

# 「國家」、「國故」與「國民」： 近代「國曆」的名實錯位與中西糾葛

(提要)

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近代中國，按國字號事物的習用命名辦法，本應中國傳統曆法成為「國曆」。但當時的「國曆」竟為西曆（亦稱陽曆），該曆既不同於「國學」、「國醫」等中國所固有的國字號事物，又與「國旗」、「國歌」等近代國家產物有所區別。在推動以「國曆」命名西曆的進程中，看似簡單的名號變化，其實飽含嚴譔聲（1897–1969）等人不能明言的「苦心」。彼時「國曆」的含義本有多重，時人的認知也不盡一致，甚至對立，主要包含「國家」、「國故」、「國民」三個層面的內涵。為證明以「國曆」命名西曆的合理性，一種「西曆中源」理論被有意無意地構建，西曆竟被證明是中國固有曆法。在「國曆」稱謂之外，「國民曆」纔是南京國民政府官定曆書的正式稱呼，也更不易引起誤會，並為高魯（1877–1947）、陳遵媯（1901–1991）等專家認可，唯他們的意見未被重視。以西曆為「國曆」的現象也為醫學界所注意，並為部分西醫所欽羨，由此引發了一場「國醫」名號的爭奪。南京國民政府對國字號事物的特殊性視而不見，強以「洋曆」作「國曆」，改「中曆」為「廢曆」，但其所推行的「國曆」並不能制名以指實，「國曆」遂成為近代國字號事物中的異類。

關鍵詞： 國曆 國民曆 國醫 國字號事物 嚴譔聲

# The “National Calendar” in Modern China: Disconnected Denotation and China-West Entanglement

(Abstract)

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According to the customary naming conventions for terms with the “national” label in modern China, the traditional Chinese calendar should have been called the “National Calendar” (*Guoli*). However, the National Calendar actually referred to the Western (Gregorian) calendar at that time, which was a departure from names of other subjects inherent to China, such as *Guoxue* (traditional learnings) and *Guoyi* (traditional Chinese medicine), and from those of modern national symbols like *Guoqi* (national flag) and *Guoge* (national anthem). The seemingly straightforward process of designating the Western calendar as the National Calendar was, in reality, filled with unspoken undercurrents and agenda from scholars and officials such as Yan Esheng. The perception of the term “National Calendar” and its significance varied markedly among contemporaries (even contradictory at times), but the term primarily encompassed the connotations of the nation, as well as its heritage and people. To justify the adoption of the Western calendar as the National Calendar, a theory about “Chinese origin of the Western calendar” was constructed to suggest that the Western calendar was inherent to Chinese traditions. Aside from “National Calendar,” the official name of the calendar of the Nanjing National Government was actually “Citizens’ Calendar” (*Guomin li*), which was less likely to cause misunderstandings and was recognized by experts like Gao Lu and Chen Zungui, although their opinions were not given due attention. The adoption of the Western calendar as the National Calendar also caught the attention of the medical field and became a subject of envy for some local practitioners of Western medicine, thus triggering a contention over the term “National Medicine” (*Guoyi*). The Nanjing National Government overlooked the uniqueness of the “national” label, insisting on adopting the Western calendar as the National Calendar and referring to the Chinese calendar as *Feili* (obsolete calendar). However, the National Calendar they promoted could not fully represent its intended meaning, thus becoming an anomaly among the modern Chinese terms with the “national” label.

**Keywords:** National Calendar   Citizens’ Calendar   traditional Chinese medicine  
terms with the “national” label   Yan Esheng