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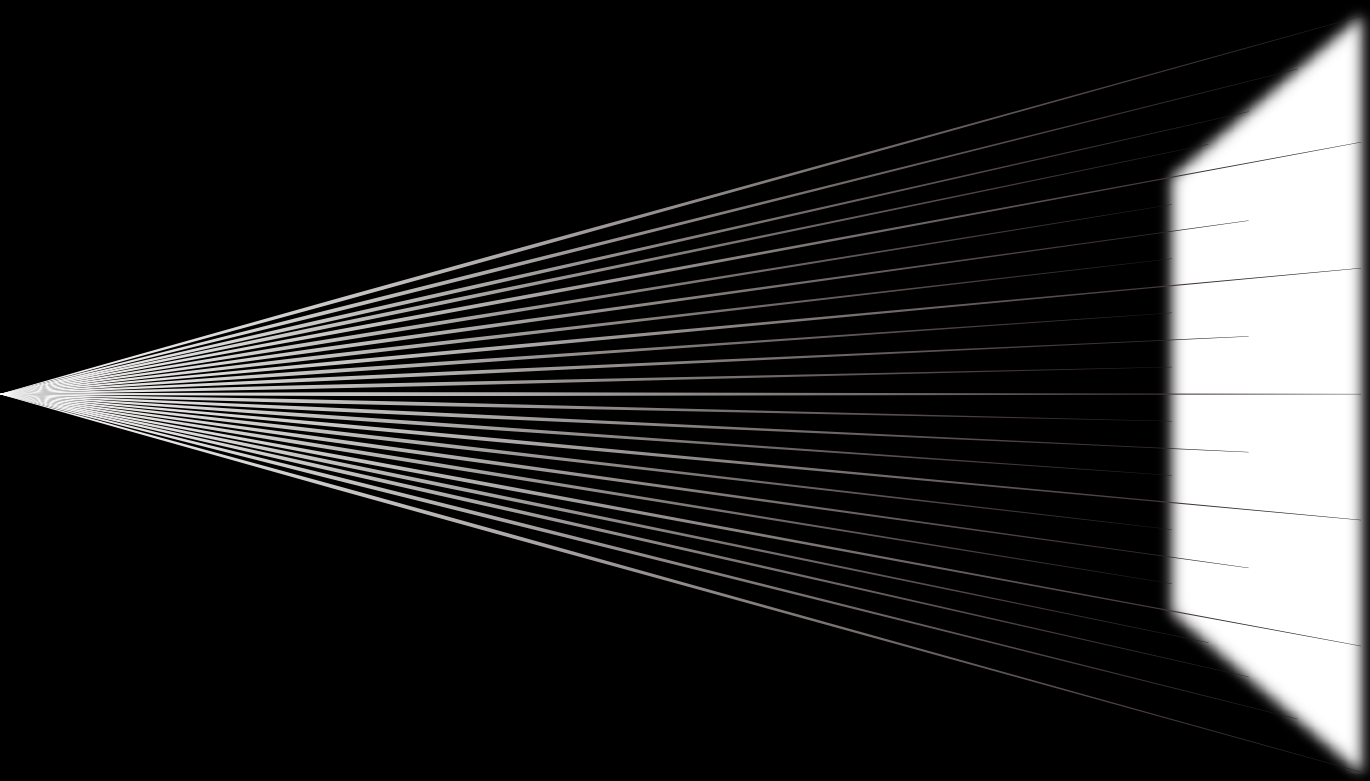

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Introduction: The 1980s: The Origins or Pre-History of Chinese Independent Cinema

WANG Xiaolu王小鲁 and Sabrina Qiong YU余琼

Chinese independent cinema did not 'pop out of a rock'. In the past two decades, however, our studies of Chinese independent cinema have mostly been presented in the form of 'dynastic histories'. Independent cinema has been described as a cultural phenomenon that suddenly emerged in the 1990s. Occasionally, there are some scattered accounts of the history of Chinese independent cinema being gradually nurtured, or writings about individual filmmakers who grew up and made films across the 1980s and the 1990s, but there are relatively few systematic studies, and the emphasis is more on a certain kind of rupture than on examining the continuity of history.

The accepted starting point for Chinese independent cinema is 1990. Although there is an element of expediency in the setting of this opening year, it holds a broad consensus. We tend to use *Mama* (妈妈), Zhang Yuan's (张元) fictional film made in 1990, as the starting point for Chinese independent fictional films, and Wu Wenguang's (吴文光) *Bumming in Beijing* (流浪北京), completed in 1990, as the starting point for Chinese independent documentaries. Since their production years were both 1990, and 1990 is a round number that divides the 1980s and the 1990s, which is easy to remember, people are happy to use it as a boundary marker to divide Chinese independent films from those produced previously under the traditional film system.

Also, since 1989 is such an important year in contemporary Chinese history, we tend to think that it seems logical that the influence of 1989 lagged a year behind, coinciding with the emergence of independent cinema, a nascent thing with a more determined cultural attitude, in 1990. As a result, 1990 is considered as the birth year of independent cinema in China. Although there were occasional voices of doubt, they did not form systematic writing. 1990 has therefore come to exist in more discourses as a consensus marker of a temporal boundary.

It is not the purpose of this issue to question 1990 as the starting point. We believe that the emergence of independent cinema must be a process of quantitative to qualitative change, regardless of the criteria used to define it. What we are concerned with is how Chinese independent cinema has come into being step by step, from the perspectives of social changes, economic development, cultural innovation, and personal spiritual evolution. The aim of this issue is to explore the conditions that allowed Chinese independent films (including documentaries and fiction films, but with more emphasis on documentaries) to rise to the surface of history. Such an exploration is the kind of work that should be done in film history research, but Chinese-language scholarship has often been in a very delicate situation; independent cinema has never really become a hotspot in mainstream scholarship, and independent film studies has long been marginalised in China. In recent years, in particular, scholars have been eager to erase the term 'independent cinema', which has been used within the system for many years, from their current discourse, not to mention elaborating on and investigating the pre-history of independent cinema. In English-language scholarship, the discussion of Chinese independent cinema also usually begins with the 'New Documentary Movement' in the early 1990s.

Occasionally, some filmmakers and researchers responded to this question. For example, for early independent filmmakers, Western intellectual and cinematic resources formed the cultural background for their filmmaking, but the works of local predecessors were also important inspirations for them. Jia Zhangke (贾樟柯) once said that he was stimulated and influenced by *Yellow Earth* (黄土地, dir. Chen Kaige 陈凯歌, 1984) before he had the passion to make films (2011). But these are usually fragmentary narratives. Cui Weiping (崔卫平) (2003) believes that the origins of independent productions can be traced back to the folk avant-garde poets of the 1970s; Hao Jian (郝建) have spoken formally or informally about the Sixth Generation as a product of the 1980s.[1]In his review of Chinese independent documentary filmmaking since the 1990s, Ken Sato (佐藤贤) (2007) cites Yu Jian (于坚) and Wu Wenguang as examples of the influence of the independent spirit presented in the new poetry of the late 1970s and 1980s, (e.g. Misty Poetry, Third Generation Poetry), on later independent documentaries. However, these views do not seem to have been widely debated or carefully expounded.

Wang Xiaolu (one of the authors of this article) has made some effort on this front. For example, in his study of director Mi Jiashan (米家山), he argues, 'Mi Jiashan's film experience, together with the efforts of other Fifth Generation directors, formed a wave of film democratisation that belonged to the 1980s. And this wave is the pre-history of the Sixth Generation independent film movement of the 1990s. There is a deep connection between them.' (2019, p.34) In his essay 'The Subjectivity Emerges: Twenty Years of Independent Documentary Films in China', published in 2010, Wang also tries to link the independence in 'independent film' with the independence in 'the virtue of independence' of the intellectuals of late Qing Dynasty. He argues that Chinese independent cinema is the development and continuation of the cultural movement pursued by those late Qing intellectuals:

> The 1980s in China was called the New Age of Enlightenment, exhibiting a clear attempt to continue the historical process that began around May 4th and was later interrupted. The goal of enlightenment is to eliminate immature dependence and establish an independent personality. In 1901, Liang Qichao (梁启超) said, 'The reason why China has not become an independent country is that its people lack the virtue of independence.' The lack of independent virtue is also a fundamental shortcoming of Chinese cinema. An important indicator of the development of Chinese cinema is the subjectivity of the director, and the auteurist study of Chinese cinema must be based on the context above in order to reach the most appropriate understanding. ... In fact, the rise of Chinese documentary films in the 1980s was marked by a clear awareness on the part of those involved that the development of documentary film was taking place on the extended line of China's century-old Enlightenment movement. Words such as 'little man' and 'ordinariness' are key words in the 1980s. Although the concept of 'superman' in Nietzsche's philosophy was introduced, that also emphasised the initiative of the individual. This trend of thought continued and blossomed into the new documentary movement of the 1990s. Instead of always looking up to the state and the collective, the little man was able to speak his own words, even if they were limited. This basic right was already a source of great joy (2010, p.78).

In addition, at a symposium on documentary films in late May in 2002, some filmmakers and scholars argued that the New Documentary Movement did not start from the late 1980s, but from the early 1980s. Lü Xinyu (吕新雨) (2003) rejects this argument and insists that it cannot be earlier than the late 1980s. She has specific definitions of the New Documentary Movement, emphasising that it is an independent documentary movement characterised by bottom-up

acts with personal will. However, there were documentary filmmaking activities in the early to mid-1980s that fit this definition but do not seem to have entered her research horizon and academic discourse. Within the scope of Lü's definition, there is nothing wrong with taking the late 1980s and 1990 as time points, but we also need to value the view that the 1980s and the 1990s cannot be isolated. Cultural change happens little by little, not overnight.

A greater emphasis on rupture in previous studies is in fact understandable. From the perspective of academic research, in the early days of a new film phenomenon, we put more emphasis on its heterogeneity in relation to previous films, hoping to sketch out its novelty. But after many years have passed, when the lens of history pulls back, we can often see more connections between what came before and after, and the inevitable affinities between them. So, the emphasis is now less on rupture and more on continuity, an important idea in this special issue, which aims to explore the depth of history and make the study of Chinese independent cinema more comprehensive and closer to historical facts. The emergence of Chinese independent cinema is, to some extent, a coincidence within the inevitable. From the selection of material, production, to individual artistic positioning and the gradual rise of the filmmakers' subjectivity, it all began in the 1980s or even earlier. It is rooted in the 1980s, and is an important product under the influence of the emancipation of social thoughts and avant-garde literature and art movements since the end of the Cultural Revolution. This is, of course, only a general judgement, and through this special issue we attempt to explore and expand on this judgement and answer a series of questions.

How did the intellectual liberation experienced by independent filmmakers occur during the years when they were building themselves up? How did the philosophical, intellectual, and cultural environment of the 1980s enable them to complete their cultural and artistic preparation, and how did it constitute the resources for their subsequent filmmaking? How did the waves and achievements of other cultural and artistic fields in the 1980s influence filmmaking then and afterwards? Were various independent elements already present in films and actions of filmmakers in the 1980s before the emergence of Chinese independent cinema? How did the economic development, technological advances and social changes brought about by the reform and opening up contribute to independent filmmaking outside the system? What role did the increasing interaction between China and the West play in the formation and development of Chinese independent cinema from the 1980s to the 1990s? We look at intellectual connections and aesthetic legacies between the 1980s and the 1990s in order to trace the origins or pre-history of independent cinema.

While scholarly interpretation is important, those who lived it are in a better position to uncover the cultural significance of the relevant history from their own experiences, providing rich and informative details and first-hand research data for future studies. The use of personal histories in the study of the history of independent cinema is an important principle in the composition of this issue.

Cui Weiping's nearly 50,000-word Chinese essay 'The Birth of a Documentary' is not exactly an examination of the production history of *Bumming in Beijing*, but rather uses what is generally considered to be the first independent documentary film as a prelude, to sort out its diverse origins. It tells separate stories of avant-garde poetry, unofficial publications, reportage literature, and experimental theatre in the 1980s, yet subtly presents the inextricable links between the various literature and art fields. More precisely, it is a review of a facet of the spiritual history of the generation to which Cui belongs. The essay is naturally too long by the standards of a periodical, but we feel that this length cor-

responds to the breadth and depth of the pre-spiritual history of independent cinema in the 1980s. The rich historical details and the vivid portrayal of the spiritual atmosphere and cultural waves of the time provided in this essay are helpful for our understanding of the causes and consequences of the emergence of independent cinema.

Also based on personal experience, Chris Berry recalls his own experience working for China Film Export and Import Corporation in the mid-1980s and proposes a series of preconditions for the emergence of Chinese independent cinema in terms of social transformation, economic reform, public psychology, the film industry, and Western influence. Guo Xizhi (郭熙志), as a director who has been making documentaries inside and outside the system since the early 1990s, analyses several sources of Chinese independent documentaries in the 1980s, such as the zeitgeist of 'Facing the World', the influence and practice of domestic and foreign television stations, and the teaching of documentaries at the Beijing Broadcasting Institute. The three authors' exploration of the origins of Chinese independent cinema overlaps in many ways, and makes clear the elements that nurtured independent cinema in the 1980s.

As mentioned earlier, we did not intend to question 1990 as an expedient and important watershed in Chinese film culture, but in combing through the pre-history of independent cinema, our authors have made some very unique discoveries. They collectively seek to verify some previously ambiguous arguments and find that what was once the consensus year for the start of independent cinema—1990—is far from a solid watershed. It is almost certain that the history of independent documentary film-making and completed works needs to be extended backwards, while the year of the start of feature-length independent fiction films has not been shaken.

In 'Ending or Starting—Researching the Fragments of the Pre-History of Chinese Independent Cinema', Cao Kai (曹恺) suggests replacing research on filmmakers and their films with research on their filmmaking process when tracing the history of independent film. He argues that from the perspective of working process, Wen Puli's (温 普林) documentary *The Great Earthquake* (大地震) whose filming began in 1987,[2]can be regarded as the historical beginning of independent cinema; from the perspective of completed works, Hao Zhiqiang's (郝智强) experimental animation *Wind* (风), which was completed in late 1988, should be the first independent video work. Similarly, Wang Xiaolu, in '*Nujiang* (怒江) and the Origin of Chinese Independent Documentary', argues that we should attach more emphasis to early independent documentation activities, e.g. Wen Pulin starting filming the creative process of experimental theatres organised by himself in late 1984, and proposes that the earliest origin of independent documentary in China was a series of works, rather than a single one. But if one has to identify the earliest completed independent documentary, it would be Lü Le's (吕乐) *Nujiang*: *A Lost Canyon* (怒江——一条丢失的峡谷), completed on 9 June 1989, rather than Wu Wenguang's *Bumming in Beiji*ng, completed in 1990. In her article, Cui Weiping is even more explicit in stating that the beginning of Chinese independent film should be in late 1984, when Wen Pulin filmed the theatre rehearsal of *Uncle's Dream* with a rented camera.

The identification of the first Chinese independent film is by no means an easy task, and is inevitably controversial. Our aim is not to debate which one is the first, but to restore as much of the historical picture as possible, bring to light the facts that were previously obscured or rarely spoken about, and thus stimulate future researchers to explore this history in more depth and in more dimensions.

The other two essays included in 'Articles' section do not directly discuss the 1980s, but provide a retrospective look at the early history of Chinese independent cinema. Hao Jian's article examines in detail the Sixth Generation filmmakers who have been seen as the earliest independent filmmakers in China, although they are distinctly different from independent filmmakers who emerged later in a larger number. In addition to analysing their work, the essay focuses on the intellectual resources and artistic nourishment that the Sixth Generation directors drew from the 1980s, in which they grew up, and refers to them as the products of the 1980s. Mitchell van Vuren's article looks back at the history of Chinese independent cinema since it first began to be selected for international festivals. Although it explores the interaction and influence between Chinese independent cinema and the Rotterdam International Film Festival in the 1990s, this history begins in the 1980s, when Fifth Generation director Chen Kaige (陈凯歌) first went to Rotterdam with his *King of The Children* (孩子王, 1987).

It is the intention of the 'Interview' section in this issue to allow the oral accounts of filmmakers/witnesses and the discourses of researchers to mirror each other. Among five interviews included (in both English and Chinese), four are from the oral history project of the Chinese Independent Film Archive (CIFA), and one is a Chinese interview published several years ago, for which we have made an English version.

One name that came up frequently during the process of editing this issue is Wen Pulin. As a contemporary artist who has been active since the 1980s, Wen's name is rarely mentioned in the independent film circle, but his *The Great Earthquake* is coincidentally identified by the three authors of this issue (Cui Weiping, Cao Kai, and Wang Xiaolu) as one of the important beginnings of Chinese independent cinema. We therefore decided to publish the full interview that Wang Xiaolu, one of the executive editors of this issue, conducted with Wen in May 2021. In the interview, Wen not only recalls in detail the origin and process of making *The Great Earthquake*, but also describes the cultural ecology and spiritual status of the earliest vagrant (*mangliu* 盲流) artists in the 1980s. Wu Wenguang, the director of *Bumming in Beijing*, long considered as the first independent Chinese documentary, has had numerous interviews published in books and online. Here we have excerpted a small part of an interview with Sabrina Qiong Yu, one of the executive editors of this issue, in which Wu recalls and reflects on his own life and spiritual journey in the 1980s.

Shi Jian (时间), who has worked on documentary filmmaking since the late 1980s, is considered to be one of the participants and initiators of the documentary movement of the 1990s. The excerpted interview focuses on his retrospective on university education and institutional documentary filmmaking in the 1980s, the making of *Tiananmen* (a documentary series) starting in 1988, and his narration of proposing the 'New Documentary Movement' in 1991. In an interview with Lydia Dan Wu (吴丹), Guo Jing (郭净), former director of the Yunnan Provincial Museum and co-founder of Yunfest, an independent film festival, suggests that from the early 1980s to 1990, there was a 'pre-independent documentary phase' in China, namely ethnographic films, and that the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences played an important role in the emergence of this new kind of documentary. Guo argues that ethnographic films are not independent documentaries, but are extremely closely related to them, and should be looked at and studied as another tradition and thread.

Zhen Zhang (张真) is a researcher of independent film, but she is also a poet who began writing modern poetry in the late 1970s and witnessed the new poetry movement that spread across the nation in the 1980s. In a conversation with

Zhou Zan (周瓒)and Sun Yi (伊索尔) in 2008, Zhang recalls the culture fever of the 1980s, from underground communities and publications to university poetry events and large-scale public poetry readings, as well as her subsequent experiences and feelings about leaving China to become a 'poet in exile'. The interview also touches on various foreign influences on avant-garde literature and art movements in China at the time, the relationship between poetry and film, and so on. Reading Zhang's interview alongside Cui Weiping's article, it is unsurprising that the passionate and vibrant intellectual and cultural atmosphere of the 1980s emerged as a source for independent cinema, and the role of female artists and scholars in this historical process is notable.

The films discussed in the four film reviews by Lin Feng (冯琳), Xiang Fan (樊响), Sabrina Qiong Yu and Wen Hua (温华) respectively in this issue are all from the 1980s—*Maple* (枫,1980), *The Savage Land* (原野,1981), *Hibiscus Town* (芙蓉镇,1986), *Special Operating Room* (特别手术室,1988), and *The Trouble Shooters* (顽主, 1988). These films had either been banned for a period of time or were quite controversial at the time, and the reason for this was usually that they touched on taboo topics or challenged the dominant discourse or way of expression of the time. The selection of such films for review is in part an attempt to answer the question raised above: were various independent elements already seen in the films of the 1980s before Chinese independent cinema appeared? These films, which provoked controversies back then but made the breakthrough in different ways, not only interpret the legacy of the 1980s in terms of spirit and aesthetics, but their quality of bold exploration and independent thinking is also a precious source for later independent films.

The last section of this issue is 'Stars (Xing Xing) Exhibition: Photographs and Art Work'. A few of our authors and the interviewees have talked about the 'Stars Art Group' (星星画会) and 'Stars Art Exhibition' (星星美展). Wen Pulin says: 'In my mind, if we trace back the origins, the Stars Art Exhibition in 1979 should be the start of China's contemporary art, or the earliest precursor of the great earthquake.'[3] Chris Berry believes that avant-garde artists of the 1980s provided an example for later independent filmmakers to follow, and that the emergence of independent modes of art production can be traced back to 1979, when 'a group of artists had staged the Stars Art Exhibition on the railings outside the China Art Gallery. Although the police closed them down, they had shown that artists could operate outside the system.' Cui Weiping's and Cao Kai's essays also refer to the iconic significance of the emergence of the Stars Art Group. We have therefore decided to conclude this issue with an exhibition of photographs and paintings of the Stars Art Group, where the spirit of independence and freedom first burst out after the Cultural Revolution. Thanks to the curation of Yan Li (严力), the member of the Stars Art Group, Norman A. Spencer and his wife Peng Xiaojian (彭筱剑). This small exhibition and the short essays Yan and Spencer each wrote for it continue the efforts of their book, *Things Are Symbols of Themselves* (2005), to bring the discussion of Chinese culture in the 1980s back to its origins—the Stars Art Group and *Today* (今天). But we also believe, as the articles in this issue show, that these origins are not fixed, and there are more than one.

The participants of this journal issue have joined their efforts to explore the pre-history or origins of Chinese independent cinema, provided a wealth of historical details and offered new perspectives and discoveries. The historical conditions that allowed Chinese independent cinema to emerge were diverse and gradually took shape in the 1980s. The names of those artists who appear in *Bumming in Beijing* also appear in Wen Pulin and Zhen Zhang's respective recollection of their life in the 1980s, in Cui Weiping's sketch of the spiritual history of the 1980s, and in Cao Kai's dis-

cussion of the '85 Art Movement'. This tells us that the emergence of independent cinema was not an isolated or overnight phenomenon, and also that the exploration of its pre-history/origins should not be limited to the field of cinema. It should be examined in the context of the socio-economic changes, ideological and cultural progress, and avant-garde art movements of the entire era. Those earliest filmmakers before the 1990s were able to make films independently, either through the use of institutional resources or by chance. The appearance of these filmmaking activities or works was the harbinger of the time, and we can use them to examine the interaction between Chinese cinema and the times. These discoveries convey the significance of film history, as well as of anthropological and social development in China. In other words, we can observe the conditions under which artists had the possibility to think freely, the era in which they were given the space to think independently, and the opportunity to translate this into independent filmmaking.

Notes

1 For example, see Hao Jian's article in this issue titled 'Sixth Generation Filmmakers: Confused Nomenclature, Artistic Nourishment, and the Death Complex'.

2 In the interview with Wen Pulin included in this issue, he makes a correction to the year when the shooting started: 'According to Zhang Mingwei's memory, it should be 1988. My memory is a bit fuzzy; I always thought it was 1987.'

3 Wen Pulin has once said that he learned about the earliest free spirit from the Stars Art Group and admired them greatly. He was encouraged at the time by Qu Leilei, a member of the Stars Art Group, to begin his painting career. See Wen Pulin, 'Just in Time', in *Wen Pulin's Archive of Chinese Avant-Garde Art of the 1980s*, published by Soka Art Center, 2008, p.4.

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导言：1980 年代：中国独立电影的源头或前史

王小鲁、余琼

中国独立电影不是“石头缝里蹦出来的”。然而过去二十年中，我们对于中国独立电影的研究，多以断代史的面貌来呈现，它被描述为九十年代忽然出现的一种电影文化现象。对于中国独立电影逐渐被孕育出来的历史脉胳，偶尔会有一些零散的叙述，或者对于某个成长和创作跨越了80年代与90年代的个体电影人成长历史的书写，但系统的研究和梳理比较少，大家更为强调某种断裂，而非去考察历史的延续性。

中国独立电影公认的起点在于1990年。虽然这个开端年份的设定的确有着权宜之计的成分，但它仍然拥有广泛的共识。我们往往以1990年的剧情片——张元的《妈妈》作为中国独立剧情片的起点，以吴文光1990年完成的《流浪北京》作为中国独立纪录片的起点。由于他们的出产年份都在1990年，而1990年又是一个划分80年代和90年代的整数，便于记诵，所以人们都乐于以此作为划分中国独立电影和之前传统电影体制下出产的电影作品的界碑。

另外，由于1989年是中国社会发展的一个重要年份，我们也往往认为，1989年的影响滞后一年，恰好在1990年出现了独立电影这种文化态度比较决绝的新兴事物，似乎是合乎逻辑的。因此，1990年被看作中国独立电影的元年。虽然偶尔也有一些质疑的声音，但并未形成系统的文字，于是1990年就在更多的论述中被作为一个共识性的时间界碑而存在。

质疑这个界碑本身并非本期的目的所在——我们觉得无论以哪个标准定义独立电影，独立电影的出现一定是一个由量变到质变的过程。我们关注的是，从社会变革、经济发展、文化创新、再到个人精神进化，中国独立电影是如何一步步具有了得以诞生的时代因缘。本期以“中国独立电影前史”为专题，旨在探索中国独立电影（包括纪录片和剧情片，但更为侧重纪录片）得以浮出历史地表的诸般条件。这种探索本是电影历史研究应该做的工作，但是中国的学术研究往往处于十分微妙的环境，独立电影从未在主流学术那里真正形成热点，独立电影研究在中国更是一直被边缘化的。而最近几年尤甚，学者们恨不得将“独立电影”这个在体制内使用多年的词语，从自己当下的论述中完全抹除，更别提详尽地论述和考证独立电影的前史了。英语学术界对中国独立电影的讨论也通常从九十年代初期的“新纪录片运动”开始。

偶尔有一些创作者及学者对这个问题进行回应。比如对于早期独立电影导演来说，西方思想资源和电影艺术资源构成了他们创作的文化背景，但是本土前辈的创作也对于后一代具有重要的启发，贾樟柯曾说他受到《黄土地》的刺激和影响，才具有了电影创作的激情[1]，但这更多的是碎片化的叙述。崔卫平认为独立制作的源头可以追溯到70年代的民间前卫诗人[2]；郝建曾正式或者非正式地讲述过第六代是八十年代的产物[3]。佐藤贤也曾在回顾九十年代以来中国的独立纪录片创作时，以于坚、吴文光为例，谈到七十年代末及八十年代的新诗（朦胧诗、“第三代诗歌’）中呈现的独立精神对后来的独立纪录片的影响[4]。但这些观点似乎并未被加以广泛与深入的论证。

学者王小鲁（本文作者之一）曾做过一些梳理，比如在研究米家山导演的时候，他认为“米家山的电影经验和其他第五代导演的努力，一起组成了一个属于八十年代的电影民主化思潮。而这个思潮是九十年代第六代独立电影运动的

前史，它们之间存有深刻的渊源和联系。”[5]在发表于2010年的《主体渐显——中国独立纪录片20年观察》一文中，他也试图将“独立电影”的独立与晚清知识分子“独立之德”中的独立加以联系，认为中国独立电影是晚清知识分子所追求的文化运动的发展与延续。

> 中国80年代被称为新启蒙时代，是明确要接续五四前后开始并在后来被中断了的历史进程。所谓启蒙是要去除个人不成熟的依附状态，以建立独立的人格。1901年梁启超就说，吾中国所以不成为独立国者，以国民乏独立之德而已。独立之德的缺乏也是中国电影的根本弊病。中国电影发展的重要指标是导演的主体性，中国电影的作者研究必须建立在上面这个语境里才能获得最妥善的理解。……事实上，中国纪录片在80年代的崛起，当事人就明确意识到纪录片发展是在中国百年启蒙运动的延长线上进行的。80年代的“小人物”、“平凡”等词是关键词，虽然有尼采哲学中的“超人”概念引进，但那也是在强调个体的能动性。这股思潮延续并绽放在90年代的新纪录运动中。小人物不再总是仰望国家与集体，而是能够说自己的话，哪怕所说有限，这种基本的权利已让人欣喜若狂。[6]

此外，在2002年5月下旬一次纪录片研讨会上，有创作者和学者认为新纪录运动不应该以1980年代末期作为断代依据，而应该从八十年代早期算起。吕新雨断然否定了这个说法[7],认为最早也要到80年代晚期。她对于新纪录片运动的纪录片形态是有其独特的界定的，强调新纪录运动是一个独立纪录片运动，它的重要特点是自下而上、带有个人意志的行为。但80年代中早期就有符合这一界定的纪录片拍摄活动，而这些活动似乎并未进入其研究视野和学术论述当中。在吕新雨的定义中，将1980年代末和1990作为时间节点也许无可厚非。但我们也要重视八十年代与九十年代不能完全隔离这种意见，文化的变革是一点点发生的，并非一蹴而就。

在过去的研究中更强调断裂其实是可以理解的。从学术研究的角度来说，在一种新现象出现的早期，我们更强调它相对于之前电影的异质性，希望勾勒出它的新颖的面貌。但是多年过去之后，当历史的镜头拉远，我们往往更能看到前后之间的关联，以及它们之间不可避免的亲缘关系。所以现在不再过于强调断裂，而强调延续，是本期专刊的一个重要的思路，它旨在勘探真实的历史纵深，使得中国独立电影的研究更为全面，更为接近历史的真相。中国独立电影的发生，某种程度上来说，是必然中的偶然。从选材到制作，到个人的艺术定位以及创作者个人主体性的逐渐提升，都是从八十年代甚至更早就开始了。独立电影不是凭空产生，它扎根于八十年代甚至更早的年代，是文革结束以来社会思想解放思潮与先锋文学艺术浪潮影响下的重要产物。当然这只是一个笼统的判断，我们试图通过本期专刊对这个判断进行具体的探讨与拓展，回答一系列问题。

在独立电影人建立自我的年代里面，他们所经验的思想解放是如何发生的？八十年代的哲学、思想和文化环境，如何使得他们完成了文化与艺术修养的准备，又如何构成了他们后来的创作资源？八十年代其它文化艺术领域的浪潮与成果，如何影响了当时及之后的电影创作？在中国独立电影发生之前，各种独立元素在八十年代的电影作品和电影人的行动里面已经出现了吗？改革开放带来的经济发展、技术进步与社会变化，如何促成了电影体制之外的独立创作？从八十年代到九十年代，中西方日益增加的交往对中国独立电影的形成与发展起过什么样的作用？我们着眼于八九十年之间的思想联系和美学传承，去寻找、梳理独立电影的前史。

学者的义理阐释固然重要，但亲历者更能从自己的经验中去挖掘相关历史的文化意义，为未来的研究提供丰富翔实的细节，以及第一手的研究资料。以个人史切入独立电影的历史，是本期组稿的一个重要原则。

崔卫平近五万字的长文《一部纪录片的诞生》，并非在考证《流浪北京》的生产史，而是以这部普遍认为的第一部

独立纪录片为引子，梳理它多样化的源头，对八十年代的先锋诗歌、非官方出版物、报告文学、实验戏剧等分别讲述，却又巧妙地呈现出各个文艺领域之间千丝万缕的联系，以此回顾她所属于的那一代人精神史的一个侧面。这篇文章以一个期刊的标准看来自然是太长了，但我们觉得这个长度正对应了独立电影在八十年代的精神前史的广度与深度，其中提供的丰富的历史细节以及对时代精神氛围、文化浪潮的生动描绘，对我们了解独立电影出现的前因后果很有帮助。

同样基于个人经历，裴开瑞(Chris Berry)通过回顾自己八十年代中期为中国电影输出输入公司工作的经历，从社会转型、经济改革、民众心理、电影工业、西方影响等方面提出一系列中国独立电影出现的先决条件；郭熙志则以一个从九十年代初开始在体制内外拍摄纪录片的导演的身份，分析了中国独立纪录片在八十年代的几个源头，比如走向世界的时代氛围、国内外电视台的影响与实践、北京广播学院的纪录片教学。三位作者对中国独立电影源头的探寻有不少重合之处，也令八十年代孕育独立电影的诸种要素更为清晰。

如前面所言，我们并未打算去质疑1990年作为一种权宜之计，成为中国电影文化的重要分水岭，但是在梳理独立电影前史的过程中，我们的作者们有了非常独特的发现，他们共同将一些之前模糊存在的论点进行了求证，发现曾经作为共识的独立电影的起始年——1990年远非一个牢固的分水岭。独立纪录片创作与成片的历史要向前追溯，这几乎是非常确定的，而独立剧情片中的剧情长片部分的起始年份并未被撼动。

在《结局或开始——中国独立影像史前史切片研究》一文中，曹恺建议在追溯独立电影历史的时候，用“工作研究”取代“作品研究”和“作者研究”。他认为，从工作角度而言，温普林 1987 年 [8] 开始纪录片《大地震》的拍摄，可被看作独立电影的历史性开端；从作品完成的角度而言，完成于 1988 年底的郝智强实验动画短片《风》则应是第一部独立影像作品。同样地，王小鲁在《< 怒江 > 与中国独立纪录片的起点》一文中也认为要重视早期的独立记录行为，比如温普林从 1984 年底开始拍摄自己组织的实验戏剧的创作过程，并提出中国独立纪录片的最早源头是一系列、而非某一个作品,但如果一定要确定一部最早完成的独立纪录片,它应该是吕乐完成于 1989 年 6 月 9 日的《怒江——一条丢失的峡谷》，而非吴文光完成于 1990 年的《流浪北京》。崔卫平在她的文章中更是明确地指出，中国独立影像的起点应该在 1984 年下半年，当温普林用租来的摄像机拍摄《舅舅的梦》剧场排练现场的时候。

对中国独立影像开山之作的认定绝非易事，也肯定存在争议。我们的目的并非要争论出谁是第一，而是希望尽可能地还原历史的图景，让从前被遮蔽或是被很少言说的事实得以显现，以此推动未来的研究者从更多维度进行更为深入的历史性探讨。

学术视野栏目收录的另外两篇文章并没有直接讨论八十年代，但对独立电影早期历史进行了溯源似的考证。郝建的文章详细地考察了被看作是中国最早的独立导演的第六代影人，虽然他们与后来更大量出现的独立导演有着明显的区别。除了分析他们的作品，文章着重讨论了第六代导演从他们成长的八十年代所获取的思想资源与艺术营养，并将他们称为八十年代的产物。米切尔·范·沃伦(Mitchell van VUREN)的文章回顾中国独立电影最初开始入选国际电影节的历史，虽然探讨的是九十年代中国独立电影与鹿特丹国际电影节之间的互动及影响，这个渊源与历史的起点却在八十年代，也就是当第五代导演陈凯歌带着他的《孩子王》(1987) 第一次去到鹿特丹的时候。

让电影人/亲历者的口述与研究者的论述互相映证，是本期访谈栏目的意图所在。收入的五篇访谈(中英文双版)中，四篇来自华语独立影像资料馆的口述史项目，还有一篇是发表于数年前的中文访谈，我们为其做了英文版。

在我们在组稿编稿过程中，有一个名字频频出现，那就是温普林。作为一个从八十年代开始就很活跃的当代艺术家，温普林的名字在独立电影圈甚少被提起，而他的《大地震》却被本期的三位作者（崔卫平、曹恺、王小鲁）不约而同地认定为中国独立影像的重要起点之一，我们因此决定将今年五月本期执行主编之一王小鲁与温普林做的访谈全文刊登。在访谈中他不但详尽回忆了拍摄《大地震》的缘起与过程，而且描述了最早的盲流艺术家们在八十年代的文化生态与精神状况。一直以来被看作第一部中国独立纪录片的《流浪北京》的导演吴文光，有大量的访谈见诸书刊网路，我们在此节选了本期执行主编之一余琼与他访谈的一小部分，即他对自己八十年代生活与精神历程的回忆与反思。

从八十年代后期开始致力于纪实性纪录片创作的时间，被认为是九十年代纪录片运动的参与者与发起人之一。选登的他的访谈集中在他对八十年代大学教育与体制内纪录片探索的回顾，关于1988年开始创作《天安门》（系列纪录片），以及1991年提出“新纪录片运动”的叙述。前云南省博物馆馆长及“云之南纪录影像展”的创始人之一郭净在与吴丹的访谈中提出，从八十年代初到1990年，中国的纪录片有一个“前独立纪录片阶段”，那就是民族志电影，而云南社科院在这种新的纪录片的兴起中起了重要作用。郭净认为，民族志电影并不附属于独立纪录片，但跟它有着极其密切的关系，应该被做为另一种传统与线索加以关注与研究。

张真是独立电影研究者，但她的另一身份是从七十年代后期开始创作现代诗的诗人，并见证了八十年代席卷全国、风起云涌的新诗运动。收录在本期她2008年与周瓒、伊索尔做的对谈中，张真回忆了八十年代的文化热，从地下社团、出版物到高校诗歌活动及大型公共诗歌朗诵，以及后来离开中国成为“流亡诗人”的经历与感受。访谈中还涉及了当时中国的先锋文艺浪潮的多种外来影响，诗歌与电影之间的关系等话题。将张真的访谈与崔卫平的文章放在一起读，八十年代充满激情与生机的思想文化氛围跃然纸上，它成为独立电影的精神源头也顺理成章，且凸显了女性艺术家与学者在这一历史进程中的作用。

本期四篇影评（分别由冯琳、樊响、余琼、温华撰写）所讨论的电影都是八十年代的作品——《枫》（1980）、《原野》（1981）、《芙蓉镇》（1986）、《特别手术室》（1988）、《顽主》（1988）。这些影片要么曾经被封禁过，要么在当时引起了相当的争议，而究其原因，通常是因为它们触及到禁忌的话题或是挑战了当时的主流话语或表达方式。选择这样的影片进行评论，一定程度上是为了回答上文提到的问题：在中国独立电影发生之前，各种独立元素在八十年代的电影作品里是否已经出现？这些在当年引发争议，却从不同维度上有所突破的影片，不但在精神与美学上诠释了八十年代的传统，其大胆探索、独立思考的品质更是后来的独立电影的珍贵源泉。

本期专刊的最后一个版块是“星星照片与画作展”。本期的作者与受访者不止一次地谈到“星星画会”与“星星美展”。温普林说：“在我心里，如果溯源的话，1979年的星星美展就应该是中国当代艺术的开端，或者说是最早的大地震前兆。”[9]裴开瑞认为八十年代的前卫艺术家为后来的独立电影人提供了可以效仿的榜样，而独立艺术生产模式的出现可以追溯到1979年，“一批艺术家就曾在中国美术馆外的栏杆上举办过星星美展，虽然警方后来禁止了展出，但这已经表明艺术家可以在体制之外运作。”崔卫平与曹恺的文章中也分别提到“星星画会”出现的标志性意义。因此，我们决定以一个关于星星的照片与画作展——文革之后独立自由精神最早迸发的地方——为这一期划上句号。感谢“星星画会”成员严力，诺曼.斯班塞(Norman A. SPENCER)及他的妻子彭筱剑的策展。这个小展及严力与斯班塞各自为之写的短文，延续着他们之前合作的书《事物是它自己的象征》中的努力，即把关于八十年代中国文化的讨论带回到它的源头——“星星画会”与《今天》。虽然我们相信，正如这一期期刊中文章所展示的那样，源头不是固定的，也不止一个。

本期期刊的参与者们合力对中国独立电影前史或者源头进行探索，提供了丰富的历史细节，并提出新的观点与发现。中国独立电影得以产生的历史条件是多元的，在八十年代逐渐形成。那些出现在《流浪北京》里的艺术家的名字，也出现在温普林与张真各自对八十年代生活的回忆中，出现在崔卫平对八十年代精神史的勾勒中，以及曹恺关于八五美术新潮的讨论中。这告诉我们，独立电影的出现不是一个孤立或一蹴而就的现象，对其前史/源头的探讨也不应局限于影像领域，而是应该被放到整个时代的社会经济变革、思想文化进步以及先锋艺术浪潮中去考察。1990年之前那些最早的创作者能够进行独立影像创作，要么是使用了体制内的资源，要么是出于特别偶然的机缘，使得他们能够拥有了创作的条件。这些创作行为或是作品的出现，是时代的先声，我们可以借此考察中国电影与时代互动的状况。这些发现不仅仅拥有电影史的意义，还有着人类学以及考证中国社会发展史的意义。也就是说，我们可以借此观察，艺术家在什么样的条件下具有获得自由思想的可能，在什么年代可以给予独立思考以空间，以及转化成电影的机会。

注释

1 贾樟柯《确定当导演是受黄土地的启发》，https://news.ifeng.com/c/7fZI0Hsy2T5.

2 崔卫平《中国大陆独立制作纪录片的生长空间》，《二十一世纪》第77期，2003.

3 郝建本期文章《离散的“第六代”：混沌的命名式、艺术营养和死亡情结》。

4 佐藤贤《回望：中国的纪录片“运动”》，《现代思想》，东京，青土社，2007.10.

5 王小鲁《米家山的八十年代：独立电影前传》，《电影意志》，四川人民出版社，2019年版，第34页。

6 王小鲁《主体渐显——中国独立纪录片20年观察》，《电影艺术》2010年第6期，第78页。

7 吕新雨《纪录中国》，三联书店出版社，2003年7月版，第335页。

8 在本期收录的温普林访谈中，他对开拍年份做了更正：“按照张明伟的记忆，应该是1988年，我的记忆有些模糊了，一直以为是87年。”

9 温普林也曾说过，他从星星画会那里知道最早的自由精神，非常佩服他们，当时也受到星星画会成员曲磊磊的鼓励，从而开始绘画生涯。见温普林，《恰好在场》，《温普林中国前卫艺术档案之八零年代》，索卡艺术中心出版，2008年,第4页。

学术视野 ARTICLES

一部纪录片的诞生——关于《流浪北京》的前史或故事会
The Birth of a Documentary: The Pre-History or Tale of *Bumming in Beijing*
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结局或开始—中国独立影像史前史切片研究
Ending or Starting — Researching the Fragments of the Pre-History of Chinese Independent Cinema
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《怒江》与中国独立纪录片的开端
Nujiang and the Origin of Chinese Independent Documentary
Author 作者：WANG Xiaolu 王小鲁

The Preconditions for Chinese Independent Cinema in the 1980s
中国独立电影在八十年代的萌芽
Author 作者：Chris Berry 裴开瑞；Translator 翻译：Emma WEI 艾玛·魏

离散的“第六代 ”：混沌的命名式、艺术营养和死亡情结
Sixth Generation Filmmakers: Confused Nomenclature, Artistic Nourishment, and the Death Complex
Author 作者 : HAO Jian 郝建

一个人的纪录片历史——中国独立纪录片之我见
One Person’s Documentary Filmmaking History: My Opinion of Chinese Independent Documentaries
Author 作者：GUO Xizhi 郭熙志

Bumming in Rotterdam: Historical interactions between Chinese Independent Cinema and International Film Festival Rotterdam in the 1990s
流浪鹿特丹——1990 年代中国独立电影与鹿特丹国际电影节之间的历史互动
Author 作者：Mitchell van VUREN 米切尔·范·沃伦

一部纪录片的诞生——关于《流浪北京》的前史或故事会
The Birth of a Documentary: The Pre-History or Tale of *Bumming in Beijing*

崔卫平 CUI Weiping

概要

这部《流浪北京》所吸纳和释放的，是1978年以来思想解放、社会变革的众多能量，其中包括非官方出版、民间社团、人才流动等社会因素，涉及先锋诗歌、报告文学、实验戏剧、前卫艺术、民间影像乃至萌芽中的现代舞等诸多文艺领域。通过她所积累的传递的，是一个长长的、望不到边的起伏链条。

关键词：《流浪北京》、*samizdat*、尚义街6号、吴文光、朱晓阳、温普林、盲流艺术家、日常生活

Abstract

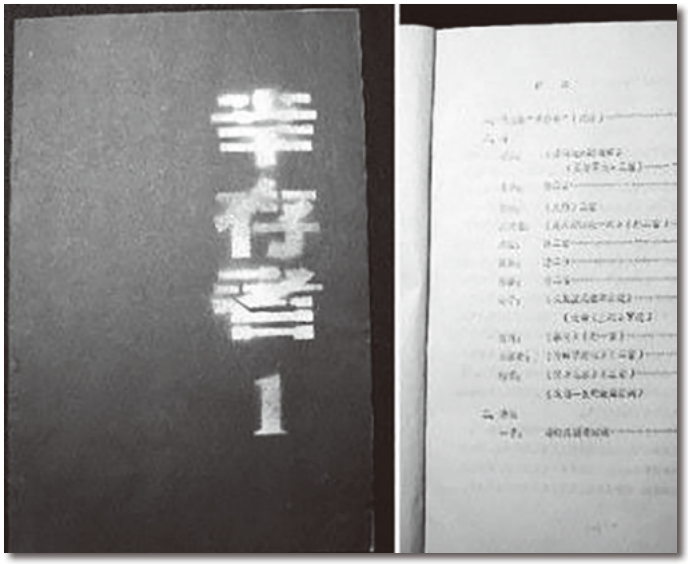
Considering *Bumming in Beijing* as a living work, what the film absorbed and released were the energies formed in the years of ideological emancipation and social transformation after 1978. Among these energies were social factors such as unofficial publishing, grassroot communities, and social mobility, and numerous fields of literature and art, such as avant-garde poetry, reportage, experimental theatre, avant-garde art, folk images, and modern dance, which was still in its infancy. What grew in the film, and what it passed on, was a long, undulating chain of history with no end in sight.

Keywords: *Bumming in Beijing, samizdat*, No. 6 Shangyi Street, Wu Wenguang, Zhu Xiaoyang, Wen Pulin, vagrant (*mangliu*) artists, everyday life

所有发生过的都不会轻易磨灭，所有存在过的都在某处被记载下来；每一粒能量的微尘都在互相碰撞和传动中，散发出它们的光和热。

——题记

引子之一：与民间诗刊混放在一起的录像带



诗歌民刊《幸存者》

90年代初，《流浪北京》以录像带的形式，出现在我当时位于北京劲松三区316楼3单元602室的家里。不记得是我先生唐晓渡从外面带回来的，还是吴文光到我们家时他自己拿来的，最有可能是后者。这应该是老吴最早制作的那批录像带之一，它放在那个较小的房间即晓渡的书房里。这书房大约7、8平米，靠墙有一圈低矮的、咖啡色的沙发，沙发的布质十分粗糙，唯一的好处能掩盖不同人坐过之后带来的污渍。在这圈沙发上面发生过一些后来被写进“历史”的事件，我指的是“民间诗歌史”，1988年杨炼、芒克在这里与晓渡催生了《幸存者》民刊诗歌；1992年又从这

里产生了《现代汉诗》，此时杨炼去了国外，欧阳江河来到北京。沙发的对面是临窗的书桌，那上面有一部红色的电话机，它仅仅是一部分机，总机在小区物业。聊着聊着，这部分机电话就响了，有新的、从远方的客人要前来加入。

这屋子经常被弄得烟雾缭绕，全国各路诗歌英雄好汉在这里快活得跟神仙一样，尤其是在吃了晓渡亲自下厨的一顿淮阳风味的美食和喝了一点汾酒之后。当我去厨房洗那摞堆得高高的碗碟筷子，另一桌语言大餐在那个小书房里蓬蓬勃勃地展开了。实际上也经常跑题，并非仅仅集中在诗歌上面。政治、经济、阴谋、延安、体育赛事、女人、美酒，不同人们的打架斗殴，正在热播的某个电视剧统统全在内。我较少参加讨论，原因比较复杂。除了洗碗带孩子，还因为我是一个女人。即使愚笨如我，也会很快发现，没有一个来到我们家的男人，想要听一下这家女主人要说什么。1987年夏天我在西藏旅游途中见到海子，他丢下一件手工编织的咖啡色厚毛衣，七成新，我穿着它贯穿后来的整个旅程。他来我家讨论《幸存者》时，我在另一个屋里哄孩子。

在沉默中我炼出了一些句子，表达心中的愤慨：“三个男人在一起侃一夜，一个共和国（不管是诗歌的还是政治的）就从他们的唾液中产生了”；以及“他们这叫个什么流浪！无非是从劲松三区唐晓渡家的饭桌，流浪到劲松四区杨炼和芒克家的地板上”。从我作为“被流浪者”的角度和感受，我觉得我们家已经成了《五十一号兵站》或《冰山上的来客》。我写下了这样的句子：“如果连怎样弄一顿晚饭都要费尽心思，那么实际上什么事也做不了。生活中并不所有事情都需要有创造性思维。外面的世界又能怎么样？在今天，流浪所到之处已经没有想象中的旖旎风光，古堡，森林，而仅仅是从一个人家到另一个人家，从一个公共汽车的站牌到另一个公共汽车的站牌，最大的冒险莫过于乘坐地铁，到小饭馆喝啤酒，吃火锅。除此而外，就是另外一些人的日常生活。”[1]有“云南王”之称的诗人于坚看到了之后说：“崔卫平你还写文章，原来以为你就是一做饭的。”我对于坚另一句话印象深刻：当他翻看一本新杂志，先看那上面有没有自己的作品或名字。他的坦率让我顿生敬意。

那时候我们家的诗歌民刊堆得满地都是，全国各地的诗歌才俊寄来，更多的民刊晓渡留在了他《诗刊》的办公室。人们的交谈中夹杂许多来自这些诗歌民刊的名称，在外人听来它们像一些密电码——《非非》、《北回归线》、《他们》、《海上》、《红旗》、《反对》、《怒汉》、《恐龙蛋》、《日日新》等。有人聊得来劲不走，就住下了。咖啡色沙发下面是暗红色的地毯，那上面留有许多被烟蒂烧穿的小黑洞。当一个共和国和又一个共和国诞生完毕，人们感到精疲力竭，《流浪北京》就不失时机地出现了，我们拿它来招待客人。

想想看吧。深夜，在一个极小、极黑暗的屋子里，有人坐在沙发上，有人坐在地毯上，互相之间挨得很近，看那种从未见过的黑乎乎的影像，忽明忽暗的光影一闪一闪的，照出观众们乱蓬蓬脏兮兮的头发和衣服，这种观看本身多少接近一种密谋性质。这是在“六·四”刚过那种晦涩诡异的气氛中！问题还在于——看的人，与影像里面的人差不多，看张慈、牟森、高波就像看自己。把称之为“远方的浪漫”拉到近前来——哦，也许比远方更远的是人自己——这多少让人觉得有点尴尬，好像他们自己的秘密被眼前的影像揭穿了。我不记得有人关于这部片子说过什么精彩的、让人记住的话，看完之后基本上是沉默，情况与于坚描述的这部影片1990年冬天在昆明朋友们之间首映的情况相差无几。人们虽然怀着观看“被禁的手抄本”的兴趣，但还是有人看着看着就睡着了。

在我家这样的放映一年大概有四、五次，持续了不到两年就结束了。我与家里的客人一样，也不了解这部《流浪北京》的意义，并没有表现出特别热情。它看起来就像一个天兵天将，还没有准备好它的观众。人们对影像视觉的了解是另外一个知识系统，需要其他的储备，一个人即使在文字上有再高深的领悟，他的视觉经验也可能等于零。至少当时的情况是这样。吴文光自己也说过的，他本人请朋友看这部影片，同时给他们做一种叫做“树皮牛肉”的菜，结果人们都说牛肉好吃，不提这部片子。

对这部偶遇的纪录片后来添加的认识，用得着那时候我们十分推崇的T·S艾略特《诗歌与个人才能》中所说，一个艺术形式的秩序，于其中某部作品的重要性，既取决于它此前的作品，又取决于后来添加进来的作品。每当一个新的作品加入，整个现存秩序就会发生改变，哪怕是微小的变化，产生新与旧之间新的协调。这部《流浪北京》也是如此，它的意义也是靠后来不断添加进来的其他独立制作的纪录片而逐步释放出来的。尤其是2000年之后DV作品的大量出现，人们拥有了更多对于独立影像方面的理解和自觉，于是不断地返回到这部起源性作品，令它的意义越积越厚。这就像诗经里面的“关关雎鸠”这类民谣，后来的诗歌积累有多深重，这类起源上的作品便有多异彩。

看起来吴文光本人也愿意把当初的自己放在与观众差不多的起点上，表明对自己正在做的事情了解得与观众一样地少，坚决反对将自己拔高，不愿意将自己弄成一个神话。他一再强调自己当时无意识的直接行动，说他当初拍摄时头脑中并没有“纪录片”这个概念，更没有“新纪录片”这个概念，“老实说那时自己是老鼠打洞一样干着再说”[2]。然而这样的效果弄得不好适得其反：是一只看不见的手，无意间成就了一位中国独立影像的开拓性人物？他的好朋友于坚最初就是这样说的[3]。变得难以解释的同时也会变得更加神奇。但即使是神话，也是有起源的。

很可能，作品越是独特，其起源和条件则越是丰富多样。本文则是对这部片子多样化来源的一个梳理，其中所释放的，也是我们这一代人精神史的一个侧面。

引子之二:1988，电视影像革命

写于1989年—1992年《流浪北京》的拍摄手记中，吴文光提到自己于1988年3月份北京街上的树叶刚刚泛绿时来到了北京，是被他的云南老友朱晓阳（“朱小羊”是他当时的笔名）吆喝来弄一个关于乡镇企业的电视片，他们的那个电视项目一度处于拉资金的不确定状态。很快运气来了，4月份的某天[4]，他俩共同出席了中央电视台对外部为建国四十周年献礼筹划的一个献礼片《中国人》的会议，希望通过普通中国人的生活来反映改革开放的成果以及中国的现状，准备向国外发行。朱晓阳被任命为这个大型多集电视系列片《中国人》的总撰稿，吴文光任分级编导。与这个中国最大、最权威的电视台合作，就有可能运用电视台的摄影师和机器。据中央台的陈真说，拍摄《流浪北京》所使用的设备，是池上IKGAMI–79E，后期用的是时带脱编，在当时最高级的5000机房，这在国际上也算是先进设备。陈真等电视台的人帮吴文光定到机房后，因为这是为私活而使用公家机房，吴文光还必须在与机房管理者下棋输给对方[5]。

此前在昆明电视台主要拍领导会议的吴文光，在与中央电视台的同仁们合作时，也有机会习得对于影像的新眼光。在接受汪继芳的访问时，吴文光谈到过陈真给了他的许多启发。陈真于1984年复旦大学中文系毕业，直接分配到了中央电视台对外部，已经拍摄了令吴文光折服《西藏大祈愿》等。他也在《中国人》的剧组担任分级编导。陈真去过日本，看过一些国外的纪录片，便说与身边的同行们听。1996年吴文光接受汪继芳的采访时，提到这期间听陈真谈过一个叫做《我的家在哪里》的日本纪录片，关于战后留在中国的一个日本孤儿，“从他的口述中，我感到真正的长镜头运动在纪录片里有着强烈的效果，还有对人物的那种跟踪拍摄。可以说，那时我心里隐然的东西突然被照亮了。”[6]

关于新影像的认知，陈真的表述进一步证实了吴文光的说法。由于《中国人》属于外宣片，尺度可以宽一些，他们就特地看了一些外国纪录片。当这个剧组的一干年轻人去中国资料馆看安东尼奥尼的《中国》，陈真提出要看8个小时，结果资料馆的人让他们连续看了4个小时。吴文光也在。这部片子重视影像通过图像、剪辑、声音来产生效果

而不是解说，对这些正在担纲的年轻人产生了“震撼性”的效果。还有一部重要的电视片《龙之心》（Heart of the Dragon），是改革开放之后中央电视台与BBC合拍的，该片删节之后在中央电视台播过，但并未引起反响，陈真将此解释为观众对这种纪实的影响语言还没有准备好。然而这部《龙之心》对于这些电视台的年轻人是真正产生了实际影响的。

看完《中国》和《龙之心》之后，雄心勃勃的这些年轻人——陈真、吴文光、朱晓阳、卢望平、吴晟伟等，就在一起很兴奋地聊啊，聊啊，关于长镜头，关于画面中声音的来源，关于关注点在于拍摄对象“人”，而不是主题先行。在他们聊的过程中，“纪实”这个概念慢慢抬头了[7]。他们看到了新影像的曙光，也是自己未来事业的新起点。1988年6月16日《河殇》播出第一集，在社会上引起万人空巷的巨大效果背后，也唤醒了这批年轻的电视人，令他们产生的一个共识是，坚决不做这样“看图说话”的电视片，陈真认为它“完全违背了我们所认同的影像这个东西”[8]。在《中国人》这个新剧组的小圈子里，《河殇》成了一个反面典型，其中的图像完全是被动的和被捆绑的，并不释放自身信息。后来陈真做《中国人》其中一集《女人》，便没有解说词。陈汉元审片这一集，感慨地说：“看了这个片子我感觉到什么是现代”[9]。

陈真所说的，也进一步得到了朱晓阳的证实。在朱晓阳1994年于台湾出版的《象征与暗喻》一书的第二章里，谈到1989年之前他本人如何作为中国自由化和边缘化的个例之后，他花了很多篇幅来谈《河殇》：它一方面极为赞赏起源于“个人自由”的社会制度（所谓“海洋文明”），另一方面它仍然是“一种集体主义霸权的话语”，热衷于创造一种新的全民族神话，包括其短镜头切换的蒙太奇手法，破碎而不能自主的画面，令观众更依赖于解说词的引导，造成一种绝对权威感。出于对《河殇》的反感，令做《中国人》的这批年轻电视人“有意划清与《河殇》的界限”[10]。从具体操作上，朱晓阳也指出他们的做法“受到英国纪录片《龙之心》等国外节目的影响，已转向画面叙述，人物访谈为主的风格。”[11]

不同于“要成为一次对民族历史、文明和命运的全面思考”的《河殇》（苏晓康语），这部共8集、每集50分钟的“电视系列片”（这是它的官方称呼）《中国人》，朱晓阳将其宗旨概括为：“该片再现了当代普通中国人的生活与命运，他们的行为、观念和习俗，探寻传统文化和外来文化对现代中国人的影响，描述中国人的欢乐与辛苦，艰难与不屈，以及探索与向往。”[12]这是朱晓阳发表在香港《九十年代》月刊1991年3月号上面的文字，从这期开始，这份刊物开始刊登朱晓阳为《中国人》写的拍摄札记，前后一共5篇。虽然据朱晓阳说，这个主要是自己所搜集的材料而整理，并不是电视片的解说词。其中包括：《生育》（第一部）、《粮食》（第二部）、《城市住房》（第三部）、《农民的脱贫之道》（第四部）、《特异功能——精神躁狂？》（第五部）。比之计划中的8集《中国人》，在这5篇拍摄手记之外的3集为陈真所做《女人》、吴文光和卢望平所做《艺人》和《功夫》。从中的确可以看出，《中国人》更愿意关注普通人的命运，这是一个极大的自觉转折。

朱晓阳1990年出国去了澳大利亚读人类学博士，2003年他回国任教北京大学社会学系，目前担任该校该系副主任、社会学人类学副所长。2015年他在接受学生访问时，仍然说到“《河殇》它没得图像嘛，就是朗读文章，我们要拍能看的电视，有故事的电视，《河殇》它就是些强迫性的文字。”除了安东尼奥尼的《中国》和《龙之心》，这回朱晓阳还提到当时看过一部欧洲人在日本拍的电视片，叫做《没有阳光》（Sunless），关于日本工业化所造成的雾霾。关于这些国外的纪录片，朱晓阳也说，“我们去电视台的资料馆看，一点一点地分析，觉得应该走这个路。”[13]

将目光从宏大叙事转向日常生活中的普通人，这个变化不仅体现在《中国人》剧组，还有后来创办《东方时空》的时间先生所在《天安门》剧组（中央台）、王子军所在《京城散记》剧组（北京台），这两部同样也是1988年制作的8

集电视片。前者与《中国人》一样打入冷宫，后者每集30分钟播出过7集，关于北京普通人。《天安门》雄心更大，想通过长安街的演变来显示中国历史性的演变，然而目光却放在具体人物身上，从北京老城里前宫中太监到担纲新启蒙的学者钱理群。时间这样描绘当时的这种转折：此前有人拍到一些精彩的好内容，然而却将这些东西当作被利用的对象；而现在则意味着“这个东西感动了我，然后我同样用一种被感动的东西来传递给别人，是跟我眼前的这个被拍摄的人物的命运是非常强烈的、有一种关系的。”[14]

引子之三：三人行

朱晓阳是吴文光的校友、诗友，1986年初作为三无人员（无户口、无工作、无工资）来到北京。所谓无工作和无工资，是指没有单位正式编制的工作和所发工资，这正是他在云南主动放弃的，他觉得自己有这个底气。1988年的朱晓阳，在北京以报告文学家著称。1987年第四期由中国作家协会主办的大型文学期刊《中国作家》发表了他的报告文学《盲流中国》，引起不小反响，有四、五家杂志和书籍加以转载。

与着手《中国人》差不多同时，朱晓阳在写作一篇新的报告文学《北京拉丁区》，关于正在成为北京西郊一道新风景的盲流艺术家们，他应该是最先关注这个群体生存状态的人。在《北京拉丁区》没有发表之前，已经在圈内口口相传。吴文光看了之后提议，以这部《北京拉丁区》为蓝本去做一个纪录片。在这之前，吴文光曾向朱晓阳表示过“我们应利用《中国人》剧组器材拍一部自己的副产品”[15]。朱晓阳当即表示赞成，他马上以《北京拉丁区》为基础写了拍摄大纲，两人开始了新层面上的合作。他俩也签下了“合作导演”的口头协议。在最初拍摄《流浪北京》五个人物中的四个——张慈、牟森、高波和张大力时，朱晓阳都有在现场。

为什么吴文光和朱晓阳为央视《中国人》做得好好的，吴文光甚至生动地描写过朱晓阳和他是如何主动争取来了这个《中国人》的项目，客观上也有发挥个人的空间，但与此同时，这两人还想到要弄出自己的东西，“身在曹营心在汉”？同样，也可以进一步问，这两个家伙何等运气，撞到了这5个人作为这部拍摄对象？不能说他/她们是整整一代人的生存方式，但可以说是这种那个汹涌澎湃时代海洋中几朵绽放的奇葩。很大程度上，这5位被拍摄对象决定了这部影片的成功。他们各自在镜头前的讲述、每个人所居住的狭小凌乱的环境，通过影像所释放出来的气息（发型、表情和衣着），是肉眼极少能够见到的八十年代“灵与肉”的标本。

第一位被拍摄者张慈，在镜头前是那么自然、那么放松，仿佛她对着不是摄像机的镜头，只是拭擦其面庞的轻柔微风。阳光打在她的脸上，她脸庞的线条和胸前的锁骨是清晰的，她乌黑的头发闪闪发亮，但是她的目光却是迷离怅惘的，她目光的前方和将要被她丢在身后的过去同样像是黑暗隧道。她的话题驶过黑暗隧道，汩汩流淌，她是不受控制的。许多年内，当我想起《流浪北京》这部电影，主要是其中张慈的影像，印象极其鲜明。她脸上有从天而降的自然光线。用一句当时的诗人们都佩服的一首诗来形容，那就是：“人群中这些面孔幽灵一般显现/湿漉漉的黑色枝条上的许多花瓣。”（庞德《地铁车站》）

在纪录片导演与被拍摄者之间，相处多久才能有这样美的镜头？拍摄回来的路上，吴文光解答摄影师卢望平的好奇，说认识张慈差不多十年了。从这个角度可以说，在吴文光在还没有摸到机器之前的许多年，他就已经在积累这部纪录片了。

然而这远远不够。较少为人所知的是，当时朱晓阳与张慈是一对儿，共同居住在北大东门对过的新胡同4号。片中张慈经常提到的“Xiaoyang”，片中字幕译作“朋友”，其实正是朱晓阳：“那会儿Xiaoyang说冬天要来了，得把那个

门和窗户封死，不然风刮进来，我当时没体会到，后来天凉了真是好多风刮进去，他把他的裤子剪了，把那个缝给补上，弄了好多的纸板还有木头给他封死。”片中高波和牟森都提到第一次见张慈，说她像记者一样来采访他们，这便是为了协助朱晓阳《北京拉丁区》的写作。

按照吴文光的记载，他和朱晓阳在进入《中国人》剧组之前，便以此前“乡镇企业”拍摄计划的名义，搬进了位于复兴门大街的国有招待所，虽然朱晓阳的记忆与之有差异[16]。但无论如何，他俩住进位于北京西城区复兴门外真武庙二条财政部招待所的时间应该不晚于88年的5月。随后张慈也去了云南休息，5月份她在昆明一个冷饮店里遇见了高波说的长得像海明威似的“我爷爷”[17]，他是来自美国的旅游者，这两人很快决定离开中国。那么实际上，从这个时候开始，租住新胡同4号（影片中的拍摄场所）的房屋是空着的。但是一时没有退租，个人的东西还在里面。若是有事回来住，还能运转起来[18]。8月一个星期天的早晨，在离开北京之前，张慈受邀坐公交车重回故居，带来了她当时最漂亮的几套裙子，遵嘱再现自己从早晨起床开始的一系列生活细节：倒痰盂、去邮箱拿信、洗衣服[19]等。作为现场导演之一，朱晓阳那天也把自己拍进去了，包括他与张慈曾经的共同生活，据张慈回忆说，这部分有两个小时[20]。

搭进去朱晓阳，便意味着搭上吴文光和朱晓阳十余年的友谊，他们的青春、梦想和互相平行的生活道路。云南有个文学杂志叫《滇池》，1979年创办，昆明市级文学刊物，曾将许多年轻人的习作变成铅字，鼓励了他/她们的文学梦想。在这份刊物1986年的第七期上，有一个新设栏目“昆明青年作者作品小辑”里，同时发表了朱晓阳（《告状的故事》）、张慈（《错婴》）、吴文光（《远方》）这三位冤家的短篇小说。他们每人都有一个自我介绍：

> 朱小羊（笔名）：男，二十九岁，下过乡上过大学。小个子卷毛，极不安分。在纸上瞎划多年，发过几篇，无人知道。现留职在外闲晃，户口为昆明人氏。昆明市作协会员。
>
> 张慈：女，1962年生，云南人。生性糊涂，不拘世俗。面对文学，我无话可说。
>
> 吴文光：男，年三十。七四至八二年，下乡、大学各四年。毕业后至中学任教，一年后弃职往新疆，任教于一牧场中学。八五年归，在昆明电视台工作至今。《远方》为作者第一篇铅字小说。

先声：非官方出版物

于坚称这部《流浪北京》当时“像手抄本禁书一样流传”[21]。他说得对，同时也道出了一个这部片子当时的流行渠道：它最早是通过此前非官方出版物的途径，抵达一些弄出非官方出版物的朋友家。因此，吴文光又有一份孤独在于，邮寄到我家的大量民间诗刊，它们是在全国各地其他也办民间诗刊的人们当中流传，读者人群与出版者人群高度重合，即俗话说的“民间诗刊办给其它也办诗歌民刊的人看”；而这部《流浪北京》，却没有自己的同伴，没有能够在其他也拍独立影像的人们之间流传，DV拍给其他也拍DV的人看是许多年后的事情，于是这部片子流向了办诗歌民刊人们的家里，与那些民刊混放在一起。实际上，老吴也曾经在这个圈子，与这个圈子息息相通，他知道到哪里去寻找自己的同道。诗人芒克离我们家只隔一个电影院和小马路，他家若有客人来，我们也会举家过去，步行五、六分钟。在芒克家我也曾遇到同样的这部《流浪北京》的录像带，同样静静地呆在电视柜的下方。这时候就会产生错觉，仿佛一不小心走到自己家来了。

的确，当时在许多人的眼里，非官方出版的诗歌民刊比公开出版的官方诗刊，有更多的原创好诗和活力四射，因此在价值的天平上，也更有份量。经常出现的情况是，一首好诗先是出现在诗歌民刊上面，引起人们的惊奇和震动，

作者的名字也被人们记住；等到过些日子再发表在官方诗刊上面，人们对它的新奇感已经消失，看上去像是一朵昨日黄花，尽管是同一首诗。这也是我自己当时真实感受。晓渡当时是作家协会主办的《诗刊》编辑。在我眼里，官方《诗刊》除了继续自己的老一套风格，在新的美学追求上面，仅仅是追随民间诗刊。

“Samizdt”是来自俄语的一个词汇，在俄语中本来的含义为“自我出版”。一般认为Samizdt起源于60年代的苏联。正是苏联最早实行了对于出版发行的全面控制，很长时间内苏联境内的打字机和印刷设备都被清点过。人们只有在出国旅游时秘密带回一部打字机以避开登记。最早流传的Samizdt版本是帕斯捷尔纳克1957年的小说《日瓦戈医生》，索尔仁尼琴的小说《伊万–杰尼索维奇的一天》起初也通过Samizdat传播。曾被判“寄生虫罪”的诗人、诺贝尔文学奖获得者布罗茨基的许多诗，也是在Samizdat上面被人们读到。由此也可以看出，Samizdt最初并非主要是政治的，其作者主要是一批持不同文学见解者。然而越到后来，尤其是70年代中期之后的捷克斯洛伐克、波兰，Samizdat越来越富有政治含义，哈维尔的《无权者的权力》便是以Samizdat的形式出现的。波兰《十诫》导演基耶斯洛夫斯基在书中也提到，80年代初期，经常有工人因携带一两本违禁出版物而被捕，所判刑期不重（判二缓三等），导演和他的摄影师甚至可以带着摄影机前往法庭拍摄，这些违禁出版物便是Samizdt作品。

由此也可见，Samizdt不同于“抽屉文学”，除了是一种写作的形式，它更是一种出版的形式，其目的是能够流传发布，被更多的人读到，产生交流的效果，而不是为了私藏。中文可以将Samizdt译作“非正式出版物”或“非官方出版物”。1960年初的兰州大学生右派群体的《星火》杂志，可以视为中国Samizdt一枚闪亮的流星划过天空。尽管其本意仅仅在20来个人的群体之间进行交流，也难逃仅仅一期便遭夭折。70年代有许多被称之为“文革期间的地下文学”，包括各种手抄本、个人制作的文集、诗集，但是看具体情况：如果目的在于传播，有明显复制行为，那么则可以算作Samizdt；但如果只是在个人之间面对面地秘传，不敢和不打算流布，且生怕流布，则很难算是Samizdt。1973年，当诗人多多和诗人芒克在白洋淀相约每年年底，要像交换决斗的手枪一样交换一册诗集，此时他们所交换的手抄本是“地下/抽屉文学”，直到这些诗句发表在后来的《今天》上面。“忽然，希望变成泪水掉在地上，/又怎能料想明天没有悲伤”，1973年芒克这样写道，当时没有一个官方出版物打算发表这样的句子。芒克的许多诗是被人记在脑子里的，我后来听在《今天》当财务的鄂复明先生说过，他本人也是其中之一。

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比起个人手抄诗集，1978年下半年开始出现的各种“民刊”，才是中国Samizdt的大观。就像俗话说的“一只燕子带来一个春天”，这个民刊潮的第一冲击波来自北京之外。1978年10月10日，贵州诗人黄翔带着他的同伴，将他抄写在大张白纸上面的组诗《火神交响曲》，足足有100多张巨型“大字报”，肩抗着坐火车来到北京，第二天贴到了位于王府井的《人民日报》报社门口。黄翔写在不同时期的这些诗歌包括《火炬之歌》、《火神》、《世界在大风大雨中出浴》等。同时发布的，还有十几份油印民刊《启蒙》。当日应围观群众的要求，黄翔一口气朗诵了600多行诗歌。他向他的听众发问：“新式偶像该不该砸碎？”“精神长城该不该拆除？”用他的话说，四周全是“泪眼汪汪的眼睛”[22]。一个月后他第二次进京，1978年11月24日中午十二时，他和他的同伴在天安门广场正式宣布成立自发团体《启蒙社》，首批成员名单共8人，这也许的确如黄翔本人所说，是1949年之后第一个民主社团。

他的行动在北京所引起的风暴可想而知。深受触动的北岛给黄翔写信，

为正在筹办的《今天》向得到贵州诗人约稿: “由于你们的鼓舞和其他种种因素, 我和我的朋友们正在筹办一份综合性文艺刊物。……你们的诗歌已经震动了北京, 就让北京再震动一次吧。”[23]1978年12月23日, 《今天》面世, 主编北岛, 副主编芒克。前者因其沉着和毅力被更多人了解和被历史所记载, 但是就诗歌独创性和影响而言, 当时人们最为佩服的是芒克。《今天》这个标题便是芒克起的。接下来的这个冬天, 北京雨后春笋似地出现了50多个民间刊物, 《探索》、《沃土》、《四五运动》、《北京之春》、《中国人权同盟》等, 这些油印刊物先后张贴到西单民主墙上, 这些主要是政治性质的。

《今天》以其独特的语言风格, 带来了巨大反响和声誉。当时我在南京大学中文系读书, 被要求与留学生同住。1979年2月份我们寒假结束之后回校, 突然看到了去北京过春节的留学生们带回来色彩纷呈的各种Samizdt刊物, 连续数天屋里散发着油墨的香味。无疑, 蓝色封面的《今天》最为吸引我。一期又一期, 我捧着它在南大早春怒放的玉兰树下轻声朗读, 经受它的文学洗礼和精神洗礼。与其说这份民刊从一开始便自觉地刻意回避了政治色彩, 不如说它最初主要是希望保持诗歌技巧的水准, 但不一定立志与政治脱钩。最早在《今天》上发表的《诗歌》, 还是有其足够的政治反对力量的, 比如北岛的《回答》: “告诉你吧,世界/我——不——相——信/纵使你脚下有一千名挑战者/那就把我算作第一千零一名”。但是总体来说, 如果说, 《沃土》、《北京之春》在当时属于“政治上的反对派”, 那么《今天》则属于“文化上的反对派”, 它有一个主要是非政治的起点。

最早拍摄民间影像的温普林先生说过, “最早的思想启蒙还是从诗人开始, 诗人一支笔, 如果你的大脑没有停止转动, 你的思想自然就会流泻出来。”[24] 为什么是诗歌? 某种情况可以与西方十九世纪浪漫主义诗歌作为开启现代文化的最先冲击波相似。1800年华兹华斯说: “诗歌是强烈感情的自然流露”, 比之强调既有规范的古典主义, 他提供了一种新的合法性来源: 人的感情的自发性。诗歌来自一个人的内在感情, 它的自发性同时为自身提供论证, 而且还是强烈的、不由自主的。面对权威, 诗歌或许有一个潜台词: 这是连我自己难以控制的一种情感表达, 难道有什么过错吗? 在经历了文革那个抹杀人性的时代, 诗歌则提供了人性在场的第一手论证。在富有悠久诗歌传统的中国, 普通人们也都了解和掌握情感表达的合法性。因此, 一旦土壤气候适合, 第一个冲出来的就是诗歌。

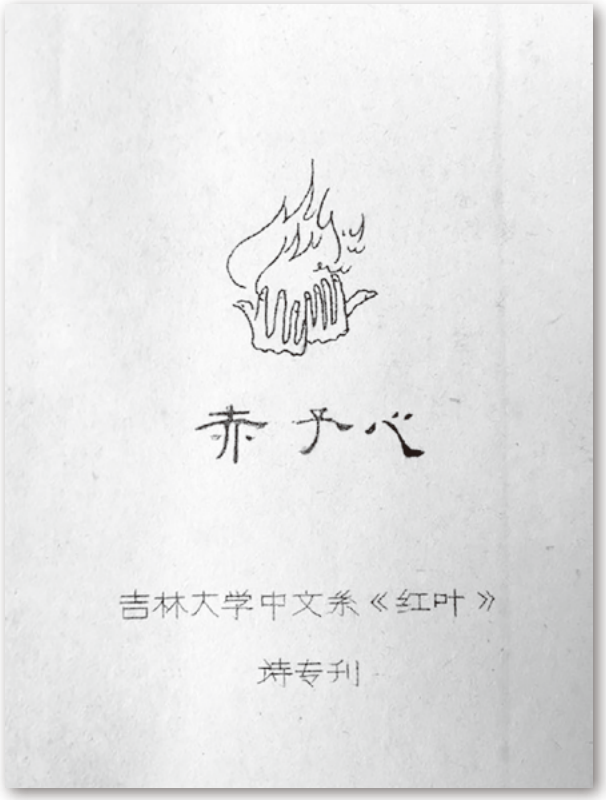
温普林同时指出, 紧接着诗歌后面的是美术, 然而才是小说、电影。继1978年底《今天》创刊, 不满足于仅仅为《今天》画封面的画家黄锐与他的朋友马德升、曲磊磊一道, 成立了星星画会, 于1979年9月27日在中国美术馆东侧小花园举办自己的展览, 同样没有得到官方的批准, 他们的口号是“用自己的眼睛认识世界, 用自己的画笔和雕刀参与世界。”《今天》的诗人们为这个展览配了一些诗句挂在画作旁边。在公共空间举办未经批准的画展, 两天之后画展被北京市东城区公安局宣布停止。在这之前, 政治性民刊已经遭到严厉打击。魏京生于1979年3月25日贴出大字报《要民主还是新的独裁》, 3月29日被捕, 10月16日被判15年有期徒刑。官方给新的民主运动设立了严格界限: 政治改革必须在党内和体制之内进行, 这个信息所有人都接收到了。

1979年第3期的《今天》, 已经从原先的手刻蜡版手工油印而转为打字蜡版油印, 虽然部分文字被中止排印、被拆版, 最后还是面世。在经过了其他政治民刊被取缔、人员被抓捕的颠簸之后, 《今天》不断调整自己的策略重新出发, 从此把自己更加限制在美学范围之内, 而不去冲击政治。这份刊物差不多延续了两年, 没有人因此而被捕入狱。到1980年底停刊, 它一共出版了正式期刊9期, 另有研究资料3期和4本个人诗集, 个人诗集与正刊一样印刷了1000册, 一套完整的编辑部系统帮助年轻诗人们插上飞向全国各地的翅膀。与此同时, 它所包含的“反对”的含义也逐渐减弱。

然而有意思的是, 国家最高级别诗歌刊物《诗刊》于1979年3月号, 发表了北岛的诗歌《回答》, 4月号发表了舒婷的

诗《致橡树》，这才是一个十分有中国特色的现象。虽然高层已经对政治民间有所防范，然而这个体制仍然在努力释放它自身的民主力量，如果不是最后的民主力量的话。那些起先被视为挑战性的诗歌在官方刊物上发表，它所造成的模糊地带，成了其后更加广泛的模糊地带的一个先声。对于官方权威来说，它承认了诗歌/文学真正的活力在民间；对于民间来说，从民间走向官方是一条可以采纳的途径，而不是仅仅需要加以排斥的。在当时官方美学遭到强烈冲击的情况下，模糊地带造成的影响力和感召力显然更大。

吉林大学中文系的《赤子心》第6期刊登王小妮的诗歌《我感到了阳光》（1979），后来也发表在《诗刊》上面，这些闪亮的句子体现了人们当时思想解放的心情："我从长长的走廊走下去……/——啊，迎面是刺眼的窗子两边是反光的墙壁阳光，/我 我和阳光站在一起！"在同一期上面，有同为《赤子心》成员的刘晓波的诗歌《心事》（3首），这与发表在《今天》杂志上发表的芒克写于1977年的《心事》，在情绪上和立意上十分接近，带着淡淡的忧伤："小路。/小屋。/心灵。/脚步。/幸福呵"，刘晓波写道。王小妮和后来成为她丈夫的徐敬亚同学同时参加了1980年夏天《诗刊》举办的第一届的青春诗会，这届成员还有舒婷和顾城。诗会期间，北岛、芒克和杨炼突然造访，也可以视为体制内外友好互动的又一例证。



吉林大学《赤子心》第六期内页

《今天》从主编到作者——北岛、芒克、多多、舒婷、顾城、江河、杨炼等，即使在高考制度恢复之后，也一概没有进入当时的大学，对于年轻人来说，这又是一份启发：力量一定在体制之外。芒克应该是最早的"文化盲流"，他从白洋淀插队回来在一家造纸厂当工人，因为办《今天》而被工厂开除，后来始终无业。顾城文革中随父亲下放回北京后在街道工厂做过搬运工、锯木工，很快放弃专事写作，若登记也是一位无业人员。虽然他们当中有人被吸收进不同的国家单位，但这并不是他们身上吸引人的因素。记得84年我刚到北京电影学院报到不久，便听杨炼说过："在单位做一个灰色人物"，这对我产生过较大影响。杨炼1977年考入中央广播艺术团创作室任一份闲职，然而这个身份几乎从来没有人提起过。

当一批又一批新奇的句子抵达云南大学中文系男生宿舍之后，一名叫做吴文光的中文系七八级男生与女诗人舒婷建立了通讯联系，据说来往有十几封邮件，这在当时是一件足以引为自豪的事情，也意味着在这位瘦高的青年面前，有了一枚关于诗歌、语言以及思绪飘向何方的路标。在这之前，在知青点当过小学老师的吴文光已经积累了几本硬皮笔记本的诗，可能有上百首，在同学之间传诵。

80年代初，捷克反对派"七七宪章"成员品达(Vaclav Benda)在建立反对派视野时，提出了"平行结构"的概念，以此揭示在官方文化之外，"独立文化"将会长久存在的一个前景。中国也有一个相应的过程。然而，以贵州"启蒙社"为开端的中国Samizdt力量，却经历了更多色彩的过渡和变化。在被官方和社会吸纳的同时，其"文化反对"/"独立"含义也在削弱。到了本文开头提到的那些多在1985年之左右出现的诗歌民刊，可以说回避政治性是其中的一个重要策略。一来因为官方的限制，1983年反精神污染是共产党内保守势力一次大反扑，虽然时间不长，但还是造成了明显的伤害。二来在经历过太多政治伤痛之后，人们普遍认为参与政治活动是受损害的、徒劳的和临时的，而艺

术或专业活动则是富有积累和有成效的，永久的。那时候流行一个词叫做“审美”，现在的人几乎很难弄清它从字面到现实的全部意义。

然而，以体制外作为起点的冲动，仍然激荡了许多年。贾樟柯写过他上高中时（80年代末）读朦胧诗和自办诗刊的经历。北岛、顾城、舒婷、欧阳江河、于坚的诗曾经深深吸引过他，因此他按耐不住地在班上成立了一个叫做“沙派”的诗社，诗社二十多个写诗的男孩子里，大多没有谈过恋爱，但是写下的大多是情诗。写完之后还要自己印成诗集，自己刻蜡版，装订之后觉得过于参差不齐，又跑到街上的照相馆，那里有裁照片的刀，他们一本一本切好，印数有六七十本[25]。贾樟柯的第一部电影《小武》主角，分明就是文艺青年，依我的眼光看更像诗歌爱好者。贾樟柯地第二部《站台》干脆请了海子的好友、诗人西川来演；《三峡好人》中有拆迁公司女老板的头像，是成都诗人翟永明的照片。在《二十四城记》中，翟永明还担任了他合作编剧。翟永明是四川、江苏、北京诸多民间诗刊的发起人。这些都可以视作贾樟柯向体制外起始的民间诗歌的致敬，也是中国Samizdt诗歌与独立影像之间的秘密通道。

在某种意义上可以说，在1999/2000年间DV普及之后，当年诗歌创作的这股民间能量，就从诗句流向了影像。

1978年以来昆明的Samizdt传统

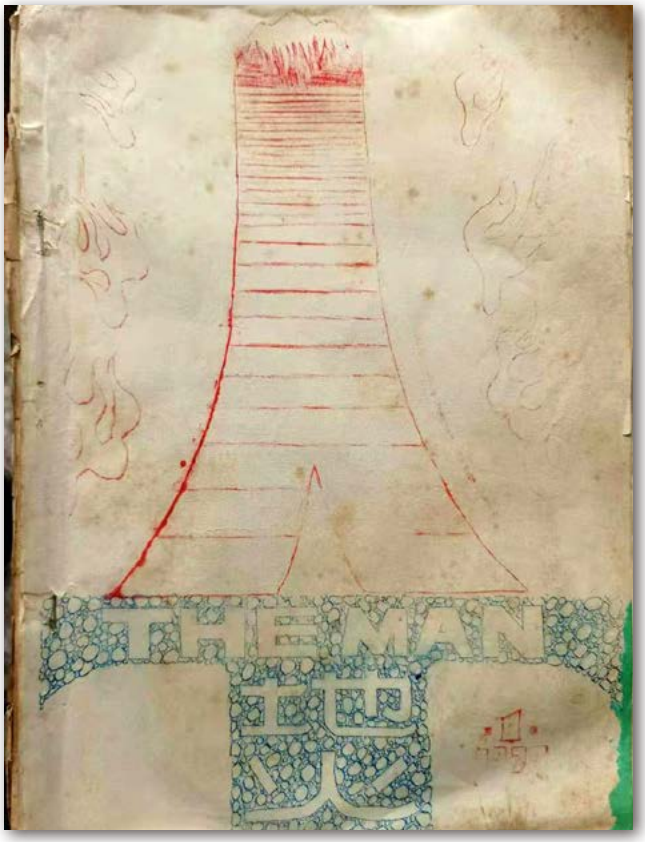
在很大程度上可以说，吴文光来自云南昆明的Samizdt传统，在弄《流浪北京》之前，他是有“前科”的。

那个年代昆明最有影响的民间刊物《地火》，被掩埋多年之后在诗人于坚的笔下得到复活：

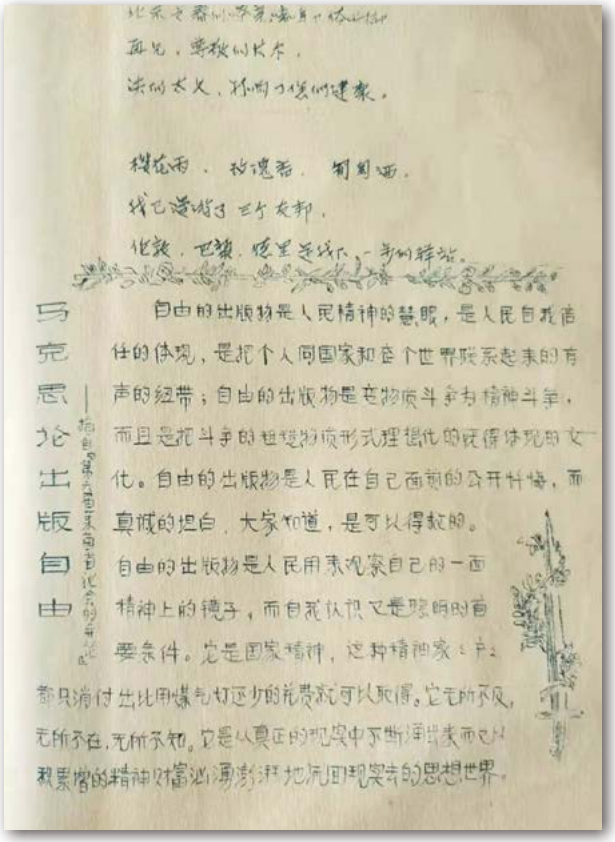
> 1979年初春的一天，我路过昆明市中心的百货大楼，看见省医药公司的灰色外墙前，人头攒动，墙上贴着一份拆散了的油印刊物，也许是印的时候纱网动了，字迹有些模糊，刊名叫做《地火》。医药公司是一栋三十年代的西式建筑，《地火》贴在马牙石和水泥砌成的灰黑色墙面上，很醒目。我快速浏览了一遍，有小说、诗歌、散文，写的都是人生、风花雪月、爱情，像是徐志摩主编的。我心头一热，这是我的同党，终于找到他们了。上面有地址，人们相信一个新时代到了，于是勇敢地公开了住址。我决定现在就去找他们。[26]

时间和事件是对的，然而于坚错了。这份《地火》完全不是徐志摩的风花雪月，它在政治上的诉求和叛逆性十分明显。《地火》代发刊词《人》中先是引用了十一届三中全会上关于实践是检验真理的唯一标准的结论，然后提出了强烈的平等的诉求，意味着平等的人的意识的觉醒：“任何理论在实践面前都是平等的。……为此，现代宗教的幻想的太阳沉没了，中国人从被颠倒的世界观中颠倒了回来，恢复了人的自我意识的感觉”。在这份沉痛自信的发刊词后面，是诗歌《民主重新闪光的时候》，开头写道：“当民主重新闪光的时候，/中华啊，这一刻你要把他紧紧抱住，/从死亡的门口走出，/象嫩草欢欣春天的来临，/沐浴着自由阳光倾泻的瀑布/抖落五千年污秽的沉積。”[27]

不论从时间上还是从内容上来说，很难说《地火》直接受到《今天》的启发，不排除它受到贵州“启蒙社”的启发，这个有待证实。《地火》这份刊物显然集合了“政治反对”和“文化反对”两个方面，就像把某一期的《北京之春》和《今天》合并在一起。杂志上的一些短文，从标题上也可以见出这份民刊的真正宗旨：《为李一哲呐喊》、《“暴露文学”小议》、《要做雨果式的人》《普希金与十二月党人》。在某些页面的空白处，还刻印上了《马克思论出版自由》一小段，以及杜勃罗留波夫关于屠格涅夫小说《前夜》的评论——《真正的白天什么时候到来》的片段。其办刊人物的光谱比较宽泛。他们自称为“部分大中学校师生、厂矿工人、农村知识青年、地方及部队的文学艺术工作者”。应该有一些比较年长的人，其中不时出现一些中文繁体字。主编石安达，据于坚介绍，《地火》编辑部就在他的家



《地火》封面



马克思论出版自由

里。他是云南省图书馆的职工，云大中文系1968年毕业，拉祜族，他父亲是拉祜族的大土司。

见面之后，石安达邀请于坚“星期四晚上再来”，说这里要举办一个诗歌朗诵会。于坚带着他的诗去了，在那里他见到由原先不同的小圈子、秘密读书小组构成的男男女女，仿佛突然从地下冒出来一样。看上去这些人更像是革命党人，他/她们关心来自权力中心北京的各类消息，觉得一场新的革命就在眼前。于坚的诗《不满》受到欢迎。由此而带来的一个结果是，两天之后，一位长着一头狮子般黑色卷发的青年，举手敲了于坚家的门，这便是朱晓阳。在这之前，朱晓阳已经是昆明钢铁厂一个读书小组的成员，这是一个有着十万人的大型企业。在大学恢复高考之后，朱晓阳考进了云南大学政治系后改为经济系，为第一届七七级学生。于坚因为耳疾暂时被排斥在大学门外。他俩后来都成了《地火》的成员，经常参加聚会，聚会中他们第一次读到了《今天》，同样深受震撼。更加年轻的人们一同参加石安达举办的包括登山、野炊、游泳在内的各种活动，直到《地火》第二期被查封，那上面本来是要发表于坚这首《不满》，杂志已经印好但被勒令停刊。石安达一时不知去向。无论如何，这份刊物可以算是昆明民间思想和文学的一个起点。

比较起老《地火》成员，于坚和朱晓阳他们想的主要是写作，而不是政治上的事情[28]。于坚形容朱晓阳为“天真、直率、渴望真理和健康的精神活动”[29]，朱晓阳把自己写作上的朋友杜宁、武列格也介绍给于坚。某天一干年轻人在昆明翠湖湖边上走着走着，突然发现了李勃，李勃是云南大学中文系七八级学生，与吴文光同班并起先住在同一个宿舍。此时的李勃正处于名声大震之中，他已经在云南老牌省级文艺刊物《边疆文艺》（1979年第二期）上发表小说《阿慧》，关于在老干部家的小保姆现象，触及了领导干部雇有家佣的敏感问题，由此引起的争议一直蔓延到北京的《光明日报》。《地火》的第一期上便有李勃的《涟漪》，他将自己署名为“渝儿”，与鲁迅小说《药》中的人物一致。最初李勃给人的印象是恃才傲物，不可一世。

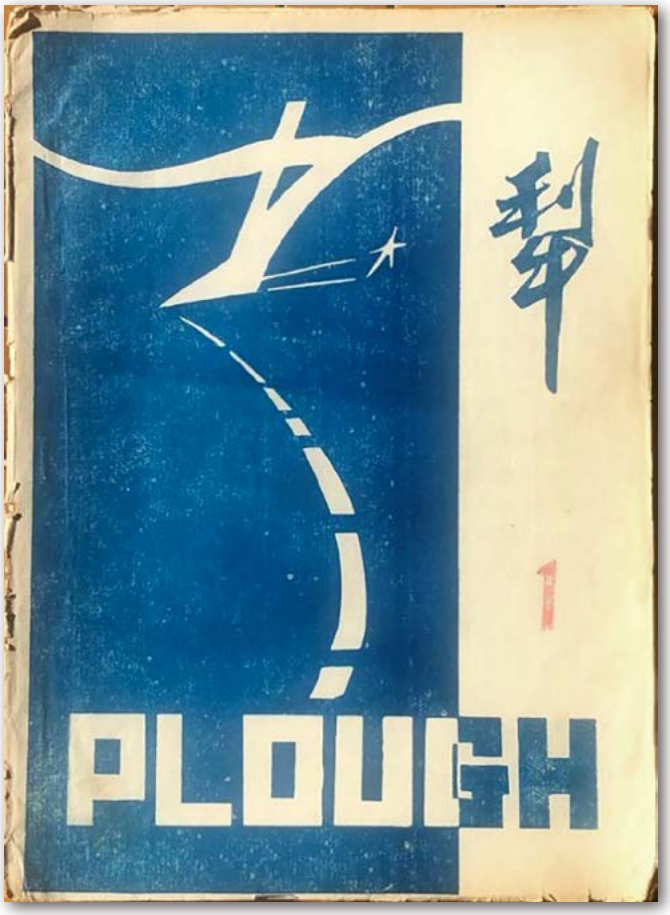
也正是1979年那个怒放的春天，全国各地大学掀起了大学生校园文学民刊的高潮，一时间呼啦啦出现上百个大学生文学刊物。当时影响比较大的还有《珞珈山》（武汉大学中文系77级）、《未名湖》（北京大学五四文学社）、《初航》（北京师范大学中文系）、《我们》（杭州师范学院中文系）、《红叶》（吉林大学中文系）、《大学生》（复旦大学）、《红豆》（中山大学）、《锦江》（四川大学）等，包括唯一一份由十三个大学联合举办的《这一代》。我所在的南京大学中文系有《耕耘》，1979年4月面世，办刊阵容强大，编委集合了七七、七八级已经发表过作品的优秀生，一共办了五期，本人在那上面发表了一个短篇小说，如今想不起来写了什么，可见当时并没有什么明确想法。

应该说，大学生诗刊在整体上已经基本丧失最初Samizdt不管是“文化反对”还是“政治反对”的内涵，更多带有文

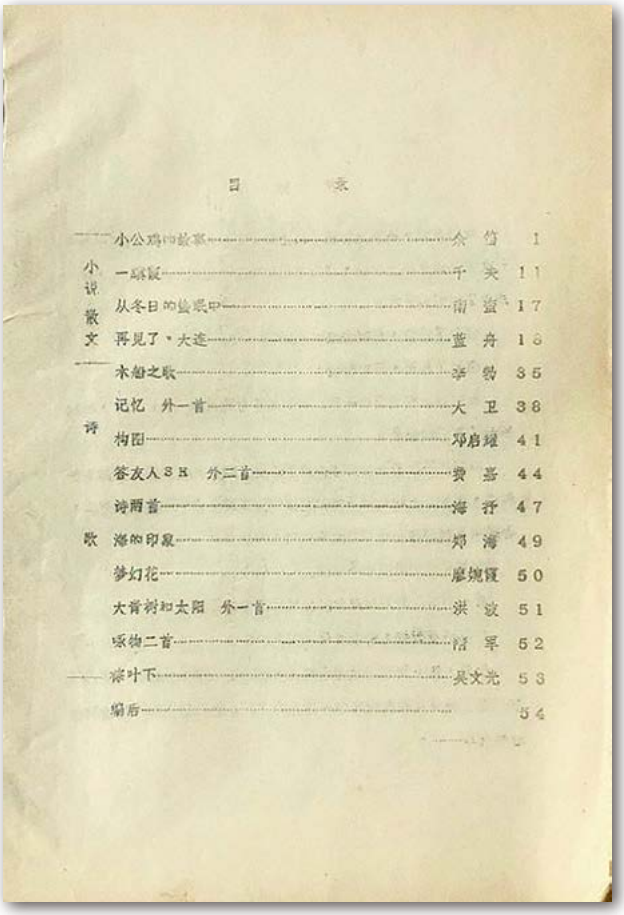
南京大学《耕耘》杂志

科学生习作和练习的含义，在自办刊物上的名字被人记住，也是成名的一条捷径。极个别的作品除外。比如《这一代》上面发表的《桥》（王家新）和《轿车从街上匆匆驶过》（叶鹏），都涉及了权力特权及其所造成的隔离。然而说到底，自办刊物属于体制之外的自发起点，必然带有某些可疑色彩。显然，被允许的空间，也能被拿掉，说到底，这些大学生文学刊物存活时间不长。

云南大学中文系学生七八级刊物《犁》，直到1980年下半年才问世，有点“天高皇帝远”的味道，这个时间段全国大多数学生刊物都歇菜了。风格凌厉的李勃是这份杂志的核心，内向安静的费嘉是他的助手。开始李勃居然不同意用吴文光的诗，最终是在费嘉的坚持下，吴文光的诗才第一次印成铅字。吴文光的这首爱情诗《棕叶下》，从标题上到风格上，与舒婷的那首《榕树下》太接近了。《犁》已经是排字打印了，不见手写体。现任中山大学影视人类学教授邓启耀设计了封面，画面的大半是西南部地区蜡染的蓝色，一张走向远方的深耕的犁，很有些抽象的味道，在大学生刊物中绝对属于上乘。邓启耀在上面既有诗作也有小说，小说署名“南蛮”。全刊只有小说和诗歌，没有前言和其他评论性的东西，有一个编后记只是事务性说明：“本刊是自费筹办，纸张和印刷都极为困难，我们急切希望都到大家的热情支持和资助”，看来这份刊物只想通过作品说话，其余不想说太多。



云南大学刊物《犁》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出乎意料的是，它还是出事了。筹划办杂志应该在上半年，其时于坚还没有入学，但他受到邀请，以“大卫”的名义，在《犁》上面发表了两首诗《记忆》和《滇池夜歌》。《滇池夜歌》中有这样的句子：“鱼儿跃出灰色的水面./月光照见金色的鱼鳞，/鱼鳞被波浪们捏碎。/她望着我袒露的心。……/现在是绝对的黑暗。/我划着孤独的小船；/世界在我的心中，/生命在我的浆上”。事后作为《犁》杂志主要成员的邓启耀被系党支部书记彭老师叫去问话。邓反问彭老师“有什么问题吗？”老师质问：于坚诗中那“绝对的黑暗”什么意思？邓同学答：“我们很喜欢找渔民3块钱租一条船，在滇池里玩一夜的。滇池的夜确实黑。”老师说，为什么不歌颂光明，要说黑暗，思想有问题啊。邓启耀说，彭老师，文革已经结束了，对着太阳看报纸挑刺的做法是不对的。老师大怒，“看你样子老老实实的，怎么这样顽固。”[30] 邓启耀还与同学们一道演过当时红火的话剧《假如我是真的》，也只演过一场就被禁了。

于坚80年秋季新生入学，正赶上对他这个新同学诗歌的非议。中文系主任在一次大会上不点名地批评了于坚的这首诗。而这期《犁》杂志却给众多同学带来了许多惊喜：刚刚创办不久的昆明市级文学刊物《滇池》在发掘新人的名目下，于1981年第二期“大学生诗页”栏目下，从《犁》杂志上选出了6位作者的诗歌：邓启耀《为自己的画配诗》、大卫（于坚）的《记忆》、李勃的《木船之歌》、费嘉的《答友人SH》、郑海《海的印象》和吴文光的《棕叶下》。不仅是吴文光，连于坚这样已经在民间小有名气的诗歌作者，也是第一次在公开出版的刊物上见到自己的作品。还有，费嘉与陈卡托着上百本《犁》去人多的百货公司兜售，为的是筹集下期的经费，路灯下与一位漂亮姑娘聊了几句。没想到过几天这姑娘沿着地址找到云大中文系男生宿舍，整个走廊都轰动了，说来了一个“东方维纳斯”。附近学校一位学作曲的漂亮女生拿着这份杂志找到门上来，后来这位姑娘成了邓启耀的妻子。

《犁》只出版了一期就被叫停。它与在《滇池》杂志上的集体亮相，这两件事情前后加在一起，应该成了这些青年男

生之间的紧密纽带，让他们变成一个共同命运小船上的舟子。这是否可以帮助解释尚义街6号文学沙龙的诞生？时间应该是1981年秋季开学之后。除了80级的于坚，其余人都处于大四最后一个学年，已经没有什么课，都秘密啸聚到尚义街6号来了。

关于尚义街6号，于坚在关于吴文光及《流浪北京》的文章里，有很多生动的描绘。它是建造于1947年两层临街的法式建筑，有10个房间，院子里有一口水井。1949年之后新政权改造社会，这屋子的主人丧失了这栋建筑的产权之后，许多人搬了进来，原来的房主仅在二楼生活，吴文光拥有一个自己的房间，大约7、8平米。位于市中心，一个属于年轻人的空间，加之吴文光的父母的宽容大度，这里于是成了云大最富盛名的才子们频繁聚会和高谈阔论的地方。除了中文系的于坚、李勃、陈卡、费嘉，面临毕业的经济系朱晓阳也被于坚带来成为这个沙龙的核心成员。朱晓阳入伙前，请大家吃了一顿饭。

> 吴文光的小屋从来不锁，烟、茶、开水、酒随时预备。他不在，任何一个朋友都可以自己进去，阅读和沉思……
>
> 一群孤独的、忧郁的、死亡的、伤感的、被侮辱和被损害的才子。人人将“自我”搅拌在一堆外国名词、术语、格言、警句、作品片段，死人名字之间，营造着不朽的幻觉。同时不时助以“小声点”、“把门关上”。除了谈话还是谈话……除了梦想还是梦想，梦想自由，梦想性交，梦想办同仁刊物，梦想去撒哈拉沙漠去漫游，梦想成为不朽的名字……大家乐此不疲，这个做梦者沙龙往往一周要聚会三到四次，犹如集体吸毒成瘾，每次都是从黄昏持续到深夜，大街上空无一人，才一个个像从热被窝里赶出来的梦游者那样，悄然现身在黑暗。[31]

有一种说法是李勃是尚义街6号的灵魂，至少李勃当时名气最响，他又有小说得到大型文学刊物《清明》的嘉奖，尤其是得到班里最漂亮、最有气质女生的爱情，崇拜者众。才高八斗的李勃以一种极为尖刻的方式批评作品，无情犀利、风格凌厉。据说于坚有被李勃骂得抬不起头来的时候。有一回李勃骂吴文光的小说写得不好，惹得开过轰炸机也热爱邓丽君的吴父应声从另一房间出来，回骂李勃，捍卫他的儿子。李勃对吴父的举动也不介意，下次继续笑哈哈地去。严厉的批评经常以互相嘲讽的方式，令被嘲笑者无地自容，这也许是这个沙龙的真正意义。在同龄人之间伴随着嬉笑打骂的严词酷责，可以让一个人剥去伪装，抵达其真实的人性和个性。李勃本人这样理解尚义街6号：“我们尚义街六号追求的是一种魏晋风尚，我们更加注重的是品人，而不是品作品。这种魏晋风尚让我们能放浪形骸、超然物外。”[32]

于坚这首著名的《尚义街6号》的诗，写于1985年3月，将80年代昆明这个小圈子文学沙龙变得不朽。它同样先是发表在诗歌民刊上面，1985年于坚与南京的韩东弄了一个《他们》杂志，这首诗最早的出处在此，1986年11月《诗刊》发表令它进一步扬名天下。这首诗当然是以主人吴文光开头——

> 尚义街六号
> 法国式的黄房子
> 老吴的裤子晾在二楼
> 喊一声 胯下就钻出戴眼睛的脑袋

接下来于坚把陈卡、朱小羊、李勃、费嘉包括他自己挨个奚落了一遍之后，把这个沙龙戏说成共产主义小乌托邦：

> 茶水是老吴的 电表是老吴的

地板是老吴的 邻居是老吴的
媳妇是老吴的 胃舒平是老吴的
口痰烟头空气朋友 是老吴的
老吴的笔躲在抽桌里
很少露面
没有妓女的城市
童男子们老练地谈着女人

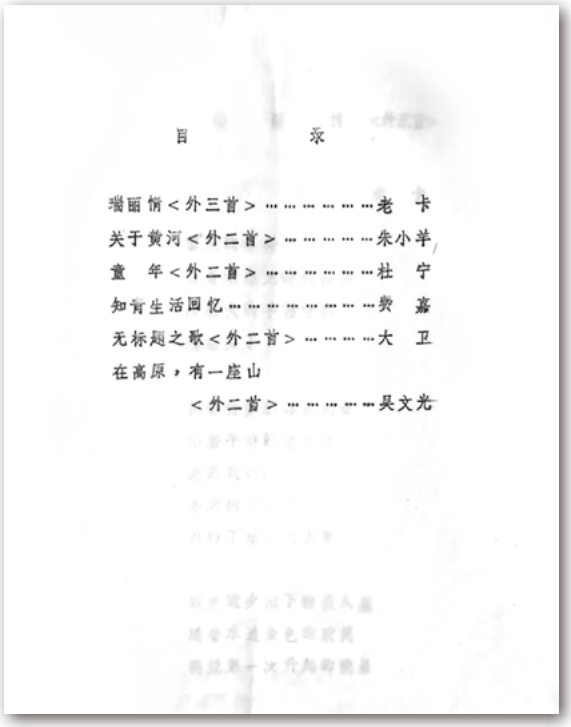
在那个百般禁忌的年代，这群“童男子们”在1978年上大学之前，大都有过当工、农、兵的经历。吴文光（1956，当过知青）、李勃（1955，当过兵和工人）费嘉（1957年，当过知青），朱晓阳（1957，当过知青和工人），只有陈卡（1959年）除外。于坚（1954）当过八年的锻工。对今天的年轻人来说，需要加以区分的是，这个年龄上的人在文革中都是无足轻重的，1966年他们全部在小学，夺取政权的事情还轮不到他们，于坚发明了一个词汇来称呼这些“红小兵”——“站在餐桌旁的一代”。如果说1952/1953年以及之前出生的人们于文革爆发那年已经在中学，那么这些出生于50年代中后期的人们，在思想感情上并不接近红卫兵，而更接近60年代生人。因为对红色文化的浸淫不深，接受新事物的能力和可塑性也比较强。

《尚义街6号》中原本还有张慈，张慈比他们晚一届，79级中文系的，但是年龄上要小许多，1962年生，是从高中直接考进来的。于坚说是因为“一段罗曼史”，稍晚些时候她被带进尚义街6号。于坚原稿在诗中把张慈形容为“我们大家的妓女，穿一双红色的鞋子，在昆明的大街小巷走来走去”。张慈立即提出抗议。于坚提出自己的理由是“中国历代最有名的、留在历代史书上传下来的女人，都是妓女。而且你还是一个穿着红色鞋子的妓女”。最终于坚还是把张慈删了[33]。

于坚解释这几位78级哥们毕业之后的分配都不理想，是因为在校期间聚众办刊[34]。李勃被分配至离昆明30公里的一个射击场当语文教员；吴文光被分配至距离市区十多公里的党校，他听说那里一周有四个晚上要政治学习，自己提出跳到了市区内第三中学承担繁重的中学语文教学。陈卡虽然被分配到云南省冶金工业厅，但有两年在基层锻炼，在一家小工厂当宣传干事，白天在办公室写总结报告，晚上去夜校替工人补习文化课。费嘉去了滇池对岸的一个单位，每周六坐火车回来。

关于吴文光，人们一致的评价是：宽厚、干实事。当吴文光最先提议尚义街6号要有一份自己的刊物，响应者众；但是提到“动手”，这些大才子们望而生畏。于是这份刊物就成了吴文光“一个人编、一个人刻印蜡纸、油印、装订成册”（于坚）。然而实际上到了《高原诗辑》，已经不是手工刻钢板，而是打字油印，即以印刷体面世。打出“高原”的旗号，是一个云南属地的地方性诉求，所针对的是北京“今天派”那种翻译体的诗歌，主张一种健康、自然、有力，与故乡云南高原相匹配的诗风。因此，这份民刊可以看作外省文艺青年自我意识的觉醒，是他们向文化中心北京发动的一次冲击。

2020年11月，吴文光在与我的微信里，也说《高原诗辑》事情是他“挑起的，稿子大家送到我这里，我排版、盯打字和油印，算我主导吧，不过大家一起帮着做”。老吴同时提到了“打字、油印这些工具和材料在当时都属‘公家财产’，私人没法有这些东西。”他这说的，是不是与他80年代末到了北京之后利用国家电视台的机器拍摄盲流艺术家如出一辙？



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《高原诗辑》第一辑目录

老吴继续介绍道：“我们有朋友和熟人在单位干这个，打字员一般是女性，这些人最愿意帮助我们的理由是，她们都是热爱文学的人。‘热爱’是她们躲开领导，利用休息时间干这个的最大动力。我记得当时陈坚的小姨妹就是帮我们打字中的一个”[35]。陈坚是陈卡的原名，当年为了向卡夫卡看齐，陈坚拿户口本到派出所改了名字。关于打字油印，陈卡是这样说的：“我和吴文光找在机关打字室工作的朋友打印蜡纸，偷偷地用人家办公室的油印机印刷，第一期印刷几十份，后来李勃很热心的加入进来，其他的一些写诗的也给我们诗稿。前后我们出版了六期，印数也增加很多。”[36]

《高原诗辑》16开本，每期印50本。第一期署明“出版”时间为“一九八二年九月二十日”，其时这些七八级同学全都离校，除了于坚。该期目录有6个人的诗作，其中有老卡（陈卡）《瑞丽情》（外三首）、朱小羊（朱晓阳）《关于黄河》（外二首）、杜宁《童年》（外二首）、费嘉《知青生活回忆》、大卫（于坚）《无标题之歌》（外二首），和吴文光本人的《在高原，有一座山》（外二首）。从标题看，吴文光的诗与高原这个主题最吻合：“在高原，有一座山，/那是我，一个沉默的巨人/站在故乡的土地上。//在被缩小的版图上/我被省略/被遥远的人们遗忘”。李勃是从第二期开始加入的，他的诗叫做《作品》（一）（二）（三）号，果然更加现代和唬人。第二期表明日期为“一九八二年十月十五日”，距离第一期相差不到一个月，看来他们互相之间“恶攻”战术十分有效，令每个人的创作热情高涨。目前能看到的第五期出版时间为“一九八三年五月”。陈卡说，《高原诗辑》一共出版过六期。

虽然是Samizdt出版，但是很难说这些诗歌与官方允许的尺度有多大距离，尤其不能说它的出现源于与官方之间理念上或美学风格上的冲突。弄这份东西，应该主要还是因为想看到自己的作品印成铅字，被别人读到和了解。简单地说，就是“成名”的欲望。毕竟官方文学刊物尤其是诗刊太少了，而只需要一支笔来抒发胸臆的人们太多，即俗话说的“粥少僧多”。那个狭窄的时代人们两手空空，但凡一个人下决心想要通过自己的手来改变命运，人们不可能想到比如经商、创业，他大概最先想到的是从事文学创作，即于坚说的：“文学被作为一种命运来选择，它是对另一种命运的反抗姿态。”[37]追溯起来，可以说从文革后期，一个人若是能够在报刊上发表作品，便被他人刮目相看，成为改变其命运道路的一个途径。

费嘉带着他的女朋友光临尚义街6号，他女朋友有着传奇般的来历。本来这位女孩约见的是费嘉的一位男性朋友，结果这位男朋友不自信，带了费嘉去神侃一通，结果女朋友投入费嘉的怀抱。这位女朋友后来又带来她的同伴来，说是她的“形体老师”，两位女孩其实一般大。形体老师正是后来的现代舞艺术家文慧，她爱上了这屋里的年轻男主人吴文光。1978年文慧毕业于云南省文艺学校舞蹈科，她始终想去北京舞蹈学院深造。1985年她如愿以偿，考入北京舞蹈学院首届本科编导系，据说吴文光的文化辅导也起了作用。

《流浪北京》中的另一位女性张夏平，是文慧少年学舞时的同学。因习舞受过伤，毕业之后进了昆明市歌舞团的舞美队，喜欢绘画和读书。她父母家离尚义街6号很近，路过时她会看看吴文光的小屋有没有灯光，也会摸着漆黑的楼梯走进那个狭小的房间，用她的话来说，她“会一言不发地听这些大哥哥说些什么，而只有文光一人时我会滔滔

不绝地说一些我自己也不明白的事。”[38]她曾经问过文慧，你怎么找一个那么难看的男朋友？张夏平与陈卡有过一段短暂的爱情。身高1米8的陈卡是这帮人当中的帅哥。在女孩子眼里，长得帅的还有李勃。

朱晓阳盲流中国

经济系77级的朱晓阳比吴文光、李勃早半年毕业，他也得到较差的分配，不过是另一个的原因。在那个风起云涌的时代，这位以一头卷发闻名的游击队长的儿子，有着捉摸不定的个性。他自己说是“一套周期性的交替服从权威和反叛权威的戏剧和操纵模式”[39]。比如他在小学是一个循规蹈矩的好学生，而上了初中之后突然成了在课堂上被拎起来示众也毫不羞惭的学生。升到高中之后又变成听话主动的积极分子，如此循环。与吴文光一样，他也属于1974年之后的“小知青”。1977年他参与办过一个Samzidt刊物，那时候他已经回城进了中央人民广播电台在昆明的转播台，这个单位与他被平反父亲的单位属于同一个系统。在这里他与自己的朋友杜宁、武列格等办过一个读书会，他们自印的刊物叫做《篝火》，只印了一期他就考上大学走了。

他称自己1978年初进到大学，就成了十分激烈的反叛分子，成为《地火》的成员即是明证。他的反叛行为还体现在校园里的一系列公开抵触——抵制学雷锋、公开抵制陈词滥调的必修课、在校园里组织当局不允许的社团等。《地火》停刊之后的1979年暑假，朱晓阳、于坚、杜宁有过一趟壮游祖国大好河山之举，在重庆坐船顺着长江一路下来，南京下船之后又去了无锡、苏州、上海等。一路除了慷慨激昂、指点江山之外，就是“每到一地，就去寻访当地的那种地下刊物”[40]。但是，无论如何到这时候他还算是一帆风顺，没有遭遇过什么挫折，于是有了进一步行动的勇气。

1981年初，他与一位朋友因为看地图神游，萌生出一个偷越国境寻找自由的计划。这年3月份，他们开始实施这项计划。因他自己手头没有边境证，所以只能让那位朋友先行到缅甸，说好他到怒江附近的一个小城，等待朋友寄来通行证过境。然而大约等了将近十天没有对方的消息，无奈之下他决定自己游过怒江。他形容“那是一个月色带紫晕的夜晚，当我站在齐腰深的江水中时，像巨雷一样轰响的声音，彻骨之寒的江水和笼罩江岸的黑夜，使我突然感到了死的恐怖”[41]。他于是回头上岸，逃回昆明和学校。

但是他离校多日的事情还是被察觉了，学校派了人到他家探访。不出数日，他的同伴因为忍受不了缅甸的生活而逃回被抓进监狱，试图离境逃跑的事发。朱晓阳进入公安监控视线，虽然没有抓他。惩罚终于来了，到了年底别人都获得工作分配，朱晓阳被挂了起来。最终因为他曾经当过云南地下党父亲的关系，他在省物价局获得了一个职员的位置，主要是坐在办公室里转发上、下级之间的文件，这与他想要当一个作家的梦想相去甚远。这时候他已经做了许多文学准备，研读了许多陀思妥耶夫斯基、卡夫卡、加缪和老子等。同样困扰他的是，他离开校园之后又得与父母住在一起，重新进入父母的视线当中。这一点吴文光也一样，太郁闷了。

他策划第二次逃离，流传着一些不同的和一致的说法。据说他想过当一个补鞋匠，这样可以全国到处走走，但是又觉得太脏太累；又有说他想要当一个养蜂人，冬天去南方，夏天去北方，和大自然接触，还有蜂蜜吃，接触各种人对写作有好处。他还真的实地去问了养蜂人。这个说法得到了间接印证。1986年第7期《滇池》上面吴文光的小说《远方》写到了这个细节。小说是以第二人称“你”写的，主人公很像是朱晓阳与吴文光本人的混合体。说是在去书店买《百年孤独》的路上，见到几个外地放蜂人和十几个蜂箱，“你”甩了同学前去攀谈，问人家从哪里来到哪里去，天黑时回到宿舍，伏在窗台上一言不发眺望远方，令其他同学感到担心。但当他们听说了养蜂人的事情，笑着抱着排球出了门。

朱晓阳发表在《山花》杂志上1985年第2期的讽刺小说《马路边浪漫者》，可以帮助理解他的再次出走。小说以第一人称“我”写成，语言风格一半接近陀思妥耶夫斯基笔下的白日梦病患者，一半接近鲁迅的《狂人日记》，比如“今晚月色很好”。这么一个主人公在马路边上漫无目的地闲逛，头脑中上演着各种混乱的幻象——想当英雄、渴望遇见激动人心的事件、幻想能够挺身而出，然而机会总是从身边飞走了。对于异性更是如此，在现实中见到她们害羞得不敢说话，只能对着《大众电影》今天爱一个、明天爱一个。不能把这个主人公等同于朱晓阳本人，朱本人活力非凡，思想敏锐，习画，练气功，俗话说的“多面手”。但这小说也许可以看作尚义街6号这些角儿们夸大了的自我漫画，尤其是他们自己对沉浸于飞转语词当中的不满，小说结尾一句是“那么，先练习长跑，明天一早就开始。”[42]

与吴文光的《远方》结合起来，可以理解为此时的尚义街6号成员，已经感到不能再停留言辞的空转和头脑中的遐想，计划“出滇闯荡”。在去往远方——新疆还是西藏的问题上，他们确实讨论过。

在这种精神状况下，朱晓阳于1983年5月在《光明日报》上发现新疆建设兵团招聘高中老师的广告，尤其读到“农四师地处伊犁河谷”，他感到情不能自禁。尽管很难说这是一头扎进现实，还是新的梦想又开始了。他马上打报告请求“支边”。恰逢这时候国家体制变革开始松动，包括允许人才合理流动，先是报纸上有各种呼声，1983年6月6日国务院总理赵紫阳在第六届全国人大代表会议上的《政府工作报告》里正式提出“建立科技人员合理流动的制度，使科技人员从积压的部门流向需要的部门，奖励他们到中小城市、农村、民族地区和边远地区。”[43]那时候人们对于由权力上层所发布的开放社会的消息是信任和尊崇的。在新大旗的庇护下，朱晓阳还获得一个优势是，他办的是留职停薪，也就是说在编制上他还是这个单位的人，两年之后可以回来上班。1983年8月，朱晓阳抵达新疆农四师。人家先是想把他留在农四师的政策研究室，他说自己正是痛恨办公室生活才来这儿，于是把他放到了农四师教师进修学校，离城也不是很远，他便不再坚持。

吴文光称他去新疆是为了文学的原因：“我幻想冒险传奇的一番浪漫主义经历能将我的文学引至一流的水准。”[44]他目前身陷的日常生活秩序，则与文学梦想渐行渐远。作为昆明市第三中学语文老师，意味着繁重的教学和管理的任务，除了早晨七点到校带领早读，还有各种课外活动——运动会、歌咏会、朗诵会、广播操、政治学习和全校大会，几乎占满了他的全部时间。他虽然在一年的工作时间内将工作做得很圆满，但内心里知道这不会是他的归宿。然而他起先不知道的是，中国教育系统人员管制十分严格，轻易不会让一个教师转行出走。因此，吴文光只有破釜沉舟。在朱晓阳抵达新疆两个月之后（这年10月），吴文光抵达新疆，彻底丢掉了国家公职人员的身份。这在当时，可谓英雄主义的惊人之举，弄得他尚义街6号的朋友们心情复杂，故作冷淡，上火车时只有于坚一个人去送他。

到了新疆之后，朱晓阳发现自己有了一个新的身份——“盲流”。从名义上说，他本人还算是国家体制内人员，但是他掉进了一个“盲流”的圈子。比如与他同一所学校的两位年长教师，自称自己是国家19级干部，其实是因某个罪名多年前被开除公职的人。另有一位冒充大学教师者，其实是陕西一农村民办教师。还有一位自称老干部，其实是江湖几十年的老盲流。这些五花八门的人们有一点是共同的，他们全都尽量掩饰自己的盲流身份。所谓“盲流”，从字面上来说，就是不在计划之内的人员盲目流动。其中关键的一点是，这些人已经不在现存秩序的登记之内，属于没有社会名分的人们。新疆地处边陲，地广人稀，自古以来是发配充军或隐名埋姓的地方。1949年之后各种政治运动以及60年代初大饥荒，许多无法在原住处安身的人们也喜欢流向新疆，那里正需要大量劳动力，户籍管理相对宽松一些。在严密管控的年代，社会主流对没有登记在册的人们采取不信任的鄙视敌意态度，比如“社会盲流”、“社会渣滓”、“社会闲杂人员”、“社会上不三不四的人”。

中国传统上对这类游走四方的人们同样不友好。他们有一些专属的名字叫作“游民”或“流民”。在历代重农轻商的

眼光下, 离开土地/务农的“游食者”被认为是低贱的, 他们代表了这个社会“脱序”和“失范”的不稳定部分。明代开国皇帝朱元璋曾下令: “若有不务耕种, 专事末作者, 是为游民, 则逮捕之”[45], 这与文革时期直接抓不明身份的“流窜犯”, 是同一种思路。在很大程度上, 张艺谋早期关于民国时期的影片《红高粱》、《菊豆》的主人公“我爷爷”和“杨天青”, 也是在社会中缺乏固定位置的漂浮人。张艺谋仿佛对这类人群情有独钟。他的《活着》包括《秋菊打官司》甚至《一个也不能少》, 都是一些“在路上”的人们, 他/她有着与秩序之内人们不一样的遭遇和精神[46]。改革开放之后, 第一部为“游民”平反的作品是张贤亮的《肖尔布拉克》(1983) , 一个十七岁的青年李世英于1960年大饥荒中只身来到新疆, 遇到了因不同原因而流落新疆的不同命运的女性。该小说1984年被改编成电影。

朱晓阳和吴文光不一样, 他们出走不是为了生活所迫, 到了新疆之后也依然衣食无忧。他们有着一些与众不同的梦想, 或者说是为了积累“文化资本”。当吴文光看到朱晓阳仍然身在伊犁时, 就坚决要求去到下面的牧场中学, 最后他安身的地方叫作农四师二牧场中学, 真的是出门一抬脚就是牧场。住在吴文光隔壁的教师是一个50年代被打成反革命的老单身汉, 1978年被释放之后精神完全不正常了。吴文光是这个学校唯一的大学毕业生, 他还随身携带了半导体收音机、一台250海鸥照相机、一套放像设备, 书籍是少不了的, 其中包括《马背上的水手》、《海明威传》以及当时流行的文学理论和美学书。这让人想起1957年被打成右派而去甘肃夹边沟的上海大学生, 同时带着他们的墨镜、球拍和白色球鞋, 结果饿死在戈壁滩上。残酷的历史毕竟进步了。

吴文光去的地方没有电视, 报纸要四天之后才能到。一年有半年是冬天, 夏天美丽而短暂。吴文光发挥自己教书的特长, 一下子把他所在班级的语文教学给搞上去了。他所带的高考语文班, 平均成绩比上一年提高了二十多分, 在那里他继续被评为先进教育工作者。因此有作家想要采访他: “吴老师, 当时您是为了什么来新疆的? ”吴文光思索之后说: “听说新疆好玩。”作家又问: “吴老师, 您来之前一定捧到不少阻力, 你是怎么克服的? ”答曰: 他们不放我走, 我到处申请, 后来磨得不耐烦就走速了。”作家三问: “您来到新疆后有什么感受呢? ”吴答道: “确实好玩。”这篇报道就此泡汤了[47]。拒绝阐释, 以及让阐释者吃点小苦头, 还是尚义街6号的风格。

伊犁好大, 张贤亮笔下已经有了名气肖尔布拉克也地处伊犁。与朱晓阳一起同坐大客车被兵团农四师送去伊犁的18个人, 也有人被送去了肖尔布拉克镇。这年年底有人在自己的宿舍自杀。还发生了两名年轻教师与当地姑娘谈恋爱给当地人痛揍并被开除的事情。因为感到招聘此地的人员权利得不到保障, 盲流教师们成立了一个“招聘教师联谊会” (朱晓阳又称之为“盲流者协会”) 共同维权。当一名教师遭到校长辱骂, 他们便发动罢课, 并组织人马齐刷刷开进了那个学校, 最后以每人增加一级工资而告终。朱晓阳为此忙得不亦乐乎, 发现了自己超出文学写作之外的新才能。然而新的联盟并没有让他忘记老朋友。他与吴文光之间相隔400公里。他们在假期时见面。朱晓阳去吴文光那里过过一个暑假, 两个漫长的寒假吴文光都是在朱晓阳这里过的。

1985年3月吴文光因为父亲生病而返回昆明, 在新疆一年半时间。他走时他的那些书没有来得及处理, 朱晓阳把它们卖给了他学校的图书馆, 换来的钱给吴文光买了一双高筒马靴。可惜很快在昆明电视台找到工作的吴文光已经不需要这个东西了, 也许可以作为一个室内装饰, 去伊犁这段经历也成了他个人历史中的一个装饰。吴文光后来说起过这段经历的意义包括它所带来的思想转折: “我自己选择安排我自己, 对以后我自我选择 (自己) 的方式是一个起点。它也从一个更高的意义上使我明白那种浪漫主义的选择, (是) 一种非常空洞的选择。” [48]实际上吴文光以后也很少提起这段经历。

朱晓阳和吴文光出发去新疆这段时期, 于坚策划了一场“一个人的诗歌起义”: 反对朦胧、拒绝隐喻, 主张诗歌回归日常生活, 关注和描写眼前的日常生存, 简单地说就是反对浪漫主义的好高骛远。同样是反对空谈, 他选择了原地

不动、立地成佛的策略。他开始写一种具有纪录片性质的诗歌，其浅白带调侃的口语风格令人不安。他的《尚义街6号》成了朦胧诗之后中国当代诗歌的转折点。除此之外，还有《作品39号》（1983）、《作品52号》（1984）等。这些作品与日常生活的视野持平，细节丰富，口语化，仿佛在说：眼前看得见的日常生活才是铁板钉钉的，这就像当年走出宗教迷雾的费尔巴哈所说："个别存在的实在性，是一个用我们的鲜血来做图章的真理"，在大学时我们对这句话耳熟能详。

进一步说，现代化的过程从根本上说是一个世俗化的过程，当文化开始响应地面上世俗性的要求，而不仅仅是接住从空中落下来的寂静，这才抵达现代文化的本质。在这个意义上，朱晓阳的小说《马路边浪漫者》、吴文光的《远方》，都可以视为这个小群体思想上的共振、互相回应，不管他们人在何方。《远方》的结局是主人公在历经远方的诱惑和折磨之后，最后又回到了普通人的生活当中，去往远方的打算到此结束。考虑到1986年王朔才发表《一半是海水，一半是火焰》这种浪漫主义言情小说，来自云南高原的这批尚义街6号成员，更早体现出时代风气的转变。

朱晓阳于1985年10月离开新疆。他原本可以回到自己的原单位云南省物价局去，他仍然在那里有一个户口与体制内名额，但是这已经不可能了，一匹脱缰的野马不可能回到先前的马槽。回昆明休整期间他遇到了陈卡，陈卡紧着忽悠朱晓阳去北京。毕业之后，尽管环境不如意，陈卡坚持文学梦想笔耕不辍，于1984年在北京的一个新刊物《丑小鸭》上面开始发表作品，接下来他连连有作品在北京发表，如同一颗冉冉上升的新星，正产生对于北京的无穷向往。结果在陈卡本人成行之前，1986年初，朱晓阳只身来到了北京。

比起新疆有一个教书单位和现成住处，在北京当"盲流"，要不确定得多。虽然社会上人才流动喊得更响了，然而所面对的却是现实。最大的问题是住房。那时候工资普遍很低，由自己付房费是一笔大开支。最好有单位能够提供，哪怕再小的一个空间。朱晓阳先是去了这个《丑小鸭》杂志当编辑，这个杂志与《自学》、《开拓》杂志，都属于当时的工人出版社。1957年因编辑发表刘宾雁《本报内部消息》而被打成右派何家栋先生，此时作为工人出版社副社长，同时主持这三个刊物，其中面向青年教育技能启蒙培训《自学》最火，大型《开拓》杂志创刊号发表了刘宾雁的《第二种忠诚》，于是再次遭到整肃，《丑小鸭》发表了许多年轻人的处女作，口碑甚好深受欢迎。朱晓阳写了几篇纪实性的稿件发表在《自学》上面，他人住在位于王府井的《自学》编辑部里，那是一个剧场的顶楼。1987年炎热的夏天，朱晓阳在此处接待过吴文光和文慧。

在这里，朱晓阳写下了颇有影响的报告文学《盲流中国》，发表在1987年第四期《中国作家》杂志上面，责任编辑是大名鼎鼎的徐刚。人们知道，徐刚原本也是诗人，后来以写报告文学著称。所谓"报告文学"，用今天的话来说，就是"非虚构"，它是1978年改革开放之后文学领域中的一支劲旅。在很大程度上可以说，报告文学是在意识形态的云雾飘渺之中，最早拨出一小块坚硬现实的岛屿。徐迟的《哥德巴赫猜想》（1978）、刘宾雁的《人妖之间》（1979）、黄宗英的《小木屋》（1982）、刘心武关于足球的《5·19长镜头》（1985），其中所提供的尖锐现实和思考，每一篇面世都引起巨大震动。请注意刘心武说的"长镜头"，从中可以听到一点纪录片的步伐了。钱刚于1986年3月发表的长篇报告文学《唐山大地震》，其揭示真相的挑战性，代表了这个时期非虚构写作的顶峰。

朱晓阳以他在新疆的所见所闻写下了这部4万字的"非虚构"报告，它试图在现代性流动的框架里为"盲流"正名，把不能流动的束缚称之为"人身依附的封建劳动残余"。但不知道为什么，这种"人身依附"的劳动状态又与"领导干部终身制"联系在一起[49]，作者可能是无意识的。这部作品在今天看来最有意思的是，它提供了许多生龙活虎的人们盲打误撞的故事。有一个叫做徐宗元的人被称之为"盲流中的盲流"，他1961年毕业于江西师范学院但因隐瞒家庭出身被学校处分过，毕业时人人宣誓到"最艰苦的地方去"，结果唯独派了他一人去了新疆。嫌工资低教了一个月书

之后徐老师流亡伊犁伐木，听说兵团能吃饱饭又进七十一团放羊，1977年之后恢复教书后因学生高考成绩好被评为优秀教师，与领导不和又离开教师岗位去到师部，一直到1985年开办自己伊利职业学校自任校长，重归“盲流”大军。显然朱晓阳是有意识做了一些调查的，他提到自己1984年夏天在天山腹地走过的七个大队，汉族居民百分之九十是互相介绍来的盲流。

捷克剧作家哈维尔曾写到过，他只是在监狱里才看到那么多性情迥异、历经艰险的人们，在体制之外他们拥有自己丰富的人生和故事。那么朱晓阳笔下的人就是这样。这其实是一部全景式的报告文学，涉及湖南、甘肃、安徽、温州、江苏等各路英雄好汉，看得人眼花缭乱。改革开放之后各种矛盾四起，一度在成都令人瞩目的“黑咖啡”游乐厅内部发生争执，原创办人李自立被迫出走，流落街头，这个故事被朱晓阳称之为“拉斯蒂涅的战争”，来自巴尔扎克一部小说的主人公。他把这些粗糙不齐、无法修剪的人物纳入一个有序的框架：第一章“决堤的黄水”是从古到今盲流至新疆的大全景，接下来“为什么流浪”、“自由的代价”及涉及甘肃和成都等地的小标题，他仿佛无师自通地是个剪辑大师。《盲流中国》令朱晓阳在北京爆得大名，后来经常有编辑来约他的新稿。后来他走到哪里人们都称他为“报告文学作家”。

79级的张慈比吴文光他们晚一年毕业，1983年被分配到了《个旧文艺》当编辑。她个性大胆独异，风格新潮，酷爱写作，很快与那个云南小城格格不入。1985年初，她自动离职，拿着1000多元的积蓄，先是到了广州和四川南部，1987年4月来到北京。起初靠熟人借住房子，尝尽了人间冷暖，用她自己的话来说，经常背着一个大背包东家睡地板、西家睡沙发，尽量装出笑容来与主人聊天。一度还去《红旗》印刷厂当排字工，一个月45元，条件是不许拿架子，要与工人搞好关系。一天八小时干下来，手指被磨得裂了缝，浑身酸痛不由自主。倒霉的是，她还经常生病。这种境遇看起来没有离文学梦更近一些。算起来应该时间不长。她在《流浪北京》的镜头前说，她是在“天特别蓝”的时候搬到海淀区新胡同四号（影片拍摄地点）来的，那应该是在北京的九、十月份（1987年）。而在这之前有段时间，她与朱晓阳一起租住在二环阜成门附近一个四合院里。她后来也去《自学》杂志当了编辑。

与他们同住阜成门四合院里的还有陈卡。1986年6月，陈卡稍后朱晓阳几个月来到北京。最先发表他作品的《丑小鸭》杂志对他张开怀抱，《中国作家》1986年第一期发表了他的小说《铁轨，伸向远方》，当时极富权威的《小说选刊》加以转载，他于是又升级来到《中国作家》当编辑。朱晓阳的《盲流中国》便是陈卡从别人手里抢过去的稿件。这么说，原尚义街6号仿佛在北京有了“分店”，工人出版社的这两个刊物《自学》和《丑小鸭》成了云南与北京的交通站。张慈说，她与朱晓阳租住二环四合院的这个屋子不上锁，钥匙就放在门口的花盆底下，朋友们都知道。诗人、诗评家老木经常来，会自主躺在床上睡大觉。有一次张慈在床边刚要躺下去，发现是老木，吓了一大跳。朱晓阳对此的理解是，这说明老木不把咱们当外人嘛，他累就让他睡呗[50]。老木就是这样到处睡觉才有精神，其时他刚编辑出版了两卷本《新诗潮诗集》（1985），有一个出版者名称是“未名湖丛书/北大五四文学社”，其实也是Samzidt。这套书成了朦胧诗以来北京和全国各地诗歌成果的集中展览，轰动诗坛至今不衰。

老木成了人们口中的“诗歌地下交通员”，更加忙碌地在北京和全国各地的诗人和诗评家之间奔走。有一次晓渡与我几人在白塔寺宫门口胡同里一个四合院的朋友家，正说起老木，恰好看到窗户外面匆匆走过一人，男主人说“那肯定是老木”。不到几秒钟，敲门声响起，老木憨厚地站在门口，我们全都大笑。这次写文章才发现，陈卡有记载，他在北京租住过的一个小屋，正是我们那天遇见老木的那间。原房主夫妇搬至东郊北京财贸学院之后，于1988年3月，小屋的女主人（曾《中国作家》上面发表中篇小说）在财贸学院的新舍里割股动脉自杀，血喷不止，陈卡与他的朋友得知后立即前往[51]。啊，我与陈卡去过同一个现场！吴文光曾为大个儿陈卡没有出现在《流浪北京》中感到遗憾。

朱晓阳在北京接触到一个群体，他认为与尚义街6号相仿，其成员互相之间分享共同的理念，纯粹、热切地讨论知识，那便是“走向未来”丛书的编辑、作者们。而这套丛书的组织架构，更加符合朱晓阳在报告文学中所呼唤的新时期人才流动。1984年这套丛书出现时虽然挂靠在四川人民出版社，然而却有独立的编委会，该丛书的编委们都是45岁以下的年轻人，为当时经济学、社会学、历史学、哲学等学科带头学者，也有一批从自然科学转过来的人文学者，比如主编金观涛。不同行业不同学科的人们横向联系组成出版社团（虽然他们大多有着各自的单位），这在1949年之后是新鲜事。这时期的金观涛如同早些时候的北岛，正在思想文化界和青年学者中产生重大影响。只是他不再运用Samzidt油印的方式，而是将民间思想和社团的成果，通过国家出版社的途径释放出来。

关于对于出版什么和不出版什么，金观涛和他的编委会比出版社更有权威，由他们说了算。因此进一步形成了称之为“编委会文化”，以其独特视野——法国启蒙运动时期百科全书式的力量冲击全社会。其中包括马克斯·韦伯的《新教伦理与资本主义精神》、《凯恩斯革命——宏观经济学》（杨君昌编著）、《在历史的表象背后——对中国封建社会超稳定结构的探索》（金观涛）等。其中有一本《GEB——一条永恒的金带》，描绘了有一条永恒的金带能把数理逻辑、生命遗传、大脑思维、人工智能甚至绘画、音乐连接在一起，据说该书发行量70万册。当时我们这些年轻知识分子人手一册，人人声称自己读懂了它。

1986年在北京出现了“文化：中国与世界”编委会，同样也打破了行业、单位、地区的界限。这个编委会出版书系为“现代西方学术文库”及“新知文库”，1986年推出了三位重磅级人物的著作，萨特的《存在与虚无》、马丁•海德格尔的《存在与时间》,尼采的《悲剧的诞生 尼采美学文选》，印数都达到了十万册。尼采的中文译者周国平1986年7月还出版了一本介绍尼采的书《尼采：在世纪的转折点上》，8个月内4次印刷，计9万册，在当时炙手可热。书中周国平以国人的导师自居，称“非理性”已经取代西方启蒙时期建立起来的理性，成了文化主流：“非理性主义思潮在西方崛起了。这股思潮以不可抵挡之势摧垮了近代思想家们苦心经营的理性王国，泛滥于哲学、社会学、心理学、文学艺术等一切文化领域，迅速上升为现代西方社会的主流思潮。”[52]

这个编委会同时出版杂志——“文化：中国与世界集刊”，它是编委会成员重要的思想写作阵地，第一期便达到了三万册的印量。《集刊》开卷语说——“中国要实现现代化，理所当然地必须首先中国文化的现代化——这是八十年代每一有识之士的共同信念，这是当代中国伟大历史腾飞的逻辑必然。”[53]“文化现代化”可以说是八十年代文化艺术界的最强音。考虑到“文化现代性”不是单独来的，而是众多文化艺术领域携手而来，杨炼的诗歌《自在者说十六首》被发在了这份纯学术刊物《集刊》的第一期上面，同时还配有一篇关于它的诗歌评论。

离开《丑小鸭》之后，朱晓阳在属于文化部的《中国文化报》又干了半年，到1988年初。他有个同学在中央农村政策研究室，介绍他去了一个新的地方，民办机构——中国社会调查所，这在当时又是一个新鲜事物。到那儿以后，以“报告文学家”著称的朱晓阳被公认为具有社会调查的一手经验，于是由他指挥，做农民企业家的调查。注意，是这个调查所里有人与中央电视台有联系。其中有一个人是卸任不久的中宣部部长朱厚泽的秘书，提议说应该弄一个农民企业家的纪录片。朱厚泽提出“宽厚、宽容、宽松”，被人称之为“三宽部长”，于1987年2月于“反对资产阶级自由化”运动中被拿下。作为这么一位部长的部下眼光精准，随后该调查所拿“农民企业家”——当时的学名是“乡镇企业家”的选题去中央电视台，人家说很好，但是要自己找钱来拍摄。

这就是1988年春节朱晓阳回昆明，一边找钱一边说动吴文光来北京的那部片子，从这里之后他俩才转到电视片《中国人》。吴文光来北京时，同时来的还有朱晓阳多年的诗友武列格。此时在北京搬过好几回家的朱晓阳，已经租住在北大对门的海淀新胡同4号，位于北大东门，这里的确是五花八门的盲流聚集区，其租户多是外地打工者，做

木工的、弹棉花的、修鞋、捡垃圾和做保姆的，他们此前不知道在什么时候，已经从登记在册的秩序中掉落出来。不服从分配的年轻摄影家高波也租住在同一个院子，不过高波经常去西藏，他的屋老空着，朱晓阳有钥匙。刚来的几天，朱晓阳便安排吴文光住在高波的小屋里。接着以剧组的名义，朱晓阳自掏腰包给吴文光和武列格在附近临时租了房，还发给他俩少许零用钱[54]。这个时间不长。正像前面所说，他俩最迟于这年5月份搬进了复兴门外大街财政部招待所，在这里继续策划、撰稿和完成《中国人》，由与他们合作的中央电视台付房费。此时文慧已在北京舞蹈学院编舞系读书，吴文光来到北京更加是顺理成章。

朱晓阳写过作为“盲流”租住在新胡同4号的一些经历。他经常在深夜被警察的敲门声惊起，喝令开门检查户口，当朱晓阳把在北京工作过的单位工作证递过去，并解释自己为什么住在这里之后，警察一般会离开。有一回他出示的是“中国社会调查所”的工作证，这回轮到警察感到惶恐了，问他是不是安全部的人。而几乎同一时刻，住在朱晓阳隔壁的安徽农民屋里像炸锅一样，警察的威胁叫吼、大人的哀求抗辩加上孩子的哭闹声连成一片，有时还伴有被痛打的喊叫和匆促离开的脚步声。等到第二天，家中以捡垃圾为生的老太太会对朱晓阳说头天夜里的事情，一般是警察掀开床垫把钱拿走，要不就是勒令儿子儿媳分开居住，因为他们没有结婚证，而这个东西在当地并不时兴，没有结婚怎么会有孩子？这时候朱晓阳就会想起杜甫的《石壕吏》[55]。在某种意义上，这些普普通通的人，他们才是没有任何遮蔽的、在自己祖国这片土地上流浪的人们。

朱晓阳从1986年初来北京，先后住过不同的地方，是首批租住民房的作家。他从自身开始，真切体会到盲流北京之艰辛，他把这些亲身经验先是释放在《北京拉丁区》里，关于艺术盲流们的吃喝拉撒衣食住行在其中都有描绘，后来释放在他为《流浪北京》所写的拍摄提纲中[56]。

温普林最先拍摄盲流艺术家

民间话剧导演牟森说：“1988年，北京的艺术氛围好得不能再好。”[57]扩大一点说，北京的文化气氛好得不能再好。这应该是自1978年思想解放10年之后，整个社会文化艺术界从视野到人才，都有了一个相当的积累，可以说真正翻了一个身。包括称之为“盲流艺术家”开始进入人们的视野，成为北京艺术界的一个新气象。

中国美术报
FINE ARTS IN CHINA 1988年第44期（代号—113）
中国现代艺术展
筹展通告
北京“盲流”艺术家印象
陈卫和 北京盲流艺术家印象

温普林称“盲流艺术家”这个名称，是他在接受《中国美术报》采访的时候第一次提出，当时只是一句戏谈[58]。从他身边出现的若干出走体制的年轻艺术家身上，他看到了中国艺术界新的空间和力量。他对当时很火的《中国美术报》的编辑说中国的苏荷、东村将要出现，他的表述引起了反响。在他的指点下，这家报纸的编辑陈卫和随即找到了几位租住民房的盲流艺术家，在《中国美术报》1988年第44期（10月31日出版），刊登了独家报道《北京“盲流”艺术家印象》（署名卫和）。文中开头提到了是从“他们的‘领袖’温普林口中”听到了这个词。与此同时，该文作者也提到了朱晓阳：“北京拉丁区——据说已有写报告文学的哥们儿这么写他们了。”这篇报道访问了张大力和牟森租住的小屋和住在附近

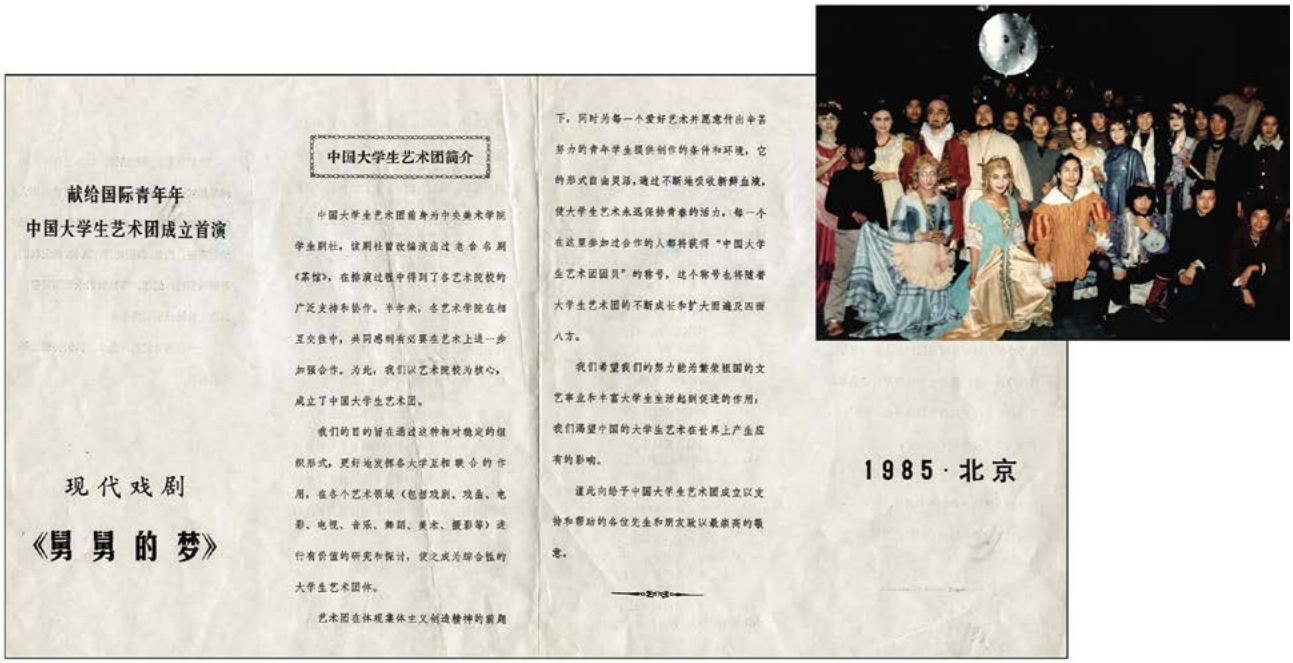
的王德仁，其中这样描述他们：“他们一方面作（做）着艺术之梦，一方面用艺术对付着严酷现实。”[59]

实际上也是温普林第一个将镜头对准了他们。不仅如此，在这之前，温普林便开启独立影像制作，比人们一般认为的1988年还要早几年，应该在1984年。

温普林（1957——），满人，自幼习画。1979年为考学从沈阳来北京，见到过我们前面文中说的“星星画展”事件的核心人物曲磊磊，为这拨先行者的行为和作品所震撼并深深认同，包括《今天》杂志上的作品。他1981年考入中央美术学院美术史专业，因为精力过剩、淘气难管被老师“招安”为“班长”。正值被文革湮没的许多古戏和著名演员都重新回到舞台，温普林经常于傍晚啤酒喝得微醺时，在学校附近的吉祥剧院看京剧，这令他大开眼界，也认识了第一位妻子、当时红遍大江南北京剧老旦郑子茹。郑子茹1979年戏曲学院毕业，先是以《杨门女将》中的佘太君一举成名，1980年郑子茹改编了传统剧目《对花枪》，被称之为创立了京剧文武老旦的里程碑，该剧迄今不衰。

在校时温普林最先投入的是前卫话剧，他是中国Samizdt戏剧的先行者，他的话剧始终伴随着京剧热情，而他的京剧热情中又搅拌着嬉皮精神。大三时他听说刚复出的《茶馆》的演出是“后无来者”的，不服气与同学将《茶馆》整成一荒诞剧，所有的人物说着各地方言，伴之以京剧锣鼓，不是针对老舍而是“恶搞”人艺。排练这出戏期间，不仅是温普林作为导演初试锋芒，而且积累起与不同艺术院校不同专业人们合作的经验。

1984年下半年，温普林将课堂上闲来无事读到的陀思妥耶夫斯基的小说《舅舅的梦》改编搬上舞台，这回规模大了，他借此而成立了“中国大学生艺术团”，主要合作者为美院同学杨君，后者有着与年龄不符的老成持重和深谋远虑，能负责所有幕后事务，于是温普林和杨君商定由杨担任团长，温做艺术总监。《舅舅的梦》将北京那会儿称之为“八大艺术院校”不同行当的学生拢在一起，弄成一出无场次的自由空间，在舞台上大玩垃圾、装置、有爵士鼓伴奏、钢琴乐队和戏剧的锣鼓和音乐[60]。温普林本人担任导演，中央工艺美院的华庆等担任这部戏的舞美设计，音乐学院的陈翔羽担任音乐设计，舞蹈设计是舞蹈学院的张明娟。主要演员有郑子茹、中央美院的毕建锋等，最后这出戏于1985年1月8日到10日在虎坊桥工人俱乐部这座当时的甲级剧场上演，惹得当时戏剧界的重要人物都来了。



“中国大学生艺术团”成立暨戏剧《舅舅的梦》首演请柬，1985

1985年6月当时很火的全国性杂志《戏剧报》刊登了“大学生艺术团”成立的消息，同时还说这个艺术团得到了“人艺”、“青艺”前辈艺术家的支持，并将与人艺联合赶排一出布莱希特的戏，这便是《二战中的帅克》。来自校园的学生戏剧一下子得到最高权威的认可，那真是一个过于甜美的时刻。“大学生艺术团”成立宣言中写道：“我们的目的旨在通过这种相对稳定的组织，更好地发挥各大学互相联合的作用，在各个艺术领域（包括戏剧、戏曲、电影、电视、音乐、舞蹈、美术、摄影等）进行有价值的研究和探讨”[61]。呵呵，人家就等着这种“稳定的组织”呢。团中央听说此事后找温普林谈，希望能够“招安”，温普林当然不干。这年年底由官方下文，大学生艺术团被当作“非法组织”予以取缔。

然而艺术团的精神不灭。它所积累起来的经验和人脉，接下来发挥继续和更大的作用。在艺术团的活动中，温普林首先是学会了资金运作，寻找独立的经济来源。排这样一个较大规模的戏，比印刷一份Samizdt诗歌要花钱得多。温普林自己能找钱。中央美院尤其是美术史专业有留学生因此就有外汇券，而外汇券只能在北京比如友谊商店使用，留学生们想要去外地旅游比如去敦煌看画则要换人民币，怎么办？他们就去找班长温普林，除了方便，这些留学生们还有心帮助经济窘迫的中国同学。留学生用1：1的价格换给他，他马上以1：1.5的价格转手出去，赚这个差价，当时叫“切汇”。温普林成了大学生中先富起来的人。看起来这钱不是什么“正当”来历，于是温普林就使劲把钱花到公益的Samizdt戏剧活动中去。他还有两位赞助人，一位是远方亲戚“三舅”，前国家冰球运动员，当时给官倒做马仔和保镖，常年住美院招待所；另一位被叫做“列宁”，来自黑龙江的建筑承包商，是温普林哈尔滨的建筑师姨父介绍过来的，也住美院招待所。这两位辈分高但年龄相仿的亲戚对温普林所有活动一概着迷，都愿意掏腰包支持他[62]。

这些钱不仅用来排戏，而且用来从事影像拍摄。从1984年下半年排练《舅舅的梦》开始，温普林就租来摄像机来拍摄身边的艺术创作、活动和事件。在写这篇文章时，本人有幸观看到了1984年冬天作为导演的温普林身着黑色半高领毛衣，声情并茂地给同学们说戏，此时的温老师看上去有点像当时一部流行的伤痕电影《小街》的主角郭凯敏，不同在于年轻温普林的眼睛贼亮贼亮。他在把京剧演员直接对着台下观众要好儿讨彩的表演方式传授给学生演员，类似布莱希特的“间离效果”。能看到的这批珍贵影像中，还有这年年底《舅舅的梦》演出之前，几位大学生手工油印制演出海报，是在美院版画系做的丝网版画，眼见得带着油墨味儿的海报，从油印机里一张又一张出来。

这些应该是1978年改革开放之后最早的独立影像，换句话说，中国独立影像的起点应该放在这里，比一般人们通常认为的提前了4年。

有一个流传已久的固定说法是，当时的机器只能在国家电视台手中。其实不然。据温普林说，当时北京一些国家大部委相关部门都有自己机房，连人带机器租一天差不多200元一天。闹得这么欢的温普林神通广大，许多人愿意给他提供帮助。他记得自己曾向煤炭部干部管理学院租过，也向北京市文化局其中一个影视部门租过。录制虎坊桥工人俱乐部的首演租得当时最好的摄录分体摄像机79E,磁带型号是四分之三[63]。这个型号的机器，在前面陈真提到吴文光的拍摄时，我们已经见识过。迄今温普林手中仍然保存了一些当年关于大学生艺术团、实验戏剧、包括他自己的创作，拼贴摄影、油画以及87年个人艺术展开幕现场的影像。拿起摄像机对准身边的人进行拍摄，从这里开始他一发而不可收。

“大学生艺术团”另一个意想不到的结果是，围绕在温普林身边的这些人，以及通过这些人辐射开去，形成了第一批大学毕业不服从分配的盲流艺术家。显然，这与剧团“交叉感染”之后进一步增强了的独立自由气氛有关。最有代表性的是《舅舅的梦》的舞美华庆，他1986年夏天从中央工艺美院毕业，不服从去往大连轻工学院的分配，把户口

迁回了老家淮北之后，带着奥地利籍女友来到了拉萨。在西藏转了一圈之后，第一位在海淀租住民房创作，时间在1987年春节之后，大约2、3月份。这是一个标志性事件。

稍前，继“星星画展”之后，称之为“八五美术新潮”——开始于1985年5月在北京举办的“国际青年美展”，将富有思想锐气而形式新颖的年轻艺术家的作品推到人们面前，同时伴随着一系列围绕着现代主义的观念更新大讨论，人们感到像魔瓶被释放，本来不安分的艺术家更加活跃不止，令美术界之外的人们也明显感到被波及，当时正在校园里的年轻艺术家更受鼓舞。他们深知，不可能按照前辈艺术家中规中矩的老路走下去了。

现在一般都说华庆是第一批“入住圆明园”的画家，好像那里有一个现成的艺术基地，人们报名之后排队入住。不，华庆是带来春天的第一只燕子。后来称之为“画家村”主要是一个叫做“福缘门村”的地方，那是90年之后的事了。华庆最先居住的地方，是正对着北大西门的娄斗桥，他发现这个地方房租便宜。这个房间小得只能放下一张床，实际上没有床，只有用几块砖头垫起来的地铺，床前铺了一些席子和毡布，铺好高丽纸，摆上墨水和毛笔，就是他的画案。朋友们来来往往，一度他的小屋被称之为“华庆公社”。[64]

温普林本人1985年中央美院毕业去了北京第二外语学院开设了一门艺术欣赏课，上课不用讲稿、不要求学生记笔记，很快成为校园里新的传说和偶像。当然他还继续折腾他的戏剧。1985年，温普林先是带着二外师生排演根据老舍小说《猫城记》改编的现代戏剧“梦幻星城”。1986年《雅典的泰门》是闹得最欢的一部戏，虽然是英语版，但却是中国戏剧的程式化、类型化的表现手法，郑子茹继续担任主角，一台的抽象符号，服装、舞美都是超现实的。这部戏参加了中国首届莎士比亚戏剧节，时任中戏院长徐晓钟给予了较高评价。然而很快温普林的教书生涯也到头了。

他口无遮拦的课堂被人打了小报告，这个学院新颁发的公文中提到温普林称之为“二外一教工”，这让温普林感到自己成了一个烧锅炉的。接下来领导通知他停课，他说还要上最后一课，结果他把最后一课变成了气节和人格的演讲，从此离开了课堂[65]，由“一代风流”而坠落为“一代盲流”，并进一步成为“盲流艺术家”这个新群体的枢纽人物和发言人。他没有住进民房，在于他当时有一个明星妻子郑子茹。

北师大中文系的牟森于1984年在学校排演了根据德国作家埃尔文·魏克德的广播剧改编的话剧《课堂作文》，该剧德语翻译北大张玉书教授后来去德国，牟森请张教授带去了该剧的黑白剧照和祝贺作家生日的信。这之后收到了这位德国作家的亲笔回信，这令牟森对于戏剧的热爱一发而不可收。接下来牟森想要排演苏联当代作家阿尔布卓夫《伊尔库茨克的故事》。当青艺林克欢老师向牟森提到温普林后，牟森立即骑上自行车去二外找到温普林。他记得一过大北窑，路两边全是一望无际的田野。尽管艺术风格不同，温普林仍然提供了大面积援助，为牟森的新戏介绍了来自央美版画系的舞美和来自戏曲学院的灯光设计，还把自己戏中的主演毕建锋推荐给他，排《舅舅的梦》时买的一整块黑丝绒天幕也借给牟森。这块黑丝绒天幕一挂上，舞台空间的质感马上变了。像继承遗产一样，牟森继承了温普林的朋友们。通过《雅典的泰门》这部戏的舞美盛奇，牟森认识了温普林前一部戏的舞美华庆。

毕业前牟森排练的这出苏联戏剧，其发生地伊尔库茨克市位于西伯利亚，曾是造反的十二月党人流放中心之一，1826年最初被流亡的14个目光坚毅的年轻人戴着镣铐，从圣彼得堡的彼得保罗要塞到伊尔库茨克走了37天。它后来成了社会主义建设基地。总之，这是一个有关远方的故事，其主题可能有留在了牟森的潜意识里。与朱晓阳在报纸上发现新大陆新疆一样，牟森在《中国青年报》上读到一张往届支疆毕业生笑容灿烂地站在布达拉宫前的照片，定下了去西藏的主意，此前他也去这个地方做过一些社会调查。在当时去西藏弄现代话剧，无疑是缘木求鱼。牟森在那里结识了不少人和学到了新东西。李小山教他背电影镜头，段锦川在拍《青稞在歌唱》，他扛着录像机跟着帮

忙。但是他还是很快离开了西藏，女朋友提出分手，他无心久留。

深秋他回到北京时，《伊尔库茨克的故事》的演员李忠实、王晓强兴奋地跟他讲刘晓波，给牟森看不久前刘晓波在《深圳青年报》发了整整一版的长文《危机，新时期文学面临危机》，那是刘晓波在这年（1986年）9月份社科院文学所新时期文学十年会议上的发言整理。这位从天而降的孙大圣，在会上挥着弗洛伊德的金箍棒，把几乎所有当红作家都敲打一遍，　从王蒙刘心武邓友梅这些归来的右派作家，到阿城韩少功王安忆这些50后的知青作家，包括他曾经十分佩服的朦胧诗派诗人江河、杨炼，都在扫荡之列，最后宣布：“极而言之，我的文学观就是没有理性可言。”[66]从中是否可以听到周国平笔下关于西方社会“非理性”已成主流的回声？

圣诞夜，刘晓波去艺术研究院给研究生演讲，牟森也去了。讲座结束，晓波嫌给他的讲座费少，把钱都给了他的学生申闻捷和王晓强，牟森他们就用这钱在西什库教堂旁的酒馆喝酒。

人在北京的牟森把自己在西藏话剧团宿舍的钥匙，给了不服从毕业分配的华庆和他当时的奥地利籍女友。接下来的那个春节，华庆与牟森居然在兰州偶遇，一个从西藏下来，一个准备上去。等到牟森再回到北京，华庆已经住进了海淀民房，他邀请牟森一起住。华庆他用《舅舅的梦》的布景把整个屋子包了一遍，这屋里没有床，打地铺，晚上点蜡烛，牟森在这样的屋子里大声朗诵他要排练的新戏的台词，温普林都有拍摄。另有一位华庆的同学，同样工艺美院毕业的，住得离他不远，这便是王德仁，在1989年2月美术馆现代艺术大展上扔避孕套的那位，也是来海淀租住民房打前站的前卫艺术家。

华庆和王德仁提供了艺术院校学生毕业当盲流的榜样及动力。同为中央工艺美院的应届毕业生张大力（1963——）后来回忆道，毕业之前几个月，当其他同学为档案户口奔波的时候，他心里早有主意：“我去海淀挂甲屯找我的两位师兄王德仁和华庆……虽然生活艰辛但绝对的自由，我为这种自由的生活激动和快乐。房间里没有暖气,堆满了冬储的白菜,蜂窝煤的煤气和湿漉漉的菜味混杂其间,这些都不是什么障碍,精神的亢奋使我们对极低的物质生活视而不见。我们开始一种游离于主流之外的生活,精神也飘在无限的幻想之中。”[67]张大力没毕业就经常往华庆、牟森这儿跑。

牟森在华庆这里第一次见到张大力。闲来无事，他给这相差一个年级的师兄弟俩念书。念契诃夫的《三姐妹》，这是牟森想排已久的戏，这两人没兴趣；念尤奈斯库的剧本《犀牛》，他俩乐得不行，觉得这个戏好玩。于是，《犀牛》成了牟森的新戏。华庆担任这部戏的舞美设计，张大力设计海报。华庆将《舅舅的梦》的布景从租住的屋里拆下来，又用到《犀牛》里去。著名的“蛙剧团”字样也第一次出现在节目单上。这个夏天，张大力毕业了。因为在校期间私自专研油画创作和顶撞老师，张大力被发回原籍，接受他的是佳木斯一家草编厂，工作室设计地毯图案。本来他也不想去，索性没有去报到。拿了学校93块人民币的派遣费，张大力也在北大西门海淀民房安顿下来。一度华庆和牟森、张大力三人合租一个小院的两间房，这样也可以互相照顾一下[68]。后来华庆搬去附近别处，牟森便与张大力租住一个屋子。

这个地点靠北大近，他们可以去北大食堂买便宜饭菜，听讲座和洗澡，继续与校园思想文化保持联系。张大力选择呆在北京的一个现实原因是，他必须以卖画来生存，而当时一般中国人包括知识分子没有这个经济能力，他只有卖给在京外国人，如驻华使馆人员等。实际上盲流的日子并不像看上去那么浪漫。《流浪北京》里，高波和牟森都有对着镜头说过他们怎么琢磨到不同的人家蹭饭。也有说，牟森与张大力同住出租屋时，经常睡到下午，以减少活动来抵抗饥饿，起床后先盘算去哪里蹭一顿饱饭[69]。

张大力的同学高波 (1964——) 的情况略有不同。当时“高波”这个名字, 与“去西藏”这三个字联系在一起。同为中央工艺美院装帧专业的学生, 高波于大学二年级时, 一个偶然的机会撞进了摄影的大门。当他得知有个“全国春季彩色摄影大奖赛”, 在人体写生课后他借了一台相机, 在午后的画室里拍了一卷彩色负片寄过去了, 没想到得了一等奖, 评委们为这组作品取名为《画室里的春天》。奖品是一台价值人民币1.6万的哈苏相机, 他立即被媒体捧为“大学生万元户”。高波从此走上了摄影道路。面临大学毕业, 他把哈苏相机给卖了, 重新买了一台两、三千元的相机, 其他的钱用作盘缠外出摄影。1987年他没等到拿到毕业证书就跑西藏去了, 拿着地图就去了珠峰, 纳木措, 藏北阿里无人区等地, 那时候没有电话手机, 家里人以为他死了。他自己也经常把死于地雷的战地记者卡帕挂在嘴边上, 那是他的偶像。这期间中国的纪实摄影也逐步抬头, 高波在《流浪北京》的镜头前谈自己摄影风格的转变——从风景画般的西藏, 转向释放人的实际生存和感情。遥远的地方同样是一片人们居住和生活的热土。

高波在新胡同4号租下了一个6平米的小房子, 作为在北京的大本营, 与朱晓阳与张慈正好在一个院子。在《流浪北京》(长版本) 中张慈对着镜头唠叨, 说晓阳你们怎么都不管高波, 他死了怎么办? 张慈还说, 高波不在的时候, 她有时候去高波的屋里拿东西。有一个说法是, 等到高波半年之后从西藏回来, “与他合租‘荒宅’的邻居朱小羊和张慈把他的邻居高波租的一间小屋子里的家当都给分了。”[70]写到这里, 我把这句发给张慈, 她居然对此回应说, “这个倒是真的, 因为我们以为高波已经在西藏死了! ”张慈在微信里随手列出来的东西有: “相纸, 三角架, 被窝枕头, 皮夹克, 军帽, 还有扫帚、土豆……”[71]。后来高波回来了, 朱晓阳在家办聚会, 高波带了牟森一道去, 在这里牟森第一次见到吴文光。不久之后, 吴文光与牟森又有了新的交集。

体制内的人们总是相似的, 脱出体制外的盲流则各有各的故事。北京舞蹈学院85级第一届编舞专业文慧的同学张明伟来自辽宁沈阳, 曾任沈阳音乐学院附属舞蹈学校的毯子功教师, 他于1987年底寒假回家读到了钱刚《大地震》这部报告文学, 深受震撼[72]。其时课堂上正好有调度舞台空间这门课, 让张明伟想到了要做以唐山地震为主题的一个作业。他为此多次访问唐山, 决定要创作一部大型现代舞剧。但是他想要在大学期间完成的计划受阻, 他因此退学成了“盲流”, 到处游说希望得到他人的支持。他也在不同的院校宿舍借宿, 彻夜不眠地大谈他的艺术。后来国家地震局给了张明伟两万人民币作为赞助, 他请到了中央音乐学院高材生瞿小松和刘索拉为这部舞剧作曲。文慧为这部舞剧推荐了她下一届的师妹李青来演公主这个角色。实际上还有另一个与张明伟文慧的同班同学黄磊作为这部舞剧的共同编舞。

蒋樾 (1962—) 小时候随父母去五七干校, 长时间一个人坐在屋檐下, 观看两万亩的稻浪, 要不划着小船在河塘里摘莲蓬和钓鱼。高中毕业之后在人民出版社做了三年校对, 同时读了大量的书籍。1984年他考上中国戏曲学院学编剧, 很快参加到温普林的“大学生艺术团”中去。他也不是那种循规蹈矩的学生, 称自己在大学还没有毕业就在宿舍里接待各路盲流, 乃至人们以为他那儿是一个接受盲流的“点”。有一天来了一位, 说自己是中戏的, 又说自己三年没有盖过棉被。问他叫什么名字, 他答“撒问”, 撒向人间都是问。蒋樾道出了那个时代的气氛: “盲流”这个词在当时“很时髦, ……我觉得这种生活好玩, 自在。”[73]蒋樾本人当盲流是1990年之后的事情了。在这之前, 他身处盲流艺术家当中以及盲流艺术家的精神状态之中。

盲流艺术家们的能量在某个时刻聚到了一起开始爆发。1988年4月初的一个深夜, 在戏曲学院 (合理推断有可能是蒋樾的宿舍) 温普林和一干人听张明伟谈在他心中挥之不去的唐山大地震舞剧, 也谈人类的灾难以及对于灾难的健忘, 以及希望通过一部现代舞剧来表现大地震给人类到来的精神肉体无比创痛。在场的人都被他的热情点燃了。温普林当时决定从拍摄张明伟的活动开始, 拍摄一部反映中国文化艺术界震荡的影片。第二天张明伟直接去了唐山, 他要赶在清明节前去凭吊大地震亡灵, 去唐山大地震纪念碑献一个花圈。两天之后, 温普林和蒋樾也抵达

唐山，与他们同行的还有请来的山东电视台拍《武松》(1983)的摄像。温普林和蒋樾都提到了清明那天当地还下大雪，张明伟神情肃穆。唐山街上的确静悄悄的，大地震仅仅过去十二年，看不出任何纪念的迹象。这趟旅程包括请摄像师是要花费的，温普林出了200元，蒋樾跟人借了200元。

此前温普林的拍摄，多与自己的创作活动有关。但是从1988年不一样了，这年他成立一个摄制组，有目的、有计划、有选择地记录中国当代艺术的进程，各种艺术事件、艺术家的生活方式、生存状态等[74]。回到北京，温普林继续拍摄张明伟《大地震》舞剧的排练（这部舞剧后来落脚于北京歌舞团），还拍了自创汉字的徐冰，徐冰在自己的作坊里汗流浃背地刻制那谁也不懂的天书，以及他带着学生们在长城上拓下长城砖。于2016年面世的温普林《七宗罪》这部片子中，关于1989年美术馆"现代艺术大展"上七个行为艺术，其中就有徐冰在夏天他的作坊里工作的镜头。

接下来，温普林带领他的摄制组拍下了他称之为"第一批盲流艺术家的生活，有搞戏剧的牟森，有搞美术的张大力，又搞摄影的曾年……此外还有以崔健为代表的摇滚活动，一系列实验性的戏剧、表演和其它艺术活动。"[75]其中拍摄崔健最为完整，不仅有他的排练而且还有演出现场，演出时都是铺轨拍摄的。在写作本文期间，我看到了一批温普林所拍摄的牟森的镜头：牟森穿一件戏服似的的大褂在圆明园废墟里盲目地奔走；牟森为反复体验他的新戏而激情朗诵；牟森走进华庆拿《舅舅的梦》的布景贴满墙壁的那个小屋里，打开一个纸包开始吃饭，有许多照明用的蜡烛。

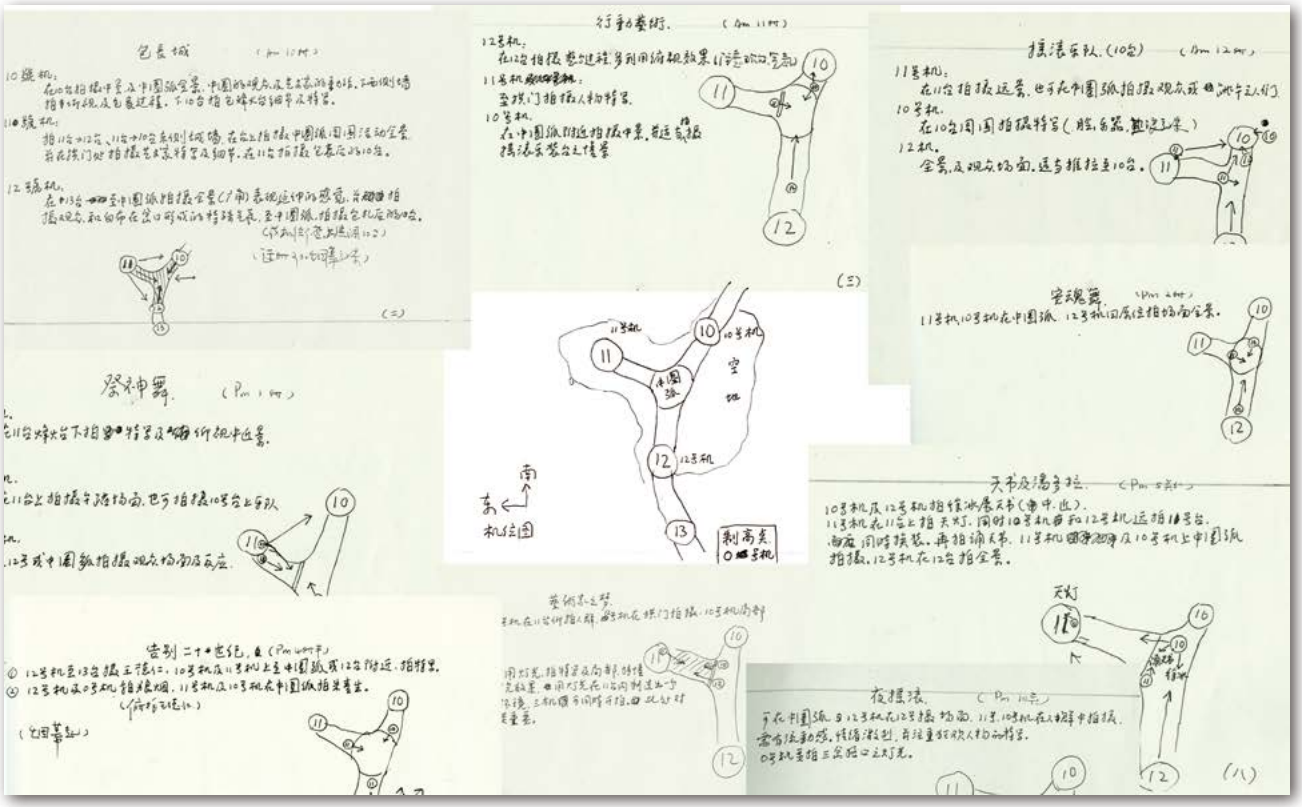
1988年6月份开始，牟森排练一出新戏叫做《士兵的故事》，为瑞士法语作家拉缪和音乐家斯特拉文斯基合作的著名音乐话剧，因而得到了瑞士文化基金会的赞助，其中的公主角色有几段舞蹈，牟森请张明伟来编排，张已答应，海报上也印着张明伟的名字，但张后来有事来不了，推荐了他的同班同学文慧来编舞。温普林带他的摄制组前往拍摄。目前能见到温普林所拍摄的这部戏首演时的装台、以及贴在墙上的海报，牟森这期间的生活等。

这年9月，温普林敲开了刚刚成立的"21世纪研究院"主持者金观涛的大门，向这位文化大旗先生募得2万7千人民币。温普林说过大学时他们每个宿舍里都有一套"走向未来"丛书，这套书对他们影响之大，乃至令他们都成"未来主义者"了[76]。1988年6月《河殇》热播，也令金观涛在年轻知识分子中的影响再次刷新，金是这个片子的顾问。金观涛出现在温普林眼前时，在温看来，是一位典型的职业革命家形象——四十多岁、病弱、神经质和聪明。温普林于是游说道，《河殇》表达的是对历史和未来的思考，而《大地震》要表达的是当下压抑不住的震荡在艺术界的反映，意在朝向未来，金观涛一下子答应赞助他们。当时的知识分子有高度的文化自觉和总体文化担当，这套《走向未来》丛书，始终由中央美院学生戴士和设计黑白两色的现代风格，1987年，《走向未来》还在中国美术馆举办了画展。

除了金观涛的慷慨，《大地震》还得到了北京运生皮鞋制造公司4万元的赞助。温普林大干一场有了充足的资金。他成立了完整的摄制组，其中编剧、导演均为他本人、还有制片人丁彬、两位副导演郝志强和居弈，导演助理是二外学生刘俊辉，制片是蒋樾和黑壤，剧务主任是牟森。剧组成员还有中戏的陈瑞和田戈兵，北大社会学系研究生张伦等人。1988年10月15日，这个团队弄了5台摄像机，招呼了几乎所有北京的盲流艺术家，以及艺术院校的学生和在京留学生大几百人，从青年人追随卡车上的摇滚乐队开始，呼啦啦上了长城，做了一个叫做"包扎长城"的大型活动。"包扎"这个概念诞生得更早。1986年底北大学生艺术节上，温普林带领二外的学生剧社演出《雅典的泰门》。演出后不久，舞美盛奇就用该戏中作布景用的白布，做成纱布和绷带将自己捆成一个伤员，与其他几位来自中央美院和中央工艺美院的同学一起，在北大做了一场名为"观念21"的行为艺术表演。大体思路与当时感到被束缚因而求变革的伤痕观念一致。

当长城被几千尺白布包扎起来，这里更像一个行为艺术的大舞台。张明伟与几十个舞者表演了《大地震》片段，盛奇把自己用白布捆绑起来表演太极，徐冰在现场分发了印有他作品“天书”的背心，张大力为《士兵的故事》设计的舞台背景大幅扑克牌沿着烽火台挂下来，牟森放飞了象征着潘多拉匣子的“天灯”。夜晚降临，摇滚之夜开始。“黑豹”、“五月天”的歌手丁武、李彤、张岭、何勇等人现场演唱。下山之后，唐朝乐队成立了，第一支女子摇滚乐队“眼镜蛇”也成立了[77]。古老的长城被弄得摇摇晃晃，一夜之间焕发了青春。为了达到理想的效果，温普林为拍摄画了许多草图，标出不同的机位和机位的移动等。因为有音乐家的参与，这个大型活动用的是当时最好的录音设备。

显然，温普林《大地震》的拍摄包括对盲流艺术家的拍摄，不仅早于《流浪北京》，而且可以说构成了《流浪北京》这部片子的背景，不应排除也有可能成为某种直接启示或刺激。很有可能，吴文光应该同步知道温普林的这些拍摄。有记载表明，牟森88年6、7月份的排练，即文慧担任编舞的那出戏，吴文光明显流露出想要拍摄自己的影像的愿望。牟森写道：“排练《士兵的故事》时，吴文光老来看，那时他们那个大型纪录片《中国人》好像还没有进行，所

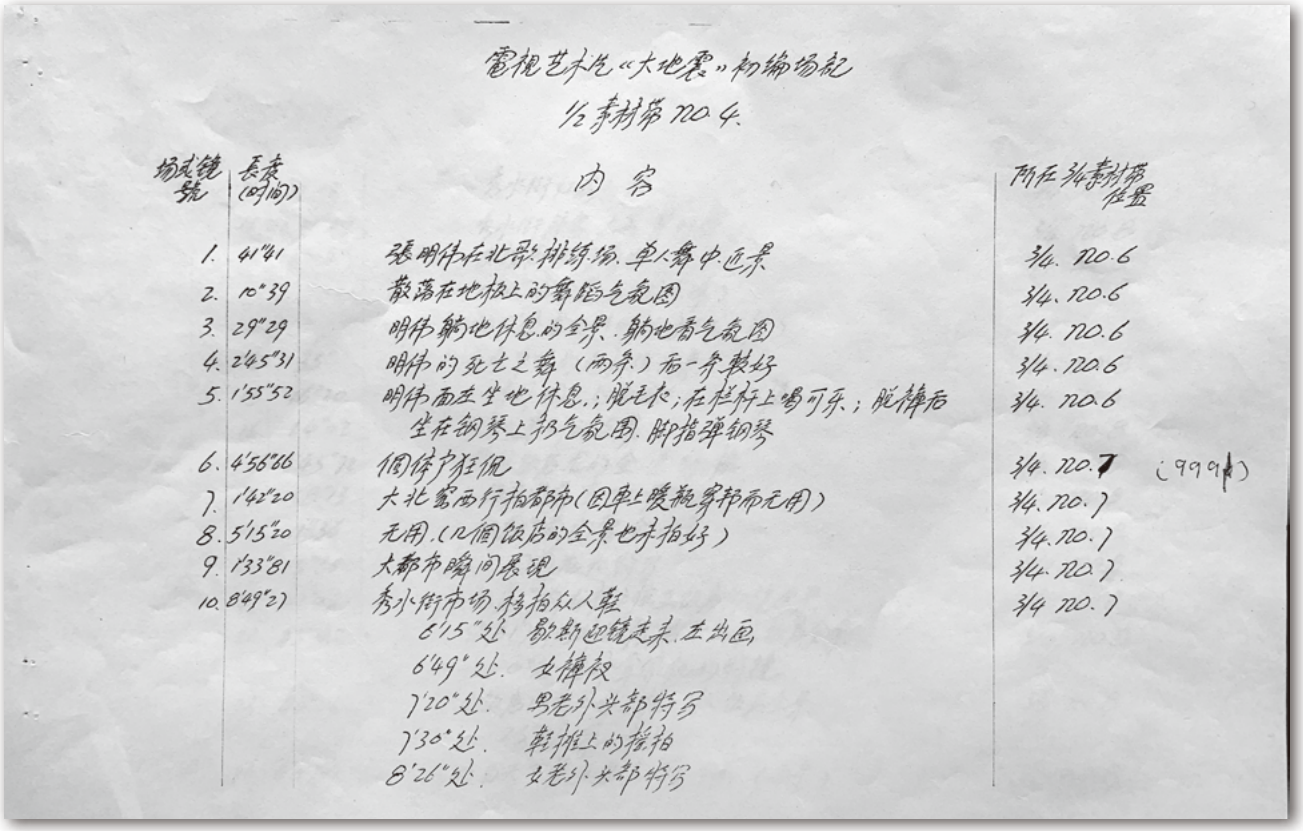


《大地震》“包扎长城”机位图，1988

以，他遗憾没法拍我们的排练。”[78]而此时温普林手中已经有了租来的机器。

吴文光本人也表达过这期间不能拍摄的遗憾。《士兵的故事》排练场所是中戏地下排练室，已经有些名气的盲流牟森和张大力都在这里，一下子引来了众多“盲流艺术家”，他们经常出现在现场。吴文光形容道——那些日子里，地下室的门时时被撞开，各色人等因不明原因鱼贯涌入。“地下室像一个盲流人才交流中心。”“开饭的时候到了，有人从学院食堂端回一面盆馒头和一面盆白菜，一群人涌上，我也夹在其中，围住两个面盆，剥着大蒜啃着馒头。牟森端坐在其中，一颗光头非常显眼，教父一样。”接下来吴文光说：“以我的眼光，从我进入地下室开始到现在都能成为纪录片中特别棒的镜头，但当时我没能弄到拍摄设备，赤手空拳，只能在心里咬牙暗恨一阵。”[79]

关于温普林的《大地震》和《流浪北京》的平行关系，吴文光自己有更加直接的表达：



電視艺术片《大地震》初编场记

1/2 素材带 NO.4.

场或镜号	長度(时间)	内容	所在3/4素材带位置
1.	41"41	張明伟在北歌排练场. 单人舞中近景	3/4. NO.6
2.	10"39	散落在地板上的舞蹈气氛图	3/4. NO.6
3.	29"29	明伟躺地休息的全景. 躺地看气氛图	3/4. NO.6
4.	2'45"31	明伟的死亡之舞（两条）后一条較好	3/4. NO.6
5.	1'55"52	明伟面左坐地休息.；脱毛衣；在栏杆上喝可乐；脱褲后坐在钢琴上扔气氛图. 脚指弹钢琴	3/4. NO.6
6.	4'56"66	個体户狂侃	3/4. NO.7 (999)
7.	1'42"20	大北窑西行拍都市（因車上暖瓶穿邦而无用）	3/4. NO.7
8.	5'15"20	无用.（几個饭店的全景也未拍好）	3/4. NO.7
9.	1'33"81	大都市瞬间展現	3/4. NO.7
10.	8'49"27	秀水街市场. 移拍众人鞋	3/4 NO.7
		6'15"处 歇斯迎镜走来. 左出画	
		6'49"处. 女褲衩	
		7'20"处. 男老外头部特写	
		7'30"处. 鞋摊上的摇拍	
		8'26"处. 女老外头部特写	

《大地震》场记，1988

> 那个时候1988–1989年《大地震》正在拍摄中，拍摄当时的各种艺术，整个北京全知道，几乎大的艺术行为都被拍摄了。《大地震》本身也是一个大的行为艺术，最辉煌、最壮观的是包裹长城，拍摄组织几百人到长城上。几乎在那同时，《流浪北京》就在悄悄地拍着。这种情况就像一个做木工活的人，他在家里要做一些东西，凳子啊办公桌，这些家具和办公或用品，是做给自己看的。[80]

吴文光说温普林的拍摄“整个北京全都知道”，合理推测他本人应该也是知道的。他称自己做的是家里的“凳子啊桌子啊”，“是做给自己的”，这个说法值得重视。换句话说，《流浪北京》对于盲流艺术家的拍摄，不仅规模小得多，而且多着眼于放在日常生活上面，拍摄那些日常光线之下呈现的东西，即使对头顶光环的艺术家们，也愿意探究他们的日常生活内容和状态，把他们弄得与普通人没有两样。这是一个反思的立场，其中埋伏着一个来自尚义街6号的密码（反浪漫的“日常生活”），也包括朱晓阳盲流北京时关于衣食住行的切身经验，以及《中国人》剧组把眼光放在了普通人身上的深刻转变。

温普林确实把镜头主要对准了艺术家的艺术行为，至少在他的意识中是这样。然而他所拍摄到的东西远不仅于此。第一，镜头这个东西有自己的自主性。在现场一旦开机，周围现实中的有些东西就自动溜了进来，超出了拍摄者原来的框架。在温普林拍摄的影像中（它们亟待整理发掘），有许多便是艺术家及普通人的日常生活镜头。比如1985年1月《舅舅的梦》在虎坊桥演出期间，进入镜头的有大街上的熙熙攘攘的人们，马路两边有点破败但仍然车水马龙的景象，人们大都穿得比较臃肿。第二，被摄入镜头的艺术家们都是他身边的朋友，他一点不需要仰视他们，因此温普林与他的拍摄对象之间同样是无距离，被拍摄对象完全不需要做作，牟森在镜头面前有壮士慷慨悲歌，也有迷惘落魄、魂不守舍的日常那一面。

温普林迄今仍然在使用“盲流”、“盲流艺术家”这个概念，我觉得这个概念比“流浪”这个概念更加准确和接地气。它包含了更多历史、政治和社会内涵，有对于现存不合理秩序及偏见的回击，也有对于自身的自嘲和无奈。而“流浪”一词，则带有更多文青色彩，哪个时代都有这样的流浪者，比如台湾三毛。“流浪”这个概念中自我肯定多于自我反思，甚至带有某种自媚 (kitsch) 的色彩，“历史”在其中被弄得扁平而薄。

需要指出的一点是，相对于各种英雄神话叙事，“日常生活”代表着一个世俗化的新起点，虽具有一种挑战和刷新的性质，然而它本身包含着对于现有秩序的认同和妥协，有意或无意 (在很大程度上是“有意”) 削弱和阉割“反对/反抗”的政治含义，这个不在本文叙述范围之内。

1988年12月26日的《中国美术报》有标题文章《电视艺术片<大地震>将进入后期制作》，其中称“该片将与近期进入后期剪辑合成，力争明年初完成并在中央电视台播放”。但是后来好戏连台，温普林又去忙1989年2月5日于美术馆的“中国现代艺术展”，他事先得到通风报信，守株待兔般地在现场把最具冲击性的七个行为艺术全部拍到，估计后来免不了将所拍摄的带子东躲西藏，它们计划中也是《大地震》的组成部分。

目前已知，《大地震》有过一个初剪，时长两小时左右，其中除了有吴文光所说“几乎大的艺术行为都被拍摄到了”，而且还有车水马龙的北京街景：秀水街市场、友谊商店、出租车车列、前门饭店前的清洁工、王府井食品店等[81]。1989年春天，这个初剪版本在西班牙驻京使馆文化专员伊玛家中有过放映，时长将近两个小时，来了一些人观看，其中包括吴文光[82]。无论如何，这部《大地震》应该算作中国第一部独立制作的纪录片。

温普林因深度参与1989年的“六四”被警方四处追查，搜捕人员查遍他早已离开的中央美术学院、第二外国语学院，包括他东北父母老家和北京的新家，均寻他不见。他因此不得不流亡西藏，由此开启了对于西藏题材的关注和拍摄。1989年，他用16毫米胶片拍摄了《青朴》，记录了一个苦修者的圣地。1993年香港电影节和日本山形电影节选中《青朴》一片时，温普林仍然处于被追查状态，没有护照不能前往。当时的温普林真的用得上那句古老成语“亡命天涯”，他当然也不可能大摇大摆走进中央电视台的某个机房剪辑自己的片子。据他称，他在北京拍摄的影像经历过三次重大损失[83]。

吴文光记下了“八九·六四”之后回到北京的感觉：“重返的北京是一种寂静，一种大舞台空掉后的寂静。”[84]

尾声

在这篇“侦探”长文快要写完时，笔者有幸看到了由朱晓阳先生提供的三集《中国人》(1989)：《青年》、《艺人》和《功夫》。

《青年》由吴晟伟编导、张军摄像，努力体现八十年代中国青年人的面貌。在“告别过去，朝向未来”的年代里，年轻人有着一个十分瞩目的位置，他们同样也处在新与旧的冲突之中。这集的内容十分丰富，从普通人的就业、婚姻、共青团宣誓大会，到田壮壮正在拍摄的摇滚青年、街头霹雳舞、新的基督教信仰、长江漂流队、进城打工青年、出国热、公园里的英语角，应有尽有，然而却不显紊乱、有条有理。从形式上讲，可以看作纪录片和新闻评论片的结合。虽然还有画外解说，然而没有渲染的音乐。

高波以自动放弃统一分配的时代新青年，出现在《青年》这一集里。比较起《流浪北京》，在这部打算在中央台播

出的电视片里，高波所在的小屋比在《流浪北京》里要明亮许多，他的言谈、举止、服装、神情都显得更加正规和整洁，还有高波穿着西装背心参加摄影展的镜头，当然也提到了高波频繁搬家。但总的看上去，高波应该游走在主流社会和边缘社会之间，大体不出主流社会所能接受的范围。在对着镜头说话时，他也强调自己采取这样的生活方式，并不是出于对政府或社会的抵触情绪。1995年底吴文光在接受汪继芳采访时说到过，《流浪北京》一片中高波从屋内出来刷牙的这个镜头，是后来向吴晟伟要来的[85]。《青年》这一集的结尾，便以温普林“包扎长城”的这个活动作为高潮：在被耀眼白布捆绑的长城上面，有最具动感的舞蹈和盛齐的太极拳表演，共1分20秒左右。

《艺人》和《功夫》这两集均是吴文光、卢望平编导，卢望平摄影。《艺人》更加有特色，它拍得简直像一部电影。卢望平是一个很有经验和艺术修养的摄影师，他具备电影导演分镜头的思考，来现场构思拍摄。在拍摄第一个艺人剪纸艺人白凤兰时，卢望平充分使用了各种景别大小和角度的镜头，来进行电影语言般的敍事。比如以一个大远景镜头作为开始，在背景为黄土高原的山腰上，一个细小的人影背着柴禾在移动，有力地交代了人和环境的生存关系；接着另一大远景镜头，山坡上疏落排列的洞，交代居住环境；接着再切换至远景镜头，白凤兰在洞前拍打粮食。白凤兰拍打粮食的过程，被分解成几个景别的镜头序列：远景——特写——中景——远景，简明扼要，赋予了环境和人物在画框中的表现力。

镜头里被省略掉的时间与事件本身的延续性，可以视为电影与纪录片之间的张力。能否把这两者结合起来？对于河北杂技艺人吴金山的拍摄，卢望平灵活地使用了这两种方法。吴金山在表演杂技时，运用全景镜头，不间断肩扦跟随拍摄，等到够足够时间的长度和重复动作后，采取快速变换机位，选择不同角度和景别的镜头拍摄，包括表现观众人头攒动的高角度镜头等，当然不仅是卢望平一个人，现场应该拥有一个摄影团队提供帮助。这正是中了陈真说过的，当时的电视人也拥有当时正红透全国的张艺谋、陈凯歌般的雄心壮志。

《艺人》共摄入四位艺术家，除了白凤兰、吴金山、还有战友京剧团的京剧演员叶少兰，《流浪北京》5位中，只有牟森一人出现在《艺人》这一集里。看得出来，对于牟森的拍摄最为自然和放松，编导吴文光对于牟森有一种遭遇和命运上的感知。镜头前的牟森没有谈论自己的苦恼、租住房屋等，主要谈的是对于戏剧的热情，结合排练场地的简陋，能深切感到牟森为了理想的艰苦付出。摄像镜头不仅告诉观众牟森在拍戏，而且展示了牟森怎么拍戏，有纪录片的风格，其中的解说词比《青年》更节制。《艺人》中有些镜头，尤其是演员排练时的富有激情地大段朗诵，与《流浪北京》中有重合。

不管从内容到结构上，《功夫》都是一部难以理解的片子，这里不排除主创人员对他们所拍摄的东西缺乏理解。这样一些内容不知道为什么走到了一起——主要靠耍嘴皮子、真假莫辨的天桥把式、久居深山修炼的崂山道士、为观察练功胆汁变化在自己身上做实验的气功师、少林寺武功学校及俗家弟子武校、河北沧州两个民间武馆（拳社）、公园里面中了魔似的气功联系者，以及当时红遍大江南北的气功师张香玉带功讲座的混乱现场，有人神志不清地手舞足蹈等，谁要是能想出它们之间的关系，或者让它们之间形成关系，那得是一枚天才的大脑！这里面大概有一条思路是，所有这些都是超出日常生活的特异现象，是在意识形态真空之后，民间正在流传的各种替代品、准信仰。

朱晓阳记得拍摄第一次张大力是在他于外交公寓某个老外家里的画展，算来时间应该在进入1989年之后。称之为“画展”，其实就是把他的水墨画挂在女主人家里，墙上、窗户、柜子、茶几、电视机和双人床，到处都是，进进出出的老外们见到哪幅喜欢，当场交易，一手交钱一手交画。此种场景让此前有过拍摄画展经验的摄影师卢望平一度感到迷惑。张大力还提出希望多拍一些他的画，这样他以后就直接放给买家看，不需要这么一张张铺得到处都是。

吴文光说起过，拍摄素材东一盘、西一盘，被弄丢了许多，包括张大力在老外家办画展。张大力于1989年7月离开北京。弄丢了的还有张慈的一些生活镜头[86]。高波的另一些镜头，是吴文光在89年下半年回到北京之后继续拍摄的，朱晓阳不在场。

“八九”之后，本来为建国40周年献礼的8集《中国人》一概封存。运动结束之后，电视台也开始驱逐他们原本十分信任和渴望引进的朱晓阳这样的人。《中国人》剧组于1989年8月正式解散，驻扎于财政部招待所的剧组撤销[87]。89年下半年，朱晓阳也曾短期回到北京，报考了一个托福班。他于1990年去了澳大利亚。

《流浪北京》的5位人物中，有三位出现在朱晓阳的报告文学《北京拉丁区》里。除了高波与牟森，还有一位——来自云南的张夏平，她少年时与文慧一道在舞校，与文慧、吴文光也是多年的老朋友。吴文光说，她并不是典型的盲流艺术家，她并没有自己租住过北京的民房，总是有朋友给她帮忙提供住处。她1989年下半年从昆明来北京办画展，是与重返京城的吴文光结伴而行。也是因为办画展，她想让吴文光拍些资料片。张夏平对于文慧吴文光的信任，与张慈对于朱晓阳吴文光的信任一样。准备画展期间，原本患有“情感性精神障碍”的张夏平决定不吃药，让自己的精神自由飞翔，然而她却重重地倒在了地上。吴文光的镜头捕捉到了她躺在画展室地上，用当年时髦和混乱的词汇肆意发挥的过程。她特殊的精神状态，让她与张慈一样，在镜头面前成为不可控制的。

然而，正是张夏平这位被视为最自然出镜的女性这里，人们也许恰恰听到了某个不自然的讯息。与前四位不同，拍摄张夏平是在“六·四”之后，那么她与前四位之间隔着一个巨大的历史事件，它应该被视为一道鸿沟，这个国家和许多人们的命运因此而发生深刻改变。说实话，吴文光当时无力承担和不能处理这道鸿沟，他采取了回避的做法。然而在今天，我们需要把影片中有关张夏平的部分，有关张夏平与前四位的无缝衔接，视为对于巨大历史创痛进行抹平和缝合的努力。这也帮助说明，所谓“日常生活”这个概念同样也可能是一个神话，它销蚀、消解历史的功能不可忽视，乃至对历史进行无痕消音。

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注释

1 崔卫平《诗歌与日常生活——对先锋诗的沉思》，《文艺争鸣》1995年第4期。
2 吴文光《流浪北京》，《十月》1994年第二期，p.80。
3 于坚：“他开始只是由于兴趣，却在无意中创造了历史”。于坚《尚义街6号——生活、纪录片、人》，《十月》2013年第四期，p.63。
4 朱晓阳在《象征与暗流》第二章中写道：“1988年4月，当我为中央电视台建国40周年节目撰稿时……”，p74这应该是比较准确的着手《中国人》的时间。
5 陈真为《《被遗忘的影像：中国新纪录片的滥觞》一书所写的序言，中国社会科学出版社,2006，p.2。
6 汪继芳《二十世纪最后的浪漫——北京自由艺术家生活实录》，1999，p.190。

7 李幸采访陈真, 见《被遗忘的影像: 中国新纪录片的滥觞》, p.27。
8 同上, p.17。
9 同上, p.31。
10 朱晓阳《象征与暗流》, 台湾稻禾出版社,1994, 第二章《“自由化”与“边缘化”: 朱的个案》, p.75。
11 同上, p.100。
12 朱晓阳《中国人——奔向天堂, 前言: 被枪毙的电视片和它的拍摄札记》香港《九十年代》,1991年第3期, p.80。
13 朱晓阳、张庆国《昆明尚义街6号遥远年代的傲慢与孤独》,《滇池》, 2015年11期。
14 汪继芳、李幸编著《身在幕后》, 江苏文艺出版社, 2002,p.11。
15 王迟《中国“新纪录运动”理论献疑》中注释72:“1994年8月31日, 身在澳大利亚的朱晓阳给吴文光写了一封信, 后经朋友之手转给了吴。信中谈到《流浪北京》的创作过程:‘我记得的实情是你读到《北京拉丁区》的手稿后, 即要求我与你合作以《北京拉丁区》为蓝本去做一电视片。我知道在此之前你已表示我们应利用《中国人》的剧组器材拍一部自己的副产品。”见香港《二十一世纪》,2019年6月号。
16 吴文光《流浪北京》,《十月》1994年第二期, p.90。2000年6月, 吴文光在接受吕新雨的访谈时, 说了同样的故事, 即住进真武庙招待所是因为农民企业家的项目, 见吕新雨《纪录中国——当代中国新纪录运动》, 三联书店2003, p.6。朱晓阳于2020年2月3日与我的微信中提到,“筹备乡镇企业家没有驻地。在筹不到钱后, 老吕找台领导批20万建中国人组, 用这笔钱租财招房间。”其中“老吕”指吕斌, 当时中央电视台对外部副主任, 拍板拍摄《中国人》并担任其总编导。“财招”即吴文光说的位于北京西城区真武庙的财政部招待所。顺便地说, 起先“乡镇企业”的项目, 也是与中央电视台的对外部联系合作。
17 谷雨书苑第十八期分享会 (纪录片《流浪北京》) , 张慈 (4/12)https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s7Y15ZShrrI, 张慈对着镜头说:“三个月之后, 我就跟着这个老头, 我叫他爷爷到了美国。”张慈是那年8月份离开美国的, 由此而推算她去昆明休养的时间是5月份, 这与朱晓阳住进财政部招待所的时间是吻合的。
18 2020年11月20日张慈与我的微信。
19 吴文光自己写过:“88年开始拍它的时候,我还有导演恶习,给拍摄对象安排拍摄时间、安排做事、安排走路的路线和坐在门口的位置。 ……我问她“一般你起床先干什么? 先倒痰盂……”。见吴文光《我看我以前的纪录片》,《书城》, 2008年第6期。
20 2020年10月17日张慈与我的微信。
21 于坚《尚义街6号——生活、纪录片、人》,《十月》2013年第四期, p.63。
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27 昆明民间刊物《地火》, 1979年第一期。
28 朱晓阳:“《地火》他们那帮志同道合的朋友, 臭味相投, 我们半路杀进去, 跟他们不太一样。他们年纪大些, 三四十岁了, 我们才二十来岁。我们没具体经历过文革, 就是想学着写作, 老老实实地参加活动, 他们中的一些人, 大多数是些造反派啊, 这样那样之类, 想搞点政治, 天天揣摩着北京发生什么了。“见朱晓阳、张庆国《昆明尚义街6号遥远年代的傲慢与孤独》,《滇池》, 2015年11期。
29 于坚《尚义街6号——生活、纪录片、人》,《十月》2013年第四期。
30 邓启耀与笔者的微信交谈, 2020年10月31日。
31 于坚《尚义街6号——生活、纪录片、人》,《十月》2013年第四期。
32 温星《大观周刊》2007年第31期, 见云大中文系78级新浪博客, http://blog.sina.com.cn/ydzwxqbj.
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34 于坚《尚义街6号——生活、纪录片、人》, p.64。
35 2020年11月14日吴文光与我的微信。
36 《陈卡访谈录: 回望20世纪80年代昆明的文学骚动》, https://www.weibo.com/p/2304185a6e84630102wln9?mod=zwenzhang.

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54 吴文光《流浪北京》, p.87。
55 朱晓阳《象征与暗喻》, p.59。
56 朱晓阳于2020年11月12日回答笔者的问题。问: “《流浪北京》在拍摄之前显然有话题设置, 比如吃、住、与房东的关系等, 这些问题, 是您与老吴一起设计的吗? ” 答: “《北京拉丁区》对这些部分都有涉及, 而且又有大纲, 因此在我参加的每次拍摄前不记得为此专门讨论过。”
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结局或开始—中国独立影像史前史切片研究
Ending or Starting—Researching the Fragments of the Pre-History of Chinese Independent Cinema

曹恺 CAO Kai

概要

本文从第一手原始素材切入，以温普林的《大地震》、吴文光的《流浪北京》、郝智强的《风》三部作品为切片研究样本，用一种非线性模式的媒体考古方式来介入对史料的梳理，使得“工作研究”取代“作品研究”和“作者研究”，从而更为完整、准确地呈现历史现场的内质。本文认为“中国独立影像浪潮”的史前起源，并非来自中国电影史谱系的内在进化与代际更迭，其“前波”意外地发生在当时最具有先锋力量的文化运动——“85新潮”之中。而1989年的天安门事件突如其来地打断了历史进程，使得滥觞之初的艺术家工作在瞬间消失，或仅以碎片形态依附存在于其他谱系中。通过文本发掘和媒体考古将这些历史碎片有机地缀连起来，推断出其中某些被遮蔽和湮没的事实，从而建立起中国独立影像史前史的时间轴，是本文写作的基本出发点。

关键词: 温普林、《大地震》、吴文光、《流浪北京》、郝智强、《风》、85新潮、西藏

Abstract

Based on first-hand research, this article employs a non-linear and media archaeological mode to investigate historical materials and research samples, in particular, Wen Pulin’s *The Big Earthquake*, Wu Wenguang’s *Bumming in Beijing* and Hao Zhiqiang’s *Wind*. It proposes to replace research on filmmakers and their films with research on their film-making process, in order to reveal the nature of the historical scene more comprehensively and precisely. This article argues that the Chinese independent film movement did not originate from internal evolution and generational change within the domain of Chinese cinema, but emerged accidentally out of the ‘85 Art Movement’, the most avant-garde cultural movement of the time. The 1989 Tiananmen Square protests abruptly halted this process; some ongoing projects disappeared quickly or only exist as fragments in other art fields. The goals of this article are to connect these historical fragments, infer some hidden or obscured facts, and establish the timeframe of the pre-history of Chinese independent cinema.

Keywords: Wen Pulin, The *Big Earthquake*, Wu Wenguang, *Bumming in Beijing*, Hao Zhiqiang, *Wind*, ‘85 Art Movement’, Tibet

我的肩上是风
风上是闪烁的星群
——北岛《结局或开始》

独立浪潮：一种历史意象的描述

对中国独立影像史前史的定位，无疑将被置于中国独立影像史的主体坐标之前。因此，在展开史前史时间轴之际，

本文面临的首要问题是——“中国独立影像史”这个概念是否已经存在？如果不存在，这个历史时间段该如何归结？如果已经存在，其存在的历史形态该如何被描述？

对于这一系列设问的回答，或许意味着一种“结局或开始”的双重走向，其“结局”不仅仅是一种观念桎梏的解脱，更代表着终结一种单一的公有制生产模式；而其“开始”既涉及到独立生产模式的兴起，更延续到其历史进程的当下发生。

对历史的描述，就一般方法论而言，需要沉溺于一种过去完成时态的语境之中。但事实并非完全如此，对于某些具有超验历史感知能力的参与者来说，往往在历史发生的瞬间就能够感悟到其未来的巨大价值和非凡意义。所以，“中国独立影像史”的概念，在其发轫之初就已经开始被书写，而笔者作为这一历史的亲历者，亦是忝列秉笔者之一。

在某种意义上，中国独立影像史的本质可以被归结为一种文化运动，其发生的历史境遇，有些类似于既往电影史中描述观念革命、语言鼎新、代际更迭的“新浪潮”。基于此，本文将以“中国独立影像浪潮”作为对中国独立影像史的意象性描述，用以指代过去二十年中独立影像生产与传播的整体形态，并将这一浪潮袭来之前风起云涌的时段（1980年代至1990年代）定义为其史前史。

既往对中国独立影像的史述研究，在历史原点上一般有两种设定，第一设定，是1988年到1990年，以某种独立生产机制在官方系统内产生为标志，具体案例为寄生于电视台体制内的“吴文光工作”、贴标于电影厂体制下的“张元工作”。第二设定，是2001年到2003年。以2001年北京实践社发起的“独立映像节”狂飙为肇始，到2003年三大民间独立影展（云之南纪录影像展、中国纪录片交流周、中国独立影像年度展）的崛起为标志。

这两种历史原点的设定在时间轴上都呈现为一个狭窄的时间段落，而非某个确切的时间坐标点。而其两者之间的差异，主要是在其历史后续的方式上的不同：前者主要表现在精神原力和样本范式上对之后的巨大影响力，而后者却一直作为存在实体直接延伸了时间轴的未来长度。对于历史研究者来说，可以选取这两者中任意一个原点，主要取决于其历史逻辑的基本判断与延用。

在笔者既往关于中国独立影像史的演讲中，经常将“2001”与“2003”这两个关键时间坐标归并为新千年以降的“中国独立影像浪潮”第一波，并针对其存在的形态特点，将之表述为一个意象性的名词——“潜流汹涌”。故本文将延续这一阐述方式，选用上文中的第二设定为“中国独立影像浪潮”发生的原点。

基于此，本文首先获取了中国独立影像史前史的后置坐标——2001年至2003年，虽然是一个具有漂移属性的坐标，但至少确定了一个可以让时间倒叙的原点，从而得以顺势而为地发掘出中国独立影像史前史的前置坐标——这也是本文着重落笔的主要方向。

史前史时间轴的溯源

既往的电影史研究，主要是基于语言符号学、精神分析学、意识形态学等以电影文本为主的研究方法。依照这种研究思维的惯性，对于中国独立影像史前史的书写，只可能被囿于电影史的固有框架。从这个书写方向，将中国独立影像史前史的上溯，无疑将抵达到人民共和国电影史的远端。

1949年以后、确切地说是1952年以后，中国电影生产逐次进入了社会主义公有制时代，八大国营电影制片厂（长春、上海、北京、八一、西安、珠江、潇湘、峨嵋）是这一模式的生产主体，新闻、科教、儿童、上海美术等作为类型生产的补充，共同构成了一种国家垄断的生产模式。而且这种垄断是一种全方位的垄断，从生产技术到生产设备，乃至到对生产原动力的控制——思想禁锢与观念束缚。在这样的情境下，从观念性到行动力，电影的独立生产都缺乏最基本的必要条件，即使存在过极个别具有独立性质的思想，也无法转换为生产行为，而仅仅能以文字形式传抄留世——这一部分出自个人自由写作的电影文本或具有电影文学倾向的文本后来被归类到了人民共和国地下文学领域，譬如北岛（赵振开）创作于1974年的独立文学作品《波动》，即是一部具有鲜明电影意象和画面构成的实验文体作品。除此之外，中国独立影像的生产乃至生产雏形在这一时期的历史外形基本缺失，展现为无任何记载的史前洪荒景观。

基于以上史实,从1950 年代前期一直到1980 年代中期,在长达三十余年的时间里,电影史在人民共和国时期的构成,事实上成为一部单一的电影宣教史——电影仅仅启动了其作为意识形态之视觉化工具的功效，而遮蔽了其巨大的艺术创造功能。为了达成这一宣教功效的最大化，“虚构”成为这一历史时期的主流样式，叙事电影（包括动画叙事电影）的生产几乎完全覆盖了人民共和国电影史，在“剧情虚构”之外，“纪录虚构”成为了一种特殊存在，主要体现在新闻报道和科教技术两个生产方向，此类纪录电影充斥着大量“虚构”和“半虚构”的画面。

意识形态主导下的电影生产模式在 1980 年代中晚期产生了内部异化，首先是在美学形态上出现了非主流倾向，一批被贴上“探索电影”标签的作品在语言层面上撬动了固有意识形态的基石,电影生产第一次出现了某种离心力倾向,这种力量的惯性在 1989 年之后并未消减,个人独立创作意识在生产体制内部进一步觉醒,从而导致了 1990 年代“地下电影”[2] 发生以及“新纪录片运动”[3] 的兴起。这些历史现象出现在中国独立影像浪潮之前，具有某种“前波”的象征，却共同构成了中国独立影像史前史的时间轴。

遵循这一历史逻辑的的线性发展，也是一直以来关于中国独立影像史前史溯源的一种基本方法——由此展开了基于电影人代际更迭的“第六代导演”研究、基于社会情境探讨的“都市电影”[4]研究、基于生产传播方式的“地下电影”研究等等。所有以上的研究都发生在电影史的内部，并逐渐成为一种通识性的研究方法。

史前史前置坐标的探究

以往电影史的研究与编撰，基本上依赖于以胶片为媒介、虚构为文本的作品样本，一系列作品阵列构成了历史基本框架。近年来，随着媒体考古作为一种新的研究方向，电影作为一种古典媒介，其历史谱系研究面向的宽度也得到了扩展——包括向内扩展和向外扩展。在电影史内部的扩展，不但将非虚构性叙事电影的研究提高到了新的高度，而且将以叙事电影为主体的方向扩延到非叙事，把科教电影、实验电影、动画电影等并列为同等重要度的研究对象，改变了“电影史=叙事电影史=虚构叙事电影史”的惯性书写模式；而向外的扩展，将体现在媒体样式的扩展，胶片不再成为唯一的媒介对象，录像带将具有同等重要的研究价值——从这个角度上说，“电影”与“胶片” 不再是一个可以通假的共享名词。

而对于“中国独立影像浪潮”的整体媒介状况而言，以录像带作为载体的生产要远甚于胶片创作，几乎可以说，从史前史的“前波”时期到正史开端的“潜流汹涌”时期，录像带（包括1997年后的数字录像带）是最主要的创作媒介。某种程度上，这也是本文摒弃“独立电影”之词而一以贯之使用“独立影像”这个概念的基本理由。

在既定的历史文献材料中采样，中国独立影像史前史的前置坐标一般会有两种设定，其一是以张元的黑白剧情电影《妈妈》（胶片媒介）为原点，其二是以吴文光的纪录片《流浪北京》（磁带媒介）为原点，这两部作品都制作完成于1990年——这是一个明确而清晰的时间坐标点。

以《妈妈》为原点的设定，符合以虚构性叙事电影作为电影史主线的研究方法；但若以《流浪北京》为设定原点，在某种意义上，更符合“独立”纯粹性，这主要取决于其最终标签的设定。无论是《妈妈》还是《流浪北京》，虽然在生产模式上已经具备了独立性，在生产资料上都没有能摆脱对体制的依赖，当然，这也与生产资料的国家垄断性质有关。这两部作品的根本区别还是在于其“独立”标签的性质。《妈妈》最终以购买“西安电影制片厂”的厂标而获得其合法性，但《流浪北京》始终未能有任何官方身份，“独立”成为其唯一标签。

这也是既往独立影像史研究者对《流浪北京》的一贯定位，因为其观念的独立性、作品的完整性而被写作为多种影像历史面向的起点——新纪录片运动的起点、独立纪录片的起点、地下电影的起点等等。在本文的凡例设定下，将其认定为独立影像史前史前置坐标，似乎并无疑议。

但是，如果把采样的范畴扩大，而不再仅仅局限于样本的作品完整性，而将关注点转移到作者、确切地说是关注到作者的工作，将其工作作为一个采样对象，进行样本的切片研究，那么，更多的新的研究可能性将出现，而具体到独立影像史前史的前置端点，也不会在被局限于1990年这个时间点上，而出现了向时间轴负极继续移动的可能性。

这种研究方法在某种程度上暗合了媒体考古学的方法论。媒体考古的主要在于拓展历史主线之外的非线性进程，把线形脉络扩展为网状脉络，不单纯依赖于对完整的物理性材料的发掘，而是延展到文献档案所内存的知识情境和认知情境，从而发掘与清理出媒体未发生或未完全发生的过去、未实现的计划等多种存在。

由此，使得研究对象出现了变化，即从作品研究、作者研究转换为对工作研究：把对作品的研究转变为对某一工作目标的研究，这一工作目标是否最终完成却并不重要；把对作者的主体研究转变为对作者在某一特定时期的工作研究，在其工作进程的横切面上展开考古与发掘。

样本建立及其存在形态

无论如何，对于“中国独立影像浪潮”整体描述的关键词，在于对“独立”这个词的涵义的理解。对于本文而言，“独立”的界定不仅仅在于“独立之思想、自由之精神”的观念性，也涉及其生产模式的“独立”，在某种意义上，甚至涉及到传播模式的“独立”。依照这样的一个定义，去发掘史料，可以将史料归结为几种“独立”性质程度不一的材料。其常量是原始动机的观念独立、生产方式的行动独立；其变量在于生产资料的使用，主要是在国家垄断的状况下所呈现的不同生产形态。

在此词义限定的条件下，可供选取的历史样本就显得相对贫瘠和单薄，本文遴选了三件样本作为本文研究的主要切片，从作品角度上而言分别是纪录片《流浪北京》、纪录片《大地震》、实验动画片《风》。

样本之一，《流浪北京》正式全称应该写作《流浪北京：最后的梦想者》，但绝大部分时候，无论是口述还是书写，都省略了标题的后半部分，本文将遵循此惯例，继续沿用《流浪北京》指称之。笔者最早在1990年代中期，从友人处获得《流浪北京》VHS录像带拷贝一盒，得以观全片。该片除了在海外众多国际电影节得以公开放映外，在国内从

来没有公开播放过，一直以私下拷贝的方式在文化领域内广为流传，传播方式接近于1970年代的“手抄本”。一直到2000年以后，《流浪北京》的DVD版本在国内正式发行，加之多种盗版的推波助澜，使得该片得以完全进入公众视野。

样本之二，《大地震》作为一部纪录片作品究竟是否存在，一直是一个历史的疑问。《大地震》第一次被公开报道，是“中国美术报”1988年第52期头版文章《电视艺术片〈大地震〉将进入后期制作》，同期还有一篇作者温普林的自述文章《世纪末的“巴洛克”——编导的废话》，简约介绍了摄制情况：“这是一部以画画人的眼睛看世界的电视片。从编导、制片、美术、摄影到大部分参与创作的人都是画画的出身。因而从某种意义上来说它也是一件美术作品。”然而，因为某些因素，《大地震》似乎并未进入后期制作，亦未有成片面世——这里的“某些因素”是指1989年后温普林出走西藏。但据温本人的回忆，《大地震》在1989年6月之前已经完成了一个片长约2小时的初剪版本，做过一次内部的私人放映，地点是在西班牙外交人员伊玛（其夫为崔健乐队的打击乐手刘效松）寓所。之后，在温逃亡期间，这个初剪版本与部分拍摄素材在辗转寄存的过程中离奇地迷失了。

样本之三，郝智强的实验动画片《风》，是笔者在研究中国实验媒体艺术考古的过程中的一个偶然发现。这部作品最初呈现在笔者面前的是一个MPGE格式的视频文件，片长8分24秒，4:3标清画幅，配乐默片。根据对画面色彩和质量的分析，大致可以确定是通过胶片介质转制为为广电级录像带，再由录像带进行数字采集而生成为此视频文件。笔者根据片尾字幕确定了其出品年代为1988年，并考证出片头字幕中的主创“楚汉”系郝智强的笔名，这是他当年在北京电影学院的毕业创作，他一个人承担了全片导演、原画、制作等几乎全部工作。在互联网无法查寻到任何关于动画片《风》的信息，这是一部完全被历史湮没和遗忘的作品。

由此可见，历史文献样本所具有的多种形态，很多时候是不完整的形态。对其观察与考量，有时候并不能从作品本体出发，而需要围绕作品的周边文本，进行立体式的触摸和探究。

第一种形态：具有完整的作品本体——胶片拷贝、录像带、或以上两种媒介的数字转制文件；保留有完整的作品档案；有创作背景的文本阐述或者作者本人相关访谈；已经进入历史研究范围，已有研究文本或著作产生。

第二种形态：作品本体因故迷失或仅留存不完整（破损、残缺）的媒介形态；其余同第一种形态。

第三种形态：作品本身未完成，仅仅以素材方式存在；有作品档案（脚本、台本、场记本等）；其余同第一种形态。

第四种形态：具有完整的作品本体存在，作品档案基本完整，但因为各种历史因素，未能公之于众，处在被历史湮没的状态；缺乏作品背景资料和作者自述文本，在研究领域基本呈空白状态。

《流浪北京》具有上文论及的第一种形态，虽然对此片的探讨早已经成为独立影像研究的一门显学，但笔者依旧希望在一个更为广阔的文化范畴内来观照之；具有第二种或三种形态的是《大地震》，在既往关于独立影像史或纪录片史的研究中，这部作品仅仅是作为一个未完成文本而被一带而过，其历史存在的形态和价值其实都是值得再深入细究的；具有第四种形态的实验动画片《风》，是笔者近年来媒体考古工作的一大发现，对其发掘的意义将是本文探讨的一个重点。

《流浪北京》与《风》因为其完整的作品形态，可以从作品分析角度介入；而《大地震》作为作品，无论是否曾经存

在过，在当下都只是一个概念上的文本档案。所以，如果从作者的工作角度来描述，可能更为确切，分别可以被描述为：温普林的纪录片工作、吴文光的纪录片工作、郝智强的实验动画片工作。

吴文光工作切片：开启寄生于体制的生产模式

吴文光在北京，肖全摄影，1990年代早期

吴文光关于《流浪北京》的工作始自1988年，完成于1990年。截止在《流浪北京》出品三十周年之际，因为其完整的作品呈现、积极的国际交流、广泛的媒体公开信息，所以，无论是DVD介质的影像实体，还是网络视频文件的虚拟存在，它都已经成为一部几乎完全浮出水面的“地下电影”。在中国独立纪录片历史研究的领域，其也被认定为一个明确的始发坐标。在这样的景况下，可以进一步探讨和研究的是《流浪北京》的生产动机及工作模式，虽然这并不是一个新的研究方向，但如果从媒体考古学的某些角度来审视，或许会得到某种新的启迪。

在吴文光本人的自述中，《流浪北京》从1988年8月开始拍摄，持续到1989年底，拍摄媒介是广播电视级录像——按照1980年代的技术史定位，基本可以确定为U-Matic制式录像带。拍摄方式是“朋友帮忙，在各个剧组‘蹭’不花钱的机器”[5]。吴的这段话揭示了几层含义：一，公有制生产模式下，影像设备完全被国家垄断；二，这一生产模式是有缝隙的，这种破绽是可以利用的；三，吴通过“朋友”利用了这一缝隙，获取了“独立”成果。

那么，这个“朋友”是谁呢？吴文光在对汪继芳的访谈中说过，有一个教他做电视的“老师”叫陈真，当时，他是央视纪录片《中国人》的制片人，吴文光作为编外人员正参与其中[6]。同样面对汪继芳的采访，陈真透露了拍摄《流浪北京》的某些历史境况：“当时《中国人》有四台最高级的摄像机，磁带随便用，甚至可以带回家去都不用交，每天还管你饭，还有住，还有车，所以他随便拍。”[7]对此，吴文光对汪继芳也确认了他使用的摄像机是当时国内最好的设备——Ikegami（池上）79D[8]。

在《中国人》的总撰稿人朱晓阳的陈述中，印证了以上事实——“……开始做事，电视台投资，出设备出人员，豪华得很。……住宾馆，摄像机是‘池上’机器，当时最好的，两台‘池上’机。”[9]其时，央视国际部在筹划一部总题为《中国人》的系列纪录片，因被列入建国40周年献礼片计划而获得央视20万元的拍摄资金。基于此，朱晓阳得以在1988年中旬邀吴文光进入剧组担任外聘编导，对此，朱如是说：“拍《中国人》电视的时候，我写了个报告文学，内容是所谓的‘北京拉丁区’，就是盲流艺术家这些人，给当时北京一个叫《开拓》的杂志用。吴文光就说，拿你的文章来拍个片子好了，我两个做编导，一起拍。刚好《中国人》剧组有机器，有带子，就拿来拍。我们拍了张慈、张大力、牟森、张夏平、高波这些，拍了五个人嘛。后来没拍完，1990年以后我就出国了，吴文光接着做完。”[10]朱的这段话，可以说清晰地还原了吴文光工作的初始动机和生产模式。

陈真认为，“吴文光的《流浪北京》就是《中国人》的副产品”，“他是等于以拍《中国人》为主的情况下自己偷拍了很多，他做的是小片子，套拍了一个大片子。”[11]最终的结果是，《中国人》在制作完成后未能通过内部审查，而湮没于

《流浪北京》VHS 录像带视频截图, 吴文光, 69 分钟, 1990 年

历史至今，反而是吴文光私自“套拍”的《流浪北京》成为了历史开端的原点。

《流浪北京》的生产模式，可以简单看作是公有制的一种微观渗漏。吴文光作为部分进入体制的编外人员，正好处在一个进退自如的灰色地带——既可以保留独立生产的原创力，又可以合理地依赖于体制内的供给。这种供给包含了两个部分：生产技术与生产工具，在生产技术上，吴文光依赖于陈真和朱晓阳，在生产工具上，吴文光依赖于中央电视台以及其他相关的国家电视机构。

作为一部寄生在体制内，依赖国家生产资料生产出来的独立纪录片，《流浪北京》产生的历史机缘与某些特定的历史时间段有关，许多因素都是不可复制和再现的。其开启的寄生式生产模式，虽然并不具备普遍意义上的参照性，但依旧成为一种经验样式而受到注意，在1990年代的独立影像生产中出现了相当一部分寄生的变体。

温普林工作切片：独立个人与集群的多样态生产

关于温普林工作的切片，直接从具体的工作时间线开始切入，是比较简单的一种方法。温普林的《大地震》工作从1987年开始，前期拍摄基本于1989年2月截止，但因一直没有完成版的作品公之于众，所以，温普林的工作结局迄今还是一个待考状态。

温普林的工作方式，是一种以个人为发起、以集群为发生的生产方式，在生产样态呈现上会按照记录现场的不同而产生差异。早在中央美院史论系就读时，温普林就联合了北京八大艺术院校，组建了一个“中国大学生艺术团”，其工作涉及实验性与先锋性的话剧、舞剧、绘画、音乐等各种艺术形态。在此过程中，温发现了“现场”对于艺术史的重要性，从而产生了将这些艺术现场记录下来的想法——这也是纪录片《大地震》的初始创作动机。之后，在《大地震》的生产过程中，温普林的个人创作意志通过集群工作方式得以实施。根据刘晓茜对对温普林的访谈[12]，《大地震》的摄制团队一直是一个可变数，蒋樾当时是摄影之一，甚至段锦川也临时进入过摄影名单。

根据笔者对既有考古材料的分析研究，温普林关于《大地震》的前期拍摄工作大致可以截取到三枚具体切片标本。

切片标本一。1987年4月5日（清明节），温普林在唐山开机拍摄舞剧《大地震》，摄影师是蒋樾（中国戏曲学院的应届毕业生），该舞剧在当时属于先锋性的肢体表演艺术，由现代舞者张明伟（北京舞蹈学院首届舞蹈编导专业学生）为纪念“唐山大地震”十二周年而创作，选择清明节拍摄也具有某种祭奠的意味。而这部舞剧的名字，后来也被挪用为整部纪录片的作品名字——这是纪录片《大地震》的缘起。

切片标本二。1988年10月15日至16日，温普林以拍摄纪录片《大地震》为名，在慕田峪长城组织了“告别二十世纪”大型现代艺术活动。借此机会制造了“包扎长城”等一系列集体及个体行为艺术，以及现代舞、京剧、摇滚乐、拓印、演讲等具有现场性的艺术展演。温普林及其摄制团队以多机位的方式记录了一天一夜的狂欢式活动。这是纪录片《大地震》的构成主体。

切片标本三。1989年2月5日（农历大年三十），“中国现代艺术展”在中国美术馆开幕，这是中国前卫艺术第一次进入国家级美术馆。温普林及其摄制团队拍摄了开幕式流程，并着重拍摄记录了期间上演的七个行为艺术。其中包括具有象征代表意义的“肖鲁枪击事件”[13]。这些内容并不在《大地震》的原拍摄计划内，却极可能被作为全片的高潮与

《大地震》艺术现场, 慕田峪长城, 1988 年

结尾。

事实上,《大地震》的拍摄动机、摄制过程以及无意中形成生产模式, 可能具有更为复杂的历史境遇。在“切片标本一”中, 拍摄舞剧《大地震》的经费是由温普林和蒋樾私人共同出资约400元解决的, 但是随着拍摄的继续、尤其是“切片标本二”中“包扎长城”计划的酝酿, 生产资金成为了一个现实瓶颈。在这样的情况下, 作为一个积极的行动主义者, 温普林说动了《河殇》的总策划、“走向未来”丛书主编金观涛。当时的金观涛正在筹建民间学术团体“21世纪研究院”, 温普林的计划与他的某些理念不谋而合。温普林后来的合作者臧红花在文中记录了当时的场景: “金先生问道: 你的活动需要多少资金? 温普林说: 您能给我多少支持? 金先生转而问他的助手陈越光: 我们账上有多少钱? 陈越光回答: 还有28000元。温普林: 够了! 陈越光笑了一下: 总得给我们帐上留点儿钱吧。于是, 温普林拿到了27000元。”[14]

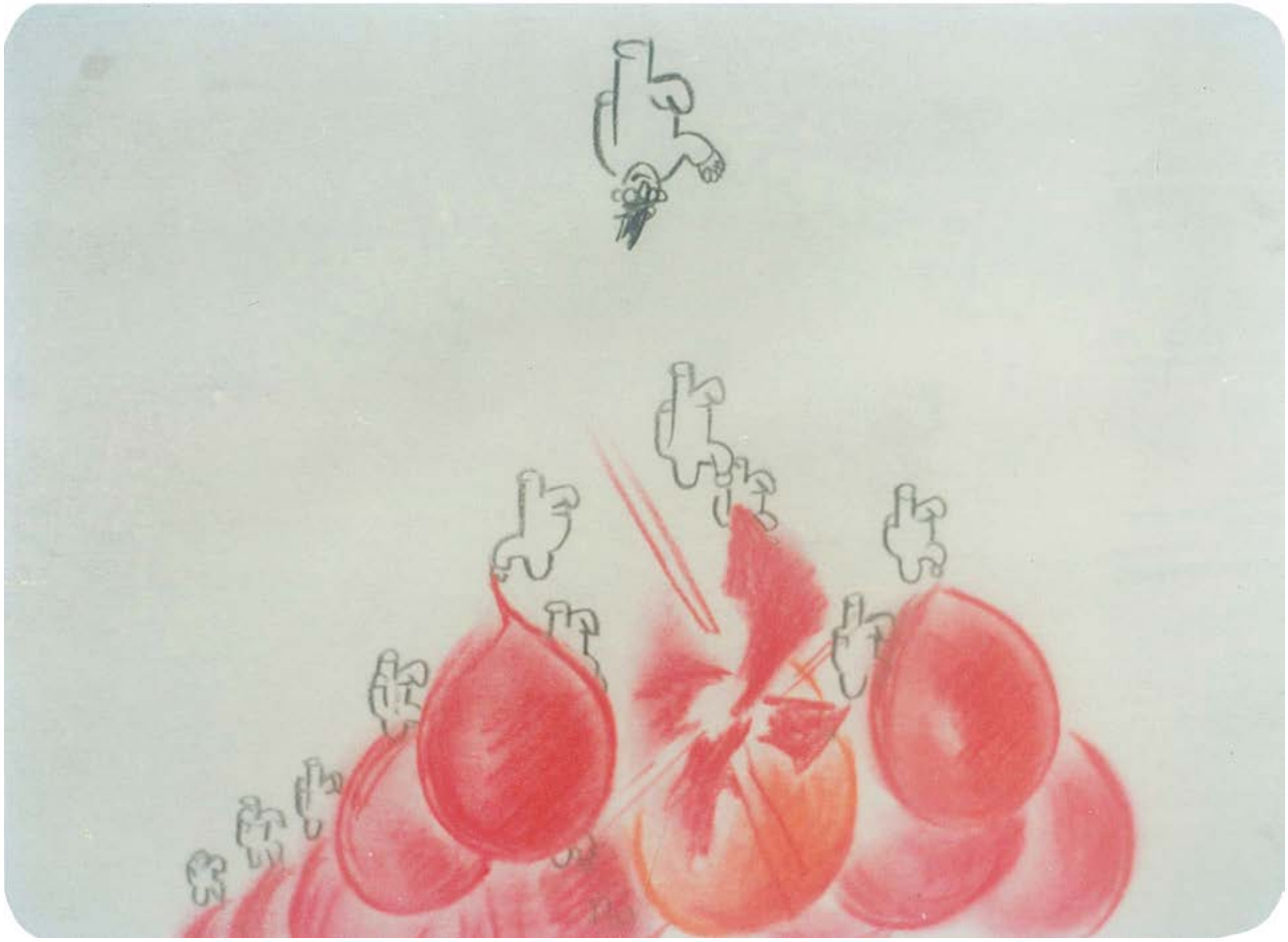
从1988年秋冬到1989年早春,《大地震》的摄制席卷了北京文化圈, 许多人都在期盼着这部作品的完成。陈真后来回忆道: “那个时候《大地震》正在拍摄中, 拍摄当时的各种艺术, 整个北京全知道, 几乎大的行为艺术都被拍摄了。《大地震》本身也是一个大的行为艺术。”[15]

如前文所述,《大地震》当年的后期制作工作及其初剪版本已经迷失不可考, 但依旧有历史遗留的文献可以实证温普林这一阶段的工作。根据笔者对《大地震》一页原始场记纸质材料的考古分析。可以明确看到片名及其定位——“电视艺术片《大地震》初编场记”, 场记做的十分详细, 包括拍摄内容、, 时长、景别、条数等等, 也记录了“脱磁严重”、“脱磁较少”等素材质量状况, 并附注有摄影师的名字。其工作素材带是一套VHS录像带, 但场记本详细记录了素材所在U-matic带的时码位置。

1989年的“六四事件”中断了温普林正在进行中的工作, 数年后, 因各种不可抗力的意外因素, 当年拍摄的素材仅保留不足三分之一, 温普林在此基础上剪过一部不见经传的短片《前卫十年》。事实上, 有关《大地震》的画面最后公之于众的, 是在温普林另外一部关于中国行为艺术的短纪录片《中国行动》中, 从这个角度上来说,《中国行动》可以说是《大地震》的变种替代品。

郝智强工作切片: 学院背景下的混合制独立生产

《风》做为一部生产于1980年代末期的动画片, 具有强烈而鲜明的实验性质, 从语言美学来看, 具有实验电影性质; 从生产模式上看, 具有独立制片性质。郝智强从1987年下半年进入该片的工作程序, 到1988年中期基本完成绘制工作, 在1988年底完成全部后期工作。



《风》动画原画，硫酸纸上色粉笔，郝智强，1988年

但是，如果探寻《风》的缘起，必须必须回到更早的1984年。那年北京电影学院美术系第一次以动画专业的名义招生，设置了两个专业方向，分别是动画制作和动画导演，前者招生人数较多，后者一共只招四个人，郝智强是其中之一。

进入1987年，动画导演班在确定毕业创作方案时，其中三位毕业生计划合作一件作品，而郝智强本人却单独提交一个短片创作方案，这也意味着郝必须凭借一己之力，完成一部实验短片的构思、文案、脚本、原画、背景、动作等全部工作。

郝智强在北京电影学院学生宿舍，1988 年

动画片制作的特点决定了其生产方式的特殊性，在1980年代，上海美术电影制片厂是中国唯一的生产基地，除此之外，仅有少数官方电视台具有非常简单的动画生产能力，基本是用于片头和广告等节目包装。作品性的动画生产，对于个人独立制片来说几乎是不可能的事情。

对此，在具体制作上，郝智强选用了一种非常规的的生产方式——色粉笔绘制于硫酸纸。这一方面是受到条件制约，另一方面也是郝智强受到前卫思潮的影响，不愿意按部就班遵循传统赛璐珞胶片的制作方法，试图在美

学和工艺上都有所突破。“当时就是要与历史划开距离，不管从内容上，包括形式和技术上，这在当时是很决绝的一种方式——我不按照传统的工艺流程做，而是按照自己的方式。”[16]

从1987年提交创作方案，到1988年绘制完成，郝智强前后花费了近一年时间。郝本人担当了脚本、原画、设计等主要工作，在绘制动作部分时，也得到了其他同学的一些协助，最终的总画稿数量达一万二千余张。郝智强的工作因此受到当时电影学院副院长谢飞的肯定，被学院定为优秀毕业创作，并给予后期制作的经费。除了35mm彩色胶片的摄制和拷贝费用外，郝智强把其余经费主要用于原创音乐上，延请了专业人士担任编曲、演奏、录音。《风》全片的最终完成时间是在1988年底。最后一共制作了两套35mm彩色胶片拷贝，由电影学院和郝智强个人各自存留一份——这在某种意义上，也比较完整地阐释了《风》本身的混合制的生产属性。

具体分析而言，当时的动画制作需要更多的外部条件，其中不可替代的一个因素，是把个人手绘转换为电影胶片介质，可以进入传播系统而抵达社会人群。其中最重要的是转换的摄录器材与耗材（电影胶片），这些资源属于国家体制内的垄断生产材料。所以，在胶片媒体时代尚无法产生真正意义上的独立动画作品。

但如果忽略这最后的一道媒介转换流程，这依旧是一部从观念到语言上都完全独立制作的实验动画，也是目前为止发掘出的第一部实验动画。如果放到更为宏大的谱系中去审视，这甚至可能是迄今为止最早的中国实验电影。

《风》是个人（导演本人）与体制（学院）的混合生产，是当时特定历史条件下的产物，具有某种不可替代的历史机缘性质。

重返“85新潮”的历史现场

以温普林、吴文光、郝智强在1980年代后期的工作作为样本切片，除了并置参照观察之外，还有一种研究方法就是直接将三件切片叠加审视，这时候，某种文化基因的相似点和共通点就凸显出来了。确切而言，就是在三者的工作背后所竖立的恢弘巨大的文化运动场景——“85新潮”。

“85新潮”——更完整的说法是“85美术新潮运动”，其思想根源始自1978年的“北京之春”，西单民主墙运动以其深刻而广泛的影响力波及到了艺术领域。从1979年“星星画会”的崛起开始，西方现代主义艺术思潮以前所未有的力度涌入中国，极速改变着年轻一代的中国艺术创造者，从而产生了一场波及整个中国大陆的艺术运动。

从1985年到1990年，这一时间段后来被当代艺术史称作“85新潮”时期，标志着中国当代艺术的发生与文化转型的开始。具体表现在艺术观念的多元性、艺术生产方式的独立性、艺术创造者的自由性。由此产生了各种全新的艺术观念激烈碰撞，各地青年艺术群体层出不穷，行为艺术、装置艺术、大地艺术、录像艺术等西方后现代主义艺术形式被全面铺陈开来，新的艺术价值观开始逐步形成。

“85新潮”作为一场整体性的文化运动，虽然发生在以美术为主体的当代艺术领域，但在表达媒介上不再仅限于既往的绘画、雕塑等古典媒介形态，以电子媒介为代表的录像艺术也开始出现——1988年，油画专业出身的前卫艺术家张培力摒弃了既往的绘画手段，用一套从电视台借来的U-matic摄录设备完成了中国第一件录像艺术作品《30×30》。

“85新潮”的边界的延展是广泛而遥远的，录像艺术的全新出现具有某种拓荒意义，但对1980年代整个的文化启蒙运动而言，这种拓荒也是全方位的，包括了摇滚乐、独立纪录片、实验动画片等多种领域。而且这种延展不仅仅是思想观念上的延展，甚至可以深刻地改变很多种固有的艺术生产方式。

基于此，可以大胆地作出一个推断，那就是中国独立影像史前史的前端，并非一定要在电影史谱系内部推算出其坐标点，如果打破这种线性思维的惯性，而在一个更为宏观、更为立体、更为悬浮的框架内来重新演算和推定这一坐标，也许会有许多意想不到的收获。那么，如果重返“85新潮”的历史现场，是否可以找到中国独立影像史前史的工作痕迹呢？毫无疑问，以温普林、吴文光、郝智强各自工作为切片的三件样本，已经明白地肯定了这种可能性。

《风》VHS 转数字视频截图，楚汉（郝智强），8 分 20 秒，1988 年

首先，《大地震》本身是“85新潮”的直接产物，温普林本人就身处“85新潮”浪尖，作为风云一时的弄潮儿，温所有的拍摄有工作，都是对“85新潮”历史现场的第一手记录文献，作为一位出身于美术史论专业的纪录片工作者而言，其最终目的就是试图以影像来撰写一部历史——可能是前卫美术史，也可能就是被中国独立影像浪潮的前波所裹挟的某种史前史。

《流浪北京》可以看作是是“85新潮”的衍生产物。吴文光所拍摄的对象如张大力、牟森等基本上都是“85新潮”的不同程度的参与者，一部分人的名字最早出现在“中国美术报”1988年第44期发表的陈卫和《北京“盲流”艺术家印象》一文中，他们之所以获得“盲流”身份，正是因为“85新潮”巨大影响力的裹挟，使得他们不能再回到既往的状态中。可以说，《流浪北京》整部片子的气质都被笼罩在“85新潮”的氛围之中。

相比较而言，《风》与“85新潮”没有直接关联，但是作为一部“画”出来的电影，从观念思想到形式风格都与当时前卫美术运动有着相通的血缘，更何况作者郝智强本人最早就出自中央美院附中，他的专业基础背景就是美术，他的同班同学中象刘小东、张尕等后来都是重要的当代艺术家。在郝智强的美院附中生涯里，最值得记忆的就是他意外遭遇了“星星美展”——1979年9月，在美院附中邻近的中国美术馆，中国最早的一群独立艺术家把他们的作品悬挂于外墙铁栅栏上，表达了对于艺术自由权利的抗争，其绘画观念的特立独行与绘画语言的狂放不羁，却给予少年郝智强很大的触动，深刻地影响了他后来的艺术思想。郝智强在北电学习动画时，正好是“85新潮”风起云涌之际，据郝智强本人阐述：“当时是身在美术新潮之中，确切点说是受到了当时那场文化觉醒运动的影响。”[17]郝智强本身虽然没有被卷入“85新潮”，但《风》在创作观念上的实验精神与绘制语言上的离经叛道，完全契合这一前卫文化运动

的潮流，在此意义上，《风》完全可以看作是“85新潮”的某种外延副产品。

相对电影系统被专制体制紧密束缚，对生产资料要求相对较低的美术系统显得更容易摆脱创作枷锁，各种可能性也显得更多，在思想层面上也走得更远。“85新潮”事实上是一次源自美术界，却波及到了几乎所有的艺术领域的思想史运动。支撑“85新潮”背景系统的是当时全新导入的哲学和文化学观念，而这些几乎同步发生的现象，都建立在1980年代中国新启蒙运动的时间线上。

“河殇”及其思想外溢

在梳理中国独立影像史前史的相关素材时，《河殇》是一个出现频率相对比较高的名词。1988年6月，央视播出的纪录片《河殇》在知识阶层引起巨大震撼，其波及面之广，几乎成为一种现象级的事件。支撑《河殇》全片观念的是旁白文本，主要来自当时思想界的苏晓康、王鲁湘、远志明等人，背后是聚集在“走向未来”丛书旗下的文化精英，其主导人物是包遵信、金观涛、厉以宁等人，在这个名单中甚至可以看到王岐山的名字，这一群体后来被称为“走向未来派”。

《河殇》缘起于央视出品的另一部大型纪录片《黄河》，甚至可以说《河殇》在某种意义上是《黄河》的孪生兄弟，根据陈真的回忆，《黄河》快做完的时候，总导演陈汉元宣布要做一个“横向的黄河”，采用的是“边做边播”的方法，根据解说词文本来铺陈画面，使用了《黄河》的一些外景素材[18]。

时至今日再来重新审视这部作品，在其基本语法谱系的认定上，肯定属于纪录片范畴，而且，基本可以比较准确地将其定义为“论文电影”（essay film），这是1950年代晚期出现在西方的一种纪录电影形式，但在1980年代末的中国还是闻所未闻。《河殇》采用的是分集式电视制作和传播的方式——这种形态在当时被称之为“电视专题片”，但《河殇》这种文本主导的影像形态与既往的专题片又大相径庭，所以，在当时被贴上了“电视政论片”的标签——这与“论文电影”的说法奇怪地产生了某种内在的连结。简而言之，《河殇》可以看作是一种思想观念的影像图解，电影的时间线就是一个逻辑论证的过程，在观念先行的基础上，以某种文化为参照，重新组织和编辑画面材料，并在其中建立某种内在的交互关系，具有反思性写作的特征。

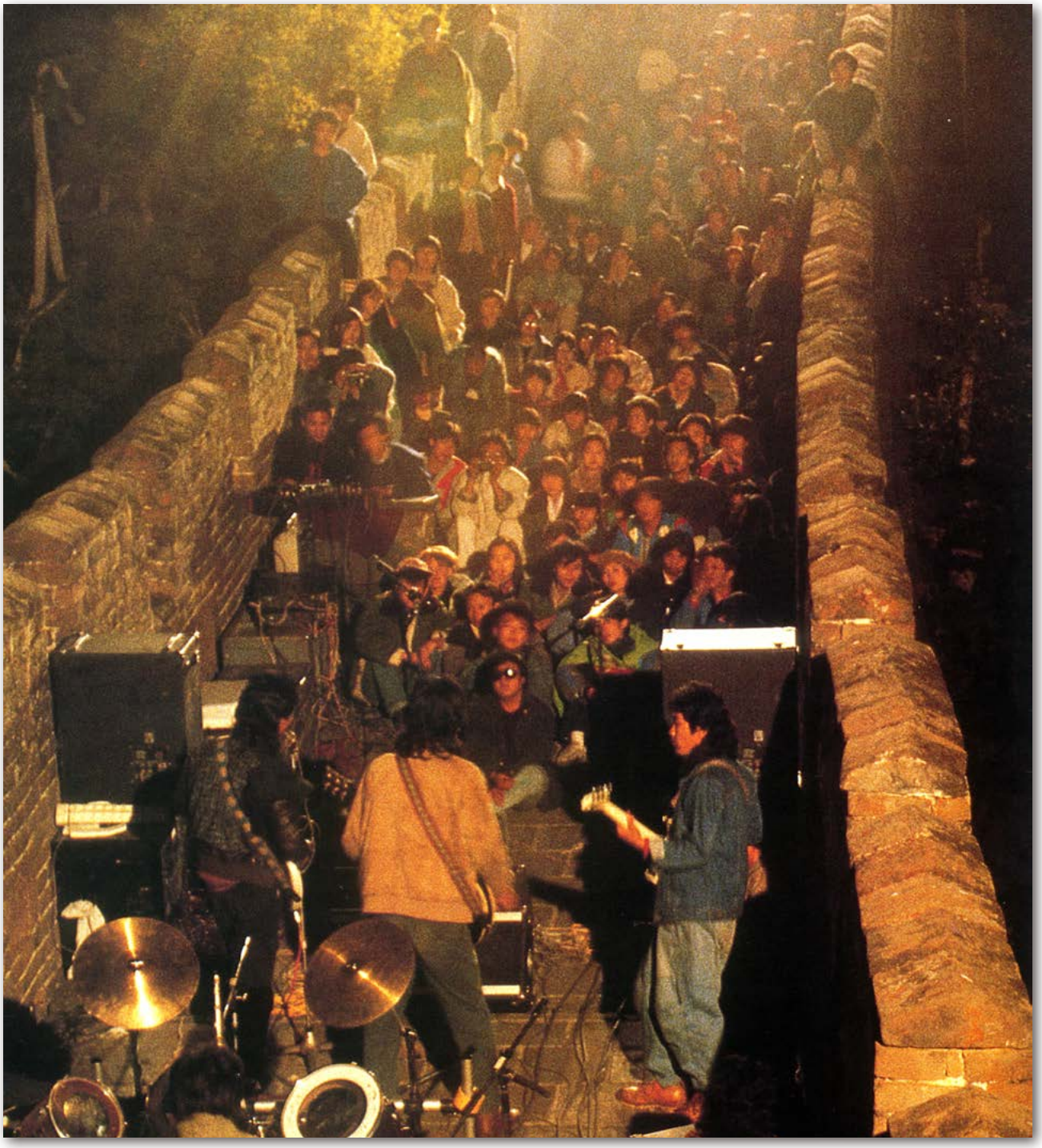
《河殇》最大的影响力其实不在于影像本身的力量，而在于其内在的思想力量，如前所述，其思想原动力的来源，是作为当时赵紫阳政治系统智囊团存在的“走向未来派”。“走向未来”丛书以其广博和新锐的定位[19]，从三个不同方向为1980年代的新启蒙运动提供了支持：其一，引入了各种全新的边缘学科、交叉学科的知识体系；其二，从不同角度译介了大量西方现代学术理论和思想史；其三：以新视点、新观念重新解读和破译了东方传统文化。

事实上，作为某种乌托邦艺术样态存在的“85新潮”，其思想养分和精神源泉同样来自于“走向未来”丛书的巨大影响力。“85新潮”在外在形态上是一次具有颠覆性的视觉革命，其内质其实是一场驳杂而深刻的思想史运动。对专制主义的反动和抵抗、民间意识的觉醒和行动、对传统文化的回归与批判，这些特征使其在1980年代中国新启蒙运动中扮演着独一无二的角色。

从“85新潮”滥觞到《河殇》现象泛滥，都可以将其看作是新启蒙主义在不同领域的外溢。可以做一种假设，就是如果不是“六四事件”使得一切思想行为嘎然而止，那么，《河殇》很可能会掀起从思想界到更广阔社会层面的“85新潮”。

温普林在访谈中亦提及当年所感受到《河殇》巨大而深刻的影响力，他认为，对于《大地震》来说至少有两个方面是源自《河殇》，除了上文提及的资金来源，最主要的就是思想观念的来源[20]。《河殇》内蕴的核心观念是对文明的反思，主张打破专制的超稳定结构、摒弃衰落的内陆文明，拥抱蔚蓝色的海洋文明，进而融入整个世界文明体系。在影片中，长城被描述为一种自我封闭的象征体，而成为华夏文明疆域拓展的禁锢边界。受到这一比喻的触动，温普林产生了一个想法：在长城上制造一次大规模的艺术事件，以一场观念的大地震来摧毁历史的枷锁，由此产生了“告别二十世纪”这一活动主题。

从最初单纯的记录一部现代舞剧“大地震”，拓展到对北京“盲流”艺术家的全景记录，再延伸到自主发起慕田峪长城“告别二十世纪”艺术狂欢节，作为纪录片的《大地震》开始承载起越来越多的历史重负。然而，历史的宿命却赋



《大地震》艺术现场，慕田峪长城，1988 年

予了《大地震》某种象征性和预言性，当1989年“六四事件”的大地震来临时，温普林不得不离开了“震中”北京，远赴西藏：“最初我的直接目的很单纯的，想做一部电视片叫《大地震》，我想记录那个时代中国艺术界的震荡，结果，我们不过是地震前兆，真正的地震来到了，大家都作鸟兽散了。”[21]

西藏，史前史的历史漫漶之地

温普林在西藏，1990 年代初

史前史时间轴前端向后端推移的惯性，在地理上被延续到另外一片历史漫漶之地——西藏。从北京到西藏，可以看到一条清晰的时间线索，许多人来回行走于这条线索之上，而上溯其源，却依旧要抵达“85新潮”。

在“85新潮”的多重意义中，人本意识与人性回归是其中一个重要价值，“西藏”这个名词因某种“时代大灵魂”的寓意而成为自由与生命的象征，是当时无数热爱诗歌与艺术的青年们想象的圣地。大学毕业后主动前往西藏的艺术青年不在少数，譬如段锦川（1984年进藏，西藏电视台）、牟森（1986年进藏，西藏话剧团）等。温普林也在1986年第一次深入过西藏腹地，寻找某种生命意义与存在价值。

西藏真正与独立影像史前史发生联系，是在1989年“六四”政治事件之后，其时，温普林与其弟温普庆（摄影师）逃亡到拉萨，由李晓山、段锦川等西藏电视台的友人为其提供栖身之所。在此期间，温发现西藏电视台仓库里一台Bolex16毫米电影摄影机——根据段锦川的回忆，西藏电视台在1988年拍过一个胶片作品，所以除了摄影机闲置外，还剩余有部分胶片。温普林利用这台闲置的设备和胶片，拍摄了纪录片《青朴》最初的素材，因为缺乏专业的同期录音，他不得不用一台Walkman微型录音机进行声音采样，主要是采集了一些近似的环境声。1989年底，温普林用胶转磁方式，剪辑了一部20多分钟的短片《青朴》，片比为是2:1，这批最早的胶片原素材现在已经迷失。在此期间，温普林还与李晓山合作了纪录片《达木天葬台》，此片真实记录了藏族天葬习俗的完整过程，作为一部具有人类学价值的真实纪录片，其镜头直白呈现了某种不忍直视的人体解构过程，加上其政治（西藏对于中国的特殊地缘政治意义）和文化（藏传佛教习俗下的尸体处理方式）的双重异端性质，此作品在1991年完成后一直未能公开发表。

1991年，蒋樾携带新的胶片和摄影机进藏，与其同行的还有一位具有美术背景的摄影师毕鉴锋，他们当初也都是《大地震》摄制组的松散成员，如今又一起加入了温普林的西藏工作群。这一契机来自温普林的一个西藏题材的独立纪录片生产计划，获得了作曲家张宏光及其他一些海外资金的资助，并在形式上达成与康区的甘孜州电视台的合作，以获得外景制片上的方便。在此后的两年间，蒋樾与毕鉴锋合作拍摄了《喇嘛藏戏团》、《天主在西藏》等多部长短纪录片，温普林和温普庆也继续《青朴》的拍摄，并由段锦川作为后期导演在1992年完成了这部73分钟的独立纪录片，最终命名为《青朴——苦修者的圣地》。

段锦川在1984年从北广毕业后作为援藏者，参与了西藏电视台的创建，但他直到1990年在北京从吴文光处才了解

到独立纪录片的概念；而温普林的到来，对段进入独立纪录片的工作起到很大的促进作用。段锦川于1992年结束援藏期限后回北京剪辑完成了《青朴》，之后与张元合作了纪录片《广场》，在1994年他又回到拉萨开始拍摄《八廓南街16号》。而蒋樾在1993年回到北京后，以另一位援藏归来者牟森的实验剧团为题材，拍摄了纪录片《彼岸》，并于1995年完成。温普林兄弟流亡西藏五年后，于1993重新回到北京，开始继续拍摄低潮期的中国前卫艺术，数年后制作完成了以中国行为艺术历史为线索的纪录片《中国行动》，并将当年《大地震》所幸存保留的部分素材加入

在西藏外景地，左起：温普林、毕鉴锋、蒋樾、温普庆，1990年代初

其中。至此，中国独立影像史前史从北京漫漶到西藏，又再次回流到了北京。

重新解读以西藏为地理坐标的这一段历史，可以看到很多历史的偶然因素在此间交汇，内蕴着中国独立影像史前史许多凌乱而驳杂的早期材料，呈现了各种复杂的混血生产方式，也揭示了这些独立影像先行者在史前史这一时间段里彼此独立而又交叉的合作行为，他们之间相互依存的生产工作关系，建构了独立影像史前史在1990年代的主轴。

在某种意义上，“中国独立影像浪潮”前波在西藏的漫漶，可以看作是《大地震》在1990年代的余震，而温普林的工作依旧具有某种发动机的功效，并带动了多个震中，出现了几个意想不到的变化。其一，是人文地理的变化，从北京首都的文化中心漂移到了具有异域文化色彩的西藏；其二，是观念方向上的变化，从以西方先锋文化、后现代文化来颠覆传统文化和苏联模式下的社会主义文化，转向了对传统人文社会和人类学的重新认识与回归。其三，是从表象到内质的变化，从文化起义式的现象事件转向具有社会性与现实批判性的深度介入。而这几个方面的工作，在西藏这一非政治文化中心的偏远地域非常奇妙地得到了某种契合。

历史的结局与开始

郝智强的工作，开始于实验动画的个人独立制作，但其结局却偏离了独立动画之路，而被历史并轨到了独立纪录片

的单行道，从另一个方向被卷入了“中国独立影像浪潮”的前波。

1988年的上海国际动画电影节拒绝了《风》的报名，原因是其非叙事性的实验风格远远超出了当年的审美认识——“他们觉得这不是动画片”[22]。之后，在谢飞的推荐下，该片还是辗转参加了一些海外电影节，引起了当时国际上的一些关注；但在国内从未公开放映过，仅有郝智强私下转录了几盒VHS磁带，在少数朋友之间传看。就此，《风》成为一个历史孤例，没有被列入任何谱系——无论是电影史谱系，还是当代艺术史谱系。对于中国独立影像史前史来说，这部实验动画作品的出现并非是一个历史的开始，而是一个稍纵即逝的结局。

郝智强在1988年从北电毕业后进入了中央电视台动画部，但他无法接受此间把动画定位为“少儿”与“低幼”的观念，因此很快就放弃了动画，而转向了纪录片工作。对这一转变，郝亦有过追述：“当时还在动画部。因为不安分，经常帮台里经济部拍专题片，有时会拉吴文光、蒋樾等台外朋友干点私活。文光对纪录片的认识和操作是周围人里比较早的，我也是受到他的影响。”[23]汪继芳对蒋樾的访谈对此也有印证，蒋在去西藏之前，和郝智强等人一起以一种半独立制片的方式，在央视拍摄纪录了三十多个矿区题材的专题片[24]。这些与西部矿区有关拍摄素材，有相当一部分是无法被央视专题片所使用，其中关于四川省泸洲地区大树乡硫铁矿区的拍摄，后来成为郝智强的纪录片首作《大树乡》。这部拍摄“人间炼狱”的环保题材独立纪录片，即便有央视身份为其背书，他的拍摄工作也依旧一直是在与当地官方的某种较量中进行的，并最终不得不嘎然而止。40分钟成片长度的《大树乡》，其素材仅仅来自于11盘20分钟的U-matic磁带，所以，郝智强认为这实际上是一部未完成的作品。

郝智强工作在1990年代初的拐点在某种程度上还是受制于生产形态对体制的依附。起始于吴文光的寄生于体制的独立影像生产方式，在1990年代初很快就局部蔓延开来，而郝智强恰好处在这个局部的辐射力范围内，以一种即刻可行的方式来实现自我观念的表达，在当时的历史情境中是最现实的。“当时觉得纪录片（工作）可能更直接，我没办法再用动画的方式去表达更多想要表达的东西，当时没有（学院）那样的条件和氛围。”[25]实验动画创作的不可持续性，也是因为这种生产方式对于体制的依赖相对比较大，即使作者可以用不计价值的时间损耗来弥补其画稿生产的数量，也无法在胶片拍摄、剪接、声音合成等环节来得以实现。所以，一旦脱离了最初特殊的生产环境（学院体制系统），试图继续保持其独立观念的属性的工作，将变得不可能。

归根结底，独立影像最重要的是作者独立观念的传递，这是一个恒量；至于表达方式的转换，在某种程度上反而是一个变量，尤其是经历了“85新潮”的洗礼之后，对于艺术形式的自由性已经有了充分的认识，而绘画作为一切视觉艺术的基础，在某种程度上也为郝智强的转身提供了一个可能性。

1993年第二届日本山形纪录电影节，是中国独立影像生产者的第一次集体出场：温普林和段锦川的《青朴——苦修者的圣地》、蒋樾的《天主在西藏》、吴文光的第二部独立纪录片《1966，我的红卫兵时代》、郝智强的《大树乡》，以及由时间和王光利制作的《我毕业了》[26]。这一阵营，差不多集中了独立影像史前史前端的主要创作力量，他们的群体亮相大致可以看作是1980年代文化起义余波的一个结局，也可以被认为是“中国独立影像浪潮”前波在1990年代的开始。

吴文光的《1966，我的红卫兵时代》获取了该届山形纪录电影节的“小川绅介奖”。在这部以群体口述为主要方式的历史纪录片中，穿插了动画片《风》的片断，作为段落之间意象性的过渡。郝智强后来回忆道：“文光喜欢《风》，《1966，我的红卫兵时代》做初剪时他问我能不能用一些《风》的内容，当时我们在一起的氛围是谁有需要大家会一起帮，大家也都没什么版权保护意识，我二话没说答应了。文光后来可能觉得不太合适，就说还是要买。当时大

家都没什么钱，隔了几天他来找我，锁紧眉头说能出一百元——后来，这成了我们之间的一个笑谈。”[27]

事实上，许多人第一次邂逅《风》的画面，都是通过《1966，我的红卫兵时》这部纪录片的转呈，只是绝大部分人都忽略了片尾字幕关于《风》的信息，也没有想到过这些动画其实来自另一部历史意义非同寻常的作品。虽然吴文光的这部作品也称不上广为流传，但至少已经进入电影史谱系，可以被检索到相关信息；而不象《风》几乎无从查证其存在，完全被湮没于历史。

结语

作为一个历史学名词，“史前史”一般用以指称在确切文献档案记录之前的历史时间段。本文以“中国独立影像浪潮”作为独立影像史的本体，而将其史前史设定为这一潮流的“前波”，并将此意象置入1980年代新文化启蒙运动的广阔版图中，借助媒体考古学来探究其始发的原始坐标。

媒体考古学的工作方法具有某种“历史拼图”特性，其目的并非为拼接出一条完整的线性历史，更多是期望用史料编织出一个非线性的网状脉络，将复杂的历史叙事置入其中，从而寻找到媒体的真实情境。这样的方法为中国独立影像史前史的研究提供了一种新的方法。

本文以媒体考古的方式，通过对温普林、吴文光、郝智强等个案工作的切片研究，揭示出一个论点：“中国独立影像浪潮”的史前起源，并非来自中国电影史谱系的内在进化与代际更迭，在一个超级强硬的专制主义系统下，具有民主属性的独立影像力量显得格外羸弱，而无法支撑起其从体制内部发起一次起义。然而，在1980年代新启蒙运动波澜壮阔的历史情境下，“中国独立影像浪潮”的“前波”意外地发生在当时最具有先锋力量的文化运动——“85新潮”之中，以类似某种“宫外孕”的方式，不可抑制地野蛮生长起来。但1989年“六四事件”的突如其来，中断了新启蒙运动的进程，使得刚刚聚集起来的“前波”力量在这一历史瞬间即刻消散，在史前史阶段发生的工作，或逃亡，或隐匿，或迷失，或仅以文本、口述、片断、素材等流产的碎片形态存在于其他载体之中。通过发掘和考古将这些历史碎片有机地缀连起来，推断出其中某些被遮蔽和湮没的事实，是本文写作的基本出发点。

中国独立影像史前史的前置坐标——也就是史前史发生的原点，从工作角度而言，可以确立在1987年温普林关于《大地震》工作的开始之日，这是一个历史性的开端；从作品完成性的角度而言，完结于1988年底的郝智强实验动画作品《风》当仁不让，而且，如果一定要强调作品的胶片媒介性质，那么以35毫米彩色胶片形态存在的《风》在这一位置将得到加持。基于此，独立影像史前史的前置坐标从《流浪北京》的1990年向负极移动，是一种新的设定。

媒体考古学为中国独立影像史前史的研究提供了新的方法论和价值取向，拓展了历史样本采集的面向，就不同角度提取的切片，相互参照和印证，从中寻找到新的互文关联，得以确立新的坐标系统。但也正因为如此，象《风》这样作品的历史坐标必然是一个变量，它将不断地被新的历史发掘与考古所更替，不断地调整和修正其历史时间轴上的坐标和由此产生的全新定义。

写于南京秦淮河左岸
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注释

1 探索电影”是对1985年前后出现的一批与既往电影意识形态和电影美学语言大相径庭的新锐作品的整体描述。主要作品有《一个和八个》、《黄土地》、《海滩》、《青春祭》等。其作者群大致有两个部分，其一是具有现代新思维的第四代导演，如张暖忻、滕文骥、谢飞等；其二是陈凯歌、张艺谋、田壮壮、吴子牛等新崛起的第五代导演群体。“探索电影”在内容题材上追寻真实自然、回归人性本能，呈现出朴素的人道主义价值观；在美学语言上强调长镜头的使用，崇尚具有雕塑感的凝重画面图式，运用强烈的色彩对比来传递画面内涵。“探索电影”产生的背景是对1980年代“精神污染”左倾风潮的反动，在观念上受到西方现代主义思潮的影响，它的出现使得电影作为政治工具的教化功能开始逐步被消解，电影的本体性得到关注和强调。

2 与西方电影史中1950年代美国实验电影概念下的“地下电影”（underground film）不同，此处所论述的“地下电影”是对于中国1990年代语境中的一种独特现象的命名，该现象的出现具有电影史意义。“地下电影”这一名词最先为海外媒体所使用，作为特有所指的名词，这一概念通常和“第六代导演”发生关联，主要指张元、王小帅、娄烨、路学长等第六代导演等独立生产或半独立生产的电影作品，也包括田壮壮的《蓝风筝》、吕乐的《赵先生》、姜文的《鬼子来了》等作品，其生产状况比较复杂，许多生产模式具有不可复制的时效性。此类电影在海外国际电影节屡屡获奖，但在中国境内却无法获得公开放映的权利；相当一部分影片在去海外参展之前未能通过官方审查，使得该部分导演得到禁止从事电影工作的惩罚。从某种意义上，“地下电影”与新千年以降出现的“独立影像”概念，具有一定的承接关系。

3 “新纪录片运动”是一个在电影学术界颇具争议的名词，一般用以指称1990年代产生的一批具有非主流色彩的中国纪录片，其来源有两个方向：其一是指官方电视机构出品的在思想和美学上具有某种异端倾向作品，譬如《天安门》、《我毕业了》、《阴阳》等；其二是指一批独立身份的纪录片工作者的独立生产作品，譬如《流浪北京》、《彼岸》、《老头》等。这一名词的初始出处在学界有着多种不同阐述，尚无定论，其最早可追寻到1991年11月，时间、王子军等SWYC小组成员发表过一个“新纪录片运动宣言”，但该宣言文本已经佚失。吕新雨是第一个系统阐释“新纪录片运动”这一概念并将之成文的纪录片学者，并通过她的著作《纪录中国：当代中国新纪录运动》一书将此概念上升到某种理论高度，并流行于学界。

4 “都市电影”作为一个电影研究名词，出现于1990年代中期，其研究对象主要是1980年代文化新启蒙运动以来的部分具有现当代语境的城市题材电影。“都市电影”的概念边界并不明确，能指与所指也略显晦涩，内蕴着某种反主流文化的倾向，在无意中消解了中国电影内核中强硬的政治意识形态。笔者认为从1980年代后期到1990年代中期，“都市电影”有过两个波次的浪潮，前一波有米家山的《顽主》、叶大鹰的《大喘气》、周晓文的《最后的疯狂》、田壮壮的《摇滚青年》等，展现了某种反讽式的泼皮主义；第二波有夏钢的《无人喝彩》、娄烨的《周末情人》、张元的《东宫西宫》、路学长的《钢铁是这样炼成的》等，其平民政治和性别政治色彩开始凸显。

5 汪继芳访谈吴文光，1995年12月26日，1996年1月18日，吴文光北京寓所。《被遗忘的影像：中国新纪录片的滥觞》，中国社会科学出版社，2006年。

6 同05.

7 汪继芳访谈陈真，2001年10月17日，北京绿观音茶苑。《被遗忘的影像：中国新纪录片的滥觞》，中国社会科学出版社，2006年。

8 同05。

9 《昆明尚义街6号，遥远年代的傲慢与孤独》，朱晓阳、张庆国，《滇池》文学杂志，2015年第11期。

10 同09。

11 同07。

12 刘晓茜对温普林的访谈，2004年6月5日，北京慧忠北里。《被遗忘的影像：中国新纪录片的滥觞》，中国社会科学出版社，2006年。

13 “肖鲁枪击事件”作为一种历史隐喻被称为1989年的第一枪。1989年2月5日在北京中国美术馆举办的“中国现代艺术展”首日，26岁的女艺术家肖鲁用一把手枪对自己正在展出的装置作品《对话》连开两枪，从而导致展览被迫暂停。此事震惊世界，海内外媒体对都对肖鲁的枪击行为做了报道。事后，当代艺术批评家栗宪庭撰写了《两声枪响：新潮美术的谢幕礼》一文，将肖鲁的枪击行为及其后衍生的闭关停展等过程定义为“枪击事件”。另一位批评家高名潞认为：“这件作品可以称之为中国当代美术史上最有影响的装置与行为相结合的作品，也是中国当代美术史上最为重要的标志性作品之一。由于它的重要性，几乎每一本中文和外文的中国当代美术史书都介绍了这件作品”。

14 《大地震——包扎长城》，臧红花，《东方艺术大家》杂志，2014年11月。

15 李幸访谈陈真，2002年8月6日，北京梅地亚宾馆。《被遗忘的影像：中国新纪录片的滥觞》，中国社会科学出版社，2006年。

16 曹恺访谈郝智强, 2013年10月30日, 厦门集美MT会所。

17 曹恺访谈郝智强, 2020年10月21日, 微信文字书面采访。

18 同14。

19 “走向未来”丛书是由四川人民出版社在1984至1988年间出版的跨学科丛书, 共出版五辑74 种, 总销量在 1800 万册左右, 是当时的畅销学术书。丛书以短小精悍的编撰与编译方式, 将当时西方最前沿的边缘学科、跨界学科知识引入中国。其中像《人的现代化》、《凯恩斯革命》、《增长的极限: 罗马俱乐部关于人类困境的研究报告》、《GEB: 一条永恒的金带》、《在历史的表象背后: 对中国封建社会超稳定结构的探索》、《让科学的光芒照亮自己: 近代科学为什么没中国产生》等书具有广泛深远的影响力, 可以看作是1980年代新启蒙运动的一个组成部分。“走向未来”丛书的策划群和作者群聚集了1980年代中国最优秀的一批自由知识分子, 代表了当时中国思想界最具新锐观念和忧患意识的思考。

20 曹恺访谈温普林, 2016年4月18日, 电话速记记录稿。

21 “恰好在场”, 温普林。《解放——温普林中国前卫艺术档案之八0年代》, 索卡艺术中心出版, 2008年。

22 同16。

23 同16。

24 汪继芳、刘晓茜访谈蒋樾, 2004年3月15日, 北京加利大厦。《被遗忘的影像: 中国新纪录片的滥觞》, 中国社会科学出版社, 2006年。

25 同15。

26 纪录片《我毕业了》拍摄了北大, 北师大, 中青政等1988级大学生在1992年即将毕业前夕的心理状态, 展现了那一代人对于政治和性的观念认知。全片用隐晦的方式表达了1989年“六四事件”对这一批青年学生的深刻影响, 传递了一种理想主义失落的感伤和悲凉。因为其内在的敏感性, 该片在中国的传播度极低, 以致被归类为“地下电影”, 事实上这是一部央视制作出品的官方节目, 片长60分钟, 原素材有1000多分钟 (约40盒U-Matic录像带), 制作完成于1992年。按照片尾工作名单, 该片是由时间与王光利共同制片、王光利署名编导, 但更多历史信息可以证明SWYC小组在该片中起到了集体主导作用。SWYC小组是当时以央视为依托的一个青年纪录片小组, 其字母含义为: “结构、浪潮、青年、电影”; 但另一种解释可能更接近真相, 即小组成员时间、王子军、邝杨、陈爵四人姓氏的首字母缩写。

27 同16。

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《怒江》与中国独立纪录片的起点
Nujiang and the Origin of Chinese Independent Documentary

王小鲁 WANG Xiaolu

概要

本文提出中国独立纪录片的最早源头是一个作品系列，因为在当时已经普遍形成了独立创作的气氛和艺术积累，很多作者都在发力创作。作者认为，如果一定要找出一部时间上最早完成的独立纪录片，它应该是《怒江——一条丢失的峡谷》，而不是《流浪北京》。本文分析了《怒江》的叙事特征和文化意义，并认为我们不仅仅要考察中国独立纪录片运动，还要对于早期的独立记录行为（未成片）加以重视。

关键词： 中国独立纪录运动、《怒江：一条丢失的峡谷》、吕乐、温普林

Abstract

This article proposes that a series of works can be seen as the origins of Chinese independent documentary. Due to an environment of independent creative work and artistic development in the 1980s, many authors started their own film-making. In my view, if we must identify the first Chinese independent documentary, it should be *Nujiang*, not *Bumming in Beijing*. This article analyses *Nujiang*'s narrative characteristics and cultural significance. It argues that we shouldn't only focus on exploring the Chinese independent documentary movement and should attach more emphasis to early independent documentation activities, even when these did not result in finished works.

Keywords: Chinese Independent Documentary Movement, *Nujiang*, Lü Le, Wen Pulin

一

中国独立纪录片产生的早期的文化因缘，来自于流浪的生命活动与一种全新的生活模式。这带有某种必然性——因为在当时，流浪也许是摆脱旧体制统治的唯一途径，唯有如此才能成为独立的。但下这样的判断并不容易，因为旧体制究竟是何物越来越不清晰，如何对它进行定义？为什么摆脱它才能获得独立或某种正向的价值？而且旧体制的概念在当下具有更多的歧义性。不过本文无意对此展开论辩，而是依据国人经验以及曾经的共识性作为依据和价值前提。中国独立电影史中的这段流浪经验，在纪录片领域和剧情片领域同样重要，它不仅仅包括"流浪北京"，还包括"流浪边疆"，比如温普林1989年后流浪到西藏，他拍摄的素材与他分离，那些素材历经了传奇般的散佚，从而使他失去了完成最有可能成为中国第一部独立纪录片的机会，而那部纪录片的被命名为《大地震》，它记录的也是八十年代流浪艺术家们在北京的活动。

那些流浪艺术家被温普林称为"盲流艺术家"，盲流这个词最早于1953年出现，而且是出现在官方文件里——那年国务院发布了《劝止农民盲目流入城市的指示》。但是将盲流艺术家作为一个专业称谓，则是在1987年的《中国美术报》上，温普林在一篇采访中首次用这个词，称呼那些不按照固有分配去某单位就业，而是敢于不要工作和户口在北京生活的人[1]。而20年后，当笔者在一篇评价徐童作品的文章中称中国的纪录片为"游民拍游民"的时候，其实这事早就发生了，只是后来的游民状况与最早的盲流有所不同。在1980年代末，不少盲流艺术家是很乐意被称为盲流的，有的艺术家自印名片，称自己为"盲流艺术家"，导演蒋樾觉得这是一种非常光荣的称谓[2]。1980年代的盲流艺

术家当然是一种戏谑的说法，他们不是盲目流动，而是自我选择新生活方案，他们对于这种流浪的生活感到兴奋，对于其精神内涵带有强烈的自觉性。这种新生活模式必然带来一种新的困境，但却能产生一种解放的效应。

中国独立电影就是在这样的背景下产生的。流浪是一种必要的前提。它其实有一个潜在的判断，就是与制度保持一定的距离才能够创作独立的影像作品。虽然早期的创作者大多与体制内电视台有着各种瓜葛，有的作者本是电视台内部的工作人员，电视播放的作品和独立纪录片的作者有时候甚至是同一个，但他们大多并不将两者混淆起来，包括时间、蒋樾等，他们对于电视创作介入的越深，这个自觉就越深刻地保持着。并不存在不承认体制内外纪录片共享着一种新美学的问题，而独立与否并非以美学为绝对的划分依据，甚至在政治意志上，体制内外的作品中也保持着某种一贯性，但是不可逾越的界限始终存在着，这个界限是媒体的政治属性决定的，而非纪录片作者本人决定的。只有在1988年前后短暂的一个时间段落，这个界限似乎是消失了，但很快这个界限又被重新明确下来，而生产关系就创作的文化分析而言，永远是一个重要的参考指标。

多年来被认为是第一部中国独立纪录片的《流浪北京》（1990）正是如此，吴文光导演从云南电视台辞职后在北京漂泊，在中央电视台打工，在获得了拍摄的资源的同时，也获得了某种自主的选择权，1990年完成的《流浪北京》就是游民拍游民的模式，他记录了几位追求自由但居无定所的流浪艺术家的生活。包括笔者在内，很多学者一直都将这部纪录片当作中国独立纪录片的起点。

笔者在最早版本的《主体渐显——中国独立纪录片20年的观察》中说：“中国独立纪录片是确切地从1990年产生的，到现在（2010年）恰好20年。”[3]以《流浪北京》作为独立的起点其实是很多人的共同发现，而且将1990年作为独立纪录片的起点，事实上是在当时既有的资料中所形成的判断。而且独立剧情片的第一部作品被认为是完成于1990年的《妈妈》，于是1990年这个整数作为一个时代的分水岭，因便于记诵更是在历史叙事中被固定下来。虽然后来人似乎一直隐约有所质疑，但若以作品的出现作为界定，那么至今并没有人能够推翻中国独立纪录片历史上的这个时间节点，除非发现一个更早完成的新的独立纪录片片例。

而这个新的片例将在本文中被重点叙述和分析，这部纪录片是导演吕乐在云南时拍摄的《怒江:一条丢失的峡谷》（制作年代1986—1989）。如何判断这部纪录片的创作年份？更重要的是如何认定它的性质：它是一部独立纪录片么？是否符合中国独立纪录片的常规定义？它只是导演的意外之作么？其内在精神是否在中国独立电影历史形成的基本精神倾向当中？这是本文要解决的问题。

二

在对此进行思辨和文本细读之前，我想说明另外一个中国独立纪录片的起源问题。如果我们不仅仅以独立纪录片作品的完成和出现作为“中国独立纪录片运动”的时间界碑，而以独立记录行为的出现作为“中国独立纪录运动”的起点，是不是也可以打开另外一种局面？我认为这可以使我们的历史认知更为全面。也许独立记录行为和独立纪录片的出现时间相差并不会太远，但是对于那个具体的年代的认识而言，却能够获得更为准确的历史纵深感。这两个概念本来差别不大，但是通过辨识它们却能够强调，当我们论述独立纪录片的起点的时候，要注重其前史中独立创作条件的逐渐形成，这是国民艺术意志觉醒和外部环境逐渐成熟的一个过程。

《流浪北京》开拍的时间大家都已经确认，是1988年。1988年是否可以作为中国独立记录行动的起点？1988年显然是十分重要的年份，这一年还产出了著名的纪录片《河殇》。《河殇》是不是独立纪录片，学界也有隐约的疑问，

我认为这部作品不符合后来认定的中国独立纪录片的概念——不是因为它延续了官方政论片以解说词统领画面的形式与风格，如上所言，中国独立纪录片的界定并非以美学为识别的主要指标，而在于它的集体创作和官方电视台产出的机制。但它是时代精神的重要显影，一个十分重要的时代开放的指标——所以温普林在对外宣传纪录片《大地震》的时候，就自称他的这部作品完成后将在中央电视台播出。今天的我们理解这一宣称也是十分困难的，为央视创作，似乎损害了《大地震》的独立性，但温普林告诉笔者，这其实是为了吸引赞助的宣传策略，《河殇》的电视台播放的确给予了他一种信心。《大地震》这部纪录片的自觉性创作也是开始于1988年，具体时间是当年的清明节前后。[4]显然，1988年这个年份十分重要。

但是，中国独立记录行为的开端，还要向上继续追溯。就温普林来说，其独立记录行为开始于1984年，他当时在组织大学生的实验话剧，会租机器来拍摄，因为觉得好玩。当1984年年底他把陀思妥耶夫斯基《舅舅的梦》改编成话剧的时候，他身边汇聚了北京八大艺术院校的学生，所以他成立了“中国大学生艺术团”，他便开始了更为自觉的记录拍摄：

> 一开始拍很简单，我搞实验戏剧嘛，我带着一帮哥们玩，拍摄自己创作的过程，但是一旦变成八大艺术院校了，号称中国大学生艺术团了，这个时候就觉得应该留下点影像了。当时没想那么多，就觉得以后留下点素材，吹吹牛逼，没有太多的想法。[5]

这一拍摄行为在当时是非常稀有的，他们从国家单位里面租机器拍摄，租金昂贵。我问他在当时租机器是很普通的行为么，他说：“太不普通了。”1984年的年底温普林的记录行为显然有着更强的自觉性，不是为了某个机构去制作节目，而主要为了记录自己富有创造力的活动，是一种为自己、为我们“立传”的想法。

那些记录的素材是备忘，一种自我的纪念，因为这些行为在80年代的中国具有强烈的开拓性，是一种英雄式的行动。而温在1987年辞职，其中有被迫的政治因素，他不是停薪留职，是彻底失去单位。据说在离开他的原单位（北京第二外国语大学）的时候，他做了一个演讲“论魏晋风骨”。之后他就变成了盲流，与他记录的其他艺术家一样。我们在这里赞成和同情这一切，其实设定了一个天然的价值前提，在之前的年代里，这是无需进行辩护的一种论述，但是今天来看已非不证自明的道理。我们称颂80年代的个人主体性，反集体主义，这在今天已经非常不合时宜，今天人们强调“成为你自己”的口号是一种可笑的虚妄，认为个人必须在一个秩序中才能获得意义。然而，如果你要论述80年代独立精神的逐渐产生与发扬，就要有充分的历史感，不能将当年的越狱当成彻底否定秩序和系统的行径。80年代强调个人主体性，并没有衍生出反对健康的人际关系和社会自我组织的逻辑，它是在独特的社会背景下展开的。但这一点，本文也将不再做更为详细的论证。

1984年开始的拍摄行为显然也是独立记录行动，具有朴素的记录精神，对于当时的中国人来说具有多重意义，包括自我赋权，包括让拍摄者和被拍摄者一起获得自我意识的觉醒。所以，这种今天看来十分普通的事物在当年却能够显露更多的意义。而若继续向前追溯，其实仍然可以追溯出独立记录的行为来，这是笔者将要做的工作。但无论如何，由于条件的限定，这种拍摄行为当时的确十分稀少。1988年显然是一个重要的时间节点，从各类采访和叙述中，都可以看到这一年，这种独立拍摄行为多了起来。那一年吴文光开始拍《流浪北京》，虽然这个行为与央视《中国人》剧组拍摄的关系有点分不清楚。无论如何，1988年的独立记录行动正在积聚，包括上面所说1988年温普林也开始拍摄他的纪录片《大地震》。另外，时间导演的《天安门》也是从1988年开始行动（其生产关系更为复杂），所以从既有材料来看，1988年是中国独立纪录片作品意识觉醒的一年。

但如今，我们又有了新的材料——《怒江：一条丢失的峡谷》开始创作的年份是在1986年，比1988年早两年。我认为《怒江：一条丢失的峡谷》是1949年后中国第一部独立纪录片，为此笔者曾撰文《〈怒江〉：一部丢失的纪录片》[6]加以分析。但《怒江》的出现，显然为中国独立纪录片的论述提供了难题。如果说以上1984、1988年的时间节点，在以前的访谈和公开出版物中都可以找到相关线索，只是这些年的研究过于粗疏，我们没有对历史上留下的文字和文本进行仔细的阅读。但这部《怒江——一条丢失的峡谷》则如同凭空出世，似乎打乱了我们既有的独立纪录片史叙述，因为过去的一切都已经形成稳定的文字系统，形成了讲述的惯例，包括我自己也是这个惯例的营造者和维护者，我应该自责身体和思维的懒惰。而如今，我们该如何讲述《怒江》这部纪录片的故事？

三

中国独立纪录片的早期谱系，主要是建立在与电视相邻的地方，包括那部未完成的《大地震》的定位也是电视艺术片——其定位见1988年12月26日发表于《中国美术报》的《电视纪录片〈大地震〉将进入后期制作》。《流浪北京》、《天安门》等与电视台的关系也是明显的。而《怒江：一条丢失的峡谷》则完全来自于电影的系统。北广和北电的创作向来分占电影和电视两个领域，在中国的1980年代，纪录片似乎被划归于电视领域——最近十年院线纪录片的崛起，才打破了这个局面——所以后来有电视纪录片的说法，但其实早期的电视纪录片也是脱胎于电影纪录片。后来人斤斤于电视纪录片、电视专题片以及纪录电影的概念之辩，那也许在特殊的时代有其独特的辩论价值，但其实它们共同属于纪录片（documentary），也都应该遵循纪录片的共同原则。

但显然电视领域以及临近区域的纪录片在当时形成了其系统性，一种前后的延续性和脉络性，形成了自己专有的美学上除旧布新的过程。当然除了电视台，新闻电影制片厂也有其纪录片的脉络，但与电视台的相似之处都在于其直接的广播宣传性。但吕乐是北京电影学院1978级摄影系的学生，他们毕业后基本是在进行剧情片创作，创作纪录片在80年代是十分罕见的，也许这是孤例。我们如何理解这部影片和时代精神以及与纪录片文化系统的关系，也许对于创作者来说不重要，但对于我们研究80年代思想史和电影史的人来说，却应该对于它和外部世界的关系加以考察。据笔者和吕乐的谈话中理解[7]，北京电影学院78级事实上是有纪录片教育的，也许当年各个领域的纪录片实践都不尽如意，但那时候他们仍然对纪录片有着自己的概念。纪录片导演伊文思曾经多次来北京，和北电的电影教育关系密切，但吕乐在80年代对于伊文思的纪录片概念有所质疑，认为他太主观了，可见吕乐在80年代的时候，其纪录片观念的自觉性。

就电影和电视领域的对比来看，在1980年代中期电视领域进行语言革命的时候，电影领域并非一个冷落的门庭，它甚至比电视领域更热闹。今天，学者们在谈说80年代的八五新潮对于纪录片领域的影响，从而考察电视纪录片中的新纪录运动和前卫艺术思潮的亲缘关系的时候（见本期曹恺的文章《结局或开始：中国独立影像史前史切片研究》），笔者要在这里强调的一个事实是，这种亲缘关系在一定程度上是存在的，但电影领域的革命要比85新潮早很多，甚至一定程度上对八五新潮和中国艺术界起到了促进和启迪的作用。《黄土地》是其中最有名的作品，完成于1984年，陈丹青曾表述过陈凯歌《黄土地》对于美术界的震撼，而不久前，笔者与徐冰先生在上海有一次偶然的交谈，也谈到《黄土地》出现的时候艺术界所受到的影响，第五代的艺术实验发展比较兴旺的时候，八五新潮才逐渐开启。

电影和电视领域在80年代要面对相同的政治环境，但因属于不同的媒介和艺术形式，所以它们各有自己的时代弊病需要解决。新时代革命在电视领域表现为发展纪实语言、反解说词，在电影领域则呈现为反戏剧化、探索纯电影语言，但它们都展现为一种“去话语”和去政治的倾向。80年代的第五代影片几乎有一个一致的面貌，就是主要用

影像语言而非角色的台词来表意，这无意中契合了纪录片领域中让事物自动呈现的美学要求，其中的政治内涵其实是一致的，就是反对先验政治理念的过分介入。

第五代电影是80年代中国电影艺术领域最深刻的革命者，而这其中有一个十分独特的现象，就是摄影在80年代第五代电影中的核心地位，张艺谋在《一个和八个》、《黄土地》中是以摄影师介入电影的，摄影上的开拓是这拨电影的重要文化特点，而北京电影学院1978级摄影系的学生是这一影像革命的核心成员，吕乐是其中之一。在拍摄《怒江》之前，他一直在当摄影师，而且因为特殊的机缘，一直在中国的西南边疆省份，以摄影师的身份飘荡，直到拍摄《怒江》，他才转化为导演。

这都是吕乐能够创作《怒江》的文化机缘和文化血缘，而流浪则是另外一个机缘，也深刻切合八九十年代之交中国独立电影精神。吕乐在1983年的年底从儿童电影制片厂停薪留职，这在80年代初期是一个少见的行为，这比《流浪北京》中的任何人都要早，也比温普林与吴文光早一一前者1987年辞职，而后者是1988年离开昆明电视台。吕乐流浪云南、流浪边疆的文化境遇，在当时并非普通人所可为。笔者在《〈怒江〉：一部丢失的纪录片》中谈到这一点：

> 吕乐自1982年大学四年级进入云南进行实习——和田壮壮、张建亚、谢小晶等人拍摄《红象》，一直到1987年上半年，除了当中有一年在内蒙和摄影师侯咏拍摄《猎场札撒》，其他时间都在云南，他参与拍摄了至少两部关于云南和少数民族的电影，一部是严浩导演的《天菩萨》（1985），是关于彝族的故事，一部时间更早，是《净土》，在傣族自治区拍摄，其中涉及多个少数民族，而且其中也有镖牛、裸浴，可以看到《怒江：一条丢失的峡谷》和这部影片的渊源。所以从1982到1987年这五年的时间里面，他其实一直没有间断的关注少数民族生活，更多的是在关注云南少数民族。

不仅仅是工作的关系让他留在这里，他来到这里一个重要的原因是“逃避城市”。但在80年代早期，其实中国并未形成成熟的城市文化，那么他们逃避的其实是80年代主流文化和主流创作体制的禁锢。在其他的文章中，笔者也分析过在一些纪录片导演群中，90年代逐渐兴盛西藏热、云南热，创作者当然不只是猎奇，而是从异文化中找到精神的资源，以解决自我精神空间的逼仄。

> 摄影师吕乐在拍完了《天菩萨》后，告诉制片人他想找点投资自己拍一个纪录片。《天菩萨》是深圳电影制片厂和深圳电影制片厂和内地的国营厂不一样，那是80年代改革开放试验田里产生的事物，但深圳公司的老总郑会立主要是一个中间人，最后主要的出资方是香港公司。当时他们给了吕乐一部分资金，促成了此事……影片拍摄投资5万块，用了三个月拍完，之后进行初剪，后来投资方看到初剪，觉得太倾向于“人文”了，和他们想要的不一样，而且认为当时国内不可能发行这种影片，之后就没有继续出钱做声音等后期工作。吕乐1987年年底去法国，给巴黎的欧盟电视台（ARTE）朋友看了，ARTE将深圳香港的钱还上，后期由他们来完成。之后很快在电视台上映，然后于1990年获得巴黎人类学电影节大奖。[8]

《怒江》拍摄于1986年，剪辑完成于1989年6月，是一部完整的具有一般长片规模（86分钟）的纪录片。我认为它是一部独立纪录片，它的出现早于之前大家认定的中国独立纪录片的开山作——1990年吴文光的《流浪北京》。如果没有新材料出现，目前中国第一部独立纪录片就是《怒江，一条丢失的峡谷》，人证物证俱全。所以中国独立纪录片（而非独立记录行为）的历史可以向前追溯到1989年甚至更早。这当然是令人欣喜的发现。但是也牵涉到一些具体问题，我们要对《怒江》的具体内容、美学形式以及生产关系进行分析。

四

《怒江》拍摄怒江峡谷两岸的故事，主要介绍四个少数民族的生存状态和民俗风貌。35年后的我们重新观看，让人快速穿越到很久之前，那时候怒江峡谷的生活与今日天差地别。1980年代中期的生态仍然充满了原始气息，仍然面对当年极其简单、简陋的时空条件，在这里，他们生产出应对漫长黑夜的文化方式。从形式上来说，《怒江》仍然使用了画外音——这在当时是传统纪录美学中最需要被摒弃的地方，但是《怒江》画外音的比例并不高；它也使用了访谈、问答，让被拍摄者回答他们对于宗教的看法，但更多的是摄影机在静静观看。另外，它使用了同期声。今天看这都是十分普通的样式，但在当年却不同凡响。

影片开头用一张地图交代了拍摄地点，怒江峡谷在中国西南边陲。然后画面中是几辆汽车在山路上缓缓行驶。他们进入峡谷深处时，偶然拍到的一段画面——一群人抬着一个孕妇匆忙赶路，据解说词提示，那个孕妇难产，正被全村男人抬着往山下县城医院奔走，他们已经走了一天一夜了。这个情节顿时让观众充分感受到了当地生活的艰辛，将当地日常生存的特点放大了——那是离现代文明如此遥远的地方。

这个序曲其实起到了一个良好的叙事推动作用，因为它成为我们观众进入怒江峡谷生活的一个悬念和心理铺垫。他们如何应对这个充满困难的世界？在这样艰困的生存条件下他们向何处寄托自己的精神？这部影片先讲述了怒族的故事，影像以画面铺陈的方式交代了他们的日常生活：种马铃薯、用背篓背粪肥、养牛、踏碓舂米，小孩子在墙后面好奇地看着摄像机，晒太阳的母鸡忽然被钟声惊醒，然后镜头切到一个古老的建筑，村民在教堂唱歌……

摄像机用蒙太奇将教堂内部细节加以描绘——孩子的脸、圣像、跪着的村民赤着的脚、小孩在教堂当中跑步。然后就转入了采访部分，采访者在画面外部，受访者对着摄像机回答问题。第一个受访者是村民西西里，他讲述了村庄曾经的信仰和精神史。还有一些村民讲述了此地的生活习惯。在这之后，纪录片讲述了本地人最为原始的信仰——山洞崇拜，这种信仰有生殖崇拜的意味。

然后记录了九桶村的一场怒族婚礼，新郎新娘住同村，他们将玉米酒洒向空中辟邪，新郎家杀牛招待客人，带有黄连的荞麦饼，微苦但可以防止腹泻。然后拍摄了村民聚集在一起吃饭喝酒的场面，一些镜头似乎暗示这里的卫生状况堪忧，摄像机经常捕捉到妇女裸露乳房喂养孩子的画面。

然后是独龙族。画外音说秋收后或者春播前这里存在镖牛仪式，用以感谢天神，让天神保佑收成好，以猎获更多的野兽。村民先是在镖牛的现场跳舞、喝酒，他们在微醺中用镖刺死壮硕的黄牛，砍掉牛头，将牛嘴里塞上青草，并背着牛头跳舞唱歌。

很多重要的现场解说词十分有限，纪录片主要是对于现场发生的一切进行旁观。镜头中充满了人群说话的声音，跳舞的声音，在这个影像格局下，观众可以充分地去体会现场人们的情绪，可以尽可能地去感受现场的节奏和意义。

这个独龙族在当时仅有几千人，接下来展现的傈僳族在当时则有十八万七千多人，对于傈僳族的叙述在这部纪录片中占有最高的比重。它讲述了这个民族的来历，他们最早生活在四川，1548年为了避内地的战乱，从四川迁入怒江峡谷。影片开始拍摄他们如何建造房屋，之后拍摄他们对于酒的嗜好——宁可少吃粮食，不能少酿酒，他们将收成的一半用来酿酒。这个部分最为动人的是描述了村民与酒的关系，这是他们度过黑夜的方式。因为怒江峡谷南北走向，傈僳族多住在峡谷深处，所以昼短夜长。纪录片拍摄了他们一起煮玉米酒，喝酒的方式是两个人将嘴部并在

一起，同时喝一口酒，这似乎是一种表达友好和亲密关系的方式。然后他们在微醺之中跳舞，其动作豪放又自然松弛。影片将其中的气氛十分充分地展现出来，这正是静观模式所给予我们的益处，解说词没有将画面的意义全部固定下来，而保持了其敞开性，能让我们主动地去投入和感受，而且很显然，影片更为注重他们生活中的精神层面。

但影片很快展现了另外的村民，他们并不通过喝酒聚会的方式来度过黑夜。然后它拍摄了那些戒了酒并且杜绝参与狂欢晚会的基督徒。之后仍然有一组采访，问他们信教的感觉，一个村民说自己曾经多病，没有钱请人来驱鬼，信教后问题就解决了。聚会时唱歌的场景，接的是远山上的静谧风光，重山深处村庄屋舍可爱，烧荒后大地冒着烟，白烟和红色的花树与傍晚特殊的光线结合在一起，一种庄严美好的感觉在画面上透露出来，这个画面的营造，显然包含有作者的评价，其中有不易觉察的态度。

继之所展现的，是两个家庭中发生的故事，都是关于“鬼”。影片详细记录了达友村一个家庭驱鬼的过程，之后采访了一个叫做朵玛的妇女，村民认为她是“鬼婆”，镜头前，她讲述了自己如何由人变成鬼的过程。她叫俅阿海，五十多岁了。

> “我也不知道，大概是1958年前后，一个女人来借织布的梭子，后来觉得嗓子疼，请巫师来祭鬼，后来女人死了。人们就叫我朵玛。我本人也很着急，就用砍刀来祭鬼，砍刀开始不动，后来问明年如何，说明年好过。但是村民都不信，村民们根本不想相信，我在前面走，他们在后面踩我的脚印，要把我踩死。很多年，人们觉得没意思了，才把她定位五保户。”
>
> “乡亲们这样对待你，你怎么想？”
>
> “我想已经都成这样了，随便他们把我感到什么地方都可以。你服气是如此，不服气也是如此。”

朵玛还介绍了自己的两任丈夫，第一任是国民党军官，第二任是懒汉，住在朵玛父母家，经常打她，被父母赶将出去。这个故事里面有女性命运的暗示，以及一个集体的运作对于一个女性的压迫。

然后影片详细拍摄了一次村民赶集的过程。人们背着兽皮、草药去换日用品，但通常他们将钱全部用来买高度数的玉米酒，在集市上喝完。集市作为物质交换的场所，但是影片仍然着重呈现了村民的精神世界。

接着是登梗温泉的澡塘会，峡谷中的傈僳族和彝族村民每年春天在这里进行为期三天的沐浴。温泉沐浴男女分开，摄像机拍到女性沐浴的场面，自然是偷拍的，在树木枝叶的掩护下，摄像机拍了不少女性裸露的上身——这也许是很难避免的影像盗猎。在澡塘会不远处，是彝族一个分支的“登刀杆”仪式。影片用了接近15分钟来描绘这个仪式，他们如何围绕香案跳舞，如何将刀绑在梯子上并树立起来，影片只有很少的画外音介绍，说登刀杆在当地的意思是“上刀山，攀青天，够日月”。登刀杆的英雄慢慢的爬上了十几米高的刀山，然后出现了远山和太阳的画面，影片在喇嘛的吟诵中结束。

30年后的今天来看这部影片，我们当然要将之投放到历史中加以理解。在当时的纪录片语境下，这部影片的革命性显然是十分充分的。它的解说词的长度仅占整部影片的1/5左右，而且主要是交代信息，并非是强行引导画面意义的走向，而这个部分完全可以使用字幕卡的形式来加以交代，所以这部纪录片其实更像是后来的静观电影。

在此我要说明的是，我从来没用静观电影来概括之后的所有独立纪录片，而且也不以单纯的美学形式来界定独立纪录片，当我们谈到美学样式比如静观的时候，我们其实是看到了这种样式背后的文化政治的逻辑，静观是对于客体的尊重，是不希望将先验的主观的政治语言强加到画面上，而是让事物自动呈现，这是当年独立纪录片的先锋模式。它和80年代纪录片追求纪实主义是同一个道理，也和文革之后“讲真话”的呼吁并行不悖。

吕乐导演是怎样从北京这样一个大都市，来到西南边陲拍摄怒江峡谷的纪录片的？来自于政治文化中心的都市艺术家对边远少数民族的影像采集和叙事，是否无可避免带有一种殖民视野？多年之后，吕乐对此并不避讳，他对我说：“其实也可以说是一种文化殖民，我们对少数民族的简单化，故事片是这样，或者做纪录片也是，他们生活的形象更简单，更朴素。”不过这次拍摄的行为，也远非我们想象的那么突兀。这一点前面已经有所描述。投资的香港公司其实希望他拍摄的是猎奇的影片，只不过吕乐最终的成片并未按照资本的逻辑进行，你可以看到他们的确并未如此的猎奇——正如投资人放弃这部影片因为它“不够奇”一样，吕乐使用了自己认为恰当的方式。

这部影片更多的是对怒江峡谷两岸人们的精神性的关照，以其精神生活为主要线索，这与吕乐所讲述的逃避城市文化的初衷是一脉相承的。你可以感受到静观电影倾向下，观看者的入神、主客体间的交汇，那是一种对于别样人类精神线索的渴望和耐心追寻。它当然也可以被视为人类学纪录片的一种，但它不是仅仅陈列外部知识，它里面隐含着创作者的主观性，其独立性、作者性可以从中辨别一二。

独立的立场还存在于生产关系中，《怒江》显然不是在当时作为电影创作体系主体的制片厂制度下完成的。它的拍摄初衷由吕乐在漂泊西南的生活中自然而然产生的，后来幸运地获得了拍片所必须的资金（吕乐跟我郑重地说明他要感谢深圳的郑会立女士），所以创作者得以凭借自己的心性和既有美学修养，自然舒展地去拍摄，于是在电影语言上，有了一些重要的突破。它虽然使用了香港公司的资金，但逃离了资本主义创作体制的限定，ARTE当然也是一种体制，但它仅帮助完成后期，而与导演的创作思想相对一致，因此能愉快地合作。

这种边地民族原生态视觉材料的直接剪入，其多元化和意义的暧昧性，当时的中国媒体平台是比较难于容纳的。不论从电影生产机制、传播机制还是从电影的艺术风格和思想表达，这部影片都是一部独立纪录片。

上面我其实已经有了这样的追问：这部影片是一个过于偏僻的案例和意外之物吗？很多年来，它处在中国独立纪录片历史的既定论述之外，但今天经由我们的分析，可见它仍然处于80年代整体的时代精神当中，它包含了独立纪录片的核心内涵。而且它其实也有自己的体系，就是第五代导演少数民族电影的体系。吕乐曾经认为自己和田壮壮属于一个一致的脉络，他们从拍摄《红象》开始，一直在拍摄少数民族电影。田壮壮当年并未涉足纪录片，但是当年他们合作的剧情片《盗马贼》、《猎场札撒》其实被日本山形的人认为具有纪录片的品质[9]。而到了多年之后，看到田壮壮拍摄《茶马古道》，其实我们就可以从中看到这个脉络的顽强存在。而吕乐本人在第五代导演中，具有完全另类的神情和神色，他的电影的创作意志和样态，独立于第五代导演主流创作之外，比如《赵先生》（1998），和后来的《小说》（2007）、《十三棵泡桐》（2006）等等，都存在于中国独立电影的谱系当中。所以《怒江》不是孤例，而有着吕乐一以贯之的精神。

《怒江》自产生后，据吕乐介绍，在前些年的国内有过几次放映。但似乎并未引起足够的重视，几乎从未得到研究者的专门的书写。但它并非完全不在中国纪录片的生态体系之中，被认为是中国新纪录运动的重要成员的陈晓卿的创作，就自认为受到《怒江》的影响[10]。

虽然很多观点在这里并没有空间展开论证，需要另外撰写专门的文章论述，但是笔者在本文之外曾做了大量的追寻，为此，笔者希望对中国独立纪录片历史上早期事实进行总结，这是在发现《怒江：一条丢失的峡谷》以及其他一些相关材料之后，对整个中国独立纪录片坐标体系的轻微的调整。

中国独立纪录运动的起始，其实贯穿于整个八十年代，从八十年代早期开始。至于温普林1980年代中期的独立纪录实践，它开始更为自觉的持续，这个记录实践本身具有了一种强烈的自我觉醒意识。跟别人不同，我并不避讳在纪录片领域使用“运动”这个词语，就如同地壳运动一样，温普林早期的拍摄可能非常孤单，并行的案例难以找到或者说很少，但那是前震，它属于整个运动的一部分，是起于青萍之末的微风。

从1986年到1988年，纪录片的独立作品意识逐渐形成和强化，而有着确切完成日期和拥有公开播放证据的中国第一部独立纪录片是《怒江：一条丢失的峡谷》，它具有一般长片规模——86分钟，完成于1989年的6月9日，第二部是《流浪北京》（完成于1990），《大地震》没有最终完成，但是在1989年的4月份形成了初剪版本，无论其未来完成的最终形态如何，它都将是一部独立纪录片。所以《大地震》（粗剪本）、《怒江：一条丢失的峡谷》、《流浪北京》，加上时间半部《天安门》（1988–1991），它们共同构成了中国独立纪录片作品的起点。由于其创作开始的时间前后相差无几，而完成的前后时间也相差不远，因此我将它们看作一个整体和作品矩阵。但《怒江》的创作时间的确早于它们很多，因此可以被认定为中国独立纪录片的开山之作。不过，我们并不能因此否定吴文光在1990年后对于中国独立纪录片所具有的示范作用和辐射作用，在笔者之前所做的大量采访以及对于既往采访的阅读中，发现90年代的纪录片创作者大多都受吴文光的影响。

至于以“新”命名的“新纪录运动”，最早提出是在1991年时间等人组织的在北广的研讨会上，由于当时放映的片例（《流浪北京》、《天安门》、《望长城》等等）有很多是折衷和策略化的产物，因此，在当时，新纪录片的内涵其实一直处于模糊和矛盾之中（见本期中笔者采访时间的文字）。吕新雨也对新纪录运动进行了界定，但将其主要界定为电视行为，并且以独立命名，这其中的矛盾笔者已经在《中国独立纪录片20年的一种观察》第一部分进行辨析，认为其中不能自洽处颇多。但对于新纪录运动这个概念设定的分析，并非本文的任务，所以本文到此作结。

注释

1 见《北京盲流艺术家印象》，卫和，1987 年《中国美术报》。
2 见《从彼岸到此岸——蒋樾访谈》，《纪录中国》三联书店出版， 2003 年 7 月第一版，P101。
3 见《电影艺术》2009 年第 3 期，王小鲁 ,p.72。
4 来自于作者与温普林于 2021 年 5 月的访谈。
5 同上。
6 见《〈怒江〉：一部丢失的纪录片》，《经济观察报》，2021 年 5 月 24 日。
7 本文中吕乐的观点皆来自于 2020 至 2021 一年之间与他的交谈。
8 见《〈怒江〉：一部丢失的纪录片》，《经济观察报》，2021 年 5 月 24 日。
9 见《从〈流浪北京〉到〈死灵魂〉：中国纪录片与山形电影节 30 年》，《华语独立影像观察》第一期）。
10 同 8.

The Preconditions for Chinese Independent Cinema in the 1980s

Chris Berry

Abstract

Reflecting on my experiences working for China Film Export and Import Corporation in Beijing in the mid-1980s, this short essay identifies pre-conditions for the emergence of Chinese independent cinema in the 1990s. They include: the loss of faith in the command economy model of socialism; curiosity about the outside world in general and the outside film world in particular; the continued job and housing security of the *danwei* (单位work unit) system; emergent private enterprise; the introduction of a market-driven 'manager responsibility' system into the state-owned sector, including the film industry; the model provided by independent artists; and support from foreign friends in Beijing.

I arrived in Beijing in the middle of 1985 and left three years later, in mid-1988. During the first two years of my stay, I worked for the China Film Export and Import Corporation (中国电影输出输入公司), a branch of the state-owned China Film Corporation (中国电影公司) that formed the nucleus of what is today the China Film Group Corporation (中国电影集团公司). I was their sole full-time foreign employee, assisting with the English-language translation of subtitles, publicity materials and a magazine, as well as trying to do the research for my own PhD thesis. Just before my arrival, *Yellow Earth* (黄土地 dir. Chen Kaige 陈凯歌, 1984) had announced the arrival of the Fifth Generation to the world when it premiered at that year's Hong Kong International Film Festival. Suddenly, global interest in Chinese cinema exploded. Not many festivals or distributors had been attracted to the old socialist films in the 'boy loves tractor' genre. My workload went through the roof. But China Film only had a quota to employ one foreigner. Therefore, after two years, I transferred to the more manageable working pace of the Foreign Languages Press for my final year. I worked on the English edition of *China Reconstructs* (中国建设), a monthly magazine with lots of colour pictures and not too much text. But I also continued to do a lot of freelance translation work for China Film, who were still struggling to cope with demand.

If you had told me that within a few years of my departure China would have an independent film sector – defined in China as the production of films outside the state-owned economy and not submitted to the China Film Bureau for censorship or release in Chinese cinemas –I would have said you were mad. But it did happen. Wu Wenguang's (吴文光) documentary *Bumming in Beijing – The Last Dreamers* (流浪北京: 最后的梦想者, 1990) is conventionally recognized as the first Chinese independent feature film. I certainly was not aware of any earlier independent Chinese films being made while I was living in Beijing. At the time, I doubt if anyone was thinking about making films independently. I was mixing with Chinese film critics, producers, and directors on a daily basis and often asked all kinds of questions about filmmaking overseas – many of which I had to confess I did not know the answers to. But I do not remember anyone ever talking to me about independent production.

However, with the benefit of hindsight, can we see preconditions for Chinese independent cinema emerging in the 1980s? I think we can. At the very end of the decade, there are two clear trigger factors behind the appearance of Chi-

nese independent cinema. One is the notorious suppression of the Tiananmen Democracy Movement in 1989. The students are reputed to have sung the theme song from Zhang Yimou's (张艺谋) *Red Sorghum* (红高粱, 1987) as a sort of anthem. So, perhaps it is not surprising that it was made clear to filmmakers after 1989 that they were expected to tow the Party line or stop making films. The other factor was the decline of the Chinese film industry and the lack of jobs in the state-owned studios for the so-called Sixth Generation, who graduated from the Beijing Film Academy, China's only film school at the time, in 1989. But what pre-conditions were already emerging earlier in the decade?

Emerging Post-Socialism

I believe that the unique combination of characteristics constituting early Chinese post-socialism provided the right ingredients for independent filmmaking to emerge when they were ignited, so to speak, by these trigger events. What do I mean by 'early Chinese post-socialism'? I mean the conditions that pertained between the end of the Cultural Revolution decade (1966-1976), when faith in socialist ideology had substantially diminished, and prior to Deng Xiaoping's famous 'Southern tour' in 1992, which launched full commitment to the market economy and Chinese participation in globalisation. During this period, although faith in socialist ideology was fading, the everyday working and living conditions that had prevailed in the People's Republic since 1949 continued to be taken for granted by most of its citizens. At the same time, reforms made small-scale private enterprise possible and introduced the principles of profit and loss into the state sector. Finally, after a long period of isolation in which only foreigners from similarly organised socialist societies visited, Chinese people in the big cities were beginning to meet foreigners from the rest of the world, like me. And, going by my own experience, they were very eager to find out everything they could about the world we lived in. (I got so tired of being asked to practice English at every stop light when I was cycling around Beijing that, after a while, I sometimes pretended to be Norwegian and answered in nonsense-talk!)

The socialist revolution had promised a road to material plenitude and political fulfilment, as portrayed in all those films full of happy farmers and smiling factory workers. By the end of the Cultural Revolution decade, it was clear to everyone that this goal was not getting any closer and, if anything, it was receding into the distance. Meanwhile, the consumer revolution had happened in the West and the 'Tiger economies' were booming closer to home in East and Southeast Asia. By the time I arrived in Beijing, interest in the West, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan was very strong, along with the desire for change. At the time, informal and possibly illegal roadside booksellers who laid their wares out on sheets sold editions that were hard to find in the state-owned Xinhua bookstores. I remember that translations of Sigmund Freud sold like hot cakes, along with books about humanist philosophy. This was the so-called 'cultural fever' (文化热) period. Everyone was very open to new ideas and very eager to try new things.

Curiosity about the Outside World

Maybe nobody had heard of 'independent cinema' and so they did not think to ask me about it. But they did ask me about a lot of other things. Officially, I was a 'foreign expert'. As a doctoral student in my twenties, this seemed absurd to me. However, it was the result of how foreigners were employed in China at the time. We were few and far between, and our salaries and conditions were at the top end of what was available in the country at the time. In theory, only very prestigious people should be allowed to take these jobs – 'foreign experts'. But by international standards, the pay

and conditions were not so great. My monthly pay would not cover more than a couple of dinners in a foreign-owned hotel, one of the few places with restaurants back then. Furthermore, prestigious people were not necessarily the right people for the job. After I got to China Film, I discovered that I was their first foreign expert who had any Chinese language skills. This helped me to understand some of the translation problems in the subtitles of films I had seen before!

Although I was not much an 'expert' in anything, coming from the West at a time when few if any of the people I worked with had lived outside China meant I got asked a lot of questions. Some of them were everyday questions. What sort of car did I own? People were disappointed to find out I did not even have a driving license. Other questions were to do with the film world. For example, it was very hard to explain to people that showing films that were critical of conditions in China in international film festivals was good for the image of China as a society that was opening up, becoming more confident, and so on.

During this period, every director in China had to bring a print of their freshly completed film to the Film Bureau in Beijing to be inspected, i.e. censored. After they had shown the film in the Film Bureau, they would show the same as yet uncensored print in a number of state film institutions, including China Film, on the basis that we needed to know what would soon be part of our workload. I got to meet many directors, and I tried to answer their questions about film festivals and possible sales overseas and so on.

I was also asked to participate in roundtable discussions about the films at the China Film Association (中国电影协会) and even at the China Film Archive, which was next door to China Film Corporation, but the least accessible of the film institutions. These two organisations were responsible for bringing in specialised seasons of foreign film for screening tours. This practice had developed since the 1949 Revolution, and before the 1980s had mostly consisted of exchanges of 'film weeks' with so-called fraternal socialist countries. But now they were worked with organisations like the British Film Institute and the Cinémàtheque Française to build up the knowledge of people in the Chinese film world about non-socialist cinema. Almost any information I could provide was useful to my Chinese colleagues trying to grasp the cultural context of the films they were seeing. But there were limits I remember the China Film Archive asked me to participate in a session to accompany a Fassbinder season. I considered myself too ignorant to talk about anything in these roundtables and, besides, my Chinese was not good enough. But, somewhat exasperated at always being expected to speak on these occasions, I spent about fifteen minutes explaining why I thought that one of the fundamental keys to understanding Fassbinder was his homosexuality. I did not get any questions and I did not get asked to speak again.

The *Danwei* Model

Although in general the atmosphere in the 1980s was open and full of curiosity about the non-socialist world, it is important to remember that Chinese 'post-socialism' is not the same as the Eastern European post-socialism that followed in the 1990s. In China, although there was a falling a way of faith in the ideology of socialism, the one-party state governance model is still in place today, and in the 1980s, the organisation of society remained largely unchanged from the Mao era. There was no overnight collapse, as there was in the former Soviet block at the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s. What that meant is that the *danwei* model was still largely intact. *Danwei* means unit, literally translated.

Chinese society was organised into work units, and every citizen of the People's Republic was born into their parents' unit and then assigned their own unit when they finished their education. The unit provided your job, your housing, a clinic, schooling for your children, and so on. People had a strong sense of belonging to their unit and of unit identity. But they also had a strong sense that their unit belonged to them.

When independent film and television production began in China in the 1990s, I believe *danwei* thinking was important. Why? Because the assets of the *danwei* were perceived by its members as belonging to all of them. This is very different from the private company thinking that dominates in liberal democracies and in China today. With private company thinking, the company's assets belong to it and employees have no rights over those assets. But in Chinese state-owned television stations and film companies well into the 1990s, that way of thinking did not exist. Unit members often felt they had a right to borrow the unit's equipment, especially if it was just sitting in a storeroom over the weekend or not in use because of the downturn in the film industry. Because this way of thinking was almost taken for granted, few people questioned it when someone working for a film or television unit borrowed a camera for the weekend. After I left China in 1988, I was discouraged from returning for a while by former colleagues who felt the situation was unsafe after 1989. But when I did meet the first independent filmmakers outside China and asked them how they had been able to get their equipment, they casually replied, '*jie de*' ('borrowed it').

The Beginnings of Private Enterprise

However, it is also true that there was probably a limit to how much equipment you could borrow and how long for. This must have become even more true once the films started to make their way into the international film festival circuit and, eventually, get the attention of the Film Bureau. This is how the emergence of private enterprise in the 1980s becomes relevant to any account of the preconditions for the emergence of independent filmmaking a few years later. However, this importance is not because any of the filmmakers thought they were engaged in private enterprise. Indeed, the education they were given at the Beijing Film Academy had not moved from a socialist pedagogical model of acting as a mouthpiece for the Party to the promotion of Hollywood-style commercial filmmaking. Rather, it had turned to the European model of auteurism and cinema as art.

However, although independent filmmakers may have identified as artists and absolutely not as businessmen, that did not prevent them from doing a little private enterprise on the side to support their filmmaking. A good example of this modus operandi is Zhang Yuan (张元). By the time I got to know him in the mid-1990s, he was making the most rapid headway among his peers as an independent filmmaker. One of the reasons for this success was that he owned his own Beijing Jeep, along with his own filmmaking equipment. He had earned the money to buy these things by making music videos, advertisements, and company videos. In the early 1990s, people who knew how to use a video camera were few and far between in China, and they were able to command a good price for their talents.

One-person individual private enterprises such as Zhang Yuan's small company are called *getihu* (个体户) in China. In the late Mao era, they would have been condemned as 'sideline' (副业) activities and were outlawed. But they were initiated as legal activities and licensed beginning in the late 1970s. I am not sure if the roadside book sellers I mentioned earlier had a license, but certainly everyone spoke of them as *getihu*.

The Manager Responsibility System and Wu Tianming

A bit later, in the early 1980s, the so-called 'manager responsibility' system was introduced into the state-owned economy. This extended the profit and loss thinking of the market economy that shaped all private enterprise to the entire society, which was an important preparation for the emergence of independent filmmaking in the 1990s, including the state-owned sector. Filmmakers began to take responsibility for funding their own work, however modest their budgets.

Before the introduction of the manager responsibility system, the state-run economy was a central command one. That meant it operated with five-year plans developed in Beijing, and resources to carry out various activities as part of the plan were allocated to each *danwei* unit. Some *danwei*, such as China Film Corporation, where I worked, made a lot of money for the state. In their case, a national monopoly on film distribution and exhibition combined with a monopoly on film exports and imports was almost a license to print money. But other players in film sector did not earn much. Because they only got a per-print fixed fee from China Film Corporation, most film studios struggled to earn as much as they spent. But, so long as the command economy was operating, losses did not matter, because resources were centrally allocated regardless of revenues generated and could compensate for those losses.

The manager responsibility system changed all that. The managers of units were told they were responsible for their unit's profitability, and that the days of central subsidies were coming to an end. This transformation was introduced slowly. In China, Xi'an Film Studio (西安电影制片厂), run by the late and much-lamented Wu Tianming (吴天明), was one of the first to try it out, beginning, I believe, in 1984, after his appointment to head the studio in 1983. Wu was already a famous film director and so there was a lot of buzz around him and his new role. One of my jobs, thanks to my supposed expertise, was to write a column for each issue of *China Screen* (中国银幕) the publicity magazine that China Film Export and Import Corporation produced in multiple languages in the 1980s. So, I decided to interview him for the column.

What made me really curious about Wu Tianming was he was using the manager responsibility system to support the young Fifth Generation filmmakers. Their filmmaking was so radical by the standards of the time and place that neither critics nor audiences inside China knew what to make of them. Until *Red Sorghum*, the first bona fide Fifth Generation hit, their films did not make money. I wanted to know why someone operating in a new system that emphasized the market would support filmmakers who were considered to be box office poison. Wu told me that his strategy was three-pronged. First, he made films to satisfy the government and their expectations for pedagogical entertainment. Second, he made commercial films in the new genre-based cinema that was emerging, in order to generate more income for the studio. And third, he used the profits as a kind of research and development budget to support new kinds of filmmaking and put himself at the cutting edge. That was how Chen Kaige, Tian Zhuangzhuang (田壮壮), and other members of the Fifth Generation came to be working at Xi'an.

The combination of the *getihu* system and the manager responsibility system made a major contribution to transforming the attitudes of Chinese people, which I witnessed during my time in China. In the days of the old command economy system, people had become accustomed to accepting their assignment to a certain unit that would have certain

work for them but would also look after them. Many units, including China Film, had large numbers of people on the books who drew a salary but were not needed and never actually came in to work. The new way of thinking introduced both opportunity and risk. You might go bust, but you might do well if you came up with a good idea. Everyone had a side hustle by the time I was there, except for an older generation that could not adjust to the brave new world. So, perhaps it makes sense that once they were backed into a corner by the combination of very strict government control and lack of job opportunities in the state-owned sector, quite a few young filmmakers would have the problem-solving and go-it-alone mentality required for independent filmmaking.

Precursors: Independent Artists

Indeed, it is also important to note that the 1980s also gave them examples to follow, when they needed to later. I have already noted that at the Beijing Film Academy, the students were not encouraged to think of themselves as commercial or state pedagogical entertainers, but rather as artists. For a filmmaker to step outside the state system and start working by themselves was daunting back then, precisely because before the digital they did need access to equipment, editing rooms, laboratories, and so on. That is a major reason why independent filmmaking was not happening in any regular way before 1989. But the same is not true for many other artists. Surely, it is no accident that *Bumming in Beijing: The Last Dreamers* was precisely about a group of painters and writers who had become *getihu* and were trying to find a way to survive outside the *danwei* system? They provided the model of what independent art production might really mean. And their roots went deep. As early as 1979, a group of artists had staged The Stars Art Exhibition (星星美展) on the railings outside the China Art Gallery. Although the police closed them down, they had shown that artists could operate outside the system.

In the mid-80s, Chinese contemporary artists were facing difficulties not unlike those faced by young filmmakers after 1989. Their work, neither traditional nor socialist realist, found no favour with the art establishment. Approved painters were admitted to the China National Art Workers Association (中国全国美术工作者协会), attached to a unit such as a provincial level gallery or an art school, and put on salary for life. But contemporary art was not accepted or understood by this mainstream. So, contemporary artists had to look elsewhere, and some members of the small community of foreigners living in China did understand contemporary art, and some of them had enough money to buy paintings. Those foreigners might also have collections of books and other useful materials. By the time I was living in Beijing, there were many contemporary artists hanging out with foreigners and eager to sell their work to anyone who was interested. Had I known what would happen to the prices of Chinese contemporary art, I would have bought some!

The Foreign Community in Beijing

Although members of the foreign community in Beijing were able to buy modestly priced paintings, of course they could not buy films! Nevertheless, they also had a role to play in the constellation of preconditions for independent filmmaking. Opportunities to travel outside China were few and far between in the 1980s. But ever-increasing numbers of foreigners from non-socialist countries were either visiting China or passing through. Chinese filmmakers, just like their artist friends, were eager to meet those people and find out what they could about films made in the countries they had been cut off from for so long. In his book, *Memoirs from the Beijing Film Academy*, Ni Zhen (倪震),

one of the teachers of the Fifth Generation filmmakers, reminds us that video cassettes barely existed in those days, never mind DVDs. Therefore, the collections of 16mm prints held by embassies became a significant resource that the Beijing Film Academy drew on to introduce their students to types of filmmaking they had heard about but had little opportunity to see.

My apartment at the Friendship Hotel in what was then the Northwest suburbs of Beijing also had its uses for filmmakers. Following the success of *Yellow Earth*, there was a steady stream of international visitors to Beijing from foreign film festivals and so on. Some of them I knew before, others I got to know in the course of my job at China Film. Because I was seeing almost every new feature film when it came to Beijing for the censorship process, I was a useful source of information, and China Film figured I understood what they wanted. Often, they also wanted to meet young filmmakers, who were usually happy to meet them, too. But meeting foreigners was still not something one could do casually in China in the mid-1980s. I used to go and have dinner with an old Chinese friend at their apartment about once a month until they told me they had to go to the local police station and file a report every time I visited, including an account of what we talked about. After that, we tried to find restaurants to meet in.

For filmmakers who did not want to get official permission for a meeting with a visiting foreigner, my apartment was a good alternative. True, they were supposed to show their ID card and sign in at the main gate to the hotel grounds. But those regulations had been designed before Beijing had taxis that private citizens could use. If my Chinese friends came in a cab, it could almost always drive straight in deposit them outside the entrance to my compound, where there was no gate guard. Those of living in the Friendship Hotel figured a significant proportion of the staff were there to keep an eye on us, so I am confident everyone knew what was going on. But at least it provided a more relaxed environment that an official meeting room in the company offices.

In my memory, a lot of the discussion was about film style, themes, aesthetics and so on. But I am sure that young Chinese filmmakers were also aware that the film distribution and exhibition world outside China operated in a very different way, and talking to film festival curators and journalists from overseas helped to understand it much better. However, the way the global film world operated in the 1980s was also very different from how it operates now. Today, the explosion in the number of film festivals has eclipsed the old art film cinema networks, most of which have disappeared. But in the late 1980s, getting your film shown in festivals overseas was still a step towards selling your film to distributors and television stations. So long as they were operating through the state-owned studios and China Film, filmmakers did not receive any of that income themselves. But once they found themselves on their own after 1989, some of them had the contacts and enough knowledge to begin doing their own deals and take the plunge to become independent filmmakers. The budgets for Chinese independent films were notoriously low in the early days, so it did not take a lot of income from overseas to cover the costs of production and maybe more.

Conclusion

Looking at the situation from another angle, can we imagine the emergence of independent production without some of the conditions that emerged in the 1980s? What if young Chinese filmmakers had been in a situation like that of their East European and Soviet counterparts, who went almost overnight from a completely self-contained command

economy situation to full privatisation and globalisation? It is difficult to imagine that they would have found the road to independent production as quickly or successfully as they did. At the time, it was not at all apparent that this would become the direction that China would follow. But now, with the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that a decade of growing knowledge about cinema in liberal market economy systems emerged during the 1980s along with the development of a sense of initiative taking and risk management *within* the relative security of the *danwei* system. Together, they slowly created the right mix of conditions for triggering Chinese independent filmmaking at the beginning of the next decade.

1980年代中国独立电影的先决条件

裴开瑞 Chris Berry　译者: 艾玛·魏

概要

作者通过回顾上世纪八十年代中期在北京为中国电影输出输入公司工作的经历，这篇短文讨论构成九十年代中国独立电影出现的先决条件。这些先决条件包括：民众对社会主义计划经济体制丧失信心；民众对外部世界、特别是外部电影世界的好奇心；单位体制为民众工作及住房提供持续保障；新兴民营企业的涌现；包括电影工业在内的国有部门对由市场驱动的"经理负责制"制度的引入；独立艺术家的工作模式；在京外国友人的支持。

我于1985年中抵达北京，三年后，即1988年年中离开。在京的头两年，我在中国电影输出输入公司工作，该公司是原国有企业中国电影公司的分支，原中国电影公司是现中影集团的核心组成。我是当时唯一的全职外籍员工，协助字幕、宣传材料和杂志的英文翻译，同时也为自己的博士论文做研究。就在我来之前，《黄土地》(1984) 在当年的香港国际电影节首映，宣告了中国第五代导演的出现。仿佛一夜之间，中国电影在全球范围内掀起一阵热潮。在《黄土地》之前，没有多少电影节或发行商会对"男孩热爱拖拉机"这一类型的老派社会主义电影感兴趣。我的工作量达到了顶峰。但中影只有一个可以雇佣外国人的名额。因此，两年后，也就是在京最后一年，我转入了外文出版社，这样更易于调整我的工作节奏。我当时在《中国建设》英文版工作，这是一本多彩色图片而少文字的月刊。同时，由于中影仍有许多翻译需求，因此我也作为兼职，继续给中影做很多翻译工作。

如果那时候有人告诉我，在我离开后的几年内，中国将有独立电影出现 (独立电影在中国的定义是在国有经济体制之外制作、且不需要提交给中国电影局审查或在中国电影院上映的电影) ，我会说你疯了。但独立电影确实出现了。业内普遍认为吴文光的纪录片《流浪北京：最后的梦想者》(1990) 是中国第一部独立长片。我在北京的时候显然不知道有任何早期中国独立电影正在制作中。而且我猜当时根本没人会有独立制作一部电影的想法。我每天都和中国影评人、制片人和导演打交道，经常被问到各种各样关于海外电影制作的问题——有时候我不得不承认我不知道答案。但记忆中，从来没有人跟我提起过独立电影制作这个话题。

然而，事后看来，我们能否在80年代看到一些促成中国独立电影涌现的先决条件呢？我认为可以。80年代末，中国独立电影出现的背后有两个明显的触发因素。一是1989年臭名昭著的天安门民主运动镇压事件。据说，参加运动的学生们集体高歌张艺谋导演的《红高粱》主题曲，仿佛像唱国歌一样。因此，1989年后电影制作人们也自然明白了如果要拍电影就要跟着党的路线走，否则就没有电影可拍。另一因素是中国电影业的衰落，导致所谓第六代导演在国有制片厂鲜有工作岗位，第六代导演指1989年毕业于当时中国唯一的电影学院——北京电影学院的一群学生。但是在80年代已有了哪些先决条件呢？

新兴的后社会主义

我相信，中国早期后社会主义特征的独特组合为独立电影制作提供了恰好的要素，当它们被这些触发事件点燃时，

独立电影就出现了。“中国早期后社会主义”是什么呢? 这里我指的是文革之后到1992年邓小平南巡之前的这一段时间。文革十年 (1966–1976) 让民众对社会主义意识形态的信心大幅下降, 而九二南巡则彰显了中国全面发展市场经济及参与到全球化进程的决心。而在这两个事件中间的这段时间, 尽管民众对社会主义意识形态的信心消退, 但绝大多数民众都还是对那种自1949年中华人民共和国成立以来盛行并沿袭下来的日常工作和生活状态习以为常。与此同时, 改革促进小型私营企业发展, 并将自负盈亏原则引入国有部门。最终, 经过长期封锁后, 中国不再只接受来自与其体制类似的社会主义阵营的外国人访问。生活在大城市的中国人开始有机会认识来自世界其他地方的外国人, 比如我。而且, 根据我自己的经验, 他们非常渴望了解我们生活的世界的一切。(我在北京骑自行车出行时, 几乎在每个红绿灯都有人找我练英语, 时间久了之后我都厌倦了, 有时候甚至会假装我是挪威人, 然后胡言乱语地回答!)

社会主义革命承诺了一条通向物质丰富和政治成就的道路, 正如所有描绘快乐的农民和微笑的工厂工人的电影那样。到文革十年结束时, 每个人都清楚, 中国离这个目标并没有越来越近, 而是背道而驰。与此同时, 西方发生了消费革命, “老虎经济”在东亚和东南亚邻国蓬勃发展。我到北京时, 大众对西方、香港、台湾和日本的兴趣非常浓厚, 也非常渴望改变。当时, 非正式的、甚至很可能是非法的路边书贩将一些在国有新华书店很难找到的书摆在地摊上出售。记忆中, 弗洛伊德书籍译本像刚出炉的蛋糕一样被一售而空, 人文主义哲学相关书籍也同样畅销。这就是所谓的“文化热”时期。人们包容接纳新想法, 也非常渴望尝试新事物。

对外部世界的好奇

也许是因为没有人听说过“独立电影”, 所以没有人想到过问我相关问题, 但他们确实问了我很多其他的事情。我是官方聘请的“外国专家”。作为一名年仅20多岁的博士生, 我觉得这很荒谬。然而, 这就是当时外国人在中国就业的状况。在当时, 外国人是稀缺人才, 而且薪水和生活条件处于当时中国所能提供的最高水平。从理论上讲, 只有权威人士才能胜任“外国专家”这种工作。但按照国际标准, 我们的薪酬和生活条件其实并没有那么好。我每月的工资最多只能支付几顿外资酒店里的晚餐, 这些酒店是当时为数不多的有餐厅的地方之一。此外, 权威人士不一定能胜任这份工作。到了中影后, 我才发现我是他们第一个懂中文的外国专家。我终于理解了我之前看过的电影字幕为什么会有那些翻译问题了!

尽管我在任何方面都算不上“专家”, 但毕竟我来自西方国家。而当时, 与我共事的人中几乎没有人在外国生活过。这就意味着我会被问到很多问题。其中一些是日常问题, 比如我开什么样的汽车 (通常当他们发现我连驾照都没有之后都会失望) 。还有与电影世界有关的问题, 例如, 我很难向人们解释, 在国际电影节上放映批判中国社会现实的电影其实有利于中国建立一个正在逐渐开放、愈发自信的国际形象, 等等。

在那时候, 中国的每位导演都必须将他们新拍的电影样片带到位于北京的电影局进行检查, 即审查。导演们在在电影局放映样片后, 还要在包括中影在内的一些国家电影机构放映相同的未经审查的作品, 因为我们需要提前了解我们未来的工作内容。我有机会遇到了很多导演, 我也尝试着回答了他们关于电影节以及潜在的海外销售机会等问题。

我还应邀参加过中国电影协会甚至中国电影资料馆的电影圆桌讨论。虽然中国电影资料馆就在中影隔壁, 但却是各大电影机构中最难获得访问机会的单位。这两个组织负责举办外国电影特映季活动。此类影展自1949年革命开办以来, 到1980年代之前, 都是与中国的社会主义兄弟国家以“电影周”的形式进行交流。但现在他们与英国电影

协会法国电影资料馆合作，以提高中国电影界人士对非社会主义电影的认知和理解。基本上我提供的所有信息都能帮助到我的中国同事理解他们所看电影的文化背景。但有时候也有例外。一次，中国电影资料馆举办R.W.法斯宾德电影季，并请我参加其中的一次圆桌讨论。我自认为过于无知，无法在这些圆桌会议上侃侃而谈，况且我的中文还不够好。但是我总被要求在这些场合发言，有次把我惹急了，便花了一刻钟解释为什么我认为如果要理解法斯宾德，最关键的一点就是要理解他的同性恋取向。我讲完之后，再也没有人问我问题，也没有人要我发言了。

单位模式

尽管1980年代的大环境总体上是开放的，且对非社会主义世界充满好奇，但是要记住，中国的“后社会主义”与1990年代后东欧的后社会主义不同。在中国，虽然大众对社会主义意识形态的信仰有所下降，但一党制国家治理模式到今天仍然存在，而且在1980年代，社会的组织结构与毛泽东时代相比基本没有变化。中国并未出现没有像1980年代末至1990年代初前苏联集团那样一夜之间的瓦解，这意味着“单位”模式基本上仍然完好无损。中国社会组织分成不同的工作单位，每个中华人民共和国公民的出生时属于他们父母所在的单位，完成学业后再被分配到自己的单位。单位提供工作、住房、诊所、孩子的教育等等。人们对单位的归属感和单位认同感很强。而他们也会有一种单位属于他们的强烈感觉。

1990年代中国开始独立影视制作的时候，单位思维在我看来很重要。为什么？因为单位成员视单位资产为所有成员共有，这与在自由民主国家和当今中国占主导地位的私营公司思维大不相同。在私营公司的思维中，公司的资产归公司所有，员工对这些资产没有任何权利。但在1990年代的中国国有电视台和电影公司中，私有公司的思维方式仍然不存在。单位成员常认为他们有权借用单位的设备，如果设备周末在储藏室闲置，或因电影业不景气而闲置，那就更是如此了。正因当时大家对这样的一种认知习以为常，所以如果有人在周末借一下单位的相机，也不会遭到任何质疑。1988年离开中国后，之前的同事都劝我别回来，因为他们觉得1989年后大环境不安全。等我后来在海外遇到了中国的第一批独立电影人时，问他们是怎么拿到设备的，他们随口答道，“借的。”

私营企业的开端

但是，借用设备的数量和时间也可能是有限的。一旦这些电影开始进入国际电影节的圈子，并引起电影局的注意后，借设备的机会就更有限了。正因如此，1980年代私营企业的出现才与促成几年后独立电影出现的先决条件产生了重要关联。然而，这种重要性并不是因为电影导演认为他们与私营企业挂钩了。的确，他们在北京电影学院接受的教育模式并没有从充当党的喉舌这个社会主义教育模式转变为好莱坞式的商业电影的推广模式，而是转向了欧洲的电影作者论和电影即为艺术的模式。

尽管独立电影人认为自己是艺术家，绝不是商人，但这也并不妨碍他们兼职做一点生意来支持自己的电影制作。张元就是很好的一个例子。我在1990年代中期认识他时，他是同期独立电影人中发展最快的。他成功的原因之一就是他有自己的北京吉普车，以及自己的电影制作设备。他通过制作音乐视频、广告和企业影片赚了钱，才买了这些东西。1990年代初期，中国会用摄像机的人屈指可数，所以他们的技能也很值钱。

像张元这种小公司的个人私营企业在中国被称为个体户。在毛泽东时代后期，个体户是违法的，并且被社会谴责为搞“副业”。但从1970年代后期开始，这些活动合法化并获得执照了。我不知道前面提到的路边书摊有没有执照，但大家肯定都叫他们“个体户”。

经理负责制与吴天明

后来，在1980年代初，“经理负责制”被引入国有经济，也将塑造了私企的市场经济自负盈亏理念延伸到整个社会，包括国有部门，为20世纪90年代独立电影制作的出现做了重要准备。无论电影制作人预算多么有限，他们都开始自己负责出资拍电影了。

在实行经理负责制之前，国营经济是由中央指挥的，这意味着它按照北京制定的五年计划运作。作为计划的一部分，开展各种活动的资源被分配给每个单位。其中一些单位，比如我工作的中国电影公司，为国家赚了很多钱。国家对电影发行和放映垄断，加上电影进出口的垄断，几乎相当于给了印钞许可证了。但电影界的其他机构没有赚到多少钱，因为他们只从中国电影公司获得固定费用，大多数电影制片工作室都还处于努力维持不亏本的状态。但是，只要计划经济存在，损失就无关紧要，因为无论产生的收入如何，资源都是集中分配的，可以弥补这些损失。

经理负责制改变了这一切。单位负责人被告知，他们得对单位的盈利能力负责，中央补贴的日子即将结束。这种转变是循序渐进的。在中国，西安电影制片厂是最早尝试经理负责制的电影制片厂之一，其厂长是备受爱戴的已故电影人吴天明。吴天明在1983年被任命为西安电影制片厂厂长，1984年便率领制片厂实行经理负责制。吴当时已经是一位著名的电影导演，所以围绕他和他的新岗位有很多议论。由于专业对口，当时我为中国电影输出输入公司在1980年代制作的多语种宣传杂志《中国银幕》撰写专栏文章并每期刊登。所以，我决定写一期采访他的专栏。

吴天明利用经理负责制支持年轻的第五代导演，这一做法让我倍感好奇。他们的电影制作按照当时时间和空间的标准看来非常激进，以至于中国国内的评论家和观众都不知道如何评价他们。在《红高粱》这部第一个真正意义上的第五代电影成功上映前，他们的电影一直都没有赚钱。我很好奇为什么一个拥护以市场为主的新体系的人会支持被认为是票房毒药的电影导演。吴告诉我，他的策略是三管齐下的。首先，他拍电影是为了满足政府和他们对寓教于乐的期望。其次，他的电影是商业电影，且为新兴的新类型电影，达到了为工作室创收的目的。第三，他把利润作为一种研发预算来支持新的电影制作，让自己走在最前沿。陈凯歌、田壮壮等第五代导演就这样来到了西安工作。

个体户制度与经理负责制的结合，在很大程度上转变了中国人的态度，我在中国时亲眼见证了这一变化。在旧的计划经济体制时代，人们已经习惯于接受单位分配，再由单位安排工作，同时单位也会照顾他们。包括中影在内的很多单位，都有大量拿工资但不需要工作的人，也没有来上过班。新的思维方式带来了机遇，也带来了风险。你可能会破产，但如果你有什么好想法，你可能会发展得很好。我在那儿工作的时候，每个人都已经有了副业，除了无法适应美丽新世界的老一辈。所以，一旦那些年轻的电影人陷入严格的政府管控以及国有部门缺乏就业机会的双重困境，他们就会产生解决问题并且单独行动的想法。而这也正是独立电影制作所需的心态。

先驱：独立艺术家

事实上，同样要注意的是，1980年代也为电影人提供了可以效仿的榜样，以便日后需要。我注意到，北京电影学院鼓励学生不将自己视为服务于商业娱乐或国家宣传的艺人，而是艺术家。在数字时代到来前，拍电影需要用到设备、编辑室、实验室等资源。因此在当时，对于一个电影人来说，脱离国有体制而独立制作电影是一件十分大胆的举动。这是1989年之前独立电影制作没有成为常规操作的主要原因。但对于许多其他艺术家而言，情况并非如此。《流浪北京：最后的梦想者》完全是关于一群画家和作家成为个体户并试图在单位体系之外生存的故事，想必这并不是一个偶然的巧合吧？他们提供了一种真正意义上的独立艺术生产模式。他们的根埋得很深。早在1979年，一批

艺术家就曾在中国美术馆外的栏杆上举办过星星美展，虽然警方后来禁止了展出，但这已经表明艺术家可以在体制之外运作。

80年代中期，中国当代艺术家面临的困境与1989年之后年轻电影人面临的困境无异。他们的作品既非传统也非社会主义现实主义，不受艺术界的青睐。官方批准的画家才能加入中国全国美术工作者协会，挂靠省级画廊或美术学校等单位，并终身领取工资。但当代艺术并未被这一主流所接受或理解。所以，当代艺术家不得不另寻高就。在中国生活的为数不多的外国人中，有人懂当代艺术，并有钱买画。这些外国人可能同时收藏书籍以及其他有用的材料。我住在北京的时候，就已经有了很多当代艺术家与外国人打交道，希望能把自己的作品卖给任何有兴趣的人。如果当时我就能预见到中国当代艺术作品价格走势，我肯定也会买一些画的！

北京的外国人圈子

北京的外国人虽然能买到平价的画，但肯定买不到电影！尽管如此，外国人在独立电影制作的先决条件中也发挥了作用。在1980年代，中国人出国旅行的机会很少。但访华或来华过境的非社会主义国家外国人却日益增多。中国电影人，就像他们的艺术家朋友一样，渴望见到这些外国人，尽量了解与他们隔绝甚久的国家制作的电影。第五代导演的授业恩师倪震在其著作《北京电影学院物语》中提醒我们，那个年代几乎连录像带都没有，更别提DVD了。因此，当北京电影学院向学生们介绍只有人听说过但几乎没人有机会看到的电影制作类型时，大使馆馆藏的16毫米电影胶片作品就成为了重要资源。

我当时住在北京西北郊区友谊宾馆，我的公寓对电影导演也有用处。随着《黄土地》的成功，来自外国电影节等国际游客源源不断地涌入北京，其中一些人我以前认识，另一些是我在中影工作期间认识的。因着工作缘故，每一部引进中国的电影进行审查时我都看过，所以我是一个有用的信息来源，加上中影认为我了解这些外国人想要什么。通常，他们还想见见年轻的电影人，这些中国电影人通常也很高兴见到他们。但在八十年代中期，在中国会见外国人仍然不太容易。有段时间我大概每个月都会和一位中国老朋友在他的公寓共进晚餐。后来他们告诉我，我每次去他们都要去当地警局备案，包括我们谈话的内容。我知道之后，就改成在餐馆见面了。

对于想与外国人会面但又不想去正式申请官方许可的电影导演来说，我的公寓是一个不错的选择。他们确实本应在酒店正门出示身份证并签到，但这规定是在北京有私人出租车之前制定的。如果我的中国朋友坐出租车来，出租车可以直接把他们送到我住所大院的入口，那里没有门卫。友谊宾馆的住客大概也都猜到了那一大批的工作人员其实是监视我们的，所以大家应该都知道我们公寓有猫腻。但至少它提供了一个比公司正式会议室更轻松的环境。

在我的记忆中，很多讨论都是关于电影风格、主题、美学等等的。但我也确定年轻的中国电影人也意识到国外电影发行和放映运作方式非常不同，与来自海外的电影节策展人和记者交谈有助于他们更好地了解国外的模式。然而，1980年代国际电影界的运作方式也与现在大不相同。如今，电影节数量的爆炸式增长使老式艺术院线黯然失色，其中大部分已经消失。但是在1980年代后期，电影在海外电影节上放映仍然是将电影出售给发行商和电视台的一种方式。电影人一旦通过国有制片厂和中国电影公司发行自己的电影，他们自己就没有任何收入。但是，在1989年后电影人开始需要靠自己打拼，有些人有足够的人脉和知识，能自己做交易并冒险成为独立电影制片人。早期中国独立电影的预算很低，所以不需要太多的海外收入就足以赚回制作成本，没准还能有点收益。

结语

换个角度看，我们想象一下如果没有80年代这些条件，独立电影是否还会出现？如果年轻的中国电影制片人处于像东欧和苏联同行那样的境地，几乎在一夜之间从完全自给自足的计划经济形势转向完全私有化和全球化，那会怎样？很难想象他们可能那样迅速或成功地进行独立电影制作。在当时，独立电影是否会成为中国将遵循的发展方向还不是很明显。但是现在回看，很明显，1980年代这十年间中国电影人对自由市场经济体系下电影了解越来越多，就算在单位制相对稳妥的情况下，也有电影人逐渐有了主动行动和风险管理意识。这些人一起逐渐创造了在下一个十年开始时触发中国独立电影制作的恰当条件。

离散的“第六代”：混沌的命名式、艺术营养和死亡情结
Sixth Generation Filmmakers: Confused Nomenclature, Artistic Nourishment, and the Death Complex

郝建 HAO Jian

概要

本文考察了被称为第六代导演的被命名过程以及当下状况，回顾了他们成长的1980年代的思想氛围、艺术营养；分析了这些青年导演们的青春期记忆以及作品中的“死亡情结”。本文试图论述，这些导演的创作风格和发展走向差异巨大，没有风格流派意义上的第六代。第六代与独立导演这个两个群体重合甚少，创作道路迥异。第六代作者和独立导演一直受到双向围堵：来自中国电影审查的压力和中国语境中的后殖民理论家那种带有政治意义的批判。现在，许多第六代重要作者转向主旋律电影创作。

关键词： 第六代、独立电影、死亡情结、1980年代、主旋律电影

Abstract

Reviewing the cultural, ideological, and artistic environment in the 1980s, when the so-called ‘Sixth Generation’ filmmakers grew up, this article examines the process by which the Sixth Generation filmmakers acquired their name, as well as their current status, and analyses the adolescent memories of these filmmakers and the ‘death complex’ in their works. It attempts to suggest that the Sixth Generation does not exist in the sense of a style and school, as these filmmakers had very dissimilar creative styles and took on very different career paths. There is little overlap between Sixth Generation filmmakers and independent filmmakers in terms of their creative approaches. However, both groups have been besieged by pressure from film censorship and politically-charged criticism from post-colonial theorists in the Chinese context. Nowadays, many important Sixth Generation filmmakers have turned to main melody filmmaking.

Keywords: Sixth Generation, Independent cinema, death complex, the 1980s, main melody films

一 中国电影2020：主旋律一家做主，第六代消散无影

今天谈论“第六代”是一个令人唏嘘、又十分讽刺、十分无趣的行为。即使按照最宽泛的群体指称意义或艺术风格涵盖的意义，第六代也已经消散于无形。

从具体境遇看，被指称为第六代的路学长因病去世，张元因吸毒被拘，王全安嫖娼获刑、胡雪杨一度远走法国，2020年虽然回到上海，但也未有拍片计划。第六代的其他重要导演也运行不畅。娄烨的最新作品《兰心大戏院》2019年曾经公布上映日期，后来却迟迟未进影院。贾樟柯以一人之力创建了平遥国际电影展，历经四届，取得巨大的国际、国内影响力。但是，在第四届将近闭幕时分传出惊变。2020年10月18日下午4点，贾樟柯向媒体宣布：“我们一路走过来，可能今年是我们这个团队做的最后一届平遥国际电影展。”

就作品的内在政治话语和历史叙述来看，曾经被称为第六代的导演们已经顺畅地进入佳境，扭动腰肢与主旋律共舞。宁浩等一批青年导演共同参与共和国的祝寿大片《我和我的祖国》(2020)。被认为是第六代重要的作者之一管

虎拍摄了《金刚川》(2020), 完全以国家主义的基调对中国在1950年代进军朝鲜的战争进行权威性的历史阐述, 影片以国家主义的宏大叙事延续着《英雄儿女》(1964)《上甘岭》(1956)以来的英雄故事讲述。

对于这一类国家主义叙事的电影作品, 电影行里有个新词, 叫做“国家大片”。行里的人一般认为, 能够参与这些一类电影的制作是自己事业更上层楼的重要台阶。也有电影界同行已经在半羡慕、半讽刺地讲述着“新国师”的故事。“国师”是以前电影界对张艺谋的称呼, 意思是他成为国家主义主旋律电影的最优秀导演、是各种国家形象营造工程的首选御用作者。

独立电影作者群体曾经与第六代有很多交叉、重合。许多第六代电影作者也经常参与北京宋庄和南京等地的独立电影展映、评选工作, 也不时将自己的作品拿到独立影展去参与讨论。但是, 时至今日, 独立电影展映被基本清除干净。宋庄每年一度的北京独立影像展于2014年被北京通县官方强行取缔, 其主要支持者和精神领袖栗宪庭一度被带进派出所。南京的中国独立影像展也由于矛盾重重陷入停顿。最后几届的积极参与者、组织者矛盾爆发, 曹恺关闭了影展的官方微博, 杨城则在公共领域撰文尖锐地表达与曹恺的争议。

在第六代诞生的1990年代, 中国的文化状况大致可以概括为主导文化、精英文化 (高雅文化) 、大众文化三种文化并存, 互相有所抵触的格局。笔者当时曾经这样划分中国的文化格局: “目前中国有三种文化: ‘大众文化’、‘主旋律文化’、‘精英文化’。”[1]

“主旋律文化”更准确的表述应该是“主导文化”, 这里的“主导文化”概念与英国文化研究学派的主导文化概念有极大差异。在中国语境中使用“主导文化”一词意在强调它与“主流文化”的差异。它不是那种在大众自由选择、市场交流中所形成的大众共同分享的主流文化 (大众文化) , 而是由政府、政党主管部门所管理、资助、指导、运作的导向文化、官方文化。

与这三种文化相对应, 笔者曾经将中国电影归纳为三种形态——主旋律电影、商业电影与独立电影。 “展望2008年,中国电影将继续维持这三种电影并存和互相抵触、对话, 并互相影响的局面。”[2]

考察第六代导演的遭遇和他们的创作, 再联系整个当下中国社会的文化氛围、政治语境, 我的观察结论是: 与独立电影、第六代导演诞生时的1990年代相比, 今天中国社会的文化境遇已经发生了某种带有根本性的变化: 由上述三种文化并存的格局转变为主导文化一家做主的格局。所谓主导文化就是执行共产党的宣传、灌输、导向功能的文化。值得注意的是, 在许多中国学者的行文论述中, 这种主导文化被指称为“主流文化”, 这就容易将政府支持、政府操办、政府推广的主导文化与西方文化研究语境中的“大众文化”混为一谈。

回望第六代导演们读书、成长的1980年代和响亮登场的1990年代, 只能发出一声低沉的叹息: 换了人间。而面对着消散于无形的第六代, 今天研究者和观众们会疑惑并进一步设问, 有没有过第六代? 如果有, 他们是谁? 他们从哪里来? 他们的思想资源和艺术营养来自何方?

二 1990年代: 话语地位争夺战, 第六代导演的命名式

第六代, 这个名词从它诞生开始就时常被带上引号。它的所指模糊, 其涵盖一直在泛化、飘移。我在1990年代就口头询问过贾樟柯等被指称为第六代的导演, 他们自己都不认可这个名称。[3]我一直认为这一批电影工作者是无法命

名的。“他们彼此之间的差别要大于他们共同的、一代人的特征，同时也大于第五代或更早代际电影人的特征。……被国内外称为第六代的是一群艺术主旨和个人生活态度、作品形态都有巨大差别的中国内地电影导演。他们之间最大的共同之处仅仅是他们的年龄。他们大约都生于60年代。”[4]

被指称为第六代的导演群体非常广泛。有电影学院1985级进校、1989年毕业的学生王小帅、娄烨、路学长等人，也包括以后几届毕业的王全安、程耳、管虎、李虹、李欣等。也有中央戏剧学院的张扬、施润玖、金琛，这前后还出现了贾樟柯、程耳、王超、宁浩、刁亦男等多人。电影学院研究生毕业的陆川虽然也被称为第六代导演，他自己却有时自称为第七代导演。

说没有第六代是指这些导演在艺术风格上天差地别，把他们的作品放在一起看不到第五代电影作品所具有的那种语言风格、内在价值、精神气质上的共同性，看不到那种形成风格流派意义的内在一致性。他们的作品纷繁斑驳、色彩各异。他们有的人决绝地以独立电影起家，而后进入体制，有的坚持在体制内拍片。他们有的写实功力强大，有的沉迷于镜头语言的流畅，有的继承和改写《低俗小说》《命运的机遇》等作品开创的分段式结构，有的聚焦中国社会、走现实主义路线，也有的对话新旧好莱坞，在类型片中寻求创新。

把陈凯歌、田壮壮、张军钊、张艺谋、黄建新、吴子牛等人在1980年代的作品拿来放在一起，能看到深层的某些一致性。即使是后来拍摄古装主旋律著名作品《雍正王朝》(1999)的胡玫，也在1985年拍摄了具有第五代风格的作品《女儿楼》，那部作品隐含地触及到部队医院中女兵的女性意识觉醒与军队规矩的冲突。黄建新虽然不是电影学院78的同学，但他拍摄过第五代风格的作品，《黑炮事件》(1986)具有形式突破和观念的冲击。

北京电影学院的杨远婴教授曾经从主要成员、生存状态、主题取向等方面对第六代导演群体与第五代的差异做过研究。“第六代电影的特征常常在和第五代的比较中得到归纳，他们作品中的青春眷恋和城市空间与第五代电影历史情怀和乡土影像构成了明显的主题对照：第五代选择的是历史的边缘，第六代选择的是现实的边缘；第五代破坏了意识形态的神话，第六代破坏了集体的神话；第五代呈现农业中国，第六代呈现当代中国；第五代是启蒙叙事，第六代是边缘叙事。”[5]这里的“主题”更多地是指“题材”。

独立电影导演，第六代导演这两个概念、两个群体彼此略有交集，他们中有些作者的身份也会随时漂移转换。张元、娄烨、贾樟柯、宁浩、王超、王小帅、刁亦男等都走在一条由地下到地上，由独立电影制作到体制内发行的道路上。时至今日，所有被称为第六代的导演都已经完成了向体制内电影的转型。就生理年龄而言，大部分被指称为第六代的导演已经人到中年。

但总的说来，独立电影人与第六代导演这两个群体重合甚少，艺术风格和创作道路也大相径庭。时至今日，独立电影导演与第六代更明显分化为两个交集很少的群体。他们的作品也以独立（地下）和体制内作品形成明显的区分。体制内作品在电影行业一般称为有龙标，电影局审查通过，俗称为拿到龙标。[6]

尽管王小帅、贾樟柯、宁浩、娄烨、王超等第六代导演以前也经常被称为独立电影导演或地下电影导演，但是一大批独立剧情片和纪录片导演一般不会被观众和电影研究者归入第六代。吴文光也很有知名度，但一般不被称为第六代。独立导演大多并未寻求体制内发行放映，或者未能成功地寻求体制内放映，却在国际上获奖无数。独立导演群星璀璨：应亮、马莉、甘小二、王笠人、王我、胡杰、赵亮、耿军、周浩、张赞波、王兵、丛峰、林鑫、朱日坤、徐童、于广义、吴文光、赵大勇、王利波、冯艳、王久良……

而被称为第六代的导演一般都没有涉足纪录片创作。或许，对他们来说，心中目标还是要创作走向影院、赢得观众欢呼的剧情片。

独立电影导演则更多地专注于纪录片作品，他们直面中国社会现实、不回避负面事实和那些令人不悦的影像。如果拿《铁西区》(王兵，2003)、《南京路》(赵大勇，2006)、《马大夫的诊所》(丛峰，2007)、《木帮》(于广义，2006) 与中央电视台的专题片做比较，不说其作者的阐释态度，仅仅看前者的拍摄对象就是“不堪入目”的。就作者群体的人数来说，独立电影导演要远远多于体制内第六代导演。即使在独立电影遭遇严寒的近几年，北京电影学院的教授张献民还保持每年观看200到300部剧情长片和短片，其中大部分是没有“龙标”的独立电影，并作出“十荐”，即对10部影片的推荐。仅就工作量而言，这项工作就是一个行为艺术，更不要说这个行为的重大意义。

今天，独立电影群体已经与“第六代”“新生代”彻底完成分化。关于什么是中国独立电影，我们在独立电影微信群里曾经至少有过两次比较大的讨论。我一直表示很简单的观点：在中国，没有被审查通过、没取得龙标的电影是独立电影。这是中国语境内独立电影性质，而不是看影片有无语言创新、内在观念有无“独立精神”，或者是不是“艺术电影”。[7]

从技术手段来考察这两个群体，也可以看到一个有趣的差别。独立电影作者更大程度上依赖数字技术带来的平等，他们是DV一代。如丛峰、赵大勇、吴文光、王兵、于广义等人就从来没有使用过胶片来创作作品。而第六代有些导演虽然是体制以外开机，但他们的前期作品或者处女作却是胶片起家。独立电影更多地依赖数字技术。第六代更多地与胶片、市场、与商业相联系，也就更需要在作品主题甚至艺术风格、形式话语上寻求与主导话语某种相安无事或者内在呼应。

如果从作品的艺术形态和风格流派的意义上考察第六代这个名词，我认为：第六代导演是“一群艺术主旨和个人生活态度、作品形态都有巨大差别的中国大陆电影导演”。[8]

“第六代”这个名词的诞生来自突破影响的焦虑。这个名词的问世就是一种目的明确的话语地位争夺战。新一代电影人在强烈动机的推动下，有意识地去拨开第五代电影的影响。藉由青年导演的创作力和他们有意识的高声宣告，第六代这个名称很成功地为一批青年导演争得了话语权力。我们可以看到，当时青年导演那种“影响的焦虑”(哈罗德·布鲁姆) 主要来自已经在国际国内赢得强大话语地位的第五代导演。

当然，“影响的焦虑”的压力不仅仅来自前人艺术话语的影响，还来自另一方面：强大的政治制约。就我现在看到的文本，当时青年导演主要的冲击方向是突破第五代电影的成功在国际和国内对新一代电影人巨大的影响。对于来自政治体制、主导话语制约和压力，青年导演们在起始阶段似乎并未指涉。

最早的话语争夺发生在1989年，由北京电影学院1985级毕业生发动。虽然《中国电影的后“黄土地”现象——关于一次中国电影的谈话》一文直至1993年才发表，但它成文于1989年春季左右。在这篇文章中，冲击第五代电影的影响这个目标表现得很明显。

作者们认为：“《黄土地》的创作，实际上是一种风格化的过程，所以，之后的中国导演们，在还没有彻底弄清正常电影的状态下，就开始寻找自身的风格和样式了。”而“电影制作界对于这种个人电影的追求，导致了一种以肤浅的社会学、人学、文化学甚至精神分析解释自我作品的风尚，这使中国的电影导演们始终处在一种欠清醒的状态

中”。[9]

文章明确地宣告“新一代电影人”要告别过去并突破对艺术功能的认识，他们将致力于恢复电影本来面目的努力，“《黄土地》已成过去……在我们的电影界里，有很长一段时间是观念领导创作、主义领导创作、读解领导作品……今天的中国电影需要的，不仅仅是理论家、评论家、或者读解家，中国电影需要的是一批新的电影制作者‘老老实实地拍'老老实实的电影。”[10]

根据笔者2020年12月14日与胡雪杨导演的电话采访。文章是娄烨主要执笔，写作时间是在1989年春季左右。最早的署名是娄烨个人或是导演系85班。娄烨将文稿交给胡雪杨，胡雪杨将署名增加为“北京电影学院‘八五'级导、摄、录、美、文全体毕业生”，并在1990年前后给了《上海艺术家》杂志的主编。这篇宣言式的文章后来被认为是新一代电影工作者的自我宣示，也流露出对中国电影进行某种改弦更张式变革的意图。但这篇文章到1993年才得以发表。更有意识地打出旗号，宣告第六代这个名词和新一代电影人的问世是北京电影学院导演系1985班的胡雪杨。

胡雪杨在介绍自己的处女作《童年往事》时首先发出了第六代问世的宣告。发表在《电影故事》上的文本比后来媒体和研究者所反复引用的要正式、完整、高调。“北京电影学院85级全体导、摄、录、美、文毕业生是继中国第五代电影工作者驰骋影坛后展露出的最新一代——‘第六代’电影工作者！”[11] 这段话中有肯定第五代成绩的“驰骋影坛”，更重要的意义却在于强调“展露出最新一代——‘第六代’电影工作者。”这个宣言具有“我来了”的自信和气势。与之相比，张元对第六代这个词的态度就更为直白，有着更为实际的考虑：“说代是个好东西，过去我们也有过‘代’成功的经验。中国人说‘代’总给人人多势众、势不可挡的感觉。”[12]

与其他艺术门类相比，电影电视是一个话语能量巨大的艺术。前人的作品对后来者既是文本借鉴、话语对话的对象，同时也构成巨大的商业压力和艺术上“影响的焦虑”。今天，第五代已经彻底成为电影史中的词汇，但在1990年代，从1985级电影学院同学，到1993年进校的贾樟柯，在话语市场上所面临的最大的竞争压力还是来自第五代。在2000年的一次采访中，贾樟柯认为张艺谋、陈凯歌“没有打破原来那种电影作为权力的一种东西，因为他们从根本上还依靠体制，是一个体制的既得利益者。而独立电影打破了这个东西”，贾樟柯说，他的愿望是用电影述说“此时此刻我们真实的生活”。[13]

两代或者几代电影人之间不仅仅是竞争和话语压力，也有彼此的扶持和帮助。作为第五代导演最重要代表人物之一的田壮壮在扶持第六代导演这方面所做的工作在业内一直被人称道。为此，一直关注第六代导演的《电影故事》推出了郑向虹撰写的特稿《钢铁是这样炼成的——田壮壮推出第六代导演》。文章题目中的“钢铁是这样炼成的”与路学长的处女作《钢铁是这样炼成的》（后改名为《长大成人》，1997）相联系。田壮壮还在这部电影中出演了火车司机朱赫来这个角色。

在郑向虹的采访中，王小帅对田壮壮颇为感激：“认为第一次感到自己是个完全的导演。可以完全从创作角度去拍电影，而不因为资金问题削足适履，也不需为许多非导演的工作而分神”[14]。田壮壮则在采访时直接说最重要的事：为青年导演张罗钱。“小帅他们在社会上闯荡了那么些年，也越见成熟。应该系统地支持他们去做。……总要有人去为他们张罗钱，我觉得这事很有益处。”[15]

非常有意思的是，笔者在考察第六代命名仪式的过程中搜索文字材料，看到最早在报刊媒体上提到“第六代”这个代际名称是老导演谢晋。文章的题目就叫《谢晋提到“第六代”导演》，虽然其中只有一句话提到第六代。接受列宁

格勒电视台编辑让娜·阿纳托莉耶夫纳·科济娜的采访时，谢晋说：“我在大学时代学斯坦尼体系，读契诃夫的作品，因此非常注重人物性格的塑造。今天的年轻一代有些不同，学法国的较多。……第五代这些人大致四十岁上下，他们十五六岁时遇上文革，显得深沉。第六代就活跃了。”[16]

三 1980年代的产品：第五代的青春期后延与“第六代”的生逢其时

虽然年龄上第六代与第五代是两代人，但这两代人都是1980年代的产品。准确地说，他们是1978年12月到1989年6月这十年左右的“新时期”的产品。在中国历史和文化研究中，这十年是狭义的、准确意义上的新时期。

前两年谈论1980年代很时髦，但其中有一种将其浪漫化的倾向。1980年代中国的思想文化氛围的确有所松动，但是禁锢和控制一直是有形存在，所谓“坚持四项基本原则”一直被强调。1980年有反对资产阶级自由化运动，1983年有有严打运动和清除精神污染运动，直至1989年，坦克上了街。知识分子和百姓头上，那把意识形态的达摩克利斯一直高悬，整个1980年代是在中国知识分子和百姓对西方思想文化的极度饥渴与中国共产党对意识形态既坚持控制又有限放松的张力中运行。

对电影学子来说，形式突破和意识形态、价值观的反叛也呈现出复杂的形态，政治上的躲避、臣服一直与艺术话语上的突破、反叛并行。因此，有些第六代导演在北京电影学院上学期间会遇到一些有趣的事。文学系教师张献民从使馆借来一部法国电影，其中有做爱镜头，教务处就让张献民在放映时用手遮挡。在他遮挡时，我们这些青年教师就与学生一起在放映厅嗷嗷叫起哄。因为放映机镜头很热，张献民的手还被烫伤了。当时电影学院资料室借出来上课用的录像带是编辑过的，剪去了其中的做爱或者触犯政治禁忌的片段。

虽然都是1980年代的产品，但两代电影人还是有些根本差异。第五代电影中有饥饿记忆，吃是重要的话题（《黄土地》（1984）、《红高粱》（1987）等）。第六代没有饥饿记忆。在第五代的某些主将那里，国家民族、皇天厚土构成重要的心理情结。对于第五代的有些电影人，尤其是陈凯歌和后期的张艺谋，大一统历史的荣耀，集体主义的民族崛起意象、往日领袖的形象，都是很重要的。《一个和八个》（1983）中，“老子，中国人”被认为是响亮有力的台词金句。

拍摄《黄土地》时期陈凯歌的电影观、历史观与他后来的作品强调集体、中华民族有着一脉相承的联系。“一个人的悲剧故事已经不能容纳我们看到和感受到的一切……因为我们面前是一片历史和文化的积淀层。”[17]中华民族的振兴、民族的“精气神”是陈凯歌拍摄《荆轲刺秦王》时也念兹在兹的精神指向。“当民族振兴的时代到来的时候，我们希望一切从头开始，希望从受伤的地方生长出足以振奋整个民族精神的思想来。”[18]

在青春期记忆和心理成长方面，第五代有两个方面与第六代完全不同：红卫兵情结和青春期性压抑。我曾经分析过第五代导演青春期记忆对他们后来价值观和创作的影响：“这些文化大革命中的红卫兵和红小兵在‘文革’后进了大学有着明显的青春期后延现象。……这个青春期被压抑的症候带来的不仅仅是那一代学生文化上、艺术素养上的补课情结，还有重要的影响在那一代人的思想和性心理上。思想意识上的埋伏可以看看大多数第五代导演在90年代是如何转行成为古装主旋律的旗手，我个人认为他/她们后来跪倒在汉武大帝、雍正王朝、秦始皇脚下成为贴身卫士不过是那一代人红卫兵青春记忆在老年期的复活发作而已。……认真地研究一下这一代人的男女关系也可以看出这种补课情结。进大学念本科时绝大多数人都没恋爱过，有的是结过婚了还没恋爱过。”[19]

由于第五代导演的青春期后延，他们的精神、价值观、乃至作品都与第六代有很大重合，他们有些作品完成于1990年代，但在其内在气质和精神走向上却是1980年代中国文化氛围的和思想冲击、艺术营养所造就的产品。他们思想中对个人主义的崇尚、弘扬和对集体主义、国家主义的臣服或向往都能在他们以后的作品中看到此起彼伏的轨迹。或许，在几代导演共襄盛举的系列作品《我和我的祖国》中，我们可以看到中国这几代导演精神走向的殊途同归。

第六代的导演们精神上的长大成人就是在1980年代。“他们的思想成长、基本的艺术思想和政治理念成型是在80年代。他们身上，比较明显的是80年代的思想营养。”[20]那个时候的思想领域主题词是“异化”“人道主义”“我就是我”“性解放”“存在主义”。

从姜文可以比较清楚地看出第五代和第六代导演的巨大差异。虽然姜文在年龄上与第六代导演们相似，也偶尔被人冠以第六代的头衔，但姜文与这些被称为第六代的导演在思想观念上不是一代人。姜文在艺术趣味和作品文本上与第六代、昆汀·塔伦蒂诺、好莱坞类型片相联系；但在思想背景和精神气质上却与第五代导演更接近。他具有更多的文革记忆，更关心领袖的形象、前苏联歌曲的那种历史抒情、更不自觉地以革命的名义砍掉人头（《让子弹飞》（2010）中杀掉假黄四郎）。

姜文对毛泽东的态度很有意思：“毛泽东是一个了不起的人物，但他不是我的偶像。我很多时候强调毛泽东是个大人物，那是针对很多人去贬低他，或者说廉价地批评他，我很反感对毛泽东的这种态度。现在有一些人旗帜鲜明地表态，称不觉得毛泽东很了不起，并且这种说法正在成为一种流行，这种态度我不赞成。”[21]这段话中，姜文对领袖、伟人的言说显示出许多纠结、缠绕，自我的表白、衷心的敬仰混杂在一起。其中又混杂着对别人毁损自己心中偶像的一些斥责。这种对故去领袖毛泽东的在意、心中纠结态度，具有某种红卫兵情结的症候。这种症候在第五代导演身上比较明显，而在第六代导演们身上基本踪影难寻。被称为第六代的青年一代电影人，不太关心水晶棺材里的那个死魂灵。

四 两代电影人的艺术营养：社会主义现实主义与战后电影流派四新

与第五代导演所接受的电影、文学、艺术作品相比较，也许能够更好地看出第六代的艺术营养。我曾经形象地描述第五代与第六代之间的差别：“第五代的血管里流动的是黄河水；第六代的血管里流的是胶片——他们对世界电影的形态了然于胸，从他们的一部影片里可以看到50部以上的各种电影。”[22]

这里所说的第五代血管里的黄河水是指他们对民族文化传承的注重，对国家崛起的渴望，对作为集体的中华民族那种多少带有抒情、刻奇（Kitsch）态度的热爱。笔者曾经分析过《黄土地》等第五代作品中的杂耍蒙太奇手法，认为其中具有红色叙事基因。[23]说第六代这一类青年导演血管里是胶片，意思是他们对世界电影非常熟悉，他们是意大利新现实主义和法国新浪潮的学徒，他们是新好莱坞之子。由于他们上学拍电影时有了数字技术，他们能够及时接触到当代电影的新作品、把握新潮流。1985级的学生在1986年就在电影学院的板棚教室里与我们研究生一起观看托尼·雷恩（Tony Rayns）带来的《美国往事》录像带。1995年，他们在北京21世纪剧场看到昆汀·塔伦蒂诺带来的《低俗小说》和科恩兄弟的作品《巴顿·芬克》等作品。我第一次看安东尼奥尼的《扎布里斯基角》是王小帅借来一盘录像带拿到我们研究生宿舍来放的。

北京电影学院1978级摄影系学生，曾任电影学院院长的张会军曾经明确地说：“对第五代电影影响最大的是苏联1960年代的新电影，《伊万的童年》《一个人的遭遇》《红莓》《恋人曲》等在当时给了他们震撼式的启发。”[24]在

我保存的北京电影学院78班看片记录中，这些作品也是他们艺术创造的重要营养：《太阳浴血记》、《公民凯恩》、《鬼婆》、《朱莉娅》、《8又1/2》、《奇遇》、《去年在马里昂巴》、《放大》、《雁南飞》、《恋人曲》、《舞会小提琴》。

同时，此前的研究者还有一个重要的忽视，那就是第五代导演同时的学生、老师，以及被指称的第六代电影工作者所接受的所谓“社会主义现实主义”电影和宣传、教化的工具论文艺观的影响。所谓“社会主义现实主义”电影就是电影技法上偏爱使用爱森斯坦的杂耍蒙太奇，在电影功能认识上讲究服从党的需要，服从宣传、灌输功能。如果我们仔细阅读《黄土地》的打腰鼓段落，我们可以在其中知道《大阅兵》(1986)的方阵队形和集体主义弘扬、奥运会开幕式中找到共通性。我们可以梳理出其中暗含的红色叙事基因。我们可以看到，《黄土地》这一影像革命作品，在提供了作者“个人”与“个性”的张扬呈现外，同时隐含着革命叙事传统（“救万民靠的是共产党”、杂耍蒙太奇的技法）。正是后者，构成了某几位第五代导演以后拍古装主旋律电影的思想基因和美学源流。[25]

也正是从《暴风骤雨》(1961)《南征北战》(1952)《党的女儿》(1958)《红色娘子军》(1961)《红旗谱》(2004)《英雄儿女》(1964)这些红色主旋律的电影中接受的艺术营养和思想观念密码，使得第五代、第六代导演后来能够与主旋律电影美学顺畅转移、无缝对接。在陈凯歌的《荆轲刺秦王》(1999)、张艺谋的《英雄》(2002)、胡玫的《雍正王朝》(1999)、吴子牛导演的《天下粮仓》(2002)等作品中，我们看到古装主旋律的洪亮歌声响彻云霄。

影响第六代导演主要电影作品与他们第五代学长的观摩作品有重复，但大部分都有形态和时间上的巨大差别。除了中国革命电影和第五代的影片外，对第六代有重要影响的作品至少还有：《筋疲力尽》《四百下》《美国往事》《邦尼和克莱德》《教父》《午夜牛郎》《美国风情画》《迷墙》《西北偏北》《维罗尼卡的双重生活》和它的模仿之作《双面情人》（英国）《情书》（日本）等。至于《唐人街》，我不知道他们在校期间是否看过。这其中有些影片第五代在校时根本没接触到，例如《迷墙》这类跨越电影的现代主义和后现代主义形态的作品和《美国往事》这些类型电影。

《低俗小说》这样的后现代主义形态影片，则是第六代中更年轻的作者诸如李虹、程耳等人在上学期间就看到的。李虹和文学系的程然同学曾经亮马桥在街头偶遇昆汀·塔伦蒂诺，第二天一帮导演、文学的同学还把他约到宿舍里聊天，后来还到男生陈伟文租住的房子去喝大酒。那次在21世纪剧院放映的一批圣丹斯电影节的作品对李虹、程耳这些学子影响很大。从这些青年导演后来的作品看，《低俗小说》、基耶斯洛夫斯基的《命运的机遇》《维罗妮卡的双重生活》《暴雨将至》等作品的分段拼接式复杂叙事影响了中国许多被称为第六代的导演。程耳的《边境风云》(2012)《罗曼蒂克消亡史》(2016)贾樟柯的《天注定》(2013)都使用了分段式结构。

当年为了备考北京电影学院的研究生，我竭力搜索研读的电影流派有意大利新现实主义、法国新浪潮、德国新电影、新好莱坞，我们将其简称为“战后四新”。简而言之，对第六代电影作者们构成很大影响的也是这四新。记得观摩过《出租车司机》没几天，导演85班的马晓勇就理了德·尼罗在电影里理的那种莫西干发型。在路学长的《卡拉是条狗》(2003)，我们可以分析出与《温比尔托·D》的对话关系，王小帅的《17岁的单车》(2000)显然与《偷自行车的人》有可比之处，李俊的《上海往事》(1998)从片名到其中的镜头语言都有模仿《美国往事》的笔触，程耳的《罗曼蒂克消亡史》也对《教父》等美国强盗片有自觉的借鉴和化用。

五 双向围堵：后89语境与后殖民理论的中国说法

被称为第六代的一些青年导演们一直在话语夹缝中艰难地生存。他们受到来自主导意识形态的政治话语和学术话语双向夹击。1989年的武力镇压突然清空了天安门广场，也在突然间强力改变了中国社会的政治氛围和文化语境。

然而，在文化领域我们可以发现一个谜团：第六代的这些青年导演都是于1990年代在一种后89政治、文化语境中开始崭露头角。不仅如此，第五代导演的三位主将也在1990年代初拍出了他们最为重要的三部作品，《蓝风筝》（1993）《霸王别姬》（1993）《活着》（1993）。难道，1980年代思想、文化领域的控制略有松动、思想的西风东渐所导致的某种狂飙突进于1990年代还在高歌猛进？可是从后来一直发展到今天的中国思想文化状况来看，显然是国家主义、犬儒主义成为那时的主导思潮。对此，我的看法是：第六代导演的崭露头角和第五代导演的三部高峰作品的问世都是1980年代的思想和文化成果在思想清场之后的残余果实。

就其艺术走向的延续、主题思想的探索方向以及其内在气质来看，第五代1990年代的三部高峰作品和第六代的作品一样，都是1980年代的遗产。它是中国大陆八十年代思想解放运动的春华秋实，是那个年代政治松动、思潮涌入、文艺探索导致的那种强大潮流所遗留的文化余波。这些作品延续了1980年代文化思考的一些重要话题：对人道主义的再认识，对强大社会压力下人性状态的挖掘，对中国近代以来历史的再思考和重新叙述。两代电影人的作品中都体现出一种十分具有革命性、反叛性的隐含或明白指向，这就是中国的艺术家和知识分子重新书写中国近代、现代历史的努力。这就是中国1980年代的文化遗产与观念资本。

从中国社会后来的发展看，这份思想文化遗产被权威话语强力斩断了。金钱挥洒、刻意遗忘中，那个被自由化知识分子和艺术家们津津乐道的所谓思想解放、狂飙突进的“1980年代”几近烟消云散。如果1990年代初的文化氛围如同今日，我们就很难想象第六代那些青年导演能够崭露头角、“长大成人”。今天，一大批中青年导演诸如管虎、宁浩、薛晓璐正与第五代导演的主将同台引吭高歌，同声高唱国家主义的嘹亮凯歌。

回望1990年代初，第六代导演从问世开始就受到来自两方面强大话语力量的话语阻击和意识形态规训。来自学院知识分子学术话语的是后殖民理论的有力批评和华丽的话语阐释。谈到第六代导演时，北京大学教授戴锦华将其与“西方的文化需求”相联系：“将故事片独立制作者与新纪录片组合在一起的……是某种后冷战时代西方文化需求的投射，是某种外来者的目光所虚构出的扣结，同时是自觉或不自觉地参照着这一‘虚构’而发生的反馈效应，以及自顾飞扬的本土文化的乐观之帆。”[26]

这段评论明显具有后殖民学说中国版本的特色，“外来者的目光”，正是后殖民理论中的热点说法之一。然而，在后89的中国政治文化语境中，后殖民理论被其话语操作者们自觉不自觉地转换为国家主义的高调。这一理论在后89的中国主导媒体和学术刊物上大行其道，成为分析第六代电影作品的最便利方法之一。这种批评思路在中国社会无阻力运行，一时间成为时髦。第五代导演也享受到同样的评说：“西方文化/欧洲电影节评委们的趣味成了张艺谋电影的先决前提，西方之于东方的文化预期成了张艺谋成功飞行的准确目的地和停机坪。”[27]

根据我当时在电影学院教书和编辑学术刊物的经验，这一类颇有“学术含量”的词语和批评方法极为流行，学术刊物和大众媒体都很容易接受。这类学术话语构成了对第五代和第六代电影作品最常见指责的学术底蕴。当时一些时髦指责都是贴在第五代和第六代导演身上的通用标牌，比如“出卖中国人的丑陋”、“营造伪民俗以取悦西方电影节评委”，等等。

同样，对第六代青年导演的作品进行某种创作动机的揣摩也占据学术高点。对于青年导演王超的国际获奖作品《安阳婴儿》，当时很有影响的大众媒体《南方周末》上有这样的分析：“一时间中下层市民的‘朴素’的（这仅指关怀的表达，即影片的影像语言）人文关怀泛滥，我称之为“非主流电影腔”——这‘腔’绝对地先于创作而存在，如果说这‘腔’的产生源于无意识地共同追求，不如悦这‘腔’源于后来者对成功者成功之路的揣摩之后有意识之举。”[28]王超告诉我，这篇文章是一个电影学术杂志的编辑发给《南方周末》，由此可见当时用学术话语表述的猜测作者创作动机的诛心之论在学术圈颇为流行。

与这些学术话语相比较，来自主导文化的是国家主义话语批判。这种直接的国家主义话语对电影作者的压力就更带有政治性，其压力和影响就更大。一九九三年第五十期的《中国电影周报》刊登了“驻洛杉矶总领事馆转来的一位美籍华人”怒气冲冲的来信。信中怒斥“个别导演的影片丑化中国人、丑化中华民族”，认为“百分之九十会在西方(或日本)被有心人之利用而得奖，而此奖完全有政治成分……”[29]

当然，武器的批判总不及批判的武器有力，学术话语的阐释和媒体文章里的诛心之论都赶不上政府管理部门的决定来的强横、有效。1994年3月12 日,广电部向上海市电影局、各电影制片厂、各省、自治区、直辖市广播电影厅（局）发 出了《关于不得支持、协助张元等人拍摄影视片及后期加工的通知》（广发影字 [19941135号）。禁令包括吴文光《1966年，我的红卫兵生活》、王小帅《冬春的日子》、何建军（《红豆》（又名《悬恋》）、宁瀛《关于一部被禁影片的讨论》、张元（《北京杂种》）、时间《我毕业了》以及田壮壮的《蓝风筝》等电影。除去田壮壮和宁瀛被归为“第五代”之外，其他人大多在媒体评论中被称作“第六代”。

六 他们是谁？第六代的彼此差异和美学分析

第六代导演们彼此之间有天壤之别。与之相比，作为风格流派意义上的第五代就具有比较清晰的起止轨迹。第五代以《黄土地》《一个和八个》《猎场扎撒》《喋血黑谷》《红高粱》等一批作品响亮登场，赢得中国和世界的强烈关注。到了1993年前后，他们以《霸王别姬》《蓝风筝》《活着》三部作品构成新的创作高峰。就连这之后他们在第五代风格终结以后的走向都具有某种一致性。除了田壮壮，后来这个代际群体的创作轨迹齐刷刷走向主旋律。他们集体转向古装主旋律，作品中都渗透了高大的帝王形象和权威崇拜情结。陈凯歌拍了《荆轲刺秦王》，张艺谋拍了《英雄》，胡玫拍了电视剧《雍正王朝》，吴子牛拍摄了《天下粮仓》《大明天下》。

再看第六代导演们，他们的出现多少是具有争取话语权力意图的自我命名式，他们中大部分人创作上从来就是分道扬镳，看不到第五代导演在创作方法和精神气质上那种明显的一致性。

张元

他勇敢地开始独立拍片，被称为“第一个吃螃蟹的人”，也是第六代中最早以独立制作引起国际注意、得到首肯的导演。

1989年个人集资独立制片，拍摄处女作《妈妈》。托尼•雷恩曾经热情洋溢地赞扬《妈妈》：“这在中国的电影界是个了不起的成就。年轻导演张元一反北京电影界以往的俗套而独树一帜的效果也是其他中国影片所不具备的。”30

1992年完成中国第一部摇滚题材影片《北京杂种》。1994年被美国《时代周刊》推选为“21世纪世界百名青年领袖”

之一。1995年执导的纪录片《广场》获得美国夏威夷国际电影节“评委会奖”。1997年凭借执导的电影《东宫西宫》获阿根廷国际电影节最佳导演奖。2000年联合国教科文组织在巴黎授予张元“和平文化大奖”。2001年被《中国青年》杂志评选为影响下个世纪的100位青年人之一。

由于两次吸毒被抓，张元淡出了电影圈的视野。但在那之前，他已经完成了向主旋律创作的转向。很多影迷和研究者没注意到的是，张元应该是最早完成向主旋律话语（主导文化）转向的第六代导演。1998年取得国家广播电影电视总局的“解禁令”后，张元摄制了女民警送假释犯回家的作品《过年回家》（1999），2003年他拍摄了《江姐》，后者被称为红色经典。这类电影后来被大量翻拍，一些香港导演如徐克也参与其中。

娄烨

1985年进入北京电影学院导演系学习，1989年毕业。1993年，拍摄长片处女作《周末情人》，凭借该片获得了第45届德国曼海姆–海德堡国际电影节“赖纳·维尔纳·法斯宾德”最佳导演奖 。1994年拍摄惊悚悬疑电影《危情少女》。2000年，自编自导剧情片《苏州河》。该片获得了第29届鹿特丹国际电影节最佳影片金虎奖 。2003年，编导并担任制片人拍摄剧情片《紫蝴蝶》。2006年拍摄完成电影《颐和园》。因该片没有取得电影局审查通过令就参赛戛纳国际电影节，娄烨被电影局通知五年内不得拍片。2009年执导剧情片《春风沉醉的夜晚》。2011年拍摄剧情片《花》。2012年拍摄剧情片《浮城谜事》，该片获得了第7届亚洲电影大奖最佳电影奖，编剧梅峰获得了最佳编剧奖 。2014年执导剧情片《推拿》，该片获得第64届柏林国际电影节最佳艺术贡献（摄影）银熊奖 。2019年执导悬疑犯罪电影《风中有朵雨做的云》。

娄烨有知识分子气质，这从他《颐和园》等作品对当下现实和历史的关注可以看出。娄烨的讲话和电影肌理都具有浓郁的诗人气质，看看《苏州河》（2000）《颐和园》（2004）《紫蝴蝶》（2003）里那流畅如曲水流觞般的运动镜头，简直是诗意盎然，再加上音乐和他天才地演员选择和与演员的互动合作，他的许多作品美得让人流连忘返。可以说，娄烨关注影像的流畅更胜于关注叙事的流畅。

有一次娄烨把秦晖、徐友渔等人约到崔卫平家放映《颐和园》，几个知识分子听说那是讲六四的作品，结果影片中有关六四的场景很短，看后很失望。娄烨觉得自己曾受到他们思想的影响，听到反应也很失望。《颐和园》非常好地表现了1980年代末的中国社会氛围，传达出当时青年人的精神状况。同时，影片把1989年天安门镇压后中国人心中的那种深深的痛感刻画得很深刻，反映出了弥漫在中国社会中的那份迷茫和绝望。那些青年人，流亡海外，他们莫名地在异乡从高楼一跃而下。

贾樟柯

他1993年进入北京电影学院文学系，是第六代中最受关注的核心人物。影迷会亲热地叫他“贾科长”。这个名字典出贾樟柯的文集《贾想》。贾樟柯去一个隐秘地方买盗版DVD碟片，贾樟柯形容，那地方像老电影里的地下交通站。挑完买好快出门时，老板一把拉住他悄悄说：贾科长拍的《小武》明天就到货。后来，“贾科长”就成为他在电影江湖中响亮上口的亲昵称呼。

贾樟柯是电影天才，北京电影学院的谢飞导演多次跟我说，电影学院几十年中发现过两个电影天才，张艺谋和贾樟柯。贾樟柯对电影的形式具有天才式的敏感把握，同时，他与张艺谋一样，对于中国社会的大众心理也具有一种无

意识把握的直觉，我将这种直觉称为：无意识地把握无意识。贾樟柯被媒体称为第六代导演的领军人物不是浪得虚名。他会拍电影，会讲话，会写文章，还有极其强大的力量组织国际电影节，可谓是文武昆乱不挡，六场通透。他讲话有水平，有料、没料，他都能讲得非常好。贾樟柯的文学水平很高，他写的文章比很多文学家、散文家高级、耐读。

许多国内外的研究者会用“现实主义”来评论他的电影风格。其实，贾樟柯的纪实风格是一种“风格化纪实”。从他的第一部作品《小山回家》（1995）就可以看出他在写实的镜头语言中加进了字幕表示人物心理活动。在《三峡好人》（2006）等作品中，他融合使用了超现实元素。在《天注定》（2013）中，他用了分段拼接结构。他采用多种手法的拼贴，并对既有的现实主义形态进行了陌生化处理。他的作品在诗意化的镜头语言、叙事方法的探索与呈现中国社会的现实困境之间寻求张力和平衡。31贾樟柯近年的作品更加注重叙事性，《天注定》和《江湖儿女》都在故事编织上很讲究。

2009年贾樟柯与赵亮一起高调退出墨尔本国际电影节，他给组委会写了信。根据赵亮与艾未未的电视对谈，那是政府管理部门电影局对他们提出的要求。

王小帅

他被认为是中国电影第六代导演的主要代表之一。王小帅1985年进入北京电影学院导演系学习，1989年毕业。1993年，他独立制片、编剧、导演的电影处女作《冬春的日子》被英国BBC选入电影诞生一百周年之百部最佳影片。1999年执导第一部体制内电影《扁担姑娘》入围戛纳国际电影节一种关注单元。进入新千年后，他创作了《十七岁的单车》（2001）、《青红》（2005）、《左右》（2008）、《日照重庆》（2010）、《我11》（2012）、《闯入者》（2014）、《地久天长》（2019），频频在国际国内电影节上获奖。

王小帅是一个对电影非常有执着精神的导演，从他的《冬春的日子》可以看出，他的电影可以简单、执着、生猛到什么程度。上学时，他可能是导演系85班英语最好的人。王小帅影片的作者性体现在他对自己贵州三线工厂生活的持久关注。那是他的青春记忆所在。在创作方法上，王小帅多次表示自己的主要志趣在于艺术电影创作。他一直说自己在坚持，但是在自己的新片上映时，王小帅导演在演讲中试图强调自己的作品是讲故事的、是注重情节的。当时媒体的报道是这样的：“王小帅导演现场演讲，一再强调《闯入者》是剧情片不是文艺片。”[32]王小帅在处理自己作品的叙事方面一直偏爱“小情节”（Miniplot）故事，这种对低叙事性故事的喜好是阻碍他的作品在大范围内赢得观众的主要原因。

宁浩

他先后毕业于北京师范大学艺术系、北京电影学院摄影学院。2001年，宁浩凭其学生电影《星期四，星期三》获得北京大学生电影节最佳导演奖。2003年，宁浩自己出资，一人担任编剧、导演、摄影，回到家乡执导了《香火》，该片获得东京Filmex国际电影节、香港国际电影节亚洲DV竞赛单元“亚洲数码竞赛”金奖。之后又继拍出《绿草地》（2005）、《疯狂的石头》（2006）、《疯狂的赛车》（2009）、《无人区》（2013）、《疯狂的外星人》（2017），2019年执导《我和我的祖国》中的一集故事。

宁浩最有才华的作品是他三万元人民币拍摄的处女作《香火》。作品风格写实，但叙事性很强，展现了中国社会的

多角度画面，更重要的是对现实关系的描绘准确而具有质感。他喜欢讲大情节故事，可能是眼下最会讲故事的青年导演。《香火》虽然慢悠悠、淡淡的，但依然是讲究叙事性的大情节故事。他的电影道路还能走很远，但是不知道是朝哪个方向。

程耳

程耳1995年进入北京电影学院导演系学习，1999年毕业。1999年执导毕业短片《犯罪分子》，同时担任该片的编剧、剪接。这部作品电影语言流畅，更重要的是显示出他的剧作功力。作品塑造的胡天这个形象性格复杂、他在故事中变化很大而又富有现实质感。影片的人情事理写得顺畅，但故事情节又很有戏剧性。后来又执导了黑色惊悚电影《第三个人》（2006）、强盗片《边境风云》（2013）、《罗曼蒂克消亡史》（2014）。

程耳是中国大陆创作了最典型、最优秀强盗片的导演。他的电影作品中可以看出与新好莱坞电影作品以及昆汀·塔伦蒂诺分段式叙事的对话关系。他的《边境风云》是强盗片的叙事模式，孙红雷扮演的主角是一个边境上贩毒的强盗，但故事写出他人性的柔软之处。《罗曼蒂克消亡史》是一部以上海抗日战争时期历史为故事背景的强盗片。其中的“上海日本人”渡部的形象十分独特，写得非常立体、丰满，压过了葛优饰演的男一号成为作品中最醒目的角色。他的作品比较偏爱使用分段式结构，台词的文学性和分段式结构几乎形成他的作者签名。

路学长

1985年进入北京电影学院导演系学习，1989年毕业。路学长好像比他们班同学成熟，其实他年龄并不大。他上学时喜欢留长发，一张瘦瘦狭长的脸，我们研究生班同学私下管他叫伍迪·艾伦。

路学长的电影不那么先锋和追求个人化，显得结实、稳当。他的《卡拉是条狗》与意大利新现实主义的重要作品《温别尔托·D》在题材和结构上有一种比较明显的对话关系。影片通过一个工人家庭的儿子和一条狗，写出了那个工人的卑微和无力。我曾评论：“本片建置的矛盾在哪里？这就是个体与国家机构的关系。老二，他的狗，他的儿子，在本片中都是在与国家机构打交道的过程中凸现他们的生存境遇。剧作的主要意图在于表现他们与国家机构发生关系时的情况。”[33]

在另一篇文章中，我谈到：

> 如果从艺术风格谈‘第六代’，路学长是非常有代表性的，他的才华是被低估的，被忽视的。路学长去世后，我与他读书期间的主任教员郑洞天老师谈起，他也有这看法。郑老师认为，如果1995年已经完成的《长大成人》通过审查更顺畅，更早出来，第六代的整体面貌和路学长的个人创作都会大不一样。
>
> 关于电影《长大成人》，路学长说：“这是个自然流露的作品，不是刻意而为的。……属于有话要说的电影。经常是感觉不到是在做电影，往往写的是自己或者朋友的经历，非常自然地在写，自己也会被感动。”[34]

王超

1994年毕业于北京电影学院，1997年发表短篇小说《南方》，2000年发表中篇小说《安阳婴儿》。2001年执导其处

女作《安阳婴儿》，该片入围第54届戛纳国际电影节“导演双周”单元，并获得第37届美国芝加哥影展国际影评人奖。之后相继创作了《日日夜夜》（2003）、《江城夏日》（2005）、2《重来》（2009）、《天国》（2011）、《幻想曲》（2014）、《寻找罗麦》（2015）。

我曾经这样讨论他的《安阳婴儿》：

> 《安阳婴儿》只是对某些弱势入群看了一眼，也许还没到关心、关怀的程度，更没有我为人民鼓与呼的激情和慷慨。但是，在我们这里，将这种难看、难堪的现实隔绝在银幕外面，是大家的默契。在《安阳婴儿》和《小山回家》这类影片里，我看到一种比较难得的热心，导演与今天社会现实对括的热情要高于与以前的电影作品对括的热情。……《安阳婴儿》的故事是浓烈的，大转折引出悲凉的感觉，可是它的展示语言偏冷一点，不太煽。有几个地方我都觉得机位太远了。后来仔细看看其他的场景处理，才发现导演喜欢在非封闭的现场拍东西，有时喜欢让人流、自行车进入。他潜意识中也许希望生活进来。本片在这两方面达到了一种很难得的平衡：社会思考尖锐、社会视点和人类基本情感方面的深沉与艺术展现形式方面的冷静。这是一种清醒自觉选择。[35]

何建军

1985年担任电影《黄土地》的助理导演，1986年拍摄短纪录片《一个朋友》，1987年担任剧情电影《孩子王》的编剧。1991年，拍摄彩色纪录片《自画像》。1994年导演个人首部电影《悬恋》，获得第23届鹿特丹影节国际影评人奖。之后还导演了《邮差》（1995）、《蝴蝶的微笑》（2001）、《蔓延》（2004）、《水上人家》（2008）。

张扬

1997年执导《爱情麻辣烫》，开启导演生涯。1999年的《洗澡》与2005年的《向日葵》先后获得第47届与第53届圣塞巴斯蒂安国际电影节最佳导演奖。2007年，自编自导的公路电影《叶落归根》获得第57届柏林国际电影节大观单元–天主教人道精神奖。之后他又拍摄了商业类型片《无人驾驶》（2010）、青春片《飞越老人院》（2012）、纪录短片《生活在别处》（2013）、微电影《大山里的声音》（2014）、纪录片《冈仁波齐》（2017）、文艺电影《皮绳上的魂》（2017）。在第六代导演中，他一直能够通过贴近现实的电影合作，规避意识形态的限制，并且形成自己的风格。

管虎

1991年毕业于北京电影学院导演系。1992年自筹资金拍摄处女作《头发乱了》，2000年拍摄电视电影《上车，走吧！》，2001年拍摄电影《西施眼》，2002年拍摄电视剧《黑洞》。2003年至2008年间接连推出《冬至》、《七日》、《生存之民工》、《活着，真好》等多部电视剧作品；2009年拍摄革命题材电视剧《沂蒙》，获得2009年CCTV电视剧最高收视率奖、25届中国电视金鹰奖优秀电视剧奖、第28届中国电视剧飞天奖一等奖。

管虎还拍了《斗牛》（2009）、《杀生》（2012），《厨子戏子痞子》（2013）、《老炮儿》（2014）。2020年凭借《我和我的祖国》获第11届中国电影导演协会2019年度表彰大会年度导演提名，同年与路阳联合导演主旋律电影作品《金刚川》。

或许是因为长期参与电视剧创作，他的作品很注意叙事性，电影语言讲究流畅，作品注重类型形态。他的处女作《头发乱了》具有青春片形态，《老炮》《黑洞》都是中国的强盗片。从《金刚川》的成就来看，他可能成为青年导演中的主旋律电影主将。

李虹

1993年进入北京电影学院导演系学习，1997年毕业。1998年执导个人首部电影《伴你高飞》，2001年执导电视电影《黑白摄影工作室杀人事件》。2005年执导恐怖悬疑电影《诅咒》，2008年执导儿童短片《小小孵蛋》，2010年执导的爱情喜剧电影《我的美女老板》。之后，李虹淡出电影圈。

胡雪杨

他最早在文章中自觉地提出“第六代”这一概念，高调地宣告第六代电影人问世，一直在体制内拍摄自己的作品。1985年，执导个人首部短片《童年往事》，该片获得美国奥斯卡电影学院电影节最佳影片奖。1991年执导个人第一部长片《留守女士》，1994年自导自演剧情电影《湮没的青春》。之后执导了爱情电影《爱情是蓝色的》（1999）与《半生缘》（2003）， 战争电影《可爱的中国》（2009）与《先遣连》（2011）。

李欣

他是第六代导演中最早使用分段式剧作结构的作者，其作品有青春气息。1995年，李欣与张献联合编剧，导演了自己的处女作《谈情说爱》。片中运用了三段式的结构，三个关于“爱”和“情”的故事，各自独立成章，同时又以人物的“巧合”将三个部分相互关联。《谈情说爱》获得1996年大学生电影节“特别创新奖”。2001年，他的影片《花眼》入围柏林电影节“世界大观”单元。

王全安

1991年毕业于北京电影学院表演系。2000年拍摄首部导演作品《月蚀》，2003年拍摄《惊蛰》。2007年，他的《图雅的婚事》获得第57届柏林国际影展金熊奖。之后又拍摄了《纺织姑娘》（2009）、《团圆》（2010）、《白鹿原》（2012）。《月蚀》的结构明显受到基耶斯洛夫斯基《维罗妮卡双重生命》的影响，后期作品经常与著名编剧芦苇合作，显示出现实主义的走向。

2014年9月10日，王全安因嫖娼被北京市东城区警方行政拘留，同年9月，王全安被列入广电总局的“封杀劣迹艺人”列单中，其参与制作的作品都列入暂停播出范围。

七 叙事密码：第六代作品中的死亡情结

在创作道路、艺术手法、电影语言、叙事风格和底层价值观等方面，被命名为第六代的这些青年导演出现出色彩纷呈的样貌。他们在今天中国语境中的选择，他们现在与中国主导文化的关系也呈现出带有极大差异的复杂版图。但是，在深层心理层面，在青春记忆与他们创作的关系上，从他们中许多导演的作品中我又可以发现某种密码。从这些密码出现的频次、及这种密码在叙事中处理的方式看，我们或许能从中发现某种集体性的心理症候。我在2002

年曾谈到第六代叙事中的某种深层母题或作者心理上的共同性，那就是他们挥之不去的死亡情结。[36]

这些青年导演的作品中不约而同地出现了某种“死亡”的主题，死亡情结进入了他们作品的叙事结构中。如果对第六代一些影片进行互本文关系考察，可以看到有不止一个导演借鉴了《维洛尼卡的双重生命》的结构。那些没有使用这一结构的作品也多次出现死亡的情节，而且死亡这个情节功能在叙事结构中都起到了强烈的作用。比如《月蚀》、《苏州河》、《安阳婴儿》、《非常夏日》中都有一个叙事处理上的共同性：对于剧中某个人物是否已经死去出现一种语焉不详的处理。有时叙事中出现的是主人公对一个与自己关系亲密的人的死亡有亦真亦幻的感觉。“死去”，或者“是否死去”在叙事上都出现某种模糊性解释，而且“死亡”主题都进入到了作品的叙事结构层面。在《苏州河》中，男主人公马达与女主人公牡丹出车祸而死，此前牡丹曾经当着男主人公的面仰脸落入苏州河自杀；在《非常夏日》中，女主人公被处理成悬念——被强暴后淹死的死亡假象。在《月蚀》中，雅男一直不相信真的有一个与自己长得一模一样的佳娘，在结尾处，两个人的死亡被导演用电影语言在非情节的意象中连接在一个镜头中。而且，有意味的是，由一个演员扮演的两个女人的死亡被合二为一了。

王超导演的《安阳婴儿》没有使用一个人扮演两个主人公的结构。但其中也有将死亡处理得亦真亦幻的一笔。下岗工人于大岗因为要保住与自己同居的卖笑女失手打死了一个黑道大哥。那买笑女去监狱看望于大岗，他肯定被判死刑。后面的一场戏是卖笑女在居住地被抓捕，在逃跑的过程中，孩子丢失了。可是，在被押送回家的火车上，在接近疯狂的心理状态下，卖笑女居然幻想自己随手将孩子交付的那个人是于大岗！影片就在火车进入黑暗隧道的的一声长啸中结束。

这一现象在青年导演的创作中持续重现。大多数作品都是以主人公身边亲近人的死去来构成结尾或者叙事上的重要情节冲击点。在娄烨的作品《熙和园》中，不仅有主人公的亲近朋友从1989年天安门镇压后死亡境地的逃亡，还有重要角色李琨从楼上突然跳楼自杀。

王小帅的《青红》是很有力度也很有现实质感的一部作品。这部作品中，我也看到对死亡处理在叙事上出现躲避和语焉不详的现象。主人公的父亲和青红对小根的死亡知晓与否被回避了，他们的态度和反应也回避了。小根的死去是用宣传海报完成叙事上的交代，是由电影的某种意会的表意功能所完成的，在具体的叙事上，小根的死亡是不确定的。与青红错身而过的囚车上，我们看到小根也在被判刑者中，排在第五位。导演用汽车喇叭声盖住了对他的判决词，而后面是三声非常强化处理的枪声回荡在山谷中。

这样，《青红》的结尾就出现了巨大的叙事空洞。从爸爸去工厂把小根送上警车以后，影片讲的是另一个故事，主导事件走向结局的是另一种的矛盾。爸爸对小根是否要判死刑这件事只用很间接的方法交待出来。邻居真真妈对青红母亲说：“听说这种事判得很重，听说还要……”。“不会吧，老吴也担心这个事情，还专门去打听过，应该不会的。”与前面要打死小根相比，父亲的态度在这里是有变化的。更重要的空缺还在于：青红对小根被判死刑知道不知道，何时知道的？什么态度，什么反应？结尾部分对这些重要的情节转向交待完全跳跃。[37]

在《惊蛰》中，对死亡的处理与《青红》有惊人的相似性，主人公二妹也是在离开了原来的男友进入了结婚生子的另一种生活，但是她在街市上看到自己以前男友侯三娃成了杀人犯在被枪决的囚车上从自己眼前开过去。有时，作者心中隐秘的死亡情结导致叙事结构乃至台词处理上的纠结、缠绕和模糊。从创作心理研究，这可能是作者心中的迷茫，可能是某种强大记忆与有意识回避所造成的叙事谜团或空洞。

如果我们注意到第五代的红卫兵情结，对他们电影语言上的反规则，文本中的权威崇拜就好解释些，这种用反规则来凸现自己风格的方法可以看作某种红卫兵意识在新时期自由爆发后的变形和张扬。他们用形式上极度膨胀和反叛再现了他们对某种非正常环境中形成的规则、规矩的那种恐惧、逃避和怨恨、诅咒。而对国家主义价值观和领袖强力形象的仇恨/崇拜又或许可以解释他们作品中对“公家人的规矩”的矛盾纠结文本肌理。这些无不透出其浓重的文革历史记忆而呈现出的某种集体无意识。

我也从集体无意识这一角度来考察某种在第六代电影中反复出现、被创作者同构处理的“死亡”母题的。奥地利心理学家荣格发展和修正了弗洛依德的潜意识学说，提出了集体无意识的概念。他认为：“从科学的因果的角度，原始意象（原型）可以被设想为一种记忆蕴藏，一种印痕或者记忆痕迹，它来源于同一种经验的无数过程的凝结。在这方面，它是某些不断发生的心理体验的沉淀，并因而是它们的典型的基本形式。”[38] “作者将这种更深的一层定名为集体无意识。选择‘集体’一词是因为这部分无意识不是个别的而是普遍的。它与个性心理相反具备了所有地方和所有个人皆有的大体相似的内容和行为方式。换言之，由于它在所有人身上都是相同的，因此它组成了一种超个性的共同心理并且普遍地存在于我们每个人身上。”[39]

在这些第六代不同导演拍摄的风格和题材相差很大的影片中，我看到死亡这个母题在叙事结构中有很大的共性。如果与第五代电影中的死亡母题处理比较，我们可以看到第五代处理死亡主题在情节编排和意象设置上表现出更强烈、更戏剧化的倾向。有时是直接的弑父/弑大哥宣言（《红高粱》），有时是几分浸透骨髓的呼喊与绝望后的臣服（《菊豆》）。有意思的是到了陈凯歌1998年拍摄《荆轲刺秦王》时，直接在台词中讨论弑父的主题。他自己扮演的吕不韦半是表白半是哀伤地说：“儿子是不会杀死父亲的。”

第五代作品中的死亡经常是在对父辈崇敬和背叛的矛盾情结中纠缠纽结而无法释怀；第六代电影中的死者大都是同辈关系，大多是恋人关系和亲密的关系。而且都有一个觉得恋人还活着而事实上已经死去的叙事功能。他们的作品中对“忍看朋辈成新鬼”透着一种心理上的回避和压制之后的迷幻感觉。

此外，第六代作品中的死亡在叙事结构上往往不是作为权威性叙事中的“故事”来处理而是作为一种叙事游戏中的叙事体变异来处理。他们在处理死亡的情绪时，没有了第五代故事中的对父亲关系那份惨烈、悲壮和执着而缠绕不清的言说，少了一种控诉什么的冤屈和道德制高点的抒情。他们的态度是冷静的，无言的，有几位青年导演是在一种哀莫大于心死的氛围中去摹写死亡，贾樟柯的《站台》中有一场写女主人公去医院堕胎的戏，用的是冷静或者冷漠的笔触，让我感到一种逼人的寒气弥漫在周围。

如果将这些作品与同时期的主导文化中的主旋律作品比较，就会看到主旋律作品中所呈现的当下现实是如何浪漫、光明和必须充满乐观的信心，死亡的阴暗景象和引起伤痛的回忆是被彻底过滤、规避的一个缺失性情节功能。再比较余华作品的血腥、强烈的意象，看看余华和莫言作品中那些强烈而又惨烈的死亡场景，我们也许可以得到另一种对照关系[40]。在《苏州河》、《颐和园》、《青红》、《安阳婴儿》和《月蚀》这样的影片中，我们看到与余华的作品有某种意象和情绪上、叙事上的同构。

在荣格那里，原型只是一种形式的可能性，它并不自动呈现为故事或者意象。我在这里提出对第六代作品中对某种重复性母题和青年导演们对这一母题不约而同的关注，是意图破解这其中的迷思。是什么引导或者迫使他们的内心原型激活为这种故事？是什么构成了他们心中萦绕不绝、挥之不去的情结？又是什么事件或者记忆是如此有力，穿透了他们的有意识层面而直达他们无意识的底层，以至于他们同时在一种无意识的创造勃发和沸腾的发散性

形象思维中控制不住这心理深处的记忆。这种压力冲破了意识层面的控制，奔涌而出演变为复杂但可辨的冷峻意象。

对此，我的分析是：1980年代末的天安门清场被中国政府忽而强力定性为“政治风波”，忽而公布为“反革命暴乱”，而在公共媒体和社会生活中，则是30多年来的一级禁忌，中共用暴力将这个话题变成话语高压线和最危险禁区。这些禁忌和强力话语在人们心理上形成了巨大的心理压力，这种对社会大众的冲击进入了我们群体的潜意识。部分人的反应是失语，部分人的反应是保护性遗忘，还有的知识分子在有意识、无意识地调整自己的话语走向和话语策略。而1990年代以来政治一体化的加固和市场经济的冲击又使得自由知识分子一再被边缘化，在渐渐失去中心话语权力之时，可以发现他们有一种对话语权力和实际利益急不可待的追求。

而这些第六代青年导演呢，他们大多是1980年代的产物，都经历过那十年间年人文启蒙与人道主义的高歌猛进，1989年的国家惨案对他们构成了青春期的强大精神电击。到了九十年代，他们又都在体验着当下现实中来自官方意识形态对那个历史事件的强力阐释，还被迫在学校和社会中重复官方对那个事件的剪裁历史和强力阐释。因此他们在影片中对“死亡”的各种压抑性表现或许正是对这一系列禁忌与压抑的无意识释放。

结语

被称为“第六代”的这一批青年导演，或浸淫在1980年代思想文化狂飙突进的氛围中长大成人，或享用着1990年代那思想启蒙的余波异军突起，他们以独立精神和个人天才突出话语围堵，成功地赢得声名。但他们只是年龄相近的一代人，而不是一个电影流派。他们有的人曾经是独立电影猛将，如今多数已经成为主旋律文化的话语英雄。

现在，我对这一代大部分中青年电影人都刮目相看：他们出现了向国家主义话语靠拢的明显趋势——或者以自我阉割换取话语空间，或者主动投奔权威体制和主旋律话语，他们中大部分人都赢得了权力。

数字技术曾经给第六代导演和独立电影导演带来很大自由，大大降低了他们入门的技术和资金门槛。今天，数字技术带来的自由已经被数字化极权收纳殆尽。今后中共中央宣部要组织拍摄电影版的《大秦赋》、“抗美援朝”等主旋律宣传题材，极大可能，最合适的人选就得在这些曾经被称为第六代的导演中遴选。

注释

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3 2010年，贾樟柯在王小帅电影《日照重庆》点映会上也不认为自己是第六代：“我自己不知道所谓‘第六代’是按什么来划分的。”

4 郝建，《生于1960’无法命名的一代》《南方周末》2002年4月4日。

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一个人的纪录片历史——中国独立纪录片之我见
One Person's Documentary History: My Views on Chinese Independent Documentaries

郭熙志 GUO Xizhi

概要

本文从个人经验的角度分析了中国独立纪录片的发生和发展，它梳理了中国独立纪录片的几个源头：走向世界的时代氛围、NHK和BBC、北京广播学院、电视台，并从作者个人在电视台和其他体制下的创作为依据，分析了中国独立纪录片运动的展开，表达了对其意义的困惑。

关键词： 独立纪录片、源头、电视、《渡口》、《喉舌》、《工厂青年》

Abstract

Based on personal experience as a documentary filmmaker both inside and outside of the system, this article discusses the origins and development of Chinese independent documentaries. It examines a few points of origin—the zeitgeist of 'Facing the World', NHK and the BBC, the Beijing Broadcasting Institute, and television stations—and analyses the process of the Chinese independent documentary movement, expressing the author's perplexity regarding its significance.

Keywords: Independent documentaries, origin, television, *Ferry*, *Mouthpiece*, *Factory Youth*

中国古典小说《三国演义》第一句话就讲"天下大势"。在中国的哲学中，"势"与"道"等抽象理念，包含丰富内涵，可以说，是中国哲学核心。我的理解是：当一个事物到来的时候，它有一个漫长的孕育过程，即"势"的形成，它有标志性的人物与事件，但孕育的源头是多个的。

一 源头1："走向世界"

从上世纪八十年代到九十年代开始，开放是中国政治的主旋律，所谓"让世界了解中国，让中国走向世界"。那么，让世界了解中国的方式不能靠《新闻联播》，电视媒体的改变，从"语态"开始了——用"国际语言"说中国故事，而"国际语言"在当时被认为是纪录片。就像中国近代史上的"中学为体，西学为用"一样，纪录片这样的"语态"就是"用"。今天，中国纪录片在官方媒体里呈现出的宣传的状态是近代思维的延伸。独立的纪录片人常常批评官方的纪录片是宣传品，但纪录片允许在中国被引用，它的源头是含混的。开放的目的是要"振兴中华"，WTO之后更需要对外宣传。严格讲，选择纪录片，不是为了传递中国的真实，而是为更好地宣传中国。于是，中国电视台拍纪录片蔚然成风，也是纪录片与中国政治合谋的"蜜月期"。

中国的独立纪录片因为冠以"独立"二字，被很多局外者看成是反抗的象征，甚至导演本身也有了异见人士的意味。这种对立往往使人忽略在酝酿阶段的合谋。一个例子，民国时期梁漱溟在山东搞乡村建设运动，很少有人知道是在军阀韩复渠的支持下展开的，韩复渠甚至将一个县的官吏任命权交给梁漱溟，包括税务、警事、乡村管理通通放手让梁漱溟尝试，这才是真正的乡村建设运动。也有很多人对梁漱溟的做法不满，甚至蒋介石也派遣党代表来邹平

县监督乡村建设运动，而韩复渠力排众议，支持梁漱溟保持乡村建设运动的“独立”。可以说，这也是独立知识分子梁漱溟所推动的乡村建设运动的“合谋”的一面。而很多人在描述中国独立纪录片运动时，只强调独立，没看见合谋。我们在什么意义上讨论“独立”，这是最重要的问题，如果仅仅从身份，从哪里拿经费，拿了谁的设备、用了谁的机器来讨论，是没有意义的。独立只能从价值观的意义上讨论，只能从思想的意义上讨论。

二 源头2：NHK和BBC

上世纪八十年代开始，有二档教授外语的电视节目，其之一就是《学日语》。《学日语》节目除了日常教授日语的内容，会在周末放一部NHK的纪录片，比如《寻找东京蟋蟀声》、《男人和天鹅》、《望儿五岁》、《浪花商业学校》等等。另外，BBC有一部关于中国的纪录片，叫《龙之心》，当年是北京纪录片导演小圈子的教材，央视“东方时空”制片人陈真曾经带此片和吴文光一起观摩。《龙之心》于1985播出，是文革后英国BBC进入中国做的全面反映当时现实的纪录片，也是和中央电视台合作的第一部合拍片1。另外一部反映中国社会的纪录片是安东尼奥尼在1972年拍摄的《中国》，这部影片当时广受批判，批判文稿还出了一本书，书名叫《恶毒的用心 卑劣的手法》。这本书是一部大批判文稿的汇集，其中有很多作者根本就没看过安东尼奥尼的《中国》。据说，在意大利放映此片时，安东尼奥尼遭到了来自共产党内部的批评。非常有政治文化意味的现象是，在全中国几乎是用一场政治运动来对待一部纪录片，当然，在文革的历史上，这种事情也屡见不鲜。

苏珊·桑塔格在她的著作《论摄影》中，用文化现象来解释此事，她说中国人喜欢“正相”，而西方的影像则习惯于表现“非正相”，他们喜欢抓拍看似涣散的时刻、斑驳的城门，而中国人说他们还没准备好，他们希望西方人拍他们一张新的门。在苏珊·桑塔格看来，中国人的“正相”，其实是取消影像。而安东尼奥尼拍的《中国》，到处是涣散的人群，被安排的场景他都只是让摄影师假拍，他热衷于幽暗的茶馆、公园中各种奇怪的运动造型、一个待产的妇人被针灸麻醉、一群衣衫褴褛的工人在建造巨型货轮，甚至一群猪在争食，而背景音乐是样板戏。这些在习惯于宣传的中国政府看来，是近乎诽谤的拍摄，但对经历了文革“政治挂帅”的新时期导演来说，他们在《中国》中看到了在宣传片中从来没见过的另一个中国。在那个时候，接近真实和如何接近真实没有路径，因此，所有人都对新的表现手法感到饥渴。

为了拍《丝绸之路》，NHK与中央电视台合作。王纪言当时是北京广播学院老师，他去了《丝绸之路》剧组。与NHK合作拍摄时，中国剧组和日本剧组也有些冲突，实际上是影像创作规律与政治宣传的冲突。后来王纪言写了一本书叫《电视报道的艺术》，书中提到一次关于水坑的拍摄，中国剧组坚决反对日本剧组拍摄路上的水坑，要求他们拍摄宽阔无比的柏油马路。

三 源头3：北京广播学院

在一批如北京广播学院的王纪言老师的早期教学群体推动下，有了“插队落户”之类的纪录片创作方法。其实他们也并不具备丰富的创作经验，只是觉得这种“插队落户”的纪录方法可能代表一个新的方向，以告别“新闻简报”这样的传统报道。所谓“插队落户”的纪录片创作方法，是基于跟踪式的拍摄，强调客观，强调作者退出，从技术上强调同期声。所谓“插队落户”无非也是指花大量的时间跟拍摄对象相处，让拍摄更接近拍摄对象的生活状态。彼时，与北京广播学院同处一城的北京电影学院已功成名就，广播学院也需要培养自己的“第五代”张艺谋陈凯歌辈。

上世纪八十年代，中国社会依然处于计划经济时代，大家对金钱得意识和欲望没有像今天那么强烈。那时候因为

高考制度的确立，能考上大学是一个受人尊重的出路，至于大学之后留校成为作家、学者都是大家的向往，是没有几人能达到的梦想。在没有经济诱惑的年代，文化成为大家崇拜的图腾，在这种情况之下，电影学院的张艺谋、陈凯歌在国际上获奖，成了大家的文化英雄。年轻人大抵是喜欢影像的，所以电影学院和广播学院成为他们的向往。在相对单纯的时代，人们在争论的学术、艺术是没有任何自己的目的性的，这种争论的纯粹性堪比雅典学院。因此在那个时代，对文化的崇拜成了最高的崇拜。不像今天，大家的崇拜对象是经济英雄，如马云、马化腾，那个时代崇拜的是张艺谋、陈凯歌、余华、格非、苏童。因此也带来一个问题，对文化的崇拜被夸大，以至于成为当年的唯一出路。现在看来，这是一个历史的误会，就像今天你喜欢从商，他喜欢消费，他喜欢漂亮衣服，他喜欢色情的小说电影，都是他们自己的选择。但是那个时代的政治正确是崇拜文化英雄。

同一时期，西方的一百年的思潮进入中国，形成了几乎相互矛盾的现代与后现代的、多层次的思想文化堆积层，从尼采到弗洛伊德甚至到拉康、福柯，从印象派绘画到塞尚、毕加索甚至行为艺术，人们也会转向希腊和罗马，寻求美学资源和创作方法。这个看似全盘西化的过程，其实没有对西方哲学和艺术有过清晰的梳理，实际上也没有人有能力去这样做。在囫囵吞枣的新潮文化和新潮艺术的热闹之后，人们发现自己的艺术思想是混沌的，自己的艺术实践是一次大规模的模仿。这样的模仿仅停留在表层，就纪录片而言，电影书写是一种完全西方的方式，而国内对西方作者作品的引进和电影理论的介绍基本上都是空白。北京两所与影像有关联的学校的老师对纪录方法有一些粗浅主张，但这是远远不够的，因为他们也仅仅是在短暂的与西方摄制组的合作中获得了惊鸿一瞥的印象，而对西方主导的电影书写的历史缺乏研究与比较，于是纪录片创作的可能性就只能留给他们的学生，由他们在混迹江湖的时候独自探索了。

北京广播学院的教资出色，除了王纪言，还有刘书亮、朱羽君等。朱羽君是中国人民大学图片专业的毕业生，图片专业特别是纪实图片与纪录片创作关系密切，朱羽君在广播学院教纪录片所依赖的大都是图片创作的经验。上世纪九十年代初出品的纪录片《远在北京的家》的导演陈晓卿是她的学生。《远在北京的家》所采取的拍摄是经典的北京广播学院教授的纪录片方式，通过跟踪安徽保姆在北京一年的生活，完成了所谓的“插队落户”。导演尽量保持跟踪，使该片积累了很多的“在场”，该片的录音严格遵循了同期声的创作方法，在电影仍然是配音的时代，同期声的创作让人耳目一新。

四 源头4：电视台

当时中央电视台的纪录片创作有两个特点，第一个是在与NHK、BBC合拍的同时，开始了自己的尝试，《话说运河》、《话说长江》、《黄河》这些专题片是最早的改变语态的尝试。在《地方台30分钟》时期，中央电视台也有很多奇怪的探索，如“电视散文”，“散文诗电视”等。一开始中国专题片的探索非常多元，究其因，是八十年代文学热后，在电视台拍专题的多是文学出生。从电视散文到电视诗的尝试都有意义。今天，我们从纯粹纪录片的角度，已无法想象这些专题片的形态了。我在铜陵台时，和同事常常讨论《地方台30分钟》的片子，比如《雕塑家刘焕章》、《迷失古镇》等，解说和画面是分离的，所谓“人嘴两张皮”，这些片子对同期声的使用非常谨慎，他们几乎是拿同期声做音效的。后来是《河殇》，用陈汉元的话讲，《河殇》是配图的“政论”。再后来是《望长城》，我认为《望长城》的主要影响来自于NHK，它开启了一个同期声时代，也开启了一个电视主持人说人话的时代。《望长城》的主持人是老年的黄宗英，黄宗英行走于长城的故道，气喘吁吁，迎着沙尘暴采访当地的老乡，让人们体会到了同期声的威力，即“在场”的威力。“在场”即在现场，它不回顾过去，也不展望未来，它只是一个现象学意义上的存在，英文叫“being”。

电视台纪录片创作的另一个特点是与政治体制相关联。当时的中央电视台“招降纳叛”，比如《东方时空》的《生活空间》，原先是个炒菜类服务性栏目，在林旭东主持下，让蒋樾改版，拍纪录短片《八一湖》、《女工的早上》，从此成为纪录片栏目。吴文光的《流浪北京》也是从陈真主持的“中国人”系列中获得拍摄机器等资源的。除了中央电视台，作为国家宣传机器的各级电视台纷纷成立“国际部”或“海外中心”，专事拍纪录片，上海电视台的《纪录片编辑室》也是这个时期开始的。

五 “开始”

文学出身的我，读大学时是反现实主义的，因为文革用“现实主义”作工具给人民洗脑，因此，我们是反现实主义，赞同现代派的。我当时搞过一些“实验艺术”，比如用石头垒起来，在上面作油画，把它变成一个装置。那时，我的理想就是要成为余华，进行现代派写作。但是，到了九十年代初，“八五新浪潮”后，中国的“新小说”开始失语，开始失去了对中国现实的发言权。九十年代末，中国社会由计划经济向“社会主义特色”的市场经济转型。在我的老家，当地政府提出了要像土改一样推进股份制改制，熟悉的故乡变得非常陌生，中国社会的现实比小说更神奇。

王光利是我华东师范大学的小老弟，他去了北京。一天晚上，我在铜陵台与他长途电话，他说他正在拍《我毕业了》（1992）。那时北京正在开展一个新纪录片运动，说是他拍片的话筒都被拍摄对象砸坏了。

我1990年回铜陵台也在尝试，同事金忠讲我拍的专题片像“刮来了一阵清风”。反正铜陵台小，我一个人完成所有的拍摄、前后期，因此实验空间很大。1991年，我还拍了一部叫《1/285》的专题片，说的是一个邮差怎么将死信送到收信人家的。我选择了邮差投递的死信中的一封，让他重新寻找，我则跟踪拍摄他。整个过程产生了很多与创作意图不一致的溢出，比如，在铜陵同名同姓的人有十五六个，我们的跟踪拍摄产生了争执，很多意外也成为了影片的组成部分。影片的成功主要归功于同期声，它产生了二度空间，同期声的空间比配音和拟音的空间声音更真实。《1/285》同期声录得好，用的话筒是索尼C74的，指向性好。这样的尝试在当时的地方电视台很少有人理解的，我记得我投稿给安徽电视台的时候，女编辑说这不是专题片，他们不能发表。

中央电视台新闻改革后，创办了《东方时空》的《生活空间》，上海电视台也创办了一个纪录片的栏目，叫《纪录片编辑室》。看了一些上海台的纪录片后，我也开始寻找自己的纪录片题材。1996年中央台举办首届纪录短片大赛，我主持拍了二十分钟纪录片《光明行》，结果是拿了银奖。1997年陈虻、林旭东在北京引入了怀斯曼、小川绅介的电影，做了一次研讨会，对我触动挺大。看了小川绅介的《古屋敷村》、小川绅介的学生佐藤真的《家在阿贺河上》后，觉得《家在阿贺河上》像老舍的《茶馆》。

1998年，我一个人拍摄纪录片《渡口》。应该说通过陈虻他们举办的“首届国际纪录片研讨会”后，我的观念开始有了变化，其一是社会议题也可拍纪录片，但要立足于“人生与人心”，其二是“在场”，所谓放弃美学“像傻子一样去拍”，其三是技术很重要，但表达更重要。十二月《渡口》获得唯一金奖，同时，入围第二十三届香港国际电影节。那年，贾樟柯《小武》（1997）与《渡口》同时在京展出。

六 我的路

2006年在合肥，第三届中国纪录片交流周“群贤毕至”，很多重要的影片如《梦游》（2005）、《小脚人家》（2006）、《淹没》（2005）、《浩然是谁》（2006）都来了，我也忝为嘉宾去了合肥。作为嘉宾的我本可以不流露自己的情绪，

但看完这些片子, 我感受到一种强烈的冲击, 一种阶段性的野性。如《小脚人家》, 拍的是一个高原上小脚老太太的日常生活, 但导演白补旦拍着, 忽然将镜头钻到别的窑洞里去然后又钻了回来, 他的这个长镜头区别于王兵的长镜头。还有韩涛导演的《宝宝》(2005), 引起了很大的关于纪录片伦理的讨论。我印象最深的是《梦游》, 此片拍摄的技法基本属于中央电视台, 但反映的情绪是属于这个时代的一种虚无感, 它将这种虚无感推到了极致, 给我很深刻的印象。还有杨弋枢的《浩然是谁》, 我后来在读书杂志写的《反动是唯一的出路》结尾部分这样写道: “杨弋枢的《浩然是谁》代表了我们想表达而无法表达的, 少年时代的反抗与寂寞, 以及到青年时代结婚生子的妥协。”在2006年合肥的纪录片交流周, 大家还是没有多少门户之见, 也是类似于回到八十年代那种真诚的讨论中。该纪录片周在北京办过两届, 由朱日坤的现象工作室主持。印象中那两届被校方干涉, 磁带被没收, 所以合肥的纪录片交流周也可以说是第一届。从独立纪录片的历史来讲, 合肥该届交流周是受大家认可的。

因为不理解何为嘉宾, 我傻乎乎地放自己的片子《渡口》(1998) 和《迁镇》(1999)。在《渡口》放映结束的字幕里因有“铜陵电视台”字样, 被一群不明真相的“独立导演”认定为非“独立”, 但我心中暗笑, 我认为“独”不是以是不是在单位为准的。后来, 在“南京宣言”事件中, 我写了一篇文章, 文章的题目叫《我们现在应该怎样批评》, 文章的结束写道: 我推开“独立电影”的大门, 却发现一群比“单位更单位”的电影人。难道我们能因为卡夫卡做过银行职员而认为他是为银行写作? 难道我们能因为博尔赫斯在图书馆工作而认为他只为图书馆写作?

我个人的观点是中国当代纪录片大约有两个时代, 一个是“大机器”时代, 一个是“小机器”时代,即一个是BATECAM时代, 一个是DV时代, 而这两个时代不可分裂。大约在1990年代末, 开始有了DV, 这是小机器时代的开始, 杨荔娜的《老头》(1999)、唐丹鸿的《夜莺不是唯一的歌喉》(2000) 开始拍摄了。2000年左右, 因为DV的诞生, 拍片不再是电视台的专利, 自由表达成为可能。

我不同意独立电影界一些自以为是的看法, 他们参与的时间太晚, 帮会与山头意识难免。其实, 一些独立电影的先行者, 从吴文光到蒋樾皆在体制内电视台干过, 那时, 在国家“外宣”政策允许下, 电视台的纪录片有一定的表达空间, 从上海的《纪录片编辑室》到北京的《生活空间》, 出现了一批地方台的纪录片作品:《远在北京的家》(1993)、《沙与海》(1990)、《远去的村庄》(1996)、《阴阳》(1995) 等。

如同辛亥革命, 新军再牛, 也要团结黎元洪。一条河流的形成不止有一个源头。

七 革命: 新方法

拍摄《渡口》后, 特别是出现了很多模仿贾樟柯《小武》的电影后, 我决定告别现实主义。我开始思考“记者”与“作者”的区别, “写什么”与“怎么写”的区别。在现实非常魔幻时, “写什么”就是“怎么写”, “记者”就是“作者”, 因为“现实比虚构神奇”。可是, 当这一切成为一边倒的风气时, 问题接踵而至, 材料是一切, 要人做什么?

吴文光在拍完《江湖》(1999) 后就面临纪录片的所谓跟踪“剥削性”的问题, 他决定“亮胯”, 在第一人称纪录片“私影像”中拨出路。在他指导的纪录片创作中, 学生们和村民选择了“回乡”或“回家”, 通过“记忆”回应“回家”的大议题, 这样的记忆先是集中在“三年自然灾害”, 而后在“记忆”的纵向与“家乡”的横向中, 建立吴氏“突围”。

丛峰在《马大夫诊所》后也面临问题, 他选择从居伊·德波处寻找营养。他的《地层》选择了“无中生有”, 以网络影像资料再生电影, 在“反对电影”中制作电影。

我从《典型》(2001) 开始, 先是学布莱希特的“间离效果”。该片讲的是一个传统意义上的孝女的故事, 这个叫伍宝怡的女生的母亲是一个尿毒症患者, 学校校长找到我时, 说想拍好人好事, 其实就是宣传, 我表示没有兴趣。可是有一天, 校长跟我讲伍宝怡拒绝被宣传, 我觉得可以开始拍了。现在想来《典型》这个片子想要呈现的是一个盗版碟的效果。电影院在放美国大片, 盗版碟在偷拍, 把剧院的人也拍进去了, 有人在嗑瓜子, 有人在笑, 也有人在放屁, 这些人解构了美国大片, 让盗版碟成为一个建构与解构混合体, 因此产生了“间离效果”。

在《工厂青年》(2016) 中, 我用“身体”的概念。一开始按常规去拍, 我们拍了第一部分《工厂》和第二部分《青年》,《工厂》讲的是打工人的一天, 从上班开始, 大家从宿舍赶往工厂, 重复卓别林在他的《摩登时代》里面重复的动作。下班的时候, 他们接受检查, 重新穿起他们日常生活中穿的衣服, 从集体的人恢复到一个非常美丽的个体。第三部分是《故乡》, 是很多人都非常喜欢的部分, 我以后再单独跟大家述说此部分的创作经验。《工厂青年》最有亮点的部分在第四部分, 即《日记》, 我安排我们剧组的学生郭玥涵和钟诗婵去做工人, 在生产线上体验, 身体开始介入了, 于是《日记》的部分我对她们的要求是对着镜头说谁辞职了, 谁又来了, 谁怀孕了, 谁准备打胎……总之,《日记》用最简单的方式呈现了工厂青年的另外一面。然而当我们的机器放置在工厂里面成为一块石头的时候, 它反而记录的是男女谈情说爱的场面, 于是, 在生产线上的爱情成为真实。第四部分《日记》的第十二天, 郭玥涵不能承受工厂的简单重复, 她对着镜头述说她拍纪录片的理想以及她的困惑, 她说她没有办法了, 她怀疑她的纪录片理想正在变成周围人对她的恶意相向, 而钟诗婵觉得工厂的周围并没有墙, 但是又好像有一堵无形的墙, 她觉得她逃不出去。这是《工厂青年》的身体部分。

在《回到原处》, 我拍摄了跟我处境、身份一样的人, 在市场经济和计划经济之间挣扎。一个长得像蒙古汉子的朋友去了北京, 办一份《财经周刊》。在他请假的三个月之内, 刊号未获得批准, 他又无奈地回到了原单位。他的主编跟他说: “外面的世界不是很精彩吗? 外面的世界很无奈? ”他回到原单位, 但是, 四十天以后, 他的头发全掉光了。

《喉舌》(2009) 中我用“镜子”双向拍。《喉舌》拍的是深圳电视台的纪实频道的一个民生新闻栏目, 那时候我已经是频道的总监助理了, 人生空虚, 想通过拍《第一现场》栏目审视一下中年的自己。《喉舌》后来成为“有问题”的纪录片, 有关部门去深圳大学调查我的问题, 深大的校长跟调查人员说《喉舌》是在深圳市广电集团拍的, 要调查去广电集团。

而到《渡口编年》,《贺家》(2019) 用“重复”, 剪辑的方式是两个空间, 一个是不动的空间, 即所谓的贫民窟, 另一个是传统的空间变成白宫和意大利建筑的空间, 这是所谓现代化的过程, 一静一动, 并置且重复。《周家》(2020) 用“动物感”, 剪辑的要求是通过周鑫像野草和野狗一样的生命的历程来呈现周家。《陶家》(2020) 用陀思妥耶夫斯基的方法, 即“礼崩乐坏”, 抓狂的时代, 价值观彻底崩溃。看过《渡口编年》第四部分《故乡》的人, 认为《故乡》是沈从文气质的故乡, 还认为《故乡》是卢梭的《忏悔录》, 不是所谓“忏悔”什么罪, 而是要找另外一个自己聊天, 达成自我的和解。

现在大家在讨论“地方”, 沈从文之后的写作, 包括同时代的沙汀、艾芜的写作, 本质是土地写作, 非“流浪汉写作”, 包括鲁迅, 也需要重新从土地意义上认识, 而非批判。解放后, 土地写作几乎是伪写作, 在“新时期”, 沈从文的徒弟汪曾祺试图重返土地, 但收获的是碎片。至于韩少功的寻根可以说和土地无关。对于土地这种“游魂”状态, 是一个漫长的过程, 二十年代所谓的“土地革命”, 农民追随党, 内战打国民党部队, 四九年后的“三反五反”, 冒死进行土地改革。则融合“私影像”、“实验影像”以文学写作, 我始终认为“文无定法”, 我的创作便是此主张的实验, 我一直在变。

在直接电影的反思之后，出现了“私影像”、“实验电影”、“诗影像”、“施影像”等各种纪录片探索，但整体在海外皆能找到参照，也即原创性差，根本原因在于重复上世纪八十年代的取向：新的是美好的，另外就是哲学依然主要来源欧美，法兰克福学派为代表的“后马”，强调“反抗”、“颠覆”“重估一切价值”，却没有在东西方资源中寻找平衡。

上世纪八十年代新潮艺术的失败至今没得到反思。就“新小说”的失败，我问过评论家程德培，他说至少留下了“中国经验”，就八五新潮的消失，我问过陆兴华教授，他也语焉不详，我认为今天仍然维新的艺术界同仁，应该好好反思八十年代。

八 历史与个人

八十年代“现代主义”的纠枉过正可以理解，甚至全盘西化也可以理解。当尘埃落定，“在地文化”开始呈现，对“在地”全盘否定得到反思，文化保守主义被重新评估，我们发现在东方的、本土的文化，是我们与生俱来的资源。

我们重复“五四”，全盘西化，“打倒孔家店”。林毓生的《中国意识的危机》认为“五四”阻断了中国文化，“激进主义”的文化有问题，问题不在传本统本身，而在没有耐心的学习。既然身在本土，本土在地资源是与生俱来的。从《小城之春》到《童年往事》到《东京物语》都是影像的东方经验。费穆是“在地”影像，这是随上世纪九十年代末开始的研究。在此之后，人们发现我们本土影像，与欧美影像对比之下，有自己的独特美学。

一百年的总结，以激进始，以保守终。我认为，开放的思想可以按纳所有外在的想法，但不能忘记自己所身处的资源，这就是“在地文化”的意义所在。

我看了好多关于中国纪录片历史的描述，我劝写作者谨慎。我虽是个中人，只能写写自己经历的，写过去很难，跟预言未来一样难。在历史中的人很多，甲乙丙丁，甲对历史的描述，乙未必同意，丙与丁也一样。本来就没有所谓客观，关于历史的书写肯定是从自己的角度书写的，描述不同也是有的，如果有所谓客观的话，应该参照更多的个人描述。

回到现象难，不需要太多发挥，所以我选择从个人的角度来写我拍纪录片的经历。初拍纪录片的人，一般以拍什么为主，其特征为依赖拍摄对象的话语，我一开始也是如此。我在大学是在意“怎么写”的，我崇拜现代主义其实就是“形式”。但在上世纪九十年代末，中国的现实比虚构还要神奇之时，我又回到现实，拍短《渡口》。“形式”与“内容”构成了相互促进的复调，从反对“庸俗社会学”到写实电影，从写实电影到私影像等相互置疑、相互推进。

在“拍什么”、“怎么拍”之后，我问了第三个问题：为什么拍？为什么拍？形式和内容都要服从“我想说什么”。有话要说，才去拍片。作品最终要表达的是“我要表达我内心想表达的”。

总之，纪录片“拍什么”、“怎么拍”、“为什么拍”这些问题值得反复审视，最重要的是，要去实践，要“在场”，读书不要唯书，逐渐积累，不要急躁，会有收获的。

九 结论

回顾纪录片在中国发生的历史，我们试图从一个文化的共生与互动的角度看待，但这并不意味着独立这个词是可以

人人分享的。早期体制内的纪录片工作者在上世纪九十年代以后的工作依然是职业性的，他们对纪录片的批判性鲜有涉及，对纪录片对日常生活的深入也缺乏真正的切肤之痛，对社会和文化缺乏学者式的思考。因此在频道化、商业化之后，他们像故事片克隆好莱坞一样，走向对BBC的Discovery的克隆，甚至放弃了NHK的朴实，追求浮华的画面和空洞的解说。

但他们中间的一些早期探索仍然具有独立价值，为2000年之后兴起的小机器时代纪录片提供了铺垫。而小机器时代独立纪录片的诞生，有盗版碟时代的辅助，各种电影大师的文本通过盗版碟市场直接抵达每个对电影有热情的创作者面前，成为他们创作的参照。因此在蜂拥而起的写实浪潮之后，独立电影提出了多元化的需求，才出现了二十年之后独立电影如此复杂的局面。

然而跟上世纪八十年代的新潮文学与新潮小说运动面临着一样的问题，我们拍跟写到底是为了什么，是为了纯粹的不计后果的拍跟写吗？还是为了通过拍跟写获得票房、掌声、金钱的回报以及声誉，亦或证明在这个行业里面自己是所谓的独立导演呢？是所谓有话要说？还是所谓为了电影的可能性呢？反正对我来说这些除了票房之外依然都还是困惑。

2021年1月26日写于侨香村

注释

1 《被遗忘的影像》李幸、刘晓茜、汪继芳著，中国社会科学出版社，2006年。

Bumming in Rotterdam: Historical Interactions between Chinese Independent Cinema and the International Film Festival Rotterdam in the 1990s
流浪鹿特丹——1990年代中国独立电影与鹿特丹国际电影节之间的历史互动

Mitchell van VUREN 米切尔·范·沃伦

Abstract

Revisiting the period when international film festivals gradually started selecting the first Chinese independent films, this paper provides a historical overview of the scarcely documented interactions between the Chinese independent cinema and the International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR). As one of the first places where these films were shown in Europe in the 1990s, the Dutch festival has attempted to support this form of independent cinema through several institutionalised strategies. The paper classifies and describes these supportive strategies on the basis of archival research and in-depth interviews with (former) festival employees in order to understand how and why IFFR promoted Chinese independent cinema inside the international film festival network. Additionally, the significant impact of these strategies on the career paths of several prominent film directors are discussed, including Zhang Yuan, Wang Xiaoshuai, He Jianjun, and Wang Bing. By reflecting on the transnational production and distribution processes of Chinese independent films, the paper aims to conceptualise how the interactions between various Chinese independent filmmakers and film professionals, affiliated with IFFR and other festivals, have contributed to the constitution of an international community around Chinese independent cinema during its formative years.

Keywords: Chinese independent cinema, IFFR, film festivals, film funds, community

概要

通过重新考察中国独立电影最初开始入选国际电影节的时期，本文提供了鲜有人记录的中国独立电影与鹿特丹国际电影节之间互动的历史性回顾。作为在上世纪90年代最早放映中国独立电影的场所之一，这个荷兰电影节试图通过各种制度化策略来支持这种形式的独立电影。本文立足于文献研究和深度访谈（受采访者包括从前的和现在的电影节工作人员），对这些支持性策略作出分类并加以描述，希望以此理解鹿特丹国际电影节是如何，又是为何在国际电影节网络内推广中国独立电影，以及这些策略如何深远地影响了包括张元、王小帅、何建军、王兵在内的诸多著名电影导演的职业生涯。通过反思中国独立电影的跨国制作和发行方式，本文旨在从理论上探讨中国独立电影人和电影节（包括鹿特丹国际电影节和其他一些电影节）专业人士之间的互动合作及其成果——在中国独立电影成长的时期围绕它形成了一个国际社群。

关键词: 中国独立电影，鹿特丹国际电影节，电影节，电影基金，社群

Introduction

> There indeed was once [in 1988] an early meeting at Cannes when Chen Kaige (陈凯歌) was there for *King of the Children* (孩子王, 1987). During a breakfast meeting [between Chen Kaige and IFFR's founding director Huub Bals] where I attended as well, Chen said that he occasionally lived in New York. There, he gave cours-

> es to housewives on how to eat with chopsticks, just to make a living and to buy himself some time to work on his film scripts. Huub responded: 'This can't do. There must be a fund so that filmmakers like you have the time to work out their scripts…' He told Chen at the end of the meeting that we could help him with, I think he said, twenty-five thousand dollars. During the meeting, I didn't say much but at the end, Huub said to me: 'We are going to arrange that.' Then, he looked at me and I thought: 'Oh lord, now I have to arrange it.'[1]
>
> Sandra den Hamer, assistant to Huub Bals and later IFFR festival director (2000-2007)

This famous meeting between the Chinese film director Chen Kaige and the Dutch film festival director Huub Bals has been called the birth of the Tarkovsky Fund as the one of the first film festival funds in the world. Later that year, Chen Kaige would receive script development support for his *Life on a String* (边走边唱, 1991) as one of the very first filmmakers from the fund, which would be renamed post-mortem as the Hubert Bals Fund (HBF) of the International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR). Alongside the financial impulse for the Chinese arthouse cinema, the meeting also holds large symbolic value as the founding moment of a long and fruitful history of Chinese films being supported by IFFR with many diplomatic bumps along the road.

As one of the very first ports for Chinese cinemas to dock in the European film festival scene, Rotterdam has harboured many non-Western cinemas for decades and has under the banner of the 'supportive festival' always attempted to sustain an international film climate that 'finds audiences for difficult films' (as was one of the slogans of the late Huub Bals). Although many famous Chinese faces have been spotted at the festival, such as Gong Li (巩俐), Tsui Hark (徐克), Zhang Yimou (张艺谋), Jackie Chan (成龙), and so on, the festival has always had a special place for the outlaws of the Chinese independent cinema. Supporting young artists with bold films, the festival came to the aid of independent filmmakers who had few opportunities to produce and exhibit their films. It took a firm role in introducing Chinese independent cinema to the European film festival scene, which sometimes resulted in heated tensions with the Chinese central government in the 1990s. The large role that the festival had in multiple stages of the production process of several of these independent films does hit right at the heart of many of the critiques Chinese independent cinema received during these years: for whom were these films made? For Chinese or Western audiences? How should we theorise the role of Western parties in the realisation of these Chinese films?

This article delves deeper into the question how Chinese independent cinema from the People's Republic of China (PRC) has been promoted at IFFR through several supportive strategies during the 1990s. In three thematic sections, I categorise these various forms of support through the discussion of the strategies' executions during festival editions and through their impact on the career paths of several Chinese independent film directors. The role of foreign film festivals in the development of Chinese independent cinema has been theorised before (Pickowicz 2006; Ran 2009; Nakajima 2013) but the extensive history of the relationship between Chinese independent cinema and IFFR has been largely left undocumented. Through the elaboration on this shared history, I do not intend to offer a definite set of characteristics of ideal Chinese independent films for IFFR. Rather, I aim to reflect on the larger production process of this specific type of independent cinema that came into being through the collective labour of various national actors.[2]

Alternating between archival research and in-depth interviews with several of IFFR's (former) festival directors, programmers, interpreters, and affiliated filmmakers, I approach this research primarily through the perspective of IFFR

following my research internship there in preparation for the fiftieth edition in 2021. The festival organisation has many facets, departments, and affiliated parties, which is one of the reasons why I diverge from seeing it as a solid entity whose strategies are executed fully consciously or univocally. I prefer approaching the festival and Chinese independent cinema as larger, networked assemblages of actors that encounter one another and try to find beneficial ways of interacting. To conceptualise this properly, I situate their interactions inside the 'film festival network' (De Valck 2007), providing opportunities for film professionals, such as Chen Kaige and Huub Bals, to meet each other face-to-face, and to initiate the production of new projects which would otherwise have remained impossible to realise.

After introducing the phenomenon of Chinese independent cinema, I conceptualise its relationship with Western film festivals through positioning it historically inside the film festival network. Then, I provide a brief history of IFFR in relation to Chinese cinemas before its encounter with independent cinema, and I briefly introduce the three thematic sections. Next, each supportive strategy is exemplified in a thematic section through its manifestations at festival editions in the 1990s and by its noticeable influence on the career paths of multiple Chinese filmmakers. Several of these filmmakers' supported and/or exhibited works are be discussed as exemplary of the kind of cinema the festival desired at its venues. In my conclusion, I reflect on the role IFFR has played in the growth of Chinese independent cinema and the formation of an international community around this form of cinema in the 1990s.

Theoretical Framework

The notion of independent cinema occurs around the globe as film professionals vigorously shoot their films outside institutionalized structures of film production and (often) distribution. In a global independent film scene, the special case of Chinese independent cinema has encountered particular hardships during its awakening in the late 1980s and early 1990s from a dominant national studio system and censorship apparatus. This particular intersection of economic and political constraints, together with the opportunity to articulate its consequent dilemmas through cinema, led to a unique and critical film phenomenon: the necessity to screen the majority of officially unapproved films in international film festivals outside the PRC.

The notion of independence that Chinese independent cinema constitutes has shown itself challenging to define comprehensively following its constant transformation and adaptation to changing film climates. Chris Berry, for example, situates Chinese independent cinema specifically inside the Chinese film industry and argues for conceptualising it through its relational and strategic positioning inside a three-legged system, namely 'the party-state apparatus, the marketized economy, and the foreign media and art organizations that have built up a presence in China today.' (2006, p. 109) In another vein, Zhang Yingjin demures from defining Chinese independent cinema in a financial sense due to its private funding schemes and proposes instead independence from official ideology (2006, p. 26). And with an entirely different approach, Rowan Parry refocuses attention on the appeal of many independent filmmakers to the 'independent spirit' (独立精神) as a defining feature of independent cinema in China (Parry 2020, p. 5). A collectively felt 'vigour' or 'spirit' has the potential to socially bind a community of like-minded people with shared practices and ideologies. With my ambition in mind to conceptualise actors from the Chinese independent cinema and international film festivals in horizontal relations, I explore this sense of community in relation to Chinese independent cinema and reflect on the way in which it manifests itself beyond national borders.

In his discussion of the formation of a Chinese public sphere through independent cinema, Sebastian Veg proposes the utility of the concept of 'imagined community':

> [This concept] is certainly applicable to independent cinema, in that, based on the assumption of a common humanity shared by the objects of filming, the director behind the camera, and the audience on the other side of the screen, it strives to bring into existence a discussion on the common values of society that does not simply replicate the discourse promoted by the state through education and government-sponsored art. (2010, p. 8)

Veg recognises how the production and reception of Chinese independent films can potentially aid the shaping of a community, connecting filmmakers, audiences, and the environment through critical engagements with the society. However, several members of this community, including audiences or involved professionals, might find themselves outside of the PRC. Ma Ran conceptualises a plural form of these communities, which are in a constant struggle to realign themselves spatially and conceptually across national borders, as a counterweight to the Chinese status quo (2014, p. 246). Following Parry, Veg, and Ma, I trace Chinese independent films and filmmakers as they come into contact with IFFR but with special attention to the ways in which the production, distribution, and reception of these films aid the constitution of an international community. This diverse community contains a plural form of smaller associations of persons 'enraptured' by the same independent spirit, as it has materialised in the corpus of films that the community is centred around. As such, independent films with transnational trajectories of distribution can form ideal vehicles for spreading such independent forms of thought across the film festival network and to the various audiences that attend the festivals therein.

The film festival network has, at present, grown to cover the entire world through an interrelated web, connecting global and local economies through numerous film festivals as nodal points (De Valck 2007, p. 15). Many stakeholders from the film industry, such as creative professionals, studio executives, and fund managers meet each other in these festival spaces and negotiate, as relevant actors inside this world-encompassing network, which of the selected films will become part of the cultural canon (Rhyne 2009). Marijke de Valck envisions these festival spaces as 'sites of passage,' where a variety of rituals (red carpets, paparazzi, the star system) contribute to the cultural authorization of films and filmmakers. The passage through festivals is the desired trajectory for a film to gain a 'name' to allow for higher visibility, broader distribution, and better chances for the future career of the filmmaker (De Valck 2007, p. 37-38). In the case of the independent Chinese cinema, its distribution was in the 1990s restricted to foreign territories alongside limited underground distribution in the PRC through pirated DVD copies and unofficial screenings (Nakajima 2013). Still, the reputation acquired abroad enhanced the filmmakers' positions domestically through their acclaim as globally recognised filmmakers (Pickowicz 2006, p. 13).

Through organising industry events such as co-production markets and managing film funds, festivals do not only control what they select and promote in the light of their festival's identity, but they have also gained significant influence as cultural gatekeepers (Elsaesser 2005; De Valck 2007) over what will be produced, screened, and appreciated the coming years. Such industry events and similar operations grant film festivals central positions in the film festival network, which directors from non-Western regions oftentimes find hard to enter and which can lead to unequal relations between Global South filmmakers and Western facilitators and selectors. Still, both require one another inside the fragile ecology of international arthouse cinema, but they also have high expectations of each other. Falicov elaborates on this mutual

dependency: '… filmmakers from the global South, especially first-time directors, rely on [the fund's] financial support and access to wider markets. The film festivals rely on these directors for new, "exotic" and innovative content.' (Falicov 2010, p. 18) In that regard, the funding of a specific sort of festival film that fits the profile of a film festival aids the establishment of a festival's public 'brand' (Falicov 2016, p. 212).

Since the start of their engagements in the early 1990s, Chinese independent filmmaking practices have been strongly integrated with international practices through their intertwining with the film festival network. From the 2000s onwards, the rise of Chinese independent film festivals attributed more agency to Chinese actors in these networks, but the 1990s saw a far larger role for the Western film festival in the production and distribution of Chinese independent films. Exemplified by the interactions between Chinese independent cinema and IFFR, I investigate how the collaborations between these nationally diverse assemblages of actors have led to the realisation of Chinese independent films.

The Historical Connection between IFFR and Chinese Cinemas

The first edition of Film International Rotterdam (renamed as International Film Festival Rotterdam after Huub's passing in 1988) occurred on 28 June 1972 as one of the first film events in the Netherlands with a niche focus on avant-garde cinema and with a long and turbulent history to come. The role of Chinese cinema, however, remained limited until the 1986 edition, when plenty of effort was put into gradually presenting Chinese film as an anticipated newcomer and lasting presence at IFFR (see Appendix 1 for a general indication of Chinese films at the festival from 1986 to 2000).

Portrait of Huub Bals (1986)
© *Pieter Vandermeer / Nederlands Fotomuseum*

The result was a selection of films from the three Chinese-speaking territories (Hong Kong, Taiwan and PRC) but, despite their seemingly unified representation, a conflict between the festival and Chinese authorities ensued when the Taiwanese flag was raised among the other flags of the countries represented in Rotterdam. Only after the intervention of the Dutch government was the flag taken down, seemingly designating the festival as another diplomatic event. However, the attending Chinese filmmakers in that year did not align themselves with the feud between their respective governments. After Hou Hsiao-Hsien (侯孝贤) uttered his wish to meet the Fourth Generation director and fellow festival attendee Wu Tianming (吴天明), a meeting was organised between the two behind closed doors without any of the hostilities that their governments exchanged (Heijs & Westra 1996, p. 168-169). Cinema as a vehicle of national identity, dominant in the history of film festivals, was still envisioned by national governments in this example. But, this interpretation of the status of the film festival was stubbornly resisted by the filmmakers themselves. This

event already hints at the future position IFFR would occupy as a safe haven for artistic and independent filmmakers without any ties to their governments.

'China wordt geboren [China is being born]' is explicitly stated in the introduction to the festival catalogue of the 1988 edition by Huub, who had grown more pessimistic about the future of cinema over the years (Heijs & Westra, p. 185). He was in his unforeseen final year directing attention to films from Chinese-speaking territories, but also from different non-Western regions such as Latin America and other Asian regions, as exemplars of this future, which also manifested itself in a list of the Twenty Directors of the Future that was published during the festival. Hou Hsiao-Hsien and Chen Kaige were incorporated in Huub's envisioned future pantheon of directors, together with Jim Jarmusch, David Lynch, Peter Greenaway, Jean-Luc Godard, Martin Scorsese, and Chantal Akerman. Of great importance to Chinese cinemas and international independent cinema in general was Huub's official announcement of the birth of the Tarkovsky Fund to offer financial aid for filmmakers from Third World countries (Heijs & Westra, p. 186). This supportive vision became institutionalised through the programming of the festival but also through the organisation of the festival fund and the co-production market CineMart. Founded in 1983, this film market quickly evolved to become the first of its kind in connecting seasoned film producers with young filmmakers in search of financial and professional support. [3]These two organisations offered previously unknown opportunities to filmmakers from countries with developing film industries. As Sandra den Hamer elaborated upon during our interview (2020), Huub's successors would, after his sudden death in July 1988, follow his orientation towards non-Western cinemas, while giving it their own colour along the way (see Appendix 2 for an overview of festival directors from 1972 to 2007).

Chinese film scholar and occasional interpreter at IFFR Anne-Sytske Keijser alluded in a personal interview that transnational networks of production and distribution, in which IFFR tried to take a central place, started with personal relations of trust between Western programmers and Chinese directors such as Zhang Yuan (张元) and Wang Xiaoshuai (王小帅)(extensively discussed in the thematic sections) (Keijser 2020). Prior to the establishment of these intercultural relations, films were often made independently and underground, for many filmmakers lacked financial sources and/or practical skills. And when the films were finished, the film rolls also needed to find their way out of the country and to festivals with an active agenda of screening these films. In the case of IFFR, the festival organisation helped to secure this clandestine system through various institutionalised strategies, which I categorise in three ways: firstly, co-financing and/or professional guidance through the HBF; secondly, activist events during festival editions; and thirdly, the promotion of the formation of an international community around the Chinese independent cinema through the personal connections of key figures, such as Wouter Barendrecht, and co-production market CineMart. While the first two components are quantifiable as a set of strategic and situated actions during and around festival editions, the third component instrumentalises the previous strategies on a meta-level and operates more in relation to other festivals and involved actors. Below, I will expand upon each strategy through examples of events occurring during festival editions and the case studies of their impact on the career paths of several Chinese independent film directors.

The Hubert Bals Fund

Despite the fact that Chen Kaige played a key role in the establishment of the HBF, another Chinese director's engagements with the fund might serve as a better example of why the HBF was of such importance to specifically the Chinese

independent cinema. Zhang Yuan, seen as one of the first Chinese independent directors, screened his films multiple times at IFFR and received official support up to four times in a period of four years from the fund. By elaborating upon the director's interactions with the HBF and the festival, I will outline the way the fund was intended to support filmmakers and how this strategy fitted with the agenda of the festival itself.

Zhang's first feature film *Mama* (妈妈, 1990) is generally regarded as China's first 'independent' film, a result of its production without official approval, its initial domestic banning in post-Tiananmen China, and its funding through private means outside the state studio system. In a personal interview, Marco Müller reflects on Zhang's status as the 'first' independent filmmaker and the position of Western parties in Chinese cinema as follows:

> There was a time when Western producers really tried to become so close to several Chinese filmmakers that it really became a risky business, that they would be making films for foreign festivals and foreign distributors. But, all of that only happened in the late '80s and early '90s. Then, something more important happened back in 1990, because a very stubborn and very special person, called Zhang Yuan, singlehandedly invented what came to be called the Sixth Generation… What really happened is that the Fifth Generation could only afford to work for a government-run studio at the provincial level because it was the only production reality in China. So, Zhang Yuan understood that expressive autonomy needed to coincide with financial autonomy, that he could only afford the control of his means of expression if he could afford the means of control of financing the film… (Müller 2020)

While the production of *Mama* had been cancelled several times by different studios and had been shelved after the political turmoil of 1989, Zhang decided to privately shoot the film outside the studio system on a shoestring budget. However, the film had been declared and registered under a license number registered to Xi'an Film Studio to obtain approval for the purchasing of film reels, making the acclaimed first 'independent' films already a 'semi-independent' one (Duzan 2012). Still, the grim black-and-white docudrama about the harsh life of a handicapped child and his mother impressed the juries of overseas festivals and showed the potential of Chinese films made financially independent from state studios and without interference from the Chinese Film Bureau.

Portrait of Zhang Yuan (1995)
© Pieter Vandermeer / Nederlands Fotomuseum

In 1992, *Mama* was shown at Rotterdam, which most likely formed an important linkage between the festival and the film director for future collaborations. In previous years, the HBF had already been developed significantly during the structural changes the festival was undergoing following the death of its 'founding father' Huub Bals. With Anne Head as interim director in 1989 and Marco Müller as festival director in 1990 and 1991, the festival organisation struggled to continue Huub's legacy while finding a new and relevant form for the festival. Müller brought with

him to IFFR a broad network and knowledge of Asian cinemas, supplemented with a new vision for the festival in the upcoming years. Under his directorship, IFFR grew enormously in terms of films and audiences, presenting approximately three times more films than during the years of Huub (Heijs & Westra 1996, p. 286). The fund had started to offer several kinds of support in various stages of the production process, including script development, post-production, and distribution. While Chen Kaige received script support from the fund in 1988 for his *Life on a String*, Zhang Yuan was to receive financial aid twice for his second film *Beijing Bastards* (北京杂种, 1993): aid for production costs, and for post-production costs, alongside the provision of physical post-production facilities and professional post-production support in the Netherlands itself.

The film portrays a bleak picture of the lives of the bastards of 1990s China, namely a group of bohemian rock musicians in underground Beijing after the disillusionments of 1989. The clandestine production of this semi-improvised film found support outside the studio system from a broad range of actors: Hong Kong producer Shu Kei (舒淇), cinematographer Christopher Doyle, and rock star Cui Jian (崔健) during production; the partly Dutch sales company Fortissimo Films for international distribution; the HBF for the funding of post-production in the Netherlands; and IFFR for exhibition in Rotterdam in 1993 and 1994 (Shaw 2019). This diverse group of involved parties already indicates the transnational character of the film, effected by the financing of the film in the Netherlands. In 1993, the festival even organised an unannounced test screening for the film. The film was presented as 'rough cut' without any supplementary information before the festival and so attracted eager audiences to see an unidentified 'banned' Chinese film without any subtitles (Keijser 2020). While the majority of the films supported by the HBF benefit mainly from financial support, the collaboration between Zhang Yuan and the fund shows another dimension of transnational funding by film festivals: through the circumvention of governmental regulation, financial freedom coincides with political freedom in the case of cinema made under regimes of censorship. As senior programmer Gerwin Tamsma related during a personal interview, in the case of Chinese cinema, the financial impact of the HBF as foreign investor in relation to the huge Chinese studio system during the 1990s was minimal when compared to the political freedom artists were granted outside of this national system (Tamsma 2020).

Zhang Yuan, Wouter Barendrecht, and Cui Jian (left to right) at IFFR (1993)
© Pieter Vandermeer / Nederlands Fotomuseum

Beijing Bastards serves as a representative example of Chinese independent films that have received support from the Dutch HBF financially but also through the additional political freedom granted by overseas post-production facilities. Zhang's following films *East Palace West Palace* (东宫西宫, 1996) and *Sons* (儿子, 1996) would also receive support from the HBF in 1994 and 1996 respectively, and they were screened at Rotterdam to-

gether with Zhang's first documentary *The Square* (广场, 1994) in the period from 1994 to 1998. The world premiere of *East Palace West Palace*, however, did not occur at Rotterdam (as had happened with the other two films) but at the Argentinian Mar del Plata International Film Festival in 1996, followed by a European premiere at the French Cannes Film Festival in 1997 and its Dutch premiere in 1998 at Rotterdam. Zhang's international successes had allowed him to 'outgrow' the 'supportive festival' and to move on to the Big Three of Berlin, Cannes, and Venice, while, as Tamsma explained during our interview (2020), other filmmakers decided to stay inside the niche cinema of which IFFR was fond. Still, Zhang would receive a Tiger Award (Rotterdam's most important award for the first or second feature of an upcoming director) and a FIPRESCI Award for his film *Sons* that year. This docufiction used the life stories and members of a Chinese family, drifting apart due to alcoholism, to play themselves in this film, adhering to the experimental and adventurous kind of cinema IFFR would like to see made.

Zhang Yuan's interactions with IFFR and the HBF exemplified the position IFFR wanted to take inside the careers of promising, young directors. Functioning as their steppingstone to the international film festival network, new directors could gain exposure to the industry and hopefully more opportunities to produce films. Especially for Chinese independent filmmakers with minimal exposure domestically and few funding opportunities, the financial and political freedom afforded by IFFR and the HBF made the festival a welcome platform for emerging filmmakers such as Zhang Yuan, Wang Xiaoshuai, He Jianjun (何建军) and others (see Appendix 3 for a list of HBF-supported films by these directors). On the other side of the table, it could be argued from the perspective of Falicov (2010, 2016) that the co-production of these underground films aided the profiling of IFFR as a controversial and daring film festival that pushed the limits of what cinema is and could be.

But, as festival director Simon Field explained during a personal interview, festival funding serves more purposes than the benefits of the two involved parties:

> I certainly don't think that funds dictate. And I personally don't think filmmakers make films bearing in mind what sort of films get supported by those funds... It's also the case that certain types of independent, radical cinema, like Wang Bing, Apichatpong Weerasethakul, and numerous others, depend to some extent on public funds to support their work… And, often, those films are made by people who are taking cinema in a new direction. Therefore, they are finding it more difficult to get funding, so they really need these funds. (Field 2020)

Festival funds, such as the HBF, the World Cinema Fund in Berlin, and the Fonds Sud in France, enabled filmmakers to express themselves artistically, but also to innovate international cinema as an art form on the festival circuit without the requirement to be commercial appealing. The fact that film festivals have their own interests in generating and showcasing such typical festival films is undeniable. But, as the advancement of Zhang Yuan's career through the support of IFFR and the HBF has exemplified, the early institutional support of a young and promising film director can help set the fundaments of far larger film movements that have the potential to change entire national film industries. And, as the next section shows, the defence of the right of artistic expression for filmmakers still stands at the core of IFFR's moral vision.

Activism at the Festival

Over the course of the 1990s, IFFR organised multiple events concerning political awareness and the protection of filmmakers in the face of the restriction of their artistic freedom. Emile Fallaux, the most politically-engaged festival director to date, was personally convinced of an international right to freedom of expression through cinema, which echoed the initial wishes of Huub to provide a platform for cinema that otherwise would not find places to be exhibited. As current managing director of IFFR and previous sales manager of Fortissimo Films Marjan van der Haar explained in a personal interview (Van der Haar, 2020), such a conviction about the universality of the freedom of expression is widespread in the Dutch public consciousness, which can also be found in the moral vision of the International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam (IDFA). In 2020, IFFR even joined forces with IDFA and the European Film Academy (EFA) in establishing the International Coalition for Filmmakers at Risk (ICFR), in defence of filmmakers in danger of being silenced, harassed, imprisoned, or even killed worldwide. Below, I expand upon several activist events at the festival in the 1990s and explore how they are connected to Chinese independent cinema and the career paths of two of its directors: Wang Xiaoshuai and He Jianjun.

The political commitment of Fallaux was immediately demonstrated during his first year, in 1992, through the organisation of the conference Limits of Liberty to discuss the political climate for cinema around the world, and to showcase seven films that were censored in their countries of origin, including Zhang Yuan's *Mama* as the first Chinese independent film to be screened at the festival. The urgency for structural change felt during the conference manifested itself in the founding of the internationally-oriented human rights organisation FilmFree, which was to develop over the following years as an integral part of the festival, addressing issues of censorship and/or violation of the human rights of filmmakers. While the HBF had already responded to the financial restrictions of filmmakers, the festival organisation attempted to implement instruments that also responded to political restrictions and offered means to realise films from regions experiencing censorship (IFFR 1992).

This attention to politics at IFFR and other European festivals in the case of Chinese cinemas did not go unnoticed by Chinese critics. For example, Chinese film scholar Dai Jinhua criticised the reception of Sixth Generation films at international festivals as primarily focused on their political gestures that distinguished them from mainstream ideology, while the films merely reflected an 'imaginary China' that did not interest audiences within the country (2002, p. 90). This accusation of a selective over-politicisation of Chinese cinema has also been made against IFFR. Chinese film scholars Mo Chen and Xiao Zhiwei (2006, p. 150) reflect on the 1993 planned visit of Fifth Generation director Huang Jianxin (黄建新) to Rotterdam, which was obstructed by the Chinese government at the last moment. For Huang, nothing official was organised by the festival organization to condemn the decision by the Chinese government to obstruct the attendance of the director, while such protests had been organised in the past by the festival organization for explicitly political filmmakers. Mo and Xiao criticise the festival leadership for being selective with their activist concerns in the light of their high sensitivity to governmental acts of oppression, while they still welcomed and actively promoted films and filmmakers with a political edge that year, such as Wu Ziniu's (吴子牛) *The Big Mill* (大磨坊, 1992) and the rough cut of *Beijing Bastards*.

The domestic discontent with the role of Western film festivals in the PRC itself did not hinder the growth of indepen-

dent cinema and its exhibition abroad. In fact, IFFR heightened its focus on the political aspects of Chinese cinema in the 1994 edition by enhancing the position of FilmFree as another instrument to aid the production of global arthouse cinema; that year, it fully replaced Limits of Liberty (IFFR 1994). A total of thirty-two Chinese-language films were shown in two sections: arthouse films in 'Films from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan' (including the screening of the final version of *Beijing Bastards)* and popular blockbusters in 'Hong Kong Box Office', which led to rooms full of local Chinese people and a pleasant sense of 'being in a Hong Kong cinema' as Keijser described during our interview (2020). The festival has a long history of showing Hong Kong popular cinema and Fifth Generation films, but their selection of independent films that year seemed to have the primary function of making a political statement.

These films were presented in a FilmFree program and spearheaded by Ning Dai's (宁岱) *Discussions Caused by a Film's Filming Being Stopped* (关于一部被禁电影的讨论, 1994), a film about the cancellation of the production of Zhang Yuan's film *Chicken Feathers on the Ground* (一地鸡毛, 1993) by the Chinese authorities. After the festival opening, the festival organisation sent a fax to Beijing to inform them of the complete IFFR line-up of Chinese films, to prove the artistic worth of independent films amongst other forms of Chinese cinema. The fax resulted in the prohibition of the exhibition of six Chinese independent films at the festival, which arrived too late in Rotterdam to be actually executed. Zhang Zhen notes that amidst the ongoing friction between the independents and the status quo in 1993 and in 1994, several independent filmmakers had regularly screened their films abroad without approval, in, for example, Rotterdam and Tokyo (2007, p.11). This would ultimately lead that year to the Chinese government blacklisting six filmmakers, of whom several had had their films exhibited at that year's IFFR. These filmmakers were: Wang Xiaoshuai, He Jianjun, Zhang Yuan, Ning Dai, Wu Wenguang (吴文光) and Tian Zhuangzhuang (amongst whom He Jianjun, for *The Postman* [邮差, 1995], and Zhang Yuan, for *East Palace, West Palace*, still received HBF support that year). This official prohibition of filmmaking, however, did not halt the interactions between the festival and these filmmakers. In the following years, they would find inventive ways to continue their collaborations with the help of the HBF.

Portrait of Wang Xiaoshuai (1995)
© Pieter Vandermeer / Nederlands Fotomuseum

In 1997, the festival took a less political orientation following the appointment in 1996 of Simon Field as the successor to Emile Fallaux Field steered the festival more towards the explorations of the borders between cinematic art and different art forms. Still, the mysterious Wu Ming (无名: literally translated as 'No Name') entered the Chinese feature *Frozen* (极度寒冷, 1997) into the festival that year and was selected for the Tiger Award Competition. Ultimately, the mystery guest did not win the Tiger Award but could go back home to China with the FIPRESCI Award for his low-budget film about the last performance act of a desperate performance

artist. Struggling with his life in a circle of performance artists in Beijing, the depressed protagonist decides to freeze himself to death as a work of art, inviting allegorical readings of the film in the light of oppression. The film had been shot in Beijing and had finished its post-production in the Netherlands with the help of the HBF and the Dutch production company Moskito Film. In my interview with Moskito Film-founders Victor Nieuwenhuijs and Maartje Seyferth (2020), they emphasised the main reason for their selections of films as post-production managers their own background as independent filmmakers and the importance they personally attached to cinema as an art form. Wang Xiaoshuai, who was actually the director of *Frozen*, was forced to direct his second film under this pseudonym following his blacklisting in 1994, and he finalised its editing, sound design, and colour correction in the Netherlands with the help of Moskito Film. Wang's debut film *The Days* (冬春的日子, 1993) had been shown in 1994 at Rotterdam and had in all probability facilitated the contact between the filmmaker and the fund, allowing the realisation of *Frozen* in defiance of Wang's professional restriction. The director remained a regular guest at the festival in later years as well, even serving as jury member for the Tiger Awards in 2001.

This strategy of granting post-production facilities through the HBF and under a pseudonym was repeated again in the following years in the case of Zhao Jisong, the alter ego of film director He Jianjun. Before he was blacklisted in 1994 and had to go 'under the radar' to make a film with the support of the HBF, he already gained name at the 1994 edition of IFFR with his short *Self Portrait* (自画像, 1994) and first feature *Red Beads* (红豆, 1994), for which he received the FIPRESCI Award under his first pseudonym, He Yi. One year later, his second feature, *Postman*, was received very well at Rotterdam and even got him the first Tiger Award that the festival had ever granted. Future collaboration between the festival and He Jianjun became concrete and led to his third feature, *Scenery* (风景, 1999), with the support of the HBF, additional funding from the Göteborg Film Festival Fund and, again, Moskito Film as co-producer. The screenings of both films led to 'a good deal of nervousness about people of the Chinese embassy being in the audience' as Field said during our interview (2020), but the relatively small-scale distribution of the films ultimately did not lead to any retributions for either the festival or the filmmakers.

Through the organisation of Limits of Liberty and FilmFree, IFFR has attempted to actively address the limitations of the artistic freedom of filmmakers worldwide, of which the support of the Chinese independent cinema has formed a significant part. Aside for bringing their problems to light for an international audience, they have also aided these filmmakers through pseudonymous support of the HBF. In that sense, the clandestine activities of Chinese independent filmmakers were actively promoted by the festival organisation and also led to longer collaborations between

Portrait of He Jianjun (1995) © Pieter Vandermeer / Nederlands Fotomuseum

the filmmakers and the festival, even when they were prohibited from filmmaking by their own governments. Some of these collaborations lasted for a long time, of which He Jianjun is a shining example. After *Scenery*, he remained in the circles of IFFR, with three further films finding funding through the HBF and co-production partners through CineMart: *Pirated Copy* (蔓延, 2004), *River People* (水上人家, 2008), and *The Harvest* (which has not yet been realised despite the script development support of the HBF). These longer forms of professional engagement between film directors and industry professionals in Rotterdam's festival spaces indicate the prospering international community which the festival actively tried to promote and to participate in. In the following section, I reflect upon the strategies of the festival to establish sustained connections between the festival and the independent Chinese filmmakers it supported.

Promoting the Formation of an International Community

Until now, I have primarily described the interactions between Chinese independent filmmakers and IFFR as a festival organisation as motivated by economic and/or political interests. In the light of the limited exposure and financial revenue of their collaboratively produced films, the liaisons to collaboratively produce films between independent filmmakers and festivals remain difficult to explain merely in these terms. In this section, I will approach their interactions as grounded inside the same community, driven by or in agreement with the independent spirit. This community-approach shifts attention from the films alone to the broader impact a community, such as the Chinese independent film circle, can have through the totality of the actions of the affiliated parties. I provide some clarifying suggestions on how to understand the formation of an international community around the Chinese independent cinema through, first, mediator figures inside the community and, second, the professional growth of several directors through the benefits of the community and through co-production market CineMart. Lastly, I discuss the example of the career of director Wang Bing as an established presence in the circles of IFFR.

In the light of the relatively small individual benefits many members of this community receive in economic or political terms, I argue that it would be more fruitful to conceptualise their motivation through a collective desire to develop a Chinese independent cinema with its own aesthetics, ideology and affective value. This shared drive to make films manifests itself profoundly inside the festival space as a social space, where unique social encounters may occur. A key figure in the initial phases of connecting separated communities of film professionals, and later on, connecting people inside communities themselves, is the film scout as cultural intermediary. Before the integration of non-Western cinemas with the Eurocentric film festival network, film scouts wielded enormous power over what kind of films would be selected to reach film festivals from respectively unknown film territories at that moment as innovative, 'new' forms of cinema (Nornes 2014, p. 249). In the case of the international advent of Chinese cinemas, people such as Tony Rayns and Marco Müller might come to mind as important bridges between Chinese and European film industries, but the most remarkable figure for specifically (but not exclusively) Rotterdam was the Asian cinema expert, Head of CineMart, and co-founder of film sales company Fortissimo Films, Wouter Barendrecht (1965-2009).

Barendrecht stands out as a prominent figure in establishing connections between Chinese cinemas and Rotterdam, primarily through his unique position of being the first to solidify this kind of contact through the business model of the sales agent in the case of Asian art cinema (Van der Haar 2020). While Barendrecht was already involved with the festival in Rotterdam early on, in 1991 he took the step with Helene Loveridge to start film sales company Fortissimo

Films, to connect the Asian and European film industries. In the following years, Fortissimo Films would establish a large network in Hong Kong and the PRC, aided by Hong Kong independent film producer and oftentimes collaborator Shu Kei, as Van der Haar elaborated upon in our interview (2020). Barendrecht and Van der Haar, who was still working at IFFR until her transfer to Fortissimo Films in 1995, channelled many of Asia's first art films to IFFR until their growing visibility as sales agent led them to send films to other prominent festivals as well. Soon, they would be distributing films from famous art film directors, such as Wong Kar-Wai and Apichatpong Weerasethakul, and would take a central position in the international distribution of Asian cinemas. But, before this breakthrough, various Chinese films were brought to the HBF and/or to the screens of IFFR through personal connections Barendrecht had in Asian film networks. In Appendix 3, the continuity between distribution through Fortissimo Films, support by the HBF and participation at CineMart for several Chinese independent filmmakers is sketched, indicating the intertwining of many of these factors.

As can be read from Appendix 3, the filmmakers discussed earlier and several others have followed a similar trajectory in the 1990s during their interactions with actors affiliated with the festival in Rotterdam. After their introduction to the festival, often through the exhibition of their films or through their distribution by Fortissimo Films, they applied for the HBF and were granted financial aid to produce their second or third feature film. Through their familiarity with the festival and with Barendrecht as the Head of CineMart in the 1990s, participation in the co-production market became possible. As Falicov has noted about the correlation between the HBF and CineMart: '… at Rotterdam, the hope is that filmmakers can evolve from Hubert Bals to bigger-budget co-produced films through CineMart.' (2010 p. 16) The often simultaneous involvements of these Chinese filmmakers with other industry professionals at festival spaces created a vibrant and dynamic community during a time when some of the most daring Chinese independent films were made (Zhang 2007, p. 11).

Wouter Barendrecht, Emile Fallaux, Zhang Yimou, Zhang Yuan, and Shu Kei at IFFR (1993) © Pieter Vandermeer / Nederlands Fotomuseum

As mentioned before, many directors outgrew the 'supportive' festival and advanced their careers beyond a festival that mainly targets promising directors and experimental cinema. Some, such as He Jianjun, decided to dwell longer among the people and facilities available at Rotterdam. Den Hamer says in my interview with her about this period:

> The world opened up… Since 2000, it was much easier to travel and to send films around the world with videotapes, and, later on, through the Internet. In China, there were fewer problems involving censorship; it was still there but in a different way than before. And Chinese films were also shown at Cannes, Venice and Berlin. While [Chinese films] were still a unicorn in the 80s, they had lost that special status already for some time in the 2000s… (2020, translation by author)

After the 1990s, these films still found proactive support at IFFR, of which Wang Bing (王兵) is a paradigmatic exam-

ple. In 2002, post-production funding was awarded to *Tie Xi Qu; West of the Tracks Part 1: Rust* (铁西区：第一部 工厂, 2003), which would be screened at the festival in 2003 and would make Wang's contemplative and hours-long films world-famous in international art cinema circles. This application would be the first of many, granting the slow cinema filmmaker repeat funding to complete his projects in 2003 for *The Ditch* (夹边沟, 2010), in 2007 for *Crude Oil* (采油日记, 2008), both in 2014 and 2019 for *Shanghai Youth* (上海青年,2019), and in 2018 for his upcoming *Border Bride*. This position of Wang Bing inside funding models, such as the HBF, differs radically from preceding recipients such as Jia Zhangke (贾樟柯) and Wang Xiaoshuai. While Jia and Wang benefited in the early stages of their careers from the fund, which allowed them to grow professionally in the field, Wang Bing decided to stay inside these funding models, without the ambitions for wider distribution, reflecting the non-commercial appeal of his extraordinarily long films, which mainly find their audiences at film festivals and at special screenings.

As Keijser alluded to during our interview (2020), the community, realising the transnational production of Chinese independent films, started with bonds of trust between Chinese filmmakers and Western programmers. Over the years, this community has grown significantly and has produced countless Chinese independent films, for which IFFR offered screens to watch them and spaces to discuss them outside of the PRC. In these festival spaces, key figures such as Barendrecht with large professional networks encourage a constant flow of new films, filmmakers, filmmaking communities, and other industry professionals to meet, intermingle and advance their aspirations in the film festival network. As such, not only the films but also the diverse, international community of Chinese independent cinema was and is still being supported at Rotterdam in its mobilisation of filmmakers, scouts, programmers, critics and the like, to physically meet and to affirm their communal goals.

Conclusion

Looking back from 2021 at a turbulent piece of film history, we are left with sparsely documented and nearly forgotten stories and memories about a corpus of films that were realised under nearly impossible circumstances. These traces of personal interactions and collaborations from thirty years ago can still offer us the means to recreate the origin of these cinematic works, which have come into being through the collective efforts of diverse national actors. The reconceptualisation of these production histories in terms of economic or political benefits seems to overlook a major human aspect that was so dominant during Rotterdam's festival screenings and events. The shared devotion for cinema, which is so distinctive of IFFR, was strongly emphasised by Den Hamer during our interview:

> You really position yourself as a festival that can mean something more to [film]makers. And that's also how you could get certain makers to come to Rotterdam who otherwise would not attend… It sounds more opportunistic than it is, it was not like we bought their films. We wanted to be a partner for filmmakers, but this partnership sprung from a passion for cinema and from a political conviction that these films should be made. (2020, translation by author)

If the assemblage of people from different regions of the globe in the festival spaces of Rotterdam is seen as a collective, bound by a passion for a certain kind of cinema, and as a community with a shared independent spirit, then the strategies I have described at IFFR result in something far larger than just the promotion of one's own festival through its supported films.

Through the strategies of financial support, unregulated facilitation of post-production facilities and activist events, the people aligned with the festival in Rotterdam have actively supported and participated in the gradual formation of a network of like-minded professionals and, I would argue, the enhancement of a community of people with shared ideals. Made possible by the efforts of many persons from various corners of the global film industry, this international community of Chinese independent cinema thrived in the 1990s through the growing number of films produced, international exposure, and affiliated members. IFFR has attempted to facilitate and promote this growth in its festival spaces, partly made possible by the efforts of key figures such as Barendrecht and Fallaux, but mostly by the collaborative effort of many involved actors. These can range from the conventional creative professionals to affiliated film critics, all with a particular passion for Chinese independent cinema. While keeping the economic interests of all involved parties in mind, I would suggest that the affective binding of all these nationally diverse actors to the same shared vision of Chinese independent cinema is exactly what is nearly impossible to write down in film history. Still, it remains an essential motivation why this improbable form of cinema has miraculously come into being. Thirty years later, we are left with the offspring of their labour in the form of cinematic works to get a glimpse of what drove the people to realise them and how that impulse translated itself onto the silver screen.

At present, Chinese independent films still find a welcome space at IFFR, demonstrated by the three-year streak of winning the Tiger Award with *The Widowed Witch* (小寡妇成仙记) by Cai Chengjie (蔡成杰) in 2018, *Present. Perfect* (完美现在时) by Zhu Shengze (朱声仄) in 2019, and *The Cloud in her Room* (她房间里的云) by Zheng Lu Xinyuan (郑陆心源) in 2020. The same mechanism of the festival as 'site of passage' is in place, and, hopefully, the winning of the Tiger Award will give similar impulses to these filmmakers' careers as the festival has done for the careers of old acquaintances such as Chen Kaige, He Jianyu, Wang Bing, and Wang Xiaoshuai. The latter has even received €200,000 support from the Dutch Film Fund in 2020 for his upcoming co-production *Above the Dust* (剧情 NL Film Fonds 2020). The connections established in the 1980s and 1990s still allow for similar transnational collaborations between the Netherlands and Chinese-speaking territories after two decades of change inside both their respective film industries, and inside the film festival network, with a growing number of Asian film festivals. Although the two regions may seem far apart, artistic networks and varied communities continue to bind them together in a shared passion for cinema. In that aspect, not much has changed since the breakfast meeting at Cannes. If such meetings would still exclusively happen at European festivals, that would be another issue.

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Notes

1 This epigraph is from den Hamer (2020), translation by the author.

2 'Actor' here refers to an actor (or actant) in the sense of an acting entity in a given environment, not in the sense of a performing subject on a film set or at a theatre play.

3 For more information on the CineMart and the Hubert Bals Fund, see their respective webpages on the website of IFFR.

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Appendix 1: list of exhibited Chinese films at IFFR (1986-2000) per year					
Year	**Number of Chinese films**	**Number of total films**	**Percen-tage of Chinese films**	**Origins of (Co-)Productions (PRC: People's Republic of China; HK: Hong Kong; T: Taiwan)**	**Chinese films granted HBF support**
1986	7	109	6,4%	4 PRC, 2 HK, 1 T	
	Selection: *The Girl of a Good Family* (Huang Jianzhong), *Shanghai Blues* (Tsui Hark), *A Summer at Grandpa's* (Hou Hsiao-hsien)				
1987	17	107	15,9%	9 PRC, 8 HK	
	Selection: *The Horse Thief* (Tian Zhuangzhuang), *The Candidate* (Wu Ziniu), *Three Hairs, The Little Vagabond* (Zhao Ming)				
1988	8	111	7,2%	3 PRC, 5 HK	*Life on a String* (Chen Kaige)
	Selection: *One and Eight* (Zhang Junzhao), *Old Well* (Wu Tianming), *Inspector Chocolate* (Philip Chan)				
1989	2	116	1,7%	2 PRC	
	Selection: *Red Sorghum* (Zhang Yimou), *King of the Children* (Chen Kaige)				
1990	5	305	1,6%	1 PRC, 3 HK, 1 T	*The King of the Singers* (Zhang Zeming), *Lyaan* (Allen Fong)
	Selection: *A City of Sadness* (Hou Hsiao-hsien), *Swan Swong* (Zhang Zeming), *Dancing Bull* (Allen Fong)				
1991	9	358	2,5%	2 PRC, 6 HK, 1 T	
	Selection: *Black Snow* (Xie Fei), *Song of Exile* (Ann Hui), *Swordsman* (King Hu)				
1992	11	372	3,0%	7 PRC, 1 HK, 3 T	*Beijing Bastards* (Zhang Yuan)
	Selection: *Days of Being Wild* (Wong Kar-Wai), *Life on a String* (Chen Kaige), *Mama* (Zhang Yuan)				
1993	9	315	2,9%	3 PRC, 4 HK, 2 T	*On the Beat* (Ning Ying)
	Selection: *Hard Boiled* (John Woo), *Taipei Story* (Edward Yang), *Autumn Moon* (Clara Law)				
1994	33	392	8,4%	11 PRC, 8 HK, 8 T, 4 PRC/HK, 2 PRC/HK	*Postman* (He Jianjun), *Beijing Bastards* (Zhang Yuan), *East Palace West Palace* (Zhang Yuan),
	Selection: *1966*, *My Time in the Red Guards* (Wu Wenguang), *The Days* (Wang Xiaoshuai), *Rebels of the Neon God* (Tsai Ming-Liang)				
1995	32	320	10%	4 PRC, 20 HK, 8 T	*On the Beat* (Ning Ying)
	Selection: *Soul* (Shu Kei), *Chungking Express* (Wong Kar-Wai), *The Square* (Zhang Yuan & Duan Jinchuan)				
1996	10	479	2,1%	3 PRC, 3 HK, 3 T, 1 T/Japanese	*Scenery* (He Jianjun), *Sons* (Zhang Yuan),
	Selection: *Sons* (Zhang Yuan), *Shanghai Triad* (Zhang Yimou), *Fallen Angels* (Wong Kar-Wai)				
1997	28	475	5,9%	2 PRC, 20 HK, 5 T, 5 PRC/T	*Scenery* (He Jianjun), *Frozen* (Wang Xiaoshuai)
	Selection: *Rainclouds over Wushan* (Zhang Ming), *A Queer Story* (Shu Kei), *Buddha Bless America* (Wu Nien-Jen)				

1998	14	690	2,0%	2 PRC, 7 HK, 5 T	*Platform* (Jia Zhangke), *Scenery* (He Jianjun), *Suzhou River* (Lou Ye), *Viva, Viva* (Wang Xiaoshuai)
	Selection: *Made in Hong Kong* (Fruit Chan), *The River* (Tsai Ming-liang), *Keep Cool* (Zhang Yimou)				
1999	10	491	2,0%	2 PRC, 2 HK, 3 T, 2 PRC/HK, 1 T/ Japanese	*City Paradise* (Tang Danian), *Model Work* (Wang Guangli), *Purple Butterfly* (Lou Ye), *Paper* (Ding Jiancheng)
	Selection: *Pickpocket* (Jia Zhangke), *Flowers of Shanghai* (Hou Hsiao-hsien), *Maiden Work* (Wang Guangli)				
2000	13	662	2,0%	7 PRC, 4 HK, 2 T	
	Selection: *Away with Words* (Christopher Doyle), *Paper* (Ding Jiancheng), *The Personals* (Chen Kuo-fu)				

Note: feature films, short films and midlength-features are all categorised under the same nominator of 'film' despite their length

Appendix 2: overview of festival directors of IFFR from 1972 to 2007

Years	Festival director
1972 – 1988	Hubert (Huub) Bals
1989	Anne Head
1990 – 1991	Marco Müller
1992 – 1996	Emile Fallaux
1996 – 2004	Simon Field
2000 – 2007	Sandra den Hamer

Appendix 3: overview of continuity in interactions between Chinese independent film directors and actors, related with IFFR outside exhibition, in predominantly the 1990s

Film director	HBF (year of support granted)	Cinemart (year of participation)	Fortissimo Films (year of distribution)
Zhang Yuan			*Mama* (1992)
	Beijing Bastards (1992/1994)		*Beijing Bastards* (1994)
	East Palace, West Palace (1994)		*East Palace, West Palace* (1998)
	Sons (1996)		
		Executioner Garden (2009)	
Ning Ying			*For Fun* (1994)
	On the Beat (1993/1995)		

Wang Xiaoshuai			*The Days* (1993)
	Frozen (1997)		
	Viva, Viva (1998)		
			So Close to Paradise (2000)
He Jianjun			*Red Beads* (1994)
			Postman (1995)
	Scenery (1996/1997/1998)	*Scenery* (1996)	
	Pirated Copy (2003)		
	The Harvest (2005)	*The Harvest* (2006)	
	River People (2007)		
Jia Zhangke	*Platform* (1998)		
		Still Life (2005)	
Lou Ye	*Suzhou River* (1998)	*Suzhou River* (1999)	
	Purple Butterfly (1999)		

访谈 INTERVIEWS

An Interview with WEN Pulin
温普林访谈
Interviewer采访者：WANG Xiaolu王小鲁; Translator翻译：Huming YU余慧明

Making Art Is a Lifestyle Choice: My 1980s
从事艺术是一种生活方式的选择：我的八十年代
Interviewee受访者: WU Wenguang吴文光
Interviewer and editor采访者与整理者：Sabrina Qiong YU余琼

Yunnan: Another Thread in Chinese Documentary Filmmaking
云南：中国纪录片的另一条线索
Interviewee受访者: GUO Jing郭净; Translator翻译: Michelle DEETER
Interviewer and editor采访者与整理者：Lydia Dan WU吴丹

An Interview with SHI Jian
时间访谈
Interviewer采访者：WANG Xiaolu王小鲁；Translator翻译：Xiang FAN樊响

Where is the Echoing Wall of Poetry? —An Interview with Zhang Zhen
诗歌的回音壁在哪里？——张真访谈录
Interviewers采访者: Zhou Zan 周瓒and Sun Yi伊索尔
Translator翻译：Wenxin XIAO肖文馨

An Interview with WEN Pulin 温普林

Interviewer: WANG Xiaolu 王小鲁　Translator: Huming YU 余慧明

Note: This interview was conducted by Wang Xiaolu in Huairou, a suburb of Beijing, on 16 May 2021. Part of the interview was published on The Economic Observer, 10 July, 2021. This is the complete version of the interview.

From Casual Recording to Planning *The Great Earthquake*

WANG: Let's start from your production of *The Great Earthquake*. When did you start making it?

WEN: I formally started shooting it in about 1988 and 1989. But I had been planning it from 1987. However, the earliest footage included in the film was shot in the second half of 1984. We have footage all the way from 1984 to 1987.

WANG: Before you formally started it in 1988 and 1989, what was the purpose of your filming?

WEN: At first, it was simple. I led a group of buddies to work on experimental theatre just for fun. We filmed the process of our production. Later, once we had students from the eight major art schools joining us and called ourselves the Chinese Art Troupe of College Students, we thought we should make some visual recordings. We didn't think much about it. We just wanted to leave some footage for the future in order to boast about ourselves. It's amazing that many came to join us and also brought new ones with them. We became a large group and thought we might make something big.

I launched the Theatre Troupe of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in 1984. It's funny because it sounded like the Sino-American Special Technical Cooperative Organisation. We had members from all the eight major arts schools in Beijing, including the Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing Dance Academy, Central Conservatory of Music, China Conservatory of Music, Central Institute of Arts and Crafts, Central Academy of Drama, National Academy of Chinese Theatre Arts, and the Beijing Film Academy.

WANG: What about the Art Troupe of Chinese College Students, composed of students from these eight major schools? Why were they gathered by you?

WEN: It's because I was working on experimental theatre with my ex-wife, Zheng Ziru (郑子茹), at that time. We launched such a group without any official approval. We used the name for public performances. I often got bored with the classes back then. Dongfeng Market was near the Central Academy of Fine Arts. They sold second-hand books in a corner of it. It was a favorite for the students at our school. I bought a book there. It was *Uncle's Dream* by Dostoevsky. I thought it was a funny drama with absurdism and a surreal, fancy imagination. We performed it on 8 January, 1985. We approached several theaters, and The Worker's Theater, a Class A theater, agreed. It was our debut and we announced the launch of the Art Troupe of Chinese College Students.

Around the second half of 1984, we had some footage of our performance. After *Uncle's Dream*, Director Lin Zhaohua (林 兆 华) invited me to work with him on Bertolt Brecht play at Beijing People's Art Theatre. It was also an experimental drama, *Schweyk in the Second World War*. Schweyk is a First World War figure. But Brecht moved the character to the Second World War and wrote about the survival skills of a common person in a turbulent world. It was intended to attend the Brecht Drama Festival. We performed an excerpt of it instead of the complete play. We also have the footage of the performance. It was in 1985.

Then came the first Shakespeare Drama Festival in China at the Central Academy of Drama. The chairman of the festival was Xu Xiaozhong (徐晓钟), the head of the Central Academy of Drama. We knew each other. He had a huge influence on me. I had watched his Peer Gynt. It is a cool drama about some crazy people making a mess in a mental hospital. It would have been performed by the class of Jiang Wen (姜文) But our Academy of Fine Arts enjoyed more freedom. Xu Xiaozhong had watched my play and encouraged me a lot. After that, he continued to invite us to perform. I became a teacher at Beijing International Studies University in 1985. I taught a selected class of Arts Appreciation. Some students followed me to perform. We performed *Timon of Athens* in English at the drama festival. It was played at a theatre in the Academy of Drama. We made some money by selling tickets.

Back then almost all Chinese people were studying English. There was a program, Sunday English, at China Central TV (CCTV). It was hosted by an elegant lady, Peng Wenlan (彭文兰), who had come back from the UK. When she heard the news, she came to film the whole performance for us using three cameras. It was luxurious. She also conducted interviews with our performers at the backstage. Our performers answered her questions in English. Until 1986, the footage I had was all about the drama performance. In 1987, I launched my personal exhibition, *Wen Pulin Arts Exhibition*, showing my paintings, photos, and plays. There were live performances of rock music and break dance at the scene. We also have footage of the whole event.

WANG: How did you show your plays there?

WEN: We displayed our stage designs, still images, and the video footage of the whole performance. It was a comprehensive exhibition.

WANG: It seems like a video installation today.

WEN: It is video installation for sure. But back then we didn't have that concept. For photography, I have already tried collage as I was not limited to documentary photography. I cut the films into a mess and made collages. A lot of people came to the exhibition. We have a lot of video footage about the plays by my friends and me before 1988. I suddenly found the friends around me were all doing cool things. In the second half of 1987, Peking University (PKU) launched an arts festival. We worked with them in the name of the Art Troupe of Chinese College Students and performed *Timon of Athens* at PKU. After the performance, we left the props at PKU. The stage designer was Sheng Qi (盛奇). He used those clothes as the material for his debut exhibition. It was called *Action-Concept 21*.

We didn't call it performance art. I called mine 'China Action' later. I had talked with Sheng Qi about it. We thought

‘action’ was stronger than ‘performance’. So, we chose action instead of performance. Sheng Qi’s action group Concept 21 did not stop after the event at PKU. The props became the materials for their performance art. They did it at the Observatory and the Old Summer Palace. I found it interesting. Zhang Mingwei (张明伟) from the Academy of Dance was planning a contemporary dance performance called *The Great Earthquake*. Qu Xiaosong (瞿小松) wrote the music for him. It immediately inspired me; we were at a time of unprecedented culture shock.

When I was working on a drama, Zhang Mingwei came for me backstage. Back then, you didn’t need to know one another. You could just approach someone randomly. Zhang Mingwei watched my play and came backstage at the Academy of Drama. He just shouted, ‘Who is Wen Pulin?’. It turned out both of us came from Shenyang. So, we drank together and talked a lot. I realised that it was no more fun to only film my own works. I should point my camera at the people and various productions around me.

There was a female director, Zhang Mingjuan (张明娟), who graduated from the Academy of Dance. We got to know each other in 1984. She was the choreographer of a contemporary dance in my *Uncle’s Dream*. We kept in close contact after that. She wanted to adapt *A Mongolian Tale*, a novel by Zhang Chengzhi (张承志). She wanted me to help her. But there was no conversation in a dance play. There was no job for me to do. So, I wrote a description of a performance for her to arrange solo dance, *pas de deux*, group dance, and a choir for different scenes. I also did the stage design for her. It was in 1987 or 1988. We went to the Baotou City Song and Dance Troupe, trying to persuade them to perform this dance drama. All the art experiments went smoothly back then. Everything stopped suddenly in 1989.

My eyes were opened since I had so many things to film. I wanted to make a documentary to get a panoramic record of the shocks in art and cultural circles. I called it *The Great Earthquake*.

WANG: Which year was it when you intentionally wanted to make a documentary?

WEN: It was mainly filmed in 1988. I got the idea in 1987. I suddenly felt bored after I made the art exhibition in 1987. I had nothing to do. When I heard from Zhang Mingwei that he was working on a dance drama called *The Great Earthquake*, I was inspired and asked him when he wanted to do it. He told me it would be launched at the twelfth anniversary of the Great Earthquake in Tangshan. It was supposed to be in 1988. He spent some time preparing it. He said he was going to hold an investigation and memorial ceremony in Tangshan. I got an idea suddenly; I told Jiang Yue (蒋樾) that we should go with him to film it. It was snowing that day. He placed a wreath at the Tangshan Earthquake monument. There was nothing else in front of the monument.

Before that, we had lots of footage recording our rehearsals. But they were done without clear awareness. If you need a clear timeline of the start of our filming, it should be Tomb Sweeping Day. It was 1988.

WANG: Your personal exhibition happened in March 1987. You probably started the filming one year later.

WEN: My idea to produce a documentary matured in 1987. I still remember some details. The cameraman going there with me was the person filming my exhibition. Back then, if you needed a cameraman, you must find an acquaintance

who can take the equipment out of his work unit secretly. You should pay him or pay his work unit. We travelled to Tangshan with Zhang Mingwei on Tomb Sweeping Day.

The memory of my feelings is true. But my memory of historic events may be wrong. I can remember that I felt lonely and empty after my exhibition. I had finished my exhibition and plays, I had also quit my job. So, I decided to film *The Great Earthquake*. Zhang Mingwei wanted to show the pain and helpless feeling when human-beings face natural disasters. But I meant that an earthquake was coming in China during that era.

It would have been at the Academy of Chinese Theatre that we talked about this idea. Jiang Yue hadn't graduated at that time. We talked about it and got excited. We had Zhang Mingwei, Jiang Yue, He Fei (何飞), Yu Shaofei (于少非), and perhaps Mou Sen (牟森) there. The people I had frequent contact back then included Sheng Qi, Wang Deren (王德仁), Zhang Dali (张大力), Zhang Nian (张念). Lots of them later married foreign wives and went overseas. We also had Hua Qing (华庆) and Lü Li (吕力) from the Central Institute of Arts and Crafts. They were stage designers for *Uncle's Dream*. Hua Qing was among the earliest who went to the artist village at Old Summer Palace in 1986. When Hua Qing left, Mou Sen and Zhang Dali got his cottage. *Art News of China* had an interview with me in 1987 or 1988. I discussed the status of the artists in the Old Summer Palace. I highlighted Mou Sen, Zhang Dali, Wang Deren, and photographer Zeng Nian (曾年).

My memory of feeling empty is true. I just wanted to do more back then.

WANG: It may be because you still have the spirit of 1980s.

WEN: Yes. We wanted to explode ourselves and make trouble. We wanted to breath and unsettle. As I pointed out in an article I published in *Art News of China*, we were the bastards at the end of the century who could not wait to enter the next century. I just felt this century was not fun and was very boring. We needed to turn a new page. When we launched the *Wrapping the Great Wall* project, I proposed to Zhu Qingsheng (朱青生) that he should make a speech up there. He was happy to do it. I told him to say something about art in the twenty-first century. Retrospectively, what he said was very insightful. I was very satisfied with what he said. We were not that serious back then.

Vagrant (*mangliu* 盲流) Artists—Cultural Ecology and Spiritual Status in the 1980s

WANG: Before we continue talking about the documentary, I want to know more about the status of the people that you recorded. You said you spent much time with 'vagrant artists' at the time. Did you invent the term 'vagrant artist'?

WEN: I used it when *Art News of China* interviewed me. But I had no idea whether other people had used it before. The reporter asked me how to assess this group. They had drawn some attention. The place was called China's East Village and SOHO. I said 'forget it'. It's more accurate to call them vagrant artists. They themselves adopted that status at their own behest.

WANG: Jiang Yue said he liked this title. His dorm at the Academy of Chinese Theatre was a gathering place for the

vagrants.

WEN: A lot of people liked this title. Some of them printed it on their business cards. Wang Deren called himself Performance Artist on his business card. He is the first one to call himself a performance artist. He is from northeast China. He threw the condoms at *China/Avant-Garde* in 1989. Before that, he had performed Earth Art in Tibet. I thought these guys were very funny and egocentric, so I started filming them. Some of them were painting artists doing installations and photography. The installations were called soft sculpture. More people were involved with painting. Mou Sen was my filming subject for sure. Zhang Dali was his stage artist. I filmed him, too. I have filmed both of their cottages near the Old Summer Palace.

I gradually accumulated some footage but needed a grand scene. Our buddies came together so we were able to do something big. I mean the project *Wrapping the Great Wall*. We were free and excited. At that time, *River Elegy* (河殇), the TV documentary series, was released. It encouraged me a lot.

Jin Guantao (金观涛) was the chief writer for *River Elegy*, released by CCTV. We privately considered him as our spiritual leader. He was the chief editor of the book series entitled *To the Future*. Almost every college dorm room had several copies of that book series in the 1980s.The book series was the flag of enlightenment, covering the scientific enlightenment and the concept of entropy that we had never heard of before. Dai Shihe (戴士和) from our school also wrote one book, *Creation on Canvas*, announcing Modernism's farewell to the classical age. But for us, we needed a new page of the revolution on canvas. We would abandon the canvas and paint.

WANG: You were not a Drama major at your college. Why were you involved with the theatre?

WEN: My major was Art History. I lived close to Jixiang Theatre. The theatre was next to the northern gate of Dongfeng Market where second-hand books were sold. I often browsed second-hand books while drinking beer and waiting for returned tickets at the entrance of Jixiang Theatre. After the performance started, you could buy tickets for ten or twenty cents. You could skip the warm-ups and watch the highlights directly.

WANG: Were they all traditional performances?

WEN: All traditional. All the famous performers were back on stage. It was very enjoyable. My ex-wife was also a star performer of Beijing Opera. Her name is Zheng Ziru. She was well-knows across the country. I went to her school to select performers. She attracted me at first glance.

WANG: She performed traditional drama. How did you integrate this into your experimental drama?

WEN: The stylised performance of Beijing Opera started from me. I love Beijing Opera so much. It would be boring if my productions had no connection with Beijing Opera. After I found Zheng Ziru, I got great help from her. We co-directed some plays. I thought my plays should be presented through body language. We applied stylised performance to Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*.

WANG: Regarding *Timon of Athens*, I want to ask why you chose this play? In Shakespeare's script, it is a story about the relationship between a rich man and a group of ungrateful people.

WEN: It explores the essence of money. Karl Marx quoted many paragraphs of *Timon of Athens* in his book, *Capital*. The shining gold can turn the ugly into the beautiful, turn the wrong into the correct. I thought the dramatic nature of this play was not strong, and the figures were stereotypical. It was helpful to express my ideas. I asked for all the performers to be shaved bald. I drew their faces myself. We also trained some performers who could draw on their faces, and I would finish the highlit parts.

We used facial makeup and stylised performance. Each character on stage, such as the thief, the general, and the prostitute, had their own style. It's Asian performance style, but it is not Beijing Opera anymore. Brecht had misunderstood Beijing Opera, which led to the defamiliarisation effect. We could do the same thing. That was my ambition with drama at that time. I wanted to make some breakthroughs in Asian performance. There were installations on the stage. We used virtual time-space and virtual props. All my stages were very abstract. In later years, the experimental stages in Beijing were all abstract. At that time, we called it the arrival of an age of stylised drama.

How could stylised drama grow out of the land of traditional theatre? There might be the breakthrough in performance at most. The visual presentation could only be achieved by those of us who worked on the avant-garde. We all studied visual arts. The visual presentation on our stage and the concept of time-space were borrowed from Beijing Opera. Everything in Beijing Opera is virtual. In my plays, there was no props. We only had installations. With the exception of avant-garde artists, drama professionals could not understand it at that time. So, the gurus in Beijing's drama circle liked me a lot and had high expectations of me. However, it was just a youthful experience for me. I had never thought about the arts as a profession. In addition, drama rehearsal was a great way to communicate with people when you were young.

WANG: So, you had been involved in the avant-garde earlier than Mou Sen.

WEN: Of course. I was involved earlier than him. I did it in 1984.

WANG: Experimental theater was very rare back then, right?

WEN: It depends on how you understand the word. Lin Zhaohua had already been trying for a performance breakthrough. In terms of visual presentation, Xu Xiaozhong was good at it. Though he was still limited to Western theater, he was avant-garde. Watching his *Peer Gynt* inspired me a lot.

There were two major resources that have influenced me. One is Beijing Opera. The other is a book I found at the used book vendor. I forgot the title of the book. It talks about the concept of Eisenstein's Montage of Attractions. We all know his Montage Theory of films. But nobody knows it was first proposed in his earliest avant-garde dramas. The Montage of Attractions matched my ideas of free expression. Eisenstein was self-abased and autistic when he was a

kid. His favorites were the clowns and jugglers. He imagined himself as a clown and became another person wearing a mask. I often had jugglers in my plays. Eisenstein inspired me instantly. In addition, there were Mayakovsky's poems.

WANG: Futurism.

WEN: Yes. The craziness in Futurism. We had an unclear relationship with Futurists and could be easily connected to them. On my stage, some performers would stand on a big ball while there may be a couple falling in love nearby sitting on a seesaw. That scene did not come out of nothing. They inspired me. Of course, I didn't copy them. But their ideas inspired me.

WANG: Your ideas on drama, especially visual effects and installations on stage, have affected the circle of avant-garde drama.

WEN: As some later researchers and drama masters said, what we did in the 1980s were not important. They are right. We were not professional directors. As the memory of our youth passed away, it was another story told by the people who gained the power of discourse on stage.

WANG: Your influence on Mou Sen may be more specific?

WEN: Mou Sen is a good friend of mine. Somebody ever wrote that Mou Sen inherited some of my stuff. I had some black curtains. Once they were hung on stage, the space was different. I gave them to him. I also helped him with performers and stage designers. We were all poor at that time. Mou came to Beijing International Studies University and carried my black curtains away with his bike. I forgot the name of his school.

WANG: Beijing Normal University.

WEN: Right. Inter-personal relationships were amazing back then. You didn't need to know someone. You could go see him directly. The stage setting of *The Great Earthquake* was also used on the Great Wall. Mou's stage setting was also on the Great Wall. It was an open interaction. People all came, and we offered beer and buns. People were easily excited.

WANG: Why were people easily excited? I think on the one hand, people were repressed and needed to set themselves free. On the other hand, people continued that passion from the Cultural Revolution. The form of the feeling was similar to that in the Cultural Revolution.

WEN: Exactly. We gathered under the flag of the liberation of individualism, but we pushed ahead as groups characterised by collectivism. For the so-called 85 New Wave, the art circle in the 1980s, they had small groups in different places. They are like the groups of Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution. We had Northern Group, Xiamen Dadaism, and so on. The gene of collectivism remained in our blood. The other gene was liberalism. It's a long story. I found out later that each group displayed the legacy of the Republic of China. I don't know whether you know Guizhou

Province. There was a poet, Huang Xiang (黄翔), in Guizhou. Do you know him?

WANG: I know him. He launched a local magazine, *The Rising Generation*.

WEN: It was as good as *Today Magazine*, and they were as good as Bei Dao (北岛) and Mang Ke (芒克).

WANG: They were more political.

WEN: Exactly. Vagrant artists from Guizhou Province were influenced directly by him. The Five Wolves of the Second Summer Palace from Guizhou took Huang Xiang as their spiritual mentor. Cheng Li from Lanzhou Artists Allied Forces had a sensational exhibition in 2011 called *Sensitive Zone*. They performed intercourse at a high altitude called 'high fucking'. He was sentenced to prison for one year because of this.

Why was Lanzhou Artists Allied Forces so cool? It's because a descendant of a Chinese Nationalist Party senior official, nicknamed 'Big Boot', had a huge influence on them. I heard a similar story about the Qingdao Group. In the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, they carried on the legacy of Shanghai-style intellectuals like Lin Fengmian (林风眠) and the Republic of China. The former Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts, now the China Academy of Art, had more advanced ideas than the Central Academy of Fine Arts. It inherited the legacy of the Republic of China.

WANG: Xiao Lu (肖鲁) and Zhang Peili (张培力) both graduated from the China Academy of Art. What is the legacy of the Republic of China? Freedom?

WEN: Freedom and Modernism. In the 1980s it evolved into the avant-garde. A representative of the northern Chinese tradition is Xu Beihong (徐悲鸿).

WANG: XU Beihong's work looks boring.

WEN: His works were for mainstream propaganda purposes. They're revolutionary fine art. That's what Li Zehou (李泽厚) said, i.e. to save the country was more important than enlightenment. The legacy of the Republic of China, Shanghai-style, and Paris was transferred in its blood across generations. The gene of freedom may not be mainstream now, but the undercurrent has not stopped. Free expression, revolutionary romanticism, and passion—we were holding the flag of freedom, but it was presented as collectivism. It was an amazing thing in the 1980s.

But our collectivism was different. The Art Troupe of College Students was an organisation. But in terms of the pursuit of arts, our ideas were not limited. During the age of the '85 New Wave, people liked to launch an organisation and announce a declaration. But these were just a platform. Everyone was welcome. *Wrapping the Great Wall* was an event of this kind. I was responsible for the venue and budget. I didn't interfere with what you expressed. So, people were all in high spirit.

WANG: Another question. You filmed those vagrant artists. You yourself were a teacher at Beijing International Studies University. When did you become a vagrant artist?

WEN: When the government launched the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Movement, I was ordered to stop teaching. I told them I needed to say farewell to my students. I asked for a last class. The school officials were considerable back then. My class used to be held at the big hall. I had a large group of students. Someone, a teacher or a progressive student, reported me to the Department of Culture. They ordered the school to stop my teaching. My last class was about the Wei-Jin Dynasty's demeanor, the intellectual's strength of character. I taught the students how to be a human being and to keep their integrity. My students still remember it after so many years. A student who became a film director wrote a novel, *The Last Class*, based on me. It's amazing.

Because of me, my students at the school followed me to make films and love arts. Later they took on various professions. Some became diplomats, some are businessmen, and some directors. We meet less and less as time goes by, especially after 1989. Once I met a student, I was touched when he said 'O Captain! My captain.' It's from a film, *Dead Poets Society*, made in 1989. We disassembled in 1989. The student said when they watched *Dead Poets Society*, it reminded them of me. In the film the students recite a poem by Whitman.

WANG: Yes. It is a Whitman poem.

WEN: It seems that Whitman wrote it for Lincoln. There is a metaphor here. A teacher led a group of elite students the wrong way. Then the teacher was dismissed.

WANG: When you talked with the students, according to their description, what did you give them? Free souls?

WEN: Yes, freedom.

Wrapping the Great Wall—the Climax of the Documentary *The Great Earthquake*

WANG: You mentioned many times that you wanted to do something big. Do you mean *Wrapping the Great Wall*? Was such a large-scale performance the climax in *The Great Earthquake* you had envisaged?

WEN: I wanted *Wrapping the Great Wall* to be the climax or main narrative of the documentary. Otherwise, the film would be unfocused. We had had many individual points, but needed a highlight point. Someone later called it the Woodstock of China. The artists were scattered across different places. Suddenly, several vagrant artists built a platform, and they all came together.

I was happy with two theories. The first is when Gao Minglu (高名潞) invited me to visit the States to attend an important exhibition in New York, *Inside Out*, in 1998, He asked me to make a video. I made a thirty-minute short film entitled *Ten Years of the Avant-garde*. Hong Huang (洪晃) made English subtitles for me. She was very cool. She told me my subtitles were very soft, I need to make them stronger to express myself directly. She told me not to censor my-

self. When she saw the film, she was so shocked that she said 'Fuck, Woodstock.' I had thought that she was condemning me.

We had a night party of rock and a carnival on the Great Wall. There was all kinds of performance art. Her first impression was Woodstock. Many other friends were shocked too. There was a rock musician, Zhang Ju (张炬), in the film. He grew up with us. Later, he had a traffic accident, and died young. I didn't dare attend his funeral as I could not bear it. He grew up at the Academy of Fine Arts and had travelled with me for commercial performances. He was also a core member of *Wrapping the Great Wall*.

Ding Wu (丁武) also used to perform with us. He is a main figure in many parts of the film. Many sequences in the film shot in a garbage yard and a power factory featured Ding Wu and Zhang Ju. After *Wrapping the Great Wall*, they went off and launched Tang Dynasty Band. We have a profound friendship. In 1989, I fled. When I returned, I watched the video of *Wrapping the Great Wall* again. Many groups of students were on the Great Wall that windy night. In October it is cold in Beijing. We wrapped ourselves up using the textile that we used to wrap the Great Wall, drinking beer and singing. I remember Ding Wu said that it was like a rehearsal of the 1989 movement. The scenes at Tiananmen Square were almost seamlessly connected to it. *The Great Earthquake* was like the artists' premonition.

WANG: *Wrapping the Great Wall* was a piece of large-scale performance art that was part of the documentary *The Great Earthquake*. Does this mean you were looking for content for the documentary?

WEN: *Wrapping the Great Wall* was an event, and an episode in that documentary. The event was a headline news at *Art News of China*. The report clearly said that it meant a farewell to the twentieth century. The artists used all kinds of ways to say, 'Twentieth century, fuck off.' The title of my report was 'The Director's Nonsense.' I claimed we were 'the bastards of the twentieth century'. We were just a bunch of bastards. I myself was a big asshole.

We used these works as a one-off to vent. We were not thinking very carefully about how to make a documentary, as we thought making a documentary was just a trivial thing. What we thought about more was how to document this precious moment. We focused on recording the passionate expression. We wanted to record this great era.

I may have paid more attention to the history than those artists who focused on free expression. I majored in Art History at college. Documenting was a basic skill of mine. In the past, we wrote down the art works we saw on paper. Now the methods of documentation were unprecedented. It was important for me to grab this opportunity. But I did not think much on the future influence brought by the work. It was purely spiritual for me to do it. For me, Art History is first spiritual history.

WANG: The title of your documentary was affected by the dance drama *The Great Earthquake*. Was *The Great Earthquake* performed on the Great Wall part of Zhang Mingwei's dance drama?

WEN: Yes, part of it. Though mine is not his, they were closely connected. Zhang Mingwei took his team to perform an excerpt of *The Great Earthquake*. You can watch it in the video footage. *Wrapping the Great Wall* was an event

lasting one day and one night. All the artists performed there. Xu Bing (徐冰) brought two foreigners to recite his *Book from the Sky*. One of the foreigners was funny. He tried his best to study Mandarin but failed. So, he desperately pronounced words in Chinese style, but obviously it had nothing to do with Mandarin. Zhang Mingjuan from the Academy of Dance performed a dance, *Witch*. Wang Deren had planned his performance art with condoms. But he did not appear. He is a person of character, and I thought these artists were so unreliable at the time. Many years later he told me that I had misunderstood him. That day he went to the highest spot [on the wall] to make smoke. He didn't have enough time to come back.

WANG: He wanted to imitate the fire beacon.

WEN: Yes. After he got there, the cable car stopped. He could not come down in time. Sheng Qi had just cut a finger out of love. He came to perform Tai Chi to cure his wound. Some bands also came, and they sang whatever they wanted to sing.

WANG: You was like a curator. The people would have told you about their attendance before they came. Did you set the order and procedure in advance?

WEN: No. We only confirmed the venues and artists. We had to lay several kilometers of cable to bring the electricity and set up the lighting. For the performance, the bands organised themselves. *Black Panther* (黑豹), *Mayday* (五月天), Ding Wu, Zhang Ju, He Yong (何勇), Zhang Ling (张岭), and so on. They could decide themselves. For a case like Sheng Qi's Tai Chi performance, we assigned his location in advance, including the angles and locations of cameras. All were planned in advance. All the materials have been kept till now.

WANG: You just gave a rough timeframe and location.

WEN: Yes. As for what you wanted to present, just let me know. No interference at all. *The Great Earthquake* aimed to present the spiritual shock and breakthroughs in cultural and art circles. What we did in 1980s was just free expression. We tried to push the limits of free expression. If you didn't allow me to do this, I would figure out how to achieve it. If nobody had done that before, I must do it. That is what we did.

We preannounced it at *Art News of China*. The topic and what we were going to do were articulated. It was not a daily newspaper. So many friends missed the notice. They regretted that a lot. We sent out notices in advance as best we could. Otherwise, there would not have been so many people on the day. It was far beyond what we had anticipated. It was a high, free party. It is unimaginable today. That is why Hong Huang instantly called it Woodstock.

As for the fundraising, I was not clear how much Jin Guantao (金观涛) gave us. I was not in charge of the budget. It seemed there was 28,000 or 26,000 RMB left in their bank account. But eventually they only had 1,000 RMB left after supporting us.

WANG: When you asked Jin Guantao for the budget, *River Elegy* had already been broadcast, right? What was the

source of the money?

WEN: I have no idea about this. *River Elegy* had been released. It was so sensational and impressive. I realised that I should approach him. That was how we got to know each other. He was launching a magazine called *Twenty-first Century*. He sent his staff member, Liang Xiaoyan (梁晓燕), to contact me for articles. I wrote a director's review of *Timon of Athens*. I called it 'Fable Drama.' The wife of Mr. Dai Shihe, a teacher at our school, helped to make direct contact. His wife, Chen Weihe (陈卫和), is the editor of *Art News of China* who interviewed me and wrote the story 'An Impression of Vagrant Artists' (盲流艺术家印象). She had a close friendship with the guys at *Twenty-first Century*. She was familiar with Chen Yueguang (陈越光), an economist, who was a friend of Jin Guantao. They supported our young people a lot. We just had a meeting and talked for an afternoon. Then everything was done. That's the 1980s.

When I met you in Shijiazhuang last time, I talked about the relationship of AI and future arts. I wrote several articles. One is 'The Apocalypse of AI,' one is 'A Talk about Quantum,' the third one is 'The Myth of Genes.' I wrote the three articles. As a representative of art circles, I undertook a conversation with scientists. I have been fond of science since the 1980s. Back then, science was a religion for me. I didn't understand it but was very curious.

WANG: Do you still have all the footage?

WEN: For some years I had an unsettled life. I lost a lot of it. That's a heartbreaking loss. Anyway, a lot of footage from that age still remains. Imagine it; when the true earthquake came, no place was safe. People fled. The nature of human beings is so complicated. When I wandered in Tibet, my family members and friends lost that material for unknown reasons. Some was confiscated. These losses were painful. It is fortunate that I still have material left. I am even grateful to some bastards.

WANG: Why?

WEN: It is a long story. I hid all the materials at my ex-wife's place. She then hid them at a working relative's home close to the railway. There was no way they could find it. But my dearest friend, my partner on these projects, persuaded my ex-wife to give these materials to a foreigner. He took the tapes out of the cassette and stuck them to his body. The security check could only detect metal as it was not as advanced as now, so they took them overseas. The foreigner took those which he thought important overseas. Those he thought were not important were left, including the materials about my plays, the early years of the Second Summer Palace, and artists' personal materials. The foreigner liked the large-scale scenery, the passionate, young things. What is left were confiscated by the government and got lost forever. Later, I sought help from many friends at various institutions but we couldn't even find who took this footage. They just rented the prosecutorial office space temporarily. When the case was ended, they vanished. That was a huge loss.

Then the foreigner, an overseas wanderer, thinking China was not important anymore, went to Vietnam to film. He died there. My family also broke down at that time. My wife divorced me and married a French cultural secretary. The Frenchman happened to be a friend of this foreign couple, so his widow agreed to give those materials back to me.

Only the embassy has the green channel without checks. The Frenchman was very generous and shipped those lost materials back to me.

Several years ago, they broadcast an old film using my footage on a UK TV channel. My friends recognised it. The film even had a copyright claim. They felt it unfair and called me. I ignored it. We are all vagrants and bastards. Though the international vagrant has died, he had after all made a contribution to Chinese culture and broadcast it. It would have been meaningless if I had stuck to it.

WANG: When they brought the materials overseas on their bodies, how much footage did they carry? How many hours of footage?

WEN: More than twenty tapes.

WANG: Dozen of hours?

WEN: Yes. But about two to thirty cassettes were lost forever. The most disgusting thing happened to my dearest friend. I gave them to a most reliable person who delivered the materials to a TV station for production. One the way he visited a bank, and the materials were stolen. I even did not get the chance to watch the footage that I thought was the most important. Fortunately, I used several cameras. Though the master camera footage was lost, the assistant camera footage survived. They filmed at will. I brought the remaining footage to Peng Wenlan. I asked how to edit it and whether it would be possible to broadcast it. It was an age of liberalism. Even *River Elegy* could be broadcast. Peng Wenlan finished watching it and frowned. She said it was not artistic. We had conflicting ideas on art. But I felt guilty because we lost the artistic part. But I could not tell her the truth. I myself like the turbulent scene without any design. I think that is reality.

WANG: The footage you used in *China Action* was shot by the assistants?

WEN: It's just an analogy. I think if it was not from the no. 1 or no. 2 camera, it was not the most important footage. That was a terrible loss. If I were a director living off documentary filmmaking, I would have died because of it. It was a huge hit. Fortunately, I didn't care that much about it. What I cared most was the onsite feeling and life experience. Furthermore, I still have some footage left. The remaining images are shocking enough.

WANG: As for the lost footage shot before 1989, how much was left?

WEN: About twenty or thirty hours of footage were left. When it comes to the 1990s, I have much more. I have not counted it. But I have at least 1,000 tapes, about 500 hours. That is the lowest estimate. People in art circles all know that I make a hobby of documenting. After the disaster of 1989, I came back. When there was something interesting, the artists continued to call me.

My appearance was a moral support to my buddies. It was even a symbol. Back then, a video camera might represent

privilege or discursive power. It might decide whether you would get the chance to be recorded in art history. People did not seem to take it seriously, and we just made fun of it. But we had an unspoken pledge inside ourselves. I must document them for reasons of art. But I was not in a rush to edit this footage. I have gradually accumulated a huge visual archive without realising it.

Public space was favored by the art of the time. Back then there was no art space to present the artists. It was many years later when the galleries accepted the contemporary arts. People could not wait to express themselves in public space. I thought it very interesting and exciting. I have always been interested in and sensitive to this. Sometimes I would know of an event in advance. It is partly because I am a curious person and like to look out for these events. It is also because people knew something about me, and they would proactively approach me. I would pretend that I happened to pass by and happened to be present.

WANG: In the 1989 China/Avant-Garde exhibition, when Xiao Lu fired the gun, did they tell you in advance? Only after you have set up the camera did they shoot?

WEN: Yes. The person in blue clothes with the camera was me. I set up the camera and checked the situation. I pulled the booth's door to secure it safely. Then they started.

WANG: I have read some materials. As you said *The Great Earthquake* was an artistic TV episode. Back in 1987 and 1988, it seemed the concept of documentary was still developing among filmmakers. What did a documentary look like for you back then? You even said in the newspaper that it would be broadcast by CCTV.

WEN: Actually, giving it to CCTV was just a pretext. They paid attention to my plays because of Peng Wenlan. As for the concept of documentary, we didn't think about it much. It's the detail that is meaningful for researchers. But for us, it meant nothing. I articulated in my article at *Art News of China*. I called it 'documenting and representing'. You needed to film them first because their lives are so vivid. We also had a bunch of interviews with them. We did not make interviews TV style. It was just communication. We had no purpose. To be frank, I was not sure whether it could be broadcast. But I needed their support. So, I guaranteed them that the footage would be screened on TV. *River Elegy* also encouraged us a lot. And the event was sponsored directly by Jin Guantao. When we did *Wrapping the Great Wall*, I told the Hong Kong businessman that ran the cable car that our film would be broadcast by CCTV, you should let us use the cable car for free. When our film was to be broadcast, it would be great advertising. Thus, we got to ride the cable car for free that day.

WANG: Was it run by a Hong Kong businessman?

WEN: Yes. I showed him the news in *Art News of China*. It was persuasive. We did not dwell on the concept of documentary. For me, documenting is representing and representing is documenting. I later had doubts about the idea of purely objective representation and pretending not to be on location. I think that is cheating. Your choice is your subjective position. I do not agree with fake anthropology and fake sociology. Particularly when I visited Tibet, I learned to take an equal view. We had thought that our civilization is more advanced so felt superior. I thought this was awful

and lacked a sense of beauty. My expression has always been inseparable from visual impact. My films are always related to documenting. But I am not limited to it. I do not pretend that I am objective and pretend that nobody notices me. I do immersive filming. I hate secret filming or shooting from a higher viewpoint, looking down. What I have done is not auteur film or journalistic film. I made artistic images and did visual presentations as an artist.

WANG: I understand. It is different from the recent mode of witnessing (静观模式). You went to build a venue. The production of the documentary is performance art itself. It has a self-made subjectivity. *Wrapping the Great Wall* is a collection of performances. At that time there was no foreign counterpart.

WEN: People like us from the Academy of Fine Arts or the Academy of Arts and Crafts have all studied foreign art history. We all knew of performance art in the US and the Western world in the 1960s and 1970s. But the context is different. The way of presenting is also different. Western artists focus more on personal inner experience while our performance art endures more unknown pressure and turmoil. For example, the artistic language we liked to use in the 1980s was wrapping. If nobody beat you, why did you wrap yourself in bandage? It was a feeling of being hurt in your heart. It was a kind of vague and collective subconsciousness. The artists did not want to repeat traditional forms of art. They were eager to express this release of vitality. It was related to the environment of the 1980s when you suddenly had freedom and possibility.

In my photo album, *Liberation*, I list lots of performance art across China. Strangely, 'wrapping' was a major language. It was a feeling of self-healing. It was the same as wrapping the Great Wall. I wrote the lyric: wrap your arms and expose your legs, wrap your butt and expose your mouth. It is rap.

WANG: I have always had a question. The Great Wall was a negative symbol in the late 1980s. It was a thing with self-enclosure. Why did you wrap it? Isn't it contradictory?

WEN: We wrapped it because it was wounded and was full of painful memories. I told my idea of wrapping the Great Wall to Jin Guantao and he got it instantly. *River Elegy* had a similar interpretation of the Great Wall. It deconstructs the symbol and pride of Chinese people. It is a symbol of being attacked. If you were defeated, you had to enclose yourself.

WANG: I see. You did not take the Great Wall as something they need to resist. You took it as a symbol of China.

WEN: We just deconstructed it. Sheng Qi's performance on the Great Wall was also a kind of healing. Due to an international love affair full of cultural conflicts, he cut his finger off. I heard that he was cured in Anhui Province. I sent him a telegram and asked him to return to Beijing. I told him I would find a bigger place for him to heal himself. He flew back quickly and wrapped himself on the Great Wall while he performed Tai Chi.

WANG: For the format of the documentary, *The Great Earthquake*, how did you plan it? *River Elegy* had a narration. Did you also want it for your film?

WEN: For *The Great Earthquake*, I did not try to write the narration. It was because most of the film was about the events and performance. The artists were all expressing themselves. For example, I filmed Xia Xiaowan (夏小万). He gave a good speech. I filmed Zeng Nian (曾年), a photographer. He also talked a lot. I did not decide whether I would add narration to it. I was not much interested in the narration. But when I made the first edition of *China Action*, I provided the narration myself. Performance art is confusing. If you add narration, it can sound like a tourist guide.

WANG: I read your words in the newspaper that you were 'in pursuit of the purity and strength of film language.' What did you mean?

WEN: Though we could only watch a limited number of films back then, they still inspired me. We could not watch films as many as today, but occasionally we could watch some, such as *Pink Floyd's The Wall*, *A Clockwork Orange* from the UK, *Apocalypse Now* from the USA.

WANG: Could you watch them at that time?

WEN: Yes. Some were home video cassette. Some were screened at the China Film Archive. When we could not get the admission tickets, we would make a ticket. Sometimes we did not have enough time to make a whole ticket, we just draw two thirds or one third of it and just grab the black part at the admission check. For some experimental films in the early stage of film history, like German silent films with piano performance to accompany the films. I remember a film about a future metropolis.

WANG: *Metropolis* by Fritz Lang.

WEN: I watched it. I watched more rock videos. The videos of rock bands' live performance in the second half of the 1980s would appear in Beijing's cultural salons within a week. I worshipped intense expression with strong impact. It is different from the documentary films seeking material in reality. We played rock at the garbage yard. Ding Wu, Zhang Ju, Black Panther and Dou Wei (窦唯) were all there. I painted their faces like ghosts. They shouted in the snow at the garbage yard. We also had lighting and design. The light made a silhouette for them. It was in the style of art film. Was their expression real? Of course. It's because we had not rehearsed. They just expressed themselves. I asked them whether they would like to have their faces painted like a ghost. They agreed. I was thrilled. Tang Dynasty (唐朝) has an early song, 'Demon at the End of the Century'. You should listen it. That's their truest expression.

You may not imagine how professional our filming was back then. We used smoke pads on the Great Wall. We deployed the smoke pads for twenty kilometers and set the beacon fires simultaneously on the beacon towers. For the rock performance at the garbage yard, and the 'Burn 2000' performance on New Year's Day of 1989, we burned a monument, a symbol of the twentieth century, made of garbage. I shot those scenes with a forklift truck. For many large scenes, I used trucks. For me, I could not hold my impulse for artistic production. You know Riefenstahl, right? You could not say *Olympia* was wholly directly by her alone. But she had the freedom to deploy a hundred metres of track for a sprint. When she filmed *Triumph of the Will*, the performer is Hitler himself. You could not say what she had made were not documentaries and were just propaganda films. If not for Riefenstahl, you would not have remem-

bered the image of Third Reich.

WANG: Could you find *Triumph of the Will* to watch at that time?

WEN: We could not find the whole film. But we all knew it. We watched *Ordinary Fascism* made by the former USSR. It used lots of Riefenstahl's footage. She created and employed all kinds of filming skills with great talent. I think it makes no sense to discuss whether her film is a documentary or not. She has explained that she was never a Nazi.

WANG: I think you like lofty things. An important aspect of *Wrapping the Great Wall* is that it was a symbol. You were the builders of the spirit of the 1980s. You said that you wanted to film the undercurrent of urban art circles. What did you feel back then? What did you aim for?

WEN: I didn't want to do things that people had done before. When I talked with the artists, we discussed the concepts like crossover or vagueness. My dramas are truly experimental without any obstacles. We didn't have any boundaries in our minds. Traditional art education, the concepts of drama, visual expression, music, and dance, were so out-of-date for us. For a person like me who received an academic training in art history, I was not interested in modern arts. Picasso and Van Gogh were classicism for us. They made a sensation at the end of last century. Now 100 years has passed. We were facing the end of the century. At the end of every century, there are always a bunch of bastards. Strangely, we had a collective sense of unrest and turmoil. The end of the century became our common topic.

WANG: It seems like the end of the world. Did you finish the documentary, *The Great Earthquake*?

WEN: Never finished it. Never screened it. I just showed some footage, as in *China Action*. If I truly want to finish it, the film should end in 1989. I had lots of footage from 1989. For example, I filmed the installation and performance art, *A Farewell to the Twentieth Century*, on New Year's Day, 1989. We also made a performance piece about the future at a power factory. On February 5, 1989, the day of Chinese New Year, I filmed the China/Avant-Garde exhibition at National Art Museum of China. I filmed all the seven performance artists on site.

WANG: It was 1989.

WEN: Yes. The reason I could not stop filming was the great earthquake kept shaking. The key members of Stars Group all went overseas after 1979. Then in 1989 the album *Ten Years of Stars Group* was published. They all came back to have a party. I filmed it, too. For me, Stars Group's exhibition in 1979 is the start of China's contemporary art. It is the precursor of the great earthquake. I had too much to film back then. I did not know when it would be over. But I had never expected it to be over on 4 June. So how can I finish the film? Till now, I still could not really finish it.

WANG: During our last meeting in Shijiazhuang, I wanted to know about your documentaries. But I did not get the chance to contact you.

WEN: I do not have a cell phone.

WANG: I once met Hao Zhiqiang (郝志强). He told me that in the first half of 1989, he made a rough cut of the film. He put the footage together and had a screening.

WEN: That was like a joke. We put the footage together and had a screening of the rough cut. It was at Iamar's home. She was the culture specialist at the Spanish Embassy. We wanted to collect feedback. Iamar held a cocktail party for us. That's the only screening. It was in March.

WANG: Hao Zhiqiang said it was in April.

WEN: It was April, then. Now I remember. The true earthquake came on 15 April when Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦) passed away. The first demonstration by the students at China University of Political Science and Law appeared. That day, Iamar invited me to visit the Museum of History to film a cultural exhibition about Barcelona. I had a team at that time. Iamar did me a favour to film them as the host of the exhibition would pay us. When we finished the filming and walked down the stairs of the museum, as we approached the Tiananmen Square, we saw a group of students holding banners. My instinctive reaction was to start filming. The earthquake became real.

WANG: Do you still have the footage?

WEN: It might have been lost at the hand of the government because I never saw it again. We were very alert and could not stop filming. If Iamar invited me to film in April, then it's obviously in April when we had the most frequent contact.

WANG: It is said that Wu Wenguang was present at the screening.

WEN: He sat in a corner. Nobody introduced him to me. I did not know him at that time. Many years later, he told me that he was there that day. He said I looked confident at the screening and was telling the audience what I wanted to express in some scenes and what skills I wanted to use.

WANG: How long that that film? What was the reaction?

WEN: To be frank, that was our ordinary life. People were used to it. Though the audience thought it was cool and interesting, it didn't have the same impact as when we showed it to young people later. For people today, many things about the 1980s are unimaginable.

WANG: How many people turned out on the day of *Wrapping the Great Wall*?

WEN: Nobody knows the exact number. But we have lots of details for reference. Mou Sen and Jiang Yue oversaw the logistics to arrange accommodation for all of us. We had two sets of walkie-talkies. Each of the assistant directors

like Hao Zhiqiang had one because they controlled several key camera position. Another set was controlled by Mou Sen and Jiang Yue. They told me there was not enough food, though we had prepared for 400 people to eat. We had lunch boxes, bread, sausages, beer, and pickles. The bands were an important part. Before the performance, I went over to say hello to them. I asked, 'Have you all eaten, buddies?' He Yong replied with a bitter face, 'Eat shit'. I asked the reason. The band had been busy preparing and there was no food left for them. I immediately contacted Jiang Yue or Mou Sen to place another food order of the same size. The delivery team for this order was miserable because the cable car service was finished by then. Each of them climbed up carrying a big box of food. A friend called Heirang (黑壤) even fainted on the way. The next morning when we left, there was no litter on Great Wall. It was like Tiananmen Square later on.

It's a story of youth. I am not sure when it will last. The reason I do not want to touch it is because the film touched some secret part of my heart. So, I just showed some of the on-site performances. But it has never been completed.

I wrote an article several years ago mocking the fact that the documentary *The Great Earthquake* has become a legend. It is not important anymore whether or not we finish it. It has become a site for contemporary Chinese art history. Several years ago, we launched a large-scale archival exhibition at Red Brick Art Museum. The exhibition lasted for half a year. Zang Honghua (臧红花) recut a film, the new version of *China Action*, specifically for this exhibition. The film ended in 2000. After 2000, it is another story.

WANG: Is it the version of *China Action* we watched in Shijiazhuang City?

WEN: You watched the old version. We have three screenings of the footage in total. The first time was in New York when Gao Minglu (高名潞) invited us in 1998. It was called *Ten Years of Avant-Garde*. It lasted only thirty minutes.

The second time was on 31 December 1999, the night crossing the millennium. There was an exhibition in Chengdu called *The Gate of the Century*, which opened that night. I made a fifty-minute version of *China Action* for that exhibition. But much footage of the live performance art that happened that day could not be included in the film.

The third one is the version made by Zang Honghua. It added in lots of footage, including those shot in the night of the millennium. It is more than 100 minutes long.

WANG: Is it mainly about live performance art?

WEN: It also includes some excerpts of plays. It is because it includes the artists as early as 1984, through '86, '87, '88, '89 to 2000. I have kept filming. There's some footage that was given to me by the artists when I was absent for some important events. They sent the footage to my archive. They all trust me. From the perspective of art history, I make a full record.

WANG: I see. In the eyes of the artists, you have an archive of Chinese arts, including the history of China's avant-garde art.

WEN: A PhD student at Cornell University wanted to do research on contemporary Chinese art history. He approached me. When I opened my archive to him, he reported it to his director, head of the multi-media department. The director then told it to the curator of the East Asia Library. They kept it in mind. In 2005, the department and the library at Cornell approached me to build an archive of China's avant-garde art named after me. Back then I didn't have a clear concept about it though I majored in Art History myself. But when they raised the proposal, I got it instantly.

Their idea was very persuasive. They said the visual archive was to be built independently by me. If it was collected by Cornell, the researchers would have an academic understanding. I asked them whether they had another similar archive. They said they had another archive named after a person. I thought it would be someone I knew, but they said it was Hu Shih.

Hu Shih's liberalism is connected to us. When we grew up, we were all influenced deeply by him. So, I agreed with pleasure.

WANG: Did they copy all the materials?

WEN: They did not take a complete copy. Due to the limits of technology at that time, they digitised a large part of it, compressing it. In 2007, University of California at San Diego approached me and copied another set for their archive.

温普林访谈

采访者: 王小鲁

注： 此访谈由王小鲁 2021 年 5 月 16 日在怀柔与温普林进行, 其中一部分以《船长温普林——纪录片〈大地震〉创作缘起》的题目发表在 2021 年 7 月 12 日的《经济观察报》上, 此为访谈的完整版。

一 从零散纪录到筹拍《大地震》

王: 我们就是从您当年拍《大地震》开始聊起吧。这部纪录片是从什么时候开始拍摄的?

温: 正式拍是88、89年, 但筹备从1987年就开始了。但是影像里面, 最早涵盖的是1984年下半年拍摄的素材。我们手里的影像, 84、85、86、87年全都有。

王: 正式拍摄是88、89年, 那么之前的拍摄是基于什么样的目的去拍的?

温: 一开始拍很简单, 我带着一帮哥们搞实验戏剧嘛, 就是好玩, 拍自己创作的过程, 但是后来一旦召集了八大艺术院校的学生了, 号称中国大学生艺术团了, 这个时候就觉得应该留下点影像了。当时没想那么多, 就觉得以后留下点素材, 吹吹牛逼。这说起来就逗乐了, 就是一个好汉又带了一个好汉来了, 一会儿凑了一帮子, 我们得干票大的吧? 当时肯定没有水泊梁山替天行道的想法, 但是很像曹保正一会儿遇到阮小二, 一会儿遇到阮小七, 一会儿把八大院校都凑齐了。

1984年我在央美成立了一个中美剧社, 有点儿搞笑, 感觉像中美特种技术合作所。但是现在8大艺术院校, 中央美院、舞蹈学院、中央音乐学院、中国音乐学院、中央工艺美院、中央戏剧学院、中国戏曲学院, 还有北京电影学院都凑齐了。

王: 这个八大院校组成的中国大学生艺术团是怎么回事? 当时为什么能够由您来整合呢?

温: 因为我当时和我前妻郑子茹在排戏, 搞实验戏剧, 后来我们不知深浅, 成立了一个企图组织化的“中国大学生艺术团”, 也没人批准, 但名号打出去了, 而且还排了戏, 公演了。我那时候上课时常感到无聊, 当时央美附近有一个东风市场, 后来叫东安市场, 北门有一个角落是卖旧书的, 我们美院的学生最爱在那里买书, 当时买了一本旧书, 陀思妥耶夫斯基的《舅舅的梦》, 觉得这戏荒诞, 好玩儿, 有点超现实的魔幻的想象力, 就瞎玩儿, 几个学校凑一起排练了一部戏, 85年1月8号首演。那时候我们去跟剧院谈, 谈了好几个, 有个工人剧场, 在虎坊桥, 国家甲级剧场, 他们同意了。我们在那里首演, 同时“中国大学生艺术团”宣告成立。

就在这个前后, 84年下半年, 那时候兄弟们的影像, 我们留了一些。这个戏排完了以后, 林兆华找我去人艺合导一个布莱希特的戏, 实验性也很强,《二战中的帅克》, 帅克是一战中的人物, 布莱希特喜欢乱搞, 把人物弄到二战, 写了

小人物在乱世下的生存机智。这是为了参加布莱希特戏剧节，当时是选场，不是整场——这个也录下来了，这是85年。

然后86年的中国首届莎士比亚戏剧节，在中央戏剧学院，中戏院长徐晓钟做主席。那时候我们都认识，他对我影响很大，我看过他的《培尔•金特》，很酷，一个精神病院，疯子乱闹，应该是姜文那一届演的。但我们美院更自由，玩儿得更酷，徐晓钟也看过我的戏，对我很鼓励，之后他邀请我们接着玩儿。我85年去二外当老师了，设了一个艺术欣赏的选修课，忽悠那帮学生跟着我玩儿戏剧，我们就弄了一个英文版的《雅典的泰门》，在这个戏剧节正式上演了，是在中戏剧场里演的，还卖票呢，挣钱了。

那时候全民学英语，中央台有一个栏目叫《星期日英语》，有一个英国回来的优雅女士彭文兰，她主持节目，听说我们用英语演戏，就用转播车给我们拍了整场的戏，三台机器切换，很奢侈。她还到后台采访演员，我的演员英语都很厉害，直接用英语对答。关于戏剧的影像就到86年，87年我做了一个个人艺术展——温普林艺术展，展出了我的绘画、摄影、戏剧，现场还有摇滚演出、霹雳舞，这个全程也有录像。

王：戏剧怎么布展？

温：展我们的舞台设计图、剧照、整场剧的录像，综合性的一个展览。

王：展这个展览，跟现在影像装置有点类似吧？

温：是影像装置。但那时候还没有这个概念。摄影那时候我已经开始玩拼贴，不满足于纪实摄影，把照片乱铰，重拼。来了特别多的人，那也整个录下来了。1988年之前，围绕着我做的戏剧以及周边的这帮哥们，各个大学一起玩的录像，存了很多了。我忽然发现，我周围的朋友，每个人都能做自己的事，每个人都做的很酷，1987年下半年的时候，北大要举办艺术节，我们假装“大学生艺术团”和他们联办，瞎忽悠，把《雅典的泰门》在北大演了一场，演完了，道具和颜料那些东西都堆在北大没拉走。那场戏的舞美设计是盛奇，他就用这些大布条子当材料，开始在北大第一次登台亮相，叫“行动——观念21”。

那时候不叫行为艺术，为什么我最后也叫“中国行动” 我跟盛奇聊过，就是action（行动）比performance（演出）更有力量，所以选择了行动而非行为。盛奇他们的观念21行动小组在北大做了后，并没停止，这些舞美道具成了他们行为表演的材料了。他们不停地在做，在观象台、圆明园，做了很多。我觉得非常有意思。其他还有一些很好的朋友，都在做自己的事情。舞蹈学院的张明伟，当时要筹拍一个现代舞剧，就叫“大地震”，当时瞿小松给他写的音乐，这个一下子把我激活了，我们正处于一个前所未有的文化震荡的时刻。

我在做戏剧的时候，张明伟直接到后台来找我，那时候有一个特点，大家不用相互认识，就是乱找，张明伟找我，86年看我的演出，他是到中央戏剧学院的后台，直接喊：“谁是温普林？”。一聊都是沈阳人，开始喝大酒、吹牛，当时我就觉得再只拍自己干的事儿就没意思了，应该把镜头对准我身边的这些人，对准各种各样的创作。

还有一个叫张明娟的的女导演，舞蹈学院毕业的——跟张明伟一点关系也没有，我们84年就认识了，我的《舅舅的梦》里的一场现代舞就是她帮我编排的，后来交往很密切，因为她想改编张承志的《黑骏马》，一个蒙古故事，他让我帮着编剧，这个舞剧又不说话，我有啥可编的，我就瞎发明了一个词儿，叫“演出总谱”，给了她写了一个演出阐

释，这段儿用单人舞表达什么，这段儿用双人舞，这段儿用群舞，这段儿用歌队，也把舞台布景都给设计好了。87、88年左右，还跟她去包头歌舞团，说动他们来排这出舞剧。这些艺术实验当时都特别顺，一到89年，一切都戛然而止了。

你想这么多东西我可以拍的，一下子视野就打开了嘛，我就想做一个纪录片，全景式地记录这些艺术家和文化界的震荡，名字就叫《大地震》。

王：这是哪年？我的意思是，以前你们也在记录和拍摄，但没想过做成纪录片，后来有意识拍摄纪录片《大地震》的这个想法是哪年？

温：主要的拍摄是在1988年，拍摄的想法应该是1987年决定的。我记得那时我非常落寞，87年做了画展，突然无聊了，空虚没事儿干。听张明伟说要做一个舞剧叫“大地震”，我的心顿时一动，就问他什么时候做，他说唐山大地震12年祭的时候演出。12周年，那肯定是88年要上演，但是他有一个筹拍的时间，他说他清明节要去唐山调查和祭奠。那个时候，我突然起意，就跟蒋樾说，干脆我们跟他去一趟，就去拍了。那天特别奇妙，飘着大雪，密度不大，颗粒很大，他去给唐山地震纪念碑献花圈，纪念碑前面空荡荡，什么都没有。

其实前面有很多录像，拍我和身边这帮艺术家排戏的资料，但没有那么强的意识。如果需要一个开机的确切时间的话，应该就是清明节的那一天，拍张明伟。拍了他之后又很长时间才继续拍，因为要找钱。

后来我看张明伟回忆录里说，他一个人怎么怎么，我还说这孙子怎么把我给忘了，后来我想明白了，这是对的。他一个人献花圈，一个人在大雪中，雪和泪交织在一起，真的是他一个人的事儿，我们只不过是恰好在场，将它拍下来了而已。那天是清明节，下了大雪，按照张明伟的记忆，应该是1988年，我的记忆有些模糊了，一直以为是87年。如果是1988年开拍，那我后来的启动就太迅速了。

王：你的个人艺术展是87年3月，但现在看有可能是一年后才真正开拍。

温：我觉得这个纪录片的想法应该是1987年孕育成熟的。我还记得一个细节，一起去的摄像师，正好是拍我的艺术展的摄像师，因为你找摄像师，必须找熟人，他能从单位偷出机器来，给他个人塞点儿钱，或者象征性的人家单位要交多少钱，你给人交了，那个摄像师姓曹。也不排除我们一年后关系还很好，所以还在用他。因为我的画展是1987年3月份结束的，我跟张明伟是4月5号我们去了唐山，清明节嘛，要么就是当年，要么是一年后去的。

我的情绪记忆是真实的，但这个历史的记忆可能会有偏差。我记得我在自己的艺术展之后，有一种落寞和空虚，展览也做了，戏也排完了，也辞去教职了。正在琢磨该干嘛的时候，决定拍《大地震》，张明伟要表达人类在自然灾害面前的伤痛和无助，是人类之殇的感觉。而我的意思是，中国这个时代要来一场地震了。

我们谈这个想法，应该是在戏曲学院，那时候蒋樾还没有毕业，我们就一起谈，很激动。有张明伟、蒋樾、何飞、于少非，可能还有牟森吧，其他的我就记不太清楚了。当时常来往的就这些人，盛奇、王德仁、张大力、张念。后来好多人都娶了洋媳妇出国了，还有给《舅舅的梦》做舞美的华庆和吕力，中央工艺美院的。华庆是最早去圆明园的，1986年。华庆走了以后，牟森和张大力继承了他的农民小屋。《中国美术报》采访我，大概是在87、88年，我向他们介绍早期圆明园艺术家的状态，重点介绍的就是牟森、张大力、王德仁，还有搞摄影的曾年。

我那种空落的记忆是真切的，总想再多做点事，那时候有点儿童多动症似的。

王：这可能是80年代的时代精神在您身上的贯穿。

温：对，就是自己要爆炸，要找儿事，要折腾，要喘气儿，要不安。就像我在美术报发表的文章里说的，我们就是世界末的混蛋，急不可耐地要跨入下一个世纪，就觉得这个世纪不好玩儿了，这个世纪太他妈无聊了，赶快翻篇儿。你看包扎长城上面，我给朱青生一个命题，说你能不能上去做一个讲演。他很愿意啊，他也是一个导师型的人，贼高兴。他说讲点啥，我说，你讲讲21世纪的艺术。现在回头看，觉得他当年说的还是蛮有远见的，当时我乐坏了，其实也没有那么认真，就是搭个台唱戏。

二 盲流艺术家们——80年代文化生态和精神状况

王：在继续谈那部纪录片之前，我先插一个话题，我想对当时您记录的其他的人的状态有一个更深入的了解。那时候你说你主要和那些盲流艺术家混在一起，“盲流艺术家”这个词似乎是你发明的？

温：这个词是《中国美术报》采访我的时候我说出来的，但是之前有没有人这么说我不知道。记者问我怎么判断这些人，当时有的人已经在注意他们，说这是中国的东村和苏荷，我说别扯了，尽整洋气的，叫“盲流艺术家”是最准确的，他们当时是主动变成三无人员的。

王：我看蒋樾说他还很喜欢盲流这个词。他说他在戏曲学院的宿舍就是盲流聚集地。

温：很多人都很喜欢。有的印在名片上，说自己是盲流艺术家。王德仁印名片说自己是行为艺术家，他第一个自称行为艺术家的人。他是东北人，就是在89现代艺术展上撒避孕套那个，之前他在西藏做过大地行为。我就觉得这帮哥们都很狂，太好玩了，就拍他们。画家也有一些，做装置的、摄影的。做装置的，那时候叫做软雕塑，做油画的就更多了。牟森，我肯定拍他啊，那时候张大力给他做舞美了，张大力我也拍过，他们俩在圆明园的小屋我都拍过。

就这么一点点积累，积累下来，就缺一个大场面。弟兄们凑在一起，人手差不多了，就得干票儿大的了（指包扎长城）。就好像一群草寇，突然释放了，就特别兴奋。这个时候正好《河殇》出来，给了我巨大的信心。

中央台播出的《河殇》总撰稿是金观涛，那时候我们私下里把他视为精神领袖，他主编的那套白皮书——《走向未来》丛书，80年代哪个大学生宿舍没有几本啊。他是启蒙的旗帜，是全面的启蒙，包括科学启蒙，关于熵的概念，我们之前闻所未闻。我们学校戴士和老师也写了一本《画布上的创造》，宣布现代主义告别古典，可是对于我们来说，画布上的革命也应该翻篇儿了吧，画布、油彩，什么都不要了。

王：那时候您在美院的专业不是戏剧，为什么后来参与戏剧了？

温：我学的是艺术史，但是你想我那时候离吉祥戏院那么近，吉祥剧院的隔壁，是东风市场的北门，右手边卖旧书，左手边卖熟食，我那会儿翻翻旧书，弄一扎啤酒扬脖儿一灌，就在吉祥剧院门口等退票，演出开场后，一两毛钱就能买到，前面垫场戏、折子戏都不用看，直接看压轴大戏。

王: 都是传统戏?

温: 传统戏, 那时候大腕、名角, 全都恢复了, 很过瘾。都是角儿。我第一个媳妇也是角儿, 郑子茹, 京剧文武老旦, 那时候红编大江南北。我排戏挑演员, 到她们学校, 一眼就看上了。

王: 她是传统剧, 后来怎么和你的实验戏剧结合?

温: 玩京剧图式, 就是从我开始的。我太爱京剧了, 如果我的创作不和京剧合作的话, 就太没意思了。找到郑子茹之后, 我就如虎添翼, 后来我们合导, 我觉得我的戏剧表现要通过肢体语言去实现, 我们演莎士比亚的《雅典的泰门》, 都是程式化的表演。

王: 说到《雅典的泰门》, 我其实有一个疑问, 你们当时为什么想到这个戏? 莎士比亚的原剧本我记得是一个有钱人和一群忘恩负义的人之间的关系。

温: 重要的是它是探讨金钱的本质。马克思在《资本论》里面大段引用《雅典的泰门》的台词, 闪闪发光的金子, 你可以使丑的变成美的, 错的变成对的, 黄脸老太婆变年轻美人之类的。我看重这个戏的戏剧性不强, 人物特别概念, 恰好适合我的表达, 脸谱化。我把演员全部刮成秃瓢, 脸谱都是我亲自画的, 后来训练的某些演员, 也能先打个底, 自己画, 最后我给点睛。

那时候全是大脸谱, 人物动作都程式化。人物上场都是小偷有小偷的程式, 将军有将军的出场, 妓女有妓女的出场, 每个人物的身段儿一出来就是一种程式, 是东方的表演程式, 但又不再是京剧的。布莱希特由于误读京剧, 创造了间离效果。既然布莱希特都能误读京剧, 我们为什么不能呢? 那时候我在戏剧上还是有所企图的, 想突破一下东方表演的路径。所以舞台全是装置, 全是虚拟时空, 没有实在的道具。你看我所有的戏剧舞台, 都是抽象的。后来首都实验舞台, 你看不都是一片抽象吗? 当时说, 形式主义戏剧的时代来了。

形式主义戏剧怎么能从传统的剧院的土壤滋生呢? 你想想这个道理。最多是表演有所突破, 视觉的呈现只能是我们这帮搞前卫的瞎玩玩儿出来的, 本来我们学习的都是视觉艺术, 我们在舞台的视觉表现, 比如说舞美, 时空的概念是从京剧借来的, 京剧的时空哪里有指定的? 你一推门进来了, 你跑个满场就十万八千里了, 一切都是虚拟的。在我的戏剧里, 根本没有所谓道具, 只有装置。那时候除了玩前卫的艺术家们, 专业戏剧家们是不可能理解这个东西的。所以首都戏剧界几个大碗对我一下子厚爱有加, 对于我寄予希望。但是我们这些人只是一些青春体验, 我从来没有想到把某种艺术形式固定为职业。另外, 年轻的时候在大学排戏是一个非常好的和人交流的方法。

王: 这么说, 您做先锋戏剧比牟森都早。

温: 当然早, 我84年。

王: 那时候实验戏剧还很罕见对不对?

温: 看你怎么理解这个词。对于表演方式的突破, 林兆华已经在做了。视觉呈现上呢, 徐晓钟比较厉害, 但是徐基本

还是在西方戏剧的框架里，但是很前卫。之前我们说了，我看了他的《培尔•金特》，对于我很刺激。

对我的影响，有两个特别重要的来源，一个是京剧。一个是在旧书摊上无意中看到的一本书，书名忘了，介绍了爱森斯坦的戏剧理念“杂耍蒙太奇”，爱森斯坦的电影蒙太奇大家都知道，但没人知道这个想法是在戏剧实验里，在他最早的先锋戏剧的实践中想出来的。这个杂耍蒙太奇一下子契合了我的自由表达的观念了。爱森斯坦从小自卑自闭，最喜欢看马戏团小丑和杂耍，他想象自己是小丑，带上面具就不一样了。你看我的戏剧里面，经常有杂耍。没有一个人是石头缝儿里蹦出来的，爱森斯坦的杂耍瞬间把我劈了，就像被闪电击中的感觉。还有马雅可夫斯基的诗歌什么……

王：未来主义。

温：对，未来主义的那种癫狂。我们和他们有一种说不清楚的关系，很容易接上那个脉。所以我的舞台上，演员踩着大圆球，那边两人谈恋爱，坐着跷跷板，这不是凭空来的，是他们刺激了我。当然我不是搬演他的东西，主要是观念击穿了你，就这么玩儿起来了。

王：就是说，您当时的一些舞台戏剧尤其是舞台视觉效果和装置化的思路，其实影响过当时的先锋戏剧界。

温：正如后面一些研究者和戏剧大师认为的，我们八十年代的那些事儿都不重要了，这也没说错，因为我们不是职业导演，随着我们青春记忆的远去，真正拥有舞台话语权的人讲述的就是另外一个故事了。

王：您对牟森的影响应该更具体吧？

温：牟森和我是很好的朋友，我记得谁写过，牟森像继承遗产一样把我的一些东西接过去了，我有一些黑色幕布，在舞台上一下子兜起来，舞台空间就不一样了。就支援给他，演员，舞美，我都支援。那时候大家都贼穷，我记得牟森去二外，把我的黑丝绒幕布叠起来，很重，用超大的大28车，骑到二外。他是哪个学校的我忘记了。

王：北师大。

温：对啊。那时候人和人特别有意思，不用认识不认识，直接见面就行了。后来《大地震》的那些布景，我们拉到长城上也在用，牟森戏剧的布景也上了长城。那时候是一种很open的互动。谁有事儿，大家都一窝蜂地上。我有事儿了，弟兄们来，啤酒管够，小笼包子管够，大家就很容易激动起来。

王：那时候的人为什么那么容易激动呢？我觉得一个方面是人很压抑，要释放。还有一个方面，就是说，这种激情继承自文革，这种情感的形式和文革很相似。

温：你说的太对了！我们是以个性解放的旗帜，进行各种各样的团伙的集合，呈集体主义方阵向前冲！所谓八五新潮，80年代的艺术圈，你去看的话，各地都有小组织小团伙，都跟红卫兵造反派今天成立一个井冈山，明天成立一个831式的，各地都有。一会儿出来个北方群体，一会儿又出来个厦门达达。这是血液残存的集体主义的基因，还有一个就是自由主义的基因，说来话长。这是我后来慢慢发现的，每个团伙里面都有民国的身影。我不知道你理解贵州吧。贵州有个诗人叫黄翔。我不知道你知道么。

王: 知道。他们也在弄民间刊物《崛起的一代》。

温: 不亚于《今天》, 不亚于北岛、芒克吧。

王: 他们政治性比较强。

温: 太对了。贵州的盲流艺术家们是直接受他影响。后来贵州五匹狼, 在圆明园那个, 他们的精神导师就是黄翔。兰州军团的成力, 2011年有一个很震动的展览, 叫敏感地带, 在高空性表演, 叫高干, 他因此劳教了一年。

兰州军团为什么那么酷, 有一个国民党高干的子弟, 有那个范儿, 绰号叫大皮靴, 对他们影响很大。同样在青岛团伙里面, 我也听说过类似的故事。江南更不用说了, 海派文人的遗风, 林风眠那一代人, 直接传承的就是民国的衣钵。当时浙美, 现在叫中国美院的观念比中央美院牛逼, 他有民国的遗风啊。

王: 肖鲁、张培力都是国美的。民国的遗风主要是什么? 自由?

温: 自由, 现代。80年代自动演变为前卫。北方的传统是徐悲鸿为代表的东西。

王: 徐悲鸿的东西看着就枯燥, 没劲。

温: 他的作品是主流宣传的东西, 革命美术, 都是李泽厚说的那种救亡压倒启蒙的玩意儿。民国遗风, 海派和巴黎, 它们的遗存, 代代相传的血脉, 自由的基因, 可能不是主流了, 但是潜流没有断。自由表达, 加上造反派式的革命浪漫主义激情。所以我说, 我们高举的是自由主义大旗, 但是呈现的是集体主义队形。这是80年代很奇妙的东西。

但是我们的集体主义——比如说我们也叫大学生艺术团, 似乎也弄了个组织, 但是对于艺术的追求而言, 我们真的没有那么狭隘的观念。立一个帮派, 打一个旗号, 写一个宣言, 那时候85新潮时期, 大家最爱干这个。但我们就是一个平台, 大家谁来玩儿都行, 玩儿什么都行。包扎长城, 就是这样, 我解决场地和钱的问题, 你们自己上来要表达什么, 我不干涉, 所以特别嗨。

王: 现在我想问另外一个问题, 你拍摄的都是盲流艺术家, 那么你在80年代大学毕业后去了二外当老师, 你是什么时候也变成盲流的?

温: 我是在反精神污染的时候, 让我停课。我说我要和同学们告别一下, 申请最后一课, 那时候学校领导还很通情达理。我的课都在大礼堂上, 来的人特别多, 是文化部接到了有人写的告密信, 其他老师或者进步学生写的, 勒令校方让我停课。我的最后一课讲的是魏晋风骨, 告诉同学们应该怎么做人, 怎么有气节, 我的学生很多年后, 还记得那些事儿, 有一个后来当了电影导演的学生, 还以温老师为原型, 写了他的一部短篇小说, 就叫《最后一课》, 我觉得很有意思。

你这一说我想起一件事儿来, 二外那帮学生, 因为出现了我这样一个奇葩老师, 就将学校的风气带跑偏了, 跟着我拍戏, 跟我一起热爱艺术, 后来我的学生干什么都有, 做外交官的不少, 做买卖的不少, 还有当导演的, 大家长大了

就自然见得少了, 尤其是89之后。当我有一次再见到一个学生的时候, 我有点小感动, 他对我说: 船长, 我的船长! 这个梗你知道吧?《死亡诗社》这个电影你知道吗? 89年的电影。89年我们被打散了嘛, 那个学生说他们看到《死亡诗社》的时候, 就想起他们当年这个老师了, 电影里的学生在朗诵那首惠特曼的诗。

王: 对。这首诗是惠特曼写的。

温: 惠特曼好像是写给林肯的。但是在这里是一个隐喻。说白了就是一个老师把一群贵族学生带到歪道儿上去了, 然后老师被开除了。

王: 当年你和学生们的交流, 经过他们后来自己的描述, 你给了他们什么? 自由的精神?

温: 就是自由。

三 包扎长城——纪录片《大地震》的高潮戏

王: 前面您说要干票大的, 就是指包扎长城吧? 这个大型的行为艺术是不是你设想的纪录片《大地震》里面的高潮。

温: 包扎长城, 我是想让它作为一个高潮, 或者说是纪录片的一条主线, 要不太散了嘛, 都是一个一个的个体, 应该找一个集中爆炸的点。为什么后来有人说这是伍德斯托克呢。平时也是每个人在犄角旮旯独自呆着, 忽然有几个盲流, 脑袋一热, 攒个台子, 大家四面八方浩浩荡荡赶来了。

有两种说法, 我都很高兴, 一种是1998年高名潞请我去美国参加一个展览, inside out, 当时在纽约很重要的一个展览, 让我做一个影像, 我就做了半个小时的短片, 叫《前卫十年》。是洪晃给我做的英文和解说词, 她很酷, 说我的解说词太温, 说这个东西你他妈的要给力, 直接表达, 你先不要自我审查, 如果这句话被逮住了杀你全家, 你就撤掉, 如果这句话请你喝茶, 你就先留着再说。大意如此, 她爱开玩笑, 表达能力特别强。后来她一看画面, 就被震懵了。她说, 我操, 普林, Woodstock (伍德斯特克) ! 当时我还以为是骂人的话呢。

我们在长城上夜摇滚、狂欢, 各种行为表演, 她的第一感觉就是woodstock, 还有很多朋友看了都傻了。片中有个摇滚乐手张炬, 他从小就跟着我们玩儿, 后来出车祸, 英年早逝。他的葬礼我不敢去, 受不了。他小时候基本长在美院, 还跟我走过穴, 包扎长城他也是主力。

丁武也经常在一起玩儿, 片中很多地方他都是主角, 好多场景, 在垃圾场拍的, 在发电厂拍的, 都是以丁武张炬他们为主的。包扎完了长城后, 下了山他们才成立了唐朝乐队, 我们感情很深。后来89我跑了, 回来后我们重新看了包扎长城的影像, 长城上, 我们半夜一群群学生, 寒风中, 北京十月份很冷了, 把包扎长城的布裹着, 喝着啤酒, 唱着歌。我记得是丁武说的, 这完全是89的预演啊。你想想后来广场的场景, 跟现在简直是无缝对接。我们说的大地震、大地震, 艺术家有一种预感, 就像萨满, 预言到地震将至。

王: 包扎长城这个大型行为艺术用的名义是纪录片《大地震》剧组。是否可以这么理解, 这也是你在为纪录片找内容。

温: 包扎长城是纪录片《大地震》里面的一场戏, 一次活动。这次活动在《中国美术报》有头条报导, 写的很清楚, 就是告别20世纪。艺术家用各种方式表达20世纪快滚犊子吧。我的文章标题叫《导演的废话》, 自称“20世纪的混蛋”, 我们都是一群混蛋, 我自己就是大混蛋。

那时候这些作品是一次性发泄, 拍纪录片方面, 我们没有那么刻意, 内心想到更多的不是单纯地拍个纪录片, 那是多么小的一件事啊。更多的考虑是纪录这个难得的当下瞬间, 着重纪录一个激情的表达, 吹牛逼的说法, 那肯定是记录时代啊, 大时代嘛。

可能我比那些自由表现的艺术家, 唯一多了一点儿对于历史的关注。因为我学的是美术史, 我的基本功叫著录, 以前用秃笔头子记录你眼中所见的艺术作品, 现在变了, 纪录的手段是前所未有的, 对我来说抓住这个是很重要的。但是对于这个作品未来可能产生的影响, 我还没想那么多。我们那时候是纯粹精神性的, 对于我来说, 艺术史首先是精神史。

王: 你的纪录片的名字是受到舞剧《大地震》的影响。长城演的《大地震》是张明伟舞剧的一部分?

温: 对, 一部分。此大地震, 非彼大地震, 但是他们又有密切的交接。张明伟带队上去表演了大地震的片段, 这个有录像你可以看。《包扎长城》是一天一夜的活动, 所有艺术家都上去表演, 徐冰找了两个老外去朗诵他的“天书”, 有一个老外很搞笑, 拼命学习中文但没学会, 就拼命地在念中文式的发音, 但肯定和中文没关系。不知道是意大利语还是土耳其语, 单词乱蹦。戏剧学院的也有, 张明娟表演舞蹈“巫”。那一天, 王德仁本来要表演他的大避孕套, 都说好了, 他却没来。他很有个性, 当时觉得艺术家真不靠谱, 多年之后, 他说你冤枉我了, 原来那天他去最高处点烟饼, 赶不回来了。

王: 模仿狼烟。

温: 模仿狼烟。上去以后, 缆车给停了, 下不来了, 他走下来要很长时间。盛奇当时刚剁掉一个小手指, 为了爱情, 来长城表演太极, 疗伤。还有其他的, 爱干嘛干嘛。乐队来了, 也是你爱唱啥唱啥。

王: 你就像策展人一样。这些人到长城来, 应该都是跟你打了招呼吧。顺序, 流程, 都应该有事先设定吧。

温: 没有, 只有场地和艺术家是确定的。电你得接上来, 接了几千米电线。探照灯要照好, 演出有一个大概时间。乐队之间自己协调, 你爱演啥演啥, 有黑豹、五月天、丁武、张炬、何勇、张岭等等, 都不管, 艺术家自己决定, 但是, 比如盛奇的太极在这个地方演, 场地提前都划好了, 连镜头大致怎么拍, 机位在哪里, 全都有预先画好的详细的机位图, 这些资料都在。

王: 就是给了一个大概的时间和地点。

温: 对, 但是你怎么表达, 你告诉我就行了, 完全不干涉, 我们也不是一个整体。我说就是要把我们这一群混蛋, 一网打尽。大地震表达的是文化艺术界的思想震荡, 是精神的突破, 你觉得我们八十年代做了什么? 不就是自由表达吗? 拓展自由表达的疆域吗? 你不让我干这个, 我想办法干, 从来没有人这么干过, 一定要这么干, 就是自由表达不

断地越界、拓展、突破，事实上我们干的就是这个。

我们在《中国美术报》上提前预告，主题写的很清楚，要干嘛，因为不是日报，很多朋友没接到通知，所以捶胸顿足，我们已经尽可能的提前发出消息了。要不然那天怎么来那么多人，超出了我们的预想。那是很high的一个自由的party。现在来看不可思议了，所以洪晃会脱口而出，Woodstock!

包括之前筹款，金观涛先生到底给了我们多少钱，我也稀里糊涂，我不管钱。当时说账户上还剩下两万8还是两万6我也不记得了，反正就给他们账号上留了1000块钱。

王：跟金观涛要钱的时候，那时候《河殇》已经播出了吧？金观涛给的这个钱是什么来历呢？

温：这个就不知道了。当时《河殇》已经播出了，播出后太有影响力了，太震撼了。我就想到应该找他，我们就这样认识了，当时他在创办一个刊物《二十一世纪》，他派手下的梁晓燕跟我联系约稿，我给他们写了一个《雅典的泰门》导演手记，我还记得叫“寓言戏剧”。帮我们直接建立联系的是戴士和先生的夫人，戴士和是我们学校的教授，他的夫人陈卫和是《中国美术报》采访我，写作“盲流艺术家印象”的那位编辑，她和《二十一世纪》的这帮哥们儿有很深的渊源，和金观涛的铁哥们儿陈越光很熟，他是经济学家，当年他们就支持我们这帮年轻人。就一次见面，聊天一下午，什么事都搞定，那就是八十年代。

上次咱们在石家庄相遇，我就是谈AI和未来艺术的关系的。我当时写了几篇文章，一篇是AI启示录，一个是量子空谈，一个是基因神话。一口气写了三篇。当我作为艺术圈的代表，去和科学家做了一个对谈。我怎么迷恋科学呢，就是始于八十年代。那时科学对于我来说，就是属于神学，因为不可能理解，但是好奇。

王：这些视觉资料目前还保存的齐全吗？

温：那些年很动荡，有几次大的遗失，非常惨痛的遗失，但是无论怎样，还是留下了很多那个时代的影像。你想想，真正的地震来了之后，覆巢之下安有完卵，众兄弟作鸟兽散，人心人性在其中很复杂。至爱亲朋，在我流亡藏地期间，将这些东西莫名其妙地流散了，还有一部分被收缴了，损失太惨重了。能遗留下现在这些，实属万幸，甚至我都感恩混蛋。

王：为什么感恩混蛋？

温：这个说来话长，所有素材我密藏在一起，在我前妻那里，我前妻又将这些密藏在了铁道旁边的工人亲戚家，就跟过去将密电码藏在地窖里似的，肯定找不着。只有我的最挚爱的亲朋，我的铁哥们儿合作者，才能说服我的前妻将这些东西拿出来，给了洋人，洋人将这些东西从带盒里抠出来带芯，用胶带贴身粘在身上，那时候安检没有现在这么高级，只要不是金属，就直接带出去了，重新组装。老外挑了他们认为重要的一部分，带出去了。他们认为不重要的，我的戏剧和早期圆明园的那些，还有艺术家个人的东西都留下了，老外喜欢大场面的，表达激情的、青春的。但是剩下的，被有关方面拿走的，就永远找不到了，我后来找了很多有关方面的朋友，你都不知道是谁，他们临时租用某检察院的办公室，办完案子就消失了。跟检察院没有任何关系。你说损失惨重吧？

后来那个老外，外国盲流，一看中国不重要，就去拍越南，接着就死在越南了。我他妈的也家破人亡了，我老婆还跟

我离了, 嫁给了法国文化参赞。恰巧那个法国文化参赞和那个外国盲流夫妇是朋友, 后来他的遗孀同意将这些东西还给我。当时只有大使馆才有绿色通道, 免检, 这位参赞很够意思, 又将遗失的这些东西运回来还给我了。

前两年他们用旧有的素材, 当年做的片子, 翻出来在电视台播放, 在英国, 朋友一看, 这不是老温拍的吗? 下面竟然还写着版权所有, 有些不忿, 就给我打电话。我一笑, 大家都是盲流, 都是混蛋, 而且人家国际盲流人都不在了。毕竟对中国文化也有贡献, 也做了一些传播, 所以纠缠这个没有意义。

王: 他们从国内往外带, 在身上带, 也带不了多少吧? 有多少个小时?

温: 带了有20多盘。

王: 十几个小时?

温: 十几个小时。但是剩下二三十盘永远都没有了。还有更操蛋的事发生在我最挚爱的亲朋身上, 到电视台去制作, 肯定要交给最靠谱的人, 但去电视台的途中去了趟银行, 又莫名其妙的被盗了。我认为最重要的素材, 我看都没有机会看。幸亏我当时机位多, 可能大腕拍的机位没了, 但还有小弟拍的, 我没有具体要求自由拍摄的, 这些瞎拍的留下来了。我后来拿着这些素材找到了彭文兰, 说你给看看, 这些素材怎么剪, 有没有可能播, 因为那时候是自由主义时期,《河殇》都能播, 彭文兰耐着性子看完, 然后眉头紧锁, 跟我说拍的这些玩意也不艺术啊。我们对于艺术的理解冲突蛮大的。但是我内心是有愧的, 那些艺术的部分丢了, 但是我不能说。我自己其实喜欢的是没有设计的, 动荡的, 混乱的。我觉得这才是真实。

王: 现在看《中国行动》里面这些片子, 你剪进去的, 就是所谓“小弟”拍的吗?

温: 我说的小弟是比喻。我认为不是第一号机位, 也不是第二号机位, 或者说是有第一机位、第二机位的, 都不是最主要的那几个带子。几次可怕的遗失。如果我是一个以纪录片为生, 以导演为己任的人, 肯定当时都会吐血身亡。那么沉痛的打击, 幸亏我这个人没有那么在乎。我最在乎的还是在场的那种感觉, 那种生命的体验, 再说了, 咱也不是一点儿也没有了, 残存的影像, 也足以震得他们目瞪口呆。

王: 您说的这些89年之前的遗失, 最后剩下的应该还有多少?

温: 剩下的也应该有二三十个小时。90年代之后, 那就更多了。具体我没算, 1000盘带子总有吧, 至少有500个小时吧。这是最低的估计。当时艺术圈里影响很大, 知道我这人有记录癖, 89一劫之后又回来了, 艺术家说还要继续玩啊, 有什么好玩的还是继续叫我。

那时候我的出现, 对于这帮兄弟来讲是一种道义上的支持, 甚至是一种象征。那时候摄像机还能代表一种特权、话语权, 甚至关乎你有没有进入艺术史的可能。大家没有认真说这个事, 我也是嬉皮笑脸, 但是大家内心莫名其妙有一个心照不宣的约定。我为了艺术, 必须记录他们。但我也没有太着急去剪辑这些素材, 没着急去做这些片子。不知不觉就积累了一个庞大的视觉档案, 是这么回事。

那时候的艺术特别喜欢公共空间, 没有美术空间让这些艺术家来呈现, 当代艺术进入画廊是多少年以后的事, 大家

按捺不住，特别希望在光天化日之下，在公共空间中一下子释放，所以我觉得这个东西有意思，刺激啊。我始终对此有兴趣，敏感，有时候我会提前知道这些艺术活动，一种是我自己好奇嘛，去寻觅发现，另外一种是江湖对我也略知一二，很多人会主动找我，会告诉我，我也就是假装路过，埋伏在那儿，装作是恰好在场。

王：89年艺术大展上，肖鲁的那一枪，是不是也是提前告诉温老师，让他摆好摄像机才开的枪？

温：对呀，镜头里蓝衣服就是我，事先架好机器，又检查了一下现场，拉开电话亭的门，确认安全后才开始的。

王：看到一些资料，您说《大地震》是一个电视艺术片，87，88年，那时候，据说业界纪录片的概念还在变化。那时候您心目中的纪录片是什么样子的？记得你在报纸上说这个片子要在中央电视台播放。

温：其实给中央电视台是一个幌子，我给你介绍过，它们关注我的戏剧，当时跟彭文兰有联系。你说到纪录片这个概念，当时我们脑子里面没有想过这个问题，因为这属于细节，对于学者来讲，去探讨这个问题有意义，对于我们来讲，是没有意义的。我在当时美术报发表的文章里表达的很清楚，叫做“纪录表现”，首先你要纪录这批人，就是我开玩笑说的“拍摄这批混蛋”，因为它们的生活太生动了。其实还有大量他们的访谈，那时候我们也没有那么电视化的访谈，就是交流。我们有很大段的我和艺术家的交流，这个交流就是手段而已，我们没有目的，能不能播，我坦率说，肯定是没谱的。但是对外边，我需要得到别人的支持，我就得信誓旦旦地说我们这个可以在电视台上播，因为《河殇》的播放也给我们太大的信心了，而且这是金观涛先生直接赞助我的。你看当时包扎长城，我必须跟那个好像是香港老板，说我们这个是可以在中央电视台播出的大型影片，你要免费给我们用缆车，到时候一放，你们就在这个场景里面，你是多大的广告效应。所以那天缆车就没要钱啊。

王：长城缆车是香港老板的？

温：对。《美术报》上有提前一点的信息介绍，我就拿着这个东西给他们看，有说服力嘛。我们那时候没有纠缠关于纪录片的概念，纪录就是表现，表现就是纪录，我后来质疑纯客观表现，假装不在场的说法，我觉得是自欺欺人，你的选择就是你的主观立场，我对于伪人类学、伪社会学的东西一直不以为然，尤其是到了西藏以后，学会了平视，我们自以为我们的文明在一个高点，俯视芸芸众生，我觉得这很猥琐，没有美感，我的表达始终不离视觉的冲击。我拍的影片肯定是从纪录入手，但我绝对不止于纪录，也不假装很客观，假装没人发现我，那我就是在拍动物和昆虫一样。我是进入式的拍摄，讨厌那种偷偷摸摸居高临下的东西，也受不了没有美感地去做一件事。所以我和你说，我拍的不是作家影像，也不是记者影像，我是艺术家的影像和艺术家的视觉表达。

王：您说的这些我都能领会到，跟后来一个静观模式不一样，你们去搭建了一个现场。这个纪录片的独特制作过程，本身也是一种行为艺术，有一种自我制造的主观性。包扎长城是一次行为艺术的集合，当时那些行为艺术有没有国外的借鉴。

温：国外的艺术史，像我们这种中央美院和中央工艺美院的，肯定都学过，六七十年代美国和西方的行为艺术案例我们都知道。但是语境不同，表达方式也不同，西方艺术家更多是个人内心的体验，语境不一样，我们的行为艺术更多是一种说不清的压力和躁动，比如说80年代我们最喜欢的语言是包扎，谁也没有揍你，你为什么要包扎呢？其实就是内心有一种受伤的感觉，它是模糊的，具有一种集体潜意识，艺术家们不想再去重复传统的艺术样式，渴望表现一种生命力的释放，这跟80年代忽然有了自由的可能这种大环境有关。

我在《解放》那本画册里罗列了很多全国各地的行为艺术，但特别奇怪，“包扎”是一种主要的语言，就是自我疗伤的那种感觉。就跟我包扎长城是一个道理，我写的歌词也是：裹着你的胳膊露出你的腿，裹着你的屁股露出你的嘴之类的，有点嗬逼嗬，Rap。

王：其实我一直有一个疑问，长城在80年代后期是一个负面的象征，是一种自我封闭的东西，你们为什么要去包扎它呢？这其中是不是有点拧巴呢？

温：包扎是就因为它是百孔千疮，充满了伤痛的回忆，所以包扎。包扎长城这个想法，我跟金观涛先生一说，他就被击中了，一拍即合。《河殇》解说词对于长城的解读也是如此。它把中国人的那种象征和骄傲，瞬间解构了，它那个百孔千疮，就是一个挨打的象征，打不过就给圈起来。

王：明白了，你们主要没把长城看作一个要反抗的东西，而是当成了一个中国的象征。

温：我们就是解构。你看盛奇在长城的表演，也是疗伤，当时因为一段充满了文化冲突的一段异国恋情，他把小手指头砍掉了，听说他在安徽疗伤，我给他电报，让他赶快回北京，给他找个更大的地儿疗愈。他马上飞回来了，在长城上把自己包扎起来，做了太极。

王：对于这部纪录片《大地震》的形态，你在形式上的设想是什么？当时《河殇》是有解说词的，你这部片子是不是也会有解说词。

温：《大地震》这个在当时，我没有尝试去写解说词，因为大多数是事件，行为，还有艺术家都在自我表达，比如说我拍摄夏小万，夏小万自己哇啦哇啦说得挺好，拍摄曾年，搞摄影的，他自己也在瞎逼逼，我当时没有想好用不用解说词，其实我骨子里对于解说词没多大兴趣。但是我做第一版《中国行动》的时候，我本人做过解说，行为艺术这个东西有点儿令人费解，加个解说，有点儿像导游似的。

王：我看到您当时在报纸上说到，“追求影视语言的纯度和力度”，这是什么意思？

温：换个方法说吧，我脑子也会想象那时候极其有限的影片对于我的刺激，当时看的影片不多，偶尔还是有的，比如平克弗洛伊德的《迷墙》，英国的《发条橙》，美国的《现代启示录》。

王：当时都能看到吗？

温：能看到。有的是录像带，有的是在小西天，《现代启示录》应该是在小西天，那时候没有票，我们就画一张票，有的时间来不及了，就画2/3，1/3是白纸，但是握的死死的，只露出2/3。《迷墙》、《发条橙》应该看的是录像。现代电影史上早期那些实验性的，德国的无声电影，旁边有钢琴伴奏的，我们那时候都看过。好像还有描写未来大都市的一部电影……

王：弗里茨朗的《大都会》。

温: 那也看过。摇滚听到的更多了, 80年代中后期, 国外的摇滚乐现场演出录像, 超不过一个礼拜就会出现在北京的文化沙龙里。我脑子里那时候崇尚激烈的表达, 冲击力强的, 跟纯粹的纪实影片不同, 只不过是在现实里寻找素材。你看, 我们在垃圾场里玩儿摇滚。丁武、张炬他们, 黑豹, 窦唯也在, 我把他们的脸画的都跟小鬼儿似的, 大雪天在垃圾场里哇哇乱嚎, 我们那是带有灯光设计的, 逆光打出剪影, 你看那个感觉, 一看就是艺术片儿的路子, 那么他们的表达是不是真实的? 那肯定是真实的, 因为我们没有排演的, 你明白我的意思吧? 他们表达的是他们自己。我问他们, 愿不愿意画个鬼脸儿, 他们愿意, 我就乐坏了。唐朝乐队早期有一首“世纪末的魔鬼”, 你应该找来听听, 那就是他们最真实的表达。

小鲁, 你可能无法想象, 我那时候拍摄手段专业到什么程度。你看长城上我是用烟饼, 一整十几二十公里, 烽火台上一起放烽烟, 你看垃圾场摇滚, 还有89年元旦的“火烧2000”, 我们烧掉一个用垃圾堆起来的, 象征20世纪的纪念碑, 我都是用升降车拍的。还有很多大场面我是铺轨了, 对我来讲, 我个人的艺术创作的冲动是按捺不住的。可能我再举个例子, 有助于你理解我的冲动。丽芬斯塔尔你知道吧? 你不能说它拍奥林匹克都是她导演的, 她铺个轨拍摄百米冲刺, 这是她的自由啊, 她拍《意志的胜利》, 表演者是希特勒啊, 你不能说她拍摄的不是记录片, 而只是政治宣传片。如果没有丽芬斯塔尔, 你记不住《第三帝国》。

王: 那时候能看到《意志的胜利》吗?

温: 全版的肯定看不到, 但是都知道, 我们那时候看过前苏联拍摄的《普通法西斯》, 那里面大量使用了丽芬斯塔尔的镜头, 你看美国人拍二战的胜利, 也得用丽芬斯塔尔的镜头, 俄国人、欧洲人都得用她的镜头。因为那时候丽芬斯塔尔恰好赶上了, 她天才地创造和调动了一切拍摄手段, 你说它是不是纪录片呢? 我觉得探讨这个没意义, 你去问她, 她肯定纳闷, 为什么会有这种疑问呢? 她一辈子都在解释, 她不是纳粹。

王: 我觉得你喜欢崇高的东西。这个“包扎长城”特别重要的是它其实是一个象征。你们都是八十年代时代精神的建构者。我看到您当年说, 想拍摄都市艺术界潜在的动荡, 当时您感觉到的是什么? 有什么指向性吗?

温: 这个动荡指什么呢? 当时前人玩儿过的东西, 都不想再玩了, 我跟这帮艺术家交流, 什么跨界啊, 模糊啊, 那些东西在我们日常全都讨论到了。所以我的戏剧真的是一种实验, 没有障碍, 我们脑子没有框框, 以往传统的艺术教育、戏剧观念、视觉表现、音乐舞蹈, 对于我们来说, 全部都过时了。而且我这种艺术史科班出来的人, 对于现代艺术都没多大兴趣了。毕加索和梵高对于我们来说, 都是古典主义了。一百年过去, 他们曾在上个世纪末瞎闹腾, 我们也到了世纪末了, 每个世纪末都有一帮混蛋。虽然时间都是人为的, 但是很奇怪, 我们都有一种集体的不安和躁动, 世纪末成为大家不约而同要抓住的话题。

王: 似乎是一种走到世界尽头的感觉。您一直在拍的《大地震》这个纪录片, 当时成片了么? 放过吗?

温: 没有成过片, 也没放过, 只在《中国行动》里作为一个片段展现过。如果真要成片, 今天坦率来说, 这部影片应该结束在1989。事实上我89年的镜头很多, 比如说89年元旦拍摄过《告别20世纪》的装置行为。在发电场也做过一场关于未来的行为活动, 然后2月5号, 过年那一天, 拍摄了中国现代艺术展, 在中国美术馆, 现场的七个行为艺术都记录下来了。

王: 那就是1989年。

温: 就是1989年。我的片子为什么停不下来, 因为大地震一直在震, 一直在震。星星画会的主要成员79年之后不是都跑到国外去了么, 89年《星星十年》的画册出来了, 他们又回来搞了个party, 这个我又得拍。为什么呢? 在我心里, 如果溯源的话, 1979年的星星美展就应该是中国当代艺术的开端, 或者说是最早的大地震前兆。那时候我要拍的东西太多了, 当时并不知道要在哪一天结束, 但是怎么也没有想到结束于6月4号。所以你说, 这个片子怎么能做完呢? 至少现在还无法真正完成。

王: 我们上次去石家庄见面, 我就一直想了解您的纪录片。当时和臧红花说加微信, 后来各种原因一直没联系。

温: 我也没手机。

王: 对, 有一次我遇到郝志强, 他说89年上半年, 他曾经将这个片子粗剪了一个东西, 把影像剪在一起了, 放过一次。

温: 我们开个玩笑, 那次就是把素材联起来, 那个粗剪版还真的放过一次, 在西班牙大使馆文化专员伊玛家里做了一次初剪版的放映, 看看大家的反映, 伊玛为我们搞了一个酒会。只放映了这一次, 那次是三月左右。

王: 我记得郝志强说是4月。

温: 那应该是4月。我突然想起来了。为啥呢? 真正的地震来临, 是4月15号那天, 胡耀邦走了, 第一次出现游行, 是政法大学学生出来。那天正好, 伊玛请我去历史博物馆, 拍一个巴塞罗那的文化展。当时我有剧组, 人家易玛也是帮我, 展览方给钱, 去帮他们拍。结束的时候, 从长台阶走下来, 快到广场的时候, 看到一群学生打着标语, 我就本能的反应, 拍过去。地震真的来了。

王: 那一段影像你还有么?

温: 那段影像可能遗失在有关部门手里, 因为我再也没有见过它。你知道我们那种敏感。所以那时候就停不下来, 如果四月伊玛请我去拍摄, 那显然四月接触最频繁。

王: 放映时据说吴文光也在。

温: 吴文光当时坐在角落里, 也没有人跟我介绍, 当时我不认识他, 是多年以后, 他跟我聊起来, 意思是, 那天他也在, 当时看着温老大挺牛逼的, 翘着脚, 晃着二郎腿, 说这个地方我要表现什么, 这个地儿我要用什么手法, 他亲口告诉我的。

王: 那个片子多长? 当时大家有什么反响?

温: 坦率地说, 那就是我们日常的生活, 大家司空见惯, 习以为常。虽然觉得挺酷, 挺有意思, 挺好玩儿, 但是远远没有后来给年轻人看一些片段时引起的震撼。因为对于现在的人来讲, 80年代的很多事情都是天方夜谭, 不可思议。

王: 你还记得包扎长城那天有多少人吗?

温: 要说确切的数字, 谁也说不清楚。但是有很多细节可以佐证, 有一定的参考价值。牟森和蒋樾负责后勤, 安排现场所有人的吃喝拉撒, 我记得当时有两套步话机, 几个副导演手里都有, 就是郝智强他们, 因为他们要控制几个主机位。另一套在牟森和蒋樾他们手里, 他们告诉我饭肯定不够。我们当时的餐是根据四百人准备的, 有盒饭、面包、香肠、啤酒, 还有咸菜。乐队很重要, 演出开始前, 我去看他们, 跟他们打招呼: “兄弟吃了吗? ”何勇耷拉着脸说, “吃个大鸡巴! ”我说“咋了兄弟? ”原来是乐队忙着装台, 到他们饭点儿啥都没有了。我马上跟蒋樾还是牟森联系, 对他们说按原样儿再来一套。怕不够, 可以再加点儿盒饭和面包。这一拨运吃的队伍很悲壮, 因为缆车停了, 下班了。这帮哥们儿每人扛着个大塑料箱子, 往上搬运。我们有一个好哥们儿, 叫黑壤, 走到一半, 累昏了。摆了一个匍匐在地的姿势, 手还指着前方, 这是他们当笑话告诉我的。这帮哥们儿真棒, 第二天早上走的时候, 长城上连个纸片都没有, 打扫得干干净净。这个感觉特别像后来的广场。

这是一个青春的故事, 讲到哪一天真的不好说。为什么我不去碰这个片子, 这个片子很触动内心一些很隐秘的部位, 只是把他们部分的艺术现场拿来展示过, 没有成为一个完整的叙事。

《大地震》作为纪录片, 好多年前我曾经写过自嘲的文章, 这部纪录片的存在已成为江湖中的传说。做不做它, 已经不重要了。一部分, 作为当代艺术史的现场, 成为艺术史回顾的系列。几年前我们做过一个档案展, 很大型的, 在红砖美术馆, 展了半年, 为了这个展览, 臧红花专门重剪了一部片子, 新版《中国行动》, 剪到2000年, 2000年以后就是另外一个故事了。

王: 上次我们在石家庄看的《中国行动》, 就是这个版本?

温: 你看的是老版本。在艺术上的片段展现, 一共三次, 一次纽约, 应高名潞之邀那一次, 叫《前卫十年》, 那是98年的, 只有半个小时。

第二次, 99年12年31号, 跨越千禧年之夜, 在成都有一个展览, 叫做世纪之门, 是那个夜里开幕的, 为了那个展览我做了一个50多分钟的《中国行动》, 当天发生的很多行为现场的素材怎么能剪进去呢?

第三次就是臧红花剪的这版, 补充了大量素材, 包括千禧夜的, 片长100多分钟。

王: 这里面主要是行为艺术现场吧?

温: 也包括一些戏剧的片段, 因为这里面也包含那些艺术家, 从84年就有, 86、87、88、89一直到2000年, 我一直在拍, 中间有艺术家提供给我的, 重要的现场我不在的话, 艺术家也会把自己录的现场交给我, 放在档案系列里收藏, 大家也都很信任我。从艺术史的角度来说, 我用影像做了一个全记录。

王: 我明白了, 在艺术家眼里, 目前应该有这么一个概念, 就是你这里有一个中国艺术档案资料库, 这里面包含了中国前卫艺术的历史。

温: 有一个康奈尔大学的博士生, 要研究中国当代艺术史, 他找到我, 我打开记录的东西, 他回去后就跟他的导师,

类似于多媒体艺术系的系主任说了, 他导师又跟东亚图书馆馆长说了, 他们就上心了。05年, 康奈尔大学找到我, 这个系和东亚图书馆联合和我谈, 要设立一个以我名字命名的中国前卫艺术档案, 那时候我还没有明确的概念呢, 虽然本人也是学艺术史出身, 但他们一说我就懂了。

他们的说法很有说服力, 他们说, 这套影像档案是你独立完成的, 放在康奈尔可以让研究者有一个学术的线索。我问, 你们有没有类似其他人的? 他说, 有, 还有一个用个人名字命名的文献档案。我问是谁, 我还以为是我认识的什么人呢, 他们说, 胡适。

胡适的自由主义不能说和我们毫无关系, 在我们的成长过程中曾经深受影像, 我欣然同意。

王: 这些资料, 他们全部拷贝了一份?

温: 他们是不完整拷贝。受当时的技术条件所限, 数字化了一大部分, 但是有压缩。07年加州大学又来找我, 在圣地亚哥分校也收藏了一套。

Making Art Is a Lifestyle Choice: My 1980s

Interviewee: WU Wenguang 吴文光　Interviewer and editor: Sabrina Qiong YU 余琼

Note: This article is adapted from the first half an hour of an interview with Wu Wenguang conducted by Sabrina Q, Yu in Qinjiatun, a suburb of Beijing, on 25 September 2019.

I think *Bumming in Beijing*（流浪北京, 1990) would be the first [independent documentary] for me. I don't really care if other people think it's the first or not. When I say it's the first, I mean a lot of things. It was the first film I made when I started a new lifestyle and it marked the beginning of a new chapter in my life. That chapter lasted thirty years. But back then, I wasn't thinking about all those things. Having connections with the people around me was important—I could not possibly make a film all by myself. Or perhaps I should say just because I had an idea, did not mean I could turn it into a film. The idea that I had was also influenced by that environment. That atmosphere, or environment, was extremely important.

If I had never come to Beijing, the film never would have happened. If I had never met those people in Beijing, it never would have happened. When I arrived in Beijing, I changed my lifestyle drastically. I gave up my *danwei* (work unit), my *hukou* (residence permit), and a steady job. I decided that drifting in Beijing was how I wanted to live. Once I changed the way I was living, I met likeminded people, or at least people who appeared to be similar to me. I could tell at a glance that we would get along. In the past, people moving to Beijing from the countryside were called the *mangliu* (blind migrants). Now those people are called 'Beijing drifters' or 'vagabonds'. The vagabonds decided not to participate in the system, or they didn't have the papers that provided them with security, or they did not work at a work unit that would provide a steady pay check, healthcare, and a pension. In the past, there might be one or two people that did not participate in the system, but in the 1980s, more people did so and they all converged in Beijing. They made films, painted paintings, wrote plays, wrote stories, and composed essays. People gravitated towards each other, which was one of the unique features of that period. At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, over a period lasting two or three years, a lot of people streamed in from far-flung places: Guilin, Shanxi, and all over China. I frequently ran into these people. I think my life really changed then.

Pretty soon after arriving in Beijing, you would hear that people said they had had enough of Beijing and it was boring. Their dreams had reached a dead end and they wanted to go to America or some other foreign country. One such person around me was Zhang Ci. She wanted to go to the United States, and she chose a special way to achieve that. She was so eager to go abroad that she would do whatever it took to get there. But she thought it was good, she thought that she had to go abroad. She wanted to know what I thought, if I thought it was OK. I said it was good. But that's another story for another time. So, I considered her way of thinking: I thought that we had arrived at Beijing and next we would go to the United States, or any other place abroad. Beijing was simply a springboard. If your dreams reached a dead end, or they were more or less finished, if you could not imagine a future in Beijing, then perhaps America or some other place would be better. You needed to see the outside world, you needed to expand your horizons, or you had some other reasons that you needed to go. So, I thought that going to Beijing and then going abroad after that was the most

natural thing to do. I wondered if being a bum or living a free lifestyle in Beijing had reached its natural conclusion. That was a doubt I had then.

My curiosity and my doubts fuelled this film. Making this film was not as simple as turning my ideas into a film. I borrowed equipment and the people around me gave me suggestions. My friends helped me and I helped them in return. That's how it went. They were part of the fabric of that environment. The film was brought about by something, but perhaps it would be able to cause something else to happen. But I think the importance of the film was that like many things that appeared at that time, before it happened, you never would have imagined that it was possible. The painters who lived by *Yuanmingyuan* (Old Summer Palace) were a perfect example. So were the people who didn't have a job at a work unit or at the literature department of some university, but still wrote stories. They did odd jobs and submitted a few manuscripts to earn money. Some people staged plays, which involved loads of people, and needed a space for rehearsing and performing the play. Then there were freelance photographers like Gao Bo. It all happened naturally. So, in my opinion, art is not a hobby. It's not something you need or something you have to express, it's a search for, and the establishment of, a way of life.

That is why I would not teach at a university or work at a television station for long, or stay at the middle school where I taught before, or be employed at a company. Being an artist is a decision to live in a certain way. I think *Bumming in Beijing* is a product of that environment that existed at the end of the 1980s. If it were not for that time, for that environment, and for those people that I knew, the film would never have been made. It is impossible for me to say that since I came to Beijing I had to do something big, or had to make a film. I knew I was a complete idiot, that I knew nothing. What was a documentary? I had never heard of the word before. The word, whether in Chinese or in English, was something I learned in 1991 after attending a film festival. That's also when I learned the word 'independent' in English. I didn't know that word before. But knowing those words was unimportant. The important thing was the yearning and the will to be independent, to be free.

At that time, people who liked literature stuck together. My house was one of those places where people gathered. As a result, my address, 6 Shangyi Street, became a shorthand for that kind of place. Most of the people who came were my college classmates, and some people joined us later on, but there was always seven or eight people at the house. That was during the 1980s, mainly during the early 1980s. Eventually it wasn't that popular to gather anymore. Even people who were writers did not live like that anymore. I gave up my job at the work unit and I did not have a residence permit. That was what differentiated me from a lot of people. When I trace back the reason why I did not have a family or any children, it was for the same reason. Perhaps that was the moment when my rejection of a routine and mainstream lifestyle reached its zenith. For other people, this might be a sort of sickness, but it can be traced back to a moment.

I left Kunming in 1988, but I already left once in 1983. When I graduated I was assigned a job as a middle school teacher. I wanted to teach in a middle school located in a grazing pasture in Xinjiang. I lived in Xinjiang for two years. My desire was simple: I wanted to write. I wanted to go somewhere far away, somewhere remote. I wanted to find a lifestyle that excited me. It was impossible to write anything in Kunming where it never got hot and it never got cold; it was so comfortable there that it was boring. That was when I decided that I would leave my work unit. Unfortunately, my work unit did not agree with my plan, so I had to resign. I taught at Kunming No. 3 Middle School for three years

after graduating from university in 1982. I was a Chinese teacher. When I went to the grasslands, I was also a Chinese teacher in a middle school. They had a policy at that time that if you had a university degree, you could get a job at any school. You could stay for two to three years. It was called the contract employment system. Normally, I would have needed a reference letter from my previous work unit. But I was still welcomed without one, because there wasn't a single university graduate teaching at that school in the grasslands. The highest education level among the teachers was one teacher with a technical secondary school degree. He also taught high school students. Nobody who graduated from that school had good enough grades to study at a university. The year that I arrived, the average scores on the Chinese test increased by fifty points, and the highest increase in a single subject was seventy points. The school had its best exam results ever that year. Then some made it to university. In my second year, there were some that made it to university, and some that made it to a technical secondary school. It was a breakthrough. It was clear that I worked assiduously while I was there, and I taught the graduating class that was about to take the *gaokao* (university entrance exam). But the reason why I was excited to live there was that I could have a totally new life. The Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps did not have that many Uighurs or Kazakhs. It had some, but they were in the minority. The majority of people were Han Chinese from outside of Xinjiang. There were lots of people and they had lots of stories. The food I ate and the customs I encountered were totally different from what I was accustomed to at home. It was a mishmash of people from all parts of the country and all walks of life. For years, Xinjiang has been a place that has taken in outsiders. Some came of their own volition, some were sent to rural areas by the government, some were dispatched there, and some were young, educated people sent down to work in rural areas. All kinds of people went there, and their children lived there too. That is why that place had lots of stories that excited me. So, I stayed there from 1983 to 1985.

When I was there, I wrote and I had fun with local people. That was when I decided that I wanted to be a writer. I set an ambitious goal: to write something truly epic. I had two books with me: *The Sun Also Rises* by Ernest Hemingway, and a biography of Jack London called *Sailor on Horseback*. I can't remember if I never finished the second one, or if I read it many times. But the most important thing is that the title of the book inspired me—*Sailor on Horseback*. I wanted my life to be like that, otherwise I would feel like I had lived in vain. I wanted to make great things, live a great life, and live my life freely. Every person can make their own decisions about their life. I won't disturb them and I won't affect them. But please don't interfere with my life. You asked me why I went to Beijing. I think my passion for art is basically the search for a way to live freely, so I needed to freely embrace these things. But once you feel stuck, or trapped, or restrained, then life is meaningless. It's not about whether I wanted children or not, or whether I wanted a family or not. There's nothing preventing me from cherishing the children of other people or talking to other people about families. For me, those things might cause problems, so I had no choice but to stop making those plans. I had to decide what I wanted to do. It has always been that way.

I moved here in 2015. This is further away from Beijing than it is from the original Caochangdi Work Station. That place used to be on the outskirts, outside of the Fifth Ring Road. Now, this place is outside of the Sixth Ring Road, close to the mountains. Coming back to your original question, at the end of the 1980s, I was looking for a way to live freely. To some extent, you could say it was like *On the Road* by Jack Kerouac. We were living a lifestyle similar to the American hippies of the 1960s. Perhaps that counterculture arrived in China twenty years after it arrived in America, but it wasn't the same—it didn't have all the hippies, the rock and roll, the marijuana. But people my age, who were

born in the 1960s, quickly settled into their ordinary, middle-class lifestyles, with their jobs, their careers, and their suits. Zhang Ci's husband was a typical example. When I look back at my experience of the 1980s and the people I met then, I don't know what happened to them. Freedom became a slogan. When we are young, our hormones are surging, but we quickly say, 'Aiya, this is the way life is, this is how the days must pass.' This is not a question of whether we should bow our heads in the face of reality. To me, it really seemed like life had to be that way. I have lived this way for thirty years now, so I can say that I'm not exaggerating. I have made this happen. It's not perseverance, perseverance is a little degrading to this way of life; it's naturally and instinctively arriving at this lifestyle. I think that setting up a family would need perseverance. That's what I think. Of course, other people might think that that's the natural way to live. If they're OK with that, then I'm OK with that. But they are just like millions of other people, whereas I'm unique.

As for the reason why I left Xinjiang in 1985, I signed a contract with the school saying that I could work for two or three years, but before I had worked there for two years, my father fell ill. I received a telegram about it. I am my father's only son and I needed to go see him. He was at the hospital, but he pulled through. He died a few years after that. Anyway, that was why I came back. Otherwise I think I would have stayed for another six months or a year, but not longer than three years in total. One important reason why I came back was because my dream of looking for stories in a strange land had ended. I didn't dream about that anymore. Towards the end, I wasn't able to write anything. I had writer's block; I didn't even know what to write. When I first thought of an idea I was excited, but once I started writing it down I thought it was dull. It was shit, and I didn't want to look at it. So, during the second half of my time in Xinjiang I was basically drinking and playing cards, just whiling away the time. We rode horses to southern Xinjiang. I was working in northern Xinjiang, and we spent a summer in southern Xinjiang. I seriously doubted whether I had the literary chops to write things down. At first it was just a doubt, but then it became a serious doubt. It was a frustration, a self-defeating thought. I think that was my greatest discovery in Xinjiang.

Later I was grateful to my life in Xinjiang because it helped me understand the kind of person I was. It helped me realise that I was unable write anything of any literary merit. Even though I know that I write much better now than I did then, I still know that I want to write masterpieces but my actual ability is a considerable distance away from writing masterpieces. It is better to understand that early on. Xinjiang helped me come to terms with that distance. If I had stayed in Kunming, I probably would have consoled myself and stayed frozen in my own fantasy. I would have told myself things like 'Oh, if I work a little harder, or if I just take my time, I will write something better,' or 'I can't write anything good because I don't have enough time.' I couldn't give myself any excuses when I was in Xinjiang. I had plenty of time—I only had two classes to teach per day. I didn't even have to prepare for lessons. After class, I had all the time in the world. I had nearly eight or nine hours a day to write. I didn't have any responsibilities or anyone else to take care of. By the time winter arrived in November, snow covered the majority of my home and I couldn't go out even if I wanted to. At that point, there really was nothing to do but write. But then you realise—what can you write? Your mind is as featureless as a desert. I wanted to write something about my father. What, exactly? I didn't have the slightest idea.

That was when I knew that I didn't have the ability to write masterpieces. I didn't have the talent. When my friend joked about it in a not-so-subtle way, I refused to accept that reality, because I thought that talent could be trained. My time in Xinjiang was an incredibly important opportunity to know myself. I knew what I was, and I should not numb

myself or escape to the bomb shelter of my imagination. This was helpful to me. That's why I say that Xinjiang saved me. The main reason was not because I met those people who lived in other places, even though their stories helped me later, it was because I finally understood myself. I went back to Kunming without making a big deal out of it. My father was extremely sick and I cared for him for several months. Then a job at a television station practically dropped out of the sky. Of course a friend helped me find that job. At the time, I was still deciding whether I wanted to go back to Xinjiang or anywhere far away. Then a friend told me to just take the job while I could get it, to stop dreaming and be more realistic. A job at a television station was not so bad, after all. So, I took my friend's advice. I applied for the job, spoke to some people, and had an interview. At that point I had published a novella and a short story in a magazine. It was a literary magazine based in Yunnan province called *Bianjiang Wenyi* (*Border Literature*). Later it was called *Da Xinan Wenxue* (*Southwest Literature*). It had a lot of names, it was a publication by the Yunnan Writers Association, and one earlier name was *Yunnan Wenyi* (*Yunnan Literature*). Anyway, it was a monthly magazine from Yunnan. There was probably one in Kunming, another in Dian Lake. There was probably a local literary publication in every town in the province, and it would publish once every two months or once every month. The most prestigious literary magazine in Yunnan published my novella, which had a very poetic name, *Dream of a Summer Day*. I wrote a story about someone daydreaming. When I look back at it, I think it's dog shit, but at least it was very individualistic, it was just one person's daydream. The main character keeps drifting into his fantasies all day. It was actually totally autobiographical. Back then, I was someone who daydreamed all the time. If I was walking on the street, my body was in reality, but my mind was in another world. When other people looked at me, they saw someone who played by the rules and dressed neatly in a Chinese tunic. But my heart was wild; I hoped to fly beyond the bounds of the earth; and I wanted to do this and finish that, so I wrote 30,000 or 40,000 words in this state. I started the novella in Xinjiang, but I didn't finish it. I probably finished it and published it in Kunming. The novella was an important part of my application for the job at the television station, because it was actually published. That meant I had better credentials than the other candidates and did not need to be hired via the back door. That's how I got the job at the television station.

As you know, a television station is an incredibly materialistic place to work. There is no place that is more materialistic than a television station. I started by filming and editing the news, and later I made television documentaries. Two and a half years, from 1985 to the start of 1988, went by in an instant. I shot a few films. My life was comfortable. There were loads of perks and opportunities to satisfy one's vanity at the television station. Your name would appear on the screens of televisions, and the whole town was watching television. When you went places everything was fancy. You didn't have to sit in the office all day, and every time you filmed something you would receive gifts like thermoses or blankets. In these comfortable days, I could feel a rotten quality developing in me, poisoning me. I was still dreaming but I felt myself being weighed down. I knew what the people around me were talking about. I despised them, but I had to talk and joke and fool around with them day after day. I hung around at a television station in Kunming, leading a materialistic life and making money and getting gifts.

In 1988, I felt that if I kept living like this, my days would become more and more predictable, and I would become the kind of person that I found the most irritating. I was changing, gradually, and I might turn into the kind of person I hated sooner than I expected. Then a friend told me that there was some kind of an opportunity in Beijing where I could film something. Nothing really came to pass, but my friend said if I wanted to, I could go to Beijing. It was like a bridge for me, an excellent excuse for a change. If you want to run away from your job, it's difficult to find a reason

to do it, right? In this way, it was like the door was already open. The door did not actually exist, and once I arrived in Beijing I had nothing to do for a few months. But for me, I thought I should leave in this way. I started out by asking for time off, and eventually that turned into a voluntary resignation. That's how I left.

Everyone I knew thought I was crazy, that I was nuts. When I went to teach in Xinjiang, they thought I was crazy too. They didn't think I was actually crazy, but they thought that I had a terrible secret that I couldn't tell people about. When my colleagues in that middle school in Kunming saw I came back from Xinjiang and then went to the television station, they said, 'Oh, we get it now. This is how you reached your real goal! You went to Xinjiang, and then you went to the television station. If you wanted to leave an education work unit, you probably would have trouble leaving. You did it so that you didn't have to stay in education.' I ran into a fellow Chinese teacher from that school on the street, and he looked relieved because he finally had an answer. He said that in the years after I left, he didn't understand why I would leave a good job and go to Xinjiang. He was sure that there was something wrong with me, because he couldn't understand going to Xinjiang in order to have an environment to write in. Then he saw that I had a glamorous job at a television station, carrying a camera on the street and he had his answer. He was relieved not to have that question anymore. He didn't want to have things in his life that he couldn't understand. If he didn't understand them, it would bother him for a really long time.

We have been discussing recently the author who came over in August this year. In his village, there is a person who is crazy. If the other people in his village don't call him crazy, then they think they're the ones going crazy. If you aren't crazy, then we're all crazy, that's the way of thinking. So, if we all collectively say you're crazy, that means we are normal. Back then, everyone was desperate to get a job at the television station, but I wanted to leave after working there for just two and a half years. The director said, 'After working here for two years you can be promoted to middle management. We're about to allocate housing to everyone, and you're about to be a department head. Are you trying to push us to give you more because you think you have talent?' Then the director told me, 'Don't assume that if you're successful here you'll be successful anywhere. You might be a dragon here but when you get to Beijing you'll be a worm.' I kept saying that I wanted to leave, and he finally let me have two to three months off. He wanted me to go for a few months and then come back. So I went, but I never came back. So, to go back to the original point, there will always be a reason for why someone made a film or not, why they created something or not, and why they made art or not. But most importantly, this is the way of life you choose.

…

After June 4th, I knew clearly that I was lucky to not have gone abroad. If I had gone abroad, I would have become a different person, and my experience of 1989 would have been a waste. In other words, if a person is searching for their purpose, and they want to find a place where they can make the biggest contribution, it will certainly be in their home country. If I went to the UK or to the US, no matter how well I did, even if I earned a PhD, I would just end up as a professor. I wouldn't become the true Wu Wenguang. There are plenty of professors in the UK and the US. But that's not the thing that I'm longing to do, it's not my purpose. I long to become a unique, irreplaceable person. People might replicate the kinds of things that I do, but I'm at the forefront, and I'm different from the people around me. I am terrified of living just like everyone else, of being indistinguishable from others. You have a house and I have a kid; you

have a wife, and I have a husband; and every Sunday you go for a walk and I practice *tai chi*. I don't want to criticise people who want a family life, or reject the importance of everyday life. But in my heart, I don't like living that way and I don't want to live that way. When people reach this stage of their lives, they have almost reached the end. I can tell you that I didn't just make a promise or a wish, I actually lived in the way that I wanted to live.

The June 4th incident crystallized something that I was already beginning to understand: that I could become the person I truly wanted to become in China. Of course, this was a gradual process. After June 4th, I wanted desperately to leave like everyone else, because I couldn't stay. In terms of my actions and my plans, I worked really hard to go. Once you have tried everything and you have not completely run out of hope, you suddenly realise that when everyone is having the same conversations, you become just like them. You want to go abroad to get a degree and find a job; these all sound like good reasons to leave, when in reality you are only attempting to escape this hopeless place. It was so hopeless. 1989, 1990, and 1991 were all like that. But I discovered that I was actually copying what others were doing. Let me give you an example. One day after I had food at a canteen in a small hotel, I needed to go to the fourth floor. A lot of people were in the lift, and the lift was stopping at the first floor, second floor, and third floor. People who were going to the third or fourth floor needed to take the lift, but people who were only going to the first or second didn't need the lift. Everyone was packed like sardines, and they exchanged hostile glances. Someone next to me said in Shanghai dialect: 'It's really crowded, why do people even want to squeeze in?', and then he got off at the second floor. Then I suddenly realised that I was just like them. I was used to squeezing myself into a lift, and doing things the same way everyone else did. Just to get somewhere a few steps away, I was willing to squeeze in, just to get to the first floor, second floor, or even the third or fourth floor. Isn't going abroad just like that? You're face to face with others, and you look at how awkward and miserable everyone is. First you face a setback, and you discover that it's not that easy to get out. People who agreed to sponsor you suddenly decided not to help you get a visa. So, you are in the uncomfortable position of being one step away from going abroad. And then you have to find some other way to go abroad. When I got out of the lift, I thought, why do I want to go abroad? If there is no hope or prospects in China, then what exactly are my hopes and prospects? Have I actually tried? Have I tried to do something and been thwarted? Or have we all simply grown accustomed to talking about our ideals and our hopes?

My turning point happened at that time, at the end of 1989 or the beginning of 1990. I found that the footage shooting for *Bumming in Beijing* was all over the place—I had some good parts but it was a mess. I was going to edit it but I didn't, because I didn't know how to begin editing. I wanted to do it but I couldn't finish. I decided I just had to do it. So, in May 1990, I took the footage to Kunming and asked a friend for help to edit this film. I locked myself in the editing room for two or three days and made a rough-cut version that was about 150 minutes long. At that point I felt like I had finished the film. So, if you think a place does not have any freedom or any hope, you need to ask yourself if you have actually tried to do something. Have you actually done anything? So, after I did that project I found out that I could do it. Then I started changing, bit by bit. From 1991, I started going abroad often. Every time I went abroad I rejoiced that fate prevented me from going abroad just for a degree or a stupid job, or staying abroad illegally just so I could be abroad. At that time if you went abroad, you would keep sliding down on whatever track you were already on, and end up becoming those classmates, friends, and childhood friends I bumped into while abroad. I don't want to say how they were doing but I was happy with the way things turned out for me. Later it became even clearer to me that no matter how much you like those things that other countries have, like order, clean air, clean streets, beautiful places,

respect, they don't belong to you. You can enjoy those things, but you won't find your purpose there; what you need to do can only be realised here… I think in a place that is not free, I have a greater hunger for freedom and I'll pursue freedom even though I know I'll have to make sacrifices. Not even death can stop me. When you're capable of doing everything and you're allowed to film everything, you'll doubt what your creation is worth. In my opinion, when I am faced with challenges, including fears and worries, that environment motivates me to work harder. I'm eager to get things done.

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Sabrina Qiong Yu: You have made documentaries for thirty years now. Do you think you have found freedom by making documentaries, the kind of freedom that you wanted when you were young?

Wu Wenguang: Perhaps part of it. At least when I am filming, I realise that freedom is incredibly irresistible. I have been chasing after it. Even though I might never achieve a complete sense of freedom by making a documentary, it serves as a vessel that has allowed me to keep going after it. Besides making documentaries, I also write, stage plays, do the Village Documentary Project and the Folk Memory Project, and so on. These projects have enabled me to work with other people collectively. I think that freedom is an action, something to be experienced and put into practice. It's not something that should be explained. We don't need to ask, 'What is freedom and how do we define it?' An action, a movement, or a practice that helps us experience freedom is the truest meaning of freedom. So, everything I just said is what that is. Your lifestyle includes your working style, and the way that you do things.

从事艺术是一种生活方式的选择：我的八十年代

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注：本文整理自2019年9月25日在京郊秦家屯余琼对吴文光的采访的前半小时。

对我而言，《流浪北京》是第一就行了，对他人而言，是不是第一，不是我要去确认的事情。这个第一对我来说意味着很多的第一，比如说我的生活的一个新的方式的开始，自己的人生道路的一个开始，包括未来的30年的一个开始。但是当时没有想到这么多。周围的关系实际上是很重要的，我不可能一个人拍出来这个片子，或者不是我有个想法就能拍出来。而且我所谓的想法，也是在那个环境里被影响的。所以我觉得那个氛围、那个环境非常非常重要。

如果我不来北京，不会发生那个事情，如果来北京不认识这些人，也不会发生这些事情。首先我来北京，是我生活方式的一种改变，就是我决定要放弃那种单位啊，户口啊，包括固定的职业，选择在北京漂着的这种方式。然后又以这种方式认识了同道人吧，或者是那种貌似相像的一些人，一见之下就成了与你气味相投的人。那时候叫盲流，现在叫北漂，或者是后来取名字叫流浪，最早的时候就是在80年代末期的一些人。他们离开这种体制，或者是有一个安全保险的户口，固定的工资和那种生老病死都管着你的一个单位。以前可能会有一个两个这样的人，但那时出现一批这样的人，而且都聚集在北京，都在摄影啊、画画啊，搞戏剧啊，搞文学写作啊，这样的一些人扎在一起，是那个时候一个特有的现象。在80年代末期，包括90年代初，这两三年的时间里边，呼噜呼噜来了不少，从桂林来、从陕西来，你就会经常碰到这样的人。那个时候可能对我来说，是实实在在地改变了。

很快听到说有人觉得在北京呆够了，没意思了，没梦想了，应该去国外、去美国。而我身边最重要的一个人就是张慈，她要去美国，而且她去美国选了一个非常特殊的方式，那种急不可待的、某种程度可以说是不择手段地来让自己出国，她就觉得很好，就应该出国。她问过我意见，我这样可以吗？我说很好，当然这又是另外的故事了。所以我再回到她的心态上，觉得好像我们到了北京，然后再到美国去，或者到国外任何地方去，北京成了一个跳板，你的梦想好像是走到死胡同了，或者是差不多了，你看不到更远的未来，那么美国等地方更好，或者是觉得要有更大的世界、更大的天地，反正种种。所以我觉得通过北京再去国外是理所当然的事情，那在北京的这种流浪或者是自由生活方式是不是到了终点了？所以在那个时候我就开始有了这个疑问。

所以好奇、疑问促成了这个片子的拍摄。这事情不是说孤零零的我的一个想法，然后我把它拍成片子实现了。借用拍摄器材，周围的人出主意，朋友之间你想做什么我过来互相的帮忙，等等，它是非常符合那个环境的一个延伸物。它由其它东西带出来，可能它也会带出什么东西来。但我想它的重要性在于，就像那个时代里出现的其它事物，你在以前是不可以想象这样的东西，都能实现了：比如圆明园那些画画的；还有写作的人，他不在单位，也不在文学院，他自己出来写作，可以去打点临时工，然后投点稿；还有做戏剧的，牵扯那么多人，包括排练还有演出的地方；像自由摄影师，像拍照片的高波。就都顺水推舟，自然而然地出现了。所以对我而言，艺术不是你爱好它，不是你需要它或者表达它，而是一个生活方式的寻找和定位。

所以我永远不会在一个大学教书，或者是在一个电视台工作下去，或者在一个原来我在的中学里面，或者在一个公司里面呆下去一样，它就是一种生活方式的选择。在80年代末期，《流浪北京》可能就是这样的一个环境的产物。所以如果没有那个时代，没有那个环境，没有我认识的那些人，这个片子无从谈起。我不能说因为我来到北京，我想做一个事情，我想做个片子。我知道当时我就是一个大傻逼，什么都不知道，什么叫纪录片，从来没听说过这个词。这3个字，包括它的英文，是91年以后参加了电影节之后知道的，当然也知道了Independent（独立）这个词啊，之前真的是完全不知道的。但是否知道它并不重要，重要的是你内里有这种诉求和愿望，想自己自由一把、想飞一把。

当时会有喜欢文学的人扎堆在一起，我家就是这些朋友扎堆的地方，那我家的门牌号尚义街6号就成了这样的一个代名词。基本上是大学同学，还有一些后来加入的，反正有七八个人吧，那是在80年代初期到末期。但它最主要的应该是在80代初期的时候，到后来它就自动地就没那么热闹了，包括做文学的不做了。我当时放弃的是一个单位、一个户口，也是我跟很多人的区别。追溯到为什么不会有家、不会有孩子，这也是同样的道理。可能那个时候我对这种日常世俗生活的拒绝和排斥，某种程度上到了极点，对别人来说可能是一种病态的东西，但是它是有源可追溯的。

88年底我离开昆明那个地方，但实际上83年的时候我就有过一次离开。那时大学毕业分在一个中学教书，我就选择去了新疆两年，在一个牧场中学里教书。那个愿望就更简单了，就是要写作，要到远方去，要到荒僻的地方去，要寻找生活，在昆明那种温吞水的地方写不出东西来。所以那个时候就已经决定了要放弃单位，但单位没有同意，我就自动离职走了，从昆明第三中学。我82年大学毕业后就在这个中学里当语文老师，我去牧场也是在牧场中学里教书。他们当时有个政策是你如果拿了大学文凭就可以接纳你，可以待两年到三年，叫合同聘用制。如果有单位介绍信上最好，但没有的话他们也欢迎，因为那个牧场中学当时没有一个大学毕业生，最高就是一个中专的，而且他也教高中。那个牧场中学是多年没有一个考进大学的，我去了以后那年语文平均分提高了50分，最高的单科成绩提高了70分，是考得最好的一次，然后就有考上大学的，我在的第2年那儿又有考上的，包括中专的，就是属于零的突破了。可见我在那个地方是在认真地教书，直接带要高考的毕业班。但那个时候我的兴奋在于我在这个地方可以完全地全新地生活。在新疆建设兵团，并不是什么维族啊哈萨克人，有这样的人，但他们是少数，新疆建设兵团基本上是汉人，是从外地来的，故事很多、人很多。那地方吃的东西啊风俗啊，各方面都大不一样，是一个全国各地的杂烩的地方，什么人都有。从N年以来就有盲流往新疆跑的，自动的、被下乡的、派遣的、下放的，各种人都汇到那个地方去，包括他们的后代。所以那个地方有很多的故事让我很兴奋，就从到83年一直待到85年。

我在那里进行写作，跟当地人在一起玩。那个时候我认定一定要搞写作，要写出名堂，而且给自己立了很大的一个目标——我要写出伟大的东西出来。我当时带着两本书，一本是海明威的《太阳照常升起》，还有一本是杰克.伦敦的传记《马背上的水手》。可能这本书我自己一直没看完，或者看了很多遍，但是最重要的是这个书名让我非常热爱——《马背上的水手》。人的生活应该像这样的东西一样，我觉得才不枉我一生：伟大的东西，过伟大的生活，过自由的生活。每个人都可以选择自己的生活，我没问题啊，我不会干扰你、不会影响你，但涉及到我这边还是停住吧。因为你刚才问到了，说为什么到北京？爱好艺术对我来说本质上就是一个自由生活方式的寻找，就是要自由地拥抱着这些东西，但当你觉得被卡住了、被关住了、被羁绊住了，那我觉得这个人生毫无意思。所以不是爱不爱孩子的问题，不是爱不爱家庭的问题，这一点不妨碍我爱别人的孩子，以及我跟别人谈论家庭生活，但是到我这边的话呢，都可能是问题，那就只有打住，选择我该做的东西，所以到现在都是这样。

我是2015年搬到这边来，它离北京比原来的草场地更远，那个地方当时就在郊外，五环外边，现在这个地方就是六

环外边，靠近山的地方。所以回到刚刚你说的这个问题，80年代末期那个时候对自由生活方式的寻找，某种程度上类似60年代的凯鲁亚克的《在路上》，美国嬉皮士所引发出的那个生活方式。那么中国可能是晚了20年，也没形成像美国整个60年代那种嬉皮、摇滚、吸大麻那些啊，但跟我差不多大的60年代那代人很快就进入了那种中规中矩的中产阶级的生活，就职、谋业、穿起西装，张慈的老公也是这么典型的一个人。我的那个80年代，回头想想，当时那些人，你回头望，也不知道他们到哪儿去了。所以自由成了一个口号，青春时候的那种荷尔蒙的一个喷泻，很快就说，哎呀，生活就这样，日子要这样啊。这不是向现实低不低头的东西，是好像人生就应该这样。我现在这样已经过了30年，就可以说不是夸大口了，我已经这样过来了。这不是坚持，说坚持这个词有点侮辱这个方式，它是自然地本能地走到这一步了。我觉得在家庭生活里才倒是一种坚持。我觉得是这样，当然别人如果觉得那样才是自然的生活，好，那你OK我也OK，但毕竟你是千万人中的一个，我可能就是独一无二的。

至于85年我为什么会离开新疆，因为两年到三年是我当时跟那个学校定的合约，我可以待两年，也可以待三年，实际上不到两年我父亲病重，发了电报。我是他唯一的儿子，我必须要回去，在医院里说病得很厉害，但后来挺过来了，但是隔了几年后就去世了。因为这个原因我才回来的。但如果那时候不回来，我估计可能再待半年吧，不会超过3年的。回来一个最重要的原因就是，在遥远异地寻找文学梦结束了，根本没有梦，我到后面根本写不出东西来。闭塞，不知道写什么。你想起来很激动，但是一写下来的东西，你觉得就枯燥，像一泡屎一样，根本不想看。所以在新疆的后半段时间几乎就是在和他们喝酒啊打牌啊，消磨时间，包括骑马到南疆去。我这边是北疆嘛，跑到南疆待了一个夏天。我严重地怀疑我在文学上有没有才华可以写下去。原来是有怀疑，但是到了严重的地步，就应该完全属于沮丧、自我击败的东西。在新疆，我最大的发现就是这个。

但后来我非常感谢新疆生活，因为它让我知道自己是什么样的人，知道我根本写不出东西来。包括到现在我也知道，可能我比那时写得好多了，但是我知道，你怀了一个想写出伟大东西的愿望和实际要达到它的距离是如此遥远的时候，最好清晰地看到这个距离。所以新疆帮助我认识了这段距离。如果在昆明，可能我还自我安慰、自我麻痹地待在那个幻想里边，哎，我再努力一点，我怎么样慢慢写啊，或者是我写不出来是因为我时间不够啊，等等。到新疆后就是你没有退路可寻找，没有任何借口，因为我有大把的时间，我一天就两节课啊。这两节课完了，剩下的时间都是你的，你不需要准备什么课的。这两节课完以后，差不多每天都有八九个小时，而且什么人、什么事情都没有，特别在11月份以后冬天到了，雪把这个屋子盖了一半，出门都出不了的时候，那你就只能待在家里面写。可是你发现你写什么呢？你心里边一片荒漠，什么都没有啊，我想写的关于我父亲的东西。他的什么东西？我一点主意都没有。

这个时候我知道，我没有写作能力、没有才华啊。当时我的朋友半隐蔽半公开地打击我的时候，我不服气啊，我以为才华是可以训练出来的。所以这对我来说是一个非常重要的自我认识，我看清楚自己是什么样的东西，而不再麻醉逃避在一个自我想象的防空洞里面了，这对我以后是很重要的一个帮助。所以新疆对我来说一个很大的拯救，不是说我认识了生活在异地的那些人，当然那些人的故事以后会有用，它最重要的是让我自我意识到了，所以踏踏实实地回到昆明。我父亲病重，照顾了我父亲几个月，然后一个电视台工作突然从天而降，当然也是朋友帮助的。那时我觉得我是不是要再去新疆，或者别的什么地方。后来有个朋友说，你打住吧，差不多了，找个事儿赶快落实下来，你的工作还可以恢复，电视台也不错啊。我就乖乖地去应聘、去谈话、去面试。那个时候我已经有一个中篇小说、还有短篇发表在了杂志上，云南那个文学杂志，叫《边疆文艺》，后来叫《大西南文学》，它改了若干个名字，就是云南本省作协的一个刊物，更早叫《云南文艺》。反正就是一本杂志，月刊，云南有一本，可能昆明市有一本，另外的一个滇池之类的，还有下面各个地方都有本省本地的一个文学刊物，两个月出一本，或者一个月出一本。当时云南省的好像最高的文学刊物上发表了我的小说，这个中篇小说还取了个很诗意的名字叫《夏日之梦》。其实写了一个做

白日梦的人，现在再看这个小说，写得肯定是很狗屎，但是它至少是很个人主义的，就是一个人做白日梦，他不断地在白天就陷入自己的一个幻想当中，其实完全就是一个自传性的小说。我当时就是这么一个在白天也会做梦的人，仿佛行走在大街上面，身体在现实里面，但是脑子是在世界外边。这个人别人看了循规蹈矩，中山装穿得很整齐，但是内心狂野，他希望自己能够从这个地球上飞出去，他喜欢成为什么什么的，所以就把这种状态写了大概三万多还是四万字吧。那应该是在新疆时写的，但没写完，回到昆明后几个月大概就完成掉，后来就在昆明发表了。这个小说是帮助我在电视台找到职位的很重要的一个材料，因为我写的中篇小说发表了，就比别人的条件还更优越一点，我也不需要走什么后门，就这样进入了电视台。

电视台你知道是个世俗得不得了的地方，比任何地方都世俗。我一开始是拍、编新闻，后来就开始做专题片了。从85年到88年初，两年半的时间一晃就过来了，拍了一些片子，也过得很滋润。电视台有各种好处，满足自己的虚荣，随时可以看见你的名字出现在全市人民都在看的那个屏幕上面；让你到外面去，你也很风光，你也不用去坐班，你拍了什么东西会得点保温杯啊毛毯啊之类的礼物。就在这种很滋润的日子里边，我感觉到自己的那种腐臭和发烂的东西，沉醉在里边，虽然梦还在做，但是你觉得自己是在一步步地下坠。而周围的那些人你也知道他们在谈论什么东西，我非常看不上这些人，但是又不得不跟他们天天在一起说笑打闹。我就是在昆明一个电视单位里边很世俗地呆着，很世俗地在牟取一些小利益。

所以88年初觉得这个日子再待下去，你可以看到你的日子是一眼望到得头的，你会变成一个自己所讨厌的那种人，真的就在变，一步步地，而且提前到来了。所以这时候就有朋友说，在北京有这样的一个机会，可以去拍个片子什么的，当时什么东西也不落实，说你如果愿意就过来。所以对我来说是像桥一样的，一个最好的借口，如果你要生生地就这样跑掉，好像也找不出理由对吧？这时就好像门已经打开，实际上这个门是不存在的，去了北京以后也是几个月闲着没事干，但对当时的我而言，好像我就应该这样走，那就单位先请假，后来就算做是自动离职，就这样走了。

就我周围人来说，觉得我是有病嘛，神经有病，当时离开中学去新疆的话，也觉得是有病。当然他们不会只觉得我有病了，他们觉得这个人肯定有什么不可告人的东西，以后中学一看我去了又回来，又去了电视台，就说，小吴我们终于明白了，你就是曲线救国啊！你先跑了新疆，后来你回来又进了电视台，如果你要离开教育单位，那个教育单位是不容易调离嘛，你用这种方式曲线救国，你终于离开了教育。在马路上遇到一个跟我同桌的语文老师，我看到他一脸宽慰、欣慰的表情，因为他终于有了一个答案，说这几年我走了，他一直解不开这个疑问，为什么这个好好的工作不干跑到新疆去，我一定有什么问题，他肯定不会认为是因为写作这样的原因。现在他看到我进了电视台，扛着摄像机站在马路上的时候，觉得他有答案了，所以对他来说就不是一个结了。因为他不希望他生活里的有些事情他搞不懂，搞不懂的话对他来说是一个活得不平衡的东西。

我们这两天在讨论一个今年8月份过来的作者，他那村里面有个神经病。如果村里人不把他叫做神经病的话，就会觉得他们自己有病。不是你有病，就是我们有病，那如果我们集体来说你有病，那我们就是正常的。那些年大家都挤破头要进电视台，而我待了两年半就想要离开了。台领导说你在这里呆两年给你中级职称，马上也要分房子，你就要当个部主任什么的，你说要走是不是想要胁我们啊，因为你觉得你有才华。那个台领导就说了，你别以为你自己在这里是条龙，你到了北京就是条虫。我接着说我要走，他就说好吧，我给你两个月三个月的假，你就去，然后再回来。那我一去就再也没回来。回到那句话就是，拍不拍片子、创不创作、搞不搞艺术，它都是一个理由，只是一个说头，重要的是，这是生活方式的选择。

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经历过六四之后，我清楚地知道不出国对我来说是最有幸的，我出国了就会变成另外一个人，1989就白经历了。这句话翻译过来说就是如果一个人在寻找自己的人生价值时，他应该从什么地方才能让他的价值巨大地发挥，当然是在自己的母体里面。我去到英国或是美国，即使混得再怎么样，把博士读了，我也就是个教授，不可能是吴文光。多少个教授在英国美国，但那不是我人生价值中渴望追求的东西，我渴望成为一个独一无二的、没有代替的，可以重复，但至少我是在前面，我看不到周围像我这样的人。我最害怕活得与别人一样，那就面目全非了，你有套房子，我有个孩子，你有个妻子，我有个老公，然后你星期天去走路，我星期天去打太极拳。我一点不否认世俗生活，以及日常生活对人的重要性，但我内心里非常不喜欢这样的生活，我不愿意这样生活。人到这个时候，差不多也快到终点了，我可以这样告诉你了，这不是发个誓、许个愿，我真是这样度过来的。

八九六四让我明白了，虽然是逐渐明白的，我在中国才能成为自己最想成为的自己，当然是个逐渐的过程。六四之后，我也疯狂地想逃出这个地方，确实是没法呆了，行动上、计划上、实施上做了很多努力，但所有都尝试过了，希望还没完全断绝的时候，你忽然发现，当周围的人都在这样谈论的时候，你变成了跟大家一模一样的人，出去读个书、找个工作，这都是好听的理由，无非是想逃离这个令人绝望的地方。太绝望了，不要说 89了，90、91都是这样，但我发现这实际上也是在重复。有一个例子是，有一天我在一个招待所食堂吃完饭后上五楼，很多人都上那个电梯，在二楼、三楼、四楼都停。四楼、五楼我觉得坐电梯是必要的，但二楼、三楼没必要坐啊，大家都挤在里面，像小干鱼似的，互相的眼神都非常不友好。旁边有个人用上海的方言说，真挤啊，非要挤进来干嘛，结果他二楼就下了。我忽然发现自己与这些人是一模一样的，习惯了不由自言地挤在同一个地方，为了到达几步就可以跨上去的二楼、三楼，甚至四楼、五楼。出国不是就这样吗？就是你脸对着脸，互相看着彼此的尴尬与难受。当然首先是因为受挫，没那么容易出去，曾经要担保的人，突然一下子反悔了，就差了一道手续就没办成，然后重新改变方式，然后就是这件事。出了电梯我就在想我为什么想出国，因为中国没有希望、没有前途，那么我的希望与前途是什么东西呢？我试过没有？我做了什么事被阻挠过或是做不成没有？还是我们习惯了谈论所谓理想与愿望？

我的转变就是在这个时候吧，89年底或是90年初什么时候，我发现《流浪北京》这个片子拍的那些素材东拉西扯的，这个地方丢两盘，那个地方丢两盘 ，剪也没剪，也不知道该怎么剪，这事情我想做但没做完的，那我想先把这事情做了吧。所以我在90年5月带着素材去了昆明找朋友帮忙,去剪了这个片子，我在机房里锁了两天三夜，剪出一个150多分钟的初剪。好了，我觉得自己把事情做完了。这是就说，你如果觉得这个地方没有自由没有希望的话，你试过没有，你做过什么没有？那我做了这个事情后发现可以做啊，所以后来一点点地改变，大约到了91年我开始出国，不断地出国，出国一次我就庆幸一次啊，老天保佑我没有出国，没有跑去读书啊，出去打工啊，或者是黑下去啊，那个时候出国就是你肯定会顺着轨道滑下去，后来就成为我在国外碰到那些曾经认识的同学啊朋友啊发小啊，我不想说他们怎么样了吧，至少说是我很庆幸。后来就更加明白，你越喜欢在国外那些最好的东西，秩序、空气、干净、美好、尊重，它其实是不属于你的东西，人家的东西，你可去享受，但真正你要做的东西还是在这里……在一个不自由的地方，我觉得可能对自由感的追求更有一种一个饥饿的人对食物那种奋不顾身地扑上去的、死也挡不住他的东西。但当你什么都可以做，什么都可以拍的时候，你会想你的创作到底是什么东西。对我而言，当我感到举步维艰，这样也考虑，那样也担心、那样也恐惧、各种阴影突然在某一天开始袭击你的时候，反而刺激了你那种奋不顾身的东西，我非常饥渴。

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余琼: 您拍纪录片子已经30年了, 拍纪录片让您寻找到自由了吗? 您年轻的时候想要的那种自由。

吴文光: 可能是之一吧, 至少我是在这个里边体会到, 自由像个巨大的诱惑, 让我一直都跟着它走, 可能我最终没有办法在拍片里获得全部的自由感, 但是它是一条船载着我去找。除了这个, 还有写作啊, 还有剧场, 还有比如说跟村民影像、民间记忆有关系的东西, 也就是与他人在一起群体工作的方式。我想自由主要是你怎么去实践它、体验它、使用它, 而不是说是在解释它, 自由是什么, 什么是自由? 作为一个动作、一个行动, 一个实践去体现它的时候呢, 我想这是自由里面最实在的含义。那我刚才所说的就是这个, 生活方式也包括了你的工作方式, 以及你做事情的方式。

Yunnan: Another Thread in Chinese Documentary Filmmaking

Interviewee: GUO Jing 郭净; Interviewer and editor: Lydia Dan WU 吴丹
Translator: Michelle DEETER

Note: This article is adapted from part of an interview with Guo Jing conducted by Lydia Dan Wu in Kunming on 19 September 2019.

The most important Chinese documentaries between 1957 and 1982 were the twenty-one documentaries called ethnic minority social history science documentaries (shortened to ethnic minority documentaries 民记片). You can refer to *Oral History of the Precursors of Chinese Ethnographic Film* (published by Yunnan People's Publishing House, 2015) for more information. At that time, there were many different types of documentary media, such as newsreels and educational films covering military, agricultural, and scientific topics, but they belong to the category of special topic films (专题片). Only ethnic minority documentaries had the quality of documentaries. Ethnic minority documentaries, characterised by their political and academic duality, incorporated politically-oriented illustrative commentary, visual montage, and objective documentation. After the Cultural Revolution, the Göttingen Institute of Science, Education, and Film in Germany collected these documentaries and they became representative works of Chinese ethnographic film. The films were subtitled into English and distributed in Europe and America. Ethnic minority documentaries represented Chinese society of that time comprehensively and were independent from the Western documentary system. Why is it that after so many years, so few Anglophone scholars know of this series? The answer is complicated. My own understanding is that documentaries from former socialist countries are not included in the history of documentary study. For example, we don't know if any documentary series were produced in the Soviet period, we only know that feature films from the Soviet Union were very good. What kind of documentaries did they make? I haven't seen a single ethnographic film from the Soviet Union. *Ulysses' Gaze*, a film by Greek director Theo Angelopoulos, begins with an excerpt from a documentary about a village in Serbia. We don't know what was filmed in Eastern European socialist countries either. In the 1950s, Czechoslovakia cooperated with the August First Film Studio to shoot *The Road Leads to Tibet*, a film documenting the construction of the Sichuan-Tibet Highway. In 2005, we screened three ethnic minority documentaries at the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival in Japan. The Japanese scholars were surprised, telling us they did not know that this collection of films from China existed. For this reason, ethnic minority documentaries are the most important documentary materials from the 1950s to the early 1980s; in-depth research on this topic is desperately needed. This is what I refer to as the first thread, from 1957 to 1982.

From the end of the Cultural Revolution to the 1980s, changes occurred that led to the emergence of a new documentary films. This was mainly related to ethnological academia. Two organisations played an important role in this process, the first being Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, where I worked. The Academy set up a film crew in the early 1980s to continue to film ethnic minority documentaries in the way that they were filmed before. The crew used celluloid film and celluloid filming techniques. At that time, the concepts of visual anthropology and ethnographic film, which had originated in Europe and the United States, were introduced to mainland China. This revolutionised the

concept of ethnic minority documentaries. People no longer referenced class struggle ideology while filming—rather, they saw the culture and customs of ethnic groups as the most important themes. Visual images were shot as a mean of investigation. It was an extremely complicated and interesting process. Before the Cultural Revolution, ethnology was called Marxist ethnology and it had a system of guiding principles. In the 1970s and 1980s, after the way of thinking changed, we started to be influenced by Western ethnology. We started to shoot what we saw and what we got from our fieldwork. This completely changed our previous approach, that is, using visual images to cater to written commentaries. I took my camera to the villages to shoot and then edited according to the material I had shot. Even though the themes were similar, the meaning and the thinking had changed. Later academics used to view ethnic minority documentaries with a critical eye, believing they had no value and were full of political messages. They wanted to adopt the techniques of documenting the reality.

At that time, only universities and state-affiliated research institutions had the ability to make films. In the early 1980s, the film crew at Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences used celluloid to film the Hani people, while film professors at Central Nationalities University in Beijing filmed the Yao people. From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, Jilin Academy of Social Sciences cooperated with directors from Hong Kong to make a series on shamanism in northern China. At first, these were filmed on celluloid, and later they switched to digital video, going through both celluloid film and tapes. This is why I argue that China's documentary film has a pre-independent documentary period from the early 1980s to 1990. Why do I put it like that? In 1990, Wu Wenguang (吴文光) finished editing his first independent documentary, *Bumming in Beijing* (流浪北京). Before that, the most important documentaries were ethnographic films. As I just said, from 1984 to the early 1990s, scholars from Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Jilin Academy of Social Sciences, and Central Nationalities University were using new ideas and methods to make ethnographic films. This new trend triggered theoretical discussions. In 1982, the most important ethnic minority documentary filmmaker, Mr Yang Guanghai (杨光海) (of Bai ethnicity, from Yunnan province) wrote an article in the third issue of a magazine called *Ethnological Research* (民族学研究). The article is entitled 'Retrospect and Prospect of Chinese Ethnic Minority's Social and Historical Science Documentary Films' (中国少数民族社会历史科学纪录影片的回顾与展望) and suggests using the term ethnographic films (民族志电影) instead of ethnic minority documentaries (民记片). That was the first time that a mainland Chinese scholar openly proposed the nomenclature of ethnographic films. This suggestion indicates a turning point in the history of Chinese ethnographic films. State agencies were no longer the predominant force for the production of this genre, and the action of individual academics and academic groups was becoming the main driving force for its development. Some might ask, how could Yang Guanghai make this proposal while he was not well-educated? I asked him this question myself. He said there was a teacher who knew English in the library of the Institute of Ethnology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences where he worked. That teacher was translating a book on visual anthropology and Yang learned of these new ideas from the teacher. Unfortunately, Yang had forgotten the teacher's name.

In 1988, Yu Xiaogang (于晓刚), Wang Qinghua (王清华), and Hao Yuejun (郝跃骏), three scholars at Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, published the first academic paper on visual anthropology. This shows that new ethnographic film genre appeared in China before 1990 and it exhibited continuity—it continued the traditions of the ethnic minority documentaries made between 1957 and 1982, whilst breaking with that tradition in the meantime. It adopted the theories and methodologies of European and American ethnographic films, and eventually evolved into Chinese visual

anthropology today. I think this was a particularly important period that has been neglected by many people. Ethnographic films do not belong to independent documentary films; however, they are intricately connected to independent documentary films. Rather than one being a subgenre of the other, they are both part of a network. Over the past thirty or more years, Chinese documentary cinema has produced ethnographic film (民族志影像), independent film, village film, intangible cultural heritage film (非遗影像), and industry films for television and film. Independent documentary is the most eye-catching subgenre but it is not the only one. It is a bit biased if we refer to all these types of documentaries as independent documentaries. What's interesting is the way these subgenres intersect and how that has become the norm. Some independent documentary filmmakers are not part of the state system but they are identified as ethnographic filmmakers and are able to spend a lot of time doing fieldwork and making in-depth observation and documentation of a topic, a region, or a community, such as Ji Dan (季丹), Lin Xin (林鑫), Feng Yan (冯艳), Gu Tao (顾桃), and Mao Chenyu (毛晨雨). Their films have surpassed the level of most professional film and television anthropologists.

It is generally agreed that *Bumming in Beijing* marked the start of independent documentary in China, while in reality, the material used in *Bumming in Beijing* was originally filmed by China Central Television (CCTV) for the series *The Chinese* (中国人). Zhu Xiaoyang (朱晓阳) (now an anthropology professor at Peking University) was the project manager, and Wu Wenguang and Lu Wangping (卢望平) filmed the series in 1989. Films of that period cannot be called independent documentaries, but the revolution of documentary films had started from within the system. Back then, individuals could not afford analog video recording equipment—filming alone cost over RMB 100,000, not to mention post-production. For this reason, it was impossible for individuals to make films. Only people who worked in television stations were able to film a subject that interested them, because they could take advantage of financial resources, equipment, and editing suite at their disposal. After the incident in Beijing in June 1989, *The Chinese* was suspended. Wu Wenguang took some of the materials that had already been filmed and edited *Bumming in Beijing* using equipment owned by Yunnan Television Station. This was the first film that was completed outside of the system and the first film that observes everyday life from a personal perspective. It established the style of Chinese independent documentaries. After that, the reform within CCTV continued. In the 1980s and early 1990s, CCTV cooperated with television stations from the United Kingdom and Japan to produce special topic films *Heart of the Dragon* (龙之心，1984) and *The Great Wall* (望长城, 1991), These two films influenced the development of independent documentaries, because *Bumming in Beijing* was only screened in small circles, while the other two films could make use of the platform provided by state television stations to let more people see new shooting and editing approaches. Everyone called this new technique the "butt-following technique" (跟腚法) because you would follow people around in order to film them. This was not possible before, because in the past filmmakers had to follow the plan and shoot according to the script. Films like *Heart of the Dragon*, *The Great Wall*, *Bumming in Beijing*, *The Square* (广场，dir. Zhang Yuan 张元 and Duan Jinchuan 段锦川, 1996), *No. 16 Barkhor South Street* (八廓南街16号, dir. Duan Jinchuan, 1996), and *The Other Bank* (彼岸，dir. Jiang Yue 蒋樾, 1995) influenced ethnographic films. They were considered to be the Chinese version of observational cinema, and were imitated by many.

When discussing the revolution in Chinese documentary film, it is important to note the changes in technology. One of the key features of celluloid is the need for staged photography. Back then, a roll of film stock would only last a few minutes. If you were doing something and you ran out of film stock, you would have to shout 'cut' and quickly replace

the film stock. Everyone had to stop what they were doing, the camera would start rolling again, then everyone took their places, and you could finally start again. Wasn't it staged photography? Besides the political reasons, you have to trace the technical reasons; there were technical limitations. Before the Cultural Revolution, it was impossible to record synchronous sound for ethnic minority documentaries. Filmmakers had no choice but to bring audio recording equipment to collect some sounds and then dub in post-production. The overall effect was rather fake. At the dawn of the video era, most television stations continued to avoid synchronous sound in special topic films; they continued to use dubbing and soundtracks to create the effect. This continues to the present. Reviewers like myself have seen many documentary films that still use the dubbing approach; these filmmakers consider the special topic films from state television, BBC documentaries, and National Geographic documentaries as models of best practice. A lot of people who were influenced by special topic films use this style of shooting. The site itself is not important; it is only there to create an impression. There has been a resurgence of this style.

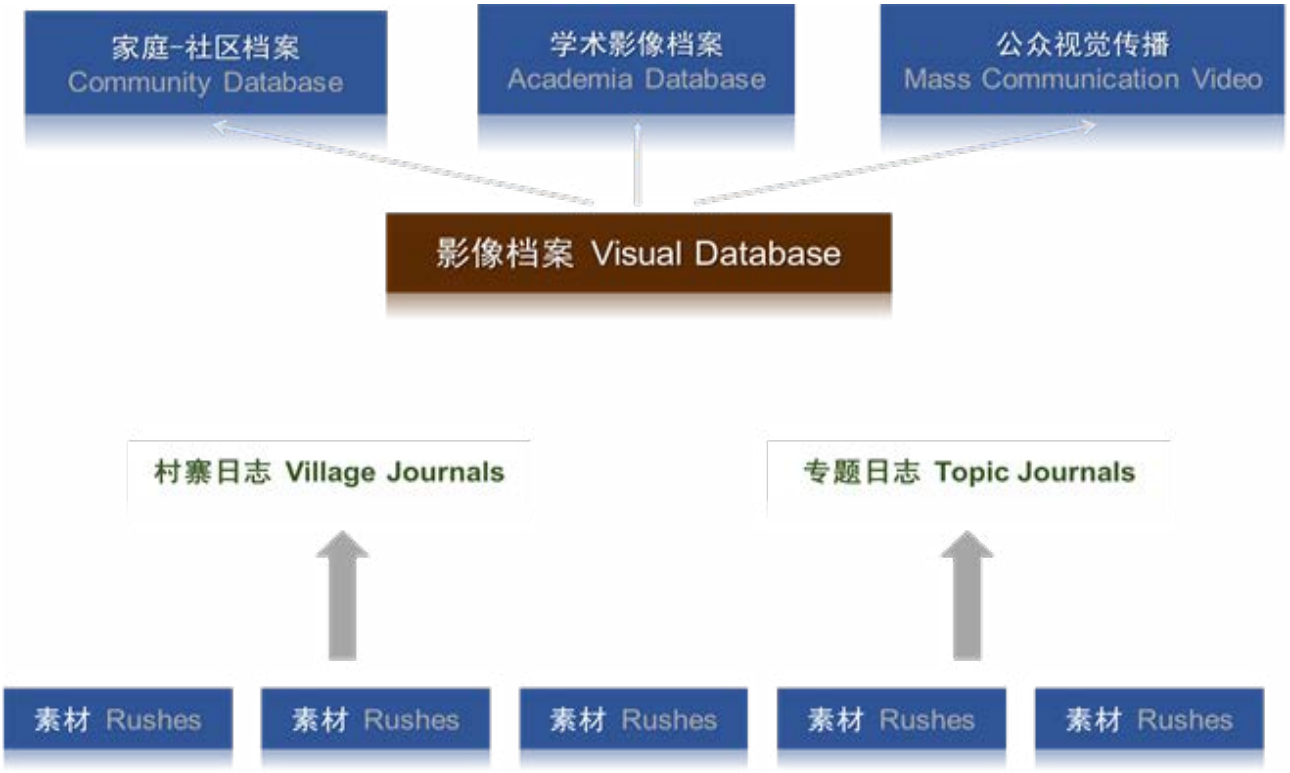
Digital video (DV) appeared in 1996, ushering in a boom period of development for independent documentaries and ethnographic films. People who had extricated themselves from the system, such as Wu Wenguang, Du Haibin (杜海滨), and Wang Bing (王兵) came to the fore. Before DV, it was impossible to make films without the support of television stations, which was why in the beginning the majority of the independent documentary filmmakers were those who worked at television stations, such as Hao Yuejun (郝跃骏) and Liu Xiaojin (刘晓津) in Yunnan, Peng Hui (彭辉) and Liang Bibo (梁碧波) in Sichuan, and the directors of *Bumming in Beijing* all took advantage of the filming and editing equipment of television stations. Until 2003, at the first Yunnan Multiculture Visual Festival (Yunfest), half of the films came from people working at television stations. Li Xiaoshan (李小山), who worked at CCTV, said that their television station had two capable people. He was one, guiding the editing of some independent directors, such as the director of *Out of Phoenix Bridge* (回到凤凰桥, dir. Li Hong 李红, 1997); the other was a technical expert who helped solved problems that directors encountered. It was not until the emergence of DV in 1996 that individual documentary filmmakers had the opportunity to truly make films independently. The first people who used DV were from Yunnan. Why, do you ask? In 1996, Panasonic held an exhibition show in Kunming and Tan Leshui (谭乐水) of Yunnan Television Station got his first camcorder. He graduated from Communication University of China and soon started his 'visual writing' (影像笔记的写作). In the same year, he took the camcorder from Panasonic to our friend Xu Ye's (徐冶) house (Xu previously worked as the photo editor in chief of *Guangming Daily*). The next thing Tan did was to encourage Wu Wenguang and me to buy camcorders. I bought a Sony VX1000 and took it to Diqing in Yunnan province to make films. Liu Xiaojin used the same machine to film the Cultural Heritage House created by composer Tian Feng (田丰). In between using analogue video and DV, there was a brief period when people used Hi8, but we don't see many works that were filmed on Hi8. The main examples would be *The Elders* (老人们, 1999) and *Gongbu's Happy Life* (贡布的幸福生活, 1999), both directed by Ji Dan. In 2003, her works were screened at Yunfest, making them exemplary of Chinese independent documentary filmed using Hi8.

DV is closely related to the development of both independent documentary film and ethnographic film. As for my own experience, I went to the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences in 1993 to investigate ritual performances. There was no filming equipment available then so I took photos and made paintings. In 1995 I returned to Kunming and joined Liu Xiaojin, Tan Leshui, and Zhou Yuejun (周岳军) (of Kunming Television Station) to form the Compound Eye Group ("复眼"小组). Dragonflies and flies have compound eyes, so we used those two characters in the name of our group.

We made films and held screening events. In 1996, upon Tan Leshui's influence, I bought my first camcorder. I went to film Kawagarbo Mountain in northwestern Yunnan. I have roughly 200 hours of footage, the majority of which is about this mountain. For the past few years I have been editing it and have edited more than ten short films which compose the Kawagarbo series. Tan Leshui continued to film the Dai people and the history of the ethnic minorities survey. Compound Eye Group was active for a number of years. We watched each other's materials and gave feedback. I think that this form of group activities is very important. Sato Ken (佐藤贤), a Japanese scholar, wrote a paper describing the tradition of Chinese independent documentary, which can be traced to literary groups of the 1970s and 1980s. These literary groups evolved into video groups. Liu invited me to act as an anthropological consultant for two documentaries she was filming. One was called *The Story of Guan Suo Opera* 关索戏的故事 (1995) and the other was *Tian Feng and His Cultural Heritage House* 田丰和他的传习馆 (2005). There was a composer at the China National Symphony Orchestra named Tian Feng who was deeply concerned about the rapid decline of folk music in Yunnan. For that reason he moved from Beijing to Kunming and created a peasant school called the Cultural Heritage House (传习馆). It was located in a village near Kunming. Tian recruited dozens of students from a number of different ethnic minorities. They lived and ate together and learned folk music and folk dance. Liu Xiaojin was one of the earliest female documentary directors in China. She started working at Yunnan Television Station, then worked at China Central Television. While studying at university, she was part of a literary group with Wu Wenguang and Yu Jian (于坚). They were students from Yunnan University and mainly majored in Chinese literature. They frequently met at No. 6 Shangyi Street in Kunming. They discussed all kinds of topics, including literature, art and ideals, and created a special space for themselves. No. 6 Shangyi Street was a house owned by Wu Wenguang's father, but it has since been demolished. Yu Jian later wrote a poem called 'No. 6 Shangyi Street' (尚义街6号), putting it on the map of the modern Chinese literature scene. So No. 6 Shangyi Street was such a group. One of Liu Xiaojin's earliest works was *In Search of the Cobra* 寻找眼镜蛇 (1999), a documentary about the work and life of female artists in Beijing. Eventually the Cultural Heritage House closed for various reasons, and Tian Feng died. After the Cultural Heritage House closed, Liu Xiaojin stopped filming documentaries and met up with the farmer-musicians to start Yuansheng Studio (源生坊). Liu Xiaojin is still running Yuansheng Studio today. Artists from different ethnic minorities come to the studio to learn and then go back to their villages to teach heritage music and dance to the next generation. She has used this method to run the studio and also taken many photos. She is in the process of compiling and publishing these materials.

Everyone knows everyone in Yunnan. Poets, painters, and people at the Academy of Social Sciences come together to form a loose network. Yunnan is marginal in a way, but from an anthropological point of view, the margin can be viewed as another centre. If you observed Yunnan from the standpoint of Southeast Asia, Kunming is the hub that connects Han culture, Qinghai-Tibetan culture, Southeast Asian culture, and even Zomia mountain culture. From 1999 to 2002, the Göttingen Institute of Science, Education and Film cooperated with the East Asian Visual Anthropology Research Institute of Yunnan University, using educational resources from the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology at the University of Manchester in the United Kingdom. A total of twenty visual anthropology masters students were trained through the programme. These graduates constitute the backbone of Chinese ethnographic film production and talent training. At the same time, scholars and philanthropists in Yunnan have worked with these graduates to put on Yunfest for ten years. In 2000 we began Village Visual Action (乡村影像的行动), a project that started in Yunnan and moved to Guangxi, Sichuan, and Qinghai. The project has trained hundreds of farmers and herders to make their own documentary films. We are currently considering how to break the limitations that film puts on visual documentary.

We want to expand the fixed approach of filming, editing, and screening into a framework that includes investigation, archiving, and building knowledge databases. We hope to gradually build a visual database at the levels of individuals, villages, and academics. On this basis, we hope to develop internal and external communication and share among communities and ethnic groups to promote the local culture.



云南：中国纪录片的另一条线索

受访者：郭净　采访者与整理者：吴丹

注：本文整理自2019年9月19日在昆明吴丹对郭净的部分采访。

从1957年到1982年，中国纪录片最重要的作品，是21部“少数民族社会历史科学纪录片”，简称“民纪片”，具体内容可参见我们出版的《中国民族志电影先行者口述史》（云南人民出版社2015年）。那个时期还有其它类型的纪录影像，如新闻片，军事、农业和科学教育片，但都属于专题片，而唯有民纪片才具有纪录片的品质。民纪片有政治和学术的双重性，既带有政治导向的图说式的解说和影像拼贴，又带有客观记录的东西。文革后，德国哥廷根科教电影研究所收藏了这批片子，将其作为中国民族志电影的代表作，翻译成英文在欧美发行。民纪片比较完整地反映了那个时期中国的社会状况，又是独立于西方纪录片体系的一套东西。为什么这么多年，至少在英语学界很少有人知道这个系列？原因非常复杂。我自己的理解是，在整个纪录片的研究历史上，前社会主义阵营是没有包括在里面的。比如说我们就不知道在苏联时期，有没有系列性的纪录片出现，我们只知道苏联的剧情片很有水平，但是纪录片拍过什么东西？至少我没看过任何一部他们的民族志电影。希腊导演安哲罗普洛斯拍的剧情片《尤里西斯的凝视》，就是从一部纪录电影片段开始的，记录了当时塞尔维亚一个村庄的情况。在东欧的社会主义国家，有什么东西我们也不知道。捷克斯洛伐克在1950年代曾经跟八一电影制片厂合作，拍摄了修筑川藏公路的《通往拉萨的幸福道路》。2005年我们在日本山形电影节期间放映了三部民纪片，日本学者看了非常吃惊，说以前都不知道中国还有这样一批片子。所以，在1950年代到1980年代初期，民纪片是最重要的一批纪录片资料，现在非常需要深入的研究。这是我说的第一个线索，从1957年到1982年。

文革以后，到上世纪80年代，新的变化发生了，即新的纪录片逐渐兴起，这首先跟民族学界有关系。其中有两个机构起了重要的作用，第一个是我供职的云南省社会科学院。该院在1980年代初成立了一个电影组，要延续民纪片的路子去拍摄少数民族，用的是胶片电影的材料和摄制手法。这一时期，发源于欧美的影视人类学和民族志电影的概念传入中国大陆，引发了纪录片观念的变革。人们不再按照阶级斗争为中心的这样一个体系去拍摄，而是把文化和民族风俗当作最重要的主题，把影像作为一种调查手法去拍摄。这个过程非常复杂，也很有意思。文化大革命之前的民族学叫做马克思主义民族学，它是有一套指导体系的。1970年代到80年代的思想变革，开始受到西方的民族学影响，把田野调查和实际看见的东西作为主要的拍摄内容，推翻了原来用影像拼贴去解说文字的这样一个结构。这就变成是我带着摄影机到村子里头去拍摄，再根据拍摄的素材来剪辑影片。虽然主题是比较类似的，但内涵和思想变化了。后来的学者一度带着批判的观点来看民纪片，认为那个东西是没价值的，认为它是政治标签的东西，而现在我们要采用一种完全纪实的拍摄手法。

在当时的学术界，只有大学和隶属国家的科研单位有能力做片子。在1980年代前期，云南社科院电影组开始用胶片拍摄哈尼族，北京的中央民族学院搞电教的老师开始拍瑶族。1980年代后期到1990年代初期，吉林社会科学院跟香港的导演合作，也拍摄了北方萨满教的系列。这些影片前期是用胶片拍的，后期换成了录像，即先后跨越了胶片电影和磁带录像两个阶段。所以说，从1980年代初到1990年，中国的纪录片有一个“前独立纪录片阶段”。为什么这么说？1990年吴文光才编辑完成第一部独立纪录片《流浪北京》。在那之前，最重要的纪录片就是民族志电影。刚才说到从1984年到90年代初期，云南社会科学院，吉林社会科学院，中央民族学院三个单位的学者都在用新的观念和方法拍摄民族志电影。这一新的潮流引发了理论上的探讨。1982年，民纪片最重要的摄制者杨光海先生（云南

白族）在《民族学研究》第三辑发表论文《中国少数民族社会历史科学纪录影片的回顾与展望》，提议用“民族志影片”代替“民纪片”。 这是中国大陆学者第一次公开提出“民族志影片”（民族志电影）的概念。这一提议，反映了中国民族志电影正在发生的转折，就是，国家机构不再成为这类影片制作的主导者，而学者个人和学术群体的作为，正在成为学科发展的主要推动力量。杨光海受教育不多，他怎么会提出这个东西呢？我也问过他，原来，他工作的中国社会科学院民族学研究所有一个图书室的老师懂英文，那位老师当时在翻译一本影视人类学的书，杨光海从他那里知道了新的概念，但记不清楚那个老师叫什么名字了。

1988年，云南社科院的三个学者于晓刚、王清华和郝跃骏发表了第一篇讨论影视人类学的论文。这说明，1990年之前中国已经有了新的民族志电影，而且这个民族志电影是有延续性的，延续了1957–1982年民纪片的传统，同时又打破了这个传统，在此基础上接受了欧美民族志电影的理论和方法，演变成了今天的中国影视人类学。我觉得，这是被大家遗漏的一个非常重要的阶段。民族志电影并不属于独立纪录片，但又跟独立纪录片有着非常密切的关系。两者是一个平面的网络的关系，而不是相互统属的关系。中国纪录影像在最近30多年的时间里演化出了民族志影像、独立影像、乡村影像、非遗影像、电视电影工业影像等多种形态，独立纪录片是当中最耀眼的一种，但并非唯一。如果用这个概念来统辖所有的东西，便有失偏颇。有趣的是，各种类型的交叉，正成为常态。一批独立纪录片导演，虽然在体制外，却兼有民族志电影作者的身份，即能够长期地深耕田野，就一个主题或一个地区或一个社群，做深入观察的记录，如季丹、林鑫、冯艳、顾桃、毛晨雨等人的影片，已超越了大多数专业影视人类学者的水平。

独立纪录片的起点通常认为是《流浪北京》，其实，这部片子的素材来自中央电视台的“中国人”系列，由朱晓阳（现为北京大学人类学教授）为总策划，吴文光、卢望平等人1989年拍摄。那个时期还不能叫独立纪录片，但纪录影像的变革已经从体制内部开始变化了。那个时候你私人不可能有模拟录像设备，动辄十几万，后期编辑你更没办法做。所以不可能个人来做东西，都是电视台里面有想法的这些人，蹭着电视台的经费、机器和编辑设备来拍自己感兴趣的东西。1989 北京事件发生后，“中国人”系列中止，吴文光带着一部分素材，利用云南电视台的设备剪辑了《流浪北京》，这是第一部在体制之外完成的，以个人视角观察生活场景的纪录片，确立了中国独立纪录片的风格。之后，央视内部的变革仍在继续，在八十年代及九十年代初期，央视跟英国和日本电视台合作，拍摄了专题片《龙之心》（1984）和《望长城》（1991）。这两部片子也影响了独立纪录片的发展，因为《流浪北京》只能在私下小圈子放映，这两部片子却借电视的平台公开传播，让人们看到了新的拍摄和编辑思路，大家将其拍摄方法叫做跟腚法，跟着屁股后头拍。以前是不可能这样拍的，因为以前是大纲式的拍法，你必须按照文字脚本来做。而《龙之心》、《望长城》、《流浪北京》，以及后来的《广场》、《八廓南街16号》、《彼岸》等影片，又影响了民族志电影，被当做“观察式电影”的中国版本，被学者们效仿。

谈论纪录片的变革，还要关注技术的变化。比如胶片电影有个很大的特点是要摆拍。当时一盘胶片就只能拍几分钟。你一个活动做着做着，胶片拍完了，只能喊停，要赶紧换胶片。所有人都要停下来，再开机，打板，重新开始。那不是摆拍吗？所以除了政治因素以外，你还得去追溯技术上的原因，它有个技术限制。文革前，民纪片现场录不了同期声。没办法，只有带着录音机采集一些声音，加上后期配音，这又是个假的。到了录像时代，大多数电视台的专题片依然不用同期声，大量配音、配乐制造气氛。一直到现在，我们评审看到的很多纪录片都还是这种模式，把电视台的专题片，以及BBC和美国国家地理的影片当做样板。很多受电视专题片影响的人就是这套拍法。现场不重要，现场就是一个标签式的东西，这种趋势到现在还有回潮的势头。

到1996年DV出现，独立纪录片和民族志电影进入一个蓬勃的发展期，出现吴文光、杜海滨、王兵这些彻底脱离体制

的人。在DV出现之前，没办法跟电视台完全脱轨，所以前期主要的独立纪录片导演其实都是电视台的人，如云南的郝跃骏、刘晓津，四川的彭辉、梁碧波等，《流浪北京》也是蹭了电视台的设备拍摄和编辑的。直到2003年第一届云之南纪录影像展，仍有一半的影片来自电视台。央视的李小山说，他们台有两颗“大白菜”，他本人指导过一些独立导演的编辑，如《回到凤凰桥》；另一位技术人员帮助很多导演解决过技术问题。一直到1996年DV出现，个体的纪录片作者才有了真正独立制片的机会，最早用DV的是几个云南人。为什么？1996年，日本松下公司在昆明搞展销会，云南电视台的谭乐水，他是中国传媒大学毕业的，得到了第一台DV，开始“影像笔记的写作”。那年，他把松下的DV拿到我们一个朋友徐冶（曾担任《光明日报》图片版编辑主任）家去展示，随后鼓动吴文光和我买了DV。我买的是索尼的VX1000，很快带到云南的迪庆去拍摄，刘晓津拍摄田丰的传习馆，也用过这台机子。其实在模拟录像和DV中间，还有小小的一段，用的是High8，但是High8的作品我们现在看到的很少，主要是季丹拍的《老人们》和《贡布的幸福生活》。她的这两部作品2003年入围了“云之南纪录影像展”，可以说是中国独立纪录片High8的代表作。

无论是独立纪录片还是民族志电影的发展，都跟DV关系密切。我自己个人的经历是这样，我是1993年去西藏社会科学院，做仪式表演的调查，那时没有摄像的条件，只能拍照片，画画。1995年回昆明后，和刘晓津、谭乐水、周岳军（昆明电视台）组成“复眼”小组，就是蜻蜓那个眼睛，苍蝇的眼睛，这两个字，拍摄影片，搞放映活动。1996年受谭乐水影响买了第一台DV，就去拍滇西北的卡瓦格博雪山。我现在所有的素材约200个小时，大都是关于这座雪山的。这些年陆续在编辑，现在编了10多个短片，构成《卡瓦格博传奇》系列。 谭乐水一直在拍傣族，拍民族大调查的历史。复眼小组交流了好几年，大家都是相互看素材，然后提意见。我觉得这种小组的活动形式非常重要，日本学者佐藤贤写过一篇论文，说中国独立纪录片的传统，可以上溯到1970–80年代的文学小组，由文学小组演变到影像小组。刘晓津曾请我去参加她的两个纪录片的拍摄，去做她的人类学顾问。一个是1995年拍的《关索戏的故事》，另外一个叫做《田丰和他的传习馆》，当时中央乐团有一个交响乐作曲家叫田丰，他看到云南的民间音乐衰落得非常厉害，就从北京跑到了昆明，办了一个农民学校叫做传习馆。地点在昆明附近一个村子里头，招了好几个民族的几十位学员，集体吃住，传习民间音乐和舞蹈。刘晓津是中国非常早的女性纪录片导演，她原来在云南电视台、中央电视台干过，大学时和吴文光、于坚在一个文学小组。他们是当时云南大学的一批学生，以中文系的为主。经常在昆明市尚义街6号聚会，天南地北地讨论各种文学、艺术、理想等等，就形成一个氛围。那是吴文光父亲的一个房子，现在被拆掉了。后来于坚写了一首诗叫《尚义街6号》，使这个地名成为现代中国文学版图上的一个点，尚义街6号就是这样一个群体。刘晓津的早期作品是关于北京女艺术家的《寻找眼镜蛇》。后来因为种种原因，传习馆垮掉了，田丰也病逝了。传习馆垮掉以后，刘晓津放下她一直拍摄的纪录片，把传习馆的这一批农民音乐家聚集在一起，开办了源生坊，一直办到现在。各个民族的民间艺人聚到这个地方来，然后又回去到各个村子去传承他们自己的歌舞。她用这个方式做，同时拍了很多的影像，目前，她正在整理出版这些资料。

云南这个地方很小，搞诗歌的，绘画的，社科院的，会结成一个个松散的网络。云南有其自身的边缘性，从人类学的观点来看，实际上边缘是另外一个中心。你站在东南亚的立场上观察，昆明就是联结汉地、青藏高原、东南亚乃至Zomia山地文化的一个中心，它跟周边的文化形成互动的关系，在影像上，也形成自己的独特性。到了1999–2002年，德国哥廷根科教电影研究所跟云南大学东亚影视人类学研究所合作，运用英国曼彻斯特大学格林纳达影视人类学中心的教程，培养了20位影视人类学专业的硕士研究生。这批人，构成了当今中国民族志电影制作和人才培养的中坚力量。此外，我们几位云南的学者和公益人，跟这批毕业生合作，做了十年的云之南纪录影像展，并在2000年发起乡村影像的行动，先后在云南、广西、四川、青海培训了数百位农民和牧民纪录影像作者。我们当前的思考，是如何突破电影对纪录影像的束缚，将拍摄——编辑——放映的单一模式，扩展为调查——档案——知识体系的新构架，逐步创建个人、村寨和学术的影像数据库，然后，以此为基础，展开社区、族群内部和外部的交流和分享，促进地方文化的建设。

An Interview with SHI Jian

Interviewer: WANG Xiaolu王小鲁　Translator: Xiang FAN樊响

Note: This text is an excerpt from an interview conducted by Wang Xiaolu in Huairou, a suburb of Beijing, on 9 October 2020.

Education and Early Exploration in the 1980s

Wang Xiaolu: Of course we'd like to know your entire history. You have had a huge impact on China's television and documentary. We also want to know your intellectual development in the 1980s, including your educational experience. I just saw your father's [Shi Panqi 时盘棋] photography exhibition, so family education can certainly also be included. We know that there was a New Documentary Movement in the 1990s, which is generally considered an independent documentary movement. As one of the participants, advocates, and initiators, could you start with its pre-history?

Shi Jian: I am a product of the university education system of the 1980s. In 1981, I entered the television department of the Beijing Broadcasting Academy BBA (北京广播学院). After four years of studying TV production, in 1985 I was assigned to China Central Television (CCTV) to be a television director in the special topic department, as a special topic film director. Since then, I've been thinking and exploring how we should make documentary. I was very clear that I should find a new path. Because I know the documentary we learned in class and the documentary in our imagination are different from the ones we were making at the time. So we had to make our ideal [documentary] come true and accomplish this goal. This purpose was quite clear. I also benefited from my family background. My father was a journalist for the Xinhua News Agency. Documenting, truth, timeliness, the life of news: I knew these terms since I was a kid. Of course, I also knew that a profession like ours can be called the 'uncrowned king'. We were quite confident and self-engaged. Of course, there are premises and limitations. Later I suffered a lot for this vagueness. There was a lot of frustration, but it's not what we're going to talk about today. Meanwhile my mother worked for Shandong TV. I have some talent in visual images; my feelings are very good. I can do things by following my feelings, and these feelings are usually quite accurate. This may be genetic.

It is this kind of talent plus my study at the BBA for four years. This four years of professional study wasn't ordinary. It was a very professional training. For example, at that time we started with art and sketching, then photography, also film developing, using Hongqi cameras to shoot news and special topics, then cutting our own film on the editing table, as well as writing scripts, doing live new reporting, and so on. This gave us professional training for documentary and journalism. Four years of education at the BBA also taught one how to use television to express oneself, express our intervention into society. I think it was a great intellectual treasure. And there was another particularity. Our teachers at that time, like Ye Fengying (叶凤英), Wen Huaping (闻华平), and Ren Yuan (任元), had just came back from abroad. What they taught us, brought to us, and showed us were cutting-edge models and cases from abroad. In those four years in the university, the information we grasped and the stuff we saw and felt were all practices and ac-

tivities from the most advanced television programmes and the most pioneering television production concepts. These gave me a sense of self-confidence. I remember that one purpose that was particularly clear at the time was that I wanted to enter a TV station and I wanted to change the backward outlook of Chinese television. It was different from those grand goals when we grew up as Little Red Guards such as liberating Taiwan, devoting ourselves to agriculture, or believing that 'as big as people's courage is, so big will be the product of the land'. We were determined to change the backwardness of China's television. This required ambition, but this ambition was not the reckless kind. We believed that what we had learned formed a sharp contrast to the backward rustic CCTV programmes and those on the television screen nation-wide.

For example, I had a senior fellow student called Ding Haiyan (丁海燕). Chen Gang (陈刚)and Ding Haiyan had internships at CCTV. They were in the class of 1979, one year ahead of us in the TV Production programme. They recorded a documentary interview in Weifang prison (潍坊监狱). Although it was their internship outcome for the television station, it wasn't shown on television. How come? Because it's a documentary interview. This kind of thing was controversial at the TV station at the time. But for us, wasn't the television station supposed to show documentary interviews? No, it was not allowed, because it was controversial. Then we really looked down on CCTV. So backward! In 1985, I was assigned there. This backward way of thinking made me confused. I was swamped by it. I struggled for about half a year. Because once you started doing things that way, just like others, you couldn't help yourself. So, you forgot about the diegetic sound, and only knew to write a [documentary] script. My debut work was titled *Dad in My Eyes* (我眼里的爸爸). Of course, I included my personal experience. This father was Qingdao landscape architect Zhang Yuanchu (张元初). I expressed my feeling towards my father via his daughter's voice. I wrote the script. Probably because this subjective thing based on my personal sensibility was quite touching, this film won an award. But it had nothing to do with the documentary. It had no diegetic sound or documentary footage. Later, I felt that this was not enough, so I started to use documentary interviews in my second film. But at that time, I was immature. You just knew how important this kind of technological change was, but you did not know why, and you did not have your own thoughts either. I felt that I knew that my documentary should express my thoughts, and that this kind of thought must be independent and different from others. If it is the same thoughts as others, it has no value. Of course, sometimes you are different, and you are even different from the views advocated by the government. You are called independence because of this, and the value [of the work] becomes greater. Of course, you would then be unable appear in the public media. This is another matter.

But documentaries are not TV programmes; documentaries are not equivalent to TV programmes. So later, based on my work experience, I classified documentaries into TV documentaries and individual documentaries. Individual documentaries are independent documentaries, then so-called underground documentaries. The latter two are equivalent. Of course, some individual documentaries are not entirely independent documentaries. Because as long as they are produced in a personal way, they do not necessarily need to have any thoughts, but maybe just a general record of one's personal life. Of course, it depends on how valuable it is, that's another matter.

It was not easy for us to do this kind of TV documentary back then. Later I felt that the path of TV documentary was particularly difficult. For example, I had a work called *Tiananmen* that started filming in 1988, but it wasn't broadcast. I was told that the tone was too dark. Why was it dark? It's just that I did not use eulogistic music. Instead, I

used sound more based on live recording. When you use diegetic sound too much, you can't use the subjective kind of language, the so-called eulogistic language. But the public environment at that time was like this. Just after the Cultural Revolution, it was actually still under its legacy. People were accustomed to fake and empty words, red propagandistic content, and eulogistic language. If you did not praise the situation, you were suspected to have bad intentions. So [CCTV] did not broadcast my work but arranged a ... not a cultural-revolution-like confessions and struggle sessions, but something similar. It was quite brutal criticism and education sessions organised across the television station. Although it was very stressful – I was only 20 years old after all – I was committed to continuing this route. Because from my professional point of view, if I knew the truth was there, why couldn't I cross over? It is also difficult for me to submit. Later, there were other opportunities, such as the founding of *Oriental Horizon* (东方时空), so I took the legitimate path. At that time, the media was going to reform, so I implemented my understanding of the language of live recording, documentary, and realism. These languages represented by the use of diegetic sound were used in *Oriental Horizon*. I used my professional knowledge and training, and the findings based on the exploration of documentary language. I led a group of people. When I became the chief producer of *Oriental Horizon*, our team had already made some contribution to the television reform.

Wang: Yes, you just mentioned the form of [documentary] itself, for example diegetic sound. They felt the tone was too dark. The form itself was problematic to them, the lack of agenda setting. In fact, I still want to know something about the early days. When you first entered the BBA, was the concept of documentary really backward? Because it was just after the Cultural Revolution. You said that your mother used to work at Shandong TV. Back then documentaries used to be news briefings or something like that.

Shi: Yes. We grew up during the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution certainly cultivated us much less than those ten years older than us, who were born in 1953. I was born in 1963. When the Cultural Revolution began, in 1966 and 1967, as three- or four-year-olds we did not know what happened. But by the time we reached the age of thirteen or fourteen, the Cultural Revolution still had not really ended. I was thirteen years old when Mao died. After his death, he still had such an impact. We are still excited when talking about Cultural Revolution terminology, including watching model plays. But because of my profession and my personal study, the most important gain in my life is that I have had the ability to reflect. I often read books. Of course, this also brought me a lot of pain. My father and I had disputes, which almost led to a family tragedy. My father is a stern man. He joined the People's Liberation Army (PLA) in 1948, supposedly the youngest war journalist in the Chinese Communist party (CCP). He started to take pictures when he was sixteen or seventeen. His pictures were pretty good. Therefore, he often said that the CCP and the PLA gave him a lifetime honour and cultivated him. In fact, due to his talent, if there had been no war and he had not joined the army, he would have studied hard and still become a very successful person. But he attributed it all to the PLA and the CCP. There are some details but it is not convenient for me to say more about this.

I think documentary filmmakers in the 1980s were the thinkers of that era, a group of pioneers. First, in terms of documentary language, that is, the technical language or the concept of television film, they are the people who mastered advanced concepts by using diegetic sound. In fact, the key feature of documentary is whether you use the diegetic sound or not; how to use it; to what extent you use the voiceover. These are technical indicators: what you record, what you want to express, how you express. It is very easy to say these indicators and terminologies now, but it was quite

hard when we first started. You had to trust your instinct and rely on recorded images. Our earlier exploration focused on documentation, but you could not be like Herzog who re-wrote and re-enacted stuff. Our documenting was more mechanical. Of course, we also believe that during the period of China's social transformation, we had completed this kind of documentation, which is the most authentic and valuable record. Of course, we also regarded our work as sacred.

But how to say it, this kind of individual effort in the beginning were particularly difficult. There were many grievances. Plus, it required great investment. For example, I sold a refrigerator, made some programmes with a lot of soft and commercial advertisements. It was the time of the Asian Sports Games when our television station had a commercial requirement. For example, if you made a twenty-minute corporate video, you could earn 40,000 yuan: 20,000 for production, 20,000 to hand to the television station. Usually, we wouldn't spend all the 20,000 for production. We spent less than 5,000, and the rest went in our own pockets. Then I used it for the post-production of the film *Tiananmen* (天安门). Our personal contribution was quite significant. Then we felt that, after all our hard work, we could finally see the dawn of truth. We really wanted to share our work with more people. So, we recorded it to videotape and showed it to other people and friends. I also showed it to two of the directors of our station, Hong Minsheng (洪民生) and Chen Hanyuan (陈汉元). Chen did not respond. Hong said: 'Yours is too long. The interview is so long. I had to fast-forward the video.' This on the one hand showed their opinions, but on the other hand means that I could still reach out to the directors. Hong Minsheng was the highest-ranking director in charge of propaganda. Now you can't even send it to a head of department, let alone the directors. People at that time were very simple, and the officials were also simple. They even told you that they could not accept it. I just wanted it to be broadcast on TV. How could it be broadcast! I thought of the possibility of screening it, because my college classmate, a most skilful interlocutor, said, 'I have never seen Chinese people so confident and expressive in front of the camera.' Because no camera had captured the ordinary individuals who were not an official before. Very few people could say things in front of the camera. *Tiananmen* was the first documentary to use diegetic sound. This stuff is now really common. Television is supposed to be like that. But back then there was not even one programme [like that]. People were not allowed to speak in front of the camera. Because at that time we used film cameras, it's not like the integrated digital video recorder today. You can't really get rid of the sound while recording. But at that time, you had to take a tape recorder for recording. No one bothered to do so. There was usually no sound, no diegetic sound.

In the 1980s, everyone wanted to explore, innovate, and make professional achievements. People's thoughts were quite positive. There were not so many wicked ideas. Scheming against one another was very rare. There were very few frame-ups. Everyone was nice. So now when I look back on the 1980s, the only thing I regret is that I spent too little time in restaurants. They might not use waste oil at that time. The old chefs were still there. If you ordered a few decent traditional dishes, you could really sense the taste. But I did not think that then at all. Another good thing in the 1980s was, you were always encouraged to learn. It was just right after Reform and Opening, all kinds of ideas were refreshing for you. Because what you had learnt in your previous primary and secondary education was all pre-liberation content, or stuff about the Cultural Revolution. After that, the whole of society suddenly changed. It was full of passion. We watched *Station for Two* (两个人的车站) and some foreign films at university. When I started working, I was deeply impressed by Japanese television programmes. The first one that blew me away was titled *The Splash School of Murder* (浪花杀人学校). That would have been in 1986. I watched it in the Hongta auditorium (红塔礼堂)

or somewhere else. It was part of the Japanese documentary session in the first Sino-Japanese television programme exchange. After that, some of us went back to the office still discussing it, including not only my peers but also Li Shaowu (李绍武). Li was my predecessor. He said that this documentary was made like a feature film. This shows the charm of a documentary! But we did not have this kind of documenting and tracking practice. From that moment, the tracking shot became essential. Previously, our tracking shots were designed in advance, for example, walking from a higher slope to a lower slope, or from a lower slope toward a higher slope. We also took a lot of sunrise and sunset shots. I do not know how many sunrise and sunset shots I have taken in my life. None of them were useful.

Tiananmen and the New Documentary Movement

Wang: I later saw that there was a meeting about documentary in 2002. Someone in the meeting suggested that the language used in the new documentary movement had existed since the beginning of the 1980s. What do you think about this idea? S/he wanted to propose that the New Documentary Movement occurred much earlier.

Shi: No, I do not think so. We put forward the idea of the New Documentary Movement. We proposed it because we felt a yell deep in our heart. In the opening scene of *Tiananmen*, we write: 'we respect history, just like we respect life. We respect this history. We respect this life.' Of all the television works before this, I don't think any could have done that, because they had to be shown on the screen, on an official media platform. Since when in the 1980s did we start to have audio-visual works that did not rely on the public media for their audiences? It is these works [that were the first] — Wu Wenguang's (吴文光) *Bumming in Beijing* (流浪北京), our *Tiananmen*, He Jianjun's (何建军) *Self-Portrait* (自画像). Of course, shooting for these films started in 1988 and they were completed in 1991. So next year it will be thirty years. In 1991, we held a new documentary seminar at the BBA. At the seminar, I read out a declaration on behalf of several friends. We hoped to advocate that, in the new era, we should create documentaries that express our independent thoughts. There were no independent opinions at the time. New technical language such as diegetic sound was just being discovered. China Central Newsreel and Documentary (CCND) made a few new pieces like *The Breakthrough* (零的突破). Those cannot be counted. Of course, there exists a contradiction. But it is this contradiction that made it possible for you to have different voices from the [dominant] ideology. Whether or not the new documentary is new depends on whether its voice is different. If it's all the same, it's not a new documentary. In terms of the movement, it should be spread vigorously, leading to a certain number of outputs. You may call those earlier works the emergence of new documentaries, but if you want to call it a New Documentary Movement, it [the start] must be in the early 1990s, precisely in 1991.

Wang: *Tiananmen* was completed in 1991. Was *Bumming in Beijing* completed in 1990?

Shi: Yes, he [Wu Wenguang] maybe completed it in 1990.

Wang: But this concept was proposed in 1991?

Shi: Yes, the New Documentary Movement was proposed in 1991. We held a seminar for it, which was a landmark event.

Wang: Yes, I have seen the content of the seminar, but its title is not about new documentary. It is called 'A Seminar on Beijing Documentary New Works' (北京纪录片新作品创作研讨会).

Shi: Yes.

Wang: But it was actually about new documentaries?

Shi: Yes, new documentaries. But the published title was changed. Our original plan was between our teacher Wang Jiyan (王纪言) and us. A few students who graduated from the BBA, Chen Jie (陈杰), Wang Zijun (王子军), and me, went to Wang's place to show and discuss our works, including several of Wang Zijun's programmes for Beijing TV, as well as *Odyssey of the Great Wall* (望长城). Because only showing our own work did not seem appropriate. Our teacher might think that you just wanted to show off your own work. We thought that we should not be too selfish, so we included every piece that we thought worked with documentary language.

Wang: Actually, your definition is based on what you just said. It should work with documentary language but also demonstrate other characteristics, which together constituted new documentaries, right?

Shi: Yes.

Wang: *Odyssey of the Great Wall* was shown in 1991. I saw it and liked it very much. It indeed uses documentary language and shows in-depth exploration. But the problem is its ideology. Of course, it appealed to ordinary people, but do you think it can be termed a new documentary? Without the connection with your teacher, do you think it would have been included?

Shi: Let me think … technically it can be counted, right? If you want to indicate a certain type of ideology, or a kind of value, then it is different. It caters to mainstream ideology, right? From an aesthetic perspective, is it really necessary to emphasise ideology? This is another question. Of course, the definition of documentary has been developing and changing. I agree with your emphasis on the ideological meaning of a documentary.

Wang: Another factor is the relations of production.

Shi: Yes, the relations of production stem from the official media. Relations of production is very professional terminology. But early documentaries were born out of, or dependent on, TV stations, because you could not make a film without these conditions. For us, there was a change in the later stage; Wu Wenguang used his spare time to make *Bumming in Beijing* when he was working on *The Chinese* (中国人). If there was no *The Chinese*, he would not have had the conditions to make *Bumming in Beijing*. Of course, *Odyssey of the Great Wall* simply wanted to show how marvellous the Great Wall is … Very good, your question is good.

Wang: It is a question that is difficult to answer. Early on, you talked about this in places like Xidan. Many people have memories of that scene. From my understanding, your definition was actually the concept of independent docu-

mentary.

Shi: Yes.

Wang: If you put *I Graduated* (我毕业了) and *Odyssey of the Great Wall* together, you can feel that they are actually a bit different. Looking at those works later known as independent documentaries, they were not shown on the television, including *Tiananmen*, right?

Shi: Yes.

Wang: Even including *Being a Soldier* (当兵). When broadcast on TV, it became a completely different film. *No. 16, Barkhor South Street* (八廓南街16号) was also broadcast on TV, but when it was broadcast, it was completely changed. It means that the works approved [by the filmmakers) were not actually shown on TV. This says a lot, right? Although Wu Wenguang indeed borrowed resources from the TV station, he never thought of showing it [*Bumming in Beijing*] on TV when he produced it. His creative purpose was already different.

Shi: Yes. We have to see whether he is of independent status: one [required element] is independent thought, and the other is independent working conditions. In this circumstance, the value of TV documentary should be questioned. Because it serves the [official] media, and the media has many dependencies, such as politics and economics, right? As this kind of individual documentary has such independence, it is more liberal, closer to the reality, and has no restrictions. When there emerged many different media voices about Tibet and Xinjiang, I thought why not let our documentary filmmakers go there? Even as an individual documentary filmmaker, one should leave the truest record to society. Of course, this is just a fantasy. But it shows that I have a deep understanding of the limitations of TV documentaries. Whenever you take money from others, you have to pay it back. This is about how you handle your interpersonal relationships, not about technical creation. Many directors took other's money but did things their own way. They did not make anything significant eventually, because they couldn't even be a decent person. I therefore do not think being a TV documentary filmmaker is embarrassing, because if you take other people's money, you have to complete the task and let it be broadcast. Once you are subject to these restrictions, your work will be disqualified. But you also think this is just a job, not art, especially not pure artistic creation. I also understand. I also went through this. Then in this environment, you can accumulate a variety of advantages and in the future make a film according to your own wishes. This can be counted as a full stop once you complete your own work.

Because there are a lot of limitations for TV documentaries, and the criteria often change too. In the 1980s, the situation might be a little easier, but now it is too tight. Once we were able to skirt the rules. For example, for the thirty-fifth National Day, I made *Weijia Hutong* (魏家胡同). I picked a few households from the alley as a reflection of National Day in the documentary, without any eulogistic voiceover. But at that time, they allowed me to broadcast it, even without any voiceover. That was unprecedented. It was in 1994. 1994 might be the best time. In 1993, there was *Oriental Horizon* (东方时空》 ...

Wang: Had you watched any Wiseman at that time?

Shi: Of course, I had seen some.

Wang: Were you influenced by him?

Shi: No. I hadn't watched any of Wiseman's films, but I had heard about Wiseman from Wu Wenguang.

Wang: So, you hadn't seen any?

Shi: I hadn't watched any. But you do not need to watch this kind of film. You only need to know what he filmed, right? There are no new professional skills that I could learn from him. Wiseman is a complete loner. You cannot do it in a team according to the way he made film, right? He created a unique individual style. It is difficult to copy. Wiseman's stuff is not for you to see. It is for history. I respect Wiseman's personality, but I have not watched his work. I saw an excerpt from a work by Ogawa [Shinsuke], about an airport. I always feel that this kind of independent documentary is not for the ordinary audience. As it is not for you, you do not need to watch it. Knowing what he is doing is enough to inspire you. He wants to record the most noteworthy things that happened in this world. His strength is the selection of the topic, not the editing style, the way of expression and representation. Can you film this type of thing? That leads to the most 'valuable' thing, which implies social values, social status, and personal cost. The most 'valuable' thing then depends on what you shoot, or what kind of event it is. It's not simply a phenomenon; it has to be an event. This is what makes them extraordinary. So, when it comes to Wiseman, we only need to respect him as a person.

Wang: Let's talk about that group [the documentary group Shi Jian formed together with his friends in late 1980s]. That group did not really work together to produce some works, right?

Shi: No, there were some works. The one we did in the name of the group is *I Graduated*.

Wang: They, I mean the other three members, were they all involved in it?

Shi: No, but it was produced as a group work.

Wang: I saw the group was called Structure. Did the word 'structure' come from structuralism at that time?

Shi: No, it was just a suitable word that shared the first letter of my name. We used the first letters in pinyin and then found corresponding English words. Four people with four letters, and then we selected four words. And then we translated this word into Chinese, which became 'structure, wave, youth, film' (结构 浪潮 青年 电影).

Wang: Looking at these words now, they must have been particularly avant-garde at the time, including 'wave'. How could you have had this group consciousness at that time? Certainly, there was a sense of groupness, such as groups during the Cultural Revolution, but there was no, or very few, of such things in the field of film.

Shi: Yes, we were very avant-garde, but then we did not continue in the field of avant-garde documentary. Because we

saw its popularised effect, or say its social influence. If you make this kind of avant-garde films for a long time, first nobody is watching it, and second you can't support yourself. We had moved closer to the mass media, accepting the olive branch from them. We dedicated our talents and dream to our work for the media. When people do not know about the situation, they might think that *Oriental Horizon* just came out of nowhere, which is wrong. Because when those of us with experience in documentary filmmaking joined *Oriental Horizon*, it started to have a particular direction and professional spirit.

Wang: Yes, I noticed that you seemed to have experience of independent production around the late 1980s and the early 1990s, right? There is no doubt that *Tiananmen* is an independent production. How did this happen?

Shi: After I had the experience of making *Tiananmen*, I became relatively well-known in the documentary field. Many people approached me to make films. Sometimes I needed to pay for it by myself, and some were commercial and profitable. This situation lasted for about two or three years. I spent about a year or two making *I Graduated* with my own money. Then I filmed some Zhejiang villages and other small things.

Wang: In fact, some of these independently-produced works were shown on TV stations, and other works like *I Graduated* couldn't be given to television stations. Could they be divided into these two halves?

Shi: Yes, but those TV stations were not based in China.

Wang: Which countries did you cooperate with at that time?

Shi: I was just a producer. I did not have any contact with broadcasting institutions. If someone asked me to help them shoot these things, I would just do the shooting.

Wang: Did this kind of cooperation happen at that time already? Because we know, generally speaking, in the late 1990s, people like Jiang Yue (蒋樾) and Duan Jinchuan (段锦川) had some cooperation with the BBC or other institutions, but actually such collaboration already existed in the early 1990s.

Shi: Yes, it was since the early 1990s. Because it wasn't convenient for [foreign] television to come to China. They needed some videos. Then we used our privilege to shoot stuff. It was mainly about some common street scenes or city life.

Wang: There were few complete films, right?

Shi: Yes, very few.

Wang: But after you finished *I Have Graduated*, did you try to show your work, including *Tiananmen,* anywhere else?

Shi: There were some screenings in some film festivals.

Wang: Which film festival did the screening of *Tiananmen* take place?

Shi: *Tiananmen* received an invitation from the Hong Kong Film Festival, but the Chinese film delegation boycotted it, so it did not go ahead. I cannot remember which film festival exhibited it later. Then *I Graduated* was at the Rotterdam Film Festival and the MoMA Art Museum. I did not go abroad when these two films were shown, because I wanted to keep a low profile. As I worked for a TV station, I would lose a lot if I became famous in this way. I treated this as my personal artistic exploration. I could not stand it if I did not make films this way. But I did not mean to use this film to gain fame. I am not that kind of person. I have my professional mission, or say my fate, I had to do this. Maybe there was a risk in it, even leading to a great loss. Of course, you have to calculate. But I did not consider how much money this could make, or how much fame it could bring.

Wang: Some parts of *I Graduated* were made in cooperation with Wang Guangli (王光利), right?

Shi: Yes, Wang Guangli. The very first idea was from him and the others. Once they had this idea, they found me, and I said, ok, I could do that. I didn't agree with some of their original ideas, and the filming process was completely in accordance with my idea. When the shooting was over, we started reaching out to a sponsor who may be the owner of a restaurant. Wang Guangli said, what if we take it over ourselves? I said, ok. And then he said, I'll figure out if the price could be any cheaper. I said, as we might have some activities after finishing this film, this person (as a sponsor) might determine whether we can go there or not - because I invested a lot of emotion in this film from the very beginning, it's a very indelible memory for me. After finishing it, I did not talk directly to the sponsor. Wang Guangli told me that it cost about 20,000 to 30,000 yuan. He asked if I want the copyright. I said, sure, I will take it. We did not meet or sign anything.

Wang: From today's perspective, this film is indeed very free form. It is not a pure documentary. What was your original filming idea? Was it to do with what happened in 1989?

Shi: It was because of the class of students. The students we shot entered university in 1988 and graduated in 1992. Students enrolled in university in 1989 would not have experienced the event. The last cohort of undergraduates who experienced June Fourth were the class of 1988, and they graduated in 1992. Their state before and after graduation was worth recording, because they were going to say farewell to their haunted capital, Beijing. I wanted to record, in those last moments, what these students wanted to say and how they might act. The major one was the farewell at the station, and at the same time there were also some affectionate partings in everyday settings. For me, I really understood them, because I was also a witness to the movement. I did not understand university life at the time very much, but Wang Guangli had a few friends in universities who together contributed some ideas. At least three or four people planned it. I was not involved. They wanted to do this, but they did not have a director. They reached out to me. You can see my reputation in the field. They were all undergraduate students or recent graduates. Because I was particularly touched by this historical event. It changed my life. This was the only major historical event I had experienced - I could not get involved in the Korean War, nor the Great Leap Forward, nor the Down to the Countryside Movement, but this event changed me. I took it very seriously. I was deeply involved in it. But when I look back now, I can see that the film I made is full of flaws. I didn't have any mature ideas. But at that time, as they were leaving university in

the summer, I used a song by Huang somebody-or-other at the beginning of this film. That was my resistance towards the language of documentation, something that has always been subjective, not purely passively objective. I think it is innovative in some ways. Later, director Zhang Yuan (张元) particularly liked this, because I also altered the colour. He was also a participant in this movement. For him, this was a dream. It was also a dream for me. Our previous documentaries had sought to avoid presenting our subjective memory in a dramatic way. I wanted to declare that a documentary does not need to avoid its subjective attitude. It depends on the subject matter. Let's say if there is a conflict between two parties. If you don't evade yourself, you can't maintain your neutral stand. I didn't even know how they found me, but I gradually got involved more deeply.

Wang: Did you take part in the shooting at that time?

Shi: Of course. I was mainly responsible for shooting this film.

Wang: At that time, your main commitment was actually working in the TV station, right? But it was impossible to broadcast this subject on television. Had you thought of whom you were going to shoot it for, of who the audience was? Any thoughts like this?

Shi: No. But we already knew the concept of festivals, and we had some friends like Wu Wenguang.

Wang: It means that you knew there would be audiences anyway. In the early 1990s, there was still a small audience, and few spaces, for independent works like this.

Shi: It is not a matter of the audience, but a matter of conscience. This is what makes me different from others. Concerning the stuff I am doing now, I couldn't care less about the audience. I am going to retire soon; I don't care where my works will be screened. This is something I want to do, and I have my own ideas. I just mentioned that ordinary people can't do this, because this is something that shocked me most in my life. I have a memory of it, and I must follow this memory back. I have to do this, otherwise I will feel guilty.

Wang: What was the impact of that event [1989] on your creative work?

Shi: That is, to face China's problems through the language of documentary, and to help people solve problems in the development and transformation of our society, not just focusing on contradictions, conflicts, and problems.

Wang: In an interview conducted with Lü Xinyu (吕新雨), Wu Wenguang said that he was so touched by that event, and the whole of Beijing became quiet afterwards. They [Wu and his peers] were in fact against the documentary style of the 1980s, such as that of *River Elegy* (河殇). Because it suggested a denial of oneself and of the flourishing of individualism in the 1980s. I have noticed an important tendency in documentary filmmaking from that time, that is, as a humble creator, I want them [the subjects of documentaries] to talk, so I hide myself even more. However, this is actually a denial of oneself. There existed such a tendency at that time.

Shi: I don't think so. I disliked this kind of propaganda language. I wanted to use documentary language. I am different from Wu Wenguang. Wu explored [how to make documentaries] all on his own, but we learnt it at university. If you know how to hold a pen properly, you have to follow it, don't you? It does not matter for Wu: [for him] 'As long as I can write down the lines, I can use my pen however I like—gripping, clutching, or pinching.' But we cannot. We learnt how to hold a pen properly before learning how to write. This is the same pen. But how could he do it this way? Isn't this an insult to the way of holding a pen? That's why I don't like *River Elegy*. It's not about him [director Xia Jun 夏骏] as a person, but that he should not say something like that, not in that indecent way. I cannot tolerate this. Others say so, then you say the same. Chief director Xia Jun was in the same department as me, two years ahead of me. He was quite a leftist.

Wang: So you were actually still proactive at the time. You wanted to intervene in society and change it.

Shi: Yes.

Wang: The reason that you dislike *River Elegy* is because of its inflammatory rhetoric?

Shi: Yes, it's propaganda which doesn't rely on facts.

Wang: No matter if its final conclusion is right or wrong.

Shi: Exactly.

Wang: What do you mean by 'means'?

Shi: Of course there are different opinions. This is another matter, but first of all, the stance is wrong.

Wang: I understand. I really agree with one point that you said before, that is, the process of making a documentary is also a process of learning and self-cultivating. You also said that you learned a lot of things from documentary filmmaking.

Shi: In the process of making documentaries, I think I learned most from making TV documentaries. It led you become a mature thinker. But making individual documentaries requires you to have the impulse to seek the facts, and then you may feel the need to record it. At this point, forget about thinking, your intuition is very important. A good individual documentary filmmaker emphasises intuition, but in the end, the maturity of your thinking relies on what you learned from making TV documentaries. Usually there were some experts and scholars involved in the planning and discussion of TV documentaries. From the 1980s when I started making *Tiananmen*, *Oriental Horizon*, *Tell It Like It Is* (实话实说), these experts and sociologists shared a lot of their views on society. For example, can I draw the conclusion that Qin unification was the biggest disaster for China all by myself? No, I must have someone like Qin Hui (秦晖) to think about this issue together with me. Of course, it seems that I am boasting that I could think with Qin Hui. In fact, he had thought of this issue many years ahead of me, but my thoughts must be approved by him. Another

example, when I first saw *Lust, Caution* (色戒), I thought Ang Lee (李安) was a little too much. Those people were supposed to be martyrs [for their political beliefs], you ended up presenting them as prioritising personal interests over righteousness. Then about six months later, I started to think Ang Lee as really the greatest director who shows that the idea of human rights weighs more than sovereignty. He actually meant to talk about this. I think Lee is really amazing. You must have a group of social elites as your think tank to affect your thinking, enhance your knowledge, enrich your experience, otherwise, how many books do you have to read to reach such truths? This is what I meant by saying documentaries bringing me learning opportunities. I got to know many sociologists during my filmmaking through planning and interviewing.

Wang: My understanding is that, apart from this, the connection with the grassroots life was also important.

Shi: Of course, the process of investigating social problems offers you an opportunity to get closer to society. Without such problems, it will not trigger you to think this way.

Wang: In terms of the origin of the New Documentary Movement, there are several different accounts. I saw an interview saying that Wu Wenguang first proposed this idea. But of course, later it was the large-scale movement that caused a significant impact. Then another story is that it stems from a seminar, the new documentary seminar that was in fact promoted by you. I don't know if it's important to identify who brought it up. I think practitioners are more important. Do you have any other memories of this origin?

Shi: Of course, I remember that clearly. We made a lot of effort to plan the movement. It's not simply based on a few people's interests. We needed to sort out the issues including screening venues, the selection of films, and how to convince our teacher. At that time, we could not even find a proper screening venue. Today's situation is not the same anymore. We can just do screenings in our auditorium. But back then we were still young, and we relied on other people's impact to promote it [new documentary] to the whole society. We didn't want to keep it just between ourselves; we wanted to influence a wider society; we wanted the media to report it; we wanted the public to see our films. We thought that our effort might prompt the TV stations to show our films. Many places [TV stations] had similar problems. They didn't have enough funds, nor good filming conditions. I hoped that our activities could advance a new creative trend. It was not just some interactions between us, encouraging each other. It was not that simple. We hoped to influence the whole of society by promoting something that could be accepted by society and recognised by our professional field, and further affect the [dominant] ideology. For example, we invited Zhou Chuanji (周传基), Situ Zhaodun (司徒兆敦), and some of my teachers. But what I did not expect was, the experts were really stunned by some films, including my own film*,* and a line in *Bumming in Beijing* that they found very difficult to accept: 'I'd rather fucking sell sex than selling paintings,' which completely blew away those teachers. My old course leader, Ye Fengying, said, 'Shi Jian, how could you get this film screened?' I said, 'This documentary is based on raw materials. The difference between this documentary and those you're familiar with is like the difference between pig and pork. The pork has all its hairs picked and washed when it's ready for you to eat. But this is not how the raw pig looks.' They had just never seen it before.

Wang: Which films did you promote at the time, besides *Bumming in Beijing*?

Shi: There were eight documentaries: *Bumming in Beijing*, He Jianjun's *Self-Portrait*, Fu Hongxing's (傅红星) *Fifty* Years of Reform in Tibet (西藏50年改革纪实), our *Tiananmen*, Ling Yefu's (冷冶夫) *Army Escorts* (押运兵), and *Odyssey of the Great Wall*.

Wang: What about *Sand and Sea* (沙与海)?

Shi: I don't think so. We might have included Chen Zhen's (陈真) work. I also published a manifesto at the seminar, saying that we are going to inaugurate this new documentary movement. This was a very clear slogan.

Wang: An official appearance.

Shi: Yes, an official appearance. I read out the manifesto, or the declaration, or the proposal. In fact, it was just guiding principles. No matter if it was recognised by the public media or not, it was widely circulated through word of mouth within the professional field, with great impact. Many documentaries have emerged since then.

Wang: What was their reaction when your film [*Tiananmen*] was screened?

Shi: They were very shocked. Although I used quite a lot of TV language, our attitude towards history was very clear. I played the last episode, 'Once Upon a Time' (往事).

Wang: These films have a common feature, that is, an emphasis on documentary realism [纪实性], right?

Shi: Yes.

Wang: This is its main feature. What are the other features? Personalisation?

Shi: Yes, personalisation. Of course, the more important thing is the aesthetic contrast, which shattered previous visual experience. You have never had this kind of experience. This is the most remarkable. What you just talked about are all terms and rules. It might be personalisation and documentary attributes [that shocked them], but they were not ready for this.

Wang: Actually, I think they couldn't stand its ideological inclinations either.

Shi: Yes, the biggest shock is its values.

Wang: Let's talk about *Tiananmen*. What were the specific conditions for its production at that time? Where did the money come from?

Shi: At the beginning I found a sponsor. American Express offered 200,000 yuan and sent it to the TV station. I initially made this documentary for CCTV, but then this title was not allowed to be used anymore. And during the film-

ing process, I also adjusted the content. For example, I deemed Tiananmen Square a subject with a certain political tone. I might not be able to avoid its political implications. It was a programme made for National Day in 1989 after all. But after June 1989, ideological control in the media changed significantly. Previously I might have had personal creative space, but afterwards it became impossible to broadcast it on television. No matter how I modified the content, it was not going to work as long as the name [*Tiananmen*] remained the same. It's already a wound of an era, that is, something to be avoided. It was impossible to use this name anyway. I felt that the whole of society was breathless, at a standstill. There was no space to express my thoughts. So I decided to simplify things, that is, decided to complete this documentary on my own. Of course, this still required some content adjustment. So I did some re-shoots in 1990, recording individuals' lives in Beijing at that time, as well as our personal memories as the authors.

The eighth episode is mainly based on voiceovers with very few documentary sequences. Or they are quite scanty. I just wanted to record my feelings and emotions. I also understood documentary in this way. Sometimes documentaries can record your subjective thoughts. Before my project was approved, it was said that a veteran named Tong Guoping (佟国平)had set up a project called *Chang'an Avenue* (长安街). I was twenty-five years old, and I had to work really hard to find [sponsorship]. Then I finally got American Express to send the 200,000 yuan to CCTV's bank account. Then I started shooting. My head of department told me, I didn't mean to discourage you, but since you've got the money, I'll let you do this. But while filming was ongoing, the 1989 incident occurred. American Express never mentioned the money again, they wanted to stay out of it, to distance themselves from the Chinese government. Well, at this point my money ran out, and the TV station wouldn't allow me to continue working on it any longer. In the end, I wasn't sure how much I had spent, but anyway, I couldn't use the equipment [from CCTV] or the funds. I raised money for the project by my own.

Wang: The second half was made independently?

Shi: Yes.

Wang: But at that time, you already knew that it was impossible to broadcast it on television?

Shi: Yes, we began to shoot this in 1988, but in 1989, we felt that it would be impossible to broadcast it. Later everything stopped. Like *The Chinese*, which Wu Wenguang participated in, also stopped. I still wanted to make my ideas come true. I had put in a lot of effort. I still insisted on finishing it. The shooting was not completely over.

Wang: What was the purpose of American Express when they offered you the money at that time?

Shi: They wanted me to make an acknowledgment in the opening credits. Something like the film was supported by the American Express Card ... with their logo on the screen.

Wang: Was their purpose mainly advertising?

Shi: Yes.

Wang: This seems very complex. There was not a complete production process, with some changes later on. We know that later, after 1995, DV emerged in the New Documentary Movement. What was your understanding of the nature of DV at that time?

Shi: Later, Wang Zijun made *Home* (家园) at Beijing TV station, right? Ordinary people shot themselves, which became a new way of recording. We, as professional practitioners, hoped this could become a way for the ordinary people to express their emotions and problems. It was a kind of social demand. We should play a role in helping others. This was a common value of our team, that is, this weapon, or approach, or tool should not be controlled by a few but be extended to the whole of society. Everyone should have the right to express their opinions.

Wang: Yes, I remember reading your opinions back then. I felt that your self-analysis was particularly sharp. You said you are a quite self-contradictory person. After *I Graduated*, there's no more of your work that you approve of. Is that right?

Shi: Yes.

Wang: I think you have always separated these programme-based documentaries on CCTV from those creative documentary films.

Shi: It was very difficult for the New Documentary Movement to survive in China. There were only two ways to survive. One was to collaborate with the media. If you had the skills and you were willing to make stuff according to others' requirements, then you could generate some income. The other was commercial engagement. But there was little commercial demand in the market in the early 1990s. We have it now. So now as long as you have some production skills, you are more likely to choose to form a company, so that to earn some income from advertising. But no matter which way you choose to survive, the sense of independence in your documentaries is greatly compromised. When you are obsessed with making money in order to survive, you cannot have that kind of tenacity anymore. Making independent documentaries requires tenacity. I don't mean that you have to fight each other to the death, or have strong political beliefs or something. It's not that. It's just simply a tenacious thing.

We made every endeavour to come this far. Because gaining the opportunity was so difficult, you could not just do whatever you wanted out of enthusiasm without careful consideration. Apart from political safety, we also had to consider the financial burden, the mental stress, whether your work was worthy of history, and whether your thoughts were mature enough. But today's young people are different from our generation. They grew up without any ideological baggage. They rely on their intuition to do things, sing whatever they want to sing, and shoot whatever they want to shoot. Without such burdens, they can be very productive. I think this is progress. We had to weigh it [these conditions] up again and again. It was not about fame and fortune, it was about whether you were right. Anyway, I had this burden. I think the young generation today is doing well. Documentary should not be pondered too deeply, otherwise it becomes an essay. Documentary needs to have intuition. If you like this thing and you think this is important, you do it.

时间访谈

采访者: 王小鲁

注: 此访谈节选自2020年10月9日在京郊怀柔王小鲁对时间的采访。

一 80年代: 教育与初步探索

王: 我们当然对您的整个历史都想了解, 你是对中国电视、还有纪录片产生巨大影响的人, 我们也想了解80年代您的精神成长, 包括您的教育, 我刚看了您父亲 (时盘棋) 的摄影展, 所以家庭教育当然也可以放在里面。我们知道90年代有一个新纪录运动, 一般认为它是一个独立纪录运动, 您是其中一个深度的参与者、提倡者及发起者之一。我们现在能不能从它的前史说起?

时: 我是受80年代的大学教育成长起来的, 1981年进入北京广播学院电视系电视影片编辑专业学习了4年, 毕业之后1985年分配到了中央电视台, 做专题部的编导, 也就是专题片的编导。从那时开始, 我就在思考、在探索纪录片怎么应该做, 我们应该做我们的纪录片, 从我这儿开始就要有一条道路, 这是很明确的。因为我知道我们学习的纪录片、我们想象的纪录片, 跟我们正在做的屏幕上的工作是不一样的。所以我们要实现心中的理想, 要完成这个目标。这个目标感是挺明确的。这也得益于我的家庭出身, 我父亲是新华社的记者, 记录、真实、时效性、新闻的生命, 这些术语我从小就知道。当然我也知道我们这样的职业可以叫做“无冕之王”, 我们相当地自信、自我。当然这是有前提、有限定性的。后来我也因为这个模糊, 而吃了不少苦头, 还有很多挫折, 这不是今天要谈的。同时我的母亲是山东电视台的, 我对视觉、对影像都有一定的天分吧, 就是感觉挺好, 我可以凭着感觉做东西, 那么这个感觉比较准一点, 这也许是遗传的原因。

也就是这种先天性加上我在广播学院学习了4年。这4年专业性的学习不是等闲的, 是非常到位的一种职业的训练。比如说那个时候我们先从绘画的素描学起, 又从拍照片学起, 还自己放照片, 还自己拿着红旗摄影机拍的胶片, 拍新闻拍专题, 然后自己上剪辑台剪胶片, 还有写解说词, 做现场报道等。给了我们纪录片的专业训练, 新闻的专业训练, 还有就是, 电视媒体到底应该怎么样表达自我, 表达你对社会的干预, 这都是在大学4年广播学院的教育, 我认为它给了我很大的精神的财富。而且有一个特殊性。那个时候教我们的老师, 像叶凤英老师、闻华平老师、任元老师, 他们都是刚刚从国外学习回来, 他们教给我们的、带给我们的、给我们看的, 都是国外先进的电视理念的样板、案例。所以我们在校学习的这4年中, 掌握的信息也好、看到的感受到的东西都是最先进的节目, 最前卫的电视理念制作出来的一些实践、活动。这些给了我一种自信, 我记得当时特别清晰的一个目的是, 我要到电视台, 我要改变中国电视的落后面貌。那时候不是像我们从小红小兵、红卫兵一定要解放台湾的那种远大理想, 什么农业学大寨, 什么人有多大胆地有多大产, 我们就是要改变中国电视的落后面貌, 这是有雄心壮志的, 但这种雄心壮志不是二百五那种, 确实是你觉得你掌握的比起你现在看到的中央电视台的节目、全国电视屏幕上那种落后的、土老帽那种, 反差特别地大。

比如说我有一个师兄叫丁海燕。陈刚、丁海燕他们在中央电视台实习, 他们是79级的, 是我们的上一届的编辑专业的, 他们做的潍坊监狱的纪实采访, 都没有在电视台播出, 虽然是他们在电视台实习做的作品。因为什么呢, 它都是

纪实采访。这玩意在电视台说是有争议，可是对我们来说，那时候电视可不就得纪实采访吗。不行，不给你播，有争议。然后我们就特瞧不起中央电视台，怎么这么落后！我1985年分到那，这种落后的思想一下子也让我迷登了，陷入进去，我也走了大概是半年的弯路。因为那个玩意 一旦你干起来，人家都这么弄，你也身不由己，于是就忘了同期声，就是写解说词。我处女作叫“我眼里的爸爸”。当然了，我有这种切身感受，这个父亲他是青岛市的园林设计师张元初，我把对我父亲的这个感觉用他的女儿的口吻表达出来，词是我写的，因为这种切身感受性的主观性的东西还有点打动人，所以这个片子获了奖。但是这跟纪录片又没关系，它没有同期声，没有纪实的画面。后来我觉得这样不行，我第二个片子就开始用了纪实采访。可是那时候不成熟，你只不过是知道这种技术性的变革变化是多么重要，但是你不知道这是为什么，也就没有自己的思想。所以我觉得，知道我的纪录片要表达我的思想，而且这种思想必须是独立的，必须是与别人不一样的，如果与别人一样的思想也没有价值。当然了你有的时候越不一样，你甚至跟政府的提倡的这种观点都不一样，你反而因为这样才叫独立性，价值反而更大，当然你这样也不可能在公共媒体出现了，这是另外一回事。

但是纪录片它不是媒体的节目，纪录片不等于媒体的节目，所以我后来我根据自己的工作实际把纪录片分为媒体纪录片和个体纪录片。个体纪录片就是独立纪录片，就是当年的所谓的地下纪录片，这是划等号的。当然个体纪录片有的也不完全是独立纪录片，因为只要它是用个人的纪录方式制作出来的，它未必需要有什么思想，只是个人生活的一般性的记录也是可以的。当然这看它的价值多大，那是另外一回事了。

所以我说我们当年做这种媒体纪录片挺不容易的，后来觉得媒体纪录片这条路还特别难走。比如说我有一个1988年开始拍的《天安门》没给我播出，说我调子灰，为什么会调子灰呢？就是我没有用歌功颂德的音乐解说这样的方式来做，而是用更多的生活实况，当你用同期声用多了，你就不能用主观的那种臆断式的、所谓的我们叫歌德式的语言，歌功颂德式的语言。可是那个时候的舆论环境就是这样，刚刚从文革结束，实际上还在文革的遗毒之下，人们习惯了假大空的话，习惯了红色的腔调，口号式的、歌颂式的语言，如果你没有说形势一片大好之类的话，你就被怀疑别有用心。所以说我片子调子灰就没给我播出，就给我开了个.....不是批斗会吧但也差不多，是那种讨伐式的批评教育的会，全台搞。我当时虽然很有压力，因为那时候毕竟才20多岁嘛，但是我也横下一条心走这条路，是因为我从专业的角度，当我知道了真理就在那儿，为什么不跨过去？我也是很难屈从。后来有别的机会，比如说创办东方时空，那么我就通过正大光明的方式，那个时候正好也是媒体要变革，所以我就把我认识到的记录的语言、纪录片的语言、纪实性的语言，同期声为代表的这些语言用在了“东方时空”。我用我的专业的修养、专业的训练、对语言的实际的探索后的成果，带领了一帮子人，所以后来当我成为“东方时空”总制片人的时候，我们团队已经为那个时候的电视改革做出了一定的贡献了。

王：对，您刚才说到那种形式本身，就是同期声等等，他们就会觉得调子灰，这种形式本身对他们来说是引导性太差，本身就是有问题的。其实我还想知道早期的事情，您刚进入北广的时候，其实当时纪录片的观念是不是还特别落后？因为文革刚过，您说过您母亲以前在山东电视台工作，之前纪录片都是什么新闻简报之类的。

时：对。我们是文革当中成长的，当然了你说文革当中能给予了我们多大的养分，比起比我们大10岁，出生于1953年的人来说那是要少的多。我是1963年出生的，文革开始的时候，66、67年我们才三四岁，也不懂什么事。但是我们到了十三四岁的时候，文革并没有真正结束，那时候毛去世的时候我13岁，他去世之后也还有这样的影响，所以我们现在说起文革术语，包括看样本戏，那都是特别的激动。可是出于职业的原因，出于我个人的后来的学习，对我来说我人生最重要的一个收获，就是我具有反思的能力，我经常看一些书。当然了这也给我本人带来很大的痛苦，我跟我的父亲都会有争论，这种争论几乎酿成家庭的悲剧。我父亲这个人不苟言笑，他是1948年参加解放军，按说是共

军最年轻的战地记者，那时候他十六七岁就拍照片了，拍的也还挺不错。所以他经常说是共产党和人民军队给了他一生的荣誉，培养了他。其实按照他的资质，如果不打仗，他不参军，好好念书，也会是一个挺有出息的人。但是他归功于人民解放军和共产党，当然这个细节上我也不方便多讲。

我想80年代的纪录片的作者们，他们应该是这个时代的思想者，是走在前头的人。首先从纪录片语言上，就是技术语言上或者是电视电影理念上，是一些掌握了先进理念的人，用同期声。其实纪录片最关键的标志就是看你用不用同期声，怎么用，你的解说词少用到什么程度，这个技术指标就是这么定的。看你记录什么，看你想表达什么、怎么表达，要说这些术语、这几个指标，现在说起来很轻松，可是开始我们确实挺难的。要凭感觉，要依赖于你记录下来的影像，早期我们的探索是纪实的嘛，你不可能去像赫尔佐格那样重新写一段演出来，我们是比较机械的那种纪实。我们当然同样认为，在中国转型的时期，我们完成这种记录，是最真实的本真的记录，是最有价值的。当然也把我们自己的工作看得相当神圣。

不过怎么说呢，这种个人的努力在一开始都是特别难的，也有很多委屈，而且这需要极大的投入，像我还卖了冰箱，我还做了很多像软广告、二类广告那种节目。那时候正好赶上亚运会，之前呢电视台有一个创收的要求，就是说你拍个20分钟的企业宣传片，你可以收4万块钱，2万制作，2万交到电视台。一般我们2万的制作费也花不出去，花不到5000，还剩1万多就揣兜里了。那么我就把它用在《天安门》这个片子的后期的完成上，所以个人付出是相当大的。那么后来我们觉得自己千辛万苦，又见到真理的曙光了，又有成果了，多想跟人分享啊，于是就录成带子，给这家看，给那朋友看，我还给了两个台长看 ，一个是洪民生，一个是陈汉元。陈汉元没给我信儿，洪民生说，你这个太长了，访谈那么长，我都快进看的。这一方面说明他们的观念，但是一方面说明我还能找着台长看，洪民生是管宣传的最大的台长。你现在你找个台长看看，你找主任你都找不着。我们那时候的人挺单纯的，当官的也单纯，他还跟你说他接受不了。我就想在电视台播，怎么可能播呢！于是我就想有什么展映的可能，因为我的同学，大学同班同学，那是最有质量的对话者，他说，我从来没见过中国人在镜头前面能够这么自信，这么表达，因为没看过这样对着镜头的个人，不是当官的，很少有人对着镜头说的，我们《天安门》那是最早的一种同期声的讲述。按说这个玩意现在是司空见惯的，电视就应该是这样的，可是那时候一个都没有，全都是不让张嘴。

80年代，一个是人人都是想探索的、想创新的，想有专业上的建树，就是人挺向上的，也没有那么多猥琐的想法，自我算计，这个很少，而且栽赃陷害这种事儿也很少，也没有，大家都还挺好的。所以我现在回想起80年代，我唯一遗憾的就是下饭馆儿时间太少，那时候可能没有地沟油，老师傅还在，你点几个像样的传统菜，你也能吃到味儿，可是根本就没那心思，其实这是我最大的遗憾。另外一个80年代的好处是什么呢，让你永远在学习，那时候刚改革开放不久，各种思潮，你听的都是耳目一新的，因为以前你的小学教育、中学教育那都是恨不得就是解放前的，都文革中，这之后，春雷一响天地动那样的，完全都是热血沸腾。像我们在学校看《两个人的车站》，看一些外国电影，包括我上了班以后，中日电视节目交流给我的印象也是相当深的。第一个让我看傻了的就叫《浪花杀人学校》，那应该是1986年，可能在红塔礼堂还是在哪儿看的，是第一届中日电视节目交流中日本的纪录片，看完了我们几个人都回到办公室还在讨论，不光是我这同龄的，还有李绍武。李绍武是我的前辈，他说人家这纪录片拍的跟故事片似的。这说明纪实的魅力啊！可是我们就没有跟踪纪实的做法。从那一刻开始，跟踪纪实、跟踪纪录，那就成了必要的一个手法，就是跟拍。以前哪儿有跟拍，都是自己设计好了的，走一下，从高坡往低坡走，从低坡往高坡走，还有拍日出日落，这辈子不知道拍了多少日出日落，没啥用的。

二 《天安门》与新纪录片运动

王: 我知道2002年有一个纪录片会议, 当时会上人家提出来说, 你们提新纪录片运动, 他认为这个新纪录片运动的语言, 其实从80年代初就有, 您是怎么看这个说法? 他就是想把新纪录片运动的时间期限往前提。

时: 不行。我觉得不应该, “新纪录片运动”这是我们提出来的, 我们提它是感觉到了一种我们发自内心的呐喊、我们的一种要求。我们在《天安门》开篇词上就讲, 我们尊重历史, 正如我们尊重生活。我们尊重这个历史, 我们尊重这生活, 在这之前的所有的作品, 电视作品我认为做不到这一点, 因为他们是要在屏幕上、在官方的媒体上见面的。80年代什么时候才有了不依靠公共媒体跟观众见面的呢? 那就是我们这些作品——吴文光的《流浪北京》、我们的《天安门》, 何建军的《自画像》。当然创作时间是1988年开始的, 完成片子是1991年, 所以明年应该说是30年。91年我们在广播学院开了一个新纪录片研讨会, 在会上我代表我们几个朋友宣读了一个宣言, 我们希望倡导在新的时期, 我们来创作纪实性的纪录片, 表达自己独立的思想。你没有独立的思想, 你只有技术语言的同期声的出现, 那时候新影做过几个《零的突破》什么的, 那个都不应该算的。当然了, 这个是对立起来的, 可就是这种对立, 你才有可能出现意识形态的不同的声音, 所以新纪录片新与否就看它的声音是否有不同。如果相同的就不应该算新纪录片, 再加上运动, 它更应该是如火如荼的, 有一定规模产量才能够, 你可能叫新纪录片的出现, 你也可以这么说, 但是你要叫新纪录片运动, 必须是90年代初, 1991年。

王: 1991年, 《天安门》是1991年完成的, 《流浪北京》是不是1990年就完成了?

时: 对, 他可能是1990年就完成了。

王: 但这个概念的提出是1991年?

时: 对, 新纪录片运动是1991年。我们专门开了个研讨会, 是有标志性的活动的。

王: 对, 研讨会的内容我看到, 但它的标题不是新纪录片, 叫“北京纪录片新作品创作研讨会”。

时: 对。

王: 但是其实里面就是一个新纪录片?

时: 对, 新纪录片, 发表出来的标题把我们这个改了, 本来的设计是我们跟王纪言老师, 因为有几个广院毕业的学生——我、陈杰、王子军我们到老师家, 把我们的作品, 把王子军在北京台的几个作品, 还有《望长城》——因为光我们的, 也感觉也说不过去。老师会觉得你们也光弄你们的, 我们也觉得我们不应该太自私, 所有的我们认为有纪实语言的都应该算进来。

王: 其实您的界定按照您刚才的说法, 不应该只有纪实语言, 还得有其他的精神在一起才能算新纪录片, 对吧?

时: 对。

王: 《望长城》是91年播放, 我也看了我觉得非常好, 它的确是纪实语言, 探索得非常深入, 但是问题是它的意识形态, 当然它有平民化, 但是您觉得它可以纳入新纪录片吗? 如果说你没有老师份上的这样的一个情感的话, 您觉得

应该纳入吗?

时: 我觉得……从技术上是算的是吧? 如果你要注明一个意识形态、或者说一种思想性的话, 那它有不一样的地方, 它是顺拐的, 对吧? 现在如果说从纯艺术的角度看, 有必要这么强调意识形态吗, 这是另外一个问题。所以当然了, 因为对纪录片的定义它也是发展的、也是变化的, 我认同你们这一派强调纪录片的意识形态。

王: 还有一个是生产关系, 其实也在里头。

时: 对, 生产关系就是你官方媒体的产生的。生产关系, 是一个很专业的术语了。可是早期的纪录片它必须是脱胎于、必须是依附于电视台的, 因为你没有这个条件的话是做不了片子。像我们是后期变了, 吴文光也是拍摄之余 (他在做《中国人》) , 他才做的《流浪北京》 。如果没有《中国人》, 他就没有条件做《流浪北京》。当然了, 《望长城》它压根要表现长城有多么重要。……挺好, 你这个问题挺好的。

王: 很难回答。早期你们的讲话, 比如说你们当时在谈这个的时候, 在西单也谈过, 因为当时很多人都在回忆现场, 所以说我从现场里来看其实你们当时定义就是一个独立纪录片的概念。

时: 对。

王: 如果说把《我毕业了》和《望长城》放一起, 你就觉得他其实当中还是有点不太一样。看了一下当年的后来被称为独立纪录片那些作品, 其实都没在电视台上正规播放, 包括《天安门》, 对吧?

时: 对。

王: 包括——哪怕《当兵 》, 《当兵》它在电视台播放了之后, 都是完全是两个片子了, 然后包括《八廓南街》其实也在电视台播放, 但是播放的时候是完全改掉了, 所以说他自己认可的作品其实都没有在电视台播放, 这就可以说明问题了, 对吧? 虽然说吴文光他的确是借了电视台的资源, 但是他把它生产出来的时候、制作出来的时候, 他绝对不会想到说我这个可以电视台播放, 所以说他创作里头的那个创作意志, 其实已经是有不一样的一个想法了。

时: 嗯。我们要看重他是否是处在一种独立的状态下, 一个是独立的思想, 第二是独立的工作状态。所以如果说这样的情况下媒体的纪录片的价值就要打问号了, 因为它是为媒体服务的, 而媒体它有很多依附关系, 比如说政治啊、经济啊, 是吧? 而这种个体的纪录片它充分具有这样的独立性的, 所以它更加自由、更加真实, 它没有什么顾忌。所以当很多西藏、新疆出现不同的媒体的声音的时候, 我觉得为什么不让我们纪录片的导演去呢, 哪怕个人的纪录片导演他作为一个导演他应该给社会留下最真实的记录。当然这种只是一个异想天开了, 但是这说明我对媒体纪录片的局限性认识得还是比较深刻的。凡是你拿了人家钱, 你就必须得给人一交代, 这是你做人的问题, 不是你技术创作的问题。有很多导演他拿了人家的钱, 他按照自己的搞法搞, 最后他自己也没有弄出多大动静来, 因为他就做人都不行嘛。所以我不觉得媒体的纪录片导演有什么丢人的, 因为你拿了人家的钱, 你就得去完成这个播出, 你就要受到这些限制, 你的作品就要打折扣。但同时你也就想着这是一活儿, 它不是一艺术创作, 尤其是不能算作纯粹的艺术创作是吧, 这个我也非常理解, 我就是这么活过来的。那么你同样在这个环境下, 你可以积累你的各种优势了, 然后将来按照自己的心愿做一个, 做一个能够了却心愿的这么一个作品, 就算画上句号。

因为媒体纪录片它有很多限制，这限制还经常变化标准，像80年代它可能还轻松一点，现在绷得太紧，曾经我们还能打个擦边球。比如说国庆35年我做了一个《魏家胡同》。从一个胡同里面我挑了几户人作为国庆片的一个纪录片的一个映照，不是直接歌颂的，因为没有用一句解说，那个时候我一句解说不用就让我播，那也是破天荒的，那是1994年。1994年应该说是最好的时候，1993年有东方时空……

王：你看过怀斯曼吗以前那个时候？

时：当然看过了。

王：你比如说那个片子会受他影响吗？

时：没有。怀斯曼的片子我一个都没看过，但是我从吴文光那早就知道怀斯曼。

王：那就是没看过？

时：但是没看过，这种片子不用看，你不用看，就看你拍什么就完了，对吧？没有业务上的学习。怀斯曼的东西它没法看，他完全是一个独行侠是吧，他那玩意你发展不来一个队伍，是吧？他靠自己个人的人格弄他自己的独到的视角，你学不来。怀斯曼的东西也不是让你看的，它是给历史看的，对吧，应该是这样的。所以我对怀斯曼只是保持人格上的敬重，他的作品我没有看过，小川的我还看过个片段，就是机场那件事那个题材。我总觉得这种独立纪录片导演的作品不是给我们大众看的，就不是给你看的，你就用不着看，你知道他在做什么就足以启发你了。他就是要记录这个世界上发生的最值得记录的事，就是比你的事件，不是比你的多么会编这个片子，多么会表达、表现，而是比事儿。你能记住这事儿吗？你能拍下来吗？那是最要价的，既是价值的价，也是身价的价，也是代价的价。最要价的就是看你拍什么，是吧？是什么事件，不是一个现象，还得是个事件，这是最了不得的，所以怀斯曼，咱们就只尊重这个人就行了。

王：咱们就讲那个小组（时间在80年代末和朋友一起组成的纪录片小组），那个小组其实后来也没有说一起行动，就是说促成一些什么作品？

时：对，有过一些作品，以小组名义做的是《我毕业了》。

王：他们，其他三个成员都参与了吗？

时：也没参与，但是这作为小组出品。

王：当时我看到小组名字还叫结构，就是结构这个词是在当时是从结构主义来的吗？

时：不是，是我这个名字的第一个字母所能找到的比较恰当的一个单词，我们是用拼音的第一个字母，然后找到相应的单词，4个人4个字母 然后找到了4个单词，再把这个单词翻译成中文，就是“结构 浪潮 青年 电影”。

王：但这几个词现在来看，在当时特别前卫，包括浪潮。那时候哪有小组的意识？当然有小组的意识，比如说文革的

时候什么小组, 类似这个, 但是电影领域没有, 或者说很少。

时: 是, 所以我们挺前卫的, 但是后来没有在纪录片的前卫领域继续操作, 是因为我们看到了它的世俗化作用或者说是社会影响力。如果你长期做这种前卫的电影的话, 一个是没人看, 再一个你自己也没法生存, 所以我们都向媒体靠拢了, 接受了媒体的橄榄枝, 把我们的才华也好、想实现的东西好像都在媒体的工作里面完成了。所以所以人家不知道的就是以为好像“东方时空“是天上掉下来的, 错了。“东方时空”是因为我们这些有过纪录片创作经验的人加入了之后, 它才有了这样的一个发展方向, 它才有了这样的职业精神。

王: 是, 我看到您在之前在80年代末90年代初好像还有独立制片的这么一段经验是吗? 为什么会有? 当然《天安门》就是独立制片对吧? 这是怎么发生的呢?

时: 我有《天安门》的经历之后, 我在纪录片界有一定的知名度, 就有很多人来找我做片子, 有的时候需要我自己出钱, 有的是商业性的, 能挣钱的, 这个就大概持续了有两三年的时间, 我大概是一两年的时候, 我自己花钱做了一个《我毕业了》。然后有拍一些浙江村, 拍过一些小的东西。

王: 这些独立制片的作品有一部分其实还是给电视台的, 一部分像《我毕业了》 没法给电视台的, 是不是能分为这两部分?

时: 对。电视台不是中国的电视台 。

王: 那时候跟哪些国家有合作?

时: 我只是一个制作, 我不跟播出机构发生联系, 有人让我帮他们拍这些东西, 我就拍一些东西。

王: 那个时候就有这种合作了? 因为我们所知道的一般说90年代末跟BBC等有一些合作, 像 蒋樾、段锦川他们, 但其实这个在90年代初就有。

时: 对 , 90年代初, 因为他们电视媒体不太方便到中国来工作, 他们需要一些视频。然后我们就利用我们的优势拍点东西, 当然也都是一般的街景或市井生活。

王: 成片的少是吧?

时: 对, 成片子的少。

王: 但像《我毕业了》你做完之后, 包括《天安门》有在别的地方放过吗?

时: 有一些电影节, 电影节放。

王:《天安门》在哪个电影节放映过?

时：《天安门》在香港电影节接受到邀请，但是中国电影代表团抵制，就没有放成，后来又在哪个电影节我也记不清了。然后《我毕业了》是在鹿特丹电影节，在MoMA美术馆。我这两个片子放映的时候我都没有出去，因为我要降低我个人的这种目标，因为我在电视台工作，我为了出这个名，我损失很大。我是把它作为我个人的艺术探索，我不这样做片子，我受不了，但是我并不是说要靠这个片子博得什么荣誉，我也不是那么一个人。我有我专业上的使命，或者是属性、或者是宿命，我必须得做这件事。可能这件事有风险，甚至要有很大损失，当然了你得算计，可是如果说这个东西挣多少钱，有多大荣誉，这个是我不能考虑的事，可能一般人理解不了。

王：《我毕业了》有些地方好像您是和王光利合作的对吗？

时：对，王光利。最早的想法是王光利他们的，他们有了这个想法之后找到我，我说那我就去吧。拍完了，因为整个的思路就完全按我的来了，原来他们有些想法后来我没有同意，然后就跟投资的有一个老板，可能是开饭馆的吧，王光利说，要不这样，咱们自己把它拿过来，我说可以，然后他说我去看看价钱能不能便宜点。我说，因为我们做完了这个片子后边有一些活动，如果老是有这么个人，他让你去还是不让你去——因为开始对我来说就是投入很大的事情，也是压在我心头上的一件抹不掉的记忆，我就全力以赴地做，因为也是个人情感上的付出嘛。做完了，反正我也没有直接谈，跟最初的一个投资的，是王光利说大概两三万块钱，他说你要不要版权，我说可以，那我就要呗，也没有见面，也没有签什么文字。

王：这个片子现在来看，的确很自由，那种形式上，它不是一个纯粹纪实的东西，最初你们要拍的是基于一个什么样的想法，跟89有关吗？

时：是因为这届学生，我们拍的是1988年入学的学生，他们是1992年毕业的，1989年入学的大学生就没有经历过这件事儿，经历过“六四”的最后一届的大学生就是88级，他们92年毕业。他们毕业前后的状态是值得记录的，因为他们要告别他们最魂牵梦绕的首都北京，所以在最后的时刻这些人想说什么话、有哪些表现，比较大的就是在车站的告别，同时还有一些日常当中的依依惜别。这些对我来说，我挺理解他们的，因为当年在运动的时候，我就是现场的一个目击者，当然我对那些年大学的校园生活不是特别了解，但是王光利他们有几个大学里面的同学，这些人他们共同创意的，至少有三四个人是为这个片子的策划者，我不算策划者。但是他们想做这件事，又没有一个导演，于是就找到我，可见我的在江湖上的知名度。他们都是在校生或者刚毕业，找到我，因为我对这件历史事件也是特别有触动的，这是改变我命运的一件事，我经历的历史事件就是这一件了，我不可能抗美援朝去，什么大跃进大炼钢铁去，上山下乡我没赶上，但是这件事改变了我。所以我特别当个事儿，我也相当地投入。但是我现在看回过头来我看我编的片子也是破绽百出，没有什么很成熟的一些想法，但是那个时候是因为整个的夏天他们要离开校园了，那么我在这个片子里面一开头用了小黄的，黄什么刚的一个歌，那是我的对纪录片的纪实语言的一个反叛，有的东西它本来就是主观的，它不是纯被动的客观，所以我在手法上这我认为是有创新的。后来张元导演特别喜欢这段，因为我还把它调了色，他是当事人，是这场运动的当事人，对他来讲这就是个梦境，对我来讲也是个梦境，怎么把我们主观的记忆夸张地表现，这是我们之前的纪录片回避的，我这次公开的希望纪录片不回避自己的主观的态度。当然看什么事了，你说有两家打起来了，你不回避你没办法保证你的客观中立。对，我印象比较深的就是我不知道他们怎么找到我的，然后我弄着弄着越陷越深。

王：那时你在里面参与拍摄了吗？

时：当然了，主要是我拍摄的。

王: 那个时候其实你的主业是在电视台工作是吧? 但是这个题材肯定不可能电视台播, 那你想到拍的时候我要给谁拍呢, 还有放给谁, 有没有这个想法?

时:　没有。但是因为我们已经有了电影节的概念了, 有吴文光这样的朋友了。

王: 就知道这样做也是有观众的, 90年代初这种独立作品其实观众还是很少, 空间也很少。

时: 不是观众的事儿, 是良心的事, 这是我跟别人不一样的地方。你说什么观众啊, 我现在做的东西都是, 我现在要退休了, 我现在做东西, 你说你在哪儿放你管着吗? 我自己愿意做, 我有我的想法。我刚才就讲一般人做不到我的这个概念, 因为这是我经历当中最震撼我最震动我的一件事, 我对它是有回忆的, 我必须要把这个记忆给它找回来, 我要做这件事, 不然我对不起良心。

王: 那件事 (89) 对您创作的影响是什么?

时: 就是要想到中国的问题, 要通过纪录片的语言, 要帮助人们能够解决我们社会发展变革当中的问题, 而不是只有矛盾、冲突、问题。

王: 其实当时我看到采访, 是吕新雨采访的。吴文光当时说那个时候对他的触动是, 说那事之后整个北京就安静下来了。他们其实对80年代的一些纪录片方式, 比如说《河殇》, 那种就是云中布道的方式的一种反感, 因为就是自己对自己的一个否定, 对80年代那种个人主体性的张扬其实是一个否定。所以说我觉得那个时候的纪录片的重要的倾向是: 我谦虚下来, 我作为创作者, 我要让他们说话, 我更加隐藏自己, 其实对自己是一个否定, 那个时候有这么一个东西。

时: 我不是这样认为的。我是反感这种宣传性的语言, 我是要用纪录纪实的语言, 我跟吴文光不一样。吴文光是自己摸索出来的, 我们是学这个的, 知道你怎么拿笔就应该这么拿笔, 是吧? 吴文光无所谓, 我只要写出字来就行, 管我怎么拿笔, 我攥着我就捏着掐着是吧? 可是我们不行, 先写字之前先教你怎么拿笔, 我就觉得他这种明明都是一样的笔, 他怎么能这样呢? 这不是侮辱了这种拿笔的方式吗? 我看不上《河殇》是这个原因。并不是说个人的作用有多大, 而是说他不该这样说话, 不说人话, 这不行, 不说人话是不行的, 不能容忍的。别人这么说, 你也这么说, 总导演夏骏他跟我一个系的, 但是他比我高两级, 他身上的左的范儿就浓。

王: 其实那时候您还是积极的, 其实您这是非常积极地要去介入社会, 要改变它。

时: 对。

王: 你反感《河殇》其实是因为它的鼓动性?

时: 对, 它的宣传性, 它并没有用事实来说话。

王: 不管它最后结论是对的错的。

时: 对。

王: 你这个手段是指……?

时: 对, 当然也有不同意见。最后, 那再说了, 首先你这个姿势就不对。

王: 姿势不对, 非常理解。后来我看到您说过一些, 有一点我特认同, 做纪录片的过程是一个学习修炼的过程, 您也说到您从纪录片里学到了很多东西。

时: 做纪录片的过程, 实际上我觉得学习最大的过程是你做媒体纪录片的学习, 实际上你是一个成熟的思考者。而你个体纪录片你要有对事实有感性的冲动, 然后你觉得必须要记录下来, 这不能再思考, 思考完了没了, 所以你的直觉非常重要。这是个体纪录片要看重直觉, 但是最后你背后的思考成熟度要靠你做媒体纪录片带给你的学习机会。我们一般媒体纪录片他会有一些专家学者参与策划讨论一些事情, 这些专家学者是我从80年代以后我做《天安门》、做“东方时空”、“实话实说”, 弄一大堆社会学者, 他们对社会的看法, 比如说, 秦的大一统是对中国最大的一个毁灭, 好, 这些问题是光我自己就能够得出这个结论来的吗? 不行, 我必须有秦晖这样的人跟我一块思考这个问题。当然了我说我跟秦晖老师一块思考, 显得我自己太能干了, 实际上这些问题他比我早好多年, 但是我的想法是要通过他的印证。比如说我看《色戒》, 当时我看的时候我还觉得李安有点过分, 人家满门忠烈, 你给弄成见利忘义的了, 后来大概半年后我就觉得李安真是最伟大的导演, 就是要表现这种人权大于主权的概念, 他实际上是在说这件事。我就觉得李安真了不起, 像这样的认识, 你这个认识你必须通过整个的社会精英, 你有一个精英群影响你, 作为你的智囊, 让你长见识, 让你丰富你的阅历, 否则你自己得看多少书你才能悟到这样的真理性的东西? 我指纪录片的带给我的学习的机会是这样的, 我通过拍摄要找人策划, 要采访, 我交往了一大堆社会学者。

王: 我的理解是除了这个, 还有比如说和那种基层的生活的接触。

时: 当然, 你的社会现实问题暴露出来的会让你有一个接触社会的一种可能, 你没有见到这样的事实, 不会触发你这么去想问题的。

王: 还说这个新纪录片运动, 这个发起说有几种说法, 我看有个访谈说吴文光最早也提出这个概念, 但是真正的当然大规模的推动, 还有一个包括开会, 新纪录片会议, 其实您那时候在推动这个事情。至于谁提出来的, 当然我不知道这是不是重要, 我觉得实践家更重要, 对这个来源你现在能有其他的记忆吗?

时: 我当然记忆犹新了, 这个运动就是我们深度策划出来的, 不是简单的大家两厢情愿、几厢情愿就能搞起来的, 不是。要在哪儿搞, 都选哪些片子, 怎么样说动老师, 因为那个时候我们连一个放映环境都找不到, 而现在当然条件不一样了, 我们新影大礼堂你随便搞, 可是那时候我们是孩子, 要靠别人的招牌, 要真正把它向全社会来推动出来, 我们并不是想自娱自乐, 而想影响社会的。我们希望媒体报道, 我们希望大众看到我们的片子, 我们以为我们搞这样的推动, 会让电视台能够放我们的片子, 因为很多地方也有这样的苦闷, 他们也没有经费, 他们连拍摄的条件都不具备。我希望我们这样的活动能够带动整个的创作的风向, 并不是说只是让我们几个人有了交流的机会, 自娱自乐一下, 互相肯定鼓励一下, 不是这么粗浅的, 而是希望能够影响社会, 能够让社会接受的, 能够影响意识形态, 能够先获得专业方面的、专业领域的认可。比如说我们请了周传基、司徒兆敦, 还有我的一些老师。但是没想到, 因为

有一些片子让老师们看了目瞪口呆，再加上我这个片子，还有《流浪北京》里边有一句非常他们难以接受的话，“我他妈卖逼也不卖画”，这让老师一听完全的崩溃，我的班主任叶凤英老师说时间你怎么拿这个片子放，我说人家这纪录片嘛，猪跟猪肉一样吗？你吃的猪肉都把毛都摘了，都洗干净了，猪就是那样的，他们没见过。

王：当时您推的那几个片子是哪一些？《流浪北京》还有呢？

时：8个片子：《 流浪北京》、何建军的《自画像》、傅红星的《西藏50年改革纪实》、我们的《天安门》、冷冶夫的《押运兵》、还有《望长城》。

王：《沙与海》有没有？

时：好像没有。好像还有陈真的。然后我在会上还发表了一个我们小组的倡议，倡议里面提到了我们要掀起这个新纪录片运动，这是一个非常明确的口号。

王：一个正式的亮相。

时：对，正式的亮相。我念的宣言、建议书、倡议书，实际上就是个纲领，后来不管说这个得到社会媒体的认可与否，反正它在专业的这个范畴里面口口相传，应该是影响很大的，然后这之后又出现了很多纪录片。

王：当时您那个片子（《天安门》）放的时候他们什么反响？

时：那也是很震撼的，我虽然用的是那种媒体的语言比较多，但是思想性的感觉是很明确的，就是表达我们对历史的态度。我放的是最后一集《往事》。

王：其实这些片子有个统一的特点，就是纪实性比较强对吧？

时：对。

王：这是它主要特点。还有什么其他特点？个人化？

时：对，个人化。当然更主要的是审美的反差，就是摧毁你以往的视觉经验，你没见过这种，这是最了不起的，你刚才讲的这些都是术语，条条框框的，你从分析上那可能就是个人化、纪实性，但是这个效果你没准备。

王：其实里头的思想倾向他们也受不了，我觉得。

时：对，这样反映的带给人最大冲击就是价值观。

王：再说这部《天安门》，当时它的生产的具体条件是什么？钱哪里出的？

时：最早是我自己拉着赞助，是美国运通公司赞助了20万块钱汇到台里面，当然我也是用中央台的名义做这个片子，

后来这个片名就不能用了。而且我拍的过程当中我也调整了表现的主体的内容，比如说以前我是觉得天安门这个事物是带有一定的政治色彩，我可能也回避不了它的政治内容，这也毕竟我是为了89年的十一播出的一个片子。但是89年的6月份我们的媒体啊，意识形态就有了非常大的一个转变，过去可能我有个人的创作的空间，现在在电视台播出已经不可能了，不管我内容怎么样的变化，只要叫这个名字就都不行了，它已经是一个时代的一个伤口了，或者是回避的态度，不管怎么说不可能再用这个名字了。我感觉整个的社会是窒息了，停顿了，不可能有我的表达的空间，那么我就更加地单纯化，就是按照我个人的意愿来完成这个片子，最后的讲述，当然这既要有内容的调整，于是后来我在1990年补拍了一些，1989年之后也补拍了一些，最后就是记录这个时代生活在北京的个体的人们的一种生活，当然了也有我们作者个人的记忆。

像第8集，它是以解说为主的，纪实的段落几乎没有，或者说是很单薄，其实想把自己的情感、情绪也都记录下来，所以我也是这么理解纪录片的。纪录片有的时候它可以记录你的主观的思考思想。在我拍摄这个片子立项之前，同时还有一个老前辈叫佟国平，据说他也立项了一个叫《长安街》的这么一个片子，但是我自己下功夫去找，我那年好像岁数也不大，25岁，我找来了美国运通的20万块钱打到中央电视台的账上就开始拍摄了。用我当时的部门主任的话，说我不好意思打击你的积极性，既然钱你拉来了你就做，做完了赶上89，运通也不会再提那个钱了，他想跟我们撇清关系，跟中国政府他都想撇清关系。那么这个时候我的钱也没有了，也不让我再做了，到底这20万花完没有呢，反正我的设备给我停了，钱也停了，怎么办，我就自己筹资筹钱做的这个事情。

王：后半部分是独立制作？

时：对。

王：但那时候制作的候已经觉得不可能再在电台播了？

时：对，因为我们是1988年开始拍的嘛，拍到1989年，这个就感觉不可能再播了，后面就都停了。像吴文光参与的《中国人》他们就停了，我自己我觉得这是我要实现我的一些想法的一个创作，下了这么大功夫，我还是坚持把它弄完了，前期的拍摄也没有完全结束。

王：运通当时给的钱是什么目的呢？

时：就是要让我在这个片子前面打一个鸣谢，本片由运通卡……用他的运通卡这个画面。

王：是广告的目的？

时：对。

王：这个挺复杂的，它不是一个完整的制作过程，后来有了改变，咱们说新纪录片运动到了后来发展1995年之后就有了DV了，那个时候你们怎么认识 DV的属性？

时：后来王子军他在北京台做了这个叫“家园”，是吧？老百姓自己拍自己，这是成为了一种新的记录方式，那么我们作为一种专业性的工作人员就希望这样的记录能够变成老百姓的一种表达自己情感、发现问题的一种手段，这

是一种社会的需求，在这个时候我们应该起到帮助他人的作用，这也是我们小组的一种价值观，就是这个武器、办法、手段不能控制在少数人手里，应该社会大众都有这个权利，都能够表达自己的主张。

王：对，我记得看您当时的一些言论，觉得你自我的分析特别的犀利，你说你是自我分裂比较成功的一个人，《我毕业了》之后，其实你自己个人认可的作品一直是没有的，对吧？

时：对。

王：我觉得你一直把在中央电视台的这里面这些栏目纪录片和那种作品式的纪录片分开。

时：新纪录片运动在中国你想生存下去是很困难的。它无非就是两条路才能让你生存下来，一个是跟媒体结合，你有本事有手艺，你可以按照别人的定制的东西你来做，然后你有收入；还有一种就是商业的，另外一条道路就是商业，但是90年代初商业化的需求不大，市场没有，现在有了，所以现在你凡是有点制作能力的，你都更多的是选择组建公司，就拉活挣广告的收入，挣制作费。但是不管你选择哪一种生存法则，不管你选择哪一种活法，你自己做纪录片的，那种独立感的独立纪录片都是大打折扣。当你掉进钱眼里，当你为了生存，你不可能有那种斗志，这是需要斗志的，我讲的斗志不是非要去跟谁斗个你死我活，非有什么政治倾向，没有，就是特别顽强的一件事。

我们过去的是很沉重地走到这一步，因为太难了，这种创作机会难，你不可能不深思熟虑，不可能就是一把就凭感觉抡袖子就上了，这还得仔细掂量。咱不说政治上的安全了，就是说经济上的负担，还有你的这种精神压力，你做这个东西，是否对得起历史，你的思考的成熟与否也是个挺大的负担的，行吗这样？但是今天的年轻人他不是我们这一代，有思想包袱长大的，他是完全凭直觉是吧，想唱就唱；想拍就拍，这样吧高产，反而没有负担，反而纯粹，我觉得这是人种的进步。我们是再三地掂量，倒并不是说名利的事儿，而是说你说准了说对了吗？反正我就有这样的负担，我觉得今天年轻人好，纪录片就不应该想那么成熟，否则那成了论文了是吧？你纪录片就是要有直觉的，你喜欢这个事情，你觉得这个重要，你非记录不可，那就先拍了再说吧。

Where is the Echoing Wall of Poetry?[1]

Interviewee: Zhen Zhang 张真; Interviewers采访者: Zhou Zan 周瓒 and Sun Yi伊索尔
Translator翻译: Wenxin XIAO肖文馨

Note: *This interview was conducted by Zhou Zan and Sun Yi with Zhang Zhen in New York in October 2008. It was originally published in Chinese in New Poetry Review, Peking University Press, June 2011. This is its English version, translated for this journal issue.*

New Poetry and the Vibrations of an Era

Question from Zhou Zan and Sun Yi: When did you start writing? Why did you choose poetry over other genres to start writing?

Answer from Zhen Zhang: My writing began in middle school, about mid to late 1970s, around the age of fifteen. I was in my adolescence and enjoyed Chinese lessons, especially classical Chinese poetry. I remember having a copy of *History of Chinese Literature* (中国文学史) by Liu Dajie (刘大杰) on hand at the time, and although it was not an anthology of poetry, many works of classical Chinese poetry were quoted. Then I was intermittently exposed to some modern Chinese poetry, which was very beautiful, and felt that it contrasted with daily life in Shanghai and the noise of the late Cultural Revolution, and was a realm that I could enter. At that time, I also enjoyed journaling. It was in a diary that I started to write some short poems, imitating the format of classical Chinese poetry. I don't remember what I actually wrote, probably stanzas, heptameter or something. As for modern-style poetry or free verse writing, it started relatively late, probably after I went to the Department of Journalism at Fudan University in 1980. At that time, students at Fudan University, East China Normal University, and Shanghai Normal University were very active in poetry writing, while being exposed to the poetry by the *Today* group and other active groups in Shanghai and elsewhere. Therefore, between the college students' poems and the voices of new poetry from Beijing, I began to write new poems seriously.

Q: In which journals were your earliest poems published?

A: The earliest poems? I don't remember much. The Fudan Poetry Society had its own publication called *Poetry Tilling the Soil* (诗耕地), and some of my early poems were published in it. The title of the journal *Poetry Tilling the Soil* seems to be related to the journal of the same name founded by Zou Difan (邹荻帆) and Yao Ben (姚奔) from Fudan in Beifu, Chongqing in the 1930s, during war time. Some advisors of the Fudan Poetry Society were alumni from the Republican period, and some were famous poets in Shanghai in the 1980s. For example, Li Huanyi (黎焕颐), who started writing poetry in the 1950s and then fell silent during the Cultural Revolution, became active again at that time. They were senior poets as well as alumni, and were happy to join us, which brought a distant echo of the 'New Poetry' to a new generation. Their participation was an inspiration for us, because I think the early poetry movement around and after May Fourth should be retraced as part of a historical chain which influenced poetry activities after the 1980s.

Q: When it comes to poetry writing in the early 1980s, poetry activities, and the trend of fiction writing in *Today* (今天), they all need to be re-connected to May Fourth literature—a link that has been broken for a long time.

A: That's true. The forms of our organization, such as associations, our experimentation in writing, and our experimentation in language, were all in one way or another related to the historical tradition of the May Fourth Movement and modern vernacular literature. At that time, I was exposed to a lot of translated literature, such as poetry, novels, and plays, and literary works from the May Fourth period were also republished. For example, I was impressed by the poetry of Xu Zhimo (徐志摩), who was from the same town as my father. I remember making a special trip back to his grave in Haining, Zhejiang to pay my respects, and felt like there was a connection between us. At that time, I also paid special attention to Russian poetry. Although I had read a lot of Soviet literature and watched many Soviet films, I felt very different when I was exposed to Pushkin's poetry again. In middle school we did some kind of required farming boot camp (学农) in the countryside of Pudong. My friends and I sat on a sun-parched field under the stars, reading Pushkin's poetry with a flashlight. Although these friends did not actually take the path of poetry writing, I still remember their love for poetry. The pursuit of poetry, the pursuit of romance, and the desire for new literary expressions, had taken root in many young minds, which I think was a very common societal passion back then. At that time, we hand-copied many poems. After a few times copying, we seemed to have the confidence that we could also write poems.

During college, I was lucky to meet a senior, Jing Xiaodong (景晓东), who was like a mentor to me. Jing was a Beijing native who participated in the April 5 Tiananmen Incident in 1976, and came to Fudan to study philosophy. Socially and politically experienced, he brought the voice of Beijing poetry to us. I was a freshman, naïve and full of passion for social change, but did not know where to start. It was he who first lent me various mimeographed poetry collections from *Today*, which I read and re-read on the bunker bed in our dormitory at Fudan, with candles lit in the mosquito net, copying them out in a small notebook which cost a few cents, and then passing them around among friends.

Q: You spent three years at Fudan University from 1980 to 1983, when the Fudan Poetry Society seemed to be a very active poetry group.

A: Very active indeed. It is evident from the early editions of *Poetry Tilling the Soil*. However, the Fudan Poetry Society was also a rather mixed group, with socially experienced members like Jing Xiaodong from Beijing, and innocent young students focused on expressing their personal emotions, as well as some members who later became enthusiastic about becoming part of mainstream literature. Internal divisions slowly arose in the group. We were so enthusiastic that we mimeographed the journal ourselves, and I served as a member of the editorial board. I also co-created a publication with some friends from East China Normal University and Shanghai Normal University. It was a smaller, amateurish mimeograph, which was also the earliest place to publish my own poetry. The Fudan poetry society held several large-scale poetry readings, and the school auditorium was filled to capacity with thousands of people. I remember once I recited one of my own poems. Now I feel very embarrassed because the poem was very long, with a Beethoven symphony as background music! But the audience seemed really enchanted. Poetry recitation at that time was a popular genre on stage and on television. We stood on the stage in a serious manner, reciting and performing like professional actors. The audience was also interactive. It seems a bit funny looking back now, but their public orientation and

performative nature were also the better parts of poetry activities back then. The reverberation of space and the stirring of the crowd's emotional responses were very interesting and really exciting.

Q: How many poems did you write during your time at Fudan University? Are they all included in your own poetry collection?[2]

A: Many, about a few hundred poems. I deleted quite a few when I compiled my own poetry collection. Some were revised and refined later on, published in major journals, and then included in the poetry collection when I felt they were ready to be read by others.

Q: You mentioned the vocal 'reverberation of space' at the recital. If you were in that space again, with that same kind of light and the same kind of audience, how would you describe your feelings back then?

A: I can describe the scene in some detail, it's still so vivid. The auditorium was a public space with many uses, such as meetings, presentations, film screenings, and cultural performances. It was at the far west end of the campus, and the dormitory for us journalism students was at the far east end. The campus is so large that to get to the auditorium, we had to cross the entire campus. After dinner, everyone rode their bicycles with one person on the back seat, summoning their friends, roaring off to the auditorium. I was also some kind of celebrity in the university, ha ha, with slightly permed short hair, very 'modern' and 'unconventional', crossing the entire campus on a bicycle, or sometimes on my father's light motorcycle. Now that I think about it, I might have been influenced by the various new woman and modern girl figures of the early twentieth century and unconsciously followed them. My clothes were also very fashionable, with pointed collars and flared pants. I was one of the first people in the university to wear these clothes, ha ha, and was criticized by the class's political guidance councillor, because I was not only the best and the most popular student, but also a potentially 'dangerous' student due to my flamboyant style and norm-defying behaviour. Standing on the stage with the blinding lights, the auditorium was so huge and dark that I couldn't see the last row. Everyone was so excited! We not only recited our own poems but also interspersed them with some poems that everyone was familiar with, like many poems from the poets of *Today*. These poems were recited together, on and off stage. The performative, public, and interactive nature of poetry at the time, much like rock music later on, had an infectious, incitant power. This was not only the arousal of youthful libido, a desire for love and freedom, but also an implicit yet urgent need for all Chinese society at the time to break out of its confinement. It was an unforgettable era.

Q: After all these years, you have also been exposed to and involved in many poetry activities abroad. As your writing has changed, are you still able to envision such a form of poetry performance? Are you still able to recite poems as you did back then?

A: This is an interesting question. The China of that era seemed very suited to poetry recitation. My later poems are more personal, intimate, and introspective, and no longer seem suitable for that kind of public recitation. I was still very young during college, and as Shen Rui (沈睿) mentioned in the foreword for my poetry collection *Dream Loft* (梦中楼阁), my poems at that time were a mixture of imitation and innovation. They stemmed from a collective unconscious, pulsed with the rhythm of a collective ideology, trying to find a common voice for China and society at that

time. This kind of poetry seems more suitable for public recitation and more likely to resonate with an audience. Infused with my young, feminine characteristics, my poems were sensitive, warm, and easier to react to.

Q: Did you try to write in other genres at that time? For example, fiction.

A: I did. I had wanted to be a writer since I was a child. I was so eager that I read everything that I could access, from Dostoevsky to contemporary Chinese writers. I wanted to write in every genre—fiction, poetry, essays, and even film scripts. In a word, perhaps it was just a desire to express myself. In those days, the 'model' for fiction writing was mainly 'scar literature', but I had no personal stories to tell, so I made them up. But they were unsuccessful. They could only be considered exercises or practice, and were never published.

Q: In the 1980s, besides Pushkin and the poets from *Today*, which other poets had a great influence on your writing?

A: Shu Ting (舒婷) had a big influence on me because she was the first post-Mao modern female poet who stood out. Because of her, I also learned about He Qifang (何其芳), so I went back to read his poems. In fact, the influence of Shu Ting, Gu Cheng (顾城), Jiang He (江河), and Yang Lian 杨炼 could be seen in my early experiments. Bei Dao (北岛) was a little less influential, probably because I could connect with those more emotionally expressive poets more easily. Interestingly, I soon got to know these poets myself: Yang Lian participated in one of our poetry activities at Fudan; Gu Cheng also lived in Shanghai at that time; Bei Dao worked as a reporter at *New Observer* magazine (in 1981, then went to *China Report* until 1985) and often came to Shanghai for his work. Jing Xiaodong introduced me to him. I remember riding bikes to visit him at Jing'an Guest House on a cold day; I recall vividly a cold sore on my lip made me feel quite awkward. I felt very honoured and had the feeling of being 'received' by the famous poet, a hero figure, really. As a college student, I felt lucky to be able to communicate directly with the best and most powerful poets in China then, and to be praised and encouraged by them. I also vaguely felt that my fate would be changed from then on: I was not born to stay in Shanghai as a 'Shanghainese girl'. The stagnant, confining life in Shanghai then was too much for me to bear. Compared to the universities in Beijing, Fudan was relatively conservative, with a more repressed political consciousness and more severe self-censorship. I especially longed for Beijing and wanted to travel as far as possible. I felt that what I wanted to do was not something that could be accommodated by the geographical area I was in. At that time, I already knew that there were new poetry activities in Nanjing, Sichuan, and other places. Although it was still marginal vis-à-vis official mainstream culture, it was a spiritual energy that flowed across the country, an invisible network, interconnected activities, and I felt that I was vibrating with others in a larger context.

Shanghai, Beijing, and Beyond

Q: Was there a difference between the edge and the centre of this vibrational current, or the community of spiritual energy? Was Beijing a flashpoint for this core energy back then?

A: Beijing was definitely the centre. From the April 5 Tiananmen Incident in 1976 to the introduction of Misty Poetry (朦胧诗) and the Stars Exhibition (星星美展) in the 1980s, these poets and artists were all interconnected, like the Fifth Generation director Chen Kaige (陈凯歌), who had a close relationship with the *Today* group. Shanghai was

relatively marginal. But as I travelled to other parts of the country, I found later on that there were even more marginal places, such as Yunnan and Hainan. People there were very much looking forward to the new poetry movement in Beijing and Shanghai. I remember when I travelled with friends to Wuzhi Mountain,[3] a very remote place in Hainan, I actually encountered a local poetry lover, an employee of the cultural station there. The magazine *Poetry* (诗刊), published in Beijing, was on his desk, and my debut poem was right in that issue. When he saw me, the kind of excitement on his face was just like that when I met Bei Dao for the first time, maybe even more so due to his really remote and isolated location! It was a rather strange feeling. I think a lot of people were looking for faith in a time without faith, something almost akin to a religious feeling. A lot of people were wandering around the country searching for 'roots', new inspirations, and kindred spirits; and religious imagery like 'sacrifice', 'martyrdom', and 'monument' were very common in poems. This began in 1976 with the April 5 Tiananmen Incident, and more than a decade later, in 1988, we can still see the legacy of this kind of consciousness in the 'Survivors' poetry society('幸存者'诗社) some of us founded in Beijing. Generation after generation have sacrificed greatly for China's experiments with revolution and modernity. Some poets went insane or committed suicide, such as Shi Zhi (食指) , Hai Zi (海子) , and Gu Cheng. Many voices were swallowed up by history, like waves washing away sand on the beach. In that era, we all shared some kind of religious imagery or imagery of ritual sacrifice and articulated it in different ways.

Q: You have talked a lot about your memories of and feelings about that era. I remember you once said in an interview that you took the initiative to drop out of Fudan because you fell in love with a foreign student. Now that I think about it, it was not easy to get into university back then, and even though you chose to withdraw, the pressure you faced must have been extraordinary. In addition to suppressing your love, that incident also caused you to face important choices and changes in your life and career. What kind of pressure was that?

A: It was a horrific time, an absurd time, and a rupture in my personal life. Yes, the word 'transformation' is a bit lightweight, it was a kind of rupture. Years later, I looked back and realised that the incident was a very traumatic experience and caused long-term PTSD. It's really chilling to think about it, because it was not just pressure, but more like persecution. In those days, falling in love with a foreigner was abnormal and even criminal, and the first 'associations' made by people around you were with sexual relations and political problems, followed by a whole set of moral discourses, which included both voyeurism and suppression. The departmental party secretary, a 'Marxist iron lady', had a talk with me and intimidated me, which is still fresh in my mind. I remember when I went to meet her as ordered, my heart was churning all the way. On the other hand, I was cheering myself on, young, vigorous, and defiant, I would take full responsibility for what I did. My relationship was a private matter, an expression of my existence, a declaration of myself, although I had no intention of getting married and having children. After all, I was still very young. The party secretary slammed the table while throwing a large bunch of keys onto it, sinisterly and cunningly mentioning the 'problematic lifestyle' of another member of the poetry society, as if our society had suddenly changed from a group of enthusiastic 'May Fourth' successors to a decadent bourgeois group!

Q: It seems that the 'Strike Hard' Campaign started soon after you left.

A: Yes, it's not just my personal story. It's relevant to the whole era. The university officials were relentless, and my classmates stopped talking to me, and then there was a departmental meeting, so I knew things were bad, ha ha. I

was very sensible and sat in the last row with my head down, pretending to be fine. I felt like I was willing to give up everything, but still felt scared. After all, I was still a young girl in my early twenties and had not experienced anything seriously tough. During the departmental meeting, the spirit of the leading party newspapers was conveyed first, followed by university and departmental affairs. Then, without naming names, they began to criticise, saying that someone in the department had no regard for national character and personal self-respect. Wow, such a big deal! Overnight, I turned from a model student, both 'red' and professionally competent, into scum, even a blot on the 'nation's character'. The nature of my identity was determined. I had no future, at least no expectation of any job assignment after graduation. They knew that there were no grounds to expel me, nor had they caught me committing a crime, but the mental, social, and political pressure came head-on.

Q: It was the elimination of deviants.

A: Yes, like 'Cow demons and snake spirits' (牛鬼蛇神).[4] Luckily, I survived. In the end, I chose to drop out on my own, both because of the external pressure and because I was completely disappointed with such a system. When I first entered this first-class elite university, a school directly related to the May Fourth tradition in Shanghai, I had the dream and passion of becoming an investigative reporter and writer. Of course, academic life in the Department of Journalism was already disappointing, and the courses were not academic or professional enough and mostly politically-oriented. Many students wanted to join the Party in order to work in top-tier state media organs, so they diligently memorised the names of the new Central Committee members, because that was part of the basic skill set of a party newspaper reporter. It was probably because I was so dissatisfied and uninterested in becoming a 'mouthpiece' that I started writing poetry and consciously turned to the arts, including cinema. Before I withdrew from Fudan in the summer of 1983, the Committee of the Communist Youth League at Fudan demanded that I quit the League, which I happily complied with. They recommended that I maintain regular relations with the Party through the embassy while living overseas. There was something very absurd about that era. Several months after dropping out, I moved to Sweden to study languages and film. Film has since become a very significant passion and a kind of 'salvation' for me, because the medium is more direct and 'translatable' than literary language. I also saw the connection between poetry and cinema in the films of Tarkovsky, Pasolini, and others. The two years in Sweden were an important period of personal growth for me. I read a lot of books, watched a lot of movies and even made a student film,[5] travelled a lot, and worked part-time to support myself, and really matured a lot.

Q: Did you continue to write poems after you went abroad? Did you still have any connection with the poetry scene at home? I remember there were many people who couldn't write after they left the country because they didn't have the environment of their native language.

A: I still wrote many poems, but they became rather private. I still remained in contact with the poetry community in China, mainly through frequent correspondence (no e-mail yet). I had many exchanges with poets in Beijing like Bei Dao and Yang Nian, and people like Meng Lang (孟浪) and Nanfang (南方) in Shanghai, and especially Gu Cheng and Xie Ye (谢烨), with whom I had a lot of correspondence and exchanges of poems.

Q: The poetry world in China underwent great changes in 1985 and 1986, with the so-called 'Third Generation' poets

emerging, including Han Dong (韩东), Yu Jian (于坚), and the 'Non-nonism' poets ('非非'诗人). Some researchers and poetry editors also classified you as a 'Third Generation' poet or a 'post-misty poet' (后朦胧诗人). I remember that a 'New Poetry Groups Exhibition' (现代诗群体大展) co-sponsored by *Shenzhen Youth Daily* (深圳青年报) and Anhui's *Poetry Daily* (诗歌报) was jointly organised and edited by Xu Jingya (徐敬亚) and Meng Lang in August 1986, which 'exhibited' (i.e. published) the works of more than 100 poets. You were also included.

A: Yes, thanks to the Shanghai poet Meng Lang. The poems submitted to the exhibition were composed in Sweden. There weren't many of them, and they were later also included in *The Collection of the Chinese Modernist Poetry Group 1986-1988* (中国现代主义诗群大观1986-1988), compiled by Xu Jingya and Meng Lang and published by Tongji University Press in Shanghai. Interestingly, some of my poems were also published in other journals in China at that time. Although there was no major political reason, I had inadvertently become a 'poet in exile' or a diaspora poet.

Q: 'Poets in exile'? This concept of a group of poets only really gathered strength after 1989, right?

A: Yes, the concept of 'poets in exile' became more poignant after 1989. However, there were already many poets who were able to travel abroad to participate in international poetry festivals and interact with foreign poets in the early and mid-1980s. That is to say, diasporic writing, publishing, and communication had already emerged before 1989, though it did not necessarily mean residing abroad permanently. Poetry writing had a more international and open platform, and thus poetic ideas and forms undermining narrow-minded politics and nationalism began to emerge. I have a strong impression that it was only after Bei Dao went abroad in the mid-1980s that he began to advocate aesthetic and linguistic styles beyond political rhetoric, which was a big transformation.

Q: I think it was because the Misty Poetry (朦胧诗) in China, although emerging, was suppressed and regarded as heretical at that time, with the implication that it was 'underground literature'. The Misty Poets had a very heated debate with the older generation of poets, literary theorists, and literary critics. At that time, mainstream literary theory still believed that literature should serve (official) politics. Although there had been some political shifts, the theory of literature was still stagnant.

A: Yes, I remember that there was another group of people in Shanghai at that time who had already turned to the so-called 'Reform Poetry' (改革诗歌), which carried a stronger flavour of daily life, depicting the emerging commercial culture, the ordinary people on the street. They wrote about some new subjects, as well as personal matters, neither very direct and politically sharp, nor propaganda subjects in the traditional sense. These poems set a precedent for the 'new mainstream'—in step with the times and changing mores and tastes but politically safe.

Poetics of Exile

Q: This kind of writing met a new demand which catered to domestic politics at that time, which means that there actually existed writing for various contexts. But what is more interesting is that after several Misty Poets left the country, their poetry was regarded as political, and they became political dissidents in a very awkward position. It should be said that 'exile' is a very complex psychological state, not a simple confrontation with domestic politics.

A: The situation of 'exile' is indeed very complicated, and at that time it also involved the issue of identifying with the poets and literary scholars in exile in Eastern Europe. Many things happened during that time, and the internal divisions of the poetry world became very complex, so it is not possible to generalise.

Q: 'Exile' is a very interesting topic to investigate. For example, the 'Survivors' club in Beijing in 1988, which you mentioned earlier, was also very closely related to the word 'exile'. At that time, the concepts of 'exile' and 'survival' in China were actually related to the state of culture and the survival of individual poets in China.

A: I returned to China in 1985 and lived in Beijing. I was very lucky because it was a time of a 'mini-spring' for Beijing culture. I got to meet old and new friends as several generations of poets and artists overlapped spatially. Bei Dao and Gu Cheng had not yet left, and I was the same age and close in experience to the post-Misty Poets, and poets from Shanghai and elsewhere often came to Beijing. I was also living in the foreign diplomats' compound at the time due to my husband's job, so my home in Sanlitun became a stop-over place and an art salon and even exhibition space. During my three years in Beijing, I wrote a lot of poems and convened and participated in a lot of activities, but they were not as dramatic as those on-campus activities with a large public. Instead, they were small, salon-style activities. The event venues changed frequently, with gatherings at the homes of the poets, Mang Ke's (芒克), Duo Duo's (多多), and Ma Gaoming's (马高明), college campuses, as well as the apartments of some diplomats and international correspondents interested in the arts. The activities included poetry readings, music recitals, and performances of experimental plays, and art exhibitions. It was like a moving festival. People were intentionally or unintentionally participating in various social trends of 'cultural reflection' (文化反思) and 'cultural root-searching' (文化寻根), only it did not feel like a 'movement' as it did in the early 1980s.

Q: You were in Beijing for three years from 1985 to 1988, which was again a relatively important period in the development of contemporary poetry, before what happened in 1989. It's very interesting that your experience is linked to the ups and downs of contemporary poetry.

A: The three-year period in Beijing was also important to me. I got to know Duo Duo quite well because of our shared interest in film; we also had many similarities in terms of our poetry and philosophy of life. Duo Duo's day job was as a reporter for the *Farmers' Daily* (农民日报). At that time many poets seemed to have jobs as journalists in order to survive, ha ha. Ironically, as someone who ought to have been a journalist, I could not work as a Chinese journalist anymore. I remember in the spring of 1988, when there was a very strong dust storm in Beijing, Duo Duo rode his bicycle to meet me after he got off work and we chatted at the back gate of the Workers' Stadium. At the time my husband and I were already planning to leave Beijing for Japan. Personally, I was actually reluctant to leave because I had my own group of friends and a decent job. More importantly, I could continue to write and communicate in my native language. But something told me that it was time to move on. I was working in the Beijing office of *Time Magazine* and knew a lot about the political changes happening. The cultural policy had already shown signs of 'retreat' in 1988, such as the campaign against 'bourgeois liberalisation', the campaign against 'spiritual pollution', and the crackdown on experimental literature and art. There was a growing feeling of desolation. Duo Duo was very sensitive. He felt that major changes were on the way, and something big was going to happen. By then Gu Cheng and Xie Ye had already left, and several others, leaving only very few so-called 'survivors'. Of course, the real 'survivors' were those who survived af-

ter 1989; back then we were only 'survivors' in a spiritual and intellectual sense. I remember clearly the conversation with Duo Duo at the back door of the Workers' Stadium. The taste of the sandy wind, the yellow colour of the sky, the extremely wide-open area at the back door of the stadium, the rush and haste of the bicycle flow at the end of the day: everything in that scene has been frozen in my mind. I returned to Beijing last winter and stayed with a friend in the area called Happy Village. Wow, it was so bustling and 'modern', and everything had changed! That meeting and what I registered at the Worker's Stadium was my farewell to Beijing, and to an era. The 1980s ended there. I was living in Tokyo in the spring of 1989, feeling that I had left Beijing too soon and missed the opportunity to witness history. I remember that Bei Ling 贝岭, who was already in exile in the U.S., was calling me twice a day, asking me to go back together. But we did not make it.

Q: What were your plans?

A: I wanted to be a part of the movement, to participate with my friends, with readers of our poetry, rather than being an outsider. It was the hope of building a new type of 'nation' or community through poetry. Poetry is inseparable from politics and society. Even the very personal poems that I wrote in Sweden I feel were related to that sense of community. At that time, I did not care whether my poems were published in the mainstream Chinese poetry magazines or not, because the poetic spirit of these magazines was already exhausted, and they were full of long, dry work. Some of my work was published in *Beijing Spring* (北京之春) and *Chinese Intellectuals* (知识分子), so I became a member of the expatriate writers' community.

Q: During the Beijing period, were some of your poems also published in *Poetry Daily* (诗歌报) and *Poetry Wave* (诗潮)?

A: I can't remember clearly. The one published in *China* (中国), edited by Ding Ling 丁玲, was probably 'Cat in a Friend's House' (朋友家里的猫), because Bei Dao edited that issue and he liked it so much that he insisted on including it. At that time, not many poems of mine were published in China because I purposely didn't submit them. The ones that were, were at the invitation of friends.

Q: When you were in Beijing, you seemed to be closely involved with the poets from *Today*. Did you have any interaction with third-generation poets? Or poets from Sichuan?

A: Not many, but I had interactions with Lao Mu (老木), Xi Chuan (西川), Hei Dachun (黑大春), and a few others, and I met Hai Zi at Mang Ke's place. The biggest benefit during the Beijing period was the opportunity to travel to Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou and meet some poets and avant-garde artists. In Chengdu I met Wan Xia (万夏), Bo Hua (柏桦), or maybe Zhong Ming (钟鸣)? I can't remember the names of others now.

Leopard on the Apple Tree

Q: What about interactions with contemporary female poets?

A: Zhai Yongming (翟永明) is a poet I admire. I sent my poems to her from Beijing but did not hear back from her. I only met Zhai for the first time at the Chinese New Independent Film Festival in New York in 2007. I didn't know many female poets other than those nearby, and didn't have direct, specific interactions, but more of a spiritual connection, and mainly through letters, as well as Cui Weiping's (崔卫平) edited volume, *Leopard on the Apple Tree: An Anthology of Women's Poetry* (苹果上的豹: 女性诗卷, 1993), which made me feel a part of the group of female poets.

Q: Have you ever interacted with Lu Yimin (陆忆敏) from Shanghai, Tang Yaping (唐亚平) from Guizhou, and Yi Lei (伊蕾) from Tianjin, for example?

A: I met Lu Yimin during the poetry activities on Shanghai college campuses in the early 1980s. In the mid-1980s I met Tang Yaping in Guizhou, and in Kunming, Yunnan, I met Zhang Xian (张献), an avant-garde theatre artist, Zhang Xiaping (张夏平), a painter, and Zhang Ci (张慈), who wrote fiction [the last two later appeared in Wu Wenguang's 吴文光 1990 independent documentary *Bumming in Beijing* (流浪北京) and subsequently immigrated to Europe and America, respectively]. My close friends were not always poets, but more often pioneering artists working in different media.

Q: In *The Leopard on the Apple Tree*, Cui Weiping placed you in the group of 'feminist poets'. What do you think about that? At the peak of your creativity in the 1980s, did you feel that your writing had a strong gender consciousness?

A: I think I had this consciousness and I agreed with Cui Weiping's editorial philosophy. As I understand it, some female poets and writers are generally less willing to label themselves 'feminist'. They prefer to be seen as on a par with male writers and be able to express the same ideas of grand history and big themes. At that time, I had not been systematically exposed to much feminist theory, but I had read a lot of women's poetry and other writings, such as the Finnish poet Edith Södergran, who wrote in Swedish. I very much identified with her instinctive feminism, which was a very direct and embodied feminism in the modernist style.

Q: Was Södergran's poetry that you read at the time in Swedish or English?

A: It was in Swedish. This had to do with my boyfriend at the time. He was an international student, a poetry lover who came to our poetry society events. He was the one who introduced me to Swedish poets, especially Södergran. We were probably the first people to translate her poems into Chinese.

Q: So this was much earlier than Bei Dao's translation of her poems?

A: Yeah, Bei Dao's translation began in the late 1980s, when he started translating her poems into English through the Sinologist Göran Malmqvist (1924-2019). My boyfriend admired Södergran very much. He thought that my poems had some similarities to hers and introduced her work to me. Later on, some scholars compared me with Södergran, but in fact I was completely unaware of her at first.

Q: Södergran's poetry is very direct and strong in terms of language and style.

A: Through Södergran, I understood something about the spirit of modernism and modern philosophy on the margins. It was something grounded in the Nordic countries, the freezing cold and the heavy snow, not in the bars of Paris, that bohemian, bourgeois, romantic, Left Bank stuff. The originality of Södergran's poetry was a very strong stimulus for my creative energy.

Q: Later, when you went to Tokyo and then to the United States, did you still pay attention to contemporary foreign poetry and the poetry of foreign female poets?

A: I paid some attention to it, but not intentionally or extensively. Poetry is more of a way of being for me than a career or profession. I stopped saying that I wanted to be a poet and kind of gave it up as a vocation. After leaving Fudan, my original planned path from prestigious university student to famous journalist was cut off, ha ha. With an unknown future hanging over me, I had to start all over again, learning the languages and skills for life. For several years I was very confused, very insecure, not knowing what I was going to do. Even when I studied filmmaking, it was not clear at first what I could do with it, and it seemed impossible that I would have a career in film given the enormous challenges as a new immigrant lacking all kinds of resources. Film and film studies was more like a place where I could learn to speak more freely, and it slowly replaced poetry as a medium for me to express myself directly.

'International Youth'

Q: You mentioned that you decided to give up poetry, or give up the idea of being a professional poet. Did you mean giving up becoming a poet in general? Did this sense of giving up come out of thin air, or was there a slow process of transformation?

A: It was a slow process and it was subconscious. Let's put it this way, at that time I was able to travel freely, self-funded, so I went to some poetry festivals, such as the Rotterdam Poetry Festival, which Bei Dao and Shu Ting both attended. Although I was not officially invited, I also went on my own and participated in some activities, because I had dreamed of and yearned for that kind of poetry mecca while I was still in China. However, there weren't many moments at these events which particularly moved me. I didn't feel like I could get into their context. There were many poets and everyone could get on stage and read poetry. But in the early 1980s, I still had a more sacred understanding of poetry. The poets of *Today* were the big stars and spiritual leaders, and I was the little star on campus. But these activities abroad began to shift my understanding of the function and ontology of poetry. On the other hand, my personal identity started to become blurred. After leaving China, I began to realise that I was not a poet in exile coming from China. I was not seen as a political spokesman coming from a distant, repressed country like Gu Cheng, Bei Dao, or Shu Ting, but just a rootless individual who did not represent any political factor. As an individual, should I write in Chinese? Or Swedish? Or English? It was all a matter of choice. If I continued to write in Chinese, how would I enter local poetic circles? How would I enter local culture? I also translated my poetry into Swedish, but the process was fatiguing. It was hard to convey yourself accurately and directly, as well as for others to define you: are you an immigrant? Or a poet in exile from China? In short, there was no definite position.

Of course, I was young and not eager to pin down my position; there were many things to learn, and I needed to open myself up. During that summer when I studied English in London, I met students from all over the world. We had parties together, danced disco, watched films, were very happy. At that time, I hoped to be one of them, a normal 'international youth', ha ha, an 'international youth' who could speak many languages. I wanted to learn everything, English, Japanese, French, and had to go back to college, do my homework, and survive. Therefore, if I were to be a Chinese poet, it would feel like locking myself inside a format, floating in the air and unable to land, like Gu Cheng. So, I chose to 'land'. As I wrote in the poem 'Arrival', the dream-like flight needs to find a landing, which could be a soft landing, or may not be a landing at all, and it may also need to take off again and re-land many times, which becomes a process of restarting, re-learning, rediscovering oneself, and going back to the ABCs, especially going back to the ABCs of language learning. The process of learning new languages also gave me a new understanding of the language of poetry. I was confident in my native language because I was very good at the humanities, and I could also write experimental and new poetry. I thought I could master, transform, and recreate its form, but now no one around you speaks Chinese, or transforms and experiments with it. I remember once when tutoring Chinese to several China-born immigrant students, I realised that my own native language was very different from theirs, and that my poetry held no meaning for them at all. These experiences had a great impact on my subliminal desire to not be a 'Chinese poet' and gradually made me less confident in writing in my mother tongue, because even though I could master it and even shape it, whom would I be writing for? Such an environment was actually a kind of obstruction for me, so I turned from a person who recited in public into a person who wrote in a closet … I cried a lot, because the experience of emigration at the beginning was very painful, and I cried and wrote behind closed doors. The loss of my early poems, diaries, and letters was also related to this sense of instability and 'temporariness', as there was no place to store them, and no space to store my native language.

American Education: Rediscovering Cinema

Q: After all these years of study, like you said, as an international youth, now you are in a more permanent position in academia, with knowledge of literary and film theory. You have also started writing again. Are you writing in English or Chinese? In this country, do you ever feel you could start writing Chinese poetry again?

A: Now is indeed the time to embrace one's native language and start writing again. Although the temporary nature of diasporic life has not really changed, the intervals between take-off and landing have become longer. Whereas before I had to pack and unpack every two or three years, now the cycle is perhaps eight or nine years. I also have a child now and must face the problem of teaching him my native tongue. In the process of teaching him Chinese, I have discovered a distance between myself and the language. The language of academic Chinese is manageable for me, because it was westernised once during the May Fourth period, and again since the 1980s, so the academic language of both sides can be translated directly. But the language of children and the language of daily life need real flesh and blood and a lived linguistic environment. This has required me to search again. So, the first question is, what is my Chinese nowadays? Is it the language I knew in the '80s? Or is it the new language of the changing China of today? … I remember meeting those young literature lovers from the 1980s, the readers of my early poems, some of whom are now the backbone of independent filmmaking. Meeting them years later felt like walking on a bridge between the past and the present. The poems I wrote, the words I sent out, seemed to find me again, as if I were hearing the echoes of history.

In the 1990s, when I was studying in the United States, I often returned to China to visit my family, researching my dissertation on early Shanghai cinema, and meeting friends, such as Cui Weiping and Shen Rui. I also participated in the poetry recital hosted by Ma Gaoming in Chaoyang Park in 1993. It was a very hot day. We drank beer and chatted until the park gate was closed, so we got out by climbing the wall, ha ha. It was the last time I participated in this kind of 'underground' poetry recital in China. Later on, poetry was in the doldrums, as the tide of economic reform came up and poetry was washed away. However, I feel that poetry activities have become more active again in recent years.

Q: After 1989, before 1995, there was a period of four or five years when, although some people left, others kept writing and still published poems in *Today*. Then came the Internet era of poetry.

A: Yeah, it was like in 1995, 1996, when I became aware of the existence of online poetry and online poetry magazines. The first North American online poetry journal was probably *Olive Tree* (橄榄树).

Q: It was *Olive Tree*. It started as a pure poetry magazine, and after Ma Lan 马兰 took over as editor, it became a comprehensive literary webzine of poetry, prose, and drama.

A: Later there was *New World* (新大陆) and all that. *Today* has recently gotten an online version, as well as *Tendency* (倾向). By the way, my poetry-related activities in the United States are mainly related to these two publications, so I was not exactly lonely. I felt the loneliest in Sweden as a new immigrant. After arriving in the United States, the situation was better. Bei Dao stayed in the United States, living near Chicago and Michigan, and we often met. I was also in touch with Bei Ling, Xue Di (雪迪), and Meng Lang on the East Coast, at Brown University and in Boston.

Q: Are there other aspects to your research on new contemporary poetry besides your research on Gu Cheng and Chen Jingrong (陈敬容)? Did this research have any influence on your poetry and your writing?

A: I first studied comparative literature at the University of Iowa from 1991 to 1993. For my quite lengthy master's thesis, 'Poetics of Exile', I wrote about Chinese new cinema and new poetry, about *Today* and the Misty Poetry, female poets Zhai Yongming and Tang Yaping. At that time, many people were doing narrative studies with cinema and fiction. I focused more on the poetic spirit in the new cinema, and the pursuit of new auditory and visual imagery in cinema, which was also the pursuit of poetry of the time. There was a chapter on female poets and female directors of the Fourth and Fifth Generations like Huang Shuqin (黄蜀琴) and Hu Mei (胡玫), and how they consciously tried to explore the cultural space of feminism in the making. As I took a poetry theory course as an elective and had also written a term paper on Emily Dickinson's poetry, I read her work from cover to cover. The teacher was a student of Paul de Man from Yale University and so was a scholar of New Criticism. I was happy when I selected the course, but ended up learning nothing meaningful and felt that New Criticism was very empty.

Q: New Criticism itself is rather formalist, not tied to something political or cultural.

A: So I went back to study film theory and Deleuze's philosophy. Deleuze inspired me a lot because his writings

bridged poetry and film for me. Psychoanalysis has also influenced me a lot. It was a coincidence that I later met Professor Gregory B. Lee at the University of Chicago, where he was teaching our Chinese literature class. Following him, I relearned new poetry, reread May Fourth poetry, and caught up on some female traditions of classical poetry, and so I did a study of Chen Jingrong's poetry … I learned that the personal and the historical are important in the collective discourse of feminism. I wanted to continue this research and investigate the historical and cultural origins of vernacular poetry in relation to modernity. But then Gregory B. Lee left, and I rediscovered film. I also met new mentors, one of them was Miriam Hansen.[6] Her specialty was film studies and modernist theories of media and mass culture, and she really opened my eyes. Interestingly, she also studied poetry first, Ezra Pound, and was an expert on Walter Benjamin. Through her, I began to connect the issues that I cared about—politics, modernity, visuality, and feminism.

Working with Miriam Hansen I felt that I was able to re-synthesise the formalist, aesthetic, political, and the cultural, which are really inseparable. In addition to her, there were other very good teachers from whom I learned a lot. At that time, the University of Chicago also had a 'cultural mini-spring', serving as a centre for cultural criticism, cultural studies, and film and media studies. I learned a lot about early cinema, comparative film history, literary theory, cultural theory, art history, and anthropology during my time there from 1993 to 1998. The interdisciplinary cultural vibe was very inspiring. In fact, entering academia and becoming a film scholar was not my initial ambition. When I wrote poetry back in Shanghai, I never thought I would become an academic. Being a scholar, working behind closed doors and studying things that are sprinkled with dust, seemed to be completely different from my personality and temperament.

The result of more than a decade on the 'knowledge seeking' path led me here, 'reading a million books and travel a million miles'. I seemed to finally have found my destination, like tributaries flowing into the sea. Previously, these tributaries were unrelated: writing poetry was writing poetry, being a journalist was being a journalist, and my interest in popular culture was only an interest—I have always been interested in popular culture. Growing up in Shanghai, I had an intimate knowledge of commercial culture, fashion, everyday life, and even in the most depressing days, there were always many elements of the 'vernacular modernist' discourse that I later developed in my scholarship. They were passed down through the tastes of the previous generations, not only to the social elite, but also through the underground concerts and dance parties I attended. This made me feel that those so-called 'vulgar' things were in fact related to the modernist culture I was pursuing. After so many years of study, being exposed to film, Södergran, Dickinson, Baudelaire, classical Chinese poetry, European art film, and popular culture, at different stages of life, all of a sudden it seemed to be all connected! I was also enlightened, and there was no longer a rigid division between classical and modern, modernist and non-modernist, highbrow and lowbrow. Also, I began to understand the attempts at the beginning of Chinese modern poetry, and why it was necessary to adopt colloquial and vernacular language. At that time, I put a lot of energy into writing my doctoral dissertation, and also had to seek a job position. At the same time, I felt that I had learned a lot and had something to say, and it was time to give back to society.

Where is the Echoing Wall of Poetry?

I think the reason I didn't go on to do poetry studies was probably because, on the one hand, film studies gave me a sense of critical distance and didn't require a direct elaboration of poetry; on the other hand, I had acquired a better

grasp of film. In the meantime, the number of poems I wrote also decreased. Now there is very little time for poetry writing because of all the responsibilities I have, but I still feel that I cannot give up creative writing entirely because it has given me the strength to survive for so many years. It requires self-discipline, whether writing poetry or anything else. I still remember how Gu Cheng encouraged me. He said, if you want to write, write more, write a hundred or two hundred poems. If you stop writing for a long time, it becomes more difficult to return to the mood and rhythm of writing. When you write less, the distance from the language becomes wider. If you speak and touch a language often, you can still keep its texture, pulse, and rhythm.

I know a few Chinese poets who have applied and gone to some art 'colonies' which makes me envious. If I were locked up for two weeks or a month, maybe I'd write a whole collection of poems, ha ha! I still wish I could start writing poetry again. Reading your work also feels like a shortcut and a fast track for me, to touch again an 'echoing wall' of poetry. I have studied several languages, but it is not easy to really master a language like a native speaker. It is very difficult to use a foreign language to genuinely express oneself and to convince others. Isn't there a joke about that? If you start dreaming in that language, you're really getting into it. No matter how proficient I am in English, it is not the same feeling as using my mother tongue (which is actually Shanghainese), but it is more natural to use English in my daily life now because in a certain sense I have become a New Yorker. Chinese is important, but it is not the only language in my life anymore. I am a Swedish citizen and I go there and speak Swedish frequently as well. I live in a multilingual environment. For me, China is no longer a permanent foothold, though it is still a home in a sense and an important landing place for me.

I think the tragedy of Gu Cheng is, in a certain sense, related to this more interconnected as well as fragmented world, and shifting definitions of homeland and national literature and culture. It is precisely due to these pluralistic, transnational, and translocal formations, that newer meanings and definitions are given to national and geo-political issues, enriching and complicating them. At the same time, while communication and travel have become more convenient, national borders and national identities still exist in internal and external contention. Many people are still unable to speak or travel freely; some are in jail for their writings and views. In today's world, where is the echoing wall of poetry?

Notes

1 This article is translated and adapted from a conversation with poets and critics Zhou Zan 周瓒 and Sun Yi 伊索尔 in New York, October 2008. It was originally published in *New Poetry Review* (新诗评论), June 2011, Peking University Press.

2 This refers to 梦中楼阁 (*Dream Loft*), in the women poets' series from Chunfeng Wenyi Press, Changchun, 1997.

3 I was attracted to this place because of the legend about the women soldiers there in the 1920s-30s, which had a huge impact on my generation thanks to the model ballet film *Red Detachment of Women* (红色娘子军, dir. Pan Wenzhan 潘文展and Fu Jie 付杰, 1970) during the Cultural Revolution.

4 This was a phrase commonly used during the Cultural Revolution to stigmatise perceived class enemies.

5 I attended a film making course and made a 20-minute experimental film called *Mellanrum* in Swedish ('interstice' or 'space in between') on Super 8 stock. It incorporated several of my poems.

6 A highly influential film scholar and theorist of her generation, Miriam Hansen passed away in February 2011. For more on her influence on my work and her friendship with me, see my essay, 'Acupuncture of Time (Fragments for a Memoir of the Present)', *Feminist Media History* (Spring 2021), 7 (2): 188-213.

诗歌的回音壁在哪里？ ——张真访谈录

采访者：周瓒、伊索尔

注：本访谈由周瓒与伊索尔2008年10月在纽约格林威治村与张真进行，以中文发表于《新诗评论》2011年6月，北京大学出版社。

问：您什么时候开始写作的？又是什么因素使您选择诗歌，而不是别的文类开始自己的写作？

答：我的写作开始于中学时代，大概是70年代中后期，15岁左右，进入青春期，喜欢语文课，特别喜欢古典诗词，记得当时手边有一本刘大杰的《中国文学史》，尽管不是诗集，但里面引用了很多古典诗歌作品；然后断断续续地接触到一些国内的新诗，很优美，觉得它们与周边上海的日常生活、文革后期的喧哗形成了一种对比，是一种可以进入的境界。当时也很喜欢写日记，好像那是一个私人的空间，可惜这些日记最后都丢了，哈哈，刻意保存之后还是丢了。就是在日记里，开始写一些短的小诗，模仿古典诗词的格式，究竟写了些什么不记得，总之是绝句、七律什么的。至于现代诗或自由诗体的写作，比较晚，大概是1980年考入复旦大学新闻系之后。当时复旦、华师大、上师大三个高校的大学生诗歌活动很活跃，又接触到《今天》新诗，还有其他一些活跃的上海现代诗小团体，所以就在大学生诗歌与北京传来的现代诗歌的声音之间，开始了现代诗的认真写作。

问：您最早的诗歌作品是在哪些民刊上发表的呢？

答：最早的作品？第一第二早的作品？不太记得了。复旦诗社有自己创办的刊物，名叫《诗耕地》，最初的一些作品就发表在上面。《诗耕地》这个刊名，好像还与30年代复旦人邹荻帆、姚奔他们在重庆北涪办的诗刊名《诗垦地》有关。复旦诗社的顾问，有的是民国时期的老校友，有的是当时上海的著名诗人，像黎焕颐，他50年代开始写诗，文革沉寂下来，后来又重新活跃。他们既是前辈又是校友，也很乐意参加我们的活动，为新一代人的写作带来了一种遥远的新诗回音，这些人的加入是一种激励。因为我觉得早期的诗歌运动、“五四”以后的诗歌运动，是80年代以后的诗歌活动应该重新追溯的一个历史连环。

问：今天无论从写作的角度，还是从研究的角度都是这个思路。谈到80年代初期的诗歌创作，《今天》的诗歌活动啊，小说思潮啊，都会与“五四”文学连接起来，要把断裂了很长时间的“五四”传统重新接上。

答：确实是这样。我们的组织形式如结社，还有写作的实验，语言的实验，都与“五四”和白话文运动的历史传统有关。当时既接触到大量的翻译文学如诗歌、小说、戏剧，五四时期的文学作品也重新发行，徐志摩诗歌就给我很深刻的印象。徐志摩是我父亲的老乡，记得我曾特意回到浙江海宁拜祭他的墓地，感觉冥冥中有一种连接。那时还特别注意到西方诗歌中的另一个传统俄罗斯诗歌，虽然苏联的文学、电影作品看了很多，但重新接触到普希金诗歌，感觉很不一样。中学时代曾在浦东农村学农，与一些同学坐在星空下的晒谷场上，打着手电筒朗读普希金的诗歌。这些朋友虽然没有真正走上诗歌创作的道路，但对诗歌的爱好我记忆犹新。对诗歌的追求，对浪漫的追求，对新的文学表达的渴望，在很多年轻人心中生根萌芽，我想是一种很普遍的社会的激情。那时我们动手抄，抄写了很多诗歌作品，抄完几遍之后，似乎也就有了自己也能写诗的信心。大学时代，在校园里很幸运地结识了一位学兄景晓东，对我而言，他有很重要的指路的意义。景晓东是北京人，参加过1976年“四五”天安门诗歌运动，回来复旦念哲学，

给我们带来了北京的诗歌的声音，社会经验、政治经验都很丰富。我是应届生，天真幼稚，满腔激情地关注社会，却不知从何着手，是他最早借给我《今天》的各种油印诗集，我在复旦宿舍上下层的板床上看了又看，蚊帐里点着蜡烛，在几分钱一本的小笔记本上抄写，然后在朋友间传看。

问：您在复旦大学待了三年，1980–1983年，当时的复旦诗社似乎是一个很活跃的诗歌群体。

答：非常活跃，从《诗耕地》的早期版本就可以看出来。但复旦诗社也是一个比较参差芜杂的团体，有像景晓东这样从北京来的、社会经验丰富的成员，也有纯真的、注重抒发个人情感的年轻学子，还有一些成员后来热衷于跻身主流文学，内部慢慢发生着分化。我们的热情很高，诗刊是自己油印的，我也任过编委。我还与华师大、上师大的一些朋友，编过一个刊物，油印本，更小型、更民间，也是自己最早发表诗歌的阵地吧。诗社当年搞过好几次大型的诗歌朗诵活动，学校的大礼堂坐得满满的，上千人。记得有一次我朗诵了自己的一首诗，哈哈，现在想起来很惭愧，诗很长很长，“交响曲”式的，朗诵时还真的配了贝多芬的交响曲！哈哈，想来当时的诗歌朗诵，也是一种模仿专业表演的形式，站在舞台上一本正经，像专业演员一样朗诵表演，面对的听众也有互动。虽然有些可笑，但它的公众取向、它的表演性，也是当年诗歌活动比较好的部分，非常有意思，那种空间的回响，群情振荡，哎呀，真的是激动人心。

问：复旦大学期间，您大概写过多少诗歌作品？都收入自己的诗集了吗？

答：很多，大概有几百首。有些比较糟糕，自己编诗集时就直接刊落了。有的诗歌是后来经过修改、提炼，在主要刊物上发表过，觉得可以“见人”了，才收入自己的诗集。

问：您刚才提到朗诵会上那种声音的、“空间的回响”。如果现在再让您身处那样的空间、那样的灯光、周围有那样的听众，您会怎样来描述当时的感受呢？

答：我想我会用细节来描述，场景栩栩如生。学校大礼堂是一个公共空间，有很多功能，会议、报告、放映电影、文艺表演，它在学校最西端，我们新闻系宿舍在学校最东端，校园很大，要前往礼堂，得穿越整个校园。大家晚饭后，骑着自行车，后座还载一个人，呼朋唤友，一群人轰轰烈烈地往礼堂开拔。哈哈，当时我也算是学校的小名人，很风光，哈哈，留着“超前”微烫短头，很“另类”的样子，骑着自行车，有时是父亲的小摩托车，穿越整个校区。现在想起来，也许是受了30年代modern girl的影响，自己也不自觉地演了同样的角色。衣着也很流行，尖领，喇叭裤，算是学校里最早穿这些衣服的人，哈哈，遭到政治辅导员的批判，因为好像既是最好、最红的学生，又是有潜在危险性的可能的学生嘛。当时站在舞台上，灯光很刺目，礼堂很大，　黑压压一大片，看不到最后一排，大家群情激荡！既朗诵自己的作品，也穿插一些大家熟悉的诗歌作品，《今天》诗人的很多作品，大家都会背，台上台下同声朗诵。当时诗歌的表演性、公众性、互动性，很像后来的摇滚乐，有一种煽动的力量，既是青春力比多的激发，对爱情的渴望，对自由的渴望，又隐合着当时整个中国社会冲破禁锢的急切要求。那是一个让人难忘的时代。

问：经过了这么多年，您也在国外接触、参与了很多诗歌活动，随着您写作的变化，现在您仍然还能够设想这样的一种诗歌表演形式吗？您还能像当年那样去朗诵诗歌吗？

答：你这个问题很有意思。那个时代的中国，好像很适合诗歌的朗诵。我后来的诗歌更个人化、更私密、更内省，似乎已经不适合朗诵了。在复旦的时候，我还很年轻，就像沈睿在我的诗集《梦中楼阁》前言中提到的那样，我的诗作是模仿与创作的混合体，那时的诗歌作品更是集体式的，包含有更多的集体无意识的内容，有群体思想的脉络与

节拍，想为当时的中国、当时的社会寻找一种共同的声音。所以，这种诗歌似乎更适合公开的朗诵，更容易得到共鸣，中间又注入了我自己那些年轻的、女性的东西，敏感、温暖，容易产生更多的反响。

问：当时您尝试过别的文类的写作吗？例如小说。

答：有过尝试。因为从小就想当作家，一方面是什么都读，能够看到的东西都拿来看，饥不择食，《金光大道》、《艳阳天》都看得津津有味；另一方面就是什么体裁都想写，小说、诗歌、散文，甚至电影剧本。一句话，也许就是想表达。那个时代，小说的“范本”是以“伤痕文学”为主，但自己没有什么切身经验的故事可供叙述，编造得很不成功，模仿痕迹很重，只能算是习作、练笔，从未发表过。

问：80年代，除了普希金、《今天》诗人，还有哪些诗人对您写作产生了比较大的影响？

答：舒婷对我的影响蛮大，她是第一位比较出众的女诗人嘛。因为她，又了解到何其芳，于是回头读何其芳。其实，早期我的那些实验性的诗歌作品里，舒婷、顾城、江河、杨炼的影响都可以看到，北岛的影响少一点，哈哈，大概那几位更感性的诗人，与我自己容易产生连接。有趣的是，很快自己也就结识了这些诗人：杨炼来过复旦，参加过我们大学生的诗歌活动，顾城当时也住在上海，北岛在《新观察》杂志社（1981年在《新观察》，随后就去了《中国报道》呆到1985年）任记者，常来上海采访，通过景晓东的介绍认识了他。 那时候觉得很荣幸，有种受“接见”的感觉，哈哈，一个大学生，能够与中国最优秀、最有力量的诗人直接交流，还得到他们的赞扬与鼓励，既觉得幸运，又隐隐约约觉得自己的命运会从此改变：我不是生来要留在上海做一个“上海女人”。上海生活中的日常琐碎，让我不能忍受。比起北京的大学来，复旦又相对比较保守，政治意识更压抑，自我审查更严厉。那时特别向往北京，想旅行，走得越远越好。我觉得自己想要做的事情，不是我所处的地域所能容纳的。那个时候已经知道，南京、四川等地都有新诗的活动，虽然还很边缘，却是在全国流转的一种精神能量，是一个无形的网络，是相互关联的行为，你会觉得自己是在一个大的背景里与别人一起振动。

问：这种振动的气流，或者说精神能量的共同体，是不是也有边缘、中心之别？当时的北京，是不是一个核心能量的爆发点呢？

答：北京肯定是中心。从1976年的天安门运动开始，到80年代朦胧诗的出台、星星艺术展，这些诗人、艺术家都是互相关联的，像第五代导演陈凯歌与《今天》就有比较密切的关系，北京肯定是一个政治文化中心，上海相对而言就比较边缘；而且，后来随着旅行的脚步，你会发现还有更加边缘的地方，如云南、海南岛，他们非常向往北京、上海的新诗运动。记得当时我走到海南岛的五指山，一个很偏远的地方，居然也发现了一个当地的诗歌爱好者，文化站的小职员，摊在办公桌上的是北京的《诗刊》杂志，我的（公开发表）处女作就在上面，他见到真人现身眼前时，那种激动，就像当年我见到北岛一样，有过之而无不及！哈哈，那是一种很奇怪的感觉，我觉得大家像是都在寻找一种信仰，在一个没有宗教的时代寻找信仰，大家转来转去，四处游走，在全国各地走动，诗歌里也经常出现“献身”、“殉葬”、“纪念碑”一类的宗教性意象，这开始于1976年的天安门诗歌运动，到了十多年后的1988年，我们在北京搞的“幸存者”诗社，还是能够看到这类意识的传承。中国的革命、现代的实验，一代又一代人，牺牲真的是太大了。一些诗人真的也就“牺牲”了，有像食指、顾城这样消失的诗人，也有像大浪涛沙，声音被大历史吞噬的诗人。那个时代，大家都分享着一些宗教性的意象，用不同的声音阐释出来。

问：您谈了很多对那个时代的记忆和感受。记得您曾在一篇访谈中说过，当年由于与外国留学生相恋，主动选择了

从复旦退学。其实现在想起来，考上大学本来就不容易，尽管退学是主动选择，您所面临的压力也一定是非比寻常的。那次事件，除了压制您的爱情，更让您面临个人人生、事业的重要选择、转变。那究竟是怎么样的一种压力呢?

答：那真是一个恐怖的时代，不可思议的时代，也是我个人人生的一次裂变。对，“转变”这个词的分量还轻了些，应该是一种裂变。多年以后，我重新回头看，才意识到那次事件是一个非常大的创伤，有很多“灾后心理创伤”的症状。想起来真觉得寒心，不仅仅是压力，甚至可以说是迫害，那种恐惧，那种恐怖，就像是今日某些地方同性恋者的遭遇一样。那个时代，与外国人谈恋爱，就是不正常，周围人的第一“联想”就是性关系和政治问题，一整套的道德话语随之而来，其中既有窥视欲，也有打压你的心理，领导找你谈话，威吓你，至今记忆犹新。记得当时去见学校领导，一路上心里都在打颤，一方面也在为自己鼓劲，年轻气盛，奋不顾身，一人做事一人当，我的恋爱是我的私事，是我个人存在的表现，是我的一种宣言，尽管当时并没有结婚生子的打算，毕竟还年轻嘛。女党书记大拍桌子，扔着她手中的一大串钥匙，还非常阴险、狡猾地提到诗社另一成员的“生活作风”问题，不外乎婚前性行为、未婚先孕什么的，好像我们诗社一下子就从一个热情向上、“五四”火种的接班梯队，变成了一个小资产阶级团体的下流渊薮!

问：好像您离开不久后，国内就开始了“严打”运动。

答：是啊，这不是我一个人的故事，而是与整个时代相关。领导对我很严厉，班里的同学也不与我交谈了，然后开全系大会，我就知道事情不妙啦，哈哈。我很识相地坐在最后一排，头低着，装没事，虽然心里觉得豁出去了，但还是觉得害怕，毕竟是二十出头的年轻女孩子，没有真正经受过什么“血的洗礼”，哈哈。全系大会先是传达党报精神，然后是校务系务，然后就开始不点名批判，说什么系里有人不顾国格、人格，哇，上纲上线。一夜之间，从又红又专、尖子培养对象的三好学生，变成了一双破鞋、臭鞋，变成了败类，甚至上升到“国格”，个人就被定性了，前途瞬间也就被褫夺了，起码甭指望什么毕业分配了。当时国内也在发生变化，他们也知道，开除我没有律条可循，又没能把我捉奸在床，但这种1949年以来中国惯有的精神、社会、政治压力还是迎面扑来。

问：就是排除异类。

答：对，对，就像“牛鬼蛇神”一样。还好幸存下来了。好在这种压力，反而加固了我与男朋友的感情，他后来成为我的丈夫。最后我自己选择了退学，既是外部的压力，也是对这样的学院、这样的体制完全失望了。当初进入复旦这样一流的精英高校，与上海五四传统有直接关系的高校，是抱着成为一名记者、作家的理想和热情的。当然，新闻系的学习生活，本来也是让人失望的，专业课程很薄弱，政治的成分很大，周围很多同学积极要求入党，天天背诵新的党中央领导的成员名单，因为那是党报记者的基本功——我之所以开始写诗，自觉地转向文学，大概也是因为对成为这种“喉舌”、党报记者的出路心有不满，不感兴趣了。1983年夏天退学前，学校团委郑重地要求我退团，还说我出国后，可以通过大使馆与党保持经常的关系。那个时代真的有多很荒谬的东西! 退学后，去了瑞典，学语言，学电影制作和研究，电影从此变成我一个非常投入的爱好，也成为了我的一种“救赎”，因为电影是比语言更直接的东西。从塔可夫斯基、帕索里尼等人的电影里，我还看到了诗与电影的相通。在瑞典的两年，是我个人成长的重要时期，读了很多书，看了很多电影，也开始打工，真正进入社会，成熟了很多。

问：出国后还写诗吗? 与国内的诗坛还有联系吗? 记得那时有很多人出国后，由于没有了母语的环境，就写不了东西了。

答：因为生活的裂变，让人一下子成熟了好多，所以诗还是在写，写了很多，只不过变成了一种相当封闭的写作。与国

内诗界的联系也没有完全断绝，主要是通过书信，没有e-mail，反而写信很勤奋，联系很频繁。当时与北京的北岛、杨炼，上海的孟浪、南方、郁郁、默默等诗人有很多的交流，尤其是顾城，有很多通信，诗作也寄来寄去。

问：1985、1986年，国内诗坛发生了很大的变化，出现了所谓的“第三代”诗人，包括韩东、于坚、“非非”诗人等。一些诗歌研究者、诗歌的选编者，也将您列为“第三代”或“后朦胧诗人”。记得是1986年8月，在徐敬亚的主持下，《深圳青年报》、安徽《诗歌报》联合办了一个“现代诗群体大展”，展出了一百多位诗人的作品，我记得您也参加了。

答：对，我也参加了。参加诗展，是因为上海诗人孟浪的关系。提交诗展的诗歌，是在瑞典创作的作品，不太多，后来被徐敬亚、孟浪编到《中国现代主义诗群大观1986-1988》里，由同济大学出版。很有意思，当时国内的其他一些刊物上，也发表了我的部分作品，尽管没有什么大的政治原因，结果还是不自觉地、身不由己地，我就成了一个“流亡诗人”、海外诗人。

问：“流亡诗人”？这应该是89后才更加强烈的一个诗人群体的概念吧？

答：是的，“流亡诗人”的概念是在89之后更强烈的。不过，80年代前中期，已经有很多诗人能够出国参加国外的诗歌节，与国外诗人进行交流。也就是说，89之前，侨居异国的写作、发表、交流就已经出现了，尽管未必是在国外定居。诗歌写作有了一个更国际、更开放的平台，打破政治的、民族的、国家兴亡的诗歌理念开始出现。我印象很深，80年代中期北岛出去后，才开始提倡政治之外的美学思想、语言风格，如果不算是一种巨大的转折的话，也是一个很大的转弯。

问：我想这是因为当时国内的朦胧诗，尽管是新兴的，也是受压制的，被视为异端，有“地下文学”的意味。朦胧派诗人与老一辈的诗人、文学理论家、文学批评家进行过一次交锋，争论得非常激烈。当时主流的文学观念还是认为文学应该为政治服务，尽管政治上已经有一些转向，但文学的观念还是停滞不前的。

答：对，我记得当时上海还有一拨人，已经转向了所谓的“改革诗歌”，诗歌的生活味比较浓，写新的商业文化的出现，写街头普通人的形象，写新的一些主体，新的一些个人的东西，既不是很直接的、政治上锋芒毕露的东西，也不是传统意义上政治宣传的东西，这些诗歌开了“新主流”的一个先河。

问：这种写作是迎合了当时国内政治的一种新的要求，也就是说，其实存在着各种情况的写作。但比较有意思的是，朦胧派诗人出国后，他们的诗歌被当成一个政治性的东西来接受，变成了持不同政见者，处于非常尴尬的位置。应该说，“流亡”是一种非常复杂的心理状态，并不是对国内政治的一个简单的对抗。

答：“流亡”的情况确实非常复杂，当时还涉及到对东欧流亡诗人、文学家的认同问题。那几年发生了很多很多事情，诗坛的内部板块因此变得很复杂，不是可以“一刀切”的。

问：“流亡”是一个很值得研究的题目。包括您前面提到的1988年北京“幸存者”俱乐部，也与“流亡”一词有非常密切的关系。当时在国内谈“流亡”，谈“幸存”，其实都与国内的文化状态、与诗人个体的生存状态相关，非常复杂。

答：不能流亡在境外，那就流亡在境内吧。1985年我回国，居住在北京，那是一个北京文化“小阳春”的时代，非常幸运。见到新老朋友，几代诗人在空间上发生重合，北岛、顾城尚未离开，我又与后朦胧派诗人同龄，经验上也接

近，上海的诗人也经常来北京。我那时生活也比较优裕，我三里屯的家就变成旅馆、小沙龙。我在北京的三年间，写了很多诗，召集、参加过很多活动，只是不像当年校园诗歌那么轰轰烈烈，而是些小型的、沙龙式的活动。活动场所是流动的，有诗人朋友的家中聚会，比如外交公寓、芒克家、多多家、马高明家等。活动内容有诗歌朗诵，有音乐演奏，还有戏剧学院的实验话剧，像是流动的节日，有意无意就参与在各种“文化反思”、“文化寻根”的社会思潮之中，只是不像80年代初期有一种“运动”的感觉了。

问：当时您在北京呆了三年，1985–1988年，这又是当代诗歌发展的一个比较重要的时间段，因为然后就是89了。非常有意思，您的经历与当代诗歌的潮流、起伏是联在一起的。

答：北京时期，对我而言也是比较重要的。印象深的是因为电影的关系结识了多多，与他交往很深，觉得在诗歌上、生活哲学上有许多相近的地方。多多当时在《农民日报》当记者，那时好像有很多诗人的公职是记者，为了生存嘛，哈哈，反倒是我这个该当记者的人当不成中国记者。记得1988年春天北京的沙尘暴很厉害，多多下班后，我们骑着自行车，从东城向西而行，在工人体育场的后门聊天。1988年初，我与先生已经打算离开北京去到日本。就我自己而言，其实是不愿意离开的，有了自己的朋友圈，还有一份不错的工作，可以用母语写作、交流，但是不得已，北京开始有一种冷落感，生活的选择要让你离开。当时我在美国《时代》–《生活》驻京办事处工作，了解很多政治风向的变化，1988年的文化政策已经有了“收口”的迹象，反对资产阶级自由化啊，反对精神污染运动啊，实验文学艺术受到打击，大家都有一种萧飒的感觉。多多比较敏感，他觉得天要变了，要发生大事了；其时顾城已经离开了，人去楼空，所谓的“幸存者”也变得寥寥无几。当然，89之后才是真正的“幸存者”，当时我们只是精神意义上的诗歌“幸存者”。工体后门与多多的谈话，我印象很深，那天的风沙，天空的颜色，工体后门的开阔，下班时分自行车流的匆忙仓促，场景在我脑子里定格了。去年冬天我回到北京，住在幸福村一带，哇，繁华得不得了，一切都变了！那次见多多，是我对北京的告别，也是对一个时代的告别。89的春天，我已经身在东京，觉得自己是过早地离开了北京，错过了去见证一个大时代的机会。“四五”时自己还小，不能参加；到了89，自己已经成熟了，能够表达、能够参与了，竟然还是与大时代擦肩而过。记得当时贝岭已经流亡到美国，三天两头打电话给我，要一起回国。

问：你们有什么打算？

答：想要置身其中，与自己的朋友、与自己诗歌的读者一起参加，而不是做一个局外人。想要认同，不是要回到原点，而是希望建设一个新的群体，有共同的向往和追求，不是单纯的乡愁啊、爱国意识啊，似乎是希望通过诗歌建设一个新的nation（国族）。诗歌与政治、社会是不可分的，即便我在瑞典写作的那些非常个人化的诗歌，我也觉得这个诗歌是与那个nation有关系的。当时的诗歌，并不在乎是不是发在国内的主流诗刊上，因为它们的诗歌精神于我们而言已经衰竭了，充斥着连篇累牍难以卒读的文字，上海也有杂志选择我有关于改革的诗歌，或者要求我改成“歌颂”，我不愿意这样媚俗、倒胃口地发表。那时有一些作品发表在《北京之春》、《知识分子》上面，于是，我就成了侨居写作群体中的一员。

问：北京时期，您是不是还有些诗作发表在《诗歌报》、《诗潮》？

答：印象有些模糊了。在丁玲主编的《中国》上发表的好像是《朋友家里的猫》，因为北岛主编那一期，他很喜欢，执意要刊登。当时在国内发表的作品应该不是很多，没有刻意投稿，朋友约稿稍多一些。

问：您在北京的时候，似乎与《今天》诗人交往得更多一些。与第三代诗人有没有交往呢？还有四川的诗人呢？

答: 好像不多，　与老木、黑大春等几个有往来, 在芒克家见过海子。北京期间, 最大的收获是有机会去四川、云南、贵州旅行了一圈, 见到了一些诗人。在成都见到了万夏, 柏桦, 或钟鸣? 名字记不清了。

问: 与同时代的一些女诗人的交往呢?

答: 翟永明是我崇拜的一个诗人, 哈哈, 但没有见到她, 给她寄过自己的诗作。到了2007年纽约的“中国新独立电影节”, 才第一次见到翟永明。我没有认识很多的女诗人, 没有直接、具体的交往, 更多是一种精神上的联系, 主要是通过写信, 还有崔卫平编选《苹果上的豹: 女性诗卷》(1993年) , 无形中觉得自己就是女诗人群体的一分子。

问: 上海的陆忆敏、贵州的唐亚平、天津的伊蕾等等, 都有过交往吗?

答: 陆忆敏在80年代校园诗歌活动期间就认识了。唐亚平是在贵州认识的。在云南认识了搞现代戏剧的张献, 画画的张夏平, 写小说的张慈。他们都是些流亡艺术家, 先是流亡在中国的边陲, 然后流亡到北京 (或上海) , 然后再流亡到美国。我交往的知心朋友, 不都是诗人, 更多是这样的先锋艺术家。交友得有化学反映、气质上的认同等等, 与诗人倒更多是以文切磋。

问: 在崔卫平编选的《苹果上的豹: 女性诗卷》里, 她把您放在“女性主义诗人”群体里, 您对此有何感想? 在您的创作高峰的1980年代, 您觉得自己的写作是不是有着强烈的自觉的性别意识?

答: 我觉得我有这样的意识, 也比较认同崔卫平的编辑理念。就我了解, 一些女诗人、女作家, 一般不太愿意去强调女性主义的标签、标志, 她们更希望与男作家平起平坐, 能够去表达同样的大历史、大主题的内容。那时我还没有回到学院, 女性主义理论接触不多, 但读过很多女性诗歌, 像用瑞典文写作的芬兰女诗人索德格朗, 她那种本能的女性主义, 又是现代主义思潮里面一个很直感的、用身体去写作的女性主义, 我觉得很认同, 大概是因为自己也还年轻, 对那种身体性、直感更容易有共鸣。

问: 索德格朗的诗歌, 您当时读到的是瑞典文还是英文?

答: 是瑞典原文。这与我当时的男友马思中分不开。他是留学生; 诗歌爱好者, 跑来参加我们的诗歌活动、诗刊活动, 是他把瑞典的诗人尤其是索德格朗介绍给我。我俩应该是最早翻译索德格朗诗歌的人。

问: 很早啊, 比北岛翻译索德格朗的诗歌早多了。

答: 是呀, 北岛的翻译是在80年代后期, 他是通过汉学家马悦然才开始从英文翻译这位女诗人的。马思中非常热爱索德格朗, 他觉得我的诗歌与她的诗歌有相似的地方, 一定要把她推荐给我。后来有人曾拿我与索德格朗进行比较, 其实一开始自己完全是无意识的。

问: 索德格朗的诗歌, 在语言风格上非常直接, 非常强烈。

答: 她的诗歌受尼采影响比较大。现在想起来, 当时我是在一种无意识的状态中喜欢上了那种哲学。

问: 包括您在生活的选择上, 也可以见到那种力量。

答: 我当时也非常喜欢尼采。我通过索德格朗, 了解到现代主义精神、哲学里面的某种东西, 而且还是比较边缘的东西。那是大北方、冰天雪地里的东西, 不是在巴黎的酒吧里, 不是那种波希米亚很小资情调、浪漫的、左岸的东西。索德格朗诗歌里的原生态, 似乎是非常强烈激发了我创作的能动量。

问: 后来您到了东京, 到了美国, 还继续关注当代国外诗歌、关注国外女诗人诗歌吗?

答: 有过关注, 但不是刻意去关注。诗歌于我, 更是一种存在的方式, 而不是一种事业、职业。我已经停止说去做一个诗人, 有点放弃了。离开复旦后, 原本设计好的从名牌高校到名记者的路断绝了。哈哈, 前途悬挂着, 一切都要重新开始, 重新学习语言, 学习生活的技能。有那么好几年, 很迷乱, 很没有安全感, 我不知道自己要做什么。即便是学习电影制作, 一开始也不清楚学来做什么, 电影似乎也不可能给我一份职业, 它对我更像是一个可以学说话的地方, 电影慢慢就取代了诗歌, 成为我直接表达自己的一种媒体。

问: 您刚刚说到自己决定放弃诗歌, 或者说放弃作为一位诗人的意识, 您的意思是不是说放弃做诗人这个行当? 这种放弃的意识是凭虚而起的, 还是有一个缓慢的转变过程?

答: 是一个缓慢的过程, 而且是下意识的。这么说吧, 当时我有一些条件可以做自由旅行, 自费旅行, 所以去了一些诗歌节, 如鹿特丹诗歌节, 北岛、舒婷都去了, 我虽然没被正式邀请, 因为早在国内时就梦寐以求, 向往那样的诗歌圣地, 也就自己去了, 参加了一些活动。在伦敦学英语时, 也作为观众参加了伦敦艺术中心的国际诗歌节活动。但是, 这些活动能够特别打动我的时刻并不多, 我觉得自己没有办法进入他们的诗歌语境, 他们的诗人很多, 人人都可以上台念诗。而80年代初期, 我对诗歌的理解还是比较神圣的, 觉得那应该是一种被选择的声音,《今天》的诗人是大明星, 是精神领袖, 我则是校园里的小明星。但国外的这些活动, 让我对诗歌功能、诗歌本体的理解开始发生转变。另一方面, 我个人的身份也开始变得模糊起来, 出国后我开始意识到, 我不是一个从中国来的流亡诗人, 不被看成是顾城、北岛、舒婷那样从一个遥远的、压抑的国度出来的政治代言人, 我只是一个个体, 一个不代表任何大的政治因素的个体; 而我这个个体, 是用中文写作呢? 用瑞典语写作? 用英语写作呢? 这都是需要选择的事情。如果我继续用中文写作, 又该如何进入当地的诗歌语境? 怎么进入当地的文化? 我也曾将自己的诗歌翻译成瑞典语, 但这个过程让人很疲劳, 既不能准确直接地传达自己, 也很难让别人定位你: 你是一个移民呢? 还是一个来自中国的流亡诗人呢? 总之, 没有一个确定的位置。当然, 那时也年轻, 并不急于定位自己, 有很多东西需要学习, 要打开自己, 在伦敦学习英语的那个夏天, 认识了很多来自世界各地的同学, 大家一起开party, 跳disco, 看电影, 很开心, 当时就希望自己是他们中的一员, 做一个普通的“国际青年”, 哈哈, 做一个会很多语言的“国际青年”。英语、日语、法语, 我什么都要学, 还要重新回到大学, 做功课, 解决生存。

所以, 如果做一个中国诗人, 就觉得会把自己锁定在了一个格式里面, 像顾城那样飘在空中, 不能降落。于是, 我就选择了“下降”, 像我在《抵达》那首诗中写到的那样, 梦样的飞翔需要找到一个着陆, 可能是软着陆, 也可能无法降落, 可能还需要多次的重新飞翔重新着陆, 这就成了一个重新出发、重新学习、重新发现自己、重新回到ABC的过程, 尤其是重新回到语言的ABC。学习语言的过程, 也让我对诗歌的语言有了一个重新的认识。本来我对自己的母语很自信, 文科很好嘛, 还能写实验诗、现代诗, 觉得能够掌握它、转变它、创造它, 但现在没有人同你讲这种变化中的、实验中的中文。记得曾经给几个海外居住多年的华侨子弟辅导中文, 我就意识到自己的母语与他们的母语是很不一样的, 我的诗歌对他们一点意义也没有。这些人生经历, 对我慢慢地不想做一个“中国诗人”很有影响, 让我

渐渐不再对母语写作感到自信，因为尽管你能很好地掌握它，甚至塑造它，但我用母语写作给哪些人看呢？这样的周边环境，对我确实造成了某种干扰，于是自己就从一个在大庭广众朗诵的人，变成了一个在衣柜里写作的人。

问：呵呵，在衣柜里写作。

答：是啊，衣柜里写作。因为移民之初的经历也是很痛苦的嘛，经常需要哭，关起门来哭一哭，关起门来写一写，生活变得很“临时”，早期诗作、日记、书信的丢失也与这种“临时”感有关，没有一个可以储藏的地方，没有一个可以储藏我的母语的空间。

问：经过这么些年的学习之后，像您说的学这个学那个，做一个国际青年，相对而言，现在您也找到了一个比较固定的位置，进入了学院，有了文学的、电影的理论素养，而且您也重新开始了写作。您重新开始写作，是英语还是汉语？在这样一种状态下，您有没有觉得自己可以重新开始汉语诗歌的写作？

答：现在确实有拥抱母语、重新开始创作的时机。尽管还是存在生活的暂时性，但起飞和降落的间隔变长了，以前每两三年就得打包、拆包，现在的周期也许是八九年。我也有了孩子，要面临教授孩子自己母语的问题。而在教孩子掌握中文的过程中，我也发现了自己与母语之间的距离，重新对自己的母语产生了兴趣。中文的学术语言还能应付，因为中文的学术语言比较西化嘛，五四时期就西化过一次，80年代以来又重新西化，双方的学术语言基本可以直接对译，但小孩子的语言、日常生活的语言，需要真切的血肉，需要语言的环境，不能含糊不清，这就需要我重新去寻找。所以首先一个问号就是，现在我的中文到底是什么样子？是80年代我所了解的语言？还是中国今天变化中的新鲜的语言？这也促使我思考，我现在的诗歌语言会是什么面貌？别的文体，形式的压力不太大，写起来也比较自然，不会觉得文气有间隙，可以在翻译体与自然体、日常体之间自由滑动，但如果写诗的话，就会觉得自己的语言已经不太鲜活了，可能是纽约的张真的汉语，而不是上海北京街头的张真的汉语，那么，这样的汉语写给谁看呢？当年我在国外写的那些诗，没有什么直接的读者，我在《知识分子》、《二十一世纪》发表的作品，那么遥远，谁在看杂志呢？我不知道，我离我的读者太远了。记得多年后遇见那些当年的文学青年，那些我早年诗歌的读者，现在有的已经是独立电影的中坚力量，见到他们，感觉是活生生的过去与现在的连接，你写出去的诗，发出去的言词，好像又重新找到你了，好像是听到了历史的回响。但出国后写的诗歌，就没有这样的一种“回音壁”。我无法确定我的读者是些什么人，是诗刊的读者？是诗歌节的读者？是马悦然？是北岛、顾城？还是留在国内的第三代第四代诗人？我无法想像。

问：您不需要去想像自己的读者是这些人中的任何一个，但我感觉，既然用汉语写作，你的读者也更可能是在中国，是变化中的中国读者。

答：对，诗歌还是应该回到中国。80年代末文化“小阳春”时期不用说了，90年代，我在美国念书，时常回国探亲、为学位论文搜集资料，也见到一些朋友，像崔卫平、沈睿等，也参加过1993年马高明在朝阳公园主持的诗歌朗诵活动。当时天气很热，大家喝啤酒，聊天到很晚，公园门都关了，还是越墙出去的，哈哈，那应该是我最后一次参加国内的这种民间诗歌朗诵活动。后来诗歌就萧条了，经济改革大潮起来了，诗歌就被冲走了嘛。不过，感觉最近几年，诗歌活动又开始比较活跃了。

问：1989年之后、1995年之前，有那么四五年的时间，虽然有些人离开了，也有人一直在写，还在《今天》上发表诗歌。然后，诗歌的网络时代就到来了。

答: 是啊, 好像是1995、1996年, 开始意识到网络诗歌、网络诗刊的存在。北美网络诗刊, 好像最早是《橄榄树》。

问: 是《橄榄树》, 开始是纯诗刊, 马兰主持后, 变成了诗歌、散文、戏剧的综合性文学网刊。

答: 后来还有《新大陆》什么的。诗歌慢慢也有了网上版本,《今天》最近也有了网络版本, 还有《倾向》。对了, 我在美国与诗歌有关的活动, 主要就是与《倾向》有关, 有些诗歌也发表在《今天上》, 不完全是寂寞的。在瑞典的时候最寂寞, 生活也比较动荡。到美国后, 情况好一些, 北岛在美国居留下了, 住在芝加哥、密歇根附近, 大家经常见面。还有布朗大学的贝岭, 他与北岛水火不容, 哈哈, 不过因为是上海人的缘故, 还是与贝岭、孟浪一起做了《倾向》。

问: 您的现当代诗歌研究, 除了顾城、陈敬容研究, 还有别的方面的研究吗? 这些研究对您的诗歌、您的写作有没有影响?

答: 1991年在美国爱荷华大学最早做的是比较文学研究, 在东亚系也呆过一段时间。总的想法是一边写作, 一边研究诗歌。这点可能与你比较相似, 既然自己身与其中, 知道很多情况, 为什么不做诗歌研究呢? 我在爱荷华大学的硕士论文, 写的是新电影与新诗, 写到了《今天》、朦胧诗派, 女诗人写到了翟永明、唐亚平。当时很多人把电影与小说放在一起做叙事研究, 我更注重的是新电影中的诗意精神, 电影对声音、影像的追求, 也是诗歌的追求。比较有意思的是, 这篇硕士论文有一章写的是女诗人与黄蜀琴、胡玫这样的第四、五代女导演, 也是有意识要探讨正在形成中的女性主义的文化空间, 我感觉她们在性别上、女性意识上, 还是与当时的男导演男诗人有所不同的。当时由于选修有诗歌理论课, 也写过艾米莉•狄金森诗歌的学期论文, 从头到尾读了她的作品。那时的诗歌理论, 主要是新批评, 感觉这种理论有很多形式主义的东西, 老师是保罗•德•曼 (Paul de Man) 的学生, 来自耶鲁大学, 选课时很高兴, 结果没学到什么有意义的内容, 感觉新批评很空。

问: 新批评本身就是偏形式主义的, 没有与政治的、文化的东西联系在一起。

答: 于是又重新回去学习电影理论, 学习德勒兹的理论。德勒兹对我有很多的启发, 因为他沟通了诗歌与电影。心理学对我影响也很大, 如拉康的精神分析学。后来在芝加哥大学遇到利大英, 他在那里教授我们中国文学课, 真是巧合。跟着他, 我重新学习新诗, 重读五四诗歌, 自己也补习了一些古典诗歌的女性传统, 然后就做了陈敬容的诗歌研究, 这是有意识地选择女诗人来进行自己的研究。也许是因为自己也写诗, 却不了解为什么会那样写, 所以会意识地去关心女性诗歌与男性话语的关系——这大概也是学习精神分析学的一个效应吧——这种关系不是简单化的, 不是说因为是女性, 必然就是异质的, 个人的、历史的东西在女性主义的集体话语里也很重要。当时想把这个研究继续下去, 做白话诗歌的历史文化起源与现代性的关系。但是后来利大英走了, 我又重新发现了电影, 也遇到了良师益友, 其中一个是米莲姆•汉森 (张真注: 2011年2月去世) , 她是做电影研究、现代主义理论的, 真是打开了我的眼界。有趣的是, 她最早也是研究诗歌的, 研究埃兹拉•庞德, 还是本雅明研究的专家。通过她, 我开始把自己关心的问题更宏观地联系在了一起, 政治, 现代性, 影像, 女性主义, 都连接在了一起。对了, 米莲姆•汉森也是女性主义理论家, 是比较高级的女性主义批评家。

问: 什么叫“高级的女性主义批评家”?

答: 哈哈, 就是比较复杂、比较历史化的那种。因为女性主义理论也有一个发展的过程嘛, 分第一代第二代第三代,

有注重形式主义的, 有注重政治社会潮流的, 等等。通过跟她学习, 我觉得我能够把形式主义的、美学的、政治文化的东西重新综合在一起。这些元素都是分不开的, 对我来说怎么样能够用非常有说服力的又是很感性的语言去表述。跟她学徒, 我觉得自己找到了一个方向。除了她, 还有别的一些非常优秀的老师, 让我受益非浅。那个时候的芝加哥大学, 也有一个“文化小阳春”, 哈哈, 算是一个世界性的文化批评、文化研究、电影研究中心。在芝加哥大学是1993–1997年, 我学到了很多东西, 电影史、比较电影史、文学理论、文化理论、艺术史、人类学, 等等, 这种跨学科的文化气氛让人触类旁通。

其实, 进入学院, 成为学者, 并不是我最初的人生理想。我写诗的时候, 从未想过自己会当一名学者。做学者, 好像与自己的性格、气质完全不一样, 闭门造车、研究那些撒满尘土的东西? 哈哈, 结果十多年 “求知”的路途竟通到了这里, 读万卷书, 行万里路, 好像终于有了找到好的归宿、支流汇成大海的感觉。以前这些各条支流是不相干的, 写诗是写诗, 当记者是当记者, 大众文化的兴趣归兴趣——我对大众文化一直有浓厚的兴趣, 从小在上海长大, 对商业文化有切肤的了解, 什么时尚啊、日常生活啊, 哪怕在最压抑的日子里, 上海的日常生活中也总存在很多我后来论著里发展的“白话现代主义”话语的元素, 这些元素经过上一辈人的品味传下来, 不仅属于社会精英分子, 还属于我参加过的地下音乐会舞会之类, 这让我感觉到那些所谓“俗”的东西, 其实与我所追求的精英文化都有关联。以前各不相干、不知道该如何整理的东西, 经过这么多年的学习, 不同时段接触到电影、索德格朗、狄金森、波德莱尔、中国古典诗词, 大众文化等等, 好像突然之间都通了! 人也开窍了, 不再有古典、现代的分割, 现代主义、非现代主义的分割, 阳春白雪、下里巴人的分割。而且, 也开始明白中国新诗发端时的尝试, 明白为什么要用口语、用市井语写作。当时大量精力放在博士论文的写作上, 还要考虑谋求工作职位, 二十岁时年轻, 天不怕地不怕, 不需要很多钱就能活, 但一过三十好几, 开始寻求生活的安定性, 同时也觉得自己学了很多, 是到了回报社会的时候了, 有话可以说了。哎, 以前让我发言, 我都不太想说, 让我的诗歌、我的作品说话吧, 因为总觉得一开口, 就容易把作品说成一片, 说得很光滑, 很有逻辑性, 这样就破坏了作品的生命感, 破坏了作品本身形式需要的破碎感。我想我之所以没有接着做诗歌研究, 大概就是因为一方面电影研究给了我一种距离感, 不需要对诗歌做直接的阐述; 另一方面, 对电影也有更多的把握。当初写那些诗歌研究论文时, 不是很自信, 觉得还需要锤炼, 需要寻找更有说服力的、更对得起我所谈论的作品的一些方法。

同时呢, 诗歌写作方面, 数量也少了。哈哈, 出版了诗集, 写得反而少了。后来在斯坦福大学做博士后的时候, 到了纽约大学任教以后, 也写过一些诗歌, 但不像过去那样是一种对自己有要求的写作。现在时间很不够, 要读书, 要生存, 不过我还是觉得不能放弃写作, 因为这么多年来, 写诗给了我一种幸存下来的力量, 很多年以来诗歌是自我心理治疗的一种途径。我不能放弃诗歌, 我不能每天写就隔几天写, 我不能隔几天写就每月写。说起来很可笑, 每个月到了31号, 就开始着急啦, 这个月还没写诗呢! 哈哈! 其实真的动笔写, 也就写出来了。这种事情需要有自律, 写诗也好, 做任何事情也好, 都需要自律。还记得顾城对我的鼓励, 他说, 你要写就多写一点, 写个一百两百首, 哈哈, 我印象很深, 可能是有道理的。停笔的间隔长了, 想要回到写作的情绪里去, 回到那种节奏里去, 就变得比较困难。写得少了, 与语言的距离也变大了。一种语言, 如你经常去讲它, 触摸它, 就还能保持住它的肌理、脉络、节奏。如果搁久了, 得先重新去回忆, 才能找回到这种工具的感觉。可是刚找回点感觉, 第二天又该上课了, 写论文了, 有很多别的责任。

问: 也许可以试试周末写一点。
答: 对。我知道有几位中国诗人申请去艺术colony(“殖民地”)让我很羡慕, 那么, 把我关起来两个星期一个月, 说不定能写本诗集出来, 哈哈! 还是希望自己能够重新开始写诗。我在纽约生活有一个收获, 就是认识张耳, 还有你们, 重新接触到汉语诗歌的活力、鲜活感。读你们的作品, 也像是给了我一个捷径, 一个快速的通道, 让我触摸到一个

“回音壁”，感觉重又回到诗歌的氛围里。现在我的学术著作也慢慢在用中文写，或翻译回中文，好像终于不约而同地想用双语写作，齐头共进。我学过好几门语言，但真正把一门语言掌握到家不容易，用它来表达，用它来说服别人，非常不容易。这么多年的工夫都在英语上，用英语思维，用英语操作，潜意识地用英语做梦，哈哈，有玩笑不是说吗？如果你开始用这种语言做梦了，你就真正进入它的语境了。再熟练的英语，也与母语给人的感受不一样，但日常生活中还是使用英语更自然，因为在一定意义上我已经成了纽约人，中文很重要，不过已经不是我生活的全部了。我是瑞典公民，经常要回瑞典，每年得用瑞典语生活一段时间。我是生活在一个多语种的环境，中文是我的母语，是我的源泉，是各条支流中最粗壮的一股，于我是有亲情的，我的孩子也要学中文，希望能够延续下去，不像有的移民选择了不讲、不说中文，选择了断裂母语。我想，写作的人，最终还是不能离开自己的母语，不管你身上有多少个国籍，你还是有一个自己的源头，有一个着陆点。对我来说，中国已经不是我的立足点了，但她还是我的一个重要的着陆点，需要经常在那里降落，在那里呼吸，喝那里的水，吃那里的东西，讲那里的语言，讲上海话，我真正的母语。

问：一下子快两个小时了。讲得很累吧？

答：是有点累，不过也很高兴。你们给我这样一个机会，有机会整理一下自己的思路和旅途见闻。今天引出的很多话题，其实也是我自己想要写出来的东西，整理的过程给了我一些线索，可以让我以后去铺开去展开，写出来。

问：以后也可以多一点交流。现在诗歌方面的交流很多，不仅是汉语诗人之间的交流，还有与国外诗人、英语诗人的交流。对了，突然想起来，几位昆明的中国诗人与芝加哥的美国诗人成立了一个“昆明芝加哥小组”，他们合编了一个名叫《新诗品》的杂志，不是双语杂志，是汉语杂志，芝加哥诗人的作品翻成中文。北京、纽约的诗人也可以有类似的联系，不要把抱负做得太大，就作为自己的一个乐趣，大家写诗、交流、互相促进，本身就很有意思。

答：对，应该有这种更有意义的、最忠实于生活的诗歌。如果把理念放在前面，就像我前面提到过的什么国族意识啊、献身意识啊，就会有误导，制造一些误区，产生悲剧。我想顾城的悲剧，在一定意义上，与这种理念不是没有关系的。国族的、文化的问题，不是说因为这些更生活的、更日常草根的交流就失去它的封闭性，正是由于存在这些多元的、跨本土的、民间的活动，才给予国族的、政治的大课题以更新的涵义和定义，让这些大课题更加丰富化。现今这个时代，交流啊旅行啊都很方便了，但国境还是存在，国民身份还是存在，有的人还没有自由，有的人还在坐牢，可见还是需要去重新定义“边界”。说到坐牢，现在的诗歌已经有了很多种，有的人却还在为诗歌坐牢、献身！为什么写诗？诗歌的回音壁在哪里呢？我真的是有很多疑问。当然，如果为了坐牢而写诗，那是把诗歌的理念、艺术的功能颠倒了；但是，如果有的人因为写诗而坐牢，那就说明诗歌、艺术的自由，真的还是有“边界”的。

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Sketching A Dazzling Sun: A Film Review of *Maples*
勾勒耀眼的太阳:《枫》(1980)之评论

Lin Feng冯琳

"Are they heroes?"

"No!"

"Are they martyrs?"

"No!"

"Who are they?"

"They are history…a lesson of the history!"

Shortly after the end of Cultural Revolution in 1976, Deng Xiaoping launched the 'clearing chaos and returning to normal' (*boluan fanzheng*拨乱反正) programme, which intended to rectify the social damage caused by waves of cultural and political rampages during the Mao era. Gradually rehabilitating millions of victims of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and Cultural Revolution, *boluan fanzheng* served as a crucial transition programme that established Deng's leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the first step of opening China and economic reform. Corresponding to this rectification was a short period of creative freedom at the turn of the 1980s, when Chinese cultural industries had enjoyed a relative openness to political criticism, mainly towards the trauma and chaos brought by the Cultural Revolution. It was within this context that Chinese cinema produced a number of films that revisited the nation's immediate past, such as *The Thrill of Life* (生活的颤音, dir. Teng Wenji 滕文骥 and Wu Tianming 吴天明, 1979), *Troubled Laughter* (苦恼人的笑, dir. Yang Yanjin 杨延晋 and Deng Yiming 邓逸民, 1979), *Evening Rain* (巴山夜雨, dir. Wu Yonggang 吴永刚and Wu Yigong 吴贻弓, 1980), *A Hand Cuffed Passenger* (戴手铐的旅客, dir. Yu Yang 于洋, 1980), *Legend of Tianyun Mountain* (天云山传奇, dir. Xie Jin 谢晋, 1980), *Portrait of a Fanatic* (太阳和人/苦恋, dir. Peng Ning 彭宁, 1980), *Xu Mao and His Daughters* (许茂和他的女儿们, dir. Wang Yan 王炎, 1981), *On Narrow Street* (小街, dir. Yang Yanjin 杨延晋, 1981), and *Forget Me Not* (勿忘我, dir. Yu Yanfu 于彦夫, 1982). Collectively labelled as scar films (*shanghen dianying* 伤痕电影) and in some cases reflective films (*fansi dianying* 反思电影), these titles often tell a story of an individual's personal endurance and sufferance as a political victim of the Anti-Rightist Campaign or Cultural Revolution.

Whereas the majority of these films focused on intellectuals, artists, and veteran cadres who were wronged and persecuted during the Mao era, Emei Film Studio's *Maples* (枫, dir. Zhang Yi 张一, 1980) stands out as a rare case that directly portrays the violent conflicts between different factions of Red Guards and their associated supporters. The film's protagonists are two young Red Guards, Lu Danfeng (Xu Feng 徐枫) and Li Honggang (Wang Erli 王尔利), who are in their late teens. Shortly after they finished their high school education, Lu and Li joined two opposing factions and became political rivals, despite that they are deeply in love with each other. Both believing they have followed the right track to fulfil the mission of Cultural Revolution and seeing their faction the true upholder of Mao's revolutionary doctrine, Lu and Li fight against each other to seize power and refuse to surrender to the other side. The factional conflicts eventually escalate to a series of bloody warfare, which leads to Lu and Li's tragic deaths.

A large portrait of Chairman Mao is hung at the centre stage at a *pidou* (denounce) assembly, screenshot from *The Maples*

Maples was an adaptation from a short story of same title written by Zheng Yi (张一) who joined the Red Guards and created the story based on his own observation of factional conflicts during the early years of the Cultural Revolution (Zheng 2016). What made this film different from many other scar films is that it goes beyond the depiction of personal sufferance or praising its protagonist's unreserved devotion to their motherland – China, the Communist Party, and Mao's leadership – regardless of the hardship and persecution they had been through before and during the Cultural Revolution. Neither does it create a specific antagonist character to impersonate the 'evil' who takes advantage of China's political havoc. Frequently mentioned as pure, innocent, and beautiful youngsters, both Lu and Li are portrayed as human beings who are still caring for others rather than being demonised as credulous fanatics who crave for bloodshed violence. Whereas the depiction of intellectuals' sufferance is kept to a minimum, the film's portrayal of violence concentrates on the conflict between the fractions of the Red Guards who fight for their beliefs.

Reflective Films and Censorship

The two terms scar films and reflective films are often used interchangeably for their shared narrative interests of a character's political trauma and emotional memory of the sufferance. Yet, while scar films invoke the pattern of 'speaking-bitterness' (*suku* 诉苦) (Berry 1995, p.90), reflective films go further to probe the political root of such personal suffering during the Mao era. Unlike many scar films that have been celebrated as classic dramas in mainstream cinema in the 1980s, reflective films were more likely to be banned from public release because the officially sanctioned censorship has inclined to regard these films' inquiry one step too far. As such, reflective films were often criticised for undermining the CCP's claim of its achievement and contribution to the development of China's socialist society (see Zhang 2016, p.366; Chronical of Chinese Film Editorial Board 2006, p.585).

Maples has been widely believed to be a 'banned' film for telling a story that was and still is sensitive in Chinese cinema and mass media at large. Given the film touches upon a topic that the government is still reluctant to mention and does not want the general public to remember, it is understandable why the film has been rumoured as a 'banned' film. However, the fact is that the film was not banned at all when it was released in 1980. Although *Maples*' release initially encountered conservative criticism from the Sichuan provincial censorship committee, it was eventually submitted to the central censorship committee for further reviewing. After the film went through more than sixty pre-release

screenings to selected audiences in Beijing, a report of viewers' responses was collected and submitted to the Ministry of Culture. After that, the film was reviewed directly by then Vice Cultural Minister Situ Huimin (司徒慧敏) and Director of Film Administration Chen Bo (陈播), both of whom notably were persecuted during the previous decade of the Cultural Revolution. The film received positive comments and passed the central censorship for public distribution in September 1980 (Zhang 2016, p.366; Chronical of Chinese Film Editorial Board 2006, p.585). This thus raised a question why *Maples* is rumoured or perceived to be a 'banned' film afterwards?

Although *Maples*, as many other scar and reflective films produced at the turn of the 1980s, suggests that Lin Biao and Gang of Four were responsible for the disastrous violence between the fractions, the film also makes frequent references to Mao's leadership and his role in Cultural Revolution. From the dialogue (such as 'Chairman Mao's route', 'Chairman Mao's era', 'follow Chairman Mao', and 'remember Chairman Mao's favour') to the newsreel footage of the massive reception that Mao gave to Red Guards at Tiananmen Square, from the image of Mao's portrait hung over Tiananmen gate tower to the props of Little Red Book that contains quotations from Mao's speech, all of those references directed audiences' attention to the CCP's promotion of blind worship towards Mao as a God-like idol during the Cultural Revolution and its impact on the whole generation of youngsters. While the film does not have a conventional 'bad' guy who could be blamed for bringing the protagonists' sufferance, or who plays a surrogate role to cover up institutional fault of the political system, *Maples*' direct references to propaganda slogans, newsreel footage, and protagonists' frantic craze of Mao's revolutionary doctrine boldly probes the root behind the tragedy caused by the bloodshed among factions. Implying Mao's role in the Cultural Revolution, the film goes beyond the *suku* narrative of scar films.

However, what would have happened to the film's release status if it had been produced or submitted to the censors a few years (or even a few months) later? Although we probably would not be able to tell exactly what would have happened to this film, we can speculate about the outcome if we take a look at some other reflective films that also went beyond the narrative of sufferance endurance and raised questions about the systematic damage and crackdown on different voices of the Cultural Revolution. For instance, Changchun Film Studio produced *Portrait of a Fanatic* (太阳和人/苦恋, dir. Peng Ning 彭宁, 1980) in the same year as *Maples*. Despite *Portrait of a Fanatic*'s script initially having passed Cultural Ministry's review and obtained production permission in June, the film encountered much criticism from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCCPC) when it was submitted for censorship review in November 1980 and was requested to undergo further revisions in February 1981. Eventually the film received Party-endorsed public criticism in a number of mainstream newspapers for over a year and was officially banned from the public release for the reason that it stepped over the red line, implying Mao's responsibility rather than blaming the Gang of Four for the Cultural Revolution.[1] In a sense, *Portrait of a Fanatic*'s narrative was deemed by the censors, including Deng Xiaoping, as out of line with the official account as later summarised and included in the CCP's *Decision on Several Historical Issues of the Party Since the Founding of People's Republic of China* (关于建国以来党的若干历史问题的决议) announced in 1981. This decision highlighted the Party's decision to continuously promote Maoism, insisting on Mao's contribution, prohibiting public challenge to the CCP's one-party leadership, and attributing the disastrous outcome of Cultural Revolution to Lin Biao and the Gang of Four.[2] *Portrait of a Fanatic*'s fate not only illustrates that China's film censorship decisions often go beyond the Film Bureau or even the Cultural Ministry's administration, but also reveals the hierarchical relationship between the state's governing bodies when they come to deal with issues such as shaping political ideologies through controlling public access to certain film content. Based on

this observation, it is probably not entirely unreasonable to infer that films like *Maples* were very unlikely to receive a green light if they had been reviewed after the announcement of the *Decision*.

Moreover, it is important to note that a number of the 1990s' productions that touched upon Anti-Rightist Campaign and Cultural Revolution, such as Tian Zhuangzhuang 田壮壮's *The Blue Kite* (蓝风筝, 1993) and Zhang Yimou 张艺谋's *To Live* (活着, 1994) are also banned from public release, even though both films only use these political movements as the background to ordinary people's experience. Instead of questioning the cause of such political chaos that leads to individual's tragic stories, both films only present the phenomenon and effect of various mass political movements. Unlike the two 90s' films that were co-produced between a Hong Kong film studio and a mainland state-own studio, *Maples* and other 80s' production were entirely produced by a state-owned studio. Such a shift to some degree not only confirms that censorship has been gradually tightened up since 1981 but also reveals that the film projects that touch upon those sensitive topics have been gradually pushed out of the state production system as a way of shaping the official account of history.

Zaichang and Witnessing Historical Space

The studio-produced *Maples* is particularly worth our attention for its *zaichang* (在场 on the spot, on site, in presence) narration, as it not only provides an alternative voice (or at least supplementary commentary) within the institutional filmmaking system on the forgotten aspects of the Cultural Revolution, but also stands as a witness to Chinese cinema's relationship with political censorship. Indeed, the visual and acoustic aspect of the film is rather poetic. Not only does the cinematography captures the contrast between the natural beauty of the scenery and the ruins left by the factional conflict, but the actors also deliver their lines as if performing a stage recital. The dramatisation of the visual element and performance is accompanied by melancholic music and lyrics that use a metaphor of maple leaves that are blown off and separated from its branches by wind to extract the suggestive questions without explicably mentioning the impact of political violence on an individual's fate and the lovers' separation. Such poetic expression and delivery might appear to be far away from portraying reality. Yet the film's poetic style does not conceal the filmmakers' effort of engaging with social reflection of the history through its content and its arrangement of a third-party's *zaichang* narrative.

Flashback is a popular filmic technique in both scar and reflective films to highlight the notion of memory. In *Maples,* a supporting character Wang (Tu Zhongru 涂中如) – a fine art teacher – carries such a role as a narrator of the past. The film starts with him taking his daughter when they visit the Red Guards' cemetery at a tomb-sweeping festival after a decade of Lu and Li's death, and finishes with the dialogues quoted at the beginning of this review. Thus, the main story is presented to audiences as if it is told by Wang to his daughter. As an artist, Wang was a politically marginalised figure during the Cultural Revolution. Carrying the memory of the past, Wang serves the role as a sympathetic observer of the entire event. Unlike many scar films' protagonists who recall their own past bitterness, Wang, as a wanderer or bystanders (*xiaoyao pai* 逍遥派), does not directly participate in the factional conflicts even though he lives through the heyday of frequent brutal fighting. As the film briefly mentions, while Wang could no longer teach during the Cultural Revolution, he continued to practice his craft of *xiesheng* (写生 sketch). Literally meaning 'writing life', *xiesheng* is probably more accurately understood as an art practice of painting on real subject and scenes.

Instead of creating a painting from imagination, *xiesheng* requires the artists to observe the scene closely and recreate an image of what they see with their own eyes. In this regard, Wang's artist identity and his *xiesheng* exercise serves as an agency of *zaichang* narrative that underpins the live evidence to document reality. Inviting audiences to reflect on the truth and real reasons that turned the two naïve and idealistic young people into deadly enemies, the plot of Wang's memory and his *xiesheng* exercise to some extent brings the film's fictional story closer to a historical record of the Red Guards' experiences that might be barred from, or at least discouraged from, public contemplation in real life.

Xiesheng and *zaichang,* screenshot from *The Maples*

The film's emphasis of *zaichang* is also evidenced in its inclusion of newspaper headlines and adoption location filming. Despite being fiction, the film contains shots of real newspaper's front-page articles, revolutionary slogans, and headlines that led to the intellectual persecution during the Cultural Revolution. These shots map out the political context behind the Red Guards' frantic action of defending Mao's revolutionary doctrine. In addition, the main scenes of *Maples* were shot in Xichang at a college building, of which half was covered with numerous bullet holes and cracks and the other half had already been destroyed as a result of real-life factional conflicts (Li 2016, p.106). Taking the risk of filming at such dangerous building that was at the verge of collapse, the filmmakers used the location filming to capture the realness of the bloody factional conflict, not necessarily at the time when the real event was taking place, but at the location (i.e. on the spot) where the conflict happened in the real life. In this regard, the film's narrative footage also preserves the visual evidence of the historical relics of the Cultural Revolution that has been quickly marginalised,

Location filming and *zaichang,* screen shot from *The Maples*

refurbished, and even wiped out from the official account of the Cultural Revolution since 1981.

Notes

1 In July 1981, Deng openly criticised the *Portrait of a Fanatic*, which was followed by similar criticism from Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu in August. For further detail, see Chronical of Chinese Film Editorial Board (2006, p.585).

2 In 1980, Deng Xiaoping was interviewed by Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci. In this interview, Deng openly expressed his view about Mao's reign, policies, and cult status as well as the Cultural Revolution. These views were consistent with the content that was publicised in the *Decisions* in June 1981. For further details, see Deng (1980).

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Femininity, Desire and Rebellion as Taboos in the 1980s? Liu Xiaoqing's Characters in *The Savage Land* (1981) and *Hibiscus Town* (1986)

作为八十年代禁忌的女性意识、欲望及反抗? 刘晓庆在《原野》(1981)与《芙蓉镇》(1986)中的角色探讨

Xiang FAN 樊响

Since the disclosure of her affair with the married actor and director Chen Guojun (陈国军) in 1983, Liu Xiaoqing (刘晓庆) has been in the spotlight for her unconventional private life and self-governing personality. Her off-screen anecdotes radiate many of her on-screen personas which demonstrate strong and courageous female figures with liberal attitudes towards love, sex, and morality. *The Savage Land* (原野, dir. Ling Zi 凌子, 1981) and *Hibiscus Town* (芙蓉镇, dir. Xie Jin 谢晋, 1986) are paradigms in Liu's acting career that challenged dominant ideologies and taboos; the two complex and controversial films were both banned by the authorities for domestic or overseas exhibition for some time in the 1980s. Liu's characters in both films are very different from the conventional definition of a 'good' woman in the official rhetoric, highlighting female emotions, sexual desires, and resistance to patriarchal values.

Adapted from Cao Yu's (曹禺) 1937 tragedy, *The Savage Land* depicts protagonist Chou Hu's revenge against the Jiao family after they buried Chou's father alive in order to take his land and property. In this film, Liu Xiaoqing – playing Chou Hu's then sweetheart Hua Jinzi, who married Jiao's son Daxing – is involved in a wild love affair with Chou Hu after returning to the village. Hua Jinzi's marriage is passionless. She suffers suffocating humiliation from Daxing's blind mother, who sees her as unfaithful and lascivious, while her ineffectual husband has no courage to challenge his mother's authority. Instead of endorsing the filial responsibility of being a good wife to peel away her mother-in-law's prejudices and warm her heart, Hua Jinzi plans to elope with her lover to emancipate herself from such Confucian moral persuasions and feudal principles. 'I only feel like a human being when I'm with you', says Hua Jinzi in the 'notorious' sex scene in the woods (Figure 1), where the lovers cuddle together with tousled hair and lightly unbuttoned collars. While extra-marital fornication and women's liberal approach to love and sex were once seen as moral taboos in the 1980s, the film's impact, which still resonates today, saw *The Savage Land* being abruptly retracted by the Film Bureau for its so-called 'inability to represent China' and withdrawn from the 1981 Venice International Film Festival competition line-up at the last minute (Yang 2009, p. 77).

Produced by Nanhai Film Ltd (a film subsidiary of China News Service [CNS], run by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office at that time), the film was fully supported by the CNS, with a focus on targeting the overseas market as well as Hong Kong and Macau (Yang 2009). Although the film bureaucracy approved the production in the first place as well as the later overseas release, for seven years, *The Savage Land* was banned from all domestic public distribution and exhibition. There were rumours that Liu Xiaqoing appeared in nude scenes in *The Savage Land*, which directly caused the film to be banned for the domestic public audience. When the ban on *The Savage Land* was finally lifted in 1987,

Hua Jinzi and Chou Hu in the notorious sexual scene in *The Savage Land*

the rumour around Liu Xiaoqing's nudity was that it only appeared in the foreign version, but curiosity about her sexuality raised interest in the film.

If Liu Xiaoqing's performance in *The Savage Land* challenges the values that feudalism and patriarchy have inscribed on the female body, *Hibiscus Town* seeks to illuminate more complicated issues related to the commingling of patriarchal and socialist principles. Directed by Xie Jin, *Hibiscus Town* was shot in 1986, a decade after the Cultural Revolution. Xie Jin's family melodramas of the 1980s, such as *Legend of Tianyun Mountain* (天云山传奇, 1980) and *The Herdsman* 牧马人 (1982), mostly addressed individuality in negotiation with moral tradition and state ideology. Winning the Golden Rooster Film Award and the Hundred Flowers Film Award in 1988, *Hibiscus Town* has been seen as a masterpiece thanks to its rigorous analysis of the complexity of humanity and socialism. The film narrates the life of a young woman, Hu Yuyin (played by Liu Xiaoqing), between 1963 to 1979 in a small rural town in South China. Yuyin, the most attractive woman in town, runs a small bean curd stall with her husband Guigui – a nice hard-working man, but mediocre and irresolute, like Daxing in *The Savage Land*. While Yuyin and Guigui finally pull off their restaurant after days and nights of laborious hard work, they are condemned by the local Party leader Li Guoxiang as 'newly rich peasants' in the social movement centre. The conviction of being a 'new rich peasant' completely turns Yuyin's life upside down: she is deprived of her possessions, her husband's life, her neighbour's respect, her rights, and her dignity as a human being. Whilst ostracism and privation instil in Hu interminable despair, what lights up her life is the care and love from Qin Shutian (played by Jiang Wen 姜文), a 'rightist' who cleans the street with her. From engaging in pre-marital sex to conceiving an illegitimate child, their relationship is clearly verboten during the Cultural Revolution era, when human emotion and sexuality were utterly oppressed. Although at the end of the film, Yuyin gets her money and house back, as well as getting her second husband after the Cultural Revolution, what is most striking is that the imperious villain Secretary Li is still in power, no matter how much damage she has inflicted on people.

As it critically touches on humanity and the socialist system, it is not surprising that the exhibition of *Hibiscus Town* experienced a series of barriers from the authorities. 'When the film production was over, we were not even allowed

Hu Yuyin and Qin Shutian in *Hibiscus Town*

to exhibit it,' recalled Xie Jin (2005). Right before the start of the premiere ceremony in Shanghai, the two leading actors, Liu Xiaoqing and Jiang Wen, were told by the authorities not to come to the movie theatre to meet the audience. On the other hand, *Hibiscus Town* was only restricted for a short time before officially being released to the public and winning that year's Best Picture award from both the Golden Rooster and Hundred Flowers festivals. *The Savage Land*'s six-year ban for its soft-core adulterous engagement and *Hibiscus Tow*n's short-term restriction due to its defiant challenges to both patriarchal myths and socialist mechanisms demonstrate the authorities' progressive receptiveness to controversies surrounding sexuality, ethics, and politics throughout the 1980s, an openness that can hardly be found in today's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime.

The intensity and lucidity of these two films together presents to the audience a charming female figure who is ambitious but genuine, tenacious but affectionate, tender but valiant. Focusing on the female protagonists in these two films, Hua Jinzi and Hu Yuying both represent 'imperfect' women with a grid of multifaceted characteristics. These women experience joy, desire, anger, and resistance. In one scene, the 'vicious' Hua Jinzi forces her ineffective husband to answer the platitudinal question: 'If your mother and I both fell into the river, who would you save?' 'Drown her to death, spit it out!' says Jinzi, with a resentful note in her voice. Jinzi insinuates that she will be intimate with him if he (verbally) commits himself to the thought of matricide. Jinzi clearly knows how to use her femininity to en-

Da Xing, the mother, and Hua Jinzi in *The Savage Land*

tice a man. In the opening scene in *Hibiscus Tow*n, Hu Yuyin coquettishly offers bean curd to local folks. In addition to the good taste of the bean curd, Yuyin's playful behaviour no doubt also attracts the large number of male customers surrounding her. And she likes to whisper in the ears of local Party secretary Li Mangeng (her old lover before marrying Guigui, who betrays her by giving all her savings to the local Party committee) and giggle together. Yuyin meanwhile inspires jealousy from other women in town, including Li Guoxiang and Li Mangeng's wife, who later denounces her as a 'newly rich peasant' and 'bad influence' in the town. In the stern and ascetic days of socialist China, not only were capitalist economy and private ownership prohibited but so was the display of individuality, femininity, and sexuality.

Li Guoxiang confessing to the red guards in the rain in *Hibiscus Town*

It is intriguing that, in contrast to Hua Jinzi and Hu Yuyin, the female villains in these two films (the mother in *The Savage Land* and Li Guoxiang in *Hibiscus Town*) wholly commit themselves to maintaining the dominant patriarchal and socialist/feudalist principles on the one hand, and on the other, act as the most sexually and emotionally repressed persons in the films. In *The Savage Land,* the mother is a blind old widow. Her late husband's photo hangs in the centre of the house, but she is unable to see it. With an extremely acute sense of sound, she invests herself wholly in spying on and tormenting Jinzi, an attractive young woman who enjoys sensual pleasure and has enormous emotional appeal. In *Hibiscus Town*, Li Guoxiang is discovered by the Red Guards at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution for secretly collecting men's belongings in her room. 'I am a leftist, a leftist', weeps Li Guoxiang in the rain, with broken shoes hanging around her neck (Figure 4). Does a desire-repressing leftist make a socialist exemplar? After regaining her power, she insinuates that Wang Qiushe, a local boastful sycophant and opportunist, should deliver himself in political allegiance and sexual relations with her as a way of demonstrating the determination of his loyalty.

While Li and Wang are engaged in their sordid comradeship, the affection between Yuyin and Shutian grows. The morning after Wang spends the night in Li's bedroom, Yuyin and Shutian are shown carrying out their everyday street cleaning. They witness Wang's grotesque act behind a corner wall nearby. This is the first time Yuyin and Shutian have body contact, a warm moment that sweeps away the sombre tone of the film. In the next scene, Yuyin creates a more intimate moment with Shutian by making him bean curd in her shabby home. Watching Shutian eating the food she has cooked, Liu Xiaoqing's performance perfectly presents Yuyin's mixed emotions of sexual desire, attraction, and reluctance. What follows is a passionate amorous bond between the two characters as a resistance towards dominant socialist principles and patriarchal myths that repress individual emotions and desires.

Their on-screen affection and rebellion towards official discourses also extended to off-screen life. Liu Xiaoqing had

an affair with Jiang Wen, then an early-career actor who eight years her junior, while still married to her second husband Chen Guojun. According to both Liu's and Chen's autobiographies, this affair directly catalysed the end of their marriage. The scuttlebutt about the love triangle between Liu Xiaoqing, Jiang Wen and Chen Guojun was a hot topic in the late 1980s, because, to some extent, it reinforced the public imagination of the star as being as resilient and romantic as her characters, transgressing the conventional values of marriage and sexuality. Liu was neither the first actor to represent female figures with a desire to explore liberal love and sexuality, nor will she be the last, but she was certainly pioneering in 1980s China, demonstrating great courage in challenging existing canonical authorities both onscreen and off-screen.

What is worth noting is, in order to support her then secret husband Chen Guojun with making his first film *My Lover, My Hate* (无情的情人, dir. Chen Guojun, 1986), Liu Xiaoqing established a film production company in Shenzhen (sponsored by Shenzhen municipal authority, Zhujiang Film Studio and Hong Kong Southern Film Corporation Ltd.), the first privately-funded film production company to be independent of the state film studio system. By tapping into a new form of film production outside the party-state apparatus, she became the first independent film producer in the People's Republic of China (Wang 2021a). In his recent interview with Chen Guojun, Wang Xiaolu (2021b) comments that 'the independent production was like an elopement, and the film served as an illegitimate child of the time, an outcome of passion and emancipation that transcended all the taboos. Purely driven by passion and instinct, it vividly represented the ethos of the (1980s) era.' [my translation] If the 1980s is deemed an era that celebrates passion, liberalism, and subjectivity, in the same way that Hua Jinzi and Hu Yuyin transgress the patriarchal and authoritarian codes of Chinese ethics in relation to female presentation on film, Liu Xiaoqing's endeavour of setting up the ground-breaking independent film production company for her secret lover reinforced her liberal, rebellious, and romantic personalities, challenging social and cultural taboos at the time.

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你的身体谁做主？
《特别手术室》中八十年代的女性身体意识与女性情谊
Who is In Control of Your Body? Female Body Consciousness and Female Bonding in the 1980s in *Special Operating Room* (1988)

余琼 Sabrina Qiong YU

《特别手术室》是中国影史上一部极其特别的电影。田壮壮1988年导演的这部电影，在2005年才得以以光碟方式面世。虽然传言这部影片当年因其题材而被禁，出品方潇湘电影制片厂与田导均表示，该片在拍摄完成4年后通过了审查，延迟过审是因为操作人、并非影片本身的问题。更有意思的是，当影片以光碟方式发行时，碟片封套上特别注明："需由家长指导陪同下观看"，似乎表明该片少儿不宜。田壮壮工作室的郝女士对此的解释是："我相信做父母的看了影片，一定会认为该片'少儿不宜'，因为《特别手术室》是中国第一部关注未婚先孕的电影，题材很敏感。此外，现在全国都对未成年人的性教育很重视，我们希望这部影片能让看到该片的未成年人有所启发，但他们如果在家长陪同解说下观赏，收到的教育效果应该会更好。"[1] 所以，最终得以面世的旧片居然还承载着未成年人性教育的功用！幸好我没有被这个有些可笑的解释打消掉观看的愿望，不然我就会错过这部在我看来极具女性意识和批判性，很好地体现了八十年代思想解放成果的电影。这部电影中对女性性别身份、社会地位的种种思考与质疑，在当年也许很前卫，但后来不管是在银幕上还是在社会话语中，并未被重拾与进一步深化。其中表现的各种女性困境现在不但依然存在，而且急剧恶化；而更令人叹息的是，当下电影对这些困境的反思深度甚至赶不上三十多年前。这当然不仅仅是因为审查尺度的问题，也源于整个社会政治文化氛围在89年之后的全面改变。丁嘉丽、史可、徐帆等几位后来大放光彩的女演员早期的精彩表演亦是这部电影值得观看的理由。

《特别手术室》影碟封面

网上对于这部电影极其有限的提及中，均冠之以"中国第一部探讨未婚先孕的电影"，《特别手术室》的片名也由此而来，指为女性做人工流产的地方。但在我看来，未婚先孕只是这部影片的一个由头，其背后的种种缘由及女性故事,才是片子的着力所在。这些缘由,包括当时年轻女性对爱情、婚姻、婚外恋、性的看法、实践与困惑，也包括一系列的社会问题，比如性骚扰、家暴、强奸、乱伦、无性婚姻、强制堕胎等等。而在这所有的故事及缘由背后，我看到的是八十年代的中国女性自我意识的觉醒、以及对男权社会种种压迫的勇敢反抗。这种反抗充满艰辛与矛盾，因为她们与之斗争的不仅是一个由家庭、单位与文化交织而成的完美男权机制，更是她们习以为常的对女性身份与地位的自我认知与束缚。但这种必须冲破层层枷

徐帆饰演的杨梅在流产手术台上

锁的反抗,也因此显得决绝而有力；两位女主角——电视台记者兼主持人卢云（史可饰）与人流医生园园（丁嘉丽饰）——在共同寻访未婚先孕女性故事的过程中逐渐完成了自身的反抗。影片结尾，卢云最终与婚外恋对象、她的办公室主任决裂，圆圆则终于下定决心离开她性无能的丈夫、从无性婚姻中解脱出来。女性情谊的建立伴随着离开男性的过程，两位女主角之间的友情是这部灰暗影片中唯一的亮色，似乎为离开男人的女人提供了希望与出路。

虽然我认为未婚先孕并非本片的主题，但与之相关的女性对自己身体的支配权，却是片中所有女性共同面对的核心问题。前来特别手术室流产的女子有着各种理由：不想这么早要孩子、瞒着婆婆来做流产而引发其婆婆来医院大闹的小媳妇，与主任藕断丝连、与现男友还未修成正果的卢云，为大款男友反复流产、也知道他情感不忠实的方林，与有家有孩子的男人婚外情、并为其两度打胎的刘露，被父亲反复强奸怀孕、借前男友结婚证前来流产、因手术未成功而又找私人医生再度实施流产手术而送命的杨梅（徐帆饰）。不管出于自愿还是被迫为之，特别手术室的存在为女性提供了另一种选择，但这种选择是伴随着屈辱与疼痛的。电影开场便是卢云去手术室堕胎一幕，除了要回答是否结婚这样的问题及承受未婚先孕的难堪，按照医院规定，未婚堕胎还得加交10块钱。而疼痛不光是手术台上的汗水与泪水中体现出的身体之痛，还有无法选择留下孩子的、被伤害的情感之痛。流产手术台上的女性们，表面上拥有的对自己身体的支配权，实际上还是掌握在男性手中。而片中手术室外的一场小闹剧，表明女人的身体不但从属于男人，还隶属于单位。40多个女工被男领导组织每人带个小板凳到医院集体上环，理由是她们隔三岔五地请假，既影响生产，又有害计划生育。医生解释避孕的方法很多，完了例假才能上环。男领导只好悻悻地说：完了月经的、自愿上环的留下，其余的回厂上班。结果全体女工站起来走了。这个小插曲告诉我们，人工流产提供了女性解放的路径，但也可以被用作压迫女性的工具，因为是否流产很大程度上取决于男权社会或政权体制的意愿与需要。影片中这近乎荒唐的一幕透出父权机制对女性身体的暴力规训，体现了市场经济对女性的影响，以及集体意志对女性身体的干预和控制。

这种来自国家机器的暴力在计划生育政策中体现得最为充分。片中还有另外两处涉及到计划生育这个话题。一是借被卢云采访的国外性病专家之口。当被问到“对目前我们的计划生育工作，你有什么看法？”外国女专家用不流利的中文回答：“生孩子要有计划生育工作，很可笑，我不喜欢。”这位专家同时也批评了中国落后的性教育及中国人对性行为的单一看法。看电影时我忍不住想，现在的小粉红们看到了会骂的吧，当然在目前的审查环境中，这样的表述能不能过审都很难说。另一处，一位以收啤酒瓶为生的外来民工，前三个都是儿子，他的妻子生了第四胎仍是儿子，令他在手术室外破口大骂，因为他想要个女儿，当卢云说生了四胎不符合国家规定，他回答：“政府不准，俺就交上几个钱。钱俺有，还是人金贵。”这里金贵的人很显然不是他那上了年纪的妻子，也再次证明对无数中国女性而言，生还是不生大多数时候并非是个人选择，而是屈从于父权社会的意志。

然而，我之所以认为《特别手术室》是一部少见的具有女性意识的电影，首先因为其对两位女主角身体意识的关

注。卢云与园园都很痛苦，原因都与性及身体的感受有关。园园结婚两年多的丈夫没有性能力，虽然她不同意离婚，对她丈夫说有没有性无所谓，对新交的朋友卢云，她却一次次吐露心声："我也需要啊，真的，人都快疯了，我得忍着。有的时候，我真的觉得随便来个什么人都行，真的。""现在连丈夫都是假的，这叫过的他妈的什么日子？""我还年轻，为什么不可以去追求正常人的生活呢？我就是想做个完整的女人。"我觉得在中国银幕上，女性对性需求进行这样坦白的言语表述，并不多见。而卢云对圆圆坦陈的烦恼则是："他要求太多，我觉得他有病。我不喜欢那样。我老觉得两个人在一起可干的事儿挺多，我觉得我跟工具似的，真的我不是太有兴趣。""我担心自己是性冷淡，男人们会受不了。"不管卢云是不是真的性冷淡，或是出于什么样的原因，她对成为工具的反感，为此不惜拒绝自己喜欢的男人，传达了她想要对自己身体做主的愿望。从这个角度来讲，卢云与园园是一类的女人，对性的感受不一样，但对女性自主、自我的追求是一样的，具体而言体现为拒绝父权加之于女性身体的规训，在取悦男性还是遵从自己身体的召唤之间选择后者。而从身体上逃离男性也具有很强的象征意味，可以看做女性试图冲破社会、文化及自身观念对精神与身体双重束缚的努力。虽然这种逃离的前途莫测，却是女性走向自由与独立的必经之路。

男领导带着 40 多名女工集体到医院上环

此外，这部电影虽然出自于一位男性导演之手，却对片中诸多女性角色充满同情、没有居高临下、令人不适的评判的目光，难能可贵。片中的女性，不管来自哪个阶层，都被塑造得异常坦率、直接、对自己不堪的处境坦然接受，而非自怨自艾，甚至对欺侮、损害她们的男人们也没有太多怨恨，只有看透之后的不屑与嘲讽。方林对卢云说："我男朋友是个大款，有人说我太爱他的钱，真逗，我不爱他的钱，能爱他这个人吗？再说，钱是他的，我不爱他的人，能爱他的钱吗？这才是真正的辩证法呢。"一位单亲妈妈对卢云与园园讲述，她曾经不幸被街上流氓强奸，后来历任男友知道后都选择与她分手，认为她不干净。当被问到孩子父亲是谁，她冷笑着说："谁知道孩子父亲是谁？我有好几个男人，他们不想跟我结婚，倒想跟我睡觉。睡就睡呗，有什么了不起的……孩子是我的，我不在乎别人说什么。"因为坚持生下孩子，她还被家里轰出去断绝了关系。一个将卢云请到家里希望寻求她帮助的女子，说自己丈夫五年前是个泥瓦匠，现在是集团公司的执行董事，挺能干挺有本事的，就是夫妻生活越来越不行了。都是她主动，有一次进行到一半，他忽然翻身下床，满世界找计算器，说是有一笔帐被别人坑了。女子悲催地问卢云："你说这是叫什么病？"两次由园园做流产手术的刘露，把她的男朋友找来见卢云，大方介绍："这是文庆，技术师，有妇之夫，而且有孩子，我的两次怀孕都是他的功劳。"男方很生气，问她什么意思。刘露回答："人家是电视台的著名记者，是专门采访咱们的事儿的。你要觉得在这里不合适，咱们可以到你家里详细地谈谈。"这些颇为搞笑的情节中，出现或是没有出现的男性角色都被勾勒得猥琐、虚伪、不忠不义，与豁达坦荡的女性角色形成鲜明对比，而这些女性角色也与中国电影史上经典的被侮辱、被损害的女性形象拉开距离。1949年之后的中国女性，经历了"妇女能顶半边天"的虚假解放及对其性别身份的全面剥夺，到了八十年代中后期，处境并无根本性改变，只是父权社会的压迫更为多元与隐蔽。但在这部影片中，我们看到了女性身上发生的令人鼓舞的改变，体现在她们对待自身境遇的方式的改变——从依靠男人到自我救赎，也体现在她们对父权机制强加于女性的那些污名化标签的反抗，比如爱钱、强奸受害者、第

三者、荡妇，等等。这样的反抗放到现在的语境下都并不多见。

对于女性情谊浓墨重彩的刻画是《特别手术室》女性意识的另一显著体现。片中几乎所有夫妻、情侣关系都是残缺而少爱的，更多地为被欺骗、暴力、欲望所定义。而女性之间，比如卢云与她的采访对象之间，则是充满了理解、同情与关怀，片中美好得近乎完美的情感关系则存在于卢云与园园之间。两位女性几乎是一见如故，园园认出流产手术台上的卢云是电视台主持人，卢云请求园园为她保密，然后又选择来园园工作的手术室进行未婚先孕专题报道的社会调查，园园对卢云的工作倾力相助。她们的友情从一开始就是建立在相知相惜的基础之上，且与男人毫无关系：两人一起寻访未婚先孕的女性故事，一起为前来流产的女性做手术，一起听音乐互诉衷肠，一起去跳舞。片中最亲密的时刻，不是卢云与她的男友在床上，而是卢云送园园从舞厅回家的出租车上，园园喝多了躺在卢云怀里。看这一幕的时候，我不知怎么就想到了《花样年华》中，出租车上枕在周慕云肩上说她今晚不想回去了的苏丽珍，还有《春光乍泄》中。出租车里枕在黎耀辉肩上那个将“不如我们从头来过”挂在嘴边的何宝荣。那两部片中的爱情是绝望的、没有未来的，这里的同性情谊却是坚实的、温暖的，可以穿越黑夜的。最近看过的一篇英文文章的题目是“假如友情、而非婚姻成为人生的中心会怎么样？”这个2020年在西方被讨论的话题似乎早就在这部80年代的中国电影中被探讨过了。遗憾的是，这种对女性依靠同性之间的互相扶持而实现自我解放的表达，在之后三十年的中国银幕上甚少见到，宁瀛2005年执导的那部号称女性电影的《无穷动》，更是与这部电影中开拓的女性乌托邦逆向而行。同时，片中对园园与卢云的亲密关系的呈现，也具备一定的暧昧性与不确定性，如果从酷儿视角加以读解，或许可以挖掘出女性情谊中更为丰富的维度及其流动变化的本质。

醉酒的园园在出租车上靠在卢云怀里

八十年代中后期，改革开放仍然处于初期，思想启蒙刚刚起步，而金钱对社会、对人性的侵蚀也已然开始，长期处于弱势的中国女性，在政治经济这些宏大话语的夹缝中用身体感知着时代的变迁与风暴。《特别手术室》以未婚先孕的社会话题捎带出八十年代的中国女性在情感、性别身份与性意识中的挣扎与困惑，以及对自身处境的反抗，即使放在中国电影史里看，也是相当超前且极富勇气的。这样一部好片子，因为不为人知的原因被埋没了十七年，后来虽以光碟形式见诸于世，其传播范围与影响力都远远不及如果当年问世那样大，算不算是审查之害的另一个案例？但无论如何，这部女性奏鸣曲都为我们留下了八十年代思想解放、创作繁荣的一个视觉范例，也是中国女性意识觉醒的历史证据。1995年在北京召开的第四次世界妇女大会通常被认为中国探索性别平等之路上的里程碑式事件，但这一探索早在八十年代便已开始，如同这部电影中所呈现的那样。如若当时的进程未受中断，当下中国电影中的女性形象与女性表达都应当是不一样的面貌罢？

注释

1 “《特别手术室》非法17年，田壮壮终于要‘生’了”，四川新闻网，2005年4月6日，https://web.archive.org/web/20170305062942/http:/ent.qq.com/a/20050406/000048.htm.

《顽主》的三十年：见证 · 开启 · 退场
Three Decades of *The Trouble Shooters* (1988): Witnessing, Pioneering, Exiting

温华 WEN Hua

上世纪八十年代，中国内地出现了1949年之后第一次“娱乐片”热潮。所谓“娱乐片”，是当时评论界对不同于“主旋律电影”和“艺术探索片”的第三类电影的界定。按照这种三分法，米家山于1988年导演的《顽主》显然很难归类。它既不属于“主旋律”，与当时热衷表现凶杀武打，一味诉诸感官刺激的“娱乐片”也不可同日而语，但又很难归于那种高深莫测的“艺术片”，显得相当平易近人。影片在制作与放映过程中引起了官方（电影主管部门）、精英知识分子与普通观众迥然不同的反应，电影审查部门虽然对影片中强烈的调侃色彩不满，提出多条修改意见，但认为“剧场效果最好”，最终通过放行[1]；精英知识分子则对影片大加挞伐，批评它三观不正，社会影响恶劣；以大学生和市民为主的普通观众却热烈欢迎这部电影，认为它真实、过瘾、接地气、有意思。《顽主》上映后共计卖出83个拷贝，市场成绩属于中上。影片当年获得金鸡奖六项提名，但最终空手而回[2]。时隔三十二年，重看八十年代末这部影片，回到当时历史语境中，梳理它特殊遭遇的前因后果，我们发现它是二十世纪八、九十年代之交时代转折的症候，一个充满预言性和象征性的作品，影片不仅给中国电影带来了一种新的喜剧风格，还以其叛逆精神启发了九十年代的独立电影。

转折时代的投射

八十年代中后期的中国，随着政治、经济、文化大环境的变化，电影从政治活动、文化事业变成了与政治有关的经济行为，电影的经济效益日益受到主管部门和从业者的重视，国产电影迎来了娱乐片热潮。电影主管部门既要维护党的电影工作传统，又要兼顾电影产业的经济效能，在权力与市场的博弈中，电影审查越来越多地受到市场因素的影响。正是在这一大背景之下，尽管电影局认为《顽主》里有些细节过于敏感、脏话偏多、损害传统正面人物形象，要求修改导演六处细节，但当米家山并未完全照办之时，还是因电影剧场效果极好而且经济效益可期而通过了审查。相对于官方的宽容态度，以精英知识分子为主的评论界则显得格外严苛，《电影艺术》、《文艺理论与批评》等学术期刊集中发文讨论《顽主》及王朔电影，几乎一边倒地表达了否定[3]。评论家们对影片的主题、价值观、人物塑造、表现手法给予尖锐的批评，斥责“顽主”们是病态社会里的病态人物，其价值虚无主义和玩世不恭的人生哲学相当危险，负面影响远远大于其批判意味。如此评价表明，以启蒙为己任的精英知识分子无法放弃对宏大叙事的执念，面对日渐浓厚的经济至上之风的渗透，面对新价值观的冲击，试图做坚决的抵抗。但是他们也无法否认，“顽主”的戏谑和调侃是八十年代末社会思想变化的真实反映，青年人和普通观众借着顽主们的嬉笑讽刺，宣泄了多年禁忌造成的压抑感。在八十年代相对宽松的政治环境中，普通观众厌倦了长期以来传统革命话语的宣传教育，渴望真实、接地气的新娱乐，他们当时虽然不具备多少话语权，但作为电影市场的接受主体，已经代表着一种新的力量。

《顽主》在制作、上映、评奖过程中的遭遇，正是八十年代末中国社会转折期各种思想、话语在不同力量对比下的复合反应。重视经济效益的电影主管部门能够让电影上映，权威评论家的质疑影响了影片的艺术价值认定，观众的肯定和喜爱则让影片获得了长久的生命力，饰演“顽主”的葛优和梁天因精彩表现成为喜剧明星，中国电影迎来一个王朔式喜剧的新时代。影片的遭遇见证着时代的话语纷争，影片本身更是生动记录了那个转折时代中的城市景观和

市民生态。

1988年的北京街头，《黄土高坡》歌声飘荡，自行车的海洋依然汹涌，现代都市的景观也在悄然渗透。玻璃幕墙映照出高楼塔吊，滚滚车流中有霹雳舞闪转腾挪，手势销魂的交警制服老旧，时髦青年的发型却和“杀马特”[4]如出一辙。影片开始两分钟的蒙太奇，浓缩了八十年代末中国都市的典型景观与各种潮流符号，又通过背景摇滚乐表达出对都市生活的怀疑。那是一个前现代、现代与后现代元素交织共融的城市，斜襟袄和文化衫并存，洋鬼子和老农民比肩，纹身特写、十字路口全景，经过精心筛选的街拍镜头奠定了影片的基本格调：这是一个处于转折中的城市，而“这里的日子并不好过”。接下来，在几乎每个评论者都要提到的时装表演段落里，中国近代以来的各种思想意识象征和身份符号以空前强烈的对比同时出现在舞台上，动感而略带诡异的配乐让这出后现代大展演摄人心魄，曾经对峙冲突的地主与农民、八路军与国民党、京剧武生与健美小姐，都在最后时刻握手言欢，集体狂舞，彻底抹去了各种形象之间的价值差异，所有历史和现实元素都成为景观，成为空洞的能指，成为娱乐的对象。这个段落给观众带来的视觉冲击力异常强烈，其效果已经远远不止于博人一笑，象征意味异常丰富。众所周知，这一段神来之笔是导演米家山的原创，米家山本人表示其用意在于“讽喻开放后各种思想意识价值观交叉混乱的状况”；大多数评论认为它将“一切有价值的与无价值的混作一团，是近年来思想文化领域内出现的一种畸形现象”的“镜子”[5]，影片只是反映而缺少应有的批判。导演有“讽喻”的主观意图，但评论者并不买账，类似的认知错位在当时对《顽主》的解读

时装表演段落，最前卫和最保守的元素出现在同一个舞台上

中相当普遍，依然是双方立场和价值观差异所导致，折射出当时思想界多种观念混杂的状况。

今天回看这个段落，仍然会惊叹其手法的超前性。不得不说，导演本人虽未充分自觉，但这种并置历史与现实、拼贴混杂的手法颇具后现代风格，其实是九十年代中国文艺界即将出现的后现代风潮的前奏。导演欲以此讽喻社会，说明他在创作观念上并不认同拒绝深度模式的后现代主义，但评论界显然已将这个段落划入后现代精神阵营，尽管还未用这个标签来为它命名。因为后现代理论在八十年代中期开始进入中国时，并未与当时正流行的“现代派”话语相区分，直到九十年代才在新语境下爆得大名。事实上，无论影片主创是否自觉，《顽主》全片最吸引人也最具开创性的地方，就是以这一段落为代表的颇具后现代精神的解构和戏谑。

影片调侃了许多现实、各色人等，看似散碎其实自有重点，那就是虚和伪。八十年代末，文学热虽已进入尾声但余波尚存，西方文化符号日益成为时髦的象征，报纸讲台上依然宣讲着五讲四美三热爱。这些主流宣教话语和流行符号

就是影片解构戏谑的主要对象。杨重跟“现代派”女青年刘美萍侃人生，说尽了全部外国人名，感慨现代派真厉害，并且按于观的嘱咐引用弗洛伊德将交谈往粗俗过渡。这里的现代派、尼采和弗洛伊德都不具备实际意义，只是空洞的能指，借以解构八十年代盛行一时的现代派文学热。三T公司为伪作家宝康张罗的颁奖大会，更是集中火力将文学的面纱撕了个粉碎。文学热的年代，确有许多浑水摸鱼者假文学之名骗财骗色，王朔原作和影片嘲讽的主要是这种现象，同时也以闹剧形式揭示出当时文学热的退潮。作家、诗人、失足青年、上级领导，各种身份完全打乱，所有人互相扮演又互为观众，观众只在乎颁奖后有没有舞会和汽水，没有人关心文学本身。另一个火力点集中指向八十年代依然强势的传统主流宣教话语，以德育教授赵尧舜和于观爸爸为载体的这种传统话语，在“顽主”这样的年轻人当中已经失去效力，也变成了空洞的能指，解构着话语本身。“顽主”们在极力反抗、解构这种话语，揭穿话语者假面的过程中，表达了他们自己的生活态度和价值观。

“新人”出世

“顽主”形象属于北京特产。“一点正经没有”的京味儿神侃是他们的话语特征，个人主义是他们的内在追求。都市生活让他们见多识广，满不在乎，他们厌恶假大空，躲避崇高，放弃了“伟大”理想，不愿意被旧的生活方式束缚，不追求体制内的稳定，看似不三不四，其实用剧中人于观的话说：“没杀人、没放火、没上大街游行，唯一的缺点就是庸俗了一点儿。”在电影改写原作之后，他们甚至在以自己的方式“为人民服务”。与他们嘲讽解构的那些虚假话语者相反，他们坦承自己对于金钱和肉体的欲望，不屑于伪装和掩饰。评论界给“顽主”形象贴上许多标签——当代嬉皮士、痞子、垮掉的一代、个人主义拜金者，指责他们的人生态度对社会进步无益[6]，显然还是从传统的价值观出发去统一要求所有人，这种充满优越感的判断忽略了一个事实，那就是在于观、杨重们的自轻自贱当中，其实有着别样的自尊与自爱。于观拒绝丁小鲁的“上进”建议，看似自甘堕落，骨子里是不愿意按照别人的规范去生活，不愿意被强制，想自主安排自己的生活。这种个人本位价值观在当时的中国都市年轻人中暗流涌动，遭到主流意识形态和精英话语的严厉批评，今天已广为普通市民接受和奉行，某种程度上也为主流意识形态所容忍。

需要指出的是，电影塑造的顽主形象和小说原作中的形象并不完全契合。原作中的主人公整日泡舞场搓麻将，三T公司的业务更多停留在口头上，只是他们想象中的话语游戏。但影片中的三个人却兢兢业业，想群众所想，急顾客所急，颇具职业精神。当于观为拯救公司扑向汽车时，甚至散发出一抹英雄主义的光辉。影片结尾让公司门口排起长长的队伍，代表着“人民”对“顽主”们的肯定和认可，这正是传统话语对个人存在价值的最高评价。上述一切在王朔原作中都并不存在，是导演米家山赋予了人物更易被大众接受的“正能量”，让观众忘记了王朔小说中许多人物确实游手好闲，甚至游走在违法犯罪的边缘。通过这样的重塑和改写，影片成功推出了以个人主义为价值观的“新人”形

电影结尾，三 T 公司被居委会要求停业停顿

象，这一形象浓缩了八十年代末中国社会转型期北京特有的一类青年人的特点，开启了九十年代银幕与荧屏上这类形象的先河，进而在冯小刚的电影中转变为市民阶层欲望和话语的代言人。

延续与退场

正如意大利作家艾柯所言，一切阅读皆为“误读”。电影主创对小说《顽主》、各方评论者对电影《顽主》的所有批评和解释，都是持论者从自身视角和需要出发进行的改写。实际上，无论《顽主》的小说文本还是电影文本，都具有多重性，都蕴含着丰富的解读空间。姑且不去细究当时的批评和赞赏中有多少是由小说迁移到电影上的误伤或错爱，事实上这样的评价迁移正是王朔电影评论中的一个重要特点。仅就《顽主》这个文本而言，无论作者本意为何，许多评论者都认为它表现出一种双重性：一方面，它表达了对传统和权威的强烈反叛，另一方面，这种反叛缺少行动力，只停留在话语层面。换言之，其精神实质是既反叛又妥协[7]。但是导演从文本中看到的却是另一种双重性：反叛意识和流行性。导演米家山坦承，选择王朔小说作电影改编，一方面是欣赏那种对传统旧秩序、陈腐道德观的逆反心态和反叛意识，另一方面是受到商业化的压力[8]。小说原作保持着传统的叙事形式，语言幽默，相当流行。米家山认为，电影的基本功能之一是娱乐，同时还应该具有一种批判意识，要表达对生活的感受和社会的观照。小说《顽主》兼具叛逆性和流行性，又以完全虚构的荒诞情节展开故事，恰好符合他的需要。最终呈现出来的影片《顽主》，确实寄予着导演对批判性和娱乐性的双重诉求，既表达了强烈的反叛意识—几个“不正经”的混混做主角，传统的集体主义价值观和道德观遭到空前嘲讽；同时又以玩笑的方式展开叙事，让观众大感轻松。用导演自己的话讲，影片虽然很叛逆，其实是在帮助宣泄观众的压抑感[9]。

站在今天回望，我们发现《顽主》体现出的这种双重诉求，在九十年代之后走向了两条不同的道路。

其一，沿着批判精神和现实关怀的方向，聚焦于各种“不三不四”的边缘人，零余者和“畸形人”，呈现异于主流价值观的人生状态。由于题材多涉禁忌，注重批判性而漠视娱乐性，又是在体制外制作生产，这类作品很难获得公映，九十年代独立电影《北京杂种》、《小武》等是其中代表。虽然并无直接证据表明早期独立电影与《顽主》的继承关系，但我认为，两类作品中强烈的反权威意识和解构宏大叙事的后现代精神是一脉相通的。

其二，以话语倾泻的方式表达对社会现实的温和嘲讽，呈现市民生活百态，用幽默化解矛盾，逗观众一乐。这类作品以《编辑部的故事》、《我爱我家》、《一地鸡毛》等“王朔式喜剧”为代表，在九十年代赢得了市场青睐和大批观众。

九十年代早期独立电影与王朔式喜剧看似风马牛不相及，实则共同脱胎于八十年代末那个转折时代，它们从孕育《顽主》的社会语境中脱胎而来，又沿着各自的道路分别强化着批判性与娱乐性，渐行渐远。批判与娱乐在电影中当然不是截然对立的两个面向，但前者的终极追求是叛逆精神，而后者的根本动力是游戏精神和娱乐效果。不可否认，《顽主》对独立电影的启发更多是以背景音的方式产生，直接延续《顽主》题材和话语风格的王朔式喜剧才是它在九十年代直到今天最嘹亮的余响。

九十年代，大众文化和市民趣味以更猛烈的态势冲击着传统审美标准和价值体系，“顽主”和《顽主》式喜剧、顽主式语言一再受到观众的喜爱和模仿，九十年代初因王朔影视作品流行而起的“人文精神大讨论”，是精英话语与大众文化一次全面的交锋，讨论虽无结论，却凸显出大众文化对精英话语造成的巨大冲击。八十年代末，《顽主》曾因解构知识精英及其话语而遭到后者一致批评，但在新语境中，继承《顽主》喜剧风格又融入更多市民趣味的系列影视

作品，已经赢得越来越多的观众和市场优势，让精英的批评失去了原有的话语效应。

1997年，《顽主》2.0版《甲方乙方》上映，仍然以荒诞的前提结构全片，靠接地气的细节和京味幽默制造笑料，但仔细品味其价值观已悄然变化：《顽主》原有的叛逆和解构精神被置换为温情和奉献，顽主们以“成全别人，陶冶自己”为服务宗旨，彻底变成了负责任、讲信用、为人民服务的知心大哥，跟官方管理机构一街道居委会共同携手，创造着邻里和社区的一团和谐。这种变化一方面源于主创者自身的价值诉求，另一方面，是因为第一代顽主集中火力嘲讽解构的传统话语已经不再具有八十年代那么强势的地位，解构对象已经无需挑战，社会语境中最大的压力来自市场经济大潮的冲击，人们渴望温情的抚慰。到2013年3.0版的《私人订制》，梦想规划师们已经完全失去顽主身上那种反叛传统、解构权威的批判色彩，彻底成为娱乐功能的实现者。《甲方乙方》里仍带几分调侃的“逢人就夸”在2013年变成了十分抒情的四处道歉，与全片的讽刺风格极不协调。在日新月异的网络话语对比下，特有的京味幽默和对权威话语的戏仿也不再散发原有的光芒。曾经引领潮流的顽主们，终于在《老炮儿》中徒然挥舞着不合时宜的长刀，以第一代顽主完全不具备的悲情色彩黯然退出历史舞台。令人唏嘘的是，《顽主》曾让八十年代末的年轻人拍手称快，《老炮儿》却招来2015年知乎、豆瓣用户的一片群嘲。

在时代语境的迅速变迁之中，顽主形象的退场实属必然，但是，经电影《顽主》广泛传播的话语方式已经融化于新一代年轻人的网络话语当中，影片中那种强烈的反叛精神被新一代独立电影人继承，影片运用的种种后现代表现手法也在《斗牛》、《一步之遥》等作品中不断重现，而《顽主》那种调和娱乐性和批判性的喜剧精神，仍然在《我不是药神》、《无名之辈》这样的影片中延续着。

注释

1　王云珍：《访米家山谈<顽主>》，《电影艺术》1989年第3期。

2　《顽主》获得1989年金鸡奖评选中包括最佳影片、最佳导演、最佳女配角在内的六项提名，马晓晴的最佳女配角是唯一提名，但最后无一获奖，本届最佳女配角和最佳影片皆空缺。

3　在集中讨论电影《顽主》的几十篇文章中，80%以上持否定态度，当时著名的电影评论家邵牧君、黄式宪等均全面批判了《顽主》的价值观和艺术风格；只有陈晓明、白烨等肯定了这部作品。

4　“杀马特”，2010年前后流行于城市85后和90后青年人中的一种亚文化，以夸张的发型和装束为外部特征。

5　李兴叶：《病态社会病态精神的真实写照—王朔电影的价值与失误》，《文艺理论与批评》1989年第4期。

6　邵牧君：《略论王朔电影》，《电影艺术》1989年第5期；黄式宪：《意识形态症候:王朔式“反叛文化”的时髦性与毁坏性》，《电影艺术》1989年第6期；丹晨：《轻蔑中的赏玩—电影顽主观后》，《电影艺术》1989年第3期。

7　上文中提到的论文都表达过类似观点，在王一川的《想像的革命—王朔与王朔主义》一文中，更是集中全面地剖析了这种双重性，见《文艺争鸣》2005年第5期。

8　王云珍：《访米家山谈<顽主>》，《电影艺术》1989年第3期。

9　王云珍：《访米家山谈<顽主>》，《电影艺术》1989年第3期。米家山认为：电影有一个基本功能就是 宣泄功能。进了电影院，观众很多牢骚和不满都宣泄掉了，看到主人公在骂人好象他也骂了一通，哈哈大笑出了气，就高高兴兴了。正是这种宣泄缓解了观众心中潜藏的攻击欲。

展览 EXHIBITION

Stars (*Xing Xing*) Exhibition: Photographs and Artwork 星星照片与画作展
Curators策展人: Norman A. SPENCER 诺曼•斯班赛, PENG Xiaojian 彭筱剑 and YAN Li 严力

A Brief Introduction to Beijing's Stars Art Group
北京星星画会简介
Author作者: YAN Li严力；Translator翻译：Huiming YU余慧明

(A) Old Photos 老照片

(B) Artwork 画作

To YAN Li and His Peers: Prototype for a New Generation
新一代的典范:致严力和他的同代
Author作者：Norman A. SPENCER 诺曼•斯班塞
Translator翻译：Denis MAIR梅丹理

A Brief Introduction to Beijing's Stars (*Xing Xing*) Art Group

YAN Li 严力　Translator: Huiming YU 余慧明

At the end of the 1970s, ideological control was loosened in China after the disastrous ten years of the Great Cultural Revolution and a string of political struggles. Deng Xiaoping's (邓小平) willingness to reform emerged. Against such a historical background, there was a grassroots surge in the circles of Chinese modern literature and arts in Beijing. In 1979, an art movement featuring the Stars (*Xing Xing*星星) Art Group, the first avant-garde group since the establishment of People's Republic of China, took place in Beijing. There were many similar events from July to September in that year. For example, five young artists from Guizhou Province and one painter from Sichuan Province displayed their works at Xidan Democracy Wall to express their aesthetic ideas. They wanted to take this chance to break through the limitation that art must serve politics and bring the right of artistic expression back to individuals. A group of young Beijingers launched an exhibition under the name of the 'No Name Painting Association' (无名画会) in June 1989 with the support of the Beijing Artists Association (北京市美术家协会) who provided the exhibition venue. Obviously some room for self-expression in China since the end of Great Cultural Revolution was appearing. Another group of young Beijingers launched another grassroot art group, Stars Art Group, in early July that year. They took a more avant-garde position, displaying their works on the wall outside of the National Art Museum of China on 27 September. The exhibition attracted a large audience of professionals in art circles. Three days later, however, on 30 September, Beijing Public Security Bureau banned the exhibition as a disturbance of public order, posting an official notice. After discussion, the artists marched from Xidan Democracy Wall to the building of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party on 1 December. Policemen guarded the route to maintain the order. The marching team announced a slogan, 'We Want Artistic Freedom'. After a negotiation between the municipal officials and the members of the Stars Art Group, the party committee agreed that the demands of the artists were partially justifiable. They instructed the Beijing Artists Association to provide a venue for the Stars Art Group's exhibition. The march lasted three hours and ended peacefully. As the venue was already booked for another exhibition, the Stars Art Group's exhibition was scheduled at the end of November. Because of the two extra months, the Stars Art Group artists had more time to prepare. They summarised the feedback from the audience to the outdoor exhibition and took the time to produce more work. Some new members joined them, so the delayed exhibition was more diverse and more individualised. The delayed exhibition was launched at Painting Zhai Fasting (画舫斋) at Beihai Park, an exhibition space for the Beijing Artists Association. The exhibition was held for three extra days. The art event had a huge impact in China. Overseas media also reported this breakthrough with astonishment.

When it came to May 1980, the Stars Art Group began to prepare a second edition. But the Beijing Artists Association said they were unable to make the final decision. After some effort, the artists invited Jiang Feng (江丰), the head of the National Artists Association (全国美术家协会), to visit a member's home to view their new work. Jiang Feng did not offer his opinions immediately as to whether he was for or against them. Shortly after that, he arranged an exhibition at the National Art Museum of China for the Stars Art Group in August 1980. It was a rapid development for an outdoor exhibition to enter the museum in eleven months. It showed that the long-oppressed energy resulted in great support from various parts of society for the new cultural experiments of the time. The exhibition was a huge success, attracting more than 10,000 people a day at its peak. The audience left much feedback. The atmosphere was enthusiastic. From the outdoor exhibition in September 1979 to the delayed exhibition in Painting Zhai Fasting in November 1979, then to the exhibition at the National Art Museum in August 1980, three exhibitions over two editions by the Stars Art Group in-

spired a trend of individualised, free art creation, with their influence reaching out across China.

But the applications for any following exhibitions were all rejected. It was because the idea of a political movement in China, its rise and fall, was still experienced through the mindset of class struggle. Meanwhile, the door to the outside world had been opened. People moved to the west through various means, such as studying overseas, visiting or attending exhibitions, and marriage. Almost all the key members of the Stars Art Group moved overseas between 1981 and 1986.

The paintings displayed for the three exhibitions, plus the works made in the following years by the key members of the Stars Art Group, were mostly bought by westerners. There were many overseas exhibitions for their works, including the Stars Art Group Avant-garde Art Tour Exhibition in 1985, launched jointly by the New York Municipal Government and Vassar College, and the Tenth Anniversary Tour Exhibition of the Stars Art Group, launched by Johnson Chang (张颂仁), a Hong Kong art dealer, in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and France. The most recent exhibition for the Stars Art Group was the Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition in a Tokyo gallery in 1999. As a market operation, they all sold their works at individual exhibitions taking place in galleries in the west in order to support themselves, which is understandable.

During the forty-odd years from 1979 to the present, the diversity of China's modern arts has resulted in many individulised and creative ideas, seen in installations, performance art, computer art, and even body painting. It feels quite sentimental to take a look back at the Stars Art Group. How many people can still remember their work? The audience for the Stars Art Group's exhibitions at the time were mainly Beijingers and a few outsiders living in Beijing. What people got was its spirit disseminated via various information. But history is history. With the passing of time and social transformation, things will become clearer. Many friends in art circles today would like to see the work because back then they only heard about them. The opportunity came in 2000 when Yan Li (严力), a member of the Stars Art Group, happened to meet Norman Spencer, an American who loves Chinese films and art, at a Chinese film event in New York. When Mr. Spencer heard Yan Li telling him about the Stars Art Group, he asked why there was no introduction to it in books about Chinese modern art. He was told that the history of the Stars Group was a forbidden topic in China for a long time. In the next year, when Mr. Spencer was teaching English in Ningbo City, China, for two months, he visited Yan Li, who was visiting his family in Shanghai. After reviewing the materials about Stars Art Group that Yan Li had, he proposed a book project and an oral history project. The book, *Things are Symbols of Themselves*, was co-edited by Yan Li and Spencer and published in 2005, with a preface by Spencer. The oral history project, using audio tapes, with the members of Stars Group was executed by Zhao Yanying (赵燕英), an independent producer in Beijing. After editing the book, Yan Li met Haibo (海波), the curator of the White Canvas Gallery (艺事后素现代艺术博物馆) in Nanjing. Haibo planned to launch a retrospective exhibition of the Stars Art Group. After two years of hard work, they collected more than seventy paintings produced between 1979 and 1982 by a dozen of the Stars Art Group members. The exhibition was launched at Beijing Today Art Museum in 2007 with an album, *Origin Point*, published at the same time. It includes an interview with Mr. Spencer. There was no other exhibition of the original works of the Stars Art Group after the 2007 event. There was a document exhibition for the fortieth anniversary of the Stars Art Group launched at Beijing OCAT Institute in 2019. Meanwhile, Huang Rui (黄锐), the organiser of the Stars Art Group, collected materials from the members and published a more complete history of Stars Art Group, *Stars 79-80*, in 2019.

Yan Li, December 2020 in New York

北京星星画会简介

严力

上个世纪的七十年代末，经过十年浩劫以及一系列政治斗争的中国发生了观念上的松动，邓小平的改革意愿初露锋芒。在这个时代背景下，中国的现代文学艺术在北京形成了一股民间的涌动，作为新中国成立以来的第一个先锋团体“星星画会”的艺术运动就发生在1979年的北京。那年的七月到九月，民间发生了不少类似的事件，其中包括贵阳五青年和四川一位画家在西单民主墙悬挂他们的画作，来表达他们自己的审美观，以此冲破多年来艺术为政治服务的限制，把艺术表达的权利还给个人。还有一群北京青年以“无名画会”的名义在1979年6月举办了画展，并且得到了北京市美术家协会的支持，向他们提供了展览场地。显然，中国社会此时出现了文革结束以来表达自我的一些空间。于是，北京另一群年轻人从七月初开始组建了另一个民间艺术团体——星星画会。他们以更加先锋的民间性姿态在中国美术馆的墙外悬挂作品，那是9月27日。展览吸引了许多观众和美术界的专业人士，但是三天后——9月30日，北京公安局以影响街头秩序为由禁止他们继续展出，并贴出相关的公告。在这种情况下，他们经过讨论于10月1日从西单民主墙游行至王府井的北京市委大楼。一路上警察在两边维持秩序，游行队伍打出了“要艺术创作自由”的旗号，后经市委官员与星星画会成员协商，市委认为艺术家的要求有其合理的一面，就指令北京市美术家协会给星星画会提供展览地点。于是游行和平结束，历时三个多小时。北京市美协的展览场地当时因已排定其它展览，星星画会的展览被安排在稍后的11月底。就因为往后拖了两个月，星星画会的成员有了更多的时间进行准备，他们总结了露天展时候的观众回馈，利用这两个月的时间加紧创作，加上一些新成员的加入，参加延后展的作品比在露天展的时候应该说更加多元与个性化。于是，延后展在北海公园里面专属北京市美协的展览场所“画舫斋”顺利进行，并延长了三天。这个艺术事件在中国国内的影响是巨大的，而国外的媒体更是充满了惊讶地报道这种零的突破。

到了1980年5月，星星画会又开始筹备第二届展览，但是北京市美协表明做不了决定，经过一番努力，他们请到了全国美术家协会主席江丰。江丰到星星画会成员的家里看他们集中起来的新作品，看完之后，并没有马上认可，但也没有反对。不久，他就为星星画会安排了在中国美术馆展览，时间是1980年8月。也就是说从美术馆门外到11个月后进入美术馆，发展是极其迅速的，也证明积压多年的能量为当时的新文化实验提供了来自社会各方的支持。展览获得空前成功，最多的一天参观人数上万人，观众留下了许许多多褒贬的意见，气氛相当热烈。于是，从1979年九月的露天展，至11月“画舫斋”的延后展，再至1980年8月美术馆的展览，星星画会的两届三次展览在中国社会上引起了一股个性化的自由创作风潮，其影响波及全国各地。

但是，第二届展览之后他们继续申请的展览不再被批准，因为当时中国的政治运动意识还在它多年来的阶级惯性中扭动与起伏。但就在这同时，对外开放的大门则已经越开越大，作为可供选择的出国项目，使许多人运用留学、访问和展览邀请、或者婚姻走向西方，星星画会的主要成员们从1981年至1986年几乎全部陆续出国了。

至于当时的作品，两届(三次)星星画会所展览的作品和之后几年他们一些主要成员的作品大部分被西方人买走了。后来，他们的展览在国外则举行过不少次，其中包括1985年纽约市政府和纽约凡萨大学联合举办的星星前卫艺术巡回展，香港画商张颂仁1989年举办的星星画会十周年台湾、香港、法国巡回展。星星画会最近的一次展览是1999年在日本东京画廊所举办的二十周年展。当然作为市场的运作，他们在西方都通过画廊举办过各自的个人展来进行

销售，生活的日常开销是任何人不能逾越的。

从1979年到现在，也就是近四十年，中国现代艺术的多元化已经呈现着现代人各种个性化的奇思怪想，从当今的装置艺术、行为艺术、电脑艺术甚至人体彩绘回过头看星星画会，真是感慨万千。但是又有多少人记得当年的星星作品呢?不过能看到过星星画展的都是北京人和当时在北京的少数外地人，更多的是信息所传播的这种精神。历史就是历史，在经过时间的沉淀与社会变迁后，某些东西会变得更加清晰。不少当今的美术界的朋友都很想看看当时他们只是听说但没有见到过的星星作品。机遇很巧地发生在2000年，星星画会成员严力在纽约的一次中国电影介绍会的活动上认识了Norman Spencer，他是一个热爱中国电影和艺术的美国人，他听严力谈起星星画会时就提问，为什么很多介绍中国现代艺术的书籍里看不到具体的星星画会的介绍，得知星星画会历史在中国的很长时间里是个不能报道的禁区，他就关注地在第二年(2001年)趁在中国宁波教授英文的两个月，找到在上海探亲的严力。看到了严力手上的全部关于星星的资料，他提出一个编书的想法和记录当事人的录音项目，编书的想法由严力与Norman合作，于2005年完成并出版了《事物是它自己的象征》，Norman为此书写了序言。而对当事人(星星与今天的部分成员)的录音项目，则被北京独立制作人赵燕英作为她自己的项目去进行了。编辑完《事物是它自己的象征》之后，严力就遇到南京的“艺事后素现代艺术博物馆”的主持人海波，经过协商，由海波承担星星画会的回顾展，经过两年艰辛的收集工作，收集到七十几张星星十几位成员当年的作品(1979–1982)并在2007 年于北京今日美术馆进行了展览，并出版了画册:《原点》，其中也收录了对Norman先生的访谈。自2007年的星星回顾展之后，就再也没有进行星星当年原作的展览了，但有一个星星画会的四十周年文件展于2019年在北京的OCAT艺术研究中心展出。同时，星星当年的组织者黄锐在向星星成员收集资料后，在2019年出版了更完整的关于星星历史的一本英文版的书:《Stars79–80》。

2020年12月写于纽约

Stars *(Xing Xing)* Exhibition: Photographs and Artwork
星星照片与画作展

Curators 策展人 : Norman A. SPENCER 诺曼 . 斯班塞 , PENG Xiaojian 彭筱剑 and YAN Li 严力

(A) Old Photos 老照片

Group photograph of Stars Exhibition artists, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li .
星星美展艺术家集体照, 1980. 感谢严力提供照片。

Yan Li, Ma Desheng, and Mang Ke 芒克 in Yan Li's home, 1982, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力、马德升、芒克在严力家, 1982. 感谢严力提供照片。

Stars members in Huang Rui's courtyard, 1980, Wang Keping, Ma Desheng, Yan Li, Qu Leilei, and Huang Rui, photograph by Joan Lebold Cohen, courtesy of Yan Li.
星星成员在黄锐家的院子里, 1980.从左至右: 王克平、马德升、严力、曲磊磊、黄锐, 拍摄者Joan Lebold Cohen, 感谢严力提供照片。

Copies of 今天*Jintian* (*Today*); editors: Bei Dao and Mang Ke; cover design: Huang Rui; courtesy of Yan Li.
《今天》杂志。编辑: 北岛、芒克; 封面设计: 黄锐。感谢严力提供照片。

Ma Desheng leading protest march for artistic freedom, 1979, photograph by Chi Xiaoning, courtesy of Yan Li.
马德升走在为艺术创作自由而游行的队伍前面, 1979, 拍摄者池小宁。感谢严力提供照片。

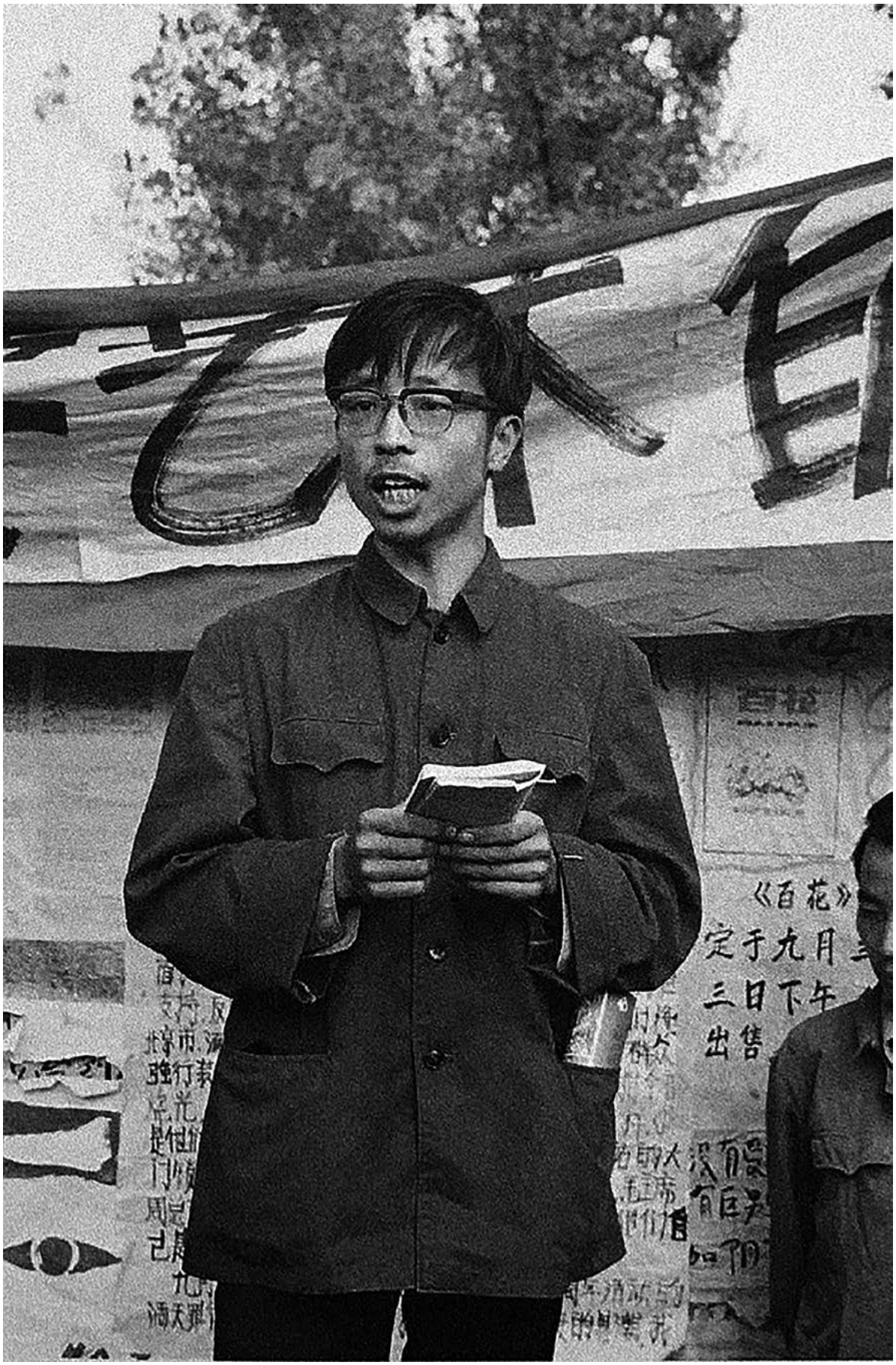
Protest march for artistic freedom, 1979, photograph by Huang Rui, courtesy of Yan Li.
为争取艺术创作自由的游行, 1979. 拍摄者黄锐。感谢严力提供照片。

Star's big character poster announcement posted on Xidan Democracy Wall, photographer, Li Xiaobin, courtesy Yan Li.
贴在西单民主墙上的星星美展大字报。拍摄者李晓斌。感谢严力提供照片。

Ma Desheng giving a speech during protest march, 1979, photograph by Liu Heung Shing, courtesy of Yan Li.
马德升在游行时发表演讲, 1979. 拍摄者刘香成。感谢严力提供照片。

Liu Qing giving a speech in front of Municipal Party Committee building, 1979, photography by Huang Rui, courtesy of Yan Li.
刘青在北京市委楼前发表演讲, 1979. 拍摄者黄锐。感谢严力提供照片。

Ma Desheng giving speech at the Xidan Democracy Wall before protest march, 1979, photograph by Huang Rui, courtesy of Yan Li.
马德升在游行开始前在西单民主墙前发表演讲, 1979. 拍摄者黄锐。感谢严力提供照片。

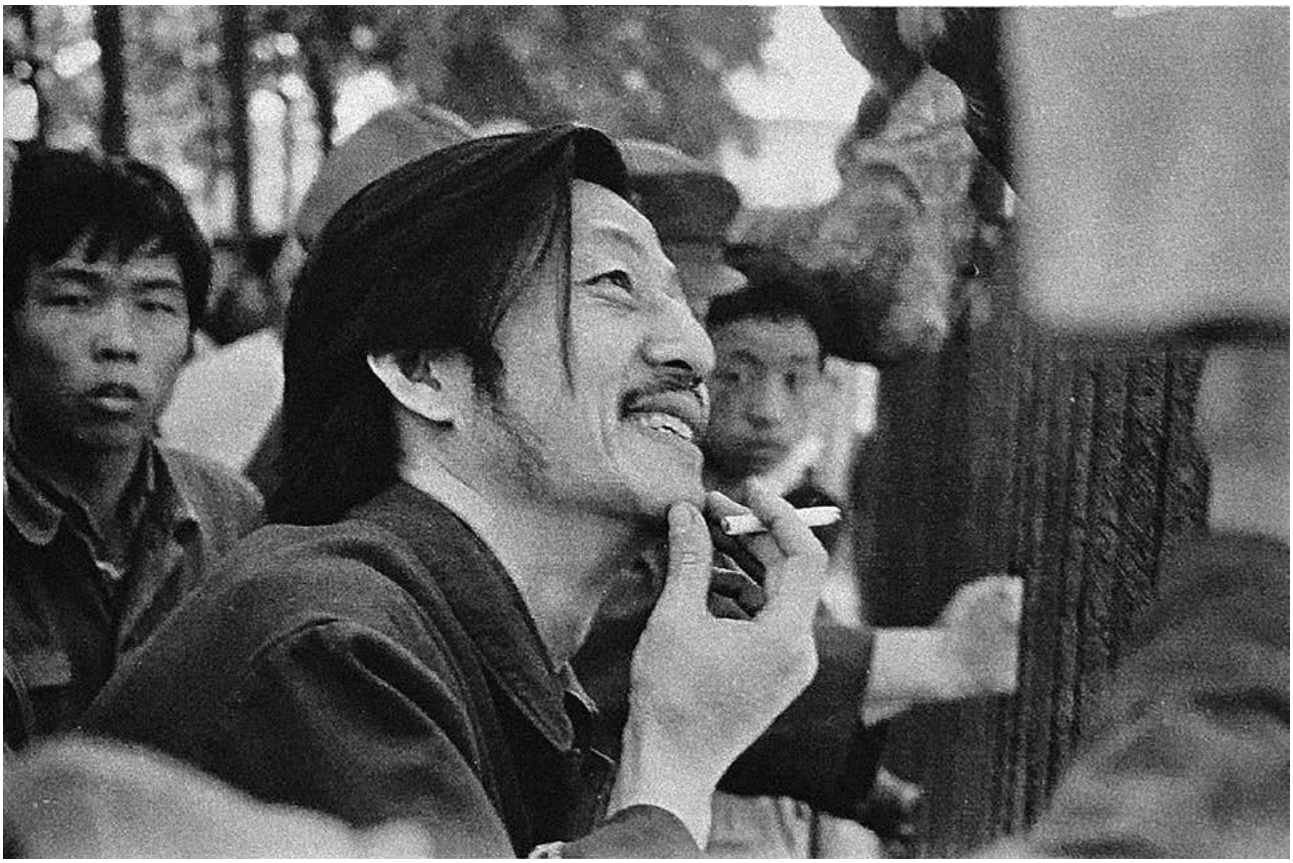


Huang Rui giving speech on day of protest march, 1979, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐在游行日发表演讲, 1979。感谢严力提供照片。

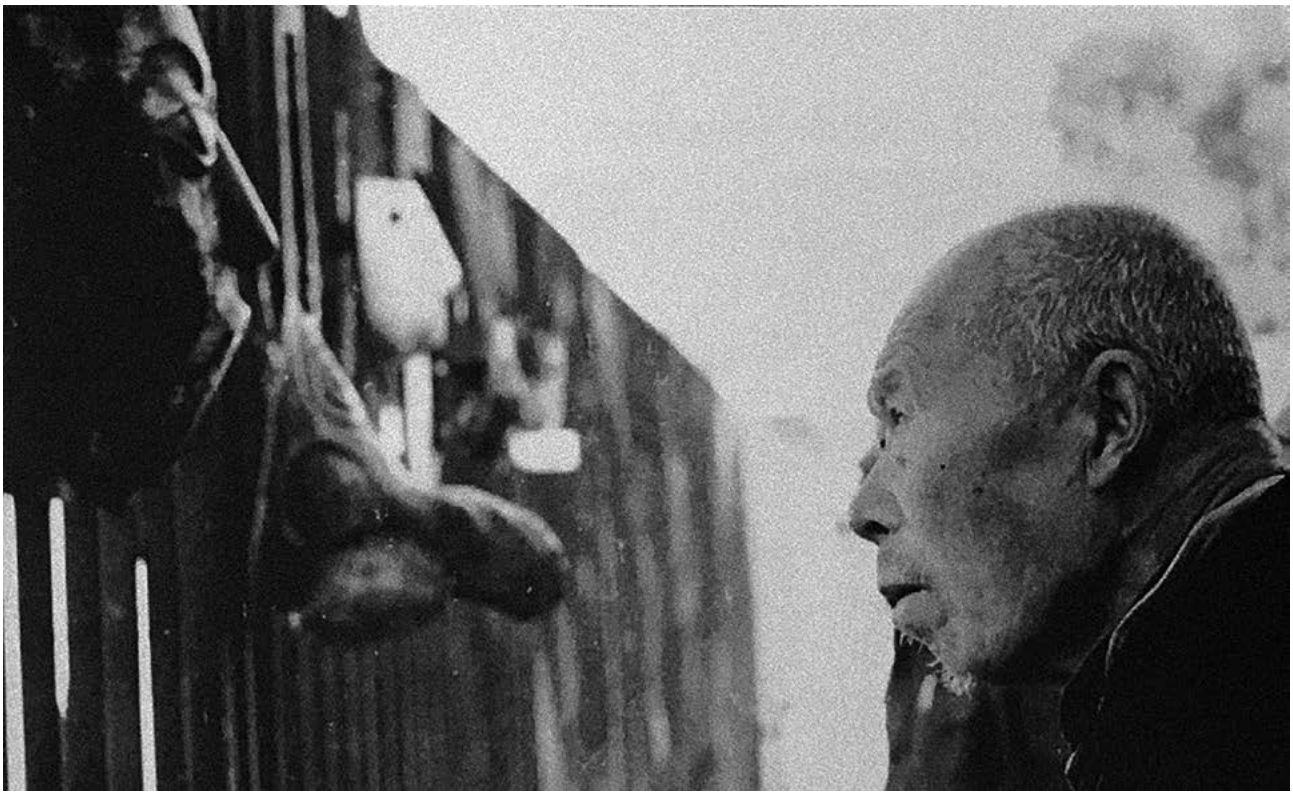
The first Stars Exhibition, 1979, photograph by Chi Xiaoning, courtesy of Yan Li.
第一次星星美展, 1979, 拍摄者池小宁。感谢严力提供照片。

Yan Li, Li Shuang, and Qu Leilei at the first Stars Exhibition, 1979, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力、李爽、曲磊磊在第一次星星美展，1979. 感谢严力提供照片。

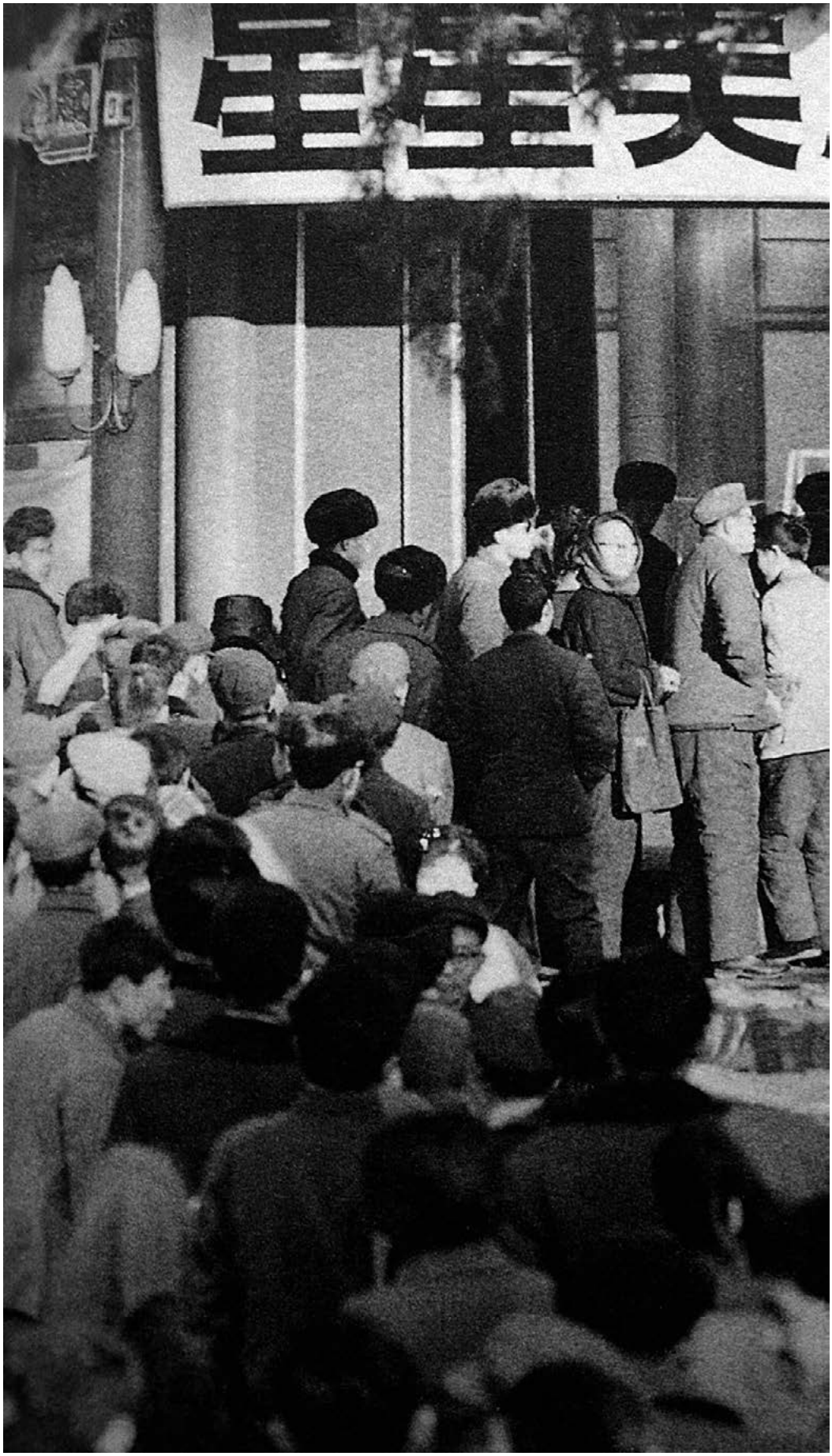
The first Stars Exhibition,1979, photograph by Li Xiaobin, courtesy of Yan Li.
第一次星星美展，1979，拍摄者李晓斌。感谢严力提供照片。



The first Stars Exhibition,1979, photograph by Li Xiaobin, courtesy of Yan Li.
第一次星星美展, 1979, 拍摄者李晓斌。感谢严力提供照片。



The first Stars Exhibition,1979, photograph by Li Xiaobin, courtesy of Yan Li.
第一次星星美展, 1979, 拍摄者李晓斌。感谢严力提供照片。

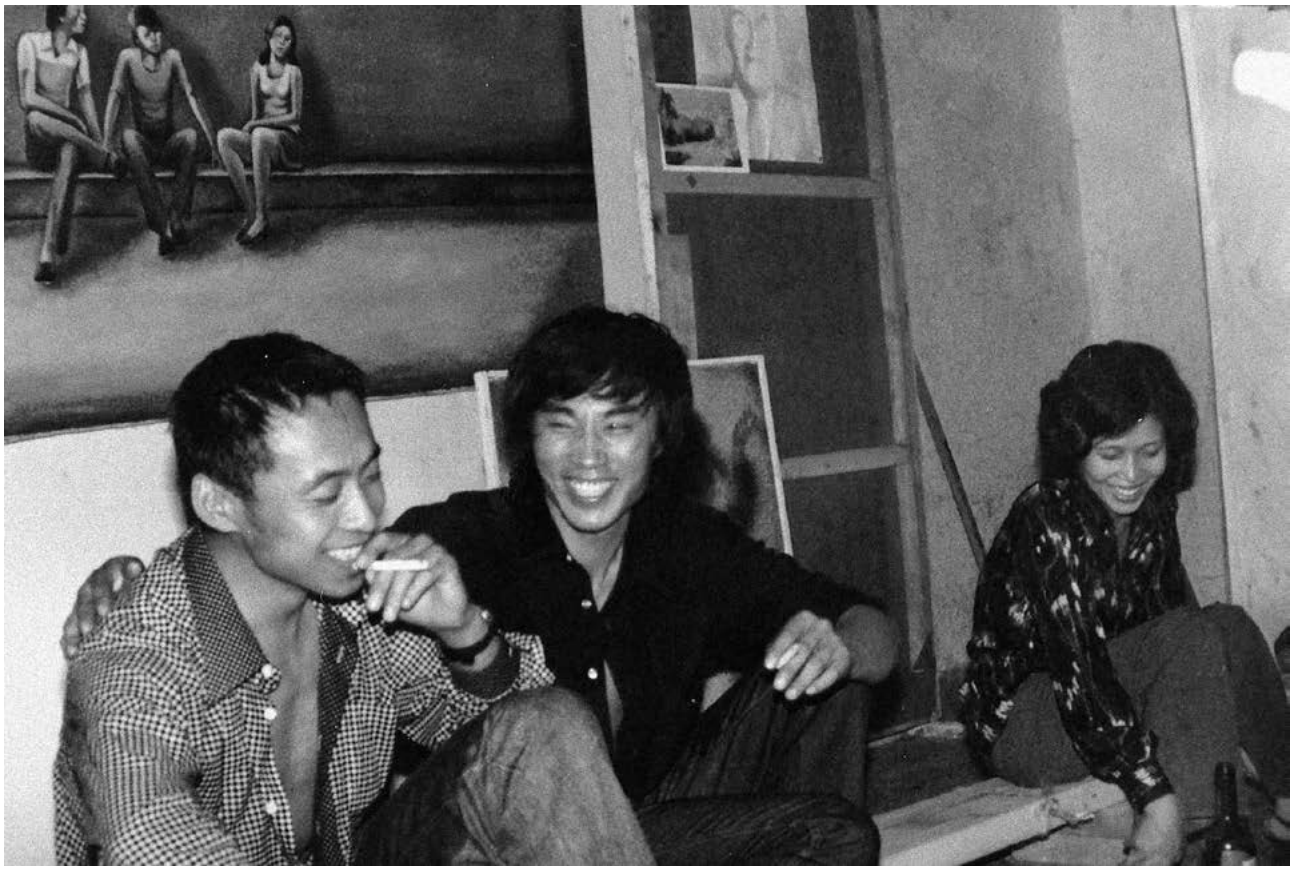


Opening Second Stars Exhibition at National Art Museum of China, 1980, courtesy Yan Li.
第二届星星美展在中国国家美术馆开幕, 1980. 感谢严力提供照片。

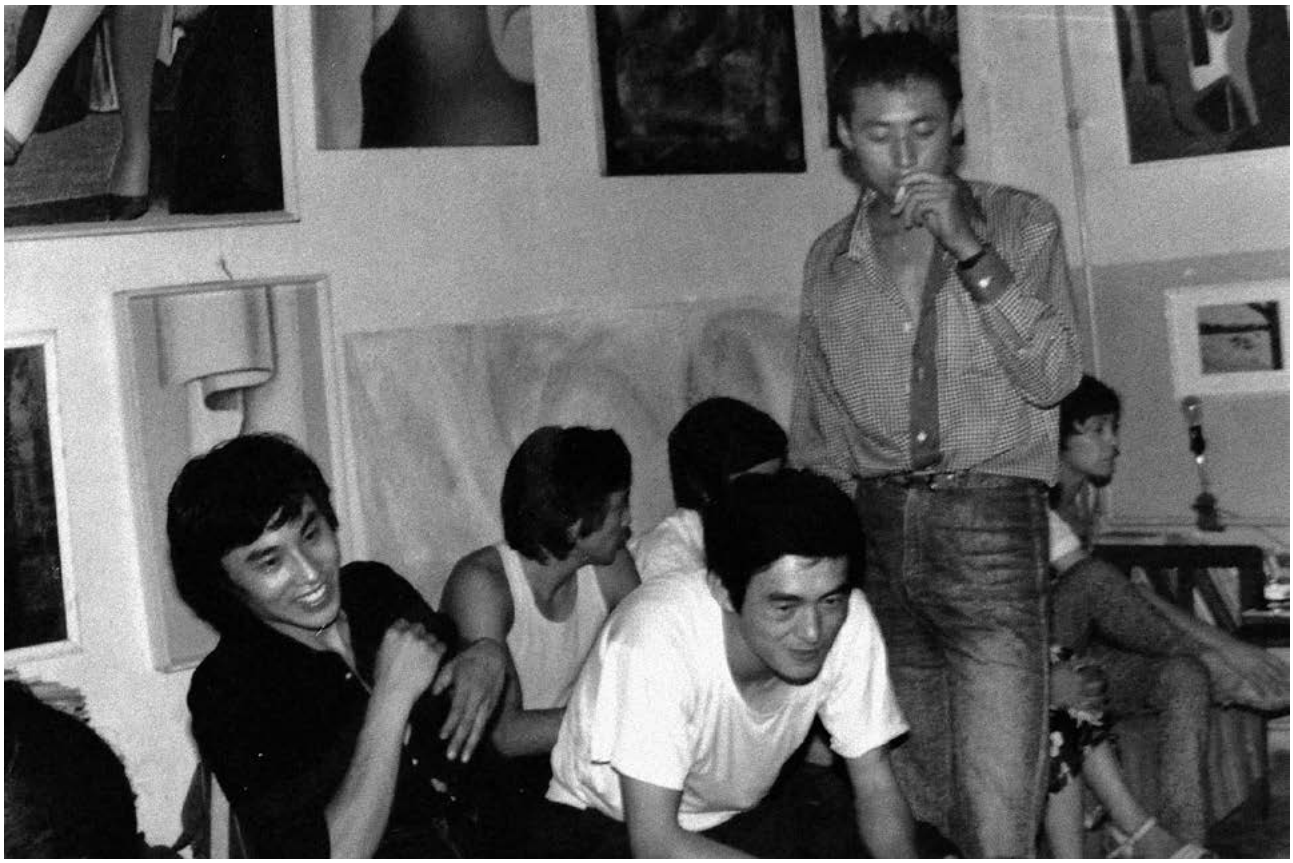
Stars members at Second Stars Exhibition at National Art Museum of China, 1980, photograph by Chi Xiaoning, courtesy of Yan Li.
星星画社成员在中国国家美术馆举办的第二届星星美展上, 1980. 感谢严力提供照片。

Yan Li's paintings at the Second Stars Exhibition at National Art Museum of China, 1980, photograph by Helmut Opletal, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力的画, 第二届星星美展, 中国国家美术馆, 1980. 感谢严力提供照片。

Ma Desheng's woodblock prints at the Second Stars Exhibition at National Art Museum of China, 1980, photograph by Helmut Opletal, courtesy of Yan Li.
马德升的木刻画, 第二届星星美展, 中国国家美术馆, 1980. 拍摄者Helmut Opletal。感谢严力提供照片。



Zhang Wei, Yan Li, and Li Shan at Yan Li's birthday party at Yang Yiping's home, August, 1982, courtesy of Yan Li.
从左至右: 张伟、严力、李珊, 严力的生日晚会, 杨益平家中。1982年八月。感谢严力提供照片。



Yan Li, Mang Ke and Zhang Wei at Yan Li's birthday party in Yang Yiping's home, August, 1982, courtesy of Yan Li.
从左至右: 严力、芒克、张伟, 严力的生日晚会, 杨益平家中。1982年八月。感谢严力提供照片。

Yan Li, Ma Desheng and French friend at Yan Li's birthday party in Yang Yiping's home, August, 1982, courtesy of Yan Li.
从左至右: 严力、马德升、法国友人, 严力的生日晚会, 杨益平家中。1982年八月。感谢严力提供照片。

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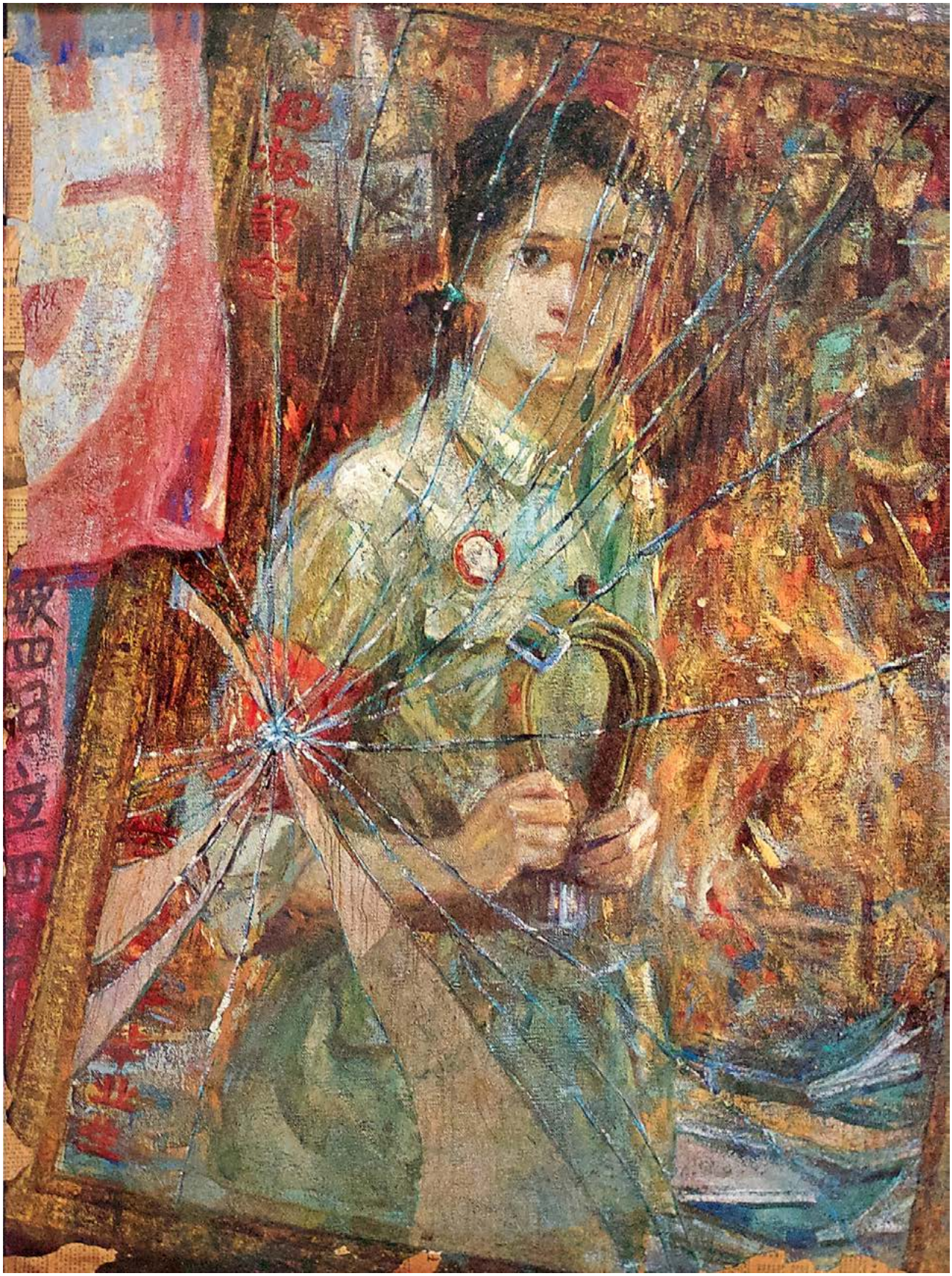
(B) Artwork 画作



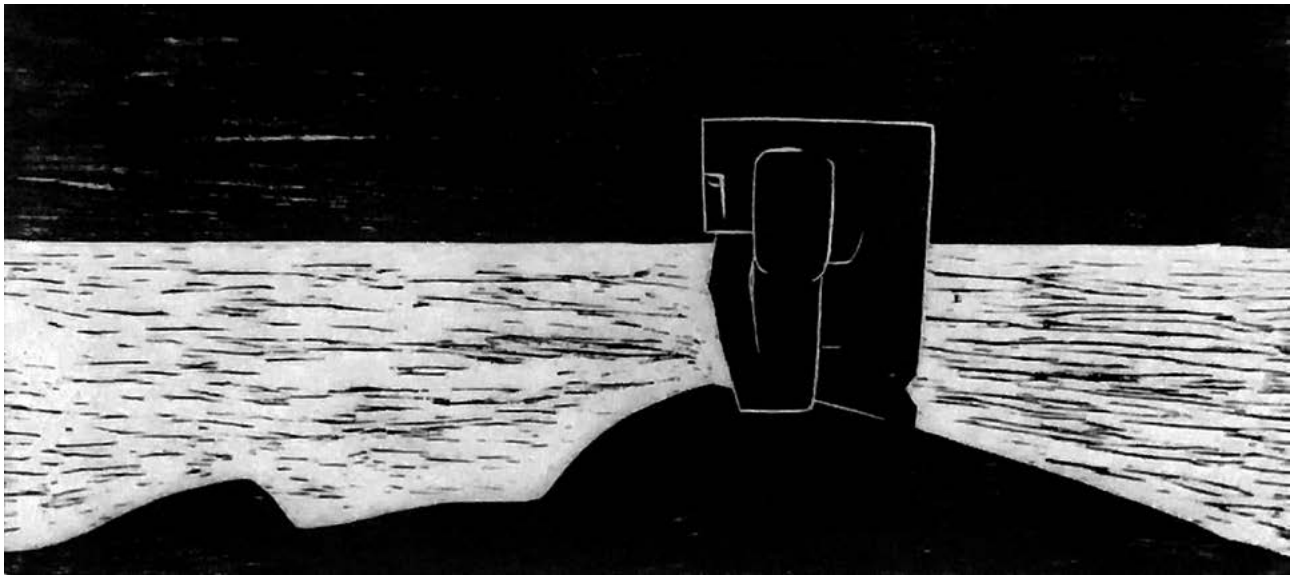
Shao Fei, Deformed, Oil, 1979, courtesy of Yan Li.
邵飞,《变形》, 油画, 1979. 感谢严力提供图片。

Yang Yiping, ‘Going to city to become an official’, ink drawing, 1980, Collection of Norman A. Spencer.
杨益平,《一九五五年进城当干部》, 油画, 1980. 感谢严力提供图片。

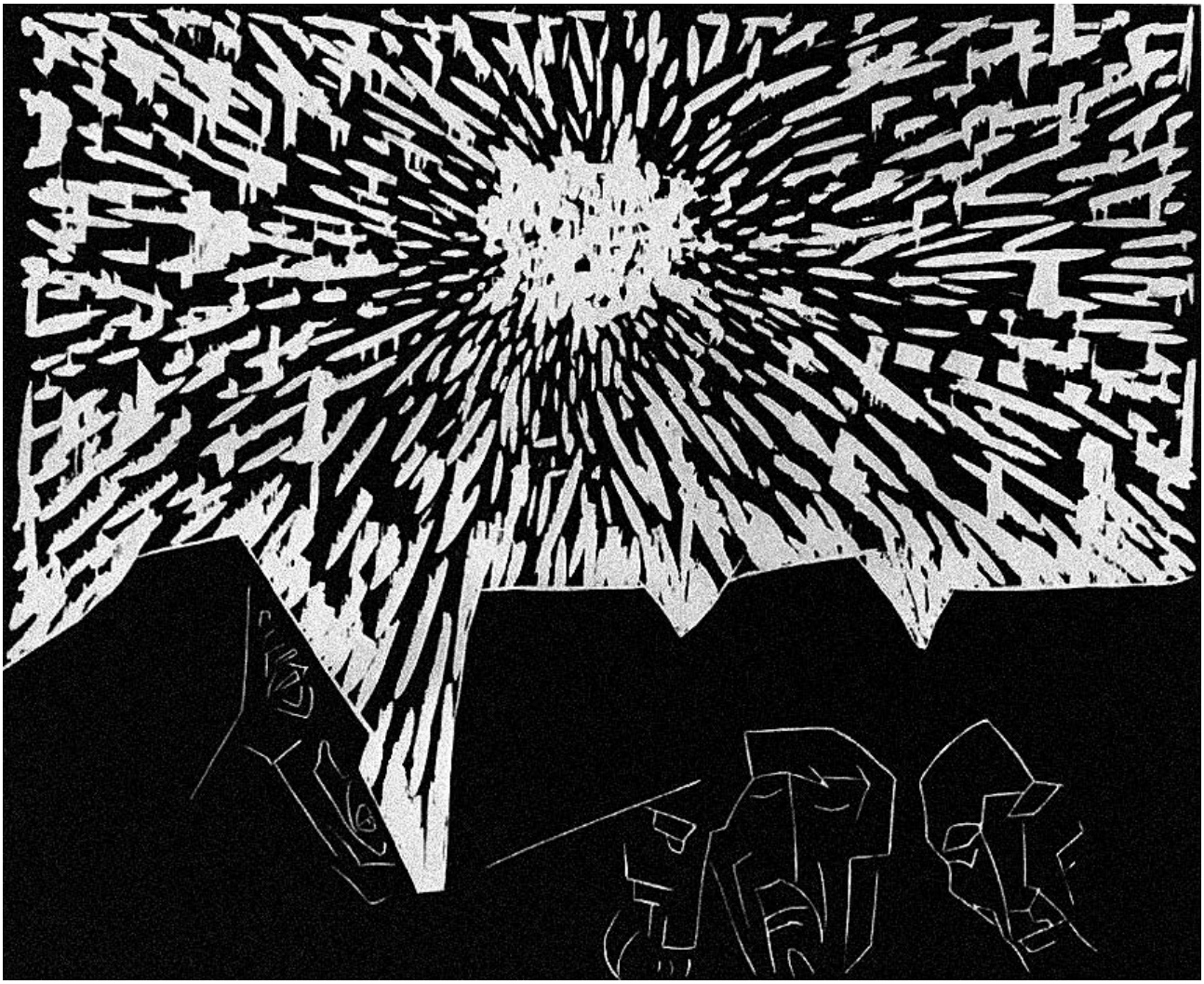
Ma Desheng, cover for Mang Ke's poetry book 'Old Dreams', 1982, Collection of Norman A. Spencer.
马德升, 芒克诗选《旧梦》封面, 1982. 诺曼.斯宾塞照片集。

Ma Desheng, cover for Yan Li's poetry book 'Public Telephone' 1982, Collection of Norman A. Spencer.
马德升, 严力诗选《公用电话》封面, 1982. 诺曼•斯班塞照片集。

Ma Desheng, ‘Bottom Up’, woodcut print, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
马德升,《干杯》, 木刻, 1980. 感谢严力提供图片。



Ma Desheng, ‘Twlight’, woodcut print, 1981, courtesy of Yan Li.
马德升,《暮色》, 木刻, 1980. 感谢严力提供图片。



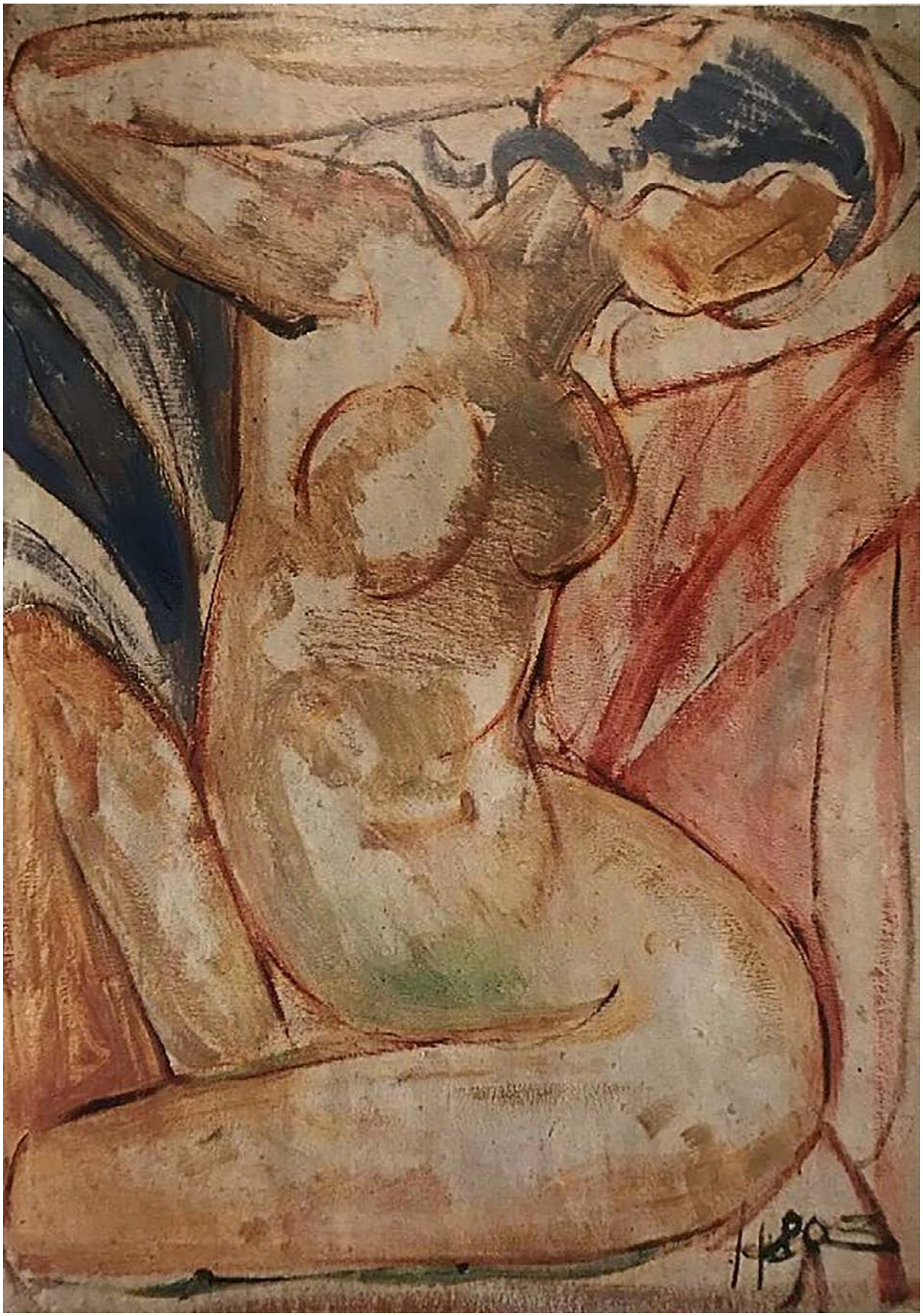
Ma Ddesheng, ‘Untitled’, woodcut print, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
马德升,《无题》, 木刻, 1980. 感谢严力提供图片。

Ma Desheng, ‘Untitled’, woodcut print, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
马德升,《无题》, 木刻, 1980. 感谢严力提供图片。

Wang Keping, ‘Chain’, wood carving, 1979, courtesy of Yan Li.
王克平,《链》, 木刻, 1979. 感谢严力提供图片。

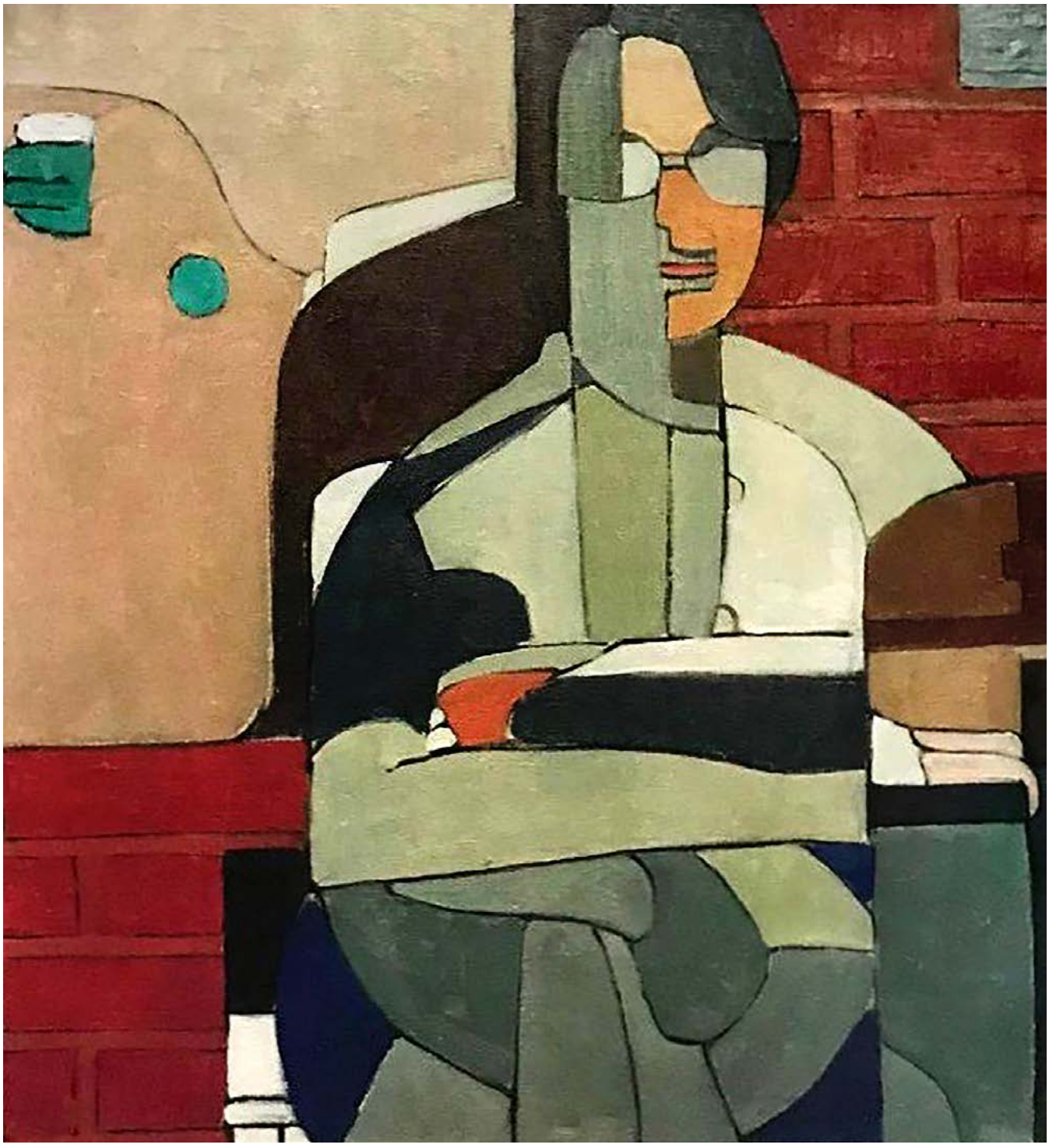
Wang Keping, ‘Silence’, wood carving, 1978, courtesy of Yan Li.
王克平,《沉默》, 木刻, 1979. 感谢严力提供图片。

Huang Rui, ‘The one who is judged’, oil on canvas, 1978, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐,《受审者》, 油画, 1978. 感谢严力提供图片。



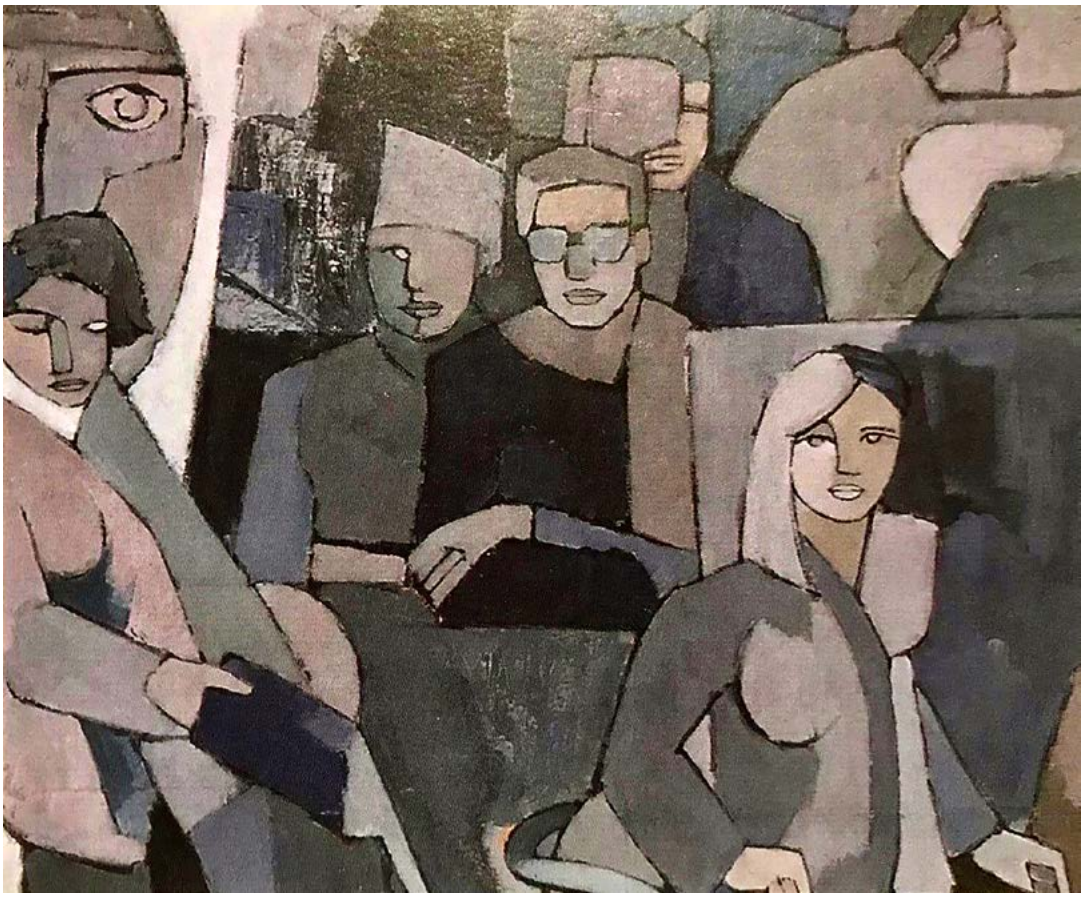
Huang Rui, ‘Female body’, oil on paper, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐,《女人体》, 油画, 1980. 感谢严力提供图片。

Huang Rui, ‘Seamstrsses in a street production unit’, oil on canvas, 1980, curtsey of Yan Li.
黄锐，《街道生产组的挑补织女工》，油画，1978. 感谢严力提供图片。



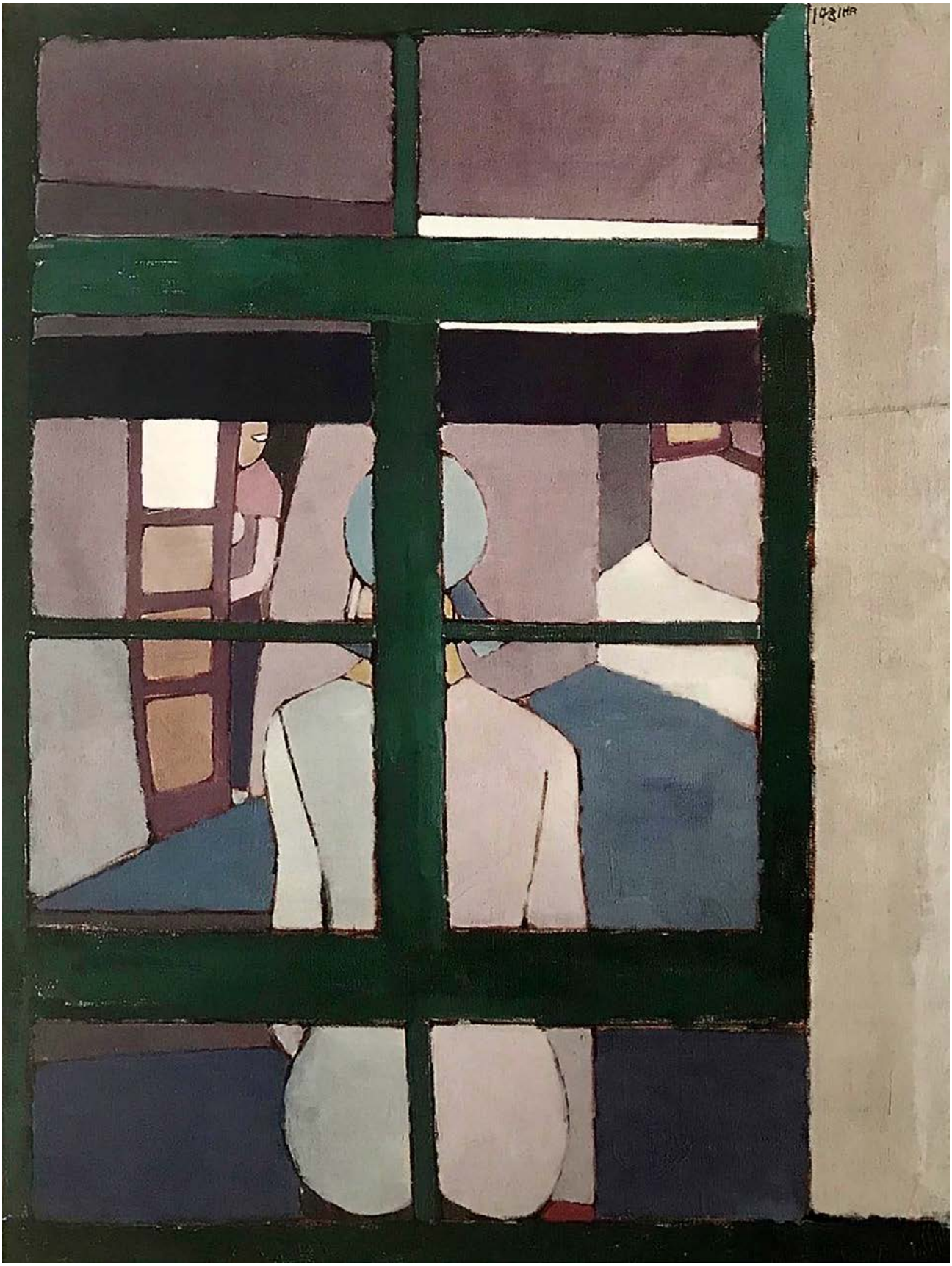
Huang Rui, ‘Self-portrait 2’, oil on canvas, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐，《自画像2》，油画，1980. 感谢严力提供图片。

Huang Rui, ‘Child washing clothing’, oil on canvas, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐,《小孩洗衣》, 油画, 1980. 感谢严力提供图片。



Huang Rui, ‘Democracy Wall’, oil on canvas, 1981, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐，《民主墙》，油画，1981. 感谢严力提供图片。

Huang Rui, ‘Maomao and Mang Ke’, oil on paper, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐，《毛毛和芒克》，油画，1980. 感谢严力提供图片。



Huang Rui, ‘Color of the moon’, oil on canvas, 1983, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐,《月亮的颜色》, 油画, 1983. 感谢严力提供图片。

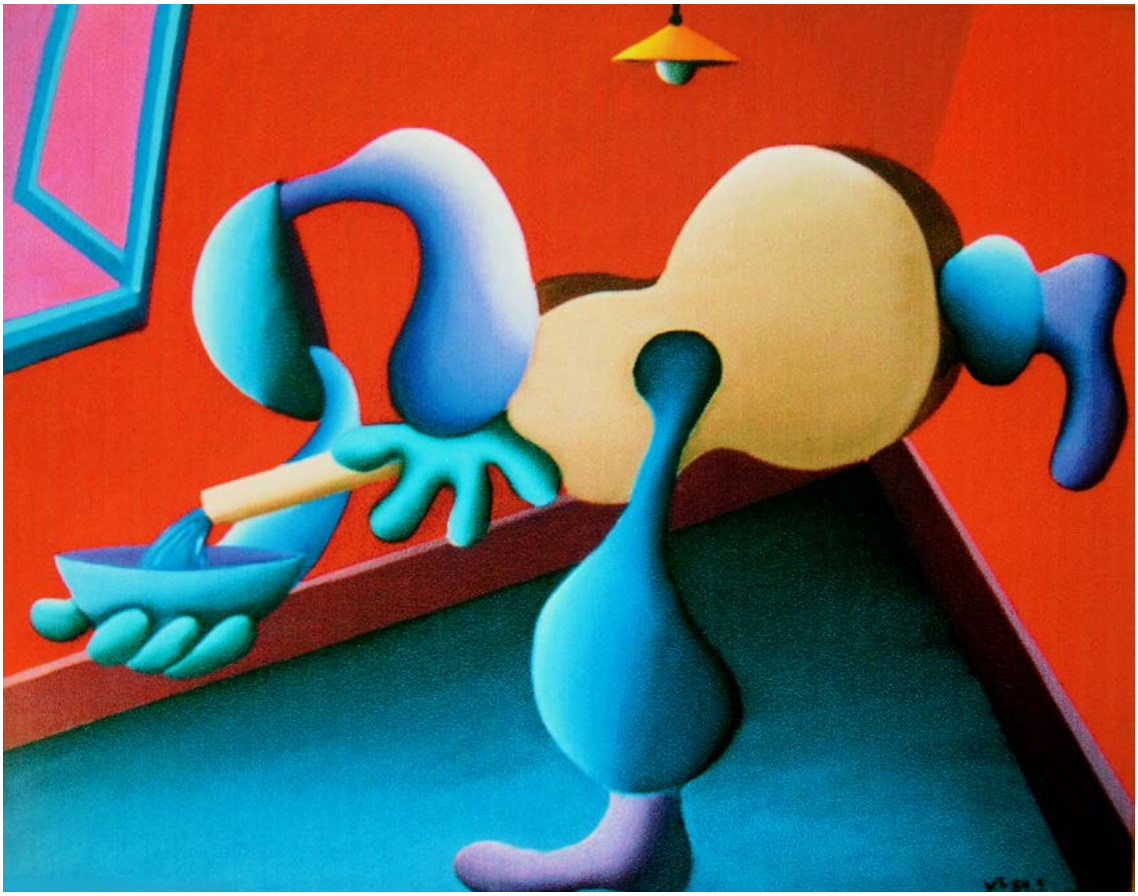
Huang Rui, ‘Young woman marching forward’, oil on canvas, 1982, courtesy of Yan Li.
黄锐,《年轻女人向前行进》, 油画, 1982. 感谢严力提供图片。

Yan Li, ‘Contemporary youth’, oil on canvas, 1981, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力,《当代青春》, 油画, 1981.感谢严力提供图片。

Yan Li, ‘Contemporary youth’, oil on canvas, 1981, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力,《当代青春》, 油画, 1981.感谢严力提供图片。

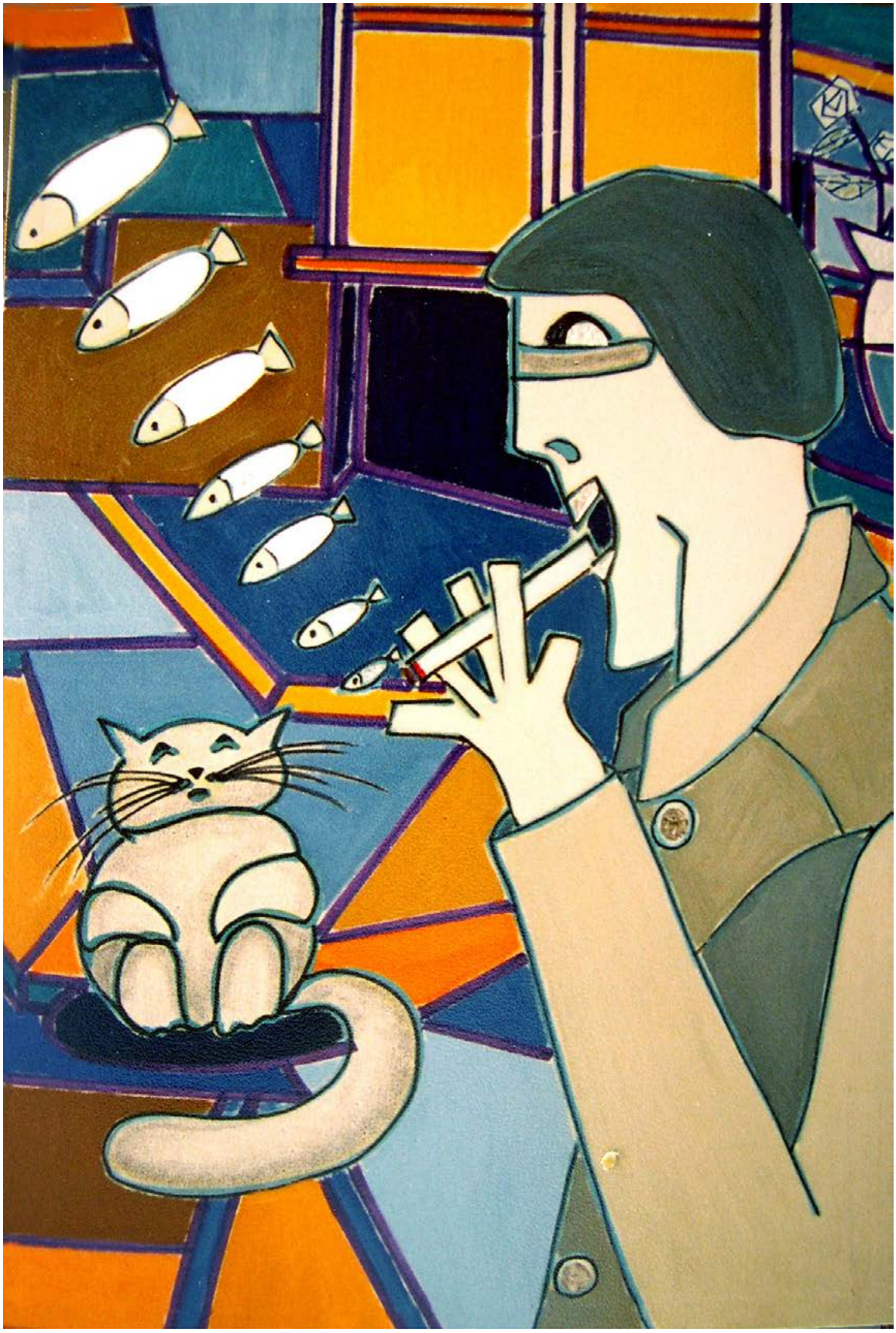
Yan Li, ‘Contemporary youth’, oil on canvas, 1981, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力,《当代青春》, 油画, 1981.感谢严力提供图片。

Yan Li, ‘Loneliness accompanied by music and dance’, oil canvas, 1984, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力,《孤独时感到在为自己的舞蹈伴奏》, 油画, 1984. 感谢严力提供图片。

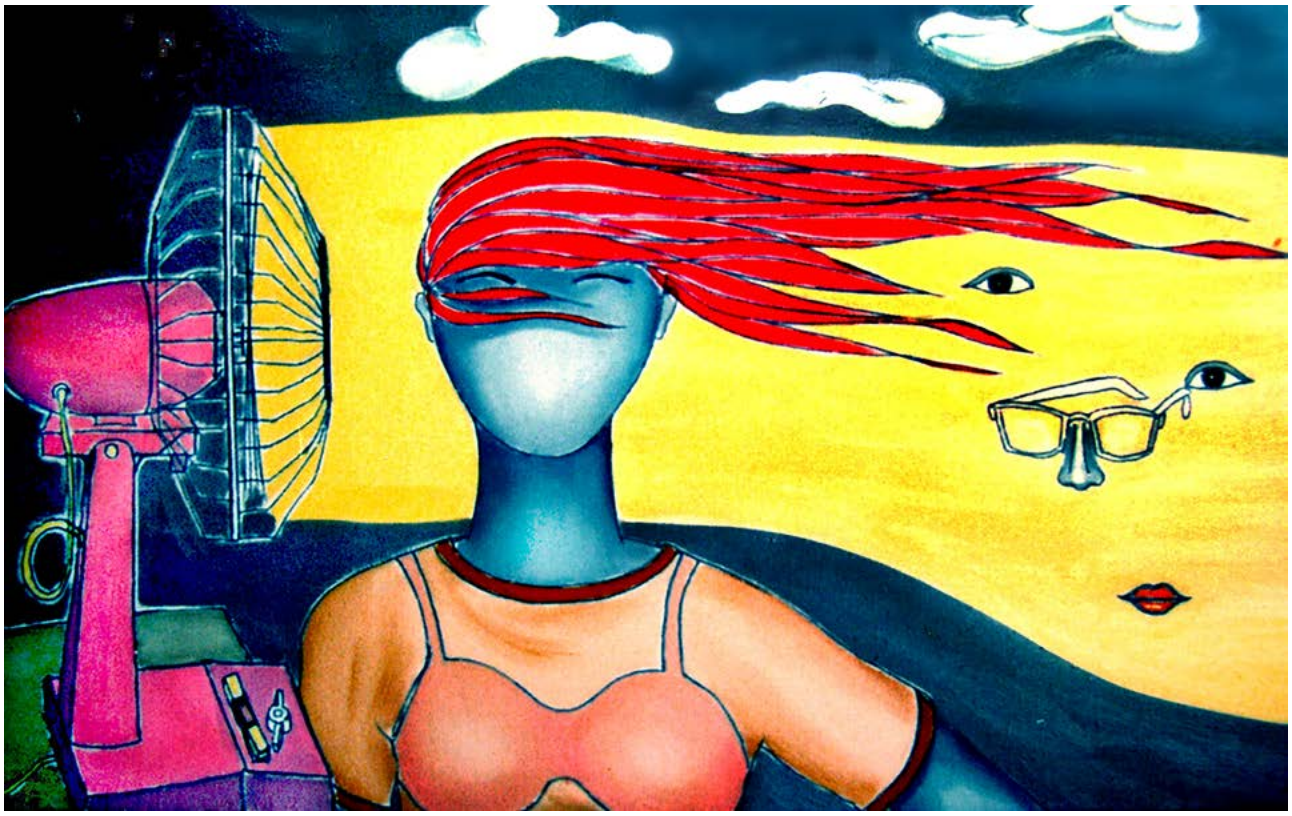


Yan Li, ‘Drink the music’, oil on canvas, 1984, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力,《喝音乐》, 油画, 1984. 感谢严力提供图片。

Yan Li, ‘Two sides of a human being’, oil on canvas, 1984, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力,《人的两部分》, 油画, 1984. 感谢严力提供图片。

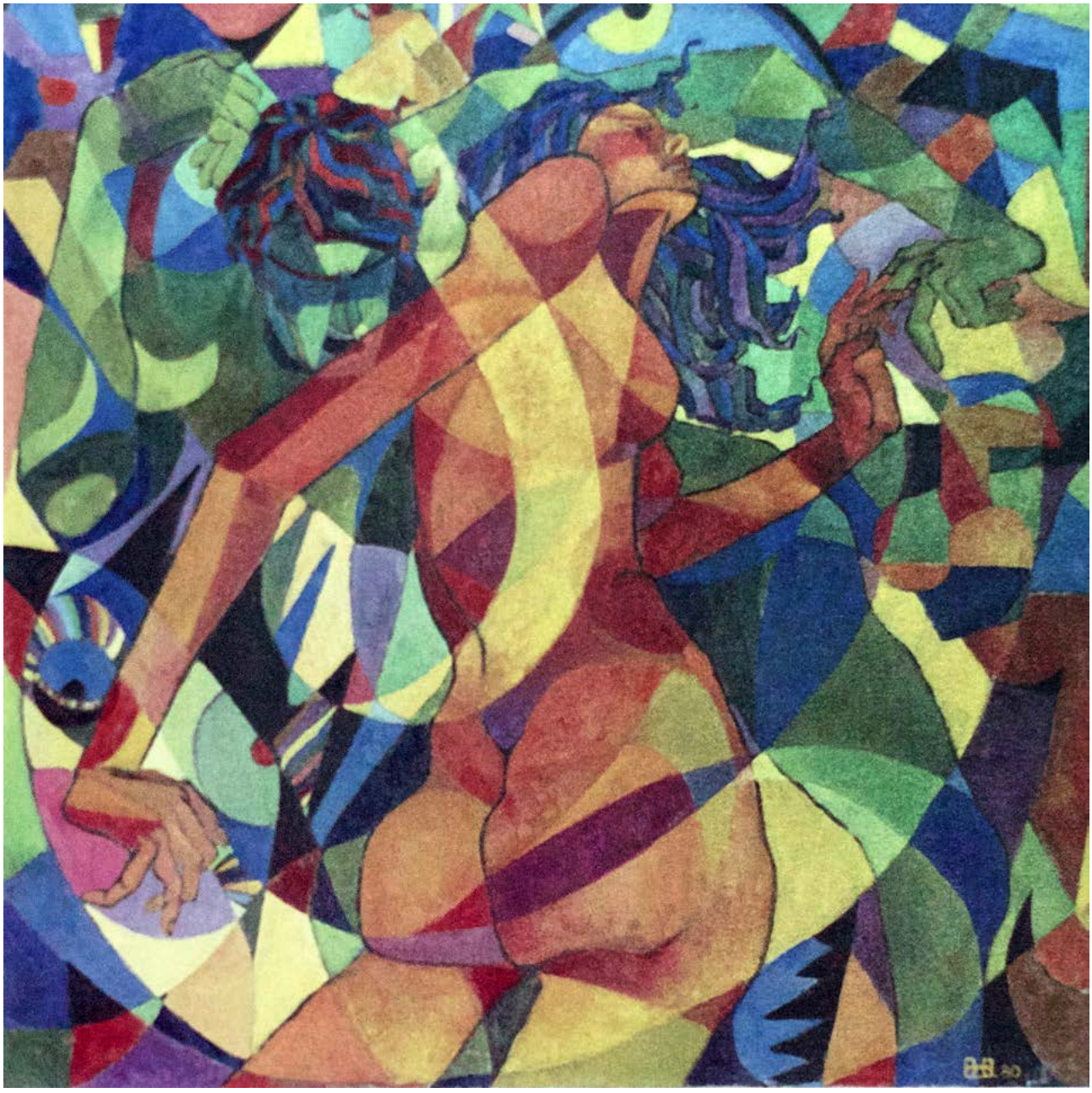


Yan Li, ‘Cat’s imagination’, 1983, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力,《猫的想象》, 油画, 1983. 感谢严力提供图片。



Yan Li, ‘Electric fan’, 1982, courtesy of Yan Li.
严力,《电风扇》, 油画, 1982. 感谢严力提供图片。

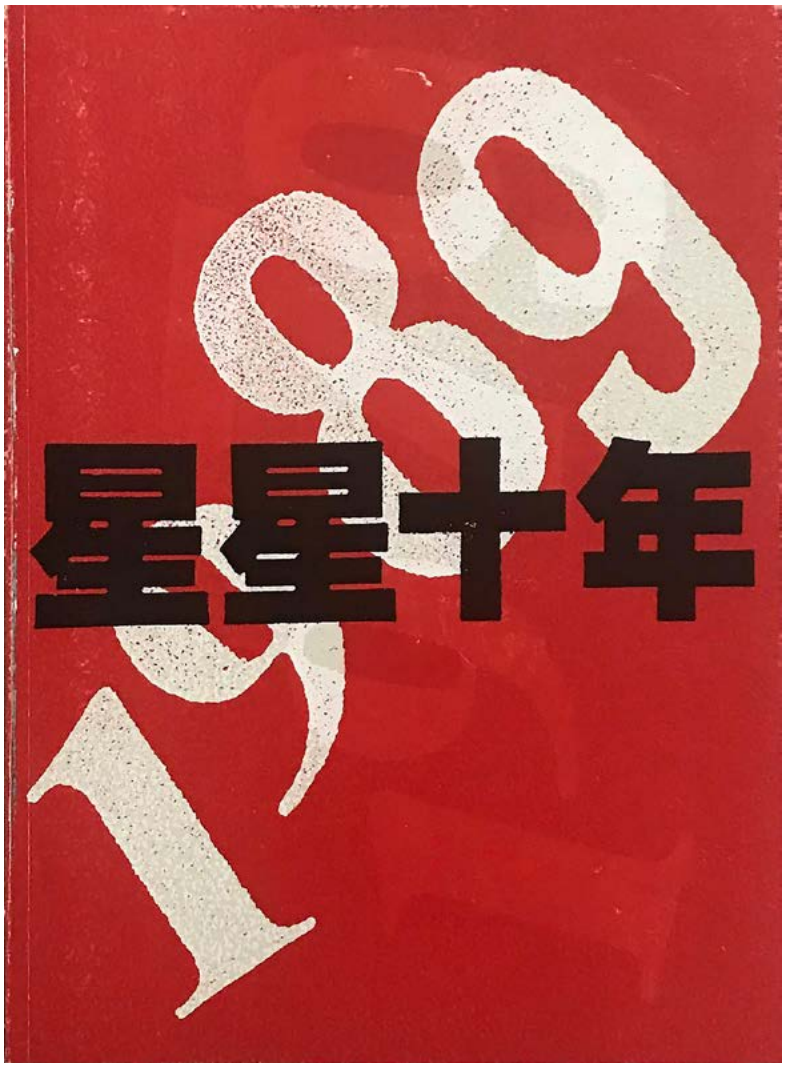
Qu Leilei, Youth, ink drawing, 1979, courtesy of Yan Li.
曲磊磊,《青春》, 油画, 1979. 感谢严力提供图片。



Qu Leilei, Music, Dance, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
曲磊磊，《音乐、舞蹈》，油画，1980. 感谢严力提供图片。

Li Shuang, ‘Red children under the alter’, oil on canvas, 1980, courtesy of Yan Li.
李爽,《变化中的红孩》, 油画, 1980. 感谢严力提供图片。

Poster from The Stars 10 Years exhibitions in Hong Kong, Taipei, and Paris, courtesy of Yan Li.
星星十年展海报, 香港、台北、巴黎。感谢严力提供图片。



Cover of the catalogue for The Stars: 10 Years exhibition, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Paris, 1989.
星星十年展目录封面, 香港、台北、巴黎。感谢严力提供图片。

To YAN Li and His Peers: Prototype for a New Generation [1]

Norman A. SPENCER

Invocation

> A warrant is out for the arrest of Yan Li! Catch that man smelling of alcohol and cheap perfume. There he is, running over rooftops with paintbrushes and unfinished poems hanging out of his pockets. Jumping into a courtyard, sprinting through alleys, he escapes on to the open road. Meanwhile, beautiful girls and young women worry about his safety and secretly long for his embrace.[2]

Once I received a request to pay tribute to Yan Li (严力) and his friends, I immediately heard sounds from the Motown song 'Dancing in the Streets', a party song from 1960's USA but also an unofficial anthem for the Civil Rights Movement. Black people all over the country were literally dancing in the streets. They had come out of their claustrophobic ghetto apartments and were claiming all of America's streets as their own, and those like me on the left who supported them and participated in their struggles, were drifting out of our hideouts unafraid of the FBI, the Black List, and the KKK. Some practiced Gandhi's passive resistance to challenge racist laws. Others picked up guns in self – defense or rioted and burned down buildings to proclaim their dignity. At the same time, the 'bad boys and girls' of the Black Arts Movement were reading poems to the revolutionary jazz of Albert Ayler, Archie Shepp, and John Coltrane, what we used to call The New Thing, celebrating the beauty of their people and culture while unleashing their anger and rage at an oppressive social and political system.

These references are relevant to my subject, because in some important ways there are parallels between what was going on culturally and politically in the U.S from the late 1950s through the early 1970s and what occurred in China from the late 1970s through the early 1990s. Young writers, artists, intellectuals and later university students openly challenged the status quo in both countries and called for a transformation of their societies. Yan Li and his comrades, who were members of *Xing Xing* (星星 *Stars*) and *Jintian* (今天 *Today*), functioned as a cultural activist vanguard. They inspired other Chinese who had recently entered or graduated from the newly reopened art academies, music conservatories, and film academy. And, simultaneously, established Chinese writers and intellectuals and some government officials were positioning themselves to make a U turn and engage in debate about how to create a new China. This period of frenzied analysis and discussion, now known as High Culture Fever, raged in Beijing throughout much of the 1980s.

The *Xing Xing* and *Jintian* activists were among the first wave of writers and artists who called for a new modern culture and society that would promote artistic and personal freedom. Having survived the Cultural Revolution and with only a few years of formal education, they openly rejected the socialist propaganda art and literature of their youth. They came out of *hutong (*胡同), run down government apartment buildings, and factory dormitories in Beijing during the late 1970s and early 1980s and reclaimed public spaces for themselves. They read modern poetry in historical ruins, held unofficial modern art shows, and danced to

rock n' roll in public parks, secretly posted slogans, poems and drawings on Democracy Wall and participated in the famous 1979 street demonstration for artistic freedom. And they were in some ways China's first hipsters. They adopted the cool existential style of the actors and actresses in the international films they saw screened in foreign embassies, modeled themselves on some of the characters in the American and European novels they read. And they embraced the free lifestyle of the rock n' roll and jazz musicians they listened and danced to. They drank too much, got into too many fights and switched girlfriends and boyfriends more often than they needed, and back in their small rooms, out of sight of the public, they blatantly broke the sexual taboos of their time. A sense of freedom and spontaneity permeated their lives. They were young and reckless, lived for the moment, unafraid, and life seemed open ended.

.....

Back in Yan Li's Brooklyn studio in 1999, we talked about the need to bring the discussion of Chinese culture in the 1980s back to its origins, Beijing, and to two important interconnected cultural movements, *Xing Xing* and *Jintian,* which were responsible for launching new and experimental art and literary movements. They did more than simply break with the prevailing communist proletarian culture. They followed in the footsteps of prior generations of radical Chinese writers and artists who turned to the West for ideas and culled Chinese cultural traditions on the margins for new points of departure. Far from simply embracing and working through Western styles in art and literature as some have claimed, they cannibalized whatever they could use and made it their own. Like the modernist experiments of Latin American artists and writers, they used imported ideas and practices as tools for breaking outmoded forms and traditions, as weapons for exploding consciousness and bringing to light an imagination rooted in personal experience which reflected the experience of an entire nation.

Notes

1 This is an excerpt from α longer version of an article that I am currently writing and will be published on the CIFA website later.

2 My invocation was inspired by the Anselm Hollo poem, 'A Warrant is out for the arrest of Henry Miller', *Evergreen Review Reader* (1957-1966), New York, Blue Moon Books, 1993. Anselm Hollow was a Finnish poet with close ties to the Beat Movement and was a friend of Allen Ginsberg who Yan Li and Bei Dao (北岛) met when they went into exile in NYC during the mid 1980's. It was also inspired by the comments of Yan Li's female friends in Beijing who told me about riding on the back of his bicycle and about how they had crushes on him because of his movie star good looks.

新一代的典范：致严力和他的同代[1]

诺曼.斯班塞Norman A. SPENCER　翻译：梅丹理Denis MAIR

祝词[2]

下发对严力的“逮捕令”!抓捕一个散发着酒味和廉价香水味的男子。他在那儿，手持画笔跑上屋顶，口袋里塞着尚未完成的诗。一跃跳进庭院，疾驰穿过胡同，溜到了宽阔的公路上。其间，有一群年轻漂亮的女子担心着他的安全，私下渴望着他的拥抱。

一接到致敬严力及他的朋友们的请求，我耳边即刻回响起摩城歌曲《当街起舞》。这首歌是20世纪60年代美国的狂欢歌，也是民权运动时的非官方国歌。当时全国各地的黑人终于可以在街头跳舞，走出那令人感到幽闭恐惧的贫民窟，宣称美国所有的街道也属于他们。而那些像我一样曾支持黑人并加入到他们的斗争中的左翼人士，也不再需要躲躲藏藏，不再惧怕美国联邦调查局，黑名单和三K党。有一些人用甘地的消极抵抗方式来反对种族主义法律；另一些人拿起枪以自卫，或是聚众闹事，烧毁建筑来维护尊严。与此同时，黑人艺术运动中的“坏孩子们”朗诵诗歌时喜欢用爵士为背景音乐，而艾伯特·艾勒，阿奇·谢普和约翰·柯尔特雷恩的革新爵士，即我们所谓的“新事物”，在颂扬人民和文化之美的同时，也发泄了对于残暴的社会和政治制度的极度愤怒。

这些和我的主题并不是毫不相关。在一些重要方面上，美国20世纪50年代末至70年代初的文化和政治经历和中国在20世纪70年代末至90年代初的有相似之处。比如，两国的青年作家、艺术家、知识分子和后来的大学生均公然挑战当时的社会现状，并要求社会变革。严力和他的同事们作为“星星画会”和《今天》的会员，在文化活动中起着先锋作用，激励着其它刚刚进入或刚从重新开张的艺术学院、音乐学院和电影学院毕业的中国人。同时，有名的中国作家、知识分子和一些政府官员也准备掉转过来，投身于如何开创新中国的讨论中。而这种狂热的分析和讨论，现在以“文化热”著称，几乎蔓延于80年代的整个北京。

第一批作家和艺术家很多都是“星星画会”和《今天》的积极分子，他们呼吁有助于提升艺术与个人自由的新现代文化和社会。文化大革命后幸存下来的，并接受了几年正规教育的人，则公开地反对他们青年时代接触的宣传性艺术和文学。社会主义宣传的青年艺术和文学。70年代末和80年代初期间，这些人走出了“胡同”、破旧的政府公寓楼和北京的工厂宿舍，开始为自己争取公共空间。他们在历史遗迹处朗读现代诗，举办非正式现代艺术展；在公园伴着摇滚乐跳舞，偷偷地在“民主墙”上张贴标语，诗歌，图画等；并参加了著名的1979要求艺术自由的街头示威游行。在某些方面他们可以算是中国第一代“潮人”。他们采用了外国大使馆放映的国际电影中演员们很酷的存在主义风格，模仿读过的美国和欧洲小说人物；他们听摇滚和爵士乐，并随之起舞，欣然接受音乐家们自由无拘的生活方式。他们酗酒、打斗，超出所需地更换男女朋友，然后回到自己的小房子里，淡出公众视线，甚至明目张胆地打破那个年代的性禁忌。他们的生活充满了自由感和自发性。年轻，不顾后果 ，活在当下，无所惧怕，生活对于他们似乎是无所限制的。

……

回到1999年严力在布鲁克林的工作室里，我们聊着应该把关于八十年代中国文化的讨论带回到它的起点——北京，以及两个相互关联的重要的艺术运动，“星星画会”与《今天》杂志。两者都对后来新的实验性文化艺术运动的出现意义重大，不仅仅是简单地打破了当时占主导地位的共产党的无产阶级文化。它们继承了之前几代激进的中国作家与艺术家的传统，即主张学习西方、摒弃中国的传统文化，站在边缘寻找新的出发点。但他们绝不是像某些人声称的那样，简单地拥抱与套用西方的文艺风格，而是吸取对之有用的养分并把它变成自己的东西。如同拉丁美洲艺术家与作家们的现代主义实验那样，他们把泊来的观念与实践用做打破陈旧的形式与传统的工具，及冲击思想意识的武器，从而发掘出植根于个人经验的想象力，这种个人经验亦能反映整个国家的经验。

注释

1 这是我正在写作的一篇文章的一部分，完整文章稍后将在发表在CIFA网站上。

2 我的祝词受Anselm Hollo的诗《亨利.米勒逮捕令发出了》的启发。Hollo是一个芬兰诗人，与垮掉的一代运动有紧密的关系，也是Allen Ginsberg的朋友。严力与北岛八十年代中期流浪纽约时曾见过后者。我的祝词同时也为严力在北京的女性朋友对他的评语所启发，她们告诉我她们喜欢坐在他的自行车后边，还有她们对像电影明星一样英俊的严力的爱慕。

附录 APPENDIX

个人简介 Biographies

Biographies 个人简介

INTRODUCTION 导言

WANG Xiaolu, film critic, scholar and curator. He graduated from the Beijing Film Academy and holds a PhD degree in Film Studies. He is Senior Researcher at the China Film Archive. His research interests include film history and independent documentaries. He is the author of *Diseases of Our Time: Witnessing Independent Film Culture* (2008), *The Politics of the Cinema* (2014), and *The Will of the Cinema* (2019).

王小鲁, 学者, 策展人, 电影学博士, 毕业于北京电影学院文学系。从事中国电影史、独立纪录片研究, 出版有《电影与时代病》(2008)、《电影政治》(2014)、《电影意志》(2019)。

Sabrina Qiong YU, Senior Lecturer in Chinese and Film at Newcastle University, UK. Her research and publications focus on Chinese-language films, independent cinema, stardom and performance, gender and sexuality, and audience/reception studies. She is the author of *Jet Li: Chinese Masculinity and Transnational Film Stardom* (2012, 2015), the co-editor, with Guy Austin, of *Revisiting Star Studies: Cultures, Themes and Methods* (2017, 2018), and the translator of Leon Hunt's *Kung Fu Cult Masters: From Bruce Lee to Crouching Tiger* (Peking University Press, 2010). She is leading a UK Arts & Humanities Research Council funded project (2019-2023) on Chinese independent cinema as Principal Investigator, and founding the Chinese Independent Film Archive (CIFA) in Newcastle upon Tyne.

余琼, 英国纽卡斯尔大学电影学副教授。她的研究与出版主要集中在华语电影、独立电影、明星现象与表演、性别、观众接受。她是《李连杰: 华人男性气质与跨国明星现象》(2012, 2015) 一书的作者,与盖.奥斯丁合编了《重新考察明星研究: 文化、主题与方法》(2017,2018)一书, 并翻译了里昂.汉特的专著《功夫偶像: 从李小龙到卧虎藏龙》(北京大学出版社, 2010)。她是英国人文与社科研究署资助的关于中国独立电影的项目 (2019-2023) 的负责人, 在纽卡斯尔创建华语独立影像资料馆。

ARTICLES 学术视野

CUI Weiping, emeritus professor of the Beijing Film Academy. Her main areas of writing include film criticism, poetry criticism, social criticism, and political criticism. She has translated the works of the democratic opposition in Central and Eastern Europe. Her current research focuses on Chinese independent culture and heretical thinking. She is the author of *Ideas and Nostalgia* (2010), *Charming Lies* (2012), *Narratives of Our Time* (2008), *Dawn with Wounds* (1999), *Invisible Voices* (2000), *Active Life* (2003) and *Before Justice* (2005). Translations include *The Spirit of Prague* (1998), *The Havel Collection* (2003), and *The Road to Civil Society* (2004) (co-translated).

崔卫平, 北京电影学院基础部退休教授。主要的写作领域包括: 电影批评与诗歌批评、社会批评与政治批评, 并译介中东欧民主反对派的思想。目前主要研究中国独立文化与异端思潮。著有《思想与乡愁》(2010)、《迷人的谎言》(2012)、《我们时代的叙事》(2008)、《带伤的黎明》(1999)、《看不见的声音》(2000)、《积极生活》(2003)、《正义之前》(2005) 等。翻译有《布拉格精神》(1998)、《哈维尔文集》(2003)、《通往公民社会》(2004)(与人合译)。

CAO Kai, practitioner and researcher of contemporary art and film. He lives and works in Nanjing, China. Since 1994, he has been involved in the field of contemporary art, mainly in the creation, curation, and writing of video art and experimental media art. He has attended numerous contemporary art exhibitions at home and abroad as an artist. Since 2001, he has participated in the Chinese independent film movement and is the main founder and organiser of the China Independent Film Festival (CIFF) (2003-2017). He has also served as curator, academic chair, and juror for numerous art projects in China, and has curated various exhibitions related to Chinese independent cinema and experimental media art overseas. His research and curatorial texts have been published in various academic journals and forums, and in 2019 he started to write the academic column 'Reflections'.

曹恺, 当代艺术与电影的实践者和研究者。生活与工作驻所在中国南京。自1994年起介入当代艺术领域, 工作方向主要为录像艺术与实验媒体艺术的创作、策展、写作, 作为艺术家参加过众多海内外当代艺术展。自2001年起参与中国独立电影浪潮运动, 是"中国独立影像展" (CIFF) (2003-2017)的主要发起人与组织者。此外, 亦担任过众多国内艺术项目的策展人、学术主持、评审; 在海外策划过与中国独立电影、实验媒体艺术有关的多种展览活动。各类研究与策展文本散见于海内外多种学术刊物与论坛文集, 2019年开始从事"映验场"学术专栏写作。

Chris Berry, Professor of Film Studies at King's College London. In the 1980s, he worked for China Film Import and Export Corporation in Beijing, and his academic research is grounded in work on Chinese-language cinemas and other Chinese-language screen-based media, as well as work from neighbouring countries. Prior to his current appointment, he taught at La Trobe University in Melbourne, The University of California, Berkeley, and Goldsmiths, University of London. Primary publications include: (with Mary Farquhar) *Cinema and the National: China on Screen* (Columbia University Press and Hong Kong University Press, 2006); *Postsocialist Cinema in Post-Mao China: the Cultural Revolution after the Cultural Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2004); (co-edited with Luke Robinson) *Chinese Film Festivals: Sites of Translation* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); and (edited with Lu Xinyu and Lisa Rofel), *The New Chinese Documentary Film Movement: For the Public Record* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010).

裴开瑞, 伦敦国王学院电影学教授。1980年代, 他在北京中国电影输出输入公司工作, 其学术研究基于华语电影和其他华语银幕媒体作品, 以及中国周边国家的作品。他曾在墨尔本拉筹伯大学、加州大学伯克利分校和伦敦大学金史密斯学院任教。主要出版物包括: (与玛丽·法夸尔合著)《电影和国家: 银幕上的中国》(哥伦比亚大学出版社和香港大学出版社, 2006年); 《后毛泽东时代的后社会主义电影: 文革后的文革》(纽约: 劳特利奇, 2004年); (与卢克·罗宾逊共同编辑)《中国电影节: 翻译场域》(帕尔格雷夫·麦克米伦, 2017年); 以及 (与吕新雨和丽莎·罗菲尔编辑), 《新中国纪录片运动: 公开记录》(香港: 香港大学出版社, 2010年)。

HAO Jian, a professor emeritus at the Beijing Film Academy, currently Associate Researcher at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies of Harvard University. His main research and publications focus on Chinese independent cinema and film noir. He is the screenwriter for two films, *Crash Landing* (1999) and *Sleepless City* (2004), and several TV series. He has served as a jury member, curator, or forum chair at a number of Chinese and international film festivals.

郝建, 北京电影学院退休教授、现任哈佛大学费正清中心合作研究员。他的主要学术研究与发表聚焦在中国独立电影和黑色电影。他曾经编剧两部电影《紧急迫降》(1999)、《危情雪夜》(2004) 和多部电视剧。他曾多次担任中国和国际电影节评委、策展人及论坛主持。

GUO Xizhi, Professor at the School of Communication, Shenzhen University, and documentary filmmaker. He has a Master's degree in Literature and Art from East China Normal University and worked at television station after

graduation. He has published a number of articles in journals such as *Dushu* and *Literary and Art Theory Research*. His films have been selected for many international and domestic film festivals and have won some awards. *Ferry* won the Gold Award at the third China Documentary Short Film Festival, and *Factory Youth* was selected for the "Firebird Award" competition at the forty-first Hong Kong International Film Festival.

郭熙志, 深圳大学传播学院教授, 纪录片导演。华东师范大学中文系文艺学硕士, 毕业后曾就职于电视台。主要研究影视传播以及纪录片和电影创作, 曾于《读书》、《文艺理论研究》等杂志发表各类文章若干。作品多次入围国际国内电影节并部分获奖, 如《渡口》获第三届中国纪录短片金奖,《工厂青年》入围第41香港国际电影节"火鸟奖"竞赛单元等。

Mitchell van VUREN, a Literary Studies graduate from Leiden University with a background in Chinese film studies, transnational film studies, and film festival studies. During his research internship at the International Film Festival Rotterdam in the wake of its fiftieth anniversary in 2021, he has conducted research on the shared past between Chinese cinemas and the festival, and has started an archival project between the Chinese Independent Film Archive and the Dutch film festival.

米切尔·范·沃伦, 毕业于莱顿大学文学研究专业, 具有中国电影研究、跨国电影研究和电影节研究的背景。在2021年鹿特丹国际电影节诞生50周年之际, 他在鹿特丹国际电影节的研究实习期间, 对中国电影和该电影节之间共同的过去进行了研究, 并启动了华语独立影像资料馆和荷兰电影节之间的档案项目。

INTERVIEWS 访谈

WEN Pulin, writer, director and art critic. In the 1980s, he set up the 'China-America Drama Club' at the Central Academy of Fine Arts, initiated and joined forces with teachers and students from eight art schools in Beijing to set up the 'Beijing Student Art Troupe', and planned a large-scale avant-garde art event at the Mutianyu Great Wall in the autumn of 1988. From the mid-1980s, he began to document underground rock music and avant-garde art activities in Beijing, and in the 1990s he continued to participate in and document the process of contemporary art in China through video. The Wen Pulin Archive of Chinese Avant-Garde Art (a video archive) was established in Cornell University and the University of California San Diego from 2005 to 2007. In the last decade or so, Wen has travelled around the Himalayas, meditating and writing. His video works include *The Great Earthquake* (1988-1989, incomplete), "*Qingpu* – A Sacred Place for Ascetics" (1992), *Damu Sky Burial Platform* (1992), and *China Action* (2016). He has published books such as 'Wind Horse Flag Book Series', *Drifting in Jianghu* (2000), and *Meeting the Living Buddha of Bajaj* (2002); major exhibitions include 'Seven Sins', 'Liberation', 'China Action', 'Through Death', 'Datong *Dazhang*', and 'Wen Pulin Chinese Avant-Garde Art Archive Exhibition of the 80s and 90s'.

温普林, 作家、导演、艺术批评家。八十年代他曾在在中央美术学院成立"中美剧社", 发起并联合北京八大艺术院校师生成立"北京大学生艺术团", 1988年秋在慕田峪长城策划了大型前卫艺术活动"包扎长城"。80年代中期开始, 他以影像的方式拍摄记录北京地下摇滚音乐和前卫艺术活动, 90年代持续以影像的方式参与和记录中国当代艺术的进程。2005年-2007年, 美国康奈尔大学和加州大学圣地亚哥分校先后建立"温普林中国前卫艺术档案"(影像档案)。近十几年, 温普林游走于喜马拉雅山一带, 冥想、写作。影像作品包括《大地震》(1988-1989, 未成片)、《青朴: 苦修者的圣地》(1992)、《达木天葬台》(1992)、《中国行动》(2016) 等; 出版书籍有"风马旗书系"、《江湖飘》(2000)、《遇见巴伽活佛》(2002)等; 主要展览有"七宗罪"、"解放"、"中国行动"、"穿越死亡"、"大同大张"、"温普林中国前卫艺术档案展之80、90年代"。

WU Wenguang, documentary filmmaker, writer, the founder and director of Caochangdi Work Station. He graduated from Yunnan University with a degree in Chinese Literature and has lived in Beijing as a freelancer since 1988. His documentary films include *Bumming in Beijing* (1990), *My 1966* (1993), *Jianghu* (1999), *Fuck Cinema* (2005), *Treatment* (2010), *Because of Hunger* (2013), *Investigating Father* (2016), *Autobiography: Fear* (2019), etc.; theatre works include *Treatment* (2009), *Memories of Hunger* (2010), *Reading Hunger* (2016), and *Reading Father* (2019). He has published the books *Bumming in Beijing*, *Revolutionary Scene 1966*, *Jianghu Report*, and *The Camera Lens is Like Eyes*, and edited *Xianchang* (three volumes). He planned and organised the Villager Documentary Project in 2005, and planned and organised the Folk Memory Project in 2010.

吴文光, 纪录片导演, 作家, "草场地工作站"创办人与负责人。毕业于云南大学中文系, 1988年至今, 作为自由职业者居住北京。纪录片作品包括《流浪北京》(1990)、《我的1966》(1993)、《江湖》(1999)、《操他妈电影》(2005)、《治疗》(2010)、《因为饥饿》(2013)、《调查父亲》(2016)、《自传:恐惧》(2019) 等; 剧场作品有《治疗》(2009)、《回忆饥饿》(2010)、《阅读饥饿》(2016)、《阅读父亲》(2019) 等; 出版著作《流浪北京》、《革命现场1966》、《江湖报告》、《镜头像眼睛一样》;主编《现场》(三卷)。2005年, 他策划与组织村民影像计划; 2010年, 策划与组织民间记忆计划。

GUO Jing, a retired scholar from the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, received his doctorate degree in Ethnic History from Yunnan University. He is a former researcher at the Institute of History of the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences, former Director of the Institute of History of the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, former Director of the Yunnan Provincial Museum, consultant for the Nature Conservancy in USA, training expert for Save the Children UK, consultant for the Hong Kong Community Partnership, and Chairman of the Yunnan From Our Eyes Rural Documentary and Cultural Research Centre. He was involved in the founding of Yunfest and the practice of Rural Video Education. He is committed to cultural anthropology, visual studies, and community environmental action in the mountains of Western China. His publications include *China's Mask Culture* (1992), *Nuo: Exorcising Ghosts, Expelling Epidemics, and Rewarding the Gods* (1993), *Pilgrims* (2009), *Oral History of Documentary Videoes in Yunnan* (co-author, 2013), *Oral History of Ethnographic Film in China* (co-author, 2015), and *Practice and Reflections on Visual Anthropology* (2019). He also made the documentary *The Legend of Kawagebo* (Guo Jing and Cili Zhuoma), and translated Zhang Guangzhi's *Art*, *Myths and Rituals: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China* (2002).

郭净, 云南大学民族史博士, 云南省社会科学院退休学者。曾任西藏社会科学院历史研究所副研究员, 云南省社会科学院历史所所长, 云南省博物馆馆长, 美国大自然保护协会顾问, 英国救助儿童会培训专家, 香港社区伙伴顾问,云南乡村之眼乡土文化研究中心理事长。参与"云之南纪录影像展"的创办和"乡村影像教育"的实践。致力于中国西部山地的文化人类学、影像研究和社区环保行动。著作包括《中国面具文化》(1992)、《傩: 驱鬼、逐疫、酬神》(1993年)、《朝圣者》(2009)、《云南纪录影像口述史》(合著, 2013)、《中国民族志电影口述史》(合著, 2015)、《影视人类学实践与思考》(2019) 等; 纪录片作品《卡瓦格博传奇》(郭净、此里卓玛); 翻译张光直《美术神、话与祭祀》(2002)。

Lydia Dan WU, holds a PhD in film studies from Newcastle University, UK. She is research associate for a major AHRC-funded project titled Independent Cinema in China: State, Market and Film Culture (2019-2023). Her research interests include film festival studies, Chinese film industry, Chinese independent cinema, Chinese art cinema, and film exhibition culture with an East Asian focus.

吴丹, 在英国纽卡斯尔大学获得电影学博士学位,目前在纽卡斯尔大学任助理研究员。研究课题包括电影节研究,

中国电影产业, 中国独立电影、中国艺术电影以及东亚地区的展映文化。

SHI Jian, television producer and documentary director, currently the Deputy Chief Editor of the Central Studio of News Reel Production, and the Executive Director of the Institute of Television Arts at the Central Studio of News Reel Production, among other positions. In 1981, he studied at the Beijing Broadcasting Institute, majoring in documentary filmmaking and television production. In the late 1980s, he devoted himself to documentary filmmaking and joined 'SWYC', namely, 'Structure. Waves. Youth. Film', the first experimental film group in mainland China. His representative works include the documentary series *Tiananmen* (1991), and *I Have Graduated* (1992, with Wang Guangli). He was the President of the international jury for the documentary competition at the seventeenth Shanghai Television Festival in 2011.

时间，　电视制作人, 纪录片导演。现任中央新影集团副总编辑、中央新影电视艺术研究院执行院长等职务。1981年就读于北京广播学院电视系影片编辑专业, 主修纪录片创作和电视节目制作。80年代后期, 致力于纪实性纪录片的创作, 加入中国大陆第一个电影实验小组“SWYC”, 即“结构.浪潮.青年.电影”。代表作《天安门》系列纪录片(1991)、《我毕业了》（王光利、时间, 1992）等。2011年, 担任第十七届上海电视节纪录片国际评委会主席。

Zhen Zhang, teaches Cinema Studies and directs the Asian Film & Media Initiative at New York University. Her academic books include *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema 1896-1937* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), *The Urban Generation: Chinese Cinema and Society at the Turn of the 21st Century* (Duke University Press, 2007), and *DV-Made China: Digital Subjects and Social Transformations after Independent Film* (University of Hawaii Press, 2015). She is now completing a new book, *Women Make Waves in Sinophone Cinema*. Her creative publications include a collection of poems in Chinese *Dream Loft* (梦中楼阁) (1997) and a large number of poems and essays in numerous journals and anthologies such as the recent 'Acupuncture of Time (Fragments for a Memoire of the Present)', published in *Feminist Media History* (April, 2021).

张真, 在纽约大学教授电影研究, 并负责亚洲电影与媒体计划。她的学术专著与编著包括《银幕艳史: 都市文化与上海电影1896-1937》（2005）,《都市一代: 21世纪之交的中国电影和社会》（2007）, 以及《DV制造的中国: 独立电影之后的数字化主体和社会转型》（2015）。她现在正在完成一本新书, 叫《破浪前行的华语电影女导演》。她的其它出版物包括中文诗集《梦中楼阁》（1997）, 以及在众多期刊和选集里发表的大量诗歌和散文, 比如最近发表在《女性主义媒体史》（2021年4月）上的《时间的针灸（当下回忆的片段）》。

FILM REVIEWS 影评

Lin FENG, Lecturer in Film Studies and Director of Studies for History of Art and Film at the University of Leicester. She is a Senior Fellow of the UK Higher Education Academy. Her research interests include Chinese cinemas, East Asian film history, and transnational popular screen cultures. She is the author of *Chow Yun-fat and Territories of Hong Kong Stardom* (Edinburgh UP, 2017) and co-editor of *Renegotiating Film Genres in East Asian Cinemas and Beyond* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

冯琳,英国莱斯特大学电影学讲师。她是艺术史及电影学科的负责人，获英国高等教育学院高级会士称号。她的研究领域主要集中于华语电影史及跨国流行电影文化。出版英语专著《周润发与香港明星的肇域》(2017)并合编论文集《跨跃东亚：反思类型电影》(2020)。

FAN Xiang, received her Ph.D. in film studies from the Goldsmiths University of London. Her thesis focused on the production of art cinema culture in China since the turn of the twenty-first century. Her research interests also include Chinese independent cinema and gender studies. She is an associate lecturer in the Department of Media Communications and Cultural Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London, and the subjects she teaches involve film theory and politics in audiovisual media.

樊响, 英国伦敦大学金史密斯学院电影学博士。她的博士论文主要关注新世纪以来中国艺术电影文化的构建。她同时也关注中国独立电影及性别研究。作为伦敦大学金史密斯学院媒体传播与文化研究系的助理讲师, 她教授的课程涉及电影理论和视听媒体中的政治研究。

WEN Hua, PhD in Literature, Associate Professor in the School of Literature and Media of Guangzhou Southern College. Her main research areas are comparative literature and English and American literature. In recent years, she has mainly researched literary non-fiction and Chinese cinema. She has published the monographs *Appreciation of Classics of Foreign Theatre Literature* (2006) and *Transformations of Discourse in Foreign Literary Studies* (2014), and translations of *The Lost Continent* (with Zhang Yanrui, 2009, 2013), *Our Inner Conflicts* (2015), *Churchill's Classic Speeches* (2018) and *A Narco History* (with Zhang Yanrui, 2019), and has published numerous film reviews on wenhui.com.

温华, 文学博士, 广州南方学院文学与传媒学院副教授。主要研究领域为比较文学与英美文学。近年来主要研究非虚构文学、中国电影。出版专著《外国戏剧文学经典赏析》(2006)、《外国文学研究话语转型》(2014), 译著《失落的大陆》(温华、张艳蕊,2009、2013)、《我们内心的冲突》(2015)、《丘吉尔经典演讲》(2018)、《毒品史: 美国与墨西哥的百年恩怨》(温华、张艳蕊,2019), 并有多篇影评在文汇网发表。

EXHIBITION 展览

Norman A. SPENCER, Ph.D, an American professor who has taught at universities in Africa, China, and the United States, including Tianjin Foreign Studies University in China from 1982 to 1983 and the Communication University of China in Beijing from 2001 to 2002. He edited and wrote the introduction for *Things Are Symbols of Themselves: Yan Li's Works and Friends (1974-1984 Beijing)* (Tehran: Ostoore Publications, 2005). An interview with him about his cultural activities in China was published in Bei Dao's *Jintian* (*Today*) in Hong Kong in 2007. He published a photographic memoir with commentary on Chinese independent and underground cinema in the twentieth anniversary issue of *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* (Duke University Press, 2012). A selection of his photography appeared in Yang Lian and Mang Ke's *Xingcunzhe* (*Survivor*) in Beijing in 2017, *China Variety* **in 2020**, and *Shanghai Literature* in 2021. China Independent Film Archive used his photography and film posters for their launch exhibition in 2020, and the University of California at San Diego published online a large collection of his Chinese and Vietnamese photography covering twenty years in 2021.

诺曼·斯班塞, 博士, 美国教授, 曾在非洲、中国和美国的大学任教, 包括1982至1983年间在天津外国语大学和2001至2002年间在中国传媒大学执教。他是《事物是自身的象征:严力的创作以及他的朋友们 (1974-1984北京)》(德黑兰: Ostoore出版社, 2005年) 一书的编辑并为其撰写了序言。2007年在北岛的《今天》上发表了关于他在中国的文化活动的采访。他在《立场: 东亚文化批判》20周年纪念刊上发表了关于中国独立电影和地下电影的摄影回忆录与评论文章 (2012)。他的部分摄影作品出现在杨炼和芒克在北京策划的《幸存者》展览上 (2017)、《中国综艺》(2020) 及《上海文学》(2021) 中。英国华语独立影像资料馆在2020年的网站上线展中使用了他的摄影作品和电影海报, 加州大学圣地亚哥分校在2021年在线发表了他20年来有关中国和越南的摄影作品集。

YAN Li, a Chinese avant-garde poet, short story writer and painter who was born in Beijing in 1954. He is associated with the Stars (Xing Xing) artists and the Misty Poets, and publishes in the literary journal *Today* (*Jintian*). In the mid-1980s, he moved to New York City where he started the magazine *First Line* (*Yi Hang*) which published the writings of many contemporary Chinese poets and also translated American poetry. He was a participant in the prestigious International Writing Programme at the University of Iowa. His writing has been translated into French, English, Italian, Swedish, Korean, and German.

严力, 中国先锋派诗人、短篇小说家和画家, 1954年出生于北京。他被看作星星艺术家和朦胧诗人, 在文学期刊《今天》上发表文章。20世纪80年代中期, 他移居纽约, 在那里创办了《一行》诗刊, 发表了许多中国当代诗人的作品, 及翻译过的美国诗歌。他曾参加过爱荷华大学著名的国际写作计划。他的作品已被翻译成法语、英语、意大利语、瑞典语、韩语和德语。

Xiaojian PENG, was born in Shanghai in 1974 and grew up in the famous Chinese actress Ruan Lingu's working class neighborhood. She has a degree in computer graphics with courses in contemporary Chinese art and cinema from the State University of New York.

彭筱剑, 1974年出生于上海, 在中国著名女演员阮玲玉生活过的工人阶级社区长大。她拥有纽约州立大学的计算机图形学学位, 并选修了纽约州立大学的中国当代艺术与电影课程。

TRANSLATORS 翻译

Emma WEI, works for CIFA as a freelance translator and interpreter based in Newcastle upon Tyne, England. A graduate of Newcastle University's Translating and Interpreting MA programme, her areas of expertise include independent film studies, queer art studies, education, psychology, automobiles, renewable energy, AI, and finance and accounting. Her experience in interpreting includes corporate training, public service work reporting, art workshops, LGBT events, product and journal launching events, wine tasting, and museum tours. She previously worked as an auditor, and is currently employed by Newcastle University International Office.

艾玛·魏, 为华语独立影像资料馆自由译者, 现驻于英格兰纽卡斯尔。毕业于纽卡斯尔大学口笔译硕士项目, 她的笔译工作致力于独立电影研究, 酷儿艺术研究, 教育, 心理学, 汽车, 新能源, 人工智能, 金融财会; 口译工作方向包括企业培训, 政府工作汇报, 艺术工作坊, LGBT活动, 产品及期刊发布会, 葡萄酒品鉴, 博物馆导览等。她曾任会计事务所审计师, 现工作于纽卡斯尔大学国际办公室。

Huiming YU, earned his Master's degree in Moving Image Archiving and Preservation at New York University. He has been interested in Chinese independent films for a long time. He has worked as a translator for *The New York Times*, *Ming Pao Daily News*' New York office, and Citigroup. His translation work includes the *Chicago Manual of Style* (2014) and *Digital Paper: A Manual for Research and Writing with Library and Internet Materials* (2018), which have been published in China. Currently he lives in Beijing.

余慧明, 纽约大学电影系电影档案与保存专业硕士, 长期关注中国独立电影。他曾为《纽约时报》、《明报》纽约分社、花旗集团等机构担任翻译工作, 并有《芝加哥手册》(2014)、《数字论文》(2018)等译著出版。现居北京。

Michelle DEETER, freelance translator and interpreter. She has interpreted for numerous directors and is a part-time lecturer at Newcastle University.

狄敏霞, 自由职业译员。她为多名电影导演提供翻译,并在纽卡斯尔大学当兼职讲师。

Wenxin XIAO, obtained her Master's degree in cinema studies at New York University.
肖文, ,纽约大学电影系电影研究专业硕士。

华 语 独 立 影 像 观 察

C H I N E S E

I N D E P E N D E N T

C I N E M A

O B S E R V E R