alien ruling houses, endeavored to construct the new socio-political order with strong and extensive legal apparatus. One of their goals was to penetrate local societies and thus guide people's daily experience. To be sure, the implementation of the legal order in local societies profoundly reflected the visions and interests of the imperial courts. Nevertheless, its process could not overlook local situations. This panel explores how "localization of the imperial legal order"

promoted local voices and created local awareness in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Yonglin Jiang examines how non-Han groups struggled against the Ming imperial forces and authority and thus maintained their socio-political status and legal rights on the borderlands. Yanhong explores the adaptation of the Ming founder's imperial school law Wobei to local socio-political situations, and argues for a process of identifying and promoting local interests in the wake of maintaining the universal legal order. Pengsheng Chiu examines a different type of "central-local" dynamic: how did local merchants in Suzhou and Chongqing utilized imperial law to protect their entitlements. He argues that the merchants were struggling to balance business and political risks in the course of commercial dispute resolutions. Together, we demonstrate that the efforts to balance the central-local interests in legal order generated a "hope" to resist or redirect the centralizing imperial power and thus protect local people's rights.

談判的秩序：明朝西南邊疆地區的中央—地方法律互動關係

The Negotiated Order: The Central-Local Legal Dynamics on the Ming Southwest Borderlands

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摘 要

明朝是中國法律史上的一個重要發展時期。在推翻了蒙元統治之後，明帝國創制了廣泛而複雜的法律體制，包括規則、制度和實施措施。為了推行漢族政府規劃的法律藍圖，朝廷不遺餘力地滲透地方社會、改造人們的生活。在一定程度上，中央王朝的措施在漢族地區似乎有所效果。但是在帝國的廣袤的西南邊疆，卻是另外一番情景。儘管明王朝努力去征服、並以帝國（漢族）法律"教化"、改造非漢族社區，他們卻遇到了非漢族實力的頑強抵抗，因而收效甚微。本論文探討的是明帝國和邊疆非漢族力量是如何談判當地的法律秩序，從而保護各自的利益。本文強調的是地方法律秩序的偶然性，以及非漢族力量對漢族帝國擴張的抵抗作用。

The Ming dynasty marked an important time period in Chinese legal history. Since the founding of the ruling house, the imperial government had created extensive and sophisticated legal network, including legal regulations, institutions, and enforcement apparatus. To implement the legal blueprint envisioned at the center, the imperial court made tremendous efforts to penetrate local society and transform people's daily life. This seemed, to certain extent, effective in Han areas, as revealed by a number of late Ming court records. On the vast southwest borderlands of the empire, however, it appeared a different story. Although the Ming forces endeavored to conquer and transform the non-Han societies with the imperial (Han) law, they encountered enormous resistance and thus achieved very limited success. This paper addresses the

basic question of how the Ming government and local non-Han peoples negotiated the legal order and contested for their own interests on the borderlands. It will explore the legal consequences of the negotiation and the intellectual, social, cultural, political, and military factors that shaped the legal order.   By emphasizing the contingency of justice system, this paper points to the significance of non-Han resistance against the Han-dominated imperial expansion.

晚明時期中華帝國在地方校規中
對「祖制」的適用

Adapting "Ancestral Instruction" to Local School Regulations in Late Ming China

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摘 要

1382 年，明帝國開國皇帝朱元璋頒布了含有十二條規則用以規範官學生員的《臥碑》。作為明朝 "祖制" 的一部分，該法律被鐫刻在石碑上，並樹立於各地孔廟內的明倫堂側。其目的乃為培育帝國官員提供一個統一和標準的尺度。然而，自十五世紀中葉起，地方官學的主管官每每發表他們各自的地方學規。儘管這些學官被要求依照開國 "祖制" 制定地方學規，但他們卻常常對 "祖制" 給予各自不同的詮釋，從而導致各地學規的不一致。基於皇朝 "祖制" 與各地學規之差異，本論文探討明中後期地方學官是如何利用和改適明初中央統一法制於地方情勢。具體說，它要回答地方教育狀態是如何得到考慮的，各方利益（包括中央王朝、地方學官和生員）是如何平衡的，以及地方學官和生員是如何接受和處理王朝法律和地方學規的關係的等問題。將王朝法適用於各地不同的情狀表明了一個既維護王朝統一法律秩序又考量並促進地方利益的有機過程。

In 1382, the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty promulgated a twelve-article school injunction to regulate government students. As part of the Ming "ancestral instructions," this school law was inscribed on stone tablets (known as wobei) and

erected by the side of Minglun Lecture Hall of the Confucian Temple throughout the empire. It aimed to provide a universal and standard yardstick for educating future state officials. Since the mid-15th century, however, the principal local school officials—education intendants—had started to issue their own regulations. While they were expected to make rules in line with the founding emperor's "ancestral instruction," they often pronounced their own interpretations of it and, consequently, made various regulations that differed from place to place. Focusing on the discrepancy between the imperial "ancestral instruction" and local school regulations, this paper examines how local education intendants used and adapted the canonic central regulation of the early Ming to local school situations in the later years of the dynasty. It explores how local educational issues were addressed, in what ways different interests (the central, the education intendants, and government students) were interwoven, and how both the imperial law and local regulations were received and processed by local education officials and government students. The adaptation of canonic state law to local situations indicates a process of identifying and promoting local interests while maintaining the universal legal order.

平衡商業與政治間的風險：十八至十九世紀間蘇州和重慶地區的商務糾紛

Balancing Risk between Business and Politics: Commercial Lawsuits in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Suzhou and Chongqing

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摘 要

清代的商務手冊勸導商人們要避開任何訴訟，因為政府官員和吏卒們總是要利用他們從而取利。然而，歷史資料表明，在十八、十九世紀的蘇州和重慶，在商業和手工業一片繁榮的事態下，越來越多的商人利用法律訴訟來保護他們的權益。本文以商務手冊的價值觀與歷史記錄的不同為出發點，探討地方商人如何利用帝國法律爭取自己的權利。它要特別說明的是，商人們致力於依靠法律平衡商業和政治間的風險。從商業上講，商人們的確應該在業務中盡量避免糾纏於法律官司，因為訴諸於法律就意味著極有可能遭受官員、吏卒們在法庭內外的各種敲詐勒索。但從政治方面講，商人們似乎認為，走司法程序或許會對保護其利益更有幫助，因為求助於法律會避免權益上的更大損失。本文基於蘇州現存碑刻資料和巴縣檔案，描述和分析了商人們在面臨諸種困境時採取的是否運用法律從而平衡商業和政治風險的抉擇。

Commercial guidebooks in the Qing dynasty urged merchants to avoid any litigation because officials and clerks tended to take advantage of them. Nonetheless, historical records show that in Suzhou and Chongqing, where commerce and industries flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an increasing number of merchants actively resorted to litigation to protect their rights. This paper delves into the paradoxical gap between the teaching of avoiding litigation in the commercial

guidebooks and commercial lawsuits that reflected the merchants' hope to protect their own rights, and asks the central question of how local merchants utilized imperial law to justify their entitlements. It demonstrates that the merchants were struggling to balance the risk between business and politics. From the perspective of business, it might be better for merchants to seeking their fortune by avoiding litigation, because resorting to law will probably incur many blackmailers from clerks, runners and even officials in the local courts. But from the angle of politics, merchants seemed to realize that it would be to their benefit if they resorted to litigation for protecting their thwarted interests, because in some situations resorting to law would avert the further damage of merchants' rights. Based on both the extant steles in Suzhou and pertinent commercial lawsuits selected from Ba Archive, this paper offers a framework for understanding the dynamics of the imposition of law and of resistance to law when merchants facing various menaces and hence balancing risk between business and politics.

論文組主題
舊章回，新媒介：明清小說與當代媒體文化 Old Tales, New Media: The Transmediation of Ming Qing Classics in Contemporary Chinese Culture
議題說明

　　明清時代的章回小說如《紅樓夢》，或在這期間發展成熟的民間故事如〈白蛇傳〉，都被譽為中國文學的經典之作。時至今日，這些經典的原貌雖然遠非人人熟知，這些作品卻時常因為媒體的重編再現（電視連續劇、電子遊戲、電影等）而名聲大噪，並因此由古典文本搖身一變，轉型成為數位媒體賣座寵兒。本小組將深入探討這些轉型現象。然而，我們探討的目的並不止於簡單追溯從文本到多媒體的發展譜系，也並非將數位媒體視為文學無可避免的終點。反之，討論的重心將著重於開啟明清文學與當代媒體的一場創意對話：電子遊戲如何處理敘事／敍述？文本自身是否就是一場遊戲？文本、舞台、和電子像素如何孕育各式人物？文字、插圖、和電腦螢幕又如何啟發視覺想像？

　　羅靚的論文借助白蛇的越界與其它跨學科研究在身分認同、性別性向、身體表演、法律與文學、人與動物關係等方面進行對話。明清以降，白蛇故事屢屢被用來推動諸如自由戀愛、女權主義、底層革命、同性之愛等現代理念。至今，白蛇傳說仍充斥旅遊景點和主題公園，並使明清文學經典與全球新自由主義經濟緊密相連。白蛇的人性與她所象徵的多重越界有關：性別與物種的越界、媒體的越界、政治的越界。 古柏 (Paize Keulemans) 將探討電子遊戲《幻想水滸伝》 及明代《水滸傳》收編一百零八條英雄好漢的操作策略。最後，吳逸仙 (I-Hsien Wu) 將探討視覺想像如何將紅樓夢改頭換面，變成流行音樂視頻作品。司黛蕊 (Teri Silvio) ，中研院民族所的戲劇、性別研究及數位文化專家，將兼任小組主持人及評論人。藉由舊章回、新媒體的結合，我們試圖展現並證明明清文學不僅是受供奉、研究的經典作品，更是和二十一世紀的社會日常（及二十

一世紀的學生）息息相關的文化元素。希望這樣的討論能在明清文化研究領域中另闢蹊徑，和當代創意對話。

The vernacular tales of the late-imperial age, novels such as "Dream of the Red Chamber" or vernacular stories such as "Madame White Snake," are often celebrated as literary masterpieces. Yet in the present day, the fame of these classics stems not from the original texts, but rather from the various re-mediations—tv series, computer games, or full-length films—that have transformed these works from classic text into digitized blockbuster. This panel will explore these transformations.   We aim to do so, not by simply tracing a pre-modern textual genealogy for these current multi-media forms, nor by positing the current, digital forms as inevitable endpoint. Rather we suggest bringing 21st-century medium and late-imperial tale into a creative dialogue: what is the narrative of a game, conversely, can we imagine a text as a game? How are characters developed in text, on stage, or in pixels? How is the visual imagination stimulated in words, illustrations, or a computer screen?

To answer these questions, Liang Luo discusses how, from the Ming Qing period onwards, the White Snake tale has been used to promote diverse, often avant-gardist, and rather political themes such as free love, women's rights, grassroots revolutionary spirit, homosexual love, and transgender rights. Today the legend is the basis for popular tourist sites and theme parks that connect a fantastic tale to a global neoliberal economy. White Snake's humanity has much to do with the various forms of transgressions she embodies: gender, media, and political. Luo's paper, The Humanity of the Non-Human, attempts to converse with interdisciplinary works in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences, on the central issues of spiritual transformation, sense of belonging, gender and sexuality, the body in performance, law and literature, and human-animal relations. Paize Keulemans will explore the politics of collecting 108 heroes in the video-game "Suikoden" and Ming-dynasty "Outlaws of the Marsh." Finally, I-Hsien Wu investigates how the visual imagination has turned "The Dream of the Red Chamber" into MTV music video.   Our discussant will be Teri Silvio of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academia Sinica, an expert in the field of theater, gender, and digital culture.   By bringing together the classical texts of the late-imperial age and their contemporary media forms, we hope to stimulate a conversation on the ways in which the late-imperial works of literature can remain pertinent to our 21st-century world (and our 21st-century students). We also hope to suggest ways in which our research in late-imperial culture can benefit from a creative dialogue with the modern era.

非人之人性：白蛇的三重越界

The Humanity of the Non-Human

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摘 要

白蛇故事在東亞文化轉型和政治變遷中發揮了重要作用。明清以降，白蛇故事屢屢被用來推動諸如自由戀愛、女權主義、底層革命、同性之愛等現代理念。至今，白蛇傳說仍充斥旅遊景點和主題公園，並使明清文學經典與全球新自由主義經濟緊密相連。人蛇之間的糾葛是貫穿白蛇傳說的主線。白蛇的人性與她所象徵的多重越界有關：性別與物種的越界、媒體的越界、政治的越界。《非人之人性》正是借助白蛇的越界與人文、社科、和科學領域的跨學科研究在身分認同、性別性向、身體表演、法律與文學、人與動物關係等方面進行對話。

機器、動物、人

以《申報》 (1872-1949) 有關白蛇汗牛充棟的記載為基礎，本文第一部分探究白蛇故事在這一時期的重要文化意義。具體而言，我探討舞台設計技術革命對該故事流行性的巨大提升，變化的表演程式（包括男女同台）對社會性別角色扮演的影響，及以白蛇為中心的有關為人意義的社會政治討論。晚清至民國的白蛇產業在都市流行文化和市民日常生活中占重要地位，有力反映並推動文化想像、政治變遷、媒體創新。

非人之深厚人性

田漢 (1898-1968) 在五十年代的中國強調了白娘子"深厚的人性"，並以此對比法海"封建的頑執"。白蛇故事因此從"迷信"變身為"神話"，並在文化政治中占一席之地，成為冷戰時期亞洲語境中政治、文化、技術、經濟協商的重要場所。冷戰時期大陸、香港、日本、台灣、及東南亞地區的錯綜文化聯繫也成為解讀日本劇情片《白夫人的妖戀》(1956) 和日本動畫片《白蛇傳》(1958) 的重

要線索。本文第二部分強調亞洲國家地區之間在推動白蛇產業中的相互激發與影響。香港成為冷戰時期的文化重鎮，一面與日臺合作，一面出口到東南亞，成為重塑白蛇形象的關鍵一環。

過去即未來

嚴歌苓的《白蛇》(1998) 以白蛇舞者在五十年代末至八十年代初的際遇為隱喻，深切地展示了藝術塑造生活的魔力。文革 (1966-1976) 的政治創傷在此成為女同性戀身份覺醒的個體創傷記憶。嚴淋漓盡致地描繪了文革中性的無政府主義，及其在文革後被 "糾正" 的發人深省的現實。至今，白蛇形象仍通過豐富的網絡媒體瀰漫於當代流行文化。本文最後探究百度、愛奇藝、蝦米音樂等在重塑和消費白蛇中所起的作用。白蛇故事借助新媒體的蔓延提醒我們文學經典如何被電子技術帶入流行文化，如何被縮減為 "空洞的符號"。但我認為更應強調大眾化過程中釋放出的創造性，並探究如何在老故事與新媒體的撞擊中產生激活老故事豐富新媒體的正能量。

Over several centuries, the tale of the White Snake and its various reincarnations came to life and exerted important influence in the process of cultural transformation and political change in East Asia and beyond. From the Ming Qing period onwards, the White Snake tale has been used to promote diverse, often avant-gardist, and rather political themes such as free love, women's rights, grassroots revolutionary spirit, homosexual love, and transgender rights. Today the legend is the basis for popular tourist sites and theme parks that connect a fantastic tale to a global neoliberal economy.

The relationship between animal and human is at the heart of The Legend of the White Snake. A snake spirit, the White Snake transforms into a beautiful woman, marries a human male, and, in some versions, even bears him a human son. Her humanity has much to do with the various forms of transgressions she embodies: gender, media, and political. My proposed project, The Humanity of the Non-Human, converses well with interdisciplinary works in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences, on the central issues of spiritual transformation, sense of belonging, gender and sexuality, the body in performance, law and literature, and human-animal relations.

The Humanity of the Non-Human concerns itself with the metamorphoses of folk tales in late imperial and modern times, and in intra-Asian and global contexts. It is

particularly interested in the travels of fantastic tales across historical demarcations and geographical boundaries, and how the retelling of these tales shape contemporary politics and popular culture. The White Snake is a window into investigations of the power of the non-human in reflecting, projecting, and shaping what it means to be human.

Machines, Animals, and Other Strange Media Occurrences

Based on the numerous entries related to the White Snake tale appearing in the pages of one of the most influential Chinese newspapers, Shenbao (1872-1949), Part I probes the tale's changing cultural import during this period. Specifically, I examine the impact on the tale's reception due to technological breakthroughs in staging, the shifting performative paradigm regarding gender roles, and the sociopolitical debates over what it means to be human.

The White Snake industry in Shanghai from the late Qing to the Republican Era was at the center of popular culture and everyday life, powerfully shaping and reflecting popular imagination, changing political climate, and new media development. The human and the non-human, the popular and the avant-garde, intricately intersected in retelling this fantastic tale in the contexts of urban entertainment and commercial popular culture; technological, economic, and political changes; and the intellectual and popular projects of disenchantment and possible re-enchantment.

Profound Humanity in the Non-Human

In the 1950s in the People's Republic of China (PRC), in responding to criticism targeting "the unscientific aspect of the old opera," Tian Han (1898-1968), author of the Peking Opera White Snake, pointed out the "profound humanity" of Madame White in contrast to the feudal stubbornness of the Monk who separated her from her human lover. Transforming from "superstition" to "myth," White Snake gained legitimacy in the cultural politics of the PRC in the 1950s, and became a key site for political, cultural, technological, and economic negotiations throughout Cold War Asia.

The intra-Asian connection among Mainland China, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia offers intriguing possibilities in deciphering the Japanese live action film Byaku fujin no yoren (1956) and animation Hakuja den (1958). This section explores the broad context of postwar inter-Asian inspiration and influence, co-production, marketing, and consumption in the White Snake industry. Hong Kong became a Cold War cultural powerhouse, coproducing with Japan and Taiwan, exporting to Southeast Asia, and stayed relevant in revamping the White Snake. The

feminine genre of Huangmei Opera Film, in particular, as an invented tradition, repackaged an old tale in a softer version, made possible the transmission of the White Snake and its feminine aesthetics to Southeast Asia and globally. Such feminine re-enchantment could be read as expressions of the PRC's "soft power" in which gender transgression became muted by political propaganda. However, a rebellious White Snake could also serve propagandist purpose, as it did during the campaign to propagate the New Marriage Law throughout the early 1950s in the Chinese mainland.

The Return of the Past in the New Era and the Digital Age

A literary scholar and a cultural historian at heart, I am interested in both the media transformations of the White Snake tale and the lived realities of the people who were producing, consuming, and transmitting the tale across time and locations. Gender transgression on stage can be politically suspicious in real life. The fate of the fictional White Snake impersonator in Yan Geling's 1998 novella Baishe serves as an allegory of the life-shaping power of art. The political trauma of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) became a personal trauma of coming to terms with one's lesbian identity. Yan depicts the flowering of gender anarchy during the Cultural Revolution—and intriguingly, its "correction" in the post-Cultural Revolution years.

Today the White Snake permeates contemporary popular culture through myriad forms of online media. This final section analyzes a few of the representative online venues: Baidu, IQIYI, Xiami, and other online platforms. The case of the new media proliferations of the White Snake certainly could remind us of how digital technology has brought literary classics to the realm of popular culture by making them into "empty signs." But more importantly, I want to highlight the creative energies unleashed in the process of such popularization, and further investigate how such a process could bring old tales and new media into productive conversations meaningful for rejuvenating the classics and contributing to contemporary cultural production.

從雕版繡像到音樂視頻：
跨媒體製作中的林黛玉

From Woodblock Prints to Music Video: Lin Daiyu in Transmediation

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摘 要

　　詩藝超群、姿容絕代卻又多愁善感的林黛玉，一向是最受矚目的《紅樓夢》中人。而無庸置疑地，黛玉葬花則是最足以代表黛玉人物特質的一幕。小說面世至今，從雕版繡像到銀幕映像，「黛玉葬花」早已成為人盡皆知的經典畫面。不僅對熟悉《紅樓夢》的讀者如此，對未從讀過小說的人們亦然。然而，在當今的大眾文化中，除了葬花，是否還有其他想像黛玉的方法？如果黛玉不葬花，活動背景也不再是大觀園的舊亭台，那麼這個紅樓夢中人又將如何在當代視覺媒體中再現？香港歌手何韻詩 2011 年的音樂影片《癡情司》提供了我們一個探討上述問題的有趣例子。這部作品以寶玉（何韻詩飾演）和黛玉（舒淇飾演）的臉部特寫貫穿全片，而葬花的概念則只用飄搖在鏡頭前的一塊印花薄紗隱晦地暗示。除此之外背景一片漆黑，道具也僅僅是幾片雪花。但是如此抽象的呈現手法，不但解構、重塑了林黛玉，更提供了小說與流行音樂、戲劇、時尚攝影，以及電影美學進行對話的新角度。《癡情司》在以明星、性別曖昧、情色想像和現代科技誘惑觀眾的同時，也顛覆早已規範化了的關於黛玉的視覺想像傳統，並且創造出具有極端強烈個人風格的閱讀／視覺經驗。

Lin Daiyu, the beautiful and talented, vulnerable and frail, yet sickly and moody heroine, is arguably the most captivating character in Dream of the Red Chamber. Since the novel's publication, one iconic scene in particular has captured this character's

essence: "Daiyu Burying Fallen Blossoms," a scene repeatedly adapted in various media from woodblock prints to film, celebrated not only by ardent readers but also by people who have never read the novel. This paper investigates the fate of this scene in contemporary mass culture by asking what happens when the visual representation of Daiyu is taken out of the instantly-recognizable act of flower burial in the all too familiar setting of Prospect Garden. Focusing on the 2011 Hong Kong singer Denise Ho's music video "Chiqing si" (Department of Infatuation), in which the imagery is reduced to close-ups of two actresses playing Baoyu and Daiyu and the idea of flower burial is only faintly suggested by a floating gauze with flowery print, I argue that the abstract presentation not only deconstructs and reconstructs Daiyu's character, but also creates new angles for dialogues between the novel and contemporary music, theater, fashion photography, and cinematography. As the video seduces the viewers with celebrity culture, gender fluidity, eroticism, and technology, it challenges the viewers to re-envision the classic beyond the highly codified pictorial traditions based on the novel, creating reading/viewing experiences that are unequivocally distinctive and personal.

石碑遊戲：《水滸傳》及《幻想水滸傳》
比較研究初探

Written in Stone: Database, Interface, and Narrative as Game in *Suikoden/Shuihuzhuan*

Paize Keulemans (Assistant Professor, East Asian Studies Department, Princeton University)

摘 要

日本著名的媒體公司 Konami 根據水滸傳製作了一系列大受歡迎的電子遊戲，即《幻想水滸伝》。本論文經由比較這系列電子遊戲跟它所依據的《水滸傳》來思考新媒體及舊媒體、小說及電子遊戲之間的關連。比較小說及電子遊戲的目的不止於為小說製作一部從明清文學到電子遊戲的冗長家譜，也不限於證明這些遊戲傳承了哪些與小說相關的特質，最為重要的目標是探討現代電子遊戲是否有任何特點能幫助我們重新認識明清小說，特別是能否讓我們重新評估白話小說在明清時期的地位及功能。

因此，本文並不專注於一般討論文學作品的慣用論述：敘述的手法、故事裡的角色，也不是把舊式小說的觀點、架構加諸於新媒體及電子遊戲。反之，本文關注的重點在於廿一世紀所特有的數位文化特質，並探討這些特質是否適用於明代小說。我所要檢視的是兩個特質。我認為明清小說跟現代電子遊戲都具有這兩個特質。第一個特質是資料庫 (database) 的建立，就是組織、調度所謂一百零八條好漢作為一組推動敘述、遊戲的整體。第二個是介面 (interface) 的運作，就是刻在石碑上的名單如何影響整個敘述／遊戲的進行。小說及電子遊戲最大的相似處就是兩者都利用這 108 個角色，並且兩者都使用石碑處理這些角色。由此觀之，我們必須要問：在流行的遊戲文化及經典的文字文化之間，是否還有更多、更高的可比性？

This paper aims to think through the relationship between old media and new

media, vernacular novel and digital game, by investigating the connection between Genso Suikoden 幻想水滸傳, a popular series of role playing games produced by the Japanese media giant Konami, and the Ming-dynasty novel Outlaws of the Marsh 水滸傳, purportedly the text on which the game is based. I compare novel and game NOT so as to create a lengthy genealogy from late-Ming text to contemporary game, NOR to prove that somehow the game has inherited qualities associated with the novel. Rather the aim is to see if any of the aspects that we associate with contemporary video-games can be employed to shed new light on the late-Ming novel in particular and re-evaluate the status and function of vernacular fiction in late-imperial China in general.

As such, this paper will NOT focus on the usual features that are associated with literature, narrative and character, and seek to apply these old-media concepts and frameworks to the new media of video games. Instead, this paper will try to concentrate on qualities that are considered exclusive to 21st-century digital culture and see if we can apply these features to the novel. Specifically, I will investigate two such features, both of which I argue are found in late-Ming novel and contemporary game. The first feature is database, that is the set of 108 characters, and the second is interface, that is the list of these characters carved in stone. The great similarity with which both the novel and the game employ a cast of 108 characters and the way they manage this cast through the "Stone of Destiny" poses an interesting question: what is it about the original novel that allows such an easy translation to a radically different medium? Is it possible that something of a playful logic actually informs the original novel itself? In this paper, I will suggest this is indeed the case.

個別論文併組主題

文士儒者的著述世界

「明清的思想世界與東亞」研究工作坊
之緣起、活動與展望

沈享民（東吳大學哲學系副教授）

摘 要

（一）研究人才方面

（二）研究能力方面：1. 論著

2. 申請國科會計畫

3. 升等

（三）活動方式方面：1. 例行論學

2. 研討會發表

3. 論學社群

（四）研究進路方面：1. 典範依賴

2. 哲學與思想史之間

（五）國際拓展方面

「近世儒學與社會研究工作坊」介紹

楊正顯（國立臺灣海洋大學人文社會教學研究中心助理研究員）

摘 要

一、「近世儒學與社會研究工作坊」的緣起與進展

本工作的設立是呂妙芬所長於 2009 年九月，召集年輕學者如朱湘鈺、張藝曦、何淑宜、蔡淑閔、孫中曾、陳復與博士後研究人員，如林勝彩、史甄陶、鍋島亞朱華、楊正顯，以及還在就學的博士生如吳孟謙、沈明謙、沈信甫、白百伶等，於中研院近史所會議室召開，討論時間為下午兩點到六點，會後晚宴。平均召開時間為兩個月一次，首次會議時確定整年度成員報告時間（包含呂所長）。在每次召開前一星期，由兩位報告人寄出論文給成員，以供閱讀。當天，直接由成員做評論，由於是私下討論，故採直言不諱態度進行。原則上，一年會舉行一次「大會」，公開發表成員修改後的論文。由於成員橫跨中文與歷史學門，希望透過這樣的交流，達成三項目的：一是不同學門觀點與方法的交流，彼此受益。二是讓年輕學者能夠透過會議持續寫作與發表論文，有益於往後升等與求職。三是讓博士生將博論的計畫或章節能夠儘快寫出，並透過此會議學習如何構築篇章與論述，有助於博論的取得。

二、個人的研究成果

我是在史語所博後時期參與會議，受益相當多。博論是討論明代思想家王陽明的事功與思想，採用考證的方法，逐步釐清其生平事蹟與思想間的關係。我在此會議第一篇文章是〈造神〉（即〈王陽明《年譜》與從祀孔廟之研究〉），當時發表時院內鍾彩鈞老師與大陸學者錢明都有參加，經過會中老師與學友們的指教，獲益很多，也很順利地投稿刊登。在此會中，主要受到的衝擊來自中文與歷史學門不同的治學態度。中文學友們強調字斟句酌，對於文獻實際內涵看的較深，不似歷史學門引用文獻太多，常有引喻失當或解釋太過的問題，導致觀點與文獻間落差的存在。而中文學門則因對歷史文獻不太熟悉，故常執著於文獻內部的義理，

少從大環境的角度著眼。不管在評論或被評論的過程中，都能得到相當多的收穫，對於學力的養成，有莫大的助益。

三、「近世儒學」領域在國內的研究現況與困境。

近世儒學由於時間大致是明清兩代為主，且又偏向思想史路徑，因此可做題目相當多，近年多環繞在陽明後學、宗教、三教合一與文社等議題。但是由於思想史入門的門檻較高，需有四書五經的閱讀背景，較易進入明清思想家的思路，而這也是本工作坊的困境。由於近年來，國內文史哲學生出路不好，念的人少，更不太會選思想史作為課題，導致不易有新成員加入。而年輕學者為了求職與升等，對於重要的思想史議題不太願意花時間碰觸，一方面有教職者有升等與評鑑問題，需要足夠多的論文來應付，另一方面博士生與博士後為了求職所需，也需要很多論文，導致在有限的時間內只能無奈寫作所謂「輕薄短小」的論文。而求學人口銳減，也使學校不開思想史的缺額，導致博士生研究思想史的意願大為降低。

古文辭派于民歌：無名的作者身份

Old Phraseology and Popular Songs: Authorless Authorship

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摘　要

　　明代古文辭派的成員怎麼看待古典詩文、白話詩歌小說和戲曲的作者身份 (authorship)？古文辭派的先行研究一般來說集中于古文辭派提倡的擬古盛唐詩的部分，但較少考察古文辭派里作者身份的概念，且大部分研究學者往往引用 "文必西漢，詩必盛唐，大曆以後書勿讀" 一句。雖然古文辭派重視一個時代的幾種古典形式，但是也強調對民歌的采取和學習。

　　比方說，前七子的統領李夢陽 (1483-1521) 稱 "真詩在民間" （《空同集》自序）。後七子的棟梁王世貞 (1526-1590) 在記載了各種各樣的民歌後稱，"即使子建太白降為會晤談，恐亦不能過也。然此田畯紅和勞之歌，長年樵青，山澤相和，入城市間，愧汗塞吻矣。" （《藝苑卮言》卷七）。從這種說法，我們可以看出古文辭派對民歌的注重。廖可斌在他的《明代文學復古運動研究》中指出古文辭派特別重視民歌，因為民歌直接表達了他們所尊崇的情。入矢義高和大木康都認為，有些明代文人傾向于在民間而非自己的文人領域尋找他們文學上理想的 "真"。古文辭派的精神原來并不僅僅提倡針對理想古典文學的擬古主義，也重視從民間作品中追尋理想。古文辭派一方面以盛唐詩爲最高的藝術類型，同時又贊揚民間通俗白話民歌。他們為何采取了這種看似矛盾的態度？我們又該如何理解古文辭派的這種做法呢？我認為研究關鍵在我們自己的學術立足點。為了瞭解古文辭派的真實想法和主張，我們首先要理解近代學術對其看法的來源。白潤德 (Daniel Bryant) 曾指出，我們現在對明代文學史的看法已被五四時期知識分子重視獨創而藐視擬古的觀點所深刻熏染。此外我們還應注意，清代學者因漢族衰落

而對明代文人所做的批判，對清代的明代文學研究資料也造成了影響。

我在本文中提出，古文辭派不以文言和白話的同在爲矛盾。他們在文言和白話語域 (registers) 的關係上與我們持有不同的看法。我認爲，他們爲了提升民歌的地位而利用了盛唐詩的古典權威。本文的結論是，古文辭派在文言上效仿古代詩文并抹去他們的個人身份，在白話領域尋覓佚名無名的民歌，通過這一看似矛盾的做法來追求無名的作者身份 (authorless authorship)。

這一做法也導致了矛盾的作者身份狀態：為了否認作者的存在，個人首先要獲得權威作者身份。古文辭派的倡導者如若不憑靠公認的古典文學的權威，就無法宣揚白話民歌的"真"。他們的戰略是先依仗盛唐詩的權威，然後達成提升民歌地位這一最終目標。在文言和白話這兩個領域里，他們都試圖創建無名的作者身份。

浦安迪 (Andrew Plaks) 分析了晚明文人提升白話小說地位的活動，而我將解釋明代中期文人依靠古典文學促進民歌的動機和策略。

How did the members of Old Phraseology school (Guwenci pai 古文辭派) perceive and esteem authorship of classical poems and verse, vernacular songs and novels, and drama? Previous studies of Old Phraseology have focused mainly on their proposal to emulate High Tang poems, but this raises the question of what literary authorship meant for them. It is conventional to quote the phrase "prose must follow the Qin and Han, and poetry the High Tang; all else is not the Way" as their spirit. Yes, it is true that they highly esteemed specific classical forms of certain periods. However, at the same time, they also proposed the importance of listening to and learning from popular literary forms.

For example, Li Mengyang 李夢陽 (1483-1521), the main leader of Early Seven Masters 前七子, declared that "genuine poems lie among populace." And the leading figure of Later Seven Masters 後七子, Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), wrote after introducing various popular songs in his literary critique book Yiyuan zhiyan (Unrestrained Words on Literature): "Suppose that Cao Zhi and Li Bai can descend to write in vulgar tones, I assume even they could not surpass these vulgar tones. But this vulgar tone is for example work song of young peasant girl. These are like boatman and logger with mountain and river matching together. They spread among city and town,

and made people extremely ashamed and mouth stuffed." From these statements, we can clearly notice that Old Phraseology payed their attention to popular songs as well.

Liao Kebin 廖可斌 points out that Old Phraseology appraised popular songs which directly revealed emotion（情）they revered. Both Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 and Ōki Yasushi 大木康 mention that one of the literary ideals some Ming literati tried to achieve was to find out something genuine（真）not within literati themselves but among populace. They all agree that Old Phraseology was not only occupied with *imitation* of ideal classical literature but also seeking for their ideals among popular literature.

A question arises then how to deal with this kind of statement by Old Phraseology. While they proposed to follow the style of High Tang poems as the most authentic classical literary model, they simultaneously praised vulgar songs by populace as authentic. Why did they make such seemingly contradictory statements?

My paper argues that the issue is a result of our own standpoint. In order to appreciate the voices of the Old Phraseology writers in their time, we need to understand how modern views of the school came to be. As Daniel Bryant points out, our current perspective on the Ming literary history of traditional classical Chinese poems has been strongly influenced by the ideas put forward by intellectuals of the May Fourth movements which acclaimed individual original creation and dispelled archaizing movement merely as imitation. We should also consider the role of Qing scholars who blamed Ming literati for the subjection of the Han people establishing influential accounts of Ming literary history.

I propose in my paper that for the proponents of Old Phraseology the coexistence of classical and vernacular languages was not contradictory at all. Rather, they perceived the relationship between classical and vernacular registers differently. I argue that they manipulated High Tang poems for the purpose of promoting vernacular songs. Classical belles-lettres help them establish the authenticity of popular songs. To conclude, Old Phraseology sought for authorless authorship: in classical language by emulating ancient poems in the past and then erasing their identities, and in vernacular sphere searching for anonymous and nameless popular songs.

This attitude, in turn, yields an apparently contradictory mode of authorship, in which the authority to deny the existence of author could be achieved almost only after the one who proposes to revoke authorship obtains authoritative authorship. The

proponents of Old Phraseology could not promote vernacular popular songs as genuine without relying on the authoritative power of canonical, classical literature. Their strategy was first to rely on High Tang poetry and then move toward their ultimate goal of promoting popular literature. However, they sought for one condition in both fields; authorless authorship.

Andrew Plaks analyzed efforts made by late Ming literati to elevate the status of vernacular novels. I attempt to reveal a comparable effort by mid-Ming literati to promulgate popular songs by likening them to authentic classical literature.

大海一味：
明末清初渡日華僧著述的初步考察

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摘 要

作為十七世紀東亞文化交流最重要的媒介之一，漢傳佛教向中國以外之鄰近諸國如韓國、日本或越南之拓延，其所帶來影響性不容小覷。臨濟宗黃檗派形成於明末崇禎年間 (1628-1644)，初出於中國福建省福州市福清縣黃檗山萬福寺之高僧隱元隆琦 (1592-1673) 之手，因山而名之。南明永曆八年 (1654)，隱元遠赴東瀛弘法，創立日本黃檗宗；及寬文元年 (1661) ，更在德川幕府之支持下，於京都太和山建黃檗萬福寺，晉山陞座，此後禪林遂有「東西兩黃檗」之語。隱元臨濟法脈雖貌似開出一花二葉之局面，福清黃檗山僧團在隱元東渡後，亦由其門徒為住持，然至清道光六年 (1826) 第四十四代了馨清馥 (1740-1826) 圓寂後，竟傳承不明，燈火斷續。最終，中國臨濟宗黃檗派之宗風，惟賴日本黃檗宗得以揚其波。或謂黃檗宗係佛教在東亞文化體系中之移植與轉化的最佳寫照，當不為過。

綜觀中外學界對於黃檗宗之研究趨勢，早期多著意於一宗之教義戒律、歷史沿革或法嗣系譜等議題之梳理；逮 1972 年黃檗山文華殿建成，並設立文庫對外公開相關文獻、墨跡、繪畫等文物後，始促成黃檗文化之研究。大體而言，日本學者由於地利之便，其研究成果實屬最早且觸及層面最廣、影響最大，如吉永雪堂、林雪光、中尾文雄、鷲尾順敬、木宮泰彥、常盤大定、平久保章、野川博之、野口善敬等，可為表率；台灣學界雖起步誠晚、關注者少，其成果不遑多讓，可以廖肇亨、徐興慶、陳玉女為代表；而大陸學界對黃檗宗之研究最晚且成果最寡，如楊曾文、劉澤亮、林觀潮等人，尚有一得之見。至於美國學界除如吳疆 (Jiang Wu) 聚焦於黃檗宗風在中日交流之轉變外，餘則另闢蹊徑，專主於日本黃檗宗之

書法、繪畫、茶道等影響研究，如 Stephen Addis 、 Hellen Baroni 與 Elizabeth Horton Sharf。

　　唯上述眾家研究之斷限，幾乎止於隱元東渡至二世法脈之木庵性瑫(1611-1684) 和即非如一 (1616-1671) 兩人而已。細究其實，不外是文獻取得困難，海外學者僅能踵繼日本學者研究之後，就已出版之個人全集加以發揮。有鑑於此，本次訪書之目標首先以黃檗先驅道者超元 (1602-1662)，以及黃檗宗二世諸人如大眉性善 (1616-1673，東林下祖)、慧林性機 (1609-1681，龍興下祖)、南源性派 (1631-1692，華藏天德派祖)、獨湛性瑩 (1628-1706，獅子林派祖)，乃至三世之千呆性侒 (1636-1705，瑞光下祖) 六人為主，鉤輯目前可見相關文集、語錄與傳記史料等未出版善本文獻，並進行初步整理，未來期能為明清佛教文獻再創新猷。

個別論文併組主題

明清的小說與性別

「英雄」重寫為「敗雄」:《水滸傳》與《金瓶梅》中武松角色描寫新探

Rewriting the Hero as a Failure:
The Image of Wu Song in *Shuihu zhuan* and *Jin ping mei*

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摘 要

《金瓶梅》因其敘事之精巧與多元性而膾炙人口,明代時期此部小說被列為「四大奇書」之一,遂受學者的關注。《金瓶梅》由《水滸傳》而作起,兩者出現有關於武松、西門慶以及潘金蓮三個人物的情節變化。《金瓶梅》的作者又明顯地試著超越《水滸傳》之敘事傳統。然而,在《金瓶梅》的成書過程中,如何理解此部小說與《水滸傳》之連續性以及「中斷」所產生之敘事突破?透過《水滸傳》與《金瓶梅》之並列閱讀分析,可以進一步地瞭解後者的成書宗旨之一:重新詮釋「義」,並且重構「好漢」之形象。本文首先說明《水滸傳》作者如何推「義」和「好漢」為崇高的理想,相形之下,《金瓶梅》作者如何將兩者在貪財嗜殺之世界裏,批判為毫無價值、高談虛論?接著,本文探討武松之雙重描寫:一,《水滸傳》令人感嘆、豪邁氣概之「真英」;二,《金瓶梅》作者將好漢氣概重寫為「敗雄」之跡象,藉此「重描」而產生針對武松之「翻案」。雖然武松在《水滸傳》中的種種戰場能節節勝利,但《金瓶梅》作者試圖透過武松怒氣衝天、狡猾傾向以及復仇執著,製造出武松負面的形象,以便指出其性格的缺點,並且給武松在「酒色財氣」世界中之重要性巨大的挑戰。

Jin ping mei is known for its sophisticated and eclectic narrative style. It is one of the "four masterworks" of the Ming dynasty that is both indebted to *Shuihu zhuan*, in that the former's narrative momentum centers on Wu Song, Ximen Qing and Pan Jinlian,

but nonetheless demonstrates a clear departure from the *Shuihu* tradition. Yet, how should one account for the creative choice to simultaneously maintain continuity with *Shuihu zhuan* and also attempt a move of "discontinuity:" innovating a new narrative outside the *Shuihu* tradition? This issue may be better understood through a juxtaposed reading of *Shuihu zhuan* and *Jin ping mei*, by which one is positioned to appreciate one of the novelistic agendas of the latter: to redefine the concept of righteous loyalty (*yi*) and to reconstruct the image of the gallant fellow (*haohan*). This paper makes a few contentions. In *Shuihu zhuan*, the author valorizes the concept of righteous loyalty and the gallant fellow ideal, but in *Jin ping mei*, the author critiques them as lacking relevance and as impossibilities in a world dominated by the wealthy and powerful. In particular, the author of *Shuihu zhuan* depicts Wu Song as an authentic hero, whom is celebrated for his uninhibited expression of heroism. By contrast, the author of Jin *ping mei* attempts a reversal of Wu Song by re-presenting him, that is, reconfiguring Wu Song's gallant attributes as symptomatic as a failed hero. The author draws attention to his anger, cunning, and obsession with vengeance as shortcomings to portray Wu Song as a character who may be important on the battlefield in *Shuihu zhuan*, but whose significance is challenged in the domestic world in *Jin ping mei*.

《西遊記》中孫悟空情欲之再審視

A Reexamination of the Monkey's Sexuality in *Xiyou ji*

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摘 要

自二十世紀早期以來，有關十六世紀小說《西遊記》中孫悟空的來源一直是西遊記研究領域中頗具爭議性的話題之一。本文並非要提出另外一個孫悟空形象的來源，而是藉由性別／情慾的角度對孫悟空的形象進行重新審視，并突出一種在小說內運行的文本機制。該機制產生於小說《西遊記》、十七世紀以前包括通俗文學不同作品文本在內的西遊記傳統，以及其他相關資料的對話之中。進一步理解此機制可以幫助我們處理在指認孫悟空形象可能的來源過程中涉及到的白猿傳統與十六世紀小說《西遊記》關係方面的一個重要而又極具爭議的問題。儘管已經有學者指出白猿傳統的兩個不同方面（作為妖怪的猿猴和作為虔誠佛教徒的猿猴）對小說《西遊記》尤其是孫悟空的形象均有影響，但是相關論述多集中於指認二者在表面上的一些相似處，而對此類影響在小說中彰顯的機制及其與孫悟空性別／情慾不同呈現的呼應則未有詳細論述。本文突出了運行於十六世紀小說《西遊記》中的這一機制，同時將其與其它西遊記故事相關聯，以期增進我們對西遊記傳統演化的理解。

The origin of Sun Wukong 孫悟空 (Monkey) in the sixteenth-century novel *The Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji* 西遊記) has been one of the most controversial issues in the field of the *Xiyouji* studies since the early twentieth century. Instead of proposing another origin(s) of the image of Sun Wukong, this paper examines the image of Sun Wukong through the lens of gender and sexuality and seeks to highlight a kind of mechanism that emerges from a dialogue among the novel *The Journey to the West*,

Xiyou ji tradition that consists of various works of written popular literature before the seventeenth century, and other relevant sources.

A better knowledge of such mechanism helps address a crucial and yet highly controversial issue in dealing with the relationship between the tradition(s) of white ape and the Monkey in the sixteenth-century novel in the process of identifying the possible origin of Sun Wukong. Although scholars already indicate that two different strands of the white ape tradition (monkey as a demon and monkey as a devout Buddhist) might contribute to the novel *Xiyou ji* and in particular the image of Sun Wukong, little academic effort has been made to go beyond the act of identifying some similarities on the surface level to show the mechanism through which such influences play out in the novel and resonate with the changes in the representation of Sun Wukong's sexuality. This paper highlights how such mechanism operates in the sixteenth-century novel, and at the same time connects the mechanism to other *Xiyou ji* stories to further contribute to our understanding of the evolution of *Xiyou ji* tradition.

拙情華夢

A "Glorious" Dream of Awkward Romance

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摘 要

王筠 1778 年出版的《繁華夢》是現存的極少數由女性創作的傳奇劇之一。該劇鋪陳女主人公在夢中化為男身後的情愛探索，卻以女主人公醒來，回到令人失望的現實作為尾聲。在普遍以大團圓結尾的傳奇劇中，《繁華夢》顯得別具一格。數代學人因為《繁華夢》的"冷寂"結尾而把它理解為反抗父權社會對女性壓迫的譴責劇。但是《繁華夢》並不缺乏喜劇片斷。我們應該怎樣閱讀一部以沈重冷寂著稱的傳奇劇中的喜劇因素呢？本論文將關注王筠劇中的喜劇片斷和王筠創作中的自省性。論文首先指認王筠劇中的戲仿成分。《繁華夢》戲仿的對象是那些教育了廣大讀者觀眾對情愛的求索的（由男性創作的）戲劇經典。接下來，論文將討論王筠的幽默怎樣使越軌的想像成為可能，以及王筠如何對主人公的變性經歷進行調侃。論文的最後部分將考察王筠的父親對《繁華夢》的評點和他對女兒的易引發爭議的幽默的"馴化"。文章總結指出《繁華夢》是一位女性作家對情愛的文本構建的精緻反思。本論文是針對帝國晚期中國女性的戲謔及其接受的一個個案研究。

Wang Yun's 王筠 *Fanhua meng* 繁華夢 *A Dream of Glory* (1778) is one of the very few extant *chuanqi* plays from late imperial China that was written by a woman. The play explores the dream adventures of a female protagonist who transforms into a man, and concludes with her awakening to disappointing reality. This solemn conclusion sets *A Dream of Glory* apart from most other *chuanqi* plays that promise conventional happy endings. Its oddity has encouraged generations of scholars to read

the play as Wang's denunciation of the constraints on female ambitions in a patriarchal society. Yet *A Dream of Glory* does not lack comic episodes. How do we read comic elements within a play known for its solemnity? My paper focuses on its comic episodes to shed light on the self-reflexivity of Wang Yun's writing. I first identify Wang Yun's play as a parody of more celebrated dramatic narratives (by male authors) that have educated their readers and audiences in the pursuit of romantic love. Then I investigate how Wang's humor facilitates transgressive imagination and mocks the protagonist's transgender experience. Finally, I read Wang's play against her father's commentary to illustrate how the father's commentary "domesticates" the daughter's provocative humor. I conclude that the comic episodes in *A Dream of Glory* invite the reader to understand the play as a sophisticated reflection on the textual construction of passion by a female author. My paper is a case study on a woman writer's creation of humor and the reception of women's humor in late imperial China.
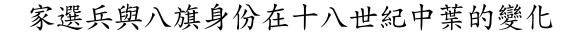
「以誰之名」？清代臺灣婦女與家族認同

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摘 要

　　華人女性將夫姓與本姓連用的冠夫姓習俗，始於何時？此習俗在台灣史上又是如何呈現？本文將利用法律檔案、契約文書、碑銘的資料，探索清代台灣婦女的姓氏表述與家族社會的關係，特別著重在從女性與家庭出發的視角。

清代社會史研究新探

家選兵與八旗身份在十八世紀中葉的變化

The Household Selected Soldiers and the Mid-Eighteenth Century Transformation of Banner Status

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摘 要

我的論文敘述雍正末乾隆初年間的一群八旗人。叫做 "家選兵" (booi sonjoho cooha) 的旗人是由原來當正常旗人的家奴構成的。雍正九年 (1731 年)，清朝把兩千家奴成為中隊，送他們往西，與蒙古邊疆的準噶爾大戰。第二年年末，作為兵役的酬勞，朝廷給了家選兵的原主人士兵和士兵全家的 "身價" (beyei hūda)，讓他們得到解放，從奴隸變成另戶旗人。所有的人被送到綏遠，駐扎新建的綏遠八旗駐防。

家選兵到綏遠十四年之後，綏遠將軍補熙寫的奏折表示，駐防沒有足夠贍養家選兵的錢，請軍機處做別的安排。軍機大臣訥親提議把家選兵調入察哈爾八旗，可是因為家選兵不是蒙族，高宗的上諭說他們沒辦法像蒙古人活著，拒絕了訥親的擬議。反而，家選兵被出旗，成為綠營士兵，大部分搬到了山西和直隸省各個鎮。可是，隨著出旗的過程，朝廷繼續贍養既不能自立，又沒有能夠依靠的家人的殘疾人，孤兒，寡婦，等等。

家選兵八旗機構內的十六年歷史，很明顯地展示了雍正時期和乾隆前期，清廷對八旗和族群身份的態度的變化。原來把這些人編入八旗的決定，反映了朝廷把八旗看做 "服務高階層"。因為他們給朝廷提供了行政和軍事上的服務，編入了得到特別的經濟和法律上的權利的戶籍身份：八旗制度。所有的八旗人原來全部如此，可是在家選兵的例子中，這個政治上的交易特別明顯。雍正皇帝把他們解放，編入八旗，是為了獎勵他們在邊疆提供的軍事服務。況且，訥親把家選兵

調入察哈爾八旗的建議證實了他以為八旗機構裡面的族群邊界不重要，朝廷對所有的旗人負責任，因為所有的旗人是在同一的 "服務高階層" 裡面。可是最後解決家選兵問題的決定，反映了從乾隆時期開始，旗籍身份的意義正在改變。族群的分類變得重要，朝廷決定養活滿洲人，讓他們得到出旗家選兵大部分的空缺，而不是像以前那樣，保留多族群的高級階層。這個態度的變化不久被使用在漢軍的出旗為民上，把漢軍看做不像滿洲人、蒙古人值得旗籍身份的。

My paper describes the history of a group of Qing bannermen from the late Yongzheng and early Qianlong periods. This group, called the "Household Selected Soldiers" (家選兵/*booi sonjoho cooha*), was composed of families who had initially been enslaved in the households of regular banner people. In 1731, the Qing court took 2,000 enslaved men, formed them into a military unit, and sent them to the Mongolian frontier to fight in the Qing war with the Junghars. Late in the following year, as a reward for their service, the court purchased their freedom and that of all of their family members from their original masters, and registered them as detached household bannermen (另戶/*encu boigon*). The entire population was sent to Suiyuan, to live in the newly constructed garrison there.

The Household Selected Soldiers had been in Suiyuan for only 14 years when the garrison general, Buhi (補熙), informed the court that the garrison could not afford to support them, and requested that some other arrangement be made. After the rejection of a proposal to transfer them to the Chahar banners (察哈爾八旗) on the grounds that since the Household Selected Soldiers were not Mongols, they would be unable to live in the Chahar manner, the court decided to expel them from the banner registers and make the men into Green Standard soldiers, mostly in Shanxi and Zhili provinces. Even as they were removed from the banners, though, certain accommoda- tions were made to ensure that those who relied on the banner welfare system for support, like widows, orphans, and the disabled, would continue to receive it.

The 16 years of the existence of the Household Selected Soldiers as a separate banner category offer a clear glimpse of the Qing court's changing stance toward the banners and shifting ideas about identity during the Yongzheng and early Qianlong period. The initial grant of banner status to this group reflects a conception of the banners as a sort of "service elite" – a status category granted special legal and

economic privileges in exchange for military and administrative service to the state. This exchange was made explicit in the case of the Household Selected Soldiers. The Yongzheng emperor both freed them from personal slavery and gave them banner status as a direct reward for their service on the frontier. Moreover, the initial proposal for dealing with the financial problems associated with maintaining the Household Selected Soldiers at Suiyuan by entering them into the Chahar banners reflected a sense that the banners as a whole were a coherent category that the Qing court had a responsibility to support, even if doing so meant crossing ethnic boundaries, which were less important than status lines. The ultimate resolution of the situation, though, demonstrated that banner status under Qianlong would mean something different than it had previously. Ethnic categories became primary, with the court deciding that supporting Manchus, who were allowed to fill many of the posts in the Suiyuan garrison that the Household Selected Soldiers vacated, was a more fundamental aspect of the banner system than was maintaining the multiethnic service elite that existed at the time. This shift foreshadowed what would happen to Hanjun bannermen during the 1750s, when many were expelled from the banners, having been judged less deserving of privileged banner status than were Manchus and Mongols.

社會控制與民間力量之間：清代民間槍支的流通與管控之演變，1781-1911

Between Social Control and Popular Power: the Circulation of Private Guns and Control Policies during the Qing, 1781-1911

段　磊 (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Maxwell School, Syracuse University)

摘 要

清末法學家與中國法律現代化奠基人沈家本 (1840-1913) 在 1908 年主持修訂《大清現行刑律》，並由清政府于 1910 年通告全國頒佈施行。該刑律一改《大清律例》中嚴格禁止民眾持有火器的規定，放鬆了對民間武器的管制。其規定任何民眾只要在當地府衙登記，均允許持有鳥槍或者洋槍，籍以自衛。該項律令是自火器傳入中國以來首次以法律文本的形式賦予民眾持槍自衛權，也預示政府逐步放棄對火器的壟斷。本文以清代民間武器的流通以及該法規的制定為出發點，著重關注滿清政府自清中葉以來，如何逐步喪失了對合法性暴力的壟斷控制，並且依從社會和政治現實做出調整。本文觀點認為清代火器在民間的流通，廣義來講，取決於政府治國的兩個理念：（一）政府需依賴民間武力維護地方秩序。（二）政府也須對威力武器加以控制，以免危害自身統治。本文發現清代對民間武器的管理與控制是一個動態的過程，直至清末政府始終在上述兩個理念中獲取平衡，採取相應的槍枝管控。該文的第一部份介紹清政府在十九世紀末期洋槍傳入以前如何能夠有效的對民間武器得以管控。在《大清現行新刑律》頒佈以前，清政府在律條中明確劃分軍器與民器的概念。民眾可以製造、流通和使用以冷兵器為主且社會危害較小的武器。清廷認為有限的民間武器的存在非但不會威脅中央權威，而且能夠協助政府維持秩序。該政策不僅適用于冷兵器，在很長時間內還適用于鳥槍。直至 1774 年的王倫起義，乾隆皇帝才開始重新審視其武器政策。

由於對於持鳥槍者的憂慮，乾隆于 1781 年通令全國大規模繳槍，除非居住山遠及海濱之民，其餘不可持槍。儘管無法精細統計，這一時期的很多資料顯示自此民間鳥槍的流通逐漸下降。本文的第二部份將闡述十九世紀中葉后隨之洋槍的傳入而引發的劇烈變化。自晚清開埠以來，特別是洋務運動后，洋槍包括柯爾特、萊明頓、溫徹斯特、毛瑟以及這些洋槍的仿造品大量湧入中國。晚清的社會動盪為地方團練以及各式各樣的自衛力量的發展提供了溫床。洋槍與傳統鳥槍再次氾濫于民間，其不僅危害了社會和政治穩定性，而且激發更多的民眾獲取自衛槍支。晚清政府將控槍與保甲制度融合，試圖管控槍支流通，但私有槍支的數量不降反升。其控槍政策的失敗在於中央政府之權威讓位於地方勢力。政府也逐漸認識到持槍民眾具有拱衛地方、袪除搶匪與叛亂的潛力，也同時擔心強力的控槍會招致不滿，激發民眾的反叛。其動搖的理念以及無效的控槍政策最終使清政府採取了對民間槍支容忍的態度。本文基於清宮檔案、私人筆記以及地方誌等資料，不僅有助於瞭解清政府的社會控制實踐，也有益于審視清代國家與社會的動態關係之演變。

Shen Jiaben, a prominent jurist and legal reformers of the late Qing Dynasty, presented the throne with the new version of the criminal code in early 1908, which was then officially promulgated in 1910. Unlike the Great Qing Code, which strictly prohibited the common people from possessing firearms, the new criminal law loosened the state's grip on private firearms, proposing that any ordinary individuals were permitted to own either bird guns or foreign guns for self-defense purpose as long as they had their weapons registered. For the first time in Chinese history, the state released its absolute monopoly on the use of firearms. This article introduces the manifold ways in which the state was gradually impotent to maintain the monopoly of violence and made an adjustment to the new social and political situation. It argues that the private gun's diffusion in local society, to a large extent, was determined by the state's stance between two ideologies: the reliance on social power to defend the localities, and the resolute maintenance of their monopoly of the deadliest forms of weapons. The state's regulation and control over its armed civilians appeared as a dynamic process, hovering among the two ideologies until the end of the Qing dynasty. The first part of the article focuses on how the Qing government managed to keep the private weapons under control before the foreign guns swept into China in the late

nineteenth century. Before the promulgation of the new criminal code, the Qing government made a clear division between "military" and "civilian" weapons. Civilians were allowed to manufacture, circulate, and carry a variety of weapons, which were mostly cold steels, and posed less threat and attack in comparison with military weapons. Allowing proper civilians to be armed with less sophisticated weapons not only would not challenge the state authority, but also assisted the state to maintain local order. Such policy was not only applied to the cold steels, but also to the bird guns. It was after the Wang Lun rebellion (1774) that made the Qianlong emperor reexamine Qing's policy on the use of bird guns among civilians. Alarmed by the bird gun owners' potential to impair the central authority, Qianlong in 1781 ordered to confiscate all the bird guns nationwide scattered in local society. The only exception was that those living in the remote mountainous and coastal regions could carry guns, but under strict surveillance. Though the lack of statistics, many accounts of the time suggest that the policy had successfully reduced the number and quality of bird guns in society. The second part of the article investigates the dramatic changes took place after the mid-nineteenth century when foreign guns manufactured by the companies such as Colt, Remington, Winchester, and Mauser, along with their Chinese imitations, flooded local society. The chaotic social order of the late Qing led to a proliferation of local militia or other forms of self-defense forces in local society. The diffusion of firearms in local society thus not only deteriorated social and political stability, but also spurred more ordinary people to pursue powerful weapons for self-defense. The government merged control of gun ownership with the *baojia* system, an administrative mechanism for local control and surveillance. However, the number of guns in private hands increased rather than decreased. Its gun regulation efforts failed when regional power blocs undercut the central power. The state recognized the potential of armed civilians in its efforts to combat bandits and rebels, and also feared the restrictive control might provoke illegal gun owners to insurrection. Such a hovering stance and its failed gun control policy ultimately made the late Qing government adopt a tolerant position over the private gun ownership. The second part of the article investigates the dramatic changes took place after the mid-nineteenth century when foreign guns manufactured by the companies such as Colt, Remington, Winchester, and Mauser, along with their Chinese imitations, flooded local society. The chaotic social order of the late Qing led to a proliferation of local militia or other forms of self-defense forces in local society. The diffusion of firearms in local society thus not only deteriorated social and political stability, but also

spurred more ordinary people to pursue powerful weapons for self-defense. The government merged control of gun ownership with the *baojia* system, an administrative mechanism for local control and surveillance. However, the number of guns in private hands increased rather than decreased. Its gun regulation efforts failed when regional power blocs undercut the central power. The state recognized the potential of armed civilians in its efforts to combat bandits or rebels, and also feared the restrictive control might provoke illegal gun owners to insurrection. Such a hovering stance and its failed gun control policy ultimately made the late Qing government adopt a tolerant position over the private gun ownership. Based on archival documents, private writings, and gazetteers, this research will not only broaden our perspective on the means of exerting state control over localities, but also will deepen our understanding of the dynamic of state-society relationship during the Qing dynasty.

如何論証清代的社會行為：
以打胎問題為中心

How to Document Social Practice in the Qing Dynasty: The Question of Abortion

Matthew H. Sommer (Professor of Chinese History, Stanford University)

摘 要

　　以打胎問題為例子，如何利用清代的原始資料、而且應該利用什麼樣的原始資料，來論証清代的社會行為和態度？

　　I will use my research on abortion in the Qing dynasty as an example of how I use qualitative evidence from legal cases, in conjunction with other kinds of evidence, to construct an historical argument. My main focus will be historical method, using the issue of abortion as an example.

清代臺灣的族群政治：與新清史和華南學派的初步對話

林文凱（中央研究院臺灣史研究所副研究員）

摘 要

近年來新清史與華南學派的研究觀點在學界引發熱烈的迴響。前者主要以清朝對於西北等邊疆與少數民族地區的統治為研究主題，試圖修正傳統漢化王朝史觀，並從中央政策的角度，考察族群政治對於整個帝國建構與治理的重要意義；後者則主要以華南、西南等地區為研究主題，並從由下往上的視角，釐清這些地區的人群如何透過對於國家政策與文化理念的順應，建立起地域社會並整合為清朝國家的一部分。

而近年來清代臺灣史學界透過熟番地權與地域社會論的研究，則對於清代臺灣族群政策、漢番關係與地域社會的形構歷程，以及清代國家的統治技藝(statecraft)，進行了深入的探討。本文希望以清代臺灣的族群關係與地域社會論的研究成果，來與新清史與華南學派的理論觀點對話，一方面考察這兩個學派各自對於清代臺灣社會發展的哪些面向具有解釋效力，另一方面也考察這兩個理論觀點，在臺灣個案上的哪些議題面臨解釋的限度。

論文組主題
回收與再製：明代末葉文本的生產與再生產   Reusing and Recycling: Production and Reproduction of Texts, Art and Song in the Late Ming Period
議題說明

　　十六世紀末葉與十七世紀初葉的明朝見證了一次文本生產與出版在數量上爆炸性的增加。這種擴大的產量和不斷成長的消費市場導引學者、官員、與作者開始使用各式各樣吸引讀者、贊助者、和觀眾的新方法。本場會議的論文分別探索，爲了新的市場、觀眾、與條件，文體與風格改變與改寫的過程。因而，這些論文探索和比較了晚明時代文本修訂與創新過程，以達到新的目的與效果。

　　Scarlett Zhang 的論文分析一本由三個宦官在禁城內所編輯的教育皇帝的道德讀本。它是根據以前出版過的指引，但有顯著的修訂與變造，更不用說，它史無前例地，是宦官出版的。Joseph Dennis 的論文則在探討地方官員爲了減少社會訴訟問題的"息訟歌"，它把一種流行的文體風格來當做社會教化的工具。戴彼得的論文則在於探討陳建的《皇明通紀》在明代中期以後的多次修改和出版的過程。

　　The latter half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century saw a remarkable explosion in publishing and textual production in Ming China.　This expanded production and a growing consumer market led scholars, officials, artists and writers towards new ways to attract readership, patronage and audience. The papers in this panel each explore different venues in which genres and styles were adjusted and reformulated for new markets, audiences and conditions. The panel thus explores and compares the processes of revision and innovation in the late Ming period, in which texts, art and song were deployed in new ways for new purposes or effects.

　　Scarlett Jang's paper examines the creation of a moral reader for the ruler, compiled by three eunuchs in the Forbidden City. This album was a reworking of

earlier published imperial guides, but with distinctive modifications and variations, including the unprecedented fact that it was published by eunuchs. Joseph Dennis's paper explores the official use of songs to reduce the problem of litigation in local society, deploying a popular genre for the purpose of social edification. Anne Burkus-Chasson's paper looks at the ways in which late Ming artists appropriated the rectangular frames found in published book illustrations of the day, examining the ways in which the aesthetics of printed materials had implications for other art forms. Peter Ditmanson's paper examines the multiple revisions and republications of the popular history, Chen Jian's *Huang Ming tongji*, over the second half of the Ming period and beyond.

誰殺了《御世仁風》的校訂？
試解讀一部十七世紀圖文並茂的皇家讀物

Who Killed the Editor?
A Seventeenth-century Imperial Reader Unbound

Scarlett Jang (Professor of Art History, Art Department, Williams College)

摘 要

在 1578 年當萬曆皇帝結婚時，隨著 300-400 個小宦者，三個被閹割的小男孩兒金忠，王安，和王體乾也被送入內書堂去接受正統的儒家教育以備日後成為天子的文書。其中不少後來成為為朝廷內外廷的權宦。掌印和秉筆太監是明朝宦官夢寐以求的最高職稱。（太監一般來說是指受過教育的權宦。其中當然有例外。權宦劉瑾和魏忠賢說是不識字的。）

雖然這三個小宦聰明伶俐，他們根本沒想到在日後的四十年中，他們會在政治上和私人關係上緊緊的聯繫在一起。他們也萬萬沒想到御世仁風這部書會讓他們一起永垂青史。此書的編纂是金忠，校訂是王安，王體乾則參與校對。

這部巨作有 552 有關自古以來模範天子，太子，官員，皇后，貴妃，和太監的的故事，和 276 插圖。原先以冊頁方式，編纂金忠是要獻給萬曆皇帝的。可惜萬曆帝在冊頁完成之前，1620 年的七月就過世了。以木刻印刷方式出版的這部書在 1620 年的八月問世。時值魏忠賢掌權，內廷和外廷血淋淋的政治權力鬥爭上的高峰。當時，金忠打算把此書獻給一月天子泰昌。可是泰昌皇帝在此書問世之後的一個月之內過世了。泰昌帝是否看到此書還是一個疑問。

以皇家為對象，寓有規諫性的御世仁風在十七世紀的中國並不稀奇。因為這類教育帝王太子的書在中國已經有悠久的歷史。在目前學術界享有盛名的帝鑑圖說和養正圖解就是明代的例子。以圖說文，以文輔圖的御世仁風在十七世紀的中國也沒什稀奇。因為這類書早就充斥書肆，而且在晚明達到歷史高峰。

但引起我們的興趣和關注的是，第一，此書的編纂是個太監，而且他的編書和獻書皇上的用意並沒有得到朝廷的許可。這可是犯了越奪天子權之罪。第二，不像帝鑑圖說或養政圖解，這部書也包括了有關歷史上賢能的后妃，官員，和太監的故事。可見金忠在編纂此書時，已經打算此書並非完全是給天子所編所讀。第三，此書以木刻印刷方式出版之後，一月天子泰昌的過世引起了種種的猜測。主要的是紅丸案。說是被下毒制死的。此書的校訂太監王安在此書問世後的五個月內被謀殺。當時他已經接受了泰昌皇帝的聖旨要就任掌印太監。五年之後，朝廷下令殺了為此書寫序的朝官劉鐸，並以其屍體示眾。

　　為什麼太監金忠冒著奪天子權之罪，編纂了此書？泰昌帝，王安，和劉鐸之死是否有關聯或者是巧合？

　　除了解開這些死因之謎，本文也討論此書插圖在藝術上的傳承和創意，尤其著重圖繪和文字的敘事法和圖文之相互關係的層面。最後，本文也關注到在當時的政治氣候下此書是如何被看待和接受的。

　　In 1578, the year the 16 year-old Wanli Emperor (r. 1572-1620) was married, three castrated boys who became known as Wang An (d. 1621), Jin Zhong (d. after 1633), and Wang Tiqian (d. after 1640) were selected, along with two or three hundreds boys like them, and sent to the Inner Court School, a school inside the Forbidden City established specifically for select young eunuch boys, where they received the Confucian mode of education and were trained to be effective inner court bureaucrats, who helped handle the emperor's paperwork.
These three boy eunuchs would be inextricably bound together, both politically and personally, for the next four decades. They worked side by side in the inner court to serve the throne, and together they created the illustrated book titled *Yushi renfeng,* or *Benevolent Exemplars for Governing the Empire,* a finely illustrated, woodblock-printed book on the art of governing. The compiler of this book was Jin Zhong; Wang An was the Editor-collator, and Wang Tiqian, the proof-reader.

　　This compilation in the album format was intended for the Wanli Emperor, but the emperor died in July 1620 before the album was completed. Copies of the woodblock printed version of the album debuted in August 1620. The book was now intended for the new emperor Taichang (r. August 1- August 31, 1620), known as One-month Son of Heaven, who himself would die less than a month after the book's publication.

What makes this imperial reader particularly intriguing and worthy of our investigation is the fact that, first, it was the first imperial reader compiled by a palace eunuch known to us. Second, the eunuch compiler received no imperial endorsement for the book's creation, which was usurpation of the imperial authority.   Third, while traditional imperial readers on the art of rulership, such as the recent *Dijian tushuo* and *Yangzheng tujie*, were intended as instructions for the emperor or the crown prince, this book also contains instructions for imperial women, government officials, and palace eunuchs. So the eunuch complier had a wide audience in mind. Fourth, soon after the book was published in the woodblock-printed format, its intended imperial recipient, the new Emperor Taichang died under a thick cloud of suspicion, and within less than a year, its eunuch Editor-Collator Wang An was murdered. Five years later, the court ordered the execution of the official Liu Duo (1573-1626), one of the book's preface writers, and his corpse was displayed in the marketplace.

Why did the eunuch compiler create the book at the risk of being accused of usurpation while in exile? Were all the deaths surrounding the book related, or were they just coincidences, and under what circumstances did these deaths occur? In addition to solving the mysteries surrounding these deaths in the context of the on-going power struggles in and outside the imperial court, I also discuss the artistic merits of the book's illustrations, including the innovation of the pictorial elements, styles, and modes of visual and textual narrations in the context of the seventeenth-century world of illustrated imprints in China, and the book's intended audience, as well as its reception in the context of the contemporary political climate.

息訟歌的出版和傳播

The Publication and Dissemination of Songs to Encourage the Cessation of Litigation

Joseph Dennis (Associate Professor, History Department, University of Wisconsin at Madison)

摘 要

自古以來 "息訟" 就是中國法律文化的一個關鍵項，它常與 "無訟" 配對，"息訟" 出現在許多古籍和明清時代高官的文集，"息訟" 與 "無訟" 仍然廣泛使用到二十世紀。本文審視和探索 "息訟歌"，就是一種教群眾最好不要起訴對方的方法。本文認為在明清代 "息訟歌" 是地方官減少他門的案件負擔與穩定當地社會的顯著工具，這種歌曲還沒有被系統地研究，也大多數學者還不熟悉。因此，本文將包括幾首歌曲和譯文全文。

Xisong 息訟 (cease litigation) has been a key term in Chinese legal culture since antiquity. It was often paired with the term *wusong* 無訟 (do not litigate), and can be found in ancient texts and in the works of famous middle period and Ming-Qing officials. *Xisong* and *wusong* remained in widespread use into the twentieth century. This essay examines "cessation of litigation songs" (*xisongge* 息訟歌), a genre for educating the general population about the futility of litigation, and argues that during the Ming and Qing these songs were a significant component of magistrates' efforts lighten their case burden and stabilize local societies. These songs have not been systematically studied and are unfamiliar to most scholars. Therefore, this essay will include the full text of several songs, and translations.

改寫歷史：陳建《皇明通紀》的出版與再版

Rewriting History: the Publishing and Republishing of Chen Jian's *Huang Ming Tongji*

Peter Ditmanson (Senior Research Fellow, Pembroke College, University of Oxford)

摘 要

本文探索廣東學者陳建 1555 年出版的《皇明通紀》的生產和再生產歷史。這本書是在明代完成的第一本明代通史。這也標誌著一個對於國史有興趣的讀者群正在不斷地成長。儘管禁止這本暢銷書的呼籲一再發生，《皇明通紀》卻多次再版；在再版的過程中，也有許多修改，甚至還添加了卷次。當時有名的文人，例如馮夢禎 (1546-1605) 與屠隆 (1542-1605) 為它寫了序。在 1608、1627、1632、1639 和 1696 等年分，也出版了不同的版本。本文分析這本書不斷變化的性質，和它再版的原因。試著回答陳建的著作不斷被學者重複利用、修改，甚至在新的標題和格式下再出版等現象的意義。也試圖利用這本著作種種進行改作的過程，來探索晚明時代「作者」的觀念。

This paper explores the production and reproduction of the *Comprehensive History of the August Ming* (*Huang Ming tongji* 皇明通紀), written by the Cantonese scholar Chen Jian, and published in 1555. This work was the first complete history of the dynasty up to Chen's day and marks a growing readership with an interest in the history of the dynasty. Despite calls to ban this popular work, the history was re-published several times with revisions, emendations and added chapters over the course of the rest of the dynasty and beyond, including an edition produced in 1605, with prefaces by such cultural luminaries as Feng Mengzhen (馮夢禎, 1546-1605, js 1577) and Tu

Long (屠隆, 1542-1605). Further editions were published in 1608, 1627, 1632, 1639, 1644, and 1696. This paper explores the evolving nature of this work, and the reasons for its republication. What was it about Chen's work that compelled scholars to recycle the work, revising it and reproducing it under different titles and formats? What does this process tell us about the conception of authorship in the late Ming period?

個別論文併組主題

中外文化交流與宗教實踐

個別論文併組主題

圖繪長崎：從南蠻屏風到唐蘭館圖

Depicting Nagasaki: From Nanban Screens to the Tōjinyashiki and Dejima Pictures

林麗江（國立臺灣師範大學教授兼所長）

摘 要

本研究選擇關照的對象是在十七世紀開始作為日本唯一對外貿易口岸的長崎，希望透過對於該地景致的描繪，看到當時以荷蘭為中介所帶進日本的歐洲文明，以及以中國人為主體（含其他東亞國家）的東亞文化，在該地所形成的文化上的交會與互動。在早期的南蠻屏風便可看到來自歐洲的船艦與人員登陸於長崎的街道，然彼時的長崎卻是一種抽象性的存在。直到江戶時代，長崎港的相關圖繪才有了更具體的形象。在圖繪長崎的作品中，唐館（唐人屋敷）與蘭館（出島）是該地形象最具代表性的呈現，也是最能立刻喚起觀者注意的「長崎象徵」。本研究即是以一系列的長崎港圖以及唐蘭館圖為主體，來呈現在長崎的地界上，來自日本、中國、歐洲的人士彼此的相互觀看，與其間可能有的文化碰撞，透過仔細地解讀與分析這些圖繪，希望能呈現長崎地區「多方文化交涉」之下，所產生出的精彩多樣的視覺文化。

Ever since the early 17th century, Nagasaki was the only city in Japan to trade with foreign countries. This unusual situation makes Nagasaki an exceptional example to observe the meeting, colliding and merging of different cultures. Nagasaki was served as backdrop in the Nanban screens. However, it was until the late 17th century that Nagasaki was painted as a distinguishing sea port. The Tōjinyashiki 唐人屋敷 (Chinese residence) and Dejima 出島 (Dutch factory) pictures were among the most distinctive groups of Nagasaki images as well as the symbols of the Nagasaki port. Many paintings were created to illustrate these two foreign residences and very often they were made as a pair, whether in the format of scroll paintings, prints or screen

paintings.

Through a careful reading and analysis of the Nagasaki images, my research aims to investigate the convergences and negotiations of Western civilization (represented in and brought by the Dutch) and East Asian civilization (represented and conveyed by the Chinese) with local Japanese culture. It shall then further our understanding of the various and dynamic visual cultures produced by the encounters of European and East Asian cultures in the Nagasaki areas.

奕譞與梁時泰：
一本 1888 年相冊中的王府與園林照片

Prince Yihuan and the Photographer Liang Shitai:
The Photographed Princely Mansion and Gardens
in an 1888 Album

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摘 要

醇親王奕譞 (1840-91) 據考應是清末皇室中第一位攝影贊助人。現存他的最早肖像拍攝於 1863 年；在 1886 年與 1889 年之間，他與當時廣東裔攝影師梁時泰合作，拍攝了一系列照片，內容廣泛，涉及個人肖像、家庭合影和朝廷紀事照片等多個門類。目前針對奕譞的攝影活動的研究主要集中于他的經過精緻設計的個人肖像，以及他在 1886 年檢閱北洋海防時，混合攝影與繪畫多種媒介結合紀錄這一盛事所做的嘗試。但在由 "奕譞－梁時泰" 這對雙人組一起策劃、創作完成的照片中，醇王府與醇王花園的照片至今未引起學者注意。這類照片目前都存於華盛頓國會圖書館的一本相冊中。這本相冊保留著迄今所知數目最多的由 "奕譞－時泰" 雙人組合作創作的照片。相冊有建築和園林照片五十三張，拍攝于奕譞在北京的王府及幾處花園、別院中。這些照片見證了奕譞對園林建築的濃厚興趣。照片依拍攝地點可分為三組，分別呈現了太平湖畔醇王府、內城中的適園、以及城外海淀的蔚秀園的景觀。這三組照片的拍攝源自明清造園與園林表現的不同理念和手法。如果放置在第二次鴉片戰爭后海淀諸多皇家園林所遭受的浩劫的大背景下考量，它們還體現了奕譞的建園、修園、重訪舊園的種種活動以及個人的失去與回憶是如何與國家命運形成混響。同時，這些照片還更新了我們對攝影師梁時泰身份的重新認識。他應被定義為 "入府攝影師" ，而並非一名臨時為奕譞所雇，完成一些指定拍攝任務的商業攝影師。

Prince Chun Yihuan (1840-91) was arguably the first imperial patron of photography in China. He started taking photographic portraits and inscribing them as early as 1863. Between 1886 and late 1889, he commissioned Liang Shitai (alias See Tay) – an accomplished Cantonese photographer who had previously run studios in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Tientsin – to undertake a series of photographic projects that included personal portraits, family portraits and photographs commemorating important court events. Previous scholarship on Yihuan's photographic activities focuses on his carefully staged portraits and the multi-media pictorial documentation of the Navy Inspection directed by him in 1886. Yet another genre within the photographs done by the Yihuan-Shitai *duo* – namely the pictures of Yihuan's princely mansion and residential gardens built in Peking and its suburbs – has not been closely examined. All of the known photographs of this genre survive in an album in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC (hereafter referred to as the DC album), which is also the largest known set of photographs collaboratively done by the *duo*. The album includes a single fifty-three photographs representing architectural spaces and garden views of the prince's residence. These pictures testify to Yihuan's intense interest in horticulture, and contain three sections featuring three residential complexes: the princely mansion at the Lake of Tranquility (Taiping Lake), the Garden of Ease (Shi Garden 適園) inside the city, and the Garden of Flourishing Grace (Weixiu Garden 蔚秀園) in Haidian. The three sections draw upon different conceptions and tropes popularized in the creation and representation of gardens throughout Ming and Qing. When examined against the tragic personal experiences of Yihuan and the elegy of other deserted imperial retreats in Haidian after the catastrophe of the Second Opium War, they map to a larger outlook of loss and commemoration tangled with Yihuan's obsession with creating, renovating, revisiting and photographing his gardens. Meanwhile, these photographs of residential gardens renew our understanding of Liang Shitai's identity as a photographer-in-residence rather than a commercial artisan temporarily hired by the prince.

基督徒與中國於晚明和中晚清的相會

The Christian Encounter with Late Ming and Middle and Late Ching China

Murray A. Rubinstein (Senior Research Scholar, the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University)

摘 要

這段演講介紹十七世紀中葉至二十世紀第一個十年間基督教傳教士與中國於晚明和中晚清的相會。

我首先討論十七、十八世紀來到中國的天主教傳教士，聚焦於耶穌會先驅如利瑪竇以及其他改變明代菁英信仰的傳教士，另外還有其他耶穌會以及天主教教會裡其他傳教士的工作。

接下來我將討論從英國，再來從美國來的新教徒。這個新教徒的傳教事業早先從 1807 年英國清教徒馬禮遜抵達廣東開始，接下來是 1830 年代美國公理會海外傳道部的美國代表。其他西方新教徒團體跟隨他們的腳步，每個團體在中國和台灣於他們自己所屬的地區進行工作。例子有英國長老派教徒到台中設有佈道所，以及加拿大長老派教徒和其他教堂改革派成員安頓於臺北盆地的淡水鎮。這個新發展大部分都是在廣東第一個中英衝突鴉片戰爭和亞羅號事件接下來十五年左右。

我把故事帶到二十世紀的第二個十年，接下來討論這些事件所產生的各種衝擊－宗教上及非宗教上，這些傳教士帶給晚期帝制，多宗教的中國。

最後，我將說些有關中國傳教士歷史的研究及 2016 年目前的情況。

This talk is an introduction to the Christian missionary encounter with the China during the late Ming dynasty and the Ching Dynasty over the course of its history from the mid 1699s to the first decade of the 20th Century.

I begin by discussing the role of the Catholic missionaries who came to China

During the 17th and 18th centuries, focusing on the Jesuit pioneers such as Mateo Ricci and others who converted members of the Ming elite and the the work of other Jesuits and members of other missionary orders within the Catholic Church.

I then discuss the coming of Protestant missionaries from England and then from the United States. This Protestant enterprise begins with the arrival of Robert Morrison of the English Protestant Church in Canton in 1807 and the Americans representatives of the American Board of Foreign Missions in the 1830s. Other western Protestant groups follow them and each works in their area in China and on Taiwan. English Prebyterians, for example come to Taichung to set up a mission station and Canadian Presbyterians and reformed church members settle the Taipei basin town of Tamsui. Much of this new development comes in the wake of the Opium War and the Lorcha Arrow War a decade and half or so after that first British/ Chinese conflict in Canton.

I take the story to the second decade of the 29th Century and then discuss what think were the various kind of impact—religious and secular that these missionaries had on the multi-religious empire that was Late Imperial China.

I conclude by saying a bit about the study of China Missionary history and where it is today in 2016.

陳道士的書箱：
閱讀實踐與文本知識在鄉村的傳播

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摘 要

本文以福建省屏南縣山區陳氏家族的藏書為核心史料，討論中國鄉村的閱讀實踐與文本知識的傳播。其中商業出版的印本書籍最早追溯到約十八世紀末，最晚到二十世紀初期，類別包括儒家經典、科舉用書、日用類書、蒙書等書籍。這些書籍因為被實際使用過，因此也留有部份閱讀者遺留下來的痕跡，如圈點、註記，或對書籍本身的重新裝訂。在印本之外，同時存有不少手抄本，在陳氏家藏中也扮演重要的角色。

透過這些實際使用過的印本與抄本，除了對類別與內容的分析討論外，本文亦試圖從「閱讀」的角度來看這些書籍抄本如何被其讀者所接受：究竟這些鄉村讀者最重視什麼樣的文本知識，而又是如何將這些閱讀所得來的知識運用在日常生活中。

本文認為，出版者固然因為市場因素，因應不同的讀者群調整出版品的形式與內容，然而讀者也不是被動地接受商業印本書籍所承載的訊息，而有各種不同的閱讀策略，讓這些外來的文本知識可以符合讀者所在的地方脈絡，得以在生活中運用。在這種主動地閱讀之外，讀者所製造出來的抄本，更進一步地成為在本文知識與在地運用間的橋樑。

在此閱讀、文本生產，到實際運用的過程中，被認為具有普遍性的知識與文化觀念，藉由少數有讀寫能力的群體為中介，在與地方原有之社會及文化結構的互動之下，經由儀式與其他地方文書的製作，而進入到鄉村這個層級。

個別論文併組主題
資料庫介紹

中研院史語所藏內閣大庫明清檔案資料庫

王健美（中央研究院歷史語言研究所明清檔案工作室編纂組組長）

摘 要

（一）檔案的由來與內容

本所藏內閣大庫檔案，原藏清內閣大庫，清宣統元年 (1909) 因大庫整修而移出，幾經轉手，一度還被賣入同懋增紙廠作還魂紙，最後在首任所長傅斯年先生的奔走下，於民國十八年自藏書家李盛鐸手中購入並同時展開檔案整理工作。後因日本侵華及政局改變，將檔案擇要裝一百箱，史語所搬遷台灣，這批檔案也由南京來到了台灣。

內閣收貯的各項檔案，以文件性質可略分以為：1.皇帝身分發出的制詔誥敕、及臣工題奏表箋啟本副本揭帖史書錄書塘報、黃冊、朝貢諸國表章等。2.內閣本身的各項檔案，如移會咨文等。3.鄉會試及殿試等試卷及考題等相關檔案。4.瀋陽舊檔。

（二）如何檢索資料庫

透過檔案人、事、時、地、物等相關資訊，配合職官、時間等項目，可以迅速找到需要的檔案。

簡介中研院近史所藏清代資料庫

王士銘（國立清華大學歷史研究所博士研究生）

摘 要

自 1997 年起，中研院近史所開始將典藏的史料、檔案數位化，建置多種類型資料庫，推廣近現代歷史研究與教育。2014 年，近史所整合圖書館、檔案館、胡適紀念館、原有資料庫及館際合作計畫，建立「近代史數位資料庫 (MHDB, Modern History Databases) 」，提供單一平台與跨資料庫查詢功能，方便學人使用。

近代史數位資料庫已開放的資料庫有：清代奏摺檔案、婦女雜誌資料庫、英華字典資料庫、胡適檔案資料庫、清代糧價資料庫、近代春秋 TIS 系統、近代史全文資料庫、檔案館館藏檢索系統、近代婦女期刊資料庫、近代城市小報資料庫、清季職官表查詢系統、圖書館報刊資料檢索系統、近現代人物資訊整合系統、檔案館人名權威檢索系統。

本次報告以「近代史數位資料庫」收藏清代檔案為主，說明使用方法，利用字詞、人物、時間、地點等訊息，迅速找尋研究需要的史料、檔案。