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Hauntological Poetics: Specters in Modern Chinese Poetry

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Hauntological Poetics
Specters in Modern Chinese Poetry

By

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THESIS

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Abstract

This thesis demonstrates how ghosts are conjured, examined, and transformed in modern Chinese poetry. Modern Chinese literature never lacks ghosts; however, they are either abstracted to a symptom of totalitarian power, especially for scholars in fiction and drama, or rarely discussed because they are too figurative and ambiguous. For these reasons, the study of ghosts is fragmentary and simplified. This thesis challenges this phenomenon and brings the undercurrent of poetry writings on ghosts which speaking to ghosts, of ghosts and with ghosts to the surface of criticism with theoretical justifications. In the process of directly confronting ghosts, the thesis establishes a genealogy of ghosts, in which apparitional presence is delineated, differentiated, and interrogated, toward the goal of developing a hauntology of modern Chinese poetry.

Hauntological poetics is discussed both social-historically and aesthetically. For the first perspective, I argue that ghosts conjured by poets to disrupt the chronology and settled space are widely used to provide a counter-discourse to the official narrative of history where the dead are neither properly remembered nor fully buried, so they return to be exorcised with justice. For the aesthetic perspective, I argue that ghosts actively participate in the intrinsic construction of modern Chinese poetry from three dimensions: first, the deconstructive power of specters is important to the poems in the 1990s as they attempt to "revive an ability to speak of history"; second, the ability of ghosts to see but not to be seen penetrates a space where different layers of history coexist; third, the voices of dead western poets are appropriated to help the living to express what is unspeakable, they also to some extent overwhelm the living.

Chapter 1 focuses on a specific space, Tiananmen, in modern Chinese poetry and traces a genealogy of a haunted space through the lens of spectrality. I juxtapose three historical

moments and poems that directly or indirectly respond to them: March 18 Massacre in 1926 and the Tiananmen poems written by Wen Yiduo and Rao Mengkan, the establishment of People's Republic China on 1 October 1949 and Hu Feng's epic "Time Has Begun", the Incident on 4 June 1989 and *An Anthology of June Fourth Poetry*.

Chapter 2 develops a close reading of Zang Di's "An Unerected Monument" and identifies two deconstructive ghosts: the specters of monumentality and the returned dead. I argue that traces of specters reveal a trajectory of the aesthetic transformation from Misty Poetry to Post Misty Poetry. The thickness and heaviness of history as a burden in Mistry Poetry is not fully abandoned but transformed into a deconstructive aesthetic tactics via spectralization.

Chapter 3 specifies the haunting of Marina Tsvetaeva in Duoduo's "Crafts—After Tsvetaeva" and Zhang Zao's "Conversation with Tsvetaeva". I argue that both Duoduo and Zhang Zao speak to Tsvetaeva, and it is with the help of this ghost that poets understand the crafts of poetry. In Duoduo's poem, his voice is inseparable from Tsveateva's spectral voice through which a polyphony that crosses the boundary of the living and the dead is created. In Zhang Zao's cycle sonnet, Tsveteava's apparition is an indispensable figure to fulfill a dialogue structure in which a paradoxical parallel between objects and human lot, between language and national identity, between love and death is established.

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Introduction "A Specter is wandering on the land of China": Constructing a discourse of Hauntological Poetics

Discourses on Specters in Contemporary China

In 1980, Sun Jingxuan(孙静轩) wrote a poem called "A Specter is wandering on the land of China" (Yige youling zai zhongguo dadi shang youdang 一个幽灵在中国大地上游荡). As a revolutionary poet growing up under the cultivation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Sun deliberately used the title with respect to Marx's famous opening line in *The Communist Manifesto*: "A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of communism."[1] However, the specter he tried to exorcize in the poem is not Communism in Marx's sense, but feudalism, dictatorship, and superstition, targets that have been exorcised by CCP during the New Democratic Revolution Period.[2] Yet, in Sun' observation, they returned and incarnated themselves in Mao Zedong and the revolution that deviated from the right course of socialist reform. Sun insinuated Mao as "an emperor like Caesar" and as a god who "replaces the old deities worshipped in people's houses."[3] Written only four years after the Cultural Revolution at the beginning of Deng Xiaoping's open policy, these severe accusations not only targeted the revolutionary past but also questioned the direction of reform. Different from Deng's official declaration that "criticizes and opposes the tendency to worship capitalism and to advocate bourgeoisie liberalization,"[4] Sun provides a

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[1] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. *The Communist Manifesto (Rethinking the Western Tradition)*, ed. Jeffery C. Isaac (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 73.

[2] New Democratic Revolution Period referred to a historical period from 1919 to 1949. For a detailed explanation of this period, see https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/ljzg_665465/zgjk_665467/3576_665477/t17831.shtml

[3] Sun Jingxuan, et al. Yi ge youling zai zhongguo dadi shang youdang: Zhongguo dalu shigexuan (A specter is haunting on the field of China: An anthology of poems in mainland China 一個幽靈在中國大地上遊蕩: 中國大陸詩歌選) (Taipei: You shi wenhua shiye gongsi, 1983), 2-5.

[4] Deng Xiaoping, "Implement the Policy of Readjustment, Ensure Stability and Unity" (Beijing: Foreign Launguage Press, 1984),350, qtd. Zhang Weiwei, *Ideology and Economic Reform under Deng Xiaoping 1978-1993*(New York: Routledge, 2010), 39.

counter discourse on the major concern of contemporary China: it is not the representations of

capitalism ("bell-bottoms", "long hair", and "Deng Lijun's songs"[5]) but the specters of feudalism,

dictatorship, and superstition that haunt us. Sun's scanning of the specters is not without hesitation:

> "It is the twentieth century now! Human has stepped into an atomic age. It might
> be absurd to discuss specters, but after all this is a scary but sad fact!" (如今是二
> 十世紀，人類已進入原子時代/再談論幽靈也許荒唐/但畢竟是一個可怕而又
> 可悲的事實啊)[6]

His concern is still relevant today. The legitimacy to discuss specters further directs us to

a question: are we still concerned with ghosts today, or to put it more precisely, are the ghosts still

concerned with us? Sun's prophetic poem in the 1980s received a belated echo in academia:

discourses on ghosts and specters as a figurative reference to revolution, history, and narrative are

widespread. Yang Xiaobin once stated:

> In any case, the specter of revolution from the traumatic kernel has never ceased to
> haunt the cultural imaginations in modern China, even though revolution as a
> catchword has now been replaced by other concepts such as reform, market,
> development, or harmony.[7]

Yang's opinion is palpable by highlighting a scar left by revolution and a recurrence of this scar

in cultural practices. Yet what deserves rethinking is whether the specter of "revolution" is

replaced by other concepts as Yang's optimistic wish. Or it returns inconspicuously and creates its

own shadow in these concepts. Dai Jinhua's speech in 2017 offered a pertinent response with a

catchy title: "Post-Revolutionary Specters" (Hou geming de youling 后革命的幽灵). In this

speech, her explanations of the "specters" refer to Jacques Derrida's influential book *Specters of*

Marx, which is discussed in the next section. However, she did not simply appropriate the

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[5] Sun, 11.
[6] Ibid., 2.
[7] Yang Xiaobin, "Conjuring Up the Specters of Revolution" in Tao Dongfeng, et al. ed., *Chinese Revolution and Chinese Literature* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), vii.

Derridean specters, her indebtedness to Derrida reveals its realistic considerations: her invention of "post-revolutionary specters" needs to be included in a global hauntology while at the same time it's also necessary to highlight the indigenous ghosts from a Chinese context. Combining her temporal concern of the Chinese reality with specters rooted in western theoretical background, Dai was concerned with that the memories and imaginations of revolution return as specters and that the ghost of hierarchy in imperial China, once exorcised by revolution, is incarnate in popular culture such as films, adaptations of ancient canons and Danmei literature(耽美文学).[8]Similar to Dai's approach, Carlos Rojas's "Ghost Protocol" situated China in a global political-economic picture and argued that contemporary China is haunted by three specters: the ghosts of global capital, the shades of Mao, and the specters of Marx.[9] Rojas's argument clearly categorized three main sources and traditions of haunting under the influence of Marx, Mao and Derrida. He also revealed the difficulty and complexity to properly delineate a haunted reality of contemporary China under such a multilayered interaction and intervention among various ghosts and their heritages.

After a sketch of the cultural and political-economic discourses on specters, I turn to the literary discourses on ghosts and highlight David Der-wei Wang's study. Wang's delineation of a genealogy of specters in modern Chinese literature lays a foundation to discuss the characteristics of ghosts and their functions in a Chinese context:

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[8] Dai Jinhua, "Hou geming de youling" (Post-revolutionary Specters 后革命的幽灵) in Yue Daiyun, et al. ed., *Kua wenhua duihua di 38 ji* (Beijing: Shang wu yin shu guan, 2018), 16.

[9] Carlos Rojas, "Specters of Marx, Shades of Mao and the Ghosts of Global Capital" in Carlos Rojas and Ralph A. Litzinger ed. *Ghost Protocol: Development and Displacement in Global China* (Duke University Press, 2016), 4.

Across corporeal and temporal-spatial barriers, ghosts reappear like vanishing memories and perished relations, "disembodying" the hiatus between the dead and the living, the unreal and the real, the unthinkable and the admissible. [10]

The ambiguity of ghosts promises profound possibilities for interpretations. They are satisfying mediums that awaits to be attached with different socio-political, ideological and cultural legacies. Ghosts are given dual significance in Wang's description on what a role they played in every historical periods: in modern era, ghosts are the target of enlightenment as a representation of old society but they are frequently conjured by May Fourth writers to be exorcized with an aim to establish "national character"[11]; in revolutionary socialist era, the official propaganda continues the modern task to dismiss superstitions and highlight the power of socialism to "turn ghosts into people"; on the other hand, the official narratives turn the enemies of socialist ideology into "ox ghosts -snake spirits"(niugui-sheshen 牛鬼蛇神).[12]

Through his meticulous examination of modern ghost stories, Wang deemed ghosts a symptom of history. Apparitions remind the "incessant calamites in Chinese history"[13] and the incarnations in fiction function as a "reality-testing" [14] apparatus for historicity and the

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10 David Der-wei Wang, "Second Haunting" in The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China(University of California Press, 2004), 263.

11 Ibid., 265.

12 For the discussions on "niugui-sheshen" and on He Qifang's *Stories about Not Being Afraid of Ghosts*, see Maggie Greene, *Resisting Spirits: Drama Reform and Cultural Transformation in the People's Republic of China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019), 22-25 and 82-84.

13 Ibid.

14 My use of "reality testing" comes from Sigmund Freud's essay "The Uncanny". His idea is that the evaluation of uncanny effect in literature (the phantasy) does not work for the uncanny in reality and it does not shoulder the responsibility of reality-testing because what is uncanny in novel may not be uncanny in real life and vice versa. What Freud highlighted here is the tension and distance between fiction and reality when confronting the uncanny feeling. David Wang's use of a ghost story is opposite to Freud in that he believes "the historical validity of ghost stories forces a reevaluation of the intricate relations between the modes of verisimilitude and conceptions of history and historicity." See David Wang, 263. Sigmund Freud, "The Uncanny," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Hogarth Press, 1953), Vol.XVII. Trans. James Strachey, et, al. 248.

"phantasmatic force"[15]. He also justified a logic that ghosts inevitably return with the evidence

from etymology of Chinese characters—ghosts(鬼 gui) and return(归 gui) are homophones—and

exemplified a direction of literary nostalgia to illustrate that the theme and characteristics of

traditional ghost stories also return in contemporary fictions.

In fact, scholarly observations of a complex haunting reality did create more than enough

ghosts, if not less, in various disciplinaries and coordinates: from penumbras and phantasmas in

avantgarde art[16] to a resurgence of the folk occultism and rural tradition in contemporary Chinese

fictions[17], from an academic discovery of phantasmatic space in cultural revolution[18] to an

improvisational inquiry of the peripheral status of women's poetry[19]. While acknowledging the

prosperity of ghost discourses, it is also necessary to be aware of the trap of generalization if

ghosts—as metaphors or even synonyms of history, trauma, memory and narrative—are used

without specific identifications of what the ghost is, why it needs to be this ghost rather than others

that deserves a conjuration, and how its spectrality influences a presence. The spectrality is not an

expedient rhetoric, a figurative panacea for all and it should not be an easily appropriated critical

lens through which a post-revolutionary cultural phenomenon is indistinguishably described as a

generalized return of the past or a repetitivism of history.

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[15] David Der-wei Wang, Why Fiction Matters in Contemporary China (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2020), 86.

[16] See Yang Xiaobin, Zhongguo qianwei yishu zhong de hongse jiyi youling" (The specter of red memory in Chinese avantgarde art 中國前衛藝術中的紅色記憶幽靈), *Zhongguo wen zhe yanjiu jikan 31*, no. 9(2007): 149-183.

[17] See Meng Fanhua, Zongtixing youling yu bei fuxing de chuantong: dangxia xiaoshuo chuangzuo zhong de wenhua jiyi yu zhongguo jingyan(The specter of totality and a resurrected tradition: the cultural memory and experiences of China in contemporary fictions 总体性的幽灵与被"复兴"的传统: 当下小说创作中的文化记忆与中国经验) *Nanfang Wentan*, no. 6(2008): 4-9.

[18] Enhua Zhang**,** *Cartographies of Revolution: Space, Politics, and Cultural Representation in Modem China (1919-1969)*, PhD diss. (Columbia University: 2007).

[19] Lv Yue, "Zuowei youling de nvxing xiezuo……" (Feminine Writing as a Specter……作为幽灵的女性写作……), Shixuankan, no. 6(2011): 52-54.

Among the discourses of ghosts in contemporary China mentioned above, a consensus is that they invariably give credits to Jacques Derrida's famed book *Specter of Marx* and more or less mention the spectral turn in the 1990s in western theory. Following this thread and being cautious of a chaotic and superficial appropriations of Derrida's concepts based on frenzy on ghosts, I revisit both the text and context of Derrida's conceptualization of the specters.

Definitions of Specters

In order to delineate hauntings in this thesis, specters and ghosts will be widely used to refer to the phenomenon of a return of the dead. Both concepts come from Jacque Derrida's *SM* where he uses various names such as ghost, specter(spectre), phantom(phantasm), apparition, and revenant. Then what are the definitions of them, are there similarities and subtle differences among them, which one should be used in which context?

"Specters" is the watchword of this book. Derrida uses plural "specters" rather than a singular "specter" or "the specter" to be differentiated with "a spirit" of Marx in *The German Ideology*, the radical critical spirit. Therefore, to define what specters are is always in comparison with to define what a spirit is. He states that a spirit "assumes a body. It incarnates itself, as spirit, in the specter."[20] The spirit is superior to specters because it determines what the appearances of specters are. A specter only act as a medium to transmit the spirit of a spirit in which process it "gives to the spirit its spectral apparition and disappears right away in the apparition, in the very coming of the revenant or the return of the specter."[21] This easily-appropriated specter, however, is given an important position in Derrida's analysis as a deconstructive concept that "defies

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[20] Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 4.
[21] Ibid., 5.

semantics as much as ontology, psychoanalysis as much as philosophy."[22] A specter is a non-object object, a non-present presence, a form of otherness between life and death, and a "heterodiadictics" that resists conceptualization because it "belongs no longer to knowledge."[23] The most essential characteristic of the specter is its invisible visibility, from which the specter gains "a supreme insignia of power: the power to see without being seen."[24] Because of this asymmetry between a specter and an ordinary people, Derrida reminds us, in order to trace the specter, "we must fall back on its voice."[25] We also be cautious with the complexity of this voice in which "injunction crosses with conjuration,"[26] thus demanding differentiations.

What needs highlighting is that Derrida's description of specters is based on his deconstruction reading of Marx where specters and its haunting is given an ontological perspective, for in Derrida's sense the logic of a spectral return—a gloss to a bigger question lying in the center of this book, that is why Marxism still matters and why Marx's specters continue to haunt us in the era when "end of history" becomes a dominant narrative to sentence the death of Marx and communism due to the failure of communism in the 1990s—cannot be explained or represented by any existent ontology but can only be understood hauntology, "a science of ghosts, a science of what returns."[27] as well as a replacement of ontology.

The repetition of specters is a vital quality to describe the hauntology: "a specter is always a revenant," and "it begins by coming back."[28] In this sense, being a specter alludes it must die first and keeps the status of being dead as a revenant. Those who haven't experienced death but

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., 6.
[24] Ibid., 8.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid. 13.
[27] Pierre Macherey, "Marx Dematerialised, or the Spirit of Derrida" in Michael Sprinker ed. *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx* (London: Verso, 2008), 18.
[28] Derrida, 11.

live a life like a specter cannot be called a specter. To experience death never means to enter the realm of the dead, like the heroes in Greek Mythology who return to life still as a human but means to cross the boundary between life and death corporeally. One must return as a dead. Without this presupposition, neither haunting nor the reapparition will begin with a destined return. In this logic of a necessary return, Derrida further distinguishes revenants from specters and ghosts more specifically in his speech when visiting the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences:

> The characteristic of spectrality is established in its connections with "visibility", an enormous "visibility". The "visibility" always appears in front of skyline, that is it will always appear on our way to the future. As for a revenant, we cannot see it will inevitably return, it is not inevitably visible. Its return is unforeseeable, invisible. I will say, instead of returning from the front, it will return from the top, from the bottom and from the behind. From my point of view, I ventured to say, the thing, the thing to return, will return in the way of revenants, rather than in the way of specters or ghosts.[29]

Derrida did distinguish revenants from specters by accentuating the "visibility" of a specter and the "invisibility" of a revenant. One may ask: isn't this divergence incompatible with the "invisible visibility" shared by both specters and revenants in *Specters of Marx*? It is necessary to clarify the "invisible visibility" is an established reality due to a return. In the speech, (in)visibility is a description of the process of a return, rather than the result brought by return. Derrida's concern is in what a way the thing(a specter or a revenant) returns : if it returns visibly, it is called revenant; if it returns invisibly, it is called a specter. By confirming that "the thing will return in the way of revenants", Derrida indicates that return is an unpredictable promise, which is not predetermined by a certain direction, but always by a direction from death towards life to a future that will eventually come. While still insisting on the basic logic of haunting, Derrida reminds us that a return from any directions come with surprise, but it is not a prophecy of the future.

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[29] Jacques Derrida, De li da zhongguo yanjiang lu(The Document of Derrida's speech in China 德里达中国演讲录), Du Xiaozhen and Zhang Ning ed.(Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 2002), 79.

Sharing similarities with a specter, a ghost that is "not present, nor presently living"[30] is also an unneglectable concept in this book. However, the subtle difference between specters and ghosts is that ghosts is associated with a corporeal form, a body to which it can return. This body is not as material as flesh, but "a body that is more abstract than ever."[31] Derrida continued:

> Once ideas or thoughts are detached from their substratum, one engenders some ghost by giving them a body. Not by returning to the living body from which ideas and thoughts have been torn loose, but by incarnating the latter in another artifactual body, a prosthetic body, a ghost of spirit……[32]

Reiterating the relation between a spirit and its incarnations (specters, ghosts, and revenants) is never too much. Derrida further reminds us of a presupposition of haunting: ideas and thoughts from the past must be uprooted or displaced from the original text first which further underlies a need for another body to parasite. It is based on this presupposition that the ghosts are produced as a heterogenetic body and then welcome a return. In other words, a ghost will not have a body until it becomes the target of and involves into incarnation of ideas or thoughts.

Ghosts in Derrida's sense also represent an ethic to live one's life: they are others to speak to, speak of, speak with, and learn from. This ethic of living is summarized as "to learn to live with ghosts." This injunction works as a modification to a more primitive injunction raised at the beginning of *Specters of Marx*: to learn to live your life, one embedded with an implicit hierarchical structure identified by Derrida. He indicates that "to learn to live your life" always assumes an inferior listener and thus creates an authentic figure to be learned from, including life per se. Rather than being stuck in this "irreversible and imbalance address"[33], Derrida brings in

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[30] Ibid., xviii.
[31] Ibid., 157.
[32] Ibid., 158.
[33] Ibid., xvi.

the ghosts, the "heterodidactics between life and death"[34], who fundamentally construct the basic ethnics of our living:

> To live otherwise, and better. No, not better, but more justly. But with them. No being-with the other, no socius without this with that makes being-with in general more enigmatic than ever for us. And this being-with specters would also be, not only but also, a politics of memory, of inheritance, and of generations.[35]

The relationship with ghosts here is no longer an action to be practiced as "to live with", yet it is transformed to be a real living status of "*being with*". When this "with" is attached to "being" and becomes an italic "being-with", not only is our connection with ghosts confirmed by the dash, but the essence of our own being (*Dasein*) is intervened by this other, which is impossible to break up with, therefore leading to an irreversible haunting and the fact that we are "haunted subjects".[36]

Though there are subtle differences among specters, revenants, phantoms, and ghosts in Derrida's use, what this thesis hopes to manifest is that they all belong to a deconstructive topology of ghosts in which different variants emphasize the different perspectives of the hauntology. They are "both there and not there, neither alive nor properly dead, neither past nor present."[37] Derrida's blended use of these various ghosts also needs to be distinguished from the ghosts in other critics' sense. In Sigmund Freud's uncanny (*Unhemlich*), the encounter with ghosts is a gruesome feeling while he rejects "that dead can become visible as spirits" and owes to the appearance of ghosts as a symptom of unconsciousness that derives from "the repressed infantile complexes, from the castration complex, womb-phantasies." [38] Abraham and Torok's phantoms are treated as a

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[34] Ibid., xvii.

[35] Ibid., xviii.

[36] Colin Davis, *Haunted Subjects: Deconstruction; Psychoanalysis and the Return of the Dead* ((New York: Basingstoke, 2007),10.

[37] Ibid., 75.

[38] Freud, "The Uncanny" in Writings on Art and Literature (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 218.

disclosure of the secrets between generations, which is described as "the traumatic remnant of an ancestor about whom we may have known nothing, and who survives in us because of unatoned crimes which are not our own."[39] In Cathey Caruth's trauma studies, "Ghosts…… are part of a symptomatology of trauma, as they become both the objects of and metaphors for a wounded historical experience."[40] It's also worth highlighting that Derrida's specters, though rooted in a deconstructive ontology, can be included in a tradition of ghosts in western theories and literature. As Roger Luckhurst argues that the spectral turn in contemporary western criticism, prompted by Derrida's *Specters of Marx*, needs to be considered and elaborated in specific cultural contexts and spatial coordinates—the London Gothic in his essay—in case of the generalization the specters.[41] This point is also reminded as a risk to "turn the ghost in to an abstract, universal figure or catch-all, as Derrida's hauntology risks doing."[42]

Hauntological Poetics

Based on both the multi-discourses on specters in Chinese contexts and Derrida's hauntology, I develop the critical term "hauntological poetics" specifically for modern Chinese poetry. A Chinese scholar called Xiao Xiangming (肖向明) industriously investigated ghostly imaginations in modern Chinese literature. His study included abundant examples and cases in fiction and drama, but only poetry is left out. The reason why he neglected poetry is that

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[39] Blanco María Del Pilar and Esther Peeren. *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory* (Ney York: Bloomsbury, 2013),82.

[40] Blanco María Del Pilar and Esther Peeren. *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory* (Ney York: Bloomsbury, 2013), xviii.

[41] Roger Luckhurst, "The Contemporary London Gothic and the Limits of the 'spectral Turn'." Textual Practice 16, no. 3 (2002): 528.

[42] Blanco María Del Pilar and Esther Peeren. *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture* (New York: Continuum, 2010), xix.

"scholars have divergent opinions on the symbolic meanings and figurative meanings of ghost images and ghost cultures in modern Chinese poetry. It would be too discursive to include poetry in my discussion."[43] In fact, what is discursive is not the seemingly "divergent" opinions but the limited studies on ghosts that neglect poems that speak to, of and with ghosts as well as the peripheral condition of poetry studies per se in the academia. Both reasons render a discussion of ghosts in modern Chinese poetry fragmentary and simplified. I would challenge this phenomenon and bring the undercurrent of poetry writings on ghosts to the surface of criticism with theoretical justifications. In the process of directly confronting ghosts, I attempt to establish a genealogy of ghosts, in which the apparitional presence is delineated, differentiated and interrogated, toward the goal of developing a hauntology of modern Chinese poetry.

Though inspired by and indebted to Derrida's hauntology, this thesis is not intended to simply apply Derrida's hauntology to modern Chinese poetry, but to communicate with the spirit of Derrida (a radical deconstructive spirit) and offer another genealogy of ghosts with ambiguities and complexities. However, a deconstructive reading of Chinese texts is not "a way of reading texts, without much context, in a kind of naked confrontation of reader and verbal art."[44] Rather it is a way to read both sociohistorically and aesthetically. For the first perspective, I argue that ghosts conjured by poets to disrupt a chronology and to disturb a settled space are widely used to provide a dissident perspective of the official narrative of history in which the dead are neither properly remembered nor fully buried. Ghosts return in poems only to be exorcised with justice. For the aesthetic perspective, I argue that ghosts actively participate in the intrinsic construction of modern Chinese poetry from two dimensions: first, the deconstructive

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[43] Xiao Xiangming, *"Huanmei" de xiandai xiangxiang: Lun Zhongguo xiandai zuojia bi xia de gui*(Modern Imaginations of Phantasmas: On the ghosts in the texts of modern Chinese writers "幻魅"的现代想象: 论现代作家笔下的鬼), PhD Diss. (Zhongshan University: 2006), 2.
[44] Peter Brooks. "Aesthetics and Ideology: What Happened to Poetics?" *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 3 (1994): 512.

power of specters is important to the poems in the 1990s as they attempt to "revive the ability to speak of history"[45]; second, the voices of dead western poets are appropriated to help Chinese poets express what is unspeakable; however, their voices also to some extent overwhelm those of the living.

In Chapter 1, I focus on a specific space, Tiananmen, in modern Chinese poetry and argue it is a haunted place through the lens of spectrality. To reveal a genealogy of haunting at Tiananmen, I juxtapose three historical moments and poems that directly or indirectly respond to them: March 18 Massacre in 1926 and the Tiananmen poems written by Wen Yiduo and Rao Mengkan, the establishment of People's Republic China on 1 October 1949 and Hu Feng's epic "Time Has Begun", the Incident on 4 June 1989 and *An Anthology of June Fourth Poetry*. In Chapter 2, I give a close reading of Zang Di's "An Unerected Monument" and identify two deconstructive ghosts: the specters of monumentality and the returned dead. I argue that traces of specters reveal a trajectory of the aesthetic transformation from Misty Poetry to Post Misty Poetry. The thickness and heaviness of history as a burden in Mistry Poetry was not fully abandoned but it was transformed into a deconstructive aesthetic tactics via spectralization. In Chapter 3, I specify the haunting of Marina Tsvetaeva in Duoduo's "Crafts—After Tsvetaeva" and Zhang Zao's "Conversation with Tsvetaeva". Both Duoduo and Zhang Zao spoke to Tsvetaeva and it is with the help of a dialogue with the ghost that poets understand the crafts of poem. In Duoduo's poem, his voice is inseparable from Tsveateva's spectral voice through which a polyphony that crosses the boundary of the living and the dead is created. In Zhang Zao's cycle sonnet, Tsveteava's apparition is an indispensable figure to fulfill a dialogue

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[45] Leng Shuang, "Lun 1990 niandai de shiren piping"(On the Critics of Poets in the 1990s 论 1990 年代的诗人批评) in Fencha de xiangxiang(Bifurcated Imaginations 分叉的想象) (Beijing: Guangming Ribao chubanshe, 2016), 160.

structure in which a paradoxical parallel between objects and human lot, between language and

national identity, between love and death.

Chapter 1 A Genealogy of Haunted Place: Tiananmen in Modern Chinese Poetry

> Haunted places are the only ones people can live in.
> —Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*

> While the name of the gate, with its rich historical echoes and its evocations of a timeless sphere beyond politics, has seemed across the last cape from current realities, the gate itself in the same period came to stand implacably for the power of the state.
> —Jonathan D. Spence, *The Gate of Heaven Peace*

Speaking of haunting, there needs to be a specific place to which specters return. This place can be the exact location of a tomb where the dead was buried, a house where the murder happened, or more general spaces such as landscapes and public sites attached to certain tragic historic events including bloodsheds, holocausts, and genocides. Entering a specific haunted place is "a recollection of or encounter with the past experiences and perceptions, making the concept of location immensely powerful as well as layered."[46] A multilayered haunted space is powerful in two sense: on one hand, it will give rise to uncanny feelings deriving from the recurrence of something repressed that we are not unfamiliar with[47]; on the other hand, the layers of a space condensed with different narratives and enunciations also associate the uncanny feeling with an experience of "unearthing of old histories" which "left an indelible mark on the aesthetics of haunting."[48] The necessity to delineate a spectral place is also coupled with theoretical concerns in Blanco and Peeren's *Popular Ghosts*. Considering Derrida's attention on a temporal haunting in *Specters of Marx*, the perspective of spatial spectrality is highlighted as a modification to Derrida's hauntology to prove that the disturbance of space is as much as that of time by

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[46] Blanco and Peeren, *Spectralities Reader*, 395.
[47] Freud, "The Uncanny", 241.
[48] Blanco and Peeren, *Spectralities Reader*, 397.

"discussing ghosts in spatial terms, emphasizing the materiality of ghosts and defining ghosts as agencies grounded in a particular locale."[49]

Based on scholarships that consolidated a method to describe a haunted place, this chapter focuses on a specific spectral space in China: Tiananmen, which not only refers to the Gate but also extends to the open space in front of it (later known as Tiananmen Square) and the Monuments to the People's Heroes erecting at the center of the Square. To reveal a spectrality of Tiananmen, this chapter locates it between a political space where real political events occur and a textual space where it is interpreted and reproduced in modern Chinese poetry. This chapter argues that there is another layer in-between, a spectral space in which the specters—usually martyrs who are either stigmatized, not properly buried, or too incompatible to be included in legitimate commemoration—are actively conjured, intentionally displaced, improperly appropriated, and wrongfully interpreted. In the construction of a haunted space, poets were consciously or unconsciously in tension with the official narratives. To highlight such interactions, this chapter discusses three specific historical moments that happened at Tiananmen—18 March 1926, 1 October 1949, and 4 June 1989—and poems that directly or indirectly responded to them to develop a genealogy of Tiananmen as a haunted space. This parallel between political events and poems is not an attempt to reiterate the representational function of literature for politics or society, but one to provide a "haunted" perspective to illustrate how a historic moment is creatively captured by poetry to "let those things be heard which ideology conceals."[50]

The Political Space and Textual Space of Tiananmen

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[49] Blanco and Peeren, *Popular Ghost*s, xvii.
[50] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Lyric Poetry and Society," in *Notes to* Literature, vol1, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (New York: Columbia Press, 1991), 38.

Tiananmen, or "The Gate of Heaven Peace" based on imperial expectations for this gate, was first built in the Ming dynasty and reconstructed in the Qing dynasty as the front gate of the imperial city.[51] The architectural function of Tiananmen is to separate the imperial city from the outside world: the space inside Tiananmen is and can only be occupied by the emperor; outside it is a world controlled under imperial proclamations and shared with the masses. Even for the courtiers, how far they can go from Tiananmen to Wumen (The Meridian Gate 午門)—the front door of the Forbidden City which represents the supreme authority—largely depends on how important their official position is. Nonetheless, whatever their posts may be, they need to kneel in the tunnel between Tiananmen and Wumen, waiting for the summon of the emperor. Performing the function of multilayered hierarchy of power, Tiananmen guards the secrets of the ruling class and excludes ordinary people from the center of the empire where political events, ritual ceremonies, and military reviews take place.[52] Thus, Tiananmen is not merely an architectural complex but as an incarnation of totalitarian and authoritarian power in a feudalistic tradition.

When the Qing dynasty collapsed and a republic was established, Tiananmen was no longer inapproachable to ordinary folks. It indeed became an ideal place for demonstrations which in turn made it a remarkable place in modern Chinese history.[53] In a series of nationalist movements, protestors gathered in the open space in front of Tiananmen to declare their dissident appeals

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[51] Lee Haiyan, "The Charisma of Power and the Military Sublime in Tiananmen Square" The Journal of Asian Studies 70, no. 2 (2011): 401-402.
[52] Ibid., 397-424.
[53] Protests and demonstrations took place in front of Tiananmen and later at Tiananmen Square includes : the demonstration on 4 May 1919 in protest against the Treaty of Versailles handing over Chinese lands to Japan; the patriotic march on 18 March 1926; the demonstration on 9 December 1935 which started the resistance movement against the Japanese invasion; the anti-autocratic movement during the Civil War on 20 May 1947; the mass memorial to the former prime minister Zhou Enlai on 5 April 1976; and the student movement for democracy and freedom on 4 June 1989. See Wu Hung, *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2005), 15.

against the authorities. After the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power, Tiananmen lost its traditional symbolic representation of feudalism and was reborn when Mao Zedong, standing at the top of the Tiananmen tower, declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949. What followed was the expansion of Tiananmen Square in front of the gate and the erection of the Monuments to the People's Heroes in the center of the Square. Considering Mao's portrait on Tiananmen's tower, his ambitious expansion of the Square and his inscription at the back of the Monument, these architectures were marked with the cult of Mao as well as a Maoist discourse on the authority of party. Based on such an authoritative historical narrative of Tiananmen, it further became the center stage of national mournings and demonstrations on 5 April 1976 and 4 June 1989. However, these two incidents had divergent destinies: the former was forever remembered as a remarkable step leading to the end of the Cultural Revolution which reaffirmed the heroic aura of Tiananmen; yet the latter, on the contrary, stained Tiananmen with the blood of student protestors which became a lamentable scar to be concealed and censored by CCP.

The inextricable connection between Tiananmen and the historical milestones in modern Chinese history rendered it a "political space" which, according to Wu Hung, should be viewed as "an architectonic embodiment of political ideology and as an architectural site activating political action and expression."[54] What Wu pointed out is a bidirectional interaction within this political space, that is, Tiananmen not only is constructed as a representation of a certain political discourse, but also voluntarily constructs it. The power of Tiananmen to construct lies in how it is memorized, interpreted, and appropriated to carry new experience, both personally and collectively, officially and unofficially. Following Wu's thoughts, Tiananmen, together with the Square and the

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[54] Wu, 9.

Monument, never limits itself to a geographical/political definition of a space as architectural complexes or legitimate monuments, but always expands itself to be a social space for commemorative events and traumatic secrets, a cultural space in which it is the de facto "protagonist in certain part of history, an impressive and shining cultural symbol in the memory of people,"[55] and a textual space in modern Chinese literature.

Tiananmen as an image in early modern Chinese poetry can be traced back to 1919. Zhou Zuoren's "Two Men Sweep Snow" (Liangge saoxue de ren 兩個掃雪的人)[56] and Luo Jialun's "A Winter Night in front of Tiananmen" (Tiananmen qian de dongye 天安門前的冬夜)[57] establish Tiananmen to construct a textual space.

> Two Men Sweep the Snow
>
> An overcast day,
> creamy powdered snow falls off all over the sky.
> Outside Tiananmen, on the endlessly white road,
> there are no traces of rickshaws or horses,
> only two people there sweeping the snow.
> As they sweep it continuously snows.
> They bosomed the east; it snows in the west.
> They cleared the upland; it snows on the lowland.
> The crafted linen outfit is covered with a layer of snow,
> they two are still sweeping without an end.
> It snows more and more heavily.
> What all around is the pouring creamy powdered snow.
> In the midst, they are like two ants floating in the white wave.
> They two are still sweeping without an end.
> Bless you, to people who sweep.
> I started to walk in the snow since the early morning, and I have to thank you.
>
> 兩個掃雪的人
>
> 陰沉沉的天氣，

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[55] Yan Dong, Xiandai han shi de kongjian yiyi (Spatial Meanings of Modern Chinese Poetry 现代汉诗的空间意义) (Shanghai: Shanghai san lian chuban gongsi, 2011), 105.

[56] Zhou Zuoren, *Guoqu de shengming* (Past Life 过去的生命) (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chuban gongsi,1996), 2.

[57] See *Xin chao*(The Renaissance 新潮) Vol. 2, Issue 1(Beijing, 1919).

香粉一般的白雪，下的漫天遍地。
天安門外白茫茫的馬路上，
全沒有車馬蹤跡，
只有兩個人在那裡掃雪
一面盡掃，一面盡下，
掃淨了東邊，又下滿了西邊，
掃開了高地，又下滿了拗地。
粗麻布地外套上已經積了一層雪，
他們兩個還只是掃個不歇。
雪愈下愈大了，
上下左右都是滾滾的香粉一般的白雪。
在這中間，好像白浪中漂著兩個螞蟻，
他們兩個還只是掃個不歇。
祝福你掃雪的人！
我從清早起來，在雪地裡行走，不得不謝謝你。

Zhou couched this poem in a peaceful atmosphere where two people were cleaning the street in a heavy snowfall. Affirming Zhou's humanistic care for the common people, this poem could be understood as echoing the theme of "unadorned poetic sincerity and honesty" in his essay "Commoner Literature" (Pingmin wenxue 平民文學). He suggests replacing aristocratic literature with commoner literature that describes common thoughts and facts of ordinary folks. This division is vividly exemplified by an implicit contrast between the "creamy powdered" snow and clusters of images such as the gloomy weather, the laborious and endless cleaning process, and the "ant" like people that veil an unsettling ease under the ostensible peace. This transformation of the literary paradigm is also evident in the choice of this special place, Tiananmen. As the background in this poem, though Tiananmen is only regarded as a normal place with no political connotations, it constructs the space in this poem: all the scenery described is outside Tiananmen, while what is inside is left untouched but speaks for itself silently. Zhou's choice for commoner's literature is obvious: he intentionally makes Tiananmen a barrier that obstructs the view of the narrator, constricted (concentrated) his view to a world outside Tiananmen—a world where the story of

commoners can be documented sincerely and honestly—without any reference to the world inside

Tiananmen of emperors and nobles, which implies his refusal of the autocratic literature. The

textual space of this poem is shaped by the traditional architectural function of Tiananmen: the

world outside Tiananmen is a place that can be described and visible to poets; yet, what remains

inside is rather impalpable and invisible. The crafty play of Tiananmen between known and

unknown, invisibility and visibility served a political and "cosmological"[58] philosophy: for the

emperor, "he was invisible from the public space and because he, and only he, saw everything

outside from his private space……The way of the ruler lies in what cannot be seen, its function in

what cannot be known……See but do not appear to see; listen but do not seem to listen, know but

do not let it be known that you know……"[59]

This phenomenon of asymmetrical (in)visibility constructed by Tiananmen is similar to the

"visor effect" in Derrida's *Specters of Marx*— "We do not see who looks at us."[60] Writing from a

perspective of being looked at, Derrida appropriates the visor from Hamlet's murdered father and

further conceptualizes it as an inseparable part of this ghost. The visor not only gives the specter

a supreme privilege—"the power to see without being seen" [61] —but also asks for an

incontrovertible obedience because he is the one "who makes the law, who delivers the

injunction."[62] The visor as a device breaks synchrony: while acting its function to protect the King

from any potential recognition or perception by others, it only promises a certain expecting listener,

Hamlet, to whom he will reveal himself and ask for a revenge. The asymmetry and asynchrony of

the visor resonates Derrida's construction of a temporal haunting which breaks all continuity in its

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[58] Lee, 399.
[59] Wu, 88.
[60] Derrida, 6.
[61] Ibid., 8.
[62] Ibid., 7.

apparition and reapparition starting from the line: "Time is out of joint." This injunction is also pertinent to what happened inside Tiananmen since the clash of the Qing Dynasty because the specter of monarchy still rests under the visor which reveals itself and leads to the restorations of monarchy twice after the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911.[63] Besides sharing similarities in temporal haunting, Tiananmen also offers a spatial perspective to the visor effect that admits while excludes, protects while reveals. It indeed functions as a bigger visor for an invisible emperor no matter whether he or the spirit of monarchy is still behind it. The visor effect of Tiananmen renders it a proper place with spectral possibilities both temporally and spatially in the 1910s.

A Winter Night in front of Tiananmen

I.
Dark sky,
attached closely to the dark grey earth.
Seeing no silhouette of human all around,
I feel like standing in wilderness,
deep silence,
everything in my heart is solitude, desolation, horror!
Ah light! Where are you?

II.
A gust of bitter wind,
brings about thick fog all over the face.
There is suddenly a gleaming star
dimly hiding in the fog:
"J-i-n-g-l-i-n-g"
there seems something moving in front of the star
Is it also a human?
This second thought triggers endlessly miserable emotion in my heart.

天安門前的冬夜（羅家倫）

（一）

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[63] The first restoration of monarchy was launched by Yuan Shikai(袁世凱) on 20 November 1915 who claimed Emperor of the Chinese Empire(中華大帝國). Second revival was launched by General Zhang Xun(張勳) on 1 July 1917 and he reinstalled the last emperor of Qing Dynasty, Puyi(溥儀) to the throne.

黑沉沉的天，
　　緊貼着深灰色的土。
四面望不見一個人影，
好像我一身站在荒野裏——
　　渺無聲息——
　　心頭所有的——孤寂，荒涼，恐怖！
光啊！你在何處？
（二）
一陣澀風，
　　送來滿臉的濃霧。
霧裏面忽然有一顆隱隱約約的微星，——
　　"叮——噹！"
星前髣髴有個東西在動——
　　那也是人嗎？
一轉念更引起我心頭無限的悽楚

Compared to the ostensible tranquility in Zhou's poem, Tiananmen in Luo's poem is more directly associated with an uncanny feeling. Standing in front of Tiananmen, Luo feels absorbed in a scary space in which the sky and the ground are connected together in darkness, and nobody was around him. This scenery became the direct source of his "solitude, desolation and horror". It is hard to tell whether in reality no one was around him, or the darkness blocked his sight from recognizing people, or his depression intentionally drove him neglecting people, or it was a rhetorical exaggeration to highlight his depression. Yet, what makes Tiananmen important is its dual function in this poem: it is both the source and the carrier of narrator's uncanny feeling. Only appearing in the title, Tiananmen hides and permeates its uncanny spirit into the whole poem. The textual space is hovered by a spectral Tiananmen and the uncanny atmosphere it brings about. For the narrator however, the surrounding darkness and his personal insecurity urges him to get out of the darkness and such an urgency is elevated to a call for brightness— "Ah, light! Where are you?" It is hard not to connect this pursuit for brightness with the Zeitgeist of the May Fourth Movement, especially considering Luo's identity of student leader in this remarkable event. His depression

and confusion fused with Tiananmen made it a more representational and legitimate dark side of the inner world of the young generations like Luo Jialun. What the narrator is looking for in the poem is not only a human, but more specifically a peer that shares similar desire for light. In the end of this poem, he does "find" a man, or at least, he is given a chance to perceive the trace of a man in "the gleaming star". Yet this temporal hope, the dim light from the star, is soon destroyed by his self-doubt with a "second thought" that only drowns himself deeper into the darkness of Tiananmen and renders Tiananmen a carrier of his "miserable emotion". The uncanny feelings grown from Tiananmen—both externally influenced by looking for the spectral traces of someone or no one and internally arouse from the inner desolation—inflected the gene of spectrality in this place in modern Chinese poetry which will further be echoed in later poems.

18 March 1926: A Displaced Haunting at Tiananmen

On March 18, 1926, progressive students assembled in the open fields in front of Tiananmen and started parades from Tiananmen to their destination—the office of the chief executive located in Tieshizi Hutong (鐵獅子胡同).[64] The demonstration started because of a war between two warlords Feng Yuxiang and Zhang Zuolin. In order to prevent the landing of Zhang's army, Feng blockaded and mined Dagu Harbor in Tianjin for defense. This action was taken for interfering with Japanese interests in violating Article VIII of the Boxer Protocol signed in 1901 between China and eight imperial countries, which clearly stated that "The Chinese Government has consented to "raze the forts of Taku [Dagu] and those which might impede free communication

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[64] Zhang Bofeng, et al., *Beiyang Junfa 1912-1928*(*Northern Warlords 1912-1918 北洋军阀 1912-1928*), Vol.5 (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1990), 198.

between Peking[Beijing] and the sea."[65] Therefore, ambassadors representing eight imperial powers issued an ultimatum containing the threat of military force to urge Beijing Government to follow the treaty and clear the harbor for free communication and trade.

If the interference in domestic affair of imperial force and the pernicious influence of unequal treatise are the main reason of a petition at Tiananmen, that Duan's government unconditionally accepted the ultimatum was regarded as a treacherous action by the students. As a result, when they arrived at the square in Tieshizi Hutong, their confrontation with the guards of the chief executive turned out to be a bloodshed tragedy. Entitled "Dead Bodies Were Everywhere in Front of The State Council"(Guowuyuan menqian fu shi bian di 國務院門前伏屍遍地), the report on 26 March from *Eastern Times* (*Shibao* 時報) gave a detailed description of how the massacre started:

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[65] Treaties, etc. *Settlement of Matters Growing Out of the Boxer Uprising in 1900: Final Protocol Between China and the Powers Represented at Peking* (US Government Printing Office, 1924), 307.

（六）衛隊開槍至十餘分鐘

十分、衆推丁維汾安體誠陳公孟等五人爲代表、要求入見總理賈德耀、衛隊值班者爲該旅第一團第三營第十連與教導隊、衛兵見衆至、即將柵門緊閉、衆立門首大呼見賈德耀、衛隊長官自門內答賈總理不在院、衆大譁、同時並高唱「國民革命歌」、呼聲激盪雲霄、當是時、忽有人在衆後大呼「打倒段祺瑞」等口號、同時並狂呼「驅逐八國公使出境」、「打倒帝國主義」、「聯逐八國公使出境」、「衝鋒」、「殺進去」、於是後面衆向前猛進、衆多執木棍、棍端嵌鐵釘、以爲武器、衛隊與衆衆既退、衆始則互報以惡聲、俄而衝突愈烈、衛隊向空鳴槍、衆仍奮勇向前、不稍毀縮、至是、衛隊乃實彈開槍、向衆射擊、衆大援、紛紛後退、一時旗旛人亂、哭聲大起、時廳前慘劇遂開演矣、而倒者歡人、向衆照壁之下、有男女學生三人伏地、流血如注、而槍聲仍磚礫不絕、衆既退、乃有人在後大呼「不要散」、少頃、槍聲漸止、衆衆亦逐漸齊集、時下午二時二十分也。

又開幕、衆衆見來勢益猛、有如雨下、於是第二幕慘劇又開幕、衆衆見來勢益猛、逐紛向東門狂奔逃避、是時、有閃避槍彈而臥地下者、有力弱不勝擁擠而倒地者、就中以女學生及小學生爲多、皆被踐踏、不能行動、衆衆中原有腳踏車隊、至是、有脚踏車或或不便、而衆棄車而走、因脚踏體橫梗道路、衆衆至十餘分鐘之久、槍聲震耳、濃煙如霧、時有彈中要害立斃者、亦有中彈後狂奔至院東門外、當而死者、一時國務院門前及東門口外、血花飛濺、陳尸纍纍、景象極慘、見者酸鼻、同時戒獅子胡同實行戒嚴、交通完全斷絕、

At that time, someone in the crowd suddenly yelled "Charge inside." Then people from the back pushed forward. Many of them held sticks with nails on which were used as their weapons. As soon as the guards confronted the masses, they started to talk badly towards each other. After a while, the confrontation was intensified. Guards fired rifles into the air, but the masses still marched forward courageously. In this condition, guards shot the masses with real bullets as was the start of an unprecedented tragedy. [66]

Questions—such as how many students participated in the violent demonstration, how many of them were hurt, which side acted violently first and who should be responsible for the massacre—could not be investigated thoroughly since both the government and the students together with their organizers (the KMT and CCP) stuck to their own arguments[67]. However, the

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[66] *Eastern Times*(Shi bao 時報), March 26, 1926.

[67] For representative reports from different campaigns, see "Linshi zhizheng ling"(Proclamations from The Executive 臨時執政令), "Zhongguo gongchandang wei Duan Qirui tusha remin gao quanguo minzhong"(Chinese Communist Party's Declaration on Duan Qirui's Massacre to People across The Country 中國共產黨為段祺瑞屠殺人民告全國民眾), "Guomin zhengfu dui shiju xuanyan"(A Manifesto to Current Situation from Nationalist Government 國民政府對時局宣言), and "Quanguo xuesheng zonghui dui canan tonggao" (An Announcement to The Tragedy from National Student Assembly 全國學生總會對全國通告) in *Beiyang junfa 1912-1928*, 192-198.

aftermath of this massacre was a furious public condemnation of Duan's government as well as a mourning for the dead students, which soon led to the fall of this temporary government.

Based on this context, patriotic poets of The Crescent Moon School(Xinyue Pai 新月派) published poems in newspapers and made the first issue of their poetry column Shijuan (詩鐫) in the *Morning Post Supplement* (Chen Bao Fukan 晨報副刊) a special issue to commemorate this massacre. Among these timely reflections on the political incident, mournings, and insinuations??, poems with the same title "Tiananmen" written by Wen Yiduo (1899-1946) and Rao Mengkan (1902-1967) deserved attention because their construction of Tiananmen as a haunted space.

Tiananmen (by Wen Yiduo)[68]

God heavens, I was really scared today!
Even now I can still feel my legs trembling.
See there, see there, they are almost catching up with us,
wouldn't anyone run as fast as I?
Please, sir, just let me catch a breath, those things there,
can't you see those pitch-dark things,
some are headless, others hobbling, they frighten me,
they keep on waving from white banners and calling out.
There's nothing you can do nowadays, who could give you an answer?
There's nothing men can do about it, let alone the ghosts.
Ah, they are still holding their meetings, still not behaving properly!
See there, whose children are those,
they're hardly adolescents, are they? Why?
Aren't those bayonet wounds on their heads?
Sir, they say that people were killed yesterday,
and those who died were foolish students.
How strange things are nowadays,
those students have all they need to eat and drink—
my second uncle died at Yangliuqing,
pushed by starvation to become a soldier—
how can these ones sacrifice their lives like this?
I'm no liar, I think
I've just filled my lamp with two measures of oil, a full ladle's worth,

天安門（聞一多）

好傢伙！今日可嚇壞了我！
兩條腿到這會兒還哆嗦。
瞧著，瞧著，都要追上來了，
要不，我為什麼要那麼跑？
先生，讓我喘口氣，那東西，
你沒有瞧見那黑漆漆的，
沒腦袋的，蹶腳的，多可怕，
還搖晃着白旗兒說着話……
這年頭真沒法辦，你問誰？
真是人都辦不了，別說鬼。
還開會啦，還不老實點兒！
你瞧，都是誰家的小孩兒，
不睬十來歲兒嗎？幹嘛的？
腦袋瓜上不是使槍扎的？
先生，聽說昨日又死了人，
管包死的又是傻學生們。
這年頭兒也真有那怪事，
那學生們有的喝，有的吃——
咱二叔頭年死在楊柳青，
那是餓的沒法兒去當兵，——
誰拿老命白白的送閻王！
咱一輩子沒撒過謊，我想
剛灌上倆子兒油，一整勺，

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[68] Wen Yiduo, Wen Yiduo dai biao zuo: Hongzhu(The Representative Works of Wen Yiduo: Red Candle 闻一多代表作: 红烛)(Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2010), 179. A Translation from Tao Tao Sanders see Jonathan D. Spence's *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, pp.194-195.

how can I trudge on, trudge on, and fail to see the road?
No wonder Little Baldy was scared out of his wits,
and told us not to go through the Gate of Heavenly Peace at night.
Ai! It's another blow for us rickshaw pullers.
By tomorrow the city of Beijing will be full of ghosts!

怎麼走着走着瞧不見道。
怨不得小禿子嚇掉了魂，
勸人黑夜裏別走天安門。
得！就算咱拉車的活倒霉，
趕明日北京滿城都是鬼！

Tiananmen (by Rao Mengkan)[69]

天安門（饒孟侃）

The open fields in the front are called Tiananmen.
Good boy, if you are scared, don't make any noise.
People say that you can hear the crying of ghosts here,
and nobody will go past here at night.
　　　　New ghosts cry, old ghosts respond,
　　　　it will be so terrifying if we hear this!

前面那些空地就叫天安門，
好孩子，你要害怕就別做聲，
人家說這裏聽得見鬼哭，
一到晚上就沒有走路的人。
　　新的鬼哭，舊的鬼也應，
　　要是聽著真嚇死人！

The open fields in the front are called Tiananmen.
You are free to walk here, which is impossible before.
I've heard that it rained heavily one day,
here kneels thousands of Jinshi and Juren! [70]
　　　　Long before dawn, when the cock crowed
　　　　the water is full of people who kneeled.

前面那空地就叫天安門，
這會兒隨你走，從前可不成；
聽說有一天這裏下大雨，
還跪着成千的進士和舉人！
　　天還沒有亮，雞叫一聲，
　　水裏滿是跪着的人。

The open fields in the front are called Tiananmen.
Don't ask more about this event from your mum.
As it is brought up, my heart beats rapidly.
You never ask me who these things are:
　　　　When the lights are off, the crying of ghosts is everywhere
　　　　Who can we, a single child and a widow, depend on?

前面那空地就叫天安門，
這件事別再要媽講給你聽。
提起這事我的心就會跳，
你千萬別問我是什麼人；──
　　燈兒一暗，盡是哭聲；……
　　孤兒寡母靠什麼人！

The open fields in the front are called Tiananmen.
Now it's a place for petition and demonstration.
I've no idea what is wrong with being patriotic,
why the gun shots made them hard to be recognized?
　　　　Their body was covered by blood, their face pale,
　　　　They went a long way growing up!
……

前面那空地就叫天安門，
如今鬧的卻是請願和遊行。
不知道愛國犯了什惡罪，
也讓槍桿兒打得認不得人？──
　　身上是血，臉上發青，
　　好不容易長成個人！
……

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[69] This poem was revised on 25 March based on an old edition. It was originally published on Chenbao fukan Shijuan April 1, 1926. See Rao Mengkan, *Rao Mengkan shi wen ji* (A Collection of Poems and Essays of Rao Mengkan 饒孟侃詩文集)(Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1996), 9.
[70] Jinshi(進士) was the highest degree in the Imperial Examination(科舉考試) in Imperial China. Juren(舉人) was a lower level degree than Jinshi to refer to those who pass the provisional examination(鄉試).

It's not hard to trace ghosts and their returns in both poems. They largely kept the exact appearances when they died, which implies the tragic ending of their life: the "pitch-dark", "headless things" "hobbling" and "covered in blood." These ghosts are the students killed in the March 18 massacre. They are conjured by the poets to regather in front of Tiananmen as they once did when they were alive—they were still "waving white banners and calling out"; "they are still holding meetings"—to continue the demonstration in a textual space. However, for the living, these ghosts are a disturbance of their daily life in that what was patriotic turns out to be frightening now. What is more uncanny is that the ghosts' occupation and wandering at Tiananmen renders it a "forbidden" place for them to go through at night, a haunted place that is dangerous. However, remembering the historical fact that the massacre took place in front of the State Council, which was in Tieshizi Hutong, not at Tiananmen. Then questions need to be asked: why did Tiananmen become a favorable place for the ghosts to return in their poems? Why did both poets choose a literary displacement of the actual locale of this massacre in the political incident? Why were the Tiananmen poems remembered and further canonized as representative texts of the massacre rather than other poems written in the same context?

Wen's "Tiananmen" was entirely quoted by the authoritative historian and sinologist Jonathan Spence to highlight the role this literary text played in how the demonstration at Tiananmen transformed a political public space into a literature public space. However, his statement that this poem was written "in memory of the **location** of the massacre"[71] contrasts the historical fact that the **location** where the massacre took place is Tieshizi Hutong rather than Tiananmen. It is necessary to distinguish the two important sites from each other in this incident because they were attached with divergent recognitions as the demonstration developed:

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[71] Spence, 194. (Emphasized by myself)

Tiananmen is the starting point of this demonstration that happened in the form of a peaceful petition, while Tieshizi Hutong is the destination where the demonstration ended in a violent confrontation; people who gathered at Tiananmen were patriotic students, while the group packed Tieshizi Hutong at least provided the government with enough excuses to turn the patriots into "riots"; the National Assembly(Guomin Yihui 國民議會) was held and eight resolutions were passed at Tiananmen which embodied the will of people, while the violent confrontation at Tieshizi Hutong exposed the uncontrollable irrationality of public participations of political events.

These obvious distinctions did not escape Spence. In other words, he was not unaware of the importance of Tieshizi Hutong. As further evidence, he had a quote from Wen's essay "Literature and Patriotism: In Memory of March 18 "(Wenxue yu aiguo: Jinian sanyue shiba 文學與愛國──紀念三月十八)," in which Wen gave credit to Tieshizi Hutong in the opening line as the site of the bloodshed.[72] However, in Spence's later quote, Wen's juxtaposition of both places— "I suppose the hot blood desiring for freedom, justice, ideal be spread in Tiananmen, in Tieshizi Hutong, and that it also be spread under the pen and on the paper"[73]—was paraphrased as "in Tiananmen and an alley around it."[74] He intentionally altered "Tieshizi Hutong" from a memorable place to a vague, nameless place that deserved no attention from readers. His neglection of the real massacre place—which inevitably led to his misinterpretation of Wen's Tiananmen—was based on his misunderstanding of Wen's use of "Tiananmen" in this sentence.

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[72] Wen Yiduo wrote "The 'Shikan' was born after the Tieshizi Hutong bloodsheds. It is coincident. But who dare to say there is not a close relationship between 'Shi kan' and blood, literature and patriotic movement?"(鐵獅子胡同大流血之後《詩刊》就誕生了，本是碰巧的事，但是誰能說《詩刊》與流血──文藝與愛國運動之間沒有密切的關係？) See Wen Yiduo, 234.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Spence,195.

"Tiananmen" was used more symbolically than geographically because Wen emphasized a continuance of the spirit of demonstration from a political movement to the literature text as he ardently declared: "Those worthies who died on March 18 were not just patriots, they were the grandest of poems."[75] To further establish such a connection, Tieshizi Hutong and Tiananmen are not only two sites in the actual political incident, but also two poles that mark Wen's effort in making literature a patriotic act: if Tieshizi Hutong is the realistic pole of patriotism where the massacre takes place, then Tiananmen is the literary pole that permits a displacement of the real place of massacre and a change that turns itself into a haunted place. What connected these two poles are the ghosts conjured by Wen Yiduo. The dead return from an opposite direction in this poem—from Tieshizi Hutong to Tiananmen which is a counterpart for the reality in which the protesters marched from Tiananmen to Tieshizi Hutong—to establish a haunting in the textual space. Therefore, Wen's poem could not be merely read as a "political document"[76] as Spence did.

Based on such attempts to construct a literary dimension for this massacre, an intentional displacement of a haunted place is not enough. Wen Yiduo further illustrates a more ambiguous effect due to haunting. In Wen's poem, the rickshaw puller's haunted experience is developed through a process from perceiving the ghosts (at first, he used "those things" to refer to ghosts), recognizing the identity of ghosts ("they are stupid students"), questioning the ghosts ("how can they sacrifice their lives like this"), to finally complaining about being absorbed in a haunted space. Not only Tiananmen, but Beijing the whole city was transformed into a ghostly world at night, a reality that the living share with ghosts. From the puller's perspective, the ghosts are harmful: they chase him, they blow out his lamp, and they "scare Little Baldy out of his wits." Though he is

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[75] Wen Yiduo, 235. ("所以我們覺得諸志士們三月十八日的死難不僅是愛國，而且是最偉大的詩。) A translation from Spence, 195.
[76] Spence, 193.

aware these ghosts are students, what concerns the puller is his own fear of ghosts based on Chinese folk traditions, because in his mind it is not necessary to distinguish "progressive" ghosts from the others based on the fact that they all disturbed the order of daily life of the living, at least his.

The puller was not progressive enough to understand either the return of the dead or the essence of sacrificing. He complained how unfortunate he was being stuck in a haunted city on the one hand; he inquired the meaning of a patriotic death on the other. His sincere questioning derived from an uncanny encountering with the ghosts could only be understood sarcastically as his endless questions and astonishments pointed to an invisible interlocutor sitting inside the rickshaw from whom the puller might receive answers. However, at least in this poem the puller did not get the answers he wanted because the man sitting behind him kept silence to avoid direct responses. The voice of this potential interlocutor did not appear in this poem which turned the puller's conversational messages more like a monologue. The absence of this voice, possibly from a disparate position, if it is not necessarily against puller's sarcastic misunderstanding of sacrifice, at least uncovers a reserved attitude that reveals an ambiguous justice to be brought to the ghosts. In other words, the realistic dilemma between a life that is haunted by the progressive ghosts and the death to be memorized in the name of patriotism and justice needs to be and can only be partly disclosed in the form of poetry, in literature, a pole nailed by Tiananmen as a haunted place which not only displaces the real location of massacre but also secretly carried a disharmonious tone in the silence of a non-present spectral voice.

If the haunting in Wen Yiduo's "Tiananmen" is a great example to illustrate how far a haunted space in literary texts can deviated from a narrative of political events, then Rao Mengkan's illustration of "Tiananmen" as a haunted place leans on a historical echo from the past. Rao's poem underlines a historic change of Tiananmen: from where kneeled the officials to where

petitions took place, from a forbidden place to an accessible public area ("You are free to walk here, which is impossible before.") However, his intention is not to fortify a progressive narrative that substantial historic changes occurred in Tiananmen. Conversely, he indicates that Tiananmen as a haunted place remains unchanged.

Ghosts in Rao's poem not only include the specters of students, but also the ones that died in imperial China and were further trapped in Tiananmen. According to Wu Hung, the ground in front of Tiananmen is a place for death sentence in imperial China. Before the execution is processed, there is a ritual to let the accused answer a question: "Is your sentence justice or injustice? "[77] This question is similar to Rao's inquiry in the poem: "what is wrong of being patriotic?" The crux of justice and injustice is a juncture that brings ghosts from different era together--"New ghosts cry, old ghosts respond."—and creates an echo between them, which fortifies Tiananmen as a multi-layered haunted place for mourning. Rao is direct and sympathetic to impend on the ethical dilemma of the massacre: the dead are not only killed unjustly but also purposefully regarded as "riots" by Duan's government. It is a stigmatization of the patriots. Thus, they return "as collectors of some unpaid symbolic debt" to complete their unfinished affairs. [78] However, as what troubles and exhausts the rickshaw puller, the uncanny feelings in Rao's poem also exert a disturbance of daily life. This disturbance would end as soon as the debts are paid, the justice is brought, and stigmas are cleaned, which would eventually lead to an exorcizing of the ghosts. As Collin Davis further argued: "if the dead come back, it is because our belief systems allow for their return."[79] In this poem, the ghosts return in the acquiesce of the traditional belief system because they are conjured in the ritual of this system:

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[77] Wu, 93.

[78] Collin Davis, *Haunted Subjects: deconstruction, psychoanalysis and the return of the dead* (New York: Basingstoke, 2007), 2.

[79] Ibid., 3.

The open field in the front is called Tiananmen.
Not mention that, I'll almost forget it is Qingming Festival tomorrow.
People are busy purchasing fragrant candles on the street.
You and mum will be two tomb-sweeping people.
　　Outside Xizhimen, two mounds,
　　there sleep the kin folks.[80]

前面那些空地就叫天安門,
要不說倒忘了明天是清明;
人家都忙着上街買香燭,
媽也和你去做個掃墓的人;——
　西直門外, 兩座土墩,
　裏面睡的都是親人。

The Qingming Festival (清明節) is the day for ghosts based on Chinese folk belief. Following a tradition, people sweep tombs and offer sacrifices (the fragrant candles in this poem) to the dead to relieve them on that day. The dead being memorized are usually ones who have kinship with the livings. In this poem, the widow includ the ghosts of students into the context of a traditional ghost belief and attempt to rest them in peace through a folk ritual. Except for visiting the graves of dead students on the Qingming Festival, the widow establishes a more concrete bond between them and herself by viewing them as dead kin folks sleeping in the tombs. And this hypothetical tie with ghosts is further extended to and reinforced in her fear to imagine a potential death of her son, a tragic ending like the students that will eventually turn her son into a ghost. Her concern is vividly described: "Now I lived my life because of you. If the incident happened to you, whom can I depend on?" From the perspective of this widow to whom her son means everything, sacrificing for the country is understood in a family structure: if her son were to die in the name of a greater love for the country by any chance like the students, then she would inevitably become a sufferer of a patriotic action. Her anxiety directly derives from a haunted experience in front of

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[80] Rao, 10.

Tiananmen, wherein similarities between a possible destiny of her son and the tragedy happened to the ghosts are drawn. Though the mother whose concern reveal the subtle gap between a maternal love and a love for the country is partly conservative, her reevaluation of patriotic actions into a family-country bound as a mother rightly recompensate the unpaid debt, the justice one used to ask from the temporary government. Understanding the patriotic sacrifice from a mother's perspective inside a family structure is not rare in poems written in response to the March 18 massacre.[81] What is special about Rao Mengkan's "Tiananmen" is that this poem neither merely express a mourning within the family nor pursue an obscurely escape from a direct confrontation with the massacre, but it essentially reveals the basic logic of haunting for the sake of justice. Moreover, both the folk tradition of an exorcization and the anxiety reflected from the ghosts on the livings are concentrated in the description of a haunted place Tiananmen, where the past meets the present, the progressive ghosts are echoed by the old ones.

1 October 1949: An Improper "Requiem" at Tiananmen

In ten days before the founding ceremony of PRC, CCP held the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (第一届中国人民政治协商会议 CPPCC) to go through and vote for the critical issues for a new regime, including to pass the permission for constructing the Monument to the People's Heroes at the center of Tiananmen. In the opening address of this conference, Mao Zedong majestically declared "the Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up !"[82] Mao's injunction was a resolute farewell to the

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[81] See "March 18: In Memory of The Bloodshed in Tieshizi Hutong"(San yue shiba: Jinian Tieshizi Hutong da liuxue 三月十八: 紀念鐵獅子胡同大流血) in Rao, 8; see "Being Bullied"(Qifu zhe le 欺負著了) in Wen, 181.

[82] USC US-China Institute. "The Chinese People Have Stood Up! 1949: Opening address by Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative

old era and a warm welcome to the new era. Inspired by Mao's epochal declaration, Hu Feng (1902-1985) created an almost 4600-line epic called "Time Has Begun" (Shijian kaishi le 时间开始了) from November 1949 to January 1950. The cycle consisted of five songs: "An Ode to Joy" (Huanle song 欢乐颂), "Commendation of Honor" (Guangrong zan 光荣赞), "Song of Youth" (Qingchun zan 青春赞), "Requiem" (An hun qu 安魂曲) and "Another Ode to Joy" (You yige huanle song 又一个欢乐颂)[83]. Though the chapters had different emphasis[84], what is consistent is the grandeur theme, symphonic structure, extravagant use of words, enthusiastic blooming of spirits and sincere pouring of passions. As a "lyric for the winners"[85], the cycle's direct reflection of political events and resounding praise of Mao rendered it a prototype for later political lyrics and invented a tradition of "Ode Style"(Songge ti 颂歌体) in Maoist China .

In "Ode Style" poems, Tiananmen is a common image because writing on Tiananmen is a convenient and safe way to praise the leadership of the party as well as Mao. Poets won't bother either bringing more embellishments to it or thinking of more proper metaphors to describe Tiananmen because the connotations of Tiananmen have already been exhausted as it was conceptualized as an "emblem"— "a direct verbal definition well known by all members of a group, class or culture—in the cleansing of its imperial meaning as well as a construction of a new

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Conference." https://china.usc.edu/Mao-declares-founding-of-peoples-republic-of-china-chinese-people-have-stood-up

[83] Names of the five chapters used here were the original ones published in 1950. After Hufeng was liberated from the prison in the 1980s, he revised this group of poems and changed "Requiem" to "A Eulogy of Heroes"(Yingxiong pu 英雄谱) , "Another Ode to Joy " to "The Song of Triumph"(Shengli Song 胜利颂). See. Hu Feng, *Hu Feng shi quan bian*(A Total Collection of Hu Feng's Poem 胡风诗全编), ed. Lv Yuan and Niu Han (Zhejiang wenyi chuabnshe, 1992), 75-252. The English translations used here are from Ruth Y.Y. Huang, *Hu Feng: a Marxist intellectual in a communist state, 1930-1955*(Albany, SUNY Press: 2020),111.

[84] For an outline of the brief summary of each sond, see Ruth Y.Y. Huang,112.

[85] Chen Sihe, "Chongxin shenshi 50 niandai chu zhongguo wenxue de jizhong qingxiang"(A Revisit of several trends in Chinese literature in early 1950s 重新审视 50 年代初中国文学的几种倾向), Shandong Shehui Kexue, no. 4(2000): 92.

meaning."[86] Tiananmen was the symbol for the new regime, the synonym of Mao himself with his portrait hanging on Tiananmen since 1 October 1949. Staying highly align with the obvious political connotations attached to Tiananmen since the ceremony, *People's Daily* (Renmin Ribao 人民日报) published such poems that highlighted the ceremony and Tiananmen as Guo Mo Ruo's "The Ode to Xinhua" (新华颂), Xu Fang's "The Ode to PRC" (新中国颂), Wang Yaping's "Welcome, PRC!"(迎接中华人民共和国), Lv Jian's "The Monument of Heroes" (英雄碑).[87] Besides these poems, He Qifang's "Our Greatest Festival" (我们最伟大的节日) and Bian Zhilin's "Quarters for Tiananmen" (天安门四重奏) are the representative poems that describes Tiananmen as a luminous, divine and positive political space.

However, the representative ethos of an "Ode style" poem cannot summarize every aspect of "Time Has Begun." What distinguishes it from other odes is its implicit heterogeneous description of Tiananmen—a place tainted with traces of ghosts as well as an evidence of a haunted past. Hu Feng's awareness of the dead is not only seen in "An Ode to Joy" and "Requiem"; he writes lengthy lines to display the specters of martyrs who died for the founding of PRC in different revolutionary period and invite them as witnesses to celebrate the historic moment occupied by Mao and a new ideology. In this process, Hu's idea is seemingly compatible with Mao who suggests a Monument be erected to commemorate the martyrs and rest them in peace. However, Hu Feng's unconscious deviation from Mao is more clearly illustrated by an assumption that to liberate the future, the past needs to be liberated first. For a liberation of the future, it is promised by Mao—in his declaration of the establishment of PRC and the forever stand-up of Chinese

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[86] Wu, 65.

[87] Liu Fuchun, *Zhongguo xinshi biannianshi*(A Chronicle of Modern Chinese Poetry 中国新诗编年史)(Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2012), 400.

people—and Hu Feng does believe in Mao with indisputable piety. But for the liberation of a past, a haunted past of both Tiananmen and personal revolutionary experiences, it still remains to be further projected. Therefore, the title of this epic— "time has begun"—could not be merely understood as an injunction that implies a future to enthusiastically create a new word, a future that begins from this moment that demands unreserved praise. It also asks for a revisit to the past that anticipates the future. In this poem, an effective way to liberate a haunted past was to let the dead return. Before a ghostly confrontation with the specters, Hu Feng first liberates the past of Tiananmen in the eulogy of Mao:

Mao Zedong
He stands here
Under his feet
lies down the Tiananmen
A place that is piled
　　by the blood and tears of people,
　　by the lives of people.
It cautiously lies down,
keeps itself motionless,
to ensure Mao Zedong stands firmly.
That's good!
Let you bring the highest gratitude
to salute great people
Let you bring all your power
to serve the newborn country
Thoroughly remold yourself!
Made up for your error![88]

毛泽东
他站在那里
在他的脚下
匍匐着那个
　　用人民的血泪
　　用人民的生命
堆起来的高大的天安门
它小心地匍匐着
一动也不敢动
让毛泽东平稳地站住
好得很！
让你拿出最高的虔敬来
向伟大的人民敬礼！
让你拿出全身的力气来
为新生的祖国服务！
脱胎换骨！
将功折罪！

Tiananmen in his poem is by no means an emblem that represented the new regime or Mao. Rather, it is a bloody place that is by deeply soaked in a feudalistic tradition, which needed to yield itself to the new ideology represented by Mao. Since Hu Feng regarded Tiananmen as a constructed "by the blood and tears of people" and "by the lives of people", it is reasonable and even necessary for him to conjure the specters of these dead and to resurrect them with dignity. This is an essential

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[88] Hu, 235.

step to renew the connotation of Tiananmen from a feudalistic vestige to a place that was occupied by Mao during the ceremony on one hand and that served all the people on the other. For the liberation of a haunted past, Hu Feng brought the dead in front of Mao:

You [Mao Zedong] look forward firmly, firmly What flashes in front of you?	你（毛泽东）坚定地望着望着 那上面闪现过了什么呢？
There flashes the face of a silhouette: Is he naked, tied, being sent to the place of execution, but bravely shouting out the slogans?	闪现过了一个面影： 赤裸着身子 被绑着送向刑场 在英勇地喊着口号吗？
There flashes the face of a silhouette: Is he tucked in a sack bag, thrown into the river, where comes the sound of water?	闪现过了一个面影： 被装在麻袋里面 抛到了河里 传来了一声水响吗？
There flashes the face of a silhouette: Is he trapped in the marsh, the head of a youth sinking, with two hands still struggling? …… A head hanging on the top of a telegraph pole, does it flash across? A corpse dropped dead at the corner of a dark dungeon, does it flash across? A half of the body buried in the ground, does it flash across?[89]	闪现过了一个面影： 在草地里陷了下去 青年的脑袋沉没了 双手还在抓扑吗？ …… 一颗挂在电线柱子上的头颅 闪现过了吗？ 一具倒毙在暗牢角落里的尸体 闪现过了吗？ 一个埋进土里的小半截身子 闪现过了吗？

Hu Feng's imaginative recollection of these "vivid" death continue for another five stanzas. These cruel and uncanny scenes in "Joyous Praise" are extremely dissonant with the loud and sonorous tones used in his description of "Mao's triumphant arise"[90]. The recurrent deaths do construct a power of disturbance to the jubilant atmosphere of the ceremony. Ironically, no matter how disturbing and frightening these lines are, the ghosts are sincerely conjured to be brought back to life. The time that "has begun" is also a time for the dead, for a renewed life of the dead. The

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[89] Hu, 92.
[90] Ruth Y.Y. Wang, 112.

haunted past and the flashes of the specters brought to the start of a new era were used to highlight

his gratitude for Mao: the greetings and salute from the livings are not enough, the dead also needs

to be involved into this celebration. He continued to ask for a return:

Thinking of you	想到了你
as well as thinking of	也正是想到了
such days like today	今天这样的日子
today	今天
in the new-born, warm embrace of the homeland,	在祖国新生的温暖的怀抱里
they come back to life	他们复活了
they return	他们来了
Stepping forward majestically,	踏着雄壮的步子
they return	来了
Raising healthy arms,	举起健康的手臂
they return	来了
Shining lovely eyes,	亮着温爱的目光
they return	来了
With happy smile,	浮着幸福的微笑
they return	来了
Return like swarms	蜂群似地来了
Return like waves	浪潮似地来了
return, return	来了来了
return to cheer for you	来向你欢呼
return to hail to you	来向你致敬
return to congratulate to you[91]	来向你祝贺

Hu Feng refers to Mao as the main source of the haunting: the specters returned because

they were "thinking of" Mao. The specters could only return in Mao's injunction "Chinese people

have stood up!" Their death was "embraced" and justified by this narrative of a new ideology

represented by Mao and the party. Though Hu Feng gives the apparition a justifiable excuse, his

repetition of "returns" for ten times to highlight a "glorious" haunting is still frightening, especially

when the parallel sentences are coupled with the tragic death in former stanzas. This effect is

severely deviated from Hu Feng's original intention to illustrate Mao's power, which further leads

to an ironic reading experience: the more majestic words he has used, the more uncanny this

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[91] Hu,94.

ceremony turns out to be; the more impressive a return he has designed for the march and cheering of the ghosts' troupes, the more entangled a narrative about the future and the past becomes. In later stormy critiques towards Hu Feng in 1953, Zang Kejia (臧克家 1905-2004) pointed out that "he (Hu Feng) conjured specters and asked them to pass through Tiananmen during the founding ceremony of PRC, which caused bad influence that the gruesome ghostly atmosphere overshadowed the exultant scenery of people at present and casted a shadow over the readers' heart."[92] Considering Zang's praise of this poem when it is first published[93], this critique in 1955 is an ideologically driven interpretation to denounce Hu Feng's "anti-revolution" position based on Mao's instruction of "Hu Feng Counter-revolutionary Group Affair" (Hu Feng Fangeming jituan an 胡风反革命集团案). Yet Zang's condemnations do reveal that apparitions due to Hu Feng's conjuration in front of Mao deviate from the correct routine of literature established by Mao since "Yanan talk" is delivered and readdressed in the 1950s. Therefore, the spectrality of this poem inevitably becomes a target and an essential evidence for "misunderstandings" that intentionally neglect Hu Feng's sincerity.

The successful publication of "An Ode to Joy" in the *People's Daily* on 22 November 1950 and the positive reception encouraged Hu Feng to write other songs in this epic. While this enthusiasm for the future continued, Hu Feng's conjuration of a haunted past at Tiananmen continued in "Requiem." If the specters in "Joyous Praise" were nameless, then their appearances in "Requiem" were clearer: they were no longer the unknown corpses that flashed back in front of

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[92] Zang Kejia, Hu Feng fangeming jituan shi di shizhi(The Essence of Poems in Hu Feng's Anti-Revolution Group Poem 胡风反革命集团底诗的实质) in Suqing Hufeng heibang fangeming wenxue zuopin de duhai(Eliminate the Poison of Anti-Revolution Literature in Hu Feng's Group 肃清胡风黑帮反革命文学作品的毒害), (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe: 1955), 27.

[93] Li Hui, *Hu Feng jituan yuanan shimo*(The Whole Story of Hu Feng Group's Unjust Case 胡风集团冤案始末)(Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe, 2010) , 51.

Mao Zedong; rather, they were Hu Feng's close friends with whom he worked together through the revolutionary experience and whose death were witnessed by him. These specters returned as living memories of Hu Feng at a specific moment on 30 September 1949: Mao lay down the foundation of the Monument to the People's Heroes. The aim to erect this Monument is best illustrated by Mao's inscription on it:

> Eternal glory to the people's heroes who laid down their lives in the people's War of Liberation and the people's revolution in the past three years.
> Eternal glory to the people's heroes who laid down their lives in the people's War of Liberation and the people's revolution in the past thirty years.
> Eternal glory to the people's heroes who from 1840 laid down their lives in the many struggles against internal and external enemies for national independence and the freedom and well-being of the people.[94]

The Maoist way to put the dead to rest was to give them "eternal glory" and title them as "people's heroes." Mao's intention is to involve the death in an authoritative narrative of revolution in which the death is generalized and glorified in the name of revolution. In other words, there are no individuals, except for a plural "people" to be collectively memorized or devoured in a Maoist narrative of history. As Wu Hung argues, this Maoist rhetoric—to retell the revolutionary history consisted of both a periodization of history and an effort to bring separate history phases into continuum—is "a retrospective reconstruction of the past from a present vantage point."[95] Since a past is reconstructed by the present in the proposed erection of the Monument, this posthumous recognition is also an effectively monopoly in identifying who the heroes were in the past, and whom the Monument would include in a state-led commemoration. However, Hu Feng's conjuration in front of the Monument, provides another perspective of these heroes to let the martyrs return in his recollection of their life story and a retell of their revolutionary experience. In "Requiem", Hu Feng offeres a highly personalized narrative of the heroes:

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[94] Wu, 28.
[95] Ibid.

You, a bullied apprentice a starved fisherman a red soldier who has seen the liberation of all human who has spread countless divine blood for the liberation of the poor an engineer of the human soul who has abandoned your hate and love for the pursuit of that solemn goal	你一个受过辱的小学徒 一个挨过饿的小渔夫 一个在火热的斗争里面 看到过全人类底解放 为了穷苦人民底解放 而流下了无量的神圣鲜血的红色战士 一个在不屈不挠的追求里面 为了那个庄严的追求目标 要把你的仇恨和爱情蒸发出来 去改造人类灵魂的工程师
How could you use the penny you earned from cheating and force a sacrificed girl from the poor humankind to strip her clothes until she was naked to lie down and let you climb up her like a slobbery dog?[96]	你怎么能够用你撞骗得来的一块钱 逼着穷苦人类底一个被牺牲的女儿 剥成赤条条的裸体 躺下来 让你像一条流着口涎的狗一样向她身上爬去？

This stanza, which appeared in the original version but was deleted in the revised version, was undoubtedly controversial because it sharply exposed the dark side of one of the martyrs, Qiu Dongping. According to Hu's description, he was defeated in the revolutionary literature campaign because of the struggle in literary circle. Driven by the disillusion and vacillation in revolution, Qiu went to Japan and escaped from a real confrontation of armed struggle. Soon, the failure in real life degraded himself and turned him from a revolutionary soldier who used to bravely fight against oppressor to an oppressor who messed up with prostitutes. Though in later stanzas, Qiu died in anti-Japanese war, which spared him with a patriotic death for redemption, the stanza quoted here is too powerful to be neglected. Such direct exposures on the defects of martyrs and the dark side of revolution were not rare in "Requiem": on Wan Xiyan's return, Hu commented "you are in love with power! The power from people that you have strived for now makes you so intoxicated that you can only feel yourself!" ("你是在恋爱/你是在恋爱着权力呀！/这第一个人民的权力/你用真诚追求了的/你用斗争争取到了的/人民的权力/使你沉醉得仅仅只能感觉到自己了")[97] On Fu

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[96] Hu, 184.
[97] Hu, 178.

Guoquan's return, Hu Feng's description was so cruel that a critic asked: "Why did Hu Feng pleasurably focus on the broken head when he described Fu Guoquan's death? Why the only impression Fu Guoquan leave on readers were frightening and failure such as his choice to be a bandit and his broken head?" [98]

Such direct exposures of the defects of martyrs and the dark side of revolution illustrate that no heroes were perfect, and their death could not be perfected by a posthumous recognition condensed in the authoritative narrative of the Monument. Hu Feng's undisguised depictions of specific deaths and torturous revolutionary experiences contradict neither the theme to build heroic figures nor the happiness and sacrifice of these martyrs. According to Hu Feng, the voice of painful experiences is no less powerful than happiness as long as it derives from a sincere heart, from the flesh and blood of real life. He even highlights the importance of this voice in revolution: "They [the voices] directly come from life, so they were accompanied by pain. And because of this, they were the true happiness. Only this happiness can overcome the pain, transform the pain to happiness and step forward." [99] Therefore, the defects of martyrs from the pain should not be shadowed or neglected not only because they contributed to a more realistic depiction of heroes but also because, in their return, their painful past could be transformed into the happiness of being memorized by the Monument and the start of a new era.

Though Hu Feng, a loyal follower of Mao, never intends to Mao's narrative inscribed on the Monument, the highly personalized haunting in his memory still functions as a counterpart that fissured the marble and refilled this fissure with vivid individuals. Therefore, the retell of various

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[98] Sha Ou, ""Yige geming pantu de zibai: Chongdu Hu Feng de an hun qu" (The Self-Statement of a Traitor in Revolution: Reread Hu Feng's 'Requiem' 一个革命叛徒的自白: 重读胡风的"安魂曲")" in *On Poetry*(Tan shi 谈诗)(Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 1956), 142.

[99] Hu Feng, "Zhufu zuguo, zhufu renmin!" (Congratulations to the regime, congratulations to the people! 祝福祖国， 祝福人民！) in *Hu Feng zawen ji*(A Collection of Hu Feng's Essay 胡风杂文集)(Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1987), 400.

painful revolutionary past in "Requiem" is regarded as a "solid" evidence to criticize that Hu Feng "brings shame on the martyrs to boost himself"[100] , "relies on the corpse of the martyrs to shoot harshly on the party and revolution"[101], and "utilizes this eulogy for the dead to attack the party, attack the literature policy of the party."[102]

Ironically, the original title "Requiem" published in 1950 was revised to "An Eulogy to the Heroes"(Yingxiong Song 英雄颂) in the complete collection of his poems in 1987. A requiem is to mourn for the dead and rest them in peace, but it ambiguously leaves the identity of the dead unknown, which spares enough space for (mis)interpretation. However, "A Eulogy to the Heroes" is a more proper title by identifying the dead to be remembered are heroes! This intentional revision illustrates Hu Feng's reidentification of this song after the misinterpretations driven by fierce political movements towards him and an almost thirty-year experience in prison.[103] He is finally aware of that his sincerity was not only naïve but also improper. The haunting he developes at Tiananmen as a poetic creation to celebrate failed to follow a standard of mourning: he misunderstood, and he was interpreted as he misunderstood what identity of the dead deserved a return and in what appearance the dead could return. It was an improper time to conjure the ghosts in front of Mao and invite them to join the troupes of the founding ceremony. It was also improper to invent a personal haunting in front of the Monument which was coincidentally make the appearance of the martyrs unclear and controversial.

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[100] Zang Kejia, 36.

[101] An Qi, "'An hun qu': fan geming de dujian"("Requiem": A Poisonous Arrow of Anti-Revolution "安魂曲"——反革命的毒箭) in Lun shu renmin zhi qing: shuqingshi lunji(Express the Emotion of People: A Collection of essays on lyrics 抒人民之情: 抒情诗论集) (Shanghai: Xinwenyi chubanshe, 1958), 9.

[102] Sha Ou, 144.

[103] Hu Feng's revision of "Time Has Begun" included adding epigraph to each song, revising the negative word such as "the dark side of revolution" to "the difficult side of revolution". His revision especially focused on deleting the improper description of martyrs. See Zhang Dan, " 'Shijian kaishi le' de liangge banben yu gaixie xiangdu"(The two editions of "Time Has Begun" and the directions of a revision "时间开始了"的两个版本及改写向度), Wenyibao. July 20, 2016.

4 June 1989: Tiananmen and Haunted Words

As the last public demonstration in front of Tiananmen, the June Fourth Incident at the Square led to a bloody ending, which adds another layer of haunting to Tiananmen as a spectral space, for it is the main locale of the massacre.[104] Situated in a genealogy of public demonstrations in Tiananmen from May Fourth 1919 to April Fifth 1976, the dead students—who identified themselves as successors of the pioneers in the May Fourth Movement—are included in neither the state commemoration of heroes inscribed on the Monument nor the narrative of the "May Fourth spirit"(Wusi jingshen 五四精神) that highlighs its anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism rather than a pursuit for democracy and freedom. Therefore, compared with previous demonstrations as positive icons, the June Fourth Incident is a taboo in contemporary China, which according to Michael Berry is "a phantom existing only in the memory of those who experienced it or witnessed it."[105] Berry's figurative use of "phantom" to refer to the massacre sharply points out the strict restrictions of any speech or writing on this Incident in mainland China, which renders a public commemoration impossible. Yet, they would be remembered by the survivors and witnesses as a haunted past at the Tiananmen Square that could not be exorcized and concealed by the repression of official narrative whose aim is to wash out the blood on the Square in oblivion, but it necessarily became the reason for private, voluntarily mourning and memorization. For modern Chinese poets, I argue that coincidentally and repeatedly revisits of the spectral place

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[104] Violent confrontations between students, citizens and the PLA soldiers also happened at Muxidi(木樨地) and Xizhimen(西直门). The bloodsheds at Tiananmen were because the students were asked to leave the square under the requirement of the PLA army. But it is not sure that whether on Tiananmen Square the massacre really happened.

[105] Michael Berry, *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film* (New York: Columbia University Press,2008), 300.

Tiananmen was an effective approach to resist forgetfulness and to retrieve the dignity of ghosts in their conjurations. In this process, they also highlighted the important role both poets and poetry played to shoulder a responsibility for history.

In *An Anthology of June Fourth Poetry* edited by Meng Lang (孟浪 1961-2018), no other keyword is as powerful as "haunting" because it marks a poetic creation that needs to be distinguished from other repetitively appeared words like "June", "square", "death" "memory which are shared by other genres such as the memoirs of survivors, interviews of the main student leaders, reviews and essays of commentators. Their contribution to represent the Incident is that if the influence it exerts on modern Chinese poetry is as "decisive" as critics has assumed[106], then one of the sequelae must be that its power of spectrality contaminates the use of words in Chinese vernacular. The crux is ordinary words—such as a "square" and a "stone"—are stripped off from its original denotations as an object or a space (even a connotated political space as Tiananmen Square[107]), and they are attached with spectral connotations because the poets intentionally coded them due to the massacre. Death might be an end for those who were killed, but it would never be an end for either the livings who frequently conjure the dead or the words written down in poetry.

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[106] Similar to other discourses that regarded June Fourth Incident as a socio-political, cultural, intellectual threshold, the influence of this Incident was also described as "decisive" on modern Chinese poetry. It became a landmark of periodization, the start of a conceptualization for "Poetry in the 1990s"(九十年代诗歌). It was also viewed as a trigger of thematic and stylistic transformations: writing on and for daily life surpassed the political lyrics in the 1980s and became a mainstream of poetry writing. New writing styles also emerged, such as Ouyang Jianghe's advocation of "Middle age writing"(Zhongnian Xiezuo 中年写作) and Zang Di's suggestion of "Individualization of History"(Lishi de gerenhua 历史的个人化). These poetic theories seemed to state that the tragedy of June Fourth Incident drove modern Chinese poets abandoning the tradition of "resistance" developed in the 1980s and turned around to go back to their own little world. The triviality, vulgarization and irresponsibility of poems become a main accusation of the poetry in the 1990s. Facing the chaotic judgement of modern Chinese poetry based on periodization, it's necessary to go back to this threshold and remember this historic site also created another genealogy of writing, the writing of resistance exemplified in memory of the June Fourth Movement. See Wang Jiaxin and Sun Wenbo, *Zhongguo shige jiushi niandai beiwanglu* (Chinese Poetry Documents of The 1990s 中国诗歌九十年代备忘录) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000).
[107] In Wu Hung's discussion, he argued that all squares in China are political. See Wu, 22.

In other words, that the Square became a spectral place in these poems is not because the students died in that political space and contaminated a glorious emblem since the establishment of PRC, but because they are conjured by poets in a textual space: they return to the Square to be reconnected with the livings and activated the unspeakable memory. Therefore, the square, as a word in the poems, is no longer the political space or merely an image in textual space, but an in-between spectral space resided by ghosts, where the living and the dead are brought together, where ordinary words and glorious words are cleansed and then attached with spectral markers.

Attentions on "Square" are widely seen in this anthology. It is described as an uncanny place occupied by ghosts (dead students). In Jiao Tong's "Old House"(Lao wu 老屋), he compares Beijing and the country to an old house in which the Square is a room connected to memory because "the old ghosts always howl and cry all over the night. (老邁的厲鬼總在暗夜裡號哭)"[108] In Yang Xiaobin's "Elegy"(Ai ge 哀歌), the Square is "without viscera, frightening, deadly silent/ Smoke was like floating ghosts. (被掏空了內臟的廣場，恐怖，死寂/煙縷如鬼魂漂泊)"[109] In Liao Yiwu's poem "The Great Massacre"(Da tusha 大屠殺), he first describes a merciless slaughter of from the soldiers to the protestors at the Square as the title implies. But what follows is more uncanny: the poet shows no inclinations to rest the dead in peace, but ironically brings them back to life for another turn of slaughter:

> The specter with red dress! The specter with white belt! The specter doing radio exercise with white sneakers! Where are you going? We need to dig you out from the ground, tear your fleshes, drag you out from the water and the air. Strafe! Strafe! Strafe![110]

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[108] All English translations from this anthology were from myself, except for ones with additional references. See Meng Lang, *Liu si shixuan*(An Anthology of June Fourth Poetry 六四詩選)(Taipei: Hei yanjing wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 2014), 30.

[109] Ibid., 88.

[110] Ibid., 27.

穿紅裙子的靈魂！繫白色腰帶的靈魂！穿球鞋做廣播體操的靈魂！往那裡跑！
我們要把你從泥土裡挖出來，從肉上扯下來。從空氣和水中撈起來。掃射！
掃射！掃射！

This is a massacre of specters! In Liao's conjuration, the specters are not only brought back to life, but they were forced to reexperience their death once again even if they have already suffered from it. The recurrence of indiscriminate massacre of men, women and the children—the specters with different appearances ("red dress", "white belt" and "white sneakers") implies their identity—marks a second haunting for the livings, considering the conjuration per se has already led to a haunting. What Liao attempts to reveal in this repetitive confrontation with deaths and apparitions is an endless cycle in which both the livings and the specters are involved. It is in this process, the haunted past is constructed as a presence, the specters as an accompaniment with the livings that could not be dispensed. In later stanzas, Liao further describes this coexisting imprisonment at the Square as "in this rancid summer, human and ghosts sing a same song. (腐臭的酷夏，人与鬼合唱着)"[111] This song is a counterpart to the one sung by the "murderers" when they marched towards the Square. It is not a requiem but a mournful howl for themselves because neither the dead nor the livings can leave the spectral place that is constructed by them and forever devours them. The besieged Square by "murderers" becomes an enclosing spectral space in which the livings are haunted by the specters while the specters are also haunted by the traumatic memories and repetitive death.

Besides the uncanny Square, "stones" as construction materials of the square are main sources of a spectrality. The surface of the Square was consisted of concrete paving bricks before

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[111] Ibid., 28.

it was replaced white granite slabs in 1999.[112] The Monument occupied by the students during the

demonstration for months is made of marbles. By highlighting their hard texture and accessibility,

stones in this anthology are synonyms of the Square, testimonies of a massacre, incarnations of

spectrality. Poets intend to deconstruct the lie at the Square and to disclose an unspeakable memory

by literally destructing the Square into the irreducible preliminary pieces of stones and associate

these stones with specters:

> These fleshes condemned with bad reputations, with crimes/ these living—/souls turned into stones……(這些攫取惡名、被定罪的肉體/這些活生生的——/變成石頭的靈魂啊)[113]

> "These wrongful stones were my language/ winter thunder roars in the snow of June" (這些含冤的石頭就是我的語言/冬雷鳴六月雪)[114]

> "People who refuse to live/require themselves to become stubborn stones that have never been seen before……/He falls on his back, when he falls/ his sight turns into stones/ his breath turns into stones/ the wind blowing over the Square turns into stones" (拒絕生命的人/要求自己成為前所未見的石頭……/他再次仰面倒了下去，倒下的時候/目光變成石頭/呼吸變成了石頭/吹過廣場的風，一瞬間變成石頭)[115]

These lines vividly illustrate how the Square's spectral ethos is reinforced: by comparing

the death of students to the process of "petrification," stones used to construct the Square are

incarnations of the dead. In other words, the dead return, or to put it more accurately: the dead

never left after they were murdered, they live and will live as long as the Square exists; they just

reappear in the conjuration of the poets. The stone also represents a language used by the dead.

Though the stones never speak vocally, they do speak with their presence, in their hard texture to

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[112] Service, MICHAEL LARIS Washington Post Foreign. "New Stones, Old Symbolism at Tiananmen." The Washington Post (1974-Current File). June 29, 1999.

[113] Xiaoxiao, "Lingyige shijie de beige"(An Elegy from Another World 另一個世界的悲歌) in Meng, 143.

[114] Liu Manliu, "Jianzheng(Testimony 見證)"in Meng, 95.

[115] Xu Jingya, "Jiyuan"(Era 紀元) in Meng, 80.

resist the erosion and artificial manipulations of official narratives. Stones, because of their accessibility, are easily to be appropriated and it indeed becomes a basic vocabulary that could be included in various narratives. However, the narrative of a haunting that the poets attempt to illustrate is only possible after the attached authoritative denotations on stones are cleansed. The haunting, the spectral incarnations on the stones fulfill such a desire to cleanse and to contaminate, to deconstruct and reconstruct, to reinvent a "stony" language that could bear apparitional experiences. Stones as new words with spectral meanings is only possible in poetry:

> For sure, stones are still stones,
> dirty fleshes are still dirty fleshes,
> heaviness, and substantial unknowability,
> but it is poetry that gives them magic and explanations.[116]
>
> 自然，石頭還是石頭，
> 骯髒身體還是骯髒身體，
> 是重量，是牢固的不可知，
> 但詩使它有了魔法和解釋。

This stanza from Xiao's poem offers enough hints to the magic and explanations of a haunting at the Square. Poetry is described like a magic book in which the new vocabulary "stone" is rewritten and could only be "explained" in association with the supposed irrelevant word "dirty bodies". The stones were contaminated, reexplained with spectral denotations in a new language system exemplified by poetry. It is not "magic, but a reality where poets update the language database of vernacular Chinese through a poetic haunting that happens in a textual. As Meng Lang explaines his intention of editing is anthology is an effort of "Alethia and disenchantment", a start to "rely on the enlightenment of poetry to tear the curtain of history, penetrate the obstacles of reality". [117] Neither is Meng Lang's mention of "Alethia" a Heideggerian pursuit of being and truth,

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[116] Xiao Kaiyu,Yuanze(Principles 原則) in Meng, 73.
[117] Meng, 10.

nor his "disenchantment" a Max Webber's description of western modernity with taxing religious references. However, his appropriation to both theoretically burdened words attempts to highlight the historic responsibility of poetry as a medium through which the first page of uncovering and disillusion about the June Fourth Incident could be at least flipped. Poets satisfied Meng's expectations by giving poetry and writing poetry an ethic glory such as "it is in an era without heroes that the poets need to destroy their flesh and utilize poetry to conjure the dead souls/ This is an easy deal, and the secret is in our hands, (恰恰是在没有英雄的时代诗人才要粉身碎骨，借诗还魂。/而这是轻而易举的事情，秘密就掌握在我们手中)"[118] and "the responsibility of poets never end./ Bring someone braveness, bring someone/ forever requiem, these/poems conform to our situation. (诗人的责任至今没有终止。给一些人勇气，给一些人/永久的安魂曲，这样的/诗歌，符合人们的境遇)" [119]

Moreover, in "Registers of Ghosts"(Lu gui bo 錄鬼簿), Liao Weitang (廖偉棠 1975—) even establishes a more concrete connection between the death of poets and that of the protesting students in June Fourth Incident. Liao's association is not new considering that the phenomenological deaths of modern Chinese poets in 1989 are both explicitly and implicitly connected to the political violence.[120] Their death also weigh a literary counterpart of the "ending" narratives of the June Fourth Incident as "to symbolize the beginning of the end of the Eighties[1980s]."[121] eDifferent from these approaches, what Liao developed in his poems was not the general entanglement between a cultural phenomenon and its sociopolitical milieu, but a

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[118] Huang Canran, "Aige"(Elegy 哀歌) in Meng, 180.

[119] Xiao Kaiyu, "Yuanze"(Principles 原則) in Meng, 73.

[120] See Maghiel van Crevel, *Chinese Poetry in times of Mind, Mayhem and Money*. Sinica Leidensia; v. 86. Leiden; (Boston: Brill, 2008), 103.

[121] Ibid., 106.

specific consistency as well as a spiritual bond between the sacrifice for poetry and the sacrifice at the Square.

"Registers of Ghosts" is the original title of a book written by Zhong Sicheng (钟思成, 1279-1360) in the 14th century to record the biography of "qu"(曲) writers. In the preface of this book, Zhong stated that "All men live their life once. They regard the dead as ghosts, but they do not know the undead(living) can also be ghosts." (人之生斯世也，但以已死者为鬼，而不知未死者亦鬼也) His aim is to rectify the name of "qu" writers who live in disguise and inferior social status. These writers are not literally dead but are treated like ghosts. Liao's appropriation of this title—literally read as "a record of ghosts"—is more inclusive: he not only records the living who live a ghostly live because of the expelling after the Incident such as Lao Mu, but also document the real dead, Haizi and Luo Yihe who return and "live" as specters in his poem. "Registers of Ghosts" is a cycle, including poems for Haizi, Luo Yihe, Shang Xiaomu, Laomu and one for "you" (the nameless people who died in the Incident). Except for the last poem dedicated to nameless dead in which the "I" narrator was Liao himself, the narrators in other poems are the dead poets. Liao let them "speak" for themselves, in their writing style to create a verisimilar haunting effect. As the real writer of these poems with the traces of ghosts, Liao only "objectively" appears in the epigraph to offer basic information of the dead poets: for Haizi, Liao states that "he is a poet and he died on March 26, 1989"[122]; for Luo Yihe, Liao adds that "Luo joined the hunger strike on Tiananmen Square and collapsed" and "Luo is the first victim of the June Fourth incident."[123] However, in the main body of both poems, the specters speak:

> I died before death, the flood

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[122] Liao Weitang, *Wandering Hong Kong with Spirits: Selected Poetry of Liu Waitong*, trans. Enoch Yee-lok, etal. Hong Kong Atlas(Hong Kong: Zephyr Press, 2016), 105.
[123] Ibid., 109.

separated me early, the train
only passed over my bloodstains, only took
my starvation, pushed towards a glorious lake.

Today I am the person who plant fantasies on the lake,
I am drawing the rails one by one into the wildflowers on the lake,
Life is all around in front my eyes
like a mountain goat with its face buried in wildflowers.[124]

我死於死亡之前，洪水
提前分開了我，列車
只經過我的血跡，只帶走
我的飢餓，推向燦爛的湖面

如今我就是大湖上栽種幻像的人，
我就是把鐵軌一一引入水面野花中
的那人。我滿目都是生命
像把臉埋入野花中的山羊。

Haizi's apparition is by no means uncanny in this poem. His return provides him with an opportunity to confront and retell his death by declaring "I died before death." The death itself is diluted by the peaceful images that frequently appeared in his poems ("wildflowers" and "lakes") especially when he says "life is all around me." The opening line of "I died before death" is a strong self-statement for both a refusal and a reinterpretation of his own death due to Liao's conjuration. It is a pun that brings the death of a poet and the massacre together because of its ambiguity. This sentence could be understood as a paraphrase of a basic fact that Haizi's suicide happened before a collective death in the massacre. In fact, it has more implications: Haizi's death, in his self-explanation, transcends the general conception of death (the devastation of flesh), for there are no traces of his torn body on the railway. The only testimony of his death is the "bloodstain". Death only takes away "starvation" from him. Now he lives, in this poem, as a specter without the burden of a flesh, the constrains from reality or struggles in life. The two possible to understand deaths are entangled in Haizi's supposed perception and reflection of the death of protesting students:

Today I only hear silence after seventy days of shooting,
I only see purity after twenty years of graffiti.
Those who carry my death wherever they go
are dragonflies.

The green grass on the road is dry to the tip! Red rust
blends into the soil! A pile of characters in both hands:

如今我聽見七十天後的槍聲只是寂
靜，
我看見二十年後的塗鴉只是潔淨。
那些攜帶我的死亡到處行走的人，
他們是一隊蜻蜓。
那路上的青草盡枯！紅繡
混入了泥土！我手捧一堆漢字：

[124] Liao Weiyang, Wandering Hongkong with Spirits: Selected Poetry of Liu Waitong, trans. Enoch Yee-lok Tam et,al (Hongkong: Zephyr Press, 2016),105.

a pile of synonyms for "survival,"
in the gentle cold of dawn, I burned paper clothing.

一隊 "生存" 的同義詞,
在黎明的微寒中燒掉了紙做的衣服。

The water floods from Muxudi to Xizhimen,
three in the morning. Oh, black night
forgive the lack of grief in my song,
forgive the clothes on this body, more valuable even than dawn.[125]

洪水從苜蓿地流漫到汐止門,
那是凌晨三點。哦, 黑夜
請原諒我的詩一點也不悲傷,
請原諒這身衣服, 比黎明更貴重。

The wandering specter, Haizi, is a temporarily distant witness of this massacre. He is not present at the Square on June Fourth, because he was already died before that time. But being a specter in the poem permits his permanent presence. What he hears and what he witnesses are testimonies of the tragedy in the form of "silence" and "graffiti", which insinuates that in the censorship of the official narrative only implicit commemoration is possible. Haizi also observes the survivors from the Incident, "those who carry my death wherever they go are dragonflies". However, the living conditions are uninhabitable for "dragonflies" (the dried green grass, the red rusted soil), which implies the constrain of any reflections on the incident. Therefore, the record of massacre is only possible in the voice of a specter just as Haizi's spectral voice is recorded by Liao Weitang in the form of a "register for ghost". This spiritual bond between a poet who died for poetry and those who died for democracy and freedom is connected by Haizi's specter in his searching for "a pile of synonyms for 'survival'". He offeres great examples of how poetic synonyms worked in this process: instead of directly mentions to the bloody spectral places, Haizi uses homonyms. Muxudi (苜蓿地), a homonym to replace Muxidi (木樨地) could be literally translated as a field covered by Medicago flowers, and Xizhimen(汐止門), a homonym to replace Xizhimen(西直門) could also be literally translated as a gate where the evening tides stop. These

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[125] Ibid., 107.

peaceful images are the synonyms Haizi is looking for in the poetry in that the bloody deaths and massacres is expressed in Haizi's own poetic vocabularies.

In Liao's poem for Luo Yihe, the specter is endowed with a historic responsibility not only to write down the "synonyms of 'survival'" as Haizi pursues, but also to work as a ferryman to "help the dead souls cross the River Styx." Liao's metaphor from the Greek Mythology in the poem ("Please call my name: Charon.") fortifies the connection between the specter and the dead at the Square because he, who is deemed the first dead in the hungry strike, is the guide to send the dead in peace. If Charon's vehicle is the ship, then Luo's vehicle is the poem:

A hot wind engulfed my head, my dear,
I still remember the bloody smell of the sea,
not from gold dust on the square. For the past
twenty years I've been helping dead souls cross the River Styx

An eighteen-day waking sleep increased my thirst, my dear,
I still remember how the hot wind dressed you,
your nude body boiling inside. Then beneath the gunnel
a drunken swimmer tightly screwed in fasteners for me.

It was me who picked two tangerines from his stomach,
who dredged a sunflower from his artery.
It was me who cast a long shadow in the square like a sundial,
for you, and for them, to adjust the time of day one last time.
Please call my name: Charon. Whose face is
bleeding in the dark of night? I wished the red
was on my white shirt—please forgive these clothes—
lighter than forgiveness, more translucent than death.

My dear, I was in love with the final tolling bell,
it kept thundering in the blood vessels of the departed.
Tonight, poetry attains its ultimate glory!
And we will pass through the same abyss a second time.

What followed were the sounds of stone chimes.
The squeaking iron shoes were not just a slip of the pen!
They were not irrelevant to me! Bronze in the fisheyes
no longer dreamt of Di'anmen. Please, call my name—
I am not your lover; I am a broken flagstaff in the water.[126]

熱風剎那抱緊我的頭顱，親愛的
我仍記得，這腥甜屬於海，
不屬於廣場上金色塵土。然後，
我便在二十年黑河中擺渡亡靈。

十八天昏睡中升起我的渴，親愛的
我仍記得，熱風穿上了你的連衣裙，
裏面上裸體滾燙。然後船舷下
酒醉的泳者，為我卯緊了星星的柳釘。

是我從他胃裏撿起那兩個橘子，
從他的動脈裏撈起一株向日葵。
是我向廣場投下日晷般長影，
為你們、還有他們，最後一次校準時間。

請叫喚我的名字：卡戎。黑夜裏
是誰血流披面？我情願這染紅的
是我的白衫——請原諒這一身衣服
比原諒更年輕，比死更晶瑩。

親愛的，我愛上了這最後的鐘聲，
它在每一個死者的血管裏繼續轟鳴。
今夜是詩歌最後一次獲得光榮！
而我們將第二次穿過同一個深淵。

隨後是磬擊四記。軋軋的鐵履不是一次筆誤！
不是和我無關！魚們眼窩裏的青銅
不再夢見地安門。請叫喚我的名字——
我不是你的愛人，我是水中折斷的旗桿。

[126] Ibid., 109-111.

In this poem, a personal death of the pioneer is entangled with the collective death of students at the Square, which is only possible in the retell of a specter. There are specific references of Luo Yihe's experiences: "a hot wind engulfed my head" refers to the cerebral hemorrhage that causes his death and "an eighteen-day waking asleep" refers to the duration of his state of unconsciousness before death. These paraphrased deaths are romantically included in a dreamy fantasy and a love affair as he is speaking to "my dear", possibly his wife Zhang Fu who participated the hunger strike together with Luo Yihe. His mention of the "sunflower" and "artery" is also echoed by his dedication poem to van Gogh, in which the sunflower is a bloody, cruel and violent image.[127] All these clues that indicates Luo Yihe's life story, personal affair and his previous poems is developed in his recognition of the dead face, in his blurry memory of a time when he is "adjusted" into the consciousness of what happened at the Square, for himself and for all the dead. What followed was a paraphrase of the cleaning scene at the Square: first it is "the final tolling bell" from the PLA army to remind the students leave the Square or the army would clear up the site; then the sounds of "stone chimes" and "the squeaking of iron shoes" could be an implicit symbolization of the soldiers' march into the Square. When Luo returns as a specter and looks back at the June Fourth Incident he did not entirely experienced, he filters the tragedy with a poetic passion and read the sacrifice of the students as a heroic poetry with "ultimate glory". Luo Yihe, as a pioneer of all the dead in the Incident according to Liao's description, whose death was not only a fulfillment of his poetic ideal but also a spirit of sacrifice. Even after his death, he held even heavier responsibility to load the dead souls in his boat and sent them across the River Styx

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[127] The poem is "Xiangrikui: Jinian fangao"(Sunflower: In memory of van Gogh 向日葵: 纪念梵高) written in 1987. At the end of this poem, Luo wrote: "Sunflower, you unrest my field/ like the mysteries of a war between stars"(葵花，你使我的大地如此不安/象神秘的星辰战乱) See Luo Yihe, Luo Yihe shi quan bian(The Complete poems of Luo Yihe 骆一禾诗全编)(Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 1997), 298.

for a rest in peace. Remembering there is also a river in the underworld called Lethe that represents forgetfulness, the "abyss" in the fifth stanza not only refers to the abyss of death that devours both Luo and the students but also the abyss of oblivion that is artificially created by the official narrative which can be resisted by poetry narrated in the voices of specters. It is in the overlap between his own dreamy situation and the "bloody" square, between the vacillation of indulgence in unconsciousness and a cruel reality where a poetic haunting happened that Luo Yihe the specter realizes he does have a more concrete connection with the dead as he declared in the end: "they were not irrelevant to me!"

Chapter 2 A Deconstructive Specter of Monumentality: On Zang Di's "An Unerected Monument"

The delineation of an intrinsic transformation in modern Chinese poetry after Misty Poetry (Menglong shi 朦胧诗) frequently lost and confused itself in countless emerging poetry groups such as "Post-Misty poetry", "Poetry of the Third generation", "Poetry of the Newborn Generation" and avant-garde poetry.[128] However, an unneglectable clue of this transformation is the rejection and deconstruction of the aesthetics of Misty poetry, including the political connotations, highly symbolic references, grandeur lyrical subjects and resounding intonations. An effective way to achieve this goal is to rewrite specific image through a cleansing of the glorious and heroic meanings marked by Misty poetry and replace them with vulgar images and daily-life vernacular. Han Dong (韩东 1961-)'s rewriting "Of the Wild Goose Pagoda"(Youguan Dayanta 有关大雁塔) as a parody to Yang Lian (杨炼 1955-)'s "Wild Goose Pagoda"(Dayanta 大雁塔) is a representative example to reveal such a transformation. The value judgement and soul-searching process in remembering the Pagoda "as a proud land- mark of Chinese civilization" in Yang Lian's poem is replaced by an illustration of the "flat individual observations" in Han Dong's poem.[129] This deconstructive logic—to retrieve a personal perspective for observation from an integral grandeur symbolic representation—is essential to the farewell of the Misty Poetry generations. Besides Han Dong's well-known writing back to Yang Lian, there is another pair of poems— "Memorial"[130] (Jinianbei 纪念碑) written by Jiang He (1949-)in 1977 as a canonical piece of Mistry Poetry and "An Unerected Memorial"(Meiyou shu qi de jinianbei 没有竖起的纪念碑)

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[128] Michelle Yeh, "Light a lamp in a Rock: Experimental Poetry in Contemporary China." *Modern China 18*, no. 4(October 1992): 379.

[129] Maghiel van Crevel, *Chinese Poetry in Times of Mind, Mayhem and Money*, 77.

[130] The translation used here is from J.P. Seaton and Mu Yi's translation in Tony Barnstone: 69-71.

written by Zang Di (臧棣 1964-) in 1997—that illustrates the same deconstructive logic but through a different path: the deconstruction of a monument and monumentality is accomplished by conjuring the specters.

Jiang He's "Memorial" was first published on *Jintian* in 1977 and republished on Shikan in 1980:

> I've often thought that　　　我常常想
> life shold have a fulcrum:　　生活应该有一个支点
> Here is that pivot point,　　这支点
> it's this Memorial[131]　　　是一座纪念碑

This memorial directly refers to the Monument of People's Heroes. The canonization of this poem by declaring the aesthetic principle of Misty Poetry lies in its combination of the self and the Monument and an establishment of a lyrical subject not only by bringing a public monument into the center stage of the I narrator's daily life in the personification of the monument ("He is the light that burns from the East's ancient darkness:/ all things that must not be forgotton are engraved upon his flesh./ From here/ his gaze is fixed upon this world, and Revolution./ And his name shall be called, The People."[132]), but also by subjectively materializing the I narrator as "rocks", a part of the Monument("My body, too, is builded of piled stones./ The weight of the history of the Chinese people/ is just so much, my weight also."[133]). In the canonization of this poem, critics underlined the aesthetic of this poem on how the I narrator lingers between the subject("myself") and the object ("the Monument") which makes the subject and the object embrace with each other in this interchangeable combination.[134]

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[131] Barnstone, 69.

[132] Ibid., 70.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Wu Sijing, "Zhuiqiu shi de lidu: Jiang He he ta de shi"(Pursuing the power of poetry: Jiang He and his poems 追求诗的力度: 江河和他的诗), *Shitansuo*, no. 1(1984): 183.

Twenty years later, when the heritages of Misty Poetry have been cleansed in radical poetic experiments during the 1980s and the 1989 Incident fundamentally changed the efficacy to directly "speak to history"[135], Zang Di chose the monument to write on as a belated echo to Jiang He's poem. The glorious poetic monument erected by Jiang He as a vivid imitation of the Monument was deconstructed in two ways: first, the monument in Jiang He's poem is a clear reference to the Monument to the People's Heroes while Zhang Di replaces it with a nameless, spectral monument; second Jiang He's ethic of life in his poem—making the Monument a pivot of his life as a literary synonym of the political movement "bringing order out of chaos"(bo luan fan zheng 拨乱反正) after ten years cultural revolution—was also transformed into a deconstructive ethic of life in Derrida's sense—to learn to live with ghosts—after 1989 Tiananmen Incident. Straddling at the two perspectives that is tightly connected with a spectralization and conjuration, I argue that the deconstructive specters of monumentality in Zang Di's poem is an effective approach to accomplish an aesthetic transformation from Misty Poetry to Post Misty Poetry. By illustrating the traces of specters in Zang Di's poem in juxtaposition with Jiang He's poem, I hope to provide a trajectory of the development of modern Chinese poetry from the 1980s to the 1990s: the thickness and heaviness of history as a burden in Mistry Poetry was not fully abandoned but it was transformed into a deconstructive aesthetic tactics via spectralization, in the form of making the specters visible.

"To learn to live with ghosts" is an injunction from Derrida. Derrida used it as a suggestion to answer a question: how to live one's life? The ghosts are the "other" that the livings need to speak of/to/with and "being-with ghosts" constructs the basic ethic of living:

> To live otherwise, and better. No, not better, but more justly. But *with them*. No *being-with* the other, no *socius* without this with that makes being-with in general

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[135] Leng Shuang, 159.

more enigmatic than ever for us. And this *being-with* specters would also be, not only but also, a *politics* of memory, of inheritance, and of generations. [136]

Derrida's suggestion of "being-with" the ghosts is also a concern of living for Zang Di and his contemporaries after encountering the 1989 Tiananmen Incident. A famous line written by Wang Jiaxin— "finally, I am able to write following my heart, but I'm still unable to live my life by following it" (终于能按照一个人的内心写作/却无法按照一个人的内心生活)[137]—is the vivid annotation of this dilemma from which the poets cannot escape. Under the burden of writing and living, Zang Di chose "to learn to live with specters" because he believed in the power of specters:

> Specters indeed frequently appear in my poems. They are very important images. For me, most people live in a "spectral" status of which they are not fully aware. Probably, specters are not more real than the personal dignity, but they did speak more of it. Specters are the most typical embodiments of collective unconsciousness. I used to believe that specters and history are two most fundamental existences of human beings. History offers a mirror, unpolished or well-shined; however, specters reveal purer memories. Trying to speak with specters is trying to retrieve the memory that is repressed or distorted by history. In other words, specters, in my poems, refer to the power of memory that can resist history.[138]

Based on his expectation on specters to create another perspective of existence under the repression of history, "An Unerected Monument" is a crafty textual practice of this idea. The monument in this poem needs unfolding first, for it plays an important role in the 1989 Tiananmen Incident.

According to James Young, constructions of monuments are directly related to the will of a nation and they become part of the official narratives of a legitimate history, for monuments are

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[136] Derrida, xvii.

[137] Wang Jiaxin, Wang Jiaxin de shi (Poems of Wang Jiaxin 王家新的诗) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2001), 76.

[138] Zang Di, "Jia ru women zhen de bu zhi dao wo men zai xie xie shen me: Da Shiren Xidu de shumian caifang"(If we really do not know what we are writing: Reply to Xidu's interview 假如我们真的不知道我们在写些什么: 答诗人西渡的书面采访), *Shanhua*, no. 8(2001): 75.

built to tell "the story of ennobling events, of triumphs over barbarism, and recalls the martyrdom of those who gave their lives in the struggle for national existence–who, in the martyrological refrain, died so that a country might live."[139] Thinking of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the rise of a new nation is abstracted to and legitimized by the Monument to the People's Heroes erected at the center of Tiananmen Square in 1958. On the four sides of this monument carved eight revolutionary episodes that declare the origin and the end of modern Chinese history from the Opium War to the Victorious Crossing of the Yangtze River by the Liberation army (the liberation of mainland China). All these eight images are important turning points deliberately selected by the communist party to develop an orthodox, authoritative and politically correct history of modern China in the name of people. On the back of this monument inscribed Chairman Mao Zedong's elegy for the dead comrades as "Eternal Glory to the people's heroes". The dead are commemorated in the name of people and they will be forever remembered by people.

However, the connotation of this monument, the monumentality, is not as strong and constant as the legitimacy of this nation it represents. It is transformed and even reinvented at certain historical moments. It is even turned to its opposite when the understanding of monumentality severely deviates from the original intention of the official narrative of history, when people who need to be educated by the monument attempt to establish their own comprehension of what a monumentality should be memorized, when the monumentality is contaminated by what is happening at present. This is the paradoxical destiny of the Monuments to the People's Heroes in the 1989 Tiananmen Incident.

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[139] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993), 2.

To advocate political liberation and speech freedom, rebellious students and the masses occupied the Monument as their last stronghold after the situation intensified. Wu Hung gave detailed descriptions:

> The Monument gradually became the place for protests. A kin feeling linked it to the protestors: someone they knew had died there, and like them, the Monument was also isolated and imprisoned. Gathering around the Monument they could feel hostile eyes secretly watching them from all sides, and armed soldiers about to rush out from the Gate, the Great Hall, and the Mausoleum to punish them.[140]

The protest tragically ends in a bloodshed failure and it is officially classified as counterrevolutionary and riotous by the government afterwards. In fact, standing at such a special history junction, the line between revolution and counterrevolution, justice and turpitude is blurry, for the monumentality of the Monument is destabilized by the protesters. However, the dead to be memorized never change because they are always there as part of the marble. What has changed is the power of discourse to construct them posthumously: the people's heroes, engraved on the monument as precursors fighting for national independence and liberation, are memorized by Chinese officials as a symbol of the successful path led by the party; yet from the perspective of protesters, the people's heroes are the pioneers of an abortive process of the democratization in the 1980s and their will needs to be inherited and accomplished by the protesters at the foot of the monument in 1989. This dual appropriation of the dead creates its own doubles, that is the specters reinterpreted in the voice of protestors indeed incarnates themselves and casts their shadows on the monument, which creates a compounded monumentality to The Monument to The People's Heroes. Though the failed protest never remains a possibility to be carved in a material way in mainland China, it does strongly influence many people, especially intellectuals who are the witnesses of the whole process. The specter of history, the specter of monumentality, and the

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[140] Wu Hung, 107.

phantom of the dead continuously haunt their memory with ever-present trauma and a requirement of justice in the following years since 1989.

Unerection and the Specter of Monumentality

"Unerection", a very Derridian word in the title, is the key to understand the whole poem as well as a shortcut to understand why Derrida's hauntology works in this poem. I argue that the unerected status of monument is both presence and absence. It contains two possibilities: the monument fails to be erected; the monument is in the process of erection. Though they seem contradictory, the interpretation is not an either-or choice but a both-and relation. The ambivalence needs to be regarded as a unification of contradictions which provides us with a chance to identify the existence of the specter of monumentality.

What is surprising is that "monument" as the main target of the whole poem only appears once: it only appears in the title, without any other appearances in the main body of the texts. For this "monument", a single suspended word hanging above all the descriptions, all we know about is from later stanzas is its form("obelisk") and its material("stone"). Compared with Jiang He's monumental obelisk, the one in Zang Di poem is nameless. Zang Di's purpose is not to write a specific monument because at least we cannot make sure what this object is in daily life, but to focus on the monumentality that makes it a monument in a general sense. The relationship between monumentality and monument is close to that between content and form.[141] In this poem, it is exactly in the transitory suspension between form and content, where the specter of monumentality appears. If we go back to the former argument, the failure of erection can be viewed as a temporary exfoliation of the monumentality, which in turn leads to a query whether a stone obelisk without

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[141] See Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 4.

the intrinsic monumentality can still be regarded as a monument. Wu Hung has made a pertinent

description in his use of "monumentality":

> A physical monument can survive even after it has lost its commemorative and
> instructive significance……Monumentality thus denotes memory, continuity, and
> political, ethical, or religious obligations to a tradition. This primary meaning
> underlies a monument's manifold social, political, and ideological significance.[142]

As an embodiment of collective memory, monumentality is closely related to the narrative

of national construction, the legitimacy of a regime and the selection of history facts, and it needs

to construct itself through the process of erection. Thus, the failure of erection renders a separation

between the monument and monumentality, where the connection between the object and its name

is destroyed, and where the fixed connection between monumentality and monument is

temporarily ineffective. This situation results in an opportunity to renew, rethink and redefine the

intrinsic conception of monumentality and it is in such a situation that the monumentality obtains

the characteristic of apparition, which is neither living nor dead, not present but indeed present

with the remaining trace and inheritance of its former life that keeps haunting the whole poem in

the shape of an invisible power of history.

> An obtuse obelisk, straightforwardly silent
> to void, then to start again from the beginning
> at least the side I touch
> seems like that. So
>
> death is one kind obtuseness of representative,
> a paralysis of style, a thoroughly
> embarrassing failure of image. Maybe
> there is still someone dreaming of granites.

迟钝的方尖型，径直沉默
到空虚，然后再从头开始
至少我接触到的那一面
是看似如此。所以说

死亡是一种典型的迟钝
是风格的瘫痪，是形象的
令人尴尬的彻底失败。也许
还是有人突然梦见花岗岩

The first stanza clearly shows how the separation takes

writer, the form of a monument is in the view. We see an obelisk modified by "obtuseness" where

Zang Di unhesitatingly establishes a connection between the architecture and his personal feeling.

No matter what is the expectation of readers, an evocation or a resistance of grandeur and

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[142] Ibid., 4.

solemnity is drained and neutralized in this unbuffered obtuseness, which is further developed in a repeated circulation from "silence to void" as is from the beginning of history to the end of it. This repetition is ghostly, as Derrida points out "a specter is always a revenant. One cannot control its comings and goings because it begins by coming back."[143] Owing to the unerected status, this repetition has no beginning, but it shows an intrinsic will of time because of the failure of erection, and it is in the name of time, a selected time to be memorized, that the time of history which has been attached to the monumentality appearing as a habitual stereotype dissolve. It finally becomes the "time without tutelary present".[144] In this way, the first stanza undoubtedly on one hand provides a background for the debut of a specter in this poem, and on the other hand demonstrates the ghostly nature of the mutilated monumentality because of the unerection.

Perhaps, eventually there will be a day when the monument arises, like a new periscope, mixed up with bamboos breaking through fields.	也许，最终会有这样一天 它出现，就像新型的潜望镜 并同破土的春笋混在一起

Nevertheless, the haunting is also under the shadow of a possible ending, mentioned by Zang Di's dubious voice in the seventh stanza: "Perhaps, eventually there will be such a day/ the monument arises, like a periscope", which means, at a certain time, the construction of monument will finally be accomplished. For this reason, the unerected status is necessarily temporary and it only appears as a declaration of the ongoing process, an immature status towards the final destination—an "erection" of the monument, which in turn fortifies the connotation of monumentality. Facing this impendent ending, the fixed connection between monument and monumentality, form and content, material and spirit is to some extent questioned and haunted by the specter of monumentality. But when is the day of the completion of this erection? What is the specific moment? There is neither a certain answer, an exact time, nor a future to come. However,

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143 Derrida, 11.
144 Ibid., xvii.

there is always "a spectral moment"[145], which is omnipresent in the glide of the process towards a remotely unreachable destination, as Derrida says, "haunting is historical, to be sure, but it is not dated, it is never docilely given a date in the chain of presents, day after day, according to the instituted order of a calendar."[146]

Additionally, the simile between monument and "periscope" obviously manifests the specter of monumentality. As an apparatus to see things out of sight, the observer using a periscope usually hides beyond the water (in a submarine) or behind large obstructions. The observer cannot be seen by the object that is being looked at by him. Such a function can be understood as the "visor effect": we do not see who looks at us, which "will be presupposed by everything we advance on the subject of the specter in general."[147] In Derrida's sense, the visor remains "a supreme insignia of power: the power to see without being seen."[148] Similarly, concerning the silent status and the lost power of the unerected monument in the first stanza, the erection enables the monument to regain its power of seeing and in the same way, the specter of monumentality gains its flesh like a "periscope". Yet Zang Di never promises such a possibility, or to put it more cautiously, he is always alert to such a possibility: even the erection is accomplished only once, the spectral moment, in which the apparition of monumentality forever occupies, does not belong to that time (the erection of a monument), and it does not give time. The erection of monument is always in its way, in a forever unfulfillable hope, in the paradox between an ongoing process and a failed result.

The Return of The Dead

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[145] Ibid., xix.
[146] Ibid., 3.
[147] Ibid., 6.
[148] Ibid., 8.

The unerected status of a monument attaches the spectrality to monumentality which asynchronously enables the monument to conjure other specters. Then what are other specters, and what is the connection between these specters in this poem? The answer to this question should start from "someone", who is a unique representation of the return of the dead.

…...Perhaps
someone still suddenly dreams about granites

hit on his slightly humped back.
He opens his mouth, but the sticking-out tongue
Is as firm as a stone. Indeed
stones are convenient to be taken over

and in the case of materials and properties
they are backboned, not inclined to argue, unless
your hands hold a hammer of poor quality.
Perhaps, there needs to be more thanks given

because widespread stones lower the altitude of
death. Ghosts are ethereal,
and only stones can quell them,
enabling existence to maintain a necessary altitude.

Perhaps, there is a small amount of people
who won't really be dead. Not so,
my present fear cannot be explained
and at least half of it is excitement.

也许
还是有人突然梦见花岗岩

砸在他的微驼的脊背上
他张开嘴巴，但吐出的
舌头已坚硬如石头。是的
石头借用起来是方便的

并且就材料和性质而言
它有骨气，不好争吵；除非
你手里头拿的是劣质的锤子
或许，更需要感谢的是

普遍的石头降低了死亡的
海拔。亡灵是轻飘的
而只有石头能镇住它们
使生存保持了必要的高度

也许，有一小部分人
并不会真正死去。不然
我今天的恐惧就无法解释
而其中至少有一半是兴奋

The description of the "someone" in the second and third stanza exactly displays an image of individuals under the repression of monumentality. This someone, appearing in a horrible image and bringing uncanny feelings, confuses us with following questions: who is this someone, why does he dream about the granite, why does he connect himself with the stone in the way of dreaming, and why is his stretching-out tongue petrified?

Answers unfold in the voice of a specter, a returned dead. It is clear this someone is a specter, mentioned by Zang Di in the six stanza that "Perhaps, there are a small amount of people/ who are not really dead." "Not really dead" is a non-living living status, a status once dead but

now returns. The reason why he has a mixed emotion with both excitement and fear is that through the conjuration of ghosts in the second stanza, he expects the specter to acquire the power of recollect as a way to resist the repression of history. Furthermore, we should also be aware of the word "still", which reminds us under the status of unerection, the intermittent death of monumentality, the transitory ineffectiveness between monument(form) and monumentality(content), the deep scar of left on individuals by a haunted monumentality remains in unconsciousness as a symptom of the collective narrative.

The "slightly humped back" implies the specter could be an old man, probably a survivor of the dead memorized by the monument, part of the commemoration. He "suddenly dreams about granite/ hit on his back" implies that he suffers from a psychological trauma that can be ascribed to the irretrievable burden of history: the specter of monumentality always haunts him and constructs him as a witness of the sacrifice in a way that his life as a living is already eliminated in the name of death and he can only live a spectral life. With the cost of death, he has already foreseen his destiny: being materialized and alienated by the monumentality he used to fight for, he is buried in the name of greatness, and finally becomes a specter.

However, this man can also be a spectator, with the right to see, to witness, but not to speak. Even though he may not be as tragic as the one who has experienced the whole process being transformed into a specter, he is still repressed by the grandiose historical narrative which exclusively refuses his wish to speak in his own voice. Distorted by the specter of monumentality, when the man forever loses his ability of speaking (the stretching-out tongue/ is as tough as a stone), he forever keeps the gesture to speak. According to Freud, dream is the fulfillment of a wish, however, facing a distortion and a censorship by the consciousness, where the wish is

disguised and in an acceptable form of the consciousness. [149] This distortion imposed by consciousness on unconsciousness, history on individuals, monumentality on those being memorized, precisely reveals the power of a repression of the specter of monumentality, where the specter of individuals "carry an impossible history within them or they become themselves the symptom of a history that they cannot entirely possess"[150]

In fact, no matter what the specific identity of this ghost is, a witness or a spectator, both of them are the victims of a traumatic memory from the specter of monumentality. This specter lives a life without a name or without a need to to be named. He is recognized in the name of "specters", a specter in silence. Given the status of unerection described in the beginning, we can discover both the specter of someone and that of monumentality are in silence, where a connection is established between the specter of someone and that of monumentality. These two specters are intervened with each other as different perspectives of history—the repressor and the repressed—to show a complete picture of the process of repression. However, there is also a discrepancy: silence is the premise of a conjuration towards the specter of monumentality, but it works at the cost of the conjuration of the specters of individuals. As is mentioned in the first stanza, while always preserving an impending possibility to be ended by the coming erection, the specter of monumentality at the same time gains a respite in the circulation that begins with silence owing to the unerected status of the monument. However, the specter of individuals, on one hand, is never fortunate enough to be given such an opportunity to speak in its own voice or to temporarily escape from the time memorized in the monumentality. It is always under the shadow of the specter of monumentality with traumatic memory. On the other hand, to exhibit the predicament in its spiritual world and its previous life, but unlike the specter of Claudius who appears at night to tell

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[149] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (New York: Basic Books Inc, 2010), 145.
[150] Caruth, 5.

the story of his own tragedy and asks for a revenge from Hamlet, the specter of individuals in Zang Di's poem, is represented by someone without a desire to talk. The "stretching-out tongue" as a gesture, not in a way of voice but action, has presented the repression over individuals in a vividly cruel way to show the tyranny of history and the alienation power of monumentality, with a revelation that "Ghost……are part of a symptomatology of trauma, as they become both the objects and metaphors for a wounded historical experience."[151]

Furthermore, we should also pay attention to how the specter of individuals comes to silence: the sticking-out tongue is petrified by the stone. It is in this way that the specter of individuals partly gains its flesh and it is in this process that the specter is materialized, then strained by the stone and finally becomes part of the stone.

Originally, stones or granites are the material foundation of a monument, neutral, not assuming a value judgement, however it is in the process attached by history, and haunted by monumentality, where stones become the embodiment of a majesty, a power to repress, as is described in Young's words: "by themselves, monuments are of little value, mere stones in the landscape. But as part of a nation's rites or the objects of a people's national pilgrimage, they are invested with national soul and memory."[152] The nature of stones—ubiquity, backboned character and the inclination not to argue–decides "they are convenient to be taken over", which is manipulated by monumentality and finally becomes the accomplice of history. In this situation, how similar it is between the destiny of stone and that of the ordinary people in history: because they are convenient "to be taken over.", the dead is commemorated as an annotation to the national triumph, the voice of living is shadowed under the narrative of history, and the individual memory

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[151] Blanco and Peeren, *The Spectralities Reader*, 12.
[152] Young, 2.

is censored and interpolated by collective memories. The stone as a majesty to "quell the death", to "maintain the altitude of existence" turns out to be "a deceptive assurance of life" (Mumford 434), which is displayed through the petrification of the ghost's tongue. However, Zang Di gives a limitation to such easily take-over based on the nature of stone, where he reminds us to recognize the other side of stone, the ability to argue when carved by "a hammer of poor quality", which can be viewed as a metaphor referring to the tensioned history full of paradox and fallacy. Therefore, what stones argue is the justice to retrieve the voice of silent individuals from the pressure of history. The ghost lives in the name of justice, where it is not yet, not yet there, where it is no longer, shown by the conjuration of ghost. Concerning the justice, Derrida gives further discussions:

> ……this justice carries life beyond present life or its actual being-there, its empirical or ontological actuality: not toward death but toward a living-on [sur-vie], namely, a trace of which life and death would themselves be but traces and traces of traces, a survival whose possibility in advance comes to disjoin or dis-adjust the identity to itself of the living present as well as of any effectivity. There is then some spirit. Spirits. And one must reckon with them. One cannot not have to, one must not be able to reckon with them, which are more than one: the more than one/no more one [Ie plus d'un].[153]

The apparition through the stone is conjured by displaying a sequence from the past (repression of history) to present (the traumatic feeling) and to future (the arrival of justice), however the present is incomplete because of the losing ability to speak in its own voice resulting from the distortion and repression, so the arrival of justice should be expected in the future to retrieve the imagination of individuals from the vortex of history. Nevertheless, justice as the argument of stones, is on one hand always on the way to present itself when the ability to speak is deprived, while on the other hand it dooms itself because of such limitation and is always in

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[153] Derrida, xx.

difference and deferral. The specter of individuals, in an interaction between repression and a reflection with the stone is the shadow of the specter of monumentality, but generously welcomes its own openness with multi references and diversified interpretations through the twisted connections between the alienation of stones on the ghost and the assimilation of ghost on stones, between a material weakness and an ethereal strength, between the presently-absent justice and the faint trace of justice pointing into the future, between an irreversible traumatic feeling and a possible salvation from the rigid totalitarian of history.

Chapter 3 Dialogues with Specter and Crafts of Poetry: Marina Tsvetaeva, Duoduo and Zhang Zao

> Only the torch of specters illuminates my whole life.
>
> Duoduo, "Death of Poets"
>
> But I'm not a specter, then someone else must be the specter.
>
> Bai Hua, "Zhang Zao's Letter from Würzburg"

In Huang Canran's (黃燦然) essay "Under the shadows of two traditions"(Zai liang da chuantong de yinying xia 在两大传统的阴影下) written in 2000, the development of modern Chinese poetry in the twentieth century is described as a tough but opportunistic growth under the shadow of traditional Chinese poetry and that of western poetry.[154] Situated in this coordinate, modern Chinese poets are described as suffering from an anxiety. This judgement largely derives from Huang's reading of Harold Bloom's famed book *The Anxiety of Influence*. What concerned Bloom is the strong poets with a rebellious Oedipus desire and a poetic history constructed by the misreading and misinterpretation of former poets.[155] However, the discussion of "the poet in a poet"[156] in Bloom's theory is essentially developed inside an Anglo-Saxon family. When Huang appropriates this anxiety to indigenous Chinese poets and the status quo of modern Chinese poetry in the 1990s, "the anxiety of influence" is ironically and craftily turned into "the influence of anxiety" wherein the highlight is obviously shifted from Bloom's "influence" in an "intra-poetic

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[154] Huang, 22-31.
[155] Bloom,5.
[156] Ibid., 11.

relationship" [157] to a localized "anxiety" in an "interlingual-poetic" [158] relationship across

discursive traditions. The localization of this anxiety includes the blurry boundary between good

poems and bad poems, the limitation from theme to form, and the self-satisfaction of poets[159],

which can further be summarized as what is poetry, what is good poetry, what is a good poet?

Guided by these questions, the evaluation of poetry or good poetry, in Huang's sense, is shadowed

by western poetry. And the shadow created by western poetry is de facto a "fictional or imaginative"

shadow:

> [For modern Chinese poets,] this shadow is distorted and changed according to their various fabrications and imaginations. First, they need to imagine how well the original text could be; then they need to imagine how well the western poets they love could be; third they need to imagine how a complete and satisfactory appearance the western poetry as a whole has achieved.[160]

Huang believes that it is hard for Chinese poets to understand the beauty of western poems,

because what they understand is the limited Chinese (mis)translation of the original text and the

anxiety from the translation. It's not inconceivable to comprehend that Huang ascribes the anxiety

to translations, because he is a great Chinese translator of western poets such as C.P. Cavafy (1863-

1933), Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926), Joseph Brodsky (1940-1996) and Czesław Miłosz(1911-

2004).

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[157] Ibid., 8.

[158] Bloom's use of intra-poetic relationship refers to two perspectives: on one hand, it is a relationship in an "intralingual" practice which was based on the same language system; on the other hand, it is a relationship that Bloom highlights "the poet in a poet". To be parallel with Bloom's use of "intra-poetic", I use "inter-poetic" to refer to this transnational influence from western poets on modern Chinese poets. It is inspired by Roman Jakobson's distinguishing of three types of translation: intralingual translation that happens between verbal signs and other signs in the same language, interlingual translation that happens between verbal signs and other signs in other language, and intersemiotic translation happens between verbal signs and signs in non-verbal sign system. See Roman Jakobson. "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation" in Reuben Brower ed. *On Translation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 233.

[159] Huang, 28.

[160] Ibid., 27.

However, neither the anxiety nor the shadow could demonstrate the whole story of the complicated relationship between modern Chinese poets and their western predecessors in the turn of the century. Huang's emphasis on the anxiety is more effective after The Pan Feng Polemic (Pan Feng Lunzheng 盘峰论争)[161], but the relationship between western poets and Chinese poets could be included in a more general picture in the post Maoist period and there is a precondition before this anxiety, that is "the cult of poetry"[162]. In this article, Michelle Yeh gives a long list of dead western poets whose names frequently appear as sources of cult during that period. She further points out that there is a more concrete bond between the western dead poets and the Chinese living poets based on "the shared sense of alienation and victimization."[163] This "spiritual bond and literary kinship"[164] mentioned by Yeh deserves more explanations by asking how the spiritual bond is exploited, how a confrontation with the dead through the reading process was transformed into a writing process, is there any other shared bonds besides the alienation and victimization that brought the dead poets back to a construction of personal poetics?

To answer these questions, my argument is that the exploitation of a bond between the dead and the living is a dual interaction in modern Chinese poetry: while the livings were obsessed by the dead through their readings, the dead also "chose" the livings as their spokesmen in a way that either their voices were displayed through the living's voice or they were in a dialogue with the livings. Through the spiritual transnational conversations, the living poets were inspired, fulfilled, identified by western predecessors, and through this spiritual transnational practice they did create a parallel relationship in a Chinese context: Boris Pasternak to Wang Jiaxin, Marina Tsvetaeva to

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[161] One of the major topics in Pan Feng polemic is the critique on the widely use of western resource and theory in "Intellectual poetry". See Maghiel Van Crevel, *Chinese Poetry in Times of Mind, Mayhem and Money* (LEIDEN; BOSTON: Brill, 2008), 403-441.
[162] Yeh, 51-80.
[163] Yeh, 67.
[164] Ibid.

Duoduo and Zhang Zao, Sylvia Plath to Zhai Yongming and Lu Yimin, Osip Mandelstam to Bai Hua. The specters are not valuable in that they create their Chinese incarnations or blossom an afterlife as Yang Xiaobin argued[165], but in that their participations contributed to the development and exploration of a poetic possibility to respond to the localized anxiety, if it is not over emphasized by Huang. Due to the limitation of length, this chapter will only discuss how Marina Tsvetaeva's specter helps Duoduo and Zhang Zao understand "crafts of poetry".

The influence Marina Tsvetaeva (1892-1941) exerted—from both the a personal history of reading and the Chinese translation of her poems—on modern Chinese poets in the post-Mao era such as Duoduo and Zhang Zao is needless to reiterate.[166] Scholars frequently highlight a spiritual bond or a "living condition" between the livings and the specter of Tsvetaeva based on a similar cultural milieu in Soviet Union and Maoist China.[167] Discussions on "crafts of poetry" are usually situated in a perspective of poetics rather than a specific literal craft to be illustrated and practiced in the poly phony of various voices or the design of a structure, creation of a parallel. Focusing on these two points, I use Duoduo's poem to illustrate a polyphony between Tsvetaeva's spectral voice and Duoduo's voice, Zhang Zao's poem to illustrate the specter of Tsvetaeva is an indispensable constituent of his dialogue structure.

Polyphony between a spectral voice and a living's voice

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[165] Yang Xiaobin, "Transference as Narcissistic or Traumatic Experience: Contemporary Chinese Poets (Mis-)Translated from Their Western Predecessors, in Peng Hsiao-yen, ed. *China and Its Others: Knowledge Transfer through Translation, 1829-2010*(New York: BRILL, 2012), 213-244.

[166] See Hong Zicheng, " 'ma lin na ci wei ta ye wa shiji' xu: dangdai shi zhong de ci wei ta ye wa"(A Preface in *Selected Poems of Marina Tsvetaeva*: Marina Tsvetaeva in Contemporary Chinese Poetry《玛琳娜茨维塔耶娃诗集》序: 当代诗中的茨维塔耶娃) *Wenyi Zhengming*, no. 10(2017): 125-132.

[167] Ibid.

In Duoduo's "Craft—with Marina Tsvetaeva"[168](手艺——和玛琳娜茨维塔耶娃), Yang Xiaobin mentioned that Duoduo's diction inevitably brought the readers to Tsvetaeva's lines: "These my poems about youth and dead,/ This unread verse!"[169] This association could be perceived not only because the spiritual affinity between them, but because Duoduo's "craft"—as suggested by the title—literally brought the spectral voice of Tsvetaeva as an inseparable counterpart of his own voice into this poem.

I write poems of degenerate youth	我写青春沦落的诗
(poems of infidelity)	(写不贞的诗)
written in narrow, long rooms	写在窄长的房间中
raped by poets	被诗人奸污
poems discharged to the street by coffee shops	被咖啡馆辞退街头的诗
that indifferent poem of mine	我那冷漠的
with no resentment left	再无怨恨的诗
(itself just a story)	(本身就是一个故事)
that poem of mine no one reads	我那没有人读的诗
like the history of a story	正如一个故事的历史
the one that lost pride	我那失去骄傲
and lost love	失去爱情的
(my aristocratic poem)	(我那贵族的诗)
she will be married off to a peasant	她，终会被农民娶走
she is my discarded moment	她，就是我荒废的时日……

This 15-line poem in the first-person narrative could be divided into two sections: the first section is from line 1 to line 13, an entanglement of the voices in parenthesis and the voices in other; the second section is from line 14 to line 15, in which the "I" narrator directly mentioned "her". It is not hard to understand the second section that the I narrator is Duoduo himself, and this

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168 For English translations of the title, Michelle Yeh's version is "Handicraft—To Marina, Tsvetaeva", Maghiel van Crevel's is "Craft—After Marina Tsvetaeva", Gregory Lee and John Cayley's is "Handicraft—After Marina Tsvetaeva" and Lucas Klein's is "Craft—after Marina Tsvetaeva". To highlight the Chinese word "和" as a reference to a coexistence as well as a polyphony of both poets, I translate the title as "Craft—With Marina Tsvetaeva". For the rest of poem, I use Lucas Klein's translation offered by Michelle Yeh. For different English translations, see Michelle Yeh, "'Monologue of a Stormy Soul': The Poetry and Poetics of Duo Duo, 1972-1988," *World Literature Today* 85, no. 2 (2011): 56. Maghiel van Crevel, *Language Shattered: Contemporary Chinese Poetry and Duoduo* (Leiden University Press: 1996), 239. Gregory Lee and John Cayley. *Looking out from Death: From the Cultural Revolution to Tiananmen Square: The New Chinese Poetry of Duoduo*. (London: Bloomsbury, 1989), 43.
169 Yang, 218.

"she", the protagonist of his reference, is a metaphor of poems and the craft of poems. The tragic destiny of her, implying the pessimistic status quo of underground poetry in the 1970s, is a synonym of both Duoduo's writing experiences as well as his reading experiences of Tsvetaeva, which were condensed and combined together in the first section.

In an interview, Duoduo admits that he "cited one or two lines of her poem and some descriptions of her life."[170] His action "to cite" gives credit to Tsvetaeva's voice based on his reading experiences. Tsvetaeva's poems were introduced in Ilya Ehrenburg's book *People, Years, Life* and translated into Chinese by Zhang Deming in 1962.[171] In this book, a translation of Tsvetaeva's line is "I wrote youthful dead poetry" (我写青春和死亡的诗). In Duoduo's poem, he keeps the same grammar structure and similar word choices by originally bringing in the spectral voice of Tsvetaeva and making it the opening line: "I wrote youthful base poetry" (我写青春沦落的诗)[172]. Tsveateva's line in the same poem "my poetry read by no one"(我那没有人读的诗) is also kept almost unchanged in this poem as "My Poetry that nobody reads."(我那没有人读的诗) Additionally, the use of parentheses also creates a reverberation between the two voices in which a story of poetry is told and the boundary between language and nation is replaced by a more intimate identification of the crafts of poetry. Duoduo's voice in the parenthesis were commentary echoes and supplements to Tsvetaeva's spectral voice: when the specter repeates her own line, Duoduo deepens her sentimentality to a "self-deprecation" as critics has argued[173] and associates the craft of writing with an ethic of writing, the (in)fidelity of poems. When the specter retells her

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[170] Li Zhangbin and Duoduo. "Shi wo zhan zai jijing de zhongxin: Duoduo, Li Zhangbin duitan lu" ('It's me standing in the center of silence': An interview with Duoduo 是我站在寂静的中心: 多多、李章斌对谈录), *Wenyi zhengming*, no.2(2019): 143.

[171] Maghiel van Crevel, *Language Scattered*, 240.

[172] Zhang Taozhou, "Shiren de 'shouyi': yige dangdai shixue guannian de puxi"(The "Craft" of Poets: A Genealogy of Contemporary Poetics 诗人的"手艺": 一个当代诗学观念的谱系), *Wenxue pinglun*. no. 5(2019):179

[173] Ibid., 180

failure to work as a dishwasher in the Soviet Union Writer's Assoication[174], Duoduo comments that Tsvetaeva's story is de facto an epitome of the tragic destiny of poem under totalitarian power; when the specter's voice disappointedly implied that "my poetry read by no one/ just like the story of a tale", the echo from Duoduo's voice not only made her tale remembered, retold and spiritually inherited via poetry and the craft to write poetry, but it was further justified and glorified by Duoduo as the "aristocrastic poetry". It is in the polyphony and reverberation with the spectral voice and with the help of this voice that the voice of the living develops his own understanding of the destiny of poetic craft. By bringing the spectral voice into the texts and let it speak for itself, "craft" is not only a spiritual bond between two writers from different tradition or a suffering from similar repressions, but also a craft, a poetic practice.

A Dialogue Structure and Paradoxical Parallels

The apparition of Tsvetaeva in modern Chinese poetry and her inspirations on the specific topic of "craft" also appear in Zhang Zao's sonnet cycle, "Dialogue with Tsvetaeva"(跟茨维塔耶娃的对话). If Duoduo's approach to understand the craft is to involve a spectral voice in his text (through an entanglement of the two voices inseparably to create a polyphony), then for Zhang Zao, Tsvetaeva is an equal interlocutor of his dialogue and an indispensable constituent of a pair of parentheses in which the craft of poetry is unfolded. Some scholar also underlines the dialogue form, but they either argue that "Tsvetaeva's image was largely masked by Zhang Zao"[175] or view

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[174] According to Yang Xiaobin's conjecture, the line "thown out by a café into the streets" referred to Tsvetaeva's experiences that her application to the Soviet of Literature Fund asking for a job at its canteen was rejected. This failure was believed as a direct reason to her suicide. See Yang, 218.

[175] Gao Ming, Zhongguo shiren yu eluosi "huigui shiren" de duihua (The Communion between "Russian returning poets" and Chinese poets 中国诗人与俄罗斯"回归诗人"的对话), MA Thesis., (East China Normal University: 2008), 12.

Tsvetaeva as a "self-reflection of the lyric subject of Zhang Zao's ego"[176]. These arguments neglect the subjectivity of Tsvetaeva's specter and denounce the important formal function of Tsvetaeva endowed by Zhang Zao. I argue that only with the participation of this specter and in the conversation with this specter is the structure of a dialogue fulfilled. And it is in this structure that Zhang Zao develops his understanding of a craft, that is "objects are symmetrical to the human lot":

> Poetry is laboring, like workmanship, its outcomes
> are silent objects, symmetrical to the human lot.
> Perhaps functional? But its measures won't exceed
> the parentheses whose two shadowy ends are in love are in love.[177]
>
> Not correcting the marvel to numbers,
> Find trusting girlfriends for you!
> I know that Venus is work of hands,
> I'm a craftsman - and craft I know.[178]

Critics frequently point out the connection between these two stanzas—the top one from Zhang Zao, the bottom one from Tsvetaeva—and highlight their affinity based on a shared idea of viewing poetry as craft, poets as craftsmen.[179] However, there is a more intrinsic connection between the two stanzas: Tsvetaeva's erotic love-seeking process embellished with a dedication to Venus is echoed in the same erotic way by Zhang Zao's reference to "two shadows in love" and a pair of parentheses created by this love. This love affair and the enclosed space inside a pair of parentheses—wherein the specter of Tsvetaeva plays an indispensable role—are important to understand poetry as craft in Zhang Zao's case.

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176 Sun Jie, Lun Zhang Zao shige de duihua jiegou (On the dialogue structure of Zhang Zao's poems 论张枣诗歌的对话结构), MA Thesis., (Fudan University: 2012), 22.

177 This translation is from Yanting-Leah Li and Nick Admussen, provided by Michelle Yeh.

178 Marina Tsvetaeva, "Earthly Marks", in The Best of Marina Tsvetayeva, trans. Ilya Shambat. http://www1.lib.ru/POEZIQ/CWETAEWA/sbornik_engl.txt

179 See Zhang Taozhou, 181.

Michelle Yeh points out the shared exile experience and the estrangement of mother tongue in foreign countries between the two poets.[180] Her argument is a necessary presupposition that makes a conversation possible in which Zhang Zao is induced to conjure the specter of Tsvetaeva. But why does it have to be Tsvetaeva, rather than other poets from socialism regime with similar experiences such as Mandelstam, Brodsky or Milosz? A possible answer to this question may lie in the love affair between the two shadows ("I" and "you"). This I narrator refers to Zhang Zao himself[181] and "you" refer to Tsvetaeva. Their love relationship transcends the similarity in personal experiences, and it extends to a more spiritual affinity: Zhang Zao's poetic commitment to the specter of Tsvetaeva via poetry. Zhang Zao applies a line from Tsveteava's letter to Rainer Maria Rilke in the epigraph of Sonnet 9: "Wenn Duwirdlieh mich sechen willst, so must Du Handeln!" (If you want to see me, you have to act!) Tsvetaeva and Rilke did not meet each other before Rilke's death which made this line more pitiful. Similarly, Zhang Zao did not "meet" her, and even had no chance to communicate with her, but his quote of this line is rather an inheritance of the great dialogue between Tsvetaeva and Rilke (they communicated in letters). Zhang Zao describes the relationship between Tsvetaeva and Rilke as "two bolsom friends, one on the left and one on the right, they are both livings and ghosts" in the sonnet. The ambiguous use of left and right is possible that they are by the left side and right side of Zhang Zao in his imagination. Though the west predecessors are literal ghosts to Zhang Zao by the time he wrote this poem, but they are also livings conjured by his poetic craft to continue the dialogue. Zhang Zao's inheritance of Rilke not only required him continue a dialogue, but also made him pursue an erotic love

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[180] Michelle Yeh, *Xian dang dai shi wen lu* (Essays on Modern Chinese Poetry 現當代詩文錄)(Taibei: Lian he wenxue chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1998), 114.

[181] Zhai Yueqin argued that most "I-narrator" in Zhang Zao's poem refers to himself. See Zhai Yueqin, "Jichi de aiming: lun Zhang Zao shige zhong de shengyin yu shuqing biaoda"(Galloping Mourning: On voices and lyrical expressions in Zhang Zao's poem 疾驰的哀鸣: 论张枣诗歌中的声音与抒情表达), *Nanjing ligong daxue xuebao(Shehui kexue ban)25*, no. 4(2012): 44.

relationship beyond the "bosom friendship". Zhang Zao also committes to Tsvetaeva what Rilke

failed to act: he does "see" Tsvetaeva in his act by writing this poetry to Tsvetaeva and he also

pursues this act in poetry under the impelling of Tsvetaeva's specter. In later lines, Zhang Zao

directly adds that "craft is to touch, no matter how far you are." (Sonnet 8 line 5) "Touch" is the

action he accomplishes in this poem:

> Craft is to touch, no matter how far you are.
> The address of your house is named after an impossible possibility—
> You softly say this, when I pray
> when I send you to the burning front door of your house
> Words are not objects, which you must be clear with
> Because we need to live an interesting life first,
> like this moment—the magnolias are blossom and telling,
> the alarm is over, like the hairline falling off from a lover
>
> The dawn is coming, you get lost in your name
> all birds that plant trees sing: watch the sky.

Zhang Zao's interaction with Tsvetaeva in this sonnet is very similar to a date between two

lovers. Rather than focusing on the daily dialogue during their date, his craft is illustrated through

proscrasinating an end to this date for the purpose of continuing the dialogue. When the specter of

Tsvetaeva is sent to her house, strange things happen: the address is ambiguous, the front door of

this house is burning down by fire, and the words revealing the address are not the house as an

object where the specter could return. All these details for delay contributed to the continuance of

a dialogue. This procrastination is also seen in Sonnet 6 when he describes his waiting for the

arrival of Tsvetaeva: "I promised to go outside to fetch a Russian book……/I wanted to fetch……/

without you, the window of motherland is empty/ I went to fetch, breathe/ strange words, like

trouts, led you back home. / You went to fetch……"[182] In the procrastination of both the end of

waiting and that of dating, Zhang Zao repeatedly reminds us to pay attention to "strange words"

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[182] Zhang Zao, 82.

because "words are not objects". Indeed, words are only an artificial reference to objects in "an artificial world, a pure enemy." (Sonnet 9 Line 5) The strange words and the use of strange grammar ("live an interesting life"[183]) in a foreign country renders the connection between words and objects in his mother tongue fragmented. In Sonnet 4, Zhang Zao directly states "the boat of mother tongue was abandoned at the bound of the boundless sea," (line3) and what he receives from the mailbox is "words of emptiness" (line5). Remembering that Zhang Zao's idea on the craft of poetry is that "objects is symmetrical to human lots," an attempt to act this symmetry is to rename the objects with the words in mother tongue. And this attempt could only be established in the conversation as an act to meet the specter of Tsvetaeva, because the love affair with this specter represents a spiritual support and consolation for him and without her "the window of motherland would be empty."

Based on the love affairs of the two shadows, the parenthesis created by them is more understandable for creating a self-contained space in which the craft of poetry—a parallel between objects and human conditions, words and objects—could be developed and discussed more thoroughly. The metaphor of "parentheses" is creative, for it vividly compares the paradoxical relationship between two shadows to that between the two ends of a parentheses. Parentheses always appear in pairs, but to be an effective punctuation, they never overlap with each other, and they need to be separate apart. The distance between two parentheses implies the insurmountable boundary of two shadows between love and death, different mother tongue and different exile reasons. In another poem "Apple Forest"(Pingguo senlin 苹果森林), Zhang Zao revealed a similar

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[183] The original line in Chinese is "生活有趣的生活", which used an uncommon grammar in vernacular Chinese. But once translated it into German as "leben ein interessantes leben" (live an interesting life), this sentence is grammatically correct. German is a shared language by Zhang Zao and Tsvetaeva.

condition: "You cannot arrive at the other side of the mirror; you cannot make two shadows overlap."(你无法达到镜子的另一边，无法让两个对立的影子交际)[184] Though the shadows of Zhang Zao and Tsvetaeva as parentheses cannot overlap, they appear in a pair and their distant attraction is fortified by an erotic relationship. Additionally, for the enclosure function of a pair of parentheses, each end of it is equally important just as a dialogue between two interlocutors is only effective when both of them equally and actively participate; otherwise, this dialogue will be turned into a monologue or an asymmetry conversation. In other words, the "Dialogue with Tsvetaeva" is a cycle sonnet between two poets with equally importance: neither is Zhang Zao an incarnation of Tsvetaeva, nor is Tsvetaeva merely an easily appropriated exile image to appear in this poem. A scholar argued that Zhang Zao's dialogue structure is craftily designed: when he mentioned himself, he would not leave the specter aside. He intentionally locates objects in the parenthesis between himself and the specter and pushes the objects to slide from his side to Tsvetaeva's side by asking for paradoxical echoes and reflections:

> as we walk through the sidewalk, at an intersection,
> you can no longer understand my southern accent.
> When the traffic light turned into a green specter,
> you continue to turn left, and I slowly turn right.
> Someone, it's not me, but runs towards me, someone
> runs towards you with flying hair, raising hands,
> something, not flower, but flower-like (Sonnet 1, line11-13)

In this example, Zhang Zao and Tsvetaeva are situated in a paradox: located at an intersection, they choose different directions because she cannot understand his southern accent.[185] However, this situation is not a sign to imply their estrangements because of

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[184] Zhang Zao, *Zhang Zao de shi* (Poems of Zhang Zao 张枣的诗)(Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2010), 43. This line is translated by me.
[185] Zhang Zao was born in Changsha, Hunan Province. It is a city in southern China and local people have a strong accent.

language barrier, but a hint that foreshadows their departure to two ends of the parentheses. Zhang Zao uses the same grammar structure to create a grammatical parallel between them. The appearance of this "someone" is not only an incarnation of the intertextual connection through Zhang Zao's craft to create a reverberation for Tsvetaeva's encounter with a Chinese in his own text[186], but also a medium that bridges the paradoxical sides of parenthesis—their opposite directional departures—by running towards both of them and exemplifies a dialogue structure of "I(Zhang Zao)—someone—you (the specter of Tsvetaeva)"[187] Similar construction of this dialogue structure is also seen in Sonnet 3:

> You [Tsvetaeva] are screwed. Future is looking for its costume for funerals
> ……
> Russia is screwed, a photography of the black-and-white era
> ……
> Paris is also screwed. I [Zhang Zao] am seated under a parasol
> ……
> Human are screwed, if the read and cite of words
> are not like butterflies who shock the vein of flowers.

The repetition of this neatly structured "screwed" scenery—from Tsvetaeva to Zhang Zao, from Russia to Paris and eventually summarized in a symptomatic "human's situation" as a parallel of the objects—was developed in this dialogue structure. Zhang Zao first described Tsvetaeva's living experience in a foreign country based on a both screwed situation for individual and the country. Then he immediately returned to a subjective exile experience, in which the colorful parasol in Paris deeply contrasts the "black-and-white" color of Russia. The paradoxical parallel reveals the danger of a screwed human's situation

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[186] According to Zhang Guangxin's close reading, the opening stanza of Sonnet 1 was adapted from Tsvetaeva's interation with a Chinese man in real life. She encountered a Chinese businessman in the store who was bargaining with a French seller. Because of the nonproficiency of foreign language, the businessman spoke slowly. Then Tsvetaeva as a translator for both of them explained to the French seller (Tsvetaeva is fluent in French) that "this is a Chinese man and he spoke slowly." See Zhang Guangxin, 40.

[187] Ibid., 45.

and it could only be explained and solved in the craft of poetry, remembering the watchword "a parallel between objects and human's situation" in Sonnet 2. There are plenty uses of such paradoxical parallels lingering in the reference to both Zhang Zao and Tsveteava, such as "the one who is not playing piano always plays. / The one who has no home to return to is always returning home"[188] (Sonnet 11, line 10-11); the reflection of "revolution" and "servants" crossing through the mirror was situated in the combination of "a mixture of the leftist and the rightist" and "the duel between red and white"[189].

The crux of Zhang Zao's understanding of the "crafts of poetry" is to create "a parallel between objects and the human condition," and he develops this metapoetic idea in writing "Conversation with Tsvetaeva." The parallel between objects and the human condition gradually unfolds in the interaction with and echo to the paradoxical parallel between himself and the specter of Tsvetaeva. This entanglement of both a poetic parallel and a formal parallel—the paradoxical paralleling juxtaposition of words (left and right, red and white, mother tongue and foreign land, an unreachable return and phantasmatic reflection in the mirror), repetitive grammar and sentence structure discussed in Sonnet 3 and an echoing procrastination in Sonnet 6—best exemplifies the essential existence of Tsvetaeva's specter to make this dialogue structure complete.

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[188] Playing piano is a reference to Tsvetaeva. According to Ilya Kaminsky and Jean Valentine, Tsvetaeva started to play piano since she was a child, and her mom is a talented musician. See Marina Tsvetaeva, *Dark Elderberry Branch: Poems of Marina Tsvetaeva*, trans. Ilya Kaminsky and Jean Valentine (Alice James Books: 2012), 87.

[189] Red and white refers to the Red Army and White Army in October Revolution, 1917. This revolution is the main reason of Tsvetaeva's exile.

Conclusion

This thesis draws on the spatial, deconstructive and vocal perspective to delineate a hauntology in modern Chinese poetry. The genealogy of a haunted Tiananmen in modern Chinese poetry chapter one is to illustrate that Tiananmen as an image in poetry is not always compatible with its identity as a sociopolitical and cultural "emblem" of the party, the regime or the leader. Yet there is a continuous clue, another implicit layer in this place based on the deep concerns of death, trauma and memory of poets. In their poems, Tiananmen is encoded in the trace of ghosts with divergent emphasis and various aesthetic pursuits which aims to illustrate what is unspeakable, what is still there but ideologically concealed, and what is supposed to be memorized but replaced by lies. Zhou Zuoren and Luo Jialun's poem preliminarily founds the gloomy and uncanny experiences at Tiananmen; Wen Yiduo and Rao Mengkan's displacement of the actual massacre locale deepens the impression of a haunted place in which the daily life of livings are disturbed by ghosts while ghosts are remembered and justified in folk rituals; Hu Feng's case ironically illustrates the spectral Tiananmen in "Time Has Begun" is the result of both his improper and naïve conjuration and the intentional misinterpretation as part of the political movement; Meng Lang's anthology provides an integral picture of how the Tiananmen Square becomes spectral in its contamination of words and what a role poets and poetry played in its apparition.

A close reading of Zang Di's poem works as a case study in this thesis. "An Unerected Monument" is examined in two coordinates: one is the intrinsic transformation of aesthetic principles from Misty Poetry to Post Mistry Poetry; the other is an unchanged responsibility to speak to history inherited from Misty Poetry but practiced in a deconstructive approach in the post-1989 context. The twofold perspective ensures that the investigation of this poem does not break up with its own sociohistorical and aesthetic context. In fact, the monumentality compacted in

Mistry poetry is not deconstructed conversely, which turns the monument to a counter-monument. Rather, Zang Di intentionally suspends the monumentality to achieve the goal of inquiring and dissolving as a response to both a reality in history and a paradigm of poetic pursuit of older generations like Jiang He. Zang Di's implicit resistance of an official narrative of history is possible through the non-present present specter. The spectrality as an incarnation of a deconstructive spirit is a key to understand Zang Di's poem as well as a shortcut to approach to the aesthetic tactics of modern Chinese poetry in the 1990s.

The discussion on Marina Tsveteava's influence in poems of Duoduo and Zhang Zao is only viable by listening to the whisper of her apparition. In fact, the voice of ghosts are a representative phenomenon in modern Chinese poetry, especially for those who attempt to develop new research directions in the redundant studies of an intertextuality, interaction and intervention between western poet predecessors and Chinese poets. To perceive the voice of ghosts is to perceive the subtle resonance, conflicts, hesitation when a living poet is induced by a specter whose poetic thoughts and canonical works are haunting. An invisible wrestling between the voices of the living and that of the specter also implicates the complexities of identifying oneself as either an incarnation of the ghosts or a hybrid of both an indigenous Chinese experience and an exotic Western taste. In fact, there is also a genealogy to be described here: Wang Jiaxin's appropriation of Pasternak's voice in *Doctor Zhivago* and Zhai Yongming's indebtedness to the self-abasing voice of Sylvia Plath, which I failed to devlop more because of the capacity of this thesis.

All the poems I discuss is based on a preliminary understanding of haunting, that is something from the *past* comes back to the present. No matter the trigger of a return is a clip of memory, a flash of recollection or an inconsolable historical trauma, it is always the spirit of the past. However, focusing on a haunted past is not able to explain the whole story of a hauntolgy.

There is also a thread that poets are haunted by an imagination of the future, a failed promise delivered from the future that deserves more research efforts.

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