

《朱子全书》 及其传承

傅惠生 著 潘文国 注释 英译 Complete Works of Zhu Xi and Its Inheritance

> Written by Fu Huisheng Annotated & Translated by Pan Wenguo



《朱子全书》及其传承

傅惠生 著 潘文国 注释 英译 Complete Works of Zhu Xi and Its Inheritance

> Written by Fu Huisheng Annotated & Translated by Pan Wenguo

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

《朱子全书》及其传承/傅惠生著;潘文国注释、英译. 一上海:上海外语教育出版社,2017 (汉英对照近世经典与传统文化系列) ISBN 978-7-5446-4744-1

I. ①朱··· Ⅱ. ①傅··· ②潘··· Ⅲ. ①英语─汉语─对照读物 ②朱熹(1130-1200) —全集 Ⅳ. ①H319.4: B

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2017)第064444号

出版发行:上海外语教育出版社

(上海外国语大学内) 邮编: 200083

电 话: 021-65425300 (总机) 电子邮箱: bookinfo@sflep.com.cn

网 址: http://www.sflep.com.cn http://www.sflep.com

责任编辑: 梁瀚杰

印 刷: 上海华业装璜印刷厂有限公司

开 本: 700×1000 1/16 印张 25.25 字数 391千字

版 次: 2017年12月第1版 2017年12月第1次印刷

卸 数: 1100 册

书 号: ISBN 978-7-5446-4744-1 / B • 0037

定 价: 75.00 元

本版图书如有印装质量问题,可向本社调换

历经多年,在诸位作者与译者的共同努力下,《汉英对照近世经典与传统文化系列》终于就要问世了。这里所谓的"近世"(pre-modern)有特定的含义,指后于"古代"(ancient)而早于"近代"(modern)的一个历史时期。这一时期我们认为肇始于宋代。

宋代是中国历史上一个非常重要的时代,从某种意义上、甚至 可以以之为界, 将中国历史分为前后两段, 它是古典中国的结束和近 世中国的开端。宋代以前的中国是贵族化的,能够进入历史而为我们 所知的人物, 再落魄潦倒的也有个不错的门第或家世, 如陶渊明或杜 甫: 而在宋代, 真正的平民或低层出身的人物也可能进入统治阶层, 比如两宋都有不少平民出身的宰相或大学者。其原因在于从隋唐开始 的科举考试制度到宋代得到了更充分的实施。直正成为洗拔人才的摇 篮,"朝为田舍郎,暮登天子堂"不再是空想,从而实现了社会阶层 的上下对流。同时朝廷采取重文偃武的政策, 鼓励和推动文化事业的 发展,从而使宋代成为中国乃至世界历史上最富裕和经济最繁荣的朝 代。张择端《清明上河图》、柳永《望海潮》所描写的,以及孟元老 《东京梦华录》、周密《武林旧事》所记载的开封和杭州市民经济的 景况,都是宋以前未尝有讨的。这使我们直观上感觉到宋和唐属于两 个时代,宋和我们相距得更近一些。享誉世界的中国"四大发明"除 造纸外, 有三项是在宋代完成的, 其后相继传到了西方, 推动了西方 的近代化。

文化上,宋代更是一个继往开来的伟大时代。"继往",是对古典时期文化的全面总结和继承; "开来",是宋代文化的成果影响了其后700多年的中国乃至东亚,直至今天。人们可能没有意识到,我们今天所津津乐道的"中国传统",在绝大多数情况下是宋代以后开创的,或者是打着古代的旗号却是经过宋代人阐释的,而不是我们想象中的来自汉唐乃至先秦。比方说,"五四"时期"反封建",高喊的是"打倒孔家店"的口号,其实严格地说,应该是"打倒朱家店",因为他们的批判锋芒所向其实是程朱理学,并不是真正意义上

的"孔""孟"之道。而20世纪30年代迄今海内外很多人鼓吹的"儒学复兴",实质上很多只是"理学复兴"。朱熹通过"述而不作"的方法,巧妙地把先秦儒学改造成了朱学,由于宋末以后特别是从明代开始,朱学成了科举考试的唯一标准,影响所及,使后人的继承和批判都失去了准头。从这个例子就可以看到宋代对后世的影响。朱熹的这种"借鸡生蛋""以述代作"的治学方法可说是"宋学"的特色。儒学上如此,其他领域也是如此。例如史学上有"两司马"之说,汉代司马迁开创了纪传体史学的传统,奠定了"二十五史"的基础;而宋代的司马光另辟蹊径,遥承上古《春秋》的编年体史学传统,编出《资治通鉴》这一部旷古大书,既是对《史记》以降"十七史"的继承与改造,又开了其后史学研究的无数法门,例如"记事本末体""纲目体"等。而南宋郑樵又别开生面,以毕生心血完成《通志》,弥补了《资治通鉴》在继承《史记》《汉书》"志"上的不足。这两套书成为了宋以后与正史并行的史学传统,影响了直到今天的历史研究。

从以上例子可见,不研究宋代,不研究宋代的文化成就,就无法真正地了解中国、了解中国的传统。然而多年以来,在中国文化的对外译介中,几乎把重点都放在先秦。四书五经、诸子百家甚至有了多种译本,而宋代及其后的著作,除词曲小说外,真正有影响的文化巨著,却乏人译介。我们译《孔子》《孟子》,却不知道束缚中国人几百年的"封建道德"并不来自孔孟而是理学;我们译《老子》《庄子》,而不知真正影响宋以后知识分子的精神世界已不是纯粹的老子、庄子,而是经过南北朝玄学和唐代佛学洗礼而融合形成的宋代禅学。鉴于此,多年前我们就想推出一套介绍宋以后中国文化典籍的书,以引起海内外对"近世"中国文献的关注。本系列就是第一步尝试

宋代的承前启后之功集中体现在几部大书里。宋初的《太平御览》《册府元龟》《太平广记》《文苑英华》四大类书,其中三部都达1000卷之巨,是宋代文化的重要标志。《开宝藏》奠定了《大藏经》的基础。《广韵》《集韵》《大广益会玉篇》《类篇》在语言文字史上开拓了新局面。《资治通鉴》开创了新史学,郑樵的《通志》为《十通》的形成起了重要的承启作用。洪迈的《容斋随笔》、沈括

的《梦溪笔谈》和王应麟的《困学记闻》开了近世学术之先河。《朱子全书》虽然近年才编成,但其内容作为散行本早在宋末就已流行,其中的《四书集注》《近思录》《朱子语类》更是宋后至清末七百年间理学的教科书。而由朱学我们又联想到明代后影响极大的王阳明心学。因此我们决定以介绍大书及其发展流变的方式,系统介绍近世几部经典著作及其对中国文化的影响。这一辑我们选了六部书,分别是《朱子全书》《传习录》《资治通鉴》《文苑英华》《太平广记》和《大藏经》,并竭诚邀请相关领域的专家以"大家写小书"的通俗方式各写成几万字的简要专著,再请有中文背景的英语专家译成英文。这六本书的著者和译者分别是·

《〈朱子全书〉及其传承》 傅惠生著 潘文国译 《走向良知——〈传习录〉与阳明心学》 杨国荣著 垄海燕译 《〈资治通鉴〉与中国史学》 庄辉明著 张春柏译 《〈文苑英华〉与近世诗文思潮》 陈引驰著 张德劭译 《〈太平广记〉与通俗文学》 陈大康著 傅惠生译 《汉语佛藏及其文化关怀》 李向平著 傅惠生译

著译者名单中有多位响彻国内外学界的名字。如杨国荣教授是教育部长江学者、华东师大人文社会科学学院院长,庄辉明教授是华东师范大学原党委副书记、副校长、孟宪承书院院长,陈引驰教授是复旦大学中文系主任、教育部"新世纪优秀人才",陈大康教授是华东师大原中文系主任、图书馆馆长、国务院学位委员会学科评议组成员,李向平教授是华东师范大学社会学系主任、上海市宗教学会副会长,张春柏教授是华东师范大学外语学院前院长、教育部外语教学指导委员会委员、上海外文协会副会长,傅惠生教授是华东师大对外汉语系主任、中国英汉语比较研究会常务理事,等等。这些学者的加盟为本丛书的完成提供了质量保证。在此我谨向诸位作者、译者表示衷心的感谢!

本书的计划其实十多年以前就已开始,许多作者也早已提交了他们的著稿,但主要由于我的责任,加上翻译的不易,拖宕至今。这些年来,在诸位著译者,特别是傅惠生教授锲而不舍的努力下,全书终于告就。傅教授一人承担了一部书的写作和两部书的翻译,还帮我审

读了大部译稿,是书之成,厥功至伟。

最后我要向多年来致力于推动我国外语教育事业,近年来又特别重视中国文化对外传播并作出重要贡献的上海外语教育出版社及庄智象社长表示敬意,感谢他们愿意出版这么一套目前看来还有点"冷门"的汉英对照系列丛书。

潘文国 2016年6月28日于上海

FOREWORD

Through years of efforts of the authors and translators, the Chinese-English Series of Pre-modern Chinese Classics and Traditional Culture has finally come under publication. The word *pre-modern* here refers to a specific period in Chinese history between *ancient* and *modern*, starting, as I propose, from the Song dynasty.

The Song dynasty is a very important period in China which, in a sense, marks the end of the classical China and the beginning of the pre-modern China. Before the Song dynasty, China had always been a society of aristocrats when all important persons known to us, even the humblest ones like Tao Yuanming or Du Fu, had an aristocratic or noble background, whereas from the Song dynasty on, common people from grassroots might have a chance to enter the elitist gentry; in fact, certain people from poor families had even become prime ministers or esteemed scholars in the Song dynasty. The reason is that the imperial examination system which was founded in the Sui and Tang dynasties was brought into full play in the Song dynasty and yielded its best effect. "A muddy-footed farmer in the morning, an official in the emperor's court in the evening" became a realizable dream and the social strata became a convective and lively one. At the same time, thanks to the imperial policy which lay more emphasis on culture than on army, education and cultural undertakings were highly encouraged, which made the Song dynasty the most wealthy and prosperous period in the history of China or even in the world. What was described in the famous genre painting of A Clear Bright Day on the River by Zhang Zeduan and the famous tune-poem Watching the Sea Tide by Liu Yong, or recorded in the memoirs of The Prosperous Days in Kaifeng by Meng Yuanlao and The Past Memories of Hangzhou by Zhou Mi reflected the thriving and vigorous civil life never found in earlier dynasties, and gave us a direct impression that the Song and the Tang belong to two different epochs with the Song much closer to us. The much talkedabout "four great inventions of China", with the exception of *paper*, were achieved in the Song dynasty and introduced to the West, leading to the great Renaissance in Europe.

Culturally speaking, the Song dynasty is an epoch of historic importance which creates the future by inheriting the past. This is a time when all the past cultural achievements were inherited and summarized; it is also a time when people made cultural achievements to influence the coming times till today in China as well as in East Asia. It might not be everybody's knowledge that the "traditional China" or "Chinese tradition" we talk about proudly today was not that of Han, Tang or pre-Qin as we imagine or believe, but was actually created from the Song dynasty, or reshaped by the Song people in the name of earlier periods. For instance, in the May Fourth Movement in 1919, people raised the banner of "Down with the Kong stash (Confucian doctrines)", but their criticism should actually be targeted at the "Zhu stash", as what they repudiated was not the doctrines of Kong Zi or Meng Zi, but the doctrine of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, only disguised as the former. And the Confucianism or neo-Confucianism many people have been advocating since the 1930s till today is actually a resurgence of Song-Ming Principlism. Using the method of "elaboration instead of creation", Zhu Xi successfully transformed Kong ideology into Zhu ideology, which later became the dominant ideology especially since the Ming dynasty as it was adopted as the only authorized standard for imperial examinations. The methodology of Zhu Xi is a typical example of Song scholars, which was adopted by other people in other fields as well. Everyone is familiar with the stories of "two Sima's". The former refers to Sima Qian of the Han dynasty who created the chronological-biographical style in writing history, thus laying the foundation of the 25 orthodox histories in China, whereas the latter refers to Sima Guang of the Song dynasty who, by continuing the tradition of Spring-Autumn Annals of the ancient time, revived the annalistic style in history writing, thus not only successfully inheriting the achievement of the past 17 Histories, but also opening a broader way for later history writing such as the event-focused style and the outline-focused style. Zheng Qiao

of the Southern Song dynasty found another new path by emphasizing the memorandum part of *Historical Records* and *History of the Han Dynasty* and spent his whole life finishing the book *Comprehensive Study of Memorandums*, a vital complement to Sima Guang's book which merely reorganized the biography part of *Histories*. The two books formed another tradition in historical studies, working side by side with the orthodox 25 *Histories* and impacting the historical study till today.

From above examples we conclude that one cannot really understand China and Chinese tradition without studying the Song dynasty and its cultural contribution. However, for a very long time in our translation and introduction of Chinese culture to the world, we lay too much emphasis on the pre-Qin part and neglect the Song dynasty. The pre-Qin classics and philosophical works have had more than scores of translations while important books since the Song dynasty, save poetry, plays and novels, have drawn little attention and translation. We translated Confucian Analects and Mencius, but did not know that the "feudal ideology" which had restrained the Chinese nation for centuries did not come directly from them but from the Song-Ming Principlism; we translated Laozi and Zhuangzi but did not know that what influenced the thoughts of intellectuals after the Song dynasty was already an amalgam that merged Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, with the Chan Buddhism playing a very important role. Realizing this, we planned to do something to fill in the blank so as to draw attention from home and abroad to the introduction of the pre-modern cultural literature, of which the present series is the initial step.

The role of the Song dynasty as a linkage between the ancient and the modern can be seen principally in the several "great" books or anthologies. In the early Northern Song period there already appeared the "four great works" of Taiping Imperial Encyclopedia, Referential Records from Imperial Archives, Taiping Miscellany and Choice Blossoms of Literature, three out of the four containing 1,000 volumes. These were doubtlessly the representative establishments of the Song culture. The Kaibao Tripitaka laid the foundation for the Buddhist pitaka compilation. The Enlarged Rhyming Dictionary, the Collected Rhyming Dictionary, the Enlarged Sinographic Dictionary and the

Classified Sinographic Dictionary marked new achievements in dictionary compilation. The History as a Mirror for Governance opened up a new path for historiography. The Comprehensive Study of Memorandums served as an important continuation in the formation of the ten Comprehensives. Hong Mai's Miscellaneous Notes from the Tolerance Study, Shen Kuo's Pen Talk in the Dreamed Creek Garden and Wang Yinglin's Record of Observances from Arduous Studies marked the beginning of pre-modern academic research. Although the Complete Works of Zhu Xi was compiled just recently, most of the works contained therein were already popular in the late Song dynasty. Among them, the Collected Annotations to the Four Books, the Close Reflections, and the Classified Analects of Zhu Xi even became the most important textbooks of Principlism during the 700 years from the late Song dynasty to the beginning of the 20th century. And from Zhu Xi one would naturally relate to Wang Yangming whose Mindology had played no less important role since the mid-Ming dynasty. Thus we decided to introduce the pre-modern classics and their influence to Chinese culture by way of introducing some "great books" and their developments. In the present series we have chosen six books. They are respectively, the Complete Works of Zhu Xi, the Records of Instructions and Reviews, the History as a Mirror for Governance, the Choice Blossoms of Literature, the Taiping Miscellany, and the Buddhist Tripitaka. And we invited established experts in relevant areas to write concise, introductory books in the manner of "big heads preparing small pamphlets", before asking English experts with Chinese study background to translate them into English. Specifically, the authors and translators of the six books are:

Complete Works of Zhu Xi and Its Inheritance, written by Fu Huisheng, annotated & translated by Pan Wenguo

To Attain Innate Knowledge — Records of the Instructions and Reviews and Yangming's Mindology, written by Yang Guorong, translated by Gong Haiyan

History as a Mirror for Governance and Chinese Historiography, written by Zhuang Huiming, translated by Zhang Chunbai

Choice Blossoms of Literature and the Trends of Pre-modern Poetry and Prose, written by Chen Yinchi, translated by Zhang Deshao

The Taiping Miscellany and Chinese Popular Literature, written by Chen Dakang, translated by Fu Huisheng

The Buddhist Triptaka in Chinese and Its Cultural Concern, written by Li Xiangping, translated by Fu Huisheng

You may find in the list not a few names very familiar to the academic circles. For example, Professor Yang Guorong is the Changjiang Scholar of the State Ministry of Education and dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences of East China Normal University (ECNU), Professor Zhuang Huiming is the ex-vice-president of ECNU and dean of Meng Xiancheng Academy, Professor Chen Yinchi is head of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature of Fudan University and "Talent of the New Century" assigned by the State Ministry of Education, Professor Chen Dakang is the former head of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, former head of the ECNU Library as well as member of the Discipline Appraisal Group of the Degree Committee of the State Council, Professor Li Xiangping is head of the Department of Sociology of ECNU and vice-chairman of Shanghai Society for Religious Studies, Professor Zhang Chunbai is the former dean of the College of Foreign Languages Studies of ECNU and member of the Guidance Committee for Teaching Foreign Languages of the State Ministry of Education, as well as the vice chairman of the Shanghai Society of Foreign Languages, Professor Fu Huisheng is head of the Department of International Chinese Studies of ECNU and standing council member of China Association for Comparative Studies between English and Chinese, so on and so forth. Their participation is an important guarantee of the success of the present series. Here I would like to express my personal gratitude to these eminent scholars!

The plan for this series actually started a dozen of years ago and many authors handed their manuscripts rather early. It's mainly my delay and the difficulty in translation that had kept the process so long. Now, with the efforts of all the authors and translators, this series is finally under publication. Special thanks must go to Professor Fu Huisheng who personally took up the writing of one book and the translation of another two books. Besides, he has helped me to read over most of the manuscripts of translations. Without his persistence the series would not be successful.

Finally I would like to extend my thanks to Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press and its president and editor-in-chief, Professor Zhuang Zhixiang, who has been unswervingly in support of the country's foreign languages teaching cause, and who, in recent years, has shown special concern for promoting the traditional Chinese culture to the world. Without their support, this seemingly unpopular title would not have an opportunity to go to the public.

Pan Wenguo Shanghai June 28, 2016

《朱子全书》及其传承

第一章 《朱子全书》简介 1 第一节 《晦庵先生朱文公文集》 1 第二节 《朱子语类》 6 第三节 《朱子全书》 11 第二章 朱熹的主要性格特点 24 第一节 有志做圣人 24 第二节 当官做实事 29 第三节 勤勉道问学 37

第三章 朱熹哲学思想的主体特征 45

第一节 理气妙合 45 第二节 心统性情 60 第三节 知行和诚敬 70

第四章 宋代理学的集大成者 79

第一节 与程颐的"心传" 80 第二节 朱熹的集大成理学体系 85 第三节 交流中的理学发展与辩护 100

第五章 《朱子全书》的传承 113

第一节 宋元明朱熹理学传承与统治地位的确立 113 第二节 清代前期朱学地位的巩固 121 第三节 明清"朱喜晚年心学倾向论证"疑案 129

附 录 143

- 一 朱熹研究书目及英译 143
- 二 朱熹研究术语及英译 148

CONTENTS

Chapter One A Brief Introduction to *The Complete Works of Zhu Xi* 155

- 1. The Collected Works of Zhu Xi 155
- 2. The Classified Analects of Zhu Xi 162
- 3. The Complete Works of Zhu Xi 169

Chapter Two Zhu Xi's Personal Character 190

- 1. Aspiration for Being a Sage 190
- 2. A Practical Imperial Official 198
- 3. A Diligent Pursuer of Learning 211

Chapter Three Subjective Characteristics of Zhu Xi's Philosophy 222

- 1. The Combination of Principle and Material Force 222
- 2. Governance of Mind over Nature and Emotion 248
- 3. Knowing/Doing & Sincerity/Reverence 266

Chapter Four Synthesizer of the Song Dynasty Principlism 281

- 1. Communication with Cheng Yi through Minds 282
- 2. The Synthesized Principlist System of Zhu Xi 290
- 3. Development and Defense of Principlism through Correspondence 312

Chapter Five Inheritance of *The Complete Works of Zhu Xi* 333

- The Inheritance of Zhu Xi's Principlism in the Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties and the Establishment of Its Dominance 333
- The Consolidation of the Status of Zhu Xi's Doctrine in the Early Qing Dynasty 346
- The Disputed Case of "Zhu Xi's Tendency towards the Mindology at His Last Years" 358

Appendices 379

- I. Bibliography 379
- II. Glossary 384

《朱子全书》简介

朱熹^①的大名家喻户晓,但作为哲学家,他的书却并非人人能读懂。今天我们了解和学习儒家传统文化,朱熹是一个绕不过去的伟大的里程碑。因此,如何拉近我们和朱熹之间的距离,比较整体地把握朱熹理学的基本内容及其传承脉络,是这本小书试图完成的写作任务。

朱熹一生的著作以及与他人合作的著作比较多,只有对这些有一个大致的了解,我们才能懂得他为什么是一个理学的集大成者,并在儒学历史上有着重要的地位。《朱子全书》2002年第一版(2010年修订本)为我们深入研究和了解作为儒学大家的朱熹及其理学思想提供了实在的文字材料。这套书内容丰富,文字信息量大,共有27卷之多,同时还有4卷外编。它是800多年来的各种朱熹著作出版累积形成的结果。这里仅从《晦庵先生朱文公文集》《朱子语类》和《朱子全书》三个角度,简述《朱子全书》的大致形成过程和内容,以便我们对于朱熹一生的活动,以及他的思想和著作及其传承有一个基本资料性的认识,大致了解这些文字是如何编辑出版和传承的,也为我们的认识和研究奠定一定的基础。

第一节 《 晦庵先生朱文公文集 》

《晦庵先生朱文公文集》(以下简称《朱文公文集》)在朱熹生前就已经出版,名称在历史上不断有变化,具体内容数量在出版过程中也不断有所变化。《朱文公文集》是我们了解朱熹思想的资料库,是一部百科全书,里面的基本内容都是朱熹自己亲手写作的。

① 朱熹(1130年9月15日—1200年4月23日),小名沈郎,小字季延,字元晦,一字仲晦,号晦庵,晚称晦翁,又称紫阳先生、考亭先生、沧州病叟、云谷老人、逆翁。谥文,又称朱文公,世称朱子。