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戏剧研究前沿

Frontiers of Theatre Studies

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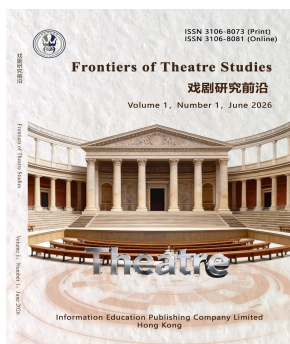
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全球视野下的底层创伤见证：诺塔奇戏剧《毁灭》中的阈限叙事

赵永健 (Zhao Yongjian) , 余 美 (Yu Mei)

摘要：琳恩·诺塔奇的经典剧作《毁灭》以刚果内战为背景，讲述了一群被战争暴力摧残的女性的故事，对她们的生存困境给予了深切的观照。本文借助人类学的阈限理论，从空间、身体与道德三个维度探讨作品如何悖论性地再现了非洲底层女性的阈限体验和生存困境。诺塔奇将非洲底层女性置于酒吧这个具有临界性和矛盾性的阈限空间，让她们讲述和展示自己被暴力侵害毁损的身体，让她们的阈限身体成为战争暴力的具象化符号。剧中的阈限性不仅体现在布景空间和底层经验上，更贯穿于道德主题的建构过程，呈现出一个具有道德模糊性的阈限情境。这种多维度的阈限表征，赋予作品深刻的道德意蕴与审美体验。

关键词：琳恩·诺塔奇；《毁灭》；底层创伤；阈限空间；阈限身体；道德阈限

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Title: Subaltern Trauma Witnessing in a Global Perspective: A Study of Liminal Narrative in Lynn Nottage's *Ruined*

Abstract: Lynn Nottage's seminal play, *Ruined*, is set against the backdrop of the Congolese Civil War, exploring the existential plight of the African women ravaged by wartime violence.

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Drawing upon the anthropological theory of liminality, this paper explores how the work paradoxically reifies the liminal experiences and survival struggles of marginalized African women across three dimensions: space, body, and morality. Nottage situates marginalized African women within the bar, a liminal space defined by its marginality and inherent contradictions, compelling them to narrate and exhibit their bodies ravaged by sexual violence. Consequently, their liminal bodies become a concrete symbolic manifestation of the atrocities of war. In the play, liminality transcends physical settings and subaltern experiences, permeating the very construction of the moral subject to produce a “liminal situation” marked by ethical ambiguity. This multi-dimensional artistic representation imbues the work with profound moral resonance and a compelling aesthetic experience.

Keywords: Lynn Nottage; *Ruined*; subaltern trauma; liminal space; liminal body; moral liminality

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一、引言

琳恩·诺塔奇 (Lynn Nottage, 1964–) 的戏剧《毁灭》 (*Ruined*, 2008) 荣获普利策等多项戏剧大奖, 深刻展现了非洲刚果民主共和国内战背景下底层女性的生存困境, 是当代美国戏剧中全球南方书写的佳作。《毁灭》自上演以来引发了学界的广泛关注, 国外学界主要从文类、战争、残障和土地政治等角度探讨该剧, 国内学界则主要从创伤、时间、文化记忆等方面加以考察, 但鲜有学者关注到该剧中的“阈限叙事”及其丰富内涵。

“阈限” (liminal) 源自拉丁文 *limen*, 原意“门槛”, 最初由法国人类学家阿诺德·范热内普 (Arnold van Gennep) 提出。1909年, 他在专著《过渡礼仪》中提出, 人类社会的所有仪式都包含三个阶段: 分隔礼仪、边缘礼仪和聚合礼仪。范热内普 (2016, p. 24) “将与先前世界分割之礼仪称为‘阈限前礼仪’, 将在边缘阶段中举行之礼仪称为‘阈限礼仪’, 将融入新世界之礼仪称为‘阈限后礼仪’”。后来, 英国人类学家维克多·特纳 (Victor Turner) 扩展了这个理论。特纳 (2006, p. 95) 在《仪式过程》中提出: “阈限的实体既不在这里, 也不在那里; 他们在法律、习俗、传统和典礼所指定和安排的那些位置之间的地方。”换言之, 阈限是一种“模棱两可”

(betwixt and between) 的状态或过程, 阈限主体失去了原有的社会身份, 却尚未获得新的身份, 处于不确定的模糊状态。这个概念后来被学界广泛使用, 用于探讨研究对象所涉及的“置身于空间或时间上的边界或中间位置的经历” (Thomassen, 2015, p. 40)。作为一个普适性概念, “阈限”也为文学跨学科研究提供了可资借鉴的视角。本文从“阈限”理论入手, 对戏剧《毁灭》中的空间设置、人物塑造和主题建构三方面进行深入分析, 以期探究诺塔奇的创作目的, 并揭示该剧深刻的道德意蕴与审美体验。

二、战争夹缝中的阈限空间

阈限空间是“力图摆脱二元对立并寻求建立新的身份构建与话语权力的临界的他者空间”（王微，2016，p. 122）。戏剧《毁灭》中的核心场景酒吧就是一个典型的、试图在战争废墟中开辟出的临界他者空间。

戏剧开场，舞台指示如此介绍《毁灭》的故事发生地：“一个小型矿业城镇。伊图里热带雨林的声。刚果民主共和国”（Nottage, 2009, p. 5）^①。该剧的所有场面都发生在位于城镇与雨林交界处的一间酒吧里。酒吧联结城镇和雨林，处在一个具有临界性的过渡地带，具有地理边界的模糊性。这一地理位置也具有一定的隐喻意义：城镇象征了遵循某种伦理秩序的人类文明，而雨林则遵循弱肉强食的丛林法则，处在其间的酒吧也因此具有了介于文明与野蛮的临界性，处在界限模糊的中间状态。

经营这家酒吧的老板是一个名叫“纳迪妈妈”（Mama Nadi）的中年女性。她“四十出头，是一个步履矫健、气质威严的迷人女性”（p. 5）。她十分强势，在酒吧里说一不二，不止一次对来客强调：“这是我的地盘，纳迪妈妈的地盘”（p. 86）。为了确保酒吧的顺利运营，她专门为顾客设了一条规定：凡到酒吧里消费，任何武装人员都不能携带武器。一次，政府军首领奥森本加进入酒吧，纳迪妈妈随即要求他将子弹留在吧台，并好言相劝：“还请见谅，您是谁都没用。只要您踏进我的们，就算是在我家了。那就得客随主便”（p. 42）。同样，对于反政府军，她也持有同样的态度。反政府军士兵有一次想在酒吧里动粗闹事，纳迪妈妈立马发出警告：“这是个好好喝酒的地方。你们那套丛林法则治不了我。你们若想像个男人一样喝酒，那就像个男人那样喝酒；但若要像个大猩猩那样粗鲁行事，那就回丛林里去”（p. 22）。特纳（2006，p. 131）在《仪式过程》中认为，进入阈限空间，个体摆脱了相对稳固的社会身份，产生出一种暂时平等的社会关系，进入所谓的“交融”（communitas）的关系模式。他（2006，p. 98）还在《象征之林》中对此详细解释，认为在阈限情境中，“他们没有地位、财产、标记、世俗的衣物、级别、亲属位置，没有任何可以将他们在结构上界定区分与他们同伴的东西”。也就是说，进入阈限空间或阶段中的个体，获得了新的身份，彼此之间没有高低贵贱之分，可以和谐相处，成为暂时平等的“阈限人”。

为了不招惹是非，纳迪妈妈不允许顾客在酒吧里谈政治，“莫谈国事”成为酒吧里另一条不成文的规矩。一次，她的老相识克里斯蒂安在店里讲述政府军如何玩弄民主，欺骗人民，纳迪妈妈立刻命他打住：“要说去外面说去。你知道我不许在这儿说这些。我的店门得向所有人敞开，这样才不会有麻烦”（p. 89）。为了生存，纳迪妈妈保持中立，不选边站队，而是敞开怀抱欢迎每一位顾客。不管是政府军，还是叛军，抑或底层矿工，只要进了酒吧的门，他们原先的身份都要悬置，只剩下一个共同的身份——“消费者”。纳迪妈妈的酒吧是战乱中不多的“中立地带”。虽然酒吧里的和平十分脆弱，但对疲惫的士兵和军官而言弥足珍贵，这里可以摆脱厮杀的危险，获得短暂的情感满足，在暴力杀戮的间隙得到片刻的喘息。战争的敌我叙事被暂时的感官欲望和商业规则所替代。在纳迪妈妈“铁腕”管理下，酒吧里“没有子弹，没有争吵，也没有人谈论外面正在进行的内战”（p. 15），所有在场者都获得了暂时的安宁和安全。

在刚果内战情境下，酒吧空间的阈限性还通过酒吧内外空间对比凸显出来。虽然整出戏都设置在酒吧里发生，但通过人物对话，观众会发现酒吧内外截然两个不同的世界。酒吧外，枪林弹雨，

^① Nottage, Lynn (2009). *Ruined*. New York: Theatre Communications Group. 以下引文只标注页码，不再一一说明。

兵荒马乱，充斥着杀戮、强奸和仇恨，场外空间不时响起的“枪声”更是点明了这一点。酒吧内，则歌舞升平，有美女、爵士乐和美酒，时间仿佛停滞了一般。纳迪妈妈在为众人演唱时，不断吟唱这样一段歌词：“刚果的天空电闪雷鸣，子弹如地狱之雨般飞来。野花枯萎，森林衰败。而我们在这一片倾倒香槟……世界在崩塌，而我们在轻歌曼舞”（p. 63）。如此对比酒吧内外空间，揭示了酒吧不稳定的阈限状态：一方面，酒吧如同刚果内战中的一块“飞地”，不管政府军和叛军在战场上如何厮杀，酒吧内则安然无恙，给人一种虚假的和平盛世之感；另一方面，纳迪妈妈是在政府军和叛军的夹缝（in-between）中谋生存，她的酒吧极其脆弱，危机四伏，随时可能会被暴力入侵，卷入战争的漩涡。

酒吧空间的阈限性还真实地表现在剧中女性的生存状态。纳迪妈妈手下有十个女孩，她们都出身底层，身处社会边缘，在战争中饱受摧残，无法回归正常的家庭生活。是纳迪妈妈收留了她们，酒吧成为她们唯一的“避难所”。在酒吧里，她们能获得食物和住所，免受外部世界的直接暴力侵害。纳迪妈妈手下有一位名叫萨莉玛的女孩渴望回家，但苏菲关切地问道：“你若是离开，能去哪儿？睡在丛林里？还是在臭气熏天的难民营里找吃的……现在正在打仗，一个女人单独行动很不安全”（p. 32）。酒吧因此成为这些底层女性一个临时的“家”，为她们提供片刻安宁。

然而，酒吧为她们提供了安全庇护的同时，也成为一座将她们困住的牢笼。酒吧内设施比较简陋，但生意还比较红火，因为这家酒吧还兼做妓院，酒吧里的服务员也大都兼职皮肉生意。她们迫于生计向生活妥协，通过出卖自己的身体来赚取生活费，维持酒吧的运转，这使得她们又困在另一种形式的暴力中。无处可逃的空间体验也通过“鸟笼”这个道具呈现出来。该剧舞台指示在介绍故事布景时明确指出：“一个盖着布的鸟笼十分显眼地放在房间的角落里”（p. 5）。此处的“鸟笼”具有明显的象征意味，喻指酒吧是一个剥夺女性自由的封闭空间，进而隐喻了刚果乃至非洲大陆上战争和男权对女性的压抑。剧中酒吧是一个矛盾统一的空间，在庇护所和牢笼两种空间意象之间达成了微妙的平衡，生动诠释了这些底层女性的真实生活状态。

简言之，纳迪妈妈掌控下的酒吧处于文明与野蛮、安全与暴力、有家与无家之间的模糊地带，是个具有临界性和矛盾性的阈限空间。作为战场上的飞地，酒吧既是底层女性的栖身之所，又如同牢笼们将她们困在其中。酒吧空间的阈限性生动展示了这些非洲底层女性的真实生存体验。

三、暴力创伤下的阈限身体

该剧塑造了刚果内战中的底层女性群像，她们大都经历了战争暴力的摧残，如剧名 *Ruined* 所示，身躯受损，人生尽毁，身体和身份具有了某种阈限性。所谓“阈限身体”，是指处在稳定的生理状态之间的身体，处在一种非此非彼的过渡状态。《毁灭》“直面战争所带来的强奸常态化问题”（李奕璇、韦清琦，2026，p. 16），剧中女性大都遭受过强奸和暴力迫害，伤痕累累，身体私密部位都有不同程度的损伤，在战争的阴影下介于生与死之间。“女性身体”成为刚果内战的另一个战场，成为战争的牺牲品。另一方面，她们身体的毁损导致了她们社会身份的毁灭和社会关系的破裂。她们被排斥在正常社会结构之外，无法回归正常生活，成为被抛弃的卑贱物。这一点在萨莉玛和索菲这两位女性的悲惨遭遇中淋漓尽致地展现出来。

萨莉玛曾经嫁给一个农民，育有一女。但她命运多舛，在一次干农活的时候不幸被叛军轮奸，眼睁睁地看着自己年幼的孩子遇害，然后又被掳进军营，“做了近五个月的军妓”（p. 12）。她讲

述了自己在军营里的经历：“我躺在那里，他们把我撕成碎片，把我活活吃掉……整整五个月，我像一头山羊一样被锁住”（pp. 80-81）。经受百般蹂躏，萨莉玛逃回家乡，却被村民抛弃，认为她身体不洁，只会给全村人带来晦气。连她的丈夫福金都嫌弃她，说她是“一条肮脏的狗”，还说她“在树林里的五个月，在那些当兵的中间传来传去，就像一块破抹布……被他们的手指捏成了毒药”（p. 78）。她在军营里蒙受了巨大的羞辱和痛苦，好不容易逃出生天，却成为家人和乡亲眼中的异类，惨遭驱逐，被迫生活在社会结构的边缘。她虽然活着，但在社会意义上已经“死去”，再也无法回到正常的生活。从生命政治的角度而言，萨莉玛无法获得社会共同体的庇护，但又无法完全与社会相分割，随时暴露在战争暴力之下，身处阈限状态之中。她不过是一条“赤裸生命”（bare life），如草芥一般，“成为权力可任意支配的对象”（罗文杰、史菊鸿，2025，p. 186），成为任人宰割的对象。

苏菲是剧中最符合剧名“毁灭”意义的女孩。故事发生时，苏菲年方十八，长相俊俏，品学兼优，本有望考上大学，但因为内战而前程尽毁。一次，苏菲不幸被一名士兵抓住，士兵先是将她强奸，然后惨无人道地用刺刀毁掉了她的生殖器，使她丧失了生育能力。剧中，苏菲每次出场，都能看到她身体的不适。她初次走进酒吧的时候，“因为疼痛而走得有些踉跄”（p. 12）。她几乎不可能再做一个正常的女人，下体“闻起来有一股子肉臭的味道”（p. 17），苏菲为此苦恼不已。她私下里曾向萨莉玛倾诉：“在我唱歌的时候，我祈祷痛苦消失，但那些人对我做的事还是活在我的身体里。我每走一步，都能感觉到他们的存在。我的每一步都在惩罚我。这是我的命。我一辈子都会这样。”（p. 32）更让她受伤的是，她再也无法回归原先正常的生活。用她舅舅克里斯蒂安的话说，一个像她这样被毁的女孩“让家族蒙羞”（p. 15），无法被家族接受；在酒吧里，同屋女孩约瑟芬还对苏菲满是不敬，认为苏菲没法卖淫，“一钱不值”（p. 37）。苏菲的经历揭示了，强奸被系统性地用作战争工具，旨在摧毁女性的身体完整性，进而瓦解家庭、部落和社会结构。

萨莉玛和苏菲已经无法再回归正常的家庭和社会生活，她们的女性身份（女儿、妻子、母亲）已被战争“摧毁”，而被社会认可的新身份尚未建立，身体和身份都处在一种悬置的状态。这些女性无法“一键重启”回到过去的生活，被困在创伤的阴影中。她们不知道战争何时结束，也不知道自己是否能真正获得救赎或开启新生活。她们无法修复的身体和难以愈合的创伤使她们困在似乎永远无法完成的阈限阶段。

女性人物的阈限身体成为战争暴力的具象化符号。这种巨大的创伤不仅通过人物语言表达出来，还借助人物身体呈现，构成强烈的“视觉冲击”。纳迪妈妈手下还有一个名叫约瑟芬的女孩，曾是一个非洲部落酋长的长女，曾享有较高的社会地位和尊严，自视甚高，但也因为战争创伤被部落遗弃，最终被纳迪妈妈收留。有一次，约瑟芬在舞台上脱下衬衫，“露出一条巨大狰狞的黑色伤疤，横跨她的肚子”（p. 34）。这道触目惊心的伤疤是士兵用刺刀在她身上划过之后留下的痕迹，是对她酋长女儿高贵身份的残酷讽刺，是战争罪行最直观、最原始的物证。为了取悦客人，她有时会在酒吧舞池里伴着音乐翩翩起舞，“开始时俏皮、诱惑，然后慢慢变得越来越狂热”，她“绝望地抓向空中，仿佛想攫住什么。她的舞蹈变得更丑陋，更疯狂。她突然想停下来，不能控制自己”（p. 64）。这段舞蹈揭示了约瑟芬内心被压抑的真实情感。舞蹈开始，她利用臀部的扭动和眼神的挑逗来交换生存资源。但当音乐渐入高潮，她不再为四周的士兵而舞，而是为自己而舞，是在释放自己内心压抑已久的痛苦，狂舞的肢体是她抗议战争的唯一方式，是她在舞台上的一次无声呐喊。

这种身体景观在萨莉玛自我毁灭式的反抗上表现得淋漓尽致。在纳迪妈妈酒吧里工作一段时间后，萨莉玛发现自己因为被强奸而怀上了孩子，但她不敢告诉纳迪妈妈，担心自己被扫地出门。这对她而言于是又一次沉重的打击。萨莉玛虽然对女伴表达了想念家人、渴望回家的愿望，但等到丈夫来找她的时候，她却决绝地拒绝见面。由于肚子越来越大，萨莉玛愈加绝望，最终爆发出了最有力的反抗。她强行让自己流产，不想将肚中的冤孽生下来，将自己的身体作为一种反抗的武器。在戏剧高潮阶段，萨莉玛下体滴着血走上了舞台，对着丈夫和酒吧里的士兵，萨莉玛绝望地喊道“别在我的身体上打仗！”（p. 94），然后倒地而亡。这种“血淋淋”的场面很难不给观众正面的冲击。她撕心裂肺的呐喊不仅是对她个人悲剧的控诉，也代表了所有受害女性的共同心声，而她的离世是对男性权威和男权霸权社会最后的反抗。

四、生存困境中的道德阈限

在《毁灭》中，战争摧毁了常态社会的伦理逻辑，整个社会处在一种失序的状态。在风雨飘摇的乱世中，酒吧里的人为了生存陷入某种“道德阈限”（moral liminality）中。

所谓“道德阈限”，指的是“对道德范畴的逾越”（Siliunas, Pugh, 2025, p. 863），是“一种处在道德本质范畴之间的中间状态”（Siliunas, Pugh, 2025, p. 865）。在战争这种极端环境下，常规的道德规范暂时失效或悬置，卷入其中的人被迫跨越一道非黑非白、非善非恶的道德门槛。

道德阈限在开场情境中就呈现了出来。戏剧伊始，推销员克里斯蒂安想将三个女孩卖给纳迪妈妈，其中一个还是“他亲姐姐的独生女”（p. 15），是他的外甥女。一番讨价还价之后，纳迪妈妈最终答应以 25 元的低价买下两个女孩。从人类惯常伦理的角度来看，这就是人口贩卖，是将两个无辜少女推向“火坑”，是不可饶恕的罪行。但在这部剧中，事情却没有那么简单。克里斯蒂安无奈地对纳迪妈妈坦陈：“在这里，至少她是安全的。不会饿肚子……而村子容不下一个被……毁掉的姑娘。”（p. 16）。他出此下策，并非为了赚钱，而是要将这些女孩从战争苦难中“解救”出来，因为如果不卖给纳迪妈妈，她们也“无处可去”（p. 14）。对于战争，人们传统上会分辨和强调何方正义何方邪恶；而对于身陷伦理阈限中的人而言，正义或邪恶不再是做选择的标准。对于身陷战争中的底层女性而言，没有绝对的罪恶，也没有绝对的无辜，只有生存或毁灭。为了生存，底层女性只能忍辱偷生，苟活于世。随后的场面也大都因为道德阈限而被建构成“阈限情境”，考验着剧中每个人物的道德良知。

在文学作品中，身处道德阈限情境中的人物，可以被称作是“道德阈限人物”（morally liminal figure），这一类人物“符合多个道德范畴标准，这些道德范畴在特定的社会或政治语境中被理解为相互对立”（Siliunas, Pugh, 2025, p. 865）。换言之，道德阈限人物充满了矛盾性，身上常常兼具相互对立的人物特性，例如英雄与恶棍、加害者与施害者、殖民者与被殖民者。《毁灭》中的纳迪妈妈便是一个典型的“道德模糊”的人物，是个“不折不扣的反英雄”（Mobley, 2016, p. 131），游走于善恶之间，其言行举止颇耐人寻味。

剧本人物表在介绍“纳迪妈妈”的身份时，只用了“女商人”（p. 4）一个词，该身份也为她处理周遭人和事提供了底层逻辑。她手下有多个年轻女性要养活，因此她十分看重这些女孩的赚钱能力。戏剧伊始，克里斯蒂安想把三个女孩卖给她时，纳迪妈妈首先对她们的评价是“她们看起来都是二手货，旧了”（p. 9）。如此评价是将饱受战争创伤的女性视作“商品”对待，其中透着几分

冷酷。克里斯蒂安只能退而求其次，希望纳迪妈妈收留他的外甥女苏菲，再一次被纳迪妈妈一口回绝。在她眼中，苏菲不过是个“残次品”（p. 16），只会给她带来“霉运”（p. 13），“对生意毫无裨益”（p. 16），而她“是在做生意，不是做教会”（p. 14）。她的逻辑很清楚：酒吧里多一个人，就多一张口，而身体受损的苏菲没办法给她制造价值。最终，一番讨价还价之后，纳迪妈妈精明地用一个人的价格买下了两个女孩留在店里工作。

在分析“纳迪妈妈”时，美国学者安·M·福克斯（Ann M. Fox, 2011, p. 7）认为：“她没有政治立场，善于投机，因而成为幸存者。”如其所言，作为一名生意人，她遵循实用主义原则，一切都要从金钱的角度进行衡量。只要来酒吧里花钱消费都是她的座上宾，她的宗旨是“让所有客人都开心”（p. 41）。对于交战双方，她不区分谁正义谁邪恶，不做道德审判。在危机情境，她身段更是柔软，低头弯腰，圆滑世故，为保酒吧存续不惜屈辱妥协。有一次，一个反政府军士兵在酒吧里咬了萨莉玛脖子一口，萨莉玛气得想走，结果纳迪妈妈担心士兵闹事，一把将萨莉玛拉回来，“把萨莉玛推向反政府军士兵”（p. 33）。虽然萨莉玛百般不情愿，但也不敢违抗纳迪妈妈的命令。在纳迪妈妈的世界里，道德绝对主义（moral absolutism）已经失效。为了在乱世中生存，她必须做出最有利于她的伦理选择，这是她唯一的道德律令。不剥削她们，就无法维持酒吧正常运转，也就无法为她们提供庇护。为了生存，她必须暂时中止善恶判断，进入道德阈限状态。当然，从某种意义上说，纳迪妈妈不选边战队，这并非因为她没有是非观，而是表现出一种生存智慧——因为一旦选边站队，酒吧就可能成为冲突的焦点。在道德失序的战争情境下，这种不站队的策略才有可能保护弱者生存下来。

具有悖论性的是，纳迪妈妈并非完全冷酷无情之人，在关键情境下总会闪出人性的光辉。萨莉玛的丈夫福金去酒吧寻找妻子，纳迪妈妈为了保护萨莉玛，骗他说没见过他妻子，劝他回家。福金一气之下掀翻桌子，纳迪妈妈见状迅速“抄起一把砍刀”，并警告他“如果你还要闹，我会奉陪到底”（p. 72）。对于真正“被毁”的苏菲，纳迪妈妈表现出了更深刻的同情。当反政府军士兵想要欺负苏菲，“纳迪妈妈迅速挡在中间”（p. 22），保护苏菲免受侵扰。苏菲因为数学好，成为纳迪妈妈的出纳，平日里做些收账算钱的工作。一次，纳迪妈妈发现苏菲偷偷将部分营收藏作私房钱，对她进行严厉质问，后来听苏菲解释她要攒钱修复自己残缺的身体时，纳迪妈妈的心也跟着软了下来。她不仅没有把苏菲扫地出门，还在戏剧即将结束之时，拿出自己珍藏的钻石让一位商人朋友带苏菲去城里找名医修复她的私处。在纳迪妈妈眼里，索菲虽是一个“损坏的商品”（p. 16），但也是一个可怜之人。她爱财如命，却愿意花血本救助苏菲，表现出她还是葆有一颗柔软的内心。

著名大屠杀幸存者普里莫·莱维（Primo Levi）曾根据他的集中营经历提出“灰色地带”（gray zone）的概念，有助于我们理解“道德阈限”这个概念。他认为在集中营这种极端情境下，受害者为了生存可能被迫讨好、服从甚至协助加害者，从而使得审判变得复杂且困难。“灰色地带”理论强调了极端情境下道德判断的复杂性，也为我们理解《毁灭》提供了重要视角。剧中的女性在酒吧里必须强颜欢笑，陪军官、士兵和矿工喝酒聊天，甚至出卖自己的肉体。在和平时期，这是无法令人接受，是坏女孩的堕落行径。但在战争这种极端情境中，这种“性剥削”却是使这些女性不被战争吞噬的一个难得的办法。纳迪妈妈会给她们食物、衣物和医疗，最重要的是，她提供了一个相对安全的物理空间，将这些无处可去的女性与外部世界的暴力隔离开来。

《毁灭》超越了传统文学中“受害者”与“加害者”这种非黑即白的二元叙事。“‘阈限性’

是人们超越二元思维、认识事物的抓手。”（李永平、李泽涛，2022，p. 179）阈限叙事让观众看到，在战争中，有些人既是受害者又是幸存者，甚至是某种意义上的加害者。纳迪妈妈为了生存必须与施暴者做交易，而她庇护的女孩们也在这个过程中失去了部分尊严。道德阈限情境的建构无疑会给观众带来一种不适感，促使观众进行反思。这也是阈限叙事的一个重要特征，因为“阈限书写会产生接受者阐释时的不确定性”（李永平、李泽涛，2022，p. 181-182）。纳迪妈妈模糊而矛盾的道德阈限性能有效地激发观众的思考，迫使她们无法简单粗暴地进行道德判断，反思自己的善恶判断。该剧似乎向观众提出了一个伦理问题：如果你是纳迪妈妈，你会怎么做？会做得更好吗？阈限叙事避免观众给出简单的道德评判，迫使观众面对一个没有英雄的复杂现实，让观众意识到绝望与希望、自私与宽容、丑陋与美好、神圣与亵渎等二元对立的概念可以共存。

五、结语

美国学者詹妮弗·海斯（Jennifer Hayes，2024，p. 5）认为：“诺塔奇始终将边缘化的声音从边缘地带推向全球讨论的中心……在舞台上为被遗忘的群体开辟了发声的场域。”如她所言，《毁灭》借助阈限叙事将非洲底层女性置于舞台前景，让她们发声、控诉和呐喊，不愧是当代美国全球南方书写的一部杰作。诺塔奇没有落入受害者苦难叙事的窠臼，而是在激发观众共情的同时，挑战了非黑即白的道德观。她借助阈限叙事完成了一种悖论式书写，探讨了在善与恶、生与死、战争与和平、苦难与希望、逃离与坚守中，非洲底层女性如何挣扎生存，重构自我，反对战争。剧中的阈限性不仅体现在布景空间和底层经验上，更贯穿于道德主题的建构过程，呈现出一个具有道德模糊性的阈限情境。这种多维度的艺术表征，赋予作品深刻的道德意蕴与审美体验。

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追寻空间正义：《克莱伯恩公园》的困境、抗争与愿景

罗 茜 (Luo Qian), 孔 瑞 (Kong Rui)

摘要：当代美国戏剧家布鲁斯·诺里斯的《克莱伯恩公园》荣获普利策戏剧奖、托尼奖及奥利弗奖等多项大奖。该剧通过半世纪内同一社区的两起黑人房产交易，揭示美国种族问题的复杂性与持久性。本文聚焦《克莱伯恩公园》的空间正义研究：空间非正义的表征展现非裔群体困境，揭露种族偏见的荒谬性；空间非正义的反抗彰显不公主题，反映非裔群体寻求空间正义的艰难与决心；空间正义的愿景揭示平等思想，传达出对种族之间和谐共生，构建空间正义的期盼。

关键词：布鲁斯·诺里斯；《克莱伯恩公园》；空间正义

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Title: Seeking Spatial Justice: The Dilemma, Struggle and Vision of *Clybourne Park*

Abstract: The contemporary American playwright Bruce Norris's *Clybourne Park* has won numerous awards such as the Pulitzer Prize for Drama, the Tony Award, and the Olivier Award. Through two incidents of black family property transactions that occurred in the same park community over a period of fifty years, the play reveals the complexity and persistence of racial issues in American society. This article focuses on the spatial justice research of *Clybourne Park*: The representation of spatial injustice showcases the plight of the African

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American community and exposes the absurdity of racial prejudice; the resistance of spatial injustice highlights the theme of injustice and reflects the difficulty and determination of the African American community in seeking spatial justice; the vision of spatial justice reveals the idea of equality and conveys the expectation of building spatial justice among races through harmonious coexistence.

Keywords: Bruce Norris; *Clybourne Park*; spatial justice

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一、引言

美国当代戏剧家布鲁斯·诺里斯 (Bruce Norris, 1960-) 的《克莱伯恩公园》(Clybourne Park, 2010) 荣获 2012 年托尼奖, 2011 年普利策戏剧奖以及 2010 年奥利弗奖等多项戏剧大奖, 引起了学界广泛关注。《克莱伯恩公园》以美国种族问题为核心, 探讨了种族、阶级、家庭和社区等复杂的社会议题, 剧名以特定的公园社区空间命名, 凸显了空间在剧作中的独特意义。正如史学家安德鲁·维斯 (Andrew Wiese) 所言, “空间和空间斗争是非裔美国人生活的重心” (Wiese, 2002)。戏剧通过展现克莱伯恩公园社区两对黑人夫妇在相隔半世纪的空间经验, 折射出非裔群体长期遭遇的空间剥削与空间不公, 从而揭示种族问题在美国社会中的复杂性与持久性。

基于此, 本文基于空间理论家爱德华·索亚 (Edward W. Soja) 的空间正义理论对剧作展开分析。索亚的《追寻空间正义》(Seeking Spatial Justice, 2010) 强调, 空间是社会关系的生成性维度, “‘空间正义’既是城市研究和社会批判的重要命题, 也是理解不平等的关键路径” (Soja, 2010)。索亚的理论与剧作的主题呈现出高度契合: 首先以“无形藩篱”分析空间非正义的表征, 其次是“生根破壁”作为空间非正义的反抗, 最后是“共食同桌”表达“空间正义愿景”。本文通过“表征—抗争—重构”的分析进路, 揭示《克莱伯恩公园》空间非正义的权力逻辑与族裔困境, 凸显非裔群体在空间压迫下的抵抗姿态, 最终指向跨族群协商与空间重构的愿景, 彰显该社会批判戏剧在空间正义理论框架下的独特意义。

二、“无形藩篱”: 空间非正义的表征

“正义”英文 justice 的词源来自于拉丁语 “justitia”, 意为“正义”、“公平”。索亚指出, 正义的理念“都有一个因果地理学, 这是一种空间表达” (Soja, 2010), 换言之, 正义具有空间性, “与正义密切相关的诸多议题, 如社会融合与排斥、公民权与民主、种族/性别政治等, 都必须以空间思维进行审视与探讨” (Wang Fei, Lin Yuanfu, 2021, p.61)。在《克莱伯恩公园》中, 白人业主鲁斯与贝芙·斯托勒夫妇决定出售自宅。社区协会负责人卡尔·林德获悉买家为黑人后, 出于种族偏见, 竭力阻挠该交易, 并有意将黑人劳工弗朗辛和阿尔伯特卷入与斯托勒夫妇的话语交锋, 企图佐证其所谓“种族难以融合”的狭隘立场。这场言语博弈不仅揭示出以卡尔为代表的美国白人中产阶级如何竭

力维护自身特权利益，更暴露出他们通过话语实践积极建构对黑人群体的空间支配。该过程所产生的空间非正义，具体表征为一种基于种族刻板印象的空间区隔。

“区隔”英文 *distinction* 又译“区分”，强调区别与差异，“是一个排他性的选择过程：有隔进的，就有隔出去的” (Zhao Kuangheng, 2015, p.55)。种族空间区隔即部分群体基于种族身份，在地理空间上被系统性隔离的现象。《克莱伯恩公园》中即将搬入小区的黑人新住户遭受了种族空间的区隔。当得知即将迁入的新住户是黑人家庭时，社区中的部分白人居民表现出明显的排斥与不安。业主代表卡尔在确认这一情况后，不惜多方奔走，竭力阻挠交易达成。他以黑人群体“素质低下”、“犯罪率高”等刻板印象为借口，试图说服鲁斯和贝芙·斯托勒夫妇取消购房协议，甚至提议由社区共同筹资、高价回购房屋，以阻止黑人家庭的入住。然而鲁斯并未接受这一建议，因为他早已对这里彻底失望，他深信社区中长期存在的排斥与冷漠正是导致其儿子肯尼斯自杀的根源之一。他不在意购房者的族裔身份，只希望尽快售出房产，离开这个表面团结、实则虚伪的社区，开启新的生活。卡尔没有就此打消念头，他以种族间生活习惯为切入点，有意询问黑人夫妇弗朗辛和阿尔伯特是否滑雪，借此得出种族间难以共享社区空间的结论：

卡尔：弗朗辛，我可以问一下吗？你滑雪吗？

弗朗辛：我滑雪吗？

卡尔：或者你的丈夫滑雪吗？

弗朗辛：滑雪？

卡尔：高山滑雪？

弗朗辛：我们不滑雪，不。

卡尔：这就是我要说的。在圣斯坦尼斯劳斯上学的孩子们，每年我们带他们去印第安黑德山滑雪，我可以告诉你，我在那儿呆了这么久，一次也没见过一个有色人种家庭。(Norris, 2011, p.87)^①

卡尔在对话中想要阐明，某些运动比如滑雪对非洲裔美国人来说并不具有吸引力。他所在的克莱伯恩社区居民都会滑雪，而且每年都会参加滑雪活动，以此增强种族区隔，最终论证黑人家庭无法融入社区生活，甚至暗示这种差异是“自然”且不可逾越的。在第二幕中，滑雪这一意象再次出现，但与之之前形成鲜明的角色置换。此次发问者变为黑人凯文，他询问白人史蒂夫“你会滑雪吗？” (p.179)。史蒂夫的妻子林赛大笑并惊讶地反问“他？” (p.179)，答案已然不言自明：白人史蒂夫并不擅长滑雪，而黑人凯文却是一位滑雪专家，甚至为了追求极致体验专门前往世界著名的滑雪胜地瑞士。这一场景与第一幕形成强烈对比：此前卡尔试图以滑雪作为黑人“天生”不参与该项运动、因而“不配”融入白人社区的所谓依据，在此被彻底颠覆。滑雪不是白人的专属技能，以其作为种族区隔的借口显得荒谬而无根据，彰显了种族偏见的荒谬性。同样，剧中围绕食物偏好展开的对话，亦揭露出同样的主题，例如阿尔伯特拒绝在不卖猪蹄的超市购物，而克莱伯恩公园社区的超市恰好

^① Bruce, Norris. (2011). *Clybourne Park: A Play*. Macmillan. 以下引文只标注页码，不再一一说明。

缺少此商品，卡尔则借此论证生活方式差异会导致种族间无法共处，以维护所谓“种族纯洁性”，也遭到文本自身的讽刺性消解：卡尔之妻贝特西来自地中海地区，其传统菜肴北欧碱鱼被卡尔认为“一点也不合我的口味”（p.83），然而二人仍共同生活、结为连理。诺里斯借此表明，种族间具体的文化差异从未阻止个体间的相互接纳；恰恰是种族主义话语，虚构出不可逾越的鸿沟，实施种族空间的非正义，深刻揭示了种族偏见核心的荒谬性与虚伪性。

《克莱伯恩公园》黑人阿尔伯特所遭受的种族空间非正义，同样揭露了种族主义内在逻辑的虚妄。作为斯托勒家黑人女佣弗朗辛的丈夫，阿尔伯特每日准时出现在斯托勒家门口接妻子下班。这一行为本身就与所谓黑人男性是“缺席的丈夫与父亲”的刻板印象形成强烈反差，甚至引来白人主妇贝芙的羡慕“要是我也有像弗朗辛那样的上门服务就好了”（p.49）。然而，尽管阿尔伯特以耐心与体贴有力驳斥了“黑人更具攻击性与危险性”的固有偏见，斯托勒夫妇仍因根深蒂固的种族意识对他充满戒备。当贝芙客套地询问阿尔伯特是否要进屋等候，却随即补充道：“我敢肯定外面一定很暖和，对吧？”（p.46）其言下之意再明显不过。阿尔伯特只能知趣地坐在离门最近的位置，被一道无形的界限隔离在白人家庭的内部空间之外，这种伪善的接待方式，正是种族空间非正义的微妙体现。戏剧性的对比在高潮处彻底爆发。第一幕尾声，白人角色鲁斯、吉姆与卡尔之间爆发激烈言语冲突，甚至出现明显的肢体暴力倾向，而在此时，却是阿尔伯特立即上前劝阻，说出那句极具颠覆意义的台词：“慢着，咱们现在可得讲点文明。”（p.105）此刻，是黑人阿尔伯特以文明克制的姿态，劝阻白人鲁斯的失序与暴力。阿尔伯特的教养与鲁斯的冲动，形成宛如角色颠倒般的强烈对比。种族偏见的荒谬性，正于此刻昭然若揭：阿尔伯特被一道无形的藩篱阻隔于门边，他却恰恰站在那个边缘的位置上，成为了“文明”的真正捍卫者，偏见的虚妄，也在这道“无形藩篱”内外不言自明。

三、“破壁生根”：空间非正义的反抗

空间绝非仅仅是冰冷的物理容器，更是承载人类记忆、情感与身份认同的栖居之所。其中，家宅空间作为最基本的生存单元，其意义远超越砖瓦本身，正如法国哲学家加斯东·巴什拉（Gaston Bachelard）在其著作《空间的诗学》中所言：“没有家宅，人就成了流离失所的存在。家宅在自然的风暴和人生的风暴中保卫着人。它既是身体又是灵魂。”（Bachelard, 2009）因此争取安稳的家宅，是反抗空间非正义、践行空间正义的基石与起点。在戏剧中，白人夫妇林赛和史蒂夫意图对莉娜姨姥姥的故居进行豪华改造，这不仅是对家宅及其蕴含的温暖记忆和历史价值的消解，而且是绅士化进程的典型表征，是一种隐性的种族空间非正义。史密斯将“绅士化运动”解释为：“富裕的中产阶级通过低价购买城市贫民的住房并对其进行更新改造的过程，其结果是城市贫民被迫迁出该区，而导致该区的人口结构与物质环境都在较短的时间内发生了剧烈的变化。当这种替代的规模达到一定的程度时，就产生了绅士化动。”（Neil, 1985, p.164）该进程以“社区升级”为名，行文化抹除与经济排斥之实，不断侵蚀非裔居民的历史根系与生存空间。《克莱伯恩公园》中非裔莉娜面对这一切，她并未沉默而是选择言说。“叙述是一种地理和社会定位的行为，是一个非常个人化的构建与空间布局的过程。”（Sheffer, 2010, p.144）她以家族根脉与绅士化进程对非裔社群的驱逐为双重依据，展开了一场旨在“破壁生根”的空间非正义反抗。

莉娜的姨姥姥是五十年前斯托勒夫妇房子的买家，莉娜小的时候经常到此拜访和玩耍：“我过去常常在后院的树上爬” (p.183)，她依旧清楚记得在旧宅后院的树上玩闹的快乐时光，这份温暖的家宅是莉娜童年美好记忆的承载物。此外，莉娜的姨姥姥作为社区的第一位非裔居民，是之后搬入社区包括莉娜妈妈在内的非裔家庭的先锋，其故居不仅是个体家庭的物质寄托，更象征着一个族群打破种族壁垒、争取居住正义的历史开端。克莱伯恩公园社区见证了莉娜家族三代人在此“生根”的经历，本身亦是一部微观的抗争史。这里不仅留存着他们在歧视与困难中顽强生存的足迹，也容纳了整个家庭绵长的记忆，莉娜说她“与那段历史的连接为荣” (p.167)而且“这份连接仍然有价值” (p.167)。这座旧宅便是这份历史的承载物，它象征着莉娜家族的历史根系，与旧宅的连接不但为莉娜带来安全感，而且加强身为非裔的民族自豪感。它的存在使她与前辈的故事保持联系，也让这段历史在现实中继续被看见、被尊重。因此，当林赛和史蒂夫夫妇打算将房屋彻底改造，变成一栋带有鲤鱼池的现代豪宅时，莉娜的反对远不止出于对建筑规章的维护，更是因为这座老宅所代表的是一段活生生的历史、一个家族的奋斗记忆，也是一个群体艰难扎根的见证。对她而言，失去这座房屋不仅意味着个体生命体验中某段历史的湮灭，更象征着特定家族记忆与群体生存轨迹的被置换。

“集体记忆(Collective Memory)不仅在情感上将成员联系在一起，更为群体文化认同提供了坚实的基础。” (Zhulin, Duanhui, 2025, p.66)正是基于对记忆主体性的深刻认知，莉娜说道：“铭记这份记忆，这同样有其价值。至少我是这么认为的。” (p.167)在她的价值维度中，记忆并非无意义的过往留存，而是承载着历史真实性与情感联结的重要载体，这一主张既是她坚守自身信念的核心体现，也构成其捍卫家园合法性的关键理论支撑。莉娜所珍视的历史记忆，并非孤立的个体叙事，而是能够唤醒特定族群文化身份认同的精神纽带：它通过凝聚族群成员共通的历史经验与情感共鸣，构建起共享的族裔集体意识，在强化族群内部凝聚力的同时，有效缓解个体在主流社会语境下的身份焦虑，并助力族群主体性的自主建构，最终形成对抗种族维度下空间非正义现象的重要力量。

莉娜的反抗维度不断拓展，从捍卫自家旧居以守护个体与群体的历史记忆，到将抗争目光投向整个社区，她开始为克莱伯恩公园社区所有非裔住户的生存空间而战。莉娜所说的“请思考这场长期政治倡议背后的动机” (p.199)，直指绅士化进程背后既关乎种族、又关乎经济的深层系统性不公，以“破壁”之姿撕开绅士化的虚伪面纱。莉娜回忆道，“在我成长的过程中，几乎一辈子都没在附近见过一张白人的脸，这一点我记得很清楚。” (p.184) 她所描述的正是美国郊区化运动时期的现实，即“都市外来人口的集聚、公共铁路交通的建立以及城市环境的恶化，一些中产阶级和富裕家庭就开始由城市中心向郊区化迁移” (Zhang Hairong, 2019, p.42)，而非裔群体受制于经济条件与住房政策，被排除在这场迁移之外，被迫滞留于逐渐衰落的城市中心。这种由阶级与种族共同作用所形成的“空间非正义”，在几十年前几乎是被默许的结构性现实。然而几十年过去，情况变得不一样，当类似的非正义以“绅士化”的形式再次浮现，黑人莉娜发声反对，“这些变革使某些经济利益群体收益，而另一些群体则未能从中获益”进而被迫搬离，阻止绅士化运动进程。(p.201)“绅士化”表面上是社区的“升级换代”，但这种“升级”的代价往往是原有社区文化和居民的流失。莉娜深刻洞察到，一旦允许首个超规格豪宅落地，便如同推倒第一张多米诺骨牌，引发连锁反应：房价与生活成本飙升，最终迫使长期居住的非裔家庭因经济压力而集体迁离，遭受种族空间非正义的后果。莉娜因而成为社区空间的守护者与释义者。她凭借其深刻的洞察力与敢于发声的行动力，坚定地反

抗由绅士化所带来的种族空间非正义。她在捍卫家宅的同时，也为自己与社群争取享有空间的权利，并守护属于非裔的文化叙事。

四、“共食同桌”：空间正义的愿景

空间正义从空间维度来挖掘社会正义内蕴，指向在空间生产、空间使用与消费过程中要体现公平正义原则。索亚认为：尽管绝对的空间正义难以实现，但它却可作为“一个理论概念，一个经验分析的焦点，一个社会和政治行动的靶子”（Soja, 2010）用以批判和矫正现实中的空间非正义现象。纵然达成完全意义上的空间正义很困难，但人类对其追求却从未停止。

《克莱伯恩公园》通过精准的语言运用与精妙的循环叙事方式，传达出对空间正义的美好愿景。剧中贝芙通过话语强烈表达出追寻空间正义的态度。言语是心境的符号，映射内心价值取向。第一幕中以社区整体利益维护者身份出现的卡尔，十分反对黑人家庭搬进自己所在的社区，他向斯托勒夫妇表达：不应该“不顾居住在该社区的人们的需求”（p.73）。对此贝芙反问道：“但他们难道就没有需求吗？”（p.74）贝芙的提问不仅仅揭示出卡尔言论中的双重标准，更证明了贝芙提倡居住权平等的观点。所有的个体无论种族如何都应该享有一定的空间基本权利，自由选择自己的生活地域即是其一，不应该因为种族不同就被排除在社区之外，这表明出贝芙对于空间正义的坚守。之后当卡尔将不同族群之间饮食习惯的不相同当做彼此无法共用空间的理由时，贝芙回答说：“或许我们应该了解一下对方的饮食习惯……如果有一天我们都能聚在一起，围坐在一张大桌子旁……”（p.110）。贝芙的这番回应，早已超越对卡尔狭隘观点的简单反驳，而是将对空间正义的坚守，延伸到对不同族群共居空间构建路径的积极探索，她不再仅仅停留于捍卫“不被排斥”基本权利，更主动倡导以“相互理解”打破族群隔阂，为实现真正包容的空间正义提供了具象化的思考方向，清晰呈现出她对消除种族隔阂、构建包容性共同体空间的愿景。贝芙所设想的“大餐桌”不仅仅是一个集体用餐的场景，更是一个隐喻，象征着一个真正开放、平等和共享的社区空间。不同种族和文化背景的人们可以在其中相遇、交流并共存。她所期望的并非同化或消除差异，而是基于承认差异而建立的理解与共鸣，从而朝着公正的空间秩序迈进。

在第二幕结尾处，1959年时空维度中的贝芙、肯尼斯及弗朗辛通过一种超现实的方式进入到2009年的时空之中，重演了50多年前肯尼斯自杀当天的情景。这不是传统的倒序手法，而是通过时空并置的呈现方式来建构一种强烈的循环效果。它不仅在形式上打破线性叙事，更在主题上强化了历史重复性与空间正义诉求的延续性，暗示无论是过去还是现在，对空间正义性的期待依旧存在着。诺里斯在此通过重现肯尼斯自杀前的情境来展现贝芙对空间正义的期待。当时，社区居民对战场情况误读，认为退伍的肯尼斯是滥杀无辜妇女儿童的战斗犯。他们强烈排斥肯尼斯，宁可把工作交给一个智障男孩，也不愿给他一丝生存空间，甚至孤立他们整个家庭，视其如“得了那该死的瘟疫”（p.98）。鲁斯一家被完全孤立于社区结构与公共生活之外，陷入极度艰难的处境。在这种极端压抑与绝望的环境中，肯尼斯穿着笔挺的军装，默默准备书写遗书，离开这个世界，而鲁斯也已不见踪影。然而，即便面对如此绝望的情境，贝芙依然没有放弃对未来的希望。她用极为坚定的语气向肯尼斯说：“但你知道，我觉得情况即将发生变化。我真的这么认为。对我们所有人来说，过去的几年确实很艰难，我知道确实如此，但我真的坚信情况即将朝着更好的方向发展。我坚信这一点。”（p.240）

贝芙重复“情况即将发生变化”、“情况即将朝着更好的方向发展”的表达不仅仅是在安慰肯尼斯，更是在表达她内心坚定不移的信念：她坚信未来会向着更加公平与美好的方向发展，更折射出其对一种更具包容性、平等的理想空间的深切愿景。

第一幕发生在 1959 年，在结尾处，贝芙提出了一个极具象征意义的“共食同桌”愿景，这不仅是对文化差异的接纳，更是她对理想社区空间的想象：一个不同种族、不同背景的人可以平等共处、彼此倾听的正义之地，表达了其对空间正义的期待。第二幕发生在 2009 年，在结尾处贝芙进入这个时空之中，再次以坚定且近乎预言般的语气告诉肯尼斯：“情况即将朝着更好的方向发展”（p.240）表明贝芙对未来包容和谐的社会空间充满信心，这两幕的结尾遥相呼应，构成了仿佛历史重演般的循环结构，均表达出其对于理想平等空间的向往。《克莱伯恩公园》通过人物话语与循环叙事，传递出对空间正义的深切诉求。贝芙以“共食同桌”的话语实践，以及她反复强调“情况必将好转”的坚定信念，不仅塑造了剧中重要的情感支点，更超越种族分野，构筑出指向融合、平等与希望的空间正义图景。此外，诺里斯还运用循环再现的叙事方式，在戏剧的结尾让观众再次看到五十多年前的历史场景，传达出无论是过去还是现在，人们依旧渴望空间上的正义与包容。同时提示人们只有正视空间非正义问题，并且主动寻找解决途径，才有可能真正打破循环，走向更加公平的未来。

五、结语

《克莱伯恩公园》中跨越五十年时空的非裔族群空间经验，揭示了种族问题的复杂性与历史延续性。尽管半个世纪以来非裔群体生活质量显著提高，但隐性的种族偏见与基于阶级的空间排斥导致的空间非正义依然存在。面对这一现实，非裔群体展现出拒绝沉默、积极抗争来争取平等空间权利的主体性姿态。剧作家诺里斯也借助角色话语，传递出对种族和谐共生、构建包容性正义空间的坚定愿景。该剧在当代美国戏剧中的独特贡献，正在于它超越了传统种族戏剧对显性歧视与抗争事件的直接再现，转而以“空间”为棱镜，将种族问题的结构性延续与日常微观排斥巧妙熔铸于两代人的家庭变迁之中，从而开创了一种以空间叙事透视种族政治、以代际对话承载历史创伤的剧场美学，由此促使观众对现代社会中个人主义伦理观及其所遮蔽的不公展开一场深刻且必要的批判性反思。

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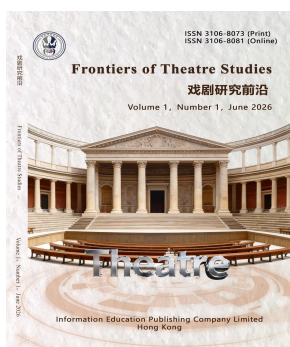
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资本与反叛：美国戏剧的商业传统与现代戏剧的催生

盛 苑 (Sheng Yu)

摘要：早期的美国戏剧大致可以分为荒蛮时代、多元化发展与剧场垄断三个时期，在多种族移民、宗教信仰、政治运动等多重因素下，十九世纪末美国戏剧逐渐形成了独特的商业传统。商业运营和资本垄断是戏剧演出蓬勃发展和剧院在全国范围内迅速扩张的重要因素，但同时也成为美国戏剧走上严肃艺术道路的巨大障碍。十九世纪末欧洲小剧场运动兴起，随之席卷美国，剧作家们冲破了商业资本对剧场的垄断、摒弃旧的商业剧俗媚堕落的艺术风气、反对金钱至上的廉价艺术创作，为美国戏剧文学独立做出了重要贡献，为此后美国戏剧的迅速成熟并跻身世界剧坛创造了必需的社会环境，打下了早期的观众基础。美国戏剧史上最伟大的现实主义剧作家尤金·奥尼尔应运而生，在他的带领下美国戏剧也由此跨入现代戏剧时代。

关键词：美国现代戏剧；商业传统；现实主义戏剧；小剧场运动

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Title: Capital and Rebellion: The Commercial Tradition and the Birth of American Modern Drama

Abstract: Early American theater can be broadly divided into three phases: the frontier era, pluralistic growth, and theatrical monopolies. Against the backdrop of multi-ethnic

immigration, religious convictions and political movements, a distinctive business tradition had taken shape in American drama by the late nineteenth century. Commercial operation and capital monopolies fueled the rapid expansion of playhouses across the country, yet they also erected a formidable barrier to the development of serious art. When Europe's experimental theatre influenced America at the end of 19th century, playwrights broke the grip of commercial capital on the stage, rejected the vulgarity and mammonism of bargain-basement production. Their revolt created the social climate essential for an independent American dramatic literature, cultivated the early-stage audiences for serious native plays and thus paved the way for the swift maturation of American drama on the world stage. Eugene O'Neill, the greatest realist dramatist in American history, emerged in response to the proper time and conditions. Under his leadership the nation's theatre crossed the threshold into the modern era.

Keywords: American modern theatre; commercial tradition; realistic theatre; experimental theatre

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一、引言

美国文学经历了最早的殖民地时期（15 世纪末-1800）与浪漫主义时期（1800-1865），此后的现实主义时期以 1865 年南北战争的结束为开端。浪漫主义时期，美国文学开始逐渐独立成熟，小说、诗歌取得了举世瞩目的成就，不再奉欧洲文学为主臬。而此时美国戏剧发展则远远落后于小说、诗歌，不仅缺乏有国际影响的巨作，国内的戏剧活动也是举步维艰。本文以美国现代戏剧之父尤金·奥尼尔为分野，基于奥尼尔现实主义戏剧创作之前、早期美国戏剧发展的三个时期特征，剖析美国戏剧商业性形成的本质原因及美国商业戏剧的多种形态。在多种族移民、宗教信仰、政治运动等多重因素下，美国戏剧逐渐形成了完全不同于欧洲的独特商业传统。

二、荒蛮时代：娱乐性戏剧的萌芽

欧洲移民将戏剧带到了北美，这是美国戏剧的开端。然而现有记录并不完整，只能从碎片化的记载中得知最早 1665 年弗吉尼亚州英属殖民地有过英文剧本演出，演剧人员遭到法院逮捕和审判。殖民地时期至 1800 年，美国戏剧经历了从零星的剧团活动到初具雏形，戏剧演出和剧本创作逐渐在发展中壮大，但是仍然未有独立的风格，更没有任何有影响力的作品。美国文学远远落后于欧洲文学，小说、诗歌常常模仿欧洲尤其是英国的作品，戏剧更是如此。这一段历史，通常也被称作美国戏剧的“荒蛮时代”（Davis, 1998, p.216）。首先，作为新移民国家，美国在十九世纪之前人口稀少、经济落后，极大地限制了戏剧的发展。哥伦布发现新大陆之后英国移民开始逐渐占领东部沿海城市，主要聚集在美国东北部的的新英格兰地区，然而费城在 1775 年人口也仅达到 25000 人，纽约在

1790 年人口数量为 30000 人^①。政治中心费城和纽约尚且如此，其他地区更是地广人稀，加之独立战争（1775-1783）带来伤亡，这样的人口和经济状况很难支持职业剧团的创作演出。此外，宗教和法律也是制约美国戏剧发展的重要因素。自十六世纪起，法国、德国、荷兰等欧洲国家纷纷加入移民北美大陆的大潮，而其中人数最多、最具影响力的是来自英国的清教徒移民。清教徒们笃信加尔文主义，奉行上帝的绝对权和严苛圣洁的生活，他们认为：“上帝挑选出一个新国家的人民，把最优秀的种子播种到北美这片荒原上。他们来到这里的唯一目的是遵照上帝的意愿建立一个‘圣经国’，外御堕落和罪过，内防任何异端分裂，以使后世永享上帝的恩赐和慈悲。”（常耀兴，1998，p7）可见，政教合一的神权统治制度，使得十八世纪初清教徒移民聚集的中北部多个州，纷纷立法明令禁止戏剧活动，以维持社会风气与道德。独立战争前夕，1774 年的美国大陆会议声明殖民地地区禁止戏剧活动，这个法案直到 1789 年才被取消，此后各个城市开始逐渐兴建剧场，恢复剧场演出的合法化。尽管受到种种压力与限制，殖民区的各种酒吧、仓库依然会有地下剧场的演出，但演员与布景大多简陋，剧本也多为业余创作的消遣性短剧。同时期印第安原住民地区也有会传统的、带有宗教祭祀和庆典色彩的演出。这样的状况，使得美国戏剧在萌芽和早期发展时期便带有了通俗、娱乐的色彩。

“荒蛮时代”的美国戏剧演出受到较大的限制，但剧本创作在这一时期依然有了一些发展。除去改编和翻译欧洲剧作家的作品，美国作家创作的剧本较为知名的主要有两类，其一是模仿欧洲的剧本。这类剧本通常是通俗喜剧，例如罗耶尔·泰勒（Royall Tyler，1757-1826）创作的《对比》（*The Contrast*）（1787），从人物到剧情细节均模仿爱尔兰剧作家谢里丹（Richard Brinsley Sheridan，1751-1816）的《造谣学校》（*The School for Scandal*）（1777），只不过把美国洋基的形象（the stage Yankee）作为典型，以增加本土气息。这类剧本为了吸引观众，在搬用原著的情节之外会将戏剧环境和人物改编得更加贴近美国生活，并加入了较多插科打诨的内容，重在娱乐。第二类是独立战争期间出现的一些爱国主义题材的作品。最知名的是邓拉普（William Dunlap，1766-1839）的五幕剧《安德烈》（*Andre*）（1798），这也是第一个关于美国本土主题的悲剧。邓拉普是严谨的剧作家，原剧本取材于独立战争中的一起真实事件，他在原著中将大量的历史背景材料一并附上出版，如信件、审判和处决的文件等，向读者明确展示了历史真实和戏剧虚构。邓拉普在构建情节冲突的同时注重对人物的塑造，剧中无论是英国间谍还是美国军官均不是脸谱化的人物，都充满着复杂的人性。不仅全剧用诗句写成，在英国间谍身份的军官安德烈被处以绞刑时，剧本呈现了惋惜痛苦的基调，这种浪漫化的处理引起了美国观众的强烈抗议，认为这是作者对美国独立战争的背叛与攻击。迫于压力，邓拉普随后将剧本改为《哥伦比亚的荣耀》（*The Glory of Columbia*）（1803），旨在歌颂美国独立战争，成为了爱国题材戏剧的样本。邓拉普无奈的写道：“在这种节日庆典时表演的戏剧，当中的历史真相为了大众娱乐消遣，时常会被谋杀”（Shillingsburg，1978，p.78）。尽管这一时期出现诸如邓拉普这样对创作有更高文学追求的剧作家，但受制于当时的社会

^① 数据来源于胡耀恒的《西方戏剧史（下）》，三民书局，2018 年，第 467 页。

环境和观众品味，不得不放弃戏剧的艺术美来迎合低劣的现实需求，依然无法脱离通俗化、娱乐化对戏剧的主导。

三、十九世纪戏剧发展与成熟：商业传统的成型

19 世纪美国本土戏剧发展大致可以分为两个阶段。19 世纪上半叶，美国文学受到了欧洲浪漫主义思潮的巨大影响，神权主导的体制开始逐渐瓦解。爱默生（Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1803-1882）在《论自然》（*Nature*）（1836）中所提出的超验主义强大地助推了美国浪漫主义文学的创作。在浪漫主义思潮带来的诸多影响中，最为重要的一点是促进了美国民族文学的崛起，在小说、诗歌领域涌现出了一大批有独立创作思想的美国作家。而此时的戏剧，受到这股美国文艺复兴浪潮的席卷，本土戏剧的独立创作在生根发芽，主张“作为美国人，我们喜欢的是自然奔放的能量，不是欧洲文化的矫揉油滑”（胡耀恒，2018，p.480）。然而，美国作为新生国家，本身没有可沿袭的戏剧传统，在创作上很难脱离欧洲的范式，尚未出现真正反映美国民族精神的伟大作品。尽管剧本文学没有什么瞩目的成就，但随着演剧活动摆脱了清教主义束缚开始合法化，各地纷纷兴建各种剧场，演出不断，纽约逐渐成为剧场中心。同时，移民人口的不断增多和西进运动持续发展，使原先聚集在大西洋沿岸和内陆大城市的剧团开始向西部移动，沿路演出。随着移民在西进过程中的定居、建立城镇，剧团纷纷驻扎当地，建造剧院，很快便发展至西部的加州，形成了新的戏剧中心。如雨后春笋般新建的大小剧场稳定、繁荣运营，为接下来美国商业戏剧演出的成熟发展奠定了硬件设施基础。

19 世纪下半叶，美国戏剧开始呈现出异常多元化的特征。首先，由于美国戏剧创作远落后于小说的创作，出现了将小说改编成剧本的趋势。最为知名的是改编自小说《汤姆叔叔的小屋》的《黑奴吁天录》（1852），不仅在美国国内巡回演出经久不衰，在伦敦、巴黎、柏林等欧洲大城市上演亦引起轰动。影响甚至波及到了亚洲，1907 年中国留日学生组建的春柳社在东京上演《黑奴吁天录》成为中国现代话剧的开端。此外，还有改编自华盛顿·欧文（Washington Irving, 1783-1859）小说的《瑞普·凡·温克尔》（*Rip van Winkle*）（1865），以及模仿法国戏剧，改编自小仲马小说的《茶花女》（*The Lady of the Camellias*）（1855）。这些小说改编而来的剧本，由于原著本身出类拔萃，加之商业演出的盈利模式注重炫目的舞台布景和精湛的演员表演，不仅造就了美国戏剧独特的舞台美学和表演艺术，火爆的演出盛况也为美国戏剧在国际上打响了知名度。然而，改编剧本毕竟不属于剧作家的原创，而且小说与戏剧所属两种不同的文学类别，无论在语言风格还是叙事模式上都存在壁垒，这就导致了此类剧本大多结构松散，情节累赘，人物塑造也远不如小说那般饱满深刻。第二，相较战争时期，戏剧创作题材逐渐多样化。在 19 世纪 50 年代，出现了模仿欧洲的社会问题喜剧。但是与同时期欧洲现实主义社会问题剧不同，美国的社会问题剧大多为通俗喜剧，主要呈现的是美国生活经验相关的主题，并没有深入剖析批判社会问题的症结，更多的是出于商业上吸引观众的诉求。此外，伴随着西进运动，描绘西部风光、探险活动的通俗剧剧本创作日益增多，这类主题作品也称为前线剧（*Frontier Play*），并成为此后美国西部电影的雏形。19 世纪末开始的禁酒运动也出现了一批以戒酒为主题的公式剧。情节和人物大多参照固定的模式，用以宣传酗酒的危害。这类剧本创作一直延续到 20 世纪 30 年代撤销禁酒令。剧本创作题材的多样化还体现在除白人戏剧外，印第

安人戏剧作品增多，并在各地上演。印第安原住民戏剧主要是以抵抗白人侵略殖民、歌颂印第安英雄“高贵的野蛮”为主题。但是，此类通俗剧同样存在人物脸谱化的问题，英雄形象必须是原始的、未受到现代文明教化的纯净的野蛮人，剧本因此千篇一律，最初极受观众欢迎，但很快便失去了热度。第三，商业性的戏剧演出趋于成熟，百老汇成为美国、乃至世界知名的各类歌舞剧的中心。黑人歌舞秀因其充满活力韵律的歌舞乐器表演，以及内容的生活化、喜剧性而广受欢迎，并由此诞生了一大批著名的黑人演员。同时，纯粹为了娱乐和盈利的美国式音乐滑稽剧（burlesque extravaganza^②）风靡一时。演员大多是舞团的俊男美女，以离奇的情节、美轮美奂的场景、古典与流行结合的配乐、甚至暴露带有色情意味的服装为卖点，吸引了大批观众，赚取了巨额的票房。

综上所述，十九世纪美国戏剧的总体特征是通俗化、娱乐性、商业性。在众多的演出作品中，美国剧作家独立原创的作品主要包括了三种类型：重情节而忽视人物刻画、缺乏深刻批判意识的通俗剧（melodrama）（包括早期的通俗喜剧与中后期的社会问题通俗剧）；刻板教条的公式剧（爱国题材、禁酒题材、印第安英雄题材均属此类）；谐拟娱乐的音乐剧（以百老汇音乐剧为代表的黑人歌舞秀和美式音乐滑稽剧）。美国戏剧在十九世纪取得的成就不可忽视，尤其是经历了禁止戏剧活动的漫长时期之后，在短短几十年间便涌现出了大量的剧作家、演员、导演，作品题材涉及广泛，舞台呈现形式多样新颖，职业演剧模式获得了巨大商业成功。然而，尽管创作和演出欣欣向荣，美国戏剧却依然在文学性和艺术性上远远落后于欧洲戏剧，几个在欧洲巡演大获成功的作品无论在内容上还是结构上均存在明显的缺陷，作品可以称之为具有商业美学，却缺乏戏剧美学和严肃的批判性。造成这种现象的原因有三点：首先，作为新生国家，美国的移民来自欧洲各地，受教育程度也普遍较低，初期的英文水平非常有限，观众只能欣赏浅显易懂的作品，更偏好于对语言要求不高的杂耍和歌舞剧。其次，美国早期的剧作家绝大多数是剧场经理、演员、导演、剧评人兼职，本身没有受过正规的文学教育、缺乏个人文学素养，因此较多的剧本创作目的在于迎合观众和表演效果，从而忽视了作品主题的深化、批判性的思考和对人性的探究。第三，各地剧场和职业剧团往往依靠几个叫座的作品来吸引观众，投资人和演员便起到主导作用。投资人为了获利，完全根据观众喜好来定制作品，只愿意支持商业戏剧创作，而明星制又进一步强化了戏剧的商业性。于是，剧作家地位便变得次要，想要生存就必须迎合这种运作模式，从而放弃了作品的文学审美。

四、资本垄断下的小剧场运动：现实主义前奏

19世纪末，商业戏剧大行其道，纽约的剧场垄断企业辛迪加（Theatrical Syndicate）占据了美国整个戏剧市场。辛迪加吞并各地的大小剧团和剧场，不仅决定各个剧场的上演剧目，而且打造明星工厂，掌管了主要演员，方便调配演员在各个剧团、剧场的演出，使明星成为保障票房的重要因素。唯一能与之抗衡公司的舒伯特组织（The Shubert Organization）在辛迪加的靈魂人物查尔斯·弗罗曼（Charles Frohman, 1860-1915）去世后，不断壮大，成为最大的戏剧产业垄断组织。剧场垄断持续

^② burlesque extravaganza 这一说法源自十九世纪欧洲，指场面盛大的音乐滑稽剧，见 Roberta Montemorra Marvin(2003). “Verdian Opera Burlesqued: A Glimpse into Mid-Victorian Theatrical Culture.” *Cambridge Opera Journal* (01), p42.

了二十余年，影响可谓毁誉参半。它进一步深化了美国戏剧的商业化特质，以盈利为唯一目的，完全背离了严肃戏剧的艺术性和深刻性，使美国戏剧创作远落后与欧洲，充斥着低级趣味的不入流作品泛滥成灾；但同时也促进了戏剧制作的成熟，扩大了剧场的数量和规模，制作了众多引人入胜、赏心悦目、独具舞美风格的作品，使美国的舞台艺术比肩欧洲。此时的美国戏剧表面上经历着前所未有的辉煌繁盛，实则商业利益之外毫无对戏剧艺术发展的考量，戏剧彻底沦为生意和获利手段，与文学艺术渐行渐远。怀抱理想的戏剧界人士更是悲叹“作为一个国家，我们仍太年轻，还没有认识到文学中任何宏伟和原创性的问题”（胡耀恒，2018，p.506）。

剧场垄断严重阻碍了美国戏剧的发展与进步，同时欧洲的现实主义戏剧已涌现出了以易卜生为代表的一大批优秀戏剧家，一些先进的有识之士开始模仿欧洲、抵制垄断、组建小剧场、并呼吁剧作家们创作严肃的现实主义戏剧以抗衡商业戏剧。美国的高等教育界首先拉开了现代戏剧的帷幕。哈佛大学的贝克教授（George Pierce Baker, 1866-1935）经过多方努力，终于在1905年开设了戏剧编写课程，根据课程编号47组建了著名的47号戏剧沙龙（the 47 Workshop）。课程和沙龙相辅相成，进行剧本创作和舞台排演，成为美国最早的高校实验剧场，并一度被评价兼具“深厚的、博学的理论知识和易学的应用技巧”（Hinkel, 1959, p.155）。值得一提的是，1914年秋，美国现代戏剧的奠基人、青年奥尼尔进入哈佛大学跟随贝克教授学习戏剧编写课程。一些评论家坚持弱化贝克教授对奥尼尔创作的影响，更有甚者认为“他对奥尼尔的影响是负面的”，以及“奥尼尔在航海经历中学到的都要比向贝克教授那儿学到的多的多”（Voelker, 1977, p.206）。显然，这种看法是有失偏颇的。学院派的创作方法可能并不适用于所有的学习者，哈佛一年的理论课程也未必给奥尼尔日后的创作带来异常深远的影响，但是被誉为美国现代剧作家之父的贝克教授，他的影响力和价值并不能以偏概全地被具体量化到创作者个体以及某几个剧本。他所秉承的是美国艺术能与欧洲比肩的梦想，是一种“基于美国经验的、有长久价值的戏剧”（Payne, 2018, p.338）。这种非商业主导的、严肃的现代戏剧观，无疑给求学时期的奥尼尔带来潜移默化的影响。奥尼尔亦坦诚：“只有那些和贝克一起学习过的人才会知道他在推动和催生美国现代戏剧方面具有多么深远的影响。……对于可能成为艺术家或创作者的我们来说，那是最需要学的（天哪！无论何人，在何时何地都要学习）就是要相信我们的作品，并保持这种信心。还要心怀希望。贝克让我们心怀希望。”（谢弗，2018，p.338）显然，青年时期的奥尼尔是得益于高校的戏剧创作教育和小剧场运动的，这段经历也深刻融入他之后职业创作生涯的作品中。风气既开，全美各大高校纷纷模仿，还开设了舞台美术、戏剧制作、戏剧文学相关的多门课程，同时组建了学生剧团进行实践，不仅培养了大批的早期戏剧专业人才，也是美国小剧场运动重要的组成部分。

此外，美国兴起的小剧场运动也为效法欧洲现代戏剧的青年剧作家提供了实践的舞台。20世纪初，一些剧团也相继在芝加哥、纽约等地进行小型的演出，全美不断建立简易的小剧场，地点多在废弃的仓库、教堂、小展览馆等。不少欧洲学习归来的新戏剧人，在小剧场中实验欧洲现实主义的舞台技法。由于小剧场深入城镇社区、票价低廉、舞台技术新颖吸引了大量的观众，到1925年已注

册了近 2000 个小型剧场^③。同时，由于电影的迅速发展扩张导致戏剧观众大量流失，各个大型剧院也不得不作出变革，开始摸索创新。在小剧场运动与电影产业的双重冲击下，戏剧垄断企业逐渐没落。然而，观众的审美品位和剧作家的剧本质量问题并不是短期能够扭转的。1905 年十月，萧伯纳的《华伦夫人的职业》在纽约公演一天便遇冷，演出中遭到警察进入阻止无法再继续，制片人和演员更是因猥亵罪被捕，尽管最后未能定罪，此剧却被认为是“明显地、残酷地、肮脏下流地为卖淫辩解”（Salih, 1998, p.57）。这足以说明小剧场运动前期，严肃戏剧的接纳度依然十分有限，不仅审查制度对上演的内容及其敏感，大部分观众也依然热衷于“精湛的演技和大团圆的收场，对于稍具文学性的作品，对于那些探讨思想及社会问题的比较严肃的戏剧毫无兴趣”（汪义群，1982, p.116）。这种情况在 1915 年以后开始逐渐出现了转向。1914 年，华盛顿广场剧团（Washington Square Players）成立，1915 年普罗文斯顿剧团（Provincetown Players）成立，这两个最富盛名的剧团提倡非商业性的严肃戏剧，成为小剧场运动的中流砥柱。华盛顿广场剧团上演了大量的欧洲最新最知名的作品，介绍最前沿的创作方法与思潮。普罗文斯顿剧团更多地给美国青年剧作家的创作提供舞台，致力于建立起独立的美国民族戏剧。初出茅庐的剧作家得以在资本逐利的商业戏剧运营模式中追求戏剧美学的深刻性和批判性，在生存与艺术之间不断尝试现实主义戏剧的创作。小剧场运动创造了非商业戏剧的演剧环境，并打下广泛的观众基础，为现实主义戏剧的崛起推波助澜，发挥了举足轻重的作用。

催生现实主义戏剧的另一个重要因素，是一批勇于尝试、为美国民族文学独立做出重要贡献的先驱们的推动与践行。1916 年评论家们创办了《剧场艺术月刊》（Theatre Arts Monthly，也称作 Theatre Arts 或 Theatre Arts Magazine），开始介绍欧洲前沿的戏剧思潮与剧场艺术，并发表批评家们的理论文章，成为当时宣传现实主义戏剧主要媒介。如前文所述，美国在 19 世纪风行通俗剧通常是喜剧，之后出现的社会问题剧也依然是通俗剧的模式。在受到欧洲现实主义戏剧的冲击下，不少剧作家纷纷转向社会题材，关注社会问题和中下层人物。尽管大多数作品依然无法跳出爱情主题的大团圆或坏人受到惩罚、好人回归幸福生活的结局，且注重情节的跌宕起伏和喜剧效果，语言口语化贴近生活，但在人物深度刻画、反应社会问题症结上有了很大的进步。如奥古斯丁·戴利（Augustin Daly, 1838-1899）、布朗森·霍华德（Bronson Howard, 1842-1908）、爱德华·哈里根（Edward Harrigan, 1845-1911）、丹曼·汤普森（Denman Thompson, 1833-1911）等，作品既反映都市生活又有美国乡村与西部题材，人物既涉及上层精英也有中下层移民。当中最贴近现实主义的剧作家当属詹姆斯·赫恩（James A. Herne, 1839-1901）。赫恩是爱尔兰移民后裔，出身贫苦，并无受过学院派的戏剧教育，早年混迹于剧团，但却对欧洲的学术思潮和理性科学极为关注。他崇尚易卜生的剧作和查尔斯·狄更斯的小说，深受欧洲现实主义剧作家和小说家的影响。因此，他的代表作《玛格丽特·弗莱明》（Margaret Fleming）（1890）完全摒弃了美国通俗剧的剧场传统，采取绝对忠于现实的舞台表现手法如女演员在舞台上表演掀衣喂奶，并触及了当时在美国敏感的婚姻题材，结局也并未采用美国观众所喜闻乐见的大团圆收尾。果不其然，美国观众无法接受此剧，小剧

^③ 数据来源于胡耀恒的《西方戏剧史 下》，台北：三民书局，2018 年，第 663 页。

场演出票房惨淡。但此剧受到戏剧评论界的高度评价，公认是美国戏剧史上有重大意义的杰作，意味着打破了商业戏剧传统和观众审美惯性，将真正的现实主义戏剧带到了美国剧场。遗憾的是，此后赫恩的现实主义戏剧创作遇冷，职业剧院都不愿意投资他的作品，生活所迫他又回到了商业通俗剧的创作，在经济得到保障的前提下尝试继续进行现实主义戏剧的创作，但此后再无佳作问世。赫恩在他发表的《论戏剧中以真实为目的的艺术》（*Art for Truth's Sake in the Drama*）（1897）一文中提出，现实主义戏剧与通俗剧的根本区别在于“直指问题的根源”（Denison, 1996, p.18），这在当时商业戏大行其道的美国，是极具挑战性和先锋意识的。尽管从赫恩的创作来看，“他的阅读范围是有限的，但是他看到了现实主义的内在之光的感召”（Moses, 1911, p.211）。赫恩的伟大在于突破美国戏剧根深蒂固的商业传统，敏锐地响应如左拉、易卜生为代表的戏剧文学的现代运动，激发了此后一大批青年剧作家勇敢地尝试现实主义戏剧创作，逐渐引导越来越多的观众“不再满足于通俗剧，而是开始转向对美国本土生活的严肃思考”（Denison, 1996, p.19），不断尝试将美国戏剧推上严肃、艺术的道路。

五、尤金·奥尼尔：现代戏剧的诞生

真正将美国带入现代戏剧时代的则是尤金·奥尼尔。奥尼尔出身于学院派，对欧洲现代戏剧的理论与创作有系统地、深刻地理解。他随后投身于小剧场运动，参与了普罗文斯顿剧团的创建，剧团见证了奥尼尔从名不见经传成长为获得普利策奖的杰出剧作家的历程。“据不完全统计，仅华盛顿广场演员剧团、普罗文斯顿演员剧团和戏剧协会剧团就上演了奥尼尔的26部剧作，几乎包括了他早期和中期所有的重要剧作”（郭继德，2011，p.73）。奥尼尔初期创作以独幕剧为主，创作的主题主要有两类，一是带有自然主义色彩的社会问题剧，表现的大多是家庭生活题材，如《热爱生活的妻子》（*A Wife for a Life*）（1913）、《堕胎》（*Abortion*）（1914）；二是以航海经历为主题的创作，如《渴》（*Thirst*）（1913）、《雾》（*Fog*）（1914）。1914年，奥尼尔在给贝克教授的申请信中曾写道：“虽然我读完了手中有的现代戏剧，以及与戏剧相关的书籍，我还是感到这种漫无目的、不成系统的学习方法有很大的不足。我现在的水平之只能是一名学徒剧作家，可我不甘于此。”

（谢弗，2018，p.319）早期作品中，奥尼尔大多以直白的自杀或他杀结局来营造悲剧效果，死亡成为作品悲剧性的重要来源，如《网》中被枪杀的小偷蒂姆，《渴》中干渴而死的舞女，《雾》中死去的女人与孩子。这种手法在欧洲剧坛并不新鲜，甚至在评论家眼中过于稚嫩和单调，但是在美国大部分剧场依然充斥着大团圆结局的通俗喜剧的时期，奥尼尔的悲剧无疑强烈触动了美国观众。他从不以炫目的舞台、有号召力的明星、离奇曲折的情节来吸引观众，甚至他认为“好的剧本不是演给普通家庭看的老土戏剧，而应该是严肃的题材，只面向少数观众”（谢弗，2018，p.145）。奥尼尔对人性赤裸裸的展示，对社会底层苦难的共情，将对生命思考和信仰交织注入在作品中，这在美国是史无前例的。因此，尽管奥尼尔早期作品存在一些瑕疵，甚至在情节构造上仍带有些许通俗剧的影子，但是瑕不掩瑜，奥尼尔被誉为是“美国戏剧的圣人，为这个曾因资本主义和大众娱乐而迷失的文学类型提供了文学与批评上的救赎”（Venning, 2022, p.17）。

奥尼尔早期创作的独幕剧在小剧场中演出大多不太成功，一是由于创作上尚不太成熟的技法所限；再则是因当时美国观众的审美情趣尚未彻底改变，习惯了诸如讽刺剧、闹剧一类的独幕表演，仍把戏剧作为消遣取乐的方式，还无法完全接受悲剧对灵魂的冲击和震撼。然而，奥尼尔的成名作《东航卡迪夫》（*Bound East for Cardiff*）（1914）成为早期作品中成功的个例。独幕剧《东航卡迪夫》原名《大海的孩子》（*Children of the Sea*），创作于奥尼尔加入普罗文斯顿剧团之前。普罗文斯顿剧团并不认可华盛顿广场剧团主演欧洲的知名剧目却不上演美国剧作家作品的做法，尽管初创期小剧场运营举步维艰，依然坚持排演本土作品、支持青年剧作家。1916年7月28日，奥尼尔的《东航卡迪夫》进行了首次公演，虽然由业余剧团演出，演出条件也极为简陋，但依然引起了轰动。这是与通俗戏剧的观演感受完全不同的，扬克在弥留之际对现实的绝望、对美好家庭生活的向往、对生命的留恋、对死亡的坦然，无不使观众对扬克自认为的“咱们这号人”充满悲悯。演出的成功，既归功于演员的出色表演和舞美营造的氛围，更是由于剧本的出色，奥尼尔剧本中塑造的水手形象使得“中产阶级能够在劳动阶层中发掘共鸣与认同”（Berger, 2006, p.14）。然而紧接着在普罗文斯顿上演的《渴》《雾》《早餐之前》几部奥尼尔剧作均反响平平。尽管如此，奥尼尔在小剧场的不断实践和自由实验使他的创作技法迅速成熟，以《东航卡迪夫》为代表的几部早期剧作在普罗文斯顿剧团陆续上演，剧团使具有文学性的独幕剧能够撇开商业利益得以生存，彻底抛弃了美国重舞台演出、轻剧本文学的传统。他的独幕剧内容深度关注社会各个阶层的心理与思想，重在反映社会中下层的生活，吸引了更多的民众走进小剧场观看舞台上呈现的社会现实，从而逐渐脱离了基于旧有通俗剧情节与庸俗笑料的审美，标志着美国现代戏剧在剧场中真正诞生。

回顾奥尼尔时代之前的美国戏剧，在冲破了商业戏剧的垄断之后小剧场运动蓬勃发展、对戏剧充满热爱和理想的剧作家不断探索尝试现实主义创作，为此后美国现实主义戏剧的迅速成熟并跻身世界剧坛创造了必需的社会环境，打下了早期的观众基础。趁着席卷世界的戏剧革新大潮——小剧场运动，美国戏剧史上最伟大的剧作家尤金·奥尼尔应运而生，并带领美国戏剧跨入了严肃戏剧时代。

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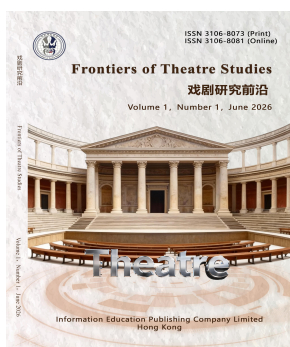
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肖恩·奥凯西戏剧中的两性刻画与暴力拓扑学 ——以“都柏林三部曲”为例

徐梦蝶 (Xu Mengdie)

摘要: 肖恩·奥凯西延续了辛格的暗黑写作风格，是爱尔兰戏剧暴力叙事的开山鼻祖之一，他以粗粝的口语描写都柏林贫民窟的生活真相。奥凯西的无产阶级立场和大胆戏剧实验注定其与叶芝最终走向分道扬镳。两性角色的不同塑造成为探索奥凯西社会思想的重要切口。戏剧中两性角色的形象变迁与作者本人反战思维的发展紧密关联。本文借约翰·加尔通三角暴力模型分析奥凯西早期现实主义戏剧中对直接暴力和结构性暴力的反思，以及其对两性角色的各自刻画。奥凯西意识到战争年代女性面临的多重暴力威胁以及男性虚伪懦弱的伪英雄主义，通过刻画爱尔兰战乱时期丰富细腻的底层群像，奥凯西借此使创作主旨回归到人性最初，这也是其区别于叶芝、辛格的独到之处。

关键词: 爱尔兰戏剧；反战文学；现实主义

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Title: The Portrayal of Gender and The Topology of Violence in Seán O’Casey’s Dublin Trilogy

Abstract: Seán O’Casey continued the dark writing style of J. M. Synge and pioneered the narrative of violence in Irish theatre. He represented the reality of Dublin’s city slums with

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coarse, direct spoken language. It is his alignment with the proletariat and his bold dramatic experiments that determined his departure from W. B. Yeats. The varied portrayal of female and male characters in O'Casey's plays becomes a key entry point for analyzing the writer's ideological stance. The development of female and male images in his plays is closely linked to O'Casey's evolving anti-war mindset. Guided by Johan Galtung's triangle model of violence, this essay analyzes O'Casey's reflection on direct violence and structural violence within his early realistic plays and his differential portrayal of the two genders. The author highlights the multiple threats of violence faced by women as a relatively vulnerable group during wartime, and the pseudo-heroism enacted by male hypocrites. By depicting a detailed and enriched group portrait of the lower-class during Ireland's war, O'Casey's thematic focus returns to fundamental humanity, which distinguishes him from Yeats and Synge.

Keywords: Irish plays; anti-war literature; realism

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一、引言

当肖恩·奥凯西 (Seán O'Casey, 1880-1964) 的剧作《犁与星》 (*The Plough and the Stars*) 于 1926 年在艾比剧院 (Abbey theatre) 上演之际, 剧院报之以哗然和铺天盖地的谩骂。现实主义的暗黑文风以及剧作上映时舆论狂暴的再现让叶芝 (W. B. Yeats) 追忆起已逝的辛格 (J. M. Synge), 奥凯西因此被叶芝视作爱尔兰的第二个辛格。然而, 叶芝对奥凯西艺术审美的错误判断为两人日后的决裂埋下伏笔, “实际上奥凯西完全不同于辛格, 也完全背离了叶芝所期望的民族戏剧发展方向” (万俊, 2010, p.195)。相比民族主义者狂热的革命斗志, 奥凯西关注的是底层群众的基本生活, 他对“1913 年社会主义”与“1916 年民族主义”之间的关系进行了批判性思考 (Krause, 2025, p.135)。奥凯西早期虽同叶芝一样信仰新教, 但成长经历让他始终和工人群体站在统一战线, 反对革命浪漫化的创作倾向。

奥凯西的创作之路也是个人社会思想厘清的过程。奥凯西早期凭借宣传创作谋生, 他的戏剧创作难免受到前者风格的影响, “艺术和宣传混为一谈” (Costan, 1960, p.111)。和艾比剧院接触的过程中, 格雷戈里夫人 (Lady Gregory) 对其指点道“你的天赋是人物塑造” (Costan, 1960, p.110)。奥凯西的“天赋”来自真实的感受, 他切实体验并观察爱尔兰民族革命和内战期间的现实生活, 并将之投射到文本创作中。在爱尔兰, 奥凯西的身份与生俱来存在双重阈限性, 他一面深切共情爱尔兰工人阶级的苦难而无法认同叶芝式精英理念, 另一面其新教信仰也让作者与天主教信徒存在内在间隙。因此奥凯西戏剧中的暴力叙事不仅涵盖爱尔兰革命战争的直接暴力, 也涉及宗教、父权等社会结构化暴力, 它们最终指向对社会底层人民的残酷压迫。博厄斯 (Guy Boas) 指出奥凯西戏剧世界中的两性差异, “女人们总是在灾难中拼命维护家庭和男人的安全; 男人则为了理想奋战” (Boas, 1948, p.82)。在奥凯西笔下, 女性作为社会暴力体系下的多重受害者依旧映射着人性最初的爱与善, 她们因此成为作者揭露暴力逻辑真相的重要媒介。

本文以奥凯西的现实主义戏剧作品作文本分析, 通过约翰·加尔通的三角暴力模型和韩炳哲

(Byung-Chul Han, 1959-) 暴力拓扑学的逻辑, 分析作者对不同层级社会暴力的批判以及其中女性角色如何在基于人性本真的基础上, 突破政治话语建构的幻象, 直指社会压迫的真相。本文论及的戏剧包含“都柏林三部曲”(《枪手的影子》(*The Shadow of a Gunman*, 1923), 《朱诺和孔雀》(*Juno and the Paycock*, 1924), 《犁与星》)。

二、直接暴力与伪英雄主义

20 世纪初爱尔兰进入频繁战乱时期。英爱之间的政治、经济和宗教冲突让人民大众的生活时刻暴露在暴力威胁下。暴力叙事自辛格起, 逐步成为贯穿 20 世纪爱尔兰戏剧创作的重要主题, 一直持续到当代戏剧代表人物马丁·麦克多纳(Martin McDonagh)。值得关注的是, 暴力叙事并不局限于常见的杀戮、血腥主题。它涵盖肉体和精神两个层面, 包含痛苦、抑郁、损伤等多个维度。约翰·加尔通在其 1996 年的著作《以和平方式实现和平》(*Peace by Peaceful Means*) 一书中提出关于暴力的三角模型并对暴力类型做了具体划分。加尔通将暴力划分为“直接暴力”(direct violence)、“结构性暴力”(structural violence) 以及“文化暴力”(cultural violence); 和平可以划分为“积极和平”(positive peace) 和“消极和平”(negative peace)。消极和平的获取对应直接暴力的消除, 积极和平对应结构性暴力的规避。根据定义我们可以如此区分直接暴力和结构性暴力, “如果暴力有施动者, 我们讨论的是直接暴力; 如果没有, 则是间接的或结构性暴力”(Caltung, 1996, p.2)。直接暴力多作用于身体, 常发生在战争、动乱等场合; 结构性暴力则表现为精神层面的“压迫”和“剥削”(Caltung, 1996, p.2)。无论是直接暴力还是结构性暴力, 都孕育自社会文化土壤, 涵盖宗教、科学、语言、艺术等思想意识形态。

都柏林三部曲的创作时间集中在 1923-1926 年期间, 无论是爱尔兰复活节起义(Easter Rising 1916) 还是爱尔兰内战(Irish Civil War 1922-1923), 都对奥凯西的创作内容产生深刻影响。直接暴力因此成为奥凯西创作的鲜明时代背景, 作者在《犁与星》中以复活节起义为创作背景, 讨论战时英雄主义和人性基本需求的思想碰撞。死亡作为暴力令人惊悚的具象化呈现, 是痛苦的终极形态。伴随民族主义革命的热血和激情, 直接暴力陷入以杀戮快感对抗死亡阴影的循环陷阱。韩炳哲在其著作《暴力拓扑学》(*Topology of Violence*, 2018) 中指出自希腊时期暴力便开始护航意志执行, “社会认可将身体暴力视作达成目的的手段”(Han, 2018, p.3)。奥凯西作为爱尔兰民族主义革命者, 他也曾活跃于爱尔兰民族主义革命事业。然而, 战争的鲜血和死亡为他带来和叶芝一致的思想困境, “一种可怕的美已经诞生”(A terrible beauty is born), “死亡是必要的吗?”(Was it needless death after all?) (Easter 1916, Yeats)。在“都柏林三部曲”中我们可以看见奥凯西对直接暴力的反思以及其革命观的逐步变化。

在《枪手的影子》中主角达沃林(Davoren) 是公寓里的一位诗人租客, 年约三十。作为浪漫主义的文人骚客, 他在被误认为爱尔兰共和军战士时陶醉于英雄主义的赞美之词, 却在危险真正来临之际胆小怯懦。剧作结尾部分, 达沃林默许爱慕者米妮(Minnie) 为其只身犯险, 带走炸弹包裹, 最终导致米妮的死亡。松延赞叹奥凯西在刻画人物时对语言的细节把控。屋子里面的人对爱尔兰革命事业高谈阔论, “言语不俗, 颇有诗意”, 而在刻画痴情少女米妮时则选择了白话口语(奥凯西, 松延, 1982, p.68)。不同的语言风格一边凸显了米妮人物的真实性, 又讽刺了达沃林等人纸上谈兵

的虚伪和懦弱。相比奥凯西在后两部剧作中直接的反战思维,《枪手的影子》已经初步显露出作者对战争意义的深刻反思。奥凯西借剧中人物希尔兹(Shields)之口表达自己的内心,“倒霉的是老百姓[……]枪手们叫嚷‘为人民死——实际上是人民为枪手们而死’”(奥凯西,松延,1982,p.80)。奥凯西从人民的死亡中深刻意识到现代战争依旧是资源争夺下的群体性暴力,其与远古战争的区别在于“战争不再以君主的名义发动,而贯之以‘群众的存在之名’”(Han, 2018, p.86)。从维护君主权力到谋求人民的自由,这种思想转变看似赋予了战争更道德的逻辑前提,但其内在依旧是暴力思想对主体行为的统治。

奥凯西本着人性需求的角度叩问战争与牺牲的意义,他与叶芝走向分道扬镳的前提便是阶级立场的差异。因为见识过真实的人间苦难,奥凯西质疑艺术和诗意足以掩盖生死磋磨。他在自传中描写普通民众在起义中的牺牲,惋惜他们“微不足道”的死亡,批判领导阶层只在乎权力的争夺“对普通人知之甚少”(O’Casey, 1963, p.4)。除开不同阶层之间的矛盾,奥凯西也察觉到人民内部的摩擦和冲突。在《朱诺和孔雀》中奥凯西通过刻画姜尼·波伊尔(Johnny Boyle)来反映爱尔兰青年一代面对爱尔兰内战时的内心挣扎与无所适从。姜尼和罗比·坦克雷德(Robbie Tancred)同为爱尔兰共和军(IRA)的战友,但姜尼却在《英爱条约》(Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921)引起爱尔兰共和军内部分裂之际,向爱尔兰自由邦军队举报战友罗比,直接导致了死亡。姜尼为此内心不安饱受折磨,不时幻视罗比死亡的惨状,“我看见他胸膛里涌出的鲜血[……]噢,他为什么要这样看着我?”

(O’Casey, 1955, p.114)。奥凯西并未在戏剧中阐明姜尼告密的具体原因,却透露了姜尼和罗比生前的摩擦,“我从不喜欢他,他也不中意我”(O’Casey, 1955, p.123)。读者由此可以推测,生活的摩擦在爱尔兰内战的暴力背景下被放大为生死冲突。最终姜尼难逃爱尔兰共和军的内部处罚,得到死亡的最后宣判。如同坦克雷德夫人的祈祷之语,“让这谋杀的仇恨终结,降临给我们您永恒的爱”(O’Casey, 1955, p.123),奥凯西借此讽刺直接暴力对人性的蒙蔽并深刻批判仇恨循环的陷阱。

引起剧场骚乱的《犁与星》成为奥凯西反战思维的代表作。妻子诺拉(Nora)直接质疑丈夫杰克(Jack)参战的意义,她试图用朴素的情感唤醒沉溺于英雄主义叙事的丈夫,却无奈其辛苦守护的小家依旧被战争无情摧毁。在这部戏剧中奥凯西大胆突出对战争意义的探讨,他借无名人士之口将面对战争的两种思想作并置处理。戏剧中多次出现在窗户中的黑影对爱尔兰青年大肆鼓吹战争的血性与神圣意味,他宣扬“流血是净化和神圣化的过程,将其视为极其恐怖的民族会失去男子气概”(O’Casey, 1955, p.193)。而表弟科威(Covey)则极力反对对于战争的英雄主义美化,他直指政治宗教化的统治逻辑,“他们要不时地进行政治宣誓,以保永远忠诚”(O’Casey, 1955, p.170)。奥凯西在剧中质问战争的意义,如诺社会底层的基本生活都无法继续,那英雄主义叙事赞歌是否仅仅成为社会暴力体系的控制手段?

奥凯西通过戏剧作品直面战争的恐怖,指出爱尔兰独立战争与爱尔兰内战下的社会情感冲突,社会民众沦为战争的牺牲品,底层人民用幸福为英雄主义战歌献祭。他强调直接暴力对普通人生活的冲击以及其中无情的杀戮,警示群众陷入循环的仇恨陷阱。战争暴力成为爱尔兰社会苦难的直接源头,其背后混杂着更为隐晦的社会结构性暴力,并导致了大量“沉默的”牺牲者。

三、结构性暴力与底层牺牲者

相比肉眼可见的血腥和杀戮,结构性暴力以更隐晦的方式实现了暴力的内转。韩炳哲在《暴力

拓扑学》中强调了暴力变形的逻辑。随着现代社会以来文明的发展,表演式暴力逐渐被软性规范取缔,“暴力羞愧地隐藏了起来”(Han, 2018, p.5)。根据加尔通的冲突三角模型,态度(attitude)成为切断暴力冲突的关键一环。文明化程度越高,公民的自我约束力越强,向外的攻击性减弱。暴力“战场”实现内转,向外的冲动由此逐渐内化为深刻的自省,“成为心灵的内在冲突”(Han, 2018, p.6-7)。然而“一个人越是克制自己向他人的攻击性,其内心就越自我严苛、自我制约”(Han, 2018, p.7)。暴力能量并没有在此过程中消失,而是以意识形态的方式对群众实现了自上而下的约束。加尔通将这种结构性暴力定义为“非有意”产生的,“源自人性结构的”政治、经济、文化等领域的“压迫”与“剥削”(Caltung, 1996, p.2)。结构性暴力具体表现为阶级分化、父权体系、宗教冲突等方面,社会文化则为其提供行为的合法性。

20 世纪初的爱尔兰不仅在政治主权上面临挑战,急切渴望摆脱英国文化影响并获得精神独立的历史前提也让这个国家极力强化民族叙事。叶芝、辛格等一众爱尔兰文艺复兴代表人物通过回溯凯尔特文明、书写阿兰岛(Aran Islands)地方志等方式努力塑造浪漫的、田园式爱尔兰形象。然而,奥凯西否认单一的、过度浪漫化的爱尔兰形象。他从无产阶级的视角出发,描写底层人物的生活挣扎,为现代爱尔兰形象的塑造注入社会主义的力量。如同基博德(Kiberd)在《发明爱尔兰》(*Inventing Ireland*, 1995)中的强调,爱尔兰这个民族“它的自我形象早在现代民族主义和民族国家出现之前就已形成”(Kiberd, 1995, p.1)。但是,爱尔兰的民族形象并非一成不变的既定结果,经由民族内外多方势力在历史长河中不断影响,它拥有不断更新、锻造的可能性,因为“任何时代总被另一个时代‘建构’而成”(Kiberd, 1995, p.3)。奥凯西继浪漫化的民族叙事向现实主义踏出重要一步,他的创作并不局限于对直接暴力的反思,结构性暴力也成为串联奥凯西剧作的重要线索并折射出其影响的不同侧面。都柏林三部曲中的女性角色表现出彩,抓人眼球。她们作为直接暴力和结构性暴力的多重受害者,面临精神和肉体的双重折磨,是战时爱尔兰社会边缘群体的重要组成。奥凯西借女性的社会处境反映结构性暴力对底层群体的压迫,他在一众民族主义叙事中为人民发声,强调这些曾被忽视的“沉默的”声音。

加尔通曾在其著作中直接指出父权制和暴力的关联。父权制指向“男性在垂直结构内得到制度化的统治。文化制度为其提供合法性,这使得结构内的地位与性别高度相关,通常体现为男性对女性的直接暴力”(Caltung, 1996, p.40)。加尔通认为男性由于其生理特征、扩张性思维、父权制体系更容易陷入直接暴力的陷阱,而女性受困于以文化为前提的结构性压迫,常常成为男性暴力的牺牲品。除了直接暴力的执行机构军队,宗教信仰成为 20 世纪初爱尔兰父权社会进行文化控制的重要武器。从十八世纪开始,欧洲大陆兴盛起建设抹大拉洗衣房或类似机构之风,而爱尔兰的抹大拉洗衣房“自二十世纪初起发展为非常特殊的关押和监禁机构”(李元, 2022, p.78-79)。名为慈善机构的洗衣房实则扮演着社会监禁的角色,大量未婚母亲和底层女性被贯之以“堕落”名义,在该处受到非人的压迫和奴役。这背后的缘由便是极致民族叙事下的天主教道德困境。爱尔兰过于迫切地希望建构自身异于英国的民族特点,“性道德”因此成为他们的宣传把手,也使得爱尔兰女性生活在严苛的结构性暴力之下。《朱诺与孔雀》中玛丽未婚先孕却被未婚夫抛弃。面对此困窘的局面,其父亲波伊尔一味地唾弃其女,“我得好好给她教训一顿”(O'Casey, 1955, p.142);唯有母亲能共情女儿的痛苦,绞尽脑汁只为挽救局面,“玛丽还要面对未来的四十年,这痛苦也必将伴随她往后的岁月”(O'Casey, 1955, p.142)。在父权与宗教叙事下,女性成为性道德的直接受害者,而男

性却可以随时抽身。面对圣女化的歌颂，奥凯西意识到性道德不仅对女性生活施加枷锁，也使女性书面叙事趋于单一。

奥凯西挣破禁欲式的道德叙事，大胆赋予其女性角色鲜明的血肉和独立的思维。《犁与星》中娜拉毫不畏惧世俗眼光，勇敢地守护自己的爱人，追求平凡的幸福；《枪手的影子》中米妮为了钦慕之人甘愿献出自己的生命；《朱诺与孔雀》中波伊尔太太辛苦操持家庭，经常为不负责任的丈夫兜底。作者常常带着欣赏的眼光来刻画笔下的女性人物，这也许和其经历不可分割。奥凯西的父亲在他幼时便与世长辞，留下母亲辛苦操持着贫困的家庭。坚毅的母亲和向往爱情的姐姐艾拉（Ella）成为奥凯西女性角色塑造的基本素材来源。记忆中母亲面对即将奔赴战场的孩子是如此缄默和忧愁，她向丈夫的亡灵低语，“你可好，听不见孩子们无忧无虑的歌声。虽然我没有你那样清醒的头脑来说明，但是悲伤终会来临”（O’Casey, 1960, p.99）。女性对家庭的维护以及战争带来的母子分离之痛都成为奥凯西现实主义的素材，其笔下的人物因此饱满鲜明。

《犁与星》中的贝西（Bessie）一角代表了爱尔兰社会结构性暴力下的女性生命力和人性本真。奥凯西笔下的贝西“年约四十，身体壮实。她面容坚毅，经由生活磋磨而显得冷酷，受酒精影响而变得粗糙”（O’Casey, 1955, p.178）。作为新教信仰者却在天主教街区中以小摊小贩为生，其保皇派的立场让她在一众邻居中显得格格不入。贝西浑身显露着雌雄同体的氛围，以强悍泼辣的气质捍卫自己的生存。她平时看似低俗可憎，也会趁着战乱行盗窃之事。然而当其面对战争的威胁，贝西却拥有跨越信仰和立场的勇气来保护身边的人。战争让爱尔兰底层群众陷入生活拮据的困境，贝西担忧日常口粮会遭受影响，却依旧将珍贵的牛奶默默地留给病人莫尔瑟（Mollser）。无论是莫尔瑟病重之时还是娜拉小产之际，是贝西挺身而出，不顾自身安危为她们寻求一线生机。门外枪林弹雨，“贝西犹豫片刻，她紧紧地用围巾裹住自己，好似一面盾，然后她坚定且快速地走了出去”（O’Casey, 1955, p.238）。奥凯西借新教徒贝西的形象传递超越宗教信仰和政治追求的人性之爱。作者奥凯西本人的生活经历与贝西一角拥有高度一致性。作为出生在都柏林贫民窟的新教信仰者，奥凯西始终以审视的眼光面对阶级和宗教。正是因为从小经历过的不公与绝望，奥凯西才敢于戳破一众民族叙事下的浪漫主义幻象以及极端道德规训下的暴力逻辑。

《犁与星》中的女性角色无论阶级身份、年龄大小或是信仰差异，都闪烁着人性之爱。她们达成了绝境中的互助与和解，并始终坚持以人为本。奥凯西通过鲜明的两性刻画，强调超越结构性束缚的人性本真，并警示极端“性道德”对社会带来的危害。

四、暴力拓扑学与共产主义转向

韩炳哲指出加尔通所给的暴力定义无法与权力概念作出明确区分，它的适用范围具有阶级对立的限定性。他认为无论是加尔通的结构性暴力、布尔迪厄（Bourdieu）的象征性暴力（symbolic violence），还是齐泽克（Zizek）的客观暴力（objective violence）都以加害者与被害者的对立关系为前提，他因此在区别前者的基础上提出了扩张性暴力（violence of positivity），“人们向自己发起战争，并对自己施加暴力”（Han, 2018: 89）。福柯指出从顺从主体（obedient-subject）到绩效主体（achievement-subject）的转变中“暴力和自由合二为一”，被剥削者存在自我洗脑的循环困境（Han, 2018, p.89）。民主口号下的群众陷入自主决策的幻象，他们疲于用时间、鲜血和生命去换取主体的独立和自由，但仍然受困于暴力叙事的逻辑，甘愿忍受制度和系统下难以察觉的剥削。韩炳哲所主张的扩张性暴力在晚期资本主义时期达到鼎盛，体现在各种狼性内卷文化之中。然而，20世

纪初爱尔兰经历由传统农业社会向工业社会的变革，频繁战争问题依旧占据爱尔兰社会舆论的主导，排斥性暴力问题（包含直接暴力和结构性暴力）仍为社会冲突的重点。奥凯西政治立场的转变恰恰因为他意识到排斥性暴力问题的核心“阶级对立”。在都柏林三部曲的后两部作品中，奥凯西并没有对直接暴力和结构性暴力作清晰划分。他穿插描写底层人民对生活饱暖的挣扎以及英雄主义驱动下士兵对功名的渴望，这种画面的并置一方面突出了爱尔兰底层群众遭受的多重暴力压迫，另一方面也突出了爱尔兰公民军（ICA）、工会等人民组织的立场虚无，以及宗教信仰的暴力与无用（奥凯西后期成为无神论者）。

奥凯西早期曾加入爱尔兰公民军，但其个人政治立场伴随爱尔兰革命事业的发展经历了由民族主义到共产主义的转变。都柏林三部曲的创作时间短短跨越三年却反映出作者思想的变迁。从创作时间看，发表于1923年的《枪手的影子》是奥凯西最早的作品（爱尔兰内战结束，爱尔兰自由邦最终在内战中获得了胜利，巩固了以资产阶级和富农为代表的政权）。接下来是1924年的作品《朱诺和孔雀》，最后是1926年的《犁与星》。然而从剧作背景的时间线来看，其时间排序应为以复活节起义为背景的《犁与星》，关于爱尔兰独立战争的《枪手的影子》，最后是反映爱尔兰内战的《朱诺和孔雀》。由此可见，奥凯西在历史回溯的过程中逐渐坚定了自己的共产主义理念。于复活节起义十周年时所作的《犁与星》，是奥凯西对爱尔兰内部政党纷争所作的深刻反思，“显然他觉得1916年的牺牲一无所获”（Spears, 2013, p.127）。斯皮尔斯指出，“根据奥凯西早期的通信内容和他针对爱尔兰公民军的写作内容看，到1916年时，奥凯西即使称不上共产主义者也是国际社会主义者”（Spears, 2013, p.124）。从退出爱尔兰公民军再到其宣称自己是共产主义者和无神论者，奥凯西认为爱尔兰工人党派早已丧失无产阶级的初心，极端宗教信仰甚至催生更可怖的暴力。这主要是因为奥凯西对爱尔兰自由邦政权的不满以及他对无产阶级党派的失望，奥凯西在经历了政治、宗教信仰的幻灭后仍坚持无产阶级立场。为了突出信仰的幻灭感，奥凯西在戏剧创作中大量构建浪漫理想主义与骨感现实碰撞的画面：

波伊尔：神父法雷尔对船长波义尔可感兴趣；他有一天这样和我说，那是因为姜尼对国家做出的贡献[...]好嘛，让他把工作给他那些唱赞美诗、祈祷的、虔诚的兄弟们吧！

煤贩子的声音：煤块，煤块，卖煤块嘞！

...

[[...]这时门打开了，卖煤的黑脸出现了。]

煤贩子的声音：你们买煤吗？（O' Casey, 1955, p.93-95）。

波伊尔家境窘困，他却和朋友约克瑟（Joxer）整日游荡。波伊尔惯常和约克瑟侃侃而谈爱尔兰大饥荒、帕内尔（Parnell）倒台等宏大历史事件，却从未想过寻找工作承担基本家庭责任。爱尔兰的悲惨历史在该片段中被波伊尔符号化为外部暴力的压迫，这成为其开脱自身无能与懒惰的常用借口。他常常追忆往日自己作为“船长”的辉煌岁月，“那些日子才叫日子嘞”（O' Casey, 1955, p.94），但这不过是波伊尔自身浪漫化的夸大。奥凯西对此进行了戏剧化的处理，他在波伊尔和约克瑟的对话中穿插进卖煤小贩的贩卖声，借此将观众拉回现实主义的世界当中，凸显波伊尔空洞理想主义下的自欺欺人。片段结尾时，波伊尔误将小贩认作妻子而慌忙处理茶水、香肠，反映出其内心的不安和虚伪。

除了将浪漫理想主义的幻想与现实主义真实世界穿插叙述，奥凯西还擅长以悲喜剧 (tragicomedy) 的方式形成人生无常的命运感。无论在《枪手的影子》还是《犁与星》中，奥凯西常常对刻画屋内世界和屋外世界的戏剧冲突。达沃林在房中夸夸其谈革命理想，而墙外巷战中无数平凡的生命却因此死去。《犁与星》中奥凯西通过描写战时哄抢突出人民内部和爱尔兰革命军间的冲突：

布伦南上尉：[对克里塞罗野蛮地说]你怎么朝他们头顶打？为什么不打死他们？

克里塞罗：不，不，比尔；他们再坏也是爱尔兰人。

布伦南上尉：[野蛮地]狗屁爱尔兰人！我们正为他们拼命，他们却抢到我们头上来了。如果这些贫民窟的臭鼠再来跟前，非打死个把，不然我就亲自动手！（O'Casey, 1955, p.231-232）。

奥凯西在第三幕中描写柯根夫人 (Mrs. Gogan) 和贝西趁着战乱“收获”了一大堆生活用品。她们正在屋内兴奋地盘算着日后怎么处理这些东西，画面却被突然闯入的布伦南上尉等人打断。此时兰根中尉 (Lieutenant Langon) 已身受重伤，奄奄一息。布伦南上尉一边抱着兰根中尉，一边向克里塞罗发号施令要打死那些哄抢物资的爱尔兰群众。底层群众基本生存的需求和爱尔兰革命者的理想形成了讽刺的对比。爱尔兰起义者本身为人民权益而起义现在却将枪口指向群众，这无疑也是奥凯西自身的困惑。对此，奥凯西借贝西质问“你和你的领导们，还有那些装相的士兵们倒好，给老百姓吃够苦头。天知道，我们要去哪儿找一口吃的？”(O'Casey, 1955, p.222-223)。

“作者不能忽略自己所处的时代，因为拒绝时代就等同于拒绝生活本身”（雷艳妮，吕薇，2025, p.32）。无论是浪漫的理想主义叙事还是民族主义叙事，奥凯西最终都回归到关于真实生活的现实主义。这种两个世界的反差不仅凸显战时英雄主义的幻灭感，也突出排斥性暴力对底层人民群众的多重压迫。正是因为奥凯西认识到暴力冲突的真相在于阶级对立和压迫，他因此将自己的政治理想转向社会主义和共产主义。科威作为剧中奥凯西的代言人，他呼吁“只有一场战争值得去打：那就是为了无产阶级经济的解放”（O'Casey, 1955, p.203）。

五、结语

本文梳理了奥凯西都柏林三部曲中存在的直接暴力和结构性暴力压迫，探讨作者如何通过书写暴力强调被 20 世纪爱尔兰民族叙事忽视的底层群众。作为奥凯西早期的现实主义之作，都柏林三部曲凝结了作者个人人生经历和政治反思。他通过分析社会不同层级暴力对底层群众的压迫，指出暴力叙事中阶级对立的核心。奥凯西通过刻画努力生存的底层女性群体和沉溺于英雄叙事的男性群体来批判战争对人性的异化，并歌颂超越社会意识形态的人性本真。奥凯西敏锐地察觉到 20 世纪爱尔兰民族叙事下暴力内转的趋势，除了排斥性暴力如直接暴力和结构性暴力带来的他者威胁，奥凯西也向群众警示民族叙事中标榜极端“性道德”带来的扩张性暴力。

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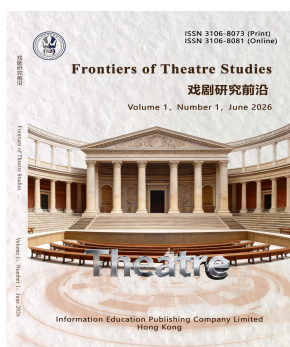
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A Premeditated Murder of Clay by Lula

— On Amiri Baraka's Play *Dutchman*

Wu Zhaofeng

Abstract: Amiri Baraka's play, *Dutchman*, with an inverted biblical motif, could be viewed as a mix of the Theatre of the Absurd and the Realist Drama. Set in the mythic frame of the creation story in Genesis of the Bible, Clay's counterpart, Lula, could be interpreted as both Eve and Satan in disguise. To be exact, *Dutchman* could be regarded as a premeditated murder of the black man, Clay, by the white devil, Lula. This article endeavors to analyze the premeditatedness of the murder and discuss whether Clay betrays his people and deserves death by dressing in the middle-class way. Such a plot may not necessarily reflect Baraka's essentialist perception of black identity. However, it does vent his desperation and indignation of the existential plight of the black people in the modern white middle-class dominant America, which renders his revolutionary move from the white community and his carrying out the Black Power Movement and the Modern Black Convention Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Finally, this paper discusses the significance of the premeditatedness of the plot in the construction of the black nationality during the Black Power Movement.

Keywords: *Dutchman*, premeditatedness, existential plight, interracial hatred, black nationality

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题目：卢拉对克莱有预谋的杀害——论阿米里·巴拉卡的戏剧《荷兰人号》

摘要：阿米里·巴拉卡的剧作《荷兰人号》以倒置的圣经母题为核心，可被视为荒诞派戏剧与现实主义戏剧的混合。该剧以《圣经·创世记》中创世故事的神话框架为背景，黑人角色克莱的对应者卢拉，可被解读为伪装的夏娃与撒旦。确切而言，《荷兰人》可被视为白人卢拉对黑人克莱的蓄意谋杀。本文旨在分析这起谋杀的预谋性，并探讨克莱是否因以中产阶级方式着装而背叛了自己的族群并死有余辜。这一情节未必反映巴拉卡对黑人身份的本质主义认知，但它确实宣泄了他对白人中产阶级主导的现代美国中黑人生存困境的绝望与愤慨——这促使他做出了脱离白人社区的革命性举动，并在20世纪60至70年代开展“黑人权力运动”与“现代黑人大会运动”。最后，本文探讨了该情节的预谋性在“黑人权力运动”时期对构建黑人美国身份的意义。

关键词：《荷兰人》；预谋性；生存困境；种族之间的仇恨；黑人美国身份

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Gafio Jerry Watts declares that “*Dutchman* is primarily an absurdist play, with elements of realism. Jones did not create a coherent plot or maintain a realistic stage setting” (2001, p. 71). It is true that there is no coherent plot in the play, but with a demonic female figure, Lula, in it. Whereas, this incoherent plot could be interpreted with a logical line under the biblical frame, for another figure, Clay appears rather rational and genial. Therefore, *Dutchman* could be viewed as a blend of the Theatre of the Absurd and the Realist Drama. Lula is lunatic, hysteric and highly abstract, who represents the demonic power with her omnipotence. She plays the absurd part of the play. Clay is composed and realistic, representing a common modern black man and works the realistic part of the drama. In regard of the conspicuous militant stance of the play, my argument is just opposite to that of Watts: *Dutchman* is primarily a realist play, with elements of absurdity.

As many scholars have agreed, since his name is “Clay”, it reminds readers of the creation story in Genesis of the Bible and of Adam, for the original meaning of “Adam” is “ground, dirt” (2009, p. 53). Although he could represent humankind in general and Watts also deems that what Lula “destroys is not men of a certain race but mankind” (2001, p. 72), my argument is that if Clay is generalized as human race instead of a concrete one, it would soften the militant stance of this great drama. In fact, what the goal of Baraka’s canon is set to attack, is the discriminated, deep ingrained hatred of the black people which the American whites bury at the bottom of their hearts. As to Lula, as Sandra L. Richards regards, her “uncanny knowledge of Clay’s background and his suppressed hatred of the dominant, white society mark her as a mythic figure” (1982, p. 235). Indeed, she could be regarded as Eve, but with a drastic change, not by creating her as the life companion to Adam, but as the life terminator to him, the devil in disguise of Eve. In

certain sense, *Dutchman* could be read as a premeditated murder of the black man, Clay, by the white devil, Lula.

1. Lula: the white woman in disguise of Eve and Satan on the Flying Dutchman

The biggest enigma to Clay as well as to the readers is that why Lula knows everything about him. For example, George Piggford mentions that “Lula’s power over Clay is based on what seems to her uncanny knowledge of him” (1997, p. 78), while several researchers have noted her demonic feature. Willene P. Taylor points out that “using demonic inversions of Christian motifs, the playwright gives us in contemporary and ironic terms his views about the black man’s fall from grace in America’s Garden of Eden” (1973, p. 130). Robert George Piggford states that “Lula functions in *Dutchman* as both Clay’s mother and his demonic psychotherapist by bringing Clay’s repressed desires to the surface of his consciousness. Through her verbal taunting she eventually peers into Clay’s ‘black skull’ and finds his murderous unconscious impulses” (1997, p.76). Cardullo also thinks that “By scene 2, Lula accuses Clay of being someone he is not, or disguising imperfection or defect, by dressing and acting ‘white’. It is something Lula herself does by concealing her demonic, racist, murderous intent beneath the guise of a beautiful and seductive woman” (2009, p. 53). All these scholars have perceived the “uncanny” phenomenon about and the “demonic” essence of Lula. If digging deeper, Lula is not shaped simply as a “demonic” figure, but as a devil in disguise. And in this logic, her omniscience and omnipotence could be interpreted. The most tragic point for Clay is that he does not get it even when he is stabbed to death by Lula. The following are the reasons for charging her as a white devil.

The first reason is that she is demonically omniscient about Clay. For instance, at the beginning of their dialogue, Lula mentions New Jersey and his growing of beard. Clay responses with a big surprise, “How’d you know all that? Huh? Really, I mean about Jersey ... and even the beard. I met you before? You know Warren Enright?” (2000, p. 80)^① From their short dialogue, the audience is informed that Clay is a newcomer to New York from New Jersey and probably he only confides it to his good friend, Warren Enright. Therefore, he is of suspicion that Lula knows the latter well. And in the following dialogue, when Lula mentions about the party, Clay is even more certain that Lula knows Warren very well, “You must be a friend of Warren’s to know about the party” (p. 82). And this implies that currently Clay is taking the subway to take part in the party which will be held by Warren. These details provide the personal information of Clay, and more importantly, they show that Lula is not an ordinary woman, for only God and devils own omnipotence.

Still explored from the perspective of the Bible, when Lula is imitating the serpent, as a kind of minstrelsy, crying to Clay, “Let’s do the nasty. Rub bellies. Rub bellies” (p. 94), it reminds the reader of

^① The quotation is taken from *The Leroi Jones/Amiri Baraka Reader* (2nd Edition) (2000) compiled by Harris, William and Imamu Amiri Baraka which was printed by Thunder’s Mouth Press. The following quotations will only be marked with the page numbers.

Satan, who changes itself into a serpent to seduce Eve. In some sense, Lula is Satan now, because more and more her body imitates the one of the serpent's, more and more insulting her language turns,

Come on, Clay. Let's rub bellies on the train. The nasty. The nasty. Do the gritty grind, like your ol' rag-head mammy. Grind till you lose your mind. Shake it, shake it, shake it, shake it. OOOOweeee! Come on, Clay. Let's do the choo-choo train shuffle, the navel scratcher. (p. 94)

These erotic words bring both Clay and the readers to the nasty history and the ugly minstrelsy show of the black women being raped by the white slave owners. But the rational Clay is only humored by Lula's disgusting words, saying, "Hey, you coming on like the lady who smoked up her grass skirt" (p. 94). He does not savor the deep meaning underlying her insulting expression and frenzy dance. He simply deems her lunatic. However, to the readers, the belly-rubbing first refers to Satan who turns itself to a serpent and seduce Eve by crawling on the ground with its belly rubbing the earth; second, it implies the erotic behavior when sexual intercourse is happening and the two rubbing the bellies together; third, it could refer to the action of rubbing the stomach to facilitate digestion after eating some food.

In this play, all the triple meanings could be adopted: Lula tries to seduce Clay with the belly-rubbing dance like a serpent because in essence, she is Satan disguised as Eve. And just like Satan, she goads him to realize the "forbidden truth" (1973, p. 128) that in his mind, exist the murderous unconsciousness of the white. The invitation, "Come on, Clay. Let's rub bellies on the train", serves as a shameless invitation for the erotic copulation on the train, which is also an insulting minstrelsy to Clay, for the black men are often mocked with strong sexual drive. In the end, Clay is murdered by Lula with a phallic knife and thrown off from the subway train, which means he is eaten up and then discharged away like dung from the huge belly of the white-dominated city. Finally, the readers could imagine that Lula would triumphantly "rub her belly" to facilitate her digestion after she "devours down" her victim. The belly-rubbing dance, cast from a retrospective look, foreshadows Clay's ultimate ending under the white hegemony in USA.

This ending also echoes the beginning of the play, "In the flying underbelly of the city. Steaming hot, and summer on top, outside. Underground. The subway heaped in modern myth" (p. 76). If USA is compared to a monster, the subway serves like its underbelly, and its task is to suck the quintessence of the black culture and discharge its creators, the black people, like waste. On the other hand, the subway, not only like the intestine of a serpent but also resembling the serpent itself, forms a special modern "Middle Passage" for the black, hence it sheds a light for the title of the play, "Dutchman", for the namesake *Dutchman* was a ship on the Atlantic transporting black slaves from Africa to America. However, during the journey, many of them died and the ship became a kind of hearse, ferrying many Africans from life to death. Therefore, like the ship *Dutchman*, the subway, which symbolizes USA, also ferries the African Americans from life to death, who do not die from hunger or thirst, but from the modern white supremacy.

What is more, the word "flying", linking the subway to the "Flying Dutchman", a cursed ship, for its captain, Vanderdecken, gambles his salvation on a rash pledge to pass safely the Cape of Good Hope during

a storm and so is condemned to that course for eternity². Thus, the message of this play to the audience is that modern USA is doomed to wander on the sea of destiny with the evil hatred borne by the white supremacists to the black people, and Lula is the devilish white “captain” of the ship, like the Flying Dutchman.

2. Clay: the black man representing innocent but changed Adam

Many researchers, including Amiri Baraka himself, criticize Clay’s middle-class manner of dressing and accuse him that he has been assimilated by the white bourgeoisie and hence betrayed his race. In that case, he must die for his “fall”. As Watts has pointed out, “It is his cultural assimilation that makes him vulnerable to Lula’s evil intentions, for he is preoccupied with the belief that he is just ‘one of the crowd’” (2001, p. 71); “Through his repressed rage, we see the ‘real Clay,’ or what Jones has described elsewhere as ‘a renegade behind the mask. And even the mask, a renegade disguise’” (Ibid, p. 71); C. W. E. Bigsby remarks that “In other words the insecurities that he confronts go beyond simple acts of racial prejudice, just as the real betrayal that he addresses is the betrayal of the self rather than the other. Clay is condemned to death and Lula to her everlasting task because, like the Flying Dutchman, they have in a sense blasphemed against the natural order. They have betrayed themselves” (Quoted from Watts, 2001, p. 74). My argument is that as a modern American man, it is quite natural for Clay to receive the modern American middle-class education and to aspire to be economically well-off. It is unfair to charge Clay that he has betrayed his people for adopting the middle-class way of life. The reason for his being murdered by Lula is neither his fault nor because he is condemned by his so-called “betrayal” but due to Lula’s demonic repressive nature like other white supremacists, who could not bear the positive change and the economic improvement of the black people and want to tread them down forever.

As it is known that in Genesis of the Bible, God creates Adam from clay. Therefore, it is very easy for the readers to link Adam in the Bible with Clay in *Dutchman*. Like Adam, Clay is innocent, composed, and rational. Or, in other scholars’ view, he counts himself as one of the middle-class guys. When Lula repeatedly exasperates him, he only naively responds with a happy mood. When Lula insults him for the first time, “[...] You look like death eating a soda cracker” (p. 79). Clay is embarrassed and wants to retort, but finally he only gives a mild reply, “Really? I look like all that?” (p. 80) It shows Clay’s light humor and kind heart. When gradually Lula seduces Clay with her sexually tantalizing expressions, she suddenly loses her logic line and turns angry,

Everything you say is wrong. [Mock smile] That’s what makes you so attractive. Ha. In that funnybook jacket with all the buttons. [...] Did your people ever burn witches or start revolutions over the price of tea? Boy, those narrow-shoulder clothes come from a tradition you ought to feel oppressed by. A three-button suit. What right do you have to be wearing a three-button suit and striped tie? Your grandfather was a slave, he didn’t go to Harvard. (p. 86)

² <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Flying-Dutchman>: Jan. 10, 2026.

In face of such white-supremacist speech, on hearing Lula's so-called white American tradition of colonization, religious prosecution and revolution, and on her naked negation of his right to wear a three-button suit and a tie (which means to negate his middle-class social status), Clay must feel very uncomfortable, but this innocent man simply refutes, 'My grandfather was a night watchman.' He does sense the insult and feel hurt, instead, being in the public space, he tries to control his temper and retain his rationality.

However, the most acute problem is that Clay wants to remain decent and rational, but that Lula does not. What drives Lula mad? Many researchers have ignored this madness under the impression of the Theatre of the Absurd. Probably, the main factor which drives Lula crazy is that with the development of the society, the living condition of the black people has gradually changed and much improved. That needles Lula, the representative of racism, the white devil. First, she sneers at the Reconstruction in the South, "And you went to a colored college where everybody thought they were Averell Harrima^③" (p. 86). Here, "you" refers not to Clay at the present, but to the liberated black people after the American Civil War in the past, Clay's ancestors. The sarcastic sentence serves as a vile blow to strike down Clay's as well as other black people's confidence fostered during and after the Reconstruction.

Second, she openly condemns "change":

All stories are whole stories. All of 'em. Our whole story ... nothing but change. How could things go on like that forever? Huh? [...] Except I do go on as I do. Apples and long walks with deathless intelligent lovers. But you mix it up. Look out the window, all the time. Turning pages. Change change change. Till shit, I don't know you. Wouldn't, for that matter. You're too serious. [...] (p. 92)

"Our whole story ... nothing but change" means the whole story of USA is a story of change: from a colony to a country, from a slave-trading country to a slave-free country. But Lula, the white racist, does not change because she claims, "Except I do go on as I do. Apples and long walks with deathless intelligent lovers", which means from the beginning to the end, she plays the old tricks of seducing the black men with apples and long walks. Here, 'intelligent' may just imply the opposite, the stupid, because the black men are too innocent and naïve to see through the tricks of Lula and are easily fooled by her.

"But you mix it up. Look out the window, all the time. Turning pages. Change change change", means Clay are different from all of his predecessors, for he is intellectual, turning pages of the book. It forms a deadly blow to Lula, because she could not bear the positive improvement of the black people. Three "change change change" pours out her bitter fury over the improved situation of the black people and

^③ W. Averell Harriman (born November 15, 1891, New York City, New York, U.S.—died July 26, 1986, Yorktown Heights) was a statesman who was a leading U.S. diplomat in relations with the Soviet Union during World War II and the subsequent Cold War. He also served as the governor of New York (1954–58). The son of the railroad magnate Edward Henry Harriman, he began his employment with the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1915; he served as chairman of the board in 1932–46. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/W-Averell-Harriman> (last accessed on January 18, 2026)

reflects the white racists' vicious desire to keep the black low in the social rank forever. In face of a new generation of the intellectual black youth, what will the racists like Lula do?

3. "Dutchman": a premeditated murder of a black man by the white devil

Nita N. Kumar has paid attention to the premediated element of the play:

Lula's apparent randomness takes on a sinister, premeditated aspect as she orders the other subway riders to throw Clay's body out, starts straightening her things and getting everything in order. It is as if she has timed and controlled the entry of the next young Negro who walks into the coach, completely oblivious of the preceding action. The suggestion of premeditatedness of Lula's plan is therein the play at the beginning, when the direction reads that she "begins very premeditatedly to smile," as well as at the play's end, and thus frames the main action of the play. Within the play, however, even her premeditatedness remains an element of her unpredictability. (2003, p. 275)

Kumar has noticed the premeditatedness of the plot at the beginning as well as the end of the play, however, she does not explore further to the issue, such as how the murder is carried out premeditatedly. Instead, she simply equals Lula's premeditatedness with her unpredictability. My argument is that as to Lula, since she is so bitter at the black people, especially, the appearance of the middle-class black man like Clay, her aim must have been set beforehand: send every black man to hell with a phallic knife. There is a lot of further evidence which indicates the murder of Clay is premeditated.

For example, just as many researchers have noted, at the beginning of the play, when the train slowly stops at one station, Clay "looks idly up, until he sees a woman's face staring at him through the window; when it realizes that the man has noticed the face, it begins very premeditatedly to smile" (p. 76-77). Here, two words are worthy of being highlighted. One is "it" and the other is "premeditatedly". The second "it" refers to the woman, Lula's face, the first one refers to her soul, which implies that she is the incarnation of devil, and 'it' is a very apt pronoun to represent it. The latter, "premeditatedly", signifies the core action line for Lula, the white devil. She has noticed Clay first, got the plan to kill him, and sent him a prepared seductive smile. Everything has been arranged before she gets aboard the train and sits down beside him.

Another example, at the end of Scene One, when Lula asks Clay's middle name, Lula cries out suddenly,

A union of love and sacrifice that we destined to flower at the birth of noble Clay Clay Williams. Yea! And most of all yea yea for you, Clay Clay. The Black Baudelaire. Yes! [And with knifelike cynicism] My Christ. My Christ. (p. 87)

When she refers Clay as Christ, her intention to murder him is unwittingly revealed. The first part of the above quoted lines seems a kind of complement on Clay, but the second part forecasts a kind of tragic color to his final ending and indicates that Clay would become a Christ-like figure. The 'knifelike' cynicism signals that Lula despises Clay, the representative of the middle-class black people, heartily, and would use a knife to end his life. Willene P. Taylor praises Baraka for the word "knifelike": "In a stroke of genius, Baraka here suggests a sexual union between Lula and Clay through his use of the knife motif and through

his emphasis upon the verbal ejaculation and exhaustion that occur as a result of Clay's outburst of black rage" (1973, p. 129). It is true that the virtual sexual union hotly discussed by the two parties through the use of the bloody realistic knife serves as a bleak irony to smack the literal racial relationship between the black and the white.

The third example, In Scene Two, when Lula continues her conversation of sexually tantalizing imagination with Clay, she says, "And you'll call my rooms black as a grave. You'll say, "This place is like Juliet's tomb." And the innocent Clay laughs, "I might" (p. 91). When Clay listens very attentively and interestedly in Lula's erotic imagination, Lula is in fact depicting what will happen to him next: he would be killed by her because she is the devil, and the tomb is her living place.

From the above proof, it is quite clear that Lula has premeditated to murder Clay. But how? As it could be inferred, since it is a premeditated murder, her strategy must have also been worked out when she catches the sight of Clay outside of the subway train: she would seduce him first, then vex him second, and stab him to death promptly in the end. The most conspicuous point is that she employs sex as a tool to achieve her purposes of seduction and vexation.

To vex Clay, Lula first invites him to do the nasty minstrelsy sexual dance "belly-rubbing" with her in the train and then insults the black women by crying out, "Do the gritty grind, like your ol' mammy. Grind till you lose your mind [...]" (p. 94). When Clay feels very awkward and tries to interrupt her crazy dancing and yelping, Lula, twisting out of Clay's reach, doubles her insult and moves her striking target to Uncle Tom with further minstrelsy show,

Screw yourself, Uncle Tom. Thomas Woolly-head. [Begin to dance a kind of jig, mocking Clay with loud forced humor] There's Uncle Tom ... I mean, Uncle Thomas Woolly-head. With old white matted mane. He hobbles on his wooden cane. Old Tom. Old Tom. Let the white man hump his ol' mama, and he jes' shuffle off in the woods and hide his gentle fray head. Ol' Thomas Woolly-head. (p. 95)

"With old white matted mane" is compared Uncle Tom to an old shabby horse, which is a savage ridicule of his obedience to the white masters, just like a dumb and timid beast. On the surface, it seems that what Lula mocks is Uncle Tom, saying that Uncle Tom escaped from confronting the white man who was raping his old mother. However, deep within her insult, is her charge against Clay, because in face of her overt racial discrimination and humiliation, he remains silent and escapes like a meek beast, just like Uncle Tom. Lula adopts the black people's painful history of being insulted sexually by the white men and of their sons' efforts to evade confrontation and conflicts as a weapon to vex and strike Clay.

And this strategy works. Clay becomes furious, and "he gets up out of his seat" and when some passengers are laughing, he "visibly scans the faces of the other riders", he swears at Lula, "Lula ... you dumb bitch. Why don't you stop it?", he "rushes half stumbling from his seat, and grabs one of her flailing arms", he drags her towards her seat, he clubs the drunk to the floor without releasing Lula, he gets her to the seat and throws her into it and grabs her shoulders, ordering her, "Just shut up." When Lula still laughs at him, "You're afraid of white people. And your father was. Uncle Tom Big Lip!" Clay "slaps her as hard

as he can, across the mouth”, twice, and then he says, “Now shut up and let me talk” (p. 95-96). He clearly declares,

[...] all it needs is a simple knife thrust. Just let me bleed you, you loud whore, and one poem vanished. A whole people of neurotics, struggling to keep from being sane. And the only thing that would cure the neurosis would be your murder. Simple as that. I mean if I murdered you, then other white people would begin to understand me. [...] Murder. Just murder! Would make us all sane. [...] (p. 97)

What Clay says is very militant. He has realized that only when he fights with the white with a simple knife, it will change the white's idea about the black and hence make the white sane, because the black's sanity, such as meekness and obedience, only encourages the white's insanity and render their atrocity to the blacks. If sanity just bring insult and maltreatment, insanity, such as fighting and murder, can bring respect to the black people and solve the problem. That is the lesson, or the “forbidden truth”, which Clay learns from Lula's frantic minstrelsies and insulting speeches.

The tragic point is that although Clay has realized the necessity of fighting with the white and of murdering Lula with a simple knife, he has not prepared to put it into practice. He wants to avoid all this madness and is going to get off the train, but unfortunately, Lula stabs at him of a sudden, and orders the people on the train to throw his body off. Several problems may arise, which are: what if Clay tries to kill Lula first? Would the other people on the train protect Lula and kill Clay? Or would the other people on the train turn to Clay and support him, and hence change the train into one which is free from racism and terminate the white supremacy? That remains uncertain. But one thing is for sure, *Dutchman* is a premeditated murder of the black man by a white supremacist.

Dutchman was first staged in 1964, and in the same year, the Black Power Movement^④ was carried out revolutionarily. Amiri Baraka had come to see that although the living condition of the black people had been improved much and some of them began to enjoy their new social status as the middle-class guys, such as Clay, dreamed to be a black Baudelaire, while the white supremacists, like Lula, smashed their dream into pieces, continuously dragging them back to the painful history of the black people by insulting, mocking and condemning them with the most hysterical and frantic means. In another word, the essence of the white supremacy had not changed: it is as evil as devil itself; and its goal of the racists had not been changed: it is to destroy every black man, including the awakened militant black one, and send them to the hell.

4. The significance of the premeditatedness of the murder in *Dutchman*

Although Amiri Baraka won the Obie Award for this play, he also received a lot of harsh criticism.

^④ Black Power Movement began as revolutionary movement in the 1960s and 1970s. It emphasized racial pride, economic empowerment, and the creation of political and cultural institutions. During this era, there was a rise in the demand for Black history courses, a greater embrace of African culture, and a spread of raw artistic expression displaying the realities of African Americans. <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power> (last accessed on January 18, 2026)

For instance, Willene P. Taylor points out, “No doubt his many detractors, who have maligned his motives, will continue to label him as a racist demagogue who merely mouths propaganda and fomented hatred between the races” (1973, p. 130); Jerry Gafio Watts states that “His willingness to express black disgust with whites was interpreted by many whites as hateful” (2001, p. 73); Jessica E. Teague admits that “His outspoken, often violent, critiques of white bourgeois culture and the treatment of black Americans led many to accuse him of race baiting, but his simultaneous insistence on the beauty and spirituality of black culture would galvanize a generation of black poets and artists” (2015, p. 22); Sandra L. Richards thinks, “To the mainstream literary critics and intellectuals, Jones was an enfant terrible, gifted as a craftsman but excessively unfair in his views of whites” (1982, p. 233) and she specifically indicates that “Yet all such evaluations, whether made by whites or blacks, men or women, tend to disregard the fact that his dramaturgy is almost overwhelmingly male-dominated and woman hating” (Ibid, p. 233); Matthew Rebborn criticizes that “Baraka’s black masculinity defines itself through the abjectification, or ‘othering’, of queer men and women. This maneuver, however, constantly reveals its own shaky foundations, and thus in serious ways undermines and problematizes Baraka’s militant black masculinity” (2003, p. 800), etc.

All the above criticism bears some truth in it and it does give the audience and readers an impression that Baraka hates the white indiscriminately, exalts the militant black masculinity while keeping the black women down and even hates women. As *Dutchman* is concerned, a question may be raised up: if Baraka is not the person who does not hate the white as well as women, why does he set it as a premeditated murder of a black man by a white woman? Or why does Baraka have to write it in that way, as if he wanted to condemn all the white in USA for all the eternity?

Ironically, in some critics’ eyes, such as Harold Clurman, deems that “*Dutchman* is less of an indictment of white America than an indictment of American civilization” (Quoted from Watts, 2001, p. 72) and in his opinion, this play has no racial specificity. And even Baraka himself denies that Lula represents all of white America by saying: “the play is about one white girl and one Negro boy, just them, singularly, in what I hope was a revelation of private and shared anguish” and he also declares that “*Dutchman* is about the difficulty of becoming a man in America. It is very difficult to be sure, if you are black, but I think it is now much harder to become one if you’re white” (Ibid, p. 73). Jerry Gafio Watts thinks such kind of expression softens the play’s racial image.

My argument is that racial problem is still very acute at the time when Baraka wrote this play and the interracial hatred exists as a matter of fact. For example, the hatred that a black person bears against the white is depicted in another play of his, *The Toilet* (1964). A gang of black boys drive a white boy into a corner and bully him in a high school toilet. It really proves that under the haunting of racial hatred, not only the black people suffer the existential plight, but also the white. It not only destroys the love between the two races, but also any form of racial affection. Therefore, the first significance for the premeditated plot of *Dutchman* lies in the point that it accurately and precisely portrays the interracial hatred between the black and the white, which forces Baraka to the realization that only the separation of the black from the white and

the formation of a unique national identity could establish the black's dignity and win respect for them from the white.

On the other hand, between 1965 and 1970, more than 500 urban uprisings broke out and the massive scale of the ghetto revolts sufficiently prove that the living condition for the black on the general was rather bad. Although there were some of them, like Clay, had squeezed in the middle class, the majority of them still lived in the awful ghettos. What is more, according to Komozi Woodard,

The massive tumult of the ghetto revolts set the stage for the fusion between the nationalism of small circles of radical artists and intellectuals and the grassroots nationalism of the broad urban masses; out of that explosive mix came a new generation of militant Black Power organizations, demanding self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense. In the midst of the uprisings the politics of black cultural nationalism and the Modern Black Convention Movement took form, unleashing the dynamics of nationality formation. During those turbulent years, Amiri Baraka's poetry raised the slogan, "It's Nation Time!" (1999, Preface: p. xiii-xiv)

Therefore, the second significance is that it propels Baraka to take a radical action to break away from the white community in the Greenwich Village in New York and to form the elite nationalism of the radical artists with the Black Arts Movement^⑤. And this movement, when jointed with the grassroots nationalism of the urban black people, pushed the human rights movement of the black into a new height: the Modern Black Convention Movement, with the philosophy of "Kawaida"^⑥, to create a nation within a nation, and won a significant victory.

Without this separation from the white in a definitely militant stance, and without the Black Arts Movement, the human rights movement of the black people in USA would never reach such a range and

^⑤ The Black Arts Movement (1965-1975) was a Black nationalism movement that focused on music, literature, drama, and the visual arts made up of Black artists and intellectuals. This was the cultural section of the Black Power movement, in that its participants shared many of the ideologies of Black self-determination, political beliefs, and African American culture. It started in 1965 when poet Amiri Baraka [LeRoi Jones] established the Black Arts Repertory Theater (BART/S) in Harlem, New York, as a place for artistic expression. Artists associated with this movement include Audre Lorde, Ntozake Shange, James Baldwin, Gil Scott-Heron, and Thelonious Monk. <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power/arts> (last accessed on January 18, 2026).

^⑥ The philosophy of the cultural nationalist theory and movement called kawaida (a Swahili word meaning "tradition" or "reason," pronounced ka-wa-EE-da) is a synthesis of nationalist, pan-Africanist, and socialist ideologies. It was created and defined by Maulana Karenga during the height of black pride and self-awareness that characterized the Black Power movement in 1966. Karenga believed that black people needed a change of consciousness before they could mount a political struggle to empower themselves. He argued that the reclamation of an African value system based on the *nguzo saba* (seven principles) of *umoja* (unity), *kujichagulia* (self-determination), *ujima* (collective work and responsibility), *ujamaa* (cooperative economics), *nia* (purpose), *kuumba* (creativity), and *imani* (faith) would serve as a catalyst to motivate, intensify, and sustain the black struggle against racism. This value system, which served as the basis of kawaida, would provide the foundation for a new African-American culture defined in terms of mythology (religion); history; social, economic, and political organization; creative production; and ethos. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/kawaida> (last accessed on January 19, 2026).

such a scale. In another word, to deploy the plot in *Dutchman* in this way is quite necessary. As Nita N. Kumar has pointed out,

Clay's message of rage cannot be equated with Baraka's valorizing of an activist and committed art. When Baraka proclaims in his poem "Black Art" that "We want 'poems that kill' / Assassin poems, Poems that shoot/ guns," he is not displacing art by rage, but is rather struggling to invest art with more power (219). Nor can't he play be seen as advocating an essentialist perception of black identity encapsulated in Clay's "pumping black heart" image. On the contrary, Baraka is here combating the forms of representation / perception that become forms of persecution by denying blackness any possibility of viable existence. The source of this persecution, the play suggests, lies in a severing of modes of representation and discourse from any authentic context. Thus, in the dialectical, penetrative understanding embodied in the play, the retributive logic remains, but not merely in the form of physical violence. White violence is seen to be operating at the level of the construction of black. it is at this level that the play seeks to contend with the oppressive structures of the binary, racial logic. (2003, p. 279)

It is true that Baraka's intention is not merely venting out his rage at the repressing institutions of the white domination with the ingrained hatred and violence, but also endeavors to break the institutions by exposing them and to replace them legally with the ones advocating black nationality through cultural uniqueness. The Modern Black Convention Movement was an essential component of the Black Power Movement. During the great movement, many cultural, political, and economic programs were proposed and developed by various organizations, such as the Black Arts Renaissance, the Black Panther Party, the US Organization, the Republic of New Africa, the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Nation of Islam, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. When the basic government and commercial services in the postindustrial ghettos collapsed, the African American radicals like Amiri Baraka developed "parallel black institutions in the void left by the urban crisis, emphasizing the failure of the American government and mainstream economy in providing basic services and offering black nationalism and cooperative economics as alternatives" (1999, Preface: p. xiv).

In the summit of the movement, by June 1970, the black and Puerto Rican convention candidates won the municipal election in Newark and "broke an historic, executive political color bar by installing the first black mayor in a major northeastern city" (Ibid, Introduction: p. 2). While during the 1960s and the 1970s, Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) "rose to national leadership in the Black Revolt at the head of the Modern Black Convention Movement" (Ibid, Introduction: p.1), it is quite salient that without his literary, especially dramatic, and political exploration of the interracial relationship between the black and the white, such movements of great significance could not be carried out. In a certain sense, he has put his literary assertion in "Black Art" into practice:

The critic for the New York Times, leaving a performance of "Slaveship," says, "This play makes me uncomfortable. This play says something that I do not want to hear." What else should it do? That is its function, to aid in the destruction of a society which is opposed to human life and

development. Its function is to transform reality, not to exist in fantasy. Not to exist as idle entertainment for the colonizers and the slave masters to giggle at. But to transform reality. (1987, p. 29)

The Black Arts Movement, the Black Convention Movement, and the Black Power Movement were the means to “transform reality”. And all these movements were carried out after Amiri Baraka wrote and staged his *Dutchman* in 1964. Although in his *The Slave*, which was written in the same year, he expressed his hesitation at his separation from the white community, the road which was taken by him served well in the building of the black nationality. From this perspective, the greatest significance of *Dutchman* lies in that it works as a kind of declaration to construct the black nationality, which speaks powerfully for Amiri Baraka’s acute political insight and correct political decision.

5. Conclusion

This article analyzes the premeditatedness of the murder in *Dutchman* and deems that Clay does not betray his people, nor does he deserve death by dressing in the middle-class way. Just as Wang Yuli, a renowned literary critic in China, states that we should “keep close to the ontology of the play and offer appropriate critique”^⑦ (Quoted from Yang Youan, 2025, p. 152), it is partial when many critics launch a lot of harsh criticism on this play, and it lacks full consideration to state that Baraka holds some essentialist perception of the black identity. As a matter of fact, it merely expresses his keen and painful awareness of the existential plight of the black people in the modern white middle-class dominant America. The significant point is that it propels his revolutionary move from the white community and his successful carrying out of the Black Power Movement and the Modern Black Convention Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. All these activities contribute greatly to the construction of the independent American nationality of the African Americans in USA.

From a retrospective angle, the premeditated murder in *Dutchman* serves not only as a declaration of constructing independent black identity but also as a sparkle to kindle Baraka’s colorful and powerful activities to improve the living conditions of the black people and to transform the reality. In this sense, *Dutchman* owns an undeniable important literary status in Baraka’s literary works as well as in the African American literary canon.

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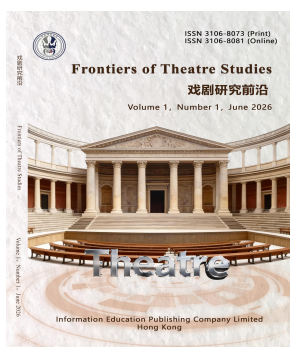
^⑦ The original quotation is written in Chinese: “探讨 ‘如何贴近戏剧本体、恰到好处地评论’ (汪余礼 2024, p.209) ” and the English version is translated by the author of this article.

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新世纪以来法国戏剧在中国的演出、翻译与研究

肖紫晴 (Xiao Ziqing), 李 纲 (Li Gang)

摘要: 新世纪以来, 法国戏剧在中国的传播从零散的文本引介转变为国家推动的多元文化实践, “中法文化之春”等平台的建立使其进入官方文化外交体系, 并通过戏剧节与高清影像技术拓展了传播渠道, 挑战并重塑了中国观众的观剧体验。在文本层面, 翻译与改编从过去的哲学思辨向日常生活回归, 更加注重舞台的可演性, 原版戏剧冷峻疏离的存在主义底色往往被更具亲和力的伦理温情覆盖, 而商业制作过程中的明星参与也进一步拓展了剧本意义。在学术领域, 法国戏剧研究逐渐独立于文学史框架, 转向剧场学与当代美学, 填补了荒诞派之后数十年的认知空白, 大众社交媒体的兴起则使批评权下放, 众声喧哗。异域戏剧的输入不仅是文化消费的对象, 更成为中国戏剧主体性建构的重要参照, 催生其在语言、身体与剧场观念上的无限可能。

关键词: 法国戏剧; 跨文化戏剧交流; 接受美学; 主体性

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Title: French Theatre in China Since the New Century: Performance, Translation, and Research

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Abstract: Since the new century, the dissemination of French drama in China has evolved from fragmented textual introductions into a state-promoted multicultural practice. The establishment of platforms such as the “Croisements Festival” (Spring of Sino-French Culture) has integrated it into the official cultural diplomacy system. Meanwhile, communication channels have been expanded through drama festivals and high-definition screening technologies, fundamentally challenging and reshaping the viewing experiences of Chinese audiences. At the textual level, translation and adaptation have shifted from past philosophical speculations back to everyday life, placing greater emphasis on stage performability. The cold and alienated existential undertones of the original plays are frequently replaced by a more relatable ethical warmth, while the involvement of celebrities in commercial productions has further expanded the multifaceted meanings of the scripts. In the academic realm, the study of French drama has gradually broken away from the traditional framework of literary history, pivoting towards theatrology and contemporary aesthetics, thereby filling the cognitive gap concerning the post-absurdist decades. Concurrently, the rise of mass social media has decentralized critical authority, giving rise to a diversified public discourse. Ultimately, the introduction of exotic drama serves not merely as an object of cultural consumption, but as a crucial reference for the subjective construction of Chinese theatre, inspiring infinite possibilities in terms of theatrical language, physical expression, and conceptual frameworks.

Keywords: French Theatre; cross-cultural theatre Communication; reception Aesthetics; subjectivity

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一、引言

在世界戏剧艺术殿堂中，法国戏剧始终占据着一种近乎“审美立法者”与“先锋实验室”的双重核心地位，不仅是欧洲文学传统的重要载体，更是西方戏剧现代化进程中最为活跃的先行者，其历史演变轨迹甚至可以被视作世界戏剧观念转型的缩影。十七世纪让·拉辛（Jean Racine）、皮埃尔·高乃依（Pierre Corneille）与莫里哀（Molière）三足鼎立，法国戏剧以其严密的结构、理性的思辨与精湛的语言艺术，为欧洲乃至世界确立了关于戏剧结构、语言风格与道德功能的“古典法度”，使巴黎长期被视为欧洲文化的圆心。然而，法国戏剧在世界艺术史上的蓬勃生命力，更在于其拥有一种自我革新的内在冲动与打破陈规的无尽勇气。

十九世纪维克多·雨果（Victor Hugo）以《<克伦威尔>序》及《欧那尼》的演出为檄文，冲破古典主义美学的种种禁锢，解放自由与情感，引领了浪漫主义戏剧的风潮。随后，伴随着安德

烈·安托万 (André Antoine) 的“自由剧场”运动, 法国又成为自然主义与现实主义戏剧的主流重镇, 推动了现代导演艺术的诞生, 使戏剧重心从“案头文学”真正转向“场面调度”的剧场艺术。进入二十世纪, 法国戏剧更是现代主义与后现代主义思潮的绝对中心: 安托南·阿尔托 (Antonin Artaud) 的“残酷戏剧”理论颠覆了西方以对话为中心的“对白戏剧”传统, 强调身体、直觉与仪式的力量; 让-保罗·萨特 (Jean-Paul Sartre) 与阿尔贝·加缪 (Albert Camus) 的存在主义戏剧将哲学思考直接引入剧场, 探寻人类存在的永恒困境; 以塞缪尔·贝克特 (Samuel Beckett)、欧仁·尤内斯库 (Eugène Ionesco) 为代表的“荒诞派戏剧”则通过解构语言与逻辑, 完成了对传统戏剧形式最彻底的反叛。

以此观之, 法国戏剧在世界艺术史上的地位是极其特殊的: 它既是传统的捍卫者, 构建了严谨的古典美学大厦, 又是秩序的破坏者, 不断在废墟上重建新的戏剧观念。从莫里哀的嬉闹到贝克特的沉默, 法国戏剧始终保持着对人类生存境遇的敏锐捕捉与对艺术形式的极致探索, 反复打碎, 反复建立, 这种生生不息的艺术创造力, 使其影响远远溢出了欧洲的地理边界, 并在二十世纪的中国得到了声声回响。在东西方文化交流的宏大图景中, 法国戏剧与中国的关系绝非单向度的文学引进或剧目搬演, 而是一部跨越百年的现代性追求与审美范式转型的精神对话史。如果说中国现代话剧的诞生是异质文化冲击下的产物, 那么法国戏剧在其中便扮演着“催化剂”与“变奏者”的关键角色, 既是中国戏剧从传统戏曲向现代话剧转型的形式参照, 也是中国知识分子借以进行社会启蒙与思想解放的有力武器。

回溯二十世纪初中国话剧的草创时期, 以《茶花女》和莫里哀的古典主义喜剧为代表的法国戏剧主要作为一种“思想的内容”被接受, 其文本的社会批判功能被置于首位, 成为了中国早期话剧构建现代民族国家认同的重要思想资源。随着改革开放的到来, 贝克特、尤内斯库等作家的现代派戏剧在八十年代作为一种极具冲击力的先锋形式进入经历了历史创伤与信仰失落的中国戏剧界, 直接促成了中国先锋戏剧运动的勃兴, 法国戏剧从“内容的启蒙”转向了“形式的觉醒”, 成为中国戏剧探索本体独立性的重要参照系。进入新世纪以来, 随着全球化语境的深化与“中法文化之春”等交流平台的建立, 中法戏剧关系进入了“复调对话”的新阶段, 雅丝米娜·雷扎 (Yasmina Reza)、乔埃尔·波默拉 (Joël Pommerat) 等当代剧作家的作品被引进, 中国戏剧人开始尝试将法国文本置于中国的社会语境中进行本土化置换与再创造。至此, 法国戏剧在中国的传播与接受呈现出异于往昔的文化逻辑与美学特质, 于舞台演出、文本译介与学术研究等范畴皆以崭新的面相存在。

二、场域的重塑: 传播机制与媒介转型

戏剧, 作为一种具有强烈在场性的艺术形式, 始终是不同的文化间对话与碰撞的最前沿场域, 然而任何一种跨文化戏剧交流都不可能在真空状态下自然发生, 难免受制于特定历史时期的政治环境、经济资本、技术条件与文化习惯。二十世纪八十年代的法国戏剧引进主要依赖的是李健吾、柳鸣九等老一辈翻译家的个人志趣, 或是像孟京辉这样早期先锋导演的探索热情, 更像是一个遥远的、书本上的精神符号, 缥缈于知识分子的阅读与想象之中, 零散、偶发且边缘化。进入新世纪以来, 随着中国加入世界贸易组织以及中法全面战略伙伴关系的建立, 法国戏剧的传播迅速被纳入国家层面的文化外交体系, 国家力量、商业资本与高新技术协同参与, 推动其传播形态发生深刻转变: 法国

戏剧不再仅仅是被阅读的文学文本，而是经由官方制度化引进、戏剧节特殊空间与高清影像媒介共同建构，成为一种纷繁的文化景观。

新世纪法国戏剧在华传播的最显著特征，首先就体现为国家主体的介入与制度化通道的建立，2003年至2005年举办的“中法文化年”即可被视为这一转折的确切历史坐标。这次规模空前的文化外交盛事，扭转了此前单纯依靠民间交流资金匮乏、渠道单一的被动局面，正是从这一时期开始，法国戏剧的引进有了专项资金支持和官方背书，从以往偶然的文化漂流现象中挣脱出来，转向国家意志的体现。随之确立的自2006年起每年春季举办的“中法文化之春”艺术节，由法国驻华大使馆统筹，与中国各大剧院及地方政府合作，迅速成长为中国境内规模最大、历史最久的外国艺术节。

由官方主导的引进模式，不可避免地带有某种筛选标准，“中法文化之春”的选片策略体现了鲜明的“经典与当代并置”特征：一方面推崇古典传统，以法兰西喜剧院为代表的国宝级剧团成为重点关注对象，莫里哀、马里沃（Pierre Carlet de Marivaux）、拉辛等经典作家的作品被反复展演，符合中国主流观众对“法式文化”优雅的、理性的、充满贵族气息的期待视野。另一方面，由于长期以来受二十世纪八十年代翻译思潮的影响，中国观众提到法国现代戏剧，脑海中浮现的往往只有贝克特等“荒诞派”。为了改变这种滞后的认知，“中法文化之春”有计划地引进当代导演的作品，比如帕斯卡尔·朗贝尔（Pascal Rambert）与瓦日迪·穆瓦德（Vahid Mahdavi）等在法国当红的中生代导演，他们的作品关注移民、战乱、身份认同等现实议题，风格更加犀利和现代。此外，那些在法国本土话题过于激进，形式上可能冒犯观众的“边缘戏剧”，往往不会被纳入其中。

如果说官方剧院提供的是一种庄重的观演体验，体现了皮埃尔·布尔迪厄（Pierre Bourdieu）所言的“正统文化的合法性”，那么新世纪兴起的各类国际戏剧节，则为法国戏剧尤其是先锋戏剧提供了一个更加自由的“异托邦”式的实验特区。所谓“异托邦”，米歇尔·福柯（Michel Foucault）称其可在一个单独地点中并列数个彼此矛盾的空间与基地。在我国，乌镇戏剧节、爱丁堡前沿剧展以及早期的北京国际青年戏剧节等新兴的艺术展演平台，承担着特殊的文化功能，可以将其看作临时性的独立文化场域，在主流文化秩序之外形成相对自足的艺术实践空间。在这些特定的时间和空间里，日常的商业票房压力、快餐式的文化消费逻辑以及主流大众的审美惯性被暂时悬置，法国先锋戏剧那些可能在常规剧场被视为挑衅与越界的表达获得合法地位，观众也会以一种狂欢化或朝圣般的心态来接纳戏剧中的洪流与声浪。

作为第四届天津曹禺国际戏剧节暨第七届林兆华戏剧邀请展最重磅的剧目之一，2017年朱利安·戈瑟兰（Julian Gunther）执导的史诗级作品《2666》在中国的演出，便是这种独立文化场域的典型例证。这部改编自智利作家罗贝托·波拉尼奥（Roberto Bolano）同名巨著的作品，演出时长达到了令人难以置信的12个小时。在常规的中国商业院线或以晚会式观演习惯为主导的主流剧场中，这样挑战生理极限的超长剧目几乎不可能有立足之地。然而，戏剧节这一“异托邦”暂时切断了外部社会的线性时间，将剧场转化为一个具有极强仪式感的封闭时空，使得《2666》在天津大剧院的演出中创造了场场爆满、一票难求的文化奇观。长达一整天的观演过程中，观众在剧场内进食、休息、甚至短暂睡眠，随后又被舞台上的音乐与影像唤醒。这种极端的身体在场体验，恰恰需要“异托邦”式的庇护，以此推翻传统话剧以情节为驱动的时间逻辑，将剧场转化为一个共同呼吸、共同

衰颓的能量场。也只有在戏剧节提供的排他性异质空间中，法国当代戏剧那种强调绵延、沉浸与时间流逝的后戏剧美学才能存活，进而给中国青年一代导演的创作观念留下或深或浅的印痕。

不容忽视的是，在新世纪法国戏剧在华传播的所有变量中，最具当代性也最具悖论色彩的，莫过于数字化影像技术的深度介入。2015年，新现场高清放映品牌经北京奥哲维文化传播有限公司引入中国，提供话剧、音乐剧、歌剧、舞蹈、音乐会、纪录片等多种舞台艺术门类的高清影像内容，其合作厂牌包括英国国家剧院现场、俄罗斯高清舞台影像、法兰西喜剧院、日本新感线剧团等。自此，戏剧传播的场域从实体剧场拓展至数字屏幕，观众坐在北京、上海等地剧场的大银幕前，便可观看到来自巴黎的《大鼻子情圣》、《恨世者》、《罗密欧与朱丽叶》等剧目的现场录像，碰撞出新鲜的审美体验。

按照瓦尔特·本雅明（Walter Bendix Schoenflies Benjamin）的理论，艺术作品的机械复制往往会导致其“此时此地”之独特性的丧失，即原作“光晕”的消散。然而，在法国高清戏剧影像于中国的接受实践中，我们必须将该理论置于跨文化语境进行辩证延展：在这里，机械复制并未单纯导致审美降级，反而催生一种奇特的“在场悖论”与新的跨文化“光晕”。中国观众虽然缺席于数千里外的现场，剧场肉身感丢失，但通过4K高清摄像机的多机位调度与特写镜头，他们却获得了比现场前排观众更为清晰的视觉特权。语言的隔阂以及精力的有限可能会使在现场的异国观众忽视掉表演的诸多细微处，而在镜头的放大之下，原本转瞬即逝的身体细节被定格并赋予了极高的展示价值，中国观众可以更直观地领略到法国古典主义表演学派对语音、语调和身体控制的严苛要求与极端强调。另外，高清影像也起到了教科书般的普及作用，它打破了地理和经济的阻隔，让艺术走下神坛，使得更多的观众有机会从剧场中获得。值得一提的是，经过剪辑、筛选后的“完美演出”也剔除了一次性现场表演可能出现的失误与偶然，通过影像了解法国戏剧的中国年轻一代受众，也许会建立起一种比法国本土观众更为纯粹、甚至被浪漫化了的法兰西经典情结。

三、文本的变形：翻译策略与本土化重写

场域的重塑为法国戏剧进入中国搭建好外部的舞台，确立了其在中国的合法性与可见度，而当具体的剧本真正跨越语言的藩篱，进入中文语境的内部时，更为隐秘而微妙的变形便发生了。在比较文学的视野中，文本的跨文化迁徙从来不是一次毫发无损的物理位移，而是充满误读、改写、协商与重构的动态过程，即所谓的“翻译总是一种创造性的叛逆”。（埃斯卡皮，1987，p.137）剧本不同于小说或诗歌，它天然地指向舞台，指向当下的观众，因此，新世纪以来法国戏剧文本在中国的演变，绝非简单的语言转换，它鲜明地体现了中国文化主体如何根据自身的社会发展阶段、审美趣味以及商业逻辑调整翻译策略，对异域文本进行“创造性叛逆”，从而生成新的意义。

回溯二十世纪八十年代至九十年代，中国戏剧界对法国戏剧的引介带有强烈的启蒙色彩与精英主义倾向，彼时，被翻译家和先锋导演们奉为主臬的，是萨特、加缪的存在主义戏剧，以及贝克特、尤内斯库的荒诞派戏剧。这种选择逻辑是历史性的，刚刚走出特殊历史时期的中国知识界，急于借助深邃的哲学思辨，来反思历史创伤、重建主体精神。因此，那一时期的法国戏剧很大程度上是作为一种“形而上”的哲学教条被阅读和排演的，观众走进剧场，期待的是在《等待戈多》的沉寂漫长中体悟人类生存的终极荒谬，或者在《禁闭》中领会“他人即地狱”的艰涩命题。然而，进入二

十一世纪，特别是2010年以后，随着中国城市化进程的极速推进与消费社会的全面崛起，读者的阅读趣味与观众的观剧心理皆随之转换。法国戏剧的选材重心从宏大的哲学叙事回归到了微观平实的日常生活，以雅丝米娜·雷扎、弗洛里安·泽勒（Florian Zeller）、让-吕克·拉夏尔斯（Jean-Luc Lagarce）为代表的“新布尔乔亚戏剧”或“心理现实主义戏剧”成为了引进的热点。

这种题材选择的代际更迭，并非法国戏剧本身的全部真相，法国本土依然有大量关切政治、移民和后殖民议题的激进创作，而我国文化场域则在主动筛选、寻求共通性和契合点的过程中抽丝剥茧，将目光落向都市生活的诸多现场——客厅、卧室、养老院，把中产阶级光鲜生活下的权力博弈、婚姻危机、代际裂痕以及个体孤独，悉数摊开在追光灯之下。以雅丝米娜·雷扎在中国出版界与演出市场引发持续二十年轰动的喜剧作品《艺术》为例，在那块著名的、昂贵的、却又仿佛空无一物的白色画布面前，雷扎为我们置放了一面巨大的镜子，映照出某种超越国界的、属于新兴中产阶级共有的焦灼与失落。那抹白色，既是无限的可能，也是绝对的荒芜，像极了我们当下社会中那些被过度包装的概念与符号，由此而引发的争吵越过了艺术本身，锐利地指向我们在五光十色中惊慌失措、摇摇欲坠的身份认同。相比之下，诸如贝尔纳-玛丽·科尔泰斯（Bernard-Marie Koltès）这样在法国当代戏剧史上地位极高，但语言风格晦涩，题材涉及暴力、权力交易、边缘群体与后殖民反思的剧作家，虽然也被翻译引进，却始终难以进入大众商业演出的核心视野。

当这些被选中的文本进入翻译环节时，翻译的策略也顺势完成迭代与优化，传统的戏剧翻译，往往被视为文学翻译的一个分支，译者更在意的是如何忠实地还原原著的语法结构、修辞特色和文学性，力求复现其异国情调与书卷气。但在新世纪，演出成为核心目的，以“舞台性”和“可演性”为主导的翻译观念更合时宜。法国戏剧，尤其是承袭了莫里哀传统的喜剧，往往喜欢使用严密的逻辑辩论、复杂的长句以及机智的双关语，如果原封不动照搬这些法式句法，演员在舞台上极易出现“气口”不对、说话拗口的现象，观众的听觉接收也会产生延迟，导致喜剧节奏的崩塌。在新世纪的译者们中，许多人本身便身兼学者与戏剧实践者的双重身份，有着丰富的剧场经验，如宁春艳、宫宝荣等。译者们开始有意识地挣脱单纯的语言转换者角色，在从事翻译工作时不再仅仅通过词典来审视词义，代之在脑海中直接预演舞台，重构语言节奏与身体性，为演员搭建一个能够让语言站立起来的支点。

翻译只是文本变形的第一道关卡，当剧本进入商业制作环节，它将经历更为细致彻底的本土化重写。新世纪以来，随着央华戏剧、上海话剧艺术中心等民营或改制剧团的崛起，购买法国热门商业剧本版权，邀请中国明星主演，打造年度大戏，已成为一种成熟的商业模式。在这个过程中，原版剧本往往只被当作叙事容器，实际被填充进去的则是中国本土的情感底色、道德伦理与社会困境。例如由老戏骨金士杰主演的话剧《父亲》，便用中国传统的伦理情感去置换原版戏剧中的存在主义底色。弗洛里安·泽勒的原著剧本通过打乱时间线和变换场景来模拟阿尔茨海默症患者混乱的主观视角，冷峻、客观、疏离甚至近乎偏执，试图探讨的是记忆丧失后“自我”的消亡，以及肉体衰老朽坏的难以挽回，带有一种本体论式的恐惧。中文版的处理将重点落在了“子欲养而亲不待”的伦理悲情上，父亲角色沾染着浓厚的文人风骨，渴望亲情回归，整体显得尤为悲天悯人。

不仅在文本情感层面，商业制作中的“明星制”同样是对法国戏剧原貌的一种“创造性的叛逆”。为了票房保障，一些法国戏剧的中文版会邀请影视明星领衔主演，明星本人的公众形象与文

化资本会不可避免地渗透进剧本的角色塑造中，这不仅是表演方式的替换，更是对文本原初意义的解构与商业重塑。例如，法国原版《庞氏骗局》的核心是揭示二十世纪初金融资本运作的历史荒诞性，但在中文版中，制作方邀请蒋雯丽反串出演男主角庞兹，这一大胆的选角策略产生了强烈的间离效果，将跨文化翻译中的“叛逆”推向极致。观众的注意力难免从对金融历史的反思，被蒋雯丽的性别反串与明星光环分走。明星的介入使得戏剧文本变成了一种奇特的娱乐载体，中国观众在剧场中消费的既是原汁原味的法国戏剧文本，也是明星的在场感与本土商业奇观。这种“创造性的叛逆”虽然可能削弱了原剧的批判锋芒，但却成功地将法国题材嫁接到了中国大众文化消费的广阔市场之中，吸引大量非传统戏剧观众走进剧场。

四、自我的确认：学术研究与大众批评

当一切最终汇聚于剧场的“此时此地”以及随后漫散开去的舆论涟漪时，我们便已经抵达跨文化交流最核心、最动荡、最灼人之处，审美观念迎面相逢，学术话语对质交锋，大众评断沉浮起落。我们费尽周折地去观看他者，归根结底不过是为了在混沌的阴影中真正辨认出我们自己。新世纪以来的这二十五年，法国戏剧对于中国而言，早已不是单纯的引进对象或学习范本，长久的对望中，中国戏剧人所凝视的，不仅仅是异域风景，更是万千面相中的最本真，是自身深处的欲望、匮乏、焦虑、迷茫与冲动。这种相伴相生起始于排练场内身体与语言的微小冲突，在学界对法国戏剧理论的借鉴、阐释与再解读中流转，借助大众传媒行至千里，直至尽数凝结为中国戏剧界对于“我们是谁”以及“我们当以何种方式言说”的持续追问。

随着新世纪中法合作深度的增加，一种全新的“导演中心制”跨国合创模式渐渐取代简单的版权买卖，法国导演直接进驻中国，执导中国演员排演法国剧作。这使得差异从抽象的文化层面直接具象化为排练场内身体与语言的此消彼长，长期以来，中国戏剧教育与创作实践深受苏俄斯坦尼斯拉夫斯基体系的影响，无论是学院派还是主流院团，都强调“体验”、“再现”与“生活化”。演员习惯于挖掘台词背后的“潜台词”，在停顿中填充情感，相信“此时无声胜有声”，语言不过冰山一角，同时揣摩人物的心理动因，在舞台上设立一个逻辑严密的“第四堵墙”。然而，以帕斯卡尔·朗贝尔、乔埃尔·波默拉为代表的法国当代“语言剧场”的观念却完全相反，在他们看来，语言不是表达情感的工具，语言本身就是行动，是暴力的实体，是射向对方身体的子弹，他们反心理、反再现甚至反情感滥用。

在2016年6月“中法文化之春”及“第七届北京南锣鼓巷戏剧节”首演成功之后，帕斯卡尔·朗贝尔便与北京蓬蒿剧场合作，亲自来华执导了他的代表作《爱的落幕》中文版。这部剧作的形式极端而纯粹：空荡荡的舞台，一男一女，一次完整争吵中双方的话被剥离开来，各自单独呈现。在排练过程中，导演要求演员摒弃多余的情感修饰以及那些为了让观众看懂而添加的微表情和停顿，避免用肢体动作去图解台词，保持高强度的、不间断的语言输出，让词语重重砸在舞台之上，掷地有声。这些新的尝试迫使演员在不适中放弃他们最擅长的情感体验，转而去寻找一种非写实的、更具雕塑感和爆发力的身体状态，最终达到的舞台效果是惊人的，语言的物质性力量得到了成倍的放大，直抵真理。

法国戏剧无法只停留在剧场，势必步入学术研究的视野与大众批评的舆论场。在二十世纪八十

年代，比起剧作家，萨特和贝克特常被视为思想家，他们的存在主义戏剧和荒诞派戏剧更像是西方现代主义哲学在中国的变体，学者们热衷于挖掘其中的人道主义危机与异化主题，以回应当时中国知识界对于主体性重建的渴望。2000年以后，随着宫宝荣、宁春艳等一批具有留法背景的学者归国并活跃于科研一线，以及上海戏剧学院、中央戏剧学院等专业院校科研力量的增强，国内对法国戏剧的研究不再从属于外国文学史的叙事框架，成为戏剧学领域内的专门研究方向，日益成熟与独立，研究重心也开始从文学与哲学转向剧场学与美学。

这一时期的学术研究首先体现在对研究对象的代际更新与填补空白上，中国对法国戏剧的认知是存在着巨大的时间断裂的，在荒诞派之后几乎有长达半个世纪的盲区。学界将贝尔纳-玛丽·科尔泰斯、让-吕克·拉夏尔、雅丝米娜·雷扎以及乔埃尔·波默拉等当代剧作家的作品陆续系统引入中国，探讨这些作家如何继承并反叛荒诞派传统，重构语言与动作的关系，特别是科尔泰斯笔下的边缘人书写和雷扎的中产阶级社会心理分析，成为了比较文学与戏剧文学专业硕士、博士论文的高频选题。这种研究重心的转移，标志着中国学界开始关注法国戏剧的“当下性”，将其作为正在发生的鲜活文化现象加以剖析。与此同时，研究方法论从“文本中心”转向“舞台中心”，力图揭示法国戏剧如何通过导演的二度创作将文本转化为一种总体艺术，纠正了以往仅从剧本台词出发的文学式研究弊端，促使国内学界开始关注舞台空间、身体语言、面具与多媒体等非文本要素，为我国“后戏剧剧场”的实践提供了重要的理论依据。但这种研究取向在极大地丰富了中国戏剧理论视野的同时，也隐约显露出一种“理论焦虑”，且容易将法国戏剧过度理想化为一种纯粹的美学乌托邦。

在学院派的精英化阐释之外，大众批评领域欣欣向荣，随着豆瓣、微博、抖音、小红书以及微信公众号等自媒体平台的兴起，戏剧批评的权力从专业剧评人下放到了每一位购票入场的普通观众手中。在如此庞大而驳杂的舆论场中，法国戏剧无处遁形，遭遇了更为严格甚至是粗暴的审视。一方面，是以中产阶级趣味为核心的共情与追捧，戏剧的形式或技巧可能得不到足够的重视，观众直接将剧情投射到自己的生活经验中，借以宣泄私人情绪，这未尝不是一种物质丰裕后精神困顿的表现。另一方面，则是“看不懂”与“审美对抗”，中法两国戏剧文化的时差会使部分观演者困惑：戏剧到底是讲故事的艺术，还是体验的艺术？我们应该在剧场里返璞归真，还是脱胎换骨？法国戏剧以一种“闯入者”的姿态，将这些原本潜伏的问题铺陈开来。

五、结语

中法戏剧在新世纪共生共荣，一次次向戏剧的边界探看，在不间断地对话中寻求生机。对于处于转型期的中国剧坛而言，法兰西没有成为一种隔岸观火的异国经验，它带来的是一种兼具破坏性与再生性的美学力量，近乎决绝地撕裂现实主义叙事的稳固平和，簇拥着中国创作者去尝试与碎片、静默、诗性以及非逻辑的身体表达面对面。最终，所有的理论分析与脉络梳理，都要回归到戏剧最赤诚最精深的力量，有关“人”的神圣与庄严。无论山海如何遥隔，无论技术怎样迭代，无论有多少种声音争执不休，人类在面对孤独、衰老、爱与死亡时都是一样的，平等地感到欢愉、困惑及恐惧。当场铃响起，当大幕落下，当灯光熄灭，艺术在黑暗中睁开眼来，一切众生都在生命的丰盈中同频震颤。这种相辅相成的交流势必不会到此为止，我们期待未来更多共同创作的面世，看到东方的气韵与西方的理性在方寸舞台间流光溢彩。戏剧是人类古老的避难所，是乱流中不动声色的神殿，在这里失落过的，也会在这里重又升起。

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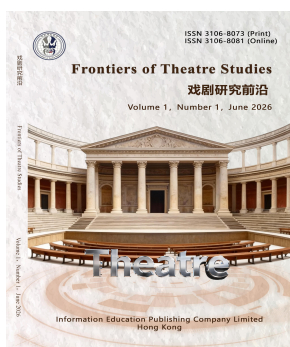
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契诃夫戏剧节视域下中俄戏剧交流的演进历程与发展愿景

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摘要: 契诃夫国际戏剧节作为全球极具影响力的戏剧交流平台, 历经三十余年发展, 形成初创期、拓展期、深化期的演进轨迹, 其从本土展演到全球盛会的蜕变, 也勾勒出中俄戏剧交流由浅入深的成长脉络。本文梳理了中俄戏剧交流的合作模式从单向学习到双向互动与联合共创, 参与程度从零星参与到主宾国集中展示, 交流维度从剧目展演到人才共育的路径。在此基础上得出, 中国戏剧需以戏剧节为平台, 秉持守正创新原则, 在经典作品诠释、实验新剧探索、传统艺术与现代科技融合等方面持续发力, 打造更多优质戏剧作品。同时, 从中俄戏剧互鉴中提炼出文明互鉴的核心运行逻辑, 即尊重文明差异是平等对话的前提, 高质量艺术呈现是有效传播的关键, 人才共育是可持续发展的支撑。这既为中俄戏剧未来发展提供方向, 也为不同文明间的艺术交流与平等互鉴提供了重要参考。

关键词: 契诃夫戏剧节; 戏剧交流; 演进逻辑; 发展愿景

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Title: The Evolution and Development Vision of Sino-Russian Theatre Exchanges from the Perspective of the Chekhov International Theatre Festival

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Abstract: As a highly influential global platform for theatrical exchange, the Chekhov International Theatre Festival has evolved over more than 30 years through three distinct stages: initiation, expansion, and deepening. Its transformation from a local performance event to an international festival has paralleled the progressive development of Sino-Russian theatrical exchanges from limited engagement to in-depth cooperation. This paper examines the evolutionary pathways of Sino-Russian theatrical exchanges: the cooperative model has shifted from one-way learning to two-way interaction and joint creation; participation has evolved from sporadic attendance to concentrated showcase as the Guest of Honour; and the dimensions of exchange have expanded from repertoire performances to joint talent cultivation and institutional cooperation. Building on this analysis, the paper concludes that Chinese theatre should leverage the festival platform to uphold the principle of 'integrity and innovation', continuously advancing in the interpretation of classic works, exploration of experimental new dramas, and integration of traditional art with modern technology to produce higher-quality theatrical works. Furthermore, the study extracts the core operational logic of civilizational mutual learning from Sino-Russian theatrical exchanges: respect for civilizational differences serves as the foundation for equal dialogue, high-quality artistic presentation ensures effective cross-cultural communication, and joint talent cultivation provides sustainable development support. These insights not only provide strategic direction for the future development of Sino-Russian theatre but also offer valuable references for artistic exchanges and equal mutual learning among diverse civilizations.

Keywords: Chekhov International Theatre Festival; theatrical exchange; evolution logic; development vision

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一、引言

戏剧作为承载文化基因、传递精神价值的重要艺术形态，是不同文明间对话的载体。契诃夫是享誉国际的小说家和戏剧家，其创作的戏剧更是世界喜剧宝库中的不朽经典。以他名字命名的安东·巴甫洛维奇·契诃夫国际戏剧节（以下称“戏剧节”）从构思到正式创办历经6年酝酿。1986年，苏联戏剧家协会召开成立大会，会上首次提出创办这一戏剧节的构想。后因苏联解体，此想法被暂时搁置。直到1992年，国际剧协联合会牵头，联合亚历山大·瓦西里耶维奇·巴尔托舍维奇、米哈伊尔·亚历山德罗维奇·扎哈罗夫、弗拉基米尔·尼古拉耶维奇·拉耶夫斯基、瓦列里·伊万诺维奇·沙德林等杰出戏剧界人士，成功举办了第一届契诃夫国际戏剧节。

三十多年来，戏剧节从最开始俄罗斯本土的艺术盛会逐步成长为覆盖全球、包容多元的跨文化交流平台，不仅见证了俄罗斯戏剧重返世界舞台中心的决心，更为中俄戏剧交流搭建起沟通桥梁。

作为东西方文明的重要代表，中俄两国在戏剧领域的交流渊源深厚，而“中俄戏剧艺术的融合创新有着广阔前景”（陈铭、赵春晶，2025，p.73），从斯坦尼斯拉夫斯基体系对中国戏剧的深远影响，到梅兰芳访苏，再到当代《良辰美景》《只此青绿》等跨界共创作品的惊艳亮相，两国戏剧在碰撞中互鉴、在传承中创新，形成了不断深入的交流轨迹。本文以契诃夫戏剧节为研究视角，梳理戏剧节的发展脉络，深入剖析中俄戏剧交流从单向学习到双向互动、从零星参与到集中展示、从剧目展演到人才共育的发展路径，提炼跨文化互鉴的运行逻辑与实践经验，为中国戏剧守正创新理念的践行、为不同文明间平等对话与艺术共生提供有益借鉴。

二、契诃夫戏剧节走过的三个“十年”

自首届落幕至2025年，戏剧节已走过33年发展历程，这一时段大致可划分为“三个十年”。此处的“十年”并非精确的时间计量，而是对发展阶段的概括性描述。具体而言，第一个十年为初创期（1992—2000），第二个十年为拓展期（2001—2011），第三个十年为深化期（2012年至今）。这三个阶段的演进不仅体现了戏剧节自身的成长轨迹，更清晰勾勒出中俄戏剧交流由浅入深、由表及里的发展脉络。

（一）初创期的第一个十年（1992—2000）：中俄戏剧交流的认知奠基

俄国是世界戏剧大国，历史上出现了像沃尔科夫、格里鲍耶陀夫、契诃夫、斯坦尼斯拉夫斯基等大家。由于诸多原因的限制，戏剧艺术未能全方位走向世界。但是，“俄罗斯文学在世纪之交二十余年自身追求的艰难行程中，通过自身的蜕变和对世界文学成就的认知与接受，已经从封闭的状态重新融入了世界文学的谱系中。”（张建华，2014，p.30）其中，俄国戏剧创作者和爱好者为此做出了多方努力。契诃夫国际戏剧节的创立便是他们勇敢的尝试。俄罗斯媒体称，“这次戏剧节说明俄罗斯这个曾为人类贡献出契诃夫和斯坦尼斯拉夫斯基的国家终于想成为世界性的戏剧大国”。

（海滨、郑滨，1992，p.39）

第一届戏剧节的核心剧目围绕契诃夫的《樱桃园》展开，呈现了这部作品的多种演绎版本。自第二届戏剧节起，节目单中开始纳入契诃夫国际戏剧节与各国国际机构联合制作的剧目。第三届戏剧节中这种倾向更加明显。比如邀请了全球戏剧领域的殿堂级人物，彼得·布鲁克（Peter Brook）、乔尔焦·斯特雷勒（Giorgio Strehler）、彼得·斯坦因（Peter Stein）、奥多玛尔·克雷察（OtoMar Krejca）等西方戏剧大师。

这一阶段的戏剧节受资源和条件的限制，戏剧节规模相对有限，以本国戏剧为主，但其国际化的定位和开放的态度，为中国戏剧界提供了观察和学习国际戏剧发展趋势的重要窗口，并为后续中俄戏剧交流的深化奠定了认知基础。值得注意的是，这一时期中国戏剧界主要通过引进俄罗斯经典剧目、研习斯坦尼斯拉夫斯基表演体系等方式进行单向学习，尚未形成实质性参与戏剧节的机制。这种单向输出的交流模式，既反映了当时中俄戏剧实力的客观差距，也为中国戏剧的后续发展积累了宝贵经验。

（二）拓展期的第二个十年（2001—2011）：中俄戏剧交流的初步互动

这一时期的时间跨度从2001年至2011年，涵盖了第四届至第十届戏剧节的举办。2001年戏剧节与第三届国际戏剧奥林匹克联合举办，在原有国内外剧目展演的基础上，新增了实验剧目单元、

专属剧目单元，以及世界街头戏剧单元，演出场次总数接近 500 场，极大拓展了演出规模。此后的几届，参演剧目来源地实现了从本土向海外的延伸，逐渐突破地域限制，成为更具包容性的戏剧交流平台。

除剧目表演之外的相应艺术交流活动也同时举办，形式丰富多彩。第四届戏剧节举办了大师班、专题讲座、街头艺术展演、实验剧场展示等。第五届增加了外国剧作家剧本朗读会，并围绕五大议题开展专题圆桌论坛。这一时期也形成契诃夫戏剧多元阐释的局面，特别是在第九届戏剧节，其以纪念契诃夫诞辰 150 周年为核心，所有展演剧目均以“改编自契诃夫作品、讲述契诃夫生平、致敬契诃夫精神”为脉络，全方位呈现了契诃夫这位戏剧大师的表演艺术和思想内核。到 2011 年，顺利举办第十届戏剧节，本届戏剧节恰逢意大利-俄罗斯、西班牙-俄罗斯文化年，以此为契机，戏剧节正式开启以文化年为纽带的常态化国际戏剧交流模式，推动不同文明背景下的舞台艺术实现更深层次的碰撞与融合。

戏剧节在这一阶段的地域拓展和形式创新，为中国戏剧的“走出去”提供了更多可能性。2005 年第六届戏剧节实验与青年单元，俄罗斯导演尼古拉·德鲁切克携手俄籍舞美、作曲家与中国演员通力协作，打造了中俄首个联合项目《良辰美景》。2011 年，中国国家话剧院献上了经典话剧《雷雨》，其极具感染力的舞台呈现与饱满浓烈的表演赢得广泛赞誉，正如剧作家徐晓钟评价：“北京人民艺术剧院的第三版《雷雨》，无疑标志着这部作品的舞台生命迈入了全新纪元”。虽然这一阶段中国参与程度仍然有限，但已从零星观摩走向初步参与，为后续的深度合作积累了宝贵经验。

（三）深化期第三个十年（2012 年至今）：中俄戏剧交流的深度融合

2012 年至今，戏剧节在合作程度、创作深度、地域广度、影响效度等方面实现全面发展，国际化程度和专业水平达到新高度，为中俄戏剧交流的深度参与创造了有利条件。这一阶段，戏剧节通过“国家文化年”等机制推动国际戏剧对话，同时其教育功能的拓展为中俄戏剧人才共育提供了重要平台。

进入深化期，中俄戏剧交流实现了从零星参与到集中展示的历史性跨越，标志着两国戏剧关系进入双向互鉴、深度融合的新阶段。2019 年恰逢中华人民共和国成立 70 周年暨中俄建交 70 周年，中国以主宾国身份亮相第十四届契诃夫国际戏剧节，这是中俄戏剧交流史上的重要里程碑。此次中国共携五部精品剧目登台，为俄罗斯观众献上一场融汇东方美学与当代创意的艺术盛宴。这场集中展示并非终点，而是中国参与度持续深化的新起点。此后中国戏剧在契诃夫戏剧节频繁亮相，持续深化两国的交流广度和深度。

此外，契诃夫戏剧节的影响力已渗透到教育、文学、公共文化等多个领域，通过“戏剧+”的跨界形式，让艺术对话延伸至更广阔的社会空间。在教育领域，戏剧节开设了青年导演创作工作坊，邀请戏剧界知名大师、导演、舞台设计师、戏剧理论家及戏剧评论家等，以此为青年创作者提供交流和成长的机会。在艺术表现形式上，“戏剧+武术”“戏剧+魔术”“戏剧+科技”等创新模式，让戏剧的边界不断拓宽。比如第十四届戏剧节成龙旗下的北京龙韵功夫团则以精彩的武术表演，为观众讲述功夫背后的历史文化故事。第十七届戏剧节《只此青绿》，借助旋转舞台等复杂舞美科技，中国古典审美意蕴与现代舞台艺术完美交融。这些实践不仅丰富了戏剧的表现形态，更让艺术与社会生活深度联结，传递出更具包容性的文化价值。

三、契诃夫戏剧节视域下中俄戏剧交流的深化之路

契诃夫戏剧节走过的三十余年演进历程，不仅清晰呈现了自身从本土化实践到全球性戏剧盛会的蜕变，也映照出中俄戏剧交流从单向输出到双向互动、从剧目展演到人才共育的演进路径。初创期中国以观摩者身份积累经验，拓展期从远距离观摩走向近距离舞台表演，深化期则进入深度融合和双向互鉴的新阶段。这一过程揭示了合作模式、参与程度、交流维度之间层层递进、相互促进的关系，即合作模式从外在形式，参与程度从互动深度，交流维度从内容广度上共同推动交流从浅层接触走向深层互鉴。合作模式的演进为参与程度的提升奠定基础，参与程度的深化又催生交流维度的拓展，三者共同构成中俄戏剧交流螺旋式上升的轨迹。

（一）合作模式从单向输出向双向互动演进

在戏剧节举办之初，彼时以戏剧节为平台的中俄戏剧交流呈现单向输出的特征。戏剧节主要表演俄罗斯本土戏剧及引进欧美具有国际影响力的导演及作品，关注点聚焦西方国家。“俄罗斯戏剧，尤其是斯坦尼斯拉夫斯基表演理论，影响了中国几代戏剧家，对中国戏剧舞台艺术创作及其发展产生了极大影响。”（刘平，2016，p.177）这些精心排演的优秀作品成为中国戏剧界的学习样本，既让中国从业者感受到国际戏剧的艺术冲击力，也催生了中国融入国际戏剧交流的意愿。

进入21世纪，中俄戏剧的双向互动逐渐增多，形成了“引进来”与“走出去”的良性循环。俄罗斯剧目如2004年彼得·施泰因版《哈姆雷特》、2007年与2012年德克兰·唐纳伦版《鲍里斯·戈都诺夫》和《暴风雨》、2017年全男班俄语版《第十二夜》等相继来华，为中国观众带来多元艺术体验。与此同时，中国剧目也积极走向俄罗斯舞台，从2005年《海洋之声》到林怀民的《九首歌》《稻禾》，再到福建京剧院展现“唱念做打”精湛技艺的《杨门女将》，东方戏剧的独特韵味在契诃夫戏剧节上绽放光彩。

双向展演不断深化的同时，进一步催生了联合创作。第六届戏剧节推出了中俄首个联合项目《良辰美景》，标志着两国戏剧交流实现了从单向输出到双向互动的历史性跨越。该剧的深层价值在于实现了东西方戏剧美学的有机融合与转化。俄罗斯导演尼古拉·德鲁切克运用斯坦尼斯拉夫斯基体系的心理现实主义手法，与中国传统戏曲的写意美学形成深度对话。剧中，俄方艺术家负责的舞美设计采用简约抽象的现代主义风格，与中国昆曲程式化表演形成张力。

这种合作模式的转型，不仅体现在创作层面的双向互动，更折射出文明互鉴的重要前提，即尊重差异是平等对话的基础。《良辰美景》的成功实践表明，真正的跨文化创作不是消解差异、追求同质化，而是在尊重各自文化特质的基础上寻找价值共鸣。正如剧作家赵耀民所言，经过俄罗斯艺术家的再创作，作品的审美意境“更加空灵悠远，余韵绵长”，这恰恰体现了跨文化创作中“1+1>2”的增值效应。这种从单向学习到双向互动的合作模式转变，为中国戏剧从零星参与到集中展示提供了可能，为后续参与程度的提升奠定了坚实基础。

（二）参与程度从零星参与到集中展示升级

契诃夫戏剧节创办的首个十年，中国以观摩者角色参与，通过引进剧目巡演、选派从业者赴俄交流等途径，与这一国际平台建立初步联结。第二个十年，中国戏剧界实现从观摩者到参与者的转变，北京人艺、中国国家话剧院等顶尖院团及林怀民、林兆华等艺术家携代表作登台，但参与仍以零星展演为主。第三个十年，2019年是关键转折点，中国以主宾国身份亮相戏剧节，实现从零星参与到集中展示的升级。

在这次集中亮相中，实景园林昆曲《牡丹亭》完成了对传统美学空间的活化，芭蕾舞剧《长恨歌》实现了西方身体语汇重述东方叙事，音乐话剧《兰陵王》更是融合史诗气质与当代剧场语言，功夫舞剧《11 武者》打破武术、芭蕾与现代舞的边界，云门舞集的压轴登场则为本届演出画上了圆满且厚重的句号。此次参与广泛呈现昆曲、芭蕾、话剧、功夫舞剧等多元艺术面貌，为俄罗斯观众献上融汇东方美学与当代创意的艺术盛宴。这场集中展示并非终点，而是中国参与度持续深化的新起点。此后，赵梁的《幻茶谜经》以唐代古茶具为灵感，通过男性舞者反串演绎，步步皆戏，惊艳全场。特别是在十七届戏剧节上，中国东方表演艺术团的舞剧《只此青绿》作为开幕剧震撼亮相，40 余位舞者让宋代《千里江山图》在舞台上徐徐“复活”，既延续了中国艺术在俄的展示热度，更成为中华文化对外传播的亮丽名片。

这些戏剧的成功展演深刻体现了文明互鉴的核心逻辑，即高质量艺术呈现是文明互鉴的关键。从《长恨歌》的芭蕾语言到《11 武者》的功夫融合，从《牡丹亭》的园林实景到《只此青绿》的现代舞台呈现，中国戏剧在契诃夫戏剧节的每一次亮相都经过精心打磨，既坚守中华优秀传统文化的根脉，又善于运用国际化的艺术语言进行创造性转化，有效降低了跨文化传播的认知门槛。以舞剧《只此青绿》为例，该剧的深层价值在于它是如何讲述中国故事的。它将中国传统美学中天人合一的哲学思想与气韵生动、情景交融的艺术追求融入舞蹈创作，通过舞者灵动的肢体语言，将《千里江山图》中凝固的山水意境与人物神韵转化为流动的舞台诗篇。该剧既展现了中华美学追求意境深远、物我相融的独特魅力，又以极具感染力的艺术形式实现了传统与现代的对话。正是这种守正与创新的有机结合，使得作品既保持了文化的独特性，又具备了跨文化对话的普遍性。

这种高质量艺术呈现之所以能够推动文明互鉴向纵深发展，其原因主要在于它降低了跨文化传播的认知门槛，观众无需具备深厚的中国画论知识，也能通过视觉冲击和情感共鸣理解作品的美学追求，从而创造了一个基于共同审美空间的双向对话。观众为《只此青绿》中舞者演绎的山水意境所震撼时，他们不是在被动接受中国故事，而是在主动参与一场关于人与自然关系的探讨。这也为更深层次的合作奠定了信任基础。这种基于艺术质量的认同会自然延伸到对创作理念、人才培养等更深层领域的兴趣与合作意愿，从而推动中俄戏剧交流实现深层次突破。

（三）交流维度从戏剧交流向人才共育拓展

随着合作模式的创新到参与程度的拓展，中俄戏剧交流不断深化。这也对于人才培养提出了更高要求，既需要深谙本土文化精髓的戏剧人才，又需要具备跨文化对话的能力。正是基于这一认识，戏剧节在戏剧表演之外，搭建了人才共育的平台，开设专题讲座、大师班、观众见面会等，以满足青年戏剧从业者与爱好者的成长需求。比如邀请叶卡捷琳娜·诺维科娃、卡尔苏姆·阿明、阿娜米卡·哈克萨尔、阿拉·申杰罗娃、亚历杭德罗·冈萨雷斯·普切、马振宏等在戏剧节开讲，让观众及从业者对各国艺术特点有更深入的了解。同时，戏剧节可以近距离接触戏剧大师，并在表演能力上得到指导。加夫列尔·查梅·布恩迪亚指导的《话剧中的小丑戏集训营》。该集训营重在让参与者将学会克服被他人嘲笑的恐惧，进而发现内心深处的“小丑特质”，唤醒内心的孩童式天真。此外，舞蹈大师课系列《舞蹈：无界的语言——金砖国家的文化遗产》，则让观众沉浸式感受中国等四国独特的舞蹈艺术。

此外，独联体及格鲁吉亚青年导演实验室、独联体国家青年戏剧论坛作为核心的人才共育项目，已连续举办多届，并对青年表演者产生较大影响。独联体及格鲁吉亚青年导演实验室成立于 2008 年，

每一届有不同主题，比如《音乐剧的新形式：导演与编舞的协作方式》《荒诞诗学——尼古拉·果戈理》《契诃夫》等，以此达成对参与者的专业提升和能力锻炼。独联体、波罗的海国家和格鲁吉亚青年剧场论坛采用三年一度的形式举办，每届论坛的两至三年筹备期内，组委会会选拔青年导演的舞台作品、剧院设计师的创意方案与青年剧作家的原创剧本，为青年戏剧人才提供展示与交流的平台。中国青年戏剧人才积极参与其中，不断掌握国际前沿的戏剧理念与技术方法，更在跨文化对话中形成了独特的艺术表达。

戏剧节在为世界戏剧人才培养上花费了巨大心力，这也说明人才共育是文明互鉴长远发展的重要支撑。他们的尝试不仅为中俄戏剧交流注入了源源不断的新生力量，更在跨文化对话中培育了具有国际视野的戏剧人才。从《良辰美景》中俄演员的表演方法互鉴，到《牡丹亭》中芭蕾舞者与昆曲艺术的碰撞融合，再到青年导演实验室对果戈理、契诃夫等经典作品的当代诠释，人才共育让文明互鉴超越了简单的剧目交换，深入到创作理念、表演技法、艺术思维的深层交流。戏剧节以人才为纽带的交流模式，既培养了能够理解并传播中华文化的国际戏剧人才，也为国际戏剧界输送了具备跨文化创作能力的新生代力量，为中俄戏剧交流的可持续发展创造了条件。

四、中俄戏剧互鉴中的实践启示与未来愿景

契诃夫戏剧节自创办以来，不仅助力俄罗斯这一底蕴深厚的戏剧王国重返世界戏剧舞台，更以开放包容的姿态为各国戏剧搭建起跨文化对话的平台，让多元艺术在此完成思想的碰撞，为全球戏剧文明互鉴树立了楷模，开创了新局面。同时，它的影响从戏剧艺术交流延伸到更广阔的人文交流，串联起各国的文化记忆与价值追求，促进文明间的平等对话与和谐共生。

（一）以契诃夫戏剧节为平台，打造更优质的戏剧作品

戏剧节在短短三十余年的发展中取得了可喜的成就，为中俄戏剧交流谱写了浓墨重彩的新篇章。在此，戏剧节以开放包容的姿态打破艺术形式的边界，既有经典话剧、舞剧、歌剧等成熟艺术形态，也有彰显不同文化的艺术个性的各国传统戏剧、实验新剧等特色表达，更接纳融入现代科技赋能的创新呈现形式，形成的多元参与的艺术生态。这里既汇聚了世界级戏剧大师的巅峰之作，让全球观众得以沉浸式享受顶尖艺术盛宴，感受人类戏剧文明的极致魅力。更依托跨国巡演打破地域壁垒，推动优秀剧目跨越国界、联通大洲，让不同文化背景的受众都能跨区域共享艺术成果，真正实现戏剧艺术的全球流动。

未来将继续依托平台的价值，排演更多优质的作品，与世界各国一同在戏剧节大放异彩，建立可持续的交流生态。但是当代中国导演或是以“我注六经”或是以“六经注我”的气魄演绎契诃夫作品，“就实际影响和评论界的反响来说，个性化改编版本的契诃夫戏剧无论是票房收入还是艺术效果本身普遍都不太理想，在剧本阐释和舞台呈现上都还有进一步探索的空间”（刘溪，2022，p.97）因此，对于中国戏剧而言，需秉持守正创新的原则，在三个方面上实现平衡与突破。

在戏剧创作理念的学习上，既要理解经典作品的演绎精髓，吸纳国际先进创作理念与舞台经验，特别是“欧美戏剧持续对中国戏剧在戏剧观念的多元化和戏剧审美的拓展方面产生了积极影响，这是中华民族艺术真正以创造的精神融入世界的方式”（刘茂生，2024，p.79），又要主动拥抱戏剧领域的新兴表达范式与前沿思潮，以开放姿态接纳创新方法。在具体创作中，既要以严谨的艺术态

度打磨经典剧目，让传世之作在当代语境中焕发持久生命力，又要勇于开拓实验新剧的创作边界，敢于突破传统叙事与形式束缚，探索戏剧艺术的无限可能。在传承与创新方面，既要坚守中国传统戏剧的文化根脉，传承程式化表演精髓与家国情怀的精神内核，也要知晓“一个民族要使自己的文化在异域扎根，最好的方式是让代表自己优秀文化的文艺作品与他民族文化相融合，以他民族的文艺形式来表现”（朱恒夫，2022，p.94），还要借助数字舞美、沉浸式体验、跨界融合等创新形式，积极推动传统艺术与现代科技的深度融合。

（二）以契诃夫戏剧节为契机，实现戏剧的互鉴共生

契诃夫戏剧节框架下的中俄戏剧交流，不仅是双边艺术互动，更折射出跨文化交流的核心逻辑，为不同文明间的对话提供了重要启示。其一，尊重差异是文明互鉴的首要前提。各国艺术的文化传统不同，表达形式多种多样。戏剧节以开放包容的姿态接纳这份多样性，不强行消解差异，而是在尊重各国本土文化特质的基础上，“从理论与实践上寻找新的政治和文化‘合题’”（张锦、陈戎女、孙柏、周云龙，2025，p.105），如家国情怀、人与自然、人性探索等普世价值内核，让不同文明的戏剧艺术既能各美其美，更能在价值共鸣中实现美美与共，为跨文化交流奠定了平等对话的基础。

其二，高质量艺术呈现是文化传播的关键。戏剧节的实践证明，真正有效的跨文化传播，从来不是文化符号的浅层堆砌，而是以精雕细琢的艺术品质为核心。无论是中国昆曲《牡丹亭》对传统美学的极致诠释，俄罗斯话剧对经典文本的当代重构，还是将传统艺术与现代科技的深度融合，均以扎实的艺术功底、严谨的创作态度、饱满的文化内涵为支撑，让受众在沉浸式的艺术体验中，自然理解不同文明的精神内核，而非被动接收碎片化的文化符号。这种以质取胜的传播逻辑，让跨文化交流真正实现了“走心”而非“走形”，成为文明互鉴的有效路径。

其三，人才共育是跨文化交流的重要支撑。文明的互鉴终究要落脚于人的联结。戏剧节通过青年导演实验室、跨国联合排演、戏剧论坛等形式，让各国戏剧爱好者、从业者齐聚一堂。既有名师亲授的技艺切磋，也有实验新剧创作中的理念碰撞；既有青年人才的实战历练，也有资深艺术家的经验传承。这种人才共育模式，不仅培育了一批兼具跨文化视野的戏剧从业者，更让不同文明的艺术基因在交流中相互滋养，为跨文化戏剧生态的可持续发展注入了持久活力。

展望未来，我们将继续以契诃夫戏剧节为中俄戏剧交流的核心纽带，在经典诠释、实验创作、科技融合的道路上持续发力，打造更多兼具文化底蕴与国际视野的高水平作品。同时，更应将中俄戏剧互鉴的经验延伸至更广阔的文明对话领域，以戏剧为桥，推动不同文化在尊重差异中寻求共鸣，在平等交流中共同发展。唯有如此，才能让戏剧艺术持续为全球文明互鉴注入鲜活力量，为构建人类命运共同体筑牢坚实的人文根基。

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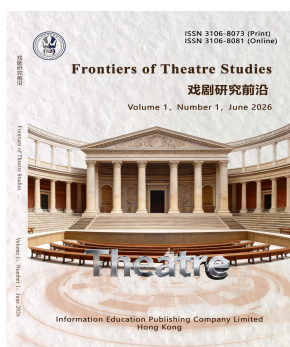
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新世纪以来中国戏剧在新加坡的演出与交流

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摘要: 新世纪以来, 依托多元文化政策构建的包容环境与长期积淀的国际化传播优势, 新加坡成为中国戏剧跨文化传播及中新戏剧人文交流的重要场域。中国戏剧在新加坡的传播呈现出交流频次高、演出形态多元的特征, 其传播过程并非单向文化输出与被动接纳, 而是在本土市场的筛选、在地学术与文艺批评的介入下, 完成的本土化重塑。在当地媒体的传播赋能与公共文化体系的持续支持下, 新世纪以来的中国戏剧作品深度融入新加坡的社会文化生态, 对当地多元文化建设产生深远影响。整体来看, 中国戏剧的演出活动在新加坡具有促进文化理解、塑造文化认同的重要意义, 也成为中新两国人文交流与文明互鉴的重要载体。

关键词: 中国戏剧; 跨文化交流; 新加坡; 戏曲; 现代戏剧

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Title: Performance and Exchange of China Drama in Singapore since the New Century

Abstract: Since the turn of the 21st century, building on the inclusive institutional environment shaped by its official multiculturalism policies and its long-established strengths in international cultural dissemination, Singapore has emerged as a key site for the

intercultural communication of Chinese theatre and for China-Singapore theatrical and humanities exchanges. The dissemination of Chinese theatre in Singapore is marked by a high frequency of bilateral exchanges and diverse performance formats. Far from being a process of one-way cultural export and passive reception, its circulation is defined by a localized reconfiguration of works, mediated through the filtering of the local market and the intervention of domestic academic and literary criticism. Empowered by the communicative reach of local media and sustained support from Singapore's public cultural system, Chinese theatre works over this period have become deeply embedded in Singapore's social and cultural ecosystem, exerting a profound influence on the country's ongoing multicultural development. Overall, the performance practices of Chinese theatre in Singapore hold significant intrinsic value in fostering intercultural understanding and shaping cultural identity, while also serving as a key carrier for humanities exchanges and mutual learning between the civilizations of China and Singapore.

Keywords: Chinese theatre; intercultural exchange; Singapore; Xiqu; modern drama

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一、引言

伴随全球化进程持续深入且不断加速，各国间的文化交流愈发频繁，艺术与文化的跨国互动渐成常态。中国戏剧作为一种历史悠久、文化底蕴深厚的表演艺术，在国际文化交流舞台上正发挥着愈发重要的作用。新加坡华人占比较大，历史上与中国始终保持着紧密的文化和情感联系，这为两国间艺术融合提供良好的社会基础。近年来，中国戏剧在新加坡演出形式日益丰富、全面，包含传统的京剧、粤剧和歌仔戏等等，还涉及现代表演形式，如话剧、民族舞剧等多种类型。这些演出在尊重并保留中国传统戏剧精髓之余，也积极融入新加坡本地文化元素和审美习惯，逐步形成兼具东方韵味又富有本地特色的新型艺术风格，进一步推动跨文化美学对话和情感共鸣。

“作为一个多族群社会，打破族群界限，提倡族群融合是新加坡一直以来的主要文化政策，这种环境衍生出新加坡特有的族群融合跨界文化。”（潘妍娜，2023，p.58）新加坡的文化背景和社会结构较特别，传统和现代、东方和西方的艺术观念在此不断交融，推动在新演出的中国戏剧创新表现手法和舞台设计。这些作品保留传统精髓，还大胆探索新艺术形式，促进两国文化交流。在这个国际化城市国家，戏剧作品不局限于单一文化表达，而是融入了更多不同元素。

二、新加坡文化环境与中国戏剧演出的契机

(一) 新加坡的文化多样性和政策支持

新加坡历史悠久，文化独特。新加坡的种族和文化的多样性为各种艺术形式，尤其是戏剧，提供了很大的发展空间。新加坡是一个典型的多种族、多文化的国家，华族、马来族、印度族等不同民族和谐共存。华族是新加坡的主要族群，人口占比超过 70%，华人文化深深扎根，是当地华人认同的重要基础。华族与其他族群的文化有共生、相容和互补的特性，受到了广泛的重视。（王列耀，2003，p.183）与此同时，马来族、印度族等其他族群文化元素也为新加坡的文化增添了多样性。中国戏剧的引进和发展深受本土文化背景的影响，中国传统戏曲，如京剧、昆曲、粤剧等得以在新加坡生根发芽，获得越来越多关注和支持。新加坡多元文化氛围，特别是对外来文化的包容，为中国戏剧的引进与演出创造理想条件。

新加坡的节庆和宗教活动鲜明地体现了其文化的多样性，在推动中国戏剧的传播方面发挥关键作用。华族的春节、马来族的哈芝节、印度族的屠妖节等节庆，既展示了各民族的文化特色，也为戏剧表演提供了重要平台。“大凡华人的传统节日，如元宵节、清明节、中元节、中秋节、冬至、春节等，以及神诞、华人许愿还愿等特殊的日子，这些节日的经营大多围绕拜神和娱乐而展开，为华语戏曲的演出提供了好机会。”（康海玲，2013，p.67）每逢民俗节庆，京剧、粤剧等传统戏曲表演均为节庆活动的固定单元，吸引规模可观的受众群体。这类节庆活动，是新加坡当地华人民众的欢庆时刻，也是他们建构文化认同与族群身份认同的重要载体。在这些场合中，传统戏剧承载深层的文化价值，既能拉近受众与传统艺术的距离，增强现场观众的参与感与情感共鸣，也推动戏剧在当地的融合与创新发展。

“1965 年新加坡独立后，政府开始重视和支持传统文化的发展，其倡导的多元主义政策尊重和保护不同文化、种族、宗教等群体的差异性，反对文化同化或文化压迫，以促进不同文化的相互包容、和谐共处。”（黄露、赵亚如，2025，p.57）多元主义政策推动了本土文化的繁荣，为其他文化的引入提供支持，中国戏剧也在这片神奇的土地得到发展。

许多新加坡戏剧团体和艺术节也为中国戏剧的引进和本土化提供重要平台，为中国戏剧在当地的传播发展创造条件。新加坡艺术周和新加坡国际艺术节是新加坡最有影响力的顶级表演艺术节，多次邀请了中国的京剧、昆曲、话剧等剧种参与。新加坡国家艺术理事会、新加坡旅游局和新加坡国家美术馆作为官方文化代表性机构，为中国戏剧团体提供很多演出机会，通过定期的文化交流活动加强两国戏剧艺术的互动。新加坡滨海艺术中心和新加坡艺术剧场等，也积极推动中国戏剧和本土文化融合，创造很多文化交流和创作空间。新加坡政府特别重视文化多样性和国际化。在引进和推广中国戏剧方面，他们给中国戏剧的本土化发展提供政策和资金帮助，这些支持让中国戏剧在新加坡能够更好地落地、成长。

(二) 中国戏剧在新加坡的接受度

中国戏剧在新加坡始终很受欢迎，这跟当地社会文化的变迁关系密切。中国传统戏曲在华人社区和同乡会馆始终占据重要地位，承担着传承海外华人文化的重任。现代话剧则凭借扎实艺术水准，逐渐成为新加坡文化生活不可或缺的一部分。从最初保护传统戏曲，到后来引进现代话剧，每个阶段的接纳方式不同，但都表明新加坡社会对中国戏剧包容且乐于吸纳的态度。这种包容不是偶然，是随两国文化缓慢的交流过程，逐步发展而成的。

中国传统戏曲能在新加坡得以留存并实现良性发展,与当地侨民历史和民间文化紧密相连,而这又与早期华人移民的经历息息相关。19世纪末至20世纪初,来自福建、广东、海南等地的华人群体陆续抵达新加坡,他们引入了京剧、粤剧、闽剧等多种地方剧种。地方戏的传承通常借助同乡会馆及逢年过节的宗教活动在老社区中实现代际传承,戏曲承载着他们的思乡之情,也记录着众人共有的记忆。如海南省琼剧院和海南省文化艺术学校、新加坡海南协会的合作演出^①,以及新加坡冈州会馆^②持续推动的粤剧慈善演出,都表明这一类表演艺术超越了单纯的审美范畴,成为一种维系乡谊、传承文化的社群活动。“移民之间基于方言和地缘的亲情,远比身为中国人的国族情感更为恒久炽热”。(孔飞力,2016,p.23)通过与乡土记忆的联结,这些剧种成了侨民文化的见证和传承。可以看出,传统戏曲在新加坡的延续不是偶然。传统戏曲既是文化传递的桥梁,又是集体记忆的载体,是那些在异乡寻找归属感的侨民们维系乡情的独特方式。这类戏曲目前正面临观众老龄化、传承困难的问题,但凭借他们深厚的民间基础,依然在新加坡的文化生态占据重要位置。

传统戏曲依靠戏班来代际传承,但中国现代话剧在新加坡的传播模式就有所不同,主要是借助官方文化机构和国际艺术节等平台进入当地市场。当地民众对这些戏剧的接受程度,由票务销售情况和媒体评价来衡量。例如,近年来,方旭导演执导的《骆驼祥子》这类大型剧目,经常作为滨海艺术中心“华艺节”的开幕演出,在演出还没开始时前,门票都会早早售罄,演出结束后观众反响也极为热烈^③。这种成功不是偶然,关键是这些戏剧的叙事方式常常能触动人心,有很强的艺术感染力。这些经过精心雕琢的话剧本身就质量上乘,加上宣传工作到位,他们的主题和情感往往能够跨越文化差异,精准契合现代都市人内心需求,引发观众共鸣。观看这类戏剧的观众群体比较集中,主要都是中产阶级、知识分子和戏剧爱好者。他们更愿意从艺术审美和思想交流角度来欣赏作品,而不是只为了寻求文化认同。

中国戏剧在新加坡的传播状况和受喜爱程度有着不同层次,表现形式也丰富多样,都具备各自的发展空间。这一方面源自新加坡深厚的华人文化基础,与中国有着悠久的历史联系;另一方面,当地社区、文化机构和艺术市场的支持也至关重要。新加坡的社区、艺术节策展人和评论家会依据当地文化喜好,挑选合适的剧目。就中国戏剧而言,如果要在新加坡持续发展,关键在既需要秉持艺术精神,又要实现本土化、现代化。

三、新世纪以来中国戏剧在新加坡演出的形式

(一) 传统戏曲

中国传统戏曲在新加坡有着深厚的根基,接受模式也较为稳定。戏曲在新加坡的传承和创新长期以来依赖于两个重要因素:一是百年移民所带来的宗乡网络,二是神庙酬神、红白喜事等民间活

^① 检索自网络,无纸本出版。中国新闻网.中新琼剧加强合作交流 推动琼剧唱响国际舞台. Retrieved from: <https://www.hi.chinanews.com.cn/hnnew/2024-04-13/702184.html>.

^② 冈州会馆(KCWK)是新加坡最古老的华人宗亲会之一,始建于1840年,由来自广东珠江三角洲的新会同乡创立。以传统的中国武术、舞狮舞龙以及粤剧而闻名,定期在本地和国外演出,赢得众多国家和国际奖项。官方网站: <http://kongchow.org/cn/>.

^③ 检索自网络,无纸本出版。中国新闻网.话剧《骆驼祥子》登台狮城 为新加坡滨海艺术中心华艺节开幕. Retrieved from: https://culture.gmw.cn/2025-02/10/content_37842539.htm.

动的文化土壤，主要受众群体是老一代移民、戏曲爱好者以及具备较好中文教育背景的群体。新世纪以来，随着官方艺术机制的逐步成熟及中新两国文化交流项目的增加，传统戏曲逐渐被赋予新的文化意义。从过去的乡音逐渐转变为文化资产，从酬神戏变成了艺术节剧目，剧作家、演员和观众也在不断适应这一变化，重新寻找着各自的角色和定位。

京剧，是我国“四大国粹”之一，国际声誉极高，在新加坡演出已有超百年历史。最早的记录可追溯到1893年，来自福建福州的“福祥升京班”首次赴新加坡演出（康海玲，2020，p.83），演出的剧目和舞美设计等方面，带有浓重的海派特色（王芳，2004，p.29），标志着京剧在南洋的正式起步。20世纪20至40年代，新加坡的京剧活动更是繁荣。商业戏班开始频繁演出，业余剧团也崭露头角。以1947年成立的“平社”^④为代表，这个由当地侨胞创办的艺术团体至今仍然活跃在新加坡舞台上，致力于京剧艺术的研究和推广，定期举办演出、教学活动。2025年，根据华文媒体和中心场馆的委托，平社把京剧《红鬃烈马》全本拆分成上下两部。《红鬃烈马》是一出经典京剧传统老戏，在京剧史上占有相当重要的地位。出于各种原因，近年来很少上演。这次平社把这部剧稍作改编，几乎完整地搬上新加坡舞台，是海外剧社对京剧艺术传承的一大进步，标志着新加坡京剧的演出从对华邀演转向自我策划长篇。上半部《花园赠金》至《探寒窑》五折于4月27日在新加坡华族文化中心公演，下半部的高潮场次如《武家坡》定于11月2日继续演出。在保持传统“原腔原调”的同时，将由多位演员接力演绎不同年龄段的王宝钏，使得程派、尚派等五大流派的唱腔交织在同一角色的成长过程中。策划团队“要让旧戏产生新共鸣”，“突破性地引入叙事影视剧的上下集手法，通过半开放式结局的精心设计，既确保单场演出的完整性，又为续章埋下钩子。”^⑤结合短视频预热和票友工作坊，平社将演出打造成跨年度文化项目。中国国家京剧院等顶级院团也常受邀来新演出，通常在“滨海艺术中心”等高端场馆，如刘六乙、田春明编导的现代京剧《穆桂英》，“得到了新加坡同仁和艺术界华人的高度赞扬”。（李锋，2005，p.7）程派经典《锁麟囊》更是多次被搬上新加坡演出舞台，上座率极高，2025年新加坡华族戏曲协会成立十五周年纪念演出也再次隆重上演了《锁麟囊》。^⑥

粤剧是在新加坡拥有最广泛的群众基础的剧种之一，新加坡素有“粤剧第二故乡”之称。“在新加坡的社会体制之中，以及在英语语言环境与多民族文化环境的浸润之下，粤剧在新加坡呈现出来的新的传播趋势尤其值得关注，这一问题与海外华人族群认同在当代的变迁有着重要关系。”

（潘妍娜，2018，p.45）新加坡粤剧的兴起和中国近代社会动荡引发的移民潮有很大关系，早期移民有很多是广东、香港籍贯的。清末民初，中国沿海地区（福建、广东、海南）居民为避祸纷纷前往海外，部分粤剧伶人也随之远赴美、澳及东南亚，为粤剧在海外的传播奠定了基础。据《星洲日报》报道，早在1857年，粤剧伶人便在新加坡组织梨园堂作为行会，并于1890年更名为八和会馆，

^④ 新加坡平社是新加坡研究京剧的艺术团体，始建于1940年，由客居新加坡的侨胞组建而成（彼时称京剧为平剧），由林庆年、林谋盛、卓经端、李泽仑等人创办，致力于新加坡地区京剧艺术的研究与传播。

^⑤ 检索自网络，无纸本出版。新加坡新闻网.新加坡平社创新演绎《红鬃烈马》有何突破？五代传人共绘经典史诗. Retrieved from: <https://www.xinjiapo.news/news/430697>.

^⑥ 检索自网络，无纸本出版。京昆艺术网.跨越山海共奏程派华章：南京市京剧团助力新加坡华族戏曲协会. Retrieved from: <https://guocuijingju.com/news/html/?44892.html>.

这一组织的建立标志着粤剧在新加坡的规模化发展。^⑦ 19 世纪至 20 世纪, 桂名扬、袁士骧等著名演员都在新加坡粤剧史上留下了印记。上世纪末, 新加坡首个非营利专业粤剧团体敦煌剧坊^⑧独占鳌头, 曾获政府颁发的“新加坡卓越奖”。新世纪以来, 敦煌剧坊的多部作品都受到海内外的关注, “与传统会馆中的粤剧组织主要服务于‘乡情’不同, 敦煌剧坊对于粤剧有着‘文化’与‘艺术’的创作诉求”(潘妍娜, 2023, p.57), 如《武则天》(2001), 《秋瑾》(2007)、《青蛇传》(2016) 等作品。值得一提的是, 2002 年敦煌剧坊推出英语版《清宫遗恨》, 赴美国、中国、爱尔兰、乌克兰等国演出, 2010 年在乌克兰国际艺术节上荣获“成功创新传统戏曲, 与时俱进”国际奖。(区如柏、黄雯英, 2013, p.156) 另一个极具代表性的粤剧团体是成立于 1999 年的新明星粤剧中心^⑨, 在原中国广东粤剧院文武生凌东明的执教下, 已举办超 200 场师生演出、长剧及专场活动, 常演的粤剧剧目包括《范蠡献西施》(2014)、《宿世情仇》(2014) 等, 曾赴香港、澳门、上海、广州、湛江及马来西亚等地演出。除了这两大剧团外, 新加坡还有众多粤剧相关组织共同推动粤剧传承, 既有八和会馆、冈州会馆乐剧部等历史悠久的团体, 也有新加坡华族戏曲研究会、新艺剧坊等新兴力量, 为新加坡粤剧生态注入了新的活力。敦煌剧坊创办人兼艺术总监、新加坡八和会馆永久名誉会长兼艺术顾问胡桂馨、敦煌剧坊创办人黄仕英与卢眉桦、新艺剧坊创办人朱敬芬与朱少芬都是新加坡粤剧领域的创作名家, 司徒海嫦、欧阳炳文等资深演员也是新加坡粤剧名角。在这些粤剧名家殚精竭虑的传承下, 新加坡粤剧成为连接新加坡华人文化记忆、推动文化交流的重要载体, 受众“主体是讲粤语的粤籍华人, 但是也有不少讲潮汕话的粤籍华人、海南籍的华人”(潘妍娜, 2018, p.45), 至今仍是新加坡最受欢迎且富有生命力的地方戏曲剧种之一。经过三十多年的持续发展, “狮城国际粤剧节”已演变为新加坡最具艺术水准和国际影响力的地方戏剧盛会。自此, 该节每年按时举行, 吸引多个国家的政府官员、驻新加坡大使以及各类艺术家前来观赏。(沈有珠, 2025, p.32) 与此同时, 数十家国内外媒体对该艺术节进行广泛宣传与报道。“狮城国际粤剧节”连续成功举办, 使新加坡的文化魅力与国际知名度进一步提升。

歌仔戏, 也称芗剧, 起源于福建省漳州市, 系福建闽南地区极富代表性的传统戏曲样式。歌仔戏伴随闽南移民的迁徙活动, 逐步在海外华人社区得以传承与发展。“闽南人是新加坡华人社群的重要组成部分, 对新加坡的经济发展和文化建设做出了巨大贡献。”(蔡和存, 2025, p.31) 20 世纪初期, 大批闽南人移民至东南亚地区, 作为家乡艺术的歌仔戏也随之传播至海外。诸如《唐伯虎点秋香》《狸猫换太子》《樊梨花与薛丁山》等众多经典剧目仅在福建人聚居的街头巷陌、庙宇广场进行不定期演出, 为移民群体提供了情感上的慰藉。自 1990 年起, 每年农历五月二十八清溪显佑伯主诞辰之际, 新加坡韭菜芭城隍庙举办一年一度的“百日大戏”盛会, 此盛会成为歌仔戏戏班在当地延续庙会节庆演出的关键平台。新凤珠歌仔戏、明阳戏剧团、双明凤剧团、福建四季春等剧团

^⑦ 检索自网络, 无纸本出版。新加坡华族文化百科. 词条: 新加坡粤剧. Retrieved from: <https://culturepaedia.singaporeccc.org.sg/zh/stage-performances/cantonese-opera-in-singapore/>.

^⑧ 敦煌剧坊是新加坡注册粤剧团体, 成立于 1981 年。原为非职业社团, 1995 年在政府支持下转为专业团体。创办人张荣、胡秋洪、胡桂馨等, 1997 年, 荣获新加坡政府颁授“新加坡卓越奖”。现任负责人黄仕英, 与中国广东粤剧学校结为姐妹团体。信息来源: 中国粤剧网 <http://www.yuejuopera.cn/ttjg/ycjg/20140115/113.html>.

^⑨ 新明星粤剧中心是新加坡民间粤剧艺术团体, 成立于 1999 年, 由原广东粤剧院演员凌东明等人创立, 总部位于新加坡振瑞路, 以“弘扬华夏戏曲文化, 致力于推广粤剧艺术”为宗旨, 多次参与慈善义演, 为多家机构筹款, 与中国、马来西亚等地的粤剧团合作演出。官网: <https://sinmingsing.blogspot.com/>

是最常获邀参与“百日大戏”盛会的团体。^⑩步入新世纪,诸多创作者为歌仔戏(芗剧)在新加坡的创新发展贡献力量。来自中国台湾的洪秀玉自2004年加入新加坡戏曲学院正式成为高级教师后,编导的跨文化歌仔戏有《罗摩衍南》(2004)、《手足仇深》(取材自古印度史诗《摩诃波罗多》)(2006)、《屈打成医》(取材自法国剧作家莫里哀同名喜剧)(2007)、《灰栏记》(取材自元代李潜夫同名杂剧)(2008)、《邯郸梦》(2008)等。2013年,秀玉剧团成立后,多部剧目受邀参加国际戏剧节,出访的国家与地区包括泰国、伊朗、比利时、美国等。漳州籍艺术家庄惠煊受邀前往新加坡传承歌仔戏,她在教学与创作上大胆创新。“福建戏对于当地民众而言,学习起来颇具挑战,因此招收歌仔戏学生并不容易。”^⑪在教学中,面对招收歌仔戏学生困难的状况,她因材施教,针对不同年龄段和水平的学生分组授课。选择剧目时,庄老师充分考察新加坡观众的文化背景,编排了一部聚焦婆媳关系的《煎石记》,演出后反响很好,深受当地观众追捧。此外,庄老师还把中国台湾省知名歌手江蕙的《下午的一出戏》和才女徐佳莹的《身骑白马》等闽南语歌曲引入新加坡戏曲课堂,实现传统歌仔戏和现代流行音乐融合,呈现新颖效果。如今,歌仔戏在新加坡发展活跃,演出交流活动比从前更加频繁,不断推陈出新。福建省厦门市的厦门歌仔戏研习中心也常受邀前往新加坡进行表演,每次演出都大受欢迎。2024年5月16日至6月2日,厦门歌仔戏研习中心在新加坡韭菜芭城隍庙连演18天,带去《百岁挂帅》《刘章下山》《五女拜寿》等经典剧目,派出60人的强大阵容,涵盖17岁至60岁各个年龄层演员^⑫,展现歌仔戏传承发展的蓬勃态势。漳州籍艺术家庄惠煊、新加坡戏曲学院的老师李秀华和洪秀玉、沈秀珍芗剧团创办人沈秀珍、《阮的故事、阮的戏》(2014)的编剧张姗兰、《南洋风雨情》(2016)的编剧叶旭文都是新加坡歌仔戏领域的创作名家,唐素云、陈甄萱等资深演员是新加坡歌仔戏名角。歌仔戏在新加坡有极其活跃的民间生态,有专业的剧团,还有不少民间业余乐社和神庙戏台。神仙诞辰、节日酬神是歌仔戏演出的重要场合,观众多是能听懂闽南语及台语的中老年人,民俗仪式感和乡土情感使其情感联结很深。

中国传统戏曲深深扎根于侨民社区,积累了大量忠实观众,尤其是年长一代的华人。但是,随着新加坡社会的现代化与多元化发展,传统戏曲面临越来越大的挑战,尤其是观众老龄化问题。自从新加坡在1979年推动讲华语运动,“鼓励华人多讲华语,少用方言……方言节目逐年禁止在电视与电台播放”(许永顺,2009,p.68),许多年轻人逐渐不再能理解戏曲中所使用的方言,加上现代教育体系逐渐淡化方言学习,使得传统戏曲对年轻人越来越失去吸引力。传统戏曲如何保持生动性和吸引力,尤其是如何让年轻观众重新认识和接受这些文化瑰宝,成了亟待解决的问题。

(二) 现代戏剧

“传统戏曲历史久、积淀深,华语话剧与之相比要年轻得多。辛亥革命之后话剧发展迅速,成为宣传革命思想、启蒙民众、传播爱国情感的重要载体。”(邓爱芹、张连桥,2025,p.97)从发展历程来说,中国现代戏剧在继承话剧启蒙传统的基础上,形成了情感表达丰富、叙事节奏紧凑的艺

^⑩ 检索自网络,无纸本出版。新加坡华族文化百科.词条:新加坡福建戏。Retrieved from: <https://culturepaedia.singapore.org/zh/stage-performances/chinese-opera/hokkien-opera-in-singapore/>

^⑪ 检索自网络,无纸本出版。东南网.传承有“好戏”,异国放光彩。Retrieved from: https://zzpd.fjsen.com/2024-12/02/content_31792035.htm

^⑫ 检索自网络,无纸本出版。厦门市文化和旅游局.厦门歌仔戏研习中心新加坡展演圆满落幕“四代”同台共筑文化薪火。Retrieved from: https://wlj.xm.gov.cn/zwgk/bmdt/202406/t20240624_2855075.htm

术特征。新世纪以来,伴随全球化进程的加快,跨文化交流日益深入,中国现代戏剧作品更为频繁地亮相世界舞台,曹禺、林兆华等著名剧作家的作品更是新加坡舞台上常见的演出剧目。这些作品深刻反映中国当代社会的变迁,提出文化、历史和人性等重要问题。鉴于新加坡观众群体的多元性,中国现代戏剧作品通常选择保留原版中文台词,并添加英文字幕,既保留作品的原始韵味,也有助于观众克服语言障碍,更深入地理解作品内涵,这种处理方式体现了文化包容与对话。

新加坡本土中文剧场,特别是新加坡话剧团及其他地方剧团,引进中国现代戏剧的时候经常会对剧本进行本土化处理,也就是在修改原作时,增添新加坡本地社会文化元素,使剧情更加贴合观众日常生活。导演和演员会根据当地观众的理解习惯和文化口味作出调整,赋予作品全新的演绎方式。中国现代戏剧不只是被“引入”新加坡,还在两国不同文化背景的土壤生根发芽,汲取当地文化养分,长成跨文化交流与对话的大树。如,2025年李六乙导演新编版《雷雨》在新加坡滨海艺术中心上演^⑮。此次改编不再过度强调社会批判层面,删除鲁贵这一重要角色,恢复原作序幕和尾声,重点表达人物内心的细腻和挣扎。这些改编削弱历史背景的影响,使剧中角色性格更普遍,周朴园内心矛盾、繁漪勇敢反抗和侍萍勤劳坚韧等特质有新的呈现方式,突破时代背景限制,触及更广泛情感共性。舞台处理也大胆创新,用时钟脚步声替代雷声来象征命运的压迫感,加入修女形象营造诗意沉思氛围。这些舞台手法增强作品叙事抒情的特质,使情感表达更深刻,富有感染力。这种叙事手法创新延续的是李六乙团队2019年版《哈姆雷特》在新加坡的成功经验,说明情感饱满、人物鲜明的剧作对当地市民阶层有持久吸引力。当演出不囿于剧本原版再现,更多地聚焦于人物命运的情感真实时,观众会更容易产生共鸣。

值得一提的是,民族舞剧这一独特剧种在新加坡的演出也很有影响力。2024年9月13日到15日,江苏大剧院原创民族舞剧《红楼梦》在新加坡进行海外巡演的首演,赢得当地观众的热烈反响。这部作品忠实再现原著,巧妙融入现代审美和时代思考,成功结合经典文学跟当代艺术形式。中国驻新加坡大使曹忠明在致辞中说,舞剧《红楼梦》通过创新的表演方式为经典作品注入新活力,在新加坡未演先热,是中新文化交流的重要体现。新加坡国家艺术理事会理事长刘荣忠也在接受媒体采访时表示,演出给他留下深刻印象,每分每秒都扣人心弦,就是一场视听盛宴。^⑯这场演出的成功,亮丽地展示中新文化合作,把中国民族文化的独特魅力和当代艺术的创新力量展现给世界。

四、中国戏剧在新加坡的文化交流与影响

新世纪以来,中新戏剧往来渐增,艺术合作日趋密切。中国的优秀剧目为新加坡观众带来了丰富的观剧体验,这都离不开当地民众的文化认同、媒体和公共支持。两国交流推动创作理念与表演方式互鉴,促进中国戏剧在新加坡的创新进步。

(一) 文化认同与传播

新加坡观众对中国戏剧的接纳与理解,带有独特的情感色彩,这与新加坡的历史移民背景、新加坡与中国间的地理与文化关系密切相关。随着新世纪到来,中新两国文化交流不断深化,中国戏

^⑮ 检索自网络,无纸本出版。新加坡新闻网.2025《雷雨》新编上演:李六乙如何重塑经典? Retrieved from: <https://www.xinjiapo.news/news/419738>.

^⑯ 检索自网络,无纸本出版。新华网.中国民族舞剧《红楼梦》亮相新加坡. Retrieved from: <https://www.news.cn/world/20240916/41f44e3dee8c452ea0cc094ce977055e/c.html>.

剧作品逐渐频繁地出现在新加坡主流艺术舞台。当地观众在剧中体会到中国的社会变革与时代波动,在这些剧作中发现跟自己生活和情感经历相似的地方,进而产生共鸣。

这种共鸣,或源于类似的文化背景,或因为人类情感的普遍性,亦或是两国在现代化进程中面临的共同困境。

新加坡观众在观看中国戏剧时,常有深刻的文化认同感和情感共鸣,特别是现代题材作品。这些戏剧向当地观众展示中国社会变革,展示现代生活和传统观念的碰撞。不少新加坡观众观剧后表示,能感悟到中国戏剧想传达的社会议题,进而引发对自身文化背景和社会环境的思考。年轻观众的反应尤为显著,他们可以由这些作品来增进对中国文化的了解,开始思考自身身份与社会角色。随着中国戏剧自身持续更新和发展,加上新加坡年轻观众的成长,日后的文化互动想必会更加深入丰富。

中国戏剧在新加坡的传播除了有正式演出,还包括讲座、研讨会和工作坊等形式。这些活动给观众提供和导演、学者还有艺术家直接交流的机会,讨论这些戏剧的表现方式和社会意义。跟主创团队的相互交流可以加深观众对中国戏剧的理解,也为新加坡本土创作提供更多交流空间,这样互动式对话的交流模式也是中国戏剧在新加坡传播交流的一大独特亮点。

(二) 媒体与公共支持

新世纪以来,中国戏剧在新加坡的传播和影响,既依靠剧作家、艺术家的辛勤付出和艺术探索,也获得当地媒体的广泛宣传和政府文化机构的持续扶持。新加坡秉持开放包容的态度,尊重、珍视中国文化传统,用实际举措积极推动中国戏剧在当地的发展。全面文化支持体现在多个方面:一是媒体关注、报道、深度评说,既可以提升公众对中国戏剧的认知,也为传播和讨论搭建交流平台;二是政府和文化机构的资金扶持、项目合作和政策引导,为今后两国戏剧交流的可持续发展提供坚实稳定的保障。

在中国戏剧的传播过程中,新加坡媒体发挥重要作用,为当地观众提供接触和理解中国戏剧的途径。例如,一些知名剧作家和导演的作品在新加坡上演时,《海峡时报》和《联合早报》等媒体常会专题报道这些演出。这些媒体不只传递信息,还会对作品有深入分析,引导观众理解中国戏剧的艺术特点和文化内涵。这些评论是对演出本身的评价,但也深化了两国文化的相互理解和认知。这些文字、图像和评论的媒体传播,让中国戏剧不止停留在舞台谢幕时,还可以供人们细细回味。

政府和文化机构的支持政策也是中国戏剧能够在新加坡得到蓬勃发展的关键因素。新加坡文化、社区与青年部(MCCY)^⑮和新加坡艺术委员会(National Arts Council,简称NAC)^⑯等文化机构,在促进中国戏剧交流方面发挥着不可或缺的作用。中国的剧团和导演在这些政府和文化机构的资助、

^⑮ 新加坡文化、社区及青年部 Ministry of Culture, Community and Youth, MCCY, 是一家通过艺术和体育,促进志愿服务和慈善事业的新加坡政府机构。成立于2012年11月1日,地址位于新加坡山街140老山街派出所。官方网站: <https://www.mccy.gov.sg/>

^⑯ 新加坡国家艺术理事会(National Arts Council)是主导新加坡艺术发展的法定机构,通过制定战略规划、构建国际合作网络、实施公共艺术政策等方式推动新加坡成为国际艺术枢纽。成立于1991年,培育本地艺术人才并吸引国际艺术家入驻。在国际合作领域,理事会推动新加坡与中国在艺术人才交流、联合展览等领域的深度合作,通过双年展、艺术周等国际活动强化区域艺术核心地位。官方网站: <https://www.nac.gov.sg/>

文化交流活动和艺术节的邀请下,得以跟新加坡观众建立长期深厚的联系。例如,2015年,北京人艺的经典剧目《茶馆》时隔29年再次来到新加坡演出。这场演出的宏大叙事、浓厚的历史感,还有严谨的现实主义风格特别打动了许多老一辈华人观众,为新加坡观众提供了文化寻根的机会。新加坡滨海艺术中心在此次文化交流中发挥了积极作用,为了配合北京人艺的演出安排,滨海艺术中心灵活调整了演出时间,还在常规座位售罄后,开放平时不对外开放的座位以满足需求^⑦。该举措彰显艺术机构在推进重大文化交流项目过程中所秉持的务实精神与灵活应变能力,从而保障演出得以圆满举行。一系列文化交流活动不仅提升中国戏剧在新加坡的艺术影响力,还促进新加坡本土戏剧的发展,进而推动两国之间的文化交流。

五、结语

新加坡独具特色的多元文化社会环境,以及政府层面一系列积极且具前瞻性的扶持政策,为中国戏剧于当地的演出、传播及深度交流营造了极为有利的条件,使中国戏剧从中受益显著。无论是蕴含悠久历史的传统戏曲,还是富有探索精神的现代话剧,皆凭借精湛的舞台呈现,向新加坡观众生动地展现中华文化深厚的历史底蕴与当代中国蓬勃的艺术活力,进而赢得当地社会由衷的接纳与认可。

进入新世纪以来,在传统媒体与现代媒体的广泛传播以及两地公众日益高涨的热情推动下,中国与新加坡在戏剧领域的互动与对话愈发频繁且紧密。这种良性的双向交流有力地推动两地乃至更广范围内多元文化的共同繁荣与发展。在此进程中,中国戏剧自身也通过与不同文化语境的碰撞,不断汲取养分,焕发出新的表现形式与艺术活力,这无疑为中国戏剧今后与世界其他国家和地区开展更为广泛、深入的文化艺术交流奠定更为坚实的基础。展望未来,随着双方及国际间合作的逐步深化,中国戏剧艺术有望继续在文化交流中发挥不可或缺的纽带作用,持续为推动全球文化的多元化发展与包容性进步贡献独特而重要的力量。

综上,在新加坡多元文化环境与政策支持的共同作用下,中国戏剧通过跨文化传播实践,形成了“文化输出—本土接纳—双向促进”的良性互动模式。从学术价值看,这验证了传统艺术在不同文化背景下实现现代转型的具体路径,同时为跨文化传播研究提供政策引导与市场机制协同作用的分析框架。在现实意义层面,其经验为中国文化走出去提供可借鉴的实践经验,既实现中华美学精神的当代表达,又为全球文化交流贡献互学互鉴的实践案例,对促进不同文化间的理解与包容具有积极意义。

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Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

^⑦ 检索自网络,无纸本出版。环球网.北京人艺老《茶馆》亮相新加坡 启动全球巡演.Retrieved from: <https://china.huanqiu.com/article/9CaKrnJIAlo>.

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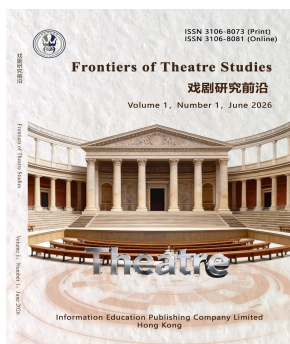
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跨文化视域下的中日戏剧节艺术特质比较研究——以乌镇戏剧节和利贺戏剧节为例

张 欢 (Zhang Huan) , 刘玮莹 (Liu Weiying)

摘要: 本文以中国乌镇戏剧节与日本利贺戏剧节为研究对象, 从跨文化视角出发, 系统梳理了两者在艺术表现、文化内涵及跨文化交流与实践等方面的特征。研究发现, 两者虽同属东方文化语境, 却在表演风格、舞台设计、剧目结构与文化内涵等方面呈现出显著差异, 反映了中日两国在文化传统、社会语境与艺术理念上的不同取向。乌镇戏剧节依托江南水乡文化, 注重文旅融合与国际对话, 展现了中国传统文化的现代转型; 而利贺戏剧节则根植于日本传统戏剧美学, 强调身体性训练与哲学思辨, 构建了具有精神朝圣意义的戏剧空间。未来, 东亚戏剧节应在保持文化主体性的基础上, 积极推进创造性转化与国际化拓展, 以实现可持续性发展。

关键词: 跨文化比较; 戏剧节; 艺术特质; 乌镇戏剧节; 利贺戏剧节

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Title: A Comparative Study of the Artistic Features of Chinese and Japanese Theatre Festivals from a Cross-Cultural Perspective —— Case Studies of the Wuzhen Theatre Festival and the Toga Theatre Festival

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Abstract: This paper takes the Wuzhen Theatre Festival in China and the Toga Festival in Japan as its objects of study. From a cross-cultural perspective, it systematically maps the two festivals' characteristics in terms of historical origins, artistic forms, cultural connotations, and intercultural exchange. The research finds that, although both are situated within an East-Asian cultural context, they diverge markedly in performance style, scenography, dramatic structure, and thematic expression—differences that mirror the distinct cultural traditions, social contexts, and artistic philosophies of China and Japan. Rooted in the water-town culture of Jiangnan, the Wuzhen Festival foregrounds the integration of culture and tourism and promotes international dialogue, showcasing the modern transformation of traditional Chinese culture. By contrast, the Toga Festival is grounded in Japanese traditional theatrical aesthetics, emphasising physical training and philosophical reflection, thereby creating a theatrical space endowed with the significance of a spiritual pilgrimage. Looking forward, East-Asian theatre festivals should, while maintaining cultural subjectivity, actively advance creative transformation and international expansion to achieve sustainable development.

Keywords: Cross-cultural comparison; theatre festival; artistic characteristics; Wuzhen Theatre Festival; Toga Theatre Festival

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一、引言

随着全球化深入发展与文化多样性理念广泛传播，各国文化节庆已然成为展现国家文化软实力的重要窗口。戏剧节作为融合表演艺术、文化记忆与社会参与的综合性文化盛会，能够较为集中地反映出一个国家的文化风貌与社会变迁，其跨文化传播价值与对外输出能力日益受到重视。梳理现有文献可见，国内学界关于戏剧节的研究，多集中于两大方向：一是梳理戏剧节发展脉络，二是探究戏剧节与城市文化、区域经济的联动关系。例如，梅林（2022，p.156-164）^①系统梳理了中国现代戏剧节的发展历程；胡志毅（2016，p.82-87）^②探析了国内戏剧节的发展渊源与整体特征；王虹（2024，p. 10-12）^③则重点围绕戏剧节催生的文旅经济与城市发展效应展开讨论。整体而言，现阶段国内针对戏剧节本体艺术特质的专项研究仍较为薄弱，相关研究尚处于初步探索阶段。

^① 梅林（2022）：“创设·推动·制约：中国戏剧节与现代演剧制度(1938—1949)”，《戏剧艺术》2022(04):156-164. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13737/j.cnki.ta.2022.04.004>

^② 胡志毅（2016）：“中国戏剧节的源流及特征”，《中国文艺评论》2016(10):82-87。DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19324/j.cnki.zgwypl.2016.10.017>

^③ 王虹（2024）：“开启独属乌镇的戏聚时刻 记 2024 第十一届乌镇戏剧节”，《上海戏剧》2024(06):10-12. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14179/j.cnki.shxj.2024.06.006>

乌镇戏剧节依托千年水乡乌镇深厚的历史积淀与独特的文化底蕴，以戏剧为核心媒介，在空间、生活与文化等维度实现了多视角、多层面的创新与融合。该戏剧节自 2013 年起，由陈向宏、赖声川、孟京辉、黄磊等中国戏剧界专业人士联合发起，是我国首个采用“企业出资、艺术家操盘”模式运作的国际戏剧节。乌镇戏剧节依托文旅产业融合发展、联动国际知名剧团开展合作等多元路径，深度融合戏剧艺术与文化旅游，现已发展为国内极具影响力的国际戏剧盛会。

利贺戏剧节以戏剧艺术的纯粹性与传承性为核心导向，尤为注重能剧、歌舞伎等日本传统文化形式的传承与创新表达。该戏剧节由日本国宝级戏剧大师铃木忠志（Tadashi Suzuki）于 1982 年创立并延续至今，其成立与发展恰逢日本传统文化复兴的时代契机。铃木忠志将日本传统文化精髓与现代戏剧理念深度融合，使利贺戏剧节逐渐发展成为日本乃至全球范围内极具影响力的戏剧盛会，成为传播日本戏剧文化的重要平台。

乌镇戏剧节与利贺戏剧节，分别为中国与日本极具代表性的戏剧节。二者虽同属东方文化体系，却建构起各具特色的东方戏剧节范式，在艺术特质与文化内涵上差异显著。对两大戏剧节的艺术特质展开比较研究，既有助于促进中日两国戏剧节的文化交融与经验互鉴，也对推动中国戏剧节高质量发展、彰显中国戏剧文化魅力具有重要的现实意义。本文将从艺术表现、文化内涵及跨文化交流实践等层面，对乌镇戏剧节与利贺戏剧节的艺术特质进行系统对比与深入分析，力求为中外典型戏剧节研究提供有益的补充与参考。

二、中日戏剧节的表现比较

乌镇戏剧节与利贺戏剧节在不同文化语境下形成截然不同的艺术表现，如表演风格、舞台设计与剧目结构等方面。通过对比分析乌镇戏剧节和利贺戏剧节的表现，我们可以更清晰地看到两国在艺术表现上的现代创新与传统融合。

在表演风格方面，乌镇戏剧节以多元包容性与高度实验性为核心特质，既是前沿戏剧创新探索与跨界融合的实践平台，亦是培育青年戏剧创作者的重要阵地。现阶段，学界针对乌镇戏剧节演员表演风格的专题研究仍较为薄弱，相关研究成果相对有限。在现有可检索的文献资料中，尹瑞麟《失落的丧怒 —— 论乌镇戏剧节青年竞演的创作精神》是为数不多聚焦该议题的学术文献之一。尹瑞麟（2022，p.36）指出：“青年创作者们积极突破主流戏剧的题材限制，将关注点聚焦于社会边缘群体以及敏感社会事件，通过戏剧作品表达对社会现实的焦虑与不甘，对原著精神的突演层面，青年表演者们试图在戏剧舞台上寻找一种表达自我、反思社会的方式，这是一种突破主流戏剧题材限制的全新表演尝试。”由此可见，乌镇戏剧节青年竞演单元具备鲜明的先锋意识与艺术实验特质，但受限于创作体量、发展周期与青年创作者的探索阶段，整体尚未沉淀出具备专属辨识度与稳定共性的表演风格体系。

利贺戏剧节的表演风格享誉国际，铃木忠志的演员训练法是其演员表演风格的核心，强调通过身体语言、肢体表达与情感体验来传递戏剧内容。在演员选用上，打破了国界与语言的限制，常选用多国演员使用本国语言进行同台表演，这种独特舞台形式使其作品具有全球化的适应性和普遍性；在演员训练上，不同文化背景的演员要在利贺长期训练、共同生活创作，以激发出全新的戏剧观念与文化形式；在演员表演上，主张通过肢体语言传递戏剧情感，演员为了展现出极致的情感，甚至

不惜以身体上的痛苦来呈现角色的内心世界。景徐媛 (2023, p.119) ^④指出: “铃木忠志的戏剧对于日本传统戏剧来说, 具有鲜明的先锋性和实验性, 这种先锋性和实验性并非是与传统戏剧背道而驰, 而是在肯定传统戏剧艺术价值的基础上吸收借鉴其精华部分。”这种表演风格源自铃木忠志的身体性理论, 在保留传统戏剧仪式的同时采用现代化的舞美设计, 将东方文化思想通过身体表达在现代舞台上进行多维呈现, 让观众在异质文化中找到情感的共鸣。

总体来看, 乌镇戏剧节注重青年艺术家的培养, 鼓励多样的表演风格的实验与创新, 但亟需在表演深度上向内求, 在艺术核心层面向国际靠拢; 利贺戏剧节在表演风格上独树一帜, 强调通过身体语言和肢体表达来传递人类最真实的情感, 实现了“身体即文本”的跨国际、跨文化交流。

在舞台设计方面, 乌镇戏剧节将乌镇作为江南水乡的戏剧实验场, 构建了传统水乡古镇与现代科技交织的多元舞台矩阵, 打造出供国际资源与本土文化进行双向交流的国际艺术平台。乌镇大剧院是乌镇戏剧节最大、最具现代化功能的演出空间, 由国际知名建筑设计师姚仁喜设计, 剧院外部为并莲造型, 占地面积 54000 多平米, 剧院内部使用了达国际水准的声光电设备。网剧场采用模块化舞台结构, 可 360°旋转观众席与舞台角度, 满足新媒体戏剧的实验性需求。国乐剧院经改建, 将户外形式的传统戏台转化为科技感十足的表演空间。这些舞台设计将传统江南水乡文化与现代科技相融合, 追求剧场空间的多元化、现代化, 更加符合当代表演需求。

利贺作为创作与演出为一体的综合性戏剧基地, 在舞台设计上结合了日本传统建筑与古希腊、古罗马建筑元素, 营造出极具日式美感的国际化剧场。(邹慕晨, 2015) ^⑤其中, 利贺山房、新利贺山房和利贺大山房是由著名建筑师矶崎新亲自操刀, 由日本传统民居合掌屋改建而成的室内剧场, 观众需攀上阶梯, 脱下鞋子赤足通过廊桥, 才能进入观剧区域, 日式韵味十足。岩石剧场以小巧精致著称, 主舞台为一整块平滑的岩石, 彰显出古罗马剧场的遗风。野外剧场则依山坡而建, 观众席布局巧妙借鉴了古希腊剧场的布局, 舞台后侧是一个人工湖, 湖面左右两侧分布着两条日式花道, 延伸至湖中, 既呼应日本能剧舞台的“桥挂”, 又借鉴了古罗马剧场的对称美学。这些设计不仅增强了戏剧作品的美学效果, 也深化了观众对自然、生命与人类存在的哲学思考。

总体来看, 两者的舞台设计均保留了本土元素并在一定程度上吸纳了异质文化。乌镇戏剧节注重当代表演的实验性需求, 打造出“中式水乡古镇与现代科技相融合”的多元化表演空间; 利贺戏剧节的舞台设计则更加注重自然哲思, 呈现出“日式美学与古希腊、古罗马剧场相结合”的国际戏剧风范。

在剧目结构方面, 乌镇戏剧节注重主题化的展示, 将江南水乡古镇转化为戏剧节的物质载体, 剧目主题紧扣中国优秀传统文化。剧目由特邀剧目、青年竞演、古镇嘉年华、小镇对话、戏剧集市、戏梦粮仓多个单元组成, 旨在营造丰富的东方艺术氛围。乌镇戏剧节的剧目发展是高质高效的, 仅 12 年的发展见证了乌镇戏剧节从初创到国际舞台的蜕变与多元发展的全过程。2013 年首届戏剧节仅有 6 部剧目参与。2014 年第二届戏剧节设立了 3 个特色主题单元, 荷兰、韩国的戏剧作品均应邀参与, 乌镇戏剧节开始走入国际视野。2018 年第六届戏剧节以极具中国文化特色的“容”为主题, 吸引

^④ 景徐媛 (2023): “唤醒沉睡的身体: 铃木忠志戏剧中感知力研究”, 山西师范大学。DOI: <https://doi.org/10.27287/d.cnki.gsxsu.2021.001176>

^⑤ 邹慕晨 (2015): “铃木忠志戏剧研究”, 武汉大学出版社: 128-129。

了来自美国、俄罗斯、德国、日本、澳大利亚等近 20 个国家和地区的近 30 部作品参与。2024 年以“如磐”为主题，涵盖生命哲思、人文关怀、社会议题等多个领域和主题，形成了别具中国韵味的剧目板块。

相反，利贺戏剧节则注重经典剧目的保留与再创作，保持着精简且固定的剧目结构，无固定的剧目主题，强调在跨文化改编与实验性演出中探索人类情感的普遍性。剧目既有对国外经典的改编诠释，也有不少本土作品，如《酒神·狄俄尼索斯》、《泉和泪》、《栖山节考》、《李尔王》、《来自世界尽头的问候》等。其中，《酒神·狄俄尼索斯》借鉴传统能剧面具与仪式形态，让西方经典戏剧在东方语境下实现重构再生。这一“文化置换”的创作实践，既唤醒并活化了日本本土传统艺术，也完成了对西方戏剧的解构与再诠释。2019 年，共有 7 部优质剧目登陆利贺戏剧节。其中，《来自世界尽头的问候》为铃木忠志麾下 SCOT 剧团的经典代表作，其余六部作品则分别来自中国台湾、俄罗斯、韩国、波兰与印度。该剧以“吃饭”这一日常行为为叙事切口，深度反思了第二次世界大战的历史创伤，同时通过融入日本夏日祭烟火大会的特色意象，为戏剧赋予了浓厚的东方意蕴与鲜活生命力。

两者在剧目结构方面呈现出显著分野，乌镇戏剧节以博大精深的中国传统优秀文化为载体，逐渐形成了独具中国韵味的剧目结构；利贺戏剧节则专注于以全新的方式对西方剧作进行创作演绎，拓展了东方文化诠释西方戏剧艺术的可能性。

三、中日戏剧节的文化内涵比较

乌镇戏剧节与利贺戏剧节在文化内涵上存在显著差异。通过剖析两者在文化根基、美学特征、及精神底蕴等维度的不同呈现，我们得以更深刻地解读两国戏剧节各自的艺术特质，洞悉其背后承载的文化内核与精神内涵。

在文化根基层面，乌镇戏剧节强调地方文化与人文关怀、集体主义与大众参与，更注重社会性与教育性表达。其戏剧理念植根于中国传统文化中和谐共生、普惠大众的人文追求，强调人与人之间的包容、尊重与情感联结；戏剧创作深度融入江南历史文脉、民俗风情与地方文化符号，具有浓厚地方色彩，以本土叙事传递文化价值，并聚焦社会变迁、生态保护、人际情感等现实议题，承载人文关怀与社会美育功能；戏剧实践以开放姿态开展国际对话，通过邀请不同国家和地区的戏剧艺术家，进一步推动跨文化对话与交流。乌镇戏剧节不仅仅是戏剧艺术的交流盛会，更成为地域文化传承、本土精神弘扬与大众文化素养提升的重要载体。

利贺戏剧节聚焦日式传统戏剧文化与东方农耕生命哲学，以身体践行、内省思辨与仪式精神为内核，形成极具本土辨识度的艺术表达体系。其戏剧理念植根于日式幽玄、侘寂的审美传统，强调以身体为载体叩问人类本质，在观照他者与反思自我中确立本土艺术的精神内核；戏剧创作坚持以本土美学转译西方经典，将能剧、歌舞伎等传统戏剧基因与外来文本深度融合，实现跨文化文本的本土化重构；戏剧实践将日式严谨秩序与集体劳作文化，将日常修行、自律守则与艺术训练融为一体，以高度纯粹的创作态度守护本土艺术精神。铃木忠志（1996）宣称：“这里不是日本，而是利贺，是全世界戏剧人的王国”。这种精神理念超越了地域限制，使利贺成为全球戏剧爱好者的精神家园。

利贺自 1982 年起，利贺戏剧节持续举办浓缩版铃木训练法工作坊，向全世界传递利贺表演的精髓。如今，铃木训练法工作坊已在全球多地设立分支，成为跨文化戏剧实践的重要典范。

乌镇戏剧节深植本土地域文化根基，饱含人文温度，侧重戏剧的社会价值与美育内核，以兼具社会性与教育性的艺术表达，拉近戏剧艺术与现实社会的联结。而利贺戏剧节则聚焦个体精神内省与艺术修为，深耕肢体表达与戏剧本体的深度探索，凝练出静谧神圣、意蕴幽微的东方戏剧独特气质。

在美学特征方面，乌镇戏剧节将江南水乡古镇转化为可参与的东方美学景观，与中国传统节日形式相融合，表现了浓厚的地方特色与中国传统文化的深刻内涵。在视觉美学层面，乌镇戏剧节根植于千年积淀的江南水乡文化土壤，水系纵横、石桥如织、粉墙黛瓦形成了独特的“小桥、流水、人家”的景观格局；在氛围美学层面，百年老宅、古戏台、石桥等古镇意象成为沉浸式体验节庆狂欢的天然舞台，戏剧与生活、历史与当下在同一空间里交融；在风格美学层面，乌镇戏剧节注重戏剧的先锋性与实验性，通过青年竞演、小镇对话、古镇嘉年华等本土节庆活动的形式，培育了本土戏剧力量，形成了自我造血的青年文化生态。

利贺戏剧节则是通过对日本能剧、歌舞伎、夏日等传统仪式的逐步吸纳与转换，来呈现独特的东方美学特征，展现了日本传统美学“寂”与“侘”的精髓。在视觉美学层面，利贺戏剧节与当地盂兰盆节时间重叠，村民抬神轿、跳盆踊与戏剧演出共用场地，活用传统艺术表演道具，如水袖、扇子、能剧面具、夏日祭烟火等，使现代戏剧节与本土传统的祭祀活动相交相融；在氛围美学层面，将剧场与传统日式建筑文化紧密结合，尤其是在“幽玄”美学的影响下，塑造了典雅、简约的表现方式和极致的舞台美学；在风格美学层面，利贺戏剧节坚守日本戏剧文化的纯粹性与思辨性，提炼能乐“重心下沉”、歌舞伎“滑步”“跺足”等传统表演范式，形成系统化的铃木训练法，以身体美学为核心载体，实现肢体表达与情感意蕴的深度融合，完成非语言化的思想传递与精神表意。

两者分别呈现了“中式水乡韵味”与“日式村落哲思”的东方戏剧美学特征。乌镇戏剧节依托“互联网+”时代背景，通过江南水乡美学与中国传统节日的有机结合，成为了中国乃至亚洲独具东方韵味的文化景观；利贺戏剧节活用传统艺术表演形式，向内深挖形成独特的东方戏剧文化，致力于构建兼具艺术性、地域性与国际可转译性的东方戏剧体系。

在精神底蕴方面，乌镇戏剧节更重视视觉与情感的直接表达、戏剧文化精神的传递与共享。与官方性质的传统戏剧节存在显著差异，乌镇戏剧节秉持“来者是客，欢迎所有朋友”的开放理念，旨在打造出一个“东方戏剧嘉年华”。将乌镇独有的地域性艺术文化与中国传统节日的文化形式结合起来，营造出浓厚的节日氛围。观众可以随心参与夏夜游街、歌剧巡游等活动，这种沉浸式的跨文化体验满足了当代观众希望远离高压环境、释放情感的需求。乌镇戏剧节的主创人员之一黄磊曾在公开采访中表示：“如今的观众来到乌镇，不仅仅是为了看戏，更是为了‘过节’，享受戏剧节本身所带来的整体艺术氛围”。

而利贺戏剧节则更注重通过象征性与抽象性的精神修行、来激发戏剧人的思考和感悟，更多地追求哲学深度和人性探讨。利贺戏剧节强调戏剧作为“修行”而非娱乐，通过戏剧与生活交融的训练模式，为戏剧爱好者和专业人士提供了一个纯粹的艺术空间。铃木忠志曾明确指出利贺戏剧节的独特定位：利贺戏剧节并非面向普通观众，而是专为喜爱喜剧的文化人士而设，旨在通过戏剧引发深

度思考。这种理念在戏剧节的选址与剧团训练生活中得到了充分体现。利贺村地处偏远，交通极为不便，除排演剧目外，戏剧演员还需要亲力完成日常生活中的各种事务，包括洗衣、做饭、甚至开垦种菜等，通过身体力行表达对东方农耕文化、集体意识与艺术精神的尊重。在科技高度发达的现代社会，这种不便反而成为了一种筛选机制，唯有心怀戏剧理想、秉持艺术赤诚，并深度认同利贺戏剧节核心精神的戏剧创作者，方能沉心驻足于此，在极简的生活场域中坚守艺术本心。

两者分别代表了“观演游览式”与“精神朝圣式”的东方戏剧精神底蕴。乌镇戏剧节融合了江南水乡的地域性文化，营造出开放式的东方节庆氛围，迎合了观众对于戏剧审美和精神狂欢的需求，满足了国际观众对“异域体验”的想象；利贺戏剧节则专注于对戏剧的深度追求，构建出一个无国界的戏剧乌托邦，展现了日本戏剧在思辨性与感悟性层面的独特价值。

四、中日戏剧节中的跨文化交流与实践

随着全球化进程的加速，中日戏剧节在跨文化交流与合作中展现了其独特的文化价值，乌镇、利贺戏剧节在依托本土文化的基础之上，对文化交流、实践合作等方面做出了积极探索。对比两者在文化传播、活动实践、长效机制层面的不同，可以为戏剧艺术的创新与发展提供新的视角。

在文化传播层面，乌镇戏剧节致力于跨文化戏剧交流与实践，首创“小镇对话”单元，通过“戏剧峰会”“剧本朗读会”等形式让观众成为戏剧主体之一，为全球戏剧艺术家和观众提供多角度互动的可能。乌镇戏剧节在深耕本土特色文化的同时，亦兼具开阔的国际视野。自2013年起，设定了“跨文化交流与合作”的发展方向以来，每年邀请来自世界各地的剧团来华交流，如英国的皇家莎士比亚剧团、法国的“阿维尼翁戏剧节”剧团等，极大地促进了中国与世界其他国家的文化对话。

利贺戏剧节则专注于本土文化的重构和跨文化戏剧的再创作，力求通过戏剧本身来跨越语言和文化的障碍，向世界传递日本戏剧文化的独特魅力。利贺将铃木训练法作为核心教学内容，设立长期培训基地，面向全球戏剧从业者开展系统性培训，既保留日本传统戏剧的肢体表达精髓，又持续吸收国际戏剧的创作理念，实现本土文化的长效传承与跨文化艺术的迭代创新。截至目前，铃木训练法教材已被译为6种语言，传播至76个国家和地区，全球累计超3000名专业演员参与训练，已然成为跨文化戏剧比较研究的鲜活范本。

两者在文化传播层面，分别代表了“开放融合型”和“本土重构型”国际戏剧形式。乌镇戏剧节不断拓宽国际视野、凝聚民族文化自信，推动中国传统戏剧艺术与国际多元创作元素相融共生，为戏剧创作者与广大观众拓宽文化视野，构筑起深度艺术对话与思想交流的优质平台。利贺戏剧节以重构本土文化内核为发展导向，反向输出东方戏剧理念与美学价值，深化西方戏剧界对东方文化的认知与解读，持续提升日本戏剧在国际艺术领域的话语权与影响力。

在活动实践层面，乌镇戏剧节以常态化、制度化方式推动中国本土剧团与国际剧团深度合作，旨在提升中国戏剧的国际视野与艺术水平。跨文化合作的戏剧作品通过不同文化的表达方式，将全球性议题和中国地方特色文化进行有机结合，不仅增强了全球观众对中国戏剧艺术的理解和欣赏，也持续提升了中国戏剧艺术的国际传播力与全球认可度。仅2024年“小镇对话”单元就举办了29场活动，包括国际戏剧评论家协会专场论坛、中国-阿拉伯国家戏剧节负责人会议、关于《茶馆》《等

待戈多》等经典剧目的再创作讨论，还促成了与多国实验剧场导演面对面交流等众多跨文化实践活动。

利贺戏剧节则聚焦戏剧创作实践与演员培育，推动跨文化戏剧的落地实施与创新探索。在实践活动层面，利贺戏剧节邀约固定剧团通过联合研讨、协同创作等形式，围绕戏剧作品的内涵表达、形式创新等核心议题开展深度交流，搭建起跨国界戏剧人对话协作的实践载体。利贺戏剧节明确规定演员表演必须使用母语，将本土语言表达作为戏剧实践的核心要求，例如在经典西方戏剧《李尔王》的舞台呈现中，日语、汉语、韩语三种母语同时登场，打破了语言文字对戏剧传播的局限。这种表演实践模式不仅将语言差异从跨文化传播的障碍转化为彰显文化多样性的特色亮点，更在实践中推动演员表演表现力的提升与创作思维的创新，有效增强了跨文化戏剧作品的普适性与感染力。此外，在对外实践传播上，铃木忠志带领 SCOT 剧团开展常态化国际巡演，通过赴世界各国进行戏剧表演与文化交流活动，将利贺戏剧的创作理念与精神内核传递至全球。

两者在活动实践层面，分别代表了“国际参与型”与“精神反哺型”的国际戏剧发展范式。乌镇戏剧节以“引进来 + 走出去”双向发力，既主动邀约国际优质剧目落地乌镇，也依托本土创作力量，助力中国戏剧走向全球，实现中外戏剧的平等对话与深度交融。利贺戏剧节则注重艺术探索与实践创新，在戏剧实践活动、艺术创作融合等方面为世界戏剧艺术搭建起跨越国界、文化隔阂与语言差异的交流舞台。

在长效机制层面，乌镇戏剧节形成了现代化、系统化、多元化的成熟发展模式，组织管理架构清晰完善，在品牌宣传、统筹决策、战略规划等方面运作规范高效，依托自主化发展模式在国内戏剧领域稳步成长。戏剧节虽享有政策扶持与媒体宣传等外部助力，但整体受外部资金干预较少，运营保持高度自主性，核心收入来源于票务销售与少量商业广告赞助。结合中青旅相关数据，2023 年乌镇戏剧节营业收入 17.84 亿元，同比增长 183.65%，净利润 2.84 亿元。现代化商业运营与戏剧文化深度结合的发展路径，使源自西方的戏剧节庆形式深度适配东方古镇的地域语境，实现了外来艺术模式的本土化革新与长效发展。

利贺戏剧节则主要依靠政府及社会人士的资助维系发展。铃木忠志曾表示，借助政府力量开辟利贺这一艺术创作基地，核心目的是为戏剧艺术提供一个纯粹的创作空间，当戏剧家遭遇创作困境——无论是缺乏场地支持还是资金保障，都可向该基地寻求帮助。邹慕晨（2015，P.124）^⑥提到：

“用铃木演员训练法团结起了来自澳洲、美国、欧洲的专业演员，用利贺戏剧村落和利贺戏剧节则将亚洲甚至世界范围内的许多年轻导演聚集一堂；他的跨文化戏剧甚至成为当代东西方戏剧合作与交流的桥梁。”利贺戏剧节实行预约入场制，每年接待人次仅约 12000 人，戏剧村落内无任何商业商店，所有服务均对参与者免费开放。自 2019 年起，戏剧节取消固定票价，采用观众“随喜投票”的方式，即观众可根据自身意愿与经济能力进行捐赠。这种观演模式打破国界限制，弱化了商业气息，以纯粹的艺术坚守，在精神层面为所有戏剧人提供滋养与反哺。

两者在长效机制层面，分别代表了“市场驱动型”与“艺术纯粹型”的国际戏剧节模式。乌镇戏剧节采用企业出资与戏剧艺术家自主创作相结合的模式，实现了市场化运作与艺术创新的双重驱动，兼顾商业价值与艺术品质；利贺戏剧节则依托政府与文化机构的支持，最大限度规避商业干预，

^⑥ 邹慕晨（2015）：“铃木忠志戏剧研究”，武汉大学出版社。

始终坚守艺术的纯粹性，着力推动传统文化的传承与发展。两大戏剧节的实践成果与成熟经验，为中日戏剧节的长效合作、优势互补，以及两国戏剧艺术的长远发展，提供了重要的借鉴思路与现实参照。

五、结语

乌镇戏剧节与利贺戏剧节作为中日两国极具代表性的戏剧文化盛会，在全球化与跨文化交流的时代语境下，分别走出了文旅融合、开放共享与本体深耕、精神朝圣的差异化发展道路，共同构筑了东方戏剧节的两种典型范式。乌镇戏剧节依托江南水乡的地域文化底蕴，以市场化运营与多元艺术实验为驱动，实现了戏剧艺术与文旅产业的深度融合，成为展现中国传统文化现代转型、推动国际戏剧对话的重要平台，但其尚未形成具有高度辨识度的专属表演风格体系。利贺戏剧节根植于日本传统戏剧美学，以铃木忠志身体性戏剧理论为核心，坚守艺术纯粹性与哲学思辨性，通过身体训练、经典改编与跨文化重构，打造出具有精神感召力的戏剧空间，成为东方戏剧美学反向输出的重要载体，但其在可持续发展的系统性规划与市场化适配层面仍有提升空间。二者的差异，本质上是中日两国文化传统、社会语境与艺术理念的具象呈现，既彰显了东方文化内部的丰富性与多样性，也为全球戏剧节的发展提供了重要参照。

在戏剧节艺术文化蓬勃发展的当下，真正具备国际吸引力的东方戏剧节，绝非是削弱本土文化特质，而是要在深厚的东方文化根基上，实现文化的创造性转译与现代性重构。戏剧节的长远发展，既要坚守优秀传统文化根脉、做好传承工作，也要推动与现代戏剧艺术的深度融合与创新突破；既要着力打造具有独特标识的表演风格与艺术精神，也要持续扩大在不同观众群体中的影响力与感染力；既要不断优化运营模式、提升运营效能，也要丰富剧目内容供给、创新舞台呈现形式。唯有兼顾以上三点，才能更好地传承东方文化，进一步拓展国际观众群体，真正实现“走出去”的目标，全面提升其国际影响力与文化软实力。

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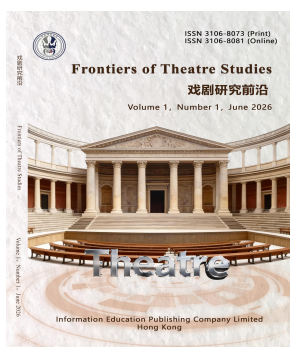
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中介与转译：留日知识分子对西方戏剧的接受——以日本新派剧为媒介

王 聪 (Wang Cong) , 赖泽科 (Lai Zeke)

摘要： 本文聚焦二十世纪初留日知识分子如何以日本新派剧为中介，接受并转化西方戏剧，从而催生中国现代话剧雏形的跨文化进程。研究发现，这一接受并非直接移植，而是在民族救亡的迫切诉求下，通过“西方-日本-中国”的双重文化过滤完成的。留日学生因特定的历史契机接触新派剧，后者本身即为日本对西方戏剧进行选择性吸收与本土化改造的产物，在形式、内容与精神上为前者提供了可操作的范本。中国知识分子通过剧场观摩、文本研习与直接师承等路径，有选择地吸收了新派剧所转译的西方戏剧元素，其接受呈现出强烈的中介性、功利性、实践性与创造性误读的特点。这一过程不仅为春柳社的诞生奠定基础，也从根本上塑造了文明戏作为过渡样式的混合形态与启蒙导向，奠定了中国话剧现代化转型的独特起点。

关键词： 留日知识分子；日本新派剧；西方戏剧；中介；转译

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Title: Mediation and Cultural Translation: The Reception of Western Drama by Chinese Intellectuals in Japan—Taking Japanese Shinpa Theatre as the Medium

Abstract: This study focuses on the cross-cultural process in the early twentieth century whereby Chinese intellectuals studying in Japan adopted and transformed Western drama through the mediation of Japanese Shinpa Theatre, thereby giving birth to the embryonic form of modern Chinese spoken drama. The research finds that this reception was not a direct transplantation but was accomplished through a dual-cultural filtration of “West-Japan-China,” driven by an urgent demand for national salvation. Due to specific historical circumstances, Chinese students in Japan came into contact with new school drama, which was itself a product of Japan’s selective assimilation and localization of Western drama, providing the former with an operable model in form, content, and spirit. Through theater observation, textual study, and direct mentorship, Chinese intellectuals selectively absorbed the Western dramatic elements translated through new school drama. Their reception exhibited strong characteristics of mediation, pragmatism, practicality, and creative misinterpretation. This process not only laid the foundation for the birth of the Chunliu School, but also fundamentally shaped the mixed form and enlightenment orientation of Civilized Drama as a transitional style, establishing a unique starting point for the modern transformation of Chinese spoken drama.

Keywords: Chinese intellectuals in Japan; Japanese Shinpa Theatre; western drama; Mediation; Cultural translation

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一、引言

二十世纪初的中外戏剧跨文化交流是中国现代戏剧史上一场深刻的艺术变革。这一时期的戏剧转型不单纯是对西方的模仿或简单地“西学东渐”，而是一个复杂且多层次的跨文化过程。中国现代话剧的起源并非直接取自西方，而是通过日本这一特殊的文化中转站实现的。以春柳社为代表的留日知识分子通过日本新派剧这一融合中西方文化的特殊媒介，接受并吸收西方戏剧传统，进而催生出中国早期话剧的模型。实际上早在19世纪，西方在华侨民演剧活动的“跨文化性质”对晚清“曲界革命”起到“先导作用”（范方俊、田妮芝，2024, p. 185）。然而这些早期的、零星的西式演剧因其“侨民”特性，主要影响仅局限于租界，未能真正触及中国戏剧界并引发大规模本土化艺术实践。这一任务，历史性地落在了深切感知民族危亡、并主动寻求域外新知的中国留学生身上。这一接受过程既体现了跨文化传播的复杂性和现实性，也展现了中国戏剧现代化建设的历史选择。

日本在明治维新后扮演“西学中介”角色，在戏剧领域表现得尤为突出。新派剧作为日本戏剧改良后的产物，本身承载着对西方戏剧的学习、接受与转化。当中国留日学生群体接触这一已经过“日本化”处理的戏剧形式时，他们实际面对的是一个双重复合的文化过滤器，即西方的现实主义戏剧先被日本文化筛选和转化，再间接被中国知识分子所接受和本土化重构。这一复杂的艺术转

化过程塑造了中国早期话剧的基本形态和特征。正如学者袁国兴（2000, p. 68）指出，中国话剧的诞生不是一个单纯的艺术事件，而是一个文化选择的结果，其中日本的“中介”作用不可忽视。本节从接触契机、吸收转化机制及接受路径三个维度展开分析，旨在揭示中外跨文化戏剧传播的复杂性及中国话剧现代化发展的独特轨迹。

二、留日知识分子接触日本新派戏剧的契机

留日知识分子对日本新派剧的接触是在特定历史语境下多种因素共同作用的结果，既有客观的外在原因，又有主观的内在需求。具体而言，甲午战争前后内忧外患的国家局势需要中国有识之士在意识形态上做出新探索，同时也离不开知识分子主体的主动选择，更与日本新派剧本身的艺术革新性有密切相关。

二十世纪初，中国正处于资产阶级革命的前夜，一些有志的青年苦心寻求真理和救国的良方，促成了戏剧改良运动。甲午战争后，中国将日本视为学习西方成功的典范，“以日为师”成为国策。中国知识分子意识到日本的现代化成果，形成了留学日本的热潮。官派与自费留日学生激增，形成庞大的知识群体，为接触日本新派剧提供了主体队伍和地理空间。据统计，1906年前后，中国留日学生人数已超过万人。这些学生多集中于东京地区，而这里正是日本新派剧活动的中心。日本在明治维新后，戏剧界开始吸收西方近代演剧的形式，对传统的歌舞伎加以改造，创造了新派剧。这种新派剧作为日本戏剧改革的产物，在内容与形式上均与传统歌舞伎有显著区别，引起了中国留学生的浓厚兴趣。当时日本的新派剧正处于全盛时期，剧场演出活跃，为中国留学生提供了近距离接触的机会，也为后期春柳社的成立和文明新戏的发展奠定了基础。文学艺术领域也出现了改革的势头，相继而起的“诗界革命”“小说界革命”“戏曲改良”等活动，为留日学生接受新派剧创造了良好的国内氛围。

留日知识分子接触新派剧的动机，主要被新派剧所反映的社会现实所吸引。更深层次的动力在于，这些知识分子怀有强烈的民族救亡意识，试图通过戏剧探索启迪民智和改造社会的途径。这种强烈的主体诉求成为留日知识分子学习日本新剧的内在驱动力。实际上，戏剧作为一种启迪民心的艺术形式已得到中国有识之士的普遍认同，这为今后中国现代戏剧的发展奠定良好基础。梁启超和他同时期的留日同胞们如陈独秀、陈去病等人，鲜明地认识到日本自明治维新以来的旧剧改良主张所欲达到的“政治目的和功利价值”（张福海，2015, p. 246）。梁启超等启蒙思想家在戏曲改良中发挥了先导作用。1902年他在自己主编、于日本横滨出版的《新小说》创刊号上发表文章“论小说与群治之关系”，阐明“小说、戏曲为改良主义的政治运动服务”（叶长海，2024, p. 600）。同年，他发表的传奇剧《劫灰梦》借剧中人之口高度赞扬了伏尔泰利用小说戏剧唤醒民心的重要性，开创了以戏曲形式表达政治思想、进行社会启蒙的先河。1904年，留日归国的陈独秀在《安徽俗话报》上撰文认为：“做小说，开报馆，容易开人智慧，但是认不得字的人，还是得不着益处。我看惟有戏曲改良，多唱些暗对时事、开通风气的新戏，无论高下三等人，看看都可以感动，便是聋子也看得见，瞎子也听得见，这不是开通风气第一方便的法门吗？”（党史资料丛刊编辑部，1980, p. 138）这种将戏剧视为社会启蒙工具的观念，深深影响了留日知识分子。当他们看到日本新派剧能够有效传播新思想、反映社会问题时，自然生发出将其引入中国的强烈愿望。欧阳予倩（2014, p. 9）在观看《茶花女》后便感叹“戏剧原来有这样一个办法。”随即加入春柳社，开始投身戏剧事业，正是这种动机的体现。

与中国传统戏曲相比较,日本新派剧在内容上直接讨论社会问题、形式上更写实、叙事上更具严肃性,是一种新戏剧样式。同时,相较于直接留学欧美,留日学生借助汉字的便利,能更快理解日本文化。新派剧虽演日本故事,但其情感表达、社会问题意识,比完全异质的西方戏剧更易被中国观众理解和共情。因此,语言与文化的中介便利促使中国留日学生直接借道日本学习西方戏剧,日本新派剧恰好起到重要的触发作用。

日本新派剧从艺术形式和内容上对中国留学生均产生强烈的吸引力。从表现手法上看,它是一种未彻底改良的歌舞伎,处于日本传统戏剧向新剧的过渡阶段。它保留了部分程式化表演和旦角,但采用了写实布景、散文对白和现代题材。这种“似旧还新”的混合形态,对同样处于戏剧转型焦虑中的中国知识分子来说,既是范本,也是可借鉴、可改造的中间形态,比完全成熟的西方写实主义话剧显得更亲切、更易操作。同时,在西方戏剧的影响下,新派剧添加了西方戏剧的元素,如道具、服装、布景均十分讲究精良,而且加入烟火和灯光等舞台特技效果。在演唱形式上,它保留歌舞伎的乐器伴奏废弃唱腔,改以日常口语化台词为主,演员在舞台上仅进行肢体表演和对白,演唱部分由合唱团体担当,整体表演趋于生活化。这种既保留民族传统元素又融入西方戏剧写实主义的折衷方式,虽未脱离传统歌舞伎的套路,但为中国留学生提供了一种可借鉴的戏剧现代化路径。值得注意的是,新派剧在内容上与旧的歌舞伎完全不同,反映“鲜明的政治倾向性。”(王姗姗, 2014, p. 90)为中国话剧的先行者们开始探索中国戏剧之路提供借鉴。新派剧突破歌舞伎的历史题材局限,直接表现当代政治议题。这种社会现实关怀与易卜生社会问题剧的精神内核相切合,但又赋予日本特有的“壮士剧”形式,新的戏剧样式与政治活动直接联系起来,成为宣传民主政治的主要工具和手段,为中国留日学生渴望通过戏剧革新达到政治变革的艺术理想提供直接借鉴。

在留日期间,中国学生群体接触的戏剧场景成为启发他们投入戏剧事业的直接触发点。其中,最直接的接触方式当属校园与社团的集体观摩。留学生团体组织观看戏剧是其直观学习日本新派剧的重要途径。例如,春柳社成员观看新派正剧《蒙娜·凡娜》和喜剧《玉手箱》,深受震撼。正如日本资深戏剧家伊藤茂(Ito Shigeru)(2004, p. 64)所言,“我想川上剧团的正剧里包含的一种东西,使他们产生了‘这样的事我们自己也想做’和‘我们自己也能做’的想法。”

留日学生与日本戏剧界的交往并未止步于剧场观摩,更深层次的是直接的人际传授与艺术合作。其中最具代表性的个案即为春柳社核心成员陆镜若。他曾就读于日本新剧先驱藤泽浅二郎(Fujisawa Asajirô)创办的俳优学校,专修新剧,接受了系统化的现代戏剧导演与表演训练;与此同时,他与岛村抱月(Hōgetsu Shimamura)、松井须磨子(Sumako Matsui)等戏剧界人士交往密切,后又加入早稻田大学文艺协会,由此对西方古典戏剧,尤其是莎士比亚戏剧,形成了浓厚的研究兴趣。这段跨文化求学与交游经历,既为其后续剧本创作奠定了基础,也极大提升了自身的舞台表演素养。

欧阳予倩(1990, p. 42)在《回忆春柳》时提到他对陆镜若演技的敬佩之情:“论起他到底是素养不同。”此外,李叔同、欧阳予倩等人也通过私人请教、合作排演等方式,获得了日本新派剧演员在化妆、表演技法上的具体指导。例如,欧阳予倩(2014, p. 9)在《自我演戏以来》回忆道:

“他(曾孝谷)和新派名优藤泽浅二郎是朋友,这回的《茶花女》,藤泽君还到场指导的。”这种直接的现场指导使得春柳社对西方戏剧的借鉴,不再是隔雾看花,而是获得了具体的技术指导,从而能更有效地学习新派剧并将其移植到中国的舞台上,塑造了文明新戏初期的高度专业性。

作为“西方戏剧的日本译本”,新派剧是经过日本消化、转译过的西方戏剧。通过它来学习西

方戏剧，相当于阅读“译本”，避免了直接面对原典时巨大的文化隔阂与技巧鸿沟，是一条高效的捷径。留日知识分子对日本新派剧的接触，是在特定历史条件下，主客观因素共同作用的结果。这一接触不仅是个人层面的艺术体验，更承载着民族复兴的文化使命，为中国戏剧的现代化转型提供了重要契机。新派剧对西方戏剧的改良与融合，形塑了其独特的艺术魅力，对中国留日知识分子产生了巨大吸引力，其戏剧的感染力和政治导向性远超过传统的文学形式。

三、日本新派戏剧对西方戏剧的吸收与转化

新派剧作为日本明治维新的文化产物，其本身便是西学东渐在戏剧领域的艺术体现。新派剧并非对西方戏剧的简单模仿，而是经过日本文化过滤的艺术性转化，即在本国戏剧传统与近代社会需求的框架内，进行了一次选择性吸收和本土化转化的文化再造，从而成为东方接受西方戏剧影响的关键中介形态。同时这一转化过程为中国留日知识分子提供了可供借鉴的戏剧新范式，也为日后中日戏剧文化交流奠定基础。

将日本新派剧的发展置于其发生语境之中考察，便会发现起主导作用的社会动力是明治维新与近代化诉求。在“文明开化”思潮下，新派剧作为改良戏剧登场，其目标之一是创造符合新时代的国民戏剧。此时，西方戏剧被视为“现代”、“进步”的文化象征，吸收其元素自然成为新派剧确立自身合法性与现代性的策略。除此之外，日本戏曲界试图实现对传统歌舞伎的突围，即为区别于古典的歌舞伎（“旧剧”），新派剧急需新的艺术资源与美学风格。而西方戏剧的写实主义风格与社会题材，成为其拓展题材、吸引新兴市民观众，尤其是知识分子的重要手段。此后，日本学界大量翻译欧洲，尤其是法国、英国的情节剧、浪漫主义戏剧以及莎士比亚作品。同时诸多日本剧作家、演员通过考察欧美剧场或观看访日西方剧团演出，获得直观经验。川上音二郎（Kawakami Otojirô）曾多次考察欧洲戏剧，并仿照西式剧场，在大阪建成新式剧场——帝国座，在剧场内设置五色电灯和新式电气机械设备，以营造自然的艺术景观，并坚持“新的戏剧需要新的剧场”的初心（陈凌虹，2023, p. 177）。

日本新派剧可视为明治维新时期文明开化浪潮中的直接产物，在戏剧领域扮演了东亚接受西方现代戏剧观念与实践的关键中介角色。它并非简单地复制西方，而是在传统歌舞伎的基底上，对西方戏剧元素进行了一场深刻的选择性吸收与创造性转化，最终形成一个独特的杂糅剧种。这一过程，不仅重塑了日本自身的现代戏剧景观，更为随后而至的中国留日知识分子架设了一座通往西方戏剧世界的桥梁。

新派剧的诞生背景与日本整体“脱亚入欧”的现代化进程紧密相连。一方面，社会思潮要求戏剧摆脱封建时代的仪式和娱乐功能，承载启蒙民智、宣传政治的社会功用；另一方面，大量涌入的西方文艺作品提供了全新的美学范式。学者孙笛庐（2023, p. 35）在其著作中指出，近代日本戏剧观念的转变，根植于“学术体系与西化政策”两大因素的共同驱动。这意味着，新派剧的生成不仅是日本知识体系在西方学术影响下的自我重构，也是国家自上而下推行文化西化政策的直接结果。因此，新派剧从一开始就处于现代化与西方化的张力之中，其发展路径深刻地体现了日本处理外来文化与本民族传统的关系，这对中国留日知识分子吸收新派剧并开创文明新戏提供借鉴。中国留日知识分子之所以关注日本新派剧的社会性，正因为中国同样面临着民族存亡和社会变革的迫切问题。例如，曾孝谷借鉴了新派剧的社会关怀，改编版的《黑奴吁天录》刻意强化黑奴的反抗精神，并融入中国民族的独立思想和愿景。

日本新派剧的显著性变革在于其内容的现实关照。传统的日本歌舞伎主要取材于历史故事，而新派剧则直接表现当代社会政治问题。这一现实关注的转变明显受到西方戏剧的影响，特别是易卜生社会问题剧的启示。实际上，新派剧的起源与日本自由民权运动有密切的关联。其中，最具代表性的人物包括角藤定宪（Sadanori Sudō）和川上音二郎。角藤定宪等自由党少数派在大阪联合一部分自由党壮士和青年学生，组织了“大日本壮士演剧会”，演出了《忍耐的书生与贞操佳人》等剧目，具有“强烈地反对天皇政府的现行政策的性质。”（王爱民、崔亚南，1982，p. 90）川上音二郎的“书生剧”则演出了《经国美谈》和《板垣君遭难实记》，这些戏都具有强烈的宣传意味。这种将艺术与政治结合的做法，打破了日本传统戏剧的娱乐导向，赋予了戏剧的社会启蒙功能。值得注意的是，新派剧对西方现实主义戏剧的社会性是选择性接受而非全盘照搬。例如，小仲马的名作《茶花女》被引入日本时，其主题从爱情悲剧转变为对社会阶级差异的批判。这种转化使得西方戏剧更符合日本社会的现实需求，也为中国留学生提供了将西方戏剧本土化的范例。

日本新派剧对西方戏剧的吸收是全方位的，涵盖了戏剧结构、表演方法、舞台艺术乃至戏剧观念等多个层面，构成了一次系统性的移植。

首先，在戏剧文学与结构上，确立了以对话和写实主义为核心的剧本中心制。新派剧彻底摒弃了歌舞伎以音乐、舞蹈和程式化动作为主导的演技本位传统，转而采用欧洲近代戏剧的纯粹对话体。剧本的文学性和思想性被提到前所未有的高度，这直接催生了两种主要的剧本创作模式：一是翻案剧，即对欧洲浪漫派戏剧进行改编，将其人物、情节本土化；二是家庭悲剧，从日本的家庭小说改编而来，但深受欧洲世态剧和问题剧的影响，关注社会现实与个人命运。在结构上，新派剧严格采用了西方戏剧的“分幕分场”形式，强调情节的集中、冲突的层层递进和逻辑的严密性，取代了歌舞伎松散的“场次”连接。整体上呈现出东西方融合的戏剧演出范式。

其次，在表演方法上，颠覆了传统象征体系，追求生活化的写实表演。新派剧的演员不再遵循歌舞伎的固定程式和风格化脸谱，而是致力于创造臆想的生活。一方面保留歌舞伎的发声方法、身形动作，同时他们也努力模仿西方人的言行举止，力求在舞台上逼真再现西方戏剧所设定的生活场景。另一方面，在处理西方题材时，戏剧家们往往注入日本特有的人情、义理伦理观和“物哀”悲情美学，依然表达日本人的传统的思想情感（黄怀军，2023，p. 39）。

再次，在舞台美术上，全面引进西方写实布景与技术。新派剧的舞台告别了歌舞伎的固定背景板和旋转舞台所营造的写意空间，转而采用油画背景、立体布景、逼真的道具以及先进的灯光技术，以营造符合剧情要求的真实环境。舞台从抽象的象征空间转变为具体的社会空间或家庭空间，这一转变不仅是技术的革新，更是戏剧观念的彻底革命——它意味着戏剧所要再现和讨论的是真实的社会现实与问题。

最后，在戏剧观念上，确立了戏剧作为严肃艺术与社会批评工具的地位。新派剧先驱受西方近代文学思潮影响，突破传统艺能的局限，把戏剧改造为独立艺术，并确立其严肃文学的文体地位。坪内逍遙等文学批评家引进并翻译的莎士比亚戏剧、易卜生戏剧等，为新派剧的发展提供了创作源泉。例如，白桦派的代表人物武者小路实笃（Saneatsu Mushanokōji）创作的剧本《他的妹妹》（1915）描写一个在战争中双目失明的画家让其妹妹记录其反战感情，并以演说词的形式发表，以控诉战争的罪恶。显然，此时的日本戏剧不再仅仅是娱乐，更被赋予了反映社会矛盾、探讨人性、启蒙思想的新功能，这为后来日本新剧的发展奠定了观念基础。正如日本近代文学奠基人森鸥外（Mori Ogai）所言：音乐剧可以有华丽的舞台，但正剧则应“展现寻常语言回应中蕴含的诗意之

美。”(Kaneko Sachiyo, 1990, p. 101)他强调戏剧的核心在于思想与诗意,这隐含了戏剧应具备启发观众思考、传达深刻理念的社会教育功能,而非仅仅追求感官刺激。

日本新派剧对西方戏剧的吸收与转化,是一种基于本土需求的创造性接受。这一过程不仅影响了日本戏剧的现代化转型,也为中国留日知识分子提供了可借鉴的模式,成为中国话剧发展的重要中介环节。日本新派剧在中国早期话剧形成过程中发挥了不可替代的中介作用。它既是中国知识分子接触西方戏剧的主要渠道,也是西方戏剧东方化的初步成果。这种双重性质,使得中国话剧的起源既不同于西方原型,也区别于日本新派剧,而成为一种独特的文化创造。正如学者刘平(2012, p. 19)指出的:“中国话剧的诞生,与日本戏剧——新派剧和新剧——的影响有密切的关系。”中国留日知识分子对日本新派剧的接受过程体现了文化选择的主体性。他们并非盲目模仿日本新派剧,而是基于中国社会现实需求,有选择地吸收和转化西方戏剧元素。在题材上偏向社会批判性作品,在艺术方法上侧重写实主义传统,在功能上强调启蒙教育作用,这些选择均体现了中国留日知识分子面对民族存亡时探讨“救亡图存”的文化路径(李新东, 2023, p. 77)。

四、留日知识分子对西方戏剧的接受路径与特点

留日知识分子对西方戏剧的接受,是一个从单纯模仿到创造性转化的动态过程,也是一种“以日本为中介,以救亡为内核”的、具有高度选择性与实践导向的文化过滤与再生产过程。其路径不是直线性移植,而是经历了“西方-日本-中国”的双重转译,最终形成了服务于中国启蒙与革命叙事的早期话剧形态。这一过程既体现了跨文化传播和中外交流的一般规律,也展现了中国文化主体的选择性接受与创造性转化,为后期春柳社的演出和文明新戏的产生打下良好基础。

留日群体对西方戏剧的接受,经历了从简单模仿到本土化创造的渐进过程。这一过程大致可分为三个阶段,包括:初期模仿阶段、改编转化阶段和自主创造阶段,体现了接受程度的逐步深化渐进。第一,初期模仿阶段主要以春柳社在日本的初期演出为代表。1907年,春柳社在东京演出了《茶花女》片段和《黑奴吁天录》,基本是对日本新派剧的直接模仿。在《茶花女》演出中,李叔同饰演女主角玛格丽特,不仅自购戏服。还根据日本新派剧的表演方式,刻意追求西方人的生活细节。这一阶段的演出,虽然在形式上实现了对西方戏剧的引入,但在精神内涵和表演方法上仍停留在表面模仿。欧阳予倩(2004, p. 8)在《春柳社的开场》中回忆李叔同的表演:“扮相并不好,他的声音也不甚美,表情动作也难免生硬些。”第二,改编转化阶段以春柳社后期演出及回国初期的活动为代表。这一阶段,留日知识分子开始有意识地将西方戏剧题材与中日文化语境相结合。例如,陆镜若将日本新派戏作家佐藤红绿的《潮》和《云之响》分别改译为《猛回头》和《社会钟》等,将故事背景和人物身份赋予中国本土特色和社会改革的思想。这些作品虽源自日本新派剧,但已融入中国的社会现实元素,体现了初步的创造性转化。第三,自主创造阶段以春柳剧场在国内的创作为代表。随着对西方戏剧理解的深化,留日知识分子开始立足于中国社会现实进行独立创作。例如,陆镜若创作的《家庭恩怨记》,是在继承传统戏剧的基础上,利用在日本学习的戏剧创作手法编写的,但主要内容已来自对中国社会问题的观察与反思。这一阶段的作品,标志着中国话剧开始从简单模仿走向自主创造,逐渐形成具有本民族特色的戏剧形态。

留日知识分子对西方戏剧的接受,在题材选择和艺术方法上均表现出鲜明的选择性特征。无论是留日学生群体在日本还是国内的戏剧演出,均表现出立足中国社会现实需求的典型特点。在题材选择上,留日知识分子明显偏好具有社会批判意义的作品。例如,春柳社在日本上演的《黑奴吁天

录》之所以受到留日学生和侨胞的欢迎，正是因为其“要求民族独立和平等的政治主张”契合了当时中国的民族独立诉求（李晓等，2002, p. 157）。类似地，法国作家萨都（Victorien Sardou）的《热血》被改编引进，也是因为剧中革命党人的斗争精神能够激励中国观众，而对于西方戏剧中常见的纯爱情题材或心理剧。在艺术方法上，留日知识分子主要接受了西方戏剧的写实主义传统，而非现代主义先锋实验。这一选择与中国知识分子将戏剧视为社会启蒙工具的观念密切相关。欧阳予倩（2009, p. 149）明确主张戏剧应服务于社会，强调其社会功能胜过艺术探索，“我们所希望的戏剧，决不是只求消遣闲情，不是仅能作宣传工具即为满足，也不是只顾目前的那种功利主义所能范围。”这种“功利主义”戏剧观使其与社会现实紧密结合，形成了独特的现实主义传统。值得注意的是，留日知识分子在引入西方戏剧的同时，也有意识地保留和融合了中国传统戏曲元素。例如，春阳社在上海演出的《黑奴吁天录》，采用话剧的分幕、运用对白，人物上场也跟戏曲一样念引子、数快板或念上场诗等方式自报家门，以文明手杖作为马鞭扬鞭上，而舞台设置上则更偏向于西方写实主义风格，如运用写实的布景、灯光，人物穿着西装皮靴。这种“半新半旧”中西融合的尝试，体现了留日知识分子在现代化过程中的民族意识和文明互鉴精神（孙玫，2021, p. 319）。

留日知识分子对西方戏剧的接受，是通过组织化活动实现的系统性文化转化，这一特点保证了接受的持续性和影响力。其中，最具代表性的当属春柳社及其理论建设。春柳社是最早的戏剧演出团体，其成员在《北新杂志》上系统阐述其戏剧主张：“以研究新派为主、以旧派为附属科”的宗旨，并制定了详细的《春柳社演艺部专章》（郑方泽，1983, p. 246）。随后成立的春阳社、新剧同志会等团体，对我国早期话剧的提倡具有重要的开拓作用。这些留日知识分子不仅从事演出活动，还建立学校培养戏剧人才。例如：进化团的创立者任天知，在上海创办职业新剧团体进化团，亲自参与编剧和演出；王钟声在上海创办了通鉴学校，这是中国第一所以培养戏剧专门人才为宗旨学校。这种有组织的戏剧运动，使得西方戏剧的接受从个人兴趣转化为社会文化现象。除了实践活动，留日知识分子还通过理论建设促进西方戏剧的知识传播。例如，陆镜若等人则通过编剧和导演实践，将其在日本学习的西方戏剧创作方法和表演体系引入国内。这种理论与实践的结合，使西方戏剧的知识体系得以在中国扎根。值得注意的是，留日知识分子的戏剧活动超越了简单的艺术引进，与更广泛的社会运动相结合。例如，王钟声中国近代民主革命家，话剧创始人，他在天津领导起义时被捕后牺牲。这种戏剧使命与革命担当的结合，充分体现了留日知识分子将戏剧视为社会变革工具的鲜明倾向。

在跨文化接受过程中，创造性误读是不可避免的现象。留日知识分子对西方戏剧的接受，也存在着有意无意的误读现象，这些误读在特定历史条件下反而成为中国话剧发展的创造性因素。具体而言，对易卜生主义的接受就是一个典型例子。留日知识分子主要接受了易卜生社会问题剧的批判精神，而相对忽视其个体主义哲学基础。这种选择性接受，使得中国早期话剧的社会批判缺乏西方戏剧的个体意识深度，却形成了集体主义导向的现实主义传统。田汉（1983, p. 389）曾表示要做“中国未来的易卜生”，实际上是对易卜生社会伦理关怀的中国化解读，因此其创作更强调社会革命而非个体的自我解放。另一重要案例是对西方悲剧观念的接受。中国早期话剧往往在悲剧结局中加入希望元素，例如，《黑奴吁天录》中黑奴最终逃脱罗网。这种对西方悲剧结构的改造，不仅反映了中国文化对“大团圆”的审美偏好，而且体现了知识分子渴望通过戏剧激励民众的启蒙考量。这些创造性误读，从纯艺术角度上可能被视为不彻底的接受，但从文化传播角度看，却是本土化过程中不可避免的现象。它体现了中国文化主体在面对外来文化时的选择性吸收和创造性转化能力。

留日知识分子通过日本新派剧接受西方戏剧的过程是动态的、渐进的。这一过程既体现了跨文化传播和借鉴的普遍规律，也展现了中国文化主体的选择性接受和创造性转化。从模仿到创造，从简单移植到本土化重构，留日知识分子的接受路径塑造了中国早期话剧的基本形态和特征，为其后中国话剧的发展奠定了重要基础。这一接受过程塑造了中国话剧的独特品格，如现实主义导向、社会使命感以及中西融合的艺术特征，这些特点都可以在留日知识分子的接受路径中找到源头。

总体而言，中国留日知识分子对日本新派剧的接受路径整体呈现中介性、功利性、选择性、实践性和过渡性等典型特点。中介性主要体现在接受过程中日本的中间桥梁作用，导致中国早期话剧既立足于中国传统文化，同时兼顾西方原典和日本转化的基因。功利性主要指的是接受动机高度集中于思想启蒙与政治宣传，艺术本体探索居于次要地位。选择性则是基于本土需求，主要接受写实主义、社会问题剧和浪漫悲剧，对现代主义、纯形式实验等鲜有关注。实践性主要体现在留学生群体在演出中学习的演出实践，接受与再创造几乎同步进行。过渡性主要体现在中国的戏剧形式从传统模式到文明新戏是一种不稳定的、新旧杂糅的过渡形态，但为五四运动以后系统引进西方现代戏剧奠定了观众基础、人才储备和问题意识。

五、结语

综上，留日知识分子通过日本新派剧接受西方戏剧的过程，是二十世纪初中西文化交流的一个典型案例，为后期春柳社的发展和文明新戏的开创奠定了有力基础。这一过程既不是被动的文化移植，也不是完全自主的文化创造，而是一个复杂的、多层次的跨文化中介实践。这一历史经验，对于思考当代中国戏剧乃至文化发展道路，仍具有重要的启示意义。留日知识分子的实践表明，文化的创造性转化需要尊重本土文化的主体性，也需要中介环节的过滤与调整。回顾留日知识分子借道日本新派剧接受西方戏剧的历史，不仅有助于我们理解中国话剧的起源，也为思考当代文化创新提供了历史参照。

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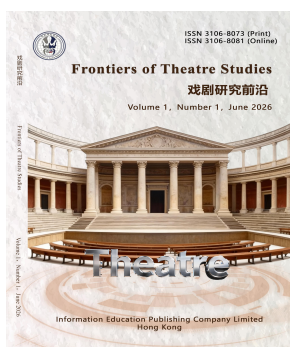
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外国戏剧经典的本土化改编及传播：以达里奥·福的《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》为例

赖日升 (Lai Risheng)

摘要：本文以达里奥·福《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》在华巡演与本土化创编为线索，探讨外国戏剧经典在异文化语境中的再生机制。文章首先梳理福剧根植意大利底层经验、以荒诞笑声揭露权力腐败的审美基因，指出其与中国“五四”讽刺传统及九十年代社会情绪的高度契合，为跨文化接受奠定价值基础。继而聚焦孟京辉1998版改编：通过“疯子”身份重置、京津方言快板与“拼爹”等本土段子的植入，原剧对警察体制的尖锐控诉被温和化为对普遍官僚荒诞的调侃，既保留批判精神，又贴合中国观众趣味与政策语境。论文进一步考察福式“反叛”叙事与街头即兴技巧对中国先锋戏剧的结构性启发，揭示本土化并非简单移植，而是在语言、身体与空间三重维度完成创造性转换。本文认为，该剧旨在昭示外国戏剧在华成功传播的三项核心经验：立足本土社会议题、组建高水平译介与改编团队、守恒原作人民性与喜剧伦理；反向为中国戏剧走出去提供可行路径，即通过生活质感与跨文化对话实现“中国故事”的全球共享。这一路径亦要求创作者警惕文化折扣与意义稀释，在保留原作精神内核的前提下，以扎实的在地观察激活文本的生命力。唯有当改编成为双向理解的桥梁，而非单向裁剪的手术刀，跨文化戏剧实践才能真正抵达共情与共生。

关键词：达里奥·福；《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》；改编；叙事伦理；戏剧传播

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Title: A Study on the Domestic Adaptation and Dissemination of Foreign Classic Dramas: A Case Study of Dario Fo's *Accidental Death of an Anarchist*

Abstract: Taking Dario Fo's *Accidental Death of an Anarchist* and its touring, sinicized restaging in China as its thread, the paper investigates how a foreign theatrical classic is reborn in a heterogeneous cultural context. It first unpacks Fo's aesthetic DNA—rooted in Italian subaltern experience and wielding grotesque laughter to unmask power—arguing that this vision dovetails with China's May-Fourth satirical legacy and the social mood of the 1990s, thus laying a value foundation for cross-cultural reception. It then zeroes in on Meng Jinghui's 1998 adaptation: by resetting the “madman” as genuinely insane, inserting Beijing-Tianjin clapper-jargon and locally viral jokes such as “competing dads,” the original indictment of police brutality is mellowed into a playful lampoon of universal bureaucratic absurdity, retaining critical punch while fitting Chinese audience tastes and policy constraints. The study further explores how Fo's “rebellious” dramaturgy and street-improvisatory techniques structurally inspired China's avant-garde theatre, revealing that localization is not transplant but a triple-dimensional creative transformation of language, body and space. The conclusion posits three core lessons for foreign drama to thrive in China: anchor issues in local social realities, build high-caliber translation-adaptation teams, and conserve the original's popular appeal and comic ethics. Conversely, it offers Chinese theatre a feasible route outward: to globalize “Chinese stories” through lived texture and cross-cultural dialogue.

Keywords: Dario Fo; *Accidental Death of an Anarchist*; adaptation; narrative ethics; drama dissemination

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一、引言

达里奥·福 (Dario Fo, 1926-2016) 是当代意大利剧坛最为卓越的戏剧家之一, 也是西方戏剧艺术的集大成者。他的戏剧令人忍俊不禁, 常常在谈笑间对社会黑暗进行无情地揭露与辛辣地批判。其代表作《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》(*Accidental Death of an Anarchist*, 1970)借助一个“疯子”破案的离奇故事, 揭露了司法部门和官僚机构的卑鄙龌龊。该剧在意大利反响强烈, 一连上映了300余场, 现场观众逾30万人。1997年, 达里奥·福出人意料地问鼎诺贝尔文学奖, 引发了国内剧坛一阵“达里奥热”。著名先锋戏剧导演孟京辉于1998年将《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》一剧搬上中国舞台。该剧在中国好评如潮, 场场爆满的同时也开启了达里奥·福剧作在中国一段高

密度的传播热潮，他的《不付钱！不付钱！》（*We won't pay! We won't pay!*, 1974）及《他有两支长着白眼睛和黑眼睛的手枪》（*He Had Two Pistols with White and Black Eyes*, 1960）也在这一时段被搬上我国舞台，让观众们能够第一时间欣赏其作品的风采。本文锚定达里奥·福作品在中国风生水起的独特历史时期，以《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》为研究对象，从达里奥·福戏剧的本土接受、孟京辉版《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》的传播实例以及达里奥·福对本土戏剧的影响三方面，系统地分析与解读这一戏剧得以在中国顺利传播的原因，并从这一事例出发，分析西方戏剧，尤其是诸如《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》之类的非英语国家经典戏剧的中国接受对于当代文学以及戏剧发展的启示与借鉴意义，以期更好地找寻一条本土戏剧走出去的传播之路，为传播中华优秀传统文化，讲好中国故事提供一条可供借鉴的可行之路。

二、达里奥·福戏剧的本土接受

在荣膺 1997 年诺贝尔文学奖之前，达里奥·福可谓是一位不显山、不露水的无名之辈，甚至都并非戏剧科班出身，而是一名在大学主修建筑的“工科男”。在讨论其戏剧本土接收问题时，我们首先应该想到的是什么样的环境让一个主修建筑的学生走上了一条戏剧创作之路，又是什么样的机缘，能让他从一个籍籍无名的小人物成长为影响西方剧坛的伟大作家？他的戏剧创作，又因何能与中国观众如此投缘？

事实上，达里奥·福之所以能够成长成为一位享誉欧洲的戏剧巨匠，与其所处的独特社会环境及个人生活轨迹密切相关。

达里奥的青年时期正值意大利泛纳粹化，大踏步进入法西斯主义的关键时期。彼时的意大利经历着严重的经济危机，国内政局动荡不安，阶级矛盾不断激化，法西斯头目墨索里尼（Benito Mussolini, 1883-1945）于上世纪 20 年代掌权，他治下的法西斯意大利走上了军事扩张的集权制道路，雄心勃勃的法西斯独裁政府高开低走，在二战中草草战败，使得人民的生活举步维艰。战争的失败加剧了意大利各阶层间的矛盾，也引发了战后的很长一段时间之内，国内文艺工作者对于时局的关注与反思。

和许多出身戏剧世家的剧作家不同，福出身于社会底层，贩夫走卒是他青年时期接触的最多的群体。正因如此，在他在日后的创作过程中，着墨最多的也是醉汉、妓女、小偷、骗子这类的底层人物。底层人物的生活对于同样出生社会底层的福而言更为熟悉也较好把握，正所谓“兴，百姓苦；亡，百姓苦”，底层人物对于社会变革的动荡感受也更深刻，创作反映这样的人物的戏剧在更加真实反映社会现实的同时，也能引发最为广泛阶层的社会共情。福于上世纪 40 年代离乡远赴米兰求学，此间他接触了当时的“小剧场运动”并且热情投身其中。此后的几十年里，他笔耕不辍，创作了诸如《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》等多部脍炙人口的戏剧，早年在家乡生活时积淀的底层社会经验给他的创作诸如了最为鲜活的灵魂，一代巨匠就此诞生。

福戏剧受到人们追捧的首要原因，是因为其剧作亲近生活。正如翻译大家吕同六先生所言，“达里奥·福的政治讽刺剧，虽然内容各异，但无一不是从现实生活中汲取灵感，采撷素材，无不

是对国内外重大事件直接作出反应”^①（福，1998, p.3）。有着“意大利人民的游吟诗人”美誉的福，终其一生都在追求创作人民的戏剧，他力图通过描绘底层人民的痛苦生活来针砭时弊，着墨描写他们在现实生活中的痛苦挣扎，借以表达对于政府和社会的不满和抗争。他笔下的底层人民无力对抗飞涨的物价，无力抵制资本主义对于生活方方面面的腐蚀和剥削。福在创作中体现的社会考量与中国传统文化所推崇的人本思想不谋而合。尊重和爱惜底层人民，为底层人民发声，是福戏剧创作的一大特质，而这种亲近人民，亲近大众的做法，更是其广受关注的最大原因。前苏联文学评论家别林斯基有言：“作为艺术作品，它们应该不使人发笑，不去教训人，而是通过创造性地忠实地表现现实生活去阐明真理”^②（别林斯基，2005, p.376）。戏剧作为普罗大众最为接受的市井文化形式，理应如实地反映市井生活。

其次，福戏剧所具有的强烈批判性及揭露性也是其深受中国观众喜爱的一大原因。福的许多戏剧取材于真实存在的历史事件，所表达的也大多是对社会丑恶的揭露和批判。如《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》便是取材于真实的社会事件，《他有两支长着白眼睛和黑眼睛的手枪》也借真实事件揭露了法西斯主义和资产阶级及黑社会称兄道弟、沆瀣一气的丑恶现实。福戏剧中诸如此类的社会揭露很难不让人联想到《儒林外史》、《聊斋志异》，甚至是鲁迅所著杂文一类的针砭时弊的文章，现代中国脱胎于“五四”百年屈辱中，国人对于这种极具讽刺性和批判性的艺术作品往往都是爱护及推崇的。达里奥·福的作品取材于异质环境，反映的却是人性的丑恶和社会的黑暗，从这点上说，福的戏剧在中国大热只是时间问题。

再次，达里奥·福于上世纪六、七十年代创作的一系列作品，经历了20余年的时光洗礼，却仍然能够在上世纪末的中国掀起一阵不小的涟漪，重要的原因是时至今日，福戏剧中所表现的内容仍然能够引发国人最强烈的情感共鸣。无论是《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》所涉及的政府执法问题，抑或是《不付钱！不付钱！》中关注的物价飞涨问题，都是能够激发中国观众情感共振，引发观众深刻思考的重要问题。福的戏剧大多通过光怪陆离的故事情节，让观众在阵阵笑声之后，心情放松之余进行理性反思与思考，这样的一种戏剧表现形式迎合了上世纪末生活节奏日益加快，生存压力日益提升的社会现状。诚如他自己坦言地那样：“我认识到可以通过喜剧让人们看到问题，你可以让观众为发笑而发笑，也可以让他们为社会问题而发笑，我喜欢后者，笑比眼泪能使人记住事情”^③（王辽南，2005, p.164）。

如果说达里奥·福戏剧的以上特点是其在中国发展的先决条件，那上世纪末中国特殊的文化市场也是其戏剧得以广泛传播的必要条件。

众所周知，在1978年改革开放开始前的很长一段时间里，国内戏剧的“当家花旦”乃是十年浩劫时期官方最为推崇及提倡的“革命样板戏”。样板戏结构固定，题材有限，极大地抑制了文艺工作者们旺盛的创作热情。这样的现状随着改革开放的全面铺开而发生了巨大的改变，各种西方先

^① [意]达里奥·福（1998）：《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡：达里奥·福戏剧作品集》，吕同六译。译林出版社。

^② [俄]别林斯基（2005）：《别林斯基选集》（第五卷），辛未艾译。上海译文出版社。

^③ 王辽南（2005）：“近十年诺贝尔文学奖的评奖取向”，《当代外国文学》（04）：164。

进的哲学观念及艺术思潮涌入国内，可谓是百家争鸣、百花齐放。达里奥·福的戏剧向来以主题尖锐、言辞犀利著称，此时的中国文艺界对于这样一位棱角分明的艺术家却始终保持了宽容与接纳的态度。同样，受到改革开放影响的中国观众，对于这样一位艺术家的大胆艺术呈现，也体现了极大的好奇与开放性，这也是福的戏剧能在上世纪末广泛传播的重要因素。福的戏剧进入中国市场是在其获得诺贝尔文学奖之后，毫不夸张地说，“诺奖获得者”这一名号帮助其更快地融入了中国市场，也使其作品在中国拥有更高的地位和更广泛传播的可能。

以吕同六为代表的意大利文学研究者对其作品进行了高水平译介，《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡：达里奥·福戏剧作品集》（1998）及《不付钱！不付钱！》（2000）两部作品集的出版让无数中国读者能够跨越语言障碍，更全面地了解达里奥·福的戏剧作品。

译者之外，中国的导演及剧作家们对作品的成功改编也是其作品得以在中国传播的重要原因。孟京辉改编的《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》便是一个西方戏剧艺术与中国传统文化有机结合的典范。导演十分注重戏剧语言的本土化，在剧中加入的大量的歇后语、俚语、谚语与顺口溜，不但使对白更加生活化，也极大地提升了剧本的可读性与文学性。此外，导演们还会根据中国社会的具体问题，对福的剧本进行改编，令其“中国味”十足。如《不付钱！不付钱！》便特意根据中国社会的现实情况增加了控诉无良房产开发商这一文化元素。《他有两支长着白眼睛和黑眼睛的手枪》也有对于中国物价飞涨的社会现实的揶揄和嘲讽。

总之，达里奥·福戏剧能够在中国顺利传播，有赖于一系列因素的共同作用。福立足社会底层小人物的叙事风格与广大中国观众的现实生活息息相关，能够引发人们广泛而深刻的共同关注；优秀译者的广泛译介，让福的戏剧在中国的影响力逐步提高；诸如孟京辉在内的优秀国内戏剧工作者对于戏剧进行的灵活改编和卖力演出，让其作品能够在中国舞台上熠熠生辉。

三、《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》成功的异质传播

《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》是达里奥·福于1970年创作的一部剧作。该剧取材自1969年冬天发生在意大利的一场真实爆炸案件。案件过后，制造了该起案件的法西斯组织贼喊捉贼，反诬无政府主义者案件真凶，警方旋即逮捕了一位名叫皮内利的无政府主义者并指控其为凶手。随后的案件审理阶段，皮内利却意外坠楼而死。收到了消息的达里奥·福对此案件进行了一定的想象与改动，很快创作出了《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》。剧本中警察局长和警员残忍地将一位无政府主义者殴打致死并且抛尸街头。一名“疯子”通过乔装打扮，通过与警察内部势力的斗智斗勇，最终通过装疯卖傻探清了案件真相。达里奥·福通过这一剧本解释了意大利当局的残忍与无能，但原剧的故事设定带有强烈的意大利特色，可能会对观众的理解和欣赏带来不小的挑战。

孟京辉导演基于中国文化语境对该剧本进行了创造性的改编，让其最大限度地满足中国观众的审美需求。孟版《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》的首个出彩的改动便是“疯子”这一角色。在原作中，“疯子”并非真疯，而是一个忍辱负重，通过装疯调查事件真相的正义使者。而在孟版中，“疯子”却是一个真真正正的精神病人。他并非想要调查事件真相，而是投机分子，是一个妄图通

过为官僚机构献策而谋划晋升之人。孟京辉的改编削弱了原著的非理性色彩，使情节与内容更为合理，也更易于中国观众理解与接受。此外，孟京辉还给故事增添了一些中国特色。譬如故事开始之前关于“屁”的一段幽默调侃，就很有老北京胡同韵味；剧中关于爸爸的讨论，“打小儿骑人脖子随便哪个叔叔爸爸都可以，可是长大了再想骑人脖子，那就非得有个像样的爸爸不可了”，更是俏皮地讨论了中国社会普遍存在的“拼爹”现象。

鉴于该剧中含有较多晦涩难懂的对白以及独白，孟京辉还对该剧剧本进行了本土化的改编，加入了较多谚语、俏皮话、顺口溜等语言形式，极大地丰富了该剧的语言表达，也增加了剧本的趣味性。如“疯子”那段令人印象深刻的“快板”似的独白，“我，我，我来到了天津卫，嘛都没学会，学会了开汽车，压死了二百多，我上，我下，我又压死二百多，我换了一辆车，我又压死二百多。警察来抓我，我说不是我，我连蹦啊带跳啊逃进女厕所，厕所没有灯，我掉进了粑粑坑，我跟粑粑作斗争，我差点儿没牺牲啊。”这段精彩的“快板”不但给观众带来了强烈的荒诞感，更使他们在紧张剧情的间隙，会心一笑，感受这天津人特有的幽默。

所谓“画虎画皮难画骨”，西方戏剧在中国顺利传播与中国戏剧在西方顺利传播中最为艰难的一步便是让两方观众彻底地理解作者戏剧叙事背后的精神实质。尽管孟京辉在台词、剧情等多方面对《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》进行了大刀阔斧，甚至是面目全非的改动，却难能可贵地沿袭了达里奥·福荒诞故事背后的精神实质，这一点着实难能可贵。

首先，是对福戏剧中喜剧性（Comicità）的批判性继承。《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》本是一个严肃的政治讽刺剧，表达的也是相对严肃的社会议题。但在达里奥·福的艺术加工下，幽默的语言、夸张的表演和辛辣的讽刺有机结合，带给观众思考的同时也让人捧腹。受原作影响，孟京辉在改编版中也保留了作品的幽默性和可笑性。他独立设置的两个小丑在整剧过程中不断地插科打诨，向观众讲述意大利的历史、达里奥·福的生平以及社会问题等背景知识，不但帮助观众更快地融入故事，也增加了戏剧的趣味性和观众的参与度。他还擅长指导演员通过夸张的肢体动作来增加戏剧的荒诞质感，让观众更好地感受剧场氛围。剧中的许多情节设计也能做到不入俗套，荒诞却不失幽默。剧中，为了编造掩盖事实真相的谎言，局长被两个警员按着像生孩子似的捶打折腾，最后终于顺利“生下来”了一个主意，局长这一人物形象的丑态被刻画地淋漓尽致。此外，当“疯子”被带回来回答警长的询问时，为了避免接受刑罚，先是忽然倒地，又是钻圈儿的，甚至表演上了口技、拍砖、劈砖等特技，让观众啼笑皆非。

其次，是导演对于作品批判性的继承。达里奥·福讽刺剧的最大特点便是他对政治的辛辣挖苦与讽刺。《一个无政府者的意外死亡》大胆泼辣、尖锐锋芒，剧中本应该机警聪慧的警察局长和警员们却被一个“疯子”玩弄于鼓掌之上，让当权者的昏聩无能跃然纸上。剧本最后，“疯子”通过和警察们的一番嬉笑怒骂查明了事情真相，揭穿了意大利当权机构的骗局，让民众得以清楚地认识到意大利政治当局的无耻和卑鄙。除了大胆地批判当权者的虚伪与残暴之外，他还披露了意大利的当权者们欺上瞒下的丑陋嘴脸，政权机构中充斥了森严无比的等级制度，官僚腐败严重。

再次，是导演对福剧本的亲民特性的继承。这里的亲民性主要是能够反映人民的心声。达里

奥·福的原作本就是根据当时意大利社会上发生的真实事件改编的，表达的是对当时意大利政府的批判和嘲讽，具有较强的人民性，能够引发观众们的共鸣。孟京辉改编的《一个无政府主义者的意外死亡》为了更好地吸引国内观众的关注，增加了许多对于现实时局与政治生活的讨论和批判，这些举措都很好地提升了该剧的话题性和热点性，使该剧更能够走进观众内心。

最后，孟京辉改编的剧本的批判角度对比原剧而言，也发生了一些变化。原作的批判矛头直指政府和有关当权机关，将官僚们的卑鄙无耻、政权机构的残暴腐败赤裸裸地摆在了观众的面前，也为观众们提供了一个较为顺畅的情绪发泄通道。但孟京辉的版本却有意地弱化了对当权政局的批判，将批判的角度更多的指向人类社会的共同问题。导演的这样操作看似把各类社会问题的讽刺与批判放置于同一个舞台，实则温和了许多。批判的范围虽广，力度却略显不足，对于观众的冲击也相对较弱。原著中，疯子探明了事实真相，戳穿了警察们的骗局，并扬言要将所获证据公布于众。正义最终战胜了邪恶，结局令人大快人心。做出这样的改变并非毫无原因，而与二者所处的社会环境有密切的关系。达里奥·福面对的是一团乱麻的意大利社会，政治腐败，生活凄苦，作家对当时的社会弊端的批判是无可厚非的。孟京辉身处的却是活力充沛的社会主义中国，他也有选择性地批判地锋芒指向了人类各个社会共同的弊端。这样的改变使得该剧不但能够更加顺畅地在中国巡演，也有利于该剧甚至达里奥·福在中国的接受。

四、达里奥·福对于中国戏剧的巨大影响

上世纪末达里奥·福戏剧的引进在中国戏剧界造成了很大的反响，一方面，福戏剧里的先锋意识对其后的中国先锋戏剧的发展起到了重要的作用。如孟京辉就宣称，达里奥·福对他的戏剧创作起到了重要的推动作用。中国先锋戏剧从以下三个部分受到福的影响：首先，是全方位地继承了达里奥·福作品中的“反叛”精神，其次是从传统戏剧艺术中汲取了必要的艺术分子，再次便是继承了对其戏剧表演形式的借鉴。

达里奥·福的戏剧充满反叛精神，始终保持着以一种对于社会和文化的批判态度，敢于直面现实社会中的丑恶现象。他抨击政权的阴暗面，唤醒人们对于美好生活的奋斗精神和进取态度。上世纪末的中国，经济发展如火如荼，但经济高速发展的同时，中国社会也在经历着一场蔚为壮观的思想激荡与社会变革。高速发展的经济和日益鼓囊的钱包，给社会带来了许多棘手的现实问题，许多中国人醉心于物质生活的日益丰沛，却对明显或者隐晦的社会问题保持着一种视而不见、熟视无睹的态度。面对这样的社会现实，以孟京辉等先锋派导演为代表的文艺工作者决定面对现实，勇敢地向这些棘手却又紧迫的社会问题发起挑战，达里奥·福那充满反叛精神的戏剧便成为了革新社会的一剂良药。孟京辉等导演则坚持认为，戏剧须指向人民，戏剧须反映政治。在这样创作理念的指导下，他一直坚持戏剧应该贴近当下，真实地反映社会问题。他指导的戏剧，无论是反映现代人爱情婚恋观的《恋爱的犀牛》，抑或是挑战传统道德禁忌的《思凡》，都可以看做是对于社会传统和凡俗礼节的反思以及对等级制度的抗争。

叙事结构的反叛也是福戏剧作品中的重要反叛精神。在他看来，艺术并不是高高在上且神圣不

可侵犯的。他善于使用非线性、碎片化的叙述结构，他的好几部戏剧作品都把毫无关联的几个故事拼接在一起，实现特有的戏剧效果。

除了令人耳目一新的舞台语汇，达里奥·福的剧作还深深刻着时代胎记：它们把意大利街头喜剧、即兴面具、甚至歌剧咏叹的腔调一并揉进讽刺的利刃，让“唱”成为戏剧呼吸的一部分。而在中国戏曲里，“唱”虽源远流长，却与话剧泾渭分明。孟京辉接过福的火炬后，没有生搬硬套，而是索性把锣鼓点、快板、绕口令、山东快书、相声包袱统统请上舞台，让北京胡同的舌尖节奏与西西里巷尾的即兴歌声隔空对唱。于是，福的愤怒在竹板声里换骨脱胎，成了中国当代观众一听就懂、一听就乐的“本土咆哮”。

五、结语

达里奥·福这位意大利乃至西方戏剧的集大成者，凭借着锋芒毕露的批判精神与大胆不羁的舞台实验，在上世纪末叩开了中国观众的心门，一时间“福热”席卷剧场与学界。人们反复追问：一部远在地中海的讽刺喜剧，何以在黄河两岸激起如此持久的回声？它又能为我们“让中国好戏走向世界”的宏愿提供哪些可操作的启示？答案并不藏在某次偶然的轰动里，而取决于从业者能否从以下维度展开持续而清醒的探索与革新。

首先，我们的文艺创作必须立足本土生活实际，最大限度地走进生活。中国的文艺作品应该与中国的社会现实生活息息相关。立足老百姓的日常生活，展现中国式生活和文化的文学作品，才能真正触及到国内读者和观众的内心世界，也才会有机会最大限度的引发国内外观众的情感共鸣。中西方客观存在的文化差异，使得两种观众在欣赏对方戏剧作品时天然就存在的矛盾和分歧，能否正确利用好两种文化的差异性对于创作出经典作品而言，至关重要。达里奥·福的作品之所以能够脍炙人口并在异质文化传播中保持活力，就是因为它立足意大利传统文化，从本国的社会现实出发，为人民书写以及叙事。

其次，优秀的译介和改编在戏剧传播中也发挥着功不可没的作用。正是由于有吕同六先生和孟京辉导演的出色引路，才能让普罗大众了解并且接受达里奥·福及其优秀的戏剧作品。由彼及己，中国优秀文化的异域传播也同样需要优秀文艺工作者的推广和译介。这便要求国家制定文化输出计划，进一步加强人才建设，培养一批具备文化素养和专业技能的翻译人才，保障中国文化中的瑰宝能够顺利地“走出去”。

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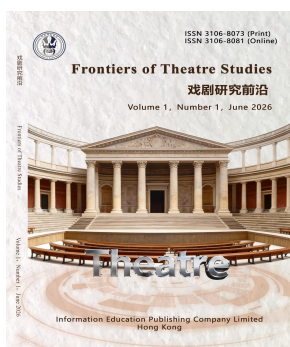
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中国戏曲美学的国际影响力： 以美国戏剧《黄马褂》（1912）为例

何淑敏 (He Shumin)

摘要： 本文以美国戏剧《黄马褂》（The Yellow Jacket, 1912）为研究对象，探讨中国戏曲美学在西方剧场体系中的传播路径、接受方式与文化重构过程。《黄马褂》借鉴中式剧场技法，展示了中国戏曲“虚实结合”、“以意导形”的美学特征，并在西方引发巨大回响。其对西方现实主义剧场的突破，彰显了中国戏曲美学对西方现代剧场革新的推动作用。中国戏曲艺术得以从“边缘”的唐人街舞台走向纽约、华盛顿等“中心”剧场，得益于彼时欧美现实主义戏剧日渐衰落、亟需革新的需求和美国戏剧界“振兴民族戏剧”的文化愿景，也在某种程度上反向推动了我国“五四”之后的戏剧改良运动，为中国戏剧的现代化探索提供了新的启示。《黄马褂》的成功所引发的一系列“蝴蝶效应”展现了“五四”前后中美戏剧艺术交流的互渗互鉴路径。

关键词： 中国戏曲美学；中西戏剧交流；《黄马褂》；国剧运动；“五四”

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Title: The International Influence of Chinese Traditional Operatic Aesthetics: A Case Study of *The Yellow Jacket* (1912)

Abstract: This paper takes *The Yellow Jacket* (1912) as a case study to investigate the dissemination pathways, modes of reception, and processes of cultural reconstruction of Chinese traditional operatic aesthetics in the Western theater system. Drawing on techniques from Chinese traditional theater, *The Yellow Jacket* demonstrates the aesthetic principles of “integrating the real and the fictional” and “guiding form by intention,” and it generated significant resonance in the West. Its breakthrough against Western realist theater underscores the role of Chinese traditional theatrical aesthetics in advancing the innovation of modern Western theater. The journey of Chinese traditional opera from the “marginal” stages of Chinatown to the “central” theaters of New York and Washington, D.C., was made possible by the decline of Euro-American realist drama which urgently required renewal at the time, and the American theater community’s cultural vision of “revitalizing national drama.” In turn, this phenomenon also inversely propelled the drama reform movement in China after the May Fourth Movement, offering new insights for the modernization of Chinese theater. The series of “butterfly effects” triggered by the success of *The Yellow Jacket* reveals the mutual influence and mutual fertilization in Sino-American theatrical exchanges around the time of the May Fourth Movement.

Keywords: Chinese traditional theatrical aesthetics; Chinese-Western theatrical exchange; *The Yellow Jacket*; National Theatre Movement; May Fourth Movement

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一、引言

二十世纪初的中西戏剧艺术交流是一个相互借鉴、双向影响的历史进程。当国内“五四”先驱们正热火朝天地试图从西方戏剧形式中汲取营养、以求革新时，中国传统戏曲也以其独特的美学形式对西方剧场产生了广泛而深远的影响。中国传统戏曲作为中华文化的重要组成部分，拥有绵延数百年的表演传统，其美学体系自成一格。与西方戏剧强调写实、因果推进与舞台再现不同，中国戏曲更强调“写意”表达，展现出独特的舞台美学体系。“一桌二椅”的极简舞台空间建构呈现高度的自由与流动性，“虚拟化”、“程式化”的表演风格极具象征性和表现力，而在叙事结构上，中国戏曲多采用较为自由的铺陈方式，更注重戏剧场景的情绪节奏与人物的抒情表达。这一系列美学特征构成了中国戏曲的独特魅力，呈现出“重写意、重表现、重虚拟”的美学特征，也为现代西方剧场提供了丰富的灵感资源。事实上，自十九世纪中叶以来，随着华工大量移民北美，中国戏曲便以粤剧、京剧等形式在唐人街的剧院中传播开来。尽管早期多限于华人社区内部演出，但其独特的舞台语言与异域色彩也逐渐吸引了部分西方剧作家、导演与观众的注意。美国百老汇戏剧《黄马褂》(*The Yellow Jacket*, 1912)的诞生，正是在这一跨文化背景下的产物。

《黄马褂》由乔治·黑泽尔顿 (George C. Hazelton) 与哈里·本里默 (Harry Benrimo) 共同创作，由本里默导演，号称是“一部以中国方式创作的中国剧” (转引自都文伟 70)。与当时美国剧场普遍采用现实主义布景和表演方法不同，《黄马褂》在舞台形式上大量借鉴了中国戏曲的结构性美

学,可以说是中国戏曲美学对外输出的早期代表。这种形式上的“他者技艺 (techne)” (Uzawa, 2023, p.29) 既满足了西方观众对“东方奇观”的想象,也对日渐僵化的西方写实剧场美学构成了挑战和冲击。该剧一经上演便广受欢迎,常驻于欧美主流剧院,并开启了长达三十年的欧洲巡演。作为第一部系统模仿中国戏曲表现形式并获得巨大商业成功的西方剧作,《黄马褂》展示了中国戏曲“虚实结合”、“以意导形”的美学特征,彰显了中国戏曲美学对西方现代剧场革新的推动作用。《黄马褂》为何能在欧美戏剧界引起如此巨大的反响?该剧在多大程度上、如何借鉴了中国戏曲形式?它的成功体现了哪些中国戏曲美学特质在西方语境中被识别与接受,又对西方剧场产生了何种影响?是在什么样的历史、文化与审美语境中,中国戏曲得以进入并影响西方主流剧场?本文聚焦《黄马褂》对中国戏曲美学的借鉴与改编,探讨中国戏曲美学在西方剧场体系中的传播路径、接受方式与文化重构过程,以期回应上述问题,并为中外戏剧交流研究拓展新的视角与分析维度。

二、中国戏曲在美国的最早输出:唐人街剧院与《黄马褂》的灵感来源

要理解《黄马褂》的创作动因和灵感来源,首先要对中国戏曲在美国的传播与接受情况进行简要梳理。中国戏曲表演在美国的传播最早可以追溯到18世纪90年代,当时纽约及费城的部分马戏团和剧院已零星上演烟火表演、皮影戏、木偶戏、哑剧等含中国戏曲元素的节目(都文伟, 2002, p.139)^①。19世纪50年代,美国加州淘金热吸引了大批华人劳工赴美。随着华工人口增长,华人聚居区逐步形成,中国剧团也在此期间逐渐在美国发展起来。1852年,第一家中国戏院“同福堂”(Tong Hook Tong)在旧金山建立,其开幕演出被视为美国戏剧史上有记载的首场中国戏剧演出,也是“当代最奇特且最引人入胜的奇观之一”(Lei, 2003, p.289)。此后,陆续有更多戏院在旧金山及其他华人聚居城市建立并取得商业成功,其中就包括给本里默带来创作灵感的“老中国剧院”(Old Chinese Theatre, 1867)。由于这些戏院大多位于唐人街等华人聚居区,因此被学者们称为“唐人街剧院”。

对身处异乡的华人劳工而言,中国戏曲是维系乡土情感和强化社群认同的重要纽带。在锣鼓声与唱腔之间,移民得以在陌生的土地上重温故乡的记忆,而中国传统表演艺术也随之在异域生根发芽,逐渐引起部分西方观众的好奇与关注,由此开启了中美戏剧文化初步接触与交流的历史篇章。戏曲表演既是华人们的乡愁寄托,也是一种跨越文化的商业尝试。唐人街剧院不仅面向华人,还有意吸引白人观众。为拓展观众群体与提升戏院的影响力,华人戏院采取了一系列策略性举措,如在英语报刊上刊登节目广告,邀请唐人街内外具有社会影响力的人士担任贵宾,必要时聘请翻译等,体现了戏院向白人及国际观众推广中国戏曲舞台所作出的有意识努力(Uzawaz, 2023, p.40)。这些举措彰显了华人戏院对多元市场的敏锐洞察,折射出中国戏曲与西方主流文化的互动与协商。

在华人戏院面向西方观众的宣传营销与中国戏曲独特艺术魅力的双重作用下,唐人街剧院成为旧金山的一大文化象征,吸引了众多白人游客、著名剧作家和评论家的关注。当时部分英文报刊上也时常出现对中国戏曲的介绍或报道。有趣的是,英语剧评界对中国戏曲的评价呈现出两极分化的趋势。有评论家高度赞扬中国戏曲的表现手法,称其为可以媲美莎士比亚的舞台艺术:“中国人是天生的象征主义者,他们在舞台中加入大量程式化的动作,用以取代布景和道具……观众往往难以分辨写实与象征的边界在哪里结束或开始”(The Art, 1909, p.970-971)。而持负面态度的评论家则认为中国戏曲“缺乏庄重,不够沉静,毫无美感,剧作本身非常薄弱、缺乏戏剧冲突,情节几近幼稚单薄”(Chinese Theatres, 1883, p.295)。

^① 另见 Mates (1962), p.25, p.32-33.

这种两极分化的评价，一定程度上源于中西戏剧在舞台空间设计、舞台表现手法、表演体系与叙事结构等方面存在根本性的美学差异。在舞台空间的建构上，中国戏曲具有高度的灵活性与流动性，无须依赖复杂、逼真的道具和布景，而是通过演员的表演与观众的想象共同构建剧中世界，根据剧情需求随心所欲地变化转换，这与西方戏剧所遵循的“三一律”有着本质区别。在舞台艺术的呈现上，中国戏曲具备虚拟化与象征化特征。演员的动作、舞台环境乃至道具的使用均经过高度艺术化处理，体现出“以意导形”的审美原则。此外，中国戏曲的表演艺术呈现出高度程式化的特征，从“唱、念、做、打”四功的展现，到配乐中的曲牌结构与板式变化，再到人物造型、服饰设计等视觉元素，皆遵循特定的艺术规范。而在叙事结构上，“重写意、重表现、重虚拟”的中国戏曲不像西方戏剧那样追求尖锐的矛盾冲突与激烈的情节转折，而是更注重戏剧场景的情绪节奏把控与人物情感的抒发表达，多采用较为自由的铺陈方式，按照自然时空顺序推进剧情，呈现出一种“链线状”的情节组织模式^②。

中国戏曲艺术的鲜明美学特征，为20世纪初的西方戏剧注入了新的创作活力。当时欧美主流剧场长期沿袭19世纪以来的写实主义传统，逐渐陷入审美疲软与形式僵化的瓶颈。沉重的布景、机械化的表演方式以及对现实幻觉的过度追求，使剧场在艺术形式创新与思维突破上举步维艰。在此背景下，中国戏曲所展现的“非幻觉性”（anti-illusionism）舞台理念以及高度象征的表现方式，为西方剧场提供了新的美学参照，也成为《黄马褂》的灵感来源。该剧在情节上借鉴了著名元杂剧《赵氏孤儿》的复仇叙事，剧中角色的人名，如武豪杰（Wu Hoo Git）、“慈母”（Chee Moo）、“杜鹃花”（Due June Fah）等均采用粤语音译，这或许是作者为了突出“中国风貌”而精心设计的巧思。然而，《黄马褂》之所以自称“以中国方式创作的中国戏剧”，关键并不在于剧情本身，而在于它在舞台布景、演员服饰、表演程式上对中国戏曲艺术的全方位借鉴。

作为土生土长的美国白人，本里默为何要创作这样一部“中国戏剧”？在谈及创作动机时，本里默坦言自己对当时盛行的现实主义剧场感到厌倦，而早年在唐人街剧院的观剧经历，则为他提供了重要的灵感与美学启发：“想起老杰克逊大街剧院里的中国人用椅子来指代山峦，我忽然意识到我要写的是一部以演员为主并能赋予观众想象力的作品”（转引自都文伟，2002, p.154-155）。《黄马褂》的创作动因在于摆脱现实主义对舞台空间与视觉再现的束缚，借助中式戏曲中“以虚代实、意先于形”的舞台美学，让戏剧回归依靠演员的身体与程式调度来激发观众想象力的本质。下文将从舞台空间、表演程式与观演关系等方面入手，具体分析《黄马褂》如何通过融合中国戏曲的舞台语言，构建出一种既富于异域情调、又具备跨文化可通约性的剧场美学。

三、“他者技艺”的剧场魅力：中国戏曲美学与《黄马褂》的国际反响

正如本里默在采访中所言，《黄马褂》的创作初衷并非单纯对异国风情的猎奇模仿，而是基于对现实主义剧场的反思，主动探寻一种更具象征性与表现力的戏剧形式。该剧在舞台布景、服饰、音乐乃至观演关系等各方面系统性地借鉴了中国戏曲艺术，具体表现在：采用中式舞台中“一桌二椅”的极简布景、运用中式打击乐进行配乐、引入程式化的舞台动作、以及对“检场人”（Property Man）的创造性运用。这些中国戏曲艺术为观众提供全新的视听体验，也为《黄马褂》赢得了相当高的国际声誉。

就舞台空间的设计而言，不论是演出剧照还是剧本中的舞台指示，都表明《黄马褂》几乎在全方位上借鉴了中式剧院的舞台布景风格。作者在剧本中对舞台布置进行了详细描写：“舞台上设有两扇门：左侧为演员入场之门，右侧为出场之门。舞台后方中央是一片椭圆形空地，四周围着护栏，乐师就坐于其中……墙边装饰着中国风格的横幅和寓意吉祥的标语，上方悬挂着巨大的灯笼”

^② 有关中国戏曲的艺术特征及叙事结构，参见饶芃子(主编)(1989),《中西戏剧比较教程》，p.80-84; p.129-131.

(Hazelton and Benrimo, 1913, p.4)^③。从 1912 年富尔顿剧院演出的剧照 (图 1) 可见, 舞台两侧的门上方挂着“出将”和“入相”两道横幅, 呈现出鲜明的中式舞台特征。对于当时的西方观众而言, 《黄马褂》舞台空间的新颖之处在于道具的呈现方式, 舞台的主要表演区域非常空旷, “左侧摆放着一个大型道具箱, 其上方堆放着椅子、桌子、坐垫等演出所需的道具” (p.4)。

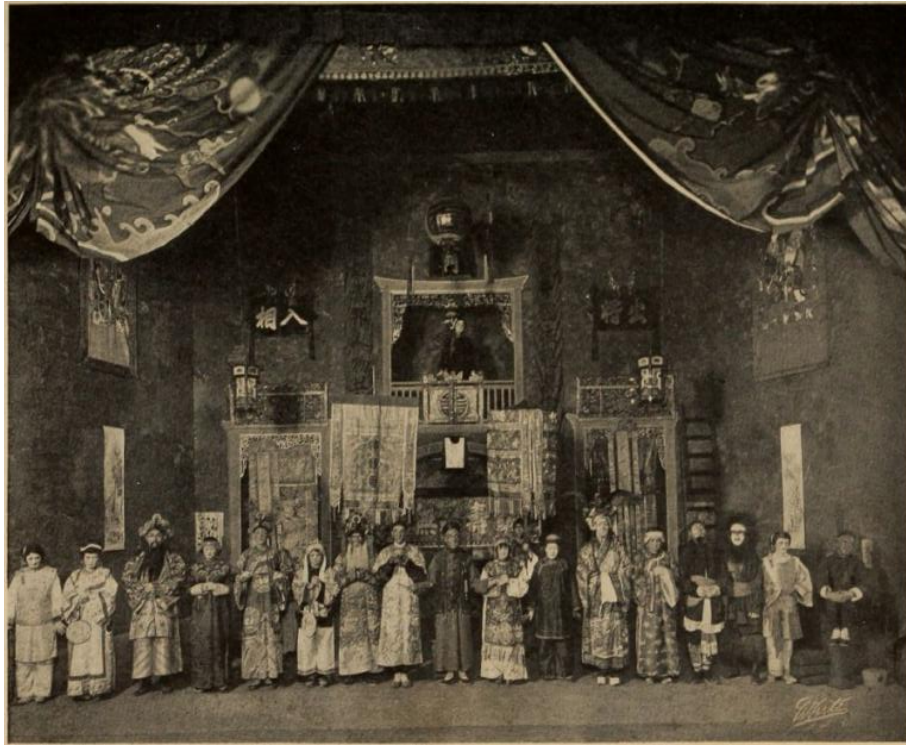


图 1: 1912 年《黄马褂》在富尔顿剧院演出的剧照, 摘自 W. Eaton (1916). *Plays and Players*.

Figure 1: A Photo of *The Yellow Jacket* performed at the Fulton Theatre in 1912, from *Plays and Players* by W. Eaton (1916).

这些道具的使用也如中国戏曲般极具象征意义。剧本通过桌椅的不同摆法、“歌队” (Chorus) 的解说、以及演员的动作表演来表示不同的场景。如第一幕中, “检场人”将“一桌二椅”摆放在舞台中央, 铺上红布、摆上座垫, 随后由“歌队”向观众解释: “这是国王武先人的宫殿” (p. 38)。而到了第二幕, “检场人”将四张凳子并排摆放, 四把椅子紧贴着凳子摆放在后方, 助手拿来两根竹竿用作船桨, 演员侧躺于椅子上方, 作出相互调情的表演, 由此象征着一艘“漂浮于银色爱河之上的花船” (p. 82-83)。这种对道具与舞台空间的创造性运用, 在 20 世纪初的欧美剧场中可谓前所未有。它为观众提供了广阔的想象空间, 同时也将表演提升至高度虚拟与象征的层次, 使观众从被动的“窥视者”转变为主动参与想象与意义建构的“合作者”。有学者认为, 《黄马褂》将“戏剧过程重新定义为一种意义生成的过程”, “任何物体都可以通过与特定的语言或动作建立联系, 用来指代任何其他事物” (Litche, 1995, p.33)。

除了道具的象征性运用, 《黄马褂》也借鉴了中国戏曲中的虚拟化表演传统。作者在舞台指示中特别使用“假想中的门 (supposed door)”、“假想中的筷子 (supposed chopsticks)”等表述, 明确指出相关场景需通过无实物表演来呈现, 如: “检场人牵出一匹假想中的马, 他 (大花面)^④

^③ 以下引文只标注页码, 不再一一说明。

^④ 大花面 (Tail Fah Min) 是“水仙花”的父亲。作者在角色介绍表中将其标注为“Great Painted Face”, 显然借用了中国戏曲中“花脸”行当的概念。

便开始做出上马的哑剧动作……他随即抽打那匹假想中的马” (p.12)。这种高度依赖动作程式与观众想象力的表演方式,充分体现出中国戏曲“以虚写实”的写意特征。这种虚拟性表演打破了现实主义剧场对道具和布景的依赖,极大地拓展了舞台表现的自由度,使得表演更具程式感与象征意味。此外,该剧在配乐、服饰与妆容上均融入浓郁的中式风格,为观众带来焕然一新的视听体验。

《黄马褂》对中国戏曲技艺的借鉴,使其在由现实主义主导的欧美剧场中脱颖而出。该剧自1912年在纽约首演后,又相继登上欧洲各大剧院的舞台,展开长达数十年的巡演历程,更受到马克斯·莱因哈特 (Max Reinhardt)、古斯塔夫·林德曼 (Gustav Lindemann)、亚历山大·泰罗夫 (Alexander Tairov) 等多位欧洲著名导演的青睐。凭借着其独特的剧场魅力,《黄马褂》成为20世纪上半叶极少数在全球范围内巡演的“东方题材”剧作之一。欧洲巡演的巨大成功使其被誉为“一部具有国际影响力的美国先锋实验剧” (Uzawa, 2023, p.30), 各大戏剧学者和评论家纷纷称赞其为“一部真正的创新之作”, 并指出“这一切或许说明, 中国的戏剧观众比我们更具想象力与敬意” (The Yellow Jacket, 1912)。

但《黄马褂》的创新之处不在于其表层的异域风情, 而在于它对中国戏曲表演中“虚拟性”、“象征性”等核心美学精髓的准确把握与创造性转化。这种创造性转化尤其体现在对“检场人”的角色化处理上。在传统中国戏曲表演中,“检场” (又称“走场”) 是一个不可或缺的职务, 主要负责道具搬运、场景调整等辅助工作, 类似于西方剧场中的道具员。二者的核心区别在于, 出于对“现实主义幻觉”的强调, 西方的道具员需隐匿于观众视野之外, 道具的摆放和更换都在幕间或暗场时完成; 而传统中国戏曲中的检场人可以在舞台上公开活动, 除了切换场景和更换道具, 还需在必要时协助演员在台上快速换装、根据剧情需求给演员传递道具, 或是负责撒火彩、喷血彩等特效的制作。检场人的可视化存在, 不仅与早期戏曲舞台空间缺乏布景遮挡的开放式物理结构有关, 更根植于中国戏曲独特的观演理念。对于中国戏曲观众而言, 看剧是一种建立在“虚拟”基础上的审美共识, 因此观众与演员并不强调舞台幻觉 (于建刚, 1999, p.97)。在这种观演机制中, 观众可以对检场人在台上来回走动“视而不见”, 而检场人的存在也丝毫不会破坏演出的连贯性。舞台上的“虚”与“实”共存, 以及检场人的“在场”构成了戏曲写意美学的有机组成部分。

《黄马褂》充分吸收了这种写意美学, 并将其创造性地运用到戏剧的呈现中。与传统中国戏曲一样,《黄马褂》中的“检场人”需要承担场景的切换、道具的摆放等常规检场工作。然而, 与中国戏曲中观众对其“视而不见”的默契不同,《黄马褂》中的“检场人”不仅是幕后工作的执行者, 还成为表演本身的一部分。剧中的舞台指示常有“检场人”在帮助角色整理着装后“心满意足地抽起烟来” (p.5), 或是为演员地上道具后“坐下并读起中文报纸” (p.63) 的动作描写。通过将“检场”工作以幽默化、角色化的方式融入剧情,《黄马褂》有效模糊了现实与虚构、演出与制作之间的边界, 使观众在不断“看见表演如何被制造”的过程中, 既沉浸于剧情, 又被时刻提醒“这只是一场表演”。这凸显了戏剧本身的虚构性, 对现实主义剧场的幻觉性传统构成了直接挑战。

《黄马褂》对中国戏曲美学的借鉴、模仿与化用使其成功突破了“第四堵墙”的束缚, 为欧美剧场带来了审美经验上的震撼与形式革新的新动力。评论界尤其赞赏该剧的中式剧场美学对西方观演关系所带来的积极转变: “它不仅郑重其事地邀请我们接受这些表演规则, 同时还要我们为这些规则本身感到愉悦”; 尽管检场人的“可视化”打破了舞台的幻觉, 引发观众“捧腹大笑”, 却并未影响观众对角色的共情 (Second Thoughts, 1916)。这一剧评从侧面反映出现实主义剧场主张将

表演塑造成“生活的再现”，要求观众进入一种“忘记自己在看戏”的舞台幻觉中的理念并不总是正确的。《黄马褂》让观众在意识到戏剧虚假性的前提下仍被打动，说明剧场的魅力不在于对现实的逼真复制，而在于对观众能动性的调动，这在某种程度上推动了欧美非现实主义戏剧的发展。

《黄马褂》的成功，不只是中国戏曲艺术的魅力在西方剧场的昙花一现，其后续影响是深远而持久的。它使更广泛的观众展示了中式舞台的极简布景和极具象征性的表演程式，并在其首演后的十年间，直接或间接地影响了美国众多戏剧艺术家的剧场实验，“为美国简易舞台(simple stage)播下了一颗重要的种子”(Feinsod, 1992, p.67)。其中，美国著名独角戏表演艺术家露丝·德蕾珀(Ruth Draper)受到的影响最为直接，她的独角戏往往使用素色幕布为背景，舞台上摆放几张桌椅、通过帽子和披肩的不同搭配来塑造不同角色，可谓开创了美国简易舞台的先河。而她的舞台艺术恰恰受到了《黄马褂》的启发，“这部剧告诉露丝非具象化幻觉(non-scenic illusion)可以在舞台上取得什么效果……它向露丝揭示了现代剧场中一种新的想象规则”(Zabel, 1960, p.33-34)。

同样深受影响的还有普利策奖得主桑顿·怀尔德(Thornton Wilder)。虽然目前尚无确凿证据表明怀尔德曾亲自观看过《黄马褂》的演出，但据资料记载，他“读了所有关于该剧的资料”，包括剧本、剧评、剧照和当时的宣传画报等(都文伟, 2002, p.176)。《到特伦顿和卡姆登的愉快旅行》(*The Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden*, 1931)仅用四把椅子就营造出一场汽车旅行的舞台印象，这与中国戏曲中“一桌二椅”的美学理念可谓异曲同工。而在其代表作《我们的小镇》(*Our Town*, 1938)中，怀尔德创作了“舞台监制”(Stage Manager)这一兼具叙述者、道具员与演员功能的角色。他“头戴帽子，嘴里叼着烟斗”(Wilder, 2003, p.3)，在舞台上摆放桌椅道具，不断穿梭于角色与剧情内外的边界，令人联想到《黄马褂》中一边协助演员换装、一边悠闲地抽烟看报的“检场人”。两者都以非幻觉化的形式将后台机制显化，凸显了剧场的虚构性与表演性。怀尔德通过融合中式舞台写意精神与西式叙事结构的探索，在拓宽美国戏剧的形式边界的同时，也为现代剧场的非写实表演树立了典范。他的创作印证了《黄马褂》作为中国戏曲美学的跨文化传播载体的深远影响。可以说，《黄马褂》不仅是一次跨文化的模仿实践，更是以其实验性的形式与美学，切实地参与到20世纪初西方戏剧革新的历史进程中。

四、双向交流的文化机制：从《黄马褂》到“国剧”运动的反向塑形

在分析《黄马褂》引发的市场热潮及其对西方剧场产生的深远影响时，除了看到该剧对中国戏曲元素的借鉴、模仿和移植外，更需要进一步分析为什么这部由西方人打造的“中国戏剧”反而比由华人创作的中国戏曲更受西方观众青睐。换言之，作为一种“他者技艺”，中国戏曲美学是在何种历史文化语境、借助何种文化政治话语进入到美国主流艺术领域？此外，《黄马褂》在欧美剧场引发的非现实主义实验又如何对中国本土的戏剧革新运动产生“反向影响”？对以上问题的解答，有助于我们更深入理解中美戏剧交流互鉴过程中所牵涉的复杂文化机制，揭示“边缘”如何在文化流通中影响“中心”，并反过来激活自身的文化传统与现代转化的潜力。

就其表现形式而言，《黄马褂》之所以比“正宗”中国戏曲更易被西方市场广泛接纳，一个很重要的原因在于剧作在精湛模仿中国戏曲形式的基础上，根据西方观众的审美习惯，对细节进行了调整，以便他们能够更好地理解这种“他者技艺”。例如，剧中担任叙述者的“歌队”是作者为引导西方观众进入“中国戏剧”的审美语境而特别设计的角色。“这个意义框架为整场演出的意义生

成过程设定了基本条件”，它明确了舞台行为应如何被观看、被解读^⑤。可以说，“歌队”的加入为西方观众提供了理解中国戏曲虚拟性、象征性表演的认知入口，在一定程度上弥补了文化差异带来的接受障碍。此外，剧中虽然大量运用了中式打击乐，但在节奏、音色与运用方式上都进行了有节制的柔化与调整，以迎合西方观众的音乐审美偏好，避免因音响风格过于陌生而可能引发的审美排斥。这种忠实于戏曲形式而又进行本土化调适的策略，体现了创作者对跨文化传播策略的敏锐把握，使《黄马褂》成为中国戏曲美学在西方被理解与认可的重要转译范例。

然而，从更宏观的角度来看，《黄马褂》所代表的中式戏曲艺术得以被美国主流剧场认可，与其所处的文化政治语境密切相关。除上文提到的现实主义瓶颈外，该剧的成功也得益于20世纪初美国建构民族戏剧的需求。长久以来，美国戏剧一直以欧洲戏剧为蓝本，缺乏本土的创新。有评论家指出，美国剧作家身处缺乏审美深度的文化环境中，不得不以满足观众肤浅的娱乐需求为创作原则，却又被要求“建立一套能够与欧洲比肩的现代民族戏剧体系”，他们“在这场国际竞赛中”显然处于劣势（Mackaye, 1908, p.408）。这从侧面反映出美国戏剧所面临的文化焦虑及其与欧洲艺术文化之间说不清道不明的暧昧关系。一方面，20世纪初的美国仍缺乏一个真正成熟的“民族戏剧”传统，其剧作和审美在很大程度上依赖对欧洲戏剧规范的借鉴，始终处于“文化追随者”与“模仿者”的位置；另一方面，随着19世纪末工业化的飞速推进，美国迅速跃升为全球资本主义体系的核心力量之一。这种“经济强国”与“文化附庸”之间的落差，引发了美国知识界与艺术界强烈的文化焦虑。正是在这种矛盾而复杂的文化语境中，《黄马褂》的成功才具有了特殊的意义，它为剧评界提供了一个突破现实主义戏剧范式的新参照，同时也引发了对美国戏剧的娱乐化及审美浅薄如何“阻碍本土作家成长与培养”的讨论（Hamilton, 1914, p.314）。

值得注意的是，《黄马褂》在1912年纽约首演后并未立即跻身美国主流剧场体系，相反，该剧是在随后的欧洲巡演中赢得了更广泛的艺术认可。莱因哈特、林德曼、泰罗夫等欧洲知名导演对该剧的肯定，从侧面印证了此前美国剧评界对本土戏剧贫乏与僵化的批评，也为《黄马褂》提供了来自欧洲“文化权威”的外部肯定。当《黄马褂》于1916年重返纽约舞台时，其定位也从最初的“以中国方式创作的中国戏剧”，悄然转变为一部具有美学创新意义的“美国先锋剧作”。因此，“《黄马褂》似乎代表着美国戏剧的一个潜在转折点：它正摆脱二流娱乐的肤浅标签，力图将自身确立为一种应当获得国际认可的国家艺术”（Kim, 2010, p.81）。此后，该剧在美国进行了为期数年的国内巡演，使中国戏曲艺术在美国得到了前所未有的可见度，也为德蕾珀、怀尔德等后来的剧作家从中国、日本等东方戏剧中汲取灵感创造了重要契机。从这个意义上说，中国戏曲艺术得以从“边缘”的唐人街舞台走向纽约、华盛顿等“中心”剧场，在某种程度上得益于彼时美国戏剧界“振兴民族戏剧”的文化愿景（Kim, 2010, p.84）。当然，这个过程中所牵涉的种族不平等、东方主义想象、“黄面孔”表演等问题不容忽视，这在学界已有充分而深入的探讨^⑥，本文主要聚焦于中美戏剧交流与互鉴的动态过程及其复杂机制，相关问题在此不作赘述。

《黄马褂》在国际上引发的反响，不仅是中国戏曲艺术从“边缘”走向“中心”的流动，也在某种程度上反向推动了我国“五四”之后新月社的戏剧改良实践，为中国戏剧的现代化探索提供了新的启示。在新文化运动中，传统戏曲被视为“旧剧”而遭到质疑与排斥，但《黄马褂》在欧美舞台上的成功却使吴宓、洪深、张彭春等留美戏剧人重新认识并审视传统戏曲的艺术价值。有研究指

^⑤ 有关“歌队”在剧中作用的详细分析，参见 Lichte (1995), p. 25-28.

^⑥ 参见 Kim (2010)，以及姜萌萌(2013)。

出,洪深曾在1919年《黄马褂》纽约重演期间为剧组提供过演出指导和技术协助,并与吴宓一同观看了该剧的完整演出;1920年,洪深与张彭春在纽约合作编演英文戏剧《木兰从军》时,借鉴了《黄马褂》中“以洋人演中戏”的艺术转译手法,并在形式处理上进行了反思与优化,强调表演的功能性与对情节的服务性,以避免《黄马褂》“为程式而程式”、程式过度表演化的问题(姜荣刚,2025,p.136)。

这种中西结合的编演方法也影响了张彭春回国后在新月社为泰戈尔排演的诗剧《齐德拉》,这次演出被视为“‘五四’后戏剧改良转向的一个标志性事件,它扭转了此前戏剧改良单一效仿西方写实主义戏剧与废弃旧剧的发展趋向,顺应世界戏剧尤其是美国戏剧发展的新潮流,试图在现存新旧剧之外,探索出一条真正融合中西的中国式戏剧道路”;而新月社的戏剧改良实践,也被视为后来的“国剧”运动的前史(姜荣刚,2025,p.136)。就其理念内核而言,“国剧”运动追求艺术的象征主义与表现主义,推崇传统戏曲的写意特征,这在很大程度上受到西方(特别是美国)非写实艺术浪潮的影响。而这在某种程度上又与《黄马褂》的巨大反响及由此引发的美国戏剧革新密切相关。宋春舫就从美国作家哈姆林·加兰(Hamlin Garland)关于欧美剧坛日趋乏力、唯有借鉴中国戏曲的象征艺术以寻求革新的论述中获得启发,开始反思激进派彻底废弃旧戏的立场,重审旧戏的价值,并提出新旧剧并行不悖的戏剧改良方案(姜荣刚,2025,p.137)。这种兼收并蓄的戏剧革新观念,为中国现代话剧的进一步探索与成熟作了重要铺垫。

从《黄马褂》的成功所引发的一系列“蝴蝶效应”中,我们得以观察“五四”前后中美戏剧艺术交流中的互渗与互鉴路径。如果说新文化运动在“德先生”与“赛先生”的口号下对西方戏剧的高度推崇体现了典型的“西戏东渐”,那么与此同时,《黄马褂》在西方剧坛引发的热烈反响,以及此后20年间西方剧场通过吸收中国戏曲艺术寻求形式与美学革新的趋势,则正是“东戏西传”的重要例证。“西戏东渐”与“东戏西传”的并行不悖揭示出中西戏剧交流不是单向度的,而是一个动态互动、双向流通的过程。而无论是东方对西方的借鉴,还是西方对东方的吸收,本质上都是东西方文化在各自特定的历史语境与社会变革需求推动下所形成的戏剧文化运动。这些文化运动,不仅反映了艺术层面的审美转型,更深刻地参与并重塑了当时的社会思潮与文化认同。正是在这样的双向流动中,戏剧成为了连接中西、沟通古今的重要桥梁。

五、结语

本文以《黄马褂》为切入点,回溯中国戏曲自淘金热时期随移民入美的早期传播脉络,呈现唐人街戏院作为跨文化中介的功能。正是在西方现实主义逐渐审美疲软的历史节点上,中国戏曲的“非幻觉性”舞台理念、象征化程式与极简舞台空间为美国剧场提供了新的形式资源,并成为《黄马褂》的创作灵感来源。黄马褂在充分借鉴吸收中国戏曲的象征性和写意性美学的基础上,根据西方观众的审美习惯对中式舞台语言进行系统化转译,通过“歌队”和“检场人”的设计突破虚与实的边界,使其在欧美剧坛脱颖而出。这不仅拓宽了西方观众的戏剧审美维度,更促进了对剧场本体属性的重新思考。其影响进一步渗透至德蕾珀、怀尔德等艺术家的戏剧实验中,助推了美国现代戏剧在极简布景与象征表演等方面的美学转向。需要指出的是,《黄马褂》的成功并非简单的东方异域风情展示,而是中国戏曲作为一种美学资源与文化资本,在欧美剧场自身革新诉求与美国国家戏剧建构需求的双重驱动下,实现从文化“边缘”向“中心”流动的典型案例。

从中国戏剧发展的脉络审视,《黄马褂》在西方引发的反响又通过留学知识分子之眼“折返”国内,影响了“五四”以后新月社的戏剧改良实践与“国剧运动”。一方面,西方对中国传统戏曲美学的推崇与认同,促使国内知识界重新审视戏曲程式与写意传统的现代价值,反思此前“新/旧”对立的简单化叙事;另一方面,西方对中国戏曲的改编与转译方法,也激发了国内戏剧人以中西融合、兼收并蓄的方式探索符合中国国情与民族特性的现代戏剧发展之路。由此可见,中西戏剧交流绝非单向的传播与接受,而是在特定历史与文化政治语境中展开的双向塑造、动态互渗的过程。戏剧文化在“边缘”与“中心”之间的流动,始终伴随着美学形式、市场机制与文化权力的复杂协商,并最终催生出新的剧场范式。《黄马褂》既是中国戏曲美学早期跨文化传播的一个关键节点,也是现代戏剧全球化进程中,中西戏剧元素相互杂糅、彼此生成的一个标志性个案。它生动揭示了跨文化戏剧交流中“影响”与“回流”、“借鉴”与“重塑”交织互动的复杂图景。

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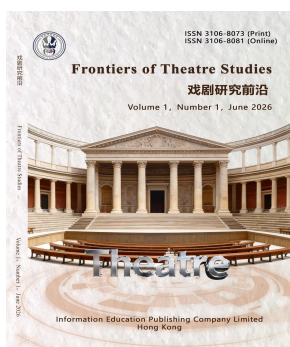
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From the Controversy of Merit and Fault to a Coordinate in the Drama History: A Review of *A Study of Yuanquxuan and Zang Maoxun from the Perspective of Drama History*

Li Yongqi

Abstract: Guan Xian's *A Study of Yuanquxuan and Zang Maoxun from the Perspective of Drama History* (2024) examines Zang Maoxun's *Yuanquxuan*, analyzing the drama thought of Zang and the significance and value of *Yuanquxuan* in the Chinese drama history through two dimensions: the editorial features and the stage directions within its plays. The core of this book is to extricate *Yuanquxuan* from the traditional debate over its merits and faults and to re-examine it by placing it back within the historical context of the development of drama in the Ming Dynasty. This research not only paves an entirely new path for the research on *Yuanquxuan* as a classic text, but also provides methodological inspiration for understanding the historical development of Chinese drama.

Keywords: *Yuanquxuan*; Zang Maoxun; *A Study of Yuanquxuan and Zang Maoxun from the Perspective of Drama History*; stage direction

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题目: 从功过之争到戏剧史坐标——评管弦的《戏剧史视野下的〈元曲选〉与臧懋循》

摘要: 管弦所著《戏剧史视域下的〈元曲选〉与臧懋循研究》(2024)一书,以臧懋

Received: 16 Mar 2026 / Revised: 16 Apr 2026 / Accepted: 06 Jun 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

循编纂的《元曲选》为考察对象，分别从编选特色与剧内舞台指示两个维度，深入剖析了臧懋循的戏剧思想，以及《元曲选》在中国戏剧史上的意义与价值。该书将《元曲选》从传统的功过是非争论中解脱出来，并将其重新置于明代戏剧发展的历史脉络中加以审视。这一研究不仅为《元曲选》这部经典文本的探讨开辟了全新的路径，亦为理解中国戏剧的历史演进提供了方法论层面的启示。

关键词：《元曲选》；臧懋循；《戏剧史视野下的〈元曲选〉与臧懋循》；舞台指示

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Departing from the traditional debate over the merits and demerits of Zang Maoxun's editing of *Yuanquxuan*, this book shifts the focus and situates *Yuanquxuan* within the broader context of Chinese drama history. Although *Yuanquxuan* represents a continuation of the artistic achievements of Yuan *zaju* (a form of Chinese drama popular in the Yuan Dynasty), it is related to the performance conventions of Ming dynasty drama and should be regarded as a coordinate on the coordinate system of Ming drama history. In fact, the scripts and stage performances contemporaneous with Yuan *zaju* complement each other and serve as mutual references. The performances of the late Ming period form the counterpart in this relationship of mutual reference and complementarity, which postdate the actual era of Yuan *zaju*. The roughness or imperfection in the scripts we see today does not necessarily reflect the actual standard at that time, owing to the act of reading having occurred posterior to the scripts. Considerable uncertainty remains regarding what the original scripts written by Yuan *zaju* playwrights actually looked like. Associate Professor Guan Xian argues that focusing on the value of the origins is limited; instead, the significance of *Yuanquxuan* in the history of Chinese drama remains open to investigation.

The book is structured into six chapters, framed by an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter 1 provides a comprehensive literature review and introduces the key issues of *Yuanquxuan*. Chapter 2 explores the drama thought of Zang Maoxun and the editing idea of *Yuanquxuan*, as well as the spread of Yuan *zaju* in the mid-to-late Ming Dynasty. Chapter 3 introduces the selection features of Yuan *zaju* and its significance in Chinese drama history, and analyzes two issues in the editing of *Yuanquxuan*. Chapter 4 provides a detailed analysis of entrance and exit directions in Yuan *zaju*. Chapter 5 explores conventionalized segments and language in *Yuanquxuan*. Chapter 6 introduces the action directions and the literary tendency in the textual details of *Yuanquxuan*.

The work has a clear structure, detailed historical materials, and rigorous logic, mainly presenting two key issues. It emphasizes the compilation background and editorial features through the exploration of Zang Maoxun and the historical context of the specific era. Meanwhile, it adopts an approach of textual analysis, systematically tracing the entrance and exit directions, conventionalized segments, and action directions in *Yuanquxuan* through comparison between *Yuanquxuan* and other selected or complete collections of Yuan *zaju*.

1. Investigating the Origins: The Compilation Background of *Yuanquxuan*

Chapter One, “*Yuanquxuan* and Its Related Research” introduces the basic information about *Yuanquxuan*, offers the author’s opinions on several issues that have been the focus of debate. It synthesizes various sources to systematically examine the influences that led to the creation of *Yuanquxuan*, and traces the scholarship on *Yuanquxuan* and its significance in drama history since the Ming and Qing dynasties. As Zhu Hengfu (2018) noted, Yuan *zaju* refers to northern *zaju* because its vocal tunes are primarily based on northern melodies (90). Guan Xian clarifies the definition of *Yuanqu* at the beginning. The term *Yuanqu* generally refers to both *sanqu* (non-dramatic songs) and *juqu* (dramatic verse) of the Yuan Dynasty. In contemporary understanding, all *xiaoling* (short lyrics), *santao* (song suites), northern *zaju*, and southern *xiwen* that were created and popular during the Yuan Dynasty belong to the category of *Yuanqu*. For ancient scholars, however, the usage of *Yuanqu* was flexible; it could refer to non-dramatic songs, dramatic verse, or serve as a comprehensive category encompassing both. Zang Maoxun titled his collection *Yuanquxuan*; however, it includes neither *sanqu* nor southern *xiwen*, which indicates that he was conscious of his selection as being focused on *zaju*.

Guan Xian argues that *Yuanquxuan* has provided a widely embraced reading text for Yuan *zaju*, served as an influential research resource for studies, and acted as a force in the spread of Yuan *zaju* texts domestically and overseas. Through Guan Xian’s literature review of *Yuanquxuan*, it becomes evident that from the Ming-Qing period to modern times, scholars’ research on *Yuanquxuan* and Zang Maoxun has undergone a continuous evolution. The progression has moved from one-sided criticism of the alterations in *Yuanquxuan* for losing the original essence of Yuan *zaju*, to a more objective view of the changes occurring during the transmission of Yuan *zaju* texts, and further to examining *Yuanquxuan* and Zang Maoxun’s revisions from the perspectives of communication studies and philological research.

Chapter Two, “The Compilation Background of *Yuanquxuan*,” introduces the fundamental characteristics of Zang Maoxun’s dramatic thought and his opinion of drama as a genre different from other art forms, as expressed in his prefaces and other writings. Zang Maoxun argues that play writing should not be detached from stage performance, and that thought the author intended to convey should be expressed through the communication between the audience and the performance on stage. Therefore, Guan Xian concludes that four features of *Yuanquxuan* reflect Zang’s personal artistic temperament and dramatic philosophy, including its broad selection of playwrights and works, the motif diversity of its contents, the literary value of the scripts, and the attention to stage performances (126). Guan Xian’s research is not limited to the text itself but combines the exploration of Zang and his attitude to Yuan *zaju*, and the historical context of the Ming Dynasty. This strengthens the argument of Guan Xian’s study and provides new methodological insights for the study of *Yuanquxuan*.

2. Examining the Compilation: The Editorial Features of *Yuanquxuan*

Yuanquxuan is composed of two main parts: which includes two prefaces written by Zang Maoxun, accompanied by seven *qulun* (essays on dramatic theory), and the scripts of Yuan *zaju*. Chapter three first

examines the function of prefaces and *qulun* in *Yuanquxuan*. It aims to enhance the situation of *xiqu* (plays and songs) compared with poetry and essays at that time through emphasizing “Yuanyi qu qu shi” (the official selection based on *sanqu* writing in the Yuan Dynasty). The second function is to provide the theoretical support for his revisions. Secondly, the arguments of the selected *qulun* manifest Zang Maoxun’s characteristics and his commercial awareness. Zang Maoxun became a bookseller and publisher after being dismissed because of his behavior that was unacceptable to the society of his time. Chen Zhiyong demonstrates that the compilation of *Yuanquxuan* was propelled by two intertwined imperatives: economic necessity and the pursuit of lasting fame (58). Following Zang’s dismissal from officialdom in the Wanli reign (1585), he found himself in dire financial straits, compelled to make a living by writing. The compilation of *Yuanquxuan* represented a commercial venture to secure economic subsistence through the flourishing late Ming book market.

Furthermore, this chapter organizes the selected playwrights and works, and compares *Yuanquxuan* with other selections of Yuan *zaju*. It argues that *Yuanquxuan* not only surpasses other selections in the number of scripts, but also adopts more inclusive criteria for scripts selection. It presents a collection with emphases rather than listing plays. *Yuanquxuan* includes courtroom dramas, heroic legends, and familial problem plays, which rarely covered in other contemporary anthologies. Zang Maoxun’s selection contains works written by celebrated playwrights such as Guan Hanqing, Ma Zhiyuan, Zheng Guangzu, and Bai Pu, alongside scripts by anonymous authors. This expands the scope of Yuan *zaju* available for readers’ appreciation to a certain extent.

Guan Xian’s exploration is not limited to the editorial features of *Yuanquxuan*; she continues to point out problems in the process, which makes her study more persuasive and logical. The problems are why some *zaju* of the Ming dynasty are selected in *Yuanquxuan* and whether the compilation follows a specific order. Guan Xian argues that the selection of Ming *zaju* is intentional, and represents Zang Maoxun’s obscuring of the issue of the play’s chronology for commercial purposes as a bookseller. Moreover, the reverence for past masters and the celebration of their own time may have blurred the Yuan-Ming distinction for other mid-to-late Ming editors. As for the editorial order, there is no precise explanation in past studies. Guan Xian examines that Zang Maoxun refrained from explicit evaluation, reflecting his concern for commercial viability, rather than arranging by author, theme, chronology, or literary merit. This is perhaps a reason why *Yuanquxuan* was able to achieve widespread circulation and establish itself as a standard edition for later generations.

3. Analyzing Stage Directions: The Cues of Yuan *zaju* in *Yuanquxuan*

It is generally believed that the entrance and exit directions in Yuan *zaju* serve neither a narrative nor a lyrical function, which are considered simple, immediate cues to signal a character’s entrance or exit. In fact, these stage directions constitute an indispensable part of the Yuan *zaju* scripts.

In Yuan *zaju*, the entrances and exits of characters indicate the division of scenes. The well-known structure of Yuan *zaju* is “one zhe (act) per play, with a xiezi (prologue) inserted”. In terms of plot

development, the zhe delineates the progression of the narrative, yet it is not strictly bound by time or place. Each zhe may consist of one scene or several scenes. Therefore, playwrights arrange the scene order and manage the development of the plot by designing the entrance and exit directions of characters. Furthermore, entrance and exit directions often incorporate additional instructions about action or statement, which pertain to specific performance conventions and embody the most fundamental techniques of acting and directing. By comparing various collections of Yuan *zaju*, Guan Xian finds that the stage directions for entrances and exits in *Yuanquxuan* are precise and detailed. Zang Maoxun enhanced the precision of momentary stage actions in *Yuanquxuan* through the standardized usage of diverse entrance and exit directions in his revisions to deepen readers' understanding of the action of entrance and exit.

Through the analysis in Chapter Four, Guan Xian contends that Zang Maoxun's standardization and systematization of entrance and exit directions represent a deliberate design of the stage arrangements in Yuan *zaju* at the level of literary language. This process involved both the preservation of material from the source texts and adjustments to the patterns of stage directions informed by Zang's own understanding.

As Jiao Juyin noted, "chengshi" (theatrical conventions) constitute the distinctive symbol differentiating *xiqu* (traditional Chinese opera) from other art forms. Within the overall system of artistic methods in *xiqu*, there exists plenty of conventional units. By selecting certain units suitable for expressing the content of a specific play and interweaving them in combination, the form is therefore constructed (252). The Yuan *zaju* included in *Yuanquxuan* reflect conventionalized language and the conventionalized performance constructed from it, with some of these elements continuing to be used in *xiqu* to this day. Chapter Five first analyzes the form and features of several conventional segments, including the convention of meeting after mutual announcement, the signal convention of secret meetings between lovers, the convention of verifying identity by vocal pitch, the convention of the letter of divorce, and the convention of the inn servant tricking customers. Secondly, it reveals that there is some conventional language in the selected scripts in *Yuanquxuan*.

Through the analysis of Chapter Five, Guan Xian reveals that "chengshi" manifests across all aspects of the *xiqu* system, including stage performance, music and vocal styles, role types, and script structure. Many conventionalized episodes and formulaic phrases function not as fixed textual units but represent methods of stage performance and modes of script structure. Zang Maoxun's *Yuanquxuan* provided readers with scripts for textual reading, and attended to the stage-worthiness of Yuan *zaju*, which holds significance for theatrical performance.

Chapter Six shifts focus to stage directions and other related elements, in view of the extensive discussions by previous scholars on the adaptations and significance of *Yuanquxuan* in terms of its lyrics and dialogue. In terms of stage directions within the scripts, *Yuanquxuan* places emphasis on the description of action scenes while reducing its reliance on actual performance, thereby enhancing the capacity of literary language to evoke imagination. Guan Xian observes that Zang Maoxun crafted the scenes and stage effects of his revision by organizing literary language in his unique way, deprived of

much performance practice from the Yuan dynasty to draw upon. Zang's designs, in this sense, reflect his personal conception of Yuan *zaju* as an art form, and express the artistic sophistication of mid-to-late Ming drama to some extent.

4. Conclusion

Guan Xian offers a comprehensive re-evaluation of Zang Maoxun's *YuanquXuan* and its pivotal role in the transmission and transformation of Yuan *zaju* during the late Ming dynasty. Departing from traditional scholarship that often laments the loss of the original form of Yuan *zaju*, Guan Xian frames Zang's editorial work as dynamic intervention and adjustment shaped by the cultural, theatrical, and commercial currents of his time.

The study begins by contextualizing the decline of Yuan *zaju* performances in the late Ming, which shifted the primary mode of transmission to printed anthologies. *Yuanquxuan* emerged not as the record of a fading art form, but the reconstruction in its historical context. Zang Maoxun, positioned as both a literary scholar and a bookseller, approached his task with two concepts: the literary scholar's commitment to literary aesthetics and the commercial intention of the businessman. The dual identity allowed him to produce *Yuanquxuan* that was both a monument to literary excellence and a commercially successful product. While Guan Xian's drama history perspective relocates *Yuanquxuan* from textual criticism to a broader historical narrative, the scope of this perspective warrants further examination. The conceptualization of drama history in this book is based in the textual practices and Ming writers' re-imagination of Yuan *zaju*. However, drama history also contains the following factors: performance traditions, oral transmission, and the agency of performers. The study touches upon yet cannot fully reconstruct because of the limit of Ming performance records. Consequently, the drama-history framework adopted here is a history of textual reception and editorial intervention, and its argument may be less compelling.

Guan Xian highlights Zang Maoxun's radical expansion of the critical lens through which Yuan *zaju* was evaluated. Unlike earlier editors who favored famous works by renowned playwrights, Zang Maoxun broadened the scope to include unknown authors and diverse genres, such as detective plays, heroic legends, and family plays. Guan Xian argues that the inclusivity reveals a more nuanced understanding of Yuan *zaju*'s rich motifs of social life, encompassing not just romantic and supernatural tales but also stories of everyday people, legal cases, and familial conflicts.

The core of the concluding part is Zang Maoxun's meticulous revision of stage directions, entrance and exit directions, and conventions within the scripts. Zang Maoxun re-imagined these elements from a literary perspective, while earlier editions prioritized the practical needs of performance. He standardized and enhanced the descriptive quality of stage directions, transforming them from functional notes into narrative tools that allowed readers to visualize the character's actions. Guan Xian contends that this was an effort to bridge the gap between the stage and the script, making Yuan *zaju* accessible as a literary work independent of stage performance. Zang's revisions also refined "chengshi," stripping away repetitions while preserving their dramatic function to enhance the texts' internal logic and readability. Guan Xian's

emphasis on Zang Maoxun's literary and editorial innovations invites a related question: to what extent do these textual refinements actually illuminate Ming stage practice? There remains a gap between the literary stage that *Yuanquxuan* constructs and the living stage of its time. Future study might investigate whether *Yuanquxuan*'s cues reflect actual stage conventions or represent Zang's idealized vision of what Yuan *zaju* ought to look like on stage.

This editorial transformation aligns with what some scholars have termed the “dramaturgical foundation” (juxue) of Zang Maoxun's work. As He Cui argued, Zang departed from the prevailing qu-centered paradigm and restructured Yuan *zaju* according to principles of role typology, plot coherence, and stage arrangement (148). It lays the groundwork for a drama-centered theory of Chinese opera. Ultimately, Guan Xian positions *Yuanquxuan* as a landmark in the history of Chinese drama. Zang's work reflected a broader shift of theatrical aesthetics in the Ming dynasty from a focus on *qu* to *zaju*. Zang anticipated modern conceptions of theatre as a multifaceted art form by emphasizing the nature of drama, including the integration of verse, dialogue, stagecraft, and narrative. Guan Xian asserts that Zang's editorial genius lies in his ability to adapt Yuan *zaju* to the standards of his era, ensuring its influence for generations. Therefore, *Yuanquxuan* stands as a testament to artistic adaptation and cultural transmission and communication.

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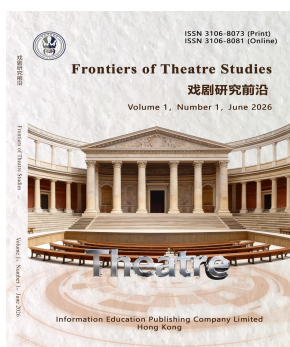
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The Century-long Evolution of the Concept of “Theatricality” and the Return of the Essence of Drama: A Review of Fang Guilin’s *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama*

Wang Xin

Abstract: This book focuses on the concept of “theatricality” and presents an in-depth study based on the century-long history of Chinese drama. Throughout the book, theories such as semiotics, cultural geography, and Gestalt psychology are used to interpret the concept of the “theatrical field” from three dimensions: the “architectural field,” the “performance field,” and the “ritual communication field.” On this basis, the framework of the “three-field theory” is constructed, and two core principles are clarified: “identifying the mainstream through the comparison of history and the present” and “seeking integration of subjectivity and objectivity.” This research is of great academic significance for interpreting the concept of “theatricality” and for the development of contemporary theatre.

Keywords: Theatrical; modern drama; concept; field

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题目：“剧场性”观念的百年流变和戏剧本体的回归——评方桂林《中国话剧的“剧场性”观念研究》

摘要：《中国话剧的“剧场性”观念研究》一书以中国话剧的百年历史梳理为基础，聚焦于“剧场性”观念研究。全书运用符号学批评、文化地理学、格式塔心理学等理论，以“场”概念为解读视角，从“建筑场”“演出场”“仪式传播场”三个维度阐述“剧场性”观念，构建了“三场理论”框架，明确了“在历史与当下的对比中把握主流”和“在主观与客观中寻求融合”两个阐述原则，对“剧场性”观念解读和当代戏剧艺术发展具有重要意义。

关键词：剧场性；话剧；观念；场

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Whether in terms of dramatic texts or stage performances, theatricality constitutes the essential attribute of drama (Liu Jiasi, 2011, p.33). The notion of theatricality “embodies the evolution of Western dramatic theory, alongside the contextual scrutiny and cultural reinterpretation of the concept following its introduction into China via theoretical translation. As a core terminology in drama studies, theatricality has kept expanding its connotations amid shifting historical and theoretical contexts” (Fang Guilin, 2025, p.57). Scholars across distinct historical eras and from divergent theoretical standpoints have developed disparate yet overlapping understandings of theatricality, which has led to pluralistic interpretations of the concept. Meanwhile, debates surrounding theatricality have spawned inquiries into its correlations with literariness, fictionality and drama proper respectively. Such conceptual deliberations have further produced a butterfly effect spanning multiple domains including dramatic criticism, theoretical systematization, playwriting and theatrical performance practice. Fang Guilin’s book *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama* focuses on the concept of “theatricality.” By tracing the historical evolution of the concept and interpreting it from multiple perspectives at the same time, the book presents the ambiguity of “theatricality.” From the angles of translation and local cultural context, it explores the differentiation and interpretation of the concept, and constructs a triple interpretive framework—the “architectural field,” the “performance field,” and the “ritual communication field”—using the concept of the “theatrical field.” It seeks a “correct” understanding of “theatricality” through the organic integration of grasping the mainstream in both historical and contemporary contexts, as well as subjective and objective perspectives, forming a logical discourse of “concept differentiation—framework construction—practical response.” Standing from the standpoint of Chinese cultural subjectivity and closely focusing on the theme of interpreting “theatricality,” *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama* provides theoretical tools for dramatic art practice, dramatic theory research, and dramatic criticism. As Zhu Yitian argues, the concluding chapter of the book offers a dynamic theoretical perspective: the so-called “theatricality” bears no fixed, essentialist and eternal form of truth; instead, a legitimate conception of theatricality is continuously verified, revised and reconstructed within specific historical contexts and theatrical practices, gradually moving toward a context-bound dynamic equilibrium among the “three domains” shaped by temporal and spatial conditions (2025, p.127).

1. Analysis: A Local Interpretation Perspective of the Concept of “Theatricality”

The multidimensional interpretation of “theatricality” has evolved throughout the history of Chinese drama and has also expanded within the integration of drama, art, and social sciences during the same period. The vertical historical evolution and horizontal comparison across different periods together construct the overall development of the concept of “theatricality” in Chinese drama, and present a multidimensional interpretive perspective. This provides theoretical inspiration and case support for the interpretive framework of “theatricality” in Fang Guilin’s book *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama*, which is grounded in the local Chinese context. In the development trend of “post-theatrical theatre,” the connotation of “theatricality” has expanded, and the concept has been interpreted within the local context after translation. As Fang Guilin (p.57) notes, “The Chinese ‘theatricality’ corresponds to foreign terms such as ‘Theatrical/Theatricality’ in English, ‘Театральный/Театральность’ in Russian, and ‘Theatralität’ in German.” Fuzzy conceptual boundaries and unclear referents can easily lead to misunderstandings, ineffective dialogue, and other research problems. It remains to be examined whether the above foreign vocabulary fully corresponds to the term “theatricality” in the local context. Therefore, Fang Guilin proposes in his book that “to clarify the concept of ‘theatricality,’ the first thing to sort out is the issue of its translation: which vocabulary is translated as ‘theatricality’ under what circumstances” (p.45). The theatrical theories of Vakhtangov and Stanislavski first attracted the attention of domestic translators. Both have their own views on the concept of “theatricality,” but both elaborate on it from the perspective of stage creation, thereby advancing the discussion of the concept. Afterwards, the annotations of Dan Qinke, George Baker, Kawagoe Dengzhi, and others enriched the connotation of “theatricality.” The concept became related to script creation, anti-realism, viewing relationships, symbolic language, and other content. At the same time, translation issues also arose, such as the distinction between “Dramatic” and “Theatrical,” semantic changes in “Theatrical,” and the appropriation of “Theatricality.” Regarding the criteria for determining whether foreign vocabulary can be equated with the word “theatricality” in the Chinese context, Fang Guilin believes there are two points: first, the evolution of words such as “Theatrical/Theatricality” in their own context; second, whether there are any other translated names for words like “Theatrical/Theatricality” besides “theatricality” (p.58). However, the translation and introduction of Western theories have not fully covered the scope of Chinese scholars’ exploration of the concept of “theatricality.” The current state of Chinese drama art and the inherent needs of drama theory have given a strong local character to the study of “theatricality” in China.

The multidimensional interpretive perspective provides diversified vitality for the development of the connotation of “theatricality,” but it also increases the difficulty of understanding. Choosing a suitable entry point has become the only way to localize the interpretation of “theatricality.” From the perspective of the history of Chinese drama, the ways and dimensions of interpreting “theatricality” within the Chinese cultural context have varied greatly. Inspired by the Chinese context and Western modern theory, Fang Guilin chose to use the concept of “field” as the starting point to explain “theatricality.” On the one hand, “field” has rich explanatory space in both Eastern and Western cultural contexts, which aligns with the developmental path

of “theatricality” as a concept translated from the West and integrated into the Chinese cultural context. On the other hand, the exposition of the theatrical “field” by figures such as He Zhudeng Zhifu, Gerhard Maletsk, and Chen Jide provides a theoretical direction for selecting an entry point for the study of “theatricality.” Thus, the basic idea in *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama* is to use the meaning of the Chinese “stage” as a benchmark and the Western perspectives of “theatricality” and “stage” theory as a reference (p.66).

2. Construction: Framework of the “Three Field Theory” under the Concept of “Field”

Based on the above research ideas, Fang Guilin takes the concept of “field” as the core, breaks down the notion of “theatricality” into the “architectural field,” the “performance field,” and the “ritual communication field” for detailed elaboration, and further constructs a systematic theoretical framework called the “Three-Field Theory.”

2.1 Construction field

Theater architecture is a physical space that accommodates audiences for theatrical performances. At the macro level, it forms part of urban public space, reflecting traces of historical development and the planning and layout of urban construction. At the micro level, the scale and type of theater space are closely linked to performance effects. Different seating configurations, such as the proscenium stage, thrust stage, and arena stage, are shaped by factors including theatrical concepts, artistic styles, and historical material conditions, and in turn exert an active influence on both audiences and performers. In addition, theater architecture constitutes a theatrical space endowed with aesthetic attributes. On the one hand, audiences form aesthetic expectations before the formal performance and gain aesthetic experience during the viewing process. On the other hand, both Eastern and Western drama originated from ritual activities, in which people construct collective memories through communal gatherings in a specific space, thereby strengthening their sense of belonging and identification with that place. This spiritual quality persists to the present day and is defined as the “spirit of place” in *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama*. Simply put, “theater space” is physical in nature and serves as the foundational point leading toward “theatricality”; it encompasses performance venues, theater buildings themselves, and corresponding geographical and cultural factors (p.71). Furthermore, *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama* offers an in-depth interpretation of theater spaces in civilized drama, outdoor performances, small theaters, and contemporary drama. It reveals the diverse forms of theater space that have emerged during the century-long development of Chinese drama through the integration of social and cultural customs, as well as the localized performance styles derived from them. For instance, outdoor theater in the 1930s emerged from the wave of “theatrical popularization.” The open spatial layout and new performance practices of outdoor theaters fulfilled a dual function of cultural education and aesthetic entertainment, advancing the modernization of Chinese theater. Street theater, meanwhile, drew on such spatial conditions and real-life themes to exert theatrical power in the arena of anti-Japanese propaganda.

2.2 Performance field

In the early stages of Chinese drama development, civilized drama lacked professional theaters and was characterized by “lively scenes and curious themes” in order to attract audiences and ensure its survival. The “theatricality” exhibited in civilized drama was mostly evaluated negatively, and the term was even used to criticize plays that featured spectacular scenes but lacked substantial ideas. Clearly, by this period, “theatricality” had already become a criterion for assessing the quality of dramatic performances. Fang Guilin points out in *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama* that “the concept of ‘tension’ may help explain the intensity of theatricality in performance works.” This argument offers a measurable standard for evaluating the expressiveness and appeal of drama, while refining its analytical dimensions by linking the generation of artistic tension, its starting point, and its foundation. Based on a functional exploration of “tension,” Fang Guilin further examines the connection between field theory and tension, concluding that the “psychophysical field” in Gestalt psychology reflects the essence of theatricality and also resonates with the concept of “qi field” in Chinese philosophy. Taking the psychophysical field as an overarching framework, and focusing on theatrical elements such as dramatic texts, visual symbols, and audience psychology, the study interprets how artistic tension is generated during the theatrical experience, and enhances the perception of theatricality through the mediating function of tension. The claim that “text” constitutes the starting point of artistic tension responds to the long-running academic debate between “literariness” and “theatricality.” Yet the boundary between literariness and theatricality remains ambiguous. Fang Guilin therefore defines “text” narrowly as “complete scripts and unadjusted, unorganized literary materials,” and confines “theatricality” to “secondary creation on stage,” thereby opening up a new approach to exploring the relationship between the two. His pursuit of a middle ground and his commitment to concrete analysis of specific issues not only represent his response to the dispute over literariness and theatricality, but also reflect the applied orientation of the book. Clarifying the relationship between theatricality and hypotheticity from a translational perspective expands the inquiry into the foundational tension of theatrical art. By distinguishing theatricality from hypotheticity, the study establishes that hypotheticity serves as a creative technique for constructing theatricality, and identifies “the organization of stage action,” “the manipulation of stage space,” and “the viewing relationship” as effective means of creating theatricality (pp. 182–195).

2.3 Ceremony dissemination venue

Rituals originated from sacrificial activities, and drama in turn emerged from rituals; both possess symbolic and social educational functions. However, drama has undergone a process of secularization and acquired stronger entertainment and aesthetic qualities. Therefore, ritual and drama are not interchangeable concepts. In his exploration of the connotation of “theatricality,” Fang Guilin introduced the core concept of the “communication field” as well as ritualized elements, investigating the “ritualized viewing process” and “ritualized stage presentation” within performance (p. 202). On the one hand, a ritual is a collective activity involving multiple participants, and communication constitutes its basic attribute. In theatrical performance, this manifests as interaction between the audience and performers, as well as mutual exchange among

individuals who share a common identity. On the other hand, drama inherits the symbolic nature of ritual and becomes an important medium for constructing theatrical elements. The archetypal imagery of ritual serves as the source of tension in theatrical expression. The “human form” of the performer’s body and “physical forms” such as stage design, lighting, and costumes carry the power of archetypal imagery. They not only mirror human society and culture but also act as an effective channel for generating dramatic tension. Through the combined effect of the ritualized viewing process and ritualized stage presentation, drama fulfills a formative function, a consolidating function, a therapeutic function, and an entertainment function. The audience acquires collective experience and perceives the artistic appeal of drama throughout the viewing process.

3. Searching for “Correct” and “Theatrical”

“Whether viewed from dramatic texts or stage performances, be they dramatic or comprehensive, performative or stagial, or hypothetical attributes, these elements undoubtedly constitute prominent traits of drama yet not its essential properties. They fail to demarcate the precise conceptual boundaries required for rigorous scholarly definition, nor can they delineate the normative criteria governing interactive and affective empathy as demanded by the intrinsic properties of live theatrical performance. Only theatricality encapsulates drama’s inherent essence and differentiates it from other literary genres.” (Liu Jiasi, 2011, p.48).

An investigation into dramatic texts demonstrates that the accurate interpretation of theatricality remains necessary and valuable in the contemporary era. Based on an analysis of interpretations of normative theatricality proposed by George Baker, Vakhtangov, Yu Shangyuan and other scholars, Fang Guilin argues: “The so-called ‘normative’ essentially means identifying what is suited to its own context; in short, grasping the mainstream via comparisons between historical experience and present reality, and pursuing integration between subjectivity and objectivity.” (p.258) Throughout the century-long development of Chinese spoken drama, persistent problems including formulaic and conceptualized performing styles, the institutional shackles of realistic drama, the marginalization of literariness and the collapse of artistic benchmarks have drawn criticism from all quarters across different historical periods and sparked fierce debates marked by distinctive features. These controversies paved the practical groundwork for exploring the definition of normative theatricality. This precisely corroborates Fang Guilin’s assertion: “For mainstream drama, the crux is not how we analyse theatricality, but which form of theatricality we actually need.” (p.266) Furthermore, integrating one’s subjective understanding of the historical evolution and current landscape of drama with the objective inherent attributes of theatricality embodied in dramatic works, and absorbing strengths from both dimensions, constitutes the indispensable approach to defining normative theatricality.

In summary, *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama* focuses on the exploration of the concept of “theatricality” as its central theme. It constructs an interpretive framework based on the “Three-Field Theory” and practice-oriented principles of exposition, forming a complete discourse logic.

The definition of “theatricality” in this book is grounded in the hundred-year history of Chinese drama. It not only examines the different styles, spaces, and archetypal images of drama across different periods, but also addresses the tension between “theatricality” and “literariness,” as well as such developmental phenomena as decentering and pan-literariness in drama. At the same time, theories from audience psychology and cultural geography have expanded the research perspective of this book, offering drama researchers a more comprehensive angle of study. In short, *Research on the Concept of “Theatricality” in Chinese Drama* is a systematic study of the concept of “theatricality” and is worth reading and researching.

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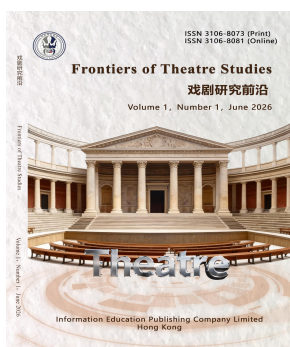
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The Undertaker and His Spectator: A Review of Zhu Chaoya's *Xia Yan: A Master of the Century*

Li Yifan, Huang Dezhi

Abstract: In recent years, the study of modern and contemporary Chinese literature has witnessed an academic turn back to revolutionary literature, with academic scholarship transcending a single aesthetic or political interpretation to re-examine the complex relationship between revolution and literature. As an important representative of revolutionary literature and literary practice, Xia Yan has become a key object in this academic turn. From the perspective of “The Bearer and His Witness”, this paper reviews the book *Xia Yan: A Master of the Century* published by People’s Literature Publishing House. With a concise layout, solid historical materials, and a combination of pictures and texts, the book integrates popularity and academic nature, presenting Xia Yan’s lifelong sense of responsibility and restoring his spiritual world with warm writing. The dual images of “bearing” and “witnessing” not only provide a new path for Xia Yan’s research, but also offer an important reference for understanding how a generation of intellectuals forged revolution and literature into the same life choice.

Keywords: Zhu Chaoya; *Xia Yan: A Master of the Century*; Biography Writing; Xia Yan Studies

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标题: 承担者, 与他的看见者: 评朱超亚《夏衍: 百年巨匠》

摘要: 近年来, 现当代文学研究呈现向革命文学回归的学术转向, 学界超越单一审美或政治解读, 重审革命与文学的复杂关系。夏衍作为革命文学与文艺实践的重要代表, 成为这一研究转向中的关键对象。本文以《承担者, 与他的看见者》为视角, 评析人民文学出版社《夏衍: 百年巨匠》一书。该书篇幅精炼、史料扎实、图文并茂, 兼具普及性与学术性, 既呈现夏衍一生的责任担当, 又以温情书写还原其精神世界。“承担”与“看见”的双重意象, 不仅为夏衍研究提供新路径, 也为理解一代知识分子如何将革命与文学熔铸为生命选择提供重要参照。

关键词: 朱超亚; 《夏衍: 百年巨匠》; 传记写作; 夏衍

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For most Chinese people, the name “Xia Yan” is tied together with “The Contract Workers” in their high school Chinese textbook. That piece of reportage acted like a scalpel, slicing open the darkness of its era and revealing the emaciated backs of the “reed-stick girls.” Yet we rarely ask: the one who wielded the scalpel—how did he himself walk his own path?

The Xia Yan: A Centenary Master published by People’s Literature Publishing House offers a complete and warm answer.

After reading this book, a scene keeps emerging in my mind: Elder Xia walking alone, leaving behind only a lean yet resolute silhouette, while not far away a young person stands quietly gazing. The scene contains two subtle elements: first, the sense of responsibility that ran through Xia Yan’s entire life; second, the gaze the author casts upon his subject, full of warmth and humanistic concern. The former is the moral character of the biographical subject; the latter is the sincere stance of the writer. When these two merge, they produce a biography that possesses both historical gravitas and the warmth of a lived reading experience.

In the autumn of 1929, Xia Yan was twenty-nine, on the threshold of thirty. Before that, he was the translator Shen Duanxian, who had rendered Gorky’s *Mother* into Chinese and had already begun to show promise in literary circles. That year, together with a few friends, he organized a group called the Shanghai Art Theatre Society—the first theatre society directly led by the Chinese Communist Party. A man who had never written a play thus burst through the gates of drama. Three years later, he burst into the film world as well. In 1932, at thirty-two, Xia Yan joined the Star Film Company as a script consultant. The difficulties he

faced shifting from theatre to cinema were still many. But he entered movie theatres with a stopwatch and a flashlight, breaking down films shot by shot, calculating durations and recording scene types, forcing himself from an outsider into an expert.

In today's context, this kind of courage fills me with particular emotion. In an age of information overload, people are constantly anxious; we desperately chase the dust raised by the galloping times, trapped by "sunk costs" and afraid to seek change. Xia Yan himself probably never imagined that the theatre and film he encountered only at the age of thirty would become so tightly intertwined with the rest of his fate. The beginning of that story was simply that the times required someone to do it. One scholarly paper points out: "For a long time, academic research on Xia Yan's creative work has focused mainly on his post-1930 works, concluding that Xia Yan was a rigorous realist playwright. Moreover, the impression Xia Yan gave after he burst onto the literary scene was that of a steadfast Marxist-revolutionary artist. But is this historical truth?" (Yao Chengli, 2011, p.4). The labels "realist playwright" or "revolutionary" flatten the real choices made by the person behind the story. Precisely because he was a revolutionary, he needed to cross boundaries at twenty-nine. Precisely because he was a playwright, he made that cross-boundary move so thoroughly. Precisely because of his sense of responsibility, he bore the weight of those titles.

If Xia Yan's sense of responsibility fills me with admiration, then the author's stance in writing this book moves me deeply.

The author's warmth is seeded as early as the first chapter. He writes that Xia Yan's earliest memories of theatre came from his mother. As a child, his mother would tell him stories of the stage and take him to see plays. Those ancient tales, the warmth and coldness of human relationships on stage, gradually settled into the child's heart through his mother's voice. Decades later, when Xia Yan picked up his pen to write *Under the Shanghai Eaves*, portraying ordinary people in alleyway homes, that perception of and compassion for the human world had perhaps already sprouted quietly back then.

What moves me even more is how the author explains the origins of the pen name "Xia Yan."

Xia Yan was born Shen Naxi. His father was named Shen Yayan. When Xia Yan was three years old, his father died. His impression of his father was vague, but in 1936, when he first needed a new pen name to publish his work, he chose "Xia Yan"—a homophone in the Hangzhou dialect for "Yayan."

This is what I understand as "the author's warmth"—not deliberate sentimentality, but a willingness to see those tender things: to see a mother's influence on a child, to see a son's consolation to his father, to see those parts of a person that are not "great" but profoundly "human." And because of this seeing, Xia Yan is no longer just a name, a stretch of history, a symbol, but a human being with a living warmth. When a biographical subject becomes a human being with warmth, his "sense of responsibility" ceases to be a cold moral label—it becomes the warm choice made by someone who learned to see the world from his mother and inherited his surname from his father, in response to the summons of his era.

Thus, this book stands before me: a person who shouldered his era, and another person who, with warmth, saw him.

1. The “Lightweight” Narrative Between the Detailed and the Omitted

Xia Yan: A Centenary Master is one volume in the “Drama” section of the Centenary Masters book series. Based on the eponymous documentary series on major cultural figures, this collection seeks to highlight those masters and giants who made outstanding contributions to Chinese civilization in the twentieth century. The book, 203,000 characters in length and divided into eleven chapters, arranges its chapter titles so that, when read in sequence, they trace the complete arc of Xia Yan’s life: from his early years in Hangzhou, Zhejiang, to his student days in Japan; from his translation of Gorky’s *Mother* under the name “Shen Duanxian” and his involvement in the left-wing literary movement, to his “mid-career conversion” at twenty-nine when he founded the Shanghai Art Theatre Society, and at thirty-two his self-taught foray into cinema armed only with a flashlight and a stopwatch; from his wartime efforts running *Salvation Daily* as a pen warrior amid the flames of the War of Resistance, to his post-1949 leadership of the Shanghai Culture Bureau and his role in shaping China’s film industry; from his silencing during the turbulent years to his late-life composition of *Lazily Searching for Old Dreams* while bedridden, until the very end of his days.

Amidst a sea of biographies that often run to several hundred thousand characters with unrestrained expansiveness, this one is not a weighty tome. Yet, interestingly, after reading it you will find that Xia Yan’s complete life trajectory, his core artistic achievements, and the key facets of his character have all been clearly etched into your memory. That long and winding life has been securely and gracefully contained within the book’s pages.

In the afterword, the author notes: “Regarding Xia Yan, there is no shortage of historical material; the real difficulty lies in selection.” This statement reveals a fundamental truth about writing—it is easy to write a thick story, for the most effortless approach is to pile up raw materials. Indeed, his autobiographical writings, including *Dreams Old Dreams* while bedridden, amount to some 500,000 characters. But to condense a story while preserving its essence is far more difficult, for it requires a clear vision of what you want to convey and a precise sense of what must be kept and what can be left out. The author acts like an experienced guide, leading readers through the most significant stations in Xia Yan’s life: the seeds planted by his mother in childhood, the courage to cross into theatre at twenty-nine, the awkward yet persistent entry into cinema at thirty-two, the wartime mobilization with the pen as a banner, the collecting and donating in his later years... Where a pause is warranted, the narrative dwells; where brisk progress serves better, it sweeps past. The rhythm is distinct, the balance well struck. If the historical material is a forest, the author is one who cuts a path through it—clearing a way so that readers may see the shape of the forest without getting lost in it.

For those works that are landmark achievements in Xia Yan's creative career, such as *Spring Silkworms* and *Sai Jinhua*, the author does not hesitate to devote ample space. *Spring Silkworms*, as "the first attempt to bring a new literary work from post-May Fourth China to the silver screen," was hailed as "a marvel in the 1933 film world." *Sai Jinhua*, Xia Yan's first multi-act play, represented an experiment in the "allegorical history play" and stirred a major uproar—the "spittoon incident"—because of its satirical attack on the Nationalist government. These works not only concern Xia Yan's personal artistic explorations but also touch the very nerves of their era; the author recounts them in detail precisely because they deserve to be seen.

For those works that are relatively minor or merely written to meet an occasion, the author only touches on them lightly, noting their existence before moving on. This "balance of detail and omission" is not a matter of sparing ink for its own sake, but rather a form of narrative responsibility—knowing what the reader needs and where the subject's vital coordinates lie.

Thus, 203,000 characters suffice.

2. Characters Brought to Life: Warmth and Moral Integrity Through Details

What is most commendable in the author's portrayal of the character is that he breaks free from traditional biographical perspectives—neither defining Xia Yan solely by his political identity nor evaluating him merely through his literary achievements. Instead, he chooses a softer and warmer path: using those seemingly trivial yet truly constitutive details to make his subject stand up from the page.

In recent years, the focus of research on modern and contemporary Chinese literature has been quietly returning to revolutionary literature. Some scholars have pointed out that "discussions of left-wing literature have always fallen into a dilemma: as a cultural phenomenon where politics and literature intersect, traditional aesthetic, political, or combined perspectives have all failed to provide a comprehensive and objective assessment of left-wing literature" (Liu Cheng, 2005, p. 1). This "dilemma" is now being reanimated in academia, as scholars attempt to re-examine and reinterpret revolutionary literature from new dimensions (such as the perspectives of propaganda, the interplay between historical fields and aesthetics, etc.). For Xia Yan—a name unavoidable in revolutionary literature—the most immediate and crucial question we face is: "How did Xia Yan, under the guidance and discipline of left-wing literary policies, amid the demands of militant literature and national discourse, find a balance between political discourse and aesthetic consciousness? How did he participate in constructing the aesthetic tradition of left-wing literature through everyday life, gender writing, and a uniquely charming personal style—through a Xia Yan-esque 'detailed politics of aesthetics'" (Liang Yanli, 2017, pp. 182-183)? How do we bring Xia Yan back from a "revolutionary symbol" to a warm, individual human being?

The answer given by Zhu Chaoya is not through vague praise, but through concrete, specific moments.

Take, for example, the detail of Xia Yan renaming Yan Chuntang. In 1932, Yan Chuntang, who had made his fortune from the opium trade, founded the Yihua Film Company and invited Xia Yan and others to take charge of its creative work. Xia Yan said to him: “You rose to wealth through opium. The character ‘wood’ (木) in your given name is not appropriate. Why not change the lower part to ‘hall’ (堂)—the character for ‘upright and open hall’?” The author passes over this detail lightly, yet it instantly illuminates a facet of Xia Yan’s character: he had a sense of right and wrong and dared to speak directly; he also had a benevolent heart, willing to help the other find something better. Moral integrity and warmth appear together in a single sentence.

Then, in Chapter Eleven, the author uses another means to let us “see” Xia Yan. This chapter describes his late-life donations—how he gave to the state, without compensation, the precious paintings, calligraphies, and stamp collections he had amassed over a lifetime. It turns out that Xia Yan had another identity: that of a passionate collector. Thus we also see this side of Xia Yan: he loved stamp collecting, loved the paintings of Qi Baishi, and saved up little by little from his salary and royalties to acquire those treasured items. He went antiquing in Beijing’s Liulichang, got to know the elderly Qi Baishi, and the old master would sometimes inscribe on his paintings “To my younger brother Xia Yan.” In his later years, he donated ninety-four pieces of painting and calligraphy to the Zhejiang Provincial Museum and 233 stamps to the Shanghai Museum. He even specially asked a friend to carve a seal for him, which read “Once in the collection of Shen of Renhe”—using the character for “once in” rather than “preciously in”. The difference of a single character changes the meaning entirely: these things, I once collected and appreciated, but in the end they do not belong to me.

The author places this detail in the final part of the book, and the intention is clear. What he wants us to see is not just a playwright, a filmmaker, a cultural official, but a whole person—someone who loved Qi Baishi’s paintings, could be fascinated by a single postage stamp, and in his later years carefully arranged all his affairs. Here, the political Xia Yan and the literary-artistic Xia Yan step back; the “human being with a living warmth” steps forward.

I believe this is what I sensed from the beginning as “the author’s warmth”—not a sentimental technique, but a certain vision in selecting material. The author is willing to see those things that make a person who they truly are, and to piece together a complete, warm life through these seemingly minute moments. Because of this vision, Xia Yan is no longer just a name, a stretch of history, a symbol, but a person we can understand and feel close to.

3. Authenticity in Historical Material, Depth in Literary Flair

This book demonstrates considerable depth in its handling of historical sources. The author quotes extensively from Xia Yan’s own writings—from Lazily Searching for Old Dreams to his diaries and

letters—allowing the subject to “speak” at appropriate moments. These quotations are not isolated embellishments but are organically integrated into the narrative. What is even more rare is that the book clearly annotates the sources of all citations and images, specifying both the chapter from which a memoir is quoted and which institution holds a given manuscript. This rigorous approach ensures that, while remaining eminently readable, the book also preserves its value as a historical document in the genre of biography.

Most pleasantly surprising is the author’s unique archival discovery: a translation entitled “The Ninth Day Memorial of the Fundraising Fair at West Lake Park,” which has never before been mentioned in the Complete Works of Xia Yan or by any other scholar. For a biography intended for a general audience, achieving this is no small feat. It means that this book does not merely retell Xia Yan’s life, but in a certain sense enriches our understanding of him.

In terms of layout and design, the author has clearly invested considerable care. The illustration-rich arrangement gives the reading experience both texture and warmth. Interspersed throughout the book are numerous precious historical images: photographs of Xia Yan from different periods, facsimiles of his manuscripts, original letters, and group photographs with other contemporary cultural luminaries. What left the deepest impression on me is the manuscript of the film script for *Blessing*—presented as a facsimile, with Xia Yan’s revisions in red pen clearly visible, almost allowing us to glimpse him bent over his desk. These images are not decorative embellishments; they are documents with independent historical value, making the “human being with a living warmth” described in the text feel more tangible. On the level of editorial details, the book likewise shows thoughtfulness toward its readers. When a specialized term such as “kaijian” (a type of bay in traditional Chinese architecture) appears, the author provides a concise explanation. Quoted passages, image captions, and source attributions are set in red type to visually distinguish them from the main text. Beneath each chapter title, a summary of the chapter’s content is provided, so that opening any chapter and reading this summary first tells you what the chapter is mainly about. These design choices all serve a clear purpose: to lower the threshold of reading. The People’s Literature Publishing House, in producing this series, clearly does not want ordinary readers to be intimidated by the word “biography.” This book has no entry barrier; anyone interested in Xia Yan can pick it up and read it with ease.

Although this book is a popular biography aimed at a general audience and is not difficult to read, the author, Zhu Chaoya, nevertheless maintains a conscious attention to literariness throughout his prose.

This is evident first in the chapter titles. All eleven chapter titles employ balanced, parallel constructions: “Born in the Turmoil of the Boxer Year, Riding the Crest of the May Fourth Torrent”; “Sneaking Forward Amid Thorns, Fighting Through the Mire” ... These titles are themselves miniature literary compositions. They both encapsulate the core content of each chapter and imply the author’s interpretation of the subject’s life stages—so that from the table of contents onward, the book has already entered a state of “narrative.”

The author's skill is even more apparent in his explication of Xia Yan's representative works. Taking *Spring Silkworms* as an example, although there are inevitably some shortcomings, such as oversimplified characterization. "The character of Hehua is endowed with a rebellious nature, and such rebellion is manifested in her behaviors as a form of destruction. Yet as a marginalized figure in the film, the driving motivation behind Hehua's actions is not fully explained." (Wu Jie, 2021, p. 14) The book analyzes the many changes made from the original story to the film and the effects ultimately achieved. For instance, the film's alteration of narrative space—adding an "elementary school classroom," the "Huangpu River and wharves," and a "pawnshop"—serves to reinforce the theme. The careful observation of characters such as Old Tongbao (his stubbornness and superstition) and Duoduotou (his openness and awakening) also demonstrates the author's eye as a literary scholar.

The author enables ordinary readers to understand "what the story is about" while simultaneously allowing those with a literary background to appreciate "what makes it good." This ability to retain "depth" within "popularization" is precisely what makes the book so valuable.

Nevertheless, whether due to the demands of biography or popularization, certain inevitable shortcomings exist under the weight of various constraints. The book's "lightweight" scope, while successfully outlining Xia Yan's entire life, also brings a problem: the complexity of certain historical periods is relatively simplified. The author approaches Xia Yan with a certain warmth and reverence—this is the book's fundamental tone—but at times this also means that some sharp edges are gently smoothed over. For example, the author mentions Xia Yan's half-century-long association with Pan Hannian, but does not dwell much on the human dilemmas involved. Likewise, regarding Xia Yan's silences and compromises during political campaigns, the book largely explains them in terms of "forbearance," leaving considerable room for the reader to imagine the complex inner world behind that forbearance.

The book handles Xia Yan's works with an appropriate balance of detail and omission, as already acknowledged earlier. But for masterpieces such as *Under the Shanghai Eaves* and *Fascist Germs*, the discussion of their textual connotations and artistic achievements remains more introductory than analytical. If readers wish not only to "know" what Xia Yan wrote, but also to "understand" why these works are important and what makes them good, they may need to consult other scholarly studies to supplement this book. This is the trade-off that the book makes between "popularization" and "depth"—a dilemma faced by all biographies intended for a general audience.

4. Writing History Through a Person, Establishing a Biography with Emotion

At the end of this writing, I want to return to the two phrases that moved me from the very beginning: Xia Yan's "sense of responsibility" and the author's "warmth."

For Xia Yan himself, this book allows us to see a "bearer with living warmth."

In the past, when we discussed Xia Yan, we easily fell into two perspectives: the political or the literary. The former defines him as “one of the leaders of the left-wing cultural movement,” while the latter positions him as “one of the founders of Chinese cinema and drama.” Neither perspective is wrong, but they share a common problem—they turn a person into a label. The author of this book has chosen a different path. He uses a wealth of details that seem unrelated to “grand narratives”—details that have nothing to do with political stance or literary achievement, yet precisely constitute a person’s flesh and blood. Because of these details, Xia Yan is no longer just a name, a stretch of history, or a symbol, but a person we can understand and feel close to. Thus we finally see clearly: the man who crossed into theatre at twenty-nine and entered cinema at thirty-two was not a cold revolutionary brick, but a human being who learned to see the world from his mother and inherited his surname from his father.

For the era, this book allows us, through one person’s eyes, to glimpse the collective portrait of a generation.

Xia Yan’s life spanned the late Qing, the Republic, and New China, vibrating in near resonance with the twentieth century. Following his footsteps, we see the youth in the May Fourth torrent, the clandestine walker during the Left-League period, the journalist in the flames of the War of Resistance, the cultural official after the founding of New China, and the reflective donor in his later years. He did not walk alone; by his side were Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Tian Han, Pan Hannian ... a whole generation’s gallery of intellectuals.

The “warmth” of this book lies in the fact that it does not write these figures as towering “masters” placed on a pedestal, but lets them appear as human beings. We see their interactions, disagreements, mutual support, and estrangements; we see their choices and helplessness in the torrent of the times. History thus ceases to be a timeline and a list of events in a textbook, and becomes concrete individuals, in concrete situations, making concrete commitments.

For the readers of today—every age has its own tasks that call for people to step forward. Xia Yan’s choices were to cross into theatre, to enter cinema, to run a newspaper in the resistance, to collect and donate. We need not replicate his path, but we can learn from his way of facing his era: to see what is lacking, and then step forward.

And the author’s “warmth” at this point reveals another layer of meaning. Because, through those details, he has let us see Xia Yan’s tenderness and warmth, we no longer feel that “sense of responsibility” is a cold moral demand. It has an origin—coming from a mother’s enlightenment, from a father’s surname, from a person’s perception of and compassion for the world.

Finally, let us return to the title of this book: Centenary Master.

The word “master” often intimidates. But this book tells us that masters are also human beings. They have origins, attachments, places of softness. In his thirties, he ventured into unfamiliar fields; in his later

years, he gave away his beloved collections to the country, piece by piece. He bore the weight of his era with his entire life, and with his entire life preserved a person's due warmth. And the author of this book, with his warmth and sincerity, has shouldered the responsibility of letting later generations "see" Xia Yan.

Thus, the bearer and the one who sees him meet in these pages.

Closing the book, the lean, bespectacled figure lingers long, unwilling to fade.

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Evaluating the Contemporary Cultural Value of Nuo Rituals in Zhanjiang through Bodily Language: A Review of *Entering the Realm of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Decoding the Bodily Language of Nuo Rituals in Lingnan region*

Weng Yuanyuan

Abstract: In *Entering the Realm of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Decoding the Bodily Language of Rituals in Lingnan region*, Zeng Huamei adopts bodily language as the central analytical lens to examine the cultural meanings embedded in Nuo rituals. The author argues that, in terms of operational mechanisms, Nuo rituals construct a multilayered spatial system, including material, symbolic, imagistic, and interactive spaces. Within this framework, participants' bodily movements, together with ritual implements and costumes as symbolic media, collectively produce and enact communal systems of belief. From the perspective of cultural origins, Nuo culture is interpreted as the result of a long-term syncretic process involving Confucian, Daoist, Buddhist, and shamanistic traditions. As for its essential meaning, Nuo rituals are understood as an early human response to fundamental existential concerns, particularly how to survive and how to live a better life in a dangerous and uncertain world. With its interdisciplinary methodology, innovative bodily perspective, detailed cultural analysis, and open scholarly attitude, this monograph makes an important contribution to the study of culture, especially in the context of Zhanjiang, Guangdong. It not only enriches the

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academic understanding of ritual performance and embodied belief, but also offers valuable insights into the interpretation and preservation of intangible cultural heritage in contemporary society.

Keywords: Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang; bodily language; cultural value

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题目: 以身体语言评估湛江傩仪的现代文化价值——评《走进非遗：解读岭南傩舞文化的身体密码》

摘要: 曾华美《走进非遗：解读岭南傩舞文化的身体密码》一书傩舞为研究对象，以身体语言作为切入视角，探讨傩舞仪式中的文化内涵，旨在探求湛江傩仪的身体语言特色以及文化根源。作者研究发现，在运作机制方面，通过构建物质空间、象征空间、意象空间、互动空间，傩仪通过仪式参与者的身体语言以及器具、服饰等符号共同塑造、表演人们的信仰；在文化根源方面，傩文化是儒、道、佛文化和巫术相融合演变的产物；在傩文化本质方面，通过举行傩仪来驱鬼、祈福，这是原始时代的先民们对于如何“活着”以及更好地“活着”问题的回答。该著作凭借跨学科的研究方法、创新的研究角度、详细的文化分析、开放包容的研究态度对傩文化研究，尤其是广东湛江傩文化研究做出了重要贡献。

关键词: 广东湛江傩文化；身体语言；文化价值

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Entering the realm of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Decoding the Bodily Semiotics of Lingnan Nuo rituals, authored by Professor Zeng Huamei, represents a significant contribution to the field of Nuo culture studies. Focusing on Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang, the book adopts bodily expression as its primary analytical lens to explore the cultural meanings embedded in ritual performance, with the aim of uncovering both the distinctive features of bodily language in Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang and their deeper cultural roots.

Employing an interdisciplinary and multi-method approach, including textual analysis and ethnographic fieldwork, the study offers in-depth research of Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang. It demonstrates that, in terms of operational mechanisms, these rituals construct and integrate material, symbolic, imaginative, and interactive spaces. Within these overlapping spatial dimensions, participants' bodily movements, together with ritual objects and costumes, function as semiotic resources that collectively shape and perform communal belief systems. In terms of cultural origins, the book argues that Nuo culture emerges from the syncretic interplay of Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, and shamanistic traditions. Besides, regarding its psychological mechanism, Nuo rituals, centered on exorcism and the invocation of blessings, are early human responses to the fundamental question of how to live, and how to live well.

The monograph is organized into five chapters. Chapter One provides an overview of the history, current conditions, and cultural origin of Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang. Chapters Two and Three analyze the cultural connotations and psychological underpinnings of the rituals from spatial and corporeal perspectives, respectively. Chapter Four traces the cultural sources of Nuo practices, while Chapter Five examines their significance and value in contemporary society. This review highlights the book's major scholarly contributions in four respects: the interdisciplinary methodology, the innovative analytical perspective, the detailed cultural interpretation, and the open and inclusive research attitudes.

To begin with, the study adopts a diversified and interdisciplinary methodology tailored to its research needs. In its fieldwork, it draws on anthropological ethnography, employing audio recording, photography, video documentation, and interviews to capture the full range of processes and details involved in Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang. In the historical inquiry, it utilizes textual analysis to examine local gazetteers, genealogies, and classical sources, thereby reconstructing the historical development, geographical distribution, and cultural origins of these rituals. In addition, the researcher incorporates a linguistic analytical framework to examine the distinctive features of bodily expression of Nuo culture in Zhanjiang.

For instance, through meticulous historical investigation, Zeng (2024) traces the cultural transformations of several major branches of Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang and challenges prevailing scholarly claims regarding the origins of the “kaobing” (ritual inspection performance) tradition in Jiuxian Village. By comparing masks, costumes, movements, and rituals, and by cross-referencing local gazetteers, the researcher argues that this particular branch likely originated in the Fujian region rather than Jiangxi. This research offers a new perspective on the study of Nuo culture's historical roots.

Among the interdisciplinary methods, the most notable one is the use of ethnographic fieldwork to collect first-hand empirical materials, which lend authenticity and authority to the study. The researcher conducted in-depth investigations in villages that plays crucial role in spreading Nuo culture, collecting oral testimonies from principal inheritors, documenting each stage of the rituals through video recordings, and photographing ritual objects such as masks and costumes. Thus, the study systematically records and synthesizes the structure and procedures of Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang, including schedules, ritual sequences, and incantatory formulas. It provides a rich body of material for future scholarship and makes a substantial contribution to the preservation of Zhanjiang Nuo practice as an item of intangible cultural heritage. Overall, this combination of interdisciplinary methods furnishes the study with appropriate analytical tools and ensures the rigor and depth of its research.

Moreover, the book adopts an innovative analytical perspective by approaching Nuo rituals through the lens of the body, a perspective grounded in profound philosophical traditions and aligned with current scholarly trends in the humanities, where increasing attention has been paid to embodiment, affect, and lived experience.

Since René Descartes advanced the proposition “I think, therefore I am (1641/1996)”, Western

philosophy has largely posited a stable, coherent, and self-identical subject, centered on cognition and rationality. Immanuel Kant (1781/1787/198) further consolidated this conception by positioning the mind, the rational subject, as the organizing center of all experience, while the body and sensory experience were often relegated to a secondary, even negligible status. In this way, a binary opposition privileging reason over emotion gradually took shape, with rationality supplanting religion as the dominant spiritual authority.

However, the rationalist ethos did not ultimately fulfill the promises of freedom and emancipation proclaimed by Enlightenment thinkers; rather, within the development of capitalism and technology, it has been seen to perpetuate, and even intensify, the alienation of human beings. Friedrich Nietzsche was among the first to perceive this crisis. In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche (1872/1967) challenged the supremacy of reason by revalorizing the Dionysian, thereby affirming the significance of instinct, irrationality, and the body in cultural creation.

In the twentieth century, the phenomenological tradition further deepened the critique of the rationalist subject. Edmund Husserl, through his analysis of the intentionality of consciousness, redirected philosophical inquiry back to lived experience itself, while Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962), in *Phenomenology of Perception*, elevated the body to the very center of perception and meaning-making, granting embodied, sensory experience a genuine philosophical status. In this sense, phenomenology constitutes a crucial reflection on, and challenge to, the rationalism and scientism that have long dominated Western world.

Phenomenology has provided an important body of theoretical resources for contemporary humanities and social sciences in China, particularly in fields such as literary studies, cultural studies, aesthetics, and anthropology. This influence is most clearly manifested in a renewed scholarly attention to the body, affect, and ecological experience. In this regard, the book likewise resonates with current academic trends in China by approaching Nuo rituals through the dual lenses of spatial construction and participants' bodily expression, thereby enabling a more nuanced observation of the role of the body in traditional ritual practices. For example, in analyzing the ritual movements of Nuo master(daogong), the author examines the spatial orientation and trajectory of their actions, revealing that such movements embody the traditional Chinese cosmological concept of the "Five Directions", closely associated with Daoist notions such as the Five Elements, the Five Emperors, and the Five Deities. This perspective offers a renewed interpretation of the cultural meanings and humanistic spirit embedded in Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang, and provides an innovative point of departure for future research on Nuo culture.

Moreover, the book analyzes the constructed nature of Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang through participants' bodily expressions and symbolic systems, a perspective that demonstrates a high degree of theoretical intertextuality with Judith Butler and Bertolt Brecht. By examining the spatial organization of ritual settings and the symbolic meanings embedded in various ritual elements, Zeng (2024) interprets Nuo performance as a structured practice through which belief is produced—exploring how rituals shape communal faith and

achieve the aims of exorcism and blessing. This approach resonates closely with Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity. Just as gender is understood as a constructed effect, faith and belief, too, are created and strengthened by ritual performance. Under the constraints of social norms, gender is "performed" through the repeated enactment of behaviors, discourses, and embodied practices (Butler, 1990). Similarly, during the enactment of Nuo rituals, Nuo masters (daogong) are required to follow prescribed procedures, don traditional costumes, and perform at fixed times each year. While ritual practices vary slightly across different villages and regions due to local beliefs, they cannot be arbitrarily altered. As the book recounts, in one Zhanjiang village, a Nuo master was criticized by local elders for conducting a ceremony in a direction that deviated from tradition; he was ultimately required to repeat the ritual in accordance with the proper orientation. Clearly, deviations from established norms can provoke anxiety and unease among believers, and only when normative order is restored can communal equilibrium be reestablished. Gender norms function in a comparable way: when conventional boundary between masculinity and femininity are disrupted, social panic may ensue. Gender minorities are often marginalized or stigmatized until they are excluded from what is deemed the "normal" social body, thereby restoring a semblance of stability (Butler, 1990).

This suggests that performativity is not confined to the domain of gender, but extends more broadly into the realm of social and cultural life. Zeng (2024) argues that such performativity is especially evident in the process of Nuo ritual performance, where participants oscillate between human and divine states: upon donning masks, they are transformed into deities; upon removing them, they return to ordinary humans. Given that Nuo rituals may last for several days and require performers to visit households to expel evil and bestow blessings, a physically demanding process, participants must intermittently remove their masks to eat, drink, and recover their strength. The contrast between these two states is striking: masked, they embody powerful, heroic exorcists; unmasked, they are indistinguishable from ordinary villagers. This transformation closely resembles the distinction between actors on stage and off stage.

Such dynamics also echo the metatheatrical techniques in drama, whereby playwrights expose the very process of storytelling, disrupting the audience's immersive experience and prompting reflection on the boundary between reality and performance. Extending this further, Bertolt Brecht (1948/1964) put up the theory of alienation that seeks to break the audience's identification with characters, using theatrical form as a means of political critique. The function of metatheatre, in this sense, is to make the audience aware that what they are witnessing is a constructed performance, thereby encouraging critical reflection.

Yet, in contrast to theatrical contexts, the metatheatrical dimension within Nuo performance does not diminish its authority or sacredness. On the contrary, it often deepens villagers' reverence toward the performers. This, in turn, reveals the enduring and vitality of Nuo rituals, grounded in the continuous construction and reinforcement of communal belief.

In addition, the researcher approaches Nuo rituals from a rigorously objective and analytical standpoint,

examining their cultural essence and spiritual core, and offering a compelling clarification of their value in a modern cultural context. The study argues that Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang fundamentally embody the primordial worldview and survival philosophy of early human communities—namely, how to endure and reproduce life in a perilous and unpredictable world. On the one hand, deities associated with bravery and virtue are venerated and worshipped, as people seek blessings and protection; on the other hand, through a series of ritual practices, participants invoke divine power—mediated by ritual implements, costumes, and masks—to exorcise malevolent forces and avert misfortune. Ritual performances such as Wuchang Expelling Evil (Wuchang Qu Xie), Opening the Mountain (Kaishan), and Zhong Kui Exorcising Demons (Zhong Kui Da Gui) vividly exemplify these underlying spiritual principles.

This interpretation resonates with Claude Lévi-Strauss's (1962/1966) argument in *The Savage Mind* that so-called “primitive” and modern modes of thought are not hierarchically ordered, but rather differ in kind. Contrary to the common assumption that early human thinking is intuitionist or mythical, Lévi-Strauss contends that it is in fact highly rational, systematic, and classificatory. Such thought operates through symbols and categories to make sense of the world, constituting a form of “concrete science”. He famously likens this mode of thinking to bricolage—a process of assembling heterogeneous, pre-existing elements (symbols, images, materials) into new configurations capable of addressing immediate problems. For instance, in his study of the Caduveo of South America, Lévi-Strauss (1955/1973) observes a society marked by rigid social hierarchies and limited mobility, conditions that threaten social cohesion. Yet, Caduveo women create intricate, symmetrical geometric patterns on their faces. Through this artistic practice, ideals of equality, harmony, and fluidity—unattainable within the social structure—are symbolically realized upon the body.

A similar logic can be observed in Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang. The lines and symbols inscribed on ritual masks, as well as the roles assumed and movements performed by participants, embody early communities' aspirations for an ideal social order. Nuo masks are often modeled on five renowned divine generals from local history, characterized by broad faces, round eyes, prominent noses, and wide mouths, projecting an aura of righteousness, strength, and magnanimity. The roles enacted by performers likewise draw on historical figures—generals from the Leizhou region (the historical name for present-day Zhanjiang) who defended their countries. Through movements in Nuo rituals, these figures symbolically expel malevolent spirits and safeguard the social order.

These symbolic forms reveal the social ideals of early inhabitants of the Leizhou region: when contradictions or forms of oppression arise within real social structures, the “divine order” enacted in Nuo performance functions as an imaginative mediation. It offers a more just and morally ordered world that compensates for and soothes the inequalities of lived reality. Moreover, this “divine order” is continually reinforced and reaffirmed through the ritual process itself. Within Nuo rituals, masks, gestures, and spatial arrangements together constitute an integrated system of meaning. Performers do not merely represent a

preexisting order; rather, through repeated ritual enactment, they endow this order with a sense of reality and authority. In other words, order does not exist as an abstract principle, but is continually realized through embodied participation and collective witnessing.

Meanwhile, the “exorcism–protection” structure embedded in Nuo rituals can be understood as a symbolic reaffirmation of social boundaries. By concretizing “evil spirits” and ritually expelling them, the performance effectively distinguishes between acceptable and unacceptable forces, thereby delineating the boundary between order and chaos at the cultural level. The repeated reinforcement of this boundary not only responds to uncertainties in lived reality, but also subtly consolidates collective values and shared identity. In this sense, the Nuo ritual is not merely an expression of religious imagination; rather, it constitutes a symbolic practice that integrates historical memory with contemporary concerns. Through the interplay of heroic figures, divine order, and embodied performance, it constructs a system of meaning that is both interpretive and regulative in function. From this perspective, so-called “primitive thought” should not be seen as a deficiency of rationality, but as a mode of cognition grounded in concrete experience and symbolic association—one whose complexity and internal logic merit serious consideration.

Therefore, the concreteness and complexity of such modes of thought effectively challenge the assumptions of linear historical development and the intellectual arrogance of Western centrism. Lévi-Strauss (1966) even suggests that so-called “primitive” peoples may possess a deeper understanding of nature than that afforded by modern utilitarianism: plants and animals are not first known because they are useful; rather, they are deemed useful because they have already been known. Likewise, as a concrete manifestation of this mode of thinking, Nuo rituals call for a shift in modern perspectives—from narrow and dismissive judgments to a more objective and equitable engagement with the historical significance and spiritual value embedded in this cultural tradition, as well as a respect for cultural diversity.

In fact, Zeng (2024) further observes that Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang play an important role in moral cultivation and spiritual sustenance within local communities. The performance of such rituals fosters social cohesion among villagers, strengthens interpersonal bonds, reinforces familial and communal identity, and cultivates a sense of reverence that encourages ethical conduct and respect for social norms. Accordingly, the study argues that in contemporary society, efforts to preserve and transmit Nuo rituals must respect local beliefs and aesthetic values (Zeng, 2024). They should neither be crudely dismissed as “feudal superstition” nor reshaped according to external forces, whether official or ideological, or modern aesthetic standards. This position effectively dispels common misunderstandings and prejudices, offering a strong defense of the cultural value of Nuo rituals.

Through its innovative analytical perspective, rich body of first-hand research materials, detailed cultural interpretation, and objective scholarly stance, Professor Zeng Huamei’s work opens up new avenues for understanding Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang. By foregrounding the often-overlooked dimension of bodily expression in the formation of belief, the study both inherits the philosophical legacy of phenomenology and

aligns with contemporary academic trends, while demonstrating a high degree of theoretical intertextuality. Equally noteworthy is the researcher's commitment to an objective and inclusive intellectual ethos, approaching Nuo rituals in Zhanjiang from an egalitarian perspective and proposing practical pathways for their preservation, transmission, and revitalization in modern society. Through its in-depth case study, the book also provides a valuable model for the study of Nuo culture across China, making a significant scholarly contribution to the field.

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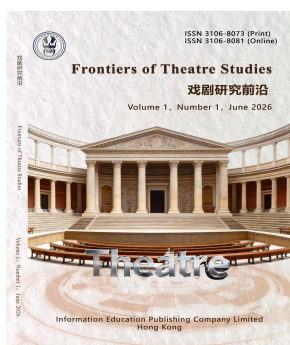
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Close Reading, Stage Analysis, and Reinterpretation of Classics: A Review of *From Script to Stage: A Study of the Dramatic Art of Cao Yu's Thunderstorm*

Peng Biwei

Abstract: *From Script to Stage: A Study of the Dramatic Art of Cao Yu's Thunderstorm* by Xian Liqiang is a comprehensive monograph on Cao Yu's classic play *Thunderstorm*. Based on the author's reflections on classroom teaching, this book explores the literary connotations and dramatic expression of *Thunderstorm* by combining close reading with stage analysis. The study focuses on the existential predicaments and complexity of human nature, offering innovative interpretations of the four core characters: Zhou Puyuan, Fanyi, Lu Shiping, and Lu Gui. Furthermore, the book analyzes the charm of *Thunderstorm's* stage art from multiple perspectives, including dramatic rhythm, forms of address, stage design, lighting, and sound effects, revealing the cross-media transformation mechanism from text to performance. This work not only continues the diverse tradition of Cao Yu studies but also reinterprets the universal human issues and contemporary significance of *Thunderstorm* from a modern perspective, highlighting the enduring vitality of classic works in the dialogue between history and reality.

Keywords: Cao Yu; *Thunderstorm*; dramatic art; stage research

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题目：文本细读、舞台解码与经典重释——评《从剧本到舞台：曹禺〈雷雨〉戏剧艺术研究》

摘要：咸立强著《从剧本到舞台：曹禺〈雷雨〉戏剧艺术研究》是一部对曹禺经典话剧《雷雨》的综合性研究专著。本书以作者在课堂讲授中的思考为基础，通过文本细读与舞台艺术分析相结合的方法，探讨《雷雨》的文学内涵与戏剧表现。研究关注人物的生存困境与人性复杂性，对周朴园、蘩漪、鲁侍萍、鲁贵四位核心角色进行了创新性解读。同时，著作从戏剧节奏、称呼语使用、舞美、灯光、音效等多角度剖析《雷雨》的舞台艺术魅力，揭示其从文本到演出的跨媒介转换机制。本书不仅延续了曹禺研究的多元化传统，也通过当代视角重新诠释了《雷雨》所蕴含的普遍人性问题与时代意义，彰显经典作品在历史与现实对话中的持久生命力。

关键词：曹禺；《雷雨》；戏剧艺术；舞台研究

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Thunderstorm had a profound impact, leading to 1935 being dubbed the ‘Year of *Thunderstorm*’. Since its publication, *Thunderstorm* has swiftly become an epoch-making classic in the history of modern Chinese theatre, and a work that cannot be overlooked in any account of modern literary history. Over the past 30 years of reform and opening up, the movement to emancipate the mind and the strengthened cultural exchanges between China and the world have broadened scholars’ aesthetic horizons in their study of Cao Yu. Research into his work has expanded beyond a sociological perspective. Researchers now use methodologies such as aesthetics, psychology, and comparative literature to examine his plays from different angles and levels. This research has entered new realms. *From Script to Stage: A Study of the Dramatic Art of Cao Yu’s Thunderstorm* (published by Guangdong People’s Publishing House in 2024; hereinafter referred to as ‘this book’) is a monograph on Cao Yu’s play *Thunderstorm*. The book primarily comprises the fruits of Professor Xian Liqiang’s teaching and reflection on *Thunderstorm* in university and secondary school classrooms. Drawing on a vast collection of published works, stage productions, and literary-historical critiques of *Thunderstorm*, Professor Xian Liqiang employs close textual analysis to explore the possibilities of reading and interpreting the play. He offers an in-depth analysis of the four older characters in *Thunderstorm*: Zhou Puyuan, Zhou Fanyi, Lu Shiping and Lu Gui. Centering on the play’s script and drawing upon stage productions, he dissects the artistic appeal of *Thunderstorm* from multiple perspectives, including language, set design, sound effects and lighting.

1. From Class Analysis to Empathy for Human Nature

Since its publication, *Thunderstorm* has undergone three theoretical shifts in its critical approach, offering a microcosm of the development of modern Chinese literary criticism. During its formative years in the 1930s

and 1940s, sociological criticism held sway. Zhou Yang (1984, p. 203) states that *Thunderstorm* “exposes the cruelty and wickedness of the feudal family system”; this method of class analysis continued to be employed after the founding of the People’s Republic. In 1951, Wang Yao’s *Draft History of Modern Chinese Literature* was published, marking the appearance of the first work on the history of modern Chinese literature. This work described *Thunderstorm* as “the evil and tragedy caused by irrational social relations”. Influenced by the prevailing social climate of the time, Wang Yao (1953, p. 272) specifically identified the Zhou family as “bourgeois” and the Lu family as representing the “working people”; the narrative of the relationship between the two families thus revealed the dynamics of class struggle. Wang Yao’s views outlined above exerted a significant influence on Chinese academic circles throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and indeed into the 1970s and 1980s. Subsequent editions of *A History of Modern Chinese Literature* largely adopted this perspective, or developed it further in a more “left-leaning” direction. However, class criticism does not appear to have been Cao Yu’s original intention in writing the play. In the preface to *Thunderstorm*, he states: “I was not explicitly conscious of seeking to rectify, satirize or attack anything” (Cao Yu, 1936, p. 182). On the contrary, what drove him to write was a “complex and primal emotion”—a sense of bewilderment at the “cruelty” and “coldness” of the universe. The literary critic Liu Xiwei wrote in 1935 (p. 116) that “the most powerful yet unseen force running through this long play is a pervasive sense of fate.” The ideological liberation movement of the 1980s gave rise to a shift in the interpretation of human nature. Qian Gurong’s view that “literature is the study of humanity” was creatively applied in the study of *Thunderstorm*. Criticism during this period began to focus on the psychological motivations underlying Zhou Puyuan’s role as an authoritarian patriarch, while discussions of Fan Yi’s “demonic nature” gradually moved beyond moral judgment. Since the beginning of the 21st century, research has exhibited a growing methodological diversity. Recent studies have placed greater emphasis on interdisciplinary perspectives, with new approaches such as psychoanalysis, narratology, and spatial theory continually enriching the interpretive landscape of *Thunderstorm*.

It is within this context that the author of this book reconstructs the interpretive paradigm of this classic tragedy from a sympathetic perspective imbued with humanistic concern. This critical approach embodies the fundamental spirit of philosophical hermeneutics: the critic reflects upon and transcends the presuppositions of traditional class analysis, taking empathy and understanding as the starting point for interpretation. This liberates the characters in *Thunderstorm* from stereotypical and symbolic labels, returning them to their authentic existential predicaments, and thereby establishes a more ontologically meaningful channel of understanding between the interpreter and the text. The book’s character analysis vividly illustrates the practical tension inherent in this perspective. Taking Fan Yi as an example, the study does not stop at the superficial appearance of her “thunderstorm-like” rebellion, but goes further to reveal the internal conflict between the suppressed instincts of life and the inescapable psychological dependence lurking behind her extreme defiance; regarding Shi Ping, the study breaks away from the conventional

portrayal of her as a victim, pointing out that her “suffering” stems largely from her subjective perception. It should be noted that the “empathy” practiced in this book is not mere sentimentality, but rather an empathetic understanding grounded in rigorous close reading of the text. It requires researchers to set aside preconceived moral judgments, delve into the subtle inner worlds of the characters, and discern the dilemmas and struggles they face within specific ethical relationships. In a sense, this approach not only reinterprets the character portraits in *Thunderstorm* but also serves as a proactive response to the current trend in literary studies of returning to the essence of literature. Of course, as the focus of research shifts toward the characters’ inner emotions and existential dilemmas, a key question for further exploration in subsequent studies may be how to return to a humanistic perspective while ensuring that the rich socio-historical dimensions inherent in *Thunderstorm* continue to interact organically with this humanistic interpretation, rather than creating underlying tensions. Guided by the insights of this theoretical perspective, as we proceed to the book’s analysis of specific characters, we can more clearly discern the practical logic and interpretive tension inherent in this research approach.

By examining the characters’ personalities and the historical context, the author demonstrates that the tragedy depicted in the play is neither a simple product of social criticism nor an inevitable consequence of individual moral failings, but rather a complex outcome of the interplay between the limitations of human nature and the irresistible forces of fate under specific historical conditions. Each character is both a victim of the tragedy and an accomplice to it; in their quest to find meaning in life, they unwittingly become entangled in the absurd cycle predetermined by fate. This sympathetic perspective is deeply aligned with the philosophy that guided Cao Yu in writing *Thunderstorm*. Cao Yu once remarked: “I reflect on how pitiable human beings are—full of ambition and confidence, as if they were the masters of their own destiny, yet often unable to control their own fate.” (Cao Yu, 1936, p. 182) Within the dramatic universe of *Thunderstorm*, he constructs a tragic cycle from which no one can escape. Si Feng is electrocuted to death, Zhou Ping shoots himself, Fan Yi descends into madness, and Shi Ping breaks down. Even Zhou Puyuan—whom many view as the perpetrator—plunges into the abyss, ultimately facing a desolate fate marked by his wife’s madness and his own death in old age. This design of a tragedy involving all characters serves as an inquiry into the predicament of human existence: when individuals cannot break free from the shackles of their era, and when free will is in eternal conflict with the inevitability of fate, how should we view the weaknesses and struggles of human nature? In discussing O’Neill’s influence on Cao Yu, Long Zhaoxiu (1997, p. 57) points out that both Cao Yu and O’Neill were committed to creating characters with “split personalities characterized by multiple facets”—that is, characters embodying “multiple aesthetic forms of beauty and ugliness, good and evil, sorrow and joy.” Such characterization clearly transcends simple judgments of good and evil. This is precisely where Cao Yu surpasses many of his contemporaries: he is not writing a moral play about the consequences of good and evil, but rather portraying a structural predicament from which no one can escape. It is on this point that the book’s empathetic perspective resonates with Cao Yu’s creative spirit.

2. The Characters of *Thunderstorm* in the Dilemmas of Human Nature

In 1962, Mr. Qian Gurong published a lengthy essay titled “A Discussion of the Characters in *Thunderstorm*” in the first issue of *Literary Criticism*. Drawing on his theoretical perspective that “literature is the study of humanity,” he returned to the fundamental stance of literature as the study of humanity to analyze characters such as Zhou Puyuan and Fan Yi. Mr. Qian Guorong’s research transcended the socio-historical critical paradigm prevalent at the time, refocusing attention on the characters’ inner worlds and the essence of human nature, thereby opening a new avenue for the study of the characters in *Thunderstorm* following the founding of the People’s Republic of China. In the character analysis of *Thunderstorm* in Chapter 2 of this book, the author fully incorporates Mr. Qian Gurong’s research methodology on “character studies,” while integrating the wisdom of academic predecessors with his own unique insights to analyze the four core characters of the older generation in the play: Zhou Fanyi, Lu Shiping, Zhou Puyuan, and Lu Gui.

2.1 The Demon of Despair: Fan Yi

In the pantheon of characters in modern Chinese drama, few evoke such a complex mix of love and fear, pity and sorrow as Fan Yi from *Thunderstorm*; even Cao Yu himself remarked, “I love watching women like Fan Yi.” Chapter 2 of this book, titled “The Forging of Demons and Ghosts,” examines Fan Yi, focusing its analysis on her strikingly “demonic” traits. Interpreting Fan Yi from this perspective highlights her unique rebellious nature and the abnormal characteristics inherent in that rebellion. The author places Fan Yi within Cao Yu’s lineage of female characters, noting that she, along with Chen Bailu from *Sunrise* and Hua Jinzhi from *The Wilderness*, forms a series of characters imbued with a “demonic” quality, reflecting the author’s consistent aesthetic pursuit. This wild quality, marked by primal impulses and the vitality of life, also allows Fan Yi’s “Thunderstorm-like personality” to resonate with Western dramatic culture. The intense, even twisted emotional bond between her and Zhou Ping is a manifestation of this primal desire; its obsession and madness led Zhou Ping to call her a “ghost.” Yet Fan Yi’s allure lies not in her “wickedness,” but in the vitality of her humanity, which erupts in extreme ways, and in the destructive, unbridled force of life that breaks all conventions.

Previous studies have often viewed Fan Yi as a microcosm of the May Fourth women’s awakening, arguing that she embodies a powerful voice for individual liberation. This book challenges that interpretation. The author acknowledges Fan Yi’s spirit of resistance; within the suffocating confines of the Zhou Mansion, she was indeed the only one who dared to challenge Zhou Puyuan’s authority. But the question remains: what is the root of this rebellion? Why didn’t Fan Yi simply leave the Zhou Mansion? This book’s answer is that Fan Yi’s rebellion was not based on the awakening of modern female consciousness, but rather stemmed from repressed instinctual desires. She yearned to break free from her cage, yet never imagined the world beyond it. This contradiction made her rebellion both intense and blind, exhibiting distinct irrational characteristics, and ultimately leading to destruction rather than liberation. This assessment hits the nail on the head. As the book states, “her greatest demand of Zhou Ping was the

exclusive possession of his love, and her minimum demand was that he take her with him; the only thing she did not demand was female independence” (Xian Liqiang, 2024, p. 71).

In summary, this book’s interpretation of Fan Yi neither glosses over her destructive tendencies nor exaggerates her awakening; it enriches the depth of her character while further highlighting the realistic weight and intellectual depth of the female narrative in *Thunderstorm*.

2.2 The Bound “Mei”: Shi Ping

Amid the tragic turmoil of *Thunderstorm*, the character of Shi Ping is often reduced to that of a pure victim, an unfortunate woman abandoned by Zhou Puyuan, bearing the merciless blows of fate. For a long time, the relationship between her and Zhou Puyuan has also been interpreted as one between oppressor and oppressed. While this past interpretation aligns with the work’s social critique, it has diminished the psychological complexity of Shi Ping as an independent individual to some extent. The chapter “Everything Is Fate: A Study of Shi Ping” in this book offers a new perspective on Shi Ping: no one can deny that she had a tragic background and led a life of suffering. However, through an in-depth analysis of her “suffering,” we discover that this pain stems largely from her subjective perceptions.

The book argues that the detailed descriptions in *Thunderstorm* actually support this conclusion. The Shi Ping portrayed by Cao Yu is “fair-skinned and looks to be only thirty-eight or thirty-nine years old,” which stands in stark contrast to the weathered image we might imagine. Cao Yu clearly had no intention of using this to emphasize Shi Ping’s destitute condition, if that were the case, she would have appeared even older than her actual age. The author thus raises the following question: The academic consensus regarding Shi Ping’s “tragic fate” largely stems from her own account during her reunion with Zhou Puyuan; however, these lamentations themselves reflect Shi Ping’s subjective feelings rather than her purely objective circumstances. An even more telling detail is that when Shi Ping unexpectedly encounters Zhou Puyuan at the Zhou Mansion, she repeatedly refers to her expulsion from the Zhou family as having occurred “thirty years ago.” Yet she left with the newborn Lu Dahai twenty-seven years ago; “thirty years ago” was precisely the period when she and Zhou Puyuan were in love. This temporal discrepancy reveals Shi Ping’s deep-seated longing for the good old days—she unconsciously uses happy memories to overshadow her painful experiences. (Chen Sihe, 2003) In my view, when reading *Thunderstorm* in the past, we often focused solely on the nostalgia embodied by Zhou Puyuan’s thirty-year-long preservation of old furniture and maintenance of old habits, yet few paid attention to the equally deep attachment to the past that existed within Shi Ping’s heart. Zhou Puyuan’s nostalgia is overt and materialistic, whereas Shi Ping’s fixation is latent, deeply buried in her subconscious, and only emerges through such detailed analysis. This analysis in the book offers a meaningful shift in perspective.

The author of this book argues that what is often termed a tragedy of fate can also be seen as a tragedy of character in Shi Ping’s case; her suffering stems from an inescapable tendency to compare her circumstances. She unconsciously uses Zhou Puyuan and life at the Zhou Mansion as a benchmark against

which to measure her subsequent marriage and her years of wandering. Precisely for this reason, the failure of her two subsequent marriages was not merely due to the hardships of life, but rather because she had lost the ability to invest in new relationships. While I largely agree with this interpretation, I do have some reservations. Although there are certainly psychological reasons why Shi Ping was unable to invest in new relationships, might the character of her two husbands themselves have been a significant factor? In particular, given Lu Gui's crassness and selfishness, it would likely be difficult for anyone to form a genuine emotional bond with him. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that this perspective breaks through the flat, stereotypical perception of Shi Ping, liberating her from the rigid image of a pure victim and allowing us to see a more multidimensional and modern tragic female figure.

2.3 The Model Prisoner: Zhou Puyuan

In previous studies of *Thunderstorm*, the character of Zhou Puyuan has often been reduced to a stereotypical representation of a ruthless capitalist and feudal patriarch. Going beyond moral criticism, the book offers a more explanatory perspective: Zhou Puyuan is essentially a "model seeker" who internalizes social norms into obsessive self-standards, only to become the antithesis of his own pursuit. This interpretation reveals that Zhou Puyuan's tragedy does not stem from a lack of morality, but rather from an excessive fixation on it.

The author outlines Zhou Puyuan's efforts to cultivate a model image from multiple perspectives. In his professional life, he transformed from a feudal landlord into an industrialist, using the knowledge gained while studying in Germany to develop mines, build bridges, and run businesses; within his family, he maintained order as the patriarch, striving to create "the most harmonious and orderly" household. Even his retention of Shi Ping's old belongings and his contradictory attitude, as shown in the line "There's no need to bring up the past," are, in the author's view, not just a hypocritical performance. Instead, they reflect a subconscious attempt at self-glorification. By recalling the past, he tries to present himself as a man of deep loyalty and integrity. However, this self-image is full of self-deception. Paradoxically, it was precisely this moral self-discipline that led to an even greater family tragedy. He treated family order as unquestionable authority while ignoring his family members' emotional needs, causing Fan Yi to become so repressed that she fell ill and Zhou Ping to sink into a state of mental distress. This inevitably brings to mind the classic tragic irony found in ancient Greek tragedy: just as Oedipus, the more he strove to evade the oracle's prophecy, the more precisely he walked into the trap of fate; so too did Zhou Puyuan, the more he was obsessed with becoming a moral exemplar, the more he went against his own nature by stifling genuine human needs, thereby transforming moral norms into instruments of oppression.

The author's analysis of Zhou Puyuan's concept of time is equally intriguing. As an early national capitalist, Zhou Puyuan brought the factory's efficiency-driven logic of time into his family life. The author observes that Zhou Puyuan measured time in minutes inside the Zhou Mansion; he even managed to force Fan Yi to take her medicine in just seven minutes. This detail exposes the absurdity and cruelty of running a

household as if it were a factory. The family is supposed to be a flexible emotional space, but Zhou Puyuan imposed the industrial society's concept of time upon it, turning every family member into a to-do item on his schedule. The author particularly agrees with the author's further observation that this pattern of alienation has, in fact, been passed down from one generation to the next. Zhou Ping, having gone from initial rebellion to eventual submission, chose to follow in her father's footsteps. This not only signifies the successful replication of Zhou Puyuan's pattern of alienation, but also reveals the psychological predicament of the entire feudal bourgeois family: under the dual oppression of efficiency-at-all-costs and authoritarian rule, human nature is distorted and emotions are suppressed, free will is gradually eroded, and the family ultimately falls into a tragic cycle. In this sense, Zhou Puyuan is not only the oppressor of his family but also the first prisoner of this logic of alienation.

2.4 The Misunderstood Clown: Lu Gui

In studies of *Thunderstorm*, Lu Gui is perhaps the least controversial character. Slippery, opportunistic, and manipulative—even going so far as to scheme against his own daughter—he has long been viewed as a pure villain or a comic figure. This book reinterprets the character of Lu Gui within the context of the logic of the underclass, offering a new perspective on him. The author argues that Lu Gui's scheming and sycophancy are essentially a distorted survival instinct. For a lowly servant of old China with neither status nor security, such petty cleverness was just a way to survive. This shift in perspective does not whitewash his despicable actions. Instead, it compassionately views the distortion of human nature under survival pressure, reflecting a realistic concern for the fate of ordinary people.

The author's discussion of Lu Gui's situation within his family is also striking. The book points out that Lu Gui boasts, "Who doesn't say I, Lu Gui, am the best?" Yet in the eyes of his wife, son, and daughter, he is a complete failure. Shi Ping looks down on him, Lu Dahai despises him, and Si Feng merely obeys him superficially. His so-called status as the head of the household was nothing more than a hollow title; within the family, he was unable to prevent Shi Ping from leaving home years ago to work as a domestic servant, nor did he have any say in Sifeng's romantic choices. The book also contrasts the parental figures of Lu Gui and Zhou Puyuan: Zhou Puyuan's authoritarianism is rooted in economic and social power, whereas Lu Gui's "dream of being a patriarch" lacks any basis in reality. This comparison spot-on reveals that in *Thunderstorm*, even becoming a despicable patriarch requires qualifications that Lu Gui lacks. So his ridiculousness takes on a tragic undertone.

This book's interpretation of Lu Gui reminds us that, before rushing to label a character as a "villain," we might first ask: Where does his "evil" come from? What role does the social structure play in this? However, we must be mindful that acknowledging the social roots of "evil" does not automatically absolve individuals of moral responsibility. The complexity of Lu Gui's character lies precisely in the fact that he is both a victim of social oppression and an agent who actively chooses to commit evil deeds. The tension between these two aspects leaves ample room for further exploration of this character.

3. The Multifaceted Stage Art of *Thunderstorm*

In Chapter 3 of this book, titled “An Aesthetic Analysis of *Thunderstorm*,” the author examines the play’s dramatic rhythm, stage vocal delivery, color, and lighting. Regarding the dramatic rhythm in *Thunderstorm*, he pointed out that rhythm refers to regular variation, a regularity built upon the repeated appearance of similar elements. Whether it be the variations in pitch, volume, duration, and intensity at the phonetic level, or the modes of expression and scene reenactment at the narrative level, all contribute to a unique dramatic rhythm. The rhythm of a play is multi-layered. At the micro level, every word and syllable of an actor’s lines contains rhythmic variations; from a macro perspective, the repeated use of similar expressions can also create rhythm. For instance, similar phrases such as Zhou Puyuan’s remark to Zhou Chong, “Neither you nor your mother knows what ails you,” and Lu Gui’s remark to Si Feng, “Neither you nor your mother knows the value of money,” create a rhythmic echo within the narrative. The way the two men speak to their families also creates a sense of repetition, giving the plot’s development a certain rhythm or a regular pattern. It is worth noting that rhythm can be expressed in a wide variety of ways: the pace of characters’ movements, the intensity of sound effects, the contrast between character traits, and even stage direction, lighting changes, and scene transitions can all create variations in rhythm. It is precisely these changes that breathe life into a play, “without variation, there is no rhythm; without rhythm, there is no drama.” The author also points out that we must distinguish between two dimensions: the internal rhythm of the script and the rhythm of the stage performance. The former is conveyed through the text, while the latter is the artistic effect ultimately experienced by the audience. For the general reader, the process of understanding the rhythm of a play offers an open space for interpretation. For actors and directors, however, this must be transformed into a visual performance rhythm through a series of artistic re-creation processes, including professional interpretation and stage design. The author also uses the first act of *Thunderstorm* as an example to analyze the play’s fast and slow pacing. Although the opening dialogue between Lu Gui and Si Feng harbors underlying tension, Lu Gui’s patient guidance lends it a gentle, unhurried rhythm; the mother-son exchange between Fan Yi and Zhou Chong is similarly warm and unhurried. This slow pace shifts after Zhou Puyuan enters the scene; his habit of frequently interrupting others and abruptly changing the subject accelerates the play’s rhythm. This fast-paced dialogue stems not only from Zhou Puyuan’s time constraints but also from his domineering and autocratic personality. This contrast in pacing not only shapes the character but also creates a dynamic tension in the dramatic conflict, showcasing Cao Yu’s masterful control of the play’s rhythm.

Regarding the use of honorifics in *Thunderstorm*, the author believes the play exhibits the following characteristics: First, the higher a person’s social status, the fewer types of honorifics they use when addressing the same individual; conversely, those of lower social status tend to use a greater variety of honorifics when addressing the same person, and there are differences in their usage between public and private settings. Second, within the Zhou residence, spouses address each other by their first names; for

example, Zhou Puyuan occasionally calls Fan Yi by her first name, and both Lu Shiping and Zhou Fan Yi have addressed Zhou Puyuan by his first name. This practice does not exist in the Lu household, yet addressing each other by first name is a hallmark of a civilized family. Specifically, in the scene where Zhou Puyuan and Lu Shiping meet, Lu Shiping initially addresses Zhou Puyuan with honorifics such as “Sir,” which not only conforms to the hierarchical order of the Zhou Mansion but also hints at the dynamic of their relationship during her time there. It is only after Zhou Puyuan recognizes her as Shiping that she switches to addressing him as “you” and “Puyuan.” This shift in address not only reveals Lu Shiping’s complex inner emotions but also highlights her steady and composed nature, standing in stark contrast to Lu Dahai’s rashness and Lu Gui’s tendency to be petty and complain. Third, when the same term of address is used by different characters, it can reveal distinct personalities. The same phrase, when spoken by different people, conveys vastly different emotional tones and attitudes. For example, both Lu Gui and Lu Shiping referred to Si Feng as “my daughter”; while Shiping’s use of the term conveyed trust and pride, Lu Gui’s tone was tinged with flattery and an air of authority. Fourth, the use of similar terms of address can imply character relationships and enhance the drama through intertextuality. Lu Gui repeatedly calls Lu Dahai “you little bastard,” and when speaking to Si Feng about Lu Dahai, he says, “Who knows what kind of son that bastard has raised?” In Act III, he curses Zhou Puyuan as “old man, you old bastard.” The terms “little” and “old” refer to age. Although Lu Gui does not know that Zhou Puyuan and Lu Dahai are father and son, he inadvertently labels them as “old” and “young.” Readers and audiences, aware of their true relationship, cannot help but smile knowingly when they see or read this.

4. Conclusion

From Script to Stage: A Study of the Dramatic Art of Cao Yu's Thunderstorm offers a unique academic perspective and provides an in-depth interpretation of this classic of modern Chinese theater. Professor Xian Liqiang has distilled his years of teaching experience into a systematic academic study that not only continues the three-decade-long tradition of diverse scholarship on Cao Yu but also charts a new path for interpreting *Thunderstorm* from the perspective of stage arts. Through a nuanced analysis of the four central characters, a keen grasp of the play’s language, and a unique interpretation of stage elements such as set design, sound effects, and lighting, this book not only reveals the enduring artistic appeal of *Thunderstorm* but also demonstrates the vitality of a literary classic that continues to be reinterpreted across different eras. At the same time, This book offers valuable insights into the contemporary relevance of classic texts. Through modern interpretations of the characters, it reveals that the issues reflected in *Thunderstorm*, such as the estrangement between parents and children and the solidification of class divisions, still resonate with contemporary society. This dialogue across time and space highlights the vital role of literary criticism in bridging history and reality, as well as theory and practice.

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