

《乡土中国》抓住中国社会的「乡土本色」，提出「差序格局」，「礼治秩序」等理

博雅
名家名作
精选集

From the Soil

— The Foundations of Chinese Society

乡土中国

费孝通 著
(美) 韩格理 王 政 译

外语教学与研究出版社
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

汉英对照

会研究的典范之作

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的 *My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以 *Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley* 为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注，

此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》(*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*)、狄百瑞(W. T. de Bary)英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》(*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*), 等等。

有鉴于此, 外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅, 乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育(Liberal Education)早在古希腊时代就得以提倡, 旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人, 提高人文素质, 培养健康人格, 中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语, 乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式, 既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求, 又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云: “语言的边界, 乃是世界的边界”, 诚哉斯言。

名家, 乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域, 皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作, 乃是该系列的人选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典, 正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义: 经典并非你正在读的书, 而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》(1919年12月1日, 《新青年》第7卷第1号)一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念, 我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列, 既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”, 亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社
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FOREWORD

The bulk of this book is a translation of *Xiangtu Zhongguo*, a set of essays written by Fei Xiaotong shortly after World War II. In writings about Fei and his works, the book's title is usually rendered in English as "rural China," but this rendering is inexact. *Xiang* means "countryside" and *tu* means "earth"; but the combination, *xiangtu*, is a set phrase meaning "one's native soil or home village." By using *xiangtu* to modify *Zhongguo* (China), Fei is conveying a subtle meaning to his readers: that Chinese society has grown out of its ties to the land. Should any of his readers miss the subtlety, Fei clarifies the meaning of the title in the book's first sentence, "Chinese society is fundamentally rural." "From the soil" captures Fei's meaning in a way that "rural China" does not.

Although this book is virtually unknown in the West, it is a standard text in many Chinese universities and contains ideas that are useful for Western readers as well. It is our assessment that this book remains as fresh and as intellectually gripping today as it was over forty years ago, when it was first written. In fact, it may be even better suited to today's climate of opinion than to the earlier one, because Fei addresses the structural foundations of social pluralism and cultural diversity. By describing the fundamental differences between Chinese and Western societies, Fei helps us to understand the distinctiveness of Chinese society and to look at Western modernity in a new way.

We decided to translate this book because we were engaged in a similar pursuit. We, too, were contrasting China and the West in order to understand the distinctiveness of Chinese society; and on first reading Fei's book (Hamilton in 1985 and Wang in 1986), we were struck by the parallels between what we were trying to do and what Fei had already

done forty years earlier. Moreover, once we had studied the book, it became increasingly evident that our subsequent work would have to build on Fei's insights. For this reason, we realized that we had to produce an English translation of the book and to explain how Fei's ideas open the way for understanding China and indeed other non-Western societies in new terms.

Throughout the book, Fei is attempting to explain to his Chinese readers what the West is like, so that he can show how Chinese society differs from Western societies. In our translation, we find ourselves having to cross the cultural barrier one additional time. Here we have had to convey in English what the West is like from a Chinese point of view, and to show how this Chinese understanding of the West allows the unique qualities of Chinese society to become visible to the very Chinese who would otherwise take those qualities for granted. Multiple levels of discourse needed to be included simultaneously. Throughout our translation, we have tried to emphasize Fei's Chinese point of view and to clarify this point of view for an English-reading public. As Fei himself has said, however, every act of translation is necessarily a new interpretation. We only hope that the English readers of this book will bracket their own taken-for-granted world—their Westernness—and allow themselves not only to enter a different social world but also to understand that that social world functions as fully as the world they themselves live in.

Xiangtu Zhongguo has been reissued many times in Taiwan and Hong Kong. For our translation, we used two reissued copies of the original edition.¹ One of the reissued editions was printed in Taiwan without publishing information or date of publication. The other edition was published in Hong Kong with publishing information but no date of publication.² Both editions were identical; we subsequently checked this version against a more recent edition published in Hong Kong.³ With one exception, which we note in the text, this version is identical to the version we used in the translation.

We wish to acknowledge the assistance of a number of people and to express our thanks to them all. The students at the University of California, Davis, in a number of courses on complex organizations, comparative management, and Chinese societies, encouraged us by their enthusiastic reactions to our initial translations of chapters 4 and 5. Finding that people with no previous knowledge of China could enjoy and learn from these chapters prompted us to translate the entire book. The following people gave helpful comments on all or parts of this book (although we incorporated many of their suggestions, we are still responsible for the result): Tani Barlow, Eleanor Bender, Nicole Biggart, Thomas Gold, Lyn Loftand, Mausang Ng, Benjamin Orlove, Martha Winnacker, and especially Marco Orru, who also gave us the benefit of his editorial skills. We want to single out David Arkush for a special acknowledgment. His encouragement from the outset helped keep the project going, and his line-by-line reading of our translation saved us from many mistakes. Finally, we thank Sasha Bessom and Jean Stratford for assembling the manuscript and putting it into its present form.

G. G. H.

W. Z.

1992

重刊序言

这本小册子的写作经过，在“后记”里已经交代清楚。这里收集的是我在四十年代后期，根据我在西南联大和云南大学所讲“乡村社会学”一课的内容，应当时《世纪评论》之约，而写成分期连载的十四篇文章。

我当时在大学里讲课，不喜欢用现存的课本，而企图利用和青年学生们的接触机会，探索一些我自己觉得有意义的课题。那时年轻，有点初生之犊的闯劲，无所顾忌地想打开一些还没有人闯过的知识领域。我借“乡村社会学”这讲台来追究中国乡村社会的特点。我是一面探索一面讲的，所讲的观点完全是讨论性的，所提出的概念一般都没有经过琢磨，大胆朴素，因而离开所想反映的实际，常常不免有相当大的距离，不是失之片面，就是走了样。我敢于在讲台上把自己知道不成熟的想法，和盘托出在青年人的面前，那是因为我这是一个比较好的教育方法。我并不认为教师的任务是在传授已有的知识，这些学生们自己可以从书本上去学习，而主要是在引导学生敢于向未知的领域进军。作为教师的人就得带个头。至于攻关的结果是否获得了可靠的知识，那是另一个问题。实际上在新闻的领域中，这样要求也是不切实际的。

在教室里讲课和用文字传达，公开向社会上发表，当然不能看作一回事。在教室里，教师是在带领学生追求知识，把未知化为已知。在社会上发表一种见解，本身是一种社会行动，会引起广泛的社会效果。对实际情况不正确的反映难免会引起不良的影响。我是明白这个道理的，在发表这些文章之前，犹豫过。所以该书初次出版时在“后记”中向读者恳切说明：由于刊物的编者“限期限日的催稿，使我不能等很多概念成熟之后才发表”。“这算不得是定稿，也不能说是完稿，只是一段尝试的记录罢了。”尝试什么呢？尝试回答我自己提出的“作为中国基层社会的乡土社会究竟是个什么样的社会”这个问题。

此书出版是在1947年，离今已有三十七年。三联书店为什么建议我把这本小册子送给他们去重刊，我不知道。我同意他们的建议是因为我只

把它看成是我一生经历中留下的一个脚印，已经踏下的脚印是历史的事实，谁也收不回去的。现在把它作为一件反映解放前夕一些年轻人在知识领域里猛闯猛攻的标本，拿出来再看看，倒另有一番新的意义。至于本书内容所提出的论点，以我现有的水平来说，还是认为值得有人深入研究的，而且未始没有现实的意义。

这本小册子和我所写的《江村经济》、《禄村农田》等调查报告性质不同。它不是一个具体社会的描写，而是从具体社会里提炼出的一些概念。这里讲的乡土中国，并不是具体的中国社会的素描，而是包含在具体的中国基层传统社会里的一种特具的体系，支配着社会生活的各个方面。它并不排斥其他体系同样影响着中国的社会，那些影响同样可以在中国的基层社会里发生作用。搞清楚我所谓乡土社会这个概念，就可以帮助我们去理解具体的中国社会。概念在这个意义上，是我们认识事物的工具。

我这种尝试，在具体现象中提炼出认识现象的概念，在英文中可以用 Ideal Type 这个名词来指称。Ideal Type 的适当翻译可以说是观念中的类型，属于理性知识的范畴。它并不是虚构，也不是理想，而是存在于具体事物中的普遍性质，是通过人们的认识过程而形成的概念。这个概念的形成既然是从具体事物里提炼出来的，那就得不断地在具体事物里去核实，逐步减少误差。我称这是一项探索，又一再说是初步的尝试，得到的还是不成熟的观点，那就是说如果承认这样去做确可加深我们对中国社会的认识，那就还得深入下去，还需要花一番工夫。

这本书最初出版之后，一搁已有三十七年。在这一段时间里，由于客观的条件，我没有能在这方面继续搞下去。当三联书店提出想重刊此书时，我又从头读了一遍。我不能不为当时那股闯劲所触动。而今老矣。回头看，那一去不复返的年轻时代也越觉得可爱。我愿意把这不成熟的果实贡献给新一代年轻人。这里所述的想法大可议论，但是这种一往无前的探索的劲道，看来还是值得观摩的。让我在这种心情里寄出这份校订过的稿子给书店罢。

费孝通

1984年10月11日

柒	男女有别	83
陆	家族	71
伍	系维着私人的道德	57
肆	差序格局	39
叁	再论文字下乡	27
贰	文字下乡	15
壹	乡土本色	3
	重刊序言	iv

	FOREWORD	i
①	SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL SOCIETY	2
②	BRINGING LITERACY TO THE COUNTRYSIDE	14
③	MORE THOUGHTS ON BRINGING LITERACY TO THE COUNTRYSIDE	26
④	CHAXUGEJU: THE DIFFERENTIAL MODE OF ASSOCIATION	38
⑤	THE MORALITY OF PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	56
⑥	PATRILINEAGES	70
⑦	"BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN, THERE ARE ONLY DIFFERENCES"	82

后记	拾肆	拾叁	拾貳	拾壹	拾	玖	捌
175	从欲望到需要	名实的分离	血缘和地缘	长老统治	无为政治	无讼	礼治秩序
	163	153	139	129	119	107	95

⑧ A RULE OF RITUAL	94
⑨ A SOCIETY WITHOUT LITIGATION	106
⑩ AN INACTIVE GOVERNMENT	118
⑪ RULE BY ELDERS	128
⑫ CONSANGUINITY AND REGIONALISM	138
⑬ SEPARATING NAMES FROM REALITY	152
⑭ FROM DESIRE TO NECESSITY	162
NOTES	182

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北京 BEIJING

汉英对照

① SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL SOCIETY

Chinese society is fundamentally rural. I say that it is fundamentally rural because its foundation is rural. Several variations have arisen from this foundation, but even so, these variations retain their rural character. Moreover, in the past hundred years, a very special society has formed as a consequence of the encounter between East and West.¹ For the time being, however, I am not going to discuss the characteristics of these variations, but instead will concentrate exclusively on rural society and on those so-called hayseeds, the people living in the countryside. They are truly the foundation of Chinese society.

We often say that country people are figuratively as well as literally “soiled” (*tuqi*). Although this label may seem disrespectful, the character meaning “soil” (*tu*) is appropriately used here. Country people cannot do without the soil because their very livelihood is based upon it. In the earliest times, there may have been some groups of people in the Far East who did not know how to farm; but for us now, how those primitives lived is merely a matter of curiosity. Today, most people in East Asia make a living by working in the fields. To be more specific, even from early times, the tributaries of China’s three large rivers were already entirely agricultural.² Historically, wherever people from those agricultural regions migrated, they took with them their tradition of making a living from the soil.

Recently, I met an American friend who had returned from a trip to Inner Mongolia. He told me he could not understand why the people who moved to those frontier prairies still tried to farm as if they lived in China’s heartland. Mongolian grasslands are best suited only for pastureland, but he said that every family had carved up the land into small plots for farming. It was as if they had dived, headfirst, into the soil, as if they were unable to see any other way of using the land. I remember that one of my teachers, Dr. Shirokogoroff, once told me about some Chinese who had moved to Siberia. In total disregard of the climate,

those Chinese still planted their seeds just to see if anything would grow. These accounts show that the Chinese are really inseparable from the soil. To be sure, out of this soil has grown a glorious history, but it is a history that was naturally limited by what could be taken from the soil. Now it appears that these very limitations imposed by agriculture will hold China back, will prevent the nation from moving forward.

乡土本色

从基层上看去，中国社会是乡土性的。我说中国社会的基层是乡土性的，那是因为我考虑到从这基层上曾长出一层比较上和乡土基层不完全相同的社会，而且在近百年来更在东西方接触边缘上发生了一种很特殊的社会。这些社会的特性我们暂时不提，将来再说。我们不妨先集中注意那些被称为土头土脑的乡下人。他们才是中国社会的基层。

我们说乡下人土气，虽则似乎带着几分藐视的意味，但这个“土”字却用得很好。“土”字的基本意义是指泥土。乡下人离不了泥土，因为在乡下住，种地是最普通的谋生办法。在我们这片远东大陆上，可能在很古的时候住过些还不知道种地的原始人，那些人的生活怎样，对于我们至多只有一些好奇的兴趣罢了。以现在的情形来说，这片大陆上最大多数的人是拖泥带水下田讨生活的了。我们不妨缩小一些范围来看，三条大河的流域已经全是农业区。而且，据说凡是从这个农业老家里迁移到四围边地上去的子弟，也老是很忠实地守着这直接向土里去讨生活的传统。最近我遇着一位到内蒙旅行回来的美国朋友，他很奇怪地问我：你们中原去的人，到了这最适宜于放牧的草原，依旧锄地播种，一家家划着小小的一方地，种植起来；真像是向土里一钻，看不到其他利用这片地的方法了。我记得我的老师史禄国先生也告诉过我，远在西伯利亚，中国人住下了，不管天气如何，还是要下些种子，试试看能不能种地。——这样说来，我们的民族确是和泥土分不开的了。从土里长出过光荣的历史，自然也会受到土的束缚，现在很有些飞不上天的样子。

Only those who make a living from the soil can understand the value of soil. City dwellers scorn country people for their closeness to the land; they treat them as if they were truly “soiled.” But to country people, the soil is the root of their lives. In rural areas, the god represented in the most shrines is Tudi, the god of the earth. Tudi is the god closest to human nature; Tudi and his wife are an old white-haired couple who take care of all the business of the countryside and who have come to symbolize the earth itself. When I went abroad for the first time, my nanny slipped something wrapped in red paper into the bottom of my suitcase. Later, she told me in private that if I had trouble getting accustomed to my new home and if I were too homesick, I should make some soup from the stuff wrapped in the red paper. In the package was dirt that she had scraped from her stove. I remember seeing a similar custom in a movie called *A Song to Remember*, which took place in Poland, an Eastern European agricultural country. It made me realize even more what an important role the earth plays and should play in a civilization like ours.

Agriculture differs from both pastoralism and industry. Farmers are necessarily connected to the land, whereas herdsmen drift about, following the water and the grass, and are forever unsettled. Industrial workers may choose where they live, and they may move without difficulty; but farmers cannot move their land or the crops they grow. Always waiting for their crops to mature, those old farmers seem to have planted half their own bodies into the soil; it is this inability to move that causes farmers to appear so backward and sedentary.

Indeed, those who must depend on farming seem to be stuck in the soil. I once met a friend who had studied language in the Zhangbei area of northern China.³ I asked him if the language there had been influenced by Mongolian. Shaking his head, he said that no influence at all could be seen in language and little in any other aspect. “For hundreds of years,” he noted, “there have always been only a few surnames in the village. I reconstructed the genealogy of each family from the gravestones, and it is clear that only these few families have ever lived there. The entire

population of the village seems rooted in the soil; generation after generation, not much appears to have changed.” We could add some qualifications to his conclusion, but, generally speaking, this kind of attachment to the soil is one of the characteristics of rural society. It is normal for farmers to settle in one spot for generations; it would be abnormal for them to migrate. Of course, droughts, floods, or continuous wars may force some farmers to leave their homes. But even such big events as the war of resistance against Japan did not, I believe, produce high mobility among rural people.

靠种地谋生的人才明白泥土的可贵。城里人可以用土气来藐视乡下人，但是乡下，“土”是他们的命根。在数量上占着最高地位的神，无疑的是“土地”。“土地”这位最近于人性的神，老夫老妻白首偕老的一对，管着乡间一切的闲事。他们象征着可贵的泥土。我初次出国时，我的奶妈偷偷地把一包用红纸裹着的东西，塞在我箱子底下。后来，她又避了人和我说，假如水土不服，老是想家时，可以把红纸包裹着的东西煮一点汤吃。这是一包灶上的泥土。——我在《一曲难忘》的电影里看到了东欧农业国家的波兰也有着类似的风俗，使我更领略了“土”在我们这种文化里所占和所应当占的地位了。

农业和游牧或工业不同，它是直接取资于土地的。游牧的人可以逐水草而居，飘忽无定；做工业的人可以择地而居，迁移无碍；而种地的人却搬不动地，长在土里的庄稼行动不得，侍候庄稼的老农也因之像是半身插入了土里，土气是因为不流动而发生的。

直接靠农业来谋生的人是黏着在土地上的。我遇见过一位在张北一带研究语言的朋友。我问他说在这一带的语言中有没有受蒙古语的影响。他摇了摇头，不但语言上看不出什么影响，其他方面也很少。他接着说：“村子里几百年来老是这几个姓，我从墓碑上去重构每家的家谱，清清楚楚的，一直到现在还是那些人。乡村里的人口似乎是附着在土上的，一代一代地下去，不太有变动。”——这结论自然应当加以条件的，但是大体上说，这是乡土社会的特性之一。我们很可以相信，以农为生的人，世代定居是常态，迁移是变态。大旱大水，连年兵乱，可以使一部分农民抛井离乡；即使像抗战这样大事件所引起基层人口的流动，我相信还是微乎其微的。