

Global Civilization Studies

GCS, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2026, pp.11-26

Print ISSN: 3106-0978; Online ISSN: 3106-0986

Journal homepage: <https://www.gcsjournal.com>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.64058/gcs260102repat>



Revisiting Cultural Pluralism in the Age of Transnational Migration: Toward a Conceptual Framework of Transcultural Competence

Shibao Guo and Sinela Jurkova

Abstract: This article revisits cultural pluralism in the age of transnational migration. Based on comprehensive literature review, we compare and contrast three prominent frameworks that are often used to address cultural pluralism, including interculturalism, multiculturalism, and transculturalism. Our analysis shows that in the context of transnational migration, the static and passive notion of interculturalism and multiculturalism that essentialize groupism and ethnicity fails to capture the evolving dimensions of multilayered diversity and identity. Ever-increasing transnational mobility across borders and the multidimensional cultural representations and identities involved are leading to transculturalism as a new way of being and learning where individuals interact with each other in a culturally dynamic environment. As such, we propose a conceptual framework of transcultural competence as a holistic model for human development that involves inquiry, framing, positionality, dialogue and reflection, all of which challenge our taken-for-granted frames of reference and expand our worldviews. It captures the continuity of evolving, an individual's transaction across multiple cultures, reflecting the new realities and demands of a transnational world and the cultural pluralism in society.

Keywords: Cultural pluralism, interculturalism, multiculturalism, transculturalism, transcultural competence

Author Biographies: Guo Shibao (Corresponding author), Professor at the Werklund School of Education, the University of Calgary, Canada, research interests: transnational migration, Chinese

diaspora studies, internationalization of higher education, and international student mobility. E-mail: guos@ucalgary.ca; **Sinela Jurkova**, PhD in Educational Research, the University of Calgary, Canada, research areas: transcultural transformative learning, transnational migration, intercultural communication, community development, theories and practices for inclusive and anti-racism education.

题目：再论跨国移民时代的文化多样性：构建超文化胜任力的理论框架

摘要：本文再论跨国移民时代的文化多样性问题。在全面的文献综述基础上，本文比较和对比通常被用于讨论文化多样性的三种重要框架，即间性文化主义、多元文化主义和超文化主义。本文的分析显示：在跨国移民语境中，将群体主义与族裔属性进行本质化的间性文化主义与多元文化主义及其静态和被动态概念，无法展现出多层多样性与身份属性的动态变化维度。日益增加的、跨越边界的跨国流动性问题，以及涉及其中的文化再现与多重身份的多维度问题，构建超文化主义作为个体在活跃文化环境当中相互交往的新型经验与知识。有鉴于此，本文提出作为人类发展教育模式的超文化胜任力理论框架，涉及探索、架构、位置性、对话和反思，以及挑战我们习以为常的认知框架和扩展世界知识的所有难题，聚焦探讨变革的连续属性、跨越多种文化形态的个体行为，反映出的是跨国世界与文化多样属性在社会语境中的诸多新现象与新问题。

关键词：文化多元主义；间性文化主义；多元文化主义；超文化主义；超文化胜任力

作者简介：郭世宝（通讯作者），加拿大卡尔加里大学韦尔克隆德教育学院教授，研究兴趣：跨国移民、华侨华人移民研究、高等教育国际化、学生流动。电邮：guos@ucalgary.ca；**赛琳娜·朱尔科娃**，加拿大卡尔加里教育研究博士，研究兴趣：跨文化变革型学习、跨国移民、跨文化交流、社区发展、融入与反种族主义教育的理论与实践。

Introduction

As globalization intensifies, we have witnessed the growth of transnational migration across national boundaries in the world which is characterized by multiple and circular migrations rather than a singular unidirectional journey from one sedentary space to another (Glick Schiller, Basch & Szanton Blanc, 1995; Guo, 2010, 2016; Lie, 1995). As a result of increasing transnational migration, the foreign-born population of OECD countries rose to 150 million or 11% of the total population in 2023, up from 9% in 2013 (OECD, 2024). Transmigrants bring their values, language, and culture to the hosting countries, adding to and enriching the cultural diversity and pluralism of host societies. Without any doubt, transnational migration has brought significant changes to the demographics and the socio-cultural fabric of receiving societies. It is claimed that many countries have reached an unprecedented level of ‘superdiversity’ or ‘hyperdiversity’

(Vertovec, 2007). Transnational migration has also made cultural boundaries and identities porous, hybrid, and dialogic (Guo & Maitra, 2017). Migrants no longer feel obligated to remain tied to or locatable in a 'given', unitary culture (Grosu, 2012). Rather, they are becoming embedded within a shifting field of increasingly transcultural identities (Kraidy, 2005).

To build an inclusive society, we have the moral and ethical responsibility to embrace cultural pluralism and diversity and to integrate it into all aspects of our societies. This article therefore revisits cultural pluralism in the age of transnational migration with the goal to build a socially just and inclusive society. Based on comprehensive literature review, we compare and contrast three prominent frameworks that are often used to address cultural pluralism, including interculturalism, multiculturalism, and transculturalism. In the context of transnational migration, it seems clear that the static and passive notion of interculturalism and multiculturalism that essentialize groupism and ethnicity failed to capture the evolving dimensions of multilayered diversity and identity, nor to provide practical solutions to problems linked to our inter-existence, cross-bordered spaces and intersecting identities (Fleras, 2019). As an alternative, transculturalism is presented as a new way of being and living where individuals interact with each other in a culturally dynamic environment.

The article is organized into five parts. It begins with an overview of culture as a concept, followed by an unpacking of semantic connotations of "inter-", "multi-", and "trans-" as in interculturalism, multiculturalism, and transculturalism. The third section reviews the triad of cultural pluralism, namely interculturalism, multiculturalism, and transculturalism as we trace the historical and socio-cultural dynamic path toward transculturalism. The fourth examines transculturalism as a philosophical concept. The article ends with a conclusion toward a conceptual framework for developing transcultural competence as an innovative perspective of human development.

Understanding the Concept of Culture

When we talk about a triad of interculturalism, multiculturalism and transculturalism, culture is a central concept in understanding and meaning construct. As a theoretical term, culture involves intergenerational attitude, values, beliefs, rituals/customs, and behavioural patterns into which people are born but that is also created and maintained by people's ongoing actions and interactions. For centuries, scholars and philosophers have captured the essence of culture, identifying characteristics from different perspectives that shape this elusive phenomenon. Here, we will outline three dynamic cultural perspectives of Milton Bennett (2009), Geertz (1973), and Trice and Beyer (1993), which interpret culture as a context and as a system of meaning.

Culture as a context

Understanding culture as a context in which perception and behaviour occur, Bennett (2009) distinguishes between *objective or "big-C" Culture* and *"little-c" subjective culture*. Learning about Culture includes institutional, political, and historical circumstances that emerge from and are maintained by a group of interacting people. Subjective culture is the worldview of people who interact in a specific context: "It is their unique perspective on how to discriminate phenomena in the world, how to organize and coordinate communication, and how to assign goodness and badness to ways of being" (Bennett, 2009, p. 3). According to Bennett, a cultural

worldview does not prescribe or determine the behaviour of individuals who share the culture but rather constitutes the context in which perception and behaviour occur.

Culture as a system of meaning

Years before Bennett, Geertz (1973) saw the need to seek and discover the meanings that cultures play in human social life, the symbolic mediation of meaning embodied in ideas, attitudes, judgments, or beliefs. Geertz defines culture variously as “a pattern of meanings, a system of conceptions” (1973, p. 144), a “web of significance” (p. 5), a set, a vast geometry, a cosmos, a stratified hierarchy, a structure, and a frame. His holistic approach to culture is not a simple unity, and if it is a web, it is not a “seamless web” (1973, p. 407); each culture contains within it the elements of its own negation. He sees culture as neither an “exhaustively interconnected” system nor as “unabridged discontinuities”; cultural discontinuity or cultural integration are realistic results even in highly stable societies. Thus, Geertz’ concept does not narrow culture to geographical borders. Rather, as a system of patterns, different levels of interaction between cultures are possible, driven by range of forces: historical, political, mass-media; the movement of people; translation of languages; and art elements and themes. Different cultures thus live within the same geographical area, next door to each other, or in the same house (Geertz, 2000). There is no such thing as a pure, unique culture; we are of all the cultures, intersecting languages, nationalities, sexes, religions, race, etc. In our contemporary society, each person is a mosaic. But in all of this diversity of intersecting cultures, Geertz is still concerned for the study of “frames of meaning” (2000, p. 246), for issues of development and change. In his view, meaning remains a central focus, and struggles and tensions within a culture that are the result of different individuals and groups seeking meaning they consider important.

Culture is about what you need to know or believe to function successfully in a society. This is what relates to values—social, cultural, and personal values; values enshrined in family, customs, society, religion, state of law, education, and economy. Geertz recognizes the need to see cultural, social, and psychological approaches as influencing each other. He sees the role of culture in mediating between the social and the psychological, culture as a process of dialogue bringing people together or, sometimes, into confrontation.

Pluralistic views of culture

Similarly, a pluralistic view of culture and of an individual as a product of multiple cultural realities is further developed by Trice and Beyer (1993). They note cultures as collective, emotional, historical, symbolic, dynamic, and fuzzy. As collective, culture originates in individual’s interactions with each other and belonging to a culture involves believing what others believe and doing as others do, at least part of the time. Cultures are emotionally charged because they help to manage anxieties, and forms are infused with emotions as well as rational thoughts. People’s allegiance to their beliefs, values, and cultural practices develops primarily from their emotional needs (Trice & Beyer, 1993). Accordingly, members of a culture rarely question their core beliefs and values: but if they do, their reaction is emotional. Cultures are historically based because they cannot be divorced from their histories, and they do not arise overnight. Thus, a culture is based on the unique history of a particular group of people coping with unique set of physical, social, political, and economic circumstances. Although cultures are historical and persist across generations, they do not remain static. The dynamics of culture are connected to the

fuzziness of cultures. Cultures are not monolithic, single sets of ideas; they incorporate contradictions, ambiguities, paradoxes that result from interaction and multiple subcultures.

We embrace these three concepts of culture (Bennett, 2009; Geertz, 1973; Trice & Beyer, 1993) as plural and dynamic, meaning that an individual does not represent one single culture but multiple realities of cultures and embedded layers notions of culture. Bennet, Geartz, Trice and Beyer see culture as a set of socially established symbols—a source of information through shared meaning, produced, perceived, and interpreted by members of a culture. This fabric of meaning guides individuals' actions and behaviours, and creates social structure (Geertz, 1973), systems of shared meaning and symbols (Trice & Beyer, 1993), and the context in which behaviour occurs (Bennett, M., 2009). This cultural discourse needs to be acknowledged when we discuss the philosophy and practices of interculturalism, multiculturalism and transculturalism.

Semantic Connotations and Abstraction of “Inter-”, “Multi-”, “Trans-”

Examining the meaning of prefixes “inter-”, “multi-”, “trans-” is important because the semantic differences reflect transformative discourse of intercultural, multicultural, and transcultural. They are not only loaded with different layers of meaning but also complex and rooted in their historical, philosophical and cultural intricacies.

According to dictionary definitions, “inter” means between, among, mutually, reciprocally, together. Even the meaning implies some dynamics of evolving relationships that occur in a restricted space where individuals with different cultural backgrounds interact between each other, mixing, adapting, excluding, or integrating in a dominant cultural environment. In the triad of cultural pluralism, intercultural emphasizes differences among diverse and multiple cultures.

The meaning of “multi-” is associated with many, multiple, much. And near the stem “culture” carries the notion of diversity, the plurality of cultures and what to do with number of different cultures. UNESCO provided simple and basic working definition that “describes the culturally diverse nature of human society” (2006, p.17). Very often the word multicultural is used with the suffix -ism, which leads to the conclusion that the term multiculturalism also represents a belief system, an ideology, a governance model (Grosu, 2012).

The third prefix, “trans-” carried the notion of moving through and across scales rather than in between; multiple scales may be simultaneously present and national cultures are one of many potential scales, ranging from the local to the global, alongside variable temporal scales and speeds from transient interactions and connections to long-term historical processes and influences (Baker, 2022; Guilherme & Dietz, 2015; Kraidy, 2005; Lewis, 2002; Monceri, 2019). It expands the limits beyond a single identity, switching between cultures and languages as a mode of being, having a sense of continuum, discourse, and transformation (Berry & Epstein, 1999; Epstein, 2012). In that sense, transcultural includes stabilizing or destabilizing effects, social conjunctions, historical conditions, and integration or disintegration of groups, cultures, power and inequalities.

Shifting from “inter-” to “trans-” comes to emphasize that in such interactions people can transgress and transcend cultural borders (Abu-Er-Rub et al., 2019). Monceri (2019) suggests that the “trans-” can open up new ideas of thinking about the idea of culture itself and can also be understood in the meaning of “going beyond”, that is to say that it is able at least to evoke the possibility to “trespass”, or better “transgress, the borders of culture” (pp. 87-88). Through the

processes of transgressing and transcending boundaries, the boundaries themselves are transformed, potentially opening new social spaces and identities (Abu-Er-Rub et al., 2019), while previous structures, limitations and asymmetries may continue, and also new inequalities may emerge.

This is what the interpretation of the three prefixes stands for as semantic abstraction, which actually is deeply rooted in cultural traditions and ontological standpoints. Their ideological, historical, political, and social connotations vary and certainly have implications upon different academic discussions. Because they are part of three fundamental concepts that we discuss below in order to explicate their potentials with regard to the broader, societal constellations of inequalities, differences, and diversity that shape our contemporary society.

The Triad of Cultural Pluralism: Interculturalism, Multiculturalism, and Transculturalism

Interculturalism, multiculturalism, and transculturalism are unavoidable concepts in contemporary society. They have lately been made pervasive in the academic and social discourse and are often used indiscriminately. In fact, it is impossible to establish fixed boundaries and stable lines between them since they form a complex web of meanings that, to some extent, intersect with one another as the reality of live-in/through/within-diversity constantly evolving. However, each perspective applies more or less to each society, either with positive or negative connotations, whose perception depends on the historical and socio-political developments in specific context; it is surrounded by controversy, having its proponents and opponents.

Interculturalism

Intercultural concept is known to address pragmatic solutions, locally oriented on cross-cultural interaction, exchange and dialogue (Bradley, 2013; Fleras, 2019; Stokkie & Lybaek, 2016; Zapata-Barrero 2018). Rodriguez-Garcia (2012) defines interculturalism as an interactive process that promotes cooperative inter-existence through active involvement in the civic life of culturally diverse communities. Unlike the multicultural passive notion of living with diversity, the commitment to interculturalism promotes the performative ideal of living together *in* and *through* a complex inter-existence (Antonsich, 2016).

Kastoryano (2018) called interculturalism a kind of applied multiculturalism reinforcing intergroup interaction in the co-creation of inclusive space. The emphasis is on the practicalities of cultural exchanges, intercultural mixing, cross-cultural communication, the institutional supports for a cooperative inter-existence, where peoples' lived experiences are at the centre (Barrett 2013), overcoming the passive tolerance associated with the multicultural paradigm.

Since interculturalism reinforces direct contact with each other and society at large, it became a core in critical intercultural communication studies over the last few decades, referring to a specific discourse to researching cultural identities and how they are negotiated and constructed in interactions (Zhu, 2019). However, the focus is mostly on nationality, ethnicity, and race. Seen as distinct spheres that always clashes unless ways are sought for them to exist together, many empirical studies (Bennet, 2009; Hammer, 2012; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003; Hofstede, 1991) suggest how to prevent possible cultural clashes, providing inventories for coaching and consulting practices and training programs for employees and international students.

In Europe, intercultural model has been proposed as innovative, focusing on dialogue, exchange, and interaction, and promises a pathway to inclusiveness without a loss of particularity (Fleras, 2019). Benessaieh (2010) points out that although intercultural model is more flexible compared to multicultural, “fixed frames or separate islands neatly distanced and differentiated from one another” (p. 10) still remains. He further proposes transcultural concept, that offers a conceptual landscape for considering cultures as relational webs and flows of significance in active interaction with one another. Earlier, Welsh (1999) also argues that cultural separation in intercultural and multicultural views is problematic when looking at contemporary societies where cultures no longer have the insinuated form of homogeneity and separateness. He introduces some core features of transcultural perspective, such as networks of cultural connections and identities, which transcend traditional geographical and national cultural boundaries. Likewise, Wilson (2012) calls for a new, transcultural perspective of cooperation, interaction, and exchange between communities and thus flexibility and an open mind on the part of individuals.

Multiculturalism

Although multicultural concept has different interpretations and dimensions, such as ideological, political, critical, philosophical, and more, here, we will focus specifically on multiculturalism as part of an evolutionary process of reflecting cultural dynamics of interactions, cultural representations and identity formation in diversely complex transnational world.

It is a fact that five decades ago Canada was the first country in the world to formulate an official multiculturalism policy to assist immigrants with their integration into Canadian society while maintaining their heritage language and culture (Guo & Wong, 2015). As such, Canada’s commitment to multiculturalism established a normative framework in advancing a diversity governance that prescribed a principled approach for integrating immigrants and accommodating minorities. But beyond promoting and celebrating cultures and integrating immigrants, Canadian multicultural platform is focused on homogeneity, coherent identity, universality (Fleras, 2019), a mosaic concept of bonded identity.

Despite various critics, multicultural model has its own benefits. Fleras and Elliott (2002) summarize both eloquently. For example, the negative characteristics refer to multiculturalism as divisive, marginalizing, essentializing, hoax and hegemonic. Furthermore, to each of the critics, the authors outline benefits, praising the model as unifying, inclusive, hybridizing, catalyst, and counter hegemonic. Although multicultural concept view cultures static, the model itself was not static and evolves different dimensions across time and space. From celebrating differences, song and dance, in the 1970s, it shifted to managing diversity and anti-racism focus in 1980s, then focused on civic participation, engagement and society building in 1990, turned to multicultural integration and fit in the 2000s (Guo & Wong, 2015).

The Evolution Toward Transculturalism

In this section, we trace the historical and socio-cultural dynamic path toward transculturalism, addressing the current needs for fostering inclusive, equitable and just society. In exploring the evolution of terminology and concepts, it is important to note that neither interculturalism nor multiculturalism explains the impact of globalization on creating flow and connections that transcend territorial boundaries, countries, and civilizations. Mikhail Epstein (1999, 2009, 2012) offers a philosophical perspective on transculturalism, a syncretic approach

that integrates many cultural traditions and representations that moves away from cultural determinism. For example, transcultural diffusion of initial cultural identities occurs as individuals cross the borders of different cultures and assimilate them. Comparing this with multiculturalism, which emphasizes faithfulness to one's native soil and insists on the individual belonging to a certain natural culture that is biologically, geographically, or biographically predetermined, Epstein illustrates this with "black culture," "women's culture," "youth culture," or "gay culture." Although culture may preserve many natural, ethnic, geographical, psychophysical, and socioeconomic features that determine individuals as "white" or "black," "male" or "female," "transculture is the freedom of every person to live on the border of one's inborn culture or beyond it" (Epstein, 2009, p. 334). Therefore, Epstein sees transculturalism as a next stage of multiculturalism and of interculturalism as "positive constructive deconstruction" (p. 342), expanding the limits of our identities, integrating, but not opposing many cultural traditions.

As an example of transition from intercultural to transcultural, Dooly and Rubinstein (2018) discuss "nebulous space where individuals cross and reshape boundaries" and "transformative practices involving social activities and interaction that push beyond 'fixed' and separate systems" (p. 2). This perspective is very much in-line with the transcultural approach described by Baker (2022) where the "trans" replaces the "inter" to emphasize that individuals can transgress and transcend linguistic and cultural borders. Through the processes of transgressing and transcending boundaries, those very boundaries themselves are transformed, potentially opening new social spaces and identities, where inequalities may emerge. Then individuals move through and across cultural dimensions and identities rather than in between (Baker, 2022). Hence, multiple dimensions may be simultaneously present, ranging from the local to the global and to long-term historical processes and influences. Similarly, Epstein (2012) sees transculturalism as a new space for cultural development that transcends the borders of traditional cultures (e.g., ethnic, national, racial, religious, gender, sexual, and professional).

Transculturalism as a Philosophical Concept

Transculturalism is a new way of seeing the world, and thus, of understanding ourselves (Kraidy, 2005; Koehn & Rosenau, 2002; Lewis, 2002; Slimbach, 2005; Wong, 2007/2008). The transcultural approach offers new experience and intellectual generosity, where ethics is at the crossroad of possibilities in human relations; opens a peaceful meandering trail between the past, the present, and the future; and permits individuals to see a multitude of alternative paths crossed during their experiences in different times and places (Bakhtin, 1981; Epstein, 1999, 2009, 2012). Additionally, it expands the interdisciplinary field of study as new cultural and ethnic boundaries have emerged in our era of globalization, fostering multiple cultural interactions, attitudes, meaning making endeavours, and power formations (Brooks, 2007; Cuccioletta, 2001/02; Kraidy, 2005; Lewis, 2002).

The notion of transculturalism came forth in Cuba and Brazil in the mid-1930s and 1940s as a variation of *mestizaje*. Cuban scholar Fernando Ortiz (1940/1995) used the term and developed the concept of transculturalism to explain Cuba's experience with racial and cultural encounters as an exchange, a give-and-take process in developing a new common culture. With the growing and speedy flow of travel and borderless communications, socio-psychological and cognitive

outcomes in transnational life experiences gradually became recognized sources of knowledge for social adaptation, experiential knowledge, professional competencies, and adult transformative learning (Benet-Martinez & Hong, 2014).

In the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, the human phenomenon of transculturality became more apparent and thus emphasized the importance of re-examining human life experience in a contemporary light (Benessaieh, 2010; Epstein, 2009; Graem & Hui, 1996; Imbert, 2014; Schultze-Engler et al., 2009; Welsch, 1999). Transculturalism was appropriated to denote cultural mixture in literature and music (Dagnino, 2015; Pratt, 1992; Wallis & Malm, 1990). For example, Dagnino (2015) used a “transcultural conceptual and analytical reference frame (namely, ‘transcultural comparativism’)” (p. 20) to explore this century’s growing transcultural literature. In practice, the fields of nursing (Purnell, 2013), communication (Baker, 2022; Dai & Chen, 2014; Kim, 2012; Sparrow, 2000; Spitzberg & Changon, 2009), and international business and management (Glover & Friedman, 2015; Solomon & Shell, 2009; Trompenaas & Hampden-Turner, 2006) have also explored the space at the crossroads of cultures. Berry and Epstein (1999) used the concept in an attempt to provide employees with the means to learn and adapt to the inherent complexities of international workplaces and organizations to survive global competition.

Further, Slimbach (2005) described transculturalism as a pursuit to define shared interests and common values across cultural and national borders. According to him, transculturalism can be tested by means of thinking “outside the box of one’s motherland” and by “seeing many sides of every question without abandoning conviction and allowing for chameleon sense of self without losing one’s cultural center” (p. 211).

Transculture overcomes the isolation of symbolic systems and value determinations and broadens the field of cultural creativity. In this way, a person acquires transculture at the boundaries of one’s own culture and at the crossroads with other cultures (Epstein, 2012, Slimbak, 2005). The mode of being located at the crossroads of cultures is the next step in the ongoing human quest for freedom from the language and culture in which one was born and educated; it is a new emerging sphere in which humans position themselves outside their primary cultures, interacting between cultures and integrating them. According to Epstein (2012), the elements of transculture are freely chosen by people rather than dictated by rules and prescriptions within their given culture. He further compares the process of transculturalism with the way artists choose colours to combine them creatively in their paintings, and maintains that “transculture offers a universal palette on which any individual can blend colours to produce an expressive self-portrait” (p. 62). Consequently, a transcultural person can adhere to any ethnic or confessional tradition and decide the degree to which this becomes part of one’s own identity.

Epstein (2012) defines this stage of civilization as “proteism,” the movement “from retrospectivism to prospectivism,” which combines “the archival sense of our time as the remote past in relation to the distant future” (p. 32). The term “proto” describes more positively our new epoch, the new cultural paradigm, humanity, interdisciplinary collaboration, and community. “Proto-” also indicates possibility rather than a necessity. “Proto-” simply means “having the potential to become” or “starting to move in a certain direction”, “not a completion but rather as a first draft of new cultural formation (pp. 26-27).

Although Epstein clearly differs “post-” from “proto-”, he also acknowledges the needs of clients and dynamics in the society/communities/organizations that sometimes, “post-” applies to phenomena that more properly characterize “proto-”. Actually, this is the case when Fleras (2019) refers to “postmulticulturalism”, “postethnicity” framed as dynamic and constructive form of engagement, open ended and complex, performative and contextual commitment. Fleras defines transnational mobile world, complexly and hyper diverse as “post” when “peoples’ notions of identity and belonging splinter along multiple lines rather align within a single national space as an interpretive lens, discursive framework and governance mindset for rethinking identity and belonging beyond the singularity of a nation-state (“national”))” (p. 33) Fleras argues that his “post-” model is necessary for managing the extremely complex mobilities, diversities, multiplicities, and identities in a postnational society that Canada is becoming. In fact, his definition implies the notion of transcultural perspective and proteism as it does not negate and reject the past, but describes the emerging, the development stages of becoming and transformation, as theorized in Epstein’s work.

Proteic characterization of personality as “a multividual that cannot be confined to a single self, rich in roles, connected by invisible ties of integral personality” (Epstein, 2012, p. 35), is a useful approach to analyze transformation in our century. An individual could spread and manifest itself across continents, performing various identities, social and professional roles, while simultaneously remaining conscious of his or her own uniqueness and moral responsibility and culture. In this transformative process, the past is inseparable from the future.

According to Epstein’s “proto” concept, culture is coming to be understood as transculture, as a set of possibilities, no longer locked in a single cultural reality of birth and background. Each of us stands at a crossroads of different ethnic, historical, and professional cultures. Each has a possibility of overcoming the obsessional complexes of the “given” (native) culture. We can achieve this only through dialogue, dialogue among cultures and between humanities through self-awareness and discovery of otherness. Furthermore, consciously cognized transcultural differences develop cultural awareness, self-confidence, and recognition, an understanding of a new positionality, and a reintegration of new perspectives and roles.

Conclusion: Toward a Conceptual Framework of Transcultural Competence

Identifying transculturalism as a promising philosophical perspective in the age of transnational migration and cultural dynamics, we propose a conceptual framework of transcultural competence that allows individuals with their uniqueness to build capacity to see the world from transcultural lenses and act transculturally competent which will further enhance humility and inclusion (Jurkova & Guo, 2018). This holistic transcultural framework involves inquiry, framing, positionality, and progressing to dialogue, reflection, and competent action. As such, the process relates to multiple forces that connect local to global, challenging taken-for-granted frames of reference, expanding worldviews, integrating new practices, and transforming individuals.

Inquiry is exploring universal and unique human nature, experiences, and potential, discovering the ways that others make sense of the world (Slimabch, 2005). The practice of inquiry leads us to engagement with others. When we engage in inquiry, we seek to understand the

point of view and experience of the other, different perspectives and worldviews even if or especially if it challenges our own worldview. Whereas participants engage in inquiry and interact, sharing their experiences also make them aware of the frame of reference from which they see the world through individual, cultural, national, and regional frames or lenses that include some participants or exclude others.

Framing is a knowledge construction across cultural dimensions, time, and space, which fosters transformative learning. In transculturalism, framing is distancing from one culture in order to understand it, transcend its boundaries; it is taking another look through different lenses (Epstein, 2009). An additional aspect of framing is the capacity of flexibly and consciously shifted perspectives from the particular, situated dimensions to the broader and global dimensions and from global to particular dimensions, while maintaining awareness of and attention to both sets of frames.

Positionality, as the third standpoint in transcultural competence framework, is a place from which to view and make sense of the world around us. It assumes that socially constructed hierarchies based on race, class, gender, nationality, religion, age, and physical abilities, among others, position us socially, geographically, politically, symbolically, and materially in relation to each other, to structures and configurations of power. Positionality recognizes transcultural identity as fluid rather than dualistic; one culture does not exclude the other(s) (Imbert 2014; Wulf 2010). Instead, transcultural differences lead to the development of cultural awareness, self-confidence and recognition, understanding of new positionality and reintegration of new perspectives and roles (Mezirow 2009). Positionality may shift, change, and allow us as everyday actors and community members to see the relationship between power and knowledge, to question our knowledge, to question how cultural categories (e.g., race, gender, class, religion, and ethnicity) socially and hierarchically construct and produce our knowledge in relation to power. Recognizing social context or positionality of an inclusive safe environment is a core element in transcultural competence that Epstein (2009) and Slimbach (2005) address independently from each other.

Differences in power and positionality are evident when one engages in a dialogue from transcultural perspective. The process of dialogue invites participants to imagine, experience, and engage creatively with points of view, ways of thinking, being, doing, and beliefs, different from one's own, and accept that they may not fully understand or may not come to a common agreement or position (Sorrells, 2012). From a transcultural perspective, in dialogue, participants gain knowledge and skills, stretching across differences and allowing for creative and new understandings of self and others, which is the most valuable outcome. Hence, dialogue becomes the medium for critical reflection to be put into action where experience is reflected on, assumptions and beliefs are questioned, and habits of mind are ultimately transformed (Taylor, 2009).

In order to initiate, maintain, and sustain dialogue in transcultural learning, reflection is a key feature. Reflection is significant for developing an appreciation of both one's own and others' cultures and the associated privileges and power, and thus in turn links to a broader cultural environment. Across micro and macro levels, considering unique cultural frames of reference and recognizing our own and others' positioning, reflection enables us to act in the world in

meaningful, effective, and socially responsive ways. Reflection allows one to reposition and reframe, consequently, acting on revised and justified assumptions, behaving, talking, and thinking in a way of transformed perspectives, being critically reflective of collective social action and practices.

Acquiring transcultural competence is an innovative perspective of human development that allows individuals located at the crossroads of cultures, which is our reality, to switch between cultures as a mode of being in the world, as a quest for inclusion while considering common values, oppositions, tensions, and power in interactions. In this way, our conceptual framework is applicable for studying the process of cultural transformation and transcultural competence, engaging individuals in mutual learning and praxis as a continuous long-term process.

This holistic approach grounded in transcultural philosophy differs from intercultural and multicultural views. As alluded to earlier, intercultural meaning is reduced to certain practical goals, communicating and interacting in a foreign context presupposed to achieve successful performance, but ignores myriad external conditions, that is, power structures and social positionality (Rathje, 2007). Intercultural positivistic view to predict, generalize, and anticipate successful interaction is focused on immediately applicable solutions and take a fix-it approach. Similarly, in multiculturalism, differences are viewed as fragmented and fixed to specific groups, and it is not necessary to accept differences (Kim & Slapac, 2015). The multicultural tendency is to view identity as reinforcing boundaries and binaries based on past cultural heritages and to insist on an individual's belonging to a certain culture (Cuccioletta, 2002; Epstein, 2009). Mask (1994) even sees multiculturalism concept as Eurocentric and linked to elitism.

Contrary to all of these, the transcultural perspective is based on breaking down boundaries, implies openness and mutuality, embraces diffusion of identities and cultures; every culture needs interaction with other cultures to compensate for its deficiency (Epstein, 2009). It is a concept that captures the living traits of cultural changes, acknowledges and connects multiple dimensions, languages, and lived experiences that express transcultural identity - the concept of interference. Interference, discussed by Berry and Epstein (1999) and later elaborated in Epstein's (1999, 2009, 2012) work, creates a new interpersonal and transcultural community to which we belong not because we are similar but because we are different. Through interference, differences complement each other. Epstein emphasizes that different cultures should not be satisfied with merely tolerating one another but rather they should be creatively involved with one another. Transcultural transcendence happens through the interference of one culture with another while self-deconstructing and self-transforming one cultural identity. Epstein (2009) further explains, "every culture is intrinsically insufficient and needs interaction with other cultures to compensate for its deficiency" (2009, p, 334). In this sense, when cultures interact, they create completeness and mutuality among cultures, consequently, complementing the society where cultures function. As such, interference is a progressive, inclusive process, where people can self-differentiate without losing their own identity, but instead adds to it. In this way, interference produces a kind of wholeness, an inclusion that acknowledges mutual involvement and this can happen in a transcultural framework, which is a higher level than interculturalism and multiculturalism. Therefore, our proposed framework of transcultural competence captures the continuity of evolving, an individual's transaction across multiple cultures, that reflects the cultural dynamics in

society. Involving inquiry, framework, positionality, dialogue, reflection and action, is a new level of self-development and engagement that aligns with the new realities and demands of a transnational world and the increasingly culturally diverse societies.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interests.

ORCID

Shibao Guo ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6551-5468>

Sinela Jurkova ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7775-5469>

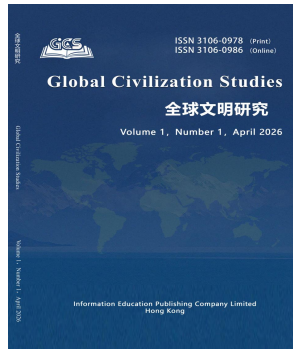
References

- Abu-Er-Rub, L., Brosius, C., Meurer, S., Panagiotopoulos, D., & Richter, S. (Eds.). (2019). *Engaging transculturality: Concepts, key terms, case studies*. Routledge.
- Antonsich, M. (2016). Interculturalism versus multiculturalism: The Cattle-Modood debate. *Ethnicities*, 16(3), 470-493, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796815604558>
- Baker, W. (2022). From intercultural to transcultural communication. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 22(3), 280-293.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogical imagination: Four essays*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Barrett, M. (2013). *Interculturalism and multiculturalism: Similarities and differences*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Benessaïeh, A. (2010). *Amériques transculturelles: Transcultural Americas*. Ottawa, Canada: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa.
- Bennett, M. (2009). Defining, measuring, and facilitating intercultural learning: A conceptual introduction to the intercultural education double supplement. *Intercultural Education*, 20 (sup.1), S1-S13.
- Benet-Martínez, V., & Hong, Y. (2014). *The Oxford handbook of multicultural identity*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Berry, E., & Epstein, M. (1999). *Transcultural experiments: Russian and American models of creative communication*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Bradley, L. (2013). Intercultural competence in web-based student exchange environments. In Wong, L.-H. et al. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 21st International Conference on Computers in Education*. Indonesia: Asia-Pacific Society for Computers in Education.
- Brooks, A. (2007). Reconceptualizing representation and identity: Issues of transculturalism and transnationalism in the intersection of feminism and cultural sociology. In T. Edwards (Ed.), *Cultural theory: Classical and contemporary positions* (pp. 183-211). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Cuccioletta, D. (2001/2002). Multiculturalism or transculturalism: Towards a cosmopolitan citizenship. *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, 17, 1-11.

- Dai, X., & Chen, G. (2014). *Intercultural communication competence: Conceptualization and its development in cultural contexts and interactions*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholar Publishing.
- Dagnino, A. (2015). *Transcultural writers and novels in the age of global mobility*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.
- Dooly, M., & Rubinstein, CV. (2018). Bridging across languages and cultures in everyday lives: An expanding role for critical intercultural communication. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 18(1), 1-8.
- Epstein, M. (1999). From culturology to transcultural. In E. Berry, & M. Epstein (Eds.), *Transcultural experiments: Russian and American models of creative communication* (pp. 15–30). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Epstein, M. (2009). Transculture: A broad way between globalism and multiculturalism. *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 68(1), 327–351.
- Epstein, M. (2012). *Transformative humanities: A manifesto*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Fleras, A. (2019). 50 years of Canadian multiculturalism: Accounting for its durability, theorizing the crisis, anticipating the future. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 51(2), 19–59.
- Fleras, A., & Elliot, J. L. (2003). *Engaging diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*. Toronto: Nelson.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68(1), 48-63.
- Graen, G., & Hui, C. (1996). Managing changes in globalizing business: How to manage cross-cultural business partners. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 9(3), 62-72.
- Grosu, L. M. (2012). Multiculturalism or transculturalism? Views on cultural diversity. *SYNERGY*, 8(2), 102-111.
- Guilherme, M., & Dietz, G. (2015). Difference in diversity: multiple perspectives on multicultural, intercultural, and transcultural conceptual complexities. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 10(1) 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2015.1015539>
- Guo, S. (2010). Toward cognitive justice: Emerging trends and challenges in transnational migration and lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(2), 149-167. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02601371003616533>
- Guo, S. (2016). From international migration to transnational diaspora: Theorizing “double diaspora” from the experience of Chinese Canadians in Beijing. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 17(1), 153-171. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0383-z>
- Guo, S., & Maitra, S. (2017). Revisioning curriculum in the age of transnational mobility: Towards a transnational and transcultural framework. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 47(1), 80-91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2016.1254504>
- Guo, S., & Wong, L. (Eds.) (2015). *Revisiting multiculturalism in Canada: Theories, policies and debates*. Rotterdam, the Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Hammer, M. (2012). The intercultural development inventory: A new frontier in assessment and development of intercultural competence. In M. Vande Berg, R. Pajge, & K. Lou (Eds.), *Student learning abroad: What our students are learning, what they're not, and what we can do about it* (pp. 115-136). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

- Hammer, M., Bennett, M., & Wiseman, R. (2003). Measuring intercultural sensitivity: The intercultural inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(4), 421-443.
- Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind*. London, UK: McGraw-Hill.
- Imbert, P. (2014). Linking transculturality and transdisciplinarity. *Semiotica*, 202, 571- 588.
- Jurkova, S., & Guo, S. (2018). Connecting transculturalism with transformative learning: Toward a new horizon of adult education. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 64(2), 173–187. <https://doi.org/10.55016/ojs/ajer.v64i2.56383>
- Kastoryano, R. (2018). Multiculturalism and interculturalism: Redefining nationhood and solidarity. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 6(17), 2-11. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0082-6>
- Kim, Y. (2012). Beyond cultural categories: Communication, adaptation and transformation. In J. Jackson (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of language and intercultural communication* (pp. 229-243). London, UK: Routledge.
- Kim, S., & Slapac, A. (2015). Culturally responsive transformative pedagogy in the transformative era: Critical perspectives. *Educational Studies*, 51(1), 17-27.
- Koeln, P., & Rosenau, J. (2002). Transnational competence in an emergent epoch. *International Studies Perspectives*, 3(2), 105–127.
- Kraidy, M. M. (2005). *Hybridity, or the cultural logic of globalization*. Temple University Press.
- Lie, J. (1995). From international migration to transnational diaspora. *Contemporary Sociology*, 24(4), 303-306.
- Lewis, J. (2002). From culturalism to transculturalism. *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1(1), 14-32.
- Mask, J.B. (1994). Cultural pluralism and multiculturalism: E pluribus unum or ex uno plura? *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 26(2), 63-72.
- Mezirow, J. (2009). Transformative learning theory. In J. Mezirow, E. Taylor, & Associates (Eds.), *Transformative learning in practice. Insights from community, workplace, and higher education* (pp. 18-31). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Monceri, F. (2019). Beyond universality: Rethinking transculturality and the transcultural self. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 14(1), 78–91.
- Ortiz, F. (1947/1995). *Cuban counter point*. New York, NY: Knopf.
- OECD, (2007), *International migration outlook*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.
- Pratt, M. (1992). *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*. New York: Routledge.
- Rathje, S. (2007). Intercultural Competence: The status and future of a controversial concept. *Language and Intercultural Competence*, 7(4) 254-266.
- Rodriguez-Garcia, D. (2012). *Managing immigration and diversity in Canada: A transatlantic dialogue in the new age of migration*. McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Slimbach, R. (2005). The transcultural journey. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 11, 205-230. Retrieved June 5, 2018 from: <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ891470>
- Sorrells, K. (2012). *Intercultural communication: Globalization and social justice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Sparrow, L. (2000). Beyond multicultural man: Complexities of identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24(2), 173-201.
- Spitzberg, B., & Changnon, G. (2009). Conceptualizing intercultural competence. In D. Deardorff (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of intercultural competence* (pp. 2-52). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stokkie, C., & Lybaek, L. (2016). Combining intercultural dialogue and critical multiculturalism. *Ethnicities*, 18(1), 70-85, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796816674>
- Taylor, E. (2009). Fostering transformative learning. In J. Mezirow, E. Taylor, & Associates (Eds.), *Transformative learning in practice. Insights from community, workplace, and higher education* (pp. 2-17). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Trice, H., & Beyer, J. (1993). *The cultures of work organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Trompenaars, F. (2015). Foreword. In J. Glover & H. Friedman (Eds.), *Fundamentals of consulting psychology book series. Transcultural competence: Navigating cultural differences in the global community* (pp. xi –xiii). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054.
- Wallis, R., & Malm, K. (1990). *On record: Rock, pop, and the written word*. Boston, MA: Kegan Paul.
- Welsch, W. (1999). Transculturality: The puzzling form of cultures today. In M. Featherstone & S. Lash (Eds.), *Spaces of culture: City-nation-world* (pp. 194 - 213). London, UK: Sage.
- Wilson, S. (2012). Multiculturalism and transculturalism: What can we learn from Vice Versa magazine (1983-1996). *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue internationale d'études canadiennes*, 45-46, 261-275.
- Wong, L. (2007/2008). Transnationalism, active citizenship, and belonging in Canada. *International Journal*, 63(1), 79-99.
- Zapata-Barrero R. (2016). Theorising Intercultural Citizenship. In N. Meer, T. Modood, & R. Zapata-Barrero (Eds.), *Multiculturalism and interculturalism: Debating the dividing lines* (pp. 53–76). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Zhu, Y. (2019). Mobilizing mothering: Chinese migrant mothers and transnational cultural capital. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 51(3), 75-93.



Global Civilization Studies

GCS, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2026, pp.27-40.

Print ISSN: 3106-0978; Online ISSN: 3106-0986

Journal homepage: <https://www.gcsjournal.com>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.64058/gcs260103rcpat>

海外华侨的文化身份认同路径探索：以岭南大学华侨校友为中心

苏日娜（Surina），刘静（Liu Jing）

摘要：本文以 20 世纪初期北美华侨第三代子女回归岭南大学接受中文教育为切入点，探讨华侨教育在中西文化交流中的独特作用，以及华侨群体在多元文化环境中身份认同的建构路径。通过对李氏、刘氏、司徒氏等华侨家族个案的深入分析，本文揭示了岭南大学作为“文化桥梁”的历史意义，阐述了华侨群体如何在“离散”与“回归”之间寻求文化身份的平衡与重构。本文在孔飞力、王赓武等学者的华侨史研究的理论框架之下，重新审视华侨教育的文化意义，同时发现，岭南大学华侨教育不仅为华侨子女提供了文化认同的锚点，更成为连接海外华侨与中华文化的重要纽带。

关键词：华侨群体；文化身份认同；岭南大学；华侨教育；离散理论

作者简介：苏日娜，中山大学图书馆副研究馆员，中山大学国家文化遗产与文化发展研究院研究员。研究方向：特藏文献研究、数字人文。电子邮箱：surina@mail.sysu.edu.cn。刘静（通讯作者），加拿大不列颠哥伦比亚大学图书馆中文部主任。研究方向：华侨华人史、海外中文文献整理与研究。电子邮箱：jing.liu@ubc.ca。

Title: Exploration on the Cultural Identity Path of Overseas Chinese: An Investigation Centered on Overseas Chinese Alumni of Lingnan University

Abstract: This study examines the return of third-generation overseas Chinese from North

Received: 30 Apr 2026 / Revised: 11 May 2026 / Accepted: 20 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 /
Print published: 30 June 2026.

America to Lingnan University for Chinese education in the early 20th century, exploring the unique role of overseas Chinese education in Sino-Western cultural exchange and the construction of identity in multicultural contexts. Through in-depth analysis of case studies of the Li, Liu, and Seto families, this paper reveals the historical significance of Lingnan University as a “cultural bridge”, and elaborates on how overseas Chinese communities sought balance and reconstruction of cultural identity between “diaspora” and “return”. The study finds that Lingnan University's overseas Chinese education not only provided an anchor for cultural identity for the children of overseas Chinese but also became an important link connecting overseas Chinese with Chinese culture. This research attempts to engage in dialogue with the overseas Chinese historical studies of Philip A. Kuhn and Wang Gungwu, and to re-examine the cultural significance of overseas Chinese education within the theoretical framework of globalization and localization.

Keywords: Overseas Chinese Community; Cultural Identity; Lingnan University; Overseas Chinese Language Education; Diaspora Theory

Author Biographies: **Surina**, Associate Research Librarian of Sun Yat-sen University Library, and Research Fellow of the Institute for National Cultural Heritage and Cultural Development, Sun Yat-sen University. Research area: Special collections organization and research, and Digital humanities. E-mail: surina@mail.sysu.edu.cn. **Liu Jing** (Corresponding Author), Chinese Studies Librarian, University of British Columbia Library, Canada. Research area: History of overseas Chinese and Chinese diaspora, and the Organization and research of overseas Chinese literature. E-mail: jing.liu@ubc.ca.

一、引言

19 世纪中叶至 20 世纪初期，大量华南地区民众因经济困顿、政治动荡而远赴海外谋生，形成了规模宏大的华侨移民潮。这些移民虽然身在异国他乡，却始终与故土保持着紧密的联系，形成了独特的“侨居”文化现象。正如美国汉学家孔飞力（Philip A. Kuhn）在《他者中的华人：中国近现代移民史》中指出，中国移民的“通道-小生境”模式（corridor-niche model）具有跨时代的韧性，移民并非为了永久离开，而是为了更好地回归（Kuhn, 2008, p.3-5）。这种叶落归根的观念深深植根于华侨群体的文化心理之中，塑造了他们独特的身份认同模式。在这一历史背景下，教育成为华侨群体维系文化认同、传承民族精神的重要途径。由“美国美北长老会海外差会”于 1888 年在广州创办的岭南大学，作为中国最早向中国政府注册并实行华人管理的教会大学之一，在华侨教育史上占据了特殊地位。20 世纪初期，众多北美华侨子女不远万里，横渡太平洋，回到祖国进入岭南大学求学。这一现象引发了本文的核心问题意识：这些在北美出生和成长的华侨第三代，为何选

择回归故土接受中文教育？岭南大学在他们文化身份的建构过程中扮演了怎样的角色？华侨群体如何在多元文化的环境中处理自我身份认同？

二、研究回顾

海外华侨史研究是国际学术界的重要议题。在这一领域，美国哈佛大学历史学家孔飞力和新加坡国立大学特级教授王赓武的研究具有开创性意义。孔飞力认为，华人移民是通过一条条通往海外的“通道”完成移民的，通道两端是小小的社会环境，移民在远方分布着的小圈子中维持生计（Kuhn, 2008, p.12-15）。这种模式的本质是联系而非分离，即散居四方并不意味着家的解体，移民他乡者仍然负有对家庭的道义责任。孔飞力特别指出，“侨居”观念具有重要意义，它强化了移民所在地同胞之间的团结，为生意和社会交往提供便利，同时维系了与故乡的情感通道（Kuhn, 2008, p.12-15）。这一理论框架为理解华侨教育现象提供了重要视角，而岭南大学正是连接北美华侨与祖籍地的重要“通道”节点。王赓武则从东南亚华侨研究出发，提出了海外华人身份认同的多元模式。他将中国移民历史分析为四种形态：华商、华工、华侨和华裔，并指出海外华人的身份认同具有多重维度，既有对中国的文化认同，也有对所在国的政治认同，强调海外华人研究应当采用中国与东南亚的双重视野，关注“自我与社会”“参与者与观察者”的双重定位（Wang, 2000, p.45-67）。这一方法论启示我们在研究华侨教育时，必须同时考虑华侨对中国文化的认同需求以及他们在北美社会的生存策略。在国内学术界，华侨教育研究也取得了丰硕成果。上海社会科学院吴前进研究员对海外华侨民族主义的研究、厦门大学李明欢教授对欧洲华侨华人社会的研究、英国卡迪夫大学班国瑞（Gregor Benton）教授对英国华人社团历史演变的研究等相关专题文献，都为本文提供了重要的理论参照。¹然而，专门聚焦岭南大学华侨教育的研究相对较少，从文化身份认同角度深入分析华侨校友的个案研究也相对缺乏。

本文采用个案研究与历史文献分析相结合的方法，以司徒家族、李氏家族、刘氏家族三个相互联姻的北美华侨家族为核心研究对象，深入挖掘他们在民国时期送子女到岭南大学求学的历史轨迹。以岭南大学为切入点，以华侨家族为分析单位，以文化身份认同为核心议题，在全球化与本土化的理论视域下，探讨华侨教育如何成为连接“离散”与“回归”的文化桥梁。试图从宏观视角分析岭南大学华侨教育的历史背景与制度特征，深入剖析李氏、刘氏、司徒氏三个华侨家族的个案，展现他们选择岭南大学的多重动因，进而探讨华侨文化身份认同的建构机制。

三、岭南大学：华侨教育的文化桥梁

（一）岭南大学的华侨教育传统

岭南大学的前身格致书院成立于1888年，由“美国美北长老会海外差会”创办。作为中国最早实行中西合璧教育模式的教会大学之一，岭南大学自建校之初就与华侨群体建立

¹ 参见吴前进：《孙中山与海外华侨民族主义》，《华侨华人历史研究》2011年第3期；李明欢：《欧洲华侨华人史》，北京：中国华侨出版社，2002年；班国瑞、邓丽兰：《英国华人社团的历史演变与当代华人社会的转型》，《华侨华人历史研究》2005年第2期。

了密切联系。根据岭南大学奠基人威廉·欧内斯特·霍金（William Ernest Hocking）的评价，亚洲的西式学校其宗旨不是移植西方机制，而是探索具有普遍意义的内核，并使它们适合应用于亚洲(Hocking, 1997, p. xiv)。这一教育理念与华侨群体“学贯中西”的教育诉求高度契合。1908年，钟荣光先生出任岭南大学华人教务长，开始系统性地向海外华侨募捐筹款。民国初期，华侨和侨生为岭南大学带来了显著特色。据档案记载，1914年美国华侨司徒廷芳等人就为岭南大学农学院的设立在美洲华侨中广泛募捐(李瑞明，2005，p. 51)。1927年，钟荣光从美国学者手中正式接任校长职务，标志着岭南大学进入华人主导办学的新阶段。到20世纪30年代初，岭南大学已发展成为占地560英亩、拥有65座建筑的现代化大学，其中华侨捐款发挥了关键作用(Provost，1931，p. 9)。1918年，岭南大学特设华侨班，专门接收华侨子弟回国求学，此举开创了我国高校华侨教育的先河。学校规定“凡生长及家侨海外者，自十二岁至十八岁之学生，无论程度深浅，尽可收录”(郑翰君、张惠萍 2012, 89-90)。华侨学校的低门槛受到海外侨胞的热烈欢迎，侨生人数逐年增加。据档案资料记载，1932年侨生人数已达140多人，1936年岭南大学附中的侨生有70余人(私立岭南大学校报, 1936, p.20)。这一数据充分说明岭南大学在华侨群体中的重要地位。

（二）岭南大学的办学特色与华侨需求

岭南大学之所以能成为华侨教育的重镇，与其独特的办学特色密切相关。首先，岭南大学是第一个向中国政府注册、由中国人接手管理的教会大学，华人教职员工和校董们的贡献突出。与美国学者精诚合作的同时，华人精英领袖不仅占教授中的三分之二，而且在校董会中也占多数，并承担筹募经费的责任。（Lingnan College Sun Yat-sen University 2024）这种华人主导的办学模式使岭南大学能够更好地理解和满足华侨群体的教育需求。其次，岭南大学实行中西合璧的教育模式。按照钟荣光校长的办学宗旨，即培养“世界各国通行之教育”的全球通识人才，岭南大学的毕业生可以进入西方的顶级名校深造，同时也欢迎西方人和海外华裔到岭南吸取中华文明养分。(张惠萍，2011，p.4)。这种开放包容的教育理念，为华侨子女提供了在中西文化之间自由穿行的可能性。再次，岭南大学建立了完善的华侨支持体系。岭南大学是20世纪初中国最早建立中美双向交流机制的高校之一，并在1930年代率先开展较为制度化的美国交换生项目，为跨太平洋教育交流提供了重要平台。美国交换生可以享受免学费和住宿费，但要承担食物和交通费用。

（三）华侨教育的文化意义

岭南大学华侨教育的核心意义在于它为海外华侨子女提供了文化认同的锚点。王赓武教授指出，海外华人的身份认同具有多重维度，既有对所在国的政治认同，也有对中国的文化认同(Wang, 1997, p.131-151)。对于在北美出生和成长的华侨第三代而言，他们面临着双重文化压力：一方面要融入西方主流社会，另一方面又要维系中华文化传统。岭南大学恰好为他们提供了一个理想的解决方案，他们在这里既能接受高质量的现代教育，又能深入了解和学习中华文化。孔飞力教授的华人理论为我们理解岭南大学的文化意义提供了重要视角。他认为，华人移民网络的本质特征是联系而非分离，移民虽然身在海外，却始终与故乡保持着紧密的经济、社会和文化联系(Kuhn, 2008, p. 320-325)。岭南大学正是连接北美华侨与祖籍地的重要“通道”节点。通过将子女送回岭南大学求学，华侨家庭不仅

实现了文化传承，更强化了与故土的情感纽带。

值得注意的是，岭南大学华侨教育的影响是双向的。一方面，华侨子女通过岭南大学的学习，加深了对中华文化的理解和认同；另一方面，他们的海外经历和跨文化背景也为岭南大学带来了国际化的视野。这种双向互动使岭南大学成为真正意义上的文化桥梁，促进了中西文化的交流互鉴。

四、三个华侨家族的文化选择

本部分将深入分析李氏、刘氏、司徒氏三个相互联姻的北美华侨家族，探讨他们为何选择将子女送回岭南大学求学，以及这一选择如何反映了他们在家族传承、文化认同和社会适应方面的深层考量。这三个家族的个案生动展现了孔飞力所说的“通道-小生境”模式的运作机制，也印证了王赓武关于海外华人多元身份认同的理论洞察。

（一）李氏家族：中西兼读的教育先锋

1914年10月，出生在加拿大维多利亚的李毓堃和李毓霖昆仲回国留学，成为家族留学岭南的先锋队。这一选择的背后，是深刻的家学渊源和精心的教育规划。李氏家族的父亲李梦九（1862-1924）是北美大陆上知名的华侨领袖。1889年，他正式成为加拿大海关及移民局通译，肩负华洋沟通之重任。凭借对航运业的深刻洞察，李梦九积极争取成为维多利亚港口的首任亚洲代理，这不仅使他触及环球贸易和移民网络，也拓宽了他的国际视野。通过与司徒春颜的联姻，李梦九进一步巩固了家族在全球商业中的地位，并为子女在东西方世界中的游走打下了坚实的基础(Lee, 2005)。李梦九对教育的重视源于他对中西文化融合的深刻理解。在没有本国领事的年月，他热心侨社，曾任“中华会馆”九届值理，同时醉心教育事业，是“乐群义塾”（1899-1909）创办人之一，并连任正董。为了华童数量的增长和对校舍的需求，李梦九协助共建华人自己的学堂并任名誉校长十一年之久。扩大后的“华侨公立学校”是北美最早和质量最高的华文学校，毕业生可以直接与国内高校接轨。李梦九曾明确表示要“为太平洋两岸的沟通和贸易培养人才”，他与岭南大学前身“格致学堂”的钟荣光和崔通约多有来往，具有共同的教育救国理念，致力于培养兼容并蓄的国际人才（刘静，2024）。1914年，加拿大西部还在逐渐建立起正式的大学，岭南学堂已经蜚声海外。李梦九的两公子在告别加拿大的宴会上致辞道：“将奉父母之命去岭南学习”，在场的侨界领袖纷纷发言鼓励，盛赞他们“中西兼读，未来不可限量”（《大汉日报》，1914, p. 3）。这一场景充分体现了华侨社群对中西合璧教育的高度认同。李毓堃和李毓霖在岭南大学的学习经历为他们日后的发展奠定了坚实基础。1920年，李梦九到香港任加拿大太平洋铁路蒸汽涡轮船运经理，与北美西海岸的亲友们共同经营太平洋运输。他于1924年染疾去世后，其两子接替父亲的职务，掌控太平洋对岸香港的海运业务“昌兴公司”²。能利用中西不同语言文化和知识，经营中、加之间的贸易和运输，李氏的儿女践行了父亲当年的愿望，成为大洋两岸沟通和贸易的人才。

李氏家族的个案充分体现了孔飞力“通道-小生境”理论的精髓。李梦九通过创办华侨

² “昌兴”是加拿大太平洋铁路公司在香港的公司名称，相关档案藏于不列颠哥伦比亚大学图书馆。香港的《南华早报》和温哥华的《大汉公报》对李家公子的海运工作有所报道。

学校、与岭南大学建立联系，为子女搭建了一条从北美到中国的教育通道。这条通道不仅服务于单个家庭，更惠及整个华侨社群。1915年维多利亚的华侨公立学校毕业生，华裔子弟步李氏昆仲的后尘，随同先生黄笏南，横渡太平洋投身岭南大学。这种基于地缘、业缘和血缘的社会网络，正是华人移民得以在异国他乡生存发展的重要机制。

（二）刘氏家族：跨国教育的代际传承

刘氏家族的故事展现了华侨家庭如何通过跨代努力实现文化认同的传承与重构。作为李氏的远亲，刘氏家族同样期望其后代能够融合中西文化。刘乾，刘氏家族的第一代移民，广东台山人，自学成才，成为美国西部矿山和铁路的承包商，育有六名子女，并与加拿大的司徒森和李梦九建立了联系。刘乾在去世前成功经营唐人街多家公司，涉足进出口及零售贸易，其业务在西雅图英文报纸上广为宣传。这种商业上的成功为后代的教育发展奠定了经济基础。民国初始，教育救国是全球有识之士的目标。刘乾的长子吉祺是毕业于美国华盛顿大学的首位华人学生，又是晚清的“法政科举人”。刘吉祺的儿子、刘氏的长孙毓麟（Lawrence Kay Lew, 1914-1943）与司徒氏的长孙炳唐（Wilfred Bientang Seto, 1914-1960）同岁，但分别在太平洋的两岸出生。在李氏兄弟留学岭南大学期间，刘吉祺已在北洋政府的新式高校担任职务。他与美国西北角荣誉领事阮洽的女儿结为伉俪，婚后一同前往中国，投身于唐山交通大学的工作。刘吉祺从中国回到西雅图后，出任副领事，阮洽将出席公共场合演讲的任务都交给女婿。刘吉祺辅佐岳父管理家族的矿产生意，同时承担美国西北地区的侨务。他在20世纪30年代起担任民国驻西雅图的领事，在为侨胞们争取权益的同时，也希望子女能学贯中西。刘家的毓麟和毓真兄妹分别在1934和1935年作为美国华盛顿大学的在校学生交换至岭南留学。

刘氏家族的个案深刻反映了华侨家庭在文化认同传承方面的复杂考量。一方面，他们希望子女能够融入西方主流社会，获得优质的教育资源，如刘毓麟、刘毓真都先进入华盛顿大学学习；另一方面，他们又担心子女完全西化，失去中华文化根基。岭南大学的交换生项目恰好为这种两难处境提供了解决方案，子女可以在完成美国学业的同时，到中国深入了解祖籍文化。这一选择背后，是华侨家庭对身份认同的深刻洞察。王赓武教授指出，海外华人的身份认同不是非此即彼的单项选择，而是可以同时拥有多重认同的复杂结构（Wang, 2000, p. 123-145）。刘氏家族的选择正是这种多元认同策略的体现，他们既认同美国的政治制度和生活方式，又希望保留中华文化的价值观念和行为规范。岭南大学为他们提供了实现这一目标的制度性途径。

（三）司徒家族：家族网络的跨国运作

司徒家族的个案最能体现孔飞力“通道-小生境”模式的完整运作机制。这个家族不仅在商业上取得成功，更在文化传承和社会服务方面建树颇丰，成为北美华侨社群的典范。司徒森（字藩贞，1837-1927）是清代例贡生，作为奔赴西海岸谋生的第一代华人，初到加拿大时，面临着日益恶化的政治环境及针对华工的歧视。他与华商共同建立了“中华会馆”，旨在保护华人社群并提供互助。该组织不仅促进了华人的团结，还从广东聘请专业教师，确保第二代华人在接受西方教育的同时，也能接受传统中文教育。司徒家族积极参与中华会馆和华侨学校的建设，并在公益事业上出钱出力，其贡献不仅限于华人社群

(*Daily Colonist*, 1900, p.8)。司徒氏的六个子女是在加拿大最早出生的华裔二代。长女司徒春颜于 1892 年嫁给了海关总通译李梦九，长子司徒旆在 1913 年迎娶美国西雅图华商刘乾之女刘玉柳。这两个联姻案例具有深刻的象征意义，它们不仅是两个个体的结合，更是三个华侨家族的联盟，构建了一个横跨美加两国的商业、教育和文化网络。1914 年 8 月 21 日，司徒氏的第三代炳唐出生。1933 年，司徒炳唐进入不列颠哥伦比亚大学，面对未来职业发展的不确定性，他和妹妹司徒美先受到家族中已在岭南大学学习的堂兄表姐的影响，决定赴岭南大学留学。1936 年 8 月 22 日，在父母的鼓励下，兄妹俩启程前往中国，开启了留学生涯。(Vancouver Sun, 1936, p. 10)。

司徒旆传承了父亲司徒森、姐夫李梦九的海外侨教理念，且热衷于美、加的华侨教育事业。他有短暂的多伦多大学求学经历，被誉为华裔二代学贯中西的学者。他不仅从海外中文学校为国内输入人才，也为国内学子留学西方创造条件。1906 年，他领导一群热血青年在维多利亚成立了“尚志学校”，专门服务于有意求学西方的国人。1912 年，他与姐夫李梦九一样成为加拿大太平洋铁路公司的远洋邮轮经理，负责温哥华和亚洲之间的客务，并于年底前往美国西雅图，为华侨学校落成代表加拿大的侨胞和教育界致辞(《世界日报》1909)。司徒家族的跨国网络运作在第三代的教育选择上表现得淋漓尽致。1937 年，家族第三代正值青春年华，本是成家立业之时，却因国家危机而投身民族救亡。在上海过暑假的司徒炳唐加入万国商团救助伤员维持难民营秩序。他本来已经于南京沦陷前返回加拿大，但在两年后重返岭南与民国女飞行中尉、外交官郑汉英成婚，并协助郑在北美为民国空军赢得支持。刘毓真则留在上海积极参与制作防毒面具，不愿离去。早在华盛顿大学的刘毓麟就是学校辩论队的领，他在岭南大学表现优秀，后被哈佛商学院录取，并于 1940 年秋毕业，本可以继承家业，却一心在美国宣传抗日并要加入空军到中国抗战(《The Seattle Star》, 1937, p.10)。他以美军第 14 航空队中尉教官身份，随军舰经北非航线赴中国昆明执行任务。同年 11 月 26 日，该舰在航行途中遭德军袭击沉没，刘毓麟不幸遇难，时年二十八岁)。司徒家族的个案深刻揭示了华侨家族如何通过跨国网络实现文化传承和社会适应。这一往来过程呈现明显特征：第一，基于地缘和血缘的紧密联系。司徒、李氏、刘氏三个家族均来自广东省，通过联姻形成了紧密的亲属网络。这一网络横跨美加两国，在商业、政治、教育等领域相互支持。第二，对教育和公益的共同追求。三个家族都高度重视子女教育，共同创办了华侨公立学校，为华侨社群提供教育服务。这种对教育的重视代代相传，成为家族文化的重要组成部分。第三，在中西文化之间的灵活穿行。家族成员既能在西方社会中获得成功，如司徒旆成为加拿大太平洋铁路公司的远洋邮轮经理，又能保持对中华文化的认同，如将子女送回岭南大学求学。这种文化上的双重能力使他们成为中西交流的桥梁。第四，对祖籍地的持续关怀。虽然身在北美，司徒家族始终牵挂着故国的命运。从第一代接待康有为等改良派，到第二代支持辛亥革命，再到第三代投身抗日战争，家族的每一代人都以不同方式参与着中国的事务。这种家国情怀正是华侨文化认同的重要体现。

(四) 三个家族个案的共性与差异

通过对李氏、刘氏、司徒氏三个家族的深入分析，我们可以发现以下共性：首先，三个家族都具有强烈的文化认同焦虑。他们虽然身在北美，拥有较好的经济条件和社会地位，

但始终担心子女完全西化，失去中华文化根基。这种焦虑源于华侨群体在异国他乡的边缘化处境，他们既不被西方主流社会完全接纳，又担心被中华文化圈边缘化。其次，三个家族都将岭南大学视为解决文化认同焦虑的理想途径。岭南大学的中西合璧教育模式、华人主导的办学特色、对华侨学生的特别照顾，都使其成为华侨家庭的理想选择，他们认为子女们既能获得现代教育，又能深入了解中华文化，实现“学贯中西”的教育目标。再次，三个家族的选择都体现了“通道-小生境”模式的运作机制。他们通过家族网络、地缘关系、商业联系等多种渠道，构建了一条从北美到岭南的教育通道。这条通道不仅服务于单个家庭，更惠及整个华侨社群。然而，三个家族的个案也存在明显差异：李氏家族更强调商业实用主义，他们选择岭南大学主要是为了培养“中西兼读”的贸易人才，以服务于家族的商业网络。刘氏家族更注重学术传承，他们通过交换生项目实现中美教育的结合，体现了对学术质量的高度关注。司徒家族则更具有家国情怀和社会责任感，他们的选择不仅考虑家族利益，更关注华侨社群的整体发展和中国的民族命运。这些共性与差异共同构成了华侨教育选择的复杂图景，也为相关理论提供了丰富的实证材料。

五、理论对话：离散、回归与文化身份认同

本研究希望在前述个案研究的基础上，在华侨史、微观史的研究基础上尝试探讨华侨教育在文化身份认同建构中的理论意义，希望进一步推进对华侨文化认同机制的理解。

（一）“通道—小生境”模式与华侨教育

上文已陈述，孔飞力提出的“通道-小生境”模式是理解中国移民历史的重要理论框架。该模式认为，华人移民并非孤立的个体行为，而是通过一条条通往海外的“通道”完成的系统性迁移。通道的两端是小小的社会环境：一端是侨乡，另一端是移民聚居地；移民在远方分布着的小圈子中维持生计，这些圈子就是“小生境” (Kuhn, 2008, p. 12-18)。岭南大学正是连接北美华侨与祖籍地的重要“通道”节点，这一发现可进一步阐释和丰富孔飞力的理论。

第一，教育通道的多重功能。在孔飞力的论述中，“通道”主要涉及经济和社会层面，移民通过通道获得资金、信息和社会支持，在异国他乡建立生计。然而，岭南大学的案例表明，教育通道具有更为丰富的文化内涵。它不仅是知识和技能的传递渠道，更是文化认同的建构机制。通过岭南大学这一教育通道，华侨子女得以深入了解中华文化，强化与故土的情感联系，实现文化身份的确认与重构。第二，“小生境”的文化意义。孔飞力强调，华人移民在异国他乡建立的“小生境”是为了应对歧视和边缘化而采取的适应性策略。本文的研究发现，“小生境”不仅是生存策略，更是文化选择。司徒、李氏、刘氏等华侨家族在北美建立的华侨学校、中华会馆等机构，不仅服务于经济生存，更承载着文化传承的使命。他们主动选择将子女送回岭南大学求学，正是为了强化这一文化“小生境”的功能。第三，“通道”的动态演变。孔飞力指出，华人移民的这种模式具有跨时代的韧性，能够根据时代变化而自我调整(李明欢, 2016, p.9)。从1914年李氏昆仲率先留学岭南，到20世纪30年代司徒兄妹、刘氏兄妹陆续前往，再到战后新一代华侨的持续涌入，岭南大学的华侨教育通道经历了不同的发展阶段。每个阶段都呈现出不同的特征，反映了华侨群体在不

同时代背景下的文化需求。第四，“回归”的多元内涵。孔飞力认为，中国移民的“侨居”观念，即在国外工作一段时间后回归故里塑造了移民的基本心态。然而，通过三个家族的相关梳理发现，“回归”具有多元内涵。对于岭南大学的华侨校友而言，“回归”不仅是地理上的返乡，更是文化上的寻根、身份上的确认。许多人虽然在岭南大学毕业后又回到北美，但他们带回了深厚的中华文化素养，成为中西文化交流的桥梁，这种“精神回归”比物理回归更具深远意义。

（二）多元认同与文化协商

王赓武教授（1959）关于海外华人多元认同的理论为本文提供了重要的分析框架。他将中国移民历史分析为四种形态：华商、华工、华侨和华裔，并指出海外华人的身份认同具有多重维度，既有对所在国的政治认同，也有对中国的文化认同。首先，认同的代际差异。王赓武的研究主要关注东南亚华人，其身份认同经历了从“叶落归根”到“落地生根”的转变。本文研究的北美华侨第三代则呈现出更为复杂的代际特征。他们既不同于第一代移民对中国文化的完全认同，也不同于第二代移民在两种文化之间的摇摆，而是试图在更高层次上实现中西文化的融合。岭南大学正是实现这一文化融合的理想场所。其次，认同的情境性。华侨的身份认同并非固定不变，而是根据不同的社会情境而动态调整。在北美主流社会面前，他们可能更强调自己的美国或加拿大身份；在华人群体内部，他们又更突出自己的中华文化认同；在中西文化交流的场合，他们则能够灵活地运用双重文化资本。这种情境性的认同策略使他们在多元文化环境中游刃有余。再次，认同的协商性。本文的个案研究表明，华侨的身份认同是在家庭、社群、学校等多重力量的影响下不断协商建构的。李氏家族强调商业实用主义，刘氏家族注重学术传承，司徒家族则更关注家国情怀，这些不同的家族取向塑造了后代不同的身份认同模式。岭南大学作为教育机构，在这一协商过程中发挥了关键的引导作用。最后，认同的实践性。王赓武强调，海外华人的身份认同需要在实践中不断确认和强化。岭南大学的华侨校友通过参与各种文化活动、社会实践和抗日救亡运动，不断确认和强化自己的中华文化认同。刘毓麟在岭南大学期间参与抗议日本侵略的集会，司徒炳唐在上海参加万国军团救护伤员，这些实践经历深刻影响了他们的身份认同建构。

（三）离散理论与华侨教育

近年来，离散理论在国际学术界兴起，为理解移民群体的文化认同提供了新的理论视角。离散理论强调移民群体与故土之间持续的文化、情感和想象性联系，认为这种联系塑造了移民群体的身份认同和文化实践。本研究发现，岭南大学华侨教育正是离散理论的生动例证。具体体现在以下几个方面：第一，想象的共同体。美国学者本尼迪克特·安德森（1983）在其名著《想象的共同体》中指出，民族是一种想象的政治共同体。华侨群体通过岭南大学这一文化符号，构建了一个跨越太平洋的“想象的共同体”。他们虽身在北美，却通过将子女送回岭南大学求学，保持着与祖籍地的文化联系，维系着对中华文化的认同，这种想象性的联系成为他们身份认同的重要组成部分。第二，文化记忆的传承。离散群体的一个重要特征是保持对故土的文化记忆。岭南大学为华侨子女提供了直接接触中华文化的机会，使他们得以亲身感受和体验祖籍文化，将家庭中的文化记忆转化为个人的文化体

验。这种文化记忆的传承是华侨身份认同的重要基础。第三，双重意识的形成。美国非裔学者 W.E.B. Du Bois (1903) 提出了“双重意识” (double consciousness) 的概念，描述非裔美国人在两种文化身份之间的矛盾处境。本研究发现，岭南大学的华侨校友也形成了类似的双重意识，他们既认同西方文化，又保持中华文化认同；既能在西方社会中游刃有余，又能在中华文化圈中找到归属感。这种双重意识不是身份认同的障碍，而是跨文化能力的体现。第四，跨国网络的构建。离散理论强调移民群体构建的跨国社会网络。岭南大学正是这样一个跨国网络的重要节点。通过岭南大学的校友网络，华侨群体得以在北美和中国之间建立持久的社会联系，实现信息、资源和人员的跨国流动，这一网络不仅服务于个体发展，更促进了中西文化的交流互鉴。

(四) 教会大学与中西文化交流

岭南大学作为教会大学，其中西合璧的教育模式为理解中西文化交流提供了重要案例。近年来，学术界对教会大学的研究日益深入，特别是对其在中西文化交流中作用的探讨。美国学者鲁珍晞 (Jessie G. Lutz, 1971) 在其研究中指出，教会大学是中西文化交流的重要桥梁，它们既传播了西方文化，也促进了中华文化的研究和传承。岭南大学虽然由美国长老会创办，但在华人校长钟荣光的领导下，逐渐形成了“中西兼读”的教育特色。这种特色恰好满足了华侨群体的教育需求，他们既希望子女接受现代教育，又不愿放弃中华文化传统。本研究还发现，岭南大学的中西合璧教育模式对华侨身份认同的建构产生了深远影响。一方面，这种教育模式使华侨子女得以深入了解中华文化，强化了文化认同；另一方面，它又保持了与西方教育的接轨，使他们能够在完成岭南大学学业后继续在西方深造或就业。这种教育上的灵活性为华侨群体在多元文化环境中的生存发展提供了重要支持。此外，岭南大学的华侨教育实践也为理解全球化背景下的教育流动提供了历史参照。近年来，国际学术界对跨国教育流动的研究日益增多。岭南大学的案例表明，这种教育流动并非新现象，早在 20 世纪初期，华侨群体就已经在北美和中国之间进行系统的教育流动。这一历史经验对于理解当代跨国教育现象具有重要的参考价值。

六、结语

本文以 20 世纪初期北美华侨第三代回归岭南大学接受中文教育为切入点，通过对李氏、刘氏、司徒氏三个华侨家族个案的深入分析，探讨了华侨教育在文化身份认同建构中的历史作用，并与孔飞力、王赓武等学者的研究进行了理论对话。研究发现，岭南大学作为华侨教育的重镇，不仅为华侨子女提供了文化认同的锚点，更成为连接海外华侨与中华文化的重要桥梁。第一，岭南大学华侨教育的兴起具有深刻的历史必然性。19 世纪中叶至 20 世纪初期，大量华南民众移居北美，形成了规模宏大的华侨社群。这些华侨虽然身在异国他乡，却始终与故土保持着紧密联系，形成了独特的“侨居”文化现象。他们既希望子女融入西方主流社会，又担心完全西化失去中华文化根基。岭南大学的中西合璧教育模式恰好满足了这一需求，成为华侨群体解决文化认同焦虑的理想途径。第二，华侨家族选择岭南大学具有多重动因。本文研究的三个家族虽然各有侧重，李氏家族强调商业实用主义，刘氏家族注重学术传承，司徒家族则更关注家国情怀，但他们都认识到岭南大学在文化传

承和身份建构方面的重要价值。通过将子女送回岭南大学求学，他们不仅实现了家族的文化遗产，更强化了与故土的情感纽带。第三，岭南大学华侨教育体现了“通道-小生境”模式的运作机制。通过家族网络、地缘关系、商业联系等多种渠道，华侨群体构建了一条从北美到岭南的教育通道。这条通道不仅服务于单个家庭，更惠及整个华侨社群。岭南大学作为“通道”的重要节点，为华侨群体提供了文化认同的建构机制。第四，华侨身份认同具有多元、动态、情境性的特征。

本文的研究表明，华侨的身份认同不是非此即彼的单项选择，而是可以同时拥有多重认同的复杂结构。这种认同根据不同的社会情境而动态调整，在家庭、社群、学校等多重力量的影响下不断协商建构，岭南大学在这一协商过程中发挥了关键的引导作用。第五，岭南大学华侨教育对中西文化交流产生了深远影响。一方面，它为华侨子女提供了深入了解中华文化的机会；另一方面，它又保持了与西方教育的接轨，使他们能够在完成岭南大学学业后继续在西方深造或就业。这种教育上的灵活性为华侨群体在多元文化环境中的生存发展提供了重要支持。当前，海外华文教育面临着如何在保持中华文化特色的同时融入当地社会的挑战。岭南大学的经验表明，中西合璧的教育模式、开放包容的办学理念、对华侨需求的深刻理解，是海外华文教育成功的关键。在多元文化社会中，如何处理好本族文化认同与主流文化认同的关系，是许多人面临的现实问题。岭南大学的经验表明，双重文化认同不是障碍，而是跨文化能力的体现。通过教育引导，可以帮助个体在多元文化环境中找到自我定位。其次，岭南大学作为教会大学，在中西文化交流方面发挥了重要作用。这一经验表明，教育交流是促进文化理解的重要途径，宗教、文化、教育等多种因素可以在此找到交汇点。在此过程中可以发现岭南大学的华侨教育实践表明，吸引华侨子女回国求学是维系华侨与祖籍地联系的有效方式。通过提供优质的教育服务，可以满足华侨群体的文化需求，增强他们对祖籍地的认同感。

司徒、李氏、刘氏也许是千万华侨家族中的一个缩影，折射了华侨家族尤其是华侨第三代人的多数状况。他们成长的轨迹和家族的发展，勾画出华侨群体最为常见的成长和教育路径。通过对这些华侨家族的历史考察，我们不仅能够观察到这些家族在海外社会中的奋斗与成就，还能深入了解到华侨群体在文化融合、身份认同以及对祖国的深厚情感方面的独特经历。岭南大学作为华侨教育的先驱，为海外华侨子女提供了深入了解和学习中华文化的机会。通过教育，这些华侨子女能够更好地理解和认同自己的文化根源，从而在异国他乡中建立起坚实的文化身份认同。岭南大学的教育理念和学术氛围，深深影响了这些家族的后代，使他们在继承家族传统的同时，成为具有国际视野的新一代华侨。在全球化日益深入的今天，华侨群体的文化身份认同问题仍然具有重要的现实意义。如何在保持文化特色的同时融入多元社会，如何在跨国流动中维系文化认同，如何在双重文化背景下实现自我发展，这些百年前的历史课题，至今仍然值得我们深入思考和探索。岭南大学华侨教育的历史经验，为我们理解和应对这些当代挑战提供了宝贵的历史资源和智慧启迪。

基金项目：本文系韬奋基金会 2025 年度规划课题“粤港澳期刊出版与近现代韬奋精神的跨域传播实践”（编号：TF2025138）研究成果之一。

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Surina ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1060-6511>

Liu Jing ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0002-1796-3148>

References:

Anderson, Benedict (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso.

班国瑞、邓丽兰(2005): “英国华人社团的历史演变与当代华人社会的转型”,《华侨华人历史研究》(02)。

[Benton, Gregor & Deng, Lilan (2005). "The Historical Evolution of British Chinese Associations and the Transformation of Contemporary Chinese Society." *Overseas Chinese History Studies* (02).]

“Lew Kay to Talk” (1937) .*The Seattle Star*, October 27, Page 10.

“Goon Dip’s Keen Wounded, Killed” (1944) .*The Seattle Star*, August 9, , p. 2.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1903). *The Souls of Black Folk*. A.C. McClurg & Co.

刘静（2024）：《振振公族：近代北美司徒氏家族的传奇故事》。广西师范大学出版社。

[Liu Jing (2024). *Zhenzhen Gongzu: The Legendary Story of the Situ Family in Modern North America*. Guangxi Normal University Press.].

“李毓堃兄弟回国回粤岭南求学之佳音”，《大汉日报》1914年10月22日，第3版。

[“Good News of Li Yukun and His Brothers Returning to China and Studying in Lingnan.” (1914, October 22). *The Chinese Daily News*, p. 3.]

Wang, Gungwu (1959). *A Short History of the Nanyang Chinese*. Eastern Universities Press.

Gungwu, Wang (1997). “*Migration and Its Enemies*”. In *Global History and Migrations*. Westview Press.

Gungwu, Wang (2000). *The Chinese Overseas: From Earthbound China to the Quest for Autonomy*. Harvard University Press: 45-67, 123-145.

“Indian Famine Fund: Contributed by Chinese Women and Children”, *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 9, 1900, p.8

“演说代论:续舍路华侨公立学堂开校演说词”，《世界日报》1909年12月15日，第1版。

[“Speech as Editorial: Continuation of the Opening Address at the Shelu Overseas Chinese Public School.” (1909, December 15). *The Chinese World*, p. 1.]

Provost, Henry (1931). “Prospectus Traces History and Rapid Development of Lingnan University.” *The China Press*, Oct. 26, Page 9.

Hocking, William Ernest (1997): 《岭南大学·前言》。岭南大学筹募发展委员会。

[Hocking, William Ernest (1997). “Lingnan University: Preface”. Lingnan University Fund-raising and Development Committee.]

Lee, Jack Wai Yen (2006). *The Legacy of Lee Mong Kow Prefecture: Immortality of Heritage and Roots-2*. Victoria, BC: Privately Printed.

Kuhn, Philip A. (2008). *Chinese Among Others: Emigration in Modern Times*. NUS Press.

李明欢（2002）：《欧洲华侨华人史》。中国华侨出版社。

[Li, Minghuan (2002). *A History of Chinese Overseas in Europe*. China Overseas Publishing House.]

李瑞明（2005）：《南国凤凰：中山大学岭南大学学院》。商务印书馆。

[Li, Ruiming (2005). *South China Phoenix: Lingnan College, Sun Yat-sen University*. Commercial Press: 51.]

刘宏（2003）：“王赓武教授与海外华人研究:方法论的初步观察”，《华侨华人历史研究》（01）。

[Liu, Hong (2003). “Professor Wang Gungwu and Overseas Chinese Studies: Preliminary Observations on Methodology.” *Overseas Chinese History Studies* (01).]

Lutz, Jessie G. (1971). *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*. Cornell University Press.

“National Indian Famine Fund” (1897), *Daily Colonist*, Feb. 23, Page 5.

“Off Study in Orient.” (1936), *Vancouver Sun*, 25, August, Page 10.

吴前进（2011）：“孙中山与海外华侨民族主义”，《华侨华人历史研究》（03）。

[Wu, Qianjin (2011). “Sun Yat-sen and Overseas Chinese Nationalism.” *Overseas Chinese History Studies* (03).]

徐一良（2018）：《学府遗珍》。生活·读书·新知三联书店。

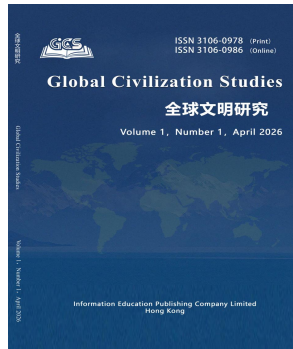
[Xu, Yiliang (2018). *Institutional Treasures*. SDX Joint Publishing Company: 82.]

张惠萍（2011）：“钟荣光的教育理念”，《中国社会科学报·人文岭南》。

[Zhang, Huiping (2011 October 13). “Zhong Rongguang's Educational Philosophy.” *China Social Sciences Today: Humanities Lingnan*.]

郑翰君、张惠萍（2012）：“钟荣光与岭南大学的华侨募捐活动”，《兰台世界》（34）：89-90。

[Zheng, Hanjun & Zhang, Huiping (2012). “Zhong Rongguang and the Overseas Chinese Fund-raising Activities of Lingnan University.” *Lantai World* (34): 89-90.]



Global Civilization Studies

GCS, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2026, pp.41-76.

Print ISSN: 3106-0978; Online ISSN: 3106-0986

Journal homepage: <https://www.gcsjournal.com>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.64058/gcs260104psecc>



A Preliminary Study of Early Chinese-Canadian Literature (1882–1966)

Guo Ding and Baoheng Jia

Abstract: Drawing on literary historical materials discovered over the past decade, this article undertakes a dual investigation utilizing both theoretical and textual research to explore the origins of Chinese-language literature in Canada, clarifying shortcomings and misinterpretations in previous studies on this topic. By examining Chinese literary works published in newspapers and community periodicals over nearly eighty years (1882-1966) along with related community contexts and literary activities of key figures, this study outlines a relatively comprehensive trajectory of Chinese language literary development in Canada. On this basis, it seeks to construct an academic framework for the study of early Chinese-language literature, thereby addressing the current state of conflicting opinions on early Chinese-Canadian literature. Notably, the discovery and analysis of the literary characteristics in *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* provide fresh perspectives on several key issues, including the timeline pertaining to the origins of early Chinese-Canadian literature, the “Non-Siyi”(Four Counties of Guangdong) background of its authorship, and the diary’s reflection of the historical era of railway construction. Furthermore, the logical analysis of Chinese wall poetry corrects long-standing misunderstandings concerning the origins of early Chinese-Canadian literature. Finally, through its analytical positioning across multiple dimensions and genres of Chinese-Canadian literary production, the study opens up a new yet clearly defined path for research on early Chinese-Canadian literature.

Keywords: A Preliminary Exploration of the Origins of Chinese-Canadian Literature; *The Diary of Dukesang Wong*; *Sun Bo*; *The Chinese Times*; Literary Sections

Author Biographies: Guo Ding, Canadian commentator and historian, Senior research fellow at

the Culture Regeneration Research Society, Visiting Professor at Shanghai Normal University. Research focus: China-Canada relations. E-mail: guo_d@hotmail.com. **BaoHeng (Bobbie) Jia**, Scholar and part-time researcher at the Overseas Chinese College of Wenzhou University, Advisor to the Chinese Culture Preservation & Development Association of Canada. Research area: the history of Chinese immigrants in Canada. E-mail: jiabaoheng@hotmail.com.

题目：早期加拿大华文文学初探（1882-1966）

摘要：本文运用近十年发现的文学史料，对加拿大华文文学的缘起做了学术理论和文本研究的双重探讨，辨析了以往华文文学缘起研究的缺失与误读。并通过将近八十年（1882—1966）历史时期刊登在华文报刊和社区刊物上的华文文学作品以及相关的社区、人物的文学活动，勾勒出较为全面的加拿大华文文学发展轨迹，并试图据此建构早期华文文学研究的学术范畴，从而改变迄今为止众说纷纭的加拿大早期华文文学研究的现状。值得注意的是，本文对黄笃生日记的文学特性的发现和挖掘，给早期加华文学起源的时间点、作者身份的“非广东四邑特征”、日记反映的修铁路大时代等问题，带来了崭新的观察点；而本文对华人壁诗的逻辑辨析，纠正了早期加华文学缘起问题的长期误读；最后，本文对涉及加华文学众多层面和作品类别的学术分析定位，为早期加华文学研究开辟了全新但相当清晰的路径。

关键词：加华文学起源初探；黄笃生日记；《新报》；《大汉公报》；文学版面

作者简介：丁果，加拿大评论家，历史学家，文化更新研究中心高级研究员，上海师范大学客座教授。研究方向：中加关系。电邮：guo_d@hotmail.com。**贾葆衡**，独立学者，温州大学华侨学院兼职研究员，加拿大中华文化保护与发展协会顾问。研究方向：加拿大华人移民史。电邮：jiabaoheng@hotmail.com.

Introduction

Research on Chinese-language literature in Canada has a relatively short history, and considerable disagreement remains regarding the definition of its academic scope. This is due to several factors: the scarcity of historical materials, limited number of outstanding works, diverse origins of authors, and difficulty of establishing consistent academic standards. At its core, however, literature is a study of the human experience and reflects human nature. Therefore, the arrival of early Chinese laborers who formed communities in Canada and brought with them the Chinese language allowed the inherent possibility of Chinese literature.

Looking at Canadian history as a whole, prior to the arrival of European groups and the influx of immigrants afterwards, the Indigenous peoples had already lived on this land for thousands of years. Although they left no written records, their orally transmitted historical narratives contain numerous literary elements. Today, many Indigenous communities are in the process of compiling these oral traditions to establish their own unique cultural identities. Within this culture, literature naturally occupies an important role.

Similarly, when we trace the early history of immigrants, especially Chinese laborers, we find that most of the young workers who toiled under harsh conditions during the gold rushes and the construction of the railways came from China's Pearl River Delta, particularly the "Sanyi" (Three Counties) and "Siyi" (Four Counties) regions of Guangdong. Their distinctive experiences laid the foundation for the century-long continuity of Chinese communities in Canada. Although most were illiterate and did not leave behind literary works capable of being passed down through generations, it is reasonable to believe that, as migrants from a civilization with a deep literary tradition, their orally transmitted stories contained rich literary elements. A careful examination of the many family letters left by these Chinese laborers may allow scholars to trace the origins of early Chinese-language literature in the era of the Chinese laborers.

Moreover, research into early Chinese Canadian history has revealed that a number of educated individuals who had received rigorous traditional education and possessed strong literary skills also became "laborers" for various reasons, and crossed the ocean to Canada in pursuit of the "Gold Mountain dream". These individuals may have left behind a considerable number of literary works and reflections on the changing times, their turbulent lives, and the profound shocks of encountering a different culture throughout their diaries and family letters. Such materials constitute a rich resource for the study of early Chinese-language literature, awaiting excavation by later scholars.

The Chinese community in Canada took shape soon after the arrival of early immigrants especially Chinese laborers, reflecting the deep social conditioning of an ancient empire that was long embedded in their habits of life and social organization. At the same time, the vigorous process of modernization in Western society introduced elements quite distinct from those of China into the formation of Chinese communities in Canada. Together, these factors laid the social foundations for the early development of Chinese-language literature in Canada. For example, clan and district associations, Chinese-language schools, and Chinese newspapers that emerged within Chinese communities transcended private forms of writing such as family letters and diaries, providing a public arena and institutional space for the emergence and growth of Chinese-language literature. Meanwhile, the lived experiences of Chinese communities, including social conditions, historical atmosphere, and even the harsh realities of discrimination offered rich and varied material for Chinese-language literary creation.

Among the many struggles faced by overseas Chinese in Canada, a severely imbalanced gender ratio and the absence of family life led to emotional deprivation and spiritual isolation. Additionally, many faced discrimination and segregation in social, economic, political, and educational spheres, furthering the difficulty and harsh conditions of their lives. Yet despite these struggles, they continued to aspire to a better life and refused to abandon their spiritual pursuits. Since literature serves as a crucial vehicle for spiritual life, many individuals wrote Chinese-language plays, composed classical-style poetry and couplets infused with Canadian elements, organized competitions in Chinese couplets and poetry, and established literary supplements in Chinese newspapers to publish literary works by overseas Chinese. They also opened Chinese bookstores and reading rooms, organized lectures on classical learning, and worked to enhance the cultural and literary literacy of their communities. Over time, the literary works written by Chinese Canadians evolved in step with the times. Writings opposing racial discrimination and

supporting the Second World War and China's War of Resistance against Japan continually emerged. At the same time, enduring themes such as nostalgia for the homeland, immigrant life, and the East-West cultural encounter were repeatedly explored.

Using a chronological timeline, it examines the literature through two lenses: the social backgrounds of the authors and the formal characteristics of their writing. It also examines the literary experiences of Chinese communities on the eve of the major expansion of Chinese-Canadian literature that followed the change in Canada's immigration policy in 1967, when successive waves of immigration arrived. In doing so, the study seeks to establish an empirical foundation for positivist research on early Chinese-Canadian literature.

Characteristics of Early Chinese-Canadian Literature

Early Chinese-Canadian literature displays three salient characteristics. First, it lacked well-known writers and canonical works. Literary activity was largely folk-based, and the forms of writing were mostly limited to couplets and classical poetry, with some instances of exchange and poetic response. Among these, the poetic exchanges involving figures such as the diplomat Huang Zunxian 黄遵宪 were particularly significant. Second, the origin of authors were constrained by the regional origins of early Chinese laborers, notably the Province of Guangdong which was where most writers originated from. This naturally emphasized Guangdong regional characteristics in early Chinese literature. It is worth noting, however, that some Chinese laborers and merchants from northern China possessed stronger literary training and writing skills than those of the average Guangdong-born authors. Among these, *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* (黄笃生日记) stands out as a particular example. Third, a considerable number of Chinese-language works appeared in Chinese-language newspapers, indicating that newspapers served as the institutional cradle for early Chinese-Canadian literature.

From the perspective of authors' geographic origins, the sources of Chinese-language writers largely overlapped with those of early Chinese laborers, with the former emerging from the latter. After the start of the gold rush in 1858, Chinese migrants arrived successively in two British colonies in North America: the Colony of Vancouver Island and the Colony of British Columbia. In 1866, the two colonies were merged into a single entity, the United Colony of British Columbia. In 1871, this united colony formally joined the Canadian Confederation and became the Province of British Columbia (BC). From 1858 until the introduction of exclusionary legislation barring Chinese immigration in 1923, the majority of overseas Chinese resided in British Columbia (see Table 1).

Table 1 Chinese Population in Canada and British Columbia(1881–1921)

Census Year	British Columbia	Canada	Percentage of National Total (%)
1881	4350	4383	99.2
1891	8910	9129	97.6
1901	14885	17312	86.0
1911	19568	27831	70.5
1921	23533	39587	59.4

Source: *Census of Canada*, 1881-1921.

During this historical period, the Sanyi and Siyi regions of Guangdong, China constituted the principal places of origin for overseas Chinese in Canada (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2 Distribution of Places of Origin of Chinese Residents in British Columbia(1884-1885)

Total	Taishan	Kaipin	Xinhu	Enpin	Heshan	Panyu	Zengcheng	Zhongshan	Other Counties
5046	1158	939	615	491	302	798	195	111	437

Source: Ticket stubs from the Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 1884–1885.

Table 3 Number of Donors to the Victoria Chinese Hospital(1892–1915)

County / Region	Number of Donors	Percentage of Total (%)
Siyi	4464	72.5
Sanyi	671	10.8
Other Counties	1020	16.7
Total	6155	100.0

Source: Compiled from 104 booklets of Victoria Chinese hospital donation receipt stubs, dated 1892-1915.

It is worth noting that prior to the enactment of *the Chinese Immigration Act, 1923*, unemployment and waves of anti-Chinese sentiment had already prompted an eastward migration of Chinese residents from British Columbia. As a result, Chinese-language literary activities naturally followed the movement of the Chinese population, shifting with varying degrees toward the prairie provinces in central Canada and Ontario and Quebec in eastern Canada. This movement introduced a measure of regional variation into Chinese-language literary production, although the mainstream of such activity remained centered in British Columbia (see Table 4).

Table 4 Distribution of the Chinese Population by Province, 1921

Province	Chinese Population
British Columbia	23533
Ontario	5625
Alberta	3581
Quebec	2335
Saskatchewan	2667
Manitoba	1331
Other provinces or territories	515
Canada (Total)	39587

Source: *Census of Canada*, 1921.

As time passed and second-generation Chinese Canadians were born, Chinese-language literature also began to exhibit patterns of intergenerational transmission. Figures who exemplify

these changing characteristics include Lin Libin 林礼斌, Situ Mao 司徒旄, and Xu Zile 徐子乐, all of whom were born in Victoria, British Columbia.

After the Second World War, with the repeal of *the Chinese Immigration Act, 1923*, the Chinese population gradually increased and became distributed across Canada as a whole (see Table 5). At the same time, Chinese-language newspapers and other literary forums expanded nationwide. Consequently, Chinese-language literature moved beyond its earlier situation of being concentrated almost exclusively in British Columbia and became a literary phenomenon shared by Chinese communities across the country.

Table 5 Chinese Population by Province and Region in Canada(1951- 1961)

Province / Region	1951	1961
British Columbia	15933	24227
Ontario	6997	15155
Alberta	3451	6937
Saskatchewan	2144	3660
Quebec	1904	4749
Manitoba	1175	1936
Nova Scotia	516	637
Newfoundland	186	445
New Brunswick	146	274
Yukon	37	100
Prince Edward Island	35	43
Northwest Territories	4	34
Total	32528	58197

Source: *Census of Canada*, 1951, Volume 1, p.32-2.; *Census of Canada*, 1961, Series 1.2, p.35-2.

As noted above, the foundation for the nationwide development of Chinese-language literature in Canada lay in the spread of the Chinese population and its writers across the country. For example, Ma Jinghu 马镜湖, who resided in Ontario. Writers based in British Columbia included Lin Honggong 林洪公, Yan Zhiya 颜志炎, Lin Xiaotang 林筱唐, Huang Hunan 黄笏南, Luo Zhongyue 骆仲约, and Lei Jipan 雷基磐. Some figures were active across provincial boundaries, such as Reverend Fong Dewen 冯德文, whose activities extended across Alberta and British Columbia. In addition, there were writers such as Dakuan 黄宽达, who lived in Calgary, Alberta; Cao Yudou 曹禹斗, who resided in Winnipeg, Manitoba; and Situ Shunong 司徒树浓, who lived in Ottawa, Ontario.

It is also worth noting that after the repeal of *the Chinese Immigration Act, 1923* in 1947, the number of Chinese immigrants from various parts of the world gradually increased. This influx encouraged the immigration of Chinese-language writers to Canada, raising the overall standard of Chinese-language literary production to a level far higher than that of the early Chinese laborer period, and giving rise to well-known writers and literary works. For instance, writers who came

to Canada from Asia, such as Feng Feng 冯冯 and Ge Yifan 葛逸凡, possessed a relatively high level of literary training. The works they produced in Canada differed markedly from those written by earlier generations of overseas Chinese in terms of style, form, content, and language. However, because the readership for Chinese-language literature in Canada remained limited, most of these writers' works were published in Asia rather than in Canada.

A Preliminary Exploration of the Origins of Chinese-Canadian Literature and Selected Literary Events

Tracing the early origins of Chinese-Canadian literature is challenging, for the simple reason that representative works and writers are scarce. Thus, the academic scope of Chinese-Canadian literature has been difficult to establish. In other words, while theories about its origins have long conflicted, no definitive study has yet reconciled these competing interpretations. As noted above, the broad conception of Chinese-Canadian literature is grounded in "folk literature": wherever sizeable Chinese communities and social circles existed, literary activity was an indispensable element embedded in community life, even though its forms were highly diverse and could manifest themselves in something as commonplace as New Year couplets displayed on doorways.

When addressing the origins of Chinese-Canadian literature, two basic criteria are generally considered. First, the time period must be early, and second, there must be identifiable works and authors. From this perspective, the present study seeks to locate the origins of Chinese-Canadian literature from two directions. The first is traditional literary works produced within the lives of early Chinese communities (including writers and diplomats residing temporarily in North America). The second is the literary experiences and written records that emerged from the distinctive living environments of early Chinese in Canada, including gold mining and railway construction. In fact, early Chinese-language literature in Canada reveals two primary characteristics: first, an extension of traditional forms driven by nostalgia for the homeland; and second, an adaptation of those same forms to document the lived experiences of immigrants in Canada.

The author has identified an important work and writer that exemplify the literary experiences and textual records of early Chinese in Canada's distinctive living environments—namely, *The Diary of Dukesang Wong*. At present, the earliest and most substantial representative example of traditional literary works reflecting the lives of early North American Chinese communities (including writers and diplomats residing in North America) can be found in *Jinshan Lianyu*, compiled in the mid-1880s by the diplomat Huang Zunxian in San Francisco. Because Huang Zunxian's diplomatic and literary activities in the United States involved numerous Chinese communities and literary works in Canada, his contributions are considered part of the origins of Chinese-Canadian literature. Related literary materials within this category include poetic and couplet exchanges among North American literati, couplets inscribed on ceremonial archways erected by Chinese communities, congratulatory couplets composed for the founding of Chinese associations, and Chinese wall poems written at the Victoria quarantine station, among others.

The Diary of Dukesang Wong

The Diary of Dukesang Wong is a private journal written by Huang Dusheng 黄笃生 (Dukesang Wong, Huang Shizhe 又名黄世哲), a Chinese laborer who participated in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Composed over a span of sixty years and across two geographic spaces—China and North America—the diary possesses a dual character as both a firsthand historical witness and a work with distinct literary qualities. While providing detailed personal accounts of the great era of railway construction by Chinese laborers in Canada, it also opens up new possibilities for tracing the origins of Chinese-Canadian literature. Notably, Huang Dusheng lived successively in both China and Canada, endowing his diary with rich testimony to Sino-Western cultural encounters and the psychological fluctuations accompanying such experiences.

What deserves particular attention is that although Huang Dusheng came to North America, he was originally from the Beijing area and had received a formal traditional education in China, even having worked as a private tutor himself.(McIlwraith, 2020).In other words, his writing differs from the predominantly “Lingnan” (Guangdong) coloration of early Chinese-Canadian literature and instead bears a stronger connection to the traditions of the Central Plains. Especially remarkable is the fact that *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* contains exceptionally rich psychological descriptions and reflections on life, along with detailed and nuanced comparisons between Eastern and Western cultures. As a result, the diary is imbued with a distinct literary appeal that makes it engaging to read and, in many respects, comparable to orthodox literary works that aim to “convey moral principles through writing” and to “express emotion through poetic reflection.”

For these reasons, the emergence of *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* effectively resolves the long-standing difficulty in tracing the origins of Chinese-Canadian literature, providing a solid foundation for such inquiry by fulfilling the essential scholarly criteria required to establish literary origins: a work (the diary) and an author (Huang Dusheng). Moreover, the earliest Canadian sections of the diary coincide with the great era of Canadian Pacific Railway construction, and the historical elements it presents constitute precisely the kind of distinctive temporal background and atmosphere that are central to literary works. In other words, as the earliest work currently identifiable in Chinese-Canadian literature, *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* possesses scholarly and literary significance that far exceeds that of Chinese laborer wall poems, traditional literati exchanges, and the composition of couplets and parallel inscriptions that have previously been classified as early Chinese-Canadian literature. Even more importantly, from the perspective of tracing literary origins, *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* writing after his arrival in Canada pushes the starting point of Chinese-Canadian literature substantially earlier than has been suggested in previous research and scholarship.

However, *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* —spanning sixty years and comprising seven substantial volumes—did not escape the fate that so often befalls precious historical documents and literary materials: it was destroyed in a fire. Fortunately(McIlwraith, 2020), while studying at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Huang Dusheng’s granddaughter translated dozens of her grandfather’s diary entries into English for an academic paper, thereby preserving part of this invaluable historical record.(McIlwraith, 2020)This has proven to be a stroke of good fortune for research into the early origins of Chinese-Canadian literature.

A close reading of the surviving diary entries shows that, while they retain the diary's inherent functions of record-keeping and practical documentation, they can also be understood when viewed through the theoretical lens of "great historical moments giving rise to literature" as texts that record, from the perspective of personal history and the history of the inner self, the psychological journey of a young man living at the moment of dynastic collapse, facing sudden upheavals in his family, and confronting major choices for his own survival. They trace his adventure from a traditional Eastern cultural world to the unknown "Gold Mountain" of Canada, and his striving for a freer life. In this way, a diary concerned with seemingly minor personal and familial matters becomes linked to a form of nonfiction writing imbued with multiple aesthetic dimensions. What begins as an intimate, private mode of writing centered on personal observation thus naturally evolves into a rare literary landscape set against the vast historical backdrop of the mass migration of Chinese laborers from the nineteenth to the twentieth century?

The following section presents only a few excerpts from *The Diary of Dukesang Wong*. These passages have undergone repeated translation and therefore cannot fully convey the original textual impact of the diary. Nevertheless, they offer readers a sense of the literary resonance that extends beyond the diary's purely documentary function.

"My soul cries out. I wish I had never experienced such bad days as those in which we now live. Many of our people have been so very ill for such a long time, and there has been no medicine nor good food to give them. Even the strongest of us are weak without medicine to fight against these diseases, which spread very rapidly. It is such a sorrowful sight. The white doctor has told us the illnesses come from lack of fresh food, but we cannot grow any fresh food, as all of us, including the white people, are moving constantly with the work we have to do. The good doctor has gone to the larger town in search of better food for the very ill, but I am afraid that medicines will not arrive here to these poor gutter-shelters. I would have liked to accompany him, but my body does not have the strength or desire.

These are troubled times for us Chinese. There has been word among the employing company that we are not good workers and do not work enough for the schedules and plans of the railway owners. How does anyone work when so ill? Many are killed when such words are spoken, and we are becoming more like dogs biting at one another. My meagre attempts at talking about being humble and waiting for better days are senseless. My words mean less than nothing. I am of so little help to everyone." (McIlwraith, 2020, p. 59-60)

Even from the brief diary excerpts presented here, one can already discern the rich historical documentation and literary resonance embedded in *The Diary of Dukesang Wong*: an extraordinary life buffeted by the turbulence of a great historical era; the collision of Eastern and Western cultures across the Pacific; complex and deeply layered psychological struggles; humane insights gained through suffering and displacement; and a Confucian sensibility marked by compassion for humanity. Such expansive literary elements, imbued with a strong sense of their historical moment, flow naturally and seamlessly within the seemingly simple medium of a factual diary. They invite repeated reflection, possess considerable archival value, and inevitably inspire admiration.

As noted earlier, Dukesang Wong was not from the Siyi region of Guangdong, but rather came to North America via counties in the vicinity of Beijing. Owing to the perspectives and breadth of vision shaped by his “cultural capital” and life experiences, he quickly rose from the ranks of ordinary Chinese laborers to become a successful merchant and community leader(“承受生意股份广告” , 1924; Index of death of Duke Sang Wong, 1931; McIlwraith, 2020)—an achievement that was relatively rare among Chinese laborers of the time.

If *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* can be regarded as an “organic,” or unmediated, work of Chinese-Canadian literature, then *Jinshan Yulian* created by Huang Zunxian represents a form of Chinese-language literature in which traditional Chinese literary practices were “grafted onto” North American soil.

As a diplomat of the Qing dynasty, Huang Zunxian’s literary activities, strictly within the academic framework of Chinese-Canadian literature, should not be considered part of the literary production of North American Chinese immigrant communities. Rather, they constitute an overseas extension of literary activity originating in China itself. However, given Huang Zunxian’s close ties with literati and merchants in North American Chinese communities, his significant leadership role, and the substantial presence of North American elements in some of his literary works, many scholarly studies have nonetheless included him within the scope of North American Chinese-language literary activity. That said, it must be clearly recognized that, because of his status as a diplomatic official, neither Huang Zunxian nor his literary works can be classified as part of North American Chinese immigrant literature.

***Jinshan Lianyu*, also known as *Linked Couplets from Golden Mountain* 金山联玉**

Huang Zunxian 黄遵宪 was a quintessential traditional literature within the diplomatic and political circles of the late Qing dynasty. Composing poetry and prose was an inseparable part of his daily life. Whenever he was stationed overseas, local literati would naturally gather around him, and literary activities in the form of poetic composition and exchange frequently took place. These activities also became part of his efforts to strengthen ties between the Qing government and overseas Chinese communities and to promote what might be termed “informal diplomacy.” During his postings in North America, Huang expanded such poetic exchanges into a broader form of Chinese-language literary activity, through which he also gained insight into the issues confronting Chinese communities abroad. It can thus be said that, amid the decline of the late Qing state, Huang Zunxian was still able to make meaningful diplomatic contributions to overseas Chinese communities. The crucial factor lay not in his official rank, but in his humanistic sensibility: by building bridges through Chinese-language literature and by harnessing the emotional bonds unique to literary expression, he was able to speak with, empathize with, and resonate deeply alongside North American Chinese communities.

Here, only examples directly related to Chinese-Canadian literary activity are cited. In the mid-1880s, Huang Zunxian, together with figures such as Liu Yunqiao 刘云樵, jointly devised topics requiring North American literati to compose couplets using specific characters prescribed by the topic setters. This activity came to be known as *Jinshan Lianyu*. A number of Canadian

literati participated in this undertaking. ³Selected works by Canadian writers, including Lin Zanning 林赞卿, are presented below.

“Commentary by Teacher Huang Yucun 黄雨邨

Title: Long 长○○○○○○

○○○○○○City 城

By Lin Zanning

From Master Ma's tent, I explore the halls of literature. 长从马帐探文府

A modest trial of the butcher's knife to govern the martial city. 小试牛刀宰武城”(嶺海山人, 1925, p. 151)

“Commentary by Teacher Lin Jiqing 林纪卿

Title: Far 远○○○○○○

○○○○○○Mountain 山

By Xu Weisan 徐畏三

Distant border plans relied on Chongguo's wisdom. 远筹边略资充国

Misplaced trust in vassals brought disaster through Lushan 禄山. 错付藩权误禄山”(嶺海山人, 1925, p. 151)

Chinese Couplets

Couplets constitute a long-established form of folk literature, yet outstanding examples can also attain the status of refined literary works. Within Chinese communities in Canada, couplets have not only been Chinese-language literary creations appreciated by both the learned and the popular alike, but have also served as standard cultural features for welcoming distinguished guests and celebrating major occasions.

On September 20, 1882, in order to welcome Canada's fourth Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne 洛恩, and his wife, Princess Louise, the Chinese community erected a large ceremonial archway on the south side between Government Street and Store Street in Victoria's Chinatown. On the face of the archway toward Government Street, following the Chinese and English inscriptions “Great Qing Empire 大清国” and “God Save the Queen,” two poetic lines were written from left to right: “jiu ri zhan yun, qi feng teng jiao 就日瞻云，起凤腾蛟”. On the reverse side of the archway, the three large characters “Great Qing Empire” were also written at the center, with the lines “shi he mei jing, sui yi chong xia 时和美景，绥夷崇夏” inscribed below. On the front and back pillars of the archway, couplets were written on both the left and right sides, although unfortunately the characters are no longer legible in surviving photographs. (Chinese arch on Store Street, Victoria, 1882; Li, 1982; “The State of the Preparations,” 1882)

In 1896, the Qing dynasty statesman Li Hongzhang 李鸿章 travelled to Canada from the United States, visiting Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, Banff, and Vancouver. To welcome him, Chinese

³Zunxian Huang served as the Chinese Consul General in San Francisco from 1882 to 1885. His interactions with Canadian literati most likely occurred after 1884, because it was only after the establishment of the Victoria Chinese Benevolent Association that he had more extensive contact with the Chinese community in Canada.

communities in western Canada erected a ceremonial archway on Howe Street in Vancouver. The structure featured a large central arch flanked by two symmetrical smaller arches. (“The Chinese Viceroy”, 1896). On both the front and back of the archway were two short couplets and two long vertical couplets, while within the archway hung a horizontal inscription reading “Guang zhao si hai” Illuminating the Four Seas 光昭四海”. Two of the long vertical couplets were composed by Lin Zanning, a literatus who had emigrated from Xinning (modern-day Taishan) in China to Canada. These two long couplets were displayed on the front and rear sides of the archway.

“From distant lands the honored elder comes —wherever he goes, his presence brings honor and lifts esteem. 幸元老之遥临到处增光崇物望”

“Sent by the Emperor’s command he travels far — to foster neighborly friendship and secure a lasting peace for the realm. 奉上皇而远出睦邻修好定邦交”

Displayed on the other side of the ceremonial archway was:

“Across the seas he rides the winds, his great minister’s grace lingers in distant lands. 登鳌海而快乘风异地尚留元宰泽”

Back to the palace steps he joyfully returns, where the Emperor shall commend this loyal elder’s merits. 返凤墀而欣覲日上皇应奖老臣功”

When Li Hongzhang passed beneath the archway and saw these lines, he was greatly delighted. (“Canadian Gossip of Li’s Visit”, 1896; “Photograph of the archway built by the Chinese community in 1896 to welcome Li Hongzhang”, 1896; 吴尚鹰, 1963; “文献与专载”, 1960) The few examples cited above are sufficient to offer a glimpse into the literary atmosphere of the time.

Lantern Riddles

Although the majority of Chinese laborers were illiterate, their identification with traditional Chinese culture and the habits shaped by it remained strong. Consequently, even so, amid the hardships of life in a foreign land, many practices rooted in traditional culture continued to accompany them. One such practice was the guessing of lantern riddles. This most grassroots form of traditional cultural entertainment permeated daily life in Chinese communities across Canada. It also served as a means by which culturally minded members of the community promoted traditional Chinese culture and, in doing so, constituted an integral part of the folk activities of Chinese-Canadian literature.

1. “The sky is high, yet higher still than the sky, 天高还有高过天”
“ten women together till half a mu of land. 十女同耕半亩天”
(A riddle for two characters; answer: 夫妻 — husband and wife) (字二, 夫妻)
2. “Three horizontals and three verticals, 横三三直三三”
“two people rise together, two kings dwell in one state. 二人同齐上, 二王住一国”
(A riddle for one character; answer: 田 — field) (字一, 田) (*Hongmen Riddle Books in Canada*, 1890–1910, pp. 1-5)

Note: These riddles rely on the visual structure of Chinese characters and on symbolic associations, a typical feature of traditional lantern riddles.

Most of these lantern riddles were drawn from the everyday lives of overseas Chinese, while some were adapted from classical Chinese works. Although they were commonplace forms of folk literary activity, within Chinese communities in Canada they functioned as Chinese-language literary practices that transcended social hierarchies and were accessible to all ages, embedding literary expression in entertainment. As such, they played a significant role in the transmission and preservation of Chinese culture.

Chinese Wall Poetry

As the saying goes, anger gives rise to poets. Because the content of Chinese wall poems often encompasses literary elements such as anger, protest, outcry, resistance to discrimination, the turbulence of the times, and a sense of national or familial concern, some scholars have regarded them as the point of origin of Chinese-Canadian literature. (金惠俊, 2018) This view, however, is a clear misunderstanding. The root of the problem lies in the absence of an established academic framework and set of criteria for Chinese-Canadian literature. As a result, research in this field has at times resembled a “market basket”: anything related to Chinese-language writing or Chinese people can be placed into it and labeled as part of Chinese-Canadian literature, or even as its origin. In fact, this is not the case.

Judging solely from the environment in which wall poems were produced, the border quarantine stations that detained Chinese people (who at that point could not yet be called “overseas Chinese”) functioned in effect as a boundary line between China and Canada. If an individual successfully passed through the quarantine station and “entered” Canada, he became an overseas Chinese and began life in Canada. Conversely, if he failed to leave the quarantine station and was repatriated, he remained a Chinese national whose attempt at migration had failed. For the wall poems discovered on the walls of the Victoria quarantine station, historical sources do not clearly indicate whether their authors successfully entered Canada. Since it is impossible to determine whether an author was an “overseas Chinese” or a “repatriated Chinese,” it is therefore inappropriate to classify such wall poems as part of Chinese-Canadian literature, let alone to regard them as the origin of Chinese-language literature in Canada.

That said, given that the majority of those detained in quarantine stations were ultimately able to enter Canada and become overseas Chinese or Chinese Canadians, the authors of the wall poems may well have been among them and may have continued their “literary creation” after acquiring overseas Chinese status. On this basis, wall poems can be included—albeit with some reservation—within the broader framework of Chinese-language literature. They cannot, however, be considered an important component of Chinese-Canadian literature, and from a chronological perspective they also postdate the writings found in *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* by a considerable margin.

Here we may briefly review the historical context in which Chinese wall poetry emerged. In 1908, the federal government, which was responsible for immigration inspection and landing procedures, established an immigration quarantine facility at the intersection of Dallas Road and Ontario Street in the city of Victoria on Canada’s west coast, specifically at 15 Ontario

Street. ("Immigration Building Is Now in Use.", 1909; "New Immigration Building Here.", 1907) The purpose of this facility was to conduct physical examinations of arriving Chinese migrants in order to prevent those carrying infectious diseases from entering the country. The quarantine station officially opened on November 13, 1909. ("Immigration Building Is Now in Use.", 1909; "New Immigration Building Here.", 1907) At that time, all Chinese arrivals on the west coast were required to be taken to this facility, where they underwent medical examinations, were interrogated by immigration officers, and were required to pay a head tax of 500 Canadian dollars.

Because of the large number of Chinese arrivals, most were detained in the quarantine station while awaiting the completion of procedures. If officials discovered that an individual had an infectious disease, had answered questions dishonestly, or lacked the full 500 dollars required for the head tax, that person would continue to be detained, either to be repatriated on the next available ship or to wait until relatives or friends could pay the full head tax on his behalf before entry was permitted. This process could take several days or even weeks. During this period, to prevent escape, detainees were confined in rooms fitted with iron-barred windows and iron gates, resembling a prison and completely cut off from the outside world. Under such conditions, some individuals carved poems onto the walls to vent their anger, confusion, fear, and homesickness. For example, one of the wall poems reads as follows:

"With a single-minded longing for Gold Mountain, 一心走金山者
 One abandons parents, wife, and children, 弃父母与妻儿
 All because the family is poor. 只因家贫
 Remembering the moment of departure, 忆昔临行
 Parents and wife and children offered their earnest exhortations. 父母妻儿叮嘱
 Through every possible means, more than a thousand were scraped together, As support, 千方万
 计成千余, 资助
 Only then to reach the shore in safety. 乃得安然上岸
 Who could have expected trouble to arise, 何意事生
 Endless eye inspections, 验眼多端
 Clothes stripped away, trousers removed,
 The body exposed, subjected to every kind of humiliation, 脱衫除裤, 露身, 百般刑辱
 All because the nation is weak and the family is poor. 皆因国弱家贫

Thinking back on one's parents, 追忆父母
 I urge my fellow countrymen, 劝同胞
 Turn back and return home, 回头返乡
 And work to strengthen the ancestral land. 兴祖国"

Note: This poem powerfully conveys the humiliation, despair, and patriotic awakening experienced by Chinese detainees at the immigration quarantine station, blending personal suffering with a broader consciousness of national weakness.

If the wall poem cited above can be regarded as an original composition, there were also instances of copied poems on the walls, written in response to personal emotion. In 1977, when the quarantine station was about to be demolished, (黎全恩, 2006) Li Quanen, then a professor at the University of Victoria, discovered on its weathered walls a poem of which only the opening line and fragments of the remaining three lines survived, each containing only two or three characters: “人话外洋那样好 People say life overseas is so good; enduring wind and frost XXX; 至今 to this day XXXXX; 辛 bitterness XXXX.”

Later, in the third issue of *XinNing Magazine* (2000), Professor Lai found that Huang Zhongji 黄仲楫 had published a poem titled “Thinking of My Beloved 想郎歌,” which included a Hakka folk song that closely matched the fragmentary lines found on the quarantine station wall:

“People say life overseas is so good, 人话外洋那样好
Enduring wind and frost for forty autumns 风霜捱尽四十秋
To this day, white-haired, I return to my native place, 至今白发回故里,
Bitter tears flow down with my lapels. 心酸泪水随襟流”(黎全恩, 2008, p. 18)

This poem confirms that a Hakka man from China had once been detained at the Victoria quarantine station. Deeply longing for his hometown and family, he carved this Hakka folk song from China onto the wall.

Literary Works in Newspapers and Periodicals

If early Chinese Canadian literature lacked well-known representative writers and canonical works, and instead existed primarily as a form of community-based literary activity, then Chinese-language newspapers and periodicals were the vital soil that nourished and gave rise to this flourishing of literary expression. Although the tradition of literary supplements in Chinese-language newspapers in Canada did not differ greatly from that of newspapers in the Asian homelands, most literary contributors to Canadian Chinese-language newspapers were sojourners who used various literary forms to express homesickness and longing for family, often through spontaneous and emotionally driven pieces. This was closely related to the fact that the readership of these newspapers consisted largely of lower- and middle-class Chinese laborers and small merchants. Moreover, since the vast majority of Chinese immigrants at the time were from Guangdong, the literary content published—alongside general fiction, poetry, and couplets—often prominently featured Yue folk songs or Yue ou 粤讴, which carried strong regional characteristics.

Of particular note is that after Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and other scholars, thinkers, and reformists established the Chinese Empire Reform Association in Canada, (“M. W. Fiffe”, 1899; 李福基, 1909; 康有为, 1992) the Chinese-language newspapers developed under the association’s sponsorship naturally exhibited a stronger humanistic orientation and a more pronounced literary character. In 1905, the Vancouver headquarters of the Chinese Empire Reform Association began preparations to publish a new newspaper.

On January 7, 1908, the Chinese Empire Reform Association formally began publishing the Chinese-language newspaper *Sun Bo* 新报. (“New Chinese Paper Is Issued Today”, 1908; “本

报广告”，1908）In the same year, the paper already carried literary works such as fiction 小说, humorous anecdotes or xiaolin 笑林, ballads 歌谣, satirical prose 谐文, miscellaneous notes 杂记, and Yue folk songs. (“短篇小说”，1908； “歌谣”，1908) This is a relatively new finding. One example is given below.

Humor Column

Title: *Mistaking One's Father for a Thief* 认父作贼 (“认贼作父”，1908)

“There was a father and son living together in a household of considerable wealth, yet both were extremely afraid of thieves. Every night, whether father or son, one of them would always go to a dark corner to keep watch, fearing that thieves might come to steal their property. One night, around the third watch, the father had already gone to bed, while the son was still lying in ambush near the doorway. Suddenly, he saw a dark figure moving from inside to outside. The son was overjoyed and thought to himself, ‘What a foolish thief—today you are surely caught in my net!’ Upon closer inspection, he sprang up, seized the figure, threw him to the ground, and began punching and kicking him. The person on the ground cried out, ‘Don’t hit me, it’s me, it’s me!’ The son shouted back, ‘Of course I know it’s you—I’m hitting you! You stupid thief, today you’ve finally been caught by me!’ Just as he was exerting himself with all his strength, the person on the ground, exhausted and hoarse, cried out loudly, ‘Have you gone blind? You’re beating your own father!’ Hearing these words, the son suddenly felt the voice sounded very familiar and was greatly alarmed. He released his grip and looked closely—it was indeed his father. As it turned out, after falling asleep, the father had urgently needed to use the toilet. After finishing, he feared that a thief might come, so he quietly slipped back toward the doorway to check—never expecting that his son would mistake him for an intruding thief.”

Among early Chinese-language newspapers in Canada, *The Chinese Daily News* and *The Chinese Times* remained the papers with the richest literary sections, largely because of their scale, which placed them at the forefront of Chinese-language newspapers in Canada. During the 1910s, *The Chinese Times* featured literary pages such as “Dahan Miscellany 大汉杂录” (renamed “Voice of Han 汉声” in 1920), as well as “Garden of Letters 文苑”. (“文苑”，1917) These literary sections included columns titled “Poetry Circle 诗界”, “Yue Folk Songs”, “Banben 班本”, “小说 Fiction”, “联语 Couplets”, “寓言 Fables”, and “歌谣 Ballads”, publishing classical poetry and other types of literary works.

Poetry and Poetry Solicitation Activities

In principle, the laboring and immigrant experience should have provided excellent material for literary creation. However, the harsh realities of early immigrant life left little leisure for reading and writing. Moreover, writers with genuine literary training and cultural cultivation were exceedingly rare. Even those who had attended traditional private academies or modern schools were preoccupied with making a living and found it difficult to devote sustained time to creative work. As a result, concise and tightly structured forms of traditional poetry became the most favored modes of literary expression. Consequently, poetry—mostly in classical Chinese forms—

and related activities such as poetic exchanges and poetry solicitation contests appeared most frequently in the literary pages of Chinese-language newspapers.

The literary pages of *The Chinese Times* regularly featured columns such as “Poetry Circle” and “Han Voice.” Among the literary works published, classical poetry predominated. These poems were rooted in traditional Chinese cultural themes, yet they also incorporated many elements drawn from life in Canada. In terms of content, they expressed nostalgia for the homeland, sorrowful reflections, and records of partings with friends, among other sentiments. The following example illustrates this trend.

On May 8, 1918, *The Chinese Times* published a poem by Lin Xiaotang entitled “Evening View of Victoria”:

“Evening View of Victoria 维城晚望

Wind and rain sigh, enclosing Victoria town 萧萧风雨锁维城
A slant of sunset—its form no longer clear 一抹斜阳看不清
Green waters fill the river, reflections vain 绿水满江空有影
Prosperity fallen to earth, all sound stilled 繁华落地寂无声
Streets crisscrossed with people coming and going 纵横街道人来往
Tall and low buildings—lights extinguished or lit 高矮楼台火灭明
Scenes once ordinary, places of passing delight 光景寻常行乐处
The sight of prosperity stirs homesick longing 繁华杳触故乡情”（林筱唐，1918）

After the Chinese Immigration Act excluding Chinese immigrants came into force in 1923, the absence of new arrivals, together with illness and death among the aging Chinese population, led to a gradual decline in the Chinese population in Canada. Chinese Canadians faced a dual challenge: on the one hand, families gazed across the Pacific, unable to reunite, with separation often turning into permanent farewell; on the other hand, waves of discrimination surged, and Chinatowns became isolated enclaves on which Chinese survival depended. Moreover, the outbreak of the Japanese invasion of China (1931–1945) added fresh anguish to homesickness, bringing with it fears of national ruin and family destruction. As a result, the content of Chinese Canadian folk literature became more diverse and layered, encompassing deep nostalgia for the homeland, cries against discrimination, and calls to support the War of Resistance. In terms of form, literary expression expanded beyond traditional poetry to include new spoken drama and other genres.

Two brief examples may illustrate this. On June 21, 1924, the literary page “Poetry Circle” of *The Chinese Times* published poems by an author using the pen name Silang 四郎. One of the poems reads as follows:

Two Quatrains Composed Casually at a Banquet

“Two Weeks before July First 七一前二星期席中偶咏二绝（四郎，1924）

National humiliation—how many times recalled 国耻由来纪念多
 Come July First again, how shame is renewed 重逢七一辱如何
 Raising the cup, I drink in pain, soon to be drunk 把杯痛饮卿将醉
 Drawing my sword, I chant wildly, turning grief into a heroic song 拔剑狂吟作浩歌”

On May 12, 1938, the literary page “Poetry Circle” of *The Chinese Times* published a poem by the author Liu Xixiu 刘希秀, entitled *Reflections on National Affairs*:

“Reflections on National Affairs 国事感怀（刘希秀，1938）

Gazing eastward toward my native land, my exile’s heart trembles 故国东望客心惊
 Troops mass like gathering clouds, forming camps in readiness 将士云屯校作营
 Though I never cast aside my brush in youth to join the ranks 少小虽非投笔吏
 In old age I yet would grasp the long-bannered spear 老来还欲请长缨
 What need to grudge a shroud of horsehide 裹尸马革何须惜
 Better shattered bones on desert sands than life without honor 碎骨沙场不共生
 Should war descend upon southern Shandong, we shall stand guard 有事鲁南应戍守
 At Tai’er we rout the foe and sound the opening victory 台儿克敌振先声”

It is worth noting that although the Chinese were among the builders of Canada, they were ungratefully cast aside by mainstream society and deprived of the civil status they rightly deserved. Consequently, Canada Day (July 1) brought them not joy but deep resentment and melancholy. Chinese communities not only refrained from celebrating Canada Day, but even regarded it as a “Day of National Humiliation.”（“华侨七一纪念之详情”，1924；李权恩，1924；“侨耻纪念情形”，1925；“域埠中华会馆纪念侨耻”，1930）This phenomenon shows that Chinese Canadian literature moved beyond its long-standing emphasis on homesickness and nostalgia, incorporating a strong emotional engagement with local politics. In doing so, it broadened the scope of Chinese Canadian literature as a form of Diaspora Literature.

As another example, on October 2, 1963, the “Poetry Circle” page of *The Chinese Times* published a poem by Ma Libang, entitled *Admiring the Mid-Autumn Moon in Cloud City* 云城赏中秋月

“Admiring the Mid-Autumn Moon in Cloud City

On Mid-Autumn night, the heavens release their radiant glow 中秋天上放光明
 Across ten thousand miles, the Milky Way appears especially clear 万里云河份外清
 Electric lights blanket the hills like daylight 满岭电灯同白昼
 High-rise buildings line up, forming a city among the clouds 高楼大厦列云城
 People stream to and fro across Lion’s Gate like swarming fish 狮门来往人入鲫

Undersea tunnels are completed, roads neatly laid 海底通车路砌成
Gathered to admire the moon, we chant poems and celebrate together 赏月联吟群庆祝
Yet Chang'e herself is nowhere to be seen, nor does she reveal her true form 嫦娥未见露真形”
(马立邦, 1963)

This poem vividly captures the modern urban landscape of Vancouver—its electric illumination, bridges, high-rise buildings, and tunnels—while blending traditional Mid-Autumn imagery and classical poetic diction. It exemplifies how Chinese Canadian poetry in the mid-20th century increasingly incorporated local Canadian settings and modernity into traditional Chinese literary forms, marking a further evolution of Chinese Canadian literature beyond nostalgia alone.

After the Second World War, no particularly prominent new Chinese-language writers emerged. The authors most familiar to newspaper readers were still largely intellectuals and teachers who had been active in the community for many years before the war, including Huang Kongzhao 黄孔昭, Situ Mao, Yan Zhiyan, Lin Xiaotang, Xu Zile, SuTuShunong, and Huang Kuanda.

Xu Zile returned to China with his father at a young age and received a traditional Chinese cultural education before later returning to Canada. He was especially skilled in classical poetry. In addition to founding courses in traditional Chinese studies, he also organized poetry and couplet competitions and served as a judge. (“征联揭晓” , 1957; “哀悼徐子乐老师” , 1970; “次韵答俭傅先生” , 1963)

One poem by Xu Zile is as follows:

*Eight Miscellaneous Poems Dedicated to the Joint Commemorative Celebration of
the 75th Anniversary of the Victoria Chinese Benevolent Association
and the 60th Anniversary of the Chinese Public School* 为祝维城中华会馆成立七十五周年暨华
侨学校成立六十周年联合纪念庆典杂咏八章奉献

“The Chinese Benevolent Association stands firm and dignified 中华会馆固堂堂
Its charter clearly recording public benefit and public rights 公利公权著约章
With grand vision, it plans and shapes national policies 大手经纶治国策
With shared compassion, it advances measures to aid the times 同情振展济时方
In the spirit of the Medicine King, a hospital was founded in mercy 药王悲愿开医院
With the Bodhisattva's compassion, a burial ground was established 大士慈心建墓场
Seeking righteous return at life's end, caring for mortal remains 谋正首丘归蛻骸
Many more good deeds unfold, displaying a broad and noble vision 还多善举展宏纲”(“诗与
词” , 1960, p. 21)

Huang Dakuan, who resided in Calgary, often wrote poems and song lyrics. On June 26, 1956, he published the following lyric in *The Chinese Times*, entitled “*Seeing Mr. Huang Wenpu 黄文甫 Off on His Return to Cloud City 送黄文甫君复归云城*” (to the tune of Huan xi Sha 调寄浣溪沙):

“The bright moon spans the sky, the scene serene and clear 明月横空景色清,
Reluctantly we break willow branches to see you on your way 依依折柳送君行,
Parting brings a sorrow too deep to bear 分携惆怅不胜情.

Our joyful gathering over flowing cups feels like only yesterday 欢聚倾尊犹记昨,
Deeply honored by your generous guidance and kindness 厚蒙指导倍恩荣,
Now the farewell song suddenly rises, stirring lonely grief 骊歌忽唱感零丁.” (卡城黄宽达, 1956)

The entire piece conveys the author’s intimate affection for the person he is seeing off—a relationship marked by mutual nourishment, both as teacher and as friend.

Situ Shunong resided in Ottawa and frequently published literary works in *The Chinese Times*. He also engaged in poetic exchanges with Xu Zile in the newspaper’s literary column. (司徒树浓, 1964; 1970) One of his poems reads as follows:

“Living in the Countryside 村居

A clear stream and drooping willows frame a land of water and cloud 清溪垂柳水云乡
The sound of spring water over stones reaches my thatched hall 漱石泉声入草堂
To shun the vulgar world—why mind that the cottage is small 避俗何妨茅屋小
Wildflowers brush my face, releasing a pure fragrance 野花扑面发清香” (司徒树浓, 1964)

In 1966, Situ Shunong published a collection of poetry titled *Verses Written While Sojourning in Canada 旅加吟草*. (司徒树浓, 1966) In this volume, he depicts Canada’s landscapes, customs, and everyday life through classical verse. The hurried restlessness typical of earlier sojourners is rarely seen; instead, he “takes a foreign land as his homeland,” revealing a calm sense of rootedness and quiet settlement.

It is worth noting that many of the literary works published in newspapers appeared under pen names and were mostly short pieces. This indicates that, at that time, Chinese-Canadian literature had yet to produce writers of significant influence.

It should be noted that the engraving and printing of poetry collections has, since ancient times in China, been a customary way for literati to circulate their works among the public. Chinese literati in Canadian communities naturally continued this tradition. Moreover, in an English-speaking society—especially one in which Chinese people faced severe discrimination—it was impossible for the government to collect and publish Chinese-language poetry. As a result,

private compilation and printing became the only viable means.

What is particularly commendable is that *Collected Poems and Lyrics* (*Shi ci Hui ke*, 《诗词汇刻》), a volume compiled and engraved through the collective efforts of Chinese literati, was ceremoniously published by the Chinese Times Press in 1957. (《诗词汇刻》, 1957) This collection contains many works depicting life in North America, historical events, and poetic exchanges among literati. The vast majority of its contributors came from Chinese communities in Canada and the United States. Canadian contributors included Yan Zhiyan, Situ Mao, Xu Zile, Li Yaohua 李瑶华, and Liu Rangxue 刘穰学, and the preface was written by the well-known British Columbia literatus Xu Zile. Two examples are cited below.

Presented to Mr. Zhou Baoshan 周宝山, Following the Original Rhyme of “Reflections”

By Yan Zhiyan

“After the rain, the garden glistens with flowing green 雨后园林翠欲流
Late spring in May as chill as autumn 春深五月冷如秋
Living apart in distant lands, I grieve for those I miss 分居远地怀人恨
And in poverty, I question Heaven for the reasons why 穷向苍天问事由
Border wars bring suffering to conscripted soldiers 关塞烽烟征戍苦
While a divided land breeds sorrow through the ages 江山割据古今愁
The cadence of Cantonese songs follows Master Zhao’s style 粤讴格调师招子
Your renowned works endure within the overseas community 侨界驰名大作留” (《诗词汇刻》, 1957, p. 9)

“On Metaphysics 谈玄

By Situ Mao

The Great Clod’s prose embodies both force and sound 大块文章力与声
In emptiness we face each other, then meet again 空时相对复相迎
What regret could there be in the shifting of Heaven and humanity 天人异动曾何憾
When self and things are forgotten, deeper feeling emerges 物我皆忘更有情
The universe cycles on through cause and effect 宇宙周行因是果
Sages come and go, pledged first to the Way 圣贤出入道先盟
Who can concern himself with gains and losses of fowl and insects 鸡虫得失谁能管
Among all beings, who is not treated with impartiality 万类无私孰不平” (《诗词汇刻》, 1957, p. 24)

Naturally, such a major publishing endeavor as The *Chinese Times*’ engraved poetry collection was exceedingly rare. More commonly, members of the overseas Chinese literary community privately engraved and printed their own poetry selections, circulating them among

fellow enthusiasts and within families. For example, in 1963, Vancouver literatus Lei Jipan 雷基磐 published his poetry collection *Shenyuan Yin Cao* 莘园吟草, for which renowned figures such as Ye Gongchuo 叶恭绰 and Pan Boying 潘伯鹰, along with members of the Canadian Chinese community including Situ Mao, provided calligraphic inscriptions. (雷基磐, 1963)

Couplet Writing

Couplets have long been an important component of Chinese folk cultural activities. They are, of course, linguistic and literary forms appreciated by both the refined and the popular. Whether couplets should be fully admitted into the canon of “literature” may be open to debate, but there is no doubt that they are among the most common cultural practices in Canadian Chinese communities. As such, they naturally form part of Chinese-Canadian literature, or at least occupy a peripheral position within it.

Beyond their appearance during the Lunar New Year, the founding of associations, weddings, and funerals, Chinese-language newspapers also served as organizers of couplet-writing competitions and as platforms for publishing outstanding entries. Through the attention and promotion provided by the press, couplets were elevated into a category of “literary activity” involving public participation and appreciation.

Notices for couplet competitions frequently appeared in *The Chinese Daily News* and *The Chinese Times*, often becoming topics of lively discussion throughout Chinese neighborhoods. They could even be regarded as the newspapers’ most effective form of “literary advertising.” For example, on August 1, 1914, the Guangyin Society of Vancouver announced a couplet competition in *The Chinese Daily News*, using a traditional rhetorical known as the *loulou* (rotating) structure (“云高华埠广吟社第四会对题求” , 1914) :

“Dream / Feeling Sea / Sky Moon / Clouds 月云 海天 梦情
Feeling / Dream Sky / Sea Clouds / Moon 云月 天海 情梦”

Single-line entry 单比

“Moon-gazing is most fitting for refined chanting. 月赏正宜联雅咏”

The prize for first place was twenty dollars, with judging conducted by Mr. Li Chunhua 李春华. The final results of this literary contest saw winners from Vancouver, Victoria, and Nanaimo. The championship couplet was awarded to Li Yiwu 李以五 of Vancouver, whose entry read:

“On Han soil, new sun and moon are reborn 汉土重开新日月
In Europe, turbulent clouds of evil surge 欧洲剧拥 (涌) 恶风云”

The single-line championship went to Jiang Shoushi 蒋寿石 of Vancouver, whose line was:

“Will the revival of the Han come to pass? Recall the death of Xilin 汉兴否念锡麟亡” (“兹将李春华先生评定第四会前列之联先布” , 1914)

The former alluded to the Xinhai Revolution 辛亥革命 in China and the outbreak of the First World War in Europe, while the latter commemorated the revolutionary Xu Xilin 徐锡麟, who had died in the struggle against the Qing dynasty, raising the poignant question of whether a Han Chinese polity (China) could yet be revived. Both works convey expansive and elevated imagery, reflecting the deep concern of Canadian Chinese for their homeland and for world affairs. This demonstrates the significant and positive role that Chinese-language literary activities played in sustaining the spiritual life of the Chinese community in Canada.

On June 16, 1915, The *Chinese Daily News* published an advertisement calling for the submission of fine poetry. It specified that the topic for the first round was “The Chinese Situation 中国现象” and that for the second round was “The Plight of Overseas Chinese 华侨苦况” with the works to be evaluated by Feng Ziyou 冯自由, a former editor of The *Chinese Daily News*. The first-prize award for this poetry competition was fifteen dollars. The call for submissions was initiated by the Chinese Zhiguan Association in the United States and, through Canadian newspapers, invited entries from overseas Chinese in both Canada and the United States. (“请看征诗” , 1915)

The choice of these themes further demonstrates that Chinese-language literary activities were closely intertwined with the historical circumstances in which Chinese communities found themselves. Any evaluation of Chinese-Canadian literature must therefore be made in relation to its engagement with the broader historical context of the era in which overseas Chinese lived.

From the historical materials discussed above, it is clear that couplet-writing competitions within Chinese communities were conducted on a considerable scale, with a substantial number of contributors. This indicates that the writing of couplets constituted an important form of “collective activity” in Chinese-language literature within the community, reflecting the popular and participatory nature of Chinese-Canadian literature. To some extent, this mass participation compensated for the relative scarcity of well-known writers and canonical works, and it helped shape the distinctly popular character of early Chinese-Canadian literature.

Fables, Yue folk songs, Banben, and Fiction

Early Chinese-language newspapers did not limit themselves to publishing poetry and organizing couplet competitions. In order to attract a broader readership, they also carried fables, Cantonese ballads (*yue'ou*), scripted storytelling or performance texts (*ban ben*), and fiction. These works exhibit four main characteristics:

1. the gradual emergence of new literary forms;
2. a strong regional flavor rooted in Guangdong culture;
3. a greater incorporation of everyday Chinese immigrant life into literary writing; and
4. the influx of literary works from Hong Kong into Chinese-Canadian communities.

A few examples illustrate these points.

In 1912, He Zhuojing 何卓竞, editor-in-chief of *Sun Bo* in Canada, wrote the play “*the humiliation of our homeland*” (*Gu Guo chi*, 顾国耻), which premiered in Vancouver. (“Drama

Written in This City Presented at Chinese Theatre on Saturday Night.”, 1912) The play was intended as a work of historical education and political enlightenment. As the political situation remained turbulent, three years later, on March 13, 1915, the Xingqunzhong Opera Troupe staged a charity performance of *Remembering National Humiliation* at the Chinese Theatre in Nanaimo . (“戏剧感人之速力” , 1915; “醒群社为救亡会筹常费” , 1915)

Notably, Yue folk songs which represent a distinctive Guangdong cultural element in Chinese-Canadian literature, were not merely “singing hometown songs in a foreign land.” Rather, writers used this folk-literary form to reflect the lived realities of Chinese communities in Canada. One example is a Yue folk songs piece entitled “*Disaster Relief* 赈灾”, published in the September 1914 issue of *The Chinese Times*, written by an author using the pen name San Lang 三郎:

“I wish to contribute to disaster relief 我要助赈, I pawn my gold hairpin, that precious adornment 党左个股金钗. Bracelets and rings alike are all pawned away 约指珠环, Ornaments are but matters of ceremony 一律当埋. Jewelry is merely a formality; it is not necessary to wear it. 首饰本是仪文, 唔系是必要戴. Even if all our clothing were pawned 就算衣裳当尽, it would still be what righteousness demands 亦系义所应该. (sung to the Ye Bei tune 叶北音) Since ancient times disasters have struck 亘古灾临, yet none as vast as today 难及今日浩大. Look—countless corpses drift homeless 睇下不少流尸漂泊, along the Han and Huai rivers 汝汉江淮...” (三郎, 1914)

This example shows how traditional Cantonese folk forms were adapted to express contemporary concerns and social realities within Chinese communities in Canada.

Naturally, cultural shock and cultural difference were common themes in Chinese-Canadian folk literature, often serving as literary prompts for self-reflection on one’s own culture. The following example illustrates this point.

In October 1914, *The Chinese Daily News* published a fable entitled “The Donkey and the Dog Compete in Jealousy 驴犬争妒”:

“In Western countries, people delight in keeping dogs. They often place them on their laps, doting on them as if teasing small children. One day, a donkey saw this and became jealous. He thought to himself: ‘The dog and I are both animals, If it can flatter its master, why can’t I? ’So the donkey raised its two front legs and placed them upon the mistress, attempting to curry favor as well. Unexpectedly, the master saw this and ordered the groom to whip the donkey and drive it away, This donkey truly did not know its own measure.

In the world of men, those with power may be tolerated, even when they have minor faults. But for those of lower status, a single mistake invites anger and reproach, One must therefore knows one’s own place. ” (“驴犬争妒” , 1914)

On June 21, 1924, *The Chinese Daily News* published a Yue folk songs by an author using the pen name Yin, entitled “*July 1st Commemoration* 七一纪念”. (印, 1924)

“July First commemoration—truly it breaks the heart.
Before I even speak, my heart is already torn,
This matter of commemoration is unlike any other,
speaking of it, I wish to discuss it with you all.
First, we must unite and raise the people’s morale.
Second, we must use the written word to advocate—this is the best method.
Third, we must hold large public lectures and speak at length,
to stir hearts and rouse spirits—why fear that oppressive forces grow ever stronger?
Speaking of how those harsh laws treat us,
it truly fills our hearts with deep resentment,
Alas, there is little more to say: as human beings we must strive upward.
I only hope that my fellow countrymen, from this point on,
will rouse themselves and work hard to grow strong.”

This piece clearly carries a political message aimed at mobilizing public sentiment—urging people to rise from passive endurance to collective action against the discriminatory exclusion laws. It reads very much like a form of grassroots political mobilization expressed through folk literature.

It cannot be denied that the literary lineage of Chinese-Canadian literature lies in the ancestral homeland. From an early stage, Chinese-language newspapers in Canada introduced literary works from mainland China. Although these works are not themselves “texts” of Chinese-Canadian literature, they functioned as a kind of “warming agent,” playing an important nurturing and catalytic role in cultivating literary readers and writers within Chinese communities. For this reason, they deserve an important place in the historical narrative of Chinese-Canadian literature.

For example, among the works published in the *Han Sheng* literary supplement of *The Chinese Time*, many were serialized pieces written by authors from mainland China and Hong Kong. In 1922, the novel “The Chivalrous Thief” (*Dao zhi Xia*, 盗之侠) was serialized, (无俚, 1922) and in 1931 the novel “Turning Back Again” (*Zai Hui Tou*, 再回头) appeared in serial form in the same literary supplement. (哀蝉, 1931; 黄昆仑, 1935)

From a literary perspective, the pressures of a turbulent era—anger provoked by suffering and oppression, and reflections on life brought about by war—often give rise to strong literary works. However, within Chinese communities in Canada, because of racial discrimination and other factors, the population consisted mainly of laborers and merchants, with relatively few intellectuals and literary figures. Added to this were the hardships of daily life and the narrowness of the literary market, which made it even more difficult for time-consuming, large-scale works to emerge. As a result, Chinese-Canadian literary output was largely confined to poetic exchanges among a small number of community literati, the writing of couplets, and some creative work in Cantonese regional opera. There was no large-scale production of major literary works, nor the emergence of professional writers.

In the postwar period of peace, although material prosperity was just beginning and literature gained more room to develop, Chinese-Canadian literature was still instage of gestation and preparation p. Notably, after the war, the number of Chinese-language newspapers and other

community magazines increased, and literary supplements expanded significantly. This brought about two major changes. First, amateur literary enthusiasts within the Chinese community gained more opportunities to publish their work. Second, large numbers of popular writers and works from Hong Kong and Taiwan flowed into Chinese communities in Canada. Long novels such as Ling Xiaosheng 灵箫生's "*Intoxicated in the World of Silk and Rouge*" (*Chen ZuiRuan Hong Qun*, 沉醉软红裙) and Jin Yong 金庸's "*The Legend of the Condor Heroes*" (*She Diao Ying Xiong Zhuan*, 射雕英雄传) circulated widely among Chinese Canadian. These new-era vernacular literary works replaced the semi-vernacular fiction of the prewar period and exerted a noticeable influence on the writing styles of Chinese-Canadian writers and literary enthusiasts.

Literary Works in Periodicals

From the perspective of literary history, literary magazines have often served as the foundation on which young or previously unknown writers suddenly rise to prominence in the literary world. In the history of Chinese-language literature in Canada, however—at least before the 1950s—no such dazzling literary magazines emerged, or, more precisely, no standard, specialized literary journals came into being. The periodicals referred to here were mostly all-purpose, “literary-magazine-type” publications produced by certain community associations or groups, or simply special issues published by particular organizations.

These publications did contain some works that can be considered part of Chinese-Canadian literature, but they were mostly short pieces such as essays, sketches, poetry, and couplets. They may be seen as an extension of the literary supplements of Chinese-language newspapers and as part of the popular literature of the overseas Chinese community. Although the literary works in these periodicals were not grand or monumental, they nonetheless reflected the joys and sorrows of everyday Chinese life, showing how Chinese immigrants expressed homesickness through writing, transmitted their culture through words, and affirmed their Chinese identity. Several more prominent examples are outlined below.

Yue Sheng Monthly 禺声月刊, founded in Vancouver by the Yue Shan Society during China's War of Resistance against Japan (1939–1947), was one of the earlier periodicals to appear in the Chinese-Canadian community. Naturally, it contained many works reflecting the spirit and concerns of that era. (Yu Sheng Monthly, 1939–1947; “*Historic Study of the Society Buildings in Chinatown*”, 2005)

Another example is the *Yue Shan School Journal* 禺山校刊, published by the Student Self-Government Association of Yue Shan School in Victoria. Some of its content displays a more youthful and lively student character. For instance, in the April 4, 1948 issue edited by the student association, the journal published a variety of literary pieces, including short stories, short essays, poetry, Cantonese ballads (*yue'ou*), *fu* (rhapsodies), Cantonese operatic lyrics, and humorous fiction. These included both student works and contributions by adults. Examples include student Xu Likui's “An Awakening of Pain” and “Voices at Midnight,” as well as Xu Bingzhang's “Cutting Four Inches”(徐丽葵, 1948) —all concise, engaging literary vignettes marked by clarity and charm.

Among adult contributors, poetry in traditional forms and regional lyrical compositions still predominated. Here are two examples: “*Spring Reflections*” by an author using the pen name Yueshan Old Commoner 禺山老民, and “*Lamenting Spring*” by Ming Xin 铭新.

“Spring Reflections 春感

Light clouds, gentle breeze—warm spring once more 云淡风轻又暖春
Again and again, in wistful dreams, I see her face 几番惆怅梦伊人
Today I gaze only upon the crimson silk kerchief 今朝只视绯绡帕
All that remains is rouge upon lips, mingled with tears 只剩唇脂拌泪痕” (Yu Sheng Monthly, 1939–1947; “*Historic Study of the Society Buildings in Chinatown*”, 2005)

“Lamenting Spring 伤春

Cold snow melts away, after the lantern blossoms fade, 冷雪消溶，灯花过后
Once more chill mist veils the emerald willows 又是寒烟迷翠柳，
Mandarin ducks play upon clear rippling waters 池鸳戏水逐清波，
In the deep courtyard, peach blossoms are still as red as ever 见深院桃红依旧。

I brood over lovesick red beans 怅怀红豆，
Afraid to watch the purple swallows fly in pairs 怕看紫燕双飞溜，
How can I bear this loneliness, leaning on vermilion rails 怎堪寂寞依朱栏？
Writing in the air, I mutter in sorrow, drinking with my grief 书空咄咄愁和酒。”（铭新，1948, p. 41）

In 1960, the Chinese Benevolent Association of Victoria and the Overseas Chinese School jointly published the “*Commemorative Special Issue for the 75th Anniversary of the Chinese Benevolent Association of Victoria and the 60th Anniversary of the Chinese Public School*”, The volume included dedicatory essays and forums, historical documents and special features, inscriptions and photographs, scholarly writings, miscellaneous essays, and poetry. Although it was not a purely literary periodical, it contained more than forty poems by local literati such as Xu Zile, Situ Mao, Lin Libin, and Li Donghai, as well as posthumous poetic manuscripts left by earlier pioneers.

“Posthumous Poems of an Early Pioneer 先侨诗词遗墨

Author: Li Danyu 李澹愚

My frail body at times still worries over gathering firewood 偶尔微躯忧採薪
In idle moments I delight in a brief stay amid lake and clouds 闲中小住爱湖云

Since our parting days ago, the autumn winds have grown strong 别来几日秋风健

Rare indeed is such courteous kindness from you gentlemen 难得群公礼数殷

We shift our talk beneath the trees, gazing at the water's hues 树下移谈看水色

By the rocks we sit apart, noting the moss-veined patterns 石边分做带苔纹

Knowing my lungs are parched and yearn for sweet dew 知予肺渴思甘露

You rub your hands as the scent of oranges fills the dusk 搓手橙香正夕曛”（“先侨遗墨：著述”，1960，p. 35）

Literary Groups and Community-Based Literary Activities

While sustaining a hard life overseas, Chinese immigrants continued the traditions of their homeland, retaining a fondness for writing and literary pursuits. Some even formed collegial poetry societies to enrich what might otherwise have been a long and monotonous life abroad. In the early twentieth century, groups such as the Guangyin Society, Lianyin Society, Liansao Society, and the Tai Hon Poetry Society emerged. Around the late Qing and early Republican period, Victoria also had organizations such as the Huang Mei Poetry Society. （“注意云高华埠广吟社特别第八会对题求教”，1914；“联骚社出世广告”，1915；“联吟社征联特启”，1920；“征联广告”，1935；李瑶华，1951；李东海，1967）All of these groups attracted a circle of literary enthusiasts who regularly submitted classical-style poetry. Most of these poets were based in Canada. These poetry societies also organized poetry and couplet competitions, sometimes even holding them simultaneously across Chinese communities in the United States and Canada.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, however, Chinese-language literature in Canada began to move beyond the stage of amateur poetic exchanges among a small group of literati. Signs of literary creation approaching professional standards started to emerge. The platforms that nurtured these early developments were literary groups founded by second- and third-generation Canadian Chinese. One example is the Hai Fung Association 海峰会, established in Vancouver in 1957, which brought together literature, sports, and the arts within a single organization. （“海丰会庆节目新颖”，1972；Paul Yee, 2006）

When examining different periods of immigration, more concentrated displays of Chinese Canadian (Sino-Canadian) literature often appeared in newspapers, magazines, and in various essay- and writing-competitions organized by companies or community associations. These activities provided fertile ground for the growth of Chinese Canadian literature.

In addition to essay contests, poetry competitions, and couplet solicitations, literary creation in the form of poetry and lyric composition also took place through inter-community gatherings. Larger-scale, one-off collective literary activities such as the writing of poems, lyrics, and rhymed prose often occurred on celebratory occasions, for example when a new hall was completed or when a business opened. One such example may be cited here.

In 1951, upon the completion of renovations to the Vancouver Chinese Benevolent Association building, the Wong Kong Har Tong (Huang Jiangxia Hall) presented a congratulatory inscription written on white silk, more than two *zhang* in length. At the top appeared the phrase

“The Foundation of the Nation,” followed by a congratulatory text composed by HungJisheng 黄寄生. It reads:

“Magnificent and splendid, like birds in flight with brilliant plumage.
Reflecting on this institution, it is the support upon which the overseas community relies.
The directors stand in orderly ranks, tirelessly serving the public good.
They fulfill their duties with reverence and dignity.
Their words are upright and forthright—who else can grasp the larger vision?
They resolve difficulties and mediate disputes, rising to the task whenever challenges arise.
Fearless before power, unwavering in discerning right from wrong.
Alas, we Chinese sojourners are scattered and weak in strength;
External insults arrive in profusion, danger lurking at every turn.
How shall we secure harmony within? By cherishing unity and mutual affection.
How shall we face the outside world? By upholding justice and principle.
With wholehearted commitment and moral integrity, success may yet be achieved.
Let all gentlemen take this as a mirror and a lesson.” (“本会馆现貌” , 1952, p. 10)

This example illustrates how communal celebrations served not only as social milestones but also as important occasions for collective literary expression within the Chinese Canadian community.

Reading Societies and Lectures on Classical Learning

As noted earlier, an important characteristic of Chinese Canadian literature is its popular and community-based nature. One extension of this characteristic was the rise of reading societies within Chinese communities across Canada. Although these societies were not themselves literary creations, they served as platforms for the dissemination of Chinese language literature. They played a catalytic role in the development of Chinese Canadian literature and greatly facilitated the circulation and popularization of Chinese-language newspapers, which in turn provided outlets for literary publication.

In the absence of formal libraries within Chinese communities, reading societies functioned as “mini-libraries,” contributing to the spiritual and cultural advancement of the community. Reading newspapers and books together was a common form of social gathering among Chinese communities in the first half of the twentieth century. One purpose was to allow members to borrow newspapers; another was that designated readers would read aloud and explain the content to those who were illiterate, thereby promoting political awareness and mobilization. This also served as an important means for Chinese immigrants to stay informed about news from both Canada and their homeland.

Several large organizations established their own reading societies, including the Min Sing Reading Society of the Vancouver Min Sing Association etc. (“民星阅书报社鸣谢” , 1943; “民星阅书报总社举行纪念盛况” , 1961)

It is also worth noting that, beyond reading newspapers, literary journals, and books, Chinese communities consistently maintained a demand for practicing poetry and prose writing, as well as for learning about developments in China. Some literati therefore began to engage in teaching activities. In January 1927, Huang Kongzhao, a well-known scholar who had lived in Vancouver

for twenty years, took the lead in founding the Ming Lun School 明伦学校's Chinese correspondence program. (“明伦学校中文函授科广告” , 1927) Vancouver's correspondence academy for classical Chinese learning was staffed by the poet Xu Zile as an instructor, offering courses in poetry, *ci* lyrics, and couplets. (“国学函授书院招生” , 1936)

In February 1927, the Vancouver Freemason Public Lecture Society announced its establishment. It held meetings every Saturday evening, inviting knowledgeable members of the community as well as prominent figures visiting from China

to give lectures. Huang Kongzhao and others were among those invited to speak. (“洪门宣讲社成立会盛况” , 1927; “洪门演说社纪盛” , 1927) The emergence of these schools and lecture programs played a significant role in nurturing the early growth of Chinese-language literature within the Chinese Canadian community.

Conclusion

In summary, the development of early Chinese-language literature in Canada was interdependent with the development of Chinese communities themselves. The rise and decline of these communities directly or indirectly shaped the rise and decline of Chinese Canadian literature. It can even be said that the spiritual influence generated by Chinese-language literature provided an important means of resilience and stress relief for Chinese communities that endured numerous hardships.

In terms of resistance, whether in the face of discrimination or exclusionary policies, various forms of Chinese-language literature became vehicles through which Chinese Canadian writers voiced protest and struggle. They allowed readers' anger to be released and gave protest a textual outlet. In terms of relief, the Chinese Exclusion Act and the world wars separated Chinese families across oceans, making reunions impossible and return to the homeland difficult. Writing and reading Chinese-language literature thus became one of the most effective ways for Chinese people striving within the “islands” of Chinatowns to ease the pain of homesickness and separation from loved ones.

More importantly, in the process of striving to survive in a foreign land, Chinese-language literature became a crucial marker through which Chinese Canadians transmitted their ethnic culture and affirmed their self-identity. This is clearly reflected in the strong emphasis on traditional Chinese poetry and regional operatic forms in early Chinese Canadian literature. The widespread practice of composing couplets further drew Chinese Canadians into a form of “participatory literature,” characterized by broad public involvement. These features together fulfilled all the essential functions of literature: understanding society, understanding the self, moral cultivation and aesthetic appreciation, and literary engagement with reality.

However, strengths often contain inherent weaknesses. The limitations of early Chinese Canadian literature are also evident. Its “popular” character resulted in a scarcity of outstanding writers and widely influential works. Moreover, the harsh living conditions faced by Chinese communities and the narrow range of immigrants' places of origin made it difficult for major works, especially long novels, to emerge, thereby weakening the broader social impact of Chinese-language literature's artistic power within Chinese communities in Canada. That said, the

discovery of *The Diary of Dukesang Wong* has opened up new perspectives for scholars seeking to trace the footprints of early Chinese Canadian literature and to broaden the historical significance of its works.

With the introduction of Canada's "universal immigration policy" in 1967 and the implementation of a points-based system that emphasized fairness in immigrant selection, a steady flow of independent immigrants, including professional writers, arrived in Canada. The development of Chinese Canadian literature thus entered an entirely new stage. The shortcomings of early Chinese-language literature were gradually overcome, ushering Chinese Canadian literature into an era of "normal" literary development.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID:

Guo Ding ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/orcid.org/0009-0003-0216-1377>

Bao heng(Bobbie) Jia ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/orcid.org/0009-0002-3202-9775>

References:

“哀悼徐子乐老师”（1970年11月28日），《大汉公报》。

[“In Mourning for Teacher Xu Zile.” (1970, November 28). *The Chinese Times*.]

哀蝉（1931年7月30日、8月12日）：“再回头”，《大汉公报》。

[Ai Chan (1931, July 30 and August 12). “Turning Back Again.” *The Chinese Times*.]

“本报广告”（1908年4月23日），《新报》。

[“Advertisements of This Paper.” (1908, April 23). *Sun Bo*.]

“本会馆现貌”（1952）：《加拿大云高华中华会馆举行重修落成开幕典礼特刊》，加拿大云高华中华会馆：10。

[“The Present Appearance of the Association Hall.” (1952). In *Commemorative Special Issue for the Grand Opening Ceremony of the Renovated Vancouver Chinese Benevolent Association*, Vancouver Chinese Benevolent Association: 10.]

“Canadian Gossip of Li's Visit.” (1896, September 16). *The Tacoma Daily Ledger*.

“承受生意股份广告”（1924年4月21日）：《大汉公报》。

[“Advertisement for the Transfer of Business Shares.” (1924, April 21). *The Chinese Times*.]

Chinese arch on Store Street, Victoria; erected for the visit of the Governor General, the Marquess of Lorne. (1882). *BC Archives*.

“The Chinese Viceroy.” (1896, September 15). *The Daily Colonist*.

“次韵答俭傅先生”（1963年8月16日），《大汉公报》。

[“Reply in Matching Rhyme to Mr. Jianfu.” (1963, August 16). *The Chinese Times*.]

“Drama Written in This City Presented at Chinese Theatre on Saturday Night.” (1912, August 12). *The Daily Province*.

“短篇小说”（1908年1月17日），《新报》。

[“Short story.” (1908, January 17). *Sun Bo*.]

“歌谣”（1908年3月17日），《新报》。

[“Ballad.” (1908, March 17). *Sun Bo*.]

“海丰会庆节目新颖”（1972年11月4日）：《大汉公报》。

[“Innovative Program Highlights at the Hai Fung Association Anniversary Celebration.” (1972, November 4). *The Chinese Times*.]

“国学函授书院招生”（1936年7月15日）：《大汉公报》。

[“Advertisement for Student Enrollment at the National Learning Correspondence Academy.” (1936, July 15). *The Chinese Times*.]

Hongmen Riddle Books in Canada, 1890–1910. University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections.

“Historic Study of the Society Buildings in Chinatown.” (2005). A19.

“洪门宣讲社成立会盛况”（1927年2月28日），《大汉公报》。

[“Grand Occasion of the Establishment of the Freemason Lecture Society.” (1927, February 28). *The Chinese Times*.]

“洪门演说社纪盛”（1927年3月7日），《大汉公报》。

[“Record of the Grand Event of the Freemason Lecture Society.” (1927, March 7). *The Chinese Times*.]

“华侨七一纪念之详情”（1924年7月2日）：《大汉公报》。

[“Details of Overseas Chinese July 1st Commemoration.” (1924, July 2). *The Chinese Times*.]

黄昆仑（1935年2月25日、3月28日）：“荔枝红”，《大汉公报》。

[Huang Kunlun (1935, February 25 and March 28). “Red Lynches.” *The Chinese Times*.]

“Immigration Building Is Now in Use.” (1909, November 15). *Victoria Daily Times*.

Index of death of Duke Sang Wong. (1931). *British Columbia, Canada, Death Index, 1872-1990*.

金惠俊（2018）：“展现新型的跨国移居者形象——加华作协华文短篇小说的特征和意义”，《世界华文文学论坛》（04）：31-31。

[Jin Huijun (2018). “Portraying a New Image of Transnational Migrants – Characteristics and Significance of Chinese-language Short Stories by the Federation of Chinese Canadian Writers.” *Forum for Chinese Literature of the World* (04): 31-31.]

卡城黄宽达（1956年6月26日）：“送黄文甫君复归云城”，《大汉公报》。

[Huang Dakuan of Calgary (1956, June 26). “Seeing Mr. Huang Wenpu Off on His Return to

Cloud City.” *The Chinese Times*.]

康有为（1992）：《康南海自编年谱》，楼宇烈整理。中华书局。

[Kang Youwei (1992). *Kang Nanhai's Self-Compiled Chronological Biography*, compiled and edited by Lou Yulie. Zhonghua Book Company.]

雷基磐（1963）：《莘园吟草》。金强印务公司。

[Lei Jipan (1963). *Poems from the Shen Garden*. Kam Keung Print Ting Company Limited.]

黎全恩（2006年8月5日）：“‘猪仔屋’昔日——华人抵加后的‘监狱’”，《加华新闻》。

[Li Quanen (2006, August 5). “The ‘Piglet House’ in the Past: A ‘Prison’ for Chinese upon Their Arrival in Canada.” *The Chinese Canadian Post*.]

黎全恩（2008）：“‘猪仔屋’内之客家山歌”，《华埠通讯》（01）：18-18。

[Li Quanen (2008). “Hakka Folk Songs Inside the ‘Piglet House’.” *Chinatown Newsletter* (01): 18-18.]

Li Quanen (1924). Materials provided for the compilation of the “July 1st” commemorative publication [*Unpublished manuscript*].

Li Quanen (1982). *Arches in British Columbia*. Sono Nis Press.

李东海（1967）：《加拿大华侨史》。加拿大自由出版社。

[Lee Donghai (1967). *A History of Chinese in Canada*. Canada Freedom Press.]

李福基（1909）：《宪政会纪始事略》。

[Li Fook-kei (1909). *A Brief Record of the Founding of the Constitutional Association*.]

李瑶华（1951年9月26日）：“呈大汉诗社诸公并柬周君鹤龄”，《大汉日报》。

[Li Yaohua (1951, September 26). “Presented to the Gentlemen of the Great Han Poetry Society, with a Note to Mr. Zhou Heling.” *The Chinese Daily News*.]

“联骚社出世广告”（1915年2月8日），《大汉日报》。

[“Advertisement Announcing the Establishment of the Liansao Society.” (1915, February 8). *The Chinese Daily News*.]

“联吟社征联特启”（1920年11月6日），《大汉公报》。

[“Special Announcement Calling for Couplets by the Linyin Society.” (1920, November 6). *The Chinese Times*.]

林筱唐（1918年5月8日）：“维城晚望”，《大汉公报》。

[Lin Xiaotang (1918, May 8). “Evening View of Victoria.” *The Chinese Times*.]

嶺海山人（1925）：《金山联玉》，安逸居士校。启新书林印行。

[Linghaishanren (Comp.) (1925). *Jinshan Lianyu*, ed. Anyi Jushi. Qixin Bookstore.]

刘希秀（1938年5月12日）：“国事感怀”，《大汉公报》。

[Liu Xixiu (1938, May 12). "Reflections on National Affairs." *The Chinese Times*.]

“驴犬争妒”（1914年10月20日），《大汉日报》。

["The Donkey and the Dog Compete in Jealousy." (1914, October 20). *The Chinese Times*.]

"M. W. Fiffe." (1899, April 8). *The Victoria Daily Colonist*.

马立邦（1963年10月2日）：“云城赏中秋月”，《大汉公报》。

[Ma Libang (1963, October 2). "Admiring the Mid-Autumn Moon in Cloud City." *The Chinese Times*.]

McIlwraith, David (Ed.) (2020). *The Diary of Dukesang Wong: A Voice from Gold Mountain*, trans. Wanda Joy Hoe. Talonbooks.

“民星阅书报社鸣谢”（1943年1月12日），《大汉公报》。

["Acknowledgment from the Minxing Reading Society." (1943, January 12). *The Chinese Times*.]

“民星阅书报总社举行纪念盛况”（1961年1月31日），《大汉公报》。

["Grand Commemorative Event Held by the Minxing General Reading Society." (1961, January 31). *The Chinese Times*.]

“明伦学校中文函授科广告”（1927年1月7日），《大汉公报》。

["Establishment of the United Chinese Association of Alberta." (1929, January 7 and 11). *The Chinese Times*.]

铭新（1948）：“伤春”，《禺山校刊》（03）：41-41。

[Ming Xin (1948). "Lament for Spring." *Yue Shan School Journal* (03): 41-41.]

“New Chinese Paper Is Issued Today.” (1908, January 7). *Vancouver Daily World*.

“New Immigration Building Here.” (1907, February 5). *Victoria Daily Times*.

Photograph of the archway built by the Chinese community in 1896 to welcome Li Hongzhang. (1896). [Photograph].

“侨耻纪念情形”（1925年7月2日）：《大汉公报》。

["The Situation of Humiliation Commemoration Among Overseas Chinese." (1925, July 2). *The Chinese Times*.]

“请看征诗”（1915年6月16日）：《大汉日报》。

["Please See, Call for Poems." (1915, June 16). *The Chinese Daily News*.]

“认贼作父”（1908年1月17日），《新报》。

["Taking the Enemy for One's Father." (1908, January 17). *Sun Bo*.]

三郎（1914年9月5日）：“赈灾”，《大汉日报》。

[San Lang (1914, September 5). "Disaster Relief." *The Chinese Times*.]

“诗与词”（1960）：《加拿大域多利中华会馆75周年，华侨学校60周年纪念特刊》，加拿大域多利中华会馆：21。

[“Poetry and Ci Lyrics.” (1960). In *Commemorative Special Issue for the 75th Anniversary of the Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the 60th Anniversary of the Chinese Public School*, Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association: 21.]

《诗词汇刻》（1957）。大汉公报社。

[*Collected Poems and Lyrics* (1957). The Chinese Times Press.]

司徒树浓（1964年1月30日）：“村居”，《大汉公报》。

[Situ Shunong (1964, January 30). “Village Dwelling.” *The Chinese Times*.]

司徒树浓（1970年6月6日）：“讯感七律”，《大汉公报》。

[Situ Shunong (1970, June 6). “Seven-Character Regulated Verse on Recent Reflections.” *The Chinese Times*.]

司徒树浓（1966）：《旅加吟草》。

[Situ Shunong (1966). *Poems Written While Living in Canada*.]

四郎（1924年6月21日）：“七一前二星期席中偶咏二绝”，《大汉公报》。

[Silang (1924, June 21). “Two Quatrains Composed Impromptu at a Banquet Two Weeks before July First.” *The Chinese Times*.]

“The State of the Preparations.” (1882, September 17). *The Daily Colonist*.

“文献与专载”（1960）：《加拿大域多利中华会馆75周年，华侨学校60周年纪念特刊》，加拿大域多利中华会馆：21。

[“Documents and Special Features.” (1960). In *Commemorative Special Issue for the 75th Anniversary of the Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the 60th Anniversary of the Chinese Public School*. Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association: 21.]

“文苑”（1917年9月4日），《大汉公报》。

[“Literary Garden.” (1917, September 4). *The Chinese Times*.]

无俚（1922年3月3日、4月1日）：“盗之侠”，《大汉公报》。

[Wu Li (1922, March 3 and April 1). “The Chivalry of Thieves.” *The Chinese Times*.]

吴尚鹰（1963年9月14日）：“吴尚鹰先生每日专栏——李鸿章杂碎”，《大汉公报》。

[Wu Shangying (1963, September 14). “Mr. Wu Shangying’s Daily Column — Li Hongzhang Miscellany.” *The Chinese Times*.]

“戏剧感人之速力”（1915年3月17日），《大汉公报》。

[“The Rapid Emotional Impact of Drama.” (1915, March 17). *The Chinese Times*.]

“先侨遗墨：著述”（1960）：《加拿大域多利中华会馆75周年，华侨学校60周年纪念特刊》，加拿大域多利中华会馆：35。

[“Writings of the Early Pioneers.” (1960). In *Commemorative Special Issue for the 75th*

Anniversary of the Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the 60th Anniversary of the Chinese Public School. Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association: 35.]

“醒群社为救亡会筹常费”（1915年4月17日），《大汉公报》。

[“The Xingqun Society Raises Funds to Cover the Regular Expenses of the National Salvation Association.” (1915, April 17). *The Chinese Times*.]

徐丽葵（1948）：“文艺”，《禺山校刊》（03）：16-40。

[Xu Likui (1948). “Literature and Arts.” *Yue Shan School Journal* (03): 16-40.]

Yee, Paul (Yu Zhao Chang, 2006). *Saltwater City: Story of Vancouver's Chinese Community*. Douglas & McIntyre, Revised Edition.

印（1924年6月21日）：“七一纪念”，《大汉公报》。

[Yin (1924, June 21). “July 1st Commemoration.” *The Chinese Times*.]

Yu Sheng Monthly (1939 – 1947). Yue Shan Society.

“域埠中华会馆纪念侨耻”（1930年7月3日）：《大汉公报》。

[“Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Victoria Commemorates Overseas Chinese Humiliation.” (1930, July 3). *The Chinese Times*.]

“云高华埠广吟社第四会对题求”（1914年8月1日），《大汉公报》。

[“Call for Matching-Theme Poems for the Fourth Gathering of the Yun-Gao Chinatown Guangyin Poetry Society.” (1914, August 1). *The Chinese Times*.]

“征联广告”（1935年3月28日），《大汉公报》。

[“Advertisement Calling for Couplet Submissions.” (1935, March 28). *The Chinese Times*.]

“征联揭晓”（1957年1月25日），《大汉公报》。

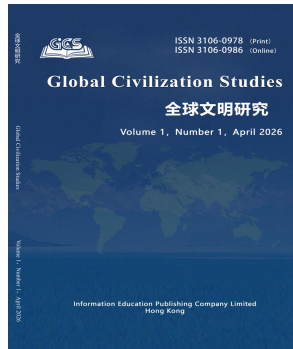
[“Results of the Couplet Competition Announced.” (1957, January 25). *The Chinese Times*.]

“兹将李春华先生评定第四会前列之联先布”（1914年9月4日）：《大汉日报》。

[“Hereby Published in Advance Are the Couplet Entries Ranked at the Forefront of the Fourth Gathering, as Evaluated by Mr. Li Chunhua.” (1914, September 4). *The Chinese Daily News*.]

“注意云高华埠广吟社特别第八会对题求教”（1914年12月11日），《大汉日报》。

[“Topic Submission for the Special Eighth Meeting of the Vancouver Chinese Broad Chanting Society.” (1914, December 11). *The Chinese Daily News*.]

**Global Civilization Studies****GCS, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2026, pp.77-86.****Print ISSN: 3106-0978; Online ISSN: 3106-0986****Journal homepage: <https://www.gcsjournal.com>****DOI: <https://doi.org/10.64058/gcs260105rdbjd>**

波乃耶父子译著《中国神话选》：文献征引与学术自觉

姚达兑 (Yao Dadui)

摘要：波乃耶父子可能是最早系统关注中国神话的汉学家，其译著《中国神话选》即为代表。波乃耶牧师长期在广州传教，其子则成长为汉学学者。该译作于1881-1884年间分九次连载于《中国评论》，前两次连载附有大量注释和多篇附录，其征引的中西文献繁多。借助国内外多所大学及研究机构馆藏和数据库的检索，可以厘清这些被征引文献的来源及其学术脉络。由此推知，波乃耶父子在编译过程中展现出超越传教士背景的自觉学术意识。《中国神话选》不仅是早期比较民俗学与比较宗教学研究的重要案例，也为中外神话与文学的对比研究提供了有益的启示，其对文明互鉴的意义亦不容忽视。

关键词：波乃耶牧师；詹姆士·波乃耶；《中国神话选》；汉学文献；学术自觉

作者简介：姚达兑，海南大学人文学院教授，研究方向为比较文学与世界文学。电子信箱：yaodadui@foxmail.com。

Title: Rev. Dyer Ball and James Dyer Ball's translation of *Scraps from Chinese Mythology*: Citation of Sources and Scholarly Consciousness

Abstract: Rev. Dyer Ball and his son James Dyer Ball were among the earliest sinologists to engage systematically with Chinese mythology, and their translation *Scraps from Chinese Mythology* stands as a representative work. Rev. Dyer Ball spent many years as a missionary in Guangzhou, while his son grew up there and later became a sinologist. The translation was

serialized in nine installments in *The China Review* between 1881 and 1884. In the first two installments, Dyer Ball added extensive annotations and appendices, citing a wide range of Chinese and Western sources. Through searches conducted across major libraries and research institutions in China and abroad, the provenance and scholarly networks of these cited sources can be reconstructed. This investigation reveals that the Balls demonstrated a conscious scholarly awareness that went beyond their missionary background. *Scraps from Chinese Mythology* is thus not only an important early case for comparative folklore and comparative religion, but also provide valuable insights into the study of Chinese and Western mythologies and literatures, contributing to broader reflections on cross-cultural exchange and mutual understanding of civilizations.

Keywords: Rev. Dyer Ball; James Dyer Ball; *Scraps from Chinese Mythology*; Sinological Sources; Scholarly Consciousness

Author Biography: Yao Dadui, Professor at the College of Humanities, Hainan University. Research area: Comparative Literature and World Literature.

一、引言

著名汉学家詹姆士·波乃耶（James Dyer Ball, 1847-1919）出生于广州，其父波乃耶牧师（Rev. Dyer Ball, 1796—1866）是来自美国“美部会”（ABCFM）的传教士。为了便于叙述，本文将詹姆士·波乃耶简称为波乃耶，其父称为波乃耶牧师。学界对其父子所知甚少，据笔者考证，有发现如下。波乃耶牧师早年曾在新加坡、澳门等地传教，1843年第一任妻子在澳门去世后，他转赴香港，次年移居广州。1846年，他再婚，娶英国女传教士 Isabella Robertson 为妻。此后两人长期居于广州，育有一子二女。其长女后嫁给美国长老会传教士哈巴安德（Andrew P. Happer, 1818—1894），哈巴安德参与创建岭南学堂（岭南大学前身），并是粤语《圣经》重要译者之一，为中西文化交流作出了突出的贡献。波乃耶自幼成长于广州，后赴英国伦敦求学，学成后返回香港，曾在香港裁判法庭和最高法院担任要职，并成为英国皇家亚洲学会会员。其著述涵盖粤语文学、粤语教材、澳门研究等，尤其是粤语教材曾长期作为香港公务员粤语考试的指定用书，多次重印，影响深远。此外，他还与但尼士（N. B. Dennys）和欧德理（E. J. Eitel, 1838-1908）共同主编了《中国评论》（*China Review*, 1872-1901），被认为是英语世界最早的专业汉学杂志之一（Girardot, 2002, p.145）。该杂志刊登了大量精深的论文和译文，对中外学术交流具有重要意义。波乃耶家族对岭南文化、广州历史以及近代中外文化交流史的贡献显著，值得深入研究。

波乃耶牧师在文化领域的开创性贡献之一是译著《中国神话选》（*Scraps from Chinese Mythology*）（Ball, 1881; 1882; 1883a; 1883b; 1883c; 1883d; 1884a; 1884b; 1884c）。该作品可能是最早系统翻译中国神话的英文著作之一，于1881年至1884年间分九期连载于《中国评论》。前两期内容主要来自于《神仙通鉴》等故事（姚达兑，2023, p.106；徐道、程毓

奇, 1712, p.1), 涵盖道教宇宙论、盘古神话、玉皇上帝传说、道教三清、老子传、《道德经》经文译文及评论等内容, 后七期则涉及《东游记》《西游记》《南游记》和《北游记》四篇经典道教故事。其正文部分由波乃耶牧师翻译完成, 附注及补充材料由其子波乃耶撰写。前两期中包含了大量注释与参考文献, 而后七期则相对较少, 因此本文的讨论主要集中于前两期涉及的内容。

波乃耶父子的研究, 近年已引起学界关注。宋丽娟曾指出, 《中国神话选》的主要内容来自《四游记》, 并在多种论著中有相关讨论(宋丽娟、孙逊, 2011, p.129; 宋丽娟, 2017, pp.279-280)。蔡乾(2018, pp.57-67)则探讨了《四游记》尤其是《西游记》的文本来源及波乃耶父子的翻译策略。然而, 两者均忽略了《中国神话选》中前两篇连载文的特殊性, 未对其进行讨论。此外, 笔者此前曾发表了两篇相关论文, 分别讨论了波乃耶的汉语改革观以及《中国神话选》中的宇宙论与创世论(姚达兑, 2023a, pp.102-110; 姚达兑, 2023b, pp.104-110)。本文旨在进一步深化前述研究, 重点分析《中国神话选》中所征引的汉学文献及其学术价值。如前所述, 《中国神话选》的前两篇连载文所引证的文献极其繁复, 而后续的连载文则较少或几乎没有, 故而下文的讨论会集中在前两篇连载文。

波乃耶父子的《中国神话选》中引用的汉学文献极为广泛, 既包括《史记》《太平广记》《枕中书》、李白诗等中国古籍及其英译本, 也涵盖了《圣经》章节、弥尔顿《失乐园》、但丁《神曲》、歌德《浮士德》、奥维德《变形记》等西方经典。他们还引用了大量未署名文章与诗句, 充分展现了其跨文化的学术视野。这些跨文化的文献引用不仅为读者提供了比较研究的可能性, 也展现了中国文化的独特性。波乃耶父子通过《中国神话选》, 以学术化的方式阐释中国神话, 为比较民俗学、比较宗教学及中外神话研究提供了宝贵的启示, 也为文明互鉴研究开辟了新的视野。

二、波氏父子征引文献简介

在此很有必要列出波乃耶父子《中国神话选》前两篇连载文中出现的主要参考文献及其出处。波乃耶在《中国神话选》的注释中引用了大量中外文献, 主要包括西方汉学著作和中文典籍及其英译。波乃耶原文提及文献时仅提及著作者名和书名, 有时甚至是书名的省略词, 故而笔者久费时日, 一一查核相关线索, 对涉及文献进行细致的考证, 方确证他所引注的大部分文献。以下是笔者调查后的简要列表。第一个书目列表来自于《中国神话选》的第一篇连载文, 第二个书目列表来自于其第二篇但去除了第一篇重复的书目。

(一) 波乃耶《中国神话选》第一篇连载译文中主要征引文献列举。(1)《神仙通鉴》(*Looking Glass*)为波乃耶所参照翻译的中文原著。(2)丁韪良的《翰林院论文集》(*Han-lin Papers*), 1880年出版, 收录12篇论文与4篇附录(Martin, 1880)。(3)湛约翰1868年出版的《道德经》英译本(Chalmers, 1868)。(4)奥肯(Lorenz Okenfuss)的句子“Out of nothing everything arose”, 未知出处。(5)1880年《德臣西报》(*China Mail*)中关于佛教哲学的文章。(6)弥尔顿的《失乐园》, 被多次引用用于神话比较。(7)艾约瑟1878年出版的《中国的宗教》(*Religion in China*) (Edkins, 1878)。(8)引用维吉尔的诗句。(9)引用路易斯·费格尔《大洪水之前的世界》(*World before the*

Deluge)。(10) 未明出处的引文 “Heaven and earth are the father and mother of all things” (天地, 乃万物之父母)。有可能化用自《老子》首章中的 “有无名, 天地之始; 有名, 万物之母” 一句。(11) 译者引用认为是孔子的语录—— “天地本源, 二力之始, 万物之祖”。(12) D.B. Williams 的著作多次被引用, 但未注明具体书名。(13) 卫三畏的《中国总论》(*Middle Kingdom*) (Williams, 1874)。(14) 卢公明 (Justus Doolittle) 的《中国人的社会生活》(*Social life of the Chinese*) (Doolittle, 1865)。(15) 理雅各的《中国人关于神与灵的观念》(*The Notions of the Chinese Concerning God and Spirits*) (Legge, 1852)。(16) 梅辉立 (William Frederick Mayers) 的《中文读者手册》(*Chinese Reader's Manual*)。(17) 《中国评论》杂志上文章, 未注明篇目。(18) 《教务杂志》(*Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*) 上的文章, 未知具体。(19) 但尼士的《中国民间传说》(*Folk-lore of China*) (Dennys, 1876)。(20) 《香港每日新闻》(*Hong Kong Daily Press*) 中的引用。(21) 《圣经》摩西五经的引文。(22) 《圣经常识》(*Biblical things not generally known*)。(23) 艾利亚·布立特的《天堂的地理与天文学课本》(*Geography of Heavens and Class Book of Astronomy*)。(24) Cutier 的《解剖学》(*Anatomy*)。(25) 欧德理的《中国佛教手册》(*Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*) (Eitel 1865)。(26) Smith 的《中国本草》(*Chinese Mat. Med.*)。(27) 湛约翰英译的李白诗歌。(28) 理雅各英译《中国经典》。(29) 菲斯克翻译并附带十篇论文的《古典文学手册》(*Manual of Classical Literature*)。(30) 晏玛太 (Matthew T. Yates) 的《祖先崇拜》(*Ancestral Worship*) (Yates, 1878)。波乃耶仅提及 “Yates” 一姓, 笔者据材料推断便是晏玛太及其著作。(31) 引用《太平广记》文句。(32) 歌德的《浮士德》句子。(33) 缪勒 (Max Müller) 《语言的科学》(*Science of Language*) 中的论点 (Müller, 1875)。

(二) 波乃耶《中国神话选》第二篇连载译文中主要征引文献列举。(1) 但丁《炼狱》和《天堂》, Carey 英译本。(2) 《中日释疑》(*Notes and Queries on China and Japan*) 上的文章, 未知具体。(3) 翟理思的《与远东有关的主题的参考词汇表》(*Glossary of Reference*) (Giles, 1878)。(4) 朗费罗的《路边客栈的故事》(*Tales of a Wayside Inn*)。(5) John Stevenson 英译的《劫波经》(*Kalpa Sutra*) (Bhadrabāhu, 1848)。(6) 巴尔福英译《庄子》(Chuang Tsze) (Zhuangzi, 1881)。(7) 朗费罗的《人生颂》(Psalm of Life)。(8) 《搜神大全》中的故事。但波乃耶误称其为《搜神记》。(9) 卫三畏的《汉语音节词典》(*Syllabic Dictionary*) (Williams, 1874)。(10) 艾约瑟的《中国佛教》(*Chinese Buddhism*) (Edkins, 1880)。(11) 爱伦坡的诗句引用。(12) 花之安的《中国宗教科学之导论》(*Introduction to the Science of Chinese Religion*) (Faber, 1879)。(13) 乔治·斯密的《古代不列颠的宗教》(*Religion of Ancient Britain*)。(14) 钱伯斯的《百科全书》(*Information for the People*)。(15) 贾梅士的《葡国魂》(*Lusiadas*) 原作。(16) Anbertin 英译《葡国魂》。(17) 仅提及 “Met” 一词, 据笔者考证乃为奥维德的《变形记》。(18) 《美国古董商》(*The American Antiquarian*)。(19) 霍恩的《猎户座》(*Orion*)。(20) 葛洪的《枕中书》。(21) 威廉·格里菲斯的《日本童话世界》(*Japanese Fairy World*) (Griffis, 1880)。(22)

沃特斯的《老子：中国哲学研究》（*Lao-tzu; a Study in Chinese Philosophy*）（Watters, 1870）。(23) 司马迁的《史记》。

《中国神话选》的第一、二篇连载译文的注释部分，波乃耶引用了不少著作作为附证，主要包括了如下作品：美国传教士丁韪良的著作《翰林院论文集》、英国传教士湛约翰英译《道德经》、德国自然神学家奥肯的句子、艾约瑟著《中国的宗教》、卫三畏著《中国总论》。卢公明著《中国人的社会生活》、理雅各著《中国人关于神与灵的观念》、梅辉立的《中文读者手册》、但尼士著《中国民间传说》还引用了基督教《圣经》经文、维吉尔的诗句、奥维德《变形记》、弥尔顿《失乐园》、但丁《神曲》的相关段落，以及来自于《德臣西报》、《中国评论》和《教务杂志》《中日释疑》的论文。这些引文，共同构成了波乃耶非常复杂的阐释网络。

与其父的牧师身份不同，波乃耶是一位现代的职业人（公务员）、学者（语言学家），《中国神话选》的注释部分乃是波乃耶一人独力完成。从这些文献判断，波乃耶具备了非常难得的世界主义眼光，是一位具有比较意识的早期比较文学学者。波乃耶父子的译文和注释，可以看作是以中国神话作品为中心的一项繁复而深入的比较研究，有其独特的价值。

三、征引文献及其阐释网络

波乃耶的注释部分引用的文献，通常仅提及作者、书名或杂志名，并未提供完整的出版信息，这给后续研究者考证这些文献的具体出处及引文内容带来了相当的困难。笔者通过检索多个中外数据库，以及十余所大学图书馆与公共图书馆，并得到多位学者的协助，基本确认了波乃耶引用的大部分文献来源及内容。以下是对第一、二篇连载文所涉及文献的分析，重点关注可用于比较研究的文献及同时代在华西方汉学家的代表性著作。

在第一篇连载译文中，波乃耶引用了“*Looking Glass*”一书，经考证这是《神仙通鉴》一书。该书是一部重要的道教神仙传记文献。在第二篇连载中，他引用了《三教源流搜神大全》中的神仙故事，但误将其称作《搜神记》。自 1812 年马礼逊《汉学时光》一书出版至波乃耶父子《中国神话选》发表，七十余年间，西方汉学家对《神仙通鉴》《搜神大全》这类道教经典持续保持着浓厚的兴趣，显示了其在清中期至清末的深远影响（姚达兑, 2020; 2022; 2023c; 2024）。

丁韪良的《翰林院论文集》（*Hanlin Papers*）也是波乃耶反复引用的重要文献之一，该书 1880 年出版，包含 12 篇论文及 4 篇附录。波乃耶特别引用了其中两篇论文《论中国的三教》（*The San Kiao, or the Three Religions of China*）与《伊西丝和奥西里斯，或东方二元论》（*Isis and Osiris, or Oriental Dualism*）。后者探讨了阴阳二元论与古埃及神话的关联，并引用了周敦颐与朱熹关于“无极”“太极”等宇宙论的观点（Martin, 1880; 1894）。

此外，波乃耶还引用了湛约翰于 1868 年出版的《道德经》英译本（Chalmers, 1868）。这是 19 世纪首部公开出版的英译《道德经》，具有重要的学术价值。波乃耶在其翻译中探讨了道教的宇宙观和创世观念，因此多次引用湛约翰的译本及其附注，作为进一步讨论的依据。作为当时具有重要影响的汉学家，湛约翰不仅翻译了中国文学作品，还将一部分译

作发表在《中国评论》上，产生了广泛的学术影响。波乃耶在文中也引用了湛约翰对李白诗歌的翻译，进一步加强了对中国文化的比较与阐释。

关于宇宙论方面内容，其他重要引用还包括德国自然神学家奥肯（Lorenz Okenfuss，1779—1851）的“Out of nothing everything arose”（从虚无中生出万物）一语，弥尔顿的《失乐园》（*Paradise Lost*），以及艾约瑟的《中国的宗教》（*Religion in China*）（Edkins, 1878）。波乃耶还引用了维吉尔与奥维德的诗句，用以与中国古代宇宙论进行比较。

法国学者路易斯·费格尔（Louis Figuier）的《大洪水之前的世界》（*World before the Deluge*）也是波乃耶引用的重要西方文献。该书由 W.S.O. 翻译为英文，最早出版于 1865 年，1872 年由英国地质学家 Henry William Bristow 修订再版，探讨了全球早期文明中的大洪水神话。波乃耶显然借助该书来比较中西神话中的洪水叙事，以证明创世神话的跨文化共性（Figuier, 1865; 1872）。卫三畏的《中国总论》同样在波乃耶的文献网络中占据了显著位置。此书为两卷本，涉及中国历史、文化、地理等多个方面，被誉为“美国汉学的奠基之作”。波乃耶在《中国神话选》中引用了该书关于中国宗教与哲学的章节。

波乃耶还引用了卢公明的《中国人的社会生活》（1865），该书以详尽的社会观察记录了清代中国人的风俗习惯。此外，他也大量引用了理雅各的《中国人关于神与灵的观念》，探讨了基督教与中国传统宗教观念的异同。

波乃耶在《中国神话选》的第二篇连载文中继续扩展了其引用文献的广度与深度，其征引的重要文献包括但丁的《神曲》、朗费罗的《路边客栈的故事》、翟理思的《与远东有关的主题的参考词汇表》，以及巴尔福的《庄子》英译本。其中，巴尔福的英译《庄子》是西方最早的《庄子》全译本。

其他引用的西方文献还包括：弥尔顿的《失乐园》、维吉尔的诗句、《圣经》摩西五书、奥维德的《变形记》等经典作品，均用于与中国神话中的创世与宇宙论进行比较。此外，波乃耶还引用了德国自然神学家奥肯关于宇宙生成的理论，以说明“从无到有”的哲学观。

波乃耶父子的引用策略显示出一种跨文化比较研究的方法论。他们在《中国神话选》中，不仅呈现了中国神话的丰富性，还将其与西方宗教、哲学与文学经典进行对照。这些引用既包括中国古籍《史记》《太平广记》《枕中书》以及李白诗英译的经典片段，也涉及弥尔顿《失乐园》、歌德《浮士德》、但丁《神曲》与奥维德《变形记》等西方名著。波乃耶的引用文献网络极为复杂，反映了他在 19 世纪的汉学研究中的独特学术视野。他所引用的大部分文献都具有较强的宗教与哲学背景，尤其注重道教宇宙论与基督教创世神话的比较。这种阐释方式，为早期的跨文化研究奠定了基础。

要之，波乃耶父子的《中国神话选》不仅是对中国神话的一次英文翻译尝试，更是一项深入的比较文学研究。通过对中西文献的广泛引用与注释，他们成功地构建了一个复杂而多层次的阐释网络，展示了 19 世纪汉学研究的多元化与跨文化特点。

四、征引文献分类情况

从以上的文献详情观察波乃耶所征引的文献，除《圣经》《失乐园》等几部经典外，大部分都是当时最新学术著作。以作者身份和文献内容来划分，便可以有如下分类：（1）

第一类是同一时代来华的汉学家（主要是传教士），包括了湛约翰、晏玛太、花之安、卫三畏、艾约瑟、但尼士、欧德理、卢公明、理雅各，以及梅辉立、巴尔福和翟理思。这一批学者中，除了巴尔福是新闻记者、报业家，以及梅辉立和翟理思是来华外交官之外，其他人全都是传教士，但这些人也都是当时比较重要的汉学家。（2）第二类是涉及东方学的学者，仅有三人，分别是牛津大学宗教学教授缪勒、翻译佛教《劫波经》的约翰·史蒂文森，以及著有《日本童话世界》的威廉·格里菲斯。（3）第三类是研究欧洲古代文明（尤其是与《圣经》学和宗教相关）的学者，包括了著《大洪水之前的世界》的法国学者路易斯·费格尔、著《古代不列颠的宗教》的乔治·斯密、著《天堂的地理，与天文学课本》的艾利亚·布立特，以及翻译和编辑《古典文学手册》的菲斯克。以上的分类，涵盖了绝大部分的引证文献，后两类与第一类相比，在数量上少了很多，可知波乃耶的比较研究还是偏重对中国神话和本土文化的研究，似乎并未很着力于中西平行研究。由此可知，他尽量引用了当时对于中国研究较为深入的著作，而非以欧洲文明为唯一或最高的标准。他有自己的参考标准，这种标准来自于其时在华的传教士，他们新出的中国学或汉学文献。这一点与当时在欧洲而从未踏足中国的那些作者或译者，在写作的态度上、内容的深度上截然不同。换言之，波乃耶在中国研究方面，更为专业，其论点也更有说服力。

从文献涉及的具体内容分析，还可分出如下几类。（1）第一类是关于中国经典的翻译和研究。具体包括湛约翰英译《道德经》、理雅各《中国经典》、巴尔福英译《庄子》、托马斯·沃特斯译著《老子：一项中国哲学的研究》。这些著作在当时是颇具开创性，比如湛约翰英译《道德经》和巴尔福英译《庄子》，都是首个英译本，影响深远，而理雅各的《中国经典》是前所未有的大工程，直到一百五十多年后的现在仍是权威经典。（2）第二类是汉学或中国研究中的宗教和神学部分。传教士汉学家因其身份和使命的特殊性，会特别关心中国的宗教问题，而且往往会以基督教视角审视和批评中国的宗教观念。这一类中，包括了理雅各著《中国人关于神与灵的观念》——此书与《圣经》汉译过程中对基督教上帝的翻译的讨论有关。此外，还有艾约瑟著《中国的宗教》、欧德理著《中国佛教手册》、晏玛太著《祖先崇拜》、花之安著《中国宗教科学之导论》，以及缪勒的宗教学和东方学研究中涉及中国部分。或许约翰·史蒂文森译佛教《劫波经》，也可计入这一类，因为涉及了中国佛教。（3）第三类是除宗教和神学除外的汉学或中国研究的著作，包括：卫三畏《中国总论》和《汉语音节词典》、梅辉立著《中文读者手册》、丁韪良著《翰林院论文集》（和续集）、卢公明著《中国人的社会生活》、但尼士著《中国民间传说》、翟理思著《与远东有关的主题的参考词汇表》。（4）第四类是未涉及中国的东方学著作，包括缪勒著《语言的科学》、乔治·斯密著《古代不列颠的宗教》、路易斯·费格尔著《大洪水之前的世界》、艾利亚·布立特著《天堂的地理，与天文学课本》，以及菲斯克编译的《古典文学手册》（Eschenburg, 1836）。从作品的内容来分类，可以观察波乃耶主要引用的论著是前三类，尤其是前两类，关于中国经典的外译和中国宗教的内容。

五、总结

在《中国神话选》一书中，波乃耶对其父遗留下来的译稿进行了详细的注释，征用了大量的中外文献。这些注释和参考文献有效地拓展了原文未曾涉及的内容，将中国神话与

世界文学及欧美汉学的研究网络连接起来，促成了原著、译文和注释之间的多层次互动。译文注释作为副文本，其所寓含的意义，并不逊色于译文本身，反而在某些方面更具深度，它们通过补充性解释构建了一个独特的阐释体系——我们不妨称之为“天罗地网”式的阐释体系。这种阐释体系不仅具有内在的逻辑，还通过对相关文献的深入分析，形成了系统的知识生产方式。

波乃耶在《中国神话选》中的注释较为详尽，不仅广泛引用中西方文献，涵盖了一大批当代汉学著作，尤其是关于中国经典与宗教文化的文献。他通过横向比较，将中国神话纳入世界文学和宗教的广阔框架中。尽管这些注释有时显得过于琐碎，有时也显随意，它们共同构建的知识网络为 19 世纪汉学的发展提供了重要的参考。虽然波乃耶未能提出系统的理论总结，但其注释文本为后续的汉学研究模式和学术讨论提供了宝贵的启示。从个体的译著（如《中国神话选》）到更广泛的人文学术平台（如《中国评论》杂志），波乃耶及其同时代的汉学家已初步构建起一个较完整的汉学知识体系。这也标志着 19 世纪汉学生产模式的成熟。

基金项目：本文系国家社科基金项目“中国古代神怪小说的近代英译和域外影响研究”（项目编号：17CZW036）的阶段性成果之一。

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Yao Dadui ^{ID} <http://orcid.org/0000-0005-0335-2800>

References

- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1881). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 9, no. 4, 1881, pp. 195–212.
- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1882). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1882, pp. 69–86.
- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1883a). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 11, no. 4, 1883, pp. 203–217.
- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1883b). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 11, no. 5, 1883, pp. 282–297.
- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1883c). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 11, no. 6, 1883, pp. 382–390.
- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1883d). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1883, pp. 188–193.
- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1884a). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 12, no. 4, 1884, pp. 324–331.
- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1884b). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 12, no. 5, 1884, pp. 402–407.

- Ball, Rev. Dyer, and J. Dyer Ball (1884c). "Scraps from Chinese Mythology." *The China Review*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1884, pp. 75–85.
- Bhadrabāhu (1848). *The Kalpa Sutra, and Nava Tatva*. Trans. J. Stevenson. The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain .
- 蔡乾 (2018): “波乃耶父子《西游记》节选译介考论”, 《国际汉学》, 第 1 期, 第 57–67 页。
- [Cai, Qian (2018). "A Study of the Selected Translations of Journey to the West by Father and Son Bonney." *International Sinology*, no. 1, pp. 57–67.]
- Chalmers, John (1868). *The Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity and Morality of "the Old Philosopher"*. Trübner & Co..
- Dennys, N. B (1876). *The Folk-Lore of China*. Trübner & Co.
- Doolittle, Justus (1865). *Social Life of the Chinese: With Some Account of Their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions*. Harper & Brothers.
- Edkins, Joseph (1878). *Religion in China*. J. R. Osgood.
- Edkins, Joseph (1880). *Chinese Buddhism: A Volume of Sketches, Historical, Descriptive and Critical*. Trübner & Co..
- Eschenburg, Johann Joachim (1836). *Manual of Classical Literature*. Trans. and with additions by N. W. Fiske. Key and Biddle.
- Eitel, Ernest John (1870). *Hand-Book of Chinese Buddhism*. Lane, Crawford, .
- Faber, Ernst (1879). *Introduction to the Science of Chinese Religion: A Critique of Max Müller & Other Authors*. Lane, Crawford.
- Figuier, Louis (1865). *World before the Deluge*. Trans. W. S. O. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.
- Figuier, Louis (1872). *World before the Deluge*. Trans. W. S. O. Ed. and rev. Henry William Bristow. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.
- Giles, Herbert A (1878). *A Glossary of Reference on Subjects Connected with the Far East*. Lane, Crawford.
- Girardot, N. J (2002). *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgrimage*. University of California Press.
- Griffis, William Elliot (1880). *Japanese Fairy World: Stories from the Wonder-lore of Japan*. J. H. Barhyte.
- Legge, James. *The Notions of the Chinese Concerning God and Spirits*. Register Office, 1852.
- Martin, W. A. P (1880). *Hanlin Papers; or, Essays on the Intellectual Life of the Chinese*. Trübner & Co.
- Martin, W. A. P (1894). *Hanlin Papers; or, Essays on the Intellectual Life of the Chinese. Second Series*. Kelly & Walsh.
- Müller, Max (1875). *Lectures on the Science of Language Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in March, April, May, and June, 1861*. Scribner, Armstrong, and Co.
- 宋丽娟、孙逊 (2011): “近代英文期刊与中国古典小说的早期翻译”, 《文学遗产》(4): 125–132。
- [Song, Lijuan, Sun Xun (2011). "Modern English Periodicals and the Early Translation of Chinese Classical Fiction." *Literary Heritage* (4): 125–132.]

宋丽娟（2017）：《“中学西传”与中国古典小说的早期翻译（1735 - 1911）——以英语世界为中心》。上海古籍出版社。

[Song, Lijuan (2017). *The Westward Transmission of Chinese Learning and the Early Translation of Chinese Classical Fiction (1735–1911): Centered on the English-speaking World*. Shanghai Classics Publishing House.]

Watters, Thomas (1870). *Lao-Tzu: A Study in Chinese Philosophy*. The “China Mail” Office .

Williams, S. Wells (1874). *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language; Arranged According to the Wu-Fang Yuen Yin, with the Pronunciation of the Characters as Heard in Peking, Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai*. American Mission Press.

徐道、程毓奇编（1712）：《历代神仙通鉴》（雕版印刷本）。

[Xu, Dao, and Cheng Yuqi, eds. (1712). *A Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals through the Ages* (Block-printed edition).]

姚达兑（2020）：“晚清传教士如何翻译和理解《神仙通鉴》及其中的耶稣传”，《世界宗教研究》（03）：53-60。

[Yao Dadui (2020). “How Late Qing Missionaries Translated and Understood Shenxian tongjian and the ‘Life of Jesus’ Included in It.” *Studies in World Religions* (03):53-60.]

姚达兑（2022）：“《历代神仙通鉴》中《耶稣传》的文本来源”，《文化杂志》（116）：129-141。

[Yao Dadui (2022). “The Textual Sources of the ‘Life of Jesus’ in A Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals through the Ages.” *Review of Culture* (116):129-141.]

姚达兑（2023a）：“波乃耶的汉语改革观”，《读书》（01）：102-110。

[Yao Dadui (2023a). “Bonney’s Views on the Reform of the Chinese Language.” *Dushu* (01):102-110.]

姚达兑（2023b）：“波乃耶父子译著《中国神话选》中的宇宙论和创世论”，《世界宗教文化》（02）：104-110。

[Yao Dadui (2023b). “Cosmology and Creation Theory in Father and Son Bonney’s Translation Chinese Mythology.” *The World Religious Cultures* (02):104-110.]

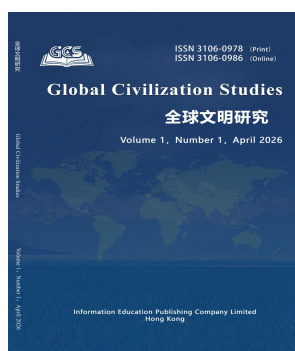
姚达兑（2023c）：“马礼逊译著《汉学时光》的释道内容及其对欧洲汉学之影响”，《文化杂志》（119）：124-139。

[Yao Dadui (2023c). “The Buddhist and Daoist Contents in Morrison’s Translation *Horae Sinicae* and Their Influence on European Sinology.” *Review of Culture* (119):124-139.]

Yao, Dadui. (2024). The Images of Jesus and the Virgin Mary in the Early Qing Collection of Taoist Immortal Stories. *Religions*, 15(3), 370. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15030370>

Yates, M. T (1878). *Ancestral Worship*. American Presbyterian Mission Press.

Zhuangzi (1881). *The Divine Classic of Nan-hua; Being the Works of Chuang Tsze, Taoist Philosopher*. Trans. Frederic Henry Balfour. Kelly & Walsh.



Global Civilization Studies

GCS, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2026, pp. 87-101

Print ISSN: 3106-0978; Online ISSN: 3106-0986

Journal homepage: <https://www.gcsjournal.com>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.64058/gcs260106gclks>



地方知识的全球建构：卫三畏与十九世纪北美汉学范式的初创

张颖 (Zhang Ying)

摘要：本研究聚焦于 19 世纪美国汉学家卫三畏针对广州方言开展的学术探究，从全球史与知识社会史的视角出发，运用微观史学方法，揭示地方知识如何通过个体实践完成采集、转译，并最终被系统地纳入异质文化知识体系，以此探寻中华文化向北美传播的核心机制。研究表明，19 世纪中华文化的海外传播，是基于特定时空场域与微观实践的知识生产及互动流转过程，卫三畏的汉学研究实践初步构建了美国汉学“实用主义与现场传统”的学术范式。该研究不仅为深入理解中美早期文化交流提供了典型案例，也为构建当代中华文化海外传播机制提供了重要的历史镜鉴。

关键词：卫三畏；《英华分韵撮要》；广州方言；中华文化传播；北美汉学

作者简介：张颖，仲恺农业工程学院马克思主义学院教授，硕士生导师，研究方向为中西文化交流史和中美关系史，电邮：juliezhangy@163.com。

Title: The Global Construction of Local Knowledge: Samuel Wells Williams and the Emergence of North American Sinology in the Nineteenth Century

Abstract: This study focuses on the academic inquiry into Cantonese conducted by Samuel Wells Williams, a 19th-century American sinologist. Drawing on perspectives from global history and the social history of knowledge, and adopting micro-historical methodology, this paper reveals how local knowledge was collected, translated through individual practice, and ultimately systematically integrated into the heterogeneous cultural knowledge system, so as to explore the core mechanism of the spread of Chinese culture to North America. The study finds that the overseas spread of Chinese culture in the 19th century was a process of knowledge production,

interaction and circulation based on specific spatio-temporal contexts and micro-practices, and Samuel Wells Williams' sinological research practice initially established the academic paradigm of "pragmatism and on-site tradition" for American sinology. This research not only provides a typical case for in-depth understanding of early Sino-American cultural exchanges, but also offers important historical references for constructing the contemporary mechanism for the overseas spread of Chinese culture.

Keywords: Samuel Wells Williams; A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect; Cantonese Dialect; Dissemination of Chinese Culture; North American Sinology

Author Biography: Zhang Ying, Professor at the School of Marxism, Zhongkai University of Agriculture and Engineering. Research area: History of cultural communications between China and West, history of Sino-American Relations. E-mail: juliezhangy@163.com.

一、引言

19 世纪是中华文化向西方开展体系化传播的关键时期。彼时，北美作为新兴的文化交融区域，其来华传教士、外交官以及早期学者群体，在中西知识流通进程中充当着核心媒介的角色，并且深度参与了西方汉学体系的构建。在此背景下，美国汉学家卫三畏（Samuel Wells Williams, 1812-1884）具有显著的代表性。他在中国旅居四十三年，回国后受聘成为耶鲁大学首位汉学教授，其职业生涯跨越传教、外交与学术多个领域。这种复合性经历为他赋予了独特的文化观察与阐释视角。因此，以卫三畏为研究个案，不仅能够洞察汉学家的学术生成路径，更可将其作为切入点，深入探究中华文化在北美的早期接受历史、知识译介机制以及汉学体系化进程，进而为当代中华文化的海外传播提供重要的历史借鉴。近年间，学界对卫三畏相关研究的关注度持续攀升，研究趋势呈现出从宏观评述向微观实证、由单一学科向多学科拓展的态势。在卫三畏综合研究方面，顾钧所著的《卫三畏评传》（2023）堪称该领域的代表性成果。该书系统梳理了卫三畏集印刷工、外交官以及耶鲁大学首位汉学教授等多重身份于一身的传奇经历，并深入剖析了其在“中美文化交流史中的重要地位”。

卫三畏的翻译活动是学术研究的热点领域。帅司阳（2025, p.106-123）针对《东周列国志》的译介展开了个案研究。其分析表明，在 1880 年美国排华运动的背景下，卫三畏通过“筛选史实与虚构内容、附加导言注释”等手段，将该小说“包装成‘历史记录’”，其目的在于“宣扬正面的中国形象，抗衡排华思潮”，进而揭示了翻译活动与“中美国家政治之间隐蔽且复杂的关联”。王烟朦（2026, p.89-95）对卫三畏首译《梦溪笔谈》科学条目的情况进行了考察，指出卫三畏的译文受到“主观宗教身份、学识以及客观时代”的限制，尽管存在“科学性再现不够精准”等问题，但肯定了他的“开拓性功绩”。姚达兑（2024, p.180-186）聚焦于卫三畏对民间故事《玄天上帝》的译介，指出卫三畏构建了晚清西方人对中国民间信仰的认知图景，反映了“近代中西文化交流中诸多复杂、艰难的局面”。在对卫三畏汉学知识生产的考释方面，吴义雄（2024, p.1-7）指出，卫三畏等早期汉学家在“物质文明交流”的推动下所开展的“精神文明交流”活动，正是近代中西交流史中“文化交流与商业交往紧密关联”这一时代特征的体现。程美宝（2010, p.76-84）

通过对《英华韵府历阶》（1844）的研究认为，该词典彰显了卫三畏汉学知识研究的“过渡特性”。元青（2021，p.85-95；2024，p.134-144）指出，19世纪来华新教传教士编纂双语词典属于“跨文化交流史上独特的社会文化现象”，为深入探究卫三畏的辞书编纂活动提供了历史文化语境。庄新（2023，p.64-75；2023b，p.99-109；2025，p.58-66）从科技史视角出发，以卫三畏对《本草纲目》条目的译介为例，指出19世纪汉学家从“培根‘新工具’科学观”的角度向西方传播中国博物学知识。

既有关于卫三畏的研究成果虽已颇为丰富，但在以下维度仍存在拓展空间：其一，需将其汉学思想置于19世纪东方学的脉络框架中，明晰其学术定位及其源流；其二，应深入解析其外交实践与汉学研究之间的互动关系，揭示政治身份对文化认知的塑造机制；其三，亟待引入全球史与知识社会学的研究视角，通过考察具体的社会网络与物质条件，重构其知识生产的微观机制以及跨文化流转路径。本研究以19世纪美国汉学家卫三畏的广州方言研究为切入点，以其历经不同阶段编纂而成的粤语词典系列作为核心文献，从全球史与知识社会史的视角展开，致力于揭示在中华文化向北美传播以及北美汉学体系初步构建的进程中，宏观叙事易掩盖的“知识生产—转译—体制化传播”这一内在逻辑链条，以期为当代中华文化的国际传播实践提供学理支撑与历史借鉴。

二、从市井到讲堂：卫三畏广州方言知识形态演绎

卫三畏针对广州方言展开的研究，立足于其在华四十余载的亲身实践，经历了从被动适应、主动学习到系统构建的发展过程。此进程呈现出一位西方观察者如何以地方语言作为工具，逐步构建起对中国语言文化的认知架构，并最终将其转化为能够进行跨文化传播的学术资源。这种从实践向学理推进的知识建构，诚如后世汉学家所评价的那样，是一条“筚路蓝缕，以启山林”的奠基之路。

（一）从实用掌握到初步编纂：语言工具的形成（19世纪30-40年代）

1833年，21岁的卫三畏以美部会（American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions）印刷传教士的身份抵达广州。其本职工作为接管教会印刷所，负责刊印宣教小册以及《中国丛报》（*The Chinese Repository*）。然而，因其所处之地为当时唯一的通商口岸，他直接接触到的是被称为“广东英语”（Pidgin English）的贸易混杂语，以及复杂多样的方言环境。与马礼逊等早期汉学家着重关注官话、面向文人阶层不同，卫三畏日常交往的对象多为行商、通事、仆役、匠人，这些人构成了一个通行广州方言（Canton Dialect）的市井社会。因此，掌握粤语并非基于学术层面的考量，而是其开展印刷工作、管理工匠、采购物料，乃至初步融入当地生活的必要前提。这种以实用为导向的语言习得模式，集中呈现于其早期著作《拾级大成》（*Easy Lessons in Chinese*, 1842）之中。该书序言明确阐述：“本书主要是为初涉中文学习的人员编纂……尤其着重关注广东方言。”

（Williams, S.W., 1842, p. iii）全书内容涵盖部首、读音（首次系统性地运用罗马字对粤音进行标注）直至日常会话，均紧密围绕实际生活与工作场景展开，堪称一部“生存指南”。卫三畏在致其父的家书中自述：“此册的编纂，是由于我在自学过程中苦于缺乏适宜的入

门书籍，期望能为后来者节约时间与精力。”（Williams, S.W., 1841, March 15）由此可见，其初衷纯粹是基于解决当下困境的“工具理性”，是典型的“做中学”实践的成果。

随后出版的《英华韵府历阶》（*An English and Chinese Vocabulary, in the Court Dialect*, 1844）显示出视野有所拓展。尽管该书书名标注为“官话”，但卫三畏在序文中表明，他已认识到学习者最终需涉猎更为广泛的文献，故而词条与例句均兼顾了官话和方言的对应关系。值得关注的是，书中初步呈现出文化注释的雏形。例如，在“节”字词条下，不仅罗列了“节日”（festival），还简要提及了“春节”（Spring Festival）和“端午节”（Dragon Boat Festival）（Williams, S.W., 1844, p. 89）。这种超越单纯字词对应的处理模式，意味着其语言学习逐渐与文化认知相互关联，知识建构的维度稍有拓展。

简言之，这一时期卫三畏对方言的研习与编纂，始终紧扣其在华生存与事工的直接需求，带有鲜明的实用与工具色彩。然而正是这些看似零散的经验积累与文本实践，为他日后体例更严谨、意图更明确的词典编纂工作，奠定了最初的粤语认知基础。

（二）《英华分韵撮要》与知识生产的自觉（19 世纪 50 年代）

随着在华日久，卫三畏逐步肩负起《中国丛报》主编的重任。此时，他对中文的认知已超越日常沟通层面，萌生了系统把握与科学描述这门语言的学术志向。1856 年《英华分韵撮要》刊行，标志着其粤语研究实现了从“实用工具”向“系统知识”生产的关键跨越。

其动机在致美国东方学会的信函中表述明晰：现有的粤语辞典，如马礼逊所编纂的，已无法满足需求且价格高昂，故而他期望“提供一个更为完善、更具经济性的版本”。该辞典不仅收录口语，还广泛收纳书面语与成语，并详细注释其来源与用法，使其不仅利于外国人进行交际，更成为“研究这一方言及其所承载的丰富民俗与民间知识的关键工具”（Williams, S.W., 1856, September 10, p. xxvi）。此论述表明，他的目标已从编纂“语言手册”转向构建“知识手册”。

这一转变建立在其方法论的显著改进之上。他不再单纯依赖道听途说，而是自觉借鉴本土语言学资源。书名“分韵撮要”直接取自粤地重要韵书《江湖尺牍分韵撮要合集》。卫氏坦言，其编排“大体遵循此一中土韵书”，因其音韵系统“为本地文士所尊崇，具有较高可靠性”（Williams, S.W., 1856, “Introduction”, p. vi）。他借用该书的韵部框架（如“君、干、庚、鸠”等韵部），再运用罗马拼音进行转写与系统化处理。这一举措意味着卫三畏开始有意识地对接并转译中国本土的语言知识传统，而非凭空创制一套西式音系。本质上而言，这一种借助拼音化、字母排序等西学手段对地方性知识进行重组的“文化翻译”实践，使其系统地转化为可供西方学习者检索、理解与认同的学术资源。

卫三畏词典的编纂过程，鲜明地呈现出系统知识生产的特征。他专门聘请了数位“本地先生”，双方建立起紧密的翻译与阐释协作关系。据其家书记载，日常工作模式为“提出词条，由先生们提供读音、各声调含义、常用搭配及例句”；而一旦遇到涉及习俗、制度或历史的词汇，则需“长时间讨论，甚至查考《康熙字典》《俗语考》及方志”（Williams, S.W., 1854, October 22）。经过如此细致的采撷、辨证与转译，大量关于民间信仰（如“拜山”“打醮”）、商业习惯（如“赊账”“汇单”）、亲属称谓（如“契爷”“姪母”）、物质生活（如“艇仔粥”“骑楼”）的地方性知识，被有机地融入词条与例

证之中。由此，这部词典实质上已超越了单纯的语言工具书范畴，演变为承载晚清广州口岸社会文化信息的特殊“数据库”，其知识生产的自觉性与体系性在此达到了成熟状态。

（三）从方言语料至知识体系的集成：以《中国总论》为核心

卫三畏所著《中国总论》，乃其广州方言知识积累与汉学思想沉淀之集大成者，亦是19世纪西方汉学领域系统介绍中国社会文化的经典文献。卫三畏于该书中对中国语言体系展开专门梳理，将自身数十年积累的广州方言研究成果有机整合其中。其不仅精准辨析了广州方言与官话在音韵、词汇层面的差异，还依托《英华分韵撮要》所积累的方言语料，对岭南地区的社会习俗、民间信仰、日常生计等地方性内容进行了更为系统的阐释，使零散的方言知识升华为理解中国社会整体结构的关键要素。与早期传教士著作对中国文化碎片化、猎奇式的书写方式不同，卫三畏以方言认知为基础构建的中国知识框架，始终遵循从地方经验提炼整体认知的研究路径，将具体的语言现象与中国文化社会特征相联系，为西方读者呈现了一幅兼具细节质感与整体逻辑的中国画卷。

彼时，卫三畏所积累的广州方言知识，已超脱了初始的实用工具属性，实现了从个人实践经验向体系化学术知识的转变，成为美国早期汉学知识体系中至关重要的组成部分。在该书“语言与文学”章节，卫三畏专门设置一节对“方言”展开论述，其观点显著基于词典编纂的认知。他对官话与粤、闽、吴等地方言的语言差异进行了比较，并特别指出：“广东方言……以其语音丰富、俗语生动、表达独特而著称，既是研究中古音韵的鲜活素材，也最为生动地反映出华南民众的日常生活与思维特征。”（Williams, S.W., 1883, p.428）显然，方言已非单纯的语言学研究对象，而是被视为理解中国地域文化多样性与生动性的重要视窗。更为关键的是，在《中国总论》（The Middle Kingdom，初版1848年，修订版1883年）有关社会、宗教、民俗、商业等领域的论述中，均能发现其方言研究成果的融入。例如，在论述民间信仰时，作者详细阐释了“祭灶”习俗，不仅阐述了仪式流程，更剖析了“灶君”“糖瓜”等词汇在俗语中的应用及其文化寓意（Williams, S.W., 1883, p.202）。如此精准地把握此类细节，无疑得益于编纂词典时对词汇文化语境的深入钻研。在此，方言词汇已成为卫三畏剖析中国社会结构的有效工具。

与此同时，其集大成之作《汉英韵府》（*A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, 1874）虽以官话音系为主，却大量收录各地方言（含粤语）读音与词汇作为参考。卫三畏在序言中强调：“一部服务于所有在华外国人的词典，必须考量语言的多样性。忽略方言，就等同于忽视中国社会生活的重要方面。”（Williams, S.W., 1874, “Preface”, p.viii）此番论述表明，历经数十年实践，他对方言的认知已从早期的“生存工具”，升华为理解整体性“中国社会生活”不可或缺的知识要素。卫三畏的广州方言研究，其内在驱动力源于工具理性与知识理性的交织递进。早期，出于实务需求的实用主义学习方式，为卫三畏积累了丰富的第一手语料与感性认知。随着其身份从传教士印刷工转变为学者型外交官，乃至汉学教授，其研究目标亦实现了自主升华：从解决“如何言说”的沟通困境，转向深入探寻“何以如此言说”及其背后的文化逻辑。由此，一种源自岭南市井的地方知识，经过跨文化的转译与重构，成为北美学术界中国认知体系的有机组成部分。这正是19世纪中华文化向北美传播进程中，一个具体且关乎知识生产根本机制的生动历史例证。

三、《英华分韵撮要》知识生产：体例、词汇与注释的微观剖析

本部份以 1856 年刊行的《英华分韵撮要》为个案，解析卫三畏以方言研究方式对地方文化开展系统化的学术探索。《英华分韵撮要》不仅是一部语言工具书，更是一个微观的“知识空间”，系统地呈现了卫三畏对粤地文化的采集、转译、重组与展示。其序言明确指出，目标不仅在于“界定词语”，更在于“阐释用法，揭示其背后蕴含的习俗与观念”（Williams, S.W., 1856, “Preface”, p. iv.）。这一知识生产机制，具体体现在框架设计、词条选取、释义策略及文化注释等多个层面，共同构建了一幅可供西方人理解的、文本化的岭南地区市井生活图景。

知识生产的首要步骤，体现为编纂体例的精心规划与体系转换。卫三畏选取岭南本土通行的《分韵撮要》韵书作为语音框架，但其工作并非简单的罗列对照，而是一次精准的体系转译。其凡例详细阐释了体例：“本书排列，依照《分韵撮要》的三十三字母（声母）及韵部次序。每字先标注罗马字拼音（依粤音），接着标注所隶属的声母（如‘见、溪、群、疑’），再标注韵部（如‘君、干、庚、鳩’）及声调（上平、上上、上去、上入、下平、下上、下去、下入共八声），随后给出英文释义，最后辅以用例或俚语。”（Williams, S.W., 1856, “Introduction, Of the Orthography and Arrangement”, pp. v-vi）此一体例设计，具有知识系统构建的重要意义。它以岭南地方权威韵书为蓝本，旨在呈现一个具备本土规范性的音系，而非随意的个人记音。同时，卫三畏借助罗马字母拼音化，将传统依赖汉字与反切的隐性音韵体系，转变为基于字母拼写、可供西方人直接掌握的显性语言学描述（例如将“君”韵字系统标注为“wan”“an”）。此举不仅实现了中西知识表述方式的对接，更凭借附录的英汉索引，为不熟悉汉字检索的西方读者开辟了一条按字母顺序直达词义的途径。本质上，这是一次粤语知识的标准化转译，将地方性口语转化为可供系统检索与学习的、“数据库”式的西方知识形态。

《英华分韵撮要》收录词汇的显著特征在于其浓厚的市井性与实用性。与主要服务于经典阅读的官话辞典不同，这部词典广泛收录了 19 世纪中叶广州 - 澳门地区社会各阶层，特别是中下层民众的日常用语、行话、俚语和习语。

1. 商业与经济活动类别：作为贸易口岸，大量相关词汇被收录其中。例如“铺票”（p ‘ò p ‘íu, 商店开出的期票）、“轮船”（lùn sùn, steamer）、“买办”（mái pàahn, comprador）、“换水”（wuhn séui, money - changing）等。对于“鸦片”（ngaa pin）一词，编者不仅给出释义，还附加了详细注释，解释其来源、种类（“公班”“白皮”）、吸食方法及其带来的社会问题（Williams, S. W. 1856, p. 2），这显然超出了单纯语言学的范畴，带有社会观察与批判的意味。

2. 日常生活与物质文化类别：词典细致地记录了衣食住行的各个方面。比如食物类的“艇仔粥”（téhng jái jūk, a kind of rice congee sold on boats）、“云吞”（wahn tām, wonton）；服饰类的“马褂”（máh gwa, mandarin jacket）、“屐（木屐）”（kèhk, wooden clogs）；居住类的“骑楼”（kèh làuh, arcaded sidewalk）等。这些词条构成了对岭南民间物质生活的精细勾勒。

3. 社会组织与民间习俗类别：关于宗族与民间组织的词汇，像“祠堂”（chih tòhng,

ancestral hall）、“太公”（*taai gūng*, common ancestor）、“堂口”（*tòhng háu*, club-house of a guild or secret society）被收录。节庆与仪式用语，如“拜山”（*baai sāan*, to worship at graves）、“利是”（“利是”，*lucky money*）、“打醮”（*dá jiu*, Taoist thanksgiving service）等，均有详尽阐释，且常常附带对仪式流程的描述。

4. 观念与情感表达类别：该词典还收录了大量反映民间观念和情感色彩的俚语、习语及骂词。例如“托大脚”（*tok daai geuk*, to flatter）、“撞板”（*jong báan*, to meet with a rebuff）、“衰神”（*sēui sán*, a mischievous god; an unlucky fellow）等。这些词汇有助于西方人士理解当时民众的心态、社会关系及价值观。

通过精心遴选词汇，卫三畏实际上开展了一项关于广州口岸社会生活的文本化民族志采集工作。词典的页面，宛如一扇展现那个时代广东地区社会百态的窗口。值得关注的是，卫三畏的知识成果不仅体现在“收录内容”，更体现在“阐释方式”。其释义策略往往超越简单的对等翻译，深入到文化阐释的层面。

其一，对于许多在英语中无直接对应词汇的词汇，卫三畏采用描述性释义，竭力为读者构建中华文化情境，例如：

“风水”（*fūng séui*）：释义为“The influences of the winds and waters; a system of geomancy practiced by the Chinese in selecting sites for graves and houses, by which the future fortunes of the family are supposed to be affected.”（Williams, S.W., 1856, p.105）这一定义不仅诠释了字面含义，还概括了其实践范畴（阴宅、阳宅）和核心信仰（影响家族命运）。

“叩头（磕头）”（*kau tàuh*）：释义为“To knock the head; to perform the ceremony of kneeling and touching the ground with the forehead, in token of homage, respect, or supplication.”（Williams, S.W., 1856, p.63）释义中包含了动作描述（下跪、前额触地）和社会语境（致敬、尊敬、祈求）。

其二，卫三畏大量运用例句和习语来展示词汇的实际用法，这些例句本身就是粤地区域文化的缩影。例如：

在“茶”（*chàh*）词条下，不仅有“tea”的释义，还列出“请茶”（*chéng chàh*, to offer tea; an invitation to drink it）、“斟茶”（*jām chàh*, to pour out tea）、“饮茶”（*yám chàh*, to drink tea）、“茶钱”（*chàh chihn*, payment for tea; a gratuity）等短语（Williams, S.W. 1856, p.63），生动地展现了“茶”在社交礼仪中的作用。

在“面（脸面）”（*mín*）词条下，收录了“要面”（*yiú mín*, to be desirous of face; to be fond of appearances）、“冇面”（*móuh mín*, to lose face）等，直接触及了中国社会中重要的“面子”观念。（Williams, S. W. 1856, p.190）

其三，卫三畏着力辨析相关或容易混淆的概念。如在解释“神”（*sàn*, spirit, god）与“鬼”（*gwái*, ghost, demon）时，他注释道：“神（*shin*）通常指受人敬奉的善良或崇高的神灵；而鬼（*kwei*）则通常指邪恶的、“令人畏惧的鬼魂，特别是死者的亡魂”（Williams, S.W., 1856, p.257, p.86）。这种辨析体现了对民间信仰体系的初步系统化认知。

需要指出的是，卫三畏对粤语知识体系的构建并非客观中立的呈现，而是蕴含着编纂者自身文化立场、认知框架以及实用目的筛选与塑造。卫三畏身为基督教传教士，其视角

深刻影响了价值判断，这在处理民间信仰词汇时表现得尤为显著。例如，在诠释相关词条时，他频繁运用“superstition”（迷信）、“idol”（偶像）等贬义词汇。如将“烧纸钱”（sū jī chihñ）描述为“焚烧纸钱，中国人迷信仪式中献给亡者的祭品”“burning paper money, an offering to the dead in the superstitious rites of the Chinese”（Williams, S.W., 1856, p. 259）。此类评价性语言清晰地反映出其以基督教为核心的价值标准。与此同时，词典的词汇选取具有鲜明的西方实用主义导向，着重收录与在华西人生活、贸易及传教活动紧密相关的市井用语和日常知识，而非中国古典哲学与文学中的深奥概念。这使得其所传播的中华文化形象呈现出强烈的市井生活实践特征，与同期欧洲汉学注重古典研究的取向大相径庭。此外，中国助手在知识生产中的关键作用不可忽视。作为地方性知识的真正承载者，这些“本地先生”为词典提供了大量的习语、俗语和文化细节。因此，整部词典的文本实际上是卫三畏与其中国助手共同协商的产物，其中既包含了助手们提供的本土知识，也经过了卫三畏基于西方读者需求和自身立场进行的筛选、转译与重述。

纵观卫三畏编纂《英华分韵撮要》之历程，此无疑为一项具备高度自觉意识的跨文化知识生产系统工程。他通过移植并转写本土音韵框架，构建起一套可供西方人掌握的知识检索体系；通过广泛收集市井词汇，将鲜活、口语化的广州社会生活转化为静态、文本化的知识条目；并借助释义、注释与例证，尝试在词条内部实现对文化概念的深度阐释。这部词典不仅满足了来华西方人士即时沟通的实用需求，更为那些未曾涉足中国的读者——包括后来的学生、学者乃至大众——提供了一个关于中国南方民间社会的、结构化且丰富的知识文本。它参与塑造了一种“词典中的中国”形象：一个洋溢着生动市井气息、拥有复杂商业网络、独特民间习俗与实用生活智慧的中国。这一形象，与通过经典翻译呈现的“哲学中国”、通过官方文书呈现的“帝国中国”相互补充，共同构建了19世纪西方尤其是北美对中国的多维认知图景。

1856年刊行的《英华分韵撮要》，是卫三畏以系统化、科学化方式呈现方言及其地方文化的学术探索。他通过对接中国本土韵书传统并聘请学者开展深度协作，完成了一次跨文化知识创造：将广州街巷口耳相传的口语知识，借助西方语言学框架（拼音化、字母排序、释义与例证）进行采集、整理与编码，转化为可供西方人系统研习的稳定文本。这一过程不仅为在华西方人士提供了实用工具，更搭建了西方认知中国地方社会与民间文化的制度化通道。这部原本实用的方言词典，因此超越了语言工具的初始范畴，升华为中华文化向北美传播的重要载体。随着词典的流通，尤其是借助卫三畏回国执掌耶鲁大学汉学教席的契机，这些被体系化的方言与文化知识被引入北美，最终融入了北美学院派汉学的初始体系之中。

四、知识体系正典化：个人实践与学科建制的融合

1877年，卫三畏受聘出任耶鲁大学首位中国语言与文学教授。这一事件具有双重象征意义：一方面，标志着他数十年来基于在华实践（尤其是方言研究）所提炼的文本知识，正式获得了北美学术建制的认可；另一方面，这也成为其个人知识体系向学院化汉学转型的关键节点。

耶鲁设立此教席是多方力量共同推动的结果，既源于中美交往对专业人才的迫切需求，也契合了大学拓展课程的愿景，更离不开卫三畏本人在学界积累的深厚声誉。而这种声誉的核心，正是建立在他作为《中国总论》作者所确立的知识权威之上。在致耶鲁校长诺亚·波特的求职信中，卫三畏明确阐述了自己无可替代的资质：“我的资格，建立在长期居住于中国（四十三年）、熟练掌握其语言，并持续研习其人民、文学与历史的基础之上……我所编纂的《汉英韵府》及早期方言词典，尤其使我熟知汉语的日常形态与鲜活用法，这与仅从经典中获取的书面知识截然不同。”（Williams, S.W., 1877, April 10）他所着重强调的“娴熟”“日常形态”以及“鲜活用法”，恰恰是其长期开展方言实践的核心价值所在。耶鲁聘任委员会看重的，正是这种依托长期在地经验、兼具实用性与系统性的知识，认为它更适合用于培养处理对华事务的实用型人才，而非单纯的古典学者。因此，卫三畏的受聘标志着美国学院汉学在起步之初，便呈现出与欧洲古典汉学迥异的实用主义倾向——他从中国带回的并非束之高阁的文献考据，而是融合了田野观察、语言实践以及社会文化的整体认知体系。而构建这一体系的基石，正是其以《英华分韵撮要》为代表的方言研究实践成果。在教学方法论上，卫三畏在耶鲁的授课并非对《中国总论》的简单复述，而是致力于将他毕生积累的经验——特别是语言实践经验——转化为可供传授的课程体系。现存于耶鲁档案馆的授课大纲、讲义残页以及学生笔记均显示，其教学内容与他早年的研究，尤其是词典编纂工作，存在着密不可分的内在联系。

其一，他注重在语言教学中融入比较方言的视角。在他的“汉语入门”课程里，“主要方言概览”被列为重要条目。一份 1881 年的课程大纲要求，学生必须“了解官话与几种主要方言（尤其以粤、闽、吴语最为重要）在语音、词汇方面的主要差异”。

（Williams, S.W., 1881-82）讲解语音时，他常以粤语为例，如阐释入声字时，便引用其词典例证，说明粤语如何完整保留 -p、-t、-k 韵尾，而官话中已缺失，并指出此对理解中古音韵与诗词格律的意义（Williams, S.W., 1883, p.421-422; 1874, p.viii）。由此，方言知识从实用工具书的内容，提升为理解汉语历史演变与地域多样性的学术课题。

其二，其文化教学以丰富的民俗素材作为案例。在讲授“中国社会与风俗”时，讲义中提供了大量源自方言词典以及实地观察所得的生动案例。例如在解析民间信仰时，他不仅介绍了佛道概念，还详细阐述了“祭灶”“拜土地”“打醮”等习俗的流程、所用器物以及相关词汇，这些描述与《英华分韵撮要》中的词条注释高度契合。他还曾专门开设一课，剖析“风水”观念如何体现在民居选址、坟茔建造乃至日常禁忌中，并引用了粤地民间相关的谚语与避讳说法。（Williams, S.W., 1883, p.202, p.428）此等内容直接来源于编纂词典时与中国助手的讨论撷取，实则为地方性民俗知识经学术化提炼后的成果。

其三，语言应用教学着重强调文本的社会语境。他引导学生阅读《圣谕广训》白话译本、日用类书乃至通俗小说片段，分析其中口语表达、俗语或方言成分，辨别句式的官俗差异，并阐释俗语所反映的民间心理。他极其重视对鲜活方言与市井语言的采集，将其编纂入《英华分韵撮要》与《汉英韵府》等权威词典中，为西方学生提供了一套基于真实社会语用的词汇与表达体系。（Williams, S.W., 1856; 1874）这种教学方法将语言学习与文化理解有机融合，其分析依据在很大程度上得益于其长期对地方方言及社会用语的研究积淀。

卫三畏所传授的，并非仅仅是关于中国的知识，更是一套研究中国的方法论，即以语言为根本途径，将经验实证与文本分析相结合。他反复向学生强调，学习汉语必须“从鲜活的语言切入”，并认为仅仅阅读经典难以真正理解这个充满活力的民族。卫三畏在长期的在华经历中深刻认识到，若要深入中国社会，必须突破官方语言的局限。正如他在论述方言学习的重要性时所言，了解地方方言对于传教与沟通“非常重要”，若只懂通用的官话或外语，在深入地方时往往会发现是不够的。1883年，他在给一位即将前往中国传教的学生的信中建议：“不要仅仅满足于掌握官话。在你所前往的省份，应尽快学习当地的方言。我编纂粤语词典的经历使我深刻认识到，若不通晓方言，你终究是个局外人，无法知晓百姓的真实想法与幽默之处”（Williams, S.W., 1883, February 15）。这种对“鲜活语言”的极致重视，贯穿了他的学术生涯。他始终致力于将中国街巷口耳相传的口语知识转化为可供西方人研习的文本，因为他深知若不通晓方言，学习者终究只是社会的“局外人”，无法知晓百姓的真实想法与幽默之处。此种对地方知识的重视，恰是卫三畏个人学术路径的真实映照。

卫三畏将编纂词典与田野调查的实践经验，凝练为一套具有可传授性的研究方法。他指导学生借助中文字典和韵书，搜集谚语、歌谣、账本、契约等民间文献，并以实地访谈作为辅助手段，对信息进行交叉验证。这种从实际语言材料和社会观察切入，再开展系统整理的研究路径，为美国早期汉学营造了注重实证的学术风气，与欧洲汉学传统中偏重古典文献和哲学思辨的特点形成了鲜明对比与互补。

卫三畏在耶鲁主持的汉学讲座，成为知识传递与转化的关键枢纽。尽管他亲自授业的门生数量有限，且未能培养出声名显赫的学术大家，但其学术影响通过多种渠道得以延续。其子卫斐列通过整理遗稿、撰写传记传承家学；他所设计的课程、倡导的研究方法以及毕生积累的中文藏书，共同奠定了耶鲁汉学的基础。尤其值得关注的是，他去世后家族捐赠给耶鲁的个人藏书，成为耶鲁东亚图书馆的核心馆藏之一。这批藏书不仅包含传统经典，还汇聚了当时西方鲜见的地方志、俗文学刻本、方言文献和教会档案（程美宝，2010，pp. 76 - 84）。这批珍贵的一手资料与课堂教学相互印证，使耶鲁汉学从起始阶段便立足于扎实的文献基础之上，其中丰富的方言和民俗材料，恰是其对地方知识学术关怀的生动体现。

在于耶鲁大学任教的七年时间里，卫三畏达成了一次具有关键意义的知识循环。他把自身于粤地长期实践过程中积累的语言认知与社会认知，特别是编纂方言词典所沉淀下来的经验，转化为系统的课程内容，向北美新一代学者进行传授。这一过程呈现出三重深刻的转变：其一为知识形态的转变，街头市井中鲜活的“经验”经过梳理、归类以及阐释，逐渐被纳入“中国语言”“社会”“民俗”等学科框架，达成了从经验到知识的升华；其二为传播途径的转变，知识从个人著述的范畴拓展至大学讲堂，借助课程、讲义以及师生研讨等形式，在学院体系内实现了规范化的传承；其三为学术方法的延续，他所倡导的以鲜活语言和实地经验为出发点、关注社会现实的研究路径，通过教学得以延续，初步塑造了美国汉学重视当代、语言和社会的学术特质。

这一过程标志着卫三畏身份从长期居华知识“采集者”跨越为北美学院派知识“传授者”与“奠基人”。他以粤语研究起始的知识实践，实现从个人经验到学术体系跃升，初

步确立以语言为切入点、注重实证、关注现实的汉学研究路径。通过卫三畏教学活动和藏书，北美汉学起步阶段构建起兼顾文献与田野、历史与当下的学理脉络。此后中华文化西传不再是信息单向流动，更蕴含“在中国发现历史”、理解中国社会内在理路的方法自觉。

五、余 论

本研究以卫三畏的学术生涯为微观历史考察的切入点，将其活动轨迹置于包含广州商馆、澳门印刷所、北京外交场域以及耶鲁大学讲堂的广阔时空范围之中，旨在深入剖析 19 世纪中华文化在北美知识界的传播机制。该传播过程并非抽象、整体性的文化迁移，而是由具体行动者主导的动态实践，具体通过对地方性文化元素（如方言词汇、民间习俗、市井见闻）进行持续的收集、编码、文本翻译以及体系重构来实现。卫三畏的学术实践表明，文化传播的现实逻辑在于，行动者凭借其特定的时空坐标与身份网络，通过词典编纂、专著撰写、教学实践以及制度构建等中间环节，将碎片化的地方经验逐步整合并融入异文化的知识体系。这一“自下而上”的考察路径，为理解文化跨国流转提供了以下核心启示：

（一）文化传播的根基在于地方经验的文本化与全球流通潜能

在中华文化于海外传播进程中，其最具活力的根源通常并非宏大的哲学体系，而是深深植根于日常生活的地方性知识。卫三畏的研究并非始于经典义理，而是源于广州街头的方言、民俗以及物质生活。他对粤语音韵的整理，以及对“艇仔粥”“拜山”“风水”等词汇的考释，本质上是对岭南地方性认知体系的首次文本化提炼。此类知识因在沟通、商贸以及日常生活中的“实用性”，获得了被记录与传播的初始动力。随后，通过学术化处理，如借鉴本土韵书框架、创制罗马化转写系统、提供英文释义及文化注解等，这些知识发生了性质上的转变，即从“广东人所拥有的知识”转变为“关于广东（乃至中国）的知识”。这一转变使这些知识脱离原生语境，具备了在西方学术话语中流通、比较与理解的可能性。这表明全球性的文化流动往往起始于具体、边缘甚至难登大雅之堂的地方经验，后者通过跨文化的知识生产实践，超越其地域性，被赋予普遍的学术价值。

（二）知识生产机制在于协商转译与制度体系化

卫三畏的案例充分彰显了跨文化知识生产的复杂性与多元性，其过程至少涵盖三个相互关联的核心环节。其一，知识成果并非个人独立创作，而是多方认知框架协商的结果。无论是词典编纂所依赖的匿名“中国助手”，还是人际交往网络中的中西方学友，均表明其文本是跨文化知识协作的结晶，其中蕴含着理解、妥协以及意义的再创造。其二，这不仅是语言符号的转换（由粤语转换为英语），更是一整套概念体系和认知范畴在新语境中的重新定位与阐释。例如，“节气”对应“festival”，其背后是文化语义的移植与调适，此过程不可避免地带有转译者的主观视角与特定目的。其三，这是一个体系化接纳的过程。分散的地方经验通过《英华分韵撮要》《中国总论》等权威文本得以固化，借助耶鲁大学汉学教席这一教育制度，被纳入正式的知识传授体系，经由档案保存与学术传承，获得知识体系的延续。地方知识由此实现了从“街头习得”到“讲堂讲授”、从“个体经验”到公共学术资源的根本性转变。

（三）美国汉学起源在于实用主义与现场传统的范式形塑

作为美国首位汉学教授，卫三畏的学术路径深刻塑造了美国早期汉学研究的范式特性。相较于同期欧洲汉学着重古典文献与哲学思辨的“书斋传统”，卫三畏开创的是一种依托长期在华生活经验、突显语言实用价值、聚焦当下社会现实的“实用主义与现场传统”。此传统直接源自其传教士与外交官的经历，扎根于对方言等鲜活资料的处理，并借助其教学实现制度化。该传统促使美国的中国研究在起始阶段就更为关注“当代”与“具体”的中国。追本溯源，这种学术风格的形成，正是发端于《英华分韵撮要》这类以解决实际交流问题为直接目标的文本实践。

以卫三畏及其广州方言研究作为个案研究，其意义已超越单纯的词典编纂史范畴，成为洞察知识跨国流动与跨文化理解的重要理论切入点。此案例揭示了文化传播的深层次生成机制：地方性知识并非以既定整体的形式直接转移，而是通过一系列具体且情境化的知识生产实践——从音素、词汇的收集到民俗现象的描绘——逐步被提取、转译并文本化。它以个体有限的具身化经验为起点，借助著述、教学以及学术通信网络，被系统性地整合与重塑，最终成为异质文明认知体系与学术传统的组成部分。北美早期汉学知识体系的构建，本质上是由无数像卫三畏这样的知识行动者，通过对异文化“碎片”的持续采集、阐释与意义重构，逐步推动的社会建构过程。这些蕴含情感投入与视角局限的零散实践，共同构建了西方认识中国的知识图谱，并深刻地塑造了特定的认知范式。

从跨文化传播与文明互鉴的理论视角进行反思，卫三畏个案提供了重要启示：真正的文化理解，起始于对“他者”地方性知识与生活实践的尊重及深入探究；有效的文明对话，依赖于允许意义协商的细致转译工作；而一种文化的生命力，体现于其能够跨越语境，经历持续的再叙事、再语境化与再接纳的动态诠释过程。在中国刊行的方言词典，最终成为耶鲁大学的研究对象——这场知识的全球流转生动地例证了文化传播的动态生成过程，也表明文明间的相互认知与深度交融，正是通过无数从局部到整体、从经验到文本、从地方性知识到全球性叙事的微观转化与制度性吸纳逐步实现的。此研究揭示了历史上知识传播的清晰脉络，亦可为当代世界开展更具交互性、反思性与平等意义的文明对话，提供基于历史脉络的方法论参考。受限于史料与篇幅，本研究仍存在若干可进一步拓展的维度，为后续关于文明交流互鉴的学术探索指明了方向：

其一，深化知识生产中“合作者”研究。尽管学界已逐渐关注来华西人背后的“中国助手”群体，但针对卫三畏所倚重的“中国先生”们，其生平履历、学术素养及具体贡献，仍需从社会史与知识史的交叉视角进行详尽考辨。这些“沉默的合作者”作为知识生产中不可或缺的关键行动者，其历史作用亟待进一步发掘与彰显。

其二，细化卫氏文本的接受与流通史研究。目前，卫三畏著述在北美及西方世界的“接受史”脉络尚不清晰。其具体的阅读群体、文本运用方式及社会影响程度，亟需通过对版本流传、馆藏记录、同期书评及后世学术引证的系统考察，开展严谨的文献学与阅读史研究，以揭示其真实的传播图景。

其三，拓展全球知识史与帝国批判的宏观视角。卫三畏个案应置于19世纪全球知识生产与帝国扩张的宏大历史语境中进行审视。其知识活动与中西不平等的权力结构、殖民信

息收集体系之间，存在着既相互依存又充满张力的复杂关联，这值得运用后殖民知识批判理论进行更为深入的学理分析。

基金项目：本文系国家社科重大项目“中国文学在世界文明进程中的作用和影响研究”（项目编号：24&ZD240）的阶段性成果之一。

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Zhang Ying ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-5824-8125>

References

- Williams, S. W. (1842). *Easy Lessons in Chinese: or Progressive Exercises to Facilitate the Study of That Language*. Macao: Office of the Chinese Repository. p. iii.
- Williams, S. W. (1841, March 15). Letter to William Williams. In *The Samuel Wells Williams Family Papers* (MS 547), Box 2, Folder 34. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.
- Williams, S. W. (1844). *An English and Chinese Vocabulary, in the Court Dialect*. Macao: Office of the Chinese Repository. p. 89.
- Williams, S. W. (1856, September 10). Letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the American Oriental Society. In *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol.5 (1855-56), p. xxvi. (Proceedings).
- Williams, S. W. (1856). *A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect*. Canton: Office of the Chinese Repository.
p.vi, p.iv, pp.v-vi, p.2, p.105, p.63, p.15, p.190, p.257, p.86, p.259.
- Williams, S. W. (1854, October 22). Letter to his brother. In *The Samuel Wells Williams Family Papers* (MS 547), Box 2. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.
- Williams, S. W. (1883). *The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants* (Rev. ed., Vol.1). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. p. 202, p.421-422, p. 428.
- Williams, S.W. (1874). *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press. "Preface," p. viii, p. xxiv.
- Williams, S. W. (1877, April 10). Letter to President Noah Porter. In *The Samuel Wells Williams Family Papers* (MS 547), Box 5. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.

Williams, S. W. (1881-82). Syllabus for Elementary Chinese, 1881-82. In *The Samuel Wells Williams Family Papers* (MS 547), Box 11, Folder 321. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.

Williams, S. W. (1883, February 15). Letter to a student (name redacted). In *The Samuel Wells Williams Family Papers* (MS 547), Box 11, Folder 305. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.

程美宝(2010):“粤词官音-卫三畏《英华韵府历阶》的过渡性质”,《史林》(6):76-84。

[Cheng, Meibao (2010). Cantonese Words with Mandarin Pronunciation:The Transitional Nature of Samuel Wells Williams' *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. *Historical Review*, (6):76-84.]

顾钧(2023):《卫三畏评传》,山东教育出版社。

[Gu, Jun(2023).*A Critical Biography of Samuel Wells Williams*. Shandong Education Press.]

帅司阳(2025):“为中国辩护:19世纪美国排华运动中卫三畏对《东周列国志》的翻译”,《中国比较文学》(2):106-123。

[Shuai, Siyang(2025).In Defense of China: S.Wells Williams' Translation of Dong zhou Lie guo zhi in the Anti-Chinese Movement of the 19th Century America.*Comparative Literature in China*, (2):106-123.]

王烟朦(2023):英美新教传教士《梦溪笔谈》科学条目英译考释.《自然辩证法通讯》45(5), 89-95。

[Wang,Yanmeng(2023).A Textual Research on the English Translation of Scientific Entries in *Dream Pool Essays* by British and American Protestant Missionaries.*Journal of Dialectics of Nature*,45(5):89-95.]

吴义雄(2024):贸易扩展与19世纪前期中西文化交流.《世界历史》(6):1-7。

[Wu,Yixiong (2024). Trade Expansion and Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges in the Early 19th Century.*World History*, (6):1-7.]

姚达兑(2024):晚清传教士译介玄天上帝.《宗教学研究》(2):180-186。

[Yao, Dadui(2024). Missionaries ' Translation and Introduction of Xuan wu Shang di in the Late Qing Dynasty.*Religious Studies*, (2):180-186.]

元青(2024):晚清“秉笔华士”群体的滥觞——对近代早期传教士中国助手群体及其编译出版活动的考察.《广东社会科学》(4),134-144。

[Yuan,Qing(2024).The Origin of the "Bing bi Hua shi" Group in the Late Qing Dynasty: An Examination of the Early Modern Missionaries' Chinese Assistants and Their Compilation

and Publishing Activities. *Guangdong Social Sciences*, (4):134-144.]

元青, 孙健(2021): “晚清双语词典(汉英、英汉)出版的繁盛及海内外流布”. 《安徽史学》(6):85-95。

[Yuan, Qing&Sun, Jian (2021). The Prosperity and Domestic and Overseas Dissemination of Bilingual Dictionary (Chinese-English, English-Chinese) Publishing in the Late Qing Dynasty. *Historiography Research in Anhui*, (6):85-95.]

庄新(2023): “晚清来华西人中国知识报道与美国汉学的兴发-以《中国丛报》为中心”. 《中国文化研究》(4):64-75。

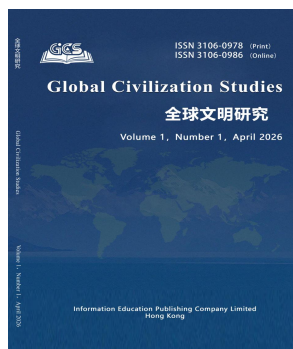
[Zhuang, Xin(2023). Reports on Chinese Knowledge by Westerners in the Late Qing Dynasty and the Rise of American Sinology: A Case Study of the *Chinese Repository*. *Cultural Studies in China*, (4):64-75.]

庄新(2023b): “物质史视域下 19 世纪前中期海外汉学期刊的中国知识传播-以《中国丛报》为中心”. 《湖北社会科学》(12):99-109。

[Zhuang, Xin(2023b). The Dissemination of Chinese Knowledge in Overseas Sinological Journals in the Early and Mid-19th Century from the Perspective of Material History: A Case Study of the *Chinese Repository*. *Hubei Social Sciences*, (12):99-109.]

庄新(2025): “历史书写、博物调研与知识报道: 19 世纪中前期来华西人茶区探险文献研究”. 《国际汉学》(4):58-66。

[Zhuang, Xin (2025). Historical Writing, Botanical Surveys, and Knowledge Reporting: A Study on the Literature of Westerners' Expeditions to Chinese Tea Regions in the Early and Mid-19th Century. *International Sinology*, (4):58-66.]



Global Civilization Studies

GCS, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2026, pp.102-109

Print ISSN: 3106-0978; Online ISSN: 3106-0986

Journal homepage: <https://www.gcsjournal.com>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.64058/gcs260107nidpc>



“没理想”论争与老庄思想的哲学关联

李春草 (Li Chuncao)

摘要：“没理想”论争是坪内逍遥与森鸥外围绕理念与写实的关系展开的论战，是日本近代文坛首次大规模文学理论论争。这场论战表面上呈现为英国经验论与德国观念论的对峙，实则蕴含着东方思想的深刻影响。本文通过对逍遥“没理想”概念的语义辨析及其与老庄哲学的比较研究，揭示出其写实主义主张背后的道家思想底色。

关键词：没理想论争；坪内逍遥；森鸥外；老庄思想；写实主义

作者简介：李春草，中山大学外国语学院副教授，博士，研究方向：日本近代文学，中日思想交流。电邮：lichc3@mail.sysu.edu.cn。

Title: The 'No Ideal' Debate and Its Philosophical Connection to Lao-Zhuang thought

Abstract: The "No-Ideal Debate" was a polemic between Tsubouchi Shōyō and Mori Ōgai concerning the relationship between ideal and realism, and it constitutes the first large-scale literary-theoretical controversy in modern Japanese literary history. While the debate appears on the surface as a confrontation between British empiricism and German idealism, it in fact embodies a profound influence of Eastern thought. Through a semantic analysis of Shōyō's concept of "no ideal" and a comparative study with Lao-Zhuang philosophy, this paper reveals the Daoist intellectual underpinnings of his realist position.

Keywords: No-Ideal Debate; Tsubouchi Shōyō; Mori Ōgai; Lao-Zhuang Thought; Realism

Author Biography: Li Chuncao, Associate Professor, Ph.D, School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. Research area: modern Japanese literature and intellectual exchanges between China and Japan. E-mail: lichc3@mail.sysu.edu.cn.

Received: 15 January 2026 / Revised: 26 Mar 2026 / Accepted: 02 Apr 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 /
Print published: 30 June 2026.

一、引言

日本明治时期（1868-1912）是西方文艺思想大规模东渐的时代，也是日本文学从近世向近代转型的关键阶段。在这场思想激荡中，如何确立新的文学创作及评价标准，成为文学家们共同面对的课题。尤其是“美是理念的感性显现”这一源自黑格尔美学的命题深刻影响了明治文坛的基本论调。受西方哲学影响，明治作家普遍重视“理念”问题，思索文学如何表现理念、如何处理理念与现实的关系。最早直面这一课题的是日本近代文学先驱人物，著名文学评论家坪内逍遙（1859-1935）与文豪森鸥外（1862-1922）。坪内逍遙（原名坪内雄藏）自幼修习汉学，后专攻英国文学，1885年发表《小说神髓》，系统阐述了以“写人情、写世态风俗”为核心的写实主义文学主张。森鸥外（本名森林太郎）则在留德期间深受叔本华、尼采哲学和哈特曼（Eduard Von Hartmann）美学的影响。二人之间爆发的“没理想”论争作为日本近代文学史上首次大规模文艺论争，对后世文学思潮的演进产生了深远影响。

在近代文艺批评中，坪内逍遙的文艺批评观通常被定性为英国经验论的归纳批评，而森鸥外则被定性为德国观念论的演绎批评，即所谓写实派与观念美学派的对立。然而，逍遙思想内部仍然有着明显的东洋哲学的影子，尤其和老庄哲学有着思想上的共通性。从逍遙对老庄思想的引用与论说中，不难发现老庄对其思想的深刻影响，因此，“没理想”理论与老庄哲学在思想上的关联是我们考察道家思想对近现代日本思想界与文学界之影响的重要资源。本文旨在探讨坪内逍遙“没理想”理论与老庄哲学的内在关联，通过梳理其思想演变的历史脉络，比较“没理想”概念与老庄哲学的相通之处，揭示道家思想如何与西方写实主义理论相融合，进而影响日本近代文学评价标准的建构。

二、“没理想”论争的思想史脉络

（一）“理念”问题的凸显

明治时期，随着西方哲学的引入，“理念”问题成为文学理论的核心议题。最早系统思考这一问题的除了坪内逍遙与森鸥外，还有作家二叶亭四迷（1864-1909）。作为逍遙的挚友和思想共鸣者，二叶亭对逍遙的文学理论建构产生了重要影响。

在《小说总论》（1886）中，二叶亭将哲学中的抽象概念“ideal”翻译为“理念”“真理”，并指出人类的认识可以分为两种路径：一是通过理性与知识获得的学问性理解，二是通过情感与感性体验实现的艺术性把握。这一认识模式显然受到黑格尔美学以及俄国批评家别林斯基思想的影响。在此之前，他曾翻译别林斯基《艺术的理念》中的部分内容，并将其命名为《美术的本义》，通过这一译作，二叶亭早期的美学思想逐渐形成，将艺术理解与对真理的感性把握联系起来。二叶亭长期关注“理念”的本质，但到1890年前后，他开始质疑单纯依靠学问方法获取真理的有效性，转而主张通过类似佛教“悟”的直觉才能把握真理。到了1891年，他彻底放弃前期形而上学的思维方式，转向对“天然之理法”的重视，更强调现实的、科学的方法。

坪内逍遙的思想轨迹与二叶亭相似，他最初认同由现象进行归纳的认识论，但自1891

年起转而重视对支配现象的超越性存在的直观认识。在《内地杂居未来之梦》（1886）中，逍遥借小说中登场人物之口，首次阐述科学（学问）与艺术（感觉）同为追求“真理”之途径的观点。对此，文学研究者石田忠彦（1988, p.288）敏锐地指出：若将“由现象进行归纳的认识”理解为“学问的方法”，而将“对支配现象的超越性存在的直观认识”理解为“悟”的话，则二叶亨与逍遥的思想演变具有高度一致性，皆经历了从“对理念的重视”到“对直观的重视”，最终转向“对现实的重视”的三段论式演变。

（二）“没理想”与“理想”的对峙

基于上述思想演变，坪内逍遥于1891年在《早稻田文学》发表《莎士比亚脚本评注绪言》，倡导文学写实主义，强调作者应达到“阔达自在”的意境，与描写对象保持心理距离，应站在超脱立场进行创作，避免主观情感流露，文学批评亦应采取“没价值的态度”。与此相对，作家森鸥外基于哈特曼美学，坚称“理念”可知可存，唯有通过认识现实才能抵达最高“理念”。二人就此展开长达八个月的论争，史称“没理想”论争⁴。

逍遥的观点在其后发表的《没理想语义的辨析》中得到系统阐述。他（1978, p.201）提出“没理想”概念包含“没却理想”与“不见理想”二义，虽可释为“无理想”，但宗旨与“理想绝无”“本来无理想”截然不同。逍遥并不否认“理想”的存在，而是认为“理想”无法在现实世界中直接把握，只能通过直观之“悟”去体认。因此，文学创作应客观观察眼前事实，排除主观因素的干扰。只有摒除主观色彩的作品（逍遥称之为“造化”）才可以容纳一切不同的诠释，此即写实主义之要义。他（1978, p.201）写道：

如何解释造化之作用，则既可以彼宿命教宗旨释之，又可以耶稣教宗旨释之。其他，如老、庄、杨、墨、儒、佛，古今东西哲学之种种见解皆可与造化相对应。不，应该说，造化之物容纳无数解释于其内，仍有余裕，可见造化茫茫无边无际之法相。⁵

逍遥“没理想”观点的提出，在某种意义上也是对当时流行于文艺批评界的“小理想家”们的过分主观主义的批评，逍遥“没理想”的思想前提是“造化”的“没理想”性。逍遥认为作家应减少偏见之弊，以事实报道为先，不以评论为宗旨，主张“空理为后，现实为先”，反对“小理想”演绎出来的“空旷的理论”，也即是对主观的排除。正如国内学者叶渭渠（2009, p.230）指出的那样，“坪内的‘没理想’，可以理解为写实就是真实地反映现实，不需要加进作家的主观见解，可由读者自己去理解，并作出解释就够了。”对此，森鸥外则以德国哲学家哈特曼的美学理论为依据，尖锐地批判了逍遥的写实主义，他强调作为艺术本质的美不是单纯写实，必须贯穿着理想或者理念。他（1978, p.226）写道：

逍遥子的主张是“摈弃理想”。对于造化（自然万物），理想或无理想都不应加以绝对判定；至于诗文，由于创作本身已从作家的临时性无理想状态中自然产生理想，怎么能说它完全没有理想呢？哈特曼的理论正是“有理想”的，无论是对于造化还是诗文。

⁴ “没理想”的“理想”指作家在创作中主观预设的、应然的道德或价值标准。“没理想”即作家以“旁观”的姿态，真实、客观地描写“人情”“世态风俗”，作品的客观意义，即“理念”自然会呈现出来，这是坪内逍遥写实主义的核心观点。

⁵ 原文为日文，本文引用日文文献原文均为作者自译。

这场以西方美学及哲学为根据的论争在日本近代美学乃至哲学的发展史上具有划时代的意义。在近代文艺批评中，逍遥的文艺批评观通常被定性为英国经验论的归纳批评，而森鸥外则被定性为德国观念论的演绎批评，二人一个是写实派，一个是观念美学派，一个是二元直观论，一个是一元认识论。森鸥外的理念论纯粹来源于当时的西方思想，特别是以德国哈特曼的美学思想为基盘。与此相对，逍遥虽然深受19世纪英国经验主义的影响，但其思想内部仍然有着明显的东洋哲学的影子，尤其和老庄哲学有着思想上的共通性。森鸥外在批判中敏锐地察觉到逍遥思想的东方渊源。他（1978, p.196）指出，逍遥无视绝对之境中的矛盾律，乃是释迦或庄子的论法，写道：“逍遥要与庄周一起作《齐物论》，嘲笑儒墨是非、以其非为是，以其是为非。”森鸥外在论争中对逍遥“庄子式论法”的揶揄，恰恰揭示了逍遥思想的独特价值——他不是简单地移植西方理论，而是在吸收西方文艺思想的同时，激活了传统的东方思想资源，创造出既有普遍理论意义又具东方特色的文学理念。森鸥外的这一评价为理解逍遥思想提供了重要线索，即逍遥的“没理想”理论，虽以西方经验论为表，实则深植于老庄哲学的沃土。

三、“没理想”概念的老庄哲学基础

（一）“强命之为”与老子的“道”论

逍遥对“没理想”的论述，在措辞与思想内涵上与《老子》高度契合。他（1978, p.236）在《没理想语义的辨析》中如此描述“造化”：

造化无边无底，此无边无底之物，以何命名？命之曰“大心”？如神无处不在，然我等顽愚，未能确信神之所在；命之曰“大理想”？然我等无学，未能证得此大理想为何物。于此左右均不可行，强命之为“没理想”。

又说：“以‘没理想’为理想，进而求得‘大理想’。”逍遥将超越一切具体“理想”的绝对者称为“大理想”，又因人之“顽愚”与“无学”无法明证其为何物，故“强命之为‘没理想’”。这种表述方式与《老子》第二十五章如出一辙：

有物混成，先天地生。寂兮寥兮，独立而不改，周行而不殆，可以为天地母。吾不知其名，强字之曰“道”，强为之名曰“大”。

老子面对先天地生的混成之物，因其无名而“强字之”“强为之名”；逍遥面对无边无底的造化，同样因无法命名而“强命之”。二者在思想姿态上的相似性绝非偶然。逍遥所说的“造化”实即老子之“道”——它超越一切具体规定性，包容无限可能，又因这种无限性而无法被任何有限概念所界定。

逍遥进一步指出，“没理想”之“没”并非“绝无”，而是“理想不显现”。这与他“造化之物容纳无数解释于其内，仍有余裕”的论述相呼应。换言之，“没理想”之所以是“没理想”，并非因为它缺乏“理想”，而是因为它所蕴含的“理想”过于丰富，以至于任何单一“理想”都无法穷尽其内涵。这种思想在本质上正是老子“道可道，非常道”的命题在文学理论领域的延伸。

（二）“众理想皆没理想”与《齐物论》的是非观

逍遥（1978, p.238）在论述“众理想”与“没理想”的关系时写道：“‘众理想’皆‘没理想’，又非‘没理想’。”这一看似矛盾的表述，实则揭示了部分与整体、有限与无限的辩证关系。他（1978, p.238）指出：

造化莫大无边，包容古今一切理想（使它们没却于己内）仍有余裕。若把今人所认为的“极致”命名为理想的化，那么造化则可命之为“没理想”。“没理想”一词，包含没却今人之“众理想”，须释之为“没理想”包容一切“众理想”于内仍有余地，换言之，即如是理想本来空之意。

“众理想”皆为特定主体在特定视角下对“造化”的认知成果，因此它们既是“没理想”之显现（皆“没理想”），又因其有限性而不能等同于“没理想”之全体（又非“没理想”）。这种对主观认知之局限性的深刻自觉，与《庄子·齐物论》的是非观一脉相承。庄子指出：

夫言非吹也，言者有言。其所言者特未定也。……道隐于小成，言隐于荣华。故有儒墨之是非，以是其所非而非其所是。欲是其所非而非其所是，则莫若以明。

人之言论不同于风吹之自然音声，因言论必带主观成见。人们自以为得道，实则仅得“道”之小成，反为这小成所遮蔽，不见大道之全。儒墨之争正是典型：各以己是为是，以彼非为非，陷于是非对立而不自知。庄子提出的解决之道是“莫若以明”——以空明心境观照事物本然，超越彼此是非的对立。

逍遥的“没理想”说，恰是庄子“莫若以明”在文学领域的运用。他主张作家应超越各种“小理想”的局限，以“没理想”之心境观照“造化”，如实呈现事物本然。逍遥（1978, p.240）说：“仅以我之思为是，斥他人为非者，则是企图以‘小理想’为尺度而裁断此大世界之事物也。”此语直指“小理想家”之弊，与庄子对儒墨是非的批判如出一辙。

四、从“没理想”到写实主义：道家思想的文学转化

（一）去除主观与“吾丧我”

逍遥由“没理想”引出写实主义的主张，关键就在于“去主观”这一中介环节。他（1978, p.242）写道：

如何才能到达此无边无底之绝对呢？曰：去我，立我。弃具体之理想，以“没理想”为理想，即摒弃执着于具体理想之有限之我，确立到达无限绝对之境的无限之我。以“没理想”为吾之理想，为吾唯一之理想，以此遨游于无穷无限无底无边之大洋。

逍遥区分了两种“我”，即执着于具体理想的“有限之我”与以“没理想”为理想的“无限之我”。要通达无限之绝对（造化），必先“去我”，即弃除有限之我及其所执着

的具体理想。这种“去我”的表述，正是《庄子·齐物论》“吾丧我”的翻版。

庄子开篇即言“今者吾丧我，汝知之乎？”“吾丧我”意指超越作为经验主体、执着于是非对待的“小我”，而臻于与道冥合的“大我”。庄子指出：

夫随其成心而师之，谁独且无师乎？奚必知代而自取者有之？愚者与有焉！未成乎心而有是非，是今日适越而昔至也。

“成心”即主体固有的偏见执着，是人皆有之的“师”。唯有“丧我”即去除成心，才能超越是非，与大道相通。

逍遥的“去我”说正是庄子“吾丧我”思想的文学理论化。他将“去我”视为通达“没理想”之境的前提，又由“没理想”引出写实主义的创作原则，即作者应“没却作家，不见作家”，将主观意图削弱隐藏，使作品不带有明显的个人好恶。逍遥所说的“造化无心”，即以造化之“无憎爱”为文学创作的理想范型，要求作品本身不存在作者的主观私意。这与庄子“道昭而不道，言辩而不及”“不言则齐”的语言观一脉相承，即只有“无言”才能“齐物”，只有“不见作家”才能如实呈现世界。

（二）写实主义与“因任自然”

逍遥对写实主义的倡导，还可从《庄子·齐物论》中“因任自然”的思想得到理解。庄子说：

道行之而成，物谓之而然。有自也而可，有自也而不可。有自也而然，有自也而不然。恶乎然？然于然。恶乎不然？不然于不然。恶乎可？可于可。恶乎不可？不可乎不可。物固有所然，物固有所可。无物不然，无物不可。

庄子指出，事物的“然”与“可”有其自身的根据，不以人的主观评价为转移。人用“谓之”的方式给事物命名，以“是”“非”的标准评判事物，但这种命名和评判未必符合事物本身。因此，庄子主张“因是已，已而不知其然谓之道”，要求人不要用成见胶着在事物的功分上，而应因任自然，不去勉强求知其所以然。

逍遥还由“没理想”引出了“平等理想”的文学主张。他（1978, p.202）说：

“没理想”与“平等理想”相同，须于一切理想中，抛却其差别，探寻其平等之理。不拘泥于相之差别，天上天下，不与万物为敌。一切理想之平等，即为吾友。不崇拜理之差别，不奴于一切理想。吾之主人至始至终都是“平等”即“唯一”。以“没理想”为理想即是无主义。

站在“没理想”的高度审视“众理想”，则各种“理想”的差异在绝对者面前皆显得微不足道。这种“平等理想”正是庄子“齐物”思想在文学领域的延伸。“齐物”非谓万物齐一，而是超越是非对待，以平等心观照万物。逍遥将这种平等观转化为创作原则，要求作家超越各种既定的价值判断，以“无主义”的态度面对世界，这正是写实主义的精髓所在。

（三）“造化”与“诗文”的双重“没理想”

逍遥在对“没理想”概念的运用中，区分了两个层面的含义。他（1978, p.202）写道：“对造化而言的‘没理想’与对‘诗文’而言的‘没理想’在本意上是有区别的。于造化而言，‘没理想’只是一个为了方便的名称；而对诗文而言，则是‘目的’，代表文学之根本。”

这一区分至关重要。对“造化”（宇宙本体）而言，“没理想”只是方便施設的名称，其目的是帮助人们超越各种具体“理想”的局限，体悟“大理想”的无限性。换言之，“没理想”在此是手段，即通过否定性的表述方式（“没”），引导人们突破有限认知的藩篱。而对“诗文”（文学创作）而言，“没理想”本身就是目的，是文学得以成其为“诗文”的根本。这意味着，“没理想”不仅是认识论上的超越姿态，更是创作论上的根本原则，即作品应呈现为“造化”般的自然呈现，而非作者主观意图的表达。

逍遥的这一区分，在《庄子》中同样可以找到呼应。庄子一方面以“寓言”“重言”“卮言”的方式言说大道，另一方面又强调“大道不称，大辩不言”“言者所以在意，得意而忘言”。言说本身不是目的，得意才是目的；但若没有言说，又无从得意。“没理想”之于诗文，正如言说之于得意。它既是达到目的的手段，即通过“没却理想”超越有限理想，又是目的本身的体现，即作品呈现为“造化无心”的状态。逍遥将庄子哲学中言与意的辩证关系，创造性地运用于文学理论的建构，形成了独具特色的写实主义主张。

这种东洋哲学底色的存在，使逍遥的写实主义与西方自然主义式的写实主义有着本质区别。西方自然主义强调科学方法、客观观察，追求对现实的精确再现；而逍遥的写实主义则建立在“造化”之无限性与人之认识有限性的深刻自觉之上，其“去主观”的要求源于对“小理想”之局限性的哲学洞察，而非单纯的客观性追求。正是在这个意义上，逍遥的主张可以被视为东洋老庄哲学与西洋文艺理论融合的典范。

五、结语

“没理想”论争作为日本近代文学史上重要的文学论争，不仅普及了西方文艺理论，更是近代日本东西方思想交汇的典型案列。正如叶渭渠（2009, p.209）所指出的那样，“近现代日本文学思潮史，就是传统主义与欧化主义相克的历史，是在日本与西方的、传统与现代的极端对立中保持其微妙的平衡而发展起来的。”坪内逍遥在与森鸥外的论战中，表面上以英国经验论为依据倡导写实主义，实则其思想深处浸润着东方哲学的精神血脉。从“强命之为”的老子式表述，到“吾丧我”的庄子式超越，再到“因任自然”的齐物智慧，逍遥的“没理想”理论处处可见老庄思想的印记，其主张正是东洋老庄哲学与西洋文艺理论融合的典范。

基金项目：本文系广东省哲学社会科学规划项目 2023 年度外语学科专项青年项目“近代化语境下日本文学对庄子哲学的接受研究”（项目编号：GD23WZXY01-05）和中山大学 2024 年教学质量工程项目“日本近代文学中的中国文化要素”的阶段性成果之一。

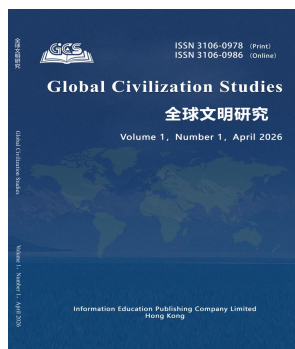
Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Li Chuncao ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-0840-5829>

References:

- [Chen, Guying (2009). *Modern Commentary and Translation of the Zhuangzi*. Zhonghua Book Company.]
- 石田忠彦（1988）：《坪内逍遥研究》，九州大学出版会。
- [Ishida, Tadahiko (1988). *Studies on Tsubouchi Shōyō*. Kyushu University Press.]
- 森鷗外(1978)：“逍遥子と烏有先生と”，《近代文学評論大系 1:明治期 I》:226 – 244.
- [Mori, Ōgai (1978). “Master Xiaoyao and Master Wuyou.” *Modern Literary Criticism Series*, Vol. 1: Meiji Period I:226-244.]
- 坪内逍遥(1978)：“没理想の語義を辨ず”，《近代文学評論大系 1:明治期 I》:201-203
- [Tsubouchi, Shōyō (1978). “On the Meaning of No Ideal.” *Modern Literary Criticism Series*, Vol. 1: Meiji Period I:201-203.]
- 坪内逍遥(1978)：“シェークスピア脚本評注緒言”，《近代文学評論大系 1:明治期 I》:188-192
- [Tsubouchi, Shōyō (1978). “Introduction to a Critical Annotation of Shakespeare’s Plays.” *Modern Literary Criticism Series*, Vol. 1: Meiji Period I:188-192.]
- 叶渭渠(2009):《日本文学思潮史》，北京大学出版社。
- [Ye, Weiqu (2009). *History of Japanese Literary Thought*. Peking University Press.]



Global Civilization Studies

GCS, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2026, pp.110-121.

Print ISSN: 3106-0978; Online ISSN: 3106-0986

Journal homepage: <https://www.gcsjournal.com>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.64058/gcs260108pccccc>



中华文化在加拿大：粤剧艺术家杨海城的戏曲理念和传播实践

徐燕琳 (Xu Yanlin)

摘要：粤剧艺术家杨海城在广东湛江入行，成为著名的文武生；后来到澳门创办澳门粤剧学院，再赴加拿大创办杨海城粤剧学院、加拿大粤剧协会。杨海城从艺六十余年，德艺双馨，被誉为加拿大的“万能老倌”。他的戏曲经历丰富，戏曲理念传统而开放。杨海城在海内外推动粤剧教育，搜集保护粤剧文物文献，矢志不渝传承粤剧，得到加拿大各界赞誉，反映了中华戏曲在北美的当代传播。

关键词：杨海城；加拿大粤剧；戏曲教育；中华文化海外传播

作者简介：徐燕琳，华南农业大学人文与法学学院教授，研究方向：戏曲史论、华侨史、岭南文化，电邮：xuyanlin@scau.edu.cn。

Title: Chinese Culture in Canada: The Philosophy of Chinese Traditional Opera and Performance Practices of Cantonese Opera Artist Ieong Hoi Seng

Abstract: Cantonese Opera Artist Ieong Hoi Seng began his career in Zhanjiang, Guangdong, becoming a renowned "wenwu sheng" (actor specializing in both literary and martial roles). He moved to Macau and founded the Macau Cantonese Opera Academy, later moved to Vancouver and established the Ieong Hoi Seng Cantonese Opera Academy and the Canadian Cantonese Opera Association. With over six decades of a great wealth of artistic experience and the title of "Universal Master" in Canada, Ieong Hoi Seng is virtuous and accomplished, holding traditional yet open-minded views on the art form. He has promoted Cantonese opera education both domestically and internationally, collected and preserved opera-related artifacts and documents, and remained steadfast in his commitment to passing down the art. His contributions are widely admired in Canada, which also reflect the contemporary dissemination of Chinese traditional

Received: 15 January 2026 / Revised: 26 Mar 2026 / Accepted: 02 Apr 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 /
Print published: 30 June 2026.

opera in North America.

Keywords: Ieong Hoi Seng; Canadian Cantonese Opera; Education of Traditional Chinese Opera; Overseas Dissemination of Chinese Culture

Author Biography: Xu Yalin, Professor at College of Humanities and Law, South China Agricultural University. Research Area: History and theories of Chinese traditional opera, history of Chinese emigrations, Lingnan Culture. E-mail: xuyanlin@scau.edu.cn.

一、引言

中华戏曲随着华侨华人的脚步，走向世界。粤剧不仅在广东、广西、香港、澳门等粤语社群广泛流行，也是最早海外传播的戏曲剧种之一，备受世界各地的粤籍华侨华人喜爱。粤剧艺术家杨海城先生在国内学艺、成名，经澳门而加拿大，始终不渝地传承传播粤剧文化。六十多年艺术生涯，万里征程的阅历沉淀，令他的戏曲理念和舞台实践传统而开阔，成为加拿大多元文化的一部分。

二、杨海城的艺术经历

杨海城 1945 年生于广东湛江赤坎，从小接触粤剧，1959 年考入湛江市粤剧工作团，随即转入少年粤剧学校，很快成为湛江市青少年粤剧团文武生台柱，曾扮演传统南派《武松打店》里的武松、《凤仪亭》吕布、《碧血花》孙克咸、《拦马》焦光普、《红梅记》裴禹、《闹严府》曾荣。1964 年广东省委在广州迎宾馆举办迎春晚会，杨海城参加《白蛇传》演出，观众有董必武、贺龙、聂荣臻、罗瑞卿、陶铸、陈郁等领导。1970 年调到湛江地区粤剧团后，他更塑造了一个个光彩夺目的艺术形象：《智取威虎山》中的杨子荣、《平原作战》赵勇刚、《龙江颂》阿更、《红色娘子军》洪常青、《西厢记》张珙、《三岔口》任堂惠等等，受到罗品超、罗家宝、冯镜华、文觉非、陈小汉、朱伟雄等行尊以及陈毅元帅等中央领导的夸赞。红线女大师欣赏他的才华，多次协助设法将他调往广东省粤剧院。当时粤剧界评价：“杨海城一出场，人物形象就出来了。”

杨海城 1980 年移居澳门，1987 年创办澳门粤剧学院，担任澳门政府文化咨询委员会委员，曾多次到葡萄牙、日本、新加坡、香港等地表演，深受欢迎。1997 年移民加拿大，再创杨海城粤剧学院，粤剧大师罗品超亲自题写校名。2015 年，又在温哥华组建加拿大粤剧协会并担任主席，进一步联络粤剧同行，共同传承传播粤剧。

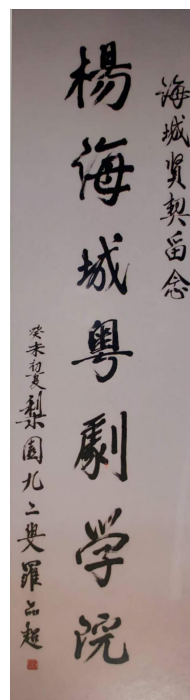
杨海城入戏行六十余年，爱戏入骨，始终以传播粤剧文化作为己任。在加拿大近三十年，他分别在加拿大温哥华、埃德蒙顿、卡尔加里、多伦多，美国西雅图、旧金山，以及新加坡、中国广州、湛江、香港、澳门等地演出四百余场，多次受邀义务讲座，场场精彩。他技艺深湛，戏路广阔，生、旦、净、末、丑都演过，被誉为加拿大的“万能老倌”，年过六旬还能反串演虞姬，舞台效果非常好。戏剧家李德生曾赠联“唱念做打舞六场俱能云城独步，生旦净末丑精演擅授桃李成蹊”，概括其艺术成就。陈大卫诗赞：“豹跃猿攀燕掠空，辉星朗月玉华容。梨园半百熊炉火，剑渡鲸波刃更锋。”他勤学深思，理论功底扎实，受聘担任澳门政府文化委员会委员（1992 年）、第六届澳门艺术节咨询委员会委员（1995）、《粤剧大辞典》编委会顾问（2004）、温哥华大中华文化中心顾问（2014）等。



杨海城扮演《红鬃烈马》里的薛平贵，2000; Jeong Hoi Seng played Xue Pinggui in Hongzong Liema (The Red-Maned Steed), 2000.



杨海城从艺六十周年志庆演出海报，2019年; Poster of Jeong Hoi Seng's 60th Anniversary Celebration Performance, 2019



罗品超为杨海城粤剧学院题写牌匾; Luo Pinchao wrote a plaque for Jeong Hoi Seng

杨海城精演擅授，热情培育新人，在加拿大教了数百粤剧学生，栽桃树李。他积极播撒粤剧的种籽，多次在温哥华大中华文化中心、华埠掌故、素里市图书馆以及多伦多等地开办粤剧讲座，如2021年9月25、26日的《用美学观点欣赏粤剧》《从“四功五法”角度欣赏粤剧》，2025年6月31日《66载梨园情：粤剧演员养成记》等讲座都座无虚席。他为人豪侠仗义，积极组织和参与社会公益活动，1994年为湛江雷州风灾义演，筹得善款人民币149272元；同年为澳门同善堂筹款316940澳元；2019年9月在温哥华举办从艺六十周年志庆演出“走过梨园一甲子”，他表演折子戏《凤仪亭》和长剧《白蛇传》，共筹款42288加元，捐赠中侨护理服务协会；2023年8月5日、9月2日带领杨海城粤剧学院暨粤艺之友为卑诗省儿童和温哥华华宫安老院筹款演出，分别募得善款23149、27230加元。杨海城对粤剧戏曲文物的收藏、对圣保罗医院筹款义演等也受到赞誉。加拿大各界认同及褒奖杨海城的贡献，2017年9月10日，联邦国会议员黄陈小萍向杨海城颁发奖状，赞赏他粤剧表演艺术和教育工作的终身成就，表彰他为加拿大多元文化所作的杰出贡献。

杨海城有独特的大陆、港澳和海外生活 and 艺术经历，始终与各地保持密切的联系，艺术积累深厚。他年少学戏的时候非常仰慕罗品超，希望能做他的徒弟。听北海市粤剧团的周南富讲，想跟罗品超学《罗成写书》，首先要能够单腿站立半小时，因此开始苦练腿功，后来亲眼目睹罗品超演《罗成写书》果真能单腿稳站半小时。他说：“当初《山乡风云》这部戏云集粤剧界的各大风云人物，其中罗品超饰演黑牛一角，他的身段配合台词‘我一脚踢翻’，随着一个顺三才^①的锣鼓点，刚劲有力，好像此一脚真踢倒一座大山”

^① 杨海城先生说：“顺三才”为“顺三锤”的简写，粤剧老师父记锣鼓记号时将繁体的“锤”写作“才”。

（杨海城，2025）。杨海城在湛江工作时，每年都上广州学习，有机会与罗品超接触，觉得罗先生形象威严，为人和蔼。2005年，92岁的罗品超到温哥华演出时，教杨海城配马排场，并为杨海城粤剧学院题写牌匾。

杨海城对粤剧艺人的特色如数家珍。2019年，他在给华南农业大学本科生授课时，分享了粤剧大老倌和外地剧组的表演方法和记忆深刻的表演，如1959年10月广东粤剧院派人到湛江雷州慰问，冯镜华与卫少芳两位老演员演出《红鬃烈马》的《三击掌》，父亲角色的一层层相逼与女儿角色的一层层反抗，表演精彩，戏剧气氛和节奏咬得很紧。少昆仑饰演的《武松醉打蒋门神》动作和扮相粗狂，在戏曲表演史上很少人采用，营造出戏曲艺术百花齐放的画面。他讲楚岫云和罗品超表演的《郊别休妻》，特别夸赞楚岫云的圆台功夫；他讲林小群在《洞庭送别柳毅》中一句滚花“恩公有暇立河边，候我借流将叶送”，眼神、唱腔都柔情蜜意。他看过十几遍，但每次看到这个场景，都会很感动。杨海城还说，他看过谭天亮先生演过二十多场戏，没有一个角色让他失望，谭先生在《红楼梦》里反串当傻大姐，也傻得十分可爱。谭天亮表演的丑生李钟钰是清朝湛江地区抗战战争时的官员，支持人民反抗洋枪洋炮的侵略，周恩来总理对这个角色进行了高度的评价。杨海城还说：白云山在《寸金桥》中饰演汉奸陈敬五，恰到好处，唱功了得；他在改编蒲仙戏的《团圆之后》担任丑生，演唱主题曲感人肺腑，回味无穷。又讲冯天佑在《三气周瑜》中表演吐血，此前要喝两脸盆的苏木水。杨海城还提到，他的师傅黄泡养为了表演吐血，在门牙钻了个孔，喷出的血呈一条线的形状射出去，视觉震撼，目前这一方法为保护表演场地就不演了，少了粤剧表演的一门绝技。杨海城说：廖少德在《雷州大侠》中扮演大太监，穿蟒，化妆是凶残的面谱，血盆大口，两边垂下两缕白色的长发，行走时身向后仰，迈斜大八字脚，形象阴森恐怖。又讲广州朝阳粤剧团《杜鹃山》，陈少棠饰演乌豆，火爆粗犷、大开大合，很有特点；1959年广东粤剧院二团《三帅困崂山》，靚少佳站在山坡上，两眼放光，印象难忘。

在大陆生活期间，杨海城广泛学习和接触其他剧团剧种，博采众长。他说：“上个世纪六十年代，山西省太原市戏曲学校青年晋剧团来访演出折子戏《谢冠》《薛刚反唐》《扈三娘》，长剧《打金枝》《杨门女将》，演员武功了得。郭彩萍扮演吕布，用头顶翎子撩拨貂蝉的脸，再将翎子摆回来，深吸一口气，将貂蝉的香气引至跟前，翎子功出神入化。1959年广东汉剧团到湛江大戏院演出，黄彝传、黄桂枝演《百里奚会妻》旗鼓相当，演出了苍劲遒韧的内心力度；《二度梅》梁素珍的表演深邃含蓄、情柔意美；现代剧《货郎计》开打好有特点。约1959至1960年，四川成都川剧院带来改编的《白蛇传》《拉郎配》《乔太守乱点鸳鸯谱》，踢眼、变脸、吊打、水袖、扇子功十分精彩。1962年湖南湘剧院青年跃进剧团来访演出《拜月记》《杨门女将》《三打白骨精》《断桥》《拦马》《双下山》，湛江青少年粤剧团也演出《断桥》《拦马》《双下山》交流。这里有一个有趣的事情，湘剧演员失声食辣椒，山西演员郭兰英若失声则饮醋。而湘剧演员一喝醋就会失声，因水土刚好相反。1962年，天津市河北梆子剧院小百花剧团到湛江演出长剧《荀灌娘》、折子戏《泗州城》《秦琼观阵》，年仅11岁的何某林（记不清名字）单腿朝天四门观阵。60年代初期浙江省绍剧团演《三打白骨精》，见到六龄童（小六龄童父亲）扮孙悟空，形象很好。90年代在香港新光戏院看河北梆子剧院裴艳玲演出《钟馗嫁妹》，好到不得了。当年河北梆子青年跃进剧团拍的电影《宝莲灯》，对于沉香一角演员是男是女，大

家议论纷纷，我因为演员能打几十个旋子而认为是男人，后来才知是女性。海军政治部文工团话剧团《赤道战鼓》，饰演姆旺达的演员形象好，像座天神一样，有台词‘黎明，黎明，偏偏遇上天不明’，带着醉步上场，仿佛大厦将倾之势。此外，1959年至1964年，一系列中央及省级以上表演团体到湛江演出，有中央实验歌剧院郭兰英的《白毛女》《嘎达默林》，中国人民解放军总政治部歌剧团《柯山红日》，海军总政治部歌剧团《红珊瑚》，中国青年艺术剧院《保尔·柯察金》，中央乐团巡回演出小组，中央广播文工团说唱团，包括马季、郭启儒等名家，以及广东粤剧院、广州粤剧团等等，大大地开拓了眼光，加强了艺术修养”。（徐燕琳，2020）

三、杨海城的戏曲理念

六十多年来，杨海城不分寒暑坚持练功，到加拿大继续教学、演出，虚心与同行交流，博采精收，形成了鲜明的艺术特色。他认真学习戏曲和中外艺术理论，搜集整理大量戏曲书籍、文物文献，建起杨海城粤剧图书室，在扎实的学习和实践基础上，形成了独到的艺术见解，贯穿进教学和表演实践。2025年5月31日，杨海城在温哥华大中华文化中心做粤剧讲座《粤剧演员养成记》，介绍了他的戏曲理念：

第一，坚持一个宗旨：美。粤剧一切从美出发，粤剧无处不美。剧本、唱腔、音乐、布景、服装、身段，一举手，一投足都美，哪怕叫花子衣服都美，称富贵衣、百家衣。粤剧展现给观众看的听的、感受到的，都要美。

第二，维护两项原则：（1）无情不成戏。演员以行为动作展现艺术，也要有充沛准确的内心体验。演出如果没有感情，对人物缺乏体会，就表达不了角色的内心世界和他的行为逻辑，无法演出理想的戏剧效果。（2）无技不成艺。表演的基础是苦练得来的基本功，以此塑造人物的风采。杨海城回忆他学戏时，老师经常告诉他：“要拿出东西给人看，要展现你的艺术修养，而且要出奇制胜，能人所不能，标新立异”。（杨海城，2025）粤剧演员一到虎度门，立即收腹提气（十趾抓地，膝盖后顶，小腹微收，弓步放松），进入状态。要遵守基本的动作法则，例如站丁行八、举手画圆、眼随手走、欲左先右、欲右先正、摆正子午相。身段做得好要从脚跟开始，步法、掌法、指法、拳法都有套路，因此行动规范大方，无处不美。

第三，努力编织三条线：（1）编织好内心感情线。这需要演员自身的文学修养，熟读剧本，研究人物的行为、思想、所处环境（剧本的规定情境），从而编织出准确的贯穿全剧的感情线，来引导自己的语言和行为，让人物在舞台上的活动真实可信，以此感动观众。演员要有情，无情不成戏，但同时还要跳出角色，能够驾驭自己的感情，观照自己感情的表现，这是特殊的艺术。（2）编织行动的线。就是设计好角色出场的穿戴、行动、走路姿势，一举手，一投足，都要事先全部设计好。（三）编织好唱腔、音乐、锣鼓旋律节奏的线。用内心情感的线，引导着旋律的抑扬顿挫、忧怨悲伤、抒情开朗，内心、形体随锣鼓铿锵缓急而起伏，使人物更加生动传神。

演员要学会将心中的想法和情感通过自己的表演，包括眼神、动作、唱腔等等表达出来。在剧本和情境方面，演员需要熟读剧本，分析剧本，研究剧本中故事的历史背景、主题思想和人物关系。例如，吕布、周瑜、张琪和许仙四个人物虽然都是小生，但性格不同：吕布武艺高强，骄横奢暴，趾高气扬；周瑜风流倜傥，心胸狭窄，骄傲自大；张琪文采风

流，孱弱书生，不谙世事；许仙是药店小伙计，小户人家，心地善良。所以，就需要小生行当演员按照剧本中规定的角色要求，来分别塑造不同的人物形象。

第四，苦练“四功”。唱、做、念、打，唱功为首。他说：“我们初入戏行之时，每天一早起床嗌声（吊嗓），有时在公园内，有时在山野空旷之地，读出大段口白，高呼‘马童带马’。女生学农村妇女叫鸡来喂食之声‘焦焦焦’，用作练花旦子喉的高尖之声；晚上回来上唱功课，学习叮板节奏、音准概念、粤曲的结构、句格、音韵常识。老师常说：‘某演员上台一开声，唔见了万八（意思是一开声，反腔跌调，原定月薪是两万元，由于演唱低劣，只值二千元）。唱功易学难精，我虽然跟随了不少名师，但亦走了不少弯路。做功，是用身体各部位，结合音乐、锣鼓、唱词、口白，编演人物的各种粤剧的表演程序，如跳大架、锣边花、马荡子、各种跟斗、武打招式，各种步法、手势，用肢体动作表演出人物的各种行为。念功，念白之功力。白雪仙老师一句话，请出了念白的重要：‘懂得讲口白，就是会做戏了。’演员的口白，需要适合所演的人物性格、情境、年龄、行当，其力度、强弱、快慢、节奏，表明对人物的认识和了解。打，各兵器的对打，包括十八般武艺：刀、枪、剑、斧、钯、叉、砣、索、棍、矛、剑、铜、锤、钹、铲、鞭”。（杨海城，2025）

第五，勤习五法：手、眼、身、发、步。手法，指戏曲里各种独特的手的姿势。指，有兰花指、单指、迎风指、朝天指、双指、八字指、数字指、剪式指、赞美指；拳有方拳、提拳、佛手拳、握拳、举拳、端拳等；掌有瓦楞掌、兰花掌、撩掌、端掌；双手榜的位置有顺方旗、拱手式、托掌、冲掌、栽拳撑掌、双山榜、提甲按掌。手部活动有：云手、穿手、晃手、劈手、搓手、小五花、风火轮。眼，眼是心灵的窗户，眼随手走，通过眼神带领观众欣赏你的动作造型、眼神的光芒，体会到角色的神采。丰富的眼神，来源于对角色的揣摩研究，形成神采飞扬、眉目传神的效果，比如秋波暗送、回眸一笑百媚生、杏眼圆睁、剑目凤眼、含情脉脉、倦眼、醉眼、蛇目、鼠眼、圆眼、三角眼等等。身，即是演员的身躯。“腰是我大阵，稳定身型；腹要收腹提气；肩、胸部放松，呼吸顺畅。任何行当的角色，出场都必须收腹提气，否则就是没有进入表演状态。腰除硬、净、稳之外，还要具备柔韧之腰力，以承担大量的动作，形成高难度表演，如荡腰、旁腰、旋腰、翻身、平转、飞腿、播米、级翻、旋子等。发，男生有甩发功，女生散发功，还有生角的髯口功（俗称耍须口）。步，不同行当有不同的步法，但基本上快速走动是圆场，还有慢步、快步、分水步、矮子步、云步、撤步、碎步、滑步、颤步等等”。（杨海城，2025）

杨海城说：“老师常教导：做戏要七情上面。所以要像学‘四功五法’一样，用许多时间精力研究六欲、揣摩七情，方能使自己创作的角色能够成功。同时还要八方（琴、棋、诗、画、曲、影、武、禅）融会，借八方的艺术实践充实自己，触类旁通；然后九九归一，塑造出令人可信、十分感人的角色，献给来支持你的观众。观众就是你的老板。这就是最好的回报”。（杨海城，2025）

四、海内外的戏曲文化传播

（一）以汇报演出带动粤剧教学

杨海城认为，戏曲是一种独特的思维方式，对于非专业的学习者来说，也具有调节心志、抒发感情的作用。为此，他在粤剧教学中，除了对学生进行基本功训练外，经常组织

演出，给学生以舞台实践机会。由于加拿大已经没有了专业的戏班，专业艺人也不多，所以他沿袭跨国演剧的传统，经常邀请广东、香港、美国的粤剧家作为嘉宾前来，与自己和学生同台演出，现场学习，以让学生提高兴趣、增广见识，直接参与演出、组织、后台运作。这样的言传身教、身体力行，不仅学生受益，也极大地宣传了粤剧，得到华人社会的支持和部分赞助。演出租用本地剧场，公开售票，价格最低二三十元加币起。收益扣除部分成本外，基本都作为公益捐赠。

2009年9月，为了庆祝从艺半世纪，他与学生合作举办“艺海扬帆五十秋”专题粤剧晚会。海报贴出，戏票已售，省港名伶嘉宾如约而至，万事俱备，就等开场。谁知此前一天排练，杨海城打飞腿上高台时，突然“唉哟”一声，原来不幸蹬裂右脚后筋，当场跌倒在排练场上，站不起来。

这次演出，杨海城要演的剧目包括《柳毅传书之花好月圆》《连环计之小宴》等四个折子戏，角色无人可以临时代替。怎么办？杨海城咬紧牙关对医生说：“没事！给我打封闭吧，止痛就能登台！”医生却说：“没事？打封闭止痛容易，但登台又打又唱，剧烈运动加重创伤，以后脚可能废了，这是大件事啊！”

现场一片沉默。有学生叹道：“除非老师坐轮椅上台演……”讲者无心，听者有意，杨海城灵机一动：“哪里有轮椅？”一学生答：“我有！”“好！立即去取轮椅，告诉大家演出时间不变，一切不变，我骑轮椅演出！”杨海城果断命令。

晚会当天，开场锣鼓音乐响起，杨海城驾着电动轮椅，踏着节奏，从容登场。首个剧目是《柳毅传书之花好月圆》。他扮演的柳毅，轻拂水袖，翩翩亮相，一招一式一丝不苟，一个活脱脱的英俊书生出现在观众面前！

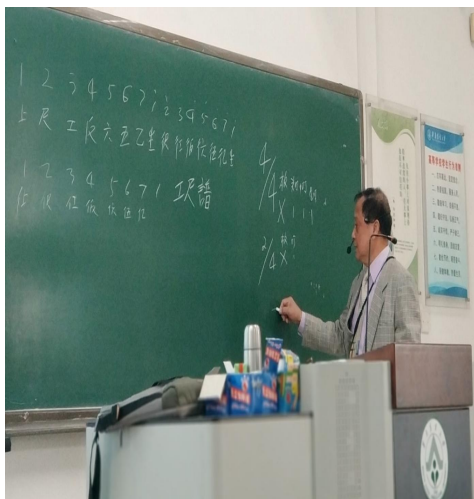
正是艺高人胆大，德高艺更高。只见杨海城忍痛坐在电动轮椅上，穿不进高靴的右脚，还缠着厚厚的白色绷带。他连演两晚，八个折子戏，疼得戏服全都湿了。但是，演出如有神助，唱念做打文武兼备、声情并茂，观众掌声、喝彩声如潮。64岁的杨海城骑着轮椅撑起两场演出，感动了温哥华观众，也为学生树立了榜样。（冯向东、陈冠文，2013）

（二）融汇传统文化艺术的戏曲教育

杨海城在粤剧教学中，注意戏曲作为凝聚了文学、音乐、舞蹈等各项传统文化艺术的综合性艺术的特点，充分发挥其中的诗情画意，以演奏、表演、讲解与动作示范辅助教学，让学生领会其中的美。2019年11至12月，华南农业大学聘请他作为“海外名师”来穗，为中文系本科生150人讲授《戏剧戏曲专题》课程。两个月的时间，除了理论教学外，还安排了表演学习、课余讨论、校内实践、校外剧场看戏，远超课程规定的32课时，师生相得，教学效果良好。

杨海城说：“演员表面风光，台下辛苦。得到观众的肯定和认同，心中便满足”。（徐燕琳，2000）好演员首先要热爱戏曲，包括粤剧的音乐、舞蹈、服装、文学、联想、意境；要趁年轻时练好基本功，修炼形体造型，同时努力提高修养，学会观察生活，从中吸收养分，丰富表演。他功底扎实，至今每天练功，经常踢足球锻炼身体。这得益于当年在湛江少年粤剧学校学戏时打下的基础。他说，当年练功时吃了很多苦。要练手功，双手撑地靠手走路；倒立（业内称为起虎尾）定五分钟，面色发紫，汗流一地；压腿，拉腿向墙。学员边练边哭，周围邻居听到哭声，还以为虐待儿童。他还介绍了戏曲前辈观察生活的方法，比如盖叫天为了提高身段之美，长期观察轻烟婀娜轻柔的姿态，将其融入自己的

表演；李万春为了演好猴戏，专门养了一个猴子，揣摩猴子的性格表现；薛觉先为了演好律师角色，跑到法庭看律师出庭神态。他说：演员要用心用情演出。虽然中国戏曲舞台上程式化的表演并不是生活的真实表现，但是，演员的内心需要追求真情实感，以充沛的情感，去带动技术程序。如果想要观众感动，必先自己感动；如果想要观众落泪，必先自己落泪。因为有情有技，所以戏曲当中无处不美：曲词美，演员扮相美，造型美，声腔美，音乐美，布景美，哭也美，笑也美，病也美，死也美。^①



杨海城在华南农业大学讲授工尺谱，2019/11/26
Leong Hoi Seng taught Gongche notation at South China Agricultural University on 11/26/2019



杨海城在华南农业大学讲授戏曲美学，2019/11/27
Leong Hoi Seng lectured on the literary beauty in Chinese traditional opera at South China Agricultural University on 11/27/2019

杨海城现场演示和教学各种步法、掌法、指法、拳法，一边具体指导：戏曲身段做得好，要从脚跟开始；在基础的磨盘云手方式上，讲述正、反云手的区别和方法，引导同学们学习；台步步伐，小生为丁字步，展现出气宇轩昂，花旦站相必须踏步式，亦即是别步，表现出轻盈灵动；跑圆场时，右手在圆场时不能晃动，要提起而跑。在基础学习之上，进而教学“云手拉山”“鹞子翻身”“云手旋腰”等动作。杨海城将“云手拉山”分成八个点，反复演示、讲解。“鹞子翻身”结合弓步、云手等基础动作，通过手部带动腰部。在自己演示动作后，他反复讲明动作难点，挨个指导，耐心纠正学生的动作。经过多次练习，大部分同学都能够掌握这些动作。他便请学生到台前演示，增加互动性。

粤剧早期以武戏为主，硬桥硬马、刚劲朴拙的武打也是舞狮的基础。南狮有弓步、马步、上膝等步伐，舐毛、搔头、翻滚、试探等动作。因此，课程的实践环节安排在学校龙狮队，李仕美等同学表演舞狮，讲解舞狮过程和意蕴；同学们体验舞狮，和狮头亲密接触，学习基本动作后合影留念。在做粤剧情景表演示范时，杨海城拉小提琴伴奏，并根据中文专业特点，将三首唐诗转换为舞台表演，给学生以深刻的印象。例如，《送杜少府之任蜀州》要求演出送别时的神态、情景和情感中的不舍；《回乡偶书》要求表演老人步履蹒跚地抚摸胡须的情景，以及儿童双手叉腰天真地问“你从哪里来”的模样；辛弃疾词《西江月》，要求表演“醉心”“醉步”“醉语”“醉眼”“醉态”等“醉”的神态。学生说：“经杨老师一演，古诗词就活了。”在得知学生已学习辛弃疾的作品《破阵子·为陈同甫

^① 本文所采用的图片均为华南农业大学人文与法学学院徐燕琳教授提供。

赋壮词以寄之》后，杨老师请同学们背诵，他同时舞剑，让学生真切感受到宋词和戏曲结合产生的无限魅力。



杨海城与华南农业大学中文系师生和校龙狮队队员合影，2019年12月4日
 leong Hoi Seng photographed with teachers and students of the Chinese Department of South China Agricultural University, as well as members of the Loong and Lion Team on Dec.4, 2019



杨海城表演舞剑，2019年12月11日
 leong Hoi Seng performed sword dance on Dec. 11, 2019

学生孙浩楠在课程调查问卷中写道：“在第二次实践课上，我们深入地学习了鹞子翻身、旋腰拔脊等动作。对戏曲的手法、步法进行深入的了解与学习。我印象最深刻的是杨老师为我们表演的《破阵子》，人剑相融，潇洒英美，完全看不到年逾古稀的拖沓，那种飒爽的姿态蕴含着老师对艺术孜孜不倦的追求，这种热爱无关年龄。老师就像是词里的辛弃疾，抛头颅洒热血，奉献自己的一生。不同的是，老师是为了艺术。这段表演不仅让我欣赏到老师的美与才华，还有关于人生的思考，我以前只在新闻网络上看到为艺术痴狂的老艺术家，当这样德艺双馨的艺术家站在自己眼前的时候，看到他为自己所热爱的艺术坚持、传承、发扬而深受震撼。那是来自心底的敬仰与崇敬，或许在很多年很多年以后，无论在世界的哪个角落，当我需要作出选择和改变的时候，脑海会浮现出2019年12月11日杨老师舞剑的身影。他告诉我：热爱没有理由放弃”（徐燕琳，2020）。

（三）搜集保护粤剧文物文献

杨海城先生从艺六十余年，无论在哪里，始终不渝地敬爱粤剧，锲而不舍地钻研推广粤剧，也注意发现、搜集、抢救粤剧文物文献，专门建立了私人粤剧图书室。他希望更多人关注和热爱粤剧，让这一人类非物质文化遗产得以传承光大。

北美西部是十九世纪中期随着淘金潮来到北美的粤剧最早的传播地，粤剧文物文献众多，但散失也比较严重。2014年9月，杨海城受旧金山美西八和会馆的邀请赴当地大明星戏院演出，在剧院后台墙壁上发现挂着几件粤剧头盔散件。随后他太太韩小宝女士在天幕后看到一幅画在铁皮上的舞台布景，有亭台楼阁、花草树木，两边画有出将入相门，左下角题名：“许逢伯绘，民国十四年。”杨先生认为这种以油画颜料绘在金属板上的粤剧布景极其罕见，而绘制时间民国十四年（1925）正是大明星剧院（时称大中华戏院）落成时间，反映了当时粤剧演出的兴盛，具有重要的历史价值。群鸿艺苑白超鸿主席介绍说，由于大明星戏院易手，新东主清理时在棚顶时发现一个旧戏班装演出用品的破旧竹箩，准备

丢弃，他们商议后认为是粤剧之宝，立即带回会馆暂存。杨先生检视，竹箩里竟然装满了古老的粤剧道具，诸如皇帝额、毛凤冠、草鞋等，做工精致，比如“点翠”工艺，即将翠鸟的蓝色羽毛，镶嵌在戏冠的金属底座，现在已经很少见，有的物件他也无法辨识其具体演出作用，十分珍贵。

为了能够更好地宣传粤剧文化，2016年6月21日至7月4日，加拿大粤剧协会在大温哥华中华文化中心举办“杨海城粤剧艺术藏品展”时，特邀请美西八和会馆携当年大明星戏院文物参加。杨海城希望通过展览，推动大明星戏院成为粤曲博物馆，保留下珍贵的历史和文化。出席开幕式的嘉宾有联邦国会议员黄陈小萍、关慧贞；不列颠哥伦比亚省议员Jane Shin；加拿大洪门民治党副总主委郑炯光；美西八和会馆主席林小群；美国群鸿艺苑主席白超鸿；中华文化中心主席郭英华以及各位副主席、共同主席；爱城耆英康乐组主席李小妹；粤剧闺秀爱好者刘唐翠雄、黄郭燕萍、麦林慢莲；杨海城粤剧学院、加拿大粤剧协会全人、义工、朋友等。此次粤剧艺术藏品展自2013年开始构思筹备，除了杨海城本人多年积累外，也得到同行精英、各方朋友支持襄助。展品包括大量精美戏服，如蟒袍、大靠、海青、女帔、梅香衣、女蟒、冠冕盔靴等；又有许多粤剧历史文献，如场刊、宣传海报、古法泥印剧本、新式印刷的剧本与乐谱、旧书、剪报等，其中许多关于粤剧历史及粤剧在美洲的传播的一手资料。

展品中有一件清末蓝底女装白狐狸毛皮长袍，典雅大方，引人注目。这是当年同盟会会员、众议院议员、大元帅府参事、香港华侨学院中文系主任、广州大学文学院院长马小进先生的母亲赠送儿媳金天牧的厚礼，再由金天牧转送儿媳伍茂莲。金天牧是京剧刀马旦，曾与梅兰芳一起搭班演出。又有一件上世纪五六十年代的胶片海青，明灿晶莹，由粤剧名伶麦炳荣赠送给黄郭燕萍，十分珍贵。这些文物，每一件背后都有动人故事，承载着粤人粤剧的生动历史。

“杨海城粤剧艺术藏品展”在温哥华取得圆满成功，紧接着开始《三国风云》的排练。杨海城改编整理《三英战吕布》《水淹七军》两个剧本，训练了一批从未接触过粤剧的学生，同时兼任艺术总监、饰演关云长一角以及《赤壁雄风》中的黄盖，于7月8日、9日献演，好评如潮。7月12日，他马不停蹄，亲自驱车千里将展品送到阿尔伯塔省会埃德蒙顿市，7月15至17日举办了第二场展览，各曲社嘉宾、戏剧学者、著名艺人纷纷来贺，参观民众络绎不绝。8月13日，温哥华华埠节举办中国戏曲介绍，杨海城应邀在中华文化中心作化妆示范、表演和讲座，与京剧艺人同台展示戏曲化妆、角色塑造的异同。他带来皇帝、元帅、将军和大臣的头盔头饰、蟒袍、海青、靴鞋，从材质、龙爪的不同，到制作细节、演出诀窍等，和盘托出。又当场示范化妆、穿戴戏曲服饰，一会儿是器宇轩昂的赵子龙，一会儿变身威震天下的君王。现场座无虚席，华人西人听众纷纷拍掌，争相合影留念，很好地宣传了粤剧和中华传统文化。

五、对振兴粤剧的建议

从艺60周年时，杨海城写道：“我爱粤剧，我需要粤剧。我爱粤剧，因为它博大精深，包含丰富的中华文化，哺育我成长，在精神修养、身体品格方面锤炼我，遇困难挫折当作磨练，获赞许褒奖化为动力。我需要粤剧，因为这是我的工作”。（杨海城，2019，p.1）在杨海城粤剧学院成立20周年院庆演出场刊中，他曾说：“粤剧苦我心志，劳我筋骨，养

活了我一家；教我做人，解我乡愁，圆我理想。”又重提学院首演场刊的自序转的一段话：“一个人如果自小便认定一种工作为终生职业并付诸实行，他就是一个幸福的人”。（杨海城，2017，p.1）2026年初，杨海城在温哥华生活·风格基金会举办的晚会上，谈到他已从艺67年，一辈子只认定一种工作，那就是粤剧，没有一天离开粤剧，称自己是一个幸福的人。（杨海城，2026）他做到了盖叫天先生所说的“活到老，学到老”，直到现在仍在教学生、参演节目、参加粤剧唱局，又拉又唱又演又教，日子丰富而快乐。

身处海外，杨海城仍无时无刻不想着粤剧、关注粤剧。他一方面努力传承传播粤剧，一方面欣喜于国内戏曲的发展，思考着海内外粤剧的未来。结合自身经历，他说：传统是粤剧的根本，粤剧的传统不能丢。这首先是对于粤剧起源、粤剧的祖师、戏班禁忌等的认识。戏曲还需有偶像带领，以吸引观众，在粤剧中以文武生花旦担当头牌。演员要不断苦练身段技艺，提高水平。

针对粤剧振兴，他特别提出以下期望。

第一，剧团应与剧场联合。他说，自己从事粤剧表演以来，振兴拯救粤剧至少经历过四次。当年做戏的时候，每个剧团挂钩一个剧场，白天就练功排戏，晚上演出。但六十年代中后期电影已经将舞台霸占，日场、夜场、甚至深夜场。原来使用剧场的戏曲演员不说练功，睡觉也成为难题。所以振兴粤剧，首先要有专门的场地，方便练功排练。剧场是粤剧的革命根据地，如果没有一个厉兵秣马的练功根据地，就不能促进发展。

第二，粤剧需要更多的深入到基层的小型演出、小型活动。目前的戏曲进校园就很好。戏曲院校、剧团进入学校，主动让学生接触戏曲，能够培养观众、吸引人才，对戏曲发展是百年大计。

第三，粤剧导演制度的建立完善。如果做戏只是纯粹的摆弄技巧，而枉顾戏场，老师傅说这不是做戏，而是卖艺。戏曲导演应该要有戏曲理论，要懂得戏曲的表演程序。有好的导演，对粤剧发展是大好事。希望粤剧越来越好，蒸蒸日上。

基金项目：国家社科基金重大项目《中国文学在世界文明进程中的作用和影响研究》（24&ZD240）子课题《中国文学对北美文明的作用和影响》；广东省社会科学规划项目“加拿大粤剧史料文献调查研究”（GD25LN22）。

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

ORCID: Xu Yanlin^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-1215-4808>

References.

- 《粤剧大辞典》编委会（2008）：《粤剧大辞典》，广州出版社。
- [Editorial Committee of the Grand Dictionary of Cantonese Opera (2008). The Grand Dictionary of Cantonese Opera. Guangzhou Publishing House.]
- 冯向东、陈冠文（2013-04-06）：“骑轮椅上舞台唱大戏：记粤剧名人杨海城先生加拿大的一次演出”，《湛江日报》，6。
- [Feng Xiangdong, Chen Guanwen (2013, April 6). “Riding a Wheelchair onto the Stage to

Perform a Grand Opera: Remembering Cantonese Opera Celebrity Mr. Yang Haicheng's Performance in Canada." *Zhanjiang Daily*, 6.]

徐燕琳（2016）：“‘杨海城粤剧艺术藏品展’在加举办”，《南国红豆》（5）：49-50。

[Xu Yanlin (2016). "Yang Haicheng Cantonese Opera Art Collection Exhibition Held in Canada." *Nanguo Hongdou* (5): 49-50.]

徐燕琳（2020）：《加拿大戏曲教育家杨海城院长来穗授课纪要》（未刊稿）。

[Xu Yanlin (2020). *Record of Canadian Opera Educator Yang Haicheng's Teaching in Guangzhou* [Unpublished manuscript].]

杨海城（2009）：《艺海扬帆五十秋》，杨海城粤剧学院。

[Yang Haicheng (2009). *Fifty Years of Sailing in the Sea of Art*. Yang Haicheng Academy of Cantonese Opera.]

杨海城（2017）：《杨海城粤剧学院成立廿周年院庆演出》，杨海城粤剧学院。

[Yang Haicheng (2017). *The 20th Anniversary Celebratory Performance of the Yang Haicheng Academy of Cantonese Opera*. Yang Haicheng Academy of Cantonese Opera.]

杨海城（2019）：《杨海城六十周年志庆演出·走过梨园一甲子》，杨海城粤剧学院。

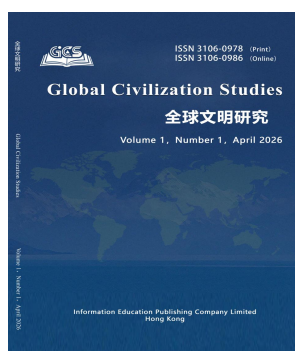
[Yang Haicheng (2019). *The 60th Anniversary Celebratory Performance: Sixty Years in the Pear Garden*. Yang Haicheng Academy of Cantonese Opera.]

杨海城（2025）：《粤剧演员养成记》（未刊稿）。

[Yang Haicheng (2025). *The Making of a Cantonese Opera Actor* [Unpublished manuscript].]

杨海城（2026-03-23）：《修订补充资料》（手写稿）。

[Yang Haicheng (2026, March 23). *Revised and Supplementary Materials* [Handwritten manuscript].]



Global Civilization Studies

GCS, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2026, pp.122-132.

Print ISSN: 3106-0978; Online ISSN: 3106-0986

Journal homepage: <https://www.gcsjournal.com>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.64058/gcs260109tcsic>



非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事：基于舞剧《咏春》与英歌舞海外传播的路径研究

叶志海（Ye Zhihai）

摘要：在文化强国建设与全球化传播深化的双重背景下，非遗作为中华优秀传统文化的重要载体，其海外传播是讲好中国故事的关键路径。广东作为岭南文化核心区与非遗资源富集地，近年创作的舞剧《咏春》与潮汕英歌舞的海外传播实践取得显著成效，形成现象级传播效应，为以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事提供了鲜活样本。本文以这两大非遗出海典型案例为研究对象，通过梳理其海外展演、数字传播的实践脉络，分析其在文化符号转化、叙事策略创新、传播渠道构建等方面的共性经验与独特路径。研究发现，以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事，需依托“符号具象化、叙事普适化、渠道多元化、体验沉浸化”的四维路径，通过非遗文化内核与世界共通价值的精准对接、传统表达与现代传播技术的深度融合，实现从文化展示到价值认同的传播升级。本文旨在为以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事、推动中华优秀传统文化国际化传播提供可借鉴的实践范式与理论参考。

关键词：非遗出海；中国故事；舞剧《咏春》；英歌舞；传播路径；文化传播

作者简介：叶志海，暨南大学艺术学院/珠江电影学院副教授，文化遗产创意产业研究院副院长，大学生艺术素质教学部主任，硕士研究生导师，研究方向：电影艺术、文化遗产保护与传承、公共艺术教育。电邮：6830249@qq.com。

Title: Telling China's Stories with Intangible Cultural Heritage Going Global as the Carrier: A Study Based on the Overseas Communication of the Dance Drama *Wing Chun* and Yingge Dance

Abstract: Against the dual backdrop of building a culturally strong nation and deepening global communication, intangible cultural heritage (ICH), as a vital carrier of fine traditional Chinese culture, has become a key approach to telling China's stories well through its overseas

dissemination. As the core region of Lingnan culture and a treasure trove of intangible cultural heritage, Guangdong has achieved remarkable results in the overseas communication of the dance drama *Wing Chun* and Chaoshan Yingge Dance in recent years, creating a phenomenal cultural communication effect and providing vivid examples for telling China's stories well via ICH going global. Taking these two typical cases of ICH going global as research objects, this paper sorts out their practical contexts of overseas performances and digital communication, and analyzes their shared experiences and distinctive paths in the transformation of cultural symbols, innovation of narrative strategies, and construction of communication channels. The study finds that telling China's stories well through ICH going global requires a four-dimensional path of "symbol concretization, narrative universalization, channel diversification, and immersive experience". By precisely aligning the cultural core of ICH with universal values of the world and deeply integrating traditional expression with modern communication technologies, communication can be upgraded from cultural display to value recognition. This paper aims to provide practical paradigms and theoretical references for telling China's stories well through ICH going global and promoting the international dissemination of fine traditional Chinese culture.

Keywords: ICH going global; China's stories; dance drama *Wing Chun*; Yingge Dance; communication path; cultural communication

Author Biography: Ye Zhihai, Academy of Cultural Heritage and Creativity, College Students' Art Quality Education Department, Jinan University of China. Research area: Film Art, Cultural Heritage Protection and Inheritance, Public Art Education. E-mail: 6830249@qq.com.

引言：非遗国际化传播的时代需求与广东实践基础

国家层面对非遗保护传承与文化出海的战略部署为非遗国际化传播提供了坚实政策支持，《“十四五”非物质文化遗产保护规划》中“推动非遗走出去”的明确要求，指引着以非遗为载体讲好中国故事的方向。（陈嘉熙，章颖，2025，p. 88）在全球化语境下，跨文化交流日益深化，向世界讲好中国故事、提升中国文化国际话语权成为紧迫的现实需求，非遗作为中华优秀传统文化的鲜活载体，其海外传播不仅是文化交流的重要桥梁，更是讲好中国故事的核心路径。（任可欣，2024，p. 49）广东凭借丰富的非遗资源与海外传播先发优势，为以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事提供了坚实实践基础，其中以“咏春拳”为创作主题的舞剧《咏春》与英歌舞作为广东非遗的代表性项目，近年来在海外市场的成功传播形成了极具研究价值的典型案例。（李龙玥，2025）针对这些实践实例开展理论和实践研究，能够丰富非遗传播研究的跨文化视角，完善以非遗为载体讲好中国故事的理论建构，拓展非遗数字化传播与国际化转化的研究维度（黄静晓，2025）；在实践层面，通过提炼非遗出海讲好中国故事的可复制路径，可为其他非遗项目的国际化传播提供实践参考，助力中华优秀传统文化在全球范围内实现有效传播、讲好中国故事（叶海强，2024，p. 98）。

梳理现有研究成果可见，非遗出海研究多聚焦单一项目的传播案例或宏观政策分析，缺乏对同地域非遗以出海为载体讲好中国故事的比较研究与路径提炼，如柳剑文、柳剑能对潮汕英歌传播模式的探讨虽揭示了部分传播规律，但未涉及以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事的系统性分析；中国故事传播研究侧重文化符号提炼与传播策略探讨，却对非遗这一

核心载体的传播转化规律关注不足，孙英春从跨文化传播学视角分析了文化认同的建构路径，但未结合具体非遗案例展开深入研究；而舞剧与英歌舞相关研究多集中于本土传承与国内传播，陈嘉熙探讨了普宁英歌舞在旅游视域下的创新路径，姜璐分析了舞剧《咏春》“武舞融合”的创作理念，但其以出海为载体讲好中国故事的系统性研究较为薄弱（姜璐，2025，p. 151）。针对现有研究的不足，本文采用案例分析法、比较研究法与文本分析法，以舞剧《咏春》与英歌舞海外传播实践为研究对象，通过对比两类非遗载体在讲好中国故事过程中传播路径的共性与差异，解读传播内容、受众反馈与媒体报道，挖掘以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事的核心规律。本研究以广东两大现象级非遗出海案例为双样本，构建以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事的四维分析框架，揭示非遗从“地方性文化”到“全球性符号”的转化机制，同时强调数字传播与线下展演的协同传播效应，填补现有研究对新媒体传播与线下传播整合分析的空白（陈洁，2024，p. 34）。

一、非遗出海的实践样本：舞剧《咏春》与英歌舞的海外传播实践

（一）舞剧《咏春》的海外传播脉络

舞剧《咏春》以咏春拳非遗为核心载体，在海外展演布局上精准切入国际核心艺术场域，选择加拿大多伦多开展 20 场驻演，随后登陆英国伦敦沙德勒之井剧院连演 12 场，形成覆盖欧美主流文化市场的传播网络，成为以非遗出海讲好中国故事的重要实践（刘莎莎，2025）。这种展演布局既充分考虑了海外华人社群的分布特点，又精准瞄准了国际艺术受众的需求，为以非遗为载体讲好中国故事奠定了基础（焦子宇，2024）。在传播成果方面，海外媒体对《咏春》给予高度关注，美联社以“咏春以文化为桥联通世界”为题进行专题报道，《加拿大环球邮报》强调其开启了中加文化交流的新篇章，通过咏春拳非遗向世界传递中国武术精神与文化内涵。社交媒体上相关话题持续发酵，多伦多观众在小红书等平台纷纷发文推荐，称赞其“柔中带刚，动静之间全是东方美学”，演出不仅实现了艺术口碑与市场效应的双重丰收，更以非遗为载体推动中国故事的全球传播，提升咏春拳非遗的全球认知。其传播特色体现在“双非遗融合”的艺术表达与“双线叙事”的叙事创新，将咏春拳与香云纱两大国家级非遗相结合，丰富了中国故事的文化内涵（李龙玥，2025），主线讲述叶问传承咏春的故事，辅线展现电影人的追梦历程，兼顾文化深度与艺术感染力，实现了传统非遗与现代表达的有机衔接，让中国故事更具传播力（姜璐，2025，p. 151）。

（二）英歌舞的海外传播实践

英歌舞以潮汕民俗非遗为核心载体，构建了多渠道传播网络，通过参与国际文化交流活动展演、融入海外华人社群文化活动、利用抖音、B 站等短视频平台进行数字传播等多种路径，向世界讲好中国故事、传递中国民俗文化魅力（陈洁，2024，p. 34）。例如，英歌舞队积极参与海外春节庆典活动，通过街头展演与当地观众互动，短视频平台上相关视频播放量超百亿，形成了广泛的传播覆盖面，让海外受众通过英歌舞了解潮汕民俗、感知中国文化（林耿，王恒同，2025，p. 67）。在传播成效上，英歌舞从潮汕地方性民俗成功发展为全球性文化符号，登上央视春晚后进一步提升国际知名度，其“中华战舞”的形象获得海外受众广泛认可，成为以非遗出海讲好中国故事的重要名片（尚玥，2025，p. 63）。在欧洲、东南亚等地的传播中，英歌舞不仅吸引了华人社群的关注，更引发了当地民众对

中国传统文化的浓厚兴趣，实现了以非遗为载体讲好中国故事的跨地域突破（朱笑熹，2025）。英歌舞的传播特色以“身体叙事”为核心，通过雄浑豪放的舞姿、鲜明的脸谱符号与激昂的鼓点节奏，直观传递中国传统文化中的英雄精神与集体力量，实现中国故事的具象化表达（黄静晓，2025）。其“英雄精神”的叙事主题与世界共通价值相契合，同时形成“草根传播”与“官方推广”的协同发力模式，既有普通网民的自发传播，也有政府主导的文化交流活动支持，构建了多元化的非遗出海传播生态，助力中国故事走向世界。

（三）两类非遗出海案例的共性特征

舞剧《咏春》与英歌舞均以非遗为核心载体，聚焦讲好中国故事这一核心目标，舞剧《咏春》承载中国武术精神与家国情怀，英歌舞传扬中国传统文化中正义战胜邪恶、勇往直前的英雄精神，这些精神内核既是中国故事的重要组成部分，又与世界共通价值高度契合，为以非遗出海讲好中国故事奠定了坚实基础（姜璐，2025，p. 151）。在传播目标上，两者均突破了文化展示的浅层传播，追求实现从文化认知到价值认同的升级，致力于通过非遗传播让海外受众深度理解中国文化、认同中国故事，而非仅仅停留在表面的文化猎奇（刘莎莎，2025）。在实践基础方面，两类非遗项目均依托广东地域文化优势，实现了传统非遗艺术形式的现代性转化，舞剧《咏春》的“武舞融合”与英歌舞的“传统套路+现代编排”，既保留了非遗的核心特质与中国故事的文化内涵，又增强了非遗的跨文化适配性，为以非遗出海讲好中国故事提供了关键支撑（吴雁云，2024，p. 156）。

二、以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事的核心路径

（一）符号具象化：非遗文化内核与中国故事的可视化转化

核心符号提炼是以非遗出海为载体讲好中国故事的基础环节，舞剧《咏春》聚焦咏春拳的“螳手”“木人桩”动作与香云纱的材质特性，将其转化为直观可感的舞台符号，把中国武术精神与传统工艺文化等中国故事核心元素具象化，使海外受众能够快速捕捉中国故事的文化核心（周思明，2024，p. 78）；英歌舞则提炼脸谱、双槌击节、队列变换等核心元素，形成具有高度辨识度的视觉符号系统，将潮汕民俗文化与中国英雄故事融入其中，这些符号既保留了非遗的文化基因，又具备跨文化传播的直观性，让中国故事更易被海外受众理解（黄静晓，2025）。在价值对接机制上，两类非遗项目均将自身承载的中国文化精神与世界共通价值精准对接，舞剧《咏春》传递的“坚持、传承、自我超越”理念，英歌舞蕴含的“正义、团结、奋斗”精神，既彰显了中国故事的精神内核，又契合了人类共同的价值追求，这种价值对接有效降低了跨文化理解门槛，使海外受众能够快速产生情感共鸣，更好地接受中国故事（黄静晓，2025）。艺术表达创新是提升中国故事传播吸引力的关键，舞剧《咏春》实现“武舞融合”的艺术创新，将咏春拳的技击动作与古典舞、现当代舞技法相结合，在五大门派决斗的舞段中，融入日字冲拳、问手等武术形态与吸腿转、翻身等舞蹈动作，实现了刚柔并济的艺术表达，让中国武术非遗更具舞台观赏性（姜璐，2025，p. 151）；英歌舞通过“传统套路+现代编排”的优化，在保持刚劲风格的基础上，增强了表演的观赏性与节奏感，让潮汕民俗故事更符合海外受众的审美习惯，这种创新既尊重了非遗的原真性，又提升了中国故事的跨文化传播吸引力（吴雁云，2024，p. 156）。

（二）叙事普适化：中国故事的跨文化表达策略

叙事结构创新能够有效增强海外受众对中国故事的情感代入，舞剧《咏春》采用“双线叙事”结构，既讲述叶问传承咏春的宗师故事，又展现电影人的追梦历程，形成“英雄叙事”与“平凡人奋斗叙事”的双重呼应，既传递了中国传统文化中的传承精神，又讲述了普通人的追梦故事，使不同背景的海外受众都能找到情感共鸣点，更好地理解中国故事；英歌舞以《水浒传》“攻打大名府”的经典故事为蓝本，构建“英雄之旅”的叙事框架，将中国古典英雄故事融入民俗表演，这种经典叙事模式便于海外受众通过熟悉的叙事逻辑理解中国故事的文化内（尚玥，2025，p. 63）。在叙事视角调整上，两类项目均注重平衡“本土性”与“全球性”，舞剧《咏春》既保留岭南文化特色，如香云纱所承载的地域工艺文化，又避免因过度强调文化特殊性造成的隔阂，让中国故事既有地域特色又能被全球受众理解（周思明，2024，p. 78）；英歌舞在海外传播中，既展现潮汕民俗的独特性，又突出“英雄精神”的普适性，实现“以小见大”的叙事表达，通过潮汕民俗故事折射中国传统文化精神，让地方故事成为中国故事的生动注脚，实现地方文化与全球受众的连接（任可欣，2024，p. 45）。情感共鸣构建是实现中国故事价值认同的核心，舞剧《咏春》中叶问传承咏春的坚守与电影人大春追梦的执着，引发海外受众对理想与奋斗的情感共鸣，让海外受众通过个体故事感知中国精神（刘莎莎，2025）；英歌舞通过集体展演传递的凝聚力与激情，跨越文化界限激发受众的情感回应，让海外受众通过民俗表演感受中国传统文化中的集体力量，这种情感共鸣成为海外受众认同中国故事的重要基础（黄静晓，2025）。

（三）渠道多元化：中国故事的跨文化传播网络构建

线下核心渠道为以非遗出海讲好中国故事提供了沉浸式体验场景，舞剧《咏春》以国际艺术剧院巡演为核心，在多伦多子午线大厅等高端艺术场所呈现高品质演出，座无虚席的演出场景增强了非遗的艺术感染力，让海外受众在沉浸式体验中感受中国武术故事的魅力；英歌舞则通过国际文化交流活动、海外华人社群展演等形式，在街头、庆典等场景中与观众近距离互动，吸引大量民众参与，让海外受众在互动中了解潮汕民俗故事、感知中国文化。线上传播矩阵突破了时空限制，为中国故事的全球传播提供了便利，舞剧《咏春》在B站《2022最美的夜》跨年晚会播出后，各平台视频播放量超2亿，通过高清视频呈现、幕后花絮解读等形式，向全球受众讲述咏春传承故事，扩大了中国故事的传播覆盖面；英歌舞在抖音平台的相关视频点击破百亿，通过多机位拍摄、慢动作剪辑等技术，展现表演的细节与张力，让海外受众能够随时随地感受潮汕民俗故事的魅力，实现中国故事的碎片化传播。媒体联动传播形成了中国故事跨文化传播的合力，舞剧《咏春》的海外演出获得美联社、《加拿大邮报》等主流媒体的深度报道，提升了中国故事传播的公信力与影响力；英歌舞通过“网红达人打卡”“高校学子游”等活动扩大线上影响力，借助普通网民的自发传播与官方媒体的权威报道，形成了多层次的传播网络，让中国故事通过多渠道、多形式走向世界（尚玥，2025，p. 63）。

（四）体验沉浸式：中国故事的跨文化认同营造

现场体验优化增强了海外受众对中国故事的参与感，舞剧《咏春》采用双面舞台，利用七块正反两面的景片实现时空转换，让观众全方位感受表演的魅力，这种创新的舞台设