





漢英對照

中國哲學名著選讀

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**SELECTED READINGS FROM
CHINESE PHILOSOPHERS**
With Annotations and
English Translation

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中國人民大學出版社
China Renmin University Press

• 北京 •
Beijing

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目 錄

一、太極圖說..... (2)

二、老子 (10)

三、正蒙（選）..... (18)

四、答橫渠張子厚先生書 (48)

五、顏子所好何學論 (58)

六、朱熹著作 (70)

七、美曾宅之書（節選）..... (92)

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CONTENTS

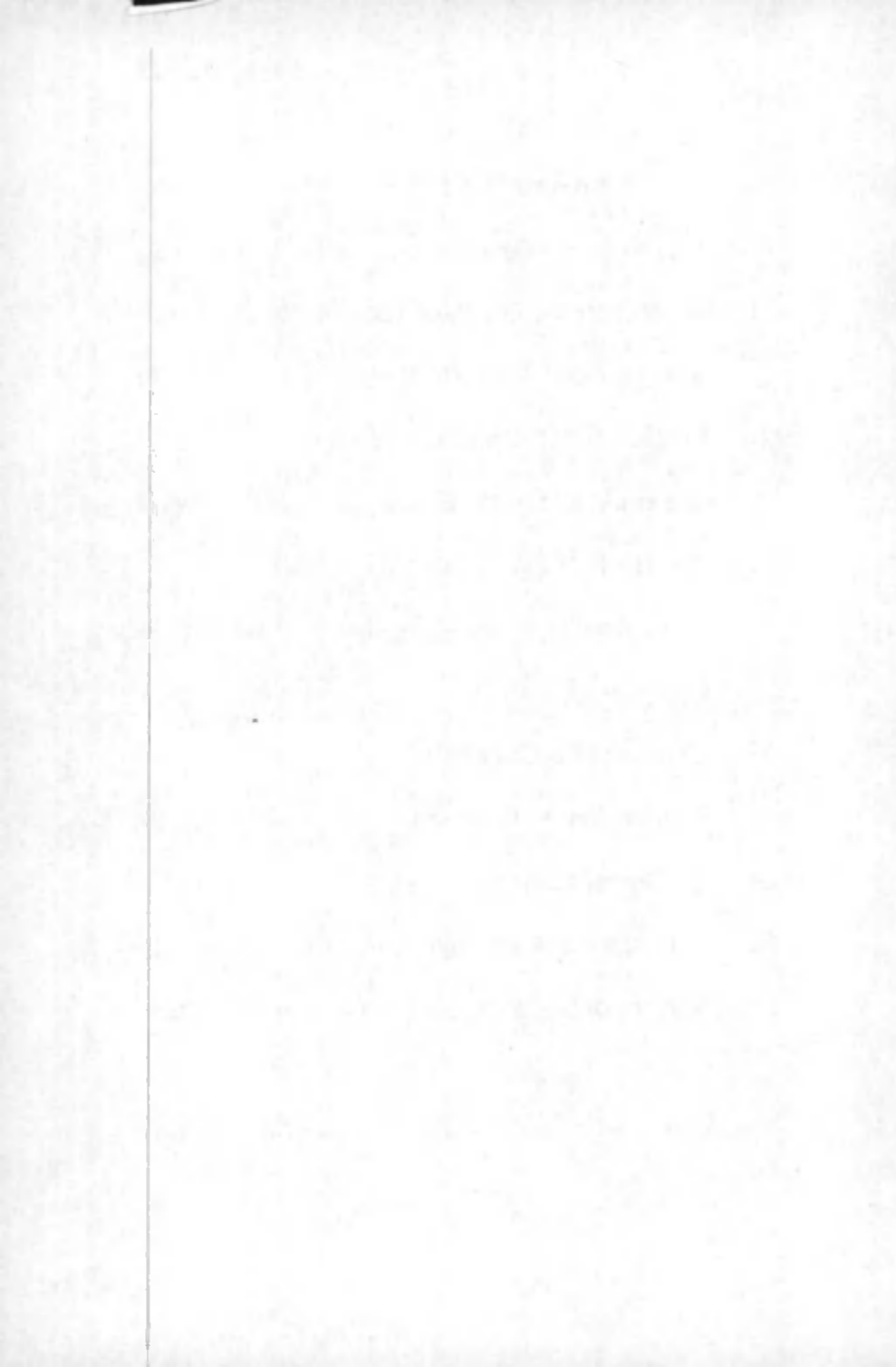
1. An Exposition to the Diagram of
the Great Ultimate (3)
2. A Critique of Lao Tsu (11)
3. Correct Rudiments (Selected)..... (19)
4. A Reply to Master Chang Heng-ch'ü's
Letter (49)
5. On What Kind of Learning
Master Yen Was Fond Of (59)
6. The Works of Chu Hsi (71)
7. A Letter to Tseng Chai-chih
(Selected) (93)

- 八、勉彊行道大有功 (100)
- 九、習學記言序目（選） (116)
- 十、答顧東橋書（節選） (128)
- 十一、王廷相著作 (152)
- 十二、答耿中丞 (170)
- 十三、物理小識自序 (182)
- 十四、王夫之著作 (190)
- 十五、四書正誤（選） (206)
- 十六、孟子字義疏證（選） (216)
- 十七、乙丙之際著議第七 (230)

8. A Treatise on Endeavor to Practice
Tao for Great Achievement (101)
9. Notes and Commentaries of
Study (Selected) (117)
10. A Letter in Reply to Ku Tung-ch'iao's
Criticism (Selected) (129)
11. The Works of Wang T'ing-hsiang (153)
12. In Reply to Minister Keng (171)
13. Self-preface to a Primary Study
on the Reasons of Things (183)
14. The Works of Wang Fu-chih (191)
15. Corrections on the Explanations
of the Four Books (Selected) (207)
16. A Textual Commentary on the
Terms in the Books of Mencius
(Selected) (217)
17. A Paper Completed in 1815 to 1816 (231)

十八、默觚治篇五（節選）……	(236)
十九、原道救世歌（選）……	(248)
二十、譯天演論自序……	(256)
二十一、大同書（選）……	(272)
二十二、以太說……	(290)
二十三、孫文學說（選）……	(302)
二十四、菌說（節選）……	(324)
二十五、吾人最後之覺悟……	(340)
二十六、李大釗著作……	(364)
人名索引……	(392)

18.	On Government (Part V) in Wei's Notes (Selected)	(237)
19.	A Song on the Origin of Tao and Salvation (Selected)	(249)
20.	Preface to the Chinese Translation of the Evolution and Ethics	(257)
21.	The Book of the Great Unity (Selected)	(273)
22.	On Ether	(291)
23.	Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary (Selected)	(303)
24.	On Germs (Selected)	(325)
25.	Our Ultimate Awakening	(341)
26.	A Work of Li Ta-chao	(365)
	Names Index	(392)







【簡 介】

周敦頤（1017—1073），北宋著名哲學家，是宋明理學的創始人之一。他融合儒、釋、道三家，將陳搏的無極圖改變為論證世界本體及其形成發展的太極圖，本書所選即是對此圖的說明。原文採自周子全書。

周敦頤
選自聖賢像贊

Chou Tun-yi
from Portraits
of the Sages
with Eulogies



INTRODUCTION

An Exposition to the Diagram of the Great Ultimate is one of the most representative works by Chou Tun-yi (1017—1073), a famous philosopher of the Song Dynasty and often considered the founder of the Neo-Confucianism. The Diagram of the Great Ultimate is said to be a variant of the Taoist Diagram of the Non-ultimate, and Chou tries, in this exposition, to combine Confucianism with the ideas of Taoism as well as Buddhism.

1 無極而太極。太極動而生陽，動極而靜，靜而生陰。靜極復動。一動一靜，互為其根^①；分陰分陽，兩儀立焉^②。陽變陰合而生水火木金土，五氣順布^③，四時行焉。五行一陰陽也，陰陽一太極也，太極本無極也。

【注 釋】

① 互為其根：指相互依存。

② 兩儀：指陰陽或天地。

③ 五氣：五行之氣。

2 五行之生也，各一其性^①。無極之真，二五之精^②，妙合而凝。“乾道成男，坤道成女。”^③二氣交感，化生萬物，萬物生生而變化無窮焉。

【注 釋】

① 各一其性：五行各有其特定的屬性。

② 二：指陰陽二氣；五：指五行。

③ 見周易繫辭上。男女：這裡泛指生物界的兩性之

The Non-ultimate is also the Great Ultimate. When the Great Ultimate is brought into action, *Yang* is derived. When the activity reaches its climax, it becomes inactive. And *Yin* is thus derived. When the inactivity reaches its climax, the activity returns. The activity and inactivity alternate and constitute the root of each other. By the distinction between *Yin* and *Yang*, the Two Modes (Heaven and Earth) are thus established. And by the change of *Yang* and the coordination of *Yin*, Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth are generated. With the proper arrangement of the emanative material force Elements, the four seasons come to run. The Five Elements integrate into *Yin* and *Yang*. The *Yin* and *Yang* integrate into the Great Ultimate. And the Great Ultimate is originally the Non-ultimate. 1

When the Five Elements are generated, each of them gains its specific nature. The reality of the Non-ultimate and the essence of the Two and the Five mysteriously combine and coagulate. "Due to the Tao of Ch'ien, the male come into being; due to that of K'un, the female come into being." The interaction between the two emanative material forces (*Yin* and *Yang*) transforms and produces myriad things, and the myriad things produce and reproduce, resulting in endless changes and transformations. 2

It is man alone who receives the highest excellence in 3

分，不專指人。

- 3 唯人也得其秀而最靈。形既生矣，神發知矣，五性感動而善惡分，萬事出矣。聖人定之以中正仁義（自注：“聖人之道，仁義中正而已矣。”），而主靜（自注：“無欲故靜。”），立人極焉^①。

【注 釋】

① 人極：做人的最高標準。

- 4 故聖人“與天地合其德，日月合其明，四時合其序，鬼神合其吉凶”^①，君子修之吉，小人悖之凶。故曰：“立天之道，曰陰與陽。立地之道，曰柔與剛。立人之道，曰仁與義。”^②又曰：“原始反終，故知死生之

this transformation, and therefrom he is the most intelligent among creatures. Now that his physical body is already formed, his spirit begins to be conscious. In response to the action of the Five Elements in their natures, the good and the evil are distinguished, and the ten thousand affairs of human society take place. The sages settle these affairs by the doctrines of the Mean, the Justice, the Benevolence and the Righteousness (self-annotation: The Tao of the sages is nothing but the Mean, the Justice, the Benevolence and the Righteousness) and lay emphasis on the tranquility (self-annotation: Since they have no desires, they are tranquil). In this way they establishes the very standard for human being.

Therefore, the sages' "character is identical with that of Heaven and Earth; their brilliance is identical with that of the sun and the moon; their scheduled actions are identical with those of the four seasons; and their fortunes are identical with those of the spiritual beings." The superior men cultivate them and can get good lucks; the inferior men go against them and necessarily lead to ill lucks. Therefore, [the *Book of Changes*] says, "What is established as the Tao of Heaven is the principle of *Yin* and *Yang*; what is established as the Tao of Earth is that of the soft and the hard; and what is established as the Tao of human being is that of the Benevolence and Righteousness." And again, it says, "Through the investigation of the beginning and the end, the theory of death and life is

說。”③大哉易也，斯其至矣！

【注 釋】

① 見周易乾卦文言。

② 見周易說卦。

③ 見周易繫辭上。

known." So great is the *Book of Changes* that it comes to the supreme.



【簡 介】

老子選自王文公文集。作者王安石（1021—1086）是北宋著名政治改革家和思想家。原文採用中華書局版。

王安石

這幅畫像是北宋崇寧五年(1106)撫州府修建王安石祠堂時繪製的。很可能是李公麟為他畫的那幅“著帽束帶”像的一個摹本

Wang An-shih

This portrait was painted in the Northern Song Dynasty when the prefecture of Fuzhou built the Wang An-shih's memorial temple. It was likely a copy of Wang An-shih's portrait drawn by Li Kung-lin



INTRODUCTION

A Critique of Lao Tsu was written by Wang An-shih (1021—1086), a famous political reformer and thinker of the Song Dynasty. In this article, the author makes strong criticism of Lao Tsu's ideas of nonaction.

1 道有本有末。本者，萬物之所以生也；末者，萬物之所以成也。本者，出之自然，故不假乎人之力而萬物以生也；末者，涉乎形器^①，故待人力而後萬物以成也。夫其不假人之力而萬物以生，則是聖人可以無言也，無為也^②。至乎有待於人力而萬物以成，則是聖人之所以不能無言也，無為也。

2 故昔聖人之在上而以萬物為己任者，必制四術焉。四術者，禮樂刑政是也，所以成萬物者也。故聖人唯務修其成萬物者，不言其生萬物者。蓋生者尸之於自然^③，非人力之所得與矣。

【注 釋】

① 形器：由周易繫辭上“形而下者謂之器”縮略而來。

② 聖人之“無言”與“無為”，分別來自論語陽貨之“予欲無言……天何言哉”與論語衛靈公之“無為而治”。

③ 尸：主管。

Tao possesses both the root (substance) and the 1
branches (functionings). The former denotes that by
which the myriad things are begotten; whereas the latter
those by which the myriad things fulfill themselves. Since
what the root involves come into being spontaneously,
there is then no room for human efforts when the myriad
things are being created. Since the branches, on the con-
trary, concern with things which are with forms and con-
crete, the myriad things cannot fulfill themselves until
human efforts are made upon them. To the creation of the
myriad things without human efforts a sage may keep
wordless and actionless. In regard to the fulfillment of the
myriad things, which depends on human efforts, however, a
sage cannot keep wordless and actionless.

Therefore, the ancient sages who ruled above and ac- 2
cepted the responsibility for the myriad things would cer-
tainly manage the four political measures. These four
measures, namely, the ceremonies, the musics, the pun-
ishments, and the administration, were used to make
the myriad things fulfill themselves. For this reason, the
sages paid their attentions only to those by which the
myriad things fulfill themselves, and they mentioned
nothing about that by which the myriad things are begot-
ten. They did so because the creation is mainly decided
by the nature, and there is no room for man to intervene
in.

3 老子者獨不然，以為涉乎形器者，皆不足言也，不足為也，故抵去禮樂刑政，而唯道之稱焉^①，是不察於理而務高之過矣。夫道之自然者，又何預乎？唯其涉乎形器，是以必待於人之言也，人之為也。

4 其書曰：“三十輻，共一轂，當其無，有車之用。”^②夫轂輻之用，固在於車之無用。然工之琢削未嘗及於無者，蓋無出於自然之力，可以無與也。今之治車者知治其轂輻而未嘗及於無也。然而車以成者，蓋轂輻具則無必為用矣。如其知無為用而不治轂輻，則為車之術固已疎矣。

5 今知無之為車用，無之為天下用，然不知所以為用也。故無之所以為車用者，以有轂輻也。無之所以為天下用者，以有禮樂刑

It is Lao Tsu alone who disagreed with the ancient sages. He believed that whatever involve things which are with form and concrete are not worthy of mention. Thus, he gave up the ceremonies, the musics, the punishments, and the administration, while exalted nothing but Tao. What he did failed to see the principles and then overshot. How could one intervene in the natural aspect of Tao? What need people to speak of and to act on are but its aspects concerning things which are with forms and concrete. 3

The *Book of Lao Tsu* says, "Thirty spokes unite in one nave, and because of the part where nothing exists we have the use of a carriage wheel." It is certainly because of the function of the part where nothing exists that the spokes and the nave become useful. The carriage makers, however, would never expend labor for cutting a part where nothing exists. Since the part where nothing exists comes out of the power of spontaneity, the makers may not work for its coming out at all. Now that the carriage makers know only how to make the spokes and the naves, they never expend labor for the part where nothing exists. None the less, the carriages are well produced by them. It is so because the part where nothing exists shall necessarily come into function as soon as the spokes and the nave are made. Provided a maker knew the usefulness of the part where nothing exists and thereby made neither spoke nor nave, his way of carriage making would certainly 4

政也。如其廢轂輻於車，廢禮樂刑政於天下，而坐求其無之為用也，則亦近於愚矣。

【注 釋】

① 抵去：排除；稱：稱頌。

② 輻：車輪裏面的三十條直木；轂：套在輪中心車軸上的圓環，以撐住車輻。

be poor.

Now that (the *Book of Lao Tsu*) knows the usefulness of Non-existence for a carriage as well as for the whole world, but it fails to know why it can become useful. It is in fact because of the existence of the spokes and the nave that Non-existence or the part where nothing exists becomes useful; it is because of the existence of the ceremonies, the musics, the punishments, and the administration that Non-existence becomes useful for the whole world. Provided one expected to enjoy the usefulness of Non-existence for a carriage by giving up its spokes and nave, and to enjoy the usefulness of Non-existence for the whole world by giving up the ceremonies, the musics, the punishments, and the administration, he would certainly get close to fool. 5

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【簡 介】

正蒙是北宋哲學家張載（1020—1077）的代表作。張載亦是理學創始人之一。本書從中選取兩篇：太和篇與乾稱篇（節選）。原文採用中華書局版張載集。

張 載

選自晚笑堂畫傳

Chang Tsai

from Portraits with

Biographies painted

in Wan Hsiao T'ang



INTRODUCTION

The *Correct Rudiments*, is the representative work of Chang Tsai (1020—1077), a famous philosopher and one of the founders of the Neo-Confucianism of the Song Dynasty. Two parts from this work are selected; the first chapter, “The Great Harmony”, which is a comprehensive exposition of the author’s cosmology and ontology, and the seventeenth chapter, “Ch’ien Calls” (the first part) or Western Inscription, which deals with the problems of moral philosophy.

太 和

1 太和所謂道^①，中涵浮沈、升降、動靜、相感之性，是生網緼^②、相盪、勝負、屈伸之始。其來也幾微易簡^③，其究也廣大堅固^④。

2 起知於易者乾乎！效法於簡者坤乎！^⑤

3 散殊而可象為氣，清通而不可象為神。

4 不如野馬，網緼^⑥，不足謂之太和。語道者知此，謂之知道；學易者見此，謂之見易。不如是，雖周公才美，其智不足稱也已。

【注 釋】

① 道：指太和之氣變化流行的過程。

② 網緼：語本周易繫辭下“天地網緼”。本文形容氣體彌漫蓬勃的樣子。

The Great Harmony

The Great Harmony is what is meant by Tao, which 1
contains the properties of emerging and sinking, of as-
cending and descending, of motion and rest, and of inter-
action, and therefrom gives birth to the rudiments of fu-
sion and interplaying of mutual stimulating and conflict-
ing, of overcoming and being overcome, and of contrac-
ting and expanding. At the beginning, they are minute
and simple; but in the end, they become magnificent and
firm.

Is it *Ch'ien* that start himself from plainness? Is it 2
K'un that models herself by simplicity?

That which scatters into the differentiated objects 3
and thereby becomes visible is the emanative material
force. And that which is pure, limitless, and invisible is
the subtle nature.

Not resembling the "wild-horse-like" (i. e., moving 4
dust or generative moisture) and the state of fusion and
interplaying, it could not be considered the Great Harmo-
ny. Of those who talk of Tao, only he who has known
what are mentioned above may be considered a real kno-
wer of Tao. And of those who study the *Book of Changes*,

③ 幾微：隱微。

④ 究：結果。

⑤ 語本周易繫辭上：“乾以易知，坤以簡能”；“成象之謂乾，效法之謂坤”。

⑥ 野馬：形容氣運動的樣子。語本莊子逍遙游：“野馬也，塵埃也，生物之以息相吹也”。

5 太虛無形，氣之本體，其聚其散，變化之客形爾^①；至靜無感，性之淵源，有識有知，物交之客感爾^②。客感客形與無感無形，惟盡性者一之。

【注 釋】

① 客形：指暫時形態。

② 客感：相對“客形”而言的暫時的感知。

6 天地之氣，雖聚散、攻取百塗^①，然其為理也順而不妄。氣之為物，散入無形，適得吾體^②；聚為有象，不失吾常^③。

only he who has seen what are mentioned above may be considered a real seer of the *Book of Changes*. Otherwise, even might one's talent compare to that of the Duke of Chou, would his wisdom hardly be praiseworthy.

The Great Void which is formless is the original state of the emanative material force. The integration and disintegration are but its temporary forms of change and transformation. The supreme tranquility which is affected by nothing is the source of human nature. The consciousness and knowledge are but the temporary affections when it comes into contact with things. Only those who have fully developed their nature can unify the temporary affections and forms with the unaffectedness and the formless. 5

Although the emanative material force of Heaven and Earth may act in hundred ways; integration and disintegration, repulsion and attraction, etc. , yet the principle according to which it acts is ever proper and unerring. As an entity, the emanative material force happens to be the original state of Mine (the Great Harmony) when it disperses and returns to the formless; and it does not lose the constant principle of Mine when it integrates and thereby becomes visible. 6

The Great Void could not but consist of the emanative material force, nor could the emanative material force keep itself from integration and the transformation into 7

7 太虛不能無氣，氣不能不聚而為萬物，萬物不能不散而為太虛。循是出入，是皆不得已而然也。然則聖人盡道其間^④，兼體而不累者^⑤，存神其至矣。

8 彼語寂滅者往而不反，徇生執有者物而不化，二者雖有間矣，以言乎失道則均焉。

9 聚亦吾體，散亦吾體，知死之不亡者，可與言性矣。

【注 釋】

① 攻取：排斥和吸引。

② 吾體：氣的本來狀態。

③ 吾常：氣的變化規律。

④ 盡道其間：盡知氣的聚散變化規律。

⑤ 兼體而不累：指將客形客感與無形無感統一起來，不為某一片面所束縛。

myriad things, nor could the myriad things keep themselves from disintegration and returning to the Great Void. Both coming out of it and returning to it demonstrate the irresistible trend of necessity. Therefore, the sages, who fully understand Tao between becoming and returning, recognize the two sides simultaneously and are encumbered with neither, must have preserved their spirits on the highest level.

Those (i. e. , Buddhists) who are fond of the talks of 8
nirvana (annihilation) expect that they can leave away
from the world and no longer return to it; while those
(i. e., the religious Taoists) who long for everlasting life
and cling to Being expect that they can keep their physical
existence from transformation. Although there may be
some differences between them, they are just the same in
failing to understand Tao.

Integration is a state of Mine, and disintegration is as 9
well a state of Mine. Only he who knows that death does
not mean the absolute annihilation is qualified to discuss
with about human nature.

When one understands that the Void is none other 10
than the emanative material force, the opposites between
Being and Non-being, between the hidden and the mani-
fested, between the [original] subtleness and the [already]
transformed objects, and between human nature and

10 知虛空即氣，則有無、隱顯、神化、性命通一無二，顧聚散、出入、形不形，能推本所從來，則深於易者也^①。

11 若謂虛能生氣，則虛無形，氣有限，體用殊絕，入老氏“有生於無”之論，不識所謂有無混一之常。

12 若謂萬象為太虛中所見之物，則物與虛不相資^②，形自形，性自性，形性、天人不相待而有，陷於浮屠以山河大地為見病之說。

【注 釋】

① 深於易者也：周易是講陰陽變化之道的書，深於易者，指懂得上文“虛空即氣”及其聚散變化道理的人。

② 相資：相互依存。

Heavenly destination will no longer be considered by him a duality but identity. These opposites are but two states of one thing; integration and disintegration, going out and coming in, configured and not yet configured. He who can trace them back to their identical source must have a profound understanding of the *Book of Changes*.

If, as somebody asserts, the Void could produce the emanative material force, the Void would be infinite while the emanative material force finite, and the substance and its functions would be separated from each other. In so doing, he will certainly fall in Lao Tsu's theory that Being is produced by Non-being, and fail to recognize what is called the constancy of the identity of Being and Non-being. 11

If, as somebody asserts, all phenomena were but things perceived in the Great Void, the matters and the Void would not be interdependent; form would be merely form and nature merely nature, and thus form and nature, Heaven and man, etc., would exist without their opposites. In so doing, he will certainly fall in the Buddhist theory that mountains, rivers, and the great earth are but illusions caused by our vision. 12

The reason why the idea (of the unity of opposites) does not prevail lies in the fact that some ignorant scholars have a rough knowledge that human nature is taken 13

此道不明，正由懵者略知體虛空為性，不知本天道為用，反以人見之小因緣天地。明有不盡，則誣世界乾坤為幻化。幽明不能舉其要，遂躐等妄意而然^①。不悟一陰一陽範圍天地、通乎晝夜、三極大中之矩^②，遂使儒、佛、老、莊混然一塗。語天道性命者^③，不罔於恍惚夢幻^④，則定以“有生於無”^⑤，為窮高極微之論。人德之途，不知擇術而求，多見其蔽於詖而陷於淫矣^⑥。

① 躡等：超越等次，指越過有形萬物。

② 三極：語出周易繫辭上“三極之道”，即天、地、人三才。大中之矩，最高和最正確的準則。

③ 語天道性命者：指一般的儒者。

④ 恍惚夢幻：指佛家之說。

⑤ 有生於無：指老莊之說。

⑥ 多見其蔽於誠而陷於淫：語本孟子公孫丑上。誠：片面；淫：放蕩。

14 氣塊然太虛^①，升降飛揚，未嘗止息，

from the Void, while they fail to know that the functions are also based upon Heavenly Tao. As a result, they try to reason Heaven and Earth with their limited knowledge. Since their vision is limited, they come to vilify the universe, Heaven and Earth as illusions. Since they do not know the essence of the hidden and the manifested, they jump to erroneous conclusion and hold fast to it as truth. Since they do not understand that the alternation of *Yin* and *Yang* covers all between Heaven and Earth, penetrates day and night, and stands as the central standard of the Three Supremacies (Heaven, Earth and Man), they confuse entirely Confucianism with Buddhism and Taoism. In this context, those who speak of Heavenly Tao, of human nature and Heavenly destination will either be perplexed by the theory that all things are illusions and dreams or consider the theory that Being is produced by Non-being as the supreme and most subtle. If one does not know to choose the correct method as the access to virtue, hardly could he keep himself from being perplexed by heresy and from falling to heterodoxy.

When the emanative material force is extensive and 14
vague in the Great Void, it ascends and descends, moves in all ways without ceasing. Is this what is meant by "fusion and interplaying" in the *Book of Changes* and what is meant by "living beings blow against each other" or the "wild-horse-like" in the *Works of Chuang Tzu*? And it is the subtle and incipient activation of the void and the

易所謂“網緼”，莊生所謂“生物以息相吹”、“野馬”者與！此虛實、動靜之機，陰陽、剛柔之始。浮而上者陽之清，降而下者陰之濁，其感通聚結，為風雨，為雪霜，萬品之流形，山川之融結，糟粕煨燼^②，無非教也。

【注 釋】

① 块然：渾沌而彌漫的樣子。

② 煨燼：灰燼。

15 氣聚則離明得施而有形^①，氣不聚則離明不得施而無形。方其聚也，安得不謂之客^②？方其散也，安得遽謂之無？故聖人仰觀俯察，但云“知幽明之故”，不云“知有無之故”。盈天地之間者，法象而已^③；文理之察，非離不相覩也。方其形也，有以知幽之因；方其不形也，有以知明之故。

【注 釋】

① 離明：指視覺。

② 客：與前文“客感客形”之“客”同義。

substantial, of motion and rest, and also the beginning of *Yin* and *Yang*, and of the unyielding and the yielding. The lighter elements of *Yang* ascend while the more turbid elements of *Yin* descend. They respond to each other, meet with each other, and integrate and unite each other. Rains, winds, snows and frost are thereby formed. None of the transformation and configuration of the myriad things, the freezing and melting of mountains and rivers, even the dregs and ashes, may not be an enlightenment for man to understand the teachings (of the sages).

When emanative material force integrates, our vision will be able to apply and the forms of objects are seen. When emanative material force does not integrate, our vision will not be able to apply and there is nothing to be seen. How may not we suppose it a temporary state in case emanative material force integrates? How can we suppose it absolutely empty in case emanative material force disintegrates? Therefore, the sages, investigating things above and below, only mention "the causes of the hidden and the manifested", instead of "the causes of Being and Non-being". What fill the space between Heaven and Earth are but modes and forms. Neither the heavenly phenomena nor the geographic ones could be recognized without our vision. At the moment when emanative material force exists with configuration, there is the way to trace back to the causes of the hidden; at the moment when emanative material force exists formlessly, there is

③ 法象：指具體的事物和形象。

16 氣之聚於太虛，猶冰凝釋於水，知太虛即氣，則無無。故聖人語性與天道之極，盡於參伍之神變易而已^①。諸子淺妄，有有無之分，非窮理之學也。

17 太虛為清，清則無礙^②，無礙故神；反清為濁，濁則礙，礙則形。

【注 釋】

① 參伍之神：指太和元氣所涵的“浮沈、升降、動靜相感之性”的錯綜變化的潛能。

② 無礙：沒有阻礙。

18 凡氣清則通，昏則壅，清極則神。故聚而有間則風行，風行則聲聞具達，清之驗

the way to trace back to the causes of the manifested.

The integration of the emanative material force out of the Great Void and its disintegration back to the Great Void are like that ice is frozen from water and will melt into water. When one knows that the Great Void can never deviate from the emanative material force, he will come to the realization that there is no (absolute) Non-being. Therefore, the sages, when discussing on the highest level about human nature and Heavenly Tao, always limit their terms within the framework of the complicated and spirit-like changes and transformations. While the Non-Confucian masters are so shallow and absurd that they hold fast to the distinction between Being and Non-being, and their doctrines differentiate from the theory by which one can fully understand the principle. 16

The Great Void is pure. Since it is pure, it has no impediment. Since it has no impediment, it is spirit-like. The opposite of purity is turbidity. Since it is turbid, it has impediment. Since it has impediment, it turns into forms. 17

Whenever the emanative material force is pure, it is pervasive. When it gets turbid, it falls in obstruction. In case it is the purest, it becomes spirit-like. Therefore, when the emanative material force integrates [into things] and there is space [between them], wind will 18

與！不行而至，通之極與！

- 19 由太虛，有天之名；由氣化，有道之名；合虛與氣，有性之名；合性與知覺，有心之名。鬼神者^①，二氣之良能也。聖者，至誠得天之謂；神者，太虛妙應之目^②。凡天地法象，皆神化之糟粕爾。

【注 釋】

① 鬼神：鬼，歸（屈）；神，伸。指氣的屈伸特性。

② 目：名目。

- 20 天道不窮，寒暑也；衆動不窮，屈伸也；鬼神之實，不越二端而已矣^①。

- 21 兩不立則一不可見，一不可見則兩之用息。兩體者，虛實也，動靜也，聚散也，清濁也，其究一而已。

rise. In case wind rises, a sound will be heard at a distance as soon as it is emitted. Is this a proof for the purity [of the emanative material force]? The quick-moving leaves no time for watching it. Is this a proof for the pervasiveness [of it]?

In respect of the Great Void, there comes the name "Heaven"; in respect of the transformation of the emanative material force, there comes the name "Tao"; in respect of the unity of the Void and the emanative material force, there comes the name "Nature"; in respect of the unity of nature and consciousness, there comes the name "Mind". "Ghosts" (contracting) and "Gods" (expanding) are the best capacity of the two emanative material forces. "Sages" are titles for those who have achieved the supreme sincerity and been versed in Heaven. "Spirit-like" is the expression for the mysterious function of the Great Void. All Heaven, Earth, and those with forms are but the dregs of the mysterious transformation. 19

Tao of Heaven functions endlessly with the succession of the cold and hot weather seasons. The various movements also function endlessly with the alternation of contraction and expansion. The reality of the Ghosts and Gods never goes beyond the Two Modes (*Yin* and *Yang*). 20

The One (Unity) could not manifest without the existence of the Two (Opposites); while the function of the 21

【注 釋】

① 二端：指陰陽兩極。

22 感而後有通，不有兩則無一。故聖人以剛柔立本，“乾坤毀則無以見易”。

23 游氣紛擾，合而成質者，生人物之萬殊；其陰陽兩端循環不已者，立天地之大義。

24 “日月相推而明生”，“寒暑相推而歲成”。神易無方體，“一陰一陽”，“陰陽不測”，皆所謂“通乎晝夜”之道也。^①

【注 釋】

① 引號內文字均出自周易繫辭下。

25 晝夜者，天之一息乎！寒暑者，天之晝夜乎！天道春秋分而氣易，猶人一寤寐而魂

Two would cease without the manifestation of the One. The two opposites include: the empty and the full, motion and rest, integration and disintegration, and purity and turbidity. In final analysis, however, they are but one.

It is after the responses [between different things] 22 that the pervasiveness is achieved. The One could not exist without the Two. Therefore, the sages establish the opposition of the unyielding and yielding as the foundation and say, "If *Ch'ien* and *K'un* were obliterated, there would be no means of seeing the system of the changes."

It is the unity of the emanative material forces condensing substances through active moving and conflicting that gives birth to the multiplicity of human beings and other creatures. It is the ceaseless successions of the Two Modes (*Yin* and *Yang*) that establishes the great righteousness of Heaven and Earth. 23

"The sun and moon push each other in their course and thus light comes into being. The cold and hot seasons push each other and thus a whole year is completed." "Spirit has no spatial restrictions and change has no fixed form." "The successive movement of *Yin* and *Yang*" and "unfathomable is the movement of *Yin* and *Yang*". All these sayings describe the "Tao which penetrates day and night". 24

交^①。魂交成夢，百感紛紜，對寤而言，一身之晝夜也；氣交為春，萬物糅錯，對秋而言，天之晝夜也。

26 氣本之虛則湛一無形^②，感而生則聚而有象。有象斯有對，對必反其為；有反斯有仇，仇必和而解。故愛惡之情同出於太虛^③，而卒歸於物欲，倏而生，忽而成，不容有毫髮之間，其神矣夫！

【注 釋】

① 寤：醒；寐：睡眠。

② 湛一：清澈純一。

③ 愛：指“和而解”。惡：指相反成仇。

27 造化所成，無一物相肖者。以是知萬物雖多，其實一物，無無陰陽者^①；以是知天地變化，二端而已。

What covers the span of a day and night is but a moment to Heaven, and what covers the span of four seasons is but that of a day and night to Heaven. In accordance with Tao of Heaven, the emanative material force will vary at the turning points of the spring equinox and autumn equinox. This process is similar to that a man from sleeping turns to waking and in this process his mental state will alternate. The alternation of state result in dreams in which there may be countless feelings. In contrast to the awakening state, however, it is a transient feeling resembling a day and night to his whole life. The alternation of the emanative material force result in the coming of the spring that many living beings arise complexly. In contrast to autumn, however, it is a transient change resembling a day and night to Heaven.

25

As the original state of the emanative material force, the Void is pure, identical and formless. When interaction begins, it integrates and then possesses forms. Since there are forms, opposites come into existence. Since they are opposites, they have to go against each other. Since they go against each other, hostility occurs. Finally, hostility is necessarily removed by harmony. Thus, the emotions of both love and hatred are derived from the Great Void, and they actually lead to material desires. These processes emerge suddenly and complete promptly without a moment's interruption. How wonderful they are!

26

【注 釋】

① 一物無無陰陽者：即無一物無陰陽者。

28 萬物形色，神之糟粕，性與天道云者，易而已矣。心所以萬殊者，感外物為不一也。

29 天大無外，其為感者網緼二端而已焉。物之所以相感者，利用出入，莫知其鄉^①，一萬物之妙者與！

30 氣與志，天與人，有交勝之理。聖人在上而下民咨^②，氣壹之動志也；鳳凰儀，志壹之動氣也^③。

【注 釋】

① 鄉：趨向。

② 咨：諮詢、議政。

③ 鳳凰儀：語本尚書益稷“有鳳來儀”；儀，匹配。氣

Among creatures, none is exactly the same as another. From this we may know that though the number of the myriad things is infinite, nothing in the world does not possess *Yin* and *Yang*. From this we may know that the change and transformation throughout the universe do not go beyond the Two Modes. 27

The myriad things with forms and colors are but dregs of the spirit-like. What are called "Nature" and "Tao of Heaven" are no more than changes. The different feelings in man's mind are simply that the outside things with which people contact are different. 28

Heaven is so vast that there is nothing outside it. In respect to the way it acts upon the mind, however, there is none other than the fusion and interplaying of the Two Modes. As for the mutual interaction of things, they come out and return freely and unrestrainedly, so it is impossible to discern the exact directions of their respective developments. Are they the wonder penetrating the myriad things? 29

It is reasonable that each side of the opposites, emanative material force and will, and Heaven and man, may prevail over the other in turn. Provided a sage-king reigns above, yet his subjects discuss official business, it is just because that the unity of the emanative material force moves the will of people. Provided phoenix makes presence 30

壹動志、志壹動氣：語本孟子公孫丑上；動，影響。

乾 稱^①（節選）

1 乾稱父，坤稱母；予茲藐焉^②，乃混然中處。故天地之塞，吾其體；天地之帥，吾其性。民吾同胞，物吾與也^③。大君者，吾父母宗子；其大臣，宗子之家相也^④。

2 尊高年，所以長其長；慈孤弱，所以幼吾幼。

【注 釋】

① 張載曾將正蒙乾稱篇的首、末段錄出，分別貼在東西窗上以為座右銘。此所選為首段，貼於西窗，故又稱西銘。

② 茲：此。藐：渺小。

③ 同胞：兄弟；與：同伴。

④ 宗子：宗法社會裏享有繼承權的長子。

3 聖其合德，賢其秀也。凡天下疲癯殘

and perform ceremonial dance for the sage-king, it is just because that the unity of his mind moves the emanative material force.

Ch'ien Calls (Selected)

Ch'ien (Heaven) is called Father and *K'un* (Earth) 1
Mother. What an insignificant creature I am! Yet I reside
well between them. Therefore, I consider whatever fills
the space between Heaven and Earth as my body and
whatever guides them as my nature. All human beings,
seen from this respect, are my brothers and sisters and all
creatures are my companions. The supreme ruler (emperor)
is the eldest son of my Father and Mother. And the great
ministers are his stewards.

Treat the aged as they should be treated by paying 2
respect to my father and elders. Treat the orphaned and
weak as they should be treated by showing affection for
my younger brothers.

By "sage" we mean he who identifies his character 3
with [Heaven and Earth]. By "worthy" we mean he who
is of great excellence. All those who suffers from exhaus-
tion, infirmity, disablement, illness, brotherlessness,
widow and widower, should be regarded as my brothers
who are in distress and are helpless.

疾^①、惇獨鰥寡^②，皆吾兄弟之顛連而無告者也^③。

4 “于時保之”^④，子之翼也^⑤；“樂且不憂”^⑥，純乎孝者也。

5 違曰悖德，害仁曰賊；濟惡者不才，其踐形，惟肖者也^⑦。

6 知化則善述其事，窮神則善繼其志。不愧屋漏為無忝^⑧，存心養性為匪懈^⑨。

【注 釋】

① 疲癯：衰老多病。

② 惇：無兄弟。

③ 顛連：狼狽困苦的樣子。

④ 語本詩周頌我將。時：是。

⑤ 翼：扶助，恭敬。

⑥ 見孟子梁惠王下。

⑦ 肖者：像父母的兒子。

⑧ 屋漏：室內西北隅隱僻處，指最隱蔽處。忝：羞辱。

⑨ 匪懈：不懈。

“To hold fast to it (the Decree of Heaven)” demonstrates the respect of a son to [his Father]. “To rejoice in [the Decree of Heaven] and have no anxiety in it” proves the purest virtue of filial piety. 4

He who disobeys [the Decree of Heaven] is called a violator. He who defies benevolence is called a robber. He who carries forward evils is called the lack of talent. Nobody else but he who follows [the example of Heaven and Earth] can put [the Decree of Heaven] into his own practice. 5

When one knows well the transformation, he will be good at carrying out the undertakings [of Heaven and Earth]. When one preserves and cultivates his spirit to the highest degree, he will be good at following the will of [Heaven and Earth]. When one feels no shame for what he has done, even what done in the most secrete place, he will be considered to have got rid of any dishonor. When one concentrates himself on preserving his mind and nourishing his nature, he will be considered unremitting. 6

Detesting good wine is the first king of the Hsia Dynasty, Yu's attitude toward maintaining his nature. Bringing up and training the young people is the kindness of the Border Warden Ying to his fellow countrymen. What an achievement Shun got that he delighted his father with unceasing efforts! What a great respect Prince Shen 7

7 惡旨酒，崇伯子之顧養；育英才，穎封人之錫類^①。不弛勞而底豫，舜其功也；無所逃而待烹，申生其功也^②。體其受而歸全者，參乎^③！勇於從而順令者，伯奇也^④。

8 富貴福澤，將厚吾之生也；貧賤憂戚，庸玉女於成也^⑤。

9 存，吾順事；沒，吾寧也。

【注 釋】

① 崇伯子：即禹，禹父鯀為崇國之伯爵。穎封人：即穎考叔，以孝著名，詳見左傳隱公元年。錫：通賜；錫類：將恩德賜予同族。

② 不弛勞：指竭盡全力；底：致；豫：樂。申生：晉獻公世子。

③ 參：指孔子弟子曾參。

④ 伯奇：周大夫尹吉甫的兒子，為父所逐。

⑤ 庸：通用；玉：器重，鍛煉；女：通汝。

Sheng paid to his father that he would rather be boiled to death than escape from his father's decree. It is Tseng Shen who received his body from his parents and kept it intact throughout life. It is Po Ch'i who bravely obeyed and followed his father's [unfair] command.

In case I enjoy wealth, honor, blessing, and benefits, I will consider them as measures to enrich my life. In case I suffer poverty, humble station, and sorrows, I will consider them chances for me to steel myself for fulfillment. 8

Now that I am alive and I will do what I should in accordance with [Heaven and Earth]. When I am dying, I will be at peace. 9



【簡 介】

答橫渠張子厚先生書又稱答橫渠先生定性書，是北宋著名理學家程顥（1032—1085）寫給張載的一封信。原文選自中華書局版二程集。

程 顥
遼白應代君臣圖
像

Ch'eng Hao
from Portraits
of the Emperors
and the Subjects
of Past Ages



INTRODUCTION

This is a letter of Ch'eng Hao (1032—1085), a famous Neo-Confucian of the Song Dynasty, in reply to Chang Tsai (Tzu-hou, Heng-ch ü).

1 承教，諭以“定性未能不動，猶累於外物”，此賢者慮之熟矣，尚何俟小子之言。然嘗思之矣，敢貢其說於左右：

2 所謂定者，動亦定，靜亦定，無將迎^①，無內外。

3 苟以外物為外，牽己而從之，是以己性為有內外也。且以性為隨物於外，則當其在外時，何者為在內？是有意於絕外誘而不知性之無內外也。既以內外為二本，則又烏可遽語定哉！

【注 釋】

① 將：送。語本莊子應帝王“不將不迎”。

4 夫天地之常，以其心普萬物而無心；聖人之常，以其情順萬事而無情。故君子之

Your letter is respectfully appreciated and it instructs me that "If one tries to tranquilize his nature but has not yet been able to reach the state of nonaction, he will be still tied down by external things." Since this problem has been thoroughly pondered by a worthy, what need then is there for me, a young student, to say anything more? Previously, however, I also happened to think over the same subject, and thus I venture to provide my ideas as follows:

By "tranquilizing [human nature]", we mean that one should keep tranquil in both the state of motion and that of rest, that he should neither repulse something nor expect something, and that for him there should be no distinction between the inside and the outside.

If one supposes that the external things exist separately outside himself, and then draws himself after them, he would have to regard his nature as divided into the internal and the external. And if he supposes that his nature could run after things outside him, what then would be the inside when his nature is outside? To conceive human nature in such a way aims at getting rid of the external attractions, but it fails to recognize that for human nature, there is no distinction between inside and outside. In case one has held that the outside and the inside are derived from different sources, how could he jump to the discussion about tranquilizing human nature?

學，莫若廓然而大公^①，物來而順應。

5 易曰：“貞吉，悔亡。憧憧往來，朋從爾思。”^②

6 苟規規於外誘之除^③，將見滅於東而生於西也。非惟日之不足，顧其端無窮，不可得而除也。

【注 釋】

① 廓：廣闊。

② 見周易咸卦九四爻辭。根據程頤的理解，這句話的意思是只有無私心才能與天下萬物感通。

③ 規規：拘泥。

7 人之情各有所蔽，故不能適道，大率患在於自私而用智。自私則不能以有為為應迹，用智則不能以明覺為自然。今以惡外物

The constancy of Heaven and Earth is that their mind 4
is universally shared by the myriad things but there is no
mind [of their own]. And the constancy of the sages is
that their feelings follow the developments of the myriad
things but there is no feeling of their own. Therefore, as
for the education of gentlemen, there is no way better
than greatly broadening their mind to the highest unself-
ishness, and making them naturally respond things when
things come.

The *Book of Changes* says, "Correctness brings good 5
fortunes, and prevents occasions for repentance. If man
has no selfish ideas he will bring about the unity between
him and the myriad things."

If one carefully managed to remove the external 6
temptations, he would find that no sooner do some disap-
pear in the east than others arise in the west. It is not
only because he does not have enough time to do those,
but because the sources of temptations are infinite, and he
cannot completely get rid of them.

In respect of feelings, all people are somehow ob- 7
scured respectively. Thus, the common reason for their
failing to be in accordance with Tao is that they cannot
avoid selfishness and resort to the exercise of cunning.
Being selfish, they cannot take their activities as respon-
ses to the natural developments of things. Resorting to

之心而求照無物之地，是反鑑而索照也。

8 易曰：“艮其背，不獲其身；行其庭，不見其人。”^①

9 孟子亦曰：“所惡於智者，為其鑿也。”^②

【注 釋】

① 見周易艮卦卦辭。艮：止；獲：見。

② 見孟子離婁下。鑿：牽強不自然。

10 與其非外而是內，不若內外之兩忘也。兩忘則澄然無事矣。無事則定，定則明，明則尚何應物之為累哉！

11 聖人之喜，以物之當喜；聖人之怒，以物之當怒；是聖人之喜怒，不繫於心而繫於

the exercise of cunning, they cannot take their intelligence and consciousness as being spontaneous. Now that they expect to reflect on a realm where nothing exists with the mind detesting external things. What they are doing is not different from trying to reflect things with the back side of a mirror.

The *Book of Changes* says, "Rest as a mountain and make a back [to things]. Not see yourself. Nor see others even when you walk in their yards." 8

And Mencius also says, "The reason why I dislike the 'wise men' lies in the fact that they are fond of applying forced reasoning." 9

It is better to forget both the inside and the outside rather than to consider the inside as right and the outside wrong. Once one forgets both the inside and the outside, there will be nothing attractive for him. Nothing attractive leads to tranquility. Tranquility leads to enlightenment. In case one is enlightened, how can he still be weighed down by responding things? 10

The sages rejoice in things which are indeed joyful. And they anger at things which are indeed irritating. Hence the joy and resentment of the sages do not depend upon their minds but upon things. If this is true, how could then we conceive that a sage never responds to 11

物也。是則聖人豈不應於物哉？烏得以從外者為非而更求在內者為是也？今以自私用智之喜怒，而視聖人喜怒之正為何如哉？

12 夫人之情易發而難制者，惟怒為甚；第能於怒時遽忘其怒而觀理之是非，亦可見外誘之不足惡，而於道亦思過半矣。

13 心之精微，口不能宣，加之素拙於文辭，又吏事匆匆，未能精慮，當否，佇報。然舉大要，亦當近之矣。道近求遠，古人所非，惟聰明裁之。

things? Why, in addition, should it be considered wrong to follow what are outside and right to seek what are inside? Now, what people talks of are but the joy and resentment of the selfish and cunning men. How could then they evaluate the sages' joy and resentment of correctness with the same standard?

Among human emotions, the easiest to arouse and the most difficult to restrain is resentment. But if, in time of resentment, one can immediately forget his anger and look at the right and wrong of the matter in terms of the principle, he will find that the external temptations need not be detested, and that he has in so doing gone more than halfway toward Tao. 12

The subtleness of mind is beyond words. Moreover, my usual lack of skill in writing and my busy official task make me impossible to give deeper and finer thought to this matter. I pray you to let me know whether I am correct or not. I believe, however, that I am not far from the truth in essential points. It has been considered wrong since the ancient time that one seeks afar when truth lies nearby. I hope [you], a man of wisdom, will make a judgement. 13



五

顏子所好何學論

*On What Kind of Learning
Master Yen Was Fond Of*

【簡 介】

顏子所好何學論，作者程頤（1033—1107），程顥之弟，更是一位著名的理學家。據原附介紹，此篇本為程頤太學應試之文。

程頤
選自歷代君臣圖
像

Ch'eng Yi
from Portraits
of the Emperors
and the Subjects
of Past Ages



INTRODUCTION

The author of this article was Ch'eng Yi (1033—1107), the younger brother of Ch'eng Hao and also a famous Neo-Confucian. In accordance with an introduction appended to the text, it was written as an exam paper when Ch'eng Yi was a student of the Royal Academy.

1 聖人之門，其徒三千，獨稱顏子為好學。夫詩書六藝，三千子非不習而通也；然則顏子所獨好者何學也？學以至聖人之道也。

2 聖人可學而至歟？曰：然。學之道如何？

3 曰：天地儲精，得五行之秀者為人。其本也，真而靜；其未發也，五性具焉，曰仁義禮智信。形既生矣，外物觸其形而動於中矣，其中動而七情出焉，曰喜怒哀樂愛惡欲。情既熾而益蕩，其性鑿矣。是故覺者約其情始合於中，正其心，養其性，故曰性其情^①；愚者則不知制之，縱其情而至於邪僻，梏其性而亡之，故曰情其性^②。

【注 釋】

① 性其情：以性為情，將七情納入五行之性。

② 情其性：以情為性，終將放縱七情，喪失五性。

There were about 3,000 disciples under the instruction of the sage (Confucius), yet among them only Master Yen alone was praised as being fond of learning. It was not that the rest of three thousand disciples had not yet studied the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of Documents*, and the Six Skills (i. e., ceremonies, musics, arrow shooting, cart driving, writing, and mathematics), and yet got a comprehensive knowledge of them. What, then was the kind of learning that Master Yen alone was fond of? My answer is that he was fond of the learning which enables one to become a sage. 1

Is it possible for one to become a sage through learning? My answer is yes. Then, what is the Tao of learning? My answer is as follows: 2

From the essence stored in Heaven and Earth, those who receive the Five Elements in their highest excellence turn to be human beings. The innate substance of man is of reality and tranquility. Before it is aroused, the five moral principles of his nature, namely, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and sincerity, are complete. As his physical form comes into being and begins to contact with things outside, there will arouse the inner activity. The aroused inner activity gives birth to the seven emotions, namely, delight, rage, sorrow, pleasure, love, hate, and desire. As emotions become strong and increasingly reckless, his nature will be damaged. 3

4 凡學之道，正其心，養其性而已。中正而誠，則聖矣。君子之學，必先明諸心，知所養，然後力行以求至，所謂自明而誠也^①。故學必盡其心。盡其心，則知其性，知其性，反而誠之，聖人也。故洪範曰：“思曰睿，睿作聖。”^②

5 誠之之道^③，在乎信道篤。信道篤則行之果，行之果則守之固；仁義忠信不離乎心。造次必於是，顛沛必於是，出處語默必於是。久而弗失，則居之安，動容周旋中禮，而邪僻之心無自生矣。

【注 釋】

① 自明而誠：語本中庸，意謂通過學習、認識活動而達“誠”的境界。

② 洪範：尚書篇名；睿：通達。

③ 誠之之道：達到誠之道。

6 故顏子所事，則曰“非禮勿視，非禮勿

In this consideration, those who have enlightened restrain their emotions in order that they may be in accordance with the Mean, rectify their mind, and nourish their original nature. Thus what they do is called to naturalize emotions. Those who are stupid do not know to restrain their emotions. Instead, they indulge them until they become wicked. And they shackle their nature and wither it away. What they do is called to emotionalize nature.

The Tao of learning is no more than rectifying one's 4
mind and nourishing one's nature. For a gentleman, his education must begin with enlightening his mind and knowing what to nourish. Afterwards, he should do his utmost to practise it in order that he can reach the perfect state. This process of learning is called "becoming a man of sincerity through enlightenment". Therefore, it is necessary for one who wants to learn to make full use of his mind. When making full use of his mind, he shall know his nature. When knowing his nature, he shall return to it and make it sincere. Therefore, the *Grand Norm* says, "Thinking deeply is what is meant by wisdom, and wisdom leads to sagehood."

The way to become sincere lies in the deep faith in 5
Tao. Having a deep faith in Tao, one shall practise it definitely. Practising it definitely, one shall hold fast to it, and his mind shall never depart from benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, and sincerity. In moments of haste, he

聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動”^①；仲尼稱之，則曰“得一善，則拳拳服膺而弗失之矣”^②，又曰“不遷怒，不貳過”^③，“有不善未嘗不知，知未嘗復行也”^④。

7 此其好之篤，學之之道也。視聽言動皆禮矣，所異于聖人者，蓋聖人則“不思而得，不勉而中，從容中道”^⑤。顏子則必思而後得，必勉而後中，故曰顏子之與聖人，相去一息。

8 孟子曰：“充實而有光輝之謂大，大而化之之謂聖，聖而不可知之謂神。”^⑥顏子之德，可謂充實而有光輝矣。所未至者，守之也，非化之也。以其好學之心，假之以年，則不日而化矣。故仲尼曰：“不幸短命死矣！”^⑦蓋傷其不得至於聖人也。

acts according to them. In times of difficulty or confusion, he acts according to them. And whether he is given an official post or not, speaking or silent, he acts according to them. Since he holds on to them for a long time without failure, he shall stay at ease with them. Every expression, posture, or step of him shall naturally abide by the Rites. And for him the wicked and perverse ideas shall by no means take place.

Therefore, in reply to Master Yen's inquiry about what to do, [Confucius] said, "See nothing contrary to the Rites; listen to nothing contrary to the Rites; speak nothing contrary to the Rites; and practise nothing contrary to the Rites." In praising him, Confucius said, "As long as he finds a good thing, he will keep it carefully in mind and never lose it." And again, "[He] never transfer his anger, nor does he repeat a mistake." "Whenever he does anything wrong, he never fails to be aware of it, and as long as he is aware of it, he never does it again." 6

It is in this way that he was fond of and endeavored in learning. All he saw, listened, spoke and practised were in accordance with the Rites. The only difference between him and the sages lies in that whereas the sages "apprehend without thinking, hit upon what is right without effort, and are easily and naturally in harmony with Tao", Master Yen had to apprehend through thinking, and hit upon what is right with efforts. Therefore, 7

9 所謂化之者，入於神而自然，“不思而得，不勉而中”之謂也。孔子曰“七十而從心所欲，不踰矩”^⑧是也。

【注 釋】

① 見論語顏淵。

② 見禮記中庸。拳拳：奉持貌；服膺：著于胸間。

③ 見論語雍也。

④ 見周易繫辭。

⑤ 見禮記中庸。

⑥ 見孟子盡心下。

⑦ 見論語雍也。

⑧ 見論語為政。

10 或曰：聖人生而知之者也，今謂可學而至，其有稽乎？曰：然。孟子曰：“堯舜性之也，湯武反之也。”^①性之者，生而知之者也；反之者，學而知之者也。又曰：孔子則生而知也，孟子則學而知也。後人不達，以謂聖本生知，非學可至，而為學之道遂失。不求諸己而求諸外，以博聞強記巧文麗辭為

we may say that the difference between Master Yen and the sages is as little as a moment of breathing.

Mencius said, "Being abundant and brilliant, one is called a great man; being great and able to transform the greatness universally, one is called a sage; being a sage [whose excellency] is beyond common knowledge, one is called a spirit-like man." The virtue of Master Yen may be said abundant and brilliant. His imperfectness lay in that he had to hold on to the goodness he learned and had not yet been able to transform it universally. In consideration of his mind of being fond of learning, however, he could have transformed had he lived longer. This is the reason why Confucius sighed, "Unfortunately he suffered an early death." What Confucius was lamenting is that Yen could not reach sagehood. 8

By "transformation" we mean that one enters into the spirit-like state and [his goodness] becomes natural, i. e., "apprehending without thinking and hitting upon what is right without effort". Confucius said, "Since the age of seventy, I have been able to follow what my heart desires without transgressing moral rules." What he meant is such a state. 9

Someone may ask that a sage, as usually described, is one who is born with knowledge. Now that you say that sagehood can be achieved through learning. Is there 10

工，榮華其言，鮮有至於道者，則今之學與顏子所好異矣。

【注 釋】

- ① 見孟子盡心上，“反”原作“身”。性之：循其本性自然而為；身之：親身體驗，努力實行。

any verification for your argument? My answer is yes. As said by Mencius, "Yao and Shun [practise benevolence and righteousness] by their nature; while Kings T'ang and Wu achieved the same goal by their personal efforts." Whoever achieves his goodness because of his nature belongs to those who are born with knowledge. Whoever achieves his goodness by his personal efforts belongs to those who obtain their knowledge through learning. It has also been said that Confucius was one who was born with knowledge and Mencius was one who obtained his knowledge through learning. The later generations fail to know it, so that they assert that the sagehood is achieved only by those who are born with knowledge and has nothing to do with learning. As a result, the Tao of learning is lost. They fail to seek achievements with their own efforts but seek it outside. They appreciate vast reading, retentive remembrance, cunning composition, and beautiful verses. Though they are skillful to decorate their words, yet seldom can they get access to Tao. Thus, what the present people are learning are quite different from what Master Yen was fond of.



【簡 介】

朱熹（1130—1200）是宋代“道學”的集大成者，著述極多，影響深遠，本書從中選取兩種：答黃道夫與朱子語類，分別選自四部叢刊本朱文公文集與中華書局校點本朱子語類。

朱 熹

朱熹對鏡寫真畫像。
清余庭訓根據福州
鼓山涌泉寺的石像
敬摹

Chu Hsi

*This self-portrait of
Chu Hsi was copied
from a statue to Chu
Hsi by Yü Ting-hsün
(the Ch'ing Dynas-
ty), in the welling
spring temple, Gush-
an, Fuzhou.*



INTRODUCTION

Chu Hsi (1130—1200) was the great synthesist of the “Ch’eng Chu” School of Neo-Confucianism in the Song Dynasty, and he wrote many works which exert great influence on Chinese philosophy. From them, we select two: *A Letter in Reply to Huang Tao-fu* and the *Classified Utterances of Master Chu* (selected).

答黃道夫^①

1 天地之間，有理有氣。理也者，形而上之道也，生物之本也；氣也者，形而下之器也，生物之具也。是以人物之生，必稟此理，然後有性；必稟此氣，然後有形。其性其形，雖不外乎一身，然其道器之間，分際甚明，不可亂也。

2 若劉康公所謂天地之中，所謂命者，理也，非氣也；所謂人受以生，所謂動作威儀之則者，性也，非形也。^②今不審此，而以魂魄鬼神解之，則是指氣為理而索性於形矣，豈不誤哉！

【注釋】

① 黃道夫：朱熹學友。

② 見左傳成公十三年，引文略有出入。

A Letter in Reply to Huang Tao-fu

There are both Principle and emanative material force 1
between Heaven and Earth. Principle, being the formless
and abstract Tao, is the basis on which myriad things are
created. Emanative material force, being the concrete and
material stuff, is the instrumentality through which myri-
ad things are created. Therefore, in the process of crea-
tion, human beings and other creatures must be endowed
with Principle so as to constitute their natures; they must
at the same time be endowed with emanative material
force so as to possess their forms. Although the nature
and the form are within one individual, the distinction be-
tween Tao and the Concrete thing is so obvious that they
cannot be confused.

What the Duke K'ang of Liu called "the harmonious 2
Mean of Heaven and Earth" and "the foreordination" im-
ply Principle, not emanative material force. What he
called "that with which human beings are endowed on
their birth" and "the rules for actions and solemn ceremo-
nies" imply human nature, not physical form. Now that
you fail to study carefully Principle and human nature and
hence take them as the spirit-like and mysterious forces.
In so doing, you have misunderstood the emanative material

3 所引禮運之言，本亦自有分別。其曰“天地之德”者，理也。其曰“陰陽之交、鬼神之會”者，氣也。今乃一之，亦不審之誤也。

4 詩曰：“天生烝民，有物有則。”^①周子曰：“無極之真，二五之精，妙合而凝。”^②所謂真者，理也；所謂精者，氣也；所謂則者，性也；所謂物者，形也。上下千有餘年之間，言者非一人，記者非一筆，而其說之同如合符契，非能索聯配合而強使之齊也。此義理之原，學者不可不察。

【注 釋】

① 見詩大雅烝民篇。

② 見周敦頤太極圖說。

朱子語類（節選）

1 理氣

問：“太極不是未有天地之先有箇渾成

force as Principle and sought human nature from physical form. Isn't it a great mistake?

In the text of the "Development of Rites" you quote, 3
there is originally a distinction. What it mentions as "the virtue of Heaven and Earth" implies Principle. What it mentions as "the interplay of *Yin* and *Yang* and the meeting of the spirit-like and mysterious beings" implies emanative material force. Now that you confuse the two into one. It is another mistake caused by your failing to study it carefully.

The *Book of Odes* says, "Heaven gives birth to the 4
multitude of people, with matters and the regulation." And Master Chou (Chou Tun-yi) also says, "The reality of the Non-ultimate and the essence of the Two and the Five mysteriously combine and coagulate." Here what is called "reality" implies Principle; what is called "essence" implies emanative material force; what is called "regulation" implies human nature; and what is called "matter" implies physical form. Though there is a distance of thousand years [between the *Book of Odes* and Master Chou] and there have been various scholars and their utterances, the opinions to express are completely the same as if they had entered into contract with each other. It is by no means the case that they were forced to coordinate in order to make their opinions identical. Here lies in the very source of Righteousness and Principle, and scholars cannot but look into it carefully.

之物，是天地萬物之理總名否？”

曰：“太極只是天地萬物之理。在天地言，則天地中有太極；在萬物言，則萬物中各有太極。未有天地之先，畢竟是先有此理。動而生陽，亦只是理；靜而生陰，亦只是理。”

2 問：“昨謂未有天地之先，畢竟是先有理，如何？”

曰：“未有天地之先，畢竟也只是理。有此理，便有此天地；若無此理，便亦無天地，無人無物，都無該載了！有理，便有氣流行，發育萬物。”

曰：“發育是理發育之否？”

曰：“有此理，便有此氣流行發育。理無形體。”

曰：“所謂體者，是強名否？”

曰：“是。”

曰：“理無極，氣有極否？”

曰：“論其極，將那處做極？”

Classified Utterances of Master Chu (Selected)

On Principle and Emanative Material Force

1

Question: The Great Ultimate should not be considered an entity which exist in a chaotic state prior to Heaven and Earth, but the general name for the principles of Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things. Isn't it correct?

Answer: The Great Ultimate is none other than the Principle of Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things. In respect to Heaven and Earth, there is a Great Ultimate in them; in respect to the myriad things, there is a Great Ultimate in each of them. In the final analysis, there exists nothing but the Principle before Heaven and Earth come into existence. It is the Principle that brings forth *Yang* through its activity; it is nothing but the Principle that brings forth *Yin* through its inactivity.

Q: Yesterday you said that in final analysis, there is the Principle before Heaven and Earth come into existence. May I ask how and why?

2

A: Before Heaven and Earth come into existence, there is nothing but the Principle. Since there is this Principle, there then come Heaven and Earth. Provided there were not this Principle, there would be neither Heaven nor Earth, neither human beings nor other creatures. In short, nothing could then exist. Since there is the Princi-

3 問：“先有理，抑先有氣？”

曰：“理未嘗離乎氣。然理形而上者，氣形而下者。自形而上下言，豈無先後！理無形，氣便粗，有渣滓。”

4 或問：“必有是理，然後有是氣，如何？”

曰：“此本無先後之可言。然必欲推其所從來，則欲說先有是理。然理又非別為一物，即存乎是氣之中；無是氣，則是理亦無掛搭處。氣則為金木水火，理則為仁義禮智。”

5 或問先有理後有氣之說。

曰：“不消如此說。而今知得他合下是先有理，後有氣邪；後有理，先有氣邪？皆不可得而推究。然以意度之，則疑此氣是依傍這理行。及此氣之聚，則理亦在焉。蓋氣則能凝結造作，理却無情義，無計度，無造

ple, there is the motion of the emanative material force and the myriad things are thereby created and grown up.

Q: By "created and grown up" do you mean that the Principle creates things and grows them up?

A: Since there is the Principle, there is the emanative material force, which creates things and grows them up. As for the Principle, it exists without form and substance.

Q: Then, is it a forced expression when we call the Principle substance?

A: Yes.

Q: The Principle is limitless. Does the emanative material force have a limit?

A: If we suppose that it has a limit, where is the limit?

Q: Is the Principle prior to the emanative material force or, on the contrary, is the emanative material force prior to the Principle? 3

A: The Principle never separates itself from the emanative material force. However, the Principle is beyond forms and the emanative material force is forms. In respect of the distinction between "beyond" and "below" the forms, how could we suppose that there is no distinction of priority and posterity between them? The Principle is formless while the emanative material force is not so fine and has dregs.

Q: How about the expression that the Principle must pre-exist the emanative material force? 4

A: In fact there is no distinction between priority and

作。只此氣凝聚處，理便在其中。且如天地間人物草木禽獸，其生也，莫不有種，定不會無種子白地生出一箇物事，這箇都是氣。若理，則只是箇淨潔空闊底世界，無形迹，他却不會造作；氣則能醞釀凝聚生物也。但有此氣，則理便在其中。”

- 6 天地初間只是陰陽之氣。這一箇氣運行，磨來磨去，磨得急了，便拶許多渣滓^①；裏面無處出，便結成箇地在中央。氣之清者便為天，為日月，為星辰，只在外，常周環運轉。地便只在中央不動，不是在下。

【注釋】

① 拶：擠壓出。

7 鬼神

鬼神只是氣。屈伸往來者，氣也。天地

posterity in speaking of them. If we have to trace back to the very source of them, we should say that the Principle is prior to the emanative material force. Nevertheless, the Principle is not an entity outside the emanative material force because it exists in the emanative material force. Without the emanative material force, the Principle would have nowhere to dwell in. With respect to the emanative material force, there are metal, wood, water, and fire; with respect to the Principle, there are benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, and sincerity.

Someone asked Master Chu about the theory that the Principle pre-exists the emanative material force. The Master replied, "It is not necessary to assert that. Now how could we know that the Principle pre-exists the emanative material force? Or, on the contrary, the emanative material force pre-exists the Principle? It is impossible to obtain the exact answer. To rationalize, however, I guess that the emanative material force functions in dependence upon this Principle. As soon as the emanative material force integrates, the Principle shall be there. The emanative material force can integrate and make creation, whereas the Principle has no emotion and consciousness, nor does it have consideration and artificial creation. Where the emanative material force integrates is there the Principle in it. As for the human beings, other creatures, grass, plants, birds and beasts between Heaven and Earth, they have their seeds respectively

間無非氣。人之氣與天地之氣常相接，無間斷，人自不見。人心才動，必達於氣，便與這屈伸往來者相感通。如卜筮之類，皆是心自有此物，只說你心上事，才動必應也。

8 性理

天命之性，若無氣質，却無安頓處。且如一勺水，非有物盛之，則水無歸着。程子云：“論性不論氣，不備；論氣不論性，不明，二之則不是。”^①所以發明千古聖賢未盡之意，甚為有功。大抵此理有未分曉處，秦漢以來傳記所載，只是說夢。

【注釋】

① 見二程遺書卷第六。

9 天地間只是一箇道理。性便是理。人之所以有善有不善，只緣氣質之稟各有清濁。

when they begin their lives. It is impossible that a creature comes into being by itself without seed. All these demonstrate the function of the emanative material force. On the contrary, the Principle is a pure, clean, and empty world. It is formless. And it cannot create artificially. The emanative material force can create things by its emanation and integration. As long as there is the emanative material force, there is the Principle in it."

There was only the emanative material force of *Yin* 6 and *Yang* in the beginning of the creation of Heaven and Earth. This material force came to movement and rubbed in and out. When the rubbing reached its limit, some dregs were produced. There was no way to let the dregs settle outside, and they integrated into the earth in the center. The pure part of the emanative material force became Heaven, the sun and moon, and the stars, which settled outside and began to move perennially in a cycle. The earth stays in the center motionlessly. It does not exist beneath the heavens.

On "Ghosts" and "Gods"

"Ghosts" and "Gods" are nothing but the emanative material force. Since they are something contracting or expanding, coming or going, they cannot but be the emanative material force. All what fill the space between Heaven and Earth are none other than the emanative material force. The emanative material force of human beings connects with the emanative material force of Heaven

- 10 性者萬物之原，而氣稟則有清濁，是以有聖愚之異。命者萬物之所同受，而陰陽交運，參差不齊，是以五福、六極^①，值遇不一。

【注 釋】

① 五福、六極：語出尚書洪範。五福：五種福命（全好之命）；六極：六種窮凶極惡之命。

11 學

知、行常相須，如目無足不行，足無目不見。論先後，知為先；論輕重，行為重。

- 12 持敬是窮理之本，窮得理明，又是養心之助。

- 13 一心具萬理。能存心，而後可以窮理。

and Earth without distance, though, people themselves cannot see the connection. As soon as a motion takes place in one's mind, it must contact with the emanative material force and thereby is responded by its contracting and expanding, going and coming. As for such things as divination, the reason lies in that there is something in your mind, and it must be responded as soon as you tell the diviner what you are thinking of.

On Human Nature and Principle

8

The nature given by Heaven would have nowhere to dwell without the nature endowed with the emanative material force. This case is somehow like a spoon of water. Without a vessel, there will be nowhere to fill the water. Master Ch'eng said, "The discussion of human nature cannot be perfect without the discussion of the emanative material force. And the discussion of the emanative material force cannot reach a clear conclusion without the discussion of human nature. It is not correct to separate them into two matters." His saying aims at discovering the ideas of sages of thousand years which have not yet been fully elucidated, and is indeed a great achievement. Generally speaking, this theory had not yet been clarified before him. What are recorded by the works written after the Ch'in and Han Dynasties are but fantastic nonsense.

There is only one single Principle between Heaven and Earth. Human nature is the Principle. The reason why there are both good and evil persons is just because

9

14

有箇天理，便有箇人欲。蓋緣這個天理須有箇安頓處，才安頓得不恰好，便有人欲出來。

15

人之一心，天理存，則人欲亡；人欲勝，則天理滅，未有天理人欲夾雜者。學者須要於此體認省察之。

16 問：“飲食之間，孰為天理，孰為人欲？”
曰：“飲食者，天理也；要求美味，人欲也。”

17 人只有個天理人欲，此勝則彼退，彼勝則此退，無中立不進退之理。

that they are respectively endowed with different emanative material forces, some pure and some turbid.

Nature is the common source of all the myriad things. As 10
for the endowment with the emanative material force, there
is the distinction between purity and turbidity. Here
comes the distinction between the sages and the stupid.
All the myriad things receive their destinies but, as influ-
enced by the interplay and transformation of *Yin* and
Yang, they will receive different good or ill destinies.

On Learning 11

Knowledge and practice are ever interdependent.
This case is just like that one's eyes need the help of his
feet to see things afar, and that his feet need the help of
his eyes to find out the way. With respect to the temporal
consequence, knowledge is prior to practice; with respect
to the significance, practice is superior to knowledge.

Keeping reverence is the foundation of fully under- 12
standing the Principle. Fully understanding the Principle
helps one to nourish his mind.

One mind contains ten thousand principles. When 13
one can well preserve his mind, he will be able to fully
understand the Principle.

Where there is a Heavenly Principle, there is a hu- 14
man desire. It is so because the Heavenly Principle needs
somewhere to dwell, and the improper dwelling will re-
sult in the appearance of the human desires.

18 學者須是革盡人欲，復盡天理，方始是學。

19 凡一事便有兩端，是底即天理之公，非底乃人欲之私。

20 仁義根於人心之固有，利心生於物我之相形。

21 大學

器遠^①問：“致知者，推致事物之理。還當就甚麼樣事推致其理？”

曰：“眼前凡所應接的都是物。事事都有個極至之理，便要知得到。若知不到，便都没分明；若知得到，便著定恁地做，更無

Within the mind of man, the existence of the Heavenly Principle will result in the elimination of the human desires. In case the human desire prevails, the Heavenly Principle will die away. It is impossible that the Heavenly Principle and the human desires may be mingled together. It is an important requirement for students to consider and look into this matter. 15

Q: What is the Heavenly Principle and what are the human desires if we take eating and drinking for examples? 16

A: The eating and drinking [for necessary sustenance] are the Heavenly Principle. Running after delicious food and drink is human desire.

There is either Heavenly Principle or human desire within a man. The victory of the former means the defeat of the latter and vice versa. There is no possibility for one to remain neutral to the opposites without the one prevailing over the other. 17

For a student, it is only after he has swept away all the human desires and thereby restored fully the Heavenly Principle that his learning really commences. 18

Towards everything there are necessarily two attitudes. What is correct demonstrates the perfect impartialness of the Heavenly Principle. And what is not correct demonstrates the selfishness of the human desire. 19

Benevolence and righteousness root in the original mind of man whereas the mind of profit running results 20

第二著，第三著。……”

【注 釋】

① 器遠：朱熹學生。

- 22 因鄭仲履^①之問而言曰：“致知乃本心之知。如一面鏡子，本全體通明，只被昏翳了，而今逐旋磨去，使四邊皆照見，其明無所不到。”

【注 釋】

① 鄭仲履：朱熹學生。

- 23 格物，是窮得這事當如此，那事當如彼。如為人君，便當止於仁；為人臣，便當止於敬。又更上一著，便要窮究得為人君，如何要止於仁；為人臣，如何要止於敬，乃是。

from the distinction between others and oneself.

On the "Great Learning"

21

Ch'i Yuen asked, "To obtain knowledge means to obtain it through thinking the principles of things. But what kinds of things are worth study in order to obtain their principles?"

The Master answered, "Whatever your vision contacts are things. And everything has a supreme Principle which requires one to obtain. When one has not yet obtained this Principle, what to do is unclear for him. In case he has obtained it, he should do it in accordance with the Principle. There will be no the second and the third choices."

In reply to the inquiry of Cheng Chung-lü, the Master said, "To obtain knowledge means to obtain the knowledge already in one's mind. The mind is like a mirror. Originally, its whole parts can reflect light without distortion. [The reason for its malfunction] is the cover of dirt. Now we sweep all the dirt and make it be able to reflect all the four directions no matter where it will be."

22

By "investigation of things", we mean that we must fully know that this thing should be done in this way and that thing should be done in that way. If you are a ruler, you should investigate until you know benevolence. If you are a subject, you should investigate until you know reverence. If you want to go further, you should investigate why a ruler should keep benevolence and why a subject should keep reverence. This is the right way of investigation of things.

23



【簡 介】

陸九淵 (1139—1193)，南宋哲學家，“心學”創始人。其學說由明王守仁繼承發展，世稱“陸王學派”。與曾宅之原文採自中華書局版陸九淵集。

陸九淵

遺自晚笑堂畫傳

Lu Chiu-yuen
from Portraits
with Biogra-
phies Painted
in Wan Hsiao
T'ang



INTRODUCTION

This is a letter written by Lu Chiu-yuen (1139—1193), the founder of the School of Mind or “Lu-Wang” School, to Tseng Chai-eh, a student of Chu Hsi. In this letter, Lu distinguishes his views about mind and principle from those of Chu Hsi's.

與曾宅之^①（節選）

1 ……且如“存誠”“持敬”二語自不同，豈可合說？“存誠”字於古有考，“持敬”字乃後來杜撰。易曰：“閒邪存其誠。”^②孟子曰：“存其心。”^③某舊亦嘗以“存”名齋。孟子曰：“庶民去之，君子存之。”^④又曰：“其為人也寡欲，雖有不存焉者寡矣；其為人也多欲，雖有存焉者寡矣。”^⑤只“存”一字，自可使人明得此理。此理本天所以與我，非由外鑠。明得此理，即是主宰。真能為主，則外物不能移，邪說不能惑。

2 所病於吾友者，正謂此理不明，內無所主；一向縈絆於浮論虛說。終日只依借外說以為主，天之所與我者反為客。主客倒置，迷而不返，惑而不解。坦然明白之理可使婦人童子聽之而喻；勤學之士反為之迷惑，自

A Letter to Tseng Chai-chih (Selected)

As for the two expressions, "preserving sincerity" 1
and "holding on to reverence", they are originally different. How then could they be confused in your discussion? The first expression, "preserving sincerity", can find proofs from the ancient classics, whereas the second one, "holding on to reverence" is but fabricated by later generations. The *Book of Changes* says, "Avoid evil and preserve sincerity." Mencius also says, "Preserve one's mind." In this regard, I named years ago my studying room "Preservation" too. Furthermore, Mencius says, "The ordinary people lose it and the gentlemen preserve it." Again, he says, "Among those who have less material desires, there may be some who cannot preserve it, yet they must be very rare. Among those who have more material desires, there may be some who can preserve it, yet they must be very rare." The word "preservation" itself makes people understand the principle. This principle is given by Heaven to us, not learned from outside. As long as one understands this principle, he will become the controller of himself. As long as he really becomes the controller of himself, things outside cannot move him and the evil theories cannot influence him.

What troubles you, my friend, is just that this principle is not clearly understood, and there lacks a controller 2

為支離之說以自縈纏，窮年卒歲，靡所底麗，豈不重可憐哉^⑥？

3 使生在治古盛時，蒙被先聖王之澤，必無此病。惟其生於後世，學絕道喪，異端邪說充塞彌漫，遂使有志之士罹此患害，乃與世間凡庸恣情縱欲之人均其陷溺，此豈非以學術殺天下哉^⑦？

【注釋】

① 曾宅之：朱熹弟子，名祖道，字宅之。

② 見周易文言。

③ 見孟子盡心上。

④ 見孟子離婁下。

⑤ 見孟子盡心下。

⑥ 靡：無；麗：附著。靡所底麗：無所根據。重：加重，加倍。

⑦ 殺：敗壞。

4 蓋心，一心也；理，一理也；至當歸一，精義無二，此心此理，實不容有二。故

inside. As a result, you have ever been entangled by rootless theories and false sayings. From day to day, you have to depend on the concepts you learned from outside as your controller. In so doing, what Heaven gives us turns to be a guest. Now the situation is that the relationship between the host and the guest is upside down, that you have gone astray and failed to return, and that you have been confused and failed to understand the truth. This principle is so clear and obvious that even a woman or a child may understand it as soon as it is heard. As a scholar of diligence, however, you get confused in front of this principle. You have made a theory, which cannot lead to a consistent conclusion but to a number of fragments, to entangle yourself. For years you could not find a correct way as basis to follow on. What a great pity it is!

Had you been born in the golden times of remote antiquity and lived under the affection of the sage-kings, you would have necessarily avoided the troubles you are suffering. Unfortunately, now you live in a time far after the sages so that their Tao is lost and the real learnings discontinued. Meanwhile the heterodox theories are widespread. As a result, the scholars of ideals are made to suffer such trouble, and in regard of their failure, they are not much different from those who restrainlessly indulge in passions and run after material desires. Isn't it a case to corrupt the peoples under heaven with [incorrect]

夫子曰：“吾道一以貫之。”^①孟子曰：“夫道一而已矣。”^②又曰：“道二，仁與不仁而已矣。”如是則為仁，反是則為不仁。仁即此心也，此理也。

【注 釋】

① 見論語里仁。

② 見孟子滕文公上。

learning?

In respect of mind, there is only one mind; in respect of the principle, there is only one principle. Perfectly should they be identical. Exactly should they by no means be divided into two. Indeed this mind and this principle may not be of duality. Therefore, Confucius says, "There is one idea penetrating my doctrine." And Mencius says, "There is only one Tao." Again, he says, "There are no more than two ways: benevolent and not benevolent. To do what is right is benevolent. To do the contrary is not benevolent." Benevolence is this mind, and also this principle.



八

勉彊行道大有功

*A Treatise on Endeavor to
Practice Tao
for Great Achievement*

【簡 介】

勉彊行道大有功是“永康學派”創立者陳亮（1143—1194）的代表作之一，反映了作者關於道物、理欲的獨到見解。原文選自中華書局版陳亮集（增訂本）。

陳亮

今陳惠冠繪

Ch'en Liang

painted by Ch'en

Hui-kuan



INTRODUCTION

Authored by Ch'en Liang (1143—1194), the founder of the "Yung K'ang" School, this article shows a distinct opinion on the relationship between Tao and things, and between the principle and human desires.

1 天下豈有道外之事哉？而人心之危，不可一息而不操也。不操其心，而從容乎聲色貨利之境，以泛應乎一日萬幾之繁，而責事之不效，亦可謂失其本矣，此儒者之所大懼也。

2 夫道非出於形氣之表，而常行於事物之間者也^①。人主以一身而據崇高之勢，其於聲色貨利，必用吾力焉，而不敢安也；其於一日萬幾，必盡吾心焉，而不敢忽也。惟理之徇^②，惟是之從，以求盡天下賢者之心，遂一世人物之生，其功非不大，而不假於外求，天下固無道外之事也。不恃吾天資之高，而勉彊於其所當行而已。漢武帝好大喜功，而董仲舒言之曰“勉彊行道大有功”^③，可謂責難於君者矣。請試申之。

【注 釋】

① 表：外。

② 徇：順從。

Is there anything outside Tao in the world? So dangerous is the human mind that we cannot give a loose to it for even a moment. If someone does not make use of his mind and, instead, he indulges himself in the world of music, sex, goods and profit; if in this way, he responds widely to the developments of the myriad things, and cannot understand why his actions are less effective; he may be called to have lost his root and his failure is just that of which Confucians are greatly afraid.

1

Tao does not exist outside the forms and the emanative material force, but functions permanently among things and affairs. A ruler as a man who is ranked in the supreme position, cannot but make his own efforts for music, sex, goods and profit without any ease. And he cannot but make use of his whole mind for the developments of the myriad things without ignorance. If he obeys nothing but the principle, and what is right, in order to realize the ideals of all the worthies under heaven and to satisfy the lives of human beings and other creatures of the whole world, his achievement is by no means small. He would not look for things outside because there is originally nothing outside Tao. A ruler should not rely on his own talent but endeavor to do what should be practised. The Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty was fond of great achievement, and Tung Chung-shu said to him that he should endeavor to practise Tao for great achievement. This may be called a critical requirement for the emperor.

2

③ 語出董仲舒的賢良對策：“彊勉行道，則德日起而大有功。”見漢書董仲舒傳。勉彊：努力。

3 昔者堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武汲汲，仲尼皇皇^①。彼皆大聖人也，安行利行^②，何所不可，又復何求於天地之間而若此其切哉？

【注 釋】

① 汲汲：心情急切貌；皇皇：匆匆忙忙貌。

② 語出禮記中庸：“或安而行之，或利而行之，或勉強而行之，及其成功一也。”

4 蓋人心之危，道心之微^①，出此人彼，間不容髮，是不可一息而但已也。夫喜怒哀樂愛惡，所以受形於天地而被色而生者也，六者得其正則為道，失其正則為欲。而況人君居得致之位，操可致之勢，目與物接，心與事俱，其所以取吾之喜怒哀樂愛惡者不一

And I would try to explain my argument as below:

Of yore, Yao, Shun, Yü, Kings T'ang, Wen and Wu, all were very anxious [about country], and Confucius was also hasty in doing things. They were all great sages. Why was it impossible for them to act at ease or act beneficially? Why must they have acted in such a hurry to seek [achievements] between Heaven and Earth? 3

The reason lies in the fact that the mind of man is dangerous while the mind of Tao is subtle. If one rids of the one, he shall necessarily adopt the other. There is no even a space of a hair to find a third choice. Hence, we must make full use of our mind without even a moment of rest. In addition, happy, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, and hatred are desires formed by Heaven and Earth and aroused in contact with variety of things. If the six emotions are proper, Tao manifests. If they lose propriety, desires prevail. As for a ruler, who holds the position that enables him to satisfy his desires, and takes possession of the power that enables him to satisfy them, his eyes keep contacting with things, and his mind associates with various affairs, and there are a great number of things to handle with, which will respectively arouse his happy, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, and hatred. How could, then, he ensure that in every case he responds to things properly? The mind will fall in indulgence though giving a loose to his mind for even a moment. If his mind 4

端也，安能保事事物物之得其正哉！一息不操，則其心放矣；放而不知求，則惟聖罔念^②之勢也。

- 5 夫道豈有他物哉？喜怒哀樂愛惡得其正而已。行道豈有他事哉？審喜怒哀樂愛惡之端而已。不敢以一息而不用吾力，不盡吾心，則彊勉之實也。賢者在位，能者在職，而無一民之不安，無一物之不養，則大有功驗也。天祐下民而作之君，豈使之自縱其欲哉？雖聖人不敢不念，固其理也。

【注 釋】

- ① 偽古文尚書大禹謨有：“人心惟危，道心惟微。”
② 尚書多方：“惟聖罔念作狂。”聖：通明（之人）；罔念：無念，不用心思；狂：怠慢，傲慢。全句意思是說：如果通明之人不用心思，就會變作傲慢之人。

- 6 武帝雄才大略，傑視前古，其天資非不高也；上嘉唐虞，下樂商周，其立志非不大

falls in indulgence and he fails to know to seek it, the situation that a sage lacks thinking will take place.

Does Tao mean something else? It is nothing but that happiness, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, and hatred are all proper. Does "to practise Tao" mean something else? It implies nothing but the careful investigation of the reasons of happiness, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, and hatred. And the essence of "endeavor" is that one dares not to give up his endeavor and his mind for even a moment. It is the proof for great achievement that the worthies are appointed with high positions, and the talents have their proper jobs, that there is not even a single person who are not yet satisfied, and that there is not even a single creature which is out of the sustenance. Heaven establishes the kingship in order to bless people below. How does it let the rulers run after desires? It is reasonable that even the sages cannot but make full use of their minds. 5

The Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty was of great talent and ambition. He saw the times of remote antiquity with appreciation, and this shows that his endowment was not inferior. He praised the times of Yao and Shun and was fond of the achievements of the Shang and Chou Dynasties, and this shows that his ideals are not low. He worried about the disappear of the Rites and ceremonies, and grieved for the loss of the Six Classics. From this we 6

也。念典禮之漂墜，傷六經之散落，其意亦非止於求功夷狄以快吾心而已，固將求功於聖人之典，以與三代比隆，而為不世出之主也。而不知喜怒哀樂愛惡一失其正，則天下之盛舉，皆一人之欲心也，而去其道遠矣，有功亦止於美觀耳。

7 堯舜之都俞^①，堯舜之喜也，一喜而天下之賢智悉用矣；湯武之誥誓^②，湯武之怒也，一怒而天下之暴亂悉除矣。此其所以為行道之功也。

【注 釋】

① 都、俞：均為感嘆詞，表示許可之意，引申為君臣問答相得。

② 誥誓：即湯誥（當為湯誓）、牧誓，均為尚書篇名。

8 經典之悉上送官，非武帝之私喜也，用為私喜，則真偽混淆，徒為虛文耳；夷狄之

may know that his intention did not stop at seeking victories over the barbarians in order to enjoy himself. Instead, he was certainly seeking achievements based upon the classics of the ancient sages, to compare to the Three Dynasties, and to become a great personage seldom seen in the history. Nevertheless, he failed to know that as long as happiness, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, and hatred are improper, the great actions throughout the world will be only a manifest of the mind of desire of himself, and go far astray from Tao. Even if achievements are obtained, they will be no more than beautiful decorations.

What are recorded as "praise" and "favor" between Yao and Shun show the happiness of them, which resulted in that all those of worthy and wisdom were appointed. The official denunciations and oaths during the reigns of Kings Tang and Wu present their anger, which resulted in that all the violence and rebellion disappeared. These are examples for the achievements obtained by practising Tao. 7

It should not be the private happiness of the Emperor Wu that all the classics were presented to the court. Unfortunately, however, he considered it a private happiness of himself, so that the real classics were confused with the forged ones and the ideas of the classics were not put into practice. It should not be a private anger of the Emperor Wu that the barbarians committed aggression 8

侵侮漢家，非武帝之私怒也，用為私怒，則人不聊生，徒為世戒耳。使武帝知彊勉行道，以正用之，則表章而聖人之道明，必非為虛文也；誅討而夷夏之勢定，必不為世戒也。其功豈可勝計哉！武帝奮其雄才大略，而從容於聲色貨利之境，以泛應乎一日萬機之繁，而不知警懼焉，何往而非患也！

9 說者以為：武帝好大喜功，而不知彊勉學問，正心誠意以從事乎形器之表，溥博淵泉而後出之^①，故仲舒欲以淵源正大之理，而易其膠膠擾擾之心，如枘鑿之不相入^②，此武帝所以終棄之諸侯也。

【注 釋】

① 溥博淵泉：語出禮記中庸，意謂廣大深厚。

② 枘鑿：枘（榫頭）方，鑿（榫眼）圓，方圓不相配合。

against the Han Kingdom. Unfortunately, however, he considered it a private anger of himself, so that people were exhausted [because of military actions] and what he did became merely object lesson for later generations. Had Emperor Wu known that he should endeavor to practise Tao, he would have applied the real classics properly and these classics would have been well publicized to illustrate the Tao of the sages. Then these classics would not have remained in impractised literature. He would have resolved the conflicts between Chinese and barbarians by military actions, and these actions would have not been an object lesson to the later generations. If so, how could his achievements be accounted? As a matter of fact, the Emperor Wu, though gave full play to his great talent and ambition, indulged himself in the world of music, sex, goods and profit, responded widely to the developments of the myriad affairs, and failed to be aware of the dangers. How could he avoid troubles?

In accordance with some commentators, the Emperor Wu was fond of great achievements and failed to know that he should endeavor to study in order that his mind got rectified and his consciousness sincere, and that in so doing he would be able to have an unfailing resource to deal with things beyond forms. Therefore, it was just like to put a square wedge into a round hole when Tung Chung-shu tried to replace the emperor's mind of disturbance and restlessness with the principle out of the unfailing resource.

10 夫淵源正大之理，不於事物而達之，則孔孟之學真迂闊矣，非時君不用之罪也。齊宣王之好色，好貨，好勇，皆害道之事也，孟子乃欲進而擴充之：好色，人心之所同，達之於民無怨曠，則彊勉其道以達其同心，而好色必不至於溺，而非道之害也；好貨，人心之所同，而達之於民無凍餒，則彊勉其道以達其同心，而好貨必不至於陷，而非道之害也；人誰不好勇，而獨患其不大耳。^①

11 人心之所無，雖孟子亦不能以順而誘之也。不忍一牛之心，孟子欲其擴充之，以至於五十之食肉，六十之衣帛，八口之無饑，而謂之王道。^② 孟子之言王道，豈為不切於事情？梁惠王問利國，未為戾於道也；移民移粟，未為無意於民也。孟子皆不然之，而力以仁義為言。^③ 蓋計較利害，非本心之所宜有，其極可以至於忘親後君，而無可達於

This is why finally the emperor could not accept Tung but sent him to a feudal lord.

10
Provided the correct and great principle out of the un-
failing resource could not be realized through concrete af-
fairs, the theory of Confucius and Mencius would have
been really impractical, and it would not have been the
mistake of the emperor not to apply it. The King Hsuan
of Ch'i was fond of sex, wealth, and boldness. All these
are harmful to Tao. Nevertheless, Mencius suggested
that he advance and enlarge it. Being fond of sex is com-
mon for human minds. [Tao] is realized when people do
not have any complaint for wants of spouses. Thus, [a
king] should endeavor to practise Tao in order to realize
the common mind. Such a fondness of sex must not fall in
indulgence, and is not harmful to Tao. Being fond of
wealth is common for human minds too. [Tao] is realized
when people never suffer frost and starvation. Thus, [a
king] should endeavor to practise Tao in order to realize
the common mind. Such a fondness of wealth must not
fall in indulgence, and is not harmful to Tao. Is there an-
yone who is not fond of braveness? What is harmful is
that one is fond of the small (private) braveness, but not
the great (public) one.

11
If something never exists in human mind, even Men-
cius could hardly guide and transform people by following
it. It is because [the king] had a mind not to slaughter

事物之理，非好色好貨之比，而況不忍一牛之心乎！

12 聖賢之所謂道，非後世之所謂道也。為人上者，知聲色貨利之易溺而一日萬幾之可畏，彊勉於其所當行，則庶幾仲舒之意矣。夫天下豈有道外之事哉！

【注 釋】

- ① 參見孟子梁惠王下。
- ② 語出孟子梁惠王上。原話為“五十者可以衣帛”，“七十者可以食肉”。
- ③ 參見孟子梁惠王上。

an ox that Mencius suggested he enlarge this mind till that those aged above 50 have meat to eat, that those aged above 60 have silk to clothe, and that each family with its eight members never worries about starvation. These are what is meant by the "Government of Right". In this consideration, how could we suppose that the "Government of Right" expressed by Mencius has nothing to do with concrete affairs? As for King Hui of Liang (Wei)'s inquiry about how to benefit his country, this is not an inquiry against Tao. In moving his people and transporting crops, he could not be said indifferent to his people. Nevertheless, Mencius did not approve of his actions. Instead, he suggested strongly that the king speak only righteousness and benevolence. The reason lies in the fact that haggling over advantages and disadvantages should not be what human mind ought to have. And the extreme haggling will lead to that one may forget his parents and put himself before his ruler, and will not lead to the principle of things. Thus, this inquiry cannot compare to even the fond of wealth and sex, let alone the mind not to slaughter an ox.

What was called Tao by the sages and worthies is different from what has been called Tao by the later generations. If a man above knows that music, color, wealth and profit are liable to indulge in and that he should hold in awe to the developments of things, and that he should endeavor to do what is right, it will be close to the idea of Tung Chung-shu. Is there anything outside Tao?

12



九
習學記言序目
(選)

*Notes and Commentaries of Study
(Selected)*

【簡 介】

習學記言序目是南宋“永嘉學派”思想家葉適（1150—1223）的代表作。此書實際上是對以往經、史、諸子著作所作的評論，我們選取了其中部分片斷。

葉 適
今許全群繪

Yeh Shih
painted by Hsu
Ch'üan-ch'ün



INTRODUCTION

The *Notes and Commentaries of Study* is the most representative work by Yeh Shih (1150—1223), a Song thinker of the “Yung Chia” School. This work is in fact a series of comments on ancient books. Fragments from it are selected.

卷四 周易四

1 “易有太極”^①，近世學者以為宗旨秘義。按卦所象惟八物，推八物之義為乾、坤、艮、巽、坎、離、震、兌^②。孔子以為未足也，又因象以明之，其微兆往往卦義所未及。故謂乾“各正性命”，謂復“見天地之心”，言神於觀，言情於大壯，言感於咸，言久於恒，言大義於歸妹，無所不備矣^③，獨無所謂“太極”者，不知傳何以稱之也^④？

2 自老聃為虛無之祖，然猶不敢放言，曰“無名天地之始，有名萬物之母”而已。至莊列始妄為名字，不勝其多，故有“太始”、“太素”、“未始有夫未始有無”茫昧廣遠之說^⑤。傳易者將以本原聖人，扶立世教，而亦為“太極”以駭異後學，後學鼓而

Chapter 4. On Book of Changes

It has been considered by recent scholars the most principal purpose and the most secret idea that "Tao of changes starts from the Great Ultimate." By investigation, however, we may know that what the Trigrams resemble are no more than the Eight Matters (heaven, earth, mountain, wind, water, fire, thunder, and lake), and they are respectively extended to *Ch'ien*, *K'un*, *Ken*, *Hsun*, *K'an*, *Li*, *Zhen*, and *Tui*. Confucius believed that they are not enough to show the meanings, so that he illustrated them with the judgments. The subtle predicts of the judgment often surpass the meanings of the trigrams themselves. Thus, it says that *Ch'ien* implies that all things should be rectified according to their respective natures and destinies, that *Fu* shows the mind of Heaven and Earth, that *Kuan* discusses the spirit, that *Tachuang* discusses emotions, that *Hsien* discusses intercourse and interplay, that *Heng* discusses constancy, and that *Kuimei* discusses the Great Righteousness. So perfect is the explanations of Confucius that there is nothing left unsolved. In them, however, we cannot find the expression "Great Ultimate", and we then can hardly know why the Appendix talks of it. 1

It was Lao Tan who founded the School of Empty 2

從之，失其會歸，而道日以離矣。又言“太極生兩儀，兩儀生四象”，則文淺而義陋矣。

【注 釋】

- ① “易有太極”：語出周易繫辭上，意謂易道的變化從太極開始。
- ② 八物：按說卦，則乾為天，坤為地，艮為山，巽為風，坎為水，離為火，震為雷，兌為澤。
- ③ 所解乾、復、觀、大壯、咸、恒、歸妹各卦之義，均從象辭。
- ④ 傳：這裏指繫辭。
- ⑤ “太始……未始有無”：參見莊子齊物論和列子天瑞篇。

卷八 禮 記

3 “人生而靜，天之性也；感於物而動，性之欲也。”^①但不生耳，生即動，何有於靜？以性為靜，以物為欲，尊性而賤欲，相去幾何？

4 大學言“致知在格物，物格而後知至”，

and Non-being. Nevertheless, he had not yet ventured to speak arrogantly. What he said are but "Non-existence is called the antecedent of Heaven and Earth; existence is the mother of the myriad things." Down to Masters Chuang and Lieh of this school, they began to fabricate names arrogantly, and there came countless names such as the "Great Beginning", the "Great Purity", and "That which is prior to the state when there is neither Being nor Non-being". Their expressions are absurd and boundless. Those who taught the *Book of Changes* ought to support Confucianism based on the concepts of the sages. Nevertheless, they also fabricated the "Great Ultimate" to astonish the later scholars. And the later scholars have been greatly inspired by it and followed it. In so doing, they have lost the principal purpose of the *Book of Changes* and gone astray from the Tao further and further day after day. The Appendix, in addition, says, "The Great Ultimate produces the Two Models; and the Two Models produce the four seasons." Obviously, this expression is shallow and its meaning is very poor.

Chapter 8. On the Writings on Rites

[The "On Music" chapter] says, "Man comes to this world with the quiet nature given by Heaven. And that his mind acts when responding to matters is the desire of nature." One cannot but act unless he is not born. How could it be supposed that human beings tend to be quiet?

3

而此言“物至知知，然後好惡形焉；好惡無節於內，知誘於外，不能反躬，天理滅矣”^②。則是知與物均為不善，此躬何自而反，天理烏得而存？甚矣儒者怵於言道^③，而不知道之所從也。

【注 釋】

① 見樂記。

② 見樂記。

③ 怵：奢。

卷十五 老 子

5 夫有天地與人而道行焉，未知其孰先孰後也。老子私其道以自喜，故曰“先天地生”^①。又曰“天法道”^②。又曰“天得一以清”^③。且道果混成而在天地之先乎？道法天乎？天法道乎？一得天乎？天得一乎？山林之學，不稽於古聖賢，以道言天，而其慢侮如此^④。及其以天道言人事，則又忘之。故曰：“不爭而善勝，不言而善應，不召而

If one links nature with quiescence and matters with desire, he shall look up to nature while look down upon matters. But how much do they differentiate each other?

The "Great Learning" chapter says, "Knowledge is 4
obtained through the investigation of things. It is only after one makes investigations on things that can he obtain knowledge." But this chapter says, "When a thing comes the intelligence of man will come to know it. Afterwards, favors and disfavours come into existence. In case one does not restrain his favors and disfavours inside, things to be known attract him from outside, and he cannot concentrate himself inwardly, Heavenly Principle in him will disappear." In accordance with this analysis, neither knowledge nor matters are good. How then could one concentrate himself inwardly? Where then could Heavenly Principle dwell? Too much have been said on Tao by Confucians, yet they fail to know how to follow it.

Chapter 15. On the Book of Lao Tsu

Tao exists when there are Heaven, Earth and people 5
It is impossible to know which is prior to the others. Lao Tsu had his own view on Tao and he favored it. Thus, he stated, [Tao] "pre-exists Heaven and Earth". Again, "Heaven models itself after Tao." And still again, "Heaven becomes pure when it obtains the One." But does Tao really exist in a chaotic state prior to Heaven

自來。”^⑤又曰：“天道其猶張弓。”^⑥則是為天者常以機示物，而未嘗法道之虛一無為也。然則從古聖賢者畏天敬天，而從老氏者疑天慢天，妄窺而屢變，玩狎而不忌，其不可也必矣。

【注 釋】

① 老子第二十五章。

② 同上。

③ 同上書第三十九章。

④ 山林之學：指老子之學；稽：核查，符合。

⑤ 老子第七十三章。

⑥ 同上書第七十七章。

卷二十三 漢 書

6 “仁人正誼不謀利，明道不計功。”^①此語初看極好，細看全疏闊。古人以利與人而不自居其功，故道義光明。後世儒者行仲舒之論，既無功利，則道義者乃無用之虛語爾。然舉者不能勝，行者不能至，而反以為

and Earth? Does Tao model itself after Heaven or Heaven model itself after Tao? Does the One obtain something from Heaven or Heaven obtain something from the One? As a recluse, Lao Tsu did not base his theory on the classics of the ancient sages and worthies. Hence, he talked of Heaven in terms of Tao and showed such a disrespect to Heaven. In talks of human affairs, however, he seemed to have forgotten his starting point. Thus, he stated, [Heavenly Tao] "never contends but always achieves success; it never speaks but is good at responding to things; it cannot be summoned but comes itself". And again, "Heavenly Tao functions like a drawn bow." These demonstrate that Heaven always shows its subtleness on things and never models itself after Tao of empty, oneness and nonaction. Then, those who follow the ancient sages and worthies will pay respect and reverence to Heaven, and those who follow Lao Tsu will suspect and defy it. The latter investigate Heaven absurdly, change their positions repeatedly, play their unbridled sayings, and certainly their attitude is not acceptable.

Chapter 23. On the History of the Han Dynasty

[Tung Chung-shu said], "A benevolent man should 6
take the righteousness as correctness without considering
the profit; he should make clear what Tao is without taking

詬於天下矣^②。

【注 釋】

① 見漢書董仲舒傳，引文略有出入。

② 詬：辱罵。

account of the achievement. " At first sight, this saying sounds excellent. Looking into it carefully, however, we may find it completely impractical. The ancient [sages] benefited others but did not claim credits themselves. Therefore, their Tao and Righteousness were splendid. Following Tung's saying, the later Confucians have got neither achievement nor benefit. Tao and Righteousness become useless empty words. When the later Confucians take into actions, they cannot achieve success; when they determine a destination, they cannot reach it. What they have done are but to cause critiques all over the world.



十

答顧東橋書
(節選)

*A Letter in Reply to
Ku Tung ch'iao's Criticism
(Selected)*

【簡 介】

答顧東橋書是“陸王心學”最大代表王守仁（號陽明，1472—1528）寫給顧東橋的一封信，它不僅反駁了顧對王學的非議，而且較系統地闡發了心學關於知、行、心、物及良知的主要觀點，後被收入傳習錄中。原文採用四部叢刊本王文成公全書。

王守仁

Wang Shou-jen



INTRODUCTION

As the second part of the *Recorded Instructions for Carrying Forward and Practice*, this letter has been considered the most representative writing on philosophy by Wang Shou-jen (Yang-ming, 1472—1528), the greatest Neo-Confucian of the “Lu-Wang” School. In this letter the author comprehensively expounds his concepts of knowledge, action, mind and principle. W. T. Chan’s translation in *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* is referred and, in some paragraphs, directly adopted.

1 來書云：“所喻知行并進，不宜分別前後，即中庸‘尊德性而道問學’之功，交養互發，內外本末一以貫之之道^①。然工夫次第不能無先後之差。如知食乃食，知湯乃飲，知衣乃服，知路乃行，未有不見是物，先有是事。此亦毫釐倏忽之間，非謂截然有等，今日知之而明日乃行也。”

2 既云“交養互發，內外本末一以貫之”，則知行并進之說無復可疑矣。又云“工夫次第不能不無先後之差”，無乃自相矛盾矣乎？“知食乃食”等語，此尤明白易見，但吾子為近聞障蔽，自不察耳。夫人必有欲食之心然後知食，欲食之心即是意，即是行之始矣。食味之美惡，必待入口而後知，豈有不待入口而已先知食味之美惡者邪？必有欲行之心然後知路，欲行之心即是意，即是行之始矣。

Criticism: Your instruction that knowledge and action should proceed simultaneously without distinction between priority and posteriority is just the task of honoring the moral nature and following the path of study and inquiry as taught in the Mean, and also the Tao that knowledge and action nourish and develop each other and the internal and the external, the substance and functions form one thread through all. Nevertheless, in performance of a task there must be a distinction between what is done first and what later. For example, one have known the food before he eats it, known the soup before he drinks it, known the clothes before he wears them, known the road before he travels on it. There has never been the case that one does something before he knows it. Of course, the distinction between knowledge and action is a matter of an instant. I do not mean that the distance between them is as big as that if one knows something today, he has to wait for tomorrow to act on it. 1

Reply: Since you have acknowledged that knowledge and action nourish and develop each other, and the internal and the external, the substance and the functions form one thread through all, the idea that knowledge and action proceed simultaneously should no longer be suspected. But you still insist that in the performance of a task there must be a distinction between what is to be done first and what later. Are you not self-contradictory? With respect to the examples of food to eat, etc., they are particularly clear and easy to understand. Obscured by recent opinions, however, you fail to realize the truth. A man must have the desire for food before he knows food. This 2

路岐之險夷^②，必待身親履歷而後知，豈有不待身親履歷而已先知路岐之險夷者邪？

【注 釋】

① 尊：尊崇；道：由，通過。交養互發，相互促進。

② 險夷：不平坦與平坦。

3 知湯乃飲，知衣乃服，以此例之，皆無可疑。若如吾子之喻，是乃所謂不見是物而先有是事者矣。吾子又謂“此亦毫釐倏忽之間，非謂截然有等，今日知之而明日乃行也”，是亦察之尚有未精。然就如吾子之說，則知行之為合一并進，亦自斷無可疑矣。

4 來書云：“‘真知即所以為行，不行不足謂之知。’此為學者吃緊立教，俾務躬行則可^①。若真謂行即是知，恐其專求本心，遂

desire for food is a will. As soon as there is a will, action begins. Furthermore, one cannot know whether the taste of the food is good or bad until the food enters his mouth. Is there anyone who knows the taste to be good or bad before the food enters his mouth? A man must have the desire to travel before he knows the road. This desire for travel is a will. As soon as there is a will, action begins. One cannot know whether the forks of the road are rough or smooth until he himself has gone through them. Is there anyone who knows whether the forks of road are rough or smooth before he has gone through them?

The similar conclusions can be made without doubt 3
about the other two examples; soup to drink and clothes to wear. The examples provided by you in objection are exactly those which show "one does something before he knows it". You say in addition that the distinction between knowledge and action is a matter of an instant and the distance between them is not so big as that if one knows something today, he has to wait for tomorrow to act on it. This statement also shows that you have not yet examined the matter thoroughly. But even I might accept what you state, the fact that knowledge and action form a unity and proceed simultaneously is still a matter absolutely beyond any doubt.

Criticism: [You have said that] true knowledge is 4
the knowledge applied to action. If the knowledge is not applied to action, it cannot be called knowledge. This idea is all right as an urgent doctrine for students, meant to enable them to put their learnings into actual practice.

遺物理，必有闕而不達之處，抑豈聖門知行并進之成法哉？”

【注 釋】

① 吃緊：急切，著力；立教：樹立一個標準來教育人。俾：使；務：致力於。

5 知之真切篤實處即是行，行之明覺精察處即是知。知行工夫本不可離，只為後世學者分作兩截用功，失却知行本體，故有合一并進之說。真知即所以為行，不行不足謂之知，即如來書所云“知食乃食”等說可見，前已略言之矣。此雖吃緊救弊而發，然知行之體本來如是^①，非以己意抑揚其間，姑為是說以苟一時之效者也。

【注 釋】

① 知行之體本來如是：知行本來就是合一的。

6 “專求本心，遂遺物理”，此蓋失其本心者也。夫物理不外於吾心。外吾心而求物

But if you really mean that knowledge and action are identical, I am afraid a student will only seek his original mind and consequently neglect the principles of things. In so doing, there must be something left unknown to him. How could this be the established method of Confucianism for the simultaneous advance of knowledge and action?

Reply: Knowledge in its genuine and earnest aspect is action, and action in its intelligent and discriminating aspect is knowledge. In the final analysis, the task of knowledge and action cannot be separated. Only because later scholars have broken their task into two sections and have lost sight of the original substance of knowledge and action, I advocated the idea of their unity and simultaneous advance. My idea that true knowledge is the knowledge applied to action and a knowledge, if not applied to action, cannot be called knowledge. The proofs can be found from the examples such as food to eat provided by your letter. And I have discussed it before. Although my idea arose as an urgent remedial measure, the truth of knowledge and action is originally like this. It is not due to my own wishes to promote or suppress either of them, and purposely propounded such a doctrine to effect a temporary remedy. 5

One who only seeks his original mind and consequently neglects the principles of things is the one who has lost his original mind. For the principles of things are not external to the mind. If one seeks the principles of things outside the mind, there will not be any to be found. And if one neglects the principles of things and only 6

理，無物理矣。遺物理而求吾心，吾心又何物耶？心之體，性也。性即理也。故有孝親之心，即有孝之理。無孝親之心，即無孝之理矣。有忠君之心，即有忠之理。無忠君之心，即無忠之理矣。理豈外於吾心邪？

7 晦菴謂“人之所以為學者，心與理而已。心雖主乎一身，而實管乎天下之理。理雖散在萬事，而實不外乎一人之心”^①。是其一分一合之間，而未免已啟學者心理為二之弊，此後世所以有“專求本心，遂遺物理”之患^②，正由不知心即理耳。

【注 釋】

① 晦菴：朱熹別號。引文見大學或問，文字略有出入。

② 患：擔憂。

8 夫外心以求物理，是以有聞而不達之處，此告子義外之說^①，孟子所以謂之不知

seeks his mind, what sort of a thing would the mind be? The substance of mind is nature. And nature is the principle. Therefore, as there is the mind of filial piety toward parents, there is the principle of filial piety. Provided there were no mind of filial piety, there would be no principle of filial piety. As there is the mind of loyalty toward the ruler, there is the principle of loyalty. Provided there were no mind of loyalty toward the ruler, there would be no principle of loyalty. For this consideration, how could the principle be outside the mind?

Chu Hsi said, "Man's learning depends on nothing but the mind and the principle. Although the ruling function of mind mainly manifests in individuals, actually it also controls over the principles throughout the world. Although the principles are scattered in the myriad things, actually they are not outside the mind of one individual." Vacillating now to the separation, now to the unity, he inevitably opened the way to the defect among scholars of regarding the mind and the principles as two separate things. This is the reason why later generations have the worry about only seeking their original minds and consequently neglecting the principles of things. It is precisely because they do not realize that mind is the principle.

If one seeks the principles of things outside his mind, there will be something left unknown and obscure to him. This fallacy is tantamount to the theory of Master Kao who insisted that the Righteousness is external to mind and was criticized by Mencius as one without knowledge of the Righteousness. There is nothing but one mind. In

義也。心一而已，以其全體惻怛而言謂之仁，以其得宜而言謂之義，以其條理而言謂之理。不可外心以求仁，不可外心以求義，獨可外心以求理乎？外心以求理，此知行之所以二也。求理於吾心，此聖門知行合一之教，吾子又何疑乎？

【注 釋】

- ① 告子義外之說：孟子告子上載告子語：“仁，內也，非外也；義，外也，非內也。”受到孟子的批評。

9 來書云：“聞語學者，乃謂‘即物窮理之說亦是玩物喪志’^①，又取其‘厭繁就約’^②，‘涵養本原’數說標示學者，指為‘晚年定論’^③，此亦恐非。”

【注 釋】

- ① “玩物喪志”：語本偽古文尚書旅獒。
② 厭：抑制；就：趨向。
③ “晚年定論”：王守仁將朱熹思想中與己有相通之處者編輯起來，稱朱子晚年定論。附於王文成公全書卷三末。但所選并非盡出於朱熹晚年。

terms of total commiseration, it is called benevolence. In terms of attainment of what is proper, it is called righteousness. And in terms of orderliness, it is called principle. If one should not seek benevolence and righteousness outside the mind, should one make an exception and seek principles outside the mind? It is the reason why knowledge and action are separated when people try to seek principles outside the mind. And it is the Confucian instruction that one should seek principles inside the mind. Why then do you suspect it?

Criticism: I have heard that you told the students that following [Chu Hsi's] theory of thoroughly understanding the principle at everything one encounters is to trifle with things and to lose one's will. And you have also selected Chu Hsi's doctrines of rejecting the complex and preferring the simple, cultivating the fundamental, and so forth, to show your students, labeling them as *Final Conclusions of Chu Hsi* (in *His Later Years*). I am afraid this is also incorrect. 9

Reply: What Chu Hsi meant by "investigation of things" is to "thoroughly understand the principle at everything one encounters." To understand thoroughly the principle at everything one encounters implies that one should seek so-called definite principles in the multitude of things. This means to apply one's mind to each individual thing and look for principle in it. In so doing, the mind and the principle are already divided into two. 10

To seek for the principle in each individual thing is 11

10 朱子所謂“格物”云者，在“即物而窮其理”也。即物窮理，是就事事物物上求其所謂定理者也，是以吾心而求理於事事物物之中，析心與理而為二矣。

11 夫求理於事事物物者，如求孝之理於其親之謂也。求孝之理於其親，則孝之理其果在於吾之心邪，抑果在於親之身邪？假而果在於親之身，則親沒之後，吾心遂無孝之理歟？

12 見孺子之入井，必有惻隱之理。是惻隱之理果在於孺子之身歟，抑在於吾心之良知歟？其或不可以從之於井歟？其或可以手而援之歟？是皆所謂理也。是果在於孺子之身歟？抑果出於吾心之良知歟？

like looking for the principle of filial piety in parents. A question arise when one tries to seek for the principle of filial piety in his parents: Does the principle of filial piety really exist in his mind? Or, does it really exist in the person of his parents? Provided the principle of filial piety really existed in the person of his parents, would there be no principle of filial piety as soon as his parents pass away?

When I see a child falling into a well [and have a feeling of commiseration], there must be the principle of commiseration. Is this principle of commiseration actually in the person of the child or in the very knowledge of my mind? Perhaps one cannot let the child fall into the well. Perhaps one can rescue the child with his hand. All these involve principle. Does the principle really exist in the person of the child or come out of the very knowledge of my mind? 12

What is true in these two examples is true of all things and events. From this we can know that it is wrong to divide mind and principle into two. To divide mind and principle into two is tantamount to the theory of Master Kao who insisted that the righteousness is external to the mind, and was strongly criticized by Mencius. You know the defects of devoting oneself to external things and neglecting the internal and becoming broad but lacking essentials. Why are these defects? Is it not permissible to say that to thoroughly understand the principles at everything one encounters is to trifle with things and to lose one's will? 13

13 以是例之，萬事萬物之理，莫不皆然，是可以知析心與理為二之非矣。夫析心與理而為二，此告子義外之說，孟子之所深闢也。“務外遺內，博而寡要”，吾子既已知之矣，是果何謂而然哉？謂之“玩物喪志”，尚猶以為不可歟？

14 若鄙人所謂“致知格物”者，致吾心之良知於事事物物也。吾心之良知，即所謂“天理”也。致吾心良知之天理於事事物物，則事事物物皆得其理矣。致吾心之良知者，致知也。事事物物皆得其理者，格物也。是合心與理而為一者也。合心與理而為一，則凡區區前之所云，與朱子晚年之論，皆可以不言而喻矣。

15 來書云：“教人以致知明德而戒其即物

What I mean by "the extension of knowledge and the investigation of things" is to extend the very knowledge of my mind to the multitude of things. The very knowledge of my mind is the Heavenly Principle. When the Heavenly Principle in the very knowledge of my mind is extended to the multitude of things, each of them will attain its principle. Thus, "the extension of knowledge" is no more than to extend the very knowledge of my mind. "The investigation of things" is no more than that each of the multitude of things attains its principle. In this way, I make the mind and the principle identical. Since I have made the mind and the principle identical, all my humble opinions which I have just expressed and my view on Chu Hsi's final conclusions arrived in late of his life can be understood without discussion.

14

Criticism: You instruct people to obtain knowledge and to cultivate their moral while warn them not to thoroughly understand the principle through the investigation of things. Could this really make the stupid and uneducated people have their knowledge obtained and moral cultivated by living in the seclusion and sitting up straight without being educated and directed? Even though they might get enlightened in some degree and thereby have a rough knowledge of their original nature, what they could follow would be nothing but the useless opinions such as the [Buddhist] concepts of quiescence and wisdom. Could they really know both the past and the present, get acquaintance with the changes of things, and put their theory into the practice of the state government? As for your statements that "knowledge is the substance of will and

15

窮理，誠使昏闇之士，深居端坐，不聞教告，遂能至於知致而德明乎？縱令靜而有覺，稍悟本性，則亦定慧無用之見^①，果能知古今，達事變，而致用於天下國家之實否乎？其曰：‘知者意之體，物者意之用’，‘格物如格君心之非之格’^②，語雖超悟獨得，不踵陳見^③，抑恐於道未相脗合。”

【注 釋】

- ① 定慧：指佛教的“定（禪定實踐）慧（佛法理論的闡明）雙修”主張。
- ② “格君心之非”：語本孟子離婁上。格：正。
- ③ 踵：沿襲。

16 區區論致知格物，正所以窮理，未嘗戒人窮理，使之深居端坐而一無所事也。若謂“即物窮理”，如前所云“務外而遺內”者，則有所不可耳。昏闇之士果能隨事隨物精察此心之天理，以致其本然之良知，則“雖愚必明，雖柔必強”^①。大本立而達道行^②，九

things are the functions of the will", and that "the word *Ke* (often explained as 'investigate' or 'get close to') in the term *Kewu* means the same as the *Ke* in the expression of rectifying the incorrectness in the mind of the ruler", although they are indeed extraordinary enlightenment and distinct ideas, different from the previous opinions, yet I am afraid they are not in compliance with Tao.

Reply: My humble discussion on the extension of knowledge and investigation of things precisely aims at thoroughly understanding the principle. I have never warned people not to understand the principle thoroughly, but to live in the seclusion and sit up straight without doing anything. If so-called understanding the principle thoroughly at everything one encounters means to devote oneself to things outside and neglect what is inside as mentioned above, I shall make objection against it. In case the stupid and uneducated people can really look into the Heavenly Principle in their mind no matter what kinds of things with which they contact, and extend the very knowledge which is innate, "they will become intelligent though they used to be foolish; they will become strong though they used to be weak." When the great foundation is established, the penetrating Tao is put into action, all the Nine Principal Categories (i. e., self-cultivation, respect to the worthies, love to the parents, reverence to the ministers, solicitude for the subjects, cherishing people, encouragement to craftsmen, friendly relations to foreigners, and kind concerns with the feudal lords) can be penetrated with one thread without exception. How

經之屬可一以貫之而無遺矣^③，尚何患其無致用之實乎？

【注 釋】

- ① 語出中庸。
- ② 大本、達道：語出中庸：“中也者，天下之大本也；和也者，天下之達道也。”
- ③ 語本中庸：“凡為天下國家，有九經，曰：修身也，尊賢也，親親也，敬大臣也，體羣臣也，子庶民也，來百工也，柔遠人也，懷諸侯也。”

17 彼頑空虛靜之徒，正惟不能隨事隨物精察此心之天理，以致其本然之良知，而遺棄倫理，寂滅虛無以為常，是以要之不可以治家國天下，孰謂聖人窮理盡性之學而亦有是弊哉？

18 心者，身之主也。而心之虛靈明覺，即所謂本然之良知也。其虛靈明覺之良知應感而動者謂之意。有知而後有意，無知則無意

can one still worry about whether or not their theory may be put into practice?

The fallacy of those who follow the doctrines of empty and quiescence (Buddhism and Taoism) is just that they cannot look into the Heavenly Principle in their mind when they contact with the multitude of things in order to extend the very knowledge which is innate. As a result, they give up the fundamentally ethical orders, and regard the nirvana and empty Non-being as constancy. In short, they cannot be helpful to the state government. How could one suppose that the Confucian theory of "understanding thoroughly the principle and fulfilling human nature" also has this fallacy? 17

Mind controls over the person. The formless spirit and its intelligent consciousness is so-called the "very knowledge which is innate". The activity of the formless spirit and the intelligent consciousness in response to things is called will. There is a will after there has been a knowledge. There would be no will without knowledge. Isn't knowledge the substance of will? The function of will must connect with certain things, and things are events. For example, when one's will functions on the service for his parents, the service for his parents is a thing; when one's will functions on the administration of the people, the administration of the people is a thing; when one's will functions on reading, reading is a thing; when one's will functions on juridical judgment, the juridical judgment is a thing. Whenever will functions, there cannot but be a thing corresponding to it. In case there is 18

矣。知非意之體乎？意之所用，必有其物，物即事也。如意用於事親，即事親為一物；意用於治民，即治民為一物；意用於讀書，即讀書為一物；意用於聽訟，即聽訟為一物。凡意之所用，無有無物者，有是意即有是物，無是意即無是物矣，物非意之用乎？

- 19 來書云：“道之大端易於明白，所謂‘良知良能愚夫愚婦可與及者’；至於節目時變之詳^①，毫釐千里之謬，必待學而後知。……”

【注 釋】

① 節：樹木枝干交接處；目：木紋糾結不順處。喻指繁雜細微、難於理順之處。

- 20 “道之大端易於明白”，此語誠然。顧後之學者忽其易於明白者而弗由，而求其難於明白者以為學，此其所以“道在邇而求諸

a will, there is a thing. In case there is not a will, there is not such a thing. In this consideration, things are really the functions of the will.

Criticism: The principal line of Tao is easy to understand. And it is the so-called "very knowledge and capacity with which even the foolish folks may get acquaintance". As for the details and items of Tao and the subtleness in the application of Tao from which a slightest error can result in greatest fallacy, however, they cannot be understood until one is well educated.

19

Reply: It is of course true that "the principal line of Tao is easy to understand". Nevertheless, the later scholars have neglected it and failed to follow upon it. Instead, they have been looking for and making studies on what is not easy to understand. This is what is called "Tao is near but the ignorant look for it afar. A thing is easy to complete but the ignorant seek the most difficult way to complete it." Mencius says, "Tao is like a broad way. How could we think it difficult to know? The only trouble is that people fail to travel on it." The very knowledge and capacity are common for the foolish folks and the sages. The only difference between them is that the sages can extend their very knowledge while the foolish cannot. Here lies in the very distinction between the sage and the fool. As for the details and items of Tao and its adaptation to the circumstances, how could the sages fail to know them? Yet the sages are not specialized in these learnings. What they call the learning is nothing but the extension of their very knowledge in order to

20


遠，事在易而求諸難”^①也。孟子云：“夫道若大路然，豈難知哉！人病不由耳。”^②良知良能，愚夫愚婦與聖人同，但惟聖人能致其良知，而愚夫愚婦不能致，此愚聖之所由分也。節目時變，聖人夫豈不知！但不專以此為學；而其所謂學者，正惟致其良知以精察此心之天理，而與後世之學不同耳。

【注 釋】

① 見孟子離婁上。

② 見孟子告子下。

know the Heavenly Principle in their mind, which is quite different from what is called learning by the later scholars.



十一

王廷相著作

The Works of Wang T'ing hsiang

【簡 介】

王廷相（1474—1544）是明代重要思想家。他撰寫了一系列哲學、科學與政治著作，我們從中選取兩種代表作：雅述（節選）與石龍書院學辯。前者探討宇宙論與本體論問題，後者研究認識論問題。原文採用中華書局版王廷相集。

王廷相

今張廣繪

Wang T'ing-
hsiang painted
by Chang Kuang



INTRODUCTION

Wang T'ing-hsiang (1474—1544) was a significant thinker of the Ming Dynasty. He wrote a series of writings concerning philosophy, science and politics. Among them we select two most representative works; the *Statements of Grace* (selected) and *A Critical Analysis of Learning for Shih-lung Academy*. The former discusses the problems of cosmology and ontology, and the latter deals with the issues of knowledge.

雅 述（節選）

- 1 天地之先，元氣而已矣。元氣之上無物，故元氣為道之本。

- 2 老莊謂“道生天地”。宋儒謂“天地之先只有此理”。此乃改易面目立論耳，與老莊之旨何殊？愚謂天地未生，只有元氣，元氣具則造化人物之道理即此而在。故元氣之上，無物，無道，無理。

- 3 天地之間，一氣生生，而常而變，萬有不齊，故氣一則理一，氣萬則理萬。世儒專言理一而遺理萬，偏矣。天有天之理，地有地之理，人有人之理，物有物之理，幽有幽

The Statements of Grace (Selected)

Before Heaven and Earth come into existence, there is only the primordial emanative material force. Nothing is superior and prior to the primordial emanative material force. Therefore, it is the basis of Tao. 1

Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu stated that Tao gives birth to Heaven and Earth. The Song Confucians stated that there is nothing but the principle prior to Heaven and Earth. Although the latter statement varies slightly, is there any fundamental difference between it and that made by Lao and Chuang? My opinion is that before Heaven and Earth come into existence, there is only the primordial emanative material force. As there is the primordial emanative material force, there is the principle of creation and transformation of human beings and other beings. Therefore, nothing, neither Tao nor principle, is superior and prior to the primordial emanative material force. 2

The primordial emanative material force keeps producing the multitude of beings between Heaven and Earth. Since it has both the aspect of constancy and that of variety, the multitude beings cannot be the same. Thus, in 3

之理，明有明之理，各各差別。統而言之，皆氣之化，“大德敦厚”，本始一源也；分而言之，氣有百昌，“小德川流”，各正性命也^①。

【注 釋】

- ① “大德敦厚”、“小德川流”：語見禮記中庸。百昌：多種多樣的表現形式。

4 若曰天乃天，吾心亦天；神乃神，吾心亦神。以之取喻可矣，即以人為天為神，則小大非倫^①，靈明各異^②，徵諸實理，恐終不相類矣。

【注 釋】

- ① 倫：類。

- ② 靈明：意識。

5 元氣即道體，有虛即有氣，有氣即有道，氣有變化是道有變化。氣即道，道即氣，不得以離合論者。或謂氣有變，道一而不變，是

consideration of the identity of the emanative material force, the principle is as well identical; in consideration of the ten thousand varieties of the emanative material force, there should be ten thousand principles. The present Confucians mention only the identity of the principle but neglect the ten thousand varieties of it. What they insist is partial. As a matter of fact, Heaven has the principle of Heaven; Earth the principle of Earth; people the principle of people; things the principles of things; the obscurity the principle of obscurity; the manifest the principle of manifest. All these principles differ one another. To see them from the aspect of identity, they are all the transformation of the emanative material force. As the saying goes, "The great virtue is very profound." Things originate from an identical source. To see them from the aspect of difference, the emanative material force has a hundred ways of development. As the saying goes, "The small virtues move like rivers." Each possesses its respective nature.

If one considers that Heaven itself is Heaven and his mind is also a Heaven, and that the spiritual beings themselves are spiritual beings and his mind is also a spiritual being, then it may be acceptable for taking examples [in instruction]. If he really believes that mind is completely the same as Heaven and the spiritual beings, I am afraid it can hardly be the true fact with reference to reality because the individual mind is too small to compare to Heaven and the spiritual beings which are great, and they

道自道，氣自氣，岐然二物，非一貫之妙也。

6 且夫道莫大於天地之化，日月星辰有薄食彗孛，雷霆風雨有震擊飄忽，山川海瀆有崩虧竭溢，草木昆蟲有榮枯生化，羣然變而不常矣^①。況人事之盛衰得喪，杳無定端，乃謂道一而不變，得乎？氣有常有不常，則道有變有不變，一而不變，不足以該之也^②。為此說者，莊老之緒餘也^③，謂之實體^④，豈其然乎？

【注 釋】

① 群（然）：衆物（如是）。

② 該：通“賅”，包羅。

③ 緒餘：殘餘、剩餘（的部分）。

④ 實體：實際情理。

respectively have their different spirits and intelligence.

The primordial emanative material force is the substance of Tao. As there is a space, there is the emanative material force. As there is the emanative material force, there is Tao. As the emanative material force changes, Tao changes too. The emanative material force cannot separate itself from Tao and Tao cannot separate itself from the emanative material force. This is a matter beyond the discussion in terms of identity and division. Someone says that while the emanative material force changes, Tao keeps unchanging. According to his opinion, Tao would only be Tao itself and the emanative material force would only be emanative material force itself. And they are two separated things. This is just the contrary to the subtle idea that one thread penetrates through all. 5

In addition, Tao is not beyond the transformation of Heaven and Earth. With respect to the sun, the moon, and the stars, there are eclipse and comets. With respect to thunders, winds, and rains, there are unusual thunderbolts and storms. With respect to mountains, sea, and rivers, there are land slides, low water and flood water. With respect to grass, plants, and insects, there are withering and flourishing stages. In conclusion, they are all subject to change and are not perennial. Let alone the human affairs which have no fixed developments in terms of ups and downs and gains and losses. In this consideration, 6

石龍書院學辯

1 石龍書院者，久菴黃子與其徒講學之所也^①，浚川子乃為學辯遺之^②。

【注釋】

① 久菴：黃綰，號久菴，又號石龍，浙江黃巖人，王守仁弟子。

② 浚川子：王廷相自號。

2 嗟乎！仲尼之教，萬世衡準。自夫異端起而洙泗之道離^①，世儒鑿而六經之術晦，天下始囂囂然莫知誰何矣。是故有為虛靜以養心者，終日端坐，塊然枯守其形而立^②，曰“學之寧靜致遠在此矣”。有為泛講以求知者，研究載籍，日從事乎清虛之談，曰“學之物格知至在此矣”。

【注釋】

① 洙泗之道：即孔子之道。

② 塊然：孤獨貌。

could it be acceptable to assert that there is only one Tao without change? The emanative material force has both the aspect of constancy and that of variety, thus, Tao also possesses the changeable aspect and the unchangeable one. It is not enough to conclude that Tao is identical without change. He who asserts this wrong opinion is a poor follower of Lao Tsu and Chuang Tsu. How could we suppose that it is the true fact?

A Critical Analysis of Learning for Shih-lung Academy

Shih-lung Academy is the place where Master Huang 1
(Huang Wan) of Chiu An gives lectures to his disciples.
I, Chün-ch'uan Tzu (Wang T'ing-hsiang), write now the
article below to present to them.

Alas! The teachings of Confucius constitute the very 2
standard [for correct learning] forever. Since the rise of
the heterodox schools, however, his way has been endan-
gered, and the ideas of the Six Classics have been ob-
scured with the farfetched interpretations made by the lat-
er Confucians. Then such a great chaos has begun in the
world that people could hardly know what and how to
study. Thus, there are those who try to nourish their
minds by emptying and calming themselves. Like pieces of

3 浚川子曰：斯人也，空寂寡實，門逕偏頗，非禪定則支離，畔於仲尼之軌遠矣。何以故？清心志，祛煩擾，學之造端固不可無者，然必有事焉而後可。中庸曰：“致中和，天地位焉，萬物育焉。”中和而曰“致”，豈虛靜其心性者可以槩之哉？夫心固虛靈，而應者必藉視聽聰明，會於人事，而后靈能長焉。

4 赤子生而幽閉之，不接習於人間，壯而出之，不辨牛馬矣，而况君臣、父子、夫婦、長幼、朋友之節度哉？而况萬事萬物，幾微變化，不可以常理執乎？彼徒虛靜其心者，何以異此？

5 傳經討業^①，致知固其先務矣，然必體察於事會而後為知之真。易曰：“知至至之，

earth and withered trees, they sit all the day without action and declare that in this way the learning of "reaching the goal afar by calming oneself" is realized. There are some others who try to obtain knowledge by vain discussions. They are engaged in the abstract and impractical talks and declare that the learning through which things are observed and knowledge is obtained is realized thereby.

I, Chün-ch'uan Tzu, am of the opinion that these 3
people, falling in vanity and knowing little about reality, are following the heterodox ways, either the method of Buddhist dhyana (cessation) or that of the "fragmentalism". In so doing, they have deviated far from the way of Confucius. Why are they? A beginner has to clean his mind and get rid of bothers. Nevertheless, he may not take time to do that until he has done something substantial. The Mean says, "When the Mean of Harmony is reached, Heaven and Earth will be properly placed and the myriad things will be well fostered." The term "reach" is used in this expression with respect to the Mean of Harmony. How could then a man who does nothing but emptying and calming his mind conceive it? The original nature of mind is empty and wise. Nevertheless, a man with such a mind has to make contacts with human affairs by means of his vision and audition. Otherwise, his wisdom cannot develop.

Suppose a new born baby is placed in confinement, 4

可與幾也；知終終之，可與存義也。”^②然謂之“至之”“終之”，亦非泛然講說可以盡之矣。

- 6 世有閉戶而學操舟之術者，何以舵，何以招^③，何以艫，何以帆，何以引竿^④，乃罔不講而預也；及夫出而試諸山溪之濫，大者風水奪其能，次者灘漩汨其智^⑤，其不緣而敗者幾希。何也？風水之險，必熟其幾者，然后能審而應之，虛講而臆度，不足以擅其工矣。夫山溪且爾，而况江河之澎湃，洋海之渺茫乎？彼徒泛講而無實歷者，何以異此？

【注 釋】

① 討業：探討學業。

② 見周易乾卦文言。知至：預知發展到某程度；至之：達到某種程度；知終：預知將有某種結果；終之：達到某種結果；〔言〕幾：談論事業的幾微、預兆；存義：保存、保持事業的正義。

③ 招：搖槳。

④ 竿：竹索；引竿：即拉繩。

⑤ 濫：水浸出流動貌；灘：河道中水淺流急多沙石

and he is unable to contact and experience human affairs. When he becomes adult and is taken back to the society, he will not be able to tell a horse from an ox. How then could he know the proprieties of the relationships between ruler and subjects, between father and sons, between husband and wife, between the elder and the younger, and between friends? How could then he understand the complex and delicate changes and transformations of the myriad things and affairs which cannot be held by common reasoning? Is there any difference between him and those who are engaged in emptying and calming their minds?

For a scholar whose task is to teach the classics and 5
to discuss them, he should of course give priority to obtaining knowledge. Nevertheless, one cannot obtain any real knowledge until he experiences concrete things which are interconnected. The *Book of Changes* says, "He who knows what is the perfect state and then reaches such a state can be talked with about the delicate. He who knows what is the final goal and then realizes it can be talked with about righteousness." Since the terms "reach" and "realize" are used in this expression, they cannot be fulfilled by those who are engaged in boundless discussion and vain talks.

Suppose a man learns boating within a closed room 6
and he discusses on and prepares for all about how to steer, to row, to scull, to sail, and to tow. When he goes

之處，汨：擾亂，弄亂。

7 或者曰：“即如是，乃無邦國天下之責者，終不可習而能之乎？”

8 浚川子曰：不然。君子不有身與家乎？學能修其道於身，通其治於家，於是乎舉而措之，身即人也，家即國也，契小而施之大^①，動無不準矣。何也？理可以會通，事可以類推，智可以旁解，此窮神知化之妙用也。彼徒務虛寂，事講說，而不能習與性成者^②，夫安能與於斯？

【注 釋】

① 契小而施之大：小事相符而推度到大事。

② 習與性成：語本偽古文尚書太甲上：“茲乃不義，習與性成。”

9 黃子志於聖賢經世之學者。余來南

out to practise on a stream, above all, the wind and the rushing water will deprive him of his capacity; in addition, the whirlpools will disturb his wisdom. Thus, he can hardly avoid failure. Why? The reason lies in the facts that only those who have rich experiences of the delicate development of the wind and water can judge the condition and deal with them, and that those who do nothing but vain talks and assumptions cannot be good at boating. Now that he fails even on a small stream, let alone the case when he practises boating on the billowy Yangtse River, or the Yellow River, or the boundless sea. Is there any difference between him and those who are fond of nothing but vain talks?

Question: If so, will those who are not in charge of the task of the state government actually lose the chance to practise and to be capable of it? 7

Reply: No. Does a gentleman have his person and his family? If, through correct learning, he can cultivate Tao in his person and well manage his family affairs, he may be trusted and charged with the task of state government. His person is tantamount to the people; his family is tantamount to the country. To investigate his way of dealing with small things we can predict whether or not he will deal with greater things well without error. Why? Because principles can be comprehended in interrelation; analogy can be applied among various affairs; and wisdom 8

都^①，每得聞其議論，接其行事，竊見其心之廣大，有天地變化，草木蕃育之象；知之精至，有日月有明，容光必照之體；蓋非世儒空寂寡實之學，可以亂其凝定之性者。則夫余之所不以為然者，先生亦不以之誨人矣。乃述此，請揭之院壁，以為蒙引^②，使後生來學脫其禪定支離之習，乃自石龍書院始。


【注 釋】

① 南都：南京。

② 蒙引：初學的指導。

enables us to interpret one thing by another. This is a wonderful application of fulfilling spirit and knowing thoroughly the transformation. Can those who are engaged in emptying and calming themselves and vain talks while fail to improve their natures by experiences be comparable to those who are qualified in the state government?

Master Huang devotes himself to the learnings of the sages and worthies as well as the the state government. Since I came to the South capital, I have learned by every opportunity I met him his talks and deeds and I have found that he has such a broad mind that as if the changes and transformations of Heaven and Earth and the flourishing growth of living beings are contained in it, and that his knowledge is so excellent that as if the sun and the moon illuminate all the myriad things. The contemporary Confucians who insist on the vain and impractical learnings cannot shake his firm nature. Hence he never teaches what I don't think right. In this consideration, I write this article and I hope it to be a poster on the wall of the academy as a guide for the beginners. I wish the Shih-lung Academy would start the step to make the young people and coming scholars get rid of the learnings of the Buddhist dhyana and the "fragmentalism".



十二
答耿中丞

In Reply to Minister Keng

【簡 介】

答耿中丞是明代哲學家和文學家李贄（1527—1602）的代表作之一，原文採自中華書局版焚書卷

李 贄
Li Chih



INTRODUCTION

It is a letter of Li Chih (1527—1602), a thinker and literator of the Ming Dynasty, to Mr. Keng Ting-hsiang. Later, it is selected in the “Fen Shu” or the *Book Risks Burning*, one of his major works of philosophy. This letter typically shows his anti-orthodox ideas.

1 昨承教言，深中狂愚之病。夫以率性之真，推而擴之，與天下為公，乃謂之道。既欲與斯世斯民共由之，則其範圍曲成之功大矣^①。

2 “學其可無術歟”，此公至言也，此公所得於孔子而深信之以為家法者也。僕又何言之哉！然此乃孔氏之言也，非我也。夫天生一人，自有一人之用，不待取給於孔子而後足也。若必待取於孔子，則千古以前無孔子，終不得為人乎？故為願學孔子之說者，乃孟子之所以止於孟子，僕方痛憾其非夫，而公謂我願之歟？

【注 釋】

① 範圍、曲成：語本周易繫辭上。

3 且孔子未嘗教人之學孔子也。使孔子而

Your instructive letter I received yesterday is a deep and going-home critique to me, the mad fool. It is called Tao to spread the sincerity which follows one's inborn nature to a common agreement of the whole world. Now that you have intended to follow Tao together with the people throughout the world, it is then a grand achievement of Tao which contains [Heaven and Earth] and creates [the myriad things] from different aspects. 1

"Could a theory have no fixed way to follow?" This is your most essential idea. And it is what you get from the teachings of Confucius and is deeply believed as an identifying principle. What then could I comment upon it? Nevertheless, it is a saying of Confucius, not that of mine. Everyone created by Heaven certainly has his own role to play, and he is unnecessary to wait for Confucius to complete himself. Provided one had to wait for Confucius to complete oneself, there would have been no people in the remote antiquity when there had not yet been a Confucius. It is because he declared that he would learn nothing except the teachings of Confucius that Mencius could not surpass the limitation of Mencius (the second sage to Confucius). Now that I am feeling pity of his failure, how could you regard me as one of those who would learn nothing but the teachings of Confucius? 2

Furthermore, Confucius never taught others to learn himself. Provided he had taught others to do so, why, in 3

教人以學孔子，何以顏淵問仁，而曰“為仁由己”^①，而不由人也歟哉？何以曰“古之學者為己”^②，又曰“君子求諸己”^③也歟哉？惟其由己，故諸子自不必問仁於孔子；惟其為己，故孔子自無學術以授門人。是無人無己之學也。無己，故學莫先於克己；無人，故教惟在於因人。

【注 釋】

① 語本論語顏淵。

② 語本論語憲問。

③ 語本論語衛靈公。

試舉一二言之。如仲弓^①，居敬行簡人也。而問仁焉，夫子直指之曰“敬恕”而已^②。雍也聰明，故悟焉而請事。司馬牛遭兄弟之難^③，常懷憂懼，是謹言慎行人也，而問仁焉，夫子亦直指之曰“其言也訥”而已^④。生也不聰，故疑焉而反以為未足。由此觀之，孔子亦何嘗教人之學孔子也哉！夫

reply to the inquiry of Yen Hui about benevolence, did he say, "It depends on oneself to be benevolent." instead of saying that it depends on others? And why did he say, "The ancient scholars pursued learnings for themselves," and again, "A gentleman should set requirements for himself"? It is because [benevolence] depends only on oneself that other masters need not inquire of Confucius about benevolence. And it is because a gentleman [should set requirements] only for himself that Confucius did not have learnings to teach others. Thus the theory of [Confucius] is neither for others nor adhering to his own opinions. Not adhering to one's own opinions, a student should begin his study with nothing but overcoming self-conceit. Not for others, a teacher should instruct nothing but let the students follow their own natures.

For examples, when Chung Kung, who was respectful and frugal, asked how to be of benevolence, Confucius answered straightforward that it needs nothing but respect and altruism. Chung Kung was so clever that he understood it at once and then turned to the demanded concrete practice. When Ssu-ma Niu, who was suffering the disaster of losing brothers, and was a cautious man with fear and sorrow, asked how to be of benevolence, Confucius also answered straightforward, "To speak carefully." But Ssu-ma Niu was not as clever as Chung Kung, so he got perplexed and thought that the master did not give him enough instructions. From these examples, how

孔子未嘗教人之學孔子，而學孔子者務舍己而必以孔子為學，雖公亦必以為真可笑矣。夫惟孔子未嘗以孔子教人學，故其得志也，必不以身為教於天下。是故聖人在上，萬物得所，有由然也。

【注 釋】

- ① 仲弓：孔子弟子冉雍之字。
- ② 見論語雍也。
- ③ 司馬牛，孔子弟子，事見論語顏淵。
- ④ 訥：說話遲鈍，引申為慎重。

5 夫天下之人得所也久矣，所以不得所者，貪暴者擾之，而“仁者”害之也。“仁者”以天下之失所也而憂之，而汲汲焉欲貽之以得所之域^①。於是有德禮以格其心^②，有刑政以繫其四體，而人始大失所矣。夫天下之民物衆矣，若必欲其皆如吾之條理，則天地亦且不能。是故寒能折膠，而不能折朝市之人；熱能伏金，而不能伏競奔之子。何

could we imagine that Confucius had taught others to learn himself? Although Confucius never taught others to learn himself, yet those who want to follow him just devote themselves to the replacement of their own natures by the teachings of Confucius. Perhaps even you will feel ridiculous for what they have been doing. Since Confucius never taught others to learn himself, even if he had achieved his ambition, he would by no means make his own doctrines the instructions for the whole world. Therefore, it is reasonable that the myriad things will have their own proper places under the government of the sage-kings.

5
People of the world should have found their own natural places respectively long ago. The reason why they have failed to do so is that they have been harassed by those who are greedy and aggressive and harmed by those who are "benevolent". Those of "benevolence" have worried about if the people of the world may find their places and have devoted themselves to indicating people where these places are. Therefore, they have designed virtues and ceremonies to correct people's minds, and government and punishments to fetter their limbs. In so doing, the people of the world have begun to lose their natural places greatly. There are so many peoples and things under Heaven that even Heaven and Earth cannot make them all follow the doctrine of one's own. For this reason, the sellers cannot be stopped to the markets in the early morning though it might be so cold that glue is frozen

也？富貴利達所以厚吾天生之五官，其勢然也。是故聖人順之，順之則安之矣。

【注 釋】

① 貽：贈。

② 格：正。

- 6 是故貪財者與之以祿，趨勢者與之以爵，強有力者與之以權，能者稱事而官，懦者夾持而使^①。有德者隆之虛位，但取具瞻；高才者處以重任，不問出入。各從所好，各騁所長，無一人之不中用。何其事之易也？雖欲飾詐以投其好，我自無好之可投；雖欲揜醜以著其美，我自無醜之可揜。何其說之難也？是非真能明明德於天下，而坐致太平者歟？是非真能不見一絲作為之迹，而自享心逸日休之效者歟？然則孔氏之學術亦妙矣，則雖謂孔子有學有術以教人亦可也。

【注 釋】

① 懦：同“懦”，懦弱。


to pieces; the competitors cannot be stopped to pursue after profits though it might be so hot that metals would be molten. The reason lies in the fact that it is a natural tendency for people to seek richness, nobility, profit and good fortune in order to satisfy the desires of the five sense organs which are natural endowment. The sages know to comply with this natural tendency, and the whole world is thereby in peace.

[A sage-king] will confer salaries to those who are greedy for money; peerage to those who crave for nobility; powers to those who are strong; official posts to those who are capable; errands and orders to those who are weak; empty titles to those who are of virtue to let them be esteemed; key positions to those who have special talents without interrupting their activities. In so doing, whatever people like to do are followed, and they all have the chance to display their abilities without a single person left. What an easy thing it is! Although others might try to cater the sage-king's pleasure in a purposeful and hypocritical way, he has no pleasure to be catered. Although some might try to cover up the demerits of the sage-king in order to overstate his merits, he has no demerits to be covered up. What a difficulty to conceptualize it! Is he the one who is really able to evidence the brilliant virtues to the whole world and to realize the peace of the world at ease? Is he the one whose actions do not show any artificial purpose and whose heart keeps at ease and comfort

7 然則無學無術者，其茲孔子之學術歟？公既深信而篤行之，則雖謂公自己之學術亦可也，但不必人人皆如公耳。故凡公之所為自善，所用自廣，所學自當。僕自敬公，不必僕自似公也。公自當愛僕，不必公之賢於僕也。則公此行，人人有彈冠之慶矣。否則同者少而異者多，賢者少而愚不肖者多，天下果何時而太平乎哉？

everyday? If the above-mentioned is the theory of Confucius, we could consider it a wonderful way and it would be all right to say that Confucius did have theory and method to teach others.

If so, the theory and method of Confucius are in fact something without fixed theory and method. You have deep faith in what you think is the theory of Confucius and behave yourself in accordance with it. We may call it your own theory or method. Nevertheless, we should not force all others to do the same as you. Therefore, what you have done are good for your own sake; what you have put into practice are great for your own sake; what you have learned are proper for your own sake. I respect you for my own sake, but it is no necessary for me to imitate you. You have affection to me for your own sake, but it is no necessary for you to be better than I am. If you did in this way, everybody would be greatly pleased. Otherwise, the world would hardly be peaceful since those who are like you are few and those who are unlike you are many, those who are worthy are few and those who are not worthy are many. 7



十三

物理小識自序

*Self-preface to a Primary Study on
the Reasons of Things*

【簡 介】

物理小識是明末清初思想家方以智（1611—1671）的一部科學著作。在自序中，作者論述了哲學同自然科學的關係及中西學術比較等重大問題。原文採用商務印書館萬有文庫本。

方以智
今林增繪
Fang Yi-chih
Painted by Lin
K'ai



INTRODUCTION

Written by Fang Yi-chih (1611—1671), a philosopher and scientist, it represents the earliest attempt to combine the newly introduced Western science with traditional knowledge of China and is also a criticism of the Neo-Confucians who were engaged in the empty talking.

1 盈天地間皆物也。人受其中以生。生寓於身，身寓於世。所見所用，無非事也，事一物也。聖人制器利用以安其生，因表裏以治其心。器固物也，心一物也。深而言性命，性命一物也。通觀天地，天地一物也。推而至於不可知。轉以可知者攝之，以費知隱^①，重玄一實^②，是物物神神之深幾也^③。

【注 釋】

① 費：指具體事物；隱：指抽象的道理。

② 重玄：玄之又玄。

③ 物物神神：使物成為物，神成為神；幾：微妙之原由。

2 寂感之蘊，深究其所自來，是曰通幾^①。物有其故，實考究之，大而元會^②，小而草木蟲蠕，類其性情，徵其好惡，推其常變，是曰質測^③。質測即藏通幾者也。有竟掃質測而冒舉通幾，以顯其宥密之神者^④，其流遺物。誰是合外內、貫一多而神明者乎！

What are omnipresent in the space between Heaven and Earth are matters. Man gets his life by receiving something from this space. The life dwells in a body, and the body dwells in the world. Whatever one sees and uses are things, and a thing is a matter. The sages invented utensils and made use of them in order to satisfy human life, and they cultivated their minds from both outside and inside. The utensils are of course matters, and a mind is also a matter. Let us go deeper to discuss human nature and destiny; they are together a matter. Let us go wider to discuss Heaven and Earth; they are together a matter. This can be applied to things beyond our knowledge. We can understand them through those which we are able to know, and we can know the hidden substance through the multitude of phenomena. Although there are profound mysteries, their substance remains the same, which is the profundity by which matters become matter and spirits spirit. 1

It is called penetrating comprehension of the essence to explore deeply the origin of matters from its still to response. Matters have their respective reasons [of existence and transformation]. It is called substantial investigations to make concrete surveys on them. No matter whether they may be as great as the whole universe or as small as a grass, a tree, a fly, or a worm, they need to classify their characters, to find their likes and dislikes, and to discuss their generalities and differences. The 2

【注 釋】

① 通幾：通曉精微之理，相當於哲學。

② 元會：這裏指宇宙。

③ 質測：相當於自然科學。

④ 宥密：周密。

3 萬曆年間，遠西學人^①，詳於質測而拙於言通幾。然智士推之，彼之質測，猶未備也。儒者守宰理而已^②。聖人通神明，類萬物，藏之於易。呼吸圖策^③，端幾至精^④，曆、醫、占，皆可引觸，學者幾能研極之乎？

【注 釋】

① 遠西：指歐洲。

② 宰理：相當於社會科學。

③ 圖策：指河圖、洛書和易卦。

④ 端幾：事物最精微的道理。

4 智何人斯，敢曰通知，顧自小而好此，因虛舟師物理所^①，隨聞隨決，隨時錄之，

substantial investigations are the learnings in which the penetrating comprehension of the essence dwells. Some are so rash in setting forth their theories of the penetrating comprehension of the essence in order to show the closed mystery that they even completely cast away the learnings of the substantial investigation. Their failure is to have put aside matters. Can there be anyone who unifies the outside and the inside, penetrates the one and the many, and is spirit-like and intelligent?

During the Wanli period (1573—1620), the theories of the Far West (Europe) began to be introduced into China. They are good at the substantial investigations but ignore the penetrating comprehension of the essence. As viewed by wise intellectuals, however, their theories of the substantial investigations are imperfect. As for present Confucians, they hold nothing but the principles of government. Different from them, the [ancient] sages had comprehensive knowledge which is spirit-like and intelligent, and they classified the myriad things and wrote them down in the *Book of Changes*. They made repeated efforts to explore the “Chart of the Yellow River”, the “Script of the Luo River” and the hexagrams to the most profound and excellent level. In so doing, the learnings of calendar, music, medicine, and divination may all be taken as instances and stimulate inspirations. Can the present scholars do the same? 3

以俟後日之會通云耳。且以自娛。歲在昭易
汁洽日至箕三^②，浮山愚者記^③。

【注 釋】

- ① 虛舟：方以智老師王宣之號，著有物理所。
- ② 昭易：即昭陽，十天干中“癸”的別稱；汁洽：即協洽，十二地支中“未”的別稱。癸未是明崇禎十六年，即公元1643年。日至箕三：太陽運行到箕宿第三星同一經度，應是陽曆十二月二十七日前後。
- ③ 浮山愚者：方以智自號。

What kind of man am I? How can I state that I have 4
the penetrating and comprehensive knowledge? The reason why I write this book is merely that I have been fond of it and been following my teacher, Master "Empty Boat" (Wang Hsian), with his work, "Wu Li Suo", or the *Storehouse of the Reasons of Matters*. As soon as I heard something and found the conclusion, I would write them down to prepare for a comprehensive understanding. And that I write this book is also for self-amusement. Authored by the Fool of Mr. Fu (Fang Yi-chih) around December 27, 1643.



【簡 介】

王夫之（1619—1692）是明末清初著名哲學家，宋明理學的總結者，也是中國古代哲學史上最偉大的思想家之一。本書節選了他的兩種著作：周易外傳與尚書引義。

王夫之

採自清同治四年
(1865)金陵
刻本船山遺書

Wang Fu-chih
from the Col-
lected Works of
Ch'uan-shan of
the Jinling Edi-
tion (the Ch'ing
Dynasty)



INTRODUCTION

Wang Fu-chih (1619—1692) was one of the greatest thinkers in the ancient history of Chinese philosophy. He is often considered the thinker who concluded the Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism. Two works are selected here: *An Outer Explanation of the Book of Changes* which shows his idea on the relationship between principles and concrete things, and the *Extended Meanings of the Book of Documents*, which deals with the problem of human nature.

周易外傳（節選）

1 天下惟器而已矣。道者器之道，器者不可謂之道之器也。

2 無其道則無其器，人類能言之^①。雖然，苟有其器矣，豈患無道哉^②？君子之所不知，而聖人知之。聖人之所不能，而匹夫匹婦能之。人或昧於其道者，其器不成；不成，非無器也。無其器則無其道，人鮮能言之，而固其誠然者也。

【注 釋】

① 類：大概。

② 苟：如果。

3 洪荒無揖讓之道，唐虞無吊伐之道^①，漢唐無今日之道，則今日無他年之道多矣。

An Outer Explanation of the Book of Changes (Selected)

There is nothing exists under Heaven except the concrete things. Tao is the Tao of concrete things, and the concrete things may not be called the concrete things of the Tao. 1

People are generally capable of stating that there cannot be a concrete thing without its Tao. In case there is already the concrete thing, how could there still be the worry about the lack of its Tao? A sage knows what a gentleman does not know, but a common folk may be able to do what even a sage cannot. Sometimes people fail to make a concrete thing because they know nothing about its Tao. Nevertheless, their failure does not imply that there is no concrete thing at all. In case there is not yet the concrete thing, there cannot be its Tao. Although seldom can people be capable of stating it, it is a fact with obvious certainty. 2

In the years of primitive and wilderness, there was not the Tao of yielding a throne. During the reigns of Yao and Shun, there was not the Tao of condolence and punitive expedition. During the period from the Han to the 3

未有弓矢而無射道，未有車馬而無御道，未有牢、醴、璧、幣、鐘、磬、管、弦而無禮樂之道^②，則未有子而無父道，未有弟而無兄道，道之可有而且無者多矣^③。故無其器則無其道，誠然之言也，而人特未之察耳。

【注 釋】

① 唐虞：指堯舜時代；吊伐：吊（慰問）民伐（討伐）罪。

② 牢、醴、璧、幣：均為禮器；鐘、磬、管、弦：均為樂器。

③ 且：暫且。

4 故古之聖人能治器，而不能治道^①。治器者則謂之道。道得則謂之德。器成謂之行。器用之廣，則謂之變通。器效之著^②，則謂之事業。故易有象，象者，像器也。卦有爻，爻者，效器者也^③。爻有辭，辭者，辨器者也。故聖人者，善治器而已矣。

5 自其治而言之，而上之名立焉。上之名

T'ang Dynasties, there was not the Tao which prevails today. Therefore, we can infer that at present there lack many Taos which will prevail in the future. There could not be the Tao of arrow shooting before the bow and arrow were invented. There could not be the Tao of cart driving before the usage of the cart and horse. There could not be the Tao of ceremonies and music before the existence of the sacrificing animals, wines, presenting jades and coins, bells, chime stones, flutes and strings. For the same reason, there could not be the Tao of fatherhood before the existence of sons; there could not be the Tao of the eldership before the existence of the younger. There are many Taos which may exist but have not yet existed. Therefore, it is a statement with obvious certainty that if there is not the concrete thing, there cannot be its Tao. The reason why people are not capable of stating it is merely that they fail to recognize it.

Therefore, the ancient sages were able to make concrete things but they could not make Tao. The making way of concrete things is called Tao. When Tao is obtained, it is called virtue. Completing the making of concrete things is called practice. Extending the usage of concrete things is called change and variation. If evident achievement is got in so doing, it is called cause. Thus, in the *Book of Changes* there are graphs to resemble concrete things; there are lines in each hexagraph to imitate concrete things; there are remarks appended to the lines

立，而下之名亦立焉。上下皆名也，非有涯量之可別者也^④。形而上者，非無形之謂^⑤。既有形矣，有形而後有形而上。無形之上，亘古今，通萬變，窮天窮地，窮人窮物，皆所未有者也。

【注 釋】

- ① 治：通製，製造。
- ② 效：成效。
- ③ 效：仿效。
- ④ 涯（量）：邊際，量度。
- ⑤ 無形：離開形。

6 故曰“惟聖人然後可以踐形”^①，踐其下，非踐其上也^②。故聰明者耳目也，睿知者心思也。仁者人也，義者事也，中和者禮樂也，大公至正者刑賞也，利用者水火金木也，厚生者谷麻絲麻也，正德者君臣父子也^③。如其捨此而求諸未有器之先，亘古今，通萬變，窮天窮地，窮人窮物，而不能為之名，而況得有其實乎？

to discern concrete things. Therefore, the sages were those who are good at making concrete things.

In speaking of their making, the expression "beyond" is set out. Since the expression "below" is already set out, the expression "below" is logically set out too. Both "beyond" and "below" are but expressions, and as a matter of fact, there is never a line of quantitative demarcation between them. The term "those beyond forms" does not imply that there is something which has nothing to do with forms. It is only after there have been forms that do those beyond forms come into being. As for that beyond forms, it cannot be found although we try to look for it from the remote antiquity through today, in the multitude of variations, and throughout Heaven, Earth, people, and matters.

Therefore, [Mencius] says, "Not until one becomes a sage, can he put [inherent benevolence and righteousness] into practice and onto forms." The practice is then with those below forms, not those beyond them. Thus, the excellent audition and vision lie in the ears and eyes; wisdom and knowledge lie in the heart; benevolence lies in men; righteousness lies in affairs; the Mean and harmony lie in ceremonies and music; the great selflessness and perfect justice lie in punishments and awards; the utilization of the Nature lies in water, fire, metals and wood; the sustenance of lives lies in the crop, vegetable,

【注 釋】

- ① 語出孟子盡心上。
- ② 踐其下非踐其上：踐履者在人的形體（下）而非無形（上）。
- ③ 利用、厚生、正德：語出偽古文尚書大禹謨。

7 老氏 瞽於此^①，而曰道在虛。虛亦器之虛也。釋氏 瞽于此，而曰道在寂。寂亦器之寂也。淫詞炙輶^②，而不能離乎器，然且標離器之名以自神，將誰欺乎？器而後有形，形而後有上。無形無下，人之所言也。無形無上，顯而易見之理，而邪說淫曼以衍之^③，而不知慚。則君子之所深鑒其愚而惡其妄也。

【注 釋】

- ① 瞽：看不清。
- ② 炙：加熱；輶：古時車上貯存脂膏（潤滑油）的器具；淫詞炙輶：凝結的脂膏在加熱後不斷流出，形容邪說滔滔不絕。
- ③ 淫曼以衍之：虛夸地推演。

silk, and hemp; the correction of virtues lies in the king versus his subjects and the fathers versus their sons. If one puts aside all these concrete things and tries to find something prior to the concrete things, he cannot find even a name for it although he looks for it from the remote antiquity through today, in the multitude of variations, and throughout Heaven, Earth, people, and matters, let alone the reality of it.

Blind to what is mentioned above, Lao Tzu states that Tao lies in the emptiness. The emptiness is, however, the emptiness of concrete things. Blind to what is mentioned above, Buddha states that Tao lies in the quietude. The quietude is, however, the quietude of concrete things. They keep on uttering the heterodox words, never escaped from concrete things, but the names which they give are described as separating from concrete things. Whom, then, are they deceiving? It is after concrete things exist that there are forms. And it is after forms exist that there are those beyond forms. Without forms, those below forms cannot be conceived. This is what is often stated by people. Without forms, those beyond forms cannot be conceived. This is a matter of obvious fact. Nevertheless, those who hold the heterodox theories perversely go against the fact and do not feel shameful. As a gentleman, one should take their foolish words as object lessons and be ill of their unfounded theories.

8 故“作者之謂聖”^①，作器也；“述者之謂明”^②，述器也。“神而明之存乎其人”^③，神明其器也。……嗚呼！君子之道，盡夫器而已矣。

【注 釋】

① 見禮記樂記。

② 同上。

③ 見周易繫辭上。

尚 書 引 義 （節選）

1 “習與性成”者^①，習成而性與成也。使性而無弗義^②，則不受不義。不受不義，則習成而性終不成也^③。使性而有不義，則善與不善，性皆實有之；有善與不善而皆性，氣稟之有，不可謂天命之無^④。氣者天氣，稟者稟於天也。故言性者，戶異其說。今言“習與性成”，可以得所折中矣。

【注 釋】

① “習與性成”：語出偽古文尚書太甲上。

Therefore, in the expression that “those who create are sages”, “creation” implies to create concrete things. In the expression that “those who narrate are wisdom”, “narration” implies to narrate concrete things. In the expression that “it is man who sacralize and evidence them”, “to sacralize” and “to evidence” imply to sacralize and evidence certain concrete things... Alas! The Tao of gentlemen is no other than the fulfillment of concrete things. 8

The Extended Meanings of the Book of Documents (Selected)

The statement that “The completion of human nature is accompanied by the completion of human practice” means that when there is a completion of a practice, there will necessarily be a completion in human nature. Provided that there were nothing but righteousness in human nature, it would be impossible to accept those against righteousness; provided human nature never accepted those against righteousness, the completion of an [evil] practice would not result in the actual completion of the evil in human nature. Provided there were already elements in human nature against righteousness, the human nature would possess both good and evil; provided the human nature possessed both good and evil, one could not say that the evil comes out of the pervasive material force only and it has nothing to do with Heavenly Decree, because 1

② 性無弗義：性無不善。

③ 習成而性終不成：指性不受習的影響，性不會變惡。

④ 天命之無：天命之無不善（純善）。

2 夫性者生理也^①，日生則日成也。則夫天命者，豈但初生之頃命之哉^②！但初生之頃命之，是持一物而予之於一日，俾牢持終身以不失；天且有心以勞，勞於給與；而人之受之，一受其成形而無可損益矣。夫天之生物，其化不息。初生之頃，非無所命也。何以知其有所命？無所命，則仁、義、禮、智無其根也。

3 幼而少，少而壯，壯而老，亦非無所命也。何以知其有所命？不更有所命，則年逝而性亦日忘也。形化者化醇也，氣化者化生也。二氣之運，五行之實，始以為胎孕，後以為長養，取精用物，一受於天產地產之精

the pervasive material force is the material force of Heaven. And it is given by Heaven. Therefore, there are many schools of thought as the concept of human nature is concerned. Now the [*Book of Documents*] states that the completion of human nature is accompanied by the completion of human practice, and it may be said to have attained what is the fairest without bias.

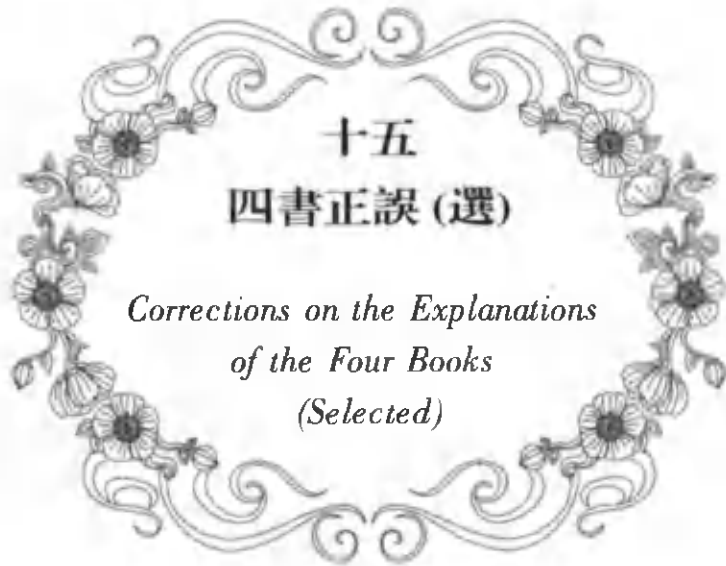
“Nature” means the principle of becoming. Since becoming takes place daily, the completion of human nature will also continue daily. If so, how could the nature as Heavenly Decree be but something determined at the moment of the birth of a person? Provided it were determined at the moment of the birth of a person, the case would be that Heaven holds certain thing at its hands and gives it to a certain person on certain date, and makes that person hold it fast for his whole life and never give it up. If that were the case, Heaven would be purposeful and busy. It would trouble itself busy with giving things respectively to the people. Once the people receive their natures from Heaven, and have their physical bodies formed, they would by no means make any change on their natures. As a matter of fact, however, the transformation of Heaven creating the myriad things never ceases. There is indeed something determined by Heaven at the moment of the birth of a person. How can we know it? Because, if not so, benevolence, righteousness, politeness, and intelligence would have no root at all. 2

英，無以異也。形日以養，氣日以滋，理日以成；方生而受之，一日生而一日受之。受之者有所自授^③，豈非天哉？故天日命於人，而人日受命於天。故曰：性者生也，日生而日成之也。

【注 釋】

- ① 生理：（性的）生生不息的功能、特性。
- ② 但：僅，只；初生之頃命：出生時刻所命。
- ③ 所自授：授予者。

When one grows from infancy to youth, from youth to maturity, and from maturity to aging, there, too, can't be nothing determined by Heaven. How can we know that there are something determined by Heaven? Without new decrees given by Heaven, one would forget his nature with the passage of time. The transformation of physical forms is of thickening while the transformation of the pervasive material force is of becoming. In the beginning, the movement of the two (*Yin* and *Yang*) material force and the realities of the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth) provide the basis of the embryo; then they serve as the nutrition for human growth. The people keep on taking in the essence from the two material forces and making use of the five elements. What they do are the same as receiving the essence from Heaven and Earth, and there is no difference between the two processes at all. Their physical bodies take in the nutrition daily; the pervasive material force in them increases daily; the principles in their natures achieve completion daily. They receive something from Heaven at the moment of their birth. And they continue till the end of their lives. Since they receive something, there must have some giver. Isn't this Heaven? Therefore, Heaven decrees daily to man, and man receives decrees daily from Heaven. Therefore, nature means becoming. Since becoming takes place daily, completion of human nature will also continue daily.



十五
四書正誤(選)

*Corrections on the Explanations
of the Four Books
(Selected)*

【簡 介】

四書正誤，清初實學代表人物顏元（1635—1704）的主要哲學著作之一，原文據中華書局版顏元集。

顏 元
選自清代學者傳
傳

*Yen Yuen
from the
Scholars' Por-
traits and Bi-
ographies of
the Ch'ing Dy-
nasty*



INTRODUCTION

It is a representative work of Yen Yuen (1635—1704), a thinker and educationist of the early Ch'ing Dynasty. It deals with the problem of epistemology and shows a clear emphasis on practice.

1 李植秀問格物致知^①。

2 予曰：知無體，以物為體^②。猶之目無體，以形色為體也。故人目雖明，非視黑視白，明無由用也。人心雖靈，非玩東玩西，靈無由施也。今之言致知者，不過讀書講問思辨已耳，不知致吾知者，皆不在此也。

【注釋】

① 李植秀：顏元弟子。

② 體：指認識對象。

3 辟如欲知禮，任讀幾百遍禮書，講問幾十次，思辨幾十層，總不算知；直須跪拜周旋，捧玉爵，執幣帛，親下手一番，方知禮是如此，知禮者斯至矣。

4 辟如欲知樂，任讀樂譜幾百遍，講問思

Li Chih-hsiu inquired me of the meaning of "obtaining knowledge through handling things" and I replied: 1

Knowledge has no object of its own. Instead, it takes matters as its object. The case is similar to that eyes have no object of their own and, instead, they take the forms and colors as their object. Thus, the eyes, though having the capacity of vision, cannot put the vision into function, until they see something black or white. The human mind, though being intelligent, cannot put the intelligence into function until it ponders over things here and there. According to the present scholars who talk about the "obtaining knowledge", the term means no more than reading, discussion, questioning, thinking, and analysis. They do not know that our knowledge is obtained by none of these methods. 2

If one wants to know what rites are, he cannot be considered a knower of the rites although he has read books on rites hundreds of times, discussed and questioned about them scores of times, and pondered over and explored them on scores of levels. What he needs to do are but to kneel down, to bow, to move around, to hold up the jade wine-cup with both hands, and to hold the presenting coins and silk. In short, he needs to practise the rites himself. Only then will he know what rites are. And he who knows the rites this way is a perfect knower. 3

辨幾十層，總不能知；直須搏拊擊吹，口歌身舞，親下手一番，方知樂是如此，知樂者斯至矣。

- 5 是謂“物格而後知至”。故吾斷以為“物”即“三物”之“物”^①，“格”即“手格猛獸”之“格”，“手格殺之”之“格”。此二格字，見古史及漢書。

【注 釋】

- ① “三物”：指知、仁、聖、義、忠、和等“六德”，孝、友、睦、婣、任、恤等“六行”，以及禮、樂、射、御、書、數等“六藝”。語本周禮地官。

- 6 秀問：不先明禮如何行？

- 7 子曰：試觀孔子何不先教學文，而先孝弟謹信泛愛乎^①？又何不先教性道一貫，而

If, for another example, one wants to know what music is, he cannot know it although he has read music hundreds of times, discussed, questioned, pondered over and made analysis on it on scores of levels. What he needs to do are but to strike and blow musical instruments, to sing with his own voice, and to dance with his own body. In short, he needs to practise music himself. Only then will he know what music is. And he who knows music this way is a perfect knower. 4

This is called "It is only after things are handled that can the knowledge be obtained." According to my judgment, "things" in this statement denote such things as in the term of the "Three Categories of Things", and "to handle" denotes "to grapple" as in the expression of "to grapple fierce beasts with hands" and that of "to grapple and kill someone with hands". These two expressions are quoted from the ancient historic books as well as the *History of the Han Dynasty*. 5

Li Chih-hsiu continued his inquiry: "If one does not know the rites first, how can he act on them?" I said in reply to him: 6

Try to investigate what Confucius did. Why didn't he teach literature first but, instead, taught filial piety, respect to the elder, cautious sincerity, and universal love first? Again, why didn't he teach the identity of human 7

先三物乎^②？

【注 釋】

① 參見論語學而。“學文”在孝弟、謹信、泛愛（衆）之后。

② “性道一貫”指學（明禮），“三物”指行。

8 且如此冠，雖三代聖人不知何朝之制也；雖從聞見知為肅慎之冠^①，亦不知皮之如何煖也，必手取而加諸首，乃知是如此取煖。如此菹蔬^②，雖上智老圃不知為可食之物也；雖從形色料為可食之物，亦不知味之如何辛也，必箸取而納之口，乃知如此辛味。故曰：手格其物而後知至。

【注 釋】

① 肅慎：古族名，居於今東北地區。

② 菹蔬：蘿卜之類的蔬菜。

9 故予嘗曰：“不解聖人之行者，證之聖人之言；不解聖人之言者，驗之聖人之行。”試觀孔門身通六藝者七十二人，周公以三物

nature and Tao first but, instead, taught the Three Categories of Things first?

Take the hat I have for example. Without taking it 8
with hands and putting it on, one, though he might be one of the sages of the three ancient dynasties, could not know which dynasty's style it is. Even though he might happen to learn that it is a hat made in Su Shen, he could not know how warm he will feel until he puts it on. Take the radish we have for example. Without taking it with hands and having it with mouth, one, though he may be one of the best and wisest gardeners, could not know it is edible. Even though he may infer that it is edible by watching its form and color, he could not know how hot its taste is. Only when he eats it with chopsticks can he know its hot taste. Therefore, it is said only after handling things with hands can knowledge be obtained.

For this reason, I have said, "If one does not under- 9
stand the deeds of the sages, he may find answers from their words; if he does not understand their words, he may find answers from their deeds." Try to investigate that there were seventy-two disciples under the education of Confucius who were all good at all the Six Arts and that the Duke of Chou taught people with the Three Categories of Things and therefrom arose many talented people. Can't we find from these facts the reason why the Great Learning begins with the emphasis that one should

教萬民而賓興之^①，不可見大學首自行習下手乎？

【注 釋】

① 賓興：指有用人材輩出。

10 朱注：“窮至事物之理。”^①夫“窮至”，不猶然一“致”字乎？“窮至其理”，不猶然一“知”字乎？是解成個“致知在致知”矣。

【注 釋】

① 朱：朱熹。

begin his study with practice and action?

Chu Hsi explained ["handling things"] as "fully un- 10
derstanding the principle of things". Doesn't "fully un-
derstanding" mean the same as "obtaining"? Doesn't "the
principle of things to be fully understood" mean the same
as "knowledge"? In so doing, he explained "obtaining
knowledge through handling things" just as "obtaining
knowledge through obtaining knowledge".

十六
孟子字義疏證
(選)

*A Textual Commentary on the
Terms in the Books of Mencius
(Selected)*

【簡 介】

孟子字義疏證是清代著名學者、思想家戴震(1723—1777)的代表作，它通過對於孟子書若干重要概念的解釋闡發了作者本人的哲學主張，批判了宋明理學的許多見解。我們從中選取了關於“理”及理欲關係的若干片斷。原文採自上海古籍出版社版戴震集。

戴震
據安徽叢書本
戴先生遺墨印
Tai Chen
from the Manuscripts of Master Tai in the Anhui Series Edition



INTRODUCTION

It is a representative work of Tai Chen (1723—1777), a renown thinker and scholar of the Ch'ing Dynasty. In this work, Tai criticizes the thoughts of the Song Confucians and we select his discussions on principle as well as the relationship between principle and human desires, which show a tendency of enlightenment.

1 問：宋以來之言理也，其說為“不出於理，則出於欲，不出於欲，則出於理”，故辨乎理欲之界，以為君子小人於此焉分。今以情之不爽失為理，是理存乎欲者也。然則無欲亦非歟？

2 曰：孟子言“養心莫善於寡欲”^①，明乎欲不可無也，寡之而已。

【注釋】

① 見孟子盡心下。

3 人之生也，莫病於無以遂其生^①。欲遂其生，亦遂人之生，仁也。欲遂其生，至於戕人之生而不顧者，不仁也。不仁實始於欲遂其生之心；使其無此欲，必無不仁矣。然使其無此欲，則於天下之人生道窮促，亦將漠然視之；己不必遂其生而遂人之生，無是

Question: Since the Song Dynasty, people, when 1
talking about principles, have maintained that if some-
thing is done not out of the motive of principles, it is out
of the motive of desires; if it is done not out of the motive
of desires, it is out of the motive of principles. Therefore,
they have devoted themselves to drawing a line of demar-
cation between principles and desires and believed that
with such a line the superior men and the inferior men can
be clearly distinguished. Now, however, you hold that
principles are but the senses that do not err. If so, princi-
ples would be something dwelling in desires. Is it, then,
wrong for one to pursue for a desireless state?

Answer: Mencius says, "For nourishing the mind 2
there is nothing better than to decrease desires." His say-
ing clearly suggests that human desires cannot be com-
pletely abstained but be made fewer.

After one is born, there is no greater pain for him 3
than to be unable to satisfy life. To desire to satisfy not
only the life of his own but the lives of others also is be-
nevolence. To desire to satisfy the life of his own only
while destroy the lives of others without regret is against
benevolence. The action against benevolence in the very
beginning indeed comes out of the motive of satisfying the
life of one's own. Without such a desire, there would by no
means be any action against benevolence. Nevertheless, a
man without any desire would feel indifferent to the

情也。

【注 釋】

① 病：痛苦；遂：滿足。

4 然則謂“不出於正，則出於邪；不出於邪，則出於正”，可也。謂“不出於理，則出於欲；不出於欲，則出於理”，不可也。

5 欲，其物；理，其則也。不出於邪，而出於正，猶往往有意見之偏，未能得理。而宋以來之言理欲也，徒以為正邪之辨而已矣；不出於邪而出於正，則謂以理應事矣。理與事分為二而與意見合為一，是以害事。夫事至而應者，心也。心有所蔽，則於事情未之能得，又安能得理乎？

6 自老氏貴於“抱一”，貴於“無欲”^①，

poverty and hardships of the people. And it is irrational to suppose that one may have no desire to satisfy the life of his own while have the desire to satisfy the lives of others.

It is thus correct to say that if something is done not out of proper motive, it is out of perverse motive; if it is done not out of perverse motive, it is out of proper motive. But it is incorrect to say that if something is done not out of the motive of principles, it is out of the motive of desires; if it is done not out of the motive of desires, it is out of the motive of principles. 4

Desires are the material aspects of human activities while principles are their rules. Even if things are done not out of perverse motive but out of proper motive, still may they fall in imperfection due to the partial opinions and thereby discord with principles. When principles and desires are concerned, however, people since the Song Dynasty have the opinion that nothing is worth discussion except the distinction between perversity and propriety. As long as something is done not out of perverse but proper motive, they would say that the doer has correctly responded things with principles. Here, principles are considered something separated from matters but identical with opinions, which is detrimental to the accomplishment of things. That which responds to things when they come is mind. When there are obscurations, the mind will 5

莊周書則曰：“聖人之靜也，非曰靜也善，故靜也；萬物無足以撓心^②，故靜也。”“水靜猶明，而況精神。聖人之心靜乎！”“夫虛靜恬淡、寂寞無為者，天地之平而道德之至。”^③

【注 釋】

① 抱一：見老子第十章、第二十二章；無欲：見老子第三章。

② 撓：擾亂。

③ 均見莊子天道。

7 周子通書曰：“‘聖可學乎？’曰：‘可。’‘有要乎？’曰：‘有。’‘請問焉。’曰：‘一為要。一者，無欲也。無欲則靜虛動直。靜虛則明；明則通。動直則公；公則溥。明通公溥，庶矣哉。’”^①此即老莊釋氏之說。朱子亦屢言“人欲所蔽”^②。皆以為無欲則無蔽，非中庸“雖愚必明”之道也。

【注 釋】

① 語見通書聖學。直：正直；溥：寬廣普遍；庶：差不多。

not be able to have even a shallow knowledge of things. How could, then, it be able to grasp the principles in them?

It is Lao Tsu who initiated to value the persistence in oneness and the state of no desire. Afterwards, the *Works of Chuang Tzu* says, "As for the quietude of the sages, it is not the case that they thought quietude was good and then stick to it, but the case that nothing in the world can attract their mind and they were thus quiet." "Even water reflects things better when still. Let alone spirit. Let alone the still minds of sages." "It is the highest balance of Heaven and Earth and the super excellence of morality to be empty, quiet, smooth, desireless, still, indifferent, and actionless." 6

Master Chou's *Penetrating the Book of Changes* says in a dialect style, "Q: Can sagehood be obtained through learning? A: Yes. Q: Is there a key to it? A: Yes. Q: Please say something about the key. A: The key is oneness. Oneness implies no desire. When one has no desire, he will be empty in rest and straightforward in action. Empty in rest, he will be enlightened, and enlightenment leads to all-penetration. Straightforward in action, he will be selfless, and selflessness leads to universality. If he is enlightened, all-penetrating, selfless, and universal, he will then almost be a sage." His saying is not different from the theories of Lao, Chuang, and Buddhism. Master 7

② 如朱熹大學章句“明德”注。

- 8 有生而愚者，雖無欲亦愚也。凡出於欲，無非以生以養之事。欲之失為私不為蔽。自以為得理而所執之實謬，乃蔽而不明。天下古今之人，其大患私與蔽二端而已。私生於欲之失，蔽生於知之失。欲生於血氣，知生於心。因私而咎欲，因欲而咎血氣；因蔽而咎知，因知而咎心。老氏所以言“常使民無知無欲”^①。彼自外其形骸，貴其真宰。後之釋氏，其論說似異而實同。

【注 釋】

① 見老子第三章。

- 9 宋儒出入於老釋^①，故雜乎老釋之言以為言。

Chu Hsi also reiterated that "Man often falls in obscurity due to his desires." All the above-mentioned thinkers are of the same opinion that without desire, there will be no obscurity, and this is different from the Tao taught in the Mean that a fool may get enlightened through substantial efforts.

There are people who are congenitally foolish. Without desire, they will be the same foolish. Whatever come out of desires are things concerning livelihood and nourishment. The failure of desires leads to selfishness, not to obscurity. When one thinks he has already grasped a principle but in fact he is mistaken, he will be obscure and fails to be enlightened. The greatest troubles of people in the world, past or present, are but two items, namely, selfishness and obscurity. Selfishness is the product of error in desire, and obscurity is the product of error in knowledge. Desires are produced by blood and vital force whereas knowledge is produced by mind. People blame desire because of selfishness, and blame blood and vital force because of desires. Likewise, they blame knowledge because of obscurity and blame the mind because of knowledge. This is why Lao Tzu suggested that "People should be made to have neither knowledge nor desire." He neglected the bodies and valued so-called "True Lord" (Tao). Later, Buddhists held theories that seem different but are really the same. 8

- 10 詩曰：“民之質矣，日用飲食。”^①記曰：“飲食男女，人之大欲存焉。”^②聖人治天下，體民之情，遂民之欲，而王道備。

【注 釋】

- ① 此句後戴震引注有程顥、張載行狀和朱子語類語以為其證，這裏略。
- ② 見詩小雅天保。
- ③ 見禮記禮運。

- 11 人知老莊釋氏異於聖人，聞其無欲之說，猶未之信也。於宋儒則信以為同於聖人，理欲之分，人人能言之。

- 12 故今之治人者，視古賢聖體民之情，遂民之欲，多出於鄙細隱曲^①，不措諸意，不足為怪。而及其責以理也，不難舉曠世之高節，著於義而罪之。尊者以理責卑，長者以理責幼，貴者以理責賤，雖失謂之順。卑

The Song Confucians frequently found references and consulted with Taoist and Buddhist writings. Therefore, their statements are often mixtures of Confucianism with Taoism and Buddhism. 9

The *Book of Odes* says, "The common sense of human beings lies in the necessary provision of food and drink." And the *Book of Rites* says, "The greatest desires of human beings lie in drink, food and sexual pleasure." In governing the world, the ancient sages understood the feelings of people and satisfied their lives. In so doing, the government of right became perfect. 10

Before the Song Dynasty, people, when hearing the concepts of no desire set forth by Lao, Chuang, and Buddhism, knew that these concepts differ from those of sages and thus were able to distrust their heterodox sayings. When the Song Neo-Confucianism came to existence, people began to believe that the sayings of Lao, Chuang, and Buddhism are the same as those of the Confucian sages, and everyone can say something about the distinction between principles and desires. 11


Therefore, it is quite natural for the present rulers to consider the activities of the ancient sages in understanding the feelings of people and satisfying their desires as but insignificant and trivial matters which are not worth attention. And it is not hard to understand why the present 12

者、幼者、賤者以理爭之，雖得謂之逆。於是下之人不能以天下之同情、天下之同欲達之於上。上以理責其下，而在下之罪，人人不勝指數。人死於法，猶有憐之者，死於理，其誰憐之！嗚呼！雜乎老釋之言以為言，其禍甚於申韓如是也！

【注 釋】

- ① 鄙細：地位低微的民衆；隱曲：微不足道的生活瑣事。

rulers, when making requirements, often set examples of highest conducts which are beyond the reach of most of the people as the only way to illustrate righteousness while blame all those who fail to do the same. When the superior blame the inferior, the elder blame the younger, and the noble blame the humble, it is called proper even though the blames are mistaken. On the contrary, when the inferior, the younger, and the humble argue on sound grounds against these blames, it is called improper even though they are right. As a result, the inferior have no way to make their ideas be accepted with the common feelings and common desires of the whole world. The superior keep on blaming the inferior and the crimes of each of them become countless. When a man is punished to death according to laws, there will still be some who show sympathy for him. If a man is punished to death according to principles, who dare to show sympathy for him? Alas! The disasters caused by the mixture of the Confucian ideas with those of Taoism and Buddhism are greater than those caused by the ideas of such cruel legalists as Shen Pu-hai and Han Fei.



十七

乙丙之際著議第七

*A Paper Completed
in 1815 to 1816*

【簡 介】

乙丙之際著議第七是清代思想家龔自珍 (1792—1841) 於 1815—1816 年之間撰寫的一篇論文。原文採自龔自珍全集。

龔自珍

今張廣繪

Kung Tzu-chen

painted by

Chang Kuang



INTRODUCTION

It is an important paper by Kung Tzu-chen (1792—1841), a thinker and literator of the Ch'ing Dynasty. This paper calls strongly for political reform.

1 夏之既夷^①，豫假夫商之所以興^②，夏不假六百年矣乎？商之既夷，豫假夫周之所以興，商不假八百年矣乎？無八百年不夷之天下，天下有萬億年不夷之道。然而十年而夷，五十年而夷，則以拘一祖之法，憚千夫之議^③，聽其自陔^④，以俟踵興者之改圖爾^⑤。一祖之法無不敝，千夫之議無不靡^⑥，與其贈來者以勁改革^⑦，孰若自改革？

【注 釋】

- ① 夷：衰落。
- ② 豫：事先（準備）；假：借。
- ③ 憚：懼怕。
- ④ 陔：同“墮”，墮落。
- ⑤ 踵興：繼之而起。
- ⑥ 靡：衰敗。
- ⑦ 勁：猛烈。

2 抑思我祖所以興，豈非革前代之敗耶？前代之所以興，又非革前代之敗耶？何莽然其不一姓也^①？天何必不樂一姓耶？鬼何必

232

Suppose that the ruler of the Hsia Dynasty in its declining years might have accepted those by which the Shang Dynasty rose, couldn't it have survived another six hundred years? Suppose that the ruler of the Shang Dynasty in its declining years might have accepted those by which the Chou Dynasty rose, couldn't it have survived another eight hundred years? Any dynasty cannot keep changeless in eight hundred years but there is Tao which keeps changeless for ever. As a matter of fact, however, some dynasties were replaced by others in just ten years or fifty years. It is just because the rulers of these dynasties stuck to the rules of their respective ancestors and feared to accept the suggestions and criticisms of the multitude. In so doing, they were but letting their dynasties decline hopelessly and waiting for the successors to replace them. The rules set forth by one ancestor cannot avoid becoming out-of-date while the suggestions and criticisms of the multitude are irresistible. For a ruler, it would better initiate reform himself rather than present his country as a gift to the coming dynasty and quicken the revolution against himself. 1

To reflect upon the rise of our ancestors, didn't they rise by reforming defects of the former dynasty? And didn't the ancestors of the former dynasty rise by reforming the defects of their former dynasty? Why should there be different clans and rulers in the history of our country? Why shouldn't Lord Heaven be pleasant with 2

不享一姓耶？奮之！奮之！將敗則豫師來姓，又將敗則豫師來姓。易曰：“窮則變，變則通，通則久。”^②非為黃帝以來六七姓括言之也^③，為一姓勸豫也。

【注 釋】

- ① 莽：雜多貌。
- ② 見周易繫辭下。
- ③ 括：總括。

the ever ruling of single clan? Why couldn't the spiritual beings enjoy the sacrifices offered by this ever ruling clan? Strive! Strive! Learn from the clans which are rising before our decline is unavoidable. The *Book of Changes* says, "A breakthrough will take place when there is no way out. Breakthrough leads to obstructionlessness and obstructionlessness leads to longer existence." This is not a conclusion of the dynasty shifts of six or seven clans since the Yellow Emperor but an advice for one clan to make preparations.



十八
默觚治篇五
(節選)

*On Government (Part V) in
Wei's Notes (Selected)*

【簡 介】

默觚是清代進步思想家魏源 (1794—1857) 的代表作，本書從中節選此篇，體現了作者關於變革的主張。原文採自中華書局版魏源集。

魏 源
Wei Yuen



INTRODUCTION

This is a chapter of the *Wei's Notes*, one of the major works of Wei Yüen (1794—1857), a progressive thinker of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

1 三代以上，天皆不同今日之天，地皆不同今日之地，人皆不同今日之人，物皆不同今日之物。

2 ……故氣化無一息不變者也，其不變者道而已，勢則日變而不可復者也。天有老物^①，人有老物，文有老物。柞薪之木，傳其火而化其火；代嬗之孫^②，傳其祖而化其祖。古乃有古，執古以繩今，是為誣今；執今以律古，是為誣古。誣今不可以為治，誣古不可以語學。詩曰：“豈其食魚，必河之魴？豈其取妻，必齊之姜？”^③

【注 釋】

① 老物：過時之物。

② 嬗：傳位。

③ 見詩陳風衡門。

3 租、庸、調變而兩稅^①，兩稅變而條

Back to the three dynasties (the Hsia, the Shang, and the Chou), heaven was then obviously different from today's heaven, the earth was obviously different from today's earth, the people were obviously different from today's people, and things were obviously different from today's things. 1

... Therefore, we can know that the transforming material force never ceases to make changes even for a minute, and the only thing which never changes is Tao. As for the situations and trends of things, they change daily and there is no way to turn them into the previous state. There are things obsolete in heaven; there are things obsolete among people; there are things obsolete in writing style. Firewood continues fire and at the same time transforms fire; descendents succeed their ancestors and at the same time transform what they inherit from their ancestors. There were ages more remote for each passing age. If one estimates things today with ancient criterion, he is to make nonsense for today; if he estimates things ancient with present criterion, he is to make nonsense for the past. To make nonsense for today cannot be helpful to the government today; to make nonsense for the past cannot be helpful to the learnings of history. The *Book of Odes* says, "Eating fish, why must one choose the megalobrama of the Yellow River? Marrying, why must one choose a girl from the Chiang family of the Ch'i State?" 2

編^②。變古愈盡，便民愈甚。雖聖王復作，必不捨條編而復兩稅，捨兩稅而復租、庸、調也。鄉舉、里選變而門望^③，門望變而考試。丁庸變而差役，差役變而僱役^④。雖聖王復作，必不捨科舉而復選舉，捨僱役而為差役也。丘甲變而府兵^⑤，府兵變而彊騎^⑥，而營伍。雖聖王復作，必不捨營伍而復為屯田為府兵也。

【注釋】

- ① 租、庸、調：唐代確定的一種賦稅制度，分糧食、紡織品和勞役三部分構成；兩稅：唐代後期實行的賦稅制度，併租、庸、調為一，折合成錢價，分夏、秋兩季徵收。
- ② 條編：也稱“一條鞭法”，各種賦稅合而為一，以貨幣交納，始於明代。
- ③ 鄉舉里選：漢代選官制度；門望：魏晉南北朝時根據門第選官的制度。
- ④ 僱役：包括宋王安石的僱役法和明一條鞭法。指民輸錢於官府，由官府募人代役。
- ⑤ 丘甲：春秋時期的一種兵役制度，以自然村落為單位；府兵：西魏至唐代的兵役制度，按地方分府置兵。
- ⑥ 彊騎：宿守京城的衛兵。

3
With the passage of time, the tri-tax system was replaced by bi-tax system, and the bi-tax system was finally replaced by the uni-tax system. More completely the change is, more convenience people enjoy. Even an ancient sage-king might return to the government, could he hardly give up the uni-tax system and restore the bi-tax system, or give up the bi-tax system and restore the tri-tax system. With the passage of time, the ways of promotion of worthies have changed from local recommendation to family succession, and from family succession to nationwide examination. The ways labor service have changed from universal corvee to rotative service, and from rotative service to employment. Even though an ancient sage-king might return to the government, could he hardly give up the examination system and restore the recommendation system; nor could he give up the employment system and restore the rotative service system. With the passage of time, the ways of organization of army have changed from village-unit military service to local militant system, and from local militant system to centralized army with divisions. Even though an ancient sage-king might return to the government, could he hardly give up the centralized army with divisions and restore the peasant-soldier system or the local militant system.

4
As for the world, if a reform fails to convenience the people, withdrawal from it is possible. If, on the contrary, a reform does convenience the multitude of the mass,

4. 天下事，人情所不便者變可復，人情所羣便者變則不可復。江河百源，一趨於海，反江河之水而復歸之山，得乎？履不必同，期於適足；治不必同，期於利民。是以忠、質、文異尚^①，子、丑、寅異建^②。五帝不襲禮，三王不沿樂，況郡縣之世而談封建，阡陌之世而談井田，笞杖之世而談肉刑哉！“禮，時為大，順次之，體次之，宜次之。”^③周頌酌篇，美成王能酌先祖之道以養天下也。詩曰：“物其有矣，維其時矣。”^④

【注 釋】

① 相傳夏尚忠，商尚質，周尚文。

② 相傳夏代以寅月（陰曆正月）為歲首，商代以五月（陰曆十二月）為歲首，周代以子月（陰曆十一月）為歲首。

③ 見禮記禮器。

④ 見詩小雅魚麗。

5. 莊生喜言上古，上古之風必不可復，徒使晉人糠粃禮法而禍世教^①；宋儒專言

withdrawal from it is impossible. Various rivers flow into the sea. How could they be draw back to the sources in mountains. Shoes are not necessarily of the same style but expected to fit the feet. Governments are not necessarily of the same type but expected to benefit the people. Therefore, different dynasties may respectively lay emphasis on such conducts as loyalty, simplicity, and literal grace, and may have different calendars. The ceremonies of the five ancient emperors differ from each other, and the music and dances of the three ancient kings vary. It would be ridiculous for one to talk with appreciation about the feoff system in the time of central government, about the "nine squares" land system in the time of private land system, and about the bodily injury punishment in the time of lashing punishment. When rites are concerned, the most significant element is the accordance with varying time, the second to it is the proper order, the third is the ranks, and the last is propriety. The "Consideration" chapter of the *Odes of Chou* praises the King Ch'eng could consider the varying circumstances when inheriting the Tao of his ancestors. Another chapter of the *Book of Odes* says, "Possessing a lot of things, a gentleman should act in accordance with correct timing."

Chuang Chou was fond of talking about the remote antiquity. However, the customs of the remote antiquity could not be restored, and his sayings but made the scholars of the Chin Dynasty to belittle rites and laws, and to

三代，三代井田、封建、選舉必不可復，徒使功利之徒以迂疏病儒術。君子之為治也，無三代以上之心則必俗，不知三代以下之情勢則必迂。

【注 釋】

- ① 糠粃：這裏用作動詞，即輕視（禮法）；世教：世俗教化。

6 讀父書者不可與言兵，守陳案者不可與言律，好剿襲者不可與言文。善琴弈者不視譜，善相馬者不按圖，善治民者不泥法。無他，親歷諸身而已。讀黃、農之書^①，用以殺人，謂之庸醫；讀周、孔之書，用以誤天下，得不謂之庸儒乎？靡獨無益一時也^②，又使天下之人不信聖人之道。詩曰：“爰有樹檀，其下維籜。”^③君子學古之道，猶食筍而去其籜也^④。

【注 釋】

- ① 指黃帝內經、神農本草經等書。

do harm to Confucianism. The Song Confucians made references to nothing except those of the three ancient dynasties. However, the "nine squares" land system, the feoff system, and the recommendation system of the three ancient dynasties could by no means be restored, so that what they did but invited the utilitarians to accuse Confucianism of pedantry. To govern the country, a superior man shall certainly fall in vulgarity if he does not have a mind similar to the sage-kings of the three dynasties; he shall, however, fall in pedantry if he does not know the changing situation after the three dynasties.


He who knows nothing but the military works of his father cannot be talked with about warfare. He who sticks to the previous cases cannot be talked with about the laws. He who likes to plagiarism cannot be talked with about literature. A good zither player will not look to the music notes when playing, a good horse judge master will not choose horses in accordance with fixed pictures, and a good ruler will not stick to fixed laws. Why not? It is just because they have rich experiences of themselves. If a doctor, though reading plenty of medicine books by such famous writers as the Yellow Emperor and the Magic Agriculturist, kills his patients by mistaken prescriptions, he will be called a charlatan. Why, then, couldn't we call one charlatan Confucian if he, though reading plenty of books written by such sages as the Duke of Chou and Confucius, has done harm to the world by

② 靡：不。

③ 見詩小雅鶴鳴。

④ 籜：筍殼。

mistakenly applying the doctrines of the sages? Such a man is not only useless for a certain time, but made the people of the world rise suspicions against the Tao of the sages. The *Book of Odes* says, "There is a sandal tree, and under the tree there are pieces of bark peeled off." When a gentleman learns things ancient, he should do the same as eating the bamboo shoot after peeling off its skins.



十九
原道救世歌 (選)

*A Song on the Origin of Tao and
Salvation (Selected)*

【簡 介】

原道救世歌是太平天國領導人洪秀全（1814—1864）的主要著作之一，原文採自中國近代思想史參考資料簡編。

洪秀全
*Hung Hsiu-
ch'üan*



INTRODUCTION

It is one of the major works of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan (1814—1864), the leader of the “Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace” rebellion.

道之大原出於天，
謹將天道覺羣賢。
天道禍淫惟福善，
及早回頭著祖鞭^①。
道統根源惟一正，
歷代同揆無後先^②。
享天福，
脫俗緣，
莫將一切俗情牽，
須將一切妄念捐。
開闢真神惟上帝，
無分貴賤拜宜虔。
天父上帝人人共，
天下一家自古傳。
盤古以下至三代，
君民一體敬皇天。
其時王者崇上帝，
諸侯士庶亦皆然。
試譬人間子事父，

The fundamental of Tao is derived from Heaven. 1

Earnestly I will show Heavenly Tao to enlighten men of worthy.

It is Heavenly Tao that punishes the evil and awards the good.

Men should therefore return to the right way as early as possible with great efforts.

The heritage of Tao is rooted in the One and Justice.

People of all generations, past or future, should act according to it.

Share Heavenly blessings while remove the worldly tangles.

Have no secular concerns while rid of all false ideas.

The only true creator of the world is God above. All the people, noble or humble, should pay reverence to Him.

God is the Common Father of the whole mankind.

And it is handed down to us from the ancient time that the people all under Heaven are members of one family.

During the ages from P'an Ku to the Three Dynasties,

Both the rulers and the common people paid reverence to Lord Heaven.

The kings then showed due respect to God above.

賢否俱循“內則篇”^③。

天人一氣理無二，
何得君王私自專。

【注 釋】

- ① 著：執；祖：祖逖，晉人；（著）祖鞭：意謂佔先。
- ② 同揆：同一尺度、道理。
- ③ 內則：指禮記內則。

2

上帝當拜，
人人所同，
何分西北？
何分南東？
一絲一縷荷上帝，
一飲一食賴天公。
分應朝朝而夕拜，
理應頌德而歌功。
人而捨此而他拜，
拜盡萬般總是空。
不為無益且有損，

So did the dukes, ministers and ordinary folks.

It is similar to the secular respect of sons to their father.

They, worthy or not, are all required to observe the rules recorded in the "Internal Affairs" chapter of the *Book of Rites*.

There is only one emanative material force penetrating both Heaven and man,

So there can never be dual principles.

How could, then, the kings take things as their belongings?

Irrespective of their regions and nationalities, all the people should worship God. 2

Every thread of silk links up with by God,

And every drink or food shows His blessing.

Therefore, we should worship Him day and night,

With eulogies and chants.

If one does not worship God but worships others,

They cannot but be vain in obtaining blessings.

In so doing, they will not only have no advantage but create disadvantages,

For they commit endless sins with perverse minds.

If one does not lose his original mind,

He will spontaneously know that his life depends on Heaven.

Things that consist of Five Elements are created

本心瞞昧罪何窮？
人苟本心還不失，
自知呼吸賴蒼穹。
五行爲物天造化，
豈有別神宰其中？
即謂上帝須輔助，
斷非菩薩贊化工。
如果化工賴菩薩，
從前未立理難通。
暄以日兮潤以雨，
動以雷兮散以風。
此皆上帝之靈妙，
天恩能報得光榮。

by Heaven.

How could we imagine that there were other spiritual beings intervening in the creation?

Even if we suppose that God needed assistance in creation,

Certainly would the Bodhisattvas have been useless.

If they were needed in creation,

It would be irrational to explain the creation before the establishment of Buddhism.

To shine people with the sun and moisten them with rains;

To move things with thunders and scatter them with winds,

All these are the wonderful grace of God.

And one will be glorious if he can do his best to repay the grace of God.



二十

譯天演論自序

*Preface to the Chinese Translation
of the Evolution and Ethics*

【簡 介】

天演論（今譯進化論與倫理學），原作者為英國科學家和思想家赫胥黎。中國近代著名啟蒙思想家嚴復（1853—1921）將其譯為中文，并作此序。此書對中國近代的思想發展起到了重要的推動作用。

嚴 復

1878 年攝於巴
黎，時年二十六
歲

Yen Fu

*At the age of
twenty-six, Yen
Fu had himself
photographed in
Paris, 1878.*



INTRODUCTION

This preface was written by Yen Fu (1853—1921), a famous thinker of enlightenment. Yen translated a series of Western works into Chinese, and the “Evolution and Ethics” is the one which exerts important influence on Chinese modern history.

1 英國名學家穆勒約翰有言^①：“欲考一國之文字語言，而能見其理極，非諳曉數國之語言文字者不能也。”斯言也，吾始疑之，迺今深喻篤信而嘆其說之無以易也。豈徒言語文字之散者而已！既至大義微言，古之人殫畢生之精力以從事於一學，當其有得，藏之一心則為理，動之口舌、著之簡策則為詞^②，固皆有其所以得此理之由，亦有其所以載焉以傳之故。嗚呼！偶然哉！

【注 釋】

① 名學家：即邏輯學家；穆勒約翰：John Stuart Mill (1806—1878)，英國哲學家。

② 簡策：簡：竹簡；策：成編的竹簡。

2 自後人讀古人之書而未嘗為古人之學，則於古人所得以為理者，已有切膚精撫之異矣^①。又況歷時久遠，簡牘沿訛；聲音代變，則通段難明^②；風俗殊尚，則事意參差。夫如是，則雖有故訓疏義之勤，而於古

John Stuart Mill, an English logician, once stated: 1
"To study the language of a country, nobody else but those who have a good command of the languages of several countries can get the pith and marrow of this language." In the beginning, I was quite perplexed by this statement. Now, I have understood and believed it so deeply that I don't think there are better theories to replace it. Moreover, how could one consider it true only for such definite disciplines as linguistics? In regard of the significant meanings in subtle words, the ancient people often devoted their whole lives to the study of a theory. When they achieved something, what were kept in their minds were principles and what were spoken out and written down were words. They certainly had correct ways by which the principles were obtained and the reasons why they should record their ideas for later generations. Alas! What are recorded down in the ancient classics are but casual words!

Since many later people but read the ancient books 2
without pursuit of the theories of the ancient people, what they obtain through reading are quite different from the principles obtained by the ancient people in terms of depth and correctness. Furthermore, due to the temporal distance between the ancient and the present times, the scribal errors and misprint are unavoidable; the phonetic variations make the interchangeable characters frequently used in ancient writings hard to understand; the shift in

人詔示來學之旨，愈益晦矣。故曰讀古書難。雖然，彼所以托焉而傳之理，固自若也。使其理誠精，其事誠信，則年代國俗無以隔之。是故不傳於此，或見於彼，事不相謀而各有合。考道之士，以其所得於彼者，反以證諸吾古人之所傳，迺澄湛精瑩，如寐初覺，其親切有味，較之覘畢為學者^①，萬萬有加焉。此真治異國語言文字者之至樂也。

【注 釋】

① 精樸：精粗、小大。

② 通段：即通假。

③ 覘：視；畢：古代用以刻字的木板，又稱簡。覘畢為學者：指治中國古代語言文學的學者。

3 今夫六藝之於中國也^①，所謂日月经天，江河行地者爾。而仲尼之於六藝也，易、春秋最嚴。司馬遷曰：“易本隱而之顯，春秋推見至隱。”^②此天下至精之言也。始吾以謂本隱之顯者，觀象繫辭以定吉凶而

customs makes reader confused in understanding the ancient events and affairs. Such is the case, the ideas of the ancient people used to enlighten the later generations have got more and more obscure although there have been people engaged in the study of annotation and interpretation of ancient classics. Therefore, it is said that the reading of the ancient classics is very difficult. Nevertheless, the principles contained in and recorded by the classics do exist. If the principles are really essence and the things are really trustful, the disparity of times and national customs cannot constitute any obstruction for understanding them. Therefore, the principles may be lost in a country but be found in another country. And the events and affairs of different nations may coincide. Those who learn Tao may make use of what they learn from other nations in order to make certain the essence of what our ancestors wished to hand down for later generations. In so doing, they will feel the principles are so clear and crystal that as if awakening from dream and they will feel that the principles are very close to our life and interesting. Then, they will be much better than those who know nothing but to research ancient books. This is the greatest pleasure for those who study the languages of other nations.

For China the Six Classics are so significant as the sun and the moon run their courses in the sky and the Yangtze River and the Yellow River flow on the earth. Of them the *Book of Changes* and the *Spring and Autumn*

已^③；推見至隱者，誅意褒貶而已^④。

4 及觀西人名學，則見其於格物致知之事，有內籀之術焉，有外籀之術焉^⑤。內籀云者，察其曲而知其全者也，執其微以會其通者也。外籀云者，據公理以斷衆事者也，設定數以逆未然者也。乃推卷起曰：有是哉，是固吾易、春秋之學也！遷所謂“本隱之顯”者，外籀也；所謂“推見至隱”者，內籀也；其言若詔之矣。二者即物窮理之最要塗術也^⑥。而後人不知廣而用之者，未嘗事其事^⑦，則亦未嘗咨其術而已矣。

【注 釋】

① 六藝：指詩、書、禮、樂、易、春秋。

② 語見史記司馬相如列傳。

③ 語見周易繫辭上：“聖人設卦觀象，繫辭焉而明吉凶。”

④ 誅意：謂以發念善惡、動機好壞責人。

⑤ 內籀：今譯歸納法；外籀：今譯演繹法。

⑥ 最要塗術：最重要的途徑、方法。

⑦ 事其事：做那種事。前一個“事”為動詞。

Annals are the most perfect ones edited and written by Confucius. Ssu-ma Ch'ien says, "The *Book of Change* is written in the way from the hidden to the manifest, whereas the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is written in the way from the manifest to the hidden." This is one of the most accurate statements in the world. In the beginning, I thought that "from the hidden to the manifest" is but to indicate the way of foretelling lucks and ill lucks by investigation of the hexagrams and the appended remarks, and that "from the manifest to the hidden" is but to indicate the way of making criticism or appreciation through the minute differences of expressions.

When I learned the Western knowledge of logic, I 4
began to know that for the scientific matters there are the method of induction and that of deduction. By induction, it is meant to obtain the knowledge of the whole by knowing the parts one by one and to get a general principle by getting detailed concepts. By deduction, it is meant to determine things in accordance with well-established theories and to set up fixed standard to judge the coming things. Then, I put the books I read aside and stood up saying, "Are there really such things? Indeed they are already taught by our *Book of Changes* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*!" What Ssu-ma Ch'ien expresses as "from the hidden to the manifest" implies the deductive method; and what he expresses as "from the manifest to the hidden" implies the inductive method. So clear is his

5 近二百年歐洲學術之盛，遠邁古初，其所以為名理公例者，在在見極^①，不可復搖，顧吾古人之所得，往往先之。此非傳會揚己之言也，吾將試舉其灼然不誣者以質天下。

6 夫西學之最為切實而執其例可以御蕃變者^②，名、數、質、力四者之學是已^③。而吾易則名、數以為經，質、力以為緯，而合而名之曰易。大宇之內，質力相推，非質無以見力，非力無以呈質。凡力皆乾也，凡質皆坤也。

7 奈端動之例三^④，其一曰：靜者不自動，動者不自止，動路必直，速率必均。此所謂曠古之慮，自其例出而後天學明，人事利者也。而易則曰：“乾，其靜也專，其動

statement and the two methods are the most important ways for science. Unfortunately, the later generations failed to apply and practise them, and also failed to discuss them in correct way.

During the last two hundred years, the learnings of the Europe have surpassed the ancient learnings greatly. The generally acknowledged truths and axioms are so accurate that they can never be moved. Nevertheless, these truths and axioms had often been obtained by our ancestors. This is by no means a far-fetched statement and I will try to offer the most obvious and doubtless examples to the people over the world. 5

Among the Western learnings, the ones which are the most accurate and by whose axioms the various changes can be well understood are no more than the theory of names or logic, the theory of numbers or mathematics, the theory of substance or chemistry, and the theory of force or physics. In our *Book of Changes*, the theories of names and numbers constitute the principal concepts and the theories of substance and force play an assistant role. The synthesis of them constitutes the *Book of Changes*. Within the universe, the substance and force mutually stimulate. Force could not be seen without substance and substance could not be manifested without force. All the forces belong to *Ch'ien* and all the substances belong to *K'un*. 6

也直。”②

【注釋】

- ① 在在：處處。在在見極：意為處處發現了事物的規律。
- ② 御蕃變：駕馭事物的復雜變化。
- ③ 名：即邏輯學；數：即數學；質：即化學；力：即物理學。
- ④ 奈端：Newton (1642—1727)，今譯牛頓；動之例三：指牛頓力學三大定律。
- ⑤ 語見周易繫辭上。

8 後二百年，有斯賓塞爾者①，以天演自然言化，著書造論，貫天地人而一理之，此亦晚近之絕作也。其為天演界說曰：“翕以合質，闢以出力，始簡易而終雜糅。”②而易則曰：“坤，其靜也翕，其動也闢。”③

9 至於全力不增減之說①，則有自強不息為之先；凡動必復之說，則有消息之義居其始；而“易不可見，乾坤或幾乎息”之旨②，

There are three basic laws in Newton's mechanics and one of them is that a resting object itself cannot move; nor can a moving object itself stop moving; the motion is linear and uniform. This has been called a great idea rarely seen in history. Its setting forth has brought light on the natural knowledge and benefited human activities greatly. However, our *Book of Changes* already says, "*Ch'ien* is uniform in rest and linear in action." 7

Two hundred years after Newton, another great figure came and he was Spencer. He talked about transformation in terms of evolution and natural contention and wrote works in which Heaven, Earth and man are discussed in a comprehensive and synthetic way. His works are the most excellent among the recent writings. He in his works defines "evolution" as something which integrates into substance through contraction and creates force through opening, and which is simple in the beginning and complicated in the end. However, in our *Book of Changes* we read, "*K'un* is contracting in rest and opening in motion." 8

Subject to the law of conservation of energy, we can find from the *Book of Changes* the saying of "self-strengthening without rest" prior to the Western concept; subject to the idea that an action is accompanied by a counteraction, we can find from the *Book of Changes* the concept of vicissitude as the primary form. As for the 9

尤與“熱力平均天地乃毀”之言相發明也^⑥。

10 此豈可悉謂之偶合也耶？雖然，由斯之說，必謂彼之所發明皆吾中土所前有，甚者或謂其學皆得於東來，則又不關事實，適用自蔽之說也。夫古人發其端而後人莫能竟其緒，古人擬其大而後人未能議其精，則猶之不學無術未化之民而已，祖父雖聖，何救子孫之童昏也哉！

【注 釋】

① 斯賓塞爾：Spencer (1820—1903)，英國哲學家。

② 翕：凝積聚合。

③ 語見周易繫辭上。

④ 指能量守恒定律。

⑤ 語見周易繫辭上。

⑥ 指熱力學第二定律及熱寂說。

11 大抵古書難讀，中國為尤。二千年來，士徇利祿，守闕殘，無獨辟之慮。是以生今

statement of the *Book of Changes* that when the changes cannot be seen, Heaven and Earth will perhaps die out, we can find parallel in Western idea that "Should heat be averaged, the universe would ruin."

How could these parallels be said only coincident? 10
However, if, in consideration of them, one maintains that all the discoveries of the West have already been taught by ancient Chinese, or, in other words, all the Western theories were introduced from the East, it will not be the fact but something that leads to self-deceiving. If the ancestors made a good beginning but the descendents failed to accomplish it, and if the ancestors set forth principal doctrines but the descendants failed to discuss them in details, the descendants would be no different from the uncivilized and uneducated peoples. Although the grand fathers were sages, they could not secure their grandsons from being stupid and foolish.

Generally speaking, ancient books are difficult to 11
read and the ancient Chinese books are especially difficult to read. In the past two thousand years, the scholars ran after profits and incomes, persisted in the fragmentary dogmas, and failed to make creative ideas. As a result, the present people have to turn to the West to find out the essence of the ideas of our ancient sages and the way to apply them. This may be told to those of wisdom but is too difficult to understand for the stupid. A tendency of

日者，迺轉於西學得識古之用焉。此可與知者道，難與不知者言也。風氣漸通，士知卑陋為耻^①，西學之事，問途日多，然亦有一二巨子，訖然謂彼之所精^②，不外象數形下之末；彼之所務，不越功利之間。逞臆為談，不咨其實，討論國聞審敵自鏡之道，又斷斷乎不如是也。

- 12 赫胥黎氏此書之旨，本以救斯賓塞爾任天為治之末流，其中所論，與吾古人有甚合者，且於自強保種之事，反復三致意焉。夏日如年，聊為移譯。有以多符空言無裨實政相稽者，則固不佞所不恤也^③。

【注 釋】

① 卑陋：目光短淺，知識淺陋。

② 訖然：驕傲自大的樣子。

③ 不佞：自謙之稱。

worldwide exchange is getting stronger and many scholars have known that to stick to false and poor concepts is a shame. Thus, the learnings of the West increase in China day by day. However, still there are some famous scholars maintain with arrogance that the essence of the foreign theories is no more than the concepts concerning forms, numbers, and concrete things, and that the purpose of these theories is but material profits. They understand the Western learnings in a assumptive way and do not look into their reality. When they discuss the situation of the country and the way to learn from foreign experiences to better ourselves, their opinions are even worse!

The purpose of this book written by Huxley is a remedy 12
to the shortcomings of Spencer's theory of the government by natural tendency. The ideas of this book, however, parallel greatly those of the ancient Chinese sages. And, the author reiterates self-strengthening and how to secure a nation from elimination. The long summer gave me enough time to translate it. I will not worry about the possibility that someone may criticize that there are many empty words in this book and they have nothing to do with government.



【簡 介】

大同書是中國資產階級思想家和改良派領袖康有為（1858—1927）的代表作。原文節選自古籍出版社版大同書。

康有為

K'ang Yu-wei



INTRODUCTION

This is the most important work of K'ang Yu-wei (1858—1927), the thinker and leader of Chinese bourgeoisie reform movement and fragments from it are selected.

1 若無吾身耶，吾何有知而何有親？吾既有身，則與并身之所通氣於天，通質於地，通息於人者，其能絕乎？其不能絕乎？其能絕也，抽刀可斷水也；其不能絕也，則如氣之塞於空而無不有也，如電之行於氣而無不通也，如水之周於地而無不貫也，如脈之周於身而無不徹也。山絕氣則崩，身絕脈則死，地絕氣則散。然則人絕其不忍之愛質乎^①？人道將滅絕矣。滅絕者，斷其文明而還於野蠻，斷其野蠻而還於禽獸之本質也夫！

2 夫浩浩元氣，造起天地。天者，一物之魂質也。人者，亦一物之魂質也。雖形有大小，而其分浩氣於太元，挹涓滴於大海^②，無以異也。

【注 釋】

① 愛質：愛心，同情心。

② 挹：舀取。

Without a body, how could I have knowledge and affection? Now that I do have a body, whether or not, then, can I cut off that by which the whole body of mine exchanges emanative material force with Heaven, exchanges material substance with Earth, and exchanges vital force with other human beings? If I say these connections can be cut off, it would be so preposterous as to state that water could be cut into pieces with a knife. If I say they are inseparable connections, parallels can be found in following facts that the emanative material force universally fills space and is omnipresent, that electricity operates through the emanative material force and penetrates everything, that water spreads all over the land and penetrates everything, and that blood-vessels spread through the body and penetrates every part of it. A mountain will collapse with the emanative material force cut off. A body will decay with the blood-vessels cut off. The earth will disintegrate with the emanative material force cut off. Similarly, if a man cuts off the nature of love and sympathy, his humanity will terminate. By termination, it is meant to stop civilization and to revert to barbarism, and even to stop barbarism and to go back to the nature of birds and beasts. 1

Vast is the primordial material force that created Heaven and Earth. Heaven denotes the soul and substance of a thing, and man also denotes the soul and substance of a thing. Though different in size, they are not 2

3 孔子曰：“地載神氣，神氣風霆，風霆流形，庶物露生。”^①神者有知之電也，光電能無所不傳，神氣能無所不感。神鬼神帝，生天生地^②，全神分神，惟元惟人^③。

【注 釋】

① 見禮記孔子閒居。神氣風霆：神氣震動化為風雷；露生：出生。

② 語出莊子大宗師。

③ 意謂全神是元，分神即人。

4 微乎妙哉！其神之有觸哉！無物無電，無物無神。夫神者知氣也，魂知也，精爽也，靈明也，明德也，數者異名而同實。有覺知則有吸攝，磁石猶然，何況於人！不忍者，吸攝之力也^①。故仁智同藏而智為先，仁智同用而仁為貴矣。

5 康子曰：吾既為人，吾將忍心而逃人，不共其憂患焉？而生於一家，受人之鞠育而

different in sharing the vast material force from the Great Profundity in a way similar to scooping up small drops of water from the great sea.

Confucius says, "Earth contains the mysterious material force. The mysterious material force produces the wind and thunderclap. The wind and thunderclap are carried abroad to all directions. And thereby the various things show their appearance of life." The "mysterious" implies the electricity which is conscious. Light and electricity penetrate everything, and the mysterious material force responds to everything. They make spiritual beings and gods, and create Heaven and Earth. The mysterious material force in its integral and disintegrating states is respectively the primordial material force and mankind. 3

How subtle and wonderful is the mysterious force! 4
There is nothing without electricity, and there is nothing without spirit. By spirit, we mean the material force which is conscious, the consciousness of the soul, the spiritual intelligence, the intelligent capacity of enlightenment, and the enlightening virtues. They are different in name but the same in actuality. As there is consciousness, there is attraction. This is true of the lodestone. How much more is it with man! Sympathy or not being able to bear the suffering of others is the power of attraction. Therefore, both benevolence and wisdom are stored in the mind, but wisdom comes first. Both benevolence

後有其生^①，則有家人之荷擔^②。若逃之而出其家，其自為則巧矣，其負恩則何忍矣。譬貸人金，必恩償之，若負債而匿逃，衆執而刑，不刑其身，則刑其名。其負一家之債及一國天下之公債者，亦何不然！

【注 釋】

① 不忍：不忍人之心，這裏認為它能促使萬物相互吸引。

② 鞠育：養育；荷擔：負擔、責任。

6 生于一國，受一國之文明而後有其知，則有國民之責任。如逃之而棄其國，其國亡種滅而文明隨之隳壞，其負責亦太甚矣。生於大地，則大地萬國之人類，皆吾同胞而異體也，既與有知，則與有親。

7 凡印度、希臘、波斯、羅馬及近世英、法、德、美先哲之精英，吾已嘜之，飲之，靡之，枕之，魂夢通之^①；於萬國之元老、

and wisdom function in action and benevolence is more valuable.

Master K'ang says: Now that I have been a human being, how could, then, I be so ruthless as to escape from the human society instead of sharing sufferings and troubles with others? A man was born in a family. Since he is grown up under the care of his parents and other elder members of the family, he has family responsibilities. If he tears himself away from his family, he may be clever in terms of the heavy family responsibilities. Nevertheless, how could he bear the ungratefulness? It is similar to the case that one borrowed money from others and then escaped from repaying his debt. The others will hold and sue him. Even if his body can escape from punishment, he will be discredited. Those who fail to repay the debt of a family or even a country will suffer the similar punishment. 5

A man was born in a country. It is after he has received the education with the civilization of his country that he begins to have knowledge. Thus, he has the responsibility of its citizen. If he escapes from his country, and his country is thereby ruined, his nation eliminated, and his civilization destroyed, he will be of great ungratefulness. A man was born in the great earth. Therefore, the human beings of various nations are all his brothers and sisters. As long as he knows someone, he will naturally 6

碩儒、名士、美人，亦多執手、接茵、聯袂、分羹，而致其親愛矣^①；凡大地萬國之宮室、服食、舟車、什器、政教、藝樂之神奇偉麗者，日受而用之，以刺觸其心目，感蕩其魂氣。其進化耶則相與共進，退化則相與共退，其樂耶相與共其樂，其苦耶相與共其苦，誠如電之無不相通矣，如氣之無不相周矣。

【注 釋】

① 噉：嚼，咬；蒞：枕藉；蒞之，枕之：寢卧在那上面。

② 茵：坐墊；接茵：指同席而坐。

乃至大地之生番^①、野人、草木、介魚、昆蟲、鳥獸，凡胎生、濕生、卵生、化生之萬形千彙，亦皆與我耳目相接，魂知相通，愛磁相攝，而吾何能愬然^②！彼其色相好，吾樂之；生趣盎，吾怡之；其色相憔悴，生趣慘淒，吾亦有憔悴慘淒動於中焉。莽莽大地，吾又將焉逃於其外！將為婆羅門

have affection for that person.

I have been nurtured by and based my thinking on the 7
ideas of the ancient thinkers of India, Greece, Persia, and
Rome, as well as those of modern philosophers of Eng-
land, France, Germany, and America. And in dream, I
often exchange ideas with them. Besides, I have sat to-
gether with the senior statesmen, elite, famous scholars,
and beauties of various countries, and shared dinners with
them to express affection to each other. Daily I take usage
of the palaces, clothes, foods, vehicles, utensils, political
institutions, and performing arts of various countries
which are wonderful and magnificent in order to stimulate
my eyes, and to be impressed by their spirits. When they
progress, I will progress too. When they retrogress, I
will retrogress too. When the people of other nations en-
joy happiness, I will enjoy it too. When they feel sorrow,
I will feel sorrow too. Indeed it is like electricity that pen-
etrates everything, and is like the emanative material
force that fills everywhere.

To extend this idea to a wider sense, all the uncivi- 8
lized tribes, barbarians, plants, shell fish, fish, insects,
birds and beasts, which may either be viviparous or be
oviparous, either come into being with water or begin
their lives through transformation, and which are of ten
thousand different forms and of a thousand sorts, are ex-
ceptionlessly connecting my ears and eyes, exchanging

之捨身雪窟中以煉精魂^③，然人人棄家捨身，則全地文明不數十年而復為狃榛草木鳥獸之世界^④，吾更何忍出此也！

【注 釋】

① 生番：貶稱開化較晚的民族。

② 愒然：漠不關心貌。

③ 婆羅門：古印度婆羅門教及後世印度教專心修持之信徒。

④ 狃：獸行貌；榛：草木茂盛貌。復為……之世界：退回到原始時代。

9

火星、土星、木星、天王、海王諸星之生物耶？莽不與接^①，杳冥為期，吾欲仁之，遠無所施。恒星之大，星團星雲星氣之多，諸天之表，日本相見，神常與游，其國之士女、禮樂、文章之樂與兵戎戰伐之爭，浩浩無涯，為天為人，雖吾所未能觀，而苟有物類有識者，即與吾地吾人無異情焉。吾為天游，想像諸極樂之世界，想像諸極苦之世界，樂者吾樂之，苦者吾救之。吾為諸天之物，

spirits with me, and attracting each other like lodestone to attract iron. How could I be indifferent to them? I will be pleasant if they have good appearances; I will be happy when they are full of vitality; I will feel sorrow and sad when they look sad and grow in a sorrow way. So vast is the earth that I have no way to escape from it. Perhaps I will follow the Indian Brahmins to live in ice caves and keep away from the society in order to cultivate the soul of purity. Nevertheless, if everyone does the same, the civilizations of the whole world will revert to the wilderness of birds and beasts in scores of years. How could I bear to do that?

Then, how about the living beings of the Mars, the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Uranus, and the Neptune? There is such great a distance between our planet and them that we can hardly expect to reach them. Even if I wish to show benevolence to them, it could not be known because it is too far away. Although the stars are great, nebulous clusters and nebulae are many, I can at least see them from this planet, and my spirit is thereby able to exchange with the living beings in other planets. Although I cannot see the gentlemen and ladies of these planets, nor can I see their enjoyment of ceremonies, music plays, and literature, and their struggle of military expedition, which are endless, nor can I know whether these living beings are gods or human beings, yet as long as there are the living beings with consciousness, I will be sure that

吾寧能捨世界天界，絕類逃倫而獨樂哉！

10 康子於是起而上覽古昔，下考當今，近觀中國，遠觀全地，尊極帝王，賤及隸庶，壽至錢彭^②，夭若殤子^③，逸若僧道，繁若毛羽，蓋普天之下，全地之上，人人之中，物物之庶，無非憂患苦惱者矣。雖有淺深大小，而憂患苦惱之交迫而并至，濃深而厚重，繁蹟而惡劇^④，未有能少免之者矣。

【注 釋】

① 莽：無邊無際。

② 錢彭：彭祖。相傳彭祖壽八百歲。

③ 殤子：未成年而死的孩子。

④ 劇：嚴重。

11 國法也，因軍法而移焉，以其遵將令而威士卒之法行之於國，則有尊君卑臣而奴民

they do not have different emotions from the human beings of our planet. In this way I travels throughout the universe, and I imagine both the world of highest happiness and the world of the deepest pain. I will be happy when they are happy; and I will try to secure them when I know they are suffering. I am a part of the universe, hence how could I escape from the universe to enjoy private happiness?

Therefore, Master K'ang came forward to survey 10
things in ancient and present times, and in China and all other parts of the earth. It is found that all the people, superior as emperors and kings or inferior as slaves, long-lived as P'eng or early-died, renouncing the world as Buddhists and Taoists or involving in worldly affairs in various ways, as long as they are under Heaven and on the earth, no matter whether they are human beings or other creatures, what they have are but sorrows, worries, and troubles. Though some deeper while the others shallower, these sorrows, worries, and troubles come in a mutual strengthening way. As a result, they are so deep and heavy that no one can avoid the complicating and worsening disasters.

The civil laws were often derived from martial laws. 11
When the laws that made the commander supreme in authority and the soldiers obedient were transplanted to state government, the politics that made the ruler superior,

者矣。家法也，因新制而生焉^①，以其尊族長而統卑幼之法行之於家，則有尊男卑女而隸子弟者焉。雖有聖人立法，不能不因其時勢風俗之舊而定之。大勢既成，壓制既久，遂為道義焉。

- 12 於是始為相扶植保護之善法者，終為至抑壓、至不平之苦趣，於是乎則與求樂免苦之本意相反矣。印度如是，中國亦不能免焉。歐美略近升平，而婦女為人私屬，其去公理遠矣^②，其於求樂之道亦未至焉。

【注 釋】

① 新：通親，指父母、親族。

② 公理：指人人平等之理。

- 13 神明聖王孔子，早慮之，憂之，故立三統、三世之法，據亂之後，易以升平、太

the ministers inferior, and the ordinary people slaves began. The rules of family came into being on the basis of clanship. When the rules that made the head of clan superior and the young inferior were transplanted to the relationship between family members, the customs that made the male superior, the female inferior, and the young slaves came into existence. Although the ancient sages tried to make better laws and rules, they could not but determine them in accordance with the already formed situation and customs. When the tendency was already fixed, the depression of the superior over the inferior was long lasted, these laws and rules were then considered to be in compliance with Tao and Righteousness.

Therefore, the laws which were good for mutual benefit and protection in the beginning turned to be the depression and unjustness later, just contrary to the original purpose of seeking happiness and avoiding sufferings. This shift happened in India, and China can hardly be better. In certain sense, the European countries and the United States of America have entered in the early state of Rising Peace. In these countries, however, women are but the private belongings of men, which is by no means reasonable. Thus, they have not yet found the best way of seeking happiness. 12

An intelligent sage-king, Confucius, had worried about what is mentioned above before they came into existence. 13

平，小康之後，進以大同^①。曰“窮則變”，曰“觀其會通以行其典禮”^②，蓋深慮守道者不知變而永從苦道也。

【注 釋】

① 三統：也稱三正，即夏正建寅，服色尚黑，為黑統；商正建丑，服色尚白，為白統；周正建子，服色尚赤，為赤統。三世：三世之說最早見於春秋公羊傳中孔子“所見”世、“所聞”世、“所傳聞”世的記載；在康有為則以為“所傳聞世托據亂，所聞世托升平，所見世托太平”，並將禮記禮運中的“小康”與“升平”聯繫起來，“大同”與“太平”聯繫起來。

② 語見周易繫辭上。

In this consideration, he established the rules of three systems or three stages. According to him, the stage of Disorder will be replaced by that of Rising Peace and that of Great Peace in subsequence. In other words, the state of initial prosperity will progress to that of the Great Unity. It is just because he was afraid that the rulers would fail to take changes and persist in fixed way of sufferings that he said [in the *Book of Changes*] that "a breakthrough is necessary when there is no way out" and that "It is important to investigate the confluence and exchange of things in order to perform ceremonies."



【簡 介】

以太說是中國資產階級改良派政治家和思想家譚嗣同（1865—1898）的重要著作，原文採自中華書局版譚嗣同全集。

譚嗣同

T'an Ssu-t'ung



INTRODUCTION

It is a representative work of T'an Ssu-t'ung (1865—1898), a politician and thinker of Chinese bourgeoisie reform movement. This work tries to combine the Western science with traditional philosophy of China.

1 接吾目，吾知其為光，光之至吾目歟？抑目之即於光也^①？接吾耳，吾知其為聲，聲之至吾耳歟？抑耳之即於聲也？通百丈之筒，此呼而彼吸，吾知其為氣，而孰則推移是？引萬里之綫，此擊而彼應，吾知其為電，而孰則綱維是^②？

2 在格致家^③，必曰：光浪也，聲浪也，氣浪也，電浪也^④。為之傳一也，一固然矣。然浪也者，言其動蕩之數也。動蕩者何物？誰司其動，誰使其蕩，誰為其傳？何以能成可紀之數？光、聲、氣、電之同時并發，其浪何以各不相礙？光、聲、氣、電之寂然未發，其浪又消歸於何處？則非浪之一辭所能盡矣。

【注 釋】

① 抑：還是。

② 綱維：維繫，語本莊子天運。

③ 格致家：這裏指物理學家。

A question arises in case something acts on my eyes and I know it is light: Does the light come to my eyes? Or, my eyes come into contact with the light? A question arises in case something acts on my ears and I know it is sound: Does the sound come to my ears? Or, my ears come into contact with the sound? A question arises in case the exhalation of one end of a tube of several hundred meters results in the inhalation of another end and I know there is air in the tube: What transmit the force from one end to another? A question arises in case the stroke in one end of a wire of several thousand miles is responded by another end and I know there is electricity through the wire: What bears it? 1

Toward these questions, the scientists will surely reply that light is wave, that sound is wave, that air is wave, that electricity is wave, and that they are common in the capacity of transmission. Certainly they are something in common. By "wave", however, we mean the frequency of oscillation. What, then, is the substance of oscillation? What makes the movement? What orders the oscillation? What transmits the oscillation? Why can the oscillation be countable? Why, if light, sound, air, and electricity are issued simultaneously, don't their waves interfere with each other? Where do the waves hide when light, sound, air, and electricity are in the still state without issuing? These phenomena can hardly be explained in terms of waves. 2

④ 光浪、電浪：光波、電波。

3 一地球，何以能攝月球與動植物^①? 一
日球，何以能攝行星、彗星、流星? 一昴
星^②，何以能攝天河圈內所有諸恒星^③? 一虛
空，何以能攝星林、星團、星雲、星氣皆如
昴星之天河圈而遙與之攝? 在動重家^④，必
曰：離心力，向心力也。為之吸一也，一因

然矣。然力也者，言其牽引之勢也。牽引者何物？誰主其牽，誰令其引，誰任其吸？何以能成可覩之勢？日月星地之各吸所吸，其力何能制其不相切附？日月星地之各吸所吸，其力何能保其不相陵撞^⑤？非力之一辭所能盡矣。

【注釋】

① 攝：吸引。

② 昴星：二十八宿之一。這裏指銀河系內諸恒星所環繞的星球。

③ 天河圈：指銀河系。

④ 動星家：指力學家。

⑤ 陵撞：侵犯碰撞。

3

Why can the earth attract the moon and all the plants and animals on the earth? Why can the sun attract the planets, the comets and the meteors? Why can the Alcyone attract all the fixed stars in the Milky Way system? Why can the space attract all the systems, galaxies, and nebulae, of which the Milky Way is only one system, no matter how far away they are? In reply to these questions, the physicians will surely say that the centrifugal force is a force, that the centripetal force is a force, and that they are in common for undertaking the attractions mentioned above. There is of course something in common for the two forces. By "force", however, we mean the tendency of drawing and stretching. What are drawing and stretching? What controls drawing? What orders stretching? What are the objects to be drawn and stretched? Why is the tendency visible? Why don't they replace each other when the sun, the moon, the stars and the earth respectively attract what they should attract? Why don't they dash against each other when they attract each other? These phenomena can hardly be explained simply in terms of "force".

4

Take any of the various natural beings, such as a leaf, a dust, a hair, or a drop of water, for example. However small it is, it must consist of innumerable particles. Seeing with a microscope, we shall find that veins of a leaf are mountain-like and river-like, that the movement of a dust is planet-like and that, in a hair or a drop

4 任舉萬物中之一物，如一葉，如一塵，如一毛端，如一水滴，其為物眇乎其小矣，而要皆合無量之微質點黏砌而成。及以顯微鏡窺之，則葉之紋理，知其為山河；塵之旋舞，知其為小地球；一毛端，一水滴，知其有萬億京垓之微生物^①、微植物，或根著，或浮流，或蜎飛蠕動，跂行喙息。而微生物、微植物又莫不各有筋骨、腸胃、枝葉、根鬚，其筋骨、腸胃、枝葉、根鬚之間，又莫不更有寄生之微生物、微植物。由是輾轉遞測，以至於無窮。謂為質點之黏砌，則質點之微，豈復可以言喻？雖天演家亦無以辨其物競矣^②。

【注 釋】

① 萬億京垓：古代數詞。十萬為億，十億為兆，十兆為京（經），十京為垓。

② 天演家：指生物進化論者。物競：生存競爭。

5 任舉萬事中之一事，如一言，如一動，如一歌泣，如一思念，其為事亦至庸無奇

of water, there are billions of microbes and micro-plants, which either have roots or flow; either fly like flies, or screw like worms; either move with feet or eat with beak. Further, each of these microbes and micro-plants has ligaments, bones, intestine, stomach, or branches, leaves, roots, and sub-roots. Still further, among the ligaments, the bones, the stomach, the intestines, the branches, the leaves, the roots and the sub-roots, there are parasitic microbes and micro-plants. On and on, without an end. If we suppose that they still consist of particles, the particles would be too small to express in words. And even the evolutionists could hardly tell how they develop with contentions.

Take any of the various human things, such as a speech, 5
an action, a grievous song, or an idea, for example. However ordinary and trivial it is, it always becomes manifest due to the function of the brain nerve system as a whole. When the brain nerve of mine senses itself, there arise perceptions. When a hair is drawn out, the whole body will respond. When a finger is hurt, one will not feel well all the day. When there is something sick, or pain, or ill, or itching, one will feel it in no time. The mechanism is very accurate and the conduction is very fast. If not, the man should be considered abnormally unfeeling.

When the brain nerve of mine conducts a sensation to 6
that of another people, there will certainly be a response.

矣，而要皆合全體之腦氣筋發動而顯^①。以我之腦氣筋，感我之腦氣筋，於是乎有知覺。牽一發而全身為動，傷一指而終日不適。疾痛疴癢，一觸即知。其機極靈，其傳至速，不靈不速時，曰麻木不仁。

6 以我之腦氣筋，感人之腦氣筋，於是乎有感應。善不善，千里之外應之；誠不誠，十手十目嚴之^②。容色可徵意旨；幽獨如見肺肝。本合天地人我為一全體，合衆腦氣筋為一腦氣筋，而妄生分別，妄見畛域^③，自隔自蔽，絕不相通者，尤麻木不仁之大者也。然究其所以相通之神之故，雖心靈家無以達其分蘖矣^④。

【注 釋】

① 腦氣筋：指腦神經。

② 語本禮記大學：“曾子曰：十目所視，十手所指，其嚴乎！”

③ 畛域：界限。

④ 心靈家：指生理學家和心理學家。蘖：考察。

Good or evil deed will find responses thousand miles away. And sincerity and hypocrisy will inevitably be under the supervision and criticism by many others. Facial expression indicates one's purpose and one will be seen through even when he keeps himself away from others and avoids any open action. Basically speaking, Heaven and Earth, Others and I unite into one body. And the brain nerves of all human beings unite into one brain nerve system. Those who falsely make distinctions and limitations, keep themselves from others and refuse to communicate should be considered the most unfeeling ones. To explore the mystery and reason of above-mentioned connection and communication, however, even the specialists of psychics could not offer detailed explanation.

Then, what is the true answer to all the above-mentioned inquiries? It lies in the fact that throughout all the phenomena, all the spaces, and all creatures, there is a thing which is both the greatest and the most minute, and is so omnipresent that nothing is outside its universal connection, penetration and network. To see it with eyes, no color is found; to hear it with ears, no sound is found; to smell and taste it with nose and mouth, no smell and taste is found. We find no way to name it and give a title "ether" to it. When it functions, it becomes waves, forces, particles and brain nerves. The various phenomena are derived from it, and the space is formed with it, and all the creatures come out of it. It possesses no form,

7 是何也？是蓋遍法界、虛空界、衆生界^①，有至大至精微，無所不膠黏、不貫洽、不筦絡而充滿之一物焉^②。目不得而色，耳不得而聲，口鼻不得而臭味，無以名之，名之曰：“以太”^③。其顯於用也，為浪、為力、為質點、為腦氣。法界由是生，虛空由是立，衆生由是出。無形焉，為萬形之所麗^④；無心焉，而為萬心之所感。精而言之，夫亦曰“仁”而已矣。

【注 釋】

① 遍：周遍。法界：佛教用語，萬有之總稱。

② 筦：通管；筦絡：管轄連結（絡）。

③ 以太：近代歐洲物理學假設為光的傳播媒介及解釋電磁和引力相互作用現象的概念，這裏借用來指世界的本體。

④ 麗：附着。

but all the forms depend upon it. It possesses no mind,
but all the minds respond to it. As for the essence of it, it
is no more than benevolence.

二十三

孫文學說 (選)

*Memoirs of
a Chinese Revolutionary
(Selected)*

【簡 介】

孫文學說即心理建設，是中國資產階級革命派領袖孫中山（1866—1925）最重要的哲學著作。這裏從中節選了部分片斷，原文採自孫中山全集。

孫中山

1912年任臨時
大總統時留影

*Sun Chung-shan
This picture was
taken when he
held the post of
the provisional
president of
the Republic of
China in 1912.*



INTRODUCTION

This is the most important philosophical work by Sun Chung-shan (Yat-sen, 1866—1925), the leader of Chinese bourgeoisie revolution and the founder of the Republic of China.

The English version which we adopt, published by Hutchinson & CO. Ltd., London, may be written by Sun Chung-shan himself. But some necessary corrections or additions are done in order to parallel the Chinese version better.

1 文奔走國事三十餘年，畢生學力，盡萃於斯，精誠無間，百折不回，滿清之威力所不能屈，窮途之困苦所不能撓。吾志所向，一往無前，愈挫愈奮，再接再厲，用能鼓動風潮，造成時勢。卒賴全國人心之傾向，仁人志士之贊襄，乃得推覆專制，創建共和。

2 本可從此繼進，實行革命黨所抱持之三民主義、五權憲法，與夫革命方略所規定之種種建設宏模，則必能乘時一躍而登中國於富強之域，躋斯民於安樂之天也。不圖革命初成，黨人即起異議，謂予所主張者理想太高，不適中國之用。

3 衆口鑠金，一時風靡，同志之士亦悉惑焉。是以予為民國總統時之主張，反不若為革命領袖時之有效而見之施行矣。此革命之

For the thirty years I have toiled hard for the welfare 1
of the Chinese people. My life has been consecrated to the
Chinese people, and my devotion to the tasks I set myself
has remained unchanged during this long period. Neither
the might of the Manchu Dynasty nor all the misfortunes
of my life availed to turn me aside from the aims I placed
before me. I strove for what I aspired to; and the more
failures I experienced, the more I yearned for the strug-
gle. That is why I was able to raise the mass of the Chi-
nese people to revolutionary action, and thereby over-
throw the monarchy and found the Republic.

At first it seemed as if I, as the leader, would be able 2
very easily to give effect to the programme of the revolu-
tionary party, i. e., nationalism, democracy, Socialism
and the Fivefold Constitution, as well as solve the prob-
lems created by the Revolution. If I had succeeded in
achieving this, China would have found her place amongst
the family of nations and would have entered the path of
progress and happiness. But, unfortunately, the Revolu-
tion was scarcely completed when the members of our par-
ty unexpectedly turned out to be of different opinion from
myself, considering my ideals too elevated and unattain-
able for the reconstruction of modern China.

These doubts, moreover, were taken for granted, 3
and even some of my comrades began to entertain doubts
concerning the realization of my programme. Therefore it

建設所以無成，而破壞之後，國事更因之以日非也。

4 夫去一滿洲之專制，轉生出無數強盜之專制，其為毒之烈，較前尤甚。於是而民愈不聊生矣！

5 溯夫吾黨革命之初心，本以救國救種為志，欲出斯民於水火之中，而登之衽席之上也。今乃反令之陷水益深，蹈火益熱，與革命初衷大相違背者，此固予之德薄無以化格同儕^①，予之能鮮不足駕馭羣衆，有以致之也。然而吾黨之士，於革命宗旨，革命方略，亦難免有信仰不篤、奉行不力之咎也；而其所以然者，非盡關乎功成利達而移心，實多以思想錯誤而懈志也。

6 此思想之錯誤為何？即“知之非艱，行之惟艱”之說也。此說始於傅說對武丁之

turned out that my programme had less chances of being realized when I held the post of President than when I was the leader of the Party which was preparing the Revolution. Hence the attempt at reconstruction was not successful, and the national tasks, which I put forward, were abandoned after the Revolution.

The Chinese Revolution, in the minds of many, was called upon to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty and replace it by the tyranny of a group of bandits even more savage and rapacious than the former Tai-tsing Government. This was the direct cause of the further intolerable yoke that cast a shadow over the Chinese people. 4

If we analyse our first promptings to carry out the Chinese Revolution, we shall see that we had in view the salvation of the Chinese people and the country; whereas the result has been quite the opposite, and the Chinese people is becoming more and more oppressed, the country more and more unhappy. To a considerable extent this results from my inability to influence my party comrades and, apparently, my incapacity to guide them. But, on the other hand, my party comrades also cannot escape the reproach of insufficient conviction and effort in the realisation of our revolutionary ideals and the carrying out of our revolutionary programme. As for the causes of their loss of heart, they do not all spring from the temptation of place and profit: their efforts slacken rather from their mode of 5

言^②，由是數千年來，深中於中國之人心，已成牢不可破矣。故予之建設計劃，一一皆為此說所打消也。

【注 釋】

① 化格：感化；同儕：同輩。化格同儕：使同志們感動接受。

② 傅說：商王武丁之相。引語見尚書說命。

7 嗚呼！此說者予生平之最大敵也，其威力當萬倍於滿清。夫滿清之威力，不過只能殺吾人之身耳，而不能奪吾人之志也；乃此敵之威力，則不惟能奪吾人之志，且足以迷億兆人之心也。是故當滿清之世，予之主張革命也，猶能日起有功，進行不已；惟自民國成立之日，則予之主張建設，反致半籌莫展，一敗塗地。吾三十年來精誠無間之心，幾為之冰消瓦解，百折不回之志，幾為之槁木死灰者，此也。可畏哉此敵！可恨哉此敵！

thought.

What was that wrong mode of thought? It was, in 6
their understanding, the idea that "actions are difficult,
but knowledge is easy". This view was first expressed by
Fu Kueh, under the Emperor Wu-ting of the Shang Dy-
nasty, two thousand years ago. Since that time it has
taken root so deep in the mind of the Chinese people that
now it is seemingly difficult to tear out. My whole plan
for the reconstruction of China was paralysed by this
saying.

The theory of Fu Kueh is my enemy, a thousand 7
times more powerful than the authority of the Manchu
Dynasty. The power of the Manchu could achieve only the
killing of our bodies, but it could not deprive us of our
will. The might of the theory of Fu Kueh not only de-
stroyed the iron will of my comrades, but deceived the
millions of the Chinese people. During the time of the
Manchu Dynasty, when I was agitating for the Revolu-
tion, I could hope for progress, but in the days that fol-
lowed the establishment of the Republic my plan for the
reconstruction of China could in no way be carried out.
My thirty years' faithfulness to my ideal was almost
crushed by this blow, my iron will almost killed. It was
terrible and hateful.

"The best method of struggle is to kill the mind." So 8

兵法有云：“攻心為上。”^①是吾黨之建國計劃，即受此心中之打擊者也。夫國者人之積也，人者心之器也，而國事者一人羣心理之現象也。是故政治之隆污^②，係乎人心之振靡。吾心信其可行，則移山填海之難，終有成功之日；吾心信其不可行，則反掌折枝之易，亦無收效之期也。心之為用大矣哉！

【注釋】

① 見三國志蜀志馬良傳注。

② 隆污：這裏指政治的好壞。

夫心也者，萬事之本源也。滿清之顛覆者，此心成之也；民國之建設者，此心敗之也。夫革命黨之心理，於成功之始，則被“知之非難，行之惟艱”之說所奴，而視吾輩為空言，遂放棄建設之責任。如是則以後之建設責任，非革命黨所得而專也。迨夫民國成立之後，則建設之責任，當為國民所共負矣。然七年以來，積未暇建設事業之進

ancient military strategy teaches us. That is why the national programme of reconstruction of our Party suffered from the blow inflicted on our minds by the enemy. The nation is an assembly of individuals, and individuals, in their turn, are receptacles of mind. Thus the affairs of the people are the result of the expressions of mind in groups of these individuals. While we believe in our minds in the practicability of any plan, be it to move mountains or to fill up the sea, it can be easily accomplished. But when we are convinced in the impracticability, even of such simple acts as to move our hand or to break a twig, they cannot be carried out. Truly, great is the power of mind.

Mind is the beginning of everything that happens in the world. The overthrow of the monarchy was carried out by mind, the construction of the Republic was delayed and later brought to nought by this same mind. Just at the beginning of the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the revolutionaries themselves became the slaves of the theory of the difficulty of action and the easiness of knowledge, began to look on my plan as a Utopia and empty words, and renounced responsibility for the reconstruction of China. That responsibility, of course, was not to have been their monopoly, but should have been borne by all the citizens of China. But seven years have passed since the foundation of the Chinese Republic, and literally nothing has been done in this direction. On the contrary, the affairs of the Chinese Republic have become

行，而國事則日形糾紛，人民則日增痛苦。

10 午夜思維，不勝痛心疾首！夫民國之建設事業，實不容一刻視為緩圖者也。國民！國民！究成何心？不能乎？不行乎？不知乎？吾知其非不能也，不行也；亦非不行也，不知也。儻能知之，則建設事業，亦不過如反掌折枝耳。

11 回顧當年，予所耳提面命而傳授於革命黨員，而被河漢為理想空言者^①，至今觀之，適為世界潮流之需要，而亦當為民國建設之資材也。乃擬筆之於書，名曰建國方略，以為國民所取法焉。然尚有躊躇審顧者，則恐今日國人社會心理，猶是七年前黨人之社會心理也，依然有此“知之非艱，行之惟艱”之大敵橫梗於其中，則其以吾之計劃為理想空言而見拒也，亦若是而已矣。

more and more complicated and the difficulties of the Chinese people have grown with every passing day.

When I think of this, day after day, my heart aches. 10
The reconstruction of China cannot be postponed day after day. The question arises in my mind: "Chinese, why do you not carry out that which should and must be carried out, since, postponing it, you only obstruct your fulfilling your own appointed task? Why is this? Is it because you do not wish to fulfil it? Or is it because you are incapable of grappling with it?" I think that this arises, not because the Chinese are incapable, not because they have no inclination, but simply because they do not know it. When they become aware of it, the work of reconstruction will be just as easily as the turning of a hand or the breaking of a twig.

When I recalled all that I had taught the members of 11
our party and what they had contemned, and when I saw that my teaching was again coming to the surface as a new current in modern thought and might become a plan for the national building-up of China, I conceived the purpose of writing a book about it under the title of *A Programme of National Reconstruction for China*, in the hope that my teaching would be accepted by all Chinese. However, I waited. I feared that the psychology of the Chinese masses was the same as the psychology of our Party. Perhaps the Chinese still hold the opinion that action is difficult

12 故先作學說，以破此心理之大敵，而出國人之思想於迷津，庶幾吾之建國方略，或不致再被國人視為理想空談也。夫如是，乃能萬眾一心，急起直追，以我五千年文明優秀之民族，應世界之潮流，而建設一政治最修明、人民最安樂之國家，為民所有，為民所治，為民所享者也。則其成功，必較革命之破壞事業為尤速、尤易也。

【注 釋】

① 河漢：這裏用作動詞，意謂不予置信。

13 據最近科學家所考得者，則造成人類及動植物者，乃生物之元子為之也。生物之元子，學者多譯之為“細胞”，而作者今特創名之曰“生元”，蓋取生物元始之意也。生元者何物也？曰：其為物也，精矣，微矣，神矣，妙矣，不可思議者矣！按今日科學所能窺者，則生元之為物也，乃有知覺靈明者也，乃有動作思維者也，乃有主義計劃者也。人身結構之精妙神奇者，生元為

but knowledge easy? If so, the result of my book and my teaching will be the same as seven years ago: They will look on my plan, on my programme for the reconstruction of China, as a Utopia.

However, I still begin the writing of this book, first 12
of all for the purpose of crushing the enemy with the help of my theory, and leading the thoughts of my Chinese fellow-countrymen out of the blind alley in which they are at present. Then they will not look on my programme as a Utopia, and millions of them will be my sympathisers, will fight for the reconstruction of China, will consolidate the Republic, and will create a Government by the people, of the people and for the people. I believe in this, since I believe in the Chinese people.

Researches of modern scientists show that the mate- 13
rial of which the human being and all living things are composed is nothing else than cells, i. e., living atoms. But what is a cell? It is a very small object, very surprising and extremely mysterious. According to the discoveries of modern science, it is very sensitive and intelligent. It can act, move and think. It has reasons and intentions. What is it that makes our body so extraordinary, astonishing and mysterious, if not this cell? Various phenomena in the animal and vegetable world are expressions of the exchange and combination of cells.

之也；人性之聰明知覺者，生元發之也；動植物狀態之奇奇怪怪、不可思議者，生元之構造物也。

- 14 生元之構造人類及萬物也，亦猶乎人類之構造屋宇、舟車、城市、橋樑等物也。空中之飛鳥，即生元所造之飛行機也；水中之鱗介，即生元所造之潛航艇也。孟子所謂“良知良能”者非他，即生元之知、生元之能而已。自圭哇里氏發明“生元有知”之理而後^①，則前時之哲學家所不能明者，科學家所不能解者，進化論所不能通者，心理學所不能道者，今皆可由此而豁然貫通，另辟一新天地為學問之實驗場矣。

【注 釋】

① 圭哇里：法國生物學家。

- 15 夫進化者，時間之作用也。故自達文氏

While humanity builds its houses, ships, carriages, towns and bridges, the cell creates humanity and all other living objects. Birds in the air are aeroplanes created by cells. Scaly fish in the water are submarines created by cells. What people call instinct and intuition are also the instinct and intuition of cells. Since Carrel discovered that cells are sensitive, which the old philosophers could not understand, much can now be explained. A new era has now begun, for knowledge has greatly widened the limits of our understanding.

14

Evolution is the function of time. Darwin's discovery was compared with Isaac Newton's discovery of the law of gravity. Men considered these the two greatest discoveries; the first in the sphere of time, the second in the sphere of space. The writer considers that there are three degrees or periods of evolution; the first of matter, the second of species, and the third of man. During the periods of vapour, the ether brought electrons into motion, the electrons produced matter and matter produced the earth. This was the first stage of world evolution. But there are other heavenly bodies which are still in this stage of evolution. The evolution of matter is directed towards the formation of earth. How many million years were required for the formation of our planet? According to calculations based on the study of geological phenomena, twenty million years have passed since the time of the formation of the earth.

15

發明物種進化之理，而學者多稱之為時間之大發明，與奈端氏之攝力為空間之大發明相比〔媿〕美^①。而作者則以為進化之時期有三：其一為物質進化之時期，其二為物種進化之時期，其三則為人類進化之時期。元始之時，太極（此用以譯西名以太也）動而生電子，電子凝而生元素，元素合而成物質，物質聚而成地球，此世界進化之第一時期也。今太空諸天體多尚在此期進化之中。而物質之進化，以成地球為目的。吾人之地球，其進化幾何年代而成，不可得而知也。地球成後以至於今，按科學家據地層之變動而推算，已有二千萬年矣。

【注 釋】

① 達文：今譯達爾文；奈端：今譯牛頓。

由生元之始生而至於成人，則為第二期之進化。物種由微而顯，由簡而繁，本物競天擇之原則，經幾許優勝劣敗，生存淘汰，

The period from the origin of cells to the appearance of man constitutes the second period of evolution. All species, from the smallest to the largest, from the simplest to the most complicated, according to the laws of struggle for existence, natural selection, and the survival of the fittest, were already in existence when man appeared on the earth. Thousands of years passed before mankind acquired human nature, since in the first period of its existence it was in no way distinguishable from animals. Then began the evolution of mankind. 16

The foundations of the evolution of mankind were quite different from the basic principles of the evolution of other creatures. Amongst the latter the struggle for existence was the law, whereas men were guided by the principle of mutual aid. Society and the sciences are the concrete expression of this mutual aid. Morality, love, friendship and justice, all these are forms of expressing mutual aid. Mankind develops and progresses only on the condition that it obeys these fundamental laws, otherwise it perishes. The fact that mankind has still not applied these laws in practice on a large scale, and some people infringe them, arises from man's evolution from the animals, and from the fact that the third stage, into which man is entering as "man", is still very short. The animal heritage, or "instinct", has not yet been extinguished, and has not completely disappeared. 17

新陳代謝，千百萬年，而人類乃成。人類初出之時，亦與禽獸無異。再經幾許萬年之進化，而始長成人性。而人類之進化，於是乎起源。

- 17 此期之進化原則，則與物種之進化原則不同：物種以競爭為原則，人類則以互助為原則。社會國家者，互助之體也；道德仁義者，互助之用也。人類順此原則則昌，不順此原則則亡。此原則行之於人類當已數十萬年矣。然而人類今日猶未能盡守此原則者，則以人類本從物種而來，其人於第三期之進化為時尚淺，而一切物種遺傳之性，尚未能悉行化除也。

- 18 然而人類自入文明之後，則天性所趨，已莫之為而為，莫之致而致，尚〔向〕於互助之原則，以求達人類進化之目的矣。人類

But once mankind entered the period of civilization, 18
his inner being spontaneously sought the principles of mutual aid, and was also able to achieve the fundamental aim of human evolution. What is the end of human evolution? It is the aim indicated by Confucius when he said ["When the Great Tao prevails, the whole world will work only for the public interests." It is also the aim taught by Jesus: "Your kingdom come, your will be done on earth as it is in heaven."]* These are the hopes of mankind, which desire to transform the present painful period of its existence into a happy paradise on earth.

** This paragraph is revised by the editor.*

Modern civilization is moving forward with gigantic 19
strides, and the progress of the last century may be compared with the progress of the last thousands of years, and as in the future the development of the last ten years will be comparable with the road travelled in the last hundred years, we can calculate the rapidity of progress and realize that the times we dream of are not far away. From the time that Darwin discovered the principles of evolution—the struggle for life of animals, natural selection, and the survival the fittest—scientists began to treat morality, love, justice and friendship as a mirage, and to regard the law of the struggle for existence as the reality. They even want to apply these laws of the animal world to mankind, but they do not understand that only applied a transitional period in the history of mankind—that the

進化之目的為何？即孔子所謂“大道之行，天下為公”^①，耶穌所謂“爾旨得成，在地若天”^②，此人類所希望，化現在之痛苦世界而為極樂之天堂者是也。


【注 釋】

① 見禮記禮運。

② 見聖經新約全書馬太福音第六章第十節。

19 近代文明進步，以日加速，最後之百年已勝於以前之千年，而最後之十年又勝已往之百年，如此遞推，太平之世，當在不遠。乃至達文氏發明物種進化之物競天擇原則後，而學者多以為仁義道德皆屬虛無，而爭競生存乃為實際，幾欲以物種之原則，而施之於人類之進化，而不知此為人類已過之階級，而人類今日之進化，已超出物種原則之上矣。此“行之非艱，而知之惟艱”，進化論可為鐵證者十也。

evolution of man has outgrown this principle which governs the world of animals. Thus the theory of evolution may serve as the tenth proof of my theory concerning the easiness of knowledge and the difficulty of action.



二十四
菌 說
(節選)

On Germs (Selected)

【簡 介】

菌說是中國資產階級革命派思想家章炳麟 (1869—1936) 早期哲學思想的代表作。原文採自章太炎全集。

章炳麟

梵書(重訂本)
卷首原刊

Chang Ping-lin
This picture was
published origi-
nally in the
front page of
the Revised E-
dition of "Qiu-
shu".



INTRODUCTION

Written by Chang Ping-lin (Tai-yen, 1869—1936), a bourgeoisie revolutionary of modern China and a famous thinker, it focuses on cosmology and evolution. The basic ideas of Chang's philosophy varied for several times and this paper represents his ideas of the early stage.

1 蓋凡物之初，惟有阿屯^①，而其中萬殊。各原質皆有欲惡去就。欲就為愛力、吸力，惡去為離心力、驅力。有此故諸原質不能不散為各體，而散後又不能不相和合。夫然，則空氣金鐵雖頑^②，亦有極微之知。……彼其知則欲惡去就而已。不如是不能自成原質，亦不能相引而成草木。

【注 釋】

① 阿屯：原子（atom）的音譯。

② 頑：遲鈍。

2 夫其橋起而相引也^①，則於是有雌雄片合^②，而種類成矣。有種類，則又有其欲惡去就，而相易相生相摩，漸以化為異物。故既有草木，則草木亦如瞽之求明，如癡之思起^③，久之而機械日生，刻意思之以趨近似，而其形亦遂徙之而變，則於是有蜃蛤水母。彼又求明，則遞為甲節，為脊骨，復自魚以至鳥獸而為猿、狙、猩、狒，以至為

Atom is the very beginning of all things although 1
there are plenty of variations. Each element has its likes
and dislikes, favors and disfavours. Like and favor consti-
tute the centripetal force while dislike and disfavor the
centrifugal force. For this reason, various elements have
to disperse into individual state and afterwards have to
unite and integrate. If such be the case, even things as
thoughtless as gases and metals also possess very primary
consciousness. . . The consciousness of these elements is
no more than likes, dislikes, favors and disfavours. If they
did not have consciousness, they would be impossible to
exist as elements and to attract each other in order to be-
come plants.

When things arise in succession and attract each 2
other, there comes the copulation between the female and
the male, and the various species are thereby formed.
Since these species respectively have their own likes, dis-
likes, favors, and disfavours, they will replace, generate,
and struggle with each other, and variations will gradual-
ly take place. Therefore, when plants came into existence,
they hoped to progress like that a blind man hopes to have
vision and a paralytic man hopes to stand up. When their
hopes lasted for a long time, the motive power would in-
crease day by day. They looked forward to becoming
something similar to higher species, and their bodies var-
ied in accordance with their hopes. As a result, they be-
came shell fish and jelly fish. The shell fish and jelly fish

人，此所謂“隨序之相理”也^④。

【注 釋】

- ① 橋起：這裏指兩極相異。
- ② 片合：交合，兩性相配合。
- ③ 痿：癱疾者。
- ④ 見莊子則陽。

3 其漸思而漸變也，則又有二端：有以思致其力而自造者焉，有不假於力而專以思自造者焉。致力以自造者，接子“或使”之說也；不假力而自造者，季真“莫為”之說也。^①如鳥之修頸長喙，適可以理毛羽，此或有體操之術，令其胸長而項伸，此致力以自造者也。如夫露巢之鳥，患人之探其卵也，則其卵多非白色，與暗處者迥殊。故巢草萊者，卵必青綠若萌芽。巢河干者，卵必暗綠若蘆葦。巢喬木者，卵必光綠若樹葉。巢山崖亂石荆棘之中者，卵必棕色而有花點，以與土石相混。夫其色之必同於所處之草木土石者，以眩人之目，使不能辨目。若

328

still hoped to progress. Then, step by step, the arthropod and vertebrate came into existence. In the vertebrate stage, progress continued from fish to birds, beasts, apes, and finally to human beings. This is what is meant by "development in subsequence".

Concretely speaking, there are two ways of gradual evolution through gradual accumulation of thinking power: the one is the self-creation with physical efforts based on thinking power, and the other is the self-creation purely and directly by thinking power without physical efforts. The former is what was expressed as "to make things" by Chieh Tzu, and the latter is what was expressed as "non-action" by Chi Chen. A bird has a long neck and a long beak just long enough to comb its feathers. Probably the bird has a method of physical training in order to extend their breast and neck. This is an example for the self-creation with physical efforts based on thinking power. A land nested bird worries that people will find its eggs and its eggs are mostly not white-colored, a sharp contrast to the birds nesting in caves. Thus, the birds nesting in grass lay eggs as green as grass sprout; the birds nesting in banks of rivers lay eggs as dark green as reed; the birds nesting in trees lay eggs as light green as leaves; the birds nesting in mountains, stone hills, thorns lay eggs in brown color with spots, to imitate earth and stones. Generally speaking, the eggs must have colors similar to the grass, trees, earth, and stones where the birds respectively

是者，鳥豈能致力以造是哉？苟曰“上帝為造之”，而鳥之死於矰繳探雛者^②，亦有不少，又何其矛盾也？然則必由鳥之思護其卵，積精專思，而遂變其形色，所謂以思自造者也。夫自諸異物而漸化為人者，此亦以思自造者也。若是者則皆所謂以妄想生之，而伏曼容之所謂蠱^③，淮南之所謂菌也。

【注 釋】

- ① 接子、季真：莊子則陽中所論及的兩位思想家；“或使”指有為，“莫為”即無為。
- ② 矰繳：弓箭。
- ③ 伏曼容：南北朝時一位注易者。

說今人之死也，則淡、養、炭、輕諸氣，鹽、鐵、磷、鈣諸質^①，各散而復其流定之本性，而人之性亡矣。離此流定而復索一舍利性海^②，亦猶離此諸體而索馬索象也。

【注 釋】

- ① 淡、養、炭、輕：即氮、氧、碳、氫。
- ② 舍利：佛教高僧死後燒剩的骨頭；性海：佛教學說中相當於世界本原的概念。這裏意謂人死後不是復

live in order to confuse the eyes of people and to make them fail to discern the eggs. In such cases, how can the birds create the colors of their eggs with physical efforts? If we suppose that it is the arrangement of God, we will fail to explain why many birds are killed in hunting, and it is indeed a paradox. Therefore, the case must be that the birds wish to safeguard their eggs and they concentrate on thinking it. As a result, the colors of the eggs change. This is an example for the self-creation purely and directly by thinking power. These changes all take place due to odd thinking, which is called by Fu Man-jung as minute insects and called by the *Works of Master Huai Nan* as germs.

As soon as the death of a person, the nitrogen, oxygen, carbon, hydrogen, salt, iron, phosphorus and calcium of which the body consists will return to original nature of motion and rest and the nature of man will thereby perish. If one puts aside this original nature of motion and rest and looks for a "sarira-ocean of nature", he will be the same as those who hope to look for a horse or an elephant beyond the various parts of which the horse or the elephant consists. 4

Someone may argue that the "Ocean of Nature" is the ether. However, ether is so-called emanative material force which conducts rays. It may penetrate the substance of glass, and its speed varies in accordance with the colors 5

返於礦物質，而是另有歸宿，即復返於舍利性海。

5 或謂：“性海即以太”。然以太即傳光氣^①，能過玻璃實質，而其動亦因光之色而分遲速。彼其實質，即曰阿屯，以一分質分為五千萬分，即為阿屯大小之數，是阿屯亦有形可量。以太流動，雖更微於此，而既有遲速，則不得謂之無體。……蓋所謂性海，無秋毫之微，蘆苻之厚。而阿屯以太，則尚不免於毫末淪無間，蘆苻通無圻也，以此相似，終不相類。

【注 釋】

① 以太即傳光氣：以太曾被西方物理學假設為傳播光的媒質。

6 即如光、熱、電三者，雖不能得其質點，而終與湛然不動者有殊；舍利性海，豈是之比？苟如是，動則速矣，力則厚矣，而亦與極頑之日星相類，寧能超出萬有耶？

of the rays. The substance of glass is constituted by atoms. The size of atom can be expressed in terms of a molecule being divided into fifty million parts. This suggests, that atom possesses form and is measurable. Although the ether moving is smaller than atom, it cannot be said formless because its speed is changeable. . . . On the contrary, the so-called "Ocean of Nature" possesses no form, even a form as small as an autumn hair or a depth as thin as a reed membrane. Neither atom nor ether, just like a hair or a membrane, can avoid form and depth. Thus, it is wrong to draw a parallel between ether and the "Ocean of Nature".

Even light, heat, and electricity, whose substance 6
cannot be held, are still different from that which is completely motionless. How could then we compare them to the "Ocean of Nature"? If the "Ocean of Nature" were the same as light, heat and electricity, it would have speed because of motion and have depth because of power. It would then belong to the same category as the sun and other fixed stars which are very substantial, and how could it transcend beyond the myriad things?

Someone says that one cannot reach the state of perfect 7
benevolence on universal level until he knows that various elements consist of ether, and the myriad things consist of elements, and that all things, inside or outside, earth, water, fire and wind, animals, hungry ghosts, hell,

或謂：“必知各原質之成於以太，萬物之成於各原質，而後知內外四大^①，至於六道^②，無一非我，乃為乾元至仁之量，是固然矣。”然所以見為殊者，以官骸相闕，所以見為合者，以原質相同。原質有形，即以太亦有至微之形，固不必以邈無倪際之性海言也。然官骸雖一時暫有，而兼愛既濟之道，即由官骸而生。何者？以知識之全體，亦不能出乎官骸之外也。人之嗜欲，着於聲、色、味、觸、法，而仁義即由嗜欲而起。

【注 釋】

- ① 四大：指地、水、火、風，又稱外四大。內四大指人對外四大的感覺。
- ② 六道：指六道（天、人、阿修羅、地獄、餓鬼、畜生）輪迴。

總之，輪動之說，非無至理，而由人身各質所化，非如佛家所謂靈魂所化也。六道升降，由於志念進退，其說亦近，而所化者乃其胤胄，非如佛家謂靈魂墮入諸趣也^①。

malevolent-natured-spirits, human beings and immortals, are identical with himself. This is true. However, things are different because their forms and they are identical because of the same elements. Elements possess forms, so does ether though it is very small. Then, the formless "Ocean of Nature" is irrelevant here. Although the body is temporal, the Tao of universal love and reciprocity cannot come into existence without bodies. Why? Because knowledge, even as a whole, cannot go beyond sense organs. And the desires of man are revealed through sound, color, smell, taste, and touch. Benevolence and righteousness just begin with these desires.

Generally speaking, we cannot say that there is not 8
any truth in the Buddhist theory of samsara or transmigration. The truth, however, does not lie in the evolution of the spirits as stated by Buddhists but in the evolution of the elements of which man's body consists. As for the concept of progress and retrogress due to different wills, it is also close to truth. However, it only means the alternation of generations but not the case that a spirit falls into the transmigration.

When the Buddhist theory of transmigration de- 9
clined, the theory that man is created by God arose, which also has some reason. Man could not live if there were no nitrogen but only oxygen for him to breathe. As a matter of fact, however, the two gases exist in proper

9 前生之說替，而上帝造人之說起，彼亦非持之無故也。蓋曰有養氣、無淡氣，則人將喝懣以死^②，而今分劑適合。他如卵中白質，未出之雛，足以自養；草木子中之胚乳，亦能化糖以養苗；而葉有又依螺綫而生，巧合算理者，非上帝為此人物，而配其分劑，調其節度，資其匱乏耶？

【注 釋】

① 諸趣：六趣（六種轉生的趨向），亦即“六道”。

② 喝懣：傷暑熱。

10 曰：夫久處於是，則寢食衣被，亦以是為調適。麋鹿食薦^①，夏蟲茹腐，非甘之也。彼生乎其地，長乎其時，則自以此為適矣。卵白胚乳之給養，豈有他哉？舍是無可食，則致命遂志於是，而不願其外矣。

11 老子曰：“草食之獸，不疾易藪^②，水

ratio. There are many other examples; The albumen in an egg is sufficient to supply the unborn bird; the albumen in a seed can transform into sugar to nourish the sprout; the leaves grow according to spiral in mathematical precision. How can these phenomena be explained if we do not assume that God creates human beings and other creatures, sets up proper ratio for them, adjust regulations for them and offers supplies to them?

My answer to this question is: When one lives in certain condition for a long time, he will naturally get used to his shelter, food, and clothing. A deer eats grass while a maggot eats things rotten. The reason is not that they innately like these foods but that they happened to live in certain region and time so that they naturally get used to such foods. The case of albumen is similar. The only nutrition then is the albumen and there is no other choice. Since there is nothing else to eat, the living beings are willing to have it and have no desire to eat things outside the egg or seed.

Lao Tzu said, "The grass-eating animals are not afraid to migrate to a new grassland and the water insects are not afraid to migrate to a new pool." (Self-annotation: quoted from "T'ien-tzu-fang" chapter of the *Works of Chuang Tzu*) This saying suggests that the form and habit of a living being are determined by its environment, i. e. , where it lives and what it eats. Even if there were no

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生之蟲，不疾易水。”（莊子田子方篇）此言生此地，食此餌，故能成此形，具此性也。使有養無淡，則亦自有一物能當此濃鬱之氣者，生乎其間。如人不能入水火，而火鼠海魚，初不以為患也。且亦安知其無人哉？没人泅水^③，與鯨鯢同樂，為取珠耳，非不得已也。果不得已，則人將常習於水。有養無淡，則人將長習於養，亦自可以不死。而毛羽鱗介，漸則因其思力而生。彼鮫之化鹿，雉之為蜃，有明徵也。故曰：“萬物皆出於幾，皆入於幾。”夫上帝為何者哉？

【注 釋】

① 薦：草。“麋鹿食薦”引自莊子齊物論。

② 藪：水少而長滿草的湖澤；不疾：不以……為患。

③ 没人：潛水的人。

nitrogen but only oxygen, there would certainly be a living being adapting to the thick air. It is just like that a man cannot live in water and fire, but such conditions are not any problem for the fire rat and sea fish respectively. Furthermore, how can we say that there is no man to live in water at all? A diver swims as skillful as a whale. Now the case is that he swims in order to find pearls and not that he has to live in water. If human beings had to live in water, they would get adapted to water life. If there were no nitrogen but only oxygen, people might also get used to the condition and might not perish. Hairs, feathers, scales and shells are all formed due to the power of thinking. Many evidences such as a shark became a deer and a pheasant became a clam can be found in ancient books. Therefore, [as stated by Chuang Tzu] "everything comes out of the minute force and then returns to that force". How could God intervene in the course?



二十五

吾人最後之覺悟

Our Ultimate Awakening

【簡 介】

此文作於 1916 年 2 月 25 日，作者陳獨秀（1879—1942）是“五四”時期著名思想家，後成為中國共產黨創始人之一。原文採自獨秀文存。

陳獨秀
任北京大學文
科學長時期

Ch'en Tu-hsiu
This picture was
taken when he
held the post of
the dean of the
Arts School of
Beijing Univer-
sity.



INTRODUCTION

Written on February 15, 1916, this is a significant paper of Ch'en Tu-hsiu (1879—1942), an outstanding thinker in the May Fourth Movement period and one of the founders of the Communist Party of China.

1 人之生也必有死，固非為死而生，亦未可漠然斷之曰為生而生。人之動作必有其的，其生也亦然^①。洞明此的，斯真吾人最后之覺悟也。世界一切哲學、宗教皆緣欲達此覺悟而起。茲之所論，非其倫也。茲所謂最後之覺悟者，吾人生聚於世界之一隅，歷數千年，至於今日，國力文明，果居何等？易詞言之，即盱衡內外之大勢^②，吾國吾民，果居何等地位，應取何等動作也。故於發論之先，申立言之旨，為讀者珍重告焉。

【注 釋】

① 亦然：也是這樣。

② 盱衡：觀察分析。

2 吾華國于亞洲之東，為世界古國之一，開化日久，環吾境者皆小蠻夷，閉戶自大之局成，而一切學術政教悉自為風氣，不知其他。魏、晉以還，象教流入^①，朝野士夫，

Everyone who lives has to die. It may not be said 1
that people live for the sake of death; nor may it be stated
meaninglessly that they live for the sake of life. Any ac-
tion of a man certainly has its motive. So does his life. A
thorough understanding of the motives is indeed an ulti-
mate awakening of us. All philosophies and religions have
been set forth in order to reach the ultimate awakening.
What I will discuss here, however, is not of the same
kind. By "ultimate awakening" I mean here an answer to
the inquiry that after thousands of years since our Chinese
began to live together in this corner of the world, what
grade is our national strength and civilization today? In
other words, through investigation of the internal and ex-
ternal situations, what position do our country and our
people gain and what action should we take? In this con-
sideration, before I begin my discussion, I have to show
the readers seriously the purpose of my paper.

Located in eastern Asia, our China is one of the 2
oldest countries of the world. Since all the neighboring
countries were small and barbarian ones, a shut-door poli-
cy and a self-important attitude were taken. As a result,
all the learnings, politics, and institutions had always fol-
lowed our own tradition with the shortage of the knowledge
about other nations. Since the Wei and Chin Dynasties,
Buddhism had been introduced from India and opened
slightly a way for Chinese scholars inside or outside the
court. However, India itself failed to develop vigorously

略開異見。然印土自己不振，且其說為出世之宗，故未能使華民根本丕變^②，資生事之所需也。其足使吾人生活狀態變遷而日趨覺悟之途者，其歐化之輸入乎？

【注 釋】

① 象教：指自印度傳入中國的佛教。

② 丕變：大變。

3 歐洲輸入之文化，與吾華固有之文化，其根本性質極端相反。數百年來，吾國擾攘不安之象，其由此兩種文化相觸接相衝突者，蓋十居八九。凡經一次衝突，國民即受一次覺悟。惟吾人情性過強，旋覺旋迷，甚至愈覺愈迷，昏聩糊塗，至於今日，綜計過境，略分七期：

4 第一期在有明之中葉，西教西器初入中國，知之者乃極少數之人，亦復驚為河漢^①，

and its Buddhism is a doctrine of the other world orientation. Therefore, it could not make Chinese people change their mind greatly to meet the need of the betterment of their lives. Is the introduction of European ideas the only way to shift the way of Chinese life and to lead Chinese people to awakening day by day?

The culture introduced from Europe is completely 3
opposite to the traditional culture of China. The turbulence and intransquility during the past several hundred years are in eighty to ninety percent caused by the confrontation and conflict of the two cultures. Every time when a conflict burst, there was an upgrade of awakening for our people. Due to the strong inertia of our people, however, they returned to the perplexity soon, or even became more confused, decrepit and muddleheaded. To sum up the past several hundred years up to now, there have been seven stages in the course of the introduction and conflict.

The first stage was the mid-Ming Dynasty when the 4
Western religion and scientific knowledge began to be introduced into China. A few people who happened to know them, took them with surprise as the exaggerated and improper opinions before long, however. And the only one who believed in them was Hsü Kuang-ch'i.

The second stage was the beginning of the Ch'ing 5

信之者為徐光啟一人而已。

5 第二期在清之初世，火器曆法，見納於清帝，朝野舊儒，群起非之，是為中國新舊相爭之始。

6 第三期在清之中世。鴉片戰爭以還，西洋武力，震驚中土，情見勢絀，互市局成，曾、李當國，相繼提倡西洋製械練兵之術。於是洋務西學之名詞發現於朝野。當時所爭者，在朝則為鐵路非鐵路問題，在野則為地圓地動、地非圓不動問題。今之童稚皆可解決者，而當時之頑固士大夫奮筆鼓舌，嘵嘵不已^②，咸以息邪說、正人心之聖賢自命。其睡眠無知之狀態，當世必覺其可惡，後世只覺其可憐耳！

Dynasty when the Western weapons and calendar were accepted by the Ch'ing emperors. The conservative Confucians inside and outside the court all came to make an objection against them. This was the commencement of the debates between the conservatives and the reformers.

The third stage was the mid-Ch'ing Dynasty. After the Opium War, the Western military strength astonished Chinese people and our inferiority became obvious. In this situation, the import and export trade was founded and Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang became the chief ministers who successively promoted armament industry and army training in Western style. Hence, the words of "Westernization" and "Western learnings" were frequently seen inside and outside the court. As for the debates then, they were focused on whether or not China should develop trains inside the court and whether or not the earth is round and moving outside the court. These problems are so easy that even a child of today may resolve them. However, the conservative scholars then wrote and talked vigorously and restlessly against the reform. They considered themselves sages who could stop evils and correct the minds of the people. Their ignorance was necessarily detected by their contemporaries and will be considered pitiful by later generations. 6

The fourth stage was the late-Ch'ing Dynasty when Chinese army was defeated and our territory was 7

7

第四期在清之末季。甲午之役，軍破國削，舉國上中社會，大夢初覺，稍有知識者，多承認富強之策，雖聖人所不廢。康、梁諸人，乘時進以變法之說，聳動國人，守舊黨尼之，遂有戊戌之變。沈夢復酣，暗雲滿布，守舊之見，趨於極端，遂積成庚子之役。雖國幾不國，而舊勢力頓失憑依，新思想漸拓領土，遂由行政制度問題一折而入政治根本問題。

8

第五期在民國初元^③。甲午以還，新舊之所爭論，康、梁之所提倡，皆不越行政制度良否問題之範圍，而於政治根本問題去之尚遠。當世所說為新奇者，其實至為膚淺；頑固黨當國，并此膚淺者而亦抑之，遂激動一部分優秀國民漸生政治根本問題之覺悟，進而為民主共和、君主立憲之討論。辛亥之役，共和告成，昔日仇視新政之君臣，欲求高坐廟堂從容變法而不可得矣。

aggrieved after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894—1895. The whole upper and middle classes over the country were like just awakened from dream and some of them who have some knowledge had to acknowledge that the policy of “making the country strong and rich” could be tolerated by the sage. K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao took this opportunity to suggest reform which made a sensation throughout the country. Nevertheless, the reform was suppressed by the conservatives in the end of 1898. The old days returned and even darkened, and the conservative opinions developed to extreme and culminated in the War of 1900. Although the country then almost failed to survive, the conservative force lost their foundation and new ideas gained opportunity to extend their influence. The debates turned from the measures of government to the basic political problems.

The fifth stage was the beginning of the Republic. After 1894—1895, the debates between the reformers and the conservatives, including what were praised by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, had never surpassed the question whether or not the administration system was good, far from the basic political problem. What were viewed as new and strange were indeed very shallow. Since the conservatives held the authority of the country, they depressed even such shallow things. Their doings stimulated some excellent people to reach gradually the awakening of the basic political problems which led to the

9 第六期則今茲之戰役也。三年以來，吾人於共和國體之下，備受專制政治之痛苦。自經此次之實驗，國中賢者，實愛共和之心，因以勃發；厭棄專制之心，因以明確。

10 吾人拜賜於執政，可謂沒齒不忘者矣。然自今以往，共和國體果能鞏固無虞乎？立憲政治果能無阻乎？以予觀之，此等政治根本解決問題，猶待吾人最後之覺悟。此謂之第七期民國憲法實行時代。

【注 釋】

① 河漢：本指銀河，喻大而無當之言。

② 噉噉：亂嚷亂叫。

③ 初元：初年。

11 今茲之役，可謂為新舊思潮之大激戰。淺見者咸以吾人最後之覺悟期之，而不知尚難實現也。何以言之？今之所謂共和，所謂立憲者，乃少數政黨之主張，多數國民不見有若何切身利害之感而有所取捨也。蓋多數

discussion whether the republic or the constitutional monarchy we should choose. The revolution of 1911 resulted in the establishment of the Republic. Thus, the emperors and their ministers who hated reform no longer had the chance to reform in an easy and comfortable way.

The sixth stage is the present campaign. For three years under the system of the republic, we have been suffering the pains of the monarchy politics. With this experiences, the worthies of China have increased their aspiration for cherishing the republic and ensured their detection against the monarchy. 9

I will never forget the instructions from the Leader of the Republic. From now on, however, can the republic system be really consolidated without trouble? Can the constitutional politics be really accepted without resistance? From my point of view, a complete resolution of the political problem waits for the ultimate awakening of us, which will mark the seventh stage of the period of the acceptance of the Republic Constitution. 10

The present campaign may be called a ferocious battle between the old and new thinking trends. Those who have shallow knowledge all expect that we will reach the ultimate awakening, but they do not know that the aim is still difficult to realize. Why? Because so-called "Republic" and "Constitutional Politics" today are but the 11

人之覺悟，少數人可為先導，而不可為代庖。共和立憲之大業，少數人可主張，而未可實現。人類進化恒有軌轍可尋，故予於今茲之戰役，固不容懷悲觀而取卑劣之消極態度，復不敢懷樂觀而謂可躊躇滿志也。故吾曰：此等政治根本解決問題，不得不待諸第七期吾人最后之覺悟。此覺悟維何？請為我青年國民珍重陳之。

(一) 政治的覺悟

12 吾國專制日久，惟官令是從。人民除納稅訴訟外，與政府無交涉。國家何物，政治何事，所不知也。積成今日國家危殆之勢，而一般商民，猶以為干預政治，非分內之事；國政變遷，悉委諸政府及黨人之手；自取中立態度，若觀對岸之火，不知國家為人民公產，人類為政治動物。斯言也，歐美國民多知之。此其所以莫敢侮之也。是為吾人

propositions of a few parties, and the majority of people do not think they will influence their immediate interests and that they have to be chosen. A few people may guide the masses of people to awaken but the former cannot replace the latter. The great causes of the republic system and the constitutional politics can be set forth by a few people but cannot be realized by only a few people. Since the road of human evolution can be traced, we should not feel hopeless for today's campaign, nor should we take a poorly passive attitude toward it. Nevertheless, we should not be too optimistic with unrealistic ambitions. Therefore, as I have said, the complete resolution of the political problem has to wait for the seventh state when we will reach the ultimate awakening. What is this awakening? I will seriously declare it for our young citizens.

A. Political Awakening

The monarchy tradition lasted very long in our country and to obey the commands from the rulers was an absolute requirement. People under this system had nothing to do with the government except tax payment and lawsuits. They did not know what a state was and what politics was. The present situation of our country is so perilous as a result of prolonged accumulation, but the common merchants and citizens still consider the participation

政治的覺悟之第一步。

13 吾人既未能置身政治潮流外，則開宗明義之第一章，即為決擇政體良否問題。古今萬國，政體不齊，治亂各別。其撥亂為治者，罔不捨舊謀新，由專制政治，趨於自由政治；由個人政治，趨於國民政治；由官僚政治，趨於自治政治。此所謂立憲制之潮流，此所謂世界系之軌道也。吾國既不克閉關自守^①，即萬無越此軌道逆此潮流之理。進化公例，適者生存。凡不能應四周情況之需求而自處於適宜之境者，當然不免於滅亡。日之與韓，殷鑒不遠^②。吾國欲圖世界的生存，必棄數千年相傳之官僚的專制的個人政治，而易以自由的、自治的國民政治也。是為吾人政治的覺悟之第二步。

【注 釋】

① 克，能够。

② 日：日本；韓：朝鮮。殷鑒不遠：語出詩大雅蕩，

in political affairs not their business. For the political shifts of the country, they are quite indifferent and allow the government and a few politicians of some parties to handle with the politics. They are inclined to take neutral attitude as if they were watching a fire hazard in the other side of a river. They do not know that a country is the common wealth of all its people and human beings are political animals. On the contrary, the most of the citizens of the European and American countries have the knowledge and therefore nobody can insult them. It is the first step of awakening for us to have this knowledge.

Since we cannot put ourselves aside from the political trends, the first and foremost problem is to choose a better political system. The political systems of various countries of different times are by on means the same. Some led to stability and some to chaos. If people hope to stop chaos and realize stability, they must cast away the old systems and make political reform: from monarchy politics to liberal politics; from dictator politics to democratic politics; form bureaucrat politics to self-government politics. These are so-called trend of constitutional system and worldwide road. Since our country can no longer persist in the shut-door policy, there is no reason for going against this trend. The law of evolution is that only those who can adapt themselves to the environment survive. Anyone who cannot adapt himself to the environment and meet the needs of the situation will necessarily fall to his

意謂殷人應當以夏的滅亡為鑒。這裏以日之與韓作譬。

14 所謂立憲政體，所謂國民政治，果能實現與否，純然以多數國民能否對於政治，自覺其居於主人的主動的地位為唯一根本之條件。自居於主人的主動的地位，則應自進而建設政府，自立法度而自服從之，自定權利而自尊重之。儻立憲政治之主動地位屬於政府而不屬於人民，不獨憲法乃一紙空文，無永久厲行之保障，且憲法上之自由權利，人民將視為不足輕重之物，而不以生命擁護之；則立憲政治之精神已完全喪失矣。是以立憲政治而不出於多數國民之自覺，多數國民之自動，惟日仰望善良政府，賢人政治，其卑屈陋劣，與奴隸之希冀主恩，小民之希冀聖君賢相施行仁政，無以異也。

doom. The political lessons of Japan and Korea are not far away. If our country expects to survive in the present world, the bureaucrat, monarchical and dictator politics which lasted for thousands of years must be replaced by the liberal, self-government and democratic politics. This is the second step of our political awakening.

For whether or not the so-called constitutional system and democratic politics can be realized, the only principal prerequisite is whether or not the majority of the people can play a master role and take an active attitude toward politics themselves. If they play a master role and take an active stand themselves, they will naturally come to establish a government, set forth laws and regulations and then obey them by themselves, and confirm their right and pay respect to it by themselves. If the active role of a constitutional politics is played by the government, not by the people, the constitution, on one hand, will become a mere scrap of paper which is never guaranteed to function; on the other hand, the right of liberty offered by the constitution will be treated by people as something meaningless, and they will by no means sacrifice their lives to protect it. In short, the spirit of the constitutional politics has been entirely lost. Therefore, the constitutional politics, if not based on the self-consciousness of the majority of citizens and the self-action of them, but depending on a good government by several worthies, will be as base, bent and poor as a slave to wish

古之人希冀聖君賢相施行仁政，今之人希冀偉人大老建設共和憲政^①，其卑屈陋劣，亦無以異也。夫偉人大老，亦國民一分子，其欲建設共和憲政，豈吾之所否拒？第以共和憲政^②，非政府所能賜予，非一黨一派人所主持，更非一二偉人大老所能負之而趨。共和立憲而不出於多數國民之自覺與自動，皆偽共和也，偽立憲也，政治之裝飾品也，與歐美各國之共和立憲絕非一物。以其於多數國民之思想人格無變更，與多數國民之利害休戚無切身之觀感也。是為吾人政治的覺悟之第三步。

【注 釋】

① 大老：元老，年老德高之人。

② 第：但。

(二) 倫理的覺悟

倫理思想，影響於政治，各國皆然，吾華尤甚。儒者三綱之說，為吾倫理政治之大

his owner to offer benefit, or a poor subject to wish a sage-king or a worthy minister to govern with benevolence.

The ancient people laid their hopes on the sage-kings and worthy ministers to carry out the government of benevolence, and the present people lay their hopes on a few great men and senior statesmen to build up the republic politics with constitution. They are indeed the same base, bent, and poor and there is no difference between them. The great men and senior statesmen are but members of citizens. If they want to build up the republic politics with constitution, how could we refuse their proposition? However, the republic politics with constitution cannot be offered by a government; nor can it be determined by a party; nor can it be carried out by several great men and senior statesmen. If the republic and constitutional system is not based on the self-consciousness and self-action of the majority of the people, it will necessarily be the false republic and constitutional system. It will be but a political decoration, quite different from the republic and constitutional system of the European and American countries because it has nothing to do with the shift of citizen's thought and character and the interests of the majority of the people. This is the third step of our political awakening. 15

原，共貫同條，莫可偏廢。三綱之根本義，階級制度是也^①。所謂名教，所謂禮教，皆以擁護此別尊卑、明貴賤制度者也。近世西洋之道德政治，乃以自由、平等、獨立之說為大原，與階級制度極端相反。此東西文明之一大分水嶺也。

【注 釋】

① 在本文中，階級即等級。

17 吾人果欲於政治上採用共和立憲制，復欲於倫理上保守綱常階級制，以收新舊調和之效，自家衝撞，此絕對不可能之事。蓋共和立憲制，以獨立、平等、自由為原則，與綱常階級制為絕對不可相容之物，存其一必廢其一。儻於政治否認專制，於家族社會仍保守舊有之特權，則法律上權利平等、經濟上獨立生產之原則，破壞無余，焉有并行之餘地？

B. Ethical Awakening

Ethical thought may exert influence on politics. This is true for all countries, especially for China. The Confucian theory of the Three Guiding Principles have been the sources of our ethics as well as politics. The Three Guiding Principles are so interlaced and integrated that it is impossible to separate any of them from the others. The basic meaning of the Three Guiding Principles is the class system. Both the so-called Confucian teachings on social-status and on rites aim at supporting the system that discriminates the superior from the inferior and the noble from the humble. The great sources of modern Western ethics and politics are liberty, equality and independence, completely opposite to the class system. Here we can find a line of demarcation between the Eastern and the Western civilizations. 16

If we really want to accept the republic and constitutional system in politics but at the same time try to preserve the old ethical principles, regulations, and the class system in ethics in order to compromise the new with the old, the internal conflicts will inevitably take place and the compromise is thus completely impossible. Since the republic and constitutional system follows the principles of independence, equality, and liberty, it is incompatible to the 17

自西洋文明輸入吾國，最初促吾人之覺悟者為學術，相形見絀，舉國所知矣；其次為政治，年來跡象所證明，已有不克抱殘守缺之勢。繼今以往，國人所懷疑莫決者，當為倫理問題。此而不能覺悟，則前之所謂覺悟者，非徹底之覺悟，蓋猶在儻恍迷離之境^①。吾敢斷言曰：倫理的覺悟，為吾人最後覺悟之最後覺悟。

【注 釋】

① 儻恍：恍惚。

Confucian ethical principles, regulations and the class system. The existence of the one necessarily means the abolition of the other. If the political monarchy is abolished while the old privileges in family and society are still preserved, the equality of right offered by the constitution, and the principle of independent production in economy will be destroyed entirely. How could they co-exist?

Since the introduction of Western civilization into our country, the earliest factor to make us awaken was the learnings. People throughout the country now have known that our traditional learnings are inferior to the newly introduced ones. The second to it is politics. The recent development has demonstrated that a situation cherishing the outmoded and preserving the outworn can never be maintained. From now on, what our people are still wondering about and need to determine will be ethical problems. If we cannot awaken in this respect, the above-mentioned awakenings will not be complete awakenings but something in perplexing state. I venture to make a statement that the ethical awakening will be the final stage of our ultimate awakening.

18



【簡 介】

這裏節選的由經濟上解釋中國近代思想變動的原因一文，作於1920年1月1日，作者李大釗（1889—1927）是中國共產主義運動的初期領導人之一。原文採自李大釗文集。

李大釗

Li Ta-chao



INTRODUCTION

This selected article, *An Explanation of the Ideological Shift in Modern China in Terms of Economy*, written on January 1, 1920, is a representative paper that shows the author, Li Ta-chao (1889—1927), one of the early leaders of Chinese Communist Movement, is accepting the historical materialism to make analysis on Chinese society.

1 凡一時代，經濟上若發生了變動，思想上也必發生變動。換句話說，就是經濟的變動，是思想變動的重要原因。現在只把中國現代思想變動的原因，由經濟上解釋解釋。

2 人類生活的開幕，實以歐羅細亞為演奏的舞臺。歐羅細亞就是歐亞兩大陸的總稱。在歐羅細亞的中央有一凸地，叫做Tableland。此地的山脈不是南北縱延的，乃是東西橫亘的。因為有東西橫亘的山脈，南北交通遂以阻隔，人類祖先的分布移動，遂分為南道和北道兩條進路，人類的文明遂分為南道文明——東洋文明——和北道文明——西洋文明——兩大系統。

3 中國本部、日本、印度支那、馬來半島諸國、俾露麻、印度、阿富汗尼士坦、俾而齊士坦、波斯、土爾其、埃及等，是南道文明的要路^①；蒙古、滿洲、西伯利亞、俄羅

In anytime, the economic shift, if takes place, will necessarily result in the ideological shift. In other words, the economic shift is a significant cause of the ideological shift. Now I will concentrate my discussion on the explanation of the cause of the ideological shift of modern China in terms of economy. 1

In fact, the inauguration of human life was performed in the scene of "Eurasia". Eurasia is the general name for the European and Asian continent. There is a high land called "Tableland" in the center of Eurasia, where mountains do not run from south to north but from east to west. Since there are mountains range from east to west, the traffic between the south and the north is cut off. As a result, the ancestors of present mankind were dispersed and immigrated in two ways: the south and the north. And the civilizations of mankind are thereby divided into two systems: the south way civilization or the Oriental civilization, and the north way civilization or the Occidental civilization. 2

The main part of China, Japan, Indo-China, the countries in the Malay Peninsula, Burma, India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, etc., are the major sites of the south way civilization. Mongolia, Manchuria, Siberia, Russia, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Scandinavia, England, France, Swiss, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Balkan Peninsula, etc., are the 3

斯、德意志、荷蘭、比利時、丹麥、士坎迭拿威亞、英吉利、法蘭西、瑞士、西班牙、葡萄牙、意大利、奧土地利亞、巴爾干半島等，是北道文明的要路^②。

【注 釋】

① 俾露麻：今譯緬甸；俾而齊士坦：今譯巴基斯坦。

② 士坎迭拿威亞，今譯斯堪的納維亞；奧土地利亞，今譯奧地利。

4 南道的民族，因為太陽的恩惠厚，自然的供給豐，故以農業為本位，而為定住的；北道的民族，因為太陽的恩惠薄，自然的供給薄，故以工商為本位，而為移住的。

5 農業本位的民族，因為常定住於一處，所以家族繁衍，而成大家族制度——家族主義；工商本位的民族，因為常轉徙於各地，所以家族簡單，而成小家族制度——個人主義。前者因聚族而居，易有婦女過庶的傾向，所以成重男輕女一夫多妻的風俗；后者

major sites of the north way civilization.

The nations of the south way, because of the favorable sunshine and rich natural resources, take agriculture as the basis of economy, and lead a settled life. The nations of the north way, because of the insufficient sunshine and scarceness of natural resources, take industry and commerce as the basis of economy and lead a migrant life. 4

For an agricultural nation, because settled down in one place, its families are easy to increase members and the patriarchal system and the paternalism come into existence. For an industrial and commercial nation, because of frequent migration, its families tend to be simple, and the small family system and individualism are thereby formed. In the former case, because the whole clan is settled in one place, the tendency of female surplus is liable to appear, and the customs of the superiority of man over woman and polygamy are formed. In the latter case, because of migration without settlement, there have been the worries about the female scarcity, and the customs of paying respect to women and monogamy are formed. In the former case, because of the plenty of natural resources, there are the ideas of the harmony between man and the Nature, and that among human races. In the latter case, because of the scarcity of natural resources, there are the ideas of competition with the Nature, and 5

因轉徙無定，恒有婦女缺乏的憂慮，所以成尊重婦女一夫一妻的習慣。前者因為富於自然，所以與自然調和，與同類調和；後者因為乏於自然，所以與自然競爭，與同類競爭。簡單一句話，東洋文明是靜的文明，西洋文明是動的文明。

6 中國以農業立國，在東洋諸農業本位國中，占很重要的位置，所以大家族制度在中國特別發達。原來家族團體，一面是血統的結合，一面又是經濟的結合。在古代原人社會，經濟上男女分業互助的要求，恐怕比性欲要求強些，所以家族團體所含經濟的結合之性質，恐怕比血統的結合之性質多些。中國的大家族制度，就是中國的農業經濟組織，就是中國二千年來社會的基礎構造。一切政治、法度、倫理、道德、學術、思想、風俗、習慣，都建築在大家族制度上作他的表層構造。

that among people. To sum up in one sentence, the Oriental civilization is the civilization of tranquility and the Occidental civilization is the civilization of activity.

China has been considering agriculture the basis of country. Among the Eastern countries which take agriculture as the basis of economy, the patriarchal system takes a very important position. Therefore, it develops in China very fully. As a matter of fact, the family communities in one hand are a combination of people in accordance with their blood lineage, and in the other hand an economic unification. In the primitive society of remote antiquity, the economic requirement of division of labor and mutual aid between men and women was somehow stronger than the sexual requirement. Therefore, the character of economic collection in a patriarchal community was superior to the character of its blood lineage. The patriarchal system in China is the organization of agricultural economy, and the basic structure of Chinese society over two thousand years. All the politics, legal systems, ethics, morals, learnings, ideologies, customs, and habits are based on the patriarchal system as its superficial structure. 6

Let us have a look at the Confucian ethics which prevailed in China for more than two thousand years: the so-called "Guiding Principles and Regularities", the so-called "Teachings on Social Status", the so-called "Morality", and the so-called "Rites and Righteousness". Does any of 7

7 看那二千餘年來支配中國人精神的孔門倫理，所謂綱常，所謂名教，所謂道德，所謂禮義，那一樣不是損卑下以奉尊長？那一樣不是犧牲被治者的個性以事治者？那一樣不是本着大家族制下子弟對於親長的精神？所以孔子的政治哲學，修身齊家治國平天下，“一以貫之”，全是“以修身為本”^①；又是孔子所謂修身，不是使人完成他的個性，乃是使人犧牲他的個性。

8 犧牲個性的第一步就是盡“孝”。君臣關係的“忠”，完全是父子關係的“孝”的放大體，因為君主專制制度，完全是父權中心的大家族制度的發達體。至於夫婦關係，更把女性完全浸却：女子要守貞操；而男子可以多妻蓄妾；女子要從一而終，而男子可以細故出妻；女子要為已死的丈夫守節，而男子可以再娶。就是親子關係的“孝”，母的一方遠不能完全享受，因為伊是隸屬於父權之下的；所以女德重“三從”，“在家從

them not benefit the superior at the cost of the inferior? Does any of them not sacrifice the ruled in order to serve the rulers? Is any of them not based on the spirit of the compliance of the young towards the elders under the patriarchal system? Therefore, the political philosophy of Confucius, which teaches self-cultivation, family management, state administration, and worldwide government, and stresses a thread penetrating the whole system, is thoroughly based on the self-cultivation. And the so-called "self-cultivation" of Confucian style is not to accomplish individuality but to destroy it.

The first step of destroying individuality is the fulfillment of filial piety. The loyalty of the subjects toward their rulers is but an augment of the full filial piety of a son toward his father. As for the relationship between husband and wife, the female are completely stifled; the female have to remain chastity while the male may enjoy polygamy and accept concubines; a woman can marry only one husband throughout her life while a man may cast off his wife only because of trivial matters; a widow may not remarry while a widower may. A mother may not enjoy even the full filial piety paid by her son to the parents because she is a belonging of her husband under the patriarchal system. Therefore, the moral requirements for a woman are "Threefold Obedience", i. e., to obey her father before marriage; to obey her husband after marriage; and to obey her son after the death of her husband. 8

父，出嫁從夫，夫死從子”^②。

【注 釋】

① 修、齊、治、平“以修身為本”，見禮記大學。

② “三從”：語出儀禮喪服子夏傳。文字略有出入。

9 總觀孔門的倫理道德，於君臣關係，只用一個“忠”字，使臣的一方完全犧牲於君；於父子關係，只用一個“孝”字，使子的一方完全犧牲於父；於夫婦關係，只用幾個“順”、“從”、“貞節”的名稱，使妻的一方完全犧牲於夫，女子的一方完全犧牲於男子。孔門的倫理，是使子弟完全犧牲他自己以奉其尊上的倫理；孔門的道德，是與統治者以絕對的權力責被統治者以片面的義務的道德。

10 孔子的學說所以能支配中國人心有二千餘年的原故，不是他的學說本身具有絕大的權威，永久不變的真理，配作中國人的“萬世師表”^①，因他是適應中國二千餘年來未曾變動的農業經濟組織反映出來的產物，因

To view the Confucian ethics and morality in a general way: In respect of the relationship between the ruler and the subjects, a single concept "loyalty" has made the latter completely sacrifice themselves for the interests of the former. In respect of the relationship between father and sons, a single concept "filial piety" has made the latter completely sacrifice themselves for the interests of the former. In respect of the relationship between husband and wife, only a few concepts, "following", "obedience", and "chastity", have made the latter completely sacrifice herself for the interests of the former. The Confucian ethics is a theory that makes the younger and humble absolutely sacrifice themselves to serve the elder and noble. Confucian morality is a concept that offers the rulers an absolute authority of ruling and requires the ruled to carry out unilateral commitments. 9

The reason why the Theory of Confucius could rule over Chinese minds for more than two thousand years is neither because the theory itself possesses absolute authority and contains ever-lasting truth, nor because Confucius himself was indeed worth the title of "Teacher for Ten Thousand Generations", but because he met the needs of the social organization of the agricultural economy which remained changeless for more than two thousand years and his theory was a product of such organization and in turn reflected on the organization. 10

他是中國大家族制度的表層構造，因為經濟上有他的基礎。

- 11 這樣相沿下來，中國的學術思想，都與那靜沈沈的農村生活相照映，停滯在靜止的狀態中，呈出一種死寂的現象。不但中國，就是日本、高麗、越南等國，因為他們的農業經濟組織和中國大體相似，也受了孔門倫理的影響不少。

【注 釋】

① “萬世師表”：清康熙帝（玄燁）題孔子廟大成殿額，用此四字。

- 12 時代變了！西洋動的文明打進來了！西洋的工業經濟來壓迫東洋的農業經濟了！孔門倫理的基礎就根本動搖了！

- 13 因為西洋文明是建立在工商經濟上的構造，具有一種動的精神，常求以人為克制自然，時時進步，時時創造。到了近世，科學

Handed down from generation to generation, all the Chinese learnings and ideas have been reflecting on the tranquil village life. They remain in stagnation and show a lifeless quietude. This tradition was not only seen within China, but even such countries as Japan, Korea, and Vietnam were also influenced by Confucian ethics because their organization of agricultural economy was similar to Chinese one. 11

Time has changed. The Western active civilization has entered the Eastern countries by force. The Western industrial economy has depressed the Eastern agricultural economy. Hence, the basis of Confucian ethics has been shaken. 12

Since the Western civilization is a structure based on the economy of industry and commerce, it possesses a spirit of activity, which in general seeks man's control over the nature, and goes on progress and creation. In modern time, as a result of the progress of science and the invention of machines, the industrial revolution took place. The traffic capacity continues to develop and the scale of industry keeps increasing. Under this situation, the Westerners have to on one hand to enlarge their market, and on the other hand looks for more raw materials. Such economical needs have driven the Western merchants to knock at the door of the quiet East. 13

日見昌明，機械發明的結果，促起了工業革命。交通機關日益發達，產業規模日益宏大，他們一方不能不擴張市場，一方不能不搜求原料，這種經濟上的需要，驅着西洋的商人，來叩東洋沈靜的大門。

- 14 一六三五年頃，已竟有荷蘭的商人到了日本，以後Perry Harris與Lord Elgin諸人相繼東來，以其商業上的使命，開拓東洋的門徑，而日本，而中國，東洋農業本位的各國，都受了西洋工業經濟的壓迫。日本國小地薄，人口又多，擔不動這種壓迫，首先起了變動，促成明治維新，採用了西洋的物質文明，產業上起了革命——如今還正在革命中——由農業國一變而為工業國，不但可以自保，近來且有與歐美各國并駕齊驅的勢力了。

- 15 日本的農業經濟組織既經有了變動，歐洲的文明、思想又隨着他的經濟勢力以俱

In 1635, the merchants from Holland already came to Japan. Later on, the Western merchants such as Perry Harris and Lord Elgin came to the East in succession for the sake of commerce. They tried to make the door of the East open to the West. Then, Japan, China, and other countries of the East which take agriculture as basis, have been depressed by the Western industrial economy. Being a small country with scanty land and few population, Japan could not bear the depression and rose to reform for the first time in the East and completed the Meiji Reform. It has accepted the Western material civilization and revolution has taken place in industry and is still under the course of revolution now. It has turned from an agricultural country to an industrial country. Therefrom, it can not only secure the country from elimination but gain the strength to compete with the European and American countries. 14

Since the organization of agricultural economy has changed in Japan, and since the European civilization and ideas have come together with the economic force, Japanese ideas have also changed greatly. Recently, the call for democracy has shaken the whole country, and even the emperor system which has been considered the essence of the country has also been shaken. The Confucian ethics introduced earlier from China now has lost its effects. 15

來，思想界也就起了絕大的變動。近來 Democracy 的聲音震蕩全國^①，日本人夸為“國粹”之萬世一系的皇統，也有動搖的勢子；從前由中國傳入的孔子倫理，現在全失了效力了。

【注 釋】

① Democracy：當時稱“德先生”，即“民主”。

16 中國地大物博，農業經濟的基礎較深，雖然受了西洋工業經濟的壓迫，經濟上的變動却不能驟然表見出來。但中國人於有意無意間也似乎了解這工商經濟的勢力加於中國人生活上的壓迫實在是厲害，所以極端仇視他們，排斥他們，不但排斥他們的人，並且排斥他們的器物。但看東西交通的初期，中國只是拒絕和他們通商，說他們科學上的發明是“奇技淫巧”，痛恨他們造的鐵軌，把他投棄海中。義和團雖發於仇教的心理，而於西洋人的一切器物一概燒毀，這都含着經濟上的意味，都有幾分是工業經濟壓迫的反

China is a country with great territory and rich resources, and its agricultural economy has a stable and deep foundation. Although depressed by the Western industrial economy, the shift in Chinese economy can hardly be seen in a short time. However, Chinese people, consciously or unconsciously, seem to have known that the industrial and commercial economy as a force depressed on Chinese life is indeed terrible, so that they show extreme hatred on it, and try to expel it, not only expel the foreigners, but their machines also. In the early stage of the modern exchange between the East and the West, Chinese refused to exchange goods with Westerners and described the scientific invention of the West as "odd techniques and evil cunning". Chinese hated the railway produced by the Westerners and threw them into the sea. The motive of the Boxer Movement was anti-Christianity. However, the destruction of all things Western demonstrates that there is also economic motive, i. e., a reaction to the depression of the industrial economy. The struggle between Chinese and the Westerners is not completely political, religious, and cultural.

16

The more develops the capitalism of the European countries, the more economic depressions China suffers. China for several times resisted the depression with political force but they all failed with humiliation. As a result, all the important ports have been lend or ceded to other countries, and the rights of tariff and railway management

17

動，不全是政治上、宗教上、人種上、文化上的衝突。

17 歐洲各國的資本制度一天盛似一天，中國所受他們經濟上的壓迫也就一天甚似一天。中國雖曾用政治上的勢力抗拒過幾回，結果都是敗辱。把全國沿海的重要通商口岸都租借給人，割讓給人了，關稅鐵路等等權力，也都歸了人家的掌握。這時的日本崛起，資本制度發達的結果，不但西洋的經濟力不能侵入，且要把他的勢力擴張到別國。但日本以新興的工業國，驟起而與西洋各國為敵，終是不可能；中國是他的近鄰，產物又極豐富，他的勢力自然也要壓到中國上。

18 中國既受西洋各國和近鄰日本的二重壓迫，經濟上發生的現象，就是過庶人口不能自由移動，海外華僑到處受人排斥虐待，國內居民的生活本據漸為外人所侵入——臺

have also been given to them. At the same time, Japan has risen due to the development of capitalism. Thus, not only the Western economic forces can hardly invade Japan, but Japanese are trying to expand their influence to other countries. As a newly developed industrial country, however, Japan is impossible to fight immediately against the Western countries. China is a close neighbor of Japan, and has plenty of natural resources. It is very natural that Japanese come to depress China with their forces.

Under the dual oppression by both the Western countries and the neighboring Japan, the following phenomena are taking place in China: the surplus population cannot move freely; the overseas Chinese are unfairly treated; the basis of the daily life of the people at home has been gradually grasped by foreigners, especially in Taiwan, Manchuria, Mongolia, Shantung, and Fuchian; the right of tariff is fettered by some agreements, and an "anti-protection system" is formed. The imported goods and exported raw materials are very slightly tariffed while the inland goods can hardly exchange freely. There are so many tax authorities that even every step would have to pay tax. As a result, the raw materials produced in China are exported with slightest tariff while the end products of foreign made are imported with slightest tariff. The domestic industries are mainly handicraft of household ones. How can they contend with the foreign engineering industry

灣、滿蒙、山東、福建等尤甚——關稅權為條約所束縛，適成一種“反保護制”。外來的貨物和出口的原料，課稅極輕，而內地的貨物反不能自由移轉，這裏一釐，那裏一卡，幾乎步步都是釐稅。於是國內產出的原料品，以極低的稅輸出國外，而在國外造成的精製品，以極低的稅輸入國內。國內的工業，都是手工工業和家庭工業，那能和國外的機械工業、工廠工業競爭呢？結果就是中國的農業經濟擋不住國外的工業經濟的壓迫，中國的家庭產業擋不住國外的工廠產業的壓迫，中國的手工產業擋不住國外的機械產業的壓迫。國內的產業多被壓倒，輸入超過輸出，全國民漸漸變成世界的無產階級，一切生活，都露出困迫不安的現象。

- 19 在一國的資本制下被壓迫而生的社會的無產階級，還有機會用資本家的生產機關；在世界的資本制下被壓迫而生的世界的無產

and factory industry? As a result, the Chinese agricultural economy cannot resist the oppression of the foreign industrial economy, the Chinese household business cannot resist the oppression of foreign factory business, and the Chinese handicraft industry cannot resist the foreign engineering industry. Most of the domestic businesses are bankrupted and the imported goods surpass the exported ones. The whole Chinese people are becoming the proletariat of the world, and the whole social life shows hardship and instability.

The proletariat under the oppression of the capitalism of a country still have the chance to make use of the production organization of the national bourgeoisie. The world proletariat who live under the capitalist system of the world, have no chance to make use of the production organization of the world bourgeoisie. As a result, they become either gunmen or bandits at home, and go abroad as coolies who migrate around to sell at low price their labors. In the latter case, they are even looked down by the foreign laboring class. During the World War I, many Chinese workers went to France and Russia, but they had to return home after the war because they were considered useless then. This is a typical phenomenon that the world bourgeoisie oppresses the world proletariat, and the world proletariat become jobless. The economic shift of the European and American countries are resulted due to internal and natural development while the economic shift

階級，沒有機會用資本家的生產機關。在國內的就為兵為匪，跑到國外的就作窮苦的華工，展轉遷徙，賤賣他的筋力，又受人家勞動階級的疾視。歐戰期內，一時赴法赴俄的華工人數甚衆，戰后又用不着他們了，他們只得轉回故土。這就是世界的資產階級壓迫世界的無產階級的現象，這就是世界的無產階級尋不着工作的現象。歐美各國的經濟變動，都是由於內部自然的發展；中國的經濟變動，乃是由於外力壓迫的結果，所以中國人所受的苦痛更多，犧牲更大。

20 中國的農業經濟，既因受了重大的壓迫而生動搖，那麼首先崩頹粉碎的，就是大家族制度了。中國的一切風俗、禮教、政法、倫理，都以大家族制度為基礎，而以孔子主義為其全結晶體。大家族制度既入了崩頹粉碎的運命，孔子主義也不能不跟着崩頹粉碎了。

of China is a result of the external oppression. Therefore, Chinese people suffer and sacrifice much more.

Since Chinese agricultural economy are under heavy oppression and therefore shaken, what is going to ruin first will be the patriarchal system. All the Chinese customs, teachings on rites, and ethics are based on the patriarchal system, and are most typically represented by Confucianism. Since the patriarchal system is bound to ruin, the Confucianism will have to be eliminated thereby. 20

Try to investigate the various thinking movements as well as liberation movements now in China. Is any of them the movement that does not aims at overthrowing Confucianism? 21

Let us make a conclusion. First, we may know that Confucianism (i. e., what is expressed by Chinese, the Guiding Principles, Regulations, and Teachings on Social Status) is not a constant truth. Confucius or any other ancient Chinese thinkers, were but philosophers of their time, and were by no means "Teachers for Ten Thousand Generations". The reason why Confucianism prevailed in China for more than two thousand years is only because the stagnation of Chinese agricultural economy and Confucianism fitted such an economic context. Now the economy has changed, the Confucianism therefore is being 22

21 試看中國今日種種思潮運動，解放運動，那一樣不是打破大家族制度的運動？那一樣不是打破孔子主義的運動？

22 總結以上的論點：第一，我們可以曉得孔子主義（就是中國人所謂綱常名教）並不是永久不變的真理。孔子或其他古人，只是一代哲人，決不是“萬世師表”。他的學說，所以能在中國行了二千餘年，全是因為中國的農業經濟，沒有很大的變動，他的學說適宜於那樣經濟狀況的原故。現在經濟上生了變動，他的學說，就根本動搖，因為他不能適應中國現代的生活、現代的社會。就有幾個尊孔子的信徒，天天到曲阜去巡禮，天天戴上洪憲衣冠去祭孔子^①，到處建築些孔子教堂，到處傳布“子曰”的福音，也斷斷不能抵住經濟勢力來維持他那“萬世師表”、“至聖先師”的威靈了^②。

【注 釋】

① 洪憲：袁世凱於 1915 年 12 月宣布恢復帝制，改次年（1916）為洪憲元年，三個月後被迫取消。

shaken because it fails to fit the present Chinese social life. Even some followers of Confucianism visit the hometown of Confucius every day, wear the Hung Hsian Emperor's dressing to make sacrifice to Confucius every day, build up Confucian temples everywhere, and preach the Confucian gospel everywhere, they could not resist the economic force and maintain the position of "Theacher for Ten Thousand Generations" and "Highest Sage-Teacher" for Confucius.

Second, we may know that all the Chinese guiding principles and regulations, the teachings on social status, ethics, and morality are based on the patriarchal system. The changing of Chinese thought is a sign for the ruin of this system. 23

Third, we may know that in respect of the world economy, Chinese are in fact on the position of the world proletariat. We should study how to link the world advanced means of production and the organization of production with Chinese workers. 24

Fourth, we may warn sternly those who try to suppress the new ideas that if you could break down completely the world economic relations and return to the ancient life of economic isolation, sweep away the European material and active civilization, and return to the quiet life of the remote antiquity, the new ideas would not 25

- ② 至聖先師：明嘉靖九年（1530）在孔廟立牌位，題“至聖先師孔子神位”。

23 第二，我們可以曉得中國的綱常、名教、倫理、道德，都是建立在大家族制上的東西。中國思想的變動，就是家族制度崩壞的徵候。

24 第三，我們可以曉得中國今日在世界經濟上，實立於將為世界的無產階級的地位。我們應該研究如何使世界的生產手段和生產機關同中國勞工發生關係。

25 第四，我們可以正告那些鉗制新思想的人，你們若是能够把現代的世界經濟關係完全打破，再復古代閉關自守的生活，把歐洲的物質文明、動的文明，完全掃除，再復古代靜止的生活，新思想自然不會發生。你們若是無奈何這新經濟勢力，那麼只有聽新思想自由流行，因為新思想是應經濟的新狀態、社會的新要求發生的，不是幾個青年憑空造出來的。

come into existence. If not, you had better allow the new ideas to develop because they meet the need of the new economic situation and the new social requirements. They are not created groundlessly by several youngsters.

人名索引

Names Index

B

Buddha 釋迦牟尼 (佛) 14a7

C

Carrel 圭哇里 23.14

W. T. Chan 陳榮捷 (Chen Rongjie) 10 I (I = Introduction)

Chang Ping-lin (Tai-yen) 章炳麟, 章太炎 (Zhang Binglin, Zhang Taiyan) 24 I

Chang Tsai (Tzu-hou, Heng-ch'ü) 張載, 張子厚, 橫渠 (Zhang Zihou, Hengqu) 3 I, 4 I

Ch'en Liang 陳亮 (Chen Liang) 8 I

Ch'en Tu-hsiu 陳獨秀 (Chen Duxiu) 25 I

Cheng Chung-lü 鄭仲履 (Zheng Zhonglü) 6b22 (b = 392)

Second Piece)

- Ch'eng Hao 程顥 (Cheng Hao) 4 I, 5 I, 6b8
Ch'eng Yi 程頤 (Cheng Yi) 5 I
Chi Chen 季真 (Ji Zhen) 24.3
Ch'i Yüen 器遠 (Qi Yuan) 6b21
Chieh Tzu 接子 (Jie Zi) 24.3
Chou Tun-yi 周敦頤 (Zhou Dunyi) 1 I, 6a4 (a = First Piece), 16.7
Chu Hsi 朱熹 (Zhu Xi) 6 I, 10.7, 10.10, 10.14, 15.10, 16.7
Chuang Tzu 莊子, 莊周 (Zhuang Zi, Zhuang Zhou) 3a14, 9.2, 11a2, 16.6, 16.7, 16.11, 18.5, 24.11
Chung Kung 仲弓 (Zhong Gong) 12.4
Confucius 孔子, 孔丘 (Kong Zi, Kong Qiu) 5.1, 5.8, 5.9, 7.4, 8.3, 11b2, 12.2—12.4, 12.6, 12.7, 18.6, 21.3, 21.13, 23.18, 26.7, 26.10, 26.22

D

- Darwin 達爾文 23.15
Duke K'ang of Liu 劉康公 (Duke Kang of Liu) 6a2
Duke of Chou 周公 (Duke of Zhou) 3a4, 15.9, 18.6

E

- Emperor Wu of Han (Wu Ti) 漢武帝 8.2, 8.6, 8.8, 8.9

F

- Fang Yi-chih 方以智 (Fang Yizhi) 13 I, 13.4
Fu Kueh (Fu Shuei) 傅說 (Fu Yue) 23.6, 23.7
Fu Man-jung 伏曼容 (Fu Manrong) 24.3

H

- Han Fei 韓非 (Han Fei) 16.12
Hsü Kuang-ch'i 徐光啟 (Xu Guangqi) 25.4
Huang Tao-fu 黃道夫 (Huang Daofu) 6 I, 6.1
Huang Wan 黃綰 (Huang Wan) 11b1, 11b9
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan 洪秀全 (Hong Xiuquan) 19 I
Huxley 赫胥黎 20.12

J

- Jesus 耶穌 23.18

K

- K'ang Yu-wei 康有為 (Kang Youwei) 21 I, 21.5,
21.10, 25.7, 25.8
Kao Tzu 告子 (Gao Zi) 10.8, 10.13
Keng Ting-hsiang 耿定向 (Geng Dingxiang) 12 I
King Ch'eng of Chou 周成王 (King Cheng of Zhou) 18.4
King Hsüan of Ch'i 齊宣王 (King Xuan of Qi) 8.10

- King Hui of Liang 梁惠王 (King Hui of Liang) 8. 11
King T'ang of Shang 商湯王 (King Tang of Shang) 5. 10,
8. 3, 8. 7
King Wen of Chou 周文王 (King Wen of Zhou) 8. 3
King Wu of Chou 周武王 (King Wu of Zhou) 5. 10, 8. 7
Ku Tung-ch'iao 顧東橋 (Gu Dongqiao) 10 I
Kung Tzu-chen 龔自珍 (Gong Zizhen) 17 I

L

- Lao Tzu (Lao Tsu, Lao Tan) 老子, 老 聃 (Lao Zi,
Lao Dan) 2 I, 2. 3, 2. 4, 3a11, 9. 2, 9. 5, 11a2,
14a7, 16. 6—16. 8, 16. 11, 24. 11
Li Chih 李 贄 (Li Zhi) 12 I
Li Chih-hsiu 李 植秀 (Li Zhixiu) 15. 1, 15. 6
Li Hung-chang 李鴻章 (Li Hongzhang) 25. 6
Li Ta-chao 李大釗 (Li Dazhao) 26 I
Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 (Liang Qichao) 25. 7, 25. 8
Lieh Tzu 列子 (Lie Zi) 9. 2
Lu Chiu-yüen 陸九淵 (Lu Jiuyuan) 7 I

M

- Mencius 孟 子, 孟 軻 (Meng Zi, Meng Ke) 5. 8,
5. 10, 7. 1, 7. 4, 8. 10, 10. 8, 10. 13, 10. 20, 12. 2,
14a6, 16. 2
Mill, John Stuart 穆 勒 20. 1

N

Newton 牛頓 (奈端) 20. 7, 20. 8, 23. 15

P

P'an Ku 盤古 (Pan Gu) 19. 1

P'eng Tsu 彭祖 (錢彭) (Peng Zu) 21. 10

Po Ch'i 伯奇 (Bo Qi) 3b7

S

Shen Pu-hai 申不害 (Shen Buhai) 16. 12

Shen Sheng 申生 (Shen Sheng) 3b7

Shun 舜 (Shun) 3b7, 5. 10, 8. 3, 8. 6, 8. 7, 14a3

Spencer 斯賓塞 (爾) 20. 8, 20. 12

Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (Sima Qian) 20. 3, 20. 4

Ssu-ma Niu 司馬牛 (Sima Niu) 12. 4

Sun Chung-shan (Sun Wen, Yat-sen) 孫中山, 孫文,
孫逸仙 (Sun Zhongshan, Sun Wen, Sun Yixian) 23 I

T

Tai Chen 戴震 (Dai Zhen) 16 I

T'an Ssu-t'ung 譚嗣同 (Tan Sitong) 22 I

Tseng Chai-chih 曾宅之 (Zeng Zhaizhi) 7 I

Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩 (Zeng Guofan) 25. 6

Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (Dong Zhongshu) 8.2, 8.9,
8.12, 9.6

W

Wang An-shih 王安石 (Wang Anshi) 2 I

Wang Fu-chih 王夫之 (Wang Fuzhi) 14 I

Wang Hsüan ("Empty Boat") 王宣, 虛舟 (Wang
Xuan, Xuzhou) 13.4

Wang Shou- jen (Yang-ming) 王守仁, 王陽明 (Wang
Shouren, Wang Yangming) 10 I

Wang T'ing-hsiang (Chün-chuan) 王廷相, 王浚川 (Wang
Tingxiang, Wang Junchuan) 11 I, 11b3

Warden Ying 穎考叔 (Ying Kaoshu) 3b7

Wei Yüen 魏源 (Wei Yuan) 18 I

Wu-ting 武丁 (Wuding) 23.6

Y

Yao 堯 (Yao) 5.10, 8.3, 8.6, 8.7, 14a3

Yeh Shih 葉適 (Ye Shi) 9 I

Yellow Emperor 黃帝 17.2

Yen Fu 嚴復 (Yan Fu) 20 I

Yen Hui 顏回, 顏淵 (Yan Hui, Yan Yuan) 5 I,
5.1, 5.6, 5.8, 5.10, 12.3

Yen Yüen 顏元 (Yan Yuan) 15 I

Yü 禹 (Yu) 3b7, 8.3

圖書在版編目 (CIP) 數據

漢英對照中國哲學名著選讀 / 石峻主編. 2 版.
北京: 中國人民大學出版社, 2009
ISBN 978-7-300-10416-4

- I. 漢…
II. 石…
III. 哲學-中國-文集-漢、英
IV. B2-53

中國版本圖書館 CIP 數據核字 (2009) 第 032239 號

漢英對照中國哲學名著選讀

SELECTED READINGS FROM CHINESE PHILOSOPHERS

With Annotations and English Translation

主編 石峻

副主編 馮禹 向世陵

General Editor SHI JUN

Associate General Editor FENG YU XIANG SHILING

出版發行 中國人民大學出版社

社 址 北京中關村大街 31 號

郵政編碼 100080

電 話 010-62511242 (總編室)

010-62511398 (質管部)

010-82501766 (郵購部)

010-62514148 (門市部)

010-62515195 (發行公司)

010-62515275 (盜版舉報)

網 址 <http://www.crup.com.cn>

<http://www.ttrnet.com> (人大教研網)

經 銷 新華書店

印 刷 涿州星河印刷有限公司

版 次 1995 年 12 月第 1 版

規 格 140 mm×202 mm 32 開本

2009 年 4 月第 2 版

印 張 12.75 插頁 2

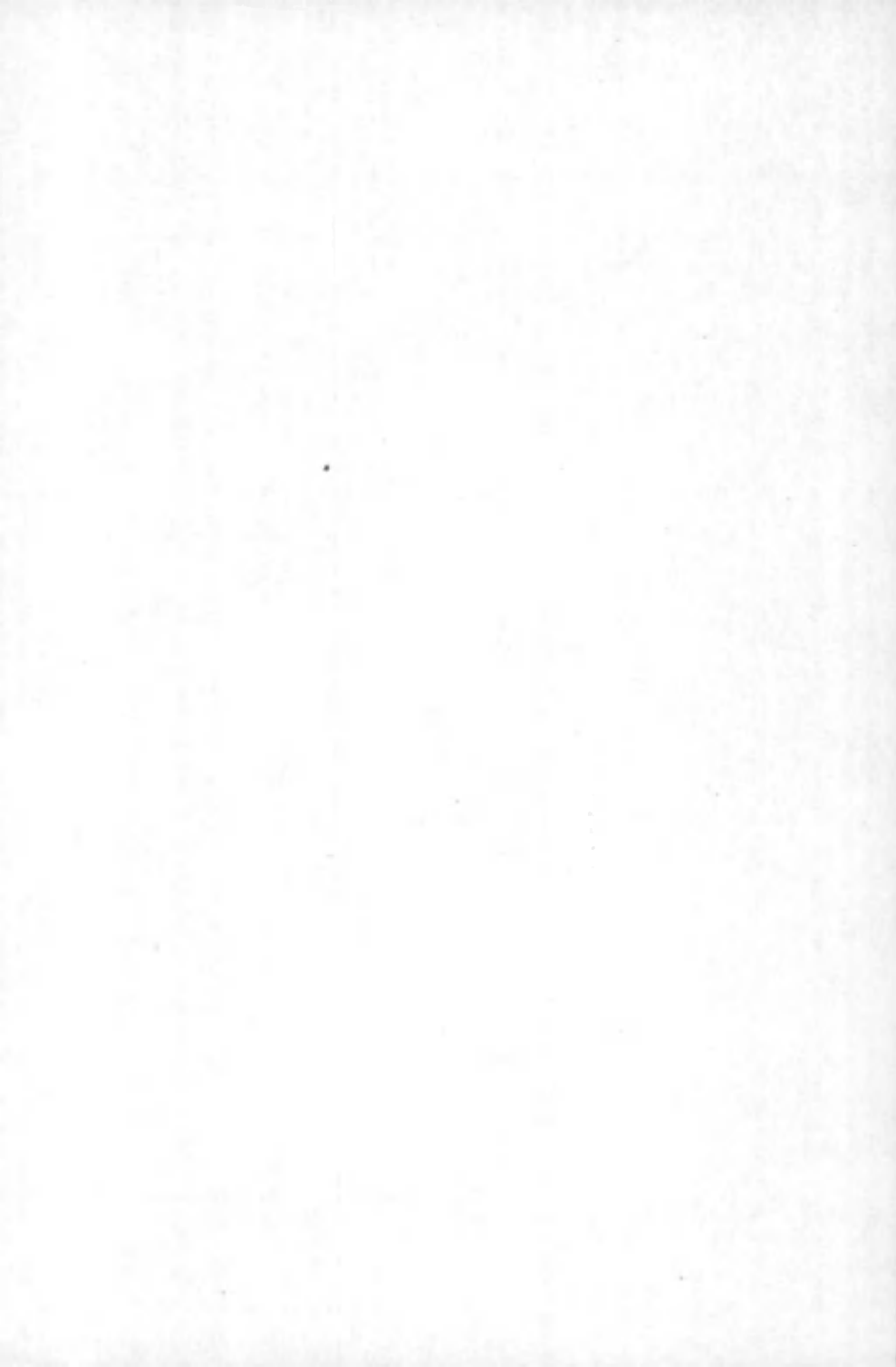
印 次 2009 年 4 月第 1 次印刷

字 數 295 000

定 價 32.20 元

版權所有 侵權必究

印裝差錯 負責調換



14200 с/м