

## Research Article

<https://doi.org/10.70731/p7nye078>

## On the Form and Meaning of “Guichu”

## 论“鬼畜”：形式与意义

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Art;  
Technique;  
Postmodernism***关键词:**

鬼畜; 艺术; 后现代主义

**Abstract:** Guichu is an avant-garde art form born from popular culture, constituting an edge cultural phenomenon on the ontological level. As a product of postmodern culture, Guichu emerges incidentally amidst semantic confusion. In terms of artistic creation, Guichu's technical-artistic features challenge established art norms through discomfort and playful subversion. In artistic presentation, Guichu embodies the non-central aesthetics of postmodern art. As a transformed contemporary popular art form, Guichu typifies the ruins-relics characteristic of postmodern art.**摘要:** 鬼畜是一种源自大众文化的先锋艺术形式，在本体论层面上构成了一种边缘文化现象。作为后现代文化的产物，鬼畜在语义混乱的语境中偶然生成。从艺术创作的角度看，鬼畜的技术与艺术特征通过不适感与戏谑性的颠覆挑战了既有的艺术规范；在艺术呈现上，鬼畜体现了后现代艺术的“非中心”审美。作为一种被转化的当代大众艺术形式，鬼畜呈现出后现代艺术“废墟—遗迹”的典型特征。**1. Introduction**

The estrangement of art from the masses is deeply rooted in its formal constraints. As a medium of beauty, art consistently presents the allure of “aura” in a different way.<sup>[1]</sup> However, as a combination of media, materials, and visual elements, art remains silent. The aesthetic effect of distance required by the aura and the silence of artistic works contribute to the beauty derived from art's silence. In its lofty sense, the latter abandons events deviating from established beauty trajectories. In essence, the history of aesthetics murders the phenomenon of beauty on the margins (whether popular or niche), while art history disregards attempts at marginal art—The goddess of beauty and art rejects everything disagreeable into the cultural phenomenon's waste bin. Thus, in traditional ideas, all artistic attempts based on popular culture are culturological rather than aesthetic.

At the same time, folklore, morality and religion replaced the categories of art and beauty.

However, the lofty self-regard of aesthetics and the silence of art fundamentally diverge. The silence of art necessarily summons the presence of elements unrelated to or contrary to aesthetic significance, whereas aesthetic loftiness merely distances itself from the center of vision. Therefore, in the corner of its eye, art discovered the coerciveness of its silence — it is the imperative of aesthetics that causes art to linger around the halls of aura. Thus, on the fringes of art, fragmented, marginal, wandering, silent works of art accidentally encounters outside mainstream artistic forms. In various tribal, capricious ways, they mock, provoke, and ridicule the aristocrats in their towers. As Benjamin said, “One of the foremost tasks of art has always been the creation of a demand which could be fully satisfied only later. The history of every art form shows critical epochs

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in which a certain art form aspires to effects which could be fully obtained only with a changed technical standard, that is to say, in a new art form. The extravagances and crudities of art which thus appear, particularly in the so-called decadent epochs, actually arise from the nucleus of its richest historical energies.”<sup>[2]</sup> In the present era, the birth of technical tribes not only establishes secret communities in various fields but also prompts each community to pursue its own art. Thus, the “Guichu” technical tribes which originating from popular arts (especially film and television arts), become natives of artistic ruins.<sup>[3]</sup> Dadaism made an exhilarating revolutionary proclamation at the culmination of modern art, and now, the techno-artistic tribe of postmodernity has spoken.

## 2. Birth: Incidental Semantics

As its name implies, the birth of “Guichu” presents semantic astonishment. The term “Gui” (鬼, ghost) refers to the state of a person after death,<sup>[4]</sup> and “Chu” (畜, livestock) refer to animals tamed by human beings for farming. The literal meaning of “Guichu” is life’s rotation between human and livestock. On a more straightforward level, “Gui” possess an image distinct from humans, appearing suddenly in a terrifying, mysterious manner, accompanied by convulsive effects that make them unforgettable. In this sense, “Guichu” appropriately describe a genre which makes people feel uneasy, nauseous, or even fearful. However, in the techno-artistic pragmatics, as a failed semantic transformation, “Guichu” has long lost their original value, transitioning from a derogatory, abusive mimetic term to a technical code. After all, among ACGN enthusiasts, “Guichu” refers to videos (or audio) edited to combine highly repetitive visuals (or sounds) synchronized with high frame rates,<sup>[5]</sup> differs significantly from “Guichu” used to describe antagonists or villainous traits in novels, films, comics, animations, and video games, as the meaning chain between the two is dissolved in the heterogeneity of their common cultural origins. The birth of “Guichu” occurs amidst semantic fragmentation.

In essence, the term “Guichu” (鬼畜) is a composite of “preta” (饿鬼) and “tiryāṇa” (畜生), as articulated in the *Sutra of Distinction Between Good and Evil Retributions*: “Why do some beings have short human lives and others long? Those among them who in past lives cultivated few good deeds and many evil ones, hence in this human life have short lives, and in future lives are reborn in the hells, as hungry ghosts or animals, with long lives.”<sup>[6]</sup> Here, “Guichu” specifically refers to the “pretagati” (饿鬼道) and “tiryagyonigati” (畜生道) within the “śaḍgati” (六道).

In Japanese, the term “Guichu” (きちく) originally shared this meaning. Introduced from China to Japan around the 6th century AD during the ancient burial mound period, “Guichu” initially denoted the combined realms of “pretagati” and “tiryagyonigati”. Later, it extended metaphorically to denote individuals who were cruel, inhumane, and bereft of conscience, destined in their next lives to reincarnate as “preta” or “tiryāṇa”.

In the *Sutra on the Buddha’s Names*, it is stated: “Disciples! Today we repent again for the karma of enduring long hunger in the *pretagati*; we repent for not hearing of the name of clear water for hundreds of thousands of aeons in the *pretagati*; we repent for consuming pus, blood, feces, and filth in the *pretagati*; we repent for every limb burning as fire when moving in the *pretagati*; we repent for having a large belly and a narrow throat in the *pretagati*. Today, we sincerely bow our heads and repent.”<sup>[7]</sup> It further states: “Disciples! Today we repent for not recognizing anything in the *pretagati*; we repent for bearing heavy burdens and repaying past debts in the *pretagati*; we repent for being unable to act freely and being butchered and tortured by others in the *pretagati*; we repent for having varying numbers of legs in the *pretagati*; we repent for having our bodies consumed by small creatures among various hairs, feathers, scales, and shells in the *pretagati*. Today, we sincerely repent for enduring immeasurable and boundless suffering in the *pretagati*.”<sup>[8]</sup> Therefore, the term “Guichu” evolved into a moral judgment: the guilty will fall into the “pretagati” and “tiryagyonigati”. During World War II, Japan used the term politically to refer to the Allied Powers (e.g., “Guichu America and England” (鬼畜米英) or “Guichu America” (鬼畜米帝)), which eventually became a source of satire regarding their own actions.

Through historical semantic shifts, “Guichu” gradually came to denote extreme and inhumane behaviors or those who perpetrate cruel acts, within secular contexts. That is why “demon” was the English translation for “Guichu”. It was not until the 17th and 18th centuries, with the emergence of sadomasochistic culture, that this term came to signify marginal, controversial acts of physical and emotional abuse. Romanticism’s pursuit of aesthetic liberty fostered the typification of “Guichu” in art; alongside Gothic literature and sensational novels, it weaves together eroticism, pathology, and horror into bizarre, grotesque, and captivating works.

In contemporary Japan, “鬼畜系” (きちくけい) has become a subculture associated with works that include antisocial behaviors or depict extreme acts in adult manga, anime, and video games. The term きちくけい was coined by the maverick writer Hyakutaro Murakami during the flourishing period of bad taste in the 1990s. Since then, きちくけい has become synonymous with

grotesque representations of sexual abuse. Terms like SM, rape, and paraphilias related to excretion are labeled as “characters of Guichu” (鬼畜属性), denoting excessive sadism.

According to the explanation from Nico Nico Douga Encyclopedia (ニコニコ大百科), “Guichu” (鬼畜) refers to MAD<sup>[9]</sup> appears to have been accidental: “This term did not exist in China and was imported from Japanese. It was later influenced by the Final Guichu Series(【最終鬼畜系列】), and its meaning seemed to have changed.” The connection between the two was likely coincidental: An early, highly popular MAD video on Niconico, featuring McDonald’s Uncle materials, was translated into “最终鬼畜蓝蓝路 (av106)” upon its spread to China, opening up a new world for Chinese audiences. Because its name included “Guichu” (鬼畜), the term gradually came to refer to such humorous and brainwashing MAD videos. In fact, the “Guichu” (鬼畜) in the Japanese title “最终鬼畜蓝蓝路” originated from the chosen BGM: the arrange version of U. N. Owen, it is about a character from the 东方Project series—Flandre Scarlet. Because the song U. N. Owen and the BGM of the Boss “最终鬼畜兵器蜂” of STG game怒首领蜂 are too similar, so this arrange was named “最终鬼畜妹フランドール・S”. Thus, the meaning of “Guichu” is biased toward a reckless association in a cultural context: as an artistic work, “Guichu” takes shape in a strange, nervous, even mad (MAD) way.

Returning to the etymology of “Guichu”, its departure from existing semantic chains occurred at its root. “Preta” endure hardship, strangeness, and terror; “tiryañc” embody varied forms and diets as other beings. The visual and auditory surprise of “Preta” and “tiryañc” imagery in MAD works gives rise to heterogeneity and discomfort; they distinguished the aesthetic sense of art. Exaggerated interpretations, distorted deformations, repetitive destruction, and ironic satire of traditional works and original materials trigger a primitive pleasure akin to sexual abuse. “Guichu” disciplines the original masters of the sound through enforced aesthetic and artistic silence. In summary, the emergence of “Guichu” is an aftermath of linguistic pragmatics in art maladjustment. It fosters postmodern interpretation’s aesthetic implications of fragmented meanings.

### 3. Sensations: Dionysian Rites

Traditional aesthetic theories tend to view artistic creation as a form of creative activity, whether tranquil or frenzied, solar or bacchanal. Artistic creation, as a ritual of aesthetic worship, places beauty itself on an untouchable altar of reverence at the relational level. As Nietzsche asserted, as the artistic forces of Dionysus and his antagonist Apollo, these forces do not require

mediation by human artists; they erupt directly from nature itself. Their artistic impulses first find satisfaction in the natural world in a direct manner: on the one hand, as a world of dreamlike images, the completion of this world is entirely independent of individual intellectual capacity or artistic cultivation; on the other hand, as a drunken reality, this reality similarly disregards personal factors, even intentionally destroying the individual, liberating them with a mysterious sense of unity. Faced with these direct artistic states in nature, every artist becomes an “imitator”, whether of the dream artist of Apollo, the intoxicated artist of Dionysus, or both (as in Greek tragedy). Regarding the latter, one might imagine them alone, apart from the wandering chorus of Dionysus, collapsing drunk by the wayside; then, due to the dreamlike inspiration of Apollo, their own realm, that is, their unity with the innermost foundation of the world, appears to them in a metaphorical dream image.

<sup>[10]</sup>The states of intoxication and dreams detach people from the mundane circumstances of art, and beauty thus occurs in a world of extraordinary perceptions. Intoxication and dreams crush people into the pure form of beauty’s vision; in this sense, the shattering of technique to art is truly anti-art. Therefore, “Guichu” and aesthetics it represents largely relate to appreciation of ugliness. Hugo, Delacroix, Edgar Allan Poe, and Baudelaire intended to highlight the autonomy of beauty through the scrutiny of ugliness; morality and Apollo’s oracles are sacrificed in the creation of beauty. Théophile Gautier believed: “Only useless things are truly beautiful; everything useful is ugly because it represents a need, and human needs are filthy and disgusting, like their weak and pathetic nature—the most practical part of a house is the bathroom.”<sup>[11]</sup> Realism portrays freedom in the gathering of ugliness, and technique’s dominance of art thus becomes an adversary of beauty.

Thus, unlike the creation of art, technique indeed portrays the less beautiful side of reality. “Guichu” as a paradigm of technicalization of art, in the dissection, collage, and repeated use of technique, makes aura no longer comfortable but rather unbearable. As Baudelaire said: “What makes these images precious and sacred is the countless thoughts they generate, which are generally harsh and gloomy. However, if an indiscreet person occasionally attempts to satisfy an unhealthy curiosity by finding an opportunity in Mr. G’s scattered works, I would kindly inform him in advance that he will find nothing there to arouse morbid imagination. He will only encounter inevitable sins, that is to say, the gaze of the devil hidden in the darkness or the shoulder of Mesalina flashing under the gaslight; he will only encounter pure art, that is to say, the special beauty of evil, beauty in ugliness.”<sup>[12]</sup> As elements of reality and freedom, ugliness replaces beauty in blatant disclosure and undisguised manipulation — in the forms of cruelty, terror, nausea, ugliness, and stench, heterogeneity and

discomfort excessively distance the essence of beauty. In contrast to aesthetics, which disconnects aesthetic sensations from nature in a thoughtful manner—tranquility, pleasure, and sublimity, technique not only does not rely on symbolic language of symbolism but also does not place itself in abstract meaning. Therefore, the techno-artistic essence of “Guichu” is a machine, a body without content, treating everything that has been discarded or is about to come as its elements. In this sense, the sensory traits of “Guichu” are discomfort and abjection rather than pain; it creates excessive discomfort, boredom, and lag in the revelry of appearances, sensory repetition, and formal coordination. “Guichu” writes the rules of technique-art in a heterogeneous way.

In the study of Dionysian rites, it can be found that what lead the celebration to revelry, frenzy to madness, what produce transformation of the body in the rhythm of music and dance are not the regular ritual or primitive emotions and purposes of participation, but the unsatisfied or excessive desires hidden in the hearts of the people, they make the ritual reach its peak in the mockery and heterogeneity of the game. So, Dionysian participants are not beasts who are uncontrollable and sexually vigorous, and the crowd of Apollo’s ceremony is not calm, rational recluses; it is the boredom of the body and the oppression of the spirit that make the discomfort surpass the process of the ritual. This discomfort and transcendence are the essence of the game, and the reversal of technique begins in the mockery and contempt of the ritual. As Nietzsche said, in various regions of the ancient world (not to mention the modern world), from Rome to Babylon, we can point out the existence of Dionysian rites, whose types are most similar to Dionysian rites in Greece, such as long-bearded Sater borrowed names and symbols from the god himself. In almost all places, the core of these festivals is a frenzied sexual indulgence, whose waves break every family and its solemn rules; the fiercest beasts in nature are unleashed straight off the leash, even to the disgust of mixing lust with violence, and I always regard it as the true “aphrodisiac of the witch”.<sup>[13]</sup> The release of sexual desire does not constitute the evolution of the desire to kill, but in the dilemmas of the remnants of desire release and suppression-release, the ritual distortion makes the body cruel. So, once the artist leaves the crowd when the climax of revelry is about to be distorted, Dionysus and Apollo appear in the dim light, but the festival does not end there; in the litter of the leftover and the bodies of the dead, discomfort and games instead of historical morality and values of the life world have risen. Minstrels, singers, children who did not participate in banquets, and graffiti artists met here.

So, the generation of the artistic effects of “Guichu” is fundamentally rooted in the impulse of the game.<sup>[14]</sup> As Schiller said, in all states of humans, it is precisely the game, and only the game that makes him perfect,

suddenly revealing his double nature. Games are closely related to the novelty, fun, and irony of aesthetics, talents are not self-destructive in the unbearable discomfort. “Then, what is a pure game? You call it a limitation of things in your imagination, and I call it an extension according to my evidence of its accuracy. So, I might as well say, a person should only take a serious attitude toward pleasant things, good things, and perfect things; however, beauty is approached with a game.”<sup>[15]</sup> Thus, the relationship between “Guichu” and beauty emerges in the activity against the assertion of aesthetics: beauty does not disappear, be denied, or be ridiculed by aesthetics. On the contrary, beauty emerges in the sensation and aesthetic activities caused by discomfort. In the fleeing and return, a *dis-sensus* is completely present. Jacques Ranciere described this as: Here, I refer to such a specific domain of experience, which has stopped various dominant forms of control over other domains of experience: that is, in the hierarchy between form and content, understanding and perception, these hierarchical forms have been decisive in the relation of two opposed human natures, and to distinguish the sensory experience of the self-formation. Therefore, the redistribution of the experience domain has become a partial possibility for the problem of reconstruction of places and components in general. As we know, this reconstruction is done in a way that causes *dissensus*: it is not due to accidental reasons, but due to aesthetic exceptions, this exception is repeated in a strange way for the political “exception”.<sup>[16]</sup> Politics and aesthetics transform their own rules within the discourse of games, a conflictual and non-dialogical aesthetic accident presents in the form of technique-art.<sup>[17]</sup> Thus, Adorno’s negative dialectical aesthetic became the prophecy of postmodern art: the sharp conflict between fine art and popular art, the erosion of capital change in the double deconstruction and reconstruction of games and discomfort.<sup>[18]</sup>

#### 4. Presentation: the Art of Nomads

Once the effect of art is highlighted as an independent picture before the audience, the technical aspects of art recede into obscurity. Painting, sculpture, photography, performance, installation, landscape and all other media transform into effects under the enveloping aura of beauty. However, the technique itself is transient, in the ruins of shattered meanings, the beauty’s effect is merely a flickering flame ignited upon remnants, extinguished amidst technique’s departure. As nomadic wanderers, technique never settles upon any single remnant. Thus, as minstrels, “Guichu” gradually approaching the marginalized and ostracized art and aesthetics, especially popular art.



At the level of artistic media, “Guichu” share familial similarities with other techno-artistic tribes. On the one hand, the proliferation of technique manifests intuitively in the extension of artistic media boundaries, with “montage” film editing techniques normalized—techniques like Photoshop, video editing, used in re-creative applications, making replication, imitation, collage, and appropriation the technical norm of popular art. On the other hand, the development of fast-paced art symbolizes, to a certain extent, the rise of the technological spirit, with genres like reggae, electronic music, rap, highly celebrated, largely due to technique pushing art to make formal decisions. Shouting or lyrical, teasing or aura, technique, in its placement posture, makes art manageable. Pure sound, influenced by the spirit of the game, becomes music games, MAD, sound-controlled entertainment, [19] classical and solemn traditional music becoming irrelevant in the age of technique. In the discourse category of technique-art, “Gui” (鬼) means it is quick-witted, and “Chu” (畜) means it is obstructed. “Guichu” become a member of the techno-artistic tribe.

Specifically, as a type of artistic creation or anti-artistic creation, “Guichu” have distinctive non-central characteristics, although it can be divided into three types depend on creation methods: sound MAD(音MAD), human VOCALOID(人力VOCALOID), and “Guichu” training(鬼畜调教). According to the characteristics and intentions of creation, “Guichu” have a rich variety of types. In the most primitive, and thus best describes the anti-artistic characteristics of “Guichu”, the works known as the original works of “Guichu”, “the source of all evil”, 最终鬼畜蓝蓝路, in a formalized, technical manner, in high rhythm changes, repetition, meaningless murmurs and even noise, presents the strangeness, curiosity, discomfort, and even nausea of “Guichu” works. The distortion of popular art towards abstract art is completely revealed in the author’s mockery. Based on this foundation, representative works of meaninglessness or mixed representation include 【新华里】最终鬼畜新华保险踢踏舞+RAP? and 【全明星Rap】黑喂狗!, where random, incidental mixed editing and collage create strange pleasures in the coincidence of bizarre images and sounds. Similarly, based on purely rhythmic creations of sound and image, there are “【矢泽妮可】妮可酱, 给我来一发最带感的Niconiconi! and 洛天依, 言和原创<普通DISCO>”, the former only using two syllables (nico) to achieve a dynamic rhythm composition, the latter becoming a representative work of electronic rhythm, not only being praised by niche “Guichu” enthusiasts, but also gaining favor in popular music - as the representative work of Ilem, this work has been covered by many singers such as Wang Feng and Li Yuchun. The convergence of “Guichu” towards art directly prompts its emergence as a new art form.

In the respect of artistic reception, “Guichu” works tend to evoke a sense of extravagance in music and visual impact, similar to popular arts, especially comedy films. 【循环向】跟着雷总摇起来! *Are you OK!* and 我的洗发液 create punchlines by joyfully composing music; 【红日】梁逸峰你朗诵这么屌你家里人知道吗? generates a mocking and joyful resonance in the alternative coordination of image and sound; 【小明v老王】大忠若奸 shows the dramatic effects of literal interpretation; 冰雪奇缘X守护者联盟 【误解向】*Frozen Guardian* humorously states that the narratives of Disney and Marvel manufacturers are poor, and people reach the peak of their sense of pleasure through mocking failures and repeatedly presenting ignorant effects. Traditional comedies are deconstructed and recombined to create new rhythmic comedies, work such as 【春晚鬼畜】赵本山: 我就是念诗之王! 【改革春风吹满地】 creates new fun through the fast-paced presentation of humor and the coincidence of meaning. Technique is close to art, everyday speech overlap serious speech, and the “Guichu” technique-art machine operates on endless artistic ruins and causes awe. In 【去违和】周杰伦献唱核爆神曲aLIEz 与霍元甲的Mashup版本 aHUOz!, the chorus, the word, and the languages (German, Japanese, and Chinese) get accidental harmony; Ma Baoguo’s imitation show in foreign language, emoji dubbing and animal dubbing which present vivid and imaginative narratives (parody) such as 千万不要跟声优斗表情包, 否则你将毫无胜算, 我不仅开口说话和你吵架, 还要把你周围的空气吃干净让你窒息..., make the audience speechless in the splendor of language. Animated “Guichu” works such as 危险的黑子(mainly the participation of bullet screen) and the recreation of “Guichu” works such as 桃核x麦麦籽 【改革春风吹满地! 念诗之王x原创编舞x鬼畜第二弹, allow “Guichu” works to be regenerated in their own repetition. As an alternative attempt at art, “Guichu” expanded the boundaries of popular art. In the difference between coordination and strangeness, the difference between signifier and signified is generated in the misheard lyrics and bullet screen, “Guichu” really got rid of the arrogance of art in the acceptance of the audience.

Of course, as a genuine artistic paradigm, “Guichu” are not limited to attempts. The combination with traditional artistic narratives or artistic languages makes “Guichu” also has profound humanistic connotations.

【小明&老王】此物天下绝响 breaks down the words of historical figures in the three kingdoms period and reshapes the historical image of political strategists. Among them, Zhuge Liang’s theory of justice is cast into the micro-political science of Wang Lang’s pity, and the royal discourse is rediscovered in the metaphor of reali-

ty and the archaeology of the political system. In the life narrative of 【北大力南逸峰】我的故事（完整版），the sorrow and helplessness of marginal characters are written in the absurdity of life, with the lyrics of abrupt whimsy, they are completely ruined in self-deprecation. In 【派大星的独白】一个关于正常人的故事, the strong conflict between mental illness, innocence, and secular success, allows the poet “Patrick Star” to emerge on paper. After all, existentialist poets adhere to the attitude of “existence precedes essence”, but ordinary people sneer at it. In this way, “Guichu” have proven their aesthetic qualities through imitation of traditional artistic narratives.

## 5. Conclusion

As an art form, similar to classical art, contemporary art is a spiritual activity rather than a material activity, an emotional activity rather than a rational or volitional activity; and unlike classical art, contemporary art is a contemporary cultural phenomenon rather than a civilization phenomenon, mainly related to the survival status of contemporary people.<sup>[20]</sup> Therefore, at the level of ontology, “Guichu” can only be seen as a form of contemporary art that is present, even a transformation of popular art, in order to be considered as one of the subcultures or marginal cultures.<sup>[21]</sup> Individuals condense into tribes, and postmodern technology art tribes live in a fragmented world of meaning, where marginal discourse achieves marginal life through art.

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- All presented art has become ruins. In this sense, postmodern art uses all art and non-art works as materials. Classics, hotpots, products of marginal people are all objects that can be *guichu*(verb).
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- [See Claire Bishop, “Conflicts and Relational Aesthetics”, in *October Magazine*, 2004, pp. 51-79.]
- 参见阿多诺：《美学理论》，王柯平译，成都：四川人民出版社，1998年。[Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, Wang Keping trans., Chengdu: Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1998.]
- The host manipulates objects (such as exhaling or rubbing on a microphone) to produce sounds similar to white noise, which pleases the audience.
- Zha Changping, *A History of Ideas in Pioneering Contemporary Chinese Art, Volume 1: World Relational Aesthetics*, Shanghai: Shanghai Joint Publishing Co., 2017, p. 44. [查常平：《中国先锋艺术思想史第一卷 世界关系美学》，上海：上海三联书店，2017年，第44页。] The technical borrowing of commercial advertisements (such as “Chinese Good Voice” focusing on its “brain-washing” effect) is a strong proof of capital infiltration into art. Of course, even mainstream cultural policies especially restrict the development of subcultures, the latter are based on rationality, which is the basis of all artistic form, and technique-art does not mean chaos or disorder.
- Dick Heberdig, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, Meng Dengying et al. trans., Beijing: Peking University Press, 2009; John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, Wang Xiaoya et al. trans., Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press, 2001; Denis McQuail, *Mass Communications Theory*, Cui Baoguo et al trans., Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2010. [参见迪克·赫伯迪格：《亚文化风格的意义》，孟登迎等译，北京：北京大学出版社，2009年；约翰·费斯克：《理解大众文化》，王晓压等译，北京：中央编译出版社，2001年；麦奎尔：《大众传播理论》，崔保国等译，北京：清华大学出版社，2010年。]