

## 南京紫金山的公開秘密

### The Unheroic Corpse: Ordinary Graves and the Public Secrets of Nanjing's Zijinshan

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In his essay “Walter Benjamin’s Grave: A Profane Illumination”, the anthropologist Michael Taussig walks a graveyard in Port Bou, on the French-Spanish border, rumored to be the burial place of Benjamin, who famously committed suicide while fleeing occupied France. He finds a monument and marker for a grave that quite possibly does not exist, surrounded by the tombs of the local people whose cemetery, after all, this is. Notably, their practice is to bury individuals for a set period in niches and then reinter them in a communal crypt. The setting, and his physical motion through the site, leads Taussig to meditate on a series of questions and contradictions -- the mysteries of Benjamin’s suicide, the act of marking his unknown burial place, the intense interest which Taussig and others placed on the fate of the mythical suitcase of writings which were said to be on his person at the end, which in turn contrasted with the ultimately anonymous fate of local corpses, the less broadly public experience under fascism that many of those people had undergone, and the relative paucity of intellectual inquiry into such matters -- and asks whether the “carefully crafted invisibility of the public secret is not the most significant monument imaginable.”<sup>1</sup>

My study is an inquiry into the public secrets of one of China’s most significant monumental complexes, the Zijinshan (Purple Hills) sites of the Sun Yat-sen mausoleum, the tomb of Zhu Yuanzhang, and many other marked and unmarked, individual and collective graves in the area. Drawing from Taussig’s example, I do this in part by recounting the geography of sections of this large ridge of hills, questioning – for example -- the relationship of the Sun mausoleum to its temporal and ideological neighbor in Nationalist simultaneous honoring of the collective and individual dead body, the Shrine to Fallen Officers and Soldiers at the former Linggu Monastery. But an analytic framework that focuses primarily on monumentalism, design,

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Taussig, “Walter Benjamin’s Grave: A Profane Illumination” in *Walter Benjamin’s Grave* (Chicago, 2006), 19.

or even state ritual – as is typical in the relatively well documented history of Sun tomb – may not account for the many other bodies in this district that have been buried anonymously, moved, destroyed, and remembered and forgotten in waves. Nationalist claims, political rivalries, war, and geopolitics generated a rubric for treating the bodies of political leaders of the present and cultural icons of the past that ranged from reverence to rumor and outright desecration and revenge. With much less fanfare, however, the victims of modern warfare were buried in common graves, sometimes at sites that silently or directly linked to Nanjing's earliest history of death on a massive scale. Yet their histories and their commemoration are notably faded in a city that devotes much of its contemporary identity to the memory and commemoration of military atrocity. And what of the family graves of local residents, variously subsumed or expelled by the growth of the memorial park?

The goal of this article is to combine original research with an outline of a method by which we might fruitfully analyze as a system monuments, living actors, dead bodies as actors and objects, ritual, and the geography of dead and living places -- rather than relying on frameworks of nationalism, monumentality or sociality alone to shape our interpretation of significant modern sites. Critical to this particular case study are themes of the corporeal and the disembodied, rooting and uprooting, building and rebuilding, interment and disinterment, and marking and unmarking.

### 主講人簡介：

張倩雯(Rebecca Nedostup)，美國籍，2001 年以《宗教、迷信，與南京國民政府的社會管理》(Religion, Superstition and Governing Society in Nationalist China)為題，獲得哥倫比亞大學紐約分校歷史博士學位。並於 2010 年獲本中心「外籍學人來臺研究獎助」，來臺研究主題為「中國戰爭移民的家鄉觀念與社區意識」。張教授現任教於美國布朗大學歷史系。