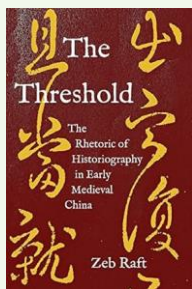


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得獎專書

*The Threshold: The Rhetoric of
Historiography in Early Medieval China.*
Harvard University Asia Center.

書名中譯

《戶限：中古中國歷史書寫的修辭》

得獎簡評：

本書討論早期中世紀中國的史學修辭，透過歷史檔案（the document）、官場敘事（the narration of officialdom）、奇聞軼事（anecdotes）的交錯互涉，呈現史書中兩股相互抗衡的勢力，一個是早就嵌鑲在政治文化中的架構，以及另一股隨時準備解構的力量，是這兩股拉鋸的力量一起「製作」出歷史。申請人傳承歐美漢學研究中的語言學、文學理論、文本細讀功夫，選取不同於六朝美文的歷史書寫，透過修辭分析而發現另一種文學性，論述精密周備，別開生面，為二十世紀初以來的文史修辭學開拓了新局。

得獎人簡歷：

雷之波（Zeb Raft）就讀美國歐柏林大學時開始學中文，2007年獲得哈佛大學東亞語言與文明系博士學位。他的研究重點是魏晉南北朝文學，興趣範疇包括詩歌、歷史書寫、中古寫本與翻譯史。他在詩歌方面的研究成果包括兩篇有關唐代詩人劉長卿的文章，以及一篇即將出版的關於一部獨特的五世紀詩歌注的研究。在歷史書寫方面，除本專著外，另有兩篇專文探討一手資料的關鍵地位與中古傳記的生成過程。在翻譯史方面的研究則包括一篇探討偉大譯者韋利（Arthur Waley）翻譯方法的文章，以及一項正在進行中的研究，聚焦於二十世紀初最

重要的唐詩譯作——由維特（Witter Bynner）與江亢虎合譯的《群玉山頭集》之初譯與修訂過程中的異同。他的研究由修辭學的概念貫穿始終，即關注文本背後的表達模式，探索文本如何向讀者傳達信息，以及讀者如何回應文本。他對自己研究最大的期許是：不斷追求新解釋和新視角，深信只要勇於探索未知與意想不到的領域，新的見解必將湧現。

Zeb Raft studied Chinese at Oberlin College and received his Ph.D. from Harvard University's Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations in 2007. His research focus is Chinese literature in the period between circa 200 and 800 C.E., with interests including poetry, historiography, and manuscripts. As someone who primarily writes in English about Chinese materials, he also pays special attention to the history of the translation of Chinese poetry into Western languages. In addition to his book, he has published two articles about early medieval Chinese historiography, respectively examining the importance of primary source documents and the composition of biographies. His publications on poetry include two articles on the Tang poet Liu Zhangqing and a forthcoming study of a unique fifth-century poetry commentary. His studies of translation history include an article on

method in the work of the great translator Arthur Waley, as well as an ongoing investigation into the revision process of the most important early-twentieth-century translation of Tang poetry, *The Jade Mountain*, by Witter Bynner and Kiang Kang-hu. His work is tied together by a concept of rhetoric—attention to the templates that motivate what a text says to an audience and how audiences respond to texts—and inspired by the idea that new interpretations and ideas are always available, if we are willing to push forward into the unknown and unexpected.

得獎著作簡介：

本書的主旨在探討魏晉南北朝時期的歷史書寫方式及其意義。在這一時期，歷史書寫是一種極為重要的文化力量，一個簡單的統計數字即可說明這一點：一份約在公元之交編纂的書目中，僅記載了十一部史書，而不到五百年後的另一份書目中，則已包含了逾千部。

面對這種劇增現象，我們該如何解釋歷史書寫在這一時期乃至整個前現代中國中的意義呢？過去的學者們對這個問題提出不少看法。例如，從朝代史的角度出發，有些人將歷史視為國家的工具，因為這些史書的編纂由國家資助並獲得官方「出版」許可。另一方面，也有學者觀察到，這些歷史中的傳

記充滿了士族的形象，尤其是這些史書正是由士族自己撰寫的。因此，或許歷史代表了他們的理想。如此種種對歷史書寫的理解與評價，都有其解釋價值。然而，本書企圖鼓勵我們以稍微不同的方式來思考這個問題。

首先，檢視「歷史書寫」這個詞，是包含兩個層面的：「歷史」和「書寫」。這看似並非真正的二元對立：書寫只是保存歷史的最佳方式而已。然而，若從「歷史（以書寫的形式存在）」與「書寫本身在歷史的形成中所扮演的角色」的角度來思考，這之間便存在著一種差異。本書透過仔細閱讀的文學方法，歸納出這一時期「歷史」是如何被構思與建構的圖景，希望能夠傳達這些歷史資料的獨特「質感」，讓讀者感受到與它們互動的體驗，也希望這種分析所得的觀念能夠對「歷史學家」與「文學研究者」同時有所裨益。

為了發展這一新的視角，本書將歷史書寫置於「修辭學」的框架中。修辭學是一種關於說服力的研究。說服如何在歷史文本中發生？歷史書寫的形式本身又蘊含了何種說服的潛力？本書以此框架為起點，提出了不少新的觀點。然而，這些新觀點也與原始資料及過去學術研究中的舊觀點相互呼應。在二十世紀中葉，當歐美學者欲將「漢學」從研究傳統轉變為一門學科時，這一議題尤其受到重視，本書的不少新論是建立在

他們的基礎上。例如，有一種觀點認為，中國的傳記本質上具有頌揚性，源自於喪葬紀念文的發展。基於這一觀點，本書主張傳統歷史書寫的「褒貶」實際上傾向於「褒」，而這種「褒」的傾向則啟動了一種具有諷刺意味的機制，進而開啟了「貶」的可能性。

此外，當年還有一個如今往往被忽視甚至棄置的概念：「角色與類型」。「角色」指的是中國的士人根據其對歷史人物的了解來選擇生活中的「角色」在社會中「扮演」。然而，「角色」有一個容易模糊混同的對應概念——「類型」。歷史人物選擇在現實生活中扮演某些「角色」，而史家則選擇以「類型」來呈現歷史人物的生活。在這兩個極端之間，歷史存在與歷史書寫再現有時會達到和諧一致，但也可能出現嚴重的錯位，而這正是傳統中國歷史書寫讀者面對的核心難題：他真的說過或做過那樣的事嗎？還是這只是史家認為他可能會做的事，或者根本沒有發生過，而只是為了刻畫他的性格或他在某些政治戲劇中的「角色」而編寫出來的「類型」？同時，一旦開始認為傳記中的一切都是史家的虛構——那麼，這個人真實地做過什麼？不是扮演類似「類型」的「角色」嗎？本書以為，「角色」與「類型」的結合本身構成了歷史行動的一部分，即：「歷史書寫」與「歷史」是相互構成的。

本書的前兩章利用「角色-類型」概念來分析一篇五世紀的傳記，而這一問題的另一個層面——自我呈現——則是本書第四章討論的中心。二十世紀中葉的學者發現，「一手資料」（即，歷史人物自己寫的詩文）是中國歷史書寫中的關鍵元素。與後來學界比較重視的是「軼事」——為了說明而使用的一種生動而簡短的故事——的力量不同，本書則強調一手「文獻」在這種歷史書寫中的重要性，並從獨特的修辭學角度來闡明這一觀點。本書對一場朝廷辯論層層展開分析，從演講者的論點到這些論點如何共同構成該傳記主人公的形象，乃至史家在歷史詮釋層面上的框架如何運用這整場辯論的效果。第五章則從一個更普遍的角度延續這一論點，主張「歷史書寫」不僅僅是撰寫歷史書，而是一個包含從文獻的產生到檔案的整理的整體過程。

以上是本書對上一代與下一代學術論點的承接與發展，總之，本書結合了修辭學（即在某種文本或情境中探索其說服力的種種方法）與對歷史資料的細讀，描繪出一個生活與歷史交融的時代，期望讀者在研究中古中國文學與文化時，能對前現代中國的歷史真相有更細緻的理解，並將生活經驗、書寫表現和修辭策略之間的互動納入考量。

This book is about how history was written and what historical writing meant in the period we conventionally call “early medieval China” (roughly, the third to the seventh centuries, or the age between the great empires of Han and Tang). Historiography was a crucial cultural force in this period, as a single statistic shows: a bibliography from around the turn of the Common Era lists just eleven works under the category “history,” while one compiled not five hundred years later has more than a thousand.

How, then, can we explain the significance of historiography, in this period and even in premodern China generally? In the past, different aspects have been emphasized. For instance, looking at the dynastic histories, some have regarded them as instruments of the state, since states sponsored their compilation and authorized their publication. Conversely, others have noted that the landed gentry fill the biographies of these histories—and that the gentry wrote them. So maybe history represents their ideals. There are various received ways of evaluating Chinese historical writing, and each has its explanatory value. But this book encourages us to think about the significance of historiography a little differently.

First, if we just start with the word “historiography,” we can

see that it has two dimensions – “history” and “writing.” This may not seem to contain much tension: writing is just the best way for history to be preserved. But there is a difference between thinking about “history (as it was written down)” and really starting with the writing itself and thinking about “how the writing of history played a role in the formation of history.” In other words, the focus of this book is historiography, not historiography, using the literary methodologies of close reading to draw an inductive picture of how “history” was conceived and constructed in this period. It aims to convey a sense of the distinctive “texture” of these sources, and what it feels like to work with them. Its conclusions aim to benefit both “historians,” who have traditionally held possession of the materials of “historiography,” and students of literature, who frequently use historical materials as background in their discussions of literary works.

To develop a new picture of historiography, this study places its subject in the framework of “rhetoric.” Rhetoric is the study of persuasion. Where does persuasion occur within historical texts? What persuasive potential is contained in the forms of historical writing themselves? Under the guidance of this rhetorical approach,

the book is able to offer many new ideas—yet many of its new ideas remain in communication with old ones, both in our source texts and in the secondary scholarship. Especially important is the scholarship of the mid-twentieth century European and American scholars who saw the study of China, “Sinology,” turn from a tradition into an academic discipline. For instance, one of their ideas was that Chinese biography was basically eulogistic in nature, having evolved out of the funerary memorial. Expanding on this proposal, my book argues that the “praise and blame” of traditional historiography tends toward “praise,” and that the emphasis on praise enables mechanisms of irony that open up the possibilities of “blame.”

Another old idea, since neglected if not discarded, is the concept of “role and type.” The educated elite of premodern China, it was proposed, chose “roles” to play in life, based on their knowledge of exemplar historical personalities. The twist is that “role” has a problematic counterpart: the “type.” Historical actors chose “roles” to perform in real life, but historians chose “types” to represent them, and if there could exist perfect harmony between these poles of historical existence and historiographical

representation, there could also be severe disjunctions. Indeed, this is the crux of the conundrum faced by readers of traditional Chinese historiography. “Did the historical person really say or do that?” we ask. “Or was it just something the historian thought he might have done, or might not have done at all but serves well to illustrate his personality, or the part he played in some political drama?” At the other extreme, should you find yourself thinking everything in a biography is the historian’s invention—well, what do you think the person really did, given that he was playing “roles” based on “types”? This book explores how “historical actors” navigated this dualism, playing roles to type, knowing that history would record them in certain ways of representation. Ultimately, the most essential argument of the book is that the complex of role and type was a part of historical action itself. That is, historiography and history were mutually constitutive, each shaping the formation of the other.

The first two chapters use the role-type concept to unravel a fifth-century biography. Chapter four goes on to address another dimension of this question: self-representation. As the earlier generation of scholars found, “primary sources” are a key element

in Chinese historiography. The author positions this against a more recent emphasis on the power of the “anecdote”—a vivid, brief story used for purposes of illustration—to stress the importance of “documents” (poetry and prose composed by historical actors in historical situations) in this historiography. The author explores this idea from a distinctively rhetorical perspective, analyzing a court debate level by level, from the speakers’ arguments to the way they fit together into the portrait of the protagonist, and on to the way the historian framed them at the level of historical interpretation. The book’s fifth chapter takes up this point from a more general perspective, arguing that “historiography” was not just a matter of writing history books, but comprised a whole process, from document to archive.

In sum, this book represents the engagement of rhetoric—the search for the persuasive possibilities pertaining to any given text or situation—with the close reading of historical sources. Depicting an age in which life and history were fused together, it encourages its readers to embrace a nuanced understanding of historical truth in pre-modern China, taking the dynamic interplay between lived experience, written representation, and rhetorical strategies into account in their studies of medieval Chinese literature and culture.

得獎感言：

十年！怎麼會花這麼久來寫一本書？是生活和工作的種種干擾，還是說，十年恰好就是完成這項任務所需的時間？畢竟，讓一系列想法在腦中萬花筒般地旋轉這麼久，確實是件奇妙的事情。

其實，直到將最終校稿送交出版社後，我才意識到這個計畫已經進行了十年。我翻看最早的筆記，在這面「鏡子」中，看到了那些經過不斷思索而逐漸清晰的想法，那些隨著證據的發掘而逐漸發展的見解，還有那些隨著視角的改進而被放棄的構思。當然，也有些想法已被遺忘，或留待未來。這些被修改、放棄或忽略的內容帶著既熟悉又陌生的詭異感，似乎是你所熟悉的某個人或某個物，卻又與你記憶中的樣子有所不同。這就是十年的樣貌和感受。

我希望這段時間是值得的。至少，書中的某些部分應該是寫得不錯的，也相信自己在古老文本中找到了些新的見解，也是令我感到，我的一些衷心的學術追求有所成就了。當然，我也很容易發現書中的不足，懷疑多花些時間是否會更好。

話說回來，這十年我並不僅僅存在於我腦中的那片空間裡。我得到了兩個機構的支持與鼓勵：亞伯達大學東亞研究系和中央研究院中國文哲研究所。還有最重要的，我的家人也和這本書一起生活了十年，始終讓我保持在正軌上，時不時也放我輕鬆一下。