

中国文化在英国

范存忠 著

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范存忠

1903—1987

字雪桥、雪樵，上海市崇明县人。1926年毕业于国立东南大学外语系；1931年获哈佛大学哲学博士学位后回国；1944—1945年在牛津大学讲学；1931—1949年间，历任原中央大学外国语言文学系教授、系主任，文学院院长等职；1956年后，曾任南京大学副校长、图书馆馆长、中国英国史研究会名誉会长等职。主要著作有《英美史纲》、《英国文学史纲》、《英国文学论集》、《中国文化在英国》、《中西文化散论》等。

《中国文化在英国》整理自范存忠先生1931年在美国哈佛大学的哲学博士学位论文。范先生从一个中国学者的角度，对相关英、法、德等外国文献旁征博引，条分缕析，系统阐述中国文化对17、18世纪英国的影响及其源流。本论著已成为相关研究领域的必读经典。此次将范先生用英文写就的论文原稿首次出版，原汁原味，更有利于了解和研究范先生学术成果的源头和精髓。

序 言

我父亲范存忠先生 1926 年南京东南大学毕业后,考取了庚子赔款留美公派生,取得了美国哈佛大学语言学院哲学博士学位。*Chinese Culture in England: Studies from Sir William Temple to Oliver Goldsmith* (《中国文化在英国:从威廉·坦普尔到奥立佛·哥尔斯密斯》)是我父亲范存忠先生在哈佛大学的博士论文,这篇论文为他以后从事中国文化在启蒙时期英国的研究奠定了基础。这部论文旁征博引了英文、法文、德文等文献,全面深入地考察了中国文化对 17、18 世纪英国的影响及其文化源流。1944 年范先生应牛津大学的邀请,在贝利奥尔学院讲学一年,就是以这篇论文为基础的。范先生精彩的演讲博得了英国知名学者、牛津大学博得礼图书馆馆长、世界著名的《约翰逊索引》编著者鲍威尔先生和英国学术界的好评。当时的学术界,像范先生这样谈论中国文化对英国影响的学者,几乎没有。因此,范存忠先生是中英比较文学的先驱。

70 年代末,范先生以论文中的重要章节为基础,重新整理修改

和扩充,将论文发表在国内英语语言文学研究的学术期刊上。80年代,每逢南京大学校庆学术演讲会,范先生总会在这篇论文里选择一些章节加以整理,将新近的研究心得扩充到论文中,作为学术研究报告。后来,范先生又根据这篇论文的研究资料,用中文撰写了《中国文化在启蒙时期的英国》。《中国文化在启蒙时期的英国》一书出版后,立即受到学术界的好评,在中国比较文学界具有划时代的影响。以前谈论比较文学往往忽略或者根本不谈其源流,而讨论中英文学影响的源流正是这部书的特点。这部书于1991年由上海外语教育出版社出版,2011年译林出版社再版。这部书1991年获得第六届中国图书奖,1995年获得国家教委首届全国高等学校人文社会科学研究成果一等奖,2011年又获得了南京首届陶风图书奖。

感谢译林出版社社长顾爱彬先生的努力,范先生这部写于上世纪二三十年代的英文论文终于与读者见面了,这对研究范先生的学术思想和轨迹,都很有意义。值得一提的是范先生这篇论文的选题不仅出自他的兴趣,而更重要的是出自他的民族自豪感。正是这种民族自豪感,使得范先生锲而不舍、追根寻源,为中英比较文学做出了杰出的贡献。

范家宁 王英

2014年11月

PREFACE

The growing interest in Chinese thought and literature and art in the West has given to what would be at first sight a specialist's investigation of the reception of Chinese culture in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an obvious general significance. For with modern views of China may be compared (or contrasted) the older, and forgotten, views as held by the English people. It will be curious to learn that Sir William Temple and Addison and Johnson and Goldsmith, the intellectual leaders of their own ages, even as those of our own age, had, at different times and for different purposes, some appreciation of Chinese ideas.

One cannot in the nature of the case attempt to say how much the Chinese influence upon English life and letters was; one can, on the other hand, undertake to examine and re-examine the literary documents with reference to Chinese thought. If one should succeed in this, it seems to me, there would be, at least, available for those who at all concern themselves in the matter upon which sound judgments might be founded. Nor should the examination of documents be strictly confined to what have been called the *belles-lettres*. For, if comparative literature is the

study of the reception of the ideas propagated by one country or culture as they are assimilated (or repelled) by another country or culture, it ought to take into account, even inadequately, the sum-total of the relationships between the two countries, from which the national attitudes are generated.

In the pages that follow I shall attempt to show how the introduction of a foreign culture in England affected various aspects of life. Men of letters, religious thinkers, popular journalists, connoisseurs of art, and playwrights were, in a way, critics of the culture; and their criticisms, be they ever so slight and biased by preconceived notions, would, if my presentation be fair, combine to form a rounded estimate of it in the period under discussion. The limit of the study is perhaps not as arbitrary as it may seem. For it was Sir William Temple, an “admirer of Confucius”, that first used and popularized the phrase the “citizen of the world” in modern England, and it was Oliver Goldsmith that fully developed this idea and viewed Chinese culture from the standpoint of the citizen of the world.

On the literary relations between China and the Continental Europe much has been done. Franz Merkel has written a thorough dissertation on *Leibnitz und die China-Mission* (1910), and Adolf Reichwein, in a comprehensive survey of *China and Europe* (1925), has studied Goethe and his interest in Chinese poetry. In France, perhaps more than in any other country in the West, Chinese studies have been encouraged. Pierre Martino has given us his *L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVIIe et au XVIIIe Siècle* (1906), and Henri Cordier, to whom we owe the

standard *Bibliotheca Sinica* (1904), has published his study of Chinese art in France^① together with his invaluable “Notes” and “Fragments”. The student of English literature, it seems, has been slow to realize the possibility of similar studies. Johannes Hoops, now professor of English Literature at the University of Heidelberg, was perhaps the first to call our attention to the Oriental material in English literature. It is more than a quarter of a century since he addressed the International Congress of Arts and Sciences at St. Louis on the “Present Problems of English Literary History.”^② Since then there have appeared Martha P. Conant’s *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century* (1908) and Marie Elizabeth Meester’s *The Oriental Influence in English Literature of the Nineteenth Century* (1915). These useful works suffer from too comprehensive a subject with which the authors chose to deal. The story of the reception of Chinese culture in England in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, so far as I am aware, remains untold. Perhaps the nearest approach to such a work is George Currie Martin’s brief paper, *China in English Literature* (now not easily accessible even in big libraries), which was read, on December 4, 1916, before the China Society at Caxton Hall, Westminster. “This paper,” as the author says modestly, “is a mere *ballon d’essai*, in order to stir up interest in a subject not hitherto examined.” To Mr. Martin, however, I wish to record my indebtedness for whatever interest I had at the initial stage of my work. But I owe more to the special investigations of related subjects,

① See *La Chine en France*, 1910.

② See the International Congress of Arts and Sciences Universal Exposition at St. Louis, 1904 (ed. Howard J. Rogers, New York, 1906), III, 415-32; see also Hoops, “Orientalische Stoffe in der Englischen Literature”, *Deutsche Rundschau*, XXXIII (1906), 255-63.

and I have tried to be scrupulous to indicate in my notes whatever has been derived from various scholars. My lengthy bibliography at the end of this volume may serve two purposes: it is meant to be a sort of general acknowledgment and at the same time to suggest the fertility of the field for further investigation. A good deal of the material of this study may perhaps be called "new"; but, I wish to add, the material is hardly exhausted. The gleaner is to be encouraged, as the sheaf is by no means lean.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank Professor Bliss Perry for calling my attention to a number of important works on Sir William Temple. I wish also to thank Professor Irving Babbitt for some very helpful hints on Confucianism and deism. And, for uniform encouragement and kindly assistance at various stages of my work, I am deeply indebted to Professor Chester Noyes Greenough, master of eighteenth century literature.

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CHAPTER I

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE AND HIS PREDECESSORS

China, Sir, is a very unknown place to us, — in one sense of the word unknown; but who is not intimate with it as the land of tea, and China, and koutous, and pagodas, and mandarins, and Confucius, and conical caps, and people with little names, little eyes, and little feet, who sit in little bowers, drinking little cups of tea, and writing little odes? ... With one China they [the Englishmen] are totally unacquainted — to wit, the great China of the poet and old travellers, Cathay, the “seat of Cathian Can”, the country of which Ariosto’s Angelica was princess-royal; yes, she was a Chinese, “the fairest of her sex, Angelica”.

— Leigh Hunt, “World of Books”, *Men, Women, and Books* (1847).

I

Every student of Chaucer remembers that “In the land of Tartarye”, as the Squire knew, “ther dwelte a king that werreyed Russye.” That

the poet took a personal interest in whatever might be “couth in sundry landes”, there can be no doubt. Nor can there be any doubt as to the actual intercourse of the two hemispheres — even long before Chaucer. There is a white nephrite (which can have come only from China) among the ruins of the second of the six cities on the site of Troy.^① And it probably dates from 2000 B.C. Roman and Chinese powers came into contact, and “Seres” or “Sericae” was mentioned by Virgil, Horace, Aurelius, Ovid and Italicus.^② Sir Aurel Stein’s investigations show that Indian, Chinese, and Greco-Roman influences in art met beyond Pamir.^③ Toward the period when Pompey had extended the dominion of Rome to the western shores of the Caspian Sea, the Chinese had approached the eastern, and thus the two great nations were brought into proximity with each other. In the age of Chaucer, when the Mongol emperors ruled in China, we find the Popes and Khans in constant touch. We know the citizens of Paris, carried off by the Mongols from Eastern Europe, were domiciled in the Far East at this time. Part of the official correspondence between the Popes and the Khans has been preserved, and we find a Khan apologizing for sending a diplomatic communication in the Mongolian language — on the ground that his Latin secretary chanced to be absent!^④ Ser Marco Polo’s experience in the East is well-known. The roads to Cathay were so frequently travelled by merchants at the beginning of

① Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford, 1907), 29.

② Sir Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (London, 1915), I, 185-86.

③ W. E. Soothill, *China and the West* (Oxford, 1925), 13.

④ Paul Pelliot, “Mongols et papes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles,” *Revue Bleue*, LXI (1923), 109-11.

the fourteenth century that Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, a factor of the commercial house of the Bardi in Florence, wrote a guide for travellers in the Far East.^①

It is interesting to note that the story of Mitridanes and Nathan in Boccaccio is laid in Cathay and that in *Orlando Innamorato* (X, 18) the father of Angelica is King Galafron:

il qual Nell'India estrema signoreggia Una gran

terra ch'ha nome il Cattajo.^②

In the poetry of Chaucer, however, there is little that is decidedly Chinese in background. It is doubtful whether the poet ever used the manuscript of Marco Polo in the composition of *Squire's Tale*; but it is certain that his characterization of Cambyuskan in the Tale is mediaeval rather than Oriental. In saying that the Khan is "young, fresh and strong", as Professor Manly has made clear, Chaucer is merely attributing to him "the stock qualities of a model man."^③ To Chaucer, as to his times, India rather than Cathay was, vaguely, the eastern limit of the world. Death in *The Pardoner's Tale* declares that he cannot find a man "though that (he) walked in-to Inde"; the Wife of Bath was as kind to her fifth husband as

① *Libro di divisamenti di paesi*. See Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, III, 137-71.

② See Yule-Cordier, op. cit., I, 173.

③ See John M. Manly, "Marco Polo and *Squire's Tale*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XI, (1896), 349-62. Compare W. W. Skeat (ed.), *Works of Chaucer* (Oxford edition), V, 371; Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (London, 1903), I, 128-29, 247.

any “wyf from Denmark unto Inde”; a sweeter place than the garden of the Rose one could not find, “although he soughte oon in-til Inde”; and to the love of the Duchess Blanche herself “no ner nas he that woned at home, than he in Inde.” Two other Oriental places, “Dry See” and “the Carrenare”, entered into “that large compasses” of the poet. Thanks to Professor Lowes, these fascinating regions have been definitely located on the map; but they are on the very borderland of Chaucer’s world, which is more than a thousand miles away from Peking.^①

Historically and archaeologically, much can be said about the cultural relations of the East and the West in the late middle ages and early modern times. To the student of literary history, however, the expression of the Far East is insignificant, not only in the age of Chaucer, but also in the age of Spenser. To Spenser, as to Chaucer, India represented the remotest East. In *Faerie Queene*, pearls and quivers from India and “the sun-burnt Indians” were mentioned. But India, even at that time, was thought a new discovery, though it had been known for more than two hundred years. And in the poetry of Spenser India was little more than a mere geographical term:

But let that man with better sense advise, that of the world least part
to us is red: And daily how through hardy enterprize many great regions are
discovered, which to late age were never mentioned. Who ever heard of th’
Indian Peru? Or who in venturous vessell measured the Amazons huge river,

① John L. Lowes, “The Dry Sea and the Carrenare”, *Modern Philology*, III (1905), 1-46.