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Nietzsche in China

1904-
1992

AN ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled with an Introduction by
Cheung Chiu-yee



Nietzsche in China
(1904-1992)
An Annotated Bibliography

ANSWER TO A REPORT

(1891-1900)

RELATING TO THE
COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

1



Nietzsche in China

(1904-1992)

An Annotated Bibliography

尼采在中国简注书目

Compiled
with Introduction
by
CHEUNG Chiu-yee

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编

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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.² Another intellectual leader not included in this bibliography is Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (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 1911.³ As shown in this bibliography, it was not only the reformist and revolutionary thinkers who mentioned Nietzsche. The famous traditionalist Wang Guowei 王国维 (1877-1927) also introduced Nietzsche's philosophy. More interestingly, Wang Guowei incorporated Nietzsche's ideas into his treatises on traditional Chinese poetry criticism 词话.⁴

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 胡适 (1891-1962), as a movement of Nietzsche's "transvaluation of all values".⁵ During the movement, especially at its height, every intellectual leader of the cultural revolution made public reference to Nietzsche. Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1879-1942)⁶ and Lu Xun

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.

⁵ Hu Shi, "Xin sichao de yiyi", *Xin qingnian*, VII:1 (1919), p. 6.

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 zazhi 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.

鲁迅 (1881-1936)⁷ were among the most enthusiastic advocates of some of Nietzsche's ideas in this period. Their promotion of Nietzsche and indebtedness to him have been discussed in many essays.⁸ Another leader, Li Dazhao's 李大钊 (1889-1927) promotion of Nietzsche has not known until the 1980s when an article favourable to Nietzsche was published in a new edition of his selected works.⁹

The role of the prominent student leader Fu Sinian 傅斯年 (1896-1950) in promoting Nietzsche has been acknowledged,¹⁰ but there is interesting new material which may be discussed here. Fu Sinian was the editor of an influential student magazine *New Tide* 《新潮》 in Beijing University during the New Culture movement. In the first issue of *New Tides*, Fu Sinian published his article "The Starting Point of the Problem of Life" 《人生问题的发端》 in which he grouped Nietzsche under his so-called "biological school".¹¹ In the next issue, he again discussed Nietzsche's "superman" in a letter.¹² Fu Sinian's most famous essay is, however, "Random Thoughts (1-4)" 《随感录》 in which he called for a quest for the "superman".¹³ It is noteworthy that Fu Sinian's interest in Nietzsche had in fact brought him to the

⁷ Lu Xun's major essays about Nietzsche are: "Moluo shi li shuo" (1907); "Wenhua pianzhi lun" (1907); "Du he yu yin lu" (4 November 1918); "Sui gan lu 41" (15 January 1919); "Nalaizhuyi" (4 June 1934); "Zhongguo xinwenxue da xi. Xiaoshuo er ji xu" (2 March 1935); "Po e sheng lun" (1908), *Lu Xun quanji* (Renmin Wenxue 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 Ōgai's preface to Ikuta Chōkō's Japanese translation of *Also sprach Zarathustra*, "Chenmo zhi ta", *Lu Xun quanji* (Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, Beijing, 1973), pp. 431-44.

⁸ See #2.179; 4.5.

⁹ See #2.6.

¹⁰ See #2.179.

¹¹ *Xinchao*, I:1 (1 January 1919), p. 9.

¹² *Xinchao*, I:3 (1 February 1919), p. 555.

¹³ *Xinchao*, I:5 (1 May 1919), pp. 923-30.

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“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.¹⁴ 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,¹⁵ and later sent him his translation of the “Prologue” of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* which was published in the *New Tide*.¹⁶ 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”.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ Zhou Zuoren’s later break with Nietzsche interestingly coincided with his

¹⁴ See #2.288, pp. 73-75.

¹⁵ Their correspondence were published in *Xinchao*, I: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.

¹⁸ See #149, #366, #1037, #1846, #1899 in Herbert W. Reichert and Karl Schlechta (eds), *International Nietzsche Bibliography* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1968); Takamatsu Toshio (ed.), “Niiche ni kansuru shinbun zasshi bunken to honyaku shomoru”, *Ōsaka furitsu toshokan kiyō*, 6 (March 1970), p. 70, and his “Nihon ni okeru ‘Tsaratsusutora’ no juyo to honyakushi”, *Risō*, 557, p. 122.

break with his brother Lu Xun,¹⁹ whose “title”, the “Chinese Nietzsche”, Zhou Zuoren was well aware of.²⁰

As already shown in many studies, famous creative writers of the May Fourth era were interested in Nietzsche, e.g. Mao Dun 茅盾 (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),²¹ and Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) of the Creation Society 创造社.²² 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 *The Birth of Tragedy* as one of the “Ten Essential Books for Young People”《青年必读的十本书》.²³

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 mentioned 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

¹⁹ See Zhou Zuoren, “Gu da kong. xu” (22 August 1928), “Gu da kong jiu xu” 17 April 1920), *Gu da kong* (Kaiming Shudian, Shanghai, 1939), pp. i, v.

²⁰ See #2.288, p. 74.

²¹ See #2.10 and Tian Han “Shiren yu laodong wenti (xu)”, *Shaonian Zhongguo*, I, no. 9 (March 1920), p. 39.

²² Guo Moruo’s other articles on Nietzsche: “Lun Zhong De wenhua shu” (20 May 1923), *Chuangzao zhoubao*, 5 (10 June 1923), pp. 11-16; “Yinxiang yu biaoxian” (30 December 1923), Wang Xunzhao et al (eds), *Guo Moruo yanjiu ziliao*, shang (Zhongguo Shehuikexue Chubanshe, Beijing, 1986), pp. 195-202.

²³ Xu Zhimo, “Qingnian bi du shu”, *Jing Bao* (fukan), 16 February 1925.

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(1900-1990), and Zhu Guangqian 朱光潛 (1897-1986). Bai Cai's long poem "The Love of a Sick Man" 《羸疾者之愛》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" 狂飈社 and "The Sunken Bell Society" 沉钟社.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 解学熙 recent studies, Luo Heizhi 罗黑芷 and Zhang Shuiqi 张水淇, two young writers in the 1920s, were influenced by Nietzsche's individualism. Zhang Shuiqi wrote a book

²⁴ Zhu Ziqing, "Bai Caide shi—'Yingruozhede ai'", *Yiban*, I:2 (5 October 1926), pp. 268-79; reprinted in *Zhu Ziqing wenji*, shang (Kaiming Shudian, Shanghai, 1959), pp. 331-44.

²⁵ Zhu Ziqing, "Bai Cai", *Yiban*, I:2 (5 October 1926), p. 224.

²⁶ Yu Pingbo, *Zapanr zhi yi* (Jiangxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1982), p. 143 ff.

²⁷ Lu Xun, "Xinwenxue da xi. Xiaoshuo er ji xu", *Lu Xun quanji*, op. cit., pp. 242-43, 250-54.

²⁸ See #4.34.

²⁹ See his "Cao shu ji nian", *Mangyuan*, 13 (10 July, 1926), pp. 560-64; *Zou dao chubanje* (Taidong Shuju, Shanghai, 1929).

³⁰ Gao Changhong, *Zou dao chubanje* (Shanghai Taidong Tushu Ju, 1929), pp. 235-36.

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

³¹ See #2.406.

³² It is discussed at last in #4.34.

³³ Zhang Yiping, *Zhen shang suipi* (Beixin Shuju, Shanghai, 1929), p. 20. It is interesting to note that Russian writers had an entirely opposite perception of Nietzsche and his "Superman". See Edith W. Clowes, "Literary Reception as Vulgarization: Nietzsche's Idea of the Superman in Neo-Realist Fiction" in Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal (ed.), *Nietzsche in Russia* (Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 315-29.

³⁴ See Zhang Yiping, "Qingnian yinggai du shenme shu", Junsheng (ed.) *Xiandai lunwenxuan* (Shanghai, 1936), p. 174. Cited from #4.6, p. 39.

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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.³⁵ They came to see, rather, that had in order to achieve the "liberation of one's individuality" 个性解放, 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

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

³⁶ See Tang Tao, "Cong lilun douzheng zhong xuexi Lu Xunde zhandou jingshen," *Lu Xun zai wenxue zhanxian shang* (Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe, Beijing, December 1957), p. 61.

³⁷ See Michael R. Godley, "Politics from History: Lei Haizong and the *Zhanguo ce* Clique", *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 40 (September 1989), pp. 95-122.

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a political perspective.³⁸ The third was Fang Dongmei 方东美 (1899-1977) whose relation to Nietzsche was discussed for the first time by Marián Gálik 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".³⁹ 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,⁴⁰ philosophy of life, will and power,⁴¹

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.

³⁹ Zhang Zhaoqi, "Fang Dongmei xiānshēng de zhéxué xīnyáng yǔ qì zhéxué zhī jiānlì (shàng)", *Zhexue yu wenhua*, XIV:8, p. 512; Qian Zhichun, "Fang Dongmei xiānshēng yù Furen Daxue", *Zhexue yu wenhua*, XIV:7, p. 439.

⁴⁰ E.g. "Langmanzhuyi dui lizhi suo qi de fandong" (1940), "Kuangbiao shiren Li Baide jiashi" (1942), "Lun xin-langmanzhuyi yu Zhongguo wenxue" (1946) and "Lun kuangbiao wenxue" (1946), in *Manren zhi chuxian, Chang Yansheng xiānshēng yi jí* (Wenhai Chubanshe, Taibei, December 1967), I, pp. 26-30; VII, pp. 279-81, 402-13.

⁴¹ E.g. "Xin yu li" (1940), "Li yu li" (1943) and "Lixiang zhipei xiānshí, yizhi zhānshēng huānjǐng, shèngmíng chuāngzao wéilài" (1937), in *Chang Yansheng xiānshēng yi jí, op. cit.*, I, pp. 1-5, 104-13; VII, pp. 192-94.

social Darwinism,⁴² irrationalism,⁴³ and fascism.⁴⁴ In the forties, Chang Yansheng borrowed Nietzsche's words and called for a "revaluation of all values".⁴⁵ He transformed, according to his social Darwinism, Nietzsche's "superman" into "social superman" which he referred to the military powers in his time.⁴⁶ Because of his totalitarian tendencies, Chang Yansheng strongly opposed the individualism in Nietzsche's "superman".⁴⁷ Like Chen Duxiu, he also used Nietzsche's terms of master and slave moralities to criticise the Chinese.⁴⁸ His political ideas resembled those of the "*Stratagems of the Warring States*" school.⁴⁹

Two further figures in this period deserve mention: Feng Zhi 冯至 (1905-) and Chu Tunan 楚图南 (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*《今日评论》, an obscure magazine published in the remote city of Kunming during the war of resistance against the Japanese invasion.

⁴² E.g. *Shengwu shiguan yu shehui*, "Cong shengwuxue guandian shang suo jian de guojia" (1936) and "Shengwu shiguan yanjiu" (1936), in *Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji*, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-654, 815-880.

⁴³ E.g. "Langmanzhuyi dui lizhi suo qi de fandong" (1940), in *Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji*, I, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-30.

⁴⁴ E.g. "Jieshao yi ben guojia-shehuizhuyi de mingzhu" (1937) and "Wu yue beiju zhi zhixue de fanxing" (1938), in *Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji*, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 195-99; II, pp. 1008-14.

⁴⁵ "Chongxin guding yiqie jiazhi" (1940), in *Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji*, I, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-11.

⁴⁶ "Shehui ren de shidai" (1942), in *Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji*, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 987-93.

⁴⁷ "Duiyu xiandai Zhongguo gerenzhuyi wenxue chaoliu de kangyi" (December 1935), in *Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji*, II, *op. cit.*, p. 926.

⁴⁸ "Wu yue beiju zhi zhixue de fanxing" (1938), in *Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji*, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1008-14.

⁴⁹ E.g. "Xin Zhan Guo shidai de rensheng taidu" (1940) and "Guanyu xin Zhan Guo shidai" (1940), in *Chang Yansheng xiansheng yi ji*, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 967-74, 1015-37.

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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 杨白萍 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.

⁵² See Chu Tunan, "Beiju jingshen yu beiguanzhuyi", *Xin dongxiang*, I:4 (1 August 1938), pp. 130-32; "Kangzhan yu Zhongguo wenhua jiantao", *Xin dongxiang*, II: 1-2 (15 January-1 February 1939), pp. 407-11; 459-63.

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”,⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ He then went to mainland China in 1984 and lectured on Nietzsche and Taoism in Beijing University.⁵⁶ Chen Guying was the first to introduce Walter

⁵⁴ Chen Shouchang, “Sixiangde wuran”, *Cunzaizhuyide yuanyuan ji qi benzhi* (Youshi Wenhua Gongsi, Taibei, 1972), pp. 2-3.

⁵⁵ See Chen Chun, “Shusheng congzheng de beiju—Tan Chen Guying”, *Daxue zazhi*, XXXII:1 (25 July 1983), pp. 25-8.

⁵⁶ See Fan Liqing, “Taiwan xuezhe Chen Guying zai Beida chong shang jiangtai”, *Zhongguo jianshe*, XXX:4 (March 1985), pp. 34-6.

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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.⁵⁷ In an essay "Zhu Guangqian and Nietzsche" 《朱光潛与尼采》(1983), Cheng Daixi 程代熙 argued that Nietzsche was only a bourgeois thinker, not a fascist advocate.⁵⁸ Cheng Daixi's argument has made Nietzsche less

⁵⁷ Zhu Guangqian, "Zhongyiben xu", *Beiju xinlixue*, tr. Zhang Longxi (Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 1983), pp. 1-2. Zhu Guangqian also mentioned that he had introduced Nietzsche's theory in an article "Kan xi yu yanxi—Liang zhong renshengguan", originally in *Wenxue zazhi*, II:2 (July 1947), reprinted in *Zhu Guangqian meixue wenji*, II (Shanghai Wenyi Chubanshe, 1982), pp. 550-64.

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,⁵⁹ but some of them appear to lack scholarly objectivity.⁶⁰ Publication of the translations of C. G. Jung's *Psychological Types*,⁶¹ Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*⁶² and *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*⁶³ may have contributed indirectly to the spread of Nietzsche's concepts of Dionysian and Apollonian arts,⁶⁴ 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

⁵⁹ E.g. Feng Xianguang, "Jiushen jingshen yu rishen jingshen de meixue gaikuo—Bolatu, Alisiduode meixueguan bijiao", *Meixue xinchao*, III (December 1987), pp. 62-79; Long Quanming, "Shige shuangchong xingge de zhanshi: 'Jiushen jingshen' yu 'rishen jingshen' de aotu—Guo Moruo yu Wen Yiduo shige bijiao lun", *Shehuikexue zhanxian*, 1988:2, pp. 283-88; see also #2.248 and #2.355.

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".

⁶¹ Rongge, *Xinli leixingxue*, tr. Wu Kang et al (Huayue Wenyi Chubanshe, 1989).

⁶² Lusi Bennidike, *Wenhua moshi*, tr. Zhang Yan and Fu Keng, Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe, June 1987; Lusi Bennidike, *Wenhua moshi*, tr. He Xizhang and Huang Huan (Huaxia Chubanshe, September 1987).

⁶³ Bennidikete, *Juhua yu jian*, tr. Sun Zhimin et al (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe, June 1987).

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.

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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 zhuxue de ruogan redian wenti (xu)”, *Zhexue yanjiu*, 1991 no. 6, pp. 14-16.

⁶⁹ E.g. He Xin, “Wode kunhuo yu youlü”, *Xuexi yuekan*, 1988:12, pp. 34-38. Cited from #4.41.

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

⁷⁰ Li Wu and Liu Kewei, “Fansi yu xuanze: Xifang wenhua dui dangdai daxuesheng de yingxiang”, *Liaowang zhukan*, 18 (1 May 1989), p. 25.

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.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴

As for the translation of Nietzsche's works, Zhang Niandong 张念东 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.⁷⁵ In spite of a number of translations of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* having been published, Xu Fancheng 徐梵澄 is revising his previous version and Qian Chunqi 钱春绮 (1921-) is working on his own.⁷⁶ 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.

⁷³ E.g. #2.310.

⁷⁴ E.g. Cheng Yuan, "Daxueshengde wu qu yu shehuide wudao (xu)", *Renmin ribao* (haiwaiban), 12 September 1989; "Tong ding si tong, wo hui! wo hen!—Yi ge daxuesheng de chenzhong fansi he riji zhaichao", *Renmin ribao* (haiwaiban), 6 July 1989; Yin Huimin, "Nicai, ni hai ren bu qian", *Jiushi niandai*, 1987:7, pp. 78-80.

⁷⁵ See #1.99, #2.342.

⁷⁶ See #2.338 and Mo Yu, "Xiandai yi shi mingjia (er) —Qian Chunqi", *Dongfang zazhi* (fukan) XXIII:5 (1 October 1989), p. 75.

For example, Liu Xiaobo was criticised and put into jail.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*

⁷⁷ E.g. Huang Caiwen, "Ziyoude qitu", *Wenxue pinglun*, 1990:3, pp. 73-78; Huang Shen, "Ping Liu Xiaobo Xuanzede pipan," *Wenxue lilun yanjiu*, 1989, no. 1 (January), pp. 6-14.

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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* 尼采与鲁迅思想发展 (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

adopting 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 “†”.
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”.

Editor's Note

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

- BDNMW: Zhou Guoping. *Beiju de dansheng—Nicai meixue wenxuan* (The Birth of Tragedy—A Selection of Nietzsche's Works on Aesthetics), Shenghuo. Dushu. Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, December 1986; February 1987, 2nd impression, 387pp.
周国平：《悲剧的诞生－尼采美学文选》，生活·读书·新知三联书店。
- BZN, I: Chen Guying. *Beiju zhexuejia Nicai* (The Tragic Philosopher Nietzsche), Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, May 1968 (revised edition).
陈鼓应：《悲剧哲学家尼采》，台湾商务印书馆。
- BZN, II: Chen Guying. *Beiju zhexuejia Nicai* (The Tragic Philosopher Nietzsche), Shenghuo. Dushu. Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, December 1987.
陈鼓应：《悲剧哲学家尼采》，生活·读书·新知三联书店。
- CSDN: Chen Quan. *Cong Shubenhua dao Nicai* (From Schopenhauer to Nietzsche), Zaichuang Chubanshe, May 1944, [24+] 167 pp.
陈铨：《从叔本华到尼采》，在创出版社。
- CZ: Kaofuman (ed.). *Cunzaizhuyi zhixue*, 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。
CZ is an incomplete translation of Walter Kaufmann's *Existentialism, from Dostoevsky to Sartre*, The New American Library, 1975.

Abbreviations

- FBZ(B6): Remin Daxue shubao fuyin zhongxin (ed.). *Baokan fuyin ziliao. B6 Waiguo zhexue yu zhexueshi*,
人民大学书报复印中心编:《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。
- MD: *Minduo*, II:1 (15 August 1920; 15 September 1926, 4th
impression), “Nicai zhuanhao” (A special issue on Nietzsche).
《民铎》(尼采专号)。
- NAT: Graham Parkes (ed.). *Nietzsche and Asian Thought*, The
University of Chicago Press, London, 1991.
- 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.

中国人民大学报刊资料中心：《报刊资料索引》。

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 zhongxin (ed.). *Baokan fuyin ziliao*. Code number (e.g. B6 for "Foreign philosophy and history of philosophy"), year and issue numbers provided.

人民大学书报复印中心编：《报刊复印资料》。

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

国立中央图书馆编：《国际标准书号中心通讯》。

INB: Herbert W. Reichert and Karl Schlechta (eds). *International Nietzsche Bibliography*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1968. Item number provided.

INB, I: Herbert W. Reichert (ed.). "International Nietzsche Bibliography 1968 Through 1971," *Nietzsche-Studien*, II (1973), pp. 320-39. Item number provided.

INB, II: Herbert W. Reichert (ed.). "International Nietzsche Bibliography 1972-1973," *Nietzsche-Studien*, VI (1975), pp. 351-73. Item number provided.

JBZYXS: Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan (ed.). *Jin bainian lai Zhong yi xi shu mulu*, Zhonghua Wenhua Chuban Shiye Weiyuanhui, Taiwan, January 1958. Page number provided.

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。

MSZ: Beijing Tushuguan (ed.). *Minguo shiqi zongshumu—Waiguo wenxue*, Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, Beijing, April 1987. Item number provided.

北京图书馆：《民国时期总书目—外国文学》，书目文献出版社。

NBFC: Raoul David Findeisen. (ed.). “Nietzsche-Bibliographie für China (1902 bis 1986),” *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* (1987), pp. 333-52. Item number provided.

NZZ: Feng Tie (ed.). “‘Nicai zai Zhongguo de yingxiang’ zhuanti yanjiu cankao shumu”, *Deguo zhixue*, 10 (June 1991), pp. 206-225. Item number provided.

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)。

QBSLFM: Wang Moli and Lin Yuquan (eds). *Quanguo boshi suoshi lunwen fenlei mulu*. Guoli Zhengzhi Daxue shehuikexue ziliao zhongxin, Taiwan, July 1977. Page number provided.

王茉莉、林玉泉编：《全国博士硕士论文分类目录》，国立政治大学社会科学资料中心。

QGSXZM: Jilin Daxue (ed.). Quanguo gaodengyuanxiao shehuikexue xuebao zong mulu. Year and page number provided.

吉林大学编：全国高等院校社会科学学报总目录。

QLS: Zhonghua Minguo Guofang Yanjiuyuan Tushuguan (ed.). *Qikan lunwen suoyin*. Volume, issue and page numbers provided.

中华民国国防研究院编：《期刊论文索引》。

QS: Zhongshan Wenhua Jiaoyu Guan (ed.). *Qikan suoyin*. Volume, issue, and page numbers provided.

中山文化教育馆：《期刊索引》。

QXM: Zhongguo Banben Tushuguan *Quanguo xin shumu bianjibu* (ed.). *Quanguo xin shumu*. Year, issue and page number provided.

中国版本图书馆、《全国新书目》编辑部编：《全国新书目》。

QZQLM: 1833-1949 *Quanguo Zhongwen qikan lianhe mulu* (zengdingben), Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, Beijing, 1981. Page number provided.

《1833-1949全国中文期刊联合目录（增定本）》，书目文献出版社。

RW: *Renwen yuekan zazhi yaomu suoyin*, Tianyi Chubanshe, Taiwan, n. d. Volume, issue and page numbers provided.

《*人文杂志*要目索引》，天一出版社。

WSQJ: Zhonggong Zhongyang Makesi, Engesi, Liening, Sidalin Zhuzuo Bianyiju (ed.). *Wu-Si shiqi qikan jieshao*, I-III, Renmin Chubanshe, Beijing, 1958. Volume and page numbers provided. 中共中央马克思、恩格斯、列宁、斯大林著作编译局：《五四时期期刊介绍》，人民出版社。

WZYST: Beijing Tushuguan zhexue wenxian yanjiushi (ed.). “Waiguo zhexue yizhu shumu tiyao (1911-1949)”, *Waiguo zhexue*. From Vols. 7- (March 1986-). Part and page numbers provided.

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》。

ZBLFS: Guoli Zhengzhi Daxue shehuikexue ziliao zhongxin (ed.). *Zhongwen baozhi lunwen fenlei suoyin (1962-1985)*, 25 vols, Zongqing Tushu Gongsi, Taiwan, May 1987, 2nd impression. Year/volume and page number provided.

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。

ZBSLM: Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan (ed.). *Zhonghua Minguo boshi suoshi lunwen mulu* (1970). Page number provided.

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》。

ZJQBH: Shanghai Tushuguan (ed.). *Zhongguo jindai qikan bianmu huiliu*, I-VI, Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1980-1984. Volume and page numbers provided.

上海图书馆：《中国近代期刊编目汇录》，上海人民出版社。

ZJXCM: Shanghai Tushuguan (ed.). *Zhongguo jindai xiandai congshu mulu*, Shangwu Yinshuguan, Hong Kong, February 1980. Page number provided.

上海图书馆：《中国近代现代丛书目录》，商务印书馆。

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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》。

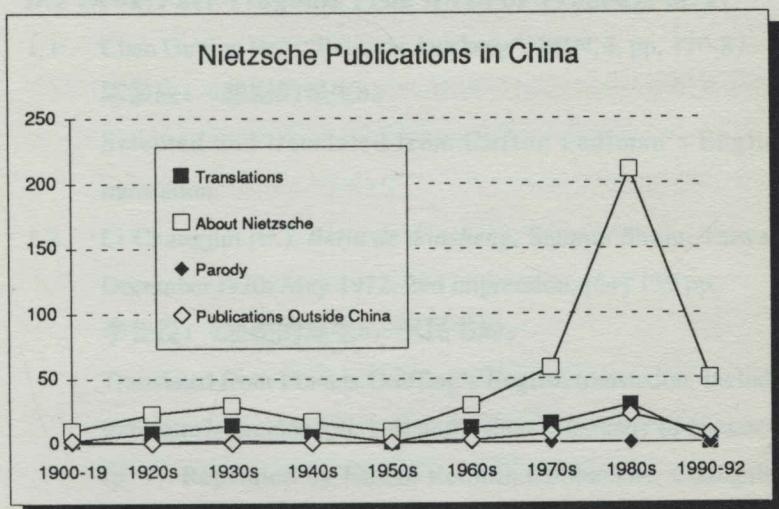
ZTZ: Xingzhengyuan xinwenju (ed.). *Zhonghua Minguo tushu zongmulu* (1974). Page numbers provided.

行政院新闻局：《中华民国图书总目录》。

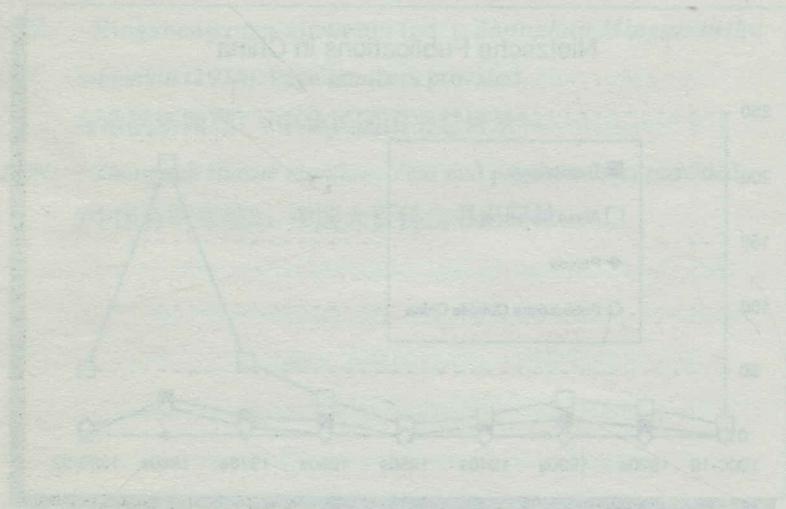
ZZN: *Zhongguo zhixue nianjian*. Year and page numbers provided.

《中国哲学年鉴》，中国大百科全书出版社。

CHART



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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.

陈鼓应：《悲剧的诞生》。

Selected and translated from Clifton Fadiman's English translation.

- 1.2 Li Changjun (tr.). *Beiju de dansheng*, Sanmin Shuju, Taiwan, December 1970; May 1972, 2nd impression, [6+] 159 pp.

李长俊：《悲剧的诞生》，三民书局。

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.

刘崎：《悲剧的诞生》，志文出版社。

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.



杨烈、伍蠡甫：《悲剧的诞生》，载《西方文论选》(下)，上海译文出版社。

Selected and translated from Clifton Fadiman's English translation. §§ 1-3, 10, 11 (first half) translated by Yang Lie and proofread by Shang Chengzu according to Alfred Kröner's edition of Nietzsche's collected works, 1922; §§ 11 (second half), 12, 15, translated by Wu Lifu. Reprinted in Hu Jingzhi and Wu Lifu (eds), *Xifang wenyi lilun mingzhu xuanbian* 胡经之、伍蠡甫编：《西方文艺理论名著选编》，II, Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, August 1986, pp. 445-53.

- 1.5 Miu Langshan (tr.). "Beiju de dansheng", *Wenxue lunji*, III-IV, Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, Beijing, June and July 1980, pp. 236-67; pp. 228-84.

缪朗山：《悲剧的诞生》，《文学论集》。

Translated from Nietzsche's *Gesammelte Werke*, 1880, edited by Alfred Bräumler. Extracts reprinted in Ma Qi (ed.), *Xifang meixueshi ziliaojuanbian* 马奇编：《西方美学史资料选编》，xia, Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, April 1987, pp. 739-69.
Miu Langshan = Miu Lingzhu 缪灵珠。

- 1.6 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Beiju de dansheng", BDNMW, December 1986, pp. 1-108.

周国平：《悲剧的诞生》。

Transalted from German.

- 1.7 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Ziwopipan de changshi", BDNMW, December 1986, pp. 270-80.

周国平：《自我批判的尝试》。

I.e. "Versuch einen Selbstkritik".

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.

戴天：《一八七〇—一八七一的日耳曼》，载《从创始到现代德国文学精华总览》，明报社。

I.e. a translation of book 1 § 1. Includes translator’s note (p. 272).

“II Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben” (On the Use and Disadvantage of History for Life, 1874)

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

淦克超：《历史之用途与滥用》，水牛出版社。

Translated from Adrien Collin’s “The Use and Abuse of History”.

“III Schopenhauer als Erzieher” (Schopenhauer as Educator, 1874)

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

杨伯萍：《教育家之叔本华》，商务印书馆。

Yang Boping = Yang Baiping 杨白萍.

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

陈鼓应：《对每一个伟大哲学家的挑战》。

Nietzsche in China

- 1.12 Cai Yingwen (tr.). *Nicai lun Shubenhua* (Nietzsche on Schopenhauer), Longtian Chubanshe, Taiwan, September 1979, 178 pp.

蔡英文：《尼采论叔本华》，龙田出版社。

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

“IV Richard Wagner in Bayreuth” (1876)

- 1.13 Zhou Guoping (tr.). “Wagena zai Bailuooyite”, BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 109-74.

周国平：《瓦格纳在拜洛伊特》。

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

- 1.14 Liu Wenchao (tr.). “Ziji yu zishen zhi renlei”, MD (15 August, 1920), 12 pp.

刘文超：《自己与自身之人类》。

I.e. extracts from “Der Mensch mit sich allein”.

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

梵澄：《启示艺术家与文学者的灵魂》，《世界文库》。

Includes a short biography of Nietzsche and translator's preface. VII, pp. 2981-99.

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.

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.

- 1.18 Hu Hongshu (tr.). "Qishi yishujia yu wenxuezhe de linghun", Zhengwen Shuju, Taiwan, 1966, 62 pp.

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".

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Die Morgenröte (Daybreak, 1881)

- 1.21 Fancheng (tr.). *Zhaoxia*, Shangwu Yinshuguan, September 1935, 333 pp.

梵澄：《朝霞》，商务印书馆。

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

- 1.22 Chen Guying (tr.). “Gongzuo de songyangzhe”, CZ (January 1971), pp. 122-3.

陈鼓应：《工作的颂扬者》。

A translation of §173.

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

周国平：《曙光(节译)》。

Selected and translated from German.

Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft (The Gay Science, 1882)

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

梵澄：《快乐的知识》，中德学会丛书之十一，商务印书馆。

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

- 1.25 Chen Guying (tr.). *Yukuai de zhihui*, CZ (January 1971), pp. 123-6.

陈鼓应：《愉快的知识》。

Includes sections 125, 283, 290.

- 1.26 Yu Hongrong (tr.). *Huanyue de zhihui-Kuaile 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 "Kuaile de kexue" 《快乐的科学》.
- 1.27 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Kuaile de kexue (jie yi)", BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 230-57.
周国平：《快乐的科学(节译)》。
Includes extracts of the preface and §§ 59, 72, 79, 80, 84-87, 89, 92, 98, 99, 103, 107, 183, 203, 222, 241, 245, 298, 299, 302, 329, 339, 367-370, 373, 376.

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

- 1.28 Yanbing (tr.). "Xin ouxiang", *Jiefang yu gaizao*, I:6 (15 November 1919), pp. 61-4.
雁冰：《新偶像》，《解放与改造》。
I.e. "Vom neuen Götzen". With translator's note. Translated from English. Yanbing = Mao Dun 茅盾.
- 1.29 Yanbing (tr.). "Shichang zhi ying", *Jiefang yu gaizao*, I:7 (December 1919), pp. 55-8.
雁冰：《市场之蝇》，《解放与改造》。
I. e. "Von den Fliegen des Marketes". Translated from English. Yanbing = Mao Dun 茅盾.

- 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).
[NBFC #1.27]
萧赣：(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：《布拉杜斯特拉这样说》,《学灯》。
- 1.34 Guo Moruo (tr.). “Chalatusiquila 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.

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》, I, Shanghai Linshi Chubanshe 上海林氏出版社, June 1941.

- 1.36 Fancheng (tr.). “Suluzhi yulu”, *Shijie wenku*, VIII-XI (1935).

梵澄：《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]

马君武：《札勒图士之言》，“万有文库”，商务印书馆。

This item is not listed in ZJXCM nor WZYST.

- 1.38 Yutang (tr.). “Shichang de cangying”, *Lunyu*, 56 (1 January

1935), pp. 364-65.

语堂：《市场的苍蝇》，《论语》。

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

- 1.39 Xiao Gan (tr.). *Zalatushitela rushi shuo*, I-IV, “Wanyou

wenku”, 2nd series, no. 60, 4 vols, Shangwu Yinshuguan,

March 1936, 506 pp.

萧赣：《扎拉图特拉如是说》，“万有文库”第二集第六十，商务印书馆。

Translated from Thomas Common's English translation.

Reprinted by Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, May 1966.

- 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。

Translated from Thomas Common's English translation.

Reprinted by Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju, January 1964; 1967; 1970; 1978 under a different translator: Lei Songsheng 雷崧生。

- 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。

Translated from English with translator's preface. 2nd printing in 1950. Reprinted by Wentong Shuju (Shanghai, 1952). Gao Han = Chu Tunan 楚图南. Reprinted by Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, November 1987, 421 pp., with translator's preface to the 2nd edition.

- 1.42 Lu Xun (tr.). "Chaluodusideluo xuyan", *Lu Xun yiwenji*, X, Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, December 1958, pp. 773-78.

鲁迅：《察罗堵斯德罗绪言》，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 Ruilin (tr.). "Suluzhi yulu", *Nicai wenji* (1962), see #1.16.

杨瑞琳：《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.

雷崧生：《查拉杜屈拉如是说》。

- 1.45 Hu Pingqing (tr.). "Shahadusiteha ruci yanshuo (zhai zi xuwen)", *Zhongguo yi zhou*, 715 (January 1964), pp. 9-10.

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》。

A reprint of #1.37.

- 1.47 Chen Guying (tr.). "Chalatusila rushi shuo xu", BZN, I (1965), pp. 147-69.

陈鼓应：《查拉图斯拉如是说序》。

I.e. the "Vorrede". Translated from Thomas Common's translation.

- 1.48 Hu Hongshu (tr.). *Suluzhi yulu*, Zhengwen Shuju, Taiwan, 1966; 1974, 303 pp.

胡宏述：《苏鲁之语录》，正文书局。

A reprint of #1.37 without "Qishi yishujia yu wenxuezhe de linghun".

- 1.49 Chen Guying (tr.). "Ziyou zhi si", CZ (January 1971), pp. 127-30.

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.
杨人康：《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.
- 1.52 Yu Hongrong (tr.). *Chalatusitela rushi shuo*, Zhiwen Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1983, 401 pp.
余鸿荣：《查拉图斯特拉如是说》，志文出版社。
Translated from English. With translator's preface: "Nicai de shengping yu qi zuopin" 《尼采的生平与其作品》(Nietzsche's Life and Works), pp. 1-34; Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche's preface: "Chalatusitela shi zenyang dansheng de—Nicai de mei xu" 《查拉图斯特拉是怎样诞生的—尼采的妹序》, pp. 35-43; and a Nietzsche chronology. Reprinted by Beifang Wenyi Chubanshe, January 1988, 361 pp.
- 1.53 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Chalatusitela rushi shuo (jie yi)", BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 258-69.
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 zichanjieji zhexuejia zhengzhijia*

youguan rendaozhuyi renxinglun yanlun xuanji, Shangwu Yinshuguan, February 1966, pp. 874-79.

《超善恶》，载《从文艺复兴到十九世纪资产阶级哲学家政治家有关人道主义人性论言论选辑》，商务印书馆。

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。

Translated from German with translator's note.

Die Genealogie der Moral (On the Genealogy 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 yu e', '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。

Not listed in QXM. The above publication information based on translator's preface to the mainland Chinese edition written in 1988. Reprinted as *Lun daode de qiyuan* 《论道德的起源》, Qin + Yuan Chubanshe 勤+缘出版社, Hong Kong, February 1992. 230 pp. With a preface to the Hong Kong edition.

Der Fall Wagner (The Case of Wagner, 1888)

- 1.60 Jinfa (tr.). "Yu Huagena zhi juejiao", *Shanghai shijie zazhi*, I: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.
- 1.61 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Wagena shijian", BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 281-318.
周国平:《瓦格纳事件》。

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

- 1.62 Chen Fangyu (tr.). *Ouxiang de moluo*, Shuiniu Chubanshe, Taiwan, 20 January 1973, 144 pp.
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)》。

Includes §§ 8-11, 19-24, 47, 49-50, 51 (extracts) of “Streifzüge eines Unzeitgemässen” 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》，。

Reprinted in *Meiyu*, 4, Guangzhou, 1 January 1937. Includes “Wo ich bewundere”, “Wo ich Einwände”, “Wagner als Gefahr”, “Eine Musik ohne Zukunft”, “Wir Antipoden”, “Wie ich von Wagner loskam”, and “Der Psycholog nimmt das Wort”. Jinfa = Li Jinfa 李金发.

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 xuuzhuyi” (#2.115) and Nietzsche chronology (pp. 179-83).

***Ecce Homo* (1908)**

- 1.67 Fancheng (tr.). *Nicai zizhuan*, Liangyou Tushu Gongsi, Shanghai, April 1935, 200 pp.
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。
- 1.70 Chen Guying (tr.). “*Kan zhege ren xu*”, BZN, I (1965), pp. 141-46.
陈鼓应：《看这个人序》。
I.e. the “Vorwort”. Translated from C. Fadiman's translation.
- 1.71 Liu Qi (tr.). *Qiao! Zhege ren*, Zhiwen Chubanshe, Taiwan, 1969; September 1973, 2nd impression, 183 pp.
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.

- 1.72 Chen Guying (tr.). "Cong *Qiao zhege ren zhong zhaichu de liang duan*", CZ (January 1971), pp. 133-34.
陈鼓应：《从“瞧这个人”中摘出的两段》。
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]
王婉芬：《尼采自传》，正文书局。
- 1.74 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Kan na, zhe ren (jie yi)", BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 336-47.
周国平：《看哪这人(节译)》。
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)**

- 1.75 Wang Taiqing (tr.). "Quanli yizhi", Hong Qian (ed.), *Xifang xiandai zichanjieji zhexue lunzhu xuan*, Shangwu Yinshuguan, August 1964; August 1982, 2nd impression, pp. 14-24.
王太庆：《权力意志》，载洪谦编：《西方现代资产阶级哲学论著选》，商务印书馆。
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.
陈鼓应：《“冲创意志”的开始》。
I.e. the “Vorrede”.

- 1.77 Zhou Guoping (tr.). "Zuowei yishu de qiangli yizhi", BDNMW (December 1986), pp. 348-87.
周国平：《作为艺术的强力意志》。
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.
关文运：《权力意志. 15 生命就是追求权力的意志》,
载《西方伦理学名著选辑》(下),商务印书馆。
I.e. Book 3, III, § 2 "Der Wille zur Macht als Leben".
Translated from German.

Others

- 1.79 Bao Shoumei (tr.). "Zheren zhi geyan" (Aphorisms of a Philosopher), "Xuedeng", a supplement of Shanghai *Shishi xinbao* (16-20 May 1925). [WSQJ, III, 899]
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》，《北新》。
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 *Nietzsches Gesammelte Briefe*, edited by Peter Gast and Arthur Seidl. Includes translator's note. Reprinted in

- 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.
- 1.81 Yang Baiping (tr.). "Nicai jian lun ji (1-6)" (A Collection of Nietzsche's Aphorism), *Renmin pinglun* (xunkan), I:48-53 (July-September 1934), pp. 29-32; 30-32; 26-31; 33-36; 30-32; 27-31.
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
- 1.83 Feng Zhi (tr.). "Nicai shi chao" (Nietzsche's Poems), *Wenxue*, VIII:1 (1 January, 1937), pp. 160-2.
冯至:《尼采诗钞》,《文学》。
Includes "Ecce Homo", "Der Wanderer", and "Sternen-Moral", in "Scherz, List und Rache"; "An ... ", "Yorrick-Columbus", "Im deutschen November", and "Pinie und Blitz" from the Nachlass.
- 1.84 Qianchu (tr.). "Song yu lei" (Pine and Thunder), *Zhanguoce*, 3 (1 May 1940), p. 16.
潜初:《松与雷》,《战国策》。
I.e. the poem "Pinie und Blitz".

- 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).
夏夜曙：《尼采艺术论》，《星座》（《星岛日报》付刊）。
30 quotations translated from Japanese. Xia Yeshu = Lin Huanping 林焕平. Reprinted in Lin Huanping, *Xuexi Lu Xun zaji*《学习鲁迅札记》，Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, February 1984, with translator's note, p. 157.
- 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.) *Nicai 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 Pingqing (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 Fregeist, Abschied” from the Nachlass. Reprinted in *Xiandai wenzue san lun*《现代文学

- 三论》, Wenxing Shudian, 25 July 1964; 25 April, 1965, pp. 87-92.
- 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.
- 1.92 Weilan (tr.). “Zhi yi wei Helan guniang” (A Letter to a Holland Girl, 11 April 1876), Huofuman (ed.), *Ai de shizhe—Jindai Ouzhou mingren qingshu*, tr. Weilan, Zhongguo Zhanwang Chubanshe, December 1985, p. 226.
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.
魏桂邦：《尼采语录》，业强出版社。
Includes 2 appendices: “Nicai” (pp. 165-68) by Clifton Fadiman (see #2.257) and “Wei’er Dulan bixia de Nicai” 《威尔·都兰笔下的尼采》(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.
周国平：《尼采格言诗选》，《书林》。
- 1.97 Zhou Guoping (tr.). *Nicai shiji* (Complete Poetic Works of Nietzsche), Zhongguo Wenlian Chubanshe, December 1986, 234 pp.
周国平：《尼采诗集》，中国文联出版社。
Includes #1.96 and #2.253.
- 1.98 Zhou Guoping (tr.). *Beiju de dansheng—Nicai meixue wenxuan* (The Birth of Tragedy—A Selection of Nietzsche’s Works on Aesthetics), Shenghuo. Dushu. Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, Beijing, December 1986; February 1987, 2nd impression, 387 pp.
周国平：《悲剧的诞生－尼采美学文选》，生活·读书·新知三联书店。
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

1990. Also by Yangzhe 仰哲, Taiwan, 1989. [ZCTM, 1989:7-12 (January 1990), #00790].
- 1.99 Zhang Niandong (tr.) “Nicai ‘80 niandai yigao xuanbian (1887-1889)’ (zhai deng)” (Selections from Nietzsche’s ‘From the Nachlass of the Eighties (1887-1889)’”, *Guowai shehuikexue*, 1988:8, pp. 38-42.
- 张念东:《尼采₈₀年代遗稿选编(1887—1889)》(摘登),《国外社会科学》。
- Selected translation of “Aus dem Nachlass des Achtzigerjahre” in Karl Schlechta (ed.), *Friedrich Nietzsche. Werke* (1984), vol. 4.
- 1.100 Lin Yu (ed.). *Nicai yulu* (Quotations of Nietzsche),† Zhihui Daxue, Taiwan, 1989, 220 pp. [ZCTM, 1990:1, #00046]
- 林郁(编):《尼采语录》,智慧大学。

PART TWO WORKS ABOUT NIETZSCHE

1900-1919

- 2.1 Anon. “Nicai shi zhi jiaoyuguan” (Nietzsche’s Theory of Education),† *Jiaoyu shijie*, 71 (March 1904). [ZJQBH, II, 146]
佚名：《尼采氏之教育观》，《教育世界》。
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]
佚名：《德国文化大改革家尼采传》，《教育世界》。
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]
佚名：《尼采氏之学说》，《教育世界》。
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]
王国维：《叔本华与尼采》，《教育世界》。
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

- German Philosopher Nietzsche), *Da Zhonghua*, I:7-8 (20 July and 20 August 1915), 12 pp.
- 谢无量：《德国大哲学家尼采之略传及学说》，《大中华》。
- 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.
- 2.7 Cai Yuanpei. "Dazhan yu zhixue," (The World War and Philosophy), *Xinchao*, I:1 (1918; December 1919, 3rd impression), pp. 145-49.
- 蔡元培：《大战与哲学》，《新潮》。
- On the theories of Tolstoy, Kropotkin, 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 zhixue", 《欧战与哲学》(The War in Europe and Philosophy).
- 2.8 Lingshuang. "Deyizhi zhixuejia Nicai de zongjiao" (The Religion of the German Philosopher Nietzsche), *Xin qingnian*, IV:5 (15 May 1918), pp. 437-40.
- 凌霜：《德意志哲学家尼采的宗教》，《新青年》。
- A summary of W. M. Satler, *Nietzsche the Thinker: A Study*, 1917. [INB #629] With a translator's note.

- 2.9 Riben Xinchao She. *Jindai sixiang*, tr. Guo Yaogen, Shangzhi Xuehui conghsu, Shangwu Yinshuguan, n. d. Preface dated December 1918.

日本新潮社:《近代思想》,过耀根译,尚志学会丛书,商务印书馆。

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

Volume “shang” chapter 4 “Nicai zhi chaoren zhixue” 《尼采之超人哲学》(Nietzsche’s Philosophy of Superman), pp. 85-139; chapter 5 § 1 “Nicai zhi xianquzhe Sitinghei’er” 《尼采之先驱者斯汀黑尔》(Nietzsche’s Predecessor: Standhal), pp. 139-42; and § 3 “Nicai yihou zhi renren” 《尼采以后之人人》(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*, I:3 (September 1919), pp. 39-41.

田汉译:《说尼采的<悲剧之发生>》,《少年中国》。

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》。
I.e. M. A. Mügge, *Friedrich Nietzsche*, 1912 [INB #548]; includes "Introduction" and chapters 1-3. Reprinted in MD (15 August 1920), 45 pp.
- 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 zhixue 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.
朱侖云: 《超人与伟人》。
- 2.15 Baishan. "Nicai zhuan" (A Biography of Nietzsche), MD (15 August 1920), 21 pp.
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.

- 李石岑：《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.
- 2.17 Mügge. “Nicai de chaoren sixiang” (The Superman Theory of Nietzsche), tr. Fu, *Chenbao* (4-8 November 1920).
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]
- 2.18 Yanbing. “Nicai de xueshuo” (Nietzsche’s Theory), *Xuesheng zazhi*, VII:1-4 (5 January-April, 1920), 48 pp.
雁冰：《尼采的学说》，《学生杂志》。
Yanbing=Mao Dun 茅盾.
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Yutang = Lin Yutang 林语堂. The title of the first section is “Zarathustra yulu”《Zarathustra 语录》(Quotations of Zarathustra). Subtitle of chapter 5: “Zheng ming de sixiang lü”《正名的思想律》(The Principle of Rectification of Names).

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真岡勢舟：《青鬼堂に与ふる書—莊子とニーチェとを論ず》，《精神界》。
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- 4.4 Onoye Kanehide. "Rojin to Niiche" (Lu Xun and Nietzsche), *Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō*, XIII (1961), pp. 102-16.
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- 4.5 Onoye Kanehide. "Shinkaron to Niiche" (Evolutionism and Nietzsche), *Gendai Chūgoku bugaku senshū*, Heibonsha, 1963.
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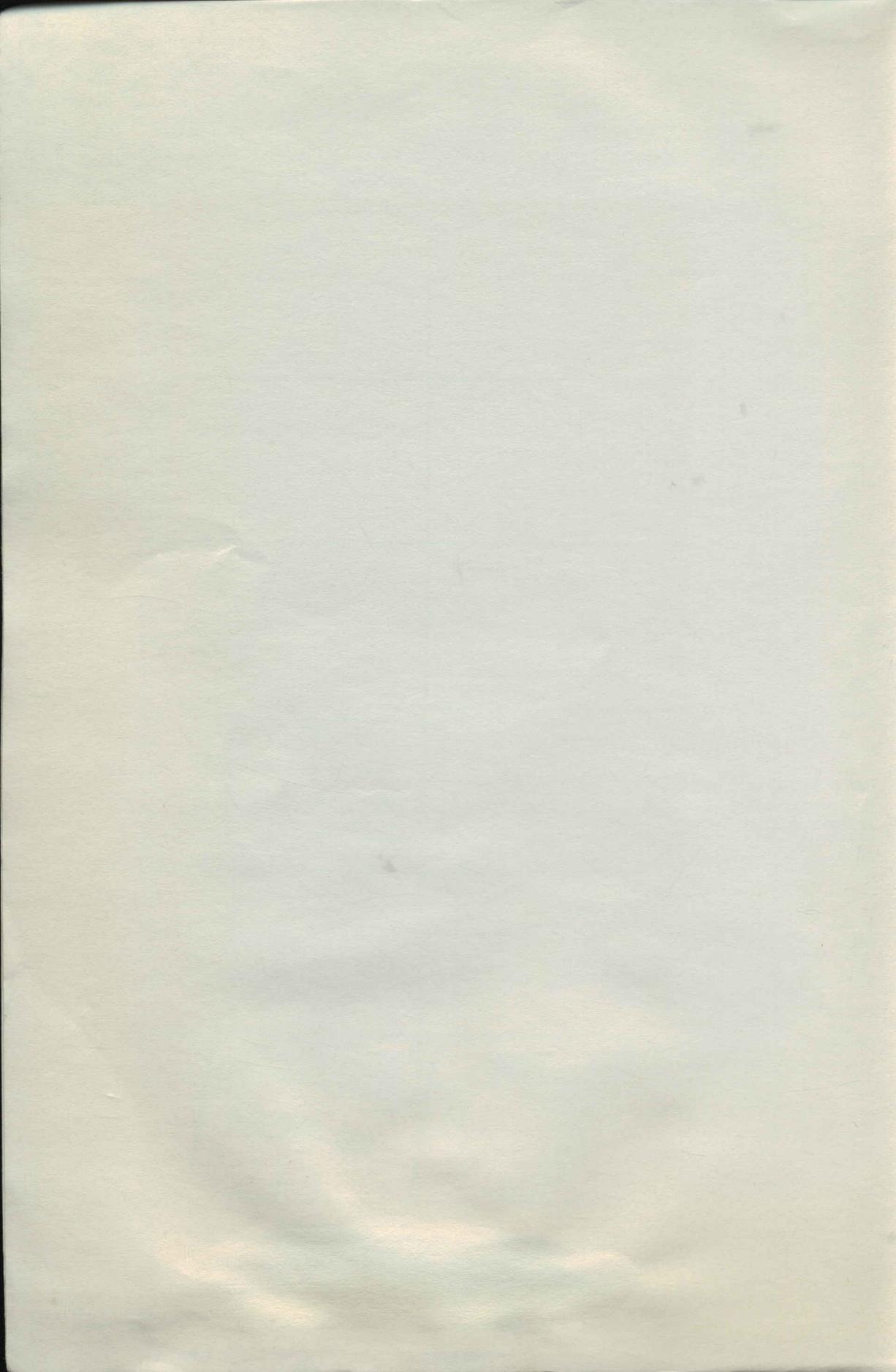
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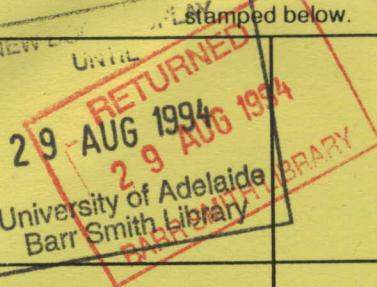
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