服饰造性别：
英国文艺复兴与中国明清戏剧中的换装和性别

廖炜春　著

上海译文出版社

需要全本请访问 www.ertongbook.com

总　序

改革开放以来,我国对外交流日益扩大,外语教学蒸蒸日上。但是随着改革的日趋深入,社会各界对外语人才的要求越来越高,各高校的外语专业已不满足于培养学生听、说、读、写、译五大技能,对学生研究能力的培养已经成为一个热点话题,反映在各高校外语专业的课程设置和大纲中。

华东师范大学正在努力建设成为一所拥有若干一流学科、多学科高水平协调发展、教师教育领先的综合性研究型大学。学校定位和发展目标的变化,对各个学科的定位和建设提出了新的要求。作为这样一所大学的一部分,华东师范大学外语学院的英、日、德、法、俄各个学科也从原来纯教学型的学科发展为教学科研并重的学科。我们认识到,要培养学生的研究能力,首先要培养教师、尤其是中、青年教师的研究能力。近年来,学院不断加大力度,在对教师提出科研要求的同时,采取了很多措施,鼓励教师申请项目,发表论文,出版专著。

2004 年秋,学院决定建立“华东师范大学外语学院学术文库”,每年出版几本有一定学术价值的学术专著。由学院的教师提出申请,学院的学术委员会最后决定入选的专著。这些专著涵盖语言学、文学、翻译、社会与文化、国际关系和英语国家研究等领域,基本上代表了华东师范大学外语学院中、青年教师的研究水平。

我们希望，这个学术文库出版的研究成果能被国内外同行认可，从而提高学校的学术声誉。但是我们更希望这些成果能够引发更多的学术讨论和交流，为繁荣我国外语界的学术研究，提高学术水平，作出应有的贡献。

张春柏

华东师范大学外语学院　院长

2005 年 5 月于华东师范大学丽娃河畔

总

序

序一 /1

序二 /1

前言 /1

辕

Contents

序摇摇一

栽藻藕瞰鳖糟藻孕藻瞰皂葬瞰增葬凿则藻性瞰鳖让赃藻栽藻藕膜

Clothes Make the Wo/Man:*Cross-Dressing and Gender on the English Renaissance Stage and in the Late Imperial Chinese Theatre* provides the reader with a comparison of cross-dressing in the English and Chinese theatres. Cross-dressing as a phenomenon can be found in both Western and Chinese traditions. The study of cross-dressing entails an investigation of gender formation and representation, as well as the cultural politics involved in it. In cross-cultural comparisons, gender becomes a complex issue, as it has to address the question of how theory can be engaged in a fruitful manner that does not distort the specificity of cultural contexts. Putting aside its subversive implications in ideology, what is interesting in the study of cross-dressing is the need to rethink how social practice can shape a person's gender identity.

This is particularly true in the theatre, where cultural meanings of characterization are determined by the semiotics of social conventions, and a character's gender identity is signaled by the clothes that he/she wears. Gender is performed not only in the realization of the character, which is made possible by the actor's role playing in alienating the self, but also in the audience's perception. In such a tripartite relation involving the character, actor and au-

需要全本请访问 www.ertongbook.com

dience，cross-dressing is both production and subversion of identity，a paradox inherent in the very act of performance. Performing gender is the search for cultural meaning，as well as the questioning of its social production.

Current theoretical debates on gender do not focus just on it as self-identity，but also on the psychoanalytical formation of gender as effects of language and social processes. The speech-act theory advanced by J. L. Austin and John Searle since the 1960s has demonstrated that speech can lead to action，and speech consequently is action. Words can do things，or make people do things，and hence language has a performative function. If what people do with regard to their gender is also a performative function of language，as Judith Butler has proposed，then it is apparent that the theatre is a site of such speech-act formations. Recent discussions on the actor's self as performative further lend support to such a theory. However，not all speeches are performative. A speech becomes performative only when it fulfills certain social conventions. This social function of language，in terms of the production and subversion of desire，can also be understood in Michel Foucault's theory，which argues that culture works in the form of discourse in its ideological shaping of history and the individual. The study of performativity in identity formation has aroused much interest in the academia in recent years，and Dr. Liao's book is a welcome addition to the theoretical debates.

Clothes Make the Wo/Man is an attempt in looking at gender issues in theatrical practice through the lens of Western theories，especially those developed by Michel Foucault and Judith Butler. By tracing how cross-dressing has been treated in Western and Chinese traditions，Dr. Liao establishes a comparative framework for studying the“ materiality ”of gender in theatrical

practice. It is in this respect that the study provides a historical dimension in comparative culture. Her argument that cross-dressing is an ideological issue is substantiated with examples read in their cultural and theatrical contexts. In this sense, the book is a re-reading of English and Chinese dramatic texts by situating them in the gendered theatrical practice of the two traditions. Such an investigation proves to be particularly meaningful because the Chinese do not have a theory that considers gender as a psychoanalytic formation and as identity beyond the various roles a person has in society. The lack of a theory, however, does not mean that the Chinese are free from "gender trouble"; nor does it mean that the Chinese do not have gender concepts.

Re-reading the theatre and its texts with special attention on cross-dressing is re-reading a tradition. Dr. Liao's work offers new readings of the two traditions by re-examining how gender is performed in different contexts. Cross-dressing is "border crossing", and the study of it, as demonstrated in Dr. Liao's book, entails cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural considerations. While much has been done in studying cross-dressing as a cultural phenomenon that seeks explanation from psychology and anthropology in the West, such investigation is just burgeoning in China, and Dr. Liao's book is a timely contribution to this inquiry. The book can also be read as a prelude to her on-going research on the performance of gender.

Kwok-kan Tam
Professor
The Chinese University of Hong Kong
June 2005

序　二

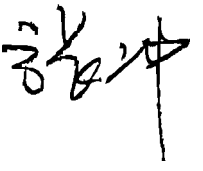
莎士比亚的爱情浪漫喜剧向以戏剧性见长,而细观(读和看)之下,更发现那些特别令人觉得饶有趣味的欢闹场面多为“女扮男装”的结果。《威尼斯商人》中鲍西娅(Portia)的换装,不仅得以进入庄严的威尼斯法庭,最终凭机敏口才击败了夏洛克,更得以当庭与不知就里的丈夫开点玩笑,为一触即发的严肃场面添加一丝轻松气氛,为喜剧照例要有的欢喜收场埋下伏笔。其实,在《第十二夜》、《如愿》等戏剧中,“女扮男装”更成为整个喜剧的“主心骨”,其中女性角色因换装而造成的尴尬和在此种尴尬之下的机巧应变,均是莎士比亚喜剧中最脍炙人口的台词之一。窃以为,这样的场面,主要是剧本安排和当时戏剧演出实践的需要,因为在莎士比亚时代,戏剧舞台的上上下下,都没有女性的位置,而“换装”也是喜剧屡试不爽的“包袱”之一。

但是,廖炜春的专著《服饰造性别 :英国文艺复兴与中国明清戏剧中的换装和性别》却给了我们更深层次的思考。作者没有就事论事,而把“女扮男装”这一戏剧现象放在了更为宽广的文化历史语境下加以考查,向我们揭示出,这一为观众提供剧场欣快体验的手法,其背后实在是有着复杂的原因,事关当时文化中的性别差异观念及其社会后果。这样的考量,本身已很有意义,然作者又进一步,把这一研究置于比较文化的更大的语境之下,使研究成果具有了“文化对话”的意义。这部研究成

果还有一个特点，就是既有理论的深度和高度，又有文本细读的工夫，不似时下一些专拉理论大旗做虎皮、以盖文本工夫之浅薄的所谓研究。

作者以学者应有的诚实和谦逊，告诉我们这部著作并没能涵盖所有（这是实话），并希望自己或他人能在此起点上继续研究下去。我也很希望看到作者或其他学人能以这一成果为基础，做出新的有意义的成果来，让我们感受到更多的学术研究的欣快体验。

是以为序。



2005 年 6 月于复旦大学

前　言

本书借助米歇尔·福柯(Michel Foucault)和茱迪丝·巴特勒(Judith Butler)等学者关于性别的社会属性的理论,尝试从中国和西方的传统性别观念出发,比较和分析英国文艺复兴时期和中国帝制末期戏剧中的"换装"现象。之所以要选择英国文艺复兴戏剧和明朝中后期到清朝末年的中国戏曲进行比较,一是因为十六到十七世纪的英国与帝制末期的中国都处于重大社会变革的时代,而社会的变革也带来了人们关于性别角色和性别关系的新思考;二是因为这两个戏剧系统本身都是换装演出的,英国文艺复兴时期剧团里不允许有女演员,所有女性角色一律由男(童)演员扮演,而中国戏剧表演自古以来一直有"反串"的传统;三是因为英国文艺复兴时期和中国明清时期的舞台上都相对集中地出现了含有"改装"情节的剧目,尤以女扮男装为甚。

引论"传统中西文化中的换装以及相关的性别概念"(Cross-Dressing and Gender Concepts in Western and Chinese Traditions)讨论了欧洲和中国传统社会对于性别角色和性别关系的界定,以及由此产生的对待诸如男扮女装和女扮男装这样跨越性别界限的行为的态度。西方社会从古希腊罗马时代到文艺复兴时期在性别角色和性别关系的界定上都强调男女有别和男尊女卑,古希腊学者如亚里士多德等人甚至试图对男性生而优越论给出"科学的"论证;后来的基督教文明进

一步加强了男权主义统治，将人类的堕落归咎于女性，藉此要求女性的绝对服从。古代中国文化从《易经》开始已经流露出阴阳两极化的思想，儒家文化强调内外有别，推进了性别隔离的实施，并通过灌输“天尊地卑”的概念巩固了男性的主宰地位。虽然中西传统社会都对性别实行二元制划分，并确立了男性的主导地位，但又都不乏对性别的流动性和双性合一的认识，这一点集中体现在两个社会对待“易装”的态度上。由于服装被赋予了性别意义，常常成为区分性别的工具。比如《圣经》里就明令禁止男女服装混穿以防止性别混淆和保障男性的优势地位，中国古代也将男扮女装或女扮男装视作颠倒阴阳，并常常由此引申到宇宙间阴阳比例的失调，作为性别属性的阴阳的变化被看作是指代天下和谐或动乱的象征。正是由于服装所具有的性别属性，“易装”这一行为因其跨越性别樊篱、颠倒性别角色，对男尊女卑的二元制性别系统构成了颠覆性的破坏。值得注意的是传统中西社会对这一“越轨”行为又都予以了一定程度的包容。古希腊罗马神话有关“换装”的传说、中世纪时基督教大量的女扮男装的女圣徒传奇以及《易经》宣扬的阴阳转换的思想都流露出对于性别的可塑性的认识，但有趣的是，中西文化对男扮女装和女扮男装的诠释与态度大相径庭。女扮男装通常被认为是出于对优越的男性性别的向往，对男尊女卑的性别结构并未构成真正威胁，因而在相当程度上被容忍。相比之下，由于男性主导的性别规范难以解释为什么男性愿意自降身份去尝试女性角色，所以男扮女装通常都被视为羞辱或变态。于是在古代欧洲和中国诸如圣女贞德和花木兰这样女扮男装的传奇得以广泛流传，而有关男扮女装的记载相比之下却微不足道。应该指出的是，中西文化对于男扮女装和女扮男装的解释与态度都是基于男尊女卑的二元制性别秩序，试图从地位的变化着手替“易装”这一“越界”行为赋予功利性的动机，而不是对已有的性别建

需要全本请访问 www.ertongbook.com

构和性别属性本身提出质疑。

第一章“‘添上我们缺少的’:舞台上的女扮男装”(“Accomplished with That We Lack”:Female Cross-Dressing on the Stage)在引论部分所建立的框架基础之上,分析英国文艺复兴舞台上和中国明清戏剧中的女扮男装情节。这一章从“换装的动机”(Motives)、“无所不在的男性存在”(Omnipresence of the Male)、“生理决定论和物恋对象的自然化”(Biological Determinism and Naturalization of a Fetish)以及“愉快的回归”(The Happy Return)这四个方面来探讨和分析英国文艺复兴舞台上和中国明清戏剧中的女扮男装剧。这些剧中的女性角色在萌发“易装”念头的时候常常是出于对一个男性角色的利益的考虑,而她们的换装行为最终都服务于男性利益。在她们扮成男人进入男性领域的过程中通常都会出现一个男性指导者或保护者,这个男性的存在能够确保穿越性别屏障的女性角色始终处于男性的控制之中。这些女扮男装剧虽然在一定程度上承认女性的智慧和才能,但最终目的仍是维持男性的主导地位。莎士比亚的喜剧无一例外地强调他那些扮成少年的女主角们关键时刻是如何柔弱,穿上男人的服装不等于能真正拥有她们生而就欠缺的男性气质;而明清戏剧揭露假扮男人的女性角色的真实身份时常常是让她的三寸金莲被暴露,这一情节在强调女性的生理“缺陷”的同时实际上将“小脚”这一中国男人的恋物癖对象塑造成女性的“自然”属性。特别需要指出的是,几乎所有女扮男装情节都是短暂的、临时性的,女扮男装者只是暂时性地游离于性别规范之外。有关女扮男装的喜剧大都以婚礼结束,昭示这些曾经超越性别限制的女性角色最终都“自愿”回归从属性的女性身份,“甘于”回到从此再也不能走出去的家庭樊笼。对女扮男装剧的分析可以看出戏剧在很大程度上着力于消解女性易装对男权的挑战,维护男性至上的性别秩序。

第二章“‘衣装下的身体’才重要:男扮女装及其文化解读”(The “Body Beneath” Matters：Male Transvestism and Cultural Implications)主要围绕‘以滑稽剧出现的男扮女装”(Male Transvestism as a Farce)、“被描绘成好色之徒的男性易装者”(Female Impersonation as Erotic Adventures)以及‘男扮女装与男同性恋”(Male Transvestism and Sodomy)这三点来讨论戏剧中所表现的男扮女装及其与女扮男装剧的区别。在数量上,男扮女装剧远远少于女扮男装剧,这或许是因为男性的易装给性别话语系统提出了一个更棘手的难题,因为它难以再用功利性的‘好处论”去解释男人为什么穿女服。因此,舞台上男扮女装经常是以滑稽笑闹剧的形式出现,意在说明男人模仿女人绝非当真,他们穿上女性服饰只不过是要取笑这个弱势性别。这种表现手法实质上是力图排除男扮女装者具有严肃动机的可能性。英国文艺复兴舞台和明清戏剧都竭力丑化穿上女装的男性角色,着重灌输扮成女性是一个男人的奇耻大辱这个观念,与同时期光彩照人的女扮男装角色形成了鲜明对比。此外,为维护既有的性别秩序,戏剧仍然尝试从另一个角度以功利性的‘好处论”去解释男扮女装的目的,即,如果一个男人假扮女人不是为了取乐,那他一定是想借此接近女性获得性满足。强调男扮女装者的性目的实际上是试图明确处于混淆危险中的性别分野。然而,性别话语系统所不能回避的是,一个装扮成女人的男人确实具有性目的,但是其性满足的对象可能不是异性,而是他的同性。在欧洲男扮女装很早便与同性恋倾向联系在一起,十六、十七世纪英国扮演女性角色的男童演员不断被指责为有悖教义、有伤风化。由于当时英国社会对鸡奸的敏感,在戏剧舞台上男同性恋意识只能通过对饰演女性角色的男童演员的强调而得以表达。相比之下传统中国文化对男性之间的性关系有相当程度的包容,在此背景下,晚明时期甚至产生了一部以男同性恋为主题的男扮女装剧。与对待女扮男装不

同,戏剧对男扮女装更多地是采取了回避的态度。虽然对同性恋倾向的暗示或表现对性别属性规范有一定的颠覆性,但戏剧最终还是强调异性恋才是标准,仍然力图维护两极划分的性别系统。

第三章"自由与枷锁:新旧性别意识并存"(Freedom and Bondage: New Recognition and Stereotypes of Gender)通过分析英国文艺复兴和明清戏剧中不同于其他"换装"剧的作品,讨论女扮男装和男扮女装对性别区分的不可改变性和男性主导的绝对正确性的质疑以及既有性别秩序的霸权和顽固。尽管两个戏剧系统都建立了表现"换装"的主流模式以达到使其符合传统性别规范而"正常化"的目的,但两个戏剧舞台上都产生了偏离主流的表现方式,而这些背离"主流"的剧作更突出了"换装"的颠覆性。本章从"换装与女性对女性的性取向"(Cross-dressing and Female-Female Attraction)、"浪漫爱情与伴侣式婚姻"(Romantic Love and Companionate Marriage)、"暴躁的女孩与沉默的女人"(The Roaring Girl and the Silent Woman)这三个方面探讨此类剧作中对"易装"的非主流表现方式所反映的十六到十七世纪的英国和帝制末期的中国正在萌芽的新性别观念。英国文艺复兴戏剧和中国明清戏曲对待男同性恋不尽一致,但在女扮男装可能引发女同性恋的问题上却大致相同,都采取了忽视和忽略的态度。两个舞台上都缺乏对女同性恋意识清晰的呈现,即使涉及女性之间"非同寻常"的感情时,这种感情也通常都是由"姐妹情谊"以蔽之,而姐妹情谊很快会被异性之间的恋爱和婚姻所取代。同时这些剧作也反映了对浪漫爱情和幸福婚姻的追求,并肯定了一种新的婚姻模式——伴侣式婚姻。人们已经意识到一个受教育程度相当和情趣一致的妻子对和谐美满的家庭生活的重要性,这种意识实际上赋予女性一定的平等权利。"换装"对性别规范的挑战在 *The Roaring Girl* 一剧中达到顶峰。该剧塑造了一个好穿男装却不隐瞒自己性别

的完全非传统的女性易装者，通过提供一个“第三类”形象对貌似稳定合理的二元制性别系统构成极大威胁。然而这些非主流“换装”剧虽然对男尊女卑的两极化性别建构形成了潜在的威胁和颠覆，但总的来说依然不忘维护这个性别系统。

结束语部分“换装：不同文化背景下的越轨”（Cross-Dressing：Transgression in Cultural Contexts）指出如果将戏剧看成一个解码器，我们从对“换装”的分析中可以读出在特定的历史背景下戏剧所蕴涵的有关性别角色和性别关系的文化代码以及社会意识。换装剧在运用各种策略使这一超越性别界限的行为“正常化”以符合性别规范的时候，流露出的恰恰是对自然化的性别二分法和男性生而优越论的焦虑。由于英国文艺复兴和明清戏剧都使演员的跨性别表演制度化，舞台上的换装情节成为演员超越性别屏障的自指，因而进一步突出了性别的不确定性和流动性。再者，通过分析英国文艺复兴舞台与中国明清戏剧在表现“换装”上显示出的异同，我们不仅发现在相应的历史时期，中国社会和英国社会都产生了彼此相似的性别规范与“换装”之间的互动和张力，并且可以更好地理解两个文化各自的特点，以及由这些特点所造成的两个戏剧系统在表现相关性别问题上的差异。

本书主要依赖现存的剧本开展研究，而戏剧的效果和功能在很大程度上有赖于表演和观众。如果不考虑演出和观众的反应，就不能穷尽戏剧作为各种相互竞争的话语系统的演示场的重要性。而如果要考察舞台表演和观众的因素，戏剧所涉及的性别问题将更为复杂，这方面的探讨就留作将来的期待。

廖炜春

2005 年 6 月

Clothes make the man. Dress, traditionally a ubiquitous symbol of sexual differences, tends to emphasize social conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Either consciously or unconsciously, we are used to giving a gender identity to clothing. The distinction between a male and a female is indeed the primary and the most essential differentiation made in human society. The notion that one is male or female is conceptualized as early as in infancy and is the most deeply rooted aspect of our sense of identity. Clothing, as well as behaviour modes, speech and other external characteristics, helps to transform anatomically categorized sex into culturally constructed gender. As Freud points out, when we meet a human being, the first distinction we are likely to make is "male or female?" and usually we make this distinction with unhesitating certainty (Freud 343). What are those criteria according to which we differentiate a man from a woman? In addition to differences in physical appearance, especially when such differences are vague, gender-based dressing schemes often constitute the most conspicuous marking of a category of sex. Traditionally, skirts were the garb of women

and pants the garb of men，as well as pink was usually for girls and blue for boys during certain historical periods in the West. Cross-dressing，therefore，symbolizes an encroachment upon the sphere of the other sex.

To elucidate the relationships between cross-dressing and gender，I would like to start with the definition of gender. According to the *Women's Studies Encyclopedia*，“ gender is a cultural construct：the distinction in roles，behaviours，and mental and emotional characteristics between females and males developed by a society，”while“ [s]ex is a term that encompasses the morphological and physiological differences on the basis of which humans（and other life forms）are categorized as male and female. It should be used only in relation to characteristics and behaviours that arise directly from biological differences between men and women ”（Tierney 153）. This definition makes“ gender ”and“ sex ”two distinct concepts，with the former emphasizing cultural and social influences and the latter based on anatomical differences. However，in his first volume of *The History of Sexuality*，Foucault even puts the biological nature of“ sex ”into question. He argues that the simple dichotomy in sex categorization facilitates a reversal of causal relations such that“ sex ”is believed to cause and give meaning to sexual desire：

> [T]he notion of“ sex ”made it possible to group together，in an artificial unity，anatomical elements，biological functions，conducts，sensations，and pleasures，and it enabled one to make use of this fictitious unity as a causal principle，an omnipresent meaning：sex was thus able to function as a unique signifier and as a universal signified. Further，by presenting itself in a unitary fashion，as anatomy and lack，as func-

需要全本请访问 www.ertongbook.com