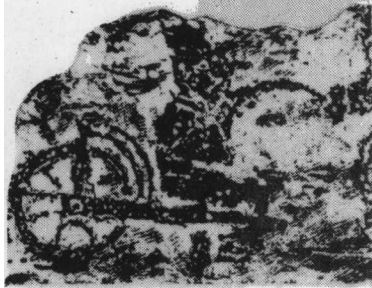


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汉学的生命力

任继愈 ●

汉学（中国学）记载着中华民族文化创造的成果。中华民族有文字可考的历史至少可以上溯到六千年前。世界上创造过灿烂文化的民族和地区不少，不止中华民族一家，有些古老的文化，没有继续发展下来，中途消逝了，成为考古的对象；有些民族和地区的文化，崛起于近代，它们的远古情况则渺茫难考。只有中华民族的文化，经历了几千年的风风雨雨，它还活着，不但活着，而且随着时代的变迁不断更新其内容，继续发展，生命力长久不衰。古人所谓“周邦虽旧，其命维新”，正好说明这种世界上少有的奇特文化现象。

中华文化走向世界，与其他文化体系发生联系，并引起注意，是秦汉以后的事。秦汉统一中国以前，众多诸侯国林立，国家小，人口少，不能形成集中、凝聚的力量。各国战争此起彼伏。秦汉开始，中国历史进入新阶段。中华民族开始形成，其活动范围基本上以黄河及长江流域为中心，由中原地区向

周边辐射。蕃衍生息于九百六十万平方公里土地上的众多民族相互学习，相互依存，相互融合，在漫长的历史时期，发展了自己，壮大了群体。

秦汉统一，奠定了此后两千年的政治格局。历代帝王有汉族的，也有非汉族的。不论哪一个民族的人当皇帝，都要吸收多民族的人才参加中央及地方政权管理，都用心维护大一统的国家体制，使它的统一职能不断完善。二千年间，不论在理论上或实践上，举国上下已取得共识，认为国家统一是正常的，分裂割据是不正常的。

秦汉统一的利弊，学术界有不同的看法，有人认为大一统的局面，思想定于一尊，学术思想不及春秋战国时期活跃，不利于学术发展。这种看法至少是不全面的。春秋战国，诸子百家为什么要争鸣？他们争论的中心议题是什么？只要细看诸子百家共同关心的问题，不难发现，他们争论的都是如何建立大一统的国家，建成后如何管理的问题。孔、孟、荀、墨、韩非都提出了他们统一的方案。貌似超脱的老子、庄子也设计了他们治理天下的蓝图，并不是不要统一^①。

秦汉统一是大势所趋。这一历史事件，体现了中华民族的共同愿望。历史通过秦始皇、汉刘邦的个人野心，推动了历史前进。王夫之在他的《读通鉴论》中说“秦以私天下之心而罢侯置守，而天假其私以行其大公。”这个见解是比较深刻的。

秦汉统一以后，使生活在九百六十万平方公里土地^②上的人民群众至少得到以下五个方面的利益：

^① 从秦汉到辛亥革命，二千年间，基本上是统一的，最长的一段分裂时期是南北朝，也只有三百多年。南北分裂时期，南方曾有两次北伐，北方有一次南伐。双方都有结束分裂、完成统一的愿望，由于条件不具备，双方的企图都未实现。

^② 设想秦汉不统一的结果，把没有出现的事实作为推论的基础，这个方法是不科学的，只能流于空论。

^③ 老子讲的“小国寡民”是指基层乡村组织要小，至于管理“天下”还得要无为而治的圣人、圣王。

中国历代国土有时扩大，有时缩小，但其中心地区始终在黄河、长江流域，没有改变过。

1. 较大范围的物资流通，如南方的茶、木材，北方的盐、铁、畜牧产品，得以互通有无；
2. 集中全国人力、物力，建设宏大工程。如统筹上下游的利益，治理河道，统一指挥防洪排涝，兴修水利，救灾度荒，以丰补歉，减少自然灾害给群众造成的损失，有利于生产；
3. 有统一的政府，对内防止内战，对外更有效地防止外来武力掠夺。人民的生命财产得到保护。我国人口第一次超过五千万是在汉朝，第二次超过五千万在唐朝，都出现在全国统一、政治稳定的时期。
4. 集中全国的财力和人力兴办一些大型工程建设和文化建设。如修筑万里长城，开掘贯穿南北的大运河，纂辑大型丛书、类书，为人类积累物质财富和精神财富；
5. 国家统一安定，有利于更好地开展国际交流（经济的、文化的），开拓视野，充实民族思想文化宝库。

比起春秋战国时期，秦汉及以后各代虽然思想不甚活跃，但从得到的实际利益来看，人民宁可接受大一统的集权制度。历代统治者为了达到长治久安的目的，不断总结经验，吸取前朝覆败的教训，调整政策，构建理论，从而发展了中国古代的哲学和史学。中国古代哲学^①主要讲的是治国平天下的理论，它是政治学、经济学、伦理学、人生价值论的复合体。中国古代史学范围也比今天的史学广泛，它是治国经验学。司马光写了一部编年史——《资治通鉴》编史的目的在于“资治”其实，《二十四史》都是用来“资治”的。

中国古代的生产方式是小农自然经济，它是各自独立、相互隔绝、分散经营的。小农自然经济本来不利于建立大一统的封建大国，中国大一统的政治格局得以不断巩固和发展，主要靠中央政府高度集权的政治制度。政治的高度集中，经济的极

^① 古代中国没有相当于今天“哲学”的学问，古人称之为道学、经世之学、理学，或称之为“道术”

端分散，这两者相互排斥、又相互依存，构成了秦汉以来中国古代社会的一对基本矛盾。强化政治统一，不能专用武力，要文武夹辅，才能相得益彰。秦汉统一，推行“车同轨”、“书同文”、“行同伦”等多项措施，都收到实效。特别是“书同文”、“行同伦”后来成为中华民族的强力凝聚剂。中国地域辽阔，山川阻隔，风俗不同，方言各异。有了共同使用的汉字，就能有效地推行教育，传播政令，通行全国，毫无滞碍。如果没有秦汉以来坚持不懈地推行统一汉字，中国也许要分成几十个国家，统一汉字对中国大一统政治所起的作用不可低估。

“行同伦”不像“书同文”那样有明显的社会效应，但它起着更深刻的社会影响。它向中华民族系统地灌输共同的道德观、社会观、价值观，像“三纲”、“五常”原则成为几千年间稳定社会秩序、协调家庭关系等人际关系的普遍准则。违背了“三纲”规范，就很难在社会立足。“夷夏之辨”是中国判断文明先进与野蛮落后的界限，区别夷夏的标准，不限于种族血统，更在于文化体系。

两千多年大一统的中国历史现实，决定着中华民族文化的特点和发展道路。

汉学引起国际学术界的关注，不自今始。远在 13 世纪，经过西方传教士和商人的介绍，已经引起西方人的兴趣。随着世界交往日益频繁，特别在新中国成立后，中国发生的一些重大事件，中国一国的治乱安危已不止是一国之内的事情，影响到她的四邻甚至遥远的大洋彼岸。她的一举一动，无不与世界息息相关。

研究汉学，在当今有两支大军，一支在国内，一支在国外。19 世纪的国外汉学研究者，偏重在古代，新中国成立后，西方

地下出土的战国时期的竹简文字，因为当时各国文字尚未统一，有的字已不能普识。

研究者的注意力更多偏重在中国的现状。也有对现状研究不断发掘，进而追溯到古代的。西方学者接受近现代科学方法的训练，又由于他们置身局外，在庐山以外看庐山，有些问题国内学者司空见惯，习而不察，国外学者往往探骊得珠。如语言学、民俗学、考古学、人类学、社会学诸多领域，时时迸发出耀眼的火花。

身在国内的学者，生于斯，长于斯，他们不像外地游客初次踏上这块土地所感受的新鲜感，但是他们饱受中华文化的陶冶，对中国的社会、历史、人情、风俗、传统文化各个方面的总体感受又是外国学者无法领会的。对文化现象的价值观、道德意识，褒贬分寸，更深层次理解，往往不是站在岸边的观潮者所能理解的。像“自由”、“平等”已成为全世界共同使用的概念，近一百多年来中国人民遭受外来侵略势力的欺凌，中国人（当然包括中国学者）对“自由”、“平等”的理解和不生活在中国的旅游者的理解是大不相同的。

学术乃天下之公器。对中国文化的研究，已不完全是中国人自己的事情，正如研究莎士比亚，不能只看作英国人的事，研究歌德不能只看作德国人的事，研究敦煌学不能只看作中国人的事一样。人类共同的精神财富，每一个分享者都有责任来研究，一切研究者都有发言权。

学术界有些人习惯于用凝固的观点来看待中国文化，比如常有人说，“孔子儒家思想影响了中国二千年。”这是不符合历史实际情况的。因为二千年来，孔子和儒家思想并不是一直不衰，儒家学说，最明显的变化有三次。汉武帝独尊儒术，尊奉的是汉代神学经学的儒，与春秋时期孔孟思想相去甚远，中间增加了汉代流行的社会思潮，有阴阳五行、神仙巫术等内容挤进了儒家体系。秦始皇所坑的儒生，多数属燕赵的方士儒，而不尽是孔孟学派的儒。儒家思想经历了魏晋玄学、隋唐佛教的冲击，又衰落了，正如韩愈所说的，儒家之学“火于秦，佛于

晋、魏、梁、隋之间”，韩愈生活的唐朝，儒家的地位在三教（佛、道、儒）的次序，排在第三位。到了宋朝才得到重视。宋儒显然不同于汉儒和春秋时期的孔子儒，而是经过佛教、道教洗礼的儒，吸收了佛教的心性宗教修炼的一些内容，成为体系完整的儒教。宋儒创建的儒教经历了元、明、清三朝，持续了七、八百年。名义上都称为“儒”，可是孔子的儒、董仲舒的儒、朱熹的儒三个时期，其内容和面貌迥然不同。这又怎能说孔子的思想在中国影响了二千多年而不衰呢？

中国学是活着的学问，它不是僵化的、静止的、任人摆布的陈列品，它随着时代的变化而变化。前面所说，儒家没有二千多年的长寿，二千多年间增加了不同时代的新内容。这些新内容虽非儒家所固有，却是中华民族文化生存、发展所必须的。这也正是汉学生命力之所在。研究孔孟的儒、董仲舒的儒、朱熹的儒，都属于汉学的范围，无论哪一种儒，都将有助于了解中国文化的精华部分。

反映中华民族的文化的汉学还活着，并不断发展，还在于它善于结合自身的情况及时吸收外来文化为自己所用。熟悉中国历史的都会发现，外来文化传入中国后多少总要有些改变，与原来的文化不尽相同，也有被改变得面目全非的。如古代流行于印度次大陆的佛教，传入中国就变成了“中国佛教”，中国佛教是中国化了的佛教，有人对此不满意，认为印度佛教在中国走了样，而在我们看来，恰恰是这种走了样的中国佛教更能显示中国文化的特色。抓住中国文化的特色，应该是汉学研究的关键。中华民族善于把继承与创新相结合。表面看来，它极端稳定，却随时进行着潜在的变革。这当然增加了汉学研究的难度，势必促进汉学研究方法的深入。

有人认为中国二千多年来都以儒家为主导思想，都是专制主义制度，等等，实际上，儒家在变，专制主义制度也在变。

中华民族有六千年之久的文明史，多数汉学研究者集中于秦汉以后这两千多年。这种现象是可以理解的。好比开矿，采掘者当然对富矿更感兴趣。事实上，秦汉建立了大一统的封建国家，找到了最适合中国国情的政治体制。国家完成统一，建立了强有力的中央政府，各族人民和睦相处的时候，往往出现物质文明和精神文明建设的高潮。因为政府利用大一统的优势，集中物力、财力，发挥人才智力，从而创造出人类奇迹。如果在政权分裂、战乱频繁的情况下，是不可想象的。

二千多年来的许多伟大成就，已载入史册，成为过去。过去的文明成就，表现出当时的社会结构各方面的时代精神的内容。这都是汉学研究的对象。

作为生活在中国的学者，我们不能满足于歌颂过去，追慕远古的光荣业绩。我们研究中国的文化，是在总结过去已有的成就的基础上，创造未来的社会主义新文化。正如本文一开始就指出的，汉学是活着的学问，不是凝固的历史的遗迹。汉学的生命力来自中华民族的生命力。殷商的甲骨文所记载的内容与今天的社会主义新中国的语言文字有着一脉相承的血肉关系。绝不是有些人认为是死文字，仅仅是考古学的对象，它在中国汉学家心目中的地位和实际作用与后代学者研究古巴比伦楔形图版文字大不一样。

我们还要指出，中华民族的文化，有自己的传统部分，也有随时吸收、融会外来文化部分。自从中外文化发生密切交往关系以来，外国文化通过与中国固有文化的交融，有的已成为新的中国文化。也就是说“汉学”范围应不限于中土固有的文化，也要包括已经中国化的外来文化。这种现象，在过去的中国历史早已如此，只是年代久了，人们不觉得它是外来文化，正如中国人对待佛教文化，已把它当成中国文化的一部分，对释迦牟尼，也不把他当做外国人，而是把他与中国的孔子、老子并称“三圣”。中国佛教已成为理所当然的汉学研究的对象。

西方的文学、艺术、哲学思想，有的在中国已产生广泛的影响，有的已生了根。以哲学为例，“中国哲学”固然包括传统的孔孟老庄、程朱陆王，但是近百年来中国哲学已吸收了不少西方哲学的内容，并使它融会到中国哲学中去。如康有为的《大同书》、谭嗣同的《仁学》都已超出旧有“中国哲学”的领地，并已开始走向世界。瞻望未来，汉学研究的对象和范围正在演变中，这是今后汉学研究势必碰到的新课题。我们要满怀信心的迎接这一新形势，开创汉学研究的新天地。

一九九三年二月三日

AN ENTRANCE INTO NEO- CONFUCIANISM —THE GREAT TREATISE

By F. C. Hsu ●

The turning of the wheel of time will soon lead us to the threshold of another century of a new millennium connecting the old immemorial past with infinite future. The wheel is perhaps the best symbol of the mechanism of change as it repeats itself in covering a distance with constancy and continuity in rotation. The constancy is noticed in the movement of luminaries in sky and the recurrence of the seasons in a year. We see everything in the universe changing with time without cessation, and, should it ever have ceased for any infinitesimal point of time, universal destruction would have taken place. This idea is well noted in the *Great Treatise* of the *Book of Changes*.

By observation of Nature, ancient Chi-

nese thinkers have come to the notion of changes or Becoming of Being in constancy and continuity. By deep and very deep reasoning, or rather by profound insight, they began to realize a mastery of all Becoming in the universe that remained at the core of changes by which all changes were its external functions or workings. What one sees can only be the outward appearance of any object, either static or mobile, and within the finite appearance there must be the infinite which is its real being. It is the noumenon as opposed to phenomenon commonly discussed in ontology, and this distinction is made in Confucianism, both old and new.

The transience of the phenomenal world has been severally explored by different peoples at the dawn of civilization. The great Greek philosopher Heracleitus who flourished about five centuries B. C. wrote thus:

“By stepping into the same river, what one encounters is not the same current.”

As someone put it in another way:

“One cannot step twice into the same river.”

This means as one steps into a river, it is no longer the same water at the next moment as the water he touched at the first moment. This is a very vivid illustration of the procession in the development of everything in the universe. In a remarkable resemblance Confucius said about the same thing as he stood once by a stream thus:

“Oh! things passing are like this, —flowing on and on without pause day and night!”

This symbolizes that nothing is still or static in the world, and we change physically, vitally, and mentally at every moment; we are not the same as we were a moment ago.

Unfortunately, not much has been left to us by the ‘obscure’ philosopher of Ephesus apart from a hundred and more apophthegms of profound wisdom. His saying “Struggle (or War) is the father (or king) of everything” can best be explained in terms of the two contradictory yet complementary principles of *Yin* and *Yang* in the *Book of Changes*. By observation of Nature in search for the truth of reality, both Greek and Chinese philosophers have noticed the same phenomenon and made similar remarks.

Before we proceed in our discussion, it is necessary to look into, however fleetingly, the Classic and its *Commentary* or the *Great Treatise*. As the corner-stone of Chinese culture the classic is well known to the West. In the 17th century when Christianity was introduced to China, Roman Catholics studied this book in Beijing. Its English translation done by Rev. Canan McClatchie entitled “*A Translation of the Confucian Yi King, or the Classic of Changes, with notes and appendix*” appeared for the first time in Europe in 1876. Various translations into Latin, French, English, and German followed, and there were at least seven translations in existence before the eminent German sinologist Richard Wilhelm, under the guidance of a famous Chinese scholar, Lao Nai Xuan (1838—

1917) made the last and perhaps the best one in 1923 (latest edition; Diedrichs Gelbe Reihe 1987). This work was rendered into English by C. F. Baynes and published in 1949. This one might have made some impression on Western intelligentsia which should have deemed it more readable as it befitted more comfortably to their mentality in its wording and form of thought (Denkform) and rearrangement of contents. Yet, as Chinese, we do not think any perfect rendering possible, because apart from the barriers of language, it is still a book that permits further explorations after the studies of more than 25 centuries. Its resources seem to be inexhaustible and unfathomable as well.

It may be noted here in passing that such concepts as exchange, interchange, transposing change, transforming change etc. be came more clarified in the field at a relatively later date. These were extracted from the contents of the Book, and formulated by *Mao Ji Ling* (1625—1715), an erudite scholar who wrote more than 130 fascicles mostly on ancient classics, who was famous for his daring spirit in challenging the firmly established authorities in the academic field. Probably he had the intention of forming an independent school of his own, like one of those in the Han Dynasty (206 B. C. — 220 A. D.), yet he had the humility of presenting his work in the name of his elder brother, a scholar less famous than he was, thus effacing his own name. His commentary may be the latest if not the last worthy of consideration.

In the *Great Treatise* it is stated:

“That which lets now the dark, now the light appear

is *Tao*." (VII. V. 1)

(Was einmal das Dunkle und einmal das
Licht hervortreten lässt, das ist der
SINN. — German trl. by R. Wilhelm)

And again,

"Therefore there is in the Changes the Great Primal
Beginning. This generates the two primary forces. The
two primary forces generate the four images. The four im-
ages generate the eight trigrams." (I. XI. 5)

(Darum gibt es in den Wandlungen den
grossen Uranfang. Dieser erzeugt die
zwei Grundkräfte. Die zwei Grundkräfte
erzeugen die vier Bilder. Die vier Bilder
erzeugen die acht Zeichen. — do.)

First, we begin with the Great Primal Beginning. It is called *Tai Ji* in Chinese, *der Grosse Uranfang* in German, and corresponds to *Logos* in Greek as mentioned in the Gospel of John. Now there is a slight scruple here with regard to the exactitude in terminology, since beginning is generally understood in terms of time, and *Tai Ji* refers also to space. We may take it as the primeval chaos in which time and space were not yet separated. Yet *Tai Ji* in Chinese cosmogony is not a chaos, it is the supreme rational one, somewhat like *Logos* the Reason itself. The traditional symbol of a circle including two halves, one black and one white, drawn like two tadpoles running in a

circle is quite misleading. (It is drawn by connecting two semi-circles in reverse order with the radius of the large circle as diameter.) It is not on a flat plane, it must be thought of as a sphere which is difficult to represent. The term originally meant the ridgepole or the highest horizontal beam of a roof. (This was also mentioned in *Zhuang Zi*.) In a higher sense it came to mean anything supreme, such as the apex in space, the grand hall in the Royal Palace, or even a kind of boxing. Why is the highest not represented by a point but by a horizontal line instead? This comes from the habit of drawing lines in the formation of trigrams or hexagrams. A line indicated not only a position, but also a plane, a sphere, a whole, and in divination, a number, a fact, an event or a happening. It may be said that a *Tai Ji* is in a trigram or hexagram, but above all the lines there is the great *Tai Ji* that is undrawn and invisible.

Nowadays Chinese athletes practice a kind of physical exercise called *Tai Ji Quan* which is wrongly called 'shadow boxing'. It consists in very gentle movements of the limbs in order to facilitate the flow of vital currents (*Qi*) in the body. It is very much liked by old people because it requires almost no exertion of muscles. Yet if it is constantly practiced, it tranquilizes the mind and helps maintain one's health in good condition. If it were just like the play of a shadow, it would be called '*Yin Quan*', a term that never existed. A correct interpretation should be 'supreme pugilism'. It cannot be used for attack in a fight between two persons, it is excellent only as a means for defending oneself.

As the universal supreme, *Tai Ji* in Neo-Confucianism is

synonymous with the Absolute. It corresponds also to the Atman of the *Bhagavad Gita* in Indian philosophy, it is also the Absolute in modern philosophy so fiercely attacked by Schopenhauer. Ever since it first appeared in the *Great Commentary* it was soon adopted by Taoists, and neglected by Confucians. Nobody was serious about it, and together with ancient metaphysics it sank into oblivion for nearly 15 centuries. It was the great spiritual master named Zhou Dun Yi (1017—1073), the first patriarch of Neo-Confucianism, who brought it again to light. Nevertheless the idea was not developed to the full extent, and Zhou's *Book of Universality*—a booklet which the present writer made an English translation years ago—gave no detailed discussion, and a certain pamphlet on this subject attributed to him was not his. But since then, the conception of *Tai Ji* the Absolute was no longer the monopoly of Taoists, it occupied a prominent place in the philosophy of the Song and Ming dynasties.

Next, we come to the principles of *Yin* and *Yang* which seem to us too simple to need any explanation. In Chinese grammar, both words are adjectives, adjectival nouns, and used also as adverbs. As a compound they stand as halves of a whole, a binary principle that shows also polarity. In the English translation they are separately called the creative (*yang*) and the receptive (*yin*). They represent two opposites, such as darkness (*yin*) and light (*yang*), night and day, female and male, negative and positive sides, badness and goodness, north of a mountain and south of a mountain, closing of a door and opening of a door, etc. Odd numbers pertain to yang and even numbers to yin. By counting the yellow sticks in divination, the