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## Call for Papers

# Shen Defu's Multifaceted Views on Palace Women: Insights from Empress and Consort Accounts in Wanli Yehuo Bian

沈德符宫廷女性观的多维透视

——基于《万历野获编》的后妃史料记载

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## KEY WORDS

Shen Defu,  
perspectives on women,  
court women,  
empresses and consorts,  
Wanli Yehuo Bian

## 关键词

沈德符, 女性观, 宫廷女性,  
后妃, 《万历野获编》

## ABSTRACT

Shen Defu constructed a systematic framework for understanding court women through his extensive knowledge, meticulous observations, and profound reflections. This intellectual system encompasses political, ethical, scholarly, and existential dimensions: it not only analyzes the complex relationship between court women and political power at a macro level but also scrutinizes their individual destinies and existential predicaments within political turbulence at a micro level. The formation of Shen Defu's perspectives on palace women was shaped by the subconscious influence of Confucian ideology, the direct impact of imperial institutions and policies as political-cultural forces, and the integration of distinctive elements from Jiangnan regional culture and the cultural ethos of the Shen clan. Through a dynamic interplay and synthesis of these factors, Shen Defu ultimately developed a uniquely nuanced discourse on court women.

## 摘要

沈德符凭借广博的见闻、细致的观察与深刻的思考, 构建了一套系统性的宫廷女性认知体系。这一思想体系涵盖政治、伦理、才学、人生际遇等多个维度: 既从宏观层面剖析了宫廷女性与政治的复杂关系, 又从微观角度考察她们在政治漩涡中的个体命运与生存境遇。沈德符宫廷女性观的形成, 既受到潜意识中儒家思想的潜移默化, 也受到朝廷制度与政策等政治文化的直接影响, 同时还融汇了江南地域文化和沈氏家族文化的特质。这些因素通过复杂的互动与整合, 最终形成了沈德符独具特色的宫廷女性论述。

## 1. 引言

《万历野获编》以内容广博、考证详实著称, 堪称明代历史琐闻类笔记的典范, 历来为学界所重, 相关研究成果丰硕。然而, 既往研究多从史学、文学、艺术等视角探讨该书的史料价值, 而对沈德符蕴含其中的女性观念则鲜有涉及。本文以《万历野获编》所载后妃史料为基础, 结合明代政治、社会及学术背景, 从多维视角系统考察沈德符的宫廷女性观。这一研究不仅有助于从独特维度揭示沈德符的思想观念, 亦可为明代女性史研究提供新的思路, 同时对深化

《万历野获编》的文本解读具有积极意义。需要说明的是, 本文所论“宫廷女性”, 特指明代后妃群体。

## 2. 沈德符与《万历野获编》

沈德符, 字景倩, 又字虎臣、景伯, 明代浙江秀水(今嘉兴)人。他于明神宗万历六年(1578), 诞生在一个家学底蕴极为深厚的书香门第、科举世家。其曾祖父沈温, 对藏书有着浓厚的兴趣; 祖父沈启原, 学问广博、才华横溢, 在嘉靖三十八年(1559)考中进士, 为官多年, 对各类学问均有涉猎, 无论是医药之学, 还是卜筮之术, 都广泛涉猎, 被赞誉为“博物

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君子”。后来担任陕西按察司副使，却因对抚台态度简慢而遭弹劾，于是自行解职返回家乡，居住在秀水的长溪村。他的父亲沈自邠是万历五年（1577年）进士，被授予翰林院检讨一职，还参与了编修《大明会典》。

沈德符博览典籍，精通音律，熟谙掌故，交游广泛，对朝野间的故事尤有兴趣。他与当时的士大夫、故家遗老以及中官勋戚交往频繁，通过多方搜罗、广泛涉猎，积累了丰富的知识见闻，尤其对时事和朝廷典章制度颇为精通。沈德符十二岁那年，父亲离世，他便随母亲回到家乡。回乡之后，由祖父教导读书，常常聆听祖父讲述的史传典故。沈德符在《万历野获编》序言曾言：“家庭间又窃聆父祖绪言”。曾祖沈温及祖父沈启原在家乡营建藏书楼，藏书丰富，名甲一方。深厚的家学渊源、丰富的家族藏书、以及广泛的交往交游圈，为沈德符博见广闻、日后编书，奠定了坚实的基础。

《万历野获编》乃沈德符毕生力作，仿欧阳修《归田录》之体例，书名寓“野之所获”之意。沈德符把早年从父祖处听闻朝廷掌故，从士大夫及故家遗老、中官勋戚处听闻琐事轶闻和自己亲历杂事，随录成篇。其内容上至朝廷典章制度，下至各地风土人情、琐碎轶事，大到内阁的发展变迁、词林的文雅掌故，小到词曲技艺、男女间的玩笑戏谑，无所不包。在有明一代的各类笔记中，《万历野获编》的记载最为详尽丰富，尤其是关于世宗、神宗两朝的掌故，堪称明代笔记中的扛鼎之作。

### 3. 沈德符的宫廷女性观

《万历野获编》记载大量宫廷女性史料，源于沈德符的亲身见闻、细致观察与深入思考。观点与论断维度丰富，涵盖政治、伦理、才学以及人生际遇等多个方面。

#### 3.1 沈德符的宫廷女性政治观：不预政事

“明太祖鉴前代女祸，立纲陈纪，首严内教。”<sup>[1]</sup>明朝肇建之初，明太祖即敕命翰林儒臣修《女戒》，教化后妃。《万历野获编》记载明初“修《女戒》”之事，“洪武元年三月朔，命翰林儒臣修《女戒》。”<sup>[2]</sup>基于对明太祖所设祖宗家法的重视，特意节录朱元璋命学士朱升等修女戒敕命的核心内容：“后妃虽母仪天下，然不可使预政事。……卿等为我纂述女戒，及古贤妃之事可为法者，使子孙知所持守。”<sup>[3]</sup>详录敕命，无疑表明沈德符对明太祖“后妃不可预政”政治观念的认同。

沈德符不仅认同该政治观念，而且予以高度评价，“上之立法，直追三代”<sup>[4]</sup>。儒家观念中，“三代”是理想化政治的代名词，三代以上统治是“天理”行于世，而三代以下则是“人欲”行于世。沈德符评价朱元璋“后妃不可预政”之立法，有接续三代政治传统之功，称许溢美之情，溢于言表。

沈德符还通过对比宋明后妃是否预政，进一步从实际政治效果，肯定明太祖设立“后妃不可预政”家法之高明，“故列圣以来，不第后妃专司阴教。即以英庙及今上冲圣御宇长乐。居尊惟保护皇躬，未曾预闻一政。诒谋远矣。使宋祖以此示戒，则元祐时，宣仁后之谤，何自而兴。”<sup>[5]</sup>由上述可知，沈德符态度鲜明地肯定朱元璋“后妃不可预政”乃卓识远见，并由衷赞许明代后妃谨遵祖宗家法不预政。由此可见，沈德符秉持“后妃不干预政事”的宫廷女性观。

#### 3.2 沈德符的宫廷女性伦理观：贵在纤柔

性别角色是指在特定社会文化环境中，人们基于生理性别而被赋予或期望表现出的一系列行为模式、态度、价值观以及社会地位等的集合。它是社会针对男性与女性，在行为模式、性格特点等维度所设立的规范以及寄予的期望。依照性别角色理论，不同社会基于对男性和女性的差异化期望，在漫长的历史进程中逐渐塑造并发展出性格方面各具特点的男女特质。在中国传统封建社会，受农耕文明与儒家文化等因素的交织影响，一套鲜明的性别角色核心观念逐步形成，即男女有别、男尊女卑、男外女内、男强女弱。这一观念体系贯穿整个传统封建社会，成为稳固的社会共识，虽在某些特殊历史时期出现细微松动，却始终难以撼动其根本地位。比如魏晋时期，部分士人追求女性化审美，行为举止、服饰装扮皆向女性靠拢；唐朝时期，社会风气开放，不少女性突破传统性别角色束缚，在思想与行为上大胆革新，参与社会事务，展现出不同于传统认知的精神风貌。宫廷女性身处传统女性阶层的顶端，坐拥普通女性难以企及的地位与权势，围绕她们所形成的性别角色观念，是否有着独特之处？在《万历野获编》中，沈德符所表达的宫廷女性性别角色观，提供了一个深入探究该问题的视角。

《万历野获编》“万贵妃”条记载：万氏丰艳有肌，每上出游，必戎服佩刀侍立左右，上每顾之辄为色飞。<sup>[6]</sup>万贵妃戎服佩刀，风姿绰约，英姿飒爽，宪宗皇帝被迷得五迷三道，魂不守舍。沈

德符对万贵妃的时髦作法，表达了严重不满。他认为女性当以“纤柔为主”，而万贵妃着男装有悖于女子纤柔的形象。由万贵妃着戎服蒙获圣宠，他还联系到杨玉环、妹喜、贾南风等，“然妇人以纤柔为主，今万氏反是而获异眷，亦犹玉环之受宠于明皇也。《晋·傅咸传》云：‘妹喜冠男子之冠，桀亡天下。’《晋书·五行志》谓：‘男子履方头，女履圆头。’至惠帝时，女履亦如男子，以为贾南风专妒之应。”<sup>[7]</sup>杨玉环、妹喜、贾南风均是中国传统女祸论所谓的红颜祸水。沈德符将万贵妃与她们相提并论，显然是认为万贵妃穿戎装，违背了男刚女柔、男强女弱的正统性别角色观，会遭致祸患。

沈德符还记录《双槐岁抄》记载的一则异事，成化十六年（1480年），福建长乐县，地中突然涌起一座高三四尺的土山，人畜践踩就塌陷，很快又会涌出。他以为此乃“男女易位之象，盖亦以属万氏之服妖云。”<sup>[8]</sup>沈德符列举奇闻异事，来论证上天对万贵妃“反易刚柔”的警示，虽显牵强；但对于深受天人合一，天人感应天命观念影响的传统士人来说，亦具合理性。当然可能主要还是源于他反感万贵妃狐媚惑主，致使明宪宗留恋女色，荒废朝政，“情之所钟，遂甘弃臣民不复顾。”<sup>[9]</sup>

沈德符的宫廷女性伦理观认为男女有别，男刚女柔，女性以纤柔为主，要安守本分，表率天下，否则不仅有违礼制，甚至会给王朝遭致祸患。

### 3.3 沈德符的宫廷女性才学观：盛赞才华

传统视野下，女性才学不被重视，甚至被轻视、蔑视，“女子无才便是德”，被奉为圭臬。沈德符生于官宦世家，书香门第，家族多才华横溢女性，不同于常人所见，他对宫廷女性的才华持欣赏态度。在《万历野获编》卷三《宫闱》“母后圣制”条，他颇为自豪地列举了本朝皇后、太后们丰富的女学著述，并盛赞“真宫阃中盛事也”<sup>[10]</sup>。“本朝仁孝皇后著《内训》，又有《女诫》，至章圣皇太后又有《女训》，今俱刻之内府，颁在宇内。今上圣母慈圣皇太后所撰述《女鉴》一书，尤为详明典要，主上亲洒宸翰序之，真宫阃中盛事也。”<sup>[11]</sup>如果对宫廷女性纂述女教典籍的盛赞，尚有标榜女教、女德之嫌，那么对慈圣皇太后书法的赞誉，更加体现他对女性才华的由衷赏识。“古来唯宋宣仁皇后善飞白大书，然不过一二字，岂如慈圣备得八法精蕴哉！真天人也。”<sup>[12]</sup>他由衷

称赞慈圣皇太后书法，“龙翔凤翥，结构波磔”“备得八法精蕴”，<sup>[13]</sup>惊为天人之作，且比之于同样擅长书法的宋宣仁皇后的飞白大书，暗含称誉慈圣皇太后乃古今后妃书法第一人之意。

沈德符不仅盛赞本朝后妃热衷著书立说“真宫阃中盛事也”，而且由衷惊叹慈圣皇太后书法为天人之作，可见他受明代江南尤其是沈氏家族才女文化浸染，其宫廷女性才学观，不落世俗观念之窠臼，肯定并欣赏宫廷女性的才华。

### 3.4 沈德符的宫廷女性幸福观：皇嗣为重

封建传统女性，受“三从四德”“三纲五常”影响，终其一生，默默践行为人妻母的职责和使命，所求幸福无非是家庭和睦、夫妻恩爱、子孙蕃息。相较于普通女性，宫廷女性因政治婚姻的特殊性，被剥夺了享有简单平凡幸福的可能。那么宫廷女性的幸福为何？见仁见智。基于《万历野获编》所载宫廷女性史料来分析，沈德符对此有独到的思考和见解。

尊贵为先，子嗣为要。沈德符谈及明宪宗的王皇后，她尊贵且长寿，从皇后一步步到太后、太皇太后，达到尊贵地位，但即便如此，因为孝宗皇帝非其亲生，所以还是稍显遗憾。“唯宪宗之孝贞王后，……最尊且寿。所微恨者，圣主非所出耳。”<sup>[14]</sup>由此可见，沈德符认为宫廷女性固然要追求身份尊贵，但能够诞育皇嗣才可保尊贵，方能无缺憾。值得一提的是，王皇后一生未得宪宗皇帝欢心，活在宠妃万贵妃阴影之下，但沈德符却只字未提，可能他认为政治婚姻，夫妻恩爱可遇不可求，不必太执着追求。

收养、抚育皇嗣，可弥补缺憾。《万历野获编》记载高皇帝孙贵妃薨逝，因其无子，高皇帝命吴王櫨认为慈母，治理后事，服斩衰三年之孝。嘉靖皇帝沈皇贵妃无出，嘉靖皇帝命第三女宁安公主拜为慈母，宁安公主出嫁前后，入谒沈皇贵妃礼数，一同生母。高皇帝孙贵妃和嘉靖皇帝沈皇贵妃没有诞育皇嗣，但受帝王眷顾，均收养了其他皇子或者公主，沈德符认为此乃圣主异恩，“一则无子而子，一则无女而女，孰非圣主异恩哉。”<sup>[15]</sup>此处，沈德符还是强调皇嗣对宫廷女性的重要性，即便无出，也要收继，否则宫廷深深，倍感凄冷。

诞育皇嗣，且获帝王宠爱，堪称备福。明孝宗张皇后，与孝宗夫妻恩爱，“专宠椒宫”而且还“诞育毅皇，爱立肃皇”，沈德符以为张皇后“可称备福”。<sup>[16]</sup>

由此可见，沈德符认为，宫廷女性尊贵为先，子嗣为要。首先要诞育皇嗣；如不能诞育皇嗣，也要收养、抚育皇嗣。如果拥有尊贵身份，且诞育皇嗣，又蒙获帝王恩宠，还享有长寿，那堪称备享福泽。然而，此等幸福，于大多宫廷女性而言，可望而不可及，不必过分执着。沈德符的宫廷女性幸福观，基于其对政治婚姻实质的理解，以及对不少妃嫔生命历程的思索，设身处地为置身政治旋涡中后妃们的切实幸福着想，并无过度理想化。从其对宫廷女性人生幸福的思考来看，他对该女性群体有一定理解和尊重”。

#### 4. 沈德符宫廷女性观之成因

沈德符宫廷女性观的形成，既潜移默化受潜意识层面儒家思想影响，又不可避免受朝廷制度、政策等政治文化左右，也显然受江南地域文化和沈氏家族文化浸染。

##### 4.1 儒家思想的影响

中国传统深深烙印儒家思想印迹，方方面面均深受影响。男权社会之下，女性基本是缄默不语的群体，但儒家的关注视野从来未曾远离她们，并且创设一套严密的女性伦理思想体系，其核心即是“男尊女卑”。在儒家看来，男女伦常是建立在道法自然，体察天地蕴意基础上的一个深远命题。“大哉乾元，万物资始，乃统天。”<sup>[17]</sup>“阴虽有美，含之以从王事，弗敢成也。地道也，妻道也，臣道也，地道无成，而代有终也。”<sup>[18]</sup>审视沈德符的宫廷女性观，深受儒家女性伦理观念影响。

##### 4.2 政治文化的左右

沈德符的宫廷女性观，除深受儒家思想影响之外，也与政治有牵连。鉴于汉唐后妃、外戚干政之祸以及元末宫廷之秽乱，明太祖朱元璋非常重视防范后妃干政。明朝肇建之初，洪武元年（1368年）三月，朱元璋就命令翰林院儒臣纂修《女戒》，以教化女性，尤其是宫廷女性。朱元璋针对女性的宣谕教化不仅基于历史教训，而且契合儒家女性伦理观，比较容易被士大夫阶层的沈德符认可和接受，因此沈德符反对宫廷女性参政等看法，与明朝廷制度、政策或帝王意志等有千丝万缕的联系。

##### 4.3 沈氏家风的浸染

以沈德符为代表的长溪沈氏家族是十六、十七世纪浙江嘉兴地区的名门望族，沈氏一门风雅传统绵延

十余代。明人冯梦祯曾云“江南沈最盛”<sup>[19]</sup>。明清时期，江南文人荟萃，以家中出才女为荣，形成独领风骚的江南才女文化。作为书香门第、文学世家，沈氏家族风雅绵延数代，也孕育了颇具特色才女文化，如沈德符的姐姐沈凤华，妹妹沈瑶华，同族姐妹沈翠华都是著名的才女，以才名闻于当世，沈氏姐妹在文学、书法等方面颇有造诣，《（崇祯）嘉兴县志》云：“沈翠华，……与凤华、瑶华为再从姐妹，沈门有三才女之称。”<sup>[20]</sup>沈德符的妾室薛素素为一代名妓，于诗、书、画、琴、弈、箫等方面，都有极精深的造诣。“薛素素，姿度妍雅，能书，作《黄庭》小楷尤工。兰竹下笔迅扫，各具意态。又善驰马挟弹……绝技翩翩，亦青楼中少双者。”<sup>[21]</sup>他对本朝后妃编纂文学作品予以肯定，惊叹万历皇帝母亲慈圣皇太后的书法为天人之作，均表达了他对宫廷后妃才华的高度认可。他不落“女子无才便是德”的窠臼，大力称颂宫廷女性的才华，不能不说深受江南才女文化，尤其是家族才女文化影响。

#### 5. 结语

沈德符的宫廷女性观涵盖政治、伦理、才学、人生际遇等多个维度，体现了他对宫廷女性的细致观察、深刻思考与独到论断。从宏观层面看，他深入探讨宫廷女性与政治的关联，分析她们与国家政治安危之间的关系，并触及中国古代社会长期存在的“女祸论”等深层次政治文化命题。从微观视角看，他关注身处政治漩涡中的宫廷女性的命运，思考她们所承担的责任、经历的荣辱祸福等与个体生命息息相关的问题。因此，他的宫廷女性观既有基于政治层面的理性审视，又包含对生命际遇的感性体悟，兼具政治高度与人文关怀。沈德符宫廷女性观的形成，既深受儒家文化的影响，也无可避免地受到朝廷制度、政策等政治文化因素的左右，同时，江南地域文化与沈氏家族文化的烙印亦清晰可见。由于这一观念体系兼具政治高度、文化深度与生命厚度，对其进行深入研究，不仅有助于更全面地理解明代宫廷女性的历史角色，也能为明代女性史乃至社会文化史研究提供新的视角。

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# Research on the Reform of Replacing Native Chieftains with Appointed Officials in Kham region at the End of the Qing Dynasty from the Perspective of the Chinese National Community

中华民族共同体视阈下清末康区改土归流研究

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## KEY WORDS

*Late Qing Dynasty,  
Kham region,  
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## 关键词

清末, 康区, 改土归流, 中华民族共同体

## ABSTRACT

Kham region is located between Sichuan and Tibet, serving as a vital passage connecting the two regions. It is also an important multi-ethnic area where various ethnic groups interact, exchange and integrate. It has always been highly valued by the central government. By the end of the Qing Dynasty, in the face of foreign aggression and acute internal conflicts in Kham region, the Qing government established the policy of "replacing native chieftains with appointed officials" to govern Kham region. Among them, Zhao Erfeng's series of policies implemented in politics, economy and culture were the most effective. These measures, while promoting the economic and cultural development of Kham region, an integral part of Chinese civilization, jointly maintained the "unified" pattern of the Qing Dynasty and enhanced the national identity of the people in Kham region. Moreover, from the perspective of historical development, the implementation of the policy of "replacing native chieftains with appointed officials" in Kham region at the end of the Qing Dynasty also holds significant value in maintaining and promoting the continuous development of the Chinese nation community.

## 摘要

康区介于川藏之间, 是连通川藏的重要通道, 也是多民族交往交流交融的重要民族区域, 历来受到中央政府重视。至清末, 在面对外强侵略、康区内部矛盾尖锐的紧迫局面下, 清政府确立了“改土归流”的治康政策, 其中以赵尔丰在政治、经济、文化等方面实施的一系列政策成效最为显著。其相关举措在促进作为中华文明多元组成部分的康区经济文化的向前发展的基础上, 共同维护了清朝国家统一的“一体”格局, 增强了康区民众的国家认同。并且, 从历史发展角度来看, 清末康区改土归流的实行对维系和促进“中华民族共同体”的继续发展上亦具有重要价值。

## 1. 引言

“中华民族由各民族共同组成, 是百川归海的共同体, 是交融共生的共同体”<sup>[1]</sup>, 各民族经过文化上的融合、经济上的互惠和政治上的协商, 最终汇集为“中华民族”整体即“中华民族共同体”, 该共同体“既是中国各民族的民族命运共同体, 又是中华文化共同体, 还是经济发展共同体, 更是政治生活共同

体”<sup>[2]</sup>。康区作为多民族、多文化交融的特殊区域, 沟通西藏地方与内地的重要桥梁, 为学术界提供了丰富的研究素材。其中, “清末康区改土归流”便是学术界所关注的重要研究领域之一, 相关档案文献、著作及文章成果丰硕。如《赵尔丰川边奏牍》<sup>[3]</sup>《清末川滇边务档案史料》<sup>[4]</sup>《近代康藏重大事件资料选编》<sup>[5]</sup>《清实录藏族史料》<sup>[6]</sup>, 以及《凤全家书笺证》<sup>[7]</sup>等, 为研究清末康区的“改土归流”提供了丰富的原始资料; 马菁林的《清末川边藏区改土归流考》<sup>[8]</sup>、徐君的《固

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边图藏·清末赵尔丰川边经营》<sup>[9]</sup>等著作详述了清末康区实行“改土归流”的原因、经过及影响。徐铭的《清末川边藏区改土归流初探》<sup>[10]</sup>、程贤敏的《改土归流与康区社会》<sup>[11]</sup>、马菁林的《清末川边藏区“改土归流”的宏观历史分析》<sup>[12]</sup>、赵云田的《清末川边改革新探》<sup>[13]</sup>、马国君和李红香的《清末康区“改土归流”的动因及后续影响》<sup>[14]</sup>等文章从不同角度入手，论述了清末在康区实行“改土归流”的原因并肯定了这一措施在加强中央政府统治、稳定康区内部社会方面的积极意义。总体来看，以上研究成果多从传统政治史角度对清末康区改土归流加以考量，而本文将在既往研究的基础上，结合“中华民族多元一体格局”理论，从“中华民族共同体”视阈出发，运用相关文献资料，对清末康区“改土归流”进行研究，以期对当今进一步铸牢中华民族共同体意识提供历史镜鉴。

## 2. 康区改土归流政策实施的动因

康区环境复杂，“界于川藏之间，乃川省前行，为西藏后劲，南接云南，北连青海，地处高原，对于四方皆有建瓴之势”<sup>[3]</sup>。自元起，康区普遍施行土司制度，历经明至清时已相当成熟。然至清末，土司制度弊病丛生，社会矛盾尖锐。为有效加强对康区的控制，清政府确立了“改土归流”的治康策略<sup>[15]</sup>。

### 2.1 土司制度下康区社会矛盾尖锐

清末，康区在土司制度的支配下，社会矛盾尖锐，主要表现为土民面对土司的极尽压榨而心怀不满进而反抗，以及土司与土司之间因利益相悖而显现出的兵戎相见。

土司制度下，土司“世守其土，世长其民”，在其辖地内享有绝对的特权，而土民则受土司压迫，政治上无权、经济上受剥削。至清代时，康区的土司设置更为庞杂，“一方面级别多，其名目有宣慰司、宣抚司、安抚司、长官司、千户、百户等六种；一方面数量多，大大小小各级土司 119 员”<sup>[16]</sup>。如此数量的土司在其各自管辖范围内，以其合法的职权极力压榨其属民，这无疑加重了土民的困境，正如《赵尔丰奏德格土司纳还全境土地改土归流折》中所言，“盖土司弊政，只知用民之力不恤民有身家；只知取民之财，无复怜民瘠苦。此固各土司积习，不独德格为然；而德格为尤其甚，蛮民在土司压制之下，受其苛虐二百余年，无可告诉”<sup>[5]</sup>。长此，土司对土民的压榨渐渐招致

土民的不满，从而引起了土民的反抗。如光绪十二年（1886 年），巴底邛山的 32 户农奴因不堪女土司白利娜姆的压迫剥削，在奴隶德呷木强绒的带领下，活捉了女土司，并杀死了其兄弟也步。此外，起事的农奴还与附近沈洛等 14 个村寨的近 1000 名农奴联合，将土司派粮、派款、派差的账簿烧毁，瓜分了土司的粮仓与衣柜<sup>[17]</sup>。

土司与土司之间也常因利益相悖而产生纠纷。土司各有属兵，因此面对纠纷时，常以武力手段解决问题，严重影响了社会的安定，造成地方动荡。如从道光二十八年（1848 年）一直持续到同治四年（1865 年）的“瞻对事件”，当时瞻对土司工布朗结父子乘大盖土司内部纷争之际，攻占土司官寨，并逐步占领全瞻，后率领部众先后侵占了甘孜白利土司、麻书土司、德格土司等 13 部，以及西宁所属玉树 25 族，在占领了康区大部分地区后，继续向外攻伐，最后在清政府组织的“川藏会剿”下，该混战才得以结束。但事件平息后，瞻对即划给了达赖喇嘛管理<sup>1</sup>，此举为日后四川当局与西藏地方的纠纷埋下了隐患，造成了康区部分土司“皆以川省威令不行，相率依附瞻对”的局面。<sup>[18]</sup>

由上得以窥见，土司制度与社会发展已不适应。因此，必须对土司制度进行改革。

### 2.2 列强侵略下西藏与清政府矛盾凸显

自 1840 年鸦片战争后，列强持续对华侵略，更将触手伸入我国西藏地区。光绪二年（1876 年），英国借口“马嘉里案”逼迫清政府签订了《烟台条约》，在其《另议专条》中规定：“现因英国酌议，约在明年派员，由中国京师启行，前往偏历甘肃、青海一带地方，或由内地四川等处入藏，以抵印度，为探访路程之意，所有应发护照，并知会各处地方大吏暨驻藏大臣公文，届时当由总理衙门察酌情形，妥当办给”<sup>[19]</sup>，由此英国打开了西藏地方的门户。此后，随着英国侵略野心的不断膨胀，英军分别于光绪十四年（1888 年）和光绪三十年（1904 年）两次发动侵藏战争，中方被迫与英方签订了《中英会议藏印条约》和《中英续订藏印条约》，进一步扩大了英方在西藏的势力。英国方面除采用武力手段侵略西藏外，还积极笼络当地僧人，通过传教、通商、游历等方式渗入西藏，积极培植亲英分子，继以挑拨西藏地方与中央政府的关系。此外，自同治九年（1870 年）到光绪三十三年（1907 年），俄国亦曾多次以“地理学会”的名义派出“西藏考察队”，秘密收集各种情报，拉拢西藏

1. 关于此情，《川督鹿传霖奏统筹川藏情形瞻对亟宜改设汉官折》载：“当年瞻酋叛乱，川藏会剿，藏兵先克，并垫兵费三十万，惟时款项无出，前督臣奏请赏给达赖，原属一时权宜之计。乃自派番官管理之后，暴虐异常，瞻民不堪其苦。”参见：王彦威,王亮(2015).清季外交史料.湖南师范大学出版社.

上层，培植“反清、仇英、亲俄”势力，从事分裂活动，插手西藏事务。

面对以英俄为首的西方列强伺机侵略我国西藏，挑拨西藏地方与中央政府关系的情形<sup>[20]</sup>，清政府执行妥协政策，引起了西藏地方上层贵族的不满。再加上某些亲英、亲俄分子的活动，西藏地方的离心力大大增强，西藏地方政府甚至以瞻对为依托，在康区制造混乱，扩充势力。为加强对西藏的控制，实现“固川保藏”目的，必须对康区旧有的政治制度进行一定程度的变革，以加强中央政府对该地区的控制力。

### 2.3 巴塘事件直接推动了康区改革

巴塘事件又称“凤全事件”“巴塘之乱”。清朝末年，面对列强对西藏地区的侵略以及康区紧张的态势，清政府确立了“固川保藏”的战略，并决定在康区进行改土归流。

光绪三十年（1904年），清政府任命四川候补道凤全为驻藏帮办大臣，“就近妥筹经边各事”，加强对康区的治理。凤全到达康区后，积极改革，向清廷上奏，请求“一、收回三瞻，以固藩篱；二、暂禁喇嘛剃度二十年，大寺留五百人，中寺三百人，小寺百人，余勒令还俗，俾资长养；三、广开屯垦，改土归流”<sup>[7]</sup>。但由于其手段偏于激进，触及地方土司及喇嘛的利益而使改革阻力极大。且时有流言称凤全为洋人之代表，欲将康区之土地、畜牧及财产全部馈送给洋人，更引起了当地民众对凤全的猜忌。光绪三十一年（1905年）三月，凤全及随行50多人于巴塘鹦哥嘴处全部遇难。

巴塘事件的发生使清政府十分震惊，时人曾上奏言：“然使臣暂驻，事有拂其志欲，辄敢蓄谋惨害，自乾隆十五年前藏朱尔墨特之变，至今百余年，诚西陲所未见”<sup>[18]</sup>。同时，清政府意识到康区事态的严重性，更坚定了对康区实施改土归流的决心。

## 3. 改土归流与康区的中华民族共同体建设

中华民族作为一个自在的民族实体形成于几千年的历史过程之中<sup>[21]</sup>，康区作为藏、羌、彝等多民族聚集区域，在该地发生的历史事件皆融汇于中华民族形成发展历史之中，而清末康区的改土归流作为清政府处理民族地区问题的重要实践之一，其为应对康区之紧张态势而产生，虽或受阶级、时代限制，或受施行者主体之影响而带有某种局限性，但就历史客观发展而言，其相关举

措对促进康区经济、文化的多元交融与发展，维护清政府在康区的统治从而推动康区民众的政治认同具有积极意义。此三者相加，又共同推进了“中华民族共同体”之形成与发展。

### 3.1 改土归流有利于经济上的一体发展

康区属高山峡谷地貌，受地形地势的影响，呈现出农牧兼有、农牧混合的特点，但整体以畜牧经济为主。改土归流前，康区盛行封建农奴领主制，土司在其辖区内拥有对土地的所有权和使用权，土司、头人及喇嘛占有全部的农业生产资料且控制着康区的商业贸易，而农奴则没有土地，生活困难。赵尔丰经略康区之时，注重康区生产的发展及人民生活水平的改善，改革赋税制度、积极招募内地人才、修筑店栈、发展近代工业等，加强了康区与内地联系、推动了康区经济与内地经济的交融、促进了与内地经济上一体格局的发展。

#### 3.1.1 改革制度促一致

赵尔丰变封建农奴领主制为封建地主制，将原土司、头人及喇嘛的税收利益收归中央王朝，并规定“凡种地者，无论汉、蛮、僧侣皆应纳正粮”<sup>2</sup>“自三十二年起，百姓除应纳正粮、差粮外，此项杂粮，永远裁免。无论何人，不准妄行需索，嗣后各衙署如有所需，皆照市价购置，丝毫不令民间供应”<sup>[3]</sup>等，废除差役，在增加国家赋税的同时，一定程度缓解了康区民众沉重的生活压力，使康区的制度得以逐渐向内地靠拢，推动了康区从封建领主经济向封建地主经济的转变。

#### 3.1.2 重视农垦促提高

康区以产青稞为主，产粮较少，为更好经营康区、解决内地出关的军士不习康区食物问题，赵尔丰把屯垦作为“政中之先务”，设立农牧研究会、农事改良所等，制定招募内地垦民及当地居民领垦荒地的章程。规定“凡有愿赴边地开垦之人，各视其力之所及，自行认垦，成熟之后，所垦之地，即作为该垦户业产。但令照额完粮，不收地价”<sup>[3]</sup>。光绪三十四年（1908年），制定办垦章程十二条，并专门规定了开垦佃种的作物种类等。以上举措为康区带来了许多精通农务的内地人才，“至宣统三年（1911年），川省出关之垦民，在金沙江以西有2000名；在康定、河

<sup>2</sup> 关于此规定《清末川滇边务档案史料》中的《巴塘善后章程》《乡城改革章程》《察木多改革章程》《德格地方章程》《科麦地方章程》《三岩章程》等都有谈及。

口、稻城、定乡、巴安、盐井、道坞、炉霍、甘孜各县有 1723 名，其中有眷属者 600 余人”<sup>[22]</sup>，在一定程度上促进了康区农业水平的提高。

### 3. 构建商旅通途促交往

“川边自打箭炉以外，每七八十里，方有一栖息之所，而湫隘污秽，几难涉足，食物均须自备，设有雨雪阻滞，不能到站，即须露宿”<sup>[3]</sup>。鉴于此，为方便商旅畅行，赵尔丰命地方官员监修店栈，于打箭炉修招待所一处，自中渡到三坝修旅店 12 处，自三坝到查木多修旅店 3 处，“饬打箭炉——巴安——昌都——拉萨（南路）和打箭炉——甘孜——三十九族——拉萨（北路）两条入藏大路间，每隔 30 里修一尖站，70 里修一宿站，既为驻藏大臣出入之行台，又为往来客商栖息之所”<sup>[22]</sup>。至于交通，光绪三十四年（1908 年），赵尔丰与川督赵尔巽共同上奏，请求修筑川藏大车路，由川、康、藏分段修筑，由于缺乏资金及相对的技术人才，未能全线竣工通车。此外，还在雅州设立了车务处，制造了一批牛车；在雅砻江修建了钢索吊桥。川藏间交通的改善，推动了内地与康区物资、人员的流动与交往。

### 4. 发展近代工业促发展

康区拥有较为富饶的矿产资源及丰富的野生植物。赵尔丰积极经略，采兴工富业之策。光绪三十四年（1908 年），赵尔丰主持开办巴塘制革厂，引进日本先进的制革机器，选派三十多名藏族青年赴成都学习制革技艺，培养了一批专业技术人才，并调用川省制革厂中熟练的工人前往巴塘制革厂教授技艺。该厂于宣统元年（1909 年）正式建成投产，所生产的皮货质量几乎与内地皮货不相上下。此外，赵尔丰认为，“兴利之方，则屯垦之外，惟有开矿”<sup>[3]</sup>，其利用康区丰富的矿产资源，先后在各地开办了一系列金厂，如泰宁金厂、德格扩络垛金厂、理塘毛丫金矿、打箭炉三道桥金厂等等，以及若干家铜厂和银厂。以上举措不仅在一定程度上解决了康区人民的就业问题，更促进了康区经济的发展，为康区近代工业的发展奠定了基础。

#### 3.2 改土归流促进了康区社会生活的多元交融

康区地处民族走廊地带，生活着藏、汉、彝、羌、回等民族，康区文化由此呈现出多元的特点，语言文字、风俗习惯、婚姻形态等各具特

色。以语言为例，存在有嘉绒语（丹巴）、木雅语（康定、九龙、雅江）、鱼通语（康定）、道孚语（道孚、丹巴、新龙、炉霍）、扎巴语（道孚、雅江）、尔苏语（九龙）、纳木义语（九龙）、普米语（九龙）、曲域语（新龙、雅江）<sup>[23]</sup>等众多方言，使语言沟通困难。且改土归流前，康区之文化教育为土司贵族及喇嘛所垄断，学校极少，加之外国传教士在康区大肆活动，“若置而不教，设为邪说异端所诱，则将来挽救甚难”<sup>[3]</sup>。为改变以上情形，促进“政令推行”，赵尔丰在教育、社会习俗及婚姻等方面实施了一系列政策，客观上促进了康区社会生活的多元交融，而这融汇于中华民族文化之中，在一定程度上有助于进一步维护和发展中华民族共同体。

#### 1. 兴学设教促交流

赵尔丰认为“政令推行，端赖文化”<sup>[3]</sup>，故将兴学当作“收拾边地人心第一要务”<sup>[3]</sup>，积极在康区兴学设教。光绪三十三年（1907 年），赵尔丰奏请在康区设立“关外学务局”，派遣人员到巴塘、理塘、盐井等地办学堂，由此康区拥有了新式教育的组织机构。随后，在已经进行了改土归流的地区设立学校，每“设置一县，即成立学校数处”<sup>[24]</sup>，采用强制与倡导、奖励相结合的方式，鼓励七岁以上男女儿童入学，并且在教学过程中，注重官话教学、培养学员“明伦爱国”思想。同时，赵尔丰尊重民族文化，注重因地制宜，采取灵活多样的办学形式，开设了藏文学堂、蒙学学堂等，自编乡土教材，在其推动之下，许多人开始接受现代学校教育，促进了文化的交融。

#### 2. 改良习俗促风尚

为实现“人心固而风俗美”<sup>[4]</sup>的愿景，赵尔丰对康区的风俗习惯进行了改革，积极推广与内地文化和生活方式相近的社会习俗。如为各改流之地拟制“百家姓”，认为，“蛮民向无姓氏，久后即不识为何人之子孙，有负古人辨族之义。以后蛮民各家，宜各自立姓，或按居住之地，或藉家长之名，皆取首一字为姓，以便世世遵守，庶后世有发起为官与绅者，不至不能自详其世系也。”<sup>[25]</sup>又如，改良康区的下葬方式，规定“凡父母之死，则以礼殡葬，即兄、弟、妻子之死，亦必用棺木装殓，择其不受水冲、不受火烧之地而埋之，乃合大皇上之制度，倘敢不遵示谕，本大臣定提案治罪，决不宽贷，各宜懔遵”<sup>[4]</sup>。总的

来说，赵尔丰对社会习俗的改革，在一定程度上改变了康区旧的社会习俗，为康区带来了新的社会风尚，进一步促进了文化的交融。

### 3. 相互通婚促交融

赵尔丰经略康区时，大量军士开始源源不断进入康区，军士与当地民众通婚现象逐渐普遍。赵尔丰颁布《汉蛮联婚通饬》，规定“有弁勇聘娶蛮女为妻，必觅妥实保人证书，该弁勇家事由营保结，担保该勇家无妻室，出具切结，方准婚娶。将来无论在关外居住或进关回籍，皆不得轻于抛弃，以维风化。保人切结，呈由该营官及地方官存案，为后日查有欺伪，将该保人一并治罪，决不宽贷。”<sup>[3]</sup>此外，伴随着改土归流的不断深入，以及农垦、工矿及商贸发展的需要，大量内地人口迁入康区，广泛分布于康藏大道沿线，在与康区当地民众不断的交流、交往中，与当地民众通婚者不断增加，更进一步促进了文化的交融与发展。

#### 3.3 改土归流增强了康区民众的政治认同

康区是各民族互动交融和治藏的依托区域，实行改土归流有利于进一步加强中央政府对康区的管理与控制，巩固西南边防，在一定程度上抵御了外来侵略，促进了康区民众政治认同的增强。

改土归流的首要措施是废除土官，改设流官。“从此永远革除土司之职，改土归流，勿论汉人蛮人，皆为大皇上百姓”“巴塘从此改设汉官，管辖地方汉蛮百姓及钱粮诉讼一切事件”“从前所设马俸、协廩、更占、百色、古噪等名目，一概裁撤不用”<sup>[3]</sup>。这一举措打破了康区土司的世袭特权，所遣流官成为清政府在康区的一根根“毛细血管”，加强了中央政府对康区的直接管理，稳定了康区局势。并且，该举措的实行对增加兄弟民族之间的交流与团结，推动“固川保藏”战略的落实，打击帝国主义分裂我国西南边疆的阴谋亦具有积极意义。

再者，赵尔丰在康区积极设治置官，新设两道（康安盐茶道、边北道）、四府（巴安府、康定府、邓科府、昌都府）、三州（德化州、白玉州、归化州）、两厅（理化厅、三坝厅）、二十六县（盐井县、河口县、同普县、宁静县等），设置保正、道员等职治理地方。康区地方行政体制的完善，打破了康区旧有的权力格局，使得康区建立起了与内地相一致的政治制度，为国家在

民族危急时刻重构康区政治秩序提供了制度性的选择，巩固了西南边防，加大了清政府在康区的统治力度。

此外，康区的改土归流还对寺庙有所限制。首先，限制寺院的喇嘛人数，“庙宇不准多设。大庙喇嘛不得超过三百人，小庙不过数十人”<sup>[26]</sup>，在一定程度上减少了僧人的数量，有助于推动国家意志在康区的下沉。其次，限制喇嘛的特权，规定“凡汉蛮僧俗教民人等大小词讼皆归地方官审理，无论何人不得干预其事”<sup>[3]</sup>，取消了喇嘛干预词讼及地方事务，不纳税赋的特权，并裁撤了寺庙设置的管理地方钱粮词讼的仓储巴，废除了土司、头人及寺庙的政治经济特权。“自三十二年起，百姓除应纳正粮、差粮外，此项杂粮，永远裁免。无论何人，不准妄行需索，嗣后各衙署如有所需，皆照市价购置，丝毫不令民间供应”<sup>[3]</sup>，废除差役，进行土地制度和赋税制度的改革，变封建农奴领主制为封建地主制，此举不仅有助于缓解康区民众的压力，并为推动康区社会生产力的发展、继续推进增进康区民众对清政府的认同起到了积极的作用。

### 4. 结语

清末康区的改土归流是清政府为应对康区社会矛盾尖锐、列强侵扰以及巴塘事件的主动选择，尽管该政策施行过程中方式方法或有偏颇，但就事实成果而言，相关举措在一定程度上增强了康区民众的国家认同，推进了康区民众在经济、文化方面的交往交流与交融，以此为基础，继续推进和维持了“中华民族共同体”的发展。

回顾赵尔丰经略康区的这段历史，其治边思想仍可为我们今天继续推进中华民族共同体的发展提供很多启示。如赵尔丰重视经济的重要性，积极加强康区与内地的经济联系，从而促进了康区经济的发展，推进了经济发展共同体的发展。再如，赵尔丰重视文化的重要性，在康区兴学设教促进了康区文化的发展、促进了康区民众的文化认同，推进了中华文化共同体的发展。

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# Underestimated Contributions: Contemporary Academic Understanding of the Relationship between Zhang Weihan and the Municipal Reform Movement in Modern China

被低估的贡献：当代学术界对张维翰与近代中国市政改革运动关系的理解

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## KEY WORDS

*Zhang Weihan; Modern China; Municipal Reform Movement; Contemporary Academia*

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## ABSTRACT

Zhang Weihan not only proposed the idea of "municipal strengthening of the nation" but also presided over the municipal reform practice in Kunming, involving the improvement of urban grassroots organizations, the establishment of traffic police, the demolition of old city walls, the improvement of street transportation, the rectification of water and electricity facilities, physician training and food hygiene inspections, the organization of custom improvement associations, the promotion of compulsory education, the construction of modern parks, and many other aspects. These efforts not only vigorously promoted the development of Kunming, but also played a significant role in other Chinese cities such as Chongqing. However, when examining contemporary academic understanding of Zhang Weihan and the municipal reform movement in modern China, it is not difficult to find that research in this field still has many deficiencies. Most of the existing relevant works are limited to brief narratives of his local content during his time in Kunming, while his contributions to the municipal reform movement in modern China have been relatively underestimated by contemporary academia. Therefore, it is extremely necessary to break through the inadequacies of previous research and conduct a more systematic study on this issue.

## 1. Introduction

In traditional Chinese society, there was no strict division between urban and rural areas in terms of administrative management. However, since modern times, the impact of foreign forces and the changes in the ideologies of people from all walks of life in the context of the national crisis have objectively promoted the difficult start of urbanization amidst social turmoil. But in this process, "the structure and functions of many cities have changed, and a large number of problems different from traditional cities have emerged".<sup>[1]</sup> Therefore, improving the management of

modern cities has become the general trend of China's social development. The outbreak of the Xinhai Revolution established a republican political system in modern China and also introduced new elements into the local administrative system from top to bottom, with various provinces following the example of foreign cities and establishing urban management institutions. Although the "Municipal Self-Government System" stipulated that "municipal administration" was handled by urban self-governing bodies, this was nearly an empty promise during the chaotic military and political period of the Beiyang Government. At that time, the concept of "municipal administration" was broader than the contemporary concept, which refers solely to

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the infrastructure renovation of urban roads, bridges, and pipe networks. It actually referred to the comprehensive urban management work carried out under the leadership of local authorities, encompassing various affairs such as planning and construction.

Urban history researchers generally believe that there was a vigorous municipal reform movement in China during the 1920s to 1940s. Undoubtedly, the introduction and reflection on foreign advanced municipal theories by elite scholars such as Liang Qichao, Dong Xiujia, and Zhang Weici constituted the mainstream of the development of municipal disciplines in China during this period. However, political and business figures also had many words and deeds regarding municipal issues. Unlike the more theoretical discussions of modern scholars, a group of Republic of China political figures familiar with municipal theories and holding municipal authority, such as Kunming Municipal Supervision Director Zhang Weihan, vigorously carried out various practices. Their efforts were not only prolonged but also achieved remarkable results, forming an important demonstration effect in the modern municipal reform movement. At present, contemporary academia has produced many results in the overall study of the modern municipal reform movement in China, and the research level is gradually deepening. However, scholars have paid little attention to Zhang Weihan, a political figure who vigorously promoted this process, and there is still no monograph for systematic exploration.

In summary, examining the relevant historical materials of Zhang Weihan's participation in municipal affairs, clarifying its development context, and objectively evaluating his contributions to the municipal reform movement in modern China is a research with both academic and practical significance. In terms of academic significance, Zhang Weihan's thoughts and practices laid an important foundation for the development of Kunming's municipal administration and also contributed to the modernization of Chinese cities. However, previous studies on the modern municipal reform movement in China have mostly focused on analyzing the specific practices of a certain city or the specific thoughts of a certain scholar. Therefore, this paper selects Zhang Weihan, a political figure who had a significant impact on the modern municipal reform but has long been neglected by contemporary academia, as the research object to explore the development characteristics of his municipal thoughts in the process of modernization

in China, as well as the limitations and deficiencies of his municipal practices. Although in recent years, some works on the history of Kunming have briefly mentioned Zhang Weihan. In summary, the examination of this issue helps to provide a unique perspective for contemporary academia to understand the development process of Chinese cities through the study of individuals' municipal thoughts, which has strong academic significance. In terms of practical significance, the wave of the modern municipal reform movement cultivated many professionals for the development of Chinese cities at that time. However, in the 1950s and 1960s, municipal science was once regarded as a "pseudo-science" and was neglected by people at that time. It was not until the 1980s that municipal research was re-emphasized by the academic community after long-term appeals by scholars. There is an undeniable historical inheritance relationship between modern urban morphology and modern urban development. Zhang Weihan and others' reflections on municipal administration are precious legacies left by modern Chinese history, and many of their insights still have non-negligible enlightenment for today. Kunming is currently in an important stage of rapid urban development, with new city expansion and old city renovation proceeding in parallel. It urgently needs to refer to relevant historical experience and comprehensively explore the path forward for municipal administration in China today. Therefore, the research on this issue has important practical significance.

## 2. Zhang Weihan's Significant Contributions to the Modern Municipal Reform Movement

Since the late Qing Dynasty, with the entry of modern foreign forces and the opening of the Yunnan-Vietnam Railway, Yunnanfu, the provincial capital of Yunnan Province located in the southwestern border ethnic region of China, has achieved initial development. However, with the advancement of urbanization, urban problems also emerged. After the Chongjiu Uprising, the military government abolished Yunnanfu, stipulating that the urban area was administratively subordinate to Kunming County, but its various specific affairs were handled by the provincial police department. Qin Guangdi, the director of the department, and others had proposed the rudiment of an urban renovation plan, but it was not implemented due to war. In 1919, Tang Jiyao first established the Yunnan Municipal Office, a specialized urban management institution. Li Zonghuang, the first

director, although he had personally visited Japan to inspect municipal administration, did not play a significant role due to the turbulent situation during his tenure, which coincided with Gu Pinzhen's overthrow of Tang Jiyao. Therefore, Zhang Weihan, who took over as director in August 1922, shouldered the mission of continuing to promote the development of Kunming.

In the wave of the modern municipal reform movement, Zhang Weihan's thoughts and practices were always closely related to the political and economic conditions of the time, making them highly representative at that time. Born in 1886 into an official family in Daguan County, Yunnan Province, he devoted himself to the Chongjiu Uprising and the Protectorate Movement in his early years. He also briefly administered Yanxing and Gejiu. During his tenure, he was eager to rectify the administration, strive to improve medical and health conditions, strictly prohibit local factories from employing child labor, install electric lights, ensure safe production, and make preliminary attempts to improve local undertakings.

However, the political movements he participated in did not end China's chaos and backwardness, which led Zhang Weihan to gradually form the idea of "municipal strengthening of the nation" during his three visits to Japan to inspect municipal administration. After returning to China, Zhang Weihan presided over the compilation and research of numerous foreign municipal publications after taking office as the director of Kunming Municipal Administration and was determined to build Kunming into an ideal "garden city".<sup>[2]</sup> From 1922 to 1928, Zhang Weihan conducted numerous statistical survey activities and put the blueprint of his reform ideas into large-scale practice on this basis, specifically manifested in improving urban grassroots organizations, establishing new traffic police, demolishing old city walls, improving street transportation, implementing unified measurement tools, rectifying water and electricity facilities, conducting physician training and food hygiene inspections, expanding public medical institutions, organizing custom improvement associations and horticultural research associations, promoting compulsory education, building new modern parks, and hosting flower and horticultural exhibitions, among many other initiatives.<sup>[3]</sup> At that time, this renewed the city's appearance and greatly promoted the optimization of Kunming's urban management. After the Kunming 26th Army Mutiny, social unrest occurred, and Zhang Weihan led the police to maintain urban security. Although Zhang

Weihan resigned as the director of municipal administration after 1928 and no longer directly managed municipal affairs, the construction work during his administration in Kunming laid a solid foundation for further reforms in Kunming and was inherited by his successors such as Ma Yi and Pei Cunfan. Zhang Weihan's various efforts in this historical process, coupled with Yunnan's unique geographical location connecting inland China and Southeast Asia and its diversified ethnic cultural ecology, make it an important sample for observing the path of local municipal reform.

In 1931, Zhang Weihan had a dispute with Lu Han and others and left Kunming to take a position in the Nanjing National Government. However, his reform ideas did not fade away. He still repeatedly called on urban and rural residents in domestic newspapers and magazines to ban smoking and foot binding and improve social customs. After the July 7th Incident, as the anti-war situation became increasingly severe, the importance of the southwestern rear area was deeply recognized by people at that time. As a member of the Planning Committee for the Construction of the Provisional Capital, Zhang Weihan also put forward his own insights on the municipal administration of Chongqing, the wartime provisional capital, advocating that Chongqing should be "transformed from a metropolis into many small towns"<sup>[4]</sup> to reduce the excessively high population density in the urban area during wartime, solve the urban problems brought about by this, such as overcrowded housing, litter everywhere, and prevalent infectious diseases. At the same time, this plan could also effectively reduce casualties during Japanese bombings, which further demonstrated the continuity of Zhang Weihan's municipal thoughts. In addition, during the Anti-Japanese War, Zhang Weihan also inspected local administrations in Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, Gansu, Shaanxi, Qinghai, and Ningxia.

After the victory of the Anti-Japanese War in 1946, Zhang Weihan was appointed as the Supervisor of the Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces of the National Government Supervisory Office and returned to Kunming, where he had previously carried out reforms. "Initially, the hall of his private residence in Kunming was temporarily used as the Supervisor's Office. Every Monday, a commemorative week was held to explain historical events to the public, strengthen moral character, and attract many people outside the office as well as school teachers and students to listen".<sup>[5]</sup> In an interview with reporters, Zhang Weihan believed that Yunnan cities should take the following measures

to restore social livelihood after eight years of war: "First, establish schools extensively to popularize general national education, especially in border areas; second, complete the provincial highway transportation network and railways such as Xushu-Kunming and Kunming-Wuzhou; third, develop the upstream of the Jinsha River and the water resources of the Niulan River and the Nujiang River; fourth, develop underground minerals and develop inherent commerce (such as copper, tin, tung oil, tea, etc.); fifth, improve agriculture, build rural areas, pay attention to reclamation, and advocate afforestation; sixth, provide relief for the unemployed and victims".<sup>[6]</sup> These numerous measures fully demonstrated Zhang Weihan's reform ideas, which continued to be inherited and developed even more than a decade after his departure.

### 3. Contemporary Academic Understanding of Zhang Weihan and the Modern Municipal Reform Movement

By reviewing and organizing the academic history and sorting out the changes and deficiencies in this field in recent years, it helps to lay a solid research foundation. The current understanding of Zhang Weihan and the modern municipal reform movement in academia can be understood from the following three aspects.

#### 3.1 Research on Zhang Weihan as an Individual

Overall, current academic research on Zhang Weihan as an individual is still limited, and there are even fewer research results in mainland China compared to Taiwan. An earlier work is Tao Youqian's "Random Thoughts on Zhang Weihan's Revision of the Daguan County Chronicles," which introduces Zhang Weihan's 48-year academic history from initiating the revision of the "Daguan County Chronicles" based on his love for his country in 1931 to finally completing it before his death in 1978. At the same time, from the research perspective of local chronicles, it provides a relatively objective evaluation of the structure and content of this chronicle.<sup>[7]</sup>

At the same time, some recent works on modern Kunming municipal administration also briefly mention Zhang Weihan's deeds. For example, Zhang Tianjie and Zhang Yuqi's "Natural Landscapes and Pastoral Delights: A Study on the Planning and Construction of Modern Parks in

Kunming" points out that while following the traditions of traditional gardens, Kunming's modern parks were also deeply influenced by foreign cultures. Among them, the foreign municipal publications compiled by Zhang Weihan and others provided an important medium for spreading new ideas such as the Garden City theory and zoning planning.<sup>[8]</sup> This article has a certain enlightening effect, but its focus on the construction of modern parks is only one component of Zhang Weihan's municipal thoughts in Kunming's municipal practices. It involves less in other areas such as education, health, relief, public security, changing social customs, and infrastructure. At the same time, the number of local chronicles and related newspapers and magazines in its references is obviously insufficient, and more systematic and holistic research still needs to be carried out on the basis of continuous in-depth excavation of historical materials.

The compilation and publication of chronicles and commemorative anthologies reflect the importance attached by Taiwan in the 1980s to the study of Zhang Weihan as an individual. The "Chronicle of Mr. Zhang Weihan" compiled by the History Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang is based on Zhang Weihan's memoirs, Kuomintang archives, and other related materials, recording the detailed activities of the subject from his birth in 1886 to his death in 1979. In addition, it also includes precious writings of the subject such as "Proposed Letter of Opinions on Revising the Sino-French Commercial Treaty" in the appendix, which provides an important basis for researchers to quickly consult the situation during Zhang Weihan's administration of Kunming according to time.<sup>[9]</sup> The "Collected Works of Mr. Zhang Weihan" published at the same time as the chronicle includes as widely as possible the writings of Zhang Weihan in various periods, covering issues such as the Chongjiu Uprising, the Protectorate Movement, inspections to Japan, municipal reforms, the Anti-Japanese War, official supervision, international relations, and other aspects, providing authoritative original materials for understanding the full picture of Zhang Weihan's thoughts.<sup>[10]</sup> The centralized publication of the above literature has greatly facilitated further exploration by the academic community.

Other works on Zhang Weihan in Taiwan are mostly conducted with the overall study of his personal deeds as the main line. Li You's "Biography

of Mr. Zhang Chun'ou" [11] and Zhang Guozhu's "Biography of Mr. Zhang Weihan" [12] are two representative works that introduce the life of the figure in a concise manner. Within a few years after Zhang Weihan's death in 1979, more than a dozen works on Zhang Weihan emerged in the academic and political circles in Taiwan. Sorted by publication time, the important ones include Zhang Dingzhong's "Crying for My Father on an Autumn Night: In Memory of My Late Father, Mr. Chun'ou" [13], Shen Qingbi's "High Mountains to Look Up To, Only Sighing at the Fragrance" [14], Jian Erkang's "A Model of the Nation's Scholars, Forever Living in People's Hearts" [15], Ruan Yicheng's "In Memory of Mr. Zhang Weihan" [16], Zhu You's "Recalling Mr. Zhang Chun'ou and Talking About His Poems" [17], and Pei Cunfan's "Remembering Mr. Chun'ou". [18] These are all works of remembrance by Zhang Weihan's relatives, friends, and colleagues during his lifetime. They also recall the deeds between themselves and the deceased from different perspectives, mainly focusing on his experience after moving to Taipei in 1949, but also scattered with contents related to Zhang Weihan's presiding over Kunming municipal administration and inspecting local internal affairs.

Ding Zhongjiang's "Mr. Zhang Weihan and the Yunnan Uprising," [19] Wang Wen's "A Great Man Who Protects the Nation and Loves His Hometown" [20] start with first-hand materials such as Zhang Weihan's diaries and sort out his deeds in the Chongjiu Uprising and the Protectorate Movement, pointing out that Zhang Weihan's love for his country and nation during the national crisis in the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China was an important reason for his active participation in these activities. Ma Rongzhu's "Collaborating Conscientiously on Municipal Administration" introduces Kunming's municipal administration, focusing mainly on the deeds of Zhang Weihan's successor Ma Yi, but also involving Zhang Weihan's municipal achievements and pointing out that he laid the foundation for Kunming's urban development. [21] Shen Yunlong and Xie Wensun's "Interview Record with Mr. Zhang Weihan" is an oral history material compiled based on a face-to-face interview with Zhang Weihan in 1960, which provides more detailed information about Zhang Weihan's early improvements to local public utilities in Yanxing and Gejiu and his family life compared to other materials.

In general, in recent years, domestic research on Zhang Weihan as an individual has experienced a short-term peak in the number of works published around the year of his death in 1979 and the centenary of his birth in 1986. However, it has gradually subsided in recent years and has mostly focused on the publication "Yunnan Literature" issued by the Yunnan Fellowship Association in Taipei, with certain limitations in academic nature and research depth. In terms of content, although Zhang Weihan's participation in the field of municipal administration is involved, most of them only focus on his administration period in Kunming, ignoring the evolution of his thoughts after leaving Yunnan.

### **3.2 Overall Research on the Modern Municipal Reform Movement**

#### **3.2.1 Research on the Thoughts of the Modern Municipal Reform Movement**

An earlier study on the thoughts of the modern municipal reform movement is Qiu Hongmei and Liu Binbin's "On Dong Xiuji's View of Municipal Management and Its Characteristics," [22] which takes Dong Xiuji, who has high academic achievements in the history of municipal disciplines in China, as the target of investigation and attempts to explore the impact of his municipal thoughts on the municipal reform movement. Zhao Ke's "Municipal Reform and Urban Development" points out that modern intellectual elites, mainly overseas students, have continuously advanced the cause of municipal management in modern China by introducing foreign municipal thoughts and strengthening urban planning. [23] Yu Haiyi's "Viewing the Status of Zhang Jian's Urban Planning Thoughts from 'The Complete Works on Municipal Administration'" believes that Zhang Jian's urban planning thoughts were earlier than the domestic mainstream academia's exploration of foreign planning thoughts, and were in the transitional stage between traditional Chinese urban management thoughts and the introduction of foreign thoughts since the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China. [24]

Representative research results on the thoughts of the modern municipal reform movement in recent years mainly include Wang Hui's "The Understanding and Application of the Garden City Theory by the Urban Planning Commu-

nity in the Republic of China Period," which argues that many Chinese scholars simply interpreted Howard's related theories and introduced them, so that most Chinese municipal works related to the "Garden City" in the 1920s were only partial paraphrases of Howard's original works.<sup>[25]</sup> Wang Yanan and Zhao Yongge's "The Introduction of Modern Western 'Municipal Reform' Thoughts and the Discussion on the Development Direction of Beijing" analyzes the unique views of modern municipal scholars on the development direction, spatial structure, and administrative management of Beijing.<sup>[26]</sup> Gao Lu's "Exploration of 'Urban China': The Pursuit of Social Elites for the Path of Urban Modernization in the Early Republic of China (1912-1937)" points out that while Chinese "social elites" actively drew on foreign advanced municipal theories, the trend of thought aiming to coordinate urban-rural relations by "going to the countryside" was also gradually emerging.<sup>[27]</sup> Fu Shulan's "The Budding of Planning Thoughts in the Early Modernization Construction of Local Cities —— An Interpretation of the Historical Process of the Formation and Development of the Municipal Concept under the Framework of the 'China Road Construction Association'" combs through the many foreign municipal theories introduced by the China Road Construction Association based on the practical needs of urban construction, which were then developed and spread through the "Complete Works on Municipal Administration".<sup>[28]</sup>

Overall, research on the thoughts of the modern municipal reform movement has works published in both humanities and social sciences such as history and urban and rural planning, architecture, and other science and engineering disciplines, covering many contents of various cities, periods, and aspects. Researchers generally believe that the introduction and transformation of foreign advanced theories by modern scholars played an important guiding role in the municipal reform movement and still have non-negligible practical significance for today's municipal practices. However, their municipal thoughts were mainly built on the basis of foreign urban theories, lacking in-depth understanding of China's actual situation. Coupled with the objective political environment of military and political chaos at that time, their municipal ideals could not be fully and thoroughly realized. In addition, current research on the thoughts of the modern municipal reform

movement mostly focuses on the examination of modern academic figures, and research on political figures including Zhang Weihan still needs to be further strengthened.

### 3.2.2 Research on the Practices of the Modern Municipal Reform Movement

Regarding the investigation of the practices of the modern municipal reform movement, Xiong Yuezhi, Luo Suwen, and Zhou Wu's "A Brief Discussion on Modern Shanghai Municipal Administration" is an earlier work in this field, arguing that modern Shanghai municipal administration was comparable to any major city in the world at that time.<sup>[29]</sup> Yang Yongsheng's "Zhu Qiqian and the Urban Construction of Beijing" points out that Zhu Qiqian was the pioneer in transforming Beijing from a dynastic capital into a modern city.<sup>[30]</sup> Tu Wenzhe's "The Golden Age of Early Urban Modernization: Municipal Reform in Hankou in the 1930s" systematically discusses the municipal undertakings in Wuhan during the Republic of China period from the perspectives of imitating foreign countries and national autonomy in urban planning consciousness, as well as the changes in the relationship between officials and civilians, officials and merchants, and the administrative system in the early process of urban modernization.<sup>[31]</sup> Zhao Chunchen's "A Brief Discussion on the Urban Modernization of Guangzhou during the Late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China" reviews the course of construction in Guangzhou, which experienced turbulence during the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China, and focuses on the promoting role played by Sun Ke.<sup>[32]</sup>

Representative research results on the practices of the modern municipal reform movement in recent years mainly include He Yimin's "Research on the Development and Changes of Cities in the Rear Area of the Southwest during the Anti-Japanese War"<sup>[33]</sup>, which systematically studies the development and changes of cities such as Sichuan, Xikang, Yunnan, Guizhou, and Chongqing before and after the Anti-Japanese War, pointing out that although the imbalance in the development of the southwestern rear area was widespread, the westward migration of human and material resources from the central and eastern regions during the Anti-Japanese War played a considerable role in improving the municipal construction and social progress of western cities. Luo

Guilin's "The Rise of 'Grassroots' Municipal Administration — Centered on the Fire Brigade in Modern Fuzhou" believes that existing research on modern municipal history has mostly focused on the official level and lacked attention to municipal participation from the folk, while the Fuzhou Fire Brigade is a typical case of "grassroots" municipal administration.<sup>[34]</sup> In addition to the above, there are also representative works such as Shen Songping and Zhang Ying's "Ningbo Merchants and Modern Municipal Administration in Ningbo"<sup>[35]</sup> and Liu Zhiqin's "Viewing the Derivation of Modern Urban Functions from Municipal Construction: Taking Baoding City in the Late Qing Dynasty and Early Republic of China as an Example".<sup>[36]</sup>

Among them, since Zhang Weihan had long administered Kunming, this paper needs to focus on contemporary academic research on modern Kunming municipal administration. Relevant results in this field include the earlier works by Xie Benshu and Li Jiang, "A History of Modern Kunming City," which analyzes Kunming's municipal reform, economic development, and other aspects, and is the first domestic work to comprehensively examine the evolution and development of modern Kunming.<sup>[37]</sup> In addition, the "Long Compilation of Kunming Chronicles" and "A Brief History of Kunming" compiled by the Kunming Chronicles Compilation Committee also briefly elaborate on the basic situation of modern Kunming municipal administration.

Representative research results on modern Kunming municipal reform in recent years mainly include Lv Fuhua's "A New Interpretation of the Inception of Modern Urbanization in Kunming — A Perspective of Human Ecology," which points out that the opening of a commercial port as a key event in the initiation period of urban modernization has had a profound impact on the development of Kunming, a city located in an ethnic border area with relatively backward economy and culture.<sup>[38]</sup> Che Lin's "Urban Water Supply and Municipal Management in Modern Kunming" points out that the authorities' actions in the fields of water supply, flood control, and drainage reflect the relationship between municipal management and water source utilization.<sup>[39]</sup> Han Yanjuan and Li Baihao's "The Practice and Thoughts of Garden City Planning in Kunming in the Early Stage of Modern Municipal Establishment" points out from the perspective of urban and rural planning that

the construction of Kunming's "garden city" in modern times not only had an important impact on the urban environment and spatial layout at that time, but its advanced planning concepts and urban development outlook of inheriting history and respecting nature are still worth continuing to learn from today.<sup>[40]</sup> Wang Mingdong and Xiao Jianle's "An Analysis of the Changes and Impacts of Kunming's Urban Population (1840-1949)" systematically reviews the course of Kunming's population decline due to wars and disasters during the Xianfeng and Tongzhi years, to its population surge during the opening of the port, the construction of the Yunnan-Vietnam Railway, and the Anti-Japanese War.<sup>[41]</sup>

After examining the overall research on the thoughts and practices of the modern municipal reform movement in China, it is not difficult to find that although contemporary academia has achieved fruitful results in this field, among which works on municipal practices are significantly more numerous than those on municipal thoughts, and gradually break through the old situation of focusing on modern large cities, beginning to gradually expand to small and medium-sized cities such as Kunming. However, contemporary academia's examination of municipal practices is still dominated by individual cities, and the overall exploration of the development of modern Chinese cities is relatively limited. Research on the relationship between historical figures and municipal thoughts and specific practices is also relatively weak, and the excavation of these key figures and their contributions is still not deep enough, especially the insufficient recognition of Zhang Weihan's significant contributions to the modern municipal reform.

#### 4. Conclusion

As one of the important promoters of the modern municipal reform, Zhang Weihan not only laid a solid foundation for Kunming's urban development but also provided many development suggestions for the municipal construction of other Chinese cities. However, after the victory of the Anti-Japanese War, although Zhang Weihan still provided suggestions for the development of Yunnan cities, he could no longer put them into practice. In 1949, due to the retreating Nationalist army, Zhang Weihan was forced by the situation to leave the mainland with his family. Afterward, Zhang Weihan served as a member of the

Disciplinary Committee of the Kuomintang Central Committee, the chair of the Presidential Group of the 11th Central Evaluation Committee of the Kuomintang, the vice president and acting president of the "Supervisory Yuan." He wrote many poems recalling Yunnan: "Inviting friends to gather in the thatched cottage on People's Day, looking north towards the divine land and feeling homesick; the color of willows by the leaky bridge stirs one's dreams, and the plum blossoms on the Lingling Pass break one's heart" [42]. His homesickness is evident in every line. He also participated in the establishment and activities of the Yunnan Fellowship Association in Taipei. Zhang Weihan wrote numerous works throughout his life and presided over the compilation of many monographs such as "Chronicles of Kunming City," "English Garden City," "Practical Local Self-Government," "Chronicles of Daguan County," "Proposed Letter of Opinions on the Boundary Affairs between Yunnan and Myanmar," and "Draft History of the Protectorate Movement," covering a wide range of fields such as municipal administration, local chronicles, border affairs, and memoirs. On September 1, 1979, Zhang Weihan passed away in Taipei at the age of 94.

Zhang Weihan's life experience embodies the exploratory spirit of modern Chinese people to "save the nation through municipal administration." His initiatives cover multiple fields such as grassroots governance and transportation and people's livelihood, forming a distinctive municipal reform model. Faced with various difficulties, Zhang Weihan took systematic urban planning as the forerunner to promote the urbanization process in Kunming, breaking through the framework of traditional urban management, creatively localizing Western municipal ideas, and proving that the improvement of urban governance can be a fulcrum to promote overall social progress, injecting important impetus into the modern municipal reform movement in China. However, as mentioned earlier, Zhang Weihan's contributions to the modern municipal reform movement in China have not yet received sufficient attention from contemporary academia.

Therefore, it is very necessary to break through the inadequacies of previous works and conduct a systematic exploration of the relationship between Zhang Weihan and the modern municipal reform in China. This is not only an affirmation of Zhang Weihan's personal contributions but also allows researchers to take Zhang Weihan as a case to provide a new perspective for the overall study of the modern municipal reform movement. At the same time,

it is also very important to focus on collecting local chronicles, municipal books, and personal memoirs related to Zhang Weihan's administration of Kunming and municipal reform. In addition to fully consulting the "Corrected Annotation of Kunming Chronicles," "Long Compilation of the Continued History of Yunnan," and the historical materials of various political consultative conferences used more by previous researchers, efforts should also be made to explore the original archives collected by institutions such as the Yunnan Provincial Archives, the Republican newspapers and magazines such as "Kunming Municipal Monthly," Zhang Weihan's personal writings such as "Records of Inspection in Northern Japan," and the compiled foreign municipal books such as "Garden City" to obtain a deeper understanding through the screening, textual research, and supplementation of the above innovative materials.

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# Symbolic Construction and Emotional Encoding in the Musical Language of "Forever Ultraman"

《永远的奥特曼》音乐语言中的符号建构与情感编码

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## KEY WORDS

*Forever Ultraman, musical language, rhythm organization, lyrical symbolism, cultural memory*

## ABSTRACT

As a Chinese commemorative pop song, "Forever Ultraman" carries the symbolic imagery of heroes and the intergenerational memory within the Tokusatsu cultural tradition. Drawing on methods of modern music analysis, this article systematically explores the symbolic construction mechanisms of the piece through lyrical semantics, melodic structure, rhythmic organization, and emotional expression. It reveals how the work encodes collective sentiment and heroic narratives through musical elements, establishing a representative "cultural memory ballad" structure. The study offers insights into both popular culture research and the narrative strategies of music.

## 摘要

作为一首中国流行歌曲，《永远的奥特曼》承载了特摄文化传统中的英雄符号意象与代际记忆。本文运用现代音乐分析方法，从歌词语义、旋律结构、节奏组织及情感表达四个维度系统探讨了作品的符号建构机制，揭示了该作品如何通过音乐元素编码集体情感与英雄叙事，形成具有代表性的“文化记忆民谣”结构。该研究为流行文化研究与音乐叙事策略提供了双重启示。

## 1. Introduction: From Tokusatsu Symbol to Cultural Poetics

The character "Ultraman" in tokusatsu works is not only a significant product of postwar Japanese culture but has also evolved into a transgenerational superhero symbol, especially for Chinese audiences. As a tribute song performed by LINE, "Forever Ultraman" employs carefully constructed lyrics and musical layout to musically encode emotional resonance with the cultural symbol of Ultraman. The song demonstrates popularity, symbolism, and

emotional depth, serving as an "audio encoding of cultural memory." This paper uses the lens of musical language analysis to examine how the composition embeds symbols and emotion in melody, rhythm, mode, and vocal delivery, reconstructing the audience's emotional engagement with Ultraman's heroism.

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## 2. Structural Layout and Modal Design: Layered Emotional Symbolism

"Forever Ultraman" adopts the common A-B-A'-B'-C five-part structure typical of pop music, yet within it lies a clear emotional progression logic.

**Table 1. Results of Stability Test**

SECTION	BARS	FUNCTION	EMOTIONAL SYMBOLISM
A VERSE 1	1–16	Narrative, introduction	Gentle, nostalgic
B CHORUS 1	17–32	Emotional climax	Faith, hope
C BRIDGE	33–40	Emotional shift	Memorial, invocation
A' VERSE 2	41–56	Recurrence, reflection	Resonance, sorrow
B' CHORUS 2	57–72	Final climax	Eternity, heroism

From a modal perspective, the song is primarily in C major with closely related modulations. The chorus often employs dominant seventh chords (G7) with delayed resolution, creating an expectation of "emotional arrival" and impending light. The bridge momentarily shifts to A minor to evoke recollection and solemnity before returning to the tonic, symbolizing the passage through darkness.

## 3. Rhythm and Instrumentation: Layered Emotional Rhythmic Development

Rhythm forms the backbone of emotional trajectory. The rhythmic design of "Forever Ultraman" follows a narrative arc from slow storytelling to passionate uplifting.

The verses use alternating quarter and eighth notes, establishing a lyrical, introspective tone akin to "narrating memories." The choruses introduce syncopation, dotted rhythms, and accents, intensifying emotional urgency and propulsion. Combined with lyrics like "放射光明 / Radiating light," the musical and textual meanings align.

The bridge applies delayed downbeats, metric disruptions, and rests to momentarily "pause" emotion, creating a spacious, commemorative atmosphere. Upon returning to the final chorus, the rhythm accelerates, sonically representing the hero's return—an aural metaphor for overcoming darkness.

In terms of instrumentation, the verses feature soft string textures and broken chord piano accompaniment to create warmth. The chorus incorporates electronic synthesizers, electric guitars, and brass for a "heroic entrance" effect. Notably, the bridge employs synthetic string pads

and reverberant vocals, contributing ceremonial gravitas and elevating the emotional dimension.

## 4. Lyric Analysis: From Personal Sentiment to Collective Memory

Written by Qi Fang, the lyrics are rich in symbolic language. The frequent motifs of "蔚蓝的星球 / the blue planet," "光明 / light," "守候 / guardianship," and "英雄 / hero" form a dual symbolic structure of heroic narrative and collective remembrance.

### Verse 1

"大地渐渐苏醒 / The earth slowly awakens"

"一丝晨光打破了夜的寂静 / A ray of morning light breaks the night's silence"

These natural metaphors mark the narrative beginning. "Morning light" symbolizes new hope; the melody descends a perfect fifth, connoting calm and tranquility.

"炙热的心在跳动 / A burning heart is beating"

"祈祷和平降临 / Praying for peace to descend"

Juxtaposing "heart" and "peace" expresses internal longing. The rhythm shifts to dotted symmetry, reinforcing emotional steadiness.

### Chorus 1

"放射光明 / Radiating light"

"看那蔚蓝色的星球 / Look at that blue planet"

"是我们永远的守候 / It is our eternal guardianship"

This triplet marks the emotional climax, with an ascending melody reaching high C. Rhythmic change to compound syncopation evokes radiant brilliance.

"我伫立在这里倾听风的声音 / I stand here, listening to the sound of the wind"

"来吧我的热情在飞翔 / Come, my passion is flying"

First-person language strengthens emotional immersion. The wind symbolizes memory, and the melodic contour mimics its undulation.

"穿越时空界限冲破黑暗 / Cross the boundaries of time and space, breaking through darkness"

Action-oriented language generates narrative escalation. Paired with minor tonal color and multi-part

chorus, it conjures the sonic illusion of the hero's imminent return.

*"You Are Always My Hero!"*

An English slogan, it functions as a commemorative monument and represents the emotional peak of the piece.

**Verse 2 & Chorus 2** - These repeat earlier lyrics but with intensified melody, instrumentation, and vocal delivery. The repetition is not mechanical but symbolizes "memory deepening" and "meaning ascension." In the final chorus, the line *You are always my hero* is delivered at the highest pitch, ending with strong dynamic emphasis.

## 5. Cultural Meaning and Conclusion: The Symbolic Mechanism of Memorial Ballads

"Forever Ultraman" maintains pop music's accessibility while employing lyrical construction and rhythmic design to encode a heroic narrative. On the level of cultural memory, it constructs intergenerational resonance. "Ultraman" becomes not only a childhood icon but a symbol of family heritage and collective national emotion.

Here, music is not merely a vessel for emotion, but a transgenerational and transcultural memory device. In a post-pandemic era, such "shared memory ballads" gently reassemble society's emotional community. The success of "Forever Ultraman" lies in its unification of symbolic musical language and layered emotional progression.

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*\*Note: Translations of articles originally published in another language will not be considered.*

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## **Peer Review Process**

CSM employs a double-anonymized peer review process to ensure impartiality.

### **Process Steps :**

1. **Initial Screening**: Articles are evaluated for alignment with scope and adherence to submission guidelines.
2. **Reviewer Assignment** : Each article is reviewed by at least two experts in the field.
3. **Criteria**: Originality, scientific rigor, clarity, and adherence to ethical standards.
4. **Recommendations**: Accept, minor revisions, major revisions, or reject.
5. **Decision**: Final decision is made by the editor-in-chief, considering reviewer feedback.

## **Submission Guidelines**

Manuscripts must adhere to the Author Guidelines and be prepared in Microsoft Word. Detailed formatting instructions are available on the journal's website. Submissions should be made via the online portal at: <https://jandoopress.com/journal/csm>. For inquiries, please contact the CSM editorial team at E-mail ([contact@press.jandoopress.ac](mailto:contact@press.jandoopress.ac)).

## **Submission Deadline**

Submissions are accepted on a rolling basis, ensuring timely review and publication.

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