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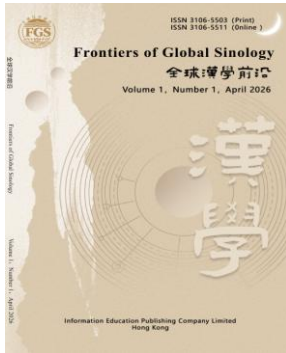
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从手稿到定稿：

钱学熙《道德经》英译与燕卜苏、韦利的对话

姚达兑（Yao Dadui）

摘要：2020年发现的钱学熙遗稿中，尚未刊行的《道德经》英译手稿引起学界关注。现存资料显示，钱氏初译本附于与燕卜苏往来的十二封信札之中，定稿则由其后人保存。初译与定稿在语言与理解上存在显著差异，成为考察译文生成过程的重要依据。钱学熙在翻译过程中与燕卜苏讨论亚瑟·韦利的《道德经》英译，燕氏的意见直接影响了定稿的形成。将韦利译本、钱氏初译本与定稿并置比较，不仅揭示了不同译者对经典的多重阐释路径，也展现了二十世纪中西学术交流的复杂互动。钱学熙与燕卜苏的对话，因而构成了中国学者与西方译本之间的一种历史性对话，对理解经典跨文化传播与再诠释具有重要意义。

关键词：钱学熙；《道德经》；燕卜苏；亚瑟·韦利

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

Title: From Manuscript to Final Draft: Qian Xuexi's English Translation of the *Daodejing* and His Dialogue with Empson and Waley

Abstract: After Qian Xuexi's passing, a collection of his manuscripts was left behind, and since their discovery in 2020, scholars have increasingly turned their attention to their contents. Among these is Qian's unpublished English translation of the *Daodejing*, which has yet to be

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thoroughly explored. This article offers a preliminary analysis based on the compilation of Qian's manuscripts. Qian's initial translation of the *Daodejing* appears in twelve letters exchanged with William Empson, while the final version is kept by Qian's descendants. Significant differences between the initial and final versions provide a foundation for comparative analysis. Qian's discussions with Empson regarding Arthur Waley's English translation of the *Daodejing*, and the guidance he received from Empson, had a notable impact on Qian's final translation. A comparative study of Waley's translation, Qian's initial draft, and the final version sheds light on the differing ways in which Chinese classics are interpreted in the East and West. The academic dialogue between Qian and Empson also stands as a historical witness to the cultural exchange and mutual appreciation of civilizations between the East and the West.

Keywords: Qian Xuexi; *Daodejing*; William Empson; Arthur Waley

Author Biography: Yao Dadui, Professor, School of Humanities, Hainan University. His research focuses on comparative literature and world literature. E-mail: yaodadui@foxmail.com.

一、前言

2020年初,苏州大学季进教授在已故哥伦比亚大学夏志清教授的档案中发现了一些与钱学熙(1906-1978)相关的资料,其中有钱学熙《道德经》英译稿一份、钱氏与燕卜苏往来的12封信件(季进,2020, pp. 135-138)。钱学熙生前曾在西南联大、北大任教,门下学生有汤一介、杨周翰、罗经国等著名学者,然而其逝后几乎被学界忽略(季进,2021, pp. 110-118)。燕卜苏大名鼎鼎,是新批评的代表人物之一,也曾在联大、北大教书,其在华数年培养的学生也不乏著名学者、诗人。钱燕两人讨论《道德经》英译的信件写于1947年6月至8月间,2020年这些信件由郭恋东教授和笔者译为汉语发表(郭恋东、姚达兑,2020, pp. 139-158)。同一时段,笔者经多方相助得以联系上在广州的钱家后人,因而获得一批钱氏遗稿,包括了《道德经》英译稿一份、书信一批和当年在西南联大和北大教书时的讲义等。2021年,笔者曾撰文分析钱、燕两人如何讨论汉学家亚瑟·韦利英译本《道德经》的得失(Yao, 2022)。近期笔者从哈佛大学图书馆获得燕卜苏与钱学熙通信的另一份复件,得以与此前夏氏档案和钱家遗稿一起参校,做进一步的研究。

钱学熙写信给燕卜苏的起因是钱氏不满意韦利的英译本《道德经》,打算着手自译,因而就韦利译本的相关问题请教燕氏,同时邀请燕氏后续帮助润色其译稿。钱氏非常看重燕卜苏的意见,故而我们讨论钱译《道德经》必须纳入燕卜苏的思考,尤其是针对韦利译本和钱氏译稿的评论。既然钱氏不满意韦利英译文,那么,钱氏的英译《道德经》情况如何?钱氏的译文是在与燕卜苏的讨论的基础上产生的,即全书英译的定稿是在12封往还信件之后。在两人12封信中,钱氏多次随信附寄了其译的《道德经》各章初译稿。笔者经过比对,发现初译稿与定稿有一些出入。因而还须追问初译稿和定稿有何异同?燕卜苏对韦利英译本和钱氏初译稿的批评,是否得到了钱氏的吸纳,并体现在钱氏定稿之中?

二、钱学熙初译九章和燕卜荪的回应

钱学熙初译《道德经》（下文将两人通信中的钱氏译文称为“初译”），与韦利英译本（下简为“韦译”）和钱氏英译《道德经》定稿（1947年）（下简为“定稿”），构成了可比较分析的基础。需要说明的是，本文中的钱氏初译和定稿，皆来自于钱氏的遗稿，迄今未曾 anywhere 印行。下文引用之处，是从其遗稿中抄录，故而不必再出注。

钱学熙致燕卜荪的第一封信中附有其初译《道德经》前九章。¹燕氏首次回信时说：“我对漩涡般纷乱的论争，总是持开放的态度”，并指出可将韦利英译本看作是“一种机智的辩论，以反对各种当代的理论。”（p. 140）也即，韦利是借助于他的英译本，借力于中国文学来回应当时英国的汉学，即借他者来批评自我。正因此，韦利英译本“给予了译者一种危险的自由，即译文的意思与其实实际要表达的意思可能背道而驰”（p. 140）。此外，燕卜荪还提及：韦利英译本，似乎把《道德经》中体现的某些思想看作是佛教的一个分支——这是非常不恰当的。

且看《道德经》第一章译文的情况。首句“道可道，非常道；名可名，非常名。”（陈鼓应，1984, p. 53）。²韦译为“The Way that can be told of is not an Unvarying Way; The names that can be named are not unvarying names”（Waley, 1994, p. 141）³。但是，钱氏初译则是“The Tao that can be told of is not the eternal Tao. // The name that can be named is not the eternal name (the name for the Eternal).”在这里初译的句式与韦译很相似，但仍有三处不同。（1）首先是“道”的译名。在初译中，钱学熙将“道”视为不可译的名词，因此采用了音译“Tao”。然而，在定稿中，这一做法被修改，改用了与韦利相同的“way”一词。（2）其次是“非常”一词的译法。在“非常道”和“非常名”两处，韦利将“非常”译为“unvarying”（不变的、固定的），钱学熙的初译则为“eternal”（永恒的），而定稿又改为“immutable”（不变的）。燕卜荪在第二封回信中指出：“在您的译本的第一章中有这样的暗示：存在一个永恒的‘道’及一个永恒的‘名’”（p. 141）。笔者认为，燕卜荪的看法是准确的，钱学熙初译中将“非常”译为“eternal”并无大错，但定稿则改为了“immutable”。这一调整的原因可能在于，《道德经》原文此处还谈及是“非常名”，因此不能翻译为“永恒之名”。初译中，上下文均采用“eternal”以保持对应，但这一译法难以成立，因此最终皆改为“immutable”一词。（3）钱学熙对韦利译本的不满之一，是韦利在长篇导论中将道家与法家绝对对立看待。燕卜荪同意这一看法。于是，两人在后续书信中展开进一步讨论。

在第一章后续数句关于“欲”的讨论中，燕卜荪认为，韦利的译文已明显体现出其阐释框架，即以“清静主义”来解读《道德经》和道家思想。原文“常无欲，以观其妙；常有欲，以观其徼”（p. 53），初译为“Hence frequently rid yourself of desire so as to observe the subtle essence and frequently to have your desire so as to observe the outcome”。燕卜荪尖锐地指出，“您的版本是说道家认为一个人需要‘frequently have your desire so as to observe the outcome’（‘频繁地拥有欲望，以便观察结果’），而韦利的则是‘He that has never rid himself of desire can see only the Outcomes’（‘从未摆脱欲望的人只

¹ 钱氏第一封信后所附 12 章译稿，夏氏档案未存（故而此前汉译本《钱学熙、燕卜荪往来通信 12 通》未收），钱氏遗稿有存，哈佛大学图书馆也有存，但哈佛燕卜荪档案中的这数页译稿并未附在两人来往信件中，据笔者调查发现，乃是被错误地归入未知来源的杂档中。本文讨论的前九章初译稿，世人未知，为笔者整理注释完成。

² 下文凡引《道德经》原文，皆出自陈鼓应注译本，仅于引文后标出页码，不另赘注。

³ 下文凡引韦利的英译本，仅于引文后标出页码，不另赘注。

能看到结果’),”因此韦译更贴近其所强调的“清静主义”(p. 141)。值得注意的是,尽管钱氏与韦利都使用了“desire”(欲望)和“outcomes”(后果)等词汇,译义相近,但在定稿译文(“So always have no desire and observe the deep; //and always have desire and observe the superficial.”)中,钱氏改用“superficial”(表面)一词,取代了原先的“outcomes”(后果)。

在钱学熙的信件中,他认为韦利以“清静主义”来统合佛教与道家并不恰当。因为仅从对“识”(即“名”)和“欲望”的区分来看,佛教与道家便存在重大差异。钱氏的理由如下:

“在佛教中,欲望包含了所有成为之物和自然之物(关键的需求)。在道家思想中,欲望仅意味着复杂的欲望或对愉悦的追求,这和本性或想要保持长久警觉的单纯的强烈欲望是不同的,而后者想要的只是自我平息。对于辨识,佛教意味着感觉,但是通过它,我的意思是,辨识是通过欲望而得以提升,反过来,欲望也由其得以提升。因此,对于佛教而言,所有生命或宇宙不过是一种妄想或错觉,因而应当摒弃。对于道家而言,生命或宇宙是由欲望建立起来的,而如上所定义的辨识,复杂欲望的生命和复杂的辨识是一种妄想,因而应当摒弃”(pp. 142-143)。

从这一段论述可知,钱学熙认为,在佛教中辨识与欲望是共生的关系,对欲望的认知越清晰,欲望本身也会愈发强烈,因此必须同时摒弃欲望与辨识。这是因为,在佛教理论中,世界万物——包括欲望与宇宙——皆为妄想或幻觉,因此应彻底舍弃。而道家则自始至终认为,宇宙万物是由欲望构建的,但它区分了欲望的不同层面:道家仅反对复杂的欲望和对愉悦的追求,而不反对出于本性的自然欲望。基本欲望仅为自我平息之道,非执着于外物。道家认为,复杂的欲望与辨识皆是虚幻,应摒弃,以回归至最初纯朴的本性。因此,佛教与道家的核心观念在根本上存在差异,这一差异远非韦利的“清静主义”理论所能概括。

燕卜苏认为,钱学熙对“无为”一词的翻译和理解,要远胜过韦利。燕卜苏举了第二十三章中“无为”的译法,作为例子来对比分析。《道德经》第二章有句“是以圣人处无为之事,行不言之教”(p. 60)、第三章有句“为无为,则无不治矣”(p. 67)。韦利译为“Therefore, the Sage relies on actionless activity, carries on wordless teaching...”(p. 143)和“Yet through his actionless activity all things are duly regulated”(p. 145)。钱氏初译为“So the sage abides in disinterested activity and carries on unworded teaching...”和“Ruling disinterestedly, he will not fail to secure order and peace.”与韦利将“无为”译为“actionless activity”(不动的行为)不同,钱译为“disinterested activity”“Ruling disinterestedly”,表示“无为”的状态是对事物寡淡无味式的“毫无兴致”,而不是“不动”“无运动”。燕卜苏认为“disinterested”一词要比“actionless”一词更为高明,更贴近于原义,因为“actionless”一词会让人联系到神秘主义或难以解释的内容。然而,这一点分别并没有体现在钱学熙的定稿中。钱学熙定稿采用了更接近韦利译文的词汇,将上述句子译为:“Therefore the sage abides in actless deeds and preaches wordless precepts...”和“To act actlessly will invariably bring peace to the people.”其中“actless”这一个词,并不见于各类字典,应该是钱学熙在调整译文时,参照了韦译而重新创造的新词。不知何故,燕卜苏对“disinterested”一词的赞赏,并未促使钱学熙保留最初的翻译方式。

燕卜苏指出的韦利的这一种“神秘感”“神秘主义”，在其译本的后续译文和解释中频繁地出现。在第四章的末句“吾不知谁之子，象帝之先”（p. 71）中的“象帝之先”，韦利译为“*But as a substanceless image, it existed before the Ancestor.*”（p. 146）（但作为一种无物质的形象，它在祖先之前就已存在了），钱氏初译为“*It existed before the ancestor of form.*”（它在形式的祖先之前就已经存在），定稿为“*It was before there was form and Heaven.*”（它在有形式和天堂之前（便已经存在））。这里“帝”字，被处理为“祖先”，韦利这样译，钱氏初译也从之，但是定稿却做了改变。韦利在此处的译文中，还加入了一种注释，“有关的祖先几乎可以肯定是黄祖，他把地和天分开，因此破坏了原始的统一，为此他在《庄子》中经常受到谴责。”（原文是：“*The Ancestor in question is almost certainly the Yellow Ancestor who separated Earth from Heaven and so destroyed the Primal Unity, for which he is frequently censured in Chuang Tzu*”（p. 146））在这里，韦利对“道”的理解，体现出一种神秘感。燕卜苏指出，韦利的“道”是“精神性的”，而钱译中的“道”更具有无形的特征，两者有明显的区别，前者尤其突显出了一种神秘感。燕卜苏对钱氏这样说，“在第四章的最后一行，对于‘道’的理解，您的译文比韦利的更具备‘无形’的特征。由此您的译文表现出‘道’存在于天帝的‘形’产生之前，而韦利的理解将‘道’视为一种创世之前的精神意象”（p. 141）。韦利将“道”译为一种“精神意象”，则近乎于神秘主义者眼中的“神”的存在。在韦利那里，这种神秘感，在其阐述“清静主义”和“瑜伽——神秘主义”时更为突出。

此外，燕卜苏赞赏钱氏初译中表现出的思想：“‘道’存在于天帝的‘形’产生之前”，所以这里的“帝”的意思是“天”“天帝”，而非韦利所译的“*ancestor*”（祖先）。钱氏可能深入思考过这一句评论，故而在修订或重译的过程中充分吸纳了燕卜苏的意见。“象帝之先”，故而被钱氏拆解为“象”（*form*）和“帝”（*heaven*）。中国古代先民所说的“帝”，代指的便是“天”（后来所说的“老天爷”），既可以是指与“地”相对的实在的“天”，也可以指“自然”本身，带有宇宙论式的“天”（《道德经》中常指这个自然的有其运行规则的“天”），也可以对应类似于西方基督教的“上帝”或人格化化身的“天”。所以这里的“帝”，直接被钱氏对译为“天”，也未始不可——这体现了他对“道”的理解。钱学熙的这种解释模式表明，他认为“道”在象和帝之前，是无形的存在，而韦利则是更诗意化地将其视为一种在创世之前的精神现象，具备了某种神秘主义的倾向。

燕卜苏认为，韦利的第六章译文中也有同一类型的神秘主义倾向。比如，第六章有句“绵绵若存，用之不勤”（p. 80），其中“绵绵若存”一词，韦利译作“*It is there within us all the while*”（p. 149）（它就是这样在我们之中永存）（p. 141），燕卜苏认为此句译文“似乎再次采用了更神秘化的阐释”。笔者认为，韦利的阐释可能会让西方读者联系到基督教文化语境中无处不在的上帝，甚至现代时期自然神学观念中万物中寓存的神性。笔者将钱氏初译“*It ever exists and yet hardly seems to exist.*”返译为“它从未停止却无法看到”，定稿“*It does not cease but is elusive.*”返译为“它不会停止，但却难以捉摸。”这里三种译文比较，可见定稿最佳，因其译文中译出了虽然难以捉摸的，但绵绵若存、一直存在的“道”。钱学熙对第六章的分析有一个总结，表明了他对于“道”的理解。他认为，“‘道’的平和或整体合一（甚至是真正神秘主义的平和）远非是‘神秘的’；它可凭借对朴素的日常经验进行简单的论证而得到实现”（p. 144）。这与韦利对于“道”的神秘主义解释，有重大的区别。

综观钱学熙与燕卜苏围绕《道德经》第一至九章英译的讨论，可见二人真诚探讨韦利译本及其阐释方式，并在交流中不断碰撞思想。总结而言，有三点值得注意：（1）钱学熙逐步说服燕卜苏，使其认识到韦利译本在翻译和解读上的问题。这一过程并非一蹴而就，而是在往返辨析中逐渐发生。（2）钱学熙的初译明显受韦利影响，无论句式、语法还是词汇，都显示出模仿痕迹。然而，在关键技术术语的翻译上，钱氏仍保持一定独立性，展现出不同的阐释方向。（3）定稿完成于两人长达三个月的十二封书信交流之后，钱学熙在修订过程中部分吸收燕卜苏意见，并在许多方面重新翻译，摆脱对韦利的依赖，不再视其译本为主要参照对象，也不再以批评韦利为目标。

三、三种译文的比较分析

钱学熙认为，编译一部词对词排列的《道德经》新译本是必要的，以更清楚地揭示译文与原文的偏离（p. 146）。韦利的译本未采取这一方法，反而掩盖了其英译及阐释中的两大问题：（1）他创造了“瑜伽——清静主义”理论，并将《道德经》纳入其中，或直接将其嫁接到该理论之上；（2）他将“道家思想”与“法家主义”视为截然对立（p. 144）。笔者此前已对第一点进行了深入探讨（Yao, 2022, pp. 4-8），但对韦利如何构造道家与法家的对立关系尚缺乏足够分析。为更全面理解这一问题，并进一步论证韦利“瑜伽——清静主义”理论的谬误，亟需进行重新探讨。

钱学熙对第二点有这样的批评：

“至于《老子》与“法家主义”之间的对抗性，尽管我认为后者出现的时间较晚，我不否认《老子》中的教义存在着与法家或者与法家一样具有相同精神或相同趋向的学派的对抗性。我反对的是韦利所理解的这种对抗性，是有意为之的，特别具有针对性。韦利对这一种对抗性的强调，远高于其他更重要的方面，即形而上学和精神方面。对此，我反对的原因有三：第一，老子在其原著中并未有这样的阐释和强调；第二，无论是老子的学术传统，或是有学养的中国人，均一直强调形而上学和精神层面；第三，形而上学和精神层面比哲学中的政治方面，更是根源所在，更为重要得多”（1947年7月9日）（pp. 147-148）

钱学熙批评韦利将法家与道家视为完全对立，认为此种解读只关注《道德经》的政治层面，而忽略其更核心的精神性或形而上学意涵。他强调，这一层面较政治议题更能体现《道德经》的本质，但并不否认其对政治问题的探讨。

《道德经》可能成书于战国，回应并总结了诸子百家的思想，既有对儒家的回应，也包含对法家的批驳。由于其格言体写作方式，诗意浓厚，但缺乏严密论证。因此，该书本身已涵盖春秋战国时期的多种观念，从不同角度解读，可展现其不同思想倾向。

钱学熙于信中分析《道德经》时，一方面举证其对政治议题的关注，另一方面则更强调形而上学和精神层面的重要性。他引用第五十九章（“治人事天，莫若嗇……”）、第六十章（“治大国，若烹小鲜……”）、第六十九章（“用兵有言：吾不敢为主而为客……”）及第八十章（“小国寡民……”）等章句，探讨书中关于政治的论述，并附上其英译，对比韦利的译文，指出其译文存在的种种不足。与此同时，他认为《道德经》的核心意义更在于其形而上学和精神层面。为论证这一点，他援引第

十二章（“五色令人目盲……”）、第十四章（“视之不见，名曰夷……”）、第二十一章（“孔德之容……”）、第四十章（“反者道之动……”）、第五十四章（“善建者不拔……”）等章节，并附上英译，以引导更深入的讨论。

第十二章的“五色令人目盲……是以圣人为腹不为目，故去彼取此”等句，展现了道家对“欲望”的理解，并揭示其与法家的差异。从韦利与钱学熙的三种译文可见，两者的诠释路径有所不同。韦利译为：“The five colours confuse the eye... Therefore the Sage considers the belly not the eye. Truly, he rejects that but takes this” (p. 156)。钱氏初译：“The five colors blind the eye... So the sage is for the belly and not for the eye. So he rejects that but adopts this” (p. 150)。定稿则调整为：“The five colours blind the eye... Therefore the sage is for the belly and not for the eye and, rejecting the others, takes this。”韦利在脚注中解释“去彼取此”，“彼”指“the world outside”（外在世界），“此”指“the powers within oneself”（个人内在的力量），并将“此”归于道德力量 (p. 156)。然而，钱学熙认为，“彼”应指声色等外物，“此”则是专注口腹，非关超越性的“德” (p. 150)。但他也指出，在不同语境下，“此”可指“道”或人对“道”的觉知。例如，第二十一章末句“吾何以知众甫之然哉？以此。”中的“此”，即指对“道”的认知。同样，第三十八章（“故去彼取此”）、第五十四章（“吾何以知天下然哉？以此。”）中的“此”，皆无关韦利所谓的“瑜伽——清静主义”。此外，涉及“欲望”的章节，如第十九章末句“见素抱朴，少私寡欲。”，亦不支持韦利的“清静主义”解读。钱氏指出，若按他对“欲望”的定义来看，“无欲”与“寡欲”并不必然导向“清静主义” (p. 147)。

在钱学熙的评论中，他认为韦利误解了《道德经》中的“无”。钱学熙指出，“无”并非指已有欲望后去除之“无”，而是指在辨识或命名之前原本存在的状态；正如第一章所说，万物生于“有名”，而“无”是“无名”的状态，是天地之起源 (p. 148)。

燕卜苏在后续来信中部分赞同钱学熙的译文，认为其译文已优于韦利，并同意将道家与法家对立的做法是错误的，但他不同意钱学熙所说韦利只关注政治而忽视形而上学。燕卜苏回应道：“我不同意您所说的，韦利强调道家与法家的敌对是以牺牲‘形而上学和精神方面’为代价的。我应该早就想到这是因为强调与法家主义敌对而产生的更为显著的结果” (p. 154)。对此，钱学熙在后续信中谦虚回应，“至于韦利所强调的《老子》在形而上和精神方面的影响，我可能持有偏见” (p. 155)。

钱学熙认为，韦利的英译本虽然强调了《道德经》中的政治议题，但在精神性和形而上学方面仍有诸多不足。围绕“欲望”这一核心概念，钱氏对韦利的译法提出进一步批评。他指出：“老子仅是反对将至关重要的需求曲解为欲望，反对将重要的知觉曲解为促成欲望的辨识。一个人越是信持这一观点，便会越少抱怨生活，更容易内心平和，坦然处世。这一观点朴素但并不神秘（此外，我认为，真正的神秘并不比人为制造的神秘更加神秘）” (p. 143)。他甚至讽刺地称韦利为“mysticism-monger”（神秘主义贩子）[1947年6月25日，钱学熙致燕卜苏英文原信，未刊，来自钱氏遗稿]。

与韦利借助其自创的“瑜伽——清静主义”来神秘化《道德经》不同，钱学熙认为，《道德经》所表达的是朴素而非神秘的“道”。因此，他认为，清静主义和瑜伽修炼不仅无法帮助理解《道德经》，反而使人偏离其本意。他进一步批评道：“对瑜伽的小题大做，并不能缓解欲望和辨识，反而使其更加反常。它们以‘神秘’的诱惑为核心，使得欲望和辨识更加难以察觉，从而更难去除幻象。所谓‘纯粹意识’或‘层层意识之下’，实际上是对自然意识的二次移除，这更接近于一种人为建构

的‘清静之眼’”(p. 143)。在《道德经》所呈现的价值序列中,“道法自然”,其中“自然”居于首位。因此,“复归自然”并非通过修炼来压制或去除欲望,而是回归到未被污染的本初状态——韦利的理解显然与此相悖。

那么,钱学熙所说的“辨识前的状态”与“辨识后的状态”有何区别?他认为,韦利的“辨识后的状态”是通过清静主义和瑜伽修炼得到的,它并非真正的“纯粹”,而是经由智识和修行塑造出的复杂状态。而《道德经》所表达的“辨识前的状态”则是朴素的、自然的、本初的,这一点关乎二人对《道德经》的根本解读路径。正如钱氏所言:“与‘纯粹意识’相比,我更倾向‘辨识前的状态’,因为‘纯粹意识’是一种复杂的构造,它远离自然,因此与老子的思想背道而驰”(p. 143)。在他看来,老子所说的“自然”指的是最初的原始状态,而非韦利所理解的、经由复杂辨识或瑜伽修炼后所达到的状态。因为当人试图强行辨析的同时,智识的增长会使欲望变得更加复杂,这种情况下的“纯粹”早已不再是原初的“纯粹”,欲望不仅不会消失,反而会被强化。因此,钱学熙认为,韦利没有真正理解《道德经》的核心思想,并且其对欲望的辨识方式甚至可能成为罪恶的源头。由此可见,二人对《道德经》的解读路径几乎完全相反。

综上,钱学熙批评韦利的英译本不仅过分强调《道德经》的政治层面,从而忽略了其中的形而上学和精神内涵,同时,他还反对韦利将《道德经》与法家对立的做法,并认为韦利对“欲望”的理解偏离了《道德经》的真实意旨,从而影响了其整体阐释。

四、总结

首先,上述讨论充分利用了夏志清档案中钱燕往来信件、钱学熙家中遗稿、以及哈佛大学所存相关档案,深入分析了《道德经》钱氏初译、定稿与韦利英译之间的关键问题,同时结合燕卜苏的批评及钱学熙的回应,揭示了钱学熙为何对韦利的误读提出如此强烈的批评。这一分析不仅帮助我们理解钱学熙翻译《道德经》的动机和特色,也深刻体现了他的学术立场。钱学熙对韦利英译本的两大批评——一是韦利凭空发明“瑜伽——清静主义”概念来解读《道德经》,二是错误地将道家与法家对立——最终得到了燕卜苏的认可。

其次,通过对燕卜苏意见的分析及初译文与定稿译文的对比,可看出钱学熙的初译显然受到了韦利译文的影响,并针对韦利译本逐句回应。然而,在定稿中,他对燕卜苏的建议有所取舍,逐步形成了更加成熟的译法。因此,可以说,钱学熙在这12封信件中,一方面批评了韦利译本的偏误,另一方面也在与西方学者的互动中深化了对《道德经》翻译的理解,他的定稿译文正是这一跨文化交流的见证。

最后,鉴于韦利在当时的中西方汉学界声望极隆,其英译本《道德经》被收入联合国教科文组织的中国代表作品集并持续产生深远影响,因而钱学熙批评其翻译中的偏差具有正本清源的意义。作为一位年轻的中国学者,钱学熙敢于挑战西方主流学术权威,批评韦利的解读,并逐步说服燕卜苏,展现出了他卓越的学识和对真理的执着追求。通过这一案例,我们可以看到钱学熙回应西方学者观点的过程,以及在此过程中所受到的影响和思考轨迹的演变,这反映了中西学术对话和中西文明互鉴的独特价值。

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ORCID

Yao Dadui ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5366-6170>

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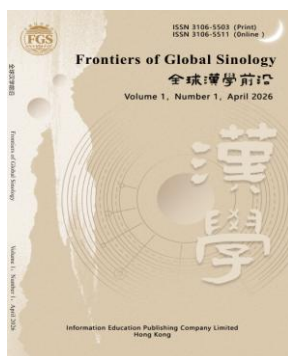
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学者素养对翻译活动的影响—— 西班牙汉学家高伯译的中国古典文学翻译研究

李翠蓉 (Li Cuirong)

摘要：近年来，中国古典文学在西班牙语国家的翻译与传播也逐渐得到学界关注，对相关的汉学家译者也展开了专门研究，就其学者素养对翻译活动的影响研究主要集中在翻译对象选择、“厚译”策略两点；较少有研究系统地讨论汉学家的学者素养及其对翻译活动各个层面产生的影响。本文以高伯译对中国古典文学的翻译活动为研究对象，从他所作的翻译理论研究、对翻译对象展开的阐释、对中国古典文学西译本的翻译批评三个层面论述他的学者素养，同时考察它们对翻译活动的影响，以丰富译者研究的内涵，为中国古典文学的西译研究提供借鉴。

关键词：学者素养；高伯译；中国古典文学

作者简介：李翠蓉，贵州财经大学副教授，研究方向：中国古典文学西译，电邮：marialcrespana@126.com。

Title: The Influence of Scholarly Literacy on Translation Activities—A Study on the Translation of Chinese Classical Literature by Spanish Sinologist Gabriel García-Noblejas Sánchez-Cendal

Abstract: In recent years, the translation and dissemination of Chinese classical literature in Spanish-speaking countries have gradually gained the attention of the academic circles, and the related sinologists and translators have been specially studied, but the research on the influence of their scholastic qualities on the translation activities mainly focuses on the selection of

translation objects and the strategy of “thick translation”; fewer studies have systematically discussed the scholastic qualities of sinologists and their influence on the various levels of translation activities. Fewer studies have systematically discussed the scholastic qualities of sinologists and their influence on translation activities at various levels. In this paper, we take García-Noblejas’s translation activities of classical Chinese literature as the object of study, and discuss his scholarly qualities from the three levels of his theoretical study of translation, his interpretation of translation objects, and his criticism of the translation of western translations of classical Chinese literature, and at the same time, we examine their impact on translation activities, in order to enrich the connotation of the study of translators, and to provide reference for the study of the western translations of classical Chinese literature.

Keywords: Scholarly Literacy; Gabriel García-Noblejas Sánchez-Cendal; Chinese Classical Literature

Autor Biography: Li Cuirong, Associate Professor, Guizhou University of Finance and Economics, the translation in spanish of clasical Chinese literature. E-mail: marialcrespana@126.com.

高伯译（Gabriel García-Noblejas Sánchez-Cendal, 1966-）很早便与语言、翻译结缘。1984年进入奥维耶多大学西班牙语语言文学专业学习，1989年进入英国杜伦大学开始博士学位课程，在校期间担任生物系的英西笔译，始启他“以译贯之”的人生：译者、翻译理论研究者、翻译批评者、翻译学教师。

带着既有的外语习得体验与翻译经历，高伯译于1993年来到中国，在北京外国语大学、首都师范大学学习汉语，期间也教授英语、西班牙语。在中国的5年间，他还作为自由译者，从事汉西、英西翻译工作。1998年，高伯译翻译的《韩非子：政治艺术》（*Han Fei Zi: El arte de la política*）在西班牙问世，这是他翻译的首部中华典籍，自此，他“以译贯之”的人生驶入“一以贯之”的汉籍西译轨道，到2023年出版的《中国志怪小说》（*Cuentos fantásticos chinos*），高伯译已经翻译了近30本中国古典文学作品。但是，尚未引起学界关注，国内外也尚无学者从翻译家研究、翻译批评的角度对其展开研究。

一、翻译理论素养与翻译实践

纵览中国古典文学西班牙语翻译史，可见汉学家译者与翻译对象之间深厚的羁绊，例如，吉叶墨（Guillermo Dañino, 1929-2023）、苏亚雷斯（Anne-Hélène Suárez Girard, 1960-）之于唐诗，宫碧蓝（Pilar González España, 1960-）之于宋词，雷爱玲（Alicia Relinque Eleta, 1960-）之于元曲等，他们偶然接触到这些作品，进而产生审美认同，再去攻克语言关、翻译关，习得符号转码能力后，便集中地翻译此类对象，既为“初心”，也因中国古典文学作品博大精深，持续耕耘、反复琢磨方能有所得。

高伯译却不同，他的翻译对象包括古典神话、先秦诸子散文、《诗经》、汉乐府、志怪小说、唐宋传奇与清代小说等，能见他对中国古典文学的挚爱，却不见他对某一类作品的偏爱。高伯译为何能“译全”中国古典文学史呢？答案就是他“以译贯之”的人生，高伯译对语言文字、翻译有着初始的、连贯的、深层的志趣，他先执着于“译”，再关注“译什么？”换言之，即使不译汉籍，高伯译大概率也会成为一名译者。

早期对翻译问题、翻译理论的关注与研究也印证了这一点，高伯译曾在1988年至1992年期间，连续三次参加西班牙符号学学会国际研讨会，并发表了3篇学术论文：《翻译：一种去中心化的写作》（*La traducción, una escritura desde el descentramiento*, 1988）、《翻译、等值与文本意义》（*Traducción, equivalencia y valor textual*, 1990）与《文本翻译的文化问题》（*Problemas culturales en la traducción de textos escritos*, 1994）。

高伯译善于从跨学科的视野下，借用不同的理论来阐释翻译问题，例如，在《文本翻译的文化问题》中，他将保罗·瓦兹拉威克（Paul Watzlawick, 1921-2007）对于文化的阐释、马文·明斯基（Marvin Minsky, 1927-2016）的框架理论迁移至翻译问题研究，他认为，每一个交流行为都有它的文化框架，“文本也是一种交流行为，它的沟通物质是语言，由一系列自带意义框架的文化物体构成。”（García-Noblejas, 1994, p. 167）所以，译者应该重视文化所指，“应该思考自己正在着手的文本所处的两个框架。”（García-Noblejas, 1994, p. 168）具体而言，如果在两个框架中均存在这个文化所指，但结构不同，译者就应该决定是否改变原文的结构来适应译入语的结构；如果译入语中不存在这种文化所指，译者要么不译，要么在译入语中“创作”一种，“如果决定不译，译者应该权衡译出文本中被肢解部分的功能以明确它对文本意义的影响程度。”（García-Noblejas, 1994, p. 169）

如上，高伯译的翻译研究虽然从理论出发，但并不止于理论层面，而是从理论层面落到翻译实践操作，如此一来，他对翻译理论展开的研究便能为翻译实践提供参照。高伯译在翻译《关雎》时，虽然西班牙不存在“雎鸠”，但却存在一种相似的鸟：欧斑鸠（tórtolas），有“相爱的伴侣”的义项，因此，他便决定“改变原文的结构来适应译入语的结构”，用“tórtolas”来留存原文的比喻义。

2002年，高伯译获得奥维耶多大学的博士学位，论文为《中国文学西译：干宝的一篇故事》（*La traducción de la literatura del chino al español: un relato de Gan Bao*），在语用学与跨文化研究的理论框架下，通过文本分析与翻译文化指射展示西译中国经典故事的挑战。高伯译剖析译文的文本意义生成过程，他首先分析字词完全对应的西语译文，即“粗糙文本”；再解析能让译语读者理解、阅读的“精细文本”，并剖析从“粗糙文本”到“精细文本”这个过程中需要插入的变动；最后对照分析两种译本的生成过程。

基于对文言文到现代西班牙语的过程的反复研究与摩挲，高伯译从理论层面掌握了汉、西语言符号转码的一般性规律与部分翻译技巧，才让他后来的翻译实践事半功倍，他的理论素养助力了翻译实践。

获得博士学位以后，高伯译成为了格拉纳达大学的教师，主要教授汉西翻译与中国文学类课程，自此也开启了兼职译者的历程。他的翻译历程大致可以2004年为界分为两个阶段，此前多以“首译”为主，主要作品有：《韩非子：政治艺术》（1998）、《山海经》（*Libro de los montes y los mares*, 2000）、

《搜神记》(*Antología del Soushenji*, 2000)、《中国志怪小说》(*Cuentos fantásticos chinos*, 2000)、《博物志》(*Relación de las cosas del mundo*, 2001)、《公孙龙子》(*Libro del maestro Gongsun Long*, 2001)、《还冤志》(*Las venganzas de los espíritus*, 2002)、《窦玉妻——中国唐宋故事选》(*El letrado sin cargo y el baúl de bambú. Antología de relatos chinos de las dinastías Tang y Song*, 2003)、《中国古典神话》(*Mitología clásica china*, 2004)与《老残游记》(*Los viajes del buen doctor Can*, 2004), 高伯译在短短几年贡献了 10 部译作, 它们都是首次被译为西语, 西班牙皇家历史学院院士路易斯·阿尔贝托·德昆卡(Luis Alberto De Cuenca, 1950-)称他这种“将中国永恒的美与智慧传递到卡斯蒂利亚语的行为是无价的。”(García-Noblejas, 2013, p. 1)

2004 年之后, 高伯译进入“复译”阶段: 对别的译者或者自己翻译的中国古典文学作品进行再次翻译, 译本主要有《中国古代神话》《中国古代民诗》《诗经》《孙子兵法》《易经》《道德经》《庄子选》《诗经与诗意画》《道德经与神仙画》《山海经》《搜神记选》《汉乐府诗选》《韩非子选》《论语》《中国志怪小说》《东方智慧: 道德经、孙子兵法、易经》等。

高伯译作为兼职译者, 翻译对象门类繁多, 译本丰富, 平均一年超过 1 个译本, 他如何在有限的时间内译出如此繁多的作品呢? 与他对古汉语的掌握程度、翻译经验进阶程度息息相关, 更与他对翻译理论展开的研究有关, 即他对一般翻译问题的研究, 让他获得了更为系统的翻译方法, 助力他对各个类别的文学作品展开翻译, 总之, 高伯译从理论角度分析中国古典文学西译实践, 这就为他的翻译行为提供了理论指导, 正是基于对“符号转码”行为的常年浸润以及对于翻译问题的深入纠察, 他成为了当代最多产的中国古典文学西语译者。

二、学者意识与副文本

曹明伦(2022, p. 175)指明, “所谓学者意识, 就是要像学者那样善于研究, 译者必须研究所译原文所涉及的事物, 具有翻译什么就研究什么意识。”高伯译就具有学者意识, 他重视汉语底本, 多选择权威出版社的文言版本; 他也具备史识素养, 在具体的历史语境中结合哲学思想分析翻译对象及其著者; 他也权衡是否作注? 思考如何作注? 他还为读者编辑译本的阅读细则、推荐拓展书目。凡此种构成了译本中篇幅可观的副文本: 《中国古典神话》译本 344 页, 副文本近 200 页; 《孙子兵法》西语译文仅 55 页, 副文本则有 97 页。总体而言, 大部分高译中国古典文学作品均带有内容丰富、篇幅可观的副文本, 主要由序跋与注释组成, 它们对主文本的阅读、传播与接受产生影响。

(一) 学者素养与译本序跋

译者首先是读者, 高伯译也不例外, 他对翻译对象的把握首先也是感性的阅读体验, 其次才是理性的学术化阐释。所以, 序跋中一个重要内容就是为译语读者提供阅读建议。高氏认为, 《孙子兵法》是一系列“微型格言”。(García-Noblejas, 2022, p. 12) 因此, 不要期待它同其他书一样结构完整、线索明晰。这些格言偶然产生、偶然消失, 如同“持续两秒的闪电”。(García-Noblejas, 2022, p. 12) 高伯译大致将读者区分为普通读者与专业读者, 分别提供不同阅读建议, 例如, 倡议普通读者去志怪故事中“享受惊喜、经历恐惧。”(García-Noblejas, 2002, p. 32) 对专业读者如是道, “考虑到部分读者希望进一步了解《公孙龙子》的阐释与翻译, 译本末尾我们添加了一个精选的参考书目,

在这些我们认为有用的所有书目中，胡适的最为清晰、深刻。”（Yao, García-Noblejas, 2001, pp. 62-63）推荐书目体现了高氏的学术能力，也为译著增加了学术含金量。

观照序跋中高伯译对翻译对象的阐释，可见他惯从多个层面去把握，善从宏观历史框架下勾勒翻译对象产生年代的文化语境：融合适量具体史实，借助中国古典哲学思想、其时的文艺思潮，旁征博引古今中外学者的观点。尤其擅长从社会学视角分析作品涉及到的社会群体的生活状态，在《中国古代民诗》的前言就分析了农民的耕战生活状态：生产活动、军役劳役、信仰与祭祀。其实，了解中国古代各个群体的生活状态是中国古典文学被翻译成西班牙语的重要动机，高伯译也是如此，除了先秦散文，他选择的传奇、志怪、小说、民诗均注重反映中国古代社会生活的多个方面。

如同西语国家的大部分汉学家，高伯译也在译著中标明汉语底本，若是选集，还具体到每一篇的源头，《窦玉妻——中国唐宋故事选》共 31 则故事，附录中标明了每则故事的底本，高氏选择的大部分底本均为文言文版本，而非经历过翻译的白话文本，这也体现了他“求真”的学者意识。

此外，高伯译还论述底本选择的原因，例如，在选择《老残游记》汉语底本时，他放弃了续集，即在西方影响较大的林语堂《英译老残游记第二集及其他选译》，而仅采用了人民文学出版社的二十回《老残游记》，原因有三：一是刘鹗生前从未出版过续集；二是林语堂所译的续集仅六回，和二十回相比，数量太少，不足以称为“第二集”；三是林语堂的六回不全，依据人民文学出版社版本，续集遗稿有九回。

对底本的选择体现了高伯译的底本意识、学术能力。实践中，译者身处西班牙时，汉语底本的获取并不容易，多依靠朋友从北京寄送，这是汉学家西译典籍遭遇的实际困难之一。不过，随着中国综合国力的增强、提升中华文明传播力影响力的战略布局，为汉学家提供的平台与资源愈发丰富，位于青岛的世界汉学中心就于 2023 年邀请高伯译等多位汉学家入驻，开展学术，高伯译在此期间完成了《中国志怪小说》的大部分翻译工作。

（二）学者意识与注释

曹明伦（2022, p. 176）认为，“有些青年译者一见人名就加注，以为这是一种学术化的体现，但很多注释都无助于读者理解和欣赏译文，反而影响译文的流畅，妨碍读者的阅读。所以，对原文提及的历史人物（包括史实）加注与否，也体现了译者是否真正具有学者意识。”换言之，并非“加注”或者“能加注”“多加注”就体现译者的学术能力，而是综合考量文本类型、文本自足程度、阅读体验、文本审美价值传达等因素，进而谨慎判断是否作注？如何作注？这才是译者应该具备的学者意识，如此注释方能有效支撑主文本，吸引更多读者。

高伯译就具备这种学者意识，纵观他的翻译作品，可见他对注释所作的多重思考与多样践行。可以这样说，一开始他的翻译实践，高伯译就对是否作注？如何作注？有过深层次的思考。

《山海经》多名物，若逐一注解，注释篇幅将轻易地超过译文篇幅。然而，2000 年出版的高译本，篇幅近 300 页，脚注仅 81 条。他是如何做到的呢？答案是采用了成体系的名物注解方式：斜体表示后有详尽描述；“*”号表示此名物已被考证出来且有对应的现代名物；汉语拼音加书名号表示文后附录有具体解释；西班牙语加书名号表示名物的核心意义，例如，将“鲋鱼”译为“《pezmoluscos》”（Yao, García-Noblejas, 2000, p. 45），即“软体鱼”，能让读者直接明白名物内涵，不用查询附录，便可继续阅读。

为此，高伯译还提供两种读法：一是但凡遭遇名物，便查询意义，他称此法比较“科学”；二是完全不理睬各种特殊的注释符号，对名物“不求甚解”，他称此法比较“神话”，可见高伯译对译本的“知识性”与“可读性”的考量。

高伯译对注释的思考也体现在翻译批评中，他曾撰文《20 世纪的中西译者：黄玛赛》（*La traducción del chino al español en el siglo XX: Marcela de Juan*, 2010），对黄译《中国诗歌再编》（*Segunda antología de la poesía china*, 2007）的注释有详细评论。此集选译中国诗歌 192 首，仅 12 条注释，篇幅不到一页。高氏认为，黄译诗歌“不见任何缺失，能够完美理解”¹。具体而言，“黄玛赛并不试图显示她的博学，也不尝试践行研究，亦不为读者提供诗歌产生语境的一些知识、或者其他不属于诗歌、而属于文学社会学领域的知识。”²

对于诗歌注释，高伯译不仅有思考，也有实践，2008 年的《中国古代民诗》主要选自《诗经》与汉乐府，共 140 首诗歌，尾注 56 页，诗歌涉及到的方方面面都有所本。也就是说，此阶段的诗歌翻译，高伯译较为注重为读者提供“知识”。后来，高伯译再译了《诗经》（2013）与《汉乐府诗选》（2021），前者 305 首诗歌，仅 95 条极为简短的注释，篇幅不足两页；后者 54 首诗歌，只用 15 条注释。

在 2013 版西译《诗经》的前言中，高伯译言道，“深知此书不为专家，我们将可以添加的成千上万条注释减到极少，只选择我们认为对于读者理解文本意义绝对必不可少的注释，以尽最大可能减少对阅读过程的打断。”（García-Noblejas, 2013, p. 41）这个说明极好地呼应了他对黄玛赛的评价。注释数量显著减少证明了高伯译越来越看重译诗的自足性，注重传递翻译对象的文学内涵、审美价值，希望读者去感知、去经历、去享受。

值得注意的是，若纵向地观照高伯译的翻译之路，可见他并非单向度地减少注释，比如，1998 版《韩非子》仅 28 条注释，2023 年修订本却增加至 155 条。原因是作为现代汉学家，高伯译也致力于突破传教士汉学家“寻求中西文化对应概念”的翻译动机，力图将最为真实的中国哲学作品传递给译语读者，希望读者能够通过他提供的知识深刻地理解这些“中国智慧”。

综上，对于加注与否？如何加注？高伯译有过多重思考，翻译实践中采用的注释也有多种方式，这些都体现了他的学者意识，他的这些学者素养助其为译本适宜地注释，利于读者的阅读、感受与思考，有力地补充了主文本。

三、翻译批评与翻译策略

目前，就中国古典文学西译研究而言，国内外学者较多地集中在梳理某一特定对象的西译史或者对译家展开研究，在译家研究的框架下涉猎部分翻译案例。翻译批评较少，少量书评也多止于简述翻译对象、译者，极少对翻译策略、译文质量展开批评，高伯译却是一个例外。

2010 年前后，高伯译连续发表了 7 篇翻译批评，其中 4 篇为译家批评：高母羡（Juan Cobo, 1547-1592）、闵明我（Domingo Fernández Navarrete, 1618-1686）、杜善牧（Carmelo Elorduy, 1901-1989）与黄玛赛（Marcela de Juan, 1905-1981）；另外 3 篇为译本批评：杜善牧所译《诗经》（*Cancionero*

¹ García-Noblejas, Gabriel. La traducción del chino al español en el sigloXX: Marcela de Juan [EB/OL]. [2024-10-31]. <http://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/china/marcela.htm>.

² Ibid.

chino, 1984)、毕隐崖所译《道德经》(*El libro del Tao*, 1979)与劳雷亚诺·拉米雷斯(Laureano Ramírez)所译《儒林外史》(*Los mandarines. Historias del bosque de los letrados*, 1991)。

细察 7 篇翻译批评,高伯译关注翻译动机、策略及译文效果,他认为,高母羡与闵明我的翻译动机在于试图在中国文化中寻找与西方文化对应的概念以及与西方宗教相似的内容,以吸引更多传教士来到中国;而黄玛赛则是首位将翻译转向文学的西班牙汉学家,她不再寻求中西相似之处,转而希望向译语读者传递中国文学之美,这也是高伯译的翻译动机:感知到中国古典文学之美,意欲传递于西语读者。他为《道德经》着迷,认为“它具有语言的美感和精神的高度;充满了光彩夺目且惊人的隐喻;传达着一种在西班牙文化中不曾有的精神。”(García-Noblejas, 2024, p. 23)痴迷于传奇志怪类故事,“我尤其迷恋中国唐宋时期的短篇文言小说,在世界文学作品中,唯一能与之媲美的,只有塞万提斯的《唐·吉珂德》。”(García-Noblejas, 2024, pp. 23-24)

观照高伯译对其他译者翻译动机的分析,可以辨析高氏动机。同样,从他对翻译策略以及译文效果的评论,也能见高氏翻译观,对照他的翻译实践,便能厘析他的翻译策略。高伯译赞同黄玛赛翻译文言故事的显化策略与翻译诗歌的“少注解”策略,欣赏毕隐崖、黄玛赛对译出语诗意化程度的不倦追求、拉米雷斯对多种语言风格的综合把握,因为“英雄所见略同”;他不认同杜善牧在翻译《诗经》时因追求术语精准度、语言形式对称而伤害译出语诗意的做法,也不认同他只注重表达《道德经》的哲学思想,而不注重其诗意表达的策略,所以,他反其道而行之。下文仅以 2 例证明高伯译的翻译批评对其翻译策略的影响。

(一) 对名物翻译“不求甚解”的学者意识

李玉良在《<诗经>翻译探微》中评论《诗经》的名物翻译,以《关雎》为例论述道,“《关雎》中名物虽然为数不多,但它们却规定了一种时代背景、一种文化氛围,也规定了诗篇的基本内容和艺术风格。任何一点改变,都会打破原诗结构的内部和谐,使翻译作品或打上译入语文化的烙印,或换上另一种艺术情调,甚至改变原来的题旨。”其实,这个论断适用于所有包含特定文化词汇的中国古典文学作品。

在高伯译看来,杜善牧就深刻地意识到这些特有词汇的重要性,“杜善牧的译文主要寻求术语的准确度、诗歌行行对应以及两种语言的句法结构的对称,虽然这并不意味着诗歌的诗意一定受到影响,但很多时候确实如此。”¹观照《诗经》的杜译本(1984)、高译本(2013),确实可见杜善牧对术语“精益求精”,高伯译“不求甚解”:大多数时候采用更加泛化的词汇来替代特定名物。一般情况下,我们认为杜善牧这种翻译态度属于学者型翻译,因为他彰显了译者对原文本义的探究,体现了译者的学识,这样的译文也属于“厚译文本”“深度翻译”,这样的学者素养体现了译者对“译什么?”的深刻洞察。

然而,正如上文曹明伦对“加注”与“学者意识”两者关系的论述,译者的学者意识应该还体现在译者对“如何译?”的深刻思考,即综合翻译活动中的各种因素,作出自己的选择、妥协甚至退让。如高伯译所言,“每个译者都有选择翻译不变体的自由,也就是说,那些他希望在译文中能够保持的原文特征。”(García-Noblejas, 1994, p. 170)这种综合考量后的选择过程与翻译结果都体现译者的学者意识,换言之,若一位译者随意翻译名物,那属于误译;若一位译者对名物“精益求精

¹ García-Noblejas, Gabriel. La traducción del chino al español en el siglo XX: Carmelo Elorduy [EB/OL].[2024-10-31]. http://cvc.cervantes.es/trujaman/antiores/agosto_12/20082012.htm.

精”，甚至采用阐释性的翻译策略，属于学者型翻译；若一位译者在纵向的翻译实践活动中，经历从“精益求精”到“不求甚解”，那说明后者是他刻意为之，如此策略便是放弃字词对应，选择保持原文整体语义，兼顾译文的流畅度与诗意化程度。高伯译就属于最后这一类译者，纵观他的翻译活动，便可见此种变化过程。

《王风·采葛》中涉及到“葛”“萧”“艾”三种植物，根据《诗经植物图鉴》，分别指“葛藤”“牛尾蒿”与“艾草”，在2008版的《中国古代民诗》中，高伯译将其分别译为“*pueraria*”（葛属）、“*abrotano*”（香蒿）、“*artemisa*”（艾蒿），逐词对应。但在2013版的《诗经》全译本中，他却用“*pueraria*”一词翻译了“葛”“萧”“艾”三种，不再寻求意象差别，只求将诗情保留。他也不分“麋”“鹿”，用同义的“*ciervo*”“*venado*”来表示；将“茅”译为笼统的“*hierba*”（草）。其实，高氏对名物“不求甚解”，采用语义更为宽泛的词汇来翻译具体名物，是为让读者少一些“术语障碍”，将有限的精力集中在对诗情的感知上。

只要不影响文义理解，高氏甚至还会删减原文的一些信息，《宴玉妻》的开篇为：“进士王胜、盖夷，元和中求荐于同州。其时客多，宾馆颇溢，二人闻郡功曹王翥私第空闲，借其西廊，以俟郡试。”（李复言，1999, p. 191）信息繁多、语义密集，为了避免读者望而却步，他将人名“去名存姓”减为“Wang”“Gai”与“Wang”；删掉“元和中”；将“功曹”泛化为“*alto cargo*”（高官），将“郡试”翻译为“*convocatoria*”（招考）。他的这些删减与泛化，保证了译文阅读的流畅度。

（二）对重章叠唱的“加码”再现

毕隐崖与杜善牧均翻译《道德经》，前者注重语言的诗意化，后者更加注重概念的表达，在这一点上，高伯译更加认同毕隐崖的翻译趋向。因此，高伯译注重再现原文的节奏、韵律以及各类修辞。

《诗经》修辞众多，重章叠唱比较特殊，运用得也最多，近一半的诗篇采用此法。“从翻译的可能性上来说，重章叠唱还是比较容易翻译的。至于是不是要在译文中翻译这种修辞形式，那就要看译者是否把诗篇当文学作品来翻译，是否承认这种艺术手法的价值。”（李玉良，2017, p. 102）对此，高伯译是承认的，从2008年、2013年、2019年三次《诗经》西译实践观照，高伯译均再现了原诗的重章叠唱，以《月出》2019版的译文为例观照，为便于分析，将原诗按照重复的结构分为4组：

序号	1	2	3	4
原文	月出皎兮，	佼人僚兮。	舒窈纠兮，	劳心悄兮。
	月出皓兮，	佼人憯兮。	舒忧受兮，	劳心慄兮。
	月出照兮，	佼人燎兮。	舒夭绍兮，	劳心惨兮。
译文	La luna salía brillando	qué hermoso era mi amor	qué suave, qué calmo era	qué pena en mi corazón sin aliento.
	La luna salía luciendo	qué bello era mi amor	qué suave, qué calmo era	qué zozobra en mi corazón sin aliento.
	La luna salía alumbrando	qué perfecto era mi amor	qué suave, qué calmo era	qué dolor en mi corazón sin aliento.

表 1：《月出》的原文与译文

Table 1: The Original Text and Translation of *Moonrise*

第 1 组高伯译采用的动词不同：“brillar”“lucir”与“alumbrar”，但却巧妙地运用西班牙语副动词，实现押韵叠唱；第 2、4 两组，则与原文对应，句子结构完全相同，只换其中不同的形容词、名词，与汉语原文结构完全相同；第 3 组，高伯译可谓“青出于蓝而胜于蓝”，直接用同一句翻译原文 3 句，可谓实现了“双重”的重章叠唱。此外，第 2、3、4 组诗的首个词语均为“qué”，按照原诗顺序呈现，每段中的第 2、3、4 句也重叠，这其实是西语诗歌常用的一种重复手段“anáfora”，意为每行诗句开始的一个单词或者多个单词的重复。这种重复在原文中并不存在，是高伯译利用西语诗歌修辞的一种创造。

纵观高伯译的翻译实践，可见他日益看重译出语言的节奏，这也是他修订译文的一个重要趋向。《山海经》呈现不同名物时，常有重章叠唱，如“有……焉，其状如……，其名曰……”。2000 版中高伯译并未意识到这种修辞，例如，《南山经》卷一的 3 个“其状如……”分别译为“que es semejante en forma a...”“que es parecido en forma a...”与“que es similar a...”。（Yao, García-Noblejas, 2000, p. 29）《山海经》后于 2021 年由五洲传播出版社再版，高伯译曾道，“再版过程中，我对初版进行了修订调整，使其更加符合我的最初设想，更能满足普通读者的需要。”（Yao, García-Noblejas, 2024, p. 23）其中一项修订要数对重章叠唱的再现，《南山经》卷一的 3 段“有……焉，其状如……，其名曰……”，高氏一概译为：“Hay allí un tipo de..., llamado (a) ..., que es semejante en forma a...”（Yao, García-Noblejas, 2000, p. 29），散文中的重章叠唱也被再现。

四、结语

高伯译对翻译理论的探究、对翻译对象的阐释以及对其他译本展开的翻译批评均体现了他的学者素养，这些素养对他的翻译活动、翻译过程、翻译策略均产生了有力的助益；高伯译近 30 年的中国古典文学西译实践印证了学者与译者双重身份的融合路径；他的成长之路也给我们带来了启示。

纵观中国古典文学西班牙语翻译史，翻译主体仍以国外汉学家为主，国内尚无一支稳定的中华典籍西语翻译人才队伍。其实，国内也有不少在大学从教的西班牙语教师，相对充裕的时间以及扎实的语言水平、学者素养让他们如同高伯译一样，具有成为译者的空间与潜质。21 世纪以来，西班牙语人才的基数已经明显增加，若是国内针对西班牙语国家的翻译项目、翻译成果评奖项目进一步提升，高校职称晋升标准体系进一步重视译著，在不久的将来，定能成就一批中华典籍西语翻译家。

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ORCID

Li Cuirong ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-7328-6563>

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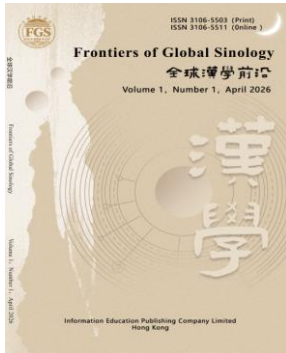
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译评汇通·庄学新论：汉学家何莫邪《庄子》英译研究

高 菲 (Gao Fei), 孙 娟 (Sun Juan)

摘要：何莫邪 (Christoph Harbsmeier) 最新推出的《庄子》译本：《莊子內篇匯評詮釋》 (*The Inner Chapters of the Zhuangzi: With Copious Annotations from the Chinese Commentaries*)，通过大量脚注系统整合中国历代章句注疏，构建了一个跨越古今、融贯中西的阐释空间。本研究通过“前副文本”“主旨型注释”“思想型注释”及“后副文本”四个维度，系统考察译者如何借助副文本传递文化语境、再现经典的多层内涵。研究揭示，何莫邪的《庄子》英译立足于扎实的训诂与义理分析，既规避了以西释中的单向格义，亦突破了泥古守旧的封闭阐释，进而在“存异”与“化同”之间激活了《庄子》的当代价值。本研究不仅为诸子典籍的外译实践提供了方法论参照，也对推动中华经典在海外真正“走进去”具有启示意义。

关键词：《庄子》英译；何莫邪；副文本

作者简介：高菲 (通讯作者)，山东财经大学硕士，研究方向：典籍英译，电邮：gaofei345634@qq.com；孙娟，博士，山东财经大学副教授、硕士生导师，研究方向：认知翻译研究，电邮：gwsunjuan@163.com。

Title: A Study on the English Translation of *Zhuangzi* by Sinologist Christoph Harbsmeier

Abstract: Christoph Harbsmeier's latest translation of the *Zhuangzi*, titled *The Inner Chapters of the Zhuangzi: With Copious Annotations from the Chinese Commentaries*, systematically integrates traditional Chinese exegetical commentaries through extensive footnotes, constructing an interpretive space that bridges ancient and modern times as well as Chinese and

Western traditions. This study examines how the translator employs paratexts to convey cultural context and recreate the multilayered meanings of the classic from four dimensions: “pre-text paratexts” “thematic annotations” “conceptual annotations” and “post-text paratexts”. The research reveals that Harbsmeier’s English translation of the *Zhuangzi* is grounded in rigorous philological and philosophical analysis. It avoids both one-sided Western interpretations imposed on Chinese thought and rigid, antiquarian approaches to exegesis, thereby activating the contemporary relevance of the *Zhuangzi* through a balance between “preserving difference” and “achieving integration”. This study not only offers methodological insights for the translation of classical Chinese philosophical texts but also provides implications for promoting the genuine cross-cultural reception of Chinese classics abroad.

Keywords: English translation of *Zhuangzi*; Christoph Harbsmeier; paratext

Author Biographies: Gao Fei (Corresponding Author), Master’s student at Shandong University of Finance and Economics. Research field: English translation of Chinese classics. E-mail: gaofei345634@qq.com; Sun Juan, PhD, Associate Professor and Master’s Supervisor at Shandong University of Finance and Economics. Research direction: Cognitive Translation Studies. E-mail: gwsunjuan@163.com.

一、引言

作为“六才子书”之首，《庄子》行文汪洋恣肆，想象奇特，用语瑰玮，于中国思想与文学传统影响至深（潘文国，2023, p. 136）。该著作思想深邃，意象丰富，历来被视作中华文明对外译介的重要文本。纵观其百年英译历程，自十九世纪末发端以来，呈现出从全译到深译，再到多元化再译的清晰脉络（Lin et al, 2023, p. 121）。在这一过程中，译者身份、翻译意图与阐释方法不断演变，共同推动《庄子》在英语世界的接受与理解逐步深入。

早期以理雅各（James Legge）为代表的传教士译本虽带有一定的基督教阐释色彩，但其开创性的系统译介为《庄子》在英语世界的经典化进程奠定了重要基础。至20世纪后期，其译介主体逐渐转向汉学家及哲学家。冯友兰的《庄子》英译以融合教学驱动的“致用型翻译”与哲学视野下“以西释中”的格义法，成为早期中国学者进行文化主动输出的重要实践（殷燕，2021, p. 129）。英国汉学家葛瑞汉（A. C. Graham）则通过文本的结构重组与哲学概念的创造性阐释，推动了《庄子》英译的哲学转向（刘杰，2023, p. 283）。进入21世纪，《庄子》的译本形态与翻译策略呈现进一步分化。殷燕（2024）通过系统考察八位英译《庄子》的代表性译者，提炼出“开放性深译”与“综合性浅译”，并揭示出译者诗学理念对翻译实践的深刻影响。于雪棠（2024）则通过剖析《养生主》《德充符》等篇题英译，阐释其背后深刻的儒道哲学立场。随着《庄子》译介研究的不断深入，学界的研究视野已从传统的纯文本分析，拓展至对序跋、注释、年表等副文本在意义再生与形象建构中作用的系统考察（林嘉新、徐坤培，2022）。此外，朱舒然（2023）借助自然语言处理技术分析《庄子》英译的海外接受数据，为实施精准化的典籍外译策略提供了有力的数据支持。

总体而言，在跨文化传播的动态过程中，《庄子》已不再是一个意义固定的源文本，而是通过多元的翻译策略与思想立场，在英语世界中呈现出丰富而多重的阐释面貌。在此背景下，何莫邪

(Christoph Harbsmeier) 与 John R. Williams 于 2024 年推出的 *The Inner Chapters of the Zhuangzi* 这一译本, 以大量脚注将中国历代注疏融入翻译本身, 构建出一个跨越古今与中西的阐释空间。然针对此种“汇评诠释”型译本的研究, 目前尚属空白。本研究聚焦何莫邪的“以注入译”实践, 系统考察其文本策略与副文本体系, 深入剖析该译本在当代庄学西传中的学术定位与跨文化阐释价值, 旨在为中国典籍的深度翻译实践与跨语际理论创新提供参照。

二、注疏之于典籍英译

注疏蕴含丰富的语境、音韵和文化信息, 能够有效弥补原文表层信息的不足(李志强、冯智强, 2020, p. 107)。章句注疏本身就是一种历时性语内翻译, 是典籍译者释义之据, 亦是典籍翻译诗学之源, 对当代中国典籍翻译话语体系构建举足轻重¹。在当前的典籍英译实践中, 注疏的运用已展现出丰富多元的阐释路径。理雅各在译注《春秋》时, 广泛援引传统注疏以传递其中的微言大义, 其以义解经的跨文化阐释策略, 将中国经学所蕴含的地方性知识, 转化为具有国际对话能力的学术话语(胡美馨, 2024, p. 100)。李志强、冯智强(2020)以《尔雅·释诂》英译为例, 提出将传统注疏内容“正文本化”能够有效实现深度翻译, 完整呈现辞书的整体面貌与训诂传统。陈荣捷的译介实践同样体现了对注疏传统的深度融通, 其《老子》译本以“学案式”翻译为特征, 借助详实的注释、按语与附录, 系统呈现了中国哲学术语的源流; 而在英译《近思录》时, 则进一步贯彻以朱释朱原则, 借鉴经传合刻的文本形态, 将朱熹等人的注疏随文译出, 构建出层次分明, 主次有序的译文结构(杨言、胡翠娥, 2022; 胡翠娥、崔佳, 2024)。由此观之, 对传统注疏的融汇与创造性转化, 已成为提升中国典籍外译学术厚度与文化阐释力的重要路径。

三、“汇评诠释”型深度翻译

何莫邪与 John R. Williams 合译的 *The Inner Chapters of the Zhuangzi*, 译事肇始于五十余年前, 最初是在哲学田野调查中完成的一篇语言学论文。最终既受 Edward Evan Evans Pritchard 教授启发, 亦力图承续其牛津大学挚友霍克斯教授(David Hawkes)的学术脉络。译者的旨趣, 在于开展一种另类的历史知识民族志研究(unfashionable historical intellectual ethnography)。作为首部以双语对照形式呈现《庄子》内篇的译本, 其翻译既谨守原意, 更着力再现原文的节奏与韵律, 使读者得以贴身感受这位中国古代最具魅力的哲学家的独特文风。

导言从历史与文学维度展开深度阐释, 既系统梳理了中国人接受与评点《庄子》的传统脉络, 亦概览历代外语译本的译介历程。附有大量注释, 借助历代醉心于《庄子》笺注的中国评点家视角引导阅读, 传统学人的文学、哲学批评论见, 则以古典原文与现代译注相对照的形式呈现。对普通读者而言, 此译本提供了难得的契机, 可跟随中国历代最杰出的文人鉴赏家, 从哲学与文献学视角观照这部全球最富奇思的东方经典; 对中英双语学习者来说, 更是双语研习的宝库, 依托古典文本, 深入探研中国道家传统中这部历久弥新、兼具争议与价值的经典。

(一) 前副文本

该部分概述了翻译项目的基本情况。译本采用双语对照排版, 以单行短句形式呈现, 便于逐句对照。译本注重韵律分析, 尾韵以大写字母标注, 首韵以小写字母标记, 仅出现于押韵语境中的双

¹ 殷燕(2024-09-24): “中华典籍章句注疏之学的当代翻译学价值”, 《中国社会科学报》, 第 A07 版。

词押韵则采用“<>”符号标识。多位学者为项目提供了文本校勘与文化背景方面的专业建议。译本亦旨在纪念葛瑞汉与王叔岷两位先生。同时，前副文本系统呈现了学界围绕《庄子》的主要争议，包括作者与真实性、文本性质与哲学定位、历史接受与诠释传统、文化形象与刻板印象等议题。译者认为，《庄子》的诗意表达需结合韵律与修辞方能深入理解，故拒绝机械直译，转而通过文学阐释揭示文本的多层次内涵，反对将《庄子》简化为单一的哲学教条。

（二）主旨型注释

《逍遥遊》译为“ROVING UNBOUND”，以动态的无拘束漫游传递文本的精神气质。这一译法并非孤立取义，而是深度融汇了中国历代注疏传统中的阐释。其一，刘凤苞（2013）即点明此为“南華集中第一篇寓意文章”（opening fictional section of the collection），充分考量《庄子》寄意于寓言的特质，既保留“ROVING”（漫游）的具象动态，又以“UNBOUND”（无拘）暗合寓言外衣下体悟全神，避免抽象说教；其二，针对“此篇雖名逍遙遊而未及逍遙之趣直發端耳”，通过“ROVING”的动态保留标题的突兀性。这种忽然而来的文学设计，本身即是引导读者“从寓言入思”（從此入想）的入口，以“ROVING”呼应入想的思维启动，再现了文本无往非逍遥的开放结构。其三，支遁“逍遙者，明至人之心也”的论断，转化为“Roving Unbound expounds the mindset of the perfected man”。其中“至人无己”，通过“UNBOUND”消解了世俗束缚的隐喻得以传递；而“無入而不自得”（entering nowhere without being oneself），引申为“逍遙之趣”（the delights of roving unbound）的境界，则在“ROVING”的随遇而安中得以诠释——真正的逍遥，是超越功名利禄、权势尊位的精神优游。此译既承载了历代学者对“逍遥”的哲学阐释（至人心态、无己境界），又复现了文本寓言入思的文学智慧。个体突破世俗桎梏，实现精神活动的优游自在、无挂无碍。

《齊物論》译为“A DISQUISITION THAT LEVELS ALL”，“LEVELS ALL”的译法突破传统“齐物”的静态对应，以动态论辩过程（DISQUISITION）重构“齐”的哲学意涵。援引“齊萬物以為首”（levelling all things as their starting point），将“齐”的时空维度置于本体论层面，既保留“物论”的认知论维度，又通过“LEVELS”暗示认知重构过程，以道观之；援引“物論耳”说揭示语言局限，“所可齊者，物論耳”将批判对象限定为“accounts of things”，既避免本质主义误读否定事物差异，又凸显语言建构的认知暴力。言隐于荣华，现实纷争源于成心主导的语言游戏；援引“以异为同”说（realise oneself that the theories about things of others are all the same in the first place, and contemplating their being all the same brings peace of mind）重构主体性，将“齐”转化为认知主体的自我超越过程，暗示心灵平和源于主体对认知的解构，而非客体差异的消除。

《養生主》译为“THE ESSENTIALS IN NOURISHING LIFE”，以“ESSENTIALS”（要领/根本法则）深契顺应自然的养生哲思，揭示了篇题的双重意蕴（double meaning）：表层指向养护生命的方法论（Caring for Life），深层则关乎滋养生命主宰（Nourishing the Master of Life）。“主”被解为心神本源，与《黄帝內經》“心为君主之官”的论述形成互文。然需辨明的是，尽管历代注家常借《黄帝內經》阐释《庄子》医学观念，但战国时期出土文献未见“緣督”概念（not found in the excavated texts），若将其直接关联《黄帝內經》存在时代错位（anachronistic）之虞；注解“孟子所謂行其所無事”（doing what comes naturally to one），此说将养生宗旨归于孟子自然而为的理念。二者虽均倡无为，却各有侧重：孟子指向道德实践的自然流露，庄子则聚焦生命本真的保全，前者落脚伦理秩序，后者回归生命本然。此译既凸显“緣督以為經”（顺任内在生命脉络以为常法）的养神要旨，摒弃人为桎梏、顺任自然流转；亦暗合法天贵真，使译名在哲学深度与文本指涉上达成圆融。

《人間世》译为“IN THE WORLD OF MAN”，仅传递字面义。“人间”在庄子语境中绝非中性的人类社会指称，而是暗含战国时期“方今之时，仅免刑焉”的生存困境，指向暴君统治下“轻用民死，死者以国量乎泽若蕉”的血腥现实；承载着克己复礼与安之若命的价值冲突，如“端而虚，勉而一”的道德执念与“心斋”哲学的碰撞；“世”既指代当下战国诸侯征伐乱世，又暗示“万世之后而一遇大圣”永恒轮回的生存境遇。何莫邪援引三位学者的评注构成理解标题的阐释循环：

“既有此身而處此世豈能盡絕人事”（since he has this body and lives in this world, he surely cannot completely discard human affairs），揭示庄子并非主张消极避世。其“處得好”（pass one's time well）指向“形莫若就，心莫若和”生存策略，保持“虚室生白”的精神自由；“道非絕俗也，德非遜世也”（The Way is not a matter of cutting all links to the vulgar, and Virtue is not a matter of hiding away from the mundane world），直指道家思想的入世，将人间世的处世智慧升华为“独与天地精神往来”的宇宙观照，消解绝俗遁世的误读；“終以老莊為楊朱之學”（end up assigning our Old Zhuāng to the (self-preservation) school of Yáng Zhū）的警示，揭示绝对避世可能导向的杨朱式自我封闭。

《德充符》译为“THE VERIFICATION OF CONSUMMATE VIRTUE”。“德”在道家语境中超越世俗伦理，指向“忘形”“忘情”后契合天道的本真状态，脚注援引王叔岷（2007）“德充於內者形忘於外”（When Virtue within is replete the external physical world gets disregarded）。“充”强调动态的充盈过程，而非静态的完成态。“符”外在验证，体现德性对世俗权威的消解；内在证悟，庄子更重“不言之教”的直觉体认。“VERIFICATION”偏向儒家实证逻辑，弱化了道家“得意忘言”的超越性，“CONSUMMATE VIRTUE”隐含“德性完善”的终点，但庄子之“德”是持续破除执念的实践。儒家“成德”侧重伦理完成，道家“德充”追求与物为春的自然流淌。脚注以社会学视角揭示庄子以形残者解构战国礼法对身体的规训（crippled or disabled people were excluded from ritual ceremonies or political functions），警惕将残疾符号化，庄子是借极端案例否定以形论德的世俗逻辑（hails as enviable, successful, or flourishing human beings）；“内外交养”说（the inner and the outer to nourish each other）揭示《内篇》的逻辑递进：《养生主》破“技”执，“養生主去其內憂”（removes the inner worries）→《人間世》破“用”执，“人間世遠其外患”（keeps outer catastrophes at bay）→《德充符》破“形”执，“一部書之過脉也”（the crucial hinge of the entire book）→为《大宗師》“墮肢体黜聰明”张本，“以啓下大宗師之旨”（open the way for the fundamental message of the following chapter）。

《大宗師》阐发真人体道的至高境界，宗大道为师，以道为根本依归与终极导师。视宇宙为生生不息的宏大生命整体，其本身即道的具象呈现；道不仅是宇宙大生命的本源，更化育为万物各自的生机。若直取“Great Master”或“Grand Mentor”虽近字面，何莫邪却择用“THE MENTOR OF THE GREAT FUNDAMENTAL INSPIRATION”（伟大根本启示之导师）。“GREAT”与“FUNDAMENTAL”的双重限定尤见匠心：“Great”承续道法自然，标举道的超越性；“Fundamental”则落脚于道作为生命原初动力的本源性，暗合“大宗”二字在中文语境中“根本”与“尊崇”并重。脚注中，援方勇引《道德经》“惚兮恍兮，其中有像”（Incommensurable, impalpable. / Yet latent in it are forms）之语，强调道体超越语言的不可言说性，“FUNDAMENTAL INSPIRATION”的表述，恰如其分地暗示了道虽玄奥却能孕生万物；林希逸（1997）以“聖法天，天法道”（the Sage models himself on Heaven, Heaven models itself on the Way）作解，提示传递道作为自然法则本源的关联；王安石（2006）“外

生死而安命”（without exception affirms being at ease with fate by externalising life and death）的生命态度，揭示通过消解生死对立、安顿个体生命以实现精神超脱。

《應帝王》译为“RESPONDING TO BEING EMPERORS AND KINGS”，“RESPONDING TO”突破传统译法“成为帝王”的静态，强调君主需如镜鉴般应物而不藏，以无心之态顺应万物流转。脚注郭象（2011）“無心而任乎自化”（comply with self-transformations by having no fixed mindset），即统治者应如渊默而雷声，通过虚己实现与天道的共鸣；“Emperors and Kings”虽保留尊贵符号，却弱化了庄子对世俗权力的解构。“帝王”实为得道者，真正的统治者应如中央之帝般保持本真，而非执着于名位，补偿援陆德明引崔譔“行不言之教，使天下自以為牛馬”（practices the unspoken teaching and lets everyone in the world think of themselves as an X or a Y (literally “oxen or horses” as they please)), 揭示无为非消极不作为，而是通过消解权力意志实现百姓自化，凸显帝王与道的同一性，避免西方读者误读为权力崇拜。

（三）思想型注释

北冥有魚，	In the Northern Darkness ³ is a fish
其名為鯢。	Named Roe. ⁴
鯢之大，	Concerning the immensity of Roe, ⁵
不知其幾千里也。	Nobody grasps how many thousand leagues he spans.
化而為鳥，	He transmogrifies and becomes a bird
其名為鵬。	Named Phoenix. ⁶

表 1：《鯢鵬之变》

Table 1: *THE PARABLE OF ROE AND PHOENIX*²

何莫邪将译文视作独立文本处理，特别增设小节标题“THE PARABLE OF ROE AND PHOENIX”（鯢与鵬的寓言），并通过注释 2 着重强调：此节须被视作一篇哲学抱负宏阔、行文自由不羁（philosophically very ambitious freewheeling）的寓言，实则为全书奠定了思想基调（sets the intellectual scene）。他明确指出，这段寓言素来被视作庄周哲学的“核心旋律”（signature tune），读者当深铭于心，将其作为理解全书的潜在思想基准（underlying intellectual baseline）。具体译法上，“鯢”被译为“Roe”（鱼子），并附注释4援引三家注疏补充阐释：“鯢本小魚，莊子用為大魚之名”（Kūn is basically a small fish, ZZ uses it as the name of a massive fish）；“以至小為至大”（uses the extremely small to refer to the extremely large）；王闼运（2011）“假魚子之名以齊小大”（By borrowing the term for roe here ZZ levels out the small and the large）。至于“鵬”译作“Phoenix”，注释6亦引两家注疏佐证：王闼运（2011）考辨鵬乃古文凤字“鵬古文鳳”（Péng is an old form of Phoenix）；而“莊子以鯢鵬明陰陽變化……鯢，陰物也。鵬，陽物也”（ZZ uses Roe and Phoenix to explain the changes between Yīn and Yáng... Roe is an Yīn creature and Phoenix is a Yáng creature）。由此可见，何莫邪通过多元翻译策略，成功再现了庄子托物寓意的笔法，借鯢鵬意象象征理想人格中的至人：首需隐匿行迹、砥砺自我，正如鯢潜深渊蓄养内力，待修养圆满、条件充备，方破渊而出，如鵬鸟振翅高举。理想人物一旦现身，其功绩便足以泽被苍生，恰似鵬翼垂天，庇佑群伦。

三年之後，	But after three years of butchering,
未嘗見全牛也。	I never notice that complete buffalo. ²²
.....	
依乎天理，	I rely on the Natural Guidelines of Heaven, ²³
.....	
提刀而立，	While I hold up the knife, standing straight,
為之四顧，	And in view of all this look all around
為之躊躇滿志，	In view of all this, I pace back and forth full of pride ³²
善刀而藏之。	I get the knife into shape again and put it where it belongs. ³³

表 2：《庖丁解牛》

Table 2: *THE LESSONS OF THE KITCHEN MINION*¹⁵

“庖丁解牛”广为人知，庄子借解牛之事阐发养生之道。何莫邪将此段独立成节，题作“THE LESSONS OF THE KITCHEN MINION”（厨房仆役的启示），并在注释 15 中指出这段文字须被视作庄子笔下终极的超现实诗意寓言（ultimate totally surreal poetic ALLEGORY），通过一位卑微厨房杂役的实践，阐释并激活其生命哲学。对有心领悟者而言，这种精神恰似余韵，贯穿全书始终（reverberating）。宰牲本非雅事，生命更是一场充斥残酷竞逐的浑浊博弈（sordid business of cruel assertiveness）。但庄子偏能在这一令人不悦的劳作中（unsavoury tasks），品出值得礼赞的生命诗性韵律（musical poetry to the empathetic performance），那是契合自然之道的生命交响。与世俗认知相悖的是，此篇及庄子诸多论述中，终极智慧的源泉并非古代王庭御厨之类的显贵，而恰恰来自这位厨房仆役（kitchen minion）。注释 22 引“操刀既久，頓見理間”（When employing his knife for a while, he would pause to observe the openings in the natural guidelines (li)），注释 23 引“依天然之腠理”（relies on the natural guidelines on the skin surface），共同揭示庖丁之所以能游刃有余地分解筋骨交错的牛体，在于他顺应万物本然的结构。这喻示处世之道：不强为，不妄作。此外，注释 32 引“方將躊躇，方將四顧”（While he is hesitant and undecided, and he looks about the four directions），注释 33 引林云铭（2011）评“敘事處喻應物之善”（illustrate a deftness in responding to things）“物有自然理解，無難處之事也”（when things have self-so arrangements to dissect, then one’s affairs lack difficulties），进一步说明庖丁虽解牛如行云流水，却始终保持审慎。解牛前戒惧专注，解牛后虽躊躇满志却不露锋芒，即刻拭刀收刃。这份心理的警觉与行为的克制，正是自处的要义。于乱世中的才士而言，若锋芒毕露，必遭嫉恨，引祸端。在庄子看来，当此“福轻乎羽，祸重乎地”的时代，智者当知藏锋守拙，以“无用”之态保全自身。

汝遊心於淡，	You had better let your mind roam in bland vacuity, ³³
合氣於漠，	Blend your vital energy into vast blankness, ³⁴
順物自然，	Accommodate to the way things are of themselves ³⁵ ,
而無容私焉，	And have no self-centred bias: ³⁶
而天下治矣。	Then the world will be well-governed. ³⁷

表 3：《无名氏论治道：无私无为》

Table 3: *ANONYMOUS ON GOVERNANCE AS SELFLESS LAISSEZFAIRE*²⁴

庄子哲学道法自然，通过“无为”揭示人性自由发展。人性本具天然禀赋，当如鲲鹏展翅般自由舒展，不应受制于外力或异化规训。这种无为并非消极不作为，而是指摒弃以个体私欲强制干预

他者，注释 34 援引林云铭（2011）注“無爲”（being without assertive action），即不强行作为、超然物外、顺其自然（disengagement> detachment> laissez-faire）；注释 35 从词源学考察，“自然”在早期注疏中多指“自生自发、本然如此”的状态（what causes itself to be as it is> what is so of itself> what is naturally so）；注释 36 援引宣颖（2008）“不用我智”（not heed the wisdom of the ego-self）揭示摒弃主观智巧的认知方式；注释 37 援引“不治天下而天下自治”（One does not govern the world, but the world is governed all by itself）则指向政治哲学层面的无为而治。这些副文本共同构建了庄子思想的历史语境，战国时期礼崩乐坏，诸子竞逐霸权，庄子洞察人为之祸的根源，主张通过顺物自然实现社会秩序的自发调节。庄子对过度人为的批判具有深刻现实指向，并非否定文明进步，而是强调在天人合一中实现无为而无不为的治理境界，使社会系统在自然律动中动态平衡。

（四）后副文本

该部分概述了《庄子》翻译活动的整体概况。就《庄子》西传而言，直至 19 世纪末方出现首个完整的欧洲语言译本，此前仅有零星片段译介。此外，现代相关研究中普遍存在文献学不透明现象，学者在援引争议性段落时，常未明确标注具体文本来源。非英语地区的《庄子》译介呈现多元景观。以法国为中心的欧洲研究传统较早开启了文本的哲学化重构；德语地区则表现为神秘主义与心理学的交融；斯拉夫与北欧学界展现出独特的文本考据取向。东亚地区的译介承载着本土化阐释的厚重传统，日本学者构建的注释体系将汉学考据与哲学思辨熔铸一炉，韩国朴世堂的《南华经注解删补》至今仍是朝鲜半岛最具权威性的庄学注本。英语世界对《庄子》的接受与研究方面，1881 年弗雷德里克·巴尔福（Frederic Balfour）推出首部英译本；1891 年理雅各（James Legge）的译本成为学术标杆，首次系统引入传统注疏；1931 年冯友兰译本融合郭象注与西方哲学，提出“绝对自由”的哲学解读；1968 年华兹生（Burton Watson）全译本以现代英语重构文学意象，其流畅叙事获陈荣捷推荐为大学通识教材；1981 年葛瑞汉（A. C. Graham）打破传统篇目结构，被汉学界视为最具哲学严谨性的译本。

四、结语

本研究系统考察何莫邪翻译策略与副文本体系，揭示了这一译本如何在跨文化语境中重构庄子的思想世界，为中国典籍深度翻译与跨语际阐释提供了一定参照。何莫邪拒绝将《庄子》简化为哲学教条或文学标本，而是视其为与中国历代评点家对坐言欢的活态经典。他注重训诂考据和逻辑分析，既避免了以西释中的单向格义，又消解了泥古守旧的封闭阐释，最终构建了一个存异与化同并存的阐释空间。从更广阔的视域看，何莫邪的实践回应了中国典籍外译的时代命题：在全球化与本土化的张力中，如何让经典既“走出去”又“走进来”？不仅传递文本表层意义，更通过副文本体系移植文化语境，让目标语读者在副文本与译文的互动中，触摸经典的文化体温。当然，何莫邪译本亦非完美无缺，副文本的密集注释或对普通读者构成阅读负担，但《庄子》的魅力，正在于其永远向阐释敞开的可能。

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ORCID

Gao Fei ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-4696-1486>

Sun Juan ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-0979-5677>

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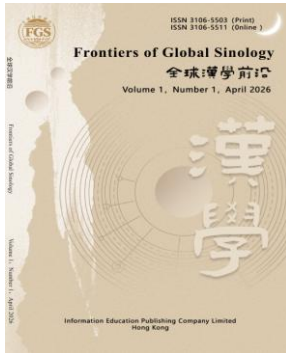
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华风南流：越南汉文赋谏论

阮友寿 (Nguyen Huu Tho), 刘培 (Liu Pei)

摘要：古代的越南有长达一千多年的时间被划入中国版图，是中国的一个行政区域，五代时期开始独立，建立自己的国家，然仍与中国保持宗藩关系。在这样的历史背景下，越南文化的各方面深受中国影响，各种源于中国的文学体裁陆续南传并在越南继续衍生，其中包括辞赋。辞赋在越南深受重视，在科举考试中扮演着升降人才的角色。由于长期与科考直接牵连，导致场屋文体经世致用的风格渗透到文艺赋的写作并成为越南赋家普遍的创作理念。除此之外，辞赋传到越南也“入乡随俗”，形成了本土特色，主要体现在咏史类题材。

关键词：越南文学；辞赋；域外汉学；文化外传

作者简介：阮友寿，山东大学文学院中国古代文学专业硕士研究生，研究方向：辞赋学、域外汉学、越南古代文学，电邮：ng.huutho@outlook.com。刘培（通讯作者），博士，山东大学儒学高等研究院教授、博士生导师、博士后合作导师，研究方向：唐宋文学、辞赋学，电邮：lpdvd@163.com。

Title: The Southward Transmission of Chinese Cultural Influence: An Introductory Analysis of Vietnamese Fu Written in Han Script

Abstract: For over a millennium, ancient Vietnam was incorporated into the Chinese dynastic map, functioning as an administrative region of China. Beginning in the Five Dynasties period, Vietnam achieved independence and established its own statehood, yet continued to maintain a suzerain-vassal relationship with China. Against this historical backdrop, various facets of Vietnamese culture were profoundly influenced by China; numerous literary genres of Chinese

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origin were successively transmitted southward and continued to evolve within Vietnam, including the Ci-Fu (rhapsody). The Fu genre was highly esteemed in Vietnam, playing a pivotal role in the selection and promotion of talent within the Imperial Examination system. Due to this long-standing and direct association with civil service examinations, the pragmatic and utilitarian style typical of “examination hall” literature permeated the composition of artistic Fu, establishing the ideal of jingshi zhiyong (statecraft and practical application) as a prevalent creative philosophy among Vietnamese Fu writers. Furthermore, the transmission of Fu to Vietnam involved a process of acculturation, resulting in the formation of distinct indigenous characteristics, which are most prominently manifested in works exploring historical themes.

Keywords: Vietnamese Literature; Ci-Fu; Extraterritorial Sinology; Cultural Transmission

Author Biographies: **Nguyen Huu Tho**, Master’s candidate at the School of Literature, Shandong University. Research: Fu Studies, Extraterritorial Sinology, Ancient Vietnamese Literature. E-mail: ng.huutho@outlook.com. **Liu Pei** (Corresponding Author), Ph.D., Professor, Ph.D. Supervisor, and Postdoctoral Supervisor at Advanced Institute for Confucian Studies, Shandong University. Research: Tang and Song Literature, Fu Studies. E-mail: lpdvd@163.com.

公元前 214 年，秦始皇在红河流域设立象郡（其领土主要包括现代越南的北部和中部以北的一带地区），越南开始成为中国的一个行政区域。五代十国时期，中原大地分裂瓦解，各地势力纷纷崛起。公元 938 年，安南豪杰吴权击退中国割据政权南汉的侵略，从此摆脱中国的统治。这 1100 多年的时间被越南史学界称为“北属时期”。其间，中华文化与汉字通过多种渠道传入越南，包括辞赋在内的各种文学体裁均南传并成为越南文学的一部分。

第一篇由越南人写的赋作在越南文学史上出现得比较早，为唐代爱州（今越南中北部地区）人姜公辅（780-805 年）的应试之作《白云照春海赋》。越南古籍的散佚情况颇为严重，关于辞赋的资料大多只有陈朝（1225-1400 年）以后的文献得以存留，其间之前的则无处可寻。姜氏此赋也因被记录于宋代文学总集《文苑英华》而得以传世，在越南现存古籍中则不见其踪影。

李朝时期（1009-1225 年），史书载有关于辞赋创作的活动。《越史略》载太宗明道二年（宋仁宗庆历三年，1043）“王幸武宁州松山寺，见其颓殿中有石柱欹压，上慨然有重修之意，石柱忽然复正，因命儒臣作赋，以纪其异”（不详，民国 25 年，p. 31）。从这条记载可得知两个重要的信息：其一，李朝初期儒术已达到一定的发展水平，朝内已有儒士做官；其二，是时辞赋创作仍围绕佛教的主题，这跟当时统治者崇佛仰佛的政策不无关系。可惜，李朝现存文献寥若晨星，纪录松山寺事件的赋作亦不存留，无法知道其面貌如何。

后黎（1428-1788 年）至阮（1802-1945 年）历代王朝，大量越南赋集问世。据刘春银、王小盾等（2002）编纂的《越南汉喃文献目录提要》，其大多为总集，数量达 55 种之多。越南学者潘秋云来中国复旦大学留学，由于能接触到的文献资源有限，她于 2010 年撰写的博士学位论文《越南汉文赋对中国赋的借鉴与其创造》中指出仅搜得 135 篇，此数量对越南赋史来说只是冰山一角。最可靠的数据应从南京大学张伯伟，其主持的“国外辞赋文献集成与研究”项目对越南辞赋文献数量进行统计，得知现存上千篇。张先生（2024, p. 142）指出，“越南所存的赋集虽多，但大多数都是与科举相关的读物，往往乏善可陈”。此话不无道理，然抛开后期呆板的科举读物，越南汉文赋库中仍有不少充满艺术及文学价值的作品，主要集中在陈黎之际。从现存文献来看，越南汉文赋的基本面貌主要体现在以下三个特点：

一、赋兼才学：辞赋在科举中的地位

科举制度是古代先进的中华文化的代表，随着汉文化向域外传播的过程也被周边各国接纳、模拟、运用，其中包括越南。中国科举考试始于隋代，经唐宋二代日益得以完善。唐代科举试杂文（箴、铭、论、表之类），唐人以赋取士，始于玄宗开元年间（713-741年）（徐松，1984, p. 70）。以明朝以八股文代赋为界，中途虽有不少罢赋之举，然试赋制度在科考史上一直都是主流。

越南独立之时，当对应中国五代末叶宋代初期，中国科举制度已基本完善。丁（969-980年）、前黎（980-1009年）两个开国王朝由于国祚简短、社会秩序尚未稳定，礼乐教育仍未普及。越南从李朝（1010-1225年）才开始引进科举制度，于仁宗太宁四年（宋神宗熙宁八年，1075）首次开科取士。李代主张儒释道三教并尊，科举制度以试三教为图形，试法仍属草创，“或试儒学士人，或试吏员僧道，诗书文艺、书算刑律、簿头三教之类，试法不一，科名亦未之闻”（武钦璘）。越南自陈朝（1225-1400年）开始设试赋科目，从此赋成为越南科举中最为重要的部分。“虽然考试内容每一代都有所变化，但试赋制度却一直保持下来。”（孙福轩，2011, p. 151）

陈朝是完善越南以儒学教育为核心的科举制度的王朝，而从具体上看，其试法多有受宋元制度影响的地方。越史载英宗兴隆十二年（元成宗大德八年，1304）试天下士人，“其试法先以《匡国篇》（不详）、《穆太子传》（应作“天子”）暗写汰冗。次则经疑、经义并诗题用《王度宽猛》，诗律用《才难射雉》，赋题用《帝德好生洽于民心》八韵体。三场诏、制、表。四场对策。”（吴士连，2015, pp. 323-324）是时元朝尚未恢复科举，而此试法则多有模仿南宋制度的痕迹，经义与诗赋并设，最后一场试策以定高下¹。

这一时期，不仅试赋成为选拔人才的工具，且献赋之风尚在盛行。莫挺之（1272-1346）本为此科的第一名，进朝面圣时英宗见其容貌丑陋，不欲与之状元，廷之便作《玉井莲赋》以献，甚得英宗欣赏。其赋取材自韩愈《古意》诗“太华峰顶玉井莲，开花十丈藕如船；冷比雪霜甘比蜜，一片入口沉痾痊”，结合周敦颐《爱莲说》，以洁身自好、不同流俗的莲花自喻。赋中借用大量中华典故，展露出作者出乎常人的汉学才华，成功改变了帝王以貌取人的偏见。今录其一段如下：

客一见之，中心郁郁。乃拂十样之笺，泚五色之笔，以为歌曰：“架水晶兮为宫，凿琉璃兮为户；碎玻璃兮为泥，洒明珠兮为露。香馥郁兮层霄，帝闻风兮女慕；桂子冷兮无香，素娥纷兮女妬。采瑶草兮芳洲，望美人兮湘浦。蹇何为兮中流，盍将返兮故宇？岂溟落兮无容，叹婵娟兮多误。苟予柄之不阿，果何伤乎风雨？恐芳红兮摇落，美人来兮岁暮。”

道士闻而叹曰：“子何为哀且怨也？独不见凤凰池上之紫薇，白玉堂前之红药。冀地位之清高，蔼声名之昭灼。彼皆见贵于圣明之朝，子何乎骚人之国？”

于是有感斯言，起敬起慕。哦诚斋亭上之诗，赓昌黎峰头之句。叫阖闾以披心，敬献玉井莲之赋。²

¹ 宋廷南迁后，高宗于建炎二年（1128）定科举试法：“第一场诗赋各一首，习经义者本经义三道，语、孟义各一道；第二场并论一道；第三场并策三道。”载〔元〕脱脱等撰《宋史》卷一百五十六《志第一百九·选举二》（1985, p. 3625）。

² 文中所引的越南辞赋均转自《群贤赋集》，下文不再一一说明。〔越〕黄萃夫编《群贤赋集》，河内：汉喃研究院藏本，编号 A.575。

收录莫氏此赋的各种越南诗文集均标明其为“御制”，可知献赋在这一时期是被官方认可的活动，也是科举教育中的一个环节。

《大越史记全书》本纪卷之八《陈纪·顺宗皇帝》载光泰九年（明太祖洪武二十九年，1396）更新试法，“罢暗写古文法。第一场用本经义一篇，有破题接语，小讲原题，大讲缴结，五百字以上。第二场用诗一篇，用唐律赋一篇，用古体，或骚或选，亦五百字以上。第三场诏一篇，用古体，制一篇，表一篇，用唐体四六。第四场策一篇，用经史时务中出题，一千字以上。”（吴士连，2015, p. 412）这一改变是为了跟随元朝的复古之风。

越南阮朝科考专著《国朝乡科录》载：“夫试举人，及前年乡，后年会，文体依元制，用四场文式，则又至顺尊（宗）辰（时）始见。”（高春育，p. 6）元廷长时间停止科举考试后，于仁宗延祐二年（1315）复科。元代科举制度有种族歧视的色彩，统治者将天下人分成蒙古、色目、汉、南四等，前两者乃社会上等人，在科举中享受优待。据《元史》卷八十一载，元廷给汉、南人设计的考试程式分三场，第一场明经经疑二问，限三百字以上，经义一道，各治一经，限五百字以上；第二场古赋、诏诰、章表、内科一道，古赋、诏诰用古体，章表四六，参用古体；第三场策一道，经史时务内出题，限一千字以上（宋濂，1976, p. 2019）。对照两国考试程式，可见顺宗朝试例多有模仿元制之处。从地理位置来看，陈氏大越国与大元南陲接壤。从文化交流而言，越人更多的是受中原的汉、南人文化影响。所以，陈朝引进汉、南人考试程式的举措不言而喻。问题是，纵观陈代朝廷一直使用宋式八韵律体作为考试赋体，为何到末年却“依元制”变律为古？要知道此时元朝早已覆灭，复古之风已不复存，且明制亦不考赋。

对于这个疑点，笔者认为其原因除了越人对赋的崇尚外，更多的是与当权人的思想有关。是时，入内辅政太师黎季犛掌握大权，顺宗只不过虚位一席而已，朝廷所有政策均出自季犛之手，包括科举试例。黎氏后来改姓胡，篡位自立，是灭陈之贼。抛开历史因素不谈，胡季犛的确称得上越南 14 世纪末 15 世纪初颇负盛名的政治家。

在思想方面，胡季犛崇尚儒术，曾将《诗经》演歌成国音喃字（越南人从汉字的基础上创造的本土方块文字），令女师教后妃、宫人学习。《钦定越史通鉴纲目》载陈顺宗光泰八年（1395）“季犛因编《无逸》篇译为国语以教官家，有命则称辅政该教皇帝”（潘清简，pp. 22-23）。在翻译儒家经典的过程中，胡氏总是根据自己的见解进行注疏，而不拘于诸子集传。胡季犛还著有《明道》十四篇，论述颇为奇异，认为周公是先圣，孔子是先师，文庙以周公正座南面，孔子偏坐西面；论著名儒者，以韩愈为盗儒，谓程颢、程颐、朱熹等人学博而才疏，不切事情，而务为剽窃。这些观点为当时及后世儒士所非议。越南学者黎明国（Lê Minh Quốc, 2004, pp. 90-96）认为胡氏本意推翻程朱理学，回归原始的儒术，并建立带有越南特色的儒家思想，然其观念与当时新地主阶层的权利相矛盾，故受排斥。

在教育方面，胡季犛不管在架空陈帝还是自立期间都特别重视科举与教学，推行多种改革。胡氏厌恶毫无营养的抄写经典考试方式，故在光泰九年试例中罢暗写古文，越南四场文体自此始定。

“古体”是元代科举中盛行的概念，萌芽于延祐复科之前士大夫阶级中的复古赋论。元廷恢复科举后，以祝尧《古赋辩体》为代表，“古体”概念逐渐定形。祝氏主张“祖骚宗汉”，认为“古今言赋，自骚之外，咸以两汉为古，已非魏晋以还所及”（踪凡、郭英德，2017, p. 135），将“楚辞体”和“两汉体”尊为“古体”。祝尧这种跨时代的“认祖归宗”观念在某种意义上与胡季犛的思想产生共

鸣。因为胡氏也有一套类似的华夷辨，认为越国的礼仪制度是承汉袭唐的华夏正统，最明显体现在他的《答北人问安南风俗》中，其诗云：“欲问安南事，安南风俗淳。衣冠唐制度，礼乐汉君臣。玉瓮开新酒，金刀斫细鳞。年年二三月，桃李一船春”（于在照，2014, p. 51）。如此一看，说胡季犛基于自己的儒学观念对现行的考试程式进行改革，以古体考举人，并不是没有道理。

在外交方面，胡季犛表现出较为明显的反明态度。自从还在当陈家臣下的时候，胡季犛已经料到与明人发生冲突是无法避免的事。光泰十年（1377），季犛逼顺宗迁都至清化府（今清化省），曰西都。新城建立在极为险要的位置，有固守之势。胡氏迁都，除了易于控制官家外，还有一个原因是为明越之战做准备。季犛后来篡位，自立胡朝，改国号曰大虞。其在位期间，大力振兴军事、铸造武器、建设防守工程，一切为战事做准备。又多次与明人发生边境冲突，这也是明廷发兵攻打大虞的原因之一。从这几点来看，岂不是季犛与明人不和，故不愿用其制度乎？《明史》卷六十九载，明代初期“诸生应试之文，通谓之举业。四书义一道，二百字以上。经义一道，三百字以上。取书旨明皙而已，不尚华采也”（张廷玉，1974, p. 1689），科举重经史考试，用八股文代古人为言，试赋已被废除。这与越南长期使用的考试程式区别甚大，所以胡季犛为了别于明人而选择“依元制”，是可以理解的事。

1427年，蓝山义军的领袖黎利经过长达十年的斗争，成功击退明军，结束二十一年郡县时期。1428年黎利称帝，建立新的王朝（史称后黎朝），开启越南封建社会最辉煌的时代。后黎朝初期的科举制度多袭陈制，不仿明而仍以赋为考试内容。《国朝乡科录·天南前朝乡会科次试法略编》载黎圣宗光顺三年（明英宗顺天六年，1462）试法：“先暗写汰冗一科。第一场四书经义共五道。第二场制、诏、表用古体四六。第三场诗用唐律，赋用古体，骚、选同三百字以上。第四场策一道，问经史辰务出题限一千字以上”（高春育，p. 19）。洪德三年（明宪宗成化八年，1472），圣宗更新试例，第一场四书八题，第二场诏、制、表各三题，第三场诗赋各二题（赋用李白体），第四场策问一道（吴士连，2015, pp. 652-653）。洪德考试程式除了罢暗写汰冗和赋改古体为李白体外，与前代试法基本一致。“李白体”是黎圣宗朝使用的一种考试赋体，一直被沿用到黎氏王朝的后期（黎中兴）。关于这种赋体，将在其他论著中进行详细考辨。

阮朝统一国家，结束黎中兴至西山朝二百多年分割的局面。阮世祖大力振兴教育，“立文庙，兴学校，置科举，合南北之学术而一之”¹。世祖嘉隆六年（清仁宗嘉庆十二年，1807）试法曰“第一场制义，经五题、传一题，士人行文专治一经或兼治亦咱（听）。第二场诏、制、表各一道。第三场唐律诗一首、八韵体赋一篇。第四场策问一道”（高春育，p. 15）。可见阮朝初期的考试程式在借鉴清廷试法考八股制义的同时，还沿袭前代制度以诗赋取士。至翼宗朝，情况有所改变。嗣德十一年（清文宗咸丰八年，1858）乡科复用圣祖明命十五年（1834）定的三场试法，“第一制义。第二诏、表、论。第三场文策。其诗赋停罢，至会试用之”（高春育，p. 50），直至嗣德二十九年（1876）复考诗赋。阮朝虽有短暂一段时间罢试赋，但也只是乡科停考，会试例依旧不变，可以说这只是朝廷减轻繁杂的考试程式的举措而已。直到越南沦为法国半殖民地，阮氏朝廷实行西、汉双语的考试新制，试诗赋制度才彻底被废除。

总而言之，越南自从将儒学教育定为科举考试的核心开始，一直设有“赋”目并视之为重要的考试内容。越南人是这样评价赋在科考中的地位：“会试四场文策之外，重在第三场诗赋。盖诗赋

¹ [越] 章民《论越南百年来学术之变迁》，河内：《南风杂志》，1917年第5期。转自梁氏海云（2024, p. 77）。

中试，方得入对四场以取大科。使其未中大科，而预中四场，一科谓之一中，诸贡士应吏部之选，多中者在先，少中者在后，无中者只可以年授课职……当辰（时）学者既中乡科，始习四六诗赋，而尤以赋为难。或曰：‘进士，天榜也。就使未有天命，而三场累中，亦可以肥妻荫子。’故以诗赋为重。”（范廷琥，p. 162）此话虽为范廷琥对黎朝科考的评论，但同时也是越南科举制度的写实。

越南历代封建王朝为何在科考中一直保持试赋一目？学者陈文（2006, p. 75）认为其原因有二：一是越南人崇尚汉文诗赋，其修养之深浅是衡量一个人的文化水平高低的重要标准；二是越南一直与中国保持宗藩关系，越南使臣的汉文诗赋修养是中越官员交流的润滑剂，也是越南使臣跟其他赴华出使的国家的使臣交往的工具，而越南使臣的身份大多为状元，故考赋是培养外交人员的重要环节¹。笔者认为还有一个原因是越南人受中国人重赋的思想影响。赋有“包括宇宙，总览人物”的特征，善赋者有铺张之才，能在宏大的体制中驰骋想象，“体国经野”。故自《文选》起，中国诗文总集就有将赋置为首卷的习惯，体现了中国人对赋的崇尚。谢桃坊（2021, p. 35）指出，“宋代继唐代将诗作为科举考试的科目之一，诗体因而较为尊贵，以为它能充分体现儒家的诗教，有利于统治阶级的政治利益”，虽然论的是诗，然于赋亦是如此。这种思想随着汉文化的传播也被越南人接纳，赋受到文人们的尊崇，统治者也视赋为广播儒家学术的有益工具而给予其在科举中很高的地位。所以说在越南赋兼才学，是人们步入仕途的重要门槛。

二、儒风泛起：经世致用的创作理念

儒家学术在越南的广泛流传证明了汉文化在域外的影响之深。自北属时期，中原朝廷的地方官员在交趾所实施的礼乐教育政策已将儒家思想扎根于此地。锡光、任延、士燮等历代太守有推广华风之功，为越南人所崇拜。犹如《越南历史》一书所载：“自东汉以后，特别是公元二世纪末叶，汉族的士大夫到交趾的越来越多。儒教比过去更得到普遍传播。儒家的经典著作《论语》《春秋》等书，在封建政权和士大夫开办的学校里普遍讲授。”（越南社会科学委员会，1977, p. 75）。到唐代，“多种迹象表明，当时在唐廷的推动下，安南一些村社也设立了学校，儒家的经典得到了广泛研习”（Trần Nghia, 2000, p. 124），科举制度的普及也成为了促进汉文化在安南地区传播的得力工具。

进入自主时期，越南受五代及宋朝文化的影响，儒释道三教并尊，其中最重佛教（尤其是禅宗）。丁、前黎二代，僧侣甚至成为封建朝廷的重要成员。如宋太宗雍熙四年（987）遣李觉出使至越，黎大行皇帝命法师杜法顺假为江令迎宋使的故事（吴士连，2015, p. 133）。李朝是越南佛教的鼎盛时期，佛教被尊为国教，时有“百姓大半为僧，国内到处皆寺”（吴士连，2015, p. 149）的现象。陈朝佛教虽稍有逊色于李，然历代帝王仍笃信佛道，被后世史家讽刺曰“以堂堂之天子而为竹林之禅，以天子为大夫，以妃嫔为丘尼，以王主为僧众”²。由此可见后黎朝之前越南崇佛之风大为盛行。

在这种以佛教为主流的氛围下，越南独立初期的儒教在社会中仍占有一席之地，甚至能与佛教颉颃。如丁、前黎两朝著名僧统匡越大师吴真流，黎廷钱别宋使李觉时，与之作曲酬唱（本应为儒臣的工作），可见当时其社会地位之高。像吴氏这种级别的僧侣，年少时也有过一段从学儒术的时间，后来才皈依佛门的。或李陈时期科举考试已经成为选拔人才的工具，其试例要求业举者儒释二道兼通，《历朝宪章类志》载：“李陈二代，皆尊尚释道，故一辰（时）取士必欲兼通贰氏，虽正道异端，

¹ 参阅陈文（2006）：“科举在越南的移植与本土化——越南后黎朝科举制度研究”，暨南大学。

² [越]黎嵩撰《越鉴通考总论》，河内：汉喃研究院藏本，编号VHv.2139。转自郑永常（1987, p. 213）。

并崇无别，而士之应是举者，非博洽该识，则亦不能入选也。”（潘辉注，p. 7）时间越往后，儒家思想越来越受重视。上文所讲胡季犛撰写儒术论著、以儒家思想教育官家及后宫等事，可见陈末时期重儒教的一斑景象。

陈朝末叶儒教的地位已经有了明显的改变，后黎朝则直接将之尊上主流。黎太祖深刻了解儒家思想对国家解放事业的重要性，故在其起义万重艰难之际，仍收留阮廌、李子晋、阮梦荀、陈舜俞等前朝遗臣，让他们负责拟稿文章的工作。因此才有阮廌作书谕义安、顺化、西都、东都诸城中的明军，“示以祸福，不战而降”（吴士连，2015, p. 458）之事。行政用仁义，以好生为德是黎太祖所推崇的治国之法，故其放回十万败兵成为文人传颂的佳话。这除了其自身修养外，还有一部分原因是受身边的儒士谏臣所影响，特别是阮廌，如其《贺归蓝山》诗云：“权谋本是用除奸，仁义维持国世安。台阁有人儒席暖，边陲无事柳营闲。”

独立后，黎朝历代君主依旧重用儒臣，以儒家思想为建国的架构，且帝王本身亦专心投入儒家学说研习工作中。“太祖立国之初，首兴学校，祠孔子以太牢，其崇重至矣”（吴士连，2015, p. 525），对孔子及儒家学说极为重视，为后黎朝独尊儒术的政策奠定了基础。经太宗、仁宗、圣宗历朝，崇儒的风气日益浓厚。太宗在位期间，“定制度，颁经籍。制礼作乐，明政慎刑。比及数年，典章文物，粲然大备，海内丕变”（吴士连，2015, p. 559）。仁宗则“尊礼大臣，崇尚儒术。察迕言，纳忠谏，勤政事，谨赏罚。重农务本，亲民如伤”（吴士连，2015, p. 591）。这一时期，以儒家思想为核心的学校与教育制度发展到巅峰。在学校中，四书五经、《性理大全》《文献通考》等儒家经典皆为主要讲学教材。科举考试以儒典出题，以治乱为问。圣宗朝定保结试例，规定“其人实有德行者，方许上数应试。其不孝、不睦、不义、乱伦，及教唆之类，虽有学问词章，不许入试”（吴士连，2015, p. 601），强调应试者须遵守儒家“先道德而后文章”的道德伦理。

在越南，儒学与科举是不可分开的亲近关系，而越南科举则多方面深受中华制度的影响。学者孙福轩（2011, p. 153）指出：“中国古代的科举试赋，缘于赋‘体国经野，义尚光大’的审美特征和历代统治者‘崇论宏议、创业垂统’的政治需求，在创作上往往表现出恢廓声势、张皇其辞的博大气象以及欲讽反劝、雍容揄扬的颂美品格，‘经’题赋成为历代科举试赋的主体内容。”中国科举试赋的这些因素在越南表现得淋漓尽致，越南试赋内容也呈现出以经史为题、以治乱为论的特点。试赋题材多采自中国古代经传史籍，主要涉及王道仁政、明君忠臣、颂扬圣贤、歌唱太平等内容。

以下参看黎太宗大宝三年（1442）壬戌科榜眼阮维则的试题《春台赋》，其辞曰：

泰和氤氲，块北无垠。乾坤清兮莹玉，宇宙郁兮阳春。繄太平之气象，羌独难于名言。揭春台以为喻，善形容于云云。

是台也，积累有由，经营莫测。高大难仿其规模，延袤不知其南北。妙化工之自然，羌不费于民力。与天地同大兮不能阶，载物无疆兮非有迹。风雨不能飘摇，工师难于绳墨。同荡荡之尧天，并巍巍之舜德。绵万祀以贞固，与乾坤而罔极。顾諟其间，万物并育。洪纤高下，飞潜动植。安其所而不侵，乱遂其生而不夭阏。皞皞熙熙，皆乐其乐。鼓舞乎泰和之天，优游乎仁寿之域。盖盛德于春融，熙皇仁于化日。普天率土，咸被其泽。融融泄泄，出作入息。诚有似乎登台，谅不知而不识。究其所由，本乎君德。致中和于两间，为生民而造福。

想其辰当上古，淳风未漓。乃继天而出治，妙变理之化机。裁成天地之道，辅相天地之宜。德

洽仁浹，人恬物熙。想春台于此辰，羌荡荡而巍巍。至若唐虞之辰，万邦作义。黎民洽好生之德，四方形风动之美。于变辰雍，品物咸遂。夏禹致咸若之效，有商臻嘉靖之治。彼万民之咸和，由文王之德致。想春台于此辰，并覆载于天地。陶海宇于玉烛，盖一团之和气。奈何春秋风雨，七雄斩刈。当此之辰，兹台将坠。暨夫与民休息，海内富庶。米斗三钱，外户不闭。论虽底于小康，奈未臻于极治。想春台于此辰，安能为生民之庇？

寥寥千载，治道无闻。谅天意之有在，羌有待夫圣君。猗欤修哉！高皇驭宇，一视同仁。培王业于不拔，与万物以为春。大荫尧天之庇，日跻汤德之新。天地覆载，血气尊亲。行仁义以致太平，开寿域以圉生民。

钦惟皇上，继志述事。肯构肯堂，陶成庶汇。扇万国之仁气，致中和于两际。凡有形于两间，皆鼓舞乎和气。生者安其生，遂者乐其遂。四辰一春，乾坤光霁。诚真元泰和之会，仅见于今日。而春台之事，复掩于前世者也。

“春台”出自《道德经》“众人熙熙，如享太牢，如登春台”，虽本为道家所提，然“春台”这一事项一直被儒家用来比喻太平盛世中百姓安居乐业、怡然自得的景象。赋文化用大量中华经典中的人与事，议论缜密，给予春台具体的定义，即本由君德被泽天下、为生民造福而建立起的仁政制度，其不费民力而仍能与天地同大、载物无疆。赋中指出尧、舜、禹、汤、文王以德为政，天下太平，故春台覆载于天地。到春秋时期，七雄争霸，天下不复安宁，春台亦因之而不再为生民之庇。幸有汉高祖行仁政以致太平，天下万民才能重新被春台之泽。赋的结尾赞颂当朝皇帝（黎太宗）继上古圣贤之志，使百姓得以安乐，四辰一春，乾坤光霁，而春台之事已是前世佳话，不再能与今天的太平等量齐观。这是一篇典型的歌功颂德考试赋。

在统治阶层崇尚儒术的氛围下，加上科举考试的广泛流行，以经史为材成为越南辞赋的特点，这种作风不仅限于场屋赋，而且还渗透到文艺赋中，使辞赋创作表现出浓厚的经世致用情怀。越南文人作赋，或为了实现政治目的而颂美盛君、讽喻仁政，或为了彰显自身修养而言志诵理。其取材来源可以归结为两个对象：一是经、一是史。

越南辞赋取材于经者，可谓诸经兼备。后黎朝李子晋的《大宝赋》取材自《周易·系辞》篇“天地之大德曰生，圣人之大宝曰位。何以守位？曰仁”。此赋从《易》之大意出发，引用大量典故如“富有四海之天禄兮，尊为天子之至贵”句源于《虞书·大禹谟》“四海困穷，天禄永终”；“与天地而同德兮”“与日月而并明”二句来自《周易·干》“夫大人者，与天地合其德，与日月合其明”；“泰阶平而玉烛调兮”句分别转自扬雄《长杨赋》“是以玉衡正而泰阶平也”及《尔雅·释天》“四时和谓之玉烛”；等等。赋文讲述王者居大宝之位，以仁守之，将象征政权的“大宝”转化为道德聚合体。居尊位者近忠远佞、爱贤佑能，唯圣人能之。其中间一段曰：

信兹宝之为宝兮，非常人之能识；道德以之为繅籍兮，礼义以之为文飨。坚于忠良之骨鯁兮，瑕于谀佞之乱德；明于缉熙之琢磨兮，暗于嫌疑之疵隙。必须敕谨而恭敬兮，必赖臣邻之笃弼。巍巍乎中天下而居尊兮，荡荡乎首庶物而作极。奸雄之所不敢觊觎兮，庸懦之所不眙愕。惟圣人之能宝其宝兮，恐负荷之弗胜。

篇末感慨黎太祖拯溺救焚、教化育民之恩，称赞其遵行前世盛王守宝之德，以仁立国。在太祖的统治下，天下安宁、四方来朝，是一个太平盛世的开端。将越南九五之位与天命论相结合，将中原儒学价值观移植于本土政治论述，宣告其作为独立国家的正统性。这是开国之际典型的政教歌颂一类赋作：

伊皇朝之启运兮，务立国之以仁。軫生灵于涂炭兮，兴拯溺而救焚。化兵革为仁寿兮，陶万宁于一春。既所宝之惟贤兮，亦爱物而仁民。上克享于天心兮，下允叶于神人。罄幅员以戴仰兮，诚悦服而来宾。于维我西粤之大宝兮，猗天命其永新。

李子晋又有《文王囿赋》，化用《孟子·梁惠王》篇文王有囿七十里，民尚以为小；齐宣王有囿四十里，民犹以为大的故事。此赋用典密集、意蕴深厚，继承孟子的政治哲学框架，赞美“与民同乐”的文王囿背后所蕴藏的仁政理念。赋文借用一些《诗经》的对象如“灵沼”“灵台”“白鸟”“麋鹿”（《大雅·灵台》）来书写万物同乐的文王囿，其实是周民在文王的仁政下所享受的太平景象。写文王圣德则化用《周书·无逸》篇中周公赞颂文王之言：“文王卑服，即康功田功。徽柔懿恭，怀保小民，惠鲜齔寡。自朝至于日中昃，不遑暇食，用咸和万民。文王不敢盘于游田，以庶邦惟正之供。”赋文不像《孟子》那样将文王囿与宣王囿进行对比，只借用“此率兽而食人”之意，转而直接批判后世帝王沉迷享乐，徒虚美之薰心而纵一己之荒淫的行为。

驱予车以行迈兮，指岐周之故京；历丰邑之廛原兮，览西伯之仪型。灵沼莹以扬尘兮，灵台莽其蒹荆。乃踟躇以凝伫兮，切黍离之幽情。召老故而讯之兮，曰文王有囿也。当周姬之大竞兮，方百里以延也；民皆得以为赖兮，物皆得以并育。白鸟翬翬以翔集兮，麋鹿濯濯以攸伏；欣鱼跃之于初兮，郁草木之畅茂。樵苏纷其往来兮，莫不遂其所欲。因名之曰灵囿兮，恐其小而不以为虐也。或一游以一豫兮，为诸侯之度也。春省耕而秋省敛兮，辰搜苗以獮狩也；诘兵戎以练卒徒兮，扬国家之威武也。使悦服而畏怀兮，天下其孰敢侮也？惟文王之圣德兮，何徽柔而懿恭；日中昃以靡遑兮，即康功而田功。卑衣服以恤民兮，以庶邦惟正之供。匪游田之是好兮，羌欢乐与民同。彼多欲之辰君兮，徒虚美之薰心。开上林之苑囿兮，逞羽猎以从禽；杀鸟兽与杀人同兮，恣一己之荒淫。百姓见羽旄之盛美兮，皆蹙额而伤心。其视文王之兹囿兮，何啻乎风铄与黄金？嗟寥寥之千载兮，邈遗躅兮能寻。苟能行不忍之王政兮，施惠鲜之至仁；操王心之翼翼兮，秉文德之至纯。开八百之丕图兮，膺景命之维新。鳧鹭乐其太平兮，行苇及其民淳。薄海隅之丕冒兮，囿万物于一春。谅天意之有在兮，深有望于当今圣人。

赋的结尾借古讽今，劝谏当朝君主厉行王政，表露出士人对帝王的期望及其政治理想，展现了儒家仁政思想与越南士大夫政治关怀的独特结合。将中国辞赋“曲终奏雅”的传统运用开来，充分其政治功能，是越南汉文赋一个重要的特点。

后黎朝另一位赋家邓宣作《松柏后彫赋》，题目来源自《论语·子罕》篇“岁寒，然后知松柏之后彫也”的典故。松柏乃众木之宗，即便在恶劣的天气环境中也不显脆弱，反而愈状弥雄，象征着儒家思想中君子的德行：“此圣人所以取喻君子之德，遭事变而益见其忠也”。赋中论证松柏与君子之间相呼应的一段云：

至若，蓐收解卯，玄冥振威；寒风凛冽，百卉具腓。村前院后，山巅水涯；群山童兮尽洗，万汇殒兮不支。惟彼特立，不蔽不亏；郁郁莽莽，淋淋纚纚。并孔桧以流芳奕叶，鄙庄椿之拥肿怪奇。此见松柏之盛，而众木之鲜俨；犹君子之德，岂众人之足希也！

嗟夫！两间赋质，有浊有清。人有人中之异，物有物中之灵。不有物，不足以见松柏之茂；不有松柏，不足以表君子之贞。彼其春夏之交，明媚鲜妍；万物荣茂，孰辨愚贤？何有疵之可指，何有美之可言？及其岁暮天寒，万物彫残；然后表松柏之操，有彼此之观。亦犹人也，文明盛世，太平致治；进退以旅，官任以备。君子小人，孰得拟议？运丁润季，人心殄瘁；然后着君子之风，有善恶之异。此松柏因后彫而得名，若君子因困穷而见义也。

借用《礼记·月令》中秋神蓐收和冬神玄冥来描绘秋冬交替之际，化用《小雅·四月》“秋日凄凄，百卉具腓”诗句来强调万物凋零之状，铺陈出一个严冬的景象。在如此极端的天气中，松柏仍然离离矗矗，众木无法与之比拟，犹如君子之德在任何环境中皆始终不变，而众人无法与之相提并论。赋文以儒家“士穷见节义，世乱识忠臣”的核心价值观论断君子的真德。在万物荣茂的季节中，松柏与其他树木都处于一样的状态，难以分辨孰疵孰美。只有到了寒冷的冬天，松柏的节操才在彫残的众木之中凸显出来。人也是同样的道理，在治世中小人与君子无异，只有在国家、社会失序衰微之时，真正坚贞的君子才会显现。作者通过此赋表达仰望圣教的心态，抒发个人的道德修养及政治抱负。全赋语言朴素，少有奇字异词，易懂可读。《群贤赋集》¹对此赋的批点为：“此赋虽未为美，然词理具当，亦可谓有志节之士。”（黄萃夫）

越南辞赋取材于史，其善者可举陈代史希颜的《斩蛇剑赋》，取材自《史记》汉高祖斩蛇的故事。此赋以问答为体，讲述秦朝末世刘邦起义的故事作为铺陈，突出全篇主角——斩蛇剑。“赋者”提及吴越的吴钩、巨阙诸名剑，为斩蛇剑衬托，突出高祖此剑更胜一筹。再而化用吴王干将、莫邪二剑不遇英主神君，犹如龙泉、太阿宝剑之埋韬于丰狱、龙津的双重典故，大力颂扬斩蛇之剑。按照题名，赋文到此应该可以结尾了，但作者又让“客”出现而难“赋者”，突出全篇的真正意旨：

赋未毕，客难之曰：“生文明之时者，不谈威武之功；登雍熙之朝者，不言战伐之事。厥今圣朝，升平极治。混四海于一家，同车书于文轨。包干戈以虎皮，销锋镝为农器。和气盎乎九州，仁风薰乎两际。子方翱翔凤仪之庭，舞蹈奏韶之地。反一而之，区区骋雕虫之末技，称杂伯之迹，昧帝王之懿。奚辰务之不通，为有识之所鄙。”

赋者喜而歌曰：“剑乎！剑乎！不祥之器，圣人不得已而用之，诚非所贵。猗欤圣朝，崇文盛世。天下一统兮，安然无事；纵有是剑兮，将焉用彼。”

此赋的结构对司马相如《子虚上林赋》和东方朔《答客难》有所继承、借鉴。“客”与“赋者”的对话中，融合了儒家王道思想和越南本土的和平心态，贬低武力征伐，宣扬文治太平。这种思想和心态就是越南人心里想法的写实，是一个历经战伐的民族对和平的渴望。

¹《群贤赋集》是越南现存最早的汉文赋总集，收录从陈至黎初历代汉文赋作，供业举者研习。由黄萃夫（1414-？）编成于黎仁宗延宁四年（1457），黎裕宗保泰九年（1728）重刻并略有补充。

后黎朝程文徽有《肥水赋》，以东晋时期淝水之战为背景，颂扬晋室将领谢玄的忠勇与谋略，同时反思兴亡教训与政治得失。开篇对历史事件进行诠释，描绘五胡乱华后的乱世，东晋政权偏安江东，面临内忧外患的危机。前秦苻坚骄傲自大，“谓投鞭可以塞长江之险，谓独断可以决成败之几”，无视谋士王猛劝谏，率百万大军南侵。谢玄临危受命，率晋军以少敌众，通过智谋与气势击溃前秦军队。中间一段写作者对历史名战的感慨，明显有模仿苏轼《前赤壁赋》的痕迹：

予尝抵掌昔辰，泛舟月夕。纵山水之奇观，访当辰之遗迹；睹风景之微茫，顾山河而啧啧。但见芦花拂岸，形谢玄之进兵；野鸟悲啼，怆秦兵之陷溺。荧火照其羁魂，怒涛激于乱石。感往事之如斯，慨兴亡之畴昔。予于是既以为司马氏之贺，又以为司马氏之惜也。

从“既以为司马氏之贺，又以为司马氏之惜也”展开议论，认为谢玄本已把胜利掌握在手里，只要进一步攻打关中就可以夺回江山。可惜晋室君臣懦弱，毫无励精图治之志，但徒苟安于江东，最终错过统一的机会。所以，“败秦者秦也，非晋兵之能屈；弱晋者晋也，非天下之不从”。曲终奏雅，赋文从司马政权的故事转而颂扬黎朝太祖，虽与晋室的开端相同，然结局却相反。因为太祖有强敌雪耻之心，能乘胜而攻，最后成功恢复西越江河，结束二十来年烟火。

自陈朝开始固定以儒学为核心的科举制度，到黎、莫、阮历朝对儒术的崇尚，儒家思想已经成为越南封建社会的主导学说。赋体文章“经国之大业，不朽之盛事”，有铺张的体制、宏大的规模，是船载儒家学说的最佳载体。不仅朝廷模仿中华制度以赋取士，文人也自觉用赋来表达儒学价值观。借鉴中华经史，融入本土因素，对儒家学说进行再次阐述，体现越南士大夫经世致用的创作理念，是越南汉文赋的一大特征。这类作品在越南辞赋库中占很大的比率，可谓越南赋史的主流。本文不一一罗列，但举善者如上。可见，以儒家思想为核心的中华文化对越南文化的影响有多深刻。

三、国家自强：本国民族精神的突出

凸显民族精神是越南汉文赋的另一特点。辞赋源于中国，在漫长的历史长河中通过多种渠道流传至越南，成为越南文学的一部分。越南人虽借鉴中国这一文学体裁，却不让其淹没自己的民族特色，反而运用赋来彰显民族精神。越南辞赋与中国辞赋呈“相反相承”的关系。

纵观越南历史，可以看出这是一片战争连绵的土地。自从五代末期自立为国开始，越南人民就一直面临来自外强的威胁。长期经历战争，使得越南人非常珍惜和平和独立。越南是从中国的一个行政区域独立出来的，历代封建王朝皆努力靠着民族团结的力量，巩固自己国家的独立地位，与中华朝廷抗衡。这两种心态相融合并升华为爱国主义，经历李、陈、黎时期的多场抗敌战争之后，更是成了文学创作的主导精神。被誉为越南第一篇独立宣言，是李朝时期李常杰在抗宋战争前线写的千古名诗《南国山河》：

南国山河南帝居，截然定分在天书。

如何逆虜来侵犯，汝等行看取败虚。（于在照，2014, p. 38）。

陈朝时期越南面对蒙元铁骑的三次南侵，陈国俊写了《谕诸裨将檄文》，唤起诸军杀敌雪耻的精神，高歌将家保家卫国的决心：

……况余与汝等生于扰攘之秋，长于艰难之势。窃见伪使往来道途旁午。掉鸱乌之寸舌而陵辱朝廷，委犬羊之尺躯而倨傲宰制。托忽必列之令而索玉帛以事无已之诛求，假云南王之号而擎金银以竭有限之饶庠。譬犹以肉投饕虎宁能免遗后患也哉？余常临餐忘食，中夜抚枕，涕泗交痕，心腹如捣。常以未能食肉寝皮，絮肝饮血为恨也。虽余之百身，高于草野，余之千尸，裹于马革，亦愿为之！……汝等坐视主辱曾不为忧，身当国耻曾不为愧。为邦国之将侍立夷宿而无忿心，听太常之乐宴飧伪使而无怒色。或斗鸡以为乐，或赌博以为娱。或事田园以养其家，或恋妻子以私于己。修生产之业而忘军国之务，恣田猎之游而怠攻守之习。或甘美酒，或嗜淫声。脱有蒙鞑之寇来，雄鸡之距不足以穿虏甲，赌博之术不足以施军谋。田园之富不足以赎千金之躯，妻孥之累不足以充军国之用。生产之多不足以购虏首，猎犬之力不足以驱贼众。美酒不足以沈虏军，淫声不足以聋虏耳。……今余明告汝等，当以措火积薪为危，当以惩羹吹釜为戒。训练士卒习尔弓矢。使人人逢蒙，家家后羿。购必烈之头于阙下，朽云南之肉于杲街。不唯余之采邑永为青毡，而汝等之俸禄亦终身之受赐；不唯余之家小得安床褥，而汝等之妻孥亦百年之佳老；不唯余之宗庙万世享祀，而汝等之祖父亦春秋之血食；不唯余之今生得志，而汝等百世之下芳名不朽；不唯余之美溢永垂，而汝等之姓名亦遗芳于青史矣。……（吴士连，2015, pp. 318-320）。

黎利领导蓝山义军成功驱逐明军，结束郡县时期，夺回西越江山。为了宣告新政权的成立以及国家的独立，黎太祖命阮廌拟自己的口吻写下被称为越南第二篇独立宣言的《平吴大诰》：

盖闻：仁义之举，要在安民；吊伐之师，莫先去暴。惟我大越之国，实为文献之邦。山川之封域既殊，南北之风俗亦异。自赵丁李陈之肇造我国，与汉唐宋元而各帝一方。虽强弱时有不同，而豪杰世未常乏。……顷因胡政之烦苛，致使人心之怨判。狂明伺隙，因以毒我民；恶党怀奸，竟以卖我国。炊苍生于虐焰，陷赤子于祸坑。欺天罔民，诡计盖千万状；连兵结衅稔恶殆二十年。败义伤仁，乾坤几乎欲息；重科厚敛，山泽靡有孑遗。开金场塞冒岚瘴而斧山淘沙，采明珠则触蛟龙而縊腰余海。扰民设玄鹿之陷阱，殄物织翠禽之网罗。昆虫草木皆不得以遂其生，鰥寡颠连具不获以安其所。……神人之所共愤，天地之所不容。予奋迹蓝山，栖身荒野，念世讐岂可共戴，誓逆贼难与具生。……予以全军为上，而欲民与息。非惟计谋之极其深远，盖亦古今之所未见闻。社稷以之奠安，山川以之改观。乾坤既否而复泰，日月既晦而复明。于以开万世太平之基，于以雪千古无穷之耻。是由天地祖宗之灵，有以默相阴佑而致然也。……（吴士连，2015, pp. 493-496）。

以上三篇作品，表明了带有民族特色的爱国主义渗透到以外国文字为载体的汉文学中的依据。要知道，社会背景与文学创作有着亲密的关系，社会背景在文学创作中扮演着支配的角色。“文学是一种社会现象。因此，社会对文学的观念从写作目的到题材范围、文体形式等方面皆深刻影响到文学实践。”（Đinh Gia Khánh, 2015, p. 24）越南文人受社会背景的影响，将民族精神投影到文学作品中，是不言而喻的。这一特点不限于诗文，在辞赋中也表现得淋漓尽致，特别是国家安危受到威胁、民族精神得到激发的陈黎时期的作品。

最能体现越南民族特色的题材是咏史赋，通过对战争的叙事、铺陈，有时候唱扬越南人民在乱世中的英勇精神，有时候赞颂拯溺救焚的豪雄君主。这些作品虽然来自不同时代的不同作家之手，但共同点在于大多都以山水为名，不是为了写景，而是让在那些地点发生过的历史战役在白纸上重演，时时刻刻提醒后人牢记民族的遭遇以及先祖的英雄气概。

写川河者，代表可举陈朝张汉超的《白藤江赋》和后黎朝李子晋的《昌江赋》。张赋歌唱越人三次在白藤江上打败侵略者的战功（五代时吴权败南汉军、前黎大行皇帝败宋军、陈室名将陈国俊败元军），主要是赞扬陈室君民的显赫战绩。此赋在写法上设主客问答，写客者夜间泛舟、触景怀旧，江上偶遇父老、水月和歌，多有借鉴《前赤壁赋》之处。如赋中写客者夜中游泳，观看白藤江的险要水势，感慨一代豪杰一段曰：

乃举楫兮中流，纵子长之远游。涉大滩口，溯东潮头，抵白藤江。是泛是浮，接鲸波于无际，蘸繇尾之相缪。水天一色，风景三秋。渚荻岸芦，瑟瑟飕飕。折戟沉江，枯骨盈丘。惨然不乐，伫立凝眸。念豪杰之已往，叹踪迹之空留。

与苏赋不同的是，《赤壁》是通过对兴亡变迁的感慨阐说人生哲理，《白藤》则是单纯为圣主强民表达由衷的自豪感。赋中“父老”为“客”讲述白藤江的故事，借鉴了大量与白藤江之战同样显耀的中国著名战役，如西周盟津之会、西汉潍水之战、三国赤壁、东晋淝水，为赋增添恢宏的气势：

当期，舳舻千里，旌旗旖旎。貔貅六军，兵刃蜂起；雌雄未决，南北对垒。日月昏兮无光，天地凛兮将毁。彼必烈之势强，刘龚之计诡，自谓投鞭可扫南纪。既而皇天助顺，凶徒披靡。孟德赤壁之师谈笑飞灰，苻坚合肥之阵须臾送死。至今江流，终不雪耻。再造之功，千古称美。虽然，自有宇宙，故有江山。信天堑之设险，赖人杰以奠安。孟津之会鹰扬箬吕，潍水之战国士如韩。惟此江之大捷，犹大王之贼闲。英风可想，口碑不刊。

篇末将儒家武德观念融入战争叙事，将白藤江战绩升华为不在关河之险要，而在君人之懿德：“二圣兮并明，就此江兮洗甲兵。胡尘不敢动兮，千古升平。信知不在关河之险兮，惟在懿德之莫京。”

白藤江是陈室打败蒙元铁军之地，昌江则是明越战争中最重要战场之一。明人在交趾多次失利，明宣宗图挽回局面，遣柳升等领兵前来救援。昌江为蓝山军破柳升之地，此战轰动一时，促进了起义的成功。李子晋写《昌江赋》，虽对张赋有所继承，但使用了完全不同的叙事手法。赋文遵循骈赋先铺张而后归美的传统套路，除去个人情怀，写赋如写史，用旁观的视角歌颂民族英雄黎太祖。赋中用充满戏剧性的方式，分别给予黎利和柳升等人正派和反派的角色，使两者的命运呈现出完全相反的对照：

于是，神助睿算，天佑宽仁。戒我将士，整我六军；以遏徂旅，以卫生民。金鼓一鸣，而貔貅之众气增十倍；义旗所指，而熊黑之旅奋不顾身。坡垒鸡陵，威生草木；平滩弄眼，势卷风云。焱霆驱而电扫，妙出奇而入神。贼酋计穷而褫魄，凶徒风解而奔星。

尔乃，矜崔聚，斩柳升，李庆送死，黄福就绑。维倒戈以蹢躅，卒逐北而奔崩。血流者满坑而满谷，尸僵者如山而如陵。四塞绝纤埃之氛翳，中天揭日月之升恒。彼合肥之风声鹤唳，曷足以喻其捷；赤壁之斤帆不返，奚足以参其能也哉！

崔聚、柳升、李庆是明帝派往交趾的将领，另外还有尚书黄福，他们在此战中都有悲惨的结局。明军刚进入交趾关内时，被埋伏于支棱关（今属谅山省）的黎利军队大破，柳升、李庆阵亡。崔聚、黄福强进至昌江，向东关城（今河内市）的明军求援，东关自顾不暇，无法应援。崔、黄便诈求和，黎利不许，率军破之，生擒崔聚、黄福。这段将此历史故事搬上文字的舞台，使之得以艺术化。此赋继承《白藤江赋》的地方在篇末：

嗟夫！功因德大，地以人灵。固国不在山谿之险，保民不在百万之兵。谅天上之眷佑，匪人谋之敢争。故兹江不遇圣祖，乌能成天险之美；不因战胜，乌以彰地利之名。是知民之怀于有德，天之辅于克诚者也！

地灵人杰是越南咏史赋中常见的事项。地因人而成名，地虽险而不遇圣君，亦不能造就战功、垂名青史。这是越南士大夫看待战争成败的价值观，以人为重，而人之重在于德。

写山岳的越南赋，其善者可举李子晋、阮梦荀、阮廌、陈舜俞四人尊黎太祖之命创作的御题《至灵山赋》。至灵山（今属清化省）是抗明起义中又一个重要的地方，蓝山被围后黎利屯兵于此地。至灵山有着极为险要的地势，为起义的成功贡献了很大，其历史意义对黎室君臣来说仅次于圣地蓝山。新朝廷成立后，黎太祖以山名为题，令诸文臣赋而颂之。四篇赋节遵循地灵人杰的传统观念，比喻至灵山对于黎利就像会稽对于勾践、芒砀对于刘邦一样重要，但同时又指出其内部存在本质上的不同。此四篇中陈舜俞之作为最佳。

陈赋设主客问答，一共出现三个人物：客、父老、叟。“客”者游览天下，访过勾践故墟、炎刘旧疆，再而来到西越至灵此山，揖“父老”而问其事。“父老”为其讲述三者的故事曰：

思昔，夫差逞凶，会稽保踪。范种之行成已许，西施之艳色方浓。既焦心而苦思，雪耻以图终。卧薪尝胆，吊死账穷。每折节以下贤，常躬耕以训农。期生长之升平，羌穷苦之与同。及其属镂飞光，二队济江；吴国为沼，姑苏就荒。会诸侯于徐州，致赐胙于天王；任专征于方伯，成伯业之益昌。岂非会稽复讎之事，愈久而愈芳者乎？

至若，长城血腥，鹿走咸京。提三尺兮一奋，泣中夜兮素灵。入芒砀之查菑，敛光彩于榛荆；忽祥云之缥缈，舒五彩于岩扃。蔓不知其所在，羌忧患之相萦。及其揽三杰，屈群策；定三秦，收图籍。齐魏瞥尔而一空，燕赵靡然而就戮。飞垓下之游魂，殒乌江之惊魄；加四海之雄威，基炎祚之四百。岂非芒砀之事，永有光于简册者乎？

若夫，胡马南牧，臙羯吐毒。庸主逆天而速祸，奸臣举国而求鬻。故宫兴离黍之悲，周道叹茂草之鞠。贼情棋布而星罗，虐守狼吞而虎攫。泽竭山童，赋重刑酷。搜金采玉，穷民苦山寿、马骐之老饕；断脰刳肠，遗黎痛张辅、方政之荼毒。及其辰当天定，西土启圣；栖迹兹山，遵晦俟命。取任尽下士之诚，事大竭畏天之敬。奈狂寇之并吞，而苦焰之方盛。流离相失，愈于长坂之艰危；饥困无聊，甚于滹沱之徽幸。幡神龙于查冥，沕渊潜而未奋。猿猱啾啾兮声哀，松柏萧萧兮风迎。巍石笼篴以槎牙，霜泉凜冽而奔迸。顾左右其无人，缈风尘之幽忧。虽困心衡虑，而不怵于大艰；虽迅雷风烈，而不改其常性。既而豪杰影从，神灵助顺；闢毖成功，顺天启运。……歼不戴之大讎，

雪无穷之深恨。西戎由是而是寃，北虜于焉而殄愠。武功大成，丕然无竞。周原禹甸，疆理经营；四海九州，讴歌朝覲。

于是，兹山之势，日以益大。昔之荆棘榛芜，今则柞棫拔，而行道兑而西夷駢。兹山之势，日以益崇。昔之偏僻幽遐，今则自西自东，咸率众而四海同。兹山之名，久而益芳。昔之山林险阻，今则有周行，居久臧而帝业康。以此观之，则兹山与会稽、芒碭，同一肇基，同一兴王也。

“父老”认为至灵山可与会稽、芒碭颉颃，而黎太祖的功业可与越王、汉高相提并论。但作者的目的是将本国君主推上更胜一筹的地位，所以“父老”之言只是为歌功颂德的部分衬托，于是又出现一“叟”难之曰：

子之言，何其迂若是？但知其一，未知其二。徒见兹山之象，与会稽、芒碭虽同；而不知我皇之德，与勾践、高祖则异。彼二君者，听天与不取之言，而甘其残忍；用养虎遗患之策，而至于不义。曷若夫我皇，量同天地。大德好生，心唐虞之心以为心；神武不杀，志汤武之志以为志。支棱数十万之俘虏，有如笼鸟之哀鸣；东关十二城之逆雠，何异鼎鱼之乱沸？一旦放回，大开生路。弘恢汤网之仁，大荫尧天之庇。扇万国之仁风，播八荒之和气。泽厚仁深，化行俗美。等天作之岐山，同贻谋之丰芑。兹山之寿，天子万年；兹山之茂，本支百世。固有永之皇图，崇不拔之基址。彼汉越之二山，曾何足以比伦而拟议也哉？

这段引用了《史记·越王勾践世家》中范蠡对越王说“天与弗取，反受其咎”，劝其不能赦罪吴王以及《项羽本纪》中张良、陈平说放走项羽是“养虎自遗患”的典故，结合越史中黎太祖放回十万战俘、劝降十二城池的故事，认为越王、汉高虽成就大业，但手段过于残忍不义，惟黎祖以德服人，其“量同天地”，兼具“唐虞之心”与“汤武之志”。这种对比，实则是将越南君主置于中国圣王谱系中，并宣称其德行已超越那些著名的中原开国君主，表达越南人“抗衡中华”的本土政治自信。从此赋的总体结构及行文风格来看，隐约可以看出司马相如《上林赋》的雏形。

当代越南学者认为，多位作家尊帝王之命同时创作《至灵山赋》体现了十五世纪上半叶越南文坛上的集体性创作活动（Đinh Gia Khánh, 2015, p. 211），笔者则不赞同这一说法。在越南甚至中国文学史上，“御题”并不是罕见的现象，如胡朝时期有人献一只形状似马的用叶子编成的虫子，朝廷以为祥瑞之兆，故名之曰“叶马儿”，遂以之为题，令士大夫赋之以颂。今存《叶马儿赋》者有段春雷与阮飞卿二人之作，但胡朝这个御题并没有被冠上“集体性”的美名。说某个应帝命而作的创作活动具有集体性是没有依据的。而且，编纂《越南文学》这部书的越南学者们是用带有滤镜的眼光看待胡朝与黎朝的，他们从儒家的观点，认为胡季犛是篡陈大贼，黎利则是国家英雄，《叶马儿赋》是谄佞奸者之言，《至灵山赋》则是赞颂豪杰之歌，从理论上就存在偏见的看法，所以此说法不能成立。

越南人“借鉴中国，书写自我”，创作载有爱国主义的辞赋作品，时不时渗入儒家学术的王政、仁道等思想。咏史赋不仅是高歌本国英雄、向中华朝廷宣称自己独立地位的合法性的工具，同时也是体现越南人从唐宋时代继承到的“文以载道”思想的渠道。这是越南汉文赋的第三大特点。

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ORCID

Nguyen Huu Tho ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-0190-7873>

Liu Pei ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0002-8130-8746>

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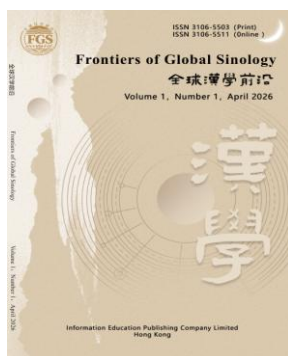
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副文本视角下《围城》德译本的跨文化阐释

马梦茜 (Ma Mengxi), 刘红卫 (Liu Hongwei)

摘要: 本文以《围城》德译本为研究对象, 在副文本理论框架下, 系统探究了内副文本的跨文化阐释功能。通过对封面、作者前言、后记、再版说明、注释及参考书目等内副文本形式的分析, 本文认为《围城》德译本的内副文本构建了德语读者理解作品所需的语境预设, 通过对中国历史文化及语言文化的解释, 补偿了文化缺省所造成的理解障碍以及在德语国家语境中塑造了作者与作品的文学形象。研究表明, 副文本引导德语读者全面深入地理解中国和中国文学作品, 促进了中国文学作品的跨文化传播。

关键词: 《围城》; 副文本; 文学翻译; 跨文化阐释

作者简介: 马梦茜, 中南财经政法大学外国语学院硕士研究生, 研究方向: 英语文学, 文学伦理学批评研究, 电邮: 383875946@qq.com。刘红卫 (通讯作者), 中南财经政法大学外国语学院教授, 研究方向: 英语文学, 现当代英国戏剧, 文学伦理学批评研究, 电邮: liuhw@zuel.edu.cn。

Title: Cross-Cultural Interpretation in the German Translation of *Fortress Besieged*: A Paratextual Perspective

Abstract: This paper takes the German translation of *Fortress Besieged* as the research object, and systematically explores the cross-cultural interpretation function of the peritext under the framework of paratext theory. Through the analysis of the peritext form such as the cover, the author's preface, the afterword, the reprint notes, the annotations and the bibliography, this paper argues that the peritext of the German translation of *Fortress Besieged* constructs the cultural context presuppositions required for German readers to understand the work, compensates for

the comprehension barriers caused by cultural defaults through the interpretation of Chinese history and language culture, and shapes the literary image of the author and the work in the context of German-speaking countries. Research shows that the paratext guides German-speaking readers to have a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of China and Chinese literary works, and promotes the cross-cultural dissemination of Chinese literary works.

Keywords: *Fortress Besieged*; paratext; literary translation; cross-cultural interpretation

Author Biographies: Ma Mengxi, Master's Candidate at the School of Foreign Studies, Zhongnan University of Economics and Law. Research Areas: English Literature, Ethical Literary Criticism. E-mail: 383875946@qq.com. Liu Hongwei (Corresponding Author), Professor at the School of Foreign Studies, Zhongnan University of Economics and Law. Research Areas: English Literature, Contemporary British Drama, Ethical Literary Criticism. E-mail: liuhw@zuel.edu.cn.

引言

钱钟书所著的唯一一部长篇小说《围城》是中国现代文学史上一部风格独特的讽刺作品，小说标题“围城”深刻隐喻了抗战前后中国知识分子置身于物质及精神之困境。在跨文化传播过程中，这部小说更被视为“融汇了中西方文化精神的经典之作。”（高旭东、戴波，2017, pp. 66-67）

《围城》自 1947 年出版以来便引发了中国现代文坛的广泛关注和讨论。随着中国文学作品和中国作家不断走向世界，《围城》也逐渐被译介到海外，目前已有英语、法语、德语等 10 多种译本。其中，《围城》英译本于 1979 年出版，开启了《围城》国际传播的历程，使得海外读者开始认识钱钟书和中国现代文学。《围城》的德语译本最初于 1988 年由德国岛屿出版社出版，2008 年由 SchirmerGraf Verlag 再版。《围城》德译本出版后，《明镜周刊》、《法兰克福汇报》等德国主流媒体纷纷发表书评并给予高度评价。本文选取 2016 年 4 月由外语教学与研究出版社出版的首部汉德双语版本 *Die umzingelte Festung*（*汉德双语*）中的德语译本为研究对象。该译本采用了德国汉学家莫宜佳（Monika Motsch）与史仁仲（Jerome Shih）的经典译本，于 2009 年荣获法兰克福书展颁发的德国“Jane Scatcherd 翻译奖”，并于 2011 年被提名为“中华图书特殊贡献奖”。

目前，国内学界针对《围城》德译本的研究较少，主要聚焦于《围城》德译本的译文分析，通过具体例句来探索译者的翻译策略和语言处理方式。（王静，2012；陈敏，2023；王波涛，2019）此外，国内研究也关注到了《围城》德译本在德语国家的翻译、传播和接受情况。（朱琳、余承法，2024；杜蕾，2023）然而，值得关注的是，当前国内对《围城》德译本的研究主要集中在译文的正文部分，对原文本及译文副文本的关注不足。因此，本文通过分析 *Die umzingelte Festung*（*汉德双语*）中德语译本的封面、作者前言、后记、再版说明、注释和参考书目等内副文本，探讨该书的内副文本如何在跨文化语境中引导德语国家读者理解中国社会与中国文学作品，丰富读者对译本整体性的认识，深化人们对中国文学作品外译中副文本重要性的关注。

“副文本”（paratext）概念最早由法国叙事学家热奈特（Gérard Genette）提出，意指“围绕正文存在、影响读者阅读方式的一系列附属文本和非文本形式，如书名、前言、后记、注释和访谈等。”（Genette, 1997, p. 1）Genette（1997, p. 7）将副文本分为“内副文本”（peritext）与“外副文

本” (epitext): 前者与书籍的物理形态紧密结合, 直接出现在文本之中; 后者则存在于书籍之外, 如访谈、书评及媒体评论等。在文学作品向外传播的过程中, 副文本是出版内容中不可分割的一部分, 可以帮助读者更全面地了解文学作品。在翻译语境中, 副文本的功能尤为重要。正如肖丽 (2011, pp. 17-20) 所述, “副文本研究能够进一步拓展翻译研究的界限, 揭示社会环境对译作的深远影响”。更为重要的是, 副文本在翻译过程中能够发挥形象构建的作用。正如贺显斌 (2017, pp. 43-47) 所表明, “翻译副文本不仅参与建构异国和异域文化形象, 也可以在译语文化中塑造和传播原作形象、原作人物形象、原作语言形象等”。由于译本面对的是不同语言与文化背景的读者, 译文正文之外的副文本能够补充正文信息、增进读者对原作历史背景的了解, 读者也会因此构建对异国文化的认识。在跨文化视域下, 黄晓敏和刘红卫 (2025) 对文学人物伦理身份重构的探究路径, 为本文从跨文化阐释角度分析译者副文本中的作者形象提供了有益参照。从跨文化传播角度来看, 通过前言、注释和后记等副文本形式, 译者或出版者能够对作品进行进一步的本土化阐释。在这一过程中, 译者或出版者会更深入地了解异国文化和文学作品的写作背景, 更清晰地向读者传达作品的主题思想, 促进跨文化交流和传播。

基于此, 本文以《围城》德译本的内副文本 (包括封面、钱钟书撰写的前言、译者莫宜佳撰写的后记、再版说明、注释和参考书目) 为研究对象, 从文化语境的预设、文化缺省的补偿和文学形象的建构三个方面, 探究这些内副文本是如何在德语语境中对中国社会文化背景进行诠释, 引导目标读者理解作品所呈现的复杂文化内涵。

一、文化语境的预设

“文化预设是指生活在同一种文化环境下的人们共享以潜在形式存在的假设、信念和观点。” (Eugene Nida and William Reymann, 1981, p. 14) 也就是说, 文化背景差异较大的人们会面临文化预设的理解问题。因此, 译者在翻译的过程中需要考虑到目的语读者的文化背景, 帮助目的语读者理解原作的创作背景和创作目的。正如王敏和罗选民 (2017, pp. 92-93) 所述, “译者需要充分了解原作文化和目的语读者的文化, 推动目的语读者更准确地理解原作的文化预设”。《围城》德译本的封面、作者钱钟书撰写的前言和译者莫宜佳撰写的再版说明为德语读者进行了文化语境的预设。

《围城》德译本的封面去除了作家和作品的标签, 强化了大众文学作品的色彩, 使得德语读者更加愿意开始阅读和反复精读。封面在视觉传播中发挥着极其重要的作用。正如胡清韵和谭渊 (2021, pp. 109-110) 所述, “好的封面的设计能够准确传达出书籍的内容, 反映出译者和出版社的想法, 吸引更多的读者”。如图所示, 《围城》德译本的封面主色调为灰色, 与城墙的颜色相符合。封面将蓝色与灰色相搭配, 给人以宁静和沉稳之感。中文标题《围城》、汉德双语版本、德语译者信息和出版社名皆为蓝色。其中, 中文标题《围城》辅以蓝色城墙的图案, 醒目且突出, 读者能够快速捕捉到标题信息。最右侧的城墙设计也呼应了这一点。作者信息和德语标题 *Die umzingelte Festung* 为白色。一左一右, 形成对称, 强调了这本书的双语版本。正如 Genette (1997, p. 1) 所表明, “副文本是正文本的‘门槛’。读者在阅读正文之前, 必须先理解封面中蕴含的文化意义”。同时, 如图所示, 《围城》德译本的封面十分简洁, 只有中文和德语版的作家名和作品名, 没有类似“德国法兰克福书展最佳翻译奖”这样的标签定义。这能够在很大程度上弱化文化他者性, 在德语读者与中国文学作品之间形成平等、友好的交流, 减少文化距离。

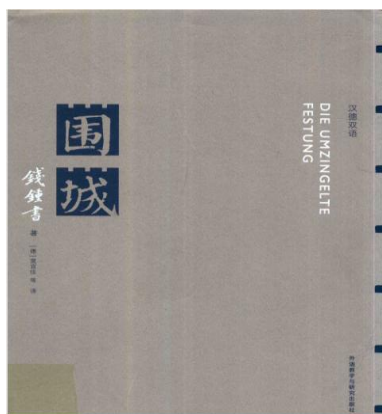


图 1:《围城》德译本封面

Figure 1: The cover of the German translation of *Fortress Besieged*

《围城》德译本的作者前言分为作者钱钟书对全体读者和德语读者的说明。在作者于 1946 年所写的笔者序中，作者介绍了《围城》的写作背景和写作目的，德语读者能够了解到当时中国社会的状况和作品的性质。作者钱钟书（2016, p. 236）在序言中表明“《围城》书写的是现代中国的某一部分社会、某一类人物。人类具有无毛两足动物的基本根性”。¹这点明了他的创作目的。在这一说明中，钱钟书弱化了《围城》的政治背景，强调这一作品揭示的是普遍人性。作品的政治性不强，德语读者便更容易理解且更愿意接触小说的主题。同时，钱钟书叙述他花了两年的时间才完成《围城》。“两年里他忧世伤生，屡想中止。”（2016, p. 236）《围城》发表时间为 1946 年，正处于中国抗日战争末期和解放战争时期。社会变革加剧，中国人民积极探寻未来的发展道路。由于担忧战争局势和民众安全，钱钟书放缓了写作的节奏。通过阅读作者对全体读者的前言，德语读者对当时中国的社会背景生成了认知。此外，在作者于 1988 年所写的对德语读者的说明中，钱钟书并没有重复叙述写作背景，而是着重叙述了译者莫宜佳对中国文化的热爱以及她对《围城》德译本所做出的贡献，体现出了译者莫宜佳和作者钱钟书之间的友好关系。钱钟书对莫宜佳翻译缘由的说明实际上拉近了德语读者与中国文化的距离。“庞德（Ezra Pound）对中国文化的一知半解、无知妄解、高深玄妙的误解增强了莫宜佳博士探讨中国文化的兴趣和决心。她对中国近代文学有广泛而又亲切的认识，善于运用汉语，写出活泼明净的散文。”（2016, p. 607）这句话点明了译者莫宜佳对中国文化和文学作品的热爱，能够进一步引起德语读者的阅读兴趣，增强德语读者理解中国文化的信心。

译者莫宜佳于 2008 年撰写的再版说明更加全面、清晰地表现出了《围城》的社会背景，德语读者更能理解中国的文化语境。当时，距离《围城》原作 1946 年首次出版已过去 60 年，中国社会发生了剧变。译者莫宜佳（2016, p. 597）表明“《围城》是对 20 世纪 40 年代中国社会的生动描绘。然而，与大多数关于那个时代的叙事作品不同，此书并非从某种坚定的政治或共产主义视角出发撰写，而是摒弃了高昂的社会激情，以机智和讽刺的笔触描绘了当时的日常生活”。这一叙述进一步印证了这部小说的弱政治性，易于德语读者阅读。此外，莫宜佳提到《围城》体现出了全球化进程的要求。“《围城》处理了一个核心主题，即本土旧有文化与外部侵入的西方文化价值观之间的冲突。小说不只是对中西方文化差异的简单对比。它所呈现的并非是文化冲突，而是不断展现出具体

¹ 本文有关《围城》德译本的引文均来自 Monika Motsch（2016）: *Die umzingelte Festung*（汉德双语）: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press。以下引文只标注页码，不再一一说明。

而微的中西文化交汇点。”（2016, p. 597）这句话中对中西文化共通点的表达与全球化中互利共赢的思想相契合，德语读者更乐于去阅读。“我们不仅能在《围城》所描绘的、象征人类自私本性的著名‘猴子尾巴’中找到中国人的影子，也能在自己身上发现它。”（2016, p. 597）这句话映照了《围城》中书写的是贪婪自私的普遍人性，不带有强攻击性色彩。

综上所述，《围城》德译本的内副文本封面、作者前言和再版说明能够帮助德语读者在阅读正文之前理解小说的文化预设、搭建阅读框架，引导德语读者探索中国社会背景和小说的真实性质，增进德语读者对中国文化的了解。

二、文化缺省的补偿

“文化缺省是指在交际过程中，拥有共同文化背景的交际双方会心照不宣地省略彼此都知道的语篇外的信息，这样能有效地提高交际效率。”（王东风，1997, pp. 56-57）然而，在遇到文化缺省现象时，与作者文化背景不同的读者往往无法领会作者的省略意味。因此，译者在补偿文化缺省现象上起到非常重要的作用。译者不仅需要深入了解原作的文化缺省现象，而且需要设身处地考虑到读者的接受能力，再运用适当的处理策略向读者传达原作的术语内涵和文化意义。

译者莫宜佳于1989年所写的《围城》德译本的注释补偿了德语读者遇到的文化缺省现象，向德语读者解释了中国的历史文化语境。《围城》德译本共有30条注释。其中，18条是专有名词解释：包括人名、书名等，8条是典故：包括古代故事等，2条是双关语，2条是谚语。在跨文化交际中，理解对方的历史文化背景是交际成功的关键。译者莫宜佳对《围城》中与中国历史相关的概念进行了通俗易懂的解释，这些概念包括中国建筑、典籍、人物和典故，如敦煌石窟、《永乐大典》、太平天国运动、《三宝太监下西洋》、“新生活运动”、方孝孺、孟尝君、佛祖舍身饲虎、“中学为体，西学为用”。《永乐大典》是一部规模宏大的类书，收录了超过两万卷内容，涵盖儒家经典的注疏以及历史、哲学、艺术、天文、地理等方面的论著。它于1403年至1408年间为明成祖（永乐帝）编纂而成。在1860年第二次鸦片战争期间，欧洲军队攻占北京、火烧圆明园时，其大部分被毁或运往欧洲。（2016, p. 598）德语读者阅读这个注释时不仅能够了解《永乐大典》这本书，还可以认识古代中国的封建制度和儒家思想以及近代中国的状况，了解到中国的悠远历史。佛祖舍身饲虎暗指一则佛教传说，见于《六度集经》。传说古时有一位佛教圣者想要弃绝尘世，便退隐山林。每当圣者看到生命受苦时，便会出手相救。一天，圣者正在寻找野果时，遇到一只母虎，因饥饿、疲惫与过度兴奋，在哺乳后竟想吃掉自己的幼崽。圣者流泪，感到无限悲悯。由于母虎只食肉，圣者决定以身相饲。圣者将头颅伸入猛兽口中，以求速死而无痛苦。母虎与幼崽因此得救。（2016, p. 602）莫宜佳对这个典故的解释与对敦煌石窟的解释相契合。敦煌石窟便存有舍身饲虎壁画。德语读者通过阅读这两个注释能够更加清楚地认识到佛教在中国的发展，体会到中国兼收并蓄的历史文化。

《围城》德译本的注释为德语读者构建了文学互文系统。“互文性是指在一个文本的空间里，取自其他文本的各种陈述相互交叉、相互中和。”（Julia Kristeva, 1969, p. 146）也就是说，一篇文本中有时会提到其他多种文本。作者将这篇文本与其他文本相结合共同阐释主题思想，表现出深层的内涵。译者莫宜佳向德语读者解释了中国和西方的文学典籍和诗文，体现出了《围城》的互文性，促使德语读者能够深入理解中国知识分子（《围城》描写的核心群体）的文化语境，如文言文、弗里德里希·冯·罗高、“R”是狗鼻子音、《三国演义》《水浒传》《西游记》、“窈窕淑女”、《儒林外史》、

“九宫格”、斯多维尔勋爵的原则、“有美玉于斯”、但丁《神曲·地狱篇》第三歌第九行、“Sweets to the sweet”。“R”是狗鼻子音出自佩尔西乌斯《讽刺诗》第一首，第 107 行及后文：“Sonat hic de nare canina littera”（此处响起来自狗鼻子的声音/字母）。（2016, p. 599）结合原文出处来看，作者辛辣地讽刺了张先生讲英语不伦不类，内在思想迂腐、外在崇洋媚外。莫宜佳在注释中加深了钱钟书想要表达的讽刺意味，深化了德语读者对当时中国知识分子的认识。“有美玉于斯”戏谑地暗引《论语·子罕篇·第十三章》。子贡曰：“有美玉于斯，韞椟而藏诸？求善贾而沽诸？”子曰：“沽之哉，沽之哉！我待贾者也。”孔子力主出售美玉，意在表示君子不应埋没才华，而应出仕为政。用在王美玉身上，“沽”便有了新的含义。（2016, p. 603）作者暗指美玉应无瑕，但《围城》中的王美玉却是一名风尘女子，具有极强的反讽意味。莫宜佳也在注释中暗示了这一点。德语读者通过这个注释能够领会到中国经典文学典籍的魅力以及中国知识分子含蓄却意味深长的文学表达。

《围城》德译本的注释使德语读者能够进一步了解中国的社会生活和语言文化。人民的日常生活和语言文化在很大程度上反映出了国家的文化内涵和特征。译者莫宜佳为德语读者描绘出了中国人民的生活面貌，如麻将、“拚盘拚伴”、斜川刚作的诗、“呕出尔乃沃”、虱子奥林匹克、还要你烧锡箔去赎罪、分家不分家、“忠”字是心上一个中字。麻将在西方常被称为 Mahjong。四人用 144 张牌进行游戏，是西方多米诺骨牌的一种复杂变体。人们若想要赢牌，不仅需要运气，还需要大量练习，尤其是出色的记忆力。麻将是中国的国粹，人们热衷于此，并且常常下高额赌注。多届中国政府都曾试图禁止，但收效甚微。麻将也被视为一种性格测试，这也就是为什么张太太向她未来的女婿提议玩一局。方鸿渐在这场测试中完全失败了。（2016, p. 599）莫宜佳详细叙述了中国人民对麻将的喜爱以及麻将所承载的丰富内涵。这增进了德语读者对中国人民娱乐活动的了解。还要你烧锡箔去赎罪是指根据一种地方迷信，男人被女人打耳光是不祥之兆。他只有向财神烧香祭拜（此处“烧锡箔”指焚化纸钱祭神），才能避开即将降临的灾祸。显然，这种事时有发生，故而形成了这句谚语。（2016, p. 603）烧锡箔纸是中国民间祭奠祖先、神灵以及逝去的亲人的一种方式，通过这一注释，德语读者能够明了中国谚语的来源以及中国人民生活中蕴含的语言文化。

尽管《围城》德译本的注释不多，但是通俗易懂，能够弥补德语读者对中国文化知识认识的不足，解决德语读者在阅读正文过程中遇到的语言问题和文化障碍，助力德语读者形成对中国历史文化和生活文化更深刻的认识。

三、文学形象的建构

《围城》德译本的封面、译者莫宜佳撰写的后记和参考书目在德语国家语境中建构了作者钱钟书和《围城》的文学形象。这里的文学形象是指作家和作品在某种文化中的文学身份和文化定位。在跨文化交际中，译者对原文本作者和作品文学形象的阐释会影响读者的理解，促使读者形成文学认知。译者莫宜佳在读者阅读完正文后通过内副文本后记和参考书目建构了钱钟书和《围城》的文学经典定位。

莫宜佳于 1989 年所写的后记通过文学评价巧妙地建构了钱钟书和《围城》的文学形象，并且推动了《围城》在德语国家语境中的经典化历程。文学经典化是指文学作品成为经典作品的过程，这一过程需要得到大众的认可。正如金宏宇（2012, pp. 177-180）所述，“副文本是文本经典化的重要推手。副文本具有纪实性和真实性，一般是由与作者相熟的师友即时写成，具有极强的现场感和真

实感”。在后记中，莫宜佳叙述了自己与钱钟书的交流经历，描述了钱钟书的家庭，强调了钱钟书对书籍的热爱，概述了钱钟书兼具艺术性与学术性的作品以及他的追求。莫宜佳以钱钟书好友和学术同伴的身份详细介绍了钱钟书的生平和成就，有助于增强叙述内容的真实性，德语读者更能切身体会到作者钱钟书的形象。钱先生有一次在电话里劝阻一位英国女学者来访，理由是：“假如你觉得鸡蛋好吃，何必非得认识下蛋的母鸡呢？”（2016, p. 579）这暗示了读者不必深究作者生平和荣誉，应关注小说文本本身。正如钱钟书（2016, p. 579）所说，“无论作为作者还是学者，我都甘心守着自己一方天地，独自耕耘那片小小的园地”。这些表述在德语读者心中建构了谦虚平和的作者形象。莫宜佳并不吝嗇对钱钟书的文学评价，她认为钱钟书“无疑是中国最伟大的学者之一”（2016, p. 581）以及“中国比较文学研究的奠基人”（2016, p. 582），在德语国家语境中塑造了钱钟书的文学地位。此外，译者莫宜佳介绍了《围城》多样化的社会评价，促使德语读者客观地理解《围城》。1983年法国《世界报》赞其值得获诺贝尔奖，另一些人则因其愤世嫉俗的厌世态度而排斥它。（2016, p. 582）人们称赞《围城》的两点：一是其机智与讽刺，二是对西方文化的涉猎。（2016, p. 582）除此之外，莫宜佳还提到了小说与德国哲学家阿图尔·叔本华的联系，引导德语读者深入思考，吸引更多德语读者阅读《围城》。书中将婚姻与生活视为“围城”的观念，令人想起叔本华的论点，即所有美好的希望都以失望告终，人类在痛苦与无聊之间不断摇摆。尤其是人作为“孤独的刺猬”这一意象，可追溯至叔本华一个著名的比喻：他将人类社会比作一群刺猬，因需要温暖而挤在一起，却又因刺扎疼痛而立刻分开。（2016, p. 589）这一联系使得德语读者更易理解《围城》的主题思想和文化定位。

莫宜佳于1989年首次撰写、于2008年二次编写的《围城》德译本的参考书目，列出了与钱钟书和《围城》相关的研究文献，塑造了《围城》的学术性特征。莫宜佳在参考书目部分不仅叙述了作者钱钟书的主要著作，还列出了关于钱钟书和《围城》的研究性文献，如夏志清的《钱钟书》（耶鲁大学出版社，纽黑文/伦敦，1971年），胡志德（Theodore Hutters）《钱钟书》（特怀恩出版社，波士顿，1982年），杨绛的《记钱钟书与〈围城〉》（书目文献出版社，北京，1985年）等。这些参考书目使得德语国家读者能够多维度地了解作品创作中、学术研究中和日常生活中的钱钟书，更成为了研究这部小说的重要历史文献。

结语

综上所述，本文以《围城》德译本的内副文本为研究对象，系统性地探讨了译本内副文本封面、作者前言、后记、再版说明、注释和参考书目的形式以及其在跨文化语境中的文化阐释功能。研究发现，《围城》德译本的内副文本主要通过预设文化语境、补偿文化缺省以及建构文学形象，在读者进入小说正文之前、之中、之后向德语读者阐释钱钟书的文学身份和《围城》的文学意义，引导德语读者深入探索《围城》的内涵和当代价值、体会中国文学作品的魅力，促进跨文化文学传播。毋庸置疑，这部小说的副文本有着极高的研究价值，除了内副文本，仍可以进一步拓展对译本外副文本（如书评、译者访谈等）的研究，更全面地探究《围城》在德语国家的接受情况。同时，也可以通过比较分析不同译者或不同语种的译本，从跨文本的角度深入探讨《围城》在跨文化语境中的呈现方式。

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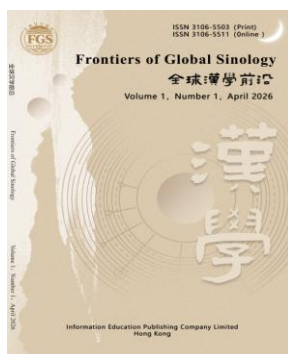
Ma Mengxi ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-4390-2521>

Liu Hongwei ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0004-3775-1286>

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两次中西礼仪之争——从文化适应到西方话语霸权的形成

刘玉宇 (Liu Yuyu)

摘要：本文结合两次中西“礼仪之争”的历史语境，对霍米·巴巴在《作为奇迹的符号》一文中提出的殖民话语之双重性与权威性观点进行批判性探讨。文章通过考察明清时期西方传教士与中国政权之间的接触与碰撞，以及由此引发的霸权更迭现象，同时重新审视现代帝国主义兴起前后“东方主义”话语结构的转换。文中指出，在十七至十八世纪的中国，以利玛窦“易服”“儒化”策略为典型的文化适应政策，推动了宗教传播与文化交融，但尚未形成完整的殖民统治体系。张星曜《天儒同异考》提出的融合框架，则为文化杂糅与同化开辟了可能性。然而随着帝国主义全球扩张，西方秩序凭借技术与军事优势逐渐取得话语霸权，马戛尔尼使华事件遂成为两种世界秩序冲突的象征。文章认为，第一次礼仪之争期间中西交往仍保持着相对对等状态，而第二次争议则标志着全球性帝国秩序的确立。

关键词：礼仪之争；文化适应；东方主义；话语霸权

作者简介：刘玉宇，中山大学外国语学院英语系副教授，研究方向：英美文学、西方文论、海外汉学研究，电邮：flslyy@mail.sysu.edu.cn。

Title: Two Controversies over Chinese rituals-From the Practice of Acculturation to the Formation of Western Discursive Hegemony

Abstract: This article undertakes a critique of Homi K. Bhabha's idea of the ambivalence and authority of colonial discourse in his article "Signs Taken for Wonders" in relation to the historical context of two Sino-Western controversies over rituals. It examines the encounters and tensions between Western missionaries and Chinese regimes in Ming and Qing Dynasty, and the hegemonic alternation hence resulted, while at the same time reassessing the shifting

configurations of Orientalism before and after the emergence of modern imperialism. The article argues that in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China, Western missionaries advanced religious transmission and cultural exchange through strategies of acculturation, exemplified by Matteo Ricci's adoption of Chinese attire and his Confucianizing approach. These practices enabled a degree of cultural integration without producing a fully articulated regime of colonial domination. Zhang Xingyao's *Tianru Tongyi Kao* (An Examination of the Similarities and Differences between Christianity and Confucianism) proposed a syncretic framework that opened up possibilities for cultural hybridity and assimilation. However, with the rise of global imperialism, Western systems of order increasingly secured discursive hegemony through technological and military superiority. The Macartney Embassy to China came to symbolize the clash between two incompatible world orders. The article concludes that during the first controversy, Sino-Western interactions still retained a relative condition of parity, whereas the second controversy reflects the consolidation of a global imperial order.

Keywords: controversy over rituals; acculturation; Orientalism; discursive hegemony

Author Biography: Liu Yuyu, associate professor of the English Department, School of Foreign Languages at Sun Yat-Sen University. Her research interests include British and American literature, critical theory, and China Studies overseas. E-mail: flslyy@mail.sysu.edu.cn.

一、引言

霍米·巴巴在其文章《作为奇迹的符号》中提出的文化杂糅和双重性等概念，已经成为后殖民主义批评理论的重要概念 (Bhabha, 1994, p. 150)。在文中，霍米·巴巴指出英国殖民主义文学中一个经常出现的象征符号：英语书籍。巴巴通过几个文学作品中“偶然地、意外地发现的英语书”的例子，指出在这些作品中，英语书被当做殖民者统治、欲望和规训的象征。也就是说，英语书的出现似乎便代表了殖民权力，代表殖民者的话语权，代表英帝国文化在殖民地的统治地位。在殖民文学中，英语和英国（欧洲）文化往往被视为唯一的“人类”语言，唯一的高等文化。书籍自然是承载这些价值的最重要象征。

在巴巴所转述的故事中，英语书籍单凭其在殖民地的在场，就获得了权威的象征地位，因为其所代表的英帝国，在殖民地已经确立了稳固的统治。斯皮瓦克曾描述一个英国士兵如何仅仅因为其在印度殖民地的出现而成为欧洲在其殖民地“世界化” (Worlding, 指将某种世界观/话语强加于另一种世界观/话语之上) 的象征 (Ashcroft et al, 2000, p. 226)。“世界化”的象征不仅限于人，如书籍之类的物体也有同样的效果。

巴巴真正要论述的是，这些英语书在特定的情境中所起的作用，不仅代表着殖民者的权威，而且同时象征着殖民话语的致命弱点。这些在特定场合中 discovered 的英语书所代表的殖民话语秩序，并不是原初的、纯粹的英帝国话语秩序，而仅仅是其重复、摹本：“恰恰是在英国性的法令和地球上那些黑暗、无序地区的侵袭之间，通过重复的行为，殖民的文本变得不确定……因此，殖民的存在总是双重性的，一方面是原初的、权威的表现，一方面是其重复的、差异的表达” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 107)。

不过，本文感兴趣的不是巴巴如何通过解构主义的表述方式提出他著名的双重性和杂糅性概念，而是文章一开头所引用的那个关于《圣经》的故事。这个故事是早期印度基督教传道师阿南德·梅赛所记叙的。1817年五月，梅赛在离德里不远的树林里，遇到一个大约有500人的聚会。男女老少坐在树荫下，诵读和讨论着什么书。阿南德发现他们所读的是翻译成印度语的《圣经》福音书。

那些人告诉他，他们读的书是上帝（耶稣）派遣天使（传教士）送给他们的礼物。他们从来没有看到过印出来的书，因此都将这本书当作是神迹。当阿南德告诉他们，这本书讲的是欧洲老爷们的宗教，只是翻译成印度语言时，那些印度信徒并不相信。这本书提出的无阶级的平等思想让信徒们作出放弃原来的信仰，皈依新的宗教的决定。但是，当阿南德告诉他们，应该去找神父帮他们洗礼，要去教堂接受圣餐时，他们却说，洗礼他们可以接受，但绝不会接受圣餐，因为欧洲人是吃牛肉的（Bhabha, 1994, pp. 102-104）。

巴巴试图以此说明，大英帝国的话语秩序一旦在殖民地被重复、被模仿，也就意味着意义的蜕变。而这种变异中隐含着殖民话语的解体。因此，殖民话语自身所固有的双重性、模拟、杂糅，本身就是抵制殖民话语的强有力工具。

与巴巴略有不同的是，本文的着眼点不在于抵制或颠覆帝国主义话语，而在于建构民族身份。重点不在于自我与他者的对抗，而在于二者如何相互构成、相互消解。众多西方文学经典往往因为其中有意无意流露的种族歧视而为后殖民主义者所诟病，从而令非西方读者在是否继续视之为经典的问题上无所适从。然而，英语（欧洲）书籍并不是天然地便代表殖民话语的。在不同的历史文化语境中，在不同的阅读策略下，哪怕是同样的书籍，其象征意义也不尽相同。作为大英帝国（西方）权威象征的英语（欧洲）书籍，在 18 世纪末之前并不存在。这个象征是历史性的，是随着帝国主义在全球的扩张而逐渐形成的，因此也便可能随着历史情境的变化和读者阅读策略的转换而被消解。

二、文化适应：从利玛窦到第一次礼仪之争

与巴巴文中的描述相似的现象在中国文化中也曾经发生，但由于发生的时间和地点不同，其寓意也有所不同。在 17、18 世纪的中国，被巴巴视为英帝国权威象征的《圣经》，在那时的中国并没有起同样的作用。早期来华的欧洲传教士带到中国的欧洲文本《圣经》，此时还不是帝国主义殖民统治的象征。

孟德卫认为，1500-1800 年间，中西方之间的交流和影响是双向的。例如，信仰基督教的士大夫希望以基督教替代佛、道对儒家的影响，而欧洲启蒙运动的哲学家则用儒家思想来取代基督教的作用（Mungello, 2009, p. 9）。这种说法或许掩盖了交流过程中的一些复杂性。比如，无论哪种影响似乎都是以欧洲人为主导的，在传统中国世界观之下，中国不会主动影响欧洲，也不会主动接受欧洲的影响。不过，在两种世界观的交锋过程中，双方的确是交互的、对等的。这一时期中西方世界观的交锋可以基督教在中国传教过程中所涉及的“礼仪之争”为代表。

早期来华传教士实行的是“文化适应政策”。传教士们在中国官员的建议下，先是改着佛教的僧袍，当他们发现僧衣并不是很好的选择时，再一次易服，改穿儒服（戚印平等，2013）。因此，在当时的中国（以及同时期其他东方传教区），呈现于我们想象中的画面是身着汉服的“夷人”，一副归顺于中国文化的异族形象。虽然身穿儒服并不意味着便是真正的儒者，也不意味着对儒学的认同。但作为一个政治和文化符号，穿上儒服便表明西方传教士已经承认中国的世界秩序并为之所接受。即便在另一个意义上，当传教士用欧洲语言写作，向欧洲汇报中国的情况时，他实际上处于另一个世界秩序当中。也即，在他们的身上，两种世界秩序是并存的。

戚印平等指出，耶稣会士的易服或其他入乡随俗的行为改变，并不是出于文化交流或其他超越宗教派别的自愿行为，而是因为耶稣会士在力量对比中始终处于绝对弱势地位，不得不屈从于现实。这一评论的关键字眼在于“处于绝对弱势地位”。这是与巴巴所引的那段文字最大的不同之处。历史学家常常将 16 世纪作为区分世界历史的一个分界点，因为此前各文明的发展大致上是独立进行的，东西方虽有交流，但仅限于局部。从 16 世纪开始，西方的扩张使得分布于地球各区域的文明国家无法再维持独立自足的状态，逐渐被纳入一个日益扩张的全球秩序（也即西方秩序）中。然而这个过程是缓慢的。直到 18 世纪末，西方才完成了在全球的霸权统治。

斯皮瓦克所描述的 19 世纪英国士兵，仅仅是独自一人走在印度的乡间，便得以“通过强迫当地人将他者的空间加诸于自己的国土上（也即，他强迫当地人将自己的国土视为帝国的空间），巩固了欧洲的自我。他将自己的世界秩序强加于他们的世界……”（Ashcroft et al, 2000, p. 226）。在那个年代，帝国主义的秩序已经扩张到全球的各个角落，再没有能够与之抗衡的另一个秩序存在。因此，来自帝国的哪怕一个士兵、一本书，都足以代表这样一个无处不在的秩序。但这种情况并未发生在 18 世纪以前的西方来华传教士身上。“直到现代的连发枪和机枪出现之前，小群体的到达要么被全部消灭，要么就被当地的文化所同化。（斯塔夫里阿诺斯，1988, p. 118）”

当时来华的耶稣会士采取的是全方位的文化适应政策，包括用汉语中原有的词汇翻译基督教词汇，以及援引儒家学说解释基督教、允许皈依的基督徒继续奉行儒家的传统等等。故而，即便利玛窦来到中国是带着梵蒂冈的使命，他也只能以个人的身份融入中国社会，而不可能像 18 世纪末的马嘎尔尼或后来的帝国主义者那样，顶着帝国的名义，粗暴地将帝国的话语秩序移植到中国文化中。与基督教在华的传教伴随始终的中国礼仪之争充分地证明了这一点。在耶稣会士尽力将自己与信奉儒家传统的中国士绅同化，以便用基督教同化中国的过程中，他们的“本土化”策略遭到了教廷以及其他教派的质疑。反对本土化的传教士采取了完全相反的策略，试图用西方的世界秩序直接取代中国的儒家传统，废除源于中国古籍的“上帝”和“天”等用词，并禁止信徒进行与祭孔祭祖有关的中国习俗。但他们很快就遭受了彻底的失败。康熙皇帝发布敕令，要求传教士遵循利玛窦所传下的做法。而教皇特使针锋相对的回应令双方的矛盾进一步激化。

尼日利亚作家阿切比的小说《分崩离析》所刻画的两个西方传教士形象，无论其宗教政策如何不同，都与斯皮瓦克笔下的印度士兵一样，以其在殖民地的“在场”将西方世界秩序强加于非洲的土地。（Achebe, 1995）然而在《分崩离析》中得以成功的策略，在当时的中国遭受了彻底的失败。礼仪之争最终导致了康熙皇帝对传教士的驱逐，造成在华基督教传教事业的低谷。这是权力的斗争，也是两个世界的碰撞。在华传教士的双重身份令他们进退两难。与更早之前的外来者“要么被全部消灭，要么就被当地的文化所同化”不一样的是，这些传教士并非孤军奋战，退无可退。梵蒂冈开始遍布世界的传教网络，同时也将西方的世界秩序延伸到全球各地。然而在这场中西世界观的交锋中，鞭长莫及的西方并没有占据优势。传教士最终被一纸敕令驱逐出中国。

当伏尔泰等人在为反对基督教神权而盛赞中国是一个民主和平等的国家时，欧洲对中国的影响仅限于大量出口货物所带来的白银收入，以及在宫廷里担任钦天监监正的耶稣会士。让异族人在中国的朝廷里做官，体现了中国对异己者最大限度的宽容。两种世界观仍然各行其是，各以自我为中心控制着异国想象，建构自我形象。启蒙时期欧洲的东方主义想象，对中国而言仅仅是想象而已。这种想象有多少延续到 19 世纪及以后，成为控制中国人思维的殖民主义意识形态呢？

清廷对耶稣会士的宽容和对其他基督教传教士的排斥，是建立在无懈可击的理性之上的。中国礼仪之争之时西方教廷的方针，可比之于《鲁滨逊漂流记》中鲁滨逊对星期五的驯化。在鲁滨逊看来，星期五作为没有文化的野蛮人，必须用基督教和欧洲的语言文化进行教化，让他洗尽“野蛮的习俗”，成为“开化”的基督徒。（Defoe, 2010）鲁滨逊可以随心所欲地塑造星期五的奴性意识，仅仅因为星期五是笛福为满足其欧洲中心主义的欲望而捏造出来的“他者”。然而明清时期的中国不是笛福想象中的野蛮人，不会对这种自以为是的仁慈感激涕零。

耶稣会士与中国交往的过程体现了文化沟通与融合的独特方式。耶稣会士把科学作为打开传教局面的工具，清朝皇帝则因为要利用西方的科学而将允许传教作为某种意义上的“补偿”。无论初衷如何，这种方式都促进了双方的文化交流。

三、杂糅与同化：《天儒同异考》

18 世纪初期，皈依基督教的清初士人张星曜写作《天儒同异考》前后，延续几个世纪的中西礼仪之争早已发生，清廷与罗马教廷正面临决裂。继康熙收紧传教政策后，雍正于 1724 年正式颁布全国禁教令。《天儒同异考》恰恰出版于其间的 1715 年，其天儒互补的思想，为中西文化的交流与融合指示了被过早中断的另一种可能路径。

无论欧洲传教士之间如何争论，对于早年从事举业，晚年方皈依基督教的张星曜而言，儒家思想依然是其立足点。《天儒同异考》分为“天教合儒”，“天教补儒”和“天教超儒”三个部分，其主要观点是，儒家教义与基督教相合，但是并不完整，因此需要“天教”对之进行补足。其中，“天教合儒”部分借用基督教神学的框架，搜集整理了儒家经典中与天主教教义相合的内容，用中国古代的“帝”“上帝”“太一”“天”等概念比附基督教上帝，以此说明儒家思想与天主教信仰之间的契合之处。“天教补儒”部分则认为，天主教尊孔排佛，与儒家宗旨相合，且能弥补儒家不问生前死后的不足。“天教超儒”部分主要说明天主教关于神迹、救赎的教义，其完善的惩恶扬善主张超越了儒家的世俗主张，意图借此引导人们皈依天主教。

然而，张星曜著述的意图究竟是因为觉得天主教比儒家教义更高明，更值得信奉，因此用该书来宣扬天主教，还是因为觉得儒家有所缺失，需要通过天主教的来世信仰加以补足呢？张星曜将儒家所说的“天”与天主教的“天主”或“上帝”比附，认为中国古代的事天、敬天、畏天，即天主教信徒对“父神”的敬畏，可与儒家的孝悌相比拟。他认为，由于儒家不论生前死后，遂令佛教天上地下唯我独尊的思想为祸人间，失去对天的敬畏。而天主教恰恰提供了孔子所缺乏的“祸福人之权”，通过信奉上帝赏善罚恶的权柄，来达到让人向善寡恶的教化目的。对于儒家和天主教的关系，张星曜继承早期传教士对中国典籍的附会解释，认为中国自古便已知有天主的存在，只不过儒家并未获得全部的真理，因此需要天主教进行补足。

“天教补儒”的思想在不觉中透露了基督教遭遇儒家教义时的矛盾：德里达称之为“补充”的逻辑。德里达使用的这一名词来自卢梭对言说和书写之间关系的论述：“语言是用来说的，书写仅仅是其补充。（Culler, 1982, p. 102）”卢梭的原意是贬低作为言说之补充的书写。书写因其作为补充从而是无关紧要的。德里达指出其中所隐含的逻辑矛盾：被补充物之所以需要补充，是因为其不完整；然而补充物之被称为补充物，而非被补充物自身的一部分，却恰恰是因为被补充物一开始便被视为完整的。张星曜的目的虽然与卢梭正好相反，然而按照解构主义的逻辑，我们也可以反过来理解这个补充的过程。

夫以天帝所畀之天伦，所赋之天性，而绝灭之，人类不沦于禽兽乎？然则何以救之，亦救之以本而已。西国诸儒惟知事天，与吾儒之理合，知所本也。暇时，取中国经书同符天学者集为一卷，而以《天教合儒》名之，此诚正人心救世道之良方也。宣圣《论语》首章言学，次章即言务本。夫学孰有急于本者，本孰有大于孝悌者，孝生身之父母，与孝生性之父母，孰是其可缓者？（张星曜，p. 553）

这段话的目的是通过与儒家孝悌思想的契合来论证天主教的合法性，与上文中霍米·巴巴所提到的印度人对基督教的杂糅式理解不谋而合。用儒家的基本教义论证基督教的合理性，有如欧洲中世纪神学家用理性来论证上帝的存在，均陷入了与苏格拉底质疑神之存在的同样困境之中：如果基督教是因其合于儒家思想而获得合理性，那么儒家思想便成为比基督教更高的判别标准。张星曜的策略，或许也如利玛窦等耶稣会士一样，仅仅是希望依托于儒家的世界观，通过文化渗透的方式让中国人逐渐接受基督教。然而，在渗透的过程中，很难说是基督教同化了儒家传统还是儒家传统同化了基督教。台湾省学者李彦仪甚至认为，可以将明清天主教的儒家图像视为明清之际发展而成的一个儒家流派。他进而论述，张星曜对天主教的理解，轻灵性的修行而侧重身体力行的面向，这表明他所提倡的“天教补儒”说，在宣扬“儒家化的天”（李彦仪，2021, pp. 43-66）。

巴巴在印度传教士的记载中发现的重复性、模拟和杂糅，在前殖民时代的中国，体现的不是某种特定话语的结构，而是两个世界、两种话语之间的纠缠。“天教”在重复的过程中被儒学化，而儒学也在重复的过程中被基督教化。两个原本不相干的解释学视域，在解释过程中逐渐融合。正如佛教之传入中国，无论是佛教同化了中国，还是中国同化了佛教，最终的结果是，佛教成为中国话

语秩序的一个组成部分，促成了中国文化的三教合一，就像作为西方文化两大支柱的双希文明之于西方文化一样。如果没有礼仪冲突，或许基督教也可能像佛教一样，成为中国文化的一个组成部分。而之所以会发生礼仪冲突，却与正日渐上升的欧洲帝国主义有密切关系。

四、秩序的冲突：第二次礼仪之争

耶稣会士的文化适应政策，体现了对福柯式权力关系的妥协。在这些耶稣会士看来，在天主的权能尚不能凌驾于中国本土的世俗权力之上时，毫不妥协的姿态只会伤害传教的事业。而这一点也由若干年后他们的政敌所证实。然而在全球帝国主义时期，这一顾虑已经不复存在。虽然殖民主义意识的形成要远早于 18 世纪末，但其真正成为在全球占主导地位的意识形态却是那以后的事。其关键因素之一，如《全球通史》所言，是因为机关枪的发明。换言之，是科技对源自远古的野蛮征服力量的加成，让西方获得了统治全球的权力。而意识形态充其量不过是其帮凶而已。不论天主的权能是否占了优势，帝国主义的霸权已经将全球大部分地区的主权掌握手中，为传教事业大开绿灯。换言之，此时的西方传教士已经不需要借助于妥协、理解和包容来传教；他们只需借助帝国主义就可以了：他们不必易服，因为别人会改穿他们的服装；他们不必学当地文化，因为别人会学他们的文化。他们学习汉语，不是为了让自己适应中国人和中国文化，而是为了把中国当做客体来研究。作为帝国主义意识形态的“东方主义”也正是在这一时期才得以成立。

发生于 18 世纪末的另一场礼仪之争清楚地表明，中西方的权力关系已经发生了根本的变化，西方逐渐占据上风，不再需要小心翼翼地在异国他乡寻求立足之地，而是试图将自己的世界观强加于中国。与一个多世纪前开始的“中国礼仪之争”不同，这场争端表面上仅仅是一个非常微不足道的事件，并没有直接导致任何不良后果。然而，许多历史学家都将这一事件视为中西方遭遇过程中的一个转折点。自那以后，中国迅速“衰落”，被崛起的西方所“超越”，最终成为西方帝国主义霸业的牺牲品。

在美国学者何伟亚（James L. Hevia）的“后现代史学”著作（罗志田译）《怀柔远人——马嘎尔尼使华的中英礼仪冲突》出版之前，西方学界对这次出使事件便表示了莫大的关注。但关注点基本上是从西方中心的视角出发，认为这个事件反映了清廷的落后无知和狂妄自大，未能抓住机遇解决中国现代化的问题，最终导致战争。这一观点也为不少中国学者视为定论（罗志田译序，何伟亚，2002, pp. 1-3）。何伟亚的著作采取的既非西方中心的也非中国中心的取向，而是一种更加超然的态度，尽量将事件置于发生时的具体历史情境中加以考察，得出了截然不同的结论。他认为，马嘎尔尼出使的失败，体现了两大“帝国构建”的碰撞，即双方的矛盾实际上是由于世界观的不同所造成的，并非由于进步与落后的差别（何伟亚，2002）。

与此前的传教士和商人使团不同的是，马嘎尔尼所带领的是外交使团，代表英王首次正式出使英国。这使得马嘎尔尼从最开始便与为了传教或经商目的而来的外国人产生了重大的区别：他代表的是整个大英帝国的权威，而不是此前单独的个人或小群体。因此，此前的访华使团是以私人的名义觐见中国皇帝并按照中国的礼仪行叩拜之礼，而马嘎尔尼认为代表英王尊严的他，在面对与英王地位相当的中国皇帝之时，不应该行象征臣服的叩拜之礼，而应该遵照“平等的”（英国的）礼仪行事。在访华之前，马嘎尔尼甚至阅读过当时能找到的有关中国的“全部著作”，以便制定对“东方习俗与观念”的应对方法。然而，在马嘎尔尼谨小慎微的态度背后，是欧洲中心主义的傲慢：整个访华的过程中，他都在锲而不舍地试图说服中国皇帝和官员改变觐见的方式，在“平等互利”的基础上扩展中英贸易关系。在何伟亚提出两大帝国碰撞的观点之前，中外学者普遍认为这一事件表明了清朝的中国“抱残守缺”“狂妄自大”“背离民族利益和时代潮流”，并因此最终导致了鸦片战争和中国沦为半殖民地的后果。然而，且不说将外敌入侵归咎于自己的错误是很可笑的，这些论调无一不是深受西方现代话语的影响，从西方而不是中国的角度看待问题。

从马嘎尔尼访华后所写的报告中，我们看到的并不是清帝国的愚昧自大，而是英帝国主义的自以为是。与早期来华传教并留在中国，甚至在朝廷任职的传教士不同，马嘎尔尼所带领的英国使团并不打算承认和认同中国秩序。他们所代表的是另一个世界的秩序：正在崛起的欧洲帝国主义的全球秩序，并企图将此秩序强加于中国之上。

何伟亚指出，从乾隆对马嘎尔尼访华目的的警惕可以看出，清廷对英国的威胁是有所认识的：自称代表英王的使团不但不臣服于清朝皇帝，而且可能带着不利于中国的恶意，因此被归为不可同化的他者。不少著作将重点放在清廷方面对三跪九叩礼仪的“顽固”坚持上，并认为这代表了清朝的愚昧和落后，注重表面的礼仪胜于一切。然而，将马嘎尔尼访华的事件称为“礼仪之争”是有些与事实不相符的。实际上，在礼仪的问题上，清廷表现出了对外国使团一贯的大度，非常宽容地允许马嘎尔尼采用英国的礼仪，而并没有坚持要他行清朝皇帝接见藩王特使时要求行的三跪九叩之礼。所谓的“争端”其实是清朝因为意识到强大的英国可能对自己造成威胁，从而拒绝马嘎尔尼进一步开放贸易的请求。在整个事件上，乾隆皇帝都体现了对局势理性清醒的认识。这一冲突可以视为欧洲中心主义与中国中心主义的冲突。

马嘎尔尼之所以认为他的出使遭到了彻底的失败，是因为他一开始就对出使抱以过高的期待。而这一过高的期待，恰恰来源于他的帝国主义傲慢和优越感。他试图以博物学家的态度观察中国现象，并认为自己一定能够得出客观的、正确的结论，完全没有意识到自己对中国那点可怜的认识以及欧洲（英帝国）中心主义的狭隘大大阻碍了他对事件的判断。他一厢情愿地将自己的信条和原则视为放之四海而皆准的普遍原则，认为倘若不接受他的提议，便是拒绝两国间“平等互利”的交往。一旦期待落空，马嘎尔尼没有从自己身上寻找原因，而是归咎于中国官员的恶意和缺陷。

马嘎尔尼原本可以像早期耶稣会传教士那样，通过一定的妥协，与清朝建立联系，在相互之间有了更进一步了解的基础上逐步推行自己的贸易政策。然而马嘎尔尼选择了直接而粗暴的态度，并在清廷拒绝自己的提议之后，提出了狂妄至极的入侵计划。清廷的预感是正确的，他们所面临的却是两难选择：要么开放贸易让英帝国主义长驱直入逐渐侵蚀中国，要么拒绝开放让英帝国主义用枪炮打进来。

五、结语

两次礼仪之争，清朝皇帝的处理手法没有任何不同，然而却产生了截然不同的结果。在第一次礼仪之争中，来华的外国人遭遇了彻底的失败。然而第二次礼仪之争却最终引发了欧洲帝国主义对中国的大举入侵。

传教士与商团使节的差别在于，对于是否行跪拜礼的问题上，马嘎尔尼显然有着更为敏锐的政治敏感度，对这一象征符号的文化和政治意义也有着更为深刻的认识。符号的意义并不会因为执行者的阳奉阴违而减弱。无论这些易服的耶稣会士内心如何，他们的妥协便意味着在权力交锋中落于下风。马嘎尔尼的做法表明，18世纪末期的西方列强（尤其是英国）已经有了不妥协的资本。在这以后，侵入中国的任何西方事物，都不可避免地成为帝国主义的符号。

耶稣会传教士虽然背后有罗马教廷的身影，但在当时，西方的世界观尚远远不足以影响中国。传教士在中国仍然主要代表个人的力量。然而在马嘎尔尼的时代，英帝国的权力已经逐渐体现出来，马嘎尔尼身后站着强大的英帝国，他所代表的不是个人，而是帝国的力量。对比此前其他欧洲国家商人和使节对中国皇帝的让步，因殖民主义扩张而形成的世界秩序在马嘎尔尼事件中有了明显的体现。因此在这场交锋中，中国的让步也就预示着，西方世界秩序将逐渐建立，中国自身的秩序则将逐渐退场。

然而，另一方面，这种替代某种意义上也削弱了萨伊德关于东方主义的论述。“东方主义”的思维方式，只有在与帝国主义合谋之后，才会成为文化霸权。在此之前的“东方主义”，不过是普遍存在的文化自我中心主义的一种西方变体而已，与中国的“蛮夷主义”没有实质上的差别。东方主义既是历史的产物，也终将消失于历史。

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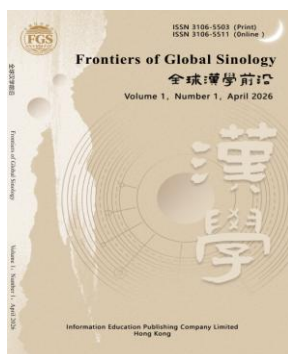
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ORCID

Liu Yuyu ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-6153-6474>

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网络言情小说在英语世界的传播：类型、动因与模式

田雪君 (Tian Xuejun)

摘要：言情小说是中国网络文学英语世界传播的重要类型，其中都市甜宠型与传统融合型作品的传播实绩尤为可观。甜宠文通过建构理想化的恋爱情境，召唤读者在情感代入中达成对资本逻辑的认同；融合古代文化的言情小说，借助对神话、宗教的征用与转化，激活并更新了读者的阅读经验。由此衍生出两种传播模式：一是现代言情引发的“创作模式挪移型”催生了英语原创平台的批量涌现与相似性文本的规模生产，并在本土化实践后出现了生产制度与审美取向上的变异现象；二是古代言情析出的“文化资源汲取型”，发挥了弥合英语言情传统当中的现实性叙写定势与想象性压抑症候的效用。

关键词：网络文学；言情小说；英语世界；传播模式

作者简介：田雪君，兰州财经大学外语学院讲师，研究方向：网络文学的国际传播，电邮：tianxuejun96@foxmail.com。

Title: The Communication of Online Romance Novels in the English-Speaking World: Genres, Motivations, and Patterns

Abstract: In the international communication of Chinese online literature, romance novels like urban sweet romance and traditional-integrated romance have achieved significant performance. The former evokes English readers' emotional engagement and acceptance of capitalist logic by constructing romantic scenarios; while the latter, through the appropriation of mythology and religion, activate readers' reading experiences. This has given rise to two communication models: the "transfer of creative models" triggered by modern romance has spurred the mass emergence of original English platforms and the large-scale production of similar texts, resulting in

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variations in production systems and aesthetic orientations after localization practices; the “absorption of cultural resources” derived from ancient romance has effectively bridged the realistic narrative patterns and imaginative repression symptoms in the English romance tradition.

Keywords: Online literature; romance novels; English-speaking world; communication models

Author Biography: Tian Xuejun, Lecturer at the School of Foreign Studies, Lanzhou University of Finance and Economics. Research direction: International communication of Chinese online literature. E-mail: tianxuejun96@foxmail.com.

一、引言

中国网络文学凭借广泛有效的国际传播，已成为“讲好中国故事、传播好中国声音”的文学典范和促进文明交流互鉴的重要载体。玄幻、言情、科幻和游戏竞技等类型尤受到海外读者青睐。其中，网络言情小说凭借特有的情感编码方式，形成了跨文化的情感通约性，故而从庞杂的“文化超市”中脱颖而出，成为网络文学国际传播中具有渗透性、感染力和渐进内化特质的柔性力量。

网络言情小说虽有繁杂的亚类型与强类型再生性，但根据张永禄教授（张永禄，2012, p. 186）的小说分类三层次构想——“体裁—社会生活—叙事模式”，对言情小说的类型研究主要聚焦在第二、三层级。第二层按社会生活向度分为历史、现实和幻化世界，对应着古代、现代和科幻言情（以星际、末世、废土等为背景）。第三层按叙事模式分化出各亚类型，如古代仙侠言情、古代奇幻言情等。为避免过于泛化与细化，从第二层级来看，在英语世界传播的言情小说仍可归入现言与古言两大惯有类别。以 Webnovel（起点国际）的 Power Ranking 排行榜为例，可得出下图检索结果¹：

小说中文名	小说英文译名	作者	译者	类型	评分
《许你万丈光芒好》	<i>Full Marks Hidden Marriage: Pick Up a Son, Get a Free Husband</i>	囡囡有妖 (Jiong Jiong You Yao)	EndlessFantasy Translation, Henyee Translations	Urban	4.67/5.0
《抱歉我拿的是女主剧本》	<i>Trial Marriage Husband: Need to Work Hard</i>	百香蜜 (Passion Honey)	Webnovel	Urban	4.67/5.0
《恰似寒光遇骄阳》	<i>Perfect Secret Love: The Bad New Wife is a Little Sweet</i>	囡囡有妖 (Jiong Jiong You Yao)	Henyee Translations	Urban	4.64/5.0
《青春从遇见他开始》	<i>Punished By His Hidden Love</i>	猪宝宝萌萌哒 (Baby Piggie)	Webnovel	Urban	4.67/5.0
《穿越未来之男人不好当》	<i>The Prince of Military Academy Is Actually A Girl!</i>	汝夫人 (Madam Ru)	Henyee Translations	Fantasy	4.67/5.0
《闪婚霸总一百天》	<i>The Beautiful Wife of the Whirlwind Marriage</i>	沐衣衣 (Mu Yiyi)	Atlas Studios	Urban	4.62/5.0
《国民校草是女生》	<i>National School Prince Is A Girl</i>	战七少 (Zhan Qishao)	Henyee Translations	Teen	4.75/5.0
《橡树之下》（韩语）	<i>Under the Oak Tree</i>	Suji Kim	Webnovel	Fantasy	4.82/5.0
《恰逢星光璀璨时》	<i>The Most Loving Marriage In History: Master Mu's Pampered Wife</i>	北川云上锦 (Bei Chuan Yun Shang Jin)	EndlessFantasy Translation	Urban	4.56/5.0
《国民老公带回家》	<i>Bringing the Nation's Husband Home</i>	叶非夜 (Ye Fei Ye)	Kingbao, Paperplane	Urban	4.59/5.0

（Webnovel Power Ranking 排行榜排名前十的女频小说信息）

（Webnovel's Power Ranking of the top ten female novels）

女频排行榜中靠前的小说几乎都在都市类（Urban）²麾下，也即现代言情小说（Contemporary Romance），仅《穿越未来之男人不好当》一文属于科幻言情。在 Volare Novels（沃拉雷小说）排名

¹ 检索标准是“数据发布的时间：Power Ranking/所有时间（All-time）/内容类型：翻译小说（Translate）/阅读偏好：女频（Reading preference:Female）/合同类型：已签约（Contracted）”，检索时间 2024 年 11 月 4 日。

² 根据 Webnovel 的解释，都市小说（Urban Novel）是网络小说的一种特定类型，故事以现代都市为背景，以男女之间的爱情故事作为叙述中心。

图中“Love”一词的高频出现，是“甜宠”故事模型市场热度与跨文化吸引力的直接数据表征，意味着这一集特定叙事范式和成熟商业配方于一体的复合模式，已从本土市场成功延伸至全球场域。

“甜宠文”的核心阅读动力源于情感代偿机制，不同文化语境中的读者寻求的是相似的理想化亲密关系模版，而这需要通过情绪唤起和角色代入等步骤来完成。

情绪唤起（emotion evoked）依赖具体场景触发视觉表象和情境联想。“甜宠文”通过大量日常恋爱经验的书写，在制造“浪漫学”的细节铺陈中持续性地刺激读者情绪。小说以陆霆骁对宁夕无微不至、予取予求的细节为恋爱明证。网络言情小说是一种典型的“小视角”书写（周志雄，2018, p. 27），碎片化的日常与定格化的浪漫瞬间充斥在主角的情感互动中，引发读者“me blushing” “so sweet and romantic”的评论。日常化叙事与仪式化场景交替作用，共同诱发着读者内心深处的情感渴望。

同时，单方面的甜与宠已不能满足读者趣味。女性读者是主要受众，其代入的女主角若仅作为被宠的对象会造成严重的叙述失焦。在网络言情小说中，“作为客体‘行动元’的女主常常因为主体性的匮乏而表现为一种工具式的存在。”（李玮，2022, pp. 205-213）为弥补这一失衡感，作者赋予其鲜明的个性与传奇的身世，从而建立起“双强”组合和“互宠”模式。小说以宁夕的娱乐圈进阶史为主线，整合了职场倾轧、家庭矛盾等多重冲突，并娴熟运用打脸、逆袭等爽文机制，戏剧性地实现了对压迫力量的象征性征服，通过类型叠加使读者获得“言情爽文”的阅读体验与较强的代入快感。

经由恋爱细节和阅读爽感的获取，言情小说完成了对读者的情绪唤起，其最终目的是通过情感投射实现代偿。它通过构建高度仿真的全景式恋爱世界，营造强烈的真实感和临场感，使读者得以规避现实恋爱的高昂成本，获得深度的替代性经验。在当下的社会语境中，浪漫话语因结构性的个体风险与制度性的匹配压力而被现实悬置，越来越多的观众和读者选择在影视、恋综、言情小说中通过代入的方式获得间接满足，重塑爱情神话。

此外，言情小说的评论区折射出微观社会学意义上的微型情境。兰德尔·柯林斯（Randall Collins）指出（2012），微观情境研究的是由人组成的社会网络，“互动仪式链”（interaction ritual）是经由个体延伸而形成的互动结构。阅读言情小说本是属于个体的“内疚的或羞耻的快感”（guilty pleasure），但互联网开放式、互动性的评论空间使其不再是独享式体验。读者通过点赞、回复等认同该行为，将个体化的情境扩展至群体，在此互动仪式作为“情感的变压器”，使阅读成为了集体兴奋的形式。

（二）功利考量与阶层融合：“甜宠文”传播的底层逻辑

安东尼·吉登斯（Anthony Giddens）认为，浪漫之爱可导向平等纯粹的亲密关系，它的达成有利于扩散民主概念。但其民主愿景中，吉登斯（2001, p. 249）也强调经济资源的重要性，“民主愿望的确涉及包括资源在内的经过反射性协商的权利契约，将其作为关系的限定性部分。”“甜宠文”显化了爱情的现实逻辑，故事“甜”的效果与角色“宠”的能力，均需以经济基础为前提。在不同文化背景中，财富及社会资源始终是行之有效的“硬通货”。

财富是角色身份重要的衡量标识，构成了主角情感对峙中的金融资本，也满足了普通读者对上层阶级的想象。在官本位传统和市场经济的双重作用下，言情小说的人物塑造实则是对社会欲望的符号性编码。男主角陆霆骁被塑造为集资本、文化与政治权力于一身的完美上位者，能轻易动用各

类社会资源解决女主角的困境。对资本逻辑关键性地位的承认和默许，强化了角色的象征资本及其再生产过程，由此，“象征财产经济的决定力量通过基本的区分原则组成了社会世界的整个认识，并得到了整个社会空间的承认”（皮埃尔·布尔迪厄著，刘晖译，2017, p. 63）。

“甜宠文”的传播动因之一在于作为资本具象化人格的角色本身，其所表征的社会等级和阶层身份，在不同社会网络中的系统性位置有着高度一致性。在资本规则及经济价值的强势裹挟下，读者在此情不自禁地被询唤为资本主义的主体/臣民（谷李，2019），从而达成对文本的情感和逻辑认同。除经济资本外，小说主角还被赋予外貌、体魄、气质、社交能力等情色资本（erotic capital）。英国学者 Catherine Hakim 认为（Hakim, 2011），有魅力者更具社交优势与说服力（persuasive），这即是美貌的光环效应（halo effect）。同时拥有多重资本优势的主角，往往能迅速俘获读者的吸引力并获取信任感。

“甜宠文”常通过建立亲密关系实现阶层融合，借由安全的叙事距离巧妙地净化情感商品化带来的道德不适感。然而，资本逻辑的畅行还需化解财经思维中的理性计算与言情的“情”所产生的冲突。为此，文本常令资本思维短暂失效，即女主角身边的一切皆可用钱解决，唯独感情本身无法用钱计量和交换。财富在此呈现出辩证的叙事功能，既是制造冲突、驱动情节的叙事动力，也是被情感的超功利性所“祛魅”的对象。而“甜宠文”普遍采用的大团圆结局，使跨文化读者群不必真正在金钱与情感间做选择，从而获得充足且安全的阅读快感。

三、仙侠文化融合型言情小说——以《三生三世十里桃花》为例

唐七公子的《三生三世十里桃花》（*To the Sky Kingdom*）通过实体译本、影视剧等多模态传播形式进入英语世界，故事围绕着青丘女君白浅和九重天太子夜华之间横贯三生三世的情感纠葛展开。其英译标题 *To the Sky Kingdom* 被认为有意呼应弗吉尼亚·伍尔夫的作品《到灯塔去》（*To the Lighthouse*），以贴近英语文学经典。截止 2024 年 11 月，该书在 Goodreads 和亚马逊收获了大量评分和深度文本分析，显示出读者的高度参与。

（一）仙侠言情小说的“第二世界”建构

《三生三世十里桃花》属于言情+仙侠小说¹的融合类型，体现了网络言情小说通过类型叠加丰富叙事的主流路径。该小说在亚马逊被归类于亚洲故事、神话传说、言情奇幻等，凸显了其复合型特征。这种类型融合在网络文学中很常见，但对于更熟悉现实型言情的英语读者来说无疑能形成新奇的阅读体验。在英美的言情传统中，创作常与战争、妇女社会处境、政治议题等现实因素密切相关。尽管先后出现过言情+历史、言情+哥特的融合趋势，但整体上被勘定了想象疆域，为纯粹的幻想性文化资源预留的叙事空间有限。

因此，《三生三世十里桃花》获得较高传播度的重要原因，在于其在“言情+”维度上所做的叙事拓展，即构建了一个对英语读者而言陌生又新颖的叙事空间，并将此异域空间与爱情故事深度结合。小说搭建了以《山海经》为世界建构基础、以网络修仙小说为设定、以传统宗教思想和民俗传说为文化资源的第二世界（secondary world）。“三生三世”的爱情奇迹正需依托这一虚拟世界及其

¹ 仙侠小说是一类以道教文化为内核，描写道教修仙幻想的通俗小说，为玄幻小说属下的二级文类，其文化源头可以追溯到上古神话、民间传说、道教典籍、神魔小说等。见黄杨：《主题与文类：网络玄幻小说中道教文化的文学想象》，2022。

内在秩序才能实现。这个第二世界的丰富性、真实性、奇观性，及其承载的轮回、考验、缘续等空间功能，是吸引读者的重要原因。

英语读者将该第二世界命名为“软性魔法系统”（soft magic system）或“非绝对魔法”（not over the top magic）。这种命名方式与“硬魔法”（hard magic）相对，说明其创作主张是在奇幻背景下讲述人的故事、表达人的情感。小说塑造了一批法力高强的仙人、神通广大的器物及玄妙入神的法术，这些细节保证了虚构世界内在现实一致性（the inner consistency of reality）（Tolkien, 2008）。小说在空间划分、地理命名及人物典故等方面受《山海经》影响甚深。背景设置于架空的上古神话世界，细分为“四海八荒”（Four Seas and Eight Deserts）。空间划分采取了三界模式——天界、人间、地府，分别对应“九重天”（Ninth Sky）、“凡界”（the mortal world）、“幽冥司十八层地狱”（the Netherworld's eighteenth layer of the hell）。天界既是情节发生的主要环境，也是一处特殊的政治空间，拥有独特的权力结构与等级制度。这一空间设置既反映了中西幻想小说共享的原初宇宙观念，又因政治属性与人类社会高度相似而成为对现实空间的隐喻，构成英语读者可理解、可接受的叙事前提。

该第二世界更直接的作用在于为爱情故事提供情感发生与衍变的空间。白浅与夜华从陌路到眷属，其转变的深层原因并非简单的记忆复苏，而是第二世界中特殊的轮回设定和仙人肉胎不灭的属性发挥了作用。主角身为万年仙龄的仙人（immortal），却深陷悲苦情劫，非凡神仙在情感关系中的“弱势”恰为其神性身份附着了人性因子，达到人神同形共情的叙述效果。正是对这一普遍情感的聚焦，成为引发英语读者共情的关键。如有读者表示尽管对亚洲神仙（Asian immortal）存在理解困难，但并不影响接受基本情节，领略爱情的可爱与鼓舞（lovely and inspiring）之处。对英语读者来说，翻译作品既满足了其寻求情爱叙事新变、激活阅读经验的期待，又借遥远的文化背景作为审美中介，拉大了欲望投射的距离，从而催化了“幻想中的幻想”的生成，获得更高纯度的阅读满足。

（二）“三世”故事结构型的文化积淀与叙述效力

作者对第二世界的次创造（sub-creation）保证了其内部构造的合理性与情感真实。传递非本土文化衍生的幻想文学作品，达成虚拟世界的叙述有效性至关重要。与此同时，吸引英语读者的另一要素，是古代言情小说中呈现的特殊的、异质的文学风貌，而这必须返回到文本所植根的文化背景及宗教观念之中。

《三生三世十里桃花》撷取并融汇了中国传统宗教及民间传说的资源，属于“三生石”故事的变体。“三生”（即前世、今世及来世）源于佛教的因果轮回说，在佛教传入中国前，人们对生命的朴素理解限于现世今生。生死轮回和转世观念不仅拓宽了对生命循环往复的可能性想象，也成为了文学作品中表现超越性概念的创作手段，尤以爱情故事为甚。三生石的故事母本可追溯至唐代袁郊所著《甘泽谣·圆观》，经过两宋《太平广记》、苏轼《僧圆泽传》、元杂剧及至《红楼梦》“三生石畔”等文本的演绎（滕新才，2018, pp. 9-16），三生石已发展演变为一个象征着缘定三生、真爱永恒的文化符号。

由于西方基督教文化缺少投胎转世观念，因而对于英语读者来说，一部蕴含者佛教生死轮回观的爱情小说，令人迷恋的不止是爱情本身，更是为实现爱情话语的崇高性和宿命感所依托的叙述结构，及其背后的道德观念和宗教教义。正如有读者评论道：“通过其丰富的世界构建，西方读者可

以瞥见中国民间传说的丰富性——道教仪式、佛教教义和古代中国神话在故事中扮演着重要角色，吸引不熟悉这些事物的西方人的想象力和好奇心。”¹

在宗教和神话元素之外，《三生三世十里桃花》还与中国传统的“才子佳人”叙事范式之间建立了显性互文。原文最后一章，白浅在凡界茶楼听戏，台上演出的正是《牡丹亭》（*The Peony Pavilion*），戏曲中生而复死、死而复生的爱情纠葛正对应着小说中男女主角的情感状态。译者通过添加副文本，点明了该戏曲“有情人克服困难终成眷属”的核心，以此引导英语读者理解小说与中国古典文学资源的关联，完成跨时代的文学呼应。该译介策略不仅揭示了情节的互文性，也有效地培育了一个潜在的阐释社群，不少读者表示正是阅读此书后产生了进一步了解中国文化的兴趣。

与现代言情不同，古代言情小说为确立可信的叙事场域，必须将爱情话语锚定在经过广泛验证的文化传统当中，因而“言情+”加号后的内容就成为了意义生产的中心，即需要通过一套被深度重构的古典叙事语法来保证丰富的文化他性，同时作为情感发展的合理基石发挥效力。

四、创作模式挪移与文化资源汲取：言情小说的衍化及影响

不同类型的言情小说进入英语世界后，各自形构成独特的传播模式，并在与英语文学系统交互的过程中产生了跨文化变异与文化过滤。

首先是“都市甜宠文”衍生的“创作模式挪移型”。文学接受是变异发生的前提。在网络言情小说充分传播、中国网络文学的生产机制在海外扎根后，引发了英语世界的言情原创热潮，并出现了“甜宠文”在题材分类、叙事模式上的文学表达变异。其次是古言小说的“文化资源汲取型”。具有传统文化基因的古言小说经由传播后，引发接受主体对文本中特殊交流信息的选择、改造、移植、渗透等文化过滤行为（曹顺庆，2014, p. 165）。英语读者借此对古典文化资源有选择的主动吸纳与利用，使其冲击“接受屏幕”的制约，成为颠覆性的文学革新因子。两种传播模式对英语文学系统产生了相应影响，整体上取得了活化、更新目标文学系统的文学形式库²（*repertoire*）的效果。

（一）创作模式的挪移与本土化实践

网络文学的传播并非仅以单篇作品为支点，而是以整体的产业生态输出模式，引发了全球各区域间不均质的原创风潮。在英语世界，出现了结合国内运营经验与当地接受实际的平台集群与原创体系，形成了“英译作品+内容生产机制+创作平台”的复合型传播模式。

现代言情小说多以学校、家庭、职场、商场等都市为背景，以年轻群体的现代性经验为叙写中心，具备时下性和临场性，因而更易跨越语际被理解。高度类型化的属性使其成为具备精确复制能力的文学模因，经由习得、模仿而不断传播。因此，在网文原创体系移植海外后，迅速兴起了一批提供垂类创作并具有同质化倾向的网站和 APP，如下图所示：

¹ Allthebooks: A Chinese fantasy novel that has everything modern western fantasy novels have come to lack, 2017-03-31, https://www.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/R1WLOVWXZNAL0Z/ref=cm_cr_ar_p_d_viewpnt?ie=UTF8&ASIN=1503937429#R1WLOVWXZNAL0Z

² 在佐哈尔的多元系统论中，形式库指的是文学多元系统所牵涉的宏观因素之一，它是支配任何产品的制造、生产和消费的规则及材料的集合体。文学形式库就是理解某个文本或者文学系统的其他各种产品所需的共同知识。

APP 名称	所属公司	上线时间	主要推广区域	主推类型
Dreame- Read Best Romance	无限进制	2018	北美, 东南亚, 南美, 欧洲等	Romance,Fantasy, Mystery,Young Adult Fiction, Adventure,Fan-fic,
Innovel	无限进制	2020	东南亚	Romance
Sueñovela	无限进制	2020	拉美地区 (主要面向西班牙)	Romance
Yugto	无限进制	2020	东南亚 (主要面向菲律宾), 北美, 南亚等	Romance,Marriage,Billionaire,Pregnancy,Suspense
GoodNovel- Stories and Novels	新闻时代	2020	北美, 东南亚, 欧洲, 南亚等	Billionaire,Romance, Mystery,Fantasy,Western,Sci-fi,Fan-fic
iReader- Novels, Romance story	掌阅科技	2016	东南亚, 北美, 南亚, 欧洲等	Romance
Novelful- Romance Story	掌阅科技	2020	欧洲, 北美, 东南亚等	CEO's romantic love,time and space travel,Mr. Charming's excessive love,rebirth counterattack,superpower possession
Lovel: Love Stories & Chapters	掌阅科技	2020	北美, 欧洲等	Romance
Chapters: Interactive Stories	中文在线	2017	北美, 南美, 欧洲, 俄语地区, 南亚等	drama,comedy,contract marriage,second chance,dragon king,pirates,alpha wolf,reverses harem
Kiss- Read & Write Romance	中文在线	2020	北美, 欧洲, 东南亚	billionaires,bad boys,werewolves,sports stars
Spotlight- Choose Your Romance	中文在线	2020	北美, 欧洲等	Romance

(主推言情类创作的英语原创网络文学平台及相关信息)

(English original online literature platforms and related information for romance novels)

总体来看, 原创体系的模式挪移包含了生产制度的挪移与审美趣味的挪移两个向度。

1.生产制度的挪移。英语原创平台延续了连载模式、付费制度与培养机制, 并对言情类型进行了再延拓, 例如 GoodNovel 上与恋爱故事相关的创作类型有近 20 种。此时, 翻译文学对目标系统产生影响的已不再是单个文本, 而是文本所代表的模式和规范 (张南峰, 2012)。原创平台的搭建还需考虑英语接受语境。例如英语大众文化市场中的分级制度 (rating system) 影响了原创平台的建设, 多数平台开设了面向青少年的 YA/TEEN (Young Adults or Teenagers) 频道, 并增加了 Age Rating:18+ (年龄分级) 的标识, 用以保护低媒介素养群体。

原创平台的开发也兼顾了多元化的形式, 既提供如 Dreame、GoodNovel 等文字创作平台, 也在英语本土市场已有的 Episode、Choices 等互动剧情游戏 APP 的启示下, 推出了融合型新文娱品类。例如枫叶互动 (Crazy Maple Studio) 2017 年推出的 Chapters, 其在地化思路是下沉至叙事模式层面, 根据海外受众偏好进行题材细分, 将吸血鬼题材视为“散弹枪”, 作为大众化题材吸引广泛用户, 而将牛仔题材比作“狙击枪”¹, 作为小众赛道精准触达特定偏好用户, 从而满足“玩乐+故事+情感”的多重体验。

¹ 独立出海联合体: 从《Chapters》出发, 这家公司如何让互动叙事游戏成为北美市场的敲门砖? 2020-03-18, <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/fNXocX7f9YkzyM0oqdzPvg>

2. 审美趣味的挪移。英语原创言情在审美趣味上与英译言情呈现出一定的谱系亲缘性，如“甜宠文”在不同语境中都具有明显的传播效能与再生趋势。同时英语原创言情在与本土文化接洽后，也表现出审美差异与主题变异，主要聚焦于角色形象的衍化与叙事模式的新变。

模因传播是一个动态过程，信息通过自我复制得以延续，又在异质环境中通过嫁接、转移探索出新的进化规则。模因宿主可根据自身境况更新和加工文化产品中的模因。以 GoodNovel 为例，该 APP 直接以 Billionaire（亿万富翁）、Mafia（黑手党）等为创作标签，这些形象随言情小说的发展演变为独立的类型，形象光谱也被进一步聚焦和凝练。同时增加了 Werewolf（狼人）、Demon（恶魔）、Paranormal（超自然元素，例如吸血鬼、女巫）等更具本土特色的题材，常与 CEO、Boss、Mr. Charming、Hero、King 等象征男性绝对地位的关键词相联系。Dreame 上也同样频繁出现狼人、吸血鬼等欧美文化中自携流量的 IP 元素。

在“甜宠文”的同源主题下，“情感+资本”的核心叙事动力仍是故事的关键配置。Dreame 上高阅读量的小说也具有套路化创作痕迹，例如女主角通常是出身贫寒、经历坎坷但意志坚强的“灰姑娘”，而男性则是完美优越的王子形象¹。有所不同的是，英语作者将其与本土流行文化相结合，将男性角色进化至非人阶段——Alpha、狼人、吸血鬼等，标志着对传统“霸道总裁”形象的符号升维与欲望的极致投射。其中，狼人形象在聚集体力、智慧与领导力等雄性胜势外，还拥有动物本能、原始激情与对伴侣的绝对忠诚，加之“信息素”“标记”等桥段的加持，恋爱叙事中的“命定感”（fated）被突显，对读者更具吸引力。

英语原创言情的叙事模式变异还体现在文本核心冲突的复合形态上，即多重叙事张力的并置与叠加。例如在 Good Novel 排名第一的小说 *Accidental Surrogate for Alpha* 中，男主角 Dominic Sinclair 不但是社会精英，还是争夺狼人领袖地位的 Alpha，与身为人类的女主角 Ella 产生了复杂的情感羁绊。通过引入超自然因素，叙事冲突超越了阶级差异引发的外部张力，转向物种差异导致的内在伦理困境。该作品是当下英语原创言情的典型文本，在角色身份建构、情感发展脉络与世界观设定上展现出显著的本土化特征。

（二）文化资源的汲取与英语读者的类型变革需求

在英译网络文学网站上，网络言情小说对应的一个重要词汇是 Romance。其概念可追溯至中世纪具有娱乐性、世俗性的罗曼司文学，而其注重修饰语言及情感氛围的特征则由罗曼司小说（Romance Novel）继承下来，这类“结局完满、鼓舞人心的爱情故事”几百年来从未消失，最大程度地保留了罗曼司文学的娱乐性价值（董雯婷，2017）。因此网络言情小说的传播，正是建立在与这一拥有深厚历史积淀的通俗类型相接轨的基础之上的。

在英美言情小说的叙写传统中，其长期与历史事件和社会运动紧密结合。例如，英国战争言情小说（wartime romantic novel）着力表现战争带来的“肉体痛苦”和“精神创伤”，而历史言情小说（historical love novel）的诞生则源于一战带来的社会矛盾，促使人们从历史中寻求解决现实矛盾的可能（黄禄善，2022）。这种对社会思潮的文本化表达，在美国言情小说中体现得更为直观——“横跨近两个世纪的美国言情小说的变化发展，在其主题选择、情节结构以及人物塑造等方面都受到了女权主义的影响。”（司新丽，2017，pp. 146-153）由此可见，无论何种类型的言情小说，其共同特

¹ 白鲸出海：11月收入同比增长583% 美国读者都在Dreame上看什么？2020-12-03，<https://www.baijing.cn/article/31790>

征在于具有较为明确的现实指向。正是由于类型内在活力的递减，使英语读者期待一种能够提供全新审美经验的阅读文本。

古代言情小说常与权谋、武侠、修仙、种田等叙事相结合，涉及特殊的历史背景与社会风情，并融入了历史文献典籍及古典文化资源。由于古言小说扎根于传统文化，伴随一系列难以简单复制与效仿的古代术语、制度器物、文化典故、国学国艺等，因而激发了英语读者的文化探知欲，使其成为一种有利的他者文化资源，用以更新自身趋于固化的言情叙写传统。古言小说提供了一个幻想的乌托邦，既悬置了读者自身所处社会语境的规训与负担，又经过审美间距营造的奇观化想象，将欲望安置于非现实的时空中。例如有读者认为《农园似锦》（*Fields of God*）的吸引力正在于故事发生的场所——中国古代家庭内部和邻里之间（Chinese historical family and neighbors interaction）。古言小说所依托的特殊历史背景、社会观念、家庭结构等，为英语读者带来陌生化的认知体验，也提供了爱情叙事的另类可能。

任何文学书写传统与文化表达倾向一旦形成，便会积淀为一种内化的文化心理结构，异域文化的传播必须面对这一具有内聚性和稳定性的先在结构的辨识、筛选、改造乃至抵御。在英语言情书写历史中，言情文内部与外在的社会现实之间呈现出深刻的互动性，构成反映/被反映的关系。因而，当英语读者接触到非现实的、“架空”的言情小说时，就会充分发挥接受者的主体性与选择性，从中撷取符合自身欲望图景的元素，并在此架空结构中获得不受现实参照约束的情感豁免权。

五、结语

在意识到言情写作能够挣脱传统纸媒规约、在互联网技术的赋权下获得最大限度的创作自由后，英语读者自发参与到写作实践当中。这可视作一种情感主动（emotionally initiative），即受众与传播文本间产生了情感联结、交互与二次传播的冲动。它所关涉的不仅是抒情式作品内蕴的情感能量对个体的感召，更是受众对网络文学生产制度与原创模式的内在认同。在这一创作挪移的过程中，又渗透了英语网络作家自身的主体建构意识，生成了英语原创言情写作体系的内生逻辑。

女性情感、未来想象与传统文化，被认为是中国网文出海最具影响力三个面向¹，而它们之间也呈现出互动关系。作为中国传统文化资源当代转化与创新传承的重要载体，网络言情小说的传播有别于从文化推广到被动接受的传统线性结构。这意味着对传统文艺资源的审美化和情感化或许是文化远扬的可能性路径。与此同时，网络言情小说本身的创作活力与更新能力，也使我们对传播进入深度阶段后可能产生的流转、变换乃至类型自反怀有期待。

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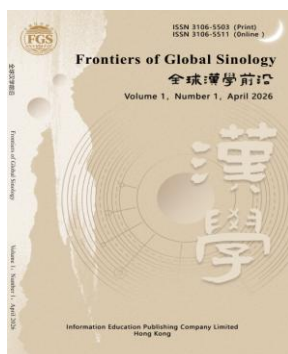
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Tian Xuejun ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-3702-9535>

¹ 房伟：中国网络文学的“世界想象”，文艺报，2024-08-30（08）。

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Tibetan Buddhism in the UK:

Cross-Cultural Dissemination, Localization and Cultural Impacts

Zhang Junping, Cao Min

Abstract: As one of the core lineages of Chinese Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism embarked on its large-scale dissemination in Europe in the 1960s, with the United Kingdom emerging as the pioneering European nation to host Tibetan Buddhist centers and a pivotal cradle for the Western development of multiple Tibetan Buddhist sects. This study systematically explores the historical impetuses and social-cultural conditions that enabled Tibetan Buddhism to infiltrate and take root in British society, and conducts an in-depth analysis of the establishment processes, organizational frameworks, and doctrinal characteristics of the three major Tibetan Buddhist sects thriving in the UK-the Karma Kagyu, Gelug, and New Kadampa Tradition (NKT). It further examines the dynamic mechanisms of cultural integration between Tibetan Buddhism and British society, and unearths the innovative communication features formed by Tibetan Buddhism in the UK in organizational operation, doctrinal teaching, and operational models during its localization adaptation. The findings reveal that Tibetan Buddhism has formed a uniquely localized development model in the UK through active adaptation to the British cultural and social context, and in turn, it has exerted a lasting influence on multiple dimensions of British culture.

Keywords: Tibetan Buddhism; United Kingdom; cross-cultural dissemination; religious localization; cultural adaptation

Authors Biographies: **Zhang Junping** (Corresponding Author), a professor of English from School of Foreign Studies, Jiangnan University, Wuxi, China, specializing in Culture, Religion, Comparative Literature and World Literature. E-mail: jndxjzp@163.com. **Cao Min**, a post-

graduate student of religion from Center for Judaic and Inter-Religious Studies, Shandong University, Jinan, Shandong Province, China, specializing in World Religion. E-mail: caomin040202@gmail.com.

标题：英国藏传佛教：跨文化传播、本土化发展与文化影响

摘要：作为中国佛教的核心流派之一的藏传佛教，于20世纪60年代在欧洲开启大规模传播进程。英国是欧洲最早设立藏传佛教活动中心的国家，同时也是藏传佛教诸多教派在西方发展的重要基地。本文系统梳理了藏传佛教能够在英国社会传播并扎根的历史动因与社会文化条件，深入剖析了噶玛噶举派、格鲁派及新噶当派（NKT）三大藏传佛教教派在英国的发展历程、组织架构与教义特点，探讨了藏传佛教与英国社会之间的文化融合动力机制，揭示了藏传佛教在本土化适应过程中，在组织运作、教义阐释与实践模式等方面形成的创新性传播特征。研究表明，藏传佛教通过主动适配英国的文化与社会环境，在英国形成了独具特色的本土化发展模式，同时也对英国文化的多个维度产生了深远影响。

关键词：藏传佛教；英国；跨文化传播；宗教本土化；文化适应

作者简介：张俊萍（通讯作者），江南大学外国语学院英语系教授，研究方向：文化、宗教、比较文学与世界文学，电邮：jndxjzp@163.com。曹敏，山东大学犹太教与跨宗教研究中心宗教学专业硕士研究生，研究方向：世界宗教，电邮：caomin040202@gmail.com。

1. Introduction

Tibetan Buddhism, as one of the three major lineages of Chinese Buddhism, traces its origins to Pre-proselytizing Buddhism in ancient India. It took root and developed in Tibet in the late 10th century, and expanded to Mongolia and the Chinese mainland in the mid-13th century, evolving into a religious and cultural system with a long history and diverse sectarian traditions. By the late 20th century, this Eastern religious tradition embarked on a global dissemination journey, with Western society emerging as a key arena for its cross-cultural development. Among Western nations, the United Kingdom stands out as a pioneer: it was the first European country to host Tibetan Buddhist centers and has become a cradle for the Western development of numerous Tibetan Buddhist sects, witnessing the most systematic and in-depth localization of Tibetan Buddhism in Europe.

The cross-cultural dissemination of religion is an inherently complex process, involving the negotiation and adaptation between the imported religious tradition and the host society's cultural, religious, and social norms. For Tibetan Buddhism, its spread in the UK—a society with a deep-rooted Christian heritage, advanced modernization, and a pluralistic cultural landscape—entails multifaceted dynamics: the tension between a non-Western religious system and Britain's mainstream cultural values, the adjustment of traditional Buddhist practices to fit modern British social life, and the collision and fusion of Eastern and Western spiritual and philosophical concepts. Exploring how Tibetan Buddhism has taken root, developed, and evolved in such a

distinct cultural context is thus a topic of great academic value, shedding light on the general laws of religious cross-cultural transmission in the era of globalization.

Scholarly research on Tibetan Buddhism in Britain has accumulated rich achievements in both Western and Chinese academia, yet notable gaps and limitations remain. Western scholarship on the subject has primarily focused on five core dimensions: the historical trajectory of dissemination (Prebish & Baumann, 2002; Bluck, 2006), sect-specific studies (Dreyfus, 2003), the construction and development of Buddhist institutions (Starkey & Tomalin, 2016), doctrinal transmission, and the experiences of British Buddhist practitioners (Mukpo & Gimian, 2008; Haas, 2013). Western researchers have adopted interdisciplinary methodologies integrating religious studies, sociology, psychology, and history, providing detailed empirical analyses of the origins and current status of Tibetan Buddhism in Britain. However, these studies suffer from two key shortcomings: first, there is a lack of comprehensive academic monographs that construct a holistic general history of Tibetan Buddhism in the UK; second, sectarian research is imbalanced, with excessive attention paid to the Gelug tradition and the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT), while other important lineages such as the Kagyu—one of the earliest to establish a presence in the UK—have not received the scholarly attention they deserve.

Chinese scholarship on Tibetan Buddhism in Britain has formed a research focus distinct from that of the West, centering on Buddhist adaptability and religious conversion (Huang & Yu, 1998; Li et al., 2021; Shen, 2017), sectarian lineages and institutional studies (Liu, 2015; Chen, 1997), and the general history of Buddhist dissemination in Europe (Huang, 1992; Guang, 1998; Nima, 2006). These studies have laid a solid foundation for understanding the cross-cultural communication of Tibetan Buddhism, and their insights into religious adaptability and cultural exchange mechanisms provide valuable references for research on religious soft power and cultural output. Nevertheless, constrained by geographical distance and limited access to on-site empirical data, domestic research lacks in-depth, systematic analyses of the organizational operation, doctrinal localization, and cultural integration of specific Tibetan Buddhist sects and institutions in the UK, resulting in a relative lack of micro-level and empirical research outcomes.

Building on the existing research and addressing its aforementioned limitations, this study conducts a comprehensive and in-depth investigation into the dissemination and development of Tibetan Buddhism in the United Kingdom. Specifically, the study first examines the historical impetuses and social-cultural conditions that facilitated the infiltration of Tibetan Buddhism into British society, clarifying the internal and external factors behind its successful entry into a Western Christian society. It then systematically analyzes the establishment processes, organizational frameworks, and doctrinal characteristics of the major Tibetan Buddhist sects that have thrived in the UK—including the Kagyu, Gelug, and New Kadampa Tradition (NKT)—with a focus on their unique development paths and adaptive strategies. Furthermore, the study explores the dynamics of cultural integration between Tibetan Buddhism and British society, identifying the innovative communication characteristics that have emerged in Tibetan Buddhism's organizational structure, doctrinal teaching, and operational models during this integration process. Finally, it elucidates the multifaceted influences of Tibetan Buddhism on British society and culture, from the shaping of the “Shangri-La complex” in the British collective imagination to its applications in clinical psychological therapy and its impacts on contemporary artistic and aesthetic trends.

2. The Historical Infiltration of Tibetan Buddhism into the UK

The penetration of Tibetan Buddhism into British society is not an accidental occurrence but a complex outcome shaped by global historical trends, socio-cultural shifts, and religious adaptive dynamics. Against the backdrop of post-WWII globalization and Western society's spiritual quest, this Eastern religious tradition crossed geographical and cultural boundaries, gradually taking root in the UK—a nation with a deep Christian heritage. This part traces the historical context of its global dissemination and unpacks the core factors that enabled its successful integration into British social and cultural life.

2.1 Global Historical Background of Tibetan Buddhism's Dissemination

The global dissemination of Tibetan Buddhism is intrinsically intertwined with Westerners' evolving understanding of Tibet. Geographically isolated by the Himalayan mountain range, Tibet has long been perceived as a secluded realm, its unique history, culture, art, and religious practices igniting profound curiosity across the West. As early as the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Western academia had already witnessed the emergence of pioneering Tibetologists dedicated to studying Tibetan culture, with Tibetan Buddhism occupying a central place in their research agendas. Notable figures include the American scholar W. W. Rockhill (1854-1914), German Tibetologist Georg Huth (1867-1906), and Berthold Laufer (1874-1934)—a German-American sinologist and Tibetologist whose work laid foundational groundwork for Western understanding of Tibetan religious traditions. These early scholarly endeavors established Tibetan Buddhism as an integral component of Tibetan cultural studies, paving the way for its subsequent broader dissemination in the West (Chen, 2004).

The 1960s marked a pivotal turning point in the formal development and institutionalization of Tibetan Buddhism across Western societies. Prior to this era, Buddhism in the United Kingdom was predominantly represented by Theravada Buddhism, a tradition rooted in the Southern Buddhist lineage. The 1960s, however, witnessed a paradigm shift: Tibetan Buddhism transitioned from an obscure academic subject to a lived religious practice for growing numbers of Westerners, accompanied by the establishment of dedicated Buddhist centers and educational initiatives (Chen, 2004). A key catalyst for this shift was the political upheaval in Tibet in 1959, during which a group of Tibetan religious figures went into exile overseas amid separatist activities aimed at splitting Tibet from China. This group subsequently propagated Tibetan Buddhist teachings across Europe, the Americas, and other regions, inadvertently becoming vectors for the tradition's Western dissemination (Xiang, 2005).

Beyond the activities of exiled religious figures, the post-1960s era saw a surge in institutional support for Tibetan Buddhist studies in the West. Universities and research institutions across Europe and North America began regularly funding invitations for Tibetan monks, scholars, and religious leaders to deliver lectures, conduct workshops, and engage in academic exchanges. These initiatives not only facilitated the transfer of traditional Buddhist knowledge but also fostered direct interactions between Western audiences and Tibetan religious practitioners. As a result, the number of Westerners studying and practicing Tibetan Buddhism grew substantially, with lay practitioners, scholars, and spiritual seekers alike contributing to the tradition's gradual integration into Western cultural and religious landscapes (Lopez Jr, 2018). This confluence

of scholarly interest, institutional support, and grassroots engagement solidified the foundation for Tibetan Buddhism's sustained development in the West, with the United Kingdom emerging as one of its most dynamic hubs.

2.2 Socio-Cultural Drivers of Tibetan Buddhism's Reception in the UK

Tibetan Buddhism's successful entry and sustained development in British society can be attributed to a confluence of external contextual factors and inherent religious merits, which together rendered it compatible with the cultural and social fabric of late 20th-century Britain (Kay, 2007). On the one hand, the unique social and cultural landscape of post-war Britain created a spiritual vacuum that Tibetan Buddhism was able to fill; on the other hand, the core tenets and adaptive potential of Tibetan Buddhism itself allowed it to resonate with British societal values and intellectual trends.

In the wake of World War II, Britain experienced a period of rapid modernization and economic development, yet this progress was accompanied by profound cultural and existential challenges. The erosion of traditional cultural heritage, human-induced environmental degradation, and the rise of materialism eroded long-standing social and spiritual values, leaving many Britons feeling disoriented, anxious, and uncertain about the future (Puttick, 1993). In contrast, Tibet—geographically isolated and relatively untouched by modern industrial civilization—was imagined in Britain as a realm of ancient wisdom, where the Tibetan people's perceived acceptance of fate and unique religious traditions embodied an idealized “lost civilization”. This stark contrast made Tibetan Buddhism a compelling spiritual refuge for Britons seeking solace from the discontents of modern life, as its emphasis on inner peace, compassion, and harmony with nature aligned with their nostalgic yearnings for a more meaningful existence.

A further critical cultural precondition for Buddhism's reception in Britain was the gradual decline in the institutional authority of Christianity (Clausen, 1975). Since the Victorian era, the rise of historical criticism, rationalism, modern science, and Darwin's theory of evolution had undermined the theological and social standing of the Christian Church in British society. This intellectual shift left many Europeans disillusioned with traditional Christianity, prompting them to seek alternative sources of spiritual and philosophical inspiration (Clausen, 1975). Tibetan Buddhism emerged as a particularly attractive alternative due to its fundamental doctrinal differences from Christianity: while Christianity centers on the doctrine of original sin, positing human beings as inherently flawed, Tibetan Buddhism upholds the core tenet that all sentient beings possess an innate Buddha-nature and the potential for enlightenment (Huang, 1997). This affirmative view of human nature resonated strongly with British audiences disillusioned by the pessimism of original sin.

Beyond these external societal factors, the inherent spiritual and intellectual merits of Tibetan Buddhism were central to its successful propagation in Britain, with Western scholars and practitioners describing it as an “inspiring, nourishing, and intellectually convincing alternative” to traditional Western religions (Puttick, 1993). First, Tibetan Buddhism was perceived to share meaningful continuities with valued elements of British religious and cultural traditions, most notably the figure of a charismatic founding teacher who embodied self-sacrifice and moral exemplarity—paralleling the role of Jesus in Christianity (Clausen, 1975). This perceived continuity eased its cultural translation and made it more accessible to British audiences unfamiliar with

Eastern religious traditions. Second, Tibetan Buddhism exhibited a unique dual compatibility with both the rational-scientific and romantic intellectual outlooks that defined late 20th-century British thought (Kay, 2007). Early Western Buddhist adherents lauded Tibetan Buddhism as a “scientific and analytical religion” whose emphasis on empirical inquiry into the mind and reality did not contradict the findings of modern science (Baumann, 1997). For Western rationalists, this made it a powerful tool for critiquing the perceived dogmatism of Christianity. At the same time, for romantic thinkers and artists alienated by the dehumanizing effects of scientific rationalism and industrial modernity, Tibetan Buddhism provided a vital “source of spiritual renewal”, offering a path to inner transcendence and reconnection with the natural world (Batchelor et al., 1994). This ability to speak to two seemingly opposing intellectual currents in British society made Tibetan Buddhism a uniquely versatile and appealing spiritual tradition.

3. Institutional Development and Current Status of Major Tibetan Buddhist Sects in the UK

Tibetan Buddhism comprises a rich diversity of traditions, among which the Karma Kagyu, Gelug, and New Kadampa schools have achieved the most substantial development in the UK. The Nyingma and Sakya traditions are also present but maintain a relatively limited presence and influence. Although these major sects share some common features in their cross-cultural transmission, they differ significantly in their historical development, organizational structures, and doctrinal orientations. This part focuses on the three most influential traditions in Britain, examining their establishment, institutional operation, and doctrinal characteristics.

3.1 Karma Kagyu Lineage

The Karma Kagyu tradition was the first Tibetan Buddhist school to establish a permanent center in the United Kingdom and across Europe, with its initial foundation dating back to 1967. Its development in Britain has evolved through several representative institutions, from the early Kagyu Samye Ling Tibetan Center and Kham Tibetan House to the contemporary Diamond Way Centers, each reflecting distinct models of adaptation and expansion.

In 1967, Dr. Akong Tulku Rinpoche and Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche founded Samye Ling, the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery in the United Kingdom. The name “Samye Ling” refers to the first Buddhist monastery established in Tibet in 779 AD under the patronage of King Trisong Detsen and the guidance of the Indian master Śāntarakṣita. By adopting this name, the founders deliberately emphasized their aspiration to build a genuine Buddhist hub in the Western world, mirroring the religious and cultural significance of the original Samye monastery in Tibet. In Tibetan, the term “Samye”—derived from the Sanskrit *śamaya*—carries multiple meanings, including equality, commitment, awakening, and the purification of obstacles (Chen, 1997).

Samye Ling largely follows the traditional ritual and disciplinary systems of the Karma Kagyu school. The tradition places strong emphasis on Tantric teachings and oral transmission, with a central focus on the practice of Mahamudra (the Great Seal). Mahamudra practice includes both exoteric and esoteric dimensions. Exoterically, practitioners cultivate meditative concentration on emptiness by resting the mind without conceptual discrimination, investigating the nature of mind and realizing its intangibility. Esoterically,

Mahamudra involves the simultaneous cultivation of bliss and emptiness, including practices such as the Seal of Presence, Blissful Emptiness, and Luminous Seal. The esoteric path generally integrates the accumulation of merit, formal meditation, the invocation of blessings, and empowerment. The ultimate goal of Mahamudra practice is to attain profound realization through training in breath, energy channels, and mind (Huang, 1997).

In response to the social and cultural context of modern Britain, the lamas at Samye Ling have gradually adapted their teaching and dissemination methods. First, given Britain's religious pluralism, Samye Ling defined its mission as providing a pure retreat environment open to people of all backgrounds seeking spiritual renewal. Second, the traditional master-disciple oral transmission could no longer meet the needs of a large and diverse audience. Consequently, the center began recording teachings from senior lamas to support systematic group study and long-term learning (Cheney, 1997).

Following its establishment, Samye Ling expanded continuously, developing diverse facilities including pastures, woodlands, pottery workshops, candle-making studios, thangka painting centers, and a Buddhist publishing house. The resident monastic community also grew steadily, attracting individuals with diverse educational backgrounds from secondary school to postgraduate levels. The foundation of Samye Ling firmly rooted the Karma Kagyu tradition in the UK, and over the following two to three decades, it drew large numbers of lay practitioners to its courses and retreats.

Established in November 1973, Kham Tibetan House became the second major Karma Kagyu meditation center in the UK, functioning as a retreat space for practitioners to purify body and mind and withdraw from worldly distractions. As its membership expanded, Kham Tibetan House spawned affiliated institutions such as the Malpal Institute and London Kamra Choilng, providing further channels for study and practice.

Samye Ling and Kham Tibetan House represented the earliest phase of Karma Kagyu development in Britain. However, their activities remained largely UK-focused, with limited outreach to continental Europe.

From the late 1970s onward, a new expression of the Karma Kagyu tradition emerged under the leadership of the Western lama Ole Nydahl and his wife Hannah, known as the Diamond Way Buddhism. In contrast to the earlier UK-based centers, Diamond Way rapidly expanded across Europe and North America within half a century. Born in 1941 and raised in northern Copenhagen, Ole Nydahl and Hannah first encountered Tibetan Buddhism during their honeymoon in India and Nepal in 1968 (Nydahl, 1999). They received teachings and transmissions from the Kagyu lineage and subsequently dedicated themselves to spreading Tibetan Buddhism in the West.

Diamond Way centers were first established in Austria, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark before expanding to the UK and then throughout Europe. By 2024, approximately 14 Diamond Way Buddhist Centers had been founded across the United Kingdom (Diamond Way Buddhism, 2024).

Within the three vehicles of Buddhism—Hinayana, Mahayana, and Vajrayana—the Vajrayana, or Diamond Vehicle, is regarded as the most direct path to awakening. Originally, vajra denoted the thunderbolt of the Indian deity Indra, familiar in early Pali scriptures. Within Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism, however, the vajra became a symbol of the indestructible and luminous nature of enlightenment, representing the unchanging reality of the Buddha's awakening (Smart, 1998). Diamond Way practices combine mantra

recitation, mandala visualization, and symbolic hand gestures (mudras), aiming to transform body, speech, and mind through intensive meditation training.

In terms of organizational structure, Diamond Way centers departed from traditional hierarchical monastic models and adopted a governance system more compatible with European social norms. Its institutional framework includes spiritual mentors, founders, a Board of Directors, a management committee, and a supervisory board. Spiritual mentors provide teachings, perform empowerments, consecrate temples and stupas, and lead ceremonies. The Board of Directors holds decision-making power over major affairs, invites visiting lamas, and serves as core instructors. The management committee oversees daily operations, expansion, personnel, and regulations. The supervisory board, composed of regional leaders, monitors and reviews the decisions of the Board. Regular board meetings facilitate collective governance and internal accountability (Buddhism Foundation, 2005). In practice, Diamond Way centers are distinguished by their strong emphasis on meditation and direct experiential transmission from teacher to student.

In summary, the Karma Kagyu tradition represents the earliest and most widely distributed Tibetan Buddhist school in Europe, with a particularly well-established presence in the United Kingdom. Samye Ling and Kham Tibetan House laid the institutional foundation for Karma Kagyu in Britain, adapting traditional teachings to British society while developing sustainable, multi-functional communities. However, their limited geographical scope allowed the later Diamond Way centers to become the most influential branch of the Karma Kagyu in Europe. By implementing a modern, flexible organizational structure and centering their curriculum on systematic meditation training, Diamond Way effectively expanded the reach and appeal of Tibetan Buddhism among Western practitioners.

3.2 Gelug Tradition

In the United Kingdom, the development of the Gelug tradition has been predominantly shaped and advanced by the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT). Founded by Lama Thubten Yeshe in 1975 and headquartered in London, the FPMT is committed to the authentic transmission of Buddhist teachings to Western lay practitioners. Through establishing urban and rural Buddhist centers, it provides sustained opportunities for study, reflection, meditation, and practical training (Kay, 2007). This section examines the FPMT's role in the development of the Gelug tradition in the UK from four interrelated dimensions: historical origins, organizational structure, missionary characteristics, and associated social and economic activities.

The origins of the FPMT can be traced back to 1965, when two exiled Tibetan lamas, Lama Thubten Yeshe and Lama Thubten Zopa Rinpoche, met their first Western disciple, Zina Rachevsky, a Russian philanthropist with a strong interest in Eastern spirituality. In 1969, the lamas, together with Rachevsky, established the Nepal Mahayana Gompa Centre, now known as Kopan Monastery, on a hilltop near Kathmandu. Subsequently, in 1974, the International Mahayana Institute (IMI) was founded at Kopan. Recognizing that most Western students would not pursue monastic life but return to their home countries, the lamas identified an urgent need to establish dedicated Buddhist centers in the West. In late 1975, Lama Yeshe formally founded the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT), and soon began

planning centers in the United Kingdom. In 1976, the Manjushri Institute in Cumbria was officially established as a registered charity, under the spiritual direction of Lama Yeshe. Its stated mission was to promote “the Buddhist Faith and human growth, meditation and spiritual development in accordance with Buddhist principles throughout the United Kingdom.” The institute’s inaugural program was a 23-day meditation course led by several lamas (Kay, 2007).

As a geographically dispersed transnational organization, the FPMT, like the Diamond Way Buddhist centers, developed a formalized and rigorous governance structure. Following its establishment, Lama Yeshe created a coordinating framework by founding the Council for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (CPMT), composed of senior students and center directors. The council convened annually to discuss projects, review policies, and formulate guiding principles based on Lama Yeshe’s teachings. He also established a Central Office to facilitate communication between lamas and centers, coordinate activities across branches, and implement decisions made by the CPMT. By the late 1970s, the FPMT had evolved from a loose network of independent groups into a centralized organization with clear institutional governance, policy-making mechanisms, and administrative leadership (Kay, 2007).

In terms of doctrinal propagation, the FPMT displays two distinctive and influential features. First, it introduced the Geshe Studies Program at Manjushri Institute, enabling Western lay practitioners to engage with the Gelug tradition in a systematic and academic manner. The Geshe degree represents the highest scholarly qualification in Gelug monasteries, awarded to monks who complete extensive training in classical Buddhist texts. Initially, FPMT centers offered mainly short-term meditation courses. However, in 1979, Lama Yeshe launched the formal Geshe Studies Program at Manjushri Institute, appointing Geshe Jampa Tekchog to oversee its implementation (Kay, 2007). This became the first and most successful Geshe program within the FPMT network. The program spanned 10 to 12 years, closely following the traditional Gelug curriculum while being adapted and simplified for Western practitioners, including laypeople, monks, and nuns. This structure allowed Manjushri Institute to simultaneously offer short, flexible courses suitable for modern British lifestyles and maintain a rigorous, formalized academic system. Such a comprehensive educational framework remains rare within Tibetan Buddhist communities across Europe.

Second, the FPMT prioritized the direct transmission of teachings through personal visits and teachings by prominent Tibetan lamas in the West (Van Schaik, 2011). In its early years, educational activities at Manjushri Institute were supervised by an IMI nun. In 1976, Lama Yeshe and Lama Zopa Rinpoche traveled to Mussoorie, India, to invite Geshe Kelsang Gyatso to join the institute. During his tenure, Geshe Kelsang Gyatso provided spiritual guidance, supervised the General Program of Buddhist studies, and introduced the institute’s only formal Tantric Buddhist curriculum, greatly strengthening its educational system.

In subsequent summers, the institute regularly hosted long-term visits by other eminent Tibetan lamas, including Song Rinpoche, Geshe Rabten, and Geshe Lhundup Sopa (Kay, 2007). For many British students, initial exposure to these lamas’ introductory seminars and public teachings sparked a sustained interest in Tibetan Buddhism.

In addition to formal educational programs, the Gelug centers, following the model of other Tibetan Buddhist institutions in the UK, developed a range of commercial and community initiatives to ensure financial self-sufficiency. These included operating a café, a printing press, and a mail-order bookshop, as well as renting out space for external workshops—both Buddhist-themed events and non-Buddhist activities such as yoga, natural food cooking, Tai Chi, and psychotherapy.

Lama Yeshe also placed strong emphasis on publishing. Following the first international CPMT meeting in 1978, he relocated FPMT's publishing house, Wisdom Publications, from Delhi to Ulverston, allowing it to draw on the resources, facilities, and personnel of Manjushri Institute. In the following years, numerous works by lamas and Geshe Kelsang Gyatso were produced at the Cumbria center. The publishing house not only alleviated financial pressures but also significantly promoted the scholarly and popular dissemination of Tibetan Buddhist culture (Cooper, 2001).

In summary, the Gelug tradition of Tibetan Buddhism has developed steadily in the United Kingdom through the establishment of the FPMT and its flagship institution, Manjushri Institute. After decades of institutional development, the FPMT's influence has extended far beyond the UK. It has constructed a robust transnational organizational structure capable of coordinating centers across Europe and the Americas, implemented diverse and systematic Gelug educational programs at Manjushri Institute, and achieved long-term sustainability through diversified commercial operations. At present, the FPMT manages 132 centers, projects, and service stations in 31 countries worldwide, all coordinated by the FPMT International Office¹. Within Europe, the FPMT has effectively become the primary institutional representative and public face of the Gelug tradition.

3.3 New Kadampa Tradition

The New Kadampa Tradition (NKT) is a contemporary Buddhist movement that has expanded rapidly across the United Kingdom and Europe since its formal establishment in the early 1990s. Before the emergence of the NKT, the Karma Kagyu school dominated Tibetan Buddhism in the UK, with the Gelug tradition also developing a substantial presence. However, following the founding of the NKT, its monastic and lay membership grew quickly, eventually surpassing older established sects to become one of the largest Tibetan Buddhist groups in Britain. In contrast to the sects previously discussed, the NKT is a distinctively Western-rooted movement: while its doctrinal origins lie in the Gelug lineage of Tibetan Buddhism, its institutional formation, organizational structure, and popular development have all taken shape entirely within Western societies. This section analyzes the establishment, doctrinal characteristics, social conditions for its rapid growth, and contemporary development of the NKT.

The founder of the NKT is Geshe Kelsang Gyatso, who was previously invited to serve as a senior teacher at the Manjushri Institute under the FPMT, as noted in the previous section. Geshe Kelsang officially joined the institute in 1977, and by the late 1970s, serious disagreements had emerged between him and Lama Thubten Yeshe. These tensions centered on two key issues.

¹ Dai, Q. B. M. (2019). A study on the dissemination of Karma Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism in Europe (Master's thesis). Lanzhou University, Lanzhou.

First, they held contrasting views on the institutional development of Tibetan Buddhism in the UK. Geshe Kelsang proposed establishing independent Buddhist centers in Yorkshire, whereas Lama Yeshe insisted that new centers should remain integrated within the FPMT network. Both Lama Yeshe and the FPMT leadership opposed Geshe Kelsang's plan, concerned that independent centers would risk fragmentation and disharmony within the organization.

Second, the two teachers differed sharply in their doctrinal and spiritual orientations. Lama Yeshe promoted an inclusive approach to Tibetan Buddhism, upholding the Gelug tradition while remaining open to teachings and practices from the Nyingma, Sakya, and Kagyu lineages. By contrast, Geshe Kelsang advocated a more exclusivist religious identity, emphasizing a return to what he regarded as the "pure" original teachings of the Gelug tradition as formulated by Je Tsongkhapa. He criticized Lama Yeshe and the FPMT for what he saw as the dilution of authentic Buddhist doctrine, occasionally arguing that the FPMT had blurred religious and political concerns (Kay, 2007).

Following Lama Yeshe's death in 1984, the internal tensions gradually subsided. In 1991, the Manjushri Institute formally separated from the FPMT, and within a year was renamed the Manjushri Mahayana Buddhist Center. It was at this point that Geshe Kelsang publicly announced the founding of the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT). From its inception, NKT centers have been committed to what the movement describes as "devotion to the pure Dharma." Under Geshe Kelsang's leadership, the NKT rose to considerable prominence in British religious life from the 1990s onward.

The defining doctrinal feature of the NKT is its strong conservative and tradition-oriented religious identity, emphasizing simplicity and purity in line with the historical Kadampa tradition from which the Gelug school emerged (Wang, 2010). The retention of the name "Kadampa" explicitly reflects this self-understanding. Geshe Kelsang's teachings remain doctrinally continuous with mainstream Gelugpa scholasticism (Waterhouse, 1995), exhibiting the conservative textual orientation, traditional institutional structure, and direct pedagogical style shaped by his rigorous training at Sera Je Monastic University.

Doctrinally, Geshe Kelsang's lineage draws heavily on two influential Gelug masters: Trijang Rinpoche and Phabongkha Rinpoche. His conservative religious stance mirrors their emphasis on preserving the strict monastic and doctrinal traditions established by Tsongkhapa in the major Gelug monasteries of Tibet, rather than adapting or innovating teachings specifically for Western practitioners (Samuel, 1993). Many of Geshe Kelsang's early published works, including *Meaningful to Behold, A Commentary to A Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*, and *Clear Light of Bliss*, systematically present this doctrinal orientation (Gyatso, 1980; 1992; 2000).

As a late-emerging movement, the NKT surpassed older Tibetan Buddhist sects in the UK not only due to the general appeal of Tibetan Buddhism in British society but also through specific historical and institutional factors. Fundamentally, the NKT's expansion can be attributed to Geshe Kelsang's emphasis on "pure" doctrinal authenticity and a clear-cut religious identity. The movement's rejection of perceived religious-political entanglement, promotion of modest lifestyles, and emphasis on practical ethical teachings resonated with the spiritual concerns of many British people.

In addition, public controversy surrounding the worship of the protective deity Dorje Shugden¹ in the 1990s inadvertently increased the NKT's public profile. As a teacher committed to a traditional Gelug religious identity, Geshe Kelsang regarded Dorje Shugden as an important protector deity. However, at that time, the 14th Dalai Lama expressed public concerns regarding the worship of Dorje Shugden, which led to heightened social and religious tensions within some Tibetan Buddhist communities. These disagreements attracted substantial international media attention, which extensively covered the resulting disputes and demonstrations. While such reporting was often sensationalized, it significantly increased public awareness of the NKT and contributed to its growth.

The development of the NKT after 1991 can be observed in three interrelated dimensions.

Firstly, the movement has maintained steady institutional expansion. Almost all of its members are Western converts. At present, the NKT manages approximately 200 centers in the United Kingdom, with more than 50 additional centers across the USA, Australia, Malaysia, Brazil, Mexico, and various European countries, claiming a total following of over 100,000 people (Liu, 2015). The NKT's stated goal is to establish centers in major cities throughout the UK, positioning itself as one of the largest Buddhist organizations in the West (Bai, 2016).

Secondly, the NKT has pursued an ambitious International Temple Project, which aims to build Kadampa Buddhist temples in major cities worldwide. These temples serve as public focal points for introducing NKT teachings and demonstrating Buddhist values through community and charitable activities.

Thirdly, regular Dharma assemblies have become central to the NKT's recruitment and fundraising strategies. Since the movement's founding, Geshe Kelsang has given thousands of public teachings internationally. Today, the Manjushri Meditation Center in the UK hosts three major annual Dharma assemblies. These gatherings serve dual purposes: to transmit scriptural teachings and promote the movement's traditionalist religious identity, and to solicit voluntary donations, which form an important financial base supporting the NKT's continued development.

In summary, the NKT represents a contemporary development of the doctrinal legacy extending from the ancient Kadampa tradition to the Gelug school of Tibetan Buddhism. Its most distinctive feature is the conservative, tradition-centered religious identity established by Geshe Kelsang Gyatso, which has proven highly appealing to many British practitioners. Furthermore, public controversies in the 1990s expanded its visibility and contributed to its rapid growth. At present, the NKT has evolved into a large-scale, internationally organized Tibetan Buddhist movement, with an extensive network of centers, ongoing temple construction, and regular transnational Dharma gatherings.

4 Cultural Integration of Tibetan Buddhism and British Society

Doctrinally, the major Tibetan Buddhist traditions in the UK have retained their core historical identities: the Kagyu school emphasizes tantric practice and Mahamudra; the Gelug tradition upholds the ethical and

¹ Dorje Shugden, as an entity associated with Gelug Tradition, is looked upon as a mundane protector. In Tibetan, both "Dorje" and "Shugden" mean "diamond-like", symbolizing wisdom, strength, and resilience.

meditative teachings of Atisha and Tsongkhapa, emphasizing śamatha and vipaśyanā; and the Nyingma school centers on Dzogchen, the Great Perfection. Yet, as these traditions have taken root in Britain, they have evolved considerably, generating new curriculum designs, pedagogical styles, and organizational structures.

4.1 Innovative Dissemination Characteristics of Tibetan Buddhism in the UK

Notably, the UK has witnessed the emergence of entirely new forms of Tibetan Buddhist organization established and led by Western practitioners, such as the Diamond Way Buddhist centers, and even new institutional expressions like the New Kadampa Tradition. This transformation clearly demonstrates that Tibetan Buddhism in Britain has been deeply shaped by its social and cultural environment, developing characteristics distinct from those found in its regions of origin (Kay, 2007).

First, influenced by Britain's relatively mature modern administrative and organizational models, Tibetan Buddhism in the UK has gradually constructed an extensive network of Buddhist centers as its primary nodes of transmission, allowing for large-scale institutional expansion. These British centers function in ways analogous to traditional Tibetan monasteries, yet with important structural differences. Whereas monasteries in Tibet are primarily composed of ordained monastics, British Buddhist centers maintain a far more diverse membership, usually with only a small number of resident monks or lamas, and a majority of lay practitioners (Bai, 2016). In traditional Tibetan society, lay devotees typically express their faith through rituals, offerings, and attendance at ceremonies, while systematic doctrinal learning has largely been reserved for ordained monks. In British centers, by contrast, lay practitioners are able to study Buddhist philosophy and practice meditation intensively without taking monastic vows. Beyond educational departments, these centers have also developed formal administrative sections responsible for daily operations, event planning, and inter-center coordination. All major Tibetan Buddhist traditions discussed in this study have flourished in the UK through this center-based model. Influential transnational organizations including Diamond Way Buddhism, the FPMT, and the NKT have prioritized rapid center expansion, extending their influence far beyond Europe. The large-scale networks have adopted centralized, umbrella-style governance structures, with headquarters responsible for strategic decision-making, and local centers implementing policies through hierarchical coordination. As a result, Buddhist centers have evolved from purely religious spaces into functional branches of modern transnational organizations. For instance, the governance structure of Diamond Way centers includes not only spiritual mentors but also a board of directors, a management committee, and a supervisory board composed of regional coordinators. The FPMT and NKT have similarly established formal management and administrative bodies to ensure institutional efficiency.

Second, the pedagogical style of Tibetan Buddhism in the UK has been noticeably adapted to British cultural norms. As Lama Tendzin Yiggyen observed, "The Tibetan method is too slow and filled with historical allusions... Westerners need something more concrete, something they can relate to from their own experiences"¹. To suit the direct, pragmatic orientation of many British people and the fast-paced rhythm of modern society, lamas teaching in the West often abbreviate traditional contextual introductions and present teachings in a condensed, practically oriented format. Traditional monastic educational and tulku (reincarnate lama) institutions have also been significantly modified. In Tibet, a Gelug monk typically requires more than

¹Professor Du Yongbin talks about the westernization of Tibetan Buddhism [EB/OL]. https://www.tibetol.cn/11/79/6/201105/t20110516_162482.htm. (2011-05-16/2021-05-05).

20 years to complete the full exoteric and esoteric curriculum. In Western contexts, however, formal study programs are often condensed into courses lasting only a few months. Similarly, the traditional procedures for recognizing reincarnate lamas, which involve pilgrimage to sacred sites and seeking auspicious signs, are generally not practiced in the Western institutional context.

Third, the operational model of Tibetan Buddhist centers in Britain has been shaped by the commercial and pragmatic ethos of modern UK society. Traditional monasteries in Tibet have historically relied on community support and state patronage. In contrast, during the early establishment of centers in the UK, voluntary donations were often insufficient to cover costs, and Tibetan Buddhism did not immediately benefit from established religious welfare provisions. These economic challenges were largely resolved through a partial commercialization of religious practice: long-term traditional training was restructured into marketable short-term courses. Meditation courses became the most ubiquitous offering, available at nearly every center. Supplementary activities such as yoga classes, Oriental cooking workshops, and public lectures further diversified revenue streams.

This commercialized model has proven sustainable in Britain for several reasons. First, growing spiritual demand among Britons seeking alternatives to mainstream culture positioned Tibetan Buddhism as an attractive new resource, creating a viable market. Second, short, non-committal courses aligned with modern British valuing of efficiency and flexibility. For example, Samye Ling now offers a variety of Buddhist-themed courses each month, ranging from free lectures to one- or two-week specialized programs priced between £60 and £600 (Samye Ling, 2024).

In summary, Tibetan Buddhism in the UK has developed a distinctive transmission model under the influence of British social and cultural norms. Its key innovations include: a center-based institutional network as the primary platform for dissemination; curriculum and teaching styles adapted to Western intellectual and practical needs; and a flexible, partially commercialized operational mechanism that ensures both spiritual authenticity and institutional sustainability.

4.2 Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tibetan Buddhism on the UK

During its dissemination in the United Kingdom, Tibetan Buddhism has undergone considerable adaptation without being fully assimilated into mainstream British culture. Instead, as it has established its distinctive institutional and spiritual identity, Tibetan Buddhism has exerted a measurable and multifaceted influence on contemporary British society. This section examines its cultural and social impacts from three interrelated perspectives: the Shangri-La complex, mindfulness and mental well-being, and art and aesthetics.

Firstly, Tibetan Buddhism has deepened and sustained the Shangri-La complex within British cultural imagination. The idea of Shangri-La was popularized in mainstream British culture through James Hilton's novel *Lost Horizon*, which portrayed a peaceful, utopian valley hidden in the Himalayas (Hilton, 1933). Hilton's idealized vision resonated strongly with British readers, offering an escapist fantasy amid the instability of the Great Depression and the looming threat of the Second World War. Since the 1960s, Tibetan Buddhism—with its distinctive philosophy, rituals, and imagery—has become the primary cultural embodiment of Shangri-La in British society, reinforcing long-standing romantic fascination. Many core

values promoted within Tibetan Buddhism—including compassion, non-violence, mindfulness, and the pursuit of inner peace—align closely with the tranquil, harmonious way of life depicted in the Shangri-La myth. The emphasis on simplicity, contemplation, and harmony with nature inherent in Buddhist teachings corresponded closely to the psychological needs of many Britons disillusioned with modern materialism and social upheaval. Consequently, even though few British people have visited the Himalayan region, Tibetan Buddhism has preserved and intensified a collective cultural longing for an idealized spiritual sanctuary (Baumann, 1997).

Secondly, mindfulness practices rooted in Buddhist traditions have become widely mainstreamed in British society as evidence-based tools for enhancing mental health and well-being. Mindfulness-based interventions, adapted from Buddhist meditative techniques, are now extensively applied in clinical and educational settings across the UK to alleviate stress, anxiety, and depression. Among the most influential programs is Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR), which integrates mindfulness meditation and body awareness to improve psychological health. MBSR has been widely adopted in British clinics, hospitals, and mental health services as a standard complementary intervention (Kabat-Zinn, 2009). Building upon MBSR, Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT) combines mindfulness practices with cognitive-behavioral principles to prevent relapse in chronic depression. Developed by Zindel Segal, Mark Williams, and John Teasdale, MBCT has been formally recommended by the UK National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) and is now routinely provided through both the National Health Service (NHS) and private practitioners (Segal et al., 2002). In this way, Buddhist-derived mindfulness has been secularized and institutionalized as a legitimate component of modern British mental healthcare.

Thirdly, Tibetan Buddhism has exerted a distinct influence on British art and aesthetics, primarily through the introduction and reception of Tibetan religious art, iconography, and symbolic visual culture. Central to this transmission are thangkas—intricate painted scrolls depicting Buddhas, bodhisattvas, mandalas, and narrative scenes from Buddhist scripture. Traditionally used as meditative and ritual aids, thangkas have gained considerable popularity among British artists, scholars, and spiritual seekers (Dyer et al., 2022). Many British artists have studied traditional thangka techniques and integrated Tibetan iconography and stylistic elements into contemporary artistic practice.

Major British institutions have further legitimized this cultural appreciation. The British Museum in London houses a significant collection of thangka paintings and Tibetan Buddhist artifacts, allowing public access to Himalayan religious art and symbolism. Similarly, the Victoria and Albert Museum preserves an extensive collection of Tibetan sculptures, ritual objects, and decorative arts, including statues of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, stupas, prayer wheels, and ceremonial vessels. These works are valued both for their spiritual meaning and their artistic craftsmanship, contributing to the broader appreciation of Tibetan culture within British museum and gallery contexts. Tibetan Buddhist sculptures and ritual items are also actively collected by museums, galleries, and private individuals, further embedding Tibetan aesthetic traditions into British cultural life.

5. Conclusion

The dissemination and development of Tibetan Buddhism in the United Kingdom represents a remarkable case of cross-cultural religious adaptation in the era of globalization, shaped by a confluence of external societal conditions and the internal adaptive potential of Tibetan Buddhist traditions themselves. Externally, the rapid modernization of post-WWII British society—accompanied by the erosion of traditional cultural values, the decline of Christian institutional authority, and a widespread search for alternative spiritual meaning—created a receptive social context for Tibetan Buddhism. Internally, the inherent doctrinal richness, spiritual versatility, and institutional flexibility of Tibetan Buddhism enabled it to resonate with British cultural and social norms, laying the foundation for its successful implantation in a Western Christian society. Its initial propagation in the UK was anchored in the establishment of dedicated Buddhist centers, the development of publishing ventures for doctrinal dissemination, and the organization of large-scale religious assemblies, all of which solidified its institutional presence in British society.

The development of Tibetan Buddhism in the UK has entailed a process of reciprocal acculturation between Tibetan Buddhist culture and British mainstream culture, with the former exhibiting distinct new characteristics shaped by its host context. First, unlike traditional Tibetan monasteries, Tibetan Buddhist centers in the UK have evolved into highly organized, systematic, and scaled transnational institutional networks, with a mixed membership of small resident monastic communities and a large body of lay practitioners, and formal administrative structures to support their operation and expansion. Second, in doctrinal teaching and dissemination, all major Tibetan Buddhist sects have abandoned overly traditional, lengthy pedagogical approaches in favor of direct, condensed, and practical teaching methods tailored to the fast-paced lifestyle and pragmatic thinking of British society; traditional monastic education systems and reincarnation recognition procedures have also been simplified and adapted to Western contextual conditions. Third, Tibetan Buddhist organizations in the UK have embraced a degree of commercialization in their operational models, transforming traditional Buddhist practices and teachings into marketable short-term courses and supplementary cultural activities, which not only addresses financial sustainability but also aligns with the efficiency-oriented demands of modern British society.

In the course of its localization, Tibetan Buddhism has not only adapted to British culture but also exerted a profound and multifaceted influence on multiple dimensions of British society and culture. First, it has deepened the Shangri-La complex in the British collective imagination: the core Buddhist values of compassion, mindfulness, inner peace, and harmony with nature have become the spiritual embodiment of Hilton's utopian Shangri-La, satisfying the British public's longing for an escape from materialism and social anxiety. Second, mindfulness practices derived from Tibetan Buddhism have been secularized and institutionalized in the UK, emerging as evidence-based clinical interventions for mental health. Third, Tibetan Buddhist artistic traditions—including thangkas, religious sculptures, and ritual artifacts—have enriched British aesthetic culture, with major national museums housing significant collections of Tibetan Buddhist art, and British artists integrating Tibetan iconographic and stylistic elements into contemporary creation, fostering a broader public appreciation of Himalayan cultural and artistic heritage in the UK.

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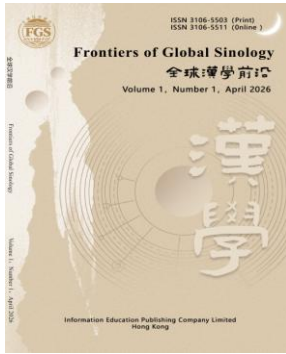
Zhang Junping ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-8491-7928>

Cao Min ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0002-6652-7078>

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《金瓶梅》在西班牙语世界的译介与接受研究

薛禹彤 (Xue Yutong), 许 靓 (Xu Liang)

摘要: 本文以明代经典小说《金瓶梅》在西班牙语世界的翻译与接受为研究对象, 梳理该书从缺席到全译的历史进程, 比较不同译本的翻译策略、叙述风格与文化定位, 并分析媒体评论、读者反馈、学界研究和教学实践对其经典化的影响。文章基于翻译学与接受研究框架, 将西语译介史划分为早期滥觞、全译出现和多元发展三个阶段, 指出译者的文化适应与学术背景直接关系到译本的完整度和注释深度; 两种西班牙语全译本形成了学术化与通俗化并行的格局, 为目标语言读者提供了不同的阅读路径。文章认为, 《金瓶梅》从“禁书”到文学经典的转变得益于权威译本、高质量注释以及包容的文化环境。其跨文化传播不仅丰富了西语世界对中国古典小说的认知, 也为中国文学的经典化与世界文学对话提供了新视角。

关键词: 《金瓶梅》; 西班牙语译介; 接受研究; 经典化; 跨文化传播

作者简介: 薛禹彤 (通讯作者), 文学博士, 浙江师范大学外国语学院讲师, 研究方向: 海外汉学、比较文学与跨文化研究, 电邮: yutong@zjnu.edu.cn。许靓, 翻译学博士, 长春大学外国语学院讲师, 研究方向: 翻译与跨文化研究, 电邮: 1256636675@qq.com。

Title: A Study of the Translation and Reception of *Jin Ping Mei* in the Spanish-Speaking World

Abstract: This article examines the translation and reception of the Ming-dynasty classic *Jin Ping Mei* in the Spanish-speaking world. It reviews the history of translations from early indirect excerpts to the simultaneous appearance of two complete translations in the 2010s, compares their strategies and paratexts, and analyzes media reviews, reader responses, and scholarly and

educational receptions within the framework of translation and reception studies. The study identifies three phases: early experimentation, the arrival of complete translations, and diversified development. It argues that the combination of a faithful academic edition and a popularized rewrite enabled the novel to transition from a banned erotic book to a literary classic, enriching Spanish-language perceptions of Chinese fiction. The success of this cross-cultural transmission hinges on translators proficient in both cultures, high-quality annotations, and culturally open and supportive publishing environments. The Spanish translations of *Jin Ping Mei* have not only broadened the horizon of Chinese literature abroad but also contributed to the dialogue between Chinese classics and world literature.

Keywords: *Jin Ping Mei*; Spanish translation; reception studies; canonization; cross-cultural transmission

Author Biographies: Xue Yutong (Corresponding Author), PhD in Literature, Lecturer, School of Foreign Languages, Zhejiang Normal University. Research interests: overseas Sinology, comparative literature, and intercultural studies. E-mail: yutong@zjnu.edu.cn. Xu Liang, PhD in Translation Studies, Lecturer, School of Foreign Languages, Changchun University. Research interests: translation and intercultural studies. E-mail: 1256636675@qq.com.

一、引言

《金瓶梅》作为明代“四大奇书”之一，以大胆露骨的情色描写和对世情百态的深刻揭露著称，长期被传统社会列为禁书。然而，它作为现实主义世情小说的开山之作，在叙事结构、人物塑造和语言风格上的创新使其具有深厚的文学价值和历史研究意义。20 世纪以来，随着比较文学、翻译学和接受理论的发展，《金瓶梅》的译介与海外传播逐渐引起关注。虽然英语、法语等语种较早出现节译与全译本，并催生了丰厚的研究成果，但在西班牙语世界，长期缺乏系统的翻译与研究。尤其在西语读者印象中，中国古典文学往往由儒家典籍、诗歌和《四大名著》塑造，缺少对市井社会和世俗人性的认识。《金瓶梅》的西译填补了这一空白，并为反思“东方文学”形象提供了契机。近年来，围绕中国文学海外传播的研究也开始从单一译本分析转向区域传播格局与接受机制考察，波兰等欧洲语区的个案研究表明，译者结构、传播渠道与中国形象建构之间存在明显联动（Chen, 2025）。

本文旨在梳理《金瓶梅》在西班牙语世界的翻译和接受历程，分析不同译本的翻译策略以及媒体、读者、学界和教育领域对该书的反馈，探讨译者在文化身份建构和经典化过程中的作用。研究方法主要包括文本分析、译本对读以及接受研究，以期揭示跨文化传播中译本与接受主体之间的互动，丰富中国古典文学海外传播的案例研究。

二、《金瓶梅》西班牙语译介史

（一）滥觞与初次试译（1960-2000）

在长达数个世纪里，《金瓶梅》并未进入西班牙语文化视野。这首先归因于中西语言文化的悬殊差异，导致长期缺乏精通中文且有志于翻译此书的西语译者；其次，由于《金瓶梅》对家庭关系与欲望结构的细致描写使其长期带有“情色”声誉，在传统主流出版市场中容易引发顾虑。因此，西语世界对中国古典小说的早期关注多集中在儒家经典和《红楼梦》《西游记》等作品上。直到 20

世纪下半叶，墨西哥和西班牙相继出现了零星的节译或转译，才为这一经典进入西语世界奠定了基础。1961年，墨西哥译者玛丽亚·安东尼娅·特鲁埃瓦（María Antonia Trueba）将部分章节节译为《金莲：西门与他的妻子们》（*Loto dorado: Hsi Men y sus esposas*），首次在墨西哥出版，并于1984年在西班牙再版。尽管该书篇幅有限，且侧重于西门庆家庭内部的情感伦理叙述，但它作为《金瓶梅》在西语世界的首次译介尝试，标志着该经典正式进入了西语读者的文化视野。1979年，加泰罗尼亚学者弗朗西斯科·马拉翁达根据法文译本转译出另一部《金莲》（*Loto Dorado*），在巴塞罗那发行，但该版本未再版流传，影响范围较为有限（Li, 2024, p. 179）。这些零星译介仅让少数读者略窥一斑。许多西语读者对《金瓶梅》的最初印象来自他国语言的转述或野史逸闻（如作者毒杀仇人的传说、毛泽东称其为“明朝的真实历史”等），而非直接阅读译文。可以说，21世纪之前《金瓶梅》在西班牙语世界只是知其名而未见其书，并未真正进入大众视野。

（二）全译阶段与代表译本（2010年代）

2010年前后，《金瓶梅》的西语译介取得突破性进展。西班牙几乎同时出版了两种“全译本”，使该作首次完整进入西语文学视野。第一种译本由格拉纳达大学教授雷爱玲（Alicia Relinque Eleta）历时六年完成，2010-2011年由亚特兰大出版社（Ediciones Atalanta）分卷出版。书名采用拼音 *Jin Ping Mei* 并附副标题“诗歌与散文（en verso y en prosa）”。雷爱玲直接以明代《金瓶梅词话》原刊本为底本，保持100回全貌，附录明代版画插图和19世纪彩色绣像，撰写长篇导言和655条注释，对典故、风俗、语汇逐一阐释。翻译策略上，译者强调以忠实和学术性为原则，力求让西语读者感受明代口语的韵味，她倾向音译人名，保留诗词格式，并在脚注中大量释义，体现“异化”与“归化”兼顾的平衡。该译本在西班牙一经推出便广受欢迎，其中第一卷迄今已出版四版，显示出良好的市场接受度。

同年，加泰罗尼亚古典文学学者沙维尔·罗卡·费雷尔（Xavier Roca-Ferrer）在命运出版社（Ediciones Destino）推出了题为《小金瓶中的梅花》（*Flor de ciruelo en vasito de oro*）的西语译本。罗卡·费雷尔并不通晓中文，他综合参考英、法、德文译本间接翻译而成，分为《春夏之书》（*Libro de las primaveras y los veranos*）和《秋冬之书》（*Libro de los otoños y los inviernos*）两册。其译文注重通俗化和可读性，大量删节并调整章节顺序，以现代西班牙语叙述故事，同时多以意译方式处理文化元素，从将“潘金莲”译作“Loto Dorado（金莲花）”并以直白现代词汇弱化甚至省略原文的性隐喻便可窥见一斑。

两种译本在翻译策略上的差异反映了译者不同的文化定位。雷爱玲强调保留原貌，标题使用拼音，注释详尽，学术性强；罗卡·费雷尔则倾向解释性译名，力求让不熟悉中国文化的读者直接理解，这种策略让小说更像一部西方历史小说，降低了阅读门槛，却牺牲了原作的语义精微和文化深度。尽管翻译取径各异，但两种全译本的相继出版，实现了《金瓶梅》在西语世界从“节选”到“全本”的跨越，为该作的后续传播与研究提供了完整的文本参照。

（三）后续发展与版本多样化（2010年代以后）

全译本面世后，《金瓶梅》在西语世界的传播进入多元发展阶段。一方面，雷爱玲译本在2010年代多次再版，成为学术引用的标准版本，并被纳入中国国家“中华文库”项目，于2016年推出九卷本的汉西对照版。这一官方译介工程使西语译本获得更广泛的教育和研究应用。另一方面，罗卡·费雷尔译本凭借通俗语言进入大众市场，扩展了读者群体。两译本的并行传播为西语读者提供

了不同选择，也推动《金瓶梅》在拉丁美洲的发行。墨西哥、阿根廷等地书店开始销售《金瓶梅》译本，西语读者得以用母语阅读这部中国现实主义杰作。此后，学界还出现了针对局部章节的再译和研究，凸显该书在西语圈的持久生命力。

三、接受史与传播实践

《金瓶梅》西译本的出版在西班牙语世界引发了多层面的反响，具体体现在媒体评论回应、读者市场反馈和学术教育接受等方面。

（一）媒体与评论界的回应

全译本出版后，西班牙主流媒体迅速给出评论。《阿贝赛报》（*ABC*）的文化副刊 *El Cultural* 刊登了题为“*Jin Ping Mei, pura vida*”的长篇书评。学者路易斯·阿尔贝托·德·昆卡（Luis Alberto de Cuenca）赞誉《金瓶梅》为明代最杰出的小说，以无与伦比的写实手法描绘了明代社会万象，特别是女性的世界。评论强调小说虽充满挑逗性的情色描写，但“同时具有道德寓意：展现将人生完全奉献给纵欲所招致的悲惨后果”。即使曾被官方列为禁书，也无损其“真正的文学瑰宝”地位。文章还介绍了小说书名源自三位女主角名字融合，并比较了《金瓶梅》与《水浒传》的情节差异，帮助读者将其置于中国文学传统中理解¹。

这篇评论还介绍并肯定了当时两种西译本，他指出“随着雷爱玲将此书直接从中文精译成西班牙语，由亚特兰大出版社分两卷出版，这部小说终于在塞万提斯的语言中找到了‘文字的家园’，填补了西班牙语文库中不可容忍的空白。”评论盛赞雷爱玲的翻译“精妙传神”，注释详尽，译者导言提供了理解作品的必备指南；同时提到罗卡·费雷尔的间接译本虽非直接据中文但亦值得称道。总体而言，媒体评价积极正面，既肯定了作品本身的文学价值，也赞扬了译者的功力，为译本在西语世界的传播营造了良好舆论环境。

除了报纸，一些文学杂志也对《金瓶梅》译本发表书评。例如加泰罗尼亚知名汉学家马内尔·奥列（Manel Ollé）在《图书杂志》（*Revista de Libros*）撰文指出，《金瓶梅》不仅是“艳情小说”，更是对权力与人性的深刻讽喻；他将雷爱玲译本誉为“再现明代口语韵味的杰出翻译”，并指出罗卡·费雷尔译本虽流畅易读，但略显保守²。汉学家安妮·海伦·苏亚雷斯（Anne Helene Suárez）则在《国家报》（*El País*）文化专栏中称，该译本富有表现力，准确传达了原文的节奏与色彩，显示出译者扎实的汉学功底³。

除主流媒体外，一些专注中国文化的西语平台也对雷爱玲译本给予积极评价。中拉网（*Chinalati*）⁴《亚洲报道》（*ReporteAsia*）⁵《中国今日》（*Chinahoy*）⁶以及马德里孔子学院⁷等平

¹ De Cuenca, Luis Alberto (2010 Oct. 21). “*Jin Ping Mei, pura vida*.” *ABC Cultural*: 19-20. https://www.abc.es/cultura/cultural968libros-201010210000_noticia.html.

² Ollé, Manel (2011). “Algo más que un clásico del erotismo.” *Revista de Libros* (177): 6-7.

³ Suárez, Anne Helene (2010 Nov. 6). “Oro, vino y flores.” *Babelia*, https://elpais.com/diario/2010/11/06/babelia/1289005940_850215.html.

⁴ Moya, Teresa (2014 Sept. 30). “Entrevista a Alicia Relinque Eleta en el Día del Traductor.” *Chinalati*, <https://chinalati.com/profiles/blogs/entrevista-a-alicia-relinque-eleta-en-el-dia-del-traductor>.

⁵ La Oriental Libros (2022 July 6). “*Jin Ping Mei*. El erudito de las carcajadas de Alicia Relinque.” *ReporteAsia*, <https://reporteasia.com/region/china/2022/06/26/jin-ping-mei-el-erudito-de-las-carcajadas-de-alicia-relinque/>.

⁶ Rosales Ginarte, Abel (2017 Aug. 9). “Alicia Relinque: ‘El chino es mi pasión, mi modo de vivir’.” *ChinaHoy*, http://spanish.chinatoday.com.cn/soc/societ/content/2017-08/29/content_745283.htm.

⁷ Instituto Confucio de Madrid (2024 Oct. 2). “El ‘*Jin Ping Mei*’ tiene momentos realmente memorables, puede ser divertida, intensa, cruel”, <https://confuciomadrid.es/entrevista-jin-ping-mei/>.

台先后刊发书评、专访或活动报道，既肯定其译文的语言精准性与学术价值，也强调其在促进中西文化交流方面的意义。这种来自西方与中国、媒体与文化机构的双向认可，不仅提升了译本知名度，也进一步巩固了其在西语世界的文化影响力。

（二）读者与市场反馈

从市场角度看，《金瓶梅》西班牙语译本的出版与再版也反映出其良好接受度。雷爱玲译本由小型但具有鲜明文学品位的亚特兰大出版社推出，定位于高端文学读物。首印销量虽无公开统计，但出版后短期内多次加印，显示出明显高于预期的市场反响。与之相对，罗卡·费雷尔的改写本则凭借更通俗的语言和更强的故事性进入一般读者市场，为《金瓶梅》在西语世界的扩散提供了另一条路径¹。

总体来看，西语世界对《金瓶梅》的接受呈现出明显的分众化特征：一方面，汉学研究者与文学读者更重视雷爱玲译本的完整性、注释性与学术价值；另一方面，普通读者则更容易被罗卡·费雷尔版本的流畅叙事所吸引。正是这种“学术化”与“通俗化”并行的格局，使《金瓶梅》在西班牙及更广泛西语世界中逐步获得稳定读者群。

（三）学术与教育领域的接受

《金瓶梅》西译本的出版不仅丰富了西语世界的中国文学译作库，更引发了一系列跨学科讨论。近年来的研究表明，该译本已成为性别研究、叙事传统和文化翻译等领域的重要对象之一。例如，西班牙学者佩尼亚兰达（Peñaranda）将《金瓶梅》中潘金莲的形象与欧洲现实主义小说《包法利夫人》《安娜·卡列尼娜》等的通奸女性加以比较，认为《金瓶梅》在东方叙事传统中首度聚焦一位反抗礼教的通奸女性，是女性主体欲望表达的重要转折点，并呈现出前所未有的复杂叙事结构和深刻的社会批判功能（Almendros Peñaranda, 2020）。Carmen Y. Hsu（2010, pp. 43-56）也从媒婆角色比较《金瓶梅》和欧洲经典《塞莱斯蒂娜》，揭示中西情色文学结构上的共通。

与此同时，注译本的语言特色与翻译策略也成为学者们的关注重点。Cai Yazhi（2021, pp. 81-98）比较了几部中国古典小说西译中的委婉语翻译，指出译者在直述与含蓄之间需要抉择；Chang Ya-hui（2018, pp. 93-103）比较了原文隐晦称谓“龟”在两个西语译本中的译法差异，对情色元素翻译进行了反思。

在教学实践中，《金瓶梅》译本也正式迈入课堂。西班牙格拉纳达大学文学与翻译系已将《金瓶梅》（第一卷）列为“中国古典文学”课程的必读书目之一，与《红楼梦》《儒林外史》等作品并列；相关数据库与课程资源也不断完善，该译本已从出版物转化为可教学、可研究的学术文本。马德里自治大学、巴塞罗那自治大学等高校亦将部分章节纳入翻译或比较文学课程²。

在学术研究之外，围绕《金瓶梅》译本的专业交流活动也在西班牙展开。西班牙的孔子学院等文化机构多次举办中国古典文学主题的讲座和读书会。以马德里孔院 2024 年的“读懂中国（Léete

¹ Siruela, J. (2020 July 15). “Atalanta: brevedad y memoria, imaginación y naturaleza.” Letras Libres, <https://letraslibres.com/cultura/atalanta-brevedad-y-memoria-imaginacion-y-naturaleza/>.

² Universidad de Granada (n.d.). Guía docente de Literatura Clásica China, <https://grados.ugr.es/literaturas/docencia/plan-estudios/literatura-clasica-china/guia-docente>; Rovira-Esteva, Sara, et al. (2019-2025). La literatura china traducida en España. Open-access database. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5565/ddd.uab.cat/214778>.

China) ”读书俱乐部为例, 活动专门设置《金瓶梅》专场, 邀请译者雷爱玲与读者面对面交流翻译心得与阅读经验。这类活动扩大了《金瓶梅》在西语世界的影响力, 也促进了译者、读者与研究者之间的互动¹。

此外, 中国学界也通过官方表彰肯定了《金瓶梅》全译本在跨文化传播中的卓越贡献。其译者雷爱玲凭借包括该作在内的汉学贡献荣获了“中华图书特殊贡献奖”。这一国家级荣誉的授予, 不仅体现了中国学界对西语译本质量的高度认可, 也在西语文化圈内引发了二次传播, 进一步提升了《金瓶梅》在当代国际汉学图景中的知名度与文学地位。

四、文化身份与经典化建构

在西语世界的译介历程中, 《金瓶梅》不仅完成了文本的跨语言转换, 更在译者的诠释与读者的解读中实现了“经典化”的重塑。这种文化身份的建构不再局限于作品的文学属性, 而是将其置于西语语境下的汉学图景中, 通过各类译本的学术沉淀与跨国传播, 使该作从一部异域读物升华为中国古典叙事艺术的代表性范式。

(一) 中华古典文学形象的丰富

在《金瓶梅》译介之前, 西语读者对中国古典文学的印象多由儒家典籍、诗歌和“四大名著”等塑造。例如, 孔子典籍和《孙子兵法》代表哲理智慧, 《唐诗三百首》象征浪漫诗意, 《西游记》《三国演义》展示奇幻冒险和英雄传奇, 《红楼梦》体现绮丽哀婉的贵族生活。这些作品勾勒出的中国古典文化形象往往儒雅、玄妙、崇高或悲怆。然而《金瓶梅》的译入为这一版图增添了新的色彩: 它展现的是市井日常、男盗女娼、权欲横流的世俗社会横截面, 风格写实又讽刺, 充满人性的灰暗与复杂, 在一定程度上打破了西方读者对中国古典文学的刻板想象。正如西方评论所言, 《金瓶梅》之于中国文学犹如《十日谈》之于欧洲文坛, 彰显了世俗生活的丰富性和文学表现的大胆性。通过阅读《金瓶梅》, 西语读者发现中国古典文学并非只有风花雪月或君子之道, 也有对权力腐败、性欲人性的深刻描绘。中国文学形象因此更加立体: 既有《红楼梦》的雅致哀愁, 也有《金瓶梅》的市井冷峻; 既能写神魔传奇, 也能写人伦百态。

这种形象的丰富对文化身份建构意义重大。西方受众由此看到: 中国文化同样包含对现实的无情揭露和对人性的反思, 中国古人并非皆循规蹈矩, 而是有人性的七情六欲、爱恨贪嗔。这种人性上的共通点拉近了中西读者的心理距离。某种程度上, 《金瓶梅》译本使中华文化在西语世界中的形象更趋多元真实。过去西方或许倾向将中国传统视为神秘而道德化的他者; 《金瓶梅》所呈现的权欲横流、奢靡浮华, 与欧洲近代早期文学中对人性的刻画相互呼应, 展现出人性贪欲、欲望与腐败的普遍性。这种认知有助于消解文化他者化, 建立跨文化理解的基础。

(二) 译者角色与文化桥梁

译者在文化身份建构中扮演关键角色。雷爱玲作为译者, 不只是翻译文字, 更充当了两种文化间的“形象塑造者”。她深谙西方读者的期待与误区, 因此在翻译策略上刻意平衡异域风情与可接受性, 努力让《金瓶梅》既保留中国味又易于西语读者理解。这体现在她提出的“背叛之艺”(arte de la traición), 理念上, 面对中西文化和语言的巨大差异, 译者有时不得不“背叛”原文的表层含

¹Instituto Confucio de Madrid (2024 Oct. 2). “El ‘Jin Ping Mei’ tiene momentos realmente memorables, puede ser divertida, intensa, cruel”, <https://confuciomadrid.es/entrevista-jin-ping-mei/>.

义，以更巧妙的手法传达深层意蕴（Relinque Eleta, 2014, p. 59）。这种“艺高人胆大”的翻译观体现了译者对文化距离的自觉认识。

例如，原著中大量明代俗语和歇后语直译会晦涩难懂，雷爱玲常巧妙地用西班牙语中对等的俗语或口语表达替代，并在脚注中加以说明。这样既避免了文化隔阂，又保留了原著接地气的趣味，让西语读者得以一窥明代市井语言风貌。又如，对于性的描写她并未像早期一些译者那样避重就轻，而是以现代西班牙语中恰当且不失庄重的词汇直译这些内容，既坦率直白又不流于猥亵，在情色直白与措辞典雅之间取得了平衡。这些翻译策略的抉择都体现出译者在重塑源文化形象时的拿捏：既避免呈现一个扭曲或过滤后的中国形象，也不让文化差异成为读者理解的障碍。

雷爱玲的实践表明，译者作为跨文化沟通的桥梁，实际上在帮助源文化定位其在目标文化中的角色。在她的译介中，《金瓶梅》被呈现为一部具有世界文学意义的中国经典，而非单纯供猎奇的艳情读物。这在她的导言和注释中体现得尤为明显：她详尽阐释了明代历史、作者背景、小说结构与艺术成就，并将《金瓶梅》置于中国小说史乃至世界文学的版图中加以比较，认为其在中国文学中的地位，犹如《坎特伯雷故事集》或《十日谈》在西方文学中的地位。雷爱玲导言中甚至运用了巴赫金的“狂欢化”、洛特曼的符号学等西方理论来解析《金瓶梅》。所有这些努力都在向西语读者传达：《金瓶梅》是值得严肃对待的文学经典，其价值超越了民族和时代。这种阐释无疑塑造了读者对该书的认知——他们倾向于将其视为世界文学的一部分，而非仅仅“中国的情色故事”。可以说，译者通过翻译和阐释，为《金瓶梅》构建了一个在西语文化中经典化的身份。

与此同时，另一位译者罗卡·费雷尔也在西语世界构建了一条独特的接受路径。作为小说家及英法译者，他融合参考多种译本进行自由改写、概述和删节，形成一个更具“再创作”性质的版本。为了提升文本的流畅度和现代可读性，他灵活运用了更为简化且理性、现代的标点符号体系，强化了叙述的通俗化与情节化色彩，诸如以“*familias mafiosas*（黑手党家族）”形容明代权力集团的本土化表达，使没有汉学背景的普通读者也能迅速融入故事情境。这种策略虽牺牲了部分原作的诗意与文化深度，却极大拓宽了受众范围。其对文本的“简化”与“自由”处理，正体现了译者追求再创作与译文生命力的尝试。

这一策略与雷爱玲的学术性忠实形成互补，二者共同为《金瓶梅》在西语世界提供了多元且互为补充的传播路径：前者通过忠实翻译与详注引导深入理解，后者则凭借流畅叙事和现代化表达吸引更广泛的读者。两种译本并置，不仅反映了不同译者对文化距离的处理，也丰富了目标文化中对中国古典文学的认知和身份建构。

（三）读者解读与跨文化比较

西语读者的解读也是文化身份建构的重要一环。《金瓶梅》译介中的情色元素不仅是审美对象，更是构建中国文学“他者形象”的叙事工具。西译本在文化意象（如对不贞女性的称谓“淫妇”，对通奸男性的绰号“乌龟”，对媒婆称之为“月老”等）的再编码过程中，形成了既陌生化又富于吸引力的文化符号体系。这种“异化化的欲望翻译”策略，某种意义上也促使西语读者以新的视角重新理解“东方文学”在情色与伦理之间的张力。

通过前文所述媒体评论和读者反馈可知，很多西方读者在阅读《金瓶梅》后，会自发地把它拿来与本土或熟悉的文化内容作对比。这种比较实际上帮助他们将中国文化纳入自身文化图景，从而更深入地理解中国古代社会与价值观。例如，有评论把《金瓶梅》比作西班牙的流浪汉小说传统，

因为书中充斥欺骗、奸淫、权术，有点类似 16-17 世纪西班牙小说描写的社会乱象。也有人将西门庆这个多情又贪婪的形象与西方文学中的“唐璜”形象相比照。这些比附虽然未必精确，却是读者试图理解异文化文本的路径。通过这种类比，他们在心中为《金瓶梅》找到了“熟悉的位置”，使小说的文化身份更加清晰：既是一个中国故事，又拥有普遍的人性意义，可以与西方经典“对话”。一些读者和学者由此展开跨文化讨论，比如对比明代的腐败风气与同时期西班牙哈布斯堡王朝晚期的社会腐化，或者比较《金瓶梅》中女性命运与欧洲小说中女性形象的异同。这些讨论实际上在为中国文学在西方的形象增添层次，使之不再是孤立的东方他者，而成为可以对比、可以产生共鸣和借鉴的对象。

另外，透过读者视角，我们还能看到文化身份建构中的价值观交流。有西语读者注意到《金瓶梅》里对权钱交易和性别压迫的揭露，认为其现实意义超越时代和地域，可作为当代社会镜鉴。这种跨文化比较和价值再造不仅丰富了文本的意义，也促使《金瓶梅》从中国文学作品转变为普世意义的文化经典。读者的主体性参与为作品在目标文化中的身份定位注入活力，是经典化不可或缺的环节。

五、结语

《金瓶梅》在西班牙语世界的译介历程显示，优秀经典的跨文化传播是一条复杂的链条，涉及译者、出版、媒体、读者与学界多方互动。早期零散的节译未能真正进入公众视野；2010 年前后两种全译本的出现奠定了该书在西语世界的传播基础，形成了忠实学术译本与通俗改写本并行的格局。权威译本的学术性和注释性强化了文本的经典属性，而通俗化的改写则降低了文化门槛，扩大了受众范围。媒体报道和学界研究改变了公众早期对《金瓶梅》的猎奇印象，引导读者将其视为揭示权力、金钱与人性欲望的现实主义巨作。高校课程和研究项目的纳入进一步巩固了其经典地位。从更广的欧洲经验看，中国文学与文艺的海外传播往往依赖译者、出版机构与传播渠道的协同作用，这一点在关于波兰中国文学译介和《茶馆》在德国传播的研究中也得到印证（Chen, 2025; Wang & Su, 2025）。

从更深层的文化逻辑看，《金瓶梅》在西语语境下的“经典化”不仅是文本的位移，更是一次文学身份的重塑。这种重塑证明了中国古典文学在面对西方读者的审美预设时，具备极强的叙事张力与情感共鸣。译本在西班牙的稳固与向拉美地区的辐射，构建起了一个跨大西洋的西语汉学传播网，使这部明代奇书从单一的“中国故事”转化为全球文学对话中的“共有资产”。它不仅为西语世界提供了解析中国古代社会生态的文化样本，也为中西文学关于欲望、伦理与社会转型的比较研究提供了坐标。

由此可见，中国文学经典在海外的成功传播依赖于译者“文化转译者”的创造性劳动、出版环境的支持以及目标文化的开放心态。《金瓶梅》一经译入便引发跨文化对话，启发读者以自身文化经验重新解读中国小说，并在比较中寻找共通的人性主题。未来研究可进一步比较不同译本的具体策略，探讨拉美地区的接受差异，分析译本对世界文学的影响。透过《金瓶梅》的西译与经典化之路，我们不仅看到了中国古典文学走向世界的挑战与机遇，也感受到跨文化沟通中人性与文学的共振。

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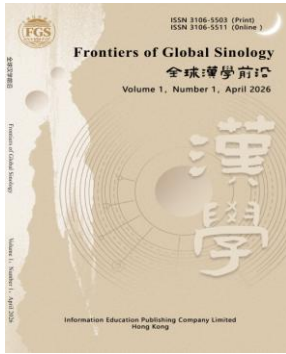
ORCID

Xue Yutong ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-5876-3138>

Xu Liang ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0004-6384-2085>

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中国古典文学在日本的文化旅行—— 兼论《〈红楼梦〉在日本的编译及其接受研究》

罗 弦 (Luo Xian)

摘要：中国古典文学在日本的传播与接受并非简单的文本位移，而是一场复杂的文化旅行。吴昊新著《〈红楼梦〉在日本的编译及其接受研究》聚焦于日本 1916-2017 出版的《红楼梦》编译本，全面剖析不同历史时期日本社会译介与接受《红楼梦》的动态过程。编译本作为一种极具特色的动态文本，更能敏锐地反映出特定历史阶段的社会思潮、审美取向与文化政治立场，成为观察日本现代主体性建构的重要切口。这一研究视角不仅揭示了《红楼梦》编译背后日本现代社会的复杂性，也为理解中国古典文学在跨文化改写中的再阐释提供了方法论参照。

关键词：中国古典文学；文化旅行；《红楼梦》

作者简介：罗弦，湖北大学文学院博士研究生，研究方向：世界文学与文学批评，电邮：1343548997@qq.com。

Title: Cultural Travel of Chinese Classical Literature in Japan: On *A Study of the Compilation and Reception of Dream of the Red Chamber in Japan*

Abstract: The dissemination and reception of Chinese classical literature in Japan should not be understood as a simple textual displacement, but rather as a complex process of cultural travel. Wu Hao's *A Study of the Compilation and Reception of Dream of the Red Chamber in Japan* focuses on the compiled editions of *Dream of the Red Chamber* published in Japan between 1916 and 2017, offering a comprehensive analysis of the dynamic processes through which the

novel was translated, adapted, and received in different historical periods. As a distinctive and dynamic textual form, the compiled edition is particularly sensitive to the social currents, aesthetic orientations, and cultural-political positions of specific historical contexts, thus providing an important perspective for examining the formation of modern Japanese subjectivity. This approach not only illuminates the complexity of modern Japanese society underlying the compilation and adaptation of *Dream of the Red Chamber*, but also offers methodological insights into the reinterpretation of Chinese classical literature within processes of cross-cultural rewriting.

Keywords: Chinese Classical Literature; Cultural Travel; *Dream of the Red Chamber*

Author Biography: Luo Xian, Doctoral Student, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Hubei University. Research Direction: World Literature and Literary Criticism. E-mail: 1343548997@qq.com.

引言

中国的古典文学植根于中国数千年的历史纵深之中，既承载着中国社会的价值观念、文化伦理与审美经验，也构成了东亚汉字文化圈重要的知识系谱与精神文化资源。正是在这种知识认同、文化认同与审美认同的深厚的文化基础上，中国文学得以不断向汉字文化圈及周边地区传播，并在异域语境中获得新的认知、理解与阐释。其中，日本作为一衣带水的邻邦，深受中国传统文化影响，自古以来便与中国保持着密切而又持续的文化往来。从最初以朝鲜半岛作为中介，到遣隋使、遣唐使的直接往来，再到贸易与学术交流的推动，中国的儒释道经典、诗文传统与文学著作便持续不断地传入日本社会，逐渐构成日本知识阶层与文学创作的重要文化资源。这种跨越国界的文化旅行，并非文学文本的简单迁移，而是涉及选择、重组与意义再生产的动态过程。正如萨义德所言，文化的转移“势必要涉及不同于源点的表征和体制化过程”（Said, 2009, p. 400），这也使得异域语境的文化流动与交流呈现出复杂的互动。日本作为东亚汉文化圈的重要成员，其对中国古典文学的摄取、内化与更新，构成了观察区域文明互涉与民族主体意识形塑的绝佳窗口。

一

中国古典文学在日本的传播与接受跨越千年，其过程并非单纯的文本输入，而是经历选择、重组与再生产的复杂文化旅行。中国典籍传入日本的确切时间无法确定，根据文献记载，早在公元四世纪左右，就已经由朝鲜半岛这一中介通道进入日本列岛。《古事记》（712）“应神天皇”一节记载“按照命令贡上来的人，名叫和迩吉师，随同这个人一起贡上《论语》十卷、《千字文》一卷，共十一卷”（安万侣，1979, p. 128）。《日本书纪》（720）中也有关于关于皇太子与王仁学习中国典籍的记载。虽在具体时间与书目上存在讹误，但仍可视为中国经典早期东传的重要象征。

进入隋唐时期，中日之间开通了直接往返的海上航道，使中国文化的传入由零散流通转向制度化引进，掀开了吸收中国文化的新时期。四次遣隋使，十九次遣唐使（到达十五次），不仅带回了律令制度与佛教经义，更充当了中国古典文学大规模传播的文化使者。与此同时，唐朝政府兼容并蓄的开放姿态以及高僧的秘密东渡弘法等，也从积极意义上推动了中国文明向域外的辐射与分享。在

这一双向的模式下，中国古典文学与思想体系得以由表及里系统地进入日本社会，并逐步融入政治制度、教育体系与贵族文化生活之中。及至平安时代，日本权力阶级与知识阶层对于中国文化的渴求到达一个高潮时期，宋槧书籍大量流入日本。他们醉心于中国文化，以中国文明为典范，编纂了汉诗集《凌云集》、《文华秀丽集》，汉籍类书《秘府略》等。同时藤原佐世所著的日本现存最古老的汉籍目录学著作《日本国见在书目录》也在九世纪末撰成，该书对当时日本官方藏书进行了系统记录与梳理，反映了这一时期中国古典文学在日本传播的实际状况，显示出其在日本知识结构中的重要地位。与此同时，中国古典文学在日本的传播并不是停留在单向输入或模仿的层面，而是在日本语境中不断发生再阐释与本土转化。从《十七条宪法》遣词造句中对中国典籍的引用，到汉文诗集《怀风藻》对中国诗作的模仿，再到《万叶集》中以中国典籍为媒介的文化表达，中国文学资源成为日本文学创作中的重要组成部分。在此过程中，白居易文学的东传成为了中国古典文学在日旅行的典型案例。九世纪中期白居易诗文传入日本，受到以天皇为首的知识阶层的推崇，“成为宫廷大臣必备的文学修养”（严绍璁，1999, p. 241）。对白乐天文学的推崇并非停留在单向接受层面，而是通过具体的文学实践深度参与了日本文学形态的生成。以白居易诗歌意象为核心资源的“白体诗”由此兴起，日本文学史上的巨著《源氏物语》对白居易诗歌的吸纳与运用更是显著。《源氏物语》在“继承本民族文学传统的基础上，还广泛地吸取了中国古典文化之精华，引用了中国典籍的史实，典故、成语共 185 处，涉及典籍 20 余种”（王玲，2008）。在小说的创作上，普遍认为受白居易《长恨歌》影响深远，如王占一（2021）从故事情节、人物形象、审美意识多个方面论述了二者之间的关系。

进入江户时代，随着长崎贸易的繁荣与书籍流通的下移，中国古典文学在日本的文化旅行路径也由贵族与僧侣阶层主导逐渐向城市庶民阶层扩展，形成以通俗文学为载体的新型传播格局。《三国演义》《水浒传》《金瓶梅》《三言二拍》等明清小说在这一时期广泛流行，其中《聊斋志异》等作品更是被不断翻译、改写与再创作，佐藤春夫（Haruo Satō）《偷桃子的人》与芥川龙之介（Akutagawa Ryūnosuke）《酒虫》等故事均取材于《聊斋志异》。及至近代，日本在内外变局的推动下重新审视中国文化资源，《海国图志》《圣武记》《瀛环志略》等著作的传入，成为幕府启蒙的重要思想来源。在这一历史语境之下，中国古典文学的传播与接受不再仅是文化仰慕或知识输入，而逐渐转向与文化选择、民族认同及现代性建构密切相关的复杂过程。由此可见，不同历史条件下的选择机制与意义再生产影响着中国文学在日本的接受与传播。

进入近现代后，随着大众出版市场的成熟、现代文学观念的形成以及民族文化意识的强化，经典文本的跨文化流动背后的文化功能与接受逻辑亦发生结构性变化。正是在这一时段的脉络之中，《红楼梦》自十八世纪末期传入日本后所经历的翻译、编译与阐释的过程，构成了中国古典文学日本传播史中极具代表性的个案。围绕《红楼梦》展开的编译活动不仅涉及语言的翻译转换，更深度嵌入日本近现代的文学思潮、审美取向之中，展现出近现代文化语境下的新特征。学界对《红楼梦》在日本的传播接受与翻译展开了较为系统的整理，其中吴昊的著作《〈红楼梦〉在日本的编译及其接受研究》（社会科学文献出版，2025）另辟蹊径以红楼编译本为重点考察对象，以全译本和评论文章为辅，联系日本近现代的历史进程观察《红楼梦》在日本传播与接受中的特点与规律，揭示背后的制度要求、价值取向与社会受众的精神需求。基于此，以中国古典文学在日本的历史传播脉络为背景，结合近现代文化语境，围绕《红楼梦》在日本的编译形态及其接受过程展开分析，有助于从文化旅行的视角揭示经典文本在跨文化流动中不断被选择、重组与再阐释的机制，并在兼评相关研究成果的基础上，深化对中国古典文学海外传播模式转型的理解。

二

作为中国古典小说的巅峰之作,《红楼梦》以贾、史、王、薛四家族的兴衰为故事背景,通过对贾府日常生活的细密铺陈与人物命运的多维展开,构建出一个兼具现实深度与审美高度的文学世界,成为关照中国传统社会肌理与精神图景的百科全书。童庆炳(2005)认为其之所以以普通的题材而成为无可撼动的文学经典,主要在于其描写、叙事与抒情带有高度的艺术印记。同时小说对封建家族制度的内在解构、对女性生命经验的深切书写,以及对“情”“理”之间张力的持续追问突破了传统才子佳人小说的模式,呈现出鲜明的反思性与批判性。《红楼梦》中所蕴含的诗学观念、哲学意蕴与宗教思想等在文学研究、思想史研究均具有持久的阐释空间。自清代点评版以来,围绕作者问题、文本结构、人物形象与思想主题等展开的研究,更是建立起一门专门的学问“红学”。同时,《红楼梦》在世界文学之林中也享有盛誉,被翻译为英、俄、日等三十余种语言传播。其跨越地域与时代的生命力,在不同语境中形成各具特色的接受形态。

《红楼梦》创作于十八世纪中期左右,在十八世纪末期其翻刻本就被运送至日本长崎,这一时期的日本正处于告别近世转向近代的时代。进入日本文化视野的《红楼梦》并未依托单一的译介路径,既包括较为忠实原著的全译本,也存在大量摘译、节译以及编译本,其中摘译本、编译本、全译本等是最主要的译介形式,编译本的数量甚至超过了全译本。就译介形式及特点而言,全译本较为全面地呈现了原著的文学结构与思想内涵,服务于研究者与具备较高汉学素养的读者群体。编译本则通过对原著内容的取舍与组合,在保持基本故事框架的同时融入译者或编者的文化理解与审美判断,使《红楼梦》在日本语境中获得新的意义指向。编译本的二次创作,既促进了传播广度的拓展,也在一定程度上改变了原著的文化内涵。由此可见,编译本处于精英译介与大众接受的关键位置。一方面,它依托于原著的情节资源与人物魅力,另一方面又通过突出特定主题使作品更符合日本读者的阅读习惯与审美期待。因此,编译本更具文化调适性与灵活性。正是在此背景下,吴昊的《〈红楼梦〉在日本的编译及其接受研究》立足于《红楼梦》原著中所生发出的现代性因素与民族文化精神,以编译文本为核心对象,探究日本在接受、改编与阐释中国古典文学过程中对于这一现代精神的接受与改写,以此发现编译本背后隐藏的日本“民族个性与艺术规律”¹(p.2)。

作者并未将研究局限于编译者个人与文本的考据,而是将其上升到文化政治的高度,关注编译背后的权力场域,揭示翻译活动如何受限于制度要求和社会受众的精神需求。其核心观点可以概括为三点:首先,相较于全译本,编译本因其删减与重写,更能敏锐地反映出特定历史时期的社会思潮、审美取向及政治立场,编译本是日本时代精神的显现。其次,日本对《红楼梦》的编译与接受史,本质上是日本在追求西方现代性的背景下,如何将中国文学“他者化”并借此确立自身文化主体性的过程。因此,作者关注的是表层的编译版本背后日本自身复杂的现代化叙事。在研究思路上,将历史纵深与个案解构结合进行立体考察,在厘清日本汉学转型的背景之下按时间顺序选代表代表性编译本进行深度的文本互文分析,揭示每一个时代重构红楼的底层逻辑。

在具体论述层面,作者以时间为纵轴,将《红楼梦》的在日编译史划分为草创期、发展期、成熟期与转型期四个阶段,并结合日本社会思想变迁与文学语境的转换进行整体关照。草创期处于大正至昭和初期,此时的日本在急速近代化与民族国家的建构过程中完成了汉学向现代中国学的转型,《红楼梦》由儒家经史子集体系之外的俗文学进入研究与改写视野。这一时期编译本数量有限却已

¹ 吴昊(2025):《〈红楼梦〉在日本的编译及其接受研究》:社会科学文献出版。以下引文只标注页码,不再一一说明。

显露出鲜明的意识形态倾向，太宰卫门版的编译本将《红楼梦》转化为恋爱家庭伦理小说，将小说的社会功能归结为“劝善惩恶”。作品带有强烈的中国国民性审视目的，本质是迎合“大日本帝国”气氛，使小说服务于日本近代帝国主义意识形态与“中国批判”的话语建构。发展期则处于战后初期的日本，此时的《红楼梦》不再被当作观察晚清社会的典型，而是成为克服战后虚无感与寻找自我存在的外化手段。饭塚朗《私版》的翻案式改写，以登场人物“近代的自我”特征，体现出战后知识界在重新理解中国文学的同时，也以存在主义的风格挖掘个体心灵的精神迷惘，符合这一时期日本本土的文学氛围。成熟期则大致划分为 20 世纪 50-80 年代，此时的日本经济复苏、文化自信增强，日本红学事业呈上扬趋势，编译本的数量与质量均达到高峰。石原严彻、松枝茂夫、君岛友子等人从色空观与“美”的文学两种主流阐释路径对《红楼梦》进行重新关注。值得注意的是，尽管战后左翼文学思潮强调《红楼梦》的社会批判维度，但这种文学史影响更多作用于全译本方面。在大众阅读市场中，编译本《红楼梦》更多地被作为“美”的集约型展现，体现编译背后深受日本本土时代语境与受众期待的制约。进入转型期（90 年代至今），《红楼梦》的编译活动呈现出多元化、本土化与娱乐化趋势，既有堺行夫的业余爱好者版本，也有王敏的漫画化甚至小林恭二的情色化改编文本。意识形态色彩逐渐淡化，对《红楼梦》思想价值的关注较前一时期减弱，但享乐主义与消费文化逻辑开始深度参与文本重构。在淡化意识形态色彩的基础上，如何在传播的同时保持作品的内在精神内核成为以《红楼梦》为代表的古典小说现代传播的共同难题。纵观《红楼梦》在日本的百年编译历程，这一系列的文本变形构成了观察文化博弈的动态坐标。每一阶段的编译形态并非对原著的复刻，而是日本在不同历史语境下借由红楼叙述完成的自我文化确证。由此，吴昊通过对日本《红楼梦》编译本的考察，深入日本现代文化主体性建构的隐秘叙事，使《红楼梦》的海外接受问题突破了版本学与接受史的传统边界，触及文学传播背后的文化权力结构与主体认同逻辑。

三

“所谓翻译，就是将原作中所涵盖的现实世界中的逻辑映像或艺术映像，完好无缺地从一种语言中顺利转移到另一种语言中”（古丹，2015），编译本则与之形成鲜明的对比，更多展现译者的思想内蕴与时代精神。《〈红楼梦〉在日本的编译及其接受研究》一书以日本百余年间的《红楼梦》编译本切入点，以不同历史时期个案的编译本为材料，综合考察整体的《红楼梦》编译历史，将对作品的删减与改写视为具有解释力的文化现象。研究焦点由“是否忠于原著”转向“为何如此改写”，认为编译本文本层面的偏离，源自社会与受众多方面的影响。

在此问题意识之下，《红楼梦》的编译活动被置于日本近代国家建设与现代性转型的宏观背景之中加以审视。日本明治维新以来，在“脱亚入欧”的思想语境下，“证明日本为‘文明国’乃是近代日本的确切目的之一”（真嶋亚有，2021, p. 160），中国作为日本文化组成的重要资源被建构为需要超越的“他者”。《红楼梦》的编译与阐释，恰恰参与了这一复杂话语结构的生成过程。作为含有近代意义的作品，通过对《红楼梦》进入日本文化语境后不同历史阶段代表性编译本的文本细读，考察其充当的文化符号，吴昊揭示出中国文学文本如何在国家意识形态、大众需求与市场机制的多重影响下生成，论证编译活动是权力、知识与审美共同作用的文化生产活动。无论是 20 世纪 20 年代的中国国民性批判、战后初期对主体性与存在问题的投射、经济高速增长长期对“美”意识的强调，还是当代多元文化背景下的娱乐化改变等，都说明经典文本在日本不同的历史时期服务于差异化的文化任务。另一方面，外来文学进入当地文化体系时会根据本土文学需要被再定位，因此编译作为

一种选择性呈现方式，本质是一种文化调适策略。同时，“接受美学理论的一个最大的启示，是作品只有经读者阅读后才能实现其价值和意义”（王兆鹏，1998），读者成为文学传播中的重要一环。而编译本作者即具有双重性，他们“既是原著或全译本（一手材料）的接受者，同时又将自身的阐释形成文本”（p. 326），因此他们的编译活动既受到本土文化的影响又服务于日本读者的接受心理。例如将《红楼梦》简化为“恋爱”“宿命”“情色”等为核心的叙事类型，客观上削弱了原著中复杂的社会批判维度，又在一定程度将符合特定时代读者阅读兴趣的抒情色彩与审美特质等内容加以强化。通过追踪《红楼梦》在日本语境中的功能转移与价值转变，吴昊实际解释了中国古典文学跨文化接受的历史动力机制。《红楼梦》在日本的传播并非单线的影响过程，而是一个涉及文本转译、文化选择与意义再生产的复杂系统。

在此基础上，吴昊的研究对于理解中国古典文学的文化旅行具有方法论上的启示意义。从日本《红楼梦》的编译本考察可以看到，中国古典文学进入异域语境后，必然面临选择与过滤，大众化的改写形态如编译本等往往比学术译本更直接反映社会思潮与文化心理。因此，关注古典文学如何被重写更能揭示传播与接受背后的文化动因，深入理解日本文化的特性。这一编译本研究路径亦为其他古典文学作品的海外传播研究提供了可借鉴之处，《三国演义》、《聊斋志异》等作品皆可在这一框架下获得更系统的阐释。江户文人关亭传笑根据《聊斋志异》中的《莲香》写了小说《裋重思乱菊》，石川鸿斋的《再生奇缘花神谭》也借鉴了《聊斋志异》中的故事《香玉》，这些创作更多关注《聊斋志异》原著的奇事怪谈色彩。到了20世纪初期，对《聊斋志异》的化用则具有了更丰富的内涵。如芥川龙之介的《酒虫》虽取材于《聊斋志异》的《酒虫》，但却将原作几百字的篇幅改写成了数千字的短篇小说。篇幅与人物的增加，不仅使作品焕发了新的生机，也展现了作品符合小说转型期的时代特征。“古典小说是反映古代社会文化的一面明镜，它能够在有限的篇幅中以细腻的笔触描摹古代社会的世态人情，勾勒出古代社会的真实画卷”（朱明霞、王明军，2025），作为中国古典文学的巅峰之作，《红楼梦》凭借其对社会百态的极致临摹，成为了域外读者窥探中国文明最直观的窗口。因此《红楼梦》在日本的旅行史，实质上是一部日本对中国形象持续重构的认识史。中国经典在海外的接受过程始终伴随着对“中国形象”的再塑造，文学传播与文化认知建构密不可分。对中国文学作品异域传播的关注，也离不开中日之间文化关系的现实影响。因此经典文学作品在异域的旅行不仅是在讲述属于中国的故事，更是在目的地国家完成对“中国形象”的再理解与再定义。

结语

从文化旅行的视角出发，《红楼梦》在日本的传播与变形不仅是文学传播与交流史的一部分，更是东亚文化互动与身份建构的具象展示。通过对这一过程的深入考察，可以更全面地理解中国古典文学如何在跨文化流动中不断被再认识，也有助于深化对中日文学关系与东亚文化交流机制的理解。

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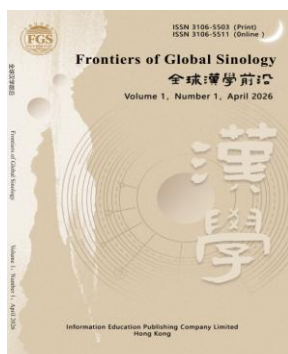
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ORCID

Luo Xian ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-3627-8262>

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The Mirror of the Other and the Reconstruction of the Self— With Special Reference to *The Study on the Image of Confucius in the French-Speaking World*

Li Weirong

Abstract: *The Study on the Image of Confucius in the French-Speaking World* stands out as the first academic monograph in China to systematically investigate the historical evolution of Confucius's image within the French-speaking world. Employing the theoretical framework of comparative literary imagology and spanning a historical depth of over four centuries, the book conducts a comprehensive review of French-language literature from 1688 to the present. It delineates the transformation of Confucius's image from a “philosopher” to an “Enlightenment idol” and subsequently to a “secular sage.” This paper argues that the book's primary contribution lies in its fundamental shift in research perspective: rather than inquiring into the “authenticity” of Confucius in the French-speaking context, it explores how this “Other” image reflects the cultural psychology and power dynamics of the French-speaking world itself. Through a methodological commitment to a “gazer-centric” approach, it not only fills a significant gap in the study of Confucius's overseas image within the French-speaking sphere but also offers profound theoretical reflections on China's strategy of cultural “going global.”

Keywords: *The Study on the Image of Confucius in the French-Speaking World*; comparative literary imagology; French-speaking World; images of Confucius

Author Biography: Li Weirong works as Professor of Dept. of History, Yuelu Academy, Hunan University. He also works as Professor at the Collaborative Innovation Platform for the “Project on the Inheritance and Development of Ancient Chinese Scripts and Chinese Civilization”. He was a former Senior Visiting Scholar at the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University. His research focuses on the history of Chinese thought, Sinology, and the culture of Hunan. E-mail: leewrcn@163.com.

标题: 他者的镜像与自我的重构——以《法语世界的孔子形象研究》为中心

摘要: 《法语世界的孔子形象研究》是国内首部系统考察法语世界孔子形象流变的学术专著。该书以比较文学形象学为理论框架，跨越四个多世纪的历史纵深，通过对 1688 年至今法语文献的全面梳理，呈现了孔子从“哲学家”到“启蒙偶像”再到“世俗智者”的形象嬗变。该著的最大贡献在于实现了研究视角的根本转换：不再追问法语世界的孔子是否“真实”，而是探究这一“他者”形象如何折射法语世界自身的文化心理与权力诉求。通过“注视者中心论”的方法论自觉，该著不仅填补了孔子海外形象研究的法语世界空白，更对中国文化“走出去”战略提供了深刻的学理反思。

关键词: 《法语世界的孔子形象研究》；比较文学形象学；法语世界；孔子形象

作者简介: 李伟荣，湖南大学岳麓书院教授，“古文字与中华文明传承发展工程”协同攻关创新平台成员，曾任哈佛大学东亚系高级访问学者，研究方向：中国思想史、国际汉学和湖湘文化研究，电邮：leewrcn@163.com。

Introduction

In the current era, where globalization and “cultural confidence” have become keywords, the overseas dissemination of Chinese culture has increasingly become a focal point of academic attention. As the chief ambassador of Chinese culture, Confucius’s image abroad has naturally attracted significant scholarly interest. However, as pointed out in the introduction, existing research suffers from four notable limitations: 1) Fragmented Research Objects: Previous studies have been scattered and lack systematic coherence; 2) Limited Output: Academic achievements are predominantly confined to journal articles, lacking comprehensive monographs; 3) Outdated Sources: Research relies on singular and somewhat outdated source materials; 4) Rigid Methodologies: Approaches are largely confined to translation studies or literary criticism, with a scarcity of interdisciplinary perspectives. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 4)

It is precise to enrich this academic field that *The Study on the Image of Confucius in the French-Speaking World* demonstrates its unique scholarly intent. By selecting the French-speaking world as its object of study, the work acknowledges not only France’s status as the center of European Sinology and the cradle of the Enlightenment, but also the fact that French, as an official language of the UN and EU, exerts cultural influence across Europe, Canada, Africa, and beyond. Consequently, examining the reception of Confucius in the French-speaking world is far from a mere regional case study; rather, it addresses the grand proposition of the core dialogue between Chinese and Western civilizations.

Cheng Lei (2021) completed her first academic monograph, *East to West: Translations and researches on Lun Yu in the French-speaking world*. Compared to her first monograph, it is quite clear that this monograph outshines her debut on multiple levels. On a deeper level, the theoretical ambition of this work lies in using the “Confucius in a foreign land” as a mirror to reflect on the mechanisms of transformation and the logic of misreading inherent in the cross-cultural dissemination of Chinese culture. The book explicitly points out that the image of Confucius in the French-speaking world is “not a reproduction of his authentic image in his native land, but a product resulting from a mixture of subjectivity and objectivity, emotion and thought” (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 7). This implies that the study’s objective is not to distinguish between a “true” and a “false” Confucius, but to unveil the psychology of the “gazer” behind the construction of this image. This inevitably raises several questions: Why did the French-speaking world require different versions of Confucius at different times? How did such needs shape his image? Ultimately, all of this points to a question of greater contemporary relevance: How should China narrate its own story?

Cai Hecun (2025, p. 25) pointed out, “... re-examining the cross-border dissemination and localized transformation of ... culture in ... not only facilitates a deeper understanding of the pathways and mechanisms of cultural transmission but also offers valuable insights for contemporary cultural exchange and mutual learning among civilizations.” It is also true with the case of images of Confucius in the French-speaking world.

1. A Methodological Breakthrough: The Chinese Practice of Imagology in Comparative Literature

The value of academic research depends not only on the novelty of the facts it reveals, but more importantly, on the precision of its questioning and analytical tools. *The Study on the Image of Confucius in the French-Speaking World* possesses a certain paradigmatic significance, largely due to the author’s clear and conscious methodological awareness. Rather than simply treating Confucius in the French-speaking world as an objective object to be described, the work asks from the outset: What kind of “gaze” should we use to look at this this image? This inquiry leads directly to the theoretical resources of Imagology in comparative literature.

However, the introduction of theory is by no means a mechanical application. The significance of this work lies in its migration of Imagology from the study of exotic images within Europe to the study of the reception of Chinese thought in Western contexts, thereby testing and developing the theoretical propositions of scholars like Daniel-Henri Pageaux and Jean-Marc Moura within the practice of cross-cultural dialogue. It is precisely this dimension of Chinese practice that endows the methodological discussion with a special tension. It must not only respond to the limits of the universality of Western theory but also explain why Confucius, as a specific “Other,” presents such a complex visage in the French-speaking world. With this dual awareness, we can delve into the first core proposition of the book’s methodology: What kind of epistemological revolution has Imagology actually achieved?

1.1 From “Seeking Truth” to “Seeking Difference”: The Epistemological Revolution of Imagology

The most fundamental methodological contribution of this work lies in its conscious application and development of the theoretical paradigm of Imagology in comparative literature. In the first chapter, the author

meticulously reviews the theoretical legacy of scholars such as Daniel-Henri Pageaux and Jean-Marc Moura, pointing out that the core proposition of Imagology is that “the image is an expression of the gap between two types of cultural realities”. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 12)

This theoretical stance entails an epistemological subversion. Traditional research often presupposes an “authentic” Confucius, then measures the degree of deviation of the foreign image from this original, ultimately arriving at judgments of misreading or distortion. This work, however, thoroughly bids farewell to this essentialist thinking. It posits that “the study of foreign images is a study of collective representations, a study of the collective cultural psychology of a foreign society.” (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 7) In other words, the image of Confucius in the French-speaking world is essentially a mirror. What it reflects is not the countenance of Confucius himself, but rather the cultural psychology, historical situation, and power claims of the French-speaking world itself.

The significance of this methodological shift cannot be overstated. It liberates researchers from the anxiety of seeking truth, allowing them to focus on the more explanatory question of “why such an imagination exists.” For instance, when confronted with an anachronistic image in an 18th-century print—where Confucius is depicted wearing European robes and standing before a Western-style library—traditional research might condemn it as inaccurate. This work, however, interprets it as a typical case of cultural collage. This was not ignorance, but rather a visual representation of Europe’s imagination of a “Rational China” at that time.

1.2 The “Gazer”-Centric Theory: From Confucius as the Object of Study to the French-speaking World as the Subject of Inquiry

Echoing the aforementioned epistemological shift, this work proposes a research strategy of “Gazer-Centricity”. It argues that image studies should “focus on the subject, that is, the gazer,” rather than merely paying attention to the being gazed “other”. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 13) This implies that while the ostensible object of study in the book is Confucius, the actual subject is the French-speaking world, specifically, the missionaries, Enlightenment thinkers, academic Sinologists, and the general readership within it, as well as the historical contexts in which these groups were situated.

This methodological awareness manifests in the specific analysis as a dual inquiry: First, what kind of Confucius did the French-speaking world need at different times? Second, how did this need shape the image of Confucius? Taking the 18th century as an example, the book brilliantly reveals the diametrically opposed attitudes of Voltaire and Montesquieu towards Confucius. Voltaire needed a moral philosopher as a weapon to attack the Church (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 62), whereas Montesquieu needed an accomplice to despotism as the other to demonstrate Western superiority. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 76) The fact that Confucius appeared in two diametrically opposed images during the same period was not because Voltaire and Montesquieu differed in their depth of knowledge about China, but because their political agendas were different.

This “Gazer-centric” analytical approach enables the book to transcend the writing of a mere history of reception, elevating it to a form of profound cultural diagnosis. The evolution of the Confucius image depicted in this work is, in essence, a spiritual history of the French-speaking world from the 17th century to the present encompassing its political theology, Enlightenment rationality, colonial mentality, post-war reflection, and even the anxieties of globalization.

1.3 The Combination of the External and the Internal: The Practice of Contextualized Reading

The methodological feature of this work is also reflected in the organic integration of “external textual study” and “internal textual study”. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 7) The book focuses not only on the linguistic choices, annotation selections, and prefaces/postscripts of the translations themselves, but also interprets these textual details within a broad historical context.

Taking the 1687 publication of Philippe Couplet’s *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* as an example, the book not only analyzes the translation strategies of the Latin text but also draws attention to the dedication addressed to Louis XIV. In this dedication, Couplet depicts Confucius as an Eastern sage coming to “kowtow” at the feet of Louis XIV, praising the King as the embodiment of the “enlightened monarch” envisioned in Confucian ideals. The introduction of the external context reveals a crucial fact: the publication of this Confucian classic was not merely an act of cultural transmission, but also one of political flattery. Having encountered resistance from the Roman Curia, Couplet was well aware of the importance of Louis XIV’s patronage; therefore, he had to resort to flattering language in exchange for publication permission. This kind of contextualized reading provides us with a deeper understanding of the complexity surrounding the early Western translation of Chinese classics.

Similarly, in analyzing the 19th-century translations of the *Four Books* by Guillaume Pauthier and Séraphin Couvreur respectively, the book links the characteristics of the translations to the translators’ historical situations. Living in the political turmoil of France’s “post-Revolutionary era”, Guillaume Pauthier paid particular attention to the “moral sense” and political philosophy within the Confucian classics; Couvreur, as a Jesuit, continued the exegetical tradition of early missionaries, emphasizing the faithful representation of Zhu Xi’s commentaries. This combined internal and external interpretation avoids reducing translation to the technical work of language transfer, instead regarding it as a complex field of cultural dialogue.

2. A Diachronic Narrative: The Four Transformations of the Image of Confucius

Having completed the theoretical construction at the methodological level, the book naturally shifts its focus from “how to look” to “what has been seen”. It divides this long history of reception into five stages: the formative period dominated by missionaries in the 16th-17th centuries; the golden age of the Enlightenment thinkers in the 18th century; the turning point under the shadow of Euro-centrism in the 19th century; the disenchantment characterized by popularization and secularization in the 20th century; and the symbiotic period in the era of media diversity in the 21st century (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, pp. 5-7). Each transformation of the image represents not only an adjustment in the self-perception of the French-speaking world but also a reconfiguration of Sino-Western power relations.

2.1 The Formative Period: Confucius as the Missionaries’ “Philosopher” (16th-17th Centuries)

The book traces the origin of the image of Confucius in the French-speaking world back to the Jesuit missionaries of the late 16th century. Matteo Ricci’s strategy of “cultural accommodation” set the fundamental tone for the early image of Confucius. Confucius was regarded as a “philosopher” rather than “god”, and Confucianism was viewed as a form of “natural theology” rather than a religious faith (Cheng Lei et al, 2024,

p. 58). This judgment had far-reaching implications: it not only left room for the spread of Christianity in China (the Chinese had morality but lacked revelation), but also earned Confucius a cultural status in Europe “comparable to that of Socrates”.

However, the book does not stop at this conventional narrative. Through a detailed analysis of the production process of Philippe Couplet’s *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, it reveals the “collective collaboration” model and the phenomenon of “cultural pasting” in early translations. Particularly noteworthy is the book’s attention to the Chinese collaborator, Shen Fo-tsung. As one of the earliest Chinese students to travel to Europe, Shen participated in the proofreading of the Latin translation of the Four Books and demonstrated Chinese culture at the French court (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, pp. 37-38, 96-97). The book points out that Shen’s presence proves that the Chinese were not merely the observed, but also active participants. This insight breaks the unidirectional narrative of “the West gazing at the East”, offering a more balanced perspective for the study of cross-cultural exchange.

2.2 The Golden Age: Confucius as “Utopia” and “Ideology” for the Enlightenment Thinkers (18th Century)

The 18th century was the “Golden Age” of the image of Confucius in the French-speaking world, and it is also the most prominently featured part of the book. Against the historical backdrop of the “Chinese Rites Controversy”, and using the theoretical framework of “utopianization” and “ideologization”, the book meticulously outlines the dual variation of the image of Confucius in the writings of the Enlightenment thinkers.

On the one hand, Voltaire molded Confucius into a paradigm of the “rational man”. The book employs the “admiration model” from reception aesthetics to analyze Voltaire’s reception of Confucius. In Confucius, Voltaire saw the humanist ideals he had pursued all his life: the positive principle of “establishing others while establishing oneself, and helping others succeed while seeking one’s own success”, as well as the social norms of mutual assistance and love. More importantly, Voltaire was not a passive recipient; rather, through repetitive discourse, he “stereotyped” the image of Confucius, transforming it into a concise cultural symbol used to criticize the obscurantism and despotism of the French Church. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, pp. 69-71)

On the other hand, thinkers like Montesquieu and Rousseau constructed a diametrically opposite image of Confucius. In *The Spirit of Laws*, Montesquieu characterized China as a “despotic state”, arguing that Confucian rites and the despotic system “conspired” together to produce obedient and ignorant subjects (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 76). Rousseau further reinforced this judgment in *Discourse on the Sciences and Arts*, contending that scholars educated in the Confucian way were merely hollow sophists who could not prevent China’s fate of being conquered by foreigners (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 77). The book accurately points out that the divergence between these two voices did not stem from the depth of their understanding of China, but from their differing political agendas. Voltaire needed a “utopia” as a reference to criticize reality, while Montesquieu needed a “negative example” to demonstrate the superiority of Western liberal institutions.

This analysis reveals a core insight of imagology: the image of the Other is always a self-projection of the imagining subject (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, pp. 58-59). The fate of Confucius in 18th-century France was,

in essence, a “dialogue among the French”, with China serving merely as an appropriated symbol (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 74).

2.3 The Turning Point: Confucius as “Stagnant” in the Colonial Context (19th Century)

The 19th century marked the nadir of the image of Confucius in Europe, and it is also a section of the book rich in theoretical tension. The book situates this transformation within a dual context: first, the establishment of the European “philosophy of progress”, and second, the reversal of power relations brought about by colonial expansion.

On the theoretical level, in 1750 Jacques Turgot’s thesis on the “continuous progress of the human mind” and in 1793 Condorcet’s *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind* jointly constructed a system of evaluation centered on “reason”, “progress”, and “liberty”. Within this framework, China was perceived as a “stagnant civilization”—possessing ancient history, yet lacking the driving force for development. Hegel’s assertion that China has no history became the classic expression of the European view of China in the 19th century.

On the practical level, the Opium Wars (1839-1842) and the Boxer Rebellion (1900-1901) fundamentally altered the balance of power between China and the West. China was transformed from a “respectable ancient civilization” into a “readily available prey”. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 105) This reversal of power relations profoundly influenced the construction of the image of Confucius: he was no longer a mentor, but a culprit responsible for China’s stagnation.

However, the book does not simply characterize the study of Confucius in the 19th century as “negative”. Through a detailed analysis of two translations of the *Four Books* by Pauthier and Couvreur respectively, it points out that despite the oppressive atmosphere of the times, the French Sinological tradition maintained a relatively objective academic stance. In particular, Couvreur’s Latin-French bilingual edition, with its rigorous scholarly annotation and faithful presentation of Zhu Xi’s interpretations, has become a classic spanning centuries — continuing to be reprinted well into the 21st century. This observation reveals the difference between French and American Sinology: while the latter may be more influenced by ideology, the former, due to its profound philological tradition, often managed to maintain a degree of academic autonomy amidst the colonial wave.

2.4 Secularization and Popularization: The “Disenchanted” Confucius of the 20th Century

The 20th century was a crucial period in which the image of Confucius descended from the “altar” to the “human world”. The book summarizes this transformation in terms of two dimensions: “secularization” and “popularization”.

“Secularization” is reflected in a shift in perspective: Confucius is no longer a “sage” with a divine halo or a “sinner”, but is restored to being a “human”. This trend reached its peak in Confucius, published by René Étiemble in 1956. The book’s case study of Étiemble is one of its highlights. Étiemble, a fighter against “Eurocentrism”, translated the *Analects* as *Les Entretiens familiers* (Familiar Conversations), deliberately highlighting the egalitarian dialogue between Confucius and his disciples. By citing passages such as “The Master visited Nanzi, and Zilu was displeased”, he presented a vivid image of Confucius swearing oaths and

anxiously defending himself, thoroughly stripping away the divine halo. As Étiemble wrote in the book, he speaks like a wise man, and that is why I love him. — Confucius had transformed from a “sage” into an “approachable wise man”. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 170)

“Popularization” is reflected in the expansion of the audience: Confucius was no longer just the subject of research for academic Sinologists and thinkers, but became a spiritual resource for ordinary French readers. The book statistics show that dozens of Confucius-related works were published in the French-speaking world in the 20th century, and found that a large number of them were “popular readings” — short in length, written in accessible language, and illustrated, aiming to introduce “Eastern wisdom” to the general public. This phenomenon marks Confucius’s true entry into the daily cultural life of the French-speaking world. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, pp. 137-143)

2.5 Pluralistic Coexistence in the 21st Century

Since the 21st century, the dissemination of the image of Confucius in the French-speaking world has presented a new pattern of “pluralistic coexistence”. On the one hand, traditional academic research continues to deepen: scholars such as Rémi Mathieu, Charles Le Blanc, François Jullien, and Jean Levi have produced a number of high-quality monographs and translations from different disciplinary perspectives such as philosophy, history, and linguistics. On the other, the forms of mass communication have become increasingly diverse: the intervention of new media such as comics, picture books, audiobooks, and documentaries has enabled the image of Confucius to break through the boundaries of printed books and reach a wider audience.

The book pays special attention to cases such as the French edition of Tsai Chih-chung’s comic *Les Entretiens de Confucius* and the broadcast of the 2016 documentary *Confucius* on the French TV channel ARTE. These cases indicate that Confucius has become an “adaptable” cultural resource—creators can recreate the image of Confucius according to the characteristics of different media and the needs of the audience.

However, the book also points out with keen critical awareness that there are risks of “misrepresentation” and “hollowing out” in pluralistic dissemination. The book cites a ridiculous example: the French translation of *Confucius: Les Analectes* published by Françoise Fortoul in 2016 has a cover printed with a Taoist Taiji Yin-Yang pattern. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 187) The appearance of this Taoist symbol on a Confucian classic exposes the publisher’s confusion between the two Chinese schools of thought. When the librarian of the National Library of France received this book, he praised it as “exquisite”, completely unaware that the cover design conveyed wrong information. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 187) This detail is highly symbolic: as the image of Confucius becomes more and more popular in the French-speaking world, its cultural connotation also faces the risk of being diluted or even distorted.

3. Theoretical Tension and Academic Contribution

The value of this book lies precisely in its fusion of theoretical tension and historical mastery—it is neither an empty theoretical deduction nor a trivial accumulation of materials, but establishes a sustained dialogue

between rich French literature and keen theoretical insight. The academic contributions generated by this dialogue are multidimensional: the most explicit is the large-scale excavation and systematic organization of historical materials on Confucian studies in the French-speaking world; a deeper level is the enhancement of explanatory power brought about by the methodological stance of “gazer-centric theory”; and the most theoretically tense is the complex balance it maintains between the critique of Euro-centrism and the recognition of the possibility of cross-cultural dialogue.

3.1 Filling Academic Gaps and Excavating Historical Materials

The most intuitive contribution of this book lies in filling an academic gaps. As the book states in its introduction, there is currently no monograph in China that systematically studies the image of Confucius in the French-speaking world. The book extends the time span of the research from the 17th century to the 21st century, covering multiple countries and regions in the French-speaking world (France, Belgium, Switzerland, Quebec in Canada), and constructs a complete knowledge landscape.

Even more commendable is the richness and primary nature of the historical materials. The book uses a large number of French original documents, including obscure works such as Jean de La Brune’s *La Morale de Confucius, philosophe de la Chine*, and François Bernier’s *Confucius ou la science des princes*, etc. These documents are rarely consulted in many French libraries, and the excavation work of this book has important philological value.

3.2 The Methodological Breakthrough: the “Gazer-Centric Theory”

As mentioned above, the most core theoretical contribution of this book is the realization of the research perspective shift from the “being gazed” to the “gazer”. This shift not only avoids the trap of “seeking truth”, but also opens up an academic possibility of “reflecting on oneself”. The image of Confucius is a reflective focus of how the French-speaking world views Chinese culture, and the ultimate goal of studying the image of Confucius is to reflect on the strategy of Chinese culture going to the French-speaking world.

This means that studying the image of Confucius in the French-speaking world ultimately requires answering the contemporary proposition of “how we should tell our own story”. When Voltaire shaped Confucius as a “spokesperson for reason”, we find that it was actually his own mirror image; when Montesquieu depicted Confucius as an “accomplice of despotism”, that was also a projection of his own fears. Understanding this mechanism helps us maintain clarity in external cultural communication — the Other is always interpreting us for their own purposes, we cannot control this interpretation, but we can understand its logic, and on this basis find a more effective way of dialogue.

3.3 The Dual Transcendence of “Euro-centrism”

The research stance of this book has a distinct touch of anti-Eurocentrism, but its way of transcendence is dialectical. On the one hand, the book fully acknowledges that the construction of Confucius in the French-speaking world is essentially a product of “ethnocentrism” — the way of opposing the self and the other to achieve the purpose of naturalizing the other. On the other hand, the book refuses to simply condemn Western sinology as a whole as “Orientalism”, but meticulously distinguishes the positions and contributions of different periods and scholars. Case studies such as Couvreur’s rigorous translation studies, Etienne’s anti-

colonial stance, and Anne Cheng's cultural intermediary identity show that there is always a possibility of transcending power discourse in cross-cultural dialogue.

This attitude of both being critical and analytic enables the book to transcend the simple narrative of Sino-Western opposition and present a more complex picture of civilization interaction.

4. Discussion and Scope for Expansion

As a pioneering work, while the book has achieved significant success, it also leaves some room for further discussion.

4.1 The Limits of "Variation": Is There a "Real" Sinological Tradition?

The book emphasizes that the core of imagology is "variation", and this theoretical stance is extremely effective in revealing the mechanism of cultural construction. But it also needs to be asked: Is the reception of Confucius in the French-speaking world merely a product of "imagination"? Is there a "scientific sinology" tradition that is committed to presenting Chinese thought as objectively as possible?

Couvreur's translation of the *Four Books*, whose French name is *Les Quatre Livres*, is a case worthy of in-depth study. The book points out that "it strictly adheres to the Zhu Xi school's annotations and exegesis endorsed by the Chinese officialdom at that time" (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 128), and this judgment implies that Couvreur's work is different from the "imagined" image of Confucius. But the question is: Zhu Xi's interpretation itself is a "construction", so is Couvreur's "faithful translation" just another "construction"? Is it possible to reach the "original" meaning? These questions touch on the core dilemma of hermeneutics, but the book seems not to have fully developed them.

Perhaps the concept of "double othering" can be introduced to deepen the discussion. The image of Confucius in the French-speaking world is certainly a variation of Chinese Kongzi, but Chinese Kongzi itself is also a product constructed by commentators of all ages. When we measure the overseas image by the Chinese local image, this "standard" self is also fluid and constructed. The deepening of this problem consciousness may lead to more subversive conclusions.

4.2 The Risk of "Hollowing Out" in Mass Communication

Chapter Six of the book affirms the diversified dissemination of the image of Confucius in the 21st century, but also keenly points out the problem of "miscommunication". (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, pp. 186-187) This judgment can be further deepened into such a question: When Confucius becomes a "cultural symbol" that is widely disseminated, does its connotation face the risk of being diluted or even hollowed out?

Taking Tsai Chih-chung's comic *Les Entretiens de Confucius* as an example, the comic form naturally has a tendency towards simplification, exaggeration, and entertainment. In order to adapt to the reading habits of comic readers, complex philosophical thoughts must be transformed into simple life aphorisms. This process certainly expands the scope of dissemination, but it may also lead to Confucius' thoughts being simplified into "chicken soup for the soul". What is more worrying is that when readers are satisfied with the "Confucian wisdom" in the comic version, will they still go to read the original text of the *Analects*?

This dilemma is not an isolated case, but a common problem faced by all "popularization" of classics. This book reveals this phenomenon, but does not conduct an in-depth evaluation of its cultural consequences. This may be an area where follow-up research can focus.

4.3 The Absence of Comparative Perspectives

The book focuses on the French-speaking world, which is both its advantage (depth) and its limitation (breadth). Readers will naturally have a desire for comparison: What are the similarities and differences between the reception of Confucius in the French-speaking world and that in the English-speaking and German-speaking worlds? Why does the French-speaking world focus more on “morality” and “politics”, while the English-speaking world focuses more on “religion” and “pragmatism”? What are the differences between Voltaire’s Confucius and Emerson’s Confucius? These questions are not developed in the book.

Introducing a comparative perspective may lead to more interesting discoveries. For example, the book mentions Leibniz’s admiration for Confucius, but Leibniz wrote in German, and his influence was mainly limited to the German-speaking world. The reception of Leibniz in the French-speaking world is itself a question worthy of exploration: How did it play an intermediary role in the relationship between German philosophy and the French Enlightenment? Similarly, Charles Le Blanc, analyzed in the book, is a Canadian French-speaking scholar whose research was deeply influenced by American sinology. This “cross-linguistic” flow of knowledge reveals that the French-speaking world is not a closed system, but a node in the global knowledge network.

Conclusion

The significance of *The Study on the Image of Confucius in the French-Speaking World* goes far beyond the sorting out of a history of cross-cultural reception. Through the mirror of the “Other”, it profoundly reflects on the construction process of the “Self”—whether it is the “Self” of the French-speaking world or the “Self” that Chinese culture is constructing.

For the French-speaking world, the four-hundred-year evolution of the image of Confucius serves as a mirror to its spiritual history: from religious expansion to Enlightenment rationality, and from colonial mentality to post-war reflection, the French of every era have seen in Confucius what they wanted to see. For contemporary China, this research is also a mirror. It reminds us that cultural communication is not a one-way “export”, but a complex “dialogue”. We cannot expect the Other to accept “authentic” Chinese culture intact, because every act of reception is an act of “re-creation”. Understanding the mechanism of this “re-creation” is essential both to avoid blind optimism (thinking that “telling China’s stories well” will make the world understand us) and to avoid blind pessimism (attributing all misreadings to “distortion”).

On a deeper level, this research reminds us to reflect on a more fundamental question: Is our own image of Confucius merely a construction of a certain historical context? When we shape Confucius into a “spiritual symbol of the Chinese nation” in the name of “cultural confidence”, does this image also serve current political needs? This is not a relativistic denial, but a reminder for us to maintain necessary reflective self-awareness.

As the book states in its conclusion: “We should stand on the position of Chinese scholarship itself and establish a critical Sinology”. (Cheng Lei et al, 2024, p. 218) This “critical” consciousness means understanding both how the Other imagines us and how we imagine ourselves. Only in this way can we neither lose ourselves nor become complacent in the tide of mutual learning among civilizations.

The Study on the Image of Confucius in the French-Speaking World is precisely such a masterpiece that combines academic depth with practical concern. It not only provides important academic resources for the fields of comparative literature, overseas Sinology, and cross-cultural studies in China, but also offers profound theoretical reflection for the strategy of Chinese culture “going global”. In this sense, it is not only a book about the “Other”, but more importantly, a book about the “Self”—it illuminates others and also reflects upon itself.

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ORCID

Li Weirong ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2142-6110>

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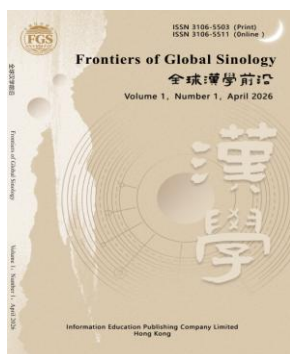
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“结虑司契，垂帷制胜”的英译传播战略—— 评王洪涛教授《中国古典文论在西方的英译与传播研究》

朴性日 (Park Soungil)

摘要：王洪涛《中国古典文论在西方的英译与传播研究》是一本重点考察中国古典文论在西方英语世界的传播的专著。该专著涵盖基础研究、英译研究、传播与接受研究、理论研究四大部分。书中第一章，基础研究部分做了“中国古典文论”“英译与传播”“西方英语国家”等核心概念的厘定和中国古典文论在西方英语国家的传播的历史考察。第二章英译研究部分在锚定中国古典文论文本后，运用翻译学理论做译本对比和译本分析。第三章传播与接受研究部分基于英语国家11所的问卷调查结果做了中国古典文论的认知度、认可度、英译策略等方面的实证研究。第四章理论研究部分在前三章部所论内容的基础上探讨中国古典文论的西方英译及传播的理论思考和从“翻译诗学”到“比较诗学”与“世界诗学”的中国古典文论传播研究。作者想要通过这本书写作为未来中国古典文论在西方的英译与传播活动提供历史借鉴，经验参考和应用性的对策。一言以蔽之，本书的主旨是“结虑司契，垂帷制胜”。

关键词：中国古典文论；英译；传播；对策

作者简介：朴性日，北京大学比较文学博士，现为湖南大学岳麓书院博士后研究员，研究方向：中韩比较文学、中韩儒学关系研究，电邮：proisspecial@pku.edu.cn。

Title: English translation strategies as “Wins victory afar while sitting in tent”: A review of *Classical Chinese Literary Theories in the English-speaking World: Translation and Transmission*

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Abstract: Wang Hongtao's *Classical Chinese Literary Theories in the English-speaking World: Translation and Transmission* is a monograph that focuses on the dissemination of Chinese classical literary theory in the English-speaking world. This work contains four sections: foundational research, translation studies, dissemination&reception studies, and theoretical research. In chapter1, the foundational research section, the author clarifies core concepts such as “Chinese classical literary theory,” “translation and dissemination,” and “English-speaking countries,” and examines the historical development of the dissemination of Chinese classical literary theory in these regions. In chapter2, devoted to translation studies, is grounded in the source texts of Chinese classical literary theory and utilizes translation theories to compare and analyze different English translations. In chapter3, on dissemination and reception studies, presents empirical research based on survey results collected from 11 universities in English-speaking countries, examining the awareness, recognition, and translation strategies related to Chinese classical literary theory. In chapter4, on theoretical research, builds upon the preceding chapters to explore theoretical reflections on the translation and dissemination of Chinese classical literary theory in the West, discussing its progression from “translation poetics” to “comparative poetics” and ultimately to “world poetics.” Author aims to provide historical insights, experiential references, and practical strategies for the future English translation and dissemination of Chinese classical literary theory in the West. The main theme of this book can be described as “wins victory afar while sitting in tent”.

Keywords: Chinese classical literary theory; English translation; dissemination; strategies

Author Biography: Park Soungil is a Korean scholar who earned his Ph.D in Comparative Literature from Peking University. He is currently a postdoctoral researcher at Yuelu Academy, Hunan University. His research focuses on Chinese-Korean comparative literature and Chinese-Korean Confucian relations. E-mail: proisspecial@pku.edu.cn.

引言

《中国古典文论在西方的英译与传播研究》是一本由北京大学出版社出版的翻译学类书籍，该书作者为北京外国语大学英语学院的王洪涛教授，其一直致力于中国古典文论在西方英语世界的翻译与传播现状研究，该书是其在在此领域多年耕耘的丰硕成果。迄今为止，国内学界高度关注中国古典文论在西方国家的传播研究，不少中文系比较文学专业以及外语系的学者和研究生以其为主要研究对象，如刘颖的《融通与变异：〈文心雕龙〉关键词“神思”英译与阐释》、戴文静的《英语世界〈文心雕龙〉理论范畴“比兴”的译释研究》、钟厚涛的《语言转换与文化重构——〈沧浪诗话〉在英语世界》等，皆探讨了中国古典文论在英语世界的翻译及传播。除了中国古典文论外，不少学者也同时关注中国作家作品以及中国传统典籍的翻译研究，如曹顺庆的《英语世界的中国文学译介与研究》、李伟荣的《英语世界的〈易经〉研究》、范利伟的《英语世界的杜甫研究》等都从译介学和变异学的视角汇总了中国文学的英语翻译与传播史材料。以上列举的以往研究成果因意识到比较文学译介学的学科概念，所以其关注重点在于中国古典典籍被翻译成西方语言（尤其是英语）过程中产生的文化差异和文本误读问题。除了上述研究成果所论及的内容外，中国概念的翻译也出现在其他翻译作品中，如“风骨”是否可以翻译为“Wind and bone”的问题、¹（戴文静，2021）鲁迅（1881-

1 戴文静在《〈文心雕龙〉“风骨”范畴的海外译释研究》一文中系统整理了文心雕龙“风骨”的英译，发现杨宪益、宇文所安(Stephen Owen)、梅维恒(Victor Mair)、康达维(David R. Knechtges)、张台萍(Taiping Chang)均选用 wind and bone 译解“风骨”。参见戴文静，《文心雕龙》“风骨”范畴的海外译释研究，载《文学评论》，2021，(02)：142-149。

1936)《教授杂咏四首》诗中“迢迢牛奶路”讽刺赵景深(1902-1985)直译为“Milky Way”(银河)之事¹(鲁迅, 1995, p. 493)中国重要文化概念的“道”该翻成“Way”还是“Tao”的问题等。²(孙康宜、宇文所安, 1975, p. 116)以上例子, 若拿德国文学理论家彼得·斯丛狄(Peter Szondi, 1929-1971)的对“文学解释学(Literary Hermeneutics)”的定义来说, 这一现象就是“解释翻译的同时, 翻译的解释”。³(Peter Szondi, 1978)确切地说, 翻译作品和翻译概念本身都具有“语言的转换”和“翻译家对转换文本的解释”双重层次。该现象表明, 翻译家同时具备读者与作者身份, 而这一特征不禁使我们想起一句家喻户晓的名言, 乃“一千个读者就有一千个哈姆莱特(Hamlet)”。世界上阅读中国古典典籍的有一千多个读者, 岂无一千多个中国形象?”简而言之, 以往中国古典文论在西方国家的传播和翻译研究主要聚焦于传播和接受过程中所产生的文化现象。王洪涛《中国古典文论在西方的英译与传播研究》一书并非重点讨论翻译经典过程中所产生的文化差异, 或是延续以往研究成就中对中国古典文论的翻译史、不同英译本间的比较这一研究路径, 而在该书的后半部分, 则可以看出该著的开拓性, 即系统调查并分析中国古典文论在英语世界的英译和传播。该书共分四个部分, 涵盖了基础研究、英译研究、传播与接受研究几个。

一、追根溯源: 综观中国古典文论在西方的英译与传播的历史

进入具体分析前, 不可不厘定翻译与传播等核心概念。作者为了开宗明义, 厘定了本著重点涉及的“中国古典文论”“英译与传播”“西方英语世界”等核心概念, 其中厘定“中国古典文论”的部分突出中西比较诗学。值得一提的是, 本著所谓“中国古典文论”有别于惯常所谓“中国古代文论”。诚然, 从时间概念而言, “古典文论”属于“古代文论”范畴之下, 可是“古典文论”专指那些长期以来被奉为经典, 即“已经经典化的古代文论”。王洪涛(2023, pp. 4-5)限定本书所谓“经典文论”指的是那些业已在中国文论史上确立其权威地位, 且其自身价值也在专业学术领域得到广泛认可的文论作品。“经典文论”与“非经典”文论之间并没有绝对的界限, “经典化”是一个动态、渐进的过程。⁴有趣的是, 本书的英文题目用的是“classical”, 而不是“canonized”。若拿英文词义解释, “classical”专指时代概念, 而“canonized”无时代概念, 是“宣圣”的意思。通过词义考察可知, “古典”并非全等同于“classical”“canonized”等英文词。若根据王洪涛的限定, 是否应译为“Canonized Chinese Literary Theories”?

一个国家文化典籍的海外传播, 尤其是传播到不同语言和文化区域, 翻译是毋庸置疑的第一步。王洪涛(2023, p. 7)限定本书所谓“英译”“传播”之范畴: “英译”指译者讲所选择的中国古典文论翻译成英语进而出版或发表的活动, 而“传播”指译作出版或发表以后通过发行、流通在读者和受众中间阅读、接受进而产生影响的过程。⁵翻译与传播本身乃是相互关联、并行不悖的活动。需要明确的是, 翻译的过程涉及语言转换, 而传播的过程则可以不经语言的转换。而同一个文化圈国家之间, 作品一般不经翻译也能直接传入另一个国家, 比如古代朝鲜半岛、日本、越南等东亚文化圈国家都以汉文为官方文字, 并不需要另行做翻译。由是可说, 国际汉学的域外汉籍研究重点乃是辨析中国之外的东亚文化圈国家的古汉籍如何呈现中国文化传播。诚然, 至今朝鲜半岛和日本不再以汉文为官方文字, 以他们自己语言写作的作品都需要经过翻译。若是传播到不同文化地区, 翻译则是最关键的因素。当决定进入翻译工作之前, 必须挑选并确定文本。按此考虑, 王洪涛在书

1 赵景深在翻译俄罗斯作家契诃夫(1860-1904)《万卡》(Vanka)英译本里“Milky Way”翻译为“牛奶路”。鲁迅:《鲁迅全集》(四卷), 乌鲁木齐: 新疆人民出版社, 1995年, 第493页。

2 美国汉学家宇文所安认为“文以载道”的“道”可译为“Way”。孙康宜、宇文所安主编:《剑桥中国文学史》(上卷), 北京: 三联书店, 2013年, 第531页; 美国华裔学者刘若愚(James Liu, 1926-1986)分析“文以载道”的“道”时, 直接用“Tao”(manifestation of Tao, propagation of Tao)。James J.Y. Liu, Chinese theories of Literature, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975, P116.

3 Peter Szondi, Introduction to Literary Hermeneutics, New Literary History, Vol.10, No.1, Autumn, 1978, Literary Hermeneutics, pp. 17-29.

4 王洪涛:《中国古典文论在西方的英译与传播研究》, 北京大学出版社, 2023年, 第4-5页。

5 同上注, 第7页。

中挑选了中国各朝代有代表性的经典文论：汉代《诗大序》、晋代陆机《文赋》、南朝刘勰《文心雕龙》、唐代司空图《二十四诗品》、宋代严羽《沧浪诗话》、晚清王国维《人间词话》，挑选之后做了不同英译本之间的对比分析。

在锚定中国古典文论文本后，其次应考虑翻译语言的地域特征和文化典籍翻译的前史。众所周知，英语不只是英美、澳大利亚、新西兰等西方国家的母语，也是亚非拉地区部分国家的官方语言。作者考虑到这一问题，明确将范围定在几个西方国家（英国、美国、加拿大、澳大利亚）的英译。当然，英语之外，法语、西班牙语等其他在西方世界广泛使用的语言也皆各有区域差异。因此，中国古典文论的其他语言翻译史也需要明确界定语言地区。另外，翻译不可只顾不同语言之间的转换，又需要对文化典籍传播史有一定的认识。与此同时，又要考虑翻译家人群的特征。翻译人群包含以英语为母语的海外汉学家、非以英语为母语的国内学者、华裔学者等。他们的英译本在词汇、句法、篇章等层面上一定存在共性与差异。

王洪涛将中国古典文论的翻译在西方的英译与传播活动分为五个阶段：17世纪末至19世纪初的“酝酿期”，欧洲大航海与传教士来华促使传教士汉学兴起，为中国古典文论西传奠定了基础；19世纪初至20世纪初的“萌发期”，在英美新传教士来华的背景下，英美汉学家对中国古典文论作品进行了广泛的英译，但其性质仍属于中国经学研究；20世纪初至20世纪中的“过渡期”、20世纪中至20世纪末的“发展期”、20世纪末至今的“成熟期”。作者认为这表明中国古典文论在西方英语世界的传译活动不仅仅与不同时期中西文化交流的态势有关，更与各个阶段西方汉学研究的发展状况因果相连，息息相关。

二、攀今比昔：中国古典文论的英译本对比

该书第二部分详述了中国古典文论的英译与其研究现状，做了不同英译版的对比工作。本章并非停留在对译本中的词汇和语句进行简单对比，而是从西方翻译理论的角度考察中国古典文论的英译本之间的异同。

自明末清初以来，汉代的《诗大序》被译介到英语世界，出现了五个重要的英译本：一、1841年，曾在马来西亚英华学院任院长、后任伦敦大学汉学教授的英国传教士汉学家基德（Samuel Kidd）的译本；二、1871年，牛津大学首任汉学教授的英国传教士汉学家理雅各（James Legge, 1815-1897）的译本；三、1983年，香港大学学者黄兆杰（Siu-Kit Wong）的译本；四、1992年，哈佛大学教授美国汉学家宇文所安（Stephen Owen）的译本；五、1994年，美国汉学家范佐伦（Steven Van Zoeren）的译本。王洪涛对目前中国国内《诗大序》在西方的英译与传播研究情况进行简述后，指出学者们普遍更为关注的版本是理雅格和宇文所安的译本。对于这现象，王洪涛(2023, p. 89)提出问题：与其他三个重要译本相比，理雅格和宇文所安的译本读起来有些直白，在原文信息传达方面皆有更高的充分性。理雅格和宇文所安的生活年代相差一百多年，他们译本为何不约而同地注重信息传达的充分性？两人译本在流畅性方面明显逊色于另外三个译本，为何却更受西方学者的推崇？王洪涛为了有效解答以上问题，借鉴“反思性社会学理论”对比了英国汉学家理雅各和美国汉学家宇文所安的《诗大序》英译本。王洪涛指出了理雅各的“尽可能直译”策略与宇文所安“笨拙的直译”策略都拥有“文化资本”“社会资本”“象征资本”几个内涵，在西方汉学场域所占据的位置非常利于“谋求特定权威合法化”。¹

对比理雅格和宇文所安的译本之后，作者尝试对比《文赋》的不同英译本。自20世纪中期开始《文赋》受到西方英语世界的关注以来，至今已诞生了八个有代表性的英译本：1948年陈世骧（Shih-hsiang Chen）的译本、1951年修中诚（E. R. Hughes）、方志彤（Achilles Fang, 1910-1995）的译本、1982年康达维（David R. Knechtges）的译本、1983年黄兆杰的译本、1987年哈米尔（Sam

1 同上注，第89页。

Hamil)的译本、1992年宇文所安的译本以及1996年巴恩斯通(Tony Barnstone)与周平(Chou Ping)合译本。王洪涛认为方志彤和黄兆杰的英译本别具特色,同时他们都对中国古典文论都有精深的研究而值得格外关注。他们的英译本在西方英语国家汉学界得到广泛的认可。与英语国家汉学界不同,目前中国翻译学界对《文赋》英译的研究相对薄弱。国内对《文赋》的英译研究成果简要分析了西方英译的大体特点、概述了现有《文赋》英译本的基本情况,但未能分析《文赋》英译本在语言风格上的不同特点,同时也未能解释各英译本不同语言风格的具体成因。与《诗大序》英译本对比不同,王洪涛(2023, pp. 105-106)在《文赋》英译本部分对比了华裔学者的英译本。因此,依托图里(Gideon Toury)的“翻译规范理论”对比了方志彤和黄兆杰的《文赋》译本。方志彤和黄兆杰皆以宋淳熙本李善注《文选》卷十七所收录的《文赋》为底本,但他们在翻译倾向方面有所不同。方志彤有以源语规范为导向的翻译倾向,而黄兆杰有译语规范为导向的翻译倾向。¹

与《诗大序》《文赋》不同,南朝《文心雕龙》是中国古典文论的鸿篇巨制。近年来随着“龙学”的深入发展及其向西方英语世界的拓展,诞生了1959年施友忠(Vincent Yu-chung Shih)的译本、1992年宇文所安的译本以及2003年杨国斌的译本。王洪涛简述中西方《文心雕龙》英译研究,认为西方学界主要致力于《文心雕龙》原作的探讨,而对于其英译本的关注主要是以短篇书评的形式呈现的。与西方学界不同,中国学者对《文心雕龙》英译的研究基本上可以分成定性研究与定量研究两种类型。定性研究是建立在研究者的经验积累、审美感受、理论判断等主观因素之上,存在许多不足。定性研究后来被一些以预料库为基础的定量研究所弥补。本章与前面译本对比研究不同的是,本章节对比了三个不同英译本。这一部分基于拉维奥萨(Sara Laviosa)的类比语料库翻译研究方法对比分析了宇文所安、施友忠和杨国斌的《文心雕龙》英译本。类比语料库翻译研究方法从词汇分析、平均句长分析,情感分析等三个层面分析翻译。通过类比语料库翻译研究方法可知,不同译者之间的语言习惯和文化视角。与宇文所安不同,施友忠和杨国斌非以英语为母语,他们表达的方式与英语母语者之间存在一定的差异,而且他们在翻译方法上也存在异同之处。王洪涛指出了以英语为母语的宇文所安的译本最为接近同类的英语原生文本;施友忠的译本在类符形符比、词汇密度及频度、平均句长和情感级数方面更加接近作为参照的英语原生文本,而杨国斌的译本只有在情感极性方面接近更加接近作为参照的英语原生文本。王洪涛(2023, pp. 122-123)指出三个译本特征后,也指出宇文所安的英译本能够容易得到关注与认可的原因。翻译文本在目的语特定场域中成长起来的本土译者,一方面形成了符合目的的语特定场域规则且支配其翻译活动的译者习惯,另一方面在目的语特定场域中赢得了一定的资本,占据了相对有利的位置。鉴于此,以英语为母语的宇文所安在其所处的美国汉学场域中形成了自己独特的译者习惯,而在其译者习惯支配下开办的中国古典文论的英译活动自然符合英语国家汉学场域的运行规则,由此形成的译本自然富有或更加接近英语同类原生文本的样态。²

唐代诗人司空图(837-908)著《二十四诗品》是一部综合前代诗歌成就,结合自己的诗歌创作经验并发挥其见解创作而成的古典文论。自1909年英国汉学家翟理斯(Herbert A. Giles)的《二十四诗品》英译以来,全译的英译本中,杨宪益(1915-2009)和戴乃迭(Gladys B. Tayler, 1919-1999)、宇文所安、王红印的英译本具有代表性价值。与前三个章节不同,本章节对比四个不同英译本。目前中国只对《二十四诗品》在英译的史料做概略性陈述,研究某一英译本存在的翻译或编辑问题,难以看出主要英译本的概貌,也没有从多个英译本的比较重解释《二十四诗品》英译的历史演变特点。王洪涛(2023, p. 138)从《二十四诗品》英译本中的诗题、诗文与诗风等三个方面,对比四个译本历史因素。对比研究之后,他指出了《二十四诗品》的英译历程在整体上呈现出三个方面的嬗变:从单项思维到整体思维的思维嬗变、从简单译介到文化传播的认知嬗变、从诗歌译本到诗论译

1 同上注,第105-106页。

2 同上注,第122-123页。

本的译介嬗变。¹杨宪益和戴乃迭的译本是中国国内刊布的最早英译本，未能译出其作为诗论的诗学意义，可是将二十四品为一体，因此二十四首诗被理解为二十四种诗歌风格，该特征属于从单项思维到整体思维的思维嬗变阶段。宇文所安的译本对原文做了训诂研究和阐释，已认识到《二十四诗品》的诗歌理论价值，其特征属于从简单译介到文化传播的认知嬗变阶段。王红印的译本解读司空图的诗论作品和思想，翻译之前舍友古文今译和训诂式注解作为理解的前提和阐释的基础，该特征属于从诗歌译本到诗论译本的译介嬗变阶段。

和《二十四诗品》一样，《沧浪诗话》在中国古典文论具有很重要的地位。《沧浪诗话》的英译是1922年被张彭春（Chang Peng Chun）翻译在美国刊出的版本。张彭春之后，叶维廉（Yip Wai-Lim）、宇文所安、林里彰（Richard John Lynn）、陈瑞山（Ruey-shan Sandy Chen）等人翻译《沧浪诗话》。王洪涛（2023, p. 155）简述中国国内对《沧浪诗话》英译本研究情况，现有研究大部分是对《沧浪诗话》早西方英译状况的简介和文献梳理，缺少纯粹围观的文本视角、纯粹宏观的文化视角分析《沧浪诗话》的英译本。因此，王洪涛在本章借用勒弗维尔（Andre Lefevere）诗学理论对比了宇文所安和张彭春的《沧浪诗话》英译本。勒弗维尔曾论断关于诗学与意识形态在翻译中的作用，说在某些较少涉及意识形态的文学翻译活动中，诗学乃成为影响甚至制约翻译活动最为关键的因素。张彭春的英译本满足了二十世纪三十年代美国新批评派兴起，希望借助拥有类似思想的中国诗论来挑战旧有文学理论的诗学需求，而宇文所安的英译本刚好满足了这时美国的文论界、汉学界希望对中国诗学思想深入、系统了解的诗学需求。²

与上面中国古典文论不同，《人间词话》受西方哲学的影响。迄今为止，《人间词话》的英译本只有两种：涂经诒和李又安（Adele Austin Rickett）的英译本。《人间词话》很早就成为文艺学界的研究对象，朱光潜（1897-1986）、冯友兰（1895-1990）、周振甫（1911-2000）等著名学者都有所论述辨析，可是翻译学界对《人间词话》英译研究起步较晚。因此，目前中国国内对《人间词话》的英译研究停留在译评、综述等关注文本叙述层面的翻译，尚未对《人间词话》所蕴含文化思想的英译予以关注和考察。《人间词话》的核心是“境界说”，王洪涛以境界说的英译对比为焦点，分析涂经诒和李又安的《人间词话》英译本。与境界说相关的核心术语有三：“造境”与“写境”、“有我之境”与“无我之境”、“隔”与“不隔”。在涂经诒看来，“境界”同于“境”，在翻译“境界”概念时通篇以“World”译之，在翻译“造境”与“写境”、“有我之境”与“无我之境”、“隔”与“不隔”等术语概念时就使用了类似于解释、说明式的译法，而李又安则不然，认为“境界”于“境”的翻译需要区分。因此李又安强调“造境”与“写境”、“有我之境”与“无我之境”、“隔”与“不隔”等术语的二级概念地位。王洪涛（2023, pp. 169-170）认为，从翻译策略层面来看，涂经诒更像是一种归化做法，而李又安则更近于异化处理。在中国文论的国际传播方面，涂经诒的英译本在英语世界可以起到认知铺垫的作用，而李又安的英译本在英语世界则可以更多地发挥概念还原的功能。³

总览王洪涛英译本对比分析可知，可以多层面探讨中国古典文论的英译。以往中国古典文论翻译研究侧重于诠释学层面，而王洪涛运用不同翻译学理论分析英译本。实际上，诠释学和翻译学理论皆属于比较诗学研究范畴。而接下来，王洪涛着力于调查中国古典文论在西方英语世界的认可度。

三、问卷调查的实证考察：中国文论传播的方略

王洪涛在本书的后部分做了中国古典文论在英美澳三国传播与接受的整体实证考察。中国古典文论的英译与传播，至今已有三百多年的历史。但西方主要英语国家的相关专业读者群体中间，其

1 同上注，第 138 页。

2 同上注，第 155 页。

3 同上注，第 169-170 页。

传播与接受状况如何还未可知。王洪涛（2023, p. 238）从四个方面做了整体调查与分析：中国古典文论的认知度、中国古典文论的认可度、中国古典文论的英译策略、中国古典文论的两种译本。就认知度而言，英美澳三国高校英语读者对中国古典文论英译作品的整体认知度皆较低，三国高校英语读者中仅有少数读者曾经读过中国古典文论英译本，但三国程度高低有别，其中美国最高。就认可度而言，英美澳三国高校英语读者对中国古典文论的认可度都很高，三国高校英语读者肯定中国古典文论对西方文学研究的补充或启发意义。通过调查考察，问卷结果揭示了英美澳三国高校读者对中国古典文论英译作品的关注之所以呈现差异，是因为译本所呈现出的文学性、流畅性、异化特征等因素的不同。¹

王洪涛（2023, p. 247）在英美澳三国高校英语语言文学、汉语语言文学、中国研究及其他人文社科专业读者中间所作的调查问卷表明，中国古典文论在西方英语国家传译的原理、规律、方法与策略等要素还需学人做进一步研究。目前中国国内关于中国古典文论在西方英译与传播的研究主要有三种：第一种是在逻辑上囊括了中国古典文论英译的中国典籍翻译研究；第二种主要是对中国古典文论在西方译介的历史文献研究；第三种主要是从文本分析与意义阐释的角度对中国古典文论某一作品英译进行个案研究。第一种研究的对象是整体的中国典籍翻译，无法充分考虑中国古典文论在西方英语世界传译的特殊性质，因此其研究结论恐怕难以真正契合中国古典文论在西方的英译与传播活动。第二种研究致力于挖掘、梳理有关西方开展中国古典文论英译与研究的史料文献，但这些研究基本上不涉及中国古典文论在西方英译与传播活动的原理、方法与策略。第三种研究涉及中国古典文论英译过程中术语与范畴的英译方法、译者的英译策略、文论思想的准确传达等相关问题，但目前这种研究大多局限于个案性的文本分析，难以系统地探讨中国古典文论在西方英译与传播活动的整体性规律、方法与策略。²有鉴于此，王洪涛对中国古典文论在西方的有效英译和深入传播方面提出方略，即若能清楚地认识中国古典文论在西方英译与传播活动的运作规律与深层逻辑，进而在此基础上制定、选择、采取合适的英译与传播策略，则可以有效促进中国古典文学思想在西方英语读者中间的传播和接受。最后，王洪涛从翻译诗学和比较文学的角度探讨中国文论国际话语体系的理论建构。王洪涛认为中国文论建构自己的国际话语体系与中国文论参与擘画世界诗学的宏伟蓝图并行不悖、相辅相成。在全球化的背景下，中国文论应该依托自己的民族诗学特征指挥积极参与世界诗学的理论建构。

结语：“结虑司契，垂帷制胜”的传播战略

综览以上该书之研究成果，可以说该书是一本跨学科的专著。王洪涛系统考察了中国古典文论的英译本之间的异同部分，并借鉴不同翻译学理论进行比照研究；系统调查中国古典文论的英译本在英美澳三国高校读者之间受偏爱的状况，客观地从翻译语言的角度分析西方英语国家读者偏爱的理由。最后回到翻译诗学和比较文学的角度，对中国古典文论海外传播提出策略性建议。《孙子兵法·谋政》云：“知彼知己，百战不殆；不知彼而知己，一胜一负；不知彼，不知己，每战必殆。”无论是中国古典文论还是中国现当代作品，若想要有效地进行海外传播，必须了解国内外情况。翻译传播并非仅限于语言转换，是要考虑文明互鉴。《文心雕龙·神思篇》云：“结虑司契，垂帷制胜。”诚然，古典典籍传播在文化传播历史上具有很大意义，但也要考虑传播目的场域的认可程度和消费程度等现实问题。该书虽然涉及的英语国家范围定在英美澳国家，但之后有待扩展到其他英语国家（加拿大、新西兰等），同时有待扩展到其他大语系（西班牙语、法语国家等）。该作结构合理，条理清晰，拓展了中国古典文论海外传播研究，是一部极具学术价值的佳作。

1 同上注，第 238 页。

2 同上注，第 247 页。

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ORCID

Park Soungil ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-9476-1137>

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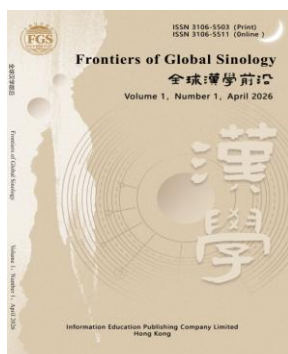
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“Worlding” as Method:

A Review of Ji Jin’s *Worlding Contemporary Literature*

Su Tong

Abstract: *Worlding Contemporary Literature* offers a theoretically informed and historically grounded study of overseas scholarship on contemporary Chinese literature. “Worlding” is not just a geographical concept, but a dynamic framework for understanding literary production, translation, and circulation. Within the broader context of world literature, Ji Jin explores how Chinese literature can be positioned within global literary discourse. By adopting “worlding” as a method, he highlights the theoretical vitality and interpretative potential of cross-cultural dialogue at epistemological and methodological levels. Against the backdrop of an increasingly complex contemporary literary landscape, the book examines the relationship between “Chineseness” and “cosmopolitanism”.

Keywords: worlding; Ji Jin; contemporary Chinese literature; Sinology

Author Biography: **Su Tong**, Lecturer, College of Military Culture, PLA National Defense University, Research Interests: Military Visual Culture, Contemporary Literature and Art, E-mail: tongsu89@163.com.

标题: 作为方法的“世界中”——评季进教授《世界中的当代文学》

摘要: 《世界中的当代文学》以高度的理论自觉和历史意识系统阐释了海外中国当代文学研究的丰富性和启示性。“世界中”不仅是地理意义的空间区位，更是理解文学生产、译介和传播的动态参照。季进在全球世界文学的框架之下寻求中国文学与世界文学融合

的路径，以“世界中”作为方法，充分释放出跨文化对话在认识论和方法论层面所蕴含的理论活力与阐释潜能，在复杂涌动、持续更新的当代文学共同体中，探讨“中国性”与“世界性”的复杂辩证。

关键词：世界中；季进；当代文学；海外汉学

作者简介：苏桐，国防大学军事文化学院讲师，研究方向：军旅美术、当代文学与艺术，电邮：tongsu89@163.com。

A review of the overseas circulation of contemporary Chinese literature over the past seventy years reveals significant changes in its agents, audiences, channels and scale. These changes raise many questions worthy of study. As Chinese literature becomes an increasingly important part of the global literary landscape, local writing continues to interact with global experience, and cross-cultural dialogue is reshaping the boundaries of this system. Mads Rosendahl Thomsen (2010, pp. 261-262) notes that methods for mapping world literature have evolved in both temporal and spatial terms. The old “complementary model”—a one-dimensional framework that examined either the outward movement of national literature or the reception of foreign literature through translation and canonisation—can no longer fully explain the complex and multidirectional circulation of literature in a diverse global environment. In an era when established canons are being questioned and reconfigured, scholars reconsider the global significance of local works, new interpretations of national classics produced through canonisation and shifting patterns of world literature. These issues concern not only the relationship between contemporary Chinese literature and the world, but also the theoretical and methodological foundations of overseas Sinology. In this context, Ji Jin’s new work, *Worlding Contemporary Literature* (Yilin Press, 2025), makes a valuable contribution.

1. “Worlding” the Community of Chinese Literary Studies

The term “worlding” in the book’s title naturally recalls Martin Heidegger’s concept of “the world”. For Heidegger (1991, p. 176), the world is not a static object or container, but an open field in which meaning comes into presence; in his famous formulation, “the world worlds”. This understanding of world as process, rather than fixed space, has also shaped discussions of modern Chinese literature. Building on this line of thought, David Der-wei Wang (2021, p. 38) emphasises the interdependent relationship between modern China and the rest of the world. *A New Literary History of Modern China* situates Chinese literature and its interactive cultural forms within a complex and constantly evolving process of “worlding”. Overseas research on contemporary Chinese literature unfolds within this decentralised global network. Ji Jin therefore encourages readers to understand the community of contemporary Chinese literary studies through the lens of intertextuality. Academic communities in China and abroad do not simply share research materials, topics and theories; they also engage in mutual interpretation, exchange, and dialogue. The broader framework of “global literature” opens new possibilities for integrating Chinese literature into the canon of world literature. To understand the unique characteristics of contemporary Chinese literature, it is therefore important to balance local experience with broader global literary trends.

In his essay ‘Seeing through Different Perspectives’ (*Shicha zhijian*), Ji Jin first reviews the historical stages and intellectual contexts of overseas scholarship on contemporary Chinese literature. During the “politically dominated period” (1949-1965) and the “thematically focused period” (1966-1976), translation and research remained relatively limited, with literary studies often being subordinated to political and social enquiry due to the influence of Cold War paradigms. Nevertheless, this period saw the work of eminent scholars including Cyril Birch, Sicien H. Chen, C. T. Hsia and Tsi-an Hsia, Douwe W. Fokkema and Merle Goldman. Their studies explored the nature of literature and classical traditions, thereby outlining the fundamentals of contemporary Chinese literature. From the late 1970s to the end of the twentieth century, overseas scholarship on contemporary Chinese literature entered a “period of tracking changes and summarization”. As Reform and Opening-up accelerated, contemporary Chinese literature flourished and there was an increase in academic exchanges between China and the wider world. Overseas scholars gained a deeper understanding of China’s historical conditions and social realities, all the while keeping pace with the emergence of scar literature, avant-garde literature and modernist writing. At the same time, critical approaches such as gender studies, cultural studies, trauma theory and New Historicism brought new interpretative energy to literary studies, producing a more multidimensional understanding of the complexity of Chinese literature.

Since the turn of the century, overseas scholarship on contemporary Chinese literature has entered a “phase of pluralistic maturity”, yielding a remarkable breadth of research. (Ji Jin, 2025, pp. 271-275) This scholarship summarises, reviews and reflects on the development of contemporary literature, while also offering extensive discussions of writers and works spanning a variety of genres and styles. Within this growing body of research, the distinctive features of contemporary Chinese literature have gradually become clearer. In Anglophone academia, for instance, scholarly attention has shifted from established authors to a younger generation of writers. The scope of literary analysis has also broadened to encompass genre writing, including science fiction and online literature. At the same time, numerous literary histories, research guides and handbooks on contemporary Chinese literature have been published, collectively advancing the construction and circulation of its global image.

Through a diachronic review of the field’s development, Ji Jin identifies significant differences between Chinese and overseas scholarship on contemporary literature at ontological and epistemological levels. In terms of research materials, Chinese and overseas scholars often differ in their selection and evaluation of literary texts and related sources. These divergences arise not only from objective constraints, such as limited access to materials, but also from differences in academic conventions and individual scholarly preferences. Corresponding to these disparities in source materials is a “disparity in conceptions”—that is, differences in the interpretation and evaluation of literary phenomena and works by Chinese and overseas scholars. The definition of genres such as poetry, prose and fiction according to either Western literary categories or traditional Chinese classifications reflects the ongoing negotiation of subjectivity in cross-cultural exchange. Meanwhile, debates over evaluative criteria often reveal tensions between different academic positions and value systems. These tensions can manifest as the over-privileging of specific historical periods, literary styles

or social groups, or the adoption of preconceived critical positions that overlook essential issues in favour of secondary concerns.

In order to address the “mismatches” between concepts, materials, methods and values, Ji Jin clarifies four key categories at the ontological level of overseas research into contemporary Chinese literature: “Chineseness”, “contemporaneity”, “literariness” and “global context”. In the context of globalisation, the traditional research model, which is centred on the nation-state and grounded in local historical development and geopolitical experience, has become increasingly inadequate for understanding transnational cultural flows and interactions. (Ji Jin, 2025, p. 308) The globalisation of contemporary Chinese literature involves more than just international shifts in subject matter, literary techniques, value orientations, or target readerships. More profoundly, it situates the processes of canon formation, historicisation, and academic study within a broader global context. Researchers face challenges and opportunities in defining and articulating “Chineseness” in contemporary narratives, understanding the relationship between “literariness” and “commercialization” amidst changing reading habits and media environments, and engaging with lived reality through literary methods in a rapidly changing world. In Ji Jin’s view, positioning contemporary Chinese literature within world literature requires more than attention to local experience and stylistic features. It also demands sustained reflection on the relationship between contemporary Chinese literature and world literature through methodological awareness, academic exchange, and cross-cultural practice.

2. Transcultural Dialogue from an Ethical Perspective

To understand the translation of contemporary Chinese literature around the “world”, it is necessary to recognise the complexity of its overseas circulation. Existing scholarship generally follows three main approaches: historical analysis (or “historical observation”), statistical analysis (or “quantitative analysis”), and interpretative inquiry (or “qualitative research”). While these approaches differ in emphasis, they also overlap significantly. (Ji Jin, 2025, pp. 293-295)

“Historical observation” seeks to either provide a broad account of the circulation of contemporary Chinese literature or offer detailed case studies. Such research may trace the origins of translations by outlining the major stages and historical contexts of their production, circulation, and reception. It may also draw on translation theory to evaluate the strengths, limitations and practical effects of translation and circulation. However, this approach is limited by its reliance on a fixed opposition between the “domestic” and the “overseas”, which tends to overlook the fluidity of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural practice. Furthermore, while it pays considerable attention to translation, it pays comparatively less attention to other dimensions, such as readership, distribution, research and adaptation. By contrast, “quantitative analysis” places greater emphasis on data and objectivity. Yet, in data collection and statistical evaluation, it often focuses too heavily on novels as the dominant genre of circulation while paying insufficient attention to essays, poetry, drama and other literary forms. (Lei Yanni, Wu Hao, 2025, pp. 183-193) Furthermore, data collection is sometimes overly generalised, random, contingent or narrow in scope. Without rigorous statistical standards or adequate attention to algorithmic ethics, selected samples often fail to reflect the broader picture of contemporary

literary circulation. Compared with the previous two approaches, “qualitative research” is better suited to individual cases. It allows for a closer examination of issues such as variation, domestication and adaptation within the translation process. However, some of the circulation strategies and practical proposals put forward within this framework are still not sufficiently grounded in practice. At the same time, there is still relatively little structural reflection on the institutional mechanisms and power relations that shape cross-cultural communication.

According to Ji Jin, existing research on the circulation of contemporary Chinese literature overseas suffers from three major imbalances. Researchers tend to emphasise direct influence while paying insufficient attention to structural transformation. They focus heavily on the export of literary works while overlooking the responses of receiving audiences. Finally, they privilege visible effects while neglecting the subtle processes through which such influence is produced and negotiated. (Ji Jin, 2025, p. 297) In reality, the overseas translation and circulation of contemporary Chinese literature is not just a matter for communication studies, but “a comprehensive and complex cultural project”. To deepen and refine relevant scholarship, it is therefore necessary to establish a dynamic, multilayered, and holistic analytical framework. Only by incorporating multiple perspectives, including the publishing market, readership, communication media and world literature, can scholars develop a coherent view of contemporary Chinese literature in global circulation. Such an approach enables us to move beyond the limitation of ‘seeing the trees but not the forest’ and, based on a shared sense of academic community, delineate the overall landscape of contemporary Chinese literature overseas more clearly.

Contemporary literature “in the world” should therefore be understood as both an extension of the discipline of contemporary Chinese literature and a means of engaging with broader literary questions, including world literature and comparative literature. Consequently, theoretical dialogue between national literature and world literature is of particular importance. Including diverse cultural voices in the study of contemporary Chinese literature can deepen our understanding of Western academic traditions, aesthetic sensibilities, value systems and research ethics. As Qian Zhongshu (1986, p. 330) metaphorically observes: “It is as if one were to eat fish and meat; these should be fully assimilated into one’s bodily fluids so that foreign substances become one with oneself, nourishing the flesh and replenishing vital energy. Their distinct functions combine to produce a unified effect.” Conversely, this dialogue also enables us to recognise more clearly the significance of the aesthetic characteristics, discursive systems and narrative ethics of Chinese literature more clearly within the broader context of the “world”.

Drawing on this reciprocal interaction, the place of contemporary Chinese literature within world literature can be reconsidered. Globalisation involves cultural exchange and a transformation in modes of thought. To understand the broader connections within human culture, one has to move beyond narrow local perspectives and recognize the coexistence of cross-cultural diversity and simultaneity. Cultural contexts, whether local or regional, possess both universal and particular qualities; there is no need to privilege one at the expense of the other, nor should one undervalue their own position. As Ji Jin argues, we should “seek unity amidst contradictions and recognise differences within unity” (2025, pp. 331-332). The formation of an

overseas scholarly community for the study of Chinese literature therefore hinges on comparative analysis and critical negotiation of multiple discourses. Building on Nie Zhenzhao's concept of "literary ethics", Ji Jin elevates the humanistic values of cross-cultural engagement, such as equality, inclusivity and sincerity, to the level of "cross-cultural ethics". (Ji Jin, 2025, p. 309)

Unlike literary ethics, which focuses on the moral values and normative principles embedded in literary works, cross-cultural ethics shifts the focus from the ethical issues themselves to the effects produced through intercultural interaction. The aim is to move beyond isolated perspectives while maintaining openness and inclusivity in communication. Consequently, the ability to initiate and maintain dialogue is central to cross-cultural ethics. At a scholarly level, this ethical framework requires a careful and reflective approach to academic dialogue rather than arbitrarily marginalising dissenting voices through rigid binary judgements. For a long time, the tendency of some Western theoretical frameworks to force Chinese texts into ill-fitting interpretative models—the so-called 'square peg in a round hole' approach—has frequently been criticised within overseas Sinology. However, Ji Jin encourages us to avoid polarised thinking and recognise the value of overseas scholarship in revealing, supplementing and reinterpreting aspects of local texts that might otherwise go unnoticed.

In contrast, cross-cultural ethics in translation are governed by more explicit normative principles. Citing Antoine Berman, Ji Jin emphasises the inherently open nature of translation practice, arguing that "displacement", "hybridization", and "recoding" are unavoidable dimensions of cross-cultural dialogue. However, one has to remain vigilant against translators such as Evan King, who translated Lao She's *Rickshaw Boy*. His "ethnocentric" approach may distort or misappropriate Chinese literary works. Conversely, other translators, such as David Wakefield, Nicky Harman and Howard Goldblatt, strike a careful balance between readability and precision by developing "localization" strategies that remain faithful to the original text. In short, translation practice requires a careful negotiation between difference and assimilation. This enables Chinese stories to transcend geographical and cultural boundaries and enter the world literary sphere.

In his essay, '*On Overseas Sinology and the Construction of an Academic Community*', Ji Jin proposed the idea of establishing an "academic community" based on shared academic principles, research subjects, and theoretical interests. (Ji Jin, 2015, pp. 59-65) The international scholarly community engaged in the study of contemporary Chinese literature relies on an open intellectual outlook, continually refining cognitive and critical standards, and engaging in sustained dialogue between Eastern and Western discursive traditions. Drawing on Jürgen Habermas's concept of "communicative rationality", he argues that different modes of expression should be given space for dialogue so that mutual understanding can be fostered and deepened. Cross-cultural ethics thus provides an essential foundation for the coexistence of diverse forms of expression. Adopting this perspective enables one to better understand different viewpoints, absorb diverse experiences generated "in the world", refine one's knowledge structures, and renew one's cultural concepts, ensuring that the voice of contemporary Chinese literature is "truly conveyed and truly heard".

3. “Worlding” as a Methodological Practice

Understanding overseas scholarship on contemporary Chinese literature from a historical perspective is a complex task. In an increasingly interconnected global context, one of the major challenges for scholars of overseas Chinese studies is identifying and addressing the differences and conflicts that emerge through cross-cultural exchange. (Wu Yingcheng, Zhang Lianqiao, 2025, pp. 1-8) Ji Jin argues that contemporary literature “in the world” can be examined across four interrelated dimensions: texts, disciplines, methodologies, and institutional mechanisms. At the textual level, this involves maintaining the focus on editions, textual scholarship and bibliography that has long characterised modern literary studies. This requires the systematic collection and organisation of diverse materials circulated overseas. In addition to printed texts, such work also encompasses oral histories, fieldwork materials, and digital archival resources. In terms of disciplinary development, reflection on the knowledge systems, historical evolution, intellectual positions, scholarly perspectives and representative achievements of overseas research on contemporary Chinese literature moves beyond the narrow framework of translation studies. Instead, these issues enter emerging fields within the broader discipline of contemporary literary studies. Methodologically, this approach critically examines how overseas scholarship has shaped domestic research paradigms and modes of literary production. By identifying differences and turning the analytical lens back upon oneself— “using one’s own reflections to examine oneself, and projecting one’s own perspectives to understand others”—it becomes possible to foster a more meaningful dialogue between contemporary Chinese literature and world literature.

Since 2017, Ji Jin’s research team has traced the overseas circulation of modern and contemporary Chinese literature by compiling extensive bibliographical records. This project provides a substantial philological basis for acknowledging the contributions and significance of this body of work, while also critically reflecting on its limitations. The records include English translations of literary works spanning various genres, such as fiction, poetry, drama and prose, as well as scholarly studies of modern and contemporary Chinese literature. Organised as encyclopaedic entries, the project offers concise summaries of major scholarly works from different historical periods, outlining their development and tracing their intellectual origins. It also assesses their academic impact. In doing so, it reconstructs the intellectual history of overseas scholarship on modern Chinese literature. It also provides detailed introductions to individual translations, carefully documenting publication information, the selection of texts included, the backgrounds of translators, and the academic reception of each translation. By systematically presenting the circulation of modern Chinese literature in the English-speaking world, the project sheds light on the achievements and the lessons it offers for future research.

Compiling this catalogue provides a solid foundation for keyword-based research in overseas studies of contemporary Chinese literature. According to Raymond Williams, vocabulary reflects both the historical development and the present conditions of culture and social life. The study of keywords is therefore relational and open-ended. As Ji Jin observes, “the essence of keywords is not fixation, but openness to new discursive systems and possibilities.” (Ji Jin, 2025, p. 341) Tracing scholarly developments through keywords enables

researchers to adopt multiple perspectives on overseas Sinology and to examine the relationship between Chinese literature and world literature more concretely. David Damrosch views world literature as a mode of refraction and circulation, whereas Karen Laura Thornber uses the metaphor of a nebula of literary encounters to emphasise the global nature of literary subjects within world literature. From this perspective, the scholarly community surrounding contemporary Chinese literature is a space shaped by categories such as history, fiction, ethnicity, nation, gender, subjectivity, emotion, everyday life, diaspora, sovereignty and hegemony. It is also a place where different discourses converge through conflict, dialogue, fusion, and coexistence.

Examining the evolution of keywords at the theoretical level, as well as their projection within broader sociocultural contexts, is a form of intellectual archaeology. Such an inquiry recognises the many differences within a larger historical whole and reconstructs the contexts in which contemporary Chinese literature has been circulated and studied. Moreover, using keywords as entry points for cross-cultural and interdisciplinary dialogue creates new interpretative possibilities. This helps bridge the temporal and spatial boundaries between different fields of study, fostering what Byung-Chul Han terms a “trans-culture” through overlap and coexistence. In this way, keyword-based research opens up new avenues for the development of overseas scholarship on Chinese literature. For Ji Jin, Chinese literature has always been part of a dynamic process of “globalization”, rather than passively awaiting incorporation into an established system of world literature. His own scholarly work provides strong evidence for this argument.

Conclusion

Worlding Contemporary Literature offers a clear and substantial account of overseas scholarship on contemporary Chinese literature, combining theoretical awareness with historical depth. From the perspectives of ontology, epistemology and methodology, the book asks whether, and if so how, contemporary Chinese literature can enter the canon of world literature. The place of national literature within the changing power relations of world literature remains an enduring question. Under globalisation, however, cultural exchange and cultural tension have turned this question into a shared challenge for writers, translators and scholars.

The methodological perspective of “worlding” highlights the theoretical vitality and interpretative potential of cross-cultural dialogue. Adopting a broad global perspective, Ji Jin advocates an academic ethic grounded in dialogue, coexistence and pluralistic negotiation, thereby “opening gates and transforming boundaries”. The book thus offers an important foundation for understanding contemporary Chinese literature as a field rooted in local experience while meaningfully engaging with the broader currents of world literature.

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ORCID

Su Tong ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6226-4173>

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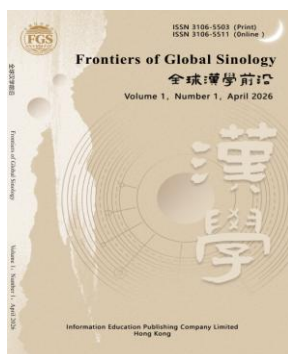
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At a Loss at the Crossroads: A Review of Zhang Zhengbo's *Other Voices: Overseas Sinologists on Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*

Wu Yitong, Huang Jiajun

Abstract: The rise of Orientalism in the nineteenth century prompted Western scholars to engage with Chinese art from the perspective of the “Other,” thereby inaugurating a sustained history of cross-cultural encounter between Chinese and Western artistic traditions. Over the past century, art historical scholarship in the West has developed a diverse range of methodological frameworks, including iconological analysis, stylistic analysis, cultural field theory, phenomenology, semiotics analysis and indigenous interpretive paradigms. Zhang Zhengbo’s new publication “*Other Voices: Overseas Sinologists on Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*” offers a systematic review and case-based analysis of these approaches, highlighting the divergences in interpretive perspectives shaped by distinct cultural and intellectual contexts. Focusing on the issues raised in the book, this review considers the respective strengths, limitations, and inherent tensions between approaches that seek to “translate China through the West” and those that aim to “interpret China on its own terms.” It engages these debates considering the historical experience of Sino-Western interaction and integration in modern Chinese art. In practice, cross-cultural research on Chinese art need not be confined to a single methodological approach; rather, it benefits from a stance of flexibility and responsiveness, attuned to the evolving historical and cultural context while maintaining a commitment to pluralistic inquiry. Through such sustained engagement, this approach facilitates both the self-renewal of Chinese art and the deepening of cross-cultural dialogue.

Keywords: The Other; cross-cultural exchange; Other Voices: Overseas Sinologists on Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting; Sino-Western artistic exchange

Author Biographies: **Wu Yitong**, Master of Research student in International Studies at Macquarie University, Research Interests: Pre-modern Chinese art and religion. E-mail: yitong.wu@students.mq.edu.au. **Huang Jiajun** (Corresponding Author), Teaching Assistant, Department of Chinese Language and Literature Guangdong Baiyun University, Research Interests: Overseas Chinese-Language Literature Studies. E-mail: wxhjj2025@qq.com.

标题: 无为在歧路——评张郑波《他者异语：海外汉学家言说中国古代书画艺术》

摘要: 19世纪东方主义思潮推动西方以“他者”视角介入中国艺术研究，中西艺术开启了跨文化互鉴的历史进程。经过百年发展，西方学界形成了风格学、文化场域、现象学、本土阐释等多元研究路径。张郑波的《他者异语》对上述研究范式进行了系统梳理与个案分析，展现了不同文化背景学者的研究差异。本文围绕书中提出的议题，剖析“以西译中”与“以中译中”的利弊与现实矛盾，并参照近代中国艺术界中西融合的实践经验作出回应。实际上，中国艺术的跨文化研究无需追求唯一路径，应秉持顺其自然、与时俱进的理念，顺应时代、坚持多元探索，在持续实践中实现中国艺术的自我革新与跨文化对话。

关键词: 他者；跨文化传播；《他者异语》；中西艺术互鉴

作者简介: 吴依桐，麦考瑞大学国际研究专业研究型硕士，研究方向：中国古代宗教美术研究，电邮：yitong.wu@students.mq.edu.au。黄家骏（通讯作者），广东白云学院中文系助教，研究方向：海外华文文学研究，电邮：wxhjj2025@qq.com。

1. The Birth of the “Other”

The emergence of Western scholarship on Eastern art from the perspective of the “Other” represented a novel approach within the broader context of the global circulation of artworks, which simultaneously provoked conflict and cultural encounter. The earliest expressions of this research interest can be traced back to nineteenth-century, Paris, where the Orientalist aesthetic craze brought the enigmatic art of the East into the purview of Western aristocrats, scholars, artists, and the general public, thereby giving rise to the concept and field of study now known as “Orientalism.”

Taking into consideration, a case study of Vincent van Gogh: his artistic style was profoundly influenced by Japanese ukiyo-e prints. In *Courtesan* (1887), van Gogh directly replicated a figure from Keisai Eisen’s work (Trede 2011, p. 405). Compared with the original artwork, van Gogh situates the figure within a rectangular frame, suggesting a folding screen or curtain. This device clearly does not depict a real spatial environment; rather, it constructs a non-realist, reconstructed space. The lotus pond, weeping willow, egret, and bamboo in the background operate as a series of symbolic markers of Eastern aesthetics, composing a scene that epitomizes the Orientalist sensibility.

Although we cannot ascertain van Gogh’s precise intentions during the creation of this work, it is evident that, from this composition onward, traces of Eastern aesthetics became discernible in his artistic vocabulary

and had a profound impact on his artistic style. At the early stage, van Gogh's engagement with ukiyo-e exhibited a certain rigidity, being limited to the direct copying of ukiyo- emotifs. However, in just three years, he progressed from mere appropriation to a more nuanced and immersive assimilation of Eastern aesthetic principles. In his painting, *Almond Blossom* (1890), under a cobalt blue sky, the almond branches are not rendered from the roots up as a complete tree; instead, he adopted the "truncated-branches" formation, which was typical of Eastern flower-and-bird painting, thus improving the visual focus on the main subject and enhancing the decorative effect of the painting.

This bilateral exchange between Eastern and Western art was not an isolated phenomenon. On the contrary, in 1649, the Chinese Ming dynasty artist Xiang Shengmo (1597-1658) applied chiaroscuro and three-dimensional sketching techniques to depict a robust tree with a centrally placed trunk and intricately interwoven branches, producing a strikingly realistic image derived from the naturally observation rather than from the conceptual representations of trees in traditional painting manuals such as the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Jie-Zi-Yuan Hua-Pu). Scholar Michael Sullivan notes that this instance already demonstrates the early communication and mutual influence of Chinese and Western artistic approaches. Van Gogh's study of ukiyo-e similarly involved a circuitous process: from Chinese painting to Edo-period Japanese prints, and then to Europe, where distinct national values, philosophies, and worldviews collided. Through art as a medium, these encounters generated brilliant sparks; amid these conflicts, East and West began to learn from one another, seeking both equilibrium and cultural resonance.

Furthermore, in 1916 the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London (SOAS) established the first dedicated program in East Asian art, marking the formal recognition of "The History and Archaeology of Asian Art" within Western academia. From this point onward, as the ancient civilizations of the East, particularly Chinese art, entered the modern era and came to be more visible in the West, their connections with global culture became increasingly wide-ranging and profound. Engagement with Eastern art, especially ancient Chinese art, evolved along multiple research trajectories, shaped in part by the broader promotion of cross-cultural and multicultural scholarship.

In this context, Zhang Zhengbo's new work: *Other Voices: Overseas Sinologists on Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting* published in 2026, stands as a comprehensive synthesis of over a century of Western methodologies, emphases, and unresolved questions in the study of Chinese art. Zhang describes the work as both a clear roadmap and a practical guide: a macro-level overview of the "Hundred Schools Contend" of Western scholarship. It serves as an essential reference and toolkit for anyone seeking to understand the historical development, lineage, and current state of Western research on Chinese art. At the same time, it prompts people to rethink on the issues that have dominated past scholarship, the debates currently underway, and the questions that remain to be addressed.

2. Diverse Previous Approaches

Over the past century, Western scholarship has extensively engaged with Chinese art, yet a central question persists: how should Western scholars, positioned as "the Other," interpret Chinese artistic production? Should they approach Chinese art through the lens of Western theoretical frameworks, or return to indigenous Chinese philosophical contexts to recover its original meanings? Why do scholars from different cultural and intellectual backgrounds pursue radically divergent research trajectories, and what do these trajectories reveal

about underlying differences in perception, interpretation, and epistemology? These questions form the conceptual core of Zhang Zhengbo's *Other Voices: Overseas Sinologists on Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*, and provide the point of departure for the book's systematic review and analysis of the field's varied methodological approaches.

The book *Other Voices: Overseas Sinologists on Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Painting* is organized into twelve main chapters, presenting twelve representative research paths in Western scholarship on Chinese art over the past century and up to the present. Within each trajectory, the book discusses its characters by utilizing one or two scholarly case studies. The book contains the various research approaches: for instance, the comprehensive historical trajectory represented by Japanese art historian Okakura Tenshin; the stylistic analysis method exemplified by Wen C. Fong, which employs deconstructivism to translate Chinese traditional art from the Western perspective; the cultural field approach represented by American research scholar Andrea S. Goldman, focusing on the broader cultural, political, social, and even class-related contexts behind artworks; scholar Robert Hans van Gulik specially focuses the peripheral aspects of artworks, such as mounting techniques and the role of craftsmen, highlighting how materials affect visual expression beyond the content of the work; the German scholar Gernot Böhme attention to the "atmosphere" of the painting, influenced by Western psychology, attempting to analyze the connotation of the term "qi-yun" vitality in traditional Chinese art through modern Western visual frameworks; Turn to the Francois Jullien, he approaches the Chinese art by tracing back to the unique Chinese philosophical context, aiming to interpret narrative structures from a Chinese perspective, essentially "translating Chinese art from Chinese to Chinese." This stands in contrast to the approach advocated by Wen C. Fong, who interprets Chinese art through Western theoretical frameworks.

In Chapter Seven, the author foregrounds Hegel's concern with structure and form of the art composition, examining their relationship to the Chinese concepts of "xingshi" (shape and configuration) and "qiyun" (spirit and vitality), and thereby prompting a discussion on whether a materialist worldview is suitable for analyzing Chinese art imbued with idealist philosophical principles. Chapter Eight explores Western psychological approaches to dream analysis, highlighting Christine Cayol's work as an example of how these uniquely psychological methodologies can be connected to classical Chinese reflections on dreams, as found in Zhuangzi, and to the expression of "Dao" in Chinese painting. Moreover, the chapter also considers the temporal dimension of artworks, addressing how meaning unfolds over time. Scholars such as Nigel Wentworth investigate the medium and modes of representation from a phenomenological perspective, with particular attention to the viewer's visual engagement and interactive experience. In Chapter Eleven, both the French scholar François Cheng and the Japanese scholar Seiichi Taki exemplify how an integrative approach can be applied to achieve a comprehensive analysis of Chinese art. In the final chapter, the author revisits the comparative perspective between Chinese and Western landscapes, highlighting Western scholar's attention to cross-cultural verification and prompting reflection on how Chinese and Western art can be meaningfully compared. These diverse and multifaceted research approaches, together with the scholars' methodological choices and analytical reasoning, underscore the book's meticulous design and deliberate organization.

The scholars selected for each chapter of the book are highly representative, and they often serve as meaningful points of comparison. In the first chapter, for example, the author examines early twentieth-century scholars' enthusiasm for compiling comprehensive histories of art. Representative figures include the Japanese scholar Okakura Tenshin and the British scholar Michael Sullivan, who sought to unveil the mysteries of Chinese art by systematically outlining its developmental trajectories and the artistic characteristics of different historical periods, while simultaneously incorporating their own perspectives as "the Other." Yet even among these "Others," scholarly viewpoints differ markedly, shaped by their distinct cultural and intellectual backgrounds.

The difference between these two analytical approaches, one oriented toward introspection, abstraction, and the spiritual, the other toward external observation, concreteness, and formal representation, which clearly reflects the influence of their distinct environments: "being within the East" versus the Western scientific perspective. Japanese scholars maintained more direct exchanges and conceptual affinities with contemporary Chinese art historians; for example, according to the book, Ōmura Seigai engaged in direct dialogue and mutual influence with Chen Shizeng (p. 14).

Among early Western scholars, there were occasional individuals with a natural sensitivity to Chinese modes of thinking and aesthetic values, who could perceptively grasp the independent spirit of this artistic language. Which therefore they paid closer attention to the abstract and philosophical dimensions of Chinese art rather than to formal composition. A typical example mentioned in the book is the Sinologist Earnest Francisco, whose prolonged residence and work in Japan exposed him to an Eastern native environment and encouraged a focus on the unique intellectual content of Eastern art, distinct from Western conventions.

Through these fascinating and readily apparent contrasts, the author not only highlights differences in scholarly approaches but also interweaves branching analytical pathways within each research trajectory. By juxtaposing scholars who share similar historical or cultural contexts with those from distinct backgrounds, the text encourages readers to reconsider how methodological choices, interpretive priorities, and cultural perspectives impact the analysis of Chinese art. This layered presentation enables a more nuanced understanding of each approach, inviting deeper reflection on the interplay between artistic form, philosophical connotation, and historiographical interpretation.

3. Commentary And Extension On The "Cultural-Political Approach"

In Chapter Three, the author uses Andrea S. Goldman's study of theatrical and temple fair spaces in premodern China as a case study to illustrate how art historians have shifted their focus from tangible material artworks and intangible cultural practices toward the broader concept of artistic space as an integrated whole. Zhang Zhengbo further observes that Goldman critically examines the political power embedded within theatre spaces, drawing upon and extending Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere (p. 62). This approach exemplifies a distinctly politicized mode of analysis.

From an interdisciplinary perspective bridging sociology and art history, this approach can be framed through Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the "cultural field." (Bourdieu 1993, pp. 74-111) In premodern China,

the traditional theatre functioned not merely as a venue for the production, cultivation, and display of operatic art, but as a dynamic public space in which social, cultural, and political forces intersected. This complex arena connected multiple strata of society: from imperial elites and bureaucratic gentry to ordinary citizens of diverse social and professional backgrounds, and encompassed a wide spectrum of participants, from the performers at the center of the stage to the troupes, stagehands, and managers operating behind the scenes. Such convergence of actors endowed the theatre with rich analytical potential, allowing scholars to investigate not only artistic practices but also the broader social hierarchies, power relations, and cultural norms embedded within these spaces.

Using this public space as its point of departure, Andrea S. Goldman's study highlights the popular cultural practices and underlying struggles for political power embedded within it. As Zhang Zhengbo observes, "Andrea S. Goldman's object of inquiry is not Qing dynasty opera itself, but rather the political power relations and moral-ethical structures indirectly articulated through the operatic stage." This exploration of the public field exemplifies an approach that integrates visual art with sociology. By examining the operational mechanisms of theatres, observing their conditions of survival, and investigating the identities of theatre owners, performers, and audiences, such research seeks to reconstruct a social panorama of the time and reveal the class relations and conflicts underlying it.

Zhang further notes that Goldman's research also extends to spaces such as temple fairs and private theatrical gatherings. This line of inquiry can be expanded to encompass other "public fields" worthy of investigation. For example, the scholar Timothy Brook examines temples in the Ming dynasty as public spaces, approaching them from a sociological perspective to analyze their operational ecology as well as the social activities associated with them, such as publishing and festival organization. While temples share many characteristics with theatrical spaces as sites of public interaction, they are even more complex objects of study. Unlike theatres, temples are not merely fields where culture and politics intersect; their analysis also requires engagement with the foundations of religious studies. How does religion disseminate belief and construct legitimacy through the creation of space? These questions are equally crucial.

Moreover, the study of temples as public spaces can be approached from psychological and spiritual perspectives, further illuminating how fixed architectural structures, in conjunction with transient activities and ritual practices, serve to reinforce religious belief, consolidate authority, and function as vital sites for social cohesion, conflict mediation, and the expression of both collective and individual aspirations in premodern society.

In recent years, the American scholar Shih-shan Susan Huang (2012) has moved beyond the study of stable spatial fields and material art forms to investigate religious rituals conducted within temples. By focusing on these ephemeral practices, she explores how ritual, as an intangible cultural medium, shapes human consciousness and belief. In this sense, art historical inquiry has expanded from two-dimensional pictorial analysis to three-dimensional spatial forms, then to four-dimensional explorations of fields, that is, the study of public spaces within specific temporal contexts, and is now extending toward a more elusive, perhaps conceptual, "fifth dimension." This emerging approach seeks to examine how fluid rituals, as a

synthesis of the visible and the invisible, operate as religious and cultural forces that shape spiritual belief and social experience. Such developments represent a bold innovation in contemporary art historical scholarship and encourage ongoing reflection on the evolving trajectories and methodological horizons of the discipline.

Beyond spatial analysis, scholars may also return to “culture” itself as a central site of inquiry. Building on Andrea S. Goldman’s discussion of theatre and the construction of power as a point of departure, researchers can refocus attention on the dramatic work itself, reassessing its significance not only in terms of aesthetic form but also in its literary, performative, and symbolic dimensions. Such an approach allows for a reconsideration of the work’s intrinsic artistic and narrative value, situating it within broader aesthetic and intellectual frameworks. Simultaneously, this analysis can be integrated with the study of the spaces in which the work was produced, performed, and circulated, revealing how the interplay between cultural artifacts and their social, spatial, and temporal contexts shapes both meaning and reception. By bridging textual, visual, and spatial analysis, this methodology illuminates the interconnections between artistic production, cultural authority, and audience engagement, offering a more holistic understanding of premodern Chinese theatre as both an artistic and social phenomenon.

Current studies of the woodblock illustrations of *The Romance of the Western Chamber* often focus primarily on pictorial content, yet frequently overlook the relationship between the depicted scenes, the original textual narrative, and the process of transforming text into image. This gap suggests a promising avenue for future research.

4. A Reconsideration of the Other’s Visual Perspective

It is worth noticing that author Zhang Zhengbo draws particular attention to a pressing question he poses to contemporary scholarship in the epilogue of the chapter Six: how should we study Chinese art from an international perspective, and how should it be presented and translated for Western audiences? He begins by discussing François Jullien’s “Chinese-to-Chinese” research approach. Although Jullien occupies the position of the “Other” in examining Chinese art, he demonstrates profound respect for the native cultural context of the foreign art he studies. He insists on situating Chinese art within the complete worldview constructed by Chinese culture and philosophy, striving even to restore the atmosphere of ancient Chinese cultural life, rather than dissecting it from a typical Western analytical perspective. Zhang acknowledges that this approach is undoubtedly one of the more awakened, popular, and progressive methodologies in contemporary scholarship.

Thus, does this question have a definitive answer? In fact, it seems to resonate closely with the concerns of early twentieth-century Chinese artists, who first encountered Western culture and were shaped by the dynamic interplay of Chinese and Western traditions alongside the pressures of modern society. During the first half of the last century, some Chinese artists pursued comprehensive reform, actively studying Western art. For example, Xu Beihong (1895-1953) travelled to Paris to study drawing, transitioning from traditional Chinese painting to oil painting, while Liu Haisu (1896-1994) introduced abstract modern art to China and founded modern-style art academies, both exemplifying a strong embrace of Westernization. Others advocated a synthesis of East and West, blending modern and conservative elements, as seen in Wu Guanzhong’s (1910-2010) colored ink paintings and Pan Yuliang’s (1895-1977) line-drawn nudes. The Lingnan School, represented by Gao Jianfu (1879-1951), studied in Japan to incorporate technical innovations from Japanese

painting into traditional Chinese art, ultimately establishing an “eclectic East-West” style. At the same time, a cohort of artists remained committed to traditional norms, including members of the Guangdong Chinese Painting Research Association. Conservative masters such as Huang Binhong (1865-1955) and Qi Baishi (1864-1957) regarded the essence of Chinese art: akin to the Dao in Laozi and Zhuangzi, as all-encompassing and eternal. Amidst these waves of transformation, which artistic paths were ultimately “eliminated,” and which could be considered “successful”?

Art history of the past century already provides some guidance. At First, to “follow the times” is reasonable: any exploration that aligns with societal needs and the spirit of the era is worth attempting and holds promising research potential. As Wu Guanzhong (2010) famously remarked, “Brush and ink should follow the times,” which he argues that artistic language must evolve in response to contemporary aesthetic conditions rather than remain confined to inherited conventions. Secondly, when reviewing a century of experimentation in Chinese painting, regardless of the length of the path, its influence, or its popularity, each effort gave rise to highly representative figures; there is no absolute “success” or “failure,” and the same principle applies to art historians studying these developments. Ultimately, judgments emerge only with the passage of time and the turning of historical tides.

Returning to the author’s reflections, the choice between a “Chinese-to-Chinese” approach and a “Western perspective on Chinese art” need not be hastily resolved. What proves truly meaningful is the sustained process of exploration and practice along one’s chosen path, leaving ultimate judgment to the passage of time. As the saying goes, “The road is difficult, with many diverging paths,” yet “to linger at the crossroads is only to invite shared lament.” This perspective may be seen to resonate with the Daoist wisdom of Laozi and Zhuangzi: to act in accordance with the natural course of things and to respond with sensitivity to changing circumstances.

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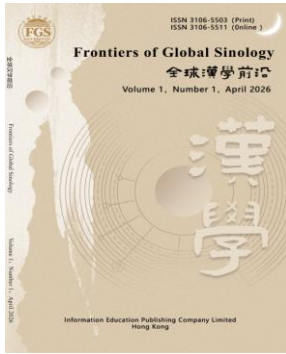
ORCID

Wu yitong ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-5257-6591>

Huang jiajun ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9312-2933>

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异域之眼与园中之境——

柯律格《蕴秀之域：中国明代园林文化》评介

邢云龙 (Xing Yunlong)

摘要：《蕴秀之域：中国明代园林文化》是英国学者柯律格阐释中国明代园林文化的一部著作。柯律格开创性地运用唯物主义历史观，倡始摆脱常规的时间线性叙述方式，重点揭示江南地区的造园活动和营建理念，深度探讨“园林”的多重内涵及其在社会网络中所扮演的重要角色。基于“物质文化”“视觉文化”研究的丰富经验，柯律格通过钩稽大量文本的视觉呈现，以文献中的地图、绘画和插图等形式来管窥明代园林的诸多面向。柯律格的研究理路和学术范式对当代世界研究中国艺术史、园林文化（尤其是对明代）具有肇造和革新之功，在学术史上亦具有重要的转捩意义。

关键词：柯律格；明代园林；江南园林；唯物主义历史观

作者简介：邢云龙，江苏第二师范学院文学院讲师，研究方向：域外汉籍与汉学，电邮：1028512736@qq.com。

Title: The Eyes of Exotic Lands and the Realm in the Garden: Take Craig's *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* as the center

Abstract: *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* is a work by British scholar Craig on the interpretation of Chinese Landscape Culture in Ming Dynasty. Craig pioneered the use of materialistic view of history, advocated getting rid of the conventional linear narrative mode of time, and emphatically revealed the gardening activities and construction ideas in the south of the Yangtze River. This paper probes into the multiple connotations of “garden” and its

important role in social network. Based on the rich experience of the study of “material culture” and “visual culture”, he peeped into many aspects of the garden in Ming Dynasty through the visual presentation of a large number of texts forms of maps, paintings and illustrations in the literature. Craig’s research theory and academic paradigm are of great significance to the study of Chinese art history and garden culture (especially in Ming Dynasty) in the contemporary world.

Keywords: Craig Clunas; Ming Dynasty garden; JiangNan garden; Materialistic view of history

Author Biography: Xing Yunlong, Lecturer at college of Liberal Arts, Jiangsu Second Normal University. Research Areas: Overseas Chinese books and sinology. E-mail: 1028512736@qq.com.

引言

柯律格 (Craig Clunas, 1954-), 当代世界研究中国物质文明史、美术史的重要学者, 尤其精研明代艺术史和物质文化。1974 年至 1975 年, 柯律格曾在北京语言学院 (现为北京语言大学) 学习中文, 此后分别于剑桥大学东方研究院取得学士学位 (1977)、于伦敦大学亚非学院取得博士学位 (1983), 又任伦敦维多利亚与艾伯特博物馆 (Victoria & Albert Museum) 中国部资深研究员兼策展人长达十五年。自 1994 年起, 柯律格先后执教于萨塞克斯大学艺术史系、伦敦大学亚非学院; 2006 年, 因其在中国文化和艺术史研究领域中的卓越成就和贡献, 被提名为英国人文社会科学院院士。2007 年至 2018 年, 柯律格于牛津大学艺术史系担任教授和系主任, 现为该系荣休教授。20 世纪 90 年代以来, 柯律格陆续著述出版《长物: 早期现代中国的物质文化与社会状况》(*Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, 1991)、《蕴秀之域: 中国明代园林文化》(*Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*, 1996)、《明代的图像与视觉性》(*Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, 1997)、《中国艺术》(*Art in China*, 1997)、《雅债: 文征明的社交性艺术》(*Elegant Debts: the Social Art of Wen Zhengming, 1470-1559*, 2004)、《大明: 明代中国的视觉文化与物质文化》(*Empire of Great Brightness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368-1644*, 2007)、《藩屏: 明代中国的皇家艺术与权力》(*Screen Of Kings: Royal Art And Power In Ming China*, 2013)、《谁在看中国画》(*Chinese Painting and Its Audiences*, 2017) 等一系列著作。¹ 本文所要探讨的柯律格《蕴秀之域: 中国明代园林文化》(以下简称《蕴秀之域》), 是西方英语世界第一次基于中国文化资源, 对明代园林及其社会文化进行解读的一部著作, 因而颇具开创性意义和参考价值。有鉴于此, 笔者不揣陋陋, 拟对此书内容作简要探析, 并对其在艺术史、园林文化研究领域的意义和不足之处作客观评述。或有疏漏与不妥之处, 祈请方家批评指正。

¹ 以上柯律格的八部著作, 今均已有中译本, 《长物: 早期现代中国的物质文化与社会状况》《明代的图像与视觉性》等更是多次再版, 其影响力可见一斑。限于篇幅, 以上中译本详细出版情况从略。需要指出的是, 柯律格早年还对中国外销品、家具和漆器文化等有过专题研究, 著有《中国外销水彩画》(*Chinese export watercolours*, 1984)、《中国外销品艺术与设计》(*Chinese export art and design*, 1987)、《中国家具》(*Chinese Furniture*, 1988; 2009 年上海辞书出版社出版丁逸筠译《英国维多利亚阿伯特博物馆藏中国家具》)、《奢华的知识: 1625 年的〈髹饰录〉》(*Luxury Knowledge: The Xiushilu ('Records of Lacquering') of 1625, in Techniques & Cultures*, 1997 (29): 27-40; 参看何振纪译《奢华的知识: 1625 年的〈髹饰录〉》, 载《中国生漆》2013 年第 2 期)。

一、肇端和梗概：《蕴秀之域》的体例与内容

得益于学生时代的中文学术训练以及在博物馆工作的丰富经历，柯律格培养了深厚的文化素养和对中国艺术的高度认知。20世纪80年代以来，伴随着“物质文化”“视觉文化”研究热潮，柯律格确立并奠定了学术研究的主要路径。1991年出版的成名作《长物：早期现代中国的物质文化与社会地位》（以下简称《长物》），从“物质文化”角度重新审视明代社会物品生产、消费及鉴赏等，剖析了精英阶层如何通过建立“品位”来展现社会形象及其财富地位。1990年前后，柯律格获得学术奖助并前往美国巴尔的摩艺术博物馆（The Baltimore Museum of Art）进行交流，“庭园史”是该馆主要研究领域之一。凭借地利之便，柯氏前往美国国会图书馆、农业部图书馆等地查询相关资料。撰写《蕴秀之域》一书，正是在上述背景下有序展开。

柯律格在“引言”开宗明义地自述“本书并非为展示一部中国园林的历史，其远远超脱于对这样一部历史存在与否的质疑，我所尝试要做的是提供一种脱离惯例的记述，写作本书是为了记述公元1450-1650年之间中国江南地区社会上层的造园理念和无处不在的园林营建活动。这些营建活动被表现于文本的视觉呈现中，以文献中的地图、绘画和插图等形式存在”（柯律格，2021, p. 3）。可见柯律格延续了对明代艺术文化、物质文明史相关内容的探讨，并且将聚焦视点放置在“园林”这“特殊的人造物”之上。不仅将“园林”视为一种“物质文化景观”，即承载着丰富的历史和社会内容的独特且富有争议的“物质文化载体”；而且总结并关心那些有关明代园林的“自由表述”，不从严格的哲学考证角度去判断“园林”是否隶属“艺术作品”，而去揭示作为文化艺术符号、寄寓多重内涵的“园林”在社会网络中所扮演的重要角色。

实际上，对于书名“Fruitful Sites”的理解和翻译，现今存有一定争议。管见以为，从全文内容和核心主旨来看，“Fruitful Sites”主要是从经济功用、文化价值出发，意指“丰饶之地”。全书综合“历史时间”（明代时期）与“区域空间”（以苏州为主）两个考量因素，从文学与文化层面出发，微观探讨与宏观考察并举，对应了物质文化/艺术史研究的多个维度。正文共分为五章：第一章和第二章分别阐述明代中期苏州及其代表性园林（拙政园）以及“观赏性园林”的诸多内容；第三章则以文徵明及其家族园林为中心，探讨家族及其成员对“园林文化和景观的态度变化”；第四章和第五章各有侧重，分别论述明代园林之“象”“数”的不同面相。

在第一章“The Fruitful Garden”（“盈萃之庭”）中，作者首先引入明代中期的苏州，此一时期经济相对发达、文化昌盛，消费者的主体是富裕而有文化的社会精英，而文人学士和退休官员比例尤高。以“东庄”园为例，揭示其兼具田园经济模式和实用造园思想，勾勒苏州文人以此为“纽带”的复杂人际关系网；又以拙政园为个案，通过文徵明的相关诗文、绘画来管窥苏州园林的特色；最后，绕开旧有的“纯美学内涵”探讨模式而主张从“农艺学观念”出发，再次点题突出园林（“Fruitful Garden”）的实用属性，认为拙政园在某种程度上是“商品生产空间”或“经济组织”的典型。

第二章“The Aesthetic Garden”（“观赏性园林”）延续了对第一章的讨论，进而探讨明中期以降苏州园林文化为何出现复兴。作者认为十六世纪苏州籍士大夫推动了京城皇家园林的复兴，反过来他们对园林的建造、绘制和咏赞行为又影响江南地区的风尚，并且指出皇亲国戚和开国元勋等贵族阶层对京城园林文化起主导作用。随着“园林文化的扩张”，南方以南京为代表，名园亦主要为贵族所享用。作者指出明末兴起建造“美学园林”（观赏性园林），从保存的苏州及其园林的大量记录

可见一斑。园林在形态上发生了很多种变化，植物（名花珍木）、岩石（假山）、奢侈品成为追求新奇的对象，并且这与同时期的欧洲园林极为相似。作者认为苏州的部分园林保存“农艺传统的遗风”，这从一些农艺学文献中（《便民图纂》《补农书》）即可查证。当社会经济、文化发展到更高水平，农艺的经济功能和美学功能会产生分野，表现在园林上亦然。最后，对于园林“开放与封闭”的争议问题，作者提出了自己的见解，即认为“开放”是“观赏性园林”的重要属性。

第三章“The Garden of the Wen Family”（“文氏园林”）选取以文徵明家族为研究个案，跟踪聚焦式考察他们对土地财产的经营以及对这些土地的“美学反应”。柯律格强调了文徵明在当时社会和家族内部的地位和影响力，除了其人本身“高洁”理想人格的光辉，他的绘画在其中亦发挥了重要作用；又以文徵明著述为材料，披检其中涉及园林文化的具体事迹，重点考察了文氏家族宅邸园林史发展轨迹，并且指出家族富有田产、土地等资源。最后，探讨文氏家族对明代苏州“公共景观”的影响，以期侧面反映家族的社会地位和财富状况。

第四章“The Represented Garden”（“园林之象”）和第五章“The Landscape of number”（“园林与数”）在内容上虽似不同，但都讨论了与园林相关的“构成要素”和“社会物品”及其在社会网络中的作用。在第四章中首先提出设问“明代有关园林的文字和图像有何特点？什么才算得上是‘园林著述’和‘园林图画’”（柯律格，2021, p. 113）。为了回答园林已构成“话语形式”，作者相继考察了“园记的写法”（叙述策略）、“园林景观的命名”特点、“园林绘画”的社交作用以及“园林文本”的内在张力（《长物志》《园冶》论述方式的变化）和局限（流传不广）。在第五章中，柯律格尝试从不同角度解读园林文化，即结合堪輿学、勘测计量学等来探讨其实践意义，“堪輿（风水）与土地”与园林选址密切相关，“测绘与地图”是营建的基础，突出“number”并非简单的“数字”涵义，而是与中国古代的“数字命理学”“数学”息息相关。作者进而提出“但真正占有园林、拥有财富的究竟是谁”（柯律格，2021, p. 165）。园林在理论上是属于“不动产”，但是这与园主（“享有事实上的完全自主权”）的个性特征，实际处于一种“矛盾境地”，因而柯律格将其视为对“园主的美学”形塑问题及其影响的终结式回答。

二、巧思和创构：《蕴秀之域》的贡献与影响

经由以上对《蕴秀之域》一书体例与内容的概括，我们大致可以看出其基本轮廓和样貌。柯律格曾坦言“我觉得很有必要把当时存在于中国明代文学中的数呈庞大的关于园林的作品中的一小部分，翻译为英文去传播”（柯律格，2021, p. 3）。正如他所希冀的，该书最直接的影响是有益于在西方文史学界普及中国明代文学与园林文化，“让忽略中国的人看见中国”。为了充分把握《蕴秀之域》的研究理路和范式，对其进行深入剖析以及解读将大有裨益。夷考全书内容，我们不仅易于发现该书并非只是“博物馆式的文献陈列”，具体征引的史料反而处处透露出较强的分析与叙述意识；而且柯氏还以“异域之眼”捕捉相关历史细节，贯之以新视阈、新方法并提出新问题，将中国艺术与物质文明史、园林文化研究纳入到全球史整体视域中，与欧美学界既定的陈规旧说进行对话，故而对当代世界研究中国艺术史、园林文化（尤其是对明代）具有一定的贡献，并产生了重要影响。

首先，该书提供了研究中国艺术史、（明代）园林文化的新视阈。柯律格通过连结“艺术史与知识史”“社会史与文化史”并结合“物质文化”“视觉文化”研究的丰富经验，采取以艺术研究的史学尝试暨跨文化、跨学科的研究视阈。柯律格自言“我同样有意识地把‘园林’这一概念与其他

概念联系起来论述，比如田产，这个概念在既有的英文二手文献中已被长期忽略”（柯律格，2021，p. 3）。园林不是仅仅简单地作为供人赏鉴的“艺术作品”，也并非通过文献资料来探讨园林文学书写的意义，而是将园林视为有价值的“不动产”，“它们不仅是昂贵的不动产，也是具有建筑学和美学意义的人工作品。他们处于几种中国学科的交叉地带，对阐释他们所跨越的交叉学科是很有用的”（柯律格，2021，p. 8）。但是，“由于公认地缺乏证据”而使得探讨园林的经济学意义并非容易，“引入经济性考察并不是为了揭示中国园林的真正性质，也不是为了简单论证中国园林的确有经济产权属性”，而是以“非传统的历史观察视角”来合理审视，同时强调“不动产”或“园林”概念并非只是提供一个类型学的分析或描述。柯律格认为这与 James Cahill（1988，p. 9）所提出的“不同的写作方法和写作模式都可以有效地诠释艺术的历史，这取决于我们把艺术及其相应背景的哪一方面作为我们关注的核心”，二者“内在精神”正相契合（柯律格，2021，p. 4）。

在第一章中，柯律格通过李东阳《东庄记》、王鏊《姑苏志》等文献，揭示明中期苏州“占地九英亩的东庄”是“一个典型的自给自足的田园经济模式”，园林中栽植的稻田、桑园和果园菜圃是其重要组成部分。又以拙政园为个案，指出它“是一处高墙环绕的商品生产空间”，因为拙政园里栽种果树经济作物以此平衡经济收益和文化财富，着重探讨了“拙政园中的果树在苏州商品世界中所扮演的角色”。园中存有相关物品作为证据，园中最大的两块树林为“‘苹果’林”和“‘榆叶梅’林”¹，以及同样作为反映经济效应的“圃田”。与此同时，强调了园林作为物质景观的生产价值，即如何通过运用“特定的土地管理方法”，尤其是通过造园（利用土地资源）而实现了财富创造的功能。在探讨园林如何从“生产之地”转变成了内涵更复杂的“消费之物”，以“植物、岩石、奢侈品”等园林要素的新形态的出现，传统土地形式的利用与美学家园活动已大幅拉开距离。此外，柯氏亦指出明末社会繁荣发展，对于园林的审美因素亦有所增加（如《长物志》所描绘的园居生活）。在第三章和第五章中，主要通过文徵明家族及其园林以及文震亨《长物志》的记载，园林已不仅仅是“城市中的隐居所”，而是变成了作为社交舞台和身份展示的场所。高雅园林的大部分组成要素都是可以贸易的，因为市场商业关系的渗入而使得明末园林俨然具有“商品化”的色彩。柯律格的这种研究视阈，与二十世纪末的前沿研究非常契合，对于关涉的物质文化研究、社会史领域助益颇多，是“对中国园林研究中的美学中心主义的矫枉过正”（柯律格，2021，p. 39），也是对当代研究中国艺术史（尤其是对明代园林文化）的一种开拓和创新，因而现今学界大多给予了肯定和较高的赞赏。

其次，《蕴秀之域》一书的贡献，还在于柯律格树立新观念、运用新方法并提出了诸多亟待研究的新问题。柯律格开创性地运用唯物主义历史观，倡始摆脱常规的时间线性叙述方式，揭示江南地区的风靡造园活动和匠心营建理念。在柯氏之前，学界以往对于中国园林文化的研究，或是从艺术史角度单一化地考察，或是严格限定于某某朝代的线性叙述方式（由古及今的历时性考察亦多流于表面），而忽略了社会经济因素及其当时生产生活方式的影响。柯氏主张将园林置于当时的历史情境中加以考察，“在破除西方史学的抽象笼统和东方主义幻想的前提下”，倾向于尽力开展开放性的调查研究，多维度地考察园林的文化表征和社会意义。某种程度上，这正是暗合采用了马克思的历史观点暨交叉了社会学与历史学的研究。或许这种观念和方法及其具体的调查研究，在社会局部方面存在着矛盾与扞格，但这也恰恰佐证了“中国园林种种复杂表象的多元性”。柯律格通过钩稽大

¹ “榆叶梅”应为“梅”，此应是译者之误。榆叶梅主要生长在北方，其果实不能食用。

量文本的视觉呈现，以文献中的地图、绘画和插图等形式，采用一种还原性的、甚至是粗线条的解读方法来管窥明代园林的诸多面向。

在第一章探讨“果实累累的园林”内涵与外延之时，柯律格主张从农艺学观念角度而不是从纯美学内涵角度来解析园林的经济价值和功能，以一种简捷而单纯的方式，解读文徵明《王氏拙政园记》中所反映的农艺观念。考察十六世纪中叶以来在知识商品化的时代背景下，现今将“相关文本中农艺学内容理解成中性的描述”，的确更为重要。此外，又从诠释“拙政园”这一名称所暗含的典故（作为农学文献层面）及其美学意义（作为园艺文献层面）展开，结合文徵明有关题写拙政园的诗文，找寻实用性和观赏性密切相关的语句和主题（文学意义）。柯氏强调“明代园林的文化力量也正是源自农业在儒家社会所处的介于利与义、经济基础与文化道德之间的这种中枢地位”“营建作为纯粹奢侈消费品的园林，在十六世纪下半叶与十七世纪早期最为盛行，如果意识不到作为审美消费品的园林本质上仍然是以生产为核心，是不可能理解这一历史现象的”（柯律格，2021, p. 43）。在讨论区分观赏性园林与生产性园林的标准，柯氏认为“并不是看两者所植的作物系列（指花木而非水果）相同与否那么简单，重要的是培植这些作物的形式和方法。这种审美标准在明代前期也得到了相当的认可，至明代后期，更是被奉为圭臬而风行一时”（柯律格，2021, p. 74）。与此同时，还总结出明代精英自觉创造出的园林文化的三个观念发展阶段，“从农艺层面——难以捉摸的品味（最初体现为对各种珍花异木的追捧）——精神层面的自足自适的生活”（柯律格，2021, p. 77）。以上正是在新观念和新方法的基础上所展开讨论的，即主张“阐释清楚社会和人文领域的具体问题”，当然柯氏也指出，“也不应将园林的内涵无限扩大并进行牵强附会的解读，这种解读应以特定的历史和地理环境为依据”（柯律格，2021, p. 172）。

需要指出的是，孔涛在中译本封面背后附加“推荐语”介绍：“谁拥有园林？谁参观园林？它们以何种方式被呈现于文字，绘画，乃至广义的视觉文化之中？在中国社会的多重层次上被赋予了何种意义？”以上四个问题，正是书中所着重探讨的。笔者所要补充的是，柯律格除了考察“园林”在明代社会网络中所扮演的重要角色之外，实则希望由此触发并吸引更多人予以关注。在书中“结论”部分，柯律格重点指出晚清以来中国园林及其在苏州地区的不同面向、二十世纪以来中西学者关于中国园林观念的讨论以及“园林与宇宙观的关系”等议题，颇具见识。另外，他还提及“还有更多重要的园林史资料值得研究”，诸如晚明园林与寺庙、书院的关系，“中国人梦境中的园林”“明代女性眼中的园林”（由明代诗词、散文和小说出发）和“中国特定历史环境的园林思想存在着一定的地区差异”等议题。¹以上柯律格提出的这些新问题，值得当今学界重视并应展开讨论，所关涉的重点议题领域（如“纸上园林”）、园林史研究的新方向（小说中的园林文学书写）等，或已成为新世纪的研究热点，或仍有待于进一步深入研究。

最后，对当前海外汉学研究具有一定的启导作用，尤其是创立了一种艺术史、园林文化研究的新范式，尝试与“物质文化”“视觉文化”研究熔于一炉而产生了很大影响。这主要体现在以下几个层面：其一，以艺术史（美术史）研究脉络及其范式来看。艺术史学科虽然于十九世纪初已肇始确立，但此后发展一直深受社会时代影响，处于诸门学科的跨界边缘而缺乏动力。20世纪50年代以来，马克思主义史观的适时介入，促进了艺术史研究的兴起。迨至70年代以来，历史学实践受人类

¹ 柯律格所提出的“中国人梦境中的园林”，与现今学界所探讨的“纸上园林”议题密切相关，可参看文韬《从“以文存园”到“纸上造园”——明清园林的特殊文学形态》（《文学遗产》2019年第4期）、王志刚《纸上园林：明清文人诗意栖居的空间想象》（《苏州大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》2020年第6期）。

学影响以及诸种理论思想和学科思潮对于人文学科领域的冲击，结构主义与解构主义、精神分析和符号学等风靡各个领域形成所谓“文化转向”（cultural turn）。艺术史研究不仅出现与“图像学”“风格论”研究的新融合，同时与马克思主义在内的女权主义、心理分析和结构主义等“文化研究”风靡兴起，真正地走近“社会”。最为突出的表现是，一些文史学者开始探索“物质文化”研究，并与博物馆馆员、考古学家和艺术研究员等建立密切联系。《蕴秀之域》正是继《长物》之后，践行艺术史新范式研究的又一典范之作，既反对“欧洲中心主义”，又超越“东方主义立场”，将中国艺术史纳入一个“脱离国家主义”的社会文化史研究领域。其二，考察二十世纪以来中国园林文化研究史脉络，在柯律格撰写《蕴秀之域》之前，欧美学者对于中国园林研究已有不同程度的涉略，其中以瑞典学者喜龙仁（Oswald Sirén, 1879-1966）和英国学者玛吉·凯瑟克（Maggie Keswick, 1941-1995）最为突出。一方面，柯律格不可避免地受到他们的影响；另一方面，柯律格开始思考艺术史并有意地摆脱此类写作范式的束缚，并以“物质文化”“视觉文化”研究视域予以审视，借鉴了美术史社会学研究及新艺术史运动的优秀成果，《蕴秀之域》即是一次成功的尝试。其三，以柯律格个人的学术研究经历来看。柯律格学生时代主攻中国语言及文学，此后又进入博物馆从事鉴赏工作，积累了对中国明代历史、文化和艺术的全方位认识。《长物》一书，打开了对明代艺术、物质文明史研究的大门，一跃而成为世纪之交学界研究“物质文化”“视觉文化”的旗帜性人物。在此基础上，《蕴秀之域》体现了柯氏博采众长、对艺术文化的敏感与关切，打破了西方文史学者旧有观念和固定认知。不仅在学术范式方面具有革新作用，使得在更广阔的领域中讨论，同时对一个近乎空白的领域起到了重要的填补作用，为接下来“物质文化”“视觉文化”的艺术研究拓宽了道路。

三、商榷和反思：作为“他者”的中国艺术史研究

二十世纪末期，新艺术史和新文化史风潮渐兴，“回归到物”“以物观史”成为聚焦热点，“视觉文化”“物质文化”研究进入更深致化的阶段。不仅在破除学科藩篱方面有所融通，“我者”和“他者”之间的隔阂有所弥合，同时亦是艺术社会史在研究对象或题材上的补充和开拓，故而成为我们管窥艺术史研究的重要渠道。二十世纪九十年代，柯律格所著《长物》《蕴秀之域》就是在这样的背景下横空出世的。柯律格的学术研究始终是持全球视野而贯彻谦卑开放、踏实进取的态度，自言其著作的阅读对象主要是面向英文读者“和迄今为止我的所有著作一样，它主要也是为西方听众而写的，面对的是英文读者”（柯律格，2019, p. 3），延续至二十一世纪的著述仍执守如初，在各个场合也都宣扬并希望自己切忌犯“向中国人解释中国文化”的错误。对此，我们或可认为柯氏对于自己的学术研究，具有一定的“保守”和“自卫”意识，某种程度上则也提醒我们在当前“自反性”的“后现代语境”中，中国艺术史汉学家们实际处于一个相对的“他者”位置。

就《蕴秀之域》而言，柯律格是将中国园林文化及其艺术史置于全球史整体视域中进行观照，将社会学、文化学和艺术史研究熔于一炉。一方面，宣告这不是中国所独有的，自然也不愿因受众的期待而持“东方主义立场”（Orientalism）；另一方面，坚称中国艺术史研究不应是西方的附庸，杜绝片面的“欧洲中心主义”（Eurocentrism）。柯氏在书中援引了西方文史学者的不少观点，同时又跳出既有的固定框架而进行自我批评，对学界既成的研究模式进行思考和重塑，给我们提供了一个可供借鉴的参照系。然而，借用“接受美学”的观点来看，考虑到作品创作完成之后“作者已

死”，因而我们读者（包括译者）依循阅读经验和审美趣味的“期待视野”，接受情况也就言人人殊。对于《蕴秀之域》一书的具体情况，虽不至于刻意地瑜中求瑕，但是据笔者管见，其中的确有一些值得商榷和不足之处，我们由此反思并正视其负面影响，或即所谓“正面的失望”。

其一，史料的选择与取舍，尚欠稳妥。如前所述，柯律格早年对中国语言及文学、史学的学术训练和研究经历，一方面，使他能够较为便利地搜集与阅读中国文献，在书中征引材料较为丰富多元；另一方面，表现在具体的引述中，或过度衍伸而随意解读史料、或偏向于简单叙述而浅尝辄止，甚至是存在“避重就轻”的嫌疑。柯律格在第一章“盈萃之庭”中曾谈及：“我认为应该继续反对为‘明代园林’这个词提供一个具体的定义，面对这样一个复杂多元的园林现象，我们应该避免那种所谓的寻求本质的研究方法。”因此，他在谋篇之初似已隐含设置一条主线，将明代园林置于江南地区空间领域中探讨，并寻求一些方法来呈现“园”这个范畴“在明代社会分类体系中所处的位置”。因而柯氏在第一章开篇即选择了他所较为熟悉的明代中期江南园林（以苏州拙政园为主），论述切入较为突兀而呈现断层式地脱离历史情境，似乎对明代前期园林文化及其相关史料“避而不见”。

柯律格在《长物》一书中曾指出，鉴赏文献在明末印刷风潮中盛行，文震亨《长物志》体现的不仅是文士对宅院私邸的向往，亦从侧面反映园林文化的复兴。基于此，《蕴秀之域》第三章属于个案分析，以文徵明其人及其相关著作（《甫田集》《文徵明集》《文氏五家集》）为始，结合《吴县志》《文氏族谱》等大量文献材料来考察“文氏园林”的具体情况和历史脉络。但是，在本章末却又另辟“公共景观”一小节，选取“祠堂”“牌坊”“桥梁”等标志性景观。管见以为，至此实则游离于本书主线之外，缺乏取舍而成“多余之笔”。第五章主要讨论“园林与数”的关系，在“堪輿（风水）与土地”一节中，柯氏指出文徵明及其作品（《王氏拙政园记》含有八卦方位称谓）、文震亨《长物志》“室庐”一章（频繁使用“忌”字）等，以此佐证其园林及造园思想受到堪輿学的影响，似乎缺乏说服力；对于认为计成《园冶》及其园址的选择受到风水师、堪輿色彩的影响，则亦属于错误观点。此外，本章在“测绘与地图”一节中论述明代“黄册”与土地产权及其观念的关系，姑且不论这一制度在明中期以后已消失殆尽，而本小节与其所宣称的将园林拓展至“更广阔的的田园景观上”，二者实则并不相关。

其二，部分立论略显草率，实证性不足。《蕴秀之域》与柯律格的其他著述一样，其突出贡献之一在于频现独到的立论和有待研究的新方向和新问题。与此同时，行文论述中往往也存在另一弊端，即书中常见“观点先行”，不加实证而蹈空推演。柯氏在第一章中，以东庄为例来说明园林具有一定的经济属性，颇具见识而让人眼前一亮。从沈周《东庄图册》所描绘的稻畦、果林和菜圃等来看，园林似有“供赡”之实用价值，体现了明中期一定的朴素造园思想。但是，柯氏进而认为拙政园亦“模仿农业生产”，并通过大量篇幅来论证其“生产潜力”“经济功能”，明显存有夸大的成分。笔者以为，文徵明《拙政园图咏》等诗文、绘画，主要属于名胜品题、寄情畅怀。柯氏虽然知晓晚明时期“园”的概念已发生了很大的变化，“这种特殊的人造物已经逐渐失去了生产资料、自然增长和天然孳息等与土地所有权相联系的正常内涵，而只是作为不正常的过度奢侈的消费品而存在”（柯律格，2021, p. 13）。但是，中国古代文士喜爱营造园林，放浪形骸、吟啸于其中，则主要归因于中国园林自诞生以来所具有的隐逸闲居属性和精神回归意义。总的来说，柯氏对于拙政园中的果树在苏州商品世界中所扮演的角色有所夸大，甚至认为“至迟到明代，中国所有主要的城市甚至县城都被园艺区所环绕”（柯律格，2021, p. 30）；又认为十六世纪苏州园林如此兴盛的原因，“在某种程度上归功于由于当时城市人口的缩减，园林内存在大量未开发或待开发的‘边缘土地’”（柯律格，2021, p. 38）。以上论断看似别出心裁，实则蹈空立论而以致于“以论代史”。

第二章“观赏性园林”首先引入苏州园林和皇家园林的关系，柯氏认为十六世纪在造园观念和景点布局上，前者主要借鉴后者，“人数虽少但声名显赫的苏州籍精英推动了京城皇家园林的复兴，他们对园林的建造、绘制和咏赞行为随即被江南地区所模仿，然后逐渐传遍整个帝国”（柯律格，2021, p. 47）。对此，柯氏举证文徵明在《王氏拙政园记》一文中列述景点，存在模仿李贤《赐游西苑记》的痕迹，又指出苏州园林借鉴和效法皇家园林与苏州籍高官王鏊密切相关。在第三章中又指出，文氏家族成员（文肇祉）曾做过“上林苑录事”一职，并且致仕回乡后营建园林，“这一事实很可能再次表明，皇家园林在模式和设计灵感上都对苏州园林文化产生了重要影响”（柯律格，2021, p. 95）。综上，虽然柯律格看到了其中的微观联系，但是有明一代苏州园林和皇家园林的承继与效仿关系，前、后时期并非仅仅呈现“单向化”的影响与受容。管见以为，嘉靖、万历年间，北京作为政治中心，经济、文化相对繁荣，宗教思想融合影响和各类游赏活动的风靡推动，造园之风在某种程度上甚至超过苏州地区。薛冈《天爵堂笔余》载：“北土名园，莫多于都下（北京）；南中名园，莫盛于西湖。”¹由此可知，北京与杭州俨然是当时北方、南方的园林文化中心。沈德符《万历野获编》描绘京师：“嘉靖末年，海内宴安。士大夫富厚者，以治园亭、教歌舞之隙，间及古玩。”²皇家园林（北京）与苏州园林在造园观念与景点布局方面，实则主要还与国家政治管理、区域地理环境以及社会审美风尚嬗变等桴鼓相应。对于中国园林史研究，柯律格似乎带有一定价值色彩的前提预设，因而偏向于“立论先行”而止于浮光掠影。

其三，关于中国园林文化研究的技术观念与思想品格，总体上值得重塑与反思。结合社会学、文化史角度，柯律格着重强调了明代园林在社会网络中所扮演的角色作用（以经济、政治功能为主）、园主的身份属性和地位以及园林美学的衰盛递迁，其见识识别开生面，令人耳目一新。然而，对于园林的真正属性以及“园林学”的研究取径，柯氏的理解应当是有一定的误差（甚至是根本性的）。因为有明一代无论是东庄、拙政园，抑或是文氏园林，私家（宅邸）园林首先是作为府邸宅园之居所，其次主要是供怡情养性、隐逸幽思和游宴雅集。对于园林的构成要素（如稻畦、菜田、果圃、园池等），柯律格存在片面夸大经济实用功能之嫌而相对忽视其他审美因素；对于园林文本的援引与解读，柯氏亦未能有效遵循“研究中国园林，似应先从中国诗文入手”（陈从周，1999, p. 200），故而未能深入触及中国文人精神和审美文化的内核。此外，对于造园之风、营建理念与社会审美风尚的动态关系，柯氏对此亦未充分论证，给人一种“终隔一层”之感。柯律格极力反对以“抽象的本质”取代“活泼泼的变化过程”，与此同时，似乎又对中国园林文化本质置若罔闻。综上，柯律格的这类研究理路和学术范式并非无懈可击，如若没有贯注正确合理的技术观念和思想品格，不仅处于论述“单薄化”和“立论先行”的风险之中，其学术成果的最终成就亦会大打折扣。

要言之，以上所列几点“微瑕”，或由于“他者”语境的一定局限，或出于对最新文化理论（“以空间代替时间”）提出异议所做出的初步尝试，抑或是归因于“翻译即叛逆”的陌生化弊端，总体上仍无损于《蕴秀之域》是一部开创性的“白璧”之作。柯律格主动探索中国明代园林文化，以跨文化、跨学科视阈等开展“物质文化”“视觉文化”研究的学术构想，显现出前瞻性的洞见、深刻的问题意识与开阔的历史想象，造就《蕴秀之域》成为二十世纪末期艺术史、园林史领域内的“殿军”地位。

¹ [明]薛冈《天爵堂笔余》，清顺治三年李际期宛委山堂刻本。

² [明]沈德符《万历野获编》卷二六，清道光七年姚氏刻同治八年补修本。

结语

二十一世纪以来，海外有关中国古典园林的研究著述，纷纷被翻译介绍至国内。本文基于对柯律格《蕴秀之域》的考察，旨在说明对当代世界研究中国艺术史、园林文化（尤其是对明代）的贡献和影响，兼及考察书中相关不足之处，期冀客观辩证地评介这部经典著作。《蕴秀之域》赓续了《长物》的研究经验和学术旨趣，善于征引挖掘史料、熟稔解读园林文本，深度解剖明代园林的多重内涵及其在社会网络中所扮演的重要角色，贯注于其中独特新颖的研究视阈、方法、观念和问题意识，将艺术史研究置于更广阔的学术领域中被讨论，亦使其在社会文化史和历史领域中受到重视，在研究理路和学术范式方面具有肇造和革新之功；与此同时，也为东、西方艺术史学界提供了富有启示性和前瞻性的助益之力，彰显了“隔岸花分一脉香”的共通特点。

但是，这并不意味着我们应盲目追捧中国艺术史汉学家们；相反地，我们更应从多个层面来辩证对待、合理审视作为“他者”的文化艺术史研究。一方面，海外汉学家、艺术史家们有着作为“他者”视野的旁观优势，所谓“它山之石，可以攻玉”，可以从不同角度、不同领域综合管窥中国艺术和园林文化，为我们提供了一种可资比较的参照坐标，同时激醒“身在此山中”之人的正冠与自省意识。另一方面，“他者”研究并非完美无瑕，在征引、解读文献和运用方法论等方面往往存在缺憾，亦缺乏东方本土的地域和文化背景的根本条件。我们如何做到对待“求异于他者”的客观性，如何跳脱“我者”的文明“优越论”和因循守旧的既定模式等，或许将会是吾辈学人今后思考和研究的重要课题。鉴于此，笔者以为，无论何时我们都应坚守中华文化立场，立足当代中国现实，与海外汉学圈真实对话、互助交流，为最终构建具有中国特色的哲学社会科学理论体系和话语体系而不懈努力。

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ORCID

Xing Yunlong ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-5104-7315>

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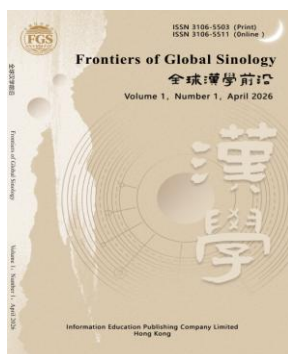
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A Civilizational Dialogue across Mountains and Seas: A Review of Professor Zhang Xiping's *Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*

Huang Wanhua, Zhang Lianqiao

Abstract: Zhang Xiping, a professor at Beijing Foreign Studies University, a specially-appointed professor at Beijing Language and Culture University, and a doctoral supervisor, is the honorary chief editor of “International Sinology”. His research mainly focuses on the history of Sino-Western cultural exchanges, the study of early Western Sinology, and the overseas dissemination of Chinese culture. He has authored several books, including *An Introduction to the Research on the Dissemination and Influence of Ancient Chinese Cultural Classics Abroad in the 20th Century*, *Wandering Between Chinese and Western Cultures: A Self-Selected Collection of Academic Works by Zhang Xiping*, *Interwoven Cultural History: A Draft History of Early Missionary Sinology Studies*, *An Introduction to the Study of the Westward Spread of Confucianism in Europe: The Trajectory and Impact of the Spread of Chinese Learning in the 16th-18th Centuries*, and *Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*. Professor Zhang Xiping's book *Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges* uses solid historical materials and a broad perspective to restore the life of Benoît de Joinville, a messenger traveling between the two civilizations, and also provides a vivid sample for understanding the early cultural interaction between China and the West.

Keywords: Dialogue of civilizations; Sino-Western cultural exchange; *Benoît de Joinville*; *Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*

Author Biographies: **Huang Wanhua**, Postgraduate Student, School of Humanities, Guangzhou University. Research Direction: Subject Teaching (Chinese). E-mail: 2670057823@qq.com. **Zhang Lianqiao** (Corresponding Author), Professor and Doctoral Supervisor, School of Humanities, Guangzhou University. Research Directions: Comparative Literature and World Literature, Cross-cultural Studies. E-mail: zhanglianqiao@gzhu.edu.cn.

标题: 跨越山海的文明对话——评张西平教授《白晋：中西文化交流的使者》

摘要: 张西平，北京外国语大学教授、北京语言大学特聘教授、博士生导师、《国际汉学》名誉主编，主要从事中西文化交流史、西方早期汉学研究与中国文化海外传播研究，著有《20 世纪中国古代文化典籍在域外的传播与影响研究导论》《游走于中西文化之间：张西平学术自选集》《交错的文化史：早期传教士汉学研究史稿》《儒学西传欧洲研究导论：16-18 世纪中学西传的轨迹与影响》《白晋：中西文化交流的使者》等。张西平教授所著的《白晋：中西文化交流的使者》以扎实的史料与开阔的视野，为我们还原了白晋这位行走在两个文明之间的使者的一生，也为理解早期中西文化互动提供了鲜活的样本。

关键词: 文明对话；中西文化交流；白晋；《白晋：中西文化交流的使者》

作者简介: 黄婉华，广州大学人文学院硕士研究生，研究方向：学科教学（语文），电邮：2670057823@qq.com。张连桥（通讯作者），广州大学人文学院教授，博士生导师，研究方向：比较文学与世界文学、跨文化研究，电邮：zhanglianqiao@gzhu.edu.cn。

When we look back at the history of cultural exchanges between China and the West during the 16th to 18th centuries, the Jesuits are an indispensable key group. They initially came to China with the intention of spreading religion, but inadvertently became the bridge for dialogue between Eastern and Western civilizations. They established a cross-cultural exchange and mutual learning platform in fields such as astronomy, mathematics, medicine, philosophy, and the study of the I Ching. Among them, Jean-François Gerbillon (Benoît de Joinville, 1656-1730) is undoubtedly a key figure who cannot be ignored. Gerbillon, a French Jesuit sent to China by King Louis XIV of France, spent nearly 42 years in China and became a crucial bridge for communication between Eastern and Western civilizations. He not only imparted Western scientific knowledge such as mathematics, medicine, and astronomy to Emperor Kangxi, but also delved into Chinese classics and systematically introduced the I Ching and other Confucian thoughts to Europe, promoting the westward spread of Chinese culture. He also engaged in cross-cultural dialogues with European Enlightenment thinkers like Leibniz, making him a representative figure of milestone significance in the history of cultural exchanges between China and Europe.

For a long time, academic research on the history of cultural exchanges between China and the West has mostly focused on the macro and institutional levels. Although there have been accumulations of detailed studies on individual figures, they often suffer from fragmentation and one-sidedness, making it difficult to

fully present the unique value of individuals in the dialogue between Chinese and Western civilizations. Professor Zhang Xiping has been deeply engaged in the study of Sino-Western cultural exchanges for decades, always adhering to a global historical perspective and an interdisciplinary approach to examining history. His previous publication, *“A History of Sino-European Cultural Exchanges”* (2016), has established an overall framework for the two-way interaction between Chinese and European civilizations during the 16th to 18th centuries. The new book *“Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges”* (The Commercial Press, 2026), published by The Commercial Press on January 1, 2026, is an extension and deepening of this research line.

“Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges” adopts a grand global historical perspective, rigorous textual research, and a profound sense of intercultural dialogue to systematically sort out Gerbillon’s life trajectory, academic practice, and cultural influence, filling many gaps in Gerbillon’s specialized research. It showcases Gerbillon’s outstanding contributions as a “bridge messenger” between Chinese and Western civilizations and the complex picture of the interaction between Chinese and Western civilizations during the 16th to 18th centuries. As the World Center for Sinology commented on the book, “This book conducts a comprehensive and in-depth study of Gerbillon, revealing the panorama of Sino-Western cultural exchanges during the 16th to 18th centuries through the case study of Gerbillon, and demonstrating the global significance of Chinese civilization.”¹ The book is over a million words long. Apart from the “Introduction”, “Conclusion”, “Postscript”, and appendices, it uses a broad scope of 21 chapters to systematically sort out Gerbillon’s life trajectory and cultural practice, presenting a complete picture of a cross-cultural messenger in the collision and integration of civilizations, and providing a highly in-depth historical reference for contemporary studies on cultural exchanges.

1. Reconstructing a Complete Picture of Joachim Bouvet’s Research

Academic research on Joachim Bouvet can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when Western Sinology and the history of the Chinese church were emerging fields. Early studies mainly focused on Bouvet’s biographical details, his activities in China, and his interactions with Emperor Kangxi. The sources of these studies were mostly Western church archives and missionaries’ letters, lacking a systematic examination of his thoughts and academic practices. In the middle and late 20th century, with the rise of research on Sino-Western cultural exchanges, Bouvet gradually became a focus of academic attention. Scholars began to pay attention to his contributions in *the translation of Euclid’s Elements*, the dissemination of Western medicine, and the study of the *I Ching*. The discovery of Bouvet’s *I Ching* manuscript in the Vatican Library further advanced the study of his *I Ching* research. However, overall, existing research still has significant limitations: first, studies are mostly concentrated on a single academic field or a specific period of his life, lacking an overall view of his complete life trajectory and ideological system; second, the use of historical materials is mostly limited to a single language, and the systematic integration and cross-verification

¹ Retrieved from the internet, CCTSS (March 12, 2026): “World Center for Sinology Academic Achievement Update | Professor Zhang Xiping’s New Book Published”, Retrieved from: <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/y3CWoG570f8-kOVI3jQ9BA>.

of multi-language materials such as Chinese, Latin, and French are relatively weak, leading to one-sided evaluations and even being confined to the unidirectional narrative framework of “Western learning spreading to the East” or “Chinese learning spreading to the West”, which has fragmented the bidirectional and holistic nature of his cross-cultural practices and thus restricted the complete construction of the overall academic picture of Bouvet’s research.

Professor Zhang Xiping’s *Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges* aims to reconstruct a complete picture of Bouvet’s research. This book, based on breaking through the limitations of existing research, has achieved a comprehensive advancement in Bouvet’s research. The book takes time as the vertical axis and fields as the horizontal axis, placing Bouvet’s life and academic practices in the macro context of Sino-Western cultural exchanges from the 16th to the 18th century. It systematically reviews his entire journey from coming to China from France, serving in the imperial court, being sent to France, getting involved in the Rites Controversy, delving into I Ching research, and participating in the Qianlong’s Secret History group. At the same time, it conducts detailed examinations and in-depth analyses of his contributions in mathematics, medicine, geography, Sinology, and I Ching studies, truly achieving the research goal of “using a person to lead the history” and “using history to explain the person”. More importantly, the book breaks the binary opposition narrative of “Western learning spreading to the East” and “Chinese learning spreading to the West”, highlighting that Bouvet’s practical research was always bidirectional. He not only introduced Western science and religious thought to China but also brought Chinese culture and wisdom to Europe. This bidirectional interaction is the core feature of Sino-Western civilization exchanges from the 16th to the 18th century.

As typical examples shown in the book, during the Kangxi era in the imperial court, Bouvet systematically introduced Western geometry, anatomy, and surveying techniques, participated in *the translation of Euclid’s Elements*, the dissemination of Western medicine, and the drawing of the “*Comprehensive Map of the Empire*”, promoting the rooting of Western scientific knowledge in the Chinese imperial court. The book clearly records that Bouvet, in collaboration with fellow French Jesuit Jean-François Gerbillon, translated *Euclid’s Elements* into Manchu and Chinese based on the French mathematician Baudet’s “*Practical and Theoretical Geometry*”, with the entire process receiving the personal participation and guidance of Emperor Kangxi. Kangxi not only carefully read the translation drafts and wrote his own comments in red ink but also ordered the relevant translation drafts to be compiled into “*The Essence of Mathematics and Physics*”, making it an important text for the dissemination of Western mathematics in the Qing imperial court and a typical practice of “Western learning spreading to the East”. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 29)

In terms of the dissemination of Western medicine, the book meticulously reviews the historical fact that Emperor Kangxi contracted malaria in 1693 and was unable to recover despite prolonged treatment. Bai Jin and Zhang Cheng jointly presented quinine to the emperor. After it was tested by court officials without any adverse effects, it was administered to Emperor Kangxi, who eventually recovered. Subsequently, Bai Jin wrote a lecture on human anatomy in Manchu, citing the latest research results from the French Royal

Academy of Sciences, systematically introducing Western anatomy to Emperor Kangxi. He also participated in the compilation of “*Complete Record of the Human Body*” and “*Western Medical Book*”, introducing Western pharmacological theories and treatment methods to the Qing court, filling the gap in the understanding of Western medicine in China at that time. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 43) In the mapping project of “*Comprehensive Map of the Empire*”, the book, after thorough research, points out that Bai Jin, as a core member, was ordered by Emperor Kangxi to collaborate with missionaries such as Le Comte and Dominique Parrenin. They spent over a decade traveling throughout China, using modern Western surveying techniques to conduct systematic field surveys. They first completed the mapping of the Beijing area and gradually expanded to the frontier regions, finally completing the compilation of the map in 1718. “*Comprehensive Map of the Empire*” was not only the first national map in Chinese history to be drawn using scientific surveying methods, representing the highest level of map-making in East Asia at that time, but also provided important geographical basis for the Qing central government’s territorial governance and border control, highlighting the significant role of Bai Jin in promoting the eastward transmission of Western geographic surveying technology. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 442)

In fact, Professor Zhang Xiping, in his book “*The Early History of Sinology in Europe: Sino-Western Cultural Exchange and the Rise of Western Sinology*”, had already dedicated a chapter to the sixteen I Ching manuscripts of Bai Jin stored in the Vatican Library, meticulously examining the ideological context of his works such as “*The True Meaning of Heavenly Learning*” and “*Inner Chapters of the Original Meaning of the I Ching*”, providing solid textual support for interpreting Bai Jin’s method of seeking hidden meanings and the communication between Chinese and Western thought. (Zhang Xiping, 2009, p. 189) Additionally, his article “*A Dialogue between Chinese and Western Cultures: The I Ching Research of the Early Qing Missionaries*” further elaborated on the intrinsic connection between Bai Jin’s I Ching research and the Rites Controversy, clearly revealing the practical logic and ideological core of Bai Jin’s efforts to maintain cultural dialogue and resolve cultural barriers in a cross-cultural conflict context. (Zhang Xiping, 2006, p. 74)

What is even more notable is that in “*Leibniz and Bai Jin’s Discussion on Binary and the I Ching*”, Professor Zhang Xiping analyzed through specific cases the specific path by which Bai Jin transmitted Chinese I Ching thought to Europe and influenced Western academic development, confirming the practical effectiveness of “Sinology in the West”. It is precisely this kind of practice that does not lean towards one end or one domain that enabled Bai Jin to transcend the identity of a mere missionary or technical expert and become a true cultural envoy shuttling between the two great civilizations of China and Europe. (Zhang Xiping, 2020, p. 5) Through meticulous examination and in-depth interpretation of these key events and academic activities, Professor Zhang Xiping vividly presents the complex picture of the 16th to 18th centuries where Chinese and Western civilizations were not unidirectional transmissions but rather mutual illumination, mutual interpretation, and mutual integration. This has more successfully reconstructed a complete picture of Bai Jin’s research and transformed the abstract concept of “cultural exchange” into a tangible historical reality. This core viewpoint is also consistently present in “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*”, constructing a complete academic framework for the study of Sino-Western cultural exchange and providing a new model and reference for subsequent research on Bai Jin and Sino-Western cultural exchange.

2. The Value and Implications of “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*” for Sino-Western Cultural Exchange

Professor Zhang Xiping’s “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*”, guided by a global historical perspective, supported by a multi-disciplinary approach and cross-verification of multi-language historical materials, not only systematically reconstructs the complete academic picture of Benoit de Montequin’s research, but also, through a detailed examination and in-depth analysis of his cross-cultural practices, profoundly dissects the internal mechanisms and core characteristics of Sino-Western cultural exchange in the 16th to 18th centuries, providing a valuable historical mirror and practical guidance for contemporary Sino-Western cultural interaction. The academic and practical value of this book runs through the historical process and contemporary context of Sino-Western civilization mutual learning, all of which can be fully supported by numerous verifiable specific cases in the book.

2.1 The Value of “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*” for Sino-Western Cultural Exchange

Professor Zhang Xiping’s “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*” is not only a systematic personal biography of Benoit de Montequin’s academic career, but also an academic masterpiece that re-examines the overall pattern of Sino-Western cultural exchange in the 16th to 18th centuries from an individual perspective. Guided by a global historical perspective, using a multi-disciplinary approach, and supported by cross-verification of multi-language historical materials, the book systematically restores the complete trajectory of Benoit de Montequin’s travels between the two major civilizations of China and the West and his practice of two-way communication and mutual learning. It has irreplaceable academic value and practical guiding significance for deepening research in the field of Sino-Western cultural exchange history and promoting contemporary civilizational dialogue and mutual learning.

Firstly, the primary value of this book for the study of Sino-Western cultural exchange lies in its use of a global historical perspective to break away from isolated narratives of civilizations and restore the true picture of two-way mutual learning between Chinese and Western cultures. This is one of the most pioneering contributions of the work. Professor Zhang Xiping has always adhered to a global historical perspective in examining the history of Sino-Western cultural exchange, resolutely rejecting the one-sided biases of “Western centrism” and “Chinese centrism”. He places Benoit de Montequin’s cross-cultural practices within the overall historical process of the 16th to 18th centuries, paying attention not only to the impact of his “Western learning spreading to the East” on Chinese society but also to the nourishment of his “Chinese learning spreading to the West” on European civilization. This two-way perspective frees the study of Sino-Western cultural exchange from the limitations of a single civilizational perspective.

The book clearly records that while Benoit de Montequin introduced Western science and technology in the Qing court during the Kangxi era, he also kept a close eye on the development of the European Enlightenment. He systematically sent his research results on the “*I Ching*”, the political system and social customs of the Kangxi era back to Europe, and engaged in long-term correspondence with the German philosopher Leibniz, elaborating on the connection between the Fuxi’s Eight Trigrams and binary theory. It

was this inspiration that led Leibniz to further refine the theory of binary. This case is highlighted in the book as a core example of “Chinese learning spreading to the West” promoting the development of Western academia. (Zhang Xiping, 2020, p. 5) At the same time, the book meticulously documents Benoit de Montequin’s specific practices of introducing Western science to China. For instance, he and Zhang Cheng jointly translated “*Elements of Geometry*”, using the work of the French mathematician Baudry as the base text and making adjustments to meet the academic needs of the Qing court, with the entire process guided by Emperor Kangxi. The translation was eventually included in “*Essentials of Mathematics*”, becoming a core text for the dissemination of Western mathematics in the Qing court and facilitating the systematic spread of Western mathematical knowledge in China. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 27) In the field of cartography, Benoit de Montequin, as a core participant, worked with missionaries such as Jean-Baptiste Regis to use Western cartographic techniques to complete the mapping and compilation of the “*Complete Map of the Empire*” over a period of more than ten years. This project not only introduced advanced Western geographic measurement methods but also improved the mapping system in line with the actual territory of China, becoming a typical example of the integration of Sino-Western scientific and cultural exchanges. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 447) This research perspective, which combines Bai Jin’s cross-cultural practice with the European Enlightenment and the academic demands of the Qing court, clearly reveals that the interaction between Chinese and Western civilizations during the 16th to 18th centuries was not a one-way transmission but a two-way mutual learning process where both influenced and complemented each other. It provides a brand-new global perspective for the study of Sino-Western cultural exchanges.

Secondly, the book adopts a rigorous research method of cross-verifying multi-language historical materials, which solidifies the historical material foundation for the study of Sino-Western cultural exchanges, restores the true details of Bai Jin’s cross-cultural practice, and provides solid documentary support for related field research. It also highlights the academic rigor of the work itself. Professor Zhang Xiping extensively collected and integrated rare historical materials in Chinese, Latin, French, and other languages. Many of these materials were systematically sorted and utilized for the first time. Through the cross-verification and cross-checking of multi-language historical materials, it overcame the one-sided interpretation dilemma caused by the singularity of historical materials in existing research, enabling the historical details of Sino-Western cultural exchanges to be truly restored.

For example, when verifying Bai Jin’s research on the I Ching, the book not only used Chinese historical materials to sort out the academic interaction between Bai Jin and Emperor Kangxi around the *I Ching*, but also utilized Latin and French manuscripts from the Vatican Library to meticulously examine the compilation background and ideological context of documents such as “*The Meaning of Heavenly Learning*” and “*The Key to the I Ching*”, clarifying the complete process of Bai Jin’s research on the I Ching and correcting the one-sided interpretation of his allegorical thinking in previous studies (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 329). When verifying Bai Jin’s mission to France, the book combined French royal archives (in French), letters from Bai Jin to the Roman Church (in Latin), and Qing court archives (in Manchu and Chinese), restoring the specific process of Bai Jin’s mission to France as an envoy of Emperor Kangxi, clearly sorting out the details of his

introduction of Chinese culture to the French royal family and scholars and his return of Western scientific achievements, confirming his “East-to-West transmission of Chinese learning” and “West-to-East transmission of Western learning” two-way practice; when verifying the connection between Bai Jin and the Rites Controversy, the book integrated Western church archives, missionary letters, and Qing court documents, detailing Bai Jin’s stance and practice during the Rites Controversy, truly restoring his communication process of seeking a balance between upholding the core of Christian faith and respecting Chinese ritual traditions, highlighting the important value of “mutual understanding” in the context of cross-cultural conflicts. This method of cross-verifying multi-language historical materials not only makes the conclusions of the book more solid and reliable but also fills the gap in historical materials for the study of Sino-Western cultural exchanges, providing important historical material references for subsequent research on Sino-Western cultural exchanges.

2.2 The Implications of “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*” for Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges

The book “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*” provides profound practical implications for contemporary Sino-Western cultural exchanges. Professor Zhang Xiping, through a detailed sorting and in-depth interpretation of Bai Jin’s cross-cultural practice, has transformed the historical experience of this cultural messenger from over 300 years ago into an actionable guide for contemporary cultural dialogue. The three core principles of equality and respect, cultural adaptation, and two-way mutual learning presented in the book are all supported by concrete historical cases, fully demonstrating the important guiding significance of historical practice for promoting contemporary cultural dialogue.

Firstly, the premise of Sino-Western cultural exchanges is equality and respect, which is the core prerequisite for Bai Jin to build a communication bridge between Chinese and Western civilizations and is also an important concept emphasized in “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*”. The book clearly records that as a “King’s Mathematician” sent to China by King Louis XIV of France, Bai Jin always rejected the prevalent “Western civilization superiority” bias in Western society at that time. He did not promote religious dissemination in a condescending manner nor force Western science and culture as “universal truths” upon others. Instead, he treated Chinese traditional culture with an equal perspective, actively integrated into Chinese society, and learned Chinese culture. To facilitate better communication, Bai Jin spent a considerable amount of time learning Chinese and Manchu, delving deeply into Chinese classics such as the *I Ching* and the *Analects of Confucius*, and even voluntarily adapting to Chinese customs and etiquette, engaging in equal dialogue and academic exchanges with Emperor Kangxi, Qing officials, and scholars. The book provides detailed accounts of the numerous academic discussions between Bai Jin and Emperor Kangxi on the principles of the *I Ching* and mathematical problems. They were on an equal footing, with only the exchange and collision of academic viewpoints. Emperor Kangxi listened attentively to Bai Jin’s interpretations of Western science and religious thought, and Bai Jin humbly accepted Kangxi’s explanations of the *I Ching*. This attitude of equal dialogue enabled the smooth introduction of Western science to China and also allowed Bai Jin to systematically organize and disseminate Chinese culture

to Europe. Meanwhile, Bai Jin remained steadfast in his religious beliefs and cultural roots, not blindly adhering to or abandoning his core convictions due to adaptation to Chinese culture. He respected the traditional Chinese rituals of ancestor worship and reverence for Confucius, clearly explaining to the Roman Church that these were not religious worship but important customs for maintaining social ethics in China. He also firmly held onto the core beliefs of Christianity, attempting to bridge the gap between Chinese and Western religious thoughts through allegorical methods rather than unilateral compromise. This unassuming and equal attitude is precisely what is needed in contemporary Sino-Western cultural exchanges.

In the context of globalization, there is no hierarchy among different civilizations. Only by discarding the “civilization superiority complex” and “cultural inferiority complex”, and treating each other’s cultures with respect and equality, respecting the development paths and value systems of different civilizations, can cultural barriers be broken down and a relationship of mutual trust be established, laying a solid foundation for Sino-Western cultural exchanges.

Secondly, the key to Sino-Western cultural exchanges lies in cultural adaptation. The cultural adaptation strategies practiced by Bai Jin in cross-cultural exchanges are detailed in the book “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*”, providing valuable practical references for contemporary Sino-Western cultural exchanges. The book points out that the core of cultural exchange is “effective communication”, and the prerequisite for effective communication is to learn to interpret one’s own culture and convey core values using the language system and communication methods that the other party can understand, and to abandon the limitations of “cultural chauvinism” to achieve precise cultural dissemination. This is vividly demonstrated in Bai Jin’s practice. During the process of “Western learning spreading to the East”, Bai Jin deeply realized that for Western science and religious thought to be accepted by the Chinese court and the people, they must be adapted to the Chinese cultural context and actual needs rather than being transplanted mechanically. Therefore, he wrote lecture notes on human anatomy and Western mathematics in Manchu, avoiding the use of obscure Latin terms, and combined the academic needs of the Qing court to popularize and localize Western scientific knowledge, making it easy for Emperor Kangxi and court officials to understand. When disseminating Western medical knowledge, he did not merely emphasize the superiority of Western medicine but combined traditional Chinese medical knowledge to interpret Western pharmacological theories and treatment methods. When participating in the compilation of “*Complete Record of the Human Body*” and “*Western Medical Book*”, he took into account the characteristics of both Chinese and Western medicine, allowing Western medical knowledge to be integrated into the traditional Chinese medical system and widely accepted. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 45)

In the process of “Eastern learning spreading to the West”, Bai Jin also paid attention to cultural adaptation. He did not simply translate and introduce Chinese classics such as the *I Ching* and the *Analects of Confucius* directly to Europe but adapted their explanations to the academic context and ideological demands of Europe at that time. He combined the Fuxi’s Eight Trigrams in the *I Ching* with Western binary and Christian doctrines, explaining the core connotations of Chinese *I Ching* thought in a language that European scholars could understand. In his correspondence with Leibniz, he precisely met the demands of the

development of European philosophy and science, focusing on expounding the value of Chinese Yi (I Ching) thought for Western academia. This eventually sparked widespread attention to Chinese culture in the European intellectual circle, igniting the “China Fever” in 18th-century Europe and facilitating the in-depth dissemination of Chinese culture in Europe.

The detailed account of Bai Jin’s practices in this book provides significant inspiration for contemporary Sino-Western cultural exchanges: Sino-Western cultural exchanges should abandon the “self-centered” communication model, deeply study the cultural context, value concepts, and acceptance habits of the other party, learn to “put oneself in the other's shoes”, and disseminate one’s own culture in a way that is appealing to the other party; at the same time, actively adapt to the cultural atmosphere of the other party, and under the premise of adhering to one’s own cultural core, achieve effective adaptation of cultural dissemination. Only in this way can the barriers of language and culture be broken, and more smooth and efficient communication between different civilizations be promoted.

Finally, the core of Sino-Western cultural exchanges is mutual learning, which is the core concept conveyed in the book “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*”, and also a true reflection of Bai Jin’s life-long cross-cultural practices, and provides a direction for contemporary Sino-Western cultural exchanges. Through numerous cases in the book, it is proven that cultural exchanges are never one-way “input” or “output”, but rather two-way “mutual learning and mutual complementation”, and only by adhering to two-way interaction can the common development of different civilizations be achieved. This is fully demonstrated in Bai Jin’s two-way practices of “Western learning spreading to the East” and “Chinese learning spreading to the West”.

In terms of “Western learning spreading to the East”, as a core promoter, Bai Jin systematically introduced advanced Western science and technology and religious ideas to China: His translation of “*Elements of Geometry*” with Zhang Cheng filled the gap in the systematic dissemination of Western mathematics in the Qing Dynasty, promoting the integration of traditional Chinese mathematics and Western mathematics and providing new ideas for mathematical research in the Qing Dynasty. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 29) The cinchona bark he presented cured Emperor Kangxi’s malaria, promoting the spread of Western medical knowledge in the Qing court and filling the gap in China’s understanding of Western medicine at that time. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 51) The “*Comprehensive Map of the Empire*” he participated in drawing introduced advanced Western surveying techniques, combined with the actual situation of China’s territory to improve the surveying system, and became an important basis for the governance of the Qing Dynasty’s territory, also promoting the development of Chinese geography. (Zhang Xiping, 2026, p. 447)

In terms of “Chinese learning spreading to the West”, Bai Jin also made irreplaceable contributions. For example, he systematically introduced the research results of Chinese Confucian classics such as the “*I Ching*” to Europe, and his collated Yi (I Ching) manuscripts were widely studied by European scholars, injecting important Eastern ideological nutrients into the European Enlightenment; his works such as “*The Life of Emperor Kangxi*” and “*The Current Situation of the Chinese Empire*” systematically introduced China’s political system, social customs, and cultural traditions to Europe, triggering the “China Fever” in Europe and

influencing the ideological concepts of Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire and Leibniz; his academic discussions with Leibniz on binary and the “*I Ching*” promoted the cross-border integration of Chinese Yi (I Ching) thought and Western science, providing a new perspective for the development of Western science.

The detailed explanation of Bai Jin’s two-way practices in this book profoundly reveals the essence of “cultural mutual learning”: Different civilizations each have their own advantages, and only through mutual learning and mutual borrowing can they achieve complementary advantages and common progress. Currently, Sino-Western cultural interaction and exchange are facing many new opportunities and challenges. We should not only actively introduce advanced Western science and technology and ideological concepts to inject new impetus into our own development, but also actively promote the spread of China’s excellent traditional culture to the world, allowing the wisdom and unique value of Chinese culture to be recognized by the international community. At the same time, in the process of cross-cultural communication, the principles of respecting differences and embracing diversity should be adhered to, with mutual learning as the path, to resolve cultural barriers and conflicts, and to build a consensus on civilization, thereby promoting the establishment of an equal, mutually learning, dialogic and inclusive relationship between civilizations, and facilitating the coexistence, co-prosperity and common development of different civilizations.

In summary, Professor Zhang Xiping’s book “*Benoît de Joinville: A Messenger of Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges*” takes the Sino-Western cultural exchange from the 16th to the 18th century as the macro background, and Benoit de Boissy’s cross-cultural practice as the core case. Relying on the mutual verification and comparison of rare historical materials in Chinese, Latin, French and other languages, it systematically reconstructs the complete life trajectory and academic thought system of Benoit de Boissy, filling the fragmented limitations of existing research on him. It provides a new academic perspective and methodological demonstration for the study of the history of Sino-Western cultural exchange, and has significant academic value and practical significance.

This book breaks through the long-standing binary opposition narrative of “Western learning spreading to the East” and “Chinese learning spreading to the West” in the study of Sino-Western cultural exchanges. It takes “mutual learning and reference” as its core logic and meticulously examines the dual practices of Jean-François Gerbillon in the eastward transmission of Western science and the westward transmission of Chinese culture. For instance, his collaboration with Joachim Bouvet in translating Euclid’s *Elements*, his participation in the compilation of the *Complete Map of the Empire*, and his efforts to disseminate Western medicine promoted the introduction and dissemination of advanced Western science and technology in the Qing court, enriching the traditional Chinese academic and cultural system. Another example is his in-depth study of the *I Ching*, his writing of Sinology works, and his academic dialogue with Leibniz, which systematically introduced Chinese Confucian classics, philosophical thoughts, and political systems to Europe, providing important Eastern intellectual nourishment for the European Enlightenment. It clearly presents the dynamic historical picture of mutual reflection, interpretation, and integration of Chinese and Western civilizations from the 16th to the 18th century.

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ORCID

Huang Wanhua ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-3084-7996>

Zhang Lianqiao ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1199-4840>

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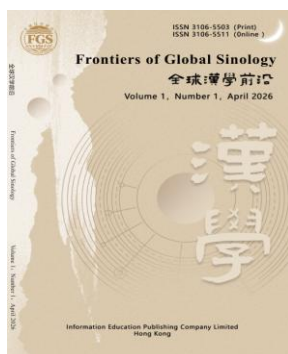
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The Construction of Chinese Variants from a Global Perspective— A Review of Wang Xiaomei’s “*Research on Malaysian Chinese from the Perspective of Global Chinese: Theory, Methodology and Practice*”

Li Jingxia

Abstract: Language is an important carrier of cultural exchange and identity. In the wave of globalization, the specific concept of “global Chinese” is derived from the core of “Chinese,” which shows that the Chinese variant from the perspective of global Chinese has become a new direction in the field of Chinese research. However, there are still many gaps in the study of global Chinese in specific regions under the macro background. Malaysian Chinese research is one of them, which has important historical and social value. However, the academic research related to it started relatively late, and there has been a lack of overall perspective of global Chinese for a long time. Wang Xiaomei’s study of *Malaysian Chinese from the perspective of global Chinese : theory, method and practice* takes global Chinese as the entry point, and combs the relevant research of Malaysian Chinese into three parts : theory, method and practice, which not only fills the academic gap in this field, but also provides an important theoretical reference and practical case for the deepening of global Chinese research and the study of regional variants of Chinese.

Keywords: Chinese variant; global vision; global Chinese Studies; malaysian Chinese

Author Biography: Li Jingxia, a master's student at the School of Humanities, Guangzhou University, specializes in subject teaching (Chinese Language). E-mail: 1411491895@qq.com.

标题: 全球视野下华语变体的建构——评王晓梅著《全球华语视角下的马来西亚华语研究：理论、方法与实践》

摘要: 语言是文化交流与身份认同的重要载体。全球化浪潮里，以“华语”为核心衍生出“全球华语”这一特定概念，而这说明全球华语视角下的华语变体成为华语研究领域中的新兴方向。然而，在宏观背景之下特定区域的全球华语研究还存在诸多空白，马来西亚华语研究便是其中之一，其本具有重要的历史和社会价值，但与之有关的学术研究起步相对较晚，同时长期以来缺乏全球华语的整体视角来统筹。王晓梅所著的《全球华语视角下的马来西亚华语研究：理论、方法与实践》以全球华语为切入口，把马来西亚华语的相关研究梳理成理论、方法、实践三篇，不仅填补了该领域的学术空白，还为全球华语研究的深化和华语地域变体研究提供了重要的理论参考与实践案例。

关键词: 华语变体；全球视野；全球华语研究；马来西亚华语

作者简介: 李景霞，广州大学人文学院硕士研究生，研究方向：学科教学(语文)，电邮: 1411491895@qq.com。

1. Introduction

In November 2025, *Malaysian Chinese Studies from the Perspective of Global Chinese: Theory, Method and Practice* (China Social Sciences Press, 2025) was first published. The book pioneered the use of ‘Global Chinese’ as an entry point to systematically integrate and sort out the historical development, linguistic features, and social functions of Malaysian Chinese. The book is divided into three parts, from theoretical construction to research methods, and then to practical verification. The three parts have clear logic, rigorous structure and detailed content. The first part is the theoretical part, starting from the three dimensions of Malaysian Chinese, four perspectives and the three theoretical frameworks of the global Chinese community, to explore its core concepts and theoretical research basis. The second part is the method part, which elaborates on the language pre-assembly method, the language landscape research method and the comparative method, which are suitable for the study of Malaysian Chinese. These methodologies are not only applicable to Malaysian Chinese, but also can be applied to Chinese in other regions. The third part is the practice part. Through the representative language community and case study, it analyzes the ontology research of Malaysian Chinese such as pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, and then analyzes the Tianjin speech community research as an example to show the characteristics of Malaysian Chinese in the development of historical practice.

The work is carried out according to the hierarchical context of “theoretical construction-research method-practice verification,” breaking the limitations of traditional Chinese language research, integrating Chinese language research from “point” to “surface”, providing a model for the current global Chinese language research, and also providing academic value and disciplinary enlightenment for global Chinese language research.

2. Theoretical Construction: Integrating the “Three Dimensions” and “Four Perspectives” of the Analytical Framework

Since the 1990s, the study of Chinese language in Southeast Asia has emerged and gradually developed. The research perspective has gradually shifted from the “Chinese perspective” and “local perspective” to the “global Chinese perspective”. However, the research on Malaysian Chinese language started relatively late, and there was a lack of a global Chinese perspective. Moreover, the existing research contents and achievements were also rather scattered. In response to the current situation, scholar Wang Xiaomei, based on the existing research, conducted a more systematic and in-depth study of Malaysian Chinese language, and established a theoretical analytical framework of “three dimensions” and “four perspectives”.

2.1 From “Three Dimensions” to Analyzing the Similarities and Differences within Chinese Varieties

The book *“Research on Malaysian Chinese from the Global Chinese Perspective: Theory, Methodology and Practice”* begins by clearly stating that “Malaysian Chinese is an important member of global Chinese, and its unique formation history and the diverse language environment in which it exists have created language characteristics that are different from any other Chinese variety.” (Wang Xiaomei, 2025, p. 22) As one of the important components of global Chinese, Malaysian Chinese needs to be studied within the macro context of global Chinese, while also needing to be rooted in the local social culture of Malaysia, grasping the individuality from the commonality.

The introduction part of this book first borrowed the concept of “big Chinese” explained by researcher Li Yuming and Lu Jianming, and clearly defined global Chinese. This theoretical positioning enables readers to precisely understand the essence of global Chinese in the context of macro Chinese research - Chinese has evolved and developed in different regions during its global dissemination, ultimately forming different Chinese language varieties.

Wang Xiaomei proposed in the first part to understand Malaysian Chinese from three dimensions: “simultaneous-historical”, “written-spoken”, and “common language-dialect”. She also used the contrastive sentence with marked differences as an example to specifically explain how the theoretical framework can be applied to the analysis of language phenomena. From the historical perspective, one can trace the formation and development process of Malaysian Chinese, while from the current perspective, one can summarize and analyze the essential characteristics of Malaysian Chinese. If the “historical-simultaneous” dimension is ignored when analyzing Chinese, one may obtain an inaccurate and less objective understanding.

Researcher Di Yanbin pointed out that in Chinese language research, it is necessary to focus on specific micro-level studies, that is, the examination, description, and analysis of specific language facts, as well as their emergence, concealment, and development changes. (Di Yanbin, 2020, pp. 5-13) The content explained by the author in this part precisely starts from concrete language content. She uses three types of comparative sentences as examples to disassemble the contrastive sentences of Malaysian Chinese from three dimensions. From the historical-simultaneous dimension, the author discovers that Malaysian Chinese retains the ancient comparative sentence structure of modern Chinese; from the written-spoken dimension, Malaysian Chinese has its own distinct characteristic of “interwoven development of written language and spoken language”;

from the common language-dialect dimension, the usage of “over” sentences is similar to Hong Kong Chinese, and the fundamental reason is the influence of the grammar function of the Cantonese dialect.

The work combines the theoretical framework of “three dimensions” to integrate the macro background with the analysis of micro content, the historical dimension with current development, and the common language norms with the influence of dialects. Only by realizing that we need to analyze from multiple dimensions can we truly understand the similarities between Malaysian Chinese as a Chinese variant and Chinese, and in the “similarity” of global Chinese, how it maintains its distinct “difference”.

2.2 Advocate analyzing regional variations from “four perspectives”

Wang Xiaomei pioneered the approach of studying Malaysian Chinese from four perspectives: “ancient, local, standard, and foreign”. Specifically, this theory refers to the fact that Malaysian Chinese is influenced by ancient Chinese, southern dialects, Mandarin, and foreign languages. Firstly, Malaysian Chinese contains some lexical and grammatical features of ancient Chinese. Wang Xiaomei selected several examples from the *“Sin Chew Daily”* and found that the three words “is”, “first”, and “only” are lexical items with ancient Chinese components, and they are used more frequently in Malaysian Chinese written language. Secondly, in Malaysian Chinese spoken language expression, it absorbs, retains, and internalizes lexical items from southern dialects such as Min, Yue, and Hakka. Many daily spoken language expressions can also be seen to have the influence of southern dialects. For example, the Malaysian Chinese word “do wo” has a corresponding relationship in pronunciation with the southern dialect “do mo”, and the three major dialects of Min, Yue, and Hakka all have similar structures to “do mo”, and these structures have the same main verbs, syllable quantities, and meanings, indicating the purpose or reason for an inquiry. (Wang Xiaomei, 2016, pp. 81-88) Thirdly, the author retrieved many contrastive sentence examples from the Southeast Asian Chinese corpus and analyzed that Malaysian Chinese written language contains sentences of the format “A is more than B as C”, while the commonly used comparative sentence structure in Mandarin is “A is more than B as C”. Researcher Gao Mingkai mentioned in “A Study of Chinese Grammar” that there is such a sentence format “A is more than B as C” in ancient Chinese. This indicates that Malaysian Chinese written language retains the sentence structure of ancient Chinese, and most grammatical structures still follow the grammatical rules of Mandarin. (Wang Xiaomei, 2025, p. 42) Fourthly, the author pointed out that the *“Malaysian Specialized Words Dictionary”* includes 283 loanwords from English, Malay, and Tamil. Malaysian Chinese vocabulary has absorbed a large number of transliterated English words, such as “bus (bus)”, “motorcycle (motorcycle)”, “percent (percent)” and so on. Grammatically, Malaysian Chinese is most significantly influenced by English as the dominant foreign language, such as the “be” construction being overused. (Wang Bo, 2009, p. 59) Researcher Zhou Qinghai pointed out that the instability of Chinese is closely related to Mandarin, southern dialects, and different foreign languages. (Zhou Qinghai, 2008, pp. 20-28)

The “four perspectives” theory breaks the original single research perspective and systematically explains how Malaysian Chinese, as a variant of Chinese, is formed. The “ancient” perspective shows the historical origin of Malaysian Chinese language, the “local” perspective highlights the supporting role of southern dialects on the language, the “standard” perspective indicates that the variant of Chinese still follows some

grammatical norms of Mandarin, and the “foreign” perspective demonstrates the inclusiveness and adaptability of Malaysian Chinese. This theory provides solid theoretical guidance for the study of Malaysian Chinese as a global Chinese variant.

2.3 Integration and Expansion of “Three Dimensions” and “Four Perspectives”

While Chinese is going global, due to the influence of society, culture, and history, different communities will inevitably have variant forms; at the same time, in the process of development and change of language elements, the development speed in different regions (communities) and over time is different, which also leads to differences in language usage. (Guo Xi, 2004, pp. 56-65) In light of the structural characteristics and formation reasons of Chinese, Wang Xiaomei advocated in-depth analysis from the four perspectives of “ancient, local, standard, and foreign”, and combined with the research results on the invisible differences of vocabulary in the academic community. She integrated the two theoretical frameworks of “three dimensions” and “four perspectives” to form four analytical dimensions: “diachronic-synchronic, written-language-spoken-language, Chinese-dialect, Chinese-foreign language”. (Song Xiaomei 2025, p. 46) This provides a novel theoretical tool for the study of regional Chinese varieties, which breaks away from the single perspective of traditional language research and comprehensively constructs the formation process of Chinese regional varieties from multiple dimensions such as time, language, and style.

Overall, “*Research on Malaysian Chinese from the Global Chinese Perspective: Theory, Methodology and Practice*” focuses on the historical trajectory and influencing factors of the formation of Malaysian Chinese, thereby uncovering the inheritance relationship between Chinese regional varieties and Chinese; it also systematically integrates the unique vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, and other achievements of Malaysian Chinese, comprehensively grasping the laws of language varieties and the intrinsic connections of “ancient, local, popular, and foreign”. The book also analyzes the differences between the written and spoken forms of Malaysian Chinese at the levels of both, and the written form is more influenced by Mandarin, with relatively standardized vocabulary and grammar usage, while the spoken form incorporates a large amount of dialectal and foreign vocabulary, demonstrating a strong regional characteristic. The analysis of Chinese in the book is based on the recognition of multiple languages, demonstrating the value of language diversity, which not only conforms to the general laws of language development and variety but also highlights the particularity of the multilingual environment in Malaysia, making a unique academic contribution to the study of regional Chinese varieties from the global Chinese perspective.

3. Methodological Research: Multidimensional Innovation Methods and Visual Expression

The second part of “*Research on Malaysian Chinese from the Global Chinese Perspective: Theory, Methods and Practice*” mainly discusses three research methods applied in the study of Malaysian Chinese: the language pairing method, the language landscape research method, and the comparative method. The application of these three methods mainly reveals the complex cognitive structure and emotional attitude tendencies of Malaysian Chinese users towards different Chinese language varieties. The research methods fully integrate methodologies from various disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, social psychology, and communication studies, presenting a cross-disciplinary feature.

3.1 Integration of interdisciplinary perspectives

In terms of research methods, *“Global Chinese Perspective on Malaysian Chinese Research: Theory, Methods and Practice”* organically integrates traditional modern Chinese language description methods and modern social languageology methods from an interdisciplinary perspective. The traditional language description method focuses on the objective and precise recording and analysis of language phenomena, while the social languageology method is concerned with the interaction between language and society. The combination of these two research methods enables Chinese language research to have a solid foundation in language studies while also having profound and specific social connotations.

Regarding the research methods of social linguistics, Wang Xiaomei combines the pre-assembly pairing method and questionnaire survey method to investigate Chinese language users’ cognition of grammatical structures in colloquial Chinese and their attitudes towards Chinese language varieties. She also draws on theories such as variation linguistics and language identity, and studies Malaysian Chinese within a specific social and cultural context. For example, when using the pre-assembly pairing method, the experimental language materials used are self-recorded corpora, with two segments prepared for the theme of the Spring Festival, one being Malaysian colloquial Chinese and the other being Malaysian standard Chinese, to examine the usage, recognition, and evaluation of the differences between the two Chinese language varieties by Malaysian Chinese students of different genders, ages, and regions. From a methodological perspective, it has opened up the use of specific language items to measure the understanding and acceptance of specific Chinese language varieties by members of the Chinese community (Wang Xiaomei, 2025, p. 75). It can be said that under the integration of interdisciplinary perspectives, this book adheres to the scientific and objectivity of linguistic research and expands the theoretical vision and practical guidance of global Chinese language research.

3.2 Important supplementation of modern research methods

In *“Global Chinese Perspective on Malaysian Chinese Research: Theory, Methods and Practice”*, Wang Xiaomei not only conducts research on Malay language units and grammatical structures in traditional language description, but also flexibly uses social languageology survey methods. This not only breaks down the barriers between disciplines but also vividly demonstrates the role of method innovation integration in language variation research, and provides a reliable methodological reference for global Chinese language variety research.

Traditional language description mostly relies on spoken or written texts, while language landscape can shift the research focus to the physical language presentation in public spaces such as signs and advertisements. In social linguistics, the study of language use on public language signs is called “language landscape” research. (Shang Guowen, 2014, p. 215) Introducing the landscape research method into Malaysian Chinese language research is undoubtedly an important supplement to traditional language investigation research. In Wang Xiaomei’s view, the combination of language landscape with overseas Chinese language research has given rise to overseas Chinese language landscapes, and the three characteristics of Chinese language landscape research are new language materials, new methods, and new concepts. (Wang Xiaomei, 2020, pp. 65-72)

Language landscape research strengthens the analysis of multiple factors in language variation research. Language landscape is not randomly formed but is influenced by multiple factors such as language habits, government policies, and cultural traditions. The medical field is a significant part of social life, so Wang Xiaomei focused on the language landscape of the medical sector within the Malaysian Chinese community. She visited 14 clinics in the areas where Chinese people gather and conducted quantitative and qualitative investigations on the clinic signs. She deeply explored and analyzed the distribution of multilingual landscapes and the distinct features of the Chinese language landscape. The font size, color combination, and arrangement order of different languages on the signs became vivid materials for Chinese language research. In a diverse and complex community environment, clinic signs often adopt bilingual or even trilingual and even quadrilingual parallelism, but this parallelism is not completely equal. Under the requirements of the political situation, Malay language is emphasized as the main language. Wang Xiaomei's research not only saw the juxtaposition relationship between Chinese and other languages, but also discovered that these multilingual combinations are not just simple language stacking, but have unique information transmission functions: Malay is the official language, English is the local common language, and Chinese is for Chinese patients. The three together form a semiotic field with cultural specificity.

Furthermore, the language landscape research method can analyze the identity recognition of Chinese language users under language variation. The multilingual clinic signs are not just language symbols, but also a kind of social symbol. A sign that uses Malay, English, and Chinese simultaneously not only meets the requirements of the political situation, but also meets the general requirements of the medical field, and can convey cultural belonging to the Chinese community. This language variation is itself the identity positioning and negotiation of the community in a multicultural environment, and in this process, the collective identity of Chinese language is also revealed.

Moreover, the language landscape method can be used as an important reference standard for assessing language vitality. Wang Xiaomei emphasized that the language landscape is an important window for understanding the language life of overseas Chinese communities, and its quantitative statistics is an important indicator for measuring the vitality of overseas Chinese language. The identity research is an important reference for understanding the overseas Chinese language research as a local language resource, and the language policy research can promote the practical application value of overseas Chinese language research. (Wang Xiaomei, 2020, p. 2) Through the quantitative statistics of public space medical signs and the analysis of the variation of Chinese language in medical fields, it is possible to objectively evaluate the function and role of Chinese language in the community.

The language landscape research method introduces language symbols in public space places and then conducts quantitative statistics, which enriches the methods and perspectives of Chinese language variation research. The language landscape formed in specific public spaces implies the complex connotations of local social culture. Just like the research method used by Wang Xiaomei, introducing the language landscape research method into Malaysian Chinese language research not only supplements the traditional language description methods, but also through method innovation, provides a powerful tool for understanding global Chinese language variant research, allowing the research to dig out the deep connections between language and society culture from more vivid social scenarios.

3.3 Intuitive and clear visual data

Wang Xiaomei extensively used visual data in the three chapters of the second part explaining the research methods. From this, it can be summarized that the visual expression is one of the distinct features of its content. This part focuses on the research methods and to make the explanation more objective and persuasive, the author used a large number of pictures and tables when applying comparative method, language landscape method and pre-assembly matching method. And pictures and tables are important presentation forms, and it is estimated that there are 20 charts in this part of the content. These pictures and tables can clearly present data and structure, and also vividly supplement the text content, closely related to the main text content, and constitute an indispensable part of information transmission, promoting the professionalism and readability of the text content.

The charts in this book are not simple data listing, but show the targeted and logical nature related to the text. This book conducts a study on the cognitive differences between Malaysian Chinese speakers regarding standard Chinese and colloquial Chinese. It uses a tabular format to categorize the gender and regional distribution of the respondents, presenting the score differences between 553 Malaysian Chinese students and 376 Chinese students. The table visually reflects that there are both similarities and differences in the attitudes of these two groups towards different Chinese varieties. Compared to colloquial Chinese, both the Malaysian group and the Chinese group gave higher evaluations to standard Chinese, and their evaluations of standard Chinese tended to be consistent. However, the evaluation of colloquial Chinese showed deviations-the evaluation of status value by the Chinese group was higher, while the Malaysian group gave higher evaluations of cohesion (Wang Xiaomei, 2025, p. 100). Regarding the survey data on language landscapes, the author divided different types of signs and presented the consistency of signs in different scenarios in the medical field, making the distribution characteristics and functional positioning of Malaysian Chinese in the medical field clear at a glance.

Wang Xiaomei also used data analysis tools such as SPSS to convert the data into visual charts to make the research conclusions more objective and authoritative. The charts made by the author are not merely a collection of data; they complement the text content through visualization. Through the visual data, the logic and patterns behind the language phenomenon can be explained thoroughly, such as the social factors like gender, region, and length of residence, which have an impact on their language attitudes, can be precisely seen from the chart data.

The charts in this book will highlight the key content and are accompanied by concise and to-the-point textual explanations below the charts, so that readers can clearly grasp the important contents. Especially for each row of data in the table, it is derived from formula calculations and is the core information. Whether it is the comparison of the results of the language pairing experiment or the statistical analysis of language landscape corpora, the visual charts have become a bridge between empirical data and theoretical explanations. This also fully demonstrates the academic value of visual data - it can show the author's rigorous attitude in conducting research based on facts and reduce the difficulty for readers to understand, making professional and abstract academic content more accessible.

4. Practical Verification: Focusing on the Microscopic Description of Malaysian Chinese

The third part of *“Research on Malaysian Chinese from the Global Chinese Perspective: Theory, Methods and Practice”* consists of four chapters and constitutes the largest portion of the book. In this part, the author mainly focuses on four areas: phonetics, vocabulary, grammar, and the Chinese community in Malaysia. The author conducts a microscopic description of Malaysian Chinese.

4.1 Complementary Quantitative and Qualitative Research

Wang Xiaomei’s research in the practical section particularly emphasizes the complementarity of quantitative research and qualitative research. On the one hand, quantitative research can provide real data support, while on the other hand, through qualitative research, relevant theories can be deeply explained. The combination of the two makes the research both well-grounded and not lacking in depth. Quantitative research involves analyzing a large amount of data, while qualitative research is based on interview records and other materials to explain theories.

Regarding phonetics research, the author collected the data of the respondents through questionnaire surveys, auditory discrimination experiments, and pronunciation experiments. Using statistical analysis methods, the author summarized the usage patterns of the fifth tone in Malaysian Chinese. Through one-on-one interviews, the author recorded the respondents’ reading of character lists, word lists, and numbers. Vocabulary is the most active part of the language system and is also the focus of research, becoming the subject of the author’s attention. The author consulted vocabulary dictionaries such as *“Malaysian Unique Words Dictionary”* and *“Malay Chinese Slang Dictionary”*, and made detailed annotations, classifications, and comparative summaries of thousands of unique words. In the grammar research section, for the study of the distribution of degree adverbs in the language style, the author searched through 4.76 million words of written materials and 473,000 words of spoken materials.

4.2 Support from Multiple Corpus

Looking at the content division of the entire book into three parts: theory, methods, and practice, regardless of which part it is, multiple corpus are used as research support. The author employed traditional linguistic resources, literature review, field research, etc., to conduct systematic research on the ontology of Malaysian Chinese, such as phonetics, vocabulary, and grammatical structure. Wang Xiaomei, who has been rooted in the field of Malaysian linguistics for over twenty years, retrieved research examples from the Chinese newspaper *“Sin Chew Daily”*, to the Malaysian series of comics *“Ping Dan Comics”*, to systematically utilizing existing Chinese language dictionaries such as *“Malaysian Unique Words Dictionary”*, *“Malay Chinese Slang Dictionary”*, and *“Global Chinese Dictionary”*, as well as Chinese oral dialogues and pronunciation experiments. From classic literature works to case studies, it can be seen that the scale of the Malaysian Chinese corpus is huge, and the content of the corpus is rich in levels and the data sources are clear and reliable, which provides a solid empirical basis for the practice research and the analysis of microscopic language phenomena.

4.3 Understanding Language Evolution through Case Studies

Malaysia’s diverse and rich cultural history has created a complex living and language environment. When

we mention Malaysian Chinese, we involuntarily associate it with people of southern origin from Guangdong or Fujian in China who moved to Southeast Asia and who later became known as Malaysians. As the author delved deeper into the study of Malaysian Chinese, through field research, it was discovered that there were also northern Chinese in Malaysia. Therefore, she selected a representative Chinese community, namely the Tianjin community in Sabah.

In the past, many researchers overly focused on the macro level of the speech community and neglected the microscopic perspective of language change. In Wang Xiaomei's view, when analyzing the reconstruction of the speech community, it is necessary to grasp and analyze the macro and micro levels of language changes. (Wang Xiaomei, 2025, p. 255) Therefore, in her work, there are studies on the expansion of the community's lexicon and changes in language selection patterns, as well as analyses of the phenomenon of dialect mixing and leveling within the community.

Currently, some Chinese communities are not all using Mandarin. Some even no longer use any Chinese variants. However, Chinese people have feelings towards their own or their ancestral Chinese dialects, and at least have a certain degree of identification with Chinese or a certain Chinese dialect. (Xu Daming, Wang Xiaomei, 2009, pp. 132-137) For this specific speech community of Sabah Tianjin, the dialect used by the ancestors during the early life period may gradually fade away among the descendants over time. However, identity and cultural identification can actually be continued through other means and symbols. This research adopts a method of looking at the small to understand the big, and deeply analyzes a specific rather than typical Chinese-speaking community, filling the gap in the "northern plate" of Malaysian Chinese, and understanding the internal structure of global Chinese-speaking communities as being quite complex from a dynamic developing speech community.

5. Conclusion

Wang Xiaomei's book *"Research on Malaysian Chinese Language from a Global Chinese Perspective: Theory, Methods and Practice"* takes a global Chinese language perspective and focuses on the unique Chinese language variety in Malaysia, constructing a three-tiered academic framework of theory, methods and practice. The author innovatively integrates "three dimensions" and "four perspectives", and employs a cross-disciplinary integration research method. During the practical process, they delve deeply into the ontological study of Malaysian Chinese language, moving from theory to methods to practice. This largely fills the gap of the lack of a global perspective in Malaysian Chinese language research, profoundly revealing the development laws of Chinese language varieties, and providing highly valuable theoretical tools for the research on other regional Chinese language varieties of global Chinese. In my opinion, global Chinese language research will continue to advance, strengthening the micro-ontological study of Chinese language varieties, continuously expanding research perspectives, innovating research methods, which will help promote the long-term development of global Chinese language variety research and contribute to promoting the construction of a community of shared future for mankind and facilitating language exchange and learning.

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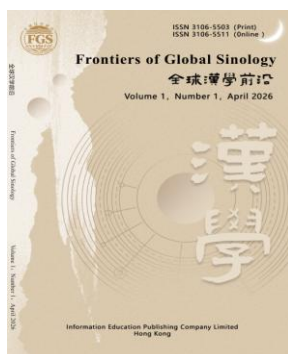
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ORCID

Li Jingxia ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0002-5011-2505>

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Traces of China in the World Literary Field: Mapping the Inner Journey of Chinese Writers Going Global—A Review of *The Iowa International Writing Program and the Internationalization of Contemporary Chinese Writing*

Wang Han

Abstract: Deng Rubing's new book, *The Iowa International Writing Program and the Internationalization of Contemporary Chinese Writing*, the concept of going global is interpreted as the rupture from the classical view of the world under heaven to the modern worldview. Through detailed observations of Chinese writers activities abroad, the book reduces the grand proposition of Chinese literature moving from a closed space to the global literary field into concrete historical scenes. It deeply portrays how writers internalize foreign experiences into the spiritual process of transforming their creative work, revealing, on multiple levels, the reasons behind the "internationalization" of contemporary Chinese writing. From the historical gatherings in "China Weekly" to the contemporary practice of "creative writing", the book outlines a cultural reflection intertwined with mirroring and identity, implements "internationalization" as concrete experiential reality, and constructs the "International Writing Program" as a "literary site" for Sino-foreign literary exchange. It presents the trajectory of China in the global literary field and makes an outstanding contribution to the "going out" of Chinese culture.

Keywords: Iowa; International Writing Program; Contemporary Chinese Writing; Intercultural identity; Internationalization

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Author Biography: Wang Han, Master's Candidate at the School of Literature, Jiangsu Normal University. Research Area: traditional and modern transformation of Chinese literature. E-mail: 1873175770@qq.com.

标题: 世界文场的中国行迹：重绘中国作家“走向世界”的心灵版图——评《爱荷华“国际写作计划”与当代汉语写作的“国际化”研究》

摘要: 邓如冰新著《爱荷华“国际写作计划”与当代汉语写作的“国际化”研究》通过将“走向世界”阐释为从古典“天下观”到现代“世界观”的断裂，对中国作家在异域活动的细致观察，将中国文学从封闭空间走向世界文场的宏大命题还原为具体的历史现场，深描作家如何将异域体验内化为创作转型的心灵历程，多层次揭示了当代汉语写作“国际化”进程的因由。从“中国周末”的历史相聚到“创意写作”的当代实践，勾勒出镜像与认同交织的文化省思脉络，将“国际化”落实为具体的实感经验，将“国际写作计划”建构为中外文学交往的“文学现场”，呈现了世界文场的中国行迹，为中国文化“走出去”做出了卓越贡献。

关键词: 爱荷华；国际写作计划；当代汉语写作；跨文化认同；国际化

作者简介: 王涵，江苏师范大学大学文学院硕士研究生，研究方向：中国文学传统与现代转型，电邮：1873175770@qq.com。

Introduction

From the late Qing intellectuals' awakening, amid a sense of spatial fragmentation, that there existed a world beyond "China", to the May Fourth generation's fervent call to join the modern current of world literature, and then to the post-Reform era, when Chinese writers crossed the Pacific with their physical, lived experience—the proposition of "going global" has always been entangled with the desire for national rejuvenation, the pain of cultural anxiety, and the difficulty of subjective reconstruction. Professor Cheng Guangwei (2012, p. 121) argues that "the concept of 'going global' functions as an engine", while Deng Rubing (2025, p. 5) points out that on "the road to the 'modernization' of Chinese literature, this is a historically significant expression with original driving force."¹ "Going global" has long been one of the core issues of concern in sinology both at home and abroad; however, discussions on it have often remained at the level of macro-level theoretical debates or one-directional influence studies, while detailed investigations into specific historical fields, on-site atmospheres, and other such concrete conditions have largely been lacking. Professor Cheng Guangwei's (2012, p. 121) warning, "Without understanding the specific historical fields, on-site atmospheres, and other detailed conditions of 'overseas dissemination', our research may only leave a conceptual impression", remains profoundly insightful today. It is within this academic context that Deng Rubing's new book, *The Iowa International Writing Program and the Internationalization of Contemporary Chinese Writing*, reveals its unique value.

¹ Deng Rubing (2025): *The Iowa International Writing Program and the Study of the Internationalization of Contemporary Chinese Writing*, University of International Business and Economics Press. Subsequent citations will only indicate page numbers, without further elaboration.

This book takes the University of Iowa's "International Writing Program" (IWP) as its central hub, reducing the grand proposition of Chinese literature "going global" to a series of concrete, micro-level historical sites. The so-called "world literary field" refers both to the landscape of world literature and to the specific arena in which Chinese writers walk, collide, and transform—Iowa is precisely such a world literary field, one that possesses both geographical space and literary field significance.

Since Nie Hualing and Paul Engle founded the IWP in 1967, it has invited over 130 Chinese writers (including those from Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan region) for residential exchanges. From Xiao Qian and Bi Shuowang stepping onto American soil in 1979 as the first icebreakers, to Wang Meng writing *Various Colors* by the banks of the Iowa River, and then to Wang Anyi, Wang Zengqi, Yu Hua and others undergoing their respective transformations in a foreign land, this literary encounter spanning more than forty years constitutes an abridged spiritual history of the "internationalization" of contemporary Chinese literature.

The book consists of ten chapters in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction begins with the collapse of the classical "Tianxia worldview", interpreting "going global" as a rupture in spatial conception. The first two chapters focus on the founding of the IWP and the operational mechanisms of its "field". Chapters three to five outline the generational changes and shifts in the voices of Chinese writers within the IWP. Chapter six centers on "China Weekend", presenting the gathering of writers from both sides of the China Taiwan Strait. Chapters seven to ten select four different writers for in-depth case studies, closely linking their overseas experiences with specific creative transformations. The conclusion draws implications for contemporary Chinese literature from the "Sinicization" of the writing program, the introduction of writers-in-residence, and the establishment of the "creative writing" discipline.

How to handle traditional culture and foreign influences has always been a common issue faced by contemporary writers situated between the East and the West. This book fully demonstrates the interaction between Chinese literature and the world, bringing different writers into view and exploring their subjectivity and dynamism. From it, we can see how literature establishes connections between history and the present, revealing the reasons for the "internationalization" of the Chinese language, thus injecting new vitality into the research field of the internationalization of contemporary Chinese. This paper aims to explore the book from three different levels, striving to reveal its breakthroughs and implications.

1. Rupture and Space: The Writing of Space from "Tianxia Worldview" to "Literary Field"

Scholar Wang Furen (2000) points out that modern and contemporary Chinese intellectuals underwent a decisive turn in spatial cognition: they discovered a "Western world" juxtaposed with "China", and this sense of spatial fragmentation completely dismantled the classical Tianxia worldview. In the classical "Tianxia worldview", the sky is round and the earth is square; all within the four seas are the king's land, and China is both the geographical and cultural center. The modern worldview, according to Deng Rubing, however, is one that separates and juxtaposes "China" with other spaces. It is precisely within this separated spatial structure that "going global" truly becomes possible. The proposal of this framework lays a solid theoretical foundation for the entire book, extricating "internationalization" from abstract literary-historical narratives and restoring it to a concrete spatial practice.

Based on this transformation in spatial conception, the author focuses her research on Iowa City, USA. Iowa is “located in the American interior, far from the East and West Coasts, in contrast to the prosperity and flashiness of the two coasts, it signifies ‘tradition’ and all characteristics associated with ‘tradition’” (p. 12). This geographical marginality precisely makes it a symbolic “literary field”—it is both the crossroads where contemporary Chinese writers enter the Western perspective, a window through which Western writers understand Chinese literature, and an intermediate zone where Eastern and Western literature converge. Grounding the grand proposition of “going global” in the concrete space of Iowa is itself a methodological self-awareness; it means that the researcher refuses abstract influence discourse and instead chooses to explore the real trajectories of literary encounters within specific historical sites.

This self-awareness in spatial writing is also reflected in the author’s invocation of Foucault’s genealogical method. Foucault (2001) emphasizes “dispersion” and “accidental events”, requiring that all past events be preserved in their specific state of dispersion rather than being subsumed under some necessary historical logic. Thus, Deng Rubing (p. 17) suggests that “the IWP can be understood as a ‘network of relations’, where all its participants—including founders, administrators, individual writers, sponsors, and even opponents—collectively construct different facets of this historical ‘site’”. This methodological stance runs through the entire book; it is not a demonstration of the inevitability of “going global”, but a meticulous presentation of the various contingent factors, individual choices, and complex interactions within this process. The examination of Nie Hualing and Engle in Chapter One is a typical example. The author does not reduce these two founders to mere ideological symbols but delves deeply into their personal histories and emotional worlds, presenting the tension between Nie Hualing’s cultural identity of “roots in mainland China” and Engle’s “American Dream”, and showing how, from a position neither left nor right, they built a platform for world literature to transcend the barriers of the Cold War. This approach of understanding an “institution” through the lens of “individuals” within specific historical situations is precisely a concrete practice of the genealogical method.

It is worth noting that the spatial writing in this book does not stop at the geographical level but extends further to the examination of discursive space and psychological space. The author’s emphasis on the dialogical nature of the IWP constitutes a construction of discursive space. Engle once recalled: in the IWP corridor, writers from East and West Germany drank beer and joked about “the Wall”, while Chinese from the Mainland and Taiwan region valued temperament more than differences.¹ These warm historical details reveal the essence of the IWP as a “dialogic space”—born in the Cold War era yet transcending Cold War thinking, committed to stitching together spirits torn apart by ideology. This dialogical quality is also fully manifested in “China Weekend”.

Moreover, the author’s portrayal of individual writers’ “culture shock” constitutes an analytical dimension of psychological space. Whether it is Wang Meng’s “bewilderment” in Hong Kong, Wang Anyi’s novel experiences in American supermarkets, or Wang Zengqi’s shedding of his shell to become a “carefree immortal” in a foreign land, these shifts in psychological space precisely represent the most intrinsic

¹ Engle, Paul: “International Writing Program (1967-1988)”, https://iwp.uiowa.edu/sites/iwp/files/21yrsIWP_testimonials.pdf. (pdf. 4-5).

dimension of “going global”. As the author states, to study “how to go global”, one must focus on the writer’s subjectivity and delve deeply into the inner world of specific individuals. This approach, which combines external spatial practice with internal psychological transformation, gives the spatial writing in this book a three-dimensional and profound quality.

It can be said that “space” is the concept that runs throughout this book. It is both the starting point of the research—introducing the spatial prerequisite of “going global” through the collapse of the “Tianxia worldview”—and the object of the research—constructing Iowa as a “literary field” for Sino-foreign literary encounters. Moreover, it is also a methodology—through historical details within concrete spaces, it reveals the complexity and contingency of the “internationalization” process. It is precisely based on this self-awareness in spatial writing that the book is able to step out of the single paradigm of “influence studies” and turn its gaze toward richer interactions and generativity.

2. Exotic Land and Echo: Writers’ “Culture Shock” and Creative Transformation

When writers cross national borders, the sights and shadows of foreign lands are like stones cast into the lake of the heart, stirring layers of echoes. Whether facing the vertigo of bustling cities or encountering the impact of heterogeneous cultures, the “culture shock” induced by these echoes often becomes a hidden driving force for writers’ creative transformation. From Xiao Qian and Bi Shuowang setting foot on American soil in 1979 as the “first icebreakers”, to Wang Meng writing *Various Colors* by the banks of the Iowa River, and then to Wang Anyi, Wang Zengqi, and Yu Hua undergoing their respective “transformations” in foreign lands, the author meticulously presents how different generations of Chinese writers, stimulated by their overseas experiences, reflect on themselves, reconstruct their identities, and achieve breakthroughs. This literary encounter spanning more than forty years constitutes a spiritual map of Chinese writers “going global”.

Xiao Qian and Bi Shuowang were the first Chinese writers to visit the United States after the establishment of Sino-US diplomatic relations. Xiao Qian (2005, p. 501) described his trip to Iowa as “returning to the world for the first time after being cocooned for thirty years”. This veteran writer, who had studied in Cambridge in his early years and was well-versed in Western culture, displayed remarkable candor with a pragmatic attitude. In his lecture at “China Weekend”, he neither shied away from discussing the damage inflicted upon Chinese literature by the decade of social upheaval nor failed to emphasize the development of the literary scene after the “reversal of verdicts”. This consciousness of speaking out in a foreign land was the first step in “going global”. Xiao Qian’s icebreaking journey conveyed the voice of an open Chinese literature.

In 1980, when Wang Meng, as one of the first writers of the new era to go abroad, asked himself under the neon lights of Hong Kong, “Is this the dregs of capitalism?” a profound “bewilderment” arose in his heart. This almost conditioned reflex o

f vigilance embodied the dilemma of “globalization” faced by a generation of writers. When he actually set foot on American soil and faced “another world”, this vigilance transformed into a deeper theoretical anxiety: “I need an ideological explanation, an ideological positioning, a conceptual pivot” (Wang Meng, 2007, p. 119). Amid this bewilderment of dislocation between theory and reality, Wang Meng wrote the novella

Various Colors on the banks of the Iowa River. Deng Rubing points out that the story of Cao Qianli and the old horse trudging through a Xinjiang valley in *Various Colors* was not, as commonly believed, a metaphor for China suffering under the extreme leftist line; rather, it should be seen as Wang Meng's spiritual projection of "reflecting on himself" in a foreign land. He later confessed in his autobiography the different meaning of *Various Colors*: "This meaning lies in the meaninglessness, confusion, and near loss of meaning" (Wang Meng, 2007, p. 106). The author reinterprets this story against the backdrop of his "American experience", revealing its particularity in Wang Meng's creative career, and clearly points out that it breaks free from the "revolutionary paradigm" narrative and turns toward an existentialist concern with the state of life.

If Wang Meng's "bewilderment" was more of an intellectual shock, then Wang Anyi's American experience was more embodied. In 1983, Wang Anyi accompanied her mother Ru Zhijuan to Iowa. This period, as she herself stated in *A Conversation* (2011, p. 80) with Zhang Xinying, was a "crucial juncture in her writing career". The author meticulously reconstructs Wang Anyi's various "culture shocks" in a foreign land: the dazzling array of goods in supermarkets, the roaring crowds at American football stadiums... These "strange things" unlocked her imagination, delineating a picture of material "modernization" in very concrete ways. Even more decisive was her encounter with Taiwan region writer Chen Yingzhen. On that ecstatic football field, when Chen Yingzhen shouted at the frenzied crowd, "Fools! All of you fools!" Wang Anyi suddenly realized the loneliness of the two of them, Chinese, within this sea of joy. This loneliness was precisely a mirror-like self-affirmation; in a foreign country, Wang Anyi discovered "China" and also discovered herself. After returning home, she wrote *Xiao Baozhuang*, a masterpiece of root-seeking literature, which was precisely the literary presentation of "that chaotic, ambiguous, wild, stagnant ancient world" (p. 197) she had "discovered" abroad. The author points out that Wang Anyi's "American experience" transformed her from an empiricist into a technician, leading her to contemplate the "material part of the novel", thereby laying the conceptual foundation for her subsequent ten-year period of exploratory writing.

Unlike Wang Anyi's youthful vigor, the sixty-seven-year-old Wang Zengqi displayed a kind of "shedding of the shell" born of weathered experience while in Iowa. In 1987, this elderly writer, who called himself a "nut", cracked open his hard shell in a foreign land. The author quotes from Wang Zengqi's (Volume 12, 2019, p. 218) family letter: "My wife wrote to me saying that I have completely opened up, breaking through many of the Confucian constraints". On foreign soil, he felt as if his thoughts had been in uniform; amid heterogeneous reading, he discovered himself like a rusted-shut window. In Iowa, he danced, drank, painted, and gave away his artworks—all of which were Wang Zengqi's (Volume 12, 2019, p. 215) escape from and reaction against the fact that "so many movements have been carried out in the country, making human relations extremely cold".

More importantly, Wang Zengqi accomplished a crucial "late-life transformation" in his writing career while abroad: rewriting *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*. These new meanings of Liaozhai were not simple classical rewrites but rather "preserving the plots of traditional works as much as possible, while making changes at key points and injecting modern consciousness". (Wang Zengqi, Volume 3, 2019, p. 86) From the lyrical world of *The Oath of Love* and *The Tale of Big Nur*, to the modern consciousness of *New Meanings of*

Liaozhai, Wang Zengqi achieved self-breakthrough in a foreign land, then chose to return to national tradition and realism. This was precisely the self-positioning he found within the coordinates of world literature after “shedding his shell”.

If the overseas experiences of the first three writers carried a sense of “culture shock” impact, then Yu Hua’s case presents another form entirely.

In 2003, Yu Hua spent seven immersive months in the IWP, an experience that gave birth to the writing of *Brothers*. “What a Westerner would need four hundred years to live through—two vastly different eras—a Chinese person experiences in just forty years” (Yu Hua, 2012, p. 631). This “condensed” drama became the core theme of *Brothers*. From the “historical China” of *To Live* and *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* to the “contemporary China” of *Brothers*, Yu Hua’s transformation was likewise triggered by his overseas experience. Compared to the other three writers, in Yu Hua’s foreign experience, “shock” had given way to comparison and reflection.

Looking at the individual experiences of these writers as a whole, a clear trajectory from icebreaking to deepening can be seen. Together, they prove that “going global” was never a one-way influence or reception, but rather a complex process in which Chinese writers, stimulated by overseas experiences, reflect on themselves, reconstruct their identities, and achieve breakthroughs. What Yu Hua saw abroad was the unchanging nature of Westerners; it was precisely “because he saw how unchanged they were overseas that he understood how tremendously China had changed” (Xia Yu, 2016, p. 263). This dialectical logic of affirming the “self” through the “other” and looking back at “home” from a “distant place” is the deeper significance of “internationalization” for Chinese writers.

3. Mirror and Identity: Cultural Reflections from “China Weekend” to “Creative Writing”

In 1979, when Xiao Qian and Bi Shuowang visited Iowa, Nie Hualing initiated a gathering called “China Weekend”. In addition to the writers participating in the IWP residency, she also invited several Chinese writers and scholars living in the United States, achieving the first reunion of writers from both sides of the China Taiwan Strait since 1949. Although the writers held diverse views, all their speeches pointed to a common spiritual origin: what Nie Hualing called “feelings for the entire Chinese nation.”¹ (UIWP, p. 40) Xiao Qian (2005) specially recorded a touching detail: that evening at a gathering at Engle’s home, the writers sang various folk songs. When the melody of “My Home Is on the Songhua River in the Northeast” began, “several Taiwan region writers looked impassioned, tears welling up in their eyes”. Behind these tears lay a mirror-like experience that transcended political barriers. Meeting their compatriots in a foreign land, they saw another self and affirmed the same cultural bloodline with common roots. As Taiwan region writer Ye Weilian (UIWP, p. 49) stated, “compatriots living in two regions of China... look forward to our common efforts to revive a new cultural China.” He believed that this gathering might become the beginning of cultural

¹ The quotation is from Nie Hualing’s opening remarks at the symposium “The Future of Chinese Literary Creation”, printed in *China Weekend: A Gathering of Chinese Writers from Home and Abroad in Iowa* (1980), compiled and published by the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa, and distributed by Heaven and Earth Books Ltd. Hereafter abbreviated as UIWP.

unification and an effort to revive a new cultural China. The author, with delicate brushstrokes, reconstructs this historical scene, allowing readers to glimpse how literature can transcend political barriers and accomplish a confirmation of national identity across thousands of miles.

The significance of “China Weekend” lies not only in the gathering at that historical site but also in its enduring cultural resonance. After returning to China, Xiao Qian wrote articles such as “Nie Hualing from Hubei” and “Ye Weilian the Root-Seeker”, making him one of the first in Mainland China to introduce Taiwan region writers and overseas Chinese writers. The encounter between Wang Anyi and Chen Yingzhen gave birth to *Utopian Poems*, a “spiritual autobiography” that influenced Wang Anyi’s creative direction for decades to come. Pan Yaoming conducted extensive interviews with visiting Mainland writers, producing his distinctive series “The Faces of Mainland Writers”. These literary interactions, born out of the IWP, continued to spread like ripples, weaving a dense cultural network across the two sides of the China Taiwan Strait and among overseas Chinese. The author reassembles these scattered fragments from the depths of history, presenting how literature can serve as a spiritual bond connecting dispersed hearts and linking the bloodline of the Chinese nation.

If “China Weekend” represented mirroring and identification at a historical site, then China’s active transplantation of the IWP model in the new century demonstrates a more self-aware cultural identification. Deng Rubing traces the “Sinicization” of the IWP: the International Writing Center at Bohai University, the “Two Mountains Writing Camps” on Lushan and in Tangshan, and the most successful and influential “Shanghai Writing Program”. The latter, initiated by Wang Anyi in 2008, was inspired precisely by her four-year IWP experience, which led her to wonder whether China could have its own writing program. From “going out” to “inviting in”, this is itself a meaningful practice of cultural identification: China is no longer just a recipient of world literature but has become an active participant and organizer.

Even more institutionally significant is the establishment of the resident writer system and the discipline of “creative writing” in China. Since Ocean University of China invited Wang Meng and others as its first writers-in-residence in 2002, many domestic universities have successively established distinctive writer-in-residence programs. The introduction of the “creative writing” discipline has further brought the traditional question of “whether writers can be cultivated” into the higher education system. Using her own classroom observations at the University of Iowa, the author presents the “creative writing” workshop, where teachers and students participate together in literary creation. This new model of teacher-student relationship and curriculum is quietly transforming the literary education ecology in Chinese universities.

From “China Weekend” to “creative writing”, from the mirroring at historical sites to the identification in contemporary practice, the author outlines a clear trajectory of cultural reflection in this book. The core of this trajectory is the generation and deepening of identification—not only identification with national identity, but also identification with a model of literary exchange, with a concept of creative writing education, and with the way Chinese literature “goes global”. When Chinese writers reflect on themselves in foreign lands, they affirm their cultural roots; when China actively invites writers from around the world to come in and establishes its own “writing programs” in universities, a more subject-conscious cultural posture is taking shape.

The “Sinicization” of the IWP is both a deepening of Sino-foreign literary exchange and an adjustment of Chinese literature’s self-positioning; it is both an appropriation of a successful model and a creative transformation within the local context. The deep driving force behind this transformation is precisely the dialectical logic of affirming the self through the other and looking back at home from a distant place, which is repeatedly presented in the book. As Nie Hualing said at “China Weekend”: “We come from different regions, some from thousands of miles away... to Iowa. This very fact shows that we still have something in common—that is, our feelings for the entire Chinese nation” (UIWP, p. 40). This passage may well serve as the best footnote for understanding the theme of “mirror and identity” in this book. Whether at historical sites or in contemporary practice, this pursuit and affirmation of “something in common” has always been the spiritual undertone of Chinese writers “going global”.

Conclusion

Taking a panoramic view of the entire book, Deng Rubing’s new book, *The Iowa International Writing Program and the Internationalization of Contemporary Chinese Writing* lays its foundation in spatial theory, proceeds to in-depth case studies, and then connects past and present, presenting a clear academic trajectory. It retrieves the authentic texture of history from contingency and detail, directing its gaze toward the complex process through which writers reflect on themselves in foreign lands. Transcending one-directional “influence studies”, it makes the detailed description and analysis of specific events a key focus of research. With its writing style of concrete, micro-level observation and incisive, almost surgical analysis, it not only responds to Cheng Guangwei’s academic warning but also provides a model worthy of reference for contemporary Chinese language and sinology studies, opening new horizons for research on the internationalization of the Chinese language and making significant contributions to the study of contemporary Chinese writing.

When we turn our gaze toward specific historical sites and individual experiences, sinology studies gain a firmer texture and richer layers. The value of this book lies not only in its redrawing of a spiritual map of Chinese writers “going global”, but also in its showing us that every step toward the world is a spiritual journey of affirming the self through the other.

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ORCID

Wang Han ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-1638-7857>

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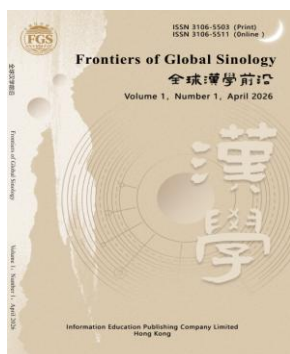
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Mentor, Translator, and Cultural Bearer: A Study on *English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties* Edited by Professor Wan Xuemei

Su Yannan

Abstract: *English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties*, co-compiled by Professor Wan Xuemei and American scholar Frederick Turner, represents a prominent academic achievement in the English translation of classical Chinese poetry in recent years. Adopting a collaborative model between Chinese and foreign scholars and adhering to the core principle of rendering poetic texts with poetic language, the translated work has developed distinctive features in conveying classical imagery, handling rhythm and rhyme, and interpreting cultural connotations. From the three identities of mentor, translator and cultural bearer, this paper examines the significance of the work in translation practice, cross-cultural communication and academic inheritance. It argues that the book provides a feasible collaborative approach for the translation of Chinese classics, effectively asserts the subjectivity of Chinese culture in cross-cultural dialogue, and constitutes a solid and successful attempt to promote the global transmission of excellent traditional Chinese culture.

Keywords: English translation of Tang and Song poetry; poetic translation; cultural transmission; translation practice; *English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties*; exchange and mutual learning among civilizations

Author Biography: Su Yannan, Postgraduate Student, Jiangsu University. Research Interests: English Translation and Cross-cultural Communication. E-mail: suyannanm@qq.com.

标题：师者·译者·传灯者——品读万雪梅教授主编《唐宋诗撷英新译》

摘要：万雪梅教授与美国学者弗雷德里克·特纳联手编译的《唐宋诗撷英新译》是近年来古典汉诗英译领域颇具代表性的学术成果。该译著采取中外学者协同合作的编撰模式，坚持以诗性语言传递诗性文本的核心原则，在古典意象传达、声韵节奏处理与文化内涵阐释等方面形成了独到的风格。从师者、译者、文化传灯者三重身份切入，分析该译著在翻译实践、文化对外传播与学术传承层面的意义，认为其为中华典籍的外译提供了一条可行的中西协作路径，在跨文化交流中有效彰显了中国文化的主体地位，是推动中华优秀传统文化海外传播的一次扎实而成功的尝试。

关键词：唐宋诗歌英译；诗性翻译；文化传播；翻译实践；《唐宋诗撷英新译》；文明交流互鉴

作者简介：苏艳楠，江苏大学硕士研究生，研究方向：英译与跨文化传播，电邮：suyannanm@qq.com。

1. Introduction

Translation is not merely a transformation of linguistic signs, but a dialogue and meaning exchange between different cultures, which plays an irreplaceable role in cross-cultural communication (Munday, 2016). Against the background of the internationalization of excellent traditional Chinese culture, the translation of Chinese classics has become an important dimension of civilizational dialogue and the construction of cultural subjectivity, rather than mere linguistic conversion. In recent years, studies on the English translation of Tang and Song poetry have gradually moved beyond the single approach of literal translation and attached greater importance to cultural transfer and the communication of spiritual values. The academic circle no longer takes “faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance” as the sole criterion, but pays more attention to whether translations carry the cultural genes of the original poems and enable English readers to appreciate the vastness of “the lone smoke rising straight in the desert” and the delicate sentiment of “missing one’s family all the more on festive days”. After more than ten years of cross-cultural dialogue and academic refinement, Professor Wan Xuemei and American scholar Frederick Turner have jointly completed *English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties*¹.

This translation avoids the cultural barriers commonly found in Western translators and remedies the occasionally stiff English expressions of Chinese translators. With an integrated Chinese-foreign collaborative model, it constructs a multicultural dialogue arena for the global dissemination of Chinese classics (Gao & Liu, 2025), and offers significant reference value for general readers, translation researchers, and teachers and students in comparative literature.

2. The Style of a Mentor: Mutual Nourishment Between Teaching Practice and Classic Compilation

Professor Wan Xuemei is a scholar long devoted to frontline teaching. As Professor and PhD Supervisor at the School of Foreign Languages, Jiangsu University, she has long taken cultural inheritance as her academic

¹ Wan Xuemei, Frederick Turner (2024). *English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties*. Nanjing: Southeast University Press. Following citations will only indicate page numbers without further explanation.

mission. In courses such as Comparative Literature and English Novel Studies, she does not confine herself to one-way knowledge delivery, but guides students to perceive the unique character of Chinese culture through the comparison of Chinese and Western cultures. This pedagogical philosophy naturally permeates her compilation and translation of classical works.

Teaching and research reinforce each other in her academic practice. *English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties* provides Hanyu Pinyin for each poem, a detail that duly considers the needs of foreign learners and beginners of Chinese, lowering the threshold for approaching classical poetry and enabling more readers interested in Chinese culture to engage with canonical works. Such a reader-oriented design reflects her years of teaching experience. Meanwhile, she often brings insights from the translation process into the classroom and employs translated poems as teaching materials, realizing interactive integration of research and teaching. This translated work is both an academic output and a practice of cross-cultural education, embodying the principle that teaching and learning promote one another.

After years of research in comparative literature and cross-cultural studies, Professor Wan Xuemei came to understand that differences between Chinese and Western cultures lie not merely in vocabulary, but fundamentally in modes of thinking and aesthetic visions. After extensive discussion, she and Turner reached a consensus: translating classical Chinese poetry into English is not a mere linguistic substitution, but the harmonious coexistence of two ways of perceiving the world and experiencing beauty (Wan & Qian, 2019).

This idea became the guiding principle of the translation: never force Chinese poetry into the metrical framework of Western poetry, nor rigidly replicate Chinese parallel structures. Instead, it follows the natural rhythm of English and strives to preserve the flavour and artistic conception of the original poem. Such an equal, respectful and uncompromising attitude enables the translation to retain the authenticity of the original while remaining natural and coherent.

3. The Wisdom of a Translator: Translation Practice in a Cross-cultural Perspective

The most distinctive feature of *English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties* is its collaborative translation by Chinese and foreign scholars. Grounded in Chinese culture, Professor Wan Xuemei takes overall charge of poem selection, cultural interpretation and structural design. With his sensitivity as an English native poet, Turner conveys the poetic essence in authentic and lyrical English.

3.1 Innovation in the Compilation and Translation Model

Professors Wan and Turner leverage their respective strengths: upholding the cultural core of Chinese poetry while ensuring natural and idiomatic English. This model largely reduces misunderstandings arising from the cultural limitations of a single translator, who may either misinterpret the source culture or adopt excessive domestication to cater to target readers, resulting in the loss of cultural connotations (Venuti, 1995).

For a long time, classical Chinese translation has faced two typical dilemmas: Chinese translators produce culturally accurate but occasionally stiff English; Western translators write fluently yet often misread Chinese culture. This collaborative work effectively addresses both problems. Turner captures the poetic core and composes in line with the aesthetic habits of English readers; Professor Wan supervises the cultural dimension

and corrects potential distortions in imagery and context. Taking Wang Wei's "desert lone smoke" as an instance, the translation (p. 24) correctly interprets "smoke" not as ordinary cooking smoke, retains the core scene of desert, solitude and sunset glow, and achieves a smooth and natural English rhythm, which directly illustrates the merits of the collaborative model.

3.2 Choice of Translation Strategies

The whole work adheres to the principle of "translating poetry with poetry": employing English poetic forms to convey the artistic conception and spirit of classical Chinese poetry, rather than mechanical word-for-word correspondence. In handling imagery, the translation retains distinctively Chinese symbols such as red beans, bright moon, frontier fortress and Peach Blossom Spring without replacing them with Western equivalents, allowing readers to experience the unique charm of Chinese imagery directly. For potentially ambiguous terms such as "bed" in *Quiet Night Thought*, the translation makes appropriate adjustments without impairing poetic flavour (p. 44), avoiding modern misinterpretation and conveying imagery with greater precision.

In terms of prosody, given the phonetic differences between Chinese and English, the translation does not rigidly copy Chinese tonal patterns, parallelism or rhyme schemes, but organises sentences in accordance with English stress patterns, so that the rhythm resonates with the emotional tone of the original poem. The crispness of Du Fu's quatrains, the serenity of Wang Wei's landscape poems, and the forthrightness of Li Bai's farewell poems are all appropriately reflected in prosodic arrangements.

For allusions, customs and cultural emotions embedded in poetry, the translation adopts an approach that is implicit but not obscure, integrating cultural connotations into verses naturally without redundant annotations or explicit elaboration. Distinctively Chinese expressions such as "climbing heights on the Double Ninth Festival" are rendered implicitly, enabling readers to grasp underlying cultural meanings while appreciating poetic beauty without consulting extra materials.

3.3 Analysis of Translation Examples

Example 1: Wang Wei, *Autumn Evening in the Mountains*

English Translation: The mountain's empty after fresh rain, / Autumn permeates evening air; / A bright moon's shining through the needled pine, / Among the stones the spring flows pure and clear. (Original Chinese: 空山新雨后, 天气晚来秋。明月松间照, 清泉石上流。) (p. 30)

The translation preserves all core images: empty mountain, fresh rain, bright moon, pine trees, clear spring and stones. The language is concise and unadorned, retaining the original scene without imposing Western rhetoric. "Empty" echoes the tranquillity of the "empty mountain"; "permeates" captures the spreading aura of autumn, consistent with the quiet harmony pursued in Chinese landscape poetry. The rhythm is gentle and natural without forced rhyming, matching the serene and tranquil mood of the original.

Example 2: Du Fu, *Happy Rain on a Spring Night*

English Translation: A good rain knows the season when it's right, / In spring, on time, it makes things sprout and grow. / Follow the wind, sneak out into the night; / All moist things whisper silently and slow. (Original Chinese: 好雨知时节, 当春乃发生。随风潜入夜, 润物细无声。) (p. 97)

The translation centres on key images including spring rain, night wind and all living creatures. “Sneak out” vividly depicts the quiet arrival of rain; “whisper silently and slow” reproduces the gentle quality of rain nourishing all things. The appreciation of spring rain rooted in agrarian culture is conveyed implicitly rather than explicitly. The alternation of long and short sentences and varied stress create a soft and steady rhythm, consistent with the fine, silent nature of spring rain.

Example 3: Li Bai, *To Wang Lun*

English Translation: Li Bai has got aboard his boat, his journey will be long; / Upon the bank he hears the sound of footsteps and of song. / The Peach-Tree Lake is deep, so deep, a thousand feet wellnigh, / But not as deep as Wang Lun’s heart as he bids me goodbye. (Original Chinese: 李白乘舟将欲行，忽闻岸上踏歌声。桃花潭水深千尺，不及汪伦送我情。) (p. 43)

The translation retains iconic scenes such as boating, singing on the bank and Peach-Tree Lake; “Peach-Tree Lake” maintains its cultural connotation; “footsteps and of song” recreates the traditional singing custom. The metaphor of deep pool for profound friendship is strengthened by the repetition of “deep”. The rhyme scheme (long/song, wellnigh/goodbye) conforms to English poetic conventions, lending musicality to the lines and conveying sincerity and boldness.

4. The Responsibility of a Cultural Bearer: Cultural Transmission and Academic Value

In this book, Professor Wan Xuemei demonstrates not only the care of an educator and the expertise of a translator, but also the consciousness and commitment of a “cultural lamp-bearer”. What she undertakes is not a mere linguistic conversion of Chinese poetry, but the transmission of the spiritual core and aesthetic charm of classical poetry across linguistic boundaries, so that readers around the world can perceive and appreciate them.

In cultural transmission, the book is gentle yet resolute: it neither caters to Western tastes nor imposes Chinese values, but presents the landscape conception, human warmth and reflections on life in Chinese poetry through natural and poetic expressions for English readers. As they read, they can naturally perceive the aesthetic ideal of “harmony between man and nature”, the value of loyalty and affection, and the love for nature in Chinese culture (Wan & Qian, 2019), and gradually understand and embrace Chinese culture through aesthetic resonance. More importantly, it consistently stands on the position of Chinese culture, fully preserving the cultural root and spiritual temperament of poetry, clearly asserting the subjectivity of Chinese culture in cross-cultural dialogue, and presenting overseas readers with an authentic, gentle and profound Chinese civilisation.

Academically and practically, *English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties* carries remarkable value. In translation practice, the in-depth Chinese-foreign collaboration strikes a balance between cultural authenticity and linguistic fluency, avoiding cultural misreading and stiff expressions, and provides a replicable paradigm for the translation of classical poetry and more Chinese classics. In academic research, it breaks the previous pattern centred on Western translators and offers new texts and perspectives for the study of Chinese-foreign collaborative translation and cross-cultural poetics. Furthermore, the work can be directly

applied to translation teaching and talent development, transforming practical experience into teaching resources, facilitating the positive interaction between cultural inheritance and academic research, and continuously accumulating experience for the translation of Chinese classics.

5. Conclusion

English Translation of Poems from the Tang and Song Dynasties, polished by Professor Wan Xuemei and Professor Turner, is a professionally rigorous and humanely warm translated work. Guided by the core idea of “translating poetry with poetic language”, it achieves high fidelity in restoring imagery, shaping rhythm and conveying cultural connotations. Supported by the Chinese-foreign collaborative model, it paves a feasible and sustainable path for classical Chinese poetry to go global.

This book is not only a high-quality literary translation, but also a practical vehicle for cultural transmission. While promoting mutual visibility and learning among civilisations, it firmly establishes the subjectivity of Chinese culture and provides a tangible reference for academic research and teaching in classical translation. On the journey of spreading excellent traditional Chinese culture worldwide, such professional and warm translations uphold the authentic poetic nature of classical poetry and enable the millennia-old Eastern aesthetics to radiate unique charm in cross-cultural exchanges.

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ORCID

Su Yannan ^{ID} <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-7163-2398>

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