Memory/Postmemory, Ethics and Ideology: Toward a Historiographic Narratology in Film

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Against the general background of transmedia narrative studies, this article intends to move towards a historiographic narratology in film (HNF hereafter). Specifically, it pursues five major goals. First, it calls for a historiographic narratology beyond literary narratives, and explains why HNF is needed. Second, it deals with the specific issues of memory/postmemory in HNF, that is the history as memorized either by those who experienced it in person or by their descendants. Third, it explores ethics in HNF, particularly the ethics of the represented and the ethics of the representing. Fourth, it tries to pin down the ideology embedded in HNF. Fifth, it outlines a set of directions for the future studies of HNF.

The Intersection of Narratology and Historiography

According to Frank Ankersmit, historiography is "the writing of history", which exists at three levels corresponding to (1) a separate system in "the history of the writing of history" and (2) the central themes in the theoretical reflection on the nature of historical writing, and (3) a coherent presentation of all the events mentioned in the historian's narrative. (Ankersmit 217) This paper deals with historiography in the last two senses—the theoretical nature of historical writing and the presentation of events in the historian's narrative. Apparently, studies of historiography in these two senses have witnessed many "turns". In the opening section of his groundbreaking work *Historical Representation* (2001), Ankersmit discusses "the linguistic turn" in historical theory. Several years later, instead of talking about "the linguistic turn", Ankersmit says much about the narrative turn in history. He argues that narrativism "is nowadays the most widely held theory of history." (Ankersmit 220) In fact, the narrative turn

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in history falls into a broader category of "narrative turn in humanities" (Kreiswirth 377-382). Compared with the linguistic turn, the narrative turn influences the studies of historiography to no small measure, which results in two consequences: (1) seeing history as narrative, and (2) importing narratological concepts to the studies of history.

In the eyes of Hayden White, "Far from being a problem, then, narrative might well be considered a solution to a problem of general human concern." (White 1) In order to solve "the problem of general human concern" in historiography, White first of all sees history as narrative, and secondly tries to clarify the nature of the historical text via four tropes, i.e. metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, irony, which as White argues, will always guide the historian in his selection from the manifold of the past. Along with four tropes, White also proposes four theories of truth— formism, mechanism, organicism, and contextualism, and four strategies of ideological implication—anarchism, radicalism, conservatism, and liberalism. White's theory has been regarded as a milestone for the studies of historiography, as he transforms the historical material into the shape of plot or story. However, the truly innovative idea of historiographic narratology has been initiated by Dorrit Cohn.

When pinning down the signs of fictionality, Cohn makes a comparative study between fictional narrative and historical narrative. More importantly, she proposes "some rudiments for a historiographic narratology." (Cohn 777) In Cohn's opinion, the story/discourse distinction in fictional narratology has remained marginal for the analysis of historical narrative. Therefore, she proposes a tri-level model: referent/story/discourse, with an attempt to reevaluate the status of reference in the realm of narratology. Her conclusion is that historical narrative differs from fictional narrative in their external references.

According to Cohn, the real difference between historical narrative and fictional narrative is based on a few signposts at the level of discourse. Amy J. Elias has made an excellent summary of Cohn's contribution to historiographic narratology, which can be quoted in full:

> Unlike fiction, historical narrative (1) constructs a modal system that forbids the author/narrator to present undocumented first-person characters' thoughts (although it may use the 'must-have-thought' style inferred psychologies; (2) focuses more on mentalities than on individual minds and thereby produces both distinctive discursive conventions (such as prevalence of summary over scene) and the need to rethink focalization, and (3) is based on a relation of homonymy between author and narrator (a historical narrative will always assert that its narrator is identical to the author on the book title's page) . (Elias 217)

Therefore, we can argue that Cohn has revised the model of fictional narratology to fit the historiographic narratology. In contrast to this, Alun Munslow directly imports a set of narratological concepts into the field of historiographic studies. For instance, in *Narrative and History* (2007), Munslow devotes a whole chapter to discussing "narrating and narration", in which much is said about voice and focalization, tense and time, order, duration, frequency, and so on. Obviously, all of these concepts are directly borrowed from classical narratology.

Unlike White, Cohn, and Munslow, Ansgar Nünning (1999) calls for a cultural and historical narratology. After conducting a brief survey of the rise, the fall, the renaissance, and the most recent developments of narratology, Nünning proposes an integrated approach that "focuses on the cultural analysis of narrative fictions and the ubiquities of narratives in cultures, both past and present," and the purpose of this approach is to "shed light on both the history of narrative forms and the changing functions that narrative strategies have fulfilled." (Nünning 357)

Whereas White and Munslow are from the field of historical research, and Cohn and Nünning are from the field of literary studies, they all share one thing in common—the intention of moving towards the field of historiographic narratology. Though the call for building up historiographic narratology as a discipline has been in existence for a decade or two, it is still at its emerging stage and leaves a set of theoretical questions unanswered. For instance, how history is represented in the era of transmedia and transgeneric studies? What about the ethics of the represented in history and those representing history? What about the ideology embedded in historical narratives?

The remainder of this essay is oriented towards four general aspects of the issue. First, it calls for a historiographic narratology beyond literary narratives, and moves towards historiographic narratology in film (shortened as HNF). Second, it discusses the specific issue of memory or postmemory in HNF, that is the history as memorized by those or the descendents of those who have experienced it. Accordingly, history turns out to be a truth stored in memory and concretized by a fictional medium. Third, the ethics in HNF, particularly the ethics of the represented and the ethics of the representing are tackled with careful reflection. Fourth, it tries to pin down the ideology embedded in HNF.

Telling History in Films: Historiography as a Cross-Media Phenomenon

In *Poetics*, Aristotle makes a comparison between history and poetry. He says, "The distinction between historian and poet is not in the one writing prose and the other verse—you might put the work of Herodotus into verse, and it would still be a species of history; it consists really in this, that the one describes the thing that has been, and the other a kind of thing that might be. Hence poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history, since its statements are of the nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are singulars." (Aristotle 57) As history is concerned, Aristotle's statement contains several insights. (1) History is about the past or about what happened; (2) history presents specific facts; (3) history can be written in different forms or media. The last point merits special notice, because it touches upon the relationship between history and the media that represent history. In practice, the Aristotelian idea of representing history in different forms has been neglected for a long time. History and audio-visual media are often thought of as two separate and often antagonistic worlds governed by different standards, working to different agendas and aiming at different goals. Historians tend to think and write in words rather than in images. But this is only partially true. According to Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, story "may be grasped as transferable from medium to medium, from language to language, and within the same language." If history contains a story or the content to be told, then it can be told in different forms. Therefore, along similar lines, we can also claim that history can be represented from "medium to medium" or "from language to language." (Rimmon-Kenan 9)

The notion of narrativity might be helpful to understand why history can be told in different media. According to Gerald Prince, narrativity designates "the quality of being narrative, the set of properties characterizing narratives and distinguishing them from non-narratives." (Prince 387) But what are these properties that could distinguish narrative from non-narratives? Does history contain these properties? Peter Hühn and Jörg Schönert list two dimensions of narrativity: sequentiality (the temporal organization and linking of individual incidents to form a coherent succession), and mediality (mediation being the selection, presentation, and meaningful interpretation of such a succession from a particular perspective). (Hühn and Schönert 1-2) History, in White's expression, "emplots" the events in the past, and these selected events can be interpreted meaningfully from a variety of perspectives. Seen in this light, history falls

into the general category of narrative. No matter in what form history is recorded, it is still the story of the past.

Against the general background of research on transmedia narrative (Ryan, *Narrative across Media*; Fulton) coupled with the investigation of transgeneric narrative (Hühn and Schönert 1-13), the studies of histori-ography across-media should also be put on its agenda. Diachronically, history has been recorded or written in various forms, which go along with the development of new technology. According to Ryan, the history of language-based communication can be divided into five periods, namely, (1) the oral age; (2) the age of manuscript writing; (3) the age of print; (4) the electronic age (represented by the mass media of radio and television; cinema might be added, although it does not rely on electronic technol-ogy); (5) the digital age. (Ryan, "Transfictionality across Media" 394-408)

If we apply Ryan's classification to history, we can safely argue that in the oral age, history has been told orally from one generation to the next; in the age of manuscript writing, history has been written in various materials such as stone, bronze, iron, animal bones, bamboo, cloth, and paper; in the print age, history has been largely reserved in paper-form works; in the electronic age, history has been recorded on TV, radio, and film; in the digital age, history has been reserved in computer, hard disk, CD, DVD, etc.

In *Narrative and History*, Munslow summarizes a set of key modes of historical expression such as written texts—books and dissertations, film and photography, television and radio; graphic novels, comic, history magazines; public histories: museums, heritage and memorials; perfor-mance: re-enactment, "first-person" history, games; digitized representa-tions. (Munslow 65) Fortunately, the studies of historical narrative across-media have been carried out by a few scholars. For instance, Zenoas Norkus regards the historical narratives as pictures, and further examines the relations between verbal and pictorial representations; (Norkus 173-206) Julia Lippert uses the theoretical framework of natural narratology to analyze the Kew Palace exhibition of George III, both of which explore the issues of historical narratives across-media. (Lippert 228-244) When proposing "some rudiments for historiographic narratology", Cohn re-vises the "story/discourse" model of structuralist narratology into "story/ discourse/reference". (Cohn 775-804) In the age of transmedia narra-tive studies, I suggest revising Cohn's tri-model into a quatrain-model— "story/discourse/reference/media". My focus goes to this newly added element "media" by taking film as an example.

Film, as one of the greatest inventions in the 19th century, has become a special semiotic channel to tell or show history. Consider documentary

film as an example. As a particular type of film, its major function is to record or to represent happenings in the past, and to inform the audiences of the stories of the past. But the history represented in motion pictures is somewhat different from the one written in texts. In a written text, history is told through a single semiotic channel; while in films, the history is represented in multi-modal media, which entails images, sound and music, and so on. When telling history in a written text, the historian only needs to consider the question about how to make good use of words; while representing history in films, the director or producer needs to figure out how to employ several semiotic channels simultaneously and to collaborate with a whole production team, including actors, musicians, and so on. Viewed in this light, telling history in films is more complicated than telling it in written text.

Of particular interest are those films narrated by cinematic character narrators. On the one hand, they are narrators within a discourse world at discourse time, organizing and processing the events; on the other hand, they are characters either experiencing the events directly within a historical world at story time or experiencing the events indirectly as a heritage from their last generations. To put it another way, histories in this type of films can be seen as products of cinematic character narrator's memory or postmemory. But unlike the representation of their memory and postmemory in written text, their representation is realized by multi-modal media, including performance of the actors, sounds, images, historical archives such as newspapers, diaries and photos.

In the following section, I am going to take three movies about Nanking Massacre as an example in the hope of uncovering the role played by memory and postmemory in representing history on screen.

Memory/Postmemory and HNF

History and memory have the same function of representing the past, which makes their relationship complicated. On the one hand, history and memory are rivals, since they compete with each other in representing the past; on the other hand, they are partners, since they work together to represent the past. Noteworthily, memory can also create history, because what is told from the memory will be eventually integrated into history.

According to Marianne Hirsch, memory studies have been "fueled by the limit case of the Holocaust and by the work of (and about) what has come to be known as 'the second generation' or 'the generation after.' " (Hirsch 105) Holocaust is not only memorized by those who experienced

or witnessed the traumatic event but also memorized by the generations to come. Hirsch calls this new type of memory POSTMEMORY, which describes

> the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they "remember" only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right. (Hirsch 106—107)

In other words, postmemory particularly works in representing the traumatic events that were experienced by the last generation. Or, to put it differently, as far as the traumatic events are concerned, both memory and postmemory play important roles in storing and representing them. Hirsch's study is mainly concerned about the Holocaust that occurred in Europe during the Second World War.

The Nanking Massacre, which is also known as the Rape of Nanking, has been considered as one of the most important events that occurred in modern Chinese history. On December 13th, 1939, Nanking fell into the hands of the Japanese armed forces. Immediately after occupying Nanking, Japanese soldiers launched a massive campaign of slaughter, which had lasted for about six weeks. It is estimated that more than 300,000 civilians were slaughtered in the massacre. This traumatic event has been written into a considerable large number of diaries, textbooks, as well as fictional works. With the rise of the film industry, narratives about Nanking Massacre have also been adapted into films. An account shows that there have been over thirty films centering on Nanking Massacre. Among them are "Iris Chang—The Rape of Nanking" (2007) directed by Anne Pick and William Spahic, "Nanking" (2007) directed by Bill Guttentag and Dan Sturman, and "John Rabe" (2009) directed by Florian Gallenberger. Though all of them are concerned with the same historical event, it is stored and narrated via different agents. In "Nanking" and "John Rabe", the (hi)story is both told and experienced by all the cinematic character narrators, while in "Iris Chang—The Rape of Nanking", though Iris Chang tells the history, she did not personally experience this historical event.

A close study shows that all cinematic character narrators in these films are traumatized by this massive slaughter, which was deeply rooted in either their memories or their postmemories. We can start our analysis with "Nanking", which employs the skill of multiple-narrators to tell this part of history from different perspectives. These traumatized character narrators fall into three distinctive categories: the Chinese survivors, the Japanese soldiers, and the foreigners who were working at Nanking then. All the character narrators try to relate what they have witnessed to audien-

ces in order to uncover this forgotten history. Noteworthy is the fact that these stories are deeply buried in these people's minds, and their intersectional telling helps to record the past and bring it to daylight accordingly.

"Nanking" starts with the telling of a group of foreigners who were working at Nanking when the massive atrocity took place. At the beginning of the film, all of them introduced their identities. They had been working at Nanking during the time it fell. For instance, George Fitch was a missionary at Nanking; Minnie Vautrin was the dean of Ginling Women's College; Rob Wilson was a surgeon at Nanking hospital; John Rabe was a manager of Siemens at Nanking. What followed next is that they started narrating both what Nanking had been like before the massacre took place and during the massacre from their particular perspectives. These westerners tried every possible means to save the refugees from being slaughtered. The most impressive thing is that they set up a so-called "safety zone" with John Rabe as the director. Tens of thousands of refugees went to the safety zone seeking protection. It worked in the beginning, but later on some of these refugees still ended being slaughtered. The purpose of having these people tell the story is to present a truthful and objective account of this traumatic event from the perspective of a third party.

A second type of character narrators in "Nanking" is the survivors of this human atrocity. For instance, Wang Wen Yu, a young man, aged 17 in 1937; Jiang Gen Fu, a boy aged 9 in 1937; Zhang Xiu Hong, a girl aged 12 in 1937. Wang and Jiang witnessed their family members being killed while some Japanese soldiers raped Zhang. The traumatic events are forever stored in their memories. Even decades later, when narrating these events, they still cannot help crying and feeling heart-broken. Their telling helps to uncover this forgotten holocaust.

A third type of cinematic character narrators in "Nanking" is the Japanese soldiers who participated in this inhuman slaughter. For instance, Sakai Hiroshi, and Teramoto Juhei, two Japanese soldiers who narrate how they killed and raped the Chinese women or what they witnessed when other Japanese soldiers did. These inhuman acts are forever haunting them and making them feel unsettled until they tell the truth. The use of having Japanese soldiers tell these traumatic events further consolidates what has been told by both the Chinese narrators and the western ones.

Although all these cinematic character narrators tell their stories from different perspectives, all these events occurred in the same historical period and are of the same traumatic nature. The same case goes for "John Rabe" and "Iris Chang—The Rape of Nanking". In "John Rabe", the cinematic narrator tells the story of the Nanking Massacre mainly through Rabe's point of view. Moreover, by telling the life story of Iris Chang, "Iris

Chang—The Rape of Nanking" mainly depicts the Nanking Massacre through Chang's experience. The biggest difference between all three films is that in "Nanking" and "John Rabe" all the protagonists are those who have experienced the historical event and told it from their stored memories, while in "Iris Chang—The Rape of Nanking" the protagonist did not personally experience the traumatic event but she chose to tell it as she has investigated and memorized.

At issue is how differently historical events are presented by those cinematic character narrators? Or, to phrase it another way, what are the differences between telling history in film and telling it in traditional media such as textbooks, diaries or fictions? The answer lies in the film's dual-function of telling and showing. In those traditional media that are based upon a single channel of communication—written language, the words could only tell the reader what has happened. Drawing blueprints from the written text, the reader is invited to imagine a historical world by himself. However, the historicity and truthfulness of the imagined world might vary from readers to readers.

As a multimodal medium, the film not only tells what has happened in history but also directly shows how it has happened via pictures, images, sounds, music, and other semiotic channels. Accordingly, the historical world is vividly displayed in front of audiences, whose understanding of and views on history will be thus affected. A typical example is that some pictures taken in the Massacre have been inserted into these films, so as to increase their historicity and truthfulness. All these pictures have become the hard evidence for this historical event. We might take the following pictures as an example.

Picture 1

Picture 2

Picture 3

All these pictures are directly taken from the very time when Nanking was occupied and fell prey to Japanese armies. The first picture shows

the leader of the Japanese army entering Nanking city; the second picture portrays an experienced Japanese soldier demonstrating the skill of chopping off a Chinese man's head, and the third one displays the corpses of Chinese victims lying along the bank of the Yangzi River.

The reason I have taken the pictures above as an example is that they have been inserted in all three movies. When these pictures are displayed in the movies, they are accompanied by the sad music and the solemn voice explaining the picture. In this case, the pictures show what is told by the voice; while the voice tells what the pictures show. The showing and the telling are strongly evidenced by each other. Viewed from a larger perspective, both the voice and the pictures contribute to remaking a visible historical world, which is to be watched by audiences against the background of sad music. The pictures and the voice guide the audiences physically into a historical world while the saddening background music guides the audiences to experience the human tragedy emotionally.

Since all these pictures were taken in a certain historical period, inserting them into movies not only increases the historicity of the films but also helps to convert the events stored in the character narrators' memory into reality. As photos are usually taken for the purpose of memory and are labelled as iconic signs of experiences, these pictures not only demonstrate what the character narrators have seen and memorized but also influence the second-generation of those who have experienced this human tragedy. Iris Chang is a typical example. When doing her field investigation work, she listened to the stories told by the survivors of Nanking Massacre and saw all these pictures, which have been haunting her ever after. Though she did not experience this human slaughter, this event has already become an integral part of her memory or postmemory. In "Iris Chang—The Rape of Nanking", the character narrator Iris Chang tells the audiences what had happened to Nanking on the one hand, and she shows what had happened by displaying these pictures to hear audiencs on the other. To a certain extent, these pictures embody the character narrator's memory or postmemory. By showing all these pictures on the massacre and telling the massacre in her words, she intends to appeal to the audiences' emotions in the hope of helping them to feel what she feels. This issue is closely related to ethics and ideology of the character narrator, to which we are going to proceed next.

Ethics and Ideology in HNF

The 1980s witnessed the "ethical turn" in literary studies in general and narrative theory in particular. According to *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (2005), the "ethical turn" in narrative theory designates a set of overlapping developments: (1) a pointed interest in narrative literature from the perspective of moral philosophy, (2) an increased reflection on the relation between ethics and the novel in the light of narratology, and (3) the corresponding growth of criticism focusing on ethical issues in narrative fiction. (Altes 142) Despite its insights, the encyclopedia entry above is mainly concerned with the issue of ethics in narrative fiction. What about ethics in such transmedia narratives as films, especially those films on historical events? How ethics and ideology are related to each other? To these questions, there has hardly existed any specific answer so far.

From a rhetorical perspective, ethics in narrative is double-folded: an ethics of the told and an ethics of the telling. (Phelan, "Rhetoric/Ethics" 203) Along similar lines, I'd like to argue that in cinematic narratives about history, the ethics involves both the ethics of the represented and the ethics of the representing. To be specific, the ethics of the represented mainly refers to the ethics about the acts of characters in the historical world created by the films, while the ethics of the representing mainly refers to the ethics about the cinematic narrators that tell the historical event. The ethical values and ethical principles are on the one hand chiefly displayed by the historical figures, their actions and their interrelations, and embodied in the narrative acts (vision and voice) of cinematic narrators on the other. To phrase it another way, when analyzing the ethics of the represented, we need to examine what characters do or what actions they take; when analyzing the ethics of the representing, we need to consider narrator's visions and voices or what they see, judge, and what they say. However, both the ethics of the represented and the ethics of the representing need to be considered in certain historical circumstances, and to be related to dominant ideology that affects the ethics. Again the three films about the Nanking Massacre will be cited as an example for illustration.

As mentioned previously there are three major types of historical characters in "Iris Chang—The Rape of Nanking", "Nanking", and "John Rabe", namely the Chinese victims, the Japanese invaders, and the international friends. Taking human lives as a very criterion, we could easily identify their ethical relations and their ethical identities. In the movies, Japanese soldiers mercilessly tortured, and slaughtered the Chinese victims, including women, children, old people, and unarmed soldiers; while the foreigners staying at Nanking tried their best to save as many Chinese

civilians as possible. With reference to ethical identities, the Chinese victims are the ones to be sympathized with; the foreigners busy with saving Chinese victims win our respect and admiration; while the Japanese soldiers killing Chinese civilians mercilessly cause our anger and disgust.

As shown in all three movies, Chinese army was defeated and retreated. Accordingly, most people who remained in the city were the civilians and unarmed soldiers. They had nowhere and no means to escape, since the whole city was already surrounded by the Japanese army. As shown in the films, almost all the survivors of the massacre who have lived to tell the history today were placed in extremely hard circumstances when the unprecedented human tragedy occurred. They witnessed their family members either being raped or being killed. As a part of the family, they should have taken the responsibility to save their families, but at that moment, most of them were too injured, too young or too weak to take any positive actions. Some audiences might argue that these characters were unethical when watching their family members die in front of their eyes by doing nothing or at least by not making their utmost efforts to rescue them. However, since this was a historical event, we must understand the characters' ethical dilemma in that specific historical context. To take Wang Zhiqiang (aged 9 in 1937) in "Nanking" as an example. Wang witnessed his mother being killed, and his younger brother being seriously injured by three Japanese soldiers. Excepting shedding tears and crying his heart out, he did not know what to do at all, since he was just a 9-year old kid at that time. If he were that imprudent in fighting against three big Japanese soldiers armed with weapons, it would just mean the loss of one more family member, which would be worthless. Moreover, when his mom passed away, he needed to take care of his little brother (see picture 4). Moreover, in a much broader sense, he needed to survive to tell the world what had happened to his family and Nanking. In other words, he served as the living evidence of what had happened in Nanking six decades before. Thanks to his survival and his choice of not to have this meaningless try to save his mother's life, the audiences could have him to uncover this part of the history today. In this sense, the audiences might assume that what Wang has done is ethically right.

I thought, "Mom has died.
What should I do?"

Picture 4

Apparently, those who carried out the massacre were the Japanese soldiers. During the 6-week killing campaign, almost 300, 000 Chinese people lost their lives. Most of these victims were civilians, including women and children. In the movies, Japanese soldiers took great pleasure in torturing and slaughtering Chinese civilians, which was unethical in every sense. The audiences might wonder how could the Japanese soldiers be so insane and publicly violate the international law? To answer this question, we must take into account the ideology that governs the Japanese army. Luc Herman and Bart Vervaeck, with reference to Karl Marx, Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci, define ideology as "a body of norms and ideas that appear natural as a result of their continuous and mostly tacit promotion by the dominant forces in society." (Herman and Vervaeck 217) At that time, war fever was the dominant ideology of the Japanese troops, who had fought all the way from Shanghai to Soochow, Zhenjiang, and acquired much benefit, both physical and psychological, from the invasion. When they finally arrived at Nanking, they were rather excited and stimulated by the victory and the conquering of the capital of China. Furthermore, the Japanese soldiers were encouraged and stimulated by the glory of killing people, and they were thought to be superior to Chinese and were entitled to execute killing by the Japanese government. They were as much insane to kill the Chinese as what the Nazi did to the Jews. For example, "Nanking" shows the war fever prevailing in the Japanese army by taking a picture from the newspaper published at that time (see picture 5). In doing so, the film discloses its intention to expose Japanese ideology, which sheds some light on the actions and behaviors

of the Japanese soldiers. If there were no such a picture inserted in the film, the effectiveness, historicity and truth value of the film would be lost.

Picture 5

According to the journalists Asami Kazuo and Suzuki Jiro, writing in the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* of December 13, 1937, there was a contest between two Japanese officers, Toshiaki Mukai and Tsuyoshi Noda, in which the two men were described as vying with one another to be the first to kill 100 people with a sword. The competition took place en route to Nanking. Both officers supposedly surpassed their goal during the heat of battle, making it impossible to determine which officer had actually won the contest. Therefore, they decided to begin another contest, with the aim of having 150 kills. The final result shows that Toshiaki Mukai killed 105 people and Tsuyoshi Noda 106. The purpose of media and Japanese government was to encourage and boom the Japanese soldiers' spirits to carry out more killings, and they set Mukai and Noda as examples for all Japanese soldiers to follow. Affected and controlled by this kind of ideology, the Japanese invaders lost their reason and moral principles, and accordingly launched this infamous massacre.

Besides the Japanese soldiers and the Chinese victims, there was a third party involved in the massacre. That is; the international friends working at Nanking. As disclosed in the movies, most of the foreign residents had been evacuated from Nanking when the city fell; only a small number of them remained there. However, this small group of foreign friends amply

demonstrated the very spirit of humanity and fraternity, trying whatever they could to protect and save the civilians of Nanking. In "John Rabe", two events merit our particular attention and respect. First, upon the request of returning to Germany, Rabe was on the verge of leaving Nanking. When the farewell party was spoiled and stopped by the bombing of Japanese aircrafts, and thousands of people gathering at the gate of Siemens Company hiding for life, Rabe decided to open the gate and let all these refugees to stay within the company. In order to make his protection more effective, he made full use of his special identity—a German Nazi. He put up the flag of Nazi and asked all the people to stay under. It can be seen in the following picture.

Picture 6

In the movie, Rabe did this without any hesitation. Seen in this light, Rabe's act was ethically right and out of a humanistic intention. Though this incident was also recorded in his personal diary, the sense of urgency and the emergency of the matter could be more easily felt by the audience. In other words, the effects created by the movie can hardly be achieved by the written text. In the movie, the chaotic situation was vividly created by the screaming of children and women, the shouting of men, the noises made by the Japanese bombers, and the constant shift between light and shadow. Especially, when all the civilians ran and found their cover under the huge Nazi flag, the Japanese bombers stopped bombing and flew away, people stopped shouting and screaming for a few seconds, and then it was followed by people's celebration of being alive and a narrow escape. Owing to the visual and audio reenactment of this historical event on screen, the audiences seem to have been emotionally touched.

Later on, when Rabe let his wife return to Germany alone, we know he had determined to stay in Nanking and was ready to sacrifice his life for saving Nanking people. Together with George Fitch, Minnie Vautrin, Rob Wilson, and several other foreigners, Rabe set up a so-called safety zone to hold more than 10.000 civilians, providing them with shelter and food, and preventing them from being mercilessly slaughtered by the Japanese. An uncountable large number of civilians rushed into the safety zone seeking protection, which can be seen in the following picture.

Picture 7

As depicted in the movie, when more and more civilians rushed into the safety zone, Rabe and his colleagues are faced with such serious problems as lack of medicine, water, and food. However, worst of all, they were constantly harassed and threatened by Japanese invaders. The second event that deeply moves the audiences is when Japanese invaders intended to eliminate the safety zone by asking Rabe and his colleagues to send away the armed soldiers who stayed in their place. The Japanese officer threatened to kill all the people standing in front of the gate of the safety zone. At this moment, Rabe and his colleagues stood out and chose to be killed rather than to hand over the unarmed soldiers. In other words, they were ready and willing to use their lives for an exchange of the lives of those who stayed in the safety zone. This was aptly demonstrated in the following picture.

Picture 8

As the picture above shows, Rabe directly stood before the Japanese officer, scolding the Japanese army for being so inhuman and insane to have slaughtered a huge number of Chinese. Rabe fearlessly argued that it was a sheer excuse to ask for the unarmed Chinese soldiers, and the real intention of the Japanese army was to eliminate the safety zone to kill off all the residential refugees. Owing to Rabe's brave and courageous action, the Japanese army retreated and thus temporally maintained the existence of the safety zone, and accordingly brought safety to those Chinese civilians who stayed there then. In other words, Rabe considered the lives of civilians more than anything else, and he would be even willing to sacrifice everything including his life to protect them. Doubtlessly, Rabe was a person of high moral standards. He and his colleagues' ethical acts were associated with their ideology. Having been working and living in China for years, they felt that they were already a part of China, and felt that it was their responsibility to do something for Nanking and its people. When the Chinese army lost the battle and retreated; the rich had run for lives, only the poor still remained in the deserted city. If Rabe and other foreigners like him did not help those people, death would be their only fate.

The cinematic narrators depicted the historical world of Nanking Massacre. When coming to the issue of ethics of the representing, we need to consider the acts conducted by the cinematic narrators, their vision and voice in particular. As I argued earlier in this essay, the cinematic narrators are either those who directly experienced this part of history, such as the narrators in "Nanking" and "John Rabe", or those who did not experience this part of history at all, such as the narrators in "Iris Chang". We can call the first group of narrators as character narrators, and call

the second group of characters as non-character narrators. Their narrative acts or what they judge and what they say contribute to the building of the historical world. However, some questions remain to be clarified: what do these narrators say and see in this part of history? What motivates them to tell or narrate this part of history? To answer these two questions, we need to take into account the issues of ethics and ideology. Or to phrase it differently, are these narrators ethically right in judging and perceiving the events and the acts of the historical figures in the past world?

In order to represent the truthful events and to bring the audiences back to the world seven decades ago, both the character narrators and non-character narrators adhered to the facts and told the story of their life experiences, their memory or postmemory. In terms of the character narrators, they have double-identities: outside the historical world, they are the narrators; while, inside the historical world, they are characters participating in the history. When narrating the events happened to them or the events witnessed by them, these narrators are reliable along three axis—fact/events, ethics/evaluation, and knowledge/perception, which are considered by James Phelan as the criteria to evaluate narrator's reliability. (Phelan, *Living to Tell about It* 66-97) Apart from truthfully representing Nanking Massacre, the narrators in "Nanking" and "John Rabe" also make judgments on this part of history, and, in particular, the nature of Japanese soldiers' insane actions. For instance, George Fitch believes that there is no parallel in modern history to what happened in Nanking, and it had been hell on earth; John Rabe argues that many things done by Japanese soldiers are speechless; and Bob Wilson says the only consolation is that the situation could not be worse, though the Japanese had killed many people, there were still many more to be killed. Apparently, what these narrators have interpreted and judged has much to do with ethics, and their ethical evaluation, for a large part, wins the audiences' approval and admiration.

Most of these narrators feel that it is their responsibility to tell the world the truth about Nanking Massacre, since they are the living evidence of this human tragedy. For instance, at the very beginning of "Nanking", the character narrator George Fitch says, "What I am about to relate is *a story which I feel must be told*, even if it is seen by only a few. I cannot rest until I've told it to the end. Perhaps, fortunately, I'm one of the very few who are in the position to tell it." (emphasis mine) In other words, Fitch considers telling Nanking Massacre as an ethical responsibility for him to take on. Since he is one of the very few people who could tell the truth, and if he did not choose to tell it, this part of history would be forgotten and unknown to the rest of the world. On the other hand, Fitch and other character narra-

tors have created history, and, on the other hand, they are created by history as well. Their entire lives are to be forever haunted by this traumatic event. No wonder, they can hardly rest until they tell the truth.

The similar case goes to the non-character narrator in "Iris Chang". Chang was born in 1968, and apparently she did not experience Nanking Massacre herself. However, as this documentary film shows, in order to truthfully represent this part of history, she has done much work, searching the war archives, reading the war documents, and so on. Though Chang did not personally experience Nanking Massacre, as a narrator, she is still reliable in the sense that she has done a large scale of the survey and collected a bunch of first-hand materials. She had even been to Nanking to do the survey and to interview the survivors. For many times, she had been moved and saddened by what had truly happened in Nanking and what the survivors had experienced and gone through. The more she did the surveying work, the worse she felt. For one time, when a survivor told Chang that when he came back to consciousness, two of his sisters aged 14 and 15 had been raped and killed by the Japanese soldiers, she couldn't continue with her typing work. However, why was Chang so much engaged in such a hard work? For one thing, she attempted to represent the history as factually as it could be. In this light, Chang's writing was rather reliable, and she could be claimed as an ethical historian. For another, it is due to her strong sense of responsibility. She told Professor Wang Weixin that Holocaust in Germany has been well-known to the entire western world, but Nanking Massacre remains in the dark. Therefore, there must be someone to uncover this forgotten atrocity. As a Chinese descendent, she felt responsible for writing a book on Nanking Massacre so as to let the world know the Holocaust in East Asia. Though for many times, she has been threatened by Japanese right-wing politicians, she still carried on with her project.

Apart from a sense of responsibility to uncover Nanking Massacre, this forgotten Holocaust, what else contributes to the momentum of these narrators' (the character narrators, and the non-character narrators) continuous telling? To me, it is the narrators' ideology. Both of these two kinds of narrator are reliable and responsible. The momentum of their telling is attributed to their perpetual quest for historical truth, for remembering the victims, for learning from the historical lesson, and most important of all, for world peace. It would be a misconception to argue that all these narrators intend to pass the hatred to the next generation. They believe that they are just fighters for truth, faith, and ideal. At the end of "Iris Chang", Chang delivers a speech, in which she appeals to the audiences, "My greatest hope is that a few of you on this auditorium today

will actually serve crusaders for truth, beauty and justice in the future. People like that and need it to create a better world for next generation of human kind on this planet, and to ensure the survival of our civilization." I presume that all the other narrators in the movies must agree with what Chang has said here and, in particular, her ideal of being "crusaders for truth, beauty, and justice", and they are the very few people who have been putting this ideal into practice.

Finally, what has made the narrators' telling so special is their co-working with the sounds and images of the movies. On the screen, there is the constant oscillation between black and white, and the seven-color, as well the combination with clips from TV news, the images and photographs from the newspapers and magazines, the quoted lines from the diaries. All of these multiple-modal semiotic channels of communication work together to flesh out the history in the audiences' minds. However, this issue is beyond the scope of this essay.

Extending This Pilot Study

David Herman argues that "although stories conveyed via different media share common features insofar as they are all instances of the narrative text type, storytelling practices are nonetheless inflected by the constraints and affordances associated with a given semiotic environment." (Herman 196) To phrase Herman's general statements into specific terms, although history written in different media share common features, the history writing practices are inflected by the constraints and affordances associated with a given media environment. Research on historiographic narratology in films is a rather ambitious project. This paper has outlined a couple of directions for the study of HNF. However, the program for an inquiry sketched here constitutes only a beginning. Given the many disciplines that can contribute to this dialogue, this paper is by no means the end of the matter.

Further discussions might be oriented towards the following open questions. To name a few, how the multiple channels of communications in films contribute to the building of the historical world? What are the affordances and constraints of films in representing history? What are the most appropriate frameworks for the study of HNF? What can HNF learn from the historiographic narratology in other media such as printed texts, paintings, and architectures? Alternatively, even a broader question, how could HNF be combined with some other strands of postclassical narratology such as rhetorical narratology, feminist narratology, postcolonial

narratology, cognitive narratology, unnatural narratology, and so on? All these questions and other questions unmentioned remain to be answered in the future.

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Spomin/postspomin, etika in ideologija: o zgodovinopisni filmski naratologiji

Ključne besede: literatura in zgodovina / historiografska naratologija / film / zgodovinski spomin / etika / ideologija / pokol v Nankingu

V zvezi z najnovejšimi znanstvenimi deli o zgodovinopisju avtor članka trdi, da v primerjavi z jezikoslovnim obratom pripovedni obrat pomembno vpliva na preučevanje tega področja, kar ima za posledico dvoje: 1. dojemanje zgodovine kot naracije in 2. uvoz naratoloških pojmov v preučevanje zgodovine. Čeprav se potreba po izgraditvi zgodovinopisne naratologije pojavlja že desetletje ali dve, je ta še v povojih in ponuja kup odprtih teoretičnih vprašanj. Denimo, kako je zgodovina prikazana v dobi čezmedijskih in čežžanrskih študij? Kaj pa etika predstavljenih v zgodovini in tistih, ki jo predstavljajo? Kako je z ideologijo, vpeto v zgodovinskih pripovedih? V primerjavi s pogosto obravnavanim vprašanjem predstavljanja zgodovine v leposlovju se zdi predstavljanje zgodovine v drugih medijih zapostavljeno. Članek na podlagi splošnega ozadja čezmedijskih narativnih študij obravnava zgodovinopisno filmsko naratologijo (v nadaljevanju: ZFN). Na podlagi treh filmov o pobojih v Nankingu avtor najprej zagovarja potrebo po zgodovinopisni naratologiji, ki presega literarno pripoved, in pojasni, zakaj je ZFN sploh potrebna. Nato preučuje posebno problematiko spomina/postspomina v ZFN, tj. zgodovino, kot se je spominjajo tisti, ki so jo osebno doživeli, ali njihovi potomci. Skladno s tem je zgodovina izkušnja, shranjena v spominu in konkretizirana s fikcijskim medijem. Temu sledi preučevanje etike v ZFN, še zlasti etike predstavljenega in etike predstavljanja. Avtor nato poskuša določiti ideologijo, vpeto v ZFN, na koncu pa v grobem predstavi še prihodnje smeri preučevanja ZFN.

Januar 2015