

GETTING TO KNOW MASTER ZHU XI:

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
SELECTIONS FROM ZHUZI YULEI

《朱子语类》

选译

王晓农 赵增韬 译




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序

朱子是中国历史上著作形态最丰富的思想家和学问家。他写过学术专著如《周易本义》《太极图说解》《论孟精义》《资治通鉴纲目》等，也遍注群经如《诗集传》《四书章句集注》《楚辞集注》，还有考订类的著作如《昌黎先生集考异》《周易参同契考异》，又有问答体的著作如《四书或问》《延平答问》等，至于韵文如诗、词、赋、铭及散文如序、跋、奏、劄、状、记、箴、表、启、赞、祝文、祭文等更是数不胜数。《朱子语类》是属于语录体的著作，它是朱子的学生们听课和与老师讨论各种问题时的记录。《论语》是语录体著作鼻祖，孔子去世以后，他的学生们把自己所记忆或记录的孔子言行汇编成一本书，这就是《论语》。孔子以后，语录体的著作并不流行，倒是佛教很好地接过了这种生动活泼的文体，语录体的佛学著作层出不穷。以至于不少人误以为，宋代重又兴盛起来的语录体著作是宋儒照搬佛陀的结果。这就有点数典忘祖了。

胡适是现当代研究《朱子语类》比较早的学者。他的《〈朱子语类〉的历史》一文全面系统地梳理了《朱子语类》的编修历史。从他的叙述中我们可以看到《朱子语类》的编修是有一个从“语录”到“语类”的演变过程。朱子去世以后 15 年（1215），李道传在潘时举、叶贺孙、黄榦等朱子的学生们的协助下搜辑朱子的语录，编成了一部四十二卷的书，称“语录”。这以后又有了李性传编的《语续录》（1228）、王秘在婺州编的《语录》（1245）、蔡抗在饶州编的《语后

录》(1249)。与李道传同时稍后(1219)黄士毅编成《语类》，1252年，王昶又在徽州编刊《朱子语续类》，这两种是以分类的方式编辑的朱子语录。直到1270年，黎靖德集大成，以黄士毅、王昶的分类为基础，删除重复、补录遗缺，编成了比较完整的《朱子语类》。^①这就是我们今天看到的流传最广、最常见、被使用最多的《朱子语类》。其实，《朱子语类》在形成过程中出现过很多版本，黎靖德在集成“语录”“语类”的过程中不免会有所遗漏。1982年，韩国学者李乃扬在日本发现了《朝鲜古写徽州本朱子语类》，这就是一本从中国流传到韩国，又从韩国流传到日本，最后竟成为孤本的一种《朱子语类》。这本“语类”呈现出与黎靖德本不同的面貌。中国的青年学者胡秀娟对此本“语类”做了系统的研究，完成了博士学位论文《〈朝鲜古写徽州本朱子语类〉研究》。^②在她的博士后导师朱杰人的指导下，胡秀娟又在研究的基础上与导师合作，将黎靖德本“语类”与“朝鲜古写本”合刊，编成一种全新的“朱子语类”，名曰《朱子语类合刊本》，于2018年12月由华东师范大学出版社出版。

《朱子语类》成书以后，对于它的价值意义，一直就有不同的意见。比如朱子的学生兼女婿黄榦就批评说：“记录之语，未必尽得师传之本旨。”^③并强调“不可以随时应答之语易平生著述之书。”^④但是，更多的人则竭力推崇“语类”，认为它保存了朱子的思想，具有极大的价值。吴坚说：“朱子教人既有成书，又不能忘言者，为答问发也。天地之所以高厚，一物之所以然，其在成书引而不发者，《语录》所不可无也。”^⑤李性传就曾引用朱子的话证明语录对理解一个人的思想和学术具有重要的意义。

确实，《朱子语类》对我们了解和研究朱子的思想、学说具有不可

① 参见胡适《〈朱子语类〉的历史》，《胡适全集》第八卷，安徽教育出版社2003年版，第397页。

② 胡秀娟：《〈朝鲜古写徽州本朱子语类〉研究》，华东师范大学出版社2013年版。

③ 朱熹：《朱子语类》（第一册），中华书局1986年版，第2页。

④ 同上，第3页。

⑤ 同上，第4页。

替代的作用。语类是朱子在对讲生讲课和对话时的即兴之言，这些言论往往是脱口而出，最能真实地反映出朱子的思想。读朱子的语录，往往可以很感性地体现出朱子思想的细微与奥妙之处。语录记载的是当时的口语，所以它表现出与书面语不同的意蕴，有些只能意会不能言传的文字记载，到了“语类”中顿时变得清晰而明了了。加之朱子是个性情活泼的人，他的言论可爱而生动，也使他深刻的形而上思考变得具有了更大的可读性与亲和力。前文已经述及，《朱子语类》经历了从“语录”到“语类”的演变，并最终被定格为“语类”。这不是偶然的。黎靖德最大的贡献就在于他把朱子的语录以一种最具价值阙的形式呈现给了读者。这种形式既便于阅读又利于检索，他被广大的学者及普通读者所接受所喜爱，当然是自然而然的事了。“语类”的编者，无论是的“语录”的收集者还是“语类”的编定者，无不秉承着一种严谨的科学态度。我们可以看到，每一条语录（极个别的除外）都记载了记录者的名字，而每一位记录者在朱子那里问学的时间又有年代的交代。同时听闻者的不同记录也以不同的形式予以保留。这就在最大的程度上保证了记录的可靠性，也使朱子思想的变化有迹可循。所以，我始终认为《朱子语类》是具有极大学术和历史价值的可靠文献。它对于我们真正理解和认识朱子其人、其学，对于我们认识朱子那个时代，具有不可替代的价值。

当然，诚如黄榦所言，《朱子语类》确实不能取代朱子的著作，引用《朱子语类》也不能断章取义。如上所述，语录是朱子的即兴所言，有时他的话未必和经过他深思熟虑的思想完全契合，所以我们在使用《朱子语类》时一定要兼顾朱子的有关著作、文本。如果语类和朱子的著作有矛盾，一般应该以著作为准。另外，朱子的思想是在发展的，他的很多话早期和后期会有所不同。所以我们在引用《朱子语类》时就应该有一个时间概念，不能断章取义，不能顾头不顾尾。但是，这些所谓“问题”，其实并不是“语类”的缺点，而恰恰是它的宝贵之处。用得好，可以有所发现、有所发明；用得不好，则可能走入歧途。所以，“问题”不在“语类”，而在用“语类”的人。

朱子的著作已有很多被翻译成外文，但是“语类”还没有被系统和成规模地被翻译成英文（日本和韩国早已有了“语类”的译本）。王晓农和赵增韬两先生填补了这一学术空缺，撰成《〈朱子语类〉选译》。^①虽曰“选译”，但已经囊括了《朱子语类》的基本门类，读了这本译著大致可以了解《朱子语类》的内容与精神，不失为一本对英语世界的读者们全面介绍这本在中国思想史和学术史上具有举足轻重价值的巨著的好读本。晓农先生不弃，要我为他们的译本写一个序，我的英文程度有限，不敢对他们的译作妄加评论，只能把自己多年来研读《朱子语类》的心得写出来，与英语世界的朋友们分享、讨论。

是为序。

朱杰人

2018年7月1日于上海桑榆匪晚斋

^① 由王晓农英译的《朱子语类》选译本《朱子语类选》（汉英对照）入选“大中华文库”，由广西师范大学出版社2014年出版。

Foreword

Zhu Xi (1130 – 1200), Zhuzi (Master Zhu) as he has been called respectfully, is a thinker and scholar who authored the most various forms of works in the intellectual history of dynastic China. His works include not only academic writings such as *Zhouyi Benyi* (Original Meaning of *Classic of Change*), *Taiji Tu Shuo Jie* (Explanation of Interpretation of the Great Ultimate Diagram), *Lun Meng Jingyi* (Collected Meanings of *Analects* and *Mencius*), and *Zizhi Tongjian Gangmu* (Detailed Outline of *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government*) and annotations of many classics such as *Shi Ji Zhuan* (Commentary on Explanations of *Classic of Poetry*), *Sishu Zhangju Jizhu* (Interpretation of the Four Books with Collected Annotations), and *Chuci Jizhu* (Collected Annotations of *Songs of the South*), but also textual studies such as *Changli Xiansheng Ji Kaoyi* (Textual Study of *Collected Works of Han Yu*) and *Zhouyi Cantong Qi Kaoyi* (Textual Study of *The Kinship of the Three in Accordance with the Classic of Change*), and dialogue style writings such as *Sishu Huowen* (Questions and Answers on the Four Books) and *Yanping Huowen* (Questions and Answers on Yanping's Discourses). In addition, he wrote numberless poems, rhapsodies, and inscriptions, as well as over ten styles of essays for various purposes.

Zhuzi Yulei (Classified Conversations of Master Zhu Xi) is a record of the conversations between Master Zhu and his disciples while discussing

questions concerning wide-ranging topics. It belongs to the category of the conversational style works. The first ancient Chinese work in this style is *Lunyu* (the *Analects of Confucius*), a collection of sayings and ideas attributed to Confucius (551 – 479 BC) and his contemporaries, traditionally believed to have been compiled and written by his followers after he died. However, after the *Analects*, the conversational writing style did not get popular among Chinese intellectuals, and later it is Chinese Buddhists who inherited that lively style, as evidenced by Buddhist writings in the conversational style keeping on emerging. Consequently, when the conversational style revived in the Song Dynasty (960 – 1279), particularly among the Confucians in that period, quite a few people have taken it for a result of their borrowing the style from Buddhist writers. This misunderstanding indicates an ignorance of its own origin.

Hu Shi (1891 – 1962) is a pioneering modern Chinese scholar who studied *Zhuzi Yulei*. In his article “The History of *Zhuzi Yulei*,” he gave a complete and systematic review of its compilation history, by which we know the development in its compilation from *yulu* (recorded conversations) to *yulei* (classified conversations). In 1215, fifteen years after Zhu passed away, Li Daochuan (1170 – 1271), with the help of Pan Shiju (dates unknown), Ye Hesun (dates unknown), Huang Gan (1152 – 1221), and some other disciples of Master Zhu, collected a number of his sayings and conversations and compiled them into a collection of forty two books entitled *Yulu* (Recorded Conversations). This work was continued by *Yuxulu* (Further Recorded Conversations) compiled by Li Xingchuan (1174 – 1255) in 1228, *Yulu* (Recorded Sayings) compiled by Wang Bi (dates unknown) in Wuzhou (what is now Jinhua, Zhejiang Province) in 1245, and *Yuhoulu* (Complement to Recorded Conversations) compiled by Cai Kang (dates unknown) in Raozhou (in Shangrao, Jiangxi Province today) in 1249. In 1219, Huang Shiyi (dates unknown) compiled *Yulei* (Classified

Conversations) and in 1252 Wang Bi published *Zhuzi Yuxulei* (Further Classified Conversations of Master Zhu) in Huizhou (in Anhui Province today). These two works were compiled by classifying the collected sayings and conversations of Master Zhu. The year 1270 saw the monumental publication of *Zhuzi Yulei* (Classified Conversations of Master Zhu Xi), Li Jingde's (dates unknown) synthetic compilation of the existent records on the basis of Huang Shiyi's and Wang Bi's work by deleting duplications and making up deficiencies.^① His *Zhuzi Yulei* with 140 *juan* (fascicles or books) is the most often seen and most widely read edition today.

Therefore, there appeared different editions of the classified conversations of Master Zhu. In spite of his synthetic compilation, Li Jingde's edition is not truly complete, for inevitably there are still some not covered in it. In 1982, Lee Nae-Yang, a Korean scholar, found and published in Japan the *Korean Manuscript of Zhuzi Yulei Huizhou Edition*. It is a Korean manuscript from the Huizhou edition of *Zhuzi Yulei* which was taken to Korea and later the copy found its way to Japan, which has become the only one of its kind available today. It takes on a different look from that work compiled by Li Jingde. Hu Xiujuan made a systematic study of the Korean manuscript and completed her doctoral dissertation *Research of the Korean Manuscript of Zhuzi Yulei (Classified Conversations of Master Zhu) Huizhou Edition*.^② Hu, now working on her post-doctoral program supervised by Zhu Jieren, has made efforts to further her study and in collaboration with Zhu Jieren, she has attempted to combine Li Jingde's edition and the Korean manuscript into a new edition entitled *Zhuzi Yulei Hekanben* (Combined Edition of *Zhuzi Yulei*), which will be published by East China Normal University Press this

① See Hu Shi, "The History of *Zhuzi Yulei*," Vol. 8 of *Complete Works of Hu Shi*, Anhui Education Press, 2003, p. 397.

② The dissertation was published with the same title by East China Normal University Press in 2013.

year.

After *Zhuzi Yulei* came out, with regard to its academic value and significance, there have been different opinions. For example, Huang Gan, disciple and son-in-law of Master Zhu, said critically, "Those so called recorded sayings are not necessarily completely accurate as far as our teacher's original ideas go,"^① and he emphasized "What Master Zhu said in his daily conversations should not be taken in place of all the works he wrote in his life."^② By contrast, more people heaped praises on it for its tremendous value in containing Master Zhu's thought. For example, Wu Jian (1213 - 1276) said, "Regarding Master Zhu's teachings, we can read his writings, yet we should not forget his sayings, for they were made in answering questions. Concerning the reason why the heaven and earth are so high and so thick and why a thing is what it is, since his writings are good at guiding the students while allowing them to make their own inferences, his recorded sayings, which can be more directly revealing, are indispensable."^③ To fortify his opinion, Li Xingchuan cited Master Zhu's own words to the effect that the recorded sayings of a scholar were of considerable importance to understanding his thought and scholarship.

Zhuzi Yulei is indeed irreplaceable when we try to study and understand Master Zhu's thought and doctrine. He made those sayings impromptu while lecturing to or conversing with his disciples, and since they flowed from his mouth naturally, they conveyed his mind most truly. While reading his sayings, we can get a perceptive understanding of what is deep and subtle in his idea. The spoken language recorded therein manifests different shades of meaning from the written language at that time. The meaning of some written

① Zhu Xi, *Classified Conversations of Master Zhu Xi*, Vol. 1, Zhonghua Book Company, 1986, p. 2.

② Ibid. p. 3.

③ Ibid. p. 4.

words in his writings is elusive, which can only be felt, but when expressed colloquially in *Zhuzi Yulei*, it became much more intelligible. In addition, Master Zhu was a lively and cheerful person, whose style of speaking was lovely and vivid, rendering the expression of his profound metaphysical thinking more accessible and amicable. As aforementioned, *Zhuzi Yulei* was the outcome of the formal development from “recorded conversations” to “classified conversations,” and it is not accidental for the latter to be established as the ultimate form. Li Jingde made his major contribution by compiling all the available recorded sayings and conversations of Master Zhu and presenting them in a form most valuable to their readers, for it is both easy to read and convenient to search. It is only natural that his edition of *Zhuzi Yulei* has been accepted extensively among dedicated scholars and average readers. Actually, all those compilers, whether the early collectors of “recorded conversations” or the later compilation finalizer of *Classified Conversations of Master Zhu*, cherished a rigorous scholarly attitude towards their work. For example, almost every one in the overwhelming majority of the recorded conversations is provided with the recorder’s name, and the information of the time period when he studied with Master Zhu is also clear. Meanwhile if there is disparity between two different disciples’ records, both are retained in a marked manner, thus ensuring to the maximum extent the reliability of the records and making the changes in Master Zhu’s thought traceable. Therefore, I have been of the opinion that *Zhuzi Yulei* is reliable literature with tremendous academic and historical value and its role is irreplaceable for our attempt to know and understand truly the person and scholarship of Master Zhu and see his time in perspective.

Of course, as Huang Gan said, *Zhuzi Yulei* can not take the place of Master Zhu’s writings. When we quote some words from it, we should avoid ignoring their contexts. Since it records, as we mentioned above, what Master Zhu said improvisationally, sometimes his sayings are not necessarily in

complete accordance with what he presents in his works which he wrote on a well-thought out basis. Therefore, when we try to grasp and understand his thought, we should take into account both *Zhuzi Yulei* and all his other works. If there is any discordance between them in his idea, usually we accept the latter as prevailing over the former. Additionally, as Master Zhu's thought was in the process of development, his idea about something in his early life was not necessarily the same as that in his later life. Therefore, when we quote even the same words from *Zhuzi Yulei*, we should be aware of that possibility of change and take into consideration the specific contexts where they were said. Nevertheless, these so called "problems" with it are the very place where much of its value lies. Whether one can give play to such value depends on whether he can make use of them well, for when used well, they can serve as a source of revelations and findings to him, but otherwise they may lead him astray. Thus whether those "problems" are problems depends on the user of *Zhuzi Yulei* rather than the work itself.

Many works of Master Zhu have been translated into other languages, and *Zhuzi Yulei* has already been rendered into Korean and Japanese, but a systematical and complete translation of *Zhuzi Yulei* into English has still been unavailable. Fortunately, Wang Xiaonong and Zhao Zengtao have selected from *Zhuzi Yulei* ten books and translated them into English, and their translation will be published as *Getting to Know Master Zhu Xi: English Translation of Selections from Zhuzi Yulei*, which will fill in the blank to some extent. ^① Though it is "selections," their work involves the basic categories of conversations collected in *Zhuzi Yulei*, and can serve as an introduction to the English speaking world of *Zhuzi Yulei* which is of great value in the intellectual history of China. By reading their translation, English readers can

^① In 2014, Wang Xiaonong's *Selections from Classified Conversations of Zhu Xi*, an English translation of nine books of *Zhuzi Yulei*, was published as a contribution to the bilingual series of "Library of Chinese Classics," a key state-sponsored publishing project of China.

get an idea of the content and spirit of the voluminous Chinese classic. Mr. Wang invited me to write a foreword for their translation and though my English is rather limited, I accepted, but I dared not to make comments on their work, so I just presented some of my understanding of *Zhuzi Yulei* I gained from reading it for many years so as to share and discuss it with friends in the English speaking world.

So much for my foreword to this translated work.

Zhu Jieren

July 1, 2018

“Twilight But Not of Work” Study

Shanghai, China

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