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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，外研社人文社科出版分社推出“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。

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## 序

李济先生曾于1957年在华盛顿大学出版社出版了 *The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization* 一书，在海内外引起广泛的反响，十余年内共印了五版。外研社全新推出的这本《中国文明的开始》（英汉对照）在该书的基础上，增选了几篇相关主题的重要文章，其中既有关于考古学、人类学研究的发现，也有对学术范式、人才培养的思考，旨在从不同角度展现李济先生的主要学术思想及其发展脉络。

李济先生的著作在国内外已有数个版本流传，但此番乃是首次以英汉双语的形式呈现。对人文社科领域英汉双语著作的提倡，据我所知，最早可追溯到剑桥大学历史系的蒲立本教授。他感到要研究中国历史，需要学习并熟悉关于中国语言的知识。受他的启发，费正清等人提出了“中国的思想和制度”这一研究计划。李济于上世纪60年代初期接触到该方案时，就建议这个“时髦的计划”应当在严格的人类学基础上进行。李济建议，要更好地研究中国历史，应该采取一套他称之为“心理学+双语研读制+人类学”的方法。而能够善用这种研究方法的人无非两类：一类是“学会用中国话和中国文字去思考，必须能用中国语言客观地内省自己的思维过程，并用他同样熟悉的另一种语言把这一过程记录下来”的外国学者，另一类是“以中国话为母语……又受到完善的科学方法的训练，并且外国语也学得很好”的中国学者。由此看来，外研社人文社科分社以英汉双语形式出版李济先生的作品，可谓对其学术主张的一种很好的回应。

本书所选篇目大多曾刊载于海内外颇具影响力的学刊上。前三篇选文原为李济先生于1955年在美国华盛顿大学所作的三次演讲的手稿，介绍了震惊世界的“使殷商文化由传说变为信史”的河南安阳殷墟发掘。《考古学》（“Archaeology”）选自陈衡哲主编的《中国文化论集》（*Symposium on Chinese Culture*）。《山西南部汾河流域考古调查》（“Archaeological Survey of the Fêng River Valley, Southern Shansi, China”）原文刊载于《史密森研究院各科论文集刊》（*Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*），此次调查拉开了中国人自己主持科学考古发掘工作的序幕，具有相当的史料价值。在此需要特别提及的是，

《中国的若干人类学问题》(“Some Anthropological Problems of China”)一文首先于1922年发表在巴尔的摩的《中国留学生月刊》(*The Chinese Students Monthly*)上,并在美国科学促进协会年会上宣读;经作者修改后,于次年再度发表于《哈佛研究生杂志》(*Harvard Graduates Magazine*),在学界引起轰动,并为英国哲学家罗素所引用。鉴于此修订版已为笔者译为中文并发表于《中国现代学术经典·李济卷》上,为更完整地展现李济先生对此议题的思考,本书选用了最原初的版本,以供读者参照比较。《再论中国的若干人类学问题》(“Some Anthropological Problems of China: Reconsidered”)最初发表于1962年的《国际亚洲历史学家学会第二届双年会会议记录》(*Second Biennial Conference Proceedings, International Association of Historians of Asia*)上。《中国人的种族历史》(“Racial History of the Chinese People”)是李济先生于台北所作的一次演讲,手稿于1969年发表于《中国社社刊》(*Journal of the China Society*)。

参与本书翻译工作的多是考古学、人类学等相关领域的专家学者,他们的劳动是此双语版得以呈现的前提。已故的地质学界前辈袁复礼教授、李济先生弟子夏鼐教授、张光直教授和人类学家杨希枚教授等对译文的审校和订正工作提供了大力帮助。本书的编者和相关负责人对所有的原文和译文都进行了细致的核实与修订。在此向他们一并表示诚挚的感谢。我相信,以一丝不苟的态度来翻译、编辑和出版李济先生的作品,是对先生最好的追忆和纪念。

李光谟

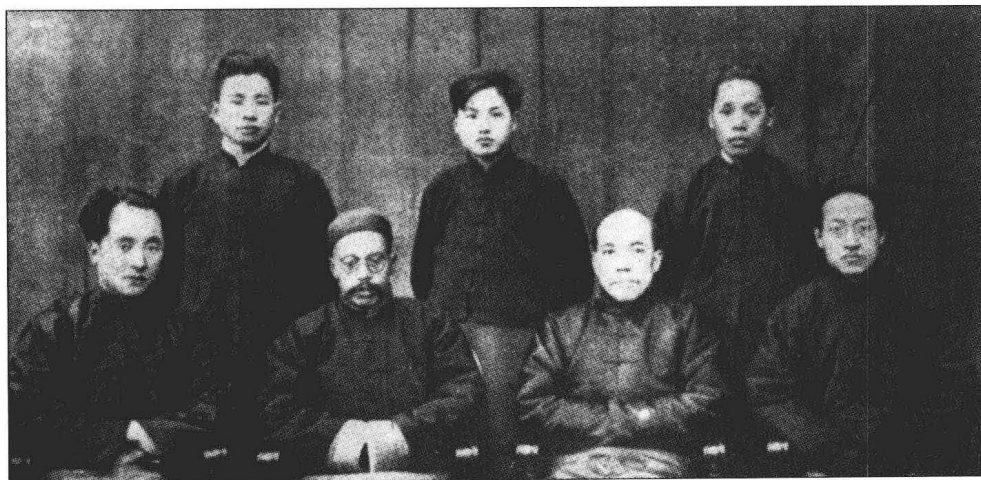
2011年2月于北京

李济留美时



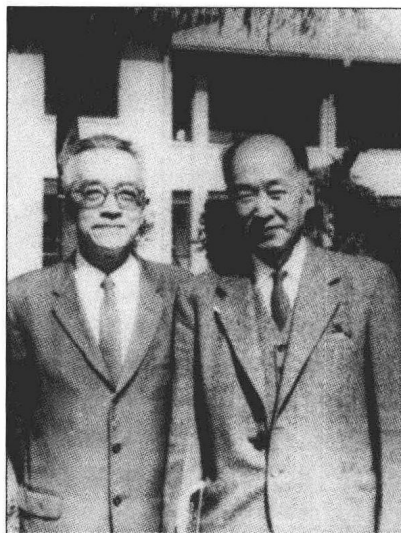
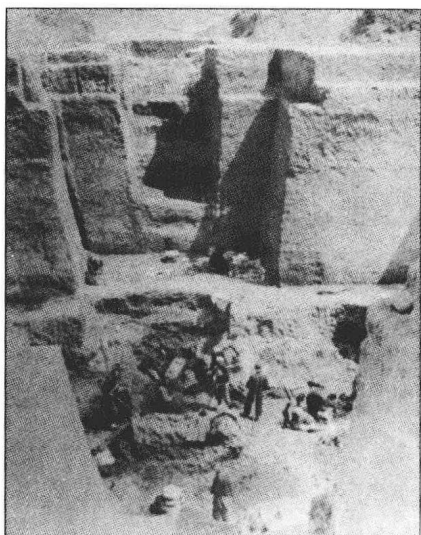
Li Chi in U.S. as a student

1924年，清华国学研究院，前坐四人左起为李济、王国维、梁启超、赵元任



Li Chi, Wang Kwo-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and Chao Yuen Ren  
(from left to right, front row) at Tsing Hua Research Institute on  
Chinese Study in 1924





1  
2 3

- 1926年，山西西阴村考古发掘现场 Archaeological excavation site of Hsi-yin Ts'un of Shansi in 1926
- 1934年，安阳侯家庄HPKM:1001号大墓开掘 Excavation of HPKM: 1001 of the Hou-chia-chuang royal cemetery in 1934
- 1957年，李济、胡适摄于南港“中央研究院”史语所楼前 With Hu Shih (left) before the building of the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica at Nankang in 1957

## PREFACE LI CHI: 1896-1979

After almost sixty years, first as the father and later as the dean of Chinese archaeology, Li Chi has left indelible contributions to the science of humankind and of history, and his thinking still dominates his discipline in China.

Born in Hupei, Li Chi grew up at home and in Peking at a time when the old country, forced by encounters with the West, was taking its initial steps on the long road to modernization. Then, as now, bright young students were sent to Western countries to learn their scientific secrets. After his graduation from the elite Tsinghua Academy, Li Chi was sent to the United States, where he studied psychology and sociology at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, and then anthropology at Harvard. According to an interview with Wilma Fairbank in 1977, Li Chi said that he went to Clark because a psychology teacher at Tsinghua, a Dr. Wolcott, had told him that Clark was the place to be for psychology. While at Clark, Li Chi developed the habit of spending every Saturday morning browsing in the open shelves of the library. There he happened upon anthropology books and was fascinated by this subject, of which he had had no previous knowledge. At Harvard, where he earned a doctorate in 1923, Li Chi studied with Hooton, Tozzer, and Dixon, and from these three mentors he learned, respectively, physical anthropology, archaeology, and ethnology, all of which he made use of, both in his doctoral dissertation (1928) and in his subsequent sixty-year career in China.

From 1923, when he returned to China, to 1928, Li Chi was the typical university professor-cum-research scholar in the American mold. He taught at Nan-k'ai University in Tientsin (1923-1925) and then at his alma mater Tsinghua Academy's new Graduate Research Institute (1925-1928). From 1925 to 1926 he undertook the excavation of a Neolithic Yang-shao culture site at Hsi-yin-ts'un in Hsia Hsien, southern Shansi, under the joint auspices of the Tsinghua Institute and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., becoming the first Chinese scholar to dig an

archaeological site.

The year 1928 was a turning point in Li Chi's life, and it was a turning point in Chinese archaeology and historiography as well. To appreciate fully the significance of events surrounding Li Chi beginning in 1928

## 前言 怀念李济（1896 ~ 1979）

近六十年的岁月里，首先作为中国考古学之父、随后又作为中国考古学掌门人的李济，为人文学和历史科学作出了不可磨灭的贡献。在中国，他的学术思想至今仍在他的研究领域占据支配地位。

李济在湖北出生，在老家和北京成长，他的少年时期正处于这个古老国家在与西方接触的压力下迈开通向现代化漫长道路的最初步伐的时候。就跟现在一样，当时一批批颇有才华的青年学生被送往西方各国去学习它们的科学奥秘。从著名的清华学校毕业后，李济被送到美国麻省伍斯特市的克拉克大学攻读心理学和社会学，接着又到哈佛去学习人类学。据李济在1977年跟费正清的夫人费慰梅女士的一次谈话中说，他之所以去克拉克大学，是因为清华的一位心理学老师华尔考博士跟他说，要学心理学，就要去克拉克。在克拉克时期，李济养成了一个习惯：每个星期六的上午他都去图书馆开架阅览室，尽情浏览各种书刊。在这种啃青草式的阅读中，他偶然地接触到自己不曾了解的人类学的书籍，立刻就被这门学问吸引住了。李济于1923年获得哈佛大学博士学位。在那里，他跟从虎藤、托策和狄克森三位老师分别学习了体质人类学、考古学和人种学；这三门学问在他的博士论文写作（1928年出版）和之后六十年的学术生涯中全都派上了用场。

从1923年回国到1928年，李济一直担任着一种典型的美国式的大学教授兼研究学者的工作。他先后在天津南开大学（1923年~1925年）和母校清华大学新成立的国学研究院任教（1925年~1928年）。1925年到1926年他负责主持了在山西南部夏县西阴村一处新石器时代仰韶文化遗址的发掘。这次发掘是由清华的国学研究院和美国华盛顿特区的弗利尔美术馆联合举办的。李济因此成为第一位挖掘考古遗址的中国学者。

1928这一年是李济一生中的转折点，也是中国考古学和历史学的转折点。为了充分认识从1928年开始李济所经历事件的重要意义，

we must go back some thirty years, to 1899, one year before the Boxers and the Allied Invasion which wrought Imperial China's ultimate humiliation in the face of the industrial and military might of the West. In that year oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang (or Yin) Dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) came to the attention of ancient historians for the first time since the dynasty's fall three thousand years previously, and during the next thirty years Shang scholars within and outside of China became fascinated by this new historiographic source material and launched extensive efforts to track down the bones floating on the antiquities market. Before long, the scholars became aware that these inscribed bones had come from Yin Hsü, the ruins of the Yin Dynasty, long known to be on the banks of the river Huan, near the modern city of An-yang, in northern Honan.

In 1928, the Nationalists succeeded in their Northern Expedition and founded a new regime in Nanking. A new national academy of sciences—*Academia Sinica*—was established, and under it there was a National Research Institute of History and Philology. The institute's director, Fu Ssu-nien, who had studied historiography and philology in Germany, decided at once on two projects, among others, for the new institute to launch—to establish a department of archaeology as a new instrument to investigate Chinese history; and to carry out an excavation at Yin Hsü as the department's first field project. For both, Fu needed a senior archaeologist trained in the Western tradition of field investigations, and Li Chi was a logical choice for both department chairman and excavation project director. From then on, Li Chi's career became inextricably linked with the An-yang excavations, which, under *Academia Sinica*, lasted for fifteen field seasons, until the middle of 1937.

It is known to only a very few people now that when Fu was looking for a suitable scholar to head the new archaeology department—thus choosing, in effect, the national leader of archaeology—he had recommended to him not one, but two strong candidates, the other being Ma Heng (1881-1955), a highly respected scholar of the traditional

antiquarian mold, later to become chairman of the Research Section of Archaeology of Peking University and director of the Palace Museum. It would be interesting to speculate what Chinese archaeology would be like now had Ma Heng been Fu's final choice, for the An-yang excavations of 1928-1937 and Li Chi's direction of them were to shape Chinese archaeology for the next half century.

需要再上溯到近三十年前的 1899 年，即义和团事件和八国联军入侵的前一年；八国联军的入侵使中华帝国在西方强大的工业实力和军事威力面前蒙受了奇耻大辱。也就是在这一年，商（或殷）代（公元前 1766 年 ~ 公元前 1122 年）<sup>\*</sup> 的甲骨文在王朝灭亡近三千年之后，首次引起了古史学者们的关注。在此后的三十年里，中国和外国研究商史的学者们都被这一新的史料来源迷住了，他们大规模地追踪古董市场上流通的这类骨片的出土源头。没过多久，这些学者就察觉到契刻甲骨来自殷墟，即长久以来为人们所知晓的位于河南北部洹水岸边、现代安阳所在地附近的殷王朝废墟。

国民党人在 1928 年取得了北伐的胜利，在南京建立了新的政府。一个新型的全国性的科学研究机构——中央研究院——成立了，研究院内设立了一个国立的历史语言研究所。所长傅斯年曾在德国学习历史学和语言学，他立即为新成立的研究所立下了两个项目：（一）成立一个考古组，作为研究中国历史的新工具；（二）发掘殷墟，作为考古组的第一个田野工作项目。为实现这两件事，傅亟需一位受过西方田野调查传统训练的有资历的考古学家；组主任和发掘项目主持人这二者的必然选择结果，都落在李济身上。从这时开始，李济的学术生涯就和安阳的发掘再也分不开了。中央研究院所领导的这一发掘工作一直持续了十五个工作季，直到 1937 年年中。

如今只有为数很少的人知道，当傅寻找一位合适的学者来领导这个新成立的考古组——这实际意味着挑选一位全国性的考古事业的领导者——时，受到推荐的不是一位、而是两位有力的候选人。这另一位是马衡（1881 年 ~ 1955 年）。马是一位备受尊敬的传统古文物研究学者，后来是北京大学考古研究室主任和故宫博物院的院长。不妨设想一下：如果马衡当年成了傅最后选中的人，中国的考古学现在会是一个什么样子？因为 1928 年至 1937 年的安阳发掘和李济对安阳发掘的领导，对下半个世纪的中国考古学的发展起了决定性的影响。

First of all, the An-yang excavations established the status of the Shang civilization at the head of the ancient history of China as the first civilization in the whole eastern half of Asia with written documents. Shang is the linchpin that ties together the vast recorded history of China with the increasing body of information about prehistoric China. But our knowledge of the Shang has to a great extent been shaped by Li Chi. He organized the search at An-yang for archaeological sites. He applied Western archaeological methods and concepts. He recruited colleagues and students and trained them in these methods and concepts at An-yang. Among these younger scholars were all the leading archaeologists active in China in the last thirty years, including Hsia Nai, director of the Institute of Archaeology, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Kao Ch'ü-hsun, until summer 1981 director of the Institute of History and Philology in Taiwan. Li Chi also set both the tone and the priorities of the study of the An-yang finds, and his methodology—above all ceramic and bronze vessel nomenclature and typology—still dominates the whole field of archaeology in China. In his own research he set a high standard of scientific excellence, which his successors struggle to measure up to in their own works. He was also both a patriot, jealously guarding China's cultural treasures against foreign pilferage, and an internationalist eager to adopt the best techniques and ideas the West had to offer and to view and conceptualize about China in the world setting. Many of his successors have succeeded in being one or the other, but few have equaled his tenacity and vision to be both.

The Sino-Japanese War that broke out in July 1937 virtually put an end to further archaeological fieldwork of significance being carried out by Li Chi's department, and after 1949 he went to Taiwan. From 1937 until his death in 1979, Li Chi spent much of his time dealing with the care, transportation, study, and publication of the An-yang material excavated during the 1928-1937 interval. Although the war-caused instability of institute life and the deaths and departures of many of the An-yang



archaeologists had adversely affected Li Chi's plans for the Shang treasure, by the time of his death he had seen the publication of the bulk of the material, which he summarized in his last book *Anyang* (1977). The whole report is not out, but the adverse factors were beyond Li Chi's control, and he did everything he could have done, for which we are truly grateful. I have a strong feeling that the reason Li Chi declined repeated offers of

首先，安阳的发掘确立了商文明在中国古代史上为首的地位，它是整个东亚地区第一个有文字记载的文明。商代是把浩瀚的中国史籍记载和日益增长的史前中国信息体联结起来的一个纽带。然而我们关于商代的知识很大程度上仍是由李济给我们塑造的。他组织了在安阳的考古探寻。他使用了西方的考古方法和观念。他招募了众多的同事和学生，并在安阳的实地工作中用这些方法和观念培养他们。这些年轻的学者中包括近三十年活跃在考古界的所有重要人物，包括夏鼐——中国社会科学院考古研究所的所长，包括高去寻——直至1981年夏天高一直在台湾任历史语言研究所所长。李济为安阳出土器物的研究定下总基调，并确立了研究的主次性，他的整套研究方法——尤其是陶器和青铜器的命名和类型学方法——一直还在整个中国考古学界处于支配地位。在他本人的研究工作中，他树立了一种高要求的科学标准——他的后继者们都努力在自己的工作中以之为榜样。他既是一个认真守护中国的文化珍品、防范外国盗窃者侵犯的爱国者，又是一个渴望接受西方所可能提供的最佳技术和观念、渴望在世界背景下观察和构想中国的国际主义者。他的后继者中有许多人能做到这两者中的一个方面，但几乎无人能像他那样有韧性和眼光同时做到两个方面。

1937年7月爆发的抗日战争事实上结束了李济的考古组所进行的进一步重要田野考古工作；1949年以后，李济去了台湾。李济从1937年直到1979年逝世，花去大部分时间用于保管、运送、研究和出版1928年至1937年期间安阳出土的资料。虽然因战争而造成的研究生活的不稳定，以及参加安阳工作的考古学家中有些人故去、有些人离去，给李济管理商代遗宝的计划造成不利的影响，但到他去世前，他看到在他的最后一部著作《安阳》（1977年英文版）中概述到的很大一部分资料都已经出版了。完整的报告并没有出来，但是不利的因素已非李济所能控制的了；他已经做到他力所能及的一切，对此我们表示衷心的感谢。我强烈地意识到，李济一生之所以一再拒绝美国一些

university posts in the United States, to which some of his Academia Sinica colleagues immigrated during and after the war, was primarily because he felt he had to stay in China to see the Anyang studies through.

Outside his An-yang work, Li Chi was engaged in many other significant scholar activities, first during the war in the Southwest and, after 1949, in Taiwan. Among them we may name the following. In 1934 he was appointed to head the Central Museum, and from then on he was an ardent espouser of historical museums as organs of excavation, research, and education. This ideal has been put into practice extensively throughout China during the last thirty years. In 1949 he founded the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Taiwan University in Taipei, the first university program in China to train professional archaeologists. In the early 1960s he was instrumental in the organization, under Academia Sinica, of a committee on the ancient history of China to launch the preparation of a multiauthored, interdisciplinary volume on ancient Chinese history, the first such effort in Chinese historiography. By the time of his death the first drafts of this volume were beginning to appear.

I first met Li Chi in the fall of 1950, when I was admitted to his new department at Taiwan University. For the next twenty-nine years he was my teacher, mentor, critic, role model, and academic conscience. I was always conscious, of course, that Li Chi was a great historical figure, who had given archaeology in China its present shape. But above all he meant just one thing to me—he embodied the highest scientific standard that could be achieved in the study of Chinese history and archaeology. He had a single-minded devotion to scientific scholarship in China and by his own word and deed set a forbidding model for his followers to aspire to. His death is a gigantic loss for all true scholars of the world.

K. C. Chang

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大学提供职位的邀请、没有像他的一些同事那样在战中或战后移民过去，最根本的原因是，他感到自己必须留在国内，看到安阳研究的全过程。

除了安阳的发掘和研究外，李济还从事了其他许多重要的学术活动，最早是在抗战时期的大西南，1949年以后在台湾。这里仅列举其中的几项：1934年他被任命为中央博物院的筹备主任，从此以后，他成为了一名主张历史博物馆应是发掘、研究兼教育的机构的热心拥护者。他的这一理想在近三十年里已在中国得到广泛的实现。1949年他在台北的台湾大学创办了考古人类学系，第一次在中国把培养专业考古学家列入大学计划之内。20世纪60年代初期，他在促成“中央研究院”成立中国古史委员会，着手编写一部多著者、跨学科的中国古史中起到关键作用，此举开中国史学编著之先河。到李济去世时，该书的初稿已开始问世。

我第一次见到李济是在1950年秋季进入台大他创办的新系的时候。这以后的29年里，他是我的老师、导师、批评者、行为榜样和学术良心。当然，我时常感到，李济是一位伟大的历史人物，他塑造了今天中国的考古学；但对于我来说，他最主要的价值就在于他体现了在中国历史学和考古学研究中所能达到的最高科学标准。他对在中国建立科学的学术事业怀有一种纯挚的热忱，并用自己的言行树立了一个令他的后继者渴望达到而又难以企及的榜样。他的过世是世界上一切真正学人的一大损失。

张光直

1981年11月19日

李光谟 译