



马礼逊文集·附录
Appendix of Selected Works of Robert Morrison

Bibliographies on Robert Morrison

马礼逊研究 文献索引

北京外国语大学
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总 序

2007 年是马礼逊 (Robert Morrison, 1782 - 1834) 来华二百周年, 他是近代中西文化交流的重要开拓者: 他编写并出版了世界上第一部汉英双语词典, 19 世纪首次将圣经译成中文出版, 捐资并创立了培养双语人才的英华书院, 他在中国首创近代中英文报刊, 第一个在中国设立了中西医结合的医馆。鉴于马礼逊在中西文化交流史上的独特地位, 从学术上整理马礼逊的历史文献已经成为研究之必须。

一、《马礼逊文集》内容述要

马礼逊的学术著作在中国近代学术史上具有深远的影响。但由于马礼逊的著作出版年代久远, 在国内外图书馆中难觅其身影, 因此国内外学术界从未系统地整理和出版过他的著作。在 2007 年马礼逊来华 200 周年纪念之际, 北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心、香港大学图书馆、澳门基金会将联合推出《马礼逊文集》(14 卷本), 由中国大象出版社正式出版。

《马礼逊文集》出版物包括影印本五种: *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (Macao, 1815 - 1823)《汉英英汉词典》^[1]、*A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (Serampore, 1815)《通用汉言之法》、*A Grammar of the English Language* (Macao, 1823)《英吉利文话之凡例》^[2]、*Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* (London, 1839)《马礼逊回忆录》、*A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca, 1820)《新教在华传教前十年回顾》。

《汉英英汉词典》和《通用汉言之法》是马礼逊的语言类著作, 当时在欧洲和来华的外侨中产生了极大的影响。作为世界上出版的第一部英汉双语词典, 马礼逊的《汉英英汉词典》的编纂规模和独创性即使在今天仍有重要的价值。从

[1] 马礼逊的 *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* 有不同译名, 文集影印部分采用《华英字典》, 而我们认为《汉英英汉词典》更为准确。

[2] 本文集影印出版的底本由耶鲁大学图书馆提供, 中文书名为《英吉利文话之凡例》; 而另据伦敦大学亚非学院图书馆藏书, 该书封面书名为《英国文语凡例传》, 扉页书名为《英吉利文话之凡例》。

学术史的角度来看,这部词典是中西文化交流的见证,它全面记录了中国近代以来中英两种语言初次大规模接触后产生的外来词,这些词汇不仅在中国,乃至在日本和整个东亚都产生了影响,对研究中西文化交流史有着重要的意义;同时,这部词典对近代中国语言学史的研究也有着重大的意义,它所保留的西方人对中国语言、文化和社会风俗等方面的语言实证,为我国近代汉语研究提供了丰富的材料;从中国双语词典学史来看,这是在中国出版的第一部汉英、英汉双语词典,对于研究中国双语词典史有着独特的意义。马礼逊的《通用汉言之法》则是一部早于马建忠《马氏文通》正式出版的一部中文语法书,对于研究中国近代语言学史有一定的意义。

《英吉利文话之凡例》是马礼逊为英华学院的学生学习英语所编,它是中国历史上第一部英语语法书。本文集使用的是美国耶鲁大学图书馆所藏的底本。本书在世界上已经极为罕见。

《马礼逊回忆录》和《新教在华传教前十年回顾》是研究马礼逊的生平和事迹所必须依据的重要史料。这两部书中收录的马礼逊的日记、信件以及间插的时人评论及背景介绍,是研究中西文化交流史、中国近代语言学史、圣经中译、近代外语教育、近代印刷出版、近代报刊史、西方汉学史等的重要原始资料。

《马礼逊文集》中的《马礼逊回忆录》的中译本较前人更为完整。为了便于学者的阅读及使用,我们不仅影印出版了这部著作的英文原版,同时也为中文读者提供了对照阅读的文本。

在附录中首次出版了《新教在华传教前十年回顾》原本和中译本,并整理了两百年来国内外对马礼逊研究的著作及论文目录。研究目录分为三个部分:中文研究目录,英文研究目录,马礼逊著作在日本流传目录,读者借此目录可以了解到马礼逊研究的进展情况以及马礼逊著作在东亚的传播和影响情况。

上述著作的出版是大陆学界期盼已久的盛事。在马礼逊入华 200 周年这一重要时机,在大陆出版《马礼逊文集》必将推动学术事业的发展,加深对中西文化交流史、中国基督宗教史的研究和关于马礼逊的学术研究。

二、《马礼逊文集》的版本说明

这次收入《马礼逊文集》的版本除《英吉利文话之凡例》的底本为美国耶鲁大学图书馆所藏的底本外,其余文集的底本全部由香港大学图书馆提供,具体情况如下:

1. Morrison, Robert, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in Three Parts* (Macao: Printed at the Honorable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms, 1815 -

1823)。共六册,4827页;第一部分分三册,按康熙字典部首排序,中文书名为《字典》;第二部分两册,按马礼逊的英文注音字母排序,中文书名为《五车韵府》;第三部分英汉词典共一册,按英文字母排序。

2. Morrison, Robert, *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (Serampore: Printed at the Mission-Press, 1815)。共一册,中文书名为《通用汉言之法》,286页。

3. Morrison, Robert, *A Grammar of the English Language* (Macao, 1823)。

4. Morrison, Eliza, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* (London: Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839)。共二册,1247页。本书原藏于汉口第一所外国人俱乐部 Hankow Club,香港大学图书馆于1932年购入。

5. Milne, William, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca: Printed at the Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820)。共一册,384页。本书是马礼逊图书馆藏书,书名页有 Robert Morrison China 1826 手迹,于1914年随马礼逊图书馆移交香港大学图书馆。

三、《马礼逊文集》的出版过程

北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心为中国大陆学术界最早建立的海外汉学研究机构,以翻译整理海外汉学的历史文献、研究中国文化在海外的传播影响为其重要使命,尤其是对西方汉学发展史中的传教士汉学的文献的翻译和研究格外着力。作为全国外语类院校龙头——北京外国语大学所属的学术机构,中国海外汉学中心理应在中西文化交流史背景下承担起对中国近代外语教育史和中国近代翻译史等重要学术课题的研究。因此,中国近代英语教育的奠基人和汉英双语词典的作者马礼逊,很自然地成为了我们关注的对象。马礼逊文集的出版项目得到了北外的大力支持,学校为此拨出专项经费用于出版。

香港大学图书馆于1912年成立,是香港特区成立最早和规模最大的大学图书馆。自1914年接收马礼逊图书馆后,在其后的岁月里,不管世事变迁,香港大学图书馆肩负着管理和保存为纪念马礼逊而成立以及庋藏他个人藏书图书馆的重责。现在,马礼逊图书馆藏书2752册,共1284种,其中不乏珍稀版本和马礼逊个人的签名本,是中国土地上一个极为珍贵并且保存良好的西文特藏。以历史而言,成立于1838年的马礼逊图书馆曾为广州、澳门和香港建馆时提供服务,是三地一衣带水、文化同源的有力证据。马礼逊图书馆无疑是马礼逊这位近代中西文化交流开拓者留给后代的一个重要文化遗产,而香港大学图书馆为纪念马礼逊来华200周年付出努力和贡献,是责无旁贷和理所当然的。

2004年初,北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心本着以推动马礼逊的学

术研究、与学界共享学术资源的目的,向香港大学图书馆提出合作出版《马礼逊文集》的计划,港大图书馆欣然应允。考虑到马礼逊一生与澳门有着难解之缘,他1807年首先在澳门登陆,长期在澳门、广州两地生活,1834年死后长眠于澳门,因此《马礼逊文集》如果有澳门学术机构的参与则更为圆满。2005年之春,北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心、香港大学图书馆、澳门基金会三方在澳门相约洽谈,顺利而愉快地确定了合作的内容、各自承担的责任和翻译出版的具体进程。至此,由三方共同集资合作的《马礼逊文集》项目正式立项,该项目由北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心按照合作计划及日程安排组织全面实施文集出版的各项工作。

2005年春夏之交,北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心代表三方合作者与大象出版社商协《马礼逊文集》的出版计划。大象出版社以推进中国学术研究为己任,与北外中国海外汉学研究中心合作已达十一年之久,于是双方商定将《马礼逊文集》作为《国际汉学书系》中的西方早期经典汉学译丛中的一种,单独设计出版。

在这里我们需要指出的是北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心的年轻学者顾钧、杨慧玲、张蓉斌、梁跃天、沙培培等人为翻译《马礼逊回忆录》和《新教在华传教前十年回顾》付出了艰辛的劳动,香港大学图书馆的尹耀全负责香港方面的统筹联络工作、杨少娴为编纂英文研究目录、劳子健、梁淑仪及毛子佩为扫描底本付出了辛勤的劳动,日本的陈力卫教授撰写了马礼逊词典在日本的传播与利用一文,美国耶鲁大学图书馆为文集提供《英吉利文话之凡例》的底本,澳门基金会也时时关心文集的翻译和出版,并为《马礼逊文集》出版后在澳门所召开的专题学术研讨会提供了大力支持。在此期间,香港中文大学崇基神学院的卢龙光牧师、温伟耀教授、邢福增教授多次邀请译者前往香港中文大学的基督教资源中心,为翻译提供便利条件,在此我们对他们表示衷心的感谢。我们特别感谢台湾马礼逊研究专家苏精先生,他为《马礼逊文集》中的翻译部分付出了极大的心血。2006年12月,北外中国海外汉学研究中心专程邀请他来北京访问,时值北京最冷的季节,他不顾严寒,每日全身心紧张地工作着,耐心地指导中心的年轻学者。2007年7月在天气最为炎热之时,他又专程赶来北京,校对译稿。虽然他没有审定完全稿,但是可以说,没有他的帮助和指导,我们的翻译文稿不会达到现在的水准。在这个意义上,这部文集是汇集了两代学者共同努力的结果。在此,我们对苏精教授的热心和真心,对他为文集所付出的辛劳表示衷心地感谢。

文集集中的译著涉及神学、历史、翻译等多个专业领域,尽管几位年轻译者竭

尽全力,翻译中的错误在所难免。诗云“如切如磋、如琢如磨”,我们以开放的心态,欢迎方家的批评指误,使译本在今后的出版中不断得到完善。

中国学术的重建是一个艰巨而漫长的过程,她不需要热闹而宏大的场面,她不需要媒体的追逐和渲染,她不需要官员们为自己的政绩将学术作为其贴金的招牌,她需要的是老老实实的态度,默默无闻的耕耘,她需要的是一代接一代人的不懈努力。或许我们做的还不完美,但我们不气馁,学术乃天下公器,她正是在不断的讨论中进步。在《马礼逊文集》出版之际,我们对一切关心她的出版,并为她的出版付出辛勤劳动的所有人表示感谢,对北京外国语大学、香港大学和澳门基金会给予的支持表示感谢,对北京外国语大学中国海外汉学研究中心这个享有学术声誉的研究所几年来为《马礼逊文集》的出版所做的不懈努力表示感谢。

张西平 彭仁贤 吴志良

2007年8月30日

总 序

(Preface)

The year 2007 marks the 200th anniversary of the arrival of Robert Morrison (1782 – 1834) in China. Robert Morrison was an important pioneer in the cultural exchange between China and the West. In addition to compiling and publishing the world's first bilingual Chinese-English dictionary, he also published the complete Chinese translation of the Bible. He set up the Anglo-Chinese College with his personal funds to provide bilingual education to the Chinese, founded the first Chinese and English newspaper in modern China, and established a hospital that integrated traditional and western medicine in China. Owing to his special position in the history of cultural exchange between China and the West, we have chosen to reprint a selected number of the historical publications of Robert Morrison for research purposes.

1. *Selected Works of Robert Morrison: an Overview*

The publications of Robert Morrison had a profound influence upon 19th century western views of modern China. However, because they were published some two hundred years ago, his works are not available in most Mainland and many overseas libraries. On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Robert Morrison's arrival in China in 2007, the Research Centre of Overseas Sinology of Beijing Foreign Studies University, the University of Hong Kong Libraries and the Macao Foundation have jointly launched the 14-volume *Selected Works of Robert Morrison* and they have commissioned the Elephant Press to publish the series.

Five titles have been reproduced in facsimile. They include *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*^[1] (Macao, 1815 – 1823), *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (Serampore, 1815), *A Grammar of the English Language*^[2] (Macao, 1823), *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* (London, 1839) and *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca, 1820).

Morrison's *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* and *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* were his two most important publications on the Chinese language. Their influence upon the understanding of China among its early European and other foreign residents was enormous. As the first published Chinese-English dictionary, the Morri-

[1] There's many different Chinese equivalences for *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. The Chinese title in facsimile is 华英字典, but we think 汉英英汉词典 more accurate.

[2] This original copy is provided by Yale University Library, entitled 英吉利文话之凡例 in Chinese. However, according to SOAS collection, this *English Grammar* entitled 英国文语凡例传 on the cover while 英吉利文话之凡例 used in the inside cover.

son dictionary was of immense significance both in terms of the enormous number of Chinese words for which it provided English equivalents, but also the originality exhibited by Morrison in his provision of English explanations for Chinese expressions—many of which still ring true today. From academic historical perspective, this dictionary provides a window through which the cultural exchange which took place between China and the West may be viewed. It recorded in a comprehensive manner loan words created after the first large-scale language contact between Chinese and English in modern China. These loan words not only exerted their influence in China, Japan, and even East Asia as a whole at the time, but now afford us the opportunity to re-search the history of the cultural exchange which then was taking place between China and the West. The Morrison dictionary is also of value to those pursuing research on contemporary Chinese linguistics including the influence of early westerners upon China's language, culture and social customs. Finally, as China's first Chinese-English, English-Chinese dictionary, it is unique in terms of its influence upon subsequent Chinese bilingual dictionaries.

Morrison's *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* predated the publication of *Ma Shi Wen Tong* (马氏文通) by Ma Jianzhong (马建忠) and is without doubt of critical importance to the study of the history of Chinese linguistics. *A Grammar of the English Language* was prepared by Robert Morrison for his students at the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca to learn English. It was the first English grammar book ever written for Chinese students.

The other two titles, namely *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* and *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, provide essential resources for the study of the life and work of Robert Morrison. They include not only the diaries and letters of Robert Morrison, but also comments from his contemporaries and background information from the point of view of Morrison and others. They are themselves important primary resources for the study of 19th century cultural exchanges between China and the West, the historical linguistics of modern China, the Chinese translations of the Bible, foreign language education, printing and publishing in China and its environs, newspaper publishing, and the historical roots of western sinology.

This publication project also includes for the benefit of Chinese scholars wanting to know about Morrison and the above matters, a Chinese translation of the *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison*. This translation, unlike earlier partial attempts, is an unabridged faithful translation of the entire *Memoirs*. By providing both the English original and a Chinese translation we hope to meet the needs of both English and Chinese academic readers worldwide.

A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China has also been included in the Appendix to the *Memoirs* as well as a selective bibliography of works by or about Robert Morrison. The bibliography is composed of three parts: Chinese language materials, English language materials and a brief bibliography of research being done in Japan. From these bibliographies, readers can begin to comprehend the growth in the amount of research being done about Morrison and his influence upon our understanding of China.

The publication of the titles just described has produced excitement within many academic circles in China. It is hoped that this project, upon the occasion of the

200th anniversary of Robert Morrison's arrival in China, will promote additional communication between scholars, deepen academic research on the history of the cultural exchange between China and the West, and increase the amount of research being done on Christianity in China and Robert Morrison himself.

2. *Selected Works of Robert Morrison: Original Copies*

Books reprinted in this series are very rare and not readily accessible to the public. Original copies used in this series are from the collections of the University of Hong Kong Libraries and the Yale University Library respectively:

1. Morrison, Robert, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in Three Parts* (Macao: Printed at the Honorable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms, 1815 – 1823). A total of six volumes, 4,827 pages. Part 1 is in three volumes, entries arranged according to radicals in Kangxi Dictionary. Its Chinese title is “字典”. Part 2 is in two volumes, entries arranged alphabetically according to the Romanization system devised by Robert Morrison. Its Chinese title is “五车韵府”. Part 3 is an English-Chinese dictionary in one volume, entries arranged alphabetically. From the University of Hong Kong Libraries Collection.

2. Morrison, Robert, *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (Serampore: Printed at the Mission-Press, 1815). One volume, 286 pages. Its Chinese title is “通用汉言之法”. From the University of Hong Kong Libraries Collection.

3. Morrison, Robert, *A Grammar of the English Language* (Macao: East India Company's Press, 1823). One volume, 97 pages. From the Yale University Library Collection.

4. Morrison, Eliza, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* (London: Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839). Two volumes, 1,247 pages. Previously belonged to Hankow Club, the first foreigners' club in Hankow, the book was acquired by the University of Hong Kong Libraries in 1932.

5. Milne, William, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca: Printed at the Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820). One volume, 384 pages. This book is from the Morrison Library, which was transferred to the University of Hong Kong Libraries in 1914. Its title page is signed *Robert Morrison China 1826*.

3. *Publishing the Selected Works of Robert Morrison*

The Research Centre of Overseas Sinology is an academic centre of the Beijing Foreign Studies University, a leading foreign language institution in China. As the first overseas sinology research institute established in contemporary China, it is dedicated to the translation and research of historical documents of Western Sinology, research on Chinese culture and its impact abroad, with an emphasis on Christian missions and the sinology works of early Western missionaries. It undertakes research in history of foreign language education in modern China and translation history in modern China, both of which are important academic topics to the history of the cultural exchange between China and the West. Naturally Robert Morrison received great attention from the Centre since he was the earliest advocate of English language education for Chinese students in modern China and the compiler of the first bilingual Chinese-English dictionary. The publication of the *Selected Works of Robert Morrison* has

received ardent support from Beijing Foreign Studies University and specific funding was allocated from the university budget to finance this project.

Established in 1912, the University of Hong Kong Libraries is the oldest and largest university library in Hong Kong. Since taking over the Morrison Library in 1914, the Libraries have shouldered for more than eighty years the responsibility for managing and preserving the library which was set up to perpetuate the memory of Robert Morrison and where some of his own books are collected. The Morrison Library is one of the most valuable and well-preserved collections of western rare books on China's soil and at present, there are 1,284 titles, or 2,752 volumes, including some rare editions and books with Robert Morrison's signature. Historically the Morrison Library served readers in Guangzhou, Macao and Hong Kong since its establishment in 1838, which offers further support to the notion that the three cities, all situated in Pearl River Delta, share a common cultural setting. The Morrison Library is thus an important cultural heritage from Robert Morrison and it is the obligation of the University of Hong Kong Libraries to contribute to commemorating the 200th anniversary of Morrison's arrival in China.

In order to promote academic research on Robert Morrison and sharing resources within the academic community, the Research Centre of Overseas Sinology, Beijing Foreign Studies University contacted the University of Hong Kong Libraries and proposed to jointly publish the *Selected Works of Robert Morrison* in early 2004. The Libraries agreed to the proposal promptly. The two institutions further decided that participation of a Macao institution in the publication project would be beneficial after taking into account of the close connection between Robert Morrison and Macao—his arrival in Macao in 1807, burial in Macao in 1834 and shuttling between Macao and Guangzhou in the intervening years. Eventually, representatives from the Research Centre of Overseas Sinology, the University of Hong Kong Libraries and the Macao Foundation met in Macao in spring 2005 and mutually agreed upon the fine details regarding their roles and obligations in this joint project. The Research Centre of Overseas Sinology was entrusted with the responsibility for taking a pivotal role in handling daily work arising from publishing the series.

On behalf of the project collaborators, the Research Centre of Overseas Sinology then discussed the project with the Elephant Press, a publisher committed to promoting academic research in China and a work partner with the Research Centre for some ten years. All parties reached an agreement readily and the *Selected Works of Robert Morrison* has been published as a series and an item in the *International Sinology Publications Series*.

We would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the young scholars from Research Centre of Overseas Sinology of Beijing Foreign Studies University, namely Gu Jun, Yang Huiling, Zhang Rongbin, Liang Yuetian and Sha Peipei, who have worked diligently on the translation of *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* and *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*. Staff members of the University of Hong Kong Libraries have also made enormous contributions to the project, particularly Dr. Y. C. Wan for serving as the Hong Kong project coordinator, Rebecca Yeung for compiling the western language bibliography, and Dave Low, June Leung and Kitty Mo for scanning the original copies. Prof. Chen Li-

wei contributes to the bibliography of Robert Morrison's Dictionary in Japan. We also thank Yale University Library for providing a digital copy of their *A Grammar of the English Language*. The Macao Foundation is appreciated very much for their support for the translation and publication work and generous support in hosting an academic conference in Macao after the *Selected Works of Robert Morrison* is published.

In addition, we need to express heart-felt gratitude to Rev. Luo Longguang, Prof. Wen Weiyao, Prof. Xing Fuzeng of Chung Chi College, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, for inviting the translators to visit the University's Christianity Resources Centre where they could access information useful to translation work. Special acknowledgement is given to Professor Su Ching in Taiwan, a renowned scholar in Robert Morrison research, for the tremendous efforts he made in the course of translating Morrison's *Memoir* and Milne's *Retrospect*. At the invitation of the Research Centre he visited Beijing in December 2006 and amid bitterly cold he coached the Centre's young translators patiently everyday. He made another trip to Beijing in July 2007 and edited their work during the summer heat. Though he was not able to follow through with the editing work, his support and guidance was indispensable to the completion of two high standard translations. In this sense, the *Selected Works of Robert Morrison* is an outcome of the hard work of two generations of scholars. Again, we would like to express our whole-hearted thanks to the sincerity, enthusiasm and hard work of Professor Su towards the compilation of this series.

Translating *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* and *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* required expertise in the fields of theology, history and translation. Mistakes are inevitable despite the enthusiasm of our young translators. The *Book of Songs* (诗经) said that "the process of learning is a process of thinking, communicating, correcting and improving". Sincerely we ask our readers to forgive us for the mistakes made and at the same time let us have your comments for the sake of future improvements.

To re-construct Chinese scholarship is a difficult and lengthy process. It does not require a bustling and grand façade, or the attention and exaggeration of the media or of government officials using scholarship to "prettify" their contributions. It requires an honest attitude, hard work not reflected by fame, and the work of generations of people who contribute incessantly their best efforts. Our work may not be perfect, but we are not discouraged, since scholarship is for all and keeps improving through continuous discussion and dialogue. On the occasion of the publication of the *Selected Works of Robert Morrison*, we would like to thank those who have worked hard towards its completion. We would also like to thank Beijing Foreign Studies University, the University of Hong Kong and the Macao Foundation for their support. Finally, we are grateful to the continuous efforts made over the past years by the Research Centre of Overseas Sinology of the Beijing Foreign Studies University in publishing the series.

Zhang Xiping
Anthony Ferguson
Wu Zhiliang
30 August 2007

序

200 年前的 1807 年 9 月 4 日傍晚,马礼逊(Robert Morrison,1782-1834)自澳门南湾登陆中国时,是一名初出道的英国青年传教士。尽管他明知将会面临许多困难与挫折,但对于自己承担在华传播基督新教福音的任务满怀着信心与期待。在此后长逾 1/4 世纪的岁月中,马礼逊不得不为英国东印度公司广州商馆工作,以求合乎在华居留的英国法律条件,并于业余在中国政府禁止传教与天主教葡澳当局嫉视的不利情况下致力传教。直到 1834 年辞世为止,他一共只得四名中国信徒,其中也只有在受洗后还协助传教的工作,马礼逊有生之年传教的直接收获确实非常有限。

但是,马礼逊同时也积极扮演著中西文化交流的双向媒介角色。在他孜孜不倦的笔耕和言传之下,基督新教文化和一些近代知识从此进入并丰富了中国的文化,而他也汲汲于将中国语文、社会传统与现状介绍给西方。他来华后翻译、撰述、编辑、出版的 15 种中文与 24 种英文图书期刊,包含圣经、字典在内,都足以说明他从事中西文化交流的努力与贡献,至于他随时随地向人解说介绍与刊登在报章杂志的文章与报道为数更多;加上他捐资建立英华书院,开创华人接受近代普通教育之举,又先后在澳门开班教道东印度公司职员中国语文,及在伦敦设立语言传习所(The Language Institution)招生学习中国语文等等,马礼逊增进中西文化交流的事功显得多彩多姿。

马礼逊来华并非特殊偶然的个人举动,而是 18、19 世纪之交欧美新教国家福音主义(evangelicalism)运动蓬勃发展的结果之一。这项运动既强调个别基督徒信仰上的新生(new birth)经历,还期望经由传教和人分享自己得救的喜悦并使人也能得救。传教的对象包含他们国内的同胞与海外的异教徒,于是从当时新教国家中国力财富首屈一指的英国开始,由其基督徒公众志愿性的组织并支持大规模的传教会,派遣马礼逊来华的伦敦传教会(London Missionary Society)就是如此诞生的团体之一。英国的海外异教徒传教事业,很快地带动其他新教国家基督徒的同样作为,从而掀起了 19 世纪初以来遍及中国在内全球各地的传教

热潮。

欧美基督新教的海外传教活动无可避免地面临基督教化与西化的先后顺序,以及基督教福音与帝国主义纠葛难分的难题。19与20世纪的西方传教界为这些问题争辩不休的时候,总是自以为是地认为各地异教徒都在黑暗中迫切地等待福音的光临,却很少或根本没有考虑到尊重传教对象的意愿和感受。结果在福音与民主、科学文明俱来,传教士与官员、鸦片商人齐至的情况下,传教活动在各国造成利害兼具的后果,甚至道致弊大于利的长期伤痛。

作为传教对象之一的中国,也未能免于上述的发展与结果。尽管在马礼逊生前,中国与西方国家的关系仍沿袭传统的天朝体制,他也只能在既有的现实框架中从事传教与文化交流活动,但他过世仅仅数年后,中西关系迅速濒临正面冲突与解体重组的局面,后继的传教士源源不绝接踵而来,在数十年间已遍及中国各地,而新教福音也牵扯结合了其他西方文化、教育、政治、经济与武力等等因素,对近代中国社会产生巨大而深远的作用。

不论中国人对这些作用及后果的感受和看法如何,对于这样一位引介基督新教来华的传教士,开启了200年来中西文化交流的活动,并在近代中外关系史上扮演著积极的角色也发挥直接间接影响力的人物,我们应该有所了解与研究。事实上以往专门讨论或部分涉及马礼逊的著述为数颇多,其中固然不乏平实之作,却也常见立场态度或史料依据都有问题的论著。

第一是态度的问题。历史研究在秉持客观立场,探求事实真相并分析解释其前因后果与意义,对马礼逊这样的历史人物自不应例外。遗憾的是有些论述带著固化的意识型态或激烈的民族主义观点,挾伐马礼逊为东印度公司的商业利益服务,有失传教士身份,还成为西方殖民主义或帝国主义的帮手;另有些论述则本于信仰护教立场或浓厚崇洋心态,将马礼逊描绘成完美无缺的上帝使者,为拯救中国人而来却受尽中国人的无知、偏见与屈辱。这两种态度都有所偏颇。前者未考察马礼逊为遵守英国法律不得不进入公司工作,否则根本无法居留在华,又如何传教?从他在公司业余仍尽力讲道传教、翻译圣经、编纂字典等,可见他没有忘却来华初衷,则他的委屈与辛勤岂不更令人同情与钦佩?后者则不免暴露19世纪西方传教界与基督徒公众的一厢情愿,不曾尊重中国人是否自认为身陷罪恶之渊而有待拯救。

第二是史料的问题。无史料即无历史研究,关于马礼逊的史料以英文为主,其中又以马礼逊个人书信与伦敦传教会档案,以及他的各种译著出版品为最重要的基本史料,再辅以当年涉及他的各种书刊、后人利用基本史料完成的研究成果,则大致可观。难题是基本史料中的书信档案都收藏在英国为主的资料保存

机构,而且都是手稿,利用阅读相当不便;而马礼逊的译著或当年相关的出版品至今也已年代久远,即使不致如档案般难得一见,而蒐集利用仍相当不易。由于这些缘故,以往关于马礼逊的论述,大多数不曾参考基本史料,甚至也不重视次级史料的甄别优劣、考订真伪,只会利用容易到手却已辗转失实的资料,重加编写后附上论述者的臆见,以为即是新作。如此轻率下笔,固然便宜行事,但内容观点或者陈腔滥调,或者谬误偏差,都无补于学术。

上述研究态度和史料两个问题还会交互作用、恶性循环。态度不客观的人既已预设立场,自然轻视史料价值的等差,只管取用能支持自己臧否褒贬马礼逊或其他传教士的材料;而不讲究史料真实可靠的人,叙述的史实已大有疑问,当然也难有创新而中肯的见解。这应该就是导致关于马礼逊研究的水准至今仍有待大幅提升的主要原因。

令人欣慰的是这些情形看来已有逐渐改善的趋势。至少在史料方面,由于伦敦传教会的档案已经拍摄成缩微胶片并公开出版,马礼逊的译著或当年相关的出版品有的以缩微胶片出版,有的则以数位资料形式流通,利用阅读的困难已大为减轻。近年来,北京外国语大学海外汉学研究中心在张西平教授主持下,从天主教在华的研究扩大到基督新教传教史,并积极建构基础性的史料,除了已购藏伦敦传教会的部分档案,如今又邀集香港大学图书馆与澳门基金会共同合作,出版《马礼逊文集》巨编,内容包括影印马礼逊编撰的《华英字典》(*A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in Three Parts.*)、《通用汉言之法 英吉利文话之凡例》(*A Grammar of the Chinese Language A Grammar of the English Language*)、其遗孀编辑的《马礼逊回忆录》(*Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison*)英文原书,并将《马礼逊回忆录》与第二位来华传教士米怜(William Milne)所撰《新教在华传教前十年回顾》(*A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*)翻译成中文,再加上关于马礼逊的中英文研究论著目录等,都是马礼逊研究非常重要的史料和目录检索工具,极便于学者取资利用。

这项编印计划是教研机构、资料单位和赞助团体三方面密切合作有成的实例,也是马礼逊、中国基督新教、中西文化交流甚至中国近代史等研究领域的盛事,本编的出版可望有助于这些领域研究水准的提升,也是纪念马礼逊与基督新教来华 200 周年非常有意义的献礼!

苏精

2007 年 4 月 8 日写于台北

沙培培 译

序

(Prologue)

Two hundred years ago, at the dusk of September 4th 1807, Robert Morrison landed on China at Nan Van, Macao as a young new British missionary. Despite his awareness of the difficulties and frustrations he would confront with, he was confident and expectant of his task of teaching Christian Gospel in China. During the following over one quarter century, he had have to work for the West India Company in Canton in order to remain his legal residence in China according to the British law, and carried on his missionary work under the forbiddance of Chinese government and the hostility of the Macao Catholic Church. Till he passed away in 1834, there were only four Chinese believers converted by him, among whom only one had been assisting Dr. Morrison's mission after baptism. Dr. Morrison's direct achievement in Christian missionary work was therefore very limited.

However, Dr. Morrison played an interactive role in sino-western communication in culture. With his persevering work of writing and preaching, Christian culture and some modern knowledge started to enter and to richen Chinese culture. Meanwhile, Dr. Morrison was also eager to introduce Chinese language, social traditions and actualities to the West. The 15 Chinese and 24 English books and journals he translated, wrote and published after he came to China, including Bible and dictionaries, are firm proofs of his endeavour and contribution in sino-western communication in culture; and there are even more of his occasional reports and articles on newspapers and magazines. In addition, he started the modern public education of Chinese people by donating to found the Anglo-Chinese College. He also started a Chinese language class for the employees of the West India Company in Macao, and later on, he founded The Language Institute in London to teach Chinese language. All above work he did made his contributions to the sino-west cultural communication varied and interesting.

Dr. Morrison's coming to China was not an occasional event or an personal action, but was resulted from the flourish development of the Evangelicalism Movement in Europe and the United States at the cross of the 18th and the 19th Century. The movement especially emphasized on the new birth of the faith of Christians, and expected to share one's joy of being saved with others and make others to be saved via evangelism. The objects of evangelism included their fellows in their own countries and the overseas gentiles. Therefore, starting from Britain, who was the richest and the most powerful Protestant country in the world, many evangelist societies were organized and supported voluntarily by British Christians, and Dr. Morrison was sent to China by one of them, the London Missionary Society, which was just founded during this movement.