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天安门广场，北京

广场

关于北京建成环境的政治人类学研究

The Square

A Political Anthropology of the Built Environment of Beijing

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摘要 文章从天安门广场的黎明开始，以北京的建筑环境为依据，描述一个中国的政治宇宙。建筑环境的诊断价值，表现在它能够引导我们航行于政治宇宙的历史变迁和由此引起的这个城市的建造和再建造的过程之中。从古代王朝的“气韵”，到中轴线的颠覆和一个社会主义政治宇宙的建造，再到今天表现经济奇迹的幻象般的展现，建筑环境成为政治研究的考古挖掘基地，提示了一种民俗的、日常的观察政治的方法。该文以作者所著《北京时间》(哈佛大学出版社，2008；合作者 H. S. Lo 和 D. D. WU) 的第一章改写而成。**关键词** 政治；政治宇宙；日常性；建筑环境；北京

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北京寒冷秋天的凌晨四点，特殊的寂静笼罩在城市上空。黎明前的北京是那样的超现实。没有车，没有人，没有任何的拥堵。没有数以百万计的人潮涌动的北京，是难以想象的，但在凌晨四点，这却是事实。当然，除非你前往这个城市的中心，天安门广场。在那里，在晨曦中，有一场更超现实的活动即将划破清晨的寂静。透过来自全国各地的许多颤抖的心灵的剪影，我们感到了空气中凝聚着的期待和盼望。他们从床上爬起，打着哈欠，匆忙中来到这黎明的现场，观望升旗，见证每天演绎的中华民族的国家的诞生。在新铺的花岗岩广场上，60 多人组织成的、人民武警国旗升旗卫队中的精锐士兵们，开始了他们每天举行的仪式。当国歌高奏，国旗冉冉升起之时，每一个在场的中国人，无不为之怦然心动。

日复一日，来自全国各地数以千万计的游客来此参加这个仪式，并由此重申和强化了他们对民族国家的归属感。奇怪的是，居然是旅游业复兴了这个曾经被遗忘的仪式^[1]。如今，这项仪式已是很多中国人到首都旅游的“必看”项目，这些旅游者的行程从此地开始，而如

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ABSTRACT Beginning in Tian’anmen Square at dawn, this paper traces the political cosmologies of China through the built environment of Beijing. The diagnostic value of the built environment is revealed in its ability to help us navigate through the history of various political cosmologies that have informed the building and rebuilding of this city. From dynastic times when Celestial power was driven by the flow of ‘qi’ through the ‘toppling’ of the city axis and the imposition of another socialist cosmology and then onto the phantasmagoric showpieces of the

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果我们加入这些旅游的人潮，也会理解其中的道理。观察这个升旗仪式以及人们对此的反应，可以帮助我们理解当代中国人民想象中的民族的力量，以及北京和天安门广场在这个对民族建构的新的想象中的核心地位。在天安门广场，我们的四周被民族国家的重大象征物包围着；在此环境下，在嘹亮高昂的国歌划破黎明前特殊的寂静的时候，我们都无法不为之感动。在被激情渲染之后，大家跟随导游上车，被带到城市的最边缘，然后再次感受代表中华民族伟大之处的一些关键的象征物。在城市的边缘，游客们看到了这个城市和国家的象征表现的另一面。那里，历史文物是古代北京的辉煌的象征符号。游客在黎明广场上为爱国而心动之后，然后搭车来到伟大的长城，观赏赞叹先辈们的智慧和伟业，再到明朝的陵墓（十三陵），参拜这个伟大城市的创始人。

辉煌的记忆缠绕着北京这座城市。这种辉煌的记忆，可以追溯到古代帝王时期，然后是 1949 年关于新中国和社会主义的庆贺，最后再逐步来到当下，即今天的再造的城市奇观和由此形成的一个后现代的全球的中

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economic miracle, the built environment becomes an archeological site of politics, revealing a way of seeing politics that is ethnographic and concerned with the everyday. The essay is an edited version of chapter one of author’s book *Beijing Time* (Harvard University Press, 2008; coauthored with HS Lo and DD Wu).

KEY WORDS Politics; Political Cosmologies; Everyday; Built Environment; Beijing

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心，以及随之形成的关于今天这座城市的独到特征。在建筑和空间上，北京是一座拥有多层次、多时区的城市^[2]。尽管还在发展和变化，今天的北京也是一座博物馆，在建筑和空间的形式上，捕捉、收藏了中华民族的国家建构的各个时刻。也许是因为这个城市能够包含这些不同的层次和意义，近现代中国最有影响力之一的建筑师梁思成曾说过，北京是“无与伦比的杰作”，应当加以保护^[3]。也许出于同样原因，今天他的儿子梁从诫站了出来，对城市中心主要商业大街王府井边上的巨型项目东方广场，提出了反对意见。如果梁从诫反对大面积破坏旧城是因为担心后毛泽东时代自由的资本（主义）市场经济的贪婪豪夺的话，那么，对于梁思成来说，危险不在此。对于梁思成来说，旧城保护面临的主要危险，来自他所担心的共产主义革命对老传统旧习俗的改造所带来的破坏。

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1.2. 天安门广场

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货到山寨时尚饰品；从最新的进口消费电子产品，到盗版的 DVD 里所收藏的最新好莱坞大片；北京的商店和市场，充满活力，应有尽有，一切可以想象的物品，一切可以想象的价格，都可以在这里找到。

到今天，已经有整整一代人与这些东西一起成长起来，在他们自己参与的世界中发展出他们自己的独特观念。虽然只有少数人可以购得高级“原装”正版，但是几乎每个城市街头的孩子都可以买到盗版的 CD 光碟（图 3）和假名牌服装。确实，有如此多的孩子在盗版西方音乐的熏陶中长大，他们没有被称为“X 的一代”（Generation X）而是被称为“打口一代”（saw-gash generation）。

“打口”是指西方唱片公司为处理多余光碟而打上的小口，这些打口光碟随后作为废品运往遥远的中国。打口的目的是使音乐无法播放，光碟无法销售。但是这些唱片公司没有估计到的，却是中国商人的智慧以及中国年轻消费者宁愿放弃第一、二首歌的乐趣。对于相对贫困的中国消费者来说，打口带仅仅是学骑脚踏车时后面的两个小轮子上的一个辐条而已，是年轻人学习西方消费文化和文化品位的一个小环节。总体而言，盗版商品是翻译西方文化和改变中国社会主义价值体系的一种重要设施。有了盗版物品和假冒品牌，那么中国城市里最贫困的人都可以参与这个新消费世界的时尚高端。打口光碟是这一过程的一部分，除了一两首歌的缺席之外，它们让中国的年轻人加入了消费主义的大合唱。

如果人们可以想象一个一整代年轻人听着磁带另一面的歌（B-Sides）长大的国度，那么人们就可以理解、洞察这个“打口一代人”的世界。他们选的歌，他们组织音乐风格的归类，他们对那些音乐的反应，都与西方几乎相同，但在很小却很重要的方面，他们却是如此奇异，如此熟悉而又陌生（unheimlich）！我们似乎可以讨论一个弗洛伊德式（Freudian）的怪诞之城了！无论如何，垃圾处理的全球化使得西方的废弃物可以转变成中国便宜的珍品，在新一代中国年轻人的发展转变中起到重要作用。试想一下，这么多年轻人都是非常认真地听着父辈认为是垃圾的音乐中成长起来的！

当我们意识到这些物品的力量不仅反映在市场上—席之地占有，而且反映在对文化的重新塑造时，我们开始认识到，在中国，我们不仅要国家的精品，也要看它的垃圾！为此，我们可以去看看类似百家村这样的地方；不稳定地坐落在北京外圈的许多“垃圾城”中的一个。位于五道口之外的百家村，如被遗弃的物品一样，在地图上无法找到。然而，就是在如五道口和百家村这样的城郊地区，一个不一样的北京展现在我们眼前。如果说百家村为我们打开了贫穷的外来农民工的世界，那么五道口则为我们开启了一个波西米亚的天地。五道口有许多咖啡馆，周围有许多大学院校，这一带有许多大学生、青年艺术家和新近起步的电影导演们。当他们坐在这—带处处可见的时髦的沙龙里慢慢地喝着咖啡的时候，你会开始认识到一个消费的市场在改造这个城市的过程中已经发挥了巨大的作用。可以说，消费主义比较

older neighbourhoods by building a new socialist centre to the west of the city. His concerns fell on deaf ears. Indeed, as the noted architect Chen Gan points out, the minute the flag of New China was raised in Tiananmen Square to commemorate the founding of the People’s Republic, that argument was already a dead letter.^[4]The result was a Soviet-inspired socialist transformation of the urban landscape that would mark this city as profoundly as the dynastic rulers had done before them. That socialist Beijing has, itself, begun to disappear. Indeed as the Hong Kong cultural critic, Chen Guanzhong now observes, the new post-economic reform Beijing, is, in fact, a ‘bohemian capital’.^[5]

Bohemian Beijing marks out another side to this city and flags the fact that the city has become far less somber, far less conservative and more fun loving than before. Contemporary Beijing is also far more experimental and open to an avant-garde than either the dynastic or socialist city it is built upon were. The architecture of this new city is no less spectacular than that of the past even if it carries within it a very different meaning. From Rem Koolhaas and Ole Scheeren’s CCTV building, to the new National Grand Theatre of Paul Andreu and then on to the new postmodern architectural forms of the various Olympic venues, the city sparkles. Yet it isn’t just architecture that is renewing this place. Increasingly, this is a city filled with an exciting and hedonistic nightlife in places such as Gongti, Houhai and Sanlitun. It includes revamped shopping areas such as Wangfujing, Xidan, and Guomao, as well as suburbs like Wudaokou that are filled with coffee shops and salon bookshops of this new, more materialist China. If the raising of the new nation’s flag in Tian’anmen in 1949 was central to an earlier phase of city and national reconstruction, it is the flag of consumerism that hangs over the reconstruction projects today. Indeed, like every other major city in China, Beijing has embraced the consumer world with the passion of a lover.

The city is booming and the cityscape reflects this fact. Gleaming new buildings that are design statements bump up against fabulous new shopping malls that sell more individualized examples of the same sort of fashion statement. Every store is awash with chic consumer goods. From top line imports through to knockoff fashion accessories; from the most recent imported consumer gadgets, through to the latest Hollywood blockbuster burnt onto a cheap pirated DVD, Beijing shops and markets are alive with every conceivable consumer item available at every conceivable price.

An entire generation has now grown up with these things and developed their own unique mentality based

on the world of which they are a part. While only a few citizens have had access to ‘authentic’ top brands, just about every city street kid has had a chance to buy a knockoff CD or pirated designer label garment. Indeed, so ubiquitous are the kids who have been breast-fed on pirated Western music that they have become known, not as ‘Generation X’, but as the saw-gash generation.

Saw-gash is the term used to describe the small hole that Western record companies drilled into their excess CDs before shipping them off as waste for disposal in far off China. The ‘gash’ cut into the CD was designed to make the music unplayable and disk unsellable. What the record companies hadn’t reckoned upon was the ingenuity of the Chinese entrepreneur or the willingness of young Chinese consumers to forego the pleasures of the first or second track. For the relatively poor Chinese consumer, saw-gash CDs were but one spoke in a set of trainer wheels teaching the young about Western consumer culture and cultural taste. Collectively, pirated goods became a crucial device translating Western culture and transforming the Chinese socialist value system. With pirated products and fake brands, even the poorest of urban Chinese could afford to partake in this new consumer world at the fashionable top end. Saw-gash CDs were part of that process and, excluding one or maybe two damaged tracks, they enabled Chinese youth to join in the chorus line of consumerism.

If one can momentarily imagine a place where an entire youth generation had grown up on B-sides, then one is able to gain an insight into the world of the saw-gash generation! The songs they fix upon, the categories they use to organize their musical tastes, the way they respond to that music, all bear an uncanny likeness to their Western equivalents, yet in small, but significant ways they are unheimlich! Talk about a city of the Freudian uncanny! Nevertheless, the globalisation of refuse disposal has meant that Western trash has been turned into a cheap Chinese treasure which then comes



3. 打口光盘

3. Saw-gash CD

府任何一项法律或政治举措都更深刻地改变了这个国家及其人民和城市。它改变了一切，从人们的生活习惯—直到城市景观。在消费文化和由此带来的财富扩大的同时，曾经是这个城市—大特色的、传统迷宮般的灰色四合院住宅群，现在已经像是濒于灭绝的物种。庞大的城市人口，导致城市增长的唯一办法是向上发展，高层建筑因此出现。如今，在更加传统的街区里，老人们用复杂的心情看待“上楼”：一个用来形容高层生活的新俗语。对许多人来说，这不仅代表了房子的搬迁，更意味着从一种生活方式转变到另一种更现代的生活方式。从老房子搬到新高层公寓的人们也许真实而深刻地感受到传统社区的消失，但至少他们现在有了私人卫生间和自来水！老北京可能越来越深刻地感到精神的失落，但人们也承认这种新生活方式带来的物质方面的补偿。这是外国人往往看不到、读不懂的老北京的一面^[6]。这种欲望主要是物质的，而这一现象可以在都市观念的改变中读出一二。

文革时期对毛泽东宗教般的“三忠于”—忠于毛主席、毛泽东思想和无产阶级革命路线，后来让位于新的唯物主义，在 20 世纪 80 年代初成为对“三转”—自行车、缝纫机和手表的崇拜渴望。然而这仅仅是学骑自行车的辅助轮：后来出现的是一个新兴的以市场为基础的消费主义文化，它逐步淡化了曾经聚焦在政治上的集体主义思想。取代毛泽东时代政治理想的是消费者天堂的新欲望。这三个消费主义的辅助轮慢慢淡化了几乎是专—而虔诚的对政治的献身精神。然而，如果看看今天的欲望标签，即“四有”—有房、有车、有钱、有型，那么我们会认识到即便是物质的欲望也会膨胀！就是这种物质生活富足的梦想改变了北京及其人民。

这种新的渴望文化不仅拆除了旧思想，也随—之拆除了整片的街区。随着对现代生活方式的欲望的增长，大片旧街区 and 社会主义时期的住宅楼被拆除，腾出地方来建设现代的高层的居住生活方式。

尼采（Nietzsche）曾经声称，未来伟大的领袖们将用锤子来研讨哲学。在北京，他们则将用凿岩机来捶打。其结果是，整片整片的街区消失了，取而代之的是新建的豪华高层公寓、购物商场和商业区。拆毁速度如此之快，以至于在 20 世纪 90 年代的一些时候，北京如中国其他城市—样成为—座“拆”的城市。“拆”字随处可见，它几乎成了全中国最为易见的文字符号。甚至艺术界人士也注意到这个字的重要性，因为几乎每隔—个建筑，就有一个潦草的“拆”字写在将要拆除的围墙上（图 4）。文化评论家宋晓霞（Song Xiaoxia 音译）抱怨说，“建筑拆毁的速度如此之快，我们都来不及用电影镜头拍摄”^[7]。然而—不仅是变化的速度导致了他的不安，拆毁之后，人们更加迷失了方向。

在这快速变化的文化中，出现了一代与其社会主义父辈非常不同的新的“少年先锋队”。他们正忙着探索和追寻中国新消费文化所带来的各种幻象般的可能性。从虚拟世界到朋克摇滚再到诸如“798”这样的先锋艺术家社区，我们看到，北京不仅在改变其城市景观也在改

to play a crucial cultural role in transforming a new generation of Chinese. Just think, an entire youth culture growing up on music that their parents’ generation can, quite correctly, refer to as trash!

When one recognizes the power of such products not just to find a place on the market, but to refashion culture, one begins to realize that in China one needs to look not only at national treasures, but also at its trash! One can do this by venturing to places like Bajiacun, which is one of many ‘trash cities’ sitting precariously on the outskirts of Beijing. Like most unwanted things, Bajiacun, which sits just behind the suburb of Wudaokou, isn’t even on the map. Yet it is out in suburbs like Bajiacun and Wudaokou that a different Beijing appears. If Bajiacun opens onto a world of the poor migrant worker, Wudaokou, opens onto the world of the bohemian. With its coffee shops and nearby tertiary institutions, Wudaokou is filled with students, budding artists and movie directors. As they sip on their coffee in chic salons that now dot this suburban landscape, one begins to realize how this consumer market has played a crucial role in redeveloping this city. Arguably more than any single change in the law or political move of government, consumerism has profoundly transformed this nation, its people and this city. It has changed everything, from people’s habits, right through to the urban landscape.

The traditional labyrinth of grey compound houses that once defined this city have become something of an endangered species as this new consumer mentality and the wealth it has generated spread. The sheer size of the urban population meant that the only way for this city to go was up, and that gave rise to high-rise. Today, in more traditional neighbourhoods, older people speak with mixed feelings about ‘going upstairs’ (shang lou)—which is a new colloquialism coined to describe high-rise living. For many, this is more than a move from one house to another; it is a move out of one mode of living and into another more modern one. Residents of the old compound houses who moved into new high rise apartments might genuinely and profoundly feel a loss of community, but at least they now have inside toilets and running water! Old Beijing might increasingly feel the profound sense of spiritual loss, but it also recognizes that there are material compensations associated with this new way of life! This is a facet of Old Beijing that foreigners all too often miss.^[6] That desires have, in the main and for the most part, become materialistic in this city can be gauged by the transformations that have taken place in terms of urban mentalities.

The almost religious dedication that was once shown to Mao’s “three loyalties” (san zhongyu) during

the Cultural Revolution—a loyalty to Mao, to the Party and to socialism—gave way to a new materialism that, by the beginning of the eighties, had turned devotion to the three loyalties into a desire for the ‘three wheels’ (sanzhuan)—a bicycle, a sewing machine and a watch. These were, however, simply the trainer wheels of a new and nascent form of market based consumerism that helped erode a collectivized mind-set once fixated upon politics. In place of these political dreams of the Mao era comes the new desires of the consumer world. These three trainer wheels of consumerism helped erode the almost single-minded devotion to politics. Yet as one looks at the key aspirations today, the so-called ‘four have’s’ - an apartment, a car, a good facial and a great body (siyou: you fang, you che, you qian, you xing) - one cannot help but notice the inflation of even the material desires! It is this dream of a materially plentiful lifestyle that has transformed Beijing and its people.

This new aspirational culture not only demolished older mind-sets, but it took down entire neighborhoods with it. As the desire for a modern lifestyle came to the fore, the demolition of vast neighborhoods of compound houses and old socialist style apartments gave way to the construction of modern high rise living.

Nietzsche once claimed that great leaders of the future would philosophize with a hammer. In Beijing, they would do so with a jack-hammer. The result was that whole neighborhoods disappeared and in their place arose luxury new high-rise apartments, shopping arcades and business districts. Demolition took place at such a rate that, at one stage in the ‘nineties, Beijing was, like many urban regions of China, a city of chai. The character chai, meaning to demolish, was so widespread that it became one of the most widely recognised characters in the whole of China. Even art picked up on the importance of this word as every second building seemed to have this character scrawled across its soon to be demolished walls.

“Buildings are being knocked down at such a rate that one doesn’t even have time to film them anymore,” complained one cultural critic, Song Xiaoxia.^[7] Yet it wasn’t just the speed of change that created his feeling of unease. What followed after the demolition proved to be even more disorientating.

Out of this culture of rapid change emerged a new generation of ‘young pioneers’ who were very different from their socialist forebears. This new generation were no longer striving to realize socialism because they were too busy exploring and playing with the phantasmagorical possibilities opened up by China’s new consumer culture. From the delights of virtual reality,

变人们过去的观念。

时尚的咖啡馆和酒吧间，开始在过去灰色的城市面貌旁边出现。这些新场所开启了一个非常不同的北京，迥异于充满政治热情的毛泽东时期或严肃节制的古代王朝时代。也许从来没有像今天这样，在表面之下，北京有如此多的层次和时区。当我们走出天安门广场时，我们会看到这些多层次和多时区的一幕幕。但是，这个广场依然是这些行程的必要的起点，而且因为如此，它继续在所有这些发展中投入它的影子。

当中国游客聚集在黎明前的天安门广场上时，升旗的精确时间表、鼓舞人心的国歌、精锐士兵的演练：所有这一切都在激发着对民族国家的自豪感。天安门广场是象征民族国家再生的场所，而不是研讨民族弊病的地方。它是一个光荣的所在，新中国在此宣布成立，而今天一个很不一样的中国也正在此崛起。确实，一些中国学者甚至认为，在 21 世纪，这个国家将领导亚太地区甚至可能是全世界⁸¹。

换句话说，天安门广场象征了中华民族的再生，而这对于全世界来说有重要意义。在进入新世纪的今天，如许多人认为的，中国的时代已经到来，而北京反映了这个时间表，因为它处在所有中国事务的核心。然而还有一个历史，在困扰着这个当代时间表。这个历史在背景中慢慢地起着作用。我们应该仔细聆听这个历史片断的声音，从中可以发现北京也在用其他的方式进入它自己的时代、自己的世界。然而，这个时代、这个世界，也不完全是它自己的。

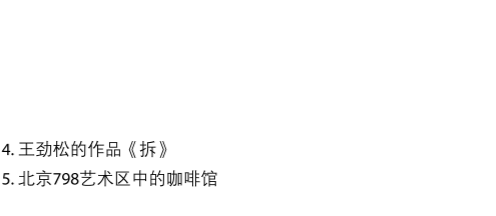
波尔多丁 (Martial Bourdin) 这个名字也许对中国问题专家没有任何意义；但是，从许多意义上讲，在描写这个法国无政府主义者在地球上的最后一天的文学小说中，我们可以稍微领略到中国革命的逻辑，这种逻辑最初通过政权的力量把北京变成了民族国家的时间看守人。波尔多丁是康列德 (Joseph Conrad) 的小说《秘密特工》 (The Secret Agent) 里的弗洛克先生 (Mr. Verloc) 的原型。康列德的小说，以这个无政府主义者在格林威治公园不幸死亡为基础，勾画了一个企图以炸毁格林威治皇家天文台 (Royal Observatory) 来毁灭时间的怪诞而几乎可笑的无政府主义者的故事。这个故事几乎在说，如果可以炸毁本初子午线，就可以摧毁整个资本主义赖以调整其手表的最基本逻辑。

革命性的变化历来与时间的颠覆相关。谁能忘记，在经典的俄国革命电影、爱森斯坦 (Eisenstein) 的《十月》 (October) 里那个滴答作响的大钟？午夜的到来，就是布尔什维克 (Bolsheviks) 的到来。攻打夏宫仅仅是一枪之遥。另外，谁又能忘记法国革命年历在一声轰鸣中开始了它的第一年第一日？据说当时革命党人还向巴黎的钟楼开了火。当然，到 20 世纪 70 年代，红色高棉党 (Khmer Rouge) 人把时钟倒回至零点的过程中，开火的对象已经不是钟而是人了。中国共产党，对时间也进行了处理，尽管其方式没有那样的壮观。他们的革命变迁，没有与革命的浪漫主义挂钩，也没有与残暴的阶级消灭运动相联系；但是他们依然在处理时间的过程中表现出



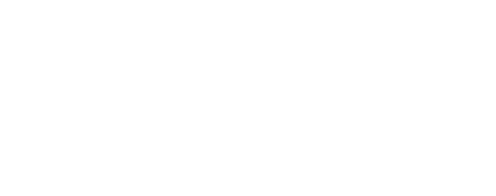
4. 王劲松的作品《折》

5. 北京 798 艺术区中的咖啡馆



4. 《“Chair”》,Wang Jingseng's art work

5. A café in 798 district



through to the emergence of punk rock and on to the development of avant-garde art colonies such as 798, Beijing was not only transforming its urban landscape it was changing the people’s old mentality.

Cool cafes and funky bars began to sit alongside the grey cityscape of the older socialist city. These new venues opened onto a very different Beijing from the one dominated by the passion for politics of the Mao era or the sobriety of dynastic times. [Photo 5: 798 café] Possibly more than ever before, Beijing has become a city where one scratches the surface and discovers many different layers and multiple time zones. One gets a glimpse of these layers and multiple time zones as one travels away from Tain’anmen Square. Yet the Square itself is still the essential starting point for any such journey and, because of this, it has continued to cast its shadow over all these other developments.

The shadow of Tian’anmen, is not, as might be imagined in the West the spectre of June 4th, 1989. Hence, when Chinese tourists gather at dawn in Tian’anmen Square, they are not imbued with that mind-flash-image of the man and the tank. Instead, they have an entirely different set of reference points to refer to. The clockwork precision of the flag raising, the inspirational national anthem, the drills of crack soldiers, all combine to beat out a message that spells national



pride, not the nation’s shame. Tian’anmen has become the re-enactment of nationhood, not the place where one reflects upon the nation’s ills. It is the place of glory where new China was proclaimed, and from where a very different China is now arising. Indeed, some Chinese scholars have even suggested that this will be the nation leading the way in the Asia Pacific region and possibly the world in the 21st century.⁸¹

In other words, Tian’anmen Square has come to signal the rebirth of the Chinese nation and that is of significance to the world. In entering the new century, China’s time is thought by many to have arrived and Beijing captures that timeline for it is at the very heart of things Chinese. Yet there is still a history haunting this contemporary timeline. It is a history quietly ticking away in the background. Listen carefully to these other time-pieces, and one discovers other ways in which Beijing is in a time, and a world, of its own. Yet it is a time and a world not wholly its own.

The name Martial Bourdin will mean nothing to any China expert, yet in many ways, it is through the fictionalized account of this French anarchist’s final day on earth that we can catch a glimpse of the logic underlying the Chinese revolution that initially, and through political fiat, transformed Beijing into the nation’s timekeeper. Bourdin was the figure upon whom Joseph

他们对新秩序的理解，以此建立和巩固他们的新的世界秩序。

1949 年 9 月 28 日，中国共产党机关报《人民日报》刊出时，似乎谁也没有注意到刊头日期已经不是过去的历法，而是采用公历 (the Gregorian calendar) 的符号和标志了。夹在两个划时代事件之间的这个小小的改变，大概是很容易被忽视的。如果确实如此，那么这种忽视也是有其道理的。

1949 年 9 月 21 日，该报刊登了毛泽东宣布中国人民从此“站起来了”的著名演说；而在 10 月 1 日中国人民可以从毛泽东在天安门城楼上宣布中华人民共和国成立的历史性事件中，读到这篇演说的内容。在这两个重大事件之间，谁又会注意到该报报头并未宣布的改变呢？可是这个小小的改变，却反映出共产党实际上已经在计时上，从一种方法转变到另一种方法。

这个变化意味着中华人民共和国的成立，不是发生在“民国 38 年”，甚至也不是“中华人民共和国第一年”。它就是“1949 年的革命”。科学和现代化，是这一革命的关键组成部分，而放弃阴历启用阳历，就明确表现了这种联系。当然，这种追求民族现代化的强烈欲望，还要求这个国家统一起来，而当时的另一项革命的时间的改变，把这种求得统一的愿望表现得很清楚。

在 1949 年国家成立的宣布中，不仅包括北京取代民国首都南京而成为国都，还包括北京将是国家的时间主人。中国在 1949 年之前分有五个时区，现在统一为一个时区。中国共产党领导着全中国，那么全国的时钟也就都要调整过来，以反映新政权的统一领导。在辽阔的大江南北，从西部的西藏到东部的海南岛，北京时间现在统一领导着全中国。把多重时区统一到一个个时区，不是为了满足农事要求或最大程度利用白天时间的一种实用做法。它是一个政治的决定，使所有的决策，包括时间的计算和安排，都统一在北京，统一在党的手里。它被称为北京时间，它为这个民族国家注入了一个新的时间性。确实，我们甚至可以说，从 1949 年起，中国将随着滴答作响的党的时间而作息和发展，而这又意味着这种作息和发展与斗争紧密相连。

这个来自北京的滴答作响的革命时间，给 1949 到 1979 年间影响全中国的阶级斗争设了闹钟，上了发条。尽管中国在经度上有 60° 的覆盖面，但这个国家的时间是统一的，而时间序列的划分则是政治的。一个时区叫“革命前”，它无可救药；另一个时区叫“革命后”，它完美无缺。公历的采用和时区的统一，都无法表达这个新的革命的时间序列性。为了理解这个时序性，我们必须观察语言；在日常和官方的表达中，我们可以发现“解放前”和“解放后”的用语。

这个历史的切割甚至在今天的中国还能听到，人们在日常生活中还在使用“解放前”和“解放后”的用语。当然，在今天，这一对词组，就像一枚用了很久的硬币，已经仅仅是一种习惯，多少已经失去了当时所具有的政治意味。但是，在过去的一些时间里，这两个词的每个音符都曾经清楚地发出它沉重的政治意义。但是当我们

Conrad based the character of Mr Verloc in his book, The Secret Agent. In Conrad’s hands, the death of the hapless anarchist in the park at Greenwich became the basis of an absurd, almost comical, anarchist plot to blow up time by blowing up the Royal Observatory. It was as though, in blowing up the prime meridian, one was destroying the very logic by which the entire capitalist system adjusted its watch.

Revolutionary change has always been linked to overturning time. Who could forget the ticking clock in that classic movie of the Russian Revolution, Eisenstein’s October? As midnight approached, so too did the Bolsheviks. The storming of the summer palace was but one shot away. And who can forget tales of the French revolutionary calendar that began with a bang on day one of Year One, when revolutionaries were said to have fired upon the clocks of Paris? By the 1970s, of course, it was not clocks but people that the brutal Khmer Rouge were firing upon as they re-wound their timepieces back to year zero. For their part, the Chinese communists also played with time, but did so in a far less spectacular fashion. Neither linking this change to revolutionary romanticism nor to a brutal class eradication programme, the Chinese Communist Party nevertheless, revealed, in their play on time, a new order of concerns that would come to anchor their new world order.

On the 28th September 1949, as the Communist Party newspaper, People’s Daily, hit the news stands, no one seemed to have noticed that the masthead date of the paper was no longer written in the calendrical time of the Middle Kingdom but had, instead, been converted into the symbols and signs of the Gregorian calendar. Wedged between two epoch-breaking events, this minor change might well have been missed by readers. If so, there were good reasons for missing it.

On the 21st of September 1949, this same paper reproduced Mao’s famous speech in which he stated that the Chinese people had finally ‘stood up,’ while on the 1st of October they would have read of the historic declaration emanating from Tian’anmen Gate itself announcing the establishment of the People’s Republic. Between these two momentous events, who would have noticed the minor unannounced change to the paper’s masthead revealing that the Communist Party had, in effect, switched from one method of calculating time to another?

This switch, however, meant that the establishment of the People’s Republic took place not in ‘the 38th year of the Republic’, nor even on the ‘1st year of the People’s Republic’. Instead, it became, quite simply, the Revolution of ‘49. Science and modernization were a key part of this

revolution and the abandonment of the lunar calendar in favor of the Gregorian one marked this affiliation. Yet this burning national desire to modernize could not take place without the country itself being unified, and one other revolutionary time-change adopted at around the this time made this desire for unification abundantly clear.

The 1949 declaration of nationhood not only announced Beijing as the new capital replacing the old Nationalist capital of Nanjing, but it also made this new capital the nation’s time-lord. From five time zones before the Revolution, China became just one after it. As Communist rule extended across the whole of China, the nation’s clocks were all adjusted to reflect the dictates of the new regime. Across this vast land, from Tibet in the West to Hainan Island in the East, Beijing time now ruled the whole of China (except, of course, Taiwan!). This collapse of multiple time zones into just one was no pragmatic exercise to appease a farming lobby or maximize daylight. It was a political decision to centralize all decision-making, including those about time, in Beijing and in the hands of the Party. It would be named Central Time (zhongyang shijian) or Beijing Time it introduced a new temporality into the nation. Indeed, one can go so far as to say that, from 1949 onwards, China would rise to the tick-tock of Party time, and that meant, it would always be closely associated with struggle.

This revolutionary tick-tock from Beijing set the alarm clocks of the class struggles that dominated China from the period 1949 right through to 1979. Despite the fact that China covered 60° longitude, the nation was temporally unified with the temporal divisions being political. One time zone was called ‘before the revolution’ and deemed irredeemably bad, while the other was ‘after the revolution’ which was regarded as wholly good. Neither the adoption of the Gregorian calendar nor the unification of time zones captured this aspect of the new revolutionary temporality. For an appreciation of this we must turn to language where we find, in both vernacular and official speech, the expressions “before liberation” and “after liberation.”

This historic divide even finds voice in today’s China where the terms ‘before and after liberation’ are still in common usage. Today, however, like a well-worn penny, the uses of these two expressions have become habitualized and are largely free of the original political potency these terms once carried within them. There was a time, however, when the full political import of every syllable in this phrase was still pronounced clearly. This divide may very well have been a concoction of the Party, but when one hears the stories of pre-revolutionary China that formed the basis of the Party’s “speak bitterness”

听到“忆苦思甜”会议上那些革命前的中国的故事时，我们会意识到，对于许多人来说，解放的前后还是有意义的。对于那些道出过去苦难的人来说，这种时间的划分无疑不仅仅是宣传。从如北京交道口这样的老城区的老居民的叙述中，我们可以见证一下这种苦难的经历。

“我是 47 年来到这里的，和我丈夫一起”，住在交道口西关巷的 93 岁的张淑音（Zhang Shuyin 音译）说道。尽管上了年纪，她还可以清楚记得内战时期极为艰苦的日子。“我们一路步行，你能想象得出来吗？一路步行，从山西过来^[9]！我们必须走，没有别的办法。所以一路上逃荒而来。”她可不是凯鲁亚克（Jack Kerouac）。这是求生逃难的一路，不是什么发现自我的航行。

如今，张奶奶住在交道口一个大院的小居室，常和其他居委会的老太太们坐在一起，互相陪伴、安度晚年。在回忆艰苦往事时，当她看到她的朋友，心情会变得晴朗起来……“你知道吗，当时生活是很艰苦的。我们总是吃得差，吃不够。我们什么都吃，为了避免饥饿和那种饥饿带来的恐怖感。你知道吗，事情真有意思，那时我年轻健康却没有足够吃的。现在我老了不中用了，却有吃不完的东西，现在也没有牙齿去吃了！”她轻轻地笑着对自己说。她暗淡的生活故事，充满了无情的贫困，但是终于解放出来；几分钟之前她的悲哀，最后转变成一个温暖的话题和一个讽刺幽默的微笑。

就在此刻，她最亲密的朋友和邻居，75 岁、活泼的蒋快君（Jiang Kuaijun 音译），从门口伸进来头，瞧瞧这里在议论什么。随后她也加入了谈话。“哎，淑音，尽管我们当时食物紧缺，但是那个时候，至少我们分享我们所有。”她也有一段解放前悲惨的生活故事。

她 8 岁时，在满洲里一家日本工厂当童工，受到奴役。她逃了出来，几经辗转，最后来到了交道口。但是与张不同，她关于过去的故事讲的不是受难，而是挽救的努力。

“我还记得住在这里的早些时候，当时我如果下班回来晚了，邻居都会忙着过来给我送吃的。我们那时候一起吃饭，一起享用我们所有，现在我们比以前物质更加丰富了，但是也就再也没有分享了。现在谁都为自己，但是你知道吗，以前可不是这样的。事实上，当时我们都不用锁门的。现在我们离开家，必须把一切都锁好。”

无论具有冷战思维的斗士和目前一些中国问题专家如何众说纷纭，共产党实际上不仅消灭了他们的敌人，也给这座城市以及党的“朋友”和“人民”带来了新生。是天安门广场的故事的这些方面，诉说给了黎明时分来到广场的中国游客，他们会在关于当代中国的讨论中，冠以“解放后”的序言。

和广场本身一样，这些说法也已成为一种革命的时间片断，唤起人们对历史事件的追忆，这些事件曾经震撼了中国，预示了这个民族国家的新的起步。这个新开端，与国家建设、现代化和社会主义紧密联系；而与全国任何场所相比，天安门广场是把这种新的想象物化成具体形态的最佳代表。

天安门广场在新民族神话中的核心地位，反映在革命后的新中国中央银行发行的刻有天安门城楼图案的第一

sessions, one begins to realize that for many, the before and after of liberation still had meaning. For those who spoke of the bitterness endured in the past, there is little doubt that this temporal divide was more than Party propaganda. One bears witness to some of these tales of bitterness articulated by some of the elderly residents of the older neighbourhoods of Beijing like those who live in Jiadaokou.

“I came here in ‘47, with my husband,” said the 93 year old Zhang Shuyin of Xiguan lane, Jiadaokou. Despite her age she can still vividly recall the bad old days of civil war. “We came here on foot, can you believe it, on foot, all the way from Shanxi^[9] We had to, there was no choice. So we tried our luck on the road.” Jack Kerouac she wasn’t. This was a journey of survival, not a voyage of self-discovery.

“If we had stayed, we would have starved,” she says. “We had been farmers until the civil war came and destroyed most of our farm. If that wasn’t bad enough, ‘46-7 was also the time of a very bad harvest. So our crops failed and whatever little else we lost in the war. We were left with nothing... we didn’t even have enough to eat.”

She paused as she wiped a tear of remembrance from her now reddened wrinkled face. “You would not believe the way we suffered back then...what they did to us.... to me....” She sobs, “but I can’t talk about that, I just can’t... it was just so terrible, so dark and so unspeakable.”

So it was that her tale of almost biblical proportions began. For forty days and nights she and her husband would walk and by the time they got to Beijing, they barely had enough clothes on their backs to cover themselves, and barely enough in their stomachs to keep them alive.

“We had nothing, absolutely nothing...just the rags on our backs. You have no idea what it was like back then... no idea. We had to beg our way to Beijing.... begging for just a single cup of water. Begging, just for the cast off scraps of food from other people’s tables and bins. It was awful. By the time we got here, we were half naked and three quarters dead. We had originally thought about going to Tianjin because my husband had a cousin there, but there was nothing there for us. So we struggled on to Beijing instead.”

Now installed in a small part of a compound house in Jiadaokou, Mrs Zhang sits out her twilight years in the company of other old women who make up the bulk of the neighbourhood security committee. As she looks to her friends while reflecting back on those hard times, her mood brightens.... “You know, life was

really hard back then. We always ate poorly and never had enough to eat. We would eat anything, and I ate just to stop the feeling of hunger from overwhelming me. Its funny, you know, but back then when I was young and healthy I never had enough to eat. Now I’m old and crippled, and I’ve got more than enough to eat but, these days, I don’t have enough teeth left to eat with!” She chuckles to herself as she says this. Finally, the bleak story of her life breaks free of the remorseless poverty that had, moments before, ground her into sadness and instead she settles on a warmer note and a wry smile.

It was at that point that her closest friend and neighbour, the sprightly 75 year old, Jiang Kuaijun popped her head through the gateway door to see what all commotion was about. As she dis, she simultaneously joined in the conversation. “C’mon, Shuyin, we mightn’t have had a lot to eat but at least we shared what we had back in the old days.” She too had a harrowing tale to tell of life before liberation.

She had been eight years old when she had been enslaved in a Japanese factory in Manchuria. Only later had she managed to escape and finally, after many travails, landed on the doorstep of Jiadaokou. Unlike Zhang, however, her story of the past, focused not on suffering but salvation.

“I can remember living here in the earlier period and getting home late from work and my neighbours would rush over with some food for me to eat. We all ate together a lot back then and while we have more now than we did back then, no one shares things anymore. Everybody is out for themselves these days but you know, it really wasn’t like that back in the old days. In fact, in those days it wasn’t even necessary to lock your gates. These days we can’t even leave home without locking everything up.”

Despite the arguments of Cold War warriors and contemporary China critics, the Communist Party didn’t just kill their enemies, they also brought new life to the city and to their ‘friends’, the ‘people.’ It is this side of the Tiananmen story that speaks to those Chinese tourists who would come to the Square at dawn and would still preface their remarks about contemporary China with the phrase ‘after liberation.’

Like the Square itself, these expressions have become a revolutionary timepiece, recalling events that once shook China and heralded a new beginning for this nation. It was a new beginning that was inextricably linked to the project of nation building, modernization and socialism and it was in Tian’anmen Square more than anywhere else in China where this new imagination was given a physical form.

张纸币上^[10]。这张纸币的最初设计中有毛泽东画像，而当时毛主席的巨大画像已经取代蒋介石挂在了天安门城楼的中央位置。但是毛主席本人否决了这一方案。考虑到后来的个人崇拜，这是很独特的。毛主席说：人民的货币属于人民，它应该反映这一事实。随后设计人员按照毛主席的思路，加班加点，在设计上反映团结的人民，而不是毛主席个人。最后，他们选择了天安门城楼，却没有毛主席的画像，以此来最好地表现人民这个精神主题。

到了这个阶段，这个城市的中心已与革命这个大主题紧密关联，而这就意味着原封不动地保护老城区的思路已经注定失败。如参与天安门广场更新设计的一位建筑师所明确指出的，“……当天安门成为中华人民共和国最重要的标志时，改造古城这项重任就落到了城市规划师的肩上。”^[11]

确实，1949 年 10 月 1 日共和国宣布成立几个小时前，关于在广场中心建“人民英雄纪念碑”的决定^[12]，已经使天安门广场成为了人民的广场。由于反复讨论一系列类似于货币设计那种象征语言形式的问题，人民英雄纪念碑推迟到 1958 年的劳动节才最后竣工。从决定要建纪念碑到最后竣工的这些年间，建筑师、理论家和空间规划人员之间展开讨论的内容不仅涉及纪念碑的造型风格，更是包括这个城市未来的发展方向等重大问题。北京应该继续保留它的古都面貌，还是应该改造成一个现代社会主义生活的典范？随后的发展表明，人民英雄纪念碑是建设新社会主义首都的大地上的第一个施工桩。

古代北京的宇宙论要求一切建筑朝南，而纪念碑却朝北；关于“气”的理论要求南北中轴线贯通以助“气”的流通，而纪念碑却是一个阻挡物；古代北京以紫禁城为中心，而新的布局却把中心移到了纪念碑的脚下。所以按照古代宇宙论来看，这个建筑物在这个城市的命运中构成了一个革命的转变。然而，它仅仅是一整套革命性举措中的第一步，这些举措改变了城市的方向，并把城市的象征中心移到了天安门广场。通过这一系列的改造，这个人民的场所成为了城市的中心；而这个重建北京使之成为社会主义首都的整个空间工程的第一步，就是人民英雄纪念碑^[13]。

纪念碑的总建筑师梁思成认为，这个设计采用了“社会主义的内容和民族的形式”。这个设计以中国古代碑体为原型，但在它朝北的正面，刻有毛泽东的手书：“人民英雄永垂不朽”^[14]。

它不但朝北，而且还特别高。与传统的碑不同，这个结构不可思议地向空中升至 37.94m，甚至超过了它北边对面的天安门城楼。梁思成认为传统的碑太矮小郁沉，没有英雄气概，无法真实反映人民的斗争精神^[15]。所以，他改造了原型^[16]，他增加了碑的高度，以克服矮小的问题，又采用了一系列设计手法和论说，以去除郁沉的格局。毕竟，这是一个关于斗争的胜利的纪念碑，是对这个历史的雕刻使这个构造物获得了生命。

一系列的大理石浮雕，按时间顺序排列在纪念碑底座；它们高 2m，总周长 40.68m^[17]。从 1840 年焚烧英



6. 蒋快君和张淑音

7. 老人住所内的院落

That Tian’anmen Square was at the epicenter of this new national mythology was reflected by the fact that the very first post-revolutionary dollar note issued by the new Chinese central bank, featured Tian’anmen Gate.^[10] This note was to have originally featured Mao Zedong, whose enlarged painting had, by this stage, replaced Chiang Kai-shek’s on the centre of Tiananmen Gate itself, but the Chairman himself vetoed that idea. Rather surprisingly, given the subsequent cult of personality, Mao suggested that Peoples’ money (Renminbi) belonged to the people and should therefore reflect that fact. Designers worked overtime to reflect Mao’s wishes and instead of highlighting him, they chose to flag the unity of the people. As a result, they picked Tian’anmen Gate, minus Mao’s portrait, as the best way to reflect this spirit of the people.

By that stage, the centre of the city had become inextricably linked to the Revolution and this meant that the idea of preserving the old city intact was doomed. As one of the architects central to the redesign of Tian’anmen Square made clear “... when the picture of Tiananmen became the most important symbol of the Peoples Republic of China, a mission to change the ancient city fell on the shoulders of the city planners.”^[11]

Indeed, Tian’anmen had already become the people’s square with the decision taken just hours before the formal October 1st 1949 declaration of the founding of the PRC, to build at the centre of the square, a ‘Monument to the Peoples Heroes.’^[12] Reflecting a series of concerns about symbolism that dove-tailed with those already evident because of the debate about the symbolism of money, the building of the monument would be delayed by wrangling until Labor Day 1958. In the years between the decision to build the monument and its actual construction, a major debate erupted among architects, Party theorists and spatial planners not but also about the future direction of the city. Was Beijing to remain an ancient city or was it to be transformed into a showcase of a modern socialist life? As it turned out, the monument became the first peg in the ground of this

new socialist city. Where the classical cosmology of old Beijing ordained that everything must face south, the monument would turn to face north; where concerns about spirit (qi) demanded that the south-north axis of the city be free to allow flow, the monument became something of an obstruction, and where the old city had centered itself in the Forbidden City, the new arrangement relocated that centre at the foot of the monument. In terms of the ancient cosmology then, this structure constituted a revolutionary twist in the city’s fate. Yet it was simply the first in a whole set of revolutions that transformed the orientation of the city and symbolically relocated the city centre in Tian’anmen Square. After these renovations, this place of the people was now at the heart of the city, and the starting point of that entire spatial project to reinvent Beijing as a socialist city was the Monument to the People’s Heroes.^[13]

‘Socialist in content and national in form’ was how the chief architect of this monument, Liang Sicheng, described what he was building. The design was modeled on a traditional Chinese stele but featured on its main northern face a saying of Mao Zedong written in his own hand reading: “Eternal Glory to the People’s Heroes.”^[14] Not only was this north facing, but it was also inordinately tall. Unlike traditional steles, this structure rose an incredible 37.94 meters into the air, dwarfing even Tian’anmen Gate that faced it to the north. Liang Sicheng held to the view that the traditional stele was simply too short, too gloomy, and too lifeless to adequately reflect the real spirit of struggle among the people.^[15] As a consequence, he modified this form.^[16] He heightened the monument to overcome his concerns about shortness, and then developed an overall design narrative that helped wipe away the gloom. This was, after all, a monument to a struggle victorious and it was in sculpting this history that the structure was brought to life.

Transformed into a series of marble panels and arranged in a chronological sequence around the base of the monument, these sculpted frescos measured two

国鸦片开始，到 20 世纪 40 年代共产党游击队抗击日本帝国主义的斗争为止，这些雕塑的历史场景，体现了毛泽东关于中国近现代历史是人民反抗帝国主义侵略的长期斗争的历史的观念^[18]。

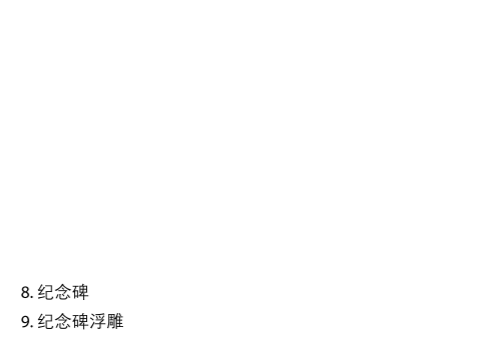
然而，这些表现群众集体行动的浮雕非常与众不同：与一般共产党的宣传品不同，它们没有表现一个创造历史的、伟大的、敬爱的以及国家的领袖。的确，这是一段没有个人主体的历史。尽管如此，它也不是无名烈士碑，不是那种传统的、为战死者树立的纪念碑或“无名战士陵墓”。如果说无名战士陵墓纪念碑诉说着“幽灵般的民族想像”的话^[19]，那么纪念碑的浮雕所讲述的，是一个从群众的角度出发的、关于大众历史的故事。通过一种集体和积累的方式，这些浮雕给大家讲了一堂中国共产党革命历史写作的课。确实，它们基本上是毛泽东认为的一系列中国历史重要转折点的图像演绎。^[20]

但是，如果仔细观察，我们会发现一种顽强的、挥之不去的现象：每一个浮雕场景都有一个超越的、非历史的特征。这些历史场景一个一个变化着，但是实际的人像不变。每一张脸上，都表现出钢铁般的决心；每一个姿势，都是一段关于革命的姿态。从这个意义上讲，每一块浮雕场景，都几乎是一样的，其积累的效果却有闪电般的效应。尽管每块浮雕都由不同艺术家刻成，但它们却惊人相似；这表明，从 1840 年到 1949 年的历史，是一段关于社会大众的英勇斗争的持久而连续的历史。这个纪念碑试图赋予这些图像以生命，使之不仅是历史的演绎，也是对马克思名言的确认：“迄今为止，人类社会的所有历史，都是阶级斗争的历史。”^[21]

然而，在纪念碑终于完工的时候，天安门广场本身也已成了建筑工地。最终在灾难性的“大跃进”运动热情最高涨的 1958 年，天安门广场的改造开始了。广场的改造是整个城市改造重建的一部分，其整体的最高表现是“十大建筑”。就如“大跃进”一样，这些建设项目是为了显示和证明，在强烈的政治献身精神的感染下人们所能体现的无比的积极性和超人力量。其结果是惊人的。在短短的 10 个月里，除一个建筑外，其他建筑项目都按时完成；这确实可以看成是革命以后的第一个建设高潮。除了天安门广场外，大跃进建设高潮的项目还包括北京火车站、民族文化宫、民族饭店、中国人民革命军事博物馆、全国农业展览馆、钓鱼台国宾馆和华侨大厦^[22]。其中最壮观的，要数与新的伟大的天安门广场相联系的建筑群。

毛泽东曾要求，天安门广场要大到可以“容纳一百万人的游行集会”^[23]；而尽管实际广场不到 50 万 m²，但其实已经很接近了！共产党人创造了世界上最大的城市露天公共空间。它当然有这个必要。毕竟，一个人民广场应该可以容纳“人民”，而它确实容纳了人民。在一个类似乔伊斯(James Joyce)的‘每个人都来了’的革命性时刻，在文革初期的 1966 年 8 月，数以百万计的红卫兵，涌向天安门广场，参加游行，在他们敬爱的毛主席前面通过；他们望到的毛主席，手臂上也带着红卫兵的袖章。

因为容纳了如此多的旅游者，甚至天安门城楼都在



8.The Monument to the People’s Heroes

9. Half-relief of the Monument to the People’s Heroes



meters in height and ran for a total of 40.68 meters in length.^[17] Beginning with the burning of British opium in 1840, and culminating in the communist guerilla struggle against Japanese imperialists in the 1940s, these sculpted scenes reflected Mao Zedong’s view of modern Chinese history as being one long struggle by the people against imperialist aggression.^[18] Yet what is striking about these scenes of mass collective action is that unlike most communist propaganda, these panels do not depict a great and beloved national leader making history. Instead, this was history without an individual subject. Despite this, it is far from being a monument that offers the degree of anonymity that the traditional monument to the war dead, the Tomb to the Unknown Soldier, does. Where the Tomb to the Unknown Soldier would tell of ‘ghostly national imaginings’^[19] the sculpted frescos of this monument tell the tale of mass history from the perspective of the masses. Collectively, and cumulatively, these panels offer a lesson in Chinese communist history writing. Indeed, they are little more than a pictographic rendition of what Mao Zedong had come to regard as the key turning points in Chinese history.^[20]

Rather perversely, however, a close inspection of these panels reveals that there is, nevertheless, a transcendental, ahistoric element to each scene. While the historical scenes change from one sequence to the next, the actual figures being depicted don’t. In every face, there is steely determination, in every pose, a revolutionary gesture. In this respect, each panel is almost identical. The cumulative effect of this is electric. Despite the fact that each panel was sculpted by a different artist, they are remarkably similar, suggesting that this history, from 1840 right through to 1949, is, in fact, one long continuous history of the heroic spirit of the masses. The monument attempts to bring these scenes



to life, not simply as history but rather as a confirmation of Marx’s dictum that “the history of all hitherto society is the history of class struggle.”^[21]

By the time this monument was finally unveiled, however, Tian’anmen Square had itself become a construction site. At the very height of enthusiasm for the ultimately disastrous Great Leap Forward in 1958, the renovation of Tiananmen Square began. The redesign of the square was part of a major redevelopment of the city that turned on the construction of what were called, the Ten Major Projects. Like the Leap itself, this major renovation drive was designed to show the ability of humans to act in a super-human fashion when inspired by an intense and personal commitment to politics. The result was astonishing. In just ten months, all major projects, bar one, were completed in what could well be described as the very first post-revolutionary building boom. As well as the renovation of the Square, this Great Leap Forward building boom included the construction of the Beijing Railway Station, The Cultural Palace of Nationalities, The National Minorities Hotel, the Military Museum, the Museum of Agriculture, the State Guest House and the Overseas Chinese Hotel.^[22] Easily the most spectacular of all the renovations, were those associated with the new and grandiose Tian’anmen Square.

Mao had demanded a square ‘big enough to hold an assembly of one million’^[23] and, at just under half a million square meters, Tian’anmen came pretty close! The communists had created the largest urban open-air public space in the world. It would need to be. After all, a peoples’ square would need to hold ‘the people.’ And hold them it did. In a James Joyce ‘here comes everybody’ kind of revolutionary moment, millions of Red Guards descended upon Tian’anmen Square in August 1966 to parade before their beloved Chairman Mao at the

人潮重力下开始下沉。也许毛主席在天安门城楼上接见红卫兵时已经感觉到了这种下沉。召来的建筑师和工程师在进行勘测后，发现这种下沉不仅是感觉^[24]。在对这个政治上如此重要的象征标志物进行仔细而全面的检查后，工程师们认为，它已经无法支撑起这座体弱的 550 岁的古老结构了。但是在政治上，有重要的理由要求这个建筑必须支撑起来；因为即便是在历史的和辩证的唯物主义指导的时代，建筑的崩塌对国家政府而言也是一个不良征兆。（结果是一个奇异的秘密计划：原地一砖一瓦地重新建造一个完全相同的复制的建筑。这样，远在经济改革开放导致盗版成风之前，毛的时代已经给新中国引入了这种概念，建造了现代的第一个复制品！）

换句话说，这个毛主席曾经站在上面宣告新中国成立和检阅百万红卫兵的天安门，这个今天仍然挂着他画像的天安门，这个重大的政治标志物，是一个复制品。在这里，我们无法细谈这个了不起的文革的“发明”，它如何虚构一个城门，并在之后几十年里笼罩在迷雾中；可以肯定的是这个重建工程的秘密性和大跃进时期的广场改造形成了鲜明对比。这广场的重建改造工程当然是极为公开的。事实上，它完全在公众关注和响亮号角声中进行。

广场扩大后，重新界定广场周边的建筑施工紧锣密鼓地开始了。在广场西侧他们将修建中国的国会大厦——人民大会堂。在东侧，将修建革命历史博物馆。这些建筑建成之后，天安门广场成了这个城市无可置疑的中心。紫禁城宫殿现在退后了，一个新的神圣之地成了这个城市的象征的心脏。

当然，解放前，一切都非常地不一样。在王朝后期的大多数时间里，紫禁城宫殿（或被称为皇城宫殿）是这个城市的象征的心脏。这个中心位置本身宣称具有神圣灵感，而且据传说，它甚至来源于一个神圣的起源。据说，当时明朝皇帝朱棣提议迁都北京时，他与工部产生了不同意见。

工部的记录显示，在提议的新都选址上曾经有一片海，称为“苦海幽州”，是一个邪恶的水龙王的巢穴。这个预兆要求在都城修建之前，先要平息这条龙。两位具有伏魔术的将军提出了如何平息这条龙来为建设都城拓平道路的方案。他们自愿要求去计划降伏这条龙和建造这个城市的方案。因为都在追逐荣誉，他们决定各自用十天的时间来设计各自的方案。一个将去北京的东面，另一个去西面。然后他们同意在十天后回到同一个地方见面并交换意见。

当他们各自在设计规划时，奇怪的事情开始发生了。无论他们去哪，都有一个穿着红兜的小孩出现在他们面前，每一次都建议他们“照我说的画，之后一切都会顺利的”^[25]。到第五天，同一个小孩再次出现了，不过他穿了件荷叶斗篷，将斗篷系在小孩肩上的红色缎带像手臂一般在风中飞舞。直到那时他们才各自意识到，他们已经分别得到了传说中的“八臂哪吒”的访问。当他们比较各自为城市准备的方案时发现他们的方案是一样的。“八臂哪吒”已经将按照他八臂身体形态设置的

beginning of the Cultural Revolution and watch as the Chairman himself donned the Red Guard armband.

Built to accommodate these revolutionary tourists, even Tian’anmen started to sink under their weight. Maybe it was this sinking feeling that Mao noticed as he stood atop Tian’anmen Gate and greeted these Red Guards. When architects and engineers were called in they found that this sinking sensation was more than just a feeling.^[24] After extensive checks to this potent political symbol, engineers concluded that there was little that could be done to prop up the ailing 550 year-old structure. Politically, however, there was a compelling need to prop it up for it would, even in these times of when historical and dialectical materialism ruled, be seen as a bad omen for the regime should it crumble. The result was a bizarre, secret plan to replicate the entire original structure brick by brick and tile by tile on the original site. Thus, long before economic reform made piracy commonplace, Maoism introduced the concept to New China by creating the first even fake of the modern era!

In other words, Tian’anmen Gate, that potent political symbol where Mao had stood when he proclaimed New China, where he received millions of Red Guards and where his picture still hangs today, is a replica. While this is not the place to detail this extraordinary Cultural Revolution ‘renovation’ work that would fake the gate and remain shrouded in mystery for decades to come, the secrecy surrounding it stands in sharp contrast to the rebuilding of the square undertaken during the Great Leap. This other renovation work, of course, was anything but secret. Indeed it was done in full public glare and undertaken with much fanfare.

After enlargement, the building work re-defining the perimeter of the square began in earnest. On the western flank of the square they would build the Chinese parliament building known as the Great Hall of the People, while on the eastern side, they built the revolutionary museum. After these renovations, Tian’anmen became the unquestionable centre of the city. The Forbidden City was now eclipsed and a new sacred ground became the symbolic heart of this city.

Before liberation, of course, it had all been very different. For much of the later dynastic period, it was the Forbidden City (or Imperial Palace, as it is sometimes known) that had been the symbolic heart of this city. That central position was itself claimed to be of divine inspiration and, according to legend, it had even come from a divine source. It is said that when the Ming Emperor Zhudi proposed to move the capital to Beijing, he ran into opposition from the Ministry of Construction.

The records of that Ministry showed that on the site of the proposed new capital there had once been an ocean called the Youzhou Sea of Misery (kuhai yuozhou) which was the home to an evil water dragon. The omens spoke of the need to calm this dragon before the capital could be built. The question of how the dragon was to be calmed to make way for this capital was addressed by two generals with skills in exorcism. They volunteered to go and work out plans to slay the dragon and build the city. Both chased glory so they decided to go their separate ways for ten days and work out their own individual plans. One would go to the east of Beijing, while the other went to the west. They then agreed to return to the same spot in ten days and compare notes.

As each went on his separate way, something strange started happening. No matter where they went, a child with a red top would appear before them and each time advised them to “draw things according to me, then everything will be fine.”^[25] On the fifth day, the same child appeared again, but this time he was dressed in a lotus-leaf cape. The red ribbons that tied the cape to the shoulders of the child waved in the air like arms in the wind. Only then did they both independently realize that they each had had a visitation from the legendary “Eight-arm Nezha.” When they compared their plans for the city they found that they were identical. The “Eight-arm Nezha” had given them both a city plan modeled on his own eight-armed bodily form. Each of the eight outstretched arms of the child spirit formed the west-east axis of the city, while the main south-north axis was formed by Nezha’s bodily trunk and it was this that became the city’s main axis. This city plan, in other words, followed a logic not unlike the old T-O maps of ancient Christendom that transformed the crucified body of Christ into various points of the compass, with Jerusalem at its heart. In the case of Beijing, however, it had the Forbidden City, not Jerusalem, that lay at its heart. This mystical centre of imperial power, therefore, was to be the home of the emperor.

A similar design form was offered in a more prosaic, but no less venerated form in the pages of that most sacred of ancient books, the Zhouli. Laying out the plans for an ideal Celestial ritual form it states that “... Inside a walled compound there is a straight road. There is one that will run from south to north, but there will be nine that run from West to East....” (Guozhong jiujiing jiuwei. Jingtū jiuɡui...). This ancient book of Rites elaborates upon layout to establish spiritual significance, and at the centre of this, there was to be an Imperial Palace. The Zhouli explains: “At the centre of this walled city is the palace of the emperor. On the left perimeter of the palace

一个城市方案给了他们两人。神灵小孩向外伸展的八支手臂中的每一支都形成了城市的东西轴线，而哪吒身体的躯干部分则形成了南北向的中线，并成为这个城市的主轴线。换句话说，这个城市平面的构成逻辑，与古代基督教世界的旧的 T-O 地图的逻辑，并无多大的不同；这种老地图把钉在十字架上的基督的身体转换为罗盘上不同的点，而耶路撒冷在它的的心脏部位。当然在北京，位于心脏的是紫禁城宫殿而非耶路撒冷城市。这个王朝权威的神秘中心，就这样被确定为皇帝的居所。

古老书籍中最神圣的《周礼》，在它的书页中以一种更为平淡但同样被崇敬的形式提供了相似的设计。它说道：一个理想的天朝国都的平面设计，应该“国中九经九维，经涂九轨……前朝后市，左祖右社……”^[26]。这样的一个宫殿体系，兼有教堂、政府办公和皇家宫寝的功能，同时具有实用的和神圣仪式的重要意义；北京就是按照这样的思路规划建造的。

这种精神意义上的重要性，实际上反映在宫殿的建筑上。据说，这个宫殿有 9 999 个房间，在中国的数字占卦神话中，离完美只缺一间。完美是留给玉皇大帝的，据说他的宫殿有一万个房间。天子当然不能超越他的父亲^[27]。另外，宫殿也是一个关注世俗事务的地方。

《周礼》的规定是“前朝”，即宫殿前部为上朝和政府部门所在地，在这里大臣和皇帝交流，管理国家大事。如果说前部为宫廷大事所用，那么相对低下的宫廷的后面则为不那么威严而重大的事务所用。传统上，商业行为被认为是非常低贱的，所以它的空间位置也就有如此的反映。当然，1949 年后，这一切都变了。现在不是市场，而是旧的王朝体系被放在了一个象征地位低下的位置^[28]。所以，当吴良镛^[29] 提示，这个城市的新空间秩序使皇宫变成天安门的“后院”时^[30]，他告诉我们的不仅仅是它的位置，还有它在社会主义宇宙秩序中相对卑微的象征性地位。

共产党将自己的宇宙秩序赋予这个城市，这件事可以在天安门广场工程的主要建筑师陈干的言论中得到证实。陈似乎在说，以阴阳法则为基础的关于占卜的道家玄学宇宙观（风水），应该被建立在辩证法基础上的新的科学理论取代。这个城市的空间组织原则，确实是从恩格斯的《自然辩证法》中发展而来。在恩格斯关于“零”的重要性的论述基础上，陈论述了天安门广场如何在新的宇宙秩序中成为关键的核心点。

如果对于黑格尔而言，“一个事物的无是一个决定性的无”，那么对于恩格斯，这个决定性的无，就变成了空间丈量的关键点。对于恩格斯，零比任何负数或正数都更加重要，以至于在一条直线上，它变成其他点都需要依靠的一个点；而对于陈，零的空间代表了人民纪念碑的位置^[31]。对于陈，这个广场和位于中心的纪念碑，代表着一个阿基米德的决定点，而这一体系是由所谓十大建筑的建设来完成的。

合在一起，这些建筑抓住了具有宇宙象征意义的南北轴线，并使之发生倾斜。它们创造的新中轴线，沿长安街由西向东。这条新的中轴线，将由大跃进中的所

there is the Tai Miao — the altar to the ancients and the gods. This is where the emperor’s ancestral records are held. On the right hand side, is the Shejitan or the altar to the earth and harvest gods, and this is where the emperor will pray to the gods of the earth and harvest.^{#[26]} Part church, part government office, part imperial home, this palace was an intermixture of pragmatic and sacred cosmological significance and it was this tat would go into the design of Beijing.

That it was spiritually significant is, in fact, captured in the architecture of the palace itself. A palace said to have 9,999 rooms is, in terms of Chinese numerology, just one room short of perfection. Perfection came in the form of the Jade Emperor of Heaven who was said to have had a 10,000 room palace. The son of heaven, therefore, could not exceed the father.^[27] Yet the palace was also the place of more earthly concerns.

The Zhouli designates the front part of a palace is to be the site of the ‘dynastic court’ which is the home of government for it is where court officials and generals would come to have their audiences with their emperor. While the prestigious space at the front of the palace was monopolised by courtly business, the lowly ranked rear of the palace was designated for less august and auspicious forms of business. Traditionally commercial activity was regarded as being of a very lowly status and that was reflected in its spatial setting. After 1949, of course, this all changed. It was not the marketplace that was allotted a symbolically low status, but the old imperial system.^[28] Thus, when Wu Liangyong^[29] suggested that the new spatial ordering of the city led to the Imperial Palace becoming little more than Tian’anmen’s ‘backyard’^[30], he is telling us not only about its location but also its lowly symbolic status in the new socialist cosmology.

That the Communist Party imposed its own cosmology upon the city is confirmed by one of the chief architects of the Tian’anmen project, Chen Gan. For Chen, it seems, the Taoist metaphysical cosmology of geomacy (fengshui) based on the principles of yin and yang, were giving way to a new and scientific explanation based on the principles of dialectics. And it was from Friedrich Engels’ Dialectics of Nature that the principles for this new spatial ordering of the city were to be developed. Working on Engels’ observations about the importance of the number zero, Chen explains how Tian’anmen became a crucial point in this new cosmology.

If, for Hegel, “the nothing of a something is a determinate nothing,” for Engels, this determinate nothing became the key point of spatial measurement. For Engels, zero was of greater import than any negative or positive number in so far as it was the point on a line



10.天安门城楼旅游纪念品：一座复制的天安门城楼

10.A small souvenir of Tian'anmen Gate: a faked Tian'anmen Gate for Touriste

upon which all other points become dependent and, for Chen, that spatial representation of zero became the site of the Monument to the Peoples Heroes.^[31] For Chen, this square and the monument at its heart stand as the Archimedean point of decision, and it was made that way by the building of the so-called Ten Major Projects. Collectively, these projects conspired to take the cosmologically inspired south-north axis of this city and give it a tilt. The new central axis they created ran from the west to the east along the Avenue of Eternal Peace. This new, central axis would be dominated by the so-called Ten Great Projects of the Great Leap Forward. This re-imagining of the city’s compass points in terms of latitude rather than longitude led to a grid in which Tian’anmen was at the heart. With Mao’s oversized portrait hanging over Tian’anmen Gate to the north, the China’s parliamentary building, the Great Hall of the People, flanking the square to the west and the equally spectacular Revolutionary Museum (now renamed the National History Museum) on the east, the symbolism of the square was complete. Mao (his portrait), the people (or their representatives in the Great Hall), and their collective revolutionary memories (in the museum) formed the built environment that dominated the square. Yet despite the very new manifest meaning it held, Tian’anmen, still rather paradoxically, reinforced a latent and quite traditional form of symbolic logic. Ultimately, it produced a space that could only be understood as a mimetically reconfiguration of the architectonics of the traditional compound house, the siheyuan.

Like the Imperial Palace, the traditional compound house was surrounded on all four sides by walls but behind those walls, the internal spatial arrangements were of great symbolic importance. The main rooms to the northern end of the household were designated the parental apartments and known as the Zhengfang or Beifang. These apartments normally consisted of three rooms, one, the Dongxiang, was on the eastern wing

谓十大建筑来主导。这个对城市的罗盘方位各点的新的想象，采用了纬度线而非经度线，创造了一个网格布局，在其中天安门广场成为核心点。在北面，毛泽东的巨幅画像挂在天安门城楼上；在西侧，是中国的国会大厦——人民大会堂；在东侧，是同样壮观的革命历史博物馆（现在改名为国家历史博物馆）：这样，广场的象征主义世界就完成了。毛泽东（他的画像）、人民大众（或大会堂内的人民代表）和他们共同的革命的记忆（在博物馆中），构成了主导广场的建筑环境。然而，尽管有这些明确的含义，天安门广场却非常矛盾地又强化了一个潜在的传统象征逻辑。最终，它构成了一个空间，这个空间只能被理解成传统四合院建筑构造的一个模拟式再现（mimetic reconfiguration）。

如皇宫一样，传统的院落住宅四周被围墙围合，而墙里的内部空间安排则有着重大的象征性意义。北面的房屋为父母套间，称为“正房”或者“北房”，东西两面分别为“东厢”和“西厢”，正房中间的房间为“堂屋”。长子和次子分别住“东厢”和“西厢”，而“堂屋”则是迎客和祭祀祖先的地方。整个结构的中间是“天井”或“天堂之井”。在这里，全家，理想情况是四代人，相聚在一起。

现在来看看天安门广场，我们会发现这里有一个相似的建筑构造，以此表达和强化社会主义的信息。广场北面建筑是天安门城楼，毛主席站在上面宣布了中华人民共和国的成立，而今天他的巨幅画像仍在上面悬挂。这已经变成了新的“堂屋”；在西面，“西厢”转换成人民大会堂；在东西面，国家历史博物馆成为隐喻的‘东厢’；而广场本身，作为人民的广场，以人民英雄纪念碑为核心，成为照明的中心点。所以广场是天井。结果是，毛泽东、人民大众和他们的记忆，在广场并通过广场联系在一起，并由此获得多重生命和意义。

广场肯定了革命的继续发展：它告诉大家，人民以前在那里（博物馆），人民将如何团结在一起继续前进（大会堂，中国的国会），以及他们的目标将如何发展推进（通过毛泽东思想，表现在天安门城楼上的画像上）。从1977 年开始，这个广场的建筑，将非常奇怪地表现出这种视野的结束。

1976 年 9 月 9 日，毛泽东逝世。在接下来的日子里，中央委员会改变了主意。他们违背毛的愿望，决定永久保存遗体，而不是仅展示 15 天。建筑师们快速地设计着一个合适的纪念馆，以存放他们敬爱的主席的保存遗体。到这个阶段，党的领导已经决定毛泽东纪念馆将在天安门广场的南端修建，而它最核心的地方将安放永久展示毛泽东遗体的水晶棺。这样的话，毛的画像位于广场的北端，而主席的遗体位于广场的南端永久展示。广场南端建筑的加入，切断了社会主义和传统宇宙象征主义之间任何遗留下来的关系。20 世纪 50 年代的建筑工程创造了一个新的革命的象征主义格局，它弯曲了、扭转了，但却没有切断古代建筑构造的象征主义及其风水法则。其结果让人印象深刻。在新的社会主义国家的首都的城市中心，天安门广场展示了革命的新的象征主义世界的出现，同时又沿用了旧的象征主义体系。而纪念

while the other on the western wing was known as the Xixiang. In the centre is the main room known as the Tangwu. While the eldest brother lived in Dongxiang, the second eldest lived in the Xixiang. In the Tangwu, guests were received and ancestral tablets kept. At the centre of this whole structure is the Tianjing or ‘well of heaven.’ This was the space where the whole family —ideally four generations— would congregate.

Turn now to Tian’anmen Square and one discovers a similar architectonic structure reinforcing the message of socialism. The building to the north of the Square is Tian’anmen Gate, where Mao proclaimed the founding of the Peoples Republic and where, even today, his large portrait still hangs. This has become the new Tangwu. To the West, the Dongxiang is transformed into the Great Hall of the People while to the East, the now renamed National History Museum becomes the metaphoric Xixiang. The Square itself, the peoples square, becomes the central point of illumination with the monument to the People’s Heroes at its heart. The Square thus becomes the Tianjing or heavenly well, from which the revolution would draw its strength. The result is a structure in which Mao, the people and their memories become tied and gain protean life and meaning in and through the square itself.

The Square confirms the legacy of revolution, it highlights where the people have been (the museum), how they will unite and go forward (the Great Hall, China’s Parliament), and how their aims will be advanced (through the thought of Mao Zedong, captured in the portrait on Tian’anmen Gate). From 1977, the architecture of the Square would also, rather bizarrely, reveal the end of that vision.

On 9th September 1976, Mao Zedong finally went to ‘meet Marx’ as the Chinese Communists euphemistically say.

On the following day, however, the Central Committee changed its mind. Contrary to Mao’s express wishes, they decided that rather than display the corpse for 15 days, they would preserve the body in perpetuity.

While medical researchers continued to struggle to preserve the decaying corpse and others worked on the wax effigy, architects rushed to design a fitting mausoleum for what they hoped would be, the preserved corpse of their beloved Chairman. By this stage, the Party leadership had already decided that the Mao mausoleum would be built at the southern end of Tian’anmen Square, and would have, as its centre-piece, a crystal sarcophagus in which the corpse of Mao would be permanently on display. Thus, while the portrait of Mao would sit at the northern end of the Square, the decaying body of the

Chairman was to be put on permanent display at the southern end. This southern architectural addition to the Square destroyed any lingering connection between socialism and traditional cosmological metaphoricity. The ‘fifties construction work produced a new revolutionary symbolism but did so by bending and twisting rather than breaking with ancient architectonic symbolism and the laws of geomacy. The result was impressive. At the centre of the city, in a city that became the capital of a new socialist state, Tian’anmen Square flagged the emergence of the symbolism of the revolutionary new while continuing to play upon the symbolism of the old. The mausoleum destroyed this lingering attachment.

Perhaps such total destruction of the old cosmology was thought necessary in order to institute a new socialist one? After all, had Stalin, in offering his eulogy to Lenin before the latter was embalmed, not spoken of communists being made of ‘special stuff? Had this not in turn suggested, as Katherine Verdery comments, that the “the communist body does not decay!” Verdery goes further, suggesting that the mummification of Lenin, in offering the possibility of everlasting life, is perhaps “the greatest communist.” Verdery is not alone in drawing on such thoughts to understand the political lives of dead bodies. Vladislav Todorov argues that Lenin’s embalmed body was like a mummy lying in ‘cryogenic wait’ for the emergence of communism itself.^[32] Perhaps the idea of embalming is the communist way of cheating time itself by offering the possibility of everlasting life. If so, the Chinese communists had not sufficiently taken into account their own ancient cosmology. This is because, the construction of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall and the placement of the body in the heart of the socialist monumental Square, far from flagging eternal life, totally blocked the south-north flow of qi and, perhaps more than anything else, came to signal the death of Mao’s version of socialism.

From his sarcophagus, Mao would witness the wholesale transformation of his city and the rapid decay of his socialist dream. The once highly charged political symbols of his rule, the Mao badges, the Little Red Books, the revolutionary posters and busts of his image, were now mere market curiosities or trinkets of a new consumer fad. The city that had been at the heart of his revolutionary dream was now being transformed into a hub of global capital. His decaying body would oversee his own demise. Mao’s time has come and gone; his politically centered world is now a distant memory. A new and vibrant Beijing has emerged with very different dreams of the future. Let us map these new dreams by looking closely at the ways they have remapped this city.

堂则破坏了这种延续的关联性。

也许，这种对旧宇宙象征体系的完全摧毁，对于建设一个新的社会主义体系是必要的？斯大林在列宁遗体防腐工作开始前，不是说过共产党人是用“特殊材料”做成的吗？这难道不是在做，如芙德里（Katherine Verdery）所言，“共产党人的身体不会腐烂！”芙德里继续说，木乃伊化的列宁，使永恒生命成为可能，是“最伟大的共产主义者”。除芙德里之外，还有一些学者在思考和理解死亡尸体的政治生命的问题。托多络夫（Vladislav Todorov）认为，列宁经过防腐处理的遗体，如木乃伊在“冷冻中等待”共产主义的到来^[32]。也许，防腐技术通过提供永生的可能性，成为共产主义欺骗时间的方法。如果是这样，那么，中国共产党人还没有充分运用好他们古老的宇宙象征主义传统。因为，把毛主席纪念堂和遗体放在社会主义宏大广场南部中间，没有宣扬永恒的生命，而是切断了南北流通的“气韵”，明确标志了毛式社会主义的结束。

在水晶棺中，毛主席将目击他的城市的巨变和他的社会主义梦想的快速退出。那些在他领导的时代曾经充满政治含义的象征物，如毛主席像章、红宝书、毛主席画像和半身像，等等，现在已是市场上的古玩或新消费时尚的小饰品了。这个曾在他革命梦想中居于心脏位置的城市，已经转变成一个全球资本市场运作的核心。毛的时代来了又走了，他以政治为中心的世界现在已是遥远的回忆。一个新的充满活力的北京已经出现，带着非常不同的关于未来的梦想。让我们来测绘这些新的梦想的城市地图，更加仔细地去观察人们是如何重新勾画这个地图的。

注释和参考文献：

- [1] 这项仪式以前一直存在，但没有今天这样的规模。从1982年12月开始，升旗任务从人民解放军转到了人民武装警察国旗护卫队手中。当时，升旗仪式简单，由3个士兵按照北京天文台提供的时间表完成。到了1991年4月，一种民族主义精神带来了国旗法的建立，也促使北京市政府要求扩大和强化仪式，以发扬爱国主义精神。到1991年5月，今天复杂而仪式化的过程确定了下来，从此成为北京最受中国旅游者欢迎的旅游景点之一。有关详细信息，请参阅贾英廷．天安门[M]．北京：中国商业出版社，1998:136-140.
- [2] 有关老北京的功能性详细解说，请参阅 Jianfei Zhu（朱剑飞）. Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing 1420-1911[M]. London: Routledge,2003.
- [3]Chang-tai Hung. “Revolutionary History in Stone: The Making of a Chinese National Monument” ,The China Quarterly, 2001: 460. 有关这个内城的购物中心方案的争论的详细信息，请参阅 Anne-Marie Broudehoux. The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing[M]. London: Routledge, 2004: 120.
- [4] 王军 .城记 [M].台北：高谈文化有限公司，2003:53.
- [5] 陈冠中 .“波西米亚北京”.收录于陈冠中，廖伟堂，顾颉 .波西米亚中国 [M].香港：牛津大学出版社，2004.
- [6] 这个例子可以从近期流行新书中发现，请参阅 Michael Meyer. The Last Days of Old Beijing: Life in the Vanishing Backstreets of a City Transformed[M]. New York: Walker and Company, 2008.
- [7]Song Xiaoxia . To Experience the City[J]. Twenty-First Century Bimonthly, 1997(43): 101.
- [8] 关于中国人将成为21世纪的大国的中国人自己的言论，参看 . Chen Xiaoming, The Rise of “Cultural Nationalism” [J]. 21st



11. 天安门广场上的符号

11. Signs in Tian'anMen Square

Century, 1997(39): 35. 中国人关于中国未来的特别乐观的态度，可以从最近一个民意调查中看到：这个民调问了80个国家的民众他们对自己国家的未来是乐观看好还是前途暗淡。只有3个国家的回答是积极的，而来自中国的回答远远领先，最积极乐观。高达83%的人口的回答是肯定的，认为国家的未来是光明的。请参考：Carole Cadwalladr. The Great Leap Forward [Dispatches][J]. The Observer Magazine, 2007: (32-41), 35.

[9] 她走了共约483km（约等于300mi）。

[10] 这些纸币是在共产党力量取得胜利的前夜发放的。这些被称作“第一系列”的纸币在共产党进入各个城市后开始使用。关于这方面的细节，参见：Helen Wang. Mao on Money[J]. East Asian Journal, 2003, 2(1): 92.

[11] 陈干言论，见：王军 . 城记 [M]. 台北：高谈文化有限公司，2005: 53.

[12] 这个决定是在中国人民政治协商大会的最后一天，1949年9月30日通过的。

[13] 中国共产党不是第一个改变这个城市的象征主义宇宙体系的政权。在民国初年,这个城市被第一次改变它的轴线关系。Geremie R. Barme（白杰明）在他的讲座“Beijing Reoriented, an Olympic Undertaking”（2007年6月27日）中指出，开国第一总统和几乎成为事实的皇帝袁世凯在宣誓就职仪式中，组织军队从东向西走过，改变了城市的轴线关系。在此后的民国和日本占领时期，建立了建国门和复兴门，反映了民国时期民族精神和追求民族复兴的期盼。所以共产党不是第一个，但很显然是最成功的一个。

[14] 毛泽东的题字放在醒目的地方：“人民英雄永垂不朽。”周恩来的题字是毛泽东更长的一段话，以诗词的形式出现，其中每一节重复出现“永垂不朽”，涵盖了民族解放斗争中各个时期的人民英雄。这些历史阶段都对应在大理石浮雕的一个个画面上。

[15] 参见：Chang-tai Hung. 2001: 461.

[16] 学者 Chang-tai Hung 在此仅引用原文，重复了总建筑师梁思成的看法。

[17] 参见：Chang-tai Hung. 2001: 468. 关于这些浮雕和广场更加细致的描写，并与当代艺术联系在一起的研究，请见：Wu Hung（巫鸿）.Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space[M]. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

[18]Mao Zedong. On New Democracy[M]. in Selected Works, vol 2. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1977: 354.

[19] 安德森（Benedict Anderson）在他的经典著作《想象的社团》（Imagined Communities）中指出，“在民族主义现代文化的象征符号中，没有比无名战士纪念碑和纪念陵墓更加感人的了”。见：Benedict Anderson. Imagined Communities[M]. Verso: London, 1983: 17.

[20]Mao Zedong（毛泽东）. Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party[M]. in Selected Works, vol.2. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1977: 314.

[21] 这是写出《共产党宣言》的那个阶段的马克思。关于浮雕和更加细致的阐述，请参见：Wu Hung（巫鸿）. Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space[M]. Chicago: Chicago University Press: 32-34 以及 Chang-tai Hung, 466.

[22] 国家大剧院因为缺乏资金而没有建设，资金匮乏也造成了革命历史博物馆的内部空闲。请参见：邹德侗 . 中国现代建筑史 [M]. 北京：中国机械出版社，2003: 67. 关于十大建筑，参见：北京城市规划学会主编 .北京十大建筑设计 [M]. 天津：天津大学出版社：

161-181.

[23] 引用于：王军 .城记 [M]. 台北：高谈文化有限公司，2005: 23.

[24] 树军和贾英廷的话或许夸张。他们说，天安门城楼的损坏在20世纪60年代初已经被发现，1965年开始修复。工作在文革时期中断，1969年再开始，即毛泽东检阅广场上的红卫兵的3年以后。见：树军 . 天安门广场历史档案 [M]. 北京：中央党校出版社，1998. 以及贾英廷 .天安门 [M]. 117-118.

[25] 照我说的画也可以理解为“照我说的做”。因为在中文表达中“照我说的画”的最后一个字“画”的发音可以写成两个字。一个是“话”，另一个是“画”。关于更多细节，请参考：金受申 .北京的传说 [M]. 北京：北京出版社，2003: 1-8.

[26] 王军 . 中轴线；北京生命线 [A]. 尹丽川 . 在北京生存的100个理由 [M]. 台北：Dakuai文化出版社，2005: 3.

[27] 事实上，地上的天子比他的父亲差远了。1973年的一次皇宫调查揭示，在这个皇宫大院里事实上只有8704个房间。原出处：北京故宫博物馆和中国中央电视台，《故宫》，CCTV电视系列，2005年，第二部分。

[28] 这是因为市场在革命之后并没有被完全根除。因为根据马克思主义对中国独特近现代史的分析，中国当时是个半封建和半资本主义的社会，所以这种理论认定，1949年后的中国还不是社会主义的，而是“新民主主义”的。只有在1956年之后，中国才宣布进入了社会主义的发展阶段。

[29] 吴良镛参与了广场的设计改造工作。

[30] 参见：Chang-tai Hung. 2001: 459.

[31] 参见：Wu Huang. Remaking Beijing, 2005: 35-6.

[32] 参见：Katherine Verdery. The Political Lives of Dead Bodies[M]. Columbia University Press. 2000: 143 (Footnote 127) 以及 Todorov, Vladislav（），Red Square Black Square: Organon For Revolutionary Imagination[M]. New York: SUNY1995.

Note:

[1] The ceremony existed in the past but not on the same scale. It started in December, 1982 when the task of raising the flag was transferred from the People's Liberation Army to the National flag-raising brigade of the People's Armed Police. At this time, it was a simple ritual performed by three soldiers daily on the basis of a time-table formulated by Beijing Astrology Station. This continued until April, 1991 after which a nationalist agenda led to the Law on the National Flag and to the Beijing city government ordering the expansion and enhancement of the ceremony for patriotic purposes. By May, 1991 its current elaborate and ritualistic form was in place and subsequently, it has become one of Beijing's most popular scenes for Chinese tourists. For details, see Jia Yingting (1998), Tiananmen, China Commercial Press, pp.136—140.

[2] For a detailed description of the functionality of old Beijing see Zhu Jianfei (2003) Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing, 1420-1911, Routledge, London.

[3] Chang-tai Hung (2001), “Revolutionary History in Stone: The Making of a Chinese National Monument” , The China Quarterly, 166, June, 460. For the most detailed outline of the controversy surrounding the redevelopment of this central city shopping mall see Anne-Marie Broudehoux (2004) The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing, Routledge, London, 120.

[4] Wang Jun (2005), The Record of Beijing, (Taipei: Gao tan wen hua shi ye you xian gong si), 53.

[5] Chen Guanzhong (2004), “Bohemian Beijing” in Chen Guanzhong Bohemian China, (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press), 5.

[6] An example of this is found in the recent popular book by Michael Meyer (2008), The Last Days of Old Beijing: Life in the Vanishing Backstreets of a City Transformed, Walker and Company, New York.

[7] Song Xiaoxia (1997), “To Experience the City,” in Twenty-First Century Bimonthly, No. 43, October 1997, 101.

[8] On the views of Chinese that they will be the power of the 21st century see Chen Xiaoming, “The Rise of ‘Cultural Nationalism’” , 21st Century, No. 39, February 1997, 35. That Chinese have an exceptionally upbeat view of their future is demonstrated by a recent survey that asked people in 80 countries whether the future for their country was bright or bleak. Only three countries answered positively and of those China was by far and away the most positive. A staggering 83% of the population answered affirmatively saying that their country's future was bright. See Carole Cadwalladr, “The Great Leap Forward [Dispatches]” The Observer Magazine, 21 January 2007, (32-41), 35.

[9] She walked about 300 miles.

[10] Banknotes were released earlier on the eve of the communist take-over. These, so-called ‘Series 1’ banknotes were used by the communists when they entered various cities. For further details see Helen Wang, “Mao on Money” , East Asian Journal, vol.1, no.2, 2003, 92.

[11] Chen Gan cited in Wang Jun (2005), The Record of Beijing. (Taipei: Gao tan wen hua shi ye you xian gong si), 53.

[12] This decision was taken by the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) at its final day, 30th September 1949.

[13] The CCP were not the first to try to alter the city's cosmology. The city was first reoriented in the early years of the Republic. In his talk ‘Beijing Reoriented, an Olympic Undertaking’ (27 June 2007) given by Geremie R. Barne, he pointed out that Yuan Shikai, first president and near emperor, had the city reoriented by organizing a military parade from east to west at his inauguration. This was followed in the Republic period and during the Japanese occupation with the building of the new gates Jianguomen and Fuxingmen, both of which reflect the Republican era national sentiment and the sense of ‘national revival.’ Hence, the Communists were not the first, although they were easily the most successful.

[14] Mao's calligraphy was given pride of place. While it reads: “Eternal glory to the People's Heroes” (renmin yingxiong yongchui buxiu)

to a mainland Chinese, in Taiwan, the expression yongchui buxiu is colloqial for ‘permanent hard-on’！Zhou Enlai's calligraphy employed a much longer quote from Mao Zedong written in the style of a poem that repeats in each stanza the ‘eternal glory’ of each of the historical people's who populated the struggle of national liberation. Each of the moments of eternal glory mentioned in the quotation, correlates with one of the marble carvings.

[15] Chang-tai Hung (2001), 461

[16] This merely repeats the view of the chief architect, Liang Sicheng whom Chang-tai Hung is citing from the original..

[17][Chang-tai Hung (2001), 468. For a more detailed description of the frescos and the Square generally but one that ties it into contemporary art, see Wu Hung, Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space, Chicago University Press, Chicago.18 Mao Zedong (1977), “On New Democracy” , in Selected Works, vol 2, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press), 354.

[19] “No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers” writes Benedict Anderson in his seminal text Imagined Communities. Benedict Anderson (1983), Imagined Communities, (Verso: London), 17.

[20] Mao Zedong (1977), “Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party” in Selected Works, vol.2, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press), 314.

[21] This is the Marx of the Communist Manifesto. For details of the panels and further elaboration on them, see For a more detailed description of the frescos and the Square generally but one that ties it into contemporary art, see Wu Hung, Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 32-4 and Chang-tai Hung, 466ff

[22] The National Theatre was never built for lack of funds, while funds were also the cause of the empty interior in the Revolutionary Museum. Zou Denong (2003), Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu shi, (Beijing: China Machine Press), 67. On the 10 Great Projects see Beijing Ten Prominent Buildings (2002), Tianjin University Press, pp.161—181.

[23] Cited in Wu Hung's Remaking Beijing, p. 23.

[24] This is slightly hyperbolic if Shu Jun and Jia Yingting are to be believed. They say that the damage to the gate was discovered in the early 60s and preparations for repair underway in 1965. Interrupted by the Cultural Revolution, serious restoration work only began at the end of 1969, 3 years after Mao received the Red Guards in the Square. See Shu Jun, pp61—62; Jia Yingting, pp.117—118.

[25] Draw things according to me, could also be rendered as ‘do what I say’ for in the Chinese expressions ‘zhao woshuo de hua’（照我说的画）the last word ‘hua’ is pronounced in exactly the same way but written in two different ways. One of these meaning to speak 话 the other meaning to draw 画 . For further details, see Jin Shoushen’ s Beijing Legends. (Beijing: Beijing Press), 2002, 1-8.

[26] Wang Jun (2005), “The Axis: Life Source of Beijing” in Yin Lichuan et al. 100 Reasons to Enjoy Beijing. Taipei: Dakuai wenhua Publishing House, 3.

[27] In actuality, the earthly son fell well short of his father. A survey of the palace undertaken in 1973 revealed that there were, in fact, only 8704 rooms in the palace compound. Source: Gu Gong, CCTV television series, Beijing Palace Museum and China Central Television Station, 2005, part 2: Shengshi de wuji.

[28] This is because the market wasn't fully eradicated after the revolution. Because of the Marxist analysis of the peculiarities of modern Chinese history which saw it as being semi-feudal, semi-capitalist, it was determined that post-1949 China was now socialist but was instead a form of ‘new democracy.’ Only after 1956 did China announce itself to be entering the socialist phase of development.

[29] Wu Liangyong was part of the architectural team that redesigned the square.

[30] Chang-tai Hung, 2001, 459.

[31] Wu Hung (2005), Remaking Beijing, 35-6.

[32] Katherine Verdery (2000), The Political Lives of Dead Bodies, Columbia University Press. 143 Fn 127; Todorov, Vladislav (1995), Red Square Black Square: Organon For Revolutionary Imagination, SUNY, New York.

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