

# 中國文化研究青年學者論壇

## YOUNG SCHOLARS' FORUM IN CHINESE STUDIES 2019

MAY 23 – 25, 2019

# 百年流變：再思「五四」遺產

## A CENTURY OF CHANGE: REVISITING THE LEGACY OF MAY FOURTH

香港中文大學中國文化研究所文物館東翼二樓會議室  
CONFERENCE ROOM, 2/F ART MUSEUM EAST WING INSTITUTE OF CHINESE STUDIES  
THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG



25  
五月 MAY  
(Sat)

9:00 五四與現代文藝  
May Fourth and Modern Literature  
and Art

10:50 五四與當代文藝  
May Fourth and Contemporary  
Literature and Art

14:00 五四與二十世紀的亞洲  
May Fourth and the 20th-century Asia

歡迎旁聽  
ALL ARE WELCOME

主辦 Organizers :



亞太漢學中心

23  
五月 MAY  
(Thu)

9:00 五四與知識分子  
May Fourth and Its Intellectuals

11:00 五四與學生世代  
May Fourth and  
Its Generation of Students

14:00 五四與青年運動  
May Fourth and Youth Movement

15:50 五四與中國傳統  
May Fourth and Chinese Traditions

24  
五月 MAY  
(Fri)

9:00 五四與新女性  
May Fourth and the New Woman

10:50 五四與婦女運動  
May Fourth and Women's Movement

14:00 五四與經典文本  
May Fourth and Classics

15:50 五四與中國社會  
May Fourth and the Chinese Society



論壇網頁 Website : <http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/general/forum/>  
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Members	Professor Poon Shuk Wah, Department of History Professor Wan Chui Ki, Department of Fine Arts Professor Ye Jia, Department of Translation
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## Young Scholars' Forum 2019 - Participant List

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4	FENG	Jia	馮佳	Shandong University 山東大學
5	GU	Tian	谷田	Nankai University 南開大學
6	GUO	Xia	郭霞	Hunan City University 湖南城市學院
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8	HUANG	Shiqi	黃詩琦	Kyoto University 京都大學
9	HUANG	Ruoze	黃若澤	Xiamen University 廈門大學
10	HUNG	Tak Wai	孔德維	The King Faisal Centre for Research and Islamic Studies 費薩爾國王學術與伊斯蘭研究中心
11	JIA	Bo	賈博	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
12	JIAO	Lin	焦霖	Beijing Foreign Studies University 北京外國語大學
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14	LAI	Pei-hsuan	賴佩暄	Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica 中央研究院中國文哲研究所
15	LI	Gang	李剛	University of Groningen; University of Erlangen–Nuremberg 德國紐倫堡大學和荷蘭格羅寧根大學合作的雙博士項目
16	LI	Zhihang	李枝航	University of Sydney 悉尼大學
17	LIN	Liting	林麗婷	Doshisha University 同志社大學
18	MA	Qian Li	馬仟儷	University Of Malaya 馬來亞大學
19	NG	Wai Ming	吳偉明	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
20	PROSPERI	Martina Renata	彭思沛	Università degli Studi Roma Tre 羅馬第三大學
21	QIN	Pei	欽佩	Soochow University 蘇州大學
22	QU	Nan	曲楠	Harvard University 哈佛大學
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25	WANG	Chen	王晨	The Academy of Korean Studies, South Korea 韓國學中央研究院
26	WANG	Xing	王興	Fudan University 復旦大學
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28	XUE	Song	宋雪	Peking University 北京大學
29	YAN	Shizhe	嚴詩喆	National University of Singapore 新加坡國立大學
30	YANG	Mingchen	楊明晨	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
31	YAU	Ting Kit Kevin	丘庭傑	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
32	YEUNG	Choi Kit, Sabrina	楊彩杰	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學
33	ZU	Jessica	俎曉敏	Princeton University 普林斯頓大學

# Young Scholars' Forum in Chinese Studies 2019

## Program Schedule

Co-organized by The Chinese University of Hong Kong–Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation Asia-Pacific Centre for Chinese Studies (APC)  
and Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS)

### 23 May 2019 (Thursday)

<b>Panel 1: 五四與知識分子 (主持: 黎志添教授 文化及宗教研究系)</b> <b>May Fourth and Its Intellectuals (Discussant: Prof. LAI Chi Tim, Department of Cultural and Religious Studies)</b>			
9:00 - 10:40	1 Shao Dong 邵棟	The Open University of Hong Kong 香港公開大學	The Enlightened of The Enlightenment: A Study On Liu Bannong's Ideological Transition in New Literary Field of May Fourth Movement 被啟蒙的啟蒙者：五四新文學場域與劉半農的思想傾向
	2 Yau Ting Kit Kevin 丘庭傑	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學	A Scientific Religion, or Replacing Religion by Science: Chen Duxiu's Reception and Transformation of Ernst Haeckel's Thoughts 科學理性的一元宗教，還是以科學代宗教？——論陳獨秀對海克爾學說的接受與轉化
	3 Jesscia Zu 俎曉敏	Princeton University 普林斯頓大學	Lü Cheng: A Forgotten May Fourth Youth and a Buddhist Revolutionary 呂澂：一個被遺忘的五四青年和一個佛學革命者
<i>Break</i>			
<b>Panel 2: 五四與學生世代 (主持: 卜永堅教授 歷史系)</b> <b>May Fourth and Its Generation of Students (Discussant: Prof. PUK Wing Kin, Department of History)</b>			
11:00 - 12:40	1 Dong Liqiong 董麗瓊	Sun Yat-sen University 中山大學	Local Response to the May Fourth and New Culture Movement: The Case of Wenzhou 五四新文化運動的地方回應：以溫州為例
	2 Song Xue 宋雪	Peking University 北京大學	A Research on the May 4th Movement in Shantung Christian University 齊魯大學與五四運動考論
	3 Qin Pei 欽佩	Soochow University 蘇州大學	Creating Youth Idols: Youth Culture in the Late Qing Dynasty to the Early Republic of China 再造青年偶像：晚清民初青年文化初探
<i>Lunch</i>			
<b>Panel 3: 五四與青年運動 (主持: 卜永堅教授 歷史系)</b> <b>May Fourth and Youth Movement (Discussant: Prof. PUK Wing Kin, Department of History)</b>			
14:00 - 15:40	1 Alessandro Albana 亞歷山德羅·阿爾巴納	University of Bologna 博洛尼亞大學	Nationalism and students activism: The divided legacy of the May Fourth movement in China's political discourse 民族主義和學生運動：中國政治話語中的五四運動被分割的遺產
	2 Li Zhihang 李枝航	University of Sydney 雪梨大學	Nationalism and citizenship in Chinese universities from 1919 to 1949 1919-1937年中國大學的Nationalism和citizenship
	3 Ma Qianli 馬仟儷	University of Malaya 馬來亞大學	The Impact of the Reform Movement on the Chinese Education in Singapore and Malaysia 維新運動對新馬華文教育的影響
<i>Break</i>			
<b>Panel 4: 五四與中國傳統 (主持: 黎子鵬教授 文化及宗教研究系)</b> <b>May Fourth and Chinese Traditions (Discussant: Prof. LAI Tsz Pang, Department of Cultural and Religious Studies)</b>			
16:00 - 17:40	1 Wu Ruihan 吳蕊寒	Peking University 北京大學	Uniformity and Equality - a rethink on of the debate on Esperanto 統一與齊物 —— 「萬國新語」爭論的再考察
	2 Darya Hirhel 塔莉婭·吉爾格爾	Belarusian State University 白俄羅斯國立大學	The May Fourth Movement in the estimates of The China Critic (1928-1946) “中國評論週報”(1928-1946)中自由主義知識分子的評論中的“五四運動”
	3 Yang Mingchen 楊明晨	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學	The Discovery of “Superstition”: Jiang Shaoyuan's Research on superstition and the Formation of Superstitious Discourse in Modern China, 1920-1930s 「迷信」的發現：江紹原的迷信研究與中國現代迷信話語的形成（1920-1930年代）
<i>Dinner</i>			



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## Program Schedule

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### 24 May 2019 (Friday)

<b>Panel 5: 五四與新女性 (主持: 黃維珊教授 文化及宗教研究系)</b> <b>May Fourth and the New Woman (Discussant: Prof. HUANG Weishan, Department of Cultural and Religious Studies)</b>			
9:00 - 10:40	1 Guo Xia 郭霞	Hunan City University 湖南城市學院	The Modern Transformation of Campus Culture in the May 4th Female School Seen from the Advertisement of School Journals 從校刊廣告看五四女校校園文化的現代轉型
	2 Lin Liting 林麗婷	Doshisha University 同志社大學	Japanese Women in Modern Chinese Literature—— Focus on fictions from 1920s to 1930s 中國近代文學中的日本女性——以1920~1930年代的作品為中心
	3 Jiao Lin 焦霖	Beijing Foreign Studies University 北京外國語大學	Margaret Sanger in China: Eugenics and Birth Control since the May Fourth 瑪格麗特·桑格爾在中國：“五四”開啟的優生學與節制生育
<i>Break</i>			
<b>Panel 6: 五四與婦女運動 (主持: 黃念欣教授 中國語言及文學系)</b> <b>May Fourth and Women's Movement (Discussant: Prof. WONG Nim Yan, Department of Chinese Language and Literature)</b>			
11:00 - 12:40	1 Li Gang 李剛	University of Groningen; University of Erlangen–Nuremberg 德國紐倫堡大學和荷蘭格羅寧根大學合作的雙博士項目	Women's Liberation and Nation Building since the May Fourth Movement: reflections on the issue of haircut among Chinese Muslims 五四運動以來的婦女解放與國族建設：對回族穆斯林女性剪髮問題討論的反思
	2 Shyam Kumar Anand 阿南德	The Academy of Korean Studies, South Koera 韓國學中央研究院	A Comparative Study of Women's Participation in Korea's March First Movement and China's May Fourth Movement 關於韓國三一運動與中國五四運動女性參與的比較研究
	3 Song Qinghong 宋青紅	University of Shanghai for Science and Technology 上海理工大學	On the Conflict and equivalent between Women's Rights and Party Power: the Choice of Kuomintang Women Leaders around the Anti-Japanese War 女權與黨權：抗戰前後國民黨婦運領袖的抉擇
<i>Lunch</i>			
<b>Panel 7: 五四與經典文本 (主持: 崔文東教授 中國語言及文學系)</b> <b>May Fourth and Classics (Discussant: Prof. CUI Wendong, Department of Chinese Language and Literature)</b>			
14:00 - 15:40	1 Qu Nan 曲楠	Harvard University 哈佛大學	Contradictory Voices From A Literary Group: A Further Research on Anti-tradition Criticisms During the Literary Revolution of the May Fourth Movement, Centered around the Arguments about Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio 同人“志異”：五四運動時期文學革命批古言論的再考察——以《聊齋志異》為論爭中心
	2 Ng Wai Ming 吳偉明	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學	A Study on the Significance of <i>Educational Review</i> (Special Issue on Classics Reading, 1935) to the Debate Concerning Classics Reading from Late Qing to the Republican Era of China 論《教育雜誌》〈讀經問題專號〉對讀經討論的推進——以讀經與政治、學科、兒童關係為重心
	3 Huang Shiqi 黃詩琦	Kyoto University 京都大學	The Invisible Battlefield of "New Culture Movement"—A New Study into the Poetry Column of "The Chinese Students' Quarterly" 「新文化運動」的隱形戰場——《留美學生季報》的詩詞欄新探
<i>Break</i>			
<b>Panel 8: 五四與中國社會 (主持: 葉嘉教授 翻譯系)</b> <b>May Fourth and the Chinese Society (Discussant: Prof. YE Jia, Department of Translation)</b>			
16:00 - 17:40	1 Huang Ruoze 黃若澤	Xiamen University 廈門大學	Discovering "Society": The Translation Activities of YMCA in Beijing and the Rise of Social Discourse 發現「社會」：北京基督教青年會的翻譯活動與社會話語的興起
	2 Feng Jia 馮佳	Shandong University 山東大學	The Culture and Society of the Post- May Fourth Era: The Translations and Circulations of Booker T. Washington's <i>Up from Slavery</i> in Republican China 後五四時代的文化與社會：民國時期布克華盛頓自傳《力爭上游》(Up from Slavery) 的翻譯與傳播
	3 Yan Shizhe 嚴詩喆	National University of Singapore 新加坡國立大學	May-Fourth Legacy in Taiwan: A case study of Chang Ch'i-yun and "Hwa Kang" 「五四」傳承在台灣——以張其昀的「華岡興學」為例
<i>Dinner</i>			

# Young Scholars' Forum in Chinese Studies 2019

## Program Schedule

Co-organized by The Chinese University of Hong Kong–Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation Asia-Pacific Centre for Chinese Studies (APC) and Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS)

### 25 May 2019 (Saturday)

#### Panel 9: 五四與現代文藝 (主持: 徐璋教授 中國語言及文學系)

May Fourth and Modern Literature and Art (Discussant: Prof. TSUI Wai, Department of Chinese Language and Literature)

9:00 - 10:40	1 Keung Hiu Man 姜曉敏	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學	Drama for Reading? Revisiting the "Antouju" Controversy in Republican China 只讀不演? 民國時期「案頭劇」爭議之再探
	2 Jia Bo 賈博	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學	Child-Centered or Nation-Centered? A Discussion on Children's Opera in Shanghai (1920-1937) 「兒童本位」? 「國族本位」? ——論五四以來上海地區的兒童歌劇 (1920-1937)
	3 Gu Tian 谷田	Nankai University 南開大學	"Is There a Chinese Tragedy?"—The May Fourth Appropriation of "the Tragic" 五四時期西方文學悲劇觀在中國的接受與轉型

#### Break

#### Panel 10: 五四與當代文藝 (主持: 嚴志雄教授 中國語言及文學系)

May Fourth and Contemporary Literature and Art (Discussant: Prof. Lawrence C. H. YIM, Department of Chinese Language and Literature)

11:00 - 12:40	1 Martina Renata Proserpi 彭思沛	Università degli Studi Roma Tre 羅馬第三大學	Deviance in and of Contemporary Chinese Literature: Echoing the New Culture Movement or Voicing New Changes? The Case Study of Four Beggars 在當代華語文學的偏差主題和敘事技巧: 仍受到新文化運動的影響或是對應新的社會變化? 四個乞丐的個案研究
	2 Lai Pei-hsuan 賴佩暄	Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica 中央研究院中國文哲研究所	From "Sick China" to "Sick Universe": On Han Song's Succession and Development to Lu Xun in Science Fiction 從「病態中國」到「病態宇宙」: 論韓松科科幻小說對魯迅的繼承與開展
	3 Yeung Choi Kit, Sabrina 楊彩杰	The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學	Translation, Modern Chinese Language and Literature: An Intertextual Analysis of Dai Wangshu's Two Translation Versions of <i>La Nuit des six-jours</i> and Liu Na'ou's <i>Scène</i> 互文性的視野: 翻譯、現代漢語、現代文學—— 以戴望舒〈六日之夜〉的兩個翻譯版本與劉訥鷗《都市風景線》為例

#### Lunch

#### Panel 11: 五四與二十世紀的亞洲 (主持: 黎志添教授 文化及宗教研究系)

May Fourth and the 20th-century Asia (Discussant: Prof. LAI Chi Tim, Department of Cultural and Religious Studies)

14:00 - 15:40	1 Wang Chen 王晨	The Academy of Korean Studies, South Korea 韓國學中央研究院	Study on the Influence of the Constitutional Documents of the Republic of China on Korea 中華民國時期憲法文書對韓影響研究 - 以五四運動思潮為中心
	2 Hung Tak Wai 孔德維	The King Faisal Centre for Research and Islamic Studies, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia 費薩爾國王學術與伊斯蘭研究中心	Between Ummah and China: Choices of Chinese Muslims in the May Fourth Movement 在烏瑪與中華之間: 中國穆斯林在五四運動中的抉擇
	3 Wang Xing 王興	Fudan University 復旦大學	Complexities of Rebuilding Esoteric Buddhist Traditions in Republican China 民國佛教密宗回傳之複雜性

#### Concluding Remarks (30 minutes)



被啟蒙的啟蒙者：五四新文學場域與劉半農的思想傾向

**The Enlightened of The Enlightenment:**

A Study On Liu Bannong's Ideological Transition in New Literary Field of May  
Fourth Movement

邵棟

香港公開大學人文社會科學學院

摘要：

劉半農作為五四新文學的代表人物，其文學觀念與創作一直受到新文學研究的重視。然而其初入《新青年》文人圈時與同仁的思想分歧，以及離開《新青年》之後所流露的保守思想傾向，都未能得到清楚的闡釋與解讀。本文借用布迪厄(Pierre Bourdieu)的場域理論以及羅志田有關邊緣知識份子的論說，對這個問題進行新維度的詮釋，以期對劉半農個人思想的複雜性以及五四運動與知識份子之間的張力作更深入的詮釋，並通過對劉半農在五四前後變化的個案研究，企望挖掘出五四新文化運動中他作為特殊個體的思想史歷程。

關鍵詞：啟蒙；五四新文學；場域；邊緣知識份子；劉半農

Abstract：

As one of the most famous pioneer figures during New Literary Movement, Liu Bannong was undoubtedly seen as the supporter of the movement and its theories, but his early works for New Youth Magazine and the conservative ideology within, has long been neglected. The obvious divergence from he and his peers, bought him great pressure and identity crisis, resulting in his going separate way. This paper is to interpret the tension between Liu and The Movement, with the Culture Field theory and Marginal Intellectual frame as assistance, interaction between intellectuals and The Movement, as well as the ideology mechanism, would be elaborated.

Key words:

The Enlightenment; May Fourth Movement; Cultural Field; Marginal Intellectual; Liu Bannong

題目：科學理性的一元宗教，還是以科學代宗教？——論陳獨秀對海克爾學說的接受與轉化

**Title: A Scientific Religion, or Replacing Religion by Science: Chen Duxiu's Reception and Transformation of Ernst Haeckel's Thoughts**

作者：丘庭傑（香港中文大學中國語言及文學系博士候選人）

### 提要

陳獨秀（1879-1942）在 1915 年回國後開始宣揚科學思想，同時大力抨擊宗教，先後引介「賽先生」和提出「以科學代宗教說」，對五四時期科學與宗教的社會地位有深遠的影響。本文關注他在回國至五四運動爆發之間對於西方理性思潮的吸收與轉化，將其反宗教論述上溯至德國自然科學兼哲學家海克爾（Ernst Haeckel, 1834-1919）的學說。1917 年，陳獨秀在《新青年》第 3 卷第 6、7 期發表了一篇題為〈科學與基督教〉的翻譯，出自海克爾《宇宙之謎》（*Die Welträtsel*）的其中一章，與其反宗教論述互相呼應。陳獨秀一方面借用海克爾學說對宗教作出批判，另一方面卻隱去學說的終極目標——「一元宗教」，當中涉及一種有意識的文化選擇。從海克爾提倡科學的、理性的「一元宗教」，到陳獨秀提出「以科學代宗教說」，應當視為一次歐亞啟蒙／反啟蒙運動下的理性連結來看待，也體現出跨文化背景下五四知識份子對科學理性與信仰宗教的關係作出了一次抉擇。

（此為初稿，未經同意，請勿轉引）



## Abstract

Chen Duxiu(1879-1942) introduced “Mr. Science” and proposed the idea of “Replacing Religion by Science” to China since 1915, and this made a major contribution to the May-fourth Movement. This paper investigates Chen’s reception and transformation of the Western thoughts on Reason. In 1917, Chen translated an article entitled “Science and Christianity”, the translation was published on *New Youth*. This article is originally a chapter of the book *The Riddles of World (Die Welträtsel)*, written by the German scientist and philosopher Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919). By tracing Chen’s proposition back to Haeckel’s ideas of “monism”, the paper reveals that Chen criticized religion by means of Haeckel’s arguments while hiding Haeckel’s ultimate goal: The Monistic Religion. From Haeckel to Chen, we may find connection on Reason in the Europe-Asia Enlightenment/Anti-Enlightenment campaign. This paper re-examines how Chen adapts the rational thoughts from the West and modifies it into the context of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Chinese society from the perspective of transcultural studies. Chen’s case may also represent a choice made by the May-fourth intellectuals on the relationship between Reason/Science vs Belief/Religion.

(此為初稿，未經同意，請勿轉引)

## **Lü Cheng: A Forgotten May Fourth Youth and a Buddhist Revolutionary**

呂澂：一個被遺忘的五四青年和一個佛學革命者

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Princeton University 普林斯頓大學

**Abstract:** In January 1919's *New Youth*, Chen Duxiu published a reader's letter written by Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1896-1989) who called for an aesthetic revolution. From then on till 1925, Lü Cheng published a series of articles arguing against Cai Yuanpei's thesis of replacing religion with art education and refuting Zhang Taiyan's reading of Yogācāra and Bergsonism. While Cai Yuanpei's secularist education agenda soon became the norm, Lü's vision of social transformation soon fell into oblivion.

This study reconsiders Lü's activities at this historical juncture. I uncover Lü's unique theorization of social oneness in terms of aesthetic translations and his anti-realist agenda of social reform. I illustrate that the drive behind his anti-realist theorization of society in its totality is a dissatisfaction with social Darwinism and science that portrayed human beings as passively trapped by natural laws. Lü's quest for a universal moral agency stemmed from his diagnoses of the modern vices as excessive materialism and rampant individualism. In his early years, aesthetics proved a useful means to theorize a moral ecology where humans could transform their surroundings by revolutionizing consciousness.

In contemporary academia, Lü Cheng is mostly remembered as a scholar of Yogācāra who specialized in comparative studies of Chinese, Classical Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Pāli texts.

This study argues that Lü Cheng's turn toward Yogācāra signals a new phase in his effort to wrestle with the perceived problems of modernity. In this new phase, Lü Cheng articulated a Yogācāra social theory to operate as an innovative force for establishing a deliberative democracy suitable for a globalizing world. By excavating a world view that has been written out of the history of modern China, this study hopes to recover some alternative social visions outside the well-known cases of realism, socialism, and sociology.



摘要: 在 1919 年 1 月的《新青年》中，陳獨秀發表了一篇呂澂（1896-1989）的讀者信，“美學革命”。從那時起到 1925 年，呂澂發表了一系列文章，反對蔡元培藝美育代宗教的論點並駁斥章太炎對唯識和柏格森創化論的解讀。蔡元培的世俗主義教育議程很快成為主流，而呂的社會願景很快就被遺忘了。

這項研究重新考慮呂澂在這個歷史關頭的活動。我從美學翻譯和反實在論的社會改革議程中揭示呂獨特的社會統一體理論。我說明他反實在論背後的驅動力是對社會達爾文主義和科學的不滿。呂澂認為社會達爾文主義和科學將人類描述為無道德主體的受自然法則支配的被動存在。呂澂對一個普遍道德主體的追求源於他對現代惡習的診斷：過度的唯物主義和猖獗的個人主義。在他早年，呂運用美學理論來構建理想的道德社會理論。這一理論的主題是人類可以藉由意識的革命來改造環境。在當代學術界，呂澂主要被認為是唯識學者，專長於中文，古典藏文，梵文和巴利文的比較研究。本研究認為，呂澂轉向唯識學標誌著他努力解決現代性問題的新階段。在這個新階段，呂澂闡述了一種唯識社會理論，展示出一個與眾所周知的現實主義，社會主義和社會學完全不同的社會願景。呂澂的獨特反實在論的社會改革理論反映出五四前後廣泛多樣的重新思考社會之涵義的思潮。

**Local Response to the May Fourth and New Culture Movement: The Case of  
Wenzhou (五四新文化运动的地方回应：以温州为例)**

**Dong Liqiong**

**Sun Yat-sen University**

**Abstract:**

The relationship between the May Fourth Movement and New Culture Movement might be well illustrated by case study viewed from the local scholars. In Wenzhou, it seems that the New Culture Movement did not begin until the spreading of the May Fourth Movement, in the eyes of local scholars. Then, the scholars and the movements became integrated, which was displayed by such a phenomenon that the local scholars promoted the May Fourth and New Culture Movement, while the latter promoted the structural change including collaboration between old and new as well as generational transition of the former, which may present as a characteristic pattern different from other areas.

**摘要:**

通过温州的个案研究，从地方读书人的视角去理解五四运动和新文化运动，似乎能更好地理解这两个运动之间的关系。在地方读书人看来，五四运动在地方扩展之后，本地的新文化运动才真正开展。之后，地方读书人和五四新文化运动之间紧密联系起来，一方面表现为前者推动了后者的进行与扩散，另一方面则表现为后者影响了前者结构上的变化，这种结构性变化包括新旧之间的联合、代际之间的嬗递，这是温州对五四新文化运动具有鲜明特征的地方回应。

**Key Words:**

The May Fourth Movement, The New Culture Movement, Local scholars, Wenzhou

# 齊魯大學與五四運動考論

宋雪（北京大學中文系）

摘要：在山東學界的五四運動中，齊魯大學居於領導地位。同時，作為在中國創辦最早的教會大學，齊大的歷史也折射出教會教育、民族意識和現代精神之間的複雜關係，因而在五四運動研究中具有典型意義。依據檔案、報刊、電文和回憶錄，還原歷史現場，考察齊大與當局的關係變化和校方對學生運動的立場轉變，亦可借此考求齊魯大學在五四前後的諸多歷史面向。

關鍵字：齊魯大學 五四運動 民族意識

A Research on the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement in Shantung Christian University

SONG Xue (Peking University)

**Abstract:** In the May 4<sup>th</sup> movement, Shantung Christian University took the leading position. At the same time, as the earliest missionary university established in China, the history of Shantung Christian University also reflects the complex relationship between the missionary education, national consciousness and modern spirit, which has typical significance in the study of the May 4<sup>th</sup> movement. Returning to the historical scenes with the help of official documents, newspapers, telegraphs, journals, diaries and memoirs, to observe the social mentality and cultural atmosphere behind the change of the relationship between Shantung Christian University and the authorities, as well as the university's position on the student movement, is also an important way to understand the historical memory of the May 4<sup>th</sup> movement.

**Keywords:** Shantung Christian University, the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement, National Consciousness

## 再造青年偶像：晚清民初青年文化初探

欽佩 蘇州大學

**摘要：**晚清民初，中國新型知識分子創辦一系列刊物來向大眾介紹新生活、新社會、新思想。本文揭示了這兩股思潮——新文化的擴散和西方青年文化的傳播——以復雜且驚人的方式交匯。通過對大量文本和文化現象的分析，包括著名雜誌《新青年》首卷六位封面人物、學生活動等，我想展示五四時期激進的知識分子、作家、翻譯家以及學生如何創造出代表革命力量的青年文化，同時青年文化又如何作為壹一關聯中西的跨文化紐帶。我將追溯 1915 年以前其他中國報刊對這六位封面人物的報道，與《新青年》的敘述作比較，從而挖掘封面人物背後的思想文化邏輯，找出青年偶像的生產機制。通過分析選擇封面人物的原因，我們將能夠理解《新青年》所倡導的青年文化在歷史語境中的特殊意義，並且看到這種青年文化對於五四新文化運動的影響。

**關鍵詞：**青年文化 偶像 《青年雜誌》勵志典範 民族英雄

### Creating Youth Idols: Youth Culture in the Late Qing Dynasty to the Early Republic of China

Qin Pei

#### Abstract

In the Late Qing Dynasty to the Early Republic of China, Chinese new intellectuals produced a series of magazines introducing new living, society and thoughts. This paper reveals that these trends - the proliferation of new culture and the circulation of western youth culture - were linked in complex and surprising ways. Through my analysis of a wide range of texts and cultural phenomena, especially six cover persons of the famous magazine *New Youth*, student activities, I would like to show how the radical intellectuals of May Fourth, writers, translators, together with students, created a youth culture that represented the revolutionary power as the transcultural bonds between Chinese and western resources. I would trace the reports of six cover persons by other Chinese print media before 1915 to make a comparison with the magazine *New Youth*'s narrative, to dig into the ideological and cultural consideration behind these cover persons and figure out the production process of young idols. By analysing the reasons for choosing cover persons, we would be able to understand the exactly historical meaning of youth culture the magazine advocated, and see how this culture had impacted on the May Fourth movement.

**Keywords:** youth culture, youth idol, cover person, national hero



**Nationalism and student activism:  
The divided legacy of the May Fourth Movement in China's political discourse**

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*Abstract*

One hundred years on, the May Fourth Movement retains a deep influence within China's society, public debate and politics. Despite the many changes and extensive developments occurred in China, the social mobilization which emerged in 1919 is still a key component of the Chinese collective memory. In this sense, the May Fourth Movement represents a prominent historical display of China's unwillingness to tolerate humiliation, chiefly at foreign hand, as well as the Chinese society's capability to collectively mobilize in support of national dignity and unity. Against this backdrop, the two main characteristics of the mobilization are to be identified into its nationalist spirit and the widespread activism of students. Interestingly, whereas nationalism has gained importance within the CPC political discourse, student activism has provoked uneasiness in China's political leadership, bringing about a prompt response against strikes, demonstrations and mobilizations in general. This trend has gained vigor especially under Xi Jinping rule, as the crackdown on the Jasic mobilizations – which spread from workers to supportive students in a short time span – has recently demonstrated. Tellingly, in fact, 2019 marks 30 years since students protesting in Beijing's Tiananmen square have been brutally swept off. This paper considers the legacy of the May Fourth Movement as a longstanding yet divided feature in contemporary China's political discourse. Particularly, the nationalist sentiment which has nurtured the May Fourth Movement has not been dismissed by the Chinese leadership; on the contrary, China's society is growing increasingly nationalist as a result of a top-down process promoted by political authorities. Therefore, nationalism is to be considered as a longstanding legacy of the May Fourth Movement, as it proved to be a valuable principle of collective mobilization. As to student mobilizations, central authorities have displayed their uttermost resolution in preventing their occurrence, as the 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen vividly demonstrates. Against this backdrop, preventing student mobilizations has become a core effort for the Chinese leadership under Xi presidency. In this sense, the legacy of the May Fourth Movement has been selectively endorsed in China's official political discourse, embracing the nationalist component while deliberately discarding student activism, as the latter is considered pernicious for the CPC legitimacy and the overall stability of China's political system.

# 民族主义和学生运动：中国政治话语中的五四运动被分割的遗产

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## 摘要

一百年以后,五四运动仍然在中国社会,公共辩论和政治中有着很深的影响。尽管中国发生了很多变化和大规模的进步,1919年的社会运动仍然是很多中国人共同记忆的关键的一部分。从这个意义上说,五四运动代表了一个突出的历史表现,表明中国不愿意容忍外国之手的羞辱,以及中国社会集体动员组织支持民族尊严和团结的能力。在此背景下,动员活动的两个主要特征被确定为其民族主义精神和普遍的学生运动。有趣的是,尽管民族主义在中共政治话语中占有重要地位,但学生运动却激起了中国政治领导层的不安,对一般的罢工,示威,集体活动做出了迅速反应。特别是在习近平的统治下,这种趋势得到了增强,对佳士动员活动的镇压,在很短的时间内镇压从对工人向支持的动员的学生转移已经证明了这一点。显然,实际上,2019年标志着学生们在北京天安门广场的抗议活动在30年后的今天被残酷地扫除了。本文认为五四运动的遗产是当代中国政治话语中长期存在的分裂特征。特别要强调的是,培育五四运动的民族主义情绪并没有被中国领导人所否定;相反,由于政治当局自上而下的推动进程,中国的社会变的越来越民族主义。因此,民族主义应被视为五四运动的长期遗产,因为它被证明是集体动员的宝贵原则。关于学生的动员,中央政府已经表现出最大的决心以防止它们的发生,1989年天安门镇压很明显的表明了这一点。在此背景下,防止学生动员活动已经成为习近平主席领导下中国领导层的一种核心的努力。从这个角度上讲,五四运动的遗产在中国的官方政治话语中有选择地得到认可,在故意放弃学生运动的同时接受民族主义因素,因为前者被认为对中共的合法性和中国政治制度的整体稳定有害。

## Nationalism and citizenship in Chinese universities, 1919-1937

### 1919-1937 年中国大学的 Nationalism 和 citizenship

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#### Abstract

In recent years, there has been considerable interest in modern Chinese nationalism. The notion of China being a civilization state or a nation-state has generated intense discussion: some scholars tend to identify internal factors—demographic, economic and political—as crucial to explain China’s modern transformation. As Andy Green convincingly demonstrated, the nature and the state and the process of state formation, rather than the level of urbanization or industrialization, played the most decisive role in the national education systems and the spread of mass education. The aim of this paper is to further the interactions between the state-formation and universities.

During the Republic of China (1912-1949), the Chinese state sought to revive and modernize the nation, define the national identity through higher education. In 1919, the May Fourth Movement started the new process of modern education, and by 1927 National Government of Nanjing was established, national identity became the common pursuit of higher education. The Republic of China pursued Western knowledge to revive China, while promoting some Confucian culture as part of the new National identity. For example, the Kuomintang (KMT)-led state upheld Sun Yat-sen’s “three principles of the People” (Nationalism (*minzu*), Democracy (*minquan*) and people’s Livelihood (*minsheng*)) as the guidelines and the major core of national identity.

This article reviews China’s official documents and curriculum standards, such as National Higher Education Statistics (*Quanguo Gaodeng Jiaoyu Tongji, 1928-1932*), University Discipline (*Daxue Guicheng, 1930*) and First Chinese education yearbook (*Diyici Zhongguo Jiaoyu Nianjian, 1934*), in order to examine in greater detail Chinese universities’ roles and strategies for nationalism and citizenship. There are three major aims in this paper. The first one is about the intellectual origins of modern Chinese nationalism--it learns from the Western Nationalism or it is the continuation of traditional Chinese part, even or the combination of two. Second, we need to conceptualize the term “Nationalism” and “Citizenship” according to the Chinese social-cultural background. Then the relationship between them in this period need to be deeply thought: Is it totally different or like heads and tails of a coin? Finally we could deeply understand the cultural and political mission of Chinese universities and their contribution to the national dialogue.

**Keywords** nationalism, citizenship, national identity, Republic of China

## 摘要

近年来,许多学者对中国现代国族主义产生了浓厚的兴趣。关于中国是一个公民国家还是民族国家这个问题引发了学者们激烈的讨论:一些学者更倾向于内部因素(人口因素、经济或政治因素)对中国的现代转型产生重要影响。正如 Andy Green 所说,在国家教育体系和大众教育传播的过程中,起决定性作用的不是城市化或工业化水平,而是国家性质和形成过程。本文是从高等教育的角度来解释国家形成与大学之间的互动。

在中华民国(1912-1949 年)期间,中国试图通过高等教育复兴和国家现代化来定义国家认同。1919 年五四运动拉开了现代高等教育的序幕,一直到 1927 年南京临时政府成立,民族认同成为高等教育的共同目标。中华民国通过宣扬西方思想来振兴中华民族,同时推广一些儒家文化作为新的国家认同的一部分。例如国民党一直倡导孙中山的“三民主义”(民族、民主、民生)来作为国家认同的指导思想和核心。

本文试图回顾关于政府政策文件和课程大纲的文献来更详细地考察中国大学在民族主义和公民意识方面的角色和策略,比如 1928-1932 年《全国高等教育统计》,1930 年发布的《大学规程》和 1934 年教育部出版的《第一次中国教育年鉴》。本文主要围绕三点内容展开:首先是中国现代民族主义的思想渊源——它是学习西方民族主义,还是延续了中华民族的优良传统,又或者是两者结合;第二,在中国独特的社会文化背景中如何定义“nationalism”和“citizenship”:最重要的是这两者之间的关系,是完全对立还是存在着共同点,或是像硬币的正反面;最后我们可以深刻理解到中国大学在国家建构过程中的伟大的文化和政治使命。

关键词: nationalism, citizenship, national identity, 民国



# 維新運動對新馬華文教育的影響

馬仟儷

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The Impact of the Reform Movement on the Chinese Education in Singapore and Malaysia

MA QIAN LI

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## 摘要：

1840 年鴉片戰爭爆發以後，中國由一個完全獨立自主的封建帝國開始一步步的淪為半殖民地半封建社會。空前嚴重的民族危機喚醒了以林則徐、魏源、康有為、梁啟超等為代表的有識之士的覺醒。他們揭露和批判了腐朽落後的清王朝封建專制制度，主張改革創新，開闢君主立憲制。這股維新思潮不僅激蕩著十九世紀的神州，而且還深刻的影響著關注祖國命運的海外華僑。1898 年戊戌變法之後中國滿清政府採納維新派的主張進行教育改革，建立了新式學堂，戊戌變法失敗後，康有為與梁啟超逃亡海外，包括前來馬來亞和新加坡宣揚其維新主張。他在南洋廣設學堂，提倡民族教育以及推動孔教會，使華族認同自己的民族和文化。在 1919 年五四運動之後，新馬的教學媒介語也由方言改為華語。這在新馬華文教育發展史上奠定了堅實的基礎，為教育制度的改革作出了積極貢獻。本文嘗試通過梳理康有為在新馬的活動以及他的演說研究角度闡釋維新運動對新馬華文教育的影響。

## Abstract:

After the outbreak of the Opium War in 1840, China began to gradually become a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society by a completely independent feudal empire. The unprecedented national crisis awakened the awakening of people of insight represented by Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. They exposed and criticized the corrupt and backward Qing Dynasty feudal autocracy, advocated reform and innovation, and opened up the constitutional monarchy. This reform trend not only stirred the 19th century China, but also profoundly affected overseas

Chinese who are concerned about the fate of the motherland. After the Reform Movement of 1898, the qing government adopted the reformist theory to carry out educational reforms and established a new style schools. After the failure of the Reform Movement of 1898, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao fled overseas, including coming to Malaya and Singapore to promote their reformist ideas. He has set up a school in Nanyang to promote national education and promote the Confucian Church so that the Chinese can identify with their own nation and culture. After the May Fourth Movement in 1919, the teaching medium of Singapore and Malaysia were changed from dialect to Chinese. This laid a solid foundation in the history of the development of Chinese education in Singapore and Malaysia, alaso made positive contributions to the reform of the education system. This paper attempts to explain the impact of the reform movement on the Chinese education in Singapore and Malaysia by combing Kang Youwei's activities with his speech research in Singapore and Malaysia.

統一與齊物  
——「萬國新語」爭論的再考察  
Uniformity and Equality  
—— a rethink on of the debate on Esperanto

吳蕊寒（北京大學高等人文研究院）

摘要：如果以章太炎的視角重新審視 1908 年前後關於「萬國新語」的論戰，那麼他與《新世紀》派分歧的根源，就不在於保守與進步，而在於「齊物」與「統一」。本文從對未來世界秩序的想像、對文字革命的語境界定和對語言文字功能的關切三個方面，展開論述「齊物」與「統一」的差異。章太炎之所以堅持「名從主人，號從中國」，是由於齊物哲學對特殊性、具體性和現成性的肯定，賦予維持了歷史連續性和文化多樣性的語言以無可取代的價值，而絕非出於保守落後或民族主義偏見。

Abstract: If rethinking from the perspective of Zhang Taiyan, his divarication with the group of New Century is rooted in the difference between the ideas of “equality” and “uniformity”, rather than conservatism and progressivism. This paper tries to elaborate this difference from three aspects: their imagination of global order in the future, the context of the revolution of languages, and their concern of the role of languages. Instead of backwardness or nationalism, Zhang’s persistence on traditional Chinese is justified by his philosophy of Equality, which affirmed particularity, concreteness and historicity. The value of languages is irreplaceable for its significance to the continuity of history and diversity of cultures

**Title:** The May 4th Movement in the estimates of *The China Critic* (1928-1946)  
“中国评论周报” (1928-1946) 中自由主义知识分子的评论中的“五四运动”

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**Abstract:** The article examines the assessments of the May 4th Movement made by liberal intellectuals of *The China Critic*, the first weekly magazine in English, produced and edited by a group of Chinese liberal intellectuals in Shanghai. Analyzing *The China Critic*'s discourse on the May 4th Movement I apply to the theory of dialogue of Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). Liberal intellectuals contrasted the dialogic approach towards China to the monologic approach of conservatives and anti-traditionalists. *The China Critic* recognized the May 4th Movement was evidence of a national consciousness, politically as well as culturally. *The China Critic* argued that China's transition to modernity should be evolutionary. I suggest that since liberal intellectuals of *The China Critic* offered the path of dialogue, they criticized monologism of the May 4th Movement. *The China Critic* assessed the risks China could have during the transition to modernity. *The China Critic* showed the dangerous road which the May 4th Movement took when it denied traditional Chinese culture and imported of Western culture in its entirety. *The China Critic* suggested the May Forth Movement was to mature into an everlasting potent force for good in China, it had to help the Chinese to understand Old China so that New China could be built on what had stood the test of time in China's cultural heritage. The monological nature of the May 4th Movement, the rejection of the dialogue with Chinese tradition would lead to the loss of China's uniqueness, the erasure of its national identity, in which the strength of China had always been hidden.

本文探讨了该杂志自由主义知识分子对“五四运动”的评价。该杂志是第一本英文周刊，由一群中国自由派知识分子在上海制作和编辑。我运用米哈伊尔巴赫金（1895-1975）的对话理论分析了“中国评论周报”关于“五四运动”的论述。自由主义知识分子对中国的对话原则与保守派和反传统主义者的独白原则进行了对比。“中国评论周报”承认了“五四运动”在政治和文化上都体现了一种民族意识。“中国评论周报”认为，中国向现代化的过渡应该是渐进的。我认为，既然“中国评论周报”的自由派知识分子提供了对话的道路，他们是批评了“五四运动”的独白原则。“中国评论周报”评估了中国在向现代化过渡期间可能面临的风险。“中国评论周报”展示了“五四运动”排斥中国传统文化和全盘引进西方文化的危险道路。“中国评论周报”认为，如果五四运动要在中国成长为一种永强的力量，它必须帮助人们了解中国的旧文化。新中国建立在传统文化经得起时间考验的基础之上。五四运动”的独白原则，拒绝与中国传统的对话将导致中国的独特性丧失，其民族认同的消除，而中国的力量始终被遮蔽。

**Key Words:** *The China Critic*, Lin Yutang, Mikhail Bakhtin, liberalism, the May 4th Movement, modernization, monologism, dialogism



「迷信」的發現：

江紹原的迷信研究與中國現代迷信話語的形成（1920-1930 年代）

**The Discovery of “Superstition”:**

**Jiang Shaoyuan’s Research on superstition and the Formation of Superstitious**

**Discourse in Modern China, 1920-1930s**

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**摘要：**「反迷信」一直是中國清末民初以來特別是五四以後新文化實踐的重要內容，但與其在五四初期更多作為一種「表述的實踐」不同，1920 年代以後中國開始對「迷信」問題進行學科探討和專業研究，形成一種將迷信問題「知識化」的現象，其中尤以江紹原所建立的迷信學為代表。江紹原通過借鑒其時流行的英美比較宗教學學科話語，對中國所謂的迷信現象進行再整理，實際上由此完成的是發現迷信或發明傳統的過程。江紹原的迷信研究不僅牽涉到中國現代學術史的發展、中西跨文化的現代話語旅行，更意味著中國現代以來有關「迷信」或「反迷信」的話語與實踐步入一個更為複雜的階段，即現代學科話語介入了文化的、政治的反迷信脈絡。通過江紹原的案例，我們可以重新思考中國現代歷史上關於「知識/權力」的現代性運作機制。

**Abstract:** Anti-superstition was always critical aspect of Chinese new cultural practice since Late Qing dynasty and early Republic of China, which was particularly emphasized around May Fourth period. But different from serving as the “practice of articulation” in early May Fourth period, anti-superstition began to associate with the building of superstitious “knowledge” via academic and disciplinary research after 1920s. Jiang Shaoyuan’s scientific research on superstition was the most distinguished achievement at that time. He learned comparative religion in America and borrowed the academic discourses to sort out Chinese superstitious phenomenon, which actually led to the discovery of Chinese superstition and invention of Chinese tradition. Jiang’s research not only involved the development of modern Chinese academic history and the transcultural discourses between China and the West, but more importantly, it meant the discourse and practice of (anti-)superstition in modern China became more sophisticated. The cultural and political anti-superstitious movement was engaged with modern disciplinary knowledge. From Jiang Shaoyuan, we could rethink the mechanism of “knowledge/power” in Chinese modernity.

# 從校刊廣告看五四女校校園文化的現代轉型

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## 摘要

女校在中國近代社會的出現，大大推動了女性解放的歷史進程。儘管在誕生之時女校還不免呈現出明顯的保守性和傳統色彩，然而當五四新文化強勢佔領社會生活的諸多領域時，女校的現代化轉型也就在不知不覺中悄然進行——這一點，從校刊上登載的廣告可見一斑。廣告作為現代城市文化的一種特殊產物，其開放的特質原本可能與傳統保守的女子教育觀念有著水火不相容之處，然而它的強大滲透力仍然使其順利佔領了這一陣地。綜觀女校校刊上的廣告，其中表現出鮮明的性別特徵，城市特徵，以及西方文化色彩。沐浴了女校教育的女作家們可能會表現出新舊雜陳的思想面貌，然而終究會隨著女校教育衝破重重桎梏，而朝著都市化與現代化的方向發展。

**關鍵詞：**校刊廣告 五四 女校 現代轉型

# **The Modern Transformation of Campus Culture in the May 4th Female School Seen from the Advertisement of School Journals**

Guo Xia

## Abstract

The emergence of women's schools in modern China had greatly promoted the historical process of women's liberation. Although women's schools were obviously conservative and traditional at the time of their birth, when the May 4th New Culture occupied many fields of social life, the modernization transformation of women's schools also proceeded unconsciously, as can be seen from the advertisements published in school magazines. Advertising, as a special product of modern urban culture, may be incompatible with the traditional conservative concept of women's education. However, its strong penetration still made it occupy this position smoothly. Looking at the advertisements in the school magazines of women's schools, they showed distinct gender characteristics, urban characteristics and Western cultural color. Women writers who have bathed in the education of women's schools might show mixed old and new ideological features, but eventually they would break through the shackles of women's schools and developed towards urbanization and modernization.

**Keywords:** *Advertising in School Journals*    *May 4th*    *Female School*  
*Modern Transition*

## 中國現代文學中的日本女性——以 1920~1930 年代的作品為中心

## Japanese Women in Modern Chinese Literature—— Focus on fictions from 1920s to 1930s

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摘要：本稿討論了中國現代文學中的日本女性形象問題，來觀察中國新文學中日本女性形象的變遷。第一節討論了五四新文學的代表作，郁達夫《沉淪》，指出在該小說中，日本女性被想象為象徵亞洲強國之日本的符號。第二節討論了張資平《天孫之女》，該小說描寫了一個抱有軍國主義思想的日本少女從狹隘的民族主義掙脫出來的過程。第三節討論了崔萬秋《新路》，指出在《新路》里，崔萬秋在描寫作為東亞的摩登女郎的日本少女的同時卻令其略輸中國女孩一籌的策略。第四節討論了凌叔華《千代子》，指出凌叔華意圖在澡堂這一空間消解政治對身體的干預，巧妙地描寫了一個日本少女在惡化的中日關係下的舉止和變化。從結論來說，面對1920~1930年代中日關係的變化，如何在小說中處理中日關係是一個問題，而中國作家在描寫日本女性時超越國族的敘事是值得評價的。

Abstract : this paper discusses how the Japanese women had been described in modern Chinese literature, and observes the changes of Japanese women's images in Chinese new literature. In the first section, I inspect the masterpiece of Chinese new literature, Yu Dafu's "Sinking" (*Chen Lun*) and point out that in "Sinking" (*Chen Lun*), Japanese women were described as high and unreachable, they were imagined as the symbols of Japan the powerful Asian country. In the second section, I discuss Zhang Ziping's "The descendants of the Mikado" (*Tian Sun Zhi Nü*), this novel was about a Japanese girl who was a militarist. With her experience in China, she became an anti-nationalist. In the third section, I focus on Cui Wanqiu's strategy in "The New Way" (*Xin Lu*), which described the Japanese girls who were supposed to be the Asian modern girls were beat by Chinese girls. And in the last section, I concentrate on Ling Shuhua's "Chiyoko" (*Qian Dai Zi*), which told a story about a little Japanese girl who was interested in a Chinese foot-binding woman and pointed out that Ling intended to dissolve the political intervention in the human body in the space of the public bath. In conclusion, with the changes of Sino-Japanese relations in 1920s-1930s, how to deal with the Sino-Japanese relations was a point in Chinese writers' narrations and their efforts went beyond nationalism deserve high evaluation.



瑪格麗特·桑格爾在中國：“五四”開啟的優生學與節制生育  
Margaret Sanger in China: Eugenics and Birth Control since the May Fourth

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**摘要** 桑格爾夫人 1922 年來華訪問，被認為是近代中國節育思想的開端。學界多從中國知識分子的節育話語來分析桑格爾對中國的影響，本文另辟蹊徑，參照桑格爾夫人自己中國之行的記錄，中國知識分子與其交往中形成的共識與偏差，以及桑格爾夫人通過史沫特萊在中國參與的節育實踐，來論述桑格爾對中國節育運動影響的複雜與多面性。桑格爾在華的所見所聞，使她把在中國推廣產兒制限的目標放在了拯救中國之危急存亡的目的上，而鮮少提及具有女權意義的女性的自決。桑格爾夫人的產兒制限工作充滿了種族主義和精英階級優越感，這種思想在中國，以致在全世界的主流思想領域中都未受到挑戰，因此限制了它的女權意義。同時本文提出，桑格爾對中國節育運動的意義超越了思想和話語層面，作為國際女權運動者，桑格爾也積極參與了中國的產兒制限運動。

**Abstract** Margaret Sanger's 1922 trip to China has been widely considered as the starting point of birth control in China. Academics have evaluated Sanger's influence in China by discourse analysis, this paper, however, combines Sanger's own testimonies in China, Chinese intellectuals' acceptance and revisions of Sanger's thoughts and Sanger's activities of birth control in order to probe the complexities of Sanger's influence in China. Rather than advocating for feminism and gender equality in China, Sanger emphasized on overpopulation and national salvation due to her personal experiences and an orientalist mindset. In correlating with popular thoughts of eugenics globally, Sanger's birth control proposition also mingled with racism and elitism. For the purpose of colonialism, imperialism and nationalism, intellectuals in Euro-American, Japan and China hardly challenged her racial and class discriminations. However, Sanger's contribution to the Chinese birth control movement was beyond discourse, she practiced international sisterhood and participated in the movement though her correspondent Agnes Smedley.

Key words: Margaret Sanger, birth control, China, elitism, Agnes Smedley

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Women's Liberation and Nation Building since the May Fourth Movement:  
reflections on the issue of haircut among Chinese Muslims

五四運動以來的婦女解放與國族建設：對回族穆斯林女性剪髮問題討論的反思

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Abstract: Haircut represented one of the most prominent features of Women's Liberation since the May 4th Movement. The major Muslim group in China today, the Hui, discussed the issue of hair-cut for Muslim women in their own newspapers as well as magazines in the 1930s, which, however, reflected different concerns from those of the non-Muslim Chinese. Authors of those publications include ordinary Hui Muslims, Muslim clerics, and students of the new form Islamic educational institutions. Based on the "authentic" sources of their jurisprudential school (Shari'a), the participants put forward very different opinions on the issue. The debate seemingly focusing on the legitimacy of women's haircut in relation to the Shari'a actually represented the ways in which the Hui Muslims endeavored to negotiate between the divine law of Allah and the realities of Chinese society they were living in, especially that of the sociopolitical situations since the May 4th Movement where the construction of a "New Woman" as the new nationals was prevalent. In this article, I have investigated the debate on the Hui women's haircut by assessing how the debate started and developed, and what it meant for a Hui Muslim woman to cut or not to cut her hair in relation to the Shari'a in the sociopolitical context of Republican China. I point out how, on the one hand, the New Culture Movement of the Hui benefited the development of the Shari'a of Chinese Muslims in general and the issue of Muslim women's haircut in particular, and, on the other hand, how this process was influenced by various social thoughts since the May 4th Movement that neglected the ethnoreligious dimension. I argue that different religious and national discourses tried to construct a qualified Muslim woman, and furthermore, I also assess how Muslims in China during the Republican period define their own identities of being a Chinese and a Muslim via debating on the "authentic" interpretation of the Shari'a. Finally, I point out that the freedom of Chinese Muslim women is impossible due to the lack of their comprehensive participation in the debate.

摘要：五四運動以來，剪髮成為眾多女性追求與表達“婦女解放”的一種形式。作為當今中國人口數量最大的穆斯林族群，在上世紀三十年代回族穆斯林也在其主辦的各種報刊雜誌上掀起了對這一問題的熱烈討論，然而卻展現出眾多其自身的獨特性。參與這次討論的作者除了普通穆斯林群眾外，主要有宗教教職人員以及新式伊斯蘭宗教院校的教師和學生，他們從不同的角度對伊斯蘭教的經典，尤其是教法學著作，做出了不同的解讀。一場表面看來只是關注婦女剪髮問題的教法合法性問題的辯論，由於受到當時中國政治文化環境，尤其是五四以來民族國家及國民打造的新思潮的影響，實際反映了回族穆斯林在教律與國情之間的抉擇。在對這次辯論的起因及其發展過程進行論述的基礎上，本文討論了剪髮或不剪髮對於一名回族穆斯林婦女而言意味著什麼，各個作者是如何立足相似或相異的教法法律淵源對這一辯論給出解釋，以及他們的解釋又是如何與民族國家建構的話語一起合力塑造一個合格的穆斯林“新女性”的。本文指出，五四運動時期的“回族新文化運動”促進了回族伊斯蘭教法及其相關議題的討論與發展，但另一方面，這一發展也受到民族國家建構的影響甚至支配。表現在回族婦女解放議題上，國族建構與宗教話語一起建構著的回族新女性。由於缺乏回族女性自身作為解放主體的廣泛參與，即使在形式上獲得了更多的“自由”，她們仍然處在男性主導的或宗教或國家話語權力的塑造之下。

**Title: A Comparative Study of Women's Participation in Korea's March First Movement  
and China's May Fourth Movement**

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**Abstract**

This research is focused on comparing two important historical events that are representative of the dawn of women's emancipation and their involvement in Korean and Chinese nationalism. This research is specifically focused on March First Movement and May Fourth Movement of Korea and China respectively.

The objective of this study is to highlight what happened in Korea and China during two movements from social viewpoint. In particular, it analyses the background of March First Movement and May Fourth Movement. Furthermore, it compares the role of women and their participation in March First Movement and May Fourth Movement. Korea and China have many similarities and hence this paper examines the similarities and differences of these two movements. This research will be beneficial to understand Korean and Chinese societies through comparative and international perspective.

**Keywords: March first Movement, May Fourth Movement, Women,  
Korea, China**

## 關於韓國三一運動與中國五四運動女性參與的比較研究

阿南德

### 內容摘要

本研究的重點是比較兩個重要的歷史事件，這是代表婦女解放的黎明和他們參與朝鮮和中國的民族主義。本研究的重點分別是朝鮮的三一運動和中國的五四運動。

本研究的目的是在於從社會的角度，突顯朝鮮和中國在兩次運動中所發生的事情。具體分析了“三一”、“五四”運動的背景。此外，本研究還比較了兩國婦女在其運動中的作用以及她們在“三一”運動和“五四”運動中的參與情況。朝鮮半島和中國有許多相似之處，因此本文考察了這兩個運動的異同。本研究將有助於從比較與國際的角度來瞭解中韓社會。

**關鍵字：**三一運動，五四運動，婦女，韓國，中國

## 女權與黨權：抗戰前後國民黨婦運領袖的抉擇

### **On the Conflict and equivalent between Women's Rights and Party Power: the Choice of Kuomintang Women Leaders around the Anti-Japanese War**

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摘要：抗戰前後的國民黨婦女運動者，她們受到五四運動的影響如何？五四運動對她們獲得女性獨立的地位，以及女性自主意識的影響如何？婦運領袖們如何領導抗戰前後婦女運動或女權運動？她們作為女國民黨員，在女權和黨權之間她們的選擇其實是非常微妙的，既有抗爭衝突，也有調和。作為男權主義的政黨，即便是女國民黨員，即便是婦女運動者，也需要符合男權主義的政黨國民黨的利益。當然，在民族國家的旗幟下，女黨員領導的婦女運動部份讓位於黨派國家的需要。同時，這些國民黨婦運領袖們，在國民黨的整體利益之外，她們也會考慮到女性的利益和女權發展的需要。一個突出的例子是，抗戰時期作為國民黨中央婦女運動委員會的成員，她們積極呼籲、多方請願，希望建立中央一級的婦女運動委員會，最終這一目標，在國民黨婦運領袖的努力下，在 1945 年 12 月最終實現。

抗戰時期的國民黨婦運領袖，對黨權與女權的關係有著不同的認識，按照其對於婦女運動的不同態度，大致可以區分為三個類別。第一類是女權派，之所以稱其為女權派，是認為其在從事國民黨婦運工作的過程中，對於女性的主體性身



份有著強的感知，對於女性的權利也進行積極的爭取。這一類的代表以劉蘅靜等人為代表。第二類是黨權派，大體上這類國民黨婦運代表對於女性的權利，在婦運工作中對於性別身份並沒有很強烈的感知，她們多以是否忠誠於國民黨為唯一目標。這一類以唐國楨、陳逸雲等人為典型代表。第三類是女權與黨權之間的平衡派，她們既注重婦運工作，考慮到動員婦女服務社會服務抗戰的同時，也積極關注婦女的權利。這一類的代表以呂雲章、伍智梅等人為代表。

關鍵字：婦運領袖；國民黨婦女工作；女權；黨權；五四運動

**Abstracts:** The academic circles have paid close attention to the women leaders represented by Deng Yingchao, He Xiangning, Shi Liang and Liu Qingyang. They also pay attention to the revolutionary/radical women such as Ding Ling, Xiao Hong and Bai Wei, and even some commentators who are concerned about Bing Xin, Ling Shuhua, etc. However, for the women who grew up in the May Fourth Movement, who were mainly engaged in the women's movement in the Kuomintang party and government system in the 3rd and 4th centuries, the concern was relatively insufficient. Ke Huiling's book, "she came: The concept of cultural feminism has aroused women and revolution in the times (20th-20th century)" , studying the women leaders of various parties and factions who grew up in the May Fourth era, studied The relationship between the women leaders and the revolution, the relationship between the sexes in the revolutionary era, and so on. In general, compared with the study of women's movements of the Chinese Communist Party, the research results of the Kuomintang women's movements during the Anti-Japanese War were seriously insufficient. The author intends to explore the women's movements that led the women's work in the Kuomintang party and government system before and after the Anti-Japanese War, to reflect on the Influence of the May 4th Movement on the Kuomintang Regime. This paper intends to select Liu Yujing, Lu Yunzhang, Zhang Bangzhen, Luo Heng and others as research centers to reflect on the relationship of the Kuomintang regime and women's movements. Thus, from the perspective of the Kuomintang, we reflect on the topic of the revolution and feminism.

The leaders of the Kuomintang women's movement during the Anti-Japanese War had different understandings of the relationship between party power and feminism.

According to their different attitudes toward women's movements, they can roughly be divided into three categories. The first category is the feminist. The reason why it is called the feminist is that they believe that in the process of engaging in the Kuomintang women's work, it has a strong perception of the female's subjective identity and actively strives for women's rights. Liu Hengjing and others represent this category. The second category is the partyist. In general, the representatives do not have a strong sense of gender identity in women's work. They are mostly loyal to the Kuomintang. Tang Guozhen and Chen Yiyun represent this category. The third category is the balance between women's rights and party power. They are loyal to the Kuomintang and actively serve for KMT and National Government. They also pay attention to women's rights while mobilizing women to serve for the War. Lu Yunzhang and Wu Zhimei represent this category.

They are both members of the Kuomintang and feminists. How does the May Fourth Movement affect them? How does the May Fourth Movement affect their attitude of love, marriage, their female consciousness, and their views on economic independence, professional independence, and women's autonomy? Before and after the Anti-Japanese War, the female leaders both led the women's movement, and acted as female National Party members. Their choice between women's rights and party power is actually very subtle. There are conflicts and reconciliations. As a patriarchal party, even a female nationalist, need to sustain the interests of the patriarchal party Kuomintang. During the Anti-Japanese War, under the banner of the nation-state, the feminist movement of the female National Party members gave way to the needs of the nation-state.

However, these Kuomintang women leaders, in addition to the overall interests of the Kuomintang, also considered the interests of women and the development of women's rights. An outstanding example is that during the Anti-Japanese War, as members of the Kuomintang Central Women's Movement Committee, they actively appealed and petitioned, and hoped to establish a women's movement committee at the central level. Ultimately, this goal was under the efforts of the Kuomintang women's movement leaders. It finally realized in December 1945.

**Key Words:** Women's Movement Leaders; Kuomintang Women's Work; Women's Rights; Party Power ; the May Fourth Movement.

同人“志異”：五四運動時期文學革命批古言論的再考察  
——以《聊齋志異》為論爭中心

Contradictory Voices From A Literary Group: Further Research on Anti-tradition Criticisms  
During the Literary Revolution of the May Fourth Movement, Centered Around the  
Arguments about *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*

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**摘要：**《新青年》同人關於《聊齋志異》的諸多論爭，是五四運動時期文學革命乃至“新文化運動”現場中十分重要的話語現象，卻似乎尚未得到比較充分的關注和討論。直至 1918 年，新文學同人已基本形成了“《聊齋》派的某生者體”這一說法，用以激進地批判古典文學傳統，然而，看似整齊劃一、彼此聲援的言說活動，卻貫穿著頗為可觀的內部異質性。本文試圖細密地進入話語現場，緩慢地爬梳、展開這一言說現象生成的歷史過程，理清各人複雜、多元的言說姿態、動機等話語機制，及其背後依憑的思想資源，充分翻轉出文學革命批古言論隱含的異質性。新文化運動正處在古今變革而未定之時，新文學同人也多與傳統文學存有曖昧的牽連，以《聊齋》論爭話語為切口，不僅可以還原創立新知與轉化傳統交疊的文學革命話語現場，對文學革命這一話語事件“去政治化”，還有利於從“新舊對立”這種亟待反省的文學二元觀念再出發，重新處理、討論新文學同人之於“傳統/現代”“古/今”關係問題的複雜態度。

**關鍵字：**新文化運動；文學革命；《聊齋志異》；《新青年》同人；古今論爭

**Abstract:** During the Literary Revolution of the May Fourth Movement, the literary colleagues working on the magazine *La Jeunesse* (New Youth) engaged in many dynamic debates over the *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, which became a prominent discourse of the era. However, the topic hasn't been kept abreast. This lasted until 1918, at which time the new literary intellectuals raised the expression of "Moushengzhe genre of Liao Zhai faction" (《聊齋》派的某生者體), which aimed to diametrically oppose the classical literary tradition. However, considerable internal heterogeneity was involved in such seemingly neat and eloquent discourse activity. The current study attempts to enter this discourse scene in thorough detail by slowly combing through and unravel the historical progression of the discourse. In the meantime, this study also attempts to clarify the complex and pluralistic discourse mechanisms, such as verbal gestures and motives, in addition to the ideological and thoughtful resources behind them. The aim of this endeavor is to unravel the heterogeneity inherent in the anti-tradition criticisms during the Literary Revolution. While the new cultural movement was still at the crossroads between the ancient and the modern transition, the new literary colleagues stayed intimately familiar with the traditional literature. Thus, the debates over the *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* can serve as an entry point here. The benefits derived from this study should be threefold. Firstly, it helps us restore the historical discourse scene of the Literary Revolution where the new knowledge was created and the tradition was transformed. Secondly, it helps to depoliticize the whole discourse phenomena. Lastly, it provides us with a new starting point diverting from the stereotyped literary dualistic theory which dubiously puts the ancient and the modern approaches in opposition. Thus, this will in turn enable us to further address and re-process the complicated attitude of the new literature groups towards such dichotomy as "traditional/modern" (傳統/現代) and "ancient/present" (古/今).

## 論《教育雜誌》〈讀經問題專號〉對讀經討論的推進 —以讀經與政治、學科、兒童關係為重心

吳偉明 香港中文大學

(會議文稿，請勿引用及轉發)

### 提要

讀經問題源起於清末民初，歷年來在文學、史學、教育等多個界別，皆引起過激烈辯論。即使在當代中國，讀經仍是極具爭議性的議題。

然而，前人研究民國時期讀經討論時，過份關注參與討論者之背景及其對讀經之立場。例如 1935 年《教育雜誌》主編何炳松發起的讀經討論，被學者稱為民國時期讀經討論之「集大成者」，但即使在已出版的相關研究專著，甚至是近年名為「再研究」的研究裡，學者仍只針對在《教育雜誌》〈讀經問題專號〉發表意見的「專家」背景進行深入調查，並按各人對讀經的立場進行分類和統計。

然而，這樣做其實無助我們了解是次大討論在晚清以降整個讀經討論史上的意義。畢竟讀經問題一直未有被所謂「根本解決」，並不意味着〈讀經問題專號〉在一些讀經討論中歷久常新之議題上沒有推進之功。

本研究嘗試改由議題角度切入，分別選取讀經與政治、學科與兒童的關係作為討論焦點，從思想層面探究〈讀經問題專號〉的討論跟晚清以降讀經討論的關係。

**A Study on the Significance of *Educational Review (Special Issue on Classics Reading, 1935)* to the Debate Concerning Classics Reading from Late Qing to the Republican Era of China**

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(Draft: Please do not quote, cite or circulate)

**Abstract**

Classics Reading was a highly debated topic in the Late Qing and Republican Era of China among historians, literary and educational scholars. It remains controversial in contemporary China.

Academic studies on the history of Classics Reading, however, mainly focused on the backgrounds and stances of debaters. This is a prominent problem in the study of the *Educational Review (Special Issue on Classics Reading, 1935)*.

This study aims to examine the significance of the Special Issue in the history of debate concerning Classics Reading from an intellectual perspective. The study focuses on the relationship between Classics Reading and politics, disciplines and children.



「新文化運動」的隱形戰場——《留美學生季報》的詩詞欄新探  
The Invisible Battlefield of "New Culture Movement"——A New Study into the Poetry  
Column of "The Chinese Students' Quarterly"

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要旨

1917年胡適的《文學改良芻議》於《新青年》與《留美學生季報》上同時刊載，造成軒然大波。《文學改良芻議》以“文學”為名，似乎囊括了當時的所有文類，顯示了胡適改良“文學”的野心，內容的“八事”卻條條針對“詩”創作的弊病。

平田昌司氏指出胡適的《文學改良芻議》所攻擊的古典詩歌創作並非泛泛而論，而是有具體的目標：在當時的詩壇執牛耳者南社之外，實為在美的中國留學生。其中如胡先驕身為胡適好友卻被用作具體攻擊的靶子。本文考察的即是作為胡適《文學改良芻議》攻擊對象的留美學生詩人群體的古典詩詞創作。早在清末，黃遵憲赴美期間因所見所感皆新事物，已使用大量新語詞入詩。留美學生詩歌創作是否是在黃遵憲的延長線上而未曾有突破？在1917年胡適發表《芻議》一文以後《季報》上的古典詩歌創作又有何新走向？本文將試圖回答這些問題。

Abstract

In 1917, Hu Shi's *A Preliminary Discussion of Literature Reform* was published simultaneously in *New Youth* magazine and *The Chinese Students' Quarterly*, causing a great uproar. In the name of "literature", "*A Preliminary Discussion of Literature Reform*" seems to cover all the literature genres of the time, showing Hu Shi's ambition to improve "literature", however the "eight guidelines" focus on revealing the ills of "poetry" creation. Shoji Hirata pointed out that the classical poetry attacked by Hu Shi's *A Preliminary Discussion of Literature Reform* is not general, but has a specific one: Chinese students who continued creating poetry in the United States. Among them, Hu Xiansu, Hu Shi's friend, was a target for specific attacks. This essay examines the creation of classical poetry by a group of poets in the United States who are the target of Hu Shi's "Literature Reform." As early as the end of the Qing Dynasty, Huang Zunxian had used a lot of new words in his poems during his visit to the United States. Is the poetry creation of the students in the United States on the extension line of Huang Zunxian without a breakthrough? In 1917, after Hu Shi published the article "*A Preliminary Discussion of Literature Reform*", what is the new trend of classical poetry creation in the "*Quarterly*"? This essay will attempt to answer these questions.

# 發現「社會」：北京基督教青年會的翻譯活動與社會話語的興起

(提要)

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北京基督教青年會 (Young Men's Christian Association, 簡稱 YMCA) 是清末民初社會變革潮流中的一個重要團體。最初，這個組織以秉持「社會福音」(Social Gospel) 理念而著稱；在 1919 年五四運動爆發之後，又以「贊助者」(patron) 身份創辦《新社會》雜誌 (1919-1920)，以翻譯西方社會學知識、倡導切實的社會變革為己任，展現了有別於街頭政治的思想啟蒙立場。本文首先梳理北京基督教青年會與美國社會福音運動的思想淵源；繼而利用未刊檔案，分析其對《新社會》的贊助作用；最後以《新社會》上有關社會變革的譯文為基礎，探討翻譯活動中的知識傳遞和思想交鋒。事實上，在西方社會思潮傳入中國的過程中，正是北京基督教青年會的翻譯活動為國人提供了一個發現「社會」的窗口。但於此同時，中國譯者群也極力削弱原有的宗教因素，使其思想力量融入本土變革的需求。藉由這個個案，亦可了解五四運動的多元脈絡和翻譯活動的複雜角色。

**關鍵詞：**基督教青年會 贊助 社會 翻譯

**Discovering “Society”:  
The Translation Activities of YMCA in Beijing and the Rise of Social Discourse**

(Abstract)

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The Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) in Beijing was an important organization in the social reform from late Qing to early Republican China. Initially, it was known for upholding the idea of Social Gospel. After the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement in 1919, it was committed to the translation of Western sociological knowledge and the promotion of practical social reform as the patron of the journal *New Society* (1919-1920), thus showing a preference for intellectual enlightenment that was different from “street politics.” This paper attempts to first reveal the intellectual connection of YMCA in Beijing with the Social Gospel initiative in America, then use unpublished archives to analyze its patronizing role in *New Society*, and finally discuss the knowledge transfer and intellectual debates within the published translations concerning social reform. As a matter of fact, it was the translation activities of YMCA in Beijing that provided an opportunity to discover “society” amid the introduction of Western social proposals. But at the same time, the Chinese translators also downplayed the religious elements in the original works and incorporated their enlightening potential into native needs for reform. With this case study, it is likely to understand the multiple genealogies of the May Fourth Movement and the complex roles of translation.

**Key words:** YMCA patronage society translation

# 後五四時代的文化與社會：民國時期布克華盛頓自傳《力爭上游》（*Up from Slavery*）的翻譯與傳播

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## 摘要：

本文探討了布克華盛頓自傳《力爭上游》一書在民國時期的翻譯與傳播，呈現了該書的三個主要譯本在不同歷史時期與翻譯者相遇的歷史語境。通過探究該書在何種歷史條件下得以翻譯與出版，本文揭示正是後五四時期獨特的文化、社會條件塑造了跨語際實踐得以實現的方式。《力爭上游》一書在民國中國的異國旅行的故事既為美國史學研究貢獻了一部美國黑人文學經典在民國中國被翻譯的歷史，還提供了一個難得的機會將塑造了現代中國、原本分散的文化潮流集中在一處進行探究。本文指出，布克華盛頓自傳在民國的翻譯一方面反映了在作為五四新文化運動餘波的非基督教運動中在華教會所做出的本土化努力，另一方面也反映了接受了五四運動薰陶的青年一代藉助新的報刊、媒體管道積極影響社會。後五四一代知識人新舊學兼備的文化背景既賦予了他們借助新的報刊、媒體以影響公共輿論的能力，也為他們調動傳統文化資源以擴寬自己的新式職業交往網絡創造了條件。布克華盛頓自傳在民國的翻譯過程既以其不同的側重、多樣化的關懷反映了後五四時期多種文化、社會潮流並存的局面，也在立足中國本土實際、關注現實、歌頌勞動、面向底層知識青年等方面體現了漸趨合流的趨勢。

# The Culture and Society of the Post- May Fourth Era: The Translations and Circulations of Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* in Republican China

## **Abstract:**

This article addresses the translations and circulations of Booker T. Washington's autobiography *Up from Slavery* in Republican China. It offers three "sites" where the Chinese translators encountered the book and examines the historical contingencies that separately contributed to the productions of the translations. By examining the historical conditions under which translations of *Up from Slavery* occurred, I argue that it was the unique concerns in the post- May Fourth that shaped the ways by which the original text was perceived and it was these concerns that made these translanguagual exchanges possible. More specifically, I argue that the very translating processes demonstrate not only the efforts of the Chinese church in wake of the anti-Christian movement to better suit Chinese needs, but also the creative ways by the Chinese young generation growing up under the influence of the May Fourth to exploit new ideas and medias to reform the society. The training of the post- May Fourth generation in both traditional learning and modern curriculum not only equips them with the skills to shape the public opinion through new medias, but also prepares them to expand their professional networks through traditional literati gatherings. While the very different concerns laid behind the three different translations show the coexistence of a variety of cultural trends in the post- May Fourth era, taken as a whole the three translations reveal their gradually unifying tendency on the issues of labor, class, and politics. While this story of the foreign journey of *Up from Slavery* in Republican China adds to the US historian's knowledge concerning the Chinese translation history of the major text, it also provides a rare opportunity for the China historian to bring together hitherto distinct cultural and social strands that separately shaped the intellectual picture of Republican China that we know today.

# 「五四」傳承在台灣 ——以張其昀的「華岡興學」為例

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## 【摘要】

1949年，原計劃與錢穆等友人赴港興學的張其昀，響應蔣中正急召，赴台出任公職，並自此定居台灣。六十年代初，從政壇退下的張其昀，創辦中國文化學院（今中國文化大學），此舉又稱「華岡興學」。

本文旨在論證：「華岡興學」以「承東西之道統，集中外之精華」為宗旨，傳續《學衡》為代表的五四「新人文主義」遺產；在全球冷戰、兩岸對峙、島內掀起「中華文化復興運動」的語境下，張其昀立足台灣、放眼世界，將「華岡」建成國際華學（Sinology）研究與交流重鎮。張其昀的「華岡興學」個案，為當下反思「五四」遺產之百年流變，提供嶄新的切入視角，由此能一窺1949後中國大陸境外的「五四」傳承圖景。

1949年後的「台灣經驗」，有其獨特的歷史語境和問題意識；在延續新文化遺產和五四議題探討的同時，進一步創造著「台灣經驗」下的「新文化」；「華岡興學」對中華學術／華學（Sinology）的重新詮釋，為當下反思「五四」的傳統議題帶來新視角、新思路、新方法。

關鍵詞：張其昀 華岡興學 五四新文化 台灣經驗 華學

May-fourth Legacy in Taiwan:  
A case study of Chang Ch'i-yun and "Hwa Kang"

YAN SHIZHE

(Chinese Studies Department, NUS)

(Abstract)

Chang Ch'i-yun moved from mainland China to Taiwan in 1949, when the Nationalist government KMT lost the mainland to the Chinese Communist Party. Since then, he served in Chiang Kai-shek's government for nearly a decade, and settled down in Taiwan for the rest of his life. Chang withdrew from politics in the late 1950s. In the early 1960s, he founded the Chinese Culture College (known as Chinese Culture University nowadays), which was also known as "Hwa Kang".

This essay seeks to analyze Chang's "Hwa Kang" education project against the historical background of the Cold War. It aims to illustrate how Chang continued the May-fourth legacy in Taiwan through a study of the Hwa Kang project. It argues that Chang's educational missions not only inherited the values of "New Humanism" from the May-fourth period and renewed it in post-war Taiwan, but also helped to promote Sinology at "Hwa kang", turning it into a center for international Sinology.

In short, moving back in time to the period from 1960s to 1980s Taiwan, this paper intends to examine the Hwa Kang project mainly from three aspects, namely its connection with the May-fourth legacy, its renewal as part of the "Taiwan experience", and the construction of an international Sinology center.

**Keywords** : Chang Ch'i-yun    Hwa kang    May-fourth    Taiwan experience  
Sinology

Young Scholars' Forum in Chinese Studies 2019  
A Century of Change: Revisiting the Legacy of May Fourth

**Drama for Reading?**  
**Revisiting the “Antouju” Controversy in Republican China**

只讀不演？民國時期「案頭劇」爭議之再探

[Work in progress. Please do not cite or circulate without permission.]

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## Abstract

Play-reading is a modern phenomenon, as, traditionally, drama relied on oral transmission from master to students to be passed on. After drama printing was developed, plays that were well received in theatres would be printed, and preserved for future performances. The published drama scripts are usually only read by performance groups and people who are interested in drama studies. These practices in production and usage of drama scripts are very common, and prevailed in different periods of many countries including the classical period of China. The dramatic conventions were still followed in China at the beginning of the 20th century, but those practices significantly changed during the May Fourth period. Drama was advocated as an important tool as it could spread enlightenment messages on social reform and to serve political manifestation through public performances, but numerous plays were at the time only being read rather than staged. The new dynamics of drama printing and the widespread play-reading culture in Republican China have been largely overlooked in preceding studies on Chinese drama, as researchers have tended to assert that all plays are written for stage performance. Plays that were difficult to be staged have been considered as immature or failed attempts, and often been labelled as “*antouju* (drama on desktops)” with a negative connotation without detailed studies.

This paper aims to clarify the ambiguity of merely labelling plays as “*antouju*”, and to investigate the varying reasons for plays to be mainly being read rather than staged. In the first part, I provide a brief overview of the drama publication and play-reading culture in early Republican China to establish a foundation for discussion. In the second part, I trace the various terms that people from the Republican era had used to describe plays mainly being read, then discuss the differences between the contemporary researchers’ interpretation of “*antouju*” and the different perceptions of such genre during the historical period. In the third part, I remap the heated debates over the never or seldom staged plays sparked off during the 1920s and the 1930s, and explain how the debates reveal two main conundrums faced by the Republican playwrights: whether drama scripts should both be read and staged, or whether they are complete without any performance; also, whether playwrights should comply with the staging constraints, or focus on refining their plays to attain personal expression in their writing and to promote a higher level of dramaturgy. This paper uncovers the flexibility and potential of drama for reading in the modern Chinese context, and it enhances our understanding of the modern Chinese drama history from a non-theatrical point of view.

## 提要

閱讀劇本是一種現代的現象，因為傳統上戲劇依靠戲班師傅口頭傳授於學生。在劇本的印刷事業開始發展後，曾在劇院上演並廣受歡迎的劇本往往會被印刷和出版，以保存下來供日後的表演之用，而印行的劇本一般都只會被劇團成員和對戲劇研究感興趣的人閱讀。這些劇本印刷和使用的習慣非常普遍，除古代中國之外，在許多國家的不同時期都流行。在二十世紀之初的中國，上述的戲劇慣例仍然被遵從，但在五四運動期間則發生了重大變化。仿效西方的寫實話劇創作在當時被積極倡議，因為它可以通過公開演出傳播有關社會改革的啟蒙訊息和為政治宣傳服務，但許多劇本在當時都只被閱讀而沒有演出。由於研究者傾向假設所有劇本都是為舞台表演而寫成，故此既有的中國現代戲劇研究很大程度上忽視了民國時期戲劇印刷模式的特殊變動和廣泛發展的讀劇文化。難以上演的劇本往往被認為不成熟或失敗的嘗試，大都被標籤為「案頭劇」，並在沒有附上深入探討的前提下被給予負面評價。

本文旨在探討民國時期大量戲劇主要被閱讀而非被上演的各種緣由，並析論單純以「案頭劇」來標籤劇作的不當之處。在第一部份，我簡要概述民國初期戲劇出版的模式和讀劇文化，為本文的討論提供所需的背景資料。在第二部份，我追溯民國時期文人描述主要被閱讀的劇作時所用的不同術語，以及它們應用的方式，然後簡要討論當代研究者對「案頭劇」的理解與民國資料所反映的有何不同，以說明這個概念在民國時期的實際發展狀況和當時的人如何對這個戲劇分支加以界定。第三部份重新研讀在二三十年代反覆就有關只讀不演的劇作而引發的激烈論爭，並歸納民國時期評論家對無演出的劇作的價值所持有的不同觀點。我將解釋這些論辯如何展現出民國時期的劇作家需要在以下兩大問題上作出抉擇，並通過創作來取態：戲劇劇本應該既被閱讀又被上演，還是它們在不演出的情況下已可以被視為完整的藝術作品；此外，劇作家應該按照當下舞台演出的限制來作出相應的創作，還是專注於尋找最有效實現創作動機和體現個人風格所需的表達方式，並致力提升戲劇創作理論的高度與擴充創作實踐的空間。本文揭示印行劇本在民國時期所具備的靈活性和潛力，循非演劇角度加強我們對中國現代戲劇發展史的認識。

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「兒童本位」？「國族本位」？  
——論五四以來上海地區的兒童歌劇（1920-1937）

**Child-Centered or Nation-Centered?**  
**A Discussion on Children's Opera in Shanghai (1920-1937)**

賈博

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提要

五四時期是一個「發現兒童」的時代，兒童作為獨立的個體開始得到尊重和順應，以兒童為本位的現代觀念成為了五四時期最重要的新思潮之一。1920至1937年間上海地區的兒童歌劇鮮明地展現了歌劇創作者的「兒童本位」之觀念。但與此同時，劇作者也從未停止在歌劇中塑造理想中的「模範兒童」；這些「模範兒童」大多品德高尚，並且具有革命與反抗精神。歌劇創作者對「模範兒童」的形塑，呼應了五四時期知識分子對「救亡圖存」與振興民族國家的渴望，暗示了歌劇創作者的「國族本位」的觀念。基於此，本文旨在探討「兒童本位」與「國族本位」在兒童歌劇的創作與發展過程中的張力與融合，以及由此而展現出的，五四「兒童本位」觀念所具有的時代局限性；以兒童為本位的觀念在民族國家遭遇危機之時被重新建構，兒童「被發現」的同時卻又被「被遮蔽」。

關鍵詞： 兒童歌劇 「兒童本位」 「國族本位」

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## Abstract

The May Fourth period was an era of “discovering children”. Children as independent individuals began to be respected and complied with. The modern child-centered concept became one of the most important ideological trends during the May Fourth period. From 1920 to 1937, children’s opera in Shanghai clearly demonstrated the opera writers’ child-centered concept. However, at the same time, these writers never stopped creating ideal “model children” in their works. Most of these model children were virtuous and endowed with the spirit of revolution and resistance. The creation of model children echoes the intellectuals’ desire to save the nation from invasion and revive the Chinese nation and implies the nation-centered ideals of the opera writers. Based on this background, this paper aims to explore the tension and integration of the child-centered and nation-centered concepts in the creation and development of children’s operas, as well as the limitations of the child-centered concept. Analysis reveals that the child-centered concept is reconstructed in the guise of the nation-state crisis and that children are concealed when they are discovered in this way.

Keywords: Children’s Opera    Child-Centered    Nation-Centered

# “Is there a Chinese Tragedy?”

—The May Fourth Appropriation of *the Tragic*<sup>1</sup>

五四時期西方文學悲劇觀在中國的接受與轉型

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## Abstract

This paper examines the formation of a modern Chinese tragic tradition during the May Fourth Movement (1917-1927), when the counter-traditional and iconoclastic socio-political agenda dominate the overall literary field and have left direct impacts on the formation of a literary discourse on Tragedy. It approaches this subject from three aspects: firstly, it reviews both the theoretical discussions of the concept of tragedy and the literary practice of *the tragic*, exploring possible factors that have either promoted or prevented the application of theory into practice; secondly, it traces the two major impacts from Western literary tradition—namely, realism and romanticism—on the pragmatic perspective and the aesthetic perspective of the May Fourth readings of *the tragic*, analysing their relevance to the inextricable link between literature and politics at the time; thirdly, it investigates the differences between the Chinese tragic perception and its foreign origins, presenting the constant interplay among several cultural, social, and political elements that have affected the establishment of the May Fourth Chinese tragic tradition. By doing so, this paper explores how the establishment of a relatively new set of intellectual discourse has determined the formation and characteristics of a May Fourth Chinese tragic tradition, as well as how the theorists, writers, and critics at the time have used the idea of the

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<sup>1</sup> The English translations of those Chinese texts being discussed in this study, unless stated otherwise, are based on my own research efforts. Where accessible and standard translations are available from the existing published works, quotations are made with clearly identified references; where such translations are not, I provide my own.

tragic to construct their own literary, cultural, and political identities when being confronted by the drastic social change.

## 摘要

本文以五四新文化運動時期（1917-1927）中國文學語境對“悲劇”概念的引入、闡釋和發展為切入點，以探討處在社會、政治和文化轉型時期的中國文學界對西方文學概念的接受及由此產生的觀念流變為主要內容，重點關注這一時期的文學悲劇觀與其所受的外來影響之間的差異性及原因，並著力探討隱藏在“文學-政治”這一權利話語關係背後的歷史、社會、文化等因素的相互作用形式及結果。通過梳理和研究五四新文學在西風東漸背景下對“悲劇”概念的接受情況，有助於以小見大地把握中國文學在向現代化轉型過程中的某些根本性特徵，有助於從外來思潮和觀念被接受的過程中反觀中國文學、社會文化、民族心理在現代性背景下所產生的內部結構變化，同時也是在五四百年之際對中國新一代知識份子試圖在世界文學語境中定位中國文學這一初步而有益嘗試的肯定和致敬。

## Deviance *in* and *of* Contemporary Chinese Literature: Echoing the New Culture Movement or Voicing New Changes? The Case Study of Four Beggars

在當代華語文學的偏差主題和敘事技巧：仍受到新文化運動的影響或是對應新的社會變化？四個乞丐的個案研究

Martina Renata Prosperi (Università degli Studi Roma Tre) / 彭思沛（羅馬第三大學）

### Abstract

From the New Culture Movement to the Rupture Movement (Zhu Wen, 1998), up to Yu Hua's or A Yi's most recent and discussed masterpieces, creating a new literature has always implied deviating from tradition. This deviation is often expressed thorough the topic of deviance, which is meaningfully explored by several contemporary authors. Echoing Peter Brooks' distinction between a "narrative of desire" and a "desire of narrative", literary deviance, as well, can be interpreted and analyzed both as a "narrative of deviance", and as a "deviance of narrative". In other words, deviance is not only characteristic of the characters' stories, but also of the narrative devices employed by the author, as to emancipate the text from its embedding reality and make it exist as a self-standing value (or no-value) system. This attitude may not mark the end of the sinophone writers' "obsession with China" (C.T. Hsia), though, it is representative of a new posture of these intellectuals, which somehow recalls the May Fourth Movement and its discovery of a new – international, universal – literary awareness. The emergence of the topic of deviance in contemporary sinophone literature is no direct heir of the May Fourth Movement and its authors do not share the same social engagement of the older generation. Still, one may wonder: would A Yi's stories be possible if no Ba Jin existed? Would Ba Jin's stories be possible if no Lu Xun was born? Which continuities and discontinuities are traceable in their works? I hereby focus on four different beggars: Lu Xun's Kong Yiji, the protagonist of Ba Jin's *Dog*, and two characters respectively from A Yi's *Wake Me Up at Nine* and *An Accidental Crime*. By analyzing the stories of these characters and their narrative devices, I offer an example of the above-mentioned continuities and discontinuities, but also of an alternative approach to the literary text. Talking about Ba Jin's Family, professor Chen Sihe said: "The whole middle and middle-upper class were shocked at the novel because they could see part of themselves in Gao. The hero was a symbol of Chinese intellectuals in a time of changes". While talking about A Perfect Crime, one might ask: why does the reader perceive this murderer as some kind of hero? And who is this strange (and estranging) hero representative of in *this* time of changes?

摘要：從新文化運動到斷裂運動（朱文，1998），一直到余華或阿乙最新出爐與受人討論的鉅作，創造一種新的文體總是意味著偏離傳統——這種偏離的行動通常透過偏差主題來展現，並由幾位當代作家進行了有意義的探索。回應 Peter Brooks 對「欲望的敘事」和「敘事的欲望」之間的區別，文學上的偏差也可以被解釋和分析為「偏差的敘事」和「敘事的偏差」。換句話說，偏差不僅是人物故事的特徵，也是作者所採用的敘事手段的特徵，將文本從其嵌入的現實中解放出來，讓它作為一種獨立的價值（或無價值）的系統。這種態度或許不意味著華語語系作家對「Obsession with China」感時憂國（夏志清）的結束，卻代表這些知識份子的新姿態。這種現象以某種方式回顧五四運動及其發現之國際化的、普遍化的文學意識。當代華語文學中偏差主題的出現並非直接由五四運動導致；當代作家的社會參與度與過往世代又有所不同。不過，有人可能會想：如果巴金不存在，阿乙的故事還會在嗎？如果沒有魯迅出生的話，那麼巴金的故事是否可能成真？哪些連續性和不連續性在他們的作品中是可追溯的？我會聚焦在四個不同的乞丐：第一是魯迅的孔乙己，第二是巴金"狗"的主角，第三和第四分別來自阿乙的兩個小說：“早上 9 點叫醒我”和“意外殺人事件”。透過分析這些人物的故事及其敘事手段，我將舉例說明上述內容的連續性和不連續性，以及它們對文本成果的影響（例如讀者和故事人物之間建立不同程度的同理心）。談到巴金的"家"，陳思和教授說：“整個中上層階級都對這部小說感到震驚 [...]在變化的時代，巴金的那部小說中的英雄是當時中國知識份子的象徵”。談到"下面我該幹些什麼"的同時，人們可能會問：為什麼讀者會認為這個兇手是某種程度上的英雄？在此變化的時代，這個意外的英雄又是誰的象徵？

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從「病態中國」到「病態宇宙」：

論韓松科幻小說對魯迅的繼承與開展

賴佩暄

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摘要

中國科幻作家韓松的「醫院三部曲」（《醫院》[2016]、《驅魔》[2017]、《亡靈》[2018]）運用大量的疾病話語與意象虛構了一個未來的「藥時代」和人人有疾、處處有病的宇宙，將他對現實中國的思考，拉高到宇宙的格局和視野，看似「離地」，實則是相當「貼地」的書寫。小說所呈現的病態宇宙，實際也是「病態中國」的顯影。身體即國體、宇宙體，文字細節中飽滿的疾病隱喻與醫病論述，彷彿是要引起人們的病識感，尋求療救的可能，令人想起魯迅小說創作的信念。魯迅這一理念為許多中國當代作家所繼承，而在科幻作家中，韓松是最能體現這一精神者。本文即欲以韓松此系列作品為例，並輔以其他相關作品，一方面討論韓松的「科幻現實主義」對當下中國的批判與反思，一方面也嘗試勾勒魯迅所揭櫫的「病態中國」與「療救」意識如何在新世紀的科幻新浪潮文本中獲得新的呈現。

From “Sick China” to “Sick Universe”:  
On Han Song’s Succession and Development to Lu Xun in Science  
Fiction

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Abstract

In his *Hospital Trilogy* (*The Hospital* [2016], *The Exorcism* [2017], and *The Spirit of the Dead* [2018]), Chinese science fiction writer Han Song uses a large number of disease discourses and images to create a future “medicine age” and a universe where everyone is sick and diseases are everywhere. This trilogy raises his thoughts about the China in reality to a scale and vision of the universe, with its writing seeming to be “away from the ground” but in fact being quite “close to the ground.” The sick universe presented in the novel is actually a developed image of the “sick China,” the human body symbolizing the body of the nation and universe. The rich disease metaphors and medical treatment discourses within the details of the text appear to have the intention to provide people with insight into their illness and explore the possibility of healing, and this makes it reminiscent of Lu Xun’s belief about literary creation. Lu’s spirit is succeeded by many Chinese contemporary writers and Han is the one among science fiction writers who best reflects this spirit. This article intends to take this series of Han’s as an example and include other related works into discussion. On one hand, it discusses Han’s criticism and reflection on the present China with his “science fiction realism.” On the other hand, it attempts to outline how the “sick China” and the sense of “healing” revealed by Lu acquire a new presentation in the text of the new science fiction wave in the new century.

## 再思五四遺產

互文性的視野：翻譯、現代漢語、現代文學——  
以戴望舒〈六日之夜〉的兩個翻譯版本與劉呐鷗《都市風景線》為例

### Translation, Modern Chinese Language and Literature: An Intertextual Analysis of Dai Wangshu's Two Translation Versions of *La Nuit des six-jours* and Liu Na'ou's *Scène*

香港中文大學通識教育部 楊彩杰

#### 中文撮要

眾所周之，五四時期其中一個重要議題是漢語的現代化問題，而漢語現代化又與翻譯關係密切。於文學作品中，翻譯、現代漢語和文學之間的連繫如何實際地展現出來呢？現代文學又如何建基於前兩者的基礎上，建立出一種獨特的文學風格呢？本文就以戴望舒對法國作家保羅·穆杭(Paul Morand, 1888-1976)的短篇小說〈六日之夜〉的兩次翻譯，以及劉呐鷗的作品集《都市風景線》為例子，探討翻譯、現代漢語與現代文學之間的連繫。當中集中討論三個議題：第一，戴望舒〈六日之夜〉的翻譯策略有何特別之處，尤其是〈六日之夜〉與此作品的日譯本有何關係；第二，他對穆杭作品的翻譯如何影響劉呐鷗的創作；第三，從五四時期的作家來看，翻譯是一種引進外來語言元素的方法。而從現代文學理論互文性(l' intertextualité)的角度來看，翻譯則是一場跨文化的交際實踐。如果我們從跨文化的角度來看，戴望舒和劉呐鷗的文藝實踐對新感覺派的文學風格，對中國現代文學，甚至是被視為非中心的文學體系有何啟發呢？而最後一個議題，正好回應了五四遺產的主題，即五四時期的思考如何為我們當代的文學實踐帶來啟示。

#### Abstract

It's acknowledged that the modernisation of Chinese language is one of the important issues in the May Fourth Movement, and translation played a prominent role amidst this process of modernisation. In literary works, how the linkage among translation, modern Chinese language and literature was revealed? In what way modern Chinese literature created a special style basing on the foundation of the former two elements. Taking two versions of Dai Wangshu's translation of French writer Paul Morand's *La Nuit des six-jours* that appeared around ten years after the May Fourth Movement, as well as Liu Na'ou's creative writing *Scène*, as examples, this article aims at presenting the possible linkage among the mentioned three elements. Throughout my analyses in this article, I intend to address three points. First, what are the special translation strategies practised by Dai Wangshu, what's its relationship with the Japanese translation of this work. Second, how did Dai Wangshu's translation influence Liu Na'ou's creative writing. Third, from the perspective of May-Fourth writers, translation is a method to introduce foreign linguistic elements into modern Chinese language. But we can also consider the practice of translation as an intercultural communication practice. If we take the latter perspective, how the literary practices of Dai Wangshu and Liu Na'ou brought inspiration to Neo-Perception School's literary style, to modern Chinese literature, as well as to those marginal literary system.

# 中華民國時期憲法文書對韓影響研究

## -以五四運動思潮為中心

### Study on the Influence of the Constitutional Documents of the Republic of China on Korea

王晨<sup>1</sup>

Wang Chen<sup>2</sup>

#### <摘要>

1919 年中國在巴黎和會上的外交失敗直接點燃了五四運動，五四運動首先在北京爆發，6 月運動中心轉移到上海進而席卷全國，新知識群體間興起了全盤否定傳統主義的思潮，並開始對第一次世界大戰進行全面的反思，五四運動高舉“民主”與“科學”，提倡主權在民，在國內普遍被評價為一場反帝、反封建的愛國運動，以及新民主主義運動的轉折點。

1910 年韓國志士因日帝合併而流亡中國境內，並於 1919 年在上海建立大韓民國臨時政府開展各種獨立運動，這一時期韓民族對五四運動的定性為民族自決原則下的民族運動，而現今韓國教科書仍將五四運動與 1919 年韓國三一運動同列為民族運動。直接從書面上比較三均主義與三民主義內容的異同點，可以得出二者側重點不同的結論，三均主義集中對民族主義的論述和提倡，但結合當時的歷史背景可知，韓國人士的對中國革命運動的評價普遍偏好於將其定義為民族運動，而對三民主義的認識也集中於對民族主義的探究。

20 世紀初在中國境內的韓國志士與中國革命人士以及中華民國政府保持有密切的聯系，這樣密切的交流使韓國革命人士對中國境內的革命活動具有極高的

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認同感，並將中國作為爭取韓民族獨立的同盟。這一過程中，韓民族對中國的同盟關係更加認可，也對中國的革命動向更加關注，活躍在中國境內的韓國獨立人士逐漸傾向於借鑒中國的憲法理念與憲法文本。三民主義與三均主義不僅在形式上具有相似性，在內容上也具有極高的重合度，大韓民國臨時政府時期制定的 6 部憲法文書與中華民國時期制定的 12 部憲法文書也存在較高的相似度。

## <Abstract>

In 1919, China's diplomatic failure at the Paris Peace Conference directly ignited the May Fourth Movement. The May Fourth Movement first broke out in Beijing. In June, the Sports Center moved to Shanghai and swept across the country. A new trend of negation of traditionalism emerged among new intellectual groups. Intellectuals began to carry out a comprehensive reflection on the First World War. The May Fourth Movement exalted "democracy" and "science" and advocated sovereignty in the people. It was generally evaluated as an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal patriotic movement and a new democracy in the country. As well as the turning point of the new democratic movement.

In 1910, Korean revolutionaries began to exile in China due to Japan - Korea Annexation Treaty. In 1919, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was established in Shanghai to carry out various independent movements. During this period, the Han nationality's characterization of the May Fourth Movement was a national movement under the principle of national self-determination. Today's Korean textbooks still rank the May Fourth Movement with the 1919 South Korea's the March 1st Movement as a national movement. Directly comparing the similarities and differences between the Principle of Three Equalities (Samgyunjuyi) and Three Principles of the People, we can draw conclusions that the two sides focus differently. The Principle of Three Equalities (Samgyunjuyi) concentrates on the nationalism, but combined with the historical background at that time, The Korean people's evaluation of the Chinese revolutionary movement generally tends to define it as a national movement, while the understanding of Three Principles of the People is also focused on the exploration of nationalism.

Korean revolutionaries in China in the early 20th century maintained close ties with Chinese revolutionaries and the Republic of China government. Such close exchanges have made Korean revolutionaries highly aware of the revolutionary activities in China and And regard China as the alliance of the Korean nation. In this process, the Korean people have more recognition of China's alliances and more attention to China's revolutionary movements. Korean independents active in China have gradually tended to learn from China's constitutional ideas and constitutional texts. The Principle of Three Equalities (Samgyunjuyi) and Three Principles of the People are not only similar in form but also highly overlapping in content. The six constitutional documents formulated during the interim government of the Republic of Korea and the 12 constitutional documents formulated during the Republic of China also have higher Similarity.

## 在烏瑪與中華之間：中國穆斯林在五四運動中的抉擇

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廣義的五四運動牽涉文化與生活形式的改革，但五四運動始終沒有脫離中國民族主義的籠罩。在 1911 年後，不少中華民國境內的穆斯林面臨宗教與國族身分的矛盾：穆斯林無疑份屬於普世伊斯蘭群體，但以民族國家為藍本的新中國卻在營造一個整全的「中華民族」，這一矛盾自五四運動以來逐漸明顯。在內地的一些穆斯林精英對內力倡融入中華，對主流華人社會則提出「伊斯蘭救國」，他們的言論類同熱衷五四運動的城市知識分子；而與華語精英較為疏離的穆斯林則致力連繫伊斯蘭世界。到訪阿拉伯世界的中國穆斯林日多，突厥語系的穆斯林更在政治層面連結伊斯蘭世界。

本文旨於從中國穆斯林的處境檢視五四運動的中國民族主義與泛伊斯蘭主義的競爭關係；並指出五四運動有關「民主」、「科學」、「現代化」等訴求雖然可以被歸類為普世價值，但參與運動本身卻有接納中國民族主義的前題。是以，不少處於中華與烏瑪之間的中國穆斯林在參與五四運動時，不得不重新詮釋自身的信仰。

## **Between Ummah and China: Choices of Chinese Muslims in the May Fourth Movement**

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May Fourth Movement, in a broad sense, includes reformation of cultural and daily life. Its development, however, was never detached from Chinese Nationalism. Since 1911, Muslims in the Republic of China have faced tension between their religious and national identities: Chinese Muslims are part of the universal Islamic community (Ummah), but the “New China” they are living in is constructing a new ethnic concept of Zhonghua minzu which could not always contain the Islamic identity. The tension became more obvious after the May Fourth Movement. In response, some elite Muslims in China proper suggested all Chinese Muslims shall further integrate into China, and they attempted to remind the majority Chinese people that Islam has been supportive to the “national salvation” project. Their discourses were similar to the May Fourth intellectuals in the urban areas. However, Muslims with less connection with the Chinese intellectuals consolidated their linkage with the Islamic world instead. Visitors from China to the Arabic world became more visible, Turkic-speaking Muslims even pursued political cooperation with the Islamic world.

This article reveals the competing relationship between Chinese nationalism and Pan-Islamism during the May Fourth Movement through the study of Chinese Muslims. It will show how “universal values” - including democracy, science, and modernisation - in the May Fourth Movement were not appealing by themselves without the precondition of Chinese nationalism. This would explain why Chinese Muslims, struggling between the Ummah and China, could not engage in the May Fourth Movement without reinterpreting their religion.



## Complexities of Rebuilding Esoteric Buddhist Traditions in Republican China

### 民國佛教密宗回傳之複雜性

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#### Abstract

This paper by examining the religious discourse and controversies initiated by the transmission of Japanese esoteric Buddhism (tantrism) in Republican China questions the modernization of Chinese Buddhism during this period. In particular, arguments and disagreements caused by the Chinese tantric teacher Wang Hongyuan and his problematic interpretation of the tantric doctrine of “Attaining Buddhahood in the Present Body” show Chinese Buddhist communities’ conservatism toward any ideas and practices foreign to its core doctrines. Considering the religious agenda of reviving traditional Chinese Buddhist teachings from the past by prominent Republican Chinese Buddhist figures, this paper show that despite all the effort of modernizing Chinese Buddhist institutions and adapting certain Buddhist teachings to a changing social milieu, Chinese Buddhism remained a conservative “religion” during the Republican period.

**Key words:** Wang Hongyuan; Buddhahood; Republican Chinese Buddhism; religious conservatism

**摘要：**本文探討清末民國時期日本密教回傳的過程中圍繞王弘願教團在中國佛教團體中產生的諸多爭論。本文重點關注東密、漢傳和藏傳佛教團體之間關於“即身成佛”這一主題展開的討論。通過關於各方對“即身成佛”觀點的判教和分析，呈現“現代化”外衣之下民國時期中國佛教的保守主義和對於佛教核心教義的持守態度。本文提出關於民國佛教的新論斷，即民國佛教的核心人物對佛教適應全新現代中國所做的努力只是一種表面現象。面對外來思想文化的衝擊，中國佛教核心人物的最終目的是重建佛教教統、重新建立佛教修行的系統，而非將佛教改造為現代性宗教。

**關鍵詞：**王弘願 成佛 民國佛教 宗教保守主義