



◆ 孙文礼 著

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总 序

在高等学校的学科建设中,人文社会学科的建设具有十分重要的意义。对于一所以工科为主的高校来说,人文社会学科的建设则具有特殊的意义。人文社会科学具有积累知识、传承文明、创新理论、服务社会的功能,能为科技、经济和社会的发展提供指导,调节各种社会关系和社会生产要素的优化组合以及根据社会生产、社会生活的运行机制提供程序系统。自然科学技术只有与人文社会科学结合起来,才能在现代社会发挥整体的强大功能。因此,人文社会学科的发展是高校特别是以工科为主的高校不断提升办学水平的一个重要条件。

武汉科技学院是一所以工科为主,多学科协调发展,特色鲜明、优势突出的普通高等学校。在过去五十年的办学历程中,形成了鲜明的纺织服装特色与优势。在新的历史时期,围绕现有特色与优势,促进学科交叉,形成多学科相互支撑、协调发展的学科建设格局,是进一步壮大特色与优势,促进特色的高水平发展的必然选择。我校人文社会学科的发展虽然起步较晚,但是经过近十年的发展,已拥有了一支具有较强实力的学科队伍,承担了一批高层次的科研项目,产出了一批具有较高水平的科研成果。人文社会学科建设突出了学科交叉,围绕学校的特色形成自身优势,取得了良好的效果,为彰显学校的办学特色发挥了重要的作用。

以丛书形式出版“人文社科文库”,旨在展示我校青年学者的研究成果,进一步促进人文社会科学的发展。文库的选题涉及哲学、政治学、文学、教育学、管理学、法学等多个学科领域。关注社会现实,跟踪学术前沿,追求学术创新,是这套文库的一个重要特点。文库的作者都是我校人



文社科学院近年来引进和培养的博士。他们朝气蓬勃,思想活跃,潜心于学术,敢于迎接挑战,在各自的研究领域敢于创新,既有理论上的突破,又有方法上的创新,如引进数学模型阐述理论、运用经济学分析论证哲学问题等,显示出扎实的学术功底,学术成果具有较高的理论价值和现实意义,反映了我校人文社科学院的研究实力。必须指出的是,文库大多是在作者博士论文的基础上进一步研究、修改而成的,虽有名师指导,历经反复推敲修改,达到了一定的学术水平,但其中也难免学术视野、学术方法、学术经验等方面的局限性。因此,这套文库的出版重在为进行人文社会科学研究青年学者提供一个交流和展示研究成果的平台。

学校高度重视文库的出版,并提供了政策支持和全额资助。但文库的出版只是一个出发点,希望这套文库的出版能够在学校人文社会学科建设中发挥积极的作用,促进人文社会科学研究水平的不断提高,使人文社会科学在学校的发展中发挥更大的作用。

武汉科技学院院长 张建钢
2009年3月



序

严复是众所周知的中国近代重要的启蒙思想家、翻译家，“中国第一个真正了解西方文化的思想家”^[1]。人们一提到他，就自然想起了为当时的中国人提供了崭新思想武器的以《天演论》为代表的“严译名著”，就想起了著名的“信、达、雅”翻译三标准。

但是，严复在中国近代思想史上的贡献还有一点值得注意，即他在继承、改造、扬弃中国古代哲学思想方面也进行了辛勤的耕耘并留下了珍贵的遗产。严复在译介西学的同时，著有两部评论道家经典的著作，即《〈老子〉评语》和《〈庄子〉评语》。他曾说：“平生于《庄子》累读不厌，因其说理，语语打破后壁，往往至今不能出其范围。”^[2]因而，在创建中国近代新文化的过程中，相对儒学，严复更注重发掘道家的思想资源。目前，学术界对此研究远远不够。

针对学术界中的不足，孙文礼的博士论文依据第一手文献，采用中西文化对比的方法，系统地研究了严复与道家思想的关系。作者指出：严复用老子的“日益”、“日损”观点形象地表达了西学逻辑方法论中归纳法和演绎法的特征；以道家“道法自然”思想来介绍和会通西方天演学说；以老子“无为而治”观点来传播和会通西方近代民主政治；以庄子的“逍遥游”思想来会通和调适西方的自由论。经过逐层分析和详细论述之后，作者总结性地指出：道家思想是严复的重要精神支柱之一；道家思想是严复接受西学的民族文化基础；道家思想是严复译介西学的重要媒介。总之，严复与道家思想的紧密联系这一文化现象，既是道家思想自身的丰富意蕴决定的，也是中国近代哲学的内在逻辑发展。为了更广阔地展示这一“内



在逻辑发展”，作者还论述了章太炎、王国维、冯友兰等人在创建中国近代哲学过程中对道家思想资源的运用。当然，严复的思想体系博大精深、中西贯通，限于作者的知识积累和研究时间，博士论文中还存在着一些有待深化之处。

2004 年秋，文礼君自华中师范大学历史学院考入武汉大学哲学学院中国哲学专业攻读博士学位。在具有悠久历史和众多名师的珞珈哲学学科群的学术熏陶之下，他发奋努力，好学深思，很快步入哲学轨道，取得长足进步，终于在 2007 年夏顺利通过答辩并获哲学博士学位。今日得见经过认真补充和修订的书稿，甚感欣慰，乐为之序。

徐水生

2009 年 1 月 5 日于珞珈山麓

注 释

[1] 冯友兰：《中国哲学史新编》第六册，第 151 页，人民出版社 1989 年版。

[2] 《严复集》(3)，第 648 页，中华书局 1986 年版。



摘 要

研究道家思想在中国近代思想转型与发展中的资源作用,严复是一个不可绕过的人物。严复(1853—1921),是中国近代著名的启蒙思想家、翻译家、教育家、诗人和政论家,被誉为“近代中西会通之第一人”。本文着眼于考察严复运用道家思想资源传播和会通西方思想,探究他试图站在超越中学西学的理性立场和“道通为一”的学理高度来思考人类普遍问题的解决方式。文中认为传播西方思想只是严复思想中的一个重要方面,是其“归求反观”论的重要前提,道家思想并不简单地是传播西方思想的载体,评点老庄是其“归求反观”论的重要体现,他通过会通道家思想和西方思想之间的“不期然而合”,重新把握“圣人之精意微言”,呼吁和引导近代中国的社会变革,最终试图找到适合中国自身的追求富强的发展道路。

全文共分八个部分,即一至七章和结语。第一章概述了在中外文化交流史上道家思想所起到过的思想资源作用,首先讨论了中外文化交流史上几种主要的思想会通态势,然后概述了在佛教流行中国之初、基督教早期传播和近代西学东渐几个不同的时期道家思想所承担的思想资源作用。

第二章探讨作为“中国西学第一人”的严复的道家情结。第一节探讨严复的人生际遇及对其亲近道家的影响,以揭示严复与道家思想之间的情感联系。文中简要地介绍了严复的生平,着重其幼年生活的冷暖、留学英伦的得意、官场仕途的挫折、教习生涯的平淡、政治进退的无奈、译述事业的坚定等方面,试图凸显严复一生际遇的起落坎坷。其生活条件上的



宽裕或窘迫、政治仕途上的进取及成毁、理想的期望与幻灭及长期以来心态上的得意或颓废,都使得严复对人生有着特别的感悟,这为严复亲近道家提供了相当的心理铺垫,而道家思想除了给严复提供精神慰藉和心灵安宁外,也为其理路提供了丰富的思想资源。第二节探讨严复“中西互证”的道家观,以揭示严复与道家思想之间的学术联系,其中区分了他的对老子和庄子的看法。针对近代以来对于老子的负面评价,严复从正面极高地肯定了老子,认为他是“圣智者”和“得道”之人,认为其学说相当“精妙”,并借助庄子的正面影响来对老子予以维护和支持。同时,严复明确认为老庄思想中有诸多与西方思想相通之处,这在其著述中得到了充分体现。此外,对于老庄思想中的某些方面,譬如历史倒退论,严复从西方思想譬如进化论的立场和角度,提出了批评。

第三章至第六章具体展开严复如何运用道家思想资源来传播和会通西方思想。第三章探讨了严复“道通为一”的中西会通观。第一节阐述了严复对中西会通可能性的探讨,阐述了他的两条主要依据,即中学西学,均为人事;天下事理,归于一源。接着探讨了严复传播西学和进行中西会通的目的,即通过传播和会通西方思想,“归求反观”中国传统思想发展中所存在之不足,然后推动其发展。第二节阐述严复在介绍西方逻辑方法论过程中对于道家思想资源的运用。严复用道家思想的“日益”、“日损”形象地表达了西学逻辑方法论中归纳法和演绎法的特征。他认为西方科学昌明的主要根源在“即物实测”的归纳法,可以会通同异而得普遍性的公例,并将公例之功用通过道的“每下愈况”形象地表达出来。严复认为公例就相当于道家的“道”,他对道的传统意蕴作了一番改造,使得道成为知识性的道,虽是不可思议的,却是可知的,这样道家的“道”实际上就具备了西方思想的属性。

第四章阐述严复以道家“道法自然”来介绍和会通西方天演学说。通过道→自然→天演的逻辑推衍,严复在道家自然哲学与西方进化论之间建立起关联,并以此将道家之自然无为诠释为“依乎天理(天演)”。严复



对于进化论的宣扬有着明确的目的,即激扬国人挽救民族危机的奋发精神。他一方面鼓吹物竞天择、适者生存,另一方面充分注意到道家思想中鸟兽虫鼠草木“求自存以厚生”的本能,试图唤醒国人的主体性精神,即不但要意识到民族危机的严重,还要积极地参与到民族救亡中去。不过,从进化论的立场出发,严复坚持“万化有渐无顿”,虽然迫切渴望社会变革的展开,却强烈反对“飘风骤雨”的暴力革命。在意识到暴力革命的“不得已”后,严复呼吁人们只要达成社会变革的成果,尽量削弱暴力革命的破坏作用。

第五章阐述严复以道家“无为而治”来传播和会通西方近代民主政治。法国思想家的社会契约论是严复民主政治的重要思想来源,而繁荣富强的英国则无疑提供了民主政治的现实案例,作为其思想背景存在的自由主义显然方便了严复利用道家的“无为而治”来介绍西方近代民主政治。严复将道家思想的多处阐述直接评点“民主主义”,与西方民主政治侧重于民众参与国家治理不同,道家“无为而治”侧重于削弱政府对民众事务的干扰,而在保障民众拥有更多的自由权利方面两者确实是一致的。在此基础上,严复以道家的“虚”“无”来描述理想的中央集权形式,并对政党政治表达了他的质疑。严复认为道家的理想社会如“小国寡民”与孟德斯鸠的“民主之真相”之间是一致的,将道家的“安、平、太”分别诠释为自由、平等和合群。不过,从进化论出发,他否定了卢梭的自然状态说,也就是说“小国寡民”虽然体现了“民主之真相”,却不能以此认为人类的理想社会存在于过去。

第六章阐述严复在道家逍遥游与西方自由论之间的会通和调适。自由思想可以说是严复思想的核心,西方自由主义和道家自由思想在他那里达到了惊人的一致。严复认为中西之间的最大不同即“自由不自由异耳”。他认为自由是“天之所界”,而为中国传统之纲常礼教所禁忌。他专门厘清了自由之本义,剥离了对自由的种种误解并回应了传统思想中对自由的批评,他明确指出自由的本义应当是“不为外物拘牵”、“自主无累



碍”。严复认为言论自由主要包括两点,即“不为古人所欺”和“不为权势所屈”。他特别突出了前者,并详细阐述了这方面的两种非自由状态,借助于道家思想资源,他将之表述为“拘虚、笃时、束教”和“随其成心以为之说”,而庄子的自由逍遥更是得到了充分体现,严复呼吁国人“扩其心于至大之域”,积极了解和接受西方思想来突破传统思想的樊篱。在阐述行己自由时,严复极大地借助了道家“顺物自然”思想,要求政府应当“听民自为、自化”,而民众则可以“各尽其天职”、“各自奋于义务”,推动整个社会臻于郅治。为了鼓吹其“小己自由”,严复试图为杨朱“为我”之学提供辩护,不但主张杨朱与庄周思想上的一致性,甚至提出杨朱即庄周的观点,以宣扬个人主义的合理性。

第七章探讨了与严复同时代的其他几位著名近代思想家对于道家思想资源的运用。第七章试图将视野从严复身上扩充到整个近代时期,通过以章太炎、王国维、冯友兰为例阐述他们在近代对道家思想资源的运用,以便了解严复运用道家思想资源来进行中西思想会通时的时代思想状况,进而把握在中国近代思想转型中道家思想的资源作用。

结语部分。首先,从总体上把握了严复与道家思想之间的关系,并指出道家思想在中国近代思想转型与发展中的思想资源作用具有历史必然性。严复与道家思想之间的关系主要包括:其一道家思想是严复的重要精神支柱之一。道家思想为严复在外在经验世界中的失意提供精神慰藉和心灵安宁,还为严复传播和会通西方思想提供了丰富的思想资源,对道家思想的亲近和喜爱伴随了严复的大半生。其二道家思想是严复接受西学的民族文化基础。严复试图站在超越中学西学的理性立场上来对中西思想予以整体性的会通把握,可以说与道家思想的自由逍遥和齐物平等之精神有密切关系;通过“归求反观”借助西方思想的观照回到中国传统思想的“圣人之精意微言”,本身也带有浓厚的道家特色。其三道家思想是严复译介西学的重要媒介。严复在其传播和会通西方思想的过程中,从概念、命题到思想等各个方面,都极大地运用了道家思想资源。其四严



复的中西会通存在着难以超越的历史局限性,一是其思考缺乏足够的深入。严复的按语和评点往往仅了了数语,对西方思想的思考和调适隐藏在其译文的背后难以被人把握。一是有简单比附的倾向。严复的传播和会通西方思想有着很强烈的现实关注,使得严复的传播西方思想和翻译西方典籍有所选择;严复传播西学重在会通其意,故刻意用词,具有简单比附的倾向。其次,从严复与道家的思想关联扩展,讨论了严复思想中的敏锐与遗憾,而这些显然与道家思想是十分密切的。本文认为严复思想中的敏锐主要表现在三个方面,即学之为言,道通为一;以自由为体,以民主为用;有果而已,勿以取强。而其遗憾则表现在:对中西会通的思考缺乏足够的深入;对于民众力量的期望与不信任。最后,阐述道家思想在中国近代思想转型与发展中的思想资源作用具有历史的必然性,包括三个方面:一是近代启蒙思想家所处的共同历史境域。鸦片战争后社会形势的急剧变化,是整个近代启蒙思想家所遭遇到的共同历史境域。人生际遇的坎坷起落和近代中国的艰难处境都能推动他们对道家思想的亲近。一是中国近代哲学的内在逻辑发展。明清时期资本主义萌芽的出现就已经开始促成中国传统学术的内在嬗变,西学东渐的逐步深化,中国传统思想文化逐渐加速其近代转型,为道家、墨家等子学的复兴铺平了道路。一是道家思想自身的丰富意蕴。面对西学的冲击道家思想也在进行着自身的调整和改变,从传统流派向维新流派转变,同时道家思想有着极其丰富的意蕴,从而能够为中国近代思想转型提供丰富的思想资源。

关键词: 严复;道家;中西会通;天演;自由



Abstract

Yan Fu is not a bypass figures for researching the role of Taoism resources in the transformation and development of Modern China. Yan Fu (1853 — 1921), has been thought of in Modern China as famous thinker of the enlightenment, translator, educator, poet and political commentator, known as the pioneer in Modern China blending Chinese—Western thought. This paper focused on studying how Yan Fu made use of Taoism thought resource to blend Chinese—Western thought, found that Yan Fu tried to overlook the difference between the East and the West, based on the standpoint of human being generally and from the learned point of view protesting all the schools having the exclusive origin, and pondered the solution of general human question. The author thought that publicizing the western thought just became an important phase and the important precondition reflecting on Traditional thought, Taoism thought being not the medium publicizing the Western thought but the important means reflecting on Traditional thought. The author thought that Yan tried to find the identity of Chinese — Western thought, re—grasped the saint idea, called on and guided the social reform in Modern China, ultimately found the suitable way to pursue the wealth and power of China.

The full text is divided into eight parts. In Chapter I, it mainly discussed the role of Taoist ideas as the thought resource in the history of



cultural exchange. Firstly, it discussed about several of the main ideological types. Then it elaborated specifically the role of Taoist ideas as the thought resource in the early days of Buddhism, Christianity, and the modern Western Learning into China.

In Chapter II, it mainly discussed the relations emotionally and academically between Yan Fu, as the pioneer publicizing the western thought, and Taoism. Firstly it mainly discussed Yan Fu's life experience and its impact on Yan Fu closing to Taoism, tried to reveal the emotional relations between Yan Fu and Taoism. The discussion is mainly highlighted through the following aspects, including sweets and bitters of childhood life, proud experience while studying in England, setbacks in his officialdom career, insipid life while teaching, the frustrations of a political act, unwavering translation project. It attempted to highlight the difficult vicissitudes of life. It had given Yan the extraordinary experience with the affluent or distressed living conditions, the up-and-down political career, the anticipant and dashed ideal, and the complacent or decadent mentality, so as to make the psychological groundwork closing to Taoism. Taoism provided not only the spiritual solace but also rich thought resources. Secondly it mainly discussed the commentary of Yan Fu on Taoist doctrines, to find the academic links between Yan Fu and Taoist ideas. Against the negative comments on Lao-Tzu since Modern times Yan Fu gave the very positive affirmation of Lao-Tzu, thought of him as the Saint and his doctrine as being profound, and stuck up for Lao-Tzu with the well-thought-of Zhang-Tzu. Meanwhile, he thought that there could be much comparability between Lao-Zhang thought and the Western thought, which embodied in his works. In addition, at the standpoint of the Western thought such as



the theory of evolution, Yan criticized some aspects of Lao—Tzu thinking such as the reversal of history theory.

From Chapter III to Chapter VI, it mainly discussed how Taoist thought resources would be deployed in Yan Fu publicizing and blending Chinese—Western thought. Thirdly it mainly discussed the study of Yan Fu on the possibility blending the Chinese—Western thought, expounded the two main basis, one affirmation that both Chinese thought and Western thought should be involved in human beings themselves, neither East or West, whatever wisdom or foolish, the other affirmation that the thought evolution can follow a logic process, through reverse back its originality, it can be found that there should be unified summum genus. Then it mainly discussed the purpose of Yan Fu publicizing and blending the Western thought, which it could be reflected the limitation of the traditional thought through the dissemination and adoption of Western ideas, then promoted the renaissance of Chinese thought. In Chapter III, it mainly how Yan Fu deployed the Taoist thought resources in publicizing the Western logic methodology. With the help of Ri—Yi and Ri—Sun, Yan Fu expressed the image of Western logic methodology such as induction and deduction. He particularly emphasized the importance of induction, promoting the development of the Western science. The universal general law, the axiom, could be acquired by the induction, which function could be vividly expressed through the image of Tao being clearer with more hairlike. Yan Fu thought that the axiom could be identical to the Tao as the knowledge, which had been amended to be incomprehensible and be transcendent. Through a series of transformation and relevance, Tao could be known by employing the induction, which implied that the traditional Chinese thought could be brought into



the application scope of Western methodology.

In Chapter IV, it mainly discussed how Yan Fu blended Taoist nature philosophy into modern Western evolutionism. Through applying the logic process from Tao to Zi—ran, to evolution, Yan linked Taoist nature philosophy to modern Western evolutionism, and interpreted Taoist laissez—faire into obeying the evolution. There had been a clear purpose for Yan publicizing the evolutionism to inspire the people saving the nation. While advocating competitive world, the survival of the fittest, he paid well attention to the life instinct of the creature, striving for the survival and optimizing himself, tried to waken people's subjectivity not only aware of the serious national crisis but also necessary to actively participate in saving the nation. Based on the standpoint of evolutionism, Yan insisted that the law of the nature should evolve gradually more than drastically. Although he urged social reform Yan strongly oppose the violent revolution. While being aware of violent revolution in the "last resort", Yan called for minimizing the destructive effects of violent revolution and insuring the fruit of social reform.

In Chapter V, it mainly discussed how Yan Fu blended Taoist laissez—faire politics into modern western democratic concepts. Social contract theory protested by French enlightenment thinkers can be regarded as the important resource of Yan's democracy thought. The prosperity, wealth and power of the U. K. can be thought of undoubtedly providing a real case of democracy, which ideological background of liberalism should be obviously convenient to Yan blending Huang—Tzu laissez—faire politics into modern western democratic concepts. Yan commented directly certain content as democracy. It should be emphasized In Taoist laissez—faire politics that the government interference in individual af-



fairs should be weakened other than in modern western democracy that the people can participate in governing the country, however, both of them should protest protecting the right of individual freedom. Therefore Yan described Xu or Wu, the concepts of Taoism, as the ideal form of centralization, and expressed his doubts about Political parties. Yan interpreted respectively An, Ping, Tai as freedom, equality and teamwork, namely his ideal of a democratic society, which can be achieved only that the most optimal intelligence and savoir—vivre come into being. Yan thought that it should be key for the realization of democratic society to remove the dependence on the rulers and to awaken the public independence consciousness.

In Chapter VI, it mainly discussed how Yan Fu blended Taoist freedom thought into western liberalism. Freedom can be said to be the core of Yan's thought, there Western liberalism being amazing consistent with Taoist thought. The biggest difference between the East and the West is the freedom given or not. He believed that the freedom is the nature property, which had been tabooed by the traditional Chinese thought. Yan specializes in clarifying the meaning of Freedom, stripping the misunderstanding of freedom and responding the criticism to freedom of traditional thinking. He made it clear that the original meaning of freedom should be not arrested by the nonego, or self—determination without any obstacle. The freedom of expression could consist of two parts, one being not fetishizing the ancients and the other not bending to the authority. He particularly highlighted the former, paid adequately attention to two sorts of non—free state, namely Ju—Xu, Du—Shi, Su—jiao, and the conjecture, he had repeatedly stated both the harm, and advocated a scientific methodology to correct the conjecture, called for Chi—