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Southeast Asia and the Pacific Region, 1850-1950**

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Paper Abstracts

Panel 1

“Space, Sexuality, and Social Rebuilding in Post-WWII Berlin”

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Perhaps more than any other city, Berlin holds an iconic place in the ebb and flow of 20th century German history. As much as it emerged as the showcase of Prussian might, the *Weltstadt* of Hitler's Reich, and the zero hour of German rebuilding and Cold War confrontation, the city also represented for resident and visitor alike a space of bold cultural experimentation, illicit sexuality, and nonconformist gender practices. While evoking images of libertinism and modernity in the 1920s, its place in the historical imaginary has never been fixed, forced to alternate between competing images of excess, monumentalism, repression, and finally division. Despite an abiding interest in Berlin's past, recent scholarship lacks an appreciation of the city's unique geography and history as a constitutive, rather than merely a narrative, element in the sexual and political regulation of its citizens. At a time of sweeping political change in the wake of World War II, it becomes especially important to interrogate how gender and sexual identity, and the spaces and places where these identities were produced, emerged as a site of control, regulation, and freedom through attempts at establishing law, order, and authority in the defeated city.

This paper provides an analysis of the regulation of Berlin's public and private spaces in order to consider what was at stake in Allied and East and West German attempts to rebuild broken social and sexual mores. By viewing the policing of social space as intrinsically connected to the quest for both social and political normalization, it traces the changing valuation of established sexual zones through the cumulative effects of war, defeat, rebuilding and division. In making the city more of an actor in the analysis, it examines how spaces like the ruins, the cellar, and the train station became hosts to changing estimations of sexual danger, victimization, desire, endangerment, and even the erotic. Reading the divided city as mapping out specific experiences of desire and danger, invested with political ambience in the context of the emerging Cold War, the paper examines the relationship between space, place, sexuality, and identity by looking at attempts to regulate hetero- and homosocial life. In this way, it demonstrates that space not only has a spatial but also particularly gendered temporal dimensions exemplified in the deep anxieties German authorities and average citizens raised concerning the breakdown of traditional mores in the wake of war. If Berlin was once imagined as an arena of experimentalism, pleasure-seeking, and modernity, the paper charts the after-effects of Nazi rule and capitulation which gave rise to new discourses of moralization and opposition that emerged in the regulation of the city's social (and sexual) spaces.

“Paris Broken, but Paris Liberated?:
The State, City Administration and the Reconstruction of Post-War Paris, 1944-1990”

Stephen W. Sawyer
The American University of Paris, France

In the late summer 1944, Charles De Gaulle famously announced that Paris had been broken, but was finally freed. As true as this statement may have been in the immediate context of war, it proved only half true in the years that followed. For, Paris was indeed “broken” but not just by war. The city also faced massive problems of insufficient and outdated infrastructure, vast housing needs, and what I call a “symbolic urban crisis” as the place of France and Europe were challenged in the geopolitical context brought on by the Cold War. At the same time, the capital could hardly claim to have been “freed” in any real sense, since it remained under the tutelage of the central state and would not benefit from any robust form of self-government until 1976-1977. Confronted with the need to rebuild the capital of a country that sat at the crossroads of Cold War geopolitics, discussions on Paris’s reconstruction and its local government thus became debates on multilevel state-building. What ultimately emerged in this key period was a process of democratizing urban governance. This democratization played an essential role in the construction of a new “infrastructural” power in which the central state appeared to grow “weaker,” while the actual capacity to solve public problems in the city greatly increased.

“Protesting in Paris:
Public Space and the Politics of Urban Appropriation, 1944-1990”

Alain Chatriot
Sciences Po Paris, France

Surrounded with a jubilant crowd, De Gaulle’s march down the Champs-Élysées of Paris on August 26, 1944 came to symbolize French “Liberation.” Almost half a century later the same avenue was covered with wheat as farmers demonstrated in protest of agricultural policy. Between these two dates, Parisian streets provided a political stage for working through key political questions of the Cold War. If certain demonstrations enjoyed great fame (Charonne in 1962 or those of May, 68), others have been forgotten. They are nevertheless revealing of French political and social life. First, they build on a long tradition dating back to the French Revolution which used Parisian streets as a privileged site for popular political movements. At the same time, however, these demonstrations were clearly transformed by the new political context brought on by the Second World War. Finally, they also participated in a specific Parisian geography, which was also marked by continuity and change in the post-war period.

Panel 2

“Constructing Cold War Outposts: The Cityscapes of Berlin and Hong Kong in the 1950s”

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Hong Kong, being physically ‘in between the otherwise forbidden traffic’, has allowed interaction between the two antagonistic ideological systems (namely socialism and capitalism) to happen during the Cold War (Roberts and Carroll, 2016). While Hong Kong was proclaimed by British policymakers to be ‘Berlin of the East’ partly aimed at drawing international support as the Cold War tension escalated (Carroll, 2007), agreements have but not been reached on whether Cold War Hong Kong resembled Cold War Berlin from the perspective on urban history, since the latter was physically divided. This paper aims at comparing the two cities’ urban development during the 1950s, by rationalising the architectural engineering put into individual places which resulted in the possession of a literal urban image functioned in relation to the East German (socialist) / West German (democratic) (Pugh, 2014)/ Hong Kong (colonial/ Chinese) identities. The discussion will focus on the urban and social policies in the two cities during the Cold War as to observe if and how the Cold War tension was causal and hence the impact of such policies and their implementations. The paper, revolving around interdisciplinary undertakings of architectural and urban theories, history, political science and anthropology, is aimed at connecting the vague dots between political history, intellectual history and urban history by means comparing the two seemingly different but similar cities in terms of their political situation and their roles played during the Cold War.

“Cities in the Early People’s Republic of China”

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The relationship of the Chinese Communist movement to China’s cities has undergone many twists and turns over the past century. Founded in Shanghai, China’s most advanced metropolis in 1921, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) at first looked to grow within the factories and working-class neighborhoods of the industrializing coastal cities. Forced to retreat to rural bases in 1927, the Communist leadership’s assessment of cities changed, becoming more ambivalent. Economically advanced, cities challenged the movement with their concentrations of wealth and seductive cultural life. Urban schools, though, also produced young admirers of the Communist cause in the 1930s and 1940s, many of whom contributed substantially to the ultimate Communist victory. When the CCP took control of China’s largest cities in 1948 and 1949, it was forced to confront its ambivalence about them. This paper surveys the state of scholarship on how policies toward cities were devised and implemented by the new PRC state in the 1950s. Beijing’s rebirth as national capital and socialist showplace under the influence of Soviet models has been relatively well studied, as has the history of the large coastal cities. My own research on Chengdu, Sichuan’s capital, shows the extent of transformation of the urban economy nationwide in the 1950s, but also

the effects of the increasingly strict segregation of the population of large cities from their hinterlands as well as from the wider world.

“The Global City and Biological Warfare during the Cold War”

Albert Wu

The American University of Paris, France

On 3 March 1952, a Chinese villager living about twenty kilometers from the city of Fushun discovered something curious in front of his house: insects that were jumping and walking on the snow. Immediately he alerted the local authorities, who, suspecting foul play, sought to destroy the insects. After several days, the authorities had failed to eradicate insects from the area—they now inhabited a space more than a kilometer long and 500 meters wide, and were impinging on the city of Fushun. Seeing this as a plot by the American military as a way to turn the tide in the Korean War, the Chinese authorities accused the Americans of engaging in biological warfare, intent on contaminating Chinese cities with disease-carrying insects. The Chinese accusations launched an international investigation, as a team of French, German, and British scientists traveled to northeast China to study the veracity of the claims of biological warfare.

This paper examines how images of the “global city” shaped the discourse surrounding biological warfare during the early part of the Cold War. Both the Chinese officials and the international investigators invoked the destruction of cities—Hiroshima and Nagasaki in particular, but also during the Second World War—as ways to advance their platforms and causes. But the city also became a central place to wage defense against biological warfare: it became a site to mobilize mass vaccination campaigns, eradicate epidemics, and implement new practices of hygiene. This paper thus investigates how the city served as a central node for the circulation of global health practices and ideas during the Cold War.

Panel 3

“Global, Yet Divided: Ideological Re-education and Cultural Diplomacy in 1950s Guangzhou”

Els van Dongen
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

After the Chinese Communist victory in 1949, the unclear status of the millions of Chinese emigrants in Southeast Asia became a diplomatic hurdle for both the newly-established People’s Republic of China and the countries in which these emigrants resided. Suspected of political identification with the Communist regime, the ethnic Chinese were persecuted and discriminated in the various countries of Southeast Asia. This unfavorable treatment, combined with a patriotic spirit—often as a consequence of Chinese propaganda—led tens of thousands of overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia to return to China in the early 1950s. Once returned, however, these returnees were considered no less suspicious because of their alleged “capitalist” background. In this presentation, I will discuss the cultural Cold War through the lens of the re-education of ethnic Chinese “returned students” (*qiaosheng*) from Southeast Asia specifically. In this process of ideological and cultural remaking, Guangzhou played an important role. In 1958, after having been established in Nanjing, Shanghai, and Fujian province before 1949, Jinan University was re-established in Guangzhou as the major tertiary institution for ethnic Chinese who had returned to China. It became “the cradle of overseas Chinese students,” with specific attention being paid to Chinese language education and research on Southeast Asia, the latter being institutionalized in the Southeast Asia Research Institute. That Guangzhou was chosen was no coincidence: it had historically been a major gateway to the world as a port and trading city and as a place of emigration. However, what kind of re-education was required to turn ethnic Chinese into socialist citizens and how could “global” cities be involved in this? And how did ethnic Chinese respond to these re-education efforts? I will address these and other questions and argue that the role of universities such as Jinan University as institutions involved in the ideological and cultural remaking of “returnees” was paradoxically combined with their function as instruments of cultural diplomacy, namely as bridges to improve diplomatic relations between China and Southeast Asian countries. These tensions reveal the complexities in the relation that China had with the Chinese overseas during this period, and these complexities manifested themselves all the more in contact zones and “global” cities where ideological divisions were more fluid.

“The Question of People: Cultural Cold War in 1950s Hong Kong”

Tze-ki Hon and Hok-yin Chan
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City University of Hong Kong

During the 1950s, a million of Chinese refugees crossed the borders to enter British Hong Kong, rapidly expanding the population of the colony. While these refugees caused numerous problems to the Hong Kong government (such as crimes, public health, riots and squatters), they were also valuable assets to justify the continuation of the colonial rule in an age of accelerated de-colonization around the world. By voting with their feet, refugees proved that Hong Kong was a

Cold War outpost, strategically located at the frontline between Communist China and the Free World. In this paper, we will examine the strategies and policies of the Hong Kong government that transformed the colony into a “bastion of freedom” attracting distractors from Communist China. We will focus on how the Hong Kong government used the “refugee problem” to attract international support and created a school system to train refugees to work in factories.

“The Left, Right, and Middle in the Hong Kong Film Industry during the Cold War Era”

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City University of Hong Kong

The ideological tug-of-war between Nationalist Taiwan and Communist China was a distinguishing mark of Cold War politics in post-World War 2 Hong Kong, the repercussions of which were most strongly felt in the social and cultural life of the colonial city. During the 1950s and 1960s, the film industry in Hong Kong was a site of contestation between different political interests, while distinctive forms of cultural politics took shape as film studios and practitioners at all levels were drawn into an ideological battle that eventually materialized into overt institutional interference. This presentation will look into the conditions of film production and exhibition in Hong Kong during the 1950s and 1960s. It will examine the business and production strategies of the left-wing studios as well as film exhibition practices to shed light on the complex and overlapping territories of the left, right, and middle in the local film industry during the Cold War era.

Panel 4

“Wong Foon Chuck:
A Cantonese Man Living in the Borderlands between the United States and Mexico”

Elliott Young
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Lewis & Clark College, Oregon, USA

In the nineteenth-century, a quarter million Chinese were transported to Cuba and Peru as “coolie” labor. Although the “coolie trade” officially ended in 1874, Chinese continued to migrate to Latin America to work on plantations, railroads and in mines. The story of the Chinese laborers in the Americas has been studied in greater depth than the history of Chinese who managed to work their way up the socio-economic ladder. To illustrate the complex lives of Chinese who moved from laborer to wealthy businessmen, I will examine the life of Wong Foon Chuck, a man born in Guandong province in 1863, who migrated to the San Francisco in 1874 at 11 years of age. Wong ended up becoming a wealthy businessman and landowner in northern Mexico by the early twentieth century, but he also suffered financial losses and the deaths of several of his employees during a brutal massacre of Chinese in Torreón in 1911. Wong Foon Chuck’s trajectory from laborer to businessman reveals the opportunities and challenges for Chinese in Mexico in an era of xenophobic revolutionary nationalism. Furthermore, it illustrates the class differences among the Chinese in Mexico which allowed some Chinese to survive and thrive in Mexico while many others were subject to expulsion campaigns in the early 1930s

“Circuits of Exchange, Social/Sexual Types, and Modernity
in the Early 20th Century Mexico City”

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As the oldest global city in the Americas, Mexico City has long been at the crossroads of the Pacific and Atlantic worlds and an important node between Asia, the Americas, and Europe. New scholarship has explored the city’s importance beyond the typical political economic approaches of the past. These works, including that found in my co-edited collection *A Global History of Sexual Science* (Nov 2017), have shown that Mexico City, like other major cities outside Europe and the United States, also functioned as a critical space where sexual knowledge, as well as sexual identities and communities, were produced and contested, both in local ways and in larger global conversations.

This paper argues that turn of the century Mexico City served as a crucial node in shaping and dialoging with globally circulating ideas about sexuality and identities based on sexuality. Rather than a site that only passively received sexological knowledge or sexual identities from abroad, Mexico City was an incubator for both. Indeed, notions of sexuality and sexual types—like the dandy and the *afeminado*, an effeminate homosexual male—lay at the core of debates on civilization and barbarism that characterized Mexican nation-building at the turn of the century.

As Mexico sought to address its own “century of humiliation” following the 1846 war through modernization projects, it sought to define and control a whole range of “types” deemed deviant or problematic, from atavistic, barbarous, “Oriental” indigenous groups to the consumerist excesses and narcissism of the dandies and afeminados, all of whom became linked with effeminacy, degeneration, and backwardness. I focus, briefly, on a series of interrelated examples deemed deviant—including the huehuenche, a native shaman; the cross-dressing afeminado; the figure of the Chinese immigrant; and the dandy—in contrast to those “types” that Mexican authorities deemed ideal—the mythologized indigenous hero; the cultured working-class man; the athletic male patriot; and the Japanese immigrant—that illustrate the fundamental conflict between ideas of “civilization” and “barbarism” in Mexico at the time. Moreover, I show how the groups in question challenged official notions to embrace their own forms of modernity that reflected their own ability to tap into both local and global discourses and circuits of exchange.

“*Nga Lan Tai*:
A Trace of Qing Sino-foreign Trade Found in Cantonese Vernacular Literature”

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Inter-regional trade involves much exchange of species and products, and hence exchange of languages and vocabularies. Over time some species would go extinct, some products would disappear, and the original meaning of the terms for denoting particular species or products would also be forgotten. One such example is the Cantonese transliterated term “*Nga Lan Tai*”. It appears in Cantonese song books which are still available today. Yet people no longer know what the term stands for. Using a variety of source materials including as custom records, local gazetteers, commercial guides, language-learning kits, and stone inscriptions, this article suggests that “*Nga Lan*” is the Cantonese transliteration for *grana*, which is the Spanish name for cochineal, a red dye made from a crushed insect native to Latin America. Imported into Canton and other Chinese ports via Manila by Spanish merchants since at least the eighteenth century, the use of this dye was confined to superior silk for exportation. As late as the nineteenth century, because the trade was still monopolized by the Spanish, the British East India Company had to depend on Chinese hong merchants in Canton for a reliable supply of cochineal. In the twentieth century, the Cantonese transliterated term “*Nga Lan mae*” was gradually replaced by the modern Chinese translated phrase “*Yanzhi chong*” (crimson insect), and thence disappeared from people’s memory. The history of cochineal trade in Canton also becomes unnoticed side by side with the disappearance of the terminology.

“Bridging Oceanic Communities: Chinese on the South Pacific Islands”

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Sun Yat-sen University

The Chinese diaspora around the Pacific Rim dramatically changed the local economy, society and ecology since the Mid-Nineteenth Century. However, the groups dotted in the small Pacific islands were hardly integrated into the whole historical narrative of the Chinese migration history. Revealed by archive studies and field work in Vanuatu, one could find the Chinese descendants in the tiny islands, sophisticatedly built a stable network that bridge cities in Pearl River delta of China, Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific Islands. Different with the Chinese immigrants to California and Australia, more Chinese Pacific islanders started their careers in the cities at the very beginning. Their local influence was rooted mainly in their successes as small businessmen and utilizing the weak colonial governance. The wealth and freedom of Chinese in the Pacific islands cities sometimes made the native born generation a strong identity to the indigenous society. More significantly, benefited by the stable Chinese network, even the remotest islands in the South Pacific were never isolated to the prosperous continent communities, or the globalization.

Panel 5

“Nostalgia and Its Discontents: Nanjing in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature and Visual Culture”

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Seventeenth-century visitors to Nanjing tended to measure their experience of the city against an imaginary Nanjing with which they were familiar from art and literature. This city was constructed by a poetic genre called “meditation on the past at Jinling.” In poems of this genre, Ming and Qing Nanjing easily elided into the Jinling of the Tang Dynasty and the Southern Dynasties. Layers of memory surrounding this city made it an object of nostalgia for visitors from a later period. For many mid- and late-seventeenth century artists, nostalgia, a yearning for the old days, was a way of expressing their discontent with the existing sociopolitical order. The paintings of Gong Xian and Shi Tao illustrate this attitude. Other found a more novel way of engaging with the past, by subverting the nostalgia so popular with their contemporaries. For example, Fu Shan (1607-c.1684) mocked the genre of “meditations on the past at Jinling,” and refused to countenance such sentimentality. This paper will examine the intriguing tension between nostalgia and modernity that characterizes representations of Nanjing in seventeenth-century literature and visual culture.

“Transporting Goods and Faith: The Chinese Merchant Community in Hakata, 1100-1300”

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In 1242, under the sponsorship of a wealthy Chinese merchant Xie Guoming 謝國明, a Zen monastery named Jōtenji 承天寺 was built in Hakata. Xie’s close friend, Enni Ben’en 圓爾辨圓, became the first abbot of the Jōtenji monastery right after he returned to Japan after two years’ study in China. The Jōtenji monastery, however, did not only aim to spread the Zen teachings in Japan. Relying on Xie’s and Enni’s connections, the Jōtenji monastery soon established trade partnership with a prestigious monastery Jingshansi 徑山寺 in Hangzhou, China and became an important hub in the maritime networks between China and Japan.

By analyzing the case of the Jōtenji monastery, this study shows that the Chinese merchant community in Hakata was devoted in both commercial and religious activities. Although they lived in Japan, they maintained close relationship with their hometowns in China—most of them were from the southeast coast—and made donations to build monasteries or pave roads in Chinese coastal cities. Because of this active Chinese community, the port city Hakata not only played an important role in Sino-Japanese trade, but also was crucial in transmitting Chinese Buddhism to Japan.

“East Asian World Order:
Japanese Sinologists’ Views of China’s Tributary System”

LIN Shaoyang
The University of Tokyo, Japan

In the first half of this paper, I will concentrate on the postwar Japanese arguments on “East Asian world order”, a notion put forth by Japanese Sinologist Nishijima Sadao in 1961, which precisely corresponds to “Chinese world order” as John Fairbank dubbed in 1942. I will examine them from a perspective of Japanese intellectual history, which means that, though I refer to ancient and early modern historical materials on some occasions, dealing with the dusty historical materials will be not the main procedure in this paper. Instead, the secondary studies on tributary system on East Asian world order will be analysed in a perspective of intellectual history. In the next half of the paper, on basis of the arguments in the first half, I will review the power structure of tributary system, a traditional Chinese noncoercive way to deal with her foreign relations in a perspective of “gift”, an anthropological concept advanced by French anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) in his *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1925). I will attempt to see the power structure based on gifting and its relationship with relatively long lasting peace existed in history of foreign relations in traditional East Asia. This paper is not a paper of international relations (IR), however, time to time I will have dialogues with some IR scholars who, in recent years, began to pay attention to the essential roles of tributary system to form the world orders, and especially to make and keep enduring peace in traditional East Asia before the system of Westphalia Treaty came to East Asia.

Panel 6

“明末清初的马六甲与中国闽南移民的关系（1614-1718）”

黄文斌

马来西亚拉曼大学中华研究院中文系

15 世纪时马六甲曾是一个国际商港，为东西方航海必经之地。本文希望通过历史资料的搜寻，找出早期马六甲与中国厦门商港之间的往来的关系。本文的研究年限只锁定在明朝末（1614 年）至清朝初年（1718 年）期间；因为目前在马六甲三宝山尚有明朝万历甲寅年（1614 年）的墓碑，这是该山保留下来最古老的墓碑，而以清朝初年的 1718 年为断限，因为管理三宝山的青云亭领袖甲必丹曾其禄（1643-1718）在这一年去世。曾其禄算是最后一位马六甲华人甲必丹认同明朝政权的领袖。

《明史》记载了明朝初期马六甲王前往中国朝贡的事迹、郑和下西洋在马六甲停靠补给及保护马六甲不受暹罗欺负的情况等。至明朝中叶后，尤其是 1511 年葡萄牙占领马六甲之后，我们就很少见到中国历史文献对马六甲的记载。

至于明朝末年中国人在马六甲的情况，历史文献上比较少记载。然而，马六甲青云亭与三宝山所见到碑文、墓碑及匾额等资料显示，明末既有华人移居马六甲。至少目前在三宝山上还可以寻获明朝万历甲寅年（1614 年）及天启二年（1622 年）的墓碑。此外，早期马六甲青云亭的三位甲必丹：甲必丹郑明弘（芳扬，1632-1677）、甲必丹李君常（为经，1614-1688）及甲必丹曾耀及（其禄）皆是明末时人，在明末清初时便已移居马六甲，今天在三宝山尚可在找到他们的墓碑。

这些华人甲必丹都是福建闽南人。郑芳扬祖籍福建漳州府龙溪县；李为经为銀同之鷺江人，即今在福建省泉州同安縣之廈門人也；曾其禄也祖籍鷺江，同是厦门人，他是李为经的女婿。他们移居马六甲的原因只有郑芳扬尚找不到详细的记载。其他两位到马六甲的原因，是为了避开明末清初之动乱移居马六甲。

本文希望探讨这段时期，马六甲与中国厦门两个港口城市商贸及闽南华人移居马六甲，进而形成华人社会的轮廓。

“孫中山之後的大亞洲主義：民國時期中國的日本認識”

村田雄二郎

日本同志社大學

有關近代中國亞洲主義的發展過程，以往的研究已指出如下幾點：

第一，中國亞洲主義的闕如及其薄弱的存在感。在中國看來，“中國”即是亞洲，以“中國與亞洲”的方式將亞洲外部化的地緣政治學契機與文化基礎都是極為薄弱的。

第二，近代中國積極論說亞洲主義的學者，多局限於曾亡命日本、留學日本的人物，或日中關係中的當事人。其中既有贊同日本的亞洲主義的，也有反對日本中心主義，提倡其他類型的亞洲主義的。

第三，除胡漢民將“大亞洲主義”與“抗日”合論之外，中國人提倡的亞洲主義大多都有“親日”傾向或“日中提携”的要素，不能對近代日本的擴張主義有所批判。

不過，上文概括的中國亞洲主義的普遍規則，與 1924 年孫中山在神戶進行的“大亞洲主義”演講似有一定的偏差。如該講演結尾著名的一段，孫中山結合“王道”與“霸道”之爭這一傳統的文化價值，演說其理想中的亞洲主義。這不能單純理解為受到日本人論調啓發的言說，而更應從孫晚年“回歸傳統”的思想脈絡中加以解讀。毋庸多言，孫中山有關亞洲解放的展望中包含著對蘇俄的期待與將尼泊爾視為屬國的中華中心論的亞洲觀，這些都是日本的亞洲主義所不具備的思想要素，不能將其簡單視為對抗日本的言說。

孫中山受日本人邀請，在日本神戶面向日本人作了生平惟一一次“大亞洲主義”的演講，但僅從批判日本帝國主義的角度論述其意義，本身便有一定的局限性。特別是孫中山晚年所提及的“王道”論，其模糊多義的文本如同一個謎團，至今仍刺激著生活在 21 世紀的我們。

本報告將選取幾部主要的論著，追溯後孫中山時期中國亞洲主義的發展過程，以此揭開孫中山遺留下來的若干謎題。

“民國時期的法學和日本的關係 ——來自東京，流經上海、南京轉往重慶的法學思潮”

中村元哉
日本津田塾大學

民國時期，中國積極翻譯外文書籍。在這樣的背景下，中國的法學領域受到日文書籍深遠的影響。就算是處在九一八事變以及盧溝橋事變接連發生，中日對立逐漸升溫的情況之中，日本的法學書籍仍不斷流入中國。那麼，當時在中國傳播的究竟是哪些日本的法學書籍呢？

如同國外學者也熟知一般，明治、大正、昭和時期的日本有兩個學派——東京學派以及京都學派。雖然兩者的差異並非涇渭分明，但大致上而言可以作出以下的解釋：東京帝國大學在吸納西洋的學問之外，也積極從事翻譯及國家官僚的養成。相較於東京帝國大學，京都帝國大學不僅單方面引進西洋學問，在此同時他們也建構自身的學說，塑造「非中央」、自由奔放的學術環境。因此，在法學這塊領域，誕生於江戶時代中心，在追求實用性氛圍下誕生的東京學派，有著作為近代國家首都的側面，所以重視實學，因而較為接近體制派（保守派）。而在日本傳統文化的陶冶下誕生的京都學派，以探究日本獨自的學理為目標，因此可以歸類為非體制派（革新派）。

不過東京學派的法學也非全然是保守的體制派。至少就有兩位學者能夠證明上述事實。其中一位是東京帝國大學的教授——美濃部達吉。美濃部將大正民主的風潮理論化，提出「天皇機關說」（國家的統治權不在天皇而是在作為法人的國家手上）以駁斥天皇主權說。美濃部的弟子——宮澤俊義於 1930 年代組織「中華民國法制研究會」，不僅及時分析國民政府所導入的近代法體制，在戰後的日本也成為憲法學（是指研究現行日本國憲法而非戰前的大日本帝國憲法的學問）研究的第一人。另外一位學者是東京帝國大學、東京大學的教授——橫田喜三郎。橫田在九一八事變批判日本軍部時，便已全面接納凱爾森

（Hans Kelsen）的「純粹法學」（法律超越了一切價值判斷）。二戰結束後，橫田也作為重視法治的國際法學者而活躍於世。

上述兩位學者的研究，不論是 rule by law（日文：法治主義）還是 rule of law（日文：法の支配）其實都相當重視法治。事實上，就算處在中日對立的情況下，以上兩位法學者的研究都十分受到民國時期學術界的注目。當時中國處於國民政府時代，正努力朝近代國家邁進。身在象徵近代化的國際都市上海以及當時首都南京的知識分子們，在九一八事變發生後仍飢渴地不斷學習美濃部的學說。在盧溝橋事變後重慶成為臨時首都（「陪都」），在當地抗戰的知識分子們也繼續翻譯橫田喜三郎的日文版《純粹法學》。雖然重慶容納此一思潮的背後幾乎沒有重慶本身都市文化的因素，但是重慶的知識分子們仍持續關注世界的法學思潮。然而在戰後，此一思潮再次傳入曾是近代化象徵的上海以及南京，並於 1950 年代以後逐漸擴散到台北以及香港。

筆者認為在近現代的東亞，有著「東京→上海、南京→重慶→上海、南京→台北、香港」這樣的法學循環。在闡明了上述的循環後，筆者認為 1930 年代的中日之間法學的連鎖在近現代史上占有重要的地位。

“澳門博物館：十九世紀初英、印、中自然史知識流通網絡的重要節點”

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1829 年，澳門的英國人社群成立一個小型博物館，鼓勵收集與保存各類中國當地物產標本、歷史文物、珍稀物件，以利研究。此博物館雖不屬於英國東印度公司所有，但主要活動者多與該公司有關，在公司於 1834 年失去在中國的貿易特許權後，廣州商館隨之停止營運，這個博物館也不再活動。由於其存在時間不長、規模不大，因此為後世所忽略。晚近一份以此為主題的文章強調這個博物館為中國第一個博物館，並指出當時幾位相關人士寄回英國的標本增進了西人對中國自然史的認識。這樣的論點固然值得參考，卻忽略了此博物館運作上一個重要的面向，也就是來自加爾各答博物館的啟發，以及與加爾各答植物園之間的往來。例如雇用廣州當地畫師做成植物或動物等自然史標本畫，以利保存與流傳，這樣的作法在印度工作的英國自然史學家已經在 1780 年代開始與印度當地畫師嘗試進行，並且卓然有成。而且在 1820 年代，一些從廣州或澳門要寄到英國的植物會先寄到加爾各答植物園的實驗苗圃加以培育與研究，之後才將更多標本一起寄到倫敦的皇家植物園保存。由於清廷限制通商口岸，使得當時的廣州與澳門成為外籍人士交易、獲取各類中國物產的唯一窗口，但同時隨著英屬印度統治上的逐漸穩定，從 1770 年代開始在澳門長住的英人社群逐漸把某些印度運作模式帶入澳門。因此，要瞭解此時期英人在澳門的活動，我們不能單看中國和英國之間的往來關係，而必須將印度這個環節也帶入視野，才能瞭解當時相關知識、概念、物件在英、印、中流傳的全貌。

這個澳門博物館本身的歷史雖短，但是其設立的經驗對後世並非全無影響。例如英人取得香港後，在 1840 年代中第二任總督德庇時任內就希望建設一個植物園，只是因為經費不足、地點未定，遲至 1860 年代才實現。又如 1850 年代末，英美人社群在上海成立皇家亞洲文會北中國支會，並附設一個博物館，這些規劃與印度、澳門的先例多有呼應，值得吾人進一步探究。

“A Museum in Macau:
An Important Node in the Natural History Knowledge Network Connecting Early Nineteenth-
Century England, India, and China”

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In 1829, a natural history-oriented museum was established in Macau by British expatriates affiliated with the British East India Company. After the company lost its monopoly in China in 1834 and museum members departed, the museum ceased its activities. Because of its short existence, the history of this museum has been largely overlooked until recently. The only study focusing on this museum argued that it was the first museum in China and emphasized the contributions to British science made by natural history enthusiasts who sent specimens to Britain. However, this emphasis on Chinese and British history missed out on an important part of the story about this museum: its role as a node in the natural history knowledge network connecting England, India, and China in the early nineteenth century. This presentation will reveal how this museum in Macau was inspired by the model of the India Museum in Calcutta and collaborated with the Calcutta Botanic Garden, which served as a nursery for living plants collected in China before delivering them to Kew Gardens and Royal Horticultural Society in London. Cooperation between British residents and Indian painters in botanical art also inspired those living in Canton and Macau. Some Western expatriates like Karl Gützlaff and John Francis Davis, who had experienced life in Canton and Macau, brought the idea of building a botanical garden to Hong Kong from the 1840s. In China proper, the Macau experience had an unexpected but long-term legacy through the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1857-1952) and its Shanghai Museum (1874-1952).