Nietzsche in China

1904-1992

AN ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled with an Introduction by
Cheung Chiu-yee
Nietzsche in China
(1904-1992)
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Compiled
with Introduction
by
CHUNLING CHEN

Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs New Series No. 10
The Australian National University, Canberra
1992
McPherson in China (1804-1880)
Rieht~che in China
(1904-1992)
An Annotated Bibliography

尼采在中国简注书目

Compiled
with Introduction
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Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs New Series No. 19
The Australian National University, Canberra
1992
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION ...................................................................... i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .................................................................. xxi
EDITOR'S NOTE ................................................................ xxiii
ABBREVIATIONS ................................................................ xxvi
SOURCES .................................................................................. xxviii

CHART ......................................................................................... xxxiii

PART ONE ...................................................................................... 1

*Die Geburt der Tragödie (The Birth of Tragedy)* .................................................. 1
*Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen (Untimely Meditations)* ....................................... 3
*Menschliches, Allzumenschliches (Human, All-Too-Human)* .......................... 4
*Die Morgenröte (Daybreak)* ........................................................................ 6
*Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft (The Gay Science)* ............................................. 6
*Also Sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spoke Zarathustra)* .................................... 7
*Jenseits von Gut und Böse (Beyond Good and Evil)* ................................... 12
*Die Genealogie der Moral (On the Geneology of Morals)* ............................ 13
*Der Fall Wagner (The Case of Wagner)* ....................................................... 14
*Die Götzten-Dämmerung (Twilight of the Idols)* ........................................ 14
*Nietzsche Contra Wagner* ........................................................................ 15
*Der Antichrist (The Antichrist)* .................................................................. 15
*Ecce Homo* ...................................................................................... 16
INTRODUCTION

After compiling this bibliography, I felt the need to write a short introduction to provide a general picture of Nietzsche's influence on China. There have already been a number of distinguished papers on this topic which listed in “Part Two” and “Appendix II”; ¹ I do not intend to repeat the work of previous studies, but the present bibliography is only a collection of separate pieces and cannot present a whole picture. Many important and interesting articles have had to be excluded in accordance with the compilation guidelines. I can only seek pardon for their omission in this introduction. A number of interesting works and figures have not been investigated in existing studies. This introduction also seeks to cover these neglected aspects of Nietzsche's influence. I hope that scholars will find this introduction informative and helpful for their studies.

Nietzsche was first introduced to the Chinese in 1902. Since then, the rise and fall of his fame can be roughly divided into four stages: first, during the May Fourth era (including its preparation period); second, in the 1930s and the 1940s; third in the 1960s and 1970s in Taiwan; and fourth, in post-Mao mainland China.

Before the May Fourth movement, prominent Chinese intellectuals had already noticed Nietzsche. According to recent studies, Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929) was the first one who mentioned Nietzsche

¹ See #2.170, 2.179, 2.217, 2.233, 2.305, 4.6, 4.21, 4.28, 4.34, 4.36, 4.41.
with harsh criticism. Another intellectual leader not included in this bibliography is Zhang Taiyan (1868-1936) who, on the contrary, recommended some of Nietzsche's ideas to the revolutionaries when he was living in exile in Japan between 1906 and 1911. As shown in this bibliography, it was not only the reformist and revolutionary thinkers who mentioned Nietzsche. The famous traditionalist Wang Guowei (1877-1927) also introduced Nietzsche's philosophy. More interestingly, Wang Guowei incorporated Nietzsche's ideas into his treatises on traditional Chinese poetry criticism.

Interest in Nietzsche grew, culminating in the May Fourth and the preceding cultural revolution. This marked the first peak of Nietzsche's influence in China. The movement was actually labelled by one of its leaders, Hu Shi (1891-1962), as a movement of Nietzsche's "transvaluation of all values". During the movement, especially at its height, every intellectual leader of the cultural revolution made public reference to Nietzsche. Chen Duxiu (1879-1942) and Lu Xun

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2 "Jinhualun gemingzhe Jiede zhi xueshuo", Xin min cong bao, 18 (16 October 1902).
3 "Bo shen wo xianzheng shuo" (15 November 1906) and "Da Tiezheng" (8 June 1907), Zhang Taiyan quanji, IV (Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1985), pp. 314-5: 374-5.
4 "Renjian cihua" (1908), Wang Guowei yi shu (Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1983), XV, p. 3.
6 Chen Duxiu referred to Nietzsche in many essays but none of them is listed in this bibliography: "Jing gao qingnian" (15 September 1915); "Falanxiren yu jin shi wenming" (15 September 1915); "Dong xi minzu genben zhi sixiang chayi" (15 December 1915); "Rensheng zhen yi" (15 February 1916); "Dangdai er da kexuejia zhi sixiang" (1 November 1916); "Zai zhiwen Dongfang zachi jizhe"; "Da Huaishan Yimin" (1 March 1917); "Shandong wenti yu guomin juexing" (26 May 1919); "Jidujiao yu Zhongguoren" (1 February 1920). They can be found in Duxiu wencun (Shanghai Yadong Tushuguan, 1923), shang, pp. 3-4, 15, 36, 70, 74, 182, 418; xia, pp. 61, 645.
Lu Xun's major essays about Nietzsche are: "Moluo shi li shuo" (1907); "Wenhua pianzhi lun" (1907); "Du he yu yin Ju" (4 November 1918); "Sui gan lu 41" (15 January 1919); "Nalaizuyi" (4 June 1934); "Zhongguo xinwenxue da xi. Xiaoshuo er ji xu" (2 March 1935); "Po e sheng lun" (1908), Lu Xun quanji (Renmin Wenzxue Chubanshe, Beijing, 1981), I, pp. 49, 52, 55, 63, 64, 78, 325-26; VI, pp. 38-40, 238-56; VII, p. 36; VIII, pp. 28-29. For details, see #2.288 and #2.159. However, they did not mention that Lu Xun had also translated Mori Ogai's preface to Ikuta Chōkō's Japanese translation of Also sprach Zarathustra, "Chenmo zhi ta", Lu Xun quanji (Renmin Wenzxue Chubanshe, Beijing, 1973), pp. 431-44.

8 See #2.179; 4.5.
9 See #2.6.
10 See #2.179.
12 Xinchao, I:3 (1 February 1919), p. 555.
“Chinese Nietzsche” Lu Xun. At that time, Lu Xun was also anxiously seeking a “genius”, a synonym of “superman” in the vocabulary of both Lu Xun and Fu Sinian. In the second section of “Random Thoughts”, Fu Sinian considered the opinions expressed in Lu Xun’s essays were very much close to that of Tolstoy and Nietzsche. He wrote to Lu Xun for advice. Lu Xun replied, and later sent him his translation of the “Prologue” of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* which was published in the *New Tide*. Evidently Lu Xun and Fu Sinian found a common course in Nietzsche’s philosophy, although their collaboration failed to flower, because Fu Sinian soon went to England.

Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1968), another leading figure of the cultural revolution is a more complicated case still awaiting thorough investigation. Preliminary research shows that, as with Lu Xun, the young Zhou Zuoren had also found himself somewhat entangled in the conflicts between Tolstoy’s humanism and Nietzsche’s theory of “superman”. Confronting Nietzsche with Tolstoy in such a way was in fact quite fashionable in this period and can be traced back to the turn of this century in Japan and perhaps further back in Europe. Zhou Zuoren’s later break with Nietzsche interestingly coincided with his

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14 See #2.288, pp. 73-75.
15 Their correspondence were published in *Xinchao*, 1:5, pp. 944-46.
16 See #1.30.
17 Zhou Zuoren shuxin (Qingguang Shuju, Shanghai, 1933), pp. 2-3. He is also impressed by Nietzsche’s “eternal recurrence”. See “Zao he qiao. xu” (5 July, 1931), *Kan yun ji* (Kaiming Shudian, Shanghai, 1932), pp. 196-97.
break with his brother Lu Xun,\textsuperscript{19} whose “title”, the “Chinese Nietzsche”, Zhou Zuoren was well aware of.\textsuperscript{20}

As already shown in many studies, famous creative writers of the May Fourth era were interested in Nietzsche, e.g. Mao Dun\textsuperscript{21} (1896-1981) of the Literature Study Association 文学研究会, Yu Dafu 郁达夫 (1896-1945), Tian Han 田汉 (1898-1968),\textsuperscript{22} and Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) of the Creation Society 创造社.\textsuperscript{23} But no one mentioned Xu Zhimo's 徐志摩 (1896-1931) contribution to the Nietzsche’s fame in China. Xu Zhimo, famous poet and essayist, not only introduced Nietzsche in lectures, but also recommended Nietzsche’s \textit{The Birth of Tragedy} as one of the “Ten Essential Books for Young People” \textit{《青年必读的十本书》}.\textsuperscript{24}

Another poet Bai Cai 白采 (1894-1926), as short lived as Xu Zhimo but less famous, was yet another considered to be influenced by Nietzsche. Although Bai Cai published prolifically in the twenties, he generally failed to find mention in histories of modern Chinese literature. Bai Cai was closely associated with a small circle, the Lida Society 立达学会, founded in March 1925 in Jiangwan, Shanghai. Most of the founders and members of the Lida Society were famous men of letters like Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊 (1886-1946), Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898-1948), Ye Shaojun 叶绍钧 (1894-1988), Yu Pingbo 俞平伯

\textsuperscript{20} See #2.288, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{21} See #2.10 and Tian Han “Shiren yu laodong wenti (xu)”, \textit{Shaonian Zhongguo}, I, no. 9 (March 1920), p. 39.
\textsuperscript{23} Xu Zhimo, “Qingnian bi du shu”. \textit{Jing Bao} (fukan), 16 February 1925.
(1900-1990), and Zhu Guangqian 朱光潜 (1897-1986). Bai Cai’s long poem “The Love of a Sick Man” 《廬吏者之愛》 was considered by Zhu Ziqing as deeply influenced by Nietzsche.24 Zhu mentioned this in a letter to Yu Pingbo, who told him that Bai Cai had agreed with his comments.25 Guo Moruo shared Zhu’s opinion about Bai Cai, according to Yu.26 Unfortunately, Bai Cai died too young to enjoy much attention.

There were also a few minor literary circles which Lu Xun regarded as touched by Nietzsche’s influence: “The Storm Society” 狂飆社 and “The Sunken Bell Society” 沉鐘社.27 However, the Nietzschean message in the works of the “Sunken Bell” group is probably a figment of Lu Xun’s own thinking. I incline to the opinion that Lu Xun had read Nietzsche into their works.28 Nevertheless, Gao Changhong 高长虹 (1902-1949?), a major figure in “The Storm Society”, had a clear affinity with Lu Xun and Nietzsche.29 Both his style and ideas were considered “Nietzschean” by Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, although Gao Changhong himself demurred.30

According to Jie Xuexi’s 解學熙 recent studies, Luo Heizhi 罗黑芷 and Zhang Shuiqi 張水淇, two young writers in the 1920s, were influenced by Nietzsche’s individualism. Zhang Shuiqi wrote a book

28 See #4.34.
29 See his “Cao shu ji nian”, *Mangyuan*, 13 (10 July, 1926), pp. 560-64; *Zou dao chubanjie* (Taidong Shuju, Shanghai, 1929).
called *Ah Men du yu*《阿门独语》(The Soliloquy of Ah Men) which was similar to *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.\(^{31}\)

Though not a study of Nietzsche, Bingxin’s 冰心 (1900–) short story “Superman”《超人》(1921) may be treated as part of the Nietzsche impact. The term “superman” is used in a sense closely related to Nietzsche’s doctrines.\(^{32}\) In Bingxin’s story, the “superman” figure appears to be cold, hard, taciturn, and without feeling towards other human beings. In a short essay by Zhang Yiping 章衣萍 (1900–1947), we are also told that there was a young man nicknamed “the little Nietzsche” only because he did not show enough interest towards females and did not want to be married.\(^{33}\) Such is the image of Nietzsche and his teaching of “superman” perceived by the Chinese public at that time. Though Zhang Yiping had not written anything about Nietzsche, he recommended *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* to the young people in a reading list of essential non-Chinese books.\(^{34}\)

Besides those creative writers, there was an important philosopher in this period: Li Shicen 李石岑 (1892–1934). Li was a prolific writer on modern Western philosophy mainly in the twenties. Among many articles and essays, he produced the first book in China which systematically introduced Nietzsche’s philosophy. Probably because of his early death, Li Shicen has been largely ignored in the academic worlds of both the mainland and Taiwan. Although Western scholars

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\(^{31}\) See #2.406.

\(^{32}\) It is discussed at last in #4.34.


have started to notice him since the seventies, e.g. Marián Gálik, only
the PhD dissertation by D. A. Kelly (The University of Sydney, 1981)
took the initiative of studying him alone. Li Shicen deserves more
attention and further study.

The second period is a special and interesting stage of Nietzsche’s
influence in China. As shown in the chart, there were more Nietzsche
publications in the thirties than in the May Fourth era. More
publications, however, does not necessarily confirm that Nietzsche was
more popular and influential. There are several reasons for this unusual
situation. As I have already noted, this bibliography alone can not
provide a complete picture of Nietzsche’s influence. Many essays which
expounded Nietzsche’s ideas in the twenties have not been selected
because they do not match the compilation guide-lines of this
bibliography: they have only a few lines on Nietzsche (nevertheless,
most of these essays have been mentioned in this introduction).
Secondly, with the deterioration of the political situation in China, the
main concern of the majority of Chinese intellectuals turned to more
immediate and direct issues of society. More and more intellectuals
turned left after the late twenties. The reason for this shift was not that
they realised the “reactionary essence” of Nietzsche’s philosophy and
found the truth in Marxism as asserted by communist commentators
and claimed later by some writers themselves.\textsuperscript{35} They came to see,\textsuperscript{35}
rather, that had in order to achieve the “liberation of one’s individuality”
the goal they cherished in the May Fourth era and the ideal
they found in Nietzsche, they had first to transform the encompassing
social order. Much of this seems coherent, logical, and even inevitable

\textsuperscript{35} See, for example, a note by the author of #2.25.
given the historical context of modern China. Nietzsche’s influence was not terminated or rejected by progressive writers but underwent subtle adjustments. Of course, such a shift affected the nature and amount of Nietzsche literature in this period. Conversely, the Kuomintang government’s experiments with fascism also helped promote the fascist version of Nietzsche. The use of Nietzsche to publicise fascism triggered counter-attacks from left-wing intellectuals which in turn increased the volume of Nietzsche publications. Under these circumstance, part of the Nietzsche literature in this period was politically motivated and emphasised different aspects of Nietzsche’s philosophy from the previous stage.36

In this special period, there were three philosophers in the academic world who helped the spread of Nietzsche’s thinking. Two of them had studied in Germany and majored in philosophy. The most active and prolific of these was Chen Quan 陈铨 (1903-1969) who later tried to bring his version of Nietzsche’s philosophy into practice and was actively involved in the circle associated with the political journal *Stratagems of the Warring States* 《战国策》 in the forties which had been labelled as fascist by left-wing intellectuals.37 The second was He Lin 贺麟 (1902- ), also a promoter of Confucianism. During the Second World War, He Lin defended Nietzsche against the accusation that Nietzsche was the advocate of fascism and argued that Nietzsche’s philosophy should be understood in an aesthetic perspective rather than

a political perspective. The third was Fang Dongmei 张东美 (1899-1977) whose relation to Nietzsche was discussed for the first time by Marián Gálík in his pioneer study of Nietzsche in China. Fang Dongmei’s affinity with Nietzsche came from his interest in aesthetics and his study on Bergson’s philosophy of life. His MA thesis was “A Critical Exposition of the Bergsonian Philosophy of Life” and he was once crowned as the “Chinese Santayana”. We should probably include Lin Tongji 林同济 (1906-1982) here, who later became a Shakespeare expert. Lin Tongji was very prolific and active during the war. He consciously promoted Nietzsche’s philosophy and was also a major contributor to the Stratagems of the Warring States.

A previous member of “The Storm Society” Chang Yansheng 常燕生 (1898-1947) also showed “affinities” with Nietzsche, albeit with distorted versions of the latter’s ideas. The “affinities” can be found in his advocacy of romanticism, philosophy of life, will and power.

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38 “Deguo wenxue yu zhuxue de jiaohu yingxiang”, Sixiang yu shidai yuekan, 24 (1 July 1943), pp. 30-31. His Deguo san da zhuxuejia chu guonan shi zhi taidu (Daxue Chubanshe, 1935) does not have any chapter or section devoted to Nietzsche.
social Darwinism, irrationalism, and fascism. In the forties, Chang Yansheng borrowed Nietzsche’s words and called for a “revaluation of all values”. He transformed, according to his social Darwinism, Nietzsche’s “superman” into “social superman” which he referred to the military powers in his time. Because of his totalitarian tendencies, Chang Yansheng strongly opposed the individualism in Nietzsche’s “superman”. Like Chen Duxiu, he also used Nietzsche’s terms of master and slave moralities to criticise the Chinese. His political ideas resembled those of the “Stratagems of the Warring States” school.

Two further figures in this period deserve mention: Feng Zhi (1905-) and Chu Tunan (b. 1899). Since the late thirties, Feng Zhi has translated a few poems of Nietzsche and published quite a number of essays on Nietzsche. Most of them appeared in Today’s Review, an obscure magazine published in the remote city of Kunming during the war of resistance against the Japanese invasion.

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45 “Chongxin guding yiqie jiazhi” (1940), in Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji, I, op. cit., pp. 6-11.
47 “Duiyu xiandai Zhongguo gerenzhuyi wenxue chaoliu de kangyi” (December 1935), in Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji, II, op. cit., p. 926.
49 E.g. “Xin Zhan Guo shidai de rensheheng taidu” (1940) and “Guanyu xin Zhan Guo shidai” (1940), in Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji, II, op. cit., pp. 967-74, 1015-37.
Feng Zhi’s most significant contribution was his defence of Nietzsche against the criticism from the left and the distortion from the right.\(^{50}\) His voice, however, received scant attention. As for Feng Zhi’s literary works, some of his poems are considered to bear traces of Nietzsche’s existentialism.\(^{51}\)

Chu Tunan, who later became a prominent figure in the Communist government, was one of the translators of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Like G. Colli and M. Montinari, editors of a great critical edition of Nietzsche’s works, Chu Tunan actively engaged in anti-fascist struggle inspired by Nietzsche. He also published a number of essays in which traces of the influence of Lu Xun and Nietzsche are evident.\(^{52}\) There was another prolific Nietzsche writer and translator Yang Baiping who should be investigated, but unfortunately little is known about him except that he was a young scholar at that time.\(^{53}\)

The third peak of Nietzsche’s impact, which was confined to Taiwan because of the absolute rejection of Nietzsche by the communist ideology in the mainland, was a by-product of the global spread of existentialism after the Second World War. Most of the items I have collected here are among this existentialist literature. Nietzsche was now seen as a forerunner of existentialism and his books were very popular among young intellectuals. Although a number of new translations of Nietzsche’s works were published and old translations reprinted, most of them were unfortunately based on unreliable English translations.

\(^{50}\) See #2.73.
\(^{51}\) See #2.406, shang, pp. 53-54.
\(^{53}\) See #4.28, p. 456.
Some official and semi-official commentators in Taiwan expressed hostility towards the intrusion of existentialism. One of them actually criticised existentialism as "thought pollution", a term similar to that used in campaigns to eradicate "bourgeois liberal ideologies", including Nietzsche's philosophy, by the Chinese Communist nearly 20 years later.

Among those who study and introduce Nietzsche, Chen Guying 陈鼓应 (1935- ), Zhao Yabo 赵雅博 (1906- ) and Li Yongchi 李永炽 were most prolific. Zhao Yabo is a professor in Furen University lecturing on Western philosophy. Li Yongchi teaches in National Taiwan University, where he specialises in Japanese studies; and his studies on Nietzsche are based on Japanese sources.

Of these three scholars, Chen Guying is probably the most interesting case. Chen Guying graduated from the Research Institute of Philosophy at Taiwan University. He was a student of Fang Dongmei and it is probably due to Fang Dongmei that he decided to devote his MA thesis to Nietzsche. A few years later, he became a professor and lectured on Nietzsche at Taiwan University. In 1970, Chen Guying became involved in political activities which led to his dismissal from the university in 1973. He left Taiwan in 1979 for the United States as a research fellow in Chinese politics. Since then the Taiwan government has refused to issue him a return visa. He then went to mainland China in 1984 and lectured on Nietzsche and Taoism in Beijing University. Chen Guying was the first to introduce Walter

Kaufmann’s existentialist version of Nietzsche to the Chinese in Taiwan in the 1960s and 1970s and later brought this new perspective on Nietzsche’s philosophy over to the mainland in the 1980s. He has in fact catalysed the “Nietzsche Renaissance” in China.

The third wave of Nietzsche’s influence started in the late seventies and eighties in mainland China when the Chinese communists adopted the so-called “open-door policy”. The breakthrough began separately in the studies of aesthetics and modern Chinese literature, especially in the studies of Lu Xun. Scholars who wrote about Lu Xun and Nietzsche, however, showed little interest in drawing inspiration from the new developments in Nietzsche studies.

The wave began in 1978 when comparative studies of Nietzsche and Lu Xun were no longer taboo. Since then, quite a number of articles and books were published. Studies on Nietzsche alone, however, did not really start until the rehabilitation of Zhu Guangqian and his theory of aesthetics. In the preface to a Chinese translation of his *The Psychology of Tragedy*, Zhu Guangqian admitted for the first time that his theory of aesthetics was influenced by Nietzsche rather than by Schopenhauer or Croce as he had previously claimed. In an essay “Zhu Guangqian and Nietzsche” (1983), Cheng Daixi argued that Nietzsche was only a bourgeois thinker, not a fascist advocate. Cheng Daixi’s argument has made Nietzsche less

58 See #2.212.
reactionary to the communist ideology. Nietzsche literature in China, though mostly confined to aesthetics, began to mushroom.

Nietzsche’s concepts of Dionysian and Apollonian arts were particularly fashionable and some young scholars and critics were eager to employ them in their studies, but some of them appear to lack scholarly objectivity. Publication of the translations of C. G. Jung’s *Psychological Types*, Ruth Benedict’s *Patterns of Culture* and *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* may have contributed indirectly to the spread of Nietzsche’s concepts of Dionysian and Apollonian arts, especially during the “culture fad” in the late eighties.

Chen Guying played a significant part in the process of this “Nietzsche Renaissance”. His lectures on Nietzsche at Beijing University, starting from 1984, encouraged students and young scholars...

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60 The most extreme example is Luo Qianglie (see #2.332) who regards many of the Chinese literary writings in the 1980s are heralds of Nietzsche’s Dionysian art. However, Luo Qianglie’s enthusiasm has turned Nietzsche’s concepts into a Procrustean Bed. For example, his assertion that Moyan’s story “The Red Sorghum Clan” demonstrates the Dionysian spirit, has totally ignored the similar spirit expressed in classical Chinese literature such as “Water Margin” and “The Tale of the Three Kingdoms”.


64 E.g. He Xizhang, one of the translators of L. Benedict’s *Patterns of Culture*, has tried to employ the concepts in his study of modern Chinese literature. See He Xizhang and Long Quanming, “Wenhua moshi de neizai guiding yu zhiyue”, *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan*, 1989, no. 4, pp. 138-155.
Nietzsche in China

to look at the "reactionary" philosopher in a new perspective. Collections of his previous studies on Nietzsche, which provide an existentialist and de-Nazified version of Nietzsche, were published in the mainland and in Hong Kong.65 His comparative study of Nietzsche and Taoism has already inspired a few essays.66 In 1983-84, the present writer published parts of his revised BA thesis also introducing Walter Kaufmann's rehabilitation of Nietzsche in a Hong Kong newspaper which has wide circulation in the mainland.67

The "open-door policy" has also opened up other new academic fields such as existentialism and irrationalism in which Nietzsche is one of the major figures.68

The popularity of Nietzsche in China was not solely due to the relaxation of ideological control and confined to the academic world. It had a social and historical background. After the Cultural Revolution, which officially ended in 1976, Maoism began to collapse and an ideological vacuum gradually emerged in China. Chinese intellectuals started to re-think the communist blue-print of the future of China. Nietzsche's voluntarism and his ideas such as "nihilism" and "revaluation of all values" answered the vexation of young Chinese scholars and students.69 With the consolidation of the reforms in the early eighties, the Chinese government began to encourage individuals to pursue personal betterment. The new policy unexpectedly encouraged intellectuals to turn into their inner world and so created a favourable

65 See #2.318, #2.328.
66 See #2.295, #2.359.
67 See #2.203. The articles later reprinted in a bulletin of comparative literature in Guangzhou and a journal of Lu Xun studies.
68 E.g. #2.254, #2.271. See also Xing Bensi, "Jin nianlai woguo zhexue de ruogan redian wenti (xu)". Zhhexue yanjiu. 1991 no. 6. pp. 14-16.
atmosphere for Nietzschean ideas such as “the will to power” and “superman”. The new policy which emphasised economic achievement at the same time, also led to the prevalence of vulgar materialism which in turn reinforced Nietzschean egoism as a shield for intellectuals to protect their identity. Nietzsche’s cultural criticism has also became a weapon for Chinese intellectuals to struggle against the threats from economism and technologism. It is in this historical and social context that Nietzsche was accepted.

According to a survey in an official magazine, Chinese students were so enthusiastic about Nietzsche that this period of Western influence between 1985 and 1987 was labelled the stage of “will to power”. Like a rock star, Nietzsche became so popular that one girl said she would marry him if he had still been alive.70 There were at least two PhD students working on Nietzsche before 1989: Zhou Guoping 周国平 and An Yanming 安延明 in the Academy of Social Science, Beijing. As shown in this bibliography, Zhou Guoping is a very prolific Nietzsche writer and translator. He was the first scholar in the mainland to point out the unreliability of Nietzsche’s “masterpiece” The Will to Power and the misunderstanding of the concept “the will to power”.71 A lecturer in Beijing Normal University, Liu Xiaobo 刘晓波 (1955- ), was also active in promoting Nietzschean ideas among students and in literary circles, although he did not devote any article solely to Nietzsche.72

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71 See #2.247, #2.250-2.253.
72 See his Xuanzede pipan—Yu Li Zehou duihua, Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1988, pp. 2-10, 18-19, 36-37; “Zhongguoshi exing da xunhuan de genyuan”, Ming bao yuekan, 1988:8, pp. 43, 45-46. For detail, see Kelly (#4.41).
It must be emphasised that there was a continual counter current against Nietzsche's popularity during this period. Officialdom exploited every opportunity to blame Nietzsche's philosophy for causing campus unrest, for events ruining certain students' future, and Nietzsche's thinking was even held responsible in a murder case.

As for the translation of Nietzsche's works, Zhang Niandong is working on the first Chinese translation of philosophic notes of the 1880s, a different arrangement of the notorious non-book *The Will to Power*, based on Karl Schlechta's edition. In spite of a number of translations of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* having been published, Xu Fancheng is revising his previous version and Qian Chunqi is working on his own. After the June Fourth Incident, it is unlikely that they can be published in the foreseeable future.

The political turmoil of 1989 caused a short interruption of Nietzsche's influence in mainland China. After the June Fourth Incident, the situation was very confusing. On one hand, we could still find a few studies on Nietzsche being published; on the other hand, those who formerly promoted Nietzsche seemed to encounter some difficulties in continuing their studies and in publishing their works.

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73 E.g. #2.310.
75 See #1.99, #2.342.
76 See #2.338 and Mo Yu, "Xiandai yi shi mingji (er) — Qian Chunqi", *Dongfang zazhi* (fukan) XXIII:5 (1 October 1989), p. 75.
For example, Liu Xiaobo was criticised and put into jail.\textsuperscript{77} The obvious effect of the Incident was a sharp downfall of Nietzsche publications in 1990.

In 1991, the situation in mainland China was still unclear. Although articles on Nietzsche continued to be published, nearly all of them appeared in obscure journals in small towns or remote areas. Some scholars simply sent their works overseas. Even though some of the arguments in those articles are fairly open-minded and even radical, their publication cannot be considered as a signal of relaxation.

It is unfortunate to see this gloomy cloud of tension and uncertainty hovering in the sky of 1992, the centenary anniversary of the introduction of Nietzsche to China. However, Nietzsche would probably be happy to find that his teachings are still dangerous.

CHIU-YEE CHEUNG

1 April, 1992. University of Sydney

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank Dr Mabel Lee 陈顺娴 and Mr Toshihiko Kobayashi 小林寿彦 of Sydney University, Dr David A. Kelly of The Australian National University, Professor Li Yuzhong 李育中 of Huanan Normal University, Associate Professor Li Weijiang 李伟江 of Zhongshan University, Associate Professor Tang Dahui 唐达晖 of Wuhan University, Associate Professor Zhang Sanxi 张三夕 of Huazhong Normal University, Dr Zheng Hailin 郑海麟, Ms Qian Yan 钱彦 of Macquarie University, Ms He Guanghua 何光华 of University of New South Wales, Mr Wei Lingdun 危令敦 of University of Wisconsin, Ms Chen Xiao 陈晓 of Sydney University, Mr Raoul David Findeisen of University of Bonn, Mr Huang Jianshe 黄建澐, my brother Kwan-ye Kwan-ye supported me to study in Australia and helped me to overcome one of
the most difficult times in my life. Without them, this bibliography would have never been compiled.
EDITOR'S NOTE

This bibliography is mainly based on the one contained in my Nicai yu Lu Xun sixiang fazhan (Nietzsche and the Development of Lu Xun's Thought, Hong Kong, May 1987). At almost the same time, Mr R. D. Findeisen published his bibliography in Germany. The two bibliographies contain a similar number of items, 218 in mine and 215 in Mr Findeisen's. However, due to differences in sources and the criteria we used in selection, both bibliographies have a number of exclusive entries. Since the appearance of my bibliography in 1987, I have had access to various additional sources and have discovered many more items. I have also been able to correct many mistakes, especially bibliographical data. In this new edition, I have sought to include as much bibliographical information as is available. However, because of different guidelines I have used in this bibliography, a number of items in Findeisen's version and a few in mine have to be excluded.

This bibliography is divided into two parts. The first part includes translations of Nietzsche's works. The second part contains works, translations, etc., about Nietzsche published in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Items in the first part have been arranged under the titles of Nietzsche's works in chronological order. Items in the second part have been arranged in chronological order according to their first editions.

In the second part of this bibliography, I have continued the procedure of organizing the entries in chronological order, a procedure which is rather unconventional nowadays. There are two reasons for
adoption of a chronological ordering. Firstly, the main drawback of a chronological arrangement had been the problem of determining publication dates. Today most of the dates in this bibliography have been confirmed. Secondly, chronological order can provide an overall view of the publications in a certain period something which cannot be provided by an alphabetical arrangement of authors' names. Furthermore, the convenience of an alphabetical name order can be provided by a name index of contributors. A name index, including collaborators and translators, is in fact more useful than a mere name order.

The following points regarding entries should also be noted:
1. All items are given in simplified Chinese characters, *hanyu pinyin* and English translation, but are annotated only in English.
2. Items for which only the titles have been found are marked with the symbol “*t*”.
3. Entries concerning Nietzsche in dictionaries, encyclopaedias, etc. have been included in this bibliography if they are translated from other languages than Chinese, or if they are contributed by acknowledged authors.
4. General works, such as histories of Western philosophy, have been included only if a particular chapter or section is devoted to Nietzsche.
5. Short notes, prefaces, and appendices (such as chronologies of Nietzsche’s life and works) to translations and to different editions have not been treated as separate entries, unless they have specific titles or have been published elsewhere.
6. Parodies of Nietzsche’s works have been included in “Appendix I”.

xxiv
7. Works relating to Nietzsche and China (including comparative studies of Nietzsche and Chinese philosophy) but published outside China, Taiwan and Hong Kong have been included in “Appendix II”.

8. Journals are quoted in volume and issue or part numbers, e.g. “III:5” means volume 3 no. 5. Monthly journals are quoted in year and issue numbers, e.g. “1978:4” means the April issue in 1978.
ABBREVIATIONS


周国平：《悲剧的诞生－尼采美学文选》，生活·读书·新知三联书店。


陈鼓应：《悲剧哲学家尼采》，台湾商务印书馆。


陈鼓应：《悲剧哲学家尼采》，生活·读书·新知三联书店。


陈铨：《从叔本华到尼采》，在创出版社。

CZ: Kaofuman (ed.). *Cunzaizhuyi zhexue*, tr. into Chinese by Chen Guying et al, Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, January 1971; April 1971, 2nd impression; October 1984, 7th impression.

考夫曼：《存在主义哲学》，台湾商务印书馆。

Abbreviations

FBZ(B6): Remin Daxue shubao fuyin zhongxin (ed.). *Baokan fuyin ziliao. B6 Waiguo zhexue yu zhexueshi*, 人民大学书报刊复印中心编：《报刊复印资料·外国哲学与哲学史》

FBZ(J31): Remin Daxue shubao fuyin zhongxin (ed.). *Baokan fuyin ziliao. J31 Lu Xun yanjiu*, 人民大学书报刊复印中心编：《报刊复印资料·鲁迅研究》

MC: *Minguo congshu*, Shanghai Shuju, October 1989. With serial and volume numbers. 《民国丛书》，上海书局。


NX: Chen Guying. *Nicai xin lun* (A New Study of Nietzsche), Shangwu Yinshuguan, Hong Kong, February 1988. 陈鼓应：《尼采新论》，商务印书馆。
SOURCES
(for translations and unobtainable items)

BZY: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue baokan ziliao zhongxin (ed.). Baokan ziliao suoyin. Year, part, and page number provided.

DECG: Bauer, Wolfgang and Hwang Shen-chang (eds). Deutschlands Einfluss auf die Moderne chinesische Geistesgeschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982. Item number provided.

FBZ: The list of articles provided in Remin Daxue shubao fuyin ziliao (ed.). Baokan fuyin ziliao. Code number (e.g. B6 for “Foreign philosophy and history of philosophy”), year and issue numbers provided.

GBSZT: Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan (ed.). Guoji biaozhun shubao ziliao zhongxin tongxin. Volume, year, and item numbers provided.


Sources


国立中央图书馆编：《近百年来中译西书目录》，中华文化出版事业委员会。

KWBH: Kangzhan wenyi baokan bianmu huibian (xu yi), Sichuansheng Shehuikexue Chubanshe, April 1986. Page numbers provided.

《抗战文艺报刊编目汇编》（续一），四川社会科学出版社。


北京图书馆：《民国时期总书目－外国文学》，书目文献出版社。


冯铁编：《尼采在中国的影响》专题研究参考书目》，《德国哲学》。

QBS: Shanghai Tushuguan (ed.). Quanguo baokan suoyin (zheshi ban). Issue and page number provided.

上海图书馆：《全国报刊索引》（哲社版）。


xxix
Sources


北京图书馆哲学文献研究室：《外国哲学译著书目提要(1911-1949)》，《外国哲学》。


国立政治大学社会科学资料中心：《中文报纸论文分类索引(1962-1985)》，宗青图书公司。


国立中央图书馆：《中华民国博士硕士论文目录》。

ZCTMH: Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan (ed.). Zhonghua Minguo chuban tushu mulu huibian. Year and page numbers provided.

国立中央图书馆：《中华民国出版图书目录汇编》。

ZCTM: Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan (ed.). Zhonghua Minguo chuban tushu mulu. Year, month, and item number provided.

国立中央图书馆：《中华民国出版图书目录》。


上海图书馆：《中国近代期刊编目汇录》，上海人民出版社。


上海图书馆：《中国近代现代丛书目录》，商务印书馆。

xxxii
Nietzsche in China

ZQLS: Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan (ed.). *Zhonghua Minguo qikan lunwen suoyin*. Year and month provided.

国立中央图书馆：《中华民国期刊论文索引》。

ZQLS(T): Guoli Taiwan Daxue tushuguan (ed.). *Zhongwen qikan lunwen suoyin*. Issue and page numbers provided.

国立台湾大学图书馆编：《中文期刊论文索引》。


行政院新闻局：《中华民国图书总目录》。

ZZN: *Zhongguo zhexue nianjian*. Year and page numbers provided.

《中国哲学年鉴》，中国大百科全书出版社。
CHART

Nietzsche Publications in China

- Translations
- About Nietzsche
- Parody
- Publications Outside China

1900-19 1920s 1930s 1940s 1950s 1960s 1970s 1980s 1990-92
PART ONE
TRANSLATIONS OF NIETZSCHE’S WORKS

Die Geburt der Tragödie (The Birth of Tragedy, 1872)

1.1 Chen Guying (tr.). “Beiju de dansheng”, BZN, I, pp. 170-87.

Selected and translated from Clifton Fadiman’s English translation.


Translated from Francis Golffing’s English translation. Includes translator’s preface (pp. 1-4) and a short biography of Nietzsche (p. 1). Reprinted by Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, Changsha, 1986, 187 pp.

1.3 Liu Qi (tr.). Beiju de dansheng, Zhiwen Chubanshe, Taiwan, March 1971; December 1984, 8th impression, 166 pp.

Translated from Francis Golffing’s English translation. Reprinted by Zuojia Chubanshe, Beijing, 1986. Includes translator’s preface (pp. 1-4) and a Nietzsche chronology (pp. 163-66).

1.4 Yang Lie and Wu Lifu (tr.). “Beiju de dansheng”, Xifang wenlun xuan. (xia), Shanghai Yiwen Chubanshe, 1979.


缪朗山：《悲剧的诞生》，《文学论集》。


Miu Langshan = Miu Lingzhu 缪灵珠.


周国平：《悲剧的诞生》。

Translated from German.


周国平：《自我批判的尝试》。

I.e. “Versuch einen Selbstkritik”.

Fangli, Wu Libu: 《悲剧的诞生》，载《西方文论选》(下)，上海译文出版社。

杨烈、伍蠡甫：《悲剧的诞生》，载《西方文论选》(下)，上海译文出版社。
Translations of Nietzsche’s Works

Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen (Untimely Meditations)
“I David Strass, der Bekenner und Schriftsteller” (David Strass, the Confessor and Writer, 1873)

1.8 Dai Tian (tr.). “1870-1871 de Ri’erman” (Germany between 1870-1871), Cong chuangshi dao xiandai Deguo wenxue jinghua zonglan, Mingbaoshe, Hong Kong, October 1975, pp. 272-76.

1.9 Gan Kechao (tr.). Lishi zhi yongtu yu lanyong, Shuiniu Chubanshe, Taiwan, 20 January 1969, 83 pp.

1.10 Yang Boping (tr.). Jiaoyujia zhi Shubenhua, Shangwu Yinshuguan, Chongqing, December 1945. 104 pp. [WZYST, 3, p. 420]

1.11 Chen Guying (tr.). “Dui mei yige weida zhexue de tiaozhan” (A Challenge to Every Great Philosophy), CZ, January 1971, pp. 118-22.
Nietzsche in China


Translated from the English translation of J. W. Hillesheim and M. R. Simpson. With 2 appendices, see #2.171 and #2.172.


*Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* (Human, All-Human, 1878-1879)


1.15 Fancheng (tr.). “Qishi yishujia yu wenxuezhe de linghun”, *Shijie wenku*, VII-VIII (1935).


The translation includes chapter 3: “Das religiöse Leben” and chapter 4: “Aus der Seele der Künstler und Schriftsteller”.

Selected and translated from German. Later published as an appendix in *Suluzhi yulu*, see #1.37. Fancheng = Xu Shiquan

徐诗荃 = Xu Fancheng 徐梵澄.
Translations of Nietzsche’s Works

Reprinted by Qiming Shuju, Hong Kong, n.d. (see NBFC #1.6) with no translator. Also reprinted by other publishers under the same title but different translators. See #1.16-1.19.

1.16 Yang Ruilin (tr.). “Qishi yishujia yu wenxuezhe de linghun”, Nicai wenji, Zezhong Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1962.

杨瑞琳：《启示艺术家与文学者的灵魂》，载《尼采文集》，则中出版社。

Nicai wenji is a reprint of Suluzhi yulu, see 1.15.

1.17 Yaoli (tr.). “Qishi yishujia yu wenxuezhe de linghun”, Nicai, Bolatu, Mengtian, Wenyou Shuju, Taiwan, 1965.

瑶莉：《启示艺术家与文学者的灵魂》，载《尼采、柏拉图、蒙田》，文友书局。

A reprint of #1.15. Nicai, Bolatu, Mengtian, which is also reprinted by Zhengwen Shuju, Taiwan, 1966, includes the whole book Suluzhi yulu, see #1.15.


胡宏述：《启示艺术家与文学者的灵魂》，正文书局。

A reprint of #1.15.

1.19 Yang Renkang (tr.). “Qishi yishujia yu wenxuezhe de linghun”, Nicai wenji, Zonghe Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1983.

杨人康：《启示艺术家与文学者的灵魂》，载《尼采文集》，综合出版社。

Nicai wenji is a reprint of Suluzhi yulu, s.#1.15.

1.20 Zhou Guoping (tr.). “Chuzi yishujia he zuojia de linghun”, BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 175-212.

周国平：《出自艺术家和作家的灵魂》。

I.e. “Aus der Seele der Künstler und Schriftsteller”.

5
Die Morgenröte (Daybreak, 1881)


Translated from German. Fancheng = Xu Shiquan 徐诗荃 = Xu Fancheng 徐梵澄.


A translation of §173.

1.23 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Shuguang (jie yi)", BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 213-29.

Selected and translated from German.

Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft (The Gay Science, 1882)

1.24 Fancheng (tr.). Kuaile de zhihui, "Zhong-De Xuehui congshu" no. 11, Shangwu Yinshuguan, Changsha, November 1939; Chongqing, 1945, 337 pp.

Translated from German. Fancheng = Xu Shiquan 徐诗荃 = Xu Fancheng 徐梵澄. The place of publication in DECG is incorrect.


Includes sections 125, 283, 290.
Translations of Nietzsche's Works

1.26 Yu Hongrong (tr.). Huanyue de zhihui - Kuai le de kexue, Zhiwen Chubanshe, Taiwan, September 1982, 328 pp.
余鸿荣：《欢悦的知识－快乐的科学》，志文出版社。
Translated from English. Includes translator’s preface (pp. 19-21), Lanhart’s preface to the English translation (pp. 23-32), and a Nietzsche chronology (pp. 325-328). Reprinted by Zhongguo Heping Chubanshe (1986), 323 pp., under a new title “Kuai le de kexue” 《快乐的科学》.

1.27 Zhou Guoping (tr.). “Kuai le de kexue (jie yi)”, BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 230-57.
周国平：《快乐的科学(节译)》。

*Also Sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spoke Zarathustra, 1883-1885)*

雁冰：《新偶像》，《解放与改造》。

雁冰：《市场之蝇》，《解放与改造》。
1.30 Tangsi (tr.). “‘Chalatusitela’ de Xuyan”, Xinchao, II:5 (September 1920), pp. 954-73.
唐俟：《察拉图斯忒拉序言》，《新潮》.
Translated from German. With translator’s note. “Tangsi” = Lu Xun 鲁迅.

1.31 Zhang Shudan (tr.). “Chalatusitela de xuyan”, MD (15 August 1920), 18 pp.
张叔丹：《查拉图斯特拉的绪言》.

1.32 Xiao Gan (tr.). (Title unknown), Chuban zhoukan (1921).
萧萐：《题未详》，《出版周刊》.
The publication date is probably incorrect, see QZQLM, p. 399.

1.33 Mei (tr.). “Zaladusitela zheyang shuo”, “Xuehui” (Beijing Guofeng ribao fukan), 1-10, 16-18, 26-31, 41, 42, 44, 45, 52, 53, 81-94, 94-103 (1922-23). [WSQJ III 710]
梅：《币拉杜斯特拉这样说》，《学灯》.

1.34 Guo Moruo (tr.). “Chalatusiqua zhi shizi xiao”, Chuangzao zhoubao, 1-6, 11-14, 16-19, 21-8, 31, 33, 34, 39 (May 1923-January 1924).
郭沫若：《查拉图斯屈拉之狮子哮》，《创造周报》.
Translated from German. From part 1 to part 2 chapter 4, without “Vorrede”. With translator’s note (Chuangzao zhoubao, 1, May 1923). Part one later published by Chuangzaoshe Chubanbu, 15 June 1928, 115 pp. [MSZ #2074]

1.35 Lin Yutang (tr.). “Yi Nicai lun ‘zou guoqu’ (song Lu Xun xiansheng li Xiamen Daxue)” (1 January 1927), Jianfu ji, Beixin Shuju, December 1928.
Translations of Nietzsche’s Works

林语堂：《译尼采论走过去（送鲁迅先生离厦门大学）》，载《剪拂集》，北新书局。

I.e. “Vom Vorübergehen”. Translated from English. Also appeared in Yutang wencun《语堂文存》，1, Shanghai Linshi Chubanshe 上海林氏出版社, June 1941.

1.36 Fancheng (tr.). “Suluzhi yulu”, Shijie wenku, VIII-XI (1935). 梭澄：《苏鲁之语录》，《世界文库》。

Later published by Shenghuo Shudian, Shanghai, September 1936 with #1.15, translator’s preface, and a short biography of Nietzsche. Translated from German. Fancheng = Xu Shiquan 徐诗荃 = Xu Fancheng 徐梵澄.

Reprinted by many publishers sometimes with “Qishi yishujia yu wenxuezhe de linghun” and under different titles and translators, see #1.15-1.17, 119, 1.42, 1.45, 1.47, 1.50.

1.37 Ma Junwu (tr.). Zaletushi zhi yan, Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1935. [DECG #01182]

语堂：《札勒图士之言》，商务印书馆。

This item is not listed in ZJXCM nor WZYST.


语堂：《市场的苍蝇》，《论语》。

With translator’s note. Yutang = Lin Yutang 林语堂.


萧瀾：《扎拉图士特拉如是说》，万有文库第二集第六十，商务印书馆。

1.40 Lei Baiwei (tr.). *Chaladuqula rushi shuo*, Zhonghua Shuju, Kunming, May 1940, 526 pp. [MSZ # 2077; WZYST, 3, p. 421]

雷白韦：《查拉杜屈拉如是说》，中华书局。


1.41 Gao Han (tr.). *Chalasitula rushi shuo*, Wentong Shuju, Guiyang, March 1947, 482 pp.

高寒：《查拉斯图拉如是说》，文通书局。


鲁迅：《察罗堵思德罗绪言》，载《鲁迅译文集》(十)，人民文学出版社。

Translated from German in 1918. Not published until 1958. Includes §§ 1-3 of the “Vorrede”.

1.43 Yang Ruirin (tr.). “Suluzhi yulu”, *Nicai wenji* (1962), see #1.16.

扬瑞琳：《苏鲁之语录》，载《尼采文集》。

A reprint of #1.37.

1.44 Lei Songsheng (tr.). *Chaladuqula rushi shuo*, 1963, s.#1.40.
Translations of Nietzsche's Works

雷撤生：《查拉杜屈拉如是说》。


林品清：《沙哈都斯特哈如此言说 (摘自序文)》，《中国一周》。

1.46 Yaoli (tr.). “Suluzhi yulu”, Nicai, Bolatu, Mengtian, 1965, see #1.17.

瑶莉：《苏鲁之语录》，载《尼采、柏拉图、蒙田》。


陈鼓应：《查拉图斯拉如是说序》。

I.e. the “Vorrede”. Translated from Thomas Common’s translation.


胡宏述：《苏鲁之语录》，正文书局。


陈鼓应：《自由之死》。

I.e. “Vom Freien Tode”.

1.50 Lin Jianguo (tr.). Chalatusitela rushi shuo, Lianhong Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1978; September 1979, 413 pp.

林建国：《查拉图斯特拉如是说》，联鸿出版社。

With translator’s preface.
1.51 Yang Renkang (tr.). “Suluzhi yulu”, *Nicai wenji*, Zonghe Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1983.
扬人康：《苏鲁之语录》，载《尼采文集》，综合出版社。
*Nicai wenji* is a reprint of *Suluzhi yulu* s.#1.37.

余鸿荣：《查拉图斯特拉如是说》，志文出版社。

周国平：《查拉图斯特拉如是说(节译)》。
Includes part II, chapters 13, 15 and 17; and extracts from part I, chapters 2 and 20; part III, chapters 9 and 12; part four, chapter 13.

1.54 Yinming (tr.). *Chalasitula rushi shuo*, Wenhua Yishu Chubanshe, August 1987, 398 pp.
尹溟：《查拉斯图拉如是说》，文化艺术出版社。

*Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (Beyond Good and Evil, 1886)

1.55 Anon. (tr.). “Chao shan e”, in Zhou Fucheng (ed.), *Cong wenyifuxing dao 19 shiji zhananjieji zhexuejia zhengzhijia*
Translations of Nietzsche’s Works


Includes extractions from §§ 259 and 260. Translated from Helen Zimmer’s *The Philosophy of Nietzsche*.

1.56 Guan Wenyun (tr.). “Shan e de bi’an. 9 Shenme shi gaogui”, *Xifang lunlixue mingzhu xuanji* (xia), Shangwu Yinshuguan, September 1987, pp. 789-96.

关文运: 《善恶的彼岸．9 什么是高贵》，载《西方伦理学名著选辑》(下), 商务印书馆。

Transalted from German with translator’s note.

*Die Genealogie der Moral* (On the Geneology of Morals, 1887)

1.57 Chen Fangyu (tr.). *Daode xipuxue*, Shuiniu Chubanshe, Taiwan, 20 August 1975; 1977.

陈芳郁: 《道德的系谱学》，水牛出版社。

Translated from English.

1.58 Guan Wenyun (tr.). “Daode de qiyuan. 1 ‘shan ye’，‘shan yu lie’”，*Xifang lunlixue mingzhu xuanji* (xia), Shangwu Yinshuguan, September 1987, pp. 797-809.

关文运: 《道德的起源．1 “善与恶”“善与劣”》，载《西方伦理学名著选辑》(下), 商务印书馆。

Translated from German.

1.59 Zhou Hong (tr.). *Lun daode de puxi*, Shenghuo. Dushu. Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, Beijing, 1988 (?).

周红: 《论道德的谱系》，生活・读书・新知三联书店。

13

**Der Fall Wagner (The Case of Wagner, 1888)**

1.60 Jinfa (tr.). “Yu Huagena zhi juejiao”, *Shanghai shijie zazhi*, 1:2 (1 June 1931), pp. 125-41.

金发：《与华格纳之绝交》，《上海世界杂志》。

Reprinted in *Meiyu* 《美育》, 4, Guangzhou, 1 January 1937.

Jinfa = Li Jinfa 李金发. Includes “Preface” and §§ 1-4, 5-7, 9-12.


周国平：《瓦格纳事件》。

**Die Götzen-Dämmerung (Twilight of the Idols, 1889)**


陈芳郁：《偶像的黄昏》, 水牛出版社。

Translated from R. J. Hollingdale’s translation. Another title:

*Zhexue zhi weiji* 《哲学之危机》[NBFC #1.31]. Includes “Nicai—yige xiangzheng”, see #2.137.

1.63 Zhou Guoping (tr.). “Ouxiang de huanghun (xuan yi)”, BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 319-35.

周国平：《偶像的黄昏(节译)》。
Translations of Nietzsche's Works

Includes §§ 8-11, 19-24, 47, 49-50, 51 (extracts) of "Streifzüge eines Unzeitgemäsßen" and the whole chapter of "Was ich dem alten verdanke".

1.64 Zhou Guoping (tr.). Ouxiang de huanghun, Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, November 1987, 128 pp.

周国平：《偶像的黄昏》，湖南人民出版社。

With translator's preface.

Nietzsche Contra Wagner (1895)

1.65 Jinfa (tr.). "Wo suoyi fandui Huagena", Shanghai shijie zazhi, I:2 (1 June 1931), pp. 141-50.

金发：《我所以反对华格纳》，《上海世界杂志》。


Der Antichrist (The Antichrist, 1895)

1.66 Liu Qi (tr.). Shangdi zhi si, Zhiwen Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1969; April 1972; March 1985, 5th impression, 185 pp.

刘崎：《上帝之死》，志文出版社。

Translated from W. Kaufmann’s translation. Includes translator’s preface (#2.114), a biography of Nietzsche (pp. 24-35), translator’s postscript (pp. 184-185), translator’s preface of English translation (pp. 179-183), and 2 appendices: “Nicai yu xuwuzhuyi” (#2.115) and Nietzsche chronology (pp. 179-83).
Nietzsche in China

Ecce Homo (1908)


梵澄：《尼采自传》，良友图书公司。

Translated from German. Includes translator’s preface (pp. 1-5).

Fancheng = Xu Shiquan 徐诗荃 = Xu Fancheng 徐梵澄.

1.68 Gao Han (tr.). Kan zhe ren,† Jiaotong Shuju, Guiyang, March 1947; Shanghai, April 1948, [13+] 144 pp. [MSZ # 2078]

(Kan na! Zhe ren [DECG #01187; JBZYXS. p. 8; WZYST, 3, p. 422].

高寒：《看这人》，交通书局。（或又名《看哪！这个人》）

Includes translator’s preface, 13 pp. Gao Han = Chu Tunan 楚图南.

1.69 Liu Enjiu (tr.). Kan na, zhe ge ren,† Wenhua Shudian, Shenyang, 1947, 128 pp. [MZS #2079]

刘恩久：《看哪，这个人》，文化书店。


陈鼓应：《看这个人序》。

I.e. the “Vorwort”. Translated from C. Fadiman’s translation.


刘崎：《瞧！这个人》，志文出版社。

Translated from English. Includes translator’s preface (pp. 3-20); translator’s postscript (pp. 177-78); and a Nietzsche chronology (pp. 179-83). Reprinted in mainland China by Zhongguo Heping Chubanshe, 1986, 183 pp.
Translations of Nietzsche's Works

1.72 Chen Guying (tr.). "Cong Qiao zhege ren zhong zhaichu de liang duan", CZ (January 1971), pp. 133-34.

Two extracts. Translated from English. Includes translator’s preface, translator’s postscript and a Nietzsche chronology.

1.73 Wang Wanfen (tr.). Nicai zizhuan, Zhengwen Shuju, Taiwan, 1974. [DECG #01190]

Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Kan na, zhe ren (jie yi)", BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 336-47.

Includes §§ 3-6 of “Warum ich so klug bin”; § 4 of “Warum ich so gute Bücher schreibe”; §§ 1-3 and extracts from § 4 of “Die Geburt der Tragödie; § 3 of “Also sprach Zarathustra”.

Der Wille zur Macht (The Will to Power, 1883-1888)


Selected and translated from Nietzsches Werke, Kröners Klassiker Ausgabe, Max Brahn, Leipzig.

1.76 Chen Guying (tr.). “Chongchuang yizhi’ de kaishi”, CZ (January 1971), pp. 130-32.

I.e. the “Vorrede”.

17

I.e. Book 3, IV: “Der Wille zur Macht als Kunst”.

1.78 Guan Wenyun (tr.). “Quanliyizhi. 15 Shengming jiushi zhuiqiu quanli de yizhi”, Xifang lunlixue mingzhu xuanji (xia), Shangwu Yinshuguan, September 1987, pp. 809-16.

I.e. Book 3, III, § 2 “Der Wille zur Macht als Leben”.

translated from German.

Others


包寿眉：《哲人之格言》，《学灯》。

1.80 Yu Dafu (tr.). “Chaoren de yi mian—Nicai gei Madame O. Luise de qi feng xin” (An Aspect of Superman—Seven Letters to Madame O. Luise by Nietzsche), Beixin (banyuekan), IV : 1/2 (January 1930), pp. 399-406.

郁达夫：《超人的一面—尼采给 Madame O. Luise 的七封信》，《新》。

I.e. seven “love letters” to Louise Ott (30 August, 22 September and 16 December, 1876; 29 August, and 23 November, 1877; 7 and 15 November, 1882). Selected and translated from Nietzsche’s Gesammelte Briefe, edited by Peter Gast and Arthur Seidl. Includes translator’s note. Reprinted in
Translations of Nietzsche’s Works

Yu’s Duan Can Bian 《断残篇》, Beixin Shuju, 1933; Yu Dafu yiwenji 《郁达夫译文集》, Zhejiang Wenyi Chubanshe (March 1984), pp. 376-83; and Yu Dafu wenji 《郁达夫文集》, XIII, Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, January 1985, pp. 103-10.


杨白萍：《尼采简论集（一至六）》, 《人民评论》。

Selected quotations. Translated from The Gist of Nietzsche, edited by Henry L. Mencken, Boston, 1910. [INB #526]

1.82 Liang Zongdai (tr.). “Nicai di shi (jiu shou)” (Nine Poems of Nietzsche), Wenxue, III:3 (1 September 1934), pp. 721-25.

梁宗岱：《尼采底诗（九》》, 《文学》。

Includes translator's note. The poems are reprinted in Liang’s Liang Zongdai yi shi ji. Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, March 1983, pp. 34-46


冯至：《尼采诗钞》, 《文学》。


1.84 Qianchu (tr.). “Song yu lei” (Pine and Thunder), Zhanguoce, 3 (1 May 1940), p. 16.

潘初：《松与雷》, 《战国策》。

I.e. the poem “Pinie und Blitz”.

19
1.85 Feng Zhi (tr.). "Zai diren zhongjian" (Among the Enemies).†
"Xingqi wenyi" 42, Dagong bao (27 July 1947).
冯至：《在敌人中间》《星期文艺》《大公报》付刊。
I.e. the poem “Yorick als Zigeuner”.

1.86 Xia Yeshu (tr.). “Nicai yishu lun chao” (Nietzsche on Art),
"Xingzuo". Xingdao ribao (Hong Kong, 24 February; 2, 4-8, 11, 12, 18-21, 24, 25, 27 March; 4 and 6 April, 1948).
夏夜囝：《尼采艺术论》《星座》《星岛日报》付刊。

1.87 Anon. (tr.). “Nicai yulu” (Quotations of Nietzsche), Mochou Hu, n. d. Probably late 30s or early 40s.
佚名：《尼采语录》，《莫愁湖》。

1.88 Yang Ruilin (tr.). Nicole wenji (Nietzsche’s Works), Zezhong Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1962.
杨瑞琳：《尼采文集》，则中出版社。
Includes #1.16 and 1.42. A reprint of Fancheng’s translations, #1.15 and 1.37.

1.89 Hu Pinqing (tr.). “Nicai shichao xuan yi” (Selected Poems of Nietzsche), Zhongguo yizhou. 715 (January 1964), p. 10.
胡品清：《尼采诗抄选译》，《中国一周》。
Includes “Ecce Homo” and “Sternen-Moral” from “Scherz, List und Rache”; “Nach neuen Meeren” and “Sils-Maria” from “Lieder des Prinzen Vogelfrei”; “Der Wanderer und sein Schatten”, “Pinie und Blitz” and “Der Freigeist, Abschied” from the Nachlass. Reprinted in Xiandai wenxue san lun 《现代文学}}
Translations of Nietzsche’s Works


1.90 Yaoli (tr.). “Nicai yucui” (Quotations of Nietzsche), Nicai, Bolatu, Mengtian, Wenyou Shuju, Taiwan, 1965, pp. 717-19.

瑶莉：《尼采语粹》，载《尼采、柏拉图、蒙田》，文友书局。

1.91 Yaoli (tr.). Nicai, Bolatu, Mengtian (Nietzsche, Plato and Montaigne), Wenyou Shuju, Taiwan, 1965.

瑶莉：《尼采、柏拉图、蒙田》，文友书局。

Includes #1.17, #1.45 (Fancheng’s translations) and #1.86.


魏兰：《致一位荷兰姑娘》，载霍夫曼编：《爱的使者－近代欧洲名人情书》，中国展望出版社。

I.e. the letter to Mathilde Trampedach.

1.93 Qian Chunqi (tr.). Nicai shixuan (Selected Poems of Nietzsche), Lijiang Chubanshe, August 1986, 212 pp.

钱春绮：《尼采诗选》，漓江出版社。

Includes 148 poems, translator’s preface and translator’s postscript. Based on Friedrich Nietzsche Gedichte, Philipp Reclam, 1981.

1.94 Yang Renkang (tr.). Nicai wenji (Nietzsche’s Works), Zonghe Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1983.

杨人康：《尼采文集》，综合出版社。

Includes #1.19 and #1.50. A reprint of Fancheng’s translations, #1.15 and #1.37.
1.95 Wei Guibang (tr.). *Nicai yulu* (Quotations of Nietzsche), Yeqiang Chubanshe, Taiwan, September 1986, 232 pp.

Includes 2 appendices: "Nicai" (pp. 165-68) by Clifton Fadiman (see #2.257) and "Wei'er Dulan bixia de Nicai" (Will Durant on Nietzsche) by W. Durant, pp. 169-231, (see #2.258). Reprinted by Guotai Chubanshe 国泰出版社 (May 1988), 240 pp., with an editorial note.

1.96 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Nicai geyan shi xuan" (Selections of Nietzsche’s Short Poems), *Shulin*, 1987, no. 2 (8 March), p. 27.


Includes #1.96 and #2.253.


Includes #1.6, #1.7, #1.13, #1.30, #1.23, #1.27, #1.52, #1.61, #1.63, #1.64, #1.74, #1.77. Reprinted by Jiuda Wenhua Gufen Youxiangongsi, 久大文化股份有限公司, Taiwan, February
Translations of Nietzsche’s Works

1990. Also by Yangzhe 仰哲, Taiwan, 1989. [ZCTM, 1989:7-12 (January 1990), #00790].


1.100 Lin Yu (ed.). Nicai yulu (Quotations of Nietzsche), t Zhihui Daxue, Taiwan, 1989, 220 pp. [ZCTM, 1990:1, #00046]

林郁(编): 《尼采语录》，智慧大学。
Nietzsche in China

24
2.1 Anon. “Nicai shi zhi jiaoyuguan” (Nietzsche’s Theory of Education), †Jiaoyu shijie, 71 (March 1904). [ZJQBH, II, 146]

The author is probably Wang Guowei 王国维.

2.2 Anon. “Deguo wenhua da gaigejia Nicai zhuan” (A Biography of the Great German Cultural Reformer Nietzsche), †Jiaoyu shijie, 76 (June 1904). [ZJQBH, II, 148]

The author is probably Wang Guowei 王国维.

2.3 Anon. “Nicai shi zhi xueshuo” (The Theory of Nietzsche), †Jiaoyu shijie, 78-79 (July 1904). [ZJQBH, II, 148-9]

The author is probably Wang Guowei 王国维.

2.4 Wang Guowei. “Shubenhua yu Nicai” (Schopenhauer and Nietzsche), Jiaoyu shijie, 84-85 (October 1904). [ZJQBH, II, 151]

Later published in his Jing’an wenji《静安文集》, 1905.

2.5 Xie Wuliang. “Deguo da zhexuezhe Nicai zhi lüezhuan ji xueshuo” (The Teachings and a Brief Biography of the Great

2.6 Shouchang. “Jieshao zheren Nijie (Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche)” (Introducing the Philosopher Nietzsche), *Chenzhong Bao* (22 August 1916).

守常：《介绍哲人尼杰（Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche）》，《晨钟报》。

Reprinted in *Li Dazhao wenji* 《李大钊文集》，shang, Remin Chubanshe, October 1984, pp. 188-89. Shouchang=Li Dazhao 李大钊.


蔡元培：《大战与哲学》，《新潮》。

On the theories of Tolstoy, Kropodkin, and Nietzsche, and their relations to the First World War. Reprinted in *Dongfang zazhi* 《东方杂志》，XVI:1 (January 1919), pp. 151-60. The title has been changed into “Ouzhan yu zhexue”, 《欧战与哲学》 (The War in Europe and Philosophy).


凌霜：《德意志哲学家尼采的宗教》，《新青年》。


According to WZYST [1, p. 373], first edition published in November 1919.

Volume “shang” chapter 4 “Nicai zhi chaoren zhexue” (Nietzsche’s Philosophy of Superman), pp. 85-139; chapter 5 § 1 “Nicai zhi xianquzhe Sitinghei’er” (Nietzsche’s Predecessor: Standhal), pp. 139-42; and § 3 “Nicai yihou zhi renren” (Thinkers After Nietzsche), pp. 150-56. Xinchao She=Shinchōsha.

2.10 Tian Han (tr.). “Shuo Nicai de Beiju zhi fasheng” (Nietzsche’s The Birth of Tragedy), Shaonian Zhongguo, 1:3 (September 1919), pp. 39-41.

The author and original title not provided.
1920-1929

2.11 Mügge, M. A. “Nicai zhi yisheng ji qi sixiang” (Nietzsche’s Life and Thought), tr. Fu, Chen bao, 15-26 (28-30 April; 2, 5-7, 11, 12, 17-24, 30, 31 May; 4, 1, 12, 15, 17, June 1920). [WSQJ I 483]

Mügge, M. A.: 《尼采之一生及其思想》, 符译，《晨报》。


2.12 Li Shicen. “Nicai sixiang zhi pipan” (A Critique of Nietzsche’s Thought), MD (15 August 1920), 28 pp.

李石岑：《尼采思想之批判》。

Reprinted in “Xuedeng” (10-12 September 1920).

2.13 S. T. W. “Nicai zhexue de zhen jia” (The True Value of Nietzsche’s Philosophy), MD (15 August 1920), 7 pp.

S. T. W.: 《尼采哲学的真价》。

In NZZ (#133), S.T. W. is changed to Wu Zihui 吴稚晖 without any reason.

2.14 Zhu Lüyun. “Chaoren yu weiren” (Superman and Great Man), MD (15 August 1920), 8 pp.

朱侣云：《超人与伟人》。


白山：《尼采传》。

2.16 Li Shicen (ed.). “Nicai zhi zhushu ji guanyu Nicai yanjiu zhi cankaoshu” (A Bibliography of Nietzsche’s Works and Works about Nietzsche), MD (15 August 1920), 7 pp.
Works About Nietzsche

Lishi Cen: 《尼采之著述及关于尼采研究之参考书》.
The editor has been mistaken as He Lin in NZZ, #95.

Mügge: 《尼采的超人思想》，符译，《晨报》。
I.e. chapter 4 of M. A. Mügge, *Friedrich Nietzsche*, 1912. [INB #548]

雁冰: 《尼采的学说》，《学生杂志》。

Yanbing=Mao Dun 茅盾.

2.19 Lu Xun. “Chalatusitela de xuyan’ yizhe fuji” (Translator’s Note to “Zarathustra’s Prologue”), *Xinchao*, II:5 (September 1920), see #1.30.
鲁迅: 〈“察拉图斯忒拉序言” 译者附记〉，《新潮》。

2.20 Li Shicen. “Juenisusi zhi guiyi” (The Conversion of Dionysus),
“Xuedeng” (23 January 1921).
李石岑: 《爵尼索斯之皈依》，《学灯》。

襄我: 《近代三大名人传(尼采、克鲁泡特金、托尔斯泰)》，
《学汇》。


2.23 Hu Shi. “Wushi nianlai zhi shijie zhexue”, Zuijin zhi wushi nian (Shen Bao wushi zhounian jiniankan), Shen bao Guan, Shanghai, February 1923.


According to WZYST [1, p. 375], the first edition was published by Shanghai Shijie Tushuguan, April 1924; 3rd edition, August 1925.


An unfinished essay.

2.25 Guo Moruo. “Yayan yu zi li—Gao wo ai du Chalatu(siqula de youren” (Aphorism and Self-reliance—To My Friends Who
Enjoy Reading Zarathustra), Chuangzao zhubao, 30 (2 December 1923).

郭沫若：《雅言与自力—告我爱读 “查拉图拉(司)屈拉” 的友人》, 《创造周报》。


李石岑：《尼采思想与吾人之生活》，载《李石岑讲演集》，商务印书馆。

A speech delivered in a conference of education in Hunan Province 湖南省教育会.

2.27 Shan’an Guangxuan. “Jindai Deguo wenxue de zhu chao” (The Main Trend of Modern German Literature), tr. Haijing, Jindai Deguo wenxue zhu chao (Xiaoshuo yue bao congkan di 11 zhong), Shangwu Yinshuguan, November 1924.

山岸光宣：《近代德国文学的主潮》，海镜译，载《近代德国文学主潮》，商务印书馆。


2.29 Xu Zhimo. “Jindai Yingwen wenxue shi jiang” (Ten Lectures on Modern English Literature, 1923), Jinweiwenxue congtan, Xinwenhua She, 1925.

2.30 Li Shicen, “Mei hen yu jiu shen” (Apollo and Dionysus), Yiban, 1:2 (5 October 1926), pp. 164-90.

2.31 Changhong. “Chalatusitelyu Ziben lun” (Zarathustra and Capital, Spring 1927), Kuangbiao (zhoukan).

2.32 Dulun. Zhxue de gushi (The Story of Philosophy), tr. Zhan Wenhu, Qingnian Xiehui Shubaobu, Shanghai, July 1929.
2.33 Durant, Will. *Fulitelixi Nicai* (Friedrich Nietzsche), translator unknown, Qingnian Xiehui Shuju, Shanghai, 1929, 99 pp. [DECG #01029]

Durant, Will: 《弗里特立希·尼采》, 青年协会书局。

Probably a reprint of the Nietzsche chapter in #2.32.
1930-1939

2.34 Dulan, Wei'er. Gu jin da zhexuejia zhi shenghuo yu si.xiang (The Life and Thought of Great Philosophers Past and Present), tr. Yang Yinwei and Yang Yinhong, Kaiming Shudian, June 1930. 

都兰，威尔：《古今大哲学家之生活与思想》，杨荫渭、杨荫鸿译，开明书店。


2.35 Li Shicen. Xiandai zhexue xiaoyin (An Introduction to Modern Philosophy), Shangwu Yinshuguan, March 1931. [WZYST, 1, p. 376]

李石岑：《现代哲学小引》，商务印书馆。

Includes a section on Nietzsche.


杜兰：《哲学与社会问题》，王捷三译，南京书局。

A translation of Will Durant, Philosophy and Social Problem. Includes discussion on Nietzsche’s social view.


李石岑：《超人哲学浅说》，商务印书馆。

Compiled in Zhxue jiangzuo (哲学讲座), IV, Qiming Shuju, Hong Kong, October 1961. Reprinted as a single volume by


Jaloux, Edmond: 《安德奈之尼采论》, 素琴译,《大陆杂志》。
It is a review on C. Andler’s *Nietzsche, sa vie et sa pensée*, [INB #749] published in *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*.


刘宏谟：《尼采的战争哲学》, 《东方杂志》。

2.40 He Lin. “Ping Liang-Zhao Maohua Shubenhua xuepai de lunli xue” (Remarks on Liang-Zhao Maohua’s The Schopenhauerian School of Ethics), † “Wenxue fukan,” a supplement of *Dagong bao*, Tianjin, 6 November 1933. [RW, V:1, p. 2]

贺麟：《评梁赵懋华叔本华学派的伦理学》, 《文学副刊》。
Reprinted as “Cong Shubenhua dao Nicai—Ping Zhao Maohua Shubenhua xuepai de lunlixue” 《从叔本华到尼采—评赵懋华叔本华学派的伦理学》(From Schopenhauer to Nietzsche—Remarks on Zhao Maohua’s *The Schopenhauerian School of Ethics*), in *Xiandai xifang zhexue jiangyanlu* 《现代西方哲学演讲录》, Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, August 1984, pp. 404-18.

2.41 Lichtenberger, Henri. “Nicai de xingge” (Nietzsche’s Character), tr. Lini, *Guoji yi bao*, VI:1 and 2 (Shanghai, 1 and 16 March 1934), pp. 55-69; 63-75.

Lichtenberger, Henri: 《尼采的性格》, 丽尼译, 《国际译报》。
2.42 Huang Qu. “Nicai jingshen yu Zhongguo minzu de fuxing” (Nietzsche’s Spirit and the National Rejuvenation of China),† Jingzhong yuekan, I:3 (Shanghai, 1 August 1934), pp. 80-90.

2.43 Fan Qi. Xiandai zhexue sichao (The Trends of Modern Philosophy), Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1934.

2.44 Gao Ming. “Nicai ji qita” (Nietzsche and Other Things), Wenyi huabao, I:3 (15 February 1935), pp. 3-4.

2.45 Shen Bozhan. “Nicai ji qi zhexue” (Nietzsche and His Philosophy), Kongjun zhoukan, 152 (3 November 1935), pp. 1-5.


2.47 Gao Chongyang and Zao Mingyu (tr.). “Nicai ji Bogesen de sixiang yu jindai sichao” (Nietzsche’s and Bergson’s Thinkings

Author and original title not provided.

2.48 Chen Quan. “Cong Shubenhua dao Nicai” (From Schopenhauer to Nietzsche), *Qinghua xuebao* (Quarterly), XI:2 (April 1936), pp. 461-516.

陈铨：《从叔本华到尼采》，《清华学报》。

Not a translation of W. Hauff’s dissertation as in NBFC and NZZ.


郭湛波：《近五十年中国思想史》，人文书店。


2.50 Ruan Zhen. “Nicai de chaoren zhexue—er shi liu nian yi yue si ri Xi Shi jinian zhou jianggao” (Nietzsche’s Philosophy of Superman), *Jiao yu xue*, II:9 (1 March 1937), pp. 141-48.

阮真：《尼采的超人哲学－二十六年一月四日锡师纪念周讲稿》，《教与学》。


[NBFC #3.22]

Cheng Qipan：《尼采的新宗教》，《教与学月刊》。

In NZZ, the author’s name is given as Cheng Qimeng 程起孟.
2.52 Qiuze Xiu’er. *Xiyang zhexueshi* (History of Western Philosophy), tr. Xiong Deshan and Jinsheng, Shanghai Shenghuo Shudian, July 1937.

秋泽修二：《西洋哲学史》，熊得山、金声译，上海生活书店。

Chapter 8 § 1 “Shubenhua, Hateman, Nicai”《叔本华·哈特曼·尼采》(Schopenhauer, Hartmann, Nietzsche), p. 371. Qiuze Xiu’er=Akizawa Shūji.


陈铨：《尼采与近代历史教育》，《中山文化教育馆季刊》。

2.54 Tili. *Xiyang zhexueshi* (History of Western Philosophy), tr. Chen Zhengmo, Shangwu Yinshuguan, Changsha, July 1938; 1939.

梯利：《西洋哲学史》，陈正谟译，商务印书馆。


张震欧：《鲁迅与尼采》，《黄花岗》。


杨白萍：《尼采参战的经验》，《新动向》。

38

勃伦蒂涅尔：《尼采哲学与法西斯主义批判》，段洛夫译，潮锋出版社。


凯迪：《尼采哲学与法西斯主义》，申谷译，《理论与现实》。

I.e. L. Kajt, “Nicšeanstvo i fašizm,” *Pod znamenem marksizma*, 17, 5 (Moskva, 1938). [INB #3744]


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2.65 Chen Quan. “Nicai de zhengzhi sixiang” (Nietzsche’s Political Thought), Zhanguoce, 9 (5 August 1940), pp. 21-31.

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Nietzsche in China


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1987


90


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102
Works About Nietzsche


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Nietzsche in China


122


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2.433 Xu Fancheng. “‘Chaoren’ lun yan” (On ‘Superman’), Du shu, 1992:2, pp. 79-85.

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Riezsche in China

128
APPENDIX I
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3.1  Yutang. “Sa tianshi yulu” (Thus Spoke Zarathustra), 1-5, *Yusi*, 55 (30 November 1925); IV: 12, 15, 24, 33 (19 March; 9 April; 11 June; 13 August 1928).


Reprinted in *Da huang ji*《大荒集》, Shanghai Shenghuo Shudian 上海生活书店, June 1924.

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3.2  Yutang. “Sa tianshi yulu—Sa tianshi yu Dongfang Shuo” (Thus Spoke Zarathustra—Zarathustra and Dongfang Shuo), *Lun yu*, 31 (16 April 1933), pp. 508-9.


3.4 Tongji. “Salatusida ruci shuo!—Ji gei Zhongguo qingnian” (Thus Spoke Zarathustra!—To the Chinese Youth), *Zhanguoce*, 5 (1 June 1940), pp. 44-6.

3.5 Hesai. “Chalatusitela de chonglin” (The Return of Zarathustra), tr. Li Yingqiu, *Dushu suigan—Hesai jiechu de dushu zhinan*, Zhiwen Chubanshe, Taiwan, June 1977, pp. 103-34.

### Notes

1. Yutang = Lin Yutang 林语堂. #3.1-3.3 reprinted together as “Sa tianshi yulu, 1-7” in *Youbuweizhai wenji* 有不为斋文集, Shanghai Renwen Shudian 上海人文书店, June 1931.

2. Tongji = Lin Tongji 林同济.

APPENDIX II

WORKS ON NIETZSCHE AND CHINA
PUBLISHED OUTSIDE CHINA


4.2 Maoka Narifuna, “Seikidō ni atafuru sho—Sōji to Niiche to oronzu” (An Essay Written in Seikidō—On Zhuangzi and Nietzsche), Seishinkai (February 1902).


The essay discusses more about Lu Xun and christianity rather than Lu Xun and Nietzsche.

4.4 Onoye Kanehide. “Rojin to Niiche” (Lu Xun and Nietzsche), Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō, XIII (1961), pp. 102-16.

尾上兼英：《魯迅とニーチェ》，《日本中国学会報》。

Chinese translation see #2.216. Reprinted in his Rojin shiron, Kyuko shoin, 24 March 1988, pp. 52-94.

4.5 Onoye Kanehide. “Shinkaron to Niiche” (Evolutionism and Nietzsche), Gendai Chūgoku bugaku senshū, Heibonsha, 1963.

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4.10  Itō Toramaru. Rojin to shūmatsuron (Lu Xun and Eschatology), Ryūkei Shosha, 30 November 1975.


Includes IV:B “The Influence of M. Stirner, Henrik Ibsen, A. Schopenhauer and Nietzsche on Lu Hsün” and IV:C “The
Appendices

Difference Between Nietzsche and Lu Hsun” in chapter 3, pp. 75-81.


伊藤虎丸：《初期魯迅のニーチ理解と明治文学》，《加賀博士逝世記念中國文史哲學論集》，講談社。

Chinese translation, see #2.385.


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Chapter 2 contributed by Matsunaga Masayoshi; chapter 3 on Lu Xun and Nietzsche by Itô Toramaru based on #4.11. Chinese translations see #2.199 and #2.275.


Chapter 5 “Raising Up A Joyful Dionysus” about Nietzsche’s influence on Li Shicen.

Nietzsche in China

Originally presented to the Lu Xun centenary conference, Canberra, 1981. A revised version will be published in an anthology of the papers of the conference.

Chinese translation, see #2.397.


Includes sections about Nietzsche’s influence on Lu Xun during his study in Japan, pp. 19-79, 118-22.


Chinese translation see #2.282.


Chinese translation see #2.282.


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Reprinted in China, see #2.260 and #2.288.


山口惠三：《魯迅訳シアラトウスト序説の成立》, 《比較文学研究》。


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He Lin = 贺麟。


4.32 Findeisen, Raoul David. “Nietzsche — Bibliographie für China (1902 bis 1986)”, Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung (1987), pp. 333-52. About fifty items of Findeisen’s entries are not included in this bibliography, but some of them are mentioned in the “Introduction”.


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Includes discussion on Nietzsche, Chinese classical literature and Taoism.

A slightly adapted translation of #2.179.

黎活仁：《野草的精神分析 —— 兼论鲁迅的象征技巧》,《野草》。
Includes a section “Nicai yu Lu Xun—’Daqi’ de shiren” 鲁迅与尼采 —“大气” 的诗人 (Nietzsche and Lu Xun—Poets of ‘Atmosphere’”). Reprinted in China, see #2.420.


I.e. a translation of #2.236.

INDEX

Aidingge (See Ettinger, R. C. W.)  
Akizawa Shūji 38  
Ames, Roger T. 134, 137  
An Qingguo 102  
An Yanming xvii, 82, 84, 88, 99  
Anon. 12, 20, 25, 60, 83, 92  
Aoduyefu, Si. Fei. (See Oduev, S. F.)  
Babich, Babette E. 120  
Babiqī, B. (See Babich, Babette E.)  
Bai Cai v, vi  
Bairuide (See Barrett, W.)  
Bairuide, Weilian (See Barrett, W.)  
Baishan 28  
Ban Hongzhao 63  
Bao Chang 89  
Bao Shoumei 18, 32  
Barrett, W. 54  
Behler, Ernst xv  
Benedict, Ruth xv  
Bernadiner, B. M. 39  
Bingxin vii  
Bolanduisi, Qiaozhi (See Brandes, Georg)  
Bolei (See Perry, R. B.)  
Bolundnie’er (See Bernadiner, B. M.)  
Boykin, Richard 74  
Brandes, Georg 82  
Cai Fengshan 73  
Cai Guozhu 52  
Cai Yingwen 4, 67  
Cai Yuanpei 26  
Camus, Albert 54, 61, 82  
Cao Heren 42  
Cao Juren 48  
Chai Wenhua 112  
Chang Xunbo 42  
Chang Yansheng x-xi  
Changhong (See Gao Changhong)  
Chater, A. G. 82  
Chen Cunfu 70  
Chen Duxiu ii, xi  
Chen Fangyu 13, 14, 59  
Chen Fuxiong 77  
Chen Guoying xiii-xiv, xv-xvi, 1, 3, 6, 11, 16, 17, 49, 50, 52, 58, 83, 84, 89, 100, 102, 125, 137  
Chen Junhui 94  
Chen Quan ix, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43  
Chen Shuxian (See Lee, Mabel)  
Chen Wenlin 70  
Chen Wentuan 119  
Chen Yan 98  
Chen Yanhua 102  
Chen Yinghe 96  
Chen Yuanhui 73  
Chen Zhengmo 38  
Chen, Pearl Hsia 132  
Cheng Daixi xiv, 77  
Cheng Ma 93  
Cheng Qimeng 37  
Cheng Qipan 37  
Cheng Weiil 81  
Cheng Zhizhong 110, 112, 113, 114  
Cheung, Chiu-yee (See Zhang Zhaoyi)  
Chu Tunan xi, 10, 16  
Chu, Kwang-tsien (See Zhu Guangqian)  
Chuanshang Zhezheng (See Kawakami Tetsumasa)  
Clifton Fadiman 22  
Colli, Giorgio xii  
Collin, Adrien 3  
Common, Thomas 10, 11  
Copleston, Frederick Charles 123  
Dai Tian 3  
Dai Wenlin 65  
Damini’ao, Yake (See Taminiaux, Jacques)  
Deng Gongxuan 45
Nietzsche in China

Diao Jinghui 126
Ding Fangming 94
Diwen 103
Dolson, Grace Neal 51
Dong Zhaohui 46
Dongtao 94
Du Jiancheng 107
Du Renzhi 69
Duan Luofu 39
Dulan (See Durant, Will), (See Durant, Will)
Dulan, Wei'er (See Durant, Will), 87
Dulun (See Durant, Will)
Durant, Will 22, 32, 33, 34, 46, 56, 70, 87
Ettinger, R. C. W. 64
Fadiman, Clifton 1, 2, 16, 87
Fan Qi 36
Fancheng xviii, 4, 6, 9, 16, 20, 21, 43, 105, 127
Fang Dongmei x, xiii
Fei 57
Feng Huxiang 62
Feng Tie (See Raoul David Findeisen)
Feng Zhi xi-xii, 19, 20, 39, 43
Feng Zuomin 55, 61
Findeisen, Raoul David 125, 136, 137
Fürster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth 12
Frenzel, Ivo 104
Fu 28, 29
Fu Hongchu 76
Fu Sinian iii-iv
Fujie 80
Fukesi, W. W. 107
Fulunce'er, Ivo (See Frenzel, Ivo)
Gálik, Marián vii, x, 109, 132, 135
Gan Kechao 3
Gao Changhong vi, 32
Gao Chongyang 36
Gao Han (See Chu Tunan)
Gao Ming 36
Gao Peng 93
Gao Xuanyang 66, 108
Gao Xudong 124
Gaolieke, Mali'an (See Gálik, Marián)
Ge Li 66
Ge'erwen, Maike'er (See Gelven, Michael)
Gelun 58
Gelven, Michael 79
Golffing, Francis 1
Gong Zhicheng 80
Gongteng Suifu (See Kudō Yasuo)
Gu Guozhu 91, 100, 120
Guan Wenyun 13, 18
Guo Changyu 111
Guo Moruo v, 8, 30
Guo Qiang 82
Guo Tian 100
Guo Xin 63
Guo Yaogen 27
Guo Zhanbo 37
Guo Zhijin 77
Guying (See Chen Guying)
Haidege'er, Mading (See Heidegger, Martin)
Haijing 31
Hall, David 134
He Dian (See Wang Yuanhua)
He Fang 100
He Lin ix, 35, 78, 135
He Naiying 91, 134
Heidegger, Martin 117
Hellmann, Anton 30
Hesse (See Hesse, Herman)
Hesse, Herman 130
Hillesheim, J. W. 4
Hollingdale, R. J. 14
Hong Yaoxun 46
Hu Dongye 45
Hu Hongshu (See Fancheng)
Hu Pinqing 11, 20, 50
Hu Shi ii, 30
Hu Yamin 119
Huang Jingfu 107
Huang Qu 36
Huang Tianjian 48
Itō Toramaru 74, 89, 91, 93, 117, 132, 133, 134
Iudin, P. F. 47
Jaloux, Edmond 35
Jameson, Fredric 87
Jaspers, Karl 53, 57, 67, 112
Ji'erxihuofu (See Kirchhoff, J.)
Index

Jia Zhifang 78
Jiang Kongyang 99
Jiang Tongling (See Zhang Zhaoyi)
Jiang Yungang 43
Jiang Zandong 113
Jie Xuexi vi
Jie Zhixi 121
Jiemuxun, Fu. (See Jameson, Fredric)
Jihong 74
Jin Hongda 86
Jin Mingruo 54
Jin Xiping 97
Jin Yaoji 48
Jinfa (See Li Jinfa)
Jingguan 122
Jinsheng 38
Jiuyu 53
Jung, C. G. xv
Kaidi (See Kajt, L.)
Kaji, L. 39
Kamiu (See Camus, Albert)
Kang Jian 102
Kang, Yi. Xie. (See Kon, I. S.)
Kaufmann, W. (See Kaufmann, Walter)
Kaufmann, Walter xiv, xvi, 15, 67, 98, 112
Kawakami Tetsumasa 93, 134
Ke Qian 94
Kelly, D. A. viii, 133, 134, 138
Kepusideng (See Copleston, Frederick Charles)
Kirchhoff, J. 109
Kon, I. S. 76
Kong Fanjin 85
Krell, David Farrell 117
Kudō Yasuo 53
Kumamoto Chukei 126
Lai Jinman 61
Lai Wood Yan 124, 137
Laifo'er, Linda (See Leavell, Linda)
Lanhart 7
Leavell, Linda 101
Lee, Mabel 124, 136
Lei Baiwei 10
Lei Songsheng (See Lei Baiwei)
Leping 99
Levy, Oscar 51
Li Aili 95
Li Changjun 1
Li Danxiao (See Li Xiaodan)
Li Daoxiang 109
Li Dazhao iii, 26
Li Helin 71
Li Huoren (See Lai Wood Yan)
Li Jinfa 14, 15
Li Ke 101, 107
Li Muhua 66
Li Qingguo 79
Li Shen 113
Li Shicen vii-viii, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 42, 56
Li Tianming 58
Li Xiaodan 60
Li Xingcun 57
Li Xingmin 84
Li Xu 124
Li Yi 84
Li Yingqiu 130
Li Yongchi xiii, 53, 57, 119
Li Yongshou 64
Li Yuzhen 46
Li Yuzhong 72
Li Zhen 54
Liang Qichao i-ii
Liang Xiangmei 75
Liang Zongdai 19
Liao Zhongqin 46
Lichtenberger, Henri 35
Lin Huanping 20
Lin Jianguo 11
Lin Lin 114
Lin Song 124
Lin Tongji x, 39, 42, 43, 130
Lin Xinru 122
Lin Yu 23
Lin Yutang 8, 9, 129, 130
Lingshuang 26
Lini 35
Liu Enjiu 16, 43
Liu Fangtong 68, 71
Liu Hongmo 35
Liu Jianyan 126
Liu Junyu 61
Liu Kunhui 57
Liu Min 113
Liu Qi 1, 15, 16, 54, 89, 90
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Maluolin, Herbert</td>
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<td>Mann, Thomas</td>
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<td>Mao Dun</td>
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<td>Maoka Narifuna</td>
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<td>Masuda Wataru</td>
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<td>Matsumaga Masayoshi</td>
<td>74, 91, 133</td>
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<td>Matsumami Shinzaburō</td>
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<td>Mehring, Frank</td>
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<td>Meng Shuhong</td>
<td>69, 97</td>
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<td>Meng Xiangsen</td>
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<td>Miki Kiyoshi</td>
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<td>Min Kangsheng</td>
<td>83, 91, 101, 102, 104, 106, 110, 114, 115, 119, 126</td>
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<td>Mo Youli</td>
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<td>Nolte, Ernst</td>
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<td>Onoye Kanahide</td>
<td>79, 131</td>
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<td>Park, Ynhui</td>
<td>135</td>
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<td>Parkes, Graham</td>
<td>119, 134, 137</td>
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<td>Pei Cheng</td>
<td>110</td>
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<td>Peng Ding’an</td>
<td>74</td>
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<td>Peng Jingxi</td>
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<td>Perry, R. B.</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td>Poon, Cathy</td>
<td>137</td>
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<td>Qian Bixiang</td>
<td>74</td>
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<td>Qian Chunqi</td>
<td>xviii, 21</td>
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<td>Qin Wei</td>
<td>117, 123</td>
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<td>Qin Yun</td>
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<td>Qiu Huantang</td>
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<td>Qiu Yanxi</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td>Quan Zenggu</td>
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<td>Renke</td>
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<td>Ruan Zhen</td>
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<td>Russell, Bernard</td>
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<td>Sandvoss, Ernst</td>
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</table>

142
Sanmu Qing (See Miki Kiyoshi)
Satler, W. M. 26
Scagliero, Massimo 131
Schlechta, Karl xviii, 23
Sellman, James 137
Senba Shunji 137
Shan'an Guangxuan (See Yamagishi Mitsunobu)
Shang Chengzu 2
Shang Zhiying 117
Shangwu Xinhuguan 51
Shen Bozhao 36
Shen Heyong 98
Shengu 39
Shi Yindian 63
Shi Zhiqin 106
Shibenni (See Spenlé, J. E.)
Shimeng 77
Shinchósha 27
Shouchang (See Li Dazhao)
Shuyou 92
Sigad, Ran 111
Silk, Michael Stephen 98
Solomon, M. R. 4
Solomon, R. C. 67
Song Jikai 101
Song Juxuan 85, 106
Song Xiren 99
Songlang Xinsanlang (See Matsunami Shinzaburō)
Songyong Zhengyi (See Matsunaga Masayoshi)
Spenlé, J. E. 46
Stern, Joseph Peter 98
Sun Longji 136
Sun Lung Kee (See Sun Longji)
Sun Meilin 118
Sun Xiguo 109
Sun Xizhen 69
Sun Yuecai 114
Sun Ze 95
Suqin 35
Taiwan Wenyishe 71
Takahashi Kenji 130
Takita Natsuki 132
Taminaux, Jacques 121
Tan Beifang 125
Tan Zhengqi 54
Tang Dahui 66, 73
Tang Tao 111
Tang Xiaobing 86
Tang Zhendong 109
Tangsi (See Lu Xun)
Teng Qiyun 82
Thilly, Frank 38, 66
Thomas, Dana Lee 103
Thomas, Henry 103
Tian Han v, 27
Tili (See Thilly, Frank)
Tong Guomu 111
Tongji (See Lin Tongji)
Tuomasi, Daina Li (See Thomas, Dana Lee)
Tuomasi, Hengli (See Thomas, Henry)
Ular, Alexandre 131
Umehara Takeshi 60
Wan Junren 97
Wang Benzhaot 117
Wang Desheng 92
Wang Furen 77
Wang Guoliang 119
Wang Guowei ii, 25
Wang Haiming 118, 119
Wang Hui 98
Wang Jiatao 90
Wang Jiesan 34
Wang Jinhao 108
Wang Kexian 105
Wang Runhua 62, 132
Wang Taiqing 17, 84
Wang Wanfen 17
Wang Weiping 126
Wang Xiaotai 104
Wang Xingguo 95
Wang Xingjiu 103
Wang Yifu 126
Wang Yinting 76
Wang Yuanhua 40
Wang Yumin 78
Wang Zhengping 118
Wang Zisong 58
Weber, Alfred 53
Wei Feng 118
Wei Guibang 22, 87
Wei Xing 123
Wei Yanmin 72
Weiibo'er (See Weber, Alfred)
Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, Susanne 133
Weilan 21
Weishang Jianying (See Onoye Kanehide)
Weiyuan Zhongjing (See Kumamoto Chukei)
Wenbing 120
Weng Shaojun 84, 102
Wenhuabu Jiaoyuju 93
Wong Yoon-wah (See Wang Runhua)
Wu Jianguang 52
Wu Jun 104
Wu Kang 45, 46
Wu Kuang-ming 136
Wu Kunru 57, 59, 62, 63
Wu Kunwu 65
Wu Lifu 1, 2
Wu Xiaoming 109
Wu Yongjiu 56
Xia Guang 88, 90
Xia Jun 90
Xia Yeshu (See Lin Huanping)
Xie Jifang 56
Xie Weimin 87
Xie Wulang 25
Xigede, R. (See Sigad, Ran)
Xinpin 122
Xiong Deshan 38
Xizhen (See Mao Dun)
Xu Chongwen 86
Xu Dacheng 46
Xu Fancheng (See Fancheng)
Xu Huaiwen 81
Xu Jiang 117
Xu Shiquan (See Fancheng)
Xu Wendou 85
Xu Xing 67
Xu Yunming 70
Xu Zhimo v, 32
Yamagishi Mitsunobu 31
Yamaguchi Keizō 135
Yan Guozhong 93
Yan Min 124
Yanbing (See Maodun)
Yang Baiping xii, 3, 19, 38
Yang Boping (See Yang Baiping)
Yang Hengda 127
Yang Jint 121
Yang Lie 1, 2
Yang Renkang (See Fancheng)
Yang Ruilin (See Fancheng)
Yang Xiaoming 106
Yang Yinong 34
Yang Yinwei 34
Yaoli (See Fancheng), 21
Yasibe’i’er (See Jaspers, Karl)
Yasipei (See Jaspers, Karl)
Ye Fawu 48
Ye Shaojun v
Ye Xinyun 52
Yesipei (See Jaspers, Karl)
Ye Daju 50
Yijun. 43
Yin Huimin 96
Yin Jian 122
Yinning 12
Yiteng Huwan (See Itō Taramaru)
Yizhou 107
Youjin (See Iudin, P. F.)
Yu Dafu v, 18
Yu Heng 117
Yu Hong 7, 12, 88
Yu Huaijiang 110
Yu Huiling 97
Yu Pingbo v-vi
Yuan Yijiang 112
Yuan Yisheng 56
Yuan Yuexuan 56
Yudin, P. F. (See Iudin, P. F.)
Yue Daiyun 69, 137
Yunnan 49
Yutang (See Lin Yutang)
Zao Mingyu 36
Zengtian She (See Masuda Wataru)
Zhan Wenhui 32, 41
Zhang Donglin (See Zhang Zhaoyi)
Zhang Gangcheng 110
Zhang Hua 64
Zhang Huamin 51
Zhang Laimin 101
Zhang Longxi 76
Zhang Niandong xviii, 23, 105, 113
Zhang Rulin 80
Zhang Rulun 80, 82
Zhang Ruyi 120
Zhang Shiyiing 58, 109, 126
Zhang Shudan 8
Zhang Shuiqi vi
Zhang Taiyan ii
Zhang Wen 65, 67
Zhang Xuejun 109
Zhang Yi 56
Zhang Yiping vii
Zhang Yizhao (See Zhang Zhaoyi)
Zhang Yong 99
Zhang Yongfu 96
Zhang Yuneng 107
Zhang Yushu 75
Zhang Zaiyang 104
Zhang Zhaoyi xvi, 75, 78, 87, 94, 135, 136
Zhang Zhen'ou 38
Zhang Zhengwu 72
Zhang Zhifu 105
Zhang Zhuo 71
Zhang Zhuomin 66
Zhanmingxin (See Jameson, Fredric)
Zhao Jiabi 71, 101
Zhao Jingchen 32
Zhao Jingjing 81
Zhao Kai 106
Zhao Xiaodi 81
Zhao Xiuyi 76, 121, 123
Zhao Yabo xiii, 50, 59, 81, 95
Zhao Yong 96, 105
Zheng Dexin 103
Zheng Jieryun 58
Zheng Shengchong 58
Zhiwei 89
Zhong Jianhong 45
Zhong Jingwen 69
Zhong Linbin 65
Zhong Yuren 125
Zhonggong Zhongyang Makei/
Engesi/ Liening/ Sidalin Zhu zuo
Bianyiju 47
Zhou Changsheng 112

Zhou Guoping xvii, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7,
12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 84, 85, 86,
90, 95, 99, 100, 120
Zhou Hong 13, 88
Zhou Jianxin 107
Zhou Jiming 79, 80
Zhou Qinlin 111
Zhou Xianwen 65
Zhou Xishan 112
Zhou Yongming 97
Zhou Zhaoping 122
Zhou Zuoren iv-v, vi
Zhu Guangqian vi, xiv, 76, 90
Zhu Lan 126
Zhu Linyun 28
Zhu Wenhua 127
Zhu Zhenmei 30
Zhu Ziqing v-vi
Zhuang Lizhen 49
Zhuangyuan 60
Zimmer, Helen 13
Zou Zhenhuan 123
Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs. New series No. 19
Faculty of Asian Studies
The Australian National University, Canberra 1992
ISBN 0 7315 1438 6